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Sufis, Sufism and Religion: A Comparative Study of Guru Nanak's thoughts and approaches with those of Sheikh Farid's

Abstract

Sufism is regarded as a unique style of understanding the existence of the Supreme Power (God) and practicing His orders for the betterment of the Society. In the medieval times, Sufism in India evolved into a refined form when Muslim, Hindu and Sikh Saints spelt out almost identical thoughts which benefited humanity. Out of this interaction, a new interpretation about Sufism and religion was brought forth by Baba Guru Nanak. Mostly, his sayings, messages and actions are recorded in the Granth Sahib. His philosophical thoughts and practices originated a new religion which is known as Sikhism. This religion is one of the major religions in the world. The holy book of the Sikh religion contains several pieces of writings of many thinkers, philosophers and Sufis. One such Muslim Sufi is Ghulam Farid Shakar Ganj whose poetry contains significant share in the Di Granth. Farid's bani (special kind of poetry) invoke the inward mystical philosophy with different outward expression. He stresses on the self-realization for God's realization. His poetry and mystical thoughts left a deep impact on the thought process and practices of Baba Guru Nanak. This study attempts to understand the philosophy and practices of Sufism in the medieval times. By focusing on the interaction of Baba Guru Nanak with the religion of Islam and Sufism and Saints, particularly the poetry of Baba Farid, this study endeavours to understand the culture of Sufism in the Sub-Continent environment. This paper argues that in a plural society of India a new culture of learning and absorbing the useful traits of the Sufis for the individual and collective welfare of the society that produced unity in diversity. Thus the culture of Sufism in India created and promoted peace and tolerance in the society. Whether agreed or disagreed with each other's ideas and approaches these great Sufis showed due respect to each other by acknowledging the influence of others philosophies.

Keywords: Guru Nanak, Baba Farid, Sufism, Saints, Religion

Adi Granth contains the Bhagat Bani. Bhagat Bani comprises of the poetry of fifteen medieval Sufis, Saints and Bhakti devotees. Poets of these poems are generally referred to as Saints but two of them (Bhikhan and Shaikh Farid) were avowedly Sufis. There are certain basic agreements between Sheikh Farid's thoughts and those of Guru Nanak in aspects of the spiritual life: the belief in One God, the basic equality of humankind, the doctrine of God immanent in human heart, the mystic path of love, the cultivation of moral and ethical principles in life, the divine recollection etc.

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Guru Nanak in the aspects of the spiritual life: the belief in One God, the basic equality of humankind, the doctrine of God immanent in human heart, the mystic path of love, the cultivation of moral and ethical, the divine recollection.

The presence of the hymns written by the non-Sikh saints in the holy text of the Sikhs is a unique thing. Wilfred Cantwell Smith researched how one religious movement unequivocally incorporates the scriptural writings of other religious movements. Smith argues that the Adi Granth largely includes the hymns of the Gurus of Sikhs. However, it does contain small percentage by others such as the Bhagats (Devotees) of a slightly earlier time or of those who were not officially the members of what has later become the part of the Sikh community.

The Sikh scripture includes the compositions of those Bhagats who refuted the claims of Brahminical orthodoxy and evolved their philosophy of spiritual development based on their personal mystic experience.³ Brahaman Saints did not approve this inclusion, Tulsidas a Brahman Sant suggests," Without any knowledge of Brahman, women and men speak about nothing else. They are so controlled by greed that for a mere trifle they physically attack Brahmins and gurus.⁴ Tulsidas considered all of them a serious threat to traditionalist Hindus and blamed that they had abundant devotion and dreamed up new paths.⁵

W. Owen Cole argued that the most obvious reason for their inclusion is a wish to commend the Sikh Panth as widely as possible by demonstrating its catholicity.⁶ he explicitly states that the Gurus had wished to bring together into the fold of Sikhism the disparate followers of the poet-saints.⁷

Farid Bani

Shaikh Farid also is known as Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, is one of the oldest Sufis who belonged to the land of Punjab. A book name, "Siyar-u 'l-Auliya" (1351-88) says that Baba Farid was born in 569 AH/1173 CE. Settled at Kotwal, he was soon appointed by the government as the Qazi ('Muslim Jurist').. Sultan Ghaznvi was the ruler and he appointed his grandfather Qazi Suhaib on the post of Qazi. One of Shuaib's three sons, named Jamal-u'd-din Sulaiman, was raised at Khotwal where *Lehndi* ('western') Punjabi was the language. He married Qarsum Bibi who was a Punjabi girl. She was the daughter of Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din Khajendi who lived in Khotwal.

Nizami has given a genealogical table which traces the descent of Baba Farid from Caliph Umar, which indicates that he belonged to the Sunni tradition of Islam. ¹¹ He is believed to have been greatly influenced by his mother. The thinking and character of Farid was shaped mainly within the ambit of his Mother. ¹² Baba Farid got his early education of Qur'an at Khotwal. He then shifted to Multan which was a famous center of Muslim learning and piety. He undertook further studies in Islamic jurisprudence. It is believed that Shaikh Farid had memorized the complete text of Qur'an and used to rehearse it once in twenty-four hours. ¹³It is told that the time when he was in Multan he met a visiting Muslim saint. The Saint name was Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki. Khwaja sb belonged to Chishti tradition of Sufi Islam and his spiritual successor famous Khwaja Muin-u'd-din Chishti was among the co-founders of Chisti tradition of Sufism in India.

Tradition has recorded that Shaikh Farid performed extremely difficult ascetic practices as a part of his mystical discipline. "All the Shaikhs of India are unanimous in declaring that no saint has excelled *Ganji-i-Shakar* in his devotions and penitences." Baba Farid's whole life is depicted in traditional sources as one long story of prayers, "vigils and fasts. He has surname Ganj-i-Shakar, 'sugar treasure." G.S. Talib states that Baba Farid was called Ganj-i-Shakar because he received the blessing from his master, who praised the sweetness of his character and remarked: 'Thou shalt be sweet like sugar'. After the death of Khawaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki (1235 CE), Baba Farid became the head of the Chishti order. He made the distinctive contribution in spreading Chistiya tradition all over India. How and why Chishti tradition became so popular in India, the answer lies within the poetry and dialect of Baba Farid. Baba Farid used Multani dialect for his poetry and it became so popular that people all ou India liked and followed it in their day to day life. Two major languages of the Muslim world were Arabic and Persian. Arabic was the language of the Qur'an and Persian was popularly known among common Muslims. However, Baba Farid chooses neither Arabic nor Persian because, among common people of Subcontinent, local language and local dialect were more suitable than Arabic or Persian. Shaikh Farid chose river Sutlej at Ajodhan and established his *Khanqah* to promulgate his mission. He stayed there from 1236 to 1265. His home is famous with the name Pakpattan, 'the ferry of the pure'. Baba Farid bore influence among local tribes and even from this fact that

several Punjabi tribes choose to adopt his religion, the religion of Islam and took the pledge on the hand of Baba Farid.²⁰

Different researchers have done tremendous work on the choice of language by Baba Farid. Annemarie Schimmel wrote that 'Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar' used Old Punjabi for his mystical songs. ²¹These songs were traditionally sung in *Khankahs* of Sufi gatherings as a part of the tradition. The content of that poetry greatly influenced the entire population with no differentiation between men or women. People used to sing it during their household and daily work. ²² Thus Shaikh Farid's poetry in the local Multani Punjabi went so popular and transferred from generation to generation. Guru Nanak, when visited Pakpattan, heard about these compositions from Shaikh Ibrahim. Shaikh Ibrahim was 12th descent from Baba Farid. In this context, W.H. Mcleod maintains that there is little doubt that Guru Nanak must at some time have met Sheikh Ibrahim, the contemporary incumbent of the Sufi line descending from Sheikh Farid'. This is evident from that fact that Nanak commented on the poetry of Farid and this is not possible until he never met Sheikh Ibrahim. The presence of Shaikh Farid's works in the Adi Granth emphasizes the high spiritual standing and achievement that Baba Farid may have enjoyed during his lifetime and times to come.

Textual review of FaridBani

The Adi Granth collection of Shaikh Farid's works includes four hymns-two in the Asa²³ raga with the heading As a Shaikh Farid jiu Ki Bani, 'Shaikh Farid's utterances in the measure Asa and two in the Suhi²⁴ mode under the tide of Ragu Suhi Bani ShaikhFarid Ji Ki, 'Shaikh Farid's utterances in the measure Suhi and one hundred and twelve saloks ('couplets or stanzas') gathered together in one long list in the epilogue of the Adi Granth which follows the raga section under the tide of Salok Shaikh Farid &, 'Shaikh Farid's couplets or stanzas.²⁵ These works are collectively referred to by their Sikh title of Farid-bani in the Adi Granth. To these, Guru Arjan has commented on the work of Baba Farid in his eighteen saloks. The authorship of this works is, however, not without controversy. For instance, M.A. Macauliffe challenged their accuracy in 1909 for the first time as follows:

"It is certain that it was Shaikh Brahm who composed the Saloks and hymns bearing the name of Farid in the Granth Sahib, though he used the name of the founder of his spiritual line as his poetical nom de plume."

Macauliffe seems to have borrowed the idea of the 'poetical nom de plume' from the writings of the Sikh Gurus and then made the assertion based on a rough guess that the same would be true in the case of the Sufi tradition. His assertion certainly reflects the Orientalist bias of his day that did not accept anything coming from the tradition as valid unless it could be justified through historical-critical methods.

However, K.A. Nizami offers three major arguments which could be used to deny Shaikh Farid's authorship of the Adi Granth verses, First, there is not a single reference in the Persian works to the fact that Shaikh Farid had left such a large number of saloks; even Shaikh Nizam-u' d-din Auliya and his successors did not mention them. Second, the internal evidence suggests that the picture of Shaikh Farid that emerges from these saloks is more akin to the Shaikh Farid of the apocryphal Malfuzat. Third, linguistic analysis of these saloks reveals that they contain idioms and expressions of a much later date. Also, the nom de plume used is Farid, but the Shaikh used to refer to himself as Masud, not as Farid.²⁷ None of the above arguments is enough to deny Shaikh Farid's authorship of the Adi Granth verses. The reason why we do not come across any reference in the Persian sources regarding these verses seems to be the indifferent attitude adopted by the learned class (ulema) towards the poetical compositions in the local dialect. Since Persian was the court language in those days, the verses in the Multani Punjabi attracted little attention. The fact is that no one recognized their true value until the verses became part of the Sikh scripture. Moreover, Nizami defines the kinship between the author of these verses and the apocryphal Malfuzat, nor does he provide any examples to support the contention that Shaikh Farid used to refer to himself as Masud in his compositions. Furthermore, the language of the Adi Granth verses is the mixture of Multani Punjabi and many Arabic and Persian words. It might be possible that these verses had undergone certain linguistic alterations during the process of oral transmission. On the whole, Nizami's arguments do not make a strong case against Shaikh Farid' s authorship of the Adi Granth verses.

Nizami, however, in his last article writes: When Guru Nanak appeared on the scene, Baba Farid's sayings which contained the embodiment of the highest moral and spiritual values were current all over. Some of these sayings are the part of Granth Sahib. It is not without significance that the initiative for celebrating his anniversary came from the Sikhs who deserve felicitations of all those who hold dear the values of universal love and tolerance in our society.²⁸

Nizami seems to have acknowledged the fact that the Adi Granth contains Shaikh Farid's teachings. In that case, says Anil Chandra Banerjee, the real authorship of the Adi Granth verses should be attributed to Shaikh Farid. ²⁹

There is, however, some fresh evidence from the Khuldabad manuscript. The original manuscript was of the 18th-century copy of,

The Hidayat alqulub wa 'inayat' ullum alguyub by Mir Hassan (1370). There is one verse of Shaikh Farid which appears in both the Adi Granth (Salok 7: farida jo taim maranhi mukkian tinhan na mare ghummi/apanarai ghari jaiai pair tinhan de chummi) and the Hidayat al-qulub (jo tujh mare mukkayam tissu na mare ghummi tumj ae ghari apane pagg tinhanare chummi). Thus in ZainudDin Shirazi's Malfuzat (d. 1371), the successor to Burhan ud-Din Carib at Khuldabad, there are at least seven Hindawi verses of Farid ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar, one of which is found in the Adi Granth. In this context, Carl W. Ernst compellingly argues that a corpus of the poems acknowledged to be.Baba Farid's was 'in circulation in the Chisti circles within a century after his death.³⁰

This evidence, he further argues, 'favours the strength of oral tradition of Punjabi Sufi poetry and the continuity of the Sikh Farid material with the older poems of the Sufi tradition. The texts belong to the Faridian tradition, going back to Shaikh Farid himself. They represent a dominant Sufi line of thought prevailing in Punjab in medieval times and attracting the special attention of the Sikh Gurus.

Shaikh Farid in Granth Sahib

The image of Shaikh Farid that emerges in the Farid-bani is that of an ardent follower of orthodox Islam. He even specifies the penalty for the offenders by saying that the head (*sir*) that does not prostrate before the Lord should be cut off and used as firewood under the cooking pot.³¹ (Farid, Salock: 1381) The theme is developed in the following three couplets:

"O prayerless cur, Farid, this is not good for you! You have not gone to the mosque at the five times of prayer. Wake up, Farid, perform your ablutions and say your morning prayer. Cut off the head which does not bow before the Lord. What is to be done to the head which does not bow before the Lord? It should be burnt under the cooking-pot in place of the firewood." 32

Here Shaikh Farid stresses the strict adherence to the Shariat, the legal prescriptions of Islam. Indeed, this was in line with the development in the Sufi tradition after Al-Ghazali who made Sufism acceptable to the orthodox circles which were formerly unfriendly to mysticism in Islam. In this context, Schimmel contends that the early Sufis observed the Muslim law faithfully because it was 'the soil out of which their piety grew.³³

The most forceful utterances of Shaikh Farid are the ones in which human beings are urged to get right with God almighty before death conquer them and it is too late. Shaikh Farid frequently mentions the angel of death (*Izra'ilor Malik*) and takes death as a visible presence not to be ignored in the course of one's daily involvement in worldly pursuits. ³⁴ He asserts that the day of death is pre-determined and cannot be altered.

"With your own hands you gave away your soul; to whom, then will you run for an embrace? Finer than a hair is that Bridge of Hell (sirat): did you not hear of it before? Farid, its hellish cries you can already hear: Hasten, lest you be robbed of your soul, unawares."

The bridge of hell (*pul sirat*) is an important element of belief in Islamic eschatology: The Bridge is a reality "(one of the final test of mankind before entering paradise). It is placed directly over hell, and people pass upon it. Paradise is beyond it. We ask the safety of God (from the perils of crossing the Bridge)."³⁶

Shaikh Farid provides us with a passing glimpse of the souls (*ruhan*) waiting for ages between the time of departure which is death and the day of rebirth which is revival, Then they will be sent to paradise or hell according to their just desserts.³⁷ Arberry mentions a practice among the Sufis to perform 'grave exercise' as a part of their meditative life.³⁸ During the process, a Sufi would imagine that he is dead, that he has been washed, 'wrapped in his garment and laid in his tomb, and that all the mourners have departed, leaving him alone to face the judgment'. The whole idea behind the practice is to turn the mind from worldly pursuits towards devotion to God. It seems that Shaikh Farid also attempts to awaken the minds of thoughtless people by bringing home to them the thought of the 'grave', "Farid, attach not your heart on mansions and wealth. Keep in your mind mighty death: Contemplate that place where you must go."³⁹

Shaikh Farid's emphasis on the death-theme is designed to make his audience realize the transitory character of human life, the fragile nature of worldly pomp and show and the brittle lure of carnal beauty. He repeatedly proclaims that human life along with nature is an evanescent phenomenon.⁴⁰

Guru Nanak and Shaikh Farid

Given the comments which Guru Nanak makes on Shaikh Farid 's verses, it is quite evident that he not only had access to Farid's works but had also studied them very carefully. Nanak was very much familiar with Sufi hymns. Almost nine hymns of Guru Nanak were in the same Punjabi language⁴¹ which was also used in Farid-bani. Thematically, Guru Nanak humans are entirely at one with the emphasis of the Farid-bani, whose actual verbal expressions are frequently recalled on the memento mori themes. In Punjabi tradition, when women do their daily household chores they used to sing Baba Farid songs.⁴² These Sufi songs attracted Nanak and that was the reason he entered into dialogues with Shaikh Farid's followers on issues such as the dominance of divine grace over personal exertion, the theme of asceticism, the attitude towards life, the death theme and belief in after-life.

The major theological response of Guru Nanak to the Sufi poet is linked to the question of the primacy of divine will over individual effort. Shaikh Farid says, "The first watch of the night is the blossom; the last watch brings out fruit: The Lord's blessing is upon those who keep vigil in prayer."

He regards grace as God's free and sovereign act of self-disclosure. He said that whatever we get ultimately depends upon the merit of the individual, "bounties are all of the Lord; these cannot be forced out of His hand. Some do not get these even though awake; while others He awakens to bless." Ultimately divine grace is a mystery which is completely beyond human reasoning and computation. Good efforts always have a place in Guru Nanak's world view. In his famous Var Asa, for instance, he proclaims, "With your own hands carve out your destiny." Guru Nanak's idea of activism in life was the key to his concept of divine free choice.

The primary goal of the ascetic discipline, according to Shaikh Farid, is the union with the divine Beloved, which in classical Sufi terminology is comparable to 'subsistence' (*baqa*) within God. It is attained only through,

The process of annihilation (*jana*) 'wherein the soul is stripped of all its desires, affections, and interests so that in ceasing to will for itself it becomes an object of the Divine Will, that is, the beloved of God; and that which it loves is now its inward and real Self, not the self that has "passed away.⁴⁷

To achieve the highest stage of annihilation, a Sufi undergoes the severest ascetic discipline of self-torture because 'the suffering of the body is the subsistence of the spirit. Shaikh Farid describes the theme of suffering in the fire of love in the following salok, "My bones burn like a furnace and my body becomes hot like oven; I will walk on the head if the feet fail to walk to meet my adored as well as beloved"

Shaikh Farid's ascetic discipline should be viewed as the imagery. Fire is often used in Sufi poetry to describe the process of burning away of bodily passions and desires which goes back to the ancient rites of purification through fire. Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207-73), a contemporary of Shaikh Farid, states that the oven (*tannur*) of Love 'serves to purity man as ore is refined in the crucible to become gold. ⁵⁰ He severely condemns those wandering ascetics who "harm themselves by burning their limbs in the fire" emphasizes self-realization instead of self-torture:

"Do not heat your body oven-hot, burn not your bones like firewood. What harm have your head and feet done? (So, why do you torture them through such austerities?) Rather behold the Beloved within your soul, Farid." 52

Guru maintained that one must seek the divine Beloved within one's own heart (*andari piri nihal*) without torturing the body through ascetic discipline. Elsewhere, the human body is the temple of the indwelling Spirit of God, "the body is the palace of God, His temple, His dwelling-place wherein He has shown light infinitely radiant. By the Guru's word, one is summoned within the palace; there one meets with God."⁵³

It is instructive to note that Guru Nanak's comment on Shaikh Farid's verse as mentioned above is followed by four saloks (nos. 121-4) of the Sikh Gurus, inserted by Guru Arjan to highlight the theme of self-realization. The first salok by Guru Ram Das reads as, "I keep probing for my spouse, but my Spouse is within me. Nanak, the Unknowable cannot be seen but the Guru can make him seen." These two saloks may have been intended to warn the Sikh community against the phoniness of the ascetics of the day who were prone to pretend and pose larger than life. The second seco

Guru Nanak makes his viewpoint quite explicit that what matters in the spiritual life is not the merit of the individual, but the functioning of divine grace. He uses the symbolism of black crows turning into white swans under spiritual metamorphosis to point out that divine grace can elevate even the lowly and transform the worthless

sinners into saints. In this context, McLeod aptly maintains that "God in his grace chooses to impart enlightenment to men who would otherwise fail to perceive the divine self-revelation in the created world around them and their own inward experience." The primacy of divine grace is fundamental that can be conferred in Farid's work too. Shaikh Farid, for instance, says, "the one who is not welcome by her in-laws, and who has no place at her parents' house; and whose husband does not care for her, can one say that she is a happily married wife." ⁵⁷

Guru Nanak has the following reflection on Shaikh Farid's verse on the symbolic relations between the spiritual and worldly aspects of life:

"Both at her in-laws' house and her parents' house, she belongs to her husband, the divine Beloved who is Inaccessible and Unfathomable. Nanak! That one is indeed a happily married bride, who pleases the Indifferent One (beparvah)" 58

Guru Nanak asserts that both the spiritual and secular aspects of one's life become meaningful when one is blessed with the divine grace. That means one should put one's faith in God and have a belief that God looks after every demand no matter spiritual or worldly. Although divine grace is a necessary condition for attaining liberation, it is not sufficient by itself. Shaikh Farid, too, did believe in the efficacy of divine grace in the mystic path of love (ishq khuda'i). This is certainly not the case. In a hymn, for instance, Shaikh Farid envisions One God as the Lord of love and grace who answers prayers of his devotees and is the supreme Cherisher (parvadigar) of sinners. He further claims that 'true devotees (Dervishes) are those whom God Himself attaches unto Himself (api l:ie lari lai dari daroesh se).⁵⁹ Guru Nanak heartily agrees with this observation of Shaikh Farid.

Shaikh Farid's hymn in the measure Suhi Lalit, a popular raga with the Sufis, is full of deep remorse, in which he laments a life wasted in absorption with worldly temptations, contemplates death, and finds that it is too late to change. The complete hymn reads as follows:

"When the sea is full and overflowing it is hard to cross. (l) Do not touch the saffron flower with your hands, its colour will fade, my dear (2) Refrain (*rahau*). First, the bride is weak and also her husband's command is hard to bear. As milk does not return to her breast so the soul does not enter the same body again. (3) Farid, O my friends, when the spouse calls, the soul departs crestfallen and this body becomes a heap of ashes."

For Shaikh Farid, death is a terrible and eternal extinction because terrestrial life like milk in the breast is gone forever. Moreover, there is the implicit fear of judgment in the words 'her husband's command is hard to bear' (*saha ke re bola*). On the day of judgment, the great account book will be opened and each soul will face the Lord (*Rabb*) to explain how the time was spent during its sojourn on earth. Shaikh Farid uses the symbol of the swan (*hansa*) for the human soul which takes its reluctant flight leaving the body a heap of dust lying in the grave. According to Adi Granth, GuruNanak composed a hymn in the same measure, Suhi Ragu, in response to Shaikh Farid's, with the imagery of the original, expressing his self-understanding of life of spirituality based on divine grace through the practice of meditation on the divine Name, and self-control. A closer reading of the following hymn reveals how Guru Nanak transforms the language and sense of Farid's hymn, Suhi Mahala 1 ('Guru Nanak's hymn in the Suhi mode')

"Make meditation and self-control the raft by which you cross the flowing stream. Your path will be as comfortable as if there were no ocean or over· flowing stream. Your Name alone is the unfading madder with which my cloak is dyed; my beloved Lord, this colour is everlasting. Refrain. My dear friends have departed, how shall they meet the Lord? If they are united in virtue the Lord will unite them with himself......Says Nanak, O my friends, my spouse is very dear to me. We are the Lord's handmaidens; He is our True Husband."

Conclusion

If we compare their philosophies there seems very little difference in thoughts and approaches. Shaikh Farid stresses the transient nature of life while Guru Nanak's accent falls on the eternal value of the divine (nam). The dominant theme in both the hymns is related to the issue of death and belief in after-life. Whereas Shaikh Farid talks about the unique opportunity of human life because of his Islamic background, Guru Nanak does mention rebirth (avagavan) having inherited this idea from his Indian religious background. For Guru Nanak., death is not something to be dreaded but is a joy and the 'privilege of the brave' to be welcomed when it comes, for it means a perfecting of one's union with God.⁶³ In a nutshell, it may be stated that Farid-bani is recorded in the Adi Granth in its true Muslim colour, Sheikh Frid and Guru Nanak explicitly share inward mystical philosophy with different outer persona. Tone may be different; both carried the sole message of inner purification, humanity and self-control. To them, self-

realization leads towards the realization of the divine. Human life is successful when it is graced by Divine Love through *Zikr* (naam) and human effort (kirat). This study has argued that Sufism which purifies the inner and outer selves of mankind creates a culture of peace, love and coexistence. Baba Guru Nanak presents the best example of how one can learn from other religions, Sufis and Sufism. Still, we can follow their paths which can help understand God and His message to create solidarity in diversity.

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- 41. Siri 24, AG, p.23; Siri Astapadi 5, p.55-6; Asa Astapadi 14, p. 418; Vadahans 1- 3, p. 557-8; Suhi Kaji 1, p. 762; Maru Astapadian 9-10, p. 101 4- 15
- 42. Schimmel, 1975, 2
- 43. Partap Singh Giani, Gurmat philosophy, (Amritsar: Khalsa Brothers, 2003), 5
- 44. This salok is recorded in Var Siri Ragu, 1 (2).
- 45. O.W.Cole, The Guru in Sikhism (London: Darton, Longman Todd, 1982), 28.
- 46. Var Asa (20), 274
- 47. R. A. Nicholson, The idea of personality in Sufism in William C. Chittick, The Sufi path of love-the spiritual teaching of Rumi (Albany: Suny press, 1983), 24
- 48. C.W.Chittick, The Sufi Path of Love-The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi (Albany: Sunny Press, 1983), 9.
- 49. Translation is taken from Vaudeville, A Weaver Named Kabir, p. 326., Shaikh Farid, Salok 1 1 9, AG, p. 1384
- 50. Schimmel, 1982, 2
- 51. Var Malar, (15), M1, AG, 1285.
- 52. This salok is repeated as Guru Nanak's with minor verbal variation in Salok Varan Te Vadhik, M1, AG, 1411
- 53. Malar 5, M1, AG, 1256
- 54. M4, Salok 121, AG, 1384
- 55. Also see two other saloks, addressing directly in M3, Var Bihagara, 1 (9), AG, p. 551 and Var Sorathi, 1 (1 1), AG, 646.
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- 57. Shaikh Farid, Salok 31, AG, 1379
- 58. Ml, Salok 32, AG, 1379
- 59. Shaikh Farid, Asa 1, AG, 488
- 60. Shaikh Farid, Suhi Lalit 1, AG, 794
- 61. Shaikh Farid, Salak 38, AG, 1379
- 62. Suhi 4, M1, AG, 729
- 63. Ragu Vadahansu Alahanian 2, M1, AG, 579-80.