

# Guru Nanak in Sri Lanka – A Myth or Reality?

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EVEN BEFORE THE ADVENT OF Islam, India was torn into warring sections and subsections. Casteism had reduced the body-politic into a listless and ineffective, almost lifeless, mass lacking any cohesion. The ground was thus fertile for the Muslim invaders, who, from Mahmud Ghazni onwards, could plunder and subjugate the entire community and its teeming millions without effective show of resistance on the part of the latter. Islam, which was the religion of the conquerors, remained the state religion with conversion of unbelievers as the chief aim of the state policy. Apart from this assault from above, there was an inbuilt situation of unmitigated exploitation by the superior classes of Hindus of their low caste Hindu brethren.

At this juncture Guru Nanak appeared on the scene, and declared the fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man on earth. His gospel acted as a new challenge of a committed individual soul to the seemingly invincible might of the all-powerful State and its policies-based on religious intolerance, hatred and exploitation of man by man on grounds of religion and caste-superiority.

In fact all those factors for the reduction of which the Great Guru took four hazardous journeys to the four corners of the known world of his times, were directed towards a harmonious socio-religious order and national integrity. To achieve his aim Guru Nanak traveled far and wide, and visited almost all centres of bigotry, Hindu as well as Muslim, as a devoted student in quest of an abiding solutions to all the social ills, which had bisected the society. He carried within himself a heart brimming with compassions and an insight that could diagnose correctly.

Guru Nanak's name is forever interlocked not only with the idea of one integrated India, but also with the vision of one world and with the unity of man. When he started his mission, the first slogan he raised was; "There was no Hindu and no Mussalman". He meant thereby, that all human beings were brothers and sisters, being the scions of one Almighty God.

The Guru taught:

*"Sab mein jot, jot hai soi,  
Tisde chanan, sab mein chanan hoi."*

i.e. 'It is the same spirit that pervadeth all.  
It is His Light which illuminates every being.'

The crux of Guru Nanak's teachings and solutions to all ills, was the realization of Truth and after that the realization of the self. Then the self has to developed and elevated. It has to soar above the ego and obsessions of superiority and inferiority complexes which carry seed of hatred for one another. Self, when purely developed, will stand up in self-confidence, in a sense of equality and as an institution in itself. For this purpose the Guru gives instructions and sets examples but at the same time

envisages individual independent effort and action. The freedom for the individual to proceed along the right path is therefore, of utmost importance.

### **Guru Nanak's Travels**

Beginning from 1507, Guru Nanak (after resigning his custodial position under Daulat Khan at Sultanpur) the home and service and became a *faqir* and undertook four missionary journeys.<sup>2</sup> Along with Mardana (the Muslim minstrel of Talwandi, and later, Bhai Bala, the Guru commenced their wanderings over many lands, interviewing saints and gathering spiritual experience. During the course of his series of four missionary journeys Guru Nanak visited all the holy places and towns of importance in India, Sri Lanka, Iran and Arabia. These journeys seem to have been taken up in about fifteen years and were undertaken during the last forty years of his life. One of the legendary Udasis – to South – deserves a study. Indeed at the time of compilation of *Guru Granth* in 1604, Guru Arjun Dev sent a trusted disciple to Sri Lanka to bring *Pran Sangali*, which was composed and left in Sri Lanka by the founder of the Sikh religion. However, according to the same author, Guru Arjun Dev did not regard it authentic and hence did not include it in the *Adi Granth*.<sup>3</sup>

#### ***Haqiqat Rah Muqam Raja Shivnabh Ki:***

However, an anonymous record exists of an account of the route leading to Sri Lanka on the flyleaf of a manuscript copy of the *Adi Granth*. This was apparently done without the approval of Guru Arjun Dev. This account is captioned *Haqiqat Rah Muqam Raja Shivnabh Ki*, which was later copied by several other copyists.

It is rightly believed that the *Haqiqat Rah Muqam Raja Shiv Nabh*, with the exception of the route of Sri Lanka given there, is confusing and full of contradictions. Fortunately, however, the recent researches on this issue show that whatever, meager information is contained in the manuscript, is basically true. Since there is a definite mention of the Guru's visit to Sri Lanka in various traditional sources, it is worthwhile to study the whole issue from the point of view of history.

### **Raja Shivnabh**

In the *Janam Sakhis* it has been stated that Guru Nanak met Raja Shivnabh. The very name indicates that the Guru met a Shaivite King. However, Shivnabh does not appear to be a proper name. It only indicates a Shaivite Raja or a Raja who is a follower of Shiva. The ruling princes of Sri Lanka at the beginning of the sixteenth century were either Shaivites or Buddhists. There were two powerful Sinhala kingdoms with their capitals at Kotte and Gampota (Kandy). These rulers were adherents of Buddhism. The third was the Jaffna kingdom with its capital at Nullure. Its ruler was Shaivite. During the same period the rulers of the vassal states on the eastern coast were Shaivites. Guru Nanak appears to have met some Tamil Hindu Shaivite ruler of Sri Lanka.<sup>4</sup>

It is almost certain, and agreed to by almost all authorities, that Guru Nanak (1469-1539 A.D.) could not have visited Sri Lanka before 1510 A.D., which may be considered as the date of probable visit to that island. It will, therefore, not be out of place here to review the political conditions and socio-religious conditions of Sri Lanka in the opening of the sixteenth century.

### **Sri Lanka in the Early Sixteenth Century**

The political and socio-religious conditions of Sri Lanka in the early sixteenth century were the product of a process of Indian immigration going on for several centuries and, to a fairly large extent, there had been Tamil emigration from the South India since times immemorial. The Tamil immigrants were mostly Hindu Shaivites who had taken refuge in Sri Lanka during the early phase of the Turkish invasions, beginning with the sack of Somnath by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.<sup>5</sup>

Sri Lanka undoubtedly witnessed a great cultural impact during the period of domination of Pandya and Chola kings. There is also no denying the fact that under the pressure of circumstances created by incessant Tamil invasions of Sri Lanka, the Sinhala kings left their ancient capitals at Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa and occupied the strongholds further down in the south. This led to the rise of the Jaffna kingdom in the North and several vassal states in the eastern coast of Sri Lanka, which we find in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

### **Cultural impact of Tamil domination**

The Cult of Shiva had been very popular with the Tamil immigrants in Sri Lanka during the period under review. During the period of the Chola domination of Sri Lanka both the kings as well as the masses belonging to south India were mostly Shaivites. The cultural impact was so strong that the Shaivites of the South had developed their teachings into a philosophical system known as "*Shiva Sidhant*"<sup>6</sup>

Sir William Jones writes about an ancient Hindu temple at Trincomalle which was destroyed by the Portuguese in the seventeenth century. "This island was peopled, time out of memory, by the Hindu race, the temple which stood at Trincomalle is notable. It would have remained to for the present day a venerable relic, had not the misguided religious zeal of the Portuguese razed it to the ground in 1622 to supply material to one of their fortifications."<sup>7</sup>

There were three fairly large kingdoms and several vassal states. The most prominent was the Sinhalese kingdom situated in the south-west with its capital at Kotte (near modern Colombo). The second Sinhalese kingdom, known as Kandyan, was situated on the central highland regions with its capital first at Gampola and later (after 1540 A.D.) at Kandy. The third was the Tamil kingdom in north Sri Lanka, which included Jaffna Peninsula, the coastal areas as far as Mannar and many other adjacent islands with its capital at Nallur, near Jaffna town.<sup>8</sup> The vassal states were (1) Mullativa (2) Trincomalee (3) Batticaloa (4) Kottiyar (5) Palugana (6) Panam and (7) Yala. These were mostly found in Vanni district, south of Jaffna peninsula and along the eastern coast.

Guru Nanak's avowed mission was to spread the knowledge of true, God through the land. From youth till he reached 55 he worked as God's messenger preaching his gospel, making disciples, and holding dialogues with holy men of every persuasion.

The missionary journey under review in this paper is the second one, which extended to deep South and included the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The Guru's pilgrimage to Ceylon is as favourite with the Sikhs as that of Mecca and Madina.

The legends about the great heroes of the past are an old recognised source of information. However exaggerated a legend might be, says Sir Alfred Lyall, it is

based on a kernel of truth.<sup>9</sup> At times some complications do arise and this is what exactly happened in the case of the legend of Guru Nanak's visit to Sri Lanka.<sup>10</sup>

Meherban's account<sup>11</sup> describes the travels of the Guru in the most realistic way. Unlike the author of *Puratan Janam Sakhi* he does not bother about separate identity of long travels of the Guru in different directions like East, South, North and West. The subsequent writers were very particular about these directions and they made the Guru return from Jagannath Puri to the Punjab in order to indicate the end of eastern travels. But according to Meherban the Guru turned towards the South after finishing his eastern travels.<sup>12</sup>

This appears to be more probable. According to Kirpal Singh, 'The Guru, who was to visit South India, would not have returned to the North from Puri without visiting the South.' This is further confirmed when we find an ancient pilgrim's route from Puri going to Kanchipuram and other places of pilgrimage, in the south. For the first time Meherban linked the eastern and southern travels of the Guru. Again, according to *Wilayat Wali Janam Sakhi* the Guru returned from his long travels after twelve years. That can only be possible if the Guru had visited the Eastern India and Southern India in a single stretch. Bhai Gurdas too described this long sojourn in a single line:

"*Baba aya tirthin teerath purb sabhe phir dekhe*" i.e. Baba (Guru Nanak) went for pilgrimage and visited all the pilgrimage centres.

Doubt has been raised by some modern writers<sup>13</sup> with regard to the Guru's travels beyond the limits of Hindustan. It is argued that 'Bhai Mardana died before him, and all that is known was collected from the mouth of Bhai Bala, an illiterate Jat, who undertook to record, many years, all what he had seen. Again, the people who drew up the narrative were ignorant of geography, and of the distance of one city from the other. All that they could do was to enter at random the names of places, of which they had heard from travellers, or from books. We thus meet with the names of Lanka, the *Dwipa* of Puranas, Sind, Kabul, Khurram, and find that the Guru availed himself of the clairvoyant mode of transport of flying through the air, or wishing himself at any place, or directing the place to come to him. This entirely prevents us from following him, and describing what happened to him at each place on his travels.'

Again, according to Ibbetson, "Soon he set out on his second or southward pilgrimage. That he ever reached Ceylon or found there a *Sangat* (congregation) of his disciples is hardly probable, and if he did so few authentic details of this journey have been preserved."<sup>14</sup>

"There is reason to doubt", according to Khushwant Singh,<sup>15</sup> "the extent of this (Ceylon) journey. The *janamsakhis* are unanimous in stating that the King of Ceylon was a Hindu. This is historically incorrect. Besides, there is very little direct reference to Buddhism in Guru Nanak's compositions: only Buddhist nomenclature like *nirvana*, *sangat*, etc., which are also used by the Hindus, appear in his hymns. This is fairly conclusive evidence that he had little or no contact with Buddhism in practice. H.W. McLeod in the *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* also typically questions the authenticity of the *janamsakhis* and maintains that evidence in support of Nanak's travels is not reliable.

However, as against these few speculative observations, we have a host of evidence to prove the authenticity of Guru Nanak's missionary pilgrimage to Ceylon. According to *Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*<sup>6</sup> of Khushwaqat Rai: "Nanak Shah then went to Singaldwip. Having heard of his (Nanak's) praises, Raja Shivnabh of that place was anxious to see him. He had vowed that he would believe that arrival of Nanak only if his barren garden turned green. This came to happen. With the touch of Nanak's feet the arid garden became green and fruitful. The Raja still had some doubt. The Raja's wife had given birth to a daughter, but she had told him that son had been born. She went to Nanak Shah and prayed in all humility that if, with his blessings, the daughter could become a boy, and she would be saved from the wrath of the Raja. Nanak told her that her wish would be fulfilled and the female child turned to be a boy. Seeing this the Raja and the Rani became his disciples with heart and soul."<sup>17</sup>

Some western scholars have rightly compared the Indian reformer's crusade against errors in the then prevailing Catholicism with Luther, the German Monk. According to Gordon:

"Nanak was the only (Hindu) reformer who established a national faith. He rose out of the dust as a great preacher with a great theme, which he boldly proclaimed, waking up the people to a higher notion of religion. It is strange coincidence that from being a Hindu devotee he did so at the very time when Luther, the German Monk, nailed his famous theses to his church door at Wittenberg, starting the Reformation in the West, both intent on denouncing what they considered the errors in their religious."<sup>18</sup>

#### **According to Duncan Greenless:**

"It was during his first *Udasi* or missionary journey (1507-1515) that The Guru went by sea or land to Rameshwaram. He was wearing wooden sandals and rope twisted on his head for a turban, a patch and streak as caste mark, and carrying a staff in hand. He defended himself from the criticisms of the Jains of South and then satirized them mercilessly, and by a short poem now in the *Asa Di Var*, converted the brutal rulers of some island on the way.<sup>19</sup> From Rameshwaram he crossed the sea to Ceylon: he made the garden of raja Shivanabha here blossom miraculously and wrote his mystical treatise *Pran Sangali*, leaving it with the Raja who vainly tried to detain this mysterious yogi as his court."<sup>20</sup>

#### **Guru Nanak and Buddhism**

To follow Guru Nanak further is to test him in a larger situation as a conscious devotee and minister of Truth. On one of his journeys he had the occasion to consider items of Buddhist reformation, even though Buddhism was mostly a faint memory in Nanak's day.<sup>21</sup> But the greater, kindred, original Buddhist movement had long since vanished from the Indian scene, its original homeland itself endured eastward of Banaras where Buddhist recollection could still be stirred and beyond northern India in Ladakh, Tibet, and thereabouts, was the Lamaistic type which Nanak could have known about.

The Sikh tradition brings South India, fully into the total picture, that is, India of the Tamil culture. The Sikh *Janamsakhi* comments on the dress of Guru Nanak while he toured the south, as if he had adopted temporarily something more conventional: wooden sandals and a turban of twisted cotton on his head. Further the tradition

records that he also wore on his forehead “a patch and a streak”, something like the Vishnuite patch and the Shivite streak.

Guru Nanak, according to Archer, had gone as far, some time or other, as Ceylon, if we may believe the *Janamsakhi*. In any case the real intent may be to indicate that he wanted to take some further reckoning of the Buddhist gospel. And yet the lure of Ceylon, whose ancient capital was Lanka of the Epic story, may have been by that time purely Hindu. Tamil culture prevailed in the northern Ceylon in Nanak’s day, but Hinayana Buddhism was elsewhere in the island. Guru Nanak, according to Archer, ‘may indeed have sought out the Ceylon of Hindu legend, and the *Janamsakhi* says he was the guest of the Raja of the island.’<sup>22</sup>

Archer further adds, ‘But the Buddhist element is still inescapable, whatever Nanak may have known of it. The Buddhist *Mahavamsa*, or the *Ceylon Chronicle*, says that the Raja of the time was ‘faithful to the religion of Buddha. This “time”, however, may have been that of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when Ceylon’s name was glorious and its rule even included Southern India. But Buddhism, nevertheless, was in Nanak’s day the national religion of the island, and many royal personages earned immortality by their protection of it, insuring the continuity of its long tradition. At the same time Hinduism itself provided the closest bonds between Ceylon and India in that century and subsequently. Tamil culture was common, as has been said, and the Tamil language was the usual channel of intercourse. And the Hindu shrines were numerous, often in close proximity to Buddhist monasteries. To the casual observer the mingling seemed almost indiscriminate.’<sup>23</sup>

The *Janamsakhi* does not indicate, however, that Guru Nanak was aware of much of this complex condition in Ceylon. It says that the Raja that he interviewed asked him his name and caste (a usual, initial question), whether he was a Brahman or a trader, a Hindu or a Muslim (caste was represented among Muslims also at that time), asked him if perhaps he was really “Gorakhnath” from the Himalayas “above the sky”? Nanak answered, it seems, very vaguely, enigmatically, and this in itself intrigued the Raja who forthwith took him to the palace and introduced him to the queen. Archer further argues, “There is no report of any visit to Bo-tree of Anuradhapura, or to the temple of the sacred tooth at Kandy.”<sup>24</sup>

**Guru Nanak expounded in Ceylon the gospel of that supreme state of man in which there is neither joy nor mourning, no caste nor any marks of caste, neither sermons nor scripture, no hopes and no desires, but only a mind at rest in God – which betrays, at least, some probable awareness on the story-teller’s part of Buddhist doctrine. Sikhs, of course, since Nanak’s day have known many Buddhists and have had occasion to consider many implications of Nanak’s reputed visit to Ceylon.**<sup>25</sup>

The Guru proceeded towards Ceylon. On being told that a great *faqir* had come from India to visit his land, the king, whose name is given in the Sikh chronicles as Shivanabham, sent beautiful damsels to tempt him with their charm. But Nanak took no notice of them. Then the king himself came and asked: “What’s thy name, thy caste? Are you a yogi”? A yogi is whose interior is cleansed with the discipline of God’s love, and who is ever imbued with His Truth and whose comings and goings are ended. O God, what is thy Name, Thy caste? When thou callest me into Thy Presence, I would ask Thee to answer the questioning of my mind”. Then, the king

asked, "Are you a Brahmin?" Nanak answered, "A Brahmin is he who bathes in the waters of God's wisdom, and knows the One alone whose light permeates the three worlds."<sup>26</sup>

The King asked, "Are you a 'Khatri', a shop keeper?" Then the Guru replied: My tongue is the beam, my heart is the scale, and I weigh therewith the Essence of the unknown. There is but one shop, and one Merchant, and the customers too are all of the same type."<sup>27</sup> Then he asked if he was a Hindu or Muslim, Nanak replied 'The true Guru has resolved the difference for him of the two ways. He who is yoked to the One alone, he cherishes His Word and dispels His Doubt.'

The king was much impressed by these answers, and asked about the state of being such as the one Nanak had described to him. Nanak answered in most subtle terms:

"The man of God lives in a state of Super-consciousness, a Void it is, where there is neither joy nor sorrow, hope or desire, caste nor caste marks, no sermons, no hymning of hymns; seated in himself, man meditates, composed like the sky, and knows himself."<sup>28</sup>

This composition, consisting of 40 stanzas and known as "*Pran Sangli*" is no longer extant. The Guru blessed the king and said, "Thy devotion will be approved by God." The king became a great devotee of Nanak, and did much good to his subjects, so much that the people said, "Our king has no love left for the joys of the world. He lives ever in Nanak and God."<sup>29</sup>

Which kingdom did Guru Nanak visit?

According to recent researches, one of the possibilities is that the Shaivite ruler of Jaffna Pararaja Sekarn (1478-1519 A.D.) met Guru Nanak. According to Pillay, certain saints, who came from south India, were honoured at his court.<sup>30</sup> It is further argued that the Raja of Jaffna, who was related to the Raja of Rameshwaram (which was nearest place to India) might have invited Guru Nanak to his kingdom. However, there is no conclusive evidence to this theory propounded by C. Sivaratnam,<sup>31</sup> the author of *Cultural History and Principles of Hinduism*.

Leaving aside Jaffna kingdom, the other probability is that Guru Nanak might have visited one of the seven vassal states Mullaitiva, Pannama, Yala, Trincomali, Kottiyar, Balugama and Batticola. The Sikh sources, notably *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, state that Guru Nanak met the ruler of Mattia Kulam, south of Trincomalee.

Of these vassal states, Batticola, however, offers the greatest possibility. According to the *Batticola Monograph* published by the Dutch during the seventeenth century, the place was known by the Tamil name "Mudda Kulapa", which is synonym with of 'Mattya Kulam'. Both the names mean a "muddy lagoon."<sup>32</sup>

According to *Haqiqat*, 'The people embark ship from Nagapatanam (near Tanjore in India) and in three days and three nights a ship reaches a sea port beyond Jaffna.' It implies that the place of Raja Shivnabh is beyond Jaffna and was at the distance of three days journey from Nagapatnam. When Vasco da Gama came to India via Cape of Good Hope in 1498 A.D., he went to Sri Lanka also. According to the ship diary<sup>33</sup> "Ceylon is eight days journey from Calicut." It is well known that the first port occupied by the Portuguese in Sri Lanka was Colombo. It therefore implies that the distance from Calicut to Colombo in a ship, during the period under review, was

covered in eight days. If we calculate in the same way, we come to conclusion that a ship of those days could cover about one third of that distance in three days from Nagapattanam and would have reached near Batticaloa on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka.

### **Batticaloa**

Batticaloa, according to the Monograph published by Sri Lanka Government, was one of the earliest Aryan settlements in Sri Lanka with its history going back to the epic age. Investigation of the ruins and inscriptions in the neighbourhood, supported by local traditions, leave no doubt about the early Indian traditions. Batticaloa, appears to be an earlier settlement than Jaffna as per the above monograph published by the Government of Sri Lanka which states that "The occupation of Batticaloa by the Tamils is said to have been earlier than that of Jaffna, which latter was not inhabited until the blind minstrel brought colonies from the Pandya kingdom. According to Kirpal Singh, **the village was found in the memory of Siddha Guru Nath who came here from North of India about four hundred and fifty years ago. He is still remembered and revered by the people living there. A temple has been built where he sat.**

The name of the village 'Kurukul Mandap' is a Tamil name which means "Guru's Village". Recent researches have led to the discovery of an inscription mentioning the name of "Nanak Acharya" about which further investigations are being carried out. It is, however, certain the very name (Nanak) mentioned in the inscription testify to the theory that Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion visited Sri Lanka during his last *Udasi*.<sup>34</sup>

**Conclusion:** it may asserted without doubt that, of all the world prophets, Guru Nanak was the greatest travelled man and this speaks volumes of his zeal for the dissemination of his divine doctrines in India and abroad, in countries thousands of miles away from homeland. The southern missionary journey of Guru Nanak Dev is not only marked by a long line of Gurdwaras marking the whole length of the Deccan Peninsula, down to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), but also new epigraphical and archaeological evidence discovered in the Sri Lanka itself, now confirms that Guru Nanak's visit to Ceylon was a momentous religious event worthy to be recorded in stone under royal orders and also devoutly remembered by generations of local folk up to this day.



### **References**

1. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, Amritsar, 1604, *Rag Dhanasri*, M.I., p. 13.
2. The first *Udasi* (or missionary journey) extended from 1507 to 1515 (to the East); the second from 1517 to 1518 (to the South) and the third one from 1518 to 1521 (to the North) after which he settled down for Ashram life at Kartarpur, as an ordinary householder. His last journey was to Achal Batala, Pakpattan, Dipalpur and Multan in 1539 (to the West).
3. Kirpal Singh, *Perspective on Sikh Gurus*, (Delhi, 1996), p. 171. The author is thankful to Kirpal Singh for providing valuable source material relating to the Guru's visit to Sri Lanka and gratefully acknowledges his findings in preparation of this paper.
4. The study of *Janamsakhis* indicates that at several places only caste, occupation or race, like Uppal (caste), Pathans (race), Karoria (revenue official) etc., is given in order to indicate the person of that class. Kirpal Singh, *op., cit.*, p. 175.

5. Rev. James Cartman, *Hinduism in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1957), p. 41, cited in Kirpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 178, fn. 6. For more details see also K. K. Pillay, *South India and Ceylon* Madras, 1963.
6. Rev. James Cartman, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
7. Vide *Ceylon Literary Register*, September 24, 1885, Vol. I, no.7, p.63.
8. Kirpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 173, fn. 9. The vassal states were (1) Mullativa (2) Trincomalee (3) Batticola (4) Kottiyar (5) Palugana (6) Panam and (7) Yala.
9. Sir Alfred Lyal, *Asiatic Studies (Religious and Social)*, Vol. VI (London, 1899), p. 326.
10. Kirpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
11. See Kirpal Singh, 'Historical Significance of Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak by Meharban' in *Proceedings, Punjab History Conference*, Patiala, 1970, pp. 126-27.
12. *Janam Sakhi Meharban*, p. 104, Kirpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
13. Robert Needham Cust, "Guru Nanak the Indian Reformer" in *Pictures of Indian Life*, London, 1881), p. 206.
14. Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Sir Edward D. Maclagan, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and NWFP*. Vol. I, Lahore, 1919, p. 678.
15. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I, (Oxford, Delhi, 1977), p. 33, fn. 19.
16. The manuscript was originally written in 1811 for Col. David Ochterlony of the East India Company's service. The portion dealing with Guru Nanak is translated from the Ms in the collection of Dr. Ganda Singh and incorporated in 'Sources on the Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak,' *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. III, Patiala, 1969, pp. 370-76.
17. *Ibid.* p. 373.
18. Sir John J. H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, London, 1904, p. 23.
19. *Ibid.* p. 23; *The Gospel of the Guru Granth Sahib*, Madras, 1960, p. 286; Ganda Singh(ed) "Sources on the Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak", *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. III, 1969, p. 286.
20. *Ibid.* p. 286.
21. J. C. Archer, *The Sikhs... A study in Comparative Religion*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1946, p. 88.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
25. Archer, *Ibid.*, p. 95.
26. Gopal Singh, *Guru Nanak* (New Delhi, 1967), p. 40; Kirpal Singh, *Janamsakhi Parampara, Itihasik Drishtikon tun*, (Punjabi), (Patiala, 1969), pp. 76-81.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. K. K. Pillay, *South India and Ceylon*, (Madras, 1963), p. 136.
31. C. Sivaratnam, *Cultural History and Principles of Hinduism* p. 119, cited in Kirpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 176. *Ibid.* Whatever may be the contents of the "*Haqiqat Rai Muqam Raja Shivnabh Ki*", its purpose, as its title indicates, was to give an account of the route leading to the place of Raja Shivnabh.
33. Anonymous *Journal of the First Voyage of Vascoda Gama* published in the '*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*', Ceylon Branch, 1908, Vol. XIX, 1906-7, Colombo, 1908, p. 321.
34. Kirpal Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 178.