HINDU REFORMIST ETHICS AND THE WEBER THESIS:
AN APPLICATION OF MAX WEBER'S METHODOLOGY

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This is a critical study of the thesis advanced by Max Weber in "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism". Besides undertaking a theoretical critique as such, it seeks, as its central method, to test Weber's thesis, and the methodology on which it rests, by critically applying it to the study of certain Indian Reformist Movements. The study consists, therefore, of (1) an outline of its theoretical basis, (2) its empirical application, and (3) finally, a statement of conclusions arising from both the theoretical and the empirical aspects.

In an Introduction, after examining the merits of Durkheimian analysis of Indian society, with Talcott Parsons's suggestions concerning evolutionary and comparative perspectives especially in mind, we suggest that Pareto's analytical system turns out to be a more suitable basis for the internal analysis of complex societies, in combination with Weber's comparative method as used in the present study of Hindu Reformist movements.

In the theoretical section, we attempt to define the ideal-type and the spirit of Capitalism, and to examine the methodological basis of Weber's "Protestant Ethic" thesis (including the studies of Confucianism, Hinduism, and Ancient Judaism) in order to determine as clearly as possible the applicability of the logical structure of 'mental experimentation' implicit in Weberian sociological analysis.

In our application of Weber's methodology, systematic and detailed accounts of four Hindu reformist movements - Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Jainism, and Sikhism - are offered. These are original accounts: attempting a substantive analysis and a clear presentation of the
historical development of these movements, the formation of their 'doctrine-ethics' system and the justification of their reformist content. They are, therefore, analytical descriptions in the exploratory empirical sense rather than rationalised histories.

In the third part, the clarification of the 'ideal-typical' norm of comparison - the Luther-Calvin system of doctrine and ethics - makes Weber's theory on the Protestant ethic and its rationality completely explicit, and is an empirical contribution similar to the accounts of the reformist movements. Comparison between the norm and the Indian 'doctrine-ethics' systems, and the methodological implications of such studies, conclude our critical examination of Weber's thesis, its methodology, and their relation to sociological analysis and theory.
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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART ONE: Theoretical Basis</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF THE IDEAL-TYPE</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: MAX WEBER'S METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART TWO: Application</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: ARYA SAIJ</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: BRAHMA SAIJ</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: JAINISM</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: SIKHISM</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART THREE: Conclusion</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: NORM OF COMPARISON</td>
<td>898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: COMPARISON</td>
<td>1075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS</td>
<td>1123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VOLUME I

Part One

Introduction ......................................................... 7
Towards a Definition of the Ideal-type .................. 39
Spirit of Capitalism ................................................ 64
Max Weber's Methodology:
   i. His critics and correlation between the spirit of capitalism and religious ethics ................ 89
   ii. Ideal-types of causal-empirical nature and of acausal meaningful connections ............. 119

Part Two*

An Application of Max Weber's Methodology .............. 133
Arya Samaj .......................................................... 187
   Introductory .................................................... 222
      i. Raja Ram Mohun Roy ................................... 227
      ii. Devendranath Tagore .................................. 266
      iii. Keshub Chunder Sen ................................... 294
      iv. Sadharan Brahma Samaj ................................ 315

Jainism:
   i. Introduction and History .................................. 327
   ii. Doctrine and Ethics ........................................ 367

* As there is no standardisation of spelling in Indian names, it has not always been possible to use throughout the same spelling of a name. For accuracy of reference, spellings have only been changed when the original spelling is liable to be misread.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to delimit the sociological rationality of the Hindu reformist ethics ranging in time from circa 550 B.C. to the last century, by applying Max Weber's methodology and taking his thesis of the correlation between Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism as a norm of comparison; but an extremely relevant point has been raised by Talcott Parsons's recent book "Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives"\(^1\) - concerned with the study of the total society as a social system - when he combines the notion of 'societal evolution' with the accepted comparative perspective of sociology.\(^2\) India has - unlike China and other 'intermediate societies' - been studied extensively by methods of social anthropology with a claim that there is no real difference between them and the methods of sociology.\(^3\) We shall try to examine the validity of this claim, especially in view of Professor Parsons's choice of perspectives.

The evolutionary perspective, he says, in view of the 'recent increase in the concern of social scientists with comparative problems' and the volume of research, has given the problems of

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\(^2\) ibid., p.v (Preface).

\(^3\) cf M.N. Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966: Chapter 5 (Some Thoughts on the Study of One's Own Society), p.155.
evolution 'a renewed definiteness and urgency'.\textsuperscript{1} He envisages the division of the principal societies in terms of evolutionary stages,\textsuperscript{2} as there are, at approximate levels of development, wide variations - 'from the ascriptive rigidities of the traditional Indian caste system to the openness and mobility of the Chinese Empire' - with the United States and the Soviet Union as 'supernational societies at the end of the scale'.\textsuperscript{3}

He defines evolutionary perspective as one in which man is 'integral to the organic world, and human society and culture as properly analyzed in the general framework appropriate to the life process'.\textsuperscript{4} The concepts of organic - and social - evolution are, then, variation, selection, adaptation, differentiation, and integration;\textsuperscript{5} and socio-cultural evolution, like the organic, has proceeded by variation and differentiation from simple to progressively more complex forms.\textsuperscript{6} There is, however, a qualification: 'longer perspectives make it evident that forms apparently equally viable in given stages and circumstances have not been equal in terms of their potentialities for contributing to further evolutionary developments'.\textsuperscript{7}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] Parsons, op. cit., p.v.
\item[2] ibid., p.vi.
\item[3] ibid., p.1.
\item[4] ibid., p.2.
\item[5] ibid., p.2.
\item[6] ibid., p.2.
\item[7] ibid., p.2.
\end{footnotes}
The evolution of societies (so far) is in three stages: primitive, intermediate and modern.\(^1\) Professor Parsons extends the approach of social anthropology to primitive societies, in comparative and evolutionary terms, on to the study of intermediate societies, for they have been the subject of particularist studies rather than 'very general comparisons'.\(^2\) Modern societies, in his view, have a common origin: the development of Western rationalism as Weber defined it in his work, and thereby suggested the significance of interpreting the intermediate societies.\(^3\)

Evolution, in Parsons's definition, is a summary generalisation of a type of process of change and interaction, the typical process of social systems.\(^4\) At the most general theoretical levels there is no difference between the processes which maintain and those which change a society, the difference lies in the 'intensity, distribution and organization of the elementary components of the particular process relative to the states of the structure they affect'.\(^5\) Among the change processes, however, the most important is the 'enhancement of adaptive capacity'.\(^6\)

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1 Parsons, op. cit., p.3.
2 ibid., p.3.
3 ibid., pp.3-4.
4 ibid., p.20.
5 ibid., p.21.
6 ibid., p.21.
In the chapter on the "historic intermediate empires" which include China, India, the Islamic Empires and Rome,¹ he says, the main characteristic of these societies was the 'radicalness and comprehensiveness of their cultural innovations': they were direct inheritors of 'philosophical breakthroughs'.² All these cultural movements developed a differentiation between the order of representation of ultimate reality and the order of representation of the human condition: they achieved dichotomy between the supernatural and the natural. This made the problem of defining the relation of human elements to the higher-order reality all the greater and more critical.³ Society then comes to be categorized most basically between those who are, actually or potentially, fully qualified for the highest human standing (relative to the cultural definition of the transcendent order) and those who are excluded from such qualification, either inherently or when they meet certain specific conditions of eligibility. India had the Sudras and outcasts who were not eligible for the discipline of religious enlightenment - an example of the imposition of this dichotomy upon established societies involving complex readjustments⁴ - and, in contrast, we have the modern concept of political equality within the single

¹ Parsons, op. cit., p.69.
² ibid., p.70.
³ ibid., p.70.
⁴ ibid., pp.70-71.
societal community.\(^1\)

To Parsons's evolutionary perspective two objections can be made, with reference to the study of intermediate societies, particularly of India. First, that modern 'supernational' societies like the United States and the Soviet Union can only be logical ends in a scale of evolution made strictly in terms of sociological analysis, for they are in fact revolutionary, not historically evolved, societies; but in a comparative perspective, however, they can be considered the end-points of an historical ideal-type.

The second and a much more important objection is that an evolutionary model of the social system is inadequate in the explanation of intermediate societies. This is evident in the application of such a model by social anthropologists studying the Indian society. Functionalism - in this case, Durkheim's method modified by Radcliffe-Brown\(^2\) - has almost exclusively made the institution of caste the key-element in the Indian social structure. Professor Srinivas and his colleagues in Europe and the United States have used the concept of Sanskritization - which Srinivas developed on the basis of his field-work among the Coorgs and introduced it in his book "Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of Southern India", Oxford, 1952 - to show social change in India. The assumption in such studies

\(^1\) Parsons, op. cit., p.71.

is that a village is a microcosm of the total Indian society, and caste is its fundamental institution; therefore, changes in other institutions reflect change in caste. This is because, castes, although autonomous in marriage and kinship, interact, in co-operation, competition or conflict, within other spheres - economic, ritual and, especially, political.¹

The second influence of Durkheim comes through Louis Dumont and D.F. Pocock, editors of "Contributions to Indian Sociology". Professor Dumont said, in the first issue of the journal, that 'it should be obvious, in principle, that a sociology of India lies at the point of confluence of Sociology and Indology',² and referred to the work of Marcel Mauss and Celestin Bouglé in this field. On the basis of Levi Strauss's definition of "structure" - as a system in which the interdependence between its elements is so close that they cannot be considered in themselves, but on the contrary defined by their position in the system³ - he hopes that the set of relations or "structures" discovered in the present can be fruitfully applied to the understanding of past evidence.⁴ The true solution, according to Dumont, to the problem of avoiding arbitrary assumption is: 'the

³ ibid., p.14, fn. 16.
⁴ ibid., p.15.
constancy which we cannot find at the level of individual being is very often revealed when we rise to the level of relations between these beings'.

The reason he gives for putting himself in the school of Indology is 'never to forget that India is one'. The very existence and influence of the traditional higher Sanskritic civilisation - as well as the existence of castes throughout India - demonstrate the unity without question, in his view; while the "popular" level of civilization has to be taken as being homogeneous in some way with the higher one, as they are in constant interplay. But this unity poses a problem of method: to attempt to isolate an empirical group, a caste or a village, is 'to offend against the primary principle of sociology which forbids us to abstract a phenomenon from its social context'. The problem is resolved by the aim: to found a sociology of values and particularly a set of ideas 'in which facts of "representation" are not mixed with facts of behaviour'. The caste system, then, appears to Dumont to be a perfectly coherent theory once one adds the necessary but implicit links to the principles.

2. ibid., p.9.
3. ibid., p.9.
4. ibid., p.15.
5. ibid., pp.9-10.
6. ibid., p.11.
that people themselves give. The aim is to 'delineate a wholesale, if temporary, perspective' in which caste, of course, comes first.

Finally, Dumont writes: "... certain simple, easily interrelated principles can, starting with the social organization, give a view of Indian civilization both in its permanence and in its history; after having shown 'how the hierarchical aspect of the society makes for a cultural proliferation through a sort of psychology of borrowing'.

Professor Srinivas's concept of social change through caste mobility is, on the other hand, based on empirical research. His lectures delivered at Berkeley, California, in 1963 - on "Social Change in Modern India" - give a general view of the concept of Sanskritization, which underlies the process of 'religious, cultural and social' change in India, in contrast to the more obvious processes of Westernization and Secularization. Sanskritization, according to Srinivas, has occurred throughout Indian history and still continues to occur; Westernization, unlike Sanskritization, is a product of British rule and is not confined to any particular section.

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2 ibid., p.17.
3 ibid., p.21.
4 ibid., p.21; see also p.18: "the essential form of the system is a hierarchical polarity".
5 Published in 1966 by the California University Press.
6 ibid., p.1.
Incidentally, he feels that 'the complex interrelation between Sanskritization and Westernization offers a fertile field for study and speculation'.

In Srinivas's view, the clear hierarchy of the varna system - of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra - obscured the dynamic features of caste during the traditional or pre-British period. Caste-relations, however, are invariably in terms of pollution or purity, but in disputes regarding caste rank the decision of the king, Hindu or Moslem - and later of Census Commissioners - was final. The process of Sanskritization is the same as described in Diffusion Patterns of Hinduism by Weber, among others, but empirically verified by Srinivas: 'a low caste Hindu or tribal or other group changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of high, frequently twice-born, castes'. This results in upward mobility for the caste or group. The model was originally seen by Srinivas to be Brahmanical, but later extended by D.F. Pocock and Milton Singer

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2 ibid., p.3.
3 ibid., p.3.
4 ibid., p.4, also p.41.
5 ibid., pp.95-96: "Expressions of Caste Mobility".
7 ibid., p.7.
to any dominant caste.\(^1\)

Srinivas quotes K.M. Pannikar to say that there is in fact no Kshatriya caste, for famous Rajput dynasties of mediaeval India have come from non-Kshatriya castes; and that the Shudras seem to have produced an unusually large number of royal families even in more recent times.\(^2\) Srinivas concludes that the Shudra category 'spans such a wide cultural and structural arch as to be almost meaningless';\(^3\) but, nevertheless, the mediation of the Sanskritic model through the local dominant caste stresses the importance of that caste in culture transmission.\(^4\)

Thus, in Srinivas's view, two distinct tendencies are implicit in the caste system: i. acceptance of the existence of multiple cultures, including moral and religious norms, in any local society; and ii. imitation of the ways of higher castes.\(^5\) Jainism and Buddhism, for example, show traces of conflict between three or four models of Sanskritization.\(^6\)

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3 ibid., p.10.
4 ibid., p.14.
5 ibid., p.14.
Srinivas wishes to stress the point that the traditional system permitted a certain amount of mobility: one of the functions of Sanskritization was to bridge the gap between secular and ritual rank. When a caste or section of a caste achieved secular power it usually also tried to acquire the traditional symbols of high status, namely customs, rituals, ideas, beliefs and life-style of locally higher castes - thus giving a legitimizing role to the Brahmin. The other means of this mobility was hypergamy: the caste considered to be lower gave its girls in marriage to the higher in a one-sided relationship, but in some cases, it enabled the lower caste to claim equality with the higher caste. All this only led to 'positional' as distinct from 'structural' changes. It was only in the Bhakti movement - which later led to Sikhism - that the idea of inequality was challenged; but Srinivas, who does not mention the rise of Sikhism in this context, adds: "but gradually either the sect became an endogamous unit or endogamy continued to be an attribute of each caste within the sect". He then goes on to cite instances of mobility in ancient, medieval and - with more attention - pre-British India. During the last period both the political and productive systems contributed to the mobility. The economic system made for

1 Srinivas, op. cit., p.28.
2 ibid., pp.29-30.
3 ibid., p.30.
4 ibid., p.30.
spatial mobility, enabling a family or a group of families to adopt the Sanskrit way of life in new areas where they were unknown; and scarcity of labour reduced the power of the political chief to suppress such social and ritual climbing by the ambitious groups. Mobility within a localized ranking system, such as described by Pocock, developed from the circumstances of British rule.

Srinivas concludes by saying that collective movements are characteristic of modern times while 'individual' movements were characteristic of the mediaeval period, 'but the latter have to be translated at some point into collective movements, and this necessity was forced on them by caste': "Where will the mobile family find brides for sons and grooms for daughters? Even in South India where the marriage of cross-cousins and cross uncles and nieces are preferred, a few families would be essential for the recruitment of spouses. Hypergamy also would enable a small group to be mobile, but that group must be larger than an individual family".

This is the limit of any social mobility possible under the caste system, thus reducing in a way the whole of Indian sociological development to the problem of finding brides for grooms, and grooms for brides. In this rather detailed paraphrase of Professor Srinivas's


2 Srinivas, op. cit., p.44.

3 ibid., p.45.
theory of social change one can find some of the questions which cannot be answered by his method: for example, why and how did the castes gain their secular power which made them ambitious for ritual legitimization?; and secondly, why did the Bhakti movement first challenge the idea of inequality, and how did it survive and develop into Sikhism - even though Sikhism, like Islam and Christianity, did borrow some of the features of the caste system - without becoming one of the many sects within orthodox Hinduism?

These aspects of Indian society are not even mentioned by the "Contributors to Indian Sociology". Professor Evans-Pritchard might well have addressed to them particularly, his words: "... how can there be an abstraction which is not a generalization as well", even if he commends Dumont's insistence on the interdependence of social anthropology - not sociology - of India with Indology. Dumont and his colleagues mistakenly believe that it is possible to abstract fundamental values of Hinduism without proper sociological analysis of the several complex systems of religious and social beliefs which constitute Hinduism. Their abstraction must necessarily be based on philosophical Brahmanism, as it is the accepted source of all later

1 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Anthropology and History: A Lecture delivered in the University of Manchester, Manchester, 1961, p.3.
2 ibid., pp.19-20.
3 See Monier Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism Or Religious Thought and Life in India, 3rd. edn., London, 1887. Monier Williams is one of the few clear and value-free commentators on Hinduism.
developments. But sociologically such a source is unimportant, because it cannot indicate the various combinations and emphases possible with a set of fundamental ideas, or even what actual groups have made of it in giving it their own special meaning. The original set of ideas is, therefore, one of many equally valid combinations, because it is meaningful only to those who understand and believe it.

This brings out the inherent weakness of the theory of collective representations, especially if applied to a religious system like Hinduism. It appeared improbable to Durkheim that 'the stuff of which representations are made should have no influence on their manner of combining'. There is a logic in such combination, but it is not necessarily determined by an evolutionary process: Durkheim's theory of collective representations is applicable only to stable homogeneous societies where 'the individual finds them completely formed, and he cannot evade or change them'; i.e. when they have become institutions. There is objectivity in a set of doctrines believed by a group, but it may never be institutionalized. But for Durkheim, the legitimacy of an investigation of social facts depends on their having a definite

2 cf. Parsons, op. cit., p.2: "Socio-cultural evolution like organic evolution has proceeded ... from simple to more complex forms".
3 Durkheim, op. cit., p.xlix.
4 ibid, p.lvi.
and permanent existence, and when they give rise to 'uniform and orderly relations'\(^1\) there is, according to him, a 'whole series of degrees without a break in continuity between the facts of the most articulated structure and those of free currents of social life which are not yet definitely moulded; the differences between them are, therefore, only differences in the degree of consolidation they present'.\(^2\)

Durkheim's doctrines and method of analysis are fundamental to Parsons's concept of social evolution and functional analysis; as well as to Srinivas's institutional analysis of caste and Dumont's theory of Indian unity at the level of society. Durkheim's doctrine of collective evolution is an a priori assumption, and although his concepts of species, organs, functions, health and morbidity, unity of cause and effect within the 'internal social milieu' are logically derived from it, they fail to explain the Indian society, either in its internal relationships - as between one social fact and another - or in comparison with an ideal-typical norm, which Weber's work in all its aspects attempts to define in terms of economic, political and legal rationality. By assuming collective evolution one arbitrarily ignores social heterogeneity and all its implications.\(^3\)

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1 Durkheim, op. cit., p.xvii.
2 ibid., p.12.
For example, Indian society today can be considered to be a product of nearly 1,500 years of historical development in religion and society interacting with, and acting and reacting on, external and internal political and social forces. One cannot easily describe it as evolution, much less as part of 'any general principle of evolution applying to the world of living things'. However, to include Weber in an evolutionary perspective is to oversimplify his work. Weber's criterion of comparability in the case of Asian religious societies was that they had achieved the same level of civilization as had European societies, but their development diverged because of inherent differences. His study of Ancient Judaism, which is the basis for attributing to him an evolutionary perspective, is not relevant to the study of Asian societies, for he was not comparing the historical antecedents of Protestantism in Europe to any development in Indian or Chinese societies. He was, in fact, trying to find, by comparison and contrast, conditions in these societies which could be distinguished from parallel conditions in Western Europe, in order to formulate concepts for analysis of historical events. This is not to say that the history of Judaism is a necessary pre-condition in any such development.

1 Parsons, op. cit., p.2.
It is obvious from Weber's perspective that Indian society is not the function of its religious institutions, doctrines, beliefs or sentiments; but that there are religious movements, which as historical individuals can be compared to other historical individuals—especially since Weber's studies centre on the age of religious creativity, the thousand years preceding the Christian Era, and also since orthodoxy has been challenged everywhere by sectarian movements and doctrines and Weber himself dealt with heterodox beliefs in his study of religion, in view of their importance for the "spirit of capitalism."¹

Although Brahmanism is analytically separated by scholars from Hinduism,² it is generally considered a "purer" form of Hinduism because of its philosophical basis; and "popular" Hinduism as its complicated development, with its system of polytheistic doctrines and caste usages formed as a result of mixture of Brahmanism or pure Hinduism first with Buddhism and then with the non-Aryan creeds of Dravidians and aborigines.³ In fact one derives from the other.⁴ But the main point which distinguishes Hinduism from Brahmanism is that it subordinates the purely spiritual principle of Brahmanism, in

¹ R. Bendix, op. cit., p.96.
² Monier Williams, Modern India and the Indians, p.89.
³ ibid., p.90.
⁴ ibid., p.91.
its first manifestation Brahma, to the personal deities of Shiva and Vishnu or some form of these deities.¹ These two deities became eventually the chief constituents of modern Hinduism, and include within them 'all shades and subdivisions' of Hindu sectarianism.² Nevertheless, there are five principal sects: i. Shaiva or worshippers of Shiva; ii. Vaishnav or worshippers of Vishnu; iii. Sakta, worshippers of the wives of the deities as female divine power; iv. worshippers of Ganesh, son of Shiva, as god of luck and good fortune; v. worshippers of the sun.³

The two major sects of Shaivism and Vaishnavism should properly be regarded as unorthodox sects in their relation to Brahmanism, for they contravene the dogma that even the highest divine personalities are finite beings destined ultimately to be absorbed into the one infinite Brahma; yet they are the fabric of the later Hinduism.⁴ All the various sects in both Shaiva and Vaishnav categories 'repudiate, dilute or qualify' the general prevalent dogma of Brahmanism, that is, the identification of the living personal soul of man with the 'one Universal Soul of the Universe'.⁵ Saktism or goddess-worship

¹ Monier Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, 3rd. edn., p.54.
² ibid., p.59.
³ ibid., p.59.
⁴ ibid., p.60.
⁵ ibid., p.61.
now inculcates an exclusive adoration of Shiva's wife as the source of 'every kind of supernatural faculty and mystic craft'.\(^1\) It is an offshoot of Shaivism and a large proportion of the Indian population, especially in Bengal, follow the Tantras, the sacred writings of the sect - believed to be a direct revelation from Shiva to his wife Parvati - in their daily life and practices. This system is closely connected with the mysticism of Yoga and the corrupt forms of Tibetan Buddhism.\(^2\)

This outline gives an indication of the complexity of interaction and development in the Hindu religious and social system; but a similar classification of Brahmanism and other systems and movements is possible, and necessary, for analyzing the various means-end relationships inherent in them, in order to have a sociology of Indian religion and society.

The means-end analysis has two aspects: internal analysis by application of Pareto's system;\(^3\) and comparative analysis by ideal-typical construction of Weber.\(^4\) As Pareto says, there are a number

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1 Monier Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, 3rd edn., p.184.
2 ibid., p.184.
of propositions, which combined by logical or pseudo-logical links and amplified with factual narrations make up theories, theologies, cosmogonies, systems of metaphysics etc.; these - without regard to their intrinsic merit based on faith, and viewed from outside - are experimental facts. Their examination allows us to gain some knowledge of the forces at work in society, i.e. tendencies and inclinations of human beings, for the majority of them reflect social activity. Propositions and theories have to be classified at the very beginning: they may have descriptive elements, axiomatic assertions, and functionings of certain entities - concrete, abstract, real or imaginary - which are the theory's matter; they may also have logical or pseudo-logical arguments, appeals to sentiment, "feelings", traces of religious and ethical beliefs - the agencies by which the above matter is used to make the structure, i.e. a theory.

Theories can be examined under their subjective or objective aspects and also for their individual or social utility. The aim in this is to distinguish, not to judge or compare, between two sorts of

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2 ibid., p.7, Para. 8.
3 ibid., p.7, Para. 8.
4 ibid., pp.8-9, Para. 12.
5 ibid., p.11, Para. 13.
thinking: logic and experience, and dogmas accepted by sentiment.\textsuperscript{1}

The procedure is successive approximation, i.e. first, things are to be considered as wholes, details being deliberately ignored.\textsuperscript{2}

'By analogy - never from identity' - with mechanics, Pareto calls a given group of individuals a social or economic system, and that certain forces are acting upon it which determine the position of the points; or the states of the group will be determined by the resultant of the forces, like desires, interests, prejudices of certain individuals, as modified by the conditions, like private property, freedom or slavery, wealth, religion etc.\textsuperscript{3}

A transition from one state to another is a movement; so if we assume conditions and active influences as given, then the various successive states of the group are determined: these are "real" movements, as in mechanics.\textsuperscript{4} If, hypothetically, we assume some condition to be suppressed in a group, the group will come to states other than it really attains: these are "virtual" movements.\textsuperscript{5} The advantages of studying virtual movements are that it may help to foresee the real movements and to isolate and determine the character and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[2] \textit{ibid.}, p.37, Para. 69.
\item[3] \textit{ibid.}, p.67, Para. 127/128.
\item[4] \textit{ibid.}, pp.67-68, Para. 129.
\item[5] \textit{ibid.}, p.68, Para. 129.
\end{footnotes}
peculiarities of a given social state.\textsuperscript{1} In many cases, social developments are determined by the concurrent action of large numbers of conditions, so the removal of one of them disturbs only slightly the course of events.\textsuperscript{2} Conditions and effects are interdependent and modifications in one of them react upon a large or small number of the others, with greater or less intensity.\textsuperscript{3}

Every social phenomenon may be considered in two ways: as it really is, and as it appears to any individual.\textsuperscript{4} There are actions which use means appropriate to ends or logically link means to ends; there are others which are non-logical, but from the subjective point of view, nearly all human actions belong to the logical class.\textsuperscript{5} Actions which are logical are from both subjective and objective points of view.\textsuperscript{6}

It is, however, a serious mistake to measure the social value of a religion strictly by the logical or rational value of its theology. If the theology becomes absurd to the point of seriously affecting the psychic state - which is, according to Pareto, the

\textsuperscript{1} Pareto, Mind and Society, p.70, Para. 135.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid., p.71, Para. 137.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid., p.71, Para. 138.
\textsuperscript{4} ibid., p.76, Para. 149.
\textsuperscript{5} ibid., p.77, Para. 150.
\textsuperscript{6} ibid., p.77, Para. 150.
starting point of sociology— it will also affect conduct, but this is rare. Only when the psychic state has changed that people notice certain absurdities which they did not notice before. So, in order to influence people thought has to be transformed into sentiment.

We have no direct knowledge of the psychic state, we only know its manifestations, i.e. conduct and expressions of sentiment; though conduct can be exactly observed, expressions of sentiment are almost always obscure.

As regards logical or non-logical conduct there are differences between individuals or, in the mass, between social classes; and in the degree of utility that theories— experimentally true or false— have for individuals or classes. From a legend, for example, we can learn nothing that is strictly historical; but we can learn something about the psychic state of those who invented or believed it.

Logical interpretations of non-logical conduct become, in their turn, causes of logical conduct and sometimes even of non-logical conduct; and they have to be considered in dealing with social

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1 Pareto, Mind and Society, p.88, Para. 161: 'It is the province of psychology to investigate such psychic states'.
2 ibid., p.91, Para. 167.
3 ibid., p.91, Para. 168.
4 ibid., p.92, Para. 169.
5 ibid., p.92, Para. 169.
6 ibid., p.172, Para. 249.
7 ibid., p.177, Para. 259.
equilibrium. In the study of 'real' movements, i.e. of what is, induction may enable us to recognize certain experimental uniformities, we can then use deduction and compare our inferences with the facts. To say that "force" is the "cause" of motion is 'to define an unknown by an unknown'. In the study of constant field, force has been successively defined in two ways, first by static measures and then dynamically, in terms of the accelerations corresponding to the field; and as no relation between these two evaluations was a priori necessary, we must regard it as an experimental truth that the forces, considered from the dynamic and from the static points of view, are proportional.

In general, the unknown has to be explained by the known, and the past is, therefore, better explained by the present - than the present is by the past. Actual 'theories', therefore, may be divided into at least two elements: one of which is more stable (a) and the other fairly variable (b). The element (a) directly corresponds to non-logical conduct, expression of certain sentiments; the element (b) is the manifestation of the need of logic felt by human beings - partially corresponding to sentiments, non-logical conduct, but presented with logical or pseudo-logical reasonings. The element (a)

1 Pareto, Mind and Society, p.177, Para. 260.
3 ibid., p.299, Para. 496 incl. fn. 2: quoting Picard, La mecanique classique et ses approximations successives.
4 ibid., p.331, Para. 548.
is the principle existing in the mind of the human being; element (b) is the explanation of that principle, the inferences he draws from it. The principal element in the situation, element (a) is evidently the one to which the human being is most strongly attached and which he exerts himself to justify. This element, therefore, is more important to us in our inquiry into social equilibrium; but element (b), though secondary, also affects the equilibrium.

Therefore, theories, in which sentiment plays a part, which add something to experience or lie outside experience, can be analysed into: an element (a), i.e. manifestations of certain sentiments, and an element (b), made up of logical reasonings, fallacies and sophistries along with other manifestations of sentiments used for drawing inferences from the element (a). In general, in every theory it is necessary to distinguish the premises - in other words, principles, postulates, sentiments - from the inferences that are drawn from them. This is the point where induction ends, and theories can now be tested by the deductive method. The elements (a) are now called "residues" and (b) "derivations" - and an element

1 Pareto, Mind and Society, pp.480-481, Para. 798.
2 ibid., p.481, Para. 800.
3 ibid., p.481, Para. 801.
4 ibid., p.483, Para. 803.
5 ibid., p.487, Para. 818.
6 ibid., p.500, Para. 846.
(c) called "derivatives" is distinguished from derivations - by Pareto. The "residues" are an amalgam of many facts which we may classify according to the analogies we find in each, and which may be applied to derivations as well.\(^1\) Residues correspond to certain human instincts\(^2\) - but we must not confuse them with the sentiments or instincts they correspond to - as the movement of mercury in a thermometer.\(^3\)

The complete proposition, therefore, would be: "The sentiments or instincts which correspond to the residues, together with appetites, instincts, interests etc., play the principal role in determining the social equilibrium".\(^4\)

Residue through derivation produce the derivatives, which are actually observable in society - others can exist which may not be observable, but can be deduced as regularly as those that are observable.\(^5\) Researches into the origin of social phenomena have often been researches into residues; there is no proof that the simple must precede the complex, that is, the residue must be anterior to the derivative.\(^6\) We must, therefore, try to discover the residues

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1 Pareto, Mind and Society, p.509, Para. 869.
2 ibid., p.509, Para. 870.
3 ibid., p.511, Para. 875.
4 ibid., p.511, Para. 875.
5 ibid., p.513, Para. 880.
6 ibid., p.514, Para. 885.
in the phenomena which are observable at the present time, and then see if traces of the residues can be found to show that the residues existed when the derivatives were unknown; then it might be concluded that the residues are anterior to derivatives, and that, in this case, the 'origin' is part of the residue.¹

Derivation proper is a demonstration or rather a pseudo-demonstration; and its manifestation is a theorem or a pseudo-theorem. The theorem may remain unchanged, while the derivations that lead up to it show endless variations, in other words, the proof may vary while the manifestation remains unchanged.²

Now the proposition is: "The mental states revealed by the sentiments, expressed in residues, are among the elements which have a relationship of reciprocal determination with the social equilibrium";³ the derivations also manifest or express sentiments corresponding to the residues from which they originate.⁴

The form of a society is determined by all the elements acting

¹ Pareto, Mind and Society, p.514, Para. 885/886; Pareto's use of the term "derivatives" is not very extensive, possibly because it is synonymous with "theory". A residue would be "what is left" (the constant element) after the variable elements have been eliminated from an action or a reasoning by comparative analysis, and could be, according to Livingston, translated as 'the principle underlying a non-logical action or reasoning', ibid., p.508, Para. 888 fn. 1.

² ibid., pp.1120-1121, Para. 1688.

³ ibid., p.1126, Para. 1690.

⁴ ibid., p.1127, Para. 1690.
upon it and its reaction, in turn, upon them: this is reciprocal
determination.¹ The elements are interdependent, and among them are
to be classed such forces as those which prevent dissolution of the
society. When, therefore, a society is organized under a certain
form that is determined by the other elements, it acts upon them in
its turn; and they, in that sense, are to be considered as in a state
of interdependence with it: like an animal organism, in whom the form
of the organs determine the kind of life it leads, and its way of
life has influence on its organs.²

From this brief and selective outline of Pareto's system one can
get an idea of the kind of analysis needed for an understanding of the
Hindu religious and social system, in which there are definite constant
elements: they and their numerous variations have been important to
the maintenance of the social equilibrium.³

The other aspect of means-end analysis is Weber's ideal-typical
method, which has been made use of in this thesis. Because Weber's
concepts were developed in the context of his empirical work - and as
his empirical work constitutes a series of logical norms, indispensable
for comparative sociology - we have been careful to avoid both

¹ Pareto, Mind and Society, p.1433, Para. 2060.
² ibid., p.1433, Para. 2061.
³ See ibid., p.1543, Para. 2207 for Pareto's distinction between a
state of theoretical equilibrium and a state of actual equilibrium
in a given society.
philological analysis and exegesis of Weber's theory, popular among German scholars;\(^1\) and concept-illustration, like the use of Weber's concept of "pariah people" in its two variants, Hindu and Jewish, to relate substantively different historical elements as an illustration of the concept and a fulfilment of the theory. Professor Mühlmann's study of Gandhi in religious sociology and political ethics strikes one as a relevant example, when he says: 'Paria ethic has found in Mahatma Gandhi a protagonist of historic and world-wide significance; he sublimated it into a religious, ethical and political doctrine as well as an instrument of struggle against British colonial rule. Both Indian and Jewish variations of the concept are linked by his teaching of non-violent resistance ... He was on the whole a Hindu Puritan, but formed more by English Puritanism than he cared to admit'.\(^2\)

Our primary concern in this study is application of Max Weber's methodology; it consists, therefore, in the first part, of a critique of the methodology, especially his concepts of ideal types and causal analysis. In the second part, there is an analytical study of the four Hindu Reformist movements - Arya Samaj (founded 1877), Brahma Samaj (1830), Jainism (6th century B.C.) and Sikhism (16th century A.D.) - which have shown a higher level of economic individualism

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\(^1\) cf. Wilhelm E. Mühlmann, Max Weber und die rationale Soziologie, p.2. Professor Mühlmann deprecates this preoccupation of German scholars.

\(^2\) ibid., p.10, with reference to: "Mahatma Gandhi, der Mann, sein Werk und seine Wirkung: Eine Untersuchung zur Religionssoziologie u. politischen Ethik, Tübingen, 1950, pp.95, 147f, 243, 268 passim".
than the orthodox population, and are also products of four major religious influences on the historical development of India: speculative Hindu philosophy - on Jainism; Islam - on Sikhism; Christianity - on Brahma Samaj; Christianity negatively - on Arya Samaj; the popular devotional movement, the fourth influence, - directly on Sikhism and indirectly on Brahma Samaj. These four movements - 'historical individuals' - are compared, in the Conclusion, as re-formations of interrelated doctrines and ethics to the ideal-typical norm of Luther's and Calvin's systems of doctrine and ethic as the basis of the "spirit of capitalism". As the Weber thesis is - in more general terms - a definition of the ethical attitude inherent in capitalism, and, moreover, as his studies of Hinduism, Confucianism and Ancient Judaism establish the validity of his method of sociological analysis; it is possible to make the relationship of a set of salvation doctrines and ethics an ideal-typical formulation, and thus comparable to the Weber thesis considered as a normative ideal-type.

A literal comparison of ideas with the Lutheran-Calvinistic norm would not be valid because of historical differences. The arguments by which ethics are derived from a set of doctrines, by a sect, can be considered rational, if they logically lead one, for example, to accept the reality and importance of everyday life. Therefore, the question to be asked in the case of Arya Samaj is: whether Arya Samaj is rational when its doctrinal position of monotheism can be considered
a rational step from Hindu polytheism and idolatry, but if it fails to reach the stage of individualism in its moral code as it should logically do?

The Brahma Samaj was in the beginning a straight combination of Brahmanical doctrines and Christian ethics; one branch developed later towards enthusiastic Christ-worship in the Hindu devotional tradition, and another reverted to monotheistic orthodoxy, while a third reformed into a religious and moral association, somewhat similar to the original. In the first two developments the Christian influence became unimportant; but what did remain of the whole movement? – this is the question to be answered in this case.

Jainism is described by Radhakrishnan as 'practical ethics wedded to philosophical speculation':¹ the belief in real existence is right faith; knowledge of real nature without doubt or error is right knowledge; an attitude of neutrality without desire or aversion towards the object of the external world is right conduct.² The materialistic view of Karma leads the Jains to attribute more importance to the outer act than the inner motive.³ Unlike Buddhism it never cut itself off from Hinduism which surrounded it, for it always employed Brahmins as priests.⁴

² ibid., p.325.
³ ibid., p.329.
⁴ ibid., p.328.
Sikhism assimilated the ideas and practices of the religious movement of three hundred years earlier, characterized by devotion (bhakti) to one personal God. From the beginning the chief Guru (priest) of the sect exercised great power; and the tenth and last Guru transformed it into a military order. The Sikhs after him created a nation and a kingdom which was annexed by the British after two wars.

1 J. N. Farquhar, A Primer of Hinduism, London, 1912, pp. 119-120.
2 ibid., p. 124.
CHAPTER 2
TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF THE IDEAL-TYPE

Max Weber formulates his concept of the ideal type most clearly in his essay on "Objectivity" in Social Science, after rejecting the proposition that abstract theory is a matter of deductions from fundamental psychological motives. He takes abstract theory as "ideas" of historical phenomena, a synthesis of observed elements. This conceptual pattern brings together certain relationships and events of historical life into a complex, which is conceived as an internally consistent system.

The ideal type is constructed mainly for the purpose of imputation in research. A utopia which is not a description of reality, but which aims at an unambiguous means of expression to such a description. It is not an average of the actually existing phenomena, but formed by accentuation (Steigerung) of one or more points of view and by synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, arranged into a unified mental construction (Gedankenbild).

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2 ibid., p.90.
It is primarily a normative concept, a purely ideal limiting, with which the real situation is compared and examined for the significance of certain of its components.

The form of this concept indicates three basic influences: first, Weber's rejection of the Idealistic tradition in Germany and acceptance of the possibility of the use of abstract concepts in historical sciences, i.e. a methodological division between historical and natural sciences, in which he was influenced by Heinrich Rickert; second, his use of the concept of Understanding (Verstehen) in social sciences, which was introduced by Wilhelm Dilthey; and third, the necessity of ethical neutrality in social sciences.

Weber insists that the ideal type is a mental construction (Gedankenbild) and is not empirically real. It is, therefore, a theory peculiar to social sciences, because it is a frame of reference by which causal significance of empirical elements are measured. It is not immediately clear why Weber should have developed this theoretical concept in the way he did, making it a third context in which an action can be understood. The other two contexts - the actually intended meaning of concrete individual action and the 'average' or

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1 Weber, Methodology of Social Sciences, p.93.
2 Max Weber, Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, Tübingen, 1922, p.146 fn.
3 Weber, Methodology of Social Sciences, p.90.
an approximation to the actually intended meaning - are related to the historical and the natural-scientific approaches, as commonly understood; but Weber's contribution of the ideal-type context of understanding is related to what Talcott Parsons calls a voluntaristic theory of action.

In this concept we find a reconciliation of the division between Windelband's nomothetic and idiographic methods.\(^1\) For Windelband the difference between natural sciences and history begins with their respective uses of fact.\(^2\) The natural scientist considers only those characteristics which are amenable to a scientific generalisation. The historian aims at a reconstruction (Gebilde) of the past, in its complete individual expression, into an ideal present. Windelband relates the historical disciplines to belles lettres. It follows for him that in natural-scientific thinking the predilection is for abstraction, and in the historical for representation (Anschaulichkeit).

Weber does not accept that historical sciences - of which sociology is a part - are related to the arts and are interested in Gestalten, as it becomes clear from his formulation of the ideal-type concept, which is derived from his definition of sociology as a science which attempts the interpretative understanding of a course of action and


\(^2\) Ibid., p.16: "... wo es sich um die erkenntnisässige Verwertung der Tatsachen handelt".
its effects. According to Weber, meaning may be of two kinds: the actual meaning or it may refer to the theoretically conceived pure type of subjective meaning. It does not refer to an objectively "correct" or metaphysically "true" meaning. In this sense meaning becomes rational, i.e. it has a clear means-end relationship. Weber, while rejecting the accusation of "rationalistic bias" of sociology, makes rational action a norm by which actual action can be causally analysed in order to be understood. He considers irrational elements of behaviour as deviation from 'a conceptually pure type of rational action'. Thus, in taking the means-end relationship as a criterion of analysis, Weber related the antithesis of Windelband's history vs. natural sciences methodologically.

According to Rickert, concept-building in natural sciences, for the grasp of reality, is dependent upon transforming the heterogeneous continuum of reality into a 'homogeneous continuum'; and in social sciences, into 'heterogeneous discretum'. These are two mutually opposed but logically related methods open to science.

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2 ibid., p. 81.

3 ibid., p. 84.

4 ibid., p. 83.

The first method, used by mathematics, yields "pure quantities", which are unreal or "ideal". The second method, used by history, retains the qualities perceived by the senses, i.e. accepts its heterogeneity. But reality itself, in the words of Rickert, "with its continuous and therefore inexhaustible differentiations nonetheless always flows between them (the concepts) without being grasped. We can only construct bridges over the stream of reality, however small we may make the individual spans".  

Because the historical sciences have the individual reality as their subject matter and do not aim at the formation of general concepts, it is, for Rickert, the logically decisive point for their difference from the natural sciences. Concept-formation in the historical sciences is, nevertheless, an essential part of their methodology. Rickert defines concept as 'every idea comprising the scientifically essential constituent of a real entity'. Concepts in the historical sciences are dependent on the cultural importance of an object, i.e. its understandable meaning and value. The object, therefore, has to be considered as an integral whole for understanding in this sense. But to be individual it has certain characteristics which are unique and cannot therefore come under a general category

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1 Rickert, Science and History, p.35.
2 ibid., p.56.
3 ibid., p.80.
as used in the natural sciences. These individual characteristics are crucial for the historical method, for they involve selection in terms of cultural significance, just as universal laws and concepts provide a principle for the selection of essential elements of reality in the natural sciences. The cultural significance is determined by the value attached to the object. Thus, Rickert distinguishes the individualizing procedure of the historical sciences as being oriented to values. This is a purely theoretical principle. The validity of values is not at issue in history, they are only its data. At this point it is necessary to differentiate between theoretical relevance of value and value-judgment, with which Weber was concerned in his essay on the Meaning of Ethical Neutrality and which is also relevant to the development of the concept of ideal type.

According to Weber, empirical analysis can provide a solution only where it is a question of a means adequate to the realization of an absolutely unambiguous given end. The function of methodology is to differentiate logically between one problem and another, and which means is logically or empirically meaningful. Interpretation of

1 H. Rickert, Science and History, p.87.
2 ibid., p.88.
5 ibid., pp.32-33.
6 ibid., p.33.
value is not, in its logical structure, the same as the empirical approach.\(^1\) Value-interpretation comes into play when the historian "explains" the consequences of ideals different from his own as results of "mistakes" or "decline".

The case of historical development, according to Rickert,\(^2\) makes the nature of concept-formation by reference to values clearer. The process of historical development in its particularity occurs only once, and as a series of steps which get their importance from that of their sequel, the significance of an event, by virtue of its relevance to some value, is transmitted to its 'preconditions'. The cultural value links together into an historically important individual development the historically essential components of a causally determined sequence of events taking place over a period of time. Objects, however, are not related to any arbitrary value. It is presupposed that the value of a particular object or the general cultural values (the state, law, customs, art, science, etc,) are acknowledged or at least understood. Acceptance of cultural values as valid is either actually universal (i.e. common to all) or at least expected of all members of the cultural community, and this is the primary basis of objectivity of concept-formation in history.\(^3\)

According to Rickert, the objectivity of history is based solely on

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1 M. Weber, Methodology of Social Sciences, p.33.
2 Rickert, Science and History, p.94.
3 ibid., p.97.
the assumption of 'supra-historical values' and the complexes of meaning made by them, which are more or less the same as the generally acknowledged values in the cultures studied by the historical sciences.

This leads us to the concept of understanding as the second influence in the formation of the ideal type. Weber takes rational understanding as the basis of the ideal type concept, although he differentiates three kinds of understanding: observational understanding of the subjective meaning of a given act as such; explanatory understanding in terms of motive – this is rational understanding of motivation, putting the act in a meaningful context (Sinnzusammenhang); the third is a motivational understanding of an affectual or irrational action, like outburst of anger provoked by jealousy, injured pride, etc. Understanding in these cases can be treated as an explanation of the actual course of behaviour. But however clear a meaningful interpretation may be, it cannot alone be a valid causal interpretation; it must remain a plausible hypothesis. Conscious motives may conceal the real motive and therefore the sociologist must describe and analyse the real motive, even though it has not been a part of the conscious intention of the actor. Situations appearing similar to the observer may have directly opposed interpretations. Moreover, actors may have conflicting impulses all of which must be understood. The basis of judgment is the actual outcome

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1 Rickert, Science and History, p.137.

of the conflict. Weber considers it indispensible that the actual course of action should verify subjective interpretation.\(^1\)

When the subjective interpretation of a coherent course of conduct is considered a "typical" or, more commonly, "correct", complex of meaning, there is, according to Weber, adequacy on the level of meaning.\(^2\) Causal adequacy, on the other hand, of an interpretation of a sequence of events is achieved when there is a probability that it will always occur in the way established by generalisation from experience.\(^3\) A correct causal interpretation of an actual course of action means that the overt action and motives have been correctly perceived and the meaning of their relation is understandable; both of them are indispensible for causal understanding.

Action in the sense of a subjectively understandable orientation exists only as the behaviour of one or more individual human beings.\(^4\) It may, however, be useful to treat social collectivities, such as states, associations, business corporations, foundations, as if they were individual persons.\(^5\) But for the subjective interpretation of action these collectivities must be treated as solely the resultants and modes of organisation of the particular acts of individual persons.

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2 ibid., p.89.
3 ibid., p.90.
4 ibid., p.91.
5 ibid., p.92.
A fundamental point about these entities is that they have a meaning in the minds of individual persons partly as something actual and partly because they have normative authority. In the case of social collectivities as distinguished from organisms, we can go beyond merely demonstrating functional relationship.

In spite of the fact that results are more fragmentary and hypothetical, subjective understanding of both individuals and social collectivities is the specific characteristic of sociological knowledge. This is an additional achievement of explanation by interpretive understanding as distinguished from external observation.

Sociological generalisations, customarily called scientific laws, are both understandable and definite in terms of typical motives and typical subjective intentions of the actors; but the typically observed course of action should refer to the purely rational means-end relationship, either empirically or through a theoretical construction. In such cases the actual relations of means and end will be clearly understood. This, for Weber, clearly indicates that psychology cannot be the ultimate source of the sociological interpretation of action; as the purely rational course of action can be empirically demonstrated to be the only possible course, when the

2 ibid., p.94.
3 ibid., p.94.
4 ibid., p.98.
given means was inevitable, towards the given end, thus becoming the ultimate source of reference by which other actions can be judged.

It has been assumed as obvious that sociology seeks to formulate type-concepts and generalised uniformities of empirical process. As in every generalising science, the abstract character of the concepts of sociology makes them relatively lacking in actual content compared to the fullness of historical reality; but the concepts can, nevertheless, be precise, especially those which formulate rational processes. This is possible through the highest possible adequacy in meaning, as defined above. But sociological analysis includes in its subject matter irrational phenomena as well. In all cases, however, it abstracts from reality, and, at the same time, helps us to understand it, by indicating the degree of approximation to which a concrete historical phenomenon can be included under one or more of these concepts. Weber gives an example of the same phenomenon being in one aspect feudal, and in other aspects, patrimonial, bureaucratic and charismatic. For a precise meaning of these terms, it is necessary to formulate pure types of the corresponding forms of action, which in each case involve the highest possible degree of logical integration by their complete adequacy on the level of meaning (Sinnzusammenhang).

2 ibid., p.100.
Theoretical analysis in sociology is possible only in terms of such pure types; but average types of empirical statistical character may be used too. Ideal types may be rational or irrational, but always constructed with adequacy of meaning. The more sharply and precisely the ideal type has been constructed - thus, the more abstract and unrealistic it is - the better it is able to perform its methodological function in the clarification of terminology and in the formulation of classifications and hypotheses. The theoretical concepts of sociology are ideal types not only objectively but also when applied to subjective processes. In case of subjective processes one may reason as if action actually proceeded on the basis of clearly self-conscious meaning.

At this point it would be helpful to mention the concept of understanding as originally developed by Wilhelm Dilthey and its usefulness for sociological and historical investigations. According to Dilthey, the understanding of other persons and life-expressions (geistigen Lebensäußerungen) is built upon our own experience and our understanding of it, and on the continuous interplay of experience and understanding. In his essay on "Understanding", he aims at the

2 ibid., p.101.
determination of the value of understanding. His term "life-expression" means the expression of a mind, and life-expressions make knowledge of mental events possible. They include those expressions which signify or mean something as well as inexplicit expressions which make mental life comprehensible. He then divides life-expressions into three classes: the first includes conceptions, judgments, ideas; in the second class are actions; the third, 'spontaneous expression of experience' (Erlebnisausdruck). Those in the first class of life-expressions have a similar logical function as constituent elements of knowledge - which is quite independent of the manner in which they occur in the thought (Denkzusammenhang) - when they are taken out of the experience in which they occur.

A judgment, for example, asserts the validity of a thought in itself, without considering the context in which it appears; it makes it the same for the person who expresses it as for the person who understands it. It is transferred unaltered from one to the other. Understanding is, therefore, more perfect here than with any other life-expression. But because the context is not considered this kind of understanding does not penetrate into the mental structure of the individual life which is expressed.

The second kind of life-expression - i.e. actions - does not begin in an intention to communicate; but the relation which the action has to its end reveals the mental state which it expresses, because actions are systematically related to mental states which they express. And this allows one to make assumptions about mental
states which are often correct. It is, however, important to distinguish the circumstantially determined state of mind which gave rise to the action from the total life-structure in which these conditions are grounded.\(^1\)

In the third kind - the spontaneous expression - a special relation exists between the life and the understanding, roots lying in the unconsciousness. Its understanding cannot be judged true or false, but only sincere or insincere.

The fundamental relation upon which the process of elementary understanding depends is that of the expression to what is expressed.\(^2\) Dilthey develops his concept of the objective spirit (Objectiver Geist) after discussing the elementary understanding, by which he means the 'manifold forms' in which features common to individuals are objectified in the world of the senses and in which the past is also inherent.\(^3\)

It is because there is a fund of common experiences, which has been called the objective spirit, that we reason by analogy and we infer with some certainty from the limited series of cases contained in the common experience. The transition from the elementary forms of understanding to higher forms comes when a difficulty or

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1 Patrick Gardner, Theories of History, p.214.

2 "... ist das der Lebenszusammenhang Ausdrucks zu dem was in ihm ausgedrückt ist"

3 "In diesem Objektiven Geist ist die Vergangenheit dauernde beständige Gegenwart für uns"
contradiction appears, and the individual recalls other cases where inner states, ideas and intentions had been misinterpreted and then he takes the help of the 'total life structure' to confirm or reject his interpretation. But not all higher forms of understanding have in them a fundamental relationship of cause and effect.\(^1\) For example, in intellectual creations the only relation is between the expression and the mental life expressed by it.

Understanding always has something individual as its object, and in the higher forms the argument of understanding is from the inductive complex (induktive Zusammennehmen). The individual is an object of absolute value, and, therefore, what we are concerned with is not only an instance of general human nature but also an individual whole. The objective spirit and the individual's ability to interpret it determine the world of the mind. History is based on the understanding of the two.

In understanding we live through the process of individuation. The material of understanding is the experiential data, brought together by induction.\(^2\) Each datum is individual with a significant element (ein Moment) which makes its particular individuality understandable.

The two principles of individuation - outer and inner - are

\(^1\) "des Einwirkens zum Wirkenden"

\(^2\) "der die einzelnen Gegebenheiten wie sie die Induktion Zusammenfasst"
describable adequately not in logical formulae, but through projection, reproducing and re-living (Hineinversetzen, Nachbilden, Nacherleben). In the outer principle, mental life and its situation are altered by the environment, and the inner principle is the peculiar emphasis of the various elements of the structure. In the highest form of understanding the whole of mental life operates, reproducing or re-living - and this comes by projection or transference of 'self into a given complex of life-expressions'. Understanding normally reverses the cause-effect relationship, but empathy (Mitleben) follows the order of events themselves. To re-live is, in Dilthey's words, "to create in the same direction as the original events".

The last kind of understanding which Dilthey puts forward is exegesis or interpretation (Auslegung oder Interpretation). He calls exegesis the systematic understanding of fixed life-expressions that is verbally expressed; but the process of understanding itself is a sort of inductive process in which a structure is built which gathers the separate instances into a unity.

Analysis in terms of psychological and historical factors of evaluation, within its particular social context, its formation and persistence, can lead only to an understanding explanation. Its

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1 Gardner, Theories of History, p.220.
2 "Nacherleben ist das Schaffen in der Linie des Geschehens", ibid., p.220.
3 Gardner, Theories of History, p.224.
scientific value lies in its indication of the decisive motives of human actions, and for communication to another of different evaluations from what he holds.

Evaluations are a matter of choice,¹ and they decide the question of the extent to which an end makes a particular means desirable, or a choice between conflicting means. Empirical sciences cannot intervene in this choice. Discussion of value-judgments are valid only to the extent it can help in the discovery of the ultimate value-axioms² from which conflicting attitudes are derived. Its validity is similar to that of logic.³ 

Weber is clear that the problems of empirical sciences are not of evaluation:⁴ their selection depends on the value relevance of the phenomena. That is to say, cultural interests give a direction to scientific work; but these interests can be made clearer and more explicit by analysis of value judgments. This would make the interpretation of values - which is an important preparation for scientific work⁵ - less ambiguous. Interpretation of values differs from value-judgment in that it is explication of the several possible meaningful attitudes towards a given phenomenon; while value judgment,

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¹ Weber, Methodology of Social Sciences, p.19.  
² ibid., p.20.  
³ ibid., p.20.  
⁴ ibid., p.21.  
⁵ ibid., p.22.
in Rickert's words, 'must always involve praise or blame'.

It is not possible to derive evaluations from tendencies, except when the ultimate or 'irreducible' valuation is given, and when one is aware of a clear-cut developmental trend. But every new fact may make it necessary to readjust the relations between end and indispensable means, between goal and consequences. But whether this readjustment should take place and what practical decisions should be based on it is not to be decided by empirical sciences. The task of an empirical - or, as Weber calls it, ethically neutral - science can only be to reduce the given point of view to its most rational and internally consistent form and to analyse its preconditions and its practical consequences. It can provide only the means adequate to an 'absolutely unambiguous end'.

In the evaluation of subjective experience 'progressive differentiation' means an increase in 'value' in the sense of better self-awareness or increased capacity for expression and communication. Empirically and causally, however, changes in technique are the most important factors in development. In the concept of rational

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1 H. Rickert, Science and History, p.90.
2 Weber, Methodology of Social Sciences, p.22.
3 ibid., p.24.
5 ibid., p.28.
6 ibid., p.32.
progress^ there is a widespread confusion of the three meanings of
progress: progressive differentiation, progress of technical
rationality and increase in value. These different meanings of
progress are relevant to Weber's theory of adequate explanation.

In social sciences, in addition to the discovery of elements
of uniformity, it is possible to impute motives and interpret human
actions and words as expression of these motives. Weber associates
a sense of freedom^ with rational action and by emphasizing the
amenability of rational action to general causal analysis he justifies
the formulation of the ideal type concept, without implying that
irrational action is not understandable. This brings us to Weber's
criticism of Intuitionism, when he says that it confuses two distinct
propositions: the processes involved in the achievement of valid
knowledge and logical justifications of its validity;^ and intuitionist
"knowledge" is 'raw data of experience' for Weber.\(^4\) The whole is not
a simple reproduction of experience;\(^5\) it involves selection and
systematization of experience, which is then related to concepts.
The significance of its elements for the whole is judged on the basis
of concepts. Weber's methodological position is best discussed on

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1 Weber, Methodology of Social Sciences, p.22.
2 Weber, Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre, p.64.
3 Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, p.587.
4 ibid., p.587.
5 ibid., p.587.
the ideal type concept, as it is the basic concept which he formulated for the social sciences. Dr. von Schelting\(^1\) considers Weber's conception of the ideal type ambiguous. It includes two quite different categories: individualising and generalising\(^2\). In the individualising category, historical individuals, such as the modern rational bourgeois capitalism, the Indian caste system, and the Chinese patrimonial bureaucracy, are taken as objects of causal analysis.\(^3\) The 'unreality' of these historical individuals is due to the selectiveness of scientific interest. In order to make it possible for them to be causally analysed they have to be oversimplified and reduced to essentials, but this does not take away their individuality. In fact the construction of such historical individuals is one of the first steps in preparation and organisation for causal analysis. Such a construction can be called a description in the sense that it states what is to be explained.\(^4\)

The second kind of individualising concept deals with ideas, such as the Calvinistic theology or the Brahmanical philosophy. Ideas are part of the real historical process, and, in fact, the relations between the two is the main theme of Weber's sociological work.\(^5\) This

\(^1\) von Schelting, Max Weber's Wissenschaftslehre, p. 329.
\(^3\) ibid., p. 604.
\(^4\) ibid., p. 604.
\(^5\) ibid., p. 605.
concept of ideas is formulated by exaggeration of the developments in the general tendencies of the thoughts in question. This kind of ideal-type can actually exist in documents.

In the generalising ideal-type the question\(^1\) to be answered is: what would, under certain hypothetical assumptions, have happened? A general ideal-type is a construction of a 'possible' course of events. This ideal ideal-type is both abstractly general and has an ideal-typical exaggeration of reality. If it were not abstract and general, it would refer only to a single historical situation; and if it did not have ideal-typical exaggerations, it would become a statistical average or a common trait.

According to Parsons,\(^2\) Weber's "pluralism" tends to break up the organic unity of historical individuals and of the historic process, and, in its 'reification phase', it issues in what may be called a "mosaic" theory of culture and society, with ideal-types as 'disparate atoms'. He considers this, together with his use of the rational norm as being the source of 'his objectionable "rationalism"' and the central methodological difficulty of his position. Nevertheless, Weber's theory is consistent with his methodological premiss, that it is impossible to know reality in its fullness, and general conceptual grasp is all that is possible.

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\(^1\) von Schelting, Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre, pp.329-30; quoted in Parsons, op. cit., p.605.

\(^2\) Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.607.
The main justification for making ideal types of reality is
the problem of causal imputation; and this is Weber's aim, not building
of a general conceptual system. A general system is dependent on the
solution of this problem of causal imputation. Parsons formulates a
question on this problem: 'How is it possible to prove the existence
of a causal relation between certain features of a given historical
individual and certain empirical facts which have existed prior to
it?'. The logical steps presuppose an object of explanation, i.e.
construction of an historical individual. The historical individual
is then, first of all, analysed into elements possible to put under a
separate general law (Regel des Geschehens). Then the factor or
factors of causal significance are hypothetically altered or
eliminated, which would make it possible to construct objectively a
course of action expected by the elimination or alteration of the
factor under consideration. The hypothetically expected course of
action is then compared with the actual course of action: and this
would enable us to reach a conclusion - or a number of them - on the
causal significance of the factor in question. The general principle
of causal imputation is that the difference between the actual and
the hypothetical courses of action may be imputed to the factors
hypothetically eliminated or altered. If the differences are

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1 T. Parsons, Structure of Social Action, pp. 610-11.
negligible, or when there is no difference, the factors were not causally important.

This procedure, however, implies that both the factor to which causal importance is to be imputed and the situation in which it occurs are concrete phenomena. The problem becomes more difficult when the factor is not contemporaneous with the situation. In this case one takes the help of a mental experiment, in which a course of action is imagined, which develops according to the logic of the situation and includes the factor; the experiment being performed by analogy. But the construction of this objectively possible course of action requires a knowledge of how certain elements of the situation would have developed, which means prediction of the possible course of action of each element. This is possible by analysing the phenomena into elements which belong to general categories. But when a factor in a given situation is considered to be a causal factor - and change in which involves the whole situation - it must be changed only in content, not in form.\(^1\)

The general categories which take the particular alterable elements of a historical individual in course of analysis are class concepts. The ideal type context implies understanding of the 'normative orientation to action',\(^2\) because in this case the ideal type becomes a complete realization of the norm in question. Parsons

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1 T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, pp.613-14.
2 ibid., p.614.
calls this a 'universal of predication',\(^1\) as it refers to the general qualities of concrete phenomena whose values describe the phenomena as facts.

According to Parsons,\(^2\) the use of ideal type concepts, instead of general analytical concepts, is one of the chief sources of bias in empirical interpretation, because it imposes a rigid set of relations between analytical elements. But this bias in empirical interpretation is not unexpected or tendentious: it is simply the bias of scientific interest which directs the selection of material for analysis or interpretation. This kind of bias is common to both natural and social sciences.\(^3\)

When, however, one has to judge a case of complex causal imputation, as in the case of the influence of the Protestant ethic on modern capitalism, the historical individual must be divided into a larger number of ideal-types, and each must be subjected to judgments of probability (Chance). In such cases, adequacy is achieved when a great majority of the ideal-types show causal importance to the same factors or elements of the historical individual. Those few ideal types which are not favourable may be regarded in this sense as

\(^1\) T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, p.616.
\(^2\) ibid., p.619.
\(^3\) ibid., p.597: "The principle of value-relevance helps to explain the elements of relativism, in scientific methodology, but it is applicable to both groups of sciences, not to one alone".
accidental (Zufällig).¹ This theory does not assume, as Parsons remarks,² an equal causal value of all elements. The accidental elements only confirm—if the hypothesis has been demonstrated to be correct—the importance of the factors causally analysed.

² Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, p.629 fn. 3.
Max Weber defines the spirit of capitalism as being the same as the content of the Puritan worldly asceticism without the religious basis.¹ He takes Benjamin Franklin's words in "Necessary Hints to Those that would be Rich"² to contain the spirit of capitalism 'in almost classical purity'³ and without any direct religious relevance. Franklin's ethic - 'the earning of more and more money, combined with the strict avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment of life'⁴ - expresses a leading principle of capitalism,⁵ because it is not conceived as a means for the satisfaction of material needs, but as an end in itself.

The fundamental basis and the most characteristic social ethic of capitalistic culture is the earning of money as an expression of virtue and proficiency in a calling.⁶ But capitalistic acquisition is characteristic of all economic societies with the use of money in trade;⁷ in fact, 'absolute and conscious ruthlessness in acquisition

¹ The Protestant Ethic (translated by Talcott Parsons), London, 1962 (Sixth Impression), p.180.
² ibid., Note 2, Chapter 2.
³ ibid., p.48.
⁴ ibid., p.53.
⁵ ibid., p.53.
⁶ ibid., p.54.
⁷ ibid., p.58.
is closely related to 'the strictest conformity to tradition'.

Traditionalism is the antithesis of the spirit of capitalism, and Weber is, therefore, concerned not with the origin of capitalism, but with the development of the spirit of capitalism.

The qualities of a successful modern entrepreneur do not reflect the traditionalism of the past, but are 'calculating and daring at the same time, and above all temperate and reliable, shrewd and completely devoted to his business, with strictly bourgeois opinions and principles'. The most likely description of the successful attitude would be a kind of 'liberal enlightenment'.

Weber's description of the spirit of capitalism - from Benjamin Franklin's Hints to Calvinistic ethic - has two aspects, which should be separated before being assimilated into an ideal type of universal significance. These two aspects are: the qualities of the individual which encourage the development of the spirit of capitalism; and the ethic of capitalism, which, for our purposes, is the same as the ascetic Protestant ethic, particularly the Calvinistic.

A third possible aspect could be the social attitudes inherent in capitalism itself, but it has no relevance for us; firstly, because

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1 The Protestant Ethic (translated by Talcott Parsons), London, 1962, p.58.
2 ibid., p.68.
3 ibid., p.69.
4 ibid., p.70.
5 ibid., p.70.
these attitudes are contained in the two aspects of the spirit of capitalism, and secondly, because they are products of particular capitalistic cultures. Insofar as these attitudes could be considered universal, they would be part of the spirit of capitalism. We have, therefore, no need to make them a separate element in our definition.

Our first aspect depends on the individuals making up the society in which the spirit of capitalism has influenced and encouraged them to build a capitalistic society. The spirit of enterprise and the bourgeois spirit, according to Sombart, together make the spirit of capitalism: the spirit of enterprise being a synthesis of the greed of gold and the desire for adventure and exploration; and the bourgeois spirit is a composition of calculation, careful policy, reasonableness and economy.

The second aspect - the ethical - concerns us more directly, and should be considered the main aspect of the spirit of capitalism, as it is the motivating factor. The individual with the qualities of a successful entrepreneur would be found in every kind of economic society, but his success would depend on the encouragement given to his qualities in the congenial environment which such an ethical sanction would generally create.

In his chapter on middle-class virtues, Sombart says, "in every perfect capitalist undertaker you will find a respectable citizen".

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2 ibid., p.103.
i.e. he embodies a 'complexity of certain qualities' which Sombart names middle-class virtues. This is the third component in his conception of the spirit of capitalism, besides the spirit of enterprise and the desire for gain. All these three elements make up only one aspect of the spirit of capitalism as we define it: the qualities of the capitalistic individual.

Sombart divides the views of L.B. Alberti - whom he describes as a 'perfect bourgeois' of the 15th century - into two groups: 
1 Holy Economy - internal organisation of business; and Business Morality - the relations of the shopkeeper with his customers as well as his general social relations. The fundamental principles of a 'wise economy' according to Alberti are thought-out expenditure (in contrast to the seigneural way of life, expenditure must not exceed income), i.e. voluntary thrift became a principle of life), systematic action, and proper use of time.  

Benjamin Franklin - whom Sombart calls the modern counterpart of a 14th century bourgeois - enumerates thirteen virtues: temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquillity, chastity and humility, but mainly diligence and application create wealth:

"profit increases with the extension of business, because the extension
of business increases our diligence and work.¹

By business morality Sombart means both morality in and for business.² In the first meaning it is a personal virtue, which became a social virtue with the development of capitalism.³ Morality for business is the private morality of the businessman, which became integrated with the middle-class virtues with the rise of capitalism.⁴

For the old bourgeois - the undertaker till about the middle of the 18th century⁵ - wealth was not an end in itself, but a means towards the 'creation or preservation of life-values'.⁶ The business was slow and his attitude to customers was accordingly leisurely and exclusive. To take away one's neighbour's customers was 'contemptible, unchristian and immoral'.⁷ Technical improvement was acceptable only if it did not diminish human welfare or happiness,⁸ in contrast to the modern attitude when man has 'ceased to be the measure of all things'.⁹ The values of the modern bourgeois, on the other hand, are: size, speed,

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¹ Sombart, Quintessence of Capitalism, p.109 (quoted by Sombart).
² ibid., p.122.
³ ibid., p.122.
⁴ ibid., p.123.
⁵ ibid., p.154.
⁶ ibid., p.155.
⁷ ibid., p.161.
⁸ ibid., p.165.
⁹ ibid., p.172.
novelty and sense of power; and the rules which govern his economic activities are absolute rationalism, production for exchange, persuasion of customers, cheapest possible prices, flexible attitude towards law and morality.

In discussing the spirit of undertaking Sombart defines it as 'the realization of a well-considered plan, for the carrying out of which it is needful to have the continued co-operation of many individuals under the guidance of a single will.' Sombart arranges the methods of money-making by capitalistic enterprise into four classes. The fourth of these classes - money lending - has been one of the starting points of capitalistic enterprise. The successful undertaker combines the traits of conqueror, organiser and trader in his personality. By conqueror-traits Sombart means intellectual freedom, mental energy and intensity and constancy of will, and organising ability includes both skill in negotiation and as a dealer.

The forms of undertaking which influenced the growth of the capitalistic spirit are martial undertakings, manorial system of work, the state and the church. In the martial undertaking the personal

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1 Sombart, Quintessence of Capitalism, p.176. A more abstract adaptation of Sombart's classification in terms of childish values is given here.
2 ibid., p.132.
3 ibid., p.51.
4 ibid., p.36.
5 ibid., p.45.
6 ibid., p.53.
7 ibid., p.54.
8 ibid., p.57.
influence of an overall leader is the most outstanding characteristic.\(^1\) In the manorial system the main point of interest is the necessity of organizing a large number of workers. The artificial organization of planned regular work by free and sometimes forced labour under supervision, created by the system, through which the wants of the manor lord were satisfied, also helped the growth of the capitalistic spirit.\(^2\) The idea of the modern state, according to Sombart, was born in the 13th and 14th century in tyrannical states, which were 'private undertakings of the rulers'.\(^3\) The Church was the next largest organisation of human beings, characterized like all undertakings by rational planning. The three kinds of undertakers who correspond to the three forms of undertakings are: the freebooter, the landlord and the civil servant.\(^4\) Piratical expeditions were the first form of capitalistic undertaking\(^5\) and the undertakings of landlords and of the gentry have played a considerable part in early capitalist age.\(^6\) The civil servant became an undertaker by nature of the state enterprise. Often enough the state was the only agency with sufficient means to finance an undertaking as well as to provide the necessary administrative

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\(^1\) Sombart, Quintessence of Capitalism, p.58.
\(^2\) ibid., p.60.
\(^3\) ibid., p.62.
\(^4\) ibid., p.66.
\(^5\) ibid., p.67.
\(^6\) ibid., p.77.
machinery and long-term prospects. Speculative capitalistic enterprise, however, has a different basis altogether. In all the earlier types there was a common basis of 'outward force or pressure' or fear and domination, but the speculative enterprise is based on hope. The trader is an extension of the craftsman into another economic order, where quantity replaces quality. They both share the characteristic of being peaceful in their dealings; neither rely on seigneurial rights. But the trader makes use of negotiation and contract. He possesses moral qualities in a greater degree than others, for he trades on his reputation. His main characteristic is being calculating.

The second aspect of the spirit of capitalism - our main concern - is the ethical attitude created by the Reformation, particularly by Calvinism. According to Tawney, 'Reformation released forces which were to act as a solvent of the traditional attitude of religious thought to social and economic issues, it did so without design, and against the intention of most reformers'. This is particularly true of Luther, and in order to understand the basis of the Calvinistic ethic, we have to take a look at the Lutheran doctrine which tried to

1 Sombart, Quintessence of Capitalism, p.86.
2 ibid., p.91.
3 ibid., p.94.
4 ibid., p.102.
express most intensely the need for 'spiritual peace of a society disillusioned with the material triumphs of a too complex civilization'.

Luther preached that the Church must change from an empire to a congregation of believers. Luther's revolt against authority was 'an attack not on its rigour, but on its laxity and corruption'. Luther's conception of a church-civilization meant regulation by the law of God of all aspects of life; but it was a 'spontaneous expression of a habit of love'. Luther's ideal was more 'mediaeval than many thinkers in the Middle Ages', as he rejected the commercial development of his times as a relapse into paganism. Luther accepted the social hierarchy, but rejected the ecclesiastical. In contrast to Luther, Calvin accepted the commercial civilization, and while Luther receded to the past and saw no place for the middle classes in Christian society, Calvin gave them a creed.

In order to understand the development of this Calvinistic creed, which becomes the substance of the spirit of capitalism, we have to go back a little further and trace the development of the Lutheran ideas, and then the changes which Calvin brought in them. According to

2 ibid., p.100.
3 ibid., p.100.
4 ibid., p.100.
5 ibid., p.102.
6 ibid., p.103.
Troeltsch,\(^1\) Mediaeval Christianity produced two classic types of social doctrine: the relative type, in which the Church had absolute authoritative truth and in which the whole secular life was considered a natural stage in human life, preparation for the higher supernatural state with its ethic of grace and miracle and for the spiritual and hierarchical world organization; the social ideal of the second type was evolved from the Gospel and Law of Christ, and the character and holiness of this ideal is proved by the practical individual behaviour, not by institutional guarantees. It seeks to avoid or replace the institutions outside Christianity by a purely Christian society. In the first type the Christian fellowship was conceived as an institution with absolute truths and 'wonderful civilizing sacramental powers';\(^2\) in the second, it was conceived as a society whose life was constantly renewed by the deliberate allegiance and personal work of its members. Accordingly, the first - or the "Church" - group limits the ideal of Christian perfection to monasticism and the second makes it the ideal of all Christians.\(^3\) The fundamental ideal of sin and grace is also interpreted differently. The "Church" ideal accepts and tolerates the existing secular social order, whose non-Christian character is regarded as the result of sin. Grace is regarded as the miraculous power which makes these institutions pure, and as the basis


\(^2\) ibid., p.461.

\(^3\) ibid., p.462.
of a higher structure. The "sect" theorists also explain the existing secular institutions, groups and values by the fact of sin, but make it a ground for radical rejection of secular life and all its works, and creation of a social order based on the principles of Gospel. Grace for them means "calling and election",¹ not a superstructure on Nature - whether sinful or innocent -, but the complete pure ideal nature of the Primitive State.

The distinction of the idea of Church as an "objective institution" and as a "voluntary society" leads to a corresponding distinction in ethics:² in the first, the Christian ethic is supplemented by the natural ethic; in the voluntary society genuine nature was regarded as being identical with grace and "fallen" nature could not be harmonized with grace at all. Catholicism being a religion of 'sacramental grace of a higher miraculous power', it easily combined the idea of law with its idea of grace:³ both the preservation of the ethical character of grace, by ethical examination and earnest aspirations after holiness, and proving it by good works, required a legal standard. Luther's new idea, besides emphasizing grace and rejecting all compromise with legalism, gave a new meaning to the idea of grace itself, but law remained, for both Luther and Protestantism, an incentive for repentance and the presupposition of faith. Grace -

¹ Troeltsch, Social Teaching, p.462.
² ibid., p.463.
³ ibid., p.463.
in the meaning Luther gave to it — was no longer a mystical miraculous substance to be imparted through the sacraments, but a 'Divine temper of faith'. The important element in Luther's view of Christ is not the mysterious essence of His being, but the assurance of His love, which is communicated by His self-abasement in Incarnation, by His sufferings and His kindness — through which sinful men know that God forgives sins. The first result of this belief was to reduce the whole religion to its basic element of faith and trust, which is also a considerable simplification of doctrine. The personal assurance is only possible through the predestined miraculous influence of God who Himself creates faith. In every impulse of trust the believer feels something of the saving power of God.

The second result of Luther's teaching was religious individualism, thus doing away with the whole idea of mediation through a hierarchy and sacramental grace. This leads to 'the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, and to lay religion, to the renewal of the primitive Christian independence and autonomy of the knowledge of God effected by the "Spirit"'.

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1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.468.
2 ibid., p.469.
3 ibid., p.470.
5 The Social Teachings, p.470.
6 ibid., p.470.
The third result of Luther's position is the principle of a pure spiritual ethic.\(^1\) If the proper attitude of faith and trust determines the whole value of man, then this attitude is also the measure and cause of its ethical consequences. It means that one's own conscience becomes the only standard. This leads to the acceptance of the world, rejection of monastic asceticism and a new meaning of the idea of vocation or calling. Monasticism, from this point of view, becomes an artificial moral behaviour,\(^2\) because of its isolation from the natural conditions, which makes it easier to develop a sense of detachment. Monasticism had only seemed to have a higher standard of conduct. Christian love is demonstrated better in the spirit of mutual service than in a fellowship isolated from the life of the world. The system of vocational organisations under Natural Law is taken out of the lower stratum of the hierarchy, with the superstructure of the Church and mystical fellowship above it, and made a direct and immediate institution of God.\(^3\) Each must take up his calling in order to contribute to the Christian unity of love. The only absolute aim is self-surrender to God,\(^4\) but the conception of life and behaviour being an expression of Christianity means an emphasis on "works" instead of grace: the real criteria will still be

\(^1\) Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.471.
\(^2\) ibid., p.472.
\(^3\) ibid., p.473.
\(^4\) ibid., p.494.
human achievements. Grace is the free gift of God, 'objectively preceding and implying everything else'. This independence of grace from human effort leads to a peculiar spiritual freedom and abandonment: sin cannot destroy grace if the soul is steadfast in faith. Luther moreover believed that any attempt to estimate the "state of grace" in individuals would lead to divisions and distinctions among Christians.

The objective holiness, which determines the status of the Christian, consists simply in the 'Word of the forgiveness of sins; and the soul can reach this state only through a 'full personal faith born of repentance'. The Word is also the creator of the Church; it is both its treasure and essence. Those who accept it completely in faith receive 'the glory of an entirely reconciling light, inspite of their unequal achievements'.

The Lutheran ethic, however, is of dual origin: like the Church and the state within society, there is the ethic of love and grace on one side, and the ethic of law and reason on the other. It consists primarily in the establishment of a religious relation with God, with

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1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.497.
2 ibid., p.498.
3 ibid., p.501.
4 ibid., p.501.
5 ibid., p.501.
6 ibid., p.523.
surrender of self to Him in prayer and self-discipline, and sharing this love with one's neighbour.

Luther's economic ethic remained close to the Catholic theory, but the most important change made in it was in the removal of Church's control over economic matters. What had earlier been recommended only to laymen was extended to all without exception, including beggars and monks. Although labour, for example, was considered in itself contrary to nature, its significance was ascetic, to be taken as punishment and discipline, and a duty for all able to work. Private property was accepted as being ordained by God. The original love communism was allowed only in special circumstances. The standard of private property, however, should not exceed the requirements of one's rank, pleasure in possessions is allowed only 'within the limits of a grateful frugality'. It was considered by Luther to be against both Natural and Divine Laws to want to rise in the world or to change the existing society.

Luther also granted the right to exist to the forms of social organisation which were nearest to the natural order: feudal and peasant agriculturists, officials and soldiers, also workers who produce things not produced by the peasantry, labourers, servants as well as merchants whose services are needed for exchange of goods.

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1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.554.
2 ibid., p.555.
4 ibid., p.555-6.
The systems of guarantee and credit were considered presumptuous interference with Divine Providence. Luther's ideas belong almost entirely to the consumer's point of view and in favour of a social order free from competition. This was considered moral as well as being in the nature of things. The Christian sanction for this natural economic ethic is derived from the idea of obedient service in his specific calling as being the first duty of a Christian, and true and proper circumstance for neighbourly love. Labour of this kind promotes repose and harmony of the whole and makes an important contribution to the welfare of both the individual and the community. Honest work is the best service to God, and neighbourly love shown in this way is better than charity.

Luther believed that a Christian ethic which could accept worldly life only became possible within the sphere of mediaeval society and economics, with handicraft and agriculture as basic industries. Luther rejected the new capitalistic societies of the cities, with their individualism, competition, calculating spirit, as being opposed to the Christian ethic.

Ultimate failure of Lutheranism should be attributed to its emphasis on personal piety, acceptance of existing circumstances and the objectivity of the means of grace. The reason for the growth of Calvinism, on the other hand, is its own essential character as an

1 Troeltsch, Social Teaching., p.556.
2 ibid., p.559.
3 ibid., p.576.
active force, and the influence of its religious ideal into the political and economic movements of the times.¹

The significance of Lutheranism from the modern point of view is only in its blending of philosophical theology with religious mysticism and "inward" spirituality, but Calvinism, while maintaining its unphilosophical theology, entered into and, to some extent, produced a political and social way of life from its connection with the Anglo-Saxon institutions and racial characteristics.² Calvinism has also had a reflected influence on the Continent as a 'universal spiritual force, producing a particular type of humanity.³

Troeltsch summarizes⁴ the main features of the Calvinistic religious system in four points: insistence on the Church as a mediator of salvation, objectivity of the sacraments; theocratic union of Church and State, without loss of their distinctive character; acceptance of the secular life, but infusion of the system of callings with Christian spirit.⁵ The fundamental differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism are in the idea of God, in religious and ethical attitudes derived from it and the implied conception of social duty.⁶

¹ Troeltsch, The Social Teaching , p.577.
² ibid., p.577.
³ ibid., p.578.
⁴ ibid., p.580.
⁵ ibid., p.580.
⁶ ibid., p.581.
In the idea of God the basic feature is the doctrine of predetermination. While a religion based on faith, with its emphasis on "grace", is maintained in Calvinism, human "merit" and "natural" human activity are excluded; because faith is not a human attribute, but a perception given by God as an absolute miracle. In his doctrine of predestination, Calvin envisages the character of God as absolute sovereign will. His conception of grace is that of pure unmerited grace; no sense of justice can be seen in it. Just as no one can choose to be a human being or an animal, so no one has any right to claim to belong to the "elect" rather than to the damned. It is God's Nature to save some and not others, of His own free will and without any regard to their merit. God's glory is served both by the gratitude of the undeserving elect and the misery and despair of the reprobate. God's majestic sovereign will is both the supreme cause and the supreme standard. The Lutheran idea of love is no longer the main attribute of God, only a means of the revelation of His majesty. The elect symbolize His Mercy and the damned His Wrath against evil.

The main point which Calvin emphasizes is not personal salvation and the universality of the Divine Will of Love, but the glory of God. Although God offers grace to all, reason must submit without attempting

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1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.581.
2 ibid., p.581.
3 ibid., p.582.
4 ibid., p.582.
5 ibid., p.582.
to harmonize election and reprobation. ¹ Luther had also distinguished between the hidden and revealed God, but in the end he confined himself to the revealed God of the New Testament. Calvin, on the contrary, maintained the distinction and thus transformed the whole idea of God. ²

This new conception eliminates the problem of the righteousness of God and the dependence of salvation on the receptive Will of God, and, moreover, God's purpose is seen beyond merely that of redemption. He reveals Himself in universal grace as well as in all the gifts of reason, in the beauty of the world, in the elect and the reprobate, in pain and punishment, which are not only means of education and discipline but also show His Wrath, to give courage to His saints and also to prove the nothingness of the world. ³

This conception of God gives an ethical and practical intention to the idea of justification. God gives the assurance of the forgiveness to enable the elect soul to serve as an instrument of His Will. The Will is active, instead of being merely Mercy which forgives sins. ⁴ The proof of justification is not inwardness and depth of feeling, but energy and the logical result of action. ⁵ In Lutheranism, on the other hand, the real proof and verification of justification is the happiness of a mystical union with God. ⁶ To the Calvinist, God reveals His

¹ Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.583.
² ibid., p.583.
³ ibid., p.583.
⁴ ibid., p.584.
⁵ ibid., p.584.
⁶ ibid., p.584.
active and creative nature as an energy of will. God is irrational in the sense that he cannot be measured by the standards of human reason and logic. God gave reason to man to aid him in his work and for His own glory.

Finally, the Bible becomes a means for the creation of 'a community in which the glory of God will be realized', rather than for the realization of the assurance of God's love. It is regarded as a law 'whose aim and nature were of equal value in every part'.

The same kind of development took place in Luther's second distinctive characteristic - that of religious individualism. Luther was ultimately concerned with individual's salvation and forgiveness of sin. For Calvin the real test of 'individual personal reality' is glorification of God in action. Calvin believed that the individual must live the life of the world, as he could not be satisfied with passive endurance of the world or with serving others. On making his worldly life an expression of the Divine Will depends the meaning of

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1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.585.
2 ibid., p.585.
3 ibid., p.586.
4 ibid., p.586.
5 ibid., p.587.
6 ibid., p.588.
7 ibid., p.588.
his life. In conflict and labour he takes up the sanctification of the world. In everything he finds the meaning of election, for it offers him strength to act. This is in fact the point of greatest difference with Lutheranism. For Luther evil is caused by human will alone, therefore, his greatest concern is preservation of faith and the state of grace, for it is possible to fall out of the state of grace. All the emphasis is, therefore, on the emotional life of the individual, for he must make a constant effort to keep his faith - without "works" or "merit" to support him - pure and stable. Christian ethic is regarded only as this preservation of the state of grace, which can be lost through sinfulness or by relying on one's own strength.

Calvin takes the doctrine of predestination to its logical conclusion, and, therefore, believes that the individual can never lose the state of grace. This eliminates the preoccupation with emotional life. Certainty of calling and election leaves him free to concentrate in his effort to change the world and society according to the Will of God. Neither does he need to be afraid of losing God, because he knows that he is utterly dependent on God's grace.

The special characteristic of Calvinism is that it places confidence in God before all human relationships, and, in thus moving away from the subjective point of view of Lutheranism, it stresses the

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1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.588.
2 ibid., p.588.
3 ibid., p.588.
objective point of view in the importance it gives to concrete purposes. The immense value of the individual as an instrument of God's will - although he has no intrinsic value - gives Calvinism the sense of being a spiritual aristocracy. The ethic of Calvinism becomes an end in itself, as the value of the moral achievement is in the spirit created by faith in the whole personality. Accordingly, Calvin rejects the idealistic freedom of Luther,\(^1\) because the kingdom of Christ cannot be trusted to natural feeling, but needs a disciplining authority. In addition to the creation of a 'uniform permanent state of moral achievement and assurance in the doctrine of final perseverance, Calvin introduces the idea of moral progress and achievement being practical proofs of the state of grace in his doctrine of progressive sanctification,\(^2\) and that the grace of election develops into a mature Christian experience.\(^3\)

The most distinctive doctrine of Calvinism is that of asceticism, which is related to the direction of purpose towards the future life, separation between God and creature and interest in the world itself.\(^4\) Asceticism was both a metaphysical condemnation of the world and a rational discipline of sensual life;\(^5\) both of which could exist separately or together. Protestantism, unlike Catholicism,

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1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.603.
2 ibid., p.604.
3 ibid., p.604.
4 ibid., p.604.
5 ibid., p.605.
did away with this dualism and cultivated the ideal of spiritual
detachment while leading a worldly life.\textsuperscript{1} It became in Protestantism
a worldly asceticism,\textsuperscript{2} as Calvin considered it impossible to reconcile
the nothingness of the world in theory with the reality of life. This
asceticism, therefore, recognizes 'logically and comprehensively'\textsuperscript{3}
all secular means - without any value of their own - for the creation
of the Kingdom of God. Self-discipline and self-control and limiting
sensual life to the barest necessity and usefulness are needed to keep
the true character of such means as means only. The creature himself
is not a Divinely complete end,\textsuperscript{4} and any attempt to find satisfaction
in creaturely life would mean attribution of divine qualities to it.\textsuperscript{5}

Protestantism brought Nature and Grace together in the redeeming
Will of Grace, which gave everyone his secular work in the world as
his normal and necessary sphere of activity, making work for its own
sake a religious duty and ideal.\textsuperscript{6} Calvinism co-ordinated the activity
of the individual and the community consciously and systematically,\textsuperscript{7}
with respect for authority, which it shares with Lutheranism. The

\begin{itemize}
\item[1] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p. 605.
\item[3] ibid., p. 607.
\item[4] ibid., p. 606.
\item[5] ibid., p. 606.
\item[6] ibid., p. 609; cf. Weber, Protestant Ethic, Chapter III.
\item[7] Troeltsch, p. 610.
\end{itemize}
Calvinist is conscious of his own value as a person, with a high sense of mission in the world. He is also a member of a fellowship or community, which transcends all individualism.\(^1\)

The idea of fellowship is defined as a national community,\(^2\) and inspite of his isolation in the process of "election" the elect individual belongs wholly to the fellowship, which binds its members in an 'objective Divine relation of interest'.\(^3\) The individual must devote his highest personal energies to it. Inspite of the strong devotion and loyalty, it encourages an independent personality, with initiative and a sense of responsibility.\(^4\)

Lastly, the ideas of equality and inequality are interpreted in a special way as well by Calvinism: equality and inequality are nothing in themselves, their only value being in the relations of men to one another. They are equal before God, because they are all sinners and must equally obey Him. On the other hand, they are unequal in relation to each other, for God has ordained some to rule and some to serve: this is the essence of life, not a result of the Fall.\(^5\) The inscrutable purpose of God elects one and rejects another, and to this

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1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p.619: Gemeinschaft (Die Sozialelehren, p.670) is translated as fellowship.
2 ibid., p.618.
3 ibid., p.619.
4 ibid., p.619.
5 ibid., p.620.
human reason cannot be applied. Men are equally incapable of doing any good on their own, but the idea of indifference of 'true Christian dignity' to rank and position was greatly emphasized, while regarding every privilege as an obligation to the whole community.

1 Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p. 620.
2 ibid., p. 620.
CHAPTER 4

MAX WEBER'S METHODOLOGY

i. His critics and correlation between the spirit of capitalism and religious ethics

The logical form of the ideal-type construction gives an absolute character to the rational ways of behaviour and takes certain social situations in a mental experiment, judged by the standards of objective rationality. It is often the most suitable means of isolating irrational elements of an event.¹ This justifies us in making an ideal type of the spirit of capitalism from the affinity of the Calvinistic ethic with the evolution of capitalism.

In the previous chapter we separated the two elements of the capitalistic spirit - the individual and the ethical; and our main concern is with the ethical. We tried to show the background of the Calvinistic ethic: the doctrines which had a peculiar influence in the development of the ethic. Evidently,² ethics do not develop on their own and, therefore, the doctrines behind them cannot be overlooked. Our purpose is to abstract the Calvinistic doctrines, which had this special influence on the ethic, from their religious and historical context, in order that we could compare this ethic with other religious ethics; this comparability being a means of proving

¹ A. von Schelting, Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre, p.193.
the affinity of the Calvinistic ethic with the evolution of
capitalism, in accordance with Weber's purpose in studying Confucianism,
Hinduism and Judaism.

The main doctrines which directly influenced the growth of the Calvinistic ethic are:

1. insistence on church as a mediator of salvation
2. sacraments as objective Divine means of grace
3. theocratic union of church and state without loss
   of their distinctive character
4. acceptance of secular life and infusion of the system of
callings with the religious spirit and its implied
   conception of duty
5. Predestination: faith as a perception given by God as an
   absolute miracle; God as sovereign will; and pure unmerited grace
6. religious individualism; confidence in God above all
   human relationships
7. progressive sanctification
8. ethic as an end in itself
9. asceticism
10. equality before God as sinner, and inequality in relation
to each other.

The most striking result of these doctrines has been the principle of

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complete rationalization of life and economic self-dependence and individualism. At this point it should be useful to separate the Lutheran ethic from the Calvinistic ethic, because, although Calvinism developed from Lutheran doctrines, there is a clear contrast between Lutheran traditionalism and Calvinistic rejection of it. In the process of comparison this would make a natural point of division. Weber takes the conception of calling as the main point of division between Luther and Calvin.\(^1\) Luther conceives calling as a divine ordinance, which man has to accept and adapt himself to.\(^2\) Another aspect of the concept was that work in a calling was the task given by God.\(^3\) The ethical result, however, was only that ascetic duties lost their superiority to worldly ones.\(^4\) But Luther's contribution was significant in that it gave everyday worldly life a religious meaning:\(^5\) rejection of monastic asceticism and elevation of the fulfilment of the obligations of the status in the world as the only way acceptable to God. This also became the basis of Lutheran traditionalism: labour becomes an expression of brotherly love.\(^6\)

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1 Weber, Protestant Ethic, pp.79-89.
2 ibid., p.85.
3 ibid., p.85.
4 ibid., p.86.
5 ibid., p.80.
6 ibid., p.81.
of calling, identifying absolute obedience to God with absolute acceptance of things as they are.\(^1\)

With this Weber contrasts Calvinistic development, acknowledging that Luther's work 'could not have had permanent concrete success without Calvinism'.\(^2\) The Calvinistic conception of calling is derived from the logical necessity of his religious thought, that men exist for the sake of God.\(^3\) God's decrees can only be understood or known by men so far as He reveals them.\(^4\) 'God as a transcendental being has decreed the fate of every individual and regulated the tiniest details of the cosmos from eternity'.\(^5\) The result of this 'magnificent consistency' was a feeling of 'unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual'.\(^6\) Sacraments had been ordained by God for the enhancement of His glory and must therefore be observed; but they were not a means to grace. The Church itself belonged both to the chosen and the reprobate.\(^7\) The reprobate must also obey God's commandments, not for salvation but His glory. Even Christ had died only for the elect. This means a complete elimination of salvation through the

\(^{1}\) Weber, Protestant Ethic, p.85.
\(^{2}\) ibid., p.87.
\(^{3}\) ibid., p.102.
\(^{4}\) ibid., p.103.
\(^{5}\) ibid., p.103-4.
\(^{6}\) ibid., p.104.
\(^{7}\) ibid., p.104.
church and the sacraments. In fact there were no means whatever for the damned to be saved. The absolute transcendality of God and the corruption of flesh which make for the inner isolation of the individual contains the 'roots of the disillusioned and pessimistically inclined individualism'. In spite of the necessity of membership in the true Church for salvation, the Calvinist's relationship with his God was of a deep spiritual isolation.

According to Weber, the undoubted superiority of Calvinism in social organisation follows from the form Christian brotherly love took as a result of the inner isolation of the individual. The dogmatic result of this has been that the elect must also work for the organisation of social life as fulfilment of God's will and for His greater glory. The Christian, therefore, works in a calling which serves the community. Luther's practice of brotherly love is changed in the Calvinistic conception to a practice of 'a peculiarly objective and impersonal character, that of service in the interest of the rational organisation of our social environment'. The 'wonderfully purposeful organisation and arrangement' of the cosmos is designed for the utility of the human race. This makes impersonal but

1 Weber, Protestant Ethic, p.104-5.
2 ibid., p.105.
3 ibid., p.106-7.
4 ibid., p.108.
5 ibid., p.109.
6 ibid., p.109.
socially useful work a service for the glory of God, therefore, His will.¹

Besides, the conflict between the individual and the ethic did not exist in Calvinism as there was complete individual responsibility in religious activity.² The question of an individual's certainty of election is answered by an implicit trust in Christ which is a result of true faith. One cannot learn anything from the conduct of others, chosen or damned, because they do not differ externally; not even in subjective experiences, except the final expectant faith, 'the elect thus are and remain God's invisible church'.³ Two principles appear from this idea of predestination: one that it is an absolute duty to consider oneself chosen and all doubts are temptations of the devil; lack of self-confidence is considered the result of insufficient faith, therefore of imperfect grace.⁴ The certainty of election and justification is seen in the daily struggle of life. The second principle is that 'intense worldly activity' is the most suitable means of gaining spiritual self-confidence.

In Lutheranism the unio mystica is combined with a deep feeling of sinful unworthiness in order to maintain the humility and simplicity necessary for sins to be forgiven. The absolute transcendality of God in Calvinism restricts the relationship of the elect with

² ibid., p.109.
³ ibid., p.110.
⁴ ibid., p.111.
God, for He works through them and they are conscious of it. They act from faith caused by God's grace and faith is justified by the quality of the action. The most important condition of salvation in Calvinism is in the feeling of the believer that he is an instrument of the divine will; in Lutheranism the feeling is being 'the vessel of the Holy Spirit'.

The Calvinist recognizes true faith by Christian conduct which serves to enhance the glory of God seen in His own will 'revealed directly through the Bible, or indirectly through the purposeful order of the world He has created.' Good works are only indispensable as a sign of election and a reassurance against the fear of damnation. Calvinism thus leads to ascetic action and Lutheranism to mysticism and emotionalism. The moral conduct of the ordinary man became methodical because the state of grace can be proved only by a fundamental change in the whole meaning of life at every moment and in every action. 'Only a life guided by constant thought could achieve conquest over the state of nature'. Freedom from irrational impulses and dependence on the world and on nature are essential to make him

1 Weber, Protestant Ethic, p.113.
2 ibid., p.113.
3 ibid., p.114.
4 ibid., p.115.
5 ibid., p.114.
6 ibid., p.118.
what Weber calls a 'personality'. In this the Catholic monasticism and the Calvinistic code of conduct are essentially the same, but the Calvinistic code added the positive necessity of proving one's faith in worldly activity.

The difference between Lutheranism and Calvinism is that of attitudes: Luther's humility and preoccupation with loss of grace are eliminated in Calvinism; and the most striking characteristic in the Calvinistic concept of calling is self-control and assurance in work and mastery of the situation. The religious background of the ethic in Calvinism is separated from individual conduct; they both have their own logical consistency, which Lutheranism, with its emphasis on brotherly love as a feeling and not as an impetus to action, lacks. Its traditionalism is also a result of its intermingling of emotional and reasoned actions.

The critics of Weber have not been able to show any other factor in the evolution of capitalism which would refute the connection shown by Weber between the spirit of capitalism and the Calvinistic ethic; nor have they shown that the code of conduct which emerges from the Calvinistic doctrines has other than a religious basis. As Gordon Walker points out, the main arguments are either that capitalism is

1 Weber, Protestant Ethic, p.119.
2 ibid., p.119.
3 ibid., p.121.
much older than Protestantism or that many other factors have played a much larger part in the evolution of capitalism. Neither kind of argument faults the consistency of Weber's argument. Weber is investigating only 'certain correlations between forms of religious belief and practical ethics'. Gordon Walker criticizes Weber for using an abstract definition of capitalism and that there was an eternally valid quality of mind, abstracted from and independent of any particular period or place of history, called the capitalistic spirit, and that society was capitalist insofar as this spirit could be found in it; and that Weber takes this as a development triumphing over its earlier form. All this resulted in a concentration upon the individual and his emancipation.

This is a serious misunderstanding of Weber's method. Weber's definition of the spirit of capitalism is not as the point of beginning of, but an attitude to life consistent with, the organisation of capitalism. In his General Economic History Weber defines capitalism as being present 'wherever the industrial provision for the needs of the human group is carried out by the method of enterprise, irrespective of what need is involved'. Further, he says, "a whole epoch can be designated as typically capitalistic only as the provision for the wants is capitalistically organized to such a

1 Weber, Protestant Ethic, p.91.
2 Capitalism and Reformation, pp.3-4.
predominant degree that if we imagine this form of organisation taken away the whole economic system must collapse.\(^1\) Gordon Walker relates\(^2\) this particular definition in terms of emancipation of the individual to a misconception of the vital historical changes in quantity and quality, which means according to him, 'a new and distinct attitude of mind, unlike any preceding attitude. He maintains that 'changes in quality in fact results from changes in quantity'.\(^3\) Weber's thesis is not concerned either with qualitative or quantitative changes as Gordon Walker defines them. Weber's main concern is with the background of the code of conduct associated with capitalistic enterprise of modern times. That is, in words of Tawney, 'from what sources did they derive the principle to replace it (the established tradition)'?\(^4\) This does not involve, as Gordon Walker maintains,\(^5\) an absolute distinction between the two. It only means a recognition of factors other than material in historical development. Neither is Weber concerned with the interpretation of 'the total historical problem of a period or a movement' which makes Weber's work, in Gordon Walker's view, inherently distorted.\(^6\)

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\(^2\) P.C. Gordon Walker, Capitalism and Reformation, p.4.

\(^3\) Foreword by R.H. Tawney, Protestant Ethic, p.1 (C).

\(^4\) Capitalism and Reformation, p.5.

\(^5\) ibid., p.6.
approaches the problem as a social one,\(^1\) seeking the social and
economic needs of the society at the Reformation and how the Reformation
was a response (among others) to these needs. He agrees\(^2\) with Weber
as far as his description of the Reformation as extension of Catholic
asceticism beyond monasticism and that the Catholic system was built
upon an 'equilibrium between incompatible elements: free will and
divine omnipotence.'\(^3\) He then proceeds to explain\(^4\) the Reformation in
terms of material conditions, especially in terms of the Price
Revolution, which he divides into two stages, coinciding more or less
with the times of Luther and Calvin respectively. The Lutheran price
revolution resulted in the destruction of the Catholic hold upon the
middle and lower classes and the seizure of Catholic and feudal
property. The religious movement was subordinate to the state,
except in Germany. In the second stage the leadership in the Catholic
revolution passed to England, the Netherlands, industrial parts of
Scotland, France and Switzerland. In the second phase the problem of
primary accumulation is solved, but 'class acclimatization' remains.
The bourgeoisie had to gain the will to govern and the lower classes
had to exchange their 'loose extensive labour for disciplined, regular
organized work'.\(^5\) The great changes 'in mental outlook had to be

\(^1\) Capitalism and Reformation, p.8.
\(^2\) ibid., p.11.
\(^3\) ibid., pp.11-12.
\(^4\) ibid., pp.15-16.
\(^5\) ibid., p.16.
solved quickly enough to keep pace with the Industrial Revolution'.

Gordon Walker does not, however, deny the importance of change in mental attitude, or 'discipline of individuals to the ends of a new society, which was breaking forth out of feudalism and was basically individualist in its social outlook'. The urgent need, according to him, was a re-statement of the asceticism that was deeply embedded in the Christian tradition, which would inculcate by discipline the necessary social attitudes. The effect of the Calvinistic doctrines in social terms was that the capitalist class structure was justified and had the correct social ethic for self-imposition on the elect and coercive imposition if necessary on the reprobate. 'Such was the real spirit of capitalism needed by capitalist society and inculcated by the Reformation. Had the Reformation really produced the libertine spirit of capitalism, it would have endangered, not advanced, capitalism'. Weber's arguments show exactly what Gordon Walker wishes for, except that his conception of the spirit of capitalism as libertine seems to be a misunderstanding.

The second kind of critics are those who would have other religious ethics play a more important role in the development of

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1 Capitalism and Reformation, p.16.
2 ibid., p.16.
3 ibid., pp.16-17.
4 ibid., p.17.
5 ibid., p.18.
capitalism. According to H.M. Robertson, for example, 'the strict regulation of the economic life by the Calvinist churches were definite hindrance to capitalistic development and the spread of capitalist ideas which formed a strong contrast to the comfortable and accommodating religion of the Jesuits'.

He denies the importance given to "calling". The Reformed Church only accommodated the commercial classes as did the Catholic Church. Robertson's imputation of encouragement of economic activities to Jesuits has been effectively refuted by Father Brodrick, and his criticism of Weber's concept of calling is more linguistic than substantial. Robertson says in the preface that his book is an attempt to use a historical, instead of a sociological method to solve a historical problem. In the first place Weber's problem is not a historical one in the sense of true description of events, for there is no justification for such a historical method in the problem he has set himself - that of 'working out of the correlation between forms of religious belief and practical ethics'. It is an analysis of possible causal connection between two

1 Aspects of Economic Individualism, Cambridge, 1933, p.160.
2 ibid., p.161.
3 ibid., p.167.
4 Economic Morals of the Jesuits, 1934.
5 Robertson, Aspects of Economic Individualism, p.7.
sets of facts.

According to Brentano,\(^1\) Weber's first mistake is in the formulation of the concept of spirit of capitalism: it should correspond to reality.\(^2\) The emancipation from traditionalism in Italy had made it the richest country in the second half of the Middle Ages. Brentano finds that Weber has put the beginning of the idea of worldly activity as being service of God arbitrarily; and a similar conception of calling prevailed in the classical times.\(^3\) According to Brentano capitalist spirit has emerged with commerce and it is essentially a striving for the greatest possible profit.\(^4\) The greatest influence on it has been the supremacy of Roman law,\(^5\) which in turn was influenced by Stoic philosophy with its teaching of all things being dependent on reason, which rules the whole world and determines its course, thus creating an agreement between natural and moral laws. Ethics and natural law become interchangeable and harmonious.\(^6\) But Weber's rationalism is not philosophical. In his discussion of what he calls 'the question of the specific and peculiar rationalism of Western culture'\(^7\) the rationality of the Western form of capitalism

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\(^1\) Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus, Munich, 1916, p.131.
\(^2\) ibid., p.132.
\(^3\) ibid., p.136.
\(^4\) ibid., p.136.
\(^5\) ibid., p.154.
\(^6\) ibid., p.155.
is essentially dependent upon the calculability of the most important technical factors and the technical utilization of scientific knowledge was encouraged by economic considerations, which in turn were a product of the peculiarities of the Western social structure. Among important parts of the social structure Weber puts the rational structures of law and of administration. Although the development of economic rationalism is partly dependent upon rational technique and law, it is also dependent on the ability and inclination of individuals to adopt a rational practical conduct. When there are spiritual obstacles the adoption and development have serious inner resistance.\(^1\) Brentano by simply taking Roman law, as influenced by Stoic philosophy, as the basis of Western economic rationalism has not answered Weber's question on the peculiarities of Western rationalism. While Weber seeks the spiritual factors which influenced practical conduct, Brentano only juxtaposes Stoic identification of nature and reason. Brentano's view that the beginnings of modern rational capitalism are to be found in the Renascence needs evidence of historical continuity.

Fanfani agrees with Weber in his definition of the capitalist spirit, insofar as it is an inner attitude, conscious or subconscious, towards industrial and utilitarian use of wealth.\(^2\) He rejects the

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view that Protestantism could have produced capitalism; but adds that it did have 'positive influence' in the establishment of capitalism. He takes the idea of the uselessness of works as a means of salvation, on which Calvin's permission of the use of interest depends, as being of fundamental importance. The fundamental doctrines of Calvinism, according to Fanfani, lead to the sanctification of the real; and with the initial Protestant separation of the human from the divine, it was 'logical and inevitable' that economic rationality should prevail. Nevertheless, Fanfani rejects Weber's thesis because it does not admit that the capitalist spirit existed before the Protestant idea of vocation.

Henri See agrees with Tawney that the spirit of capitalism was not born of Puritanism, but Puritanism was an encouraging factor, and that the capitalistic tendencies were strengthened among the Puritans only after the Revolution of 1688; but this was precisely the time when economic ideas were being separated from their religious content. He agrees with Weber and Tawney that Calvinism, and sects derived from it, stimulated the individualism of its adherents; but he

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2 ibid., p.190.
3 ibid., p.197.
4 ibid., p.199, fn.3.
5 Quoted in Protestant Ethic & Capitalism, ed. by R. Green, p.64.
6 ibid., p.64.
also believes it possible that the most energetic and independent embraced the Calvinistic cause. In either case Weber's thesis of correlation is established, because if the possibility is accepted that the energetic and independent joined Calvinism, they would have done so only because they found the Calvinistic ethic congenial to their way of life: a case of 'action and reaction' or convergence.

According to See, the essential characteristic of a capitalistic system is the mobility of capital and a claim to a remuneration which is not an actual award of labour. He accepts the view that a connection between the evolution of capitalism and the religious movements can be found, as also between the evolution of capitalism with other forms of historical evolution.

In Troeltsch's view the capitalistic spirit 'displays an untiring activity, a boundlessness of grasp, quite contrary to the natural impulse to enjoyment' and gives life a 'clear calculability and abstract exactness'. Cunningham regards Calvinism's encouragement of the commercial spirit a result of its deliberate acceptance of the Old

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1 Quoted in Protestant Ethic & Capitalism, ed. by R. Green, p.64.
2 ibid., p.64.
4 ibid., p.186.
Testament as the rule for conduct in a Christian society. Other factors in favour were the opportunity Calvin had of carrying out his doctrines into practice in a city-state, and Calvinism's association with national independence, especially as a factor in the unity of Scottish independence. In Scottish presbyterianism, the most highly developed form of Calvinism, we have a complete example of a national theocracy on Calvinistic lines. The attitude of Presbyterian ecclesiastics towards economic activity was of non-interference and they thought that careful pursuit of wealth was conducive to 'sober and godly habits'.

Tawney in general agrees with Weber, but finds that Weber has over-simplified Calvinism itself by ascribing to the English Puritans of the seventeenth century the social ethics of Calvin and his immediate followers. His criticism of Weber runs along the same lines as Brentano's. Weber, according to him, refers to moral and intellectual influences in explanation of things which cannot be explained by them. Tawney believes in the interaction of psychological and material changes. He also mentions the possible influences of

2 Ibid., p.71.
3 Ibid., p.71.
5 Ibid., p.312.
political thought of Renaissance and Machiavelli which Weber ignores.¹

None of Weber's critics has mentioned his method of contrast² in his studies of the economic ethics of the world religions, by which he establishes a connection between the lack of capitalistic development and the nature of their economic ethics. Weber admits³ that material factors, as well as the social character of the class which promotes them, influence the development and importance of economic entities. Analysis is the only way in which the inherent law⁴ of development in religious systems can be separated from these influences. In the comparative studies Weber divides the factors in material and ideal terms and reaches the conclusion that at the relevant periods of development the material factors in the other societies had more or less the same potentiality for capitalistic and bureaucratic development, but the economic ethic of the religious traditions were 'directly antagonistic' to such a development,⁵ while in Protestantism they were 'directly favourable'. This makes it less probable that material factors played the most important role in the development of capitalism in the West. The difference would then lie in ethical values.⁶ Weber's task was to find a system of 'ultimate-value

¹ Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, p.312.
² cf. Talcott Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.539.
⁵ Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.513.
⁶ ibid., p.513.
ideas' to the spirit of capitalism. The significance of Weber's theory rests on the ascetic aspect of capitalism.2

The establishment of 'congruence on a meaningful level' between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism does not, however, in itself prove that the religious system is causally important in the capitalistic attitude.3 Weber does not ignore other possible factors, such as modern science, rational legal system and rational bureaucratic administration; but through his comparative studies Weber shows the probability of the religious economic ethic being one of the main differentiating factors.4 This makes the result of his studies taken together more valid than judgment of a single case on its own.5

Weber begins with China. The main religion to be considered is Confucianism as Buddhism had little influence on economic attitudes.6 The contrast with Laotzu is similar to that between Calvinism and Lutheranism. For Laotzu the supreme good was a unio mystica,7 but Confucian virtue was adaptation to the world.8 The Laotian concept of sanctity (hsing)9 - i.e. perfect gentlemanly virtue of humility -

1 Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.523.
2 ibid., p.523.
3 ibid., p.529.
4 ibid., pp.541-2.
5 ibid., p.542.
6 The Religion of China, Glencoe, 1951, p.177.
7 ibid., p.182.
8 ibid., p.183.
9 ibid., p.187.
has no role in Confucianism, whose standard of behaviour is determined by cultivation and adaptation to the existing world. While Laotzu's contemplative mysticism made for a lack of tension with worldly life, Confucian utilitarianism had practical influence on social ethics.\(^1\)

The literati treated Taoist teachings as fit more for the masses than for themselves,\(^2\) although the ethical code of Taoism was the same as the Confucian; but the Taoist expected only personal advantages and the Confucian found its fulfillment a means to gentlemanly good conscience.\(^3\) Neither Confucianism nor Taoism had a 'satanic force of evil'\(^4\) to struggle against for salvation, which might explain the lack of any strong motive to a religious way of life. The Confucian took pride in his education and explained misfortune and injustice as results of deficient education,\(^5\) for neither a beyond nor migration of souls existed. The Confucian gentleman faced his fate with 'proud equanimity'.\(^6\) The belief in irrational predestination also served the gentility of the individual. The only interest beyond death was in the honour of one's name. The Confucian way of life was essentially

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2. ibid., p.204.
3. ibid., p.205.
4. ibid., p.206.
5. ibid., p.206.
6. ibid., p.206.
directed towards the values of status, making ethical conduct formalistic. Conflict between one's salvation and demands of the natural social order did not exist, perfection on earth being dependent only on the individual's ethical strength and orderly administration. This constant emphasis on "correct" administration produced a 'practical and political rationalism' among the intellectuals, who like the Brahmins had been responsible for the cultural unity of the country. Confucian education was literary and cultural, pictorial and descriptive, rather than a cultivation of reasoning.

The educated stratum had no commercial policy in the modern sense, as welfare of the people depended on the charisma of the ruler. There were no independent religious forces to develop a doctrine of salvation or ethic. The only lay religion allowed was belief in

1 The Religion of China, p.208.
3 ibid., p.212.
4 ibid., p.110.
5 ibid., p.107.
6 ibid., p.121.
7 ibid., p.125.
8 ibid., p.136.
9 ibid., p.136.
10 ibid., p.142.
The ancestral spirit and its cult. The hope for a long life was the dominant religious element and wealth was held to be the most important means for promoting morals.

The second volume of his comparative studies is on Hinduism, which like the Chinese study is set within historical and social contexts. The worldly values in Hinduism offer three apparently exclusive possibilities in the beyond: i. rebirth in better or the same circumstances; ii. immortality; and iii. cessation of individual existence. These ends can be achieved through asceticism, contemplation, ritually pure and good works, in the sense of social accomplishment, and enthusiastic faith (bhakti), exclusively, alternatively or all together.

Hinduism is extraordinarily tolerant of doctrine (mata) but there are certain dogmas whose denial is considered heretical. The two basic principles are belief in transmigration of souls and the related Karma theory of compensation for good and evil deeds, which in the end determined the fate of a man's soul or rebirth in exact proportion to his balance of good and evil. This, according to Weber,

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1 The Religion of China, p. 143.
2 ibid., p. 144.
3 ibid., p. 147.
4 The Religion of India, Glencoe, 1958, p. 22.
5 ibid., p. 23.
6 ibid., p. 118.
7 ibid., p. 119.
is characteristic of Brahmanical rationalism. There was, however, no
way, ritual or worldly, which allowed escape from rebirth or second
death.\(^1\) The most consistent form of Karma doctrine was that man was
bound in an everlasting chain of life and death and that he determined
his own fate within this chain.\(^2\) The 'absolute prerequisite',\(^3\) was
fulfilment of the duties of his caste in the present life. There was
no universally valid ethic,\(^4\) only separated private and social status
ethic. 'Men were not, as for classical Confucianism, in principle
equal, but forever unequal'.\(^5\)

A rational practical ethic did not emerge,\(^6\) as the opposition of
the sacred and the secular were not in terms of God and sin, the
radical evil, to be overcome through an active conduct of life. The
aim instead was to achieve a state of 'ecstatic Godly possession',\(^7\) in
opposition to everyday life, which was considered transient and
meaningless; thus emphasizing the power of irrationality. Where
innerworldly (innerweltliche) ethic existed it was stereotyped. Asian
religion on the whole lacked the doctrinal background to innerworldly

\(^1\) The Religion of India, p.120.
\(^2\) ibid., p.120.
\(^3\) ibid., p.120.
\(^4\) ibid., p.144.
\(^5\) ibid., p.144.
\(^6\) ibid., pp.336-7.
\(^7\) ibid., p.337.
asceticism. The Hindu and Buddhist educated classes found their interests outside this world: 'in search for mystic, timeless salvation of the soul and escape from the "wheel" of existence'.

The third part of the trilogy, Ancient Judaism, has no apparent similarity to the other two religions. The relationship of Israel with God was contractual and the entire Israelite tradition has a definite beginning from that event. The religious meaning of the relation to God was conceived in terms of a marriage. Every offence against Israel's duty was considered an adultery against Yahwe, a "god from afar", endowed with a special majesty. Yahwe was a god of salvation and promise. His mercy and wrath are equally great and he is capable of repentance as well as revenge.

In Israel man was always thought to be weak, but not constitutionally wicked. What mattered to God was not external conduct but unconditional obedience and absolute trust. Salvation was considered to depend less on individual sanctity than on belonging to the chosen people.

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1 The Religion of India, p.337.
3 ibid., p.124.
4 ibid., p.126.
5 ibid., p.215.
6 ibid., p.216.
Judaism recognizes both freedom and the necessity of divine grace and sin is considered a fully conscious and voluntary violation of the divine laws. The world, being a creation and neither eternal nor unchangeable as in Hinduism, was a product of both man's activities and of God's reaction to them in guiding a future social and political revolution. There existed, as commands of God, besides ritual correctitude and social separation, a highly rational religious ethic, free of magic and irrational ways to salvation.

A peculiarity of the Israelite social order is the important concept of berith, which is expressed as a 'one-sided pledge of God', a privilege, guaranteed by special solemnity and external signs. There are twelve definite sins: idolatry, cursing against the parents, territorial violation, misleading the blind, infringement of the rights of metics, waifs and widows, sexual sins (incest and bestiality), murder, secret manslaughter, and corruption of judges.

The god of the prophets based his threats on disaster, on the violation of good faith, on his being a contracting partner; and he in

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2 ibid., p.164.
3 Ancient Judaism, p.4.
4 ibid., p.4.
5 ibid., p.76, fn.22.
6 ibid., p.77.
7 ibid., p.78.
turn is reminded of his promises to the ancestors. The entire relationship to God is conceived in terms of ever renewed contracts\textsuperscript{1} which later weakened into the concept of a divine pledge.\textsuperscript{2} Thus, only already valid or presumably valid or fictitiously assumed law was used; new laws were also created in the form of the berith, following an oracle.

Yahwe, the war god of the Israelites,\textsuperscript{3} was and always remained - though originally a god of catastrophies of nature\textsuperscript{4} - also a god of salvation and promise, concerned not with personal affairs but with political affairs.\textsuperscript{5} His specific "holiness" consists in his essential unapproachability and isolation from all men and objects not ritually sanctified for bearing his proximity.\textsuperscript{6} But in addition to his 'war-like and nature-mythological savagery'\textsuperscript{7} he is also a rain-god, which identified him with the individual's economic interests.\textsuperscript{8} On a practical level, in spite of his complicated and fearful character,

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\textsuperscript{1} Ancient Judaism, p.78. \\
\textsuperscript{2} ibid., p.78. \\
\textsuperscript{3} ibid., p.78. \\
\textsuperscript{4} ibid., p.127. \\
\textsuperscript{5} ibid., p.128. \\
\textsuperscript{6} ibid., p.126. \\
\textsuperscript{7} ibid., p.127. \\
\textsuperscript{8} ibid., p.129. \\
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Yahwe was also a god of social organisation. He was an elective god, the confederate people had chosen him through berith with him and Yahwe himself had chosen them freely.

All violations of the holy legislations were an offence against contractual obligations against him personally. Observance of the law was jealously watched by Yahwe. Yahwe insists on his sovereign might and greatness in the events of nature and the unjust order of man's condition. Yahwe was a "jealous" god, quite determinedly exacting the observance of ritualistic and social and ethical norms.

The Yahwe belief did not encourage from the beginning the growth of a death or ancestor cult. The world of the dead was rejected by the Israelite, and neither the priests nor the prophets used the idea of compensation in the hereafter. Piety towards living parents are highly praised but dead ancestors are never mentioned.

There are only three means of determining God's will according

1 Ancient Judaism, p.130.
2 ibid., p.130.
3 ibid., p.130.
4 ibid., p.130.
5 ibid., p.132.
6 ibid., pp.132-3.
7 ibid., p.136.
8 ibid., p.145.
9 ibid., p.145.
to the Yahwe-religion: Yahwe's pronouncements to a true seer or prophet, oracles, and dream vision. The Levites were, like the Brahmins, priests of the Yahwe religion, for they too had to lead a ritualistically prescribed way of life. We find here too a conflict between the 'personal charismatic' and 'vocational status qualification' and 'hereditary charismatic' and 'status-by-birth qualification'.

The Levitical teacher had to deal in principle only with ritualistic conduct, but rational instruction was practised side by side with private oracles. The Levites gained their prestige from training in purely rational knowledge of Yahwe's commandments and ritualistic means to alleviate offences. But in spite of their similarity with the Brahmins, they did not develop the worship of living redeemers, magical or mystagogic knowledge, in fact, any kind of esoteric knowledge.

The pure Yahwists fought the alcoholic and sexual orgiasticism of the Baal cults and their religious influence, which left a permanent impression on the sexual code of the Jews. The religious attitude strongly emphasized the belief in compensation and providence, the 'edifying, soft, charitable, often contrite, disconsolate' nature

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1 Ancient Judaism, p.171.
2 ibid., p.176.
3 ibid., p.178.
4 ibid., p.180.
5 ibid., p.189.
6 ibid., p.248.
of the relationship between God and man, and, what Weber calls, the
'thoroughly plebein nature of its devout humility'.\(^1\) The Israelite
attitude to a life of 'enjoyment tempered by prudence' - which was
the Confucian as well as Egyptian and Mesopotamian attitude - was
conditioned by the fear of sin and a 'mood of penance'.\(^2\) But the
Israelite ethic was more rationally systematic than the Egyptian
and Babylonian collection of sins,\(^3\) because of the influence of the
ethical Torah of the Levites and of prophecy. The prophets'
contribution was mainly to their systematic unification:\(^4\) through
their relating the individual's as well as the people's life as a
whole to the fulfilment of Yahwe's commandments, beside substituting
ethics for ritual. An ascetic way of life was not found among the
Jews, except prescriptions of abstinence and purity for priests and
periodical ritualistic fasts for the laity to propitiate God's
wrath.\(^5\)

\[^{1}\hspace{1em} \text{Ancient Judaism, p.248.}\]
\[^{2}\hspace{1em} \text{ibid., p.254.}\]
\[^{3}\hspace{1em} \text{ibid., p.254.}\]
\[^{4}\hspace{1em} \text{ibid., p.255.}\]
\[^{5}\hspace{1em} \text{ibid., p.405.}\]
ii. ideal types of causal-empirical nature and of acausal meaningful connections.

Parsons finds three main lines of thought in Weber: first, an 'empirical concentration' on modern capitalism; second, a new anti-Marxian interpretation of it and its genesis; and third, a parallel methodological basis for its genesis. Weber agrees with Marx in many of his descriptive categories, and presupposes six characteristics of the norm of rational capital accounting in all large industrial undertakings, concerned with the provision of everyday wants: the appropriation of all physical means of production as 'disposable property of autonomous private industrial enterprise'; freedom from irrational limitations on the market; rational technology; calculability of the law; free labour, commercialization of economic life. In the established system, however, profit is the 'ruling end of action', but the system is not purely acquisitive, it is compulsive and 'objective'. Capitalistic acquisition is continuously rational, which in turn gives rise to bureaucracy, an organisation involving

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1 Structure of Social Action, p.503.
2 ibid., p.504.
4 Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.504.
5 ibid., p.504.
both free labour and rational acquisition towards an impersonal end.\textsuperscript{1}

The participant's office is distinguished from his personal influence and is conceived as a profession (Beruf),\textsuperscript{2} the basis being discipline and predictability of action.\textsuperscript{3} The spirit of capitalism is a special case of Berufsggeist - the attitude required for an efficient bureaucracy - which requires 'disinterested ethical devotion'\textsuperscript{4} to the impersonal aim of unlimited acquisition of wealth. The concept of calling is only a manifestation of the interests in which the system of religious ideas are a fundamental element.\textsuperscript{5} The idea of salvation took on a special meaning when it expressed a systematic rationalized world-view (Weltbild) and an attitude towards it. Interests, not ideas, immediately govern men's conduct\textsuperscript{6} but the world-view, conceived through ideas, determines the way in which their interests would control their conduct. Weber sees the attitude towards practical behaviour in the perspective of the associated religious ideas.\textsuperscript{7} He is concerned with the total, not just the logical, conclusions of the

\textsuperscript{1} Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.506.
\textsuperscript{2} Wirtschaft u. Gesellschaft, p.651.
\textsuperscript{3} cf. Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.507.
\textsuperscript{4} ibid., p.515.
\textsuperscript{5} ibid., p.520.
\textsuperscript{7} Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.520.
religious system as a real process in time.\(^1\)

As Parsons says,\(^2\) the Calvinistic theology has five 'independent yet empirically interdependent propositions'. Any of them could be part of other theological systems, their unique combination in Calvinistic theology as a meaningful system and their separate independence makes them methodologically important as a basis of comparison in the analysis we shall undertake. The propositions are:\(^3\)

1. a single absolutely transcendental God, creator and governor of the world, whose attributes and actions are not humanly understandable;
2. God has predestined human souls either to eternal salvation or eternal 'sin and death'; the world has been created solely for the enhancement of His glory; man, saved or damned, to achieve this aim, shall labour to establish the Kingdom of God on Earth, subject to His revealed law; human nature and flesh in themselves are 'irreparably lost in sin and death' from which there is no escape except by divine grace. The implications for practical conduct by this particular combination\(^4\) are, as God can only be served and not approached, a conscious control over the flesh, subjecting it to discipline for the glory of God, which Weber interprets as asceticism;\(^5\) and, as the finite

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1 Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.521.
2 ibid., p.522.
3 ibid., p.522.
4 ibid., p.523.
5 ibid., p.523.
world is God's creation and a manifestation of His will, the best way to know Him is to study His works. Order is inherent in both man's behaviour and God's non-human works. This meant both a faith in the order of nature and a strong hostility to ritual, with ascetic activity directed towards active control over the 'intrinsic relations of the world'. This shows the main point of Weber's thesis that religious interests of the individual directed his action, not religious approval of acquisitive activities.

In order to see the possibility of comparison, in an ideal-type construction, of the special relationship between Calvinist doctrines and their practical implications, with the relationship of other religious doctrines and their practical implications, we should first consider the methodology Weber adopted and its application to the historical situation.

Parsons places Weber in the Idealistic tradition for the negative reason that Weber's polemics - in which his methodology is developed - are against the 'commonest methodological doctrines of that school'. Historical 'particularism' was one of the main Idealistic tendencies, which Weber attacked by maintaining that every

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1 Structure of Social Action, p.523.
2 ibid., p.524.
3 ibid., p.530.
4 ibid., p.530.
5 ibid., p.580.
explanation in history made use of general theoretical concepts.\(^1\) Weber, while rejecting the 'irrationality' of historical reality\(^2\) - which was the basis of the Idealistic dogma of historical particularism - as being contradictory to the rational basis of general concepts, accepts the view that the diversity and complexity of historical reality cannot be fully described by any system of abstract concepts.\(^3\) But the purpose of abstract concepts is not to describe the total reality or even what is experienced by human beings, but only those aspects of reality which can be expressed in abstract concepts.\(^4\) What is significant are the principles according to which facts are selected for a given purpose.\(^5\) This leads us to Weber's two significant methodological principles: 'adequate' knowledge, and logical predictability as the standard applied to the first principle of adequate knowledge. A standard of adequacy is related to the scientific purpose.\(^6\) Adequate knowledge is not a knowledge of the total reality, and the principles of logical predictability are the same for both

\(^1\) Structure of Social Action, p.581.
\(^3\) Structure of Social Action, p.581.
\(^4\) ibid., p.581.
\(^5\) ibid., p.582.
\(^6\) ibid., p.582.
natural and social sciences, being related to the degree of abstract generalization. It takes different forms in natural and social sciences because our interest in natural events is the 'discovery of elements of uniformity and to 'observe the external course of events' In observing human behaviour this is not enough because of one's ability to impute motives or to interpret human actions in terms of motive, the subjective aspect of action, which has the quality of certainty (Evidenz) because human action can also be interpreted symbolically. For Weber rationality is an expression of the freedom of the will; and rational action and systematic scientific theory are inseparably related. But human action is an 'embodiment of value' and a human being takes a 'value attitude' towards it. It is this relevance to value (Wertbeziehung) which, for Weber, is the 'selective organizing principle', through which elements of experience, which are important according to the point of view, are selected to construct

1 Structure of Social Action, p.582.
2 ibid., p.583.
3 ibid., p.583.
4 ibid., p.583, fn.2.
5 ibid., p.584; G. Az Wissenschaftslehre, pp.64, fn.1, and von Schelting, Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre, p.189, fn.1.
6 Parsons, op. cit., p.586.
7 ibid., p.592.
8 ibid., p.592.
what Weber calls the historical individual. As there are different values, so there will be different and numerous historical individuals; and general concepts are built up in the analysis of a particular historical individual as well as in the comparison of several historical individuals. This is the way through which Weber comes to the fictional nature of the ideal type.

According to Parsons, Weber brought in an element of relativity into his methodology without losing its claims, properly qualified, to objectivity, by establishing the logical independence of the standards of objectivity, the schema of proof, from relativistic elements. The value elements are central to the analysis of action, which means that scientific investigation itself becomes a mode of action without losing its objectivity. This in effect means that scientific interest does not include all the knowable facts, but only a selection; once the selection is made the historical individual or - as Parsons describes it - the system of propositions, by fulfilling the logical necessity of truth becomes verifiable and objective. The most

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1 Structure of Social Action, p.593.
2 ibid., p.593.
3 ibid., p.593.
4 ibid., p.600.
5 ibid., p.600.
6 ibid., p.600.
7 ibid., p.600.
8 ibid., p.600.
significant consequence of this method is that although the value which determined the construction of a particular historical individual may change, the historical individual itself remains valid and translatable in terms of another conceptual scheme. These pure historical individuals are in, what Weber calls, a functional relation to objective reality,\(^1\) which is the essence of ideal type construction. The logic of ideal type construction is best seen in Weber's conditions of objective proof: the categories of objective possibility and adequate explanation.\(^2\)

The question of causality is dealt with by the logic of experiment, with the difference that factors involved are part of an historical individual, therefore parts of a real process and an organic unity.\(^3\) The meaning of a change of factor can only be that specific facts have changed.\(^4\) This can be logically formulated as: 'what is the universal of which the specific facts in question constitute a particular?'\(^5\) Parsons distinguishes\(^6\) two types of universals: - going beyond Weber's analysis - first, a class of objects in which an entity is identified through a number of criteria it shares with

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1 Structure of Social Action, p.601.
2 ibid., p.610.
3 ibid., p.612.
4 ibid., p.613.
5 ibid., p.614.
6 ibid., p.614.
other entities, for example, the average; second, a class of objects
defined through the common traits of the particular objects. They
may also be defined as ideal types. Weber chose the ideal type
instead of the other two, because concrete historical individuals
are organic wholes and the requirements of proof need fulfilment of
the norm. The ideal type is conceived as the completely realized
norm,\(^1\) thus making it possible to determine the role of others in
terms of deviation of the actual case from the realized norm.\(^2\) This
makes the ideal type meaningful as well.

The category of objective possibility is applied mainly through
analogies,\(^3\) which involves a judgment of the probability of the
remaining factors (when the alleged factor is eliminated by taking
analogies without it) being in the same condition in both the original
situation and the analogical situations. The judgment of adequate
explanation is also in terms of probability, that is, if the
analogical factors have a probably equal influence, then an important
positive role can be imputed to the alleged causal factor.\(^4\)

The limit of abstract generalization as means of explanation is
set by the need of understanding.\(^5\) Without the subjective point of

\[^1\] Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.615.
\[^2\] ibid., p.615.
\[^3\] ibid., p.630.
\[^4\] ibid., p.630.
\[^5\] cf. von Schelting, Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre, p.342.
view the theory of action becomes meaningless.\footnote{Parsons, Structure of Social Action, p.635.} The complex of meaning involved in rational action is scientifically valid knowledge because of the intrinsic relations between ends, means and conditions which it expresses; and motivation depends on such intrinsic relations.\footnote{Ibid., p.636.}

But real events may be significant only as symbols, and meanings of such symbols without the intrinsic relations of motivation.\footnote{Ibid., p.637.} The ideal-typical constructions of the systems of ideas, such as the Calvinist theology and Brahmanic philosophy have to be understood only as systems of meaningful interrelated symbols, before their relation to the motivation inherent in religious interests can be understood.\footnote{Ibid., p.637.}

The main logical form of proof is thus separated from the relativity of knowledge inherent in the principle of value-relevance.\footnote{Von Schelting, Max Weber's Wissenschaftslehre, pp.6-7.}

Von Schelting finds the theme of Weber's methodology dependent on two factors: the need for rational knowledge and the use of such knowledge in meaningful action.\footnote{Ibid., p.638.} These two factors are closely interrelated, as for example, the ethic of responsibility is related to the causal rationalization of reality,\footnote{Ibid., p.10.} in the sense that the causal
course of action determines, by virtue of its expected result, responsible action.¹

Weber's theme,² therefore, was rationalization of life. The meaning of responsible action ³ needs to change from subjective rationality to objective and valid knowledge, and Weber's main concern is with the formal structure of responsible action and the consequences of this need.⁴ As it is not possible to foresee the consequences of one's action, responsible action seems to be the only meaningful action, although Weber does not make such a conclusion.⁵ Sentimental action,⁶ the alternative to responsible action, is a purely formal concept for Weber.⁷ Our concern, however, is not the judgment of action on its good or bad result, or the sentiments of the subject, but the content of the action towards which one feels responsible as far as one expects it to fulfill its course. Von Schelting tries to relate this with Weber's methodology,⁸ first by taking a general view of his interpretation of rational knowledge, and secondly, a general survey of

¹ von Schelting, Max Webers Wissenschaftslehre, p.10.
² ibid., p.12.
³ ibid., p.14 (verantwortungsäthischen Verhaltens)
⁵ ibid., p.44.
⁶ gesinnungsäthischer Handel
⁷ ibid., p.47.
⁸ ibid., p.55.
his theory of values, which has more to do with conflicting contents of action than with spheres of values or their validity. This is also the point of beginning of his religious studies.\(^1\) The central theme of Weber's methodology is the logical structure of the causal explanation of individual happenings,\(^2\) and his study of capitalism shows a workable method of logical causal imputation in cases of individual historical phenomena.\(^3\) Weber's methodology is not concerned with new methods, but to clarify the logical structure of the science itself,\(^4\) with the help of its contents.\(^5\) History or the social sciences themselves are possible only when we analyse the elements of knowledge through more or less conscious or explicit logical standards of objective validity.\(^6\) There are four ways\(^7\) in which different patterns of historical\(^8\) thought can be differentiated: i. patterns which defy all validity of knowledge; ii. those which can be considered valid knowledge only if they can be measured by present ideals; iii. those which are completely valid; iv. those which would be valid for us, if

\(^1\) von Schelting, Webers Wissenschaftslehre, p.56.
\(^2\) ibid., p.57.
\(^3\) ibid., p.58.
\(^4\) ibid., p.70.
\(^5\) ibid., p.71.
\(^6\) ibid., p.82.
\(^7\) ibid., p.83.
\(^8\) (geistige Vergangenheit), ibid., p.83.
we imagined ourselves in the position of the author. In each case the theoretical premises of the object are related to the theoretical value, so that the formal premises can be measured against the theoretical validity. In this nothing would be changed, whether their interest leads to errors, elementary or retrogressive stages, or deviations; or whether their secondary objects lead to circumstances in which neither their theoretical evaluation is possible nor can they be related to the theoretical value. The thought patterns in their causal analysis - within the limits of the nature of the object which regulate the analysis - are taken as mere facts. The proof of a change in human reason in the sense of a change in the formal basis of objectively valid knowledge is impossible.

The religious sociological works of Weber show what the tensions between different ways of life and spheres of values are and how they, with increased rationalization in individual spheres of life and values (state, economy, ethics, etc.), appear more heightened. It shows also how, at particular points, the relationships of tension invariably and adequately satisfy the spiritual need for a meaning, which the antagonism between values and spheres of life brings up, particularly for the need for an ultimate solution of the tension

1 von Schelting, Webers Wissenschaftslehre, p.83.
2 ibid., pp.83-84.
3 ibid., p.84.
4 ibid., p.92.
between ethics and other spheres of life, particularly politics.

The ideal meaning of such relationships of tension and the spiritual need for their solution through an ultimate value is a specific 'event'¹ and cannot be reduced to any real causal process.² The ideal meaning of the question so raised, however, is necessary - but the meaning itself is metaphysical - and is objectively valid as it is a part of the factual objective knowledge.³ The methodology is not concerned with the question how raw experience can be changed into an object of study; nor on which subjective or a priori assumptions the possibility of experience depends. There are two 'forms' of theoretical knowledge; the methodology is concerned with the secondary form of empirical material.⁴ What is problematical here is the logical structure of all those social and cultural sciences which the pure types of natural sciences cannot dispose of.⁵ What interests Weber is how does the logical structure of non-natural sciences work; what is the special quality with which the diversity of empirical reality is held in concepts?; and what is the peculiar connection of the contents of the concept to the diversity, and what is the basis of their special characteristics as against natural sciences?⁶ Von Schelting, Webers Wissenschaftslehre, p.92 ("Geschehen").

¹ ibid., p.92 ('in irgendeine realen Kausalitätten').
² ibid., p.93.
³ ibid., p.178.
⁴ ibid., p.179.
⁵ ibid., p.179.
⁶ ibid., p.179.
Schelting brings together the most important grounds on which the Objectivist and the Intuitionist theories base the logical peculiarity\(^1\) which Weber contradicts.

The "irrationality"\(^2\) of historical events (particularly of human action and personality) makes, according to the Objectivist historical logic, causal explanation, predetermination of events, general concepts and formulation of laws in history impossible. The fortuitous has the same logical consequences for historical knowledge as irrationality and freedom of the human will. Other factors include physical causality of human action, qualitative differences among individuals. The arguments of the Intuitionist theory show a considerable variety of formulations, although the basic theme is that an historical complex is understandable directly without concepts, and the certainty of it is based on inside, i.e. a sympathetic, understanding. The logical peculiarity of history is based on this "inner" reality.\(^3\)

In connection with Max Weber two more arguments should be considered: i. the conception of an objectively workable point of view of historical knowledge for a particular phenomenon; and ii. to maintain that this interest based on individuality itself. In the discussion of these theories by Weber two questions are considered:\(^4\)

\(^1\) von Schelting, Webers Wissenschaftslehre, p.179 (logische Eigenart).
\(^2\) ibid., p.180.
\(^3\) ibid., p.181.
\(^4\) ibid., p.181.
first, whether at all, or how far, these qualities of historical knowledge, as asserted by Objectivism and Intuitionism, exist; and second, as far as this is true, whether the qualities – with which the logical structure of non-natural scientific knowledge is related – have any logical relevance. Weber answers the second question in the negative, and that the factors underlying the subject of knowledge are decisive for the logical structure of the non-natural sciences.

It does not follow for Weber, from the logical irrelevance of the substantive or material qualities, that there are no differences in the logical character of the sciences. Because there are specific points of view which do not allow the use of certain forms of thinking in the historical or non-natural scientific context – or at least the meaning of these forms within it, in comparison to the system of natural sciences, is quite out of place – therefore, for Weber there exists the 'deepest difference' within human knowledge, inspite of possible similarity in concept formation particularly in the logical character.

According to von Schelting, the best way to show Weber's range of methodological ideas is how he refutes the objectivist view, and what follows for him, and what, according to him, is the basis and

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2. ibid., p.181.
3. sachliche Qualitäten.
4. ibid., p.181.
5. ibid., p.182.
the nature of logical difference within the empirical scientific knowledge. From his discussion of the methodological Intuitionism it is possible to derive the special point the logical relevance of the understandability of history had for Weber.

A description of Weber's discussion on the Objectivist methodological position is best begun with the concept of irrationality. Three different possible meanings of irrationality are discussed in connection with the methodological question: whether the specific irrationality of an historical event exists and whether the particular logical structure of history can be constructed on it. In all the three meanings it is impossible. For the present, irrationality can mean impossibility of putting together the course of history under general (causal) concepts (laws), and so to grasp the reality: i.e. impossibility of ascribing causes to an event or predetermination of a future course of events from the given conditions. In considering irrationality in this purely logical sense Weber does not differentiate in principle between human action as the stuff of history and natural events.

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1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.182.
2 ibid., p.182 (Verstehbarkeit des historischen Objekts).
3 ibid., p.182.
4 ibid., p.182.
5 ibid., p.182 (Begreifen).
Irrationality in this sense comes into play with the full individuality of a phenomenon.¹ For Weber the logical problem of history is connected with the problem of individuality, and the peculiarity lies not in the objective material but in the subjective interest in the qualitative diversity of the individual. Therefore, the peculiarity of history cannot be based on irrationality, because it shares irrationality with nature.²

Irrationality in the sense of a lack of motivation³ or understandability of historical events, i.e. the impossibility of finding a ground for the inner reconstruction of historical human behaviour, makes it clear that a theory of historical knowledge as against natural sciences cannot be built. When the historian speaks of irrationality in the historical complex, he does not compare historical empirical action with nature, but with the ideal of a pure rational - i.e. having a rational means-end relation - action. This kind of irrationality is the privilege of the mad.⁴ In this connection von Schelting asks, what can the question of "freedom" mean?⁵ It means to determine what kinds of action are there related to consciousness

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.183.
² ibid., p.185.
³ ibid., p.185 (mangelnden motivationsmässigen Denkbarkeit).
⁵ ibid., p.189.
and in what way 'conscious human behaviour'\(^1\) is relevant to the logical method of an empirical science under which it comes?\(^2\)

Weber, as we know,\(^3\) puts freedom against irrationality. Free action is specifically rational: it is calculable\(^4\) and to a great degree understandable. Rational action here means that which has a rational end,\(^5\) i.e. determined by the most adequate means and uninfluenced by transcendental motives and circumstances.\(^6\) This definition is an extreme case:\(^7\) it does not determine the contents of the means-end relationship. Between these two opposites there is the action with an "irrational" motive. Every actual human action is rational only within given circumstances. If the adequacy of means is a matter of belief, then the action is subjectively rational; if the action is based on factual, i.e. objective, generally valid, knowledge, it is objectively rational. It is, from the point of view of the end, objectively right: the "correct" type of action.\(^8\) It is possible for both these types of action to happen together, but not

\(^1\) von Schelting, op. cit., p.189 (Bewusstseinstatsache begleitete menschliche Sichverhalten).
\(^2\) ibid., pp.189-90.
\(^3\) ibid., p.190; Weber, Wissenschaftslehre, p.67.
\(^4\) ibid., p.190.
\(^5\) zweckrational.
\(^6\) ibid., p.190.
\(^7\) ibid., p.190, fn.3 (grenzfall).
\(^8\) ibid., p.190, fn.3 (Richtigkeitstypus des Handelns).
necessarily. It is clear that freedom and rationality, in the sense used here, are related to the theory of general concepts, the rules of general empirical connection between means and end. For the actors the causal connection, the indispensable supposition of rationality, as well as the judgment of an action as rational is related to its explanation. Human behaviour shows, as Weber says, coherence as well as regularity. Formulation of such rules according to their logical form is a general concept and also a so-called empirical law, and cannot be differentiated from concept formation about natural objects.

The third possible - i.e. anthropological - meaning of irrationality cannot be taken as a logical element on which the antithesis of historical knowledge to the knowledge of natural objects can be built.

In the discussion above the answer to the question, what is the

1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.191 (Allgemeinbegrifflichkeit).
2 ibid., pp.191-2.
3 ibid., p.192.
5 ibid., p.192.
7 von Schelting, op. cit., p.194.
8 ibid., p.194.
basis of non-natural sciences as an antithesis to natural sciences, is given implicitly in the concepts of individuality, values and understanding. But as all given reality is in itself individual, the obvious task should be to reconstruct reality in its endless variety, if individuality is the guiding principle of historical knowledge. But concept formation is not to reconstruct reality in its endless variety. The peculiarity of historical-social situations which interests us is the existence and combination of different "new" and "old" historical times in one social setting and in the same period of time, which can be represented through a single social stratification by contemporary as well as anachronistic forms, or highly heterogenous - i.e. in different stages of development - ideals of individual groups. One of the most interesting themes of historical description has been the prominence of old or historical elements in their different forms and their ideal or real continuation into contemporary times. The logical concern of historical knowledge is however, not just with the new elements, but the meaningful new elements. That is to say, without bringing in the principle of value -

1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.220.
2 ibid., p.221.
3 ibid., pp.221-2; cf. Rickert, Grenzen, p.32, fn.1.
4 ibid., p.222 (in einem sozialen Raum).
5 ibid., p.222.
6 ibid., p.222.
7 ibid., p.222.
relevance it is impossible to get a methodological explication of historical knowledge.\footnote{von Schelting, op. cit., p.223.} Otherwise one has to a certain extent to resort to the principle of 'teleological dependence'.\footnote{ibid., p.223.} Another principle is that of effectiveness.\footnote{ibid., p.223 (Wirksamkeit).} The changeability of value as the principle of selection in history does not affect the pure formal structure of historical knowledge.\footnote{ibid., p.230.} The claim of objectivity by history depends, according to Rickert and Weber,\footnote{As Weber follows Rickert in essentials.} on the supposition that values are unconditionally valid;\footnote{von Schelting, op. cit., p.233.} with the connections that exist between the factually valid values\footnote{ibid., p.233 (Wertideen).} - the 'empirical general values'\footnote{ibid., p.233 ("empirisch allgemeinen Werten").} - and the unconditionally valid values, these objects in themselves are important from all points of view and are accepted by all as the content of valid historical concepts.\footnote{ibid., p.233.}

Weber devotes a considerable discussion to the concept of effectiveness.\footnote{ibid., p.241 (Wirksamkeit); Weber, G.A.z. Wissenschaftslehre, p.233, fn.1.} Effectiveness, however, does not in itself give a
criterion of what is historically essential. 1 It is not "obvious" to Weber that the point of beginning of the causal regression is given in the significant result itself - or rather, in the present; 2 and that the effective and the historical are inherent in the process which has resulted in the present. In that case, we have, firstly, to bring into history all those events of the human past which have no causal relevance to the present; indeed, we have to make those events the point of beginning of their own explanation, the explanation of their development as causal regression. Actually, we do not consider the past cultures 3 only because they have been causally important in the formation of our own culture. 4 We cannot understand the essential point of history in the narrow sense of individualized knowledge of cultural events, nor the essence of empirical ways of analysis, 5 as in sociology, unless we keep clearly in mind the logical differences between: i. the meaning of a concept in a particular context as an end of knowledge in which the central aim fulfils itself - on the one hand; and the concept as a means of knowledge - on the other; ii. meaningful in the sense of: (a) value-ideas in their actual individuality, ideally essential - on the one hand; and (b)

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2 ibid., p. 241.
3 ibid., p. 242 (vergangenen Kulturlebens).
4 ibid., p. 242 (für unsere Kulturgestaltung kausal wirksam gewesen sind.)
5 ibid., p. 244 (empirische Betrachtungsweisen).
value-ideas as causally efficient - on the other. (Both these kinds of meaningfulness can be found in one concrete phenomenon). Consideration of concrete elements of reality as objects of knowledge, as concrete causes and effects in a real historical process - on the one hand; and particular facts and objects - in themselves value-indifferent - as sources of knowledge - on the other.

The understanding of history in the narrower sense is the basis also for the understanding of other ways of analysis of historical phenomena. The objection to effectiveness as a logically relevant objective factor in the determination of historical content cannot support the subjective methodological view in any way. The historical past is valuable to us not only because of its "effectiveness", but also because it is a "preparation" of the present. Our interest in it as an individual, self-sufficient form of human destiny is independent of its leaving traces in the present or whether it is a stage of development towards the present. Effectiveness as such cannot be the only criterion of the value or truth of ideas or forms of thought; the choice which comes into consideration as effective presupposes a relevance to value-ideas, as also do the operative

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1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.244.  
2 ibid., p.245.  
3 ibid., p.245, fn.2 ("Wirksamkeit").  
4 ibid., p.245, fn.2.  
5 ibid., p.245 (Wert ("Wahrheit") der Denkgebilde).
ideas. The question is, whether the value or the truth of these value-ideas is also based on effectiveness. The analysis of value, which leads to the determination and delimitation of historical objects, does not mean value-judgment on these objects, but a conscious and articulate presentation of the point of departure in terms of a possible standpoint of value, which indicates the relevant segment of reality, and, in this way, claims, more or less, universal value. This is the first step towards objectivity of historical knowledge. The first possible identity of a particular thought-out content constitutes its objectivity. Another step towards resolution of "subjectivity" is reached when the historian considers not only those elements of the reality which he subjectively finds value-relevant, but all those elements which are relevant or should be relevant to the value-object.

A closer or more precisely formal determination of those values on which the historian bases or should base the delimitation of his objects is not made by Weber. The most important factor, however, of historical research and the presupposition of its fruitfulness is

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1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.245.
3 ibid., p.246.
4 ibid., p.248.
5 ibid., p.249.
a knowledge of possible value-relevances, which implies the ability to change - at least theoretically - standpoints according to the object. Objectively valid in this context is neither related to the value of truth nor to the atheoretical guiding value of the historian; objectively valid is synonymous with "true", and is related to individual scientific results, which can claim to carry the value of truth, but whose ultimate value is problematical.

Causal imputation is possible only through the value-relevant reduction of the inexhaustible concrete phenomena into their meaningful sides and constituents; and when these are made the point of departure and subject-matter of the causal regression that the causal imputation of every phenomenon is possible. The formation of reality through abstraction and synthesis - the construction of the historical individual - is the first assumption in the possibility of individual historical knowledge. For in this case all the circumstances and happenings, which are causally indispensible to

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1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.249 (vorliegen).
2 ibid., p.249; Weber, G.A.Z. Wissenschaftslehre, pp.260-61; See also von Schelting's Schlussabschnitt for a further discussion.
3 "Objectiv-gültig".
4 die atheoretischen den Historikern leitenden Werte.
5 von Schelting, p.250.
6 ibid., p.255.
7 ibid., p.255.
8 von Schelting, p.255.
the full variety of the reality, and which do not introduce any modification to the actual course of events in consideration, can be put aside as causally irrelevant.\(^1\) Thus the first question on the possibility of causal imputation is, how can a concrete result be imputed to one particular cause, when there are innumerable causal factors which have conditioned the state of a particular process; and when all those individual factors are indispensible in bringing about the particular result?\(^2\) But the question to be answered now is: in what logical form is the causal explanation of value-relevant individuality of an historical phenomenon to be validly realized?\(^3\)

In other words, through which logical operations can we gain the insight and shall we be able to base demonstrably the causal relation between essential constituents of a result with particular constituents of the endless reality?\(^4\) In consideration of the complex of those logical categories and operations, and those conceptual forms of reality which, in their interdependence,\(^5\) constitute the logical structure of causal imputation, it would be relevant first simply to take away a number of factors to make this logical structure in anticipation, and then to show how it has necessarily been constructed,\(^6\)

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3. ibid., p.257.
5. ibid., p.253 (Zusammengehörigkeit).
6. ibid., p.258 (mit Notwendigkeit hervorgehoben).
from the analysis of an example of concrete historical imputation.  

The logical structure must, however, apply to every concrete example.  

It should not matter whether the causal statement, which is the point of beginning, is a significant historical event or it is related to everyday life.  

It is equally unimportant whether a meaningless natural event or a meaningful human behaviour is being explained; whether it is one's own subjective experience or of another. 

Logically, there is only a gradual difference between amenability and complete realization of material or inner happenings or of motives. 

This structure becomes clear only in contrast or "control" of the hypothetical contents, it does not change the circumstances. It is implicit in every causal imputation that we must presume the substance of the conceptual formation to have happened or to be possible to happen, if it expresses the "truth".

Weber would not show the particular method by which to fix the causal connection, but rather indicate the logically necessary form of all causal imputation, generally used as well as being implicit in historical knowledge.
The proof of this is in the main part of Weber's essay on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. \(^1\) The endeavour towards this proof leads Weber to researches and mental operations whose logical structure corresponds to the formal logical structure developed above. \(^2\) The scientific work on that correlation, particularly its forms in different countries and in particular deviations of Protestantism, had not been exhausted by Weber, as he considered his own work only a preliminary essay. \(^3\) The logical structure on which his works stand is nevertheless clear, \(^4\) which we could show without giving an absolutely precise answer to the material question: \(^5\) which particular qualities, and in what measure - compared to other causally relevant factors - can be attributed specially to the economic ethic of ascetic Protestantism, according to Weber's validly proved judgment? \(^6\) Weber emphasizes the importance of that economic ethic, and the way of life \(^7\) conditioned by it, for modern capitalism as an economic system in its origin, and to the same

\(^1\) von Schelting, op. cit., pp.281-282.
\(^2\) ibid., p.282.
\(^3\) ibid., p.282; Antikritisches Archiv f. Sozialwiss. u. Sozialpol., 30 Bd., 1910, p.191f
\(^4\) ibid., p.282.
\(^5\) ibid., p.282 (sachliche Frage).
\(^6\) ibid., p.282 (nach Max Weber end gültigem und für wissenschaftlich erwiesen).
\(^7\) ibid., p.283 (Lebensstil).
extent, in its development. We are however, concerned here with the logical basis of his assertion, without considering the ideal foundation of that ethic in a religious world-meaning.¹ Weber rejects the notion that a capitalistic spirit should have created the capitalist economic system of its own. He rejects such a 'purely spiritual construction'² for other economic systems as well. Weber also considers other historical economic forms from the religious-sociological point of view; that is, he frames the question according to their relation to certain ultimate religions attitudes to life. So far as Weber's interest in other economic forms and their origin is autonomous,³ and their causal imputation is considered by him, the thought process has the same logical structure as that of the historical explanation of modern capitalism in relation to its certain individual characteristics.⁴ Nevertheless, the main question remains: how has the particular form of social and economic life, the modern capitalism, originated, and why has it taken on a special kind of individuality in the Western world and nowhere else? This idea is not only behind the essay on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, but also behind other contributions of Weber to the sociology of religion.⁵

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.283 (Weltdeutung).
² ibid., p.283 (rein spiritualstiche Konstruktion).
³ ibid., p.283 (verselbständigt).
⁴ ibid., p.283.
⁵ ibid., p.283.
All of them help to explain, with the greatest possible certainty, the individuality and the degree of development of Western capitalism. The logical structure includes the use of historical analogies in particular places besides the logical scheme of historical causal imputation.

Weber first analyses the entire process which leads to the historically individual result of modern capitalism in such a way that each component of the process comes out clearly and can be examined for their objectively possible efficiency on the basis of general empirical rules. He examines these components in a mental experiment, as the possibly expected result of the combined working out of the rest of the contents of the process. The controlled component is, therefore, the same as that whose causal significance for the actual result is being examined: the special economic sentiment, which has come only at the beginning of the modern Western world, and which Weber is inclined to make responsible for the special historical result: the individuality and specifically high degree of development of modern capitalism.

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1 von Schelting includes in this the relevant portions of the "Agrargeschichte des Altertums" and the "Universalgeschichte des Kapitalismus", ibid., p.283.

2 ibid., p.284.

3 ibid., p.284.

4 ibid., p.284 (gedanklicher Isolation).

5 ibid., p.284 (Gesinnung).

6 ibid., p.284.
The first step in this thought process may be intuitive, but the main task, however, is to determine the meaningful correspondence, the adequacy of meaning and the "affinity" which exist between capitalistic economic behaviour and the practical maxims of the Protestant economic ethic, and then to prove validly that this "ethos" is the real cause of certain individual factors in Western capitalism, i.e. the historical causation of these factors is to be imputed to this ethos. This proposition is realised according to the same logical structure as for all causal imputations.

The central preliminary question in every causal imputation is: What kind of development - when the important factor is eliminated - it is objectively possible to think out, on which one rests the question of the causal significance of the factor? A number of such unreal but possible developments is possible on this basis; and these constructions are not reproductive fantasies, corresponding in every detail to the possible results, but include only what is necessary to make the minimum of assumptions to reach a valid imputation. These constructions should answer the central preliminary question of causal

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1 von Schelling, op. cit., p. 284 (die sinnhafte Entsprechung, die Sinnaddquanz, die "Wahlverwandtschaft").
2 ibid., p. 284.
3 ibid., p. 284.
4 ibid., p. 285.
5 ibid., p. 285.
imputation only in the negative: whether, by imagining the continuation of the elements of the modern-ethical sentiment the development was as it was "expected," and not as it really was. Weber rejects the positive construction.  

To add to this operation there is another: comparison of the relevant causal complex with analogous series of development, in which, if situations and processes differ in some components, they are the same in others. Weber, in order not to be limited by the deliberately changed conditions of these mental constructions, looks for analogies in historical reality. He looks for those real processes and situations which differ from the historical development in which he is interested to the same degree, as far as possible, as the conditions which have been imagined to be changed. Put in a concrete way: Weber seeks in all times and among all peoples historical developments, which, in relation to a number of components, are comparable to those which have contributed to the result of modern capitalism, but nevertheless lack the particular factors which seem decisive for the Western development: this means, have the analogous historical develop-

3 ibid., p.285.
4 ibid., p.285 (parallelisierung).
5 ibid., p.285.
6 ibid., p.285.
ments shown the specific, economic, practical ethic? The use of the principle of analogy should contribute towards a conclusive answer to the central preliminary question of causal imputation, and to reach a greater degree of certainty than an imaginary construction of objectively possible series of development.

The present task, however, is to find directions towards a particular logical structure, which result from Weber’s intention to find the cause of the uniqueness of Western capitalism. In this way, von Schelting hopes to refute the erroneous conception that there is a direct contradiction between Weber’s material work and his methodological research. It is obvious that Weber was not the first to use this method of causal imputation; nor did he use his historical studies to illustrate his methodological doctrines. Nevertheless, there is no contradiction between them, but it can be maintained that his material work does not exhaust his methodological inquiry.

Weber does not deal with a general concept of capitalism, but with a directly opposite concept of the particular uniqueness of the modern Western capitalism. He is interested in the important factor of the economic life of modern Western times, which he distinguishes

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2 ibid., p.286.
3 ibid., p.286.
4 ibid., p.287.
from other forms of development, in the sense that it has not existed anywhere earlier or at most only in a rudimentary form.\(^1\) This unique quality of modern Western capitalism consists in technological industrial capitalism as a system with a high degree of exact capital accounting and rational organization of formally free labour, built on the use of exchange-opportunities\(^2\) in free market-relationships, as a mass phenomenon, as a continuing structural form of private economy and as a typical and predominant form of satisfaction of the needs of the masses.\(^3\) Besides these assumptions and the necessary elements of its increasing rationality, especially in capital accounting and in organization of work, other characteristics are complete separation of household and industry, between industrial property and personal property;\(^4\) also rational structure of the law and predictability of legal decisions and administrative processes, exact predictability of technical factors of production, exact calculation of the contractual factor in the formally free labour, which is separated from the human factor.\(^5\) Weber is concerned with this kind of modern Western bourgeois capitalism, but it is not clear what significance these characteristics have for the specific economic

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1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.289.
2 ibid., p.289 (Chance).
3 ibid., p.239; Weber, Religionssoziologie I, p.7.
ethical sentiment, whose result is the rational way of life.\textsuperscript{1} The problem he sets is the origin of the peculiarity of the Western bourgeois industrial rational capitalism, which has impressed itself on the economic life of the modern civilized nations,\textsuperscript{2} and which cannot be explained without the specific economic ethos derived from ascetic Protestantism, without its practical effect on everyday economic life. We are concerned here with the logical basis of this thesis, and the justification for his statement that the causal synthesis between the ascetic Protestant economic ethical sentiment and the unique quality of the modern Western capitalism is achieved, or, at least, the probability of a causal relationship between the two phenomena is really great. The logical basis corresponds throughout with that given above in the abstract and in other concrete examples, and the development is the same as every causal imputation.\textsuperscript{3}

The question to be asked is what would Weber have done to demonstrate his rightness against his critics? In criticism of Weber's thesis of causal relevance of the ascetic Protestant economic sentiment, it is maintained that the modern Western capitalism could have the same special characteristics without this special element. According to Weber, there is no ground for this supposition, because every attempt to construct an objectively possible development by controlling

\textsuperscript{1} von Schelting, op. cit., p.290.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid., p.290.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid., p.291.
that component, and every analogous but historically different process of development is inclined to contradict this supposition.¹

The individual components of the historical processes which lead to modern capitalism — which are discovered through mental analysis and which remain after the elimination of the specific economic sentiment — can be included under general concepts and typical rules of events.² This is not to say that these components would lead to the modern economic structure. For example, one of these components is modern technology, through which it can be said — because it was used by the modern bourgeois capitalism — that the traditionalism of economic processes were overcome. But it cannot be taken for granted that traditionalism was overcome automatically by technological advancement. The right reason would be that the development of industrial capitalism became possible because it set a premium on discoveries.³ History does not show that technological inventions as such are conducive to advancement towards a new economic structure. To take another example, neither the increase in the reserve of precious metals, although significant for economic development, could have, according to empirical rules, created a new kind of economic structure from itself. The rational law too has had no causal connection with modern capitalism. It is a product of a complicated

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.291.
² ibid., p.291 (Geschehenregeln).
³ ibid., p.292.
and long development, reaching far into the past; but it has certainly been influenced further in its rationalization by the existence of modern capitalism.\footnote{von Schelting, op. cit., p. 293.} The impact of the actual disposition of capitalist economic activity, which we find at the beginning of modern times, on the existence of the law with a high degree of rationality and a highly developed technology is not a matter of indifference; but the question is, how has the disposition come about? The mental experiment in the examination of the individual component of the historical process towards modern capitalism does not aim at confirming the complete irrelevance of this component, but at making clear whether this component from itself and alone - under mental elimination when its causal significance is being examined - arrives at this result in an objectively possible way.\footnote{ibid., p. 293.} Neither do the factors which are important for the further development of the already existing modern capitalism, from any particular point of view. Why then has the individual quality of modern capitalism originated?\footnote{ibid., p. 293.} The examination of all other components shows, according to general empirical rules, that they are not capable of having originated something like the special quality of modern Western capitalism; the result would rather be something else.\footnote{ibid., p. 294.} It is true that at the beginning - and before - of
capitalism there was a widespread desire for gold, but the special quality has not originated — despite all wealth — in the unrestricted lust for gold; on the contrary, it has been carried on by people hostile to the colonial plunder capitalism and other kinds of political capitalism. A comparison with the development of a limitless pursuit of gold in other times and places shows that this spirit is not suited to producing a capitalism of the modern kind. The universal dominance of absolute unscrupulousness in the pursuit of selfish interests in money-making has been a characteristic of those countries where the growth of capitalism — measured by Western standards — has remained backward. The absolute and conscious recklessness in profiteering has gone together with the strictest traditionalism, without in any way breaking it or changing the prevalent economic structure. Therefore, we cannot attribute the change of European economy in the direction of modern Western capitalism to a particularly high degree of lust for wealth; nor do we find any support for the idea that the change had been desired by the particular group of men or stratum who are known for such a lust. All the examples which have been given, and others

1 cf. Sombart, Quintessence of Capitalism.
3 ibid., p.294; Religionssoziologie I, p.201.
4 ibid., p.294; Religionssoziologie I, p.43.
5 ibid., p.295.
6 ibid., p.295; Religionssoziologie I, p.41, fn. 1 & p.530, fn.1.
which could be derived from an analysis of composite factors, are, in the given logical sense, related; in terms of the investigations of different components in their objectively possible development towards the causal beginnings of modern capitalism.¹

Weber does not, however, make a positive mental construction of the possible effects, by eliminating one of the components of the process - the component whose causal relevance is in question, i.e. the specific economic ethic at the beginning of modern times.² The result of such an investigation by eliminating the remaining components - or rather the investigation, according to general empirical rules, into the objectively possible affect³ of the remaining components - could not be the uniqueness of modern Western capitalism, but some other form of economy.⁴

Instead of a closed description⁵ of the results of the development reached through the common working out of the remaining factors, Weber turns to historical analogy.⁶ It does not change the basic structure of his causal reasoning to any decisive extent. The use of analogy should also answer the preliminary question of causal

¹ von Scheling, op. cit., p.295.
² ibid., p.295.
³ ibid., p.295 (Wirkanskeit).
⁴ ibid., p.295.
⁵ ibid., p.295 (Bild).
⁶ ibid., p.295.
imputation: whether by elimination or change in the causally relevant factor the result would be same as it really was.¹ Weber uses two forms of analogy, positive and negative.² The analogies are found by Weber in different cultures and periods: the Roman and Greek antiquities, the Ptolemic Egypt, the Islamic civilization, China.

The logical ideal was to discover a historical process which covered all the factors which led to the development of modern Western capitalism, except the specific economic sentiment of ascetic Protestantism. Weber, of course, did not find such an ideal case anywhere, not even in China. This led him to a particular form of analogy: besides comparing with the historical complexes in which there were positive factors, he compared with those historical developments in which the circumstances unfavourable to the development towards modern capitalism were less numerous or less intensive than in modern times.³ This is what is meant by positive and negative analogies. These analogies show that existence of an extensive or intensive "surplus"⁴ of factors, which could have hindered the development of capitalism, could not stop it where the specific economic sentiment pervaded.⁵

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.296.
² ibid., p.297.
³ ibid., p.296.
⁴ ibid., p.296 ("Mehr").
In certain phases of Chinese economic history Weber finds a considerable number of factors favourable to capitalistic development, according to general empirical rules; and establishes that they could not bring about any kind of modern Western capitalism. These factors are: orientation to worldly life, high regard for wealth, obvious acceptance of profitability of money, free choice of occupation, lack of status by birth, lack of any limiting laws on usury and similar activities, considerably favourable economic politics, freedom of choice in production methods, absence of slavery, relatively high number of technical skills and new inventions, intensive inland trade, at least periodically, considerable export trade, and peace in the kingdom. All these factors helped the development of various kinds of political capitalism in China, even non-political commercial capitalism; but they did not bring about modern industrial capitalism in China or in other similar circumstances.

The logical significance of this conclusion by Weber for the problem of causal imputation in modern Western capitalism is clear: it is concerned with a mental experiment, through elimination of the factors according to their causal importance, in order to gain a representation of the objectively possible development. It is shown that - after these eliminations - the remaining components of the Western development were

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2 collected by von Schelting: individual references on p.297, ibid.
3 ibid., p.296.
4 ibid., p.298.
not adapted\(^1\) to produce the special characteristic of modern Western capitalism.\(^2\) This is shown on the basis of both the general laws of development and use of analogies.\(^3\) Even a surplus of favourable factors and a scarcity of unfavourable factors could not in any other way have brought about this particular result.\(^4\) Many of the favourable conditions of European development were lacking in China and other analogous situations;\(^5\) and certainly some favourable factors contradict unfavourable factors determined by general empirical rules, but on the other hand, the regions of the rise of the individuality of modern capitalism lack some of those favourable factors and have limiting factors not found elsewhere,\(^6\) for example, diffused and undeveloped state of money economy, feudal and craft affiliations, monopolies of all kinds restricting trade. \textit{Weber's sentence: "In spite of the various superficially favourable circumstances, modern capitalism developed as little in China, in Western or Oriental antiquity, or in the Islamic regions; although in each of these areas other conditions as favourable would seem to have helped its rise"}\(^7\) reveals

\(^{1}\) von Schelting, op. cit., p.298 (geeignet).
\(^{2}\) ibid., p.298.
\(^{3}\) ibid., p.298.
\(^{4}\) ibid., p.298.
\(^{5}\) in anderen als Analogien herangezogenen historischen Verläufen.
\(^{6}\) ibid., p.299.
clearly the logical conditions discussed here. Weber's thesis on the limitations\(^1\) of modern Western capitalism is supported by the fact that the unfavourable factors existed not only in the other areas of the world, but also in modern Europe: from the conditions, which would have been unfavourable for the origin of modern capitalism in China, many prevailed in the West as well - and, indeed, at the time of definite formation of modern capitalism. Thus what we have called limitations on the capitalistic development in Europe had not existed in China for thousands of years, for example, the feudal and manorial (partly also craft-) affiliations, and also, apparently, restrictive monopolies, which were typical of the West.\(^2\) One would have believed that the essentially political orientation towards accumulation of wealth and utilisation of capital would have been more favourable to the free-exchange system of modern capitalism.\(^3\) It cannot, however, be denied that the basic peculiarities of the 'sentiment', the practical attitude to the world, is conditioned in their development by political and economic circumstances,\(^4\) although the force of their own laws of development is also part of these circumstances.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Bedingtheit (von Schelting, op. cit., p.299).

\(^2\) von Schelting, op. cit., p.299.

\(^3\) ibid., p.299.

\(^4\) Schicksale.

\(^5\) von Schelting, op. cit., p.299, fn.1; Weber, Religionsoziologie I, p.536 ("... doch auch Kraft der ihren Eigengesetzlichkeiten zuzurechnenden Wirkungen an jenen Hemmungen stark mitbeteiligt gewesen sind").
If the Chinese, or another analogous course of events with more positive factors, and in spite of less restricting factors, could not bring about the modern type of bourgeois industrial capitalism,¹ it means that, by mentally changing or eliminating the specific economic sentiments of modern Europe,² it is not possible to expect such a capitalism even in Europe,³ i.e. it is not objectively possible. Thus the central preliminary question is answered. This question, in analogies, is not strictly asked for the possible result of the mental elimination⁴ of the imputed factor, but for the alteration in the possible result; as in all the analogous courses of events there are some economic sentiments, only they are different from those at the beginning of modern times.⁵

If, according to general empirical rules, and on grounds of historical analogies, the actual result, "modern capitalism", could not be considered objectively possible on mental alteration of the economic sentiment, then we can say that this particular economic sentiment was not causally insignificant for the actual result.⁶ Indeed, in the mental experiment it should be possible to bring the eliminated or altered

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¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.300 (den bürgerlichen gewerblichen Betriebskapitalismus moderner Art).
² europäischen Neuzeit.
³ von Schelting, op. cit., p.300.
⁴ "Ausschaltung", ibid., p.300.
⁵ ibid., p.300.
⁶ ibid., p.300.
factor into a positive relation to the actual result. If it is not at all possible, then it has to be accepted that the mental analysis of the course of events into individual factors was faulty, or that our knowledge of historical events was not enough.\footnote{1}{von Schelting, op. cit., p.300.} The positive connection between ascetic Protestant economic ethic and modern capitalism is most clearly shown by Weber in his comparison with the kind of connection other economic ethics, particularly of Buddhism and Confucianism, have to the economic life. It is seen that these connections have either a less positive or directly negative character; this is true of both where economic activity is disapproved of and also where it is approved of. In all the areas of other economic sentiments political capitalism has arisen; but nowhere has the individual character of modern Western capitalism come about.\footnote{2}{ibid., p.306.} In the Protestant economic ethic the positive value is concentrated on the economic calling\footnote{3}{Berufsarbeit, ibid., p.306.} as such, on economic management, and on the economic process and its profitable continuation.\footnote{4}{ibid., p.306.} Management and industry\footnote{5}{Betrieb, ibid., p.306.} acquire a special meaning, their own life.\footnote{6}{ibid., p.307.} Their ultimate end and meaning are transcendental.\footnote{7}{ibid., p.307.} From the standpoint
of worldliness and the inherent attitude towards economy as need-fulfilment this appears meaningless, as making a means into an absolute end.\textsuperscript{1}

The specific economic ethic is in no way a function of modern economic ethic, or a product of the adaptation to the needs of the capitalistic economic system.\textsuperscript{2} Weber shows that this economic-ethical sentiment came before the development of capitalism, and was particularly intensive among such groups of men and in such areas where such a development had touched least;\textsuperscript{3} on the other hand, when the capitalist system reached a high degree of development, this spirit of capitalism, which it created with itself, began to be lost. This economic ethic is based on a definite religious meaning of the world. Therefore the special quality of modern capitalism would lead ultimately to motives which cannot really be deduced.\textsuperscript{4} It is here that we find the limits of Weber's self-interpretation, for the sphere which Weber touches lies beyond reasonable causal interpretation.\textsuperscript{5}

For the determination of typical psychological motives (in the form of actions based on actual economic-ethical maxims) the following

\textsuperscript{1} als eine sinnlose "Verabsolutierung" von etwas offenbar nur "Mittelhaften").
\textsuperscript{2} von Schelting, op. cit., p.307.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid., pp.307-8; Religionssoziologie I, p.37.
\textsuperscript{4} unableitbar.
\textsuperscript{5} ibid., p.308 (kausalen Realerklärung).
question could be asked: On what purely ideal relationship, an ultimate religious explanation of the world and human life, could the understanding of those motives or maxims be based as meaningful elements or consequences; and not causally interpreted?¹

The whole of Weber's methodology is based on the theory that historical knowledge of concrete individual events, particularly the concrete individual causal interconnections¹ are inseparable from knowledge generally, especially abstractions in the conception of ideal types as a rational concept² used for causal imputation in individual and concrete cases. This is quite different from uniting the "individual" and the "general" - which Weber does not maintain - in the ideal type. The ideal type does not put together "theory" and "history",³ but it brings them together in their logical function particularly clearly, to show that "history" is related ⁴ to "theory", when it strives to achieve an individual causal imputation. It is, however, difficult to separate clearly the causal from the acausal ideal type. From one set of examples, which Weber gives, it is clear that they are constructions made by changing the assumption of the objectively possible causal course of events in a particular way. They are oriented to the category of causality, the actual possibility or "necessity", on general rules of

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.309.
² Hilfskonstruktion, ibid., p.354, fn.2.
³ B. Pfister, Entwicklung zum Idealtypus, p.143.
⁴ "Geschichte" auf "Theorie" unausweichlich angewiesen ist ..., ibid., p.354, fn.2.
actual causal interconnections and rules of adequate causation; in the same way as ad hoc constructions are made to answer the preliminary question of causal imputation. These ad hoc constructions, so far as they are ideal types, have a general abstract character, and are valid for an unlimited number of typically related and recurring individual situations. The ideal-type constructions help causal analysis of concrete individual reality in this way, but they could also be considered as objectively possible representations of the general conditions of reality, and causally related. In spite of their being concepts of actual causal interrelations, the expression "exaggeration" could also be used for them, so far as they exaggerate reality. Complete rationality is assumed, which would make an unambiguous 'teleological regression' possible; rationality can be used both for subjectively correct causal rules and for objectively valid rules. In the objectively valid rules the highest degree of rational proof can be reached. For

2 ibid., p.355; cf. ibid., p.332, fn.2.
3 ibid., p.355.
4 ibid., p.355.
5 ibid., p.355 (es werden die in ihnen als objectiv möglich vorgestellten generellen Sachverhalt der Wirklichkeit schon als kausal verknüpft gedacht).
6 "Steigerung", ibid., p.355.
7 teleologische Umkehrung, ibid., p.355.
the causal ideal type one can use the concept of understanding, so far as the causal meaning depends on understandable motives.¹

Weber uses, in his material work and, implicitly, also in exemplifying his methodological discussions on ideal types, a quite different kind of concept: of non-causal relations and a particular kind of understanding.² What has the ideal type — which emerges from Weber's discussions, and is related to his central theory of causal imputation; and which expresses the possible or "adequate" causal interrelations — to do with 'ideas' of historical phenomena and ideals of historical persons, as closed systems?: or with the bringing together of courses of events, life-meanings, spiritual attitudes, motivations, codes of conduct and institutions into a unity of "spirit".³

The empirical historical sciences build and use concepts which describe both irrational⁴ and rational⁵ contents; the relations shown by these concepts have nothing to do with causality.⁶ An approximation

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.356.
² ibid., p.356; cf. H. Oppenheimer, Die Logik der soziologischen Begriffsbildung (1925), p.13, was the first to point it out, but he seems to have overlooked the role of understandable causal explanation in Weber's work (von Schelting, op. cit., p.356, fn.).
⁴ irreale, von Schelting, p.357.
⁵ real, ibid., p.357.
⁶ ibid., p.357.
to the constitution of an ideal\(^1\) ideal-type, in the form of a complete\(^2\)
ideal correspondence to a mental construction an empirical-causal
complex - is made.\(^3\) The complete rationality of the ideal type of
empirical causal relations is assumed also for one part of the concept
of pure relations.\(^4\) In analogies one may use the term ideal type only
when a particular definition\(^5\) is required, when one has to differentiate
between necessary-ideal and empirical-causal ideal types.\(^6\) In these
analogies the rationality is of the ideal ideal-type, not because the
end is not pursued by the causally adequate means, without being
disturbed by any kind of irrationality; but because a definite idea, with
its fully and purely rational consequences, is being expressed. This
process\(^7\) is so formed as to include all value-relevant and significant
points, which further the highest possible rational consequence of that
idea.\(^8\) The aim here is not to realize causal adequacy of the means used,
but complete meaningful correspondence to the behaviour of each element

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\(^1\) des ideellen Idealtypus, von Schelting, op. cit., p.357.
\(^2\) restlos, ibid., p.357.
\(^3\) ibid., p.357, fn.2.
\(^4\) ibid., pp.357-8.
\(^5\) Bestimmung, ibid., p.358 ("Analoges" handelt, dürfte man diesen Terminus
"idealtypus" nur unter Hinzufügung einer spezifizierenden Bestimmung
verwenden).
\(^6\) ibid., p.358.
\(^7\) Verhalten, ibid., p.358, fn.1.
\(^8\) ibid., p.358, fn.1.
of the idea. ^1 An ideal type in this sense would include only those ways of behaviour and motivations of participating individuals, which can exist together without contradicting each other, and which make the leading idea meaningful. ^2 Such conceptual constructions are concerned with the meaningfully necessary configurations on the basis of their ideal contents ^3 and their timeless context of meaning. ^4 According to Weber, the aim of the ideal type is the cultural meaning, the value-meaning and the inherent meaning, ^5 that is, the non-causal meaning. The character of the pure ideal type becomes clear when we compare the reality with it, considering it as the highest and purest expression of certain value-relevant contents of this reality. ^6 This ideal type is not the general schematic concept of causal explanation, but the concept of pure ideal meaningful interrelations. ^7 A specific kind of such a concept has the highest imaginable rational consistency through the development of an idea. ^8 The ideal relevance of a concrete phenomenon is realized or

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^1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.358.
^2 ibid., p.358, (… sich der leitenden Idee sinnhaft einfügen).
^3 ihres ideellen Sinngehalts.
^4 ihrer zeitlosen sinnhaften Zusammengehörigkeit, ibid., p.358.
^6 ibid., p.359.
^7 rein ideellen Sinnzusammenhängen und Zusammengehörigkeiten.
^8 von Schelting, op. cit., p.359.
"measured" by comparing the partial realization of the characteristics of an idea\(^1\) with the mental picture of the conditions in which all the elements develop fully and represent the idea in the purest form. Here the comparison does not serve the causal imputation, but to demonstrate the ideal meaning of the reality.\(^2\) The difference between these two kinds of rational ideal-type concept formation - the causal-empirical ideal type and the acausal-ideal ideal type - can be confused, because not only the difference of significance\(^3\) in the assumption of complete rationality can be overlooked, i.e. the difference between rationality of end and rational logical perfection of ideal consistency; also because the formation of a concept can envisage the hypotheses together when they are in themselves different.\(^4\) The mixed and the pure ideal ideal types cannot be considered the equivalent of historical reality - nor can the causal ideal type - because all these correspond to the form of reality only in marginal cases. Historical knowledge does not make use of acausal meaningful interrelations only in this way, that is, in the form of acausal (ideal) ideal type of the highest degree of imaginary rational consistency, which stipulates a unified, consistent and value-related or meaningful representation.\(^5\) Nor does it have the aim of

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\(^1\) Wertidee, von Schelting, op. cit., p.359.

\(^2\) "Veranschaulichung" der ideellen Bedeutung, ibid., p.359.

\(^3\) Sinn, ibid., p.360.

\(^4\) ibid., p.360.

\(^5\) ibid., p.360.
ideal 'purification' of practical targets or measurement of the ideal meaning of reality through the comparison with an ideal-typical 'exaggeration' of its value-relevant contents. The description and understandable composition of historical reality, as it is, is achieved, in given circumstances, in concepts and complexes of concepts of acausal, purely ideal interrelations of meaning.¹

The results of the process described above make it possible now to indicate the character of the knowledge based on the totality of an historical and cultural phenomenon and its ultimate meaning. This, however, is not a derivation of any philosophical system.² We are concerned here with the tendency of material researches into historical and cultural knowledge to show that historical material does not adapt itself to formal categories and structures of historical and sociological theory.³ What is remarkable in Weber's work is that he believed in a complete agreement between his theory and his material researches; but actually a part of these researches break through the formal limits of his methodological position.⁴ The centre of this incongruence is the problem of understanding - the factual elements of historical knowledge would seem to be easily collected under the process of understanding, but

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.361.
² ibid., p.361.
³ historischen oder soziologischen Erkenntnis Hineinpasst.
⁴ ein Teil dieser Forschung den durch seine methodologische Reflexion erfassten formalen Rahmen "sprengte", ibid., p.362.
as it comes in the end to actions and behaviour of human beings, its complete inclusion in the logical structure becomes impossible; thus making the objective validity of understandable knowledge in part questionable. This condition does not seem to have occurred to Weber. His methodological discussions consider understanding as an unproblematical entity. His formulations betray an inner division, and irreconcilable attempts at describing understanding are put together without any clear decision. Most of the formulations on understanding, and situations which are related to psychological motives and causal explanation, and undifferentiated use of this term for all 'sympathetic' understanding of inner reality, show that Weber tends to use Dilthey's definition of the term as an important force in the actual psychological experience. On the other hand, one sees an approach towards Rickert's position, according to which the notion of understanding is concerned only with unreal patterns of meaning. Weber did not, however, reach a decision between the two philosophical standpoints.

1 entzieht, von Schelting, op. cit., p.362.
2 ibid., p.362.
3 ibid., p.362.
4 unproblematische Größe, ibid., p.362.
5 ibid., p.362.
6 Eindringens, ibid., p.362.
8 irrale Sinngebilde, ibid., p.362.
9 ibid., p.363.
In his material works Weber speaks of understanding as perception of actual psychological elements of other lives and their causal explanation, as well as it is obviously used. This is to say that two kinds of knowledge are united under the term understanding in Weber. Rickert, however, considers an intuitive understanding of immediate experience to exist side by side with material conditions, and the expression "understanding" should not be used for the inner observation of actual psychological objects as such; neither for one's immediately observed psychological objects, nor for the indirectly grasped and sympathetic experience of other lives, nor for the feelings of desire, indifference, pain, love or hate, joy or sadness, moods or acts of the will. Weber, on the other hand, takes all these inner conditions to be understandable, because the possibility of their being sympathetically experienced gives them a quality of certainty and allows one to differentiate between understanding of human behaviour from mere grasp of facts. Significant, meaningful or understandable is a wider concept for Weber than for Rickert; it covers all of "inner reality", also psychological reality and the behaviour explained by it. Weber does not separate them as Rickert does, from the elements which attach to them.

2 ibid., p.364.
3 ibid., p.364.
4 ibid., p.365.
5 blossen Begreifen.
6 ibid., p.365.
In this sense there is no difference between psychological and physical realities; both of them as such can be non-understandable, and to both, however, understandable elements can be attached. In this sense, according to Rickert, even nature is understandable, while Weber always raised its non-understandability. According to Rickert, only unreal meaning is understandable, which attaches to psychological reality, and which it fulfills. This meaning builds a bridge to the always indirectly perceived other-psychological reality. This indirect perception of the other being is not understanding - it is only re-experience.

The subject-matter of historical knowledge is not limited to the external bodily movements of historical persons nor to their symbolical meaning, nor to their psychological reality, but extends to the real inner processes as such. It is not concerned with re-experience, but with the knowledge of conceptually seizable and identifiable, and, as we know, purposefully chosen elements of other-personal realities, which are, in a particular sense, re-experienceable.

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1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.365.
2 ibid., p.366 (nur unwirklicher Sinn ist verstehtbar).
3 ibid., p.366 (nur mittelbar).
4 ibid., p.366 (Nacherleben).
5 ibid., p.368.
6 der fremdseelischen Realitaten, ibid., p.368.
7 nacherlebarr, ibid., p.368; Weber, G.A. Wissenschaftslehre, p.505.
of inner, re-experienceable processes and their actual (inner and outer) bases and consequences is also understanding. Such a knowledge cannot, in the natural scientific sense, be exact. Exactness and understandability stand in contradiction. For Rickert the understandable is "taken off" both the forms of observation of reality; for Weber the form of inner observation remains the same. In place of Rickert's "original duality" of immediate facts, there comes a tripartition of the knowable: the non-understandable phenomena, the understandable actual inner reality and the ideally understandable unreality. The last two categories are not clearly separated in Weber's methodology. The emphasis is always on reality, which means the unreal meaning attached to the psychological reality, not separated, and not immediately, as such, acknowledged. For Weber understanding means knowledge of such psychological realities or actual relations brought about by these psychological realities, which we comprehend with the proof of our own inner experience. The material researches of Weber exceed this concept of understanding and reach a pure intellectual understanding of the unreal. The limit of understanding is the pure reactive understanding, and we understand inner or outer ways

2 ibid., p.369.
3 "entkleidet", ibid., p.370.
4 ibid., p.364.
5 der verstehbaren realen inneren Aktualität, ibid., p.371.
6 ideell verstehbaren Sinnirrealität, ibid., p.371.
7 ibid., p.371.
of behaviour in their subjective meanings - as it actually is or as an act, either motivated or motivating in a real complex. This motivational understanding, according to Weber, is always causal understanding.\(^1\) The connection between the concepts "causal" and "understanding" is unexceptionable, for it concerns, from the standpoint of Weber, psychological realities and their interrelations with external observable phenomena or actions, and their objective-real effects.\(^3\)

When Weber speaks of intellectual and affectual understanding, it does not mean that he puts rational knowledge against non-rational knowledge or mere re-experience. As knowledge - also understandable knowledge - is always rational, objectifying\(^4\) and conceptual. The object is understandable because of its specific quality, the proof, the inner re-experience. The accompaniment of understandable knowledge, re-experience, can either be intellectual or emotional.\(^5\) The understandable knowledge of emotional re-experience is knowledge, and, as such, rational.\(^6\) The historical and sociological research proceeds in a philosophical opposition between unreal meaning of psychological real action on the one side and re-experience itself on the other; both of

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1. als eine für sich genommene Aktseinheit, von Schelting, op. cit., p.372.
2. ibid., p.372.
3. ibid., p.372.
4. objektivierend, ibid., p.372.
5. ibid., p.372.
6. ibid., p.373.
them run together into one in the subjective meaning, which is not separated from the psychological act on which it is based; so that subjective meaning can be present even when there is "pure" psychological reality and one cannot speak of an unreal content meaning. In the comprehension of these realities one speaks of meaning and understanding, so far as there is specific proof of the possible contents of one's own "inner reality" and inner re-experience.

Weber's methodology is also relatively antithetical: unreal meaning and psychological reality, which reminds one of Rickert's separation. But the central point of historical and sociological researches and their methodology is the convergence of the "naive" unity of psychological reality, unreal meaning and the actual complex of meanings. This would be clearly shown in an example from his own material researches: the acausal understanding of an unreal form of meaning and the "spirit" of capitalism. So far we have seen that from mental analysis of the formation of historical situation, on the logical-structural principles of causal imputation, that the ascetic Protestant maxims have causal meaning for the origin of capitalism as an economic system. But there is another aspect to this, the purely ideal roots

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1 spezifisch gefärbte Evidenz, von Schelting, op. cit., p.373.
2 ibid., p.373.
3 ibid., p.373.
4 ibid., p.374.
5 ibid., p.374.
of the contents of those motives in the historical scene with a peculiar religious meaning of the world and human life, in its ultimate attitude towards it and its practical consequences. The unreal meaningful contents of these motives indicate other meaningfully related spiritual contents, and finally, to a comprehensive spiritual totality with an inner unity.¹

These conditions have a definite meaningful form based on actual ideally-founded motives of everyday life of the time.² They are not built on the possibilities of development of the ideal contents of the form, nor on the meaning.³ Weber uses the term "adequacy of meaning" in distinction from causal adequacy of conditions. That is to say, the explanation of a particular human behaviour from a particular motive is permissible with the specific qualitative proof of inner re-experience, even though a valid causal explanation - with this motive as cause - is lacking.⁵ In other cases the term "adequacy of meaning" concerns the construction of ideal ideal types, with the assumption of ideal rational consistency of an idea or norm, distinct from the consistency of an idea or norm in the construction of actual-causal ideal type, with the assumption of causal adequacy of the strictly rational means.⁶

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.375.
² ibid., p.375.
³ ibid., p.375.
⁴ Sinnadequanz, ibid., p.377.
⁵ ibid., p.377.
⁶ ibid., p.377.
In Weber's methodology this term "adequacy of meaning" does not reach the significance of meaningful correspondence of individual parts to one another and to the whole in a meaningful concrete historical complex - not as they should be in the ideal case of rationality and logical consistency (ideal ideal type), but to the actual degree and range of their mental construction. Weber is always inclined to change pure affinities of meaning in parts and in the whole into actual psychological causal relations or their mental scientific comprehension, and to explain them as ideal types. He was convinced of the realisability of pure ideal motives and their historical consequences.

We are concerned not only with the historical consequences of such pure ideal motives - with which we have been concerned in the causal imputation of capitalism - but with the question of their understandable knowledge. That is, how, when and where the individual elements or normative consequences of ideal meaningful form have been realized in the historical reality, through human motivation, as practical maxims?

Apart from causal imputation, the actions and decisions of individuals

1 von Schelting, op. cit., p.377.
2 ibid., p.377.
3 Wirksamwerden, ibid., p.377.
4 ihrer historischen Macht; cf. Weber, Religionssoziologie I, p.31, 82 fn.1, 86, 135, 144, 192, 259, 112n.
5 ihrer verstehenden Erkenntnis, von Schelting, op. cit., p.378.
6 ideeller Sinngebilde, ibid., p.378.
as ways of mass behaviour,\(^1\) which on its side, can only be understood ideally.\(^2\) Such motives, as psychological realities would be considered as parts of the actual causal complex, so would the wide causal efficiency of the derived ways of behaviour, whose results, as we know, could be in absolute contradiction to the contents of the motives as well as to the whole inherent meaning of those motives;\(^3\) for example, earthly wealth as a result of a life-orientation devoted to God and the Beyond alone.\(^4\) The actual causal processes in no way need to correspond ideally to the unreal contents of the motive, the cause.\(^5\)

This means determination, without the help of causality, of comprehensive spiritual wholes,\(^6\) in their inherent meaningful interrelations, in order to understand the particular causal motives or ways of behaviour, which influence internal or, at least, external behaviour of human beings.\(^7\)

When Weber speaks of understanding of historical phenomena, he always means causally explicable understanding, the causal explanation of the behaviour of individual human beings, their collective actions and their actual results, through recurrence of motives as actual psychological

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2. ideellen Verwurzlung in jenen Sinngebilden, ibid., p.379.
3. ibid., p.379.
4. ibid., p.379.
5. ibid., p.379.
6. umfassende geistige Ganzheiten, ibid., p.379.
7. ibid., p.379.
components of the inner reality, be the motive material or ideal.¹

¹ von Schelting, op. cit., p.379.
PART TWO
AN APPLICATION OF MAX WEBER'S METHODOLOGY

The explanation of a development of elements of reality is the real definition of a cultural process; and these explanations are ideal types. To take Dieter Henrich's example: an ideal type of a sect brings together all the significant factors which make up a sect under one concept; it is a consistent systematic whole of a basic number from numerous doctrines and a number of qualities from the content of sectarian life. This unambiguous form is the standard which all sects tend to achieve, when it fulfils the consistency of the innate meaning of their creed. The rationality inherent in the ideal type has many meanings, but, according to Lennert, Weber distinguishes between rationalization of thought, as awareness of a situation and its possibilities; and practical conduct, as orientation towards a fixed aim or value.

According to Weber, such ideal typical constructions help to determine the 'typological locus of a historical phenomenon'.

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1 D. Henrich, Die Einheit der Wissenschaftslehre Max Webers, Tubingen, 1952, p.87
2 ibid. p.88
3 ibid. p.93
4 ibid. p.93
5 ibid. p.93
6 Rudolf Lennert, Die Religionstheorie Max Webers, Stuttgart 1935, p.35; cf. J. Wach, Einführung in die Religionssoziologie, Tubingen, 1931, p.81 fn.1
theless, religious interpretations of the world and religious ethics, which are intellectually created, tend to be consistent; and teleological deductions of practical conditions, rational - however much non-rational elements are integrated in them.\(^1\) Weber's religious studies are not 'chains of types',\(^2\) each a new stage; because all the great religions are historical individuals of a highly complex nature, and taken together, they exhaust only a few possible combinations of the numerous individual factors; they are typological in the sense that they consider what is typically important.\(^3\) Generally, all kinds of practical ethics, systematically oriented to fixed aims of salvation are rational, partly because they are formal and partly because the distinguish between 'valid' norms and what is empirically given.\(^4\) The rational elements of a religion - its doctrines - are themselves autonomous, and they have had a significant effect on the making of a practical way of life.\(^5\)

The rationalization of the whole way of life, wherever it has happened, has been determined by the ultimate values towards which it has been oriented.\(^6\) In the following studies of the four Hindu

\(^1\) Gerth & Mills, "From Max Weber", p.324
\(^2\) ibid. p.292; Weber, Religionssoziologie, I, p.264
\(^3\) ibid. p.292; Weber, Religionssoziologie I, p.265
\(^4\) ibid. p.294
\(^5\) ibid. p.286
\(^6\) ibid. p.287
Reformist Movements - Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Jainism and Sikhism
- the aim is to present the typically important features in their
development, especially the rational consistency of their doctrines,
in order to see the relation between their ethics - which they derived
from the modified system of Hindu doctrines, which each of them adopted
- and economic rationalism: the point of view\(^1\) which Weber took in
his religious studied. As we have taken the spirit of capitalism
to be the same as the ethic of Calvinism, it is logical to consider
the Calvinist doctrines as the fixed presupposition\(^2\) from which the
spirit of capitalism has been deduced as the internally most consistent
form of practical conduct.

All religious reform movements try only to modify the fundamental
doctrines of the religion in the most consistent and rational way,
according to the point of view they take. Calvinism is a unique and
consistent combination of Christian doctrines: it is consistent and
rational by virtue of its interpretation of the doctrines. The results
of this interpretation were a world-view and practical ethics leading
to economic rationalism. This argument can be best supported by a
comparison in consistency of the two systems: Lutheranism-Calvinism
and the Hindu Reformist Movement; for Lutheranism-Calvinism is a
consistent development towards economic rationalism, and therefore, the
norm of comparison.\(^3\), This comparison will enable us to see how far

\(^1\) Gerth & Mills, From Max Weber, p.293
\(^2\) cf. ibid. p.324
\(^3\) cf. "This essay ... proceeds from the most rational forms reality can
assumes; it attempts to find out how far certain rational conclusions
which can be established theoretically, have been drawn in reality.
And perhaps we will find out why not."- From Max Weber, p.324.
rationalization of thought, as awareness of a situation and its possibilities and of practical conduct, as orientation towards a fixed aim or value, has been achieved in the Hindu Reformist Movement. The main thing to consider is whether the Hindu reformers were able to direct their doctrinal reform towards giving a sense of rational purpose to the laity - as Luther did, by abolishing monasticism as a first step towards the completely rational purposeful way of life reached by Calvin.
The first Arya Samaj, or the Society of Aryans, was founded at Bombay in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883). Other congregations were organized in the Punjab and the United Provinces. Afterwards representative councils, with members from different congregations were established in Bombay, Rajputana and Bihar. They were concerned with matters of general interest, mainly preaching the beliefs of the Arya Samaj by methods borrowed from Christian missionaries. In the Punjab, however, the Arya Samaj is better known through its educational policy, which was to promote the feeling of brotherhood through the study of vernacular and ancient Sanskrit literature and civilization, as well as English language and literature, physical training and scientific education.

The religious ideas of Swami Dayanand, the founder, formed the creed of the Arya Samaj. Dayanand Saraswati was reticent about himself, but he has left an autobiographical sketch in which he mentions that he has born into a family of Northern Brahmins, in the principality of Morvi, Kutch. He does not name his parents because his duty forbids him. He began learning the Devangari (Sanskrit) alphabet at the age of five and was made to learn a large number of hymns with commentaries.

1 Arya Samaj, by some Arya Samajists, Lahore 1915, pp. 23 foll.
by heart. His father was a devotee of Shiva and he was taught to
worship the 'uncouth piece of clay, representing Shiva, known as
Parthava-linga'. Before he was fourteen he learnt the whole of the
Yajur Veda hymns, parts of the other Vedas and an elementary Sanskrit
grammar.

His faith, in the idol of Shiva, disappeared, however, because
of an incident which he described in some detail. The occasion was
his initiation in the worship of the Parthava-linga, which meant a
fast and a night's vigil in the Shiva temple with his father. He kept
awake, but his father had fallen asleep. "Is it possible, he asked to
himself and later his father, "that this idol I see bestriding his
bull, and who according to all accounts, walks out, eats, sleeps,
drinks, holds a trident in his hand, beats the drum, and can pronounce
curses on men, can be the great Deity, the Mahadeva, the Supreme Being?
He was not satisfied with his father's explanation that the stone image,
having been consecrated by the hol Brahmins, became the god himself;
for Shiva cannot be seen personally in the present profane age,
and begged to be allowed to go home. He went and ate the food his
mother gave him. His father tried to impress on him the enormity of
his sin, but his loss of faith in idol worship was complete. He,
however, kept it a secret and continued his studies.¹

¹ Max Müller, Biographical Essays, p.174
The second incident, which made a great impression on him, was the death of his sister, a girl of fourteen. His determination to find salvation took shape now, and he broke forever with the 'mummaries of fast and penance' but still kept his innermost thoughts a secret. All this time his parents had wished to marry him off, but the idea of married life was repulsive to him. He persuaded his father to postpone his betrothal for a year, but later he left home secretly to evade the preparations for his wedding, and came to a town called Syla, where he know of a scholar, and joined his order. On his initiation he received the name of Shuddha Chaitanya (pure thought) and had to wear a reddish-yellow garb. He was once recognized, but managed to escape and went to Ahmadabad and Baroda, where he stayed for some time and discussed Vedanta philosophy with several ascetics. There he learnt that he was Brahma, the soul (jiva) and Brahma being one. He then travelled to Benares and came to know the best scholars there, particularly Sacchidanand Paramhansa. On his advice he went to Chanoda Kanyal, on the banks of the river Nerbuda, and met for the first time the real initiates of Yoga. His tutor there was Parmanand Paramhansa. He joined the order and his name was changed to Dayanand Saraswati.

After leaving Chanoda he went to Vyasa-asrama to study Yoga under Yoganand. From there he sent to Mount Abu in Rajputana. In 1855 he

1 Max Muller, Biographical Essays, p.174
2 ibid. p.176
attended a great meeting at Haridwar for the study and practice of Yoga. At Tidee, where he stayed for a while on the way to Haridwar, he met meat-eating Brahmins, whose sacred books, the Tantras, horrified him, because of their sanction of every kind of immorality.¹

The autobiography finishes, after a description of his various travels and his intense sufferings and adventures, without an account of his studies from 1856 to 1880.²

In 1860³ he heard of a learned ascetic, Swami Virjanand, at Mathura, and attracted by his fame, he went there. Swami Virjanand was to be the greatest influence of his life.⁴ He stayed with Swami Virjanand for three years. The Swami came from the Punjab and had lost both his eyes from small pox in his childhood. A man of harsh temperament, his views were disagreeable to the pundits of his time: he attached no importance to modern works on Sanskrit grammar or to the modern commentaries on the Vedas.⁵ Swami Virjanand was, however, a distinguished person in Mathura and was considered one of the greatest

¹ Max Muller, Biographical Essays, p.177
² ibid. p.178
³ Chhajju Singh (Life and Teachings of Dayanand Saraswati, Lahore 1903 translates the date from the Indian calendar as 1860; also Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, p.57, Vol. II, Max Muller quotes the Theosophist on Dayanand's arrival at Meerut (Mathura) as Dec. 1880 - Biographical Essays, p.179 - this seems a printing error.
⁴ Arya Samaj by some Arya Samajists, p.10; also Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, p.57
⁵ Arya Samaj, by Some Arya Samajists, p.9.
Sanskrit scholars of his time in India. His bete noire were the Puranas, the books of mythology, sacred to lay Hindus, because they put up the various names and forms of God, each as independent and absolute deity, perpetually disputing each other's claim to the sovereignty of the universe, as the basis of their idolatry.

Dayanand's later career as a preacher of Vedic religion was started by Virajanand's tribute to his pupil's ability.

Soon after taking leave of his master, Dayanand went to Agra and stayed there for about two years, where he published the Sandhya: the Arya Frayer-Book.

In early 1865 he started his long campaign against the Puranas at a week long session of recitation of Puranic stories arranged by the Maharaja of Gwalior. At this time Dayanand had not entirely given up traces of his inherited Shiva cult, for his still wore the shell necklace, the Rudraksh, but which he gave up a year later at Pushkar in the Himalayas. One of the most important of these campaigns was at the famous Kumbha Fair at Haridwar, in 1868. The fair at Haridwar is perhaps the largest gathering of orthodox Hindus, who believe that bathing in the Ganges, at the confluence of the three rivers, Ganges, Jamuna and the subterranean Saraswati, is the most certain means of

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1 Chhajju Singh, Life and Teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Lahore, 1905, p.68
2 ibid. pp.69-70
3 ibid. p.77
4 ibid. p.80
5 ibid. pp.80-81
salvation. Dayanand arrived early and put up a notice, where he camped, proclaiming himself the exposurer of sham and hypocrisy, and told everyone who came to hear him that bathing at Haridwar was spiritually entirely useless, and that worship of God, as taught in the Vedas and the Upanishads, was the true means of salvation. In a discussion with the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, one of the visitors there, Dayanand explained that a metaphorical language of the Vedas was taken literally by those who believed that the Brahmins were born from the mouth of God and Kshatriyas from his arms. God has neither mouth nor arms: he is 'incorporeal progenitor of the entire universe'. The meaning of the metaphor was simply that caste is only an indication of one's varying degree of merit and worth. He also denied any authority for idol worship in the Vedas. An attempt to assassinate Dayanand was made by one of the priests at Haridwar.

At the end of 1869 Dayanand reached Furrakabad with the intention of doing more systematic and regular work. He had found that preaching and debates, though valuable as propaganda, were not enough; more durable influences could be achieved through schools for education in Sanskrit. The orthodox Brahmins of Furrakabad saw the danger of his

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1 Chhajju Singh, Life and Teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, p.95
2 ibid. p.96
3 ibid. p.96
4 ibid. p.111
5 ibid. p.115
6 ibid. p.115
campaign and challenged him to a public debate on the sanctity of idol-worship, for which they stood. In the debate they quoted a verse from the Manu Smriti saying that puja or ritual worship is the due of devatas or gods. Dayanand replied that the word only meant showing reverence and the verse signified treating with respectment of learning and virtue.

In Cawnpur, where he travelled from Furrakabad in the summer of 1869, Dayanand issued a manifesto in Sanskrit, which announced the authorities of his creed. The twentyone Shastras (scriptures): the Vedas, the upvedas, and vedangas, and the Upanishads were authoritative; the later compositions by the sages were authorized insofar as they did not contradict the teachings of the Vedas, grammar and virtuous conduct.

The most important public debate in which Dayanand took part was held at Benares, the holy city of India. Dayanand's campaign against idolatry aroused a sense of danger in the mind of the Maharaja of Benares, who asked his court pundits to challenge Dayanand to a debate. It was decided that Dayanand should be first asked which books he believed

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1 Chhajju Singh, Life and Teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, p.126
2 ibid. p.126
3 ibid. p.136
5 Chhajju Singh, Life and Teachings of Dayanand, p.136
6 ibid. p.153
in. Dayanand named\(^1\) the four Vedas, six Angas and six Upangas and the Hanu Smriti as authoritative, but refused to say at the time on what authority he believed in them.

The debate was held on the 16th or 17th November 1869\(^2\) by mutual arrangement. The pundits technically won the contest, by declaring that the meeting was over before Dayanand had time to reply to a question on the meaning of the word purana in an alleged question from the Veda, that on the tenth day after making a holy offering (yajua) the worshipper (yajman) should have the Puranas read.\(^3\) Dayanand stayed at Benares for another three months preaching against idolatry. Another attempt was made to poison him.\(^4\)

The debate was widely reported in the press.\(^5\) The Hindu Commentator of Calcutta,\(^6\) for example, gave a detailed report on the disputation\(^7\) between Pandit Vishuddhanand, the orthodox leader, and Swami Dayanand.

Dayanand asked him, "do Indra and other gods exist in heaven?";

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1 Chhajju Singh, Life and Teachings of Dayanand, p.154
2 The biographer, Chhajju Singh, gives the date as 16th (ibid. p.155), but later quotes on p.175 the 'Christian Intelligence' with the date as 17th.
3 Chhajju Singh, ibid. p.161
4 ibid. p.161
5 ibid. p.163
6 quoted in ibid. pp.163-166
7 The rules of public disputation are given in the Nyaya philosophy; see Horner Williams, Indian Wisdom, London 1875, p.75
Vishuddhanand answered this by saying that the hymns themselves are gods, which seemed to the audience an indirect acceptance of Dayanand's interpretation that several names are given to the one God he believes in. When Dayanand asked how are they worshipped, Vishuddhanand replied through their images. Dayanand asked for an authority in the Vedas for this. Then the debate took the form of a personal challenge, whether Dayanand had read all the thousand shakhas or branches of the Vedas?; Dayanand replied that thousand branches only meant that the Vedas can be interpreted in a thousand ways. This personal contest ended with an obscure and unanswered question on grammar from Dayanand.

Dayanand again went on his journeys and returned to Benares in May 1870, and gave lectures on the falseness of neo-Vedantism, with repeated challenge to the orthodox Brahmans through printed notices, but no one came forward. In December 1872 he went to Calcutta. The Brahma Samaj welcomed him, but Dayanand's strict adherence to the Veda was not acceptable to them. He had a discussion with Keshub Chandra Sen, the Brahma leader, on the transmigration of the soul, but no record has been preserved. It was at Calcutta that Dayanand decided to speak to audiences in Hindi instead of Sanskrit, perhaps at the suggestion

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1 Chhajju Singh, Life and Teachings of Dayanand, p.164
2 ibid. p.165
3 ibid. p.188
4 ibid. p.190
5 ibid. p.192
6 ibid. p.194
of Kashub Chandra Sen, and took to wearing ordinary clothes instead of the ascetic's garb he had been wearing since his initiation. The main reason for Dayanand's visit to Calcutta was to establish a school for Vedic studies, but the hope never materialized. From Calcutta he travelled to Bihar, where he used an interesting device to outwit his opponents. At Chapra the Brahmins declared him an atheist, and said that they would have to expiate the sin of having seen his face, if they held a public debate with him. Dayanand suggested that they should put him behind a screen and still have the discussion. This they accepted, but their Sanskrit was rather inferior, and on Dayanand's pointing this out, they refused to go on; they Dayanand addressed the audience directly.

In July 1874 Dayanand was at Allahabad, and, as usual, put up notices inviting non-believers in the Vedic religion to learn the truth from him. Here he completed the manuscript of his book, *Satyarth Prakash* or Light of Truth, for publication.

*Satyarth Prakash* is a handbook of the Vedic religion and was eventually published in 1882. It has fourteen chapters, the first ten

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1 Chhajju Singh, Life and Teachings of Dayanand, p.197
2 ibid. p.187
3 ibid. p.202
4 ibid. p.205
5 ibid. pp.205-206
6 ibid. p.213
7 ibid. p.215
chapters explain his creed, and the last four are a criticism of other religions. The book ends with a statement of Dayanand's beliefs. The arguments are given in the form of a dialogue with an objector.

The first part has a commentary on the names of God, and discusses upbringing of children, a scheme of studies, marriage, ascetic retirement, renunciation, government, the Vedas and God, Creation and Dissolution of the universe, emancipation and bondage, and finally, conduct and diet.\(^1\)

It is best to begin with his statement of beliefs.\(^2\) His conception of God and all other objects in the universe is founded on the teachings of the Vedas and other true scriptures, and conforms to the beliefs of all the sages from Brahma to Jaimini.\(^3\) God is the supreme spirit who permeates the whole universe\(^4\) and is infinite, almighty, just and merciful. He makes, sustains and dissolves the universe.\(^5\) He rewards or punishes everyone absolutely justly, according to his action.

The Samhita or the hymns of the four Vedas are the Word of God;\(^6\) therefore, free of error and their own authority.\(^7\) Dharma or right

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2 ibid. p.677
3 ibid. p.677
4 ibid. p.679
5 ibid. p.679
6 ibid. p.679
7 ibid. p.679
conduct, according to Dayanand, is practice of equitable justice, truthfulness, or what conforms to the will of God. The soul is immortal and eternal, but is also conscious, with feelings of pain and pleasure and a limited capacity for knowledge. The relationship between God and the soul is that of the pervader and the pervaded, father and son, the worshipped and the worshipper. They are two distinct entities by virtue of their different natures.

God, soul and prakriti or the material cause of the universe, have no beginning. Substances, properties and characteristics which are formed as a combination cease to exist on dissolution, but the power, which unites or separates them is eternally inherent in them; union and division have eternally succeeded each other.

Creation is an intelligent combination of different elementary substances in a right proportion and order. The existence of design in the universe, and the fact that inert matter is incapable of moulding itself, are proof of the existence of a Creator. Creation is an essential and natural exercise of the creative energy of God.

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1 Satyarth Prakash, Engl. trans., p. 680
2 ibid. p. 680
3 ibid. p. 680
4 ibid. p. 680
5 ibid. p. 680
6 ibid. p. 680
7 ibid. p. 681
8 ibid. p. 681
Ignorance is the cause of soul's bondage and its source of sin.\(^1\) Salvation is emancipation of the soul from pain and suffering and a 'career in freedom' in the all-pervading God and his creation of a fixed period of time and then return to earthly life.\(^2\) The means\(^3\) to salvation are worship of God; practice of yoga, righteous action, knowledge, society of the wise and learned, purity of thought and active life.

These beliefs are the basis of a detailed exposition in the *Satyarth Prakash* and his other works, especially in the Introduction to the Commentary on the Vedas.\(^4\)

In the first chapter of the *Satyarth Prakash* Dayanand argues that the Vedas and other Shastras or philosophies explain that, whenever God is spoken of, all the names stand for Him, and not for devatas or gods, who have no real existence.\(^5\) He then gives an etymological explanation\(^6\) of words which signify God and his attributes.

His ideas on the upbringing of children\(^7\) are disciplinarian; in support he quotes Patanjali's *Mahabhasya*, that discipline is a source of immortality. Sexual asceticism is recommended for students, and their education is begun with learning of the Gayatri hymn, both as a

2. ibid. p.681
3. ibid. p.681
4. ibid. p.685
5. ibid. p.3
6. ibid. p.7
7. Chapter II
8. ibid. p.26
form of divine worship and a ritual. Worship includes training in yoga, which is recommended, because, with the increase of bodily strength and activity, the intellect becomes subtle and acute. Then pupils should be taught to respect their teachers and parents, and to be charitable— even through fear of public opinion. Dayanand quotes Manu to say that whatever a man does is a result of his will, because even the most insignificant action in the world is impossible without the desire of the doer. The truth of everything should be tested according to the five tests of the Veda and the nature of God; laws of nature; practice and teachings of the pious; truthful and learned men; and one's conscience; and according to eight kinds of evidence: perception, inference, analogy, testimony, history, deduction, possibility, and non-existence or negation.

Dayanand recommends the study of the Vedas and their commentaries for six years.

The class of all persons should depend upon their qualifications, accomplishments and character in the twenty-fifth year for men and sixteen
years for girls; \(^1\) and everyone should marry in his own class. The qualifications\(^2\) of a Brahmin are study and teaching, giving alms and receiving gifts; of a Kshatriya, administration of perfect justice; of a Vaishya, agriculture and lending money on interest; of a Shudra, faithful service of the other three classes. The ages of man are four:\(^3\) studious bachelorhood, married life, retirement and renunciation. When a retired man wishes to renounce the world he should send his wife to his sons and become an ascetic or a sanyasi.\(^4\)

Dayanand's laws on marriage are derived from Manu: a twice-born man (of the three upper castes) should, with the consent of his teacher, return home and marry a girl of his own class, who is not related to him on his mother's side up to the sixth degree and does not bear the same family name (gotra) as his father.\(^5\) The best form of marriage is by choice (swayambara).\(^6\) Re-marriage is absolutely forbidden for a twice-born person. If widows and widowers wish to practice abstinence and adopt a son of their own class, there is no harm; but those who cannot control their passions, they may beget children according to the principle of Niyoga, or temporary alliance,\(^7\) a man with ten women.

\(^1\) Satyarth Prakash, English trans. p.90 \\
\(^2\) ibid. pp.90-92 \\
\(^3\) ibid. p.132 \\
\(^4\) ibid. p.134 \\
\(^5\) ibid. p.77 \\
\(^6\) ibid. p.81 \\
\(^7\) ibid. p.118
and a woman with ten men, producing altogether ten children.

It could be both a virtue and a sin if the stage of renunciation is entered straightaway: a virtue, if asceticism is maintained without a lapse all one's life; if there is a lapse, there is no greater sin.

The duties of all men are: practice of righteousness, justice, truthfulness, obedience to the will of God as revealed in the Vedas, and promotion of public good; but the special duty of an ascetic is asceticism, which includes thoughtfulness, indifference to pain or pleasure, emotional self-control, search only for spiritual happiness and preaching the gospel of truth. An ascetic should keep his hair, nails and beard trimmed, and carry a water jug, a staff and wear an ochre garb. He should practice yoga in order to 'observe the workings of the Omnipresent, Omniscient Spirit in all things.'

On Government, Dayanand's views are derived from Manu as well as the Vedas; for example, a Kshatriya, who is an equal of a Brahman in knowledge, culture and piety, should govern a country with perfect justice, with the help of three assemblies, religious, legislative

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1 Satyarth Prakash, English trans., p.123, quoting Rigveda X 85, 45
2 ibid. p.119
3 ibid. p.134
4 ibid. pp.137-138
5 ibid. p.140
6 ibid. p.140
7 ibid., Chapter VI
8 ibid. p.149, quoting Manu VII, 1, 2
and educational. But 'the law alone is the real king, the dispenser of justice, the disciplinarian.'

After the chapter on government Dayanand argues about God and the Vedas. There is only one God and He desires good of all and does not subordinate one person to another arbitrarily. We should worship God in order to glorify Him; worship makes us love Him and also reform our nature; prayer brings humility, courage and obtains divine help; and communion is direct perception of God. God has no incarnations. He does not forgive sins, because if he were to forgive sins, His laws of justice would be destroyed and all men would become sinful. Man is free to act, but is subject to the laws of God for the consequences of his action. Both God and soul are conscious entities: by nature both are pure, immortal and virtuous. The existence of the soul is known only by the attributes shown through the body, because it is neither material nor perceptible.

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1 Satyarth Prakash, Engl. trans., p.149 quoting Rig Veda III, 38, 6
2 ibid. p.152 quoting Manu VII, 17, 19, 24, 28, 31
3 ibid. Chapter VII
4 ibid. p.191
5 ibid. p.197
6 ibid. p.197
7 ibid. p.197
8 ibid. p.206
9 ibid. p.208
10 ibid. p.208
11 ibid. p.209
12 ibid. p.210
has knowledge of all the actions of the human soul, past present and future, and his knowledge is infinite; so is the basis of his judgment of those actions.¹ God is both positive, i.e., with attributes, and negative, i.e. without them.²

The Vedas are revealed knowledge because they are in accordance with the laws of nature, reason, teachings of the learned, and intuition of pure souls.³

Dayanand believes in three causes of the universe:⁴ efficient, material and common. The efficient cause of the universe is primarily God, and secondarily, the soul, which makes different materials in the universe, created by God.⁵ The material cause is prakriti or promordial matter, which is moulded by a conscious intelligent being.⁶ The means with which different things of the universe are made, such as knowledge, time and space, are the common cause.⁷ God cannot change the natural property of things;⁸ his omnipotence only means power to act without any help.⁹ In different cycles of creation God makes the universe with the same characteristics:¹⁰ 'just as God created the sun,

² ibid. p.220
³ ibid. p.223
⁴ ibid. p.232
⁵ ibid. p.233
⁶ ibid. p.233
⁷ ibid. p.233
⁸ ibid. p.236
⁹ ibid. p.236
¹⁰ ibid. p.243
earth, moon, electricity and atmosphere in previous cycles, so will he do in future'.

The uncreated imperishable prakriti is the condition of matter when the qualities of intellect (satva), passion (rajas) and inertness (tamas) are combined equally; and the first combination of the highly subtle indivisible discrete atoms (paramanu) is the beginning of creation. Various combinations of atoms lead to various conditions of matter, till they eventually reach the 'gross visible multiform' creation (shristi): this is the universe. The cause of this combination is the irreducible unit of the combination; and what comes after combination is the effect; and the one who produces the effect from the cause is the maker — on the principle that 'nothing can ever become something, nor can something become nothing'.

The earth is created first in order than man may live. The souls who, because of their previous good actions, deserve to be born through divine creation, are born at the beginning of creation. There has been no absolute beginning of creation: just as night follows day, so creation follows dissolution — this alternating process is eternal.

1 Satyarth Prakash, Engl. trans., quoting Rig Veda X, 160, 3
2 ibid. p.245
3 ibid. p.245
4 ibid. p.246 quoting Bhagavat-gita II, 16
5 ibid. p.247
6 ibid. p.248
On knowledge and ignorance Dayanand quotes the Yajur Veda, that one who realizes the nature of true knowledge (vidya), and of good moral life and divine contemplation (avidya), at the same time, gains immortality and conquers death. Practice of yoga, study and instruction, advancement of knowledge by righteous endeavour, employment of best means to achieve one's aims, and regulation of one's conduct according to the dictates of justice: these are the means of attaining emancipation. In emancipation the soul keeps its individuality - inherent power, activity and attributes -, but not its body. By virtue of these qualities it attains and enjoys happiness also in emancipation.

The supreme state or emancipation is the condition of the soul in which it has a pure intellect and perception, and in which discernment is true and constant. Salvation or emancipation means that the soul is free to roam about without fear, doubt or sorrow; the union of the soul with a body being its birth, and disunion its death. The emancipated souls have several births. The preexistence of the soul

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1 Satyarth Prakash, Engl. trans. p.257 (Chapter IX) quoting Yajur Veda, 40, 14
2 ibid. p.257
3 ibid. p.263
4 ibid. p.264
5 ibid. p.267
6 ibid. p.265
7 ibid. p.278
8 ibid. p.278
9 ibid. p.278
can be inferred from the existence of unequal suffering and happiness in the world, for an individual's suffering or happiness is not the result of his actions in this life. \(^1\) The justice of God is demonstrated in the distribution of pleasure or pain according to the good or evil actions of previous lives. \(^2\) The souls of men and animals are of the same nature, but are pure or impure according to their virtue or sin. \(^3\) When sin predominates, the soul goes into the body of a lower animal; when sin virtues are equal, the soul is born an ordinary man; when virtue predominates, the soul is born a good and learned man. \(^4\) The soul suffers for its sins in the bodies of lower animals till its sins equal virtues, then it receives a human body. \(^5\)

The soul is continually born till, through highest virtue, complete absorption in Divine contemplation and highest knowledge it attains emancipation; it enjoys perfect bliss in freedom till the end of the particular creation. \(^6\) It takes more than one life to attain emancipation. \(^7\)

In the next chapter Dayanand writes on conduct and permissible diet. The basis of true conduct are the Vedas, the Smritis (the code

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1 Satyarth Prakash, Engl. trans. p.279
2 ibid. p.280
3 ibid. p.282
4 ibid. p.282
5 ibid. p.282
6 ibid. p.283
7 ibid. p.283
of conduct given by Vedic teachers), the practice of good men, and approval of one's soul. The way to achieve one's aim in life is complete self-control and proper diet and observance of the laws of health. To be indifferent to applause or censure, beauty or ugliness, good or austere living is to be master of one's senses. Things to be respected in life are: firstly, true knowledge, industry or skill, age, nobility of birth, and lastly, wealth.

Cleanliness leads to healthy and purity of mind, which in turn increases strength and capacity for work.

To serve one's parents and teachers is to worship godly persons.

Animals as useful as the cow should not be allowed to be killed.

This is the end of the first part. The second part is polemics against other Indian religions and sects, mainly against the vulgar or lay Hinduism of mythologies, Christianity and Islam. Dayanand attacks the political influence of Brahmans in Indian history, and the way in which they converted the concept of class or varna into the hereditary caste system. When the people became completely subjugated,

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1 Satyarth Prakash, Engl. trans. p.293 quoting Manu II, 12
2 ibid., p.295 quoting Manu II, 100
3 ibid., p.295 quoting Manu II, 98
4 ibid. p.295 quoting Manu II, 136
5 ibid. p.297 quoting Manu II, 159
6 ibid. p.297 quoting Yajur Veda XVI, 15
7 ibid. p.304
8 ibid. p.315
the Brahmans turned extremely self-indulgent and licentious - the
beginning of the sect of Tantriks, who believe that sensualism leads to
salvation. This, according to Dayanand, gave rise, in reaction, to a
'dreadful religion called Buddhism or Jainism'. \(^1\) They reviled the
Vedas and Shastras, but the people began to believe in their teachings,
for they stood the test of reason; but the Jains, in ignorance of the
Vedas, imputed the malpractices of Hindus to the Vedas and denounced
them. \(^2\) Then a revival of Vedaism was started by Shankaracharya about
two thousand years ago. \(^3\) He preached against Jainism as much as against
the Shiva cult, for ten years. \(^4\) Dayanand does not, however, accept
the Vedantism of Shankaracharya as a doctrine, that God and the human
soul are identical and the world is an illusion; but if it was meant
only to refute the Jain doctrines, he sees no objection in it. \(^5\)

The smaller sects are disposed of in a similar way. However,
Dayanand's views on Brahma Samaj are interesting, because they give us
a clearer idea of the reason why he undertook his work of reformation.
He answers a hypothetical question: 'Are the Brahma Samaj and
Prarthana Samaj good?' by saying that their beliefs have a few good
points, but many are objectionable. Their ignorance of the Vedas make

\(^1\) Satyarth Prakash, Engl. trans. p.324  
\(^2\) ibid. p.325  
\(^3\) ibid. p.326  
\(^4\) ibid. p.326  
\(^5\) ibid. p.323
it impossible for them to be entirely good. However, their good points are: they have saved a number of people from Christianity, and they have helped to stop idolatry and the influence of false books, to some extent. What is objectionable is their lack of patriotism in their imitation of Christianity and alteration of marriage laws and food and drink regulations. They eat and drink indiscriminately, believing that this is reformation, when such things do more harm than good. The superiority of Europeans is not based on their indiscriminate eating and drinking habits, but their custom of adult and freely chosen marriage, sound education of children, and discernment of true and false, which comes from good education, and their lack of indolence.

Dayanand insists quite frequently that his discussion of other religions is done in a spirit of enquiry and love, in order to arrive at the true beliefs of the religion. He makes a detailed argument against Buddhism and Jainism, Christianity - in which both the Old and New Testaments, which he had read in Hindi and Sanskrit translations - are the basis of his criticism - and Islam. In Christianity, the main doctrine which he criticizes - apart from his objection to the idea of

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1 Satyarth Prakash, Engl. Trans., p.441
2 ibid. p.441
3 ibid. p.442
4 ibid. p.443
5 ibid. p.444
6 ibid. p.473
7 ibid. Chapter XII
8 ibid. Chapter XIII
9 ibid. Chapter XIV
God - is that every man shall be rewarded according to his works, which he finds contradicted later by the doctrine that sins can be forgiven; he argues that they are self-contradictory, and one should, therefore, cease to believe in the Bible.

The last religion to be discussed is Islam; and here again the basis is the scripture, the Quran, which, Dayanand believed, can neither be a work of God nor of an enlightened person. The little truth it does have conforms to the Veda, and is, therefore, acceptable to him. The rest is superstition and error and repetitious; and increases human suffering by promoting war. He emphasizes again his spirit of enquiry and believes that, while truthfulness, love and fellow-feeling are to be commended in whatever creed they are found; wrangling, jealousy and hatred are to be condemned. But if one sincerely desires truth, one should embrace the Vedic religion.

In October 1874 Dayanand left Allahabad for Bombay. During his stay it was proposed that an Arya Samaj or Society for Vedic Religion should be established there; sixty people signed their names as members,
but the society was not publicly organized till Dayanand's return almost a year later.\footnote{Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.255} The Arya Samaj was actually founded on the 10th April 1875.\footnote{Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, p.58}

The tenets of faith were firstly, that the Vedas were 'independently and absolutely authoritative'.\footnote{Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.229} 'The Samaj shall glorify, pray and hold communion with the one only God!',\footnote{ibid. p.232} and perform Vedic sacraments.\footnote{ibid. p.233} 'In the interest of the country, the Samaj will undertake both spiritual and worldly reform.',\footnote{ibid. p.233} 'The Samaj shall believe in what is right and just - according to the true Vedic Dharma and according to all the rules of evidence. 'He who conforms to these principles will belong to the superior membership of the Samaj, and others to ordinary membership'.\footnote{ibid. p.235}

After the establishment of an Arya Samaj at Bombay, Dayanand left for Ahmadabad.\footnote{ibid. p.237} The orthodox Brahmins at Bombay gave out that they would have debated with him, but for his abrupt departure. A telegram was sent to Dayanand and he returned to Bombay; but his opponents were not so keen now, so a legal notice was served on them.
A nominal meeting, therefore, was held on the 12th June 1875. Then Dayanand went to Poona, where he gave fifteen lectures, five of them were historical, one biographical and the rest on religious subjects; these lectures were published, in substance, in Marathi. In August 1875 Dayanand came back to Bombay and stayed there for eight months organizing the Arya Samaj. Leaving Bombay on the 1st of May 1876 he went to Benares, where he stayed for over two months, but held no debates. He decided, however, to write the Introduction to the Commentary on Rig Veda (Rigveda-adi Bhashy Bhumika) which was to be published by a well-known local printers in monthly instalments. Dayanand had intended to write a commentary - which he never completed - on the meaning of the mantras or verses in Sanskrit and Hindi, using strictly ancient methods of interpretation.

In the Introduction Dayanand tries to show that the origin of knowledge cannot be explained without revelation, on the authority of the Vedas themselves and the six systems of philosophy. Then comes the subject matter of the Vedas; knowledge, philosophy, worship and action - with extensive quotations from Vedic verses. Dayanand believed

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1 Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.238
2 ibid. p.256
3 ibid. p.258
4 translated by Ghasi Ram, Meerut 1925, p.2: "I commenced this commentary on Sunday the first day of the bright half of the month of Bhadra in the Samvat year 1933." c.1875 A.D.
5 Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.261
6 Introduction to the Commentary on the Rigveda, Eng. trans., p.3
7 ibid. p.x (translator's introduction)
8 ibid. p.xi
9 ibid. p.xi
that the Vedas contained the notions of all the sciences, and, as
illustrations, he quotes verses which contain the principles of
attraction and gravitation, arithmetic, algebra and geometry, ship-
building, aircrafts and telegraphy.\textsuperscript{1}

The origin of the Vedas is explained as revelation of God,\textsuperscript{2} who
insured the four sages, Agni, Vayu, Aditya and Angiras, and produced the
Vedas through them.\textsuperscript{3} This was a just act by God, for these sages had
accumulated merit from their earlier lives.\textsuperscript{4} The Vedas are revealed
at every Creation to impart true knowledge to the created beings.\textsuperscript{5}

Two kinds of knowledge are revealed in the Vedas: material
(apara) and metaphysical (para). The metaphysical knowledge is superior
to the material knowledge,\textsuperscript{7} therefore, God is the ultimate object of
the Vedas. The material knowledge in the Vedas is mainly concerned
with action.\textsuperscript{8} The aim of the first kind of action is attainment of
salvation (moksha) through worship, resignation and obedience to God's
will, righteous action and acquisition of knowledge. The second kind
of action is aimed at worldly success. The first kind is action without

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[1]{Introduction to the Commentary on the Rigveda, Engl. trans. p.xi}
\footnotetext[2]{ibid. p.9}
\footnotetext[3]{ibid. p.19 quoting Shataphatha Brahmana XI, 5, 8, 3}
\footnotetext[4]{ibid. pp.20-21}
\footnotetext[5]{ibid. pp.43-49}
\footnotetext[6]{ibid. p.57}
\footnotetext[7]{ibid. p.57}
\footnotetext[8]{ibid. p.61}
\end{footnotes}
desire; the second kind is desired action and bears 'the fruit of birth and death'. Worldly action leads only to individual happiness, but unworldly action is for the good of the whole world.

Nothing in fact is ever destroyed, and what is called destruction is merely passing from a perceptible state into an imperceptible.

Writing on conduct (dharma) or duty, according to the Vedas, he defines mantra as deliberation, which enables men to investigate all things - from God to material objects; and manas or mind as consisting of both inclination and aversion; chitta as the intellect which enables us to remember past experiences and to meditate on God and dharma. God ordains men to be in the world to do good and to act justly. Men should do their best to alleviate suffering and should themselves bear it with resignation. Men should have the desire to acquire what they do not possess, by just means, and they should spend their wealth righteously. Men should prolong their lives and become physically

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1 Introduction to the Commentary on the Vedas, Engl. trans. p.62
2 ibid. p.62
3 ibid. p.63
4 ibid. p.62
5 ibid. p.69
6 ibid. p.140
7 ibid. p.152
8 ibid. p.152
9 ibid. p.154
10 ibid. p.154
strong by leading a chaste life.\footnote{Introduction to the Commentary on the Vedas, Engl. trans. p.155}

Dayanand prescribed five ritual duties:\footnote{Ibid. p.346} learning and teaching of the shastras (scriptures); meditation and worship of God at twilight;\footnote{Ibid. p.346} burning of butter and aromatic substances in a ceremonial fire for purification of air;\footnote{Ibid. p.346; also Satyarth Prakash, Engl. trans. p.34} reverence of learned men and parents;\footnote{Ibid. p.354} and reverence of itinerant preachers.\footnote{Ibid. p.376}

While he was writing the Introduction to the Commentary on the Vedas at Benares, Dayanand heard of the coming Imperial Durbar at Delhi, and realizing its importance as a centre of attraction for the princes and maharajas, and what they could do for him, he went to Delhi and stayed near the camps of the princes of Oudh.\footnote{Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.269} He failed however, to interest them in his religious reform, so instead he arranged a meeting of different religious leaders to explore the possibility of a combined effort towards reform.\footnote{Ibid. p.270} Among those who attended were Keshub Chandra Son of Brahmo Samaj and Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, the Muslim reformer. Dayanand believed that if all of them had the same sent of principles and worked in the same way, the country could soon be reformed;
but this was not appreciated by the others, and the meeting achieved nothing. But another meeting, with similar aims, was soon arranged at Chandrapur in the North West Frontier Province, and was held on the 19th March 1877. It was suggested to Dayanand that the Hindus and Muslims should unitedly oppose the Christians, but he did not agree, and said that they should 'meet in love and peace and investigate the truth'. He addressed the meeting and reminded them that the aim was not to score a victory, but to find the true faith. Dayanand took part mainly in the discussion of the question, 'out of what, when and why did God create the world', and the concept of salvation.

In the discussion Dayanand said that if God were the material cause of the universe, He would be identical with the phenomenal world; and the inescapable conclusion would be that He himself was the material world. If God is identical with the phenomenal world, He becomes responsible for all the sin in the world, which is absurd. God created the world for dispensing impartial justice, because at the dissolution of previous Creations some actions remained unwarded.

1 Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.271
2 ibid. p.272
3 ibid. p.274
4 ibid. p.283
5 ibid. p.284
6 ibid. p.294
7 ibid. p.299
8 ibid. p.287
9 ibid. p.291
After Chandrapur Dayanand went to Ludhiana and Lahore, where he gave lectures on the Vedas and the Vedic Dharma.  

On the 24th July 1877 Dayanand and his associates revised the principles of the Arya Samaj which were originally formulated at Bombay. The revised version forms the present creed of the Arya Samaj: 'The Primordial Root - the Eternal Unseen Sustainer of all true knowledge... is the Supreme God'. 'God is Almighty, Just, Unborn, Infinite, Eternal Truth, Unchangeable, Imperishable, Holy and Maker of the World: and to Him alone is worship due.'

'All acts should be in accordance with dharma, after investigation of right and wrong'.

'The prime object of the Arya Samaj is to do good, physically, spiritually and socially, to every sentient being.'

'All men should abide by the laws of society promoting well-being of all; but everybody is free in regard to laws affecting his own individual well-being.'

In July 1877 and again in May 1878 Dayanand went to Amritsar. After that he gave lectures at Delhi. On the 27th February 1879 he

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1 Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.319
2 ibid. p.338
3 ibid. p.338
4 ibid. p.339
5 ibid. p.339
6 ibid. p.353
arrived at the so-called last Kumbha Fair at Haridwar\(^1\) and during the whole of his stay he suffered from acute dysentery.

On the 14th August 1879\(^2\) he went to Bareilli, where he gave lectures and participated in a discussion with Christian missionaries on the transmigration of souls, which he defended; and on divine incarnations and forgiveness of sin, which he refuted. The discussion was held on the 25th August 1879.\(^3\) This was one of the important debates in which Dayanand participated. On the concept of incarnation Dayanand argued that it was impossible for God to enter or leave a body, because He was all-pervading;\(^4\) and forgiveness of sin was impossible to maintain, because then it would seem that God encouraged sin.

From Bareilli Dayanand went to Shahjahanpur and stayed there till 17th September 1879\(^5\) and then to Furrakabad, where he was given a questionnaire\(^6\) to answer on his faith; one of the questions was 'Can a Christian or Muslim join your faith, and would you eat the food cooked by him?' Dayanand replied that whoever followed the Vedic commandments was a follower of the Vedic religion; and dharma (duty) is not the same as custom, like eating, drinking or wearing clothes.

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\(^1\) Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.396 (part II)

\(^2\) ibid. p.147

\(^3\) ibid. p.419

\(^4\) ibid. p.436

\(^5\) ibid. p.437

\(^6\) ibid. pp.439-440
After Furrakabad he went to Agra, reaching there on the 25th November 1880. While he was at Agra, a society was formed at Calcutta to have his views on funeral rites, pilgrimages and idol-worship denounced by the most distinguished representatives of orthodoxy. On the 10th May 1881, Dayanand left Agra for Bharatpur in Rajputana, with the intention of preaching the principles of Vedic religion in a more systematic way. After a few weeks he went to Jaipur, where he established an Arya Samaj; and then on the Ajmer and Maroda, where he was invited by the ruler. The principality had a large Jain population and they were invited to hold a debate with him.

From there he went to Bombay in March 1882 for the anniversary of the Bombay Arya Samaj. The other reasons for his return were his comments in Jainism in his book, Satyarth Prakash, and the changed attitude of the Theosophical Society. The Jains considered his views an insult to their faith and the Theosophist had taken to Atheism, to which Dayanand was opposed.

He left Bombay on the 24th June 1883, Dayanand mentions that

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1 Chhajju Singh, op. cit., p.451
2 ibid. p.452
3 ibid. p.457
4 ibid. p.457
5 ibid. p.469
6 ibid. p.470
7 ibid. p.470
8 ibid. p.433
the Maharaja spent four or five hours every day with him and read philosophy, the Code of Manu on government and some grammar. At the end of Dayanand's visit, the Maharaja presented him a handwritten address, expressing his gratitude for the instruction he had received from Dayanand.¹

Dayanand left Udaipur on the 1st March 1883,² escorted by courtiers of the Raja of Shahpr. At Shahpr he was invited by the brother of the Maharaja of Jodhpur to visit his states and preach his faith.³ At Jodhpur he incurred the displeasure of the Maharaja's mistress, and it was suspected that she had him poisoned. He eventually died of the suspected poisoning on the 30th October 1883.⁴

¹ Chhajju Singh, op. cit. p.540
² ibid. p.541
³ ibid. p.545
⁴ ibid. p.546
CHAPTER 2

BRAHMA SAMAJ

The Brahma Samaj or the Theistic Church was founded by Ram Mohun Roy, and its first meeting was held on the 20th August 1828 under the name of Brahma Sabha (Association of God), which was soon changed to Brahma Samaj (Society of God). It met every Sunday for recitation of Vedic hymns, reading and translation into Bengali of Upanishad texts, and sermons. There were no prayers during this period.

On the 23rd January 1830 a building was opened specially for the Brahma Samaj. It was to be used for the 'worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe'; and sermons preached there should strengthen the 'bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds'.

In 1839, five years after the death of Ram Mohun Roy, Devendranath Tagore - the eldest son of Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, an associate of Ram Mohun - formed the Tatwabodhini Sabha (Truth-learning Association)

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1 S. D. Collet, Life and Letters of Ram mohun Roy, London, 1900, p.39
3 ibid. p.814
4 ibid. p.814
5 ibid. p.814
6 ibid. p.814
9 ibid. p.815
with his friends and relatives, for religious discussion and worship.

In 1841 Devendranath joined the Brahma Samaj with his friends and took charge of it.\(^1\) In 1843 he formulated the Brahma Covenant for membership of the Brahma Samaj,\(^2\) and introduced a form of prayer, Brahmopasana (worship of Brahma), which became the normal service: this was the first introduction of prayer in the Brahma Samaj.\(^3\) By 1844 he had sent out a number of missionaries to form associate societies outside Calcutta.\(^4\) In 1845 the Tatwabodhini Patrika\(^5\) declared that the Vedas were the sole basis of the belief. In 1850 Devendranath compiled a volume of extracts from the Upanishads\(^6\) for use in the Samaj. The same year, however, the infallibility of the Vedas was rejected after much discussion.\(^7\) Within a few years the leaders of the Brahma Samaj declared Nature and Intuition as the two sources of knowing God.\(^8\)

In 1857 Keshub Chunder Sen joined the Brahma Samaj. His career began as a lecturer in the philosophy of theism at the Brahma School, an informal theological college.\(^9\) In 1860 Devendranath wrote a manual

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\(^1\) *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 315

\(^2\) *ibid.* p. 315

\(^3\) *ibid.* pp. 315-316

\(^4\) *ibid.*

\(^5\) The *Journal of the Tatwabodhini Sabha, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 316

\(^6\) *ibid.* p. 316

\(^7\) *ibid.* p. 316

\(^8\) *ibid.* p. 316

\(^9\) *ibid.* p. 316
of domestic ceremonies, the Anusthan Paddhati. In 1862 he made Keshub Chandr Sen Minister of the Samaaj; he was known as Chief Minister from then on.¹

On the 11th November 1866 a meeting was held to form a new society, after religious differences between Devendranath and Keshub Chunder Sen.² The religious service at this meeting included, besides the usual prayers and hymns, reading of passages from the Hindu, Christian, Mohammedan, Zoroastrian and Confucian scriptures. Thus the Brahma Samaj of India was established, with principles, taken from 'all religious writings of all nations'.³ Keshub Chunder Sen was appointed Secretary.

In 1873 there was another schism, in protest against Keshub Chunder Sen's 'flouting of public opinion and dishonour of his own principles'.⁴ All the missionaries, a number of other leaders, and some rank and file remained with Keshub, but a large membership of the Church decided to form a separate Society.⁵ All the provincial Samajes were consulted, and with the approval of a majority of them, a meeting was held at the Calcutta Town Hall to establish the Sadharan or

¹ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, p.817
² ibid. p.817
³ ibid. p.817
⁴ ibid. p.819
⁵ ibid. p.819
Universal Brahma Samaj, with a constitutional organisation to 'secure the harmonious co-operation of the general Brahma community'.

At the Anniversary celebrations in January 1881 Keshub proclaimed that the Brahma Samaj was God's latest dispensation, His new Gospel completing and harmonizing all existing religions; and that he and his twelve missionaries were God-appointed apostles of the movement.

The name of the Brahma Samaj of India was changed to Church of the New Dispensation. The new church differed in trying to make theism understandable to the common people, by introducing picturesque adaptations of ceremonies from both Hinduism and Christianity.

The creed of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj remained the same as that of the original Samaj, but with three more articles of faith. They both believed - through Nature and Intuition - in God as a personal being without incarnations, hearing and answering prayers; to be worshipped only in spiritual ways by all castes and races. Repentance and cessation from sin were the only way to forgiveness and salvation.

To this the Sadharan Brahma Samaj added the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man; immortality and eternal progress of the soul; virtue rewarded by God; and his punishments for sin being remedial.

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1 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, II, pp. 819-820; also Brahma Year Book for 1878, p. 70
2 Encyclopaedia, p. 820
3 ibid. p. 820
4 ibid. p. 820
5 ibid. p. 820
6 ibid. p. 816
not eternal. The Church of the New Dispensation added three more notions in its creed: God as a Trinity in Unity – Father and Mother both, Son and Spirit; Knowledge of God also through Inspired Men; and Brahmanism as the essence of all religions.

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1 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, II, p.320

2 ibid., p.320
i. Raja Ram Mohun Roy

Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahma Samaj, was born at Radhanagore in Bengal on the 22nd May 1772. His parents belonged to rival sects of Brahmins, but his mother accepted her husband's cult soon after marriage.

Ram Mohun learnt Persian, then the court language of India, and Arabic at Patna; then he was sent to Benares to learn Sanskrit. At Patna he read Arabic translations of Euclid and Aristotle and became familiar with the Koran.

He was married to three wives while still a child; the second time to two wives at the age of nine - when the first bride died - as a precaution. This was a usual custom of the Kulin Brahmins. The first of the two wives was the mother of his children, and the second survived him.

At the age of fifteen he decided to go to Tibet, to see another form of religious faith, probably after differences with his father. He returned home after three of four years on being recalled by his

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1 S. D. Collet, Life and Letters of Ram Mohun Roy, p.1
2 ibid. p.2
3 ibid. p.3
4 ibid. p.3
5 ibid. pp.3-4
6 ibid. p.4
7 ibid. p.4
father, who showed great kindness to him on his return. After this, Ram Mohun had to stay for ten or twelve years at Benares, away from his friends and relatives, and there, it seems, he read the Hindu scriptures extensively. He seems to have been there till his father's death in 1803. Although he was present at his father's death-bed he had ceased to feel any respect for the family deity.

After his father's death he began to publish his unorthodox views. He went to Murshidabad and published his first work, an essay in Persian with an Arabic preface, called the *Tuhfat-ul-Muahhidin* or A Gift to Monotheists, protesting against idolatrous elements in all religions.

In the introduction he writes that in his travels in the 'remotest parts of the world' he found a general agreement of belief in the personality of One God as the cause of all existence, which made him believe that it is a natural tendency in human beings; and polytheistic tendencies grew by habit and training; and falsehood is common to all religions. Then in the essay he goes on to say that as it is very difficult to discover esoteric truths, so most of the religious leaders

1 S. D. Collet, *Life and Letters of Ram Mohun Roy*, p.5
2 ibid. p.5
3 ibid. p.6
4 ibid. p.7
5 *English Works of Ram Mohun Roy*, Fumini Press, Allahabad, 1906, p.943
6 ibid. p.943
7 ibid. p.943
8 ibid. p.943
have declared special beliefs to be pure truths, using miracles, or
demagogy or other suitable devices, and have so overwhelmed the people
that they cannot distinguish between 'actual goodness and apparent sin'
when obeying their leaders.¹

As the basis of a faith is the existence of the soul and of the
next world as the place for rewards and punishments for deeds of this
world, it is excusable to teach these two doctrines for the welfare of
the society; but hundreds of useless inflictions are added to regulate
everyday life and in no way contribute to the welfare of the people.²
Every religion claims that the followers of other religions are liable
to be punished in the next world, but the truth is that all of them
enjoy or suffer in the same way.³

Although every individual can infer by himself from the mysteries
of nature that a Being exists who, with His wisdom ruled the world, yet
everyone believed implicitly in whatever creed he was brought up to.⁴
One ought to use one's reason, but religious leaders say that in matters
of religion and faith reason cannot be applied: but how can a thing
without proof be admitted by reasonable men?⁵ There is no necessity

¹ English Works of Ram Mohun Roy, Allahabad, 1906, p. 945
² ibid. p. 947
³ ibid. p. 948
⁴ ibid. p. 948
⁵ ibid. p. 950
for an intermediate agency, like prophets or revelations, to guide one to salvation.¹ Like all external things prophets and revelations have no reference to God.² Some argue that a difference in precepts does not prove any religion to be false, as all religions have been formed by God, according to different societies, but God's actions are not analogous to the government of man, who does not understand the ends of his action, and whose actions themselves are mixed with selfishness, deceit and hypocrisy.³ Faith in the truth of a thing depends on the belief of its existence, therefore, a sensible man cannot have faith in things beyond reason and experience.⁴ Change of religion, as one of the habits of mankind, and the fact that a man has an intellect, both imply that he should use his judgment to distinguish good from bad.⁵

Our actions can in no way appease the wrath of God and gain his forgiveness and favour, but there are four kinds of human beings among the deceivers, the deceived, and those who are neither: first, the deceivers who wilfully invent doctrines, creeds and faiths; second, the deceived who adhere to others without questioning; third, those who believe in the sayings of another and induce others to believe like them - they deceive and are deceived; and lastly, those who, by the

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¹ English Works of Ram Mohun Roy, Allahabad, 1909, p.953
² ibid. p.953
³ ibid. p.954
⁴ ibid. p.956
⁵ ibid. p.957
help of God, are neither deceived nor deceive.  

It was at this time - when he had published his essay - that Ram Mohun Roy entered the civil service of the East India Company.  Although he started learning English in 1796, his progress was not very good for the first five years - till he met John Digby - but later, when he was appointed Dewan, or the principal native revenue officer, he could write and speak with considerable accuracy.

While working at Rungpur he began discussions with a group of friends on religious subjects, especially against idolatry. It aroused hostile comments from the orthodox in a Bengali book, called Gyan Chandrika (the Moon of Knowledge).  His activities set his mother against him and she tried - unsuccessfully - to disinherit him as an apostate and infidel, through both the King's and the Company courts.

In 1814 Ram Mohun came to Calcutta, where he bought two houses and furnished one in English style. Here he began his life's work in earnest. The root of all evil in Hindu society seemed to him to be

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1 English Works of Ram Mohun Roy, Allahabad, 1909, p.958
2 S. B. Collet, Life and Teachings of Ram Mohun Roy, p.10
4 Collet, op. cit., p.11
5 ibid. p.12
6 ibid. p.13
7 ibid. p.16
8 ibid. p.16
idolatry, and his main aim was to destroy it.\(^1\) His researches into the sacred writings of India led him to believe that the prevalent form of popular Hinduism was comparatively recent, and a corruption of the earlier Hindu belief and practice.\(^2\) He began to attack idolatry on the authority of the ancient scriptures; and for this he selected some of the writings of the Vedantic system, which were unquestionably accepted.\(^3\) But there were few people in Bengal who had read these writings.\(^4\) He translated several of the Upanishads into Bengali and English and called the anthology "An Abridgment of the Vedanta". It was first published in 1816. In a preface addressed to the 'believers in the Only True God', he said that most of the Brahmans and others were incapable of justifying the idolatry they continued to practise.\(^5\) He had been trying to convince his countrymen of the true meaning of their sacred books,\(^6\) moved by compassion for those who were enmeshed in the peculiar rites introduced by Hindu idolatry.\(^7\)

According to Vyas, the author of the Vedanta or the resolution of all the Vedas,\(^8\) it is absolutely necessary to know the Supreme Being,
who is the subject-matter of all the Vedas and Vedanta as well as other systems of theology; but it becomes a limited inquiry, because He is not to be known through the senses, nor through devotion or virtuous deeds. "He sees everything, though never seen; hears everything, though never directly heard of": 

Vyas has, therefore, explained Him by His 'effects and works', without trying to explain his essence: 'He by whom the birth, existence and annihilation of the world is regulated is the Supreme Being'.

The Veda is not eternal because God is declared to be its cause; similarly, as God is declared the cause of the void space, air and fire, none of these can be the independent cause of the universe. Nature cannot be construed to be the independent cause of the universe, because it is insensible; nor can the soul be an independent creator of the world, as 'God resides in the soul as its Ruler'. In the same way none of the celestial gods can be inferred as the independent cause of the universe, for 'God is indeed one and has no second'. The reason for

2. ibid. p.8
3. ibid. pp.8-9
4. ibid. p.9
5. ibid. p.10
6. ibid. p.11
7. ibid. pp.11-12
8. ibid. p.12
secondary appellations in the Vedas is that they denote - and thus establish His omnipresence - 'the diffusive spirit of the Supreme Being equally over all creatures'.

God is the efficient cause of the universe, as a potter is of earthen pots, and the material cause, as a spider of his web. The declaration of the Veda that the Supreme Being has by his sole intention created the universe, makes it evident that God is 'the wilful agent of all that can have existence'. God is the sole object of worship, as it is found in the Vedas that nothing except Him should be worshipped by a wise man; and in worship we should approach Him, think of Him and approximate Him. We should adore Him till we approach, and continue to adore Him when we have approached Him. Moral principle is part of worship - which is reliance on and resignation to Him, without worldly considerations - as all desired results come from devotion of God. A pious householder is equal to the highest Brahmin in his adoration of God. True believers are not blamed for neglecting the rites.

2 ibid. p.16
3 ibid. p.16
4 ibid. p.18
5 ibid. p.18
6 ibid. p.19
7 ibid. p.19
8 ibid. p.20
9 ibid. p.20
prescribed for their class. Before attaining to true knowledge of God a man should observe the regulations of his class, for they are meant to purify the mind; but a man could have true knowledge of God without observing them. One who in this life was devoted to God would be absorbed in Him after death, and would not be subject to birth, death or any other change.

During the intervals between his controversies with advocates of idolatry Ram Mohun translated several of the Upanishads which are contained in the Vedanta, the subject of Vyas's commentary. These translations would - Ram Mohun wrote in his introduction - convince every 'unprejudiced mind' that they inculcate the unity of God and His worship in spirit. Although idolatry is permitted as a last resort to people incapable of contemplating the invisible God, the Vedas continually urge a purer system of religion, as idolatry cannot produce 'eternal beatitude'. The purpose of these translations was to assure the public that the natural inclination of the ignorant to worship objects similar to their own nature and the self-interest of the priests had induced the majority of Hindus to be idolatrous, with prejudice, superstition and complete destruction of moral principles.

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2 ibid. p.21
3 ibid. p.21
4 ibid. pp.23-24
5 ibid. p.27
6 ibid. p.27
7 ibid. p.28
In the Mundak Upanishad the question is asked, "Is there any being by whose knowledge alone the whole universe may be immediately known?" The answer is that there are two kinds of knowledge in the Vedas; the superior knowledge is given in the Upanishads, and through this knowledge one is absorbed into the 'eternal Supreme Being'. The Supreme Being produces nature, the apparent cause of the universe, after deciding in his omniscience. From nature come the sensitive particles of the world, called the Brahma, the 'source of the faculties', which in turn produce the seven divisions of the world, followed by the ceremonial rites and their consequences. But the rites and sacrifices are perishable and the ignorant believing in them remain ignorant of God and return to this world in sorrow after their 'celestial gratification is expired'. The true source of bliss is knowing and having faith in God. Having considered the perishable nature of all worldly objects, a Brahmin will cease to want them - because nothing that is possible through perishable means can be eternal.

The Supreme existence is himself all - rites as well as their

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2 ibid. p.30
3 ibid. p.30
4 ibid. p.30
5 ibid. p.32
6 ibid. p.33
7 ibid. p.33
8 ibid. p.33
rewards. God is perceived only by the intellect; and those who know him as the origin of the intellect and self-consciousness have a real notion of God. The soul and God are like two birds in a tree, which is the body: the soul tastes the fruits of its action and God witnesses all. When the soul perceives its companion, God - in His glory and as the origin of itself - it is relieved of its grief and infatuation. A wise man knowing God as residing in all creatures, rejects all ideas of duality and becomes convinced that there is only one existence, God. Man should approach God through strict truthfulness, constancy of mind and of the senses, spiritual guidance from teachers, abstinence from sexual indulgence. God should be observed in the heart.

A man's knowledge of God will be inherited by his progeny, and it will free Him from mental distress and evil propensities and ignorance that results from the idea of duality. This doctrine should be imparted to those who perform good works and are acquainted with the Vedas and

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2 ibid. p.37
3 ibid. p.38
4 ibid. p.38
5 ibid. p.38
6 ibid. p.39
7 ibid. p.39
8 ibid. p.39
9 ibid. p.42
wish to acquire a knowledge of God and have performed certain rites.\(^1\)

In his introduction to the translation of the \(\text{I\textsuperscript{ena}}\) Upanishad Ram Mohun writes that his efforts would help in indicating the allegorical parts of the Veda, which taken literally have given rise to exceptional practices in eating and drinking and that of taking the sick to the banks of the Ganges to die.\(^2\) If the Upanishads are not interpreted as inculcating the unity of God, they would become unintelligible and would lose their authority.\(^3\)

The essence of the notion of God, according to the Vedanta, is that He bears the same relation to all material extension as the human soul to the body.\(^4\) Man gets the power to know God through self-exertion.\(^5\)

The Katha Upanishad treats polytheism with contempt, and inculcates the unity of God as the intellectual principle entirely distinct from matter and its affections.\(^6\) Sin is defined as evil thoughts and a matter of bad form.\(^7\) The knowledge imparted in the Katha Upanishad cannot be gained by reason alone, but from those who know the sacred authorities.\(^8\) As God is known through an acute intellect constantly

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2. [ibid. p. 47](#)
3. [ibid. pp. 49-50](#)
4. [ibid. p.](#)
5. [ibid. p. 54](#)
6. [ibid. p. 61](#)
7. [ibid. p. 62](#)
8. [ibid. p. 70](#)
directed towards Him, so a wise man will transfer his power of speech and of his senses to the mind, and his mind to the intellect, and the intellect to his purified soul, and the soul to the Supreme Being. God, through His omniscience, makes his sole existence appear in the form of the universe; and He alone assigns to the objects their respective purposes. The mind is more refined than the external senses, and the intellect is superior to the mind, but inferior to the prime sensitive particle, which is inferior to nature, the apparent cause of the universe. And God is superior to nature. The most sacred state is that when the external senses and mind are directed towards God, and the intellect ceases to act: this is Yoga or withdrawal of the senses and the mind from the world.

A man should first acquire a belief in the existence of God and then a real knowledge of Him: when all desires are gone the mortal becomes immortal.

In his preface to the Isha Upanishad Ram Mohun explains that the Vedanta doctrine 'God is everywhere and everything is in God', is not pantheism, but means that nothing has real existence without the

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1 English Works of Ram Mohun Roy, ed. J. C. Ghose, pp.74-75
2 ibid. p.80
3 ibid. p.80
4 ibid. p.82
5 ibid. p.82
6 ibid. pp.82-83
7 ibid. p.85: published in 1816
volition of God. According to the Isha Upanishad, he who perceives 
that the material existence is merely dependent upon the existence of 
the Supreme Spirit, and that he extends over all material existence, 
does not find any creature contemptible.

Ram Mohun's translations and his reputation as an opponent of 
the popular religion aroused great hostility among the orthodox, but 
he organized a group of friends to form the Atmiya Sabha or Friendly 
Association, meeting once a week of recitation of texts from Hindu 
scriptures and to sing theistic hymns of their own composition. His 
friends at this time included, at two extremes a Tantrik Hindu, 
Hariharanand Tirthaswami, and an English rationalist, David Hare. At 
the end of his third year in Calcutta Ram Mohun wrote of his activities 
to his friend, John Digby— who had published his Abridgment of the 
Vedanta and the translation of Kena Upanishad, with an extract from 
his letter, in London in 1817 — that his religious researches had led 
him to believe that 'the doctrines of Christ were more conducive to 
moral principles and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than 
any others'. He added that the Hindus in general were more superstitious

1 English Works of Ram Mohun Roy, ed. J. C. Ghose, p.96
2 ibid. p.106
3 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.20
4 ibid. p.21
5 ibid. p.22
6 ibid. p.22
and 'miserable' in their 'religious rites and domestic concerns' than the rest of the world. He also wrote of his intention to visit Europe, which did not, however, happen till 1830.

Ram Mohun published A Defence of Hindu Theism in reply to a letter from a master at the Madras Government College, who had attacked him for his advocacy of monotheism, and preached the worship of Divine attributes. The letter was written in English, and Ram Mohun deplored its use, instead of Sanskrit, by a learned Brahmin. The Calcutta Gazette had called Ram Mohun a reformer and a discoveror, to which the correspondent objected. Ram Mohun replied that he had never claimed to be one, and further that the correspondent himself had corroborated his views by agreeing that the worship of the invisible Supreme Being was inculcated by all the Hindu scriptures. While agreeing with the objection that the attainment of perfect knowledge of God is difficult, he said that it was not so difficult to 'read the existence of the Almighty Being in the works of nature' by a man of common sense. The last point made by the correspondent was that the attributes of God existed distinct from God, like ministers of a king. In reply Ram Mohun quoted Shankaracharya that the 'Ved has declared the Supreme to

1 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.23
3 ibid. p.123
4 ibid. pp.127-128
5 ibid. pp.132-133
6 ibid. p.136-137
be mere understanding; and said that the attributes of God being separate existences was a dangerous doctrine. How can these attributes of the 'pure and perfect Being' be so sensual and immoral as the creating attribute or Brahma is said to be: the Poorana represent him at one place as trying to rape his own daughter; and the protecting attribute or Vishnu, in order to kill a man, 'fraudently violated the chastity' of his wife; Shiva, the destroying attribute had a 'criminal attachment defying all decency'. How can contemplation of such things purify the mind towards morality and produce eternal beatitude?

Ram Mohun's Second Defence of the Monotheistic System of the Vedas was addressed to a pundit in Calcutta, in which he summarizes the arguments of the pundit as faith in God combined with moral works leads to eternal happiness, but points out that moral works in Hinduism are not actions of moral merit, but religious rites and ceremonies often irreconcilable with the commonly understood moral duties. This distinction of meaning makes his difference with the Calcutta pundit

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2 ibid. p.138
4 ibid. p.148
5 ibid. p.149
6 ibid. p.150
clear, for Hindu moral works are not necessary for divine faith; and he ends the tract by suggesting that the system of dreaming recommended by the learned Brahmin, however essential to the interests of his caste and himself, can bring no material or eternal advantage to his followers.

At the same time, his nephew brought a law suit against him to prove that he had forfeited his civil rights by violating caste restriction, but was unsuccessful. This made Ram Mohun cautious and he discontinued holding the meetings of the Friendly Association for the two years that the suit lasted.

He still, however, went to the Unitarian services held by William Adam.

In 1818 Ram Mohun had begun to be influential, and, for his part in the agitation against the custom of Suttee, he wrote A Dialogue between an Advocate and an opponent of the custom, which appeared on the 30th November 1818; followed by a second tract in February 1820, which he dedicated to Lady Hastings, implying the goodwill of the Governor General for his movement. With his usual thoroughness Ram Mohun learnt Hebrew and Greek in order to understand both the Old and

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1 English Works, ed. J. C. Ghose, Vol.I, p.176: the analogy in defence of idol worship given by the pundit was: 'when a man in a dream sees a tiger, is he not in as much alarm as if he saw in reality?'

2 ibid. p.177

3 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.24

4 Collett, op. cit. p.24


6 Collet, op. cit., p.32: English Works (Ghose), Vol.II, p.139-180
the New Testaments fully, and as a result of his studies he published
his controversial work, "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and
Happiness, extracted from the Gospels," in 1820.

In the introduction he writes that, while one feels dissatisfied
with one's limited powers - because one does not know the nature of God
and feels doubtful about the essence of the soul - the idea of a supreme
superintending power and the consideration of doing to others as one
would wish to be done by, make one reconciled to human nature and
accept one's existence. A belief in God is universal, but consideration
of others is taught mainly by Christianity. As this essential character­
eristic of Christianity is lost among the many dogmas insisted upon,
he thought that these precepts, separated from other things in the New
Testament, could be of help in improving the hearts and minds of men
with different faiths and degrees of understanding. Moral doctrines,
unlike historical and other texts, cannot be metaphysically perverted,
and can be understood by both the learned and the ignorant. These
precepts, according to Ram Mohun, are so admirably fitted to regulate
men's conduct in their duties to God, themselves and the society, that
they will have best results if applied in this abstract form.

1 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, pp.36-37
2 Precepts of Jesus, p.i of the Vol.III, Part I, English Works of
Ram Mohun Roy, ed. J. C. Ghose
3 ibid. p.i
4 ibid. p.i
5 ibid. p.iii
6 ibid. p.iv
7 ibid. p.iv
The selection begins with a quotation from Matthew: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth; blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled; blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy; blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God; blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God. 

Jesus has not come to destroy the Law but to fulfil it.

First be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery.

It is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, for if ye love that which love you, what reward have ye.

Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

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2 ibid. p.2: Matthew, Chap. V
3 ibid. p.2: Matthew, Chap. V
4 ibid. p.3: Matthew, Chap. V
5 ibid. p.3: Matthew, Chap. V
6 ibid. p.3: Matthew, Chap. V
7 ibid. p.4: Matthew, Chap. V
When thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee; thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly.\(^1\)

Pray to thy Father in secret, for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.\(^2\)

If ye forgive men their trespasses your heavenly Father will also forgive you.\(^3\)

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust both corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal, but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.\(^4\)

No man can serve both God and Mammon: is not the life more than meat, and body than raiment?\(^5\)

Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all things shall be added unto you.\(^6\)

Judge not, that ye be not judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.\(^7\)

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn

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\(^1\) Vol.III, Part I of English Works, ed. J. C. Ghose, p.4: Matthew, Chap. VI

\(^2\) ibid. p.4: Matthew Chap, VI

\(^3\) ibid. p.5: Matthew Chap. VI

\(^4\) ibid. p.5: Matthew Chap. VI

\(^5\) ibid. p.5: Matthew Chap. VI

\(^6\) ibid. p.6: Matthew Chap. VI

\(^7\) ibid. p.6: Matthew Chap. VII
again and rend you. Ask, and it shall be given; and seek and ye shall find.¹

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law.²

Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.³

Beware of false prophets.⁴

I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.⁵

For out of the heart proceed evil thought, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies: these are the things which defile a man; but to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man.⁶

What is a man profiteth if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul.⁷

Except ye be converted, and become as little children ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.⁸

A rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.⁹

² ibid. p. 7: Matthew, Chap. VII
³ ibid. p. 7: Matthew, Chap. VII
⁴ ibid. p. 7: Matthew, Chap. VII
⁵ ibid. p. 8: Matthew, Chap. XI 25
⁶ ibid. p. 17: Matthew, Chap. XV
⁷ ibid. p. 19: Matthew, Chap. XIX 3
⁸ ibid. p. 19: Matthew, Chap. XVIII
⁹ ibid. p. 23: Matthew, Chap. XIX 3
Take that thine is, and go thy way. Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?  

Many be called, but few chosen.  

Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's.  

In answer to the question, 'which is the great commandment in law?', Jesus said, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and will all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment - and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.  

The Sabbath was made for man and not man for sabbath.  

Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your tradition.  

Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away goods ask them not again.  

Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much; but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little.

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2 ibid. p.25, Matthew, Chap. XIX 3  
3 ibid. p.29: Matthew, Chap. XX  
4 ibid. p.30: Matthew, Chap. XX  
5 ibid. p.38: Mark, Chap. II 15  
6 ibid. p.41: Matthew, Chap. VI 5  
7 ibid. p.51: Luke, Chap. VI 1
The kingdom of heaven is like a leaven, which a woman took and hid, in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.  

When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompence thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.  

Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentence.  

He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much: and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much.  

That which is highly esteemed among men, is abomination in the sight of God.  

When ye have shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, we are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do.  

Everyone that exalted himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

2 ibid. p.69: Luke, Chap. XIV 1  
3 ibid. p.71: Luke, Chap. XV 1  
4 ibid. p.73: Luke, Chap. XVI 1  
5 ibid. p.74: Luke, Chap. XVI 1  
6 ibid. p.76: Luke, Chap. XVII 1  
7 ibid. p.77: Luke, Chap. XVIII 1
God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.  

He that is without sin among you let him first cast a stone; and they which heard it being convicted by their own conscience went one by one.  

As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you: continue ye in my love. This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you.

Although Ham Mohun did not seem to have expected any controversy over his selection, he was attacked by the chief missionaries of the time in their journal, The Friend of India. A review of the Precepts appeared in it, signed by A Christian Missionary, who feared that the book would injure the 'cause of truth'. The Editor, Dr. Marshman, added that Ham Mohun was an intelligent Heathen, with a mind 'completely opposed to the grand design of the Saviour becoming incarnate'. Hurt by this, Ham Mohun published "An Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the Precepts of Jesus by a Friend to Truth". He defended

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2 ibid. p.82: John, Chap. VIII 3  
3 ibid. pp.83-84: John, Chap. XV 1  
4 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.38  
5 ibid. p.39  
7 Collet, op. cit. p.39  
himself against the description of Heathen, which he regarded as being idolatrous, and called himself a believer in one true and living God as well as in the truths revealed in the Christian system.\(^1\) He justified his extraction of the precepts on the authority of Jesus himself, by recalling his emphasis on the commandments to love God and one's neighbour. The reviewer had maintained that there were two points which were not to be known by following the precepts of Christ, but were essential for true peace of mind: how to obtain the forgiveness of sin and God's favour, and the strength to overcome human passions and to keep God's commandments; as these were based entirely on dogma and history.\(^3\) To this Ram Mohun replied that many passages promise us God's forgiveness and favour by sincere repentance;\(^4\) and 'earnest prayer and hearty desire' was the source of 'every strength and power'.\(^5\) He dismissed dogma and history as the basis of disputes and controversies,\(^6\) which was the reason why he had fewer quotations from the Gospel of St. John, from which the doctrine of Trinity, the most difficult of Christian dogmas to understand, was drawn.\(^7\) He had been careful to

\(^1\) Collet, op. cit. p.40
\(^3\) ibid. pp.94-95
\(^4\) ibid. pp.95-96
\(^5\) ibid. p.96
\(^6\) ibid. p.104
\(^7\) ibid. pp.104-105
select those precepts which were essentially Christian and compatible with Hindu and Mohammedan feelings, and he had interpreted the term 'moral' in its wide sense. 1

Dr. Marshman replied to the Appeal in the Friend of India of May 1820, by defining a heathen as someone who did not accept the divinity and Atonement of Christ and Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures. 2 His position on the leading doctrines of the New Testament was that the death of Jesus Christ alone could expiate the guilt of mankind, and that the human heart was so corrupt that it must be renewed by the Divine Spirit; 3 and undertook to prove his faith from the sayings of Jesus. 4

Ham Mohun wrote a Second Appeal to the Christian Public in 1821, in reply to Dr. Marshman, disputing the justness of the theory of atonement, but acknowledging Christ as the 'Redeemer, Mediator and Intercessor with God on behalf of his followers'. 5 He regarded Trinitarianism as a form of polytheism, 6 but he felt convinced that Christianity was not polytheistic. 7 He gave an exegesis of the New Testament, on Unitarian lines, to establish the impersonality of the Holy Spirit. 8

2 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.42
3 ibid. p.42
4 ibid. p.42
6 Collet, op. cit., p.42
He accepted the propriety of the baptismal formula, because, he said, those who accepted the Christian faith should be baptized in the name of the Father as the object of worship, of the Son as the Mediator and of the Holy Ghost as the influence which conveys spiritual blessings to mankind. At the end he said that the demonstration of the truth and excellence of the Precepts did not depend on metaphysical arguments or on grounds of mystery.

There were really two points to the controversy: first, whether the precepts of Jesus, with their teaching that love of God is manifested in goodwill towards fellow beings, were sufficient for peace and happiness; and that God, one and undivided, was the only proper object of religious worship. In the end the dispute was confined to the unity of God.

In 1821, however, Ram Mohun converted Rev. William Adam, a member of the Baptist Mission at Serampore, to Unitarianism, with the kind of arguments he had used in his Second Appeal. The turn which the polemics took then was partly due to an offer by the Bishop of Calcutta to Ram Mohun of 'honor and glory and fame' if he became a Christian. The semblance of bribery offended Ram Mohun very much and

2 ibid. p.219
3 Advertisement to the Second Appeal: ibid. p.116
4 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.43
5 ibid. p.44
6 ibid. pp.45-46
he never met the Bishop afterwards. An attack on the pantheism of the Vedanta appeared on the 14th July 1821 in the *Samachar Durpan* or the *Mirror of News*, a periodical published by the missionaries of Serampore. Vedanta, it said, logically destroyed the reality of the universe and the responsibility of the soul, as well as the perfectness of God. Ram Mohun published a 'vindication of the Hindu religion against the attacks of Christian missionaries' in the "Brahmunical Magazine or the Missionary and the Brahmun", which he started for the purpose. He represented the Vedantic system as more of a monotheism than a pantheism, and God as creator of the world, matter being eternal.

In September 1821 the Calcutta Unitarian Committee was formed, with the aim of removing ignorance and superstition, and informing the public of the 'evidences, duties and doctrines of the religion of Christ', proselytism not being the immediate aim. Ram Mohun was mainly responsible for the organisation and financial support of the

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1 Collet, *Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy*, p.46
2 ibid. p.47
3 ibid. p.47: for the first part of the letter, which appeared in the *Samachar Durpan* and started the controversy, see *English Works*, ed. J. C. Ghose, Vol.I, p.211; and for the rest, p.226
5 Collet, op. cit., p.47
6 ibid. p.49
7 ibid. p.49
Committee. But the movement did not prosper for very long. In December 1824 the controversy on the Precepts of Christ started again, with Dr. Marshman's reply in the "Friend of India" to Ram Mohun's Second Appeal, defending the Evangelical doctrines of Atonement and Deity of Christ, and the doctrine of Trinity. On the 30th January 1823 Ram Mohun's Final Appeal to the Christian Public came out, disputing Dr. Marshman's arguments and scriptural proofs step by step, dealing first with the Atonement and then with the Trinity.

Ram Mohun said that whether Jesus died as a sacrifice for the sins of men or in fulfilling his duties as Messiah, as predicted, was a matter of opinion; but its truth or untruth would neither prove nor disprove whether his precepts of salvation were sufficient. It appeared more consistent to Ram Mohun to understand the phrase "the offering of the body of Jesus Christ" - often quoted by the Editor - to mean the death of Jesus as a spiritual and virtual sacrifice for the sins of all those for whom he mediated, and as testifying his perfect obedience and devotion to the will of God. The doctrine of Trinity - although frequently mentioned in orthodox writings and conversation - is not

1 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.49
2 ibid. p.50
3 ibid. p.50
4 ibid. p.51: "Four pages of preface to the Precepts provokes such extensive criticism that he wrote his First Appeal in 20 pages, Second Appeal in 150 pages and the Final Appeal in 256 octave pages." Collet.
5 ibid. p.52
7 ibid. pp.32-33
once mentioned in the Bible.\textsuperscript{1} If the justice of the Father did not allow him to pardon sinful creatures, unless a vicarious sacrifice was made, how was the justice of the Son modified by his mercy to pardon them without any sacrifice. This makes it evident that the Son had greater mercy than the Father, to oppose his Father's justice without individual suffering. For Ram Mohun this was not genuine Christianity.\textsuperscript{2}

As the Editor denied worshipping three Gods, so a Hindu could deny worshipping three hundred and thirty million gods, and defend polytheism on the same principle as the Trinity: both equally impossible in human experience and equally justifiable by mystery alone.\textsuperscript{3} In reply to the Editor's opinion that Jesus exercised the prerogative of forgiving sin, which is peculiar to God, Ram Mohun quoted Matthew ix 8: 'the multitude ... gloried God who had given such power unto men' as an express declaration that Jesus was as much dependent on God in forgiving sins and healing sickness as the other prophets before him.\textsuperscript{4} God is invariably represented in the revelation as the main object of belief, receiving worship from the 'first born of every creature, the Messiah', and directing those who worship him in spirit to righteous conduct and to salvation, through the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{5}

The Editor concluded by saying that Ram Mohun did not dispute

\textsuperscript{1} English Works, ed. J. C. Ghose, Vol. III, Part II, p.70
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.2
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.47
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. pp.67-68
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. pp.81-82
Christ's declaration 'I am with you always, even to the end of the world' as proof of his eternity. This, according to Ram Mohun, far from implying Christ's eternity, means that his influence extended only to the end of the world, when he himself shall be subject to God (1 Cor. xv. 28).

In the meantime an amusing correspondence was carried on by Ram Mohun under a pseudonym, Ram Doss, with a Dr. Tytler, in which he proposed a joint crusade against the abominable notion of a single God advocated by Ram Mohun and others.

On November 15, 1823 the fourth and last number of the Brahmanical Magazine appeared, in which there was first a defence of the Vedantic system and then an attack on the doctrines of the Trinity and Atonement. In this number he laid down his religious creed; conforming to the Vedanta he believed in One Being as the 'animating and regulating principle of the whole of the universe, and the origin of all the individual souls which their particular bodies in the same way'; he rejected idolatry completely; benevolence towards one another was the only homage to God.

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2 ibid. p. 86
3 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p. 54; it was published in 1823 as a pamphlet called "A Vindication of the Incarnation of Deity as the common Basis of Hinduism and Christianity", reprinted in English Works, ed. J. C. Ghose, Vol. III, Part III, pp. 123-152
4 Collet; Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p. 54
6
The same year, possibly as a conclusion to the controversy, he issued a tract entitled "Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who Believe in One True God". In it he recommends friendship for those Europeans who believe - like him - God to be one and worship Him alone in Spirit, and who believe in being benevolent to be the highest service of God. Although this was the end of Ram Mohun's polemics against Trinitarian missionaries, a defender of Hinduism, calling himself An Established of Religion, had published a pamphlet in Bengali, entitled "Four Questions", obviously addressed to Ram Mohun and his associates. Ram Mohun replied in Bengali, with a satirical "Answer to Four Questions" in 1822. The main point of the questions was whether Ram Mohun and his friends had not put themselves outside Hinduism, to which Ram Mohun retorted by asking the same question of him, whether he too had not failed to practise the minute rules of Hinduism. This answer provoked a rejoinder of more than 200 pages from the Established of Religion. In 1823 Ram Mohun published his "Medicine for the Sick" in Bengali, describing the rejoinder as a 'long tirade of abuse' and refusing to retaliate.

1 English Works, ed. J. C. Ghose, Vol.I, p.297: Ram Mohun gave the name of a friend as author, according to the Editor.
2 ibid. p.300
3 Collet, op. cit., p.56
4 ibid., p.56
5 ibid., p.56
6 ibid., p.57
7 ibid., p.57
Besides theological controversy Ram Mohun was engaged in enlightening the public through publishing treatises on Unitarian divinity, founding schools and colleges, and in producing two newspapers;\textsuperscript{1} the \textit{Sambad Kaumudi} or the Moon of Intelligence was advertised in 1821 as a Bengali weekly with religious, moral and political subject matter;\textit{ domestic as well as foreign news;}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Mirat-al-Akbar} or the Mirror of Intelligence, a weekly in Persian for the educated classes,\textsuperscript{3} which had to be closed after sixteen months.\textsuperscript{4}

In a letter dated February 13-20, 1826\textsuperscript{5} William Adam described Ram Mohun's religious position - with his approval - as that of a Christian with Christians and a Hindu with Hindus.\textsuperscript{6} While rejecting idolatry, Adam wrote, Ram Mohun kept his Brahmanical rights, and as he promoted Christian beliefs and benefits through his influence and position, his claim to be a practical, if not nominal, Christian was justified.\textsuperscript{7} Although keeping his caste was useful to him in his work, he considered it to be the most inhibiting factor in a Hindu's life; with its ritualism, depriving him of patriotism and making him incapable

\textsuperscript{1} Collet, \textit{Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy}, p.82
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.63
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.64
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.70
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. pp.81-82
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.82
\textsuperscript{7} ibid. p.82
of undertaking anything difficult.\(^1\)

In 1827 Ram Mohun published an English translation of a commentary on the Gayatri, the most sacred hymn of the Vedas: "We meditate on the cause of all, pervading all, and internally ruling all material objects from the sun down to us and others".\(^2\) Later in the year he published the "Answer of an Hindu to the Question, Why do you frequent a Unitarian place of Worship instead of numerous attended established Churches?", under the name of his friend, Chundru Shekhar Dev.\(^3\) This tract was a variation on the theme of his controversy with the missionaries.\(^4\)

It was on the failures of the Unitarian Mission that the new Theistic Church, the Brahma Samaj was built.\(^5\) There are two versions of its origin: the popular version makes it a suggestion from one of the disciples of Ram Mohun, that they should have their own chapel instead of attending that of the Unitarian society;\(^6\) and the other makes it William Adam's idea, who wrote in a letter dated February 5, 1828\(^7\) - when the movement was just beginning - that he was trying to

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\(^1\) Ram Mohun Roy in a private letter, dated Jan. 13, 1828, quoted by Collet, ibid. p.83


\(^3\) ibid. p.285

\(^4\) ibid. pp.288-289

\(^5\) Collet, op. cit., p.86

\(^6\) ibid. p.87

\(^7\) ibid. p.87
make the Hindu Unitarians form their own association and establish a church for themselves and for propagation of religious knowledge among their compatriots. Christianity was to be avoided in the beginning, but the new association would have similar views. According to Collet, William Adam was only a secondary agency, although on January 22nd, 1829, Adam wrote that a Hindu Unitarian Association had been formed with a strictly Hindu view - 'to teach and practice the worship of God on the basis of the Vedas. Although he did not like its entirely Hindu character, he had, in friendship, done nothing to discourage it. This association was the Brahma Samaj.

It was founded on the 20th August 1828, at first called the Brahma Sabha or the Association of God. The first sermon was on the spiritual worship of God, and was translated into English. Ram Mohun spoke of it as 'exhibiting the simplicity, comprehensiveness and tolerance of the religious beliefs and worship of the ancient Hindus and of the more enlightened modern ones'. The Europeans were disappointed and one of the newspapers remarked that liberal Hindus had 'from Unitarianism very naturally slid into pure Deism'. The funds

1 Collet, op. cit., p.88
2 ibid. p.88
3 ibid. p.88
4 ibid. p.88
5 ibid. p.89
6 ibid. p.90 quoting "John Bull" of Calcutta
and attendance of the Brahma Samaj grew rapidly, in marked contrast to the Unitarian Committee.¹ Ram Mohun prescribed the Muslim court dress as the 'handsome apparel to be worn in God's court.'²

In 1829 he published a catechism, "The Universal Religion: Religious Instructions founded on Sacred Authorities", in which worship was described as a 'contemplation of the attributes of the Supreme Being', the author and governor of the universe, imperceptible and indefinable, but known by His creation and government of the universe, and consistent with the sacred writings and reason.³ Although it was proper to conform in food and conduct to the sacred regulations, one could worship at any time and place when mind was at peace.⁴

In 1830 he published an Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows considered as a Religious Rite.⁵ His main points were that cremation was optional, not obligatory, and the least virtuous act of a widow; and that it must be voluntary, which was a conventional Suttee never was.⁶

On January 23rd, 1830⁷ a permanent building for the Brahma Samaj was opened. Its trust-deed is the only legal statement of the original

¹ Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.90
² ibid. p.92
⁴ ibid. pp.193-194
⁵ English Works, Vol. II, pp.181-192
⁶ cf. Collet, op. cit., pp.103-104
⁷ ibid. p.109
263

cred. This event changed the date of anniversary from 20th August to 23rd January, and 1830 became the beginning of the Brahmo era.  

In the midst of these events Ram Mohun was making arrangements for his visit to Europe and the Emperor of Delhi, the nominal successor to the Mongul emperors, decided to appoint him ambassador to the King of England, to plead for an increased allowance from the East India Company to the emperor. He therefore conferred the title of Raja on Ram Mohun Roy at the beginning of August 1829. In the meantime Suttee was abolished by the Governor General, which, however, gave another reason for Ram Mohun's visit to England: the supporters of Suttee were threatening to appeal to London against the abolition. A further reason, perhaps, was the possibility of influencing the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in favour of Indians. On January 8, 1830 Ram Mohun wrote to Lord Bentinck, informing him of the visit, and asked for his sanction of the Mongul title and embassy - both were officially refused.

Ram Mohun sailed from Calcutta on the 30th November 1830, with letters of introduction from the Governor General to his friends in

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2 ibid. p.109  
3 ibid. p.111  
4 ibid. p.111  
5 ibid. p.112  
6 ibid. p.112  
7 ibid. p.115
England. At Liverpool, where he arrived at the end of April 1831, he attended both a Unitarian chapel and an Anglican church the same day, not wishing to identify himself completely with the Unitarians; and earnestly advocated Reform in the drawing rooms. After only a few days in Liverpool he went to London to hear the second reading of the Reform Bill. In London he stayed in style for some months and became the lion of the season. On 6th July 1831 a dinner was given in his honour by the directors of the East India Company; and in September he had an audience of the King.

His last days were not happy. He became financially embarrassed, but David Hare's brother and his daughter - with whom he later went to stay - were loyal to him to the last. Early in September 1833 Ram Mohun arrived at Stapleton Grove, Bristol, with Miss Hare. On the

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1 Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, p.116
2 ibid. p.121
3 ibid. p.124
4 ibid. p.122
5 ibid. p.123
6 ibid. p.125
7 ibid. p.128
8 ibid. p.144 quoting H. H. Wilson, the Sanskrit scholar to Ram Comul Sen in a letter dated 21st December 1833
9 ibid. p.145
19th September he became ill with headache and fever. On the 23rd leeches were applied without success. Miss Hare nursed him devotedly, but on the 27th September the final crisis came, and he died at 2.25 a.m. of brain fever.¹ He was interred on the 18th October without any rites and in silence at Stapleton Grove; his remains were removed ten years later to the cemetery of Arno's Vale near Bristol.²

¹ Collet, Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, pp.147-148
² ibid. p.149
ii. Devendranath Tagore

After Ram Mohun's death the Brahma Samaj was kept going by the liberality of Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore and the devotion of Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, until 1839, when Prince Dwarka Nath's son Devendranath Tagore formed an association called the Tatwabodhini Sabha (the Truth-learning Association), which was merged, in 1842, with the Brahma Samaj. Devendranath was born in May 1817 in the family mansion at Jorasanko, Calcutta, and was educated at the school founded by Ram Mohun Roy, and later at Hindu College. His early religious life was influenced by an orthodox Hindu household and, particularly, by his grandmother. After his grandmother's death, when he was eighteen, he felt a strong desire to learn Sanskrit, for he wished to reach God not with blind faith, but through knowledge. In his meditations at this time he was suddenly struck with the thought that with the knowledge of objects comes the knowledge of the subject: knowledge of the body brought knowledge of the spirit within; in this he recognized the operation of wisdom,

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3 Founded at the initiative of Ram Mohun Roy and David Hare, ibid. p.1
4 ibid. p.2
5 ibid. p.45
6 ibid. p.48
throughout the world, designed to preserve our life. It must be the
design of a mind, an exercise of the power of an intelligent being. The Infinite Wisdom is not only the maker but also the creator of the
world: the source of all good and the object of all worship.

As soon as he came to understand that God had no form or image,
he felt a strong antipathy to idolatry and decided to become a follower
of Ram Mohun Roy, which he had known since childhood, but not joining
in any kind of image worship. He had a false impression that all
Hindu scriptures were idolatrous; but in the Upanishad he found his
innermost thoughts reflected, when he read the text which said that
if the world could be encompassed by God, all would be pure and the
world would be full of sweetness. Then he understood the significance
of enjoying God who had given Himself, and his faith in God took deep
root. He read the Upanishads with Vidyabagish and other pundits.

His studies gave him a strong desire to spread the true religion he

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1 Augobiography of Maharshi Devendranath, p.49
2 ibid. p.50
3 ibid. p.15
4 ibid. p.54
5 ibid. pp.55-56
6 ibid. p.58
7 ibid. p.58
8 ibid. p.59
9 ibid. p.59
had learnt.\(^1\)

In the autumn of 1839 he founded an association - which he called the Tatwaranjini Sabha\(^2\) - where he preached a sermon on a text from the Katha-Upanishad:

"The Hereafter is hidden from the eyes of the foolish and of those blinded by riches
Those who think this world alone exists and there is no future existence they come again and again under my yoke (that of Death)."

At the second meeting, in the next month, Ram Chandra Vidyabagish - whom he had ordained as the minister of this association - changed the name from Association for 'Delight in God' to 'Knowledge of God', Tatwaranjini to Tatwabodhini Sabha. The Tatwabodhini Sabha was thus founded on Sunday, the 6th October, 1839.\(^3\) The aim of the association was the diffusion of the truth of all Hindu scriptures and the knowledge of God according to the Vedanta, i.e. the Upanishads.\(^4\) At every meeting the minister read, at the beginning, the following verse:

"O spiritual guide of the Universe, Thou art without form:
Yet that I have conceived thine image in the act of meditation;
That I have ignored Thine inexpressibility of words of praise;
That I have set at naught Thy omnipresence by making pilgrimages, and in other ways, -
For these transgressions committed through confusion of Spirit, O Almighty God, I implore thy forgiveness."\(^5\)

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, pp.59-60
2 ibid. p.2 (Translator's introduction)
3 ibid. p.61: the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight 21st Ashwin, 1761 Shaka
4 ibid. p.62
5 ibid. p.63
In August-September 1841 the first and last anniversary of the association was celebrated. In 1842 Devendranath joined the Brahma Samaj, for he felt that as its aim was the same as his association's, it should take over the association.\(^1\) He decided, however, to reform the Brahma Samaj,\(^2\) because on his first visit he had noticed that Sudras were excluded from the room for Vedic recitation - although, formally, they had equal rights; - and that the doctrine of incarnation was being preached from the pulpit; both these facts had grieved him.\(^3\) He, therefore, made Vedic recitation public, and forbade the preaching of incarnation on taking over as the leader of the Brahma Samaj.\(^4\)

Secondly, he advertised for candidates to be trained in Vedic recitation and for preaching the Brahmo religion - two candidates being eventually selected\(^5\) - because Vedic scholarship had been neglected in Bengal and such scholars were few.\(^6\)

He came to regard the Upanishads with a profound respect and could respond to their truths, for the conception of God he had formed in his heart, after a long and difficult effort, corresponded to the idea of God in the Upanishad.\(^6\) To him God was Father, Protector and Friend; in the Upanishad He was more than Father and Friend, he was the dispenser

\(^1\) Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.66
\(^2\) ibid. p.67
\(^3\) ibid. p.76
\(^4\) ibid. p.76
\(^5\) ibid. p.77
\(^6\) ibid. p.69
and arbiter of destiny. God had not only given us life, but also our soul, created out of His own: while he had created innumerable finite souls, He remained eternally changeless and true to His own nature. The result of worshipping Him would be to gain Him. Devendranath was guided by the principle of God being the worshipful Master and Father, and he the worshipper, servant and son; and to disseminate the truth he had learned, to induce everyone to worship in the way he did, and to proclaim God's glory everywhere became the only aim of his life. To make this practicable he started a journal in 1843 - the Tatwabodhini Patrika - in which he intended to publish Ram Mohun Roy's theological works and others which 'tended to educate the mind and elevate the character of man'.

The Brahma Samaj was opposed as much to the monism of Shankarascharya as to the idolatry, and accepted only those Upanishads which treated of Brahma or the Supreme Being; they could not accept the notion of the worshipper and the object of worship becoming one, because then there

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.69
2 ibid. p.70
3 ibid. p.70
4 ibid. p.70
5 ibid. p.70
6 ibid. p.70
7 'Journal for the knowledge of God'
8 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.71
9 ibid. p.72
could be no worship. Devendranath wrote a declaration of faith for initiation into the Brahma religion, as a step in the introduction of Brahma-worship. In the declaration he included the Gayatree hymn as part of the daily worship, as Ram Mohun Roy had prescribed it. The day of initiation came in the winter of 1843, but the Gayatree hymn proved too difficult for the majority of people. It had to be made a voluntary means of communion; an easier form of worship was found in these two sentences from the Upanishad:

"Brahma is Truth, Knowledge, the Infinite
His manifestation is eternal Bliss: it shineth forth."

This Devendranath chose for private worship, and a modified Tantrik hymn became the form of public worship:

"He is the Spirit of Truth and Cause of the Universe
He is the Essence of Wisdom, and the Upholder of all that is
He who is the creator and supporter of the universe
He is our Saviour
He is Brahma, Omnipresent, beyond the reach of time, eternal."

The Gayatree hymn continued as a personal means of worship for Devendranath, and by this time he had come to realise that God was an indwelling Spirit, who inspired his will and thought. He felt that God

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p. 72
2 ibid. p. 79
3 ibid. p. 79
4 ibid. p. 79: December-January (7th Pausa of 1765 Saka)
5 ibid. p. 89
6 ibid. p. 94
was both Father and Mother and bestower of all wisdom; he saw God's love alone in both punishment and reward. He was then twenty-eight years old.\(^1\) When Devendranath discovered that the authority of the Upanishads was accepted throughout the country, he decided to propogate the Brahma religion through them.\(^2\) But the Vedas were entirely unknown, and the Brahmins, with every few exceptions, did not even understand the meaning of their daily prayer. As Devendranath was keen on reading the Vedas, he sent a student - one of the two he had selected earlier - to Benares, in 1844, who collected all the original Vedic manuscripts and was later joined by three more students in his researches.\(^3\)

Devendranath's father, Dwarkanath Tagore, died in London in 1846.\(^4\) Devendranath performed all the rites prescribed for the bereaved son, but he wished to exclude all idolatrous rites from the funeral;\(^5\) in this he was opposed by all his family, except a protege of his grandfather - Lalla Hazarilal - who after a dissolute life had been converted to Brahmisim; his words 'Which is greater, God or man?' gave Devendranath courage.\(^6\) On the day of the funeral Devendranath read a text free from idolatrous associations quietly - not wishing to attract attention - but he was noticed and had to give up. He did not continue with the rest

\(^1\) Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.95
\(^2\) ibid. p.102
\(^3\) ibid. p.104
\(^4\) ibid. p.112
\(^5\) ibid. p.113
\(^6\) ibid. p.115
of the ceremony, but read the Katha-Upanishad in private instead, for he believed that one who read it at the time of a funeral would 'reap fruit everlasting'.

In accordance with their belief in the Vedas, the journal of the Brahma Samaj, the Tatwabodhini Patrika, began to have the following verse as a superscription from the first number of the second series:

"Inferior are the Vedas, Yajurveda, Samaveda and Atharvaveda
Supreme is that knowledge which leads to the Eternal One."

which led the members of the Brahma Samaj to seek the contents of these two divisions of knowledge. In October 1847 Devendranath set out for Benares, arriving there after fourteen days. He asked the students he had sent there to arrange a meeting, of all the leading Brahmins and scholars of Benares, to read and explain all the Vedas. In the meeting Devendranath became convinced that the inferior knowledge in the Vedas inculcated propitiatory sacrifices in honour of gods, who, if they were not propitiated, would destroy all creation through an excess of natural activity.

1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.119
2 ibid. p.125
3 ibid. pp.125-126
4 ibid. p.126
5 ibid. p.126
6 ibid. p.135
of Brahma-worship on the authority of the Vedas which sanctioned rituals; although the truths he had discovered in the Upanishads were all to be found in the Rig-Veda, and later study made him realize that it was not the actual moon, sun, wind or fire but God who was worshipped in their various forms: the object of the Vedic worship was in fact the indwelling Spirit and not the material form. Devendranath began a translation of the Rig-Veda to clear the confusion which the common people were apt to make.

In 1848 another line of description was added to the Brahmic hymn:

"Brahma is Truth, Knowledge, the Infinite Whose manifestation is Eternal Bliss: it shineth forth" -

"Full of peace and beatitude; without a second": God should be sought within, without and where He exists in Himself: the Yogi, who had attained union with God, could see this trinity at once. Having realized God's love, he would offer his life, mind, love and devotion and would strive to please Him in all his actions by fulfilling His Commandments.

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.148: quoting Rigveda: "One is He, but the Brahmins call him variously, Agni, Yami, Vayu; also Samaveda: "He Himself is all the gods".  
2 ibid. p.149  
3 ibid. p.149  
4 ibid. pp.149-150  
5 ibid. p.150  
6 ibid. p.151  
7 ibid. p.151
When Devendranath found "I am He and Thou art That" in the Upanishad he was disappointed, for he had had to reject one by one all the scriptural bases he had sought for Brahmism: pure heart and intuitive knowledge, he realized, were the only basis of Brahmism. The Brahma Samaj could accept only those Upanishad texts which agreed with the heart, for it was written in the Upanishad itself that 'God is revealed through worship illumined by intellect free from all doubt'; and 'the pure in spirit, enlightened by wisdom sees the holy God by means of worship and meditation'. Devendranath accepted these dicta because he had experienced them in his own heart.

While he rejected the speculations in the Upanishad on man's journeys after death, he accepted its counsel on the life towards salvation: after having studied the Vedas with a teacher, return home; after marriage read the Vedas in a holy place, instruct your pupils and sons in wisdom; and after bringing the senses under perfect control, support your life by justly earned wealth, without hurting any creature. He who purifies his soul in this world through virtuous deeds, in obedience to God's commandments, attains to heaven after death and receives a divine body. There he has a bright vision of God's glory;

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.161
2 ibid. p.161
3 ibid. p.162
4 ibid. p.162
5 ibid. p.163
and after reaching higher stages of wisdom, love and virtue goes to higher regions. Thus, from one heaven to another, the divine soul, with his growing wisdom, love, and virtue, progresses everlastingly and his heart has eternal joy. The sinner who does not repent enters 'doleful regions after death'. This is the Vedic truth: according to the degree of his sinfulness; after burning his sinfulness away with agonies of remorse, his expiation ends, and he receives grace by going to the appropriate heaven according to his merit, acquired in earthly life, and enjoys his reward.

The soul is born first in the human body and then passes from sphere to sphere working out the results of its merit or demerit; it never comes back to earth. Devendranath rejected the idea of Nirvana or salvation as assimilation of the sentient soul into the Brahma and loss of its separate consciousness as extinction. The soul remains conscious, whether it is in heaven or on earth, and when all its worldly desires are extinct, the only desire which remains is attainment of the 'Supreme indwelling soul'. When the soul does good deeds commanded by God and serves Him with all humility and patience, it

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.163
2 ibid. p.164
3 ibid. p.164
4 ibid. p.165
5 ibid. p.165
6 ibid. p.165
becomes free of its mortality, and crossing this world, finds rest in
the Eternal Brahma. There it remains, filled with new life and purified
by His grace, united in wisdom, love and joy with the Infinite Wisdom,
Love and Joy: the moment lasts forever, and it is the soul's supreme
bliss.

Devendranath had been worried for some time by the lack of a creed
which could bring the Brahmos together. In 1848 he wrote one from
inspiration, but promptly locked it away. Then he decided that they
should have a sacred book, and started dictating to Akshay Kumar Datta,
the editor of the Tatwabodhini Patrika and his amanuensis, laying his
heart open to God. He began with an invocation to Brahma: "He from
whom these elements and all creatures have sprung and are kept alive by
Him, and into whom they ultimately enter". Then he felt that God
was bliss: "From Brahma, who is joy, they have sprung". Before the
birth of the universe, there was only 'the one true Supreme Being
without a second. He is the sublime and uncreated Spirit, 'decayless,
deathless, fearless and eternal'. He created this world after con-
sidering Time, Space, Cause and Effect, Sin and Merit, and the results

1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.165
2 ibid. p.166
3 ibid. p.167
4 ibid. p.167
5 ibid. p.168
6 ibid. p.168
7 ibid. p.168
of action. All things are ordained according to His law, and from fear of Him, the fire is lighted and the sun gives heat. At the end Devendranath wrote: "That all-knowing Being, radiant and immortal, who dwells in this boundless space and within the soul, knowing Him the seeker conquers death; there is no other way to salvation."

This book - the basis of the Brahma religion - was completed in three hours. He later called it the Brahma-Upanishad and divided it into sixteen chapters, beginning with "Chapter of Joy". The Brahma religion consisted of the essential truths of the Veda and the Upanishad, for it was in the Upanishad that his soul had found a response.

Devendranath felt that after this a book of precepts was needed, because only those whose hearts had been purified by good deeds, and their characters moulded by these precepts in their daily lives, could aspire to worship Brahma. In order to compose this moral code Devendranath began to read the Mahabharat, the Gita and the Manusmriti and to make selections - especially from the Manusmriti.

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.168
2 ibid. p.168
3 ibid. p.169
4 ibid. p.169
5 ibid. p.170
6 ibid. pp.170-171
7 ibid. p.171
8 ibidp pp.171-172
9 ibid. p.172
The first verse of the first chapter of the moral code enjoined the householder to dedicate all his actions to God. In the second verse he wrote that the son should look upon his parents as visible deities and serve them with devotion; and in the last verse, that brother, father, wife and son were one's own body, servants were one's shadow, and daughter was an object of great tenderness; and one should always be forbearing towards everyone. The second and third chapters were on duties and behaviour of husband; the fourth on religious precepts; the fifth: contentment; sixth: truthfulness; seventh: bearing witness; eighth: goodness; ninth: charity; tenth: self-control; eleventh: moral maxims; twelfth: avoiding slander; then: controlling the senses; giving up sin; controlling speech, mind and body; and finally religious faith. At the end he wrote: with the help of religion, man could cross the 'impenetrable darkness of this world'; and he who had read the *Brahma Dharma*, the book of Brahma religion, in a calm and chaste spirit, and had acted according to its religious principles, with a heart devoted to Brahma, should obtain fruit everlasting; therefore, one should accumulate virtue 'habitually and gradually'. The *Brahma Dharma* appeared in book form in 1848.  

1 *Autobiography of Maharshi Deendranath Tagore*, p.172
2 ibid. p.173
3 ibid. p.173
4 ibid. p.173
5 ibid. p.173
6 ibid. p.174
7 ibid. p.173
8 ibid. p.175
The doctrines of Monism, Incarnation and Illusion were rejected and the relationship envisaged between God and soul was that of friend and constant companion. God himself did not become anything; and the universe was real and the result of perfect truth, was not illusory, but a relative truth, as God was the absolute truth. In the form of prayer, the first chapter of the Brahma Dharma replaced Vedic hymns and the rest of the book replaced the Upanishads: thus the worship of Brahma came to include both knowledge and love.

In spite of all his efforts Devendranath could not completely remove idolatrous practices from his household, so he kept up his habit of setting off on travel during the Durga Puja season.

In 1849, a year after writing and putting it away, he took out the Brahma creed and found it worthy; in 1851 its fourth article appeared as a motto in the Tatwabodhini Patrika, and from 1857 the whole creed began to appear at the head of the journal.

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1 *Advaita, Avatar and Maya*, Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.175
2 ibid. p.175
3 ibid. p.175
4 ibid. p.175
5 ibid. p.176
6 ibid. p.179
7 ibid. p.181
"In the beginning, there was only one Supreme Spirit; there was naught else. He is infinite in wisdom and goodness, everlasting, all-knowing, pervading, all-sustaining, formless, changeless; One only without a second, almighty, self-dependent and perfect; there is none like unto Him; Our welfare here and hereafter consists only in worshipping Him. To love Him and to do His bidding is to worship Him."  

On publication of this creed Devendranath found that everyone was satisfied with it; and in spite of later schisms this creed remained common to all Brahmos.  

At this time Devendranath felt that he must realise the inner meaning of the first principles, which had come to him emotionally, and test them by reason. In the Chhandogya Upanishad he found a thought to which he responded: "Those who wander here now, knowing the soul and all her true desires; they become free to roam hereafter in all the worlds, and can pass freely from one world to another." He decided to 'go and wander everywhere'; in fact went to Simla, in 1856, and stayed there for a year and a half. There he came to the conclusion that the first principles were universally true for all time, as they were founded in spiritual consciousness; and no contradictory

1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, pp. 200-201  
2 ibid. p. 201  
3 ibid. p. 204  
4 ibid. p. 206  
5 ibid. p.  
6 ibid. pp. 10-11 (Translator's Introduction)
thoughts could be entertained by an individual. Relying on these principles, Devendranath agreed with the saying of the Upanishad that it was the glory of the Supreme Deity that made the universe move. God has made all creatures see outwards, not the soul within, but sometimes a wise man, desiring immortality, closes his eyes to the outside and sees a Spirit dwelling in all things.

This was the inner vision Devendranath had in the Himalayas, and he felt that he should give up the pride which had brought him to the solitude of the Himalayas, and go back and preach the truth he had learnt. He prepared to go home; and returned to Calcutta in the autumn of 1858.

The autobiography ends here and says nothing of his resumed work for the Brahma Samaj. After the break with Keshub Chunder Sen in 1866 Devendranath practically retired from direct management of the original Brahma Samaj, but became the common patriarch of all the Samajes.

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.251
2 ibid. p.251
3 ibid. p.252
4 ibid. p.253
5 ibid. p.262
6 ibid. p.272
7 ibid. p.11 (Translator's introduction)
8 ibid. pp.25-26 (Translator's introduction)
He lived for several years after his retirement; and in these years travelled a great deal, even as far away as Hong Kong. In 1902, however, his health began to fail; although at the time seemed very near death, he recovered to live till the 19th January 1905, when he died, peacefully and fully conscious, at Calcutta.

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1 Autobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, p.26 (Translator's introduction)
2 ibid. p.27
Keshub Chunder Sen joined the Brahma Samaj in 1857. Unlike Ram Mohun Roy and Devendranath Tagore, he was not a Brahmin. For the first two years he was not an active member of the Samaj, then from 1859 he worked harmoniously with Devendranath Tagore for five years.

He was born on 19th November 1838 in Calcutta, a grandson of Ram Comul Sen, the Sanskrit scholar. He was educated at Hindu College, where he devoted himself mainly to philosophical studies. He was married in 1856 to a nine year old girl. During his student days he started a literary and debating society for discussion of religious subjects - called the British India Society - with the help of three missionaries and his friends; it had succeeded a number of similar enterprises. The Goodwill Fraternity of 1857 was perhaps the most successful of them all; there he preached extempore in English on the doctrines of fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. Devendranath attended one of the meetings of the Fraternity; the same year Keshub

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2 ibid. p.816
3 P. C. Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, Calcutta 1931 (Third Edition), p.54
4 ibid. p.60
5 ibid. p.62
6 ibid. p.65
7 ibid. p.69
8 ibid. p.68
joined the Brahma Samaj by signing the covenant. In 1858 he left college. In April 1859 the Brahma School was established, where it was planned that Keshub would lecture on the philosophy of theism in English and Devendranath in Bengali. From 1859 to 1861 Keshub worked as a clerk at the Bank of Bengal, where his grandfather was head of the native department.

In 1860 - when he was twenty-two - he produced his first tract, "Young Bengal, this is for you", in which he wrote on the effects of the 'godless' education in government schools: if the young men had known the 'living truths' of religion, patriotism would have become a reality. He wrote thirteen more tracts, incorporating his lectures at the Brahma school, in which he developed the doctrine of Intuition as the basis of Brahmoism.

He went on a secret trip to Ceylon - kept unknown to his family in view of the Hindu prejudice against crossing the sea - with Devendranath and his family; they were brought closer in friendship by it. In 1860 he helped to organize famine relief, which was a new

\[1\] Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.68
\[2\] ibid. p.61
\[3\] ibid. p.73
\[4\] ibid. p.76 and p.78
\[5\] ibid. p.78
\[6\] ibid. p.79
\[7\] ibid. p.83
kind of activity for Brahmos; and started a society for religious discussions, called the Sangat Sabha, perhaps by Devendranath, in the manner of the Sikhs.

In August 1861 he started a fortnightly English newspaper, the "Indian Mirror". On the 13th April 1862 he was ordained Minister of the Brahma Samaj by Devendranath at a special ceremony; he was forbidden to return home because he had insisted on taking his wife with him to dinner at the Tagore house, after which he stayed there on Devendranath’s invitation. That year he fell ill of a scrofulous disease, but recovered at the end of the year.

In April 1863 Keshub gave a lecture—"Brahmo Samaj Vindicated"—in reply to a challenge by Rev. Lal Behari Dey, an Indian Christian and pupil of Dr. Duff, and a leading critic of the Brahma Samaj. His sermons as minister were mainly ethical and intellectual; he was not at this time interested in the devotional aspect of his work. In February 1864 he decided to go on a missionary tour of Bombay and Madras.

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1 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.84
2 ibid. p.84
3 ibid. p.86
4 ibid. p.88
5 ibid. p.91
6 ibid. pp.94-95
7 ibid. p.96
8 ibid. p.97
9 ibid. pp.98-99
during the tour the idea of founding a national Brahma Samaj came to him. He saw himself as leader of the Brahma movement, but had so far deferred to the view of Devendranath, who, on the other hand, had given up his sacred thread under Keshub's influence; but Devendranath was opposed to intercaste marriages; he had not attended such a wedding which Keshub had arranged in August 1862. While Keshub had doubts on the legality of Brahmo marriage ceremonies, Devendranath considered them completely Hindu. Devendranath was persuaded in Keshub's absence to reconsider the place of social reform in the Brahma Samaj - this was the beginning of the differences between them, which later led to a schism. Another point of difference was Keshub's desire to make the administration of the Samaj democratic, but Devendranath had no faith in such an organisation.

In the great cyclone of 5th October 1864 the Brahma Samaj building was so greatly damaged that religious services had to be held at Devendranath's house. He allowed the ministers, who had been dismissed earlier for keeping their sacred threads, to officiate again at a service, which Keshub and his friends refused to attend. Keshub proposed a

1 Mazoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.100
2 ibid. p.101; see Brahmo Year Book for
3 ibid. p.101
4 ibid. p.104
5 for the actual date of the cyclone: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, p.817; Mazoomdar's date is October 1865, op. cit., p.105
6 Mazoomdar, op. cit., p.105
day of public worship for his friends and himself, and offered to
arrange joint festivals, but Devendranath did not wish to participate.\(^1\)
In February 1865 Keshub left the Samaj.\(^2\)

He established the Brahma Samaj of India on the 11th November 1866
and began an independent career for himself.\(^3\) He kept control over
the Indian Mirror and started a Bengali periodical called the Dharma
Tatwa (Essence of Religion).\(^4\) At the inauguration of the Brahma Samaj
of India he said that the primary object was to 'organise and establish
enduring bonds of union' among the members and 'effectual propagation'
of the Brahma Dharma (theism);\(^5\) and to form a 'Family of God's children'
and 'the holy kingdom of Heaven'.\(^5\) He was appointed Secretary, as God
alone was the Head of the Church.\(^6\) The membership was open to all races
and communities; and selections from the Bible, Koran, Zendavesta
and Hindu scriptures were to form its devotional text book.\(^7\) The
motto of the Society was in Sanskrit: "The wide universe is the temple
of God; wisdom is the pure land of pilgrimage; truth is the everlasting
scripture; faith is the root of all religion; love is the true

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1. Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, pp.105-106
2. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol.II, p.817
3. Mozoomdar, op. cit. p.109
4. ibid. p.109
5. ibid. pp.109-110
6. ibid. p.110
7. ibid. p.110
spiritual culture; and destruction of selfishness is the true asceticism.  

In May 1866 Keshub gave a lecture on "Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia," in which he proposed to trace the progress of Christianity and its influence on the character and destinies of European and Asiatic nations; and to show the absolute necessity for appreciation and observance of Christ's precepts. He had always regarded the cross as a beautiful emblem of self-sacrifice to the glory of God. After a sketch of the history of Christianity he went on to discuss its ethics and its influence on the Europeans and natives in India, and to draw practical conclusions for their guidance.

Although human nature was the same everywhere, the European, he said, hated the native as a cunning fox, and the native considered the European a wolf. In spite of the denigration he was proud to be an Asiatic, for Jesus Christ also was an Asiatic; in Christ Europe and Asia might learn harmony and unity. His idea of Christ was Biblical; and he thought that Christ's doctrines of morality would be responded

1 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.110
2 Keshub Chunder Sen's Lecturer in India, Cassel & Co., London, 1901, p.1
3 ibid. p.2
4 ibid. p.7
5 ibid. p.18
6 ibid. p.23
7 ibid. p.25
8 ibid. p.33
9 ibid. p.34
to by the whole of humanity.\(^1\) Forgiveness and self-sacrifice were the two fundamental doctrines of Gospel ethics, and in these the moral greatness of Christ was to be perceived.\(^2\) Meekness was essentially a Christian virtue;\(^3\) thorough resignation of God's will was the main point of Christ's teaching: his death being the highest example of self-sacrifice.\(^4\) He ended the lecture with the wish that England and India, Europe and Asia, might unite in charity and love, and 'self-denying devotion to truth'.\(^5\)

This lecture brought him public notice, but it also gave rise to misunderstanding of his views;\(^6\) so he gave another lecture - on "Great Men" - at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 28th September 1866.\(^7\)

The question, according to him, which was or should be important to everyone, was: 'What should one do to be saved?';\(^8\) for which it was necessary to know how God revealed himself. The primary manifestation of God was in nature;\(^9\) then in History, governing the destinies and affairs of nations.\(^10\) This had great religious significance, for God manifested

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1 Keshub Chunder Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1901, p.37
2 ibid. p.38
3 ibid. p.40
4 ibid. p.44
5 ibid. p.47
6 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.115
7 Keshub Chunder Sen's Lectures in India, 1901, p.48
8 ibid. p.51
9 ibid. p.52
10 ibid. p.56
himself in history through great men. Their greatness - what was 'divine and universal' in them - was a gift of God to us: a prophet was a divine incarnation, 'spirit of God manifest in human flesh'.

True incarnation meant God in man; a prophet's superiority was of degree, not of kind, for he had the 'wisdom of faith'.

The highest revelation of God was, however, in the soul: 'the almighty power' of Inspiration was 'God's direct action on the human soul'. To realize God in one's soul was to be inspired with 'enthusiastic love and fidelity' towards God.

Towards the end of 1866 Keshub visit East Bengal and founded the Eastern Brahmo Church to which the orthodox Hindus reacted by organizing a Society for the Preservation of the Hindu Religion. Although he was ill during the tour, he wrote a tract on 'True Faith', defining it as a direct vision and establishment of a personal relation-

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1 Keshub Chunder Sen's Lectures in India, p.57: quoting Carlyle: "The history of the world is the biography of great men".

2 ibid. p.59
3 ibid. p.61
4 ibid. p.62
5 ibid. p.73
6 ibid. p.88
7 ibid. p.89
8 ibid. p.94
9 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.117
10 ibid. p.117
ship, living in resignation and absolute trust in Providence.¹ The change, which the separation from the original Brahma Samaj brought about in Keshub was manifested in his feelings towards Christ and Christianity and in the character of his worship.² In 1867 he underwent a mental crisis brought on by his differences with Devendranath and lack of success in his new situation: he began to hold a daily worship at his home with popular religious music; his enthusiasm for it reaching its height in the Brahmo festival of November 1867.³

In March 1868 he went on a tour of the North West Provinces and Bombay;⁴ on return broke his journey at Monghyr in Bihar, where there was a large colony of Bengali railway clerks, who made an enthusiastic audience.⁵ They showed their reverence for Keshub by addressing him as Lord, Master and Saviour and by prostrating themselves before him.⁶ This kind of personal tribute alarmed a number of Brahmo missionaries; one of them accused him of encouraging it.⁷ Although this accusation stirred up some public resentment against Keshub, he saw in the demonstration a means of popularizing the Brahma Samaj.⁸

¹ Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen; p.118
² ibid. p.119
³ ibid. p.120
⁴ ibid. p.121
⁵ ibid. pp.123-123
⁶ ibid. p.124
⁷ ibid. p.125
⁸ ibid. p.127
Keshub left Monghyr for Simla to meet the Governor-General - who had invited him there before, when they had discussed the possibility of a Brahma Marriage Act. The Bill was introduced in the Governor-General's Council on the 10th September, 1868, and Keshub returned to Calcutta at the end of the year.

The subject of his anniversary lecture, of the 23rd January, 1869, was "The Future Church", indicating the changes he had in mind for the future. He argued to determine the most likely meeting point of all religious movements, on the basis of history, and the importance of harmonizing their conflicting dogmas and doctrines. No historical religious system, he said, was completely false; there were three basic ideas common to all: mind, matter and God. Harmony of different creeds was a matter of adjustment in their mutual relations. While true theology must condemn worship of matter, it had to admit the reality of matter and its use in the 'economy of man's redemption'. Similarly, the importance of mind and soul must be recognized, for they reveal to

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1 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.128
2 ibid. pp.129-130
3 ibid. p.130
4 Keshub Chunder Sen's Lectures in India, London 1901, p.129
5 ibid. p.133
6 ibid. p.135
7 ibid. p.137
8 ibid. p.137
us the 'higher attributes of the Divinity and our true relations to Him';¹ but we must not identify the created spirit with the Creator and say 'I am God'.² Superior minds, however, deserve special respect.³

The question for the Future Church was, how these ideas could be combined with the unity of God?⁴ and the answer, he said, was Unity in Trinity, which was also a safeguard against false worship.⁵ It was to uphold 'the absolute infinity and unity of God' and to admit a 'trinity of Divine manifestations': external nature, 'inner spirit' and 'moral greatness impersonated in man'.⁶ All false worship of nature, self and greatness would become impossible if we saw that there was one God and three ways of revelation:⁷ in this harmony, Keshub believed, all conflict would ultimately be resolved.⁸

A harmony of doctrines and 'the essence of true religion' were to be found - according to Keshub - in Christ's dicta: "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, with all thy soul and with all thy strength"; and "Love thy neighbour as thyself".⁹ These two

¹ Keshub Chunder Sen's Lectures in India, London 1901, pp.138-139
² ibid. p.140
³ ibid. p.140
⁴ ibid. p.142
⁵ ibid. pp.142-143
⁶ ibid. p.143
⁷ ibid. p.144
⁸ ibid. p.144
precepts meant the loving union of man's being with the Divine nature — the highest aim of one's life.

The main doctrines of the Future Church, therefore, would be the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man: and the gospel, God's infinite mercy. Sinner would only need an assurance of God's saving mercy: His absolute holiness and purity give no hope of reconciliation. However long one might respect His mercy, it would eventually conquer the most confirmed sinner.

With free inquiry and criticism tending to purify and develop the true principles of both Hinduism and Mohamedanism, they would eventually harmonize to form the future church of India: the Hindu, living in a state of quiet communion and the Mohamedan crusading against evil. Christianity, which had 'roused, enlightened and reformed' would help the growth and formation of that church: but the future church would be essentially Indian: with 'unity of spirit but diversity of forms'.

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1 Keshub Chunder Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1901, pp.146-147
2 ibid. p.149
3 ibid. pp.149-150
4 ibid. p.152
5 ibid. p.156
6 ibid. p.157
7 ibid. p.157
8 ibid. p.158
9 ibid. p.160
The Brahma Mandir - the house of worship for the Brahma Samaj of India - was opened on the 22nd August, 1869.\(^1\) The proclamation borrowed its principles from the trust deed of the original Brahma Mandir of Ram Mohun Roy.\(^2\) Towards the end of the year Keshub suddenly announced in the "Indian Mirror" that he would be going to England shortly; this was the way in which he usually worked.\(^3\) He was a little superstitious about his visit, because both Ram Mohun Roy and Dwarka Nath Tagore had died there.\(^4\) He gave a lecture on "England and India" a few weeks before his departure.\(^5\) There was a subscription towards his expenses and Lord Mayo, the Governor General, gave him letters of introduction; he also had an invitation from the Foreign Unitarian Association.\(^6\)

He left Calcutta on the 15th February, 1870,\(^7\) and arrived in London on the 21st March.\(^8\) His first public appearance was at a soirée arranged by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.\(^9\) In June he was suddenly taken ill with vertigo and fever; but kept good health afterwards.\(^{10}\)

\(^1\) Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.131
\(^2\) ibid. p.132
\(^3\) ibid. p.134
\(^4\) ibid. p.135
\(^5\) ibid. p.135
\(^6\) ibid. p.135
\(^7\) ibid. p.135
\(^8\) ibid. p.138
\(^9\) ibid. p.138
\(^10\) ibid. pp.143-144
He had breakfast with the Prime Minister and had audience of the Queen.¹ He left London on the 17th September 1870 for Bombay, arriving there on the 15th October.²

In November 1870 he established the Indian Reform Association 'for social and moral reformation of the Natives of India';³ and started a weekly newspaper for the Association, the Sulabh Samachar (Cheap News) at the price of a farthing, with five sections: cheap literature, charity, female improvement, education and temperance.⁴ It was an unexpected success.⁵

The most important event of 1871 was the agitation for a Brahmo Marriage Act.⁶ The original Brahma Samaj, under Devendranath Tagore, had objected to it as being repugnant to their religious feelings; but it was passed as Native Marriage Act on the 22nd March, 1872;⁷ it made Brahmo marriages monogamous and set the minimum age for men at eighteen and for girls at fourteen.⁸

From 1875 to 1878 Keshub was almost exclusively engaged in

¹ Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, pp.147-148
² ibid. p.150
³ ibid. p.153
⁴ ibid. p.153
⁵ ibid. p.153
⁶ ibid. p.157
⁷ Brahmo Year Book for 1879, p.36
⁸ ibid. p. 36; Mozoomdar, op. cit. p.160
reorganizing the religious life of the Brahma Samaj. About the middle of 1875 his old melancholy came over him, and he felt that time had come for Brahmo missionaries to practise asceticism; he continued with the discipline for the whole of 1876. He had been thinking of organizing the devotees and lay worshippers into a hierarchy for some time; in 1876 he introduced four divisions of devotees according to their practice: contemplation (yoga), loving devotion (bhakti), knowledge (jnan), service (karma or seva). This was an endeavour to create a well-defined faith in distinction to find 'indefinite generalities of Vedantic theism'.

His ideal of piety became an 'intoxication and madness in' God. To the idea of God the Father he added God the Mother; and his devotions were directed towards the Mother. He wrote to Max Mueller that by combining Bhakti and Yoga - love and contemplation - 'the garden of Divine love grew upon the mountain of communion'. Prayer meant for him waiting for an answer: whatever response he got became an indication for his action; this he called Adesh or divine command.

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1 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.171
2 ibid. p.172
3 ibid. p.174; Brahmo Year Book for 1877 for a report on the classification of devotees, pp.17-23
4 Mozoomdar, op. cit. p.174
5 ibid. p.177; letter to Max Müller dated 16th May 1881: M. Müller's Biographical Essays, p.117
6 ibid. p.180
He did not claim supernatural inspiration, but said it was a 'command of conscience' or 'providential interposition'.

He grew into the habit of addressing objects of nature as realizations of the spirit of God; he spiritualized women into his idea of the Supreme Mother; he also worshipped God as the Supreme Child. He frequently contemplated the lives and characters of prophets in order to assimilate them into his own - as he had done with his ideal of Christ. His feeling for Chaitanya gave him faith in the efficacy of taking God's name and sympathy for the 'warmth and imagery' of the popular religion. He insisted on asceticism whenever he felt the church growing worldly: he cooked his own meals, wore mendicant's clothes, shaved his head and lived on alms, for the time being.

In August and September 1877 the Government of Bengal started negotiations with Keshub Chunder Sen for the marriage of his eldest daughter with the Maharaja of Cooch-Behar, who was a minor and ward of the Government. In February 1878 the marriage was arranged. As soon as this became public, protests from Brahmos began to come in:

1 K. C. Sen in a letter to Max Müller, dated 2nd May 1881: M. Müller, Biographical Essays, p.114
2 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.182
3 ibid. p.183
4 ibid. pp.183-184
5 ibid. p.184
6 ibid. p.204
7 ibid. p.204: Brahmo Year Book for 1878 for announcement and report, p.9
they protested on the minority of the couple — who were both six months younger than the age prescribed by the Native Marriage Act — and on the fact that there would not be a Brahmo marriage ceremony. Keshub asked for an assurance from the Government they would defer to the public objections; and they assured him that the marriage would not be consummated till the Maharaja's return from Europe; when the couple would have come of age. Keshub agreed to the match because of the 'spontaneity and unexpectedness of the Government's offer' and the prospect of the influencing an entire Native state, as well as 'mutual approval of the parties' and the noble character of the Maharaja: all these reasons combined to make him feel that the circumstances were providential.

The date of the wedding was the 6th of March, 1878; the controversy grew and a report by the Deputy Commissioner of Cooch-Behar, G. T. Dalton, said that the marriage was a Hindu marriage, which the public accepted, in spite of denials by Keshub and his friends. A large number of Brahmos asked for the expulsion of K. C. Sen from his position of Secretary and Minister. He offered to resign, but later

1 Hozoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p.205
2 ibid. p.206
4 quoted in Max Müller, op. cit., pp.99-101
5 Hozoomdar, op. cit., p.210
6 ibid. p.211
withdrew his offer on the insistence of his friends. The dissidents called a public meeting on the 14th May 1873 to set up a new Brahma Samaj with a democratic organisation. Keshub felt that another schism would be dangerous; he and his friends said that a 'schism as a doctrinal disunion was a moral impossibility', but it had no effect on his opponents; and the new Brahma Samaj - called the Sadharan or universal Brahma Samaj - was established on the 15th May, 1873.

This opposition affected Keshub's spirit and in the autumn of 1878 he fell violently ill. While convalescing it occurred to him that the crisis could be overcome by 'a great and unprecedented revival': by preaching the religion of the Brahma Samaj as a New Dispensation of God in India.

In his anniversary lecture of 1875, "Behold the Light of Heaven in India", he had said that a new dispensation, which was a development of bygone dispensations, had been made in India; it was an inspiration, and God's affirmation of his existence; with the gospel of love, in

1 Mosoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, p. 211
2 ibid. p. 211
3 ibid. p. 211
4 ibid. p. 212
5 ibid. p. 212: Brahmo Year Book for 1878, p. 68
6 ibid. p. 216
7 ibid. p. 216
8 K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1901, p. 200
9 ibid. p. 202
10 ibid. p. 203
which true salvation, for 'to forgive was human and to love divine':

God could not forgive sinners, for 'He never was angry'.

After the split he renamed the Brahma Samaj of India as the Church of the New Dispensation; and he changed the 'methods and impulses' considerably, without changing the aim. He intended to establish a national religion and apostolic standards of morality and devotion. Eclecticism had been Brahma Samaj's theological basis ever since the Hindu scriptures were declared fallible; he tried to solve the problems of theological harmony by means of devotional fervour, intense meditation, spiritual discipline and moral culture. The harmony of all religions he had envisaged was a harmony of doctrines, prophets and cultures: i.e., ideal of the church should be assimilated into the life of every individual member, and the masses should have monotheism in such simplification and symbolism that they could feel it a part of their everyday usage, faith and worship. The New Dispensation was meant to develop in three ways: as a national, universal, and apostolic religion

1 K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1901, p.211
2 ibid. p.227
3 ibid. p.231
4 Mosoomdar, Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, pp.218-219
5 ibid. p.219
6 ibid. p.221
7 ibid. p.221
8 ibid. p.221
9 ibid. p.222
the idea itself was conceived in his lecture "Behold the Light of Heaven in India". 1

He made his doctrine of 'direct commandment of God to the human soul' - for which he had been widely criticised in the agitation against the Cooch-Behar marriage 2 - the basis of the New Dispensation. 3 In an effort to remove 'theological formalism and remoteness' he taught his disciples to approach God as a child approaches its mother - influenced by Ramakrishna Paramhansa, whom he met in 1876. 4 Ramakrishna believed that the female principle in the Hindu Godhead, popularly called Kali, was the Supreme Mother; woman, according to him, was unconquerable, except by her son, and kept everyone else away from love of God. 5 Keshub often addressed God as Mother; in 1879 made the idea 'the subject of special culture' and a new feature of the Revival. 6 In October 1879 he published a proclamation - in the form of a divine commandment - of a missionary expedition to northern Bengal and Bihar. 7 He delivered four 'characteristic' 8 lectures in his later years: "India Asks: Who is Christ" - 1879; "God-vision in the Nineteenth Century" - 1880; "We

1 K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1901, p.223
2 Brahmo Year Book for 1878, p.
4 Mozoomdar, op. cit., p.227
5 ibid. p.228
6 ibid. p.229; cf. Brahmo Year Book for 1880, pp.31-37
7 ibid. p.230: "Go and proclaim Me, Mother of India, said the Lord to his disciples gathered round him ..."; Brahmo Year Book for 1880, p.31
8 Mozoomdar, op. cit., p.232
Apostles of the New Dispensation" - 1881; "That Marvellous Mystery of the Trinity" - 1882.¹

In "India Asks: Who is Christ", delivered on the 9th April, 1879, he spoke of Christ as having been sent out as a 'tremendous moral force' to India, 'to conquer and hold this vast empire';² but this was seen in India as a foreign Christianity invading and subverting the Hindu society,³ although the 'true Christ in the East and his apostles were one's own'.⁴ Christ's ethics were acceptable to the whole world, but the difficulty was in accepting his divinity.⁵ The reason for honouring Christ was his assertion of identity with God:⁶ what he saw in Christ was not his life - for he had no self - but divine life;⁷ Christ taught only one doctrine: divinity in humanity,⁸ i.e., idealistic communion with God.⁹ In a comprehensive unity he included God, his own self and all mankind, which was his life of mystic absorption into the Deity.¹⁰ 'Divine humanity', according to Keshub, was essentially

¹ The first three are in 1901 edn. of his Lectures in India, the fourth in 1904 edn.

² K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1901, p.361

³ ibid. p.364

⁴ ibid. p.365

⁵ ibid. p.366

⁶ ibid. p.369

⁷ ibid. p.373

⁸ ibid. p.379

⁹ ibid. p.381

¹⁰ ibid. pp.382-383
a Hindu doctrine; and the life and character of Christ was an ideal Hindu life. In India Christ would fulfill the Hindu dispensation: 'the truths of pantheism' - which was only identification of all things with God - would be fulfilled and perfected in Christ. Christ's pantheism was 'active self-surrender of the will', and to be accepted in the spirit of the national scriptures: he was a true Yogi, 'full of Hindu devotion and communion'.

In "God-vision in the Nineteenth Century", delivered on the 24th January, 1880, Heshub defined God-vision as apprehension of the divine attributes in a synthetic unity. The new dispensation was to be 'science and faith harmonized': and the reign of the Supreme Mother should be proclaimed and established throughout the world.

In "Ye Apostles of the New Dispensation", delivered on the 23rd January, 1881, he proclaimed his church as a divine dispensation 'fully entitled to a place among the various dispensations and revelations of the world', whose prophet was Jesus. This dispensation denied a

1 K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1901, p.386
2 ibid. p.387
3 ibid. p.388
4 ibid. p.388
5 ibid. p.389
6 ibid. pp.401-402
7 ibid. p.439
8 ibid. p.442
9 ibid. pp.447-448
10 ibid. p.450
mediator;¹ had an 'all-embracing and all absorbing' eclecticism:² for in unity there was 'both science and salvation';³ grace being a logical result of justice.⁴

This movement was a 'deduction from and a sequence of the Christian dispensation, and a union of conscience and science';⁵ it was subjective:⁶ 'maturity of faith being the result of a transfer of the outward Deity to subjective consciousness';⁷ A similar assimilation of the spirit of prophets underlies the idea of 'Pilgrimage to Saints',⁸ that is, to draw them spiritually into one's life, which is not pantheism.⁹ "Goodness is human, godliness is divine" was preached by the New Dispensation;¹⁰ and it accepted the true Jesus, who by obedience to God, had recovered the divinity of man lost in Adam.¹¹

In his lecture on "That Marvellous Mystery - Trinity" Keshub speaks

¹ K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1901, p.452  
² ibid. p.456  
³ ibid. p.457  
⁴ ibid. p.462  
⁵ ibid. p.465  
⁶ ibid. p.470  
⁷ ibid. p.471  
⁸ ibid. p.472  
⁹ ibid. p.473  
¹⁰ ibid. p.482  
¹¹ ibid. p.489
of it as an Oriental idea; the Hindu and the Christian both believe in the continued evolution of the Logos; in the evolution of man the creation is not exhausted, through culture and education he rises to become the son of God. Universal redemption is the purpose of creation, and God sent his only-begotten Son to make all his children heirs of God; the Holy Ghost makes all mankind participate in the Divine life, which is the fulfilment of the final purpose of creation. Thus the Christian Trinity corresponds with the Sat-Chit-Anand of Hinduism: the Father - the Creator; the Son - the Exemplar; and the Holy Ghost - the Sanctifier; - corresponding to Truth, Intelligence and Joy, of the Hindu Trinity. Besides the concept of Christ as the soldier of God, there was - according to Keshub - Christ as 'woman in man'; the 'womanly love that perfects and sweetens the character of man'.

The new church, according the Keshub, was 'altogether' an institution of the Holy Spirit, and yet it harmonized the three elements of the Trinity; fulfilling the theology of Christ.

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1 K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1904, p. 3
2 ibid. p. 13
3 ibid. p. 13
4 ibid. p. 15
5 ibid. p. 16
6 ibid. pp. 16-17
7 ibid. p. 29
8 ibid. p. 31
9 ibid. p. 44
10 ibid. p. 47
According to his biographer and life-long friend, Keshub's ideas of God and Heaven were derived from the 'all encompassing Force and Life, appealing first to the eye and ear, and then to the heart. He was becoming attracted to the Hindu conception of the divine attributes; and Ramakrishna Paramhansa's combination of idolatry and montheism suggested to him the way in which he could make his movement more popular. He wrote, on the 1st August, 1880, that he saw the Hindu idols as 'millions of broken fragments of God'. The work of the New Dispensation was to revive the spirit behind the images; to believe in the undivided Deity, without considering the 330 million aspects of God's nature, is to believe in an abstract God, leading to 'practical rationalism or infidelity'; and exhorted his disciples to worship God each day under a new name.

The formal announcement of the New Dispensation was made during the anniversary celebrations of 1880, in order to distinguish his creed from that of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, which seemed to him 'little different from the cold rationalism of Deistic speculations'.

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1 F. C. Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of K. C. Sen, p.237
2 ibid. p.242
3 Brahmo Year Book for 1880, p.33
4 ibid. p.33
5 ibid. p.34
6 ibid. p.34
7 Mozoomdar, op. cit., p.253
8 ibid. p.254
felt that the main distinction of the new church, in the beginning, should be its ceremonies. In 1881 he introduced an adaptation of baptism, at the lake near his house, and of eucharist with rice and water; they were meant to incorporate the spirit of Christian sacraments into the New Dispensation. He also introduced Hindu fire-sacrifice as a counterpoint. On the 15th of March 1881, he ordained twelve apostles of the New Dispensation with silver medals and ceremonial washing of their feet.

In spite of his great influence, he was as unpopular at the inauguration of the New Dispensation as he was at the time of the Cooch-Behar marriage. During the anniversary festival of January 1882 his fatal illness was first discovered; In May-June he became worse and had to go the Darjeeling for change of air. In September, on his return to Calcutta, he produced a mystery play on the theme of his new religion to popularize it.

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1 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of K. C. Sen, p. 254
2 ibid. p. 255: Brahma Year Book for 1881, London, 1882, p. 64
3 Mozoomdar, op. cit., p. 256
4 for a 'verbatim and literally' report from the New Dispensation journal of June 9, 1881: see Brahma Year Book for 1881, p. 62
5 Mozoomdar, op. cit., p. 256
6 ibid. p. 256
7 ibid. p. 291
8 ibid. p. 292
9 ibid. p. 292
In a pamphlet called "The New Dispensation or the Minister's Exposition of It" he wrote that the New Dispensation was thoroughly scientific, abhorring delusions and myths; with no hypotheses and standing the severest logical test. It was in harmony with the latest progress in science and philosophy, and was prepared to reject any doctrine contradicted by science. It saw God in history and believed in providence. It was a practical, active and energetic religion; it served God with 'philanthropic Usefulness'.

He balanced the practical, scientific or European, as he called them - traits with emotional or Asiatic traits of the New Dispensation, for neither 'faith without love' nor 'love without faith' was acceptable to the new religion. It was a religion of poverty and asceticism, and was based on inspiration. In a letter to Max Müller he explained that there was a 'deep necessity to prove that there was no necessity' for rites and forms in anti-ritualistic theism.

At the beginning of 1833 Keshub gave his last lecture, on "Asia's Message to Europe", in which he gave Christ 'the centre of this Broad Church', because his fundamental theology had not been fully realized in Europe; the two parts of which were "I am my Father" and "Ye in me".

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1 The New Dispensation, Calcutta Brahma Tract Society, Calcutta 1884, pp.7-8
2 ibid. p.9
3 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of K. C. Sen, p.296: for Max Müller's objections to ritualism see his letter to K. C. Sen, Biographical Essays, pp.118-125
4 K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1904, p.86
5 ibid. p.87
symbolized respectively by baptism and eucharist:  

1. Baptism signified the pervasion of the spirit of Christ;  

2. And eucharist was a sanctification of 'one's daily rice'. This atonement in Christ was what India would share with Europe and fulfil.

In April 1883 he was ordered by his doctors to recuperate in Simla, where he wrote a 'comprehensive Law of Religious Life', as he believed that no new religion could grow without definite rules of conduct laid down by those in authority. This book was called the "New Samhita or Sacred Laws of the Aryans of the New Dispensation". He wrote by way of preface that it contained the essence of God's moral law, 'adapted for reformed Hindus according to their national instincts and tradition'. The code begins with an injunction to keep one's spirit, body and house clean, making each 'a fit tabernacle for the Lord'; after regulations on worship and daily meals, it defines true labour as worship of the Eternal Force, commission of one's energy with the

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1 K. C. Sen's Lectures in India, London, 1904, p.86
2 ibid. p.102
3 ibid. p.105
4 ibid. p.106
5 Hozoomdar, Life and Teachings of K. C. Sen, p.297
6 ibid. p.298
7 Calcutta (Brahmo Tract Society) 1884
8 Hozoomdar, op. cit., p.302
9 New Samhita, p.2
Supreme Energy in holy and useful work, punctuality being the soul of success. Marriage is not a final consummation, but a progressive state of chastity, for it is positive while chastity is negative. Not even in cases of adultery, cruelty or absolute dislike is divorce to be permitted.

'Father and mother are representatives of God... Vows are for individuals and apply to particular conditions and exigencies of life, for one has no power over evil: prayer is the basis of all vows and their success... Amusement is the worship of Divine joy... One's library should be dedicated to the God of wisdom... too much reading like too much eating is a burden... the end of reading is to discipline and perfect the mind by thought... Charity is to be organized as a domestic institution, for one has no right to deprive the poor of their due.

1 New Samhita, p.20
2 ibid. p.16
3 ibid. p.16
4 ibid. p.41
5 ibid. p.43
6 ibid. p.66
7 ibid. p.35
8 ibid. p.88
9 ibid. p.99
10 ibid. p.21
11 ibid. p.25
12 ibid. p.26
13 ibid. p.27
Keshub left Simla in September 1883 against medical advice, for the fear that he might not be able to leave at all; his illness was aggravated by his feeling that he had been rejected by the people in Calcutta. At Simla he had also written an essay on "Yoga, Subjective and Objective" for the New York Independent, in which he described it as a 'spiritual unification' of the created soul with the Supreme Soul. The objective Yoga was the discovery of an efficient and personal First Cause in all natural phenomena; the subjective Yoga sought no external help and was completely withdrawn from matter: it simply united spirit with Spirit. The process of it was meant to root out self, the origin of all evil, by spiritual absorption in the Higher Self. 'The union is life eternal: the highest heaven of a true devotee'.

In December 1883 his illness relapsed and his condition became critical. His new Sanctuary, which he had had built after his return from Simla, was ready to be consecrated on the 1st of January, 1884; he insisted on taking part in the ceremony: he consecrated it in the

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1 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of K. C. Sen, p.303
3 Slater, op. cit., Appendix, p.141
4 ibid., Appendix, p.142
5 ibid., Appendix, p.144
6 ibid., Appendix, p.145
7 Mozoomdar, op. cit., p.314
name of the Supreme Mother. The exposure and effort aggravated his illness, and he died in pain on the 8th January, 1884 of diabetes.

His funeral rites were performed, for the first time, according to his own prescription in the New Code.

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1 Mozoomdar, Life and Teachings of K. C. Sen, p.314
2 ibid. p.316
3 ibid. p.320
4 ibid. p.327
5 ibid. p.323 note
iv. Sadharan Brahma Samaj

On May 15, 1878 the Sadharan Brahma Samaj was established, as a protest against Keshub Chunder Sen's claims to 'personal inspiration and autocracy', by most of his Calcutta followers and a number of provincial Samajes, and with the sympathy of Devendranath Tagore. The new society believed in church government as a safeguard against 'papacy and priestcraft'. One of the first things they did was to build a prayer hall in Calcutta; it was opened for public worship on the 22nd January, 1881.

The emphasis was on social reform, rather than religious development, which was the characteristic of K. C. Sen's branch. In a statement of principles read out at the opening of the prayer hall it was said that their aim would always be to enable all those who wanted righteousness to know God and to worship Him direct; the teachings of the church were to love God, to see piety, to hate sin, to grow in devotion and spirituality, to promote purity amongst men and women, to uproot all social evil, and to encourage virtuous deeds.

1 T. E. Slater, Keshub Chunder Sen and the Brahma Samaj, Madras 1884, pp.86-87
2 ibid. p.87
3 ibid. p.88
4 ibid. p.88
6 Slater, op. cit., pp.88-89 fn.
Several institutions were either revived or started by the Sadharan Samaj; e.g., Sangat Sabha, started by K. C. Sen for conversations on spiritual matters; students' weekly service; the Theological Institution; the Theistic Philanthropic Society; and the Brahmica Samaj for women. They had two newspapers in English: the "Brahmo Public Opinion" - later Bengal Public Opinion - started in March 1878; and the "Indian Messenger", devoted to religious, social and educational topics, and edited by Sivanath Sastri.

There were more Anusthanic, or ritually pure, Brahmos in the Sadharan Sabha than in the other two branches; and candidates for mission work were trained by a mission committee, and the most prominent missionary was Pandit Sivanath Sastri.

On a visit to Dacca in 1880 he lectured on Brahmoism and Brahma Samaj, and said that the special characteristics of the present movement were importance of worship and religious organisation in its social aspects. Theism was the meeting-point of both reason and faith; it recognized both the constructive and destructive forces of society - traditionalism as well as the modifying free thought - which made the system essentially eclectic. Because it did not believe in the doctrine

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1 T. E. Slater, K. C. Sen and the Brahma Samaj, p.89
2 Brahmo Year Book for 1880, London, 1881, pp.29-30
3 Slater, op. cit., p.90
4 ibid., p.93
5 An abridged report in the Brahmo Year Book for 1880, p.27
of infallible scriptures, it was catholic, independent, direct in the relationship between the soul and God, and free from all 'stereotyped and material' forms.\(^1\) He appealed to the educated class to take notice of the Brahma Samaj.\(^2\)

According to an article - part of a series - published in the Brahmo Public Opinion, entitled "The Yogi, the Christian, the Bhakta",\(^3\) a Brahmo was influenced by three kinds of piety developed in the history of the world: Yoga, the ancient Hindu meditative communion; Christian piety, life of earnest and incessant good works, guided by the spirit of prayer; and the piety of Bhakti developed by the followers of Chaitanya, and was essentially hostile to communion: it was demonstration of love through exuberant feeling.\(^4\) Communion saves one from the fatal error of considering the unseen world as unreal; but practised as the only means of spiritual culture, it makes one morally empty and deadens the soul.\(^5\) Occasional religious ecstasy revives the soul, but it is not a normal condition.\(^6\) The aim of a Brahmo's spiritual culture should be active and prayerful work; the other two ways to be added for perfection.\(^7\)

\(^1\) An abridged report in the Brahmo Year Book for 1880, p.28
\(^2\) ibid. p.28
\(^3\) published on Feb. 26, 1880: Brahmo Year Book for 1880, p.90
\(^4\) ibid. p.91
\(^5\) ibid. p.92
\(^6\) ibid. p.92
\(^7\) ibid. p.93
The series was concluded with the suggestion of a few means of cultivating love and obedience to God as religious culture: direct contemplation of God in all his attributes; prayer, not of the intellect but of the soul - such a prayer to remain unanswered was incompatible with the character ascribed to God; remembering God often; hymns; devotional poetry. Devendranath Tagore's *Brahma Dharma* and several of K. C. Sen's sermons were recommended to be read by the Brahmos, not for their depth of thought, but for their love and enthusiasm for God. Yet another means of religious culture recommended was contact with other minds.

Obedience to God was concerned with the whole moral life of God: religious, social as well as personal; the religious aspect required a sense of duty to God, which distinguished a devout man from a merely moral man. Obedience was vitally dependent on love.

In a lecture at the third anniversary celebrations of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, Sivanath Sastri said that idolatry was a mockery of worship, and the aim of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj was to establish conscious and living spiritual union with God, who alone was the source of righteousness.

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1. *Brahmo Year Book for 1880*, p.902 from B.P.C., October 1880
2. ibid. p.93
3. ibid. p.94
4. ibid. p.94
5. ibid. p.94
6. ibid. p.95
7. ibid. p.95
and the Author of our salvation. Worship was a deep spiritual intercourse, which was not possible without love and liberty. Liberty in piety meant an inter-relation of reason, conscience, affection and faith. Brahism was essentially a religion of freedom — from creeds, infallible scriptures and guides, and multiplicity of forms.

At a meeting on the 19th January, 1882, in memory of Ram Mohun Roy, S. N. Sastri said that the Brahma Samaj had been true to the first impulse of the founder in maintaining its catholicity: including every form of truth within it, learning from all the scriptures and sages of the world. It had maintained the independence of conscience, by rejecting the doctrine of infallible guides; the principle of active philanthropy, however, was not as fully developed as in the Christian churches.

The Sadharan Brahma Samaj believes that this universe is created, sustained and governed by the will of a Supreme and Self-Existent Being, infinite in power, wisdom, love, justice and holiness. He is beyond our conception, but not beyond our knowledge and faith. We can conceive

1 Brahmo Year Book for 1881, London 1882, p.17
2 ibid. p.17
3 ibid. pp.17-18
4 Brahmo Year Book for 1882, London 1882, p.7
5 ibid. p.7
6 ibid. p.7
7 The Brahmo Samaj Part II: "Its Religious Principles and Six Sermons" by Pandit Sivanath Sastri, Lahore 1815, p.1
or comprehend Him only partially through His manifestations in nature and man, and with our reason, instincts, faith and intuition, which are sufficient to make us believe in Him and worship Him. Man, by virtue of his moral and spiritual constitution, and his conscious relationship with Divine love and justice, is son of God. It is man's highest destiny to know and love God, and to serve Him in his highest privilege: worship, i.e., conscious moral and spiritual intercourse, with an attitude of love, gratitude, trust and reverence - with the Father, is man's most sacred and solemn duty and his way to salvation. Salvation means a state of perfect union of the son with the Father, with neither extinction of his separate entity nor absorption into the Supreme Being. It is a perfect harmony of will between the son and the Father through love and self-surrender; the state of salvation is liberated from sin and misery as well as felicity resulting from a conscious life in God. The way to this salvation is not through pantheism, which regards sin and misery as delusions; nor through asceticism, which means elimination of desire and conquest of the body; but through

1 "The Brahma Samaj Part II: Its Religious Principles and Six Sermons", p.1
2 ibid. p.1
3 ibid. p.1
4 ibid. p.1
5 ibid. p.2
6 ibid. p.2
7 ibid. p.2
8 ibid. p.2
love, which teaches the soul to seek the will of God as the highest good: it seeks to make temptations a matter of indifference to its aim. Life on earth is a preparatory stage, and man is morally accountable for his conduct, there being no escape in the future from the consequences of one's action in the present. Punishment for sin is certain and inevitable; to be forgiven is to be restored spiritually. Heaven or hell are not places, but states of the human soul in its progress after death: heaven means the joy of knowing and loving the father - the highest reward of virtue; and hell is the miserable state in which the soul is unworthy of intercourse with God, and finds delight in unrighteousness - the worst punishment for sin. The first condition of spiritual intercourse with God is morality, with the purity of inward nature producing single-mindedness, and holy intention; prayer being the means to this holiness. Sin is that action, thought or desire which leads away from the divine will, which is the eternal and constant action of the Divine Spirit, manifested through our reason, conscience, affections and will; Man's highest excellence can be achieved only through submission to this law of righteousness. Sincere repentence,

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1 S. M. Sastri, Brahma Samaj Part II: Its Religious Principles and Six Sermons, p.2
2 ibid. p.2
3 ibid. p.2
4 ibid. p.2
5 ibid. p.2
6 ibid. p.3
7 ibid. p.3
as the awakening of love, and earnest prayer, as faith, are the means of reconciliation with the Father and regeneration of the soul; regeneration is suppression of a man's sinful will and ultimate harmony with the law of righteousness in his nature. World is not looked upon as a delusion, nor a place of bondage, nor the heritage of fallen humanity, but as a nursery for the soul's growth and for the exercise of its moral and spiritual culture; all moral and spiritual ties being sacred and divinely ordained.

In accordance with these notions of God and man, true piety is not quietism and mysticism, nor ceremony and asceticism, but purity of inward and outward conduct; and sacredness of relationships in life is a harmony of faith and work, communion and prayer and of love and philanthropy. All religions are imperfect attempts to express the common religious instincts and spiritual aspirations of mankind: religion is progress, and there are truths in all, and they are accepted by the Brahmos. Human race is the family; the world their abode; great men are 'elder brothers'; scriptures of all nations their spiritual treasure; and the triumph of truth, love and justice their ultimate aim.

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1 Brahma Samaj Part II: Its Religious Principles and Six Sermons, p. 3
2 ibid. p. 4
3 ibid. p. 4
4 ibid. p. 4
5 ibid. p. 4
In a sermon delivered in 1906, S. N. Sastri said that this theism taught us to see the operation of the Divine Spirit everywhere man has sought Him in communion. Authority in religion lay in a harmony of individual conviction, good scripture and spiritual guide. God has given many men ideals, and one has to choose according to one's spiritual needs and endowments. Religion should be broad and catholic enough to include all.

Love, trust and reverence are basic principles of religion, and adoration is its manifestation; adoration is a means of fostering love and trust for the Unseen and Eternal; the highest perfection of our nature is in the realization of this relationship, and as such should be cultivated in individual, domestic and social lives. Worship as gratefulness for the things we enjoy in life is a plain duty to the Creator. Though theism is universal in its principles, it is local and national in application; men cannot be truly righteous without believing that this universe is not only mechanical but also moral, but

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1 Brahma Samaj Part II: Its Religious Principles and Six Sermons, p. 19: "Theism as Universal Religion".
2 ibid. p. 23
3 ibid. p. 23
4 ibid. p. 24
5 ibid. p. 24
6 ibid. p. 27
7 ibid. p. 28
8 ibid. p. 28
9 ibid. p. 29
then religion is ingrained in man.  

In an earlier sermon - the text of which was from the Upanishad: "The Supreme Spirit alone should be worshipped in love" - he had said that the worship of God was not only natural, but also necessary for the due exercise of our spiritual faculties. Attachment to the world, in preference to the immortal spiritual principles, was the root of all sin: once this attachment is transferred to God, one is raised above sin without injury to one's faculties. To worship God in love is the only form worthy of the Supreme Spirit, and it alone can lead one to true salvation, i.e., freedom from one's sins.

In his sermon "The Religion of Love", delivered in 1903, he said that the theism of Brahma Samaj was a religion of Bhakti or ardent love, for where there was love, there was also hope, joy and strength. True love of God implied reverence for the great and good; and this theism was not merely mysticism, spiritual communion with God and practical life were equally important to it; it was essentially social, for

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1 S. N. Sastri, Brahma Samaj Part II: Its Religious Principles and Six Sermons, p.32
2 delivered in 1893 on "True Worship", ibid. p.9
3 ibid. p.11
4 ibid. p.16
5 ibid. p.16
6 ibid. p.18
7 ibid. p.40
8 ibid. p.43
9 ibid. p.43
man's social life was as much under Providence as his individual life.\(^1\)

In the sermon "Religion, Real and Nominal", of 1912, he said that for a pure and living religion, it was necessary that we should have direct spiritual testimony of the living presence of God in the soul:\(^2\) goodness was not enough, godliness must always be sought.\(^3\) True spirituality was a gift of God - born of the Divine Spirit and inspiration - and had the effect of a conscious turning of the soul towards God.\(^4\) In "Religion: Theoretical and Practical", delivered the same year, he added that man's yearning after the supernatural was not satisfied by thought alone, it needed an embodiment in his practical life: when philosophy becomes a regulating force in actual life, it becomes religion - hence the need for rites and ceremonies.\(^5\) Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed desired to embody that subjective philosophy into objective experience: - they bring inward light into practical human conduct - and it was their claim to being teachers of mankind.\(^6\)

Although the universal theism of Brahma Samaj required sound intellectual basis, its work was religious: to cultivate the worship of one true God and to eliminate notions of incarnation and infallibility,

\(^1\) S. N. Sastri, Brahma Samaj: Part II: Its Religious Principles and Six Sermons, p. 44
\(^2\) ibid. p. 47
\(^3\) ibid. p. 48
\(^4\) ibid. p. 49
\(^5\) ibid. p. 52
\(^6\) ibid. p. 53
in individual and social life;\(^1\) thus making the cultivation of individual, domestic and social piety the earnest endeavour of all members of the Brahma Samaj.\(^2\)

\(^1\) S. N. Sastri, *Brahma Samaj Part II: Its Religious Principles and Six Sermons*, p. 54

\(^2\) ibid. p. 55
CHAPTER 3

JAINISM

i. Introduction and History

Jainism has all the characteristics of Indian religions: the karma doctrine, transmigration and liberation at the centre of its metaphysics; as well as their hells, worlds of gods and men, periodical end of the world-cycle and regular appearance of saviours.  It shares its characteristics with Hinduism extraordinarily widely. In ritual and social life there is hardly any difference between Jainism and Hinduism today. According to Bühler, the Jainas have borrowed a considerable number of laws from the Brahmanic code; and the occupations forbidden to the Jaina laity are almost all those forbidden to the Brahman, who lives like a Vaishya in times of crisis. The difference lies in the greater emphasis on non-violence in Jainism; Hindus, however, consider the Jainas as one of their sects, which is supported by the fact that many castes have both Vaishnava and Jaina members.

The doctrinal differences between Hinduism and Jainism are, however, great; Jainas do not recognize the Vedas and other sacred books

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1 H. Von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, Berlin 1925, p. 442: World-cycle = Weltgeschichte
2 ibid. p. 443
4 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 443
5 ibid. p. 322
of the Hindus, but have their own traditions and writings. The greatest difference is that the Jainas have a closed dogmatic system, and although the Hindus accept a variety of faiths as equally valid, the basic difference does come out: Hindus believe in a God who is the creator and governor of the world, Jainas do not; for the Hindus the world is periodically created and destroyed, the Jainas believe it to be uncreated and indestructible; Hindus believe God to be the founder of the true and eternal religion — taught by Brahma to mortal beings on God's behalf — while Jainas believe that the Tirthankaras (perfect men) have discovered it independently and then propagated it. Hindu gods can achieve liberation on their own, but Jaina gods have to be reborn on earth and have to practise austerities before they can achieve eternal liberation. For the Hindu karma is an unseen power: for the Jaina it is a combination of fine particles of matter which infiltrate into the soul. Salvation is a grace of God according to many Hindus, but the Jainas believe that it is reached only through unremitting work by oneself. There are, moreover, a number of concepts which are alien to Hindu metaphysics.

1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p.444
2 ibid. p.444
3 ibid. pp.444-445
4 ibid. p.445
5 ibid. p.445
6 ibid. p.445
7 ibid. p.445
Jainism is nearest to the Nyaya-Vaisheshika school of Hindu philosophy, as both of them teach atomism and guilt of the soul; with Sankhya philosophy it shares its atheism; and the concept of complete isolation of the individual soul allows a certain parallel between them. But in spite of its independence of Brahmanic philosophy, Jainism has, in course of time, borrowed many things from them, e.g. the theory of yoga from Tantrism, and assimilation of the belief in Tirthankaras into the hierarchy of Hindu gods. Jainas, however, claim the Brahmanic legends to be a later corruption of the original Jaina ones to support their claim of an earlier origin of their religion. Although there is no historical evidence for this claim, Jainism has undoubtedly influenced Hindu ideas.

It shares its claim of universality with Buddhism but not with Hinduism. It resembles Buddhism in many things and was founded in the same period. It is open, unlike Hinduism, to all: to the noble Aryan as well as to the low-born Sudra — even to the alien, who is of

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2 ibid. p.445
3 ibid. p.445 also p.369
4 ibid. pp.445-446
5 ibid. p.446
6 ibid. p.443
7 G. Bühler, On the Indian Sect of the Jainas, p.3. The term Hinduism is preferable as more familiar than Brahmanism which Bühler uses.
8 ibid. p.1
the lowest class. As the Jaina doctrine, like Buddha's, is a philosophical-ethical system, the disciples are divided into ecclesiastics and laity. The ascetics alone can reach the truths which Jina (Conqueror), i.e. the founder, teaches, and follow his rules and achieve the highest reward he promises; but the laity is still allowed to 'hear' the principles and is enjoined duties which make less severe demands than those of the ascetics, with naturally less reward. Like others Jainism is founded on philosophical speculation and its highest aim is the setting free of the individual from the world, i.e. 'the revolution of birth and death'.

The Jina is like the Buddha, but who was originally bound to the world and who by his own power - without the help of a teacher or the revelation of the Vedas, which are, according to Jainism, corrupt - has achieved omniscience and freedom. He propagates his way of salvation out of pity for the suffering mankind. His name, Jina, is given because he has conquered 'the world and the enemies in the heart'. The title Tirthankara is peculiar to Jaina founders or, rather, re-founders:

1 G. Bühler, On the Indian Sect of the Jainas, p.3
2 ibid. pp.3-4
3 ibid. p.5
4 ibid. p.5
5 ibid. pp.5-6
6 ibid. p.6
7 ibid. p.6
8 ibid. p.6
there are, according to Jaina tradition, twenty four Tirthankaras, who, from time to time, have restored the tarnished doctrines to their original purity. They all belonged to the war-like tribes, for a Jina cannot be a Brahman. The first of these Jinas or Tirthankaras was Rishabha, who was born more than 100 billion oceans of years ago - periods of unimaginable length - and lived for eight million four hundred thousand years. The intervals between the successive Tirthankaras became gradually shorter: between the twenty-third, Parshva, and the twentieth-fourth, Mahavira, it was only 250 years, and Mahavira's age is given as only 72 years at the time of his death. He is the true historical prophet of the Jains.

Mahavira lived, according to some, in the last half of the sixth century, and according to others in the first half of the fifth century B.C. According to Kalpa Sutra, he as the last Tirthankara took the form of an embryo in the womb of Devenanda, the wife of Brahman Rishabhadatta, in the Brahman district of the town Kundagrama. Mahavira knew that 'he was to descend, and that he had descended, but did not know when he was descending'. During the night Devanand saw fourteen 'illustrations,

1 Bühler, On the Indian Sect of the Jainas, p.7
2 ibid. p.7
3 ibid. p.8
4 ibid. p.8
5 ibid. p.8
beautiful, lucky, blest, auspicious, fortunate, great dreams about an elephant, a bull, a lion, the anointing of the goddess of fortune (Sri), a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, the ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels and a flame. Her husband understood these dreams intuitively and predicated the birth of an illustrious son.  

"The chief and king of gods" Sakra, saw this event in the life of Devanandra and went to see the Tirthankara and offered his reverence to Mahavira, the 'last Tirthankara predicted by his predecessors' and reflected in his mind that it was impossible that illustrious beings should be born in poor or Brahman families; though they might by the effects of their karmas be conceived by a poor or Brahman woman, they must, by the traditional authority of the Sakras, be removed to the womb of a high-born woman. He then decided to exchange the embryo of Devanand with the embryo of Trisala, the wife of the Kshatriya Siddhartha. On the night of the exchange Trisala dreamt the same fourteen dreams which are seen by every mother of a

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1 Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p.219
2 ibid. p.221
3 ibid. p.222
4 ibid. p.224: it is not clear in the text which one is meant
5 ibid. p.225
6 ibid. p.226
7 ibid. p.226
8 ibid. pp.229-230; for details of these dreams see pp.231-233 and for variations of the dreams see Margaret (Mrs. Sinclair) Stevenson, The Heart of Jainism, London 1915, pp.22-25
Tirthankara. 1 Trisala told her husband and he too understood the dreams intuitively 2 and predicted a 'brave gallant king of a son', 3 but later called interpreters of dreams, 4 who said that as the lady had seen fourteen dreams it meant that her son would be 'a universal emperor or a Jina, the lord of the three worlds, the universal experor of the law'. 5 The parents decided to give the name of Vardhamana 6 to the child, as he had brought increasing wealth to the family since his conception. 7 His birth was celebrated by gods, men and demons, 8 and his three recorded names were: Vardhamana, given by his priests; Sramana (Ascetic), because he was without love or hate; Mahavira because he was steadfast in danger and self-controlled, given by gods. 9 He lived for thirty years as a prince of Videha, 10 when his parents died of voluntary starvation as they were probably followers of Parshva. He then fulfilled his promise of becoming an ascetic with the permission of his elder brother and the authorities of his kingdom. 11

1 S.B.E. XXII, p. 238.
2 ibid. p. 239
3 ibid. p. 240
4 ibid. p. 244
5 ibid. p. 247
6 ibid. p. 249 fn. 1: "the increasing one"
7 ibid. p. 249
8 ibid. pp. 251-252
9 ibid. pp. 255-256
10 his father was a minor king or a baron of Videha
11 ibid. p. 256
Before his marriage, Mahavira already possessed supreme unlimited knowledge and intuition, and with it he perceived that the time for his renunciation had come. He was followed on his journey renunciation by a train of gods, men and demons and surrounded by courtiers, heralds and bell-bearers. He went right through Kundagrama to a park called Shārdavāna of the Gnatris, and there under an Ashoka tree he got out of his palanquin and took off his finery and plucked out his hair.

After being without food or drink for two and a half days, he put on a divine robe and tore out his hair in complete solitude, and entered the state of houselessness. He wore clothes for a year and a half, then walked about naked and accepted alms in bare hands. For more than twelve years he neglected his body and suffered, living all the eight months of summer and winter in villages for single nights and in towns for five nights. During the thirteenth year, in the second month of summer, he attained the highest knowledge and intuition, Kevala, under a Sal tree in the field of the householder Samaga, on the bank

1 Digambaras deny that Mahavira had married although modern research does not support their view: see Stevenson, op. cit., p.30
2 S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p.257
3 ibid. pp.257-258
5 ibid. pp.259-260
7 ibid. p.262
of the river Rijupalika. With this knowledge he knew all conditions of the world, of gods, men and demons. After that he stayed the first rainy season in Astigrama, three in Champa and Prishtikampa, twelve in Vaisali Vanissagrama, fourteen in Rajagriha and the suburb of Nalanda, six in Mithila, two in Bhadrika, one in Alabhika, one in Panitabhumi, one in Sravasti, one in the town of Papa, his very last one: there in the fourth month of that rainy season he died. On the night of Mahavira's death his oldest disciple, Gautma Indrabhuti, ceased to feel the friendship he had for his master and achieved the highest knowledge and intuition.

Mahavira had created a community of fourteen thousand ascetics with Indrabhuti at their head and thirty-six thousand nuns with Chandana as the Superior; and one hundred and fifty-nine thousand lay votaries under Sankhasataka and three hundred and eighteen female lay votaries under Sulasa and Revati; three hundred sages who possessed knowledge of the past and superior qualities; seven hundred who could transform themselves, and though no gods, had obtained the powers of the gods; and a hierarchy of others.

3 ibid. p.264
4 ibid. p.264
5 ibid. p.265-266
6 called Avadhi knowledge: definition in Jagamandarlal Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, Cambridge 1940, p.59 and also p.63
7 S.B.E., Vol. XXII, pp.267-268
After three generations of disciples no one reached Nirvana; and after the fourth year of Mahavira's attainment of the highest knowledge and intuition nobody started on the path to the final liberation, i.e. they will not reach that state, though they may attain the state of highest knowledge and intuition by their austerities and exemplary conduct.¹

Mahavira lived thirty years as a householder, twelve years in a state inferior to perfection, a little less than thirty years as a kevalin (possessor of perfect knowledge and intuition), forty-two years as a monk: seventy two years in all.²

Jainism originated centuries before Gautama Buddha, who died about 480 B.C. in northern India and gradually extended to the extreme south of the peninsula. After flourishing, with great influence on religious thought and culture, over a wide area, it was engulfed by Hinduism and conquered by Islam. It had to yield its outstanding position in Western and Southern India between 5th and 12th centuries;³ but its followers, the Jainas, are found today scattered all over India, whose resources and social standing give them a more important position than their number suggests.⁴ The first Europeans with whom the Jainas came in contact were the Greeks, at the time of Alexander ⁵

² ibid. p.269
³ von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p.1
⁴ ibid. p.1
the Great, but no record of this exists today; the officials of the East India Company were the first to take a serious interest in the history and literature of the Jainas. It was, however, in 1906, when H. Jacobi's translation of a systematic work on Jaina dogma was published, that a clear picture of Jaina teachings emerged.

The sources of Jaina history are mainly literary works, inscriptions and archaeological findings; the most useful of these are the literary works, although most of them are mythological. The historical substance can, however, be established by cross-references to other sources, like Brahmanical, Buddhist and other writings. Inscriptions commemorate a particular event and have an immediacy which the writings lack; they are historically valuable as they usually give names of the reigning king and his teachers. All these sources are not, however, quite sufficient for a complete history of Jainism.

The Jainas believe their religion to be eternal and indestructible, although it may be lost from time to time. The legend is that in every period of the world twentyfour Tirthankaras appear at predetermined

1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p.2
2 ibid. p.2
3 ibid. p.4
4 ibid. p.6
5 ibid. p.7
6 ibid. pp.7-8
7 ibid. p.8
8 ibid. p.10
intervals of time and renew the true faith. Of the present period the first twentytwo Tirthankaras were legendary, as only the last two lived to a plausible age. Parshva (the twentythird) died about 750 B.C. and the death of his predecessors happened approximately 84,000 years before him, and the times of earlier ones are even more fantastic. The historicity of Mahavira is founded on both Jaina and non-Jaina writings, which give plausible details of his life. The Buddhists, whom the Jaina considered their worst enemy, mentioned Mahavira as a contemporary of Buddha. Although the Life of Parshva is found mostly in Jaina literature and in legends, there is no reason to doubt his historicity; his teachings are not incongruous with the theory of development of religion in India. As the Jaina philosophy is based on the theory of distinct soul and matter and the existence of the eternal individual soul - which is consistent with the difference of ideas between the early and later Upanishads - it is possible to accept the view that Jainism was founded by Parshva around 800 B.C.

Parshva was born as the son of King Ashvasena in Benares. At

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1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p.10
2 ibid. p.11
3 ibid. p.11
4 ibid. p.11
5 ibid. p.11
6 ibid. p.12
7 ibid. p.18
the age of thirty he renounced the world, and in a short time he achieved perfect knowledge and devoted himself to the propagation of the truth he had discovered. He died on Sameta-Sihbar in Bihar, now names Mount Parasnath after him, after living without food or water for a month, and thereby achieved liberation (jñvana). The difference between his teachings and that of Mahavira, the real historical founder of Jainism as it exists today, is very little; it is possible either that they were attributed to him in later times or that they are really the foundations of the Jaina system in their fundamental principles.

We do not know for certain when Mahavira actually lived. According to a 12th century Jaina theologian he achieved liberation 155 years before the enthronement of Emperor Chandragupta in 322 or 321 B.C.; according to it Mahavira died in 477 B.C. This conforms with Buddhist writings, although some scholars believe it was 467 B.C. on the ground that Hemachandra, the Jaina theologian, had another date for Chandragupta's reign.

From what we know about Mahavira he seems to have been a systemizer who found an exact place for everything in this world and the beyond in his teachings. He demanded of his followers a strict ascetic morality; this importance of asceticism is what distinguishes his

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1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p.19: It seems, there is a stylized biography of all Tirthankaras, as the basic facts are almost the same.
2 ibid. p.22: For an outline of Parshva's teachings see ibid. pp.20-22
3 ibid. p.25
4 ibid. p.25
5 ibid. p.26
teaching from the Buddha's, who considered mortification of the flesh through fasts and austerities - while Mahavira preached its necessity - as false.\footnote{von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p.26} Although Mahavira spoke mostly in \textit{Ardha-Magadhi}, the common language of his region and made no discrimination of rank in his audience, he appealed first of all to members of his own class.\footnote{ibid. p.27} He was a great organiser, who gave laws to the members of his order which have survived for two thousand years.\footnote{ibid. p.28} Although he was a complete ascetic himself, he did not forget the laity: conforming to the tradition of his faith he made it possible for them to join his community, demanding of them the observance of only a modified form of the ascetic laws.\footnote{ibid. p.28} This organic union of the laity with the ecclesiastics was of considerable importance in the spread of Jainism, and is one of the reasons for its survival in India till the present.\footnote{ibid. p.28}

According to the Jaina tradition, Mahavira only reformed Parshva's church and added to his teachings.\footnote{ibid. p.28} Parshva's followers had become morally lax by Mahavira's time, so he made strict chastity a separate law distinct from the general laws of not owning property and of non-attachment; the second change was from partially-clothed Parshva's
followers to the nudity of Mahavira's. In philosophy there was, how-
ever, no real difference.¹

There had been two schisms, besides the defection of Gosala,² a wayward member of Mahavira's community, but they were without much significance.³ Mahavira was on intimate terms with the leading princes of his homeland; on his tours he visited the most important towns in the kingdoms of Bihar: Champa, the capital of Anga; Nithila in Videha; Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha. King Bimbisara — called Srenik by the Jainas — had shown special reverence to Mahavira, and his son Ajatsatru, in spite of having starved his father to death, was well-disposed towards the Jainas; but their greatest protector was his successor Udayi.⁴ The religion continued to flourish under the New Nanda dynasty, which had usurped the throne from the Shishunagas; even after the last Nanda king was replaced, around the time Alexander the Great conquered India, by the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta — whom the Greeks called Sandrakottos (ca.322-298 B.C.)⁵ — whose minister, Chanakya, was considered by the Jainas to be one of them.⁶ Chandragupta believed the Jainas to be the only protectors of

¹ von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p.29; cf. Uttaradyayana Sutra, Lecture 23, S.B.E., XXII, p.123 where the head of the Parshva sect agrees that there was no difference between them, after a debate with Gautama, Mahavira's disciple.

² On the sect of Ajivikas, whose leader was Gosala, see Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. I.

³ von Glasenapp, op. cit., p.31

⁴ ibid. pp.33-34

⁵ ibid. p.34

⁶ ibid. p.34
true morals, and, later, himself became a follower of the Digambara Tradition and abdicated. He became an ascetic and followed the divine Bhadrabahu, the author of *Kalpa Sutra*, to Mysore and lived in a cave at Shravana Belgola where he died.¹

Although the relations of the kings of Magadha with the Jaina divines were recorded mainly in legends by later writers, we have convincing proof of Emperor Asoka's (273-232 B.C.) connections with Jainism. The Jainas claim that he was a Jaina before becoming a Buddhist in his later years.² In spite of his preference for Buddhism he continued to protect other religions, including Jainism, in his kingdom: his pillar-edict, which proclaims the functions of the protector of religions he had appointed, is the first inscription of its kind to mention Jainism.³

Asoka's grandson, Samprati, who was governor of the western part of the empire and resided in Ujjain, is claimed by the Jainas to be one of their protectors.⁴ He was converted by the famous monk Subasti,⁵ and later became famous for the temples he founded and for sending Jaina missionaries to the aborigines.⁶ The fate of Jainism under the later Maurya kings is obscure, but the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang found

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¹ von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p.34; cf. Vincent Smith, Early History of India, London 1924 (Fourth Edn.), p.154
² ibid. p.35
³ ibid. pp.35-36
⁴ ibid. p.36
⁵ ibid. pp.36-37
⁶ ibid. p.37
numerous Nirgranthas or Jains in Vaishali and Rajagriha (Magadha) in 629 A.D. ¹

Besides Bihar, Jainism seems to have spread in the Kalinga empire, according to the inscriptions found in Udayagiri near Cuttack, Orissa, dating from 157-156 B.C. Kalinga had apparently been a safe place for Jainism since long. ²

During the reign of Chandragupta Maurya there had been a great famine which determined the future course of Jaina history. Bhadrabahu, the head of the Jaina community, found that it would be difficult for the laity to maintain a large number of monks during the famine, and for the monks themselves to follow their prescribed austerities. ³ He found it advisable to take a number of his followers to Mysore and to leave the rest in Magadha under his pupil Shulbhadra. For those who remained it did become difficult to be strict in fulfilling their duties or in taking care of the scriptures, therefore, a council was called at Fataliputra (Patna) to recollect the canon. But the council's collection remained fragmentary and the delegation from the exiled community at Mysore did not accept the decision of the council, ⁴ which resulted in a difference of opinion over ascetic practices. ⁵ The monks who had

³ von Glasenapp, op. cit., p. 38
⁴ ibid. p. 35
⁵ ibid. p. 38
stayed behind had taken over the practice of Parshva's followers of wearing white robes, while the exiled monks had remained nude, following Mahavira's example. This difference in practice indicated for both sides a more serious wrong: the naked monks were accused of excessive zeal and the white-robed were considered to be fallen.\(^1\) This was the beginning of the division between Digambara (sky-clad) and Shvetambara (white robed); but it is not possible to say when it was formally accepted, as both of them claim to represent the original Jainism.\(^2\) but as both sides give the date of the origin of the other around 30 A.D., it seems probable that the schism was finally accepted about the end of the first century A.D.\(^3\) Since that time the two factions have gone their own ways; although there are few differences between them, even the difference in ascetic clothing is not so apparent now.\(^4\) The difference in belief and ritual, however, go back to the original parting of ways: the Digambaras do not believe that women can achieve liberation and their Tirthankaras appear naked in their images; the Shvetambaras decorate their idols with jewellery.\(^5\) The Digambaras do not believe, as their opponents do, that there was an exchange of embryos before Mahavira's birth or that Mahavira had married before his

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1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 38
2 ibid. p. 39
3 ibid. p. 39
4 ibid. p. 40
5 ibid. p. 40
Both, however, agree that Bhadrabahu was the last to have the whole of the sacred learning; but while the Digambāras believe that the canon has gradually been lost, so that it does not exist anymore, the Shvetāmbaras believe that the majority of them have survived. After 930 (or 993) years from Mahāvīra's death the Shvetāmbaras held a council at Vallabhi (Gujarat) under the leadership of Devardhī, which revised the canonical writings into a definitive form, which is still valid. The line of division between the two sects has never been strong, in spite of all these differences and sectional hostility; they use each other's philosophical works freely and write commentaries on each other's theological works.

The oldest authentic evidence for the expansion of Jainism towards west are the monuments at Nāthura which originated between the 2nd and the 5th centuries A.D.; they show that Nāthura has remained an important Jaina centre all this time. From other inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd century A.D. it has been found that the Shvetāmbara community had already been split into a series of sects and schools of thought — this is corroborated by the Kalpa Sutra — and it supports the tradition.

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1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 40
2 ibid. p. 40
3 Kalpa Sutra, S.B.E., XXII, P. 270 (Jacobi's note)
4 von Glasenapp, op. cit., p. 40
5 ibid. p. 41
6 ibid. p. 42
of the Shvetambara canon. The inscriptions of Vachakas show that at that time the text of the canon was already well-established and the signs of the Tirthankaras fixed. Statues of prophets had been erected, and the Jainas worshipped the goddess of learning, Sarasvati, and the laity belonged, as they do today, to the commercial classes. These findings of Georg Bühler confirm the Jaina tradition and the antiquity of their thought and institutions.

The main seat of Jainism was the capital city of Ujjain in the kingdom of Malwa, ruled by Samprati. It is closely connected in tradition with the history and legends of Jainism. One of the legends mention King Gardabhilla of the 1st century B.C., who lost his kingdom to the Scythians because he had kidnapped a monk's sister and would not return her; but his kingdom was won back by his son Vikramaditya - who is as legendary as King Arthur - and the Jainas believe that he was a Jaina and pupil of the great sage Siddhasena. The Vikrama Era, which is still used in north India by Jainas as well as others, was founded in 57 or 58 B.C.

King Harshvardhana of Thaneshwar (606-647 A.D.), who ruled almost the whole of north India from Kanauj, imitated Emperor Asoka in giving protection to all religious communities in kingdom, and also followed

1 von Glasenapp, op. cît. p. 42.
2 ibid. p. 42.
3 ibid. p. 43.
4 ibid. p. 43.
5 ibid. p. 43.
6 ibid. p. 44.
the tradition of his own family: his father was a sun-worshipper and his brothers and sister were Hinayana Buddhists. He himself followed all these cults at the same time and in his later years preferred the preaching of Hinayana Buddhism by Hiuen Tsiang. Every five years he gave presents to men of all faiths, including Jainism, at a special religious gathering.

This religious tolerance is found in later kings as well. The two such kings were Munja (974-995 A.D.) and Bhoja (1018-1060) of Dhara; they were greatly respected by the Jainas. Such rulers allowed Jainism to flourish and extend itself, and traces of Jaina communities are found in almost all parts of the north and central India, in the present-day Uttar Pradesh, in Kashmir, in the Punjab, especially in Rajputana and the principalities of central India as well as the Central Provinces, where, although the rulers were not Jaina, the majority of the population was, with great influence on the cultural life of the area. The proof of Jaina power and prestige in the past is in their temples, especially of Khajuraho (10-11 century) and Gwalior.

Gujarat is the most significant region in India for Jainas, where the twenty-second Tirthankara is said to have achieved bliss and many

1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 45.
2 ibid. p. 45.
3 ibid p. 46.
4 ibid. p. 47.
pious men have reached salvation in the holy mountains of Girnaur and
Shatrunjaya.\(^1\) A further evidence of the esteem in which Gujarat was
held by the Shvetambaras, even in early times, is the Council of
Vallabhi.\(^2\) Various rulers of Gujarat had been patrons of Jainism:
e.g. King Vanaraja (ca. 750-780 A.D.) of the Cavadas was brought up
by the Jaina monk Shilaguna Suri in the forest before becoming king.
He consecrated the city he had founded, Anahilavada Pattana, with
Jaina hymns and built a temple there in which he was depicted as a
devotee of Parshva.\(^3\) A number of kings of the Caulukya (Solanki)
dynasty were followers of Jainism: the founder of the dynasty, Mularaja,
though himself a Shivaite, allowed Jaina temples in his kingdom. During
the reign of King Bhima I (1022-1064) the pious layman Vimala built
the famous Jaina temple at Mount Abu.\(^4\)

Jainism in Gujarat was given a deal of encouragement by the
activities of the famous Shvetambara theologian Ekamachandra.\(^5\) He was
born in 1088 or a year later as a son of a Jaina trader. He was
ordained Acharya (Master) at the age of twenty-one. His learning and

\(^1\) von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p. 48.
\(^2\) ibid. p. 48.
\(^3\) ibid. p. 48 quoting Kerutunga's "Prabandhcintamani" or Wishingstone
of narratives translated from the Sanskrit by C. H. Tawney, p. 19,
Calcutta, Bib.: Ind., 1901.
\(^5\) ibid. p. 49.
quick wit won him the friendship of the king Jayasinha Siddharaja (1094-1143) of the Gaulukya dynasty.\(^1\) Hemachandra used his friendship with royalty skilfully in furthering his religion.\(^2\) He wrote his famous Grammar - the Siddha-Hemachandra i.e. the joint work of Siddharaja and Hemachandra - for his royal patron.\(^3\)

When Jayasinha died childless in 1143 he was succeeded by his great nephew, Kumarapala, as the king of Gujarat. Hemachandra continued in his influential position with him as well. Under his influence Kumarapala became a vegetarian and forbade slaughter of animals, alcohol and gambling in his kingdom, resulting in a loss of revenue to the sum of three years' income.\(^4\) Kumarapala paid visits to numerous Jaina holy places and presented them with several buildings; a particular gift was of 32 temples to expiate the sin of his thirty-two teeth in having eaten flesh before conversion.\(^5\)

Under the patronage of Kumarapala, Hemachandra produced extensive literature: he wrote a treatise on the Jaina doctrine, the famous "Yogasastra" and an extremely detailed history of thirty-six great men, as well as a voluminous epic on the history of the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat, particularly the life of Kumarapala and a short treatise on statecraft from the Jaina point of view.\(^6\) His influence also reached

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1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 49.
2 ibid. p. 49.
3 ibid. p. 49.
4 ibid. p. 50.
5 ibid. p. 51.
6 ibid. p. 51.
over government and foreign affairs; it is enshrined in legends describing
the success of his supernatural powers and his prophecies which came true.\textsuperscript{1}

Under the Vaghelas, who succeeded the Chaulukyas in Gujarat at the
beginning of the 13th century, Jainism flourished even more from the brothers
Vastupala and Tejahpala, who were state ministers.\textsuperscript{2}

Numerous temples, now in ruins, as well as inscriptions and literary
evidence show that Jainism and a large following in the Canarese-speaking
area, i.e. in the southern districts of Madras, in the Coorg, in Hyderabad
and Mysore,\textsuperscript{3} many of the kings were either themselves Jainas or supported
a great number of their Jaina subjects with gifts and foundations.\textsuperscript{4} In
Maharastara, where the Andhra kings ruled in the early centuries of the
Christian era, originated Mahasthira-Prakrit, the literary language of the
Shvetambaras.\textsuperscript{5}

The influence of Jainas extended over the whole of the sub-continent,
from the west coast to the east: there are inscriptions which show that,
besides Canarese and Maharasthri speaking areas, Telugu-speaking areas, up
to Orissa, were also under it.\textsuperscript{6} Jainism played an outstanding role in the
history of the Canarese area, which was dominated by the Digambaras.
According to a tradition, Bhadrabahu brought Jainism to these parts when

\textsuperscript{1} von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p. 52.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p. 52.
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p. 52.
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. p. 53.
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p. 53.
he travelled to Mysore from Bihar after the Great Famine.\textsuperscript{1} Bhadrabahu and, twelve years later, Chandragupta Maurya starved themselves to death at Shravana Belgola.\textsuperscript{2}

The spread of Jainism in Deccan and in the south was due to Samantbhadra (said to be 1st century A.D., probably 600 A.D.), Pujyapada and Akalanka (700 A.D.). Samantbhadra was a zealous missionary and evangelised in Pataliputra (Bihar), Thakka (Punjab), Sindh, in central India, Western Ghats, Benaraes and Conjeeverum.\textsuperscript{3} He distinguished himself as a writer with a treatise on Jaina logic and metaphysics, the famous Aptamimansa, and other works.\textsuperscript{4} Pujyapada travelled as far as Bihar to propagate the faith and supernatural powers were ascribed to him. He too was a great writer and, with Samantabhadra, made Canarese a literary language.\textsuperscript{5}

The great period of development for Jainism was between the 2nd and 11th centuries A.D., under the Gangas and Rashtrakutas. They ruled over the main part of Mysore and surrounding areas, from the Coorg in the west to Arcot and Tanjore in the east and from the extreme south of Mysore to Belgaum in the north of the Bombay Presidency.\textsuperscript{6} The power of the Gangas was established by the ascetic Sinhanandi; the Rashtrakutas or Rattas were the most powerful princes of their time. \textsuperscript{7}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1] von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 53; for the Great Famine see ibid. p. 38.
  \item[2] ibid. p. 54. This is according to the Digambaras, who contradict the Shvetambara tradition on this; it is considered historical by B. Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg, London, 1909, pp. 3-9: von Glasenapp, p. 54.
  \item[3] ibid. p. 54.
  \item[4] ibid. p. 54.
\end{itemize}
kings of this dynasty was Amaghvarsha I (815-877 A.D.), and he was a pupil of Jinasena, the author of a verse epic on the life of Patshva and of Adipura and Harivanshapurana, which the Digambaras consider fundamental works on world history.¹

The first kings of Hoysala dynasty, - they were originally slaves of the Chaulukyas - who threw out the Cholas from Mysore in 1116 and established a powerful kingdom in Dorasamudra, were zealous Jainas till King Bittideva (1104-1141) became a Vishnuite under the influence of the reformer Ramanuja in 1096, but his wife remained true to Jainism.² A few later Hoysale kings returned to Jainism; the end of the Hoysale kingdom at the beginning of the 14th century robbed Jainism of a powerful patronage.³

The whole of Canarese literature till the middle of the 12th century was exclusively Jaina, and even later Jainism had an outstanding place in it.⁴

It is usually accepted that Jainism spread to Ceylon first, at the time of Bhadrabahu, from Mysore.⁵ In the Brahmi inscriptions found in Madura and Ramnad, belonging to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. are considered by some scholars to be Jaina, because ruins of Jaina temples, with statues of Tirthankaras, have been found around these places.⁶

¹ von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 56.
² ibid. p. 57.
³ ibid. p. 57.
⁴ ibid. p. 58.
⁵ ibid. p. 58.
⁶ ibid. p. 58, quoting M.S. Ramaswami Ayyanger, South Indian Jainism, p. 38.
According to Sir Walter Elliot, handicrafts and trade in the south were greatly encouraged by the Jaines; and the earliest form of religion in the south had probably been Jainism. Jaina influence on Tamil literature had also been very strong: the classical works written at the academy of Madura were mainly Jaina. The time of the academy is not fixed, but Tamil writers divide it into three periods, the most important of which was 2nd century A.D. This use of folk languages by Jaines was one of the means they used against Brahmans, who preferred Sanskrit.

Madura, above all, seems to have been the main centre of Jainism in the south, as it had the patronage of the Pandya dynasty; as also the Pallavas, who had established a powerful kingdom between the 4th and 10th centuries A.D. on the east coast were well-disposed towards them. The capital, Kanchi (Conjeeveram), was a centre of intellectual movements and religious tolerance. Hiuen Tsang visited Kanchi in the 7th century and saw rival religions flourishing in the city, which also had a large number of Jaines and he reported that it was a base of Jaines at the time. This prosperity of the Jaines in Kanchi came to an end when the Pallavas became

1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 59; Sir Walter Elliot, Coins of Southern India, p. 58.
2 Sir Walter Elliot, op. cit. p. 126.
3 von Glasenapp, op. cit. p. 59.
4 ibid. p. 59.
5 ibid. p. 59.
6 ibid. p. 59.
7 ibid. p. 59.
8 ibid. p. 60.
Shivaites, and especially when the Cholas, who were staunch Shivaites and implacable enemies of Jainism, captured the city and made it their capital.  

Since the time of Mahavira the Jainas had to fight both Hinduism and Buddhism; against Vedic revelation, block-sacrifice and a social order in which everyone was subordinate to Brahmins, in Hinduism, and against the denial of the self, a doctrine of salvation which recognized the value of ascetism only to a limited extent and setting up of saints as guides to salvation, in Buddhism. Buddhism was the greater threat at times: Magadha, the birth-place of Jainism, was so overridden by Buddhism that it changed its name to Bihar, because of the large number of Buddhist cloisters or Viharas; but Buddhism lost ground to Jainism in the west and the south, and to the restoration of orthodoxy by Kumarila (around 700 A.D.) and Shankara (788-820 A.D.) in the whole of the Gangetic plain.  

The renewal of Brahmanical religiosity encouraged the restoration of Vishnu and Shiva cults, which harmed Jainism, particularly in the Deccan and the south: Shivaites found support from the Chola and Pandya kings, who had earlier been Jainas. The Pandya king Sundara (11th century) married a Chola princess, who was a staunch Shivaite, and ordered 8,000 of his former fellow-believers to be killed on the stake. This martyrdom

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1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 60.
2 ibid. p. 61: 'Vedic-Brahmanic'.
3 ibid. p. 61.
4 ibid. p. 61.
is depicted in sculpture on the walls of the Trivatur temple in North Arcot. The other powerful enemy of the Jainas was the Lingayat sect — also called the Vira Shivas or heroic Shivas — who went about destroying Jaina temples, goods and lives with great zeal. Lingayats were active in the Canarese and Telugu areas; and their faith became the state religion of the Wadeyars of Mysore between 1399 and 1610 and of Nayak of Keladi between 1550 and 1763. Even today a considerable part of the population of the south-west coast adhere to this faith.

Almost at the same time as the revival of Shiva worship in south India, Ramanuja (1050-1137) began a movement of reform in the Vishnu sect from Srirangan, near Trichinopoly, towards a modified monism. When the Chola king asked him to declare Shiva to be greater than Vishnu, he fled and became a subject of the Hoysala king Bittideva. According to an inscription of 1368, the Jainas were under pressure from the Srivaishnavas and sought the protection of King Bukkaraya I of Vijayanagar, who authorized equal treatment for both communities and established a watch of twenty men around the Gommata statue and ordered the re-building of the destroyed temple.

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2. ibid. p. 63.
4. ibid. p. 63.
5. ibid. p. 64.
6. ibid. p. 64.
8. ibid. p. 207.
9. von Glasenapp, op. cit., p. 64.
A century after Ramanuja, another reformer, called Madhava or Anandtirtha (1190-1278), with his doctrine of dualism within the Vishnu cult, won many followers from Jainism. From Telugu-land came another important opponent of Jainism, the founder of the Krishna cult — the Shuddhadvaita-mata, — the Brahman Vallabh (1479-1531). He preached in Mathura — where he had a great following — in Rajputana and in Gujarat among the rich commercial classes, who had been Jainas. Chaitanya (1486-1533), the Bengali mystic, whose preaching caught the imagination of the whole country, converted many Jainas to the Bhakti-school of Krishna-worship.

The growing strength of Hinduism was expressed not only in conversions, but also in the assimilation of Jaina customs and ideas to those of the Hindu. The Jaina literature began to mention more and more Hindu godheads, who had had no place in the Jaina system, and used terms which betrayed Vedantic influence; this assimilation became greater in time in worship and social life.

The Mohammedan conquest of India, which began with the establishment of an Islamic state in Sind in 712, and included the invasions of Mahmood Ghazni in 1001 and Mohammed Ghori in 1175, damaged Jainas as much as Hindus. Alauddin Khilji, in his invasion of Gujarat in 1297-98 desecrated idols,

1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 64.
2 ibid. p. 63.
3 ibid. p. 65.
4 ibid. p. 65.
5 ibid. p. 65.
destroyed temples or converted them into mosques, burnt books and looted treasuries and killed many Jainas. This kind of destruction was done by Mohammedans also in Deccan and the south.\(^1\) These hard times, after numerous conversions to Vishnuism and Shivaism, made the number of Jainas even smaller.\(^2\) They could save themselves from the invaders only by going into hiding and took their libraries into underground vaults, where entry was forbidden to all except to the specially initiated few. Religious buildings were made to resemble Muslim graveyards in architecture to avoid fanatical attacks.\(^3\) Although the Muslim princes tried to convert Jainas by force, their relations with Jainas were not always so hostile.\(^4\) The Arab missionary, Pir Mahabir Khamadyat, who went to India in 1304, converted, by force of argument and fiery oratory, many Jainas to Islam.\(^5\) Ala'uddin Khilji (1296-1316)\(^6\) - whom the Jainas called "the bloody" - gave gifts to the Jaina poet Ramachandra Suri; and Firoz Shah Tughlag (1351-1388) honoured the author of Sripalacharitra (Life of Sripala), Ratmasekhara.\(^7\) The Moghul emperor Akbar (1556-1605) made the Shvetambara abbot Hiravijaya his friend and took such interest in Jaina teachings that it gave rise to a rumour that he had secretly become a Jaina.\(^8\)

\(^1\) von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 65.
\(^2\) ibid. p. 66.
\(^3\) ibid. p. 66.
\(^4\) ibid. p. 66.
\(^7\) von Glasenapp, op.cit., p. 66.
\(^8\) ibid. p. 66.
In 1593, at Hiravijaya's request, he declared the Jaina sacred places—Mt. Girnar, Shatrunjaya, the five hills of Rajgir and Mt. Parasnath—protected religious places; and forbade slaughter of animals around them, and returned to the Jainas their sacred books which had been looted. Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627) called the Head of the Karatata sect, Jinachandra, and his successor, Jinasinha, to his court and gave them the title of "Yoga-pradhana" (Master of Yoga) and, in a royal charter, guaranteed protection to Shatrunjaya, the Jaina sacred place. Shahjahan (1627-1658) issued a similar charter and his sons, Urad Baksha and Aurangzeb (1659-1707) settled a handsome income on the court jeweller, Satidas, a Jaina from Shatrunjaya; Ahmed Shah (1748-1754) did the same with Mount Parasnath and assigned Mahtab Rai and his descendants to guarantee the protection of the place. This shows that the Jainas could follow their customs under many Mohammedan rulers; and according to inscriptions and memorial, the Jainas had not lost their royal patrons in south-west India either. According to an inscription of 1530, the monk Vijnantida re-converted the viceroy of Srirangapatam (Seringapatam) from Christianity. The Jainas were influential—

2 ibid. p. 67.
4 ibid. p. 67.
5 ibid. p. 68; E. P. Rice, Epigraphica Carnatica VIII Nagar No. 46.
besides Gujarat — in Rajputana and central India as bankers, court officials and businessmen.¹ The evidence of Jaina wealth and splendour in this period is in the works of art of this period, especially under the Tonvar dynasty of Gwalior.² The Ranas of Mewar have always given Jainas protection, which the Jainas returned with loyalty.³ 

The minister of Rana Pratap Singh I, Bhama Sha, a Jaina, gave his wealth — equivalent to the cost of maintenance of 25,000 men for 12 years⁴ — to enable the Rana to reorganise his army after being routed by Emperor Akbar; the Ranas have shown their gratitude by guaranteeing many privileges to the Jainas.⁵ In the 15th century the Jainas gained firm ground also in northern India, according to a proclamation found early this century, King Narendra Chandra of Kangra (Punjab), who reigned around 1427, was a Jaina.⁶ 

Influenced by the iconoclasm of Islam, many reformers of Hinduism turned against idol-worship; in Jainism too a movement against idolatry originated at this time. Its founder was an influential businessman of Ahmedabad, Lonka Sha, who belonged to the Shvetambara sect.⁷ He

¹ von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 68.
² ibid. p. 68.
³ ibid. p. 68.
⁵ James Tod, op.cit., pp. 602-607.
⁷ von Glasenapp, op.cit. p. 69.
once visited a temple in 1451-52 where a monk named Jnanaji was collating manuscripts, and he offered to copy out some manuscripts for the monk. While copying these he discovered that there was no mention of idol worship, among other discrepancies between what was written in the manuscripts and the practices current in the name of Jainism. He made further researches and copied the Sutras for his own use as well, and then decided to reform the faith. Although he could not convert the monk Jnanaji and others to whom he mentioned his discovery, he succeeded with a group of pilgrims to Shatrunjaya who were returning through Ahmedabad. He could not yet establish a sect, as there was no monk to preside over it, but in 1476 he ordained a lay ascetic called Bhana to be the first spiritual head of the sect of Lonkas or Lumpakas. Later this sect split into many factions, the most significant of which was that of Lavaji, from Surat, who thought that the Lonka sect was not strict enough and so, in 1653, he founded a new sect. In time his sect became so popular that it was considered the real guardian of Lonka's teachings; it was called the sect of Dundhiyas or Searchers by the

2 ibid. p. 70.
3 ibid. p. 70.
4 ibid. p. 70.
5 ibid. p. 70.
6 ibid. p. 70.
people of Gujarat. Although they called themselves Sthanakavasis - the 'residents of the community house' for their activity was centred not on the temple, but the house⁴ - they were proud of their common designation. Sthanakavasis have become the third sect in Jainism - beside the Shvetambara and Digambara -, although they consider themselves within the Shvetambara sect. They differ from the Shvetambaras in recognizing only 32 books of the canon, and including the Vyavahara-sutra (the book of conduct) in it, which the Shvetambara reject; in religious practice they differ considerably, however, as they reject all worship of idols, have no temples and do not consider pilgrimages holy.² The reforms of Lonka and his successors were not confined to the elimination of idolatry and ritualism, but were directed towards a general improvement of religious life.³ Monastic discipline had lapsed considerably; the prohibition on long stay at any place in the dry seasons was no longer observed, nor the prohibition on owning any property. The monks had appropriated church property and neglected their spiritual duties.⁴ Many monastic heads imitated the Hindu priests in travelling on richly caparisoned elephants with

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¹ von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 70: "Sthanaka or Supasrava, a dormitory for itinerant monks during rainy season.

² ibid. p. 71.

³ ibid. p. 71: 'Zucht und Sitte'.

⁴ ibid. p. 71.
retinues of servants, and enjoyed the hospitality of the rich laity.¹
In the 17th century, it seems, materialism had taken hold of the
Shvetambaras of Gujarat in particular; but a number of gifted and
pious men succeeded in creating a strong following for their revival
of the old ascetic ideal: e.g. Anandaghana, Satyavijaya, Vinayavijaya
and Yashovijaya (1624-1688).² Yashovijaya became famous for his
hundred works in Sanskrit and Gujarati, while Vinaya wrote a compendium
of Jaina teachings in all subjects.³ This group is distinguished by
its yellow robe from the white robes of the Shvetambaras and others,
and is called the Samvegis.⁴ It has continued to exist all this time
and enjoys a high reputation for its exemplary way of life.⁵

The Digambaras too have had significant changes; the old hard
discipline of the naked monks had already lapsed by the end of 1000 A.D.,
according to the writings of the period. The Mohammedans had begun
to persecute the naked monks.⁶ The leader being naked in private,
but covering in public, was Vasantakirti (ca. 1200 A.D.); the
Digambaras who followed him became known as Vishwa - (Visa - or Bisa-)

¹ von Glasenapp, Der Jainsimus, p. 71.
² ibid. p. 72.
³ ibid. p. 72.
⁴ 'Followers of the disciplined way'.
⁵ ibid. p. 72.
⁶ ibid. p. 72.
panthis, i.e. the followers of the 'universal' or simple way. Their opponents - followers of the older, harder practices - were led by Pandit Banarsidas, who founded this sect - of Terapanthis or 'thirteen ways' - in 1626.

Under British rule the Jainas could practise their religion without any political or rival threats. The rule of law and peace contributed to the prosperity of the Jainas; whose main source of livelihood has been trade and commerce, they showed their loyalty to their religious tradition by lavish spending in honour of the Tirthankaras and on welfare foundations.

In spite of the conspicuous prosperity of the Jaina community, its membership has been constantly decreasing, mainly through assimilation of the religious life of the laity to Hindu practices, their adherence to Jainism is expressed only through certain special ceremonies and general views of Life and Soul, Rebirth and Karma, which differ little from those of the Hindus in their vague generalities.

In the last century the laity, too, made some effort to stop the

1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 72: Perhaps the term "Terapanthis" could be better translated as 'followers of the complicated way'.

2 von Glasenapp, op.cit., p. 72.

3 ibid. p. 73.

4 ibid. p. 73.

5 ibid. p. 73.

6 ibid. p. 74.
decline of the religion, while the Svetambara monk, Atmaramji (1837-1897), not only enforced an exemplary discipline on his order, but also published Jaina teachings in the vernacular for the ordinary public, and, in recent times, Vijaya Dharma Suri's (1868-1922) successfully disseminated Jaina teaching. Vijaya Dharma was born in Mahuva, Kathiawad, and known as Mulachandra till the age of nineteen. Then he was converted to monastic life by the preaching of Vriddhichandara and travelled barefoot through Kathiawad, Gujarat, Rajputana preaching in villages and towns and re-presenting the true faith. In Benares—the seat of Hindu orthodoxy—he established a Jaina school and library; and after visiting Bengal and Bihar he returned to Gujarat in 1911 and founded a school in Palitana, known as Yashovijaya Jaina Gurukula (Academy). Later he went on a tour of the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) and Rajputana; he arranged the first conference on Jaina literature. Besides these practical activities he wrote a great deal in Sanskrit, Gujarati and Hindi; his works give a clear presentation of Jaina philosophy and ethics. He also edited a number of texts and epigraphs, which attest to his considerable historical

1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 74.
2 ibid. p. 74.
3 ibid. pp. 74-75.
4 ibid. p. 75.
5 ibid. p. 75.
and archaeological learning and critical insight. He began publication of a series of Sanskrit and Prakrit works—which would otherwise have been lost—, later continued by his pupils, Acharya Vijaya Indra Suri. He died in September 1922.

In the last decade of the 19th century the need for the preservation of unity of Jainism was what exercised the minds of the laity. Rajachandra Raviibhai (1868-1900), a Sthanakvasi Jaina, was one of the most important advocates of the idea that all Jainas—without regard for sectional interests—should work for their common religion; this was given a practical form in the conferences of individual sects: All India Digambara Jain Conference of 1893, with headquarters at Khurai (Central Provinces); the first conference of Shvetambaras in 1903, at Karwar, with headquarters at Bombay; and of Sthanakvasis in 1906, with headquarters at Ajmer. The aim of these conferences was to defend their religion from attacks by Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians. They published texts, books, pamphlets and journals in English and in Indian languages; established schools and institutions for training missionaries and preachers; built temples; asylum for widows; orphanages and hospitals for animals. An interdenominational

1 von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 75.
3 ibid. p. 75.
4 ibid. p. 76; see also J. N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, New York, 1915, p. 324 ff.
5 Glasenapp, op. cit., p. 76.
6 ibid. p. 76.
association, called the Jain Young Men's Association, was founded in 1899; it became All India Jaina Association in 1910 with the aim of promoting unity and progressive reform.¹

¹ von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, p. 77.
II. Doctrine and Ethics

It is known that the sacred books of the Jainas are older than the Sanskrit literature which is considered classical and as old as the oldest books of the northern Buddhists; we should, therefore, regard the Jaina sacred literature as an authentic source of their history. Indeed, the Buddhist and Jaina traditions about Mahavira complete and correct each other and should be regarded as independent records of historical truth.

The first book of the Acharanga Sutra and that of the Sutrakritanga Sutra may be considered among the most ancient part of the Siddhenta (canon); the date of the collection, or rather the composition, of the Jaina canon would be about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. or two centuries after the origin of the sect. We are told by the Shvetambaras as well as by the Digambaras that besides the Angas, there existed older works, called the Purvas, originally fourteen in number; but the knowledge of the Purvas was gradually lost. The most natural interpretation

2 ibid., p. xix.
3 ibid., p. xli (Siddhanta-canon, ibid., p. xlii).
4 ibid., p. xliii.
5 ibid., p.p. xliii-xliv.
6 ibid., p. xliv.
on the Purva tradition - that they were the oldest sacred books -
is that they were superseded by a new canon.¹ The Acharanga Sutra
is the first of the Angas, the extant canon; it treats of conduct.²
Only the first book is really old;³ it is complete in itself and
describes 'the progress of the faithful towards the highest perfection.'
It does not appear to be a logical discussion, but a sermon composed of
quotations from the well-known sacred books of the time.⁴

The fundamental principles of Jainism are that man's personality
is dual, material and spiritual; he is not perfect, but by his
spiritual nature he can and must control his material nature. It is
after the entire subjugation of matter that the soul attains perfection,
freedom and happiness: such a free and happy soul is called Jina
(Conqueror) or Tirthankara (Guide).⁵ The free souls are either i.
disembodied and in nirvana, and called Siddhas; or ii. embodied and
omniscient, called Arhats.⁶ Besides omniscient Arhats, there are
sages or human souls in a higher spiritual condition than other men;
sages include Acharyas (chiefs of saints) and Upadhyayas (teachers).

¹ Jacobi, p. xiv.
² ibid. p. xlvii.
³ ibid. p. xlvii.
⁵ ibid. p. xlviii.
⁷ Jaini, op.cit., p.2.
All these five - Siddha, Arhat, Acharya, Upadhyaya and Sadhu (saint) - are the 'five supreme ones' of Jainism.\(^1\) All worthy human souls are worshipped impersonally by virtue of their qualities.\(^2\) The last basic principle of Jainism is that man himself, and he alone, is responsible for all that is good or bad in his life.\(^3\) The atheism of Jainism springs from its denial of a desire to create, which is implied in Creation and the idea of a Creator; as a desire can only refer to what is not, therefore, implies something imperfect, and God cannot be imperfect. Therefore, He is not the Creator of the universe. Jainism believes in 'Godhood' and in innumerable gods:\(^4\) it raises man to Godhood and inspires him to reach as near Godhood as possible by steady faith, right perception, perfect knowledge, and, above all, a spotless life.\(^5\)

Jaina metaphysics deal with: i. the soul and the non-soul; ii. kinds and qualities; iii. substances and attributes; iv. the six substances; v. the five magnitudes; vi. the karmas or actions; vii. their kinds; viii. seven principles; ix. nine categories; x. the effect of karmas on the body and soul; xi. five kinds of bodies;

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\(^{1}\) Jaini, op.cit., p. 2; a tabular account of the classes of souls in Jainism is given on p. 4.
\(^{2}\) ibid. p. 3.
\(^{3}\) ibid. p. 3.
\(^{4}\) ibid. p. 4.
\(^{5}\) ibid. p. 5.
xii. the four forms of existence; xiii. the six tints (Lesyas) of the soul; xiv. the stages in the evolution of the soul. The principles of these categories is 'division by dichotomy'.

The whole universe falls under the division of soul and non-soul; the soul includes much of the non-ego class. The division of the universe is from the point of view of consciousness, thus containing all things into either living (jiva) or non-living being (ajiva); the division into ego and non-ego is the most immediate kind of living being that we can study.

Souls are of two kinds according to their bodies: a. immobile — e.g. souls of mineral bodies (stones, diamond or coal, & c. that is, only those that have the capacity of growing); souls of water; of fire; of air; of vegetation; and b. mobile. The distinction between these is that the immobile cannot move of its own will, while the mobile can. The mobile souls have sense-organs and are classified according to the number of organs they have, from one to five. The chief of the nine qualities that the soul possesses is

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 7.
2 ibid. p. 7.
3 ibid. p. 7.
4 ibid. p. 8.
5 ibid. p. 9.
6 ibid. p. 9.
consciousness. In its mundane form of body and soul, the soul is the only responsible part; body is moved by its dead inertia. According to Jaina theology, the powers of the soul are limitless. Its knowledge and perception cover all; its happiness is timeless; and its power is divine, because omniscient. This great principle is eternal: 'the string of life is continuous, the migrations are only knots on it'. An unremembered aeon preceded the moment of birth and an endless, unknown road lies before the soul after death. The soul is immaterial: it has neither touch, taste, smell nor colour. It is the essence of wisdom and power and is eternally happy; but long accustomed to nothing but pain and limitations it is sceptical about its power and bliss.

Substance or dravya is the generic name for soul, matter, time, space and the principles of motion and stationariness. A substance exists in its own nature and has its own attributes and modifications.

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 9.
2 ibid. p. 9.
3 ibid. p. 9.
4 ibid. p. 9.
5 ibid. p. 9.
6 ibid. p. 10.
7 ibid. p. 10.
8 ibid. p. 11: Dharma and Adharma are the Jaina terms for the principles of motion and stationariness.
9 ibid. p. 11.
It has essence with connotations of three accidents: origin, destruction and continuance. Destruction is related to modification of substances; continuance to its essential attributes. The important thing is that birth or death are conditions of a substance: it is, in itself, indestructible. This is logically necessary from the first premiss that substances and attributes are distinguishable but not distinct: the attributes are partly substance and partly condition. Substance, essentially, is an aggregate of eternally existing attributes, for example: soul is consciousness; matter is non-consciousness; space is the capacity of giving place to substances; but the conditions of substances are also made up of attributes which attach to substances.

Of the six substances of Jaina metaphysics, soul is 'the only knowing substance'; the other substances - matter, time, space and principles of motion and stationariness - are without consciousness. Matter, soul and time are innumerable, while space, principles of motion and stationariness are unique. All material objects are called pudgala; matter is anything that can be touched, tasted or smelled. Things enjoyed by the senses - the five senses themselves - body, mind,

1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 11.
2 ibid. p. 12.
3 ibid. p. 12.
5 ibid. p. 13.
Karmas are all matter.  

The principle of motion is co-terminus with the universe, and it is the accompanying circumstance or cause that makes motion possible: as water is a passive circumstance of the movement of a fish: it cannot make soul or matter move, but it is necessary to their movement. Therefore, the soul moving upwards by its natural tendency reaches, at the end of the universe, siddha-sila, the place of the liberated soul - where there is no dharma, the 'necessary motion-element' - and attains perfect rest.

Adharma, the opposite principle, is also coeval and co-terminus with the universe; it is an indifferent or passive cause of stationariness: like the earth to falling bodies. Its nature and substances are the same as those of dharma.

Space is that which gives to all souls and other substances their place in the universe: it includes the universe as well as the beyond. Time is the cause or circumstance of modification of soul and other substances: it is immaterial and is the necessary element in soul's

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 13.
5 ibid. p. 14: perhaps it corresponds to the principle of gravity.
relation to other substances. It has only its own attributes and the special attribute of modifying other substances.

The contents of the division of the universe into living and non-living existences are analysed into two more ways: by subclassifying the non-living into matter, space, time, dharma and adharma we get the six substances of Jainism. These substances are then divided in terms of their constituent parts (pradesa). Time is the only continuous substance, i.e., it is not a magnitude; the other five substances are magnitudes (astikayas). The magnitudes are uncreated, they have the quality of modifying their condition and continuing their origin, their essential attributes and their destruction. Dharma and adharma have innumerable units of space: units of space in matter may be numerable, innumerable or infinite; while space has infinite units, the soul has innumerable. The soul, space, dharma and adharma are immaterial, unbreakable and cannot be said to have parts. The soul has great elasticity: it can expand

1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 15.
2 ibid. p. 15.
3 ibid. pp. 15-16.
4 ibid. p. 16.
5 ibid. p. 16: utpada, dhruvya and vyaya are the Jaina terms; for definition see ibid. p. 11, of "the Jaina declare that Being .... is joined to production, continuation and destruction" H. Jacobi, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII, pp. 467-468.
6 ibid. p. 16.
7 ibid. p. 16.
8 ibid. p.p. 16-17.
and fill the whole universe, but it cannot be divided into units of space.¹

The mundane or the unliberated soul is in combination with Karmic matter: by ignorance it identifies itself with matter, the cause of its troubles and degradation.² In its pure state the soul enjoys perfect perception, perfect knowledge and infinite powers and infinite bliss.³ In its impure state it has nine properties:⁴ it has eternal life; perception and knowledge; it is immaterial; it is responsible for its actions; it completely fills the body it inhabits; enjoys the fruits of its Karmas; wanders in the cycle of existence, i.e. the world (samsara);⁵ it can become liberated in its pure state; it goes upwards. As the cause of its impurity is Karmic matter these nine qualities may be derived as results of this combination of life and lifelessness.⁶ The soul is this life only when it is identified with a particular individuality: Jainism elaborates the characteristics of 'this spiritual man within the man of flesh'.⁷ The most important

¹ Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 17.
² ibid. p. 17.
³ ibid. p. 17.
⁵ ibid. p. 18.
⁶ ibid. p. 18.
⁷ ibid. p. 19.
characteristic of a soul is its demand for happiness and aversion to pain, 'the first universal feature of life'. The soul is a more inner principle of life than even mind: it has the instinct of peace and bliss. Peace and bliss, therefore, are the aims of life; but they cannot be everlasting unless based on perfect knowledge, whose conditions are perception and conviction. The great characteristics of the soul are, therefore, perception, knowledge, peace and bliss; and in combination, the source of an 'enormous power in the fully evolved soul'. The doctrine of soul is not, in the Jaina view, a mere matter of faith, it is a matter of observation and commonsense.

Atom is only one unit of space, but as atoms unite they become a molecule: the finest kind of matter is \textit{karma}. There are altogether six conditions of matter. 'Matter goes to struggle with the unwary or infatuated soul'; 'time times the conflict'; 'space makes possible the arena'; 'dharma helps the combatants to struggle on and adharma assists them when they are inclined to rest'.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 19.
\item ibid. p. 19.
\item ibid. p. 20.
\item ibid. p. 20.
\item ibid. p. 20.
\item ibid. p. 21.
\item ibid. p. 21.
\end{enumerate}
is 'the genesis, the evolution and the destiny of the universe'; it can neither be changed nor stopped.² The most important magnitudes and substances are soul and matter; the other four are subsidiary to these two.³ Dharma and adharma are the necessary conditions of the soul's continuance in its endless vicissitudes, merit and demerit, happiness and misery, disturbance and tranquillity.³ The connection of soul and matter is material and is made by the soul's activity: this bondage is called karma or the deed of the soul;⁴ it forms a subtle bond of extremely refined Karmic matter and keeps the soul from 'flying up to its natural abode of full knowledge and everlasting peace.'⁵ Karmic matter obstructs the soul in realizing its four great attributes of perception of, and faith in, the reality of things; perfect knowledge; perfect power; and perfect happiness.⁶ Accordingly, there are four destructive karmas.⁷ These destructive karmas keep the soul in worldly existence - whose character is determined by another set of four karmas, relating to the body and environment of the soul,

1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 25.
2 ibid. p. 25.
3 ibid. p. 25.
6 ibid. p. 27; also p. 20.
i.e. age, individuality, family and nationality, and sensibility of pain and pleasure.¹

According to Jaini, everything in Jainism, every effect, has a cause.² As a personal God has no place in Jainism and matter is dead and inert - and so not responsible for the differences in conditions of life -, therefore, the conscious soul is the only agent which, by its actions (karmas), is responsible for the changes in its status of life.³ Connected with the concept of karma is the doctrine of transmigration of souls.⁴ Jainism denies both intermediation and forgiveness, one must bear the consequences of one's action: thus, transmigration is 'the ever-continuous automatic balancing of the different accounts that we keep with the forces of life'; there can be 'no mistake, no suppression and no evasion'.⁵ The karmas drag one into another state of being, from that of a god or a human or sub-human being.⁶ Re-incarnation or transmigration is the necessary principle of enabling the soul to go on correcting its error and realizing its powers and purposes in life: karma is the cause and re-incarnation its effect.⁷

¹ Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 27.
² ibid. p. 28.
³ ibid. p. 28.
⁴ ibid. p. 28.
⁵ ibid. p. 29.
⁶ ibid. p. 29.
⁷ ibid. p. 30.
There are four points of view from which the bondage of soul to matter can be seen: i. the nature of bondage, which is of eight kinds (mentioned above); ii. duration; iii. intensity; iv. number of particles or quantity of matter attached to the soul.\(^1\) These divisions are related to the original division of soul: nature; time: duration; intensity: space; matter: quantity.\(^2\) The eight kinds of karmas from the point of view of its nature are subdivided into 148 main classes, called the 148 forms (prakritis) of karma.\(^3\) The details of these divisions and 148 sub-divisions can be carried on to infinite length, as every effect in the world, every phenomenon, every feeling, every hope, every disappointment is a natural and necessary result of some action or inaction of the soul.\(^4\) The only way of exercising the soul's unlimited choice is to recognize in the bondage to matter, and our identification with it, the sole source of its power; and then to be determined to suppress it and to remove this alien matter.\(^5\)

The division of soul and non-soul is also - besides being the basis of the six substances and of five magnitudes - the basis of the

\(^1\) Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 30.
\(^2\) ibid. p. 30.
\(^3\) ibid. p. 30.
\(^4\) ibid. p. 36: Jaini calls this "almost spiritual mathematics".
\(^5\) ibid. p. 36.
seven principles. These principles include attraction of karmic matter; karma-bondage; the actual investing of the karmic matter into the soul; stoppage of karmic inflow; the falling away of karma; moksha: complete freedom of the soul from karmic matter; besides the two original principles of soul and non-soul - which are, again, the basis of the nine categories.

The first principle operates when the soul is affected by attachment, aversion, affection and infatuation, through the activity of the mind, body and speech: such a soul is in a state to receive karmic matter. The past karmas of the soul affect its present activity; its present karmas help or modify its present activity, and the joint effect determines the character and tendency of the actual milieu of the soul. The karmas themselves are indifferent; but if the soul is in a mood to receive them as readily as fine iron filings by a magnet.

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 37.
2 ibid. p. 38.
3 ibid. p. 39.
4 ibid. p. 39.
5 ibid. p. 40.
6 ibid. p. 41.
7 ibid. p. 37.
8 ibid. p. 38.
this may have the form of a false or perverse belief, an undisciplined or characterless life, careless use of mind, body and speech or yielding to passion, the physical matter, which is actually drawn to the soul is invisibly fine.\textsuperscript{1} The psychical condition of Karma-bondage is exactly the same as that of Karma-inflow.\textsuperscript{2} To stop the inflow of karma the mind is to be freed from love, hatred, attachment and aversion;\textsuperscript{3} the psychical condition to make it possible is achieved by following the rules of conduct under vows, religious observances, by the threefold restraints of body, mind and speech, by performance of duties, by compassion for all living beings, by contemplating the true character of the world and by concentrating on the true purpose of life.\textsuperscript{4}

The falling away of Karmic matter is possible, but it is a long process: deliberate activity towards an opposite objective, especially a good objective, may shorten it;\textsuperscript{5} but a more certain means is the practice of austerity. By averting the mind from the demands and impulses of the body, and by mortifying it, matter may be overcome and the soul freed from its bondage.\textsuperscript{6} Moksha - the complete freedom of the soul from karmic matter - is attained when soul and matter 'part and stand separate': the soul in 'the calm and bliss of perfect knowledge',

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 39.
\item \textsuperscript{2} ibid. p. 39.
\item \textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.p. 39-40.
\item \textsuperscript{4} ibid. p. 40.
\item \textsuperscript{5} ibid. p. 40.
\item \textsuperscript{6} ibid. pp. 40-41.
\item \textsuperscript{7} ibid. p. 41.
\end{itemize}
and the matter inert, 'but for its mechanical readiness to fasten itself upon some other unemancipated soul'.

The nine categories of Jainism are made up of the seven principles with merit and demerit. Merit is defined as 'the desirable kind of thought-activity', and demerit as the sinful kind of karma; the matter of both is the same. Sometimes these two categories are considered a subsidiary part of the principles of Karma-inflow and Karma-bondage respectively. Thus the connection of soul and non-soul leads first to the investment of the soul with matter, and then to the imposition of the soul of the duty to get rid of the matter. This, according to Jainism, means consideration of i. the number of bodies according to the nature of their matter; the kinds of bodies according to their form of class; and iii. the colours of this bodily matter and its reflection in the soul. In other words, the consideration of the body, the conditions of existence, tints of the soul (lesya) and stages (guna-sthana) in the evolution of the soul.

There are five kinds of bodies: physical, angelic, 'special

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 41.
2 ibid. p. 41.
3 ibid. p. 41.
4 ibid. p. 42.
5 ibid. p. 42.
6 ibid. p. 42.
7 ibid. p. 42.
8 ibid. p. 42.
saintly', magnetic and karmic; each is subtler than the preceding in the number of atoms it contains, and except the physical body, all of them are invisible. 1 Ordinary experience, analogy and reasoning may indicate the possibility of their existence, and reasoned faith with an active pursuit of the Jaina doctrine' - for some time at least - will prove their existence and their limitless possibility. 2 The two kinds of bodies, angelic and physical, distribute themselves in kinds of existence: angelic bodies may be of gods or demons; physical bodies may be human or non-human beings other than angels. 3

Lesya is a term peculiar to Jainism and denotes that by which the soul is tinted with merit or demerit. 4 Inflow of karma is produced by the vibrations from the activity of the body, mind or speech, and by the passions. The vibrations determine the nature and material of bondage, i.e. the kind of karmas and bodies, while the passions determine the duration and intensity of the bondage. These correspond to the two aspects of the activity of Lesya. 5 The colour of the karmas, or of the souls bound by them, is determined by the particular lesya, i.e. the tint of merit or demerit; these tints are black, blue, grey - the bad lesyas - and red, lotus-pink and white - the good lesyas; 6 and

1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 44.
2 ibid. pp. 44-45.
3 ibid. p. 45.
4 ibid. p. 45.
5 ibid. p. 45.
they affect all embodied souls. It is possible, as Jaini suggests, that the six leyas are the colours of the aura of the human body in occult Jainism, but they could simply be a description of human personality and character.

There are fourteen stages in the evolution of the soul from impurifying matter to final liberation: these psychical conditions, produced by changes in Karmic matter, are called guna-athanas.

1. In the first stage the soul does not believe in the right path, because of delusion or infatuation arising from false belief; from this stage the soul always passes on to the fourth stage.

2. When in the fourth stage, there is a manifestation of the four 'conduct-infatuating passions' which can take the soul down from the fourth stage to the first; in so doing it passes through the second stage.

3. If from the fourth stage the soul slips down to the first through the manifestation of belief - or conviction-infatuating karmas due to blurred or false or mixed belief - it passes through the third stage on its downward career to the starting point.

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 47 fn.1.
2 ibid. p. 47.
3 ibid. p. 48: for details of these stages of evolution see pp. 48-52.
4 ibid. p. 48.
5 ibid. p.p. 48-49.
6 ibid. p. 49.
7 ibid. p. 49.
4. Right conviction is produced by the suppression of the four passions, anger, pride, deception and greed, and one or three kinds of faith- or conviction-infatuations at this stage the soul has faith in the way to salvation, but cannot observe the rules of conduct necessary for the pursuit of it.

5. Partial renunciation of the world: under this come all the eleven stages of a layman's life.

6. After renunciation of all worldly objects, at this stage, the soul still turns to the needs of the body. From now on all the stages belong to the life of an ascetic.

7. At this stage the care of the body is renounced: the soul is now absorbed in spiritual contemplation. From now on there are two 'ways of ascent' or progress towards liberation: first, in which the conduct-infatuation karma is being suppressed; second, in which karma is being destroyed. The second way is necessary to the final liberation (moksha).

8. Now come the thoughts which had not yet entered a saint's soul: this stage is the beginning of the first white or pure contemplation of the pure soul.

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 45.
2 ibid. p. 49.
3 ibid. p. 50: for the eleven stages of a layman's life see under Ethics, ibid. pp. 68-70.
4 ibid. p. 51.
5 ibid. p. 51.
6 ibid. p. 51.
9. Then come special thoughts of still greater purity.\(^1\)

10. All passions are now destroyed or suppressed, except the most subtle; e.g. a nominal desire to attain liberation.\(^2\)

11. This stage consists of a thought or psychical condition which is produced by the suppression of all the conduct-infatuating karmas.\(^3\)

The last three stages (9–11) belong to the psychical condition of the first pure contemplation; a saint may fall from these stages.\(^4\)

12. At this stage all the conduct-infatuating karmas are annihilated and the psychical condition produced belongs to the second pure contemplation; the saint attains this directly after the tenth stage.\(^5\)

13. Before reaching this stage the soul must have destroyed the three remaining destructive karmas – knowledge-obscuring, belief-obscuring and the obstructive karmas – in order to become, at this stage, an arkat or a perfect soul-in-human body, 'vibrating with the fast approaching glories of moksha'.\(^6\)

14. The last stage is reached by the saint who is at the thirteenth stage for just long enough to utter the five letters, a,i,u, ri, lri, before the vibrations of his body cease.\(^7\)

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 51.
2 ibid. p. 51.
3 ibid. p. 52.
4 ibid. p. 52.
5 ibid. p. 52.
6 ibid. p. 52.
7 ibid. p. 52.
The 'three jewels' which lead the soul to moksha or the final liberation from karmic matter are: Right Faith and perception, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct. The reason for Right Faith being the first of the three jewels is that it is the basis of the right principles of conduct. Right Faith, in its negative aspect, is against scepticism due to ignorance or weakness, e.g. doubt on one's or the world's existence and one's relation to it; in the positive aspect, it is 'conscious retention' of what one has gained through intuition or by study. Right faith, in its practical form, is to be convinced of the true nature of the doctrines of Jainism; and faith in the true ideal, the scriptures and the teacher. Essentially, it is a realization of oneself as a pure soul. It arises either in two ways or in ten ways: the two ways are nature and instruction; some of the ten ways are discourses of Tithankaras or learned men, sacred books, renunciation of worldly objects and knowledge of Jaina teachings in outline. Right knowledge makes one examine in detail the matter brought into the mind by right conviction, i.e. the perception of the

1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, 53.
2 ibid. p. 53.
3 ibid. p. 54.
4 ibid. p. 54.
5 ibid. p. 54.
6 ibid. p. 54.
7 ibid. p. 55.
8 ibid. p. 58.
the reality of life itself and the seriousness of the object. This knowledge must be free from doubt as the intellect cannot really consent to what our faith has not grasped; and our conduct is a product of the intellect. Right knowledge preserves one from ignorance, indifference and laziness, and right conduct enables us to create the best life possible. Right conduct means living in accordance with the 'right gained by the first two jewels: right conviction and right knowledge'; it must be such as to 'keep the body down and elevate the soul'. In practice it is keeping the five vows, following the five rules of conduct and the practice of the threefold restraint: i.e. the vows of not killing, truth, not stealing, chastity and non-attachment to worldly objects; rules on careful walking, speaking, eating, use of things and toilet; and threefold restraint on body, mind and speech.

The aim of Jain ethics is to organize the combined activity of a community in such a way that the individual may have the 'greatest possible number of facilities' for achieving perfect peace and bliss of the soul. The rules for ascetics are stricter than those for

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1 Jain\', Outlines of Jainism, p. 58.
3 ibid. p. 59.
4 ibid. p. 65.
5 ibid. p. 65.
6 ibid. p. 66.
7 ibid. p. 67.
laymen and provide a 'shorter, albeit harder, route to Nirvana'.

A layman, before pursuing the eleven stages of his progress, called pratimas, must pass through two preliminary stages: i. faith, study and belief; ii. obeying twelve commandments, which forbid him, for example, to make a living by agriculture, learning, trade, army, crafts and music. The eleven pratimas include faith; vows; worship; fasts; abstinence from consumption of sentient beings; abstinence from eating at night; celibacy; abandonment of merely worldly occupations; the last three stages are preparatory to monkhood and enjoin retirement to a quiet place for acquisition of truth and, ultimately, to become a teacher of the Way. Underlying every rule of conduct in Jainism is the most important principle of ahimsa or non-violence.

As we have seen, the Jaina doctrine and ethics are extremely classificatory, and allow no real insight into the arguments of Jainism; but the arguments themselves are to be found in the discourses of the canonical books.

The first lecture of the "Akaranga Sutra" - the first of the

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1 Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, p. 67.
2 ibid. p. 68.
3 ibid. pp. 68-70.
4 ibid. p. 70.
5 cf. Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 89.
canon - is called the "Knowledge of the Weapon": 'material and mental state (bhava) which is the wrong use of mind, speech and body'; the subject of the first lecture is, therefore, the 'comprehension and renunciation' of everything that hurts other beings. What one should know is this: that the soul is born again and again; and to believe in a permanent soul, different from the body; and in the world of many souls; in reward or karma, whose result is the 'suffering condition of men' and whose cause is action; and action to be our own doing. In the world all these are causes of sin and must be comprehended and renounced.

Six remaining lessons of the first lecture are on the actions injurious to the six classes of lives or souls. There are numberless lives or souls embodied in animals, men, gods, hell-beings and plants as well as in the four elements - earth, water, fire and wind - and these elemental bodies are only perceptible when in an infinite number. He who injures these bodies does not comprehend and renounce

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1 the definition of knowledge according to Jainism, S.B.E. Vol. XXII, p.1.
2 S.B.E. XXII, p. 2.
3 S.B.E. XXII, p. 2 fn.1.
4 ibid, p. 2 fn.2.
5 ibid, p. 2.
6 ibid, p. 2.
7 ibid, p. 3 fn.2.
8 ibid. p. 3 fn.2; the doctrine about these elementary lives are laid down in Bhadrabahu's Nirvukti of the Acharanga Sutra and in the Commentary of Silanka - Jacobi's note.
the sinful acts;  
1 this sin deprives him of happiness and perfect wisdom.  
2 In the third lesson, on water lives, who are divided into 
three classes - as in the case of all elementary lives - of the 
sentient, the insentient and the mixed,  
3 it is prescribed that only 
that water may be used in which only insentient lives remain, e.g. 
strained water;  
4 for 'he who denies the world of water-bodies denies 
the self, and he who denies the self denies the world of water-bodies'.  
5 'He who uses water which has not been strained takes away what has not 
been given'.  
6 In the fourth lesson: 'there are beings living in the 
earth, in grass, on leaves, in wood, in cow-dung, in dust heap, jumping 
beings which coming near fire fall into it; some touched by fire, 
shrink up and die'. He who injures these fire bodies does not 
comprehend and renounce the sinful acts.  
7 The discussion of wind 
bodies, which should follow fire bodies, is postponed till after the 
discussion of the vegetable and animal worlds.  
8 'As the nature of men

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1 S.B.E. XXII, p. 5.
2 ibid. p. 4.
3 ibid. p. 5 fn.1.
4 ibid. p. 5 fn.1.
5 ibid. p. 5.
6 ibid. p. 6.
7 ibid. p. 7.
8 ibid. p. 9 fn.1.: The Jainas had not yet separated air from space as 
the wind is not identified with air - Jacobi's note.
is to be born and to grow old, so is the nature of plants': they both have reason, for the plants know the seasons; they sprout in the right season, fall sick when cut, need food, and will decay; they both increase and change. He who injures the plants does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts.¹

The animate beings are those which are produced from i. eggs; ii. from a foetus; iii. with or without an enveloping membrane, iv. from fluids; v. from sweat; vi. by coagulation; vii. from sprouts; viii. by regeneration.² All beings - those with two, three, four senses; plants; those with five senses; and others - individually experience pleasure, pain, terror and unhappiness: the 'benighted one' cause great pain to these beings.³ One should be aware that those who 'delight not in the right conduct' are 'involved in sin towards the wind bodies.'⁴

The Second Lecture is called the Conquest of the World, in which it is said that in the qualities of the external things lies the primary cause of the Samsara (the world), viz. sin; the qualities produce sin and sinfulness makes us enjoy the qualities.⁵ He who longs for the

² ibid. p. 11.
³ ibid. p. 11.
⁵ ibid. p. 15 fn1: the text is "quality is the seat of the root and the root is quality".
qualities is overcome with great pain and is careless and gives way to love, hate, etc., and directs his mind again and again on the injurious doings. Knowing pain and pleasure in all their variety and when his life is not yet deteriorated, a wise man should know the proper time to enter religious life. Those who are freed from attachment to the world and its pleasures reach moksha or final liberation. Subduing desire by desirelessness, he gives up the world and ceases to act; he knows and sees and has no wishes because of his discernment of good and bad, the results of desire; he is then called the houseless.

A wise man should neither be glad nor angry about his worldly condition: because of his carelessness he has many births, experiences various feelings he should 'firmly walk the path of right conduct and not wait till old age to begin a religious life.' He who sees by himself needs not instruction.

When one falls sick, those with whom one lives cannot help; therefore, 'wisely reject hope and desire.' People who are

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1 S.B.E. XXII, P. 15 also fn.2.
2 ibid. p. 15.
3 ibid. p. 16.
4 ibid. p. 17.
5 ibid. p. 17 also fn.7.
7 ibid. p. 19.
8 ibid. p. 20.
9 ibid. p. 21.
enveloped by delusion do not understand this: he who gathers wealth will perhaps not have its benefit.¹

The world is greatly troubled by women: men say they are 'the vessels of happiness', but they lead men to pain, delusion, death, hell, birth as hell-beings or brute beasts; 'the fool never knows the law'.²

For pleasure the wants of the world are supplied by bad injurious doings: for one's family, hospitality and food, wealth is accumulated; but a man recognizes the proper moment for all actions.³ As the interior of the body is loathsome, so is the exterior: a man addicted to pleasure acts as if immortal and puts great faith in pleasure, but when he sees that the body suffers pain he cries in ignorance.⁴

'He who, ceasing from acts, relinquishes the idea of property, relinquishes property itself.'⁵

'A sage adopting a life of wisdom should treat his gross body roughly'.⁶ He who 'correctly possesses and renounces the sensual perceptions' - i.e. colour, sound, smell, taste and touch - and is wise, just and understands the world rightly is to be called a sage,

¹ S.B.E. XXII, p. 21.
² ibid p.p. 21-22.
³ ibid. p. 22.
⁵ ibid. p. 25.
He knows the connection of the whirl of births and the current of sensation with love and hate; 'not minding heat and cold, equanimous against pleasure and pain', he does not feel the austerity of penance. He whose karma has ceased and conduct is right, and who recognizes the truth of the saying "There is no past thing, nor is there a future one" and destroys sinfulness, thinks that one should live subject to neither discontent nor pleasure.

'Man! Thou art thy own friend; why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself?' 'Whom he knows as a dweller on high, him he should know as a dweller far from sin'; and vice versa. He who knows one thing, knows all things; and he who knows all things knows one thing: for true knowledge of one thing is inescapable from true knowledge of all things; similarly he who avoids one passion avoids them all severally, and he who avoids them severally avoids one. There are degrees in injurious acts, but there are no degrees in control.

Therefore, a wise man should avoid wrath, pride, deceit, greed, love,

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1 S.B.E. XXII, p. 28.
2 ibid. p. 28.
3 ibid. pp. 32-33.
4 ibid. p. 33.
5 ibid. p. 34.
6 ibid. p. 34.
7 ibid. p. 34.
hate, delusion, conception, birth, death, hell, animal existence and pain. ¹

In the Fourth Lecture on Righteousness the 'pure, unchangeable, eternal law' is declared: that 'all breathing, existing, living, sentient creatures should not be slain, nor treated with violence, nor abused, nor tormented nor driven away,² because for all of them pain is 'unpleasant, disagreeable and is greatly feared':³ 'pain results from action', thus say those 'who have right intuition'.⁴ 'One should mortify one's flesh in a low, high and highest degree, quitting one's former connections and entering tranquillity'.⁵

In the Fifth Lecture, called the Essence of the World, it is said that after repenting and excluding from the mind the begotten pleasures, one should instruct others to follow the commandment.⁶ Those who are not given to sinful acts are nevertheless attacked by calamities; the steadfast will bear them as he has done before conversion.⁷ One should perceive the true character of the body,

¹ S.B.B. XXII, p. 34.
² ibid. p. 36, also p. 39.
³ ibid. p. 39.
⁴ ibid. p. 39.
⁵ ibid. p. 40.
⁶ ibid. p. 42.
⁷ ibid. p. 42.
that it is fragile, decaying, unstable, transient, changeable; he who well understands this 'takes delight in this unique refuge': right knowledge, right intuition, right conduct.¹ Many are attached to something in the world, thus incurring great danger; for him who contemplates the course of the world and does not acknowledge the attachments, there is no danger: only among such men is real Brahmanhood.²

'Comprehending that pleasure and pain are individual advising kindness, he will not engage in any work in the whole world'; keeping before him the one great aim of liberation, what one acknowledges as righteousness is also sage.³

Sometimes, though a monk is virtuous and righteous, living beings coming in contact with his body will be killed.⁴ If it is only carelessness he will get his punishment in this life; if it is a transgression of the rules as he should repent and do penance for it.⁵ When strongly vexed by the influence of the senses he should eat bad food, mortify himself, stand upright, wander from village to village, take no food at all, withdraw his mind from women: first troubles,

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¹ S.B.E. XXII, p. 44.
³ ibid. p. 46.
⁴ ibid. p. 48.
⁵ ibid. p. 48.
then pleasures; first pleasures, then troubles:\(^1\) i.e. in order to attain pleasure one has to work for the means; after the enjoyment one has to undergo punishment in hell.\(^2\)

He whose mind is always wavering does not reach abstract contemplation - the means of religious death.\(^3\) Here we find an example of the special Jaina logic:\(^4\) 'Whatever - any article of the Jaina faith - a faithful, well-disposed man, on entering the order, thought to be true, that may afterwards appear to him true; what he thought to be true, that may afterwards appear to be untrue; what he thought to be untrue, that may appear true; what he thought to be untrue, that may afterwards appear to be true. What he thinks to be true, that may, on consideration, appear to him untrue, whether it is true or untrue. But he who reflects should say to him who does not reflect: Consider this to be true, for in this way the continuity of sins is broken.\(^5\) The self is the experiencer or the knower, and that through which one knows is the self: i.e. knowledge is a modification (parinama) of the self and, therefore, one with it.\(^6\) Examining all wrong doctrines from 'all sides and in all respects' one should clearly

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\(^1\) S.B.E. XXII, p. 48.

\(^2\) ibid. p. 48 fn.4.

\(^3\) ibid. p. 49.

\(^4\) called Syad-vada, its chief merit, according to Jaini, is its 'many-sided view of logic; for description see Jaini, Outlines of Jainism, pp. 116-117.

\(^5\) S.B.E. XXII, pp. 49-50.

\(^6\) ibid. p. 50.
understand and reject them.\(^1\)

It is impossible to express the nature of liberation in words, since it cannot be reached even by the mind.\(^2\) The liberated soul is without body he perceives, but there is no analogy to describe its nature, its nature is without form: there is no sound, no colour, no smell, no touch.\(^3\)

In the Seventh Lecture, called Liberation, it is declared that in all other religious sects sins are admitted, but it is the distinction of Jainism to avoid them.\(^4\) By taking the vows to beg food for another, who is sick, and to eat, when sick, what is brought by another; or to beg and not to eat food brought by another; or not to beg but eat what is brought: practising the declared law in every case one becomes tranquil and averts sin and guards against sensuality.\(^5\) Even though sick, one will thus be able to put an end to existence in due time,\(^6\) i.e. even when sickness prevents one from practising austerities, one can commit honourable suicide, by rejecting food and drink, and achieve final liberation.\(^7\) A naked monk, who feels that he can bear pricks, heat and

\(^1\) S.B.E. XXII, p. 51.
\(^2\) ibid. p. 52 fn.1.
\(^3\) ibid. p. 52: 'End of the fifth lecture called Essence of the World'.
\(^4\) ibid. p. 63.
\(^5\) ibid. p. 70.
\(^6\) ibid. p. 70.
\(^7\) ibid. p. 70 fn.2.
cold but cannot do without covering his private parts, may do so with a piece of cloth of prescribed measurement.\(^1\)

In the eighth lesson three kinds of religious deaths are described which form the end of a twelve-year period of mortification of the flesh;\(^2\) a more exalted method of suicide than the preceding one is the one in which movement is restricted to a limited space.\(^3\)

The Uttaradhyayana Sutra is a theological treatise on the essential principles of Jainism;\(^4\) its First Lecture is on the discipline of a 'houseless monk'.\(^5\) An excellent pupil, it says, needs no express directions or he is, at least, quickly directed and always carried out his duties as told.\(^6\) A teacher, when questioned about the sacred texts, answers him according to tradition.\(^7\) Mahavira has declared that there are twenty-two 'troubles' which a monk must 'learn and know, bear and conquer, in order not to be vanquished by them when he lives the life a wandering mendicant'.\(^8\)

\(^1\) S.B.E. XXII, p. 73: it should be four fingers broad and a hand long (p. 73 fn.2).
\(^2\) ibid. p. 74 fn.3.
\(^3\) ibid. p. 76.
\(^6\) ibid. p. 7.
\(^7\) ibid. p. 4.
\(^8\) ibid. p. 8.
Four most valuable things are difficult to obtain: human birth, instruction in the Law, belief in it and energy in self-control.\(^1\)

Living beings, bewildered through the influence of their actions, distressed and suffering pains, are miserable in non-human births;\(^2\) though, even as human beings it will be difficult for them to hear the Law. They may not believe in it, they may stray from it; though they may believe, it is difficult for them to fulfil it: many who approve of the religion, do not adopt it.\(^3\)

"You cannot prolong your life, therefore be not careless!";\(^4\)
"death against his will is that of the ignorant, it happens many times: death at one's will happens at best but once".\(^5\) Bark and skin of a goat, nakedness, twisted hair - these outward tokens will not save a sinful ascetic.\(^6\) A faithful man should practise the rules of conduct for the householder; then he will on dying share the world of the Yaksas.\(^7\) A restrained monk will become either one free from all misery or a god of great power.\(^8\) When the right time to prepare for

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1 S.B.E. XLV, p. 15.
2 ibid. p. 15.
3 ibid. p. 16.
5 ibid. p. 20.
6 ibid. p. 22.
7 ibid. p. 23; Yaksha is a demon and half-godly being, von Glasenapp, p. 237.
8 ibid, p. 23.
death has come, a faithful monk should, in his teacher's presence, suppress all emotions of fear and joy and wait for the dissolution of his body, according to three methods. As a drop of water on a blade of grass is nothing compared to an ocean, so are human pleasures to divine pleasures; but he who has renounced pleasure will not miss his aim: he will be born among men where there is wealth, beauty, glory, fame, long life and eminent happiness.

There are five causes which render wholesome discipline impossible: egoism, delusion, carelessness, illness and idleness; and eight causes make discipline virtue: not to be fond of mirth; to control oneself; not to speak evil of others; not to be without discipline; not to be of wrong discipline; not to be covetous; not to be choleric; to love truth. A monk with the following fourteen bad qualities does not attain Nirvana: if he is frequently angry; if he perseveres in his wrath; if he spurns friendly advice; if he is proud of his learning; if he finds fault with others; if he is angry even with his friends; if he speaks evil even of a good friend behind his back; if he is

2 described in Acharanga Sutra 1.7.8.7. ff, S.B.E. XXII, P. 75 ff.
4 ibid. p. 31.
5 ibid. p. 46.
positive in his assertions; if he is malicious, egotistical, greedy, without self-discipline; if he does not share with others; if he is always unkind.¹

The sixteenth lecture is on the ten conditions of chastity, the first of which is that if a Jaina (Nirgrantha) occupies places for sleep or rest frequented by women, cattle or eunuchs, then, though he may be chaste, there may arise a doubt about his chastity.²

In the twenty-fourth lecture³ the eight articles of the creed, set forth in the twelve Angas, are discussed; they are called five Samitis and three Guptis. The Samitis are for the practice of religious life and the Guptis are for the prevention of everything sinful.⁴

i. The walking of a well-disciplined monk should be pure in cause, i.e., road, effort: the cause is by which the mind becomes pure and effort consist chiefly in compassion for living creatures.⁵ Thus the cause is knowledge, faith and right conduct; time is daytime; and the road excludes bad ways.⁶ ii. He should use blameless and concise speech at the proper time.⁷ iii. In begging he should avoid the faults in his search for, in receiving, and in the use of the alms he is

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¹ S.B.E. XLV, p.p. 46-47.
² ibid. p. 74.
³ ibid. p. 129.
⁴ ibid. p. 136.
⁵ ibid. p. 130.
⁶ ibid. p. 130.
⁷ ibid. p. 131.
there are altogether 46 faults to be avoided. A zealous monk should wipe the things he has, after visually inspecting them, and then move them in accordance with the rules. Excrements - urine, saliva, mucous, dirt of the body, any refuse, including his body when near death - should be left in a place neither frequented nor seen by others; which offers no obstacles to self-control; which is even covered with grass or leaves. The three Guptis are of mind, speech and body and refer to: truth; untruth; a mixture of truth and untruth; a mixture of what is not true and what is not untrue. A zealous monk should prevent his mind and speech from desire for the misfortune of another; from thoughts on acts which cause misery to living beings and from thoughts on acts which cause their destruction. In the use of his body he should prevent it from intimating obnoxious desires or what would cause the destruction of living beings. A monk's correct behaviour which leads to freedom from all misery, consists of ten parts: when he leaves a room; when entering a room; asking the superior's permission for what he is to do himself, and for what somebody else is to do;

1 S.B.E. XLV, p. 131.
2 ibid. p. 131 fn.7.
3 ibid. p. 134.
4 ibid. p. 134.
5 ibid. p. 135.
placing the things he has at the disposal of other monks; in the
e execution of his intention by himself or someone else; in blaming
himself for sins committed; assent in making a promise; in serving
those who deserve respect; in placing oneself under another teacher.¹

In the Sutrakritanga Sutra - the second Anga and of the foremost
rank in the canonical literature² - the first lecture is on doctrine,³
in which 'not to kill anything' is described as the quintessence of
wisdom, derived from the principle of reciprocity in non-killing, i.e.
as one does not wish to be killed, so others do not wish to be killed.⁴
'A man who insults another will long whirl in the Circle of Births'.⁵
He who is independent and he who is the servant of a servant, if they
both observe the Vow of Silence⁶ they have no reason to be ashamed;
therefore, a monk should behave equally towards all.⁷ Seeing that
numerous beings lead individual lives, and each of them feels in just

¹ S.B.E. XLV, p. 142.
² ibid. p. xxxviii, introduction: "the object of the Sutrakritanga is
to fortify young monks against the heretical opinions of alien teachers." Jacobi.
³ ibid. p. 248 fn. 1.
⁴ ibid. p. 253.
⁵ It is part of the three Guptis; "speech can be specially controlled in
two either by observing a vow of silence for a certain number of days,
or by speaking as little as possible" - Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 147.
⁷ ibid. p. 254.
the same way, a wise man, who observes the Vow of Silence, ceases to injure
them. 1 By self-invented rites common people seek holiness, but a monk
is holy by his innocence, he allows no trouble to influence his thought
and action. 2 When some ascetics, knowing themselves weak, see that they
will suffer want, they have recourse to worldly sciences like grammar,
astrology, medicine. 3 Though many leave house, some only reach the
middling position between householder and monk; they merely talk of the
path to perfection: 'the force of sinners is talking'. 4 A second folly
of the sinner is denial of what he has done: he commits a twofold sin,
as he falls for the sake of his reputation. 5 Whatever cruelty he has
done in a former birth will be inflicted on him in the Circle of Births. 6

A monk should not ridicule heretical doctrines and should avoid
hard words though they be true; he should expound the Syadvada, the
seven modes of assertion. 7

1 S.B.E. XIV, p. 254.
2 ibid. p. 256.
3 ibid. p. 266.
4 ibid. p. 273.
5 ibid. p. 275.
6 ibid. p. 286.
7 ibid. p. 327.
## Contents Pages

### Chapter 4: Sikhism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antecedents</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Antecedents</th>
<th>Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. GURU MANAK</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>ii. GURU ANNAAD</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. GURU AMAR DAS</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>iv. GURU RAM DAS</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. GURU ARJAN</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>vi. GURU HARBIR SINGH</td>
<td>547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii. GURU HARI RAI</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>viii. GURU HARRISHAN</td>
<td>607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix. GURU TEJ BAHADUR</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>x. GURU GOBIND SINGH</td>
<td>632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi. Later History (1739-1849)</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>xii. Doctrine and Ethics</td>
<td>811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART THREE

| Chapter 1: An Ideal-type of Luther's and Calvin's System of Doctrine and Ethics | 898 |
| Chapter 2: Comparison                                                           | 1075 |
| Chapter 3: Methodological Implications                                          | 1123 |

**Bibliography** | 1170
CHAPTER 4

SIKHISM

The Sikhs (literally, Disciples) are well-known as a great martial people, but little is known of their religion even to professional scholars, for the mediaeval Indian dialects in which the writings of the Sikh Gurus and saints were composed are not homogeneous, and now largely forgotten. The Granth Sahib, the Sikhs' sacred book, thus becomes probably the most difficult work, sacred or profane, that exists. A portion of the Granth Sahib was first translated into English by a German missionary, E. Trumpp, under the patronage of the India Office, but it gave mortal offence to the Sikhs by his tendency to defame the Gurus and their religion. Max Arthur Macauliffe, a member of the I.C.S., was requested in 1893 by Sikh societies to resign his appointment in the judiciary and undertake a translation of their sacred work; which he did from an orthodox Sikh point of view, without any criticism or expression of his own opinion. As the original form of the Granth Sahib was not considered suitable for translation by his sponsors, Macauliffe was able to make his translation - 'an exact presentation of the Gurus and orthodox


2 ibid. p. lvi (Introduction)

3 ibid. pp. vi-vii (Preface)


5 ibid. p. ix

6 ibid. p. xvi
writers as contained in their sacred books' - as much as possible in the narrative form.

Although one should begin with Guru Nanak, the founder, in an account of the Sikh religion, it would be, in a way, an abrupt beginning; for the Sikh reformation developed gradually from the monotheism of Kabir and Ramanand in the fourteenth century. But before we traced the historical antecedents of Sikhism, it would be useful to be acquainted with the main tenets of the religion itself. According to Macauliffe, some of its moral and political merits are: prohibition of idolatry, hypocrisy, caste exclusiveness, concremation of widows, immurement of women, alcohol, tobacco, infanticide, slander, pilgrimages to Hindu sacred places; and inculcation of loyalty, gratitude, philanthropy, justice, impartiality, truth, honesty and 'all the moral and domestic virtues known to the holiest citizens of any country'.

The first five Gurus were all composers of sacred poetry, the fifth, in addition to his own compositions, collected all the hymns of his predecessors into one volume to guide Sikhs for all times. The sixth, seventh and eighth Gurus have left no writings; but an eminent Sikh, Bhai

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I pp.xv-xvi
2 ibid. p.xxxii: 'It was probably the intention of Guru Arjan himself (to follow the historical development of the Sikh reformation), for otherwise he could not have included in his compilation hymns quite opposed to the principles and tenets of his predecessors.'
3 ibid. p.xxxix (Introduction)
4 ibid. p.xxxii
5 op. cit. vol. IV p.241
Gur Das, who was a contemporary of the fourth, fifth and sixth Gurus wrote forty **Wara** or cantos on the religion and the Gurus' ethical teachings. He knew the Gurus and the people around them, especially Bhai Budha, who had been close to Guru Nanak and the next five Gurus.

According to Bhai Gur Das, 'the Sikh religion is distinct and superior to other religions, the faith of the Sikhs is fixed, and by it man is absorbed in God. Hundreds of thousands of groups of Sikhs form one group and have no false pride, that is, they harbour not contempt for one another on account of pride of birth.' The way to Sikhism is narrow; it is sharper than the edge of a sword and finer than a hair. There is no creed equal to it in the past, present or future. There is no second God; there is only one God in this house.

'By associating with the holy the way of union with God is found in one's own home. To cherish the Guru's instruction is to obtain salvation.'

There is but one step from the holy to the unholy. Sikhs, otherwise

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.218 fn.1: The word *Wara* originally meant a dirge for those slain in battle, then any song of praise, composed in stanzas called *pauris*. It seems, therefore, suitable to translate it as canto, especially as a number of wars make up a composition in this instance, see also Macauliffe, I p.lxxlii.

2 ibid. p.241

3 ibid. p.241. They both died in the reign of the sixth Guru.

4 ibid. p.242 (War III)

5 ibid. p.242 (War IX)

6 ibid. p.242 (War III)
sensible, in a state of aberration ruin their minds by assisting in superstitious ceremonies; but they who serve God do not complain of the labour to others.\footnote{Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.242-243 (War IX)}

Where there is one Sikh, there is one Sikh, where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints; where there are five Sikhs, there is God.\footnote{ibid. p.243 (War XI)}

O Sikh of the Guru, hear the Guru's instruction. Be wise within, but simple without. The Guru is the true mediator to bestow salvation.\footnote{ibid. p.243 (War IV)}

The Sikhs have great endurance: sugar cane though sweet is pressed in a mill, and so must Sikhs suffer while conferring favours of others.\footnote{ibid. p.243 (War V)}

By the Guru's instruction the four castes were blended in one society of saints.\footnote{ibid. p.244 (War III)} The true Guru, the real king, puts the holy on the high road to salvation, restraining the deadly, evil inclinations and worldly love. The Sikhs remember the Word with devotion and avoid Death.\footnote{ibid. p.244 (War V)}

The Guru's Sikh becomes one of Guru's own line and a supreme saint and is able to separate falsehood from truth, as the swan separates water from milk: thus the Guru becomes a disciple and the disciple a Guru.\footnote{ibid. p.244 (War IX)}

There can only be dealings with the true perfect Guru. He takes demerits and sells merits in exchange, and he deals honestly. He turns dross into gold, perfumes the bamboo, and changes the crow into a swan.

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item[2] ibid. p.243 (War XIII)
\item[3] ibid. p.243 (War IV)
\item[4] ibid. p.243 (War VI)
\item[5] ibid. p.244 (War III)
\item[6] ibid. p.244 (War V)
\item[7] ibid. p.244 (War IX)
\end{itemize}}
His hymns are superior to the Veds and the Quran.¹

To become a disciple is, as it were, to become dead: it cannot be done by words. A disciple must be patient, possess a martyr's spirit and free himself from superstition and fear. He must be like a bondslave, 'fit to be yoked to any work which may serve the Guru. He must never be hungry and never require sleep ... nor laugh or cry; he must be a sedate servant.'²

He who is humble is dear to the Guru, for he who is humble wins. The Guru's religion teaches 'to walk humbly, and thus 'shall all Sikhs become great'.³ From lowly things the greatest advantage is obtained.⁴

The Guru's Sikhs lead a family life,⁵ recognise the advantage of meditation on the Supreme Being who fills all creation.⁶ Hundreds of thousands of feasts are not equal to the drinking the water in which a Sikh has washed his feet, nor to putting one grain into a Sikh's mouth, for a Sikh enjoys supreme happiness in satisfying another.⁷

The Sikhs do not heed omens on the right or the left, nor do they retrace steps on seeing a widow or a bare-headed man, nor pay any attention

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¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.245 (War XIII)
² ibid. p.245 (War III)
³ ibid. p.246 (War IV)
⁴ ibid. p.247 (War XXI)
⁵ ibid. p.249 (War VI)
⁶ ibid. p.250 (War VI)
⁷ ibid. p.250 (War VII)
to voices of birds or sneezing, nor worship gods or goddesses. They do not allow their bodies or minds to wander: the Sikhs 'plant a true field and reap the harvest thereof'.

Woman brings happiness to the virtuous; she assists man to salvation and is half his body. A man who has one wife is continent and calls another's wife his daughter or sister. To covet another man's property is forbidden to a Sikh, as the swine to the Muhammadan and the cow to the Hindu.

The politeness of a Sikh is equal to a Hindu's devotion. A Sikh sees God everywhere with his eyes, and that is equal to a Jogi's meditation. When a Sikh listens to or sings the Word of God, it is equal to the five ecstatic sounds in the brain of a Jogi. When a Sikh does anything with his hands it is equal to the obeisance and prostration of Hindus. When he walks to behold the Guru, it is equal to an extremely holy circumambulation. When he eats and clothes himself it is equal to the performance of Hindu sacrifice and offering. When he sleeps it is equal to a Jogi's suspended animation. When a Sikh leads a family life it is equal to salvation while alive.

They who have restrained the five evil passions - lust, wrath, covetousness, worldly love and pride - and those who have the five virtues -

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.251 (War XX)
2 ibid. p.251 (War V)
3 ibid. p.251 (War XX)
4 ibid. p.253 (War VI)
truth, contentment, mercy, honesty, and an understanding of the world - are acceptable.¹ They who return good for evil are few in the world.²

As there is but one sun for the six seasons and the twelve months of the year, so the Guru's Sikhs only behold the one God;³ the Supreme Being, the All-pervading God is the divine Nanak's Guru.⁴ Men have searched for God's limit, but have not found it. They who went to search for His limit have not returned.⁵ God's Court is independent, hypocrisy does not enter there.⁶

To feed a Sikh with parched gram is superior to hundreds of thousands of sacrifices (homa) and feasts, and to cause his feet to be washed is superior to assemblages at places of pilgrimage, and to repeat to a Sikh the Guru's hymns is equal to hundreds of thousands of Hindu devotional exercises.⁷ The apostate who has renounced the true Guru becomes the slave of a slave, without the perfect Guru he wanders in many a birth.⁸ Men who

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.254 (War VII)
² ibid. p.255 (War IX)
³ ibid. p.255 (War XII)
⁴ ibid. p.255 (War XIII, see also Sorath XI)
⁵ ibid p.256 (War XXII)
⁶ ibid. p.256 (War XII)
⁷ ibid. p.256 (War XIV)
⁸ ibid. p.257 (War XV)
forget the true Giver beg from beggars.¹ Ask not from a giver from whom you should have to appeal to another, employ not a worthless banker who will afterwards defraud thee: it is the filth of the body and not the filth of evil inclinations which is cleansed by bathing at places of pil­gramages.²

Beasts and creatures without instinct are superior to the perverse. Man from being reasonable becomes unreasonable and looks to another for help; a beast does not ask from a beast, nor does a bird, for assistance.³ If a leech be applied to a female breast, it will not drink milk but only impure blood, so the perverse man, even if he hears the Guru's hymns in the company of saints, utters folly in his conceit. His love is deception and he does not obtain a position in God's court.⁴

Devotion, penance, sacrifices, feasts, fasting, austerities, pilgrimag­es, alms-gifts, the service of gods and goddesses, and ceremonies, all are inferior to truth, and so are hundreds of thousands of devices.⁵

Nobody is satisfied with his span of life, and everyone entertains false hopes; but the Guru's disciples are satisfied with him, theirs is true love.⁶

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¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.257 (War XV)
² ibid. p.258 (War XXVII)
³ ibid. p.258 (War XV)
⁴ ibid. p.258-259 (War XVII)
⁵ ibid. p.259 (War XVIII)
⁶ ibid. p.263 (War XXVII)
He to whom the Master's (God's) will is pleasing, is pleasing to the Master. He who obeys the Master's will is honoured. The Master causes his order to be obeyed. Man is a guest in this world, therefore he should relinquish his claims and cease to urge them. The Supreme God, the perfect God, the primal Being is the true Guru.

The loyalty of a man who has eaten his master's salt is proved when he falls for him in the field of battle. He who strikes off the head of his enemies is known as the bravest of the brave.

Enmity does not remain in the mind of the good man, nor friendship in the mind of the bad man, as a line made in water quickly vanishes; the good man does not forget friendship, nor the bad man enmity, as a line made on a stone is not readily effaced. Neither the desires of the evil man to do evil nor of the good man to do good are ultimately fulfilled. The good man does not do good, nor the evil man evil. Contract neither friendship nor enmity with a fool. Remain aloof from both passions, in either there is misery.

The Hindus and Muhammadans are both made out of the five elements, but two names are given to the same substance. The two sects united form

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. vol.IV p.264 (War XXIX)
2 ibid. p.264 (War XXIX)
3 ibid. p.265 (War XXX)
4 ibid. p.265 (War XXXI)
5 ibid. p.266 (War XXXII)
6 ibid. p.268 (War XXXIII)
one body of Sikhs and are not separately mentioned, so when one speaks of
the game of chaupar the pieces are not spoken of.¹

As a virtuous woman ever thinks on her husband and desires not to
behold another man, so the Guru's Sikhs naturally refrain from worshipping
other gods, but not insultingly or disdainfully. Where there are two
kings, the subject cannot be happy; when a wife has two husbands, she
cannot be chaste: so when a Sikh of the Gurus accepts the support of
other gods, his life is accursed in this world and hereafter punishment
from Death shall await him.²

According to the rules of society, the sacred books, and the teaching
of divines, it is proper for a chaste woman to serve her lord in thought,
word and deed:³ so among the Guru's Sikhs One Prop is the best; meditation,
contemplation and remembrance of other gods is harlotry.⁴

The Gurus thought it would be of more general advantage to present
their teachings in the dialects of their time. When Guru Amar Das, the
third Guru, was asked for its reason, he said, "Well-water can only irrigate
adjacent land, but rain water the whole world".⁵ The Granth Sahib
contains the compositions of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru
Ram Das, Guru Arjan, Guru Teg Bahadur, the ninth Guru, a couplet of the

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.272-273 (War XXXIX)
² ibid. p.273 (Extracts from Gur Das's Kabit or stanzas)
³ ibid. p.273 (Gur Das's Kabit)
⁴ ibid. p.274 (Gur Das's Kabit)
tenth and the last Guru, Gobind Singh, pa egyrics of bards who attended or admired the Gurus, and hymns of mediaeval Indian saints.\(^1\)

The hymns are arranged according to the thirty-two rags or musical measures to which they were composed, and not according to their authors, and the first nine Gurus continued to use Nanak as their nom de plume.\(^2\)

The Granth Sahib as a whole is considered a city and each Guru's hymns a ward or division, called Mahalla, of it; Guru Nanak's hymns being the first ward.\(^3\) After the Gurus' compositions come those of the Bhagats or saints under their different musical measures.\(^4\)

The Granth, or the Book, of the Tenth Guru, compiled by Bhai Mani Singh after the Guru's death,\(^5\) contains his Jāp (Invocation to God), the Akal Ustat (Praise of the Creator), the Vachitar Natak (the Wonderful Drama), in which the Guru gives an account of his parentage, his divine mission, and the battles he had fought; followed by three abridged translations of the Devi Mahatmaya, an episode in the Markandeya Puran, in praise of Durga the goddess of war; Gyan Parbodh or awakening of knowledge; accounts of twenty-four incarnations of the Deity, selected for their war-like character; the Hazare de Shabd, quatrains, called sawaiyas, in praise of God and reprobation of idolatry and hypocrisy; the Shastar Nam Mala, a list of weapons used in the Guru's time, with special reference to the

\(^{1}\) ibid. p.li
\(^{2}\) ibid. p.li
\(^{3}\) ibid. p.li
\(^{4}\) ibid. p.li
\(^{5}\) ibid. p.lili
attributes of the Creator; the *Tria Charitar* or tales illustrating the qualities, but principally the deceit of women; the *Zafarnama*, containing the tenth Guru's epistle to the Emperor Aurangzeb; and several metrical tales in Persian.¹

There are two great divisions of Sikhs,² Sahijdharis and Singhs. The Singhs are those who accept the baptism of Guru Gobind Singh, the rest being Sahijdharis; the Singhs after Gobind Singh's time were all warriors, the Sahijdharis - literally, who live at ease - practised trade or agriculture. The Singhs include Nirmals and Nihangs, the Sahijdharis include the Udasis, founded by Sri Chand, the eldest son of Guru Nanak, when he was not chosen to succeed his father; the Sawayanthis, founded by a water-carrier of Guru Gobind Singh; Ramraiyas, followers of Ram Rai, son of Guru Har Rai, also by-passed; the Handalis and other minor sects.

The Sikh religion differs from most other theological systems in the authenticity of its dogmas, for the compositions of the Gurus are preserved in verse, which is generally unalterable by copyists.³

Though the Sikhs believe in a personal God, He is not in man's image: Guru Nanak calls Him Nirankar (Without Form), and Gur Das speaks of Him as formless, without equal, wonderful and not perceptible by the senses. At the same time all the Gurus believed that He was diffused throughout creation.⁴ According to Guru Gobind Singh, even God and His worshipper,

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I pp.lli-lii
² ibid, p.lii
³ ibid. pp.lli-liii
⁴ ibid. p.lxiii (Introduction, Chap. 4)
though two, are one - as bubbles which arise in water are again blended with it. This belief, according to the Guru, admits no doubt or discussion. It is the error of man in supposing distinct existence, together with the human attributes of passion and spiritual blindness, which produces sin and evil in the world and renders the soul liable to transmigration.¹

In the hymns of the Gurus, Nirvan or absorption in God is proposed as the supreme object of human attainment, but a paradise called Sach Khand is also promised - according to several learned Sikhs both are practically the same - where the blest recognise one another and enjoy eternal beatitude.² Nirvan - from nir, out and va, to blow - means, in Sikh literature, the cessation of individual consciousness by blending the light of the soul with the light of God.³ It is obtained by meditation on God, with sufficient attention and repetition, and by a life lived according to the Gurus' teachings: individual consciousness then ceases, and there is no further pain or misery.⁴

According to the Sikh Gurus, God is a being to be approached and loved as a fond and faithful wife loves her husband; and human beings are to be regarded with equality, as brothers and not divided into castes differing from, and despising, each other.⁵ And man may obtain eternal

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¹ ibid. p.lxiii
² ibid. p.lxiv (Introduction, Chap. 5)
³ ibid. p.lxv
⁴ ibid. p.lxv
⁵ ibid. p.lxiii
happiness without forsaking his worldly duties. A man may have performed good works on earth, but if without devout meditation and mental absorption, he cannot expect either Nirvan or Sach Khand. He will have to undergo purgation after death, from which the soul returns to a human body and begins again, to end either in the supreme bliss of ultimate absorption or the supreme misery of countless transmigrations. If a man has done evil and accumulated demerits, his punishment after death must be severe: when his punishment is equal to his misdeeds, his soul must enter some lower animal and pass through a greater or less number of eight million four hundred thousand forms of existence in creation until its turn comes to be born of human parents. The soul thus reborn as a human being has again to proceed in its long struggle to obtain the 'boundless reward' of Nirvan.

The state of the soul after the death of the body depends on its acts (Karma) while contained in the body; these acts attach to the soul, follow it, and determine its next abode among the bodies of all created animals. The soul exists as the moon does, though it is not perceptible when in conjunction with the sun; as the moon shines again when he progresses in its motion, so does the soul when it moves into another body. The soul being in a state of mobility as well as immortal, seeks

1 ibid. p.lxiv
2 ibid. p.lxv
3 ibid. p.lxv
4 ibid. p.lxvi
5 ibid. p.lxvii
a body for its functions, and, as it were, enters into a marriage with it for the completion and perfection of both. \(^1\) As the same thread will penetrate a gold bead, a pearl or an earthen ball, so the soul, with its acts, will enter any kind of body, by virtue of its covering of fine or gross texture which it has from its last habitat. The soul then passes from body to body in a revolving wheel, until it is purged of its impurities and fit to blend with Absolute from which it emanated. \(^2\)

Parmatma, the primal Spirit, is the Supreme Being considered as the pervading soul of the universe: it is represented as light. Jivatma, the soul of each living being, is also light, an emanation from the primal spirit, and not material. \(^3\) The primal spirit is an illimitable ocean, the soul is a glass of water immersed in it. The glass is the subtle covering of the soul; if the glass is broken, the water blends with the waters of the ocean: this is an illustration of the concept of Nirvan in Sikhism. \(^4\)

According to Sikh ontology all animals have two bodies, one a solid material body and the other a 'subtle intangible body'. \(^5\) The soul (jivatma) is separated from the material body at the time of death, but not from the subtle body until it achieves Nirvan: while the soul is

1 ibid. p.lxviii
2 ibid. p.lxviii.
3 ibid. p.lxviii
4 ibid. p.lxviii
5 ibid. p.lxviii
encased in a subtle body it cannot escape punishment.¹

Only those who are sufficiently purified can be absorbed in the Absolute, 'in the all-dazzling fount of God's infinite perfection and love'; here individual consciousness ceases, the supreme end of existence is achieved, and neither sorrow, misery nor memory of earthly evils can be recalled.²

¹ ibid. pp.lxviii-lxix
² ibid. p.lxix
ANTECEDENTS

The antecedents of Sikh montheism are found in the writings of the Gurus' immediate forerunners, the Bhagats, the devotees or saints, and are preserved in the Granth Sahib compiled by Arjan, the fifth Guru. He selected writings of both Hindus and Mohammedans, and we find in the sacred book compositions of Jaidev, Namdev, Trilochan, Parmanand, Sadhana, Beni, Ramanand, Dhanna, Pipa, Sain, Kabir, Rav Das, Sur Das and verses of at least two Mohammedan saints, Farid and Bhikhan.

Most of the Hindu saints began life as idol-worshippers, but by study and contemplation arrived at a monotheistic belief appreciated by Guru Arjan. The Muhammadan saints lived in Hindu centres and were influenced by Hindu modes of thought while retaining their traditional belief in Divine unity. Jaidev, whose hymns are found in the Granth Sahib, is the celebrated poet who wrote the Gita-Govind - translated into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold and into prose by Sir William Jones. He was born in the Birbhum district of Bengal and lived at the court of Lakshman Sen,

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI p.1
2 ibid. p.1
3 ibid. p.1
4 ibid. pp.1-2 There is no account given of these saints in any of the Sikh writings.
5 ibid. p.7
King of Bengal, who dates from 1270 A.D. The hymns of Jaidev found in the Granth Sahib were written not in Sanskrit like the Gita-Govind, but in the popular language of the time. In one of the hymns he wrote:

Before all things was the Being who is unrivalled and endued with permanence and sensation and happiness: Who is supremely wonderful, distinct from nature, incomprehensible and pervades creation. Repeat only the beloved God's name, Which is ambrosia and essence of all things. By remembering Him the fear of birth, old age and death do not afflict us. If you desire the defeat of death, praise and bless God, and do good works. God is equally in the present, past and future, imperishable and supremely happy.

Namdev was born in 1270 A.D. in the Satara district of Bombay presidency. The hymns found in the Granth Sahib belong to the three periods of his life: boyhood, when he was an idolater; manhood, when he was emancipating himself from Hinduism; and old age, when his hymns conform to the ideas of the religious reformers of the time and, later, the teachings of the Sikh Gurus—the reason for their inclusion in the Book. In the hymn on the saving influence of God's name he says, 'Men without devotion, without penance, without family and without good works, were saved by Name's Lord.' In

1 ibid. pp.4-5
2 ibid. p.7
3 ibid. p.15fn.1
4 ibid. p.15. This poem has been slightly paraphrased here.
5 ibid. pp.17-18
6 ibid. p.40
7 ibid. p.41 (Gauri)
praise of his creed - the unity of God - Namdev wrote:

There is one God of various manifestations contained in
and filling everything; whithersoever I look there is He.
Maya's variegated picture hath so bewitched the world,
that few know God.

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

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

By repeating the name of God all doubts are dispelled -
Repeating the name of God is the highest exercise -
By repeating the name of God caste and lineage are effaced.
That God is the staff of the blind man.²

Ramanand, a Brahman, was born at Mailkot, and very little else is known
of his life. His followers make it a special point to keep all the
details of their sect and its founder a profound secret. Ramanand must
have flourished at the end of the fourteenth and first half of the
fifteen century, for Kabir, the religious reformer, was according to all
documentary and traditional evidence, a disciple of Ramanand and he was
born, according to his followers, in 1398 A.D.³

Ramanand originally imbibed the Hindu doctrines enunciated in the
Smritis, but subsequently adopted reformed principles of Ramanuj.⁴ He
was later expelled by the Ramanuj sect, because he could not understand

1 ibid. p.41 (Asa)
2 ibid. p.56 (Bilawal)
3 ibid. pp. 100-101
4 For an account of Ramanuj's doctrines and followers see Sir Monier
Williams, Brahanism and Hinduism.
what culinary rules, imposed by Ramanuj, had to do with the worship of God. His religious guide, Raghawanand, authorised him to found a sect of his own, which he did. The theological tenets of the new faith were similar to those of Ramanuj, except Sita and Ram replacing Lakshmi and Narayan as special deities; and culinary and other such rules were greatly relaxed. 1 Ramanand tried, moreover, to prove that the observance of caste rules was, according to the Shastras, unnecessary for those who sought God's protection to serve Him. 2 He made it a rule for all persons who accepted his faith to eat and drink together irrespective of their caste, as all men who serve God in the same way were brothers and socially equal. 3 In contrast to Ramanuj, who had enforced a discipline too strict for ordinary men, Ramanand announced that knowledge of God emancipated man from all social bondage. 4 He considered forms of adoration superfluous, the supreme reward of devotion was to be obtained by unceasing utterance of God's name. 5 He called his disciples the Liberated, as they accepted a liberal interpretation of the Hindu social rules; but he vehemently opposed atheists and those who claimed to exist independently of God, like Buddhists, Jains and the followers of

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. VI p.103
2 ibid. p.103
3 ibid. p.103
4 ibid. p.103
5 ibid. p.104
the Left Way, Vamacharis.\(^1\) The disciples of Ramanand were Anantanand, Sureshwarand, Sukhmani, Bhawani, Pipa, Sain, Dhanna, Ravdas, Kabir - the last five included in the Granth Sahib - and others.\(^2\)

In his hymn included in the Granth Sahib Ramanand says, he was proceeding to worship God in a temple, when his spiritual guide showed him God in his heart:

> 'Wherever I go I find only water or stones (holy rivers or (idols) But thou, O God, art equally contained in everything. The Veds and Purans all I have seen and searched. Go thou thither, if God be not here.'\(^3\)

Dhanna is said to have been born in 1415 A.D. He lived in a village about twenty miles from Deoli in Rajputana.\(^4\) He was supernaturally directed to go to Banaras and receive the spell of initiation from Ramanand, who accepted him because of evident purity of heart and devotion.\(^5\) Dhanna wrote in his maturity, when he had completely renounced all superstitious practices:

> 'God is the universal preserver 0 my heart, why thinkest thou not of the God of mercy? Why ignorrest thou not all besides? Wert thou to run through the universe and the continents of the earth, it would not avail thee; only what the Creator doeth comes to pass.'\(^6\)

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI p.104  
\(^2\) ibid. p.105  
\(^3\) ibid. p.106  
\(^4\) ibid. p.106  
\(^5\) ibid. p.107  
\(^6\) ibid. p.110
Pipa, born in 1425 A.D., was king of a state called Gagaraungarh. He had been at first a worshipper of Durga, consort of Shiva. It is said that the goddess appeared to him and told him to go and take Ramanand as his spiritual guide. He wrote on the advantage of internal worship in the hymn found in the Granth Sahib:

'In the body is God, the body is the temple of God, in the body are pilgrims and travellers; in the body are incense, lamps, sacrificial food; in the body are offerings of leaves (made to the dead)

What is in the universe is found in the body: whoever searcheth for it shall find it there.

Pipa representeth, God is the Primal Essence; when there is a true guru he will show him.

Sain, another disciple of Ramanand, was a barber at the court of Raja Ram, king of Rewa, then called Bandhaugarh. The tendency of the age was towards devotion and religious composition, and the accomplishments and duties of an Indian court barber has always been miscellaneous; Sain was therefore able to study the hymns of Ramanand and form his life on their spirit and teachings.

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI p.111
2 ibid. p.112
3 ibid. p.119 (Dhanasari)
4 ibid. p.120
Sain's hymn in the Granth Sahib forms a part of the Arati, a divine service of the Sikhs at the lighting of lamps in the evenings:

'Thy name is the best lamp, meditation thereon the purest wick,
Thou alone art the Bright One, O God!
It is the saints of God who feel divine pleasure;
They describe Thee as all-pervading and the Supreme Joy.'

Kabir was born in 1398 A.D. to a Brahman virgin widow, daughter of a faithful follower of Ramanand. Her father had taken her to see Ramanand, who, in ignorance of her status, prayed that she might have a son. When told of her status, he said that the blessing could not be revoked, but she would show no signs of pregnancy or lose her reputation and her son should reform religion and save the world. When her son was born she abandoned him on a lake, called Lahar Talao, near Benares. He was found by a Mohammedan weaver, who adopted him as his son. After the discovery a Qazi was called to give him a name. On opening the Quran, the word Kabir meaning Great was the first to be noticed, and the child was given this name. When Kabir was old enough to understand the

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. VI p.122 fn.2
2 ibid. pp.121-122 (Dhanasari)
3 ibid. p.122
4 ibid. p.122
5 ibid. pp.122-123
6 ibid. pp.123-124
nature of the mystery surrounding his birth he composed the following verses:

I have just come from God
Mammon hath led the world astray; it hath not found
the secret of my birth.
I was not born, nor did I dwell in a womb; I have
appeared a child as I am.
A weaver found me near his but in a lake at Banaras
I was not in heaven, or in earth, or in any country;
my divine knowledge is endless.
The spirit which is manifested in His own world is my name.
I have no bones, no blood, no skin; I have been manifested
by the Word.
I am beyond all body and endless, a superior being whom men
call immortal Kabir.¹

Although adopted by Muslims he was subjected to Hindu influences
from earliest years, living at Benares.² Muslims said the child was
an infidel, and Kabir retorted that an infidel was he who struck any
person without just cause; who wore a religious garb to deceive the
world; who drank wine; stole; committed suicide; smoked tobacco;
committed highway robbery; took life. These became Kabir's eight
commandments³.

One day he put on the sacrificial thread and mark of the Hindus
and when a Brahman told him that, as he had been brought up as a
Muslim and followed the trade of his foster-father, he had no concern
with Hinduism. Kabir retorted, "Thou beggest from lords and kings,

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI p.124
² ibid. p.124
³ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI pp.124-125
while I meditate on God; which of us is better?"1 As he grew up his devotion, spiritual power and miracles became famous. He considered everything blasphemy which was opposed to the worship of God; the practice of yoga, alms, fasting and feeding of Brahmans not only useless but improper without the repetition of God's name and love for Him.2

His works, in themselves, are acceptable to all sects, although he considered both Hindu caste-rules and Mohammedan religious practices useless.3 His initiative knowledge and acute reasoning power enabled him to defeat both Hindu and Muslim men of learning in theological and ethical debates. They decided to call him, in final humiliation, a nigura or a person without spiritual guide and - in a vulgar sense of the term - of a dubious moral character, which made Kabir go to Ramanand, who was already known to him as a famous teacher, and become his disciple.4

When his parents failed to restrain his Hindu inclinations, they decided to circumcise him; he replied:

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI p.125 (The hymn is in Asa measure)
2 ibid. p.126
3 ibid. p.126
4 ibid. p.126
Whence have come the Hindus and Musalmans?
Who hath put them on their different ways?
Having thought and reflected in they heart, answer this -
Who shall obtain heaven and who hell?
O Qazi, what expoundest thou?

Thou practisest circumcision for love of woman:
If God had desired to make me a Musalman, I should have
been born circumcised.
If a man becomes a Musalman by circumcision, what is to be
done to a woman?
Thou puttest not away they wife who is half thy body;
wherefore thou remainest a Hindu.
Give up they books, 0 foolish man, and worship God; thou
practisest gross oppression.¹

The bigoted emperor Sikandar Khan Lodi, son of Bahlol Lodi visited
Benares in Sambat 1545 (1488 A.D.), the year he ascended his throne, and
contracted a severe fever and ague. Kabir's enemies suggested that he
should be called to cure the emperor. They thought he would fail and be
punished by the emperor, but he cured the emperor by simply presenting
himself.² Then both Muslims and Hindus made a complaint to the emperor
that Kabir had misled the people of the city so much that they neither
remained Muslims nor Hindus. Kabir was summoned and when he was asked to
salute the emperor in the manner of a subject, he said that he was neither
accustomed to courts and prostrations nor had he any business with the
emperor.³ For him only God was sovereign of the world and his name the
support of his soul.⁴ This enraged the emperor and he forgot his obligation

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI p.127 (Asa)
2 ibid. pp.131-132
3 ibid. p.132
4 ibid. p.132
to Kabir, ordered him to be loaded with chains and thrown into the river. It is said that Kabir swam ashore, leaving the chains behind. Then they, attributing this to magic, made a fire and threw him into it. The fire was completely extinguished and Kabir's body emerged from it more handsome than before. After this a furious elephant was let loose on him. The elephant, however, fled on seeing him. Kabir composed the following verses on the occasion:

They tied my arms and threw me like a ball;
They beat an infuriated elephant on the head that he might trample on me,
But he trumpeted and fled, saying 'I am a sacrifice to that shape which appeared'.
Saith Kabir, 'O my God, Thou art my strength'.

Finally, a beautiful young woman was sent to test his virtue, but she too was unsuccessful.

God was pleased with Kabir's continence and devotion and appeared to him in a vision. He placed his hand on his head and invited him to go bodily to heaven. Kabir, knowing that he had obtained complete deliverance prepared himself to accept the divine invitation; but to show his contempt for Hindu superstitions he left Benares - which many Hindus believe to be the only place where deliverance is obtained - for Magahar, beyond the

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI p.132
2 ibid. pp.132-133 (Gaund)
3 ibid. p.137
4 ibid. p.137
Ganges - a place without hope according to Hindu belief. There he took possession of a saint's cell on the bank of the river Ami, on whose dry bed water began to flow when Kabir went to live there. In his compositions at Magahar he said:

I am a fish out of water
Because in a former life I performed no penance.
Now say, O God, what shall be my condition.

I consider Magahar as good as Benares -
How shall he of scant devotion be saved?

What is hell and what heaven, the wretched places?
The saints have rejected them both (for absorption in God)

God and Kabir have become one; no one can distinguish them.

After Kabir's death - at the age of one hundred and nineteen years five months and twenty-seven days - a quarrel arose between the Hindus and Mohammedans, until a voice from heaven separated them and they found that there was no body to dispose of, only fragrant flowers. The Hindus made a shrine and the Mohammedans a grave next to each other.

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. VI p.137
2 ibid. p.138
3 ibid. p.138
4 ibid. p.139 incl. fn.1
5 ibid. p.139
6 ibid. p.139
Many of Kabir's compositions are mystical, and much concentration of thought and knowledge of the spiritual and social condition of his age are necessary for their elucidation.\(^1\) Kabir held the doctrine of non-destruction of life, even of flowers, but the Sikh Gurus allowed, and even encouraged, meat-eating by their followers.\(^2\)

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1 ibid. p.141
2 ibid. p.141
i. GURU NANAK

About thirty miles south west of Lahore, on the margin of the raised forest occupying the centre of the Panjab, the town of Talwandi is situated, where Guru Nanak was born on the third day of the month of Baisakh (April-May) in the Sambat year 1526 (1469 A.D.).

Nanak's father was Kalu, of the Bedi section of the Khatri caste, and he was the village accountant and a farmer; his mother - memorable in Sikh writings for her devotion to her son - was Tripta. At that time Delhi was ruled by Bahlol Khan Lodi (1450-1488 A.D.) and the Panjab appears to have already been divided among his retainers. One of these was Rai Bhoi, a Musalman Rajput of the Bhatti tribe, whose son, Rai Bular, was Zamindar or proprietor of Talwandi at the time of Nanak's birth and youth. Rai Bular was not a bigot - in spite of the prevailing religious intolerance and persecution - and, as he was not directly under the influences of the imperial capital, he had ample time for reflection. He felt a

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.lxxii: The town was later named Nankana in the Guru's memory.
2 ibid. pp.lxix-lxx
3 ibid. p.lxx
4 ibid. p.1
5 ibid. p.lxxi
mysterious interest in Nanak.¹

The Sikh biographers recount in minute detail all the circumstances of Nanak's birth;² the oldest authentic account of the Guru, however, was written by Bhai Gur Das, who lived at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century — from whose cantos we have quoted earlier. He was a cousin of the fifth Guru, Arjan, and also his amanuensis; he wrote out the Adi Granth (the first Granth as distinguished from the tenth Guru's Granth) to Arjan's dictation.³

The astrologer, who came to write Nanak's horoscope, is said to have declared that the child should have regal or prophetic dignity and be worshipped alike by Hindus and Mohammedans. He himself would be a worshipper of one God and should treat a creature as a creature, not a god, like the Hindus.⁴ At the age of five Nanak is said to have begun to talk of divine subjects and to have fully understood what he said.⁵ When he was sent to school at the age of seven, his master wrote the alphabet for him as his first lesson and he reproduced it from memory the next day. It is said that he also made an acrostic on the alphabet, expressing his

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I p.lxxi
² ibid. p.l
³ ibid. p.lxxiii: The details of Guru Nanak's life given by Gur Das have been used in Macauliffe's translation. For notices of the authors of the main current accounts of Guru Nanak and other Gurus, see ibid. p.lxxiiiff.
⁵ ibid. p.2
divine aspirations, tenets and admiration of the Creator's attributes.\footnote{1}

The acrostic begins with:

The one Lord who created the world is the Lord of all.
Fortunate is their advent into the world, whose hearts
remain attached to God's service.
0 foolish man, why hast thou forgotten Him?
When thou adjustest thine account, my friend, thou
shalt be deemed educated.

\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots

The primal Being is the Giver; He alone is true.
No account shall be due by the pious man who understandeth
by means of these letters.\footnote{2}

Nanak appears to have continued to attend school for some time; one
day, however, his master asked him why he was not reading his books? He
replied, "Art thou sufficiently learned to teach me?" When the master
said he had read everything, the Vedas, Shastras, posting of ledgers and
day books and striking balances, Nanak's reply was, "I prefer the study
of divine knowledge to your accomplishments".\footnote{3} Nanak composed a hymn on
the occasion:

\begin{quote}
Burn worldly love, grind its ashes and make it into ink,
turn superior intellect into paper
Make divine love they pen, and thy heart the write; ask
thy Guru and write his instruction.
\end{quote}

\footnote{1} Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.3  
\footnote{2} ibid. p.4  
\footnote{3} ibid. p.8
They in whose hearts is the true Name,¹ have the marks of it on their brows. By God’s mercy men obtain it and not by idle words. One man cometh, another goeth; we give them great names. Some men God created to beg, and some to preside over great courts. When they have departed, they shall know that without the Name, they are of no account.²

It astonished the schoolmaster and he paid homage to Nanak as a saint and told him to do as he pleased. Nanak then took to private study and meditation,³ and began to associate with religious men in the forest around Talwandi.⁴ He used to stay in the same attitude, whether in sleep or awake, for long periods.⁵ The Name became the object of his continual worship and meditation; and one of the distinctive features of the creed.⁶

¹ ibid. p.9 fn.2: In Sikh writings the word Name is frequently used for God: repetition of God’s name is one of the principal forms of Sikh worship - in the belief that, by constant heartfelt repetition of God’s name, man should be eventually absorbed in Him and thus obtain the supreme object of human birth after countless transmigrations.

² ibid. p.9
³ ibid. p.9
⁴ ibid. p.10
⁵ ibid. p.9
⁶ ibid. p.11
There is evidence in Nanak's own compositions that Nanak also studied Persian, the official language at the time. Moreover, Rai Bular had promised to make him the village accountant in succession to his father, if he learnt Persian. Nanak soon astonished his Persian teacher as he had his Hindu teacher; in reply to Rukn-ul-Din's - the Persian teacher's - injunctions, he made an acrostic this time, on the Persian alphabet, beginning with the lines:

Remember God and banish neglect of Him from they heart
Accursed the life of him in this world who breatheth without uttering the Name.
Renounce heresy and walk according to the Shariat (the Mohammaden law)
Be humble before everyone, and call no one bad.\(^2\)

It does not appear, however, that even the acquisition of Persian turned Nanak's thoughts in a more practical direction; his father thought him insane and was worried about his future. He sent him to herd buffaloes in the adjoining forest, but on the second day Nanak fell asleep and his cattle trespassed on a neighbour's field. The owner remonstrated and Nanak said God would bless the field; but the owner complained to Rai Bular, who sent his messengers to inspect the field. They found not one blade disturbed - the field of the miracle is known as Kiara Sahib, parterre par excellence.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.11
\(^2\) ibid. p.11
\(^3\) ibid. p.15
When Nanak was nine years old his father decided to have him invested with the sacred thread. When the family priest tried to put the thread on his neck, he caught it in his hand and asked the priest the meaning of the ceremony.¹ The priest explained that without the thread a man would only be a Sudra, and its investment enabled one to obtain greatness in this world and happiness in the next. On hearing this Nanak uttered a verse sermon on its futility:

Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread,
continence its knot, truth its twist.
That would make a janeu (sacred thread) for the soul;
if thou have it O Brahman then put it on me.²

When the Brahman rebuked him and said he was only a child, Nanak replied:

Though men commit countless thefts, countless adulteries,
utter countless falsehoods and countless words of abuse
Though they commit countless robberies and villainies
night and day against their fellow creatures;
Yet the cotton thread is spun, and the Brahman cometh to twist it.³

It is related that Nanak was married at the age of fourteen to Sulakhani, daughter of Mula, from Batala in the present district of Gurdaspur.⁴ Nanak still persisted in doing no useful work and his mother reproached him with idleness, but he paid no attention to her.⁵ And to

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.16
² ibid. p.16
³ ibid. p.17
⁴ ibid. pp.18-19
⁵ ibid. p.19
the reproaches of his father and Rai Bular – when he refused to help his father in farming – he replied:

Become a husbandsman, make good works thy soil and the word of God thy seed;
In the pride of wealth and the splendour of beauty life hath been wasted.
The sin of the body is a puddle, the mind is a toad therein which valueth not at all the lotus.

Nanak saith man must depart; why amass property and wealth.¹

After trying without success to interest Nanak in shopkeeping, horse trading and travel – anything to earn a livelihood – his father despaired and told him that he was lost to the family and should go and take up government service.² When his mother tried again to tutor him to worldly affairs, he replied:

If I repeat the Name, I live; if I forget it I die.
It is difficult to repeat the true Name.³

Very little is known of Nanak's domestic life, except that he had two sons, Sri Chand and Lakshmi Das.⁴ When he found his parents and relations standing around him once, he composed a hymn in which he asked, 'Since when have I a mother and a father? From fire and bubbles of water are we sprung; for what object were we created?'⁵

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¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I pp. 21-22
² ibid. p. 23
³ ibid. p. 25
⁴ ibid. p. 29
⁵ ibid. pp. 29-30
Eventually, Rai Bular and Jai Ram, Nanak's brother-in-law, decided that Nanak was a saint and being ill-treated by his father. Jai Ram, therefore, promised to find him work in Sultanpur, the provincial capital. He introduced Nanak as an educated man to Daulat Khan, the governor of the province, who appointed him storekeeper and gave him a dress of honour as a preliminary of service. Nanak began to apply himself to his duties, and was so successful that everybody was gratified and congratulated him. He was also praised to the Governor, who was much pleased with his new servant. Out of the provisions which Guru Nanak was allotted, he devoted only a small portion to his own maintenance; the rest he gave to the poor. He used continually to spend his nights singing hymns to the Creator.

The minstrel Mardana came from Talwandi and became Nanak's personal servant. He used to accompany Nanak on the rebeck in his hymn-singing. Other trends followed Mardana, and Nanak introduced them to the Governor and recommended them for employment. At dinner-time they came and sat down with him and singing went on into the night. A watch before day Nanak used to go for his ablutions to the nearby Bein river; at dawn he went to

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.33
2 ibid. p.33
3 ibid. p.33
4 ibid. p.33
5 ibid. p.33
6 ibid. p.33
I work. 1

One day after bathing Nanak disappeared in the forest and was taken in a vision to God's presence, and was offered a cup of nectar. God said to him, 'I am with thee. I have made thee happy, and also those who shall take thy name. Go and repeat Mine, and cause others to do likewise; abide uncontaminated by the world. Practice the repetition of my name, charity, ablutions, worship and meditation. I have given thee this cup of nectar, a pledge of my regard.' 2 The Guru made his obeisance to God and sang a hymn accompanied by spontaneous music from heaven. 3 Then a voice was heard to say 'O Nanak thou hast seen My Sovereignty; and Nanak uttered the preamble of the Japji:

There is but one God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent great and bountiful.
The True One was in the beginning; the True One was in the primal age.
The True One is, was, O Nanak, and the True One shall be. 4

Then it was heard again: 'O Nanak, to him upon whom My look of kindness resteth, be thou merciful, as I too shall be merciful. My name is God, the Primal Brahm, and thou art the divine Guru'. 5

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I p.33
2 ibid. p.34
3 ibid. p.34
4 ibid. p.35
5 ibid. p.35
In final obeisance the Guru chanted: 'Thou wise and omniscient art an ocean; how can I obtain a knowledge of Thy limit?' ......

'Thou art near, Thou art distant, and Thou art midway. Thou seest and hearest, by Thy power didst Thou create the world. Whatever order pleaseth Thee, saith Nanak, that is acceptable.'

After three days Nanak came out of the forest - people thought he had been drowned in the river and wondered how he had returned to life - and went home and gave all he possessed to the poor. A great crowd assembled, the Governor Daulat Khan among them. He, however, understood that Nanak's action was the result of his abandonment of the world, but felt sad and went home. Other people believed that Nanak was possessed by an evil spirit and a Mohammedan priest was summoned to exorcise it. In spite of Nanak's mocking 'those who write God's name and sell it', the priest continued with his exorcism; when he asked the alleged spirit 'Who art thou?', the following reply came from Nanak's mouth:

Some say poor Nanak is a sprite, some say he is a demon, Others again that he is a man. Those who were present then concluded that Nanak was not possessed, but had become insane. Simpleton Nanak hath become mad upon the Lord And knoweth none other than God And recognizeth none other than the one God, He is known as mad when he doeth this one thing - When he obeyeth the Master's order - in what else is wisdom? When man loveth the Lord and deemeth himself worthless And the rest of the world good, he is called mad.

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I pp.35-36 (Sri Rag)
2 ibid. p.36.
3 ibid. pp.36-37 (Maru)
After this incident Nanak put on a religious dress and spent his time with religious men, and after two days of silence he made the grave announcement: 'There is no Hindu and no Musalman'. This made the Qazi complain to the Governor, who summoned Nanak to explain himself.¹ Nanak refused the first time, but on a second summons he went. The Governor said to him that it was his misfortune that such an officer as Nanak should have become a faqir. He then made Nanak sit next to him and directed the Qazi to ask Nanak, now that he was in a conversational mood, the meaning of his announcement.² Nanak, in explanation of the statement that there was no Musalman, said:

To be a Musalman is difficult; if one is really so, then one may be called a Musalman.
Let one first love the religion of the saints, and put aside pride and pelf, as the file removeth rust.
Let him accept the religion of his pilots, and dismiss anxiety regarding death or life.
Let him heartily obey the will of God, worship the Creator and efface himself -
When he is kind to all men, then, Nanak, shall he indeed be a Musalman.³

On being further questioned by the Qazi he asked Mardana to play his rebeck, and sang:

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¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.37
² ibid. p.37,
³ ibid. p.38 (Majh ki War)
Make kindness thy mosque, sincerity thy prayer-carpet
What is just and lawful thy Quran
Modesty thy circumcision, civility thy fasting ...;
Make right conduct thy Kaaba, truth thy spiritual guide,
Good works thy creed and thy prayer,
The will of God thy rosary, and God will preserve thy
honour, O Nanak,
Nanak, let others' rights be to thee as swine to the
Musalman and kite to the Hindu;

Thou shalt not go to heaven by lip service; it is by the
practice of truth thou shalt be delivered

There are five prayers, five times ... and five names ... for them
The first should be truth, the second what is right, the
third charity in God's name,
The fourth good intentions, the fifth the praise and
glory of God.
If thou make good works the creed thou repeatest, thou
shall be a Musalman.
They who are false, O Nanak, shall only obtain what is
altogether false.²

The Qazi was astonished at being thus lectured. As it was then time for
afternoon prayers, they all went to the mosque; after prayer Nanak told
both the Qazi and the Governor that they had been thinking of something
else when they were ostensibly praying. They admitted that it was true
and fell at his feet, saying he had God's favour.³

After a short stay with the holy men, with whom he had recently been
associating, the Guru and Mardana went to Saiyidpur - later known as

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.39 fn.¹: Macauliffe translates it as 'goods', but gives 'rights or what is due to thy neighbours' as literal translations.
2 ibid. pp.38-39
3 ibid. pp.39-40
Eminabad - in the Gujranwala district of the Panjab - where they stayed with Lalo, a carpenter. Lalo asked Nanak to eat his dinner within the sanctified space - smeared with cowdung to make it holy - where he had cooked the meal. The Guru said the whole earth was his sacred space and he who loved truth was pure - and ate where he was seated.\(^1\) After a fortnight, Malik Bhago, steward of the Pathan who owned Saiyidpur, gave a banquet to which caste Hindus were invited, but Nanak did not go.\(^2\) When Bhago heard of Nanak's absence, he ordered him to be produced and asked him why he had ignored the invitation. Bhago was not appeased by his reason, that he was a faqir and did not wish to eat delicacies, and accused him of eating with a low-caste person when he himself was a Khatri. Nanak then asked for his share and also asked Lalo to bring him bread from his kitchen. Taking Lalo's coarse bread in his right hand and Malik Bhago's dainty one in his left, he squeezed them both. It is said that from Lalo's bread came milk and from Malik Bhago's bread came milk and from Malik's blood i.e. Lalo's bread was got by honest work and was pure, and Bhago Malik's by bribery and oppression, therefore, impure. The Guru did not hesitate to take Lalo's bread.\(^3\) After this event he and Mardana went to a solitary forest, avoiding villages and

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.43
\(^2\) ibid. p.44
\(^3\) ibid. p.44
Nanak's first notorious convert was a robber called Shaikh Sajjan. Sajjan had built a temple for his Hindu guests and a mosque for Mohammedan, and provided, ostensibly, everything to make their stay comfortable; but in reality he used to throw his guests into a well at night to die and in the morning he took up a pilgrim's staff and rosary and spread out a carpet to pray. On seeing Nanak, Sajjan mistook the glow on his face for consciousness of wealth and expected as usual much profit from his guest. He invited both the Guru and Mardana to rest for the night. The Guru asked his permission to recite a hymn to God, which he gave. In the hymn Shaikh Sajjan saw that all the faults which the Guru had attributed to himself were actually his. He kissed Nanak's feet and prayed for his sins to be pardoned. The Guru said, 'Shaikh Sajjan, at the thorne of God grace is obtained by two things, open confession and reparation for wrong.' Sajjan asked him to perform those things by which sins were forgiven and grace obtained. It touched the Guru's heart and he asked Sajjan to confess truthfully all the murders he had committed and give away all the property he had taken from his victims. Sajjan did so and became a disciple of the Guru, after receiving charanpahul, a form of initiation by drinking the water in which the Guru's feet had been washed.

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I p. 44
2 ibid. pp. 46-47
It is said that the first Sikh temple was constructed on the spot.\(^1\)

Once the Guru visited a religious fair held on the occasion of a solar eclipse at Kurkhetar (Kurukshtera) near Thanesar in the present district of Ambala, and needing refreshment cooked a deer which a disciple had presented him.\(^2\) The Brahmans expressed their horror at this, and he replied:

\[
\text{Man is first conceived in flesh, he dwelleth in flesh.}
\text{When he quickeneth, he obtaineth a mouth of flesh;}
\text{his bone, skin and body are made of flesh.}
\text{When he is taken out of womb, he seizeth teats of flesh.}
\]

\[
\text{When he groweth up he marrieth, and bringeth flesh home with him.}
\text{Flesh is produced from flesh; all men’s relations are made from flesh.}
\text{By meeting the true Guru and obeying Guru’s order, everybody shall go right.}
\text{If thou suppose that man shall be saved by himself, he shall not; Nanak, it is idle to say so.}\(^3\)
\]

Fools wrought about flesh, but know not divine knowledge or meditation on God. They know not what is flesh, or what is vegetable, or in what sin consisteth.

\[
\text{They who forswear flesh and hold their noses when near it, devour men at night.}
\]

\[
\text{Ye are produced from the blood of your parents, yet ye eat not fish or flesh.}
\text{When man and woman meet at night and cohabit,}
\text{A foetus is conceived from flesh; we are vessels of flesh.}
\]

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I p. 47
2 ibid. p. 47
3 ibid. pp. 47-48
Women, men, kings and emperors spring from flesh. If they appear to you to be going to hell, then accept not their offerings. See how wrong it would be that givers should go to hell and receivers to heaven.¹

The Guru succeeded in making many converts at Kurkhetar. When departing, he told his disciples to 'live in harmony', utter the Creator's name, and if any one salute them with it, to say "Sat Kartar" True Creator in reply. There was four ways by which, with the repetition of God's name, men may reach Him: first is holy companionship, the second, truth; the third, contentment; and the fourth, restraint of the senses: whether they are hermits or householders.²

The Guru then visited Hardwar, where a great crowd had gathered to wash away their sins in the Ganges; but the Guru says that while they washed their bodies, their hearts remained filthy and minds wandered. While they were throwing water towards the east for their ancestors, the Guru went among them and began to throw water like them, but towards the west - till a large crowd gathered and began to ask him what he was doing, and whether he was a Hindu or a Mohammedan. He replied that, before leaving his home in the west, he had sown a field and there was no one there to irrigate it, - and that it was a mound where rain water would not rest, - therefore, he was obliged to irrigate it in that manner. The spectators told him that he was mad, the water would not reach his field. The Guru replied, "my field is near, while your ancestors are very far away, so how can the water you offer them ever reach them or profit them?"

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I pp. 49-49
² ibid. pp.49-50
You call me a fool, but you all are greater fools.¹

After a short time the Guru spoke, "The Hindus are going to hell. Death will seize and mercilessly punish them". He then accurately divined their thoughts, which made them think of him a god and they asked him to pardon their sins and make them his disciples.² But the Brahmans pressed him to return to Hinduism and the Guru replied that in his age the sacrifices, burnt-offerings, worship of gods and goddesses - which had spiritual advantages according to the Brahmans - consisted in giving food to those who repeated God's name and practised humility and recitation of Guru's hymns; paying homage to ignorant priests ruined men as flies ruined sweets.³

From Hardwar Guru Nanak and Mardana went to Panipat, where he succeeded in convincing the Mohammedan priest there, a successor of Shaikh Sharaf or Abu Ali Qalandar,⁴ that he was a man of God in spite of his motley costume.⁵ From Panipat Nanak reached Delhi, where a royal elephant had just died; but he said to its keepers that it was alive and told them to go and rub its forehead and say Wahguru, Hail to the Guru.

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I pp.49-50
² ibid. p.51
³ ibid. p.52
⁴ ibid. p.52 fn.3
⁵ ibid. pp.52-56
It is said the elephant stood up. When the Emperor, Ibrahim Lodi, heard of the miracle, he sent for it and went to the Guru mounted on it and asked him if it was he who had reanimated the elephant. The Guru replied, 'God is the only Destroyer and Reanimator. Prayers are for faqirs and mercy for Him'. The emperor asked him whether he would restore the elephant if it were killed. The animal then died and Nanak said to the emperor, 'Iron when heated in the fire becometh red, and cannot be held for a moment in the hand. In the same way faqirs become red in the heat of God's love, and cannot be constrained'.

The Guru went to Brindaban, where the performance of a play on the amorous exploits of the god Krishna displeased him and he composed:

Everyone dances according to his own acts -
They who dance and laugh shall weep on their departure,
They cannot fly or obtain supernatural power.
Leaping and dancing are mental recreations;
Nanak, they who have the fear of God in their hearts
have also love.

Then then set out towards the east, wearing a strange mixture of Hindu and Mohammedan religious habiliments - a saffron jacket, the hat of a Qalander, a necklace of bones and a saffron mark on his forehead - as an expression of his desire to found a religion acceptable to both but conforming to neither. On their way the Guru and Mardana saw a Mohammedan personage alighting from a sedan and his servants attending to

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1 ibid. pp.56-57
3 ibid. p.58
his comfort. Mardana asked the Guru whether there was one God for the rich and another for the poor, and the Guru replied that there was one God for both, but:

'They who performed austerities in their former lives, are now kings and receive tribute on earth'.

They reached Benares - from Gorakhmata or temple of Gorakh, some twenty miles north of Pilibhit in the United Provinces - where the pipal tree, under which the Guru sat, grew suddenly green after having withered from age years ago - and converted the chief Brahman, Chatur Das, with a recitation of all the fifty-four stanzas of the Omkar in the Rag Ramkali.

From Benares the Guru went to Gaya, where he refused to perform the ceremonies for ancestors' repose and said:

The Name alone is my lamp, suffering the oil I put therein. The lamp's light hath dried it up, and I have escaped meeting Death.

Some rolls are offered to the gods, some to the manes (of ancestors); but it the Brahman who kneadeth and eateth them.
Nanak, the rolls which are gifts of God are never exhausted.

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.59
2 ibid. p.59
3 ibid. pp.61-64
4 ibid. p.64
5 ibid. p.65, (Asa)
The Guru and Mardana finally arrived in Kamrup,¹ where women were famous for their skill in incantation and magic. The queen, called Nurshah in Sikh writings, tried to gain influence over the Guru, but saw that her spells were of no use.² She felt her lack of success was due to her sins.³ Then she tried to tempt him with wealth; the Guru sang to Mardana's rebeck:

O silly woman, why art thou proud?  
Why enjoyest thou not the love of God in thine own home?  
The Spouse is near; O foolish woman, why searchest thou abroad?  
Go and ask the happy wives (who have God for their Spouse)  
by what means they obtained their spouse -  
Whatever He doeth accept as good; have done with cleverness and order.⁴

Nurshah and her women, on hearing this hymn, twisted their headdresses around their necks in submission and fell at his feet. It is said they became Guru Nanak's disciples, and received salvation by repeating God's name, conscientiously performing their domestic duties and renouncing magic.⁵

On leaving Kamrup the Guru entered a wilderness, where Kaljug or Satan came to tempt him. Mardana felt afraid of him and the Guru said if he felt any fear it should be the fear of God. When he asked the Guru

¹ ibid. p.73: it is believed that in Guru Nanak's time it at least included the districts of Goalpura and Kamrup. Also fn.¹
² ibid. p.74
³ ibid. p.75
⁴ ibid. p.77 (Tilang)
⁵ ibid. p.78
who Kaljug was and what were his signs, the Guru said:

When true men speak the truth and suffer for it; when penitents fail to perform penance in their homes; When he who repeateth the name of God meeteth obloquy — these are the signs of the Kaljug.¹

Kaljug offered the Guru the wealth and sovereignty of the world if he abandoned his mission, and the Guru said that he himself had renounced all sovereignty, he could not do anything with what Kaljug offered, and moreover they belonged to others.² Then Kaljug went around him in adoration and fell at his feet before departing.³

The Guru returned from Kamrup by the Brahmaputra river, and then made a coasting journey to Puri on the Bay of Bengal.⁴ He was invited there by the high priest of the temple of Jagannath, the lord of the world, to join in the worship with offerings made on salvers studded with pearls and lamps throwing light over the temple. All this splendour was for Nanak artificial worship, and he raised his eyes to heaven and uttered the famous hymn:

The sun and moon, O Lord, are thy lamps; the firmament, Thy salver; the orbs of the stars, the pearls enchased in it. The perfume of the sandal is Thine incense; the wind is Thy fan; all the forests are Thy flowers, O Lord of light.⁵

¹ Mcauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.79
² ibid. p.79
³ ibid. p.80
⁴ ibid. p.81
⁵ ibid. p.82
The Guru and Mardana after their travels in Eastern India returned to the Panjab, and paid a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Farid, a Moslem saint, at a place called Ajodhan (Pak Pattan), whose priest was Shaikh Brahm (Ibrahim). On seeing the Guru dressed in secular dress the Shaikh said:

Either seek for high position or for God,
Put not thy feet on two boats lest thy property founder.¹

The Guru replied:

Put thy feet on two boats and thy property also on them (i.e. enjoy the world and also remember God)
One boat may sink, but the other shall cross over (i.e. the body may perish, but the soul shall be saved)²

The Guru and Shaikh Brahm stayed together that night in the forest. A villager brought them a basin of milk before daylight. The Shaikh took his share of the milk and said: 'Devotion in the beginning of the night is the blossom, in the end of the night (i.e. end of life) is the fruit. They who watch obtain gifts from the Lord.'³ The Guru replied: 'Gifts are the Lord's; what can prevail against Him? Some who are awake receive them not; others who are asleep He awaketh, and conferreth presents upon them.'⁴

The Guru asked Shaikh Brahm to put his hand into the milk and feel what was in it; he found four gold coins. The villager thought they were

¹ Maccaliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.84
² ibid. p.85 incl. fn.1 and 2
³ ibid. p.88
⁴ ibid. p.88 (Sri Rag ki War)
magicians and went away without his basin. When they left the forest he returned to fetch it; on lifting it up, it is said, he found that it had become gold and was filled with gold coins. He realised that they were religious men, not magicians and thought 'I came with worldliness, and worldliness have I found'.

Shaikh Brahma inquired of the Guru what besides God's name was necessary for future happiness. The Guru said:

The union of father and mother produceth a body,  
On which the Creator hath written its destiny,  
The gifts, the divine lights, and the greatness allotted it;  
But on associating with mammon it loseth remembrance of God.  
O foolish man, why art thou proud?  
Thou shalt have to depart when it pleaseth the Lord.  
Abandon pleasures, and peace and peace and happiness shall be thine  
Thou shalt have to leave thy home; no one is permanent here.  

Domestic entanglements are a whirlpool, O brother;  
Sin a stone which floateth not over.  
Put thy soul on the raft of God's fear, and thou shalt be saved.  
Saith Nanak, such a raft God giveth but to few.

When the Shaikh asked him about God and the virtues and merits by which He was to be found, the Guru said:

'Go ask the happy wife by what merits she enjoyeth her Spouse - 
"Composure, contentment, and sweet discourse are mine ornaments I met my Beloved, who is an abode of pleasure, when I heard the Guru's word".

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.88  
2 ibid. pp.90-91  
3 ibid. p.91 (Maru).
When the true Guru is found, truth is produced, and man becoming true is absorbed in the truth. When man is filled with fear through God's instructions, then he obtaineth understanding, and honour resulteth. Nanak, the true King then blendeth man with Himself.¹

After this visit — and after making many converts — the Guru went to a country called Bisiar, probably the state of Bushahir in the Himalayas, whose inhabitants considered his presence a pollution and purified every spot he stood on; Jhanda, a carpenter, was the only exception, and he joined the Guru in his travel for a time and returned with a poem by the Guru on the four ages of the world — no longer extant — which he had copied.²

From there the Guru and Mardana came to a lonely desert. Mardana had by this time enough of travel, hardship and hunger, and complained to his master and said that he could go on only if the Guru satisfied his hunger as he satisfied his own; the Guru agreed and blessed him. Mardana, it seems, suggested soon after that they should return home and see their parents after twelve years of wandering. The Guru allowed Mardana to visit both their homes, while he waited three miles out in the forest of Talwandi, and not to mention his presence to them.³ When Mardana visited the Guru's home, the Guru's mother suspected that Nanak could not be far and she followed Mardana with presents for her son. Nanak greeted her

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.92 (Sri Rag)
² ibid. p.93
³ ibid. p.95
respectfully, but refused her request, to settle down, with a song, while Mardana played his rebek:

\[\text{Drunkards abandon not stimulants, not fishes water:} \\
\text{So God is pleasing beyond all others to those who are imbued with their Lord.}\]

His father also came and asked him whether he should find him another wife. Nanak told him that it was God who arranged marriages and He made no mistake. When his father appealed to him to consider his health and safety, he said that he neither feared death nor had any desire for life.

Nanak and Mardana set out on their travels again. It is said they went west, crossed the rivers Ravi and Chenab and once again arrived at Pak Patten, the seat of Shaikh Braham. The Shaikh asked him three questions in their discussion: 'What is that word, what that virtue, what that priceless spell; What dress shall I wear by which I may captivate the Spouse?'

The Guru replied:

\[\text{Humility is the word, forbearance the virtue, and civility the priceless spell,} \\
\text{Make these three thy dress, 0 sister, and the Spouse shall come into they power.}\]

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.96
2 ibid. p.98
3 ibid. p.100
4 ibid. p.101
5 ibid. p.103 (Farid's Sloks)
6 ibid. p.104 (Farid's Sloks)
The Guru went to Dipalpur and Kanganpur, Kasur and Patti in the Lahore district, and Windpur in the Amritsar district, where some Khatris told him to quit, as he had disgraced his tribe by becoming a faqir. At Goindhwal only a leper would receive him, but when he began to lament his fate, the Guru spoke of

The body which forgetteth God's word,
Screameth like a real leper.
To make many complaints is to talk folly
Without our complaining everything is known to God,

If man depart with the brand of sin on his face,
He will not be allowed to sit in God's court.
If he meet Thy favour, O God, he repeateth Thy name,
By attaching himself to it he is saved; he hath no other resource.
Even if he be drowning in sin, God will still take care of him.
Nanak, the True One is beneficent to all.

The Guru blessed the leper and he was cured and he fell at the Guru's feet.

The Guru then travelled to Sultanpur - where he had worked as a government official - and Kari Pathandi, where he made many Pathan converts.

After visiting Batala in the Gurdaspur district, he returned to Saiyidpur, where he met Lalo the carpenter again. He complained against the Pathans, and the Guru said that their reign should be brief as Babar was on his way

1 ibid. p.106
2 ibid. p.107 (Dhanasari)
3 ibid. p.107
4 ibid. p.108
to conquer India:

'Bringing a bridal procession of sin, O Babar, hath hasted from Kabul and demandeth wealth as his bride, O Lalo. Modesty and religion have vanished, falsehood marcheth in the van, O Lalo. The occupation of the Qazis and the Brahmans is gone; the devil readeth the marriage service, O Lalo.'¹

Nanak uttereth the word of the True One, and will proclaim the truth of the True One's appointed time.'²

After some days Babar invaded and destroyed the city and neighbouring villages and massacred both Hindus and Pathans alike.³ Guru and Mardana were arrested and ordered to be worked as slaves. Mardana saw women weeping and shrieking and asked his master what had happened to them.⁴ The Guru told him to play the rebeck and to utter Wahguru and let go of the horse he was holding.⁵ Mardana obeyed and played the Rag Asa and the Guru sang:

The wealth and beauty which afforded them pleasure have become their bane.
The order was given to the soldiers to take and dishonour them.
If it please God, He giveth greatness; and if it please Him, He giveth punishment.
If they had thought of Him before, why should they have received punishment?
But they had lost all thought of God in joys, in spectacles and in pleasures.⁶

² ibid. p.110
³ ibid. p.111
⁴ ibid. p.111
⁵ ibid. pp.111-112
⁶ ibid. p.112
After the song Mir Khan, the governor of the jail, arrived and saw that the Guru's bundle was raised a cubit over his head without any apparent support and Mardana's horse while he played on his rebeck. He informed Babar, who, at his suggestion, went to the prison and saw the Guru employed in corn-grinding, but the handmill was revolving on its own while the Guru was putting in the corn. Babar found the Guru in a trance when he spoke to him; when he awoke he uttered a hymn, which began with the lines:

'No one can kill him, O Kind One, whom Thou preservest. How can Thy praises be numbered? Thou savest countless beings. Preserve me, 0 Beloved, preserve me: I am Thy slave.'

It is said that the Emperor, on hearing it, fell at Nanak's feet, and declared that God appeared on his face. When he offered the Guru a present, the Guru asked the prisoners to be released. The emperor agreed and Nanak was allowed to go with them. They found that all those who had remained behind at Saiyidpur had been killed. Later Mardana asked the Guru the reason for the massacre. The Guru asked him to go and sleep under a tree, when he awoke he would get his answer. Mardana did so, and while he was asleep a drop of honey fell on his naked breast and ants came to drink, and he unconsciously crushed them. When the Guru asked him what he had done, he said that one of the ants had stung him and he had crushed

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.113
2 ibid. p.114. The hymn is not found in the Granth Sahib
3 ibid. p.114
them all. The Guru said that was the way in which the people of Saiyidpur had been killed.¹ This explanation induced the remaining inhabitants of Saiyidpur to become his disciple.²

After this the Guru returned to the Emperor's camp to seek another interview with him. He visited the prison and sang hymns for the prisoners; and influenced by what he saw, he composed a poem in which he said that Babar had terrified Hindustan but the Creator took no blame for it. It was Death disguised as a Mughal who made the war. If a tyrant slays a tyrant, one is not angry; but if a ravening lion fell on a herd, its master should show his manliness.³

The Emperor was pleased with the Guru and he asked him to accompany him; the Guru agreed at first to stay only for three days, but later extended it. He was, however, always distressed about the prisoners; after singing the hymn about Babar's invasion, he fell into a trance. It alarmed Babar and he asked the people to pray for his recovery. Then the Guru stood up, and Babar asked the Guru to be gracious to him. The Guru asked him to release all his prisoners, Baber agreed on one condition, that the Guru should promise the continuance of his empire. The Guru said that it would continue for a time. Babar then ordered all prisoners to be released and given robes of honour; then asked the Guru for

¹ ibid. pp.118-119
² ibid. p.119
³ ibid. p.119
At last, the Emperor pressed the Guru to embrace Islam, which also like the Guru recognised only one God, and would have the added advantage of Prophet Mohammed's mediation. To this the Guru replied, "There are hundreds of thousands of Muhammads, but only one God". This reply did not displease the Emperor and he requested the Guru to ask him a favour. The Guru's reply to his offer was:

There is but one Giver, the whole world are beggars
Kings and Emperors are all made by Him
Saith Nanak, Hear, Emperor Babar,
He who beggeth of thee is a fool.

The Guru departed for Pasrur and Sialkot; from Sialkot he travelled to Mithankot in the district of Dera Ghazi Khan, where a famous Mohammedan priest, Mian Mitha, lived. From there Nanak went towards the Ravi river and Lahore, where he converted a rich Khatri called Dhuni Chard by showing him the fallacy of his pride in wealth. From there he went in a north-east direction and set up his camp on the bank of the Ravi. His arrival caused great excitement. He was universally held to be a man

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1 ibid. pp.120-121
2 ibid. p.121
3 ibid. p.122
4 ibid. p.122
5 ibid. p.123
6 ibid. pp.129-131
of God, and the verses he composed - like 'Falsehood is at an end; Nanak, truth at last prevaleth' - were taken up by the people and faqirs sang them to the accompaniment of reeds. At this time he converted an official who resented him and wished to imprison him, but became blind - till he asked for the Guru's forgiveness - as soon as he started on his mission. In gratitude he founded a village, Kartarpur, and built a Sikh temple, and dedicated them both to the Guru.

The Guru began the practice of singing hymns at night. A seven year old boy used to come to listen and stand behind him - and departed quietly when the singing was over. One day he ordered the boy to be detained, and asked him why he came. The boy said that when once he was lighting a fire, he saw the smaller sticks burnt before the bigger ones and it made him afraid of early death; and as it was doubtful whether one would live to be old, he attended religious gatherings. The Guru said he spoke like an old man (Budha). He addressed a hymn to the boy, who became known as Bhai Budha and later had the privilege of conferring tilak or mark of Guruship on the next five Gurus.

Kalu, the Guru's father, with all his people, went to the Guru's camp. The Guru had become famous, and Sikh societies had by then begun to be formed; and he dressed in a more conventional manner; a cloth round his

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.1 p.131. The hymn is in Ramkali ki War
2 ibid. pp.131-132
3 ibid. p.135
waist, a sheet over his shoulder and a turban on his head. At Kartarpur, a watch before day, the Japji and Asa ki War were recited, followed by the reading and exposition of the Guru's hymns until a watch and a quarter after sunrise. Breakfast was preceded by singing and the recitation of the Arati. In the third watch there was more singing, and in the evening the Sodar was read. Then all the Sikhs dined together, followed by more singing. After a watch of night the Sohila was read, then everyone retired. The Guru when not engaged in prayer used to give instruction to those who came for it.

The Guru said to one of them, who had asked for a definition of a holy man, that a man was holy when friendship, sympathy, pleasure at other's welfare and dislike of evil company were found. His intentions were pure; he served the virtuous; honoured those who could impart learning and good counsel; and he felt a craving for the Guru's word and divine knowledge; loved his wife and renounced other women; avoided quarrelsome subjects; served those superior to him in intelligence or devotion; and even if he was strong, he was not arrogant and did not trample on others; and associated only with the holy.

It was Kartarpur that the Guru composed his poem on the Twelve Months of the Year.

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I p.135
2 ibid. p.136
3 ibid. pp.136-137
4 ibid. p.138
The Guru made a journey to the south of India - to the region now known as Madras - with Jat companions. He wore wooden sandals, a rope round his head for turban and a patch and a streak on his forehead and carried a stick.  

He arrived at a Jain temple, and the priest, who had heard of the Guru not being as scrupulous as a Jain about living beings, went to visit him. In reply to his catechism, the Guru uttered a stanza on the dependence of everything - faith, happiness, divine pleasure, lack of fear before Death, salvation - on God. When the priest asked him why he had travelled in the rainy season when there was a danger of killing many insects, the Guru replied in a satirical vein:

Nanak, if it rain in Sawan, four species of animals have pleasure - serpents, deer, fish and sensualists who have women in their homes.

Nanak, if it rain in Sawan, there are four species of animals which feel discomfort - cows' calves, the poor, travellers and serpents.

The Jain priest became a convert and after it the Guru completed his hymns in Majh ki War. He then went to Ceylon, where he stayed in the garden of the king, whose name was Shivnabh, and, it is said, it became green on his arrival. There he composed the Prasangali, an account of the silent palace of God, the manner of meditating on Him, the private

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1 ibid. p.147
2 ibid. p.150 (Majh ki War)
3 ibid. p.152
4 ibid. p.152
5 ibid. pp.154-155
utterances of the Guru, and the nature of the soul and body. The opening lines of the work are:

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

On his return to India, he went to Achal Batala, where the fair of Shivrat, in honour of the god Shiva, was being held, to preach his doctrines. The Jogis who had congregated there became very jealous of his success, and their superior asked him why he, a holy man, led a family life?; he replied, "When thou doest nothing here, what canst thou obtain hereafter?" From there he and his companions continued their journey to the north and went as far as Srinagar in Kashmir. Brahma Das was then the most eminent of Kashmiri pandits. He recognised the Guru's piety and genius and asked him what existed before creation? The Guru's reply is known as the Sulaha or Sixteen Stanzas, in Rag Maru:

In the beginning (for countless years) there was indescribable darkness;
There was not earth or heaven, naught but God's unequalled order.  

The Guru left Srinagar for the Himalayan mountains and arrived at Mount Sumer, where he met many ascetics (Sidhs) who asked him the state

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.156; fn.3: In Sikh writings 'to know oneself' means 'to know God who is within'.
2 ibid. p.157
3 ibid. p.164
4 ibid. p.165
of the country; he replied:

The Kal age is a knife, kings are butchers; justice hath taken wings and fled.
In this completely dark night of falsehood the moon of truth is never seen to rise.
I have become perplexed in my search.

From the Himalayas the Guru returned to the plains of the Panjab and went to Gorakh Hatara - after a brief stay at Hasan Abdel, a great Moslem centre - in Peshawar, where he had a successful discussion with the Jogis on the subject of salvation. There the Guru decided to visit Mecca. He disguised himself in the blue dress of a Mohammedan pilgrim and carried a faqir's staff in hand, a collection of hymns under his arm, a cup and a prayer-carpet; accompanied, as usual, by his faithful minstrel, Mardana.

When the Guru arrived in Mecca he went and sat in the great mosque. His disregard for Moslem customs, however, soon involved him in difficulties. When he lay down to sleep he turned his feet to the Kaaba and an Arab priest kicked him and asked him why he had turned his feet towards God. The Guru told him to turn his feet in a direction in which God was not. When the priest dragged his feet in the opposite direction, it is said, the temple turned round and followed the change of his position. Those who witnessed this miracle were astonished and saluted the Guru as

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.170 (Majh ki War)
2 ibid. p.172
3 ibid. p.174
4 ibid. p.174
5 ibid. p.175: Some understand this in a spiritual sense that the Guru turned all Mecca to his teaching.
a supernatural being. The Qazis and Mulas crowded round the Guru to interrogate him on his religion - they admitted he had accomplished a great feat - to find the source of his power. When they asked him which, Hinduism or Islam, was superior, the Guru replied that without good acts the followers of both religions should suffer; both were jealous of each other. The high priest came, and he asked the Guru on the composition of matter, the nature of God he adored, how He was to be found, and in what consisted the essence of his religion. The Guru replied in Persian:

Know that according to the Musalmans everything is produced from air, fire, water and earth; But the pure God created the world out of five elements (ether is the fifth element). However high man may leap, he shall fall on the earth again. Even though a bird fly, it cannot compete in endurance with the torrent and the wind which move by God's will. How great shall I call God? He is the greatest of the great, and great is His world;

And I, Nanak, say man shall be true to his faith if he fear God and do good works.

In due course the Guru proceeded to Medina - where he defeated the Mohammedan priest in debate - and then to Baghdad, where he took up his position outside the city. He shouted the call to prayer which astonished

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I p.175
2 ibid. p.175
3 ibid. pp.175-176
4 ibid. p.178 fn.4
5 ibid. pp.178-179 (Banno's Granth Sahib)
the whole population, for it is certain that the Guru substituted the Muhammad ar rasul Allah of the creed with a similar sounding phrase expressing his own ideas.\(^1\) The high priest of Baghdad asked him, on meeting, who he was and what was his sect? and the Guru replied, 'I have appeared in this age to indicate the way unto men. I reject all sects and only know one God, who I recognise in the earth, the heavens, and in all directions'.\(^2\) The Guru then recited the Japji, and the priest, on hearing its doctrines, said he was an impious faqir. He was working miracles and — contrary to the authority of Quran — saying that there were hundreds and thousands of nether and upper regions and men would grow weary of searching for them. The priest then called upon the Guru to show his power; and, it is said, the Guru laid his hand on the high priest's son and showed him the upper and lower regions described in the Japji.\(^3\)

The Guru, having accomplished his mission in the west, decided to return home; and after a brief stay at Multan arrived at Kartarpur. There he changed his dress from that of a pilgrim to an ordinary man's, to show that he did not desire men to devote themselves exclusively to asceticism.\(^4\)

At Kartarpur Mardana, the minstrel, advanced in years and exhausted after his long wanderings and privations, fell ill. Mardana — who had been

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I p.179 incl. fn.2
\(^2\) ibid. p.179
\(^3\) ibid. pp.179-180 (Description of the regions in the Japji, Pauri xxiii)
\(^4\) ibid. p.180
a Mohammedan before his conversion to Sikhism - left the disposal of his body to the Guru. The Guru told him, "Since thou knowest God and art therefore a Brahman, we shall dispose of thy body by throwing it into the river Ravi and letting it go with the stream. Sit down therefore on its margin in prayerful posture, fix thine attention on God, repeat His name at every inspiration and expiration, and thy soul shall be absorbed in the light of God." Mardana followed the Guru's instructions and died the following morning at a watch before day. The Guru asked Mardana's son, Shahzada to remain with him in the same capacity as his father, which he did till the Guru's death. There are three couplets dedicated to Mardana in the Granth Sahib.

In the town of Khadur a Sikh named Jodha was a devotee of God's name, while other inhabitants be worshippers of the goddess Durga, whose priest was called Lahina. One day Lahina heard Jodha reciting the Guru's Japji and asked him whose composition it was. Jodha later introduced Lahina to the Guru, who made a pun on Lahina's name - meaning 'to receive or take - signifying 'what thou desirest to receive - salvation - is here and nowhere else'. After being instructed by the Guru, Lahina threw away the bells he wore on his hands and feet to dance before the goddess, and

1 ibid. p.181
2 ibid. pp.181-182
3 ibid. p.182
later performed menial service for the Guru. He became known as Angad afterwards.

After several trials, the Guru said to Lahina, "Thou hast obtained my secret; thou art in mine image. I will tell thee the real thing, the spell which is the essence of religion, and by which thou shalt have happiness here and hereafter": the preamble of the Japji:

There is but one God, whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great, and bountiful. Repeat His name.
The True One was in the beginning; the True One was in the primal age;
The True One is, was, O Nanak; the True One also shall be.

The Guru knew that his end was near. His sons had been disobedient; their minds were insincere and they had rebelled and deserted him. Therefore, he appointed Angad his successor, and bowed to him. Then it became known to his people that Guru Nanak was about to die. Sikhs, Hindus and Mohammedans went to bid him farewell.

Guru Nanak went and sat under a withered acacia tree, which blossomed. Angad fell at his feet in adoration and people began to weep. Guru Nanak composed the following hymn:

Hail to the Creator, the True King, who allotted to the world its various duties!
When the measure is full, the duration of life is at an end; the soul is led away.

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. I p.183
2 ibid. p.185
3 ibid. pp.187-188 (Wadhans, Alahanian)
After this the assembled crowd began to sing songs of mourning, and the Guru fell into a trance. When he awoke, his Moslem and Hindu followers invited him to decide whether he should be buried, according to the Moslem custom, or cremated like the Hindus. The Guru said that the Hindus should place flowers on his right and the Moslems on the left; they whose flowers were found fresh in the morning might have the body. The Guru then ordered the crowd to sing the Sohila. They followed it with the concluding couplet of the Japji. The Guru drew a sheet over him, uttered "Wahguru", made obeisance to God, and blended his light with Guru Angad's: 'The Guru remained the same. There was only a change of body produced by a supreme miracle'.

When the sheet was removed the next morning there was nothing underneath; the flowers on both sides were in bloom. Guru Nanak died on the tenth day of the light half of the month of Assu, Sambat 1595 (A.D. 1538) at Kartarpur in the Panjab. The Sikhs erected a shrine and the Mohammedans a tomb in his honour on the bank of the Ravi; both since washed away by the river.

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. I pp.188-190. This hymn - in Rag Gauri Dipak - was sung in token of rejoicing that the Guru was dying. It is still read as a funeral service, fn.3.

2 ibid. p.190

3 ibid. p.191

4 ibid. p.191

5 ibid. p.191
Lahina, Guru Angad, was born four hours before day on the 11th of Baisakh in Sambat 1561 (A.D. 1504) in the village of Harike. His father, Pheru, had originally come from Matte di Sarai, a village six miles from Muktsar in the Ferozepur District of the Panjab, to find better commercial opportunity at Harike; but later grew tired of the place and returned with his and Lahina’s family to Matte di Sarai. When Matte di Sarai was sacked by the Mughals, they went to live in Khadur, a famous Sikh town in the Tarn Taran sub-collectorate of the Amritsar District, where he knew a Sikh named Jodha who used to recite the Japji and Asa ki War every morning three hours before day. Devotion was kindled in Lahina’s heart by all that he heard from Jodha, and he longed to see the Guru. Lahina used to organise an annual pilgrimage of devout Hindus to Jawalamukhi in the Himalayas, sacred to the goddess Durga, a place where fire issues from the mountains. On this occasion Lahina induced his family and other pilgrims to break their journey at Kartarpur, where Guru Nanak lived. When he met the Guru he said he no longer felt

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.1
2 ibid. p.1: Lahina had a wife, a daughter and two sons, Dasu and Datu.
3 ibid. pp.1-2
4 ibid. p.2
5 ibid. p.1
6 ibid. p.2
inclined to worship in a heathen temple, and decided to discontinue his pilgrimage and stay with the Guru. The Guru, on seeing his increasing devotion, told him one day to go and settle his affairs as he wished to initiate him as a Sikh on his return. The Guru then began a systematic trial of the devotion of his Sikhs; and the Guru and his disciple grew closer, for the disciple's divine knowledge grew in his heart as the Guru's instruction progressed. The Guru's sons became jealous of Lahina, the servant and disciple, so the Guru suggested that he should return to Khadur for a time. Lahina, who was the 'essence of obedience' at once proceeded to Khadur, after three years with Guru Nanak, and gained a reputation of great virtue and spirituality. Everybody at Khadur came to pay him homage, including Takt Mal, the headman of the town. He pressed Lahina to give him religious instruction by which he might be saved. Lahina accordingly recited a hymn of Guru Nanak's:

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God will regenerate those in whose hearts there is love;  
He will make them happy with gifts, and cause them to forget  
their sorrows.  
There is no doubt that He will assuredly save them  
The Guru cometh to meet those for whom such destiny  
hath been recorded.  
And will give them for their instruction God's ambrosial Name.  

Man shall be saved by the words of those on whom God locketh  
with favour  

God knoweth how to do all things; He destroyeth, constructeth  
and createth.  
Nanak, the Name is the reward of him whom the Gracious One  
showeth favour.3
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Guru Nanak, knowing Lahina's devotion paid him a visit at Khadur, where he instructed him in contempt for the world, discrimination and divine knowledge. He also tried him and found him pure and altogether fit for the high office of the Guru. He was not long in paying him another visit and said to him: "Between thee and me there is no difference. None of my Sikhs hath such faith and confidence in me as thou, and therefore I love thee most of all. I congratulate thee"; and returned with him to Kartarpur.

While at Kartarpur Guru Nanak found time to attend to agriculture. He sowed several fields of corn which gave him an unfailing supply for his kitchen, from which he fed all comers, Mohammedans as well as Hindus. Once there was an unusual crowd of visitors and continuous rain for three days; it became impossible to light a fire or to cook, so there was nothing for his guests to eat. The Guru went into the fields with his sons, Sri Chand and Lakshai Das, and explained his difficulty to them, and as a solution he asked them to climb a kikar tree and shake it for 'it shall rain fruit and sweets to satisfy the visitors'. Sri Chand replied that nothing but thorn or bitter fruit could fall from a kikar tree. The second son also refused; the Guru then asked Lahina to climb and shake the tree. When he did, 'down fell heaps of every conceivable form of Indian sweetmeats'. The guests were satisfied and began to sing

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.8
2 ibid. pp.8-9
3 ibid. p.9
4 ibid. pp.9-10
praises of the Guru and his disciple, Lahina then promptly explained that such power was not in himself. It was divine knowledge not sweets that had dropped from the tree: the miraculous effect of Guru's words. The Guru, on hearing this, said, "My words are profitable, but only they who obey them shall obtain the fruit thereof". It was the first occasion when the Guru's sons and many of his Sikhs realised the value of obedience.¹

The Guru had by now well-tested Lahina's devotion, but considered it proper to make a final trial - described in the life of Guru Nanak - mainly to humble the pride of his sons and to convince them that Lahina alone was worthy of becoming Guru.²

One day as the Sikhs were assembled, the Guru seated Lahina (now called Angad or Guru's Own Body) on his throne, and said to Bhai Budha, "This is my successor, put a tilak (mark) on his forehead in token of his appointment to the Guruship"; and ordered his people to obey and serve Angad who was in his image. Whoever did so should obtain its reward. It was a position which depended on self-sacrifice, and Angad had exhibited this virtue in the highest degree, therefore, had the best claim to it.³

Guru Nanak then directed Angad to return to Khadur, and Angad, although he wished to remain with his master and serve him, obeyed.⁴

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.10
² ibid. p.10
³ ibid. p.11
⁴ ibid. pp.11-12
A Jat girl, called Nihali, was making cakes of cow-dung for fuel when she saw Angad approaching. She was delighted at the opportunity to do homage. Angad asked her to let him have a room where he might sit alone and meditate on God, and for a pot of milk every day. It is said that Angad remained in profound meditation for six months. Then one day some Sikhs asked Bhai Budha where they could find Nanak's successor. Bhai Budha said he would give an answer the next day. He saw a vision of Angad sitting concealed in Nihali's house, and informed the Sikhs. They set out for Nihali's house under his leadership, but when they arrived there she gave them no information of the Guru. Bhai Budha then said as there could be no darkness after the sun had arisen, so Guru could not be hidden. Nihali went to Guru Angad and told him of the visit of his four Sikhs, and he at once asked her to let them into his room.

The Sikhs saw that Guru Angad had the same radiance on his face, the same manners and the same appearance as Guru Nanak. When the Guru came out of his seclusion crowds went to see him and make him offerings. All that he received was sent to his kitchen for the support of pilgrims and wayfarers. There was continual preaching, singing and repetition of the Name as in Guru Nanak's time. Sick persons, particularly lepers, came

2 ibid. p.13
3 ibid. p.13
4 ibid. p.14
5 ibid. p.15
from great distances to be healed by the Guru. After ministering to the sick he preached and expounded Guru Nanak's hymns; about nine o'clock in the morning visitors of all kinds sat together and received sacred food. Adults were followed by children at meals, and the Guru instructed them himself afterwards. He would tell his Sikhs that elders ought to be pure and simple as children and then they should be dear to their Creator.\(^1\)

The Guru watched wrestling matches in the early afternoon, and on these occasions he would often instruct the spectators how to overcome anger and other deadly sins.\(^2\)

Jogis visited the Guru and tried to win him over to their own practices and beliefs, and the Guru told them, "By pluming yourselves on your bodily austerities you have not seen God who is in every heart. Guru Nanak hath shown us how to abide pure amid impurity."; i.e. how to find God while leading a secular life.\(^3\)

Humayun had by then succeeded his father, Emperor Babar, to the throne of Delhi, but when he was defeated near Kanauj in 1540\(^4\) he fled to Lahore, where he inquired for some 'wonder-working priest who could restore him his throne and kingdom' and was advised to seek Guru Angad's assistance. Taking offerings with him he went to Khadur.\(^5\) The Guru at that time was in a deep trance and the Emperor was kept waiting. He

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\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.15

\(^2\) ibid. p.15

\(^3\) ibid. p.16: see also Guru Amar Das and the paragraph on salvation, ibid. p.25

\(^4\) Cambridge History of India (Cambridge, 1937) Vol. IV p.34

\(^5\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.19
became violently angry and put his hand on the hilt of his sword with the intention of striking the Guru, but the sword would not come out of the scabbard. The Guru told him that he had run away from battle like a coward, where he should have properly drawn his sword, and instead had wished to attack men engaged in their devotions.\(^1\) Humayun was repentant and begged for spiritual assistance. The Guru replied that had he not put his hand on his scabbard, he should have regained his kingdom; but now he should have to return to Persia before succeeding.\(^2\) The Emperor did eventually recover his empire after obtaining a reinforcement of cavalry from the king of Persia.\(^3\) He felt grateful to the Guru and wished to repay him, but by this time Guru Angad was dead and his successor, Guru Amar Das, sent a reply that he should live honestly and not desecrate holy places, and not come again molesting the Guru.\(^4\)

The Guru's minstrels, Balwand and Satta, seeing the Guru's increasing glory, began to boast that it was all due to their own music, and one day they refused a request by an elderly Sikh to sing a hymn and said that they would not sing for peasants. The Guru on hearing of this incident was displeased, and, when they came to play in the evening, he turned his back to them. When they asked him what their offence was, he said that if they would not sing for a Sikh of his, they must not sing

\(^{1}\) Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. II p.20

\(^{2}\) ibid. p.20

\(^{3}\) ibid. p.20

\(^{4}\) ibid. p.20
for him either. They were pardoned on that occasion, but they determined
to sing in future only for higher wages; they became insolent and told
the Guru that they had made him famous by singing his praises and the
Sikhs would not have made offerings to him if they had not sung. They
became prouder as the Guru became humbler, but when they tried to dis-
affect the Sikhs they failed completely. They found themselves without
corn or money to buy it with, and began to say that they would return
just for food and clothing. The Guru, however, forbade the Sikhs to
represent on behalf of men who had shown disrespect for the house of Guru
Nanak: he would have the beard and moustache shaved and face blackened
of anyone who did so, and would have him led on a donkey through the town
in disgrace.

Two months later Balwand and Satta went to Lahore to consult one
Bhai Ladha, who they knew had great influence with the Guru, and ask him
to intervene for them. Bhai Ladha sent them ahead and then shaved his
head, blackened his face, and, riding a donkey back to front, went round
the town of Khadur before coming to the Guru's presence. The Guru asked
him what guise he had assumed, and he replied that he was merely obeying
the Guru, and appealed to him to pardon the minstrels. "The Sikhs err",

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II pp.21-22
2 ibid. pp.22-23
3 ibid. p.23
4 ibid. p.23
5 ibid. p.23
he said, "but the Guru can pardon and mend what is broken." The Guru accepted his appeal and took the opportunity to say: 'The best devotion is the remembrance of the True Name; the best act is philanthropy. Without both of these accursed is man's human birth. He merely vegetates and heedeth not what is best for him. Alas, penance and sacrifices are not equal to philanthropy. Of the various sins that man commits none is worse than selfishness.'

When the minstrels came they were too ashamed to look at the Guru, but he treated them with affection; and they then composed and sang, in praise of the Gurus Nanak and Angad, five stanzas (pauris) in the Ramkali ki War, which were supplemented later with three more stanzas and included in the Granth Sahib as the Coronation Ode (Tikka di War).

Amar Das, the next Guru, was the eldest son of Tej Bhan, a Khatri of the Bhalla tribe and an inhabitant of the village of Basarka near Amritsar. Amar Das was born on the 14th of the light half of Baisakh in Sambat 1535 (A.D. 1479). He made a living partly by agriculture and partly by trade, and was married at the age of twenty-three years and ten months to Mansa Davi, and had two sons, Mohri and Mohan, and two daughters, Dhani and Bhani. Amar Das was a zealous devotee of the god Vishnu and

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.23
2 ibid. p.24
4 ibid. p.30
used to fast every eleventh day, but he felt his lack of a religious
teacher to make his life profitable.¹ One morning, while reflecting on
such matters, his attention was caught by the singing of a hymn in his
brother's house. His brother's daughter-in-law was Guru Angad's daughter,
and it was she who sang Guru Nanak's hymns every morning while she made
butter for the family, and Amar Das persuaded her to take him to the Guru.²

When he met the Guru, the Guru desired to embrace him as he was a
close relative, but Amar Das said, "Thou art as God, I am only a worm",
and fell at his feet. One day the Guru had meat for dinner, but a veget­
arian dish was specially prepared for Amar Das in consideration of his
religious scruples. This embarrassed Amar Das because he had not touched
meat, but felt that any disciple whose practice differed from that of the
Guru must inevitably fail. He, therefore, asked for meat instead of his
vegetarian dish, and the Guru knew that superstition was departing from
his heart and gave him his own portion. Afterwards Amar Das felt peace of
mind for the first time; and gradually, as he devoted himself to the Guru,
'celestial light dawned on his heart'. This was the way Amar Das became a
disciple of the Guru.³

One day the Guru, in order to further remove Amar Das's prejudices,
said - after repeating and expounding Guru Nanak's verses on the theme -
that if one thought of it, there was life in everything, even in fruits

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.30
² ibid. p.31
³ ibid. p.32
and flowers, to say nothing of flesh; but whatever one ate remembering God, it should be profitable to one. 'Whatever cometh to thee without hurting a fellow creature is nectar, and whatever thou receivest by giving pain is poison. To shatter another's hopes, to calumniate others, and to misappropriate their property is worse than to eat meat'. \(^1\) Amar Das is said then to have performed for the Guru 'the menial offices of many servants'. \(^2\)

One day a man named Gobind came to make a complaint to the Guru. He had vowed that if he won a law-suit with his relations in which he had been involved, he would found a city in the Guru's honour. He had begun to build the city in an open plot of land on the bank of the river Beas, but the work done by day was in some mysterious way undone by night; and he had, therefore, called on the Guru for help. The Guru gave him a lecture on the futility of fame, but he prayed to have the city built even if the Guru did not wish it in his honour. \(^3\) On this Guru Angad sent his walkingstick to Amar Das and asked him to remove whatever was obstructing Gobind's efforts. Amar Das prayed to God, and a beautiful city was founded which Amar Das called Gobindwal, in honour of the founder. The city later became known as Goindwal. Gobind, to return the tribute, built a palace for the city's benefactor, Amar Das. \(^4\) He then

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\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.33
\(^2\) ibid. p.33
\(^3\) ibid. p.34
\(^4\) ibid. p.34
went to the Guru to thank him and to request him to go and live in the
city, but the Guru asked Amar Das instead to live in Goindwal at night
and come to him in daytime. Amar Das in due course settled in Goindwal.

Amar Das was old, but had a 'halo of devotion' round him. He arose
a watch before day at Goindwal and went to the river Beas to take water
for the Guru at Khadur to bathe in; and he completed the recitation of
the Janji half-way between Goindwal and Khadur. After hearing Asa ki War
in Khadur he fetched water for the Guru's kitchen, scrubbed the cooking
pots and brought firewood from the forest. Every evening he listened to
the Sodar and the evening prayers and then attended the Guru. He returned
to Goindwal, walking backwards in reverence for his master.

There was a pseudo-religious man, named Tapa or Penitent, in Khadur, who was worshipped as a Guru by the Khahira Jats. He was constant in his external devotions and practised spells and incantations, but was extremely jealous of Guru Angad. Tapa contended that such a reverence as the Guru Guru received should never be shown to a family man, and maintained that he, who was both continent and penitent, should be worshipped by all men.

Once there was a great drought in the land and people went to Tapa for

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.35
2 ibid. p.35
3 ibid. p.35
4 ibid. p.35
5 ibid. p.35
help, and he said that if they expelled the Guru from Khadur, he would send rain in less than twenty-four hours; if, on the other hand, they allowed him to stay, he should do so.\(^1\) The Jats went to the Guru and asked him to send rain. He told them to be satisfied with God's will, because no one can influence Him. The Jats then delivered Tapa's ultimatum. The Guru replied that if they thought they could succeed that way he would willingly leave their town.\(^2\) The Guru went to seven villages in succession, but was not received by the villagers, until at last he found refuge in a forest near Razad Khan's hillock, south of Khadur, where the people owed no allegiance to Tapa.\(^3\)

When Amar Das came to Khadur in the morning and did not find the Guru, he told the villagers that they were fools. He composed at that time two verses on the falsity of external religiosity:

By meeting the true Guru worldly hunger departeth, but it departeth not by merely putting on a sectarial garb.
Through the pain of hunger the Tapa (Penitent) wandereth from house to house; in the next world he shall obtain twofold punishment.\(^4\)

Tapa tried every form of incantation, but without success. Amar Das explained to the people that nobody, except God, had the power to send rain, and they had been most unwise in accepting the statements of a

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.36  
2 ibid. p.36  
3 ibid. pp.36-37  
4 ibid. p.37 (Wadhans ki War); the second composition is on pp.37-38
hypocrite against a man who had never harmed any human being. "If Tapa could cause rain to fall, why should he beg from house to house, he asked and the people were convinced of Tapa's hypocrisy, and inflicted suitable punishment on him. Then they went in a body to the Guru to ask his forgiveness.¹

When Guru Angad heard of Tapa's punishment, he was much grieved with Amar Das and told him that he had not gained the 'fruits of companionship with Guru' - i.e. peace, forbearance and forgiveness - and could not endure things difficult to be endured', and his actions had been to please the rabble.² Amar Das begged his pardon and promised to follow the Guru's instructions rigidly in future.³

The Guru on his return to Khadur passed a village called Bhair, where his friend Khiwan lived, who invited him to break his journey. During the visit Amar Das promised that the true Guru would grant Khiwan a son who should be a saint. This astonished everybody, that Amar Das should have become a prophet and bestower of offspring in Guru's lifetime. Amar Das again felt that he had transgressed Guru's injunction and was contrite, but the Guru consoled him and said, "My light is in thee. For the future, whatever thou sayest, say with deliberation".⁴

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.38
² ibid. pp.38-39
³ ibid. p.39
⁴ ibid. p.39
There was great rejoicing in Khadur on the Guru's return, and Tapa's punishment was taken as an attestation of the Guru's divine mission.\(^1\)

The Guru, on observing Amar Das's devotion, great merits and innate nobility of character, told his Sikhs that Amar Das would save innumerable persons.\(^2\) Amar Das's service had pleased the Guru more than his own sons'.\(^3\) It was the Guru's custom to distribute robes of honour every six months to his Sikhs, and Amar Das used to wear his robe as a turban and to put the next one he received on top of it; by the time he was appointed Guru he wore twelve such turbans on his head. People said he was senile, but in reality his faith and devotion increased every day and he felt no desire for wealth or supernatural power.\(^4\)

Guru Angad had a sore foot which gave him great pain, and one night he complained to Amar Das that he could not sleep for pain. Amar Das promptly sucked the sore and gave relief to the Guru. The Guru then told him to ask a favour, and Amar Das asked him to heal his sore by supernatural power. The Guru quoted the twelfth slok of Asa ki War and added, "In pain God is remembered and mind remaineth humbled".\(^5\)

One day the Guru said that his life was drawing to a close and he must depart. In reply to his Sikhs who wished him stay longer, he said,

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.39
2 ibid. pp.39-40
3 ibid. p.40
4 ibid. p.40
5 ibid. p.41
"The saints of the true Guru are of the nature of a cloud. They assume a body for the benefit of the world and men. The body, which is merely a storehouse of corn, shall perish. As a rich man casteth aside his old clothes and putteth on new ones, so do the saints of the true Guru put away their crumbling bodies, and take new vesture for their souls ... they are bound by no rules." ¹

While the Guru was considering Amar Das's fitness to succeed him, an accident occurred which finally confirmed his decision. ² Once it had been raining all night and everybody was glad to be indoors, and when the Guru called out, three hours before day, no one answered. He tried to send one of his sons to fetch water and he showed no inclination to obey, but Amar Das got up at once and went out, with a pitcher on his head, to the river, in spite of the Guru's remonstrance that he was too old for such service. On his way back Amar Das had to pass a colony of weavers; they had made holes in the ground to put their feet in while weaving, and Amar Das fell in one of them as they were all full of water. The noise awoke some of the weavers and they cried out, "thief, thief"; but they heard someone repeating the Japji, and one of the women said that it was the poor homeless Amru 'whose beard had grown grey and who had taken leave of his senses', and added that he did the work of twenty men.

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.41
² ibid. pp.42-43
single-handed - 'what a Guru to serve'.\(^1\) Amar Das could bear insults to himself, but not to his Guru. He said the woman had gone mad. It is said that the woman did become mad.\(^2\)

The weavers went to the Guru and implored him to forgive the mad woman's error. The Guru said, "Amar Das hath done great service and his toil is acceptable. His words prove true; wealth and supernatural power and all earthly advantages wait on him."\(^3\) He told them further that the stump on which Amar Das had struck his foot should grow green and the weaver's wife should recover; and he who served Amar Das should obtain what his heart desired.\(^4\)

After that the Guru sent for five copper coins and a coconut; bathed Amar Das, clothed him in a new dress, and installed him in the Guru's seat, and placed the five copper coins and coconut before him while Bhai Budha affixed to his forehead the mark of Guruship.\(^5\) Guru Angad told his sons that Amar Das had obtained his high office as reward for 'his ceaseless toil, manifold virtues and piety'.\(^6\)

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II pp.42-43  
2 ibid. p.43  
3 ibid. p.43  
4 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.43  
5 ibid. p.43  
6 ibid. p.44
On the third day of the light half of the month of Chet in the
Sambat year 1609 (A.D. 1552) the Guru gave a great feast to his Sikhs
and reminded them of their beliefs. The next day he rose before dawn,
bathed, and put on new clothes; then repeated the Japji, summoned all
his family and consoled and enjoined them to accept God's will, and
ordered Amar Das to live in Goindwal. He fixed his thoughts on Guru
Nanak, and with *Wahguru* on his lips, passed away - after twelve years,
six months and nine days in office.¹

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. II p. 44
iii. GURU AMAR DAS

When Amar Das was appointed Guru he retired into a solitary room in the upper storey of his house to meditate on God and Guru Angad's instruction. His Sikhs went to see him and on the representation of Bhai Ballu, a faithful Sikh who had attached himself to him, he came out of his solitude.\(^1\) Since the time of Guru Nanak, the Gurus had been obliged to provide for themselves and their followers. Guru Amar Das's kitchen was abundantly supplied by the offerings of the faithful, and all who came were fed to their satisfaction. but what he daily received was daily spent.\(^2\) Hindu 'admirers and inquirers' came from every part of India, but it was necessary for all the Guru's visitors to eat from the Guru's kitchen before they were allowed to see him.\(^3\) The Guru himself lived on coarse food and had ascetic habits. He used sometimes to consult the Vedas, Shastras and Purans, but they did not console him. All, even those with different views, had free access to him and enjoyed his hospitality.\(^4\)

After Guru Angad's death, his son Datu sat on the Guru's seat at Khadur, and issued a proclamation that Amru (Guru Amar Das) was old and his servant. He was prince of the Guru's line and the Guru's throne was

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.58
\(^2\) ibid. p.58
\(^3\) ibid. p.59
\(^4\) ibid. p.60
his.\textsuperscript{1} The Sikhs, however, decided that only he whom Guru Angad had appointed should be considered the real Guru; and they left Khadur in a body and went to Goindwal, where Guru Amar Das lived.\textsuperscript{2} Datu was kept informed of the reverence in which Guru Amar Das was held by his followers. One day some Sikhs, who had not heard of Amar Das' change of residence, arrived at Khadur. As they were leaving for Goindwal, a sympathiser of Datu asked him how he could endure the sovereignty which Amar Das enjoyed among Sikhs; when he should be master, he could only look on and be his servant's servant? Data could not take such taunts, and early next morning he started for Goindwal. On seeing the Guru and his splendour, he said, "Only yesterday thou wert a water carrier in our house and today thou sittest as a Guru", and kicked the Guru off his throne.\textsuperscript{3} The Guru meekly asked Datu's pardon and said he must have hurt his foot, and went to the upper storey of his house. His Sikhs, angry at Datu's violence, also left the place. The Guru decided on leaving Goindwal for Basarka, his native village.\textsuperscript{4}

Early next morning a Jat farmer of Basarka, while on his way to his land, met the Guru. He fell at the Guru's feet, and the Guru asked him for a place to live. The farmer made him one, and the Guru on entering it requested him to brick up the doorway and record on it: "Whoever openeth

\textsuperscript{1} Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. II p. 63
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p. 63
\textsuperscript{3} Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. II pp. 63-64
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p. 64
this door is no Sikh of mine, nor am I his Guru'.

Datu was now free to sit on the Guru's throne and he became very proud of his new position, but the Sikhs would not approach him and all pilgrims to Goindwal went away after his insult to the Guru. On seeing the contempt the Sikhs had for him, he loaded his newly acquired wealth on a camel and returned to Khadur. On the way he was robbed, and one of the robbers struck him on the foot with which he had kicked the Guru. It swelled up and was extremely painful.

The Sikhs were extremely distressed at losing their Guru, and eventually decided to consult Bhai Budha. He suggested, after deliberating on the situation, that the Guru's mare should be allowed to make her way to the Guru; which she unerringly did, and stood before his door at Basarka. The Sikhs who had followed her decided to make an opening in the wall, thus getting round the Guru's injunction.

The Guru could not disregard the love and devotion of his Sikhs and returned with them to Goindwal on his mare. His return was celebrated with illuminations, rejoicing and feasting. Meanwhile Datu was detained at Khadur by his painful foot and would not, perhaps through shame,
consent to visit the Guru. As the fame of the Guru's piety and saintly character increased, he became more and more the object of popular veneration. He preached lessons of forgiveness and endurance, but his enemies returned evil for the good he intended them.

Some Mohammedan dignitaries had settled in Goindwal when it rose to importance. They considered everyone inferior to them, and being jealous of the Guru's fame, gave him every kind of annoyance; but he used to pray to heaven to soften their hearts and right guidance. When his Sikhs asked him how long should they bear the Mohammedans' tyranny, the Guru replied: "As long as you live. It is not proper for saints to take revenge. Nay, there is no greater virtue than mercy, and no more potent weapon than forgiveness. Whatever man soweth he shall reap; if he sow trouble, trouble shall be his harvest."

Soon afterwards, as a detachment of soldiers, guarding imperial treasure from Lahore to Delhi, reached Goindwal, there arose a storm. One of the mules, laden with money, strayed to the Mohammedan district of the town. The soldiers searched everywhere but could find no trace of it. Some of the Mohammedans, who had concealed the beast, joined in

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.66
2 ibid. p.66
3 ibid. p.67
4 ibid. p.68
5 ibid. p.68
the search to avert suspicion, but the mule betrayed them by neighing. It was heard by a police officer, who recovered it and its load, and reported all the offences of the Mohammedans - including their persistent annoyance of the Guru - to the Emperor. The Emperor ordered them to be imprisoned, their property confiscated and their houses to be razed to the ground.¹ The Guru, commenting on the turn of events, said, "Such shall ever be the condition of those who bear enmity to men who desire to live at peace."² He continued, now free from Mohammedan persecutors, with his spiritual and ethical instruction of his Sikhs.³

One day, as the Guru was taking a ride, he quickly rode past a wall broken by rain, and his Sikhs, on reaching home, quoted to him one of his own hymns:

"Death shall not approach him who meditateth on God's name;"
and one of Nanak's;

"I feel no anxiety regarding death, and I have no desire to live."
Then they asked him why did he hurry past the dangerous wall when death was subservient to him and he had enjoyed a long life? The Guru replied, "I only want to teach my Sikhs that since human life, for which even the demigods vainly long, is so difficult to obtain, it is our duty to preserve it. If a tree be preserved, it will many times bear leaves, blossoms and

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II pp.69-70
² ibid. p.70
³ ibid. p.71
fruit. So if the body be preserved, we can practise charity and perform religious works of every description, but when the body perisheth, we can no longer perform our duty to God. ... The body by which we confer benefit on others, and by which happiness in this life and salvation in the next are obtained, ought to be cherished by all."¹ He subsequently expressed these sentiments in verse.²

One day when the Sikhs asked the Guru whom they should consult instead of the Brahmin astrologers they used to, he said, the most favourable time for the Guru's Sikhs was when they prayed to God. If at the beginning of all undertakings they, with a humble mind, invoke His assistance, all their efforts should be successful.³

Once the Guru visited Kasur at a time of excessive heat, and asked the governor - a Khatri of the Puri tribe - to allow him to pitch a tent in his garden. The governor refused because, although the Guru was of the same caste as him, he had attached to himself men of all castes, high and low who ate together. The Guru on hearing this said that a Sikh should one day reign in Kasur and the descendants of the governor be his servants. He then went to the hut of a poor Pathan, who apologised for not being able to provide suitable hospitality, but the Guru said, "God can appoint a worm to sovereignty and reduce an army to ashes". Do God's service and thou shalt become the lord of Kasur, but directly thou practise tyranny thou shalt die".

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II pp.73-74
² ibid. p.74 fn.¹
³ ibid. p.74
A short time afterwards the Khatri officials created such political disturbance that the Emperor ordered them to be disarmed and expelled, and Pathans appointed in their place. They continued to govern there until conquered by Ranjit Singh and the Sikhs.¹

One morning, before day, while the Asa ki War was being chanted, the Guru fell into a trance, and had a vision of Guru Nanak, who ordered him to make a place of pilgrimage where God alone should be worshipped, to protect the Sikhs from the Hindu places of pilgrimage. Guru Amar Das decided to obey the solemn order he felt he had received, and bought some land. On the day of the full moon in the month of Kartik (September-October) the foundation of the Bawali or Well with Descending Steps was laid in Goindwal.²

In that part of the city, in 1534 A.D.³, was born Ram Das, known as Jetha or the First-born - the Guru's successor - to Hari Das and Daya Kaur. They were Khatris of the Sodhi tribe and 'worshippers of one God and devotees of his name'.⁴ As Ram Das grew up, he frequented the society of holy men and gave them whatever he received from his parents. Although his parents desired that he should have some occupation, he had no such intention. He soon fell in with a group of Sikhs singing to the accompaniment of cymbals and drums. When he asked them where they were

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. II p. 75
² ibid. p. 87
³ The exact time was the early morning of Thursday the second day of the dark half of the month of Kartik in the Sambat year 1591.
⁴ ibid. p. 88
going, one of them said, "Come with us, we are going to Goindwal where Guru Amar Das, the third Guru, holds his court. Every blessing in this world and the next is obtained by his favour". ¹

Jetha, on arriving at Goindwal, prostrated himself before the Guru, who was much impressed by his devotion and looks. The Guru told him how, abandoning all worldly desires, he should obtain a true sovereignty, and Jetha, delighted at his reception, at once applied himself to the Guru's service. He was of a meek temper and soon became known as what he really was - Ram Das or God's slave. ²

One of the Guru's daughters, Bibi Sulakhani, had married Rama of the Bedi family to which Guru Nanak belonged. The other Bibi Bhani was from earliest years fond of prayer and seclusion. ³ The Guru's wife, Mansa Devi, one day suggested to her husband that as their daughter had reached puberty, they should arrange her marriage. ⁴ When the Guru's agent was ready to go, the Guru's wife saw Jetha carrying something outside her door and told the agent to look for someone like him. Hearing this the Guru ordered the agent to stay, and looked at the youth and exclaimed, "He is his own parallel", and called him. On being satisfied with his replies and his desire to marry Bibi Bhani, the Guru sent him with

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¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.89
² ibid. p.89
³ ibid. p.89
⁴ ibid. p.91
marriage presents to his father, Hari Das, in Lahore. The betrothal ceremony was thus performed, and the twenty-second day of Phagun, Sambat 1610 (1553 A.D.) was considered a suitable date for the wedding.¹

As the bridegroom was about to enter the Guru's house, the Guru said that it was a family custom that the bridegroom should make a request before entering the bride's house. Jetha repeated the first hymn of the Gujari measure contained in the Rahiras, which pleased the Guru very much, and he granted Jetha a present of the Name and promised that it should be increasingly heard in his court.²

Although Jetha's parents wished that the couple should live with them, as was customary, Jetha decided to return with his wife to Goindwal after a brief visit to his parents at Lahore. He resumed his service of the Guru, whom he considered his god. The more he served the Guru, the more his love for him and mankind increased; his disposition became divine. He devoted special attention to the construction of the Bawali and carried baskets of earth on his head, and the Guru took special notice of his conduct and showed special favour. Jetha's wife too considered her father as her Guru, and served Jetha not only as a husband but also as a saint.

In the month of Assu, Sambat 1614 (1557 A.D.) a son, Prithi Chand, was born; and three years later a second son, and in 1620 (1563 A.D.) a third son, called Arjan, was born, and at his birth there were unusual rejoicings.³

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.91
² ibid. pp.91-92.
³ ibid. p.92
The Bawali, when completed, yielded sweet drinking water, and the Sikhs rejoiced at the completion. It had eighty-four steps, and the Guru decreed that whoever should attentively and reverently repeat the Japji on every step should escape from wandering in the lives of eighty-four lakh (eight million four thousand) creatures.  

At this time Emperor Akbar made a detour to Goindwal on one of his periodic visits to Lahore, and paid a state visit to the Guru. The Emperor gave costly presents to the Guru and walked barefoot out of respect for him. He also ate coarse unseasoned rice from the Guru's kitchen, as was usual for a pilgrim before his audience of the Guru. On seeing a large number of people being fed from the kitchen, he wished to make a gift of several villages to the Guru; but the Guru firmly refused. Then the Emperor made the grant of the villages to the Guru's daughter, Bibi Bhanì. The Guru gave a dress of honour to the Emperor at the end of his visit, which was considered a great success. The management of the villages was entrusted to Bhai Bhana, who went to live in a forest in the area.  

A banker went to the Guru with a large offering, including a necklace of pearls and precious stones. He wanted to put it on the Guru, but the Guru said he was too old for such ornament and he should give it to someone in the Guru's image, and then the banker's wishes would be

1 Ma Craig, op.cit. Vol.II pp.96-97
2 Ibid. pp.97-99
gratified. The banker left the choice to the Guru; and the Sikhs were curious to know whom he would choose. The Guru put the necklace on the neck of his favourite Jetha. Jetha gave away the necklace soon afterwards to a faqir as alms in the Guru's name.

The Hindus had now begun to assert their hostility to what they said was the Guru's proclamation of a new religion and abolition of the differences of castes and tribes, and the Sikhs drinking of the water in which they had washed the Guru's feet and repeating Wahguru instead of the orthodox Gayatri spell. They — the Brahmans and the Khatris — decided to appeal to the Emperor to abolish such new-fangled ideas. The Guru, at that time, had few powerful allies.

The Emperor, however, rejected the complaint of the Khatris, and Jetha composed the following verses to mark the occasion:

Him who slandereth the perfect true Guru, the True One punisheth and destroyeth.

God who created the whole world hath uttered these words.

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.101
2 ibid. p.102
3 ibid. p.102
4 ibid. p.103
5 ibid. p.103
6 ibid. p.104 (Gauri ki War)
The Brahmans then made a special complaint of their own against the Guru, on which the Emperor decided that he would summon the Guru to answer his accusers. He sent a polite message to the Guru, who replied that he was too old to go anywhere and would send Jetha to wait on the Emperor.

The Guru told Jetha that Guru Nanak would be with him, and no one should prevail against him. The Khatris and Brahmans who had complained were ignorant and false. He enjoined Jetha to answer all questions truly, and neither be abashed nor be afraid of anyone; if any difficult questions were put, to think of the Guru and he should be able to answer. The Guru then sent him on his journey with an escort of five trustworthy Sikhs. On arrival the Emperor received him with distinction. The Brahmans had decided to appear personally, and the Emperor called upon Jetha to answer the charges. After explaining the origin of the word "Wahguru" as being made up of the initials of the four names of God, Wasdev, Hari, and Ram, and Sikh beliefs generally, he expounded the Gayatri with a denial of any faith in its efficacy. On hearing Jetha's exposition of the famous Hindu text, the Brahmans and Khatris, who had come to complain, were astonished at his learning and intimate acquaintance with their religion. The Emperor then said that he saw in him no hostility to Hinduism, nor any

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II pp.104-105
2 ibid. p.105
3 ibid. pp.105-106
4 ibid. pp.106-108
fault with his compositions. He asked the accusers either to reply or ask his forgiveness. The Brahmans had no reply, and they departed thoroughly disappointed. The Emperor took Jetha aside, and asked him to request Guru Amar Das to make a pilgrimage to the Ganges − to divert the anger of the Hindus − as he used to do before his conversion; and, the Emperor added, there would be no pilgrim-tax on the Guru's party.

The Guru, taking the Emperor's suggestion as also an opportunity to propagate his religion, set out for Haridwar. By the time he crossed the Beas and reached the Doab, he found himself followed by a large number of people, as it was publicly known that his party was exempt from tax. They would also be protected from robbers and gain a sight of the Guru.

At Thanesar, or the place par excellence of Shiv the destroyer, he was asked why he had abandoned Sanskrit, the language of gods, and composed hymns in the vulgar tongue. He replied, 'Well-water (Sanskrit) can only irrigate adjacent land, but rain water (vernacular) the whole world.'

When the pandits said that religious instruction should not be communicated to everyone, the Guru said,

2 ibid. p.108. The tax was abolished by Akbar in A.D. 1579 (ibid. p.108, fn.1)
3 ibid. p.109
4 ibid. p.109
5 ibid. p.109
'O father, dispel such doubts
It is God who doeth whatever is done; all who exist
shall be absorbed in Him ......

At Hardwar - where he was returning after many years - he was received
with great distinction. One day a *Siddh* (perfect) *Jogi* went to see him,
and said to him humbly, 'Since thou, O Guru, has been enthroned, I have
desired to behold thee. I am fortunate today in having attained my object
..... I wish to obtain mental rest and an assurance that when I abandon
this body I shall be born in thy family, so be happy, worshipping God and
singing His praises.' The Guru replied, 'Perfection and happiness are not
obtained by calling one's self a *Siddh* and obtaining many followers. It is
by devotion to God that real happiness is obtained. And, as thou desirest
to be born in my family, thou shalt be Mohri's son, and my grandson.' The
Jogi retired to the bank of the Beas and died there. When the Guru heard
of the Jogi's rebirth and saw his grandson, he composed the *Anand* or Song
of Joy, of thirty-eight stanzas (pauris), immediately; and taking the infant
in his lap gave him the name of Anand. He then ordered that from that day
it should always be recited on festive occasions. It eventually came to

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.110
2 ibid. p.116
3 ibid. p.117
4 ibid. p.117
5 ibid. p.130
have forty stanzas, one added by Guru Ram Das and the other by Guru Arjan.¹

Whenever Arjan, Jetha's youngest child, was brought to the Guru, he used to embrace and fondle him. One day, as the Guru was taking his meal, Arjan put his hand into the Guru's plate; he was taken away, but he came back and did it three times. The third time, however, the Guru gave him his leavings and said, 'Come, heir to the place, wilt thou have it?' The Sikhs understood that the Guru, by these words, foretold Arjan's succession.²

One day when Bhai Budha saw the Guru eating coarse food, he asked him if it was right for the Sikhs to eat delicacies while he ate coarse food; the Guru replied that there was no difference between the Sikhs and him, and he enjoyed the flavour of what they ate.³

Probably anticipating the trouble his sons would cause Jetha, the Guru asked him to go and build a city away from Goindwal, for the Sikhs to live in: first, a house for himself, then a tank to the east as a place of pilgrimage.⁴ Jetha searched and found an open uninhabited country about twenty-five miles from Goindwal. There he built his house first; but when part of the work on the tank was completed, he began to feel his separation from the Guru. He returned to Goindwal and became the Guru's treasurer.⁵ In due time, however, the Guru asked him to return

¹ Moseuliffe op. cit. Vol. II p.130, quoting Suraj Prakash, Ras I, ch.59
² ibid. p.138
³ ibid. pp.138-139
⁴ ibid. p.141; Suraj Prakash, Ras II ch.2
⁵ ibid. p.141
to the city he was building, but to stop work on the tank and construct another, and call it Amritsar (tank of nectar). To the first tank the Guru gave the name of Santokhsar or tank of (spiritual) consolation.\(^1\) Jetha returned, and the work progressed rapidly for several months, till it was time for the Guru to appoint a successor. The Guru then recalled Jetha to Goindwal.\(^2\)

One day when the Sikhs protested that he favoured his younger son-in-law, the Guru said that he would make a trial of both in their presence. He then went to the Bawali, and sent for both Jetha and Rama and ordered them to make a platform each beside it; one of which he would sit on in the morning and the other in the evening. He whose work was better would receive the greater honour. When the platforms were ready, the Guru told Rama that his platform was crooked and he should build again. Rama did the work twice, but the third time he refused, saying that the Guru was old and his reason had failed him. The Guru remarked, 'This man hath not true devotion; how shall he be worthy of the Guruship.'\(^3\)

With Jetha the Guru found fault seven times; then Jetha clasped his feet and said humbly, 'I am a fool; pray have regard for thy duty to me as thy son....'\(^4\) On hearing this, the Guru smiled and embraced him, and then said, 'Obeying my order, seven times hast thou built the platform, so seven

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.141
\(^2\) ibid. p.142
\(^3\) ibid. p.143
\(^4\) ibid. p.143
generations of thine shall sit on the Guru's throne'.

Turning to the Sikhs, he said that he had now tested the devotion of both his sons-in-law, and they had seen why Jetha was more dear to him. 'He is a perfect being who hath become incarnate, and the world following him shall be saved'. The Sikhs were astonished to see Jetha's marvellous devotion and obedience, and began to recognise him as the image of the Guru.

Bibi Bhani had, after her marriage to Jetha, continued to attend on her father; and one night, as the Guru was absorbed in deep meditation, she noticed a broken leg in the couch and put her hand under it so that the Guru might not be disturbed. When the Guru arose and saw the torture she had suffered, he said, 'Whoever doeth good works shall reap the reward thereof', and invited her to ask a favour. She asked for the Guruship to remain in her family. He blessed her, saying, 'Thine offspring shall be worshipped by the world. From the offspring of thy womb shall be born a universal saviour, but thou hast dammed the clear flowing stream of Guruship, and consequently great trouble and annoyance shall result'.

Guru Amar Das, having in every way tested Jetha and found him perfect, ordered Bhai Ballu to send for a coconut and five paisa (farthings). Jetha bathed and put on new clothes; Mohan and Mohri - the Guru's sons - and other important Sikhs, including Bhai Budha, were summoned, and the Guru

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.143
2 ibid. p.143
3 ibid. p.145
4 ibid. p.144
addressed them: 'Guru Nanak in the beginning established this custom, that the Guruship should be bestowed on the most deserving. Therefore, having found Ram Das - hitherto called Jetha - fully worthy, I now bestow on him the Guruship'. Then he made Ram Das sit on his throne, and Bhai Budha, in his traditional role, put the tilak or mark of sovereignty on Guru Ram Das's forehead. Then placing the coconut and five paise before his, the Guru said, 'It is only a golden vessel that can hold a tigress's milk' - i.e., the responsibility of the Guruship can only be vested in a pure man.

All the Sikhs made offerings according to their means and saluted Guru Ram Das on his appointment. The date of his accession was the 13th day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1631 (A.D. 1574).

When the ceremonies were over, Guru Amar Das ordered Bhai Budha and other Sikhs to do homage to the newly installed Guru; then a great feast was held. In the presence of the headman of Goindwal, members of his family and his Sikhs, Guru Amar Das said, 'God's summons hath come, and I am about to depart'. He wanted no mourning, in the tradition of Sikh Gurus, as the Creator had conferred honour on him by calling him. His son Mohri asked him what occupation should he and his brother have to

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.146
2 ibid. p.146
3 ibid. p.146
4 ibid. pp.149-150
5 ibid. p.150
maintain themselves, as family life - which the Guru had ordered them to lead - was not possible without wealth. The Guru replied, 'Live honestly, practise piety, and turn not away from God. Act according to my advice and you shall be happy'. The Guru then recited the Japji, drew a sheet over him and 'blended the light of his soul with the light of God', while the Sikhs cried "Wahguru! Sat Guru! Sat Nam!" His body was washed and clothed in fine raiments, then taken on a beautiful bier to the bank of the river Beas, under a rain of flowers and, with the singing of Sikh choristers, cremated with all solemnity. The ashes were thrown into the river. At the end, the mourners recited the Sohila and distributed sacred food.

Guru Amar Das died at ten o'clock in the forenoon of the day of the full moon in the month of Bhadon, Sambat 1631 (A.D. 1574); after twenty-two years of spiritual reign. The anniversary is celebrated with a fair on that date at Goindwal.

The Guru had organised his spiritual empire into twenty-two districts or Manji - literally, couches on which the Gurus used to sit and instruct their audiences - in a way similar to Akbar's imperial provinces, administered by governors.

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.150
2 They may be translated as Immortal God! True God! True Name! cf. ibid. p.259
3 ibid. p.150
4 ibid. p.151
5 ibid. p.151
iv. GURU RAM DAS

The Guru's minstrel, Satta, dedicated the seventh stanza (pauri) of the Coronation Ode, later known as the joint production of Balwant and Satta, to Guru Ram Das on his installation as the fourth Guru.¹

One day the Sikhs asked Guru Ram Das to satisfy them on the question of the most efficacious form of worship: whether it was the repetition of the Name, as the Gurus said, or pilgrimages, as mentioned in the Purans.² The Guru replied, 'They who go on pilgrimages commit every species of enormity. Whatever good acts they perform are merely for ostentation'.³ After quoting Guru Nanak he added: 'Even if one goes on a pilgrimage the Name ought to be praised .... It was for the magnification of the Name [that] places of pilgrimage were established ... On the other hand making pilgrimages involveth great sufferings and ruffleth the temper, whereas the pilgrimage of the Name requireth no exertion and causeth no exasperation'.⁴

Sri Chand, the elder son of Guru Nanak, decided after many years — in which he had wandered as a naked hermit and established the Udasi sect — to visit the Guru, although he had refused to see either of his father's successors.⁵ When he saw Guru Ram Das he thought the Guru was the very

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¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.253
² ibid. p.254
³ ibid. p.254
⁴ ibid. p.256
⁵ ibid. p.257
image of Guru Nanak. In conversation Sri Chand remarked to the Guru that he had grown a beard, and the Guru replied that it was to wipe his feet — and began to do so. Sri Chand was embarrassed and drew back. He said, 'O great king, thou art senior, thou art in my father's place. It is magic like this which hath made thee a Guru. I possess no such power, and therefore was I superseded. I cannot express thy greatness. The Sikhs who come to thee shall be saved'.

One day the Guru, while meditating on Guru Amar Das, remembered that he had received from him a parting injunction to preach the true Name everywhere and make a supreme place of pilgrimage at Amritsar. He went and spent several months excavating the unfinished tank there, following Guru Amar Das's instruction.

The Guru was invited to Lahore, his native city; when he went there, he converted his parents' house into a temple and built a well for his followers, and won many converts. It is said that his person and his words were so attractive that all those who came under his influence were compelled to accept his religion.

A company of Jogis, with their Superior, went to try the Guru. They asked him how his Sikhs could obtain salvation without Jog (Yoga), and

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. II pp.257-258
2 ibid. p.258
3 ibid. p.258
what advantage had they in serving him? The Guru replied, 'As the teats of a goat's neck yield no milk, so Jog without piety yieldeth no advantage'. His Sikhs, he added, were family men and they should obtain salvation in that condition; it would be impossible for them to practise Jog. The best means of practising Jog was the repetition of the Name, which was implanted in the Sikhs' hearts. 'All persons who had love and devotion in their hearts should undoubtedly obtain deliverance from transmigration'.

'Without love and devotion to God all other means of obtaining salvation was unprofitable. But supposing it were possible to practise Jog, thoughts of wealth and supernatural power would ultimately lead men astray. Their desire is to obtain money, beautiful women, fame, greatness, and honour. In such aspirations man forsetteth God. They who know Him are never led astray. However potent their temptations may be, they conquer them, and therefore enjoy the sweets of divine knowledge and meditation .... It must be one of our main objects to extricate ourselves from the mire of the world.'

The general impression of the Guru's teaching made people of every class and religion flock to see and hear him, and many were converted.

About this time, Gur Das, the author of "Wars" and "Kabits" - quoted in the Introduction to this chapter - visited the Guru and asked for his protection and faith. The Guru, having heard good reports of him as a Sikh, sent him to Agra as a preacher. Bhai Gur Das became famous and

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II pp.258-259
2 ibid. p.259
3 ibid. p.260
4 ibid. pp.260-261
successful. He sent several of the Agra Sikhs to the Guru 'to be
instructed in the advantages of human birth and the necessity of working
out ultimate salvation within it'.

The Guru now reminded his disciples of Guru Amar Das's injunction
to build a second tank - the sacred Sikh tank at Amritsar - as a place
of pilgrimage. The Guru and his party went to a forest, filled with
luxuriant trees, and sat in the shade of a tree near the excavation he
had begun.

A miraculous story is told about the tank. The magistrate of
Patti - a town in the Lahore district - had five beautiful daughters but
no son; four of them were married. One day the five sisters went to
their country garden, and when they were returning, they met a company
of saints. The four married sisters returned home, but the youngest and
unmarried one remained behind to hear the saints' singing and instruction.
At the end she gave away her jewellery to them. When she returned home
she told her sisters of the religious satisfaction she had received; but
when her mother heard about it, she was very angry and told her husband.
He called all his daughters to his presence and asked them who gave them
food and drink and who cherished and protected them. The four married
daughters replied that it was their parents who cherished and protected
them, but the youngest replied, 'The One alone is the Cherisher of
Creation. Parents are only a pretext'. The reply made her father very

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.264
2 ibid. pp.264-265
angry, and he said, 'I shall see if God will protect thee'.

After some time a leprous cripple came to the town, and the father married the girl to him, without her consent and without a dowry. It was impossible that she should be pleased with her husband, yet she bore her evil fate with fortitude, and said, 'O God, although I can have no happiness in this world with my husband, yet Thou art my true Lord and Creator'. She then set herself to attend on her leprous husband as if he were her god. She begged from door to door to maintain him and herself. One day her husband expressed his gratitude for her devotion, and asked her, as a final favour, to take him to a place of pilgrimage, so that he could earn his salvation. She put him in a basket, and bore him on her head to Hardwar, Tribeni and other places of Hindu pilgrimage, in the hope of curing his malady. She came, however, by 'divine guidance of piety and virtue', to the very spot which the third Guru had indicated, and where the fourth Guru had been excavating his tank of nectar. There she laid down her burden. They were hungry and, after much discussion, decided that the husband should stay under a tree near the water, while the wife went to beg for food in the nearest village. The leper, when alone, saw two crows fighting over a piece of bread in the mouth of one of them; the bread fell in the pool and both of them swooped down on it. On emerging out of the water they became white swans. The leper saw that there was miraculous healing and cleansing property in the water, and determined to test its efficacy on himself. He crawled into the water, holding a branch of the tree by a finger; and, except for the finger, his

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II p.267
leprosy disappeared, and he was restored to health and manliness. He waited for his wife, but, when she arrived, she did not recognise him as her husband. She thought that he was a stranger, who had killed her husband and wanted to become her lover. She refused to accept his story. Some villagers, who had accidentally seen the occurrence, testified that it was the same man. She still was not convinced, so they suggested that she should go to Guru Ram Das who would resolve her doubts. They went to him, and he smiled and said that the pool was in fact supreme among all places of pilgrimage. To convince them he asked the man to dip his still diseased finger into the water. When he did, it was immediately healed. His wife was now finally convinced of his transformation and the pool's miraculous property. The couple then accepted the Guru's religion, and the man helped in the enlargement of the pool and the construction of the prayer house and the descending steps surrounding it.

The man's father-in-law, the magistrate of Patti, was astonished on hearing of this miracle, and adopted him as his son; and, being ashamed of his previous behaviour, made over his property to his son-in-law and became a disciple of the Guru.¹

The Guru told his disciples that Santokhsar, the first tank should be completed by his successor. He then appointed Bhai Budha to superintend the completion of Amritsar, the tank of nectar. The hut in which he had been staying was enlarged into a palace for his residence.² Although

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II pp.269-270
² ibid. p.271
everyone came to assist in the work, yet money was short. So the Guru decided to send his agents, called masands, to various countries to spread the religion and to collect the offerings of the faithful. After their appointment, the masands sent large sums to the Guru for a time; but later became dishonest and tried to grasp power when they could.

An elderly couple went to the Guru and asked for the favour of a son. When he told them that they were not destined to have one, they said they knew it, but they had come to him to reverse their destiny. Then the Guru said that he was to have had four sons, but he would give one to them.

While the tank was being excavated, houses came up around it to accommodate the Sikhs, visitors and workmen; and in time a city was thus built, called Ramdaspur then and Amritsar later.

Sahari Mal, the Guru's first cousin came to invite the Guru to his son's wedding. The Guru decided to send one of his sons to represent him. Prithi Chand, the eldest son - also known as Prithia - made his duties of superintendent of the Guru's household an excuse for not going; but the real reasons were that he would lose the part of the offerings he was secretly appropriating, and he did not wish to be away when his

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1 ibid. p.271
2 ibid. p.271
3 ibid. p.273
4 ibid. p.276
father's successor would be chosen. The second son, Mahadev, was a religious enthusiast, and he did not wish to be entangled in any worldly enterprise. It was the third son, Arjan, who obeyed his father, who told him then to stay on in Lahore to give religious instruction to the Sikhs.

While in Lahore, Arjan sent a letter to his father, written as a quatrain, when he felt the separation from his father to have been long. When the messenger arrived at Amritsar, the Guru was taking a siesta, and Prithia, recognising the Sikh as Arjan's servant, asked him if he had brought a letter. The servant unsuspectingly gave it to him, and Prithia, jealous of his brother's poetic ability, concealed the letter from the Guru. He returned a verbal message in his father's name, that Arjan should remain in Lahore till he was sent for. Arjan, on receiving it, knew that Prithia had sent it. He sent a second letter with a strict instruction to deliver it only to the Guru. Prithia this time took the letter forcibly from the messenger. On his third letter Arjan took the precaution of writing No. 3, so that his father might know about the first two. This letter was delivered to the Guru, and the messenger also related his previous adventures. When Prithia came in, his father asked him three times about the letters and three times Prithia swore by the Guru's holy feet that he knew nothing about them. Then the Guru, reading his secret

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol.II p.276
2 ibid. p.277
3 ibid. p.277
thoughts, told him that the letters were in his coat pocket. The letters were found in it, and Bhai Budha, by order of the Guru, proclaimed Prithia's villainy to the assembly. Then Bhai Budha was sent to fetch Arjan from Lahore. When Arjan arrived, the Guru remarked that he should complete the hymn, whose three quatrains he had already sent to the Guru, and Arjan immediately did so. It pleased the Guru very much. He embraced his son and said, 'Guru Amar Das declared that the Guruship was the reward of merit. As only he who is lowly and humble-minded may lay claim to it, I grant it to thee'. Then he sent for a coconut and five naise and, when they were brought, he placed them before Arjan. He descended from his throne and seated Arjan on it in the presence of the whole assembly. Bhai Budha placed the tilak, the mark of sovereignty, on Arjan's forehead; and Arjan was then proclaimed the fifth Guru.¹

Prithia, who was exceedingly angry, abused his father; and told Bhai Budha that the Guruship was his right and he would remove Guru Arjan, and the Emperor himself would admit the justice of his claim.² The Guru addressed a few verses in remonstrance to Prithia:

"Why, O my son, quarrel with thy father?
It is a sin to quarrel with him who begot thee and reared thee.
The wealth of which thou art proud belongeth to no one.
In a moment shalt thou abandon the pleasures of sin,
and then shalt thou repent.
Repeat His name, who is thy dear Lord, thy Master and thy God.
The slave Nanak giveth thee instruction; if thou hearken unto it, thy regrets shall depart."³

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. II pp.278-281
² ibid. p.282
³ ibid. p.283 (Sareng)
But the remonstrance had no effect on Prithia; then the Guru uttered the following verses:

'They render God hearty worship on whose forehead such destiny was recorded in the beginning.
How can one be jealous of those whom my God the Creator assisteth?
Meditate on God, O my soul, meditate on God; He is the Remover of the troubles of every birth.
God in the beginning bestowed on his saints the ambrosial storehouse of saintship.
The fool who trieth to rival them, shall have his face blackened both in this world and the next.
They are saints, they are worshippers to whom God's name is dear.
God is obtained by their service; ashes shall be thrown on the slanderer's head.
He in whose house this occurreth knoweth what's proper; ask Guru Nanak the world's Guru and reflect on it.
In the case of the four Gurus none hath ever obtained Guruship by revilings; it is by God's service the Guruship is obtained.'

Prithia still continued to insult his father, and his father finally ordered him out of sight. Bibi Bhani then recalled Guru Amar Das's words, 'Thou hast dammed the clear flowing stream of the Guruship, and consequently great trouble and annoyance will result'.

Later in the evening, Guru Arjan, his mother and Bhai Budha went to visit Guru Ram Das, who then announced his approaching end, and said that he would go to die in Goindwal. On his arrival at Goindwal with Guru Arjan, Guru Ram Das bathed in the Bawali, and had interviews with his brothers-in-law, Mohan and Mohri. On the next day a great feast was held;

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2 ibid., p. 284
then the following morning, before day, the Guru again bathed, and, having repeated the preamble of the Japji and the Asa ki War, he began to meditate on Guru Amar Das. When day dawned and his devotions were at an end, he entrusted his Sikhs to Guru Arjan; directed him to complete the tanks at Amritsar; and repeated for him the main tenets of Sikhism and enjoined him to always abide by them.¹

Bibi Bhani, his wife, knew that these injunctions were indications of her husband's death; and she begged him to take her with him on the final journey. He asked her to remain in the world for some time before joining him. Guru Ram Das died on the third day of the light half of the month of Bhadon, Sambat 1638 (A.D. 1581).²

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¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.II p.284
² ibid. pp.284-285
Guru Arjan was born on Tuesday, the 7th day of the dark half of Baisakh, Sambat 1620 (A.D. 1563) at Goindwal. Arjan was in due course married to Ganga, the daughter of Krishan Chand, a resident of the village Neo in the Phillia sub-collectorate of the Jallandhar district.

After Guru Ram Das's death, Arjan's uncle Mohri bestowed on him a customary turban as the Guru's heir. But Prithia claimed it for himself, so Arjan conferred it on him. A short time afterwards, Prithia met Sulahi Khan, a revenue officer of Lahore, and interested him in his complaint to the Emperor, which he proposed to make, on his supersession by Arjan. Prithia also complained to the Chaudhuris of Amritsar that he and his brother had been left without maintenance. When the Chaudhuris passed on the complaint to Guru Arjan, he granted certain taxes and house-rents to Prithia; and custom duties of a ward of Amritsar to his second brother, Mahadev. He reserved for himself only the voluntary offerings of his disciples.

On accession to the Guruship, Guru Arjan proceeded to complete the tanks and extend the city of Ramdaspur. When the tank of Santokhsar was

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. III p.1
2 ibid. p.1
3 ibid. p.1
4 ibid. pp.1-2
5 ibid. p.2; Suraj Prakash, Ras II, Ch. 29
nearing completion, it is said, a naked Jogi was found sitting in profound contemplation. The Guru clothed and restored him to consciousness; on being interrogated by the Guru, he said that he had been allowed by his guru to remain there in deep contemplation till Guru Arjan restored him and gave him deliverance.\textsuperscript{1} The tank, where the Jogi was found, was completed on the first of the month of Phagan, Sambat 1645 (c. Feb. 1588). The Guru then turned his attention to the second tank, Amrit-sar - part of the work had already been done in Sambat 1534 under Guru Ram Das - and the planning of the Har Mandar or Temple of God.\textsuperscript{2} When the tank had been excavated, it was suggested that the temple would receive more respect if it were on a higher level than other buildings around it; but the Guru said, "No! what is humble shall be exalted. ... By whatever way you approach the temple you must descend eight or ten steps".\textsuperscript{3} It was - unlike a Hindu temple which is closed on three sides - to be open on all sides; the Granth Sahib placed in the middle, so that no one might sit in its place.\textsuperscript{4} The foundation brick was laid by Guru Arjan on the 1st of

\textsuperscript{1} Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol.III pp.2-3
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. pp.3-4
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.9
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.9
Magh, Sambat 1645 (c. Jan. 1589). When a mason accidentally displaced the brick, the Guru prophesied that the foundation should have to be laid again. The prophecy came true in Sambat 1821 (A.D. 1764), when the Khalsa army recovered possession of the temple from Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had destroyed the temple and desecrated the tank two years earlier.  

When the masands tried to cheat the Guru on bricks, he dismissed them and said that they would be punished when he became the tenth Guru. It seemed to the Guru that God Himself had assisted in the work when large numbers of Sikhs came to help in the completion of the tank and the temple. 

To avoid Prithia's annoyances, the Guru decided to leave Amritsar and make a tour of the Manjha, i.e. the country between the Ravi and the Beas. He first visited Khadur and Goindwal, then the village of Sarhali, where he looked for land to build a house for himself. From there he went into the Jallandhar district, where he bought land to build another city - Kartarpur or the city of the Creator - in the Doab between the Beas and Satlej rivers. At Lahore he planned the building of the Guru's Bawali at the request of the Sikhs. The Guru also visited the shrine of

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III p. 10
2 ibid. p. 10
3 ibid. p. 10
4 ibid. pp. 29-21
5 ibid. p. 26
6 ibid. p. 27
Guru Nanak in the Gurdaspur district, Dehra Baba Nanak; and Barath, to call on Sri Chand, Guru Nanak's son, who advised him to return to Amritsar. The Guru agreed, and returned to Amritsar. But Prithia's jealousy had not diminished. When his wife heard that the Guru's wife was pregnant, she reproached Prithia for falsely prognosticating that the Guru would have no children. Prithia instigated his friend Sulah Khan to plunder Amritsar, under the pretence of levying tribute, and inspire fear in the Guru. The Guru anticipating the raid left Amritsar for Wadali, a village six or seven miles away. Finding a scarcity of water at Wadali he ordered a well to be dug there.

The Guru's son, Har Gobind, was born at Wadali on the 21st of the month of Har, Sambat 1652 (A.D. 1595). The Guru composed a thanksgiving verse on the occasion:

'The True Guru sent me a son;

A son, a saint of God hath been born,
The destiny recorded in the beginning hath become manifest to all.
The vine of my race hath extended and shall last for many generations.
God hath erected the machinery of the faith.
The True Guru hath granted me what my heart hath desired.'

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol.III pp.27-28
2 ibid. p.33
3 ibid. pp.33-34
4 ibid. p.35
5 ibid. p.35
Next morning, however, Karmo, Prithia's wife, sent for an old nurse of the family, and bribed her to go to Wadali and pretend to be a friend of the Guru's family, and, when it was opportune, to poison the new-born child. The nurse succeeded in getting employed by the Guru's wife, and tried to poison the child, but she was unsuccessful. The story of Prithia's instigation of the child's murder spread everywhere, and he was treated with contempt by everyone. His wife, however, egged him on, and he induced a snake-charmer to make another attempt, by exposing the child to a cobra; but the child took the cobra in his hand, as it rushed towards him, and killed it at once. When Har Gobind, the Guru's son, was two years old, the people of Amritsar requested the Guru to return, which he did. There was great rejoicing at Amritsar to welcome the Guru and the young heir. Prithia told his wife that Har Gobind should be victim of small-pox; if he survived, then they would contrive some other plan. On the third day Har Gobind did show symptoms of virulent small-pox, and the people advised the Guru to make an offering to the goddess of small-pox and propitiate her by worshipping a young virgin. The Guru rejected

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. III p.37
2 ibid. p.38
3 ibid. p.39
4 ibid. p.40
5 ibid. pp.41-42
6 ibid. p.42
their advice, and said:

'God is my sole prop; I have relinquished other hopes
God, the perfect Lord of excellences, is powerful over all
The Name is the support of God's slave who entereth His Protection
The Compassionate to the poor, the Ocean of favour remembereth us at every breath we draw.
What the Creator continueth to do is for our advantage.
The perfect Guru hath taught that happiness is obtained by the will of God.
They who dismiss care, anxiety, and calculations, recognise God's order.
Nanak, they who are imbued with God's love perish not, nor are they abandoned by Him.\(^1\)

The child gradually began to recover; on the ninth day of his sickness he opened his eyes.\(^2\) The Guru composed several hymns at the time, and in final thanksgiving he said:

The primal Brahma the Supreme Being, pardoned, and all my son's maladies are healed.
They who enter the asylum of the perfect Guru are saved, and all their affairs are adjusted.
God's servant remembereth the Name which is his support.
The true Guru being compassionate hath cured his fever.\(^3\)

Prithia finally bribed the Brahman who attended on Har Gobind, but he confessed, and died.\(^4\) Guru Arjan found an opportunity to reproach Prithia, but he decided to go with his family to Delhi, to make a complaint to Emperor Akbar — to forestall a possible complaint by the Guru against him.\(^5\) He went first to the village of Hehar to visit his friend

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. III p.43 (Bilawal)
\(^2\) ibid. pp.43-44
\(^3\) ibid. p.45 (Sorath)
\(^4\) ibid. pp.46-47
\(^5\) ibid. p.48
Sulahi Khan, who eventually received a summons from the Emperor; and took Prithia with him to make his complaint. The Emperor, however, decided, on hearing the complaint, that he would not interfere in the affairs of religious men, and, moreover, the complaint itself was false. Prithia was extremely disappointed and fell seriously ill.¹

When Har Gobind was old enough, the Guru went to his second brother, Mahadev, and requested him to undertake the education of the child. But Mahadev suggested that Bhai Budha would be a more suitable tutor.² When Bhai Budha began his tuition, the boy learned the alphabet immediately, and in a few days mastered spelling. In a short time he 'received the gift of tongues'.³ He was then instructed in the use of weapons, in riding, swimming, chemistry, astronomy, medicine, agriculture, administration and other sciences.⁴ When Har Gobind's education was completed, the Guru took him to the temple for thanksgiving to God and to acknowledge Bhai Budha's debt for his successful and comprehensive instruction.⁵

Guru Arjan now felt the necessity of laying down rules for the guidance of his followers in the performance of their religious duties and rites, in order 'to reduce religion to consistency and hinder divergent tenets and rituals'.⁶ This could only be achieved by permanently

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.III pp.48-49
² ibid. p.49
³ ibid. p.50
⁴ ibid. p.50
⁵ ibid. p.50
⁶ ibid. p.55
recording the exact words of the Gurus in one volume. Guru Amar Das had
decided that only the real hymns of the Gurus should be repeated and
reverenced by the Sikhs. In addition to the hymns of the Gurus, Guru
Arjan praised the compositions of Gur Das, who was flattered and volun­
teered to go to Goindwal, to the third Guru's eldest son, for the volumes
containing the Guru's compositions. But both he and Bhai Budha, who
followed him, failed in the mission. The Guru then decided to go himself.
Mohan, however, did not welcome the visitor; but the Guru, after addressing
several verses which could be construed as being addressed to God as well
as Mohan, succeeded in bringing Mohan out of his door to receive him.
Mohan, on examining the Guru's face, saw such 'preternatural splendour that
he recognised the light of all the Gurus', and surrendered the books.

On his way to Amritsar, the Guru stayed at Khadur, where Datu, Guru
Angad's son who had kicked Guru Amar Das off his throne, went to meet him
with self-abasement and contrition. He chose a secluded spot, and tents
were erected there for him and his bards and minstrels. On the Guru's
deciding to have a tank there as well, excavation was started; and he

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III p. 55
2 ibid. p. 55: in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth pauris (stanzas) of
the Anand.
3 ibid. p. 55
4 ibid. p. 55 and p. 56
5 ibid. pp. 56-57
6 ibid. pp. 58-59
named it Ramsar. He asked Bhai Budha to deputise for him in the Har Mandar, and appointed Gur Das as writer. The followers of important Hindu and Moslem saints since the time of Jaidev were invited to attend, and suggest hymns to be included in the sacred book; and the hymns which were not wholly inconsistent with the Gurus' teaching were included. The reason for including Mohammedan hymns was that the Guru wished to show that every man, without distinction of caste or creed, was worthy of honour and reverence.

When all the hymns for insertion had been decided upon, the Guru sat in his tent and dictated them to Bhai Gur Das. After much time and work, the volume was completed on the 1st day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1661 (A.D. 1604). The Guru then wrote the Mundawani as a conclusion, and put his seal on it:

"Three things have been put into the vessel (the Granth). The ambrosial name of God the support of all hath also been put therein. He who eateth and enjoyeth it shall be saved. This provision should never be abandoned; ever clasp it to your hearts. By embracing God's feet we cross the ocean of darkness; Nanak, everything is an extension of God."

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III pp. 59-60
2 ibid. pp. 60-61
3 ibid. p. 61
4 ibid. p. 54
5 Truth, patience and meditation.
6 ibid. p. 54.
The Guru invited all his Sikhs to see the precious work, and distributed sacred food among them as a 'thanksgiving for the completion of his toil'; the volume was then deposited in the Har Mandar on the advice of Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das. The Guru told his Sikhs that the Granth Sahib was the embodiment of the Guru, and, therefore, worthy of the greatest reverence. He decided to make Bhai Budha its custodian, as he would perform the duty with reverence and love. The Guru supplemented the Granth Sahib with a prescription of rites on occasions of death as well as of rejoicing.¹

Numerous stories are told by the author of the Suraj Prakash to illustrate both the miraculous power and the teaching of the Guru. In one of them, a soldier of the Kabul army had vowed to wear a wooden sword in distress at having killed a female deer with two embryos in her womb. If he had been found with a wooden sword at inspection, he would have been executed; but the Guru, with his occult power, changed his sword into polished steel at the proper time, and he was saved.²

The Guru's advice to another soldier, who came for religious instruction, was: 'He who exerciseth bravery shall be fearless in the battlefield. He who resolveth to conquer or die in arms, and who, when dying, claspieth the True Name to his heart, shall efface the sins of many births and obtain deliverance.'³..... 'Fight for him whose salt thou hast eaten. Give thy life for thy sovereign and great shall be thy fame in both

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. III p.65
² ibid. p.67
³ ibid. p.68
In the time of Guru Arjan, crowds of people were converted in the
Panjab, Hindustan and all the neighbouring countries. It is said that
hill chiefs of Kulu, Suket, Haripur and Chamba became his followers, as
the Raja of Mandi had done earlier.2

At that time Chandu Shah, a native of the Panjab, was the Emperor's
finance minister. He had a seven-year-old daughter, called Sada Kaur.
Chandu's wife told him that they should try to get her married into some
respectable family, as young Hindu virgins were not safe under the Turks.3
Chandu admitted that his daughter was 'a thorn in his flesh', too old to
be killed, and he could not find a family equal to his own. However,
Chandu sent out his family priest and his barber, the traditional go-
betweens, and they travelled as far as Lahore, but could not find anyone
suitable. In Lahore, however, they heard of Guru Arjan's son; and they
went to Amritsar to see him. They were astonished to see the regal state
and retinue of the Guru, and found Har Gobind admirable.4 They reported
to Chandu that Har Gobind would be a suitable match for his daughter,
dilating on their impressions of the splendour and respect which the Guru
and his son enjoyed.5 Chandu was displeased at hearing the Guru's praise

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III p.69, quoting Suraj Prakash, Ras III ch.60
2 ibid. p.70
3 ibid. pp.70-71
4 ibid. p.72
5 ibid. pp.72-73
from his agents, and said how could the status of an imperial finance minister be compared with that of the Guru, however venerated he might be by his followers.¹ His wife was, nevertheless, inclined to make the match, as she said whatever status their daughter married into, it would be beneath theirs.² Finally they agreed to send marriage presents to Har Gobind at Amritsar; but the Delhi Sikhs heard of Chandu's derogatory remarks and decided to inform the Guru.³ The Guru was aware—by his knowledge of the future—that this letter from his Sikhs would begin strife, and had been sent with thoughtless zeal; but he was obliged to accept their advice.⁴ While Chandu's priest and barber were there, a Sikh arose in the assembly and said to the Guru: 'Great king, put not acid into milk. Spurn an alliance with that dog of a Karar (petty Hindu shopkeeper).⁵ The Guru chid the Sikh on his language, and quoted a sacred verse.⁶ Then in full assembly a native of Dalla, called Narain Das, stood up and said that he had a daughter whom he and his wife had pledged to the Guru's son.⁷ Narain Das was a grandson of Bhai Paro, who was a disciple of Guru Amar Das. The Guru

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. III p.73
² ibid. p.73
³ ibid. p.74
⁴ ibid. p.75
⁵ ibid. p.75
⁶ The twentieth slok of the Asa ki War.
⁷ ibid. p.76
accepted Narain Das's proposal, and the betrothal was celebrated immediately. Then another Sikh, Hari Chand, offered his daughter as well; and although Guru was reluctant to accept a second wife for his son, he did not feel able to reject the offer of a faithful Sikh. Thus, Har Gobind was betrothed to Hari Chand's daughter too. The date fixed for his marriage with Narain Das's daughter was the seventh day of the light half of the month of Magh, Sambat 1661 (A.D. 1604).

When the priest and the barber returned to Delhi and reported to Chandu all they had seen and heard, Chandu wrote a letter to the Guru, in which, concealing his resentment, he wrote of the propriety of an alliance with him in view of his standing and his wealth, and suggested that his daughter should become 'a third wife to Har Gobind, as great people contract many marriages'. At the end of his letter, he warned the Guru of the danger of falling out with him when his brother Prithia was already hostile. The Guru, on reading it said, 'It is pride that ruineth men. Pride of wealth is the basis of all ills'. It was the Guru's rule, he added, to comply with the wishes of his Sikhs. Their word was unchangeable. Even if he consented to Chandu's alliance, the result would not be good.

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. III p.77. See ibid. fn.1, for an explanation of this custom of pledging daughters to the sons of a Guru.

2 ibid. p.77

3 ibid. p.79

4 ibid. p.80

5 ibid. p.80
Har Gobind's marriage with Narain Das's daughter was duly celebrated. ¹

Pritha persuaded the qazis and pandits, who were hostile to the Guru for his compilation of the Granth, to complain to Emperor Akbar, that the Granth expressed contempt both for Mohammedan priests and prophets and for Hindu gods and incarnations. Akbar was in the Panjab at the time; and Chandu presented the complaint to him at Gurdaspur, supporting it with his own testimony. The Emperor ordered that both the Guru and the Granth be brought before him. The Guru sent Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das to represent him. ² After hearing a number of excerpts from the book, ³ the Emperor decided that there was, except love and devotion, nothing of either praise or blame of anyone in them; the Granth was a volume worthy of reverence. He made an offering of fifty-one gold mohurs - equivalent to fifty-one old English guineas - to the sacred book, and gave dresses of honour to the Guru's representatives, and sent with them a third dress for the Guru himself. He also promised to pay a visit to the Guru on his return from Lahore, where he was going. In the process of this complaint Chandu lost his reputation. ⁴ The Emperor kept his promise on his return journey to Delhi. He was pleased with the Guru's temple, and with the beautiful melodies to which the Gurus' hymns

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol.III p.80
² ibid. p.81
³ see ibid. pp.81-83 for the excerpts
⁴ ibid. p.83,
had been set, and asked for religious instruction. He remitted the revenues of the Panjab that year in deference to the Guru's representation that there was a severe famine in the land. The Guru's reputation and influence increased because of the Emperor's respect for him.

Unfortunately for the Guru, Akbar died soon after, and his son, Jahangir, came to the throne. Jahangir's son, Khusro, who had been nominated by Akbar as his successor, claimed the Panjab and Afghanistan; but his father was unwilling to concede them, and he had to escape from Agra towards Afghanistan, pursued by the imperial army. On the way he visited the Guru at Tarn-Taran, and begged for financial help. The Guru took pity on the prince's situation, and, feeling friendly towards him from a sense of gratitude to his grandfather, gave him five thousand rupees. Khusro was, however, seized by the imperial troops as he was crossing the Jhelam river.

Pritia had managed to keep in with Sulahi Khan, but Sulahi was accidentally killed. Then he received a letter from Chandu, asking for his assistance in either getting Chandu's daughter married to Har Gobind.

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III p.83
2 ibid. p.84
3 ibid. pp.84-85
4 ibid. p.85
5 ibid. p.85
6 ibid. p.86
or, in case of failure, in vengeance. If Prithia refused, Chandu threatened to confiscate the fief he had recently obtained from the Emperor. Prithia needed no threats, and he was consequently summoned to Delhi. There he and Chandu schemed to make the Emperor to travel to the Panjab. Chandu's scheme proved successful; and, in a short time, the Emperor started for Kashmir via the Panjab. When they camped on the bank of the Beas, Chandu suggested to the Emperor that he had a rival in the Guru, and that the Guru entertained thieves and exercised independent authority. The Emperor sent an order to the Guru to desist from such practices, through Sulabi Khan, the nephew of Prithia's ally, the late Sulahi Khan.¹

When the Sikhs heard of Sulabi Khan's intention, they asked the Guru's permission to kill him; but the Guru dissuaded them, and composed the following verses:

'Humility is my mace
And being the dust of all men's feet my two-edged sword:
These no evil-doer can withstand.
The perfect Guru hath arranged this matter.' ²

Sulabi, however, was killed by a party of Pathans in a skirmish on his way to Amritsar.³ When Chandu heard of Sulabi Khan's death, he told the Emperor that it had been done by the Guru's machinations. The Guru, he said, was becoming bolder with delay and impunity, as he had deprived his

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III pp.87-88
² ibid. pp.88-89
³ ibid. p.89
elder brother, Prithia, of the Guruship, and was trying to deprive both Hindus and Moslems of their religions. The Emperor asked for Prithia's presence. Prithia, overjoyed at the summons, died of over-eating at Tarn-Tarn, where he had broken his journey to Delhi.1 Mihr Ban, Prithia's son, made use of the Guru's gift to Prince Khusro to arouse the Emperor's hostility; he told Chandu, who added, in his report to the Emperor, that the Guru was going to give military assistance to Prince Khusro.2 The pandits and qazis also took the opportunity to renew their old allegation against the Guru; and Chandu succeeded in making the Emperor summon the Guru.3

Guru Arjan now felt that his enemies had won and his end was near, but he was confident that 'the vials of God's wrath would burst on their heads'.4 Before leaving for Lahore he appointed his son Har Gobind as his successor with all due ceremony, and told his wife Ganga not to mourn for him and not to cremate herself with his body.5

The Guru took five Sikhs with him. The Emperor was at first inclined to treat him with respect, but Chandu reminded him of the help to Khusro. The Emperor told the Guru that he was a religious teacher and a holy man and should regard everyone alike, and it was not proper for him to have

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III p.89  
2 ibid. p.90  
3 ibid. p.90  
4 ibid. p.90  
5 ibid. pp.90-91
helped Khusro. The Guru replied that it was because he regarded everyone - Hindu or Mohammedan, rich or poor, friend or enemy - in the same way that he had helped Khusro. If he had not shown some gratitude for the kindness of Emperor Akbar, all men would have despised him for his heartlessness and ingratitude; or they would have said that he was afraid of Jahangir - which was unworthy of a follower of Guru Nanak.

On hearing the Guru's reply, Emperor Jahangir fined him 200,000 rupees and ordered him to delete the hymns opposed to Hinduism or Islam from the Granth. The Guru refused to pay the fine, saying that the Emperor could take all the money he had if he wanted - but not as a fine; a fine was imposed on wicked worldly persons, not on priests and anchorets. He also refused to change the Granth in any way. He said that the Granth was revealed to the Guru by God, and the hymns were disrespectful neither to Hinduism or Islam. His object was the spread of truth and destruction of falsehood, and he was ready to die for it.¹

When the Sikhs of Lahore tried to raise a subscription to pay the fine imposed on the Guru, he sent them a message that whoever subscribed would be considered a pervert and imperil his salvation.² The Guru was placed under Chandu's surveillance; and the pandits and qazis gave him the alternative of death or changing the Granth. The Guru said that alteration was impossible; and his enemies then put fetters on him and tortured him by pouring burning sand on him, searing him in red-hot

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. III p.91
² ibid. p.
caldrons and bathing him in boiling water. The Guru bore his torture with equanimity. They gave him another opportunity to recant, but he said, "O fools, I shall never fear this treatment of yours. It is all according to God's will; wherefore, this torture only affordeth me pleasure". The Guru then recited the following verses:

The egg of superstition hath burst; the mind is illumined;  
The Guru hath cut the fetters off the feet and freed the captive.  
My transmigration is at an end.

True is my place, true my seat, and truth I have as my special object  
Truth is the capital; truth the stock-in-trade which Nanak hath put into his house.2

When Chandu threatened further torture, the Guru spoke:

'The earth, the firmament, and the stars are under the influence of fear; over their head is unchanging law.'

'All things are filled with fear - it is only the Creator who is devoid of it.  
Saith Nanak, God is the Companion of saints; saints adorn His court and are therefore without fear.'3

Several Jogis and religious men who had met the Guru went to condole with him. Mian Mir, the Moslem saint of Lahore, found the Guru's body all blistered and suppurated, and asked his permission to appeal to the Emperor for his release and punishment of his torturers. The Guru requested him to cast his eyes towards heaven; and Mian Mir saw angels begging the Guru's permission to destroy the wicked, the proud and the

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III pp.92-93
2 ibid. p.93 (Maru)
3 ibid. pp.93-94 (Maru)
perverse. Mian Mir, on seeing this supernatural power, asked the Guru why he accepted 'suffering at the hands of such vile sinners' when he possessed superhuman power. The Guru replied: 'I bear all this torture to set an example to the teachers of the True Name, that they may not lose patience or rail at God in affliction. The true test of faith is the hour of misery. Without examples to guide them ordinary persons' minds quail in the midst of suffering. In the second place, if he who possesseth power within him defend not his religion by the open profession thereof, the man who possesseth no such power will when put to the torture abjure his faith. The sin will light on the head of him who hath the power but showeth it not; and God will deem him an enemy of religion. In the third place, the body is naturally subject to woe and weal, but not the spirit. The body is perishable, the soul is imperishable. To set aside by the exercise of supernatural power the law of nature which applieth to all things perishable and thereby engender pride in the heart would be supreme folly.'

Afterwards, his enemies kept the Guru seated in a caldron heated by a blazing fire for three hours. The Guru's life was nearly extinct, but he would not even consent to Chandu's condition of his daughter's marriage with Har Gobind, his son. On this occasion the Guru recited:

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. III pp.94-95
2 ibid. p.95
When great troubles befall, and nobody receiveth one;
When enemies pursue, and relations flee away;
When all from whom man looked for assistance have fled,
and all succour is at an end,
If he then remember God, no hot wind shall strike him.
God is the strength of the strengthless......
..... if he remember God, he shall obtain a permanent kingdom.'

For five days the Guru suffered torture and then asked permission to bathe in the Ravi with his five Sikh companions, consenting to let Chandu do what he wanted afterwards. Chandu, thinking that the Guru would change his mind when his body was cool, gave his permission; and sent an escort of armed soldiers.

The Guru enveloped himself in a long sheet for the journey. His body was blistered, and the soles of his feet were festering. He bathed in the river. After his devotions, he told his Sikhs that he had succeeded in the object of his life, and they should go to his son with a message, in which he asked him not to mourn for him, to sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability. He should always treat his Sikhs with courtesy, and in all respects, except the wearing of arms he had now enjoined, adopt the practice of the earlier Gurus. Finally, Guru Arjan asked him not to cremate his body, but to 'let it flow on the bosom of the river'.

Having spoken with the Sikhs, the Guru saw a minstrel approaching with a two-stringed instrument, and invited him to take a seat on a

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. III p.95 (Sri Rag Ashtapadi)
2 Ibid. p.98
3 Ibid. p.98
4 Ibid. p.98
pleasant spot near the river and sing hymns. Some of the audience which
had gathered spoke of the Guru's life and others listened with admiration.
"He hath shown", they said, 'extreme patience and endurance, though had
he chosen to exercise his miraculous power he might have averted his
sufferings. He hath never meditated retaliation on his enemy; his praise
suits none but himself for having endured extreme suffering and heeded it
not. He now cometh to us to abide in glory and bliss after his early
misery'.

The Guru died on the fourth day of the light half of the month of
Jeth, Sambat 1663 (June, 1906 A.D.)

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2 ibid. p.99
On his father's death, Guru Har Gobind ordered singing of hymns and reading of the Granth to be continued for ten days. When the final rites were ended, Bhai Budha put new clothes on Guru Har Gobind, and placed before him a wooden cord - called seli - and worn as a necklace by the Gurus - and a turban as 'appurtenances of his calling'; but the Guru ordered the seli to be put away in the treasury, apparently because it was not suitable in the altered political condition of the Sikhs. He then told Bhai Budha that he would endeavour to fulfil his prophecy: 'My seli shall be sword belt, and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette.'

Guru Har Gobind then, according to custom, summoned all his Sikhs, and invited the important inhabitants of Amritsar to a banquet. In the assembly he reaffirmed the distinction of Sikh obsequies from Hindu rites. Only the mesands or the Guru's agents were dissatisfied with Har Gobind's accession. They had become very corrupt and were afraid of being discovered; they, therefore, represented to the Guru's mother that the Guru was still a boy and had taken arms to lord it over men - an unsuitable course for men of religion. The Guru's mother told them

1. Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p.2
2. Ibid. p.2
3. Ibid. p.2
not to be anxious, for Guru Nanak's hand was over her son's head and Bhai Budha's prophecy - that Har Gobind should be both a temporal and spiritual ruler - was about to be fulfilled. Nevertheless, she remonstrated with the young Guru, but he replied that everything should be according to the will of God. The Guru then issued an encyclical letter to the masands to make offerings of arms and horses instead of money. On Monday the fifth day of the light half of Har, Sambat 1663 (A.D. 1606), he laid the foundation of the Takht Akal Bunga, the corridor of the golden temple where the Akalis now sit and the arms of the Gurus are preserved. Bhai Budha too, on seeing the young Guru in military attire, was mildly deprecatory; but the Guru reminded him of his own intercession at the Guru's birth and his prophecy, and said, 'I wear two swords as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. 'In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined - the caldron to supply the poor and needy and the scimitar to smite oppressors.'

He enrolled fifty-two men as his bodyguard from the warriors and wrestlers who came to him on hearing his fame. They formed the nucleus of his future army; joined by five hundred youths - from the Manjha (the country between the Ravi and the Bias), the Doab (the country

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 3.
2 Ibid. p. 3.
3 Ibid. p. 3.
4 Ibid. p. 4.
5 Ibid. p. 4.
between the Bias and the Satlej) and the Malwa—who said they had only their lives to offer and required no pay except religious instruction. The Guru gave them each a horse and weapons and enlisted them in his army; and made Bidhi Chand, Pirana, Jetha, Paira and Langana captains, with one hundred horsemen each. Several unemployed men with a distaste for manual work flocked to join the Guru's army. People wondered how he would maintain such an army, and the Guru, by quoting words of the Gurus and his own optimism and force of character, allayed their fears. In a short time, besides a paid regular army, he had hordes of men who were satisfied with two meals a day and a new uniform every half year.¹

Guru Har Gobind was perhaps the first Guru who took up the chase systematically. He rose before day, bathed, dressed himself in full armour, and then went to the Har Mandar—the temple of God—to worship; then he heard the Japji and the Asa Ki War recited, and preached to his Sikhs. After his sermon, the Anand of Guru Amar Das and a concluding prayer were read, followed by community breakfast, in which his followers and troops sat, without discrimination, in rows. After a short rest, the Guru—accompanied by an army of forest beaters, hounds, tame leopards and hawks—went on long rides.²

Late in the afternoon the Guru would sit on his throne and give audience to his visitors and followers. Minstrels sang the Guru's hymns and at twilight the Sodar was read. Then all stood up and, with clasped hands, offered a prayer to the Almighty. At the conclusion

² Ibid. p. 5.
of the service, musical instruments of many sorts were played.
The congregation then bowed to the Guru. A sacred concert was held
after the evening meal, followed by martial songs to inspire the Sikhs
with love of heroic duels and courage. The Sohila was then read and
the Guru retired to his private apartment. Before going to sleep,
he would put his head at his mother's feet in respect and to receive
her blessing.¹

Chandu's daughter was still unmarried, and he feared the growing
military power of Guru Har Gobind. His wife advised him to make peace
with the Guru under the circumstances. He, therefore, wrote a letter
to the Guru repeating the offer of marriage with his daughter, as
'man's dignity increaseth by an alliance with the exalted'; and added
that it would be to his advantage to take his offer, but if he did not
he would, he said, 'serve thee as I did thy father.'²

This letter reminded the Guru of all his father's suffering and
dishonour and it 'galled him to his heart.' He wrote in reply that
the Sikhs had been right about him; he would certainly suffer for all
his misdeeds. "Thou shalt die", he wrote, "in the dust and dishonoured
by shoe-beatings inflicted by pariahs."³

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV., p. 5-6.
² ibid. p. 8.
Chandu's servant, when he returned with the reply, described in great detail the Guru's state and wealth. 'His glory', the servant said, 'is twice nay, four times greater than that of any previous Guru ......... he sitteth upon a throne, He weareth arms, calleth himself the true King, taketh presents like an emperor, maintaineth an army of a thousand brave youths, and careth for nobody.' Chandu found an opportunity of intimating this and the contents of the letter to the Emperor, Jahangir.¹

The Emperor sent two courtiers, Wazir Khan and Kind Beg, to summon the Guru. Wazir Khan was reputedly a Sikh. Before his departure for Amritsar Wazir Khan tried to persuade the Emperor to see the Guru in a more favourable light, promising that when the Guru came before him, the Emperor would be 'well pleased with him'.² The envoys suggested to the Guru that he should make a complaint against Chandu and have him thoroughly investigated. The Guru considered the situation and decided to go to the Emperor.³ He set out for Delhi on Monday the 2nd day of Māgh 1669 (1612 A.D.) with an escort of three hundred men.⁴ At the first break of the journey he instructed those, who had

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² ibid. p. 11.
³ ibid. p. 12.
accompanied him so far, to respect the Har Mandar, the temple specially devoted to God's service, never to be defiled with impurities of the human body, gambling, wine-drinking, flirtations, or slander; and no one should steal, smoke or litigate in its precincts, but Sikhs, holy men, guests, strangers, the poor and friendless should be hospitably treated. 1

The Emperor received the Gurus with courtesy. 2 Finding him very young, he asked him a number of theological questions 3 to test his knowledge, being specially interested in the Guru's views on the superiority of either Hinduism or Islam, which the Guru finally answered with the hymn:

'In the beginning God by His Omnipotence created light and from it all the races of man.
From the one light the whole world was created; then who is good and who is bad?
O my brethren, lose not yourselves in doubt.
Creation is in the Creator, the Creator in the creation; He filleth every place.
Matter is one, but the Fashioner fashioned it in various ways.

Saith Kabir, my doubts are abandoned since I have seen the Spotless One everywhere.' 4

The Emperor then, knowing the Guru's love of the chase, invited

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2 Ibid. p. 15.
3 Ibid. pp. 15-17.
4 Ibid. p. 17.
him to accompany him on a hunting excursion. In the forest where they went, a tiger attacked the Emperor, and in answer to the Emperor's call for help, the Guru rushed between him and the tiger and when it leapt, he cut the beast with his sword.¹ Then the Emperor insisted on taking him to Agra. On the way, during a hunt, the Emperor took the opportunity of mentioning what he had heard said against the Guru, that he called himself True King when he had really no connection with worldly affairs; and he, who was descended from Emperors, was called a false king by the Sikhs. The Guru replied that he had not told anybody to call him true king, but a man is treated as he treats others: he loved his Sikhs as much as they loved him. In Guru Nanak's view God was the only true Emperor. Jahangir however was not convinced.²

When they arrived at Agra and Guru was received with great rejoicing by the people, Chandu thought that the Guru would take revenge if he did not contrive his imprisonment.³ The Emperor fell severely ill at Agra and, it is said, he consulted an astrologer to find an auspicious time for him to sit on his throne after his recovery. The astrologer advised him to send a holy man to do penance in the fort

² ibid. p.19.
³ ibid. p.20.
of the prisoners—said that their spirit was much too cowed for them to disturb the Emperor's peace. The Emperor, however, agreed to release them on the Guru's guarantee of their loyal behaviour. The Guru went with his five Sikhs and Wazir Khan to Delhi, where the Emperor thanked him for his assistance in removing the effect of the conjunction of planets, and in curing him of his sickness. The Guru said there had been no conjunction of planets, only the imagination of his advisers. 'He who had devotion should obtain its fruit, as the Emperor's ancestors did.'

The Emperor was struck by the beauty of the Guru's rosary and asked for a bead from it. The Guru said that his father had a better rosary which he wore as a necklace, and it was now in Chandu's possession. The Emperor sent for Chandu and asked him for the rosary-necklace. When Chandu went to look for it at his home, the Guru took the opportunity to bring the whole of Chandu's conduct to his notice. Chandu, however, returned without the rosary, and the Emperor suspected that he had really misappropriated it; and with other grounds for his displeasure with Chandu, he became quite convinced of Chandu's treachery and wickedness. He then informed the Guru of the numerous complaints

3 ibid. p.28.
Chandu had made against him. The Emperor also appeared to believe that Chandu had exceeded the orders he had received on the treatment of Guru Arjan. He then made over Chandu to the Guru to deal with him as the Guru pleased, as was customary at the time.

On a signal from the Guru, Chandu's turban was taken off and his hands were tied; with his head continuously being struck with slippers, he was led through the city as a 'warning to all men'. He was pelted with stones, mud and filth and was spat on his face. The Guru, however, had compassion on him, and had his hands untied and he was put in a house guarded by a sentry; the Guru intended to take him alive to the scene of Guru Arjan's death at Lahore.

The Guru wished to return to Amritsar, but he deferred his journey on the Emperor's request to accompany him to Kashmir. When the Guru and the Emperor had crossed the river Bias, the Guru persuaded him to visit Goindwal, and then decided to part with the Emperor, but the Emperor expressed his desire to see the Guru's temple, and the Guru agreed to conduct him to Amritsar. From there the Emperor went to Lahore, but sent Wazir Khan and Kind Beg to invite him there. The Guru

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p.28.
2 ibid. p.29.
3 ibid. p.29.
4 ibid. p.32.
accepted the invitation.  

Chandu, who had been brought by the Guru's party from Amritsar to Lahore, had become blind from weeping and his body had become a skeleton. The Sikhs delivered him to scavengers, who led him through the city to beg. After fifteen days of this treatment, he died of a blow from a ladle, full of burning sand, struck by an angry grain-parcher. The scavengers threw his body in the river Ravi.

When Prithia's son Mihr Ban heard of Chandu's death, he exchanged turbans with Chandu's son, Karmchand, in token of life-long friendship. They went together to Prince Khuram, afterwards Emperor Shah Jahan and poisoned his mind against the Guru.

When Guru Arjan had refused to marry Har Gobind to Chandu's daughter, the young Guru was betrothed to two brides. He married the first, Damodari, and the second wedding was postponed because of the bride's youth and the Guru's travels. Damodari was now pregnant and there was great rejoicing, and Hari Chand, father of the second bride, wrote now suggesting a suitable time for her marriage with Guru; it was duly celebrated.

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 34.
2 ibid. p. 35.
3 ibid. p. 36.
4 ibid. p. 50.
5 ibid. p. 50.
And on a Wednesday night of full moon in the month of Kartik, Sambat 1670 (1613 A.D.), the Guru's first wife gave birth to a son, who was named Gurditta, and who bore a remarkable likeness to Guru Nanak.¹

Damodari later had another child, a daughter, and she was called Viro.² In Har, Sambat 1674 (1617 A.D.) when a son Suraj Mal was born to the Guru's third wife, Marwahi,³ the Guru's second wife, Nanaki, complained that she had no children. The Guru told her not to lose patience, for a son of hers should one day sit on the Guru's throne. On Monday, the 16th day of Maghar, Sambat 1675 (1618 A.D.), she had her first son, who was called Ani Rai.⁴

One Rama of Batala on seeing the child Gurditta in his father's lap, thought of offering his daughter in marriage to the boy, although he hesitated because he thought as the Guru was great and famous he would not consider an alliance with a poor man like him.

The Guru, on his mother's advice, accepted the offer and Rama's marriage presents were duly placed before Gurditta. In due time, as Viro, the Guru's daughter by Damodari, was grown, the Guru's mother

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¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p.56.
² ibid. p.66.
³ For the story of this third marriage, which is similar to the second see ibid. p.65.
⁴ ibid. p.67.
suggested that he ought to look for a husband for her. The Guru replied God would settle all things; and at his levee one morning he saw a man in dirty clothes, standing with his son at a distance. He called them, having noticed something noble concealed under the man's otherwise unpromising exterior, after inquiring the man's residence and status, the Guru made Sadhu, the son, sit hear him, and without further consideration sent for marriage presents and put them in his lap. His father, Dharma was surprised and confused at this unexpected honour and said to the Guru, 'I am a poor creature and thou art King of Kings'; to which the Guru replied, 'In the Guru's house this hath ever been the rule, that he whom nobody knoweth becometh conspicuous. Have no anxiety, remain humble as before, and everything shall prosper.'

On Wednesday at the full moon in the month of Kartik, Sambat 1677 (A.D. 1620) Nanaki gave birth to another son, called Atal Rai. The Guru on seeing him spoke this prophecy: 'He shall be absorbed in fixed (atal) contemplation, be a benefactor to mankind, restore life to the dead, crown his life with glory, and after death attain the highest position in God's court.'

After three days of stay at Bakala - she had gone to visit a

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2 ibid. p.68.
with the Guru after the wedding of her grandson Gurditta to Natti or Nihalo, daughter of Rama - the Guru's mother said it was time for her departure as she had no further desires to gratify. Collecting her thoughts, repeating the Japji, the Sukhmani and Anand and concentrating her attention on Guru Nanak she went to her final repose on the 1st day of Jeth, Sambat 1678 (A.D. 1621). Four Sikhs took her body into the Bias until the water reached their necks, and there allowed it to be borne on the stream.

When the host asked him to stay for the ceremonies of the tenth day after his mother's death, the Guru prophesied that the ninth Guru would be installed in the town, and left for Amritsar immediately.

At Amritsar the Guru practised all martial exercises and collected arms of every description, hunted and witnessed Painda Khan's exercises, who could raise the trunk of a tree weighing 800 lbs. avoir du pois and lift two young buffalos.

Another son Teg Bahadur was born to Nanaki on the 5th day of the dark half of Baisakh, Sambat 1679 (A.D. 1622). It was prophesied at his birth that he should restrain his mind, subdue his passions, and

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2 ibid. p.69.
4 ibid. p.70: See p.52 for the story of his recruitment at Kartarpur in the Guru's service.
5 ibid. p.66.
beget a powerful arms - bearing a warrior son (Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru) who would promote religion, convert jackals into tigers, and sparrows into hawks.¹

Emperor Jahangir was now dead, and his son, Shah Jahan, immediately assumed power; and the Guru 'Knowing the future saw strife ahead'.²

When Damodari's daughter was to be married to the son of Dharma, she wished to invite all her relations on the occasion, but the Guru would not agree, because he had a presentiment of hostility.³

The Guru once in a vision saw his father Guru Arjan surrounded by his saints, and said to him, 'As Guru Nanak on receiving God's order resigned the supply office in Sultanpur, travelled in foreign countries, and preached the true Name, 'so the saints who are annoyed by the unjust acts of the Turks (Mughals) pray thee to gird on thine arms, and make use of them to good effect against thine enemies, that the Sikhs may abide in peace'.⁴ Guru Har Gobind accepted, in the vision, the immutability of the words of saints, and prophesied that he should be engaged in many battles to perish enemies and oppressors.

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p.70.
² ibid. p.76.
³ ibid. p.76.
⁴ ibid. p.76.
The Guru on waking took his bow and other arms and distributed horses, uniforms, armour, shields and guns among his soldiers.¹

The Emperor, Shah Jahan, had gone hunting from Lahore in the direction of Amritsar, so had the Guru, but although they were approaching towards each other they did not meet. A white hawk, belonging to the Emperor, let in pursuit of a Brahmani duck, fled in the direction of the Guru’s party; the Sikhs let fly one of their own hawks, which seized the duck and was joined by the Emperor’s hawk. Both the hawks were caught by the Sikhs. When the Emperor’s huntsman and his troopers came to claim their hawk, the Sikhs said they had captured it in the forest and it had no owner and was theirs as a prize.² The dispute grew into a skirmish, and the Muhammadan survivors fled and reported to the Emperor at Lahore.³ Enemies of the Guru induced him to send Mukhlis Khan, one of his general officers, on a punitive expedition against the Guru. The Sikhs of Lahore sent a swift messenger to the Guru at Amritsar, who immediately had a high wall built round the tower-like structure called Lohgarh, where he used to hold his court, and made other preparations, including putting a detachment of twenty five men inside the enclosure, in anticipation of the attack.⁴ In the Guru’s view, the fighting was to be confined outside their city and families

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p.78.
² ibid. p.p. 79-80.
³ ibid. p. 81.
⁴ ibid. p.p. 81-82.
were evacuated for safety. The Sikh detachment in Lohgarh were too few to withstand the Mohammedan attack, but killed hundreds of them and suffered heavy casualties themselves. The Mohammedans were, however, surprised in their sleep with sounds of musket fire; and the conflict was begun in right earnest with 'the clashing of swords, and the hissing of bullets'. Poinda Khan, the heavyweight fighter in the Guru's service, advanced, committing great havoc among the Mohammedan army. The Guru himself took to the field and discharged his arrows 'like snakes and killed countless Muhammadans'. At one time weapons on both sides were broken and combatants had to fight with their fists.

Mukhlis Khan finding himself defeated sent an envoy to propose to the Guru to make peace as the Emperor was more powerful than him and to be satisfied with his Guruship as he would not gain anything by a prolongation of hostilities. The Guru replied, 'The Emperor is without fear of God in his heart. Why shall we go to make peace with him? Our reliance is on Wahguru, the King of Kings, whose creature the Emperor is. If his descendants persist in quarrelling with the Guru, they shall forfeit their empire. The Army of which he is so proud shall perish like the seven thousand you have brought against me. If

1. Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p.82.
3. ibid. p.85.
5. ibid. p.88.
6. ibid. p.90.
you retire now, you may survive, but if you persist in fighting, not one of you shall escape.¹

Mukhlis Khan had, on receiving this message, the choice of either ignominy on his return to the imperial court or to die fighting. He, therefore, ordered fighting to be resumed.² The Guru, who fought with valour and success, was 'a host in himself'.³ Ultimately, the commander of the Muhammadan army, Mukhlis Khan, thought he must engage the Guru in a personal combat. The Guru agreed; and his first arrow killed Mukhlis Khan's horse. Mukhlis Khan complained that it was not a fair fight as he had lost his horse and wished to fight with sword and shield, when the Guru was shooting arrows. The Guru dismounted and asked him to strike first. The Khan struck twice in succession. The Guru avoided the first by a swift side-movement, and the second by taking it on his shield; then, saying that it was his turn, cut Mukhlis Khan's head into two.⁴ Great majority of the Mughal army fled, those who held their ground were dealt with by Painda Khan and Bidhi Chand and Jati Mal, officers of the Guru's army. After nine hours of fighting the Guru's victory was complete.⁵

On completing the last rites of his soldiers, the Guru prepared

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p.91.
² ibid. p. 91.
³ ibid. p.91.
⁴ ibid. p. 92.
⁵ ibid. p.p. 92-93.
to go to his family in Jhabal, where his daughter was to be married. The wedding was successfully celebrated and he advised her, when she was leaving, to serve her husband, as it was a wife's most important duty; to honour her husband's elders; and to 'heartily serve thy mother-in-law.'

The Guru then left with his family for Tarn Taran. The Emperor believed that the defeat of his troops by what he called 'an army of faqirs' was the result of charms, spells and incantations. When he heard of Muhali Khan's death he was extremely angry and called a council of chiefs, at which it was decided that the Guru should be captured and killed to prevent him conquering the empire.

Wazir Khan and other friends of the Guru, however, defended him and said that he had no designs on the empire, as he did not follow up his victory; his thoughts were not on worldly wealth and it was a miracle that he destroyed an army of seven thousand men with even less than seven hundred men. The Emperor, convinced by their defence, decided not to engage in further warfare with the Guru and to forget the past.

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2 ibid. p. 95.
3 ibid. p. 95.
4 ibid. p. 95.
5 ibid. p. 96.
6 ibid. p. 96.
The Guru, after visiting Goindwal, went to Kartarpur.¹ There many men came to enlist in his army, in the belief that no one else had the power to contend with the Emperor. The Guru wished to replace the men who had died and also to increase his army.² But Painda Khan began to boast that it was he who had conquered 'the countless host' at Amritsar, and could do the same again; without his the Guru's Sikhs would have all fled. The Guru had no need to enlist so many men.³

When he heard this, the Guru predicted that Painda Khan would end badly, but nevertheless, provided him with a wife of good family, a house and money.⁴ Meanwhile offerings of money, horses, arms and ammunition continued to be made to the Guru and the morale of his troops rose as they progressed in their training.⁵ While the Guru remained in the neighbourhood there was such public peace that travellers could pass through the forest without fear as the Guru had killed many beasts of prey and thieves and highwaymen had made themselves scarce.⁶

The Guru, on the advice of his Sikhs, decided to spend the rainy season at a thinly populated village called Ruhela on the right

² ibid. p. 98.
³ ibid. p. 98.
⁴ ibid. p. 98.
⁵ ibid. p. 99.
The Guru thought it best to send his son, Gurditta, to Goindwal to be with his mother and friends, as he feared an attack by the Mohammedans. Before setting out on his journey, the Guru prepared himself and his troops for the contingency of war.

When he crossed over with his troops to the right bank of the river he saw houses situated in only one direction and decided that the unoccupied land would be a suitable site to build a city. The people were pleased to have the Guru with them without any exertion on their part, and they invited his to stay with them and offered him all the unoccupied land in the neighbourhood. The landlord, called after his tribe, Gherar, was a bigoted Hindu and prejudiced against the Guru and he tried to make his people expel the Guru from the place; but he was unpopular and his inducement came to nothing. On the Guru's denunciation of Hindu superstitions, at his assembly, he began to abuse him at which the Sikhs took offence, and, in the conflict between them and the Hindus, Gherar was killed and thrown into the river.

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2 Ibid. p. 101.
4 Ibid. p. 102.
5 Ibid. p. 102.
6 Ibid. p.p. 103-104.
7 Ibid. p. 104.
were glad of his death and repeated their offer to the Guru.\(^1\) The Guru ordered the foundation of the city to be laid the next day, the outer wall was to be completed first of all.\(^2\) The number of his followers increased, and the city was completed under the Guru's supervision and subsequently called Sri Hargobindpur in his honour.\(^3\)

Gherar's son vowed vengeance against the Guru with the help of Chandu's son, and the governor of Jallandhar, Abdulla Khan.\(^4\) The governor Abdulla Khan agreed to send his army of ten thousand men on an expedition to Sri Hargobindpur.\(^5\) When the Guru heard of it he simply said 'What pleaseth God is best',\(^6\) and marshalled his army of nearly 4,000\(^7\) men into eight troops or companies of varying sizes.\(^8\)

When he saw the enemy approaching, he told his men that it was in reality a war for their religion and they should fight to the death, but not to kill those who fled or surrendered.\(^9\) Every weapon then known was used, and as the battle advanced the melee was such that it

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2 ibid. p. 104-105.
3 ibid. p. 104.
4 ibid. p. 105.
6 ibid. p. 107.
7 see ibid. p.p. 107-108, for the disposition of the army.
8 ibid. p. 108.
was difficult to distinguish friend or enemy.\(^1\) When both the sons and five officers of Abdulla Khan were killed in battle, he felt remorse, but soon engaged in the most desperate part of the fighting.\(^2\) The Guru killed the horses of Karm Chand and Ratan Chand - the sons of Chandu and Gherar - and they had to fight on the ground, but they were soon joined by Abdulla against the Guru. Eventually, the Guru struck Karm Chand with his shield and he fell; when Ratan Chand ran to his help, the Guru shot him with his pistol and then with an arrow to make sure that he did not escape. Abdulla Khan lost all control, and, at first, the Guru took all the blows on his shield, then with all his strength 'drew his falchion on the Chief and severed his head from his body'. Then Karm Chand recovered and there was a sword play for sometime between him and the Guru, till Karm Chand's sword broke. Then the Guru put away his sword and they began to wrestle; the Guru at last caught Karm Chand by both arms and swung him round and killed him by dashing his head on the ground. It had now become dark and the Chief and his officers were dead and the army had fled, giving victory to the Guru.\(^3\)

\(^3\) ibid. p.p. 115-117.
In a funeral oration, after disposing of the dead, the Guru said, 'Death is very potent and capable of altering human affairs in a moment. It maketh those who are laughing weep, and those who are weeping laugh'.

The masands were entrusted to build the city of Sri Har Gurdaspur; the plan included five gates in the surrounding wall, streets and market places, houses for the visitors who came to do homage to the Guru. Both a Sikh temple and a mosque— for Mohammedan soldiers and labourers— were built in the city. The Guru bought horses to replace those killed in action; his soldiers were trying to find a horse fit for the Guru, when a rich contractor brought five horses from the West Punjab. The Guru kept the best for himself and gave one to his son, Gurditta and another to Bidhi Chand and a third to Painda Khan, keeping the last horse for a later occasion.

One day as the Guru, sitting amidst his disciples, said that he who could repeat the Japji and understand its divine knowledge, should have his desires fulfilled. A Sikh named Gopal undertook to do so. When he had nearly finished, and the Guru was considering a suitable 'present' for him— including the Guruship— Gopal's thought turned away from God and he wondered whether the Guru would give him the fifth horse. The Guru read his thoughts and told him that if his mind

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 117.
2 The same city which later became known as Sri Hargobindpur.
had not wandered he would have been Guru, and gave him the horse as his reward; his loss of Guruship, which was superior to the wealth of the world, demonstrated how difficult it was to pray with attention.¹

At this time Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das came to see the Guru at the city of Sri Har Gobindpur; Bhai Budha asked for the Guru's permission to retire from active religious service and return to his village, Ramdas. Bhai Gur Das stayed with the Guru.²

Bhai Budha remained at Ram Das intent on his devotions; one night he saw a vision of Guru Arjan and he begged the Guru to 'place him at his feet'. Guru Arjan replied, 'Guru Nanak hath made death subservient to thee. Thou hast seen six spiritual kings, and mayest when it pleaseth thee go to Sach Khand, and there obtain imperishable dignity'.³

After the Bhai Budha awoke and told his son of his vision and said his end had come; he then sent a message to the Guru, reminding of his promise to come whenever necessary. The Guru came with Bhai Gur Das. Bhai Budha had strength enough to wash the Guru's feet and drink the water. The Guru asked him to give him instruction, but Bhai Budha said the Guru was a sun and he was a firefly before him; 'Thou hast come to save me, and to hear my dying words'.⁴ Bhai Budha then entrusted

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¹ Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. IV, p.p. 119-120.
² ibid. p.p. 120-121.
³ ibid. p. 125. Sach Khand may be translated literally as "True Land".
his son, Bhana, to the Guru. The Guru put his hand on Bhai Budha's head and blessed him. Next morning Bhai Budha arose before day and repeated the Japji. Then fixing the image of the true Guru in his heart and uttering Wahguru! Wahguru! he died. The Guru and his Sikhs sang joyously on the manner of his death and the Guru himself lit the funeral pyre.

The Guru's followers, reminding him of the festival of light to be celebrated with a fair at Amritsar in a few days, pressed him to return after a long absence. The Guru took Bhai Bhana with him, and on arrival sent for his family from Goidwal and for Painda Khan from Kartarpur. A daughter was born to Painda Khan after the family's arrival at Amritsar; the Guru predicted that on account of the child there should be a great battle, in which many Mohammedans would be killed.

Natti, Gurditta's wife, became pregnant and when the Guru heard the news, he said that Gurditta's son should prove another Prithia, but at the same he called Gurditta and family to Amritsar and named the child Dhir Mal.

1 Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 126.
2 ibid. p. 127.
3 ibid. p. 127.
5 ibid. p. 129.
Baba Atal, the Guru's son by Nanaki, was supernaturally precocious and the Guru used to say to him, 'Display not thy power, or if thou do, use it with discretion. Squander it not in vain'. Baba Atal would reply, 'Great King, thy treasury never faileth.' He had a playmate called Mohan, and once Baba Atal and he agreed that Mohan should pay his forfeit the next morning of the game Atal had won the previous evening. At night, however, Mohan was bitten by a cobra and he died.

Next morning, when Baba Atal was on his way to Mohan's house and heard the news, he said 'No, he is not dead ...... I will fetch him'. Touching Mohan's body with his bat he said 'Mohan, arise, utter Wahguru!. Open thine eyes. Thou oughtest not to sleep so late, arise and pay me what I have won!'. It is said that Mohan, though dead for four and a half hours, arose as if from sleep. People congratulated Atal, but the Guru was extremely displeased. He said that Baba Atal had always dissipated his power. 'God showeth no favour to man, who must enjoy or suffer the result of his acts, and the religion of saints, and holy men prescribeth obedience to God's will'. While the Guru was speaking, Baba Atal returned from Mohan's house. The Guru told him that while he taught men to obey God's will, Atal must be working

1 Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 130.
3 ibid. p. 131.
miracles. Baba Atal replied 'Great King, mayest thou live for ages! I depart for Sach Khand (heaven).'. He then left the assembly; it did not occur to anyone to beg the Guru to pardon him.¹

Baba Atal went to bathe in the Guru's tank of nectar, then circumambulated the Golden Temple, went and sat the margin of the Kaulsar. He died as he finished his morning devotions, on the tenth day of the dark half of Assu, Sambat 1685 (A.D. 1628), in his ninth year.²

Baba Atal at the time of cremation received the name of Kotwal, Guardian of the city.³ The Guru decreed a nine-storied shrine to be built in his honour; and the virtues and miracles of Baba have been celebrated in many songs and stories by the Sikhs.⁴

A Sikh called Prem Chand of Kartarpur offered his daughter in marriage to the Guru's third son Suraj Mal,⁵ which was duly celebrated;⁶ and the Guru's youngest son, Teg Bahadur was publicly betrothed on the occasion to Gujari, daughter of Lal Chand.⁷

Wali Khan, the surviving son of the Governor of Jallandhar was

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¹ Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. IV, p.131.
³ ibid. p, 132.
⁴ ibid. p. 132.
⁵ ibid. p. 132.
⁶ ibid. p. 133.
⁷ ibid. p. 138.
waiting for an opportunity to avenge his father's death. He waited on the Emperor when he was on his way from Delhi to Lahore, and complained to him that the priest of the Sikhs had forcibly taken land in the village of Ruhela and has caused insurrection in the country. But Wazir Khan, the Guru's friend at the imperial court, successfully pleaded against the complaint, and the Emperor ordered confiscation of Wali Khan's property - which made everyone hesitant in making further complaints against the Guru.

Baba Gurditta, the Guru's son, founded the city of Kiratpur, thus redeeming Guru Nanak's pledge, of a pot of milk which would keep fresh till the sixth Guru came to the throne, given to Budhan Shah.

One morning after the Guru had performed his devotions he went to Gur Das, whose end was now approaching. He asked the Guru to forgive his sins, and not to erect any shrines, but throw his remains from the pyre into the river Bias. The Guru thanked him for assisting 'in laying out the road of the Sikh faith'. Bhai Gur Das, having heard this, meditated on God and drew a sheet over himself, and closed his eyes in eternal sleep on Friday the fifth day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1686 (A.D. 1629). On an invitation to visit them by

2 ibid. p.p. 139-140.
4 ibid. p. 144.
5 ibid. p. 144.
a couple called Jalhan and Ramiki, of the village of Dhobirana, ten miles from Amritsar, the Guru went shooting in the neighbourhood and stayed overnight with them. To Jalhan he revealed his dangerous position with regard to the Mughals. Then Jalhan said he should defeat them with his supernatural power, he replied that since worldly power (Maya) had become attached to him, he must now alter the constitution of Sikhism and defend his followers with arms. 1

Gurditta and his wife Natti were now living at the newly founded city of Kiratpur; a son - whom the Guru named Har Rai - was born to them on Sunday the thirteenth day of the light half of Magh, Sambat 1687 (A.D. 1630). 2

After a few months the Guru decided to go to the Malwa forest, so that the imperial army should not desecrate his temple at Amritsar if it pursued him; and would itself die of thirst in the forest. 3 He took a mounted army of one thousand men, preceded by a band with flying banners. The Granth Sahib was borne on the head of two carriers, and Sikhs waved fans to add to the Book's dignity and to keep flies away from it. 4 He arrived at Daroli and was received with great affection by his brother-in-law Sain Das. 5

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2 ibid. p. 145.
3 ibid. p. 145.
4 ibid. p. 146.
5 ibid. p. 146.
At Daroli he was joined by Gurditta, his wife, and sons, Dhir Mal and Har Rai.\(^1\)

Damodari, the Guru's first wife, died on Wednesday the twelfth day of the light half of Sawan, Sambat 1688 (A.D. 1631). The Guru ordered that instead of mourning for her, his Sikhs should read the \textit{Japji} and the \textit{Sohila}. Her sister, Ramo, and brother-in-law, Sain Das, and her parents, all died soon after from grief.\(^2\)

After the funeral of his relatives, the Guru reconsidered his position, and decided to send all his family and the \textit{Granth Sahib} to Kartarpur, while he remained at Daroli.\(^3\)

One day, however, the Guru addressed his men as 'Brethren dearer to me than life', and asked them whether they should stay there or move on to spread their religion.

A Sikh replied, 'O my lord show thyself where the devout and grateful think of thee and await thee'.\(^4\) The Guru and his party then departed for Bhai Rupa, the village of his friends, Sadhu and Rup Chand.\(^5\) The Guru stayed with them for two months, Bhadon and Assu, in the rainy season.\(^6\)

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 151.
\(^2\) ibid. p. 151.
\(^3\) ibid. p. 151.
\(^4\) ibid. p. 152.
\(^5\) For the story of Sadhu's conversion and founding of the village see ibid. p.p. 146-151.
\(^6\) ibid. p. 153.
Two masands, Bakht Mal and Tara Chand, who had been sent to Kabul to collect funds for the Guru, were returning with a company of Sikhs who had, among various offerings for the Guru, two horses of 'surpassing beauty and fleetness' especially for the Guru. The horses were forcibly seized by imperial officials for the Emperor's use. The Emperor loved the horses very much, and would not allow them out of his sight.

The Guru, who was then in Bhai Rupa, received the Sikhs with ceremony and, when they informed him of the seizure of the horses, he told them not to take the matter too much to heart. They returned to Kabul, but the two masands Bakht Mal and Tara Chand remained with their Guru. They talked only of the two horses. Bidhi Chand - who had been a famous highwayman before becoming the fifth Guru's servant - notwithstanding his resolutions of amendment, began to consider how he could retrieve the horses. He eventually succeeded in bringing them back with great ingenuity and daring.

The Guru changed their names from Dil Bagh to Jan Bhai "dear as life", and from Gul Bagh to Suhela, "dear companion."

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2 ibid. p. 156.
3 ibid. p. 156.
6 For full story see ibid. p. p. 159-178.
7 ibid. p. 178.
There were warnings that the Emperor's army would soon come to recover the horses. The Guru, on the advice of Rai Jodh—a Sikh of Kangar in the Nabha state, with whose aunt Emperor Akbar had fallen in love and had married—retired to a deep forest in which there was a tank, the only source of water for miles around. Two villages, Lahira and Marhaj, were built later around this tank and the Guru's army of three thousand and Rai Jodh's thousand men were so disposed, that the enemy could not gain access to its water and would thus perish from thirst.

The Emperor was thinking of proceeding himself to punish the Guru, but was dissuaded by Wazir Khan, his minister, who knew the Guru would be victorious; he also dissuaded the Emperor from the use of artillery. The Emperor then, according to the custom of the time, asked for a volunteer to lead the expedition. Lala Beg, a high officer of the imperial army accepted the offer.

The imperial army marched to Bhai Rupa and, not finding the Guru there, proceeded to his new encampment. The Sikhs caught an imperial spy whom the Guru ordered to be released, and in gratitude he told them

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2 ibid. p. 179.
3 ibid. p. 179.
4 ibid. p. 179.
5 ibid. p. 179.
the strength of the imperial army; but when he returned to his chief he incidentally praised the Guru's army and was dismissed, so he returned to the Guru and asked for asylum. The Guru gave him his protection, against Rai Jodh's advice, saying that it would not be proper for him to refuse protection to anyone who sought it, and, moreover, because the spy, Hasan Khan, should become, in God's mysterious way, a very distinguished person.

The imperial army was composed of several nationalities, Ethiopians, Ruhilas, Usufzais, Gilzais, Baloches, and Pathans.

Rai Jodh with his thousand men went to oppose Qamar Beg, the brother of the imperial general. Showers of bullets soon thinned the imperial ranks marching in close formation, and killed all the torchbearers. Consequently, under all the circumstances of darkness, dust fatigue, cold and severe losses, the imperial army was broken up by mutual slaughter.

Meanwhile, Rai Jodh found an opportunity to pierce Qamar Beg with his lance, who died in agony. The imperial army, from lack of

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2 ibid. p. 181.
3 ibid. p. 181.
4 ibid. p. 181.
5 ibid. p. 181.
6 ibid. p. 182.
7 ibid. p. 182.
firewood, spent the night freezing in the cold.¹

Next morning, Lala Beg, the imperial general, seeing Qamar Beg and thousands of his men killed, was greatly worried and thought of leading an attack himself, but Shams Beg, son of Qamar Beg, asked to go, and he was given command of a division. Hasan Khan, the spy pointed him out to the Guru and asked for a brave man to be sent against him, and the Guru sent Bidhi Chand with fifteen hundred men.² Bidhi Chand's army, by superior skill and bravery, defeated the opposing troops; and then the two commanders, Bidhi Chand and Shams Beg engaged in single combat.³ Bidhi Chand struck his enemy, with his mailed fist, who went reeling to the ground: then he put his leg on one of Shams Beg's and taking hold of the other, with his arms, tore his body into two.⁴

On Sham Beg's death, his brother Qasim Beg volunteered. Hasan Khan, the spy again gave a citation and the Guru sent Bhai Jetha with five hundred men. On seeing Bhai Jetha, Qasim Khan spoke sarcastically, of his grey beard and 'puny force', and advised him to enjoy the few days left to him and asked him to send the man who had killed his father and brother to fight against him. Bhai Jetha retorted that he should

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 182.
³ ibid. p. 183.
⁴ ibid. p. 183.
escape by fleeing and 'enjoy the life of his youth'. Eventually, Bhai Jetha killed him in a single combat seizing him by his legs, whirling and dashing him to the ground. Then the imperial chief Lala Beg himself came to the battle-field and, in the third engagement, he killed Bhai Jetha. Ultimately, the Guru shot Lala Beg's horse, which fell with its rider; the Guru in fairness dismounted and parried Lala Beg's sword several times, then struck off his head.

The last of the imperial commanders, Kabuli Beg, another of the chief's nephews, was also decapitated by the Guru, thus giving the victory to him.

The battle had lasted for eighteen hours on the sixteenth of Maghar, Sambat 1688 (A.D. 1631). A Sikh appropriated a Pathan's sword, and denied it when the Guru declared it improper to loot the enemy; the Guru then prophesied that his family would die by mutual slaughter.

Hasan Khan, the former imperial spy, returned to the Emperor with the news of his general's death and army's defeat. The Emperor was furious, but Wazir Khan pacified him by pointing out that his quarrel

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2 ibid. p. 184.
3 ibid. p. 185.
4 ibid. p. 185.
5 ibid. p. 186.
6 ibid. p. 187.
with the Guru had not been of much use; then the Emperor 'by Guru's occult inducement' appointed Hasan Khan to high office and gave him a dress of honour.\(^1\)

When the Guru was returning from Kangar he promised Rai Jodh - his host and adviser during the battle - a visit when he became the tenth Guru.\(^2\) Preparations were made for the wedding of his son Teg Bahadur to Gujari, and they were duly married on the ninth of Phagun, Sambat 1689 (A.D. 1632).\(^3\) There was at that time one copy of the Granth with the Guru, and another at Mangat made by Bhai Banno; Bidhi Chand obtained the Guru's permission to make a third copy.\(^4\)

At the Baisakhi festival several Sikhs went to visit the Guru. One of them gave him a present of a horse, a hawk, a dress, and weapons. The Guru gave the hawk to his son Gurditta, and the dress and weapons to Painda Khan - his retainer of extraordinary strength - and ordered him to wear them whenever he came in his presence. But Painda's wife gave them away to their son-in-law Asman Khan, in spite of Painda's protests. Asman Khan went hunting to amuse himself, dressed in Painda's magnificent dress, and captured Gurditta's hawk, which he thought of presenting to the Emperor as a replacement of the one the Sikhs had

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2 Ibid. p. 189.
3 Ibid. p. 189.
4 Ibid. p. 189.
captured— as he expected to be rewarded with a grant of land.  

When the Guru heard of the incident, he said, "The will of God is very powerful. Worldly love destroyeth the understanding. Five days have elapsed and Painda Khan through shame hath not come near me", and sent for him. When he appeared, dispirited and dishevelled, the Guru asked him to tell the truth and he would be pardoned and receive presents to make up for his loss. But Painda made excuses and swore that he had not seen the hawk. Then the Guru had the present and the hawk taken from Asman Khan while he was asleep and confronted Painda Khan with them; and charged him with having sworn falsely three times and expelled him from his court.

Painda Khan was able to induce five hundred horsemen to join him; and with his son-in-law proceeded to Lahore to complain to the Emperor. When they reached there they were not allowed to see the Emperor and soon spent all the money they had brought with them, in maintaining themselves and five hundred horsemen and in bribing a courtier.

His cousin, Qutab Khan, who was now governor of Jallandhar, arrived and advised him to tie a hen at the end of a long bamboo-pole and lift it to the royal balcony; if this failed, to light torches and

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3 ibid. p. 193.
4 ibid. p. 195.
5 ibid. p. 195.
make his five hundred men raise a shout. The second strategem attracted the Emperor's attention, but Wazir Khan interceded before Painda Khan could make his complaint. Later in his absence, Painda Khan found an opportunity to approach the Emperor alone and said that the Guru owed him six months' salary and had won three wars against the Emperor by his help and added that he could throw an elephant and pulverize a rupee under his thumb. He asked the Emperor to give him an army to subjugate the Guru; the bribed courtier also recommended Painda Khan's cause and they influenced the Emperor. He inquired about the Guru's army. Painda Khan replied that the halt, cripple, blind, deaf and dumb, diseased, old, poor, lazy and good-for-nothings gathered round the Guru, and barbers, washermen, pedlars, minstrels and suchlike were his soldiers; but the Guru was immensely rich.

The Emperor appointed Kale Khan as commander of fifty thousand men and gave him, as insignia of appointment, a necklace of enormous pearls and a robe of gold lace, and ordered him to proceed immediately against the Guru. He was joined by another two thousand men under Anwar Khan, a friend of the late Abdulla Khan; Qutub Khan, Painda and his son-in-law were also commissioned under Kale Khan.

When they arrived at Jallandhar, they heard a voice of warning

3 ibid. p. 198.
4 ibid. p. 198.
apparently coming from a tree: 'One of thee hath been untrue to his salt. With him thousands shall perish'.

The Guru, however, was informed by a faithful Sikh of the army's arrival of Jallandhar. They decided to send Anwar Khan as an envoy to make peace with the Guru or if an opportunity occurred, to kill him. The Guru however took care not to let Anwar Khan near him and refused all the presents he had brought. Anwar Khan then suggested a game of chaupar with the Guru but lost three times in succession; losing his temper he accused the Guru of being a cheat, and further insulted all the Gurus. The Guru could not bear the insults to his predecessors and ordered Anwar Khan to be removed. He was beaten by the Sikhs till he fainted, but the Guru saved him from death.

When he returned to his camp, they decided to attack the Guru the same night. The Guru was aware of their intention and he had by this time eighteen hundred regular fighting men. But the Guru's grandson Dhir Mal fell out with the Guru and wrote a secret letter to Painda Khan, inviting him to make a sudden attack that night as the Guru was not prepared. Painda Khan showed this letter to other generals, and an immediate charge was ordered; but the village,

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2 ibid. p. 199.
3 ibid. p. 200.
Chhotamir, where the imperial commander had ordered his troops to assemble before attacking Kartarpur, the Guru's city, was swallowed in an earthquake before they could enter.\footnote{ibid. p. 203.}

The armies, however, soon came to a close combat in which it is said twelve thousand of Kale's army were killed.\footnote{ibid. p. 203.} Twenty-thousand troops then advanced with orders to plunder as much as they pleased after the fighting.\footnote{ibid. p. 203.}

By morning however, Pathans' hopes of victory were gone and their spirits flagged.\footnote{ibid. p. 205.}

Painda Khan and his son-in-law entered the battle but did not succeed in changing their fortune.\footnote{ibid. p. 206.} Eventually the commander, putting Painda Khan in front, advanced against the Guru.\footnote{ibid. p. 206.} Bidhi Chand engaged with Kale Khan, Baba Gurditta with Asman Khan, and Painda confronted the Guru with his sword drawn.\footnote{ibid. p. 207.} When Painda Khan tried to seize the Guru's bridle the Guru kicked him, but he recovered. He struck at the Guru with his falchion but the weapon came off at the handle and fell to the ground. The Guru did not take advantage of it and said that ingratitude and slander were very serious crimes, but he did not wish to kill a

\begin{itemize}
\item[2] ibid. p. 203.
\item[3] ibid. p. 203.
\item[4] ibid. p. 205.
\item[7] ibid. p. 207.
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person he had cherished. Painda Khan said mockingly, "Come, I will take thee to the Emperor"; the Guru then struck him with a two-edged scimitar, and Painda fell to the ground, saying in repentence, 'O Guru, they sword is my creed and my source of salvation.'

The Guru was filled with pity and regret. He put his shield over Painda's dead body and prayed to God to grant him a place in heaven. Baba Gurditta had confronted Asman Khan and killed him, but seeing him dead he wept copiously; and regretted taking up arms against his childhood friend.

The imperial troops were completely demoralized when they heard of Painda's and Asman's death, but rallied and made another charge in which Qutab Khan engaged the Guru in a single combat for a whole hour, and was then killed by a single stroke of the Guru's sword. Kale Khan, on seeing this, gathered his troops and told them that it was a war for their religion and incited them to do better than the Sikhs, who, smaller in number, had fought so desperately. This rallied them, but they could not make any real improvement in their situation. Kale Khan 'became demented' when only two thousand men were left, and challenged the Guru to a personal encounter. He grazed the Guru's

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2 ibid. p. 209.
3 ibid. p. 209.
forehead with an arrow, and the Guru killed his horse. The Guru then dismounted and offered him a choice of weapons. Kale Khan chose to fight with sword and shield. They fought thus for an hour. The fight was becoming monotonous and the Guru said to his opponent, "Not thus; this is the way to fence" - and, using his scimitar with all his strength, beheaded him. The battle was won. It is said that Sikh losses were only seven hundred compared to the several thousand of the enemy on that day, the 24th of Har, Sambat 1691 (A.D. 1634).

The Guru then decided to visit Kiratpur where Budhan Shah - with whom Guru Nanak had left a pot of milk, promising that it would stay fresh till the time of the sixth Guru - was waiting to see him before he died. Dhir Mal and his mother, Natti, did not accompany him.

When Budhan Shah saw him after waking from a deep trance, he said, "O true Guru, thou hast assumed birth to save the world .... Guru Nanak promised me that I should behold him before my death so his light in thee hath brightened my departure." The Guru settled in Kiratpur, which became his permanent residence, before bidding him a final farewell.

After the Guru's departure from Kartarpur Dhir Mal appropriated

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2 ibid. p. 212.
3 ibid. p. 213.
4 ibid. p. 214.
5 ibid. p. 214.
6 ibid. p. 214.
a large portion of his property; but as he was afraid the Emperor might have him captured in mistake for the Guru, he wrote him a letter protesting his friendliness. But, when his letter reached the Emperor's Court, Wazir Khan - the imperial minister and the Guru's friend - was astonished to read it and gave a different version of its contents to the Emperor. He told the Emperor that both the horses for whom the battle had been fought were dead, but the Guru always wished him well and he should forget the past. The Emperor accepted this version and instructed Wazir Khan to reply to the effect that there should be no enmity between them.

Once the Sikhs asked the Guru who should they recognise as Guru when he was away. The Guru replied, "Deem the Sikh who cometh to you with the Guru's name as on his lips as your Guru." It became a custom of the Sikhs - which the Guru himself adopted - to make their desire of a gift from heaven known to their brother Sikhs and they all combined and prayed together for it.

Once when a Hindu youth who found caste restrictions irksome and wanted to become a Muslim, he was advised to become a Sikh if he did not wish to have his eating and drinking restricted. In fact caste was disregarded to such an extent that Brahmins became disciples of

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3 ibid. p. 219.
4 ibid. p. 219.
Sikh Khatri - for none of the Gurus was a Brahman - did homage to Jat Masands (Guru's agents) who were a low section of the Vaishyas. Guru Har Gobind attracted a large number of followers at Kiratpur; he kept seven hundred horses in his stables and had three hundred horsemen and sixty artillery men permanently in his service.

One day Baba Gurditta joined a hunting party and one of his party shot a cow instead of a deer by mistake. The shepherds came and arrested the man and for his release they wanted the Guru's son to reanimate the cow. It put Gurditta in a dilemma: if he reanimated the cow, the Guru would be angry, as he was with Baba Atal; if he refused to satisfy the shepherds they would keep his Sikh as a hostage.

He was, however, persuaded to reanimate the cow. When he returned he had to give an account of it to the Guru, who told him in anger that he did not like anyone setting himself up as God's equal, and if Gurditta persisted in acting contrary to God's will, his further residence on earth was unprofitable.

Baba Gurditta replied, 'Mayest thou live for ever, I depart', and walked round the Guru in token of his being a sacrifice to the Guru and went to Budhan Shah's shrine. He drove his cane into the ground and lay down. He was twenty-four years old and the year was 1638 A.D.

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2 ibid. p. 220.
3 ibid. p. 220.
When his body was eventually found, the Guru himself went to see it and then sent for Dhir Mal, Baba Gurditta's elder son, and the Granth Sahib in his custody. The Guru intended that the book should be read for Gurditta's repose and to give Dhir Mal a turban in token of his inheritance of his father's property and position. Dhir Mal, though young, thought that if he left the property he already had for a turban from the Guru, everybody would think he was a fool. He refused either to go or to send the Granth Sahib, and said to the messenger that the turban may be bestowed on his younger brother, Har Rai. The Guru accordingly named Har Rai his successor by binding the turban on his head and explained the treachery of Dhir Mal to the large assembly of Sikhs present on the occasion.2

One day the Guru's wife Nanaki said to the Guru that he showed great kindness to Har Rai, who was only his grandson and completely ignored his own son, Teg Bahadur, who was simple and unsophisticated; and wished that he would choose Teg Bahadur as his successor. The Guru replied, 'Teg Bahadur is a Guru of the gurus'. 'There is none who can endure the unendurable so well as he. He hath obtained divine knowledge and renounced worldly love'; and asked her to have patience for the Guruship should revert to Teg Bahadur, and his son 'shall smite the Turks, free the earth from the burden of evil, render Guru Nanak's name illustrious and spread his own glory and fame to the

The Guru taught Har Rai worldly and spiritual knowledge, and one day a Sikh called Daya Ram from Anupshahr came and told the Guru that his daughters had heard of Har Rai and wanted to marry him together. On the tenth day of Har, Sambat 1697 (A.D. 1640) they were betrothed to Har Rai.²

Bidhi Chand after a 'stormy, perilous life' died on the eighth day of Bhadon the same year, and the Guru had his incomplete copy of the Granth read in his funeral service and bound a turban on his son Lal Chand's head.³

When the Guru was pressed by some Sikhs to appoint his second son Suraj Mal as the seventh Guru, he replied that the Guruship was a heavy burden. Only the worthy could support it. The aspirant to it might know how to prophesy, but should keep his secrets to himself. Though he saw offences, he should forgive them. He should assist his Sikhs in their time of tribulation and give servants the reward of their services. 'Deeming the things of this world perishable, he should not covet them.' Suraj Mal was, he added, more worthy than the Guru's servants and he should obtain other things - wealth, property, children - but the Guruship was Har Rai's heritage.⁴

⁴ ibid. p. 227.
When his companion in arms of three battles, Jati Mal, was at
the end of his life, the Guru one day invited him to ask a boon, for
he was pleased with his bravery, and devotion; and prophesied that his
son Daya Ram would assist his grandson, the tenth Guru, in his wars.
Jati Mal's only wish was he should not suffer in death and should be
released from further transmigration and remember God at his last
moment.\textsuperscript{1} The Guru gave him instruction and he died in happiness after
entrusting his son to the Guru.\textsuperscript{2}

The Guru was now beginning to feel the loss of his friends and
relations and thought it was time for him to follow them. He
distributed his property and withdrew from all worldly affairs, then
ordered his agents, the masands, to gather all his Sikhs on the first
day of the moon in the month of Chet. They came from all places to see
their Guru and pay homage.\textsuperscript{3}

He again sent for Dhir Mal, his eldest grandson, but he said, 'I
am already a guru'. 'If the Guru supersede me and appoint my younger
brother, what shall it avail me to go to Kiratpur? The Guru, may
appoint whoever he pleased, he would deprive him of his office as he
was on good terms with the Emperor'.\textsuperscript{4} He was, however, persuaded by
his mother to show that he was on friendly terms with the Guru and to
go to the Guru at Kiratpur; but there he took advantage of the Guru's

\textsuperscript{1} Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV., p. 230.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.p. 230-231.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p. 231.
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p. 232.
absence from public occasions for three days and had a throne erected and declared himself his successor. But the Guru repudiated his usurpation and said the succession to the Guruship depended on the Guru's pleasure and obtained only by service, humility and devotion and not by pride and trickery. Dhir Mal felt humiliated and rode back to Kartarpur, saying that he would take the Guruship from anyone the Guru appointed as he was the heir to the position, being the eldest grandson.¹

When the Sikhs arrived in response to the Guru's summons the Holi festival was being celebrated,² and he gave particular instructions for the observance of the Holi festival: 'He who drinketh wine and throweth mud and dust and blackeneth his face shall have dust thrown on his head, and his face shall be blackened in the next world; while he who uttereth lascivious expressions shall suffer pain in the lowest hell. It is those who take delight in the true Name who enjoy the real Holi: it is for this purpose the soul obtaineth human birth in this world.'³

On the day fixed for the consecration of his successor Guru Har Gobind rose before the great assembly of Sikhs, and clasped his hands in supplication, uttered a prayer to the supreme being for the success of the day's ceremony. He then took Har Rai by the hand and seated him on the throne. Bhai Bhana, son of Bhai Budha, - the annointer of

² ibid. p. 233.
³ ibid. p. 235.
the first six Gurus - put the tilak on Har Rai's forehead and a necklace of flowers on his neck. The Guru then offered Har Rai five paise (farthings) and a coconut on a tray, and then after circumambulating him four times, bowed to him. Afterwards he instructed him to rise a watch and a quarter before day and recite the Janji, the Guru's spell; to be gentle; to cause others to repeat the Name with him; and to sit in the company of his holy Sikhs twice a day. Then he addressed the Sikhs: 'In Har Rai now recognize me. The Spiritual power of Guru Nanak hath entered him.'

He then retired for introspection and meditation and exhorted his people not to mourn for him, as the other Gurus had done.

The newly-appointed Guru asked him before his departure what he should do if the Emperor were to attack him. Har Gobind told him not to be anxious, for 'he who proceedeth against thee with enmity in his heart shall never prevail against thee'; and instructed him to keep two thousand and two hundred soldiers permanently in his service.

According to the author of the Dabistan-i-Mazahab, - who it seems was present at the Guru's death - he died on Sunday the third day of the Muharram A.H. 1055 (A.D. 1645) after thirty-seven years and ten months of spiritual and temporal reign.

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2 ibid. p. 236.
3 ibid. p. 237.
4 ibid. p. 239.
When the ceremonies were over, Nanaki, the Guru's widow and her son, Teg Bahadur, set out for Bakala,¹ as the Guru had ordered; there they both lived till Teg Bahadur became the ninth Guru.²

¹ A town near the river Beas, see Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 69; for the promise of the sixth Guru see ibid. p. 70.
² ibid. p. 239.
Guru Har Rai was born of Gurditta's wife, Nihal Kaur née Natti, on the thirteenth of the light half of the moon of Magh, Sambat 1687 (A.D. 1631). He was very attentive in his devotions and ablutions, ate simple food and used to spend whatever valuable gifts he received in entertaining his guests. In the afternoon the Guru used to go hunting, and he set up a zoo with the animals captured during his excursions for the recreation of his followers.

Dara Shikoh - the eldest and favourite son of the Emperor Shah Jahan - was administered tiger's whiskers by Aurangzeb who wanted to eliminate him from the struggle for succession. He was dangerously ill and as a last resort the Emperor made a personal request to the Guru to send a rare medicine which could only be found in his stores. The Guru consented to give the medicine and quoted a line from the Asa Ki War - 'Why should they who come with hope, depart disappointed'. The Prince speedily recovered and the Emperor promised not to annoy the Guru again.

Once the Guru, in response to a pious but poor woman's continual prayers, went to eat the bread she had prepared for him. The Sikhs were

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.275
2 ibid. p.276
3 ibid. p.277
4 ibid. pp.277-279
5 ibid. p.279
astonished that the Guru had taken food from a stranger and eaten it on horseback without washing his hands. They asked the Guru to explain his reason; and the Guru reminded them of the story of Guru Nanak’s stay with Lalo, the carpenter, and said that the woman had prepared the food with great devotion and faith, having bought it with the money she had earned ‘with the sweat of her brow’. 'On that account' he said, 'the food was very pure and I partook of it. The Guru hungereth for love and not for dainty food: In the matter of love for God no rule is recognised'.

The Guru sent a devout Sikh called Bhai Gonda to Kabul to instruct the Sikhs and preach the faith there. One day, while Gonda was repeating the Janji, he believed that he was clinging to the Guru's feet, and his state of abstraction was such that he became unconscious. The Guru by his occult power knew Gonda's thoughts and sat firmly on his throne with his feet together for a long time without speaking. When several Sikhs were going to protest he said, 'Brother Sikhs, Bhai Gonda is in Kabul. He is in thought, word and deed, a saint of the Guru. He today hath clasped my feet. How can I withdraw them from him? And how can I go to take my dinner until he hath let go of them? I am, therefore, waiting until the conclusion of his meditation and obeisance.' Gonda did not wake until twilight. The Sikhs verified this from Gonda when they had an

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.280-281
2 ibid. p.284
opportunity later, which convinced them of the Guru's greatness.¹

Once the Sikhs had come from great distances to the Baisakhi fair and made offerings to the Guru according to their means. The Guru inquired of the pilgrims if they had set up kitchens to share their food with visiting Sikhs. When he found two or three who had done so, he asked them if they fed a Sikh after an appointed time. They said no, and he then replied, 'He who through laziness and pride dismisseth a Sikh disappointed, shall have no advantage from his past and or present acts.'²

Two hill Rajas went with a strong force to the Guru, ostensibly to pay him a complimentary visit, but really intended to obtain tribute from him and remove him from their country.³ When the Guru heard of their arrival he sent them supplies, but when they appeared at his levee, the Guru knowing their intention by his occult power, said to them that religious men were not called upon to pay tribute and offered to give them divine instruction.

They confessed the truth and promised not to think of harming the Guru. The Guru told them not to show their pride to the Guru and to go and rule their kingdom and not oppress their subjects. If they did, God would show His anger. The subjects are the root, the Rajas the branches of the tree. The King who oppressed his subject applied an axe to his kingdom. 'Construct tanks, wells, bridges and schools, and extend religion

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² ibid. pp.285-286
³ ibid. p.287
through your kingdom'.

When the Emperor, Shah Jahan, fell ill, his sons fought each other for succession; and Dara Sikoh, his favourite son, fearing that the Delhi nobles would assist his brother and he himself would be captured, fled to the Panjab with his faithful followers and his wealth. Aurangzeb issued a proclamation forbidding anyone to help him. As a result, Dara Shikoh wandered from place to place. He finally decided to visit the Guru and wrote him a letter asking for his help, and said that he was obliged to obey his royal father's mandate, although he only wanted spiritual happiness. They eventually met on the right bank of the Bias river and the prince made large offerings to the Guru. The prince shared Akbar's liberal views on religion and was well acquainted with both Hinduism and Islam. The Guru complimented him on his spiritual knowledge and, after instructing him in Sikhism, said that it was often the duty of kings to take arms and engage in battle, and either die themselves or kill their enemies for wealth and territory, and advised him to collect an army and obtain as many allies as possible for 'God assisteth those who assist themselves'. The prince must recapture Delhi as the Emperor was supreme and many Rajas would declare themselves for him, if they were convinced that their action was safe. Without Delhi he would have no place to live in. Dara Shikoh felt encouraged by the Guru's words, but

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.288
2 ibid. p.299-300
was ultimately betrayed by a Pathan and sentenced to death by a jury of Mohammedan priests for apostasy.¹

When Aurangzeb was securely on the throne, complaints were made against the Guru, alleging that he had helped Dara Shikoh in his opposition to the Emperor and that he was preaching a religion distinct from Islam. Aurangzeb wrote an ostensibly friendly letter asking him to forget the past and to pay a visit as he was now enthroned as Emperor.² The Guru replied, 'I have no business with thee that thou shouldst have summoned me. I am not a king that thou shouldst have summoned me. So far from my having conferred empire on Dara Shikoh it was the eternal throne and umbrella of religion I conferred on him. He had no wish for terrestrial empire. The empire he hath obtained is imperishable. It is only he whom God loveth who can be like Dara Shikoh. If thou hast any doubt as to the empire Dara Shikoh hath obtained, meditate on him as thou goest to sleep, and thou shalt have a vision of the reality.'³ The Guru's words proved true and Aurangzeb one night saw his brother seated on a throne. Next morning the Emperor called one of his courtiers and told him, if Guru Har Rai would not come of his own accord, to arrest him. 'If he struggle against his arrest, then write to me, and I will send a strong force!'⁴

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV pp. 302-303
² ibid. p. 304
³ ibid. pp. 304-305
⁴ ibid. pp. 305-306
The noble knew the difficulty of his enterprise, but could not refuse
the royal command; he died of indigestion on the way. 1 When a party of
Sikhs informed the Guru of this unsuccessful attempt of the Emperor to
arrest him, the Guru told them of his grandfather's promise: "any
person who strove to do him harm should vanish like hail before fire." 2

The Emperor's priests advised him to be polite in his summons to
the Guru and when he arrived to treat him as he pleased. 3

When the messenger arrived in Kiratpur and presented the Emperor's
letter and he asked his Sikhs for advice; they advised him, guardedly, to
go, but added 'thou art a searcher of hearts, and knowest best.' 4

It was eventually decided the Guru's eldest son, Ram Rai, should go;
Guru enjoined him 'in all his words and actions to fix his thoughts on
God, and everything would prove successful'. He asked him not to accept
any objections the Emperor might raise against the Granth, and reminded
him of Guru Arjan's refusal to expunge certain passages reflecting on the
Mohammedans, when asked by Emperor Jahangir. 5

When Ram Rai arrived in Delhi, the Emperor decided that if his object
in making trial of the Guru were not fulfilled by the Guru's son, he would

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.306
2 ibid. p.306
3 ibid. p.306
4 ibid. pp.306-307
5 ibid. p.308
send for the Guru himself. It is said that Ram Rai performed several miracles in Delhi: he wore poisoned robes without harm and walked on a sheet laid over a pit without falling into it. Then a meeting of Mohammedan priests was held for the purpose of interrogating Ram Rai on the Guru's hymns. The Emperor opened the meeting by quoting a line from *Asa Ki War* -

>'The ashes of the Mohammedans fall into the potter's clod; Vessels and bricks are fashioned from them; they cry out as they burn' -

and asked Ram Rai to interpret it.

Ram Rai decided to alter the line of Guru Nanak to please the Emperor, and, forgetting his father's injunctions, said, 'it is the ashes of the priestless instead of Musalmans, and the text had been corrupted by ignorant persons and both Sikhism and Islam were thereby defamed'.

When the Sikhs of Delhi reported Ram Rai's treachery, the Guru was much distressed; and reviewing Ram Rai's conduct in Delhi - his treachery to his faith, unnecessary miracles and long absence - the Guru decided that Ram Rai was not fit for succession. "The Guruship", he said "is like a tigress's milk, which can only be contained in a golden cup", and forbade Ram Rai his presence. When Ram Rai heard of the Guru's decision to exclude him from the succession, repented his actions inwardly, but became boastful to the world at large.

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV p. 308
2 ibid. p. 308
3 ibid. pp. 309-309
Before his departure, a Sikh asked the Guru which of his sons would succeed him. The Guru suggested a test: if he tried to insert a needle by turns into the couch on which the *Granth* rests, when his two sons were reading, the couch most softened by the reading should receive the needle.¹

It is said that the couch of the second son, Har Krishan, had become as soft as wax and the needle entered it at once. This parable is now understood by the Sikhs to refer to the influence of his devotion and voice in the reading of Har Krishan.² When the Sikh reported to the Guru, he asked him to keep his finding secret and said, 'The immortal God hath given the answer. What impression will not Har Krishan's voice make on soft minds since it produceth such an impression on hard wood? It is only he whose words have such power who is fitted for the Guruship'.³

After some time Ram Rai decided to visit the Guru to ask his forgiveness; but the Guru refused to see him, saying that if he appointed him Guru, what he had done would only be followed the next day by others.⁴

One day when some Sikhs singing hymns from the *Granth* visited the Guru while he was lying on his couch, he at once got up. When asked for his reason, he said, 'The Guru is embodied in the compositions, whose sanctity is immeasurable and unrivalled'. The Guru's example to rise when the sacred volume is read is still followed.⁵

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¹ Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV pp.310-311
² ibid. p.311 fn.1
³ ibid. p.311
⁴ ibid. pp.311-312
⁵ ibid. p.313
The Guru now felt his end approaching and again thought of appointing his successor. He then called a great council - which the descendants of his predecessors also attended - and seated Har Krishan, his second son, who was still a child, on the throne in the centre. He then placed a coconut and five farthings before him, circumambulated him three times and had a tilak put on his forehead. The whole company arose and bowed to the young Guru. Guru Har Rai then enjoined all his Sikhs to consider Har Krishan as his image.

Guru Har Rai went to his final rest on Sunday the ninth day of the month of Kartik, Sambat 1781 (A.D. 1661).¹

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.313-314
viii. GURU HAR KRISHAN

The eighth Guru, Har Krishan, was born on the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Sawan in Sambat 1713 (A.D. 1656) of Guru Har Rai's wife, Krishan Kaur. He was five years and three months old when he succeeded to the Guruship. It is said that even at that age Guru Har Krishan used to instruct his Sikhs, resolve their doubts and lead them on the 'way to salvation'; he also sent preachers to fulfil his father's pious object, to propogate and extend the faith.

Ram Rai was at the imperial court in Delhi when his younger brother was enthroned at Kiratpur. His masand, Gurdas, noticing his troubled mind suggested to him that he should send his masands to proclaim him Guru and to say that 'whoever boweth to any other shall be accused'. Ram Rai took this advice, as he considered the Guruship a means of amassing wealth. The masands followed his example, and began to beat and plunder poor Sikhs and threatened all who resented them with the Guru's curse. Ram Rai's desire for wealth, however, was not fulfilled; the masands followed his example and became proud and rebellious and kept most of the offerings for themselves. They treated Ram Rai as a nobody, and Ram Rai had to act according to their dictation. He then put his case to the Emperor and requested him to summon the Guru to Delhi to show miracles as he had

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV p.315
2 Ibid. p.315
3 Ibid. pp.315-316
4 Ibid. pp.316-317
5 Ibid. p.317
done. The Emperor thought that the Guru and his brother could be led to mutual slaughter without the Sikhs suspecting him, and he could convert the Panjab to Islam without much difficulty afterwards.¹

He agreed to Ram Rai's request and sent Raja Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) to summon Guru Har Krishan and to escort him with every respect. Ram Rai was delighted: if Har Krishan disobeyed the Emperor an army would be sent against him, and if he obeyed, he would be considered a greater sinner than Ram Rai; if he ran away, Ram Rai could go and establish himself as the Guru at Kiratpur.²

Raja Jai Singh sent a high official to invite rather than summon the Guru and escort him to Delhi ceremoniously, without any suspicion that the Emperor had any evil intentions.³

When the official arrived in Kiratpur the Guru said to him, 'I will go by all means where I shall be received with love, but it hath been imposed on as a duty not to look on the Emperor's face. Write and tell Raja Jai Singh that if the Sikhs of Dehli want me, I will go to them but if the Raja desire me to meet the Emperor I must decline the invitation'.⁴

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.317-318
² ibid. p.318
³ ibid. p.319
⁴ ibid. p.320
The official wrote to Raja Jai Singh and received a reply saying that the Guru might do as he pleased about the interview with the Emperor; if the Emperor were to force an interview, he would foil him by diplomacy.

The Guru set out from Kiratpur. On the way he used his healing powers on 'the halt, the maimed and the leprous'. On arriving at Panjokhara near Ambala he made a boundary of sand and enjoined on his Sikhs not to cross it after his departure, so that he could expedite his journey. ¹

Raja Jai Singh received the Guru in bare feet; the Emperor sent large presents and expressed a wish to see him. The Guru replied, 'My elder brother is with the Emperor, and is ready to do whatever he desir-eth. I cannot meet the Emperor. My father with his dying words told me that my elder brother would transact all political affairs with His Majesty, and I had better not meddle with them. My mission is to preach the true Name. There is no one who can be so affectionate as a brother, and there is no one who at the same time can be a greater enemy. Witness the treatment of his brothers by the Emperor himself. Ram Rai beareth me great enmity, and were the Emperor on receiving me to show me any great favour, Ram Rai would become still more hostile, and grave dissensions in families had better be avoided. For this and other reasons my father forbade me to meet the Emperor'. ²

¹ L'accauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.320
² ibid. p.322
When this speech was reported to the Emperor, he was astonished that a seven-year old child could have uttered it, and said that the Guru must possess supernatural power. But he still waited for the interview. Many Sikhs came to see the Guru and receive spiritual consolation. During an epidemic of plague at that time the Guru healed all those afflicted who came to see him.

The following day the Emperor's son came to him with a renewed invitation from his father. The Guru said that he had already given his reason for not seeing the Emperor, but if he desired religious instruction he would dictate it to the prince. The prince took a hymn of Guru Nanak to his father, who was for a moment much impressed with it, but the desire of converting the Guru and keeping the enmity alive between the brothers again blinded him. In course of a private conversation, the Emperor suggested to Raja Jai Singh that he should test the Guru's miraculous powers. Jai Singh then decided to let his chief queen dress like a slave and sit among them. If the Guru recognised her, then it would prove that 'he really was what his followers deemed him to be'.

The Guru knew by his supernatural power the plot laid for him. He, however, reluctantly agreed to visit Jai Singh's palace and after a while recognised the queen; Jai Singh and the queens then admitted the Guru's

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.323
2 ibid. p.323
3 ibid. pp.323-324
4 ibid. p.324
But on the day after this occurrence - on the fourth day of the dark half of Chet - the Guru had a serious attack of fever. When his mother began to lament and said that he was too young to die, he said 'It is our duty to accept the will of the Almighty'. He, however, decided to move out of the city to the bank of the river Jamna for a change of air.\(^2\)

The Guru was found the next day to be suffering from small-pox, which was followed by a very violent fever and unconsciousness.\(^3\)

The Sikhs went to him and asked him to appoint a successor, as there were many people waiting for his death to assert their claims.\(^4\) The Guru replied, 'Why be anxious? The tree planted by Guru Nanak's holy hands shall never wither ....... There shall be two-fold and four-fold miracles, and one Guru shall be blended with another'.\(^5\)

After this the Guru asked for five paise (farthings) and a coconut; but being unable to move his body, he waved his hand three times in the air in token of the circumambulation, proper on the occasion, and said, 'Baba Bakale' - i.e. his successor would be found in the village of Bakala.

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.325
\(^2\) ibid. pp.325-326
\(^3\) Ibid.-ip 327
\(^4\) ibid. p.328
\(^5\) ibid. p.329
and lost his speech for some time. When he could speak again, he ordered the minstrels to sing Gurus' hymns and repeat God's name.¹

During the hymn-singing and recitation, the Guru died - on Saturday, the fourteenth day of the light half of the month of Chet, Sambat 1721 (A.D. 1664). His body was cremated on a plain called Tilokhari, South of Delhi, on the bank of the Jamna.²

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.329
² ibid. p.330
ix. **GURU TEG BAHADUR**

Guru Teg Bahadur was the youngest son of the sixth Guru — Har Gobind — and his wife Nanaki. He was born in what is now called Guru's palace (Guru Ke Mahal), Amritsar, on Sunday, the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh, a watch and a quarter before day, in the Sambat year 1679 (A.D. 1622).\(^1\)

After the death of Guru Har Gobind, Teg Bahadur, his mother and wife went to live in Bakala, where Guru Har Krishan said his successor should be found,\(^2\) but when the **Sadhis** of Bakala heard of the Guru's last words, twenty-two of them claimed the right to succeed him. The self-styled gurus forcibly took the offerings of Sikhs for a long time. At last a Sikh called Makhan Shah came from Gujarat in the Deccan\(^3\) with an offering of five hundred gold **mohurs** which he had once promised to the Guru if he escaped shipwreck. When he found twenty-two pretenders, he decided to make a trial: he went to each of them and offered two gold **mohurs**, which they accepted — thus showing their unawareness of his promised offering of five hundred **mohurs** to the real Guru. He then inquired about anyone else with a claim to the Guruship, and was directed to Teg Bahadur, popularly known as Tega, who lived in retirement. Teg Bahadur asked him to come without his companions and thought that 'as he had saved Makhan Shah from shipwreck, so he must now disclose himself'.

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1 Macauliffe, *op.cit.* Vol. IV p.331  
2 *ibid.* p.331  
Makhan Shah, though impressed by Teg Bahadur, placed his usual two mohurs before him. The Teg Bahadur asked him where were the five hundred gold mohurs he had promised when his ship was sinking. Makhan Shah was pleasantly surprised and presented him with the full offering; and climbing to a rooftop, he waved a flag and proclaimed from there: 'I have found the Guru! I have found the Guru!'

On hearing this the Sikhs gathered and, with due ceremony, installed Teg Bahadur in his forty-third year on the Guru's throne.

Dhir Mal, the eldest son of Gurditta, seeing the offerings that Teg Bahadur had received, became violently jealous and prompted his masand to take a shot at the Guru; the bullet struck the Guru but did not kill him. The masand took the opportunity to steal the Guru's property.

Makhan Shah and other Sikhs however caught the masand at Dhir Mal's house, and brought away Dhir Mal's property including the Granth Sahib; but the Guru ordered them to return it, and set the masand free because he was contrite and had asked him to preserve his honour though he was a bad son. The Guru then preached to the Sikhs that the holy Guru Nanak had given them the wealth of the Name which was sufficient for all their wants; and he said, 'To exercise forgiveness is a great act.'

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.333-334
2 ibid. p.334
3 ibid. p.334
4 ibid. pp.334-335
The Guru stayed on at Bakala for some time, giving instruction to the Sikhs. In the month of Magh, Sambat 1772 (A.D. 1715) he went to Amritsar to bathe in the sacred tank; he bathed, but the clerks of the temple closed the doors against him and he said — about the ministrants — that 'they were rotten within, who had through greed of offerings entered the temple'.

The Guru then returned to Bakala, but here too he was not to remain in peace, for the old jealousy of the sodhis revived. He then decided to travel in the direction of the river Bias eventually arriving at Kiratpur, where he was again pestered by the sodhis. He camped six miles away from the city and later bought stand and founded the city of Anandpur in the month of Har, Sambat 1772 (A.D. 1665).

The Sikhs of Delhi sent a message to the Guru that Dhir Mal had instigated Ram Rai to complain to the Emperor regarding his supersession. The Guru replied 'what can a thousand enemies do to those on whose side God the great Guru is?'

The Guru then decided to leave Anandpur. He left on the 15th of Maghar, Sambat 1772 and after a long journey — visiting Kurkhetar (Thanesar) on the occasion of a solar eclipse and Itawa — arrived at

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.336
2 ibid. pp.337-338
3 ibid. p.338 op.cit. vol. IV p.338
4 ibid. p.339
5 ibid. p.343
Prayag, where he stayed for six months.¹

His mother reminded him of her husband Guru Har Gobind's prophecy that 'a great being should be born in the house of Guru Teg Bahadur'. The Guru replied that all her desires should soon be fulfilled, she would have 'a grandson who would save the true religion'.² His wife, Gujari became pregnant during their stay at Prayag.³

The Guru and his family went to Benares — where his coat and shoes are preserved in memory of his visit — and from there, to Gaya, where he refused to pay the Brahmins to make the traditional offering to his ancestors.⁴ He finally arrived at Patna, where he accepted the hospitality of a Sikh confectioner, while the Sikhs were building a mansion — the present Sikh temple — in his honour.⁵ After some time, however, he told his mother that he must depart, and asked her to remain at Patna with his wife.⁶ His wife joined in his mother's remonstrances, and he told her that Guru Har Gobind's prophecy was about to be fulfilled, and she should remain to give birth to their son. She felt the force of his words and remained silent.⁷

¹ Maéauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.344
² ibid. p.344
³ ibid. p.344
⁴ ibid. p.345
⁵ ibid. p.347
⁶ ibid. pp.347-348
⁷ ibid. p.348
The next morning, while the Guru was preparing for his journey, an envoy of Raja Ram Singh of Amber (Jaipur), a descendant of Akbar's general, Raja Man Singh, arrived, with a message from the Raja seeking the Guru's protection in the expedition to Assam on which the Emperor had ordered him to go and to request him to stay in Patna till he himself came. The Guru agreed to both suggestions.

When the Raja arrived, he told the Guru that Aurangzeb's advisers had suggested that he should lead an expedition against the rebellious king of Kamrup, because if he conquered the country it would be an acquisition for the Emperor; if he were killed, the Emperor could annex the whole of Rajputana. It was death either way for him. The Guru smiled and, asking him to meditate on God's name, said, 'Guru Nanak will assist thee, and thou shalt conquer Kamrup'.

Raja Ram Singh offered a thanksgiving, prayer and distributed sacred food to the whole company, and receive initiation as a Sikh.

The Guru, entrusting his family to his brother-in-law, set out with the Raja. By way of Monghyr, Rajmahal and Maldah, the Guru reached Dacca where he accepted the hospitality of a woman who had vowed that she would

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.348
2 The Sikh version differs from that of the Mohammedan historians and the annals of Rajputana. Here Macauliffe follows Tod's Rajasthan Vol. II 'Annals of Amber,' ch.1
3 ibid. p.349
4 ibid. pp.350-351
5 ibid. p.351. Kamrup in those days comprised the present district of Goalpura and Kamrup, between the state of Bhutan in the north and the river Brahmaputra in the south.
'seat him on a beautiful couch she had prepared, dress him with the cloth she had spun herself and give him a dainty meal, if ever the Guru paid a visit.'

From there the Raja and the Guru went to the city of Rangamati, on the bank of the Brahmaputra, where they camped. The Raja of Kamrup, when he heard of the Raja's arrival, tried magic and incantation on him and his family, but they failed. He turned a tributary of the Brahmaputra, by making a huge dam across it, on the Raja's army. The Guru warned him of the torrent which was to come in the night. The Sikhs moved away from the place, but the Mohammedans, who did not believe the Guru, were swept away.

The mother of the King of Kamrup saw the goddess Devi in a vision; she told her that no one was strong enough to oppose the Guru, who had come with Raja Ram Singh; she should make obeisance to him and ask his pardon for her sins, otherwise her Kingdom would be lost.

The queen mother told her son of her vision, and he went to the Guru and said that he had come by order of the goddess to pray for pardon and protection. He begged the Guru not to let him fall into Moslem hands. The Guru asked him to meet Raja Ram Singh, but have nothing to do with Mohammedans - and his empire should be permanent.

1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV pp.352-353
2 ibid. p.354
3 ibid. p.354
4 ibid. p.355
The Kamrup King invited the Guru and Raja Ram Singh to visit his city, but asked them not to bring any Mohammedans. At the time the Guru promised nothing; when he told the Raja of his conversation, the Raja was delighted with the news. They crossed the river with a thousand Rajputs. Under the Guru's influence the two Rajas exchanged turbans in token of lifelong friendship. When the Kamrup King asked for a memento, the Guru shot an arrow through a pipal tree, and said 'he should be remembered by mark'.

To complete the negotiations the Guru drove a dagger into the earth and addressed the two Kings: 'Let all on this side of the dagger belong to the Emperor, and all on the other side to the King of Kamrup, and let both monarchs forget their enmity'.

The Guru spent a few days near the great river. A messenger from Patna arrived with the news of the birth of his son. He was born three hours before sunrise on the seventh day of Poh, in Sambat 1723 (A.D. 1666) and given the name of Gobind Rai, as the Guru had directed his wife before leaving for Assan. The Guru now decided to return to Patna. When he arrived, his wife asked him how far he had gone into Kamrup. He replied, 'as far as Guru Nanak had gone', and added, 'he was the Creator's servant

1 ibid. p. 355
2 ibid. p.
3 ibid. p. 356
4 ibid. pp. 357-358
and had gone in the triple capacity of Raja Ram Singh's friend, preacher of God's word and averter of bloodshed'.

After a long stay at Patna, the Guru's thoughts turned towards the Panjab, and he told his wife that he was going to Anandpur, which, having been built, must be inhabited; and asked her and his mother to remain in Patna with the child.

The Guru, however, confined his first march to the city of Patna at his wife's request so that his son could stay with him for some time and accept his departure. The Guru took his treasurer, Mati Das, and four other faithful Sikhs with him, and arrived at Ropar in the Ambala district by stages; from there he went to Kiratpur where he met his half-brother, Suraj Mal, who introduced his grandson, Golab Rai and Sham Das - who were to play a large part in the tenth Guru's life - to the Guru. From there the Guru went to Anandpur where as in others there was great rejoicing on his arrival.

Meanwhile, Gobind Rai, the Guru's young son practised the use of arms at Patna, till one day the Guru thought of his death, and decided to send for him. At the same time the boy was thinking of his father; he decided to go to the Panjab, but his mother said they should wait for the Guru's message.

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.359-360
2 ibid. pp.361-362
3 ibid. pp.362-363
4 ibid. p.363
5 ibid. p.364
6 ibid. p.364
While he was trying to convince his mother of his reasons for going, his father's messenger arrived and the family left for Anandpur. As he approached Anandpur, the people came to escort him and were astonished at his beauty. He was affectionately received by his father.

Emperor Auranzeb's actions had begun to disaffect even Mohammedans, so he was advised by his priests to acquire the credentials of an orthodox and religious Mohammedan by sending money and presents to Mecca, and by issuing a proclamation that those Hindus who embraced Islam would receive all the immunities granted to royal favourites.

This 'experiment of conversion' was first tried in Kashmir, because the Kashmiri pandits were educated and their example would be more readily followed by the general population; and secondly, Kashmir was surrounded by Moslem countries of Peshawar and Kabul and a religious war could be successfully won against them if they resisted; thirdly, because the Kashmiri's venality was proverbial.

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1 ibid. pp.365-367
2 ibid. pp.367-368. There is some doubt on this point, but Macauliffe following an older narrative, Sukha Singh's Gur Bilas, thinks that he did meet his father, ibid. p.368. fn.1
3 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.368
4 ibid. p.369
The viceroy of Kashmir first tried to convert by the sword, and it is said that he collected a hundredweight of sacred threads. Then reflecting on the consequences of his slaughter, decided to call the pandits and ask their forgiveness as he was only obeying the Emperor's orders. They asked for six months to consider the proposition, and the viceroy gladly agreed.

Towards the end of this period the pandits were supernaturally informed that only Guru Teg Bahadur as successor to Guru Nanak - the spiritual King in this last age of the world - would protect religion; no Hindu god had that power.

The Pandits sought the Guru out in Anandpur and told him of their dilemma and said that 'he had been born with the express object of preserving religion and that his very name had power to cherish those who sought his protection'. The Guru remained silent for some time. His son came up to him and asked him for its reason. The Guru said, 'My Son, thou knowest nothing yet. Thou art still a child. This matter on which Kashmiris have come is of vital importance. The world is grieved by the oppression of the Turks. No brave man is now to be found. He who is willing to sacrifice his life shall free the earth from the burden of the

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.369-370
2 ibid. p.370
3 ibid. pp.370-371
4 ibid. p.372
Muhammadans.' The boy then replied: 'For that purpose who is more worthy than thou who art at once generous and brave?'

When the Guru heard this he knew all that was to follow. He then told the Kashmiri Pandits to inform the Emperor that if he would convert Guru Teg Bahadur, then all the people - including the pandits - would of their own accord become Moslems. They did so, and the Emperor was pleased at the prospect of a large conversion of Hindus and Sikhs, and sent two officers to summon the Guru. When they arrived at the Guru's court, the Guru said he was already expecting them, and replied to the Emperor's message that he would go to Delhi after the rainy season.

The Guru began his journey on the first day of the month of Har - early June, immediately before the rains - when the heat is extreme in northern India.

At the end of the rainy season, in October, Emperor Aurangzeb sent two messengers to Anandpur, but they could not find him either there or at Amritsar, and reported that he had fled. The Guru had been staying with his Mohammedan friend Saif-ul-din - who became a Sikh - during the rainy season. He had not forgotten his promise to the Emperor. He took leave of his friend - while the Emperor sent orders throughout the empire

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.372, following Sukha Singh's Gur Bilas, Ch. V.
2 ibid. p.372
3 ibid. p.372
4 ibid. pp.372-373
to find and arrest him - and dismissed all his Sikhs except five including Mati Das and Gurditta, a descendant of Bhai Budha, and proceeded to Delhi.

When he reached Agra he encamped in a garden outside the city and asked a shepherd boy there to do him a favour. He took from his finger a large gold ring set with diamonds and gave it to the boy to pledge it and bring two rupees' worth of sweets. When the boy said he had no cloth to wrap the sweets in, he gave him his valuable shawl. The boy, not knowing who he was, asked him to mind his sheep and goats, and went off. When the Guru's companions objected on his extravagance, he replied that what he had done was by God's will, 'which could not be set aside by hundreds of devices'.

At a confectioner's shop, in the city, the boy showed the ring and explained his errand, the confectioner weighed the sweets, but when he presented the shawl to take the sweets, the confectioner took the boy to the police. On being interrogated by them he told them that he had got the shawl and the ring from a stranger who had taken shelter in a certain garden. When the policemen went to the garden and discovered the identity of the stranger and his companions, they informed the Governor of the fort. He sent one hundred horsemen, and they escorted the Guru to the fort.

When the Emperor heard of the Guru's arrest, he sent a regiment of twelve hundred horsemen to Agra to bring the Guru to him. When they met,
the Emperor offered the Guru a high office as a priest if he embraced Islam. The Guru replied, 'O Emperor thou and I and all people must walk according to God's will. If it were the will of God that there should be only one religion, He would not have allowed the Muhammadan and Hindu religions to exist at the same time. He hath no partner and can do as He pleases. Neither thou nor I can oppose Him.'\(^1\) The Emperor seized on the Guru's expression that all men must walk according to God's will and said that God had appeared in a vision and told him to convert the whole world to Islam. The Guru then offered to show visible proof of what he said and he asked for five manas (400 lbs.) of pepper and caused the heap to be ignited. It burned for twenty-four hours, and, after pounding and sifting the ashes, three pepper pods remained whole.\(^2\) Then the Guru said, 'O King, thou hast now got thine answer. Thou wishest to make one religion out of two. Him whom the Creator desireth to preserve not even fire can touch. As these three pepper pods have been saved from the fire, so shall three religions, Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism, survive to future ages.\(^3\)

The Guru was put under close arrest, but he wrote to his wife not to be anxious about him, and to cherish their son and recognise him as the Guru's image; he had gone to Delhi to end Moghul sovereignty, in deference to Guru Nanak's word to Emperor Babar.\(^4\)

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1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.378
2 ibid. p.379
3 ibid. p.379
4 ibid. p.379
In prison, when the Guru refused to embrace Islam repeatedly and mocked Aurangzeb's power to convert the whole world, he was tortured. In the Gurumukhi chronicles it is frequently mentioned that the Guru went out of prison to dine with his Sikhs by his thaumaturgic power. One day as the Guru was on the top story of his prison, the Emperor thought he saw him looking towards the south in the direction of the imperial seraglio. He was sent for the next day charged with a breach of propriety. He replied that he was looking in the direction of Europeans who were coming from beyond the Empire.

Mati Das, the Guru's faithful Sikh, charged his master with practising too much humility, and in a conversation with him the Guru said that he would offer his life to prove that the Mughals were false and had forfeited the right to Guru Nanak's gift of sovereignty to Babar by their great enormities. This conversation was overheard by a priest, who reported it to the Emperor. Mati Das, as a result, was bound between two pillars and his body was sawed into two; but, it is said, he began to recite the Japji and completed the prayer even when his body was in two pieces. Three of Guru's other companions became afraid and went to the Guru. He told them that they were free to leave him: and their fetters fell off and prison

1 Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.380-381
2 ibid. p.381

3 ibid. p.381: This became a battle cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Delhi in 1857 under General John Nicholson.
4 ibid. pp.381-382
5 ibid. p.382
doors opened, and the guards fell asleep. When the jailer asked him how they had escaped, the Guru said that he had no business with them, it was only he who had been imprisoned. 'The great God who created them hath rescued them from prison'.

The Guru sent a message by the departing Sikhs to his son to stay without fear in Anandpur; 'the time for him to leave his body had arrived and he would leave it in Delhi'.

Gobind Rai took the message with equanimity.

When the Governor of the Delhi jail reported that three of the Guru's Sikhs had escaped, the Emperor ordered the Guru to be locked up in an iron cage, guarded by a sentry with a drawn sword.

When the Emperor again asked him to give up his faith, the Guru is said to have quoted Guru Nanak in reply:

> When Kings, lions, headmen and dogs,
> Instead of watching, rest in sleep,
> King's servants inflict wounds with their nails
> And taste and drink the subjects' blood.

- and repeated his vow to end Mughal rule.

Bhai Gurditta, who was still fettered, was allowed to wait on the Guru. Soon after, a messenger arrived bearing a letter from the Guru's

2 ibid. pp.382-383
3 ibid. p.
4 ibid. p.384
wife and son. It is believed that the Guru during his captivity composed most of his sloks and hymns and sent them by a messenger to his son, who replied with the only couplet of the tenth Guru found in the Granth Sahib:

Strength is thine; thy fetters are loosed; thou hast every resource; Nanak, everything is on thy power; it is only thou who canst assist thyself.

The Guru was pleased with his son's couplet, and remarked that he was fit for the Guruship. He sent into the city for five paisa and a coconut, and placing them before him, he meditated on his absent son and bowed. The articles were received by Gobind Rai with Guru Teg Bhadur's fifty-sixth slok:

The Name remaineth, saints remain. Guru Gobind remaineth; Saint Nanak, few are they who in this world follow the Guru's instruction.

Before the messenger arrived in Anandpur, the Guru's wife had a vision in which she saw the Guru place five paisa and a coconut before his son and bow to him in token of his appointment, and then she saw his beheaded body. They sent a messenger to Delhi to ascertain it.

Meanwhile the Emperor again asked the Guru either to become a Moslem or to do a miracle. The Guru replied, 'I will never abandon my faith. I want no honour in this life; I want honour hereafter.'

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit. Vol. IV p.384
2 ibid. p.385
3 ibid. p.385
4 ibid. p.386
'The threat of death possessed no terror for me, since I must assuredly leave this perishable body. For death I am prepared and I cheerfully accept it.'\(^1\)

Then the messenger from the Guru's family arrived and the Guru told him that he should stand near him, and to take the Guru's head, which would fall into his lap, straight to Anandpur and cremate it there. On hearing this even the Moslem governor of the jail began to weep.

The Guru gave them religious instruction and consolation, and Gurditta was assured that he should be released when the Guru was dead.\(^2\)

Then Saiyid Adam Shah brought a warrant for the Guru's execution.

All the courtiers and Mohammedan priests of Delhi were among the crowd gathered there. The Guru was allowed out of his cage to do his ablutions, and then he went and sat under a banyan tree, where he recited the Japji. He then asked Adam Shah to strike off his head, while bowed to God, at the end of his devotions. Adam Shah did so and, it is said, the Guru's head flew off into the faithful Sikh's lap.\(^3\)

It is recorded that immediately afterwards a great storm arose which filled everywhere with dust. The Sikh took away the Guru's head unobserved to Anandpur. The execution occurred on Thursday the fifth day of the light half of the month of Maghar in the Sambat year 1782 (A.D. 1725).\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.386  
\(^2\) ibid. pp.386-387  
\(^3\) ibid. p.387  
\(^4\) ibid. p.387
A Sikh who saw the Guru's dead body was aggrieved that it should be dishonoured. He reproached his tribesmen for it and they loaded ox-carts with cotton and, under the cover of the dust storm, they hid the body within their load, and took it inside the city. The dust storm then subsided.\(^1\)

The Sikhs' houses were all thatched, and they placed the Guru's funeral pyre among them, and all the houses were burned with it quickly. Next day they buried the Guru's remains in a copper vessel under the funeral pyre. Over his remains, at a spot later known as Rakab Gunj, a shrine was built.\(^2\)

While all this was going on, the Guru's family heard of his death and his message to his son.\(^3\) The whole assembly began to weep, but the young Guru said that 'there should be no mourning, for true men like his father, who on seeing the decline of religion had assumed human birth, and having placed religion on a firm basis returned to his heavenly home.' The young Guru, who knew that his father's head was being brought to Anandpur by the last messenger, decided that his last rites should be held there.\(^4\)

The funeral was duly performed and in due course, Gobind Rai was proclaimed the tenth Guru.\(^5\) Gurditta, the ninth Guru's companion in prison

\(^{1}\) Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV p.388

\(^{2}\) ibid. pp.388-389

\(^{3}\) ibid. p.389. The message was 'to extend the true religion and destroy the wicked'.

\(^{4}\) ibid. p.390

\(^{5}\) ibid. p.390
was released by the Moslems and died where the Guru had predicted. His son, thirteen years old Ram Kaur, gave the tenth Guru his *tilak* or mark of sovereignty and later became a well known Gurumukhi scholar.¹ The coronation of Guru Gobind Rai was held on the fifth day of the first half of Phagan (February, A.D. 1676) in great state.²

The Labana Sikh, who had cremated Guru Teg Bahadur's body, paid a visit to the Guru and narrated the circumstances after the Guru's death. When he said that the Sikhs were afraid to touch the Guru's body, the young Guru vowed that he would make the Sikhs such that one of them could hold his ground against one hundred thousand others, and ordered him to leave the ashes where they were; he would himself go there one day and erect a temple on the spot.³

The Mohammedan account of the Guru's death differs from that of the Sikh historians, given above. According to the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mataa Kherin*, Aurangzeb had the Guru's body cut up into pieces and suspended in different part of the capital.

This may or may not be true. In Macauliffe's view, however, other circumstances related by the Mohammedan writers are utterly incompatible with the whole tenor of Guru Teg Bahadur's life and writings, and cannot be accepted even as an approach to history.⁴

¹ Macauliffe, op.cit. Vol. IV pp.390-391
² ibid. p.391
³ ibid. p.391
⁴ ibid. pp.391-392
Guru Gobind Rai, after his father's death, continued even more seriously to equip himself for his mission, and became an expert archer. He took delight in wearing uniform and arms and in encouraging others to join him in the practice of archery and musket-shooting. The descendants of the Gurus, the masands, and the sons and grandsons of those who had served his father and grandfather gathered under his banner. His court attracted a number of singers and poets who sang Gurus' hymns and composed panegyrics.

A man called Bhikhia, of Lahore, paid a visit to the Guru, and decided to offer his daughter in marriage to the Guru. The proposal pleased the Guru's mother, and she asked her brother Kripal to advise the Guru to accept it. The Guru did so, and the wedding was arranged for the twenty third day of the month of Har, Sambat 1734 (A.D.1677). When it was suggested to the Guru that he should take his marriage party to Lahore, as was customary, he refused, and said he would build a Lahore near Anandpur for the occasion. Soon afterwards, one of the

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2 ibid., p.3.
3 ibid., p.2.
4 ibid., p.2.
5 ibid., p.2.
newly-converted Sikhs who had come to pay his homage, proposed a
second marriage with his daughter, Sundari. The Guru was reluctant
to accept this offer, but under his mother's influence, agreed; and
this wedding was celebrated soon after the first.¹

We may remember that the Raja of Assam had asked for a son
through Guru Teg Bahandur's intercession, and he was born in due time.²
The Raja died when the prince, Ratan Rai, was only seven years old.
When he was twelve, the prince decided to visit the son of the Guru
who had mediated for his birth. Taking costly and beautiful presents —
which included a very small elephant who could act like a human being³ —
and accompanied by his mother and several ministers, he arrived at
Anandpur. The Guru received him with great ceremony and granted him
the Sikh faith. When the Raja took his leave at the end of the visit,
he requested the Guru not to let the elephant out of his possession.⁴

At this time, several men enlisted in the Guru's army, and the
Guru ordered Hand Chand to have a big drum made.⁵ When it was nearly
ready, the masands, through the Guru's mother — and later directly —
requested him not to beat the drum in the hill-rajas' territories;
as beating of drums in those days was a symbol of sovereignty.⁶ The

² ibid., p.4.
³ ibid., p.5.
⁴ ibid., pp.4-5.
⁵ ibid., p.5.
⁶ ibid., p.5.
Guru replied that he was not going to take over the territories forcibly, but if they allowed their hearts to rankle, he could not help it; he could not remain in concealment anymore. He told the masands that he would have the drum beaten when they went hunting.

The Guru celebrated the completion of the drum with prayers and distribution of sacred good, and called it Ranjit or 'victorious on the battlefield'. He went hunting the same day and when the party arrived near Bilaspur, the capital of Kahlur, the drum was heard like a thunder by the hillmen. The Raja of the country decided - on being advised by his prime minister to be on friendly terms with the Guru - to meet the Guru. The interview was arranged by his prime minister, and the Raja was received in court by the Guru. The Raja became envious of the Guru's state and wealth and determined to get the elephant by force or stratagem. He put his plan to his courtiers and asked for suggestions. It was decided that a message should be sent to the Guru to lend his elephant to impress the envoys of the Raja of Srinagar who were to visit Raja Bhim Chand for the betrothal of his daughter to their Raja's son.

The Guru told the Police Chief sent by Bhim Chand that he would
grant any wish of the Raja, if his intentions were honest, not otherwise. The Raja decided to wait.

Meanwhile the Guru collected a considerable army by receiving openly all those who came for military service. The Guru made Hans Chand his finance minister in recognition of his bravery and for his family's loyalty to the Guru; as pay was due to the Guru's troops and their tactful handling was necessary.

The other hill rajas took the opportunity to inflame the differences between the Guru and Bhim Chand, for their own security. When Bhim Chand's envoys returned with the Guru's message, he sent the Guru an ultimatum of either a war or the elephant. The Guru smiled on receiving it, and said he would accept the alternative of war, and then ordered preparations.

But the war was postponed, because the Raja was advised not to turn his son's wedding into an occasion of mourning. Meanwhile, the Guru accepted an invitation from the Raja of Nahan, near the Dun (the

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2 ibid., p.10.
3 ibid., p.11.
4 ibid., p.12.
5 ibid., p.12.
7 ibid., p.15.
valley between the Himalayas and the Siwalik range). As a precaution he took all his trained army with him. Later he lent it to the Raja for constructing a fort.

Raja Fateh Shah of Srinagar — whose daughter was engaged to Bhim Chand's son — thought it prudent to be friendly with the Guru. The Guru helped in a reconciliation between him and the Raja of Hanum

When the Guru killed a tiger with his sword he instructed his friends by its example: 'The tiger hath died like a hero and obtained deliverance. It is cowards who suffer transmigration. The brave enjoy celestial happiness. If a man die in battle, it should be with his face to the foe'.

The Guru stayed at the fort — which he named Paonta — and composed poetry for a time; first translating, in quatrains with similes and metaphors from the Sanskrit, the story of Krishna. He also set about extending the Paonta and laying gardens and pleasure grounds. One day he received an invitation from the Raja of Srinagar to attend his daughter's wedding. Although he declined it, he sent a

2 ibid., pp.15-16.
3 ibid., p.17.
4 ibid., p.18.
5 ibid., p.20.
6 ibid., p.17.
7 ibid., p.22.
8 ibid., p.24.
costly present through his minister, Hand Chand.

When the marriage party of Raja Bhim Chand arrived on the bank of the Jamna near Paunta, they heard that the Guru's army was encamped at the ferry and had prepared to obstruct their progress. Raja Bhim Chand sent his prime minister to the Guru to allow their passage. The Guru replied that if they were brave, they might come his way; if they were cowards, they could take another route and he would not bother them. The hill rajas, however, decided to send the bridegroom and a few officials to request the Guru for a free passage, and the rest should take the long route. The Guru decided to let the youth pass.

When the Guru's envoy and presents were announced at the assembly in Srinagar, Raja Bhim Chand declared that he would refuse to accept Fateh Shah's daughter for his son, if a marriage present from the Guru was accepted. The present was refused and Raja Fateh Shah also accepted the condition of the hill rajas that he should attack the Guru if he wished the marriage alliance to be made.

Hand Chand escaped unhurt, as the Guru had prophesied. He also

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5 ibid., pp. 27-28.
6 ibid., p. 28.
7 see ibid., p. 24 for prophecy.
saved a hundred horses, which a merchant was bringing from Kashmir for the Guru. The Guru was attacked, but ultimately Fateh Shah had to flee from his capital. Praises of the Guru's bravery and martial qualities were sung throughout the country.

After the battle, the Guru ordered the disposal of the dead of both sides; and bodies of Sikhs were cremated, Hindus thrown into the rivers and Moslems buried with proper ceremony.

When the Guru became famous after his victory, many accomplished poets, singers and musicians came to seek his patronage. His army made many plans, and suggested that they should take the freedom of the country between Paunta and Anandpur; but the Guru restrained them. He ordered them to return to Anandpur in view of their restlessness.

When it became known that the Guru was returning to Anandpur the population celebrated it with unusual rejoicing. But soon afterwards complaints began to be made, against the Guru's troops, to Raja Bhim Chand. His minister, however, advised him to be reconciled with the Guru, whom they were not strong enough to fight.

One of the most polished officials was sent to deliver the Raja's

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2 ibid., p.45: for a description of the battle, see pp.35-45.
3 ibid., p.45.
4 ibid., p.46.
5 ibid., p.49.
6 ibid., pp.49-50.
message of peace. The Guru replied that he had not fallen out with the Raja, but rather the Raja had with him; and pointed out his deceitful efforts to obtain the wonder-elephant, attempt to kill the Guru’s minister and his escort, and incitement of Fateh Shah. The Guru added that the Sikhs had not taken any of the Raja’s territory. They only wanted to buy provision from the villagers, for themselves and their horses. The envoy said that he should consider the Raja’s territory as his own, and the Raja was anxious to meet him. The Guru said that the Raja was welcome if he had friendly intentions. When the Raja came, he was pleased with the reception the Guru gave him.¹

A son was born to the Guru’s second wife, Sundari, on the fourth day of the bright half of Magh, Sambat 1743 (A.D. 1687).²

When Emperor Aurangzeb was at war against the King of Golconda in southern India, the viceroy of Jammu sent his commander-in-chief to levy tribute on the hill rajas. He asked Raja Kripal of Kangra first either to pay tribute or fight. Raja Kripal said that Raja Bhim Chand was the greatest of the allied hill rajas. If he were to pay tribute, all others would follow him. Even if he did not, Kripal would still support the Commander-in-chief Alif Khan.³

Alif Khan took up Kripal’s suggestion. Bhim Chand’s reply was

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² ibid., p. 51.
³ ibid., p. 52.
that he would fight rather than pay tribute. His prime minister however advised him to ask the Guru for his support to be certain of victory. The Guru accepted Bhim Chand's proposal on the ground of having ratified his friendship with the Raja; and, further, because it would be shameful to refuse, if the Raja were defeated without his assistance. Also because the prime minister had asked as a suppliant. The Guru's message to the Raja was: 'I shall be with thee early on the morrow. Pay no tribute to the Turks. If thou pay it today, there will be another demand on thee tomorrow. But if thou fight and cause the Turks to retreat, then shall no one molest thee'.

Bhim Chand and his fellow rajas tried and failed to take the Moslem troops by surprise, as they were encamped on high ground; but then they were reminded that the Guru's troops had not yet joined the battle. The Guru and his troops rushed the stockades and created dismay in the enemy. Alif Khan, Kripal and Raja Dayal of Bhigarwal - who was also supporting them - decided to confront Bhim Chand and the Guru. Their main attack was on Bhim Chand, who retreated. But Prithi Chand tried single-handed, with a drawn sword, to take Alif Khan's and Dayal's attack. He was so successful that their troops began to flee. This enraged Raja Dayal and he recovered some of the superiority. Bhim Chand then appealed to the Guru, who challenged Dayal to a personal

2 ibid., p.52.
3 ibid., p.52.
encounter. Dayal made a desperate attempt to kill the Guru, but he fired a steady shot with his musket and the Raja 'fell like a tree blown down by the wind'. When Raja Kripal saw his brave ally die, he knew that he was defeated. Eventually, both he and Alif Khan realized that it was the Guru's assistance which was responsible for it, and they escaped by night.

Raja Kripal later proposed a reconciliation with Raja Bhim Chand, which he accepted. The Guru was pleased at this, and decided to return to Anandpur.

The Guru's wife Jito had a son on the seventh day of the month of Chet, Sambat 1747 (A.D.1690), who was named Zorawar Singh or the powerful lion, to commemorate the battle of Nadaun.

One Dilawar Khan had gained power during the insurrections in the Punjab while the Emperor was occupied in the south. He became jealous of the Guru's fame and success and sent his son with a thousand men to exact tribute from him, or to sack Anandpur, if he refused. His son's instructions were to follow the same line with the hill rajas.

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, pp.53-54.
2 ibid., p.54.
3 ibid., p.54.
4 ibid., p.55. There is some dispute about who was born that year, Zorawar Singh or Jujhar Singh. Macauliffe follows Gur Bilas and Suraj Prakash.
5 ibid., p.55.
6 ibid., p.55.
When the Guru received intelligence of the approaching army, he immediately ordered the drum to be beaten, for his soldiers to take arms. The Guru's troops startled their enemy by peals of artillery, giving an exaggerated idea of their strength. Dilawar Khan's son, seeing his men suffering from cold and unable to hold their weapons, beat a retreat; but was ashamed to speak to his father when he was censured for his cowardice. A slave of Dilawar Khan, called Hassain, asked his master for an army to make amends. Dilawar Khan gave him two thousand men, and he marched to Anandpur and was initially successful. Seeing this Raja Bhim Chand broke his treaty with the Guru and joined Hassain. Hassain, however, was deflected from his objective, Anandpur, to fight Gopal of Guler who, not willing to pay as much as Hassain demanded, decided to fight. He was defeated and requested the Guru to negotiate peace with Hassain. When again asked for money he refused and Bhim Chand and his allied hill rajas plotted to arrest him, but he escaped; and sent a defiant message to his enemies. The battle that followed was indescribably vehement. The Guru's peace-making envoy and his escort of seven Sikhs were killed, so were two of Hassain's officers. Bhim Chand fled, and Gopal went with large offerings to the Guru in thanksgiving for the victory.

A third son Jujhar Singh was born to the Guru on Sunday the first

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2 ibid., pp.55-56.
3 ibid., p.56.
4 ibid., pp.56-58.
day of the second half of the month of Kagh, Sambat 1753 (A.D.1697); this was his wife Jito's second son.¹

Jito's third son - and Guru's fourth - Fatah Singh, was born on Wednesday the eleventh day of Phagan, Sambat 1755, (A.D.1699).²

One day the Sikhs asked a pandit, who used to read to the Guru 'Are the deeds attributed to Bhim, Arjan and others, real or exag­gerated?' The pandit told them 'that their power was real and a result of their sacrifices and offerings to the Goddess Durga which made her visible to them'. The Sikhs asked the pandit to show them how to manifest the goddess, so that they could also defeat their enemies;³ and the pandit suggested that a great feast must first be celebrated and a trial made as to who were the most holy Brahmans, who would then perform the necessary sacrifice and ceremony of burnt offerings.⁴ The Guru accepted on their insistence, and decided to expose their hypocrisy. He offered five gold mohurs to every Brahman who ate meat. Several of them did so for the reward; but those who did not, again pressed the Guru to hold the ceremonies for manifesting the goddess, and recommended Kesho, a Brahman from Banaras, who they said had power to do so.⁵ Kesho was extremely greedy and when he heard that the Guru was open handed, went to the Guru and said he could manifest the goddess, but

² ibid., p.60.
³ ibid., p.60.
⁴ ibid., pp.60-61.
⁵ ibid., pp.61-62.
the ceremonies would be very expensive. The Guru accepted his offer and provided what was required; and then the Brahmen asked for a lonely spot, and the Guru suggested the nearby hill of Naina Devi.\(^1\) After nine months the pandit told the Guru that the goddess would soon appear. The Guru insisted on a fixed date. Four days after the appointed day the pandit said he needed a holy person to be offered as a sacrifice to the goddess. The Guru replied, 'Who so worthy to be offered as a sacrifice as thou'. Fearing that the Guru would indeed sacrifice him, he fled for his life. When Kesho absconded, the Guru ordered that all the materials collected for the ceremony should be thrown into the sacrificial fire. A great flame shot up, and the spectators thought the Guru himself had caused the Goddess to appear; while he, with sword drawn, set out for Anandpur. When people asked him if the Goddess had appeared, he raised his sword, and people mistakenly believed that the Goddess had given him the sword.\(^2\)

Some writers believe that the Guru, during the time, i.e. in A.D.1698 - when he was said to have been occupied in worshipping Durga - was, in reality, translating Sanskrit works in the seclusion of the mountain valley.\(^3\)

At this stage of the narrative, and perhaps in view of the conflicting opinions, Lacauliffe considers it important that the

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\(^{1}\) Lacauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.63.
\(^{2}\) ibid., pp.64-65, following Gyan Singh, Panth Prakash, ch. 25.
\(^{3}\) ibid., pp.66-67: according to Suraj Prakash, Rut III, ch. 29.
thoughts of the Guru on idolatry should be clearly set forth. He quotes verses from the Guru's composition, Akal Ustat, to show what the Guru really believed; his last quotation is:

' The whole world entangled in false ceremonies hath not found God's secret'.

The affirmation of his faith is quite unequivocal in the Vichitar Natak:

'I am not a worshipper of stones, nor am I satisfied with any religious garb'.

In further evidence of the Guru's opinions, Macauliffe quotes a composition which may be called 'A Dialogue between a Princess and her idolatrous Tutor', found in the Collected Works of the Guru, and either written or authorized by him.

What is called the Book of the Tenth Guru is only partially his own composition, the greater portion of it was by the poets at his Court. The two works entitled, Chandī Charitar and the Bhagauti Ki War, found in the Book are abridged translations, by different people, of the seven hundred couplets on Durga, an episode in the Karkandaya Puran.

Their inclusion can be justified by the custom of the time to recite the eulogies of the brave to inspire courage, even in cowards,

2 ibid., p.68.
3 see ibid., pp.68-79 for the composition.
4 ibid., p.90.
before going into battle. The Guru employed fifty-two bards on translation of the Indian epics.¹

The Guru always believed that it would be proper for the Sikhs to wear long hair and not alter 'man's god-given body'.¹ When they objected that they might be ridiculed by both Hindus and Moslems, he advised them to wear arms and be ready to defend themselves. They took this advice.²

A group of Sikhs came to visit the Guru and said that the Muhammadans had killed some of them on the way, and others who had been wounded had returned home.³ The Guru remained silent, then invited all his Sikhs to attend the great Baisakhi fair at Anandpur without cutting or shaving their hair.

When they assembled, he ordered carpets to be spread over a raised mound, and an enclosure, with tent walls, was built adjacent to it; then the Guru ordered a confidential Sikh to go at midnight and tie five goats within the enclosure, and swore him to secrecy. No one was allowed to go near the tent.

Then, next morning, he rose a watch before day, performed his devotions and put on his arms and uniform, and proclaimed a great open-air gathering. When all were seated, he drew his sword and asked if there was any one of his beloved Sikhs ready to lay down his life for

² ibid., pp.89-90.
³ ibid., pp.90-91.
him. There was no reply. A third time he spoke more loudly, 'if there by any true Sikh of mine, let him give me his head as an offering and proof of his faith'. Daya Ram, a Sikh of Lahore, rose and said, '0 true King, my head is at thy service'. The Guru took his arm, led him within the enclosure, and gave him a seat. He then cut off a goat's head with one stroke of the sword, and went out and showed the dripping weapon to the gathering. The Guru again asked 'Is there any other true Sikh who will bestow his head on me?'. The crowd was now quite convinced that the Guru was in earnest, and that he had killed Daya Ram, so no one replied. At the third time of asking, Dharm Das of Delhi answered '0 great King, take my head'. The Guru answering with an angry expression, took Dharm Das within the enclosure, seating him near Daya Ram, and killed another goat. Then, looking very fierce, he came out again and said, 'Is there any other Sikh who will offer me his head? I am in great need of Sikhs' heads'. On this some one remarked that the Guru had lost his mind. Luhakam Chand of Dwarka was the third Sikh to offer himself as a sacrifice. When the Guru called out for a fourth Sikh, the Sikhs began to think that he was going to kill them all. Some ran away and many hung their heads. Sahib Chand, a resident of Bidar, clasped his hands in an attitude of supplication, and said he placed his head at the Guru's disposal. On his call for a fifth Sikh there was a general flight, and only those who were very staunch remained. Himmat of Jagamath answered the Guru's last call.¹

The Guru was now ready to sacrifice his own life for the five Sikhs who had shown such devotion to him. He gave them splendid clothes to wear and said 'My brethren, you are in my form, and I am in yours. He who thinketh there is any difference between us erereth exceedingly'. Then, with the five Sikhs beside him, the Guru announced to the assembly, 'In the time of Guru Nanak there was found one devout Sikh, namely Guru Angad. In my time there are found five Sikhs totally devoted to the Guru. These shall lay a new foundation of Sikhism, and the true religion shall become current and famous through the world'. The people were astonished at the Guru's device, and fell at the feet of the five Sikhs, saying 'Hail to the Sikh religion! You, brethren, have established it on a permanent basis. Had we offered our heads like you, we too should be blest'.

The Guru said further, 'Since the time of Guru Nanak men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility, but the Khalsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger, and change my followers from Sikhs to Singhs or lions. Those who accept the nectar of the pahul shall be changed before your very eyes from jackals into lions, and shall obtain empire in this world and bliss hereafter'.

According to the Persian historian Muhai-ul-Din, the date of the

2 ibid., p.93.
famous address was the first of Baisakh, Sambat 1756 (A.D. 1699). He
sent the Emperor a copy of the Guru's address with his usual news
letter.¹

The newswriter's own report mentioned that several Brahmans and
Khatris stood up and said that they accepted the religion of Guru Nanak
and of the other Gurus; others said they would never accept any
religion opposed to the teaching of the Vedas and Shastars and that they
would not renounce 'at the bidding of a boy the ancient faith which
had descended to them from their ancestors'.² His estimate was that
twenty thousand men stood up and proclaimed their complete faith in
the Guru's divine mission.³

The Guru bid his five faithful Sikh to stand up and then he put
pure water into an iron vessel and stirred it with a two-edged sword,
and repeated over it Guru Nanak's Japji, his own Japji, Guru Amar
Das's Anand, and certain Sawaiyas in quotations of his own.⁴

In order to show the potency of the baptismal nectar he put some
of it aside for birds, and two sparrows came and filled their beaks
with it. When they flew away they began to fight, and died by mutual
slaughter; inference was that all who drank it became powerful and
warlike.⁵ When the Guru's wife Jito was told that her husband had

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V., p. 93.
² ibid., p. 94.
³ ibid., p. 94.
⁴ ibid., p. 94.
⁵ ibid., p. 94.
inaugurated a new form of baptism, and about the incident of the sparrow, she took some candy called patasha and went to the Guru. The Guru said that she had come at an opportune moment, and asked her to throw the sweets into the holy water. He said that he had begun to beget the Khalsa or the pure, i.e. those who had accepted the baptism of the sword as his son, but without a woman no son could be produced. Now that the sweets were poured into the nectar the Sikhs would be at peace with one another.¹

The five Sikhs, stood up before the Guru and were told by him to repeat 'Wahguru' and the preamble of the Japji. He then gave them five palmfuls of the nectar (i.e. the consecrated water used in their baptism) to drink. He sprinkled it five times on their hair and eyes, and called them all by the appellation of Singh or lion. Then he gave them the following injunctions:²

They must always wear long hair, a comb, a sword, short drawers and a steel bracelet - all beginning with the letter K in the vernacular - and enjoined them to practise arms, and not to show their backs to the enemy in battle. They must always help the poor and protect those who sought refuge with them. They must not covet another's wife or commit fornication, but remain faithful to their wives. They were to consider their former castes erased, and themselves all brothers of one family.

Sikhs were free to marry among themselves, but they must not have

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.95.
² ibid., pp.95-96.
any social or matrimonial relations with smokers, with persons who killed their daughters, with descendants or followers of those who had fallen away from the faith of Guru Nanak. They must not worship idols, cemeteries or cremation grounds. They must only believe in the immortal God.

They must rise at dawn, meditate on the Creator, abstain from the flesh of an animal whose throat had been jagged with a knife in the Moslem fashion.

They must be loyal to their masters. In Macauliffe’s day an oath of loyalty to the British government was specially added to the baptismal formula.¹

When the Five Sikhs were duly baptized, the Guru stood up and asked them to baptize in exactly the same way as he had done. They were astonished at his request, and protested their own unworthiness. The Guru replied that he was the son of the immortal God, and he had established this form of baptism by God’s order. They who accepted this baptism are known as the Khalsa. 'Khalsa is the Guru and the Guru is the Khalsa. As Guru Nanak seated Guru Angad on the throne, so have I made you also a Guru’.²

The five Sikhs baptized the Guru, who then called them his Five Beloved; and himself Gobind Singh, instead of Gobind Rai.³

² ibid., p.96.
³ ibid., pp.96-97.
Many thousands were later baptized, and supplementary ordinance was issued that if anyone cut his hair, smoked tobacco, associated with a Mohammedan woman or ate the flesh of an animal slaughtered in the Moslem fashion, must be re-baptized, pay a fine and promise not to offend anymore; otherwise he would be excommunicated.¹

The place where the Guru first administered his baptism is now called Kesgarh.²

The Guru wrote to his Sikhs wherever they lived to come and accept the baptism and become members of the Khalsa. He warned those who would not do so, that they should afterwards regret it when they met with affliction. They would be glad to seek the protection of the Khalsa then, but this could only be obtained by their baptism, repentance and submission. The holy Khalsa would then remove their entanglements and accept them as brothers in faith.³

On this occasion, the hill chiefs, including Raja Ajmer Chand, the successor of the late Bhim Chand, paid a visit to the Guru. In course of conversation with Ajmer Chand, the Guru said that in giving the baptismal nectar, he changed the Sikhs from jackals into tigers. 'My Singhs shall destroy all oppressive Pathans and Mughals, and rule in the world'. The raja objected that how could those who ate rice, cope with those who could each eat a whole goat. The Guru replied,

² ibid., p.97.
³ ibid., p.98.
"My Singhs too are permitted to eat flesh and one of them shall be able to hold his ground against one hundred thousand Turks. I will kill hawks with sparrows. O Raja, have no anxiety. I shall make men of all four castes my Singhs (lions) and destroy the Mughals".\(^1\)

In Macauliffe's words: 'the Guru's teaching had the magical effect of changing a pariah or outcaste through an interminable line of heredity into a brave and staunch soldier, as the history of the Sikh Mazhabi regiment conclusively proves'.\(^2\)

He adds: 'Prior to the time of the Sikh Guru no general ever conceived the idea of raising an army from men who were believed to be unclean and polluted from their birth'.\(^3\)

At this time the Guru paid an incognito visit to his kitchen and was not served when he asked for something to eat. Next day in open court he mentioned his visit and treatment, and the cooks were very much ashamed. He then ordered that every wandering Sikh who came to his door should at once receive food, and added: 'Charity is of all gifts the greatest, for it saveth life'.\(^4\)

The Guru's mother was becoming anxious about the Guru's frequent silences, and she asked what the reason was, he replied, 'Mother dear, I will tell thee my secret. I have been considering how I may confer

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3 ibid., p.100.

4 ibid., p.105.
empire on the Khalsa.  

The Guru prescribed convivial rules as a preliminary measure to his great enterprise: wherever he had a kitchen it should be considered God's own, and no Sikh refused on ground of caste, the objector would be excommunicated, and a prayer was to be made before the distribution of the sacred food; after meals, the first stanza of the fifth Ashtapadi of the Sukhmani should be recited in thanksgiving.  

The Guru also prescribed some general rules: suitable prayers to be recited at the beginning of every enterprise; to assist one another at all times; practice of riding and exercise of arms. He promised his Sikhs the sovereignty of India, if they followed his instruction.

He who cast a covetous eye on his neighbour's property should go to hell; but he who assisted a Sikh to complete any worthy or noble undertaking should obtain spiritual reward. When asked about marriage relations he quoted the instruction of his father Guru Teg Bahadur to him:—'0 son, as long as there is life in thy body, make thy sacred duty ever to love thine own wife more and more. Approach not another woman's couch either by mistake or even in a dream. Know that the love of another's wife is as sharp dagger ... They who think it great cleverness to enjoy another's wife, shall in the end die the death of

2 Ibid., p.109.
As the Guru's power daily increased, the hill chiefs considered it to their advantage to have an ambassador at his court, who would keep them informed of his movements.

Once when the Guru overheard two Sikhs quarrelling over a debt of seven rupees and quoting Gurus' verses at each other, he intervened by reminding them of Guru Nanak's lines against dishonesty. The debtor became repentant and returned the money and asked the Guru's pardon. It was on this occasion that the Guru first announced his Muktnama or means of salvation: 'O Sikh, borrow not, if you are compelled to borrow, faithfully restore the debt. Speak not falsely and associate not with the untruthful. Associating with holy men, practise and love truth. Live by honest labour and deceive no one. Repeat the Japji and the Japji before eating. Look not on a naked woman; let not your thoughts turn towards that sex. Cohabit not with another's wife. Deem another's property as filth. Keep your bodies clean. Have dealings with everyone, but consider yourself distinct. Your faith and daily duties are different from theirs. Bathe every morning before repast; if your bodies endure not cold water, then heat it. Ever abstain from tobacco. Remember the one immortal God. Repeat the Sahiras in the evening and Sohila at bedtime. Receive the baptism and teaching of the Guru, and act according to the Granth Sahib.

2 ibid., p.114.
... Wander not in search of another religion. Repeat the Guru's hymns day and night. Marry only in the house of a Sikh. Preserve thy wife and children from evil company. Covet no money offered for religious purposes. Habitually attend a Sikh temple and eat a little sacred food therefrom. He who distributeth sacred food should do so in equal quantities, to high or low, old or young. Eat not food offered to gods or goddesses. Despise not any Sikh, and never address him without the appellation Singh. Eat regardless of caste with all the Sikhs who have been baptized, and deem them your brethren. Abandon at once the company of Brahmans and Kulas who cheat men out of their wealth, of ritualists who lead Sikhs astray and of those who give women in marriage with concealed physical defects, and thus deceive the hopes of offspring.

Let not a Sikh have intercourse with a strange woman, unless married to her according to the Sikh rites. Let him contribute a tenth part of his earnings for religious purposes. Let him bow at the conclusion of prayer. When a Sikh dieth, let sacred food be prepared. After his cremation let the Sohila be read and prayer offered for his soul and for the consolation of his relations. Then sacred food may be distributed. Let not the family of the deceased indulge in much mourning, or bevies of women join in lamentation. On such occasions let the Guru's hymns be read and sung, and let all listen to them. Worship not an idol, and drink not the water in which it hath been bathed. The rules of caste and of the stages of Hindu life are erroneous. O Sikhs, listen to me and adopt not the ceremonies of the
Hindus for the supposed advantages of the manes of ancestors.

To him who abides by these rules, the Guru will grant a position which no one has yet been able to attain and which was beyond the conception of Sankaracharya, Dattatre, Ramanuj, Gorakh and Muhammad. Whoever accepted the Guru's words and these only shall have his sins pardoned. He shall be saved from transmigration through the eighty-four lakhs of animals and after death shall enter the Guru's abode.¹

When a Sikh went to the Guru to complain that his wife, being infatuated with a Moslem, wished to embrace his religion, the Guru said that it was the duty of all Sikhs to give their wives religious instruction, and his wife should return to her religion on receiving it.² He also showed tolerance of non-Sikh compositions for 'when simple men sing verses which lead to reconciliation with Him, it is not one's duty to spurn them - for it can do no harm to listen to a story with a moral'.³

The Guru thought it prudent to be always prepared for war. One day when the Guru was hunting in the Dun, two hill chiefs decided to surprise and capture him; although the Sikhs were few, one of the hill chiefs was killed and the other lost his arm and their army fled.⁴

After this defeat the hill chiefs considered it highly dangerous to allow the Sikhs to grow in power and number, and complained to the

² ibid., p.119.
³ ibid., p.119.
⁴ ibid., p.120.
imperial government - when Aurangzeb was still in south India - that
the Guru had been instigating them to rebellion as a revenge for his
father's death. They were unable to contain him so they were seeking
imperial protection. They feared that the Guru's next assault would
be on Delhi. ¹

A Qazi, called Salar Din, came to visit the Guru and reminded
him of the Sikh and Moslem belief in destiny, to which the Guru replied,
'Destiny is as the reversed letter on a seal. I bless those who bow
to the Guru. The letters of their destiny then present their ordinary
appearance'² - thus showing that the Sikhs need not believe in the
controlling power of destiny.³ Once Guru reminded his Sikhs of the
need to serve holy men, for without it 'man's body is as unclean as
the limbs of a corpse from which all shrink and which all fear to
touch.'⁴

The imperial answer to the hill rajas' petition was received in
due course. The viceroy asked them to pay the expenses of the imperial
army before it could be sent against the Guru. The rajas sent the
necessary funds. The viceroy sent for Generals Din Beg and Painda
Khan - each commanding five thousand men - and ordered them to stop
the Guru's encroachments on the rights of the hill rajas.⁵

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, pp.120-122.
² ibid., p.122.
³ ibid., p.122.
⁴ ibid., p.123.
⁵ ibid., p.124.
The troops of the hill chiefs joined the imperial army at Ropar. The hill rajas were prepared to let the Guru remain in Anandpur, if he offered no resistance and showed his loyalty for the future.  

The Guru's men were soon armed; he appointed the Five Beloved Sikhs as generals. The Guru himself went among the troops and gave them encouragement. Painda Khan seeing the resistance of the Sikhs, declared it a religious war and asked his men to fight the infidels to death. Painda Khan invited the Guru to a personal combat, and to strike the first blow. But the Guru said he had vowed not to strike except in self-defence. When his turn came, the Guru shot an arrow with such unerring aim into Painda Khan's ear - the rest of his body was encased in armour - that he fell dead from his horse.  

Din Beg became the sole commander, and his troops, maddened by Painda Khan's death, fought desperately, but did not make any impression on the solid ranks of the Sikhs. Ajmer Chand and other hill chiefs prepared for flight; by this time Din Beg was severely wounded, and when he saw them fleeing, he decided to beat a retreat. He was pursued by the Sikhs as far as Ropar. They returned on being recalled by the Guru, but took horses, arms and a vast booty from the Mohammedans.  

The Guru continued to keep his army prepared for defence; and

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2 ibid., p.125.
3 ibid., pp.125-126.
sent for armourers to make muskets, swords and arrows, and filled his magazine with gunpowder and lead. He also proclaimed that all Sikhs who came to visit should bring weapons as offerings; many came to join his army. He baptized all who came, and 'infused into them the spirit of the Khalsa'.

1

The hill rajas at first thought of seeking imperial assistance once again, but changed their mind when Raja Bliup Chand of Handur suggested that if they all contributed a contingent, they could have an army larger than they needed to subjugate the Guru and his Sikhs; and added, as a practical measure, that they should lay a siege on the Guru's capital and starve its population into submission.

2

When the allied army arrived near the city, the rajas sent a letter to the Guru asking him to pay rent for the land of Anandpur as his father had done, and to undertake to pay regularly every year in future. The Guru in reply said that his father had bought the land and 'now the only further payment you deserve is the sword'. And added 'if you can deprive me of Anandpur, you shall have it with bullets added thereto'; and asked them to seek his and Khalsa's protection and be happy in both worlds.

3

Next morning the rajas, realizing that the Guru would neither make peace nor surrender, beat the drums of war. Within Anandpur were two

2 ibid., pp.126-127.
3 ibid., p.128.
4 ibid., p.128.
forts, one called Fatehgarh and the other Lohgarh, and the Guru addressed his men: '... if you die fighting you shall enjoy all the happiness reserved for martyrs, and if you survive and gain the victory, empire shall be yours'; and ordered them to be on the defensive as much as possible. Ajit Singh, the Guru's eldest son now grown to manhood, offered his services and the Guru gave him command of one hundred.

The hill chiefs had the support of Ranghars and Gujars, who were their subjects and traditional enemies of the Sikhs. In the first battle they were, however, reduced to half their number, and their leader was killed by a musket-shot, and one of the Sikhs planted the Guru's standard on the spot as an indication that the Sikhs would neither move themselves nor allow their enemies to remove the body. The Raja of Kangra came to remove the standard and 'a terrific slaughter ensued between the two armies', but the Sikhs kept possession of the body. When the armies retired for the night, the Guru complimented his son and Sahib Singh, who had killed Jagatullah, the leader of the Ranghars and Gujars, on their success and bravery. But the result of the battle dismayed the hill chiefs and some of them considered abandoning the fight. Next morning the hill troops concentrated on one particular
part of the city. The fighting varied till the afternoon, when Ajit Singh joined in. When his horse was killed he fought on foot, and the Sikhs caught his enthusiasm, with the result that the hill troops began to retreat. They now saw clearly that they could not overpower the Sikhs and must trust to time and the starving of the garrison for success. The siege lasted about two months. The Sikhs killed several of the hill chiefs in a mighty sortie. An elephant was intoxicated and prepared for an attack on Anandpur. All his body, except the tip of his trunk, was encased in steel. A strong spear projecting from his forehead, he led the hill rajas and their armies. The Guru asked Vichitar Singh, one of his bravest and most powerful soldiers, to become his elephant and he consented; and then the Guru asked someone to volunteer to cut off Raja Kesari Chand's head, the man responsible for sending the elephant, and Ude Singh offered himself.

Men, in those days, were trained to grapple, even without weapons, with elephants; and Vichitar Singh drove his lance through the elephant's head-armour, and the animal turned round on the hill soldiers and killed several of them. Meanwhile Ude Singh continued to advance on Kesari Chand, who infuriated with his taunts, shot an arrow which lodged in Ude Singh's saddle-cloth. Ude Singh then cut off his head with one stroke of his sword, and taking the head on his spear, rode

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2 ibid., p.132.
3 ibid., p.134.
4 ibid., p.134, fn.1.
back into the fort. The Sikhs, on seeing this, rallied and cut off
the foot soldiers within reach. Muhakam Singh, one of the Guru's Five
Beloved, severed the mad elephant's trunk - and it hastened to the
Satlej to end its pains by self-destruction. The remainder of the hill-
army fled, pursued by the Sikhs. The next day it rallied again on
being encouraged by the Raja of Kangra, Chunmand Chand; but the Raja
of Manda advised peace. He was killed by a chance bullet - while
resting in his tent the following evening. All the hill chiefs became
disheartened; even Raja Ajmer Chand their leader, though last to go,
left Anandpur in the dead of night. But he dispatched an envoy to
Wasir Khan, the Emperor's viceroy in Sirhind and another to the viceroy
of Delhi for their help in expelling the Guru.

The two viceroys made a joint presentation to the Emperor against
the Guru. At that time some wandering minstrels happened to be visiting
the Emperor's camp, and the Emperor ordered them to imitate the Sikhs.
Though their performance was an obvious travesty, they gave a clear
impression of the popular view of Sikhs' love for one another. The
Emperor concluded that they had become a formidable power and decided
to crush them, and ordered the viceroy of Sirhind to expel the Guru
from Anandpur.

After the Guru's victory over the hill rajas his disciples and

2 ibid., p.136.
3 ibid., pp.136-137.
array both increased, and to add to his style and dignity he ordered that his bodyguard should wear arrows tipped with gold worth sixteen rupees each.¹

When the Guru heard of the approach of a large imperial army, he considered it expedient to meet them on open ground; and went to Mirzoh, a village near Kiratpur.

Raja Ajmer Chand and the Raja of Kangra decided to seize the Guru then, as he had no fort to protect him, not to wait for the imperial army to arrive. Both sides were prepared for battle, and after a fierce combat, the Sikhs won.²

The imperial troops arrived. The Guru found himself in a very dangerous position between the hill chiefs on one side and the imperial army on the other. He decided, however, to defend himself where he was, and his Sikhs resolved to stand faithfully and valiantly by him.³

Wazir Khan gave orders to his Sikhs to make a sudden rush and seize the Guru. The Guru was protected by his son and other Sikhs, and they checked the advance of the imperial troops. The fighting continued till darkness fell.⁴

The hill chiefs, in a council of war said to Wazir Khan that the Guru had tried to convert them forcibly, and had promised the Empire if they joined him in making war on the Emperor, and that they had

² ibid., p.138-139.
³ ibid., p.139.
⁴ ibid., p.140.
rejected his offers - because of their loyalty to the Emperor.\(^1\)

Next day the imperial and hill armies made such an assault on the Guru's troops that he felt obliged to retreat. The Guru decided to go to Basali, whose raja had frequently invited him, to save Anandpur from certain destruction.\(^1\) The Guru's departure signalled an attack by the imperial army and led to a general mêlée, and though the Sikhs were escaping, they were also destroying the enemy. After the Guru's army reached the Satlej, there was stubborn fighting, but the Guru succeeded in crossing the river and arrived at Basali. Wazir Khan did not pursue the Guru.\(^2\)

The Guru did not take long in deciding to return to Anandpur, and had the drum beaten for the march.\(^3\) The hill chiefs were taken by surprise, and did not resist. The inhabitants of Anandpur were delighted on seeing the Guru again, and there was a magnificent scene of rejoicing.\(^4\) Raja Ajmer Chand, the Guru's most persistent enemy, finding him firmly established in Anandpur, decided to negotiate peace. The Guru accepted his offer, and the Raja sent his family priest with suitable presents to the Guru. The other chiefs followed his example.\(^5\)

In a conversation the Guru remarked that the repetition of one of the Guru's hymns would take the soul to heaven, 'he who speaketh truth,

\(^{1}\) Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.140.
\(^{2}\) ibid., p.141.
\(^{3}\) ibid., p.142.
\(^{4}\) ibid., p.142.
\(^{5}\) ibid., p.142.
who serveth the congregation of saints and who had confidence in the Guru's hymns is my Sikh, and shall forever abide in bliss'.

Several Sikhs, from the north of the Punjab, came to visit the Guru and present their offerings. A Sikh from Rohtas¹ thought that the best present he could give to the Guru was his daughter Sahib Devi.² He accordingly brought her on a palanquin, but the Guru was reluctant to marry again, and said he had given up family life. The father was disappointed, which made the Guru tell him to ask her if she would serve him. She agreed, and the Guru baptized her as Sahib Kaur and sent her to his mother's apartments. One day, as she was shampooing him, he asked her if she had any request. She replied, as her two co-wives had sons, she too wanted a son to call her own. The Guru replied, 'I will give thee a son who will abide for ever. I will put the whole Khalsa into thy lap'. It was not an uncommon thing for a Sikh to say afterwards that his father was Guru Gobind Singh and his mother Sahib Kaur; that he was born in Patna and lived in Anandpur. In fact they were enjoined to give these answers at the time of baptism.³

Raja Ajmer Chand, though professing peace, determined to expel the Guru again. He sent a Brahman as his ambassador to the Guru's court. The Guru well understood his designs, but maintained a semblance

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.143. Either the one in Punjab or Bihar depending on the chronicle. Bhai Sukha Singh makes this event happen when the Guru was on his way to south India, then, according to Macauliffe, it might be Rohtas, Bihar.

² ibid. From her surname it seems more possible that she came from Bihar.

³ ibid., pp.143-144.
of friendship with him. The Brahman wrote to his master of the excellent and confidential relations between him and the Guru, and asked him to send some dexterous persons to steal the Guru's horses. The Brahman also had his eye on the Guru's treasury. The Raja sent some expert thieves who succeeded in stealing two of the Guru's favourite chargers.

The Brahman suggested to the Guru that he should visit the fair of Rawalsir near Mandi, to cement the friendly relations with the hill chiefs who would be attending the fair. The Guru's family also pressed him to go. He agreed to meet the wishes of the majority, and, at the fair, he ordered a magnificent reception for the hill chiefs. They were all charmed with him and asked him to forget and forgive their former offences. The reply, as usual, was that the Guru would treat them as they deserved.¹

While the Guru was thus engaged, the Brahmins were undoing his religious efforts. The Guru on coming to know this, arranged a general feast for both Brahmins and Sikhs; but the Brahmins refused to attend, and reproached him with having taken away the distinguishing marks of the Hindus. When the Sikhs were feasting, he said that as the Brahmins had forsaken him, so would he forsake them. He broke off all relations with them. To some of his own people, who seemed to be disaffected, he said that if they remained on good terms with the Khalsa they

should always be happy - otherwise there was only sorrow. He had
given everything to the Khalsa - spiritual and temporal power, enter­
prise, glory, self-devotion, skill in arms, and, by these, they should
acquire empire. 1

His Sikhs were one day discussing idolatry. The Guru, when asked
to give his opinion, said 'All worship is valueless without love. The
worship of images is unreal: the worship of God alone is real. Let my
Sikhs ever meditate on the Immortal God and worship none besides. Let
them ever practise arms, and they may be enabled to defend themselves
against their enemies'. 2

On another occasion the Guru gave the following reply to questions
put to him by his Sikhs:-

'He who thinketh of the future is
accepted as the Guru's disciple.
Famine is bad and bad is cold, bad is
the love of a courtesan.
Bad are debt and falsehood; utter the truth
my friends'.

The Guru further advised his Sikhs not to employ an enemy as a
doctor, not to listen to astrologers, to avoid greed, and to consider
wealth unreal as a dream. Ending his discourse he said 'Let my Sikhs
eschew evil, adopt what is good and have confidence in me'. 3

The Guru addressed the following words to one Har Gopal, who at

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2 ibid., p.148.
3 ibid., p.148.
first had not believed in the Guru and lost all his wealth in financial speculation and then came back to ask his forgiveness: 'Thou oughtest to have had confidence in my words. He who believeth that the ten Gurus are all the same is a Sikh of mine. Look on the hymns of the Granth as the embodiment of the true Guru. Put faith in the Guru, and becoming a Sikh perform they worldly duties. With humble words induct others into the faith, and give thy daughter to a Sikh. Let him who is a Sikh according to the old rite, marry his daughter to him who is a Sikh according to the new rites. If a Sikh cannot find a husband according to the new rites for his daughter, then let him give her to him who is a Sikh according to the old rites, but willing to receive Sikh baptism. Let a Sikh receive instruction from another Sikh, and not consider whether he is of high or low degree. Look on his as a good Sikh who thinketh not of caste or lineage. Let a Sikh be honest in his dealings, and pray for him, who affordeth him maintenance. Whoever of the rank of Sikh committed treachery shall find no place of rest.

'Love the Name; repeat it in thine innermost heart; teach the Name. In the Name's happiness, the Name is a generous companion. He who liveth for his religion, who eateth only to support his body, who walketh in the Guru's way, and who is not enamoured of the world, is my friend. As when a traveller goeth to a foreign land and is ever hoping for the end of his journey, so should man hope for man's final

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1 For the story see Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, pp.148-149.
repose by doing good works and remaining estranged from the world.
Listen to me, my friend, and ever be ready to leave this life. Thou
and I shall depart. This is not a new ordinance.¹

One day the Guru's wife Jito said to him that as he bestowed
deliverance, union with God and worldly blessings on his Sikhs, she
also wanted to partake of his gifts. The Guru told her to continually
repeat naa.govru with fixed attention, and she should obtain what her
heart desired. After some time when she had gained a knowledge of
the future by her devotion, she went to the Guru in great agitation
and said, 'Mercifully save thy children, for I foresee thou art going
to make them martyrs to thy cause'. The Guru replied, 'Is it to
reverse God's decree thou didst receive instruction from me? I
intendest that thou shouldst abandon worldly love, but it hath increased
all the more'.

Jito, understanding that the Guru did not intend to save the
lives of his children, said she was going to die as she could not bear
to see their death. The Guru said, 'It is well; thou mayest go; thy
children shall follow thee. Death is the law of all bodies ... all
must sooner or later pay the death they owe'. Upon this, it is said,
Jito permanently suspended her breath, and her soul took flight to
heaven.²

One day when an expression used by Guru Har Rai - that the

¹ Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.150.
² ibid., p.151.
vessel which Guru Nanak had constructed for the salvation of the world had almost foundered - was repeated. Guru Gobind Singh vowed that he would repair it and gave the following instruction to the assembled Sikhs:

'I have established the Khalsa for the advancement of true religion. Let not my Sikhs live on religious offerings. He who bound by greed obeyeth me not in this shall be born again as a hog. Religious offerings have the same dissolving effect on men's minds as borax on gold'.

'Let those who are baptized according to my rites bear arms and live according to their means. Let them remain true to their sovereign in the battlefield, and not turn their backs to the foe. Let them face and repel their enemies, and they shall obtain both glory in this world and the heroes' heaven in the next. He who fleeth from the battlefield shall be dishonoured in this world, and when he dieth shall be punished for his cowardice, and nowhere shall he obtain a state of happiness. Let the members of the Khalsa associate with one another and love one another irrespective of tribe or caste. Let them hearken to the Guru's instruction, and let their minds be thoroughly imbued with it'.

It is said that, as the Guru was one day hunting, he came upon a field of tobacco. He stopped his horse and expressed his hatred of the plant for, he said, it burned the chest, induced nervousness,

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palpitation, bronchitis and other diseases, and finally caused death. He concluded his discourse with the dictum: 'Wine is bad, bhang destroyeth one generation, but tobacco destroyeth all generations'.

Two Mohammedan generals, Saiyad Beg and Alif Khan were approached while on their way from Lahore to Delhi, by Ajmer Chand to assist him in his attack on the Guru. The generals agreed on a fee of a thousand rupees per day. Saiyad Beg, however, changed his mind on hearing good reports of the Guru and his Sikhs, and withdrew his troops. The battle began with great fury between the Guru's and Alif Khan's forces; at a critical moment Saiyad Khan approached the Sikhs and said he would fight on their side. Alif Khan, seeing the defection of Saiyad Khan, decided that he had no chance of a victory. He was hotly pursued by the Sikhs and Saiyad Khan, when he returned, made his obeisance to the Guru, and remained the Guru's trusted and powerful ally.

Raja Ajmer Chand and his allies again addressed a joint letter to the Guru saying that they had lived peaceably together for sometime, but found he would not cease aggression and they were, therefore, obliged to declare war on him. The Guru's reply was brief, repeating that his Sikhs fought only those who wantonly annoyed them. It ended with: 'Come and see the power of the Khalsa'.

The hill chiefs marched immediately, it is said, with ten thousand

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3 ibid., pp.154-155.
men. Saiyad-Beg's army had not stayed with him, so the Guru's forces were not more than eight hundred men. In earlier battles it seems the Sikhs had been behind their battlements and embrasures, but this time they came out in an open field outside Anandpur.\(^1\) Raja Ajmer Chand retired from the battle in despair, after seeing the Sikhs' power and the carnage. The other chief fought on, but took themselves to the rear of their troops.\(^2\) Their front troops, however, retreated in face of musket-fire and arrows.\(^3\) The Sikhs, flushed with victory, forgot the Guru's orders and pursued the fleeing army. In displeasure the Guru rode back to Anandpur, and his troops seeing him gone, returned, pursued in their turn by the enemy. The Guru refused to speak to them, but relented on the entreaties of one of the bravest of them, and ordered them to fight back. There was a frightful slaughter, and the hill troops fled without heeding their commander. The battle was done, and both sides returned to their homes.\(^4\)

Raja Ajmer Chand was not satisfied; he again proposed to fight the Guru, this time with imperial assistance. An envoy was sent to Emperor Aurangzeb with a large tribute as price for his assistance and protection.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.155.
\(^2\) ibid., p.155.
\(^3\) ibid., p.155.
\(^4\) ibid., pp.155-156.
\(^5\) ibid., p.156.
Meanwhile there was great rejoicing in the Guru's camp and the wounded were carefully attended to. A visitor to the Guru's camp asked him how the Sikhs could contend with the Muhammadans and Hindus who were so numerous much less obtain an empire. The Guru replied, 'What God willeth shall take place. When the army of the Turks cometh my Sikhs shall strike steel on steel. The Khalsa shall then awake, and know the play of battle. Amid the clash of arms the Khalsa shall be partners in present and future bliss, tranquillity, meditation, virtue and divine knowledge. Then shall the English come, and joined by the Khalsa rule as well in the East as in the West.'

The Emperor in response to the repeated representations of the hill chiefs sent a large army under Saiyid Khan to reduce the Guru to submission. When he received intelligence that the army had arrived in Thanesar, he took count of his troops and found only five hundred men, the rest had gone home. There was no choice but to make the best defence he could.

At first there was a personal combat between a hill chief and Saiyid Beg, and Saiyid Beg decapitated the chief. Then Din Beg of the imperial army rushed at him, and Saiyad died praising the Guru. This was followed by a general engagement.

The imperial general, Saiyid Khan, had long been a secret friend

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2 ibid., p.162.
3 ibid., p.162.
of the Guru, and when he heard that an expedition was to be sent against him, contrived to be put in command of it, so that he might at last be able to behold the great priest of the Sikhs, and do him good service. The Guru knowing what was passing in his mind said to him 'If thou attack me not, I will not attack thee'. Saiyad Khan said that he was the Guru's servant and slave and he would never fight against him. The Guru replied, 'I am a poor man. It is only rich men who have slaves. To conquer in war is ever held honourable'.

Saiyad Khan however was unable to restrain or direct his troops to assist the Guru. Ramzan Khan took command of the imperial forces now and he fought with great bravery. The Guru then shot his horse dead with an arrow; but, on seeing the combat, decided to evacuate the Anandpur as there was no chance of retrieving his position. The Mohammedans captured the city and plundered the Guru's property, and moved on towards Sarhind. When the same Sikhs asked the Guru's permission to follow them, the Guru replied that as his Sikhs were subservient to him, he was subservient to God and repeated the third couplet (slok) of Asa Ki War, thus signifying that he accepted God's will in his defeat and feared Him at all times, as all creation did. But the Sikhs insisted, and the Guru at last yielded and allowed them to pursue the enemy, who were unprepared for this attack and became confused at being pursued by the men whom they thought they had defeated. The Sikhs succeeded in killing all those who turned to oppose them, and in addition recovered all the booty. The remnant of the imperial army

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The Court qazi advised the Emperor to have the Guru brought before him by some stratagem. The Emperor accordingly sent a somewhat threatening message, to which the Guru replied: 'My brother, the Sovereign who hath made thee emperor hath sent me into the world to do justice. He hath commissioned thee also to do justice, but thou hast forgotten this mandate and practisest hypocrisy. Therefore how can I be on good terms with thee who pursuest the Hindus with blind hatred?'

The Sikhs of Lalwa and Nanjha districts now thronged to the Guru to learn the science of war, while Raja Ajmer Chand distressed at the increasing power and glory of the Sikhs induced other hill chiefs to join him in another complaint against the Guru. He went himself to see the Emperor in south India, and Aurangzeb fearing that the Guru would become too powerful, and displeased with the unrest in the Punjab, ordered the dispatch of all available troops under the viceroys of Delhi, Sarhind, and Lahore against the Guru, who was to be captured and brought before the Emperor. The Delhi Viceroy however, was not in a position to send any troops against the Guru.

The Guru was informed of the development, and the Guru spoke to his troops on the duty of religious warfare against the Muhammadans,

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2 ibid., p. 165.
3 ibid., pp. 165-166.
and reminded them of the persecution of Guru Arjan and the enmity of the emperors against his successors. 'Death in battle was equal to many years of devotion, and deserved honour and glory in the next world'. The time of Diwali festival was approaching and the Guru asked absent Sikhs to bring arms and to assist him. They generally obeyed him and warlike preparations began at Anandpur.

The army of the hill chiefs was formidable, but was only half the number of the imperial army, which was commanded by Wazir Khan. The Sikhs were delighted by the prospect of war, and congratulated themselves on their good fortune in being allowed to die for their Guru. Every kind of weapon was served out and the Guru took the precaution of stocking up supplies in the event of a siege.

Wazir Khan's troops advanced 'like a surging sea' from Sirhind, and in similar 'formidable array' came the troops of the viceroy of Lahore to Ropar; there they were met by the hill troops - and all moved to Anandpur. The Guru on seeing the approaching armies ordered his artillery-men to discharge their cannons into their thickest assembly. The enemy were quickly restrained from capturing the artillery by their accuracy; meanwhile the Sikh cavalry charged and

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2 ibid., p.166.
3 For names of the hill chiefs who were arrayed against the Guru see p.166.
4 ibid., pp.166-167.
5 ibid., p.168.
fired their muskets at close quarters, and they were well supported by infantry, who manned embrasures. The attacking armies had no protection, and they fell in heaps before the city; but the battle continued with terrific violence.\(^1\)

On a muster it was found that nine hundred men of the Mohammedan armies had died at the end of the first day.\(^2\) The hill chiefs suggested that they should bring cannon to batter down the fort.\(^3\) Next day the Guru mounted his charger and led his troops. The viceroy's observed 'a warrior mounted on a sable steed with a gold embroidered saddle, he carried a bow painted green; and his crest set with jewels glittered on his turban'. They were informed by Ajmer Chand that it was the Guru.\(^4\) They ordered their troops to kill the Guru, but whether aiming high or low, they always missed, so they decided to charge the Guru and his Sikhs. The Guru, seeing this, began to discharge his arrows with great effect; the fearful carnage of the earlier day was repeated.\(^5\) The viceroy's and hill chiefs decided at night to lay siege the next day and to starve the Sikhs into submission.\(^6\)

The allied armies attacked Anandpur again; they saw the Guru at a distance and directed their cannon towards him. The Sikhs were

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\(^1\) Macauliffe, op. cit., p.168.
\(^2\) ibid., p.169.
\(^3\) ibid., p.169.
\(^4\) ibid., pp.169-170.
\(^5\) ibid., p.170.
\(^6\) ibid., p.170.
disconcerted by it, and asked the Guru to take a less exposed position. The Guru replied that he wore the armour of the immortal God. The allied armies fired their cannon hundreds of times throughout the day but were unsuccessful.

The city of Anandpur was completely besieged, and the Guru's supplies were failing. The enemy noticed that the Sikh guards went twice a day from their embrasures to pray and do homage to their Guru, who in turn kept an eye on the proceedings of the allied armies. One day he saw the generals playing Indian draughts. The Guru taking up his bow discharged an arrow into the midst. They knew by its golden tip that it belonged to the Guru. They confessed that only a miracle could have sent it such a distance. The Guru knew by his occult power what they were saying, and wrote them a letter saying that it was not a miracle; miracle is a name for the wrath of God. He was only practising archery, and 'brave men do not conceal their accomplishments'. 'Everything is in God's hands, whether He desireth to make what is difficult easy or what is easy difficult'. The Guru attached this letter to an arrow and discharged it. The generals were astonished that he could have divined their conversation. It is said, they admitted his supernatural power and prayed to heaven to preserve them from his 'unerring shafts and his unsurpassed knowledge of warfare'.

On one occasion when it was observed that the enemy had come

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2 ibid., p.171.
3 ibid., pp.171-172.
very close to the city and far away from the defences, the Sikhs served out arms at dead of night and played a great havoc among them; and they being aroused but not seeing where the destruction had come from, began to slaughter each other.¹

The Muhammadan generals threatened to leave Ajmer Chand and his people to the mercy of the Sikhs, but on being offered large presents, agreed to renew the conflict.

Next day they advanced to take the citadel by storm, but the fire of two great guns of the Sikhs compelled them to flee. That evening the Guru offered thanksgiving, beat the drum of victory, and put his cannon into a place of shelter.²

The Sikhs used to make mighty sorties and take supplies from the enemy's camp. In one of these sorties, one of them fainted and the Muhammadans captured him, shaved off his hair and made him eat their food, repeat their creed, and finally circumcised him. They then allowed him to escape. When he returned and informed the Guru and prayed to be taken back, the Guru inquired if he had cohabited with a Mohammedan woman. When he said he had not, the Guru ordered him to prepare sacred food and distribute it among the Sikhs and his reconversion should be complete. The Guru explained that forcible conversion of a Sikh was invalid, but if a Sikh became a Mohammedan from motives of sensuality, he should lose 'his happiness here and hereafter'.³

² ibid., p.173.
³ ibid., p.174.
The siege, however, was continuing, and several people now deserted Anandpur. The troops remained but several malcontents complained to the Guru's mother. The Guru told her 'Having obtained the order of the immortal God, my object is to increase and not diminish the numbers of my religion. It is by enduring hunger and hardship my Sikhs become strong and brave'.

Until then they had water from a hill stream, but Ajmer Chand discovered it and cut it off. When the Guru was informed of this, he said the Satlej would for the future supply the water, and the enemy would have no advantage from the stream they had diverted. The hardships of the troops and civilians at Anandpur increased; their ration was reduced to a quarter pound of corn per day, and sometimes to nothing at all. They occasionally made foraging expeditions at night, and fought hard for small booty. When this was exhausted, they ground the bark of trees and made it into bread. They also lived on leaves and whatever fruit and flowers they could collect. It is said that in spite of it, they continued to keep heart and defend their city.

The Chiefs again formed a plan to induce the Guru to leave Anandpur. They promised to withdraw their armies if he did, and said that the Guru might return whenever he pleased. The Guru rejected this proposal but Ajmer Chand sent an envoy in open court. The Sikhs who heard it urged the Guru's mother to use her influence with him. The

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1 Lacauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.175.
2 ibid., p.176.
Guru told her that the hillmen were idolaters and false. 'Their intellect is like that of the stones they worship; the Turks are equally evil. Their false Lord will destroy them all'. But he was unable to convince his mother of the wisdom of his course of action.

He then thought of a plan which would show up the hillmen's treachery. He sent for the envoy and told him that he would evacuate the city if the hill armies would allow his property to be sent first. He asked his treasurer to have all the old shoes, clothes and horse-dung and other offal found in the bazaar to be loaded in sacks and put on pack-bullocks. A piece of brocade was to be laid on each sack to make the contents appear valuable; and torches were attached to the bullocks' horns. It was arranged that the bullocks were to leave in the dead of night. The brilliant procession naturally did not escape the envoy's notice; six thousand of them were in ambush to plunder the supposed property of the Guru. The Sikhs, on discovering this, discharged their cannon and caused great destruction. All the sacks were captured and both the hillmen and Mohammedans discovered the contents, and the Guru took the opportunity to demonstrate his own forethought and the treachery of the enemy. He told his troops that everything they had endured had been by the will of God and he quoted Guru Nanak:

'Happiness is a disease, the remedy for which is unhappiness'.

2 ibid., p. 178.
3 ibid., p. 179.
At last a handwritten letter from the Emperor came promising that he would not harm the Guru; and inviting him to cease fighting and see him or to go anywhere he pleased if he did not wish to see the Emperor. 1

The Guru treated this letter with contempt, 2 and when the imperial generals and the rajas heard this, they decided to request the Guru's mother to evacuate with her grandchildren, hoping that the Guru would follow if he found himself alone. 3

The Sikhs supported the hill chiefs' envoy and the Guru asked them to wait for three weeks or at least for five days when they would have food to their hearts' content. 4 He was in fact expecting reinforcements from the Halwa Sikhs, but they arrived too late for the defence of Anandpur. They refused to wait for even a day. The Guru said if they left now they would all inevitably be killed. 5

Earlier the Guru had told them that if they insisted in leaving they should give him a statement in writing that they had totally renounced him, and he would not feel responsible for them. 6 The Sikhs after much hesitation and reflection, decided to do so. 7

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2 ibid., p.179.
3 ibid., p.180.
4 ibid., p.182.
5 ibid., p.182, incl. for 1.
6 ibid., p.179.
7 ibid., p.183.
mother left with her two youngest grandchildren, Jujhar Singh and Fateh Singh. On seeing her depart, the Sikhs began to waver in their allegiance to the Guru. In the end only forty Sikhs remained with him.\(^1\)

When the Guru found himself alone, he set fire to his tents and other inflammable articles; what could not be burnt, he buried in the earth; then gave orders to his men to march all night eastwards as far as their strength would allow.\(^2\)

Accompanying the Guru were Daya Singh, Ude Singh, the second batch of baptized Sikhs, and his sons, Ajit Singh and Zorawar Singh; the servants and camp followers made up five hundred in number.\(^3\)

The Guru marched by Kiratpur and then to Kirmoh. He sent a letter to the Raja of Sirmaur, requesting him to give his party a village to live in. From Kirmoh the Guru and his party proceeded to Ropar when the allied troops attacked the rearguard under Ajit Singh. Ude Singh asked permission to relieve him and was killed by the enemy who mistook him for the Guru.\(^4\)

The Guru sat down on the margin of a stream called Sarsa to await the result; when his son Ajit Singh was delayed in coming he sent Jiwan Singh to fetch him; but he was killed on the way. Before arriving at Ropar the Guru met his mother and his two youngest children.

\(^2\) ibid., p.135.
\(^3\) ibid., p.185.
\(^4\) ibid., p.185.
and advised them to proceed quickly on their journey. The Guru's mother met a Brahman - who had been the Guru's cook once - who offered his hospitality which she accepted. Her daughters-in-law remained in Ropar under the protection of a trusted Sikh.¹

The allied army continued to harass the Guru. He left some of his men to check their advance, and went himself with thirty five chosen men to Charmakaur.

Although he received intelligence that a fresh contingent of the imperial army was close at hand to capture him, he continued his journey. On arriving near the town he took refuge in a garden, and was joined by five of the Sikhs he had left at Ropar; all the others had been killed.²

The Guru asked a Jat farmer to give him a place of rest, but the Jat hesitated.

The Guru then arrested him and commandeered his house. He turned it into a miniature fort. The troops from Delhi eventually found his hide-out; and all the forces concentrated their attack on the Guru, and were joined by the Guru's ancient enemies, the tribes of Ranghars and Gujars.

The Guru appointed eight men to guard each of the four walls of the house; two held the door, and he himself, his two sons, Daya Singh and Sant Singh, the top storey - forty men in all, who had accompanied

¹ Lacauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.158.
² ibid., p.186.
the Guru, were thus deployed.\footnote{Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.137.}

Five Sikhs went to engage the enemy, and after fighting with great bravery they were killed. They were followed by others who were also killed. Daya Singh and others prayed the Guru to escape for if he was saved 'the seed of religion would remain'. Six more were killed; the Guru shot one of the newly arrived imperial officers who was trying to scale the little fort. They tried to rush and seize the Guru, but they failed for the Guru shot them down in numbers and held them at bay. The Guru's son Ajit Singh volunteered to fight and took five Sikhs with him. He broke his spear on a Mohammedan, the enemy then made a fresh attack and killed him while he was defenceless. On his death the Guru said, 'O God, it is Thou who sentest him, and he hath died fighting for his faith. The trust Thou gavest hath been restored to Thee'. The five Sikhs who had gone with Ajit Singh were also killed. The Guru's second son then went forward with five Sikhs and they too fell.\footnote{Ibid., pp.187-189.}

His remaining Sikhs seeing that there was no hope, urged the Guru to make his escape. He agreed and seated the five Sikhs - Daya Singh, Dharam Singh, Ran Singh, Sangat Singh and Sant Singh - near him, to entrust the Guruship to them. He said, 'I shall be ever among five Sikhs. Wherever there are five Sikhs of mine assembled they shall be priests of all priests. Wherever there is a sinner, five Sikhs can...
give him baptism and absolution. Great is the glory of five Sikhs, and whatever they do shall not be in vain. They, who give food and clothing to five Sikhs shall obtain from them the fulfilment of their desires.  

After this the Guru circumambulated them three times, laid his plume and crest in front of them, offered them his arms and cried out 'Sri Aahguru ji Ka Khalsa! Sri Vahguru ki Fatah!' Sant Singh and Sangat Singh offered to stay behind in the fort, while the other three insisted on accompanying the Guru. The Guru gave Sant Singh his plume and clothed him in his armour and seated him in the upper room where he had been. The Guru and his companions escaped during the night. He told them that if they separated, they should follow a particular star which he indicated.

Before leaving, the Guru said he would waken the enemy, so that they might not accuse him of absconding. The sentries became immediately alert, and he shot two arrows at them; the arrows at first struck the torches which they were carrying, then their bodies. In the darkness which followed the Guru and his party escaped, but did not go together; the Guru was barefoot.

The Muhammadans succeeded in scaling the building, and thought they were going at last to capture the Guru whose plume and arrow Sant Singh wore. The two Sikhs who had stayed behind in the house were

2 ibid., pp.189-190, translatable as "The God's pure Victory to God!"
3 ibid., p.190.
4 ibid., p.190.
beheaded and their heads sent to the Emperor. The Mohammedans were however much disappointed when they learnt that Sant Singh was a substitute, and the Guru had disappeared.

The armies then dispersed. Zabardast Khan, who was wounded in the battle, returned to Sirhind and Khwaja Mardud went with the remnant of his army to support the Emperor in his campaign in the south.

The Guru's three Sikhs followed the star the Guru had pointed out to them and they all four met at a place, called Bir Guru, between Ropar and Ludhiana. They found him sleeping with a waterpot for his pillow. When they woke him and told him that the enemy would probably be on them by day-break, the Guru said he could not save himself because of his blistered feet, and told them that they might shelter in a neighbouring garden. Man Singh took the Guru on his back and went there: the Guru round a Sikh called Gulaba, who gave him shelter in the top storey of his house. The Guru wanted meat the next day and a goat was provided and he killed it by shooting. Gulaba was alarmed as neighbouring Brahmans and Saiyids might have heard the report of the Guru. Two friendly Mohammedans, Ghani Khan and Kabi Khan, came to see the Guru, and he asked them to stay with him. Gulaba begged him to leave. It happened that while the Guru was in Gulaba's house

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2 ibid., pp. 190-191.
3 ibid., p. 191.
4 ibid., p. 192.
a Sikh woman who had vowed to give him the cloth which she had spun and woven herself when he came to her village. The Guru had the cloth dyed blue, and a robe and sheet made from it — like the dress of a Mohammedan pilgrim — and left Gulaba's house. He was borne on a litter by Ghani Khan and Habib Khan and the two Sikhs Man Singh and Dharm Singh with Daya waving a fan over him.

They told all enquirers that they were escorting Uch Ka Pir — which meant either high priest in general or priest of Uch, a well-known Mohammedan city in the Southern Punjab. They accidentally came upon a detachment of the imperial army at Lal in the Patiala State. The commander of the detachment suspected that the travelling priest was the Guru himself and determined to test his suspicion at a lavish dinner which he had ordered for the party; the Guru told his Sikhs to eat what the Mohammedan cooks had prepared and they did so after touching the food with their swords. A friendly officer said that the Guru was really Uch Ka Pir, and the General ordered the Guru's immediate release.

The Guru left the imperial army and went to Panech — in the eastern part of Ludhiana district — and on to Mehar, where Kripal, an Udas priest who had distinguished himself in the battle of Bhagam,
lived. He was afraid to keep the Guru with him, and advised him to move on to the villages of Lamma and Jatpura. At Hehar the Guru dismissed the two Mohammedans with presents and a letter of recommendation to the faithful. On the way the Guru met a Mohammedan called Kalha, a rich man and magistrate of two important towns in the Ludhiana district. Kalha entertained him at Jatpura, and the Guru requested him to send a messenger to Sirhind for news of his mother and his sons.¹

The messenger had a sad story to tell. Guru's mother had accepted the hospitality of a Brahmin who had with soft words invited her to his house; he stole her money and denounced her to the Chaudhuri or magistrate of the town, tempting him with the large reward offered for their delivery to the imperial authorities. They approached the next higher official at Ranghar and all three took the Guru's mother and the children to Wazir Khan, the viceroy of Sarhind, who ordered them to be imprisoned in a tower.

Wazir Khan offered the children an estate and marriage with daughters of chiefs, if they changed their faith. The children refused and were outspoken in their denunciation of the Viceroy who found it intolerable and had them killed. The Sikhs generally believe they were bricked into a wall, but the chronicles Suraj Prakash and Gur Bilas state that they were killed by the sword. The date was 13th of the month of Poh, Sambat year 1762 (A.D.1705).²

² Ibid., pp.196-198.
Their grandmother died of shock, saying 'What have I done to you, 0 children that you should have abandoned me to misery'. A rich Sikh, who came too late to ransom the children, cremated them and buried their ashes.

The Mohammedans, hearing that the Brahman who had betrayed the Guru's mother was rich, tortured him to death when they could not find the place where he had concealed his wealth.

While the Guru was listening to the messenger, he was digging up a shrub with his knife. He said, 'As I dig up this shrub by the roots, so shall the Turks be extirpated', and added that the roots of the Nawab of Maler Katla - who had spoken for the children - should still remain when the roots of the oppressive Turks were all dug up. His Sikhs should one day come and lay Sirhind waste.

The Guru continued on his journey to escape from the Mohammedans, and proceeded to Dina. On the way a Sikh presented him with a horse and a saddle. At Dina he met Shamira, Lakhmira and Takiit Mai, grandsons of Jodli Rai, who had served the sixth Guru in the battle of Gurusar. When the Guru told them that it was dangerous to entertain him, they made nothing of it and gave him hospitality. There the Guru gathered some fighting men, and was offered a horse and a dress by the descendants of Bhai Rupa, another associate of the sixth Guru.

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2 ibid., p.199.
3 ibid., pp.199-200.
4 ibid., p.200.
The Guru gave the presents to Shamira and told him that he should own land as far as he could course his horse. He and his family were sceptical - his uncle said if the Guru had been able to work miracles, he would not now be a fugitive - and he took his horse only round his own village - which as a result of his lack of faith remained the limit of possessions. ¹

When the viceroy of Sirhind heard that the Guru was the guest of Shamira and his brothers in Dina, he wrote to Shamira and ordered him to arrest and surrender the Guru. Shamira replied that he was only entertaining his priest, as the viceroy himself and anyone else might do, and also sent a spy to get information of the viceroy's movements in case he sent troops to arrest the Guru. The viceroy kept his troops ready but did not send them immediately. The Guru enlisted several men and prepared for his defence. ²

The Guru wrote his famous Zafarnama, or Persian epistle, to Aurangzeb, which began, as is usual in such compositions, with an Invocation to God. ³

In his address to the Emperor, the Guru wrote that he had no faith in the oath Aurangzeb had taken with God as witness. ⁴

About the battle of Chamkaur, he said, 'What could forty men do against the surprise attack by a hundred thousand'. ⁵ He was compelled

² ibid., p.261.
³ ibid., p.261.
to fight, because 'when an affair passeth beyond the regions of
diplomacy, it is lawful to have recourse to the sword.' Had I not
known that thou wert crafty and deceitful as a fox, I would never on
any account have come hither. He who cometh to me and sweareth on the
Quran ought not to kill or imprison me ... God who protected me showed
me to escape from mine enemies. There was not a hair of my head
touched, nor did I in any way suffer ... Thou hast no idea of what an
oath on the Quran is, and canst have no belief in Divine Providence'.

He then invited the Emperor to come to the village of Kangar -
'if he had spoken truly' - for an interview, and gave him a safe
conduct, for he said 'the whole tribe of Bairars from whom the Phulkian
chiefs and people are descended - were under him.' The Guru enjoined
him to act wisely, as he had remained behind like a coiled snake -
the more coils a snake had the more poison it contains - after his four
sons had been killed.

'God will grant thee the fruit of the evil deed thou didst
design'. 'Fortunate art Aurangzeb, King of King, expert swordsman
and rider. Handsome is thy person ... Thou art monarch of the world,
but far from thee is religion'.

2 ibid., p. 203.
3 ibid., p. 204, incl. fn. 1.
4 ibid., p. 205.
5 ibid., p. 205.
6 ibid., p. 205.
"When thou lookest to thine army and wealth, I look to God's praises", and ended with the sentence: 'If an enemy practise enmity a thousand times, he cannot, as long as God is a friend, injure even a hair of one's head'.

The Guru sent the letter by Daya Singh and Dharm Singh who had survived the battle of Chamkaur and escaped to Dina with the Guru. They disguised themselves as Mohammedan pilgrims for their journey to south India. At Delhi they stayed in the Sikh temple and received several Sikhs; next morning they set out for Agra, and then crossed the river Chambal to Ujjain. Crossing the Harbada, and via Burhanpur they reached Aurangabad. From there they came to Ahmadnagar where the Emperor was. There a Sikh told them it would be difficult to see the Emperor, and they said it did not matter; and asked him to summon all the Sikhs who came there to meet them and to hear their story. They told the gathered Sikhs of their mission and read a letter, specially addressed to them by the Guru.

Meanwhile the Guru was preparing for his defence. To protect the innocent villagers at Dina he camped in a neighbouring forest. From there he went on to the village of Bhagta in the Faridkot district after three days there he travelled to Wandar in Firozpur.

The Guru then went to the villages of Bahiwal and Sarawan and

2 ibid., pp. 206-207.
3 ibid., pp. 207-208.
billed his followers there. One Sikh was fed by a poor villager on a tiny fruit of the jal-tree. He told the Guru that he had dined excellently; when the Guru found out what he had for dinner, he complimented him on his contentment and said that Sikhs ought ever to act as he had done, and never disparage the food offered to them; and added, 'if anyone come to a Sikh and receive not food from him, know that that Sikh hath sinned. If anyone beg food from a Sikh, he too hath sinned because of his greed.¹

Then the Guru paid a visit to Kot Kapura and camped under a pipal tree. When the Guru heard that Nazir Khan's army was not in hot pursuit he left Kapura and sought shelter in Dhilwan, a village four miles south east. There Prithi Chand's descendants were settled; one of them called Kaul, an old man, brought him a suit of clothes and the Guru threw off his disguise of the blue dress and burned most of it. In the Asa Ki Var occurs the line:–

The Turks and Pathans put on blue clothes and reigned; and for this the Guru read:

I have torn the blue clothes which I wore; the rule of the Turks and Pathans is at an end.

The Guru meant the alteration as a curse on the Turks and Pathans; and admitted that he had been impious in altering the Granth Sahib, but hoped that the murder of his father and his own children and the sufferings of his Sikhs were a sufficient atonement. The piece of the

blue cloth that remained he preserved in memory of his troubles — which is said to have subsequently suggested the blue dress of the Akalis and Kihangs. ¹

The Guru soon left for a forest between Maluka and Kotha, from there he went to Jaito in the present state of Nabha. There the Guru heard that Nasir Khan’s army would arrive in a few days. Next morning the Guru escaped to Ramiana in the Farid Kot State, and then went towards Khidrana.²

The news of Guru’s sufferings reached the Manjha Sikhs, who had renounced him at Anandpur, and it made them consider how they could help the Guru; but they felt that he should adopt the non-violent ways of Guru Nanak. They sent a delegation to induce him to accept their advice; if he did they would use their influence with the Emperor to pardon him, otherwise they would not consider themselves his Sikhs or him their Guru.³

When they found the Guru after much search, the Guru told them 'If you were my Sikhs, you would receive and not give me instructions. I do not require you ...'⁴

A Sikh watch saw the enemy approaching and the Guru took up his bow and arrows and rode his horse towards Khidrana, where he could take possession of the water supply and thus make the Mohammedans die

³ ibid., p. 211.
⁴ ibid., p. 211.
Five Nanjha Sikhs however regretted their renunciation and decided to return to him; they persuaded thirty-five others to return with them. A woman named Bhago also joined them having put on man's attire and vowed to fight to death on the Guru's behalf - and became one of the heroines of Indian history. The Guru and his personal retinue had preceded them to Khidrana, but on finding no water there, moved to a neighbouring forest. The Lanjha Sikhs, on arriving at Khidrana, covered the trees around them with their clothes to mislead the enemy about their number and prevent them from making a sudden attack.

At the end of the fighting between the Sikhs and the imperial forces, Wazir Khan thought the Guru was killed and gave orders to search for his body. In the meantime his army began to suffer from the lack of water at Khidrana. They, in time, became so distressed that they abandoned their dead and wounded, and also gave up their search for the Guru's body. Their Commander however maintained that he had killed the Guru.

On finding that the enemy had gone, the Guru went to the battlefield to relieve the wounded and perform the obsequies of the dead.

The Guru ordered the dead bodies to be cremated and declared that

2 ibid., pp.212-213.
3 ibid., pp.213-214.
all Sikhs who paid a visit on the first day of the month of Lugh should be infused with the martial spirit of their ancestors. Khidrana has since been called Muktsar or the tank of salvation.¹

The Guru then proceeded to Saran and Nautheha. The inhabitants of the second village asked him to leave; he then went to Tahlian Fatah Sammun, twenty miles south west of Muktsar, where he was made welcome. There some Sikhs from Harike brought him an offering of a lungi (sarong) and a shawl, which he put on. He was reminded of his own prohibition of wearing a lungi in this fashion, but the Guru replied 'I am dressed according to the custom of the country'.²

The Guru, feeling his insecurity, asked Dogars for a guard, and the Sikhs put some on guard-duty. The Guru had intended to reward the Harike Sikhs if they had kept guard themselves, but instead he blessed the Dogars and prophesied that they would hold all the adjacent river banks - the prophecy has since been fulfilled.³

Next day the Guru continued his journey and arrived at Wajidpur, some six or seven miles to the east of Firojpur, the following day. The inhabitants told him that the Emperor's drums were often heard there, and they suggested that he should leave. The Guru said that instead of the drums of the Emperor, the praises of the Sikhs should

² Macauliffe adds: (ibid., fn.2) 'Although the Guru allowed his Sikhs to adopt the dress of every country they inhabited, yet they must not wear hats but turbans to confine the long hair they are strictly enjoined to preserve . . .'
³ ibid., pp.215-216.
resound in the area. The place was subsequently ruled by the Kanhaiya
Vikal - one of the twelve districts, under independent chiefs,
organised by the Sikhs when they gained supremacy over the Mohammedans.¹

The Guru moved on to Jassi Baghwali and Talwandi Sabo - later
called Damdama - in the Patiala state stopping on the way at Pakka; he
was now joined by his wives, Mata Sundari and Sahib Kaur.²

The woman Bhago who had stayed with the Guru after the battle of
Muktsar, tore off her clothes in a fit of devotional abstraction and
ran half-naked into the forest. The Guru restrained her and gave her
the drawers worn by Sikhs and allowed her to wear man's costume again.
She lived to ripe old age, and died revered by the Sikhs as a saint.³

While the Guru was in Talwandi Wazir Khan sent a peremptory note
to Dalla, the Guru's host, to surrender him or he would send an army
to punish them both. Dalla replied that the Guru was his life, and
he could not part with him. If an army were sent they would go into
the forest, and if any army went there they would die of thirst.⁴ The
Guru, however, left Talwandi for an old fort at Bhatinda, built by
Binaipal.⁵ Wazir Khan sent another letter to Dalla, but he sent the
same reply as before.⁶ Two parties of Sikhs had been plundered by

² ibid., p.219.
³ ibid., p.220.
⁴ ibid., pp.220-221.
⁵ ibid., p.221.
⁶ ibid., p.222.
Wazir Khan, Viceroy of Sarhind, and Zabardast Khan, Viceroy of Lahore, when they were bringing offerings to the Guru. The Guru took the opportunity to admonish his Sikhs on their passivity. The Guru said that in earlier times the Guru's teaching was to remember the true Name and not annoy anybody. With such teaching the Sikhs had become faint-hearted and ever suffered defeat. Now the time had altered and the Sikhs were obliged to defend themselves. He had established the Khalsa, and whoever wished to belong to it should not be afraid of clash of arms, but be ever ready of his faith and for combat. At the same time, the Name was the chief object of adoration.

During his stay at Dandama, he dictated the whole of the Granth Sahib to Bhai Lani Singh and added the hymns and couplets of his father, as well as a couplet of his own, Slok LIV. It may be mentioned here that there were three editions of the Granth Sahib: Bhai Gur Das's, Bhai Banno's and Lani Singh's. The last one, authorized by the tenth Guru, was the most complete; but, unfortunately, it is not extant. It is believed either to have been destroyed or taken away by Ahmad Shah Duranni when he attacked the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

The Guru sent for Tilak Singh and Ram Singh - who had performed the obsequies of his two sons Ajit Singh and Zorawar Singh - who had fallen at Chamkaur and blessed them and their descendants. Ram Singh's descendants became the chiefs of Patiala; and Tilok Singh's, of Nabha and Jind. They were hereditary Sikhs and held in affection by the

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2 ibid., p. 223.
Guru, as is shown by his letter of the 2nd Bhadon Sambat 1753 (A.D. 1696), preserved in the Sikh state of Nabha.\(^1\)

The two Sikhs whom the Guru had sent to the Emperor with the Zafarnama, succeeded in delivering it but were given no reply, only a safe conduct for return, by the Emperor.\(^2\)

The Guru asked Dalla to accompany him to the south of India, but Dalla tried to persuade him not to undertake the journey. The Guru insisted and several of his men left his service; those who remained accompanied the Guru on his journey, but Dalla Singh absconded during the night with several men.\(^3\) Eventually the Guru and his remaining followers reached Pushkar, sacred to Brahma-worshippers. There he was often severely heckled on his dress being neither of Hindu nor a Mohammedan. He said it was the dress of the third distinct sect which he had established.\(^4\)

From there the Guru went to Harainpur, where Saint Daḍu had lived and flourished. His shrine had by then descended to a priest called Jaito who quoted two lines of Daḍu to the Guru:

'Daḍu, surrender thy claim to every worldly things; pass thy days without claims

How many have departed after trading in this grocer's shop

(That is, the world).'

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2 ibid., p.225-226.
3 ibid., p.226.
4 ibid., p.227.
The Guru replied that these lines were applicable to the invention of a religion, but ill-suited to its preservation. He suggested substitute lines -

'Asserting thy claim in the world plunder the wicked,
Extirpate him who doeth thee evil'.

Mahant quoted two other lines to the Guru:-

'Dadu, taking the times as they come, be satisfied with this Kal age
If any one throw a clod or a brick at thee, lift it on thy head!'

The Guru would not admit the last line, and altered it to:-

'If any one throw a clod or a brick at thee, angrily strike him with a stone'.

He then explained the principle of his own religion to the priest.

He said, 'This age is very evil. The wicked rule in it, and cause suffering to saints and holy men. Tyrants therefore deserve to be punished. They will not refrain as long as they are pardoned'. They who bear arms who remember the true Name and sacrifice their lives for their faith, shall go straight to paradise. He had therefore established the Khalsa religion, given his followers arms and made them heroes.

The Guru from there went to Lali Bagharaoda and Kulait, where he met Daya Singh and Dharm Singh returning after delivering his Epistle. He went on to Baghaur, where he heard of Aurangzeb's death and

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2 ibid., p.228.
accession of his second son, Muhammad Azim Shah. The inhabitants there refused hospitality to the Sikhs. Dharm Singh killed the raja’s commander-in-chief, while the Guru killed the raja himself. The Baghaur army fled and was pursued by the Sikhs till the Guru recalled them. The Guru resumed his march, and prophesied to the Sikhs that the Turks (Mughals) should soon fight against one another and the Tara Azim should be killed.¹

When Aurangzeb died, his eldest son, Bahadur Shah, was on a military expedition in Afghanistan. He hurried back when he heard that Azim Shah — called Tara Azim by the Sikhs — had usurped the throne. He was advised to seek the Guru’s assistance in his war of inheritance. The Guru, when Bahadur Shah appealed to him, promised not only his assistance but also sovereignty to him if Bahadur Shah agreed to a request and did not prove false like his father.

In the battle Bahadur Shah was victorious. On his return to Agra he sent Dharm Singh to inform the Guru of his victory.²

On arriving in Delhi the Guru camped on the left bank of Jamna, and built a temple on the spot where his father had been cremated.³

On hearing of Bahadur Shah’s victory, he decided to pay him a visit at Agra. He made arrangements for his wives to stay in Delhi but Sundari was disconsolate. Remembering her dead son,⁴ she adopted

² ibid., p.230.
³ ibid., p.230.
⁴ ibid., p.230. It is not explicit in Macauliffe’s text but it becomes apparent when he writes of the Guru’s consoling words.
a boy who bore a remarkable resemblance to him. Sahib Kaur, however, insisted on accompanying her husband and the Guru yielded.

Emperor Bahadur Shah received him with due ceremony and thanked him for his assistance; and also invited him to be his guest for some time, which the Guru accepted.

When the Guru made his request to the Emperor for the custody of Wazir Khan, Viceroy of Sirhind, who had had his two sons killed, the Emperor hesitated. He felt that his surrender of one of his viceroys would result in a revolt by his Mohammedan troops. He did not, however, make a direct refusal, but said he should wait for a year, when his rule would be more firmly established. The Guru on this reproached the Emperor with his falsehood and said that a Sikh - he doubtless meant Banda - should arise and 'seize and kill the Emperor's viceroys, priests and magistrates and contribute to the ruin of the Mughal empire'.

Despite the undisguised threat and bluntness of this speech, the Emperor invited the Guru to accompany him on a visit to Jaipur and other cities; the Guru agreed. They parted at Burhanpur on the Tapti river. After some days the Emperor invited him to join him again, and they travelled to Poona and Nander on the bank of the river Godavari, a

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1 For the story see Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 231.
2 ibid., p. 231.
3 ibid., p. 232.
4 ibid., pp. 234-235.
5 ibid., p. 235.
hundred and fifty miles northwest of the capital of Haiderabhad State.\(^1\)

The Guru arrived in Nander in July-August 1707, A.D. With some infantry and two or three hundred cavalry equipped with lances, he went to the hut of Kadho Das, a Bairagi hermit. He found the hermit absent, so he sat on the sacred couch, having heard that the hermit by his magical power could overthrow anyone who sat on it; and for another sacrilege he shot one of his goats and cooked and ate the flesh.

The hermit was informed of this and he came to demand an explanation of the intruder. The Guru told him that he had come to rest in Nander, and hearing of the hermit's hospitality decided to test it.

The hermit accepted the Guru's explanation, and recognising his greatness by his word and deed, he declared himself his, the Guru's, Banda or slave, a name by which he was subsequently known.\(^2\)

Banda's original name was Lachmander, son of Ramdev Rajput, a native of Rajauri in the Himalayan state of Poonch. Before becoming a man of religion he had been a Zamindar or landlord. He was devoted to the chase, and once when he shot a female deer he found two young ones in her womb - which distressed him so much that he decided to renounce the world. As a wandering mendicant he made his way to the source of the Godavari at Nasik; where he made himself a hut and began to perform austerities. He learnt Yoga and incantations; and then followed

\(^1\) Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, p.236.

\(^2\) ibid., p.237.
the source of the Godavari river until he arrived in Nander, where he became known as a holy man.\textsuperscript{1}

The Guru was pleased with the position and seclusion of Nander and decided to stay there permanently.\textsuperscript{2} He instructed Banda in Sikhism and in due time baptized him according to the new rites, when he received the name Gurbaksh Singh, but continued to be known as Banda. He felt a great affection for the true religious teacher he had at last found and one day asked him if he could serve him in any way. The Guru had an account to settle with the Mohammedans of the Panjab, and said, 'I have come into the world to consolidate the faith and destroy oppression. Art thou prepared to assist me?' Banda promised to do anything the Guru suggested. Then the Guru instructed him to go to the Panjab and avenge the Khalsa. The Guru said 'Thou hast called thyself my slave, but thou shalt be the most exalted of all'. He gave Banda five arrows and told him that as long as he remained continent his glory should increase, but once he forsook the Khalsa principles and associated carnally with a woman, his courage should fail. Banda's instructions were to proceed towards the Jamma, wait outside Buria for reinforcements, which the Guru would send him; and then go to Sadhaura and plunder and devastate it because its inhabitants had denounced - and caused their execution by the Emperor - Budhan Shah and his disciples for their assistance to the Guru at the

\textsuperscript{1} Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 237-238.

\textsuperscript{2} ibid., p. 238.
battle of Bhangani. After dealing with Sadaura, Banda was to sack other Mohammedan cities before marching to Sirhind. The Guru's special instruction to Banda here was to cut off the Viceroy Wazir Khan's head by his own hand; then to punish the hill rajas, who had so often persecuted the Guru.1

After Banda's departure the Guru lived at various places in the region. He threw away two costly rings which had been presents to him - one by a Sikh and the other by the Emperor - into the river. Once he received an offering of a bow and two arrows, which pleased him much; and he put the bow to the test by discharging one of the arrows from it. When he wished to live at the spot where his arrow had fallen, the Mohammedans objected; but their objection was overruled by the Emperor, who made a gift of the land to the Guru.2

After some time a Pathan came to claim a sum of eleven thousand rupees as the price for the horses he had supplied to the Guru. The Guru did not have enough funds to pay, and he said that thirty years after his death, the Sikhs would be in power, and he had only to present the Guru's receipt and he would be paid in full. The debt was discharged as the Guru had predicted.3

The Guru feeling that his end was approaching decided to send Sahib Kaur to her co-wife Sundari, whom he had left in Delhi on his

2 ibid., pp. 239-240.
3 ibid., p. 240.
departure for the south. He knew she could not endure the shock of his death.¹

There are several accounts of the Guru's death. According to Macauliffe, the most probable account is given in one of the recensions of Bahadur Shah's history:-

The Guru was in the habit of addressing all kinds of people. One day an Afghan, who frequently attended these meetings, was enraged by something the Guru said against Mohammedans, and stabbed him twice or thrice with a poniard.² The Emperor on hearing of the outrage dispatched some of his most skilful surgeons and the Guru's wounds were nearly healed in a fortnight. In a short time the Emperor again inquired after the Guru's health and sent many presents which included two bows. 'A discussion arose whether the Guru could bend them, and the Guru took up one and, on bending it, burst open his wounds. It was patched up but it was beyond treatment'.³

The Guru put aside five hundred rupees for the preparation and distribution of sacred food and one hundred rupees to purchase sandalwood and whatever was necessary for his obsequies. His Sikhs asked him for a last instruction which might remind them of him hereafter and guide them to salvation. The Guru replied, 'O dear and beloved Khalsa, the immortal God's will can never be resisted. He who is born must assuredly die ... All this world, composed of the five

² ibid., p. 241.
elements, ... is Death's prey. God, the Creator and Cherisher of all is alone immortal. Know that the light of the imperishable God whose attributes are permanence, consciousness and happiness, shineth ever in you. Therefore, always abide in cheerfulness, and never give way in mourning ...

Creatures who are steeped in bodily pride are very unhappy, and night and day subject to love and hate. Ever entangled and involved in the deadly sins, they perish by mutual enmity and at last find their abode in hell. Yet for the love of such creatures the Guru assumed birth to deliver them. He hath instructeth them in the true Name, and very fortunate are they who have received and treasured his instruction. By it they are enabled to save themselves and others from the perils of the world's ocean ...

The Sikhs who love the true Guru are in turn beloved by him. O Khalsa, remember the true Name. The Guru hath arrayed you in arms to procure you the sovereignty of the earth. Those who have died in battle have gone to an abode of bliss. Read the Granth Sahib or listen to it, so shall your minds receive consolation, and you shall undoubtedly obtain an abode in the Guru's heaven. They who remember the true Name render their lives profitable and when they depart enter the mansion of eternal happiness'.

When the Sikhs asked him who was to succeed him, he replied, 'I have entrusted you to the immortal God. Ever remain under His protection and trust to none besides. Wherever there are five Sikhs

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assembled who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them. He who serveth them shall obtain the reward thereof - fulfilment of all his heart's desires. Read the history of your Gurus from the time of Guru Nanak. Henceforth the Guru shall be the Khalsa and the Khalsa the Guru. I have infused my mental and bodily spirit into the Granth Sahib and the Khalsa'.

After this the Guru bathed and changed his dress, read the Janji and repeated an Ardas or supplication. While doing so, he ordered that no clothes should be given as alms in his name; then put on a muslin waistband, slung his bow on his shoulder and took his musket in his hand. He opened the Granth Sahib and placing five paise and a coconut before it, solemnly bowed to it as his successor. Then uttering 'Waahguru ji Ka Khalsa! Waahguru ji Ki Fatah!' he circumambulated the sacred volume and said 'O beloved Khalsa, let him who desireth to behold me behold the Guru Granth. Obey the Granth Sahib. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me diligently search its hymns'.

The Guru went to an enclosed tent where his bier had been erected. At the end of the night - a watch before day - he lay down on his bier and asked all his Sikhs except Bhai Santokh Singh who was one specially attached to him, to go home. He then gave his final orders to his last attendant: 'Keep the Kitchen ever open, and receive

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 243-244.
2 ibid., p. 244.
offerings, for its maintenance. If anyone erect a shrine in my honour his offspring shall perish'. When Dhai Santokh Singh asked him how offerings were to be obtained when the Sikhs at Nander were few the Guru told him to have patience. 'Singhs of mine of very great eminence shall come here and make copious offerings. Everything shall be obtained by the favour of Guru Nanak.' Just before his death he uttered a Persian distich:

'Gobind Singh obtained from Guru Nanak Hospitality, the Sword, Victory and Prompt Assistance'.

These lines were impressed on a seal by the Sikhs after the Guru's death, and adopted by Ranjit Singh for his coinage when he became Maharaja.

The Sikh followed his instructions in his last rites, in chanting the Sohila and distributing sacred food.

While they were in mourning, a hermit arrived, and said that he had seen the Guru riding a bay horse, and the Guru had told him that he was going on a hunt. The Sikh believed that all this was Guru's play, and that he showed himself wherever he was remembered. He had merely come to make trial of their faith and move suffering. They decided not to mourn for a Guru who had departed bodily for heaven. The ashes of his bier were collected and a platform built over them. The day of the Guru's death was Thursday the fifth of the bright half

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1 Macauliffe, op. cit., Vol. V, pp.244-245.
2 Ibid., p.245, fn.1.
of Kartik Sambat 1765 (A.D. 1708), after a reign of thirty three years, and a stay in Bandar of fourteen months and ten days.1

In 1832 Maharaja Hanjit built the Sikh temple at Bandar called Abchalanagar, thus disregarding the Guru's interdiction.2

Following the Guru's instruction, Banda set out for the Panjab and in due course reached Buria where he found the promised reinforcement. To supply themselves they were obliged to resort to force, and there was a violent altercation between the Sikhs and the villagers. The villagers were killed - as were people from two or three other villages. As a result of this, all the robbers of the country came to join Banda's troops. People complained to the governor of Lustafabad, a city five and six miles to the west of Buria; and two thousand imperial troops, who were stationed there, were dispatched with two large guns against Banda. Many of his mercenaries fled, but he promised protection and money to all those who remained. He pulled out one of the Guru's arrows and drew a line on the ground and said no bullet or arrow should cross the line. This rallied his troops and they made a successful defence. The Mohammedans fled, leaving their cannon behind. Victory brought back several deserters, and they all proceeded to Lustafabad and laid it in ruins.3

Banda's next expedition was to Saudaura, where he easily defeated

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2 ibid., p. 246.
3 ibid., pp. 246-247.
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2 ibid., p.246.
3 ibid., pp.246-247.
the imperial forces. Banda's troops captured the fort and razed it to the ground, and massacred the inhabitants. From there Banda marched to Samana, a city in the Patiala State, and sacked it; all men in it were killed. From there he proceeded to Sarhind, taking supplies from the villages en route, by force. Wazir Khan, on hearing of Banda's march, asked the Viceroy of Lahore for help. Banda plundered Ambala on the way; at Banur he encountered Wazir Khan's army which had come from Sirhind. The battle began the next day, and after several Mohammedan casualties, Banda and Wazir Khan engaged in a single combat. Banda, before beheading him, addressed Wazir Khan as the sinner who was an enemy of Guru Gobind Singh, and killer of his children - thus committing a grievous and unpardonable crime - for which he was going to be punished. The whole Mohammedan army fled, followed by the Sikhs who looted their horses, arms, tents, cannon and other munitions of war and then advanced to Sirhind in triumph and committed a general massacre. They captured the man who had instigated the murder of Guru Gobind Singh's children, put an iron ring on his nose, and with a rope through it, led him around the town to beg. He was shoe-beaten - at every shop he stopped - till he died.

Banda was not disposed to mercy and ordered the city to be destroyed, and to plough up its site. Large treasure was found on excavation and it helped him materially in his further career.

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2 Ibid., pp.237-248.
3 Ibid., p.248.
Banda then plundered most of the hill rajas' states. Then he made a pilgrimage to Anandpur and other places. The Raja of Chamba, in order to conciliate him, sent him a supremely beautiful girl, described by the enthusiastic chronicler as the 'very image of the goddess of love'.\(^1\) Banda, on seeing her, completely forgot his caution and the Guru's injunction and 'dived into the ocean of sensuality and thought not of the fate that awaited him on the forfeiture of his continence'.\(^2\)

After his conquest of the hill states, Banda proceeded to Jallandhar where he killed all the Mohammedan men and converted the women. They married Sikh soldiers by the ceremony of Anand.\(^3\) From there he went to Kanjha and looted Batala, and at Lahore killed the viceroy and all the principal officers.

When he heard that imperial forces had been sent against him by the Emperor he met them at Ludhiana and defeated them. From there he went on pilgrimage to Guru Nanak's shrine in the Gurdaspur district, there he met Bhai Ram Kaur, sixth descendant of Bhai Budha, the anointer of the first six Gurus, and induced him to stay with him - probably to be anointed as Guru by him.\(^4\)

By this time Banda had gained supreme power from Delhi to Lahore - with his own police and levy of revenue. Baba Binod Singh, whom the

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2 ibid., p. 249.
3 ibid., p. 249 (Panth Prakash).
4 ibid., p. 249.
Guru had sent with him, assisted him in administering the territory. He tried to dissuade him from the liaisons he had formed. Once he accused Banda in open court and would have killed him if Kahn Singh had not intervened, who then prophesied Banda's end of glory and ignominious death.  

Banda paid a visit to Amritsar, where he declared that he had been authorised as his successor by the Guru. The Sikhs tried him by putting meat before him which horrified him and he fell into a passion. They were enraged by this and his other irregular habits. It divided the Sikhs into two factions. Those who rejected Banda were called the Tat Khalsa and real Sikhs and those who followed him, Bandai Khalsa - Banda's followers. For the Sikh salutation, Wahguru ji Ka Khalsa! Wahguru ji ki fatah!, he substituted Fatah Darshan - Victory to the Sect.  

Another cause of dissatisfaction was his disregard of Sundari's letter in which she had asked him to stop his massacre and plunder as his mission of bringing the Governor of Sirhind to justice was accomplished. Many Sikhs considered it a slight to the Guru's widow and deserted him. From that time his power began to decline rapidly. But he continued in his career till Emperor Bahadur Shah himself led an army against him. Banda fled to the mountains and took refuge in a

2 ibid., p.250.  
3 ibid., p.250.  
4 ibid., p.250.
fort called Lohgarh. The imperial army besieged him but he escaped. In the meantime the Emperor died in Lahore and there followed the usual struggle for succession. Banda came out of hiding and again became active.\(^1\) Dayazid Khan, the new Viceroy of Sirhind, proceeded against him, but was killed while at his prayers. The new Emperor - Farukh Siyar, Bahadur Shah's nephew - then sent Abül Samad Khan, also known as Diler Jang, to subdue Banda - but he and his followers had again fled to the mountains. After a year Banda returned and conquered Kalanaur and Santokhgarh, and invited Sikhs to join him. In two months he received large numbers of them and defeated General Sher Mohammad Daim of Ambala. The Emperor sent the General from Aurangabad, Mir Ahmad Khan, to join forces with Diler Jang and other Generals in the Panjab. Banda then entrenched himself in Gurdaspur; the Mohammedans laid siege on the Sikhs and they were reduced to killing all their animals for food. Eventually Banda sent a letter of surrender to Diler Jang. He was put in an iron cage and sent to Delhi.\(^2\)

According to an eye-witness account by the members of an English mission who had gone from Calcutta to Delhi in 1715 to negotiate for certain privileges; 'a procession of eight hundred Sikh prisoners marched through Delhi with two thousand bleeding heads borne aloft on poles. The Sikhs vied with one another for precedence in death'.\(^3\)

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2 ibid., pp.251-252.
3 ibid., p.252.
According to Ghulam Husain Khan, author of Siyar-ul-Lutaa Kharim, Banda's son was put in his lap and Banda was obliged to cut his throat in the Mohammedan manner of sacrifice. Muhammad Amin Khan, when he had an interview with Banda said to him that he had 'the marks of sense and intelligence: how was it that he had never thought of recompense for his deeds?' Banda replied: 'In all religious and sects whenever disobedience and rebellion among mortal men passeth all bounds, the Great Avenger raiseth up a severe man like me for the punishment of their sins and the due reward for their deeds'.

'When he wisheth to desolate the world He placeth dominions in the hands of a tyrant, when He desireth to give the tyrant the recompense of his works, He sendeth a powerful man like thee to prevail over him, to give him his due reward in this world': 'as thou and I can see'. On this Banda's flesh was torn out by red hot pincers, and he died under the torture.

During his execution Banda said: 'Who hath not suffered for his acts? Who hath not reaped what he hath sown? Forget not that you shall obtain retribution for your deeds'.

2 ibid., p.253.
3 ibid., p.254.
After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, Mohammedan adventurers had within a generation established separate dominions in Bengal, Lucknow and Hyderabad; in 1737, the Marathas startled the Moslems by their sudden incursion on Delhi, and the Afghan colonists of Rohil Khand and the Hindu Jats of Bharatpur had become important powers. When Nadir Shah departed with the spoils of Delhi, the government was weaker than when Babar came to India.\(^1\)

These conditions were favourable for the re-appearance of a depressed sect, but the viceroyalty of Abdul Samad Khan (Diler Jang) was strong. Both under him and his son, the Sikhs lived as peaceful subjects in their villages, or in the woods and valleys as robbers. Their religious faith had taken root in their hearts, and the more fervent of them hoped for revenge and restoration. They had been used to deferring to their teacher as divine, and were, now, left to work 'without an ordained method and without any bond of union than the sincerity of their common faith'.\(^2\)

During Nadir Shah's invasion, the Sikhs gathered in small bands and plundered both the stragglers of his army and the rich who fled towards the hills when the conqueror first appeared, or when the massacre of Delhi became generally known.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Joseph Davey Cunningham (Lt. of Engineers and Captain in the Army of India), *A History of the Sikhs From the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*, London: John Murray, 1849, pp.97-98.

\(^2\) ibid., p.98.

\(^3\) ibid., p.99.
Nadir Shah entered Delhi on the 13th February, and defeated the Emperor in March 1739; these circumstances encouraged the Sikhs to bolder attempts, and they began to visit Amritsar openly instead of in secrecy and disguise. Some Sikhs then succeeded in establishing a small fort at Dullehwal on the Ravi. They remained unknown or disregarded, until considerable numbers assembled and proceeded to levy contributions around Aminabad, north of Lahore. The marauders were attacked, but the detachment of troops was repulsed and its leader killed. Then a large force pursued and defeated them; many prisoners were brought to Lahore. The scene of their execution is now known as the place of martyrs.

The viceroyalty of Lahore was about this time contested between the two sons of Zakaria Khan, the successor of Abdul Samad who defeated Banda. Shah Jivaz Khan, displaced the elder and opened a correspondence with Ahmad Shah Abdalee, who became master of Afghanistan after the assassination of Nadir Shah in June 1747. Ahmad Shah crossed the Indus; but the viceroy of Lahore changed his mind, and he was defeated. Ahmad Shah Abdalee, master of the Panjab, marched to Sirhind, where the result was on the whole unfavourable to him. He rather hurriedly recrossed the Panjab. This gave the Sikhs an opportunity to harass

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2 ibid., p.99.
3 ibid., p.100.
his rear and gain self-confidence. The imperial vasir, who had resisted Abdalee's invasion, was killed by a cannon ball during the short campaign, but his son, meer lunro, had fought with conspicuous gallantry and became viceroy of Lahore and Kultan. He was an able and vigorous man and had judiciously retained the services of Kowra Kal as his immediate deputy and Adeena Beg Khan as governor of the Jallandhar Doab, with orders to coerce the Sikhs after Nadir Shah's retreat.

During Ahmed Shah's invasion the Sikhs had acquired both a fort called the Nan Rootee and a leader, Jussa Singh Hallal, a brewer or distiller; and as soon as Meer Lunno had established his rule, he marched against them, captured their fort and dispersed their troops. His plans were however interrupted by a second Afghan invasion. He had to surrender to the Afghan King, Ahmed Shah, a considerable treasure and the sovereignty of Lahore and Kultan. Ahmed Shah admired Lunno's leadership and efficiency, and left him as his viceroy; but the second capture of Lahore by foreigners weakened the administration, and the Sikhs, always ready to rise, again became troublesome. They had become virtual owners of the country between Amritsar and the hills. Adeena Beg, to allay the suspicions brought on him by his inaction during the Afghan invasion, defeated them totally by a surprise attack during one of their festivals; but arranged for the exaction of a

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.100-101.
1a Ibid., p.101.
nominal rent and modification of their own taxes on others, and took many of them into his pay - one of them was Jussa Singh, a carpenter, who afterwards became an important chieftain. ¹

Heer Lunnoo, however, died only a few months after his submission to the Afghan King. The date was 1751 or 1752 A.D. ²

The Durrani King, Ahmad Shah, passed through Lahore in the winter of 1755-1756, leaving behind his son Tymoor as governor under the tutelage of Jehan Khan, a chief. Prince Tymoor's first object was to disperse the Sikhs and to punish Adeena Beg. Jussa the carpenter had restored the Ram Rowree fort at Amritsar, and Tymoor attacked and levelled the fort and buildings, and the sacred reservoir of Amritsar was filled with the ruins.³ Adeena Beg retired to the hills and secretly aided and encouraged the Sikhs in their desire for revenge. They assembled in great numbers, for the faith. Guru Gobind Singh was the 'living conviction of hardy and single-minded villagers'.⁴ The country around Lahore swarmed with horsemen, and the prince's troops were tired out by their efforts to scatter them. Lahore came temporarily under Sikh control, and the same Jussa Singh who had proclaimed the "Khalsa" as a state with an army⁵ used the Mughal mint.

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.103.
² ibid., p.104.
³ ibid., p.105.
⁴ ibid., p.105.
⁵ ibid., p.101.
to strike a rupee with the inscription: "Coined by the grace of the Khalsa in the country of Ahmad, conquered by Jussa the Kallal".¹

In 1758, Delhi was occupied by the Kahrattas. Adeena Beg finding the Sikhs less deferential to him than he had hoped, invited Kahrattas to extend their rule to the Indus. But his Sikh allies incensed the Kahrattas by plundering Sirhind before them; but they evacuated Lahore and the several Afghan garrisons retired and left the Kahrattas rulers of Multan and Attock, as well as Lahore. They made Adeena Beg governor of the Panjab, but he appears to have died before the end of 1758.² Ahmad Shah returned a second time to retrieve the Panjab.³ He defeated the Kahrattas at Panipat in 1761 and returned to Kabul immediately afterwards, leaving his representatives at Sirhind and Lahore. The Sikhs only appeared as predators round the Afghan army, but the lack of all regular government allowed them not only to become masters of their own villages, but also to build forts. Among others, Charat Singh - the grandfather of Ranjeet Singh - established one of such strongholds in his wife's village of Goojranwala, north of Lahore. The Sikhs successfully defended it against an attempt by the Afghan governor of Lahore to sack it in the beginning of 1762. The "Khalsa army" gathered at Amritsar, performed their ablutions in the restored pool, and perhaps

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.105.
² ibid., pp.105-106.
³ ibid., p.106.
held the first "Surmata" or conclave on this occasion.¹

Ahmed Shah's sixth invasion of 1762 brought them a great disaster - for he gave them a total defeat. He came upon them unexpectedly when they were about to engage his lieutenant.² The Sikhs are reported to have lost between twelve to twenty-five thousand men.³

Ahmed Shah made a Hindu, Kabuli Lal, his governor of Lahore and returned to Kandahar to suppress a rebellion, but he first destroyed the newly-built temple of Amritsar, polluted the pool with slaughtered cows, made many pyramids with the heads of decapitated Sikhs and washed the walls of desecrated mosques with the blood of his enemies.⁴

But the Sikhs were not disheartened; their numbers increased daily. 'A vague feeling that they were a people had arisen among them; all were bent on revenge, and their leaders were ambitious of dominion and of fame'.⁵ Their first attack was on the Pathan colony of Kasur, which they took and plundered, and then slayed their old enemy Hinghun Khan of Kalan Kotla. Their next march was towards Sirhind, which the imperial forces were unable to defend. The Sikh army was probably 40,000 strong. Their battle with Zain Khan, the Afghan governor, was in the month of December 1763, in which he was defeated and killed. The plains of Sirhind from the Satlej to the

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.107-108.
² ibid., p.106.
³ ibid., p.109.
⁴ ibid., p.109.
⁵ ibid., p.109.
Jamna were occupied by the conquerors without further opposition. The story of how the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won - and how, riding day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, till he was almost naked, into successive villages to stake his claim - is part of tradition now.¹

The Sikhs found little difficulty in ejecting Kabuli Hal, the governor of Lahore. The country from the Jhelum to the Satlej was divided among the chiefs and their followers, like the plains of Sirhind had been divided in the previous year. Many mosques were demolished, and the Afghans, in chains, were made to wash the foundations with hogs' blood. The chiefs then assembled at Amritsar and inaugurated their sovereignty by striking a coin with the inscription: 'Guru had received from Nanak grace, power and victory'; and called it Gobindshahi.²

The Sikhs ruled without interference for two years, in which they took account of their actual possessions and their mutual relations 'in the unaccustomed condition of liberty and power'.³ 'Each Sikh was free, and each, was a substantive member of the commonwealth', but they soon found that all could not lead; and their system naturally resolved itself into what Cunningham calls a 'theocratic confederate

³ ibid., pp.111-112.
feudalism'.

The "Surbat Khalsa" or the whole Sikh people met, once a year, at least, at Amritsar on the occasion of the festival of Lord Rama, i.e. Dasahra, at the end of the rains — when military operation would become practicable. The assembly of chiefs was called "Gurumata", i.e. 'advice of the Guru', where 'they sought wisdom and unanimity of counsel from their teacher and the book of his word'. The confederate chiefs who thus met, though acknowledged no one else's supremacy and were imperfectly obeyed by the majority of their followers, accepted the obvious law of feudal or military chains of dependence. They divided their joint conquests in equal parts among themselves; and their own respective territories in the same way among their leaders of bands. These leaders again subdivided their portions among their

1 J.L. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.112; cf. George Foster "A Journey from Bengal to England, Through the Northern Part of India, Kasimire, Afghanistan and Persia, and into Russia, by the Caspian Sea", London, 1798, Vol. I, p.265: "I find an embarrassment in applying a distinct term to the form of the Sique government, which, on the first view, bears an appearance of aristocracy; but a closer examination discovers a large vein of popular power branching through many of its parts. No honorary or titular distinction is conferred on any member of the state, and the chiefs are treated with a deference that would seem to arise only from the military charges they may at the instant be invested with, and from a self-preserving regard to the subordination necessarily required in conducting an armed body".

2 ibid., p.112.

3 ibid., p.112, incl. fn.
om dependents - following the general customs of sub-infeudation. From the territories which the Sikhs won but did not occupy, they levied Rakhi, literally, protection money, ranging perhaps from a fifth to a half of the rent or government share of the produce. The subdivisions of property were so minute that two or three, or ten Sikhs might become co-partners in the rental of one village or in the house-tax of one street of a town, while the fact that jurisdiction accompanied such right increased the confusion. The Sikhs were, in part of their possessions, "earthborn," or many held land in which the mere withdrawal of a central authority had left them wholly independent of control. In theory such men were neither the subjects nor the retainers of any feudal chief. They could transfer their services to whom they pleased, become leaders themselves, and acquire new lands for their own use in the name of the Khalsa or commonwealth.

'It was soon apparent that the strong were ever ready to make themselves obeyed, and ever anxious to appropriate all within their power'.

A full belief in God's grace was nevertheless present, and every Sikh continued to defer to the mystic Khalsa.

The confederacies into which the Sikhs fell into, have usually been recorded as twelve in number, and have been known as lisls or

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.112-113.
2 ibid., p.113, fn.
3 ibid., pp.113-114.
Each Misl obeyed or followed a Sirdar, that is, simply a chief or leader; but so general a title was as equally applicable to the head of a small band as to the commander of a large host of the free and equal "Singhs" of the system — and now used as a courtesy title for any Sikh. The confederacies did not all exist in their full strength at the same time but one "Misl" derived from another. 'For the federative principle necessarily pervaded the union, and as aspiring chief could separate himself from his immediate party, to form perhaps a greater one of his own.'

The Misl were known by the name, the village, the district or the ancestor of the first or most eminent chief; or by some peculiarity of custom or leadership.

The number of horsemen which the Sikhs could muster have been estimated from seventy thousand to four times that number; and the relative strength of each confederacy is equally uncertain. All the Sikhs were horsemen, and 'among a half-barbarous people dwelling on

1 From the Arabic; spelt with another s, a second derivation "luslahut" means armed men or warlike people.
2 J. D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.114.
3 Ibid., p.114.
4 Ibid., p.114, e.g. (i) Bhanga - known for their real or fancied fondness for the Bhang (Indian hemp); (ii) Shabids and Lihangs were descendants of honoured martyrs and zealots; (iii) Makias arose in a tract of land, south of Lahore, for others see ibid., pp.114-116.
5 Ibid., p.117.
plain, or in action with undisciplined forces, cavalry must ever be the most formidable arm'. The Sikhs also became famous for the effective use of the matchlock when mounted; their skill is said to have been inherited from their ancestors, in whose hands 'the bow was a fatal weapon'. Infantry was almost solely used to garrison forts, or a man followed a misl on foot, until plunder gave him a horse or the means of buying one. Cannon was not used by the early Sikhs, and its introduction was very gradual, as its possession implied wealth or civil and military organisation.

Besides the regular confederacies - with their moderate degree of subordination - there was a body of men who acknowledged no earthly master and represented the religious section of Sikhism. These were the Akalis, i.e. the immortals, or rather, the soldiers of God, who, with their blue dress and bracelets of steel claimed to be directly instituted by Guru Gobind Singh. He had called upon men to sacrifice everything for their faith, to leave their homes and to follow the profession of arms; but he and his predecessors had likewise denounced the inert asceticism of the Hindus, and thus the fanatical feeling of a Sikh took a distinctive turn. The Akalis formed themselves in their struggle to reconcile warlike activity with the relinquishment of the world. The meek and the humble were satisfied with the assiduous performance of menial offices in temples, but the fierce enthusiasms of others prompted them to act from time to time as the armed guardians of Amritsar, or suddenly to go where blind impulse might lead them, and to win their daily bread, even single-handed, at the point of the
So strong is the feeling that a Sikh should work or have an occupation that one who abandons the world and is not of a warlike disposition, will still employ himself in some way for the benefit of the community. Cunningham once saw an Akali making a road, among precipitous ravines, from the plain of Satlej to the small town of Kiratpur. He avoided the world generally, but was highly esteemed by the people, who left food and clothing at particular places for him.

The Akalis had taken upon themselves something of the authority of censors: they inspired awe as well as respect and would sometimes plunder those who had offended them or injured the commonwealth. The passions of the Akalees had full play until Ranjit Singh became supreme, and it cost him much time and trouble to suppress them as well as keep his own reputation with the people.

By 1767 A.D. the Sikhs had mastered the upper plains from Karnal and Hansi to the banks of the Jhelum. The necessity of union was no longer supreme; some thought time had come for vengeance of real or imaginary wrongs, others desired to possess neighbouring towns and districts; the truer Sikhs alone determined to extend their faith and add to the general Khalsa dominion by complete conquest or imposition of tribute.

This activity, however, was repressed by the final invasion of

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.117-118.
2 ibid., p.118, fn.
3 ibid., p.118.
their common enemy, Ahmed Shah, who crossed the Indus in 1767; but he avoided Lahore and did not advance beyond the Satlej. In conciliation, he bestowed the title of maharaja and the office of military commander of Sirhind, upon the warlike Amar Singh, who had succeeded his grandfather as chief of Patiala or of Malwa Sikhs. Ahmed Shah's own troops were defeated, and he considered it wise to follow them in their return to Kabul. He had hardly crossed the Indus before Sher Shah's mountain stronghold of Rohtas was blockaded by the Sukerchakias under the grandfather of Ranjit Singh, assisted by the neighbouring Bhangi confederacy. The place was taken in 1768, and the Bhangis almost immediately occupied the country as far as Rawalpindi and the valley of Khanpur.

The Bhangis under Hari Singh then marched towards Kulant, but they were met by the Mohammedan Daoodputras - who had established the principality later known as Bahawalpur - and they agreed that the neutral town of Pak Fattan should be the common boundary. Hari Singh then swept towards Dara Ghasee Khan and the Indus. Hari Singh Bhangi died, and was succeeded by Jhanda Singh who carried the power of the Bhangi to its height: the year was 1770. Jhanda Singh rendered Jammu tributary. The place was then of considerable importance, for the repeated Afghan invasions, and the continued insurrections of the Sikhs, had driven the transit trade of the plains to the circuitous but safe route of the hills.

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.119-120.
2 ibid., p.121.
3 ibid., p.121.
The Pathans of Kasur were subjugated next, and Jhanda Singh then deputed his lieutenant, Mujja Singh, against Multan; but he was defeated and killed by the joint forces of the Afghan governors and of the Bahawalpore chief. Next year, in 1772, two Afghan governors quarrelled and asked for Jhanda Singh's help. He took advantage of it and occupied Multan, but was assassinated on his return northwards by Jai Singh, a rival to the Jammu chiefship — of the Kanhaiya confederacy — in 1774. He had obtained Charat Singh Sakurchakiya's aid, but he was killed by a burst of his own matchlock.¹

In the south of the Panjab, Sikhs continued to be pre-eminent; they seem to have the strong fort Munkehra as well as Multan, and were paid tribute from Kalabagh downwards.²

Tymoor Shah succeeded his father at Kabul in 1773; and although he crossed the Indus, he seems not to have thought of reconquering Lahore. In 1777-1778 the detachment of the Kabul army unsuccessfully tried to take Multan, but in the 1778-1779 the Shah marched in person against the Sikhs there. After a show of resistance his lieutenant surrounded the citadel. Tymoor Shah lived till 1779, but he was fully occupied with Sindhi, Kashmiri and Uzbeki rebellions; and Sikhs remained masters of Rawalpindi, and their cavalymen crossed the plain of Katch, upto Attock.³ In the Dooab of the Ganges and the Jamna the

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.122.
² ibid., p.123.
³ ibid., p.123.
Sikhs subsidized Zabita Khan. He had gone to Delhi in 1776, with the intention of laying siege on the city, but reached a compromise with the emperor. He had been accompanied by a body of Sikhs; and to conciliate them, he is said to have adopted their dress and received the Sikh initiation, as well as taken the name of Dharam Singh.\(^1\)

The Sikhs were predominant from the frontiers of Oudh to the Indus.\(^2\) George Forster, the East India Company civil servant and traveller, describes their 'haughtiness of deportment which, in the common occurrences of life, peculiarly marks their character'.\(^3\) In travelling through the Srinagar country he tried to make the acquaintance of a Sikh horseman, who received his attention with 'a fixed reserve and disdain'. His reply, when Forster asked him the name of his chief, was characteristic. He said - 'in a tone of voice, and with an expression of countenance, which seemed to revolt at the idea of servitude' - that 'he disdained an earthly superior, and acknowledged no other master than his prophet'.\(^4\) Cunningham quotes Forster's amusing description of the alarm two Sikh horsemen caused to a minor chief and his people, and the assiduous and respectful attention paid to them by the authorities of Garhwal.\(^5\)

In the Panjab itself, Jai Singh Kanhaiya continued to have a

\(^1\) J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.124.
\(^2\) ibid., p.125.
\(^3\) George Forster, A Journey from Bengal to England, p.206.
\(^4\) ibid., p.286.
pre-eminent influence; he had taken Charat Singh Sukerchakai's son, Muha, under his protection. Muha Singh's own reputation began to grow, and about 1784-1785 he threw off his dependence on Jai Singh and interfered, on his own, in the affairs of Jammu. His wealth and independence roused Jai Singh's anger and he repelled Muha Singh's apologies and offer of atonement for interfering in Jammu. Muha Singh resented it; and attacked and defeated the Kanhaiyas. The eldest son of Jai Singh was killed in the battle, and the double sorrow broke the old man's spirit. Jussa, the carpenter, was restored to his territories; and Sansar Chand received the fort of Kangra, which his father and grandfather had wanted to possess. Between 1783-1792, Muha Singh became the most influential chief in the Panjab, and he gladly accepted the proposal of the widow of Jai Singh's son to betroth his son Ranjit Singh - born to him about 1780 - to her infant daughter. Muha Singh then attacked Goojrat, but was taken ill during the siege, and died at the beginning of 1792, at the age of twenty-seven. 1

Shah Zaman succeeded to the Afghan throne in 1793 and he always seemed to have idle hopes of an Indian empire. He was invited by the Rohillas and the Vizir of Oudh, Asafuddowla, and he reached Lahore at the beginning of 1797 with thirty thousand men. He tried to conciliate the Sikhs and several chiefs joined him; but he had to return, before achieving anything, because of the proceedings of his brother Mehmood. 2

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.126.
2 ibid., p.127.
He renewed his attack in 1798. He entered Lahore without opposition and again used mixed measures of conciliation and threat.¹

During this second invasion, the character of Ranjit Singh, Muha Singh’s son, seems to have made an impression both on the other Sikh chiefs and the Afghan King. He desired to possess Lahore - the symbol of power - and the Afghan King wanted his heavy artillery over the flooded Jehlum, and he sought the ambitious chief’s help. Ranjit Singh sent as many pieces of cannon after the King as could be extricated, and received in return a royal investiture of Lahore. This was the beginning - in the year 1799 - of Ranjit Singh’s domination of Sikh history.²

His first project was to take Lahore from the Bhangi confederacy who occupied it; and only after a few months he did so, by a mixture of force and artifice. He made Lahore his capital and, with the help of Kanhaiya confederacy, he subjugated all the Bhangis and their ally, Nizamuddin Khan of Kasur.³ In 1861-1863 he became a feudatory of Ranjit Singh. After this victory, Ranjit Singh went to bathe in the Tarn Taran holy pool, and there met Fateh Singh Ahloowalia and exchanged turbans with him in token of their newly-formed friendship. During 1802 Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh took Amritsar from the widow of the last Bhangi confederacy chief; and it fell to Ranjit’s share.⁴

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.128.
² ibid., p.128.
³ ibid., p.139.
⁴ ibid., p.139.
In 1803 Sansar Chand made two unsuccessful attempts to occupy portions of the fertile Doob of Jallandhar, against Ranjit Singh and his ally. In 1804 he captured Hoshiarpur and Bijwara, but Ranjit Singh made him retreat; and, soon afterwards, he became involved with the Gurkhas - a new people in search of an empire covering the whole range of the Himalayas.¹

In a little over a year of Shah Zaman's return from the Punjab, he was dethroned and blinded by his brother Mehmood, who in turn was deposed by a third brother, Shah Shooja, in 1803. These events in the Afghan empire encouraged Ranjit Singh to feel his way among the Afghan governors of districts and provinces, and to return with homage and presents. Towards the end of 1805 he made another western excursion, to consolidate his position, but the approach of the Holkar and Ameer Khan, and the English army's arrival in the neighbourhood of Amritsar, seemed an imminent danger.²

A formal council was held by the Sikhs, but only some of the leaders were present. The singleness of purpose and the confident belief in God's aid, which had enabled them to resist persecution and to triumph over Ahmad Shah, was no longer strong among their descendants born to comparative power and affluence.³ The simple mixture of

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¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.139. The following chapters of his book are based on Cunningham's narratives of the British connection with the Sikhs, drawn up for the Government.

² ibid., pp.140-141.

³ ibid., p.141.
independence and confederacy had become unsuitable for an extended
dominion. The "Misls" had in effect decayed, after serving the purpose
of immediate agglomeration. The masses were satisfied with 'their
rural freedom from taxation and inquisition', but some of the petty
chiefs were willing to join the English or the Mahrattas; all had
become jealous of Ranjit Singh. He, in fact, tried to give unity and
coherence to 'diverse atoms and scattered elements': 'to mould the
increasing Sikh nation into a well-ordered state or commonwealth, as
Gobind had developed a sect into a people, and had given application
and purpose to the general institutions of Nanuk'.

Holkar retired, and Ranjit Singh entered into a vague friendly
alliance with the British in 1806, and took Ludhiana the same year—
crossing the Satlej—from a declining Mohammedan family which had
sought the protection of an adventurer, George Thomas, who had deserted
a warship at Madras in 1781-1782.

During 1805 the Gurkhas had defeated Sansar Chand and crossed the
Satlej and besieged Kangra.

In 1807 Ranjit Singh first took Kasur, the mythological rival of
Lahore, with Jodh Singh, the son of his father's old ally—Jussa the
carpenter—and then succeeded in capturing the walled city of Multan.

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.141.
2 ibid., p.142.
3 ibid., pp.130-132.
4 ibid., p.142.
5 ibid., p.143.
The same year, Ranjit Singh took into his employment a Khatri, Mohkum Chand, who fully justified the confidence in his ability his appointment showed.¹

In the beginning Ranjit Singh brought several places in the Upper Panjáb under the direct management - replacing the independent Sikh owners - of the new Kingdom of Lahore; and Mohkum Chand was authorised to settle the territories seized on the left bank of the Satlej. Ranjit Singh's systematic aggression made the Sirhind Sikhs afraid; and a formal deputation of the chiefs of Jhind, Kaithal and the minister of Patiala went to Delhi in March 1808 to seek British protection, but they could only obtain a vague assurance of help in need.² This did not inspire confidence, and as Ranjit Singh had sent messages to allay their fears and invite them to join him, they left Delhi to negotiate their own terms with the acknowledged Raja of Lahore.³ But later, in September 1808, the British assured the Sirhind chiefs that they had become dependent princes of the British Government. Sir Charles Metcalfe was sent on a mission to Ranjit Singh, to make him join a defensive alliance with the British against the threat of the French, Turkish and Persian designs on India.⁴

Metcalfe was received by Ranjit Singh at his newly conquered

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¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.144.
² ibid., pp.144-145.
³ ibid., p.145. According to Mr. Clerk of Ambala to the agent at Delhi, 19th May 1837.
⁴ ibid., p.146.
town of Kasur. Ranjit Singh saw himself as the head of the whole Sikh people, and his sovereignty of Lahore as an additional claim to supremacy over Sirhind. He did not see a French invasion to be against his interests, and rather resented the intention of the British to confine him to the Satlej. He suddenly broke off negotiations and made his third invasion in the south of the Satlej.¹ Troops were moved across the Jamna in January 1809, under the command of Sir David Ochterloney. It disconcerted Ranjit Singh, but he continued to evade the proposal of the British envoy.²

In the beginning of February 1809 Sir David Ochterloney issued a proclamation declaring the Cis-Satlej states to be under British protection, and that an aggression would be resisted with arms.³ Ranjit Singh realised that the British were in earnest; and feared that the still 'independent leaders of the Panjab might have their allegiance similarly accepted and he would lose all chance of an empire'. He withdrew his troops north of the Satlej and gave up his last conquests, and signed a formal treaty on 25th April, 1809. This made him master of the territory he had originally occupied to the south of the Satlej, but restricted his ambitions for the future to the north and west of the river.⁴

Later, on 22nd August 1811, the British Government issued a second

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¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.146.
² ibid., pp.147-148.
³ ibid., p.146 and Appendix VIII.
⁴ ibid., p.149. For the treaty see ibid. Appendix IX.
proclamation warning the chiefs against attempts to usurp each other, for they feared that the attacked chief would have no choice but to seek Ranjit Singh's aid.\(^1\)

Gradually, the mutual distrust of the British and Ranjit Singh vanished, and in 1811 presents were exchanged between the Governor General and the Maharaja; and the next year he entertained Sir David Ochterloney as his guest on the occasion of his son Kharak Singh's wedding.\(^2\)

When Metcalfe departed, Ranjit Singh at once took care to strengthen his frontier post of Filor opposite Ludhiana and Govindgarh — the citadel of Amritsar, which he had begun to build as soon as he gained the city. He was invited by Sansar Chand to aid him in resisting the Gurkhas, who were still besieging Kangara. He at once saw through Sansar Chand's scheme, and captured the fort by suddenly demanding entry as the expected relief. Sansar Chand was foiled and Amar Singh Thapa, leader of the Gurkhas, retreated across the Satlej.\(^3\) Ranjit Singh later told Captain Wade that the Gurkhas wanted to share Kashmir with him, but he thought it best to keep them out of the Panjab altogether.\(^4\)

In 1811 the blind Shah Zaman crossed the Panjab and was visited by Ranjit Singh; the next year the families of the two deposed Afghan Kings Shah Zaman and Shah Shooja took up residence at Lahore. The

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\(^1\) J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p.150.
\(^2\) *ibid.*, p.155.
\(^3\) *ibid.*, pp.155-156.
\(^4\) *ibid.*, p.156, fn.
Maharaja was preparing to conquer the hill chiefs south of Kashmir as a preparation for the sacking of the valley itself; and he took the opportunity to assure Shah Shooja's wife that he would release her husband from imprisonment in Kashmir and return Kashmir to him - but he hoped that she would give him the great Kohinoor diamond in gratitude for his efforts.¹

Kashmir was occupied in February 1813; but Fateh Khan, the Kabul vazir - who had allied himself with the Maharaja in this joint enterprise - refused to allow the Maharaja to have any share in the spoils. Fateh Khan, however, allowed Shah Shooja to go where he pleased; and he preferred joining the Sikh army to virtual imprisonment. The rebel governor of Attock, afraid of Shah Mehmood's success in Kashmir, gave over his fort to Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh, confident of his strength, allowed his minister, Mohkum Chand, to fight a battle, on 13th July 1813, with the Kabul vazir and his brother Dost Mohammed Khan; Mohkum Chand won.²

Ranjit Singh was able to get the Kohinoor diamond at last, and gave Shah Shooja an estate (jagir) in the Panjab for his maintenance, and a promise of help in the recovery of Kabul.³ Shah Shooja, however, escaped and the Maharaja could make no use of his name in his further attempts on Kashmir. He started military operations towards the

¹  J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.161.
²  ibid., p.162.
³  ibid., p.163.
middle of 1814, but without success, after subjugating the chief of
the south of the Peer Panjal range.\(^1\)

The Kashmir expedition made the Maharaja take some time to
re-organise his resources, and he sent detachments of troops, towards
the middle of 1815, to levy exactions around Multan. He himself
stayed at Adinanagar, perhaps watching the war between the British and
the Nepalese. At the end of the year, he reduced the Mohammedan tribes
in the south east of Kashmir, who had become independent during the
Sikh retreat.\(^2\)

The northern plains and lower hills of the Panjab had been
reduced to obedience and order, but Ranjit Singh still had real or
nominal Kabul dependancies on his southern and western borders. He
postponed attack on them for a year due to ill health. His first
objective was Multan, and, early in 1818, he sent his son Kharak Singh,
with an army, to attack it; in February they took the city, and by June
captured the fort.\(^3\)

In 1819-1820 Ranjit Singh's thoughts turned towards Kashmir once
again and this time he succeeded in annexing it.

A few months afterwards, he led troops personally to the south
of the Panjab and Dera Ghazi Khan on the Indus, another Kabul dependency,
and took it. In 1821, he completed his conquests on the Central Indus

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\(^1\) J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.164.
\(^2\) Ibid., p.165.
\(^3\) Ibid., p.166.
with the capture of Dera Ismail Khan.¹

In 1823 the Sikhs marched against Peshawar.² It was considered a religious war by the Khatak and Eusufzai tribes, and they fought with the Sikh Akalis at the battle of Haoshera on the 14th March, 1823.³ The Sikhs sacked Peshawar and plundered the country up to the Khyber Pass. The hostility of the population however made it difficult for them to occupy the country and Ranjit Singh gladly left it as a dependency with Yar Mohammed.⁴

Mohammed Azim Khan died shortly afterwards, and with him ended the show of unanimity among the band of brothers, who ruled the capitals of Peshawar, Kabul and Kandahar.⁵

Towards the end of 1823 Ranjit Singh marched to the south west of his territories to reduce the refractory Mohammedan landlords (jagirdars) to impress his power on the frontiers of Sind.⁶

By now Ranjit Singh had three Mohammedan territories under his authority: Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar; he was already sovereign over the hills and plains of the Panjab proper. His intentions of adding Ladakh and Sindh was obvious.⁷

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¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.170.
² ibid., p.171.
³ ibid., p.172.
⁴ ibid., p.172.
⁵ ibid., p.172.
⁶ ibid., p.173.
⁷ ibid., p.173.
At this point in the narrative Cunningham considers it necessary to assess the Maharaja's character and intents.¹ According to him, Ranjit grasped the more obvious characteristics of the impulse given by Nanak and Gobind; he skilfully used them for the purposes of his own material ambition; but he knew that he merely directed into a particular channel a power which he could neither destroy nor control. To prevent Sikhs turning upon him or destroying one another, he must regularly engage them in conquest and distant warfare.² The first political system of the emancipated Sikhs had crumbled to pieces, partly through its own defects, partly as a result of its contact with a well ordered and civilized government, and partly as a result of the ascendancy of one superior mind.³ The confederacies had vanished, except two, Ahloowalias and Patiala; the former depending on Ranjit Singh's friendship and the other upheld in separate portions by British expediency.⁴ But Ranjit Singh did not believe that his or Sikh authority was to be confined to the Panjab, and his only wish was to lead armies 'as far as faith in the Khalsa, and confidence in his skill would take brave and believing men'.⁵

He took from the land as much as it could readily yield and he

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¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.174.
² ibid., p.178.
³ ibid., pp.178-179.
⁴ ibid., p.179.
⁵ ibid., p.179.
took from the merchants as much as they could profitably give; he put down open marauding; the Sikh peasantry enjoyed light taxation. No local officer dared to oppress a member of the Khalsa; and if, elsewhere, the farmers of revenue were resisted in their tyranny, they were more likely to be changed than to be supported by battalions.

He did not ordinarily punish men who took redress into their hands, for which, indeed his subordinates were prepared, and which they guarded against as much as they could. The whole wealth as well as the whole energy of the people was devoted to war and to the preparation of military means and equipment. The system was that common to all feudal governments, giving much scope to individual ambition and tending to produce independence of character. 'It suited the mass of the Sikh population; they had ample employment, they loved contention; they were pleased that city after city admitted the Khalsa supremacy and enabled them to get rich'. But Ranjit Singh did not arrogate to himself the title or the powers of a despot. He was assiduous in his devotions; he honoured men of reputed sanctity, and enabled them to practise charity. He attributed every success to the favour of God, and he styled himself and people collectively as the Khalsa or commonwealth of Gobind ... His own name, according to Cunningham, and his own motives were kept carefully concealed, and everything was done for the sake of the Guru, for the advantage of the Khalsa in the name of the Lord. Ranjit Singh in writing or in talking of his government always used the term "Khalsa". On his seal he wrote, as any Sikh usually writes, his name, with the prefix Akal Sahab that is, "God the
helper, Ranjit Singh" - an inscription strongly resembling the "God with us" of the Commonwealth of England.\(^1\)

In 1822 the French generals, Ventura and Allard, arrived at Lahore by way of Persia and Afghanistan; and after some hesitation, Ranjit Singh employed and treated them with distinction.\(^2\) Cunningham disagrees with the view that the excellence of the Sikh army should be attributed to them and their two co-adjutors, Generals Court and Avitabile. He believes that the Sikh owes his excellence as a soldier to his own hardy character, and "that spirit of adaptation which distinguishes every new people, and to that feeling of a common interest and destiny, implanted in him by his great teachers".\(^3\)

The early force of the Sikhs was composed of horsemen, but they seem intuitively to have adopted the then new and formidable matchlock, instead of their traditional bow and spear common to every nation.\(^4\)

Ranjit Singh said that he visited Lord Lake's army in 1803 to see its order; and it is known that in 1809 he admired and praised Metcalfe's small escort, which had repulsed a sudden attack of angry Akalis. These two events induced him to attend to the formation of a regular infantry.\(^5\) In 1812, Sir David Ochterloney saw two regiments of Sikhs, besides several Hindustanis, drilled by men who had either resigned

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.179-180.
2 ibid., p.181.
3 ibid., p.181.
4 ibid., p.182.
5 ibid., p.183.
from or deserted the British army. The next year, the Maharaja proposed raising twenty five battalions, and his faith in discipline was increased by the resistance the Gurkha offered to the British. He also employed some Gurkhas in his service. He gave good pay, and personal attention to their drill and equipment; and himself wore the same strange dress and underwent the same formal exercises, as an inducement to his men to make the change from the usual weapons and order of battles. He gradually succeeded in turning the Sikhs into regular infantry and artillery soldiers during his lifetime. This was the state of change in the Sikh army, and such were the views of Ranjit Singh, when Generals Allard and Ventura came to the Panjab.

Ranjit Singh's betrothal as a boy to the daughter of Gurubaksh Singh - the heir apparent of the Kanhaiya chiefship who had died in battle with Ranjit's father - brought his mother-in-law Sudda Kaur, a spirited and ambitious woman, into his life with such influence that, it is said, the young Maharaja not only took over the management of his own affairs at the age of seventeen, but to have had his mother put to death as an adulteress.

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.183-4 (Sir D. Ochterloney to Govt. 25th February 1812).
2 ibid., p.184 (Ochterloney to Govt. 4th March 1813).
3 ibid., p.184.
4 ibid., p.184.
5 ibid., p.184.
6 ibid., p.184.
7 ibid., p.184.
8 ibid., p.186.
His mother-in-law was very useful to the Maharaja in the beginning, for she had predominant influence on the Kanhaiya confederacy after Jai Singh's death - and the co-operation of her confederacy was necessary in his conquest of Lahore and Amritsar.¹

Although Ranjit Singh had brought Peshawar under his authority, but for the complete control of the province he had to undertake arduous warfare for many years.²

Towards the end of 1826, Ranjit Singh fell ill, and British Indian army surgeon, Dr. Murray, was sent to him at his own request. The Maharaja trusted more to time and abstinence, or to the empirical prescriptions of his own physicians, than to strange drugs and skill; but he liked to have his foreign medical adviser with him for diplomatic reasons. For instance, he was anxious to know of the proposed visit in 1827 of Lord Amherst, the Governor General, to the Northern Provinces. When Lord Amherst arrived in Simla, he sent a mission of welcome and inquiry to wait on him. The Governor General returned the compliment by deputing Captain Wade, the British frontier authority, to the Maharaja's court.³

The transactions between the British and the Sikh governments were the responsibility of the Resident at Delhi, who gave his orders to Captain Murray, the political agent at Ambala. Captain Wade

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.185-186.
² ibid., p.192.
³ ibid., pp.194-5.
assisted Captain Murray mainly in the affairs of the garrison at Ludhiana.\(^1\)

Ranjit Singh's connections with the English gradually became closer, but he also began to be influenced by his new favourites of Jammu.\(^2\)

In 1829-1830 Ranjit Singh's fame was at its height, and his friendship was courted by various rulers, e.g. of Baluchistan, Heerat and Gwalior. The English had a suspicion that he was also in correspondence with Russia, and they themselves looked upon him as someone necessary for the fulfilment of their imperial and commercial aims.\(^3\)

In 1831 Lord William Bentinck received a Sikh deputation at Simla, but later sent through Captain Wade - the political agent at Ludhiana - a letter of thanks; the reason for Wade's mission was to determine whether Ranjit Singh would propose to have an interview with the Governor General, as it was not considered proper for the English viceroy to take the initiative.\(^4\)

They met at Roper on the banks of the Satlej in October 1831. A gift of horses from the English King had reached Lahore in the meantime, and Ranjit Singh received a written assurance of perpetual

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.195.

2 ibid., p.197; see ibid, p.180 for a description of the Jammu Rajputs in 1820.

3 ibid., p.203. According to Captain Wade to the Resident at Delhi, 24th August 1830.

4 ibid., p.203; see ibid. Govt. to Captain Wade, 26th April 1831.
friendship from the Governor General.\textsuperscript{1}

Ranjit Singh may or may not have felt that he was distrusted, but he was to be a party to the opening of the navigation of Indus.\textsuperscript{2}

One object of sending King William's presents for Ranjit Singh by water was to see unobtrusively the trading value of the Indus.\textsuperscript{3}

Later the English made a treaty of navigation with the Sindh Ameers.\textsuperscript{4}

Ranjit Singh not wishing to appear to oppose his allies of many years, had agreed to the common use of the Satlej and the Indus\textsuperscript{5} when the Governor General wrote to express his wish to draw closer the commercial relations of the two states.\textsuperscript{6} He had not, however, disguised his opinion to Captain Wade that the commercial measures had in fact abridged his political power.\textsuperscript{7}

Ranjit Singh gradually felt his way by force, but the British had resolved to go far beyond him in diplomacy by 1836.\textsuperscript{8} They decided to restrict Sikh power from extending the course of the river Indus, although they would respect the acknowledged territories of the Maharaja; because if the existing relations of peace were not maintained, the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.203-204.}
\footnote{2 ibid., p.205.}
\footnote{3 ibid., p.205. Govt. to Col. Pottinger, 22nd October 1831.}
\footnote{4 ibid., p.215.}
\footnote{5 ibid., p.207.}
\footnote{6 ibid., p.205.}
\footnote{7 ibid., p.207.}
\footnote{8 ibid., p.215.}
\end{footnotes}
Indus would remain closed. Captain Wade thought it advisable to explain personally to the Maharaja the risks of opposing the British government openly. The Maharaja listened and at last agreed.¹

He then invited the Governor General to Lahore at his grandson’s wedding, whom he had hoped to call the conqueror of Sindh.² He also invited the Governor of Agra, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the British Commander in Chief. Of these only the Commander in Chief, Sir Charles Fane, attended the wedding in March 1837.

Fane was a careful observer of military means and of soldierly qualities. He estimated the Sikhs at 67,000 men and two years of active warfare.³ This visit also enabled Lt. Col. Garden, the quartermaster general of the Bengal Army, to compile a detailed map of that part of the country, and it formed the basis of all the maps used when hostilities did break out with the Sikhs.⁴

As the prospect of a war with the Sikhs was then remote and he was a guest, Sir Henry Fane entered heartily into the festivities. His presence was marked by the institution of the "Order of the auspicious star of the Panjab" on a purely British model.⁵ This method of pleasing or occupying the attention of the English authorities was

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.218.
² ibid., p.219; Captain Wade to Govt., 5th January 1837.
³ ibid., p.227 fn. Cunningham heard it from Captain Wade.
⁴ ibid., p.227 fn.
⁵ ibid., p.228; Captain Wade to Govt., 7th April 1837.
not unusual with Ranjit Singh, and he was always ready to inquire concerning matters which interested them, or which might be turned to account by himself. ¹

As early as 1812 he had made trial of the sincerity of his new allies, and has shown his admiration for their skill, by asking for five hundred muskets. These were at once sent to him; but a subsequent request for a supply of fifty thousand excited a passing suspicion. ²

He would inquire about the details of European warfare - he once asked for copies of pay regulations of the Indian army and of the English practice of court martial; and bestowed dresses of honour on the translator of these complicated and inapplicable systems. ³ Major Hough who had added to the reputation of the Indian army by his useful publications put the practice of court martial into a Sikh version for Ranjit Singh. ⁴ The Maharaja also sent a youth to learn English at the Ludhiana school, in order that he could help in the correspondence with the British Government - which Lord William Bentinck had wished to carry on in English instead of in Persian. ⁵ He also sent a number of young men to learn something of European medicine at the Ludhiana dispensary, in order to be useful in his battalions. In such ways, half-serious, half-idle, Ranjit Singh tried to ingratiate himself with

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p. 228.
² ibid., p. 228; Captain Wade to Gov., 22nd July 1836.
³ ibid., p. 229.
⁴ ibid., p. 229 fn.
⁵ ibid., p. 229.
the representatives of a power he could not 'withstand and never wholly trusted'.

In the beginning of 1838 the Governor General did not contemplate the restoration of Shah Shooja, but in May that year Sir William Macnaghten was sent to Ranjit Singh to present the scheme of restoring Shah Shooja to his throne. When Ranjit Singh was told that the expedition would be undertaken, whether he joined in it or not, he agreed to modify his own treaty with Shah Shooja; and triple alliance was formed.

The English, on their part, insisted on a double invasion of Afghanistan; firstly because the Ameers of Sindh disliked a professed treaty of alliance or dependence and they could easily be coerced as tributaries by Shah Shooja on his way to Kandahar, and secondly, because it was not considered prudent to place the ex-King in Ranjit Singh's hands, for he might be tempted to use him for Sikh rather than British interests. The agreed arrangement was that the Shah should march by way of Shikarpur and Quetta, while his son moved on Kabul, through Peshawar, at the head of an army provided by the Maharaja of Panjab. The British force assembled at Firozpur towards the end of 1838; the campaign was opened by an exchange of hospitality between the English viceroy and the Sikh Maharaja. Apparently Ranjit Singh had reached the

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.229.
2 Ibid., p.232.
3 Ibid., p.233.
4 Ibid., p.233.
height of achievement: he was accepted as an arbiter in the fate of that empire which had tyrannized over his peasant ancestors and was treated with the greatest distinction by the foreign paramount power of India; but his health had seriously deteriorated and he felt that he was in fact in opposition to the English. He became indifferent to his obligations to them. Although a large army was gathered for Prince Tymoor, the son of Shah Shooja, when he, accompanied by the British representative, Col. Wade, marched from Lahore in January 1839, the Maharaja's grandson, commander of the Sikh force, tried to make friends for the Sikhs rather than for the King of Afghan - the ostensible reason for the campaign - Ranjit Singh continued to be ill. He heard of the fall of Kandahar in April, and may have been a little pleased with the delay there and hoped that the British may yet be thwarted; but he died on 27th June 1839, at the age of fifty nine - before the capture of Ghazni and the occupation of Kabul and forcing of the Khyber Pass, with the aid of his own forces.  

The achievements of Ranjit Singh included changing the Panjab - from a dying confederacy into a kingdom; taking from Afghanistan its fairest province and giving the English no cause to interfere. He found the military array of his country a mass of horsemen, brave but ignorant of the art of war, and changed them into a body of fifty thousand disciplined soldiers, fifty thousand well armed yeomanry and

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militia, and with more than three hundred pieces of cannon for the
field. His authority was based on the feelings of a people, but it
needed the principles of military order and territorial extension.
When a limit had been set to Sikh territory; and his won powers
dropped, the spirit of his people was consumed in its own domestic
contentions. 1

When Ranjit Singh was Lord Auckland's host at Lahore his speech
had become difficult and he gradually lost the power of his mind; and
before his death the Rajas of Jammu had become independent, helped by
Nao Nihal Singh's absence. The army was assembled, and a litter said
to contain the dying Maharaja, declared that Kharak Singh had been
nominated the new Maharaja and Dhian Singh the minister of the Kingdom. 2
Sher Singh, the reputed son of Ranjit Singh, at once represented, to
the British viceroy, on his superior claim to the throne. Nao Nihal
Singh the real offspring of the titular sovereign and a youth of
eighteen, returned from Peshawar at once. He, although opposed to the
minister, allied himself with him, first to kill Chait Singh, a
favourite of the new Maharaja, and then to remove the British agent,
Col. Wade - who had been esteemed by Ranjit Singh, for his liberal
interpretation of Sikh rights, or, perhaps, because he carefully showed
ways to avoid a clash with the English. 3 In the eyes of the Sikhs

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.235.
2 ibid., p.236. Mr. Clerk's memorandum for Lord Ellenborough, 1842.
3 ibid., p.237.
he had become allied to Kharak Singh in all circumstances, and they did not like the Governor General's suggestions being regularly carried out by their new Maharaja; their hostility to Col. Wade was mixed up with their objection to the making of their country into a common highway for foreign armies. As the Governor General wished to keep the Kabul road open, he removed the agent; and in April 1840 Mr. Clerk became Col. Wade's successor.

The result of this was that the Maharaja was overawed by his son's success, and the Panjab opened for the free passage of British troops.

Kao Kihal Singh's great aim was to destroy the powerful Rajas of Jammu, who wished to take over the whole state, and jointly held Ladakh and the hill principalities between the Ravi and the Jehlum rivers in fief, besides numerous estates in the Panjab. The prince seemed to have succeeded in reducing the overgrown powers of these favourites of his grandfather; and also to have avoided the danger from the English on an alleged charge of secretly and traitorously corresponding with their enemy, Dost Mohammed Khan. At the same time the Maharaja was dying, hastened by drugs and his son's harshness.

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.236.
2 ibid., p.240.
3 ibid., p.240.
4 ibid., p.241.
5 ibid., p.242.
6 ibid., p.244.
7 ibid., p.243.
Kharak Singh died on 5th November 1840, at the age of thirty eight and Nao Nihal Singh was crowned. While returning from his father's funeral, he was severely injured when a portion of a covered gateway fell on him. He died during the night, and the Rajas of Jamiau were suspected of having arranged the accident. Nao Nihal Singh was only twenty years old and had the promise of an able and vigorous ruler.

The 'good natured voluptuary' Sher Singh whose paternity was more than doubtful, was regarded by the Sikh minister and the British agent as the only suitable successor, but they were surprised by Chand Kaur, Kharak Singh's widow, who assumed the function of regent for the expected son of Nao Nihal Singh. She was supported by several men of reputation. The Government was formed by the "Mother" as regent, Sher Singh as viceregent or president of the council of state, and Dhian Singh as vazir or executive minister. It was a temporary expedient.

It was not perhaps known till then to the British that Ranjit Singh's favourite wife or concubine, Rani Jindan, had borne a son to him, named Dalip, a few months before the conferences took place about the return of Shah Shooja to the throne of Kabul.

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.244.
2 ibid., p.245.
3 ibid., pp.245-246.
4 ibid., p.246.
5 ibid., p.246.
The Government of Chand Kaur was given only a de facto recognition by the British viceroy.¹

Sher Singh had, with the help of the minister Dhian Singh, gained over some divisions of the army, and believed that all would declare for him if he boldly put himself at their head. The eagerness of the prince, or of his immediate followers, somewhat precipitated measures. When he suddenly appeared at Lahore on the 14th January, 1841, he found that Dhian Singh had not arrived from Jammu, and Golab Singh would rather fight for the Maharani - the acknowledged head of the state - than become a party, on compulsion, to his ill-arranged schemes. But Sher Singh was no longer his own master, and the impetuous soldiery at once proceeded to breach the citadel - Golab Singh urged unsuccessfully for some delay or a suspension of hostilities; but, on the 18th January, Dhian Singh and most of the principal chiefs had arrived and ranged themselves on one side or the other. A compromise took place: the Mother was ostensibly treated with every honour and large estates were conferred on her, but Sher Singh was proclaimed Maharaja of the Panjab; Dhian Singh was reappointed minister and soldiers pay was raised permanently by a rupee per month.²

Sher Singh had become King with the help of the troops, but he was incapable of handling them either as soldiers or men; they took advantage of his incapacity and their own strength to work vengeance

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.247.
² Ibid., pp.248-249.
on the officers who had offended them, and on the regimental accountant who had defrauded them of pay. They also plundered some houses and slew several men, including a young Englishman named Foulkes. This violent feeling spread from the troops at the capital and the eastern hills to Kashmir and Peshawar; in Kashmir they killed the governor, and, in Peshawar, General Avitable had to seek refuge in Jellalabad.¹ There was fear of general plunder and the wealthy merchants of Amritsar clamoured for British protection. Sher Singh withdrew within himself and seemed hesitant to ask the British Agent for support. The British watched the confusion with much interest and some anxiety: their natural desire for aggrandizement, added to the apparently disorganized state of the Sikh army, contributed to strengthen a willing belief in the inferiority of the Sikhs as soldiers.² This error of judgement by the British continued till the battle of Phirozshahr.³

Before the middle of 1841 the more violent activities of the Lahore troops had ceased, but it was no longer the willing instrument of 'an arbitrary and genial government'. It looked upon itself and was regarded by others as the Khalsa, 'the representative body of the Sikh people', to take its part in public affairs.⁴

The efficiency of the army as a disciplined force was not much

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.249; cf. Mr. Clerk to Govt., 25th January, 8th and 14th February, 28th April and 30th May 1841.
² ibid., pp.249-50.
³ ibid., p.250.
⁴ ibid., p.253.
impaired; 'for a higher feeling possessed the men, and increased alacrity and resolution, supplied the place of exact training'. They were aware of the advantages of systematic union, and they were proud of their 'armed array as the visible body of Govind's commonwealth'. As a general rule, the troops obeyed their appointed officers in their ordinary military duties; but the position of a regiment, of a brigade, of a division, or of the whole army in relation to the executive government of the country was decided by a committee, or assemblage of committees, called a "Panch" or "Panchayat" - i.e. a jury or committee of five - made up of men selected from each battalion, or each company, in consideration of their general character as faithful Sikh soldiers or of their particular influence in their villages. In the Panjab the custom of submitting to decisions of its elders or superiors seated together in consultation developed further because of the organisation necessary to an army. Even in this 'crude form of representation thus achieved, the Sikh people were enabled to be effectively involved in the nomination and removal of their rulers', but these large assemblies sometimes added military licence to popular tumult; their resolutions were often unstable or unwise or they might be bribed and cajoled by such able and unscrupulous men as Raja Jolab Singh.

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.253.
2 ibid., pp.253-254.
3 ibid., p.254.
4 ibid., p.254.
The Lahore Government was convulsed at its centre, but its spirit of progress and aggrandizement was active on the frontiers which were free of British troops. The deputies in Kashmir had always been jealous of the usurpations of Golab Singh in Tibet; but Beehan Singh, a rude soldier, the governor of the valley during the commotions at Lahore, was alarmed into concessions by the powerful and ambitious Rajas of Jammu, and he left Iskardo, and the whole of the upper Indus, a free field for the aggressions of the lieutenants.

Zorawar Singh, the deputy of the Jammu Rajas, took Iskardo, and besides acquisition of territory he was also intent on monopolizing the trade in shawl wool, a considerable branch of which followed the Satlej and more eastern roads to Ludhiana and Delhi and added nothing to the treasury of Jammu. In May and June 1841 he occupied the valleys of the Indus and Satlej up to the sources of those rivers, and he fixed a garrison close to the frontiers of Nepal, and on the opposite side of the snowy range from the British post of Almora. The petty Rajput princes between the Kalle and Satlej suffered in their revenues, and trembled for their territories; the Nepal Government had renewed its intrigues of 1838, and was in correspondence with the crafty minister of Lahore and with the disaffected Sindhanwala chiefs. The British were at war with China on the sea coast, and they held that the British Indian trade must not be interfered with by Jammu conquests in Chinese Tibet, nor should Nepal and Lahore Kingdoms be allowed to join together behind the Himalayas; they also thought the Chinese
Emperor might confuse the Sikh troops with the British.¹

It was therefore decided that Sher Singh should ask his feudatories to evacuate Lhasa territories. 10th December 1841 was fixed for the surrender of Garo and a British officer was sent to oversee it. The Maharaja and his tributaries yielded, but before Zorawar Singh could be recalled, he was surrounded in the depths of winter, at a height of twelve thousand feet, by a superior Tibetan force used to snow and frost.²

During the spring of 1842 the victorious Chinese advanced along the Indus and not only recovered Garo but also occupied Ladakh and laid siege on the citadel of Leh; but Sikh troops were sent across the Himalayas in large numbers, and the siege was raised because the unwarlike Bhotias dreaded their swordsmen and cannoneers. In September 1842 Golab Singh's commander seized the Lhasa Vazir by treachery, and dislodged his troops by strategem from a position between Leh and Rohtak, where they were awaiting the return of winter. An arrangement was reached between the Lhasa and Lahore authorities, which meant that the original circumstances were restored.³ As the shawl wool trade to the British provinces was also revived, further intervention was not considered necessary by the British between the

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.255-257.
² Ibid., pp.257-258.
³ Ibid., pp.258-259.
Chinese and the Sikhs. At Amritsar, in March 1846, when Golab Singh was formally installed as Maharaja of Jammu, he exhibited the treaty with the Lama of Lhasa. It was drawn out by him in yellow and by the Chinese in red ink and signed by the impression of their open hands in their respective inks. The Panja or hand seemed to have been in general use in Asia on covenants.

When insurrection broke out at Kabul on 2nd November 1841, no confidence was placed in the efficiency or the friendship of the Sikhs. Their aid was always considered of importance but the way in which it was asked and used only made the Sikh army 'sink lower than before in British estimation'.

Sikh troops at Peshawar were urged by local British authorities, on their own initiative, to co-operate; indeed to march alone to Jellalabad. The fact that the English had been beaten was notorious, and the Sikh governor was obliged in the absence of orders to take the sense of the regimental "panches" or committees; and the hasty request to march was rejected. The British said that it was through fear alone, but, in fact, there were mixed feelings of contempt, distrust, and apprehension.

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.259.
2 Ibid., p.259.
3 Ibid., p.259.
4 Ibid., pp.260-261; Govt. to the Commander in Chief, 15th March 1842.
5 Ibid., p.261.
6 Ibid., pp.261-263.
Relieving the garrison at Jellalabad was necessary and, in the spring of 1842, a well-equipped force arrived at Peshawar; and the active co-operation of the Sikhs was still desirable and was sought for under the terms of an obsolete article in the tripartite treaty with Shah Shooja, which gave Lahore two laks of rupees in exchange for 5,000 troops.¹

Sher Singh was willing to do more than this. He greatly helped in the purchase of grain and transport; and his auxiliaries could greatly outnumber the troops of his allies.² But the genuine Sikhs were held by the English to be both mutinous in disposition and inferior in warlike spirit; they preferred the soldiers of Jammu. Golab Singh was required to proceed to Peshawar to suppress the insubordinate Khalsa and to give General Pollock efficient aid.³

He went, but was naturally unwilling to run any risk, and he failed in disciplining the Sikh battalions; his prudence and ill-success, were looked upon as collusion and insincerity.⁴ Still his aid was essential, and the local British officers, Major Mackeson and Col. Sir Henry Lawrence,⁵ proposed to confer Jellalabad on Golab Singh - independent of the Lahore Maharaja - as bribe. The Khyber Pass was

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.262. See Govt. to Mr. Clerk, 3rd May and 23rd July 1842.
² Ibid., pp.262-263.
³ Ibid., p.263.
⁴ Ibid., p.263.
⁵ Ibid., p.264 fn.
forced in the month of April and the auxiliary Sikhs had done well, without any promises having been made to Golab Singh,\(^1\) who hurried to the Ladakh frontier to look after his interests there.\(^2\)

The proposition of Jellalabad was again taken up in a new form by the new Governor General, Lord Ellenborough, who laid it down, as a principle, that neither the British nor the Sikh governments should hold dominion beyond the Himalayas and the "Suffed Koh" of Kabul. It was, therefore, urged that Golab Singh should relinquish Ladakh and accept Jellalabad on an equal term of dependency on the Panjab.\(^3\) The Sikhs were satisfied with an additional Afghan district, but the terms did not please Golab Singh. It was not until victorious troops were on their way back from Afghanistan to India that it was believed that the British would ever forego the possession of an empire. The Sikhs then consented to take Jellalabad, but, before the order of 18th October 1842 transferring it could reach General Pollock, he had destroyed the fortifications, and nominally abandoned the place to the King, whom he had expeditiously set up in the Bala Hissar.\(^4\)

The Governor General had assembled an army of Pirozpur as a reserve in case of further disasters in Afghanistan, and to make the British supremacy felt to the princes of India. Lord Ellenborough

\(^1\) J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.264.
\(^2\) ibid., p.264.
\(^3\) ibid., p.264; Govt. to Mr. Clerk, 27th April 1842.
\(^4\) ibid., pp.264-265.
also wished to thank Maharaja Sher Singh for the proofs of his continued friendship.\textsuperscript{1} Sher Singh himself did not look forward to his visit to Ellenborough, although in other circumstances he might have been gratified by this opportunity to display his power and magnificence. He felt his incapacity as a ruler and needlessly feared that he might be called to account for Sikh excesses, and for a suspected communication with the hostile Ameers of Sindh, who were then in peril; and even that the subjugation of the Panjab was to be a stepping stone for a complete reduction of Afghanistan. On the other hand he dreaded the vengeance of his followers, who believed his capable of sacrificing the Khalsa to his own interests; nor was Dhian Singh supposed to be without suspicion that his Maharaja would induce the viceroy to reduce his influence or to agree to his ruin.\textsuperscript{2}

Thus both Sher Singh and Dhian were perhaps glad that a misunderstanding made a meeting between the Viceroy and the Maharaja impossible.\textsuperscript{3}

However, when the personal apologies of the minister, accompanied by the young heir-apparent, had removed every reason for displeasure at the beginning of January 1843 - when the appointed time for the breaking up of the large army had come - the boy prince Purtap Singh was visited by Lord Ellenborough.\textsuperscript{4} The rapidity with which a large escort of Sikh troops was crossed over the Satlej when swollen with rain, and the

\textsuperscript{1} J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.266.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid., p.267.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid., p.267.
\textsuperscript{4} ibid., p.268.
alacrity and precision with which they manoeuvred, in Cunningham's view, deserved to have been well noted by the English captains, proud as they had reason to be of the numbers and achievements of their own troops. The prince likewise reviewed the Anglo-Indian forces, and the Sikh chiefs looked with interest upon the defenders of Jellalabad. At last the armed host broke up and Sher Singh hurried to Amritsar for thanksgiving to God that a great danger had passed away.

But Sher Singh feared his own chiefs and subjects; and although the designed or fortuitous murder of Chand Kaur, the Mother-Regent and widow of Maharaja Kharak Singh, relieved him of some of his apprehensions, he was uneasy under Dhian Singh's domination and began to listen to the smooth suggestions of Bhai Gurmukh Singh, his priest.

In the beginning of his reign his favourite was a Jowala Singh who had fought bravely during the attack on Lahore. He acted too harshly in his move to replace the Sindhanwals chiefs and the Jammu Raja as leading courtiers, and was imprisoned by Dhian Singh in 1841 and killed immediately afterwards. The British government in its 'well meant but impracticable desire to unite all parties' had urged Sher Singh to favour Sindhanwala chiefs, but had kept its own agents on the alert, and the Maharaja himself in a state of doubt or alarm.

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.268.
2 ibid., pp.268-269.
3 ibid., p.269.
4 ibid., p.269 fn.
Sher Singh, from his easiness of nature, was not averse to a recon­
ciliation, and, by degrees, he even became not unwilling to have the
family about him as some counterpoise to the Rajas of Jammu. Dhian
Singh also favoured their return for he thought they might be useful
now that the Mother-Regent Chand Kaur was dead. Thus Ajit Singh and
his uncles again took their accustomed places in the court of Lahore.

During the summer of 1843, however, Dhian Singh saw that his influence
was decreasing, and he had good reason to fear the Maharaja’s priest,
Gurmukh Singh, and the hold he might exercise over the multitude by
his religious character. Dhian Singh then began to talk of the boy
Dalip Singh, and to instil the belief in the Sindhanwala chiefs that
they had been brought to Lahore for their destruction. Ajit Singh had,
by this time, become the Maharaja’s boon-companion, and was himself
ambitious of power; and he and his uncle, Lehna Singh, decided to make
the minister a party to their own designs. They appeared to fall in
wholly with his views, and they said they would kill Sher Singh to
save themselves. On 15th September 1843, Ajit Singh induced the
Maharaja to inspect some levies he had newly raised; he approached, as
if to make an offering of a choice carbine, and to receive the
commendations usual on such occasions, but he raised the weapon and

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.269.
2 ibid., p.270.
3 ibid., p.270.
4 ibid., p.270.
shot the Maharaja dead. His uncle Lehna killed the heir-apparent Partap Singh; and the kinsmen then joined Dhian Singh and went with him to the citadel to proclaim a new King. The hitherto wary minister was now caught in his own 'toils and he became the dupe of his accomplices'. He was separated from his immediate attendants, as if for the sake of greater privacy, and shot by 'the same audacious chief who had just imbrued his hands in the blood of their common master'. The conspirators, however, forgot either to kill or imprison Dhian Singh's son. The soldiers were not, it seems, prepared for Dhian Singh's death, as they were for that of the Maharaja. Dhian Singh's son, Heera Singh, was aware of his own danger and his filial duty: he could plausibly accuse the Sindhanwalas of being alone guilty of the three murders which had taken place, and he promised rewards to the troops if they would avenge the death of their friend and his father. The army generally responded to his call, and the citadel was immediately attacked, 'yet so strong was the feeling of aversion to Jammu ascendancy among the Sikh people, that could the feeble garrison have held out for three or four days, until the first impulse of anger and surprise had passed away, it is almost certain that Heera Singh must have fled for his life'. But the place was entered on the second evening; the wounded Lehna Singh was at once killed, and Ajit Singh,

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.270.
2 Ibid., p.270; Lt. Col. Richmond, the British Agent to Govt., 17th and 18th September 1843.
3 Ibid., pp.270-271.
in attempting to escape over the high walls, fell. He too was killed.1

Daleep Singh was then proclaimed Maharaja and Heera Singh became Vazir and all powerful for the moment. The Sindhanwala possessions were confiscated and their houses razed to the ground. Bhai Guraukh Singh, the priest, was also killed.2

The new minister added two rupees and a half, or five shillings, a month to the pay of the common soldiers, and he also discharged some arrears due to them. The army felt that it had become the master of the state, and it endeavoured to procure donatives, or to place itself right in public estimation, by threatening to eject the Jammu faction, and to make Bhaire Bir Singh a King as well as a priest.3

Jowahir Singh, the maternal uncle of the boy Maharaja, already grasped the highest post he could occupy and the minister's family was disunited within itself and his uncle Suchet Singh felt jealous of the young Vazir. He turned to his other uncle Golab Singh for support, and that shrewd man did not care who held the offices as long as he was deferred to and left free.4 Golab Singh was not popular with Sikhs, for they suspected he would try to garrison every stronghold with his followers. Golab Singh was, therefore, cautious; and before he

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.271.
2 ibid., p.271.
3 ibid., p.272; Lt. Col. Richmond, British Agent to Govt., 26th September 1843. Bhai Bir Singh helped Uttur Singh Sindhanwala in his rising against Heera Singh's appointment as Vazir and Daleep Singh's proclamation as Maharaja in September 1843. Bir Singh was a devotee of great repute. He was later killed with Uttur Singh in May 1844.
4 ibid., p.272.
reached Lahore, on the 10th November, he tried to win over all parties, except the boy Maharaja's uncle Jowahir Singh, whom he may have despised as incapable. 1 Jowahir Singh resented it and threatened at a review of some troops, to kidnap the boy and take him into British territories, unless they deposed the Jammoo Rajas. This threat displeased the Sikhs and they immediately imprisoned him; but, nonetheless, Heera Singh continued to be beset with difficulties.2

Heera Singh had surpassed the general expectations in his acts and successes. He had little more than a noble presence and a conciliating manner, and the brains behind his every measure was a Brahmin called Jalla, the family priest of the Jammoo brothers and the tutor of Dhian Singh's son. This crafty and ambitious man retained all the influence over the youthful minister which he had exercised over his father on whom Ranjit Singh had lavished favours as a boy. Armies had marked, and chiefs had been vanquished as if at the bidding of the preceptor turned councillor.3

Jalla seemed to have an idea of founding a dynasty of Peshwas among the rude Jats of the Panjab as another Brahmin had done among the equally rude Kahrattas of the south.4

He fully perceived that the Sikh army must be conciliated, and also that it must be employed. He despised the spirit and ability of

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.272; c.f. Lt. Col. Richmond to Govt., 26th and 16th November 1843.
2 Ibid., pp.272-273.
3 Ibid., p.279.
4 Ibid., p.279.
most of the titular chiefs of the country; and he felt that Raja Golab Singh appropriated a large proportion of the revenues of the country and seriously embarrassed the central government by his overgrown power and influence. It was of primary importance to keep the army well and regularly paid; and hence the Pandit proceeded without scruple to sequester several of the fiefs of the sirdars, and gradually to inspire the soldiery with the necessity of a march against Jammu. He also had a pretext for denouncing Golab Singh, as he had lately taken possession of the estate of Raja Suchet Singh, to which he regarded himself as the sole heir.

Jalla showed vigour and capacity in all he did, but was too hasty in some matters, and he attempted too much at one time. He did not, perhaps, understand the Sikh character in all its depths and ramifications, and he probably undervalued Golab Singh's subtlety.

Pandit Jalla made the additional mistake of forgetting that the Sikhs were not suspicious of Golab Singh alone, but of all strangers to the faith and race; and in trying to crush the chiefs, he had forgotten that they were Sikhs as much as the soldiers: the word "Khalsa" was used to unite both high and low. He showed no respect even to chiefs of ability and means; and the only person who was raised to any distinction was the unworthy Lal Singh, a Brahmin, and

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2 Ibid., p.280.

3 Ibid., p.281.
a follower of the Rajas of Jammu, but who was understood to have gained a 'disgraceful influence over the impure mind' of Rani Jindan. The Pandit again, in his arrogance, had ventured to use impatient and disrespectful expressions against the Maharaja's mother, and he had always treated her brother Jowahir Singh with contempt. The impulsive soldiers were worked upon by the incensed woman, Rani Jindan, and her ambitious brother. She, Ranjit Singh's widow, appealed to the children of the Khalsa, who had been already incited by the proscribed chiefs. Heera Singh and Pandit Jalla knew then that their rule was at an end. On 21st December 1844 they tried to make a sudden flight from the capital to escape the anger of the soldiers but were captured and killed before they could reach Jammu. Jalla's memory continued to be execrated, but the fate of Heera Singh excited some regret, as he had well avenged his father's death and filled his office with grace and modesty.¹

The sudden end of Heera Singh's government caused some confusion; but it soon became obvious that Jowahir Singh, the Rani's brother, and Lal Singh, her favourite, would become the most influential members of the government.² The troops were rewarded with a rise of half a rupee per month in pay, many fiefs were restored, and the cupidity of

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.281. c.f. Major Broadfoot to Govt., 24th and 28th December 1844.

² ibid., p.282. c.f. Major Broadfoot, the new British Agent, (see ibid., p.281) to Govt., 28th December 1844.
all parties in the state was excited by a renewal of the designs against Golab Singh. It was essential to the Government that the troops should be employed: it was pleasing to the men to be able to gratify their avarice or their vengeance. They, therefore, marched with alacrity towards Jammu, and rejected the compromise which the Lahore Court seemed inclined to come with Golab Singh.

Golab Singh, who knew the relative inferiority of his soldiers, distributed money freely among the committees (Panchayats) of regiments, and gratified the members of these committees by his personal attentions; and again inspired Peshawara Singh, a claimant to the throne, with designs to realise his ambition. He promised a gratuity to the army which had marched against him; and agreed to surrender certain portions of the general possessions of his family to pay to the state a fine of 3,500,000 rupees.

He succeeded in partially gaining over two brigades, and he joined their camp and arrived at Lahore early in April 1845. Although partially a prisoner he had a reasonable prospect of becoming the minister, because the majority of the soldiers considered that a man of his rank had been sufficiently humbled; the Panchayats had been won by his money and blandishments; and many of Ranjit Singh's old servants confidence in his ability and in his goodwill towards the

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.282. c.f. Major Broadfoot to Govt., 28th December 1844, 2nd January 1845.

2 ibid., p.282.

3 ibid., pp.282-283. Major Broadfoot to Govt., 3rd March 1845.
state generally.1 There was still some of the animosity which had proved fatal to Heera Singh.2 Jowahir Singh plainly aimed at the office of Vazir and Lal Singh's own ambition made him use his influence with the Maharaja's mother to resist the growing feeling in Golab Singh's favour whom he envied and dreaded.3 Golab Singh, therefore, thought it prudent to avoid a contest for power and leave Lahore for a place of greater safety; he also agreed to pay in all a fine of 6,800,000 rupees, to give up nearly all the districts held by him, except his own proper fiefs, and renew his lease of salt mines between the Indus and Jhelum on terms which virtually deprived him of a large profit and of political superiority. He was present at Jowahir Singh's installation as Vazir on 14th May 1845,4 and at the Maharaja's betrothal on the 10th July.5 Towards the end of the month he retired to Jammu, shorn of much real power, but made acceptable to the troops by his humility. The English authorities were finally convinced that the levies of the mountain Rajputs were unequal to a contest even with the Sikh soldiery,6 for "late events had shown the raja's weakness in hills where he should have been strongest, had

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.283.
2 ibid., p.283.
3 ibid., pp.283-284.
4 ibid., p.284; Major Broadfoot to Govt., 24th May 1845.
5 ibid., p.284; Major Broadfoot to Govt., 14th July 1845.
6 ibid., p.284.
his followers been brave and trusty".\(^1\)

Jowahir Singh found himself the mere sport and plaything of the army as soon as his revenge had been gratified by the expulsion of Heera Singh and Fandit Jalla, for it had used him for achieving the common purpose.\(^2\) The soldiery began to consider itself as pre-eminently the "Panth Khalsajee" - congregation of believers or the body of the elect ("Sarbat Khalsa"). Major Broadfoot, the British Agent, thought this title was new but the Government pointed out that according to the Calcutta records it was an old term.\(^3\) Jowahir Singh was overawed by the spirit of the army, and, during successes against Jammu, he twice made plans for escaping to the south of Satlej: but the army suspected such a step by him. He abandoned his hope of escape and sought refuge in dissipation, in the levy of Mohammedan regiments and in idle and desperate threats of war with his British allies.\(^4\)

Jowahir Singh was thus despised and distrusted by the Sikhs themselves; their hostility was fomented by Lal Singh, who sought the office of Vazir. Peshawara Singh's murder added to the general exasperation, for the act was condemned as insulting to the people and the chief's considered that it would endanger their own safety if

\(^1\) J.B. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.284 fn; Major Broadfoot to Govt., 5th May 1845.

\(^2\) ibid., p.286.

\(^3\) ibid., p.286 fn; Broadfoot's letter of 2nd February,1845.

\(^4\) ibid., pp.286-287; c.f. Broadfoot to Govt., 23rd, 28th February, 5th April and 15th and 18th April 1845.
they condoned it.¹

The Panchayats of regiments met in council and they resolved that Jowahir Singh should die as a traitor to the commonwealth, 'for death is almost the only mode by which tumultuous, half-barbarous governments can remove a minister'.² He was accordingly required to appear on the 21st September, 1845, before the assembled Khalsa to answer for his misdeeds.

He went to the assembly on an elephant, but took with him the young Maharaja and a quantity of gold and jewels. On arrival, he tried to bribe some influential deputies and officers, but was sternly asked to let the Maharaja be removed and to be silent himself. The boy was placed in a tent nearby, and a body of soldiers advanced and shot the Vazir to death with their muskets.³

The Sikhs generally regarded Jowahir Singh as faithless to the Khalsa and who was ready to bring in the English. The act had the solemnity and moderation of a judicial process and witnessed by a whole people, and the body of Jowahir Singh was allowed to be burnt with the rites of the Sati sacrifice.⁴

For some time after the execution of Jowahir Singh, no one seemed willing to place himself at the end of the self-dependent army, which within a few months had led 'captive' the formidable Raja of...

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.287.
² ibid., p.287.
³ ibid., p.287; Compare Major Broadfoot to Govt., 26th September 1845.
⁴ ibid., p.287.
Jammu, reduced to submission the powerful governor of Multan, put down the rebellion of one recognised as the brother of the Maharaja, and pronounced and executed judgement on the highest functionary in the Kingdom, and which had also without effort contrived to keep the famed Afghans in check at Peshawar. Along the frontier Raja Golab Singh and all others were overawed, and Rani Jindan held a regular court without a vazir.\(^1\) The army was satisfied with this arrangement, for the committees considered that they could keep the provinces obedient; and they reposed confidence in the talent, or the integrity, of the accountant, Deenamath, of the paymaster, Bhagat Ram, and of Nuruddin - the brother of the old and infirm Faqir Azizuddin - with the particulars of the treaties and engagements with the English. The army had formerly required that these three men should be consulted by Jowahir Singh, but the advantages of a responsible head was, nevertheless, apparent; and as the soldiers were, by degrees worked upon to wage war with the English Raja Lal Singh was nominated Vazir and Sardar Tej Singh was reconfirmed in his office of commander-in-chief early in November 1845.\(^2\)

The English had long expected that they would be forced into a war with the 'overbearing soldiery of the Panjab'.\(^3\) The Indian public

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\(^1\) J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.288.
\(^2\) ibid., p.288. Cunningham follows his own notes of occurrences in this paragraph.
\(^3\) ibid., pp.289-290.
which only noticed the fact of progressive aggrandizement by strangers, was prepared to hear of the annexation of another Kingdom without minutely inquiring or caring about the causes which led to it; and the more selfish chiefs of the Sikhs had always wanted some interference which would guarantee their own possessions. These 'wealthy and incapable' men bowed to the superiority of Ranjit Singh and the 'mysterious spirit animating the people arrayed in arms'; they looked forward to the change a war with the English would bring, but it is doubtful that the Sikh army ever seriously contemplated — although they often boasted about it — fighting with the paramount power in India until two or three months before the first battles; even then they considered it a purely defensive war.¹

From the moment the Sikh army became powerful in the state, the British authorities had begun to believe that the machinery of government would be destroyed, that bands of plunderers would arise everywhere and 'the duty of a civilised people to society generally and of a governing power to its own subjects' would all combine to bring on a collision. Thus measures were taken to strengthen the frontier posts, and for having a force at hand which might prevent aggression or at least 'exact retribution and vindicate the supremacy of the English name'.²

The Sikhs on the other hand did not understand why they should

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.290.
² ibid., p.290. c.f. Minute by the Governor General to the Secret Committee, 1st October 1845, Parliamentary Paper 1846.
be dreaded when their internal disturbances made their comparative inferiority even lower. The British defensive measures seemed to them aggressive preparations, and they decided that their country was to be invaded. This conviction, according to Cunningham, was not unreasonable; India, from Kabul to the valley of Assam and the island of Ceylon, was regarded as one country and dominion in it associated in the hands of the people with the predominance of one monarch or of one race: 'The public would never accuse the conquerors of unjust aggression, or at least of unrighteous and unprincipled ambition'.

It had never been concealed from the Sikh authorities that the helplessness of their government was held to justify such additions to the troops at Ludhiana and Firozpur as would give confidence to the inhabitants of the districts and ensure the successful defence of the posts themselves against predatory bands. The Sikhs did not deny the right of the English to make military arrangements for the security of their territories. Although it had not been made known to the Sikhs that Sir William McNaghten and others had proposed to dismember their kingdom by bestowing Peshawar on Shah Shooja, when Ranjit Singh's line was held to end with the death of his grandson, the fact was contributory to their conclusion. Nor could they have forgotten that the English offered in 1843 to march on their capital and disperse

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.290-291; For British organisation of forces towards the Panjab, see ibid. pp.291-292.
2 ibid., p.293; of. Governor General to the Secret Committee, 2nd December 1845. Parliamentary Papers, 1846, and also dispatch of the 31st December 1845. Parliamentary Papers, p.28.
their army - and again in 1844 and 1845 - nor the fact that the English were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Satlej, the boundary river; and that troops in Sindh were being equipped for a march on Multan, and the various garrison of the northwest provinces were being gradually reinforced, while some of them were being abundantly supplied with the munitions of wars as well as with troops.¹

The Sikhs' belief that the fixed policy of the English was territorial aggrandizement, and their immediate object was the conquest of Lahore, was reinforced by the performance of the British Agent at the time and their interpretation of it. The British Government's accredited officer was the sole channel of communication with its allies and dependents; the personal character of the officer played in - therefore coloured the judgement of - British policies in those territories.² Major Broadfoot's appointment, therefore, was not conducive to peace, and his every act was seen in a spirit of enmity rather than goodwill.³

As the authority of the army began to predominate, and to derive force from its system of committees, a new danger threatened the territorial chiefs and the adventurers in the employ of the government. They might successively fall before the cupidity of the organised body

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.293-294. The details of the preparations made by Lords Ellenborough and Hardinge appeared in an article in the Calcutta Review, understood to be written by Lt. Col. Lawrence.

² ibid., p.294.

³ ibid., p.297. For a discussion of Major Broadfoot vis a vis Sikhs, see ibid., p.296.
which none of them could control, or an able leader might arise who would absorb the power of all others, and gratify his followers by the sacrifice of the rich, the selfish and the feeble.¹ Even the Raja of Jammu, always averse to a close connection with the British, began to despair of safety as a feudatory in the hills or of authority as a minister at Lahore, without the aid of the British name; and Lal Singh, the vazir, and Tej Singh, the commander-in-chief, and many others, all equally felt their incapacity to control the troops. These men considered that their only chance of retaining power was to have the army removed by inducing it to engage in a contest which they believed would end in its dispersion; and pave the way for their recognition as ministers more surely than if they did their duty by the people and earnestly deprecated a war which must destroy the independence of the Panjab. Had the shrewd committees of the armies observed no military preparations by the English, they would not, in Cunningham's view, have needed the insidious exhortations of such mercenary men as Lal Singh and Tej Singh; although in former days they would have marched uninquiringly towards Delhi at the bidding of their great Maharaja.²

But the views of the Government functionaries coincided with the belief of the impulsive soldiery. When the men were tauntingly asked whether they would quietly look on while the limits of the Khalsa

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.298.
² Ibid., pp.298-299.
dominion were being reduced and the plains of Lahore occupied by the English, they replied that they would defend, with their lives, all those belonging to the commonwealth of Gobind; and they would march and give battle to the invaders on their own grounds.¹

Early in November 1845, two Sikh villages near Ludhiana were sequestered for allegedly hiding criminals: the measure was unusual, and the situation became serious by the rapid journey of the Governor General to the frontier, and all doubts from the minds of the Panchayats were removed.²

The men would assemble in groups and talk of the great battle they might soon fight, and they would meet round the tomb of Ranjit Singh and vow fidelity to the Khalsa.³

War was virtually declared on the 17th November, 1845, a few days before the troops began to move in detachments from Lahore. They began crossing the Satlej between Harike and Kasur on the 11th December; and, on the 14th, a portion of that army took up a position within a few miles of Firozpur.⁴

The English not only undervalued their army, but they also

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¹ J. D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp. 299-300. Cunningham: 'The ordinary private correspondence of the time contained many such statements'.
² ibid., p. 300. Major Broadfoot's official correspondence seems to have ceased after 21st November 1845; and there is no report of this affair among his records.
³ ibid., p. 300.
⁴ ibid., p. 300.
mistook the form which the war would take. It was not thought that
the ministry or even the army would have the courage to cross the
river in force, and look for an equal contest; the known treasonable
views of the chiefs and the unity and depth of feeling which possessed
the troops were equally disregarded. It continued to be believed that
a desultory warfare would sooner or later ensue, which would require
the British to interfere at their own convenience.

Thus, boats for bridges and regiments and guns, the provocations
to war, were sufficiently numerous; but food and ammunition, and
carriage and hospital stores such as were necessary for a campaign,
were all left behind at Delhi or Agra, or still remained to be
collected.¹

However, the Governor General joined the commander-in-chief at
Ambala early in December 1845, and as soon as it seemed certain that
the Sikhs were marching in force towards the Satlej, the English
troops in the upper provinces were ordered to move.²

The Sikh army of invasion consisted of thirty-five or forty
thousand men with a hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, in addition
to a detachment of reserve troops near Ludhiana. The number of regular
troops did not exceed more than half of those of the British troops,
although numerous bodies of undisciplined cavalrymen increased their

¹ J. D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.302. c.f. Governor
General to the Secret Committee, 31st December 1845. (Parliamentary
Papers, 1846 and Calcutta Review, i.o. XVI, p.475).
² Ibid., pp.302-303.
strength to more than double the British number.¹

The Sikhs leaders threatened Firozpur, but they did not attack; for the intention of Lal Singh and Tej Singh was not to compromise themselves with the English by destroying an isolated division, but to have their own troops dispersed by the opponents' converging forces. They wished to be upheld as the ministers of a dependent Kingdom by grateful conquerors, which was their reason for withholding attack on Firozpur. They also assured the local British authorities of their 'secret and efficient goodwill'.² To keep up their ostensible devotion to the interests of their country, they reasoned for leaving an easy objective of a contonment till they could capture or kill the Governor General, and thus exalt the fame of the Khalsa. It was notorious that Lal Singh was in communication with Captain Nicolson, the British Agent at Firozpur, but the details of the contact were lost due to Nicolson's untimely death.³

The Sikh army keeping in view the necessity of unity of command and counsel, temporarily suspended the power of the regimental and other committees by an agreement with the executive heads of the state; which enabled the minister, Lal Singh, and the commander-in-chief, Tej Singh, to manoeuvre with comparative ease.⁴ Nevertheless, in the

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.303.
² ibid., pp.303-304.
³ ibid., p.304.
⁴ ibid., pp.304-305.
ordinary military matters of occupying positions and distributing infantry and cavalry the generals and other commanders acted on their own; and all had to consider the spirit of the private soldiers who were ready to do battle for the commonwealth of Govind. The effects of this 'enthusiastic unity of purpose' in the army was conspicuously evident in the speed with which numerous heavy guns and abundance of grain and ammunition were taken across a large river. Every Sikh considered the cause as his own, and he would work as a labourer as well as carry a musket; he would drag guns, drive bullocks, lead camels, and load and unload boats with a cheerful alacrity. It contrasted strongly with the inept and sluggish obedience of mere mercenaries, drilled and fed with skill and care, but 'unwarmed by one generous feeling for their country or their foreign employers'. The youthful Khalsa was active and strong of heart but the soldiers had never before met so great an enemy, and their tactics were modified by 'involuntary awe of the British army, renowned in the East for achievements in war'. The river had been crossed, and the treaty broken; but the Sikhs were startled at their own audacity, and they entrenched one part of their own forces, while keeping the other as a reserve out of danger's way.

The Ambala and Ludhiana divisions of the British army arrived at Ludkee, twenty miles from Firozpur, on the 18th December, and they had

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2 Ibid., p. 305.
hardly taken up their position before they were attacked by a detachment of the Sikh army, believed at the time to be over thirty thousand strong, but which really seems to have consisted of less than two thousand infantry, and eight or ten thousand horsemen. Lal Singh, in accordance with his original design, involved his followers in an engagement, and then left them to fight as their undirected bravery might prompt. The Sikhs were repulsed with the loss of seventeen guns. The British loss was 217 killed and 657 wounded out of a force of 11,000 men under Lord Gough, but their success was not so complete as should have been achieved. It was decided to make a junction with the division of Sir John Littler, before attacking the advanced wing of the Sikh army, which was encamped in a deep horse-shoe form around the village of Phirozshahar, about ten miles both from Mudkee and from Firozpur. This position of the Sikhs was strengthened by more than a hundred pieces of artillery, and its slight and imperfect entrenchments had, here and there, been raised almost waist high since that action at Mudki. It was believed at the time to have about fifty thousand men, but later estimated at twelve regiments and the cavalry at eight or ten thousand men. The junction with Sir John Littler's division was made about midday on the 21st December at a distance of four miles from the

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.306, incl. fn.
2 ibid., p.307.
enemy's position; but the assault was not made until within an hour of sunset.¹

Although the English had got the field they wanted, the Sikh gunners fired with rapidity and precision and the foot soldiers stood between and behind the batteries firmly in order, and active with their muskets. The resistance was wholly unexpected. Guns were dismounted and their ammunition was blown into the air; squadrons were checked in mid cover; battalion after battalion was hurled back with shattered ranks, and it was not until after sunset that portions of the Sikh position was finally carried. Darkness, and the obstinacy of the contest, threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and arms were mixed together; generals were doubtful of the fact or of the extent of their own success, and colonels did not know what had become of the regiments they commanded, or of the army of which they formed a part. Some portions of the Sikh line had not been broken; and the uncaptured guns were turned by the Sikhs upon masses of soldiers, oppressed with cold and thirst and fatigue, and who attracted their attention by lighting fires of brushwood.²

On that night the English 'were hardly masters of the ground on which they stood'; they had no reserve, while the Sikhs had a second army. But Lord Gough decided not to retreat to Firozpur and his own and Lord Harding's 'personal intrepidity in storming batteries, at

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.307.
² ibid., pp.307-308.
the head of troops of English gentlemen and bands of hardy yeomen, eventually achieved a partial success and a temporary repose. On the morning of the 22nd December, the last remnants of the Sikhs were driven from their camp.

During the day the second reserve of their army, commanded by Tej Singh, approached in battle and the 'wearied and famished English saw before them a desperate and perhaps useless struggle'. Tej Singh ignored his soldiers' suggestion to fall upon the English at daybreak - for his object was to have the Sikh army overcome and dispersed - and waited until Lal Singh's troops had everywhere been put to flight, and the English had again regained their order. Even then he did not lead his men to a decided attack; and, after a time, he fled suddenly, leaving his officers without orders and without an object, at a moment when the English artillery lacked ammunition and a part of their force was returning to Firozpur. If the Sikhs had resolutely pressed forward no exertions could have saved the remainder of the English army.

A battle had thus been won by the British with a gain of seventy pieces of artillery and some conquered and confiscated territories, but the victors had lost a seventh of their army, and were paralysed

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.308.
2 ibid., p.308.
3 ibid., pp.308-309.
4 ibid., p.309. For the battle of Phirozshahar, see Lord Gough's Despatch of the 22nd and Lord Harding's of 31st December 1845.
after their 'prodigious exertions and tense excitement'. 'They allowed the Sikhs to cross the Satlej at their leisure to prepare for fresh battles. The Sepoy mercenaries had for the first time met an equal antagonist with their own weapons - even ranks and the fire of artillery'.

The British army was gradually reinforced, and it took up a position stretching from Firozpur towards Harike, and parallel to the Sikh line on the right bank of the Satlej. But lack of ammunition and heavy guns reduced the English to inactivity and encouraged the Sikhs to fresh acts of daring.

The main Sikh army began to recross the Satlej and to construct a bridge-head, and the English had to allow this because they feared that an attack would develop with a general engagement and, due to the lack of ammunition, they would not win. The Sikhs were naturally pleased and declared that they would again fall upon the hated foreigners. The disadvantages of Firozpur as a frontier post was becoming more and more apparent, and the English began to experience difficulty in obtaining supplies.

On 17th January 1846 Major General Sir Harry Smith was sent with a brigade to capture Dharmkot. He succeeded in taking it without bloodshed and thus made the transit of grain to the army more secure.

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.310.
2 ibid., p.311.
3 ibid., p.312.
4 ibid., p.313.
A division of the Sikh army under Runjor Singh had crossed the Jallandhar Dooab to the neighbourhood of Ludhiana. When this became known, Sir Harry Smith was ordered to relieve Ludhiana. On the 20th January General Smith encamped at the trading town of Jagraon, within twenty five miles of his destination, and was allowed to occupy its fort by the son of Fateh Singh Alhoowalia of the treaty of 1805 fame. Runjor Singh was in position immediately to the westward of Ludhiana and had a small garrison at Buddowal, about eighteen miles on the direct road from Jagraon. The British detachment, which had been reinforced to four regiments of infantry, three regiments of cavalry and eighteen guns, marched soon after midnight. On the 21st it was learnt that the whole Sikh army, of about ten thousand men, had moved to Buddowal during the day before, about eight miles from the head of the column. Sir Harry Smith considered making a detour to the right to give three miles on his other flank, so that he could join the Ludhiana brigade without molestation.

As the troops approached Buddowal, the Sikhs were seen to move in a similar way and apparently bent on intercepting them; but it was not wished by the English to give them battle. The Sikhs, however, began a fire of artillery on the British cavalry. By the time that the British infantry and small rearguard of cavalry had closed up

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.311.
2 Ibid., pp.313-314.
the fire of the Sikhs began to tell, and it was thought that a steady charge by the infantry would throw them into disorder, and would allow the baggage to pass on, and give time to the Ludhiana troops to come to their aid. But as the foot regiments were being formed into line, it was found that the Sikhs had dragged guns, unseen, behind sand hillocks to the rear of the column, or, as matters then stood, that they had turned their enemy's left flank. These guns threw their enfilading shots with great rapidity and precision and whole sections of men were seen to fall at a time. ¹

The ground was heavy and the men were wearied after a march of nine hours - of eighteen miles; and realizing that an attack would be fatal, the infantry resumed its march to Ludhiana, which was covered skilfully and steadily by the cavalry. The Sikhs did not pursue them because they had no leader - or one who wished to see them beat the English. ² Runjor Singh let his soldiers engage in battle, but it is doubtful whether he accompanied them. It is certain that he did not try the easy task of turning the success of his men into a complete defeat of the enemy. ³ The mass of the English baggage was nearby and the temptation to plunder 'could not be resisted by men who were without orders to conquer'. ⁴

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.314.
² ibid., pp.314-315.
³ ibid., p.315.
⁴ ibid., p.315.
Ludhiana, however, was relieved, but an unsuccessful skirmish added to the belief that 'the dreaded army of the foreign masters had at last been foiled by the skill and valor of the disciples of Govind'.

The presence of European prisoners added to the Sikhs' triumph. Lal Singh and Tej Singh withdrew with fear; and Golab Singh, who had been spontaneously hailed as minister and leader, began to think that the Khalsa was really formidable and he arrived at Lahore on the 27th January to lead them. But he was too late to avert defeat and subjection.

The army under Tej Singh had recrossed the Satlej in force and enlarged the bridgehead they were building; thus entrenched in a strong position in the face of British divisions. During the night of 22nd January, Runjor Singh marched from Buddowal to a place on the Satlej about fifteen miles below Ludhiana. There were few regular regiments under him, until joined by a brigade of four battalions and some guns from the main army, which made them a force of not less than fifteen thousand combatants. Sir Harry Smith immediately occupied the deserted position of the enemy, and was reinforced, at the same time as the Sikhs, by a brigade from the main English army. On the 28th January, 1846, the general marched with his eleven thousand men - the

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.315.
2 ibid., p.316; c.f. Governor General to the Secret Committee, 3rd February 1846.
3 ibid., p.316.
4 ibid., p.316.
Sikhs were about ten miles away - and halfway it was learnt that the Sikhs were going either to relieve the fort of Gungrana or occupy the town of Jagraon, both places being close to the line of British communications with the Jamma.¹

On reaching the edge of the tableland 'bounding the sunken belt of many miles in breadth within which the narrower channel of the Satlej proper winds irregularly', a portion of the Sikh army was observed to be in motion in a direction which would take them clear of the left of the British approach; but as soon as they saw that they were liable to be attacked in flank, they faced towards their enemy, and occupied, with their right, the village of Boondree, and, with their left, the little hamlet of Aleewal.²

An immediate collision was inevitable, and the British commander promptly gave the order for battle. 'The regiments of cavalry which headed the advance opened their glittering ranks to the right and left, and made apparent the serried battalions of infantry and the frowning batteries of cannon'.³

The lines of battle were not exactly parallel. The Sikh line inclined towards and extended beyond the English right, while the other flanks were, for a time, comparatively distant. Even before the English had halted their march of eight miles to form their line, the

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.316-317.
² ibid., p.317.
³ ibid., p.317.
Sikhs commenced battle. The British general considered the capture of the village of Aleewal to be of first importance, and the right of the infantry was led against it. 'A deadly struggle seemed impending for the Sikh ranks were steady and the play of their guns incessant'. The post was held by battalions of hillmen who were indifferent to the spirit of the Khalsa; after firing a struggling volley, they fled in confusion, headed by Runjor Singh, their immediate leader, and left the Sikh artillerymen to be slaughtered. At the same time a successful and sweeping charge was made by the English cavalry of the right, and one of the opposition was fairly broken and dispersed. But the Sikhs, on their own, seemed to be outflanking their opponents in spite of the efforts of the English infantry and artillery. A regiment of European lancers, supported by one of Indian cavalry, was launched against the even ranks of the Sikh infantry. They knelt to receive the orderly but impetuous charge of the English. At the critical moment, the unaccustomed discipline of many of the Sikhs failed them. They rose, yet they reserved their fire, and delivered it together at the distance of a spear's throw. It was not until the mass had been three times ridden through that the Sikhs dispersed. The charge was wisely planned and bravely made; but the ground was more thickly strewn with the bodies of victorious horsemen than of beaten infantry. An attempt was made to rally behind Boondree, but all resistance was unavailing. The Sikh were driven across the Satlej, more than fifty pieces of

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.318.
cannon were taken, and 'the general forgot his sorrows, and the soldiers their sufferings and indignities, in the fulness of their common triumph'.

The victory was equally important and opportune, and the time-serving Golab Singh, whose skill and capacity might have protracted the war, first reproached the vanquished Sikhs for rashly engaging in hostilities with the powerful neighbour, and then entered into negotiations with the English leaders.

The Governor General was not displeased that the Lahore authorities should be ready to yield; for he truly felt that to subjugate the Panjab in one season, to defeat an army as numerous as his own, to take two capitals, and to lay siege on Kultan and Jammu and Peshawar - all within a few months - was a difficult undertaking and full of imminent risks. The dominion of the English depended mainly on the troops of their own race and a hot weather campaign would have thinned their ranks under the most favourable circumstances.

The first object was to drive the Sikhs across the Satlej by force of arms or to have them withdraw to their own side of the river by the unconditional submission of the chiefs and the delegates of the army, but the total dispersion of 'so large and so well-equipped a body

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.318-319; cf. Sir Harry Smith's dispatch too of 30th January and Lord Gough's dispatch of the 1st February 1846. Parliamentary Papers, 1846. The loss sustained was 151 killed, 413 wounded and 25 missing.

2 ibid., pp.319-320; cf. Governor General to the Secret Committee, 19th February 1846.

3 ibid., p.320.
of brave men, as that which lay within sight of the available force of the British government' could not be accomplished by one defeat.¹

The English, therefore, informed Golab Singh of their readiness to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty in Lahore after the army should have been disbanded. But the raja declared his inability to deal with the troops, which still overawed him and other friends of Ranjit Singh's family. This helplessness was partly exaggerated for selfish reasons, but a quick treaty was essential to British reputation.

The views of both parties met in an understanding that the Sikh army should be attacked by the English, and, when beaten, it should be openly abandoned by its own government; and further that the passage of the Satlej should be unopposed and the road to the capital laid open to the victors. 'Under such circumstances of discreet policy and shameless treason was the battle of Subraon fought'.²

The Sikhs had gradually brought the greater part of their force into the entrenchment on the left bank of the Satlej which had been enlarged as impulse prompted or as opportunity seemed to offer. They placed sixty-seven pieces of artillery in battery, and their strength was estimated at thirty-five thousand fighting men; but less than twenty thousand would be nearer the reality, and all of them were not regular troops. This entrenchment likewise showed a fatal want of

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp. 320-321.

² ibid., p. 321; cf. Governor General's letter to the Secret Committee of the 19th February 1846: 'from which however those only who were mixed up with the negotiations can extract aught indicative of the understanding with Golab Singh which is alluded to in the text'. — quoted by Cunningham, ibid. p. 321 fn.
unity of command and of design; and 'at Subraon, as in other battles of the campaign, the soldiers did everything and leaders nothing'.

The belief that the entrenchments of Subraon were jointly planned and executed by a French and a Spanish colonel is as much without foundation as that the Sikh army's effectiveness was solely due to the labours and skill of French and Italian generals. The authority of either Hurbon - or Louton - the Spanish or the French colonel - did not extend beyond a regiment or brigade; the lines showed no trace whatever of scientific skill or of unity of design. Taj Singh commanded in this entrenchment and Lal Singh lay with his horse in loose order higher up the stream, watched by a body of English cavalry. The Sikhs, however, were somewhat cast down by the defeat at Aleewal, and by the sight 'of the unhonoured remains of their comrades floating down the Satlej'; but their self-confidence soon returned, their spirits cheered by the capture of an English observation post. They resumed their practice of military exercises within calling distance of the British pickets. Yet the dangers which threatened the Sikh people - from domestic anarchy or from foreign subjection - pressed upon the minds of the old and experienced; and the old and grey chief Sham. Singh resolved to die in the first conflict as a sacrifice of propitiation to the spirit of Gobind and to the genius of his mystic commonwealth.

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp. 321-322.
2 Ibid., p. 322 fn.
3 Ibid., pp. 322-323.
It was decided that the Sikh position should be attacked on February 10th, 1846, and arranged that the whole of the heavy ordnance should be planted in masses opposite particular points of the enemy's entrenchment; and when the Sikhs had been shaken by a continuous storm of shot and shell, the right or the weakest part of the position should be assaulted in line by the strongest of the three investing divisions, consisting in all of fifteen thousand men. A large body of British cavalry was likewise placed to watch the movements of Lal Singh; and the two divisions, which lay near Firozpur, were held ready to push across the Satlej as soon as victory became evident. It was desired to surprise the commanding observation post which the Sikhs had snatched.  

The British divisions advanced silently in the darkness of night and under the cover of a gloomy thick haze. The observation post was found unoccupied, and Sikhs were caught by surprise. The British batteries opened at sunrise and for three hours an incessant artillery fire continued on the general body of the Sikh army. But, as the sun rose higher, the guns ceased for a time. The left division of the British army advanced in even order, and with a light step, to the attack; but the original error of forming the regiments in line instead of in column made the contest more unequal than such assaults need necessarily be. Every shot from the enemy told upon the mass of men,

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.323-324.
2 ibid., pp.324-325.
and the greater part of the division was driven back by the deadly fire of muskets and swivels and enfilading artillery. On the extreme left, the British regiments effected an entrance amid the advanced banks and trenches of petty out-works, where possessions could be of little use. But those on the right were animated by the partial success; and forming themselves instinctively into wedges and masses, they rushed forward in anger; Sir Robert Dick was mortally wounded close to the trenches, while cheering on his ardent troops. 'With a shout they leaped the ditch and upswarming, they mounted the rampart, and stood victorious amid captured cannon'. But the effort was great, for the Sikhs fought with steadiness and resolution. Guns in the interior were turned upon the exhausted attackers, and the line of trench alone was gained by them. Nor was this achievement the work of a moment.

The repulse of the first assailants made it necessary for the central division to be brought forward; and these supporting regiments also moved in line against ramparts higher and more continuous than the barriers which had foiled the first efforts of their comrades. They too 'recoiled in confusion before the fire of the exulting Sikhs'; but at a distance of a furlong they rallied and returned to the charge. Their second assault was aided on the left by the presence, in the trenches of that flank, of the victorious first division; and thus the

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.325-326.
2 ibid., p.326 incl. fn.
3 ibid., p.326.
4 ibid., p.326.
regiments of the centre likewise came into possession, after a fierce struggle in their own right, of as many of the enemy's batteries as lay to their immediate front. The leaders were collected and prompt, and the battalions on the right, the victors of Aleewal, were pushed against the opposite flank of the Sikhs; but there, as on all other points attacked, destruction awaited them. They fell in heaps, and the first line was thrown back upon the second, which moved rapidly to the assault.\(^1\) The two lines mingled in their ranks and rushed forward in masses, just as the second division 'had retrieved its fame' and a body of cavalry had been poured into the camp from the left to form the line of advance which 'surpassed the strength of the exhausted infantry'.\(^2\)

Openings were thus everywhere effected in the Sikh entrenchments, but single batteries still held out; 'the interior was filled with courageous men, who took advantage of every obstacle, and fought fiercely for every spot of ground'.\(^3\) The traitor, Tej Singh, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assault, and either accidently or by design, sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication. But the ancient Snam Singh remembered his vow; he clothed himself in white 'as one devoted to death' and called on all around him to fight for the Guru. He repeatedly rallied his shattered ranks, and at last 'fell

\(^1\) J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp.326-327.

\(^2\) ibid., p.327.

\(^3\) ibid., p.327.
a martyr on a heap of his slain countrymen'.

Along the stronger half of the battlements, and for the period of half an hour, the conflict 'raged sublime in all its terrors'. The parapets were sprinkled with blood from end to end; the trenches were filled with the dead and the dying. But gradually each defensible position was captured, and the Sikhs were pressed towards the scarcely fordable river; yet, although assailed on either side by squadrons of horses and battalions on foot, 'no Sikh offered to submit and no disciple of Govind asked for quarter'. They everywhere showed a front to the victors, and 'stalked slowly and sullenly away, while many rushed out alone to meet certain death'. 'The victors looked with stolid wonderment upon the indomitable courage of the vanquished, and forbore to strike when the helpless and the dying frowned unavailing hatred'. But the warlike rage or the calculating policy of the victorious leaders, had yet to be satisfied, and standing with the slain heaped on all sides around them, they urged troops of artillery almost in the waters of the Satlej to 'more thoroughly destroy the army which had so long scorned their power'.

The British casualties were 320 killed and 2,083 wounded; of the Sikhs, perhaps over 5,000 were killed, and possibly amounted to 8,000 - the lower estimate of the British despatches. The Commander-in-Chief estimated the Sikh force at 30,000 men, but Cunningham doubts whether

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.327.
2 ibid., pp.327-328.
3 ibid., p.328.
there were as many as 2,000 armed men in the trenches; the numbers of the actual assailants may be estimated at 15,000 effective soldiers.¹

Subraon, or correctly Subrahan, the name by which the battle is known is taken from that of the two small villages in the neighbourhood.²

On the night of the victory some regiments were pushed across the Satlej opposite Firozpur, and on 12th February 1846 the fort of Kasur was reoccupied - without any opposition.³

The following day the army encamped under the walls of that ancient town; and although the Sikhs were known to have twenty thousand men in the direction of Amritsar, the power of their army was gone.⁴

The holders of the Sikh treasure and food and the munitions of war had first passively helped to defeat them, and then openly joined their enemy. The soldiery readily accepted the authority of Golab Singh, the court minister, to negotiate on the basis of a recognised Sikh government in Lahore. On the 15th February Golab Singh and several other chiefs were received by the Governor General at Kasur, and told that Daleep Singh would continue to be regarded as a friendly sovereign. The country between the rivers Bias and Satlej would be taken over by the British, and a million and a half sterling was to be paid as indemnity for the war. After a long discussion the terms were reluctantly agreed to, and Daleep Singh tendered his submission in

¹ J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.328 fn.
² Ibid., p.328 fn.
³ Ibid., p.329.
⁴ Ibid., p.329.
person. On the 20th February, the British army arrived at the Sikh capital; two days later, a portion of the citadel was garrisoned by the English regiments to 'mark fully to the Indian world that a vaunting enemy had been effectually humbled'.

The Governor General not only wished to chastise the Sikhs for their past aggressions but to overawe them for the future. He had thus chosen the Bias as offering more commanding positions on Lahore than the old boundary of the Satlej; and he had originally thought that Raja Golab Singh might advantageously be made independent in the hills of Jammu.

Golab Singh had been appointed Vazir by the chiefs and the people, when danger threatened them — and he had been formally treated as minister by the English when the Governor General thought 'time was short and his own resources distant'; but when Lai Singh saw that after four pitched battles the English viceroy was content or compelled to leave Lahore a dependant ally, he rejoiced that his undiminished influence with the maharaja's mother would soon enable him to supplant the Jammu chief. Golab Singh felt his inability to support himself without the agreement of the English; but they had given no assurance.

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.329; cf. The Governor General to the Secret Committee, 19th February and 4th March 1846.
2 ibid., p.330.
3 ibid., p.330; cf. Governor General to the Secret Committee, 3rd and 19th February 1846.
4 ibid., p.330; cf. Governor General's letter to the Secret Committee, 3rd and 19th February 1846.
of support to him as minister, and he suddenly perplexed the Governor General by asking him what he was to get for all he had done to bring about a speedy peace, and to render the army an easy prey. It was remembered that at Kasur the Raja had said that the way to carry on a war with the English was to leave the sturdy infantry entrenched and watched, and to sweep the open country with cavalry to the gates of Delhi. While negotiations were still pending and the season was advancing, the British wished to conciliate one who might render himself formidable in a day, by joining the remains of the Sikh force and by opening his treasures and arsenal to a warlike population.

The low state of the Lahore treasury and the anxiety of Lal Singh to get a dreaded rival out of the way enabled the Governor General to appease Golab Singh, in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself, and which still further reduced the importance of the successor of Ranjit Singh. The Raja of Jammu did not care to be simply the master of his native mountains; but as two-thirds of the financial indemnity required from Lahore could not be made good, territory was taken instead of money; and Kashmir and the hill states from the Bias to the Indus were cut off from the Panjab proper and transferred to Golab Singh as a separate Kingdom for a million pounds sterling. The arrangement was a dexterous one, if only the policy of reducing Sikh power were considered; but Cunningham adds, 'the transaction scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness'.

1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.331.
2 ibid., pp.331-332.
The succession of the Raja was displeasing to the Sikhs generally, and his rise to sovereign power excited the ambition of others. Tej Singh, who knew his own wealth, offered £250,000, or 2,500,000 rupees at the then rate of exchange, for a crown and another dismembered province. He was rebuked for his misinterpretation of British principles; the arrangement with Golab Singh remained only one of its kind. He was formally invested with the title of Maharaja at Amritsar on the 15th March, 1846. On this occasion "Maharaja" Golab Singh stood up and, with joined hands, expressed his gratitude to the Viceroy and added without any irony that he was indeed the Governor General's "Zar-Kharid" or gold-bought slave. Although unscrupulous in many ways Golab Singh was an able and moderate man, doing little in an idle or wanton spirit, and not without good humour and generosity of temper.

But the British reserved a portion of the territory first proposed to be made over to him and reduced his payment by a fourth, and this was made even more easy for him by considering him heir to the money his brother Suchet Singh had buried in Firozpur.

Lal Singh became minister once more, and he and all the traitorous chiefs knew that they could not maintain themselves even against the reduced army, when the English should have left the country.

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.332.
2 ibid., p.332 fn.
3 ibid., p.332.
4 ibid., p.333; See Appendices XVIII, XIX and XX for the treaties with Lahore and Jummoo.
It was agreed, as a modification to the original scheme, that a British force should remain at the capital until the last day of December 1846, to enable the chiefs to feel secure, and to reorganise the army and introduce order and efficiency in the administration. At the end of the year the chiefs were still helpless and gladly assented to an arrangement which gave the English immediate possession of the reduced dominion of Ranjit Singh during the ministry of 'his reputed son and feeble successor'.

While the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief remained at Lahore at the head of twenty thousand men, portions of the Sikh army came to the capital to be paid up and disbanded. Their manly deportment added 'lustre to the valour which the victors had dearly felt and generously extolled'. The men talked of their defeat as the chance of war, and said that the "Khalsa" itself was yet a child, and that as the commonwealth of Sikhs grew in stature, Govind would clothe his disciples with irresistible might and guide them with unequalled skill.

It was clear that the arrangements made were temporary in their nature, and they could only result either in the annexation of the country or in a resumption of its independence. Therefore the second

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1 J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p.333; See Appendix XV for the second treaty with Lahore. The arrangement was till 4th September 1854 when the Maharaja became sixteen: see Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, British India, Cambridge 1929, p.553.

2 ibid., p.333.

3 ibid., pp.333-334.
Sikh War must be regarded as inevitable. It needed only an event of sufficient general interest to excite a national rising, and the event happened at the city of Multan. The governor of Multan, Diwan Mulraj, was in financial trouble and probably because of it he wished to resign. A successor was appointed, and two British officials, - a Civil Servant, Vans Agnew, and Lt. Anderson - on being sent to arrange matters, were murdered at Mulraj's instigation on 20th April 1848. Mulraj strengthened the defences of the town and proclaimed a general revolt in the surrounding country; the escort troops of the officials joined Mulraj, and there was open warfare. Detachments of troops moved against Multan as soon as the urgent message sent by Vans Agnew had been received. But when it was known that the two British officials were dead, Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, decided against sending large masses of troops just before the beginning of the hot weather. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General, agreed with him. This decision, though approved by the home authorities, including the Duke of Wellington, was much criticised at the time. Lord Gough knew that the whole country was really behind Mulraj, as evident in the movements of Chatter Singh, father of Sher Singh, who raised a revolt in Hazara and succeeded in winning over Peshawar.

Lord Gough estimated for and prepared a large striking force,

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1 The Cambridge History of India, Vol. V (British India), Cambridge, 1929, p.554.
2 ibid., p.554.
3 ibid., p.554.
with auxiliaries and transport; to be assembled at Firozpur. Sir Herbert Edwardes, member of the Resident's Council, and Sir Frederick Carrie, Lawrence's successor as Resident at Lahore, tried to deal with the rising on a small scale, with the result that Sher Singh came out in open hostility on 14th September 1848. The siege of Multan had to be abandoned: the Second Sikh War as a national rather than local movement had begun in earnest.1

The siege of Multan was begun again in December, and the fortress fell on 22nd January 1849.2

On 13th October 1848, the Secretary of the Government of India wrote to the Resident at Lahore that the Governor General in Council considered the state of Lahore to be at war with the British Government; but the real war, on the whole, may be dated from 9th November, when Lord Gough crossed the Satlej.3 On the 13th November his force of over 20,000 men reached Lahore. On the 16th November he crossed the Ravi and advanced to Ramnagar. On the 22nd November he drove the Sikhs across the Chenab and himself crossed the river.4 Sher Singh, commander of the Sikhs, had been forced, by a flanking movement by some of General Thackwell's troops, higher up the river, to retire on the Jhelum.5 After the fall of Attock, and consequent reinforcement of the

2 ibid., p.555.
3 ibid., p.555; c.f. Lord Dalhousie to Secret Committee, 7th October 1848: 'a general Punjab war and the recapture of the country'. Parliamentary Papers, 1849, XLI, p.374.
4 ibid., p.555.
5 ibid., p.555.
Sikhs on the Jhelum, Gough was compelled to risk an engagement. So he moved to Dinghi on 12th January, and found himself almost due east of Sher Singh, who was just beyond the village of Chilianwala. Gough had now with him about 14,000 men and sixty six guns. On the 13th, after a march of four hours, he fought and won 'the glorious but expensive action of Chilianwala'. He had been anxious to wait until the next day, and it was only because the Sikhs rather advanced their position, making it impossible for the British army to camp, that he fought. The British lost 2,000 men, but Chilianwala was a very important victory for them. Large numbers of Sikhs had been killed, many of their guns had been destroyed or taken, and a very strong position had been carried. But Lord Gough was superseded by Sir Charles Napier as commander-in-chief.¹

Chilianwala was prevented from being a complete victory by the drawing on of night. The Sikhs could not retire on their position at Rasul, but they had not been driven into the river and they stopped at Tupai on its banks. The British army could not follow up their victory because of rain and large Sikh reinforcements. On 2nd February the Sikhs moved deliberately towards Gujrat near the Chenab and Lord Gough followed them slowly by way of Sadullapur. By the 20th the Multan army had joined him and they felt strong enough in artillery to strike a crushing blow. On the 21st Gough moved out from his camp at Shadiwal to attack the Sikh position - a strong one - to the south of

Gujrat with the Chenab on its left. In a few hours the battle of Gujrat was over; the Sikhs were in flight and a body of 12,000 men pursued them across the Jhelum. On the 12th March, 1849, the Sikhs surrendered at discretion, and the capitulation of Peshawar and the hurried escape of the Afghan auxiliaries ended the war.\(^1\)

The Panjab was formally annexed by a proclamation in full darbar on 30th March 1849. The Maharaja was pensioned and exiled, and a 'board of Government' was appointed, consisting of Henry and John Lawrence and Charles E. Mansell.\(^2\)

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2 ibid., p.556.
The Japji - the great morning divine service, composed by Guru Nanak late in life - is considered by the Sikhs 'a key to their sacred volume and an epitome of its doctrines'.

"There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator (Karta purukh) devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent; by the favour of the Guru (Gur Parsad)

Repeat his Name

The True One was in the beginning; the True One was in the primal age

The True One is and also shall be".

Karta purukh means male or creative agency. The all-pervading spirit in union with a female element uttered a word from which sprang creation. The words of Gur Parsad - 'The favour of the Guru' - were intended as epithets of God, as Guru Nanak had no human Guru: his guru was God.

By thinking I cannot obtain a conception of Him, even though I think hundred of thousands of times.

Even though I be silent and keep my attention firmly fixed on Him,
I cannot preserve silence.

The hunger of the hungry for God subsideth not though they obtain the load of the worlds.

If a man should have thousands and hundreds of thousands of devices, even one would not assist him in obtaining God.

How shall man become true before God? How shall the veil of falsehood be rent?

By walking, O Hanak, according to the will of the Commander as pre-ordained.  

II

By His order bodies are produced; His order cannot be described.

By His order souls are infused into them; by His order greatness is obtained.

By His order men are high or low; by His order they obtain pre-ordained pain or pleasure.

By His order some obtain their reward (i.e. to be blended with God); by His order others must ever wander in transmigration.

All are subject to His order; none is exempt from it.

He who understandeth God's order, O Hanak, is never guilty of egoism.  


2 Ibid., p.196.
III
Who can sing His power? Who hath power to sing it?
Who can sing His gifts or know His signs?
Who can sing His attributes, His greatness, and His deeds?
Who can sing His knowledge, whose study is arduous?
Who can sing Him, who fashioned the body and again destroyeth it?
Who can sing Him, who taketh away life and again restor eth it?
Who can sing Him, who's all seeing and omnipresent?
In describing Him there would never be an end.
Millions of men, give millions upon millions of descriptions of Him, but they fail to describe Him.
The Giver giveth; the receiver groweth weary of receiving
In every age man subsisteth by His bounty.
The Commander by His order hath laid out the way of the world.
Nanak, God the unconcerned is happy.¹

IV
True is the Lord, true is His name; it is uttered with endless love
People pray and beg 'Give us, give us'; the Giver giveth His gifts;
Then what can we offer Him whereby His court may be seen?
What words shall we utter with our lips, on hearing which He may love us?

At the ambrosial hour of morning meditate on the true Name and God's greatness.

¹ Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, pp.196-197.
The kind One will give us a robe of honour, and by His favour we shall reach the gate of salvation.  

This verse is also translated: "By our former acts we acquire this human vesture, and by God's favour reach the gate of salvation". The body is formed before the soul from another body enters it.

God decides in what body the soul is to have residence until the body perishes. The acts of previous births are adjusted when the soul attains a human body. It is the acts done in a human body which accompany the soul to future states of existence.

- Hanak we shall thus know that God is altogether true (OR: We shall then know that God is all in all Himself).

V

He is not established, nor is He created
The pure one existed by Himself
They who worshipped Him have obtained honour
Hanak, sing His praises who is the Treasury of excellences
Sing and hear and put His love into your hearts
Thus shall your sorrows be removed, and you shall be absorbed in Him who is the abode of Happiness (OR: You shall take happiness to your homes).

Under the Guru's instruction God's word is heard; under the Guru's

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2 Ibid., p.198, fn.1.
3 Ibid., p.198 incl. fn. 2.
instruction man learns that God is everywhere contained.

The Guru is Shiva, the Guru is Vishnu and Brahma; the Guru is Parbati, Lakshmi and Saraswati

If I knew Him, should I not describe Him?
he cannot be described by words.

My Guru hath explained one thing to me -
That there is but one Bestower on all living Beings; may I not forget Him!

VI

If I please Him, that is my place of pilgrimage to bathe in;
If I please Him not, what ablution shall I make?

What can all the created beings I behold obtain without previous good acts?

Precious stones, jewels, and gems shall be treasured up in thy heart if thou hearken to even one word of the Guru.

The Guru hath explained one thing to me -
That there is but one Bestower on all living beings; may I not forget Him!¹

VII

Were man to live through the four ages, yea ten times longer.
Were he to be known on the nine continents, and were everybody

to follow in his train; (i.e. to show him respect).

Were he to obtain a great name and praise and renown in this world;
If God's look of favour fell not on him, no one would notice him.
He would be accounted a worm among worms, and even sinners would
impute sin to him.

Nanak, God may bestow virtue on those who are devoid of it, as
well as on those who already possess it;
But no such person is seen as can bestow virtue upon him.¹

VIII

By hearing the name of God men become Sidhs, Pirs, Surs
(spiritual heroes) and Naths.

By hearing the Name man understandeth the real nature of the
earth, its supporting bull (The Sikhs do not believe in it as the
Hindus, see below pauri XVI) and Heaven;

By hearing the Name man obtaineth a knowledge of the continents,
the worlds, and the nether regions.

By hearing the Name death doth not affect one

Nanak, the saints are ever happy.

By hearing the Name sorrow and sin are no more.²

IX

By hearing the Name even the low become highly lauded

² Ibid., p.200.
(OR: By hearing the Name one is praised by high and low).

By hearing the Name the way of Jog and the secrets of the body are obtained.

By hearing the Name man understandeth the real nature of the Shastars, the Smrities, and the Vedas.

........................

X

By hearing the Name truth, contentment, and divine knowledge are obtained.

Hearing the Name is equal to bathing at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimages.

By hearing the Name and reading it man obtaineth honour

By hearing the Name the mind is composed and fixed on God.

Nanak, the saints are ever happy

By hearing the Name sorrow and sin are no more.

Pauri XII

The condition of him who obeyeth God cannot be described

Whoever trieth to describe it, shall afterwards repent

........................

So pure is His name -

1 Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, p.200.
2 ibid., p.200.
3 ibid., pp.200-201.
Who obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart.

(Lit. - he knows in his own mind, that he obtains a pleasure which is incommunicable). 1

XIII

By obeying Him wisdom and understanding enter the mind;
By obeying Him man suffereth not punishment;
By obeying Him man shall not depart with Death (Jam). 2
So pure is God's name -
Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart. 2

XIV

By obeying Him man's path is not obstructed;
By obeying Him man departeth with honour and distinction;
By obeying Him man proceedeth in ecstasy on his way;
(Also transl. (a) By obeying man proceedeth not by the path of destruction (b) Man proceedeth by the broad, not the narrow way).
By obeying Him man formeth an alliance with virtue. 3

XV

By obeying Him man attaineth the gate of salvation;

2 ibid., p.201, fn.4.
By obeying Him man is saved with his family;
By obeying Him the Guru is saved, and saveth his disciples;
By obeying Him, O Nanak, man wandereth not in quest of alms (explained as: does not wander in transmigration).
So pure is God's name.
Whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of it in his own heart.¹

XVI

The elect (Panch, lit. five) are acceptable, the elect are distinguished;
The elect obtain honour in God's court.
The elect shed lustre on the courts of Kings.²

The Creator's works cannot be numbered
The bull that is spoken of (Stanza VIII) is righteousness, the offspring of mercy,
Which supported by patience maintaineth the order of nature — (Sat: i.e. the thread on which the world is strung. The Guru means by patience the adjusted balance of the world, everything being in equipoise).
Whoever understandeth this is a true man.

² ibid., p.202. Panch conveys an idea of selection; cf. Hindustani proverb: 'Where five are assembled, God is among them'.
What a load there is upon the bull.\(^1\)

Beyond this earth there are more earths, more and more
What power can support their weight.
The names of living things, their species, and colours
Have all been written with a flowing pen
Doth anyone know how to write an account of them?
If the account were written, how great it would be!
What power and beautiful form are Thine, O God!
Who hath power to know how Thy gifts are?
By one word\(^2\) Thou didst effect the expansion of the world
Whereby hundreds of thousands of rivers were produced.
What power have I to describe thee?
So powerless am I, that I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto Thee.
Whatever pleaseth Thee is good.
Thou, O formless One, art ever secure.\(^3\)

XX

When the hands, feet and other members of the body are covered

with filth,

It is removed by washing with water.

When thy clothes are polluted,

---

\(^1\) Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, Vol. I, p. 203, fn. 2. According to Macauliffe, this means the Guru rejects the Hindu notion of a bull supporting the earth.

\(^2\) ibid., p. 203, fn. 4: Macauliffe considers this to be the same as the Hindu notion of God as: I am one, let Me become many.

\(^3\) ibid., pp. 202-203.
Apply soap, and the impurity shall be washed away.
So when the mind is defiled by sin,
It is cleansed by the love (lit: water in which the dye of the
Name has been dissolved) of the Name.

Men do not become saints or sinners by merely calling themselves so.
The recording angels take with them a record of man's acts.
It is he himself soweth, and he himself eateth
Nanak, man suffereth transmigration by God's order.¹

XXI

Pilgrimages, austerities, mercy, and almsgiving on general and
special occasions

Whosoever performeth, may obtain some little honour;
But he who heareth and obeyeth and loveth God in his heart,
Shall wash off his impurity in the place of pilgrimage within him.
All virtues are Thine, O Lord; none are mine
There is no devotion without virtue

From the Self-existent proceeded Maya, whence issued a word
which produced Brahma and the rest.

Thou art true; Thou art beautiful, there is ever pleasure in
Thy heart!

What the time, what the epochs, what the lunar day, and what
the week day,

What the season, and what the month when the world was created,

The Pandits did not discover; had they done so, they would have

recorded it in the Purans.

Nor did the Qazis discover it; had they done so, they would have

recorded it in the Quran:

Neither the Jogi nor any other mortal knows the lunar day, or

the weekday, or the season, or the month.

Only the Creator who fashioned the world knoweth when He did so.

How shall I address Thee, O God? How shall I praise Thee? How

shall I describe Thee? and how shall I know Thee?

Saith Hanak, everybody speaketh of Thee, one wiser than another.

Great is the Lord, great is His name; what He doeth cometh to pass.

Hanak, he who is proud shall not be honoured on his arrival in

the next world.¹

XXII

There are hundreds of thousands of nether and upper regions.

Men have grown weary at last of searching for God's limits;

the Vedas say one thing, that God has no limit.

The Thousands of Purans and Mohammedan books tell that in

reality there is but one principle.

If God can be described by writing, then describe Him;

But such description is impossible

O Nanak, call His great; only He Himself knoweth how great he is.¹

XXXII

Praisers praise God, but have not acquired a knowledge of Him,
As rivers and streams fall into the sea, but know not its extent.
Kings and emperors who possess oceans and mountains of property and wealth,
Are not equal to the worm which forgetteth not God in its heart.²

XXXIV

There is no limit to God's praises; to those who repeat them there is no limit
There is no limit to His mercy, and to His gifts there is no limit
There is no limit to what God seeth, no limit to what He heareth
The limit of the secret of His heart cannot be known.

The more we say, the more there remain to be said.
Great is the Lord, and exalted in His seat.
His exalted name is higher than the most exalted
Were any one else ever so exalted,
Then he would know that exalted Being:

² ibid., p.207.
How great He is He knoweth Himself

Nanak, God bestoweth gifts on whom He looketh with favour and mercy.¹

XXV

His many bounties cannot be recorded,

He is a great giver and hath not a particle of covetousness

How many persons receive yet deny God's gifts!

How many fools there are who merely eat!

How many are ever dying in distress and hunger!

O Giver, these are also Thy gifts.

Rebirth and deliverance depend on Thy will.

Nobody can interfere with it.

If any fool try to interfere with it

He shall himself know the punishment he shall suffer.

God himself knoweth to whom He may give, and He himself giveth.

Very few acknowledge this.

He to whom God hath given the boon of praising and lauding Him,

O Nanak, is the king of kings (also trans.:

To those few, O Nanak, the king of kings

Giveth the boon of praising and lauding Him.)²

² Ibid., pp.208-209.
XXVIII

Make contentment and modesty thine earrings, self-respect thy wallet, meditation the ashes to smear on thy body;

Make thy body, which is only a morsel for death, thy beggar's coat, and faith thy rule of life and thy staff. (This verse is also trans.: Make the chastening of thy body not yet wedded to death thy patched coat, and faith thy beggar's staff).

Make association with men thine sect and conquer of thy heart the conquest of the world. 1

HAIL (ADESH)! HAIL TO HIM! 3

The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age.

XXXII

Were one tongue to become a hundred thousand, and a hundred thousand to become twentyfold more, I would utter the name of the one Lord of the world hundreds of thousands of times with all my tongues.

In this way I should ascend the stairs of the Lord, and become one with Him.

On hearing of the exaltation of the religious the vile become


2 Ibid., p.212.

3 Nanak confines the ordinary salutation of Jogis - "Adesh" - as one to be offered to God alone, Macauliffe, I, p.213, fn.1.
jealous (Lit. on hearing matters connected with heaven worms grow jealous).  

XXXIII

I have no strength to speak and no strength to be silent
I have no strength to ask and no strength to give;
I have no strength to acquire empire or wealth which produce a
commotion in the heart.
I have no strength to meditate on Thee or ponder on divine knowledge;
I have no strength to find the way to escape from the world.
He in whose arm there is strength, may see what he can do.
Nanak no one is of superior of inferior strength before God.

XXXIV

God created nights, seasons, lunar days and week days.
Wind, water, fire and the nether regions
In the midst of these He established the earth as a temple.
In it He placed living beings of different habits and kinds
There names are various and endless,
And they are judged according to their acts.
True is God, and true is His court.
There the elect are accepted and honoured.
The Merciful One marketh them according to their acts
The bad and the good shall there be distinguished

2 ibid., p.214.
Nanak, on arrival there; this shall be seen. ¹

XXV

Such is the practice in the realm of righteousness
I now describe the condition of the realm of knowledge
How many winds, waters, and fires! How many Krishans and Shivas!
How many Brahmans who fashioned worlds! How many forms, colours and garbs!
How many lands of grace like this! (where men may reap the results of their acts) How many mountains.

How many demigods and demons! How many saints, how many jewels and seas!

How many sources of life! How many languages! and how many worshippers!

Nanak there is no end of them. ²

XXVI

In the realms of knowledge the light of divine knowledge is resplendent.

There are heard songs from which millions of joys and pleasures proceed.

² ibid., p.215.
Beauty is the attribute of the realm of happiness
There are fashioned knowledge, wisdom, intellect, and understanding;
And there too is fashioned the skill of demigods and men of supernatural power.¹

XXXVII

Force is the attribute of the realm of action
Incomparable are they who dwell therein (that is, the world)
There are very powerful warriors and heroes
They are filled with the might of Ram -
There are many Sitas² in the midst of greatness
Their beauty cannot be described -
They die not, neither are they led astray
In whose heart God dwelleth
There dwell congregations of saints;
They rejoice; the True One is in their hearts
God dwelleth in the true realm (Sach Khand)
He looketh on its denizens with an eye of favour, and rendereth them happy.

There are continents, worlds, and universes.
Whoever trieth to describe them shall never arrive at an end.
There are worlds upon worlds and forms upon forms.
They fulfill their functions according to God's orders:

² Sita is Rama's wife of legendary faithfulness.
XXXVIII

Make continence they furnace, resignation thy goldsmith,
Understanding thine anvil, divine knowledge thy tools,
The fear of God thy bellows, austerities thy fire,
Divine love thy crucible, and meet God's name therein.
In such a true merit the Word shall be coined.
This is the practice of those on whom God looketh with an eye of favour.

Nanak, the Kind One by a glance maketh them happy.2

SLOK

The air is the guru, water our father, and the great earth our mother.

Day and night are our two nurses, male and female, who set the whole world a-playing.3

They who have pondered on the Name and departed after the completion of their toil shall have their countenance made bright,

0 Nanak;

2 ibid., p.217.
3 ibid., p.217. For explanation see ibid. fn. 2: Guru - air - divine instruction; father - water (human sperm); Mother - earth - provides nutriment; day - occupation; night - sleep and rest.
How many shall be emancipated in company with them; 1


ASA KI VAR is repeated, after the Jayji, as a morning divine service. In this collection Var means Song of God's praise. 2
There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and beneficent. 2a
I am a sacrifice to my Guru a hundred times a day,
Who without any delay made demigods out of men 3 - Guru Nanak.


Were a hundred moons to rise, and a thousand suns to mount the sky;
"Even with such light there would be appaling darkness without the Guru". 4 - Guru Angad.


Nanak, they who very clever in their own estimation think not of God,

Shall be left like spurious sesames in a reaped field.

They shall be left in the field, saith Nanak, without an owner:

1 Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, Vol. I, p.217 incl. fn. 4; It is believed to have been composed by Guru Angad. 'The worship of God and the necessity of labour for one's livelihood are eminently Sikh principles'. - Macauliffe, ibid., p.217, fn.3.
2 ibid., p.218, fn.1.
2a ibid., p.218.
3 ibid., p.218.
4 ibid., pp.218-219.
The wretches may even bear fruit and flower, but they shall be as ashes within their bodies.\(^1\)

- Guru Nanak.

'God Himself created the world and Himself gave names to things. He made Maya by His power; seated He beheld His work with delight. O Creator, Thou art the Giver, being pleased Thou bestowest and practisest kindness.

Thou knowest all things; Thou givest and takest life with a word.\(^2\)

- Guru Nanak.

In Sanskrit literature Maya is considered without a beginning, i.e. uncreated, but the Gurus' doctrine is that it would be a limitation of God's power to say that he did not create Maya.\(^3\)

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<td>Hundreds of thousands and millions declare Thee thine;</td>
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<td>True Thy praises, true Thy eulogies;</td>
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\(^2\) ibid., p.219.
\(^3\) ibid., p.219, fn.2.
True Thy might, 0 true King.
Nanak, true are they who meditate on the True One.
They who are born and die are the falsest of the false.¹
- Guru Nanak.

Great is His glory whose name is great
Great is His glory whose justice is true
Great is His glory whose seat is immovable;
Great is His glory who understandeth our utterances;
Great is His greatness who knoweth all our feelings;
Great is His glory who is all in all Himself
Nanak, His acts cannot be described.
All that he did and hath to do dependeth on His own will.²
- Guru Nanak.

This world is the True One's Chamber; the True One's dwelling
is therein.
Some by His order He absorbeth in Himself: others by His order
He destroyeth (by separating from Himself).
Some at His pleasure He withdraweth from mammon; others He
causeth to abide therein.
It cannot be even told when He will regenerate.
Nanak, he to whom God revealeth Himself, is known as holy.³
- Guru Angad.

² ibid., p. 220.
³ ibid., p. 220.
By Thy power we see, by Thy power we hear,
By Thy power we fear, or enjoy the highest happiness;
By Thy power were made the nether regions and the heavens; by
Thy power all creation;
By Thy power were produced the Vedas, the Purans, the Muhammadan
books, and by Thy power all compositions;
By Thy power we eat, drink, and clothe ourselves; by Thy power
springeth all affection;
By Thy power are the species, genera, and colours of creatures;
By Thy power are the animals of the world.
(Also translated: By Thy power was created animate and
inanimate nature).

By Thy power are virtues; by Thy power are vices:
By Thy power, honour and dishonour. 1
By Thy power are wind, water and fire; by Thy power is the earth.
Everything existeth by Thy power; Thou art the Creator; Thy
name is the holiest of the holy

Saith Nanak, Thou beholdest and pervadest all things
Subject to Thy command; Thou art altogether unrivalled.2

- Guru Nanak.

Man having enjoyed himself becometh ashes, and the soul passeth away
However great and wealthy a man may be, the ministers of Death
throw a chain on neck and take him away.

1 Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, Vol. I, p.221, fn.2; cf. "He who hath
regard for honour or dishonour is not a holy man".

2 ibid., pp.221-222.
There an account of his acts is read; the Judge on his seat taketh an account and passeth sentence. Such a man shall find no place of shelter; when he is beaten, who will hear his cries? Man blind that thou art, thou hast wasted thy life.  

- Pauri III (Guru Nanak).

In fear (of God) the winds, and breezes ever blow; In fear flow hundreds of thousands of rivers; In fear fire performeth its forced labour; In fear the earth is pressed by its burden; In fear Indar moveth headlong; in fear sitteth Dharmraj at God's gate; In fear is the sun, in fear the moon; they travel millions of miles without end; In fear are the Sidhs, the Budhas, the demigods, and the Naths; in fear are the stars In fear are wrestlers, very mighty men and divine heroes; In fear cargoes of men come and go God hath destined fear for everyone; Nanak, the Formless One, the True, is alone without fear.

Kings and queens sing and utter nonsense

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2 Ibid., p.222.
They wear earrings worth hundreds of thousands, and necklaces worth hundreds of thousands. The body on which they are worn, O Nanak, shall become ashes. Divine Knowledge is not sought in mere words; to speak concerning it were as hard as iron; By God's grace man obtaineth it; skill and orders are useless therefor.¹

- Guru Nanak.

If the Kind One look with kindness, there is the true Guru obtained The soul hath wandered through many births, and now the true Guru hath communicated the Word There is no benefactor so great as the true Guru; hear this, all ye people. By meeting the true Guru who hath removed pride from his heart, and who preacheth the Truest of the true, The True One is obtained.²

- Pauri IV Guru Nanak.

Thy name is the Formless; by repeating it man goeth not to hell. The soul and body are all Thine. What Thou givest man eateth: to say aught else were waste of words. O man, if thou desire thine advantage, do good acts and be lowly. Even though thou stave off old age, it shall come to thee in the

² ibid., p.223.
disguise of death.

None may remain when his measure is full.¹

- Pauri IV (Guru Nanak).

The Musalman praise the Shariat, read it, and reflect on it;
But God's servants are they who employ themselves in His service
in order to behold Him.

The Hindus praise the Praised One whose appearance and form are
incomparable;
They bathe in holy streams, perform idol-worship and adoration,
use copious incense of sandal.

The Jogis meditate on God the Creator, whom they call the Unseen.
Whose form is minute, whose name is the Bright One, and who is
the image of their bodies (The Jogis, when in intensely
deep meditation, close their eyes. On opening them and looking upwards
they suppose that they behold God in their own image in the firmament.)²

In the minds of the generous contentment is produced in their
desire to give
Others give, but ask a thousandfold more, and still want 'the
world to honour them'

Why mention thieves, adulterers, perjurers, evil and sinful men?
Many depart from here after eating what they had amassed in
previous births; (And have done nothing meritorious in this

² Ibid., p.225, fn.2.
Shall they have any business whatever in the next world
(This verse is also translated:
Many depart from here after spending what they possessed; had they
any other business in this world?)
The animals which live in the water, dry land, the fourteen
worlds, and all creation -
What they say Thou alone knowest; for them too Thou carest.
Saith Nanak, the saints hunger to praise Thee; the Name is their
support
In everlasting joy they abide day and night; May I obtain the dust
of the feet of such virtuous men.
- Guru Nanak Slok VI
Without the true Guru none hath found God: without the Guru none
hath found God.
God hath put Himself into the true Guru; He hath made manifest
and proclaimed this.
Salvation is ever obtained by meeting the true Guru who hath
banished worldly love from within him
Best are the meditations of him who hath fixed his mind on the
True One.

la ibid., p.226, fn.2.
He hath found the Giver of life to the world.¹

- Guru Nanak (Fauro VI)

In pride man cometh, in pride he departeth;
In pride is man born, in pride he dieth;
In pride he giveth, in pride he taketh;
In pride he earneth, in pride he spendeth;
In pride man becometh true or false;
In pride man meditateth evil or good;
In pride he goeth to hell or heaven;
In pride he rejoiceth, in pride he mourneth;
In pride he becometh filthy, in pride he is cleansed;
In pride man loseth his caste and race;
In pride are the ignorant, in pride the clever;
In pride one knoweth not the value of deliverance or salvation;
In pride is mammon and in pride its effect on the heart;
In pride are animals created.

When pride is removed, God's gate is seen.

Without divine knowledge man worrieth himself by talking.
Nanak, the Commander hath thus ordained it;
As man regardeth God, so God regardeth him

(Also translated -

(a) Treat men according to their acts

(b) Treat others as thou wouldst be treated thyself.\textsuperscript{1}

- Guru Nanak (Slok VII)

Thou alone art the true Lord who hath diffused the real truth He to whom Thou givest obtaineth truth, and he then practiseth it. Man obtaineth truth on meeting the true Guru in whose heart the truth dwelleth.

The fool knoweth not truth, and hath wasted his life by obstinacy; Why hath he come into the world?\textsuperscript{2}

- Guru Nanak (Pauri VIII)

A man may read books for months; he may read them for years; He may read them for life; he may read them while he hath breath - Nanak, only one word, God's name, would be of account; All else would be the senseless discussion of pride.\textsuperscript{3}

- Guru Nanak (Slok IX)

"The more one readeth and writeth, the more one is tormented The more one wandereth on pilgrimages, the more one babbleth; The more religious garbs man weareth, the more discomfort he causeth his body

Bear, O my soul, the result of thine own acts.

Even though man go barefooted, he must still suffer for his own acts. If a man eat filth, and put ashes on his head,

\textsuperscript{1} Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, Vol. I, p. 227, incl. fn.1.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 229.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 229.
The blind fool loseth respect; without the Name he obtaineth no abiding place.

He who meeteth the true God and fixeth God's name in his heart, obtaineth comfort.

Nanak, he on whom God looketh with favour obtaineth Him.

He becometh free from hopes and fears, and destroyeth his pride by means of the Word. 1

- Guru Nanak

False are Kings, false their subjects, false the whole world;
False are mansions, false palaces, false those who dwell therein;
False is gold; false silver; false he who weareth them;
False the body; false raiment; false peerless beauty;
False husbands; false wives, they waste away and become dust.
Man who is false loveth what is false, and forgetteth the Creator.
With whom contract friendship? The whole world passeth away.
False is sweetness; false honey; in falsehood shiploads are drowned.
Nanak humbly asserteth - except Thee, O God, everything is thoroughly false. 2

- Guru Nanak

Man is known as true when truth is in his heart.

When the filth of falsehood departeth, man washeth his body clean.

2 Ibid., p. 230.
Man is known as true when he beareth love to the True One;
When the mind is enraptured on hearing the Name, man attaineth
the door of salvation.
Man shall be known as true when he knoweth the true way;
Having prepared the field of the body, put into it the seed of
the Creator
Man shall be known as true when he received true instruction;
Let man show mercy to living things and perform some works of
charity;
Man shall be known as true, when he dwelleth in the pilgrimage
of his heart;
Let man after inquiry from the true Guru rest and abide in his
own heart;
Truth is the medicine for all; it removeth and washeth away sin.
Manak maketh supplication to those who are in possession of truth.¹
- Guru Nanak (Slok X)
Man's evil becometh known, O Nanak; the True One seeth all
Even one maketh endeavours, but it is only what the Creator
doeth that taketh place
Caste hath no power in the next world: there is a new order of beings
They whose accounts are honoured are the good.²
- Guru Nanak.

² Ibid., p.233.
They whom Thou didst so destine from the beginning meditate on Thee, O Lord.

There is nothing in the power of creatures; O God, it is thou who has created the different worlds.

Some Thou blendeas with Thyself; others Thou leadest astray from Thee.

Thou art known by the favour of the Guru, through whom Thou revealest Thyself.

They who know Thee are easily absorbed in the True One.¹

- Guru Nanak (Pauri XI)!

Pain is medicine, worldly pleasure a disease;

Where there is such pleasure, there is no desire for God.

Thou art the Doer, I do nothing; if I try to do anything, it cometh to nothing.

I am a sacrifice unto Thee; Thou abidest in Thine omnipotence.

Thine end cannot be seen.

Thy light pervadeth creatures; creatures are contained in thy light;

Thou fillest inanimate and animate creation (Also translated: Thy power is inconceivable)

Thou art the True Lord; beautiful is Thy praise; he who uttereth it is saved.

Nanak uttereth the words of the Creator; what is to be done God continueth to do.²

- Guru Nanak (Slok XII)


² Ibid., pp.233-234.
Water remaineth if confined in a vessel; but it cannot remain without a vessel.

The mind controlled by divine knowledge is restrained; but without a Guru there can be no divine knowledge.  
— Guru Nanak

When the literate man is sinful he deserves punishment; but punish not the illiterate saint.

As man acteth so shall he be described. 

Play not such a game (as) shall bring thee defeat on arriving at God's Court.

The literate and the illiterate shall be judged hereafter; the headstrong shall be punished in the next world. 
— Guru Nanak (Pauri XII)

The simmel-tree of the desert is very tall and very thick.

Why should the birds which go to it with hopes depart disappointed? Because its fruits are insipid, its flowers unwholesome, and its leaves useless.

The tree which yieldeth sweet fruit is lowly, 0 Nanak, but its qualities and virtues are exquisite.

Everyone boweth to himself; no one boweth to another. If anything be put into a scale and weighed, the side which descendeth is the heavier (The man who is lowly is the most...

2 ibid., p.235.
The wicked man like a deer-stalker boweth twice more than anyone else;
But what availeth bowing the head if the heart be impure.\textsuperscript{1a}

- Guru Nanak (Slok XIV)

Impurity of the heart is greed, impurity of the tongue is falsehood
Impurity of the eyes if gazing on another's wealth, his wife and her beauty;
Impurity of the ears is listening to slander.
Nanak, even the pretended saints who practised such things shall go bound to hell.
All impurity consisteth in superstition and attachment to worldly things.
Birth and death are ordained; as it pleaseth God, we come and go.
The eating and drinking which God sent as sustenance are pure.
Nanak, the pious persons who know God have no impurity.\textsuperscript{2}

- Guru Nanak (Slok XVIII)

In a vessel man is conceived, from a vessel he is born, with a vessel he contracteth friendship; with a vessel he goeth through the world.
When one vessel dieth, another is sought for; to a vessel he is bound

\textsuperscript{1} Lacauliffe, Sikh Religion, Vol. I, p.236, fn.1.
\textsuperscript{1a} ibid., pp.236-237.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid., pp.242-243.
Why call her bad from whom are born Kings?

From a vessel a vessel is born; none may exist without a vessel.

Nanak, only the one True God is independent of a vessel.¹

- Guru Nanak.

When a servant while performing service is proud and quarrelsome besides,

And talketh too much, he pleaseth not his master.

If he efface himself and perform service, he shall obtain some honour.

Nanak, he who longeth for God shall meet Him, and his longing shall be acceptable.²

- Guru Angad (Slok XXII)

What a man hath in his heart cometh forth; lip-worship is of no avail

Man soweth poison and expecteth ambrosia; behold that for justice!

Commands will not succeed with God; supplications must be addressed to Him

By practising falsehood falsehood is obtained:

there is pleasure in praising God.³

- Guru Angad.

The greatness of God cannot be expressed;

² ibid., p.246.
³ ibid., p.247.
He is the Creator, the Omnipotent, the Bounteous; He provideth His creatures with sustenance. Man must do the work which God destined for him from the beginning. Nanak, except in the one God alone there is no abiding place. He doeth what He pleaseth.¹

- Guru Nanak (Pauri XXIV)

If I repeat the Name, I live; if I forget it, I die;
It is difficult to repeat the true Name.
If man hunger after the true Name, His pain shall depart when he satisfied himself with it. Then how could I forget it, 0 my mother?
True is the Lord, true is His name.
Men have grown weary of uttering
Even an iota of His greatness; His worth they have not discovered.
If all men joined and tried to describe Him,
That would not add to or distract from His greatness
God dieth not, neither is there any mourning for Him;
He continueth to give us Our daily bread which never faileth.
His praise is - that there neither is,
Nor was, nor shall be anyone like unto Him.
As great Thou art thyself, O God, so great are Thy gifts
Thou art who madest the day madest also the night.
They who forget their spouse are evil persons:

Kanak, without His name they are naught.¹

O servants of God and the true Guru, the true Being,
Offer this supplication unto Him
We insects and worms seek thy protection, O true Guru;
mercifully enlighten us with the Name.²

Since thou hast now obtained a human body, O man
It is time for thee to meet God;
All else that thou doest is of no avail
Join the company of the saints and only repeat God's name;
Apply thyself to preparation for crossing the terrible ocean.
Thy life is vainly passing in worldly love;
Thou hast not repeated God's name, performed penance, austerities,
or other religious works;
Thou hast not served holy men or known God.
Nanak saith base have been mine acts;
Preserve mine honour who have taken shelter in Thee.³

The city (the body) is greatly filled with lust and wrath;
but these are destroyed on meeting the saints.

² ibid., p.252.
³ ibid., p.257.
By predestination the Guru is found, and the soul is absorbed in the region of God's love.

Salute the saint with clasped hands - this is a greatly meritorious act.

Prostrate thyself before him - this is a greatly religious act.

The infidel knoweth not the taste of God's essence; he beareth the thorn of pride in his heart.

The more he moveth, the more it pricketh him, and the more pain he feeleth: His head shall feel death's mace.¹

- Guru Ram Das (Rag Dhanasari)

Man must depart in a ghari or two; his enjoyment is only for to-day or tomorrow.

Without the Guru love is not produced, and the filth of pride departeth not.

He who recognizeth God in himself, and knoweth the secret of the Word shall be satisfied:

But when man recognizeth himself through the Guru's instruction, what more remaineth for him to do?

Why speak of meeting God? Man hath met Him already (Because the soul has emanated from God),²

but it is only on receiving the Word he is satisfied.

² ibid., p.272, fn.1.
The perverse obtain not understanding; separated from God they suffer punishment.

For Nanak there is but the gate of the one God; there is no other refuge.¹

- Guru Nanak

My heart is penetrated by God's name; what else shall I reflect upon?

Happiness cometh to him who meditateth on the Word; perfect happiness to him who is imbued with God.

Preserve me as it pleaseth Thee, O God; Thy name is my support.

O man, just is the will of the Master.

Love him who made and adorned thy body and mind.

Were my body to be cut into pieces and burnt in the fire;

Were I to turn my body and soul into firewood, and burn them night and day;

Were I to perform hundreds of thousands and millions of religious ceremonies, all would not be equal to God's name.²

Everything is inferior to truth; the practice of truth is superior to all else.

Call everyone exalted; let no one appear to thee low.

The one God fashioned the vessels, and it is His light that

² ibid., p.273.
filleth the three worlds.

By His favour man obtaineth the truth; what He granteth in the beginning none can efface.

The holy meet the holy; by love for the Guru man obtaineth consolation.

He who is absorbed in the True Guru pondereth on the Word of the Ineffable.

He who drinketh the nectar of the Name shall be satisfied, and go to God's court with a dress of honour.¹

Few there are who obtain understanding by admonishing their hearts through their Guru.

Nanak, they who forget not the Name, and who act according to the Word shall be delivered.²

We see mansions painted and whitewashed with ornamental doors. They were constructed to give pleasure to the heart, and through love and regard for worldly things, but they shall fall to ruin.

So the body which is empty within and possesseth no love, shall fall and become a heap of dust.

0 my brethren, your bodies and wealth shall not accompany you.

God's name is the pure wealth; God giveth it through the Guru.

If the Giver give the true wealth of God's name,

² ibid., p.275.
The great Creator shall become man's friend, and no inquiry shall be made of him in the next world.  

The perverse man deemeth that daughters, sons and relations are his. He is pleased on beholding woman, but as she bringeth joy, so she bringeth sorrow.  

Men ruin themselves by their search abroad while the Real Thing is in their homes.

The pious obtain it, the perverse miss it through pride. O vicious infidel, know thine own origin.  

The body is in the power of the breath according to the true mark on the forehead.

Men pray for a long life; no one desireth to die. He is said to lead a happy life in whose heart God dwelleth through the Guru's instruction.

Faith and resignation are the characteristics of the holy; patience is the viaticum of angels.

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2 ibid., p.275.
3 ibid., p.275.
4 ibid., p.276.
The perfect shall obtain a sight of God; the fool shall find no place with Him.¹

Castes are folly, names are folly:
All creatures have only shelter, that of God
If a man call himself good,
The truth shall be known, O Nanak, when his account is accepted.²

- Guru Nanak

SRI RAG KNAR

In man's first stage, he loveth the milk of his mother's breast;
In the second he recognizeth his father and mother;
In his third his brother, his brother's wife, and his own sister;
In the fourth a love of play ariseth in him;
In the fifth he runneth after food and drink;
In the sixth he inquireth not a woman's caste in his lust;
In the seventh he collecteth things for a house to live in;
In the eight his body is wasted by wrath;
In the ninth he groweth grey and his breathing is difficult;
In the tenth is burnt and becometh ashes.

His companions accompany him to his pyre with loud lamentations
The soul flieth away, showing the road of departure to others

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² ibid., p.276.
He came, he died and departed - leaving only a name.

After his death his relations offer food on leaves, and call the crows Nanak, the perverse love mental darkness.

Without a Guru the world is lost.¹

- Guru Nanak

Majh Ki War

Man washeth his clothes and his body and mortifieth himself. Knowing not of the filth attaching to his heart, he rubbeth and cleanseth himself externally.

Being blind he is led astray and falleth into Death's noose. He deemeth the property of others as his own, and suffereth for his pride.

Nanak, when pride is dispelled under the Guru's instructions, man meditateth on God's name,

Repeateth the Name, adoreth the Name, and through the Name is absorbed in happiness.²

- Guru Nanak

When his Sikhs inquired how an alliance could be formed with God the Guru composed the following:-

When bronze, gold and iron break,

the blacksmith weldeth them by means of fire.

² ibid., p.280.
When a husband falleth out with his spouse
A reconciliation is effected in this world through children.
When the King asketh and his subjects give, a bond is established
between them.
When a hungry man eateth, he establisheth an alliance with the
world
Drought formeth an alliance with rivers when they are flooded
with rain
There is an affinity between love and sweet words.
If anyone speak the truth, he formeth a bond with knowledge.
By goodness and truth the dead establish a bond with the living.
Such are the affinities that are established in the world.
The only way to establish friendship with a fool is to smite him
on the mouth (Also translated: to remain silent).
By praising God man establisheth an alliance with God's court.
Nanak saith this deliberately.¹

- Guru Nanak.

¹To all of us but one hope abideth -
There is one: is there any other?
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God!
Birds have no money in their possession:
They only depend on trees and water
God is their Giver

There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God!

Nanak no one can erase
what is written on the forehead.

God it is who giveth man power and again taketh it away.

There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God!

- Guru Nanak.

The fear of God is very great and very heavy.

Man's wisdom is of little account, and so is his chatter.

Walk with the load of fear on thy head;

Meditate on the Guru who is kind and merciful.

No one shall be saved without the fear of God:

His fear hath adorned man's love

The fire of the fear of transmigration is burned away by the fear of God.

By fear the Word is fashioned and decorated.

What is fashioned without fear is altogether worthless:

Useless is the mould and useless the stroke thereon.

In the minds of many there is a desire to fashion the Word without fear;

But even though they perform a thousand artifices they shall not succeed.

Nanak, the speech of the perverse is nonsense.

- Guru Nanak (Rag Gauri)

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2 ibid., p.290.
The body is a mixture of wind, water and fire;
Within it is the changeful play of the intellect.
The body hath nine gates and a tenth door;
O wise man, understand and reflect on this.
God speaketh, preacheth, and listeneth;
He who reflecteth on himself is a wise man.
The body is earth, the wind speaketh therein.
Consider, O wise man, what it is that dieth —
It is the quarrelsome and proud understanding.
The conscious soul dieth not.
The precious jewel, for which men go on pilgrimages,
Dwelleth within the heart.
Pandits read and argue,
But know not that which is within themselves.
When my spiritual ignorance dieth, I die not myself.
He who is everywhere contained dieth not.
Saith Nanak when the Guru showed me God
No one seemed to me to die or to be born.¹

— Guru Nanak.

He who serveth the one God knoweth not others:
He layeth aside the bitter things deceit and evil.
By love and truth shalt thou meet the Truest of the True.
If there be any such saint of God,

His filth shall be washed away, and he shall meet God by singing his praises.

Reversed are the lotuses of all men's hearts:
The fire of evil inclinations burneth away the world,
While those who meditate on the word of the Guru are saved.
The bumble bee, the moth, the elephant, the fish,
And the deer (i.e. animals who suffer for the gratification of their senses)
Suffer the consequences of their acts and die

Absorbed in worldly desires man knoweth not the Real Thing;
He thinketh of lust and love for woman,
Which with wrath ruin all sinners.
He forgetteth the Name, loseth his honour and his senses.

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As a widow who giveth her body to a stranger,
And through lust or money falleth into another's power,
Is never satisfied without a lover;
So man readeth books and reciteth Simritis;
He also readeth, heareth, and expoundeth the Veds and the Purans;
But without being dyed with God's essence his mind is very unstable.
As the chatrik loveth and thirsteth for the rain drops,
As the fish is delighted with the water,
So Nanak is satisfied with quaffing God's essence.¹

- Guru Nanak.

Whatever is created Death destroyeth

God hath preserved us by our meditating on the word of the Guru.¹

Why should I go searching in the wood?

My heart is a verdant forest.

The true Word hath come quickly to my heart and abideth there.

Wherever I look there is God; no one else is seen.

Whosoever doeth the Guru's work shall find God's court.

The True One blendeth with Himself him who ever walketh according to His will.

If the true Lord dwell in the heart, it becometh fixed.

God then granted greatness in which naught is wanting.

How shall one reach God's court by occasional service?

He who embarketh in a boat of stone shall be drowned with his cargo.²

For sisters, nor brothers, nor mothers-in-law remain with one

But, O Companions, the true relationship with the Beloved,

When found through the Guru, shall never be sundered.

I am a sacrifice to my Guru, I am ever a sacrifice unto him.³

Put away from you your lust, wrath and slander;

Abandon avarice, and covetousness, and you shall be free from care.

² ibid., p.319.
³ ibid., p.361.
He who breaketh the chain of superstition shall be free
and feel the divine pleasure in his heart

To give a feast, make a burnt offering, offer alms, perform
penance and worship, and endure bodily pain for ever are
of no avail.

Without God's name salvation is not obtained;
the holy man obtaineth it by the Name.

Without God's name it is useless to be born in the world.

- Guru Nanak. (BILLINGS)

He is Brahman who knoweth God,
Who performeth works of devotion, penance and self-restraint
And who observeth the religion of mildness and patience.
Such a Brahman shall burst his bonds, obtain salvation,
And be worthy of worship.

He is a Khatri who is brave in good deeds
And who employeth his body in charity (i.e. who sacrifices
himself for others)

The Khatri who inspecteth his ground before sowing his gifts,

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2 ibid., p. 370.
3 ibid., p. 361.
4 ibid., p. 381, fn.1.
Shall be acceptable to God's court.

The Khatri who practiseth greed, covetousness and falsehood
shall suffer for his misdeeds.\(^1\)

- Guru Nanak

If thou desire to play at love with me,
Come my way with thy head in the palm of thy hand.
Put thy feet on this road;
Give thy head and regard not human opinion.\(^2\)

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\(^2\) Ibid., p. 382.
Hymns of Guru Angad

The gift, the perverse suppose, is preferable to the Giver; What shall I say of their intelligence, understanding, and cleverness? He who toileth in obscurity is known in all directions; He who acteth honestly is called honest, and he who commiteth sin is known as a sinner.

O Creator, Thou Thyself performest the whole play; why mention any one else? O Source of Light, as long as Thy light is in the body, Thou speakest in it.¹

Kajh Ki War

Sloks of Guru Angad

Nanak deem him who can assay himself a true assayer.

Let him know his own real character, confess it and divest himself of his shortcomings; Let him not walk in covetousness, but abide in truth; He shall then become the best and be acceptable.

If an arrow be shot at the sky, how can it reach it? The sky is inaccessible above us; know that the arrow will recoil on the archer.²

- Guru Angad

Kajh Ki War.

² ibid., pp.48-49.
Why do those who know they must depart make display?

They think not of their departure, but continue to arrange their worldly affairs

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Hanak, wealth shall not go with him, and then will he regret.¹

- Guru Angad

Suhi Ki War

Obstinacy, however much one strive, winneth not God to man's side;

Hanak he who truly loveth God and pondereth on the Word, winneth Him to his side.²

- Guru Angad

Suhi Ki War.

They who fear God have no other fear, while they who fear Him not, shall have much fear;

Hanak, they shall both be confronted at God's Court.³

- Guru Angad

Things which walk associate with those which walk, things which fly with those which fly,

The living associate with the living, the dead with the dead;

Praise Him, Hanak, who hath established this law.⁴

In weal repeat God's name; in woe also remember Him;

² ibid., p. 50.
³ ibid., p. 50.
⁴ ibid., p. 50.
Nanak saith, in this way, O wise women, shall you meet the Bridegroom. 1

- Guru Angad

Suhi Ki War

Devotion, penance, everything is obtained by obeying God; all other occupations are vain;

Nanak, obey him who hath himself obeyed God;

(Or - obey Him who is worthy to be obeyed) he is known by the favour of the Guru. 2

- Guru Angad

Ramkali Ki War

(The sinner may find favour by repentance)

The Lord can make him whom He hath blinded see clearly;

God treateth man as He knoweth him, no matter what one may say.

Where the real thing, God, is not seen, know that pride prevaleth.

Nanak, how shall a purchaser purchase anything if he recognise it not? 3

- Guru Angad

Ramkali Ki War

Nanak, be not anxious for thy maintenance, anxiety is for Him who created animals in the water and also giveth them sustenance.

2 ibid., p.51.
3 ibid., p.52.
Animals are the food of animals, such food God giveth them;
He takes care even of the animals
He created in the ocean
Nanak feel not anxious - anxiety is for God.¹

- Ramkali Ki War

Guru Angad

Thou Thyself, O God, didst create, saith Nanak, Thou Thyself didst put creatures in their different places;
Whom shall I call inferior since all have the same Master?
There is one Master of all; He appointed man to their various duties, and walketh over them -
Some to small, some to great duties; none departeth empty.
Men come naked, they depart naked, yet during their lives they make a display;
Nanak, it is not known what duty God will order for them in the next world.²

- Guru Angad

Sarang Ki War

² ibid., p. 53.
Wealth and supernatural power follow those, even though they in no wise covet them, who wear on their necks God's necklaces (God's name) and attach themselves to the Guru's feet. What pleaseth God and nothing else shall take place.¹

- Guru Amar Das

SRI RAG.

God is the wealth and capital of His saints; they trade in consultation with the Guru.²

- Guru Amar Das

SRI RAG.

He is a saint who recogniseth God who by the Guru's favour knoweth himself, who restraineth his wandering mind and keepeth the one God in his heart, who in life is dead, and who repeateth God's name - Such a saint is the best, And, O Nanak, shall be absorbed in the True One.³

- Guru Amar Das

SRI RAG.

2 ibid., p.155.
3 ibid., p.168.
He who dieth by the Guru's word is really dead
(i.e. he shall not undergo transmigration.)
Grief shall not annoy nor Death crush him. ¹

- Guru Amar Das

Majh Ashtapadi

In the Kal Age God's praise hath appeared as a light for the world;
Through it a few believers are saved
God bestoweth it on whom He looketh with favour:
Nanak such a man becometh holy and receiveth the jewel. ²

- Guru Amar Das

Kajh Ki War

If God be gracious, the Guru shall be found, the soul shall be fixed,
and become absorbed in the Creator.
Nanak, when man's mind believeth through the mind of the Guru, he
neither dieth nor is born again. ³

- Guru Amar Das

Even though man make efforts in hundreds of transmigrations,
happiness will never come to him.
Who hath no faith in the true Guru and loveth not his word.

² ibid., p.181.
³ ibid., p.207.
Nanak, love the True One, and thou shalt obtain peace through the Guru.  
- Guru Amar Das

There is One Creator, one Guru and one Word to meditate on.  
- Guru Amar Das

God appointeth men to do his service; he it is who rewardeth them.  
He is the Father and Mother of all, and taketh care of them.  

Nanak, they who ponder on the Name obtain a residence in God's own  
palace and are honoured in every age.  
- Guru Amar Das

(Sarath Ki War)

All his sins are erased, O God, who reverently singeth Thy praises  
day and night.

All men are Thine; Thou art theirs; I am Thine;  
Thou art mine.  
- Guru Amar Das

Suhil Chhant

Women are burnt in the fire with their husbands:  
If they appreciate their husbands they undergo sufficient pain by  
their death.  

Nanak, if they appreciate not their husbands, why should they be  
burnt?

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2 ibid., p.221.
3 ibid., p.224.
4 ibid., p.226.
Whether the husband be alive or dead such women will flee far away from him. 1

- Guru Amar Das

Suhi Ki War

Elders advice maketh children good
They who are pleasing to God heed such counsel and act accordingly. 2

- Guru Amar Das

RAKALI

When the Guru is blind, the deeds of his disciples are also blind;
They act as it pleaseth themselves and continually utter the grossest falsehood;

- Amar Das

Merit and demerit are the same; since God created both.
Nanak, happiness is obtained by obeying God's order and pondering on the Guru's instruction. 4

- Amar Das

Rakalife

2 ibid., p.234.
3 ibid., p.234.
4 ibid., p.237.
Thou shalt not have to shout and scream when God looketh on thee with favour.\textsuperscript{1}  
\textbf{- Guru Amar Das}  
\textbf{Sarang Ki War}

We commit many sins of which there is no end.

O God, be mercifully pleased to pardon them.

We are great sinners and transgressors.

O God, Thou pardonest and blonest unto Thee;

Otherwise it will not come to our turn to be pardoned.

The Guru graciously cut off our sins and transgressions by blending us with God.

Hail to those, O Nanak, who have meditated on God's name.\textsuperscript{2}  
\textbf{- Guru Amar Das}  
\textbf{Sarang Ki War}

\textsuperscript{1} Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, Vol. II, p.247.  
\textsuperscript{2} ibid., p.250.
Thou didst create all things, O Lord; Thou givest sustenance to Thy creatures.

Some live by deceit and fraud, and drop from their mouths falsehood and deception.

Thou hast subjected creatures thereto; Thou doest what pleasest Thyself
To others Thou hast explained the truth and given unfailing stores thereof.

The food of those who remember God is profitable, they who remember Him not, stretch out their hands to beg.¹

- Guru Ram Das

SHRI RAG HI WAR

Everyone belongeth to Thee, Thou art everyone's;

Thou art the capital stock of all

All beg of Thee and ever supplicate Thee.

He to whom Thou givest hath obtained everything; Thou art distant from some and to others Thou art near.

Except Thee there is none to beg from; let some one investigate this in his mind.

All praise Thee; Thy door is open to the holy.²

- Guru Ram Das

SHRI RAG HI WAR

² ibid., pp.289-290.
He in whose heart there is truth hath the true Name,
and uttereth the truth with his mouth ............

He is saved himself with his family, and by giving God's name he
saveth the whole world.

The slave Nanak is a sacrifice to him who repeateth God's name and
causeth others to do so. 1

- Guru Ram Das

Lajh Ki War

The true Guru is the field of religion; as man planteth in it, so
he gathers the fruit,
The Guru's Sikhs plant ambrosia and obtain God as their ambrosial
fruit. 2

- Guru Ram Das

(Kacauliffe's title:
Man's regeneration must depend upon himself.)

Man hath one mind; the one God pervadeth it;
as the mind turneth 3 such is its acceptance.

Man may say what he pleaseth; it is what he hath at home he eateth
Without the true Guru there is no understanding, and pride departeth
not from the heart.

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2 ibid., pp.300-301.
3 ibid., p.301, fn.3: As man's mind is disposed towards God.
The true Guru meeteth, and God cometh to him who was so fated in the beginning
As iron touched by the philosopher's stone assumeth as bright a colour, so doth man when he meeteth the company of the saints.
O Slave Kanak's Lord, Thou guidest men as Thou pleasest.¹
- Ram Das
Gauri Ki War. I.
The Word is the Guru and the Guru is the Word; in the Word is the essence of ambrosia.
The worshipper who obeyeth what the Guru's word teacheth shall be saved by the Guru in person.²
- Guru Ram Das
Nat Ashtapadi

² ibid., p. 339.
Darling God, merciful, joyous,
Deep, profound, endless, Sustainer of the earth,
Lofty, unfathomable, eternal Lord, I live by remembering Thee.
Destroyer of sorrow, priceless treasure,
Without fear or enmity, unfathomable, unequalled,
Deathless, unborn, self-existent; the mind becometh refreshed by remembering Thee. ¹

- Guru Arjan

O Bestower of comfort, Thou possesest no attributes, and yet Thou possesest all. ²

The believer is saved: the believer hath found the right way;
The believer possesseth divine knowledge; the believer is the preacher.
Blest is the believer, whether householder or anchoréret; the believer hath found God's price.
By pride man is bound; by the Guru's instruction he is freed.
The believer escapeth from transmigration.
The believer performeth good works; the believer performeth unselfish works; whatever the believer doeth is acceptable.
The believer is happy; the unbeliever is afflicted.

² ibid., p.117 (Mirgun Sargun).
The believer listeneth to the Guru; the unbeliever turneth away from him.

The believer meeteth Guru; the unbeliever is separated from Him - the Guru hath explained this.

The Guru's instruction is the Word by which the mind's wanderings cease.

By the Guru's instruction woe and weal are born alike

God is meditated on, and man singeth His praises.

Thou Thyself hast made the whole creation

Thou art the Cause of Causes, and hast established everything

Saith Nanak, from being one Thou hast become endless,

and in the One the Endless is absorbed.¹

- Guru Arjan

As when one putteth a bag of money on the head of a forced labourer;

The money reacheth the master's house, but the labourer suffereth pain.

As when a beggar in a dream sitteth on a King's throne

On opening his eyes he findeth it a baseless phantom!

As when a watchman is placed over another's field,

The field belongeth to its owner, and the watchman leaveth when his business is done.

Even though the watchman strive vigorously,

He shall not become owner of the field.

He to whom the empire of the world belongeth hath sent it as a dream.

He who made Maya hath infused avarice into mankind.

God Himself destroyeth, He Himself restoreth.

Hanak, offer thy supplication unto Him. ¹

- Guru Arjan

The bodies of all creatures are of use,

But man's is useless unless he utter the Name.

Saith Hanak, he to whom God is merciful

Uttereth God's name in the company of the saints. ²

- Guru Arjan

Han doeth evil but pretendeth to do good:

For this he shall be bound like a thief in God's court.

He who uttereth the Name is a saint of God -

Who is equally contained in sea, land, the nether regions, and the firmament -

He who uttereth words of nectar while in his heart is poison,

Shall be bound and punished in Death's city.

The sins which man committeth behind many screens

Shall in a moment be laid bare to the world.

Hanak, God will be merciful to him

In whose heart is the truth, and who is dyed with the love of the Name. ²a

- Guru Arjan

² ibid., p.144.
²a ibid., pp.145-146.
Men have made God their friend for their own advantage;
He fulfilleth all their desires and granteth them the dignity of salvation.
Let all so make God their friend
That none may depart in vain
God removeth the sorrows, pains, and maladies of those
Who for their own objects hold Him in their hearts.
All their desires are fulfilled,
Who practise repetition of God's name with their tongues.
Nanak, is many times a sacrifice unto them —
Profitable is a sight of my God.¹

— Guru Arjan

O immortal King,
We dwell fearless with Thee; whence cometh this fear?
In one person Thou appearest proud, in another lowly;
In one person Thou art haughty, in another humble;
In one person Thou art a pandit and preacher, in another Thou art stupid;
In one person Thou graspest at everything, in another Thou acceptest nothing.
What can man the poor wooden puppet do? He who setteth the puppet in motion knoweth its condition;
It playeth the part for which the Player dressed it.

He Hath made various chambers of many descriptions within it, and
He himself guardeth it.
The Soul must remain in whatever body it is placed;
What can the wretched thing do?
He who made something, namely, all the contrivance of the body,
knoweth its construction.
Hanak, the infinite God knoweth the value of His own work.¹
- Guru Arjan

(Without God all works are vain.)
By works of hypocritical devotion, penance, and austerities man is
plundered on this side (in this world)
He who abideth in fasting, insincere ceremonies, and austerities
shall not obtain an eighth of a paisa (farthing)
In the next world the coin is different, my brother;
This coin will be of no use there.
He who batheth at a place of pilgrimage and wandereth over the
earth, shall find no abiding place hereafter.
Such things shall avail him not; he merely pleaseth people thereby.
He who knoweth not the Pure and Imperishable One uttereth sheer
nonsense.
Hanak hath expressed this opinion; he who acteth on it shall be saved
Serve the Guru, meditate on God's name, and dismiss pride from thy heart.²
- Guru Arjan

² ibid., pp.156-159.
He who attacheth himself to God findeth a friend in everybody;
He who attacheth himself to God hath a stable mind;
He who attacheth himself to God feelleth no anxiety;
He who attacheth himself to God shall be saved.

Although God's slave be accounted of lowly birth,
Yet in his company men shall at once be saved. 1

The cause of causes is the One God, there is none other.
Nanak is a sacrifice to Him who is contained in sea and land, in
the nether regions and the firmament. 2

- Guru Arjan
(Slok XI)

Before this world in any wise appeared,
By whom were bad and good acts committed?
When God was in profound meditation,
With whom were enmity and strife?
When no colour or trace of man was seen,
Say who then felt joy or sorrow?
When there was only the Supreme Being Himself,
Where was worldly love? Who had superstition?
He Himself performed His own play;

2 ibid., p.230.
Hanak, there was no other Creator.  
- Guru Arjan  
Ashtapadi XXI

When God made this illusion of the world  
He diffused the three qualities in it,  
Demerits and merits began to be spoken of;  
Some suffereth hell and others enjoyed heaven.  
God made the snares and entanglements of mammon,  
Pride, worldly love, doubt, excessive fear,  
Woe and weal, honour and dishonour,  
And delivered different kinds of doctrines.  
God Himself performeth and beholdeth His own play;  
When He collecteth the stage properties (when he draweth creation within Himself), O Hanak, He alone remaineth.  
- Guru Arjan  

God who is my Friend and my Lord, speaketh mildly.  
I am weary of trying Him, but He never speaketh harshly.  
The perfect God who thinketh not of our demerits,  
Knoweth not how to speak harshly.  
To purify sinners if God's function; He destroyeth not a particle of man's work (i.e. man loses not a particle of the advantage of

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2 Sattva; Rajas; and Tamas: i.e. goodness or purity; passion or activity; and darkness or ignorance. cf. Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, London, 1875, p.94.
devotion).

He dwelleth in every heart; He pervadeth everything;
He is the nearest of the near. The slave Nanak is ever under the
protection of God, his immortal Friend. ¹

- Guru Arjan. Chhant.

As birds meet together and again separate, so thou too shalt be
separated from thy people, but thou shalt obtain a firm abiding
place if in association with saints thou meditate on God.²

- Guru Arjan

Gaund

Man is not slow to devise evil,
Or ashamed to have intercourse with a prostitute
All day man laboureth;
But, when it is time to remember God, he feeleth as if adamant
had fallen on his head.³

- Guru Arjan

There is no happiness in the acquisition of great wealth
There is no happiness in beholding the performances of acrobats,
There is no happiness in conquering many countries -
All happiness is obtained by singing God's praises.⁴

- Guru Arjan

2 ibid., p.398.
3 ibid., p.424.
4 ibid., p.424.
Join and unite together, my brethren, lay aside differences, love one another.

Associate yourself with God's name, O holy men;
Spread your mat and sit on it.
In this way, my friends, throw your dice
O holy men, repeat God's name day and night, and at the last hour you shall not suffer
Make the practice of religion your board, and truth your pieces
Conquer lust, wrath, covetousness, and worldly love; such a game is pleasing to God.

Rise at dawn, perform your ablutions, then and at bedtime worship God.
My true Guru shall cause you to win the critical throw
And you shall go home with happiness and comfort.
God Himself playeth; God Himself looketh on; He Himself made what is made.

Nanak, the man who playeth under the Guru's instruction shall win the game and go home happy.¹

Hymns of Guru Teg Bahadur

He who recognizeth pleasure and pain, honour and dishonour as the same,
And who keepeth aloof from joy and sorrow, knoweth the Real Thing in the world.
One should renounce praise and blame and search for the dignity of Nirvan:
Hanak, this is difficult part to play; only a few pious men know how to do so.¹

- Guru Teg Bahadur
Gauri I

O good people, in God's asylum there is rest.
The advantage of the study of the Veds and the Purans is to remember God's name.²

- Guru Teg Bahadur
Gauri VII

² ibid., p.395.
Compositions of Guru Gobind Singh

The Jāpjī of Guru Gobind Singh is held by the Sikhs in the same estimation as the Jāpjī of Guru Nanak. The Hindus have a work entitled Vishnu Sahasranāma - Vishnu's thousand names. The Jāpjī was composed to supply the Sikhs with a similar number of epithets of the Creator.¹

There is one God, the true, the great, and the bounteous:-

God hath no quotas or marks, no colour, no caste, no lineage, no form, no complexion, no outline, no costume; none can in any way describe Him.

He is immovable, fearless, luminous, and measureless in might;

He is accounted King of Kings, Lord of millions of Indars;

He is Sovereign of the three worlds, demigods, men, and demons;

the woods and dales declare Him indescribable

O Lord, who can tell all thy names? the wise call Thee special names according to Thy deeds.²

AKAL USTAT: Praise of the Immortal

May we have the protection of the immortal Being

May we have the protection of All-steel!

May we have the protection of All-death!

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² Chakr: depressions in the body noticed for mystical, astrological or chiromantic purpose, ibid., p.261, fn.3.

²a ibid., p.261.
May we have the protection of All-steel! \(^1\)

(The tenth Guru invented new names for God:
Akal (the Immortal); Sarbloh (All-steel); Matronloh (Great-steel);
Sarbkal (All-death); Mahankal (Great death); Asidhuj, Asikutu
and Kharasketu (Having the sword on His banner); Asvani (Sword
in His hand) that is, God as the impersonation and source of
bravery.) \(^2\)

I bow to the one primal God

* * * * *

He is contained in the ant as in the elephant;
He deemeth the rich and the poor alike;
He is unequalled, unseen, and eternal;
He is the Searcher of all hearts;
He is invisible, indestructible, and without distinguishing dress.
He is without passion, colour, form or outline;
He is the primal being, peerless and changeless;
He is devoid of caste marks of every kind;
He hath no enemy, no friend, no father, no mother;
He is far from all and near all;
His dwelling is in sea and land, the nether and upper regions.
Boundless is His form, and boundless His voice;
In the shelter of His feet dwelleth Bhawani: (Durga the wife of
Shiva)


\(^2\) ibid., p.261, fn.4.
Brahma and Vishnu have not found His limits;
The four-faced Brahma pointeth out that God is indestructible.
He made millions of Indars and Bawans (dwarf incarnations of Vishnu)
He created and destroyed Brahmas and Shivas
The fourteen worlds he made as a play,
And again blended them with Himself
He made endless demons, deities, serpents
Celestial singers, Yakshas, excellent and beautiful
He is spoken of in the past, the future, and the present.
And He knoweth the secrets of every heart.
He is not attached to any one love;
He is contained in the light of all souls;
He recognizeth all people and all places;
He is free from death and immortal;
He is invisible, imperceptible Being, distinct from all the world
He is immortal, undecaying, imperishable, and of changeless purpose
He is Destroyer and Creator of all;
He is Remover of Sickness, sorrow and sin.
He who with single heart meditateth on Him even for a moment Shall not fall into Death's noose. ¹

The ten Sawaiyas or quatrains are recited at the administration of the baptism prescribed by the tenth Guru:

Emperor before whom strong armed Kings used to lowly bow their heads in countless numbers;

Who possessed proud elephants with golden trappings, incomparable, tall, painted with bright colours;

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What mattered it how great those emperors were?

They at last departed barefooted. ¹

- Guru Gobind Singh
Sawaiya II

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Trained soldiers, powerful, irresistible, well accoutred with courts of mail crush their enemies;

Filled with high martial spirit they would put mountains to flight, themselves unshaken;

They would shatter their enemies, destroy rebels, crush the pride of furious elephants;

Yet without the favour of God, the Lord of Wealth, they should all depart at last and leave the world. ²

- Sawaiya V

Countless heroes very valiant without hesitation face the edge of the sword

² ibid., p.265.
Subdue countries, crush rebels, and the pride of furious elephants, 

Break powerful forts and even without fighting conquer in every 
direction - 

But their efforts avail not; the Lord is the Commander of them - 

the suppliants are many while there is but one Giver. 1

-Sawaiya VI

Some worshipping stones put them on their heads, some suspend 

lingams 2 from their necks.

Some see God in the south, some bow their heads to the west.

Some fools worship idols, others busy themselves with 
worshipping the dead.

The whole world entangled in false ceremonies hath not found 

God's secret. 2a

-Sawaiya X

.......... 

Fools utter names, but know not their meanings, and worship not 

Him by whom man is protected. 3

.......... 

God is the Protector and Destroyer of the world, 
Compassionate to the poor, Punisher of enemies, ever the 
Cherisher, and free from Death's noose.

2 Phallic images. 
3 ibid., p.271.
Jogis, wearer of matted hair, celibates, the true, great Brahmacaris who undergo hunger and thirst in their divine meditation.

They who perform the niwali feat, who sacrifice to water, fire and wind, who hold their heads down, who stand on one leg and never sit,

Men, serpents, deities, and demons find not God's secrets; the Veds and the books of the Musalmans say that God is indescribable.¹

If salvation be obtained by burning oneself in fire, why should not the Sati and also the serpent which liveth in hell be saved.²

The temple and the mosque are the same; the Hindu worship and the Muselman prayer are the same; all men are the same; it is through error they appear different.

Deities, demons, Yakshas, heavenly singers, Musalmans and Hindus adopt the customary dress of the different countries.

All men have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body, the same build (Ban - also translated: customs, habits), a compound of earth, air, fire and water.³

² ibid., p.275.
³ ibid., p.275.
As from one fire millions of sparks arise; though rising separately, they unite again in the fire; 
As from one heap of dust several particles of dust fill the air, and on filling again blend with dust; 
As in one stream millions of waves are produced; the waves being made of water all become water 
So from God's form non-sentient and sentient things are manifested, and springing from Him, shall all be united in Him again.¹

In Vichitar Natrak (Wonderful Drama) Guru Gobind Singh addresses God as a sword to destroy his enemies:

"I bow with love, and devotion to the Holy Sword 
Assist me that I may complete this work"².

Thou art the subduer of countries, the Destroyer of the armies of the wicked, in the battlefield Thou greatly adornest the brave. 
Thine arm is infrangible. Thy brightness refulgent, Thy radiance and splendour dazzle like the sun.

Thou bestowest happiness on the good. Thou terrifiest the evil, Thou scatterest sinners, I seek Thy protection

Hail! Hail to the Creator of the world, the Saviour of the Creation, my Cherisher, Hail to Thee, O Sword!³

² ibid., p.286.
³ ibid., p.286.
I bow to Him who holdeth the arrow in His hand;
I bow to the Fearless One,
I bow to the God of gods who is in the present and the future.\(^1\)

I bow to the Scimitar, the two-edged Sword, the Falchion, and the Dagger,
Thou, O God, hast ever one form; Thou art ever unchangeable.\(^2\)

I bow to all weapons called *Shaster* (which may be held)
I bow to all weapons called *Astar* (which may be hurled or discharged).\(^3\)

Thou turnest men like me from blade of grass into mountains;
than Thou there is none other Cherisher of the poor.

O God, do Thou Thyself pardon mine errors, there is none who hath erred like me.

The houses of these who have served Thee are all seen filled with wealth.

In this *Kal* age and at all times there is great confidence in the powerful arm of the sword.\(^4\)

\(^2\) ibid., p.236.
\(^3\) ibid., p.287.
\(^4\) ibid., p.287.
If any one flee to save himself from the Destroyer, say in what direction shall he flee
Can man run away from God who stoppeth him with a drawn sword thundering and brandishing it?
No contrivance hath been made by which man may escape fear from the wound God inflicteth
Why, O fool, seeketh thou not cheerfully the asylum of Him from whom canst not escape?¹

As God spoke to me I speak,
I pay no regard to anyone besides
I am satisfied with no religious garb;
I sow the seed of the Invisible
I am not a Worshipper of stones
Nor am I satisfied with any religious garb.
I will sing the Name of the Infinite,
And obtain the Supreme Being.²
The successor of both Baba Nanak and Babar
Were created by God Himself.
Recognise the former as a spiritual,
And, the latter as a temporal King.
Babar's successors shall seize and plunder those who deliver not the Guru's money.

² ibid., p.300.
They who love the Guru's feet
Shall never see misery.
Wealth and supernatural power shall enter their house,
And sin and suffering not touch even their shadows.¹

What is a wretched enemy to him whom the Friend preserveth?
An enemy could not even touch his shadow; the fool would lose
his labour.²

Who can meditate anything against those who enter the saints'
protection?
God preserveth them as the tongue is preserved among the teeth;
He destroyeth their enemies and allayeth their suffering.²a

The thirty-three sawaiyas, which are read while the baptismal
water is prepared, are considered by many orthodox Sikhs to be the
sawaiyas which should always be read at the baptism; and according to
Macauliffe there is internal evidence to support this.³

I

He who repeateth night and day the name of Him whose enduring

² ibid., p.305.
²a ibid., p.305.
³ ibid., p.314.
light is unquenchable, who bestoweth not a thought on anyone but the one God; who hath full love and confidence in God, who putteth not faith even by mistake in fasting, or worshipping cemeteries, places of cremation, or Jogis' places of sepulture;

Who only recognizeth the one God and not pilgrimages, alms, the non-destruction of life (like Jains), Hindu penances, or austerities

And in whose heart the light of the Perfect One shineth he is recognized as a pure member of the Khalsa.¹

In Hazare Shabd

O man, practise asceticism in this way:
Consider thy house altogether as the forest, and remain an anchoret at heart.
Make continence thy matted hair, union with God thine ablutions, thy daily religious duties the growth of thy nails, Divine knowledge thy spiritual guide; admonish thy heart and apply God's name as ashes to thy body.
Eat little, sleep little, love mercy and forbearance.
Ever practise mildness and patience, and then shalt be freed from the three qualities Attach not to thy heart lust, wrath, covetousness, obstinacy and worldly love.

Thou shalt thus behold the Real Soul of this world, and obtain the Supreme Being.¹

O man, practise Jog in this way:
Make truth thy horn, sincerity thy necklace, and apply meditation as ashes to thy body;
Make restraint of Thy heart thy lyre, and the support of the Name thine alms.
Play the primal essence as thy strings, and thou shalt hear God's sweet song.
By the practice of the songs of divine knowledge, waves of melody and exquisite pleasure shall be produced.
The demons and the demigods in their celestial chariots will be astonished and the munis (saints) intoxicated with delight.
Admonish thy heart, don the garb of self restraint, and utter God's name inaudibly.
So shall thy body ever remain like gold, and Death never approach them.²

How can God be in human form?
Sidhs have grown weary sitting in contemplation of Him, but they have not been able to see Him in any way.

² Ibid., p.324.
The Veds and the Purans have grown weary and abandoned their purpose, since they could form no conception of Him.\(^1\)

I recognize none but the one God:
I know God as the Destroyer, the Fashioner, the Omnipotent and Eternal Creator.
Except in the protection of the one sole God nowhere is salvation.\(^2\)

After the obligatory morning and evening divine services and uninterrupted chatting of the Granth Sahib, the Sikhs repeat a prayer called ARDAS - which, in Macauliffe's words, "may now suitably end our presentation of the Lives and Writings of the ten Gurus" -

SRI WAHGURÜ JI KI FATAH!

Having first remembered the Sword meditate on Guru Nanak
Then on Guru Angad, Amar Das and Ram Das; may they assist us!
Remember Arjan, Har Gobind, and holy Har Rai;
Meditate on the holy Har Krishan, a sight of whom dispelled all sorrow.
Remember Teg Bahadur, and the nine treasures shall come hastening to your homes.
Ye holy Gurus, everywhere assist us.
May the tenth King, the holy Guru Gobind Singh everywhere assist us.
God himself knoweth, He Himself acteth, it is He who adjusteth.
Standing, in His presence, Nanak, make supplication.\(^3\)

\(^2\) Ibid., p.327.
\(^3\) Ibid., pp.331-332.
PART THREE

Preliminary Statement

We have now completed our study of the Indian reformist movements which were selected for application of Weber's methodology. These have been very detailed, and, before proceeding, it will be worthwhile, for purposes of clarity to remind ourselves briefly of the structure of the study as a whole.

In Part One, we began with a discussion of different attempts, both theoretical and empirical, to analyse material similar to that of the Indian reformist movements. Then followed a detailed discussion of the theoretical basis of our analysis, i.e., Weber's thesis and methodology. In Part Two, which we called "An Application of Weber's Methodology", we then analysed the history and formation of these movements to clarify the rationalisation, which was attempted in them, of Hindu doctrines and ethics. Each of these chapters, therefore, constitutes an ideal-typical construction or analytical description of the same kind as Weber's Protestant Ethic, with which they are compared in the second chapter of Part Three.

Before a comparison between the "Protestant Ethic" and our own interpretation of the Indian reformist movements can be satisfactorily undertaken, it is essential that the Protestant ethic itself should be similarly analysed, i.e. that its rationalisation of doctrine and
ethics should be made as clear. To have assumed that Weber's - and Troeltsch's - interpretation, as a Norm of Comparison, was, without reference to the original writings of Luther and Calvin, a sufficient basis for empirical analysis would inevitably mean that we had taken the Weber thesis as proved in substance. An empirical analysis resting on this assumption, in our view, have only partial scientific validity. Moreover, a comparison of an ideal-type based on primary sources with another ideal-type makes it necessary that the other - in this case, the Norm of Comparison - should also be constructed on the same basis. Therefore, we shall attempt to construct such an ideal-type of Luther's and Calvin's systems of doctrine and ethics in the following chapter. This attempt may also serve to clarify Weber's interpretation itself.

After the empirical comparison, in the second chapter of this Part, we shall then be able to examine the implications of the present study for sociological theory through a discussion of some of the current tendencies in it, and their empirical applicability.
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 1

THE NORM OF COMPARISON:

AN IDEAL-TYPE OF LUTHER'S AND CALVIN'S SYSTEM OF DOCTRINE AND ETHICS

The Ninety-five Thesis is the name Luther gave to a series of propositions which he announced for public debate on October 31, 1517. Years later, Melanchthon recognized it as the date on which Reformation could be said to have begun.2

Thesis 1: "When our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, said "Repent", He called for the entire life of believers to be one of penitence".3

Thesis 56: "The treasures of the church, out of which the pope dispenses indulgences are not sufficiently spoken of or known among the people of Christ".4

Thesis 62: "The true treasure of the church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God".5

Thesis 94: "Christians should be exhorted to be zealous to follow Christ, through penalties, deaths and hells".6

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2 ibid. p.30
3 ibid. p.32
4 ibid. p.38
5 ibid. p.39
6
Thesis 95: "And let them thus be more confident of entering through many tribulations (Acts 14: 22) rather than through a false assurance of peace".¹

A Short Exposition of the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer summed up much of Luther's preaching and writings during the years 1517-19.²

In the Preamble Luther wrote that the whole substance of the Scriptures - and 'everything that a Christian needs to know' is contained in the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer.³

Three things are essential for a man to know in order to be saved: (i) he should know what his duties are and what they are not; (ii) when he understands that he can neither keep any commandment or avoid yielding to any temptation 'by virtue of his own strength alone, he should know where he can 'seek and find and obtain what he needs'; (iii) he should know how to set about 'seeking to obtain what he needs'.⁴

In the first commandment it is taught how we should feel in our hearts towards God: what our thoughts about Him should always

¹ Woolf, Reformation Writings of Luther, Vol. I, p.43
² ibid. p.70
³ ibid. p.71
⁴ ibid. p.72
be like, what should be our conduct and our reverence.\textsuperscript{1}

In the second commandment we learn not only how we should 'bear ourselves towards God outwardly, in words spoken in the hearing of others, but also inwardly, in our hearts: we must remember His name and keep it holy'. 'No one can make God's nature plain either to himself or to other people. We can only repeat His names'.\textsuperscript{2}

The third commandment tells us what our outward relation should be to God, as men in our works, i.e. in God's service.\textsuperscript{3}

Thus the three commandments - or the First Table of Moses\textsuperscript{4} - teach us how to live in God's sight, in thought, word and deed, 'i.e. in the whole of our life'.\textsuperscript{5}

The fourth commandment - which is included in the Second Table of Moses - we are taught how to bear ourselves 'to all those in authority being as such God's representatives', the "authorities" being parents and masters, spiritual or temporal etc.\textsuperscript{6} This is the reason why it follows immediately after those relating to God himself.\textsuperscript{7}

The fifth teaches one's bearing towards one's equals and neighbours, 'having regard to the person of each': doing no injury

\textsuperscript{1} Woolf, Reformation Writings of Luther, Vol. I. p.72
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.73
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.73
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p. 72. cf. Calvin's division of the Decalogue
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. p.73
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.73. According to Woolf, this teaching is characteristic to Luther's theory of legal authority and accounts for much of his attitude in the Peasants' Rising of 1525, and for the attitude of the Reformers in general.
\textsuperscript{7} ibid. pp.73-74
and giving support and help where needed.\textsuperscript{1}

The sixth relates to our conduct 'towards the most cherished possessions which our neighbour has after his own person, i.e. his lawful wife, his children, and his friends'. 'We must do them no harm, but hold them in all possible honour'.\textsuperscript{2}

The seventh tells us how to conduct ourselves towards our neighbour's temporal property: 'not to take possession of his goods, nor interfere with but help him forward'.\textsuperscript{3}

In the eighth we are commanded not to 'undermine, but increase, protect and preserve'.\textsuperscript{4}

The last two commandments teach us 'in what way the human nature is evil': 'that we must be quite free from lascivious passions and a greedy acquisitive spirit', which means 'struggle and effort as long as we live'.\textsuperscript{5}

In the Short Conclusion to the Ten Commands, Luther quotes Matt.7: 12, "That ye would that man should do to you, do ye also the same unto them. This is the whole law and the prophets".\textsuperscript{6}

According to Luther, the first commandment is broken by: taking to witchcraft, magic and black arts in difficulty; by ordering our

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Woolf, Reformation Writings of Luther, Vol. I, p.74
  \item \textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.74
  \item \textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.74
  \item \textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.74
  \item \textsuperscript{5} ibid. p.74
  \item \textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.74
\end{itemize}
and not to ourselves.  

In the fourth commandment - "Honour thy Father and thy Mother ..." - is included everything in Scripture about obedience, humility, subjection, and doing reverence; in the fifth commandment - "Thou shalt not kill" - all teaching of patience, gentleness, peace and harmony; in the sixth commandment - "Thou shalt not commit adultery" - all teachings about modesty, fasting, moderation, temperateness, prayer, watching, and 'whatever harmonizes with modesty'; in the seventh commandment - "Thou shalt not steal" - all teachings which deal with greed, unlawful possessions, usury, sharp practice, deceit, injury to, and prevention of, the temporal well-being of our neighbours. In the eighth - "Thou shalt not bear false witness" - 'a peaceful and commendable mode of speech, hurtful to none, helpful to all, reconciling foes, excusing and defending the insulted; in short, truth and simplicity in speech, in commanded. In the last two: 'perfect purity of speech, and superiority to all temporal pleasures and possessions which are brought to completion in the life to come'.

There is only one motive operating in all these actions, whether to

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1 Woolf, Reformation Writings of Luther, Vol. I, p.81
2 ibid. p.81
3 ibid. p.81
4 ibid. p.81
5 ibid. p.82
6 ibid. p.82
7 ibid. p.82
friend or foe: i.e. love for God and man'.

The ten commandments never teach what a man should do, refuse to do, or desire of others for himself, but rather what he should do, or refuse to do, for others, for God, and for mankind. Thus it is borne in upon us inevitably that their fulfilment consists in love for others and not for ourselves'.

The Creed

The Creed is divided into three sections by Luther, according to the three persons of the Holy Trinity, for belief in the Trinity is the main article of faith, and on which all others are dependent.

One must notice at this point that there are two ways of believing: about God and in God. Believing in God means that one does not accept what is said about God, but puts one's faith in Him, surrenders to Him, believing without hesitation that He will be to one and act towards one, just as we are taught He will. It is the kind of faith which 'dares to accept what is said of God, even if doing so means risking life or death': it is the faith 'which alone makes a man a Christian', and 'through it, all his desires are satisfied by God'. This kind of faith is unknown to those who are evil and sinful at heart, for it is a living faith.

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1 Reformation Writings of Luther, Vol. I, p.82.
2 ibid. p.82.
3 ibid. p.83. In so doing Luther 'was making what the people must have felt to be a momentous innovation', as it was usual in the Middle Ages to divide it into twelve articles for twelve apostles: see ibid. p.83, fn.1.
4 ibid. p.83.
In the Three Treatises of 1520 - "An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate"; "A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church"; and "A Treatise on Christian Liberty" - Luther first overthrew 'the three walls behind which Rome sat entrenched in her spiritual-temporal power', then dealt with the sacramental system 'by which she accompanied and controlled her members from the cradle to the grave'; followed, 'in language of almost lyrical rapture', by the Liberty of a Christian Man.\(^1\)

"In the whole matter", Luther wrote in the Open Letter, "the first and the most important thing is that we take earnest heed not to enter on it trusting in great might as in human reason, even though all power in the world were ours; for God cannot and will not suffer a good work to be begun with trust in our own power or reason. Such works He crushes ruthlessly to earth, as it is written in the Thirty-third Psalm, "There is no King saved by the multitude of an host; a mighty is not delivered by much strength".\(^2\)

... ... ...

"Let us act wisely, therefore, and in the fear of God".\(^3\)

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1 Three Treatises, Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1947, p.115: Introduction to A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church. These treatises are printed with minor revisions from the Philadelphia (Holman) edition (6 vols.) of the Works of Martin Luther; translation and introduction are by C. M. Jacobs, A. T. J. Steinhauser and W. A. Lambert respectively - see Foreword.

2 ibid. p.11

3 ibid. p.12
The "three walls of the Romanists" - a term applied by Luther to the champions of the extreme form of papal supremacy - are, first, their saying that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them and that the spiritual power is superior to the temporal; the second, that the interpretation of the scripture belongs only to the pope; the third, if threatened with the council, they say that no one can call a council but the pope.

Luther's attack on the first "wall" is based on Paul, 1 Corinthians 12: that all Christians are truly of the "spiritual estate", and there is no difference between them at all, except that of office. Gospel and faith alone make one "spiritual" and Christian. Through baptism all are consecrated to the priesthood, according to I Peter 2: "Ye are a royal priesthood, a priestly Kingdom"; and according to the book of Revelation: 'Thou hast made us by thy blood to be priests and Kings'.

A priest in Christendom is only an office-holder; while he is in office, he has precedence, but when he is deposed, he is 'a peasant or a townsman like the rest'. The difference between laymen and priests, princes and bishops - "spirituals" and "temporals" is 'of

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1 Three Treatises, Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1947, p.12, fn.8
2 ibid. p.13
3 ibid. p.14
4 ibid. p.14
5 ibid. p.14
6 ibid. p.16.
office and work, but not of "estate". Those who are called "spiritual" - priests, bishops or popes - administer the Word of God and the sacraments, which is their 'work and office'; the "temporal" bear sword and rod with which to punish the evil and to protect the good. A cobbler, a smith and a farmer, all have the work and office of their occupation, 'and yet they are all alike consecrated priests and bishops'. Each must benefit and serve every other through his work and office.

Thus 'this first paper wall' is broken, since the temporal power has become a member of the body of Christendom, therefore its work - of punishing the evil-doers, and praising of 'them that do well' - should extend freely and without hindrance to all members of the whole body 'without regard to pope, bishops and priests'.

'It is intolerable that in the canon law so much importance is attached to the freedom, life and property of the clergy; for, if it were a sufficient reason that one man is above another to escape punishment, then 'no Christian could punish another, since Christ commands that every man shall esteem himself the lowest and the least'. But where there is sin, there is no escape from punishment, as St. Gregory (Pope 590-604) also writes that we

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1. Three Treatises, p.15
2. ibid. pp.16-17
3. ibid. p.18
4. The canon law - called throughout this treatise and elsewhere the "spiritual law" by Luther - is a general name for the decrees of councils and decisions of the pope, collected in the so-called corpus juris canonici, see ibis. p.15, f2.10
5. ibid. p.19
are indeed all equal, but guilt puts us in subjection one to another.¹

The second wall is even more 'flimsy and worthless': that the pope whether he be a bad man or a good man, cannot be wrong in matters of faith.²

If all are priests, as said above, and all have one faith, one Gospel, one Sacrament, 'why should we not also have the power to test and judge what is correct or incorrect in matters of faith? 'That becomes of the words of Paul in I Corinthians 2: "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself be judged of no man" and II Corinthians 4: "We have all the same Spirit of faith"?³

'The third wall falls of itself when the first two are down':⁴ for it is one's duty 'to stand by the Scriptures, to reprove him and to constrain him' when the pope acts against the Scriptures, according to the word of Christ in Matthew 18: "If thy brother sin against thee, go and tell it him between thee and him alone; if he bear thee not, then take with thee one or two more; if he hear not the Church, consider him a heathen".⁵

Their contention that the pope alone can call a council or confirm its actions is based only on their laws, whose validity is 'only in so far as they are not injurious to Christendom or contrary

¹ Three Treatises, p.20
² ibid. p.20
³ ibid. p.22
⁴ ibid. p.23
⁵ ibid. p.23
to the laws of God.\textsuperscript{1}

In Proposals for Reform\textsuperscript{2} Luther asks the Christian Nobility to set itself against the pope 'for salvation of the poor souls who must go to ruin through his tyranny'.\textsuperscript{3}

A man, for example, makes a pilgrimage to Rome of his own, and 'spends fifty or a hundred gulden, more or less, and leaves his wife and child, or at least his neighbour, at home to suffer want',\textsuperscript{4} helped by the popes 'with their false, feigned, foolish golden years',\textsuperscript{5} though it is against God and the salvation of souls; and it had to continue instead of being forbidden because it brought in money and strengthened false authority.\textsuperscript{6} To destroy this 'false and seductive faith', and to restore a true understanding of good works, all pilgrimages should be given up.\textsuperscript{7}

Next we come to that 'great crowd who vow much and keep little': the mendicant-orders.\textsuperscript{8} Luther advised that as many as necessary should be put together to make one house, which will be well provided and do not need to beg anymore, it is much more important to consider

\textsuperscript{1} Three Treatises, pp.23-23
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.44
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.46
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.59
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. p.60, fn.98: i.e., the years when special rewards were attached to worship at the shrines of Rome.
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.60
\textsuperscript{7} ibid. p.60
\textsuperscript{8} ibid. p.61. The houses or monasteries of the mendicant or "begging" orders - the friars. The members of these were sworn to support themselves on the alms of the faithful, see ibid. fn.50.
what common people need for their salvation than what Saints Francis, Dominic, Augustine or anyone else decreed especially as things did not turn out as they expected. In Luther's view, all foundations and monasteries should be reestablished in the way they were in the Apostles' time and a long time afterwards, when they were open to every man for as long as he pleased; as they were originally only Christian schools 'in which the scriptures and Christians living were taught and people were trained to rule and preach'.

'We also see how the priesthood has fallen, and how many a poor priest is overburdened with wife and child and his conscience troubled yet no one does not anything to help though he might easily be helped'.

'Wherefore I say that according to the institution of Christ and the Apostles every city should have a priest or bishop, as St. Paul clearly says in Titus 1; and this priest should not be compelled to live without a wedded wife, but should be permitted to have one, as St. Paul says in 1 Timothy 3, and Titus 1; "A bishop should be a man who is blameless, and the husband of but one wedded wife, whose children are obedient and virtuous", etc. For with St. Paul a bishop and a priest are one and the same thing, as witness also St. Jerome (d.420).'

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1 Three Treatises, p.61
2 ibid. p.63
3 ibid. p.64
4 ibid. pp.64-65
We clearly learn from the Apostle that every town should choose a learned and pious citizen from the congregation or community (Gemeine) for entrusting him the office of the ministry and support him at public expense and leave him free to marry or not. He should have with him several priests or deacons - married or unmarried according to their choice - to 'help him rule the people of the community or congregation' by means of preaching and the sacraments.

This would lead to 'a very different government and administration of church property: the whole canon law would disintegrate and 'not many benefices find their way to Rome'.

As regards the 'wretched multitude who now sit in shame and heaviness of conscience because their wives are called "priests' harlots" and their children "priests' children", Luther would not deprive them of the comfort which is their due: such people are 'certainly married before God'.

In the whole "spiritual" law of the pope there are not "two lines which could be instructive to a pious Christian'. 'Christ has', Luther adds, 'set us free from all human laws, especially when they are opposed to God and the salvation of souls as St. Paul teaches in Galatians 5 and I Corinthians 11'.

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1 Three Treatises, p.65 incl. fn.97
2 ibid. p.65 incl. fn.98
3 ibid. p.66
4 ibid. p.67
5 ibid. p.69
6 ibid. p.69
Possessed by 'the evil spirit', which 'by human laws now
confuses all estates in life', certain abbots, abbesses and prelates
'have reserved to them-selves in confession, all, or at least some
of the mortal sins which are secret so that no brother on his
obedience and on pain of the ban, can absolve another from these sins'.
But the prelate has no authority over secret sins, even though they
were the worst of sins.  

All festivals, i.e. saints' days and minor religious holiday
should be abolished; only Sunday should be kept.  
The saint would be honoured more by turning the holy day into
a working day.  
The grades of degrees within which marriage is forbidden should
be changed, e.g. the sponsorships and the third and fourth degree:
'if the pope can grant dispensation in these matters for money', then
every parish priest can do so free for the salvation of souls.  
The fasts should be a matter of choice, and all kinds of food
should be freely allowed, as the Gospel makes them - although 'it is
no longer easy to preach about this liberty because the common people
take such offence'.

1 Three Treatises, pp.69-70
2 ibid. p.70
3 ibid. p.73
4 ibid. p.73
5 ibid. p.74
6 ibid. p.75
7 ibid. p.75
'So entirely in these evil days', Luther wrote near the end 'have spiritual goods been misused and applied to the gaining of temporal goods, that everything, even God Himself, has been forced into the service of avarice'.¹ 'Let this be your fixed rule: What you must buy from the pope is neither good nor of God; for what is from God, to wit, the Gospel and the works of God, is not only given without money, but the whole world is punished and damned because it has not been willing to receive it as a free gift. We have deserved of God that we should be so deceived, because we have despised His holy Word and the grace of baptism'.²

'One of the greatest necessities', however, is the abolition of all begging throughout Christendom'.³ 'Every city should provide for its own poor and admit no foreign beggars' whether called pilgrims or mendicant monks.⁴ The poor should be cared for to the extent that they do not die of hunger or cold; but it is not right that one should live in idleness on another's labour, or be rich and comfortable on another's discomfort'.⁵ God has not decreed that any one should live from another's goods, except the priests and because of the spiritual labour, as Paul says in I Corinthians 9, and Christ to the Apostles, 'Every labourer is worthy of his hire'.⁶

¹ Three Treatises, p.79
² ibid. p.80
³ ibid. p.81
⁴ ibid. p.81
⁵ ibid. p.82
⁶ ibid. p.82
A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church

The Prelude is 'an elaborate examination of the whole sacramental system of the Church',¹ and it 'represents the culmination of Luther's reformatory thinking on the theological side'.² This treatise marks Luther's final break with Rome.³

Luther denied that there were seven sacraments, and held to only three, baptism, penance and the bread,⁴ because they had been 'subject to a miserable captivity by the Roman Curia, and Church deprived of all her liberty'.⁵ If, however, the term were used in its scriptural sense there should be only one sacrament, with three sacramental signs.⁶

In the Sacrament of the Bread, John 6 is irrelevant, for not only was the sacrament not yet instituted, but it is clear, from the whole context, that Christ was speaking of faith in the Word;⁷ the Gospel narratives of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and Paul in I Corinthians 6 are, on the other hand, clearly relevant.⁸

'Matthew, Mark and Luke agree that Christ gave the whole sacra-

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¹ Three Treatises, p.116 (Introduction)
² ibid. p.116; the sentence continues with - "as the Nobility does on the national and the Liberty on the religious side".
³ ibid. p.117
⁴ ibid. p.126. The sacrament of bread because wine was withheld from the laity in the Lord's Supper - see ibid. fn.17.
⁵ ibid. p.126
⁶ ibid. pp.126-127; cf. I Timothy 3:16
⁷ ibid. p.127
⁸ ibid. p.128
ment to all the disciples, and Paul delivered both kinds. In the Lord's Supper, Luther says, the whole sacrament, 'or communion in both kinds', is either given only to the priests or to both priests and laity. If it is given to the priests alone, then it is not right to give either kind - bread or wine - to the laity. For if we permit one institution of Christ to be changed, we make all of His laws invalid: 'for a single exception, especially in the Scriptures, invalidates the whole'. If the Sacrament is also given to the laity, then it must necessarily be given in both forms. 'But if one kind may be withheld from the laity', to the laity. For if we permit one institution of Christ to be changed, we make all of His laws invalid: 'for a single exception, especially in the Scriptures, invalidates the whole'. If the Sacrament is also given to the laity, then it must necessarily be given in both forms. 'But if one kind may be withheld from the laity', then, equally, a part of baptism and baptism itself might also be withdrawn from them by the same authority of the Church. Therefore, just as baptism and absolution must be administered in their entirely, so the sacrament of the bread must be given in its complete form to all laymen who want it. How can the one kind be a complete sacrament for the laity and not a complete sacrament for the priests? What is decisive is Christ's words "This is my blood, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins" ... "For you ... and for many; Drink ye all of it".

1 Three Treatises, p.128
2 ibid. p.129
3 ibid. p.129
4 ibid. p.129
5 ibid. p.130
6 ibid. p.130
7 ibid. p.130
8 ibid. p.131
But 'where in all the world is the necessity, where the religious
duty, where the practical use, of denying both kinds, i.e. the
visible sign to the laity, when everyone concedes to them the grace
(res sacramenti)?\(^1\)

'If they concede the grace, which is the greater, why not the
sign, which is the lesser?\(^2\)

Finally, the authority is Paul, when he says in I Corinthians 11,
"I have received from the Lord what I also delivered (commanded) unto
you": he does not say "I permitted unto you".\(^3\)

'The first captivity of this sacrament,' is therefore, of its
substance or completeness.\(^4\) The use of the Sacrament was left by
Christ to everyone's free will, when He said "As oft as ye do this,
do it in remembrance of me".\(^5\)

The priests are ministers and not lords, and, therefore, are
duty-bound to administer both kinds to those who want them and as
often as they want them.\(^6\)

Luther's concern in this was to remove 'all scruples of con­
science, so that no one may fear to become guilty of heresy if he
should believe in the presence of real bread and real wine on the altar,

\(^1\) Three Treatises, p.131
\(^2\) ibid. p.131
\(^3\) ibid. p.132
\(^4\) ibid. p.135
\(^5\) ibid. p.135
\(^6\) ibid. pp.135-136
and that every one may feel at liberty to ponder, hold, and believe either one view or the other without endangering his salvation.¹

'It is with the sacrament even as it is with Christ'.² In order the Godhead may dwell in Christ, it is not necessary that his human nature should be transubstantiated and the Godhead be contained under its accidents. Both natures are there in their completeness: 'This man is God and This God is man'.³

This is understood by faith, and 'authority of God's Word is greater than the grasp of our intellect'.⁴ Similarly, in order that the real body and the real blood of Christ be present in the sacrament, it is unnecessary that the bread and wine be transubstantiated and Christ be contained under its accidents. Both remain there together.⁵

The third captivity of this sacrament is that the mass is a good work and a sacrifice.⁶ 'We must turn our eyes and hearts simply to the institution of Christ and to this alone'.⁷

"And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake: and gave to His disciples, and said: Take ye and eat. This is my body, which shall be given for you. And taking the chalice,

¹ Three Treatises, p.138
² ibid. p.143
³ ibid. p.143
⁴ ibid. p.143
⁵ ibid. p.143
⁶ ibid. p.143
⁷ ibid. p.144
He gave thanks, and gave to them, saying: Drink ye all of this. This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you and for many unto remission of sin. This do for the commemoration of me."¹

A testament, Luther adds, is 'a promise made by one about to die, in which he designates his bequest and appoints his heirs;' therefore it involves first, the death of the testator, and, then, the promise of the bequest and naming of the heir.² The mass, therefore, 'is the promise of the remission of sins made to us by God; and such a promise as has been confirmed by the death of the Son of God.'³ 'God made a testament: therefore it was necessary that He should die, but God could not die unless He became man. 'Thus both the incarnation and the death of Christ are briefly comprehended in this word "testament"'.⁴

If, then mass is a promise, it is not to be approached with 'any work or strength or merit, but with faith alone.'⁵ It is clear therefore, that the first step in one's salvation is faith, 'which clings to word of the promise made by God, who without any effort on our part, is free and unmerited mercy, makes a beginning and offers us the word of His promise'.⁶

¹ Three Treatises, p.145: "These words the Apostle also delivers and more fully expounds in I Corinthians 11."
² ibid. p.146
³ ibid. p.146
⁴ ibid. p.147
⁵ ibid. p.147
⁶ ibid. p.147
'God's Word is the beginning of all; on it follows faith, and on faith charity; then charity works every good work, for it worketh no ill, nay it is the fulfilling of the law. "What worse idolatry can there be," Luther asks, "than to abuse God's promises with perverse opinions and to neglect or extinguish faith in them?"

For God does not ever deal with man except through a word of promise, and we cannot deal with God except through faith in the word of his promise.

God neither desires nor has need of works, we deal with ourselves and other men on the basis of works; but He needs that we consider Him to be true to His promises, and wait for Him patiently and thus worship Him with faith, hope and love. Thus God obtains glory among us; this is the 'true worship and service of God which we must perform in the mass'.

'If the words of promise are not proclaimed, what exercise of faith can there be?; and without faith, there cannot be hope or love, 'Without faith, hope and love, what service can there be? It is clear that promise and faith must go together, and mass is nothing

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1 Three Treatises, p.147
2 ibid. p.150
3 ibid. p.150
4 ibid. pp.150-151
5 ibid. p.151
6 ibid. p.151
7 ibid. p.151
It is also true that 'God is wont to add to well-nigh every promise of His a certain sign as a mark or memorial of His promise, so that we may thereby the more faithfully hold to His promise and be the more forcibly admonished by it.' To the mass, therefore, he adds 'His blood and body in the bread and wine, as a memorial sign of this great promise'; in baptism He adds 'to the word of the promise the sign of immersion in the water.' We are thus to understand that the word is the testament, and the sign is the sacrament; and 'as there is greater power in the word than in the sign, so there is greater power in the testament than in the sacrament'.

There are two things that generally 'tempt us to love the fruits of the mass: first, the fact of our being sinners and 'unworthy of such great things because of exceeding vileness; and second, these things are so great that 'our faint-hearted nature dare not aspire to them or ever hope to attain them'. The great blessings that come to us through the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting are to have

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1 Three Treatises, p.151
2 ibid. p.152
3 ibid. p.153
4 ibid. p.153
5 ibid. p.153
6 ibid. p.153
7 ibid. pp.154-155
God for our Father and to be 'His sons and heirs of all His goods'.

We must, therefore, fix our thoughts on the words of Christ than those of our weakness; for "great are the works of the Lord: wrought out according to all His wills, who is able to do exceedingly abundantly above all we ask or think". Thus Christ also encourages with the words, "Fear not, little flock, for it hath pleased your Father to give you a Kingdom". For it is just this overflowing goodness of the incomprehensible God, lavished upon us through Christ, that moves us to love Him again with our whole heart above all things, to be drawn to Him with all confidence, to despise all things else, and be ready to suffer all things for Him; wherefore this sacrament is well styled "a fount of love".

'Everyone may derive a blessing from the mass for himself alone and only by his own faith and no one can commune for any other'.

We do not offer a good work or commune (in the active), but receive the promises and the sign and are communed (in the passive) through the priests. This has been custom of the laity, for 'they are not said to do good, but to receive it'; but the priests have made a good work of the sacrament and testament of God which 'they may

1 Three Treatises, p.155
2 ibid. p.155
3 ibid. p.155
4 ibid. p.155
5 ibid. p.159
6 ibid. p.159
communicate and offer to others' - thus 'departing into godless ways'.

The Sacrament of Baptism

The first thing in baptism to be considered is the divine promise: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," 'For no sin can condemn him save unbelief alone'.

The purpose of the institution of all sacraments is to nourish faith; 'beware, therefore, lest the external pomp of works and deceits of human tradition mislead you'. We can thus clearly see the difference between 'man the minister and God the Doer', (for it is not man's baptism, which we receive by the and of a man. We must not, therefore, attribute the 'outward part to man and the inward part to God': 'Ascribe both to God alone'. The priest himself says: "I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen" - and not "I baptize thee in my own name".

The whole efficacy of 'our signs, or Sacraments as well as those of the father', therefore, consist in faith itself, not in doing of

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1 Three Treatises, p.159
2 ibid. p.168 ff
3 ibid. p.170
4 ibid. p.172
5 ibid. p.173
6 ibid. p.174
7 ibid. p.174
8 ibid. p.174
9 ibid. p.174
10 ibid. p.175
Baptism signifies two things—death and resurrection, that is, full and complete justification. The minister's immersing the child in the water signifies death, his drawing it forth again signifies life. And this must not be understood figuratively, i.e. death of sin and the life of grace, as many understand it, but of actual death and resurrection. 'For as long as we are in the flesh, the desires of the flesh stir and are stirred. Wherefore as soon as ever we begin to believe, we also begin to die in this world and to live unto God in the life to come; so that faith is truly a death and a resurrection, that is, it is that spiritual baptism in which we go under and come forth'. Although the administration of baptism in soon over, yet the thing it signifies continues as long as we live—'nay, until we rise at the last day'. Therefore, whatever we do in this life that mortifies the flesh and gives life to the spirit belongs to baptism: 'the greater our sufferings the more closely do we conform to our baptism. 'For all our life should be baptism, and the fulfilling of the sign, or sacrament, of baptism; we have been

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1 Three Treatises, p.178
2 ibid. p.180
3 ibid. pp.180-181
4 ibid. p.181
5 ibid. pp.181-182
6 ibid. pp.182-183
set free from all else and wholly given over to baptism alone, that is, to death and resurrection'.

In contradiction to all this, it may be said that the baptism of infants indicates that either faith is not necessary or else infant baptism is without effect: but infants are 'aided by the faith of those who bring them to baptism'—which was the position of Thomas Aquinas, traceable to Augustine and ratified by Clement V at the Council of Vienna (1311-12). 'For the Word of God is powerful, when it is uttered, to change even a godless heart, which is no less deaf and helpless than any infant'.

One thing Luther will add: 'completely to abolish or avoid' all vows, - 'as a public mode of life — be they vows to enter religious order, to make pilgrimages, or do any works whatsoever'. 'For we have vowed enough in baptism, may, more than we can ever fulfil, if we give ourselves to the keeping of this one vow, we shall have all we can do. A vow is a kind of law or requirement, therefore, when vows are multiplied, 'laws and works are necessarily multiplied, and when this is done, faith is extinguished and the

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1 Three Treatises, p.183
2 ibid. p.187 incl. fn.54
3 ibid. p.187
4 ibid. p.188. Luther does not forbid or discourage private vows taken of one's own free choice.
5 ibid. p.188
6 ibid. p.188
liberty of baptism taken captive'. A public vow is 'a certain
ceremonial law and a human tradition or presumption, and from these
the Christian has been sent free through baptism': a Christian is
subject to no laws but the law of God. And secondly, there is 'no
instance in Scripture of such a vow, especially of life-long chastity,
obedience and poverty: the threefold vow of the mendicant orders.'

The works of monks and priests, though they may be ever so
holy and arduous, do not differ a bit in the sight of God from the
works of 'the rustic toiling in the field or the woman going about
her household tasks: 'all works are measured before Him by faith
alone'. Jeremiah: "O Lord, thine eyes are upon faith";
Ecclesiasticus: "In every work of thine regard they soul in faith:
for this is the keeping of the commandments'.

The Sacrament of Penance

'The tyranny that is rampant here is no less than in the sacra-
ment of the bread', because these two sacraments present opportunity
for 'gain and profit'.

1 Three Treatises, p.189
2 ibid. p.190
3 ibid. p.190 incl. fn.55
4 ibid. p.192
5 ibid. p.195
6 ibid. p.195 ff
7 ibid. p.196
They have made three parts of penance: contrition, confession and satisfaction.\textsuperscript{1} In the first place they teach that contrition precedes faith, making a merit, not a work of faith.\textsuperscript{2} 'A contrite heart is a precious thing', found only where there is a 'lively faith in the promises and threats of God.'

Such faith 'startles and terrifies the conscience and thus renders it contrite'; then 'consoles and preserves' it. Therefore, the truth of God's threatening is the cause of contrition and the truth of His promise the cause of consolation - if the promise is believed.\textsuperscript{3}

'Contrition, however, is less exposed to tyranny and gain than wholly given over to wickedness and pestilent teaching. But confession and satisfaction have become the chief workshop of greed and violence.'\textsuperscript{4}

Confession, however, is 'necessary and commanded of God': Matthew 3, "They were baptized of John in Jordan, confessing their sins"; 1 John 1: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive our sins. If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us".\textsuperscript{5} Matthew 18 most effectively proves the institution of confession.\textsuperscript{6} Luther approves of private confession,

\textsuperscript{1} Three Treatises, p.198
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.198
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.199
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.200
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. p.200
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.200
for 'it is a cure without an equal for distressed consciences;'\(^1\) but abominates that the reservation by pontiffs of hidden sins, who command that they be made known to confessors appointed by them 'only to trouble the consciences of men'.\(^2\) They 'leave the great sins to the plain priests and reserve those sins only which are of less consequence':\(^3\) i.e. those of a papal bull (Coena Domini), published annually at Rome on Holy Thursday, and directed against heretics. To their heresies was added a list of offences which could receive absolution only from the pope or by his authority.\(^4\)

There is no doubt that everyone is absolved from his hidden sins when he has made confession either of his own accord, or, on being rebuked, has sought pardon privately before any brother — 'for Christ has given to everyone of His believers the power to absolve even open sins'.\(^5\) If any reservation of hidden sins ere valid, i.e. one could not be saved unless they were forgiven, 'then a man's salvation, could be prevented most of all' by good works and idolatries,\(^6\) like 'running on pilgrimages, the perverse worship of the saints, the lying saints' legends, the various forms of trust in works and ceremonies and the practising of them'.\(^7\)

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1 Three Treatises, p.201
2 ibid. p.201
3 ibid. p.201
4 ibid. p.51, fn.73
5 ibid. pp.202-203
6 ibid. p.203
7 ibid. p.201
'How unworthily they have dealt with satisfaction,' has been 'abundantly shown in the controversies concerning indulgences'.

People never learnt from their teaching what satisfaction really is: 'the renewal of a man's life'. They believe that their life is changed in the one moment of contrition and confession, and they have only to make satisfaction for their past sins. 'No thought is given here to the mortifying of the flesh, no value is attached to the example of Christ, who absolved the woman taken in adultery and said to her, "Go and sin no more!" hereby laying upon her the cross - the mortifying of her flesh'.

Absolution ought to follow on the completion of satisfaction as it did in the ancient church. Then the penitents would, after completing the work, give themselves with greater diligence to faith and the living of a new life.

Confirmation

'If everything the apostles did is a sacrament, why have they not rather made preaching a sacrament?' Confirmation was made a

1 Three Treatises, p.204
2 ibid. p.204
3 ibid. p.205
4 ibid. p.205
5 ibid. p.206
6 ibid. p.206 ff.
7 ibid. p.206
sacrament 'out of the laying on of hands, which Christ employed when He blessed young children, and the apostles when they imparted the Holy Spirit, ordained elders and cured the sick'.

Luther does not say this because he condemns the seven sacraments, but because he denies that they can be proved from the Scriptures. For a sacrament to be instituted, there must be first of all a word of 'divine promise whereby faith may be trained'. Therefore, confirmation - which is without any promise by Christ - can only be 'a certain churchly rite or sacramental ceremony', like the blessing of holy water.

Marriage

Similarly, marriage is 'without the least warrant of Scripture' to be regarded as a sacrament. We read nowhere in Scripture that a man who marries a wife receives any grace of God; though 'whatever takes place in a visible manner may be regarded as a type or figure of something invisible', but types and figures are not sacraments in Luther's sense.

Further, marriage cannot possibly be called a sacrament of the

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1 Three Treatises, p.206
2 ibid. p.206
3 ibid. p.207
4 ibid. p.207
5 ibid. p.208 ff.
6 ibid. p.208
7 ibid. p.208
New Law and the exclusive possession of the Church', since it has 'existed from the beginning of the world and is still found among unbelievers'.\textsuperscript{1} It is the same 'to hold that marriage is a sacrament only in the church, as 'to make the mad claim that temporal power exists only in the Church'.\textsuperscript{2}

When they quote the Apostle in Ephesians 5, "They shall be two in one flesh. This is a great sacrament"\textsuperscript{3} - which in Greek reads "They shall be two in one flesh this is a great mystery"\textsuperscript{4} - they arbitrarily take the word sacrament to mean a sign; then when they come across it in the Sacred Scriptures again, 'they make a sign of it'.\textsuperscript{5}

Sacrament or mystery, in Paul's writings, is 'that wisdom of the spirit, hidden in a mystery, as he says in 1 Corinthians 2, which is Christ'.\textsuperscript{6} Paul calls preachers 'dispersers of these mysteries' because they preach Christ, the power and wisdom of God.\textsuperscript{7} Therefore a sacrament is a mystery or secret thing, which is set forth in words and is received by the faith of the heart. Paul wrote, "They shall be two in one flesh. This is a great sacrament', for Christ and the

\textsuperscript{1} Three Treatises, p.208
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.208
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.209
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.209
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. 210
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.210
\textsuperscript{7} ibid. p.210
Church, and not for marriage; and clearly explained by adding "But I speak in Christ and in the Church". It was possible and proper for Paul 'to represent by marriage or by a certain outward allegory, but that was no reason for their calling marriage a sacrament'.

'Therefore, we grant that marriage is a type of Christ and the Church, and a sacrament, yet not divinely instituted' but invented by men in the Church, carried away by their ignorance both of the word and of the thing. Which ignorance, since it does not conflict with the faith, is to be charitably borne with.'

Ordination

'Of this sacrament the Church of Christ knows nothing; it is an invention of the church of the pope'.

Everyone, who knows himself to be a Christian, be assured that 'we are all priests' - i.e. 'we have the same power in respect to the Word and all the sacraments'. However, no one may make use of this power without the 'consent of the community or by the call of a superior'. Therefore, ordination is only 'a certain rite whereby one is called to the ministry of the Church; and the priesthood is

1 Three Treatises, p.210
2 ibid. p.211
3 ibid. p.212
4 ibid. p.224 ff
5 ibid. p.224
6 ibid. p.234
7 ibid. p.234
'properly nothing but the ministry of the Word - not of the law, but of the Gospel';¹ which makes it incomprehensible why a priest cannot again become a layman.²

The Sacrament of Extreme Unction³

Extreme Unction is made a Sacrament on the authority of James the Apostle, and there are both promise and sign which define a Sacrament in Luther's sense in this case.⁴ But Luther replies, that first there is doubt about the authorship of the Epistle from which it is taken, and secondly, even if it is James's, no apostle can on his own authority institute a sacrament, i.e. 'give a divine promise with a sign attached, for it is Christ's alone'.⁵

If, however, the Apostle words are considered true and binding, 'why do they make an extreme and a particular kind of unction of that which the Apostle wished to be general?: the Apostle says quite generally, "if any man be sick" - not "if any man be dying"⁶; that is, the prayer of faith shall save the sick man, and the Lord shall raise him up, so that he may not die, and it may not be an extreme unction.⁷

This is corroborated by the prayers which are said during the anointing

¹ Three Treatises, pp.234-235
² ibid. p.235. This theme is developed in the Liberty of a Christian Man, see ibid. p.236 incl. fn.102
³ ibid. p.236 ff.
⁴ ibid. pp.236-237
⁵ ibid. p.237
⁶ ibid. p.237
⁷ ibid. p.238
for the recovery of the sick person; but, on the contrary they say that the unction must be administered to none but the dying.¹

Luther believes that it was a counsel 'give only to such as might bear their sickness impatiently and with little faith',² 'because he who receives it believes that these blessings are granted to him'.³

'The whole Scripture is concerned with provoking us to faith; now driving us with precepts and threats, now drawing us with promises and consolations'.⁴ Indeed, all that is written in it is either a precept or a promise: 'the precepts humble the proud with their demands, the promises exalt the humble with their forgiveness'.⁵

A Treatise on Christian Liberty⁶

Of this treatise — on the Liberty of a Christian Man — Luther himself said, 'it is the whole of Christian living in a brief form'.⁷

Two propositions on 'the liberty and bondage of the spirit 'A Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none; and 'A christian man is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all' — are set down by Luther 'to make the way easier for the

¹ Three Treatises, p.238
² ibid. p.240
³ ibid. p.241
⁴ ibid. p.243
⁵ ibid. p.243
⁶ ibid. p.247 ff. It was published in the middle of November 1520, while the Captivity was published on October 6 — see ibid. p.250.
⁷ ibid. p.249
unlearned - for only such do I serve. ¹ Although these two propositions seem contradictory they correspond to Paul's I Corinthians 9:

"whereas I was free, I made myself the servant of all; and Roman 8, "Owe no man anything, but to love one another". ²

Only one thing is necessary for Christian life, righteousness and liberty, that is, 'the most holy Word of God, the Gospel of Christ': John II, "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me shall not die forever"; and John 8, "If the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed"; Matthew 4, "Not in bread alone doth man live; but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God". ³

'The Word is the Gospel of God concerning His son, who was made flesh, suffered, rose from the dead, and was glorified through the spirit who sanctifies'. ⁴ To preach Christ means 'to feed the soul, to make it righteous, to set it free, and to save it, if it believe the preaching'. ⁵ Faith alone is the saving and efficacious use of the Word of God: Romans 10, "If thou confess with they mouth that Jesus is Lord, and believe with they heart that God hath raised Him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved"; "The end of the law is

¹ Three Treatises, p.251
² ibid. p.252
³ ibid. p.253
⁴ ibid. p.254
⁵ ibid. p.254
Christ, unto righteousness to everyone that believeth; Romans 1, "The just shall live by his faith".\textsuperscript{1} "The Word of God cannot be received and cherished by any other works whatever, but only by faith".\textsuperscript{2}

If one asks why, when faith alone justifies, so many works, ceremonies and laws are prescribed in the Scriptures, the answer is: of the two parts of the Scripture, commands and promises, the commands show us what we ought to do, but 'do not give us the power to do it'. They are meant to teach a man 'to recognize his inability to do good' and he may 'despair of his powers' to fulfil the law.\textsuperscript{3}

When one has learned to know his weakness, he received the 'promises of God, which declare the glory of God and ask him to 'come, believe in Christ, in whom grace, righteousness, peace, liberty and all things are promised you'.\textsuperscript{4} For what is impossible in all the works of the law - 'many as they are, but all useless' - will be accomplished 'in a short and easy way through faith'. God has made all things depend on faith: \textsuperscript{5} "For He has concluded all under unbelief that He might have mercy on all", Romans 11.\textsuperscript{6} 'The promises of God give what the commands of God ask, and fulfil what the law prescribes'.\textsuperscript{7}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Three Treatises, p.254
  \item \textit{ibid.} p.254
  \item \textit{ibid.} p.256
  \item \textit{ibid.} p.256: 'That is why they are called and are Old Testament
  \item \textit{ibid.} p.257
  \item \textit{ibid.} p.257
  \item \textit{ibid.} p.257
  \item \textit{ibid.} p.257: 'Therefore the promises of God are the New Testament'.
\end{itemize}
If a man, then, has no need of the law, he is free from the law, and 'it is true, the law is not made for a righteous man': this is that Christian liberty which is not to live in idleness or wickedness, but which makes the law and works 'unnecessary for any man's righteousness and salvation'.

By trusting God's promises and ascribing to Him truthfulness righteous and all that is ascribed in trust, one worships him in the highest way. 'What more complete fulfilment is there than in obedience in all things'; but this obedience is rendered by faith alone, not by works. 'What greater rebellion against God than not believing His promises': this is to ascribe truthfulness to oneself and lying and vanity to God.

God has rightly 'concluded all - not in anger or lust, but in unbelief: so that they, who imagine that by doing 'the works of chastity and mercy required by the law (the civil and human virtues) they are fulfilling the law and will be saved, must either 'seek mercy or be justly condemned'.

He who fulfils the first commandment has no difficulty in fulfilling the rest; works 'being insensate things, cannot glorify

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1 Three Treatises, p.258
2 ibid. p.258
3 ibid. p.259
4 ibid. p.259
5 ibid. p.259
6 ibid. p.259
God, although they can, if faith be present, be done to the glory of God.¹ 'For His Kingdom is not of this world. He reigns in heavenly and spiritual things and consecrates them - such as righteousness, truth, wisdom, peace, salvation etc.;' nor does His priesthood consist in 'outwardsplendour of robes or postures'.² 'We are all priests and kings in Christ, as many believe on Christ; 1 Peter 2: "Ye are a chosen generation, a peculiar people, a royal priesthood and a priestly Kingdom, that ye shall show forth the virtues of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light".³

'Every Christian is by faith so exalted above all things that by a spiritual power he is lord of all things without exception'.⁴ The Kingship of a Christian 'is a true omnipotent power, a spiritual dominion in which there is nothing so good and nothing so evil, but that is shall work together for good to me, if only I believe'.⁵ This is 'the inestimable power and liberty of Christians'.⁶

'Christ has obtained for us if we believe on Him, that we are not only his brethren, co-heirs and fellow-Kings with him, but also fellow-priests with Him'.⁷ Through his priestly glory a Christian

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¹ Three Treatises, p.262  
² ibid. p.263  
³ ibid. p.263  
⁴ ibid. p.263  
⁵ ibid. p.264  
⁶ ibid. p.264  
⁷ ibid. p.264
is 'all-powerful with God, God does the things which he asks and
desires': "He will fulfil the desire of them that fear Him; He
also will hear their cry, and will save them". A man achieves this
glory certainly not by any works of him, but by faith alone.

To preach Christ and read about Him to gain men's sympathy for
Christ or anger against the Jews is 'childish and womanish nonsense'. Faith is 'produced and preserved in us by preaching why Christ came,
what he brought and bestowed, what benefit it is to us to accept
Him'. 'So the heart learns to scoff at death and sin and to say
with the Apostle "Where, O death is thy victory? Where, O death
is thy sting? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is
the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through
our Lord Jesus Christ".'

'As long as we live in the flesh we only begin and make some
progress in that which shall be perfected in the future life'. We
attain, therefore, what the Apostle, in Romans 8, calls "the first
fruits of the spirit", and shall receive the greater portion - 'even
the fullness' - of the spirit in the future.

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1 Three Treatises, p.265
2 ibid. p.265
3 ibid. p.266
4 ibid. pp.266-267
5 ibid. p.267
6 ibid. p.268
7 ibid. p.268
Thus we see that 'in so far as a Christian is free he does no works, but in so far as he is a servant he does all manner of works'.

In this life he must 'govern his own body and have dealings with men'. Here begin the works, and he must discipline his body by 'fastings, watchings, labours', etc., to make is subject to the Spirit so that it will obey and conform to the inward man and to faith'.

As Paul says in Romans 7, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in members, warning against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of Sin".

'Since by faith the soul is cleansed and made a lover of God, it desires that all things, and especially its own body, shall be as pure as itself, so that all things may join with it loving and praising God'. A man therefore cannot be idle. Nevertheless the works themselves do not justify him before God; he does them out of 'spontaneous love in obedience to God, whom he would in all things most scrupulously obey'. The sayings, "Good works do not make a good man, but a good man does good works; evil works do not make a wicked man, but a wicked man does evil works", are true. 'Although in the sight of men a man is made good or evil by his works, it is a

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1 Three Treatises, p.268
2 ibid. p.268
3 ibid. p.269
4 ibid. p.269
5 ibid. p.269
6 ibid. p.271
superficial thing and many have been deceived by it. Those who do not wish to be led astray must look beyond works, laws and doctrines about works, and must look upon the person and ask how that is justified.

In all his works a man should be guided by one thought alone, 'that he may serve and benefit others in all that he does, having regard to nothing except the need and advantage of his neighbours'. This is what makes it a Christian work to look after the body, that through a healthy body one may be able to work, to acquire and to lay by funds with which to aid those who are in need; the strong may serve the weaker, and so fulfill the law of Christ. 'This is a truly Christian life, here faith is truly effectual through love'.

'Our faith in Christ does not free us from works, but from false opinions concerning works'; for Christ says "My Kingdom is not of this world", not: "My Kingdom is not here, that is, in this world". Hence ceremonies are the same as models and plans among builders and artisans; 'without them nothing could be built or made'. 'When the structure is completed, they are laid aside'.

1 Three Treatises, pp.272-273
2 ibid. p.273
3 ibid. pp.275-276
4 ibid. p.276
5 ibid. p.276
6 ibid. p.285
7 ibid. p.285
8 ibid. p.288
9 ibid. p.288
Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians was based on a course of lectures which he delivered in 1531 at the University of Wittenberg, where he was Professor of Biblical Exegesis for over thirty years.¹

The original edition was prepared by George Römer (1492-1557) 'one of Luther's most assiduous and reliable reporters';² and Luther contributed a Preface in which he acknowledge that it represents his thoughts faithfully.³

The Epistle to the Galatians was a favourite of Luther's. He called it 'my own Epistle, to which I have plighted my troth: It is my Katie von Bora'.⁴

In his introductory lecture Luther said that he had undertaken to expound the Epistle, not because he desired 'to teach new things', but because 'we have to fear the greatest and nearest danger', lest Satan take from us the pure doctrine of faith, and bring into the Church again the doctrine of works and men's traditions'.⁵


² ibid. p.1
³ ibid. p.1. See also Luther's Preface, ibid. p.16
⁴ ibid. p.5
⁵ ibid. p.21
The argument of the Epistle, according to Luther, is:

1. St. Paul goes about to establish the doctrine of faith, grace, forgiveness of sins, or Christian righteousness, in order that we may perfectly know the difference between Christian righteousness and all other kinds of righteousness, e.g. political or civil righteousness 'which emperors and princes of the world, philosophers and lawyers deal withal'; ceremonial righteousness which traditions of men teach, belonging to teachers and parents; and righteousness of the law or the Ten Commandments: 'this do we also teach after the doctrine of faith'.

The righteousness of faith is a passive righteousness, as others are active: for in it 'we work nothing, we render nothing unto God, but only we receive and suffer another (God) to work in us'. It is a righteousness 'hidden in a mystery', therefore 'must be diligently taught and continually practised'. 'Like as the earth engendereth not rain, nor is able by her own strength, labour and travail to procure the same, but receiveth it of the mere gift of God from above: so this heavenly righteousness is given us of God without our works or deservings'.

He who teaches that men are justified before God by the

1 Commentary on the Galatians, pp. 21-22
2 ibid. p. 22
3 ibid. p. 22
4 ibid. p. 23
observation of the law, confounds these two kinds of righteousness, active and passive, and 'is but an ill logician, for he doth not rightly divide'.¹ The limits of law are up till the coming of Christ, as Paul says afterwards. "The end of law is Christ" (Gal.iii.24; Rom.X.4); 'who being come, Moses ceaseth with his law, circumcision, the sacrifices, the sabbath, yea and all the prophets'.²

This is not to reject or forbid good works,³ heavenly and earthly.⁴ The righteousness of the law is earthly and 'by it we do good works'.⁵ The earth cannot 'judge renew and rule the heaven'.⁶ 'Both these continue whilst we here live. The flesh is accused, exercised with temptations, oppressed with heaviness and sorrow, bruised by the active righteousness of the law; but the spirit reigneth, rejoiceth and is saved by this passive and Christian righteousness, because it knoweth that it hath a Lord in heaven at the right hand of the Father, who hath abolished the law, sin, death, and hath trodden under his feet all evils, led them captive and triumphed over them in himself' (Col.ii.15).⁷

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¹ Commentary on the Galatians, p.23
² ibid. p.24
³ ibid. p.24
⁴ ibid. p.25
⁵ ibid. p.25
⁶ ibid. p.25
⁷ ibid. p.26
Christ, or between active and passive righteousness, 'there is no mean'; he who strays from Christian righteousness - i.e. 'when he has lost Christ' - must fall 'into the confidence of his own works'.

'Let us then diligently learn to judge between two kinds of righteousness, that we may know how far we ought to obey the law'.

When the righteousness is reigning in one's heart, then if one is a minister of the word one preaches, comforts the broken-hearted and administer the sacraments; if a householder, one governs one's house and family, bring up children in the knowledge and fear of God; if a magistrate, diligently execute the 'charge that is given from above'; if a servant, do master's business faithfully. To conclude, whoever is persuaded of Christ in his righteousness, does not only cheerfully and gladly work well in his vocation, but also submits himself through love to the magistrates and their laws, though they be 'severe, sharp and cruel, and (if necessity do so require) to all manner of burdens and dangers of the present life, because he knoweth that this is the will of God and that this obedience pleaseth him'.

After the 'argument and sum' of the Epistle, Luther thinks it well to show the occasion when St. Paul wrote the Epistle, before

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.26
2 ibid. p.26
3 ibid. pp.26-27
4 ibid. p.28
5 ibid. p.28
'coming to the matter itself', and compares St. Paul's situation with his own: "Even so the Pope at this day, when he hath no authority of the Scripture to defend himself withal, useth this one argument continually against us, 'The Church, the Church. 'Thinketh thou that God is so, offended, that for a few heretics of Luther's sect he will cast off his whole Church? Thine sth thou he would leave his Church in error so many hundred years? And this he mightily maintaineth, that the Church can never be overthrown. Now, like as many are moved with this argument at this day, so in Paul's time those false apostles, through great bragging and setting forth of their own praises, blinded the eyes of the Galatians, so that Paul lost his authority among them, and his doctrine was brought in suspicion." In the first two chapters - Luther continues - Paul set out nothing else but 'his vocation, his office and his Gospel' affirming that he had received it by Christ's revelation, not by man. By "certainty of Calling" Paul means a 'necessary kind of glorifying, because he glorieth not in himself, but in the King which hath sent him'. The people then hear 'not only Paul, but in Paul Christ himself, and God the Father sending him out in his message'.

1 Commentary on the Galatians, p. 29
2 Like Pharisees, see ibid. p. 30
3 ibid. p. 31
4 ibid. p. 31
5 ibid. pp. 31-32
6 ibid. p. 32
Where Paul says 'of men' Luther understands to mean 'when neither God nor man calleth or sendeth them, but they run and speak of themselves'.

Where he says 'by man' it means 'such as have a divine calling, but yet by man as means'.

God calls in two ways: by means and without means; He calls us all to the ministry of his Word 'not immediately by himself, but by man'.

The Apostles were called 'immediately of Christ himself, as the prophets in the Old Testament were called of God himself'.

When the Apostles called their disciples, who in turn called bishops and the bishops their successors: this is a mediated calling, 'since this is done by man; yet notwithstanding it is of God'.

When 'a prince or magistrate or I call any man, that man hath his calling by man': is 'the general manner of calling in the world'. It is not lawful for one to leave one's appointed place and go elsewhere where one is not called: 'For He is the Lord of the harvest, who will send labourers into his harvest; our part is to pray' (Matt. ix. 38).

Therefore we ought not to force our way into another's

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p. 33
2 ibid. p. 33
3 ibid. p. 33
4 ibid. p. 33
5 ibid. p. 33
6 ibid. p. 33
7 ibid. p. 33
8 ibid. p. 33
harvest', even if a man 'with a godly zeal and a good intent seeketh by his own sound doctrine to deliver from error them that are led astray'. But when the prince or magistrate call one, then one can claim to be called by the command of God through the voice of a man: 'for there is the command of God through the mouth of the prince; and these are true vocations'.

'Let no man call himself holy on account of his manner of life or his works. If he fasteth, prayeth, scourgeth his body, giveth alms to the poor, comforteth the sorrowful and afflicted, etc.'

' Thou and I are holy. Church, city and people are holy, not by their own, but by an alien holiness, not by active, but by passive holiness, because they possess divine and holy things, because they possess divine and holy things, to wit, the vocation of the ministry, the Gospel, baptism, etc. whereby they are holy'.

Baptism, the Gospel and other things remain 'holy and the same that they are, whether they be among the godly or the ungodly', by whom they can neither be polluted nor made holy.

Grace and peace comprehend whatsoever belongs to Christianity.

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.33
2 ibid. p.34
3 ibid. p.34
4 ibid. p.39
5 ibid. p.39
6 ibid. p.39
7 ibid. p.40
grace releases sin and peace makes the conscience quiet; the two things that torment us being sin and conscience.\(^1\) But peace of conscience cannot be attained unless sin is first forgiven.\(^2\) Sin is not 'forgiven for the fulfilling of the law: for no man is able to satisfy the law. 'The law doth rather show sin, accuse and terrify the conscience, declare the wrath of God, and drive to desperation. Much less is sin taken away by the works and inventions of men, as wicked worshipings, strange religious, vows and pilgrimages. Finally, there is no work that can take away sin; but sin is rather increased by works.\(^3\) There is no means to take away sin, but grace alone: therefore Paul, in all greetings of his epistles, puts grace and peace against sin and an evil conscience.\(^4\)

The Apostle does not, however, wish the Galatians grace and peace from the emperor, kings or princes, nor from the world - 'for in this world saith Christ ye shall have trouble', John xiv.33 - but 'a heavenly peace'.\(^5\) The grace or favour of the world giveth us 'leave to enjoy our goods', but in affliction and in the hour of death it cannot help us: it 'cannot deliver us from afflictions, despair and death.\(^6\) 'But when the grace and peace of God are in the heart,
then is a man strong, so that he can neither be cast down with adversity, nor puffed up with prosperity, but walketh on plainly and keepeth the highway. For he taketh heart and courage in the victory of Christ's death; and the confidence thereof beginneth to reign in his conscience over sin and death; because through him he hath assured forgiveness of sins.\(^1\) This peace of God is not given to the world because the world neither wants it nor understands it but 'to them that believe'.\(^2\)

It is 'a rule and principle in the Scriptures, diligently to be marked' that one must not curiously search God's majesty. It is 'intolerable to man's body and much more to his mind: "No man shall see me and live" (Exod.xxxiii.20).\(^3\) But 'the Pope, the Turks, the Jews and all such as trust in their own merits, regard not this rule, and therefore removing the mediator Christ out of their sight, they speak only of God'.\(^4\) That is, those who do not know the article of justification, 'take away Christ the mercy seat, and will needs comprehend God in his majesty by the judgment of reason, and pacify him with their own works'.\(^5\) 'As God is in his own nature unmeasurable, incomprehensible, and infinite, so is he to man's nature intolerable'.\(^6\)

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.42  
2 ibid. p.42  
3 ibid. p.42  
4 ibid. p.42  
5 ibid. p.43  
6 ibid. p.43
Whensoever one has to do with the matter of justification and one debates with oneself how God is to be found who 'justifieth or accepteth sinners': 'where and in what sort he is to be sought; then know thou that there is no other God besides this man Christ Jesus'. 

Christ himself says: "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh to the Father but by me" (John xiv.6). "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you" (Matth.xi.28): 'Thus doing, thou shalt perceive the love, goodness and sweetness of God', and his wisdom, power and majesty 'tempered to thy capacity'. The world is ignorant of this, and therefore it searches out the will of God: "For no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom Son will reveal him" (Matt.xi.27). This is the reason why Paul usually couples Jesus Christ with God the Father, he also confirms 'our faith that Christ is very God'.

'Sin is a most cruel and mighty tyrant over all men', which can only be conquered by 'the sovereign and infinite power of Jesus Christ' who has given himself for it, and not by the power of any creatures - angels or men. But man's reason would 'fain bring and

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.43
2 ibid. p.44
3 ibid. p.44
4 ibid. p.44
5 ibid. p.44
6 ibid. p.45
7 ibid. pp.47-48
present unto God a feigned and counterfeit sinner", who is neither afraid nor has any feeling of sin. It is easy to believe that Christ was given for the sins of saints 'whom we account to have been worthy of this grace', but 'it is very hard thing' to say and believe that 'Christ was given for thine invincible, infinite and horrible sins'.

It is then the 'chief knowledge and true wisdom of Christians' that Christ died, not for our righteousness or holiness, but for our sins - 'great many infinite and invincible'. Therefore, one must not think of one's sins as small 'and such as may be done away' by one's own works; neither must one despair 'for the greatness of them', if one feel oppressed with it either in life of death. Paul teaches here that Christ was given 'not for feigned or counterfeit sins, nor yet for small sins, but for great and huge sins; not for one or two but for all; not for vanquished sins (for no man, nor angel, is able to overcome the least sin that is), but for invincible sins'. Therefore, unless one has this doctrine of faith there is no salvation. 'Labour therefore diligently' to say with confidence, not only 'out of the time of temptation, but also in the time and conflict of death', that

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.49
2 ibid. p.48
3 ibid. p.49
4 ibid. p.49
5 ibid. p.49
6 ibid. p.49
Christ was given for the unrighteous and sinners.¹

'Christ is no cruel exactor, but a forgiver of sins of the whole world'.² If one is a sinner, 'as indeed we all are', one must not set up Christ as a judge - which would terrify and despair one of His mercy - but hold His true definition: 'that Christ the Son of God and of the Virgin is a person, not that terrifieth, not that afflicteth, not that condemneth us of sin, not that demandeth on account of us for all life evil passed; but that hath given himself for our sins, and with one oblation hath put away the sins of the whole world, hath fastened them upon the cross, and put them clean out by himself'. (Col. ii. 14).³

'No man is able by his own works or his own power to put away sins, because this present world is evil (as St. John saith) 'lieth in the evil one' (1 John v. 19).⁴

The gross vices which are against the second Table, i.e. 'disobedience to parents, to magistrates, adulteries, whoredoms, covetousness, thefts, murders, and maliciousness wherein the world is altogether drowned', are light fruits compared with 'the wisdom and righteousness of the wicked, whereby they fight against the first Table': 'this white devil' which forces men to commit spiritual

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¹ Commentary on the Galatians, pp. 49-50
² ibid. p. 51
³ ibid. p. 51
⁴ ibid. p. 53
sins is far more dangerous than 'the black devil', which only forces them to commit fleshly sins, 'which even the world acknowledges to be sins'.

The argument of this Epistle is that we have need of grace and of Christ and 'that no creature, neither man nor angel can deliver man out of this present evil world': 'for these are works belonging only to the divine majesty'.

Paul says that Christ has delivered us from this wicked world, and this he has done 'according to the will, good pleasure, and commandment of the Father', for God has taken mercy upon us and has loved us. So, we are delivered 'from this present evil world' by 'mere grace, and no desert of ours'.

Another cause for Paul's mention of the Father's will which is also declared in St. John's Gospel - is that in Christ's words and works 'we would not so much look upon him as upon the Father'. But we must not think that by 'the curious searching of the majesty of God, anything concerning God can be known to our salvation': it can only be known through Christ; searching of God's dreadful judgments, 'namely, how he destroyed the whole world with the flood, how he

1 Commentary on the Galátienses, p.54
2 ibid. p.54
3 ibid. p.56
4 ibid. p.56
5 ibid. p.56
destroyed Sodom, and such other things', 'bring men to desperation, and cast them down headlong into utter destruction'.

'If thou canst not believe that God will forgive thy sins for Christ's sake, whom he sent into the world to be our high priest; how then, I pray thee, wilt thou believe that he will forgive the same for the works of the law which thou couldst never perform, or for thine own works, which (as thou must be constrained to confess) be such, as it is impossible for them to countervail the judgment of God?'

As Paul says, 'to mingle the one with the other is to overthrow the Gospel of Christ'. It seems 'a light matter to mingle the law and the Gospel, faith and works together', but it does 'more mischief than a man's reason can conceive'. It not only blemishes and darkens the knowledge of grace, it takes away 'Christ with all his benefits', and utterly overthrows the Gospel. The flesh is the cause of this great evil, 'which being plunged in sins', sees no way to get out but by works.

The first two chapters of the Epistle, in a way, contain nothing else but 'defences of his doctrine and confutations of errors', so that he does not touch the main subject of the Epistle, i.e. the article of justification, till the end of the second chapter: so

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, pp.56-57
2 ibid. p.67
3 ibid. p.67
4 ibid. p.68
5 ibid. p.70
Paul's sentence, 'if any man preach unto you otherwise than that you have received, let him be accursed', admonishes us that those who think that the Pope is the judge of the Scripture, and the Church has authority over it, are accursed. Paul subjects 'both himself and an angel from heaven, and doctors upon earth and all other teachers and masters whatsoever, to the authority of the Scripture'.

'Neither do we seek the favour of men by our doctrine; for we teach that all men are ungodly by nature and the children of wrath (Eph. ii. 3). 'We condemn man's free will, his strength, wisdom, and righteousness and all religion of man's own devising'.

Neither is the Church, nor Peter, nor the Apostles, nor angels from heaven, to be heard, unless they bring and teach the pure Word of God.

Luther interprets Paul's saying, "When it had pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I should preach him among the Gentiles", to mean 'I have not deserved it, because I was zealous of the law of God without judgment, nay rather this foolish and wicked zeal stirred me up, God so permitting, I fell headlong into more abominable and outrageous sins. I persecuted the Church of God, I was an enemy to

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.69
2 ibid. p.70
3 ibid. p.70
4 ibid. p.71
5 ibid. p.78
Christ, I blasphemed his Gospel, and I conclude, I was the author of shedding much innocent blood. This was my desert. In the midst of this cruel rage, I was called to such inestimable grace.¹

Luther adds, 'We also are come to this day to the knowledge of grace by the self-same merits.² I crucified daily in my monkish life, and blasphemed God through my false faith, wherein I then continually lived. Outwardly I was not as other men, extortioners, unjust, whoremongers; but I kept chastity, poverty and obedience.'³ 'I fostered under this cloaked holiness and trust in mine own doubtfulness, fear, hatred and blasphemy against God'.⁴

If one compares 'publicans and harlots with these holy hypocrites, they are not evil'.⁵ 'And the more holy we were, the more were we blinded, and the more did we worship the devil. There was not one of us but he was bloodsucker, if not in deed, yet in heart'.⁶

If the Gospel is the revealing of the Son of God, as Paul defines it, then surely it does not accuse, nor terrifies the conscience, nor threatens death, nor brings despair, as the law does. It is a doctrine concerning Christ, who is neither law nor work, but our righteousness, wisdom, sanctification, and redemption (¹Cor.i.30). 'Yet

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¹ Commentary on the Galatians, p.81
² ibid. p.81
³ ibid. p.81
⁴ ibid. p.81
⁵ ibid. p.82
⁶ ibid. p.82
notwithstanding, the madness and blindness of the Popists hath been so great, that of the Gospel they have made a law of charity, and of Christ a lawmaker, giving more strait and heavy commandments than Moses himself. ¹

'Paul did not reject circumcision as a damnable thing, neither did he by word or deed enforce the Jews to forsake it. For in ¹ Corinthians vii.18 he saith: "If any man be called being circumcised, let him add uncircumcision". But he rejected circumcision as a thing not necessary to righteousness, seeing the fathers themselves were not justified thereby, but it was unto them a sign only, or a seal of righteousness (Rom.iv.11), whereby they testified and exercised their faith. ²

'So also we leave every man free to put on or put off a cowl, to enter or leave a monastery, to eat flesh or herbs; only let him do these things freely and without offence of conscience, to please a brother or as an example of charity; and let him know that all of these things avail nothing in the matter of satisfying for sins and obtaining grace, etc. ³

'The true Gospel indeed is that works of charity are not the ornament or perfection of faith: but that faith of itself is God's gift and God's work in our hearts.' ⁴

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¹C Commentary on the Galatians, p.84
²ibid. p.94
³ibid. p.96
⁴ibid. p.98
'If faith here give place, then is this death, resurrection etc. of the Son of God in vain': it makes a fable of Christ as the Saviour of the World; God is found a liar because he has not kept his promise.¹

When the argument - which Luther considers one of the greatest arguments against Paul - that the Apostles were familiarly known to Christ for three years, and they heard and saw all his preachings and miracles, and themselves preached and worked miracles when Christ was still living in the world - and whom Paul never saw in the flesh - is used, Paul replies that the controversy is not on the excellence of the Apostles, but on the Word of God and the truth of Gospel, which 'ought to be kept pure and uncorrupt'.² Paul confutes this argument by adding 'God is no accepter of persons' (Deut.X.17; 2 Chr.xix.7; Rom.ii.II; Acts X.34; Eph.vi.9; Col.iii.25).³ It is not men's dignity or office that God has regard for: 'He regardeth not the office of an Apostle, or Bishop or Prince'.⁴ God often rejects those who in outward appearance are very good and holy men, and in these examples he seems sometimes to be cruel, 'but it was most necessary that such fearful examples should be shewn, and also be written'.⁵

¹ Commentary on the Galatians, p.100
² ibid. p.103
³ ibid. p.103
⁴ ibid. p.103
⁵ ibid. p.104
'God will have us fix our eyes and to rest wholly upon the Word itself; he will not have us to reverence and adore the apostleship in the persons of Peter and Paul, but Christ speaking in them, and the Word they bring and preach unto us.'

'This the natural man cannot see: but the spiritual man only discerneth the person from the Word, the veil of God himself.' This veil is every creature: "We see him now through a glass darkly".

Paul, however, does not utterly condemn these outward veils or persons, for he does not say that there ought to be no person, but that there is no respect of persons with God. God has given them, and 'they are his good creatures', but we must not worship them.

'All the matter is in the using of things, and not in the things themselves'. 'Let us not trust or glory in them for we must trust and glory in God alone. He only is to be loved, he only is to be feared and honoured.' Paul calls here the apostleship the person of man, and the word "person" comprehends the whole outward conversation of the Apostles, which was holy and their authority, which was great. Nevertheless, God did not esteem these things in justification.
'We must diligently mark' - Luther adds - 'that in matters of divinity we must speak far otherwise than in matters of policy'.  

In 'matters of policy God will have us to honour and reverence these outward veils or persons as his instruments by whom he governeth and preserveth the world'. But when it is a question of 'religion, conscience, the fear of God, faith, and the service of God', we must not fear or trust the judge. One's fear and trust ought to be in God alone, 'who is the true judge'. One ought indeed to reverence the civil judge or magistrate 'for God's cause: whose minister he is'. But one's conscience may not 'stay or trust upon his justice and equity, or be feared through his unjust dealing or tyranny', whereby one might offend against God, in lying, in hearing false witness, in denying the truth etc.

Out of religion and in matters of policy we must have regard to the person; otherwise there would necessarily be confusion and 'an end of all reverence and order'. 'In this world God will have an order, a reverence and a difference of persons'. 'Before God, then, there is no respect of persons, neither of Grecian, nor of Jew, but all are one in Christ; although not so before the world.

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.105
2 ibid. p.105
3 ibid. p.104
4 ibid. p.105
5 ibid. pp.105-106
6 ibid. p.106
7 ibid. p.106
'Thus Paul confuteth the argument of the false apostles as touching the authority of the Apostles.'

'The Apostles had like calling, like charge, and all one Gospel.'

And 'there is but one and the same Gospel for both Gentiles and Jews, monks and laymen, young and old, men and women, etc.'

'True religion is ever in need, and Christ complaineth that he is hungry, thirsty, harbourless, naked and sick (Matt.xxv.35). Contrariwise, false religion and impiety flourished and aboundeth with all worldly wealth and prosperity'. Therefore, a true and faithful pastor or bishop (episcopus) must care for the poor also: this care Paul confesses that he had.

Commencing on the text, "And when Peter was come to Antiochia I withstood him to his face: for he was to be blamed", Luther says: 'it is a great comfort unto us, when we hear that even the saints which have the spirit of God, do sin. Which comfort they would take from us which say that the saints cannot sin'. 'If Peter fell, I may likewise fall. If he rose again, I may also rise again'. 'We have the same gifts which they had, the same Christ, Baptism, Word,

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.106
2 ibid. p.111
3 ibid. p.113
4 ibid. pp.113-114
5 ibid. p.114
6 ibid. p.114
7 ibid. p.116
8 ibid. p.117
forgiveness of sins; all which they had no less need of that we have, and by the same are sanctified and saved as we be. ¹

Peter in eating and drinking, what was forbidden, with the Gentiles did not sin, for he showed by this transgression that the law was not necessary for righteousness. Paul does not reprove Peter for this, but for his dissimulation in withdrawing.² He gave 'a scruple of conscience to the faithful' by his example.³ Paul reproved him not for the acts - 'to eat and drink, or not to eat or drink, is nothing' - but for the end - 'if thou eat, thou sinnest, if thou abstain, thou art righteous' - which was evil.⁴ 'This Paul might in no wise dissemble; for the truth of the Gospel was here in danger.'⁵

The Pope was not only mixed the law with the Gospel, but also made of the Gospel more laws which are only ceremonials and 'confounded and mixed political and ecclesiastical matters together; which is a devilish and hellish confusion'.⁶

'There is a time to die and a time to live; there is a time to hear the law, and a time to despise the law; there is a time to hear the Gospel, and there is a time to be ignorant of the Gospel.'⁷

¹ Commentary on the Galatians, p.117
² ibid. p.117. The texts are: "For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles" (ibid.p.117); and "But when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision" (ibid.p.118)
³ ibid.p.118
⁴ ibid.p.118
⁵ ibid.p.118
⁶ ibid.p.123
⁷ ibid.p.124
'Cut of the conflict of conscience, when external duties must be done, then, whether thou be a minister of the Word, a magistrate, a husband, a teacher, a scholar etc., there is no time to bearken to the Gospel, but thou must hear the law and follow thy vocation.\(^1\)

The work of the law, according to Paul, signifies 'the work of the whole law, whether it be judicial, ceremonial, or moral' (Decalogi: Ten Commandments).\(^2\)

Flesh in Paul signifies the whole nature of man, 'with reason and all other powers whatsoever do belong to man'.\(^3\) Now if a Jew is not justified by works done according to the law of God, much less shall a monk be justified by his order, a priest by the mass and canonical hours, a philosopher by his wisdom, a divine by his divinity, a Turk by the Alcoran.\(^4\) 'For if no flesh be justified by the works of the law of God, much less shall it be justified by the rule of Benedict, Francis, or Augustine, in which there is not one jot of true faith in Christ: but this only they teach, that whosoever keepeth these things hath life everlasting'.\(^5\)

It is the first argument of Paul that either Christ must needs be minister of sin, or else the law does not justify. Paul then says that 'he was dead unto the old law by a certain new law'.\(^6\)

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1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.124
2 ibid. p.128 incl. fn.1
3 ibid. pp.143-144
4 ibid. p.144
5 ibid. p.144
6 ibid. p.170. For Luther's commentary on this text, see ibid. p.151 ff.
life, are great things; therefore if thou wilt obtain these inestimable benefits, thou must perform some other great and weighty matter':

'So the inestimable greatness of the gift, is the cause that we cannot believe it; and because this incomparable treasure is freely offered, therefore is despised'.

In the text "Are ye so foolish, that after ye have begun in the Spirit, ye would now end in the flesh", Paul sets the Spirit against the flesh and Luther adds: 'this place must be well considered because of the slanderous and cavilling Popists, which wrests the same against us, saying that we in popery began in the Spirit, but now, having married wives, we end in the flesh'. 'As though a single life, or not to have a wife, were a spiritual life; and as though it nothing hindered their spiritual life, if a man, not contented with one whore, have many'. 'The Spirit is whatsoever is done in us according to the Spirit; the flesh, whatsoever is done in us according to the flesh without the Spirit': all the duties of a Christian man, to love his wife, to bring up his children, to govern his family, honour his parents, obey the magistrate - which to them

1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.210
2 ibid. p.210
3 ibid. p.212: 'whatsoever then is most excellent in man, the same here Paul calleth flesh, to wit, the highest wisdom of reason, and the righteousness of the law itself'.
4 ibid. pp.212-213
5 ibid. p.213
are 'worldly and carnal' — are the fruits of the Spirit. 1

'True righteousness cometh not of the works of law, but of
the hearing of faith, which is followed by the virtues and fruits of
the Spirit'. 2

"As Abraham believed God and it was imputed to him for right­
eousness" 3 - Commenting on this text Luther says, 'For faith saith
thus: I believe thee, 0 God, when thou Speakest. And what saith
God? Impossible things, lies, foolish, weak, absurd, abominable,
heretical, and devillish things, if we believe reason'. 4 What is more
absurd, foolish, impossible, than when God said to Abraham that he
should have 'a son of the barren and dead body of his wife Sarah'? 5

'So all the godly, entering with Abraham into the darkness of
faith, do kill reason'. 6 Reason is 'the greatest and mightiest enemy
of God' for it despises Him, denies His wisdom, justice, power, truth
mercy, majesty and divinity. 7 By killing reason, the faithful 'offer
to God a most acceptable sacrifice and service'. 8 By this sacrifice
they also 'yield glory unto God: that is they believe him to be just,

1 Commentaries on the Galatians, p.213
2 ibid. p.220
3 ibid. p.220
4 ibid. p.222
5 ibid. p.222
6 ibid. p.222
7 ibid. p.223
8 ibid. p.222
good, faithful, true etc., believe that he can do all things, that
all his words are holy, true, lively and effectual, etc.¹

'Wherefore there can be no greater, nor more acceptable service unto
God, than faith is.'²

Some may object that the faith in the Hebrew signifies truth,
but Luther replies, 'faith is nothing else but the truth of the heart;
that is to say, a true and right opinion of the heart as touching
God'.³

"Wherefore then Serveth the Laws?"⁴ - 'We say with Paul that the
law is good if a man use it lawfully' (1 Tim.i.9).⁵

If the law is given its proper definition and kept within its
limits, it is an excellent thing, but it is put to another use then
only not only perverts the law, but also the whole divinity.⁶ 'As
things are diverse and distinct, so the uses thereof are diverse and
distinct.'⁷ Let every man do that which his vocation and office require.⁸

'Let pastors and preachers teach the Word of God purely. Let magistrates
govern their subjects, and let subjects obey their magistrate. Let

¹ Commentary on the Galatians, p.223
² ibid. p.223
³ ibid. p.231
⁴ ibid. p.294
⁵ ibid. p.296
⁶ ibid. p.296
⁷ ibid. p.297
⁸ ibid. p.297
every creature serve in his due place and order. Let the sun shine by day; the moon and the stars by night. Let the sea give fishes; the earth grain; the wood wild beasts and trees etc. In like manner let not the law usurp the office and use of another, that is to say, of justification.¹ There is a double use of the law. 'One is civil: for God hath ordained civil laws, yea all laws to punish transgressions. Every law then is given to restrain sin.'² But Paul does not treat of this civil use and office of the law.³ The second use of the law is theological or spiritual, which is, as Paul says, 'to increase transgressions': i.e. to reveal to a man his sin, his blindness, his misery his impiety, ignorance, hatred and contempt of God, death and hell, the judgment and deserved wrath of God. Paul treats this use of the law, notably in the seventh to the Romans.⁴ This is the proper and principal use of the law.⁵

"What difference there is between Faith and Hope."?⁶

First, they differ in their subject, i.e., the ground on which they rest;⁷ and secondly, they differ in their office, i.e. in their working.⁸ Faith rests in the understanding and hope in the will;

¹ Commentary on the Galatians, p.297
² Ibid. p.297
³ Ibid. p.298
⁴ Ibid. p.298
⁵ Ibid. p.299
⁶ Ibid. p.459
⁷ Ibid. p.459
⁸ Ibid. p.459
'but in very deed they cannot be separated'. Faith tells what is to be done, it teaches, prescribes and directs, and it is a knowledge (notitia), and hope is an exhortation which stirreth up the mind that it may be strong, bold and courageous; that it may suffer and endure in adversity, and in the midst thereof wait for better things. A third difference is regarding their object, i.e. 'the special matter whereunto they lock'. The object of faith is the truth, and that of hope is the goodness of God. A fourth difference is in their order: 'for faith is the beginning of life before all tribulation (Heb.xi.), but hope cometh afterwards, proceeding of tribulation (Rom.v.).' A fifth difference is their 'diversity of working': 'for faith is a teacher and a judge, fighting against errors and heresies, judging spirits and doctrines, but hope is as it were the general or captain of the field, fighting against tribulation, the cross, impatience, heaviness of spirit, weakness, desperation and blasphemy, and it waiteth for good things even in the midst of all evils'.

'Faith is the dialectic, which conceiveth the idea of whatsoever is to be believed. Hope is the rhetoric which 'amplifieth, urgeth, persuadeth, and exhorteth to constancy, to the end that faith should

1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.459
2 ibid. p.459
3 ibid. p.459
4 ibid. p.459
5 ibid. p.459
6 ibid. p.459
not fail it in time of temptation, but should keep hold of the word and firmly cleave unto it.\(^1\)

'By faith therefore we began, by hope we continue, and by revelation we shall obtain the whole.'\(^2\)

"For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, neither uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love (per charitatem efficax)."\(^3\)

'The words of Paul are clear and plain: "Faith worketh by love" (per charitatem OPERATUR).\(^4\) He makes charity as it were the instrument of faith; but seeing that he attributes not even works to charity, 'how should be attribute justification unto it?'\(^5\)

It is therefore certain that great injury is done not only to Paul, but also to faith and charity, when this place is wrested against faith on behalf of charity'.\(^6\)

In this text Paul 'shutteth hypocrites out of Christ's Kingdom':\(^7\) on the left hand he shuts out the Jews and such others who 'will work their own salvation (operarios); on the right hand, he 'shutteth out all slothful and idle persons' who say that if faith justified without

\(^1\) Commentary on the Galatians, p.460
\(^2\) ibid. p.461
\(^3\) ibid. p.464 incl. fn.1
\(^4\) ibid. p.465 incl. fn.2
\(^5\) ibid. p.465
\(^6\) ibid. p.465
\(^7\) ibid. p.466
works, then let us only believe and do what we like. ¹ 'Not so, ye enemies of grace (impii)!'² saith Paul. It is true that only faith justifieth, but I speak here of faith, which, after it hath justified, it is not idle, but occupied and exercised in working through love.³ Thus Paul gives the whole life of a Christian man (totam vitam Christianam), which consists inwardly 'in faith towards God, and outwardly 'in charity and good works towards our neighbour'.³

It would, therefore, be bad dialectic - 'or fallacy of composition and division whereby that is taken of the part, which is said of the whole' - if this text, where Paul speaks of the whole life of Christians, is taken to be concerned with justification before God.⁴

'It is the custom of Apostles, after they have taught faith and instructed men's consciences, to add precepts of good works, whereby they exhort the faithful to exercise the duties of charity (officia pietatis) one towards another'.⁵ 'Reason itself after a sort, teacheth and understandeth this part of doctrine: but as teaching the doctrine of faith it knoweth nothing at all'.⁶

¹ Commentary on the Galatians, p.466
² ibid. p.466 incl. fn.3
³ ibid. p.466 incl. fn.4
⁴ ibid. p.466
⁵ ibid. p.481 incl. fn.1
⁶ ibid. p.481
"For, Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty, only use not your liberty, as an occasion unto the flesh, but by love serve one another."  

'The Apostle layeth a yoke and bondage upon their flesh by the law of mutual love'. In conscience before God the godly are 'free from the curse of the law, from sin, from death, for Christ's sake: but as touching the body they are servants, and must serve one another through charity, according to this commandment of Paul.' Let everyman therefore endeavour to do this duty diligently in his calling, and to help his neighbour to the uttermost of his power.'

"For the Whole Law is fulfilled in one Word, which is this:

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" Paul says that 'charity ought to be a servant, and except it be in the office of a servant, it is not charity'. By this commandment Paul not only teaches good works but also condemns 'fantastical and superstitious works'.

'They which hold this doctrine of faith, and love one another according to this precept of Paul, censure not the life (genus vitae) and works one of another, but each approveth the other's manner of

1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.481.
2 ibid. p.483
3 ibid. p.483
4 ibid. p.483
5 ibid. p.485
6 ibid. p.485
7 ibid. p.488
life (gemini vitae) and his duty which he doth in his vocation'. No godly man thinks that the office of a magistrate is better in the sight of God than that of a subject, for he knows that both are ordained of God and have the Commandment of God'. He does not distinguish between 'the office or work of a father and of a son, a schoolmaster and a scholar, a master and a servant, etc.'; 'both are pleasing to God, if they be fulfilled in faith and obedience towards God.' In the sight of the world, no doubt, these kinds of life and their duties are unequal; but this external inequality nothing hindereth the unity of the Spirit, whereby all think and believe the same concerning Christ, namely that through him alone we obtain remission of sins and righteousness.'

"For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature".

'A new creature, whereby the image of God is renewed, is not made by any colour or counterfeiting of good works, but it is created by Christ after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness.'

'Here is created another sense and another judgment, that is to say,

1 Commentary on the Galatians, p.492
2 ibid. pp.492-493
3 ibid. p.493
4 ibid. p.493
5 ibid. p.561
6 ibid. p.563
altogether spiritual, which abhorreth those things that before it
greatly esteemed. ¹ 'It is the renewing of the mind by the Holy
Ghost.'² 'When the heart hath conceived a new light, a new judgment
and new motions through the Gospel, it cometh to pass that the outward
senses are also renewed.'³ 'These changes consist not in words, but
are effectual (non verbales, sed reales) and bring a new spirit
(mentem), a new will, new senses, and new operations of the flesh, so
that the eyes, ears, mouth, and tongue do not only see, hear and
speak otherwise than they did before, but the mind also approveth,
loveth and followeth another thing than it did before. For before,
being blinded with popish errors and darkness, it imagined God to be
a merchant, who would sell unto us his grace for our works and merits.
But now, in the light of the Gospel, it assureth us that we attain to
righteousness⁴ by faith only in Christ. Therefore it now rejecteth
all will-works, and accomplisheth the works of charity and of our vocation
commanded by God. It praiseth and magnifieth God, it rejoiceth and
glorieth in the only trust and confidence of God's mercy through Jesus
Christ. If it must suffer any trouble or affliction it endureth the
same cheerfully and gladly, although the flesh repine and grudge threat.
This Paul calleth a new creature'.⁵

¹ Commentary on the Galatians, pp.563-564
² ibid. p.564
³ ibid. p.564
⁴ see ibid. p.564 fn.3 (contingere institiam)
⁵ ibid. p.564
CALVIN'S INSTITUTES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION

In "One Hundred Aphorisms" by the Reverend William Pringle we find 'within a narrow compass the substance and order of the four books of the Institutes of Christian Religion'.

In Book One, Calvin deals with the true wisdom of man, which consists in the knowledge of God the Creator and Redeemer. This knowledge is 'naturally implanted in us, and the end of it ought to be the worship of God rightly performed, or reverence for the Deity accompanied by fear and love'; 'but this seed is corrupted by ignorance and wickedness; ignorance giving rise to superstitious worship and wickedness to 'slavish dread and hatred of the Deity'. The knowledge of God as Creator and Redeemer is also derived from the structure of the whole world and the Holy Scriptures.

Then, what the Scriptures teach: 'or what is the nature of God in himself, and in the creation and government of all things. 'In His one essence there are three persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.'

'In the creation of all things' there are, chiefly, 'heavenly and spiritual substances - i.e. angels - some of whom are good and

2 ibid. p.677
3 ibid. p.677
4 ibid. p.677
5 ibid. p.678
others bad 'not by creation, but by corruption'; and 'earthly substances, and particularly man, whose perfection is displayed in soul and in body'.

'In the government of all things the nature of God is manifested.'

His government is in one respect universal: all the creatures are directed according to the properties He bestowed on each when He created them. In the special respect, 'which appears in regard to contingent events', so that both adversity or prosperity ought to be ascribed wholly to God. 'With respect to those things which act according to a fixed law of nature, though their peculiar properties were naturally bestowed on them still they exert their power only so far as they are directed by the immediate hand of God.'

'It is viewed also with respect to time and future': from the past we may learn that all things happen by the appointment of God, who acts either by means, or without means, or contrary to means, 'so that everything which happens yields good to the godly and evil to the wicked'; to the future 'belong human deliberations', and it shows that we ought to employ lawful means, 'since that Providence on which we

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge) vol.II, p.678
2 ibid. p.678
3 ibid. p.678
4 ibid. p.678
5 ibid. p.678
6 ibid. p.678
rely furnishes its own means'.

Lastly, the advantage which the godly derive from this knowledge, 'for we know certainly': (a) That God takes care of the whole human race, but especially of his Church; (b) That God governs all things by his will, and regulates them by his wisdom; (c) That he has most abundant power of doing good; (d) 'That nothing happens by chance: though the causes may be concealed, but by the will of God; by his secret will which we are unable to explore, but adore with reverence, and by his will which is conveyed to us in the Law and in the Gospel.'

In Book II, the subject is that 'the knowledge of God the Redeemer is obtained from the fall of man, and from the material cause of redemption.'

In the fall of man, one must consider 'what he ought to be, and what he may be': for he was created in the image of God and 'was bound to render to God a perfect obedience to his commandments'. The immediate causes of the fall were Satan, the Serpent, Eve, the forbidden fruit, but 'the remote causes were - unbelief, ambition,

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge) vol.II.p.678
2 ibid. p.678
3 ibid. p.678
4 ibid. p.678
5 ibid. p.678
6 ibid. p.679
7 ibid. p.679
ingratitude, obstinacy. From this followed 'the obliteration of the image of God in man who became unbelieving, unrighteous, liable to death'.

Redemption for ruined man must, therefore, be 'sought through Christ the Mediator'. In Christ one must consider three things: (1) how he is exhibited to men; (2) how is received; (3) how men are retained in his fellowship. Christ is exhibited to men by the Law and by the Gospel.

'The Law is threefold: Ceremonial, Judicial, Moral.' The use of the Ceremonial Law is repealed, its effect is perpetual. The Judicial or Political Law was peculiar to the Jews, and has been set aside, while that universal justice which is described in the Moral Law remains. The object of the Moral Law is 'to cherish and maintain godliness and righteousness, is perpetual, and is incumbent on all.'

The use of the Moral Law is to show: (1) 'our weakness, unrighteousness and condemnation; not that we may despair, but we may

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge) vol. II. p. 679
2 ibid. p. 679
3 ibid. p. 679
4 ibid. p. 679
5 ibid. p. 679
6 ibid. p. 679
7 ibid. p. 679
8 ibid. p. 679
flee to Christ'; (2) 'that those who are not moved by promises, may be urged by the terror of threatenings; (3) 'that we may know what is the will of God; that we may consider it in order to obedience; that our minds may be strengthened for that purpose; that we may be kept from falling.'

'The sum of the Law is contained in the Preface, and in the two Tables.' In the Preface we observe the power of God 'to constrain the people by the necessity of obedience'; a promise of grace, 'by which he declares himself to be God of the Church'; and 'a kind act, on the ground of which he charges the Jews with ingratitude, if they do not requite his goodness.'

The first Table - 'which relates to the worship of God' - consists of four commandments. The second Table - 'which relates to the duties of charity towards our neighbour' - contains the last six commandments.

As Christ is revealed to us by the Gospel, first, the argument between the Gospel, or the New Testament, and the Old Testament is demonstrated; then the 'five points of difference between the two

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1 Calvin's Institutes, Vol. II, pp. 679-680
2 ibid. p. 680
3 ibid. p. 680
4 ibid. p. 680
5 ibid. p. 680. cf. Luther's division of the Commandments.
6 ibid. p. 680
dispensations are pointed out.¹

'The sum of evangelical doctrine is to search, (1) what Christ is; (2) why he was sent; In what manner he accomplished the work of redemption.'² 'Christ is God and man: God, that he may bestow on his people righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; Man, because he had to pay the debt of man.'³

He was sent to perform the office of a Prophet, 'by preaching the truth, by fulfilling the prophecies, by teaching and doing the will of his Father'; and of a King, 'by governing the whole Church and every member of it, and defending his people from every kind of adversaries'; of a priest, 'by offering his body, as a sacrifice for sins, by reconciling God to us through obedience, and by the perpetual intercession for his people to the Father.'⁴

In Book III: 'We receive Christ the Redeemer by the power of the Holy Spirit, who united us to Christ; and, therefore, he is called the Spirit of sanctification and adoption, the earnest and seal of our salvation, water, oil, a fountain, fire, the hand of God'.⁵

'Faith is the hand of the soul, which receives, through the same efficacy of the Holy Spirit, Christ offered to us in the Gospel.

¹ Calvin's Institutes, Vol.II, p.681
² ibid. p.681
³ ibid. p.681
⁴ ibid. pp.681-682
⁵ ibid. p.682
The general office of faith is the assent to the truth of God, whenever, whatever, and in what manner soever he speaks; but its peculiar office is, to behold the will of God in Christ, his mercy, the promise of grace, for the full conviction of which the Holy Spirit enlightens our minds and strengthens our hearts.¹ Thus faith 'is a steady and certain knowledge of the divine kindness towards us, which is founded on a gracious promise through Christ, and is revealed to our minds and sealed on our hearts by the Holy Spirit'.² The effects of faith are repentence, a Christian life, justification, prayer.³

These four effects of faith bring us to the certainty of election, and of the final resurrection.⁴ The efficient cause is 'the free mercy of God, which we ought to acknowledge with humility and thanksgiving'.⁵ The material cause is Christ; and the final cause is 'that, being assured of our salvation, because we are God's people, we may glorify him both in this life, and in the life to come, to all eternity.'⁶ 'The effects are, in respect either to many persons, or of a single individual; and that by electing some and justly reprobating others'.⁷ 'The elect are called by the preaching of the word and the illumination.

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge) vol.II, p.682
² ibid. p.682
³ ibid. p.682
⁴ ibid. p.685
⁵ ibid. p.685
⁶ ibid. p.685
⁷ ibid. p.685
of the Holy Spirit, are justified, and sanctified, that they may at length be glorified.¹

In the Prefactory Address to Francis, King of France, Calvin says that 'when Paul declared that all prophecy ought to be according to the analogy of faith (Rom.xii.6) he laid down the surest rule for determining the meaning of Scripture.'²

'As nothing is to be presumed of ourselves, so all things are to be presumed of God.'³ Those who are acquainted with the old saying of Paul, that Christ Jesus "died for our sins, and rose again for our justification" (Rom.iv.25) will not detect any novelty in us.'⁴

'The mark of sound doctrine given by our Saviour himself in its tendency to promote glory not of men, but of God (John vii.18; viii.50). Our saviour having declared this to be test of doctrine we are in error if we regard as miraculous, works which are used for any other purpose than to magnify the name of God.'⁵

'It is a calumny to represent us as opposed to the Fathers (I mean the ancient writer of a purer age) as if the fathers were

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge) vol.II, p.685
2 ibid. p.6
3 ibid. p.7
4 ibid. p.8
5 ibid. p.9
supporters of their impiety.¹

'Still, in studying their writings, we have endeavoured to remember (1 Cor.iii.21-23; see also Augustin Ep.28), that all things are ours, to serve, not lord it over us, but that we are Christ's only, and must obey him in all things without exception.'²

'With the Church we wage no war, since, with one consent, in common with the whole body of the faithful, we worship and adore one God, and Christ Jesus the Lord,'³ but they 'err not a little from the truth in contending that the form of the Church is always visible and apparent - and this form is in the see of the Church of Rome.'⁴ We on the contrary maintain, both that the church may exist without any form, and, moreover, that the form is not ascertained by that external splendour which they foolishly admire.'⁵ It is ascertained by 'the pure preaching of the word of God, and the due administration of the sacraments.'⁶ 'God alone knows who are his, so he may sometimes withdraw the external manifestation of his Church from the view of men.'⁷

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.10; see ibid. p.7: "Look now to our adversaries (I mean the priesthood, at whose beck and pleasure other ply their enmity against us), and consider with me for a little by what zeal they are actuated".

² ibid. p.10

³ ibid. p.14

⁴ ibid. p.14

⁵ ibid. p.14

⁶ ibid. pp.14-15

⁷ ibid. p.15
In Chapter II, the knowledge of God is defined, by which Calvin understands 'that we not only conceive that there is some God, but also apprehend what it is for our interest, and conducive to his glory.'\(^1\) But it is one thing to 'perceive that God our Maker supports us by his power, rules us by his providence, fosters us by his goodness, and visits us with all kinds of blessings', and another thing 'to embrace the grace of reconciliation offered to us in Christ'.\(^2\) Since, then, God appears as a Creator as well as a Redeemer in Christ, 'a twofold knowledge of him hence arises.'\(^3\)

'This sense of the divine perfections is the proper master to teach us piety, out of which religion springs', 'for until men feel that they owe everything to God, and that he is the author of all their blessings, so that nought is to be looked far away from him, they will never submit to him in voluntary obedience'.\(^4\)

The effect of our knowledge should be, 'first to teach us reverence and fear; and secondly, to induce us, under its guidance and teaching, to ask every good thing from him, and, when it is received, ascribe it to him.'\(^5\) For how can the idea of God enter one's mind without immediately the thought arising that one is His workmanship.

\(^{1}\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.40
\(^{2}\) ibid. p.40
\(^{3}\) ibid. p.40
\(^{4}\) ibid. p.41
\(^{5}\) ibid. p.41
and 'bound by the very law of creation, to submit to his authority?'\textsuperscript{1} If so then it undoubtedly follows that one's life is corrupted, 'if is not framed in obedience to him, since his will ought to be the law of our lives.'\textsuperscript{2} On the other hand, one's idea of God is not clear unless one acknowledges Him to be 'the origin and fountain of all goodness.'\textsuperscript{3} Hence would arise both confidence in him, and a desire of cleaving to him, did not the depravity of the human mind lead it away from the proper course of investigation.\textsuperscript{4}

'Confidence in God coupled with serious fear' is pure and genuine religion; 'fear which both includes in it willing reverence and brings along with it such legitimate worship as is prescribed by the law'.\textsuperscript{5} 'On all hands there is abundance of ostentatious ceremonies, but sincerity of heart is rare.'\textsuperscript{6}

'Those who feign themselves a dead and dumb idol, are truly said to deny God.'\textsuperscript{7} Though they struggle with their own convictions, and would fain not only banish God from their minds, but from heaven

\begin{enumerate}
\item Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.41
\item Ibid. p.41
\item Ibid. p.41
\item Ibid. p.41
\item Ibid. p.42
\item Ibid. p.47
\item Ibid. p.47
\end{enumerate}
also, their stupefaction is never so complete as to secure them from being occasionally dragged before the divine tribunal.'¹ God 'is no spectre or phantom, to be metamorphosed at each individual's caprice.'²

A second fault they add is 'when they do think of God it is against their will';³ 'instead of the voluntary fear flowing from reverence of the divine majesty, feeling only that forced and servile fear which divine judgment extorts - judgment which, from the impossibility of escape, they are compelled to dread, but which, while they dread, they at the same time also hate.'⁴

'While the whole life ought to be one perpetual course of obedience, they rebel without fear in almost all their actions, and seek to appease him with a few paltry sacrifices; while they ought to serve him with integrity of heart and holiness of life, they endeavour to procure his favour by means of frivolous devices and punctilios: of no value.'⁵

'It is impossible to contemplate the vast and beautiful fabric as it extends around, without being overwhelmed by the immense weight

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¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.47
² ibid. p.47
³ ibid. p.48
⁴ ibid. p.48
⁵ ibid. pp.48-49
of glory. Hence the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews elegantly describes the visible world as images of the invisible (Heb. xi. 3), the elegant structure of the world serving as a kind of mirror, in which we may behold God, though otherwise invisible.  

"And: 'the human frame bears on its face such proofs of ingenious contrivance as are sufficient to proclaim the admirable wisdom of the Maker.'  

'The swift and versatile movements of the soul in glancing from heaven to earth, connecting the future with the past, retaining the remembrance of former years, may, forming creations of its own - its skills, moreover, in making discoveries, and inventing so many wonderful arts, are sure indications of the agency of God in man.'

'How is it possible for man to be divine and yet not acknowledge his Creator?'  

'From the power of God we are naturally led to consider his eternity, since that from which all other things derive their origin must necessarily be self-existent and eternal.' If it is asked 'what cause induced him to create all things at first, and now inclines him to preserve them,' there can be no other answer than 'his own goodness.'  

\footnote{1} Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, pp. 48-49  
\footnote{2} ibid. p. 51  
\footnote{3} ibid. p. 52  
\footnote{4} ibid. p. 54  
\footnote{5} ibid. p. 54  
\footnote{6} ibid. p. 56
to draw forth our love towards him.\(^1\)

'In conducting the affairs of men, he so arranges the course of his providence, as daily to declare, by the cleverest manifestations, that though all are in innumerable ways the partakers of his bounty, the righteous are the special objects of his severity. It is impossible to doubt his punishment of crimes; while at the same time, he, in no unequivocal manner, declares that he is the protector, and even the avenger of innocence, by shedding blessings on the good, helping their necessities, soothing and solacing their griefs, relieving their sufferings, and in all ways providing for their safety. And though he often permits the guilty to exult for a time with impunity, and the innocent to be driven to and fro in adversity, nay, even to be wickedly and iniquitously oppressed, this ought not to produce any uncertainty as to the uniform justice of all his procedure.'\(^2\) 'Nay, an opposite inference should drawn': 'his leaving many crimes unpunished only proves that there is a judgment in reserve, when the punishment now delayed shall be inflicted.'\(^3\) Similarly, 'how richly does he supply us with the means of contemplating his mercy, when, as frequently happens, he continues to visit miserable sinners with unwearied kindness, until he subdues their depravity, and woos them back with more than a parent's fondness?'\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.56

\(^2\) ibid. p.56

\(^3\) ibid. p.56

\(^4\) ibid. p.56
'Neither his power nor his wisdom is shrouded in darkness': "when the rage of the wicked, to all appearance irresistible, is crushed in a single moment; and 'the poor are raised up out of the dust, and the needy lifted out of the dunghill. (Ps.cxiii.7)."¹

'In short, conducting all things in perfect accordance with reason.'² 'But though we are deficient in natural powers which might enable us to rise to a pure and clear knowledge of God, still, as the dullness which prevents us is within, there is no room for excuse.'³

'The course which God followed towards his Church from the very first, was to suplement these common proofs - the 'mirror of his Deity in his works'⁴ - by the addition of his Word, as a surer and more direct means of discovering himself.'⁵

The knowledge first given, that of God the Maker and Governor, is followed, in the scripture, by the more intimate knowledge of God 'as a Redeemer in the person of the Meditor.'⁶

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¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.57
² ibid. p.57
³ ibid. p.62
⁴ ibid. p.64
⁵ ibid. p.65
⁶ ibid. p.65
'Though the uses of the law were manifold (Book II c. 7 & 8) and the special office assigned to Moses and all the prophets was to teach the method of reconciliation between God and man (whence Paul calls Christ "the end of the law" Rom.x.4), Calvin would repeat that 'in addition to the proper doctrine of faith and repentance is set forth as a Mediator, the Scriptures employ certain marks and tokens to distinguish the only wise and true God, considered as a Creator and Governor of the World and thereby guard against his being confounded with the herd of false deities.'

The first step is taken 'when we reverently embrace the testimony which God has given to himself.' 'Not only does faith, full and perfect faith, but all correct knowledge of God, originated in obedience.'

'The highest proof of Scripture is uniformly taken from the character of him whose word it is.' 'Our conviction of the truth of Scripture must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures, judgments, or reasons; namely, the secret testimony of the Spirit.'

In answer to those who would have it proved by reason that Moses and the prophets were divinely inspired, Calvin says that the testimony

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.66
2 ibid. p.66
3 ibid. p.66
4 ibid. p.71
5 ibid. p.71
of the Spirit is superior to reason, 'for as God alone can properly bear witness to his own words, so these words will not obtain full credit in the hearts of men, until they are sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit': "My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seeds seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and forever" (Isaiah,lix.21).¹

'Let it therefore be held as fixed, that those who are inwardly taught by the Holy Spirit acquiesce implicitly in Scripture;' for it carried 'its own evidence along with it, designs not to submit to proofs and arguments'² . . . . 'I say nothing more than every believer experiences in himself, though my words fall far short of the reality.'³ If one is troubled by the small number of believers, 'let us, on the other hand, call to mind, that none comprehend the mysteries of God save those to whom it is given.'⁴

For the pious reader to understand what knowledge of God he ought to look for in Scripture, 'it will be sufficient for him at present to understand how God, the Creator of heaven and earth, governs the world.'⁵ 'In every part of Scripture we meet with descriptions

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¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, p. 72
² ibid. p. 72
³ ibid. p. 73
⁴ ibid. p. 73
⁵ ibid. p. 87
of his paternal kindness and readiness to do good, and we also meet with examples of severity which show that he is the just punisher of the wicked, especially when they continue obstinate notwithstanding all his forbearance. Moses seems to have intended briefly to comprehend whatever may be known of God by man:

"The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilt; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and to the fourth generation." (Ex.xxxiv.6,7)

The knowledge of God, given in the Scriptures, is designed for the same purpose as that which shines in creation — viz. that we may thereby learn to worship him with perfect integrity of heart and unfeigned obedience, and also to depend entirely on his goodness.

Whenever Scripture asserts the unity of God, it does not contend for a mere name, but also enjoins that nothing which belongs to Divinity be applied to any other; thus making it obvious in what respect pure religion differs from superstition.

God in vindicating his own right, first proclaims that he is

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.87
2 ibid. p.88
3 ibid. pp.88-89
4 ibid. p.104
a jealous God, and will be a stern avenger if he is confounded with any false God; and thereafter defines what due worship is, in order that the human race may be kept in obedience. ¹ 'Unless everything peculiar to divinity is confined to God alone, he is robbed of his honour, and his worship is violated.' ²

'The doctrine of Scripture concerning the immensity and spirituality of the essence of God, should have the effect not only of dissipating the wild dreams of the vulgar, but also of refuting the subtleties of a profane philosophy.' ³

God, 'in order to keep us within the bounds of soberness, treats sparingly of his essence'; ⁴ but 'his immensity ought to deter us from measuring him by our sense, while his spiritual nature forbids us to indulge in carnal or earthly speculation concerning him.' ⁵

There is another special mark by which He gives 'a more intimate knowledge of his nature: 'While he proclaims his unity, he distinctly sets it before us as existing in three persons.' ⁶ 'though heretics may snarl and the excessively fastidious carp at the word Person as inadmissible': Each of the three persons 'is perfect God, and yet there is no plurality of gods'. ⁷

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¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.105
² ibid. p.105
³ ibid. p.109
⁴ ibid. p.109
⁵ ibid. p.109
⁶ ibid. p.110
⁷ ibid. p.111
Calvin define "persons" as 'a subsistence in the Divine essence - a subsistence which, while related to the other two, is distinguished from them by incommunicable properties.'\(^1\) But subsistence is not essence: 'Subsistence, which, though connected with the essence by an indissoluble tie, being incapable of separation, yet has a special mark by which it is distinguished from it.'\(^2\) 'When God is mentioned simply and indefinitely, the name belongs not less to the Son and Spirit than to the Father. But whenever the Father is compared with the Son, the peculiar property of each distinguishes the one from the other.'\(^3\) Whatever 'is proper to each' is incommunicable to any other, 'because nothing can apply or be transferred to the Son which is attributed to the Father as a mark of distinction.'\(^4\)

Calvin considers it necessary, before proceeding any further, to prove the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit.\(^5\)

'When the Word of God is set before as in the Scriptures', it refers 'to the wisdom ever dwelling with God, and by which all oracles and prophecies were inspired.'\(^6\) 'For, as Peter testifies (1 Pet.i.11), the ancient prophets spake by the spirit of Christ just as did the apostles and all who after them were ministers of the

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.114
\(^2\) ibid. p.114
\(^3\) ibid. p.114
\(^4\) ibid. pp.114-115
\(^5\) ibid. p.115
\(^6\) ibid. p.115
heavenly doctrine. But as Christ was not yet manifest, we necessarily understand that the Word was begotten of the Father before all ages; and if 'that spirit, whose organs the prophets were, belonged to the Word, the inference is irresistible, that the Word was truly God'. 'This is shown 'clearly enough by Moses in his account of the creation, where he places the word as intermediate.'

In reply to the objection that 'Word is used for order or command, Calvin says, 'the apostles are better expositors, when they tell us that the worlds were created by the Son, and that he sustains all things by his mighty word (Heb. 1.2). For we here see that word is used for the nod or command of the Son, who is himself the eternal and essential Word of the Father.'

'It were trifling and foolish to imagine any temporary command at a time when God was placed to execute his fixed and eternal counsel, and something more mysterious.' 'The clearest explanation is given by John, when he states that the Word which was from the beginning, God and with God, was, together with God the Father, the maker of all things': for he both attributes a substantial and permanent

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, p. 115
2 ibid. p. 115
3 ibid. p. 115
4 ibid. p. 115
5 ibid. p. 115
6 ibid. p. 115
7 ibid. p. 115
essence to the Word, assigning to it a certain peculiarity, and distinctly showing how God spoke the world into being.1 'Therefore as all revelations from heaven are duly designated by the title of the Word of God, so the highest place must be assigned to that substantial Word, the source of all inspiration, which, as being liable to no variation, remains forever one and the same with God, and is God.2

'For as the names of God, which have respect to external work, began to be ascribed to him from the existence of the work (as when he is called the Creator of heaven and earth), so piety does not recognize or admit any name which might indicate that a change had taken place in God himself.'3 "Every good gift and every perfect gift, is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning" (James i.17).4

It does not, therefore, follow that 'because a thing begins to be manifested at a certain time, it never existed previously.'5 Calvin then concludes that the Word was eternally begotten by God, and dwelt with him from everlasting. In this way, his true essence, his eternity, and divinity are established.6

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, pp.115-116
2 ibid. p.116
3 ibid. p.116
4 ibid. p.116
5 ibid. p.116
6 ibid. p.116
'It ought to be clear and incontrovertible to all, that Christ is that Word become incarnate.'¹ 'There is no obscurity in Isaiah where Christ is introduced both as God, and as possessed of supreme power, one of the peculiar attributes of God "His name shall be called the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace" (Isa.xi.6).² The Jews leave the Son only with "Prince of Peace", 'but why should so many epithets be here accumulated on God the Father, seeing the prophet's design is to present the Messiah with certain distinguishing properties which may induce us to put our faith in him?³

'The New Testament teems with innumerable passages, and our object must therefore be, the selection of a few, rather than accumulation of the whole.'⁴ The first thing that deserves 'special observation is, that predictions concerning the eternal God are applied to Christ, as either already fulfilled in him, or to be fulfilled at some future period.'⁵ Isaiah prophesies that "the Lord of Hosts" shall be "for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence" (Isa.vii.14). Paul asserts that this prophecy was fulfilled in Christ (Rom.ix.33), and therefore declares that Christ is that Lord of Hosts;⁶ also: "We shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. For it is

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.116
² ibid. p.117
³ ibid. p.117
⁴ ibid. p.116
⁵ ibid. p.119
⁶ ibid. p.119
written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God."¹ 'Since in Isaiah God predicts this of himself (Isa.xlv.23) and Christ exhibits the reality fulfilled in himself, it follows that he is the very God, whose glory cannot be given to another.'²

'The divinity of Christ, if judged by the works which are ascribed to him in Scripture, becomes still more evident.³ When he said of himself "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work", the Jews, though most dull in regard to his other sayings, perceived that he was laying claim in divine power.⁴ His 'divinity is plainly instructed' in this passage.⁵ 'To govern the world by his power and providence, and regulate all things by an energy inherent in himself (this an Apostle ascribes to hi, Heb.1.3), surely belongs to none but the Creator. Nor does he merely share the government of the world with the Father, but also each of the other offices, which cannot be communicated to creatures. The Lord proclaims by his prophet "I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake" (Isa.xliii.25). When, in accordance with this declaration, the Jews thought that injustice was being done to God when Christ forgave sins, he not only asserted, in distinct terms, that this power belonged to

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.119
² ibid. p.119
³ ibid. p.120
⁴ ibid. p.120
⁵ ibid. p.120
him but also proved it by a miracle (Matthew ix.6). We thus see that he possessed in himself not the ministry of forgiving sins, but the inherent power which the Lord declared he will not give to another. What! Is it not the providence of God alone to penetrate and interrogate the secret thoughts of the heart? But Christ also had this power, and therefore we infer that Christ is God.1

Again, if out of God there is no Salvation, no righteousness, no life, Christ, having all these in himself, is certainly God. Let no one object that life or Salvation is transfused into him by God. For it is said not that he received, but that he himself is salvation. And if there is none good but God, how could a mere man be pure, how could he be, I say not good and just, but goodness and justice? Then what shall we say to the testimony of the Evangelist, that from the very beginning of the Creation "in him was life, and this life was the light of men?" Trusting to such proofs, we can boldly put our hope and faith in him, though we know it is blasphemous impiety to confide in any creature.2

In asserting the divinity of the Spirit, the proof must be derived from the same sources.3 'It is by no means an obscure testimony which Moses bears in the history of creation, when he says that the Spirit of God was expanded over the abyss or shapeless matter; for it shows not only that the beauty which the world displays is

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.120
2 ibid. p.121
3 ibid. p.122
maintained by the invigorating power of the Spirit, but that
even before this beauty existed the Spirit was at work cherishing the
confused mass.\(^1\) And the saying of Isaiah, "And now the Lord God
and his Spirit, hath sent me" (Isa. xlviii.16), ascribes 'a share
in the sovereign power of sending the prophets to the Holy Spirit
(Calvin in Acts. xx.28). In this his divine majesty is clear.'\(^2\)

'The best proof to us is our familiar experience': 'his being
diffused over all space, sustaining, invigorating, and quickening all
things, both in heaven and on earth' - 'the mere fact of his not
being circumscribed by any limits raises him above the rank of
creatures, while his transfusing vigour into all things, breathing it
into them being, life and motion, is plainly divine.'\(^3\)

'Now many passages of Scripture show that he is the author of
regeneration, not by a borrowed, but by an intrinsic energy; and
not only so, but that he is also the author of future immortality.
In short, all the peculiar attributes of the Godhead are ascribed
to him in the same way as to the Son.'\(^4\) 'Our justification is his
work; from him is power, sanctification, truth, grace, and every
good thought, since it is from the spirit alone that all good gifts
proceed.' 'though there are diversity of gifts, "all these worketh
the selfsame Spirit" (1 Cor.xii.11), 'he being not only the beginning

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\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.1, p.122
\(^2\) ibid. p.122
\(^3\) ibid. p.122
\(^4\) ibid. pp.122-123
or origin, but also the author.  

It 'is even more clearly expressed' by Paul in the words that immediately follow: "dividing to every man severally as he will".  

- thus ascribing divine power to the Spirit and demonstrating that 'he dwells hypostatically in God', most clearly.

'The words Father, Son and Holy Spirit, certainly indicate a real distinction, not allowing us to suppose that they are merely epithets by which God is variously designated from his works. Still they indicate distinction only, not division'.

'The Son has a distinct subsistence from the Father, because the Word could not have been with God unless he were distinct from the Father; not but for this could he have had his glory with the Father. In like manner, Christ distinguishes the Father from himself, when he says that there is another who bears witness of him (John V.32; vii.16). To the same effect it is elsewhere said, that the Father made all things by the Word. This could not be, if he were not in the same respect distinct from him. Besides, it was not the Father that descended to the earth, but he who came forth from the Father, nor was it the Father that died and rose again, but he whom the Father had sent. This distinction did not take its beginning at the incarnation: for it is clear that the only begotten Son previously

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.123
2 ibid. p.123
3 ibid. p.123
4 ibid. p.125
existed in the bosom of the Father (John i.18). For who will dare to affirm that the Son entered his Father's bosom for the first time, when he came down from heaven to assume human nature? Therefore, he was previously in the bosom of the Father, and had his glory with the Father. Christ intimates the distinction between the Holy Spirit and the Father, when he says that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and between the Holy Spirit and himself when he speaks of him as another, as he does when he declares that he will send another Comforter; and in many other passages besides (John xiv.6; xv.26; xiv.16). 1

What is, therefore, 'useful to be known' is as follows: 'When we profess to believe in one God, by the name God is understood the one simple essence comprehending three persons or hypostases.' 2

'The unity of essence is retained, and respect is had to the order, which, however, derogates in no respect from the divinity of the Son and the Spirit.' 3 'Then, that the name Jehovah, taken indefinitely, may be applied to Christ, is clear from the words of Paul, "For this thing I besought the Lord thrice". After giving the answer, "May grace is sufficient for thee, he subjoins, "that the power of Christ may rest upon me" (2 Cor. xii.8,9). 4

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, pp.125-126
2 ibid. p.127
3 ibid. p.127
4 ibid. p.127
Speaking in the person of the Mediator, Christ 'holds a middle place between God and man; yet so that his majesty is not diminished thereby'. For though he humbled (empties) himself, he did not lose the glory which he had with the Father, though it was concealed from the world. So in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb.i.10; ii.9), though the apostle confesses that Christ was made a little lower than the angels, he at the same time hesitates not to assert that he is the eternal God who founded the earth. We must hold, therefore, that as often as Christ, in the character of Mediator, addresses the Father, he, under the term, God, includes his own divinity also.

'If he will never cease to be the Son of God, but will ever remain the same that he was from the beginning, it follows that under the name of Father the one divine essence common to both is comprehended.'

Now begins the second part of Book I, i.e. the Knowledge of man.

'The idea that God is the soul of the world, though the most tolerable that philosophers have suggested, is absurd.' "Hence God was pleased that a history of the creation should exist" — in which

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.135
2 ibid. p.135
3 ibid. p.136
4 ibid. Chapter XIV, p.140.ff.
5 ibid. p.141
'the period of time is marked so as to enable the faithful to ascend by an unbroken succession of years to the first origin of their race and of all things;¹ among others, as 'a means of giving a clearer manifestation of the eternity of God as contrasted with the birth of creation.'²

To 'the profane jeer', that it did not occur to God to create the heavens and the earth instead of 'idly allowing an infinite period to pass away, Calvin replies: 'Why God delayed so long it is neither fit nor lawful to inquire. Should the human mind presume to do it, it could only fail in the attempt, nor would it be useful for us to know what God, as a trial of the modesty of our faith, has been pleased purposely to conceal.'³ 'In fine, let us remember that the invisible God, whose wisdom, power and justice, are incomprehensible, is set before us in the history of Moses as in a mirror, in which his living image is reflected.'⁴ 'If Scripture does not direct us in our inquiries after God, we immediately turn vain in our imagination.'⁵ As Augustine 'wisely reminds us that it is just as improper to raise questions about infinite periods of time as about infinite space (De Civit Dei).⁶

Therefore let us willingly remain hedged in by those boundaries

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.141
² ibid. p.141
³ ibid. p.141
⁴ ibid. pp.141-142
⁵ ibid. p.142
within which God has been pleased to confine our persons, and, as it were, enclose our minds, so as to prevent them from losing themselves by wandering unrestrained.\(^1\)

'But the point on which the Scriptures specially insist is that which tends more to our comfort, and to the confirmation of our faith namely that angels are the ministers and dispensers of the divine bounty towards us.'\(^2\) 'It is said of all angels collectively that they rejoice "over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentence";\(^3\) 'Those who presume to dogmatise on the ranks and numbers of angels would do well to consider on what foundation they rest.'\(^4\) 'Angels are ministering spirits (Heb.1:14) - 'it is certain that Spirits have no bodily shape' - whose service God employs for the protection of his people, and by whose means he distributes his favours among men, and also executes other works.'\(^5\)

'As God does not make angels the ministers of his power and goodness, that he may share his glory with them, so he does not promise his assistant by their instrumentality that he may divide our confidence between him and them.'\(^6\)

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.1, p.142
2 ibid. p.145
3 ibid. p.146
4 ibid. p.147
5 ibid. p.147
6 ibid. p.150
When Satan is called the god and ruler of this world, the strong man armed, the prince of the air, the roaring lion (2 Cor. iv. 4; John xii. 31; Matth. xii. 29; Eph. ii. 2), the object of all these descriptions is to make us more cautious and vigilant, and more prepared for the content. Peter, after describing the devil as a roaring lion, adds the exhortation "whom resist steadfast in the faith" (1 Peter v. 8). And Paul, after reminding us that we wrestle not against flesh and blood but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places, immediately enjoins us to put us armour equal to so great and perilous a contest (Ephes. vi. 12).

The use to which these statements should be turned, according to Calvin, is: 'Being forwarned of the constant presence of an enemy the most daring, the most powerful, the most crafty, the most indefatigable, the most completely equipped with all the engines, and the most expert in the science of war, let us not allow ourselves to be overtaken by sloth or cowardice, but, on the contrary, with minds aroused and ever on the alert, let us stand ready to resist; and, knowing that this warfare is terminated only by death, let us study to preserve. Above all, fully conscious of our weakness and want of skill, let us invoke the help of God, and attempt nothing without trusting him, since it is his alone to supply counsel, and strength, and courage,

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), Vol. I, p. 150
2 ibid. pp. 150-151
3 ibid. p. 151
and arms.' 1 'That we may feel the more strongly urged to do, the 
Scripture declares that the enemies who war against us are one or 
two, or four in number, but a great host.' 2 'In one Satan or devil 
being often mentioned in the singular number, the thing devoted is 
that domination of iniquity which is opposed to the reign of 
righteousness. For, as the Church and the communion of saints has 
Christ for its head, so the faction of the wicked, and wickedness 
itself, is portrayed with its prince exercising supremacy. Hence 
the expression, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared 
for the devil and his angels." (Matthew xxv.41). 3

'One thing which ought to animate us to perpetual contest with 
the devil is, that he is everywhere called both our adversary and the 
adversary of God.' 4 'But as the devil was created by God, we must 
remember that this malice which we attribute to his nature is not 
from creation, but from depravation.' 5 For this reason, Christ 
declares (John vii.44), that Satan, when he lies "speaketh of his own", 
and states the reason, "because he abode not in the truth." 6

'Though we say that Satan resists God, and does works at variance 
with His works, contrariety and opposition depend on the permission 
of God. I now speak not of Satan's will and endeavour, but only

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, p. 151
2 ibid. p. 151
3 ibid. p. 151
4 ibid. p. 151
5 ibid. p. 152
6 ibid. p. 152
of the result.\footnote{Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, p.153} Although the devil opposes God, 'aiming at those things which he deems most contrary to the will of God', 'he executes those things only for which permission has been given him': 'As God holds him bound and fettered by the curb of his power';\footnote{ibid. p.153} thus, however unwilling, obeys his Creator, being forced, whenever he is required, to do Him service'.\footnote{ibid. p.153}

'As the promise of bruising Satan's head (Gen. iii. 15) applies alike to Christ and to all his members', believers can never be oppressed or vanquished - though 'they are often, indeed, thrown into alarm - by Satan.'.\footnote{ibid. p.154}

God does not 'allow Satan to have dominion over the souls of believers, but only gives over to his sway the impious and unbelieving, whom he designs not to number among his flock.'\footnote{ibid. p.154} 'For the devil is said to have undisputed possession of this world until he is dispossessed by Christ.'\footnote{ibid. p.154}

To conclude: 'as often as we call God the Creator of heaven and earth, let us remember that the distribution of all the things which he has created are in his hand and power, but that we are his sons,'
whom he has undertaken to nourish and bring up in allegiance to him, that we may expect the substance of all good from him alone, and have full hope that he will never suffer us to be in want of all things necessary to salvation, so as to leave us dependent on some other source; that in everything we desire we may address our prayers to him, and in every benefit we receive we acknowledge his hand and give him thanks; and thus allured by his great goodness and beneficence, we may study with our whole heart to love and serve him.¹

'Before we descend to the miserable condition into which man has fallen, it is of importance to consider what he was at first.'²

There is, however, need for caution here, 'lest we attend only to the natural ills of man, and thereby seem to ascribe them to the Author of nature.'³

At first, when Adam was 'formed out of the dust of the ground a curb was laid on his pride - nothing being more absurd than that those should glory in their excellence who not only dwell in tabernacles of clay, but are themselves in part dust and ashes.'⁴ God 'designed to animate a vessel of clay, but also made it 'the habitation of an

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.158
² ibid. p.160
³ ibid. p.160
⁴ ibid. p.160
immortal spirit."¹ 'There can be no question that man consists of a body and soul; meaning, by soul, an immortal though created essence, which is his nobler part sometimes he is called a spirit.'²

But 'those who imagine that the soul is called a spirit because it is a breath or energy divinely infused into bodies, but devoid of essence, err too grossly as is shown both by the nature of the thing and the whole terror of Scripture.'³

'Conscience, which, distinguishing between good and evil, responds to the judgment of God, is an undoubted sign of an immortal spirit. How could motion devoid of essence penetrate to the judgment-seat of God, and under a sense of guilt strike itself with terror? The body cannot be affected by any fear of spiritual punishment. This is competent only to the soul, which must, therefore, be endued with essence.'⁴ 'In fine, while the many noble faculties with which the human mind is endued proclaim that something divine is engraven on it, they are so many evidences of an immortal essence.'⁵ 'The swiftness with which the human mind glances from heaven to earth, scans the secrets of nature, and after it has embraced all ages, with intellect and memory digests each in its proper order, and reads the

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.160
² ibid. p.160
³ ibid. pp.160-161
⁴ ibid. p.161
⁵ ibid. p.161
future in the past, clearly demonstrates that there lurks in man a
something separated from the body. We have intellect by which we are
able to conceive of the invisible God and angels - a thing of which
body is altogether incapable. We have ideas of rectitude, justice, and
honesty - ideas which the bodily senses cannot reach. The seat of
these ideas must therefore be a spirit.'¹ 'Were not the soul some
kind of essence separated from the body, the Scripture would not teach
that we dwell in houses of clay, and at death remove from a tabernacle
of flesh: that we put off that which is corruptible, in order that,
at the last day, we may finally receive according to the deeds alone -
in the body? (Job iv.19; 2 Cor.v.4; 2 Pet.i.13,14; 2 Cor.v.10;
vii.1; 1 Pet.ii.25; i.9; ii.11; Heb.xiii.17; 2 Cor.i.23;
Matt.x.28; Luke xii.5; Heb.xii.9; Luke xvi.22; 2 Cor.v.6,8;
Acts xxiii.8).²

'A strong proof of this point may be gathered from its being
said, that man was created in the image of God, for though the divine
glory is displayed in man's outward appearance, it cannot be doubted
that the proper seat of the image is in the soul;³ but 'the image of
God which is beheld or made conspicuous by these external marks, is
spiritual.'⁴

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.161
² ibid. p.161 fn.1
³ ibid. p.162
⁴ ibid. p.162
'But our definition of the image seems not to be complete until it appears more clearly what the faculties are in which man excels, and in which his is to be regarded as a mirror of the divine glory.'

'When Adam lost his first estate he became alienated from God', and although 'the image of God was not utterly effaced and destroyed in him, it was however, so corrupted, that anything which remains is fearful deformity.'

'Our deliverance begins with the renovation which we obtained from Christ.'

'For although Paul, contrasting the quickening Spirit which believers receive from Christ, with the living soul which Adam was created (L Cor.xv.45), commands the richer measure of grace bestowed in regeneration, he does not, however, contradict the statement, that the end of regeneration is to form us anew in the image of God.'

'Philosophers being unacquainted with the corruption of nature, which is the punishment of revolt, erroneously confound two states of man which are very different from each other. Let us therefore hold, for the purpose of the present work that the soul consists of two parts, the intellect and the will (Book II, chap.ii. Sec.2,12) - the office of the intellect being to distinguish between objects, according as they seem deserving of being approved or disapproved; and the office of the will, to choose and follow what the intellect declares to be

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.164
2 ibid. p.164
3 ibid. p.164
4 ibid. p.164
good, to reject and shun what it declares to be bad (Plato in Phaedo).\textsuperscript{1}

'The intellect is to us, as it were the guide and ruler of the soul; that the will always follows its beck, and waits for its decision, in matters of desire. For which reason Aristotle truly taught, that in the appetite there is a pursuit and rejection corresponding in some degree to affirmation and negation in the intellect (Aristot. Ethic. lib. vi.c.2). Moreover, it will be seen in another place (Book II, c.ii. sec.12-26) how surely the intellect governs the will.'\textsuperscript{2}

'The soul does not possess any faculty which may not be duly referred to one or other of these members.'\textsuperscript{3} 'In this way we comprehend sense under intellect';\textsuperscript{4} and for the term appetite that of will.\textsuperscript{5}

'Therefore, God has provided the soul of man with intellect, by which he might discern good from evil, just from unjust, and might know what to follow or to shun, reason going before with her lamp.'\textsuperscript{6} 'To this he has joined will, to which choice belongs.'\textsuperscript{7} Man excelled in these noble endowments in his primitive condition;\textsuperscript{8} 'in this upright state, man possessed freedom of will, by which if he chose,

\textsuperscript{1} Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.168
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. pp.168-169
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.169
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.169
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. p.169
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.169
\textsuperscript{7} ibid. p.169
\textsuperscript{8} ibid. p.169
he was able to obtain eternal life.\footnote{Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, p.169. Calvin adds here: 'It were here unseasonable to introduce the secret predestination of God, because we are ... considering ... what the nature of man truly was'.}

'We must maintain that the presence of the divine power is conspicuous, not less in the perpetual condition of the world than in its first creation. For, although even wicked men are forced, by the mere view of the earth and sky, to rise to the Creator, yet faith has a method of its own in assigning the whole praise of creation to God: 'by faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the Word of God (Heb.xi.3).\footnote{ibid. pp.171-172} Faith must penetrate deeper - than the carnal mind, which 'when once it has perceived the power of God in the creation stops there', and 'imagines that all things are sufficiently sustained by the energy divinely infused into them at first'\footnote{ibid. p.172} - and must infer that God, besides being a Creator,' 'is also a Governor and Preserver, by a special Providence sustaining, cherishing superintending, all the things which he has made, to the very minutest, even to a sparrow.'\footnote{ibid. p.172}

'It would not be credible that human affairs were superintended by God, unless he were the maker of the world, and no one could seriously believe that he is its Creator without feeling convinced that he takes care of his works.'\footnote{ibid. p.172}
'Providence of God, as taught in Scripture, is opposed to fortune and fortuitous causes. By an erroneous opinion prevailing in all ages, an opinion almost universally prevailing in our own day - viz. that all things happen fortuitously - the true doctrine of Providence has not only been obscured, but almost buried.'

All occurrences, 'prosperous as well as adverse, carnal sense will attribute to fortune; but whose has learned from the mouth of Christ that all the hairs of his head are numbered (Matthew x.30) will look farther for the cause, and hold that all events whatsoever are governed by the secret counsel of God.' Inanimate objects 'are merely instruments, into which God constantly infuses what energy he sees meet, and turns and converts to any purpose at his pleasure.' "Nothing is more natural than for spring, in its turn, to succeed winter, summer spring, and autumn summer; but in this series the variations are so great and so unequal as to make it very apparent that every single year, month, and day, is regulated by a new and special providence of God.'

God truly 'claims omnipotence to himself, and would have us to acknowledge it, - not the vain, indolent, slumbering omnipotence which sophists feign, but vigilant, effacacious, energetic, and ever active - not an omnipotence which may act as a general principle of

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, pp.172-173
2 e.g. 'if a sudden gust of wind at sea causes shipwreck; or 'being tossed by the waves, arrives in port, and makes some wondrous hair breadth escape from death' ... ibid. p.173
3 ibid. p.173
4 ibid. p.173
5 ibid. p.173
6 ibid. p.173
confused motion, as in ordering a stream to keep within the channel once prescribed to it, but one which is intent on individual and special movements. God is deemed omnipotent, not because he can act though he may cease or be idle, or because by a general instinct, he continues the order of natural previously appointed; but because, governing heaven and earth by his providence, he so overrules all things that nothing happens without his counsel. For when it is said in the Psalms, "He hath done whatsoever he hath pleased" (Ps.cxv.3) the thing meant is his sure and deliberate purpose.1

'This rather is the solace of the faithful, in their adversity, that everything which they endure is by ordination and command of God, that they are under his hand.'2 Those, moreover, who confine the providence of God within narrow limits, as if he allowed all things to be borne along freely according to a perpetual law of nature, do not more defraud God of his glory than themselves of a most useful doctrine; for nothing was more wretched than man if he were exposed to all possible movements of the sky, the air, the earth, and the water. We may add, that by this view the singular goodness of God towards each individual is unbecomingly impaired.3

'Those who attribute due praise to the omnipotence of God, thereby derive a double benefit. He to whom heaven and earth belong, and whose nod all creatures must obey, is fully able to reward the homage

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, pp.173-174
2 ibid. p.174
3 ibid. p.174
which they pay to him, and they can rest secure in the protection of Him, to whose control, everything that could do them harm is subject.'¹

'In this way, and in no other, can the immoderate and superstitious fear excited by the dangers to which we are exposed, be calmed or subdued.'²

'The providence we mean is not one by which the Deity, sitting idly in heaven, looks on at what is taking place in the world, but one by which he, as it were, holds the helm, and overrules all events.'³

'When Abraham said to his son, God will provide (Gen.xxii.8), he meant not merely to assert that the future event was foreknown to God, but to resign the management of an unknown business to the will of Him whose province it is to bring perplexed and dubious matters to a happy result. Hence it appears that providence consists in action. What many talk of bare prescience is the merest trifling.'⁴

To attribute to God 'a confused and promiscuous government which consists in giving an impulse and general movement to the machine of the globe, but does not specially direct the action of every creature' is - according to Calvin - an error impossible to tolerate.⁵ 'They make man a partner with God, - God, by his energy, impressing man with the movement by which he can act, agreeably to the nature conferred upon

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.174
² ibid. p.174
³ ibid. p.175
⁴ ibid. p.175
⁵ ibid. p.175
him, while man voluntarily regulates his own actions': i.e. 'the world, the affairs of men, and men themselves, are governed by the power, but not by the decree of God.'

Calvin would refute the opinion 'which, while it concedes to God some blind and equivocal movement, withholds what is of principal moment - viz. the disposing and directing of everything to its proper end by incomprehensible wisdom.'

'By withholding government, it makes God the ruler of the world in name only, not in reality. For what is meant by government, if it be not to preside so as to regulate the destiny of that over which you preside.' 'It is true, indeed, that every species of created objects is moved by a secret instinct of nature, as if they obeyed the eternal command of God, and spontaneously followed the course which God at first appointed.' 'But some, under pretext of the general, hide and obscure the special providence, which is so surely and clearly taught in Scripture, that it is strange how anyone can bring himself to doubt of it.' 'The thing to be proved, therefore, is that single events so proceed from his determinate counsel, that nothing happens fortuitously.'

'If it is said that God fully manifests his beneficence to the

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), Vol.I, p.175
2 ibid. p.176
3 ibid. p.176
4 ibid. p.176
5 ibid. p.176
6 ibid. p.176
human race, by furnishing heaven and earth with the ordinary power of producing food, the explanation is meagre and heathenish: as if the fertility of one year were not a special blessing, the penury and dearth of another a special punishment and curse from God.1 'It is childish to confine this to particular acts, when Christ says, without reservation, that not a sparrow falls to the ground without the will of his Father (Matthew x.29).2 We must, therefore, 'acknowledge with the prophet, that while he "dwelleth on high", he "humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and in the earth." (Ps.cxii.5,6).3 But as the world was made for the sake of mankind, 'we must look to this as the end which God has in view in the government of it.'4

Jeremiah says: "O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself: it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps" (Jer.x.23); and Solomon, "Man's goings are of the Lord: how can a man then understand his own way?" (Prov.xx.24)5 - 'Both Jeremiah and Solomon attribute to God not power only but also election and decree.'6 In the words "The poor and the deceitful man meet together; the Lord lighteneth both their eyes" (Prov.xxiv.13), Solomon, 'in saying that the condition of each in divinely appointed, remind us that God, who enlightens all, has his own eyes always open, and thus exhorts the poor to patient

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, pp.176-177
2 ibid. p.177
3 ibid. p.177
4 ibid. p.177
5 ibid. p.177
endurance, seeing that those who are discontented with their lot shake off a burden which God has imposed upon them.\(^1\) Or another prophet who says: "Promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south. But God is the judge: he putteth down one, and setteth up another" (Ps.lxxv.6,7): 'because God cannot divest himself of the office of judge, he infers that to his secret counsel it is owing that some are elevated, while others remain without honour.'\(^2\) Calvin would affirm in general, that particular events are evidences of the special providence of God.\(^3\)

'When we hear on the one hand, that "the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry", and, on the other hand, that "the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth" (Ps.xxxiv.15,16), let us be assured that all creatures above and below are ready at his service, that he may employ them in whatever way he pleases. Hence we infer, not only that the general providence of God, continuing the order of nature, extends over the creatures, but that by his wonderful counsel they are adapted to a certain and special purpose.'\(^4\)

'Those who would cast obloquy on this doctrine, calumniate it as the dogma of the stoics concerning fate.'\(^5\) 'but we do not admit the

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.178
\(^2\) ibid. p.178
\(^3\) ibid. p.178
\(^4\) ibid. p.179
\(^5\) ibid. p.179
term Fate, both because it is of the class which Paul teaches us to shun, as profane novelties (1 Tim. vi. 20), and also because it is attempted by means of an odious term, to fix a stigma on the truth of God. 'For we do not with the stoics imagine a necessity consisting of a perpetual chain of causes, and a kind of involved series contained in nature, but we hold that God is the disposer and ruler of all things, - that from the remotest eternity; according to his own wisdom, he decreed what he was to do, and now by his power executes what he decreed. Hence we maintain that, by his providence, not heaven and earth and inanimate creatures only, but also the counsels and wills of men are so governed as to move exactly.' To the question 'does nothing happen fortuitously, nothing contingently', Calvin's answer is: 'For if all success is blessing from God, and calamity and adversity are his curse, there is no place left in human affairs for Fortune and chance.'

But, 'though all things are ordered by the counsel and certain arrangement of God, to us, however, they are fortuitous, - not because we imagine that Fortune rules the world and mankind, and turns all things upside down at random (far be such a heartless thought from every Christian breast); but as the order, method, end, and necessity of events, are, for the most part, hidden in the counsel of God, though it is certain that they are produced by the will of God, they have the appearance of being fortuitous, such being the form under which they

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.179
2 ibid. p.179
3 ibid. p.179
present themselves to us, whether considered in their own nature, or estimated according to our knowledge and judgment.\textsuperscript{1}

'It will be proper here to advert to the end which Scripture has in view in teaching that all things are divinely ordained.'\textsuperscript{2}

'It is to be observed, first that Providence of God is to be considered with reference both to the past and the future; and secondly, that in overruling all things, it works at one time with means, at another without means, and at another against means.'\textsuperscript{3}

'The design of God is to show that He takes care of the whole human race, but is especially vigilant in governing the Church, which he favours with a closer inspection. Moreover, we must add, that although the paternal favour and beneficience, as well as the judicial severity of God, is often conspicuous in the whole course of his Providence, yet occasionally as the causes of events are concealed, the thought is apt to rise, that human affairs are whirled about by the blind impulse of Fortune.'\textsuperscript{4} But 'the issue would at length make it manifest that the counsel of God was in accordance with the highest reason, that his purpose was either to train his people to patience, correct their

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\textsuperscript{1} Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.180 \\
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.183 \\
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.183 \\
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.183
\end{flushleft}
depraved affections, tame their wantonness, imure them to self-denial, and arouse them from torpor; or, on the other hand, to cast down the proud, defeat the craftiness of the ungodly, and frustrate all their schemes. How much soever causes may escape our notice, we must feel assured that they are deposited with him.\(^1\) 'While our adversities ought always to remind us of our sins, that the punishment may incline us to repentance, we see, moreover, how Christ declares there is something more in the secret counsel of his Father than to chastise everyone as he deserves. For he says of the man who was born blind "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him" (John ix.3).\(^2\) 'We must use modesty, not as it were compelling God to render an account, but so revering his hidden judgments as to account his will the best of all reasons.'\(^3\)

'No man, therefore, will duly and usefully ponder on the providence of God save he who recollects that he has to do with his own Maker, and the Maker of the world, and in the exercise of the humility which becomes him, manifests both fear and reverence.'\(^4\)

'Therefore, since God claims to himself the right of governing the world, a right unknown to us, let it be our law of modesty and soberness to acquiesce in his Supreme authority, regarding his will

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\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.183
\(^2\) ibid. p.183
\(^3\) ibid. p.184
\(^4\) ibid. p.184
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as our only rule of justice, and the most perfect cause of all things
- not that absolute will, indeed, of which sophists prate, when by a
  profane and impious divorce, they separate his justice from his power,
  but that universal overruling Providence from which nothing flows that
  is not right, though the reason thereof may be concealed.¹

  'As regards future events, Solomon easily reconciles human
deliberation with divine providence. For while he derides the stupidity
of those who presume to undertake anything without God, as if they
were not ruled by his hand, he elsewhere thus expresses himself: "A
man's heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps"
(Prov.xvi.9); intimating that the eternal decrees of God by no means
prevent us from proceeding, under his will, to provide for ourselves
and arrange all our affairs.'² The reason for this is that 'he who
has fixed the boundaries of our life, has at the same time intrusted
us with the care of it, provided us with the means of preserving it,
forewarned us of the dangers to which we are exposed, and supplied
cautions and remedies, that we may not be overwhelmed unawares.'³
One's duty, therefore, is clear: 'since the Lord has committed to
us the defence of our life - to defend it; since he offers assistance
- to use it; since he forewarns us of danger - not to rush on heedless;
since he supplied remedies - not to neglect them.'⁴

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.185
² ibid. pp.186-187
³ ibid. p.187
⁴ ibid. p.187
To 'infer that danger is not to be guarded against, because, if it is not fatal you shall escape without precaution; whereas the Lord enjoins you to guard against it, just because he wills it not to be fatal'\(^1\) - is to overlook 'that the Lord has furnished men with the arts of deliberation and caution, that they may employ them in subservience to his providence, in the preservation of their life'\(^2\); while, on the contrary, by neglect and sloth they bring upon themselves the evils which he has annexed to them'.\(^3\) 'How comes it that a provident man, while he consults for his safety, disentangles himself from impending evils; while a foolish man, through unadvised temerity, perishes, unless it be that prudence and folly are, in either case, instruments of divine dispensation? God has been pleased to conceal from us all future events that we may prepare for them as doubtful, and cease not to apply the provided remedies until they have either been overcome, or have proved too much for all our care.'\(^4\) 'The Providence of God does not interpose simply; but, by employing means, assumes, as it were, a visible form.'\(^5\)

'By the same class of persons, past events are referred improperly and inconsiderately to simple providence. As all contingencies whatsoever depend on it, therefore, neither thefts nor adulteries, nor murders

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.187; also fn.1: "see Luther on Genesis xxx.7 against those who thus abuse the doctrine of Predestination".

\(^2\) ibid. p.187

\(^3\) ibid. p.187

\(^4\) ibid. p.187

\(^5\) ibid. p.187
are perpetrated without an interposition of the divine will.\(^1\) 'If all such persons serve the will of God, why should they be punished?': Calvin denies that they serve the will of God.\(^2\) He asks, where does 'the foetid odour of a dead body, which has been uncoffined and putrified by the sun's heat' come from?\(^3\) All see that it is excited by the rays of the sun, but no man says that the foetid odour is in them\(^3\): 'in the same way, while the matter and guilt of wickedness belongs to the wicked man, why should it be thought that God contracts any impurity in using it at pleasure as his instrument?\(^4\)

'The Christian, then being fully persuaded that all things come to pass by the dispensation of God, and that nothing happens fortuitously, will always direct his eye to him as the principal cause of events, at the same time paying due regard to inferior causes in their own place.\(^5\) 'The providence of God reigns over' both men and other creatures; and 'in regard to men, good as well as bad, he will acknowledge that their counsels, wishes, aims, and faculties, are so under His hand, that He has full power to turn them in whatever direction, and constrain them as often as he pleases.'\(^6\)

'The fact that a special providence watches over the safety of

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.187
2 ibid. p.187
3 ibid. p.188
4 ibid. p.188
5 ibid. p.188
6 ibid. p.189
believers, is attested by a vast number of the clearest promises: "Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee: he shall never suffer the righteous to be moved"; "Casting all your care upon him: for he careth for you"; "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty"; "He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye"; "We have a strong city: salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks"; "Can a woman forget her suckling child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee." ¹

'Nay the chief aim of the historical books of Scripture is to show that the ways of his saints are so carefully guarded by the Lord, as to prevent them even from dashing their foot against a stone.' ²

'This knowledge is necessarily followed by gratitude in prosperity, patience in adversity, and incredible security for all time to come.' ³

'Paul, in order to suppress our desire to retaliate injuries, wisely reminds us that we wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with our spiritual enemy the devil, that we may prepare for the contest (Eph. vi.12). But to calm all the impulses of passion, the most useful consideration is, that God arms the devil, as well as the wicked for conflict, and sits as umpire, that he may exercise our patience. But if the disasters and miseries which press us happen without the agency of men, let us call to mind the doctrine of the law (Deut. xxviii.1),

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, p.189. incl.fn.1, quoting: Ps. lv.23; 1 Peter v.7; Ps. xci.1; Zech. ii.8; Isaiah xxvi.1; xxix.15.
² ibid. p.181
³ ibid. p.190
that all the prosperity has its source in the blessing of God, that all adversity is his curse.\textsuperscript{1}

"And ye will not be reformed by these things but will walk contrary unto me; then will I also walk contrary unto you." (Lev. xxvi.23,24) - 'these words condemn our torpor when, according to our carnal sense, deeming that whatever happens in any way is fortuitous, we are neither animated by the mindness of God to worship him, nor by his scourge stimulated to repentance.'\textsuperscript{2}

'At the same time, the Christian will not overlook inferior causes. For, while he regards those by whom he is benefited as ministers of the divine goodness, he will not, therefore, pass them by, as if their kindness deserved no gratitude, but feeling sincerely obliged to them will willingly confess the obligation, and endeavour, according to his ability, to return it.'\textsuperscript{3}

'Regarding all the aids which the creatures can lend him, as hands offered him by the Lord, he will avail himself of them as the legitimate instruments of Divine Providence. And as he is uncertain what the result of any business in which he engages is to be (save that he knows, that in all things the Lord will provide for his good), he will zealously aim at what he deems for the best, so far as his abilities enable him. In adopting his measures, he will not be carried away by his own impressions, but will commit and resign himself to the wisdom of God,'

\textsuperscript{1} Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), Vol.I, p.191
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.191
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.191
that under his guidance he may be led into the right path. However, his confidence in external aid will not be such, that the presence of it will make him feel secure, the absence of it fill him with dismay, as if he were destitute. His mind will always be fixed on the Providence of God alone, and no consideration of the present circumstances will be allowed to withdraw him from the steady contemplation of it.\footnote{Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.192}

'It is certain that in administering human affairs, the ordination of God is perpetual, and superior to everything like repentance.'\footnote{ibid. p.195} One must not infer 'that the Lord derogated in any respect from his former counsel, because he recalled what he had promulgated. When by denouncing punishment, he admonishes to repentance those whom he wishes to spare, he paves the way for his eternal decree, instead of varying it one whit either in will or in language.'\footnote{ibid. pp.197-197} 'The words of Isaiah must remain true, "The Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? And his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?" (Isaiah xiv.27)\footnote{ibid. p.197}'}

'It is the merest trifling to substitute a bare permission for the providence of God, as if he sat is a watch-tower waiting for fortuitous events, his judgments meanwhile depending on the will of man.'\footnote{ibid. p.200}
Their first objection - that if nothing happens without the will of God, he must have two contrary wills, decrees by a secret counsel what he has openly forbidden in his law - is easily disposed.¹

All pious and modest men will readily acquiesce in the sentiment of Augustine: "Man sometimes with a good-will wishes something which God does not will, as when a good son wishes his father to live, while God wills him to die. Again, it may happen that man with a bad will wishes what God wills righteously, as when a bad son wishes his father to die, and God also wills it. The former wishes what God wills not, the latter wishes what God also wills. And yet the filial affection of the former is more consonant to the good-will of God, though willing differently, than the unnatural affection of the latter, though willing the same thing; so much does approbation or condemnation depend on what it is befitting in man, and what in God to will, and to what end the will of each has respect. For the things which God rightly wills, he accomplishes by the evil wills of bad men". (August. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 101).²

In the same way is solved or rather spontaneously vanishes, another objection - viz. If God not only uses the agency of the wicked, but also governs their counsels and affections, he is the author of all their sins; and therefore men, in executing what God has decreed, are unjustly condemned, because they are obeying his will.

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, p. 202
² ibid. p. 203
Here will is improperly confounded with precept, though it is obvious, from innumerable examples that there is the greatest difference between them.\textsuperscript{1} 'Augustine truly observes, that when God makes his scrutiny, he looks not to what men could do, or to what they did, but to what they wished to do, thus taking account of their will and purpose.'\textsuperscript{2} 'Our true wisdom is to embrace with meek docility, and without reservation, whatever the Holy Scriptures have delivered.'\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.203
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.205
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.205
'It was not without reason that the ancient proverb so strongly recommended to man the knowledge of himself. ¹ 'But self-knowledge consists in this, first, when reflecting on what God gave us at our creation, and still continues graciously to give, we perceive how great the excellence of our nature would have been had its integrity remained, and at the same time, remember that we have nothing of our own, but depend entirely on God, from whom we hold at pleasure whatever he has seen it meet to bestow; secondly, when viewing our miserable condition since Adam's fall, all confidence and boasting are overthrown, we blush for shame, and feel truly humble. ²

'Hence, in considering the knowledge which man ought to have of himself, it seems proper to divide it thus, first, to consider the end for which he was created and the qualities with which he was endued; and secondly, to consider his faculties, or rather want of faculties. ³ 'The tendency of the former view is to teach him what his duty is, of the latter, to make him aware how far he is able to perform it. ⁴

'The peculiar nature of the sin which produced Adam's fall, and provoked God to inflict such fearful vengeance' is not explained by

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.210
² ibid. p.
³ ibid. p.212
⁴ ibid. p.212
'the common idea of sensual intemperance.'

'The prohibition to touch the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was a trial of obedience': it was 'meant to prove and exercise his faith.'

'Hence it is not difficult to infer in what way Adam provoked the wrath of God.'

'When the word of God is despised, all reverence for him is gone. His majesty cannot be duly honoured among us, nor his worship maintained in its integrity, unless we hang as it were upon his lips. Hence infidelity was at the root of the revolt. From infidelity, again, sprang ambition and pride, together with ingratitude.'

'As Adam's spiritual life would have consisted in remaining united and bound to his Maker, so estrangement was the death of his soul.'

'All of us, therefore, descending from an impure seed, came into the world tainted with the contagion of sin': "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Not one." (Job.xiv.4)

'Original sin, then, may be defined a hereditary corruption and depravity of nature, extending to all parts of the soul, which first

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.212
2 ibid. p.212
3 ibid. p.213
4 ibid. p.213
5 ibid. p.213
6 ibid. p.214
7 ibid. p.214
8 ibid. pp.214-215
makes us obnoxious to the wrath of God, and then produces in us works which in Scripture are termed works of the flesh. This corruption is repeatedly designated by Paul by the term sin, (Gal.v.19); while the works which proceed from it, such as adultery, fornication, theft, hatred, murder, revellings he terms, in the same way, the fruits of sin, though in various passages of Scripture, and even by Paul himself, they are also termed sins.  

'We say, then that man is corrupted by a natural viciousness, but not by one which proceeded from nature. In saying that it proceeded not from nature, we mean that it was rather an adventitious event which befell man, than a substantial property assigned to him from the beginning. We, however, call it natural to prevent any one from supposing that each individual contracts it by depraved habit, whereas all receive it by a hereditary law.'

God is offended 'not with the work itself, but the corruption of the work.'  

'Wherefore, if it is not improper to say that, in consequence of the corruption of human nature, man is naturally hateful to God, it is not improper to say, that he is naturally vicious and depraved.'

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.217
2 ibid. p.219. Calvin adds: 'And we have authority for so calling it. For, on the same ground, the Apostle says, that we are "by nature the children of wrath" (Eph.ii.3).'
3 ibid. p.220
4 ibid. p.220
'In this way, then, man is said to have free will, not because he has a free choice of good and evil, but because he acts voluntarily, and not by compulsion.'\(^1\) 'But he cannot arrogate to himself one particle beyond his due, without losing himself in vain confidence, and, by transferring divine honour to himself, becoming guilty of the greatest impiety.'\(^2\)

The 'first, second or third' precept, therefore, of Christianity - according to Calvin - is Humility: i.e. when one truly feels that 'he has no refuge but in humility.'\(^3\) 'Let us not contend with God for our right, as if anything attributed to him were lost to our salvation. As our insignificance is his exultation, so the confession of our insignificance has its remedy provided in his mercy.'\(^4\)

'Man's efforts are not always so utterly fruitless as not to lead to some result, especially when his attention is directed to inferior objects. Nay, even with regard to superior objects, though he is more careless in investigating them, he makes some little progress.'\(^5\)

By earthly things - or inferior objects - is meant 'those which relate not to God and his Kingdom, to true righteousness and future blessedness, but have some connection with the present life, and are confined within its boundaries. By heavenly things is meant 'the pure knowledge of God, the method of true righteousness, and the mysteries of the heavenly

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), pp.228-229  
\(^2\) ibid. p.231  
\(^3\) ibid. p.232  
\(^4\) ibid. pp.232-233  
\(^5\) ibid. p.234
The sum of the whole is this: from a general survey of the human race, it appears that one of the essential properties of our nature is reason, which distinguishes us from the lower animals, just as these by means of sense are distinguished from inanimate objects. For although some individuals are born without reason, that defect does not impair the general kindness of God, but rather serves to remind us, that whatever we retain ought justly to be ascribed to the Divine indulgence. Had not God so spared us, our revolt would have carried along with it the entire destruction of nature. In that some excell in acuteness, and some in judgment, while others have greater readiness in some peculiar art, God, by this variety, commends his favour towards us lest any one should presume to arrogate to himself that which flows from his mere liberality. For whence it is that one is more excellent than another, but that in a common nature the grace of God in specially displayed in passing by many, and this proclaiming that it is under obligation to none. We may add, that each individual is brought under particular influences according to his calling. Many examples of this occur in the Book of Judges, in which the spirit of the Lord is said to have come upon those whom he called to govern his people (Judges vi.34). In short, in every distinguished act there is a special inspiration.

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), Vol.I, p.234
2 ibid. p.237
When the will is enchained as the slave of sin, it cannot make a movement towards goodness, far less steadily pursue it. Every such movement is the first step in that conversion to God, which in Scripture is entirely ascribed to divine grace. Moreover, when one says that the will, deprived of liberty, is led or dragged by necessity to evil, 'it is not at variance with pious use.' It does, however, offend those who know not how to distinguish between necessity and compulsion.

'Therefore, if the free will of God in doing good is not impeded, because he necessarily must do good; if the devil, who can do nothing but evil, nevertheless sins voluntarily, can it be said that man sins less voluntarily because he is under a necessity of sinning?'

'Let this, then, be regarded as the sum of the distinction. Man since he was corrupted by the fall, sins not forced or unwilling, but voluntarily, by a most forward bias of the mind; not by violent compulsion, or external force, but by the movement of his own passion; not by violent compulsion, or external force, but by the movement of his own passion; and yet such is the depravity of his nature, that he cannot move and act except in the direction of evil. If this is true, the thing not obscurely expressed is, that he is under the necessity of sinning.'

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.235
2 ibid. p.235
3 ibid. p.235
4 ibid. p.254
5 ibid. p.254
This doctrine, according to Calvin, 'is not new, but the doctrine which of old Augustine delivered with the consent of all the godly, and which was afterwards shut up in the cloisters of monks for almost a thousand years.'

'It may be proper to consider what the remedy is which divine grace provides for the correction and cure of natural corruption.' When the Apostle says to the Philipians, "Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ" (Phil.i.6), there cannot be a doubt that, by the work thus begun, he means the very commencement of conversion in the will. God, therefore, begins the good work in us by exciting in our hearts a desire, a love, and a study of righteousness, or (to speak more correctly) by turning, training, and guiding our hearts unto perseverance.'

The words of the Holy Spirit are: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put by Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them" (Ezek.xxxvi. 26,27).

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.254
2 ibid. p.255
3 ibid. p.255
4 ibid. p.255
'The will is abolished, but not in so far as it is will, for in conversion everything essential to our original nature remains: 'it is created anew, not because the will then begins to exist, but because it is turned from evil to good.'\(^1\) This is 'wholly the work of God, because, as the Apostle testifieth, we are not "sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves". (2 Cor.iii.5)\(^2\) 'Accordingly, he elsewhere says, not merely that God assists the weak or corrects the depraved will, but that he worketh in us to will (Philip.ii.13).\(^3\)' It is easily inferred from this 'that everything good in the will is entirely the result of grace.'\(^4\)

'It is certainly easy to prove that the commencement of good is only with God, and that none but the elect have a will inclined to good. But the cause of election must be sought out of man; and hence it follows that a right will is derived not from man himself, but from the same good pleasure by which we are chosen before the creation of the world.'\(^5\)

Also: 'the beginning of right will and action being of faith, we must see whence faith itself is.'\(^6\) 'Since Scripture proclaims throughout that it is the free gift of God', it follows that, when men 'begin

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.255
2 ibid. p.255
3 ibid. p.255
4 ibid. pp.255-256
5 ibid. p.257
6 ibid. p.257
to have a good will, it is owing to mere grace.\footnote{Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, pp.257-258}

'This movement of the will is not of that description which was for many ages taught and believed - viz. a movement which thereafter leaves us the choice to obey or resist it - but one which affects us efficaciously.'\footnote{ibid. p.260} 'Men are indeed to be taught that the favour of God is offered, without exception to all who ask it, but since those only begin to ask whom heavenly grace inspires, even the minute portion of praise must not be withheld from him. It is the privilege of the elect to be regenerated by the Spirit of God, and then placed under his guidance and government.'\footnote{ibid. p.260} 'That intermediate movement which sophists imagine, a movement which everyone is free to obey or reject, is obviously excluded by the doctrine of effectual perseverance.'\footnote{ibid. p.261} - i.e. 'when it is said that God makes us so persevere that we are in no danger of declining.'\footnote{ibid. p.261, fn.1}

'As to perseverance, it would undoubtedly have been regarded as the gratuitous gift of God, had not the very pernicious error prevailed, that it is bestowed in proportion to human merit, according to the reception which each individual gives to the first grace.'\footnote{ibid. p.261} 'After we are once subdued by the power of the Lord to the obedience of righteousness,
we proceed voluntarily, and are inclined to follow the movement of
grace', ¹ 'for it is most certain that where the grace of God reigns,
there is also this readiness to obey', ² as 'the Spirit of God being
everywhere consistent with himself, after first begetting a principle
of obedience, cherishes and strengthens it for perseverance?' ³ But
to mean that 'man is able of himself to be a fellow-labourer with the
grace of God, is 'a most pestilential delusion!' ⁴

'The matter cannot be more briefly summed up than in the eigth
chapter of Augustine's De Correptione et Gratia: first, 'that human
will does not by liberty obtain grace, but by grace obtains liberty;
secondly, 'that by means of the same grace the heart being impressed
with a feeling of delight, is trained to persevere, and strengthened
with invincible fortitude'; thirdly, 'that while grace governs the will,
it never falls; but when grace abandons it, it falls forthwith;
fourthly, that by the free mercy of God, the will is turned to good,
and its constancy after being so directed, depend entirely on the will
of God, and not on any human merit.' ⁵ 'Thus the will (free will, if
you choose to call it so), which is left to man is' - as Augustine
describes it in Epist.46 - 'a will which can neither be turned to God

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.1, p.262
2 ibid. p.262
3 ibid. p.262
4 ibid. p.262
5 ibid. p.264
nor continue to God, unless by grace; a will, which, whatever its ability may be, derives all that ability from grace.\(^1\)

To 'hold that man has no ability in himself to do righteousness' is to hold 'what is most necessary to be known for salvation'; but 'it ought not to be overlooked that we owe it to the special grace of God, whenever, on the one hand, we choose what is for our advantage, and whenever our will inclines in that direction; and on the other, whenever with heart and soul we shun what would otherwise do us harm.'\(^2\)

'And the interference of Divine Providence goes to the extent not only of making events turn out as was foreseen to be expedient, but of giving the wills of men the same direction. If we look at the administration of human affairs with the eye of sense, we will have no doubt that, so far, they are placed at man's disposal; but if we lend an ear to many passages of Scripture which proclaim that even in these matters the minds of men are ruled by God, they will compel us to place human choice in subordination to his special influence.'\(^3\)

The point which Calvin is making here is 'that whenever God is pleased to make way for his providence, he even in external matters so turns and bends the wills of men, that whatever the freedom of their choice may be, it is still subject to the disposal of God.'\(^4\)

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.264
\(^2\) ibid. p.269
\(^3\) ibid. p.269
\(^4\) ibid. p.270
discussing the subject of free will, the question is not, whether external obstacles will permit a man to execute what he has internally resolved, but whether, in any matter whatever, he has a free power of judging and of willing.¹ 'If that could be in man, he would be no less free shut up in prison than ruling all the earth.'²

Calvin understands by the law 'not only the Ten Commandments, which contain a complete rule of life, but the whole system of religion delivered by the hand of Moses.'³ 'If it is true, that a perfect righteousness is set before us in the law, it follows, that the complete observance of it is perfect righteousness by which a man may be deemed and pronounced righteous at the divine tribunal.'⁴

'Of what use is it to see that the reward of eternal life depends on the observance of the Law, unless it moreover appears whether it be in our power in that way to attain to eternal life? Herein, the weakness of the Law is manifested; for, in none of us is that righteousness of the Law manifested, and, therefore, being excluded from the promises of life, we again fall under the curse.'⁵ 'The doctrine of the Law transcending our capacity, a man may indeed look from a distance at the promises held forth, but he cannot derive any benefit from them. The only thing, therefore, remaining for him is, from their excellence to form a better estimate of his own misery,

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.271
² ibid. p.271, fn.1
³ ibid. p.300
⁴ ibid. p.302
⁵ ibid. p.302
while he considers that the hope of salvation is cut off, and he is threatened with certain death." ¹

Although the promises, in so far as they are conditional, depend on a perfect obedience of the Law, which is nowhere to be found, they have not, however, been given in vain. For when we have learned, that the promises would be fruitless and unavailing, did not God accept us of his free goodness, without any view of our works, and when, having so learned, we, by faith, embrace the goodness thus offered in the gospel, the promises, with all their annexed conditions, are fully accomplished. For God, while bestowing all things upon us freely, crowns his goodness by not disdaining our imperfect obedience; forgiving its deficiencies, accept it as if it were complete, and so bestowing upon us the full amount of what the Law had promised." ²

Regarding what has been about 'the impossible observance of Law', Calvin means by impossible 'that which never was, and, being prevented by the ordination and decree of God, never will be': ³ "There is no man that sinneth not" saith Solomon (1 Kings viii.46); also David, "In thy sight shall no man living be justified" (Psalms cxliii.2); 'Job also, in numerous passages, affirms the same thing." ⁴

'But the clearest of all is Paul, who declares that "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against flesh" (Gal.v.17).

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, pp.302-303
² ibid. p.303
³ ibid. p.303
⁴ ibid. pp.303-304
And he proves, that "as many as are of the works of the Law are under the curse", for the simple reason, that it is written, "cursed is everyone that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them" (Gal.iii.10; Deut.xxvii.26), intimating, or rather assuming it as confessed, that none can so continue. But whatever has been declared by Scripture must be regarded as perpetual and hence necessary.  

Also: 'the answer which our Saviour gave to his disciples when they asked, "Who then can be saved?" "With men", said he, "This is impossible; but with God all things are possible" (Matth.xxix.25). 

'That the whole matter may be made clearer, let us take a succinct view of the office and use of the Moral Law.'

'First, by exhibiting the righteousness of God, - in other words, the righteousness which alone is acceptable to God, - it admonishes everyone of his own unrighteousness, certiorates, convicts, and finally condemns him. This is necessary, in order that man, who is blind and intoxicated with self-love, may be brought at one to know and to confess his weakness and impurity.' He can never be brought to feel the feebleness of his own powers 'so long as he measures them by a standard of his own choice'.

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. I, p. 304.
2 ibid. p. 304
3 ibid. p. 304
4 ibid. p. 304
5 ibid. pp. 304-305
He, then, who is schooled by the Law, lays aside the arrogance which formerly blinded him. In like manner must he be cured of pride, the other disease under which we have said that he labours. So long as he is permitted to appeal to his own judgment, he substitutes a hypocritical for a real righteousness, and, contented with this, sets up certain factitious observances in opposition to the grace of God. But after he is forced to weigh his conduct in the balance of the Law, renouncing all dependence on the fancied righteousness, he sees that he is at an infinite distance from holiness, and, on the other hand that he teems with innumerable vices of which he formerly seemed free.1

'Hence the Apostle had good reason for saying, "I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet."2

'Thus the Law is a kind of mirror: 'we behold, first, our impotence; then in consequence of it, our iniquity; and, finally, the curse, as the consequence of both.'3 'To this effect is the Apostle's declaration, that "by the law is the knowledge of sin" (Rom.iii.20).4

'But while the unrighteous and condemnation of all are attested by the law, it does not follow (if we make the proper use of it) that we are immediately to give up all hope and rush headlong on despair. No doubt it has some such effect upon the reprobate, but this is owing to their obstinacy. With the children of God the effect is different.

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.305
2 ibid. p.305
3 ibid. p.305
4 ibid. p.305
The Apostle testifies that the law pronounces its sentence of condem-
nation in order "that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world
may become guilty before God" (Rom.iii.19). In another place, however,
the same Apostle declares that "God hath concluded them all in unbelief";
not that he might destroy all, nor allow all to perish, but that he
might have mercy upon all" (Rom.xi.32).\(^1\)

The second office of the Law is, by means of its fearful denunci-
ations and the consequent dread of punishment, to curb those who,
unless forced, have no regard for rectitude and justice. Such persons
are curbed, not because their mind is inwardly moved and affected, but
because as if the bridle were laid upon them, they refrain their hands
from external acts, and internally check the depravity which would
otherwise petulantly burst forth.'\(^2\) 'Their forced and extorted right-
eousness is necessary for the good of society, its peace being secured
by a provision but for which all things would be thrown into tumult
and confusion.'\(^3\)

'The third use of the Law being also the principal use, and
more closely connected with its proper end has respect to believers
in whose hearts the Spirit of God already flourishes and reigns.'\(^4\)

'For it is the best instrument for enabling them daily to learn with

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.306
\(^2\) ibid. p.307
\(^3\) ibid. p.308
\(^4\) ibid. p.309
greater truth and certainty what the will of the Lord is which they aspire to follow, and to confirm them in this knowledge.  

'Since, in regard to believers, the law has the force of exhortation, not to bind their consciences with a curse, but by urging them, from time to time, to shake off sluggishness and chastise imperfection — many, when they would express this exemption from the curse say, that in regard to believers the law (the Mortal Law) is abrogated: not that the things which it enjoins are no longer right to be observed, but only that it is not to believers what it formerly was; in other words, that it does not, by terrifying and confounding their consciences, condemn and destroy. It is certainly true that Paul shows, in clear terms, that there is such an abrogation of the Law.'

'When the Lord declares, that he came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill (Matth. v. 17), that until heaven and earth pass away, not one jot or tittle shall remain unfulfilled; he shows that his advent was not to derogate, in any degree, from the observance of the Law.'

'What Paul says, as to the abrogation of the Law, evidently applies not to the Law itself, but merely to its power of constraining the conscience.'

'Meanwhile, it must ever remain an indubitable truth, that the Law has lost none of its authority, but must always

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.309
2 ibid. p.311
3 ibid. p.311
4 ibid. p.311
receive from us the same respect and obedience.\textsuperscript{1}

'The case of ceremonies is different, these having been abrogated not in effect but in use only. Though Christ by his advent put an end to their use, so far is this from derogating from their sadness, that it rather commends and illustrates it. For as these ceremonies would have given nothing to God's ancient people but empty show, if the power of Christ's death and resurrection had not been prefigured by them - so, if the use of them had not ceased, it would, in the present day, be impossible to understand for what purpose they were instituted. Accordingly, Paul, in order to prove that the observance of them was not only superfluous, but pernicious also, says that "they are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ" (Col.ii.17). We see, therefore, that the truth is made clearer by their abolition than if Christ, who has been openly manifested, were still figured by them as at a distance, and as under a veil.'\textsuperscript{2}

Calvin's intention in giving a plan of life for a Christian\textsuperscript{3} is 'not to treat of each virtue specially and expatiate in exhoration'; but to point out the method by which a pious man may be taught how to frame his life aright, and briefly lay down some universal rule by which he may not improperly regulate his conduct.'\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.I, p.311
\item \textsuperscript{2} ibid. pp.311-312
\item \textsuperscript{3} Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II (Book THREE, Chapter VI), p.1 ff.
\item \textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.2
\end{itemize}
'The Scripture system of which we speak aims chiefly at two objects': 'the love of righteousness, to which we are by no means naturally inclined, may be instilled and implanted into our minds; and 'to prescribe a rule which will prevent us while in the pursuit of righteousness from going astray.'

'Scripture derives its exhortations from the true source, when it not only enjoins us to regulate our lives with a view to God its author to whom it belongs: but after showing us that we have degenerated from our true origin - viz. the law of our Creator, adds, that Christ, through whom we have returned to favour with God, is set before us as a model, the image of which our lives should express.'

'Then unless we dedicate and devote ourselves to righteousness, we not only, with the utmost perfidy, revolt from our Creator, but also abjure the Saviour himself.'

'None have intercourse with Christ but those who have acquired the true knowledge of his from the Gospel.' 'Doctrine is not an affair of the tongue, but of the life; is not apprehended by the intellect and memory merely, like other branches of learning; but

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II (Book THREE, Chapter VI), pp.2-3. (For the second object see ch.vii.) ibid. p.6 ff.
2 ibid. p.3. incl. fn.2, referring to Mal.i.6; Eph.v.1; 1 John iii.1,3; Eph.v.26; Rom.vi.1-4; 1 Cor.vi.11; 1 Pet.i.15,19; 1 Cor.vi.15; John xv.3; Eph.v.2,3; Col.iii.1,2; 1 Cor.iii.16; vi.17; 2 Cor.vi.16; Thess.v.23.)
3 ibid. p.3
4 ibid. p.4
5 ibid. p.4
is received only when it possesses the whole soul, and finds its seat
and habitation in the utmost recesses of the heart.'

'To doctrine in which our religion is contained we have given
the first place, since by it our salvation commences; but it must be
transfused into the breast, and pass into the conduct, and so transform
us into itself, as not to prove unfruitful.'

Calvin does not 'insist that the life of the Christian shall
breathe nothing but the perfect Gospel, though this is to be desired,
and ought to be attempted;' nor 'so strictly on evangelical perfection,
as to refuse to acknowledge as a Christian any man who has not attained
it.' 'In this way all would be excluded from the Church:' therefore,
'let it be regarded as the goal towards which we are to run.' 'For
you cannot divide the matter with God, undertaking part of what his
word enjoins, and omitting part at pleasure. For, in the first place,
God uniformly recommends integrity as the principal part of worship,
meaning by integrity real singleness of mind, devoid of gloss and
fiction, as to this is opposed a double mind; as if it had been said
that the spiritual commencement of a good life is when the internal
affections are sincerely devoted to God, in the cultivation of holiness
and justice. But seeing that in this earthly prison of body, no man

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.4
2 ibid. p.4
3 ibid. p.5
4 ibid. p.5
5 ibid. p.5
is supplied with the strength sufficient to hasten in his course with
due alacrity, while the greater number are so oppressed with weakness,
that hesitating and halting, and even crawling on the ground, they make
little progress, let everyone of us go as far as his humble ability
enables him, and prosecute the journey once begun. No one will travel
so badly as not daily to make some degree of progress. ¹ 'If during
the whole course of our life we seek and follow, we shall at length
attain it, when relieved from the infirmity of the flesh we are
admitted to full fellowship with God.' ²

In the next chapter, "A Summary of Christian life. Of Self-
Denial", Calvin discusses 'the rule which permits us not to go astray
in the study of righteousness', and which requires 'that man, abandon­
ing his own will, devote himself entirely to the service of God; whence
it follows that we must seek not our own things, but the things of God.' ³

'Although the Law of God contains a perfect rule of conduct
admirably arranged, it has seemed proper to our divine Master to train
his people by a more accurate method, to the rule which is enjoined in
the Law;' and the leading principle in the method is, that it is the
duty of believers to present their "bodies in a living sacrifice, holy
and acceptable unto God, which is their reasonable service" (Rom.xii.1).

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.5.
² ibid. p.5
³ ibid. Book Three, Chapter VII, p.6
Hence he draws the exhortation: "be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will be God." The great point, then, is that we are consecrated and dedicated to God, and therefore should not henceforth think, speak, design or act, without a view to his glory. What he hath made sacred cannot, without signal insult to him, be applied to profane use. But if we are not our own, but the Lord's, it is plain both what error is to be shunned, and to what end the actions of our lives ought to be directed. We are not our own; therefore, neither is our own reason or will to rule our acts and counsels.  

"On the other hand, we are God's; let us, therefore, live and die to him (Rom.xiv.8):  

'Let his wisdom and will preside over all our actions': 'To him, then, as the only legitimate end, let every part of our life be directed.'  

'Let this, then, be the first step, to abandon ourselves, and devote the whole energy of our minds to the service of God'; by service is meant 'not only that which consists in verbal obedience, but that by which the mind divested of its own carnal feelings, implicitly obeys the call of the Spirit of God'. This transformation is called by Paul

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.7
2 ibid. p.7
3 ibid. p.7
4 ibid. p.7
5 ibid. p.7
Christian philosophy makes reason - to which all philosophers
assign the sole direction of the conduct\(^2\) - yield complete submission
in the Holy Spirit, so that the man himself no longer lives, but Christ
lives and reigns in him (Gal.ii.20).\(^3\)

'Hence follows the other principle, that we are not to seek our
own, but the Lord's will, and act with a view to promote his glory.'\(^4\)

'For he who has learned to look to God in everything he does, is at the
same time diverted from all vain thoughts. This is that self denial
which Christ so strongly enforces on his disciples from the very outset
(Matth.xvi.24), which, as soon as it takes hold of the mind, leaves no
place either, first, for pride, show, and ostentation; or secondly,
for avarice, lust, luxury, effeminacy or other vices which are engendered
by self-love. On the contrary, wherever it reigns not, the foulest
vices are indulged in without shame; or there is some appearance of
virtue, it is vitiated by a depraved longing for applause.'\(^5\) 'So far,
therefore, is God from being delighted with these hunters after popular
applause with their swollen breasts, that he declares then they have
received their reward in this world (Matth.vi.2), and that harlots and
publicans are nearer the Kingdom of heaven than they. (Matth.xxi.31).\(^6\)

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.7
\(^2\) ibid. p.7
\(^3\) ibid. p.7
\(^4\) ibid. p.7
\(^5\) ibid. p.8
\(^6\) ibid. p.8
'Self-denial has respect partly to men and partly (more especially) to God.'¹ For when Scripture enjoins us, in regard to our fellow-men, to prefer them in honour to ourselves, and sincerely labour to promote their advantage (Rom.xii.10; Phil.ii.3) he gives us commands which our mind is utterly incapable of obeying until its natural feelings are suppressed.'²

Referring 'to the principal part of self-denial, that which has reference to God', Calvin says: 'the course which men must follow is this: first they must not long for, or hope for, or think of any kind of prosperity apart from the blessing of God.'³ 'For, however much the carnal mind may seem sufficient for itself when in pursuit of honour or wealth, it depends on its own industry and zeal, or is aided by the favour of men, it is certain that all this is nothing, and that neither intellect nor labour will be of the least avail, except insofar as the Lord prosper both. On the contrary, his blessing alone makes a way through all obstacles, and brings everything to a joyful and favourable issue.'⁴ 'Secondly, though without this blessing we may be able to acquire some degree of fame and opulence (as we daily see wicked men loaded with honours and riches), yet since those on whom the curse of God lies do not enjoy the least particle of true happiness.'⁵

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.9; see also sec.8-10, ibid. p.13 ff.
² ibid. p.9
³ ibid. p.13
⁴ ibid. p.13
⁵ ibid. p.13
'Therefore if we believe that all prosperous and desirable success depends entirely on the blessing of God, and that when it is wanting all kinds of misery and calamity await us, it follows that we should not eagerly contend for riches and honours, trusting to our own dexterity and assiduity, or leaning on the favour of men, or confiding in any empty imagination of fortune; but should always have respect to the Lord, that under his auspices we may be conducted to whatever lot he has provided for us. First, the result will be, that instead of rushing on regardless of right and wrong, by wiles and wicked arts, and with injury to our neighbours, to catch at wealth and seize upon honours, we will only follow such fortune as we may enjoy with innocence. Who can hope for the aid of the divine blessing amid fraud, rapine, and other iniquitous arts? As this blessing attends him only who thinks purely and acts uprightly, so it calls off who long for it from sinister designs and evil actions.\(^1\)

'Secondly, a curb will be laid upon us, restraining a too eager desire of becoming rich, or an ambition striving after honour. How can anyone have the effrontery to expect that God will aid him in accomplishing desires at variance with his word? What God with his own lips pronounced cursed, never can be prosecuted with his blessing.\(^2\)

'Lastly, if our success is not equal to our wish and hope, we shall, however, be kept from impatience and detestation of our condition, whatever it be, knowing that so to feel were to murmur against God, at

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\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.14

\(^2\) ibid. p.14
whose pleasure riches and poverty, contempt and honours are dispersed.¹

'He who leans on the divine blessing in the way which has been described, will not, in the pursuit of those things which men are wont most eagerly to desire, employ wicked arts which he knows would avail him nothing; nor when anything prosperous befalls him will he impute it to himself and his own diligence or industry, or fortune, instead of ascribing it to God as its author. If, while the affairs of others flourish, his make little progress, or even retrograde he will bear his humble lot with greater equanimity and moderation than any irreligious man does the moderate success which only falls short of what he wished; for he has a solace in which he can rest more tranquilly than at the very summit of wealth or power, because he considers that his affairs are ordered by the Lord in the manner most conducive to his salvation.'² Nor is it in this respect only that pious minds ought to manifest this tranquillity and endurance; it must be extended to all the accidents to which this present life is liable. He alone, therefore, has properly denied himself, who has resigned himself entirely to the Lord, placing all the courses of his life entirely at his disposal.'³

We shall never feel persuaded as we ought that our salvation flows from the free mercy of God as its fountain, until we are made acquainted

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¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.14
² ibid. p.14
³ ibid. p.14
with his eternal election, the grace of God being illustrated by the contrast - viz. that he does not adopt promiscuously to the hope of salvation, but he gives to some what he denies to others.\(^1\)

'Paul declares that it cannot be known unless God, throwing works entirely out of view, elect those whom he has predestined. His words are "Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace. And if by grace, than it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be or works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work." (Rom.xi.6).\(^2\)

'Paul clearly declares that it is only when the salvation of a remnant is ascribed to gratuitous election, we arrive at the knowledge that God saves whom he will of his mere good pleasure, and does not pay a debt which never can be due.' Those who preclude access, and would not have any one to obtain a taste of this doctrine, are equally unjust to God and men, there being no other means of humbling us as we ought, or making us feel how much we are bound to him.'\(^3\)

'Nor indeed, have we elsewhere any sure ground of confidence': Christ, to deliver us from all fear, and render us invincible amid our many dangers, snares, and mortal conflicts, promises safety to all that the Father hath taken under his protection (John x.26). From this we infer, that all who know not that they are the peculiar people of God,

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.203 (Book Three, Chapter XXI)

\(^2\) ibid. p.203

\(^3\) ibid. p.203
must be wretched from perpetual trepidation.¹

'The predestination by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and adjuges others to eternal death, no man who would be thought pious ventures simply to deny; but it is greatly cavilled at, especially by those who make prescience its cause. We, indeed, ascribe both prescience and predestination to God; but we say that it is absurd to make the latter subordinate to the former.² When we attribute prescience to God, we mean that all things always were, and ever continue under his eye; that to this knowledge there is no past or future, but all things are present, and indeed so present, that it is not merely the idea of them that is before him (as those objects are which we retain in our memory), but that he truly sees and contemplates them as actually under his immediate inspection. This prescience extends to the whole circuit of the world, and to all creatures. By predestination we mean the eternal decree of God, by which he determined with himself whatever he wished to happen with regard to every man. All are not created on equal terms, but some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation; and, accordingly, as each has been created for one or other of these ends, we say that he has been predestined to life or to death. This God has testified, not only in the case of single individuals; he has also given a specimen of it in the whole posterity of Abraham, to make it plain that the future condition of each nation.

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.203
² see ibid. Chapter xxii, sec.1
was entirely at his disposal: "When the Most High divided to the
nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set
the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of
Israel. For the Lord's portion is his people; Jacob is the lot of his
inheritance" (Deut. xxxii.8,9).\(^1\)

When those who ascribe the election of God to human worth or
merit 'see that one nation is preferred to all others, when they hear
that it was no feeling of respect - but gratuitous love - that induced
God to show more favour to a small and ignoble body, may, even to the
wicked and rebellious, will they plead against him for having chosen
to give such a manifestation of mercy?\(^2\)

God's gratuitous election is only partially explained 'until we
come to the case of single individuals, to whom God not only offers
salvation, but so assigns it, that the certainty of the result remains
not dubious or suspended.\(^3\) 'These are considered as belonging to that
one seed of which Paul makes mention (Rom.xi.8; Gal.iii.16, etc.) For
although adoption was deposited in the hand of Abraham, yet as many of
his posterity were cut off as rotten members, in order that election
may stand and be effectual, it is necessary to ascend to the head in

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, pp.206-207
\(^2\) ibid. p.207
\(^3\) ibid. p.209; see ibid. p.209 fn.1: 'On predestination, see the pious
and very learned observations of Luther, tom. 1.p.86, fin., also p.87,
fin. Tom iii ad. Psal.xxii.8. Tom V in Joann.cxvii. Also his
Prefatio in Epist. ad Rom., and Adv. Erasmus de Servio Arbitrio,
p.429, 599, 452, 463. Also in Psalm cxxxix.
whom the heavenly Father hath connected his elect with each other, and bound them to himself by an indissoluble tie. Thus in the adoption of the family of Abraham, God gave them a liberal display of favour which he had denied to others; but in the members of Christ there is a far more excellent display of grace, because those ingrafted into him as their head never fail to obtain salvation.¹ 'Hence Paul skilfully argues from the passage of Malachi² (Rom.ix.13; Mal.i.2) that when God, after making a covenant of eternal life, invites any people to himself, a special mode of election in in part understood, so that he does not with promiscuous grace effectually elect all of them.'³ 'It is not without cause Paul observes, that these are called a remnant (Rom.ix.27; xi.5); because experience shows that of the general body many fall away and are lost, so that often a small portion only remains. The reason why the general election of the people is not always firmly ratified, readily presents itself — viz. that on those with whom God makes the covenant, he does not immediately bestow the spirit of regeneration, by whose power they persevere in the covenant even to the end. The external invitation, without the internal efficacy of grace which would have the effect of retaining them, holds a kind of middle place between the rejection of the human race and the election of a small number of believers.'⁴ 'That common adoption of the seed of Abraham was a kind

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.209
² which Calvin has quoted earlier, on p.209: "Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau" (Mal.i.2,3).
³ ibid. p.210
⁴ ibid. p.210
of visible image of a greater benefit which God deigned to bestow on some out of many. This is the reason why Paul so carefully distinguishes between the sons of Abraham according to the flesh and the spiritual sons, who are called after the examples of Isaac. Not that simply to be a son of Abraham was a vain or useless privilege (this could not be said without insult to the covenant), but that the immutable counsel of God, by which he predestined to himself whomsoever he would was alone effectual for their salvation.\(^1\)

Calvin advises his readers not to prejudge the question, 'until the proper view is made clear by the production of passages of Scripture'; but 'Scripture clearly proves this much, that God by his eternal and immutable counsel determined once for all those whom it was his pleasure one day to admit to salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, it was his pleasure to doom to destruction.'\(^2\) We maintain that this counsel, as regards the elect, is founded on his free mercy, without any respect to human worth, while those whom he dooms to destruction are excluded from access to life by a just and blameless, but at the same time incomprehensible judgment. In regard to the elect, we regard calling as the evidence of election, and justification as another symbol of its manifestation, until it is fully accomplished by the attainment of glory. But as the Lord seals his elect by calling and justification, so by excluding the reprobate either from the knowledge of his name or the sanctification of his spirit, he by these marks in a manner

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.210
\(^2\) ibid. p.210
discloses the judgment which awaits them.\(^1\)

''But that the subject may be fully illustrated, we must treat both of the calling of the elect, and of the blinding and hardening of the ungodly.''\(^2\)

'Some object that God would be inconsistent with himself, in inviting all without distinction while he elects only a few. Thus, according to them, the universality of the promise destroys the distinction of special grace.'\(^3\) 'The mode in which Scripture reconciles the two things - viz. that by external preaching all are called to faith and repentance, and that yet the Spirit of faith, and repentance is not given to all' - has already been explained by Calvin.\(^4\)

'For the present let it suffice to observe that though the word of the gospel is addressed generally to all yet the gift of faith is rare.'\(^5\) 'Certainly when it is said, "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." (John i.12), a confused mass is not set before us, but a special offer is assigned to believers, who are "born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."'\(^6\)

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.210
\(^2\) ibid. p.240
\(^3\) ibid. p.221
\(^4\) ibid. pp.221-222 (Chap. XXII: "The Doctrine confirmed by Proofs from the Scripture")
\(^5\) ibid. p.222
\(^6\) ibid. p.222
'If election is, as Paul declares, the parent of faith', Calvin then maintains 'that faith is not general, since election is special.'

For it is easily inferred from the series of causes and effects, when Paul says, that the Father "hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world." (Eph. i. 3, 4). 'The reason why in another passage he commends the faith of the elect is, to prevent anyone from supposing that he acquires faith of his own nature; since to God alone belongs the glory of freely illuminating those whom he has previously chosen. (Tit. i. 1).'

Indeed faith is aptly conjoined with election, provided it hold the second place. This order is clearly expressed by our Saviour in these words, "This is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing;" "And this is the will of him that sent me, that everyone which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life" (John vi. 39, 40). 'It is now clear that faith is a singular pledge of paternal love, treasured up for the sons whom he has adopted.'

'Why does the Lord declare that our salvation will always be sure and certain, but just because it is guarded by the invincible power of

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. II, p. 222
2 ibid. pp. 222-223
3 ibid. p. 223
4 ibid. p. 223
5 ibid. p. 223
God? (John x.29). Accordingly, he concludes that unbelievers are not of his sheep (John x.16). The reason is, because they are not of the number of those who, as the Lord promised by Isaiah, were to be his disciples. Moreover as the passages, John x.4, x.29 and x.16, imply perseverance, 'they are also attestations to the inflexible constancy of election.'

'We come now to the reprobate, to whom the Apostle at the same time refers (Rom.ix.13). For as Jacob, who as yet had merited nothing by good works, is assumed into favour; so Esau, while as yet unpolluted by any crime, is hated. If we turn our view to works, we do injustice to the Apostle, as if he had failed to see the very thing which is clear to us. Moreover, there is complete proof of his not having seen it since he expressly insists that when as yet they had done neither good nor evil, the one was elected, the other rejected, in order to prove that the foundation of divine predestination is not in works. Then after starting the objection, is God unjust? instead of employing what would have been the surest and plainest defence of his justice - viz. that God has recompensed Esau according to his wickedness - he is contented with a different solution - viz. that the reprobate are expressly raised up in order that the glory of God may thereby be displayed. At last, he concludes that God hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth. (Rom.ix.18). You see how he refers both to the mere pleasure of God. Therefore, if we cannot

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.223
assign any reason for his bestowing mercy on his people, but just
that it so pleases him, neither can we have any reason for his reprobating
others but his will. When God is said to visit in mercy or harden whom
he will, men are reminded that they are not to seek for any cause
beyond his will. ¹

'The special election which otherwise would remain hidden in
God, he at length manifests by his calling. "For whom he did foreknow,
he also did predestinate be conformed to the image of his Son". Moreover,
"whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called
them he also justified", that he may one day glorify (Rom.viii.29,30).
Though the Lord, by electing his people, adopted them as his sons, we
however see that they do not come into possession of this great good
until they are called; but when called, the enjoyment of their election
is in some measure communicated to them. For which reason the Spirit
which they receive is termed by Paul both the "Spirit of adoption",
and "seal" and "earnest" of the future inheritance; because by this
testimony he confirms and seals the certainty of future adoption on
their hearts. For although the preaching of the gospel springs from
the fountain of election, yet being common to them with the reprobate,
it would not be in itself a solid proof. God, however, teaches his
elect effectually when he bring them to faith': "Not than any man
hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father,
save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father" (John vi.46); "I
have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, pp.223-224
of the world" (John xvii.6); "No man can come to me except the Father which hath sent me draw him" (John vi.44).  

When calling is thus added to election, the Scripture plainly intimates that nothing is to be looked for in it but the free mercy of God. For if we ask whom it is he calls, and for what reason, he answers, it is those whom he had chosen. When we come to election, mercy along everywhere appears; and accordingly in this saying of Paul is truly realised, "So then, it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy" (Rom.ix.16); and that not as is commonly understood by those who share the result between the grace of God and the will and agency of man."  

"And what else do the prophets than perpetually proclaim the free calling of God?" Moreover, this is clearly demonstrated by the nature and dispensation of calling, which consists not merely of the preaching of the word, but also of the illumination of the Spirit.  

"Who those are to whom God offers his word is explained by the prophet, "I am sought of them that asked not for me: I am found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name" (Isaiah lxv.1)."  

"Here, therefore, boundless goodness is displayed, but not so

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1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.240  
2 ibid. p.241  
3 ibid. p.241  
4 ibid. p.241  
5 ibid. p.241
as to bring all to salvation, since a heavier judgment awaits the reprobate for rejecting the evidence of his love. God also, to display his own glory, withholds from them the effectual agency of his Spirit. Therefore, this inward calling is an infallible pledge of salvation. Hence the words of John "Hereby we know that he abideth in us by the Spirit which he hath given us" (1 John iii.24). And lest the flesh should glory, in at least responding to him, when he calls and spontaneously offers himself, he affirms that there would be no ears to hear, no eyes to see, did not he give them. And he acts not according to the gratitude of each, but according to his election. Of this you have a striking example in Luke, when the Jews and Gentiles in common heard the discourse of Paul and Barnabas. Though they were all instructed in the same word it is said, that "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed" (Acts xii.48). How can we deny that calling is gratuitous, when election alone reigns in it even to its conclusion?¹

¹Two errors are here to be avoided. Some make man a fellow worker with God in such a sense, that man's suffrage ratifies election, so that, according to them, the will of man is superior to the counsel of God. As if Scripture taught that only the power of being able to believe is given us, and not rather faith itself.² Others make election depend on faith, as if it were doubtful and ineffectual till confirmed by faith. There can be no doubt, indeed, that in regard to us it is so confirmed. Moreover, we have already seen, that the

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.242
² ibid. p.242
secret counsel of God, which lay concealed, is thus brought to light, by this nothing more being understood than that which was unknown is proved, and as it were sealed. But it is false to say that election is then only effectual after we have embraced the gospel, and that it thence derives its vigour. It is true that we must there look for its certainty, because if we attempt to penetrate to the secret ordination of God, we shall be engulfed in the profound abyss.¹ We must, therefore, curb the temerity 'to obtain more certainty of the counsel of God,'² 'by the soberness of faith, and be satisfied to have God as the witness of his hidden grace in the external world.'³

'Therefore, as those are in error who make the power of election dependent on the faith by which we perceive that we are elected, so we shall follow the best order, if, in seeking the certainty of our election, we cleave to those posterior signs which are sure attestations to it.'⁴

Calvin refers to Luther in Genes. chap.xxvi on the 'temptations with which Satan assaults believers' - 'disquieting them with doubts' about their election and stimulating them 'with a depraved desire of inquiring after it out of the proper way.'⁵

'Let our method of inquiry then be, to begin with the calling of God and to end with it. Although there is nothing in this to prevent

¹ Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.242
² ibid. p.242
³ ibid. p.243
⁴ ibid. p.243
⁵ ibid. p.243
believers from feeling that the blessings which they receive from the hand of God originate in that secret adoption, as they themselves express it in Isaiah, "Thou has done wonderful things; thy counsels of old faithfulness and truth". (Isa.xxv.l.). For with this as a pledge, God is pleased to assure us of as much of his counsel as can be lawfully known. On this subject there is an apposite passage in Bernard. After speaking of the reprobate, he says, "The purpose of God stands, the sentence of peace on those that fear him also stands, a sentence concealing their bad and recompensing their good qualities; so that, in a wondrous manner, not only their good but their bad qualities work together for good. Who will lay anything to the charge of God's elect) It is completely sufficient for my justification to have him propitious against whom only I have sinned. Everything which he has decreed not to impute to me, is as if it had never been".1

The end of the election is 'but just that, being adopted as sons by the heavenly Father, we may by his favour obtain salvation and immortality.'2 'How much soever you may speculate and discuss, you will perceive that in its ultimate object it goes no further. Hence, those whom God has adopted as sons, he is said to have elected, not in themselves, but in Christ Jesus (Eph.i.4); because he could love them only in him and only as being previously made partakers with him, honour them with the inheritance of his Kingdom. But if we are elected in him, we cannot find the certainty of our election in ourselves;

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.244
2 ibid. p.244
and not even in God the Father, if we look at him apart from the Son. Christ then, is the mirror in which we ought, and in which, without deception, we may contemplate our election.\(^1\) 'If we are in communion with Christ, we have proof sufficiently clear and strong that we are written in the Book of Life.'\(^2\)

'Another confirmation tending to establish our confidence is, that our election is connected with our calling.'\(^3\) Therefore, if we would know whether God cares for our salvation, let us ask whether he has committed us to Christ, whom he has appointed to be the Saviour of all this people.\(^4\) 'For as Paul teaches, that those are called who were previously elected, so our Saviour shows that many are called, but few chosen (Matth.xxii.14). Nay, even Paul himself dissuades us from security, when he says "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall". (1 Cor.x.12).\(^5\)

'In fine, we are sufficiently taught by experience itself, that calling and faith are of little value without perseverence, which, however, is not the gift of all. But Christ has freed us from anxiety on this head; for the following promises undoubtedly have respect to the future: "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out."; "This is the will of

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\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.244 
\(^2\) ibid. p.244 
\(^3\) ibid. p.245 
\(^4\) ibid. p.245 
\(^5\) ibid. pp.245-246
him that sent me, that all of which he hath given me I should lose nothing; but shall raise it up at the last day" (John vi.37,39).1

'Again, when he declares "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up" (Matth.xv.13), he intimates conversely that those who have their root in God can never be deprived of their salvation.'2 'Hence, also the magnificent triumph of Paul over life and death, things present, and things to come. (Rom.viii.38) This must be founded on the gift of perseverance. There is no doubt that he employs the sentiment as applicable to all the elect. Paul elsewhere says, "Being confident of this very thing, that he who hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ" (Phil.i.6).3

'The expression of our Saviour "Many are called, but few are chosen" (Matth.xxii.14) is also very improperly interpreted.'4 There will be no ambiguity in it if we remember that 'there is a universal call, by which God, through the external preaching of the word, invited all men alike, even those for whom he designs the call to be a savour of death, and the ground of a severer condemnation.'5 'Besides this there is a special call which, for the most part, God bestows on believers only, when by the internal illumination of the Spirit he causes the word preached to take deep root in their hearts. Sometimes,

1 Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.246
2 ibid. p.246
3 ibid. p.246
4 ibid. p.247; see also Book III, chap.ii. sec.11,12.
5 ibid. p.247
however, he communicates it also to those whom he enlightens only for a time, and whom afterwards, in just punishment for their ingratitude, he abandons and smites with greater blindness.\(^1\) 'The former call is common to the wicked, the latter brings with it the spirit of regeneration, which is the earnest and seal of the future inheritance by which our hearts are sealed unto the day of the Lord (Eph.1.13,14). In one word, while hypocrites pretent to piety, just as if they were true worshippers of God, Christ declares that they will ultimately be ejected from the place which they improperly occupy, as it is said in the psalm, "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart" (Psalm xv.1,2).\(^2\)

'Hence believers may in some measure perceive the truth of what we said at the outset - vis. predestination duly considered does not shake faith, but rather affords the best confirmation of it.'\(^3\) 'The truth of the promises remains firm and unshaken, so that it cannot be said that there is any disagreement between the eternal election of God and the testimony of his grace which he offers to believers. But why does he mention all men? Namely, that the consciences of the righteous may rest the more secure when they understand that there is no difference between sinners, provided they have faith, and that the ungodly may not

\(^1\) Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol.II, p.247
\(^2\) ibid. p.248
\(^3\) ibid. p.249
be able to allege that they have not an asylum to which they may betake themselves from the bondage of sin, while they ungratefully reject the offer which is made to them. Therefore, since by the Gospel the mercy of God is offered to both, it is faith, in other words illumination of God, which distinguishes between the righteous and the wicked; the former feeling the efficacy of the Gospel, the latter obtaining no benefit from it. Illumination itself has eternal election for it rule.\footnote{Calvin's Institutes (tr. Beveridge), vol. II, p. 256}
CHAPTER 2
COMPARISON

In the previous chapter, the Norm of Comparison, we have seen how Luther and Calvin develop the interpretation of their fundamental doctrines. We can now judge how consistently and rationally their system of doctrine and ethics is built.

To begin with the distinction between 'two ways of believing': about God and in God; we find that Luther's definition of faith — in his Exposition of the Apostle's Creed — is believing in God, which means that 'one does not accept what is said about God, but puts one's faith in Him, surrenders to Him, believing without hesitation that He will be to one and act towards one, just as we are taught He will'. This definition is implicit in Calvin's exposition throughout, and is applied with a logical rigour in his complete reliance on the word of the scripture.

From this definition of faith we come to Luther's distrust of human reason in matters of faith, for — he wrote in the Open Letter to the Christian Nobility — 'God cannot and will not suffer a good work to be begun with trust in our own power or reason. ... Let us act wisely, therefore, and in fear of God'. This distrust of human reason in matters of faith is explicitly used by Calvin to forbid any speculation on the nature of God and his will, and is the basis of his doctrine of Providence and Predestination. Luther is mainly concerned with the doctrine of faith, as we have seen in his Three Treatises as well as Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians; and he is at pains
to make it clear that human reasoning has nothing to do with faith. This insistence by Luther is not to be confused with emotionalism, for it is rational in the sense that he separates what can be empirically known from that which is extra-empirical. Faith in Luther's interpretation becomes a logical assumption, and cannot be analysed intrinsically by means of human reason. This separation is further developed by Calvin, as he emphasizes that human beings cannot know anything beyond their own sphere of activity - but this does not lead to inactivity or sensualism if the faith is central to life.

As faith and Gospel are, according to Luther, the basis of being a Christian, he quite logically infers that all Christians are truly of the "spiritual estate" and there is no difference between them except that of office. A priest, therefore, has precedence while he is in office, but when he is deposed, 'he is a peasant or a townsman like the rest'.

Luther, taking the term in its scriptural sense, held that there was only one sacrament with three sacramental signs: baptism; penance; and the bread; thus reducing their number from seven to three which were at all significant to his doctrinal position. In baptism the divine promise was "he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved", for no sin except unbelief can condemn a man. The purpose of a sacrament, he said, was to nourish faith; and the efficacy of signs or sacraments was in faith itself, not in doing of a work. A public vow, on the other hand, is a ceremonial law and a human tradition from which a Christian is made free by baptism: 'a Christian is subject to no laws but the law of God'. The works of monks or priests, therefore,
do not differ from that of a peasant or a housewife.

From this beginning with faith as the central element in Luther's interpretation of Christian doctrine and ethics, we come to Calvin's development of the theme from 'faith as determining the meaning of Scripture' to the statement: 'As nothing is to be presumed of ourselves, so all things are to be presumed of God', and that a sound doctrine tends to promote the glory of God, not of man.

Since God appears both as Creator and as Redeemer in Christ, the knowledge of God is twofold. Until men feel that they owe everything to God, they will not submit to Him voluntarily; the effect of knowledge therefore is to teach us reverence and fear. From the power of God one is led naturally to consider His eternity - then providence and predestination. God conducts all things with perfect reason, but our deficiency in natural powers which might allow us to have a pure and clear knowledge is no excuse: 'our conviction of the truth of the Scripture must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures, judgments or reasons; namely, the secret testimony of the Spirit'.

Next is the knowledge of man: here Calvin emphasizes that the wisdom, power and justice of God are incomprehensible and confine us in our inquiries after God to those set by the scripture. 'By faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the Word of God', and sustained by a special Providence. Providence of God is not fortune or fortuitous causes: inanimate objects are merely instruments 'into which God infuses any energy He considers necessary and which He turns and converts to any purpose at his pleasure'; every single year, month, and day is regulated by a new and special providence of God.
God's omnipotence is vigilant, efficacious, energetic and ever active and He is considered omnipotent because, governing heaven and earth, He so rules over all things that nothing happens without His wish. We infer from the fact that 'all creatures are at God's service', not only that general providence of God extends over them, but that they are 'adapted to a certain and special purpose'. Nevertheless, they appear fortuitous to us, 'such being the form under which they present themselves to us', whether they are considered in their own nature or according to our own knowledge and judgment. Since God claims the right to govern the world - 'a right unknown to us' - let it be a law to us to accept His supreme authority and his rule as 'our only rule of justice, and the most perfect cause of all things'.

Both prescience and predestination are ascribed to God: by prescience is meant that in His knowledge there is no past or future and things are 'under his immediate inspection'. Predestination is the eternal decree of God 'by which He determined with Himself whatever He wished to happen with regard to every man': some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation, and everyone is created for one or the other, therefore, we say that he has been predestined to life or death.

When calling is added to election, then the only reason is the free mercy of God: 'this inward calling is an infallible pledge of salvation. If one wishes to know whether God cares for our salvation, one should ask whether He has 'committed us to Christ, whom He has appointed to be the Saviour of all his people'. But calling and faith are of little value without perseverance, 'which, however, is not the
gift of all’. In the expression "Many are called, but few are chosen" there is no ambiguity if one remembers that there is a universal call, 'by which God, through the external preaching of the Word, invites all men alike, even those for whom he designs the call to be a savour of death, and the ground of a severer condemnation'; besides this there is a special call which is bestowed on believers only, 'when by the internal illumination of the Spirit He causes the word preached to take deep root in their hearts'. Predestination duly considered does not shake faith, but rather confirms it: the truth of the promises remain firm, so that it cannot be said that there is any disagreement between the eternal election and the testimony of God's grace offered to believers. When all men are mentioned, the reason is that the consciences of the righteous may rest secure and that the ungodly may not be able to say that they have no refuge from the bondage of sin. Therefore, since the mercy of God is offered to both, it is faith - or 'the illumination of God' - which distinguishes between the righteous and the wicked.

According to Luther, three things are essential for a man to know, in order to be saved: i. he should know what his duties are and what they are not; ii. when he understand that he can neither keep any commandment nor avoid yielding to any temptation by his own strength alone, he should know where he can 'seek and find and obtain what he needs'; iii. he should know how to set about seeking to obtain what he needs. The ten commandments never teach a man what he should do, refuse to do, or desire of others, for himself: but rather what he should do, or refuse to do, for others, for God, and for mankind. Thus the fulfilment of the commandments consists in love for others and not
for ourselves. According to Calvin, the universal justice which is described in the Moral Law remains, while the ceremonial law has been repealed by the coming of Christ, and the judicial and political law - which was peculiar to the Jews - has been set aside. The object of the Moral Law is 'to cherish and maintain godliness and righteousness'; it is perpetual and is incumbent on all. Its use is to show our weakness, unrighteousness and condemnation so that we may 'flee to Christ'; those who are not moved by the promises may be moved by the 'terror of threatenings', in the Law; also, that we may know what is the will of God in order to obey, and to strengthen ourselves for it. 

Arya Samaj: Before we compare Arya Samaj with the Luther-Calvin norm, we should see how the form in which Arya Samaj doctrines and ethics are presented indicates the way in which a comparison can be made.

The creed of Arya Samaj is 'based on the teachings of God and other true scriptures and conforms to the beliefs of all the sages from Brahma to Jaimini.

God is the Supreme Spirit who permeates the whole universe. He is infinite, almighty, just and merciful. He makes and sustains the universe; rewards and punishes everyone absolutely justly according to his action.

The four Vedas are the Word of God: therefore free of error and their own authority.

Dharma or right conduct is practice of equitable justice, truthfulness - or what conforms to the will of God.

The soul is immortal and eternal - and conscious with fellings of pain and pleasure and a limited capacity for knowledge. The relation-
ship between God and the soul is that of the pervader and the pervaded, 
father and son, the worshipped and the worshipper.

God, soul and the material cause of the universe have no beginning. 
Creation is an intelligence combination of different elementary sub-
stances in a right proportion and order. The existence of design in 
the universe, and the fact that inert matter is incapable of moulding 
itself, are proof of the existence of a Creator. Creation is an 
essential and natural exercise of the creative energy of God. Salvation 
is emancipation of the soul from pain and suffering and a 'career in 
freedom in the all-pervading God and his creation for a fixed period 
of time and then return to earthly life.'

The means to salvation are worship of God, practice of yoga, 
righteous action, knowledge, society of the wise and learned, purity 
of thought and active life.

In support of his monotheism, Dayanand, the founder of Arya Samaj, 
gives an etymological explanation of the words which signify God and 
his attributes and argues that whenever God is spoken of, all the 
names stand for Him - not for gods, who have no real existence.

Discipline is a 'source of immortality', and sexual asceticism 
is recommended for students. The learning of the Gayatri hymn by the 
student is both a form of worship and a ritual. Worship includes training 
in yoga, because increase of bodily strength and activity makes for 
a subtler and more acute intellect. The teaching of respect for teachers 
and parents, and charity (even though fear of public opinion) are also 
prescribed in Arya Samaj.

'Whatever a man does is a result of his will, because even the
most insignificant action in the world is impossible without the desire of the individual: the truth of everything should be tested according to the five tests of the Vedas and the nature of God; laws of nature; practice and teaching of the pious, truthful and learned men and one's own conscience; and according to eight kinds of evidence - perception, inference, analogy, testimony, history, deduction, possibility and non-existence or negation.

The class - or rather caste - of all persons should depend on their qualifications and accomplishments. Everyone should marry in their own class: the best form of marriage is by choice. Remarriage, however, is absolutely forbidden for a twice-born person. A widow or widower, who cannot control their passions, may beget children by temporary alliances (Niyoga): a man with ten women, and a woman with ten men, producing altogether ten children.

According to the Arya Samaj creed, one should worship God in order to glorify Him: 'worship makes us love Him and reform our nature'; prayers bring humility, courage, and obtain divine help. God does not forgive sins, lest His laws of justice become sinful. Man is free to act, but is subject to the laws of God for the consequences of his action.

This resume indicates, to some extent, the most striking feature of the form of presentation of Arya Samaj doctrines and ethics, their discreteness, even disparity. There is no attempt to relate the various ethical prescriptions and rules of conduct either to the nature of God or to the essence - as distinguished from the form - or worship that is prescribed. There is, in fact, very little in the nature of
rational consistency comparable to the Luther-Calvin norm. If one begins with God, for instance, we find a more or less similar definition in terms of attributes and characteristics: Supremacy, Absolute Justice, Power of Creation and Destruction, etc. Neither do we find a completely contradictory definition or function of worship in Arya Samaj: worship glorifies God, etc. But the rational consistency of the Luther-Calvin norm does not appear in these definitions: it is demonstrable in its separation of metaphysical and empirical elements, in its emphasis on faith as the first step of the whole argument. Faith is a fixed presupposition, or a premiss which makes the metaphysical elements a logically acceptable part of the argument. There is no attempt in the Luther-Calvin norm, as it is in Arya Samaj, to give a rationally convincing proof or rationalization of the constituents of faith. In fact, Luther's writings quite explicitly make faith an a priori assumption, as a doctrine which cannot be judged by the standards of human reasoning. On the other hand, we find in Arya Samaj no such premiss which would make the inferences logically valid. Every metaphysical constituent is made subject to rational proof: for example, there are, according to Arya Samaj, three causes of the universe - efficient, material and common - of which God is the primary efficient cause, while the soul, as the secondary efficient cause, makes different materials in the universe; the material cause is primordial matter, which is moulded by a conscious intelligent being; the common cause is the means with which different things of the universe are made, such as knowledge, time and space. God's omnipotence is confined to the 'power to act without any help'. In different cycles of creation God makes the universe
with the same characteristics, just as He 'created sun, earth, moon, electricity and atmosphere in previous cycles, so will He do in future'.

In this modification of God's power by the necessity of rationalisation, implied by the form of these propositions, we see the essential illogicality of the Arya Samaj argument. To make God the first cause of the universe and then to modify the notion to suit the more physical attributes of creation leads not to rational consistency, as it may appear superficially, but to an assertion of speculative doctrines as a logical set of propositions.

Another example may, perhaps, make this statement clearer. In the proposition of God's absolute justice, which is directly related to the doctrine of karma, the crucial element of the Arya Samaj doctrinal system, we see that God is attributed absolute justice when He is the first cause of the universe and omnipotent: this is logically consistent; but the positive meaning of absolute justice is, again, modified to mean a titular and negative supervision of the inexorable law of action-sin-redemption of sin as imbalance or debt. God's reason is not the absolute fact - superior to and distinct from human reason - it is in Luther's and Calvin's arguments. God's absolute justice, like His omnipotence, becomes thus a merely formal and peripheral proposition, and not a casual proposition one is led to expect from the Arya Samaj statement of doctrines. We also find that the empirical elements are actually more important than the metaphysical, not because they are more evident and amenable to rational arrangement, but because they provide the criteria of analysis and judgment of the whole system of doctrine and ethics, and thus negating the first premisses of their
logical role. In comparing Arya Samaj's set of propositions with that of the Luther-Calvin norm, it becomes clear that in Arya Samaj the first doctrines are constantly being modified to appear consistent with the inferences. One must take these inferences to be the ethical propositions or rules of conduct, even though there is no attempt to derive them from the premisses, the three independent or eternal sources: God, soul and matter. There is, however, an attempt to define the interaction of these three sources or first principles rationally, for example, 'Creation is an intelligent combination of different elementary substances in a right proportion and order. The existence of design in the universe and the fact that inert matter is incapable of moulding itself are proof of the existence of a 'Creator'; and that 'Creation is an essential and natural exercise of the creative energy of God. There are thus three interrelated propositions:

i. intelligent combination of different elementary substances in a right proportion and order; ii. which is a proof of the existence of a 'Creator; and iii. that creation is an essential and natural exercise of the creative energy of God. But they are confined to being mere statements, as the attributes of omnipotence and absolute justice were in our earlier examples of modification of a priori assumptions to suit the logical consistency of empirical elements, which should properly be their derivatives. We have said earlier that ethical propositions have to be taken as inferences from these first principles, and this is because, otherwise, they cannot be compared to the Luther-Calvin norm; nor, indeed, be related to the defence of doctrinal propositions or criticism of other religions and sects, which
we find in the history of Arya Samaj. It would make the whole movement, or the historical-existence, of Arya Samaj completely meaningless, if one were to assert that its doctrines are separate from its ethical propositions, or that the founder's reform of traditional Hindu belief was on two levels: for he adopted what seemed to him the most rational philosophical position in Hinduism. His rejection of idolatry, astrology, the caste system and superstition - and his rationalisation of these traditional elements of Hinduism into monotheism, rational proof, caste according to ability, worship and prayer as means of glorifying God and reforming human nature - give us enough proof that Arya Samaj is a meaningful system, and, therefore, amenable to comparison with another meaningful system like the Luther-Calvin norm, as well as analysis in terms of means-end relationship.

We have, thus, a justification for comparing the notion of salvation and its means in Arya Samaj and that of the Luther-Calvin norm. In Arya Samaj, 'ignorance is the cause of the soul's bondage and its source of sin', and salvation is 'emancipation of the soul from pain and suffering and a career in freedom in the all-pervading God, and the means to salvation are 'worship of God, practice of yoga, righteous action, society of the learned, purity of thought and active life'. These three propositions are, however, only partially related to the first principles we have discussed above, for, although the first and the second prepositions - that ignorance is the cause of the soul's bondage, and that salvation is a career in all-pervading God - can be inferences from the doctrine of the interrelation of God, soul and matter; the relationship of the means of salvation - the third proposition - with the doctrine is ritualistic and not positive,
as it is, in every case, associational and not essential. If we go into the organisation of these means, we find, for example, that the caste system is rationalized into a class system in which 'qualifications and accomplishments' are the criteria of belonging - which disregards completely the role of absolute justice or omnipotent of God, two main metaphysical elements of the system. In fact, there is no proposition, even remotely similar to Calvin's doctrine of providence, let alone predestination, which reconciles the impossibility of knowing divine reasoning because of the absolute attributes of God and the inequalities of the empirical world.

As Luther's discussion of the sacraments make the laws of marriage of human origin, we shall not compare Arya Samaj's prescriptions on marriage with those of the norm. A more appropriate comparison should be of the 'duties of all men'. Luther's statement that 'a Christian is subject to no laws but the law of God' is an implicit principle in Calvin's Institutes, therefore, a significant point for our comparison. In Arya Samaj, the duties are: practice of righteousness, justice, truthfulness, obedience to the will of God as revealed in the Vedas, and the promotion of public good, but the special duty of an ascetic is asceticism and he should practice yoga in order to 'observe the workings of the Omnipresent, Omniscient Spirit in all things'. There is not a great deal of difference between the ethics of the two systems, Arya Samaj and the Luther-Calvin norm; but the implications, in view of the particular systems of which each is a part, lead into widely different directions.

In the Luther-Calvin system we find that there is a freedom from
human prescriptions and the scripture is supreme in ethical matters; but in Arya Samaj the explicit statement is a human prescription, and the will of God as revealed in the Vedas becomes subordinate to it. In the Luther-Calvin system there is a freedom to interpret rationally the whole of the Scripture in its various interrelations of metaphysical and empirical elements, while the Arya Samaj statement specifies that the practice of righteousness, justice and truthfulness, and the promotion of public good, and yogic asceticism are consistent with obedience to the will of God as revealed in the Vedas. In Arya Samaj, therefore, it becomes an assertion and an associational relationship; and there is no supremacy of the scripture; and no freedom of rational interpretation. The implication in practical terms of this difference between the two systems is that if there is no freedom to interpret the scripture rationally, - i.e. if moral prescriptions are discrete propositions without logical connections between them or with the doctrines, the premiss of the system, - action, or conduct as a whole, becomes ritualistic or post hoc ergo propter hoc.

Brahma Samaj: The doctrines of the original Brahma Samaj, founded by Ram Mohun Roy, may be summarized as follows:

According to his Abridgment of the Vedanta, 'it is absolutely necessary to know the Supreme Being who is the subject matter of all the Vedas and Vedanta as well as other systems of theology', but it is a limited enquiry, for God can be known neither by the senses nor through devotion or virtuous deeds. He has been explained by effects and works, and not by His essence: 'He by whom the birth, existence and annihilation of the world is regulated is the Supreme Being'.
Nature cannot be construed to be the independent cause of the universe, because it is insensible; nor can the soul be an independent creator of the world, as 'God resides in the soul as its Ruler'. In the same way, none of the celestial gods can be inferred as the independent cause of the universe, 'for God is indeed one and has no second'. The secondary appellations in the Vedas denote the 'diffusive spirit of the Supreme Being equally over all creatures', and thus establish His omnipresence.

God is the efficient cause of the universe, as a potter is of earthen pots, and the material cause, as a spider of his web. He is the wilful agent of all that can have existence. He is the sole object of worship: 'in worship we should approach Him, think of Him and approximate Him; we should adore Him till we approach, and continue to adore Him when we have approached Him'. Moral principle is part of worship - which is reliance on and resignation to Him, without worldly considerations. A pious householder is equal to the highest Brahmin in his adoration of God. True believers are not blamed for neglecting the rites prescribed for their class.

Before attaining to true knowledge of God a man should observe the regulations of his class, for they are meant to purify the mind, but a man could have true knowledge of God without observing them. One who in this life was devoted to God would be absorbed in Him after death, and would not be subject to birth, death or any other change.

God is perceived only by the intellect and those who know Him as the origin of the intellect and self-consciousness have a real
notion of God. The soul and God are like two birds in a tree, which is the body: the soul tastes the fruits of its action and God witnesses all. When the soul perceives its companion, God, - in His glory and as the origin of itself - it is relieved of its grief and infatuation. The essence of the notion of God is that He bears the same relation to all material extension as the human soul to the body. Man gets the power to know God through self-exertion.

In his *Precepts of Jesus*, Ram Mohun wrote: 'A belief in God is universal, but consideration of others is taught mainly by Christianity'; and the reason for his presenting this in an abstract form was that 'moral doctrines, unlike historical and other texts, cannot be metaphysically perverted, and can be understood by both the learned and the ignorant'. These precepts are 'so admirably fitted to regulate men's conduct in their duties to God, themselves and the society, that they will have best results of applied in this abstract form'.

The first quotation is from Matthew: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled; blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy; blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God; blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

And a second quotation, which is significant for our comparison, is: "In answer to the question, 'which is the great commandment in law?', Jesus said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and
great commandment - and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

To understand Ram Mohun Roy's straight combination of Vedantic doctrines and moral procepts of Christ, one should, perhaps, take the Vedantic idea of perception of God by the intellect as the most important clue. The combination is evidently not based on his inability to provide a logical connection between his doctrines and ethics, as all his selections, explantions and controversies amply express his intellectual gifts. One must, therefore, conclude that, as his first doctrine is an intellectual belief in God, which is universal and need not be related to any historical context, the moral doctrines can also be free of historical context and an independent proposition. These ethics cannot, he possibly recognises, be derived from a set of doctrines which are not universally valid, as a belief in God is. But the implication is that ethics - in distinction to a belief in God, - vary according to the historical context, and, therefore, are a matter of choice; and they can be combined with similarly chosen doctrines. Although Ram Mohun's religious views are presented as an objective choice, we have to consider them only as a subjectively valid rational system of doctrine and ethics, because there is no logical inevitability either for the Vedantic doctrine of One Supreme God nor for the precepts of Christ to follow the premiss of a universal belief in God.

Ram Mohun's successor, Devendranath Tagore, chose a text from
the Upanishad -

"Brahma is Truth, Knowledge, the Infinite
His manifestation is eternal Bliss; it shineth forth" -

for private worship; and rejecting the speculation in the Upanishad
on man's journey after death, he accepted its counsel on the life
towards salvation: i.e. 'after having studied the Vedas with a teacher,
return home; after marriage read the Vedas in a holy place, instruct
your pupils and sons in wisdom, and after bringing the senses under
perfect control, support your life by justly earned wealth, without
hurting any creature'.

The Brahma creed, which he wrote, remained acceptable to all
Brahmos in spite of later schisms:

"In the beginning, there was only one Supreme Spirit;
there was naught else.
He is infinite in wisdom and goodness, ever-lasting,
all knowing, pervading, all sustaining, formless,
changeless;
One only without a second, almighty, self-dependent
and perfect; there is none like unto Him.
Our welfare here and hereafter consists only in
worshipping Him
To love Him and to do His bidding is to worship Him."

In Devendranath's Brahma Samaj we find none of the Christian precepts
which Ram Mohun added to the Vedantic doctrine. His Upanishad text,
describing God as Truth, Knowledge, the Infinite, whose manifestation
is 'eternal Bliss which shines forth', is consistent with Ram Mohun's
assumption of universal belief in God; and the Brahma creed has the
same origin as Ram Mohun's Vedantic doctrine: the Veda-Upanishad
tradition. But Devendranath's ethics are entirely emotional, a mystic
search for truth which predominated in his whole life: the Upanishad
ethical teaching which he adopted - and explicitly formulated in his
book of precepts on the basis of Manu's Institutes - were taken uncritically from the tradition he was reforming. What is significant here is his religious impulse to reach God through knowledge not blind faith. The knowledge which he was seeking was mystical and gives no ground for delimiting the rationality of his religious propositions. There is no logical premiss, except the original one of universal belief in God, which makes the rest of the selection of doctrines and ethics as completely subjective as Ram Mohun's. His rejection of the inferior branches of knowledge in the Vedas as the basis of Brahma religion is consistent with his belief in one God, but there is no further attempt to interpret the Vedas or the Upanishad in a way comparable to the rationality of the Luther-Calvin norm. His successive selection and rejection of Vedic doctrines can only be understood in terms of his subjective search of knowledge. He rejected the doctrines of monism, incarnation and illusion and envisaged the relationship between God and the soul as a friendship and constant companionship; and the universe as real and the result of perfect truth, i.e. a relative truth as God was the absolute truth: but we see no signs of the absolute supremacy of God in all matters which Calvin developed in his interpretation. There is a logical confusion in the position attributed to God. In the Creed, we find that 'in the beginning there was only one Supreme Spirit'; and, elsewhere, His relationship with the soul is envisaged as a friend and a companion - the same as Ram Mohun's notion of God and soul as two birds in a tree. These are two independent propositions, and, therefore, the prescribed worship and ethics cannot be deduced from the principle of One Supreme Spirit in the beginning which implied
the supremacy of God over both the soul and matter, as does the notion of the universe being a relative truth, the result of perfect truth which is God. From this it must, inevitably, be concluded that both Ram Mohun's and Devandranath's system of doctrine and ethics, which may be designated the original Brahma Samaj, consists of only a set of assertions, subjectively valid propositions, without the logical consistency of the Luther-Calvin norm.

There is, however, a similarity between Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj in the degree of rationality of interpretation. Although their philosophical backgrounds are different, they both centre on the notion of universal belief in God; and in both of them there is a contradiction between the notion of God as the supreme Spirit and the relationship of God with the soul. Ethics in both cases remain separate from the doctrines on God and his relationship with the soul; and, although the supremacy of God is acknowledged, ethics - in both sects - become the principal element of the whole system. This is because the acknowledgement is more formal than substantive; for if it were substantive, then, the other doctrines would have been subordinate to it, and ethics inferred from them, as it is in the Luther-Calvin norm. In the norm we find two points of view: faith, if the system is seen as referring to the individual; and supremacy of God in all things, as the first principle of the whole religious system. These two points of view are crucial for our comparison and for the Weber thesis. They are the premises from which other doctrines, theological and ethical, are derived: they are, thus, two values which are inherent in the norm.
As we have seen in the previous chapter, the elements of the Luther-Calvin norm form a logical unit, a systematic whole; and the reason why Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj doctrine-ethics are not systematic wholes, is that their assumption of the universal belief in God is not the same as faith in the Luther-Calvin norm, if we compare from the individual's point of view. Faith, as defined by Luther, is a belief in God which is a surrender to Him, and which demands a belief that 'He will be to one, and act towards one, just as we are taught He will'. This definition logically connects the individual's faith to the Word of God, i.e. the scripture. In Arya Samaj the Vedas are considered the Word of God, and an attempt has been made to interpret the Vedic revelation rationally to prove the existence and attributes of One Supreme God; but this rationality is obscured when the relation of God to man is being interpreted. In Brahma Samaj, Ram Mohun also acknowledges Vedic knowledge as the source of his doctrine, through its interpretation by Vedantism; Devendranath takes the same Vedantic position, but is much more eclectic: he looks for texts to support his intuitive knowledge. Our main concern in this comparison is to delimit the sociological rationality of the arguments which connect the doctrine and ethics, which in our norm, the Weber thesis, fulfils the requirements of a rational means-end relationship. How far, one may therefore ask, do the arguments of Arya Samaj, and of Brahma Samaj so far, fulfil this requirement? One must conclude from our preceding analysis that, in view of their lack of a logical connection between the premiss of monotheism, the doctrines and the ethics, the resultant ethical orientation, in both cases, would not be a sociologically
rational one. Neither of these two systems presuppose a limitation on human speculation into metaphysical matters, as both Luther and Calvin explicitly do by making the scripture the ultimate source of human knowledge in such matters. In the Luther-Calvin norm there is no place either for mysticism, intuition or subjective validity of truth in which assertion is the only criterion of judgment: they always use the evidence of the scripture. Although Arya Samaj does refer to the Vedas as the ultimate arbiter of truth, it does not make an empirical limitation in its interpretation of metaphysical knowledge, as in the Luther-Calvin interpretation. As we have seen, Luther and Calvin start by separating the metaphysical and empirical elements of religion. They take the metaphysical as given, and only interpret the empirical elements rationally. To extend rational analysis to metaphysics, to provide logical proof of metaphysical elements is not a valid procedure in the Luther-Calvin interpretation; but it is characteristic of both Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj, together with their inability to relate the given metaphysical element, i.e. a universal belief in God, with the empirical elements, such as interest in salvation or ethical prescriptions, into a meaningful and logically coherent orientation.

Now we shall extend our analysis to the schismatic Brahma Samaj of Keshub Chunder Sen. His views were also eclectic, but much wider than either Ram Mehun or Devendranath. He claimed to include the Bible, Koran, Zendavesta and Hindu scriptures in the source of his religion. The question which he considered important to everyone was: 'What should one do to be saved?'; for which it was necessary to know how God revealed
Himself first in nature, then in History through great men. A prophet, for example, was a divine incarnation — but his superiority was of degree, not of kind. The highest revelation of God was, however, in the soul. To realize God in one's soul was to be inspired with 'enthusiastic love and fidelity towards God'.

Keshub's aim was to harmonize all religious movements on the basis of history. In his view, there were three basic ideas common to all: mind, matter and God. While true theology must condemn worship of matter, it had to admit its reality and its use in the 'economy of man's redemption'. Similarly, the importance of mind and soul must be recognized, for they reveal to us the higher attributes of the Divinity and our true relations to Him; but we must not 'identify the created spirit with the Creator and say I am God'. Superior minds, however, deserve special respect.

These ideas could be combined, according to Keshub, in the notion of Unity in Trinity; the absolute infinity and unity of God and a trinity of divine manifestations, external nature, inner spirit and 'moral greatness impersonated in man'. A harmony of doctrines was to be found in Christ's saying "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, with all thy soul and all thy strength: Love thy neighbour as thyself." These two precepts mean, according to Keshub, 'the loving union of man's being with the Divine nature' — the highest sin of one's life. A sinner would only need an assurance of God's saving mercy: His absolute holiness and purity gave no assurance of reconciliation; however long one might resist His mercy, it would eventually conquer. Keshub's ideal of piety became an intoxication and
1093

madness in God; and to the idea of God the Father, he added the idea of Mother and directed his devotions to Her. He spoke of Christ as having been sent out as a 'tremendous moral force': Christ's ethics were acceptable to the whole world, but the difficulty was in accepting his divinity. The reason for honouring Christ, in Keshub's opinion, was 'his assertion of identity with God'. What Keshub saw in Christ was divine life: Christ only taught one doctrine, divinity in humanity - i.e. an idealistic communion with God. Divine humanity was essentially a Hindu doctrine, Keshub said, and the truths of pantheism would be fulfilled and perfected in Christ; Christ's pantheism was 'active self-surrender of the will, and to be accepted in the spirit of the national scriptures, he was a true Yogi full of Hindu devotion and communion'.

In his book "A Comprehensive Law of Religious Life", Keshub laid down rules of conduct as 'the essence of God's moral law, adapted for reformed Hindus according to their national instincts and traditions'. The book enjoins cleanliness of spirit, body and house, regulations on worship, meals, etc. It defines holy and useful as 'communion of one's energy with the Supreme Energy', and marriage as 'a progressive state of increasing attachment and growing holiness'; parents as representatives of God. Vows are considered individual and contingent, and prayer is the basis of all vows and their success. The book also recommends charity, 'for one has no right to deprive the poor of their due'.

Keshub C. Sen's doctrines are interesting because they differ widely from those of the original Brahma Samaj. There is no Vedantism, nor, in fact, any overt Hindu doctrine; but, although he uses Christian
vocabulary, the latent popular Hindu beliefs become apparent through the forms of worship he gradually began to use himself and later prescribe for his followers. In his doctrine the most significant element is the notion of great men as divine incarnations. He does not explicitly begin, as his predecessors did, with the notion of a universal belief in God; in fact, he later began to justify polytheism as 'broken fragments of one God'. He believed in the idea of 'absolute infinity and unity of God' manifested in external nature, inner spirit and moral greatness. One must, logically, take this whole concept as his first principle, not just the absolute infinity and unity of God. Is this concept is apparently a variation of the Christian doctrine of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, one may consider it possible to make a direct comparison with the Luther-Calvin norm; but they are not comparable, because the Christian concept does not define the Son and the Holy Ghost as derivatives of God the Father, while Keshub does. On the other hand, the only element in Keshub's doctrine traceable to the founder of Brahma Samaj, Ram Mohun Roy, is his denial of Christ's divinity and acceptance of moral precepts; and, to some extent, also the idea of a harmony of doctrines to be found in love of God and neighbour. Keshub's ideal of piety is a direct borrowing from the Bhakti tradition. It is significant for our comparison, not because it is a borrowed concept, but because it brings a basic logical confusion into Keshub's set of religious propositions.

From his first principle, of absolute infinity and unity of God manifested in external nature, inner spirit and 'moral greatness impersonated in man', one should logically expect to find a development
of relational arguments in his ideal of piety. That is, the manifesta-
tions of external nature, inner spirit and moral greatness should
first be related to the doctrine of absolute infinity and unity of
God, then, through an argument of similarity and dissimilarity between
the three manifestations, to the ideal of piety. Both external nature
and moral greatness are rational elements of Keshub's trinity, as
they can be analysed and understood in terms of their means-end relation-
ships. Inner spirit is the only non-rational element, because it is
subjective and cannot be empirically understood: it is similar to the
element of faith in the Luther-Calvin norm. But Keshub does not make
it a presupposition, as faith is in the norm, but a derivative of the
first principle. This element is the only one on which his ideal of
piety can be based, for intoxication and madness in God also has a
subjective validity. The inherent emotionalism of the notion of
inner spirit becomes clear in relation to this ideal of piety. This
relation also explains the enthusiastic worship in the Hindu tradition
which Keshub inculcated, and how his idea of moral greatness became
an emotive and fervent identification with divine incarnation, which
was condemned, in its later manifestations as a claim to 'personal
inspiration and autocracy', by the last schism of Brahma Samaj.

However, the relation of these doctrines with the ethical
prescriptions he made is even more obscure, except that it remained
basically the same as in traditional ethics. This is clearly because
all the reformist elements of the original Brahma Samaj - monotheism
and Christian moral doctrines - were translated by introducing these
explicitly subjective elements, inner spirit and intoxication and
madness in God, into a variation of popular Hinduism.

In the last schism of Brahma Samaj there is no new religious development, and their aim was to 'enable all those who wanted righteousness to know God and to worship Him direct'; and the teachings of their church were to love God, to seek piety, to hate sin, to grow in devotion and spirituality, to promote purity, to uproot all social evil and to encourage virtuous deeds.

A member of this church was influenced by three kinds of piety developed in the history of the world: Yoga, the ancient Hindu meditative communion, Christian piety, the life of earnest and incessant good works, and the piety of Bhakti, or enthusiastic devotion in the tradition of Chaitanya. The church, moreover, advocated 'independence of conscience' and freedom from creeds, infallible scriptures and guides, and a multiplicity of forms. In short, its work was worship of one true God and to eliminate notions of incarnation and infallibility in individual and social life; thus making the cultivation of individual, domestic and social piety 'the earnest endeavour of all members of Brahma Samaj'.

In this schism, we may notice, the essential doctrines of the preceding history of Brahma Samaj have been sifted and brought together; and, perhaps, the original aim of developing social ethics through religious reform or, rather, religious eclecticism has been made a little clearer. Keshub Chunder Sen's introduction of enthusiastic, emotive worship has been retained, while rejecting some of the implications. In the doctrines of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, we are made aware of the purpose of the original combination of Hindu doctrines
and Christian ethics, which was to develop a social ethic; and, in which Ram Mohun Roy was more successful than in religious reform. The religious aspects of his reform, as we have seen, reverted under Devendranath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen in their different ways to orthodoxy. However, we are not directly concerned with the failure or success of religious reform as such, but with their comparability with the Luther-Calvin norm. It should, therefore, be interesting to see whether, with its rejection of changes which deviated from the original purpose and incorporation into the main body of doctrines of those elements which were later added by both Devendranath and Keshub, the last schism contains the basic doctrine and ethics of Brahma Samaj, or not. As it does, it may be compared with the Luther-Calvin norm in order to determine the overall sociological rationality of Brahma Samaj.

We see first of all that there is the same fixed presupposition of a universal belief in God, in its doctrine of one true God; then we find that seeking righteousness is a prerequisite for a knowledge, and worship of God is direct: incarnations, infallible scriptures, multiplicity of forms are rejected. The teaching of the church is confined to the inculcation of love of God, piety, hate of sin, growing in devotion and purity, and to uproot all social evils, and to encourage virtuous deeds. These contain two kinds of means to righteousness and knowledge of God, and the ultimate aim of establishing 'conscious and living spiritual union with God': individual and social. But the first thing which strikes one in this combination of individual and social ethics is a lack of more than one point of view: the only relevant
point of view or value in it is individual salvation or righteousness. In the Luther-Calvin norm we have seen that there are two points of view, either of which leads to the same logical conclusion: individual faith and God's absolute supremacy in all things. In the Sadharan Brahma Samaj we find that, although God is acknowledged as the source of righteousness and the only source of one's salvation, there is no argument from this point of view. How, for example, does God use Providence to control and manifest his supremacy? nor is there any separation of metaphysical from empirical elements, as there is in Luther's discussions of the doctrine of faith, and in Calvin's of the doctrine of predestination.

If one, then, considers only the individual viewpoint, one will find, again, that the rational consistency of development from the first simple statement that 'those who seek righteousness should know God and worship Him direct' precludes a prescription of social ethics without an intervening doctrine in which - as Calvin emphasizes - 'nothing is presumed of us and all things are to be presumed of God'.

The example of the three kinds of piety cannot be cited for showing a logical relation to their concept of God, except in a formal sense: that, as there is a universal belief in one true God, the various kinds of piety which are known in history are acceptable forms of worship. Moreover, this means-end relationship between forms of worship and God is formal only if we take it for granted that all history is valid evidence to support a particular religious system. We may not dispute that in the case of Sadharan Brahma Samaj it may be possible, as they wished to include all religions and communities within their
compass; but we can expect that such an inference as that the three kinds of piety have equal or united validity must have a logically valid assumption as its source. There is in fact no discussion of the relationship between these ethics or kinds of piety and the primary doctrine of one true God, or with the secondary doctrines which the Sadharan Brahman Samaj teaches: love of God, hate of sin, growth in devotion and spirituality or purity. There is, indeed, freedom of conscience in the matter of choosing scriptures, but there is no rationally integrated body of doctrines on which to base one's conscience.

Jainism: Jainism does not recognise the authority of the Vedas and has a closed dogmatic system. The Jainas do not believe in a God who is the Creator and Governor of the world: the world, according to them, is uncreated and indestructible. While Hindus believe God to be the founder of the true and eternal religion, Jainas believe that Tirthankaras or perfect men have discovered it independently from time to time and then propagated it.

While in Hinduism Karma is an unseen power, in Jainism it is a combination of fine particles of matter which infiltrate into the soul: salvation for them is reached through unremitting work by oneself. Jainism, unlike Hinduism, is open to all, including low-born Sudras, but its members are divided into ecclesiastics and laity. The ascetics alone can reach the truths which the founder teaches, and follow his rules and achieve the highest reward. The laity can 'hear' the principles and are prescribed less severe duties than the ascetics, with, naturally, less reward. Its highest aim is the setting free of
the individual from the world, i.e. the revolution of birth and
death. Everything, in Jainism, every effect, has a cause. The conscious
soul is the only agent which, by its actions (Karma), is responsible for
the changes in its status of life. Connected with the doctrine of
Karma is the doctrine of transmigration of souls; the karmas drag one
into another state of being, from that of a god or a human or sub-human
being, and reincarnation is the necessary principle to enable to soul to go on
correcting its error and realizing its powers and purposes of life;
karma is the cause and reincarnation its effect.

The three jewels, which lead the soul to Moksha or final liberation,
are right faith and perception, right knowledge, and right conduct. The
reason for Right Faith being the first of the three jewels is that it
is the basis of the right principles of conduct: it is 'conscious
retention' of what has been gained through intuition or study; and
it is to be convinced of the true nature of the doctrines of Jainism.
Right Knowledge makes one examine in detail the matter brought into the
mind by right conviction, i.e. the perception of the reality of life
and the seriousness of the object. Right conduct means living in
accordance with the 'light gained by the first two jewels, right
conviction and right knowledge. It must be such as 'to keep the body
down and elevate the soul'. In practice it is keeping the five vows,
obeying the five rules of conduct and practising the threefold restraint:
i.e. the vows of not killing, truth, not stealing, chastity and non-
attachment to worldly objects; the rules on careful walking, speaking,
eating, use of things and toilet; and the threefold restraint on
body, mind and speech.
In this outline of Jaina principles and practice, we see that Jainism begins with an extremely logical classificatory system of interrelations. 'Every effect has a cause' is the primary criterion of this classification; and, beginning with the primaeval atom, we see a table of doctrines which are related by the means of the "three jewels" to the aim of individual salvation. The doctrinal system seems rational in the extreme, because its assumption of faith is not axiomatic but based on the evidence of perception to prove its validity. But this evidence of perception is an attempt to give an empirical basis to the assumption, when, in fact, it is as much a value-element as faith is in the Luther-Calvin norm. Insofar as these doctrines describe the Jaina reality from their specific point of view, they can neither be analysed in terms of practical orientation, nor can they be disputed without questioning their basic criterion of empirical validity; for the objective validity of a description depends on its logically adequate relation to the point of view from which it is made, or the value inherent in the reality described. In Jainism there is an attempt to transcend this relative validity of a description, by making perception and faith have the same meaning, to preclude a value judgment on these doctrines. In fact, the Jaina doctrinal system gives us an excellent illustration of the difference between Weber's concepts of value-relevance and freedom from value-judgment.

As it is related to the value of faith as perception, there is no empirical basis for the Jaina description of reality. Therefore, when one considers it a logical classificatory system, it means that its description and classification of reality is logically related to its
inherent value, i.e. all that is value-relevant has been included. By accepting this as objectively valid one is free from value-judgment, i.e., one is not judging its validity in relation to a different value, or from a different point of view, but in relation to its own inherent value, or from the point of view it takes itself. But when one says that the description is true, because it begins with the atom and perception as faith and not with a Creator and individual (subjectively valid) faith; or false, because it does not begin with a Creator and individual faith; one is making a value judgment, because one is judging it in relation to a different value. A scientific analysis must necessarily be value-relevant, and thus free from value-judgment, because the criterion of objective validity is in the inherent value or viewpoint, and not in another value or viewpoint which is not relevant.

In Jainism, the value, from which the doctrines are developed, is that faith is not a matter of assumption, but, on the contrary, of perception. Therefore, it rejects that which cannot be perceived, and makes the concept of God the Creator and Governor of the universe irrelevant by taking uncreated and indestructible matter as the primary fact. Consistent with this, it makes karma, not a spiritual principle, but an atomic infiltration into the soul. Cleansing the soul of karmic matter involved transmigration. Salvation or, rather, to rid the soul of karma is a lonely, unmediated process; therefore, the means are also logically derived from the first principle: Right Perception - which is also faith; Right Knowledge - which is detailed, separated knowledge of what has been perceived; Right Conduct is living according to the light gained by the first two "jewels". So far, the description is
logically unexceptionable, given the initial point of view. There is no formal acknowledgement to any principle or notion which is inconsistent with the main trend of the doctrine, nor is there any assertion whose validity is based simply on the fact that the believer accepts it to be true. To accept the Jaina system up to this point as logically consistent means that, from the initial point of view or value, the validity of the course of argument has been preconditioned.

So far we have seen that Jainism has included all that is value-relevant in their classificatory relationships. Now we shall return to the definition of Right Conduct, as 'living according to the light gained by the first two jewels' - right perception or faith and right knowledge.

As perception is the basis of acceptance of the system, therefore, it is necessary that a detailed knowledge of this perception be gained in order to have right conduct. This logical relationship between the doctrines and the ethics of Jainism justifies, in fact makes it necessary, that a classificatory analysis be made of the varieties of detailed relationships between matter, the soul and their states. Now we have to see whether the ethical proposition, Right Conduct, is related to a practical orientation or simply analysed for classification of its inter-relations. To classify conduct as a projective process, i.e. when it means regulation of future conditional conduct, into a series of items is a logical impossibility, for a projective regulation of conduct can only be in terms of directive principles. In such a circumstance, therefore, the rationality of the process can only be determined by the relevant means-end relationship. We know that the means-end relationship in
Jainism is clear: the end is individual liberation from the infiltration of matter into the soul, and the means to achieve it is right conduct by an individual through many life-cycles, alone and unmediated, through relentless work; and we are aware that the aim of this work is 'to keep the body down and elevate the soul'. The code of ethics involved in this activity is not important for our purpose, it is more or less the same as any moral code. What is important is that there is a lack of logical connection between the doctrinal analysis—which was, in effect, a description and classification of logical relationships between different doctrines which made up the system—and the ethics of the system, which deal with a completely different situation.

The ethics of Jainism are as elaborately described as its doctrines. Right ways of walking, speaking, eating, use of things and toilet, etc., are not related in an appropriately logical way to the end of subduing the body to the soul, i.e., asceticism; for a description and classification of items of conduct can in no way be related, as we said earlier, to the process of fulfilling an aim, except through directive principles. Asceticism in Jainism becomes, because of itemized description, a ritual and mindless operation, in which intelligent decision becomes irrelevant. It contradicts, by its very arrangement into itemized prescription of formal conduct, the doctrines which are, logically, its source. Jainism equates perception with faith. This perception or conviction of right knowledge must have proof by detailed examination of the matter perceived; when one has this detailed proof, then, one lives according to the knowledge of which one is convinced. One of the principles of Jainism is that every
effect has a cause, and there cannot be a doctrinal system which relies so much on empirical and objective proof of its validity: there is no assumption like faith of the individual or the existence of a Creator and Governor. There is, in fact, complete separation of metaphysical and empirical elements, which is one of our criteria of logical consistency.

Therefore, first to base the validity of the doctrines on empirical and rational grounds, and to be consistently logical in the description of their interrelations, then, to disregard the logical necessity of analysis; through means-end relationships, of the doctrines and ethics together, and make, instead, a formal classification of ethical prescriptions similar to the description of doctrines is the most important point of difference between the Luther-Calvin norm and Jainism to emerge from our comparison. In the Luther-Calvin norm, as we have seen, there is a clear distinction between the logic of description and the logic of means-end relationship or casual analysis.

This confusion between logical description and logical argument or analysis to establish a relationship between doctrine and ethics can be seen, in varying degrees, in all the sects we have so far discussed. In all of them we find the description of doctrines to be, on the whole, logically consistent, but, when it comes to the relational argument, the ethics become a set of assertions without rational meaning. This explains to some extent why the ethic of these sects are never basically different from that of orthodox Hinduism, neither in their practical orientation nor in their content. This will become clearer when we see that, in the Luther-Calvin norm, the ethics are the same Ten Commandments.
of Moses, but the meaning or practical orientation has changed; the Commandments are no longer a set of rules to be obeyed for salvation, but have, first, the meaning of self-revelation, i.e. awareness of one's sinfulness and impossibility of working one's own salvation, thus, taking away the original meaning which the Commandments had of salvation by works. This leads - as a second change in meaning - with logical inevitability to the idea of God's supremacy and the role of unmerited grace in salvation. From this, Calvin goes on quite consistently to the doctrine of predestination, which intrinsically is not an empirical element, but which remains logically relevant to the ethics: for striving to fulfil the Commandments is a necessary part of the process of gaining salvation; as success in the fulfilment of the Commandments is dependent on grace, it, nevertheless, is a progressive sign that one is of the elect. We see, then, how the practical orientation of the ethics has changed from a simple obedience to a rule of conduct to a rational fulfilment of a norm or an ideal.

We may well ask, in view of the subtlety and logicality of doctrines and their description and classification of interrelations, why this lack of logical connection should occur in the same manner in different periods of religious reform and historical influence? An explanation may lie in a different order of ends and means in these systems: perhaps, the ethics are the end and the doctrines their means, and, as the ethics are more or less of orthodox Hinduism, these systems of doctrines could be seen as different rationalisations to reinforce the orthodox ethical principles from time to time. For example, Keshub Chunder Sen, while using the language and concepts of
Christianity in his doctrines, completely changed the contents of
Christian ethics - which the founder of Brahma Samaj had juxtaposed
with Vedantic doctrines - and reverted both in his doctrines and ethics
to popular Hinduism, with its polytheism, enthusiastic devotion and
ritual-ethics, without changing his Christian vocabulary. In Jainism
we have an apparently different situation, but in actual fact it is
remarkably similar. While denying the authority of the Vedas and the
existence of a Creator or Governor of the world, it developed a rational
system of doctrines on the basis of uncreated and indestructible matter.
The importance of evidence and perception in Jainism seems to make it
a quite distinct phenomenon, but here again we see that, although the
language of logic has been used to establish its doctrines, it is a
kind of justification for an ethic which is remarkably similar to that
of Hindu asceticism.

Sikhism: In Sikhism, on the other hand, we see a comparatively simple
system of doctrine and ethics. In Japji, the morning divine service,
which the Sikhs consider to be an epitome of their doctrine, we find:

"There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator
devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-
existent;
Repeat His Name

"The true One was in the beginning, the True One was
in the primal age
The True One is and also shall be."

"They who worshipped Him have obtained honour
Nanak, sing His praises who is the Treasury of
excellences

Under the Guru's instruction God's word is heard;
Under the Guru's instruction man learns that God is
everywhere contained."

"Were man to live through the four ages, yea ten times longer
Were he to be known on the nine continents ...
Were he to obtain a great name and praise and renown in this world;
If God's look of favour fell not on him, no one would notice him.
He would be accounted as a worm among worms, and even sinners would impute sin to him.
Nanak, God may bestow virtue on those who are devoid of it, as well as those who already possess it;
But no such person is seen as can bestow virtue upon Him."

"By hearing the Name (of God) man understandeth the real nature of the earth,
By hearing the Name sorrow and sin are no more."

"So pure is God's Name — whoever obeyeth God knoweth the pleasure of in his own heart."

"By obeying Him man attaineth the gate of salvation;
By obeying Him the Guru is saved, and saveth his disciples."

"... When the mind is defiled by sin,
It is cleansed by the love of the Name.
Men do not become saints or sinners by merely calling themselves so.
The recording angels take with them a record of man's acts.
It is he himself soweth, and he himself eateth
Nanak, man suffereth transmigration by God's order."

"Pilgrimages, austerities, mercy, and almsgiving on general and special occasions
Whosoever performeth, may obtain some little honour;
But he who heareth and obeyeth and loveth God in his heart,
Shall wash off him impurity in the place of pilgrimage within him."
"How many persons receive yet deny God's gifts:  
How many fools there are who merely eat:  
How many are ever dying in distress and hunger:  
O Giver, these are also Thy gifts.  
Rebirth and deliverance depend on Thy will.  
Nobody can interfere with it."

Among other sacred verses we find:

"Without the Guru (God) love is not produced, and the  
filth of pride departeth not.  
He who recognizeth God in himself, and knoweth the  
secret of the Word shall be satisfied:  
But when man recognizeth himself through the Guru's  
instruction, what more remaineth for him to do?  
Why speak of meeting God? Man hath met Him already  
(Because the soul has emanated from God.)  
but it is only on receiving the Word he is satisfied.  
The perverse obtain not understanding; separated from  
God they suffer punishment.  
For Nanak there is but the gate of the one God; there  
is no other refuge."

"Everything is inferior to truth; the practice of truth  
is superior to all else.  
Call everyone exalted; let no one appear to thee low.  
The one God fashioned the vessels, and it is His light  
that filleth the three worlds.  
By His favour man obtaineth the truth; what He granteth  
in the beginning, none can efface."

By praising God man establisheth an alliance with  
God's court.  
Nanak saith this deliberately.

God it is who giveth man power and again taketh it  
away.  
There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God!
"The fear of God is very great and very heavy. Man's wisdom is of little account, and so is his chatter. Walk with the load of fear on thy head; Meditate on the Guru who is kind and merciful. No one shall be saved without the fear of God: His fear hath adorned man's love. The fire of the fear of transmigration is burned away by the fear of God. By fear the Word is fashioned and decorated. What is fashioned without fear is altogether worthless: Useless is the mould and useless the stroke thereon."

"He who serveth the one God knoweth not others: He layeth aside the bitter things deceit and evil. By love and truth shalt thou meet the Truest of the True. . . . . Absorbed in worldly desires man knoweth not the Real Thing; He thinketh of lust and love for woman, Which with wrath ruin all sinners. He forgetteth the Name, loseth his honour and his senses."

"Put away from you your lust, wrath and slander; Abandon avarice, and covetousness, and you shall be free from care. He who breaketh the chain of superstition shall be free and feel the divine pleasure in his heart . . . ."

"Without God's name salvation is not obtained; . . . . . Without God's name it is useless to be born in the world."

"The gift, the perverse suppose, is preferable to the Giver;"
"They who fear God have no other fear, while they who fear Him not shall have much fear; Nanak, they shall both be confronted at God's court."

"Devotion, penance, everything is obtained by obeying God; all other occupations are vain; Nanak, obey him who hath himself obeyed God; he is known by the favour of the Guru."

"Thou Thyself, O God, didst create, saith Nanak, Thou Thyself didst put creatures in their different places; Whom shall I call inferior since all have the same Master?

... Some to small, some to great duties; none departeth empty.
Men come naked, they depart naked, yet during their lives they make a display;
Nanak, it is not known what duty God will order for them in the next world."

"He who recognizes pleasure and pain, honour and dishonour as the same, And who keepeth aloof from joy and sorrow, knoweth the Real Thing in the world.
One should renounce praise and blame and search for the dignity of Nirvan;
Nanak, this is a difficult part to play; only a few pious men know how to do so."

In Sikh teachings we find a fundamental difference - as it appears clearly in this resume - from the doctrines of other sects we have studied in which God is acknowledged as the Creator and Governor of the world. In Sikhism, unlike the others, the notion is the basis of the whole argument, culminating in ethical rationalism, i.e.
conduct according to God's commandment and proceeding from a God-fearing attitude. God is supreme, and He rules in the fundamental attribution of karma; unlike the other systems in which He is reduced to being merely an observer of an autonomous process of punishment and reward, as they define the principle of karma. God in Sikhism is also in control of human destiny, as there is a basic doctrine of providence. In the Sikh doctrine we find more than a mere resemblance to the element of predestination in the Luther-Calvin norm: for example, "God it is who giveth man power and again taketh it away. There is only Thou, there is only Thou, O God." Or a composition by the fourth Guru addressed to his eldest son who was rejected for the Guruship:

"They render God hearty worship on whose forehead such destiny was recorded in the beginning. How can one be jealous of those whom God the Creator assisteth?

God in the beginning bestowed on his saints the ambrosial storehouse of saintship. The fool who trieth to rival them, shall have his face blackened both in this world and the next world.

In the case of the four Gurus none have ever obtained Guruship by revilings; it is by God's service the Guruship is obtained."

In these examples we see that Sikh teaching, although it does not have a fully developed doctrine of predestination like Calvin's,

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has made a similar concept - i.e., God-ordained destiny of man cannot be
unmade by man - an essential part of its religious system. In fact,
one of the Sikh teachings can be said to be in doctrinal form, but we
are not concerned with a formal comparison. Our aim is to determine
the degree of logical consistency in the system of teachings, as revealed
by comparison with the norm.

In Sikh teachings, therefore, we find the a priori assumption
to be the repetition of the Name of God: which is directly comparable
to the doctrine of faith in the Luther-Calvin norm. It is the means
by which the rest of the doctrines become meaningful, as it establishes
the relation between an individual and God. Neither repetition of the
Name of God, nor the concept of God as such are peripheral propositions
in Sikhism; that is, the repetition of the Name is not a form of ritual
worship, but a direct inculcation of faith in the individual. The means
by which God is reached is love and obedience. The concept of love makes
the repetition of the Name a positive, not ritualistic, action, because
love of God is the only independent means to salvation; obedience to
Him is a concomitant means, subordinate to the conception of God as
the Supreme Spirit who controls the world and individual destiny
providentially. He is the maker and under His eye everyone, king and
beggar, is equal: "whom shall I call inferior since all have the same
Master". Moreover, as we have said in the beginning, the doctrine that
God orders men's destiny as karma and transmigration are according to
His will, is an important logical point - which is absent in the other
three religious systems - consistent with the first principle in Sikhism
of God's supremacy as Creator and Governor of the world.
Obedience to God is not related to caste-ethics, but to righteousness:

"Devotion, penance, everything is obtained by obeying God; all other occupations are vain."

The rejection of caste and its ethic in Sikhism becomes, therefore, not a formal gesture, as in others, but a crucial element in the whole system; because the Guru is the supreme teacher of God's word, and his disciples' implicit belief in his instruction is based on his proven obedience to God.

The divine pleasure which the Sikh Gurus speak of is the aim of the love implicit in the repetition of God's name. Obedience to God makes a man free of the bondage of lust, wrath, slander, avarice, covetousness, superstition, etc., but without the Name of God, i.e., love of God, salvation is impossible. Thus, love and obedience are logically related elements in the means to salvation. Salvation is not an eventual result of karma and transmigration as an autonomous and continuous chain of reward and punishment, but of God's will, which is unknown to human wisdom, and to which the karma-transmigration process is subordinate.

We are thus able to see that this logical consistency between the different elements of the Sikh system of doctrine and ethics is in reality comparable to the logical relationships of the Luther-Calvin norm. As Sikh teachings are in the form of a commentary on contemporary theologies, as are Luther's and Calvin's, which reflects the historical differences between them, it would not be proper to seek an exact identity of detail in their argument, or in the degree of emphasis.
But, since both begin with similar points of view: faith in the Luther-Calvin norm, and repetition of the Name as an inculcation to faith in Sikhism; and, secondly, God's supremacy as Creator and Governor of the world in both; we can legitimately compare the inferences which the two systems draw from these premisses. In a comparison of inferences, as we have already seen, there are, in both systems, a notion of providence and predestination, the unknowability of God's will by man's wisdom, equality before God. There is also a general separation of metaphysical and empirical elements in common. Also, in the resultants of the logical consistency of doctrines and ethics in the two systems - Sikhism and Luther-Calvin norm - we find a similarity of ethical orientation. We know that the Luther-Calvin norm changed the Ten Commandments into an ethical ideal, to be progressively attained. In Sikhism there is no directly comparable idea, but we see in its history that there is a constant demand by the Gurus of their disciples to achieve the spirit of obedience, and not to obey the order in its literal sense. This is evident particularly on occasions of choosing a successor by the Gurus. In the other religious systems, which we have compared with the norm, this insistence on a rational meaning of ethical principles is absent: their prescriptions are literal, if stringent; as, for example, Jaina asceticism and non-violence, which are purely physical rituals. In Arya Samaj, as also in all the divisions of Brahma Samaj, such a stringent regime is not prescribed, but, although the terminology of the prescriptions conforms to the reformist notions of the time, their orientation remains unchanged. For example, the caste system becomes a meritocracy in Arya Samaj, but has the same moral
orientation of hierarchy and exclusiveness, and similar duties, as
the orthodox caste-system, without gaining a rational meaning in the
sense Ten Commandments have in the Luther-Calvin norm, or obedience to
the Guru has in Sikhism.

A rational meaning of ethics, which we find in the norm and in
Sikhism, has an important implication: it gives the individual the
freedom to interpret his conduct in terms of the teaching. This is
clearly seen in the various elucidatory discussions which the disciples
held with the Gurus, and which are an important part of Sikh history;
as well as in the individualism which resulted from Luther's and
Calvin's teachings - which we know from the writings of Weber and
Troeltsch. Later Sikh history also illustrates this point, for the
Sikh spirit of independence is an obvious result of the Gurus' teachings.
It became manifest after the death of the last Guru, Gobind Singh,
and played a significant part in the formation and continuance of Sikh
kingdom, and even later.

In spite of the increasing use of Hindu mythology in the illustration
of his teachings by the last Guru, we see that there is no modification
of the basic doctrine and ethics; but, nevertheless, it is an interesting
development. It shows the degree of assimilation to the orthodox system,
which all reformist movements - from Jainism to Brahma and Arya Samajes
- throughout Indian history have been subject to, and gives us a clue to
the real nature of reform in Sikhism. If there were no modification in
their original doctrine-ethics in proportion to the apparent influence
of the orthodox system, then the means-end relationship in Sikhism remains
a direct one, and can be studied by means of comparison. It has been
possible to do so in Sikhism, but, in the other three systems, we found a possible relationship between an unmodified orthodox system of ethics and a variety of doctrines to justify it. One may object that the Christian precepts which Ram Mohun Roy adopted is not the same as orthodox Hindu ethics, but the answer to this is, i. that ethical notions inherent in a code of conduct are nowhere dissimilar: one may add an idea, like the social conscience of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, but it is always derivable from other ethical principles, and is not a fundamental addition; ii. and what we have been comparing is the national meaning of ethics, not of notions, given by the various systems. Ram Mohun Roy's inclusion of Christian ethics makes no difference, because he neither gave any rational meaning to the collection of precepts nor implies such an aim in their explication, as the Luther-Calvin norm gives, and as it is implicit in Sikh teachings.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

In the Comparison our criterion for judging the level of rationalization has been the same as Weber's: the degree to which a religion has systematically unified the relation between God and the world. It has given us a means by which we could validly compare unrelated historical movements, and without recourse to a descriptive concept like Parsons's "evolutionary universals," which are defined as organizational developments 'sufficiently important to further evolution that, rather than emerging only once, it is likely to be "hit upon" by various systems operating under different conditions'. Certain evolutionary universals in the social world, according to Parsons,

1. Weber, The Religion of China, Chap.VIII (Conclusions, Confucianism and Puritanism), p.226: cf. "To judge the level of rationalization a religion represents we may use two yardsticks which are in many ways interrelated. One is the degree to which the religion has divested itself of magic; the other is the degree to which it has systematically unified the relation between God and the world and therewith its own ethical relationship to the world."; also cf. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie I, p.512.

As we have not been concerned in the comparison - indeed in the whole study - with those aspects of a religion in which magic plays a part, like ritual and worship, but only with its system of doctrine and ethics, i.e. the relationship between God and the world and between the religion and the world, it is legitimate for us to keep the two criteria methodologically separate.

Jainism no concept of God, but has a logically similar premise of uncreated and indestructible matter and perception as faith; so Weber's second criterion can still be applied, to its doctrine and ethics, in a generalised form - which Weber himself uses - of logical consistency.

'initially provide their societies with major adaptive advantages over societies not developing them'. However, Parsons is concerned with attracting 'particular attention to the idea of the evolutionary universal and its grounding in the conception of generalized adaptive capacity'. 'If the idea is sound, he adds, 'empirical shortcomings in its application can be remedied by research and criticism'.

We shall try to examine the soundness of constructing theories of sociological description - of which this "idea" is an example - and its applicability in sociological analysis, in the light of our foregoing study; particularly, as Parsons has recently been inclined to nominate Weber as 'one of the most important post-linear social evolutionists'. Parsons' most important contribution to sociology has been to show a convergence of different approaches to sociological theory into what he calls 'a major movement in the structure of theoretical thinking'. His own interpretation of sociological theory has, however, been an exclusive preoccupation with a general theory of sociological description, which has disregarded the crucial importance of methodology and empirical analysis in the construction of sociological theory. We have discussed the limitations of structural-functionalism, which Parsons has chosen

1 Parsons, op. cit. p.341
2 ibid. p.357
3 ibid. p.357
5 ibid. p.viii
as a method of sociological analysis, in our Introduction. There is an inevitability in the choice of the structural-functional method as a frame of reference to sociological description. But it is rather ironic that Parsons's most important contribution should be towards the discovery of a criterion of scientific validity of sociological theories, and his own approach should lead him later to a mistaken judgment of Weber's perspective, especially, when he regards Weber to be one of the major influences on his theoretical orientation.

It is important, therefore, to examine the methodological implications of the present study in order to determine the validity of some of the current interpretations of sociological theory. The implications are, primarily, a clarification of Weber's concept of Wertbeziehung or value-relevance in relation to preliminary sociological description, i.e. construction of an historical individual, for a valid causal analysis and sociological theory. It is on the basis of causal analysis that scientifically valid sociological theory is possible. The confusion arises when it is said that sociological theory is a logically necessary framework for empirical analysis. The preliminary sociological theory - which would be better defined as sociological description, if it is unrelated to a scientifically validated theory - in Weber's methodology, is related to a specific point of view or value; therefore, cannot be regarded as an objectively valid generalisation or a part of scientific theory, without any further consideration. Sociological theory, insofar as it is scientific, must be the result of a process of scientific description and causal analysis of given data. A scientific description is a hypothesis; either
related to previously validated theory, or, if it is a part of an original analysis, the value of the data should be clarified and the description should be logically related to this value to make it objectively or scientifically valid. Scientific theory in sociology cannot be constructed on the basis of description and classification of data, as the relations between social facts are not always describable in terms of structure or function. The works of both Weber and Pareto clearly demonstrate this, and the necessity of establishing causal relationships, before we can arrive at a body of scientifically valid generalisations which can be properly called sociological theory.

In a general theoretical system, like Weber's or Pareto's, we have three elements: terms of preliminary description, i.e. a body of definitional concepts; methodology, i.e. the means by which these definitional concepts can be tested and validated; and a body of generalisations based on empirical causal analysis, through application of the methodology and definitional concepts. Methodology is the most important element in a general theoretical system, for it enables one both to test the validity of the general theory and of the definitions, and to extend the body of scientifically valid generalisations by further empirical analysis.

We have seen in our discussion of Weber's methodology¹ that the concept of value-relevance does not refer to the investigator's subjective value which may have led him to choose the particular problem, but to the value inherent in a social fact, or a correlation

¹ see above, Part One, Chapters 2 and 4
of facts, to be investigated. If it were related to the investigator's subjective values, it would inevitably lead to a confusion of value-judgment and objective judgment, and the whole structure of Weber's methodology would collapse and his contribution to sociological theory would become scientifically insignificant. As the construction of an ideal-type, to which this concept has direct reference, is not an end in itself, but a preliminary to causal analysis of correlations established in the preliminary description; it would be impossible to reach any coherent conclusion in a causal analysis if the ideal-types were not free of value-judgments. Such coherent conclusions are the basis of valid generalisations, and no sociological theory would at all be possible if the first stages of the causal analysis, i.e. the selection and arrangement of facts which constitute scientific description were not based on objectivity. If one does make an ideal-type in which the concept of value-relevance is only partially applied - that is, if facts which do not suit the subjective value of the investigator are suppressed, and those which do are exaggerated - the conclusions reached after analysis would not be corroborated by further investigation; nor would there be a convergence between the conclusions of the first analysis and those of an analysis of the same data from a different point of view. As these points have been dealt with in greater detail in Part One of the present study, we shall confine ourselves here to the consideration of how the concept has validated itself in the construction of ideal-types of the system of doctrine and ethics of Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Jainism and Sikhism, as well as of the Luther-Calvin norm. It is obvious that, in a comparison of value-
orientated facts, the construction of each ideal-type has two points of reference: one, the value inherent in the historical individual; and the other, the value inherent in the norm of comparison. In our specific case, these points of reference were, first, the ideas and their interpretation acceptable to the main believers: represented in Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj by the founders, and in the later phases of Brahma Samaj by the accredited leaders of the schisms; in Jainism by texts and commentaries which present the common tenets, acceptable to all divisions, and the distinctive ideas of the important divisions; in Sikhism, the sacred book which is a repository of all their fundamental ideas, and their interpretations. In the norm, the ideal-type must have reference to the Weber thesis, as it is the theoretical framework of our whole analysis. Therefore, the norm of comparison, which is an ideal-type of Luther's and Calvin's doctrines and ethics, must first of all treat the two historically individual systems as one integral system, and then to select the elements, which each has contributed to the ideal-type, as distinct units, so that no misrepresentation of historical influences be possible. Also, in this ideal-type - which immediately is only a selection of Luther's and Calvin's writings - the second point of reference, the value inherent in the Weber thesis, has to be taken into account, because the selection is valid only insofar as it is an evidence of the objectivity of Weber's causal analysis of the correlation between Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

In the construction of the ideal-types of the other systems of
doctrine-ethics, the second point of reference is a limiting factor, because it provides a principle of selection of these facts which are logically relevant to Weber's criterion of rationalization, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. It cannot, therefore, be said that the ideal-types constructed for the present analysis are only partial descriptions of facts, based on value-judgment - in which case no causal analysis is possible -; or an objection be made on the absence of other facts, like psychological motivation or social and economic stratification of the adherents of these movements, because these facts are irrelevant to the analysis.

In his article "The Role of Theory in Social Research", Talcott Parsons stated certain fundamental premisses: that no empirical science 'can be developed to a high point without reference to general conceptual schemes, to theory'; One must go beyond 'bald, discrete facts' and 'maintain the existence of relations of interdependence, causal relations'. And 'such an imputation of causal relationship cannot be proved without reference to generalized theoretical categories'; and 'this assertion is logically dependent on these categories whether they are explicit or implicit'.

2 ibid. p.14
3 ibid. p.15
4 ibid. p.15
5 ibid. p.15
In this article, Parsons considers that 'one of Max Weber's greatest methodological contributions' was 'definitively to have refuted the claims of the German Historical Schools that it is possible to have valid empirical knowledge of causal relationships with no logical implication of reference to generalized theoretical categories'.

'But if generalized theory is essential to science, it does not follow that anything and everything which goes by that names is of equal value. Quite the contrary, there is much to object to in a great deal of what has gone by the name of sociological theory.' This is due to 'a failure to distinguish adequately the various conceptual elements which either go to make up, or have become associated with, what are generally called theoretical structures in science, particularly in social science'.

Three classes of elements should, according to Parsons, be distinguished: i. philosophical elements, i.e. so far as the scientific content of an intellectual tradition is closely interwoven with elements of a different character, and these elements are conceptually formulated; ii. the type of conceptual element involved in bodies of theory which may be called "broad empirical generalization": such "theories" embody a generalized judgment about the behaviour of, or causes in, a highly complicated class of empirical phenomena;

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1 Americal Sociological Review, Vol.3, No.1, Feb.1938, p.15
2 ibid. pp.15-16
3 ibid. p.16
4 ibid. p.16
5 ibid. p.17
iii. the elements of scientific theory which Parsons would like to call "generalized analytical theory", \(^1\) it is a body of logically interrelated general concepts (logical universals) the specific facts corresponding to which (particulars) constitute statements describing empirical phenomena'. \(^2\) 'Use of this concept in empirical research inherently tends to establish logical relations between them and their particular content (values) such that they come to constitute logically interdependent systems. Correspondingly the phenomena to which they apply come to be viewed as empirical systems, the elements of which are in a state of mutual interdependence.' \(^3\) 'The facts relevant to any system of analytical theory are never all the facts knowable about the phenomenon in question, and only part of these are the values of variables. A variable is a logical universal or combination of them. Its "values" are the particular facts which correspond to this universal. These facts are or can be obtained in one and only one way - by empirical observation, But it is the essence of the ordering function of theory that any old fact, however true, will not do, but only those which "fit" the categories of the system. What facts it is important to know are relative to the logical structure of the theory. This is not to be understood to mean that theory should dictate factual findings, but only the definition of the categories

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\(^1\) Parsons, "Role of Theory", American Sociological Review, Feb.1938, p.18

\(^2\) ibid. p.18

\(^3\) ibid. p.18
into which the findings are to be fitted. ¹

The principal functions of analytical theory in research, according to Parsons's schematic statement, are:

1. It provides 'selective criteria as to which are important and which can be neglected'.

2. It provides 'a basis for coherent organization of the factual material thus selected without which a study is unintelligible'.

3. It provides 'a crucially important guide to the direction of fruitful research', by revealing 'the gaps in our existing knowledge and their importance'.

4. It provides 'a source of cross fertilization of related fields of utmost importance' through 'the mutual logical implications of different analytical systems for each other'. ²

In the functions, which Parsons has enumerated, the first two categories can easily be seen to belong to sociological description, and the other two to sociological theory based on empirical causal analysis. In this early article, Parsons has recognized all the

¹ Parsons, "Role of Theory", American Sociological Review, Feb. 1933, p.19. This notion of variables and their "values" is evidently not the same as the notion of ideal-types and their inherent values: it is an oversimplification of the concept of ideal-type. The "value" which illustrates a variable cannot be a derivative of the meaning which its inherent value gives to an ideal-type and determines logical relevance of facts to the ideal-type.

² ibid. p.20
elements of sociological analysis but has failed to distinguish the steps by which sociological theory can be validly constructed.

In his distinction of 'various conceptual elements of theoretical structures in science' one finds, again, a confusion of categories: one recognizes the philosophical and broad empirical generalisations as two distinct elements; but, in the third, which he calls 'generalized analytical theory', there is no clear distinction between theory based on empirical analysis and generalisation that is arrived at through induction, and deductions from a priori assumptions. Inductive theory is absent from Parsons's formulation, therefore, the deductive theory, which would justify the last two functions of his 'analytical theory', becomes an arbitrary descriptive theory based on value-judgment of facts, and a set of concepts which must be illustrated by examples and can never be tested by empirical analysis. The kind of deductive sociological theory which would have made Parsons's views on theory in social research objectively valid as well as logically consistent must, therefore, be deduced from broad empirical generalisations; and not from a priori assumptions, like his 'evolutionary universals'. The kind of reasoning seen in this article can also be seen in Parsons's more recent misreading of Weber, when he made him a social evolutionist; and, more specifically, in his combination of Durkheimian theory of sociological description - i.e. recording and classification of the structure and function of a "social organism"\(^1\) - with Weber's definitonal

\(^1\) In fact Durkheim's sociology, as a whole, can only be called descriptive, because his empirical work is concerned with either classifying or correlating social facts, and his methodology, with determining the structure and function of institutionalized social facts; as opposed to Weber's and Pareto's which are analytical, because they provide the methodology as well as empirical analysis of causes of correlations between social facts, which may or may not be institutionalized.
concepts, as the basis of his theory of social action.

In his review of Alexander von Schelting's book, Max Weber's *Wissenschaftslehre*, Parsons writes: "the net effect of Weber's methodological work has been to go a long way towards bridging this gulf (between the logic of the natural and of historical-social science created by the German "historical methodologies"). The principal means of building the bridge has been the insistence, not only on the necessary role of general theoretical conceptualization, but on the abstractness of this theory in the case of both groups of sciences. So long as this is not realized, the obvious concrete differences between the subject-matters tend to force the methodologist into maintaining an untenable logical distinction between the sciences."\(^2\) Parsons's criticism of Weber and von Schelting is that they have not completed the process, and he takes them up especially on two points.\(^3\)

'First: that Weber, following Rickert, tried to maintain an untenable distinction between the relative roles of generalizing and individualizing concepts in the natural and the social sciences respectively. The position is that in the natural sciences the end of scientific endeavour is the building up of systems of general theoretical concepts, while in the social such concepts can serve only as means to the understanding of unique historical individuals;\(^4\) when it seems to Parsons that the

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2. ibid. p.678
3. These criticisms are also found in Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, but here they are in a more convenient form.
'bifurcation' is in the direction of the scientist's interest. Parsons's second point is that both Weber and von Schelting failed to see that the "elements" and "general laws" of the schema of proof are not homogeneous categories, but that under each two different types of concepts are included. For example, the generalising ideal-type is, in Parsons's opinion, ambiguous: it may mean either 'a hypothetical "objectively possible" fictional entity, a "unit", or "part" of an historical individual'. Weber's theoretical work, according to Parsons, 'tended to bifurcate in these two directions, with the former tendency predominating in his explicit formulations'.

Parsons adds: 'even with these corrections, the substantive theoretical propositions of science, both natural and social, are subject to the relativity inherent in their relevance to value'.

Earlier, in developing his first criticism, Parsons stated that 'in both fields we have a bifurcation of the direction of scientific interest': 'One group of sciences, such as theoretical physics and theoretical economics, is primarily concerned with building theoretical systems, while the other, like geology and history, is concerned with understanding unique historical individuals. In one case general concepts constitute an end in themselves, in the other a means. The distinction of these two bases of classification of the empirical sciences, which do not coincide but cut across each other, lies at

2 ibid. p.679
3 ibid. p.679
4 ibid. p.679
a deeper methodological level than that between the natural and the social sciences. The Rickert - Weber - Schelting position constitutes an unwarranted assimilation of the two distinctions to each other.¹

In this passage we see that Parsons has misunderstood the concept of Wertbezüge by which he means - although he translates it as scientific interest - the peculiarity of the subject-matter of a scientific investigation, which inevitably affects the method of investigation. In fact, Wertbezüge refers to the cultural value which a historical or social fact embodies or is related to. When Rickert, Weber or von Schelting use this concept as the distinguishing factor between natural and historical-social sciences, they are evidently not concerned with the distinction between theoretical physics (or economics) as a science of generalising uniformities, or building laws of physical (or economic) behaviour, and geology as a descriptive and classificatory science, which is concerned with the knowledge of the earth's structure and its chronology. When Parsons considers history, and by implication sociology, as a descriptive and classificatory science in which behaviour, without reference to its understanding, is described and classified, he seriously misinterprets the role of value-relevance as well as understanding in Rickert's and Weber's methodologies. It is precisely because historical and social behaviour without reference to their inherent value are meaningless - therefore different from natural sciences, like both physics and

¹ Parsons, Review of von Schelting, American Sociological Review, August 1936, p.678
geology, in which a scientific description suffices in terms of meaning (Begreifen as opposed to Verstehen) - that it is necessary to introduce the concepts of the value-relevance and understanding as distinct to historical and social sciences. The methodological basis of the Rickert-Weber distinction between natural and social sciences, therefore, remains valid. Parsons's inability to accept it as such is because he attributes an analytical role to a descriptive concept like the historical individual, and, thus, confuses the role of general concepts in both natural and social sciences. When they are considered not an end in themselves but a means to the understanding of unique historical individuals, it is because in the natural sciences the reality beyond the uniformities of occurrence - why, for example, things happen in nature? - is a metaphysical one, and not amenable to scientific investigation; while the determination of uniformities of historical or social behaviour still leaves the reality empirically unexplained: their empirical reality is their meaning in terms of the values they refer to.

The second criticism which Parsons makes of 'Rickert-Weber-von Schelting' position is readily answered: when he says that the "elements" and "general laws" are not homogeneous categories, he is reifying scientific concepts. What is in the nature of a general law in natural sciences - i.e. when it corresponds to a uniformity of social behaviour in social sciences - is an element in a meaningful but unique historical individual, which is, in itself, a combination of elements, some of which are common to other such constructions, and some are unique to itself. Therefore, there is no contradiction between an
ideal-type being a 'hypothetical "objectively possible" fictional entity' and a unit of analysis, or a part of historical individual. In our study, the ideal-type of Protestant Ethic as the basis of the Spirit of Capitalism is a 'hypothetical objectively possible fictional entity' insofar as it is a norm of comparison: i.e. it is a general ideal-type because it embodies a generalisation on the causal significance of a sociologically rational ethic for economic rationalism. It is an individual ideal-type because it is part of an historical individual which the Weber thesis presents. Protestant Ethic as an abstraction from an actual historical process, the Reformation, and, more specifically, from the interpretations of Luther and Calvin of the Christian theology prevailing in their times, and brought together to test a scientific hypothesis, that their combined effect, with their different emphases, was a complete rationalisation of the meaning of life, and a consequence of which was the economic rationalism of the West. Further, in the Weber thesis - of which our study is an extension as well as a test - the hypothesis is that economic rationalism was unique to the West, therefore to test it, an individual ideal-type - or an historical individual - was constructed by Weber, in which the inherent values were presented. This historical individual, Protestant Ethic, was an ellipsis of the ideal-typical Protestant society which was compared with the ideal-typical Chinese, Hindu and ancient Judaic societies, to demonstrate the causal significance of this factor, the Protestant Ethic, in the chain of cause and effect, from the Luther-Calvin interpretation of doctrine and ethics - a complete rationalisation of life- to economic rationalism or bourgeois capitalism.
It will be noticed that the individual ideal-type must necessarily precede the general ideal-type. As it is implicit in all of Parsons's writings - and we have attempted to show the reasoning behind it earlier - that there is no difference between two kinds of general concepts, definition and empirical, this second criticism is not surprising, but hardly important.

In Parsons's earliest essay in sociological theory, "The Place of Ultimate Values in Sociological Theory", there is clear evidence of his failure to distinguish between definition and empirical concepts. In it he formulates his, now famous, theory of voluntaristic action: that subjective (i.e. 'of the person thought of as acting himself), and objective (i.e. 'of an outside observer') points of view 'should be kept clearly distinct'; only on this basis is there any hope of arriving at a satisfactory solution of their relations to each other.

End and value are, according to Parsons, subjective categories. The subjective analysis of action involves in some form the schema of the means-end relationship; and 'it is the most favourable starting point of such an analysis'. An end, as Parsons defines it, is 'the subjective anticipation of a desirable future state of affairs towards the realization of which' the action of the individual may be thought of as directed. Ends are a factor in action; they are, thus, an

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1 The International Journal of Ethics, Vol.XLV, No.3, April 1935, pp.282-316
2 see, for example, ibid. p.282 fn.1
3 ibid. p.283
4 ibid. p.284
5 ibid. p.284
6 ibid. p.285
analytical category.\textsuperscript{1} He adds, 'If the means-end relationship involving this sense of the term "ends" is employed in this analysis, it is clear and should be pointed out at the outset that the whole analysis involves a metaphysical position of a "voluntaristic" character.'\textsuperscript{2} The norm of this schema is rational action;\textsuperscript{3} and it involves 'a "voluntaristic" conception of human action'.\textsuperscript{4} In this norm 'neither the knowledge of the relation of means and end on which action is based nor the application of that knowledge comes automatically': 'both are the result of effort, of the exercise of will'.\textsuperscript{5} If 'the concept of action itself has no meaning apart from "real" ends and a rational norm of means-end relationship', 'it dissolves into mere behaviour'.\textsuperscript{6} These concepts are not empirical generalisations, but ideal-types.\textsuperscript{7}

The voluntaristic element involved in the factor of ends precludes action ever being completely determined by scientific knowledge in the sense of the modern positive science.\textsuperscript{8} Deviations from the rational norm will, according to Parsons, be explicable 'in one or more of the three sets of terms: ignorance of intrinsic relationships, lack of effort, or presence of obstacles beyond the power of the actor to remove'.\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{1} The International Journal of Ethics, Vol.XLV, No.3, April 1935, p.285
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.285
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.286
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.286
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. pp.286-287
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.287
\textsuperscript{7} ibid. p.287
\textsuperscript{8} ibid. p.287
\textsuperscript{9} ibid. pp.288-289
After detailing the principal types of elements of the means-end relationship, Parsons goes into 'their interrelationships in systems of action'. ¹ At one end will be those elements which are ultimate means or conditions of action but not, from any point of view, ends. ² At the other end is 'the factor of ultimate ends, which are, looked at in intrinsic terms, ends in themselves and not means to any further ends'. ³ 'The standard of rationality applicable to the intermediate sector of the intrinsic means-end chain is that of efficiency. It is a matter of the intrinsic adaption of means quite apart from other considerations'. ⁴

To return to 'ultimate ends', which is Parsons's main concern: 'In so far, however, as individuals share a common system of ultimate ends, this system would, among other things, define what they are held their relations ought to be, would lay down norms determining these relations and limits on the use of others as means, on the acquisition and use of power in general. In so far, then, as action is determined by ultimate ends, the existence of a system of such ends common to the members of the community seems to be the only alternative to a state of chaos - a necessary factor in social stability'. ⁵

¹ Parsons's "Ultimate Values", Intern. Journ. of Ethics, April 1935, p.293
² ibid. p.293
³ ibid. p.293
⁴ ibid. p.294
⁵ ibid. p.295
The safest procedure for sociologists, in Parsons's view, would be to take the diversity of value-systems as a starting point, to determine 'what are the ultimate value-systems relevant to understanding action in a given society at a given time'. Then it would be 'quite legitimate to attempt to discover relationships between such systems - to classify them according to types, to establish genetic relationships. But all this should be done with the greatest of care to avoid the common fallacy of reading arbitrarily into the facts a tendency to the ultimate realization of the investigator's own particular values.'

Religious action, according to Parsons, 'forms, along with action in immediate pursuit of ultimate empirical ends and with institutions, a third aspect of the incidence of ultimate ends on social life'. These three phenomena are not to be understood principally as three separate "factors" in social life, but rather as three modes of expression in different relations to action, of the same fundamental factor - the ultimate common value-system.'

The element of religious ritual

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2 ibid. p.297: Yet the value-judgment implicit in the a priori assumption of an ultimate value-system in this essay seems to be directly related Parsons's conception of sociology as being concerned with solving the Hobbesian problem of social order. Cf. his "General Interpretation of Action" in Theories of Society, Free Press, Glencoe (One Vol. edn.) 1965, p.96; also, The Structure of Social Action, p.89.
3 ibid. p.305
4 ibid. p.305: cf. our discussion of Indian sociology in the Introduction, where we have tried to show that such a Durkheimian assumption in sociological analysis can have misleading results.
although falling outside the realm of applicability of "scientific" norms of rationality in the full sense, in still ... subject to analysis in terms of what are, in a sense, rational norms.¹

In the two divisions of his essay, Of the Means and Of the Ends, Parsons has taken the analytical concept of means-end relationship, and comparison with rational action as the norm, from Weber's methodology, to build an elaborate framework for providing hypotheses on the assumption that 'a common system of ultimate ends' is a necessary factor in social stability. In Weber's analytical concepts, or in the logical structure of his methodology, we do not find that there is such a relationship between a "metaphysical" position - which specifically is of a "voluntaristic" character in this essay, as Parsons has already made clear - and sociological analysis.

Parsons has confined sociological analysis, in this essay, to the determination of the ultimate value-system 'relevant to understanding action', and discovery of relationships between them: 'to classify them to types, to establish genetic relationships'. It becomes quite clear that a beginning from the relevance to the value of ultimate ends as a necessary factor in social stability and classification of such ends are only preliminary steps towards objective generalisation, on which sociological theory can be based. The missing step is the empirical causal analysis of the relationships between ultimate values, or ends, and action; for, without it, the conclusions arrived at on

¹ Parsons, "Ultimate Values", Intern. Journ. of Ethics, April 1935, p.305
'genetic relationships' or type would remain value-judgments. In Weberian methodology, the determination of the ultimate value-systems and their classification into types would only be definitional exercise, corresponding in empirical analysis to the construction of historical individuals or ideal-types. Ideal-types are mistakenly supposed to represent reality, even conceptually, as they are bound to the value which gives them a point of beginning and reference. Construction of ideal-types is a preliminary, logically necessary, step in sociological analysis, for establishing causal relationships on which a sociological generalisation can be based. The objectivity of such a sociological generalisation is the same as the objectivity of the conclusions of a scientific experiment, while the objectivity of an ideal-type is in the logical relevance of the facts to the value, as well as in their logical adequacy to a consistently rational description of facts.

If the construction of ideal-types, and a system of abstract ideal-types, - sometimes called typologies\(^1\) - were the end of sociological analysis and theory, there would be little difference between value-judgment and value-relevance, for, in that case, what was right would be relevant for the value, and vice versa, as Rickert defined

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\(^1\) cf., for example, Talcott Parsons, Introduction to Max Weber's Theory of Social and Economic Organization (London, 1947), p. 25: "Further development from Weber's starting point would, logically, lead to a generalized scheme of the structure of social relationships and groups which is logically an indispensable immediate background for a typological classification of the possibilities of variation within each basic category."
value-judgment or interpretation as always involving praise or blame. Thus, Weber's insistence on the difference between value-judgment and value-relevance becomes meaningless, when it is, in fact, of the utmost importance to the whole structure of his methodology. The distinction between individualising and generalising ideal-types - which von Schelting has quite rightly clarified, and which Parsons has misunderstood - refers, in fact, to two aspects of the same concept: individualising ideal-type is a description emphasizing the uniqueness of an historical individual; and a generalising ideal-type is based on the general characteristics of a combination of historical individuals, and which still emphasizes the uniqueness of the combination, but, since it is constructed on the basis of a number of individual cases, there are facts which come under general, definitional as well as empirical, concepts. If this were not so, the possibility of changing viewpoints according to different values would not be there; for, as we have said earlier, if value-judgment is not categorically separate from value-relevance, then there would only be one value which would dictate sociological analysis of a specific set of facts. As the concept of value-relevance indicates the possibility of several points of view from which ideal-types can be constructed and causal analysis made, it is an objective concept, and the only basis of means-end analysis in Weber's methodology, whether of rational action, or meaningless natural events, subjective experience, either one's own or anothers; of significant historical events or of everyday life.

Value-relevance is not a subjective concept - as value-judgment is - because it is not related to an individual's judgment of what is right
and wrong according to his own personal beliefs. It is related, as we have tried to make clear, to the value inherent in the historical individual, not in the psyche of the investigator - even if it is scientific interest, as Parsons has interpreted it earlier. Therefore, it is the basis of the objectivity of sociological analysis in Weber's methodology; and this objectivity is not blurred in the relativity of values, as Parsons suggests many times in his writings, and somehow becomes clear.

1 cf. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, p.594: "In the first place, the principle of value-relevance combined with that of the relativity of value-systems introduces an element of relativity into the social sciences which raises in an acute form the question of their claim to objectivity. Even though a value element enters into the selection of the material of science, once this material is given it is possible to come to objectively valid conclusions about the causes and consequences of given phenomena free of value-judgments and hence binding on anyone who wishes to attain truth, regardless of what other subjective values he may hold."

cf. also ibid. p.595: "The first source of difficulty seems to lie in Weber's attempt to draw too rigid a distinction between the subjective directions of interest of the scientist in each of the two groups of sciences."

and; Parsons, "An Approach to the Sociology of Knowledge", Sociological Theory and Modern Society, New York & London, 1967, Chap. 5, p.140: "... the motives for interest in problems, which is inherently value-relative, and the grounds of the validity of judgments, which in the nature of the case cannot be relative in the same sense."

Lastly - Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, p.593, where he refers to Weber's Aufsätze zur Wissenschaf tslehre, p.178 to say that "Relevance to value" 'constitutes the selective organizing principle for the empirical material of the social sciences'. Weber, in the relevant passage of the essay "Die Objektivität sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis", says:

"... in jedem Fall nur ein Teil der individuellen Wirklichkeit für uns Interesse und Bedeutung hat, weil nur er in Beziehung steht zu den Kulturwertideen, mit welchen wir an die Wirklichkeit herantreten."

"In every case only a part of the individual reality has interest and meaning for us, because only it has relevance to the cultural values (Kulturwertideen) with which we approach reality." - and one should note there is no mention of a subjective interest of the scientist which is relevant to his approach to reality.
in empirical analysis.

The impossibility of combining a psychological orientation of value-relevance - which the scientist's interest in a problem means - with the objectivity of a scientific causal explanation is apparent in Reinhard Bendix's essay "Max Weber's Interpretation of Conduct and History", when he translates Weber's "Abgrenzung", 'delimitation of' the historical object as being subjective, as 'the deliretion of', and, further, when he translates 'value-relevances' (Wertbeziehungen) as values, and adds: 'which are subject to historical change' - when Weber says: 'whose interpretation (Auffassung) is subject to historical change'.

Bendix, in view of his translation, comments that: "It is futile to argue about the interests which prompt the historian to select one problem rather than another, because these interests are based on ultimate value-orientations which cannot be "changed" by discussion." We see in this comment that Bendix has made the same error as Parsons, in making value-relevance a form of value-judgment. But he is unable to reconcile the inconsistency of his interpretation with the objectivity

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1 American Journal of Sociology, Vol.51 (July 1945-May 1946), pp.518-526

2 Bendix, "Conduct and History", American Journ. of Sociology, Vol.51, p.521, referring to Weber, G. A. z. Wissenschaftslehre, p.261: "'Subjektiv' in einem bestimmten, hier nicht nochmals zu erörternden Sinn ist nicht die Feststellung der historischen "Ursachen" bei gegebenem Erklärunigs - "Objeekt", sondern die Abgrenzung der historischen "Objektes", des "Individuums" selbst, denn hier entscheiden Wertbeziehungen, deren "Auffassung" dem historischen Wandel unterworfen ist." - "It is not the statement or determination of historical "causes" of the given "object" of explanation which is subjective in a certain sense which need not be discussed again, but the delimitation of the historical object itself, for here value-relevances are decisive, whose interpretation is subject to historical change."

3 Bendix, op. cit. p.521
of causal explanation in Weber's methodology, and sets the problems which 'still remain' as: i. whether the causal analysis of the historian lends itself to scientific generalisation (Weber denies this as the historian is concerned with the explanation of unique events); and ii. whether the historical analysis presupposes some form of generalised knowledge (Weber's view is that the causal analysis of unique events requires a priori knowledge of the regularities of human conduct). 1 In the discussion of these problems with reference to Weber's view of the relation between history and sociology, Bendix believes that there are 'a number of incompatibilities between Weber's research and his theory', although the conclusions, 'which follow from these theoretical and methodological views, do not as such invalidate Weber's historical research'. 2

In Bendix's opinion, Weber's two major interests are causal historical analysis, on the one hand, and comparative sociological "casuistry", i.e. 'a system of ideal types, which encompasses all regularities of human social conduct'; these ideal-types being 'derived from a comparative study of world history'. 3 He makes it clear - apart from the confusion of value-relevance and value-judgment 4 - that in Weber's view it is not possible to make a causal analysis of "unique"

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1 Bendix, op. cit. p.521
2 ibid. p.521 incl. fn.18
3 ibid. p.522 incl. fn.19
4 ibid. p.522: "In selecting an area of research the historian follows his interests (and, therefore, passes a value-judgment), but he does not thereby prejudice his inquiry."
historical events without 'a prior knowledge of the regularities of human conduct', which alone 'will enable him to use the method of "mental experimentations"'. In Weber's view, he adds, 'it is this knowledge which sociology provides', by means of a comparative analysis.

In the discussion of Weber's work on the Protestant Ethic, Bendix inevitably judges, from his basic misunderstanding of the concept of value-relevance, that 'here Weber the historian seems to come into conflict with Weber the sociologist': 'The historian selects his subject matter on the basis of his interests, without claiming for it on that ground any causal historical significance. But the sociologist claims that he is able to discover the "unique" aspects of a historical configuration and that this "uniqueness" indicates its historical significance. This implies that the historian selects the object of his inquiry on the basis of his value orientation, while the sociologist can ascertain that which is to be explained by non-evaluative methods.'

But he eventually asks, 'Can this be done without the aid of a theory of society, which involves more than the use of value-judgments merely for the selection of a research problem?'. His answer denies the possibility of an objectively valid sociological theory for Weber: 'In applying this ideal-typical method to the analysis of past events, Weber arrives at a specific interpretation or philosophy of history.'

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1 Bendix, "Conduct and History", American Journ. of Sociology, Vol.51, p.522
2 ibid. p.523
3 ibid. p.523
4 ibid. p.524
In Conclusion, Bendix says that the ideal-type is not just 'a "standard" against which the "deviations" of historical events are "measured",' but 'a strange mixture of ethical principles, cultural pessimism, and the hope for a precarious chance of human freedom.'

This essay is interesting because it is an illustration of both the fundamental importance of the concept of value-relevance in Weber's methodology, and how a misunderstanding of a basic concept can lead to misrepresentation of the whole system. As we have said in the beginning causal analysis is directly related to value-relevance: it is empirical application of the methodology. Causal analysis cannot be an illustration of a philosophy of history or be deductible from an axiomatic theory like Parsons's Framework for the analysis of all human action conceived as a system. Causal analysis is also the basis of theory, because correlations of facts do not enable us to generalise immediately, for the exact significance of the correlation can only be determined by a causal analysis. For example, the correlation between Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism can be established in three ways, corresponding to the methods of history, statistics and

\[\text{1 Bendix, "Conduct and History", American Journ. of Sociology, Vol.51, pp.525-526}\]

\[\text{2 see, for example, Parsons's Sociological Theory and Modern Society, Chap.V, Some Preliminaries, p.140.}\]
Historically, one can establish a correlation between Protestantism and economic individualism by means of documentary evidence, if they happen to be found together in a sufficient number of places, but it could not validly be deduced from this evidence of their coincidence that Protestantism was a cause of economic individualism, or vice versa. Similarly, if statistics of Protestant populations and economic activities show an adequately large proportion of Protestants engaged in occupations which are indicators of economic individualism, in several statistical units of population and territory, then a statistical correlation can be said to have been established— and this correlation can be measured in several ways—but still one cannot attribute causal significance to either of the two variables. Weber in fact used a study of such a statistical correlation as the point of departure for his causal analysis. In social anthropology, one can make a field study of the life and customs of a number of small communities or groups, and conclude that they show a correlation between

1 In an interesting article by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Anthony R. Cberschal, "Max Weber and Empirical Social Research", American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, No. 2, April 1965, pp. 185-199, there has been an attempt to explain Weber's 'continual approach and withdrawal' from statistical studies in terms of ambivalence, psychological tensions etc., and as 'a conflict between quantitative and historical work', when it can be explained simply: as both statistical and historical studies are approaches to sociology on the same level and with the same relation to causal analysis and sociological theory, Weber may have found that he had to analyse general historical elements in society before he could explain statistical conclusions in terms of cause and effect, or make theoretical generalisations in sociology. This is borne out by R. Bendix, "Max Weber, An Intellectual Portrait", when he traces the development of Weber's work from economic history to sociology, to some extent.
the Protestant way of life and economic individualism, but, in this case also, one cannot legitimately infer that one is the cause of the other. These are three different approaches in sociological description, but they only establish one category of facts. They cannot, therefore, be the basis of a general sociological theory. Such a theory implies - as indirectly suggested by Bendix in his essay - that it is a body of generalisations on the regularities of human conduct, beliefs, thoughts and ways of organisation - in fact, of social life in general, by reference to which we can understand what is individual. Whether the frame of reference of a causal analysis is an empirical generalisation or a definitional generalisation, either way, sociological theory, like all scientific theory, is liable to corroboration or refutation by an empirical test. A regularity cannot be scientifically predicted unless its causal relations are established. A formulation is possible, which may be in the form of a hypothesis or thesis, but for prediction it is necessary to have enough evidence to support the claim of even a theoretical control of an empirical process or event. This can either be done by a reductionist analysis, in which the more complex forms of the object are a combination and permutation of certain basic elements; or by generalising on the basis of a causal analysis of processes and events which are not reducible to any basic concrete elements. These two categories are not logically incompatible, for in both there is analysis into components. The basic difference is that the former is necessarily deductive: the definition comes first and is crucial, and it is modified constantly in view of later knowledge; but in the latter, the definition comes last, as it is an abstraction from
successively valid generalisations. Weber's theory on Protestant
Ethic is of the second category: it is built on the basis of comparison,
generalisation, and, finally, abstraction. Comparison in Weber's
methodology is not an end in itself - nor illustration of any axiomatic
theory, philosophy of history or sociology - but inextricably involved
in the process of sociological generalisation, for which causal
explanation is important because there is very little direct connection
between means and end in social conduct.

Robert Merton's essay, "Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive
Action", appears to give us a theoretical framework for the analysis
of such indirection in social facts - which is the raison d'être of
sociological analysis - in "the middle range", but, instead, we find
a rambling exercise in the disposition of the possibilities of
'unanticipated consequences of purposive action': e.g., 'unforeseen
consequences should not be identified with consequences which are
necessarily undesirable (from the standpoint of the factor)'. Or:
'Concretely, however, the consequences result from the interplay of
the action and the objective situation, the conditions of action.'

1 American Sociological Review, Vol.1, No.6, Dec. 1936, pp.894-903
2 see Merton, "Unanticipated Consequences", Amer. Soc. Rev., Dec. 1936,
p.894 fn.1; for an impressive list of Merton's predecessors, who
have treated this problem, in the long history of social thought.
3 ibid. p.895
4 ibid. p.895
Merton is 'primarily concerned with the sum-total results of action under certain conditions': 'consequences to the actor(s);' and 'consequences to other persons mediated through (1) the social structure, (2) the culture and (3) the civilization.'

He does not assume 'that in fact social action always involves clear-cut, explicit purpose'; nor must it be 'inferred that purposive action implies rationality' of human action (that persons always use the objectively most adequate means for the attainment of their end).'

In fact, part of Merton's 'analysis is devoted to the determination of these elements which account for concrete deviations from rationality of action'. These elements or factors in action - which can be '(a) unorganized and (b) formally organized' - are (i) "stochastic" or conjectural association, and 'not, as in many fields of the physical sciences, functional associations'; (ii) ignorance; (iii) error; which includes reification; (iv) the "imperious immediacy of interest", i.e. 'where the actor's paramount concern with the foreseen immediate

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2 ibid. p.396
4 ibid. p.396
5 ibid. p.396 fn.11: Merton borrows this term from A. A. Tschuprow, Grundbegriffe und Grundprobleme der Korrelationstheorie, Leipzig, 1925, pp.20 ff. "Stochastic" associations, according to Merton, 'are not inherent in social knowledge but derive from our lack of experimental control'.
6 ibid. p.396
7 ibid. p.900
8 ibid. p.901
9 see ibid. p.901 fn.18
consequences excludes the consideration of further or other consequences of the same act';¹ (v) basic values, which differ from the factor of immediacy of interests 'in a highly significant theoretical sense'.²

In Merton's view, 'after the acute analysis by Max Weber, it goes without saying that action motivated by interest is not antithetical to an exhaustive investigation of the conditions and means of successful action'.³ Weber's Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism is - in Merton's view - a 'classical analysis' of the factor of basic values; and 'he has properly generalized', Merton adds, 'this case, saying that active asceticism paradoxically leads to its own decline through the accumulation of wealth and possessions entailed by decreased consumption and intense productive activity'.⁴ From this Merton generalizes: 'Here is the essential paradox of social action - the "realization" of values may lead to their renunciation';⁵ and, in a paraphrase of Goethe, "Die Kraft, die stets das Gute will, und stets das Bose schafft".⁶

Merton is really concerned, we discover now, with circumstances 'peculiar to human conduct, which stand in the way of successful social prediction and planning'.⁷ i.e. 'in the major elements involved in one

¹ Merton, "Unanticipated Consequences", American Soc. Review, p.901
² ibid. p.903
³ ibid. p.902
⁴ ibid. p.903
⁵ ibid. p.903
⁶ ibid. p.903
⁷ ibid. p.903
fundamental social process'.

This essay can clearly not be a theoretical basis of any sociological analysis, because, in spite of the limits Merton has imposed on it, the factors which he has enumerated are not analytical concepts: they do not enable us to explain the causes of unanticipated consequences by analysis of empirical material, but rather impose an explanation which must necessarily be illustrated by the facts gathered. For, a descriptive theory of unanticipated consequences, which Merton has attempted to present in this essay, is equivalent to the selective principle in Weber's methodology. While the Weberian selective principle does not impose an explanation, but only gives a principle of organizing facts or empirical data, Merton's essay presents a totally selective theory, which has in it a principle of both selection and explanation. The empirical problem set in this essay is not to discover the 'circumstances peculiar to human conduct which stand in the way of successful prediction and planning', but to collect - and presumably to classify - examples of such circumstances as are conditioned by the five factors Merton has enumerated. This early view of sociological analysis and theory is quite consistent with Merton's later attempt to reconcile sociological theory and empirical research through "middle range" theories which have no objective validity. In fact, Merton's unscientific eclecticism - which is similar to Parsons's - is quite obvious from his selection of the subject-matter of this essay from his study of Weber and Pareto, and in his having ignored the fact that both of them

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1 Merton, "Unanticipated Consequences", American Soc. Review, p.904
have quite clearly differentiated the definitional and analytical concepts in their methodologies. Weber's thesis on Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism is not concerned with demonstrating the proposition that 'the "realization" of values may lead to their renunciation'. In the context of his aim of study - the rationalisation of life as a consequence of the Protestant ethic, and the empirical uniqueness of this causal connection which led to the creation of spirit of capitalism in the West - it is clearly seen that, even if we regard the study as of the 'realization of values', and not of a consequence of the interest, created by the world-view of Protestantism, which governed men's conduct, the 'renunciation of the values' is hardly central either to the empirical analysis or to the hypothesis. The unanticipated consequences of purposive action in the Weber thesis is, therefore, obviously not the renunciation of Protestant values, but the spirit of capitalism and the industrial bourgeois capitalism. Neither Luther's nor Calvin's interpretation of Christian values can conceivably be regarded as having been made with a concern for the then unknown future of capitalism.

Weber's theory of 'active asceticism' - the use Merton's phrase - is, therefore, a more practicable sociological theory than either Merton's or Parsons's; because it is based on causal empirical analysis, and also because the objectivity of the empirical conclusions in Weber's study can be tested by his logically consistent methodology. The elements of Merton's theory derived from Pareto can, similarly, be shown to have value for Merton only as illustrations for his theory. Pareto's analytical concepts, like Weber's, have practical applicability
and would enable us to test his theory of residues: which is the basic thesis in Pareto's theoretical system and not an axiomatic statement for which it is mistaken.  

In his later essay, "Sociological Theory", Merton points out 'the need for a closer connection between theory and empirical research'. But the implications are the same as in the essay we have just discussed. The 'conventions for sociological research' which he suggests are: 'formalized derivation' and 'codification', which are, in effect, deduction and induction. His 'sole interest at this point is to translate these logical procedures into terms appropriate to current sociological theory and research'. The conclusions of the research might well include', according to Merton, 'not only a statement of the findings with respect to initial hypotheses, but, when this is in point, an indication of the order of observations needed to test anew the further implications of the investigation': 'one consequence of such formalization is that it serves as a control over the introduction of unrelated, undisciplined and diffuse interpretations'.

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1 see, for example, S. E. Finer's Assessment and Critique in Pareto, Sociological Writings, London, 1966, pp. 72-87
2 American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 50, No. 6, May 1945, pp. 462-475
3 ibid. p. 472
4 ibid. p. 472
5 ibid. p. 472
6 ibid. p. 472
7 ibid. p. 473
which Merton has borrowed from Lazarsfeld, \(^1\) 'seeks to systematize available empirical generalizations in apparently different spheres of behaviour': \(^2\) 'to institute relevant provisional hypotheses' which promise 'to extend theory, subject to further empirical inquiry'. \(^3\)

Here theory obviously means an abstraction - from certain empirical conclusions which have limited objective validity due to a lack of methodological principles governing them - or arbitrary generalisation. It is not a scientific theory, and it negates his apparent aim of relating sociological theory with empirical analysis: it is merely a generalised description of 'unrelated, undisciplined and diffuse interpretations' which Merton himself condemns. There is, as he says at the beginning of the essay, 'a clear and decisive difference between knowing how to test a battery of hypotheses and knowing the theory from which to derive hypotheses to be tested'. \(^4\)

Reinhard Bendix, in his "Concepts and Generalizations in Comparative Sociological Studies", \(^5\) has the same theoretical concern as Merton, to 'develop concepts and generalizations at a level between what is true of all societies and what is true of one society at one

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\(^2\) Merton, op. cit., Am. Journ. of Sociology, May 1945, p.473

\(^3\) ibid. p.473

\(^4\) ibid. p.463

point in time and space.¹ Bendix's essay is - unlike Merton's - a practical contribution to sociological theory. Although Bendix, since his earlier puzzlement with Weber's concept of value-relevance, has avoided a concern with the application of Weber's complete methodology, his selectiveness is not of the same kind as Merton's or Parsons's. He has attempted to use Weber's means of analysis both towards the clarification of theoretical concepts - keeping in view his own selective interests - and for analytical empirical studies.²

In Bendix's view, the contributions of the Comparative Approach are at least three:³ (i) 'Comparisons between "related phenomena in different societies are made possibly by referring them to some sociological universal or 'problematic of the social condition'.⁴ Comparative sociological studies 'take a single issue that is to be found in many (conceivably in all) societies and seek to illuminate it by showing how different societies have dealt with the same issue'.⁵ An example of this, according to Bendix, is Weber's study of 'the secular causes and consequences of religious doctrines', in which 'he identified one such issue'.⁶ (ii) 'Many sociological concepts are

² see, for example, his "Traditional and Modernity Reconsidered", Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.IX, No.3, April 1967, pp.292-346
⁴ ibid. p.535
⁵ ibid. p.535
⁶ ibid. p.535
composite terms formulating a limited body of the evidence', and their
use 'without regard to this limitation' can be prevented by comparative
studies.\(^1\) (iii) 'Social structures have a space-and-time dimension'
and 'to formulate concepts appropriate to such structures it is necessary
to allow for the variations which are compatible with — or even
characteristic of — each type of structure. The enumeration of a
cluster of interrelated attributes is not sufficient for this purpose.'\(^2\)
'Where analysis emphasizes the chronology and individual sequence' it
is historical; 'where it emphasizes the pattern' it is sociological.\(^3\)
'Comparative sociological studies are especially suited to elucidate
such patterns because they tend to increase the "visibility" of one
structure by contrasting it with another';\(^4\) and by exposing concepts
and generalisations to a wider range of evidence than is customary,
they are 'likely to impart a salutary degree of nominalism to the
terms we use'.\(^5\) In this essay Bendix 'seeks to hold a balance between
grand theory and the descriptive accounts of area-studies'.\(^6\) This
corresponds to the views of Merton and T. H. Marshall, which may have
led to what Ralf Dahrendorf calls 'a commendable rediscovery of empirical

\(^{1}\) Bendix, "Comparative Sociological Studies", Am. Soc. Rev., August
1963, p. 536

\(^{2}\) ibid. p. 537

\(^{3}\) ibid. p. 537

\(^{4}\) ibid. p. 537

\(^{5}\) ibid. p. 538

\(^{6}\) ibid. p. 539
problems of investigation'\textsuperscript{1}. But Dahrendorf's own suggestion for 'a reorientation of sociological analysis' has neither the practical applicability of Bendix's ideas, nor is it in any way a less 'utopian' formulation than Parsons's social system which he criticises. Dahrendorf would start with 'a fact or a set of facts that is puzzling the investigator',\textsuperscript{2} inviting the question "why?",\textsuperscript{3} a question which - in his words - 'has inspired that noble human activity in which we are engaged - science'.\textsuperscript{4} However, he sees 'little point in restating methodological platitudes',\textsuperscript{5} but, nevertheless, 'a scientific discipline that is problem-conscious at every stage of its development is very unlikely ever to find itself in the prison of utopian thought or to separate theory and research. Problems require explanation; explanations require assumptions or models and hypotheses derived from such models; hypotheses, which are always, by implication, predictions as well as explanatory propositions, require testing by further facts; testing often generates new problems.'\textsuperscript{6} Dahrendorf adds what he believes is not 'not so trivial methodological point - that we realize the proper function of empirical

\textsuperscript{1} Ralf Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia: Towards a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis, American Journal of Sociology, Vol.64, No.2, September 1958, p.123

\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.123

\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.123

\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.123

\textsuperscript{5} ibid. p.123

\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.124
empirical testing': "As Popper has demonstrated" - to quote Dahrendorf further - 'in many of his works since 1935 (the year of publication of Logik der Forschung), there can be no verification in science; empirical tests serve to falsify accepted theories, and every refutation of a theory is a triumph of scientific research. Testing that is designed to confirm hypotheses neither advances our knowledge nor generates new problems'.

At the very beginning of Logik der Forschung we find a sentence which may be translated as follows:

"The task of the scientist is to present propositions or systems of propositions and to test them systematically; in empirical sciences they are, specifically, hypotheses, theoretical systems, presented and tested, through observation and experiment, according to experience."\(^1\)

In the section on the deductive testing of theories, Popper writes that 'the method of critical testing, the selection of theories, according to our definition, is always as follows: From the preliminary ungrounded anticipation of the notion, the hypothesis or the theoretical system are drawn inferences, from which one determines the logical relations (e.g. equivalence, derivability, compatibility and contradiction) that

\(^1\) Ralf Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia", Am. J. of Sociology, Sept. 1958, p.124 fn.15


"Die Tätigkeit des wissenschaftlichen Forschers besteht darin, Sätze oder Systeme von Sätzen aufzustellen und systematisch zu überprüfen; in den empirischen Wissenschaften sind es instendere Hypothesen, Theoriensysteme, die aufgestellt und an der Erfahrung durch Beobachtung und Experiment überprüft werden."
exist between them.¹

There are four ways in which the test can be applied: (i) the logical comparison of inferences with one another, through which the system's inner consistency is to be investigated; (ii) an investigation of the logical form of the theory, with the object of determining whether it has the character of an empirical-scientific theory, that is, it is not tautological; (iii) comparison with other theories, among other things, to determine whether the theory which is being tested is confirmed in the comparison to be a scientific improvement; and (iv) finally, through empirical application of the inferences drawn.

The last test should determine whether the new conclusions, which the theory maintains, can be confirmed in practice, perhaps in scientific experiments or technical application. Even here the process of testing is deductive: From the system (with the use of propositions already accepted) empirical, possibly easily testable or applicable individual inferences (prognoses) are deduced, and those which are not derivable from known systems can be separated from them or are contradictory, as the case may be. On these inferences, experiments and practical application are decisive. If the result is positive, then the odd or singular results are accepted, verified, so the system of investigation is, for the time being, confirmed, and we have no reason to reject it. In the case the result is negative, the inferences are falsified;

¹ K. Popper, Logik der Forschung, "Die deduktive Überprüfung der Theorien, pp.5–6.
so that the falsification applies to the system, as well, from which they are deduced.

The positive result can only support the system temporarily; it can be rejected later by negative results. But so long as a system comes through an incisive and strict deductive tests and is not set aside by a progressive development in science, we say that it is confirmed. Elements of inductive logic do not at all come into the process sketched here; we can never conclude from the validity of individual propositions the validity of theories.1

From the evidence of these translated extracts from Popper's theory of knowledge in modern natural science, we find that Dahrendorf has completely misunderstood the process of empirical test of theories, indeed, the nature of scientific theory itself.

He is, however, 'advocating a sociological science that is inspired by the moral fibre of its forefathers'.2 This 'problem-consciousness'3 is, in fact, the subjective impulse of the scientist to undertake a particular field of inquiry and has nothing whatsoever to do with the actual content of his study. This confusion between value-interpretation and value-relevance is most significant4 for

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1 K. Popper, Logik der Forschung, pp.6-7
3 ibid. p.124
understanding the development of Dahrendorf's theory, of conflict, role-interests, and home sociologicus for it has dictated not only the moral choice which Dahrendorf has made for sociology in favour, first, of the Marxist theory of conflict, and, later, of individual freedom, but also the way his theory lacks objective validity. Thus, it is hardly possible to accept it as a contribution 'towards a reorientation of sociological analysis'.

Firstly, he criticises Parsons for having a utopian model, characterized by immobility, isolated in time and space, absence of conflict and disruptive processes. He is not concerned with Parsons's 'excellent and important philosophical analysis of

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1 R. Dahrendorf, Class after conflict: New perspectives on the theory of social and political conflict, Longmans for the University of Essex, 1967, pp.16-17


3 Dahrendorf, Class after Conflict, p.16

4 Dahrendorf, Home Sociologicus, p.74: "Soll die Soziologie nicht zum Instrument der Unfreiheit und Ummenschlichkeit werden, so ist mehr vom Soziologen verlangt. Das Bewusstsein des ganzen Menschen und seines Anspruches auf Freiheit muss als Hintergrund jeden Satz, den er spricht oder schreibt, bestimmen; ..."

The Structure of Social Action', nor with 'his numerous perceptive contributions to the understanding of empirical phenomena'; but rejects the cures of 'the malady of utopianism', suggested by T. H. Marshall, and his 'sociological stepping stones in the middle distance', and by R. K. Merton, in his 'theories of the middle range', because both of them have been based on 'a wrong diagnosis': 'that by simply reducing the level of generality we can solve all problems'.

In Dahrendorf's - as in Merton's and Marshall's - view 'no theory can be divorced from empirical research', and vice versa; and his 'problem-consciousness' - which we have discussed earlier - 'is not merely a means of avoiding idealogical biases, but an indispensible condition of progress in any discipline of human inquiry'. This problem-consciousness has led him to suggest 'an alternative model' which he calls the "conflict model of society": 'the great creative

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1 Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia", Am. Jour. of Sociology, Sept. 1958, p.122. This seems strange as Parsons has been quite consistent in developing his particular view of sociological theory, from his essay "Ultimate Values" of 1955 as the beginning. The 'malady of utopianism' can be attributed to all his theoretical works, if it is attributed to one concept like the 'social system'.

2 cf. Dahrendorf's theory of conflict with Marshall's notion of social phenomena being divided into non-system, pro-system and anti-system, in his Society at Crossroads and Other Essays, London, 1963, p.23 and p.31


4 ibid. p.123 fn.14

5 ibid. p.123

6 ibid. p.124

7 ibid. p.126
force that carries along change in the model is social conflict.\textsuperscript{1} He does not 'assume that conflict is always violent and uncontrolled. There is probably a continuum from civil war to parliamentary debate, from strikes and lockouts to joint consultation.'\textsuperscript{2}

The three notions which he would make an alternative to Parsons's 'utopian' notion of the social system are: change, conflict and constraint - 'not by universal agreement but by the coercion of some by others'.\textsuperscript{3} He assumes that conflict is ubiquitous, since it is 'ubiquitous wherever human beings set up social organizations'.\textsuperscript{4} He, however, would not 'fall victim to the mistake of many structural-functional theorists and advance for the conflict model a claim to comprehensive and exclusive applicability': \textsuperscript{5} 'we may 'need for the explanation of sociological problems both the equilibrium and the conflict models of society; and it may well be that, in a philosophical sense, society has two faces of equal reality: one of stability, harmony and consensus and one of change, conflict and constraint'.\textsuperscript{5} He adds in a footnote: 'In philosophical terms, however, it is hard to see what other models of society there could be which are not of either the equilibrium or the conflict type.'\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia", Am. Jour. of Soc. Sept. 1958, p.126
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. p.126
\textsuperscript{3} ibid. p.127
\textsuperscript{4} ibid. p.127
\textsuperscript{5} ibid. p.127
\textsuperscript{6} ibid. p.127
\textsuperscript{7} ibid. p.127 fn.19
It is, nevertheless, not difficult to see that this imposition of an alternative model of society as a means of sociological analysis is not an improvement on Parsons's social system, but simply additional elements in an essentially non-objective descriptive theory, which can neither be corroborated nor refuted. There can be no scientific test as Popper has outlined it, because it has no empirical basis. By empirical basis we mean a methodology through which sociological analysis of an empirical correlation which may be hypothesized in terms of either Parsons's or Dahrendorf's model, or even of a composite model, can be made. For, if we take Jeber's methodology to be implicit, then the confusion of the scientist's interest or 'problem-consciousness' in these two models with value-relevance precludes the construction of any objectively valid ideal-types wherein causal relationships could be investigated.

If, on the other hand, we ignore Dahrendorf's implied rejection of the structural-functional methodology, and consider it applicable to this theory, in view of its intrinsic dependence on the Parsonian social system, we find that the best that an empirical test can do is to classify the examples of consensus and conflict, and perhaps statistically measure their ratio in different societies. As there cannot be any sociological analysis in the circumstance, we can neither claim to make an objectively valid empirical generalisation nor an objective sociological theory - which can be tested by the procedure given in Popper's theory of scientific discovery.
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