



PORTRAYAL OF GŪRŪ NĀNAK IN MUSLIM COMPENDIUM: AN APPRAISAL

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Abstract

Gūrū Nānak (1469-1539), is one of the celebrated personalities of Indo-Pāk subcontinent who had earned a name due to his religious and harmonious thoughts. He is a founder of Sikhism and equally revered among the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims of South Asia on the basis of his teachings. Although he is renowned universally, nonetheless, he is appealing to all as Muslim hagiographers of South Asia considered him a Muslim saint while Hindus and Sikhs acknowledged him as a founder of Sikhism. A lot of work has been done by various writers in the form of *Janamsākhīs*, hagiographies, historical compilations and poetry to describe the life and time of Bābā Gūrū Nānak, but mostly this work is done by Sikhs therefore, there is a dire need to understand the portrayal of Gūrū Nānak in non-Sikh sources. This research is an attempt to explore the discussions about this Ṣūfī saint in the Muslim account that how they have perceived the ideas and thoughts of Bābā Gūrū Nānak in their hagiographies. This study is also unique in nature as an effort has been made to introduce the maximum South Asian Muslim important primary sources which presented portray of Gūrū Nānak, his life and discourse. Moreover, an endeavor has also been made to scrupulously dissect this literature regarding the biography of Gūrū Nānak. Likewise, the originality and genuineness of *Ādī Granth* and *Janamsākhīs* about Gūrū Nānak have also been critically examined.

Keywords: Gūrū Nānak, Sikhism, hagiographical compendium, Chishtī Ṣūfīs, *Ādī Granth*.

Introduction

Gūrū Nānak like Bābā Farīd (d. 1265) is considered as one of revered personalities among all the communities of Indo-Pāk subcontinent. However, regarding his faith and religious discourse, he is considered as a controversial one. There are four different notions existed about Gūrū Nānak's faith as well as Sikhism such as i), many Sikh intellectuals postulated that Gūrū Nānak was a divine person chosen by God and he introduced a new hybrid kind of religion which was mixture of Islamic and Hindu teachings. ii), some Hindu and Sikh scholars considered him a Hindu reformer and Sikhism as a revivalist movement within Hinduism iii), third group believe that Gūrū Nānak had a profound impact of Ṣūfīs but still he was a Hindu reformer iv), Muslim historians particularly hagiographers considered him a Muslim Ṣūfī.

Gūrū Nānak has earned a huge respect among Muslim masses as well as rulers like Ṣahīr al-dīn Bābar (r. 1526-30), the founder of Mughal rule in India shown great esteem to Gūrū Nānak. Akbar the Great (r. 1526-30), personally visited Gūrū Arjan (d. 1606)¹ owing to Gūrū Nānak high spiritual status as Gūrū Arjan was his spiritual successor. However, it was Nūr al-dīn Jahāngīr (r. 1605-27), who infused the seed of contention, he not only disdained Sikh Gūrūs including Gūrū Nānak, declared them non-believers but also executed Gūrū Arjan. He further maintains that not only Hindus, but many foolish and ill-faithed stupid Muslims also followed Sikh Gūrūs.² It is quite clear that he took action owing to high popularity of these Gūrūs which he reckoned a threat for his rule and that's why he took

¹Abū al-Faḍal, *Akbār-nāmah* Vol. III. trans. H. Beveridge (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 2000, first published in 1921), 1115.

²Nūr al-dīn Jahāngīr, *Tuzk-i Jahāngīrī* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, n.d), 45.



immediate action against Gūrū Arjan when he offered shelter to prince Khusraū who was a revolted prince.

The current study considers that maximum Muslim sources deal with Gūrū Nānak from biggining till 1940. By and large, these sources are of two categories including historical and hagiographical compilations. In this regard, Mobid Zulfiqār Ardistanī's *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*³ is the first Muslim work which discusses Gūrū Nānak as well as Sikhism in great detail. Zulfiqār Ardistanī (d. 1670) was also a good friend of Sixth Gūrū Hargōbind (1606-1645), and in this way his work has won great importance in academia and also reckoned as an early-contemporary Muslim work on Gūrū Nānak. Similarly, Qāsim 'Ibrat Lāhōrī's *'Ibrat Nāmāh* completed in 1723 provides precise information about Gūrū Nānak, *Siyar al-Mutākharīn* of Mīr Ghulām Ḥussain Khān Ṭabāṭābī completed in 1781 is another very important work regarding Muslim rule in India, it precisely discusses Gūrū Nānak. Ghulām 'Alī Khān's *'Imād-us-Sa'adāt* completed in 1808, 'Abdul Karīm's *Tārīkh-i Punjāb Tuḥfa al-Aḥbāb* completed in 1849, Muftī 'Alī al-dīn's *'Ibrat Nāmāh* completed in 1854, Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī's *Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjāb* completed in 1868 and *Tārīkh-i Punjāb* of Sayed Muḥammad Laṭīf published in 1891, are some other important historical sources which provided information about Gūrū Nānak. The hagiographical sources which included in this study are Khwājah Ḥassan Niẓāmī's *Sikh Qūm Awr us kay Bānī kī Nisbat Musalmānōn kī Muḥabbat āmīz Raī* (The Love-filled Views of Muslims about the Sikh Community and its Founder), published in 1922, ṣūfī Ghulām Qāsim Qādirī's *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak* published in 1923 and Muḥammad 'Abdullah Muntazir's *Nānak* completed in 1940.

Portrayal of Gūrū Nānak in Muslim Literature

The existing Sikhism hardly reckons as Muslims as they have their own different religious practices, traditions social and economic norms as well as religious festivals. However, Muslim hagiographers as well as historians postulated Gūrū Nānak as a Muslim saint and his followers were considered akin to Muslims owing to his teachings and practices. The silent features of Gūrū Nānak describes by Muslim intellectuals are mentioned as under:

Early Life

Nānak Shāh Faqīr or Bābā Nānak was born in 1469 CE. He was born in a village known as Talwandī⁴-- now a days known as Nānakāna Ṣāḥib, a city of Pākistānī Punjāb-- . Parents of Bābā Nānak were Hindus from *khatarī* or Bēdī cast, Bēdī is a subdivision of *khatarī* tribe. He is a founder of Sikhism. Sikh literal meaning disciple, follower, or devotee; it is a term coined by Bābā Nānak for his followers. In his teenage he become popular for his good character, probity, beauty of his personality as well as his talent.⁵

Tawaḥīd

Almost all the Muslim compilations which address Gūrū Nānak, are unanimously claimed that he had firm believe on *Tawaḥīd* (Oneness of God). He got his education from a prominent Muslim saint named Sayed Ḥassan who was a *ṣāḥib-i ḥāl* darwaish and who beside *sharia* education, also esoterically

³The authorship of *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* is contentious, however, the fact is that Zulfiqār Ardistanī is its author, Ḥāfīz Ghulām Murtaza, *Introduction to Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* (Lahore: Institution of Islamic Culture, 2002), 2-12). However, some orientalist and popular Sikh historian Ganda Singh and Tārā Chand have mentioned Muḥsin Fānī as its author (*Introduction to The Dabistan, School of Manners*, vol.1. trans. David Shea & Anthony Troyer (Paris: 1843), 7-12). Ganda Singh, "Nanak Panthis or The Sikh and Sikhism of the 17th Century". Dr. Tārā Chand, *GURU NANAK (from Influence of Islam on Indian Culture)* Dr. Rashīd Aḥmad Jalenderī mention Kai Khusru Asfandyār as its author. (Preface to *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* (Lahore: Institution of Islamic Culture, 2002), 4).

⁴Ghulām Hussain Khān Ṭabāṭābī, *Siyar al-Mutākharīn* (compl. 1781) Vol. 2 (Lucknow: Nawal Kishōre, 1897), 401; see also Sayed Ghulām 'Alī Khān *'Imād al-Sa'adāt* (compl. 1808) (Lucknow: Nawal Kishōre, n.d), 70; see also Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, *Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjāb* (compl. 1868) (Lucknow: Nawal Kishōre, 1877), 473-74; see also Sayed Muḥammad Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb: From the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time* (Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company, 1891), 240.

⁵Ṭabāṭābī, *Siyar al-Mutākharīn*, 401; see also Lāhōrī, *Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjāb*, 473; see also Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 241; see also Ṣūfī Ghulām Qāsim Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak* (Amritsar: 'Abdul Karīm printers, 1923),10.



blessed Nānak. Sayed Ḥassan profoundly impressed with the beauty of Nānak's character and developed great affection and love for him. Nānak studied under him the most sacred books of Islām and Ṣūfīsm. He was so impressed with his teacher's methodology as well as Islām that in his free time he kept himself busy to make notes of Islamic philosophy into poetic style in Punjābī language which was his mother tongue. The followers of Nānak Faqīr's cult are reckoned similar to the Ṣūfīs of Hindustan⁶ rather than the Hindus or Hindu mystics. Additionally, owing to Nānak's Islamic preachings to his followers, Khwājah Ḥassan Niẓāmī, therefore postulated that the Sikhs are Muslims.⁷ From his childhood Gūrū Nānak attracts attention to Islām, Ṣūfīsm as well as *Tawaḥīd* mostly because of his aforementioned mystic teacher Sayed Ḥassan. Moreover, another anonymous Muslim saint--Muslim hagiographers did not mention his name it seems he might be a *majzūb* or ascetic saint like Ibrāhīm Qandūzī who blessed Khwājah Mu'īn al-dīn Ḥassan (d. 1236) the founder Chishtīyyah *silsilah* in Hindūstān and these ascetics saints mostly remained unknown due to their itinerant nature and not staying permanently in any place--who casted a divine look and spiritually captivated him. In this way Nānak distributed everything he possess and abandoned the world and worldly desires. He even did not eat anything for a long time.⁸ Maulvi Qutab al-dīn was another teacher of Bābā Nānak.⁹ Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī "an unparalleled scholar" of the nineteenth century-India¹⁰ and Sayed Ghulām 'Alī Khān maintain that Bābā Nānak was popular for his *Khudā Shanāsī* (Godliness), worshiping and devotion with Allah.¹¹ 'Allāmah Muḥammad Iqbāl (d. 1938), a renowned Islamic philosopher and poet declared Gūrū Nānak similar to Prophet Ibrāhīm for India who inculcates the true message of *Tawaḥīd* among the idol worshipers as he maintains:

But, age later, the house of idols was lit up again

Āzar's house was lit up by Abraham!

Again, from the Punjab the call of monotheism arose: A perfect man roused India from slumber.¹²

As mentioned above, one of the significant prowess of Nānak's personality mentioned in Muslim sources is his firm believe on *Tawaḥīd*. It is the law of Allah Almighty that whenever the people or a nation look down upon the spirituality and the divine laws, Allah Almighty sends some of His friend, *mujaddid*, *Rishī Munī*, a spiritual leader or a guide to the earth. Gūrū Nānak is such a saint sent to India during fifteen century CE. From the very young age of five years, Gūrū Nānak kept himself busy in meditation and *dhikar* (remembrance), and even enjoyed the ecstatic condition in that age--similar condition in this age prevailed on Bābā Farīd--. Gūrū Nānak teaches and preaches pure *Tawaḥīd* to his people.¹³

Where Holy Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) launched a thorough, equitable and notion of *Tawaḥīd* in the world. Gūrū Nānak preached such *Tawaḥīd* among the people of Hindūstān. Additionally, Nānak is mentioned as a "true friend of the true Allah", "ocean of monotheism," and "True missionary of *Tawaḥīd*."¹⁴ Moreover, Gūrū Nānak like Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) is a beloved of Allah. Whenever

⁶Tabāṭābī, *Siyar al-Mutākhharīn*, 401.

⁷Khwājah Ḥassan Niẓāmī, *Sikh Qūm Awr Us kay Bānī kī Nisbat Musalmānon kī Muḥabbat āmīz Ra'ī* (The Love-filled Views of Muslims about the Sikh Community and its Founder) (Batālah: Khwājah Press, 1922), 4-12

⁸Mobid Zulfiqār Ardistānī, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishōre, n.d), 223.

⁹Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 16.

¹⁰Marcia Hermansen, *Imagining Space and Siting Collective Memory in South Asian Muslim Biographical Literature (Tadhkira)*. Studies in Contemporary Islam, 4 (2) (Ohio: Centre for Islamic Studies, Youngstown State University Press, 2002), 11-12.

¹¹Lāhōrī, *Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjāb*, 473-74.

¹²Allāmah Muḥammad Iqbāl, "Nānak" in *Bāng-i Darā* (New Delhi: Sīmānat Parkāsh, 1996), 134.

¹³*Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 223; see also Niẓāmī, *Sikh Qūm Awr Us kay Bānī kī Nisbat Musalmānon kī Muḥabbat āmīz Ra'ī*, 35; see also Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 44-45. see also Muḥammad 'Abdullah Muntazir, *Nānak* (Gujranwala: 1940), 194-95

¹⁴Latīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 246; see also Niẓāmī, *Sikh Qūm Awr Us kay Bānī kī Nisbat Musalmānon kī Muḥabbat āmīz Ra'ī*, 35-40.

he possesses any material object he distributes it promptly among the poor.¹⁵ Similarly, Khwājah Ḥassan Niẓāmī describes certain common and popular prowess and attributions of Islamic mysticism and Gūrū Nānak such as remembrance (*dhikar*), seeking the company of a true spiritual preceptor, to serve the preceptor sincerely regarding the accomplishment of spirituality, charity or spends money in the way of Allah, love for poverty and the poor people, good deeds, piety and probity, worship, *khalwat dar Ānjuman* (inwardly to be with Allah, outwardly with people), sincerity, dedication and devotion in religious practices, distributes all the possession among the people, disdain the anger and loathsome.¹⁶ Besides *Tawaḥīd*, Gūrū Nānak also believes on the Prophethood of Holy Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH). Additionally, although he did not offer congregational prayer owing to non-availability of true divinely devotion of the Imām of mosque, however, he visited mosques and preferred individual prayer,¹⁷ moreover, for prayers he also built mosques.¹⁸

Profound Meditation of Allah Almighty and Disdain Idol Worshipping

The Muslim intellectuals extolled Gūrū Nānak's extreme devotion with Allah Almighty. He abnegated the world and worldly desires and kept himself busy all the time in meditation and worship of Allah almighty.¹⁹ He strictly disdains idol worshipping and the image worshipping.²⁰ Moreover, he buried his chief disciple Mardāna according to Islamic rituals.²¹ Muslim hagiographers declared *Ādī Granth* as sacred book of Sikhism.

Pilgrimage and visiting Islamic Holy Places

Like other devoted Muslim Gūrū Nānak too, visited Islamic holy places including holy Ka'aba, Mosque of Holy Prophet (PBUH), and the hospice of Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Jīllānī (d. 1165). Initially, he wore *āḥrām* (dress of ḥajj or pilgrimage) in the Arab land and finally reached Ka'aba and stayed there for a many days. Qāḍī Rukn al-dīn, Imām of holy Ka'aba also visited Gūrū Nānak and discussed with him about the differences between Hindūism and Islām. Gūrū Nānak replied that it depends on the deeds of a person.²² An incident is also quoted that Qāḍī Rukn al-dīn at first did not like Gūrū Nānak as he was putting his foot towards Holy Ka'aba. Nānak when came to know he replied to put his feet in a direction where the house of God does not exist.²³

From holy Ka'aba, Gūrū Nānak left for Madīnah Munawarah. At Madīnah, many leading Ṣūfīs and 'ulemā started religious debate with him. One among these saints extolled his high spiritual level as well as his spiritual poetry. Upon the question about his belief on Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the first four pious caliphs, Gūrū Nānak avowed that he believes on them. He set too near to the grave of holy Prophet (PBUH) and started to sing devotional songs loudly with great devotion. When people tried to refrain from him, he said *samā'* is permitted for the mendicants and that Ṣūfīs considered it permissible in Islām. From Madīnah, he left for Baghdād and visited the shrine of Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Jīllānī and like at the Mosque of Holy Prophet (PBUH), he again started devotional songs. The eminent saints of Baghdād joined his assembly, appreciated him and his *kalām* and in response Gūrū Nānak also appreciated them.²⁴

The people of Baghdād deemed Gūrū Nānak as a Muslim saint owing to his preaching of Islām, especially *Tawaḥīd*, remembrance and *dūrūd*. His house at Baghdād is still intact known as "House of

¹⁵Niẓāmī, *Sikh Qūm Awr Us kay Bānī kī Nisbat Musalmānon kī Muḥabbat āmīz Ra'ī*, 43.

¹⁶Niẓāmī, *Sikh Qūm Awr Us kay Bānī kī Nisbat Musalmānon kī Muḥabbat āmīz Ra'ī*, 43-48.

¹⁷Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 246-48.

¹⁸Muḥammad Qāsim 'Ibrat Lāhōrī, *'Ibrat Nāmāh* (compl.1723), ed. Zāhūr al-dīn Aḥmad (Lāhōre: Pakistan Research Institute, University of Punjāb, 1977), 55.

¹⁹Khān *'Imād al-Sa'adāt*, 70; see also Lāhōrī, *Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjāb*, 473.

²⁰Ardistānī, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 223; see also Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 241; see also Niẓāmī, *Sikh Qūm Awr Us kay Bānī kī Nisbat Musalmānon kī Muḥabbat āmīz Ra'ī*, 47; see also Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 89.

²¹Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 77.

²²'Ibrat Lāhōrī, *'Ibrat Nāmāh*, ed. Aḥmad, 55; see also Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 65-68; See also Muntazir, *Nānak*, 164-67; see also Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 243; see also Bḥāī Bālā, *Janamsākhīs Shrī Guru Nanak Dev Jī Mahārāj*, trans Ajit Singh Awlakh (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, 2013), 115-17.

²³Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 243.

²⁴Muntazir, *Nānak*, 167-170; see also Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 68-70.

Nānak Pir". Cruel governor of Baghdād repentance at his hand and presented him an embroidered dress of Quranic verses as a gift which is still intact. He also visited eminent ṣūfīs' shrines of Iran, Herāt, Iṣfahān, Bukhāra and as per his custom, kept himself busy in remembrance at these shrines. He also visited Sakhī Sarwar, another popular saint of Hindūstān, both saints had great love and devotion with each other.²⁵ Additionally, he performed a *Chillah* under the supervision of Shaykh 'Abdul Raḥmān Bakhtiyār,²⁶ and spent time with Shaykh Ibrāhīm a *Sajjādah nashīn* of Bābā Farīd Ganj-i-Shakar.²⁷ Likewise, he joined the company of many other prominent ṣūfīs.²⁸ Additionally, he became a firm advocate of Unity of Being²⁹ a popular doctrine of Sufism introduced in Islamic mysticism by Shaykh al-Akbar Muḥy al-dīn Ibne 'Arabī (d. 1240).

Similarly, Khwājah Ḥassan Niẓāmī stated that *ḥaq Allah* is equal to *Sat Sri ākāl*³⁰--*Bole so nihāl Sat Sri ākāl* is a popular Sikh phrase which means 'God is ultimate truth' and they said when greeting each other--. He further maintains that "Sikhs are Muslims and Muslims are Sikhs". In fact, with respect to their national traits and all practical purposes, the Sikhs are Muslims without any doubt and soon would merge with their fellow Muslims (Islām). He further glosses that like Muslim mosques and unlike Hindu temples, the Sikhs therefore does not allow the Hindus and others to keep idols or worship idols in *gurdwārah*--Sikhs' worship place--and consider this practice against Sikhism. Like Holy Quran teaches in the mosques by Muslim teachers, the Sikhs teach *Gūrū Granth* in *gurdwārah*. As the Hindus are also devotees of Gūrū Nānak and in this regards they also visited *gurdwārah*. Some Hindu even become custodians of *gurdwārah*. They, unfortunately, placed idols in *gurdwārah*. The Sikhs disdained this action and forcefully outs these idols from there. The Sikhs further decided that the Hindu Pandits have no right to become custodian of their *gurdwārah*.³¹

Miracles

Numerous miracles of Gūrū Nānak described in Muslim some of these are such as i), Bābar got the throne of Delhi owing to prayers of Gūrū Nānak,³² ii), Nānak removed the guilt of a virtuous woman who helped him when the children stitched up his eyelids, nose and ears. That particular woman unstitched them but received allegation of adultery when people found Nānak come out from her house. However, when people of that town failed to open its entrance gate, Nānak therefore predicted that it would be opened by a woman who did not indulge in adultery and when all women fail to open the gate, the same woman who helped Nānak successfully opened it,³³ iii), Gūrū Nānak appointed as an in charge of alms house of Nawāb Daulat Khān and he distributed all the food among the needy and during investigation Nawāb found that all the food stuff was available at alms house, iv), God not only speaks to Gūrū Nānak but also praised him, v), a black snake protect Nānak from the hot rays of sun³⁴ are some miracles of Nānak selected from Muslim sources. However, he has so many miracles that according to Ardīstānī one can compile a complete book on them.

Death

Gūrū Nānak breathed his last in 1539 CE and on his death a trauma was stem as both Hindu and Muslim communities wanted to perform his burial ceremonies according to their respective religions. Surprisingly, his dead body was disappeared, and a shroud and some flowers were available at his

²⁵Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 70-80: see also Muntazir, *Nānak*, 171.

²⁶Lāhōrī, *Ibrat Nāmāh*, 55.

²⁷Muḥī 'Alī al-dīn, *Ibrat Nāmāh* (compl. 1854) (Lahore: Punjābī Adabī Academy, 1961), 159; see also Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 245.

²⁸'Alī al-dīn, *Ibrat Nāmāh*, 157; see also Lāhōrī, *Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjāb*, 473.

²⁹Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 246.

³⁰Niẓāmī, *Sikh Qūm Awr Us kay Bānī kī Nisbat Musalmānon kī Muḥabbat āmīz Ra'ī*, 36.

³¹*Ibid.*, 4-12.

³²Ardīstānī, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 223-24; see also Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 79.

³³Ardīstānī, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 224.

³⁴Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 243-48.

death place. So, half shroud and flowers buried by the Muslims and other half burnt by the Hindus according to their religious traditions.³⁵

Critical Analysis

Some legends and irrational events and information found in the aforementioned Muslim compendiums. These are like i), Zulfiqār Ardistanī maintains Gūrū Nānak permanently abandoned food and lived on air or ate air for a long period of time³⁶ which is hardly acceptable and the early Sikh sources--although *Janamsākhīs* are also fabricated-- silent about this supernatural prowess of Nānak. Medically, it is not justifiable that a person lives without eating and drinking--water, milk, or medically any permissible liquid-- for a long time. However, numerous eminent Ṣūfīs including Bābā Farīd (d. 1265) and Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (d. 1562) rarely eat food but they relied on wild fruit and grass, ii), Gūrū Nānak abandoned animal food or meat³⁷ contradicts with *Gūrū Granth*, (*Var Mahar Ki*) as well as some Muslim hagiographical sources,³⁸ iii), it is falsely postulates that Gūrū Nānak wore *zanār* (Brahminical thread) in his neck as he already rejected to wear Brahminical thread and pandit Hardiāl failed to convince him in this matter. Additionally, it was *sehlī* (a black woolen string) wore by the Muslim saints rather Brahminical thread³⁹ iv), It is hardly believable that someone sew up one's ear, nose and mouth and he or she does not feel any pain, moreover, that incident is also not available in contemporaries Sikh sources of Gūrū Nānak, v), Gūrū Nānak visited Hell, visited the people of Hell and return to this physical world again, he preaches the same people to save them from Hell and that all Sikhs are people he saw in the Hell, but Nānak successfully saved them⁴⁰ is mere a legend.

vi), Ṭabāṭābī and Laṭīf mentions Sayed Ḥassan a prominent teacher of Gūrū Nānak who teaches him prominent Islamic theological and mystical books is not mentioned in early Sikh source, vii), Muḥammad Laṭīf mentions that a tree in which Gūrū Nānak conceal himself after the incident of *khara souda* (unalloyed bargain)-- his encounter with a group of hungry saints and he fed them with the amount given by his father for business purposes-- in his teenage is still exist is hardly acceptable, viii), Nānak visited *Gorakh Nāth* and numerous Islands⁴¹ is hardly justifiable as *Gorakh Nāth* a legendary personality born centuries before Nānak. Moreover, the South Asian medieval Muslim intellectuals and Ṣūfīs considered *Gorakh Nāth* as a prophet, particularly apostle Khiḍar,⁴² ix) Gūrū Nānak visited Sakhī Sarwar is another legend as the later died in 1181 CE, x), where Qādirī argues that Gūrū Nānak buried his chief disciple *Mardāna* according to Islamic rituals,⁴³ Laṭīf postulates that *Mardāna's* dead body was burnt according to the wish of Nānak.⁴⁴

'Ibrat Lāhōrī's argument that Gūrū Nānak performed *Chillah* under Shaykh 'Abdul Raḥmān Bakhtiyār is not found in any early Sikh as well as Muslim source. Khwājah Ḥassan Niḏāmī's postulation that Sikhs are Muslims is debatable. It seems Khwājah Ḥassan Niḏāmī's hagiography of Nānak is an effort to unite Sikhism and Islām against the extremist Hindus. Niḏāmī's approach arises owing to hold a sway over the extremist Hindu Mahasabha in politics and emergence of its different anti-Muslim wings

³⁵ Alī al-dīn, *Ibrat Nāmāh*, 161; see also Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 248; see also Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 83-84; see also Muntazir, *Nānak*, 187-88.

³⁶ Ardistanī, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 223.

³⁷ Ibid.,

³⁸ Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 47.

³⁹ Ganda Singh, "Nanak Panthis or The Sikh and Sikhism of the 17th Century", *Journal of Indian History*, footnote, 8, p, 200.

⁴⁰ Ardistanī, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 232.

⁴¹ Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 242-45.

⁴² Abdul Qudūs Gangōhī, *Rushd Nāmāh*, trans. Nisār Aḥmad Asharafi (Rodūlī: Jam'at Chishtiyyah, 2019), 105-124; see also Carl W. Ernst, "The Islamization of Yoga in the Amrtakunda Translations". *The Royal Asiatic Society*, series 3, 13, 2, (2003): 208; see also Carl W. Ernst, "Sufism and Yoga According to Muhammad Ghawth". *Sufi*, Issue, 29. (Spring:1996): 10-12.

⁴³ Qādirī, *Tadhkira Janāb Bābā Nānak*, 77.

⁴⁴ Laṭīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 245.

such as Hindutva, RSS (Rashtriya Sewak Sangh) *Shuddhī* and *Singhthan* during the early twentieth century British-India.

Demonstration of Profound Respect for Gūrū Nānak in Muslim Compendium

Muslim intellectuals' compilation demonstrated great respects for Gūrū Nānak. Ṭabāṭābī and Sayed Ghulām 'Alī Khān mentioned him as "Shāh" and "Faqīr". 'Abdul Karīm mentioned him "Shāh", and "Arif", additionally, he added that Muslims also offer *fātiḥah* for Nānak Shāh.⁴⁵ Muftī Ghulām Sarwar and Muftī 'Alī al-dīn mentioned him "Bābā" which demonstrates high respect of the Muslim intellectuals towards Gūrū Nānak as all these titles are used to extoll the Ṣūfīs.

Ādī Granth

Ādī Granth the most sacred book of Sikhism not only preserved poetry of Sikh Gūrūs but also the fifteen Hindu and Muslim mystics--among the Muslims only Bābā Farīd is included--. Where legends found in the Muslim hagiographical and historical compendium the sacred *Ādī Granth* is also not free from fabrications. Although it is a great contribution of Gūrū Arjan who compiled *Ādī Granth* otherwise we lose great assets of knowledge. However, it seems that Gūrū Arjan and *Bhāī Gurdās*--disciple of Gūrū Arjan who compiled *Ādī Granth* on his preceptor's instruction--made some mistakes regarding the authorship of few verses. For instance, Mīr 'Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī's (d. 1608) *Sab' Sanābil* is a popular Ṣūfī compilation completed in 1561 CE. It describes some Punjābī verses of Bābā Farīd which mistakenly attributed to Gūrū Nānak by Gūrū Arjan. The verses are as under:

نوبی لیبندی باوری دیندی کبری نج

تو با کرور نا نو سے چکھے بندبسته چچ⁴⁶

A mouse who is unable to enter into a narrow hole
puts a heavy load over his head, although he moves in a narrow place

Interestingly, the same verses have also been described in *Jawāhar-i Farīdī*.⁴⁷ Paradoxically, in *Ādī Granth*, the above-mentioned verses refer to Gūrū Nānak which means that may be few other Bābā Farīd's verses in *Ādī Granth* mistakenly attributed to the Sikh Gūrūs.⁴⁸ It does not mean it reduce the importance of *Ādī Granth* as it was Gūrū Nānak and *Ādī Granth* which protected the poetry of the father of Punjābī poetry Bābā Farīd.

The Janamsākhīs

Like *Gūrū Granth* the *Janamsākhīs* which are the contemporary source on Gūrū Nānak are also not on their original forms as their scrupulously study reveals inclusion of numerous fabrications and legends. Muftī Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī also highlights some of these fabrications as he maintains that the compilers of *Janamsākhīs* wrongly mentioned meeting of numerous Muslims saints with Bābā Nānak including Shaykh 'Abdul Qādir Jīllānī (d. 1165), Shaykh Bahā al-din Zakarīyyā Multānī (d. 1262), Bābā Farīd (d. 1265) and Shaykh Niẓām al-din Awliyā (d. 1325), all these saints had passed away centuries before the birth of Gūrū Nānak.⁴⁹

The *Janamsākhīs* mentioned Gūrū Nānak visited Makkah and Madīnah, eminent Muslim and Hindu saints and *yogīs* but the stories are full of legends and fabrication and the author tries his level best

⁴⁵Munshī 'Abdul Karīm, *Tārīkh-i Punjāb Tuḥfa al-Aḥbāb* (compl. 1849), 3-4.

⁴⁶Mīr 'Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī, *Sab' Sanābil* (Iran: Majlis i-Shura Islami, n.d), 65: See for English trans, Saiyid

Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*. Vol.1. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978), 328.

⁴⁷Nisar Ahmad Faruqi, "Bābā Farīd Kī Mubārak Zindgī" in *Bābā Farīd al-Dīn Masood Ganj Shakar: Biographies, Books and Studies*, ed. Muḥammad Ikrām Chagataī. (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publishers, 2007), 668.

⁴⁸Muhammad Asif Khan, *Ākhīyā Bābā Farīd Ne* (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, 1978), 104-8.

⁴⁹Lāhōrī, *Tārīkh Makhzan-i-Punjāb*, 473-74; see also Bālā, *Janamsākhī Shri Guru Nanak Dev Ji Mahārāj* trans Awlakh, 484-85.



to prove supremacy and dominance of Gūrū Nānak over all the Muslim and Hindu ‘ulemā, saints and rulers and that all these saints and rulers submitted before Gūrū Nānak and become his followers.⁵⁰

Conclusion

At the end it is conferred that by and large Gūrū Nānak followed the teachings of prominent Indo-Pāk subcontinent ṣūfīs. He was a firm believer of *Tawaḥīd* and disdained idol and image worshiping. He had profound devotion with Allah almighty and spent most of his time in meditation. Like the true saint he renounced the world and worldly desires. It was a significant impact of his ṣūfī mentors that his followers and his first three spiritual successors had great resemblance with Sufism. Ardistanī and Muḥammad Latīf rightly argues that Sikhism was neither a new religion nor a Hindu revivalist movement, but it was similar to ṣūfīsm before the time of successorship of Gūrū Arjan.

The Muslim hagiographies of Gūrū Nānak presented little bit different portray of Gūrū Nānak as compared to Muslim historians. However, it is pertinent to mention that the leading Sikh intellectual are appreciated these Muslim hagiographies which intensified the importance and worth of these works.⁵¹ Where the Muslim historical compendium manifests Nānak and his early followers’ great resemblance with Sufism and Islām, the Muslim hagiographies mentioned Nānak as Muslim saint and his followers as Muslims. However, there is a contradiction in Muslim hagiographies of Nānak as one side they averred Sikhs are Muslims and Muslims are Sikhs while on other hand they stated that there are three deeds of Sikhs which are alien to the Muslims including i), slightly believes on caste system, ii), respect to cow and lastly, iii), the major difference that they do not bury their demise persons. Nānak considers *Samā* permitted for mendicants and that ṣūfīs considered it permissible in Islām. *Samā* is a part and parcel of Chishtī ṣūfī *silsilah* which considered as the most prominent and earlier ṣūfī order of Indo-Pāk subcontinent. He recites *dūrūd* on Holy Prophet (PBUH.). He built mosques, visited almost all the prominent Islamic learning centers, eminent ṣūfīs and ṣūfī hospices. Moreover, credit also goes to Nānak’s *Ādī Granth* which preserved Punjābī poetry of Bābā Farīd who is known as father of Punjābī poetry.

During the time of Gūrū Arjan misbeliefs like *halūl*--Gūrū Nānak soul transferred to Gūrū Angad, Amardās, Rāmdās and finally to Gūrū Arjan and that Gūrū Arjan himself becomes Gūrū Nānak-- become popular. Moreover, anybody who denies this notion was considered as disbeliever. Additionally, they declared Gūrū Hargobind as God and worshiped him like God. Such false beliefs and exaggeration proved fatal for spiritual authority of Sikhism as they deviated from the original teaching of Gūrū Nānak⁵² and they also deserted Sufism and Islām. Beside the inclusion of these false beliefs, another reason which parted the Sikhs-Muslim trajectory and closeness was the Mughal emperors’ execution of the Sikh Gūrūs. That’s why the Sikhs therefore changed their policies towards the Muslims.

⁵⁰Bālā, *Janamsākhī Shri Guru Nanak Dev Ji Mahārāj*, trans. Awlakh, 115-226.

⁵¹Muntazir, Nānak, 1-11.

⁵²Ardistanī, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 225-237; see also Latīf, *History of the Punjāb*, 245-50.