

CRITICAL PREFACE.

The present edition of Tukáráma is based on the following manuscripts :—

1. The Dehú Ms., obtained from Tukáráma's own family and continuing in it as an heir-loom. It is said to be in the hand-writing of Mahádevabává, the eldest son of Tukáráma, and so appears to be more than two hundred years old.

2. The Talegáva Ms., written by a Kására (brazier) Várkarí (Devotee of Vithobá), by name Trimbaka, who spent forty years of his life in collecting, arranging, and writing down the Abhangas of Tukáráma and other devotees of Vithobá. The Ms. is more than eighty years old, the year of S'álváhana 1709 being found written in the Ms. itself on folio 68.

3. The Pandharapúra Ms., corrected by Gangútátyá, the head of one of the Mathas of Várkarís at Pandharapúra, and submitted for further correction to the heads of other Mathas also. This is a recent copy of the Gáthá or Collection at Pandharapúra. It was obtained from Ráva Bahádura Gopálaráva Des'múkha, who most readily and philanthropically placed it at the disposal of the publishers.

A fourth Ms., from the Bráhmána family of the Maválas of Kadúsa and said to be written by the Mavála (Gangáji) who was one of the fourteen disciples of Tukáráma and always accompanied him, was also obtained but could not be retained long. Its order, orthography, &c., corresponded with those of Dehú. The same hand in which most of the Kadúsa Ms. is written is to be met with sometimes in the Dehú Ms., whereas the hand in which most of the Dehú Ms. is written is sometimes to be met with in the Kadúsa Ms. This fact shows that the two writers lived at one time and confirms the tradition that the Dehú Ms. is written by Tukáráma's eldest son, Mahádevabává, and the Kadúsa one by Gangáji Mavála, Mahádevabává and Gangáji being contemporaries. Gangáji Mavála is known as the person who put down in writing what Tukáráma composed.

The Dehú and Talegáva Mss. may be regarded to belong to the same family, for, the order of Abhangas in both of them is the same, and in several places where it is different, corrections are found in the Dehú Ms. whereby its order becomes the same as that of the Talegáva Ms. Neither of the Mss. is however a copy of the other.

The Pandharapúra Ms. may be regarded to belong to a different family. The order of the Abhangas differs considerably from that of the Dehú and Talegáva Mss., and considerable variations of reading are also to be met with. It is very recent and the original Abhangas are here and there found modernized in it. It is, in general, less accurate than the other two Mss.

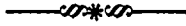
The first question to be decided was the order of Abhangas to be followed in the present edition. That of the Talegáva Ms. seemed to be the most genuine and one to which even the Dehú Ms. by its subsequent corrections conformed. It was, therefore, adopted in the present edition. The collation of the three Mss., Dehú, Talegáva, and Pandharapúra, was then undertaken, the Kadúsa one being also used as long as it was available. As a rule, where the Majority of Mss. agreed in a reading, that was adopted as the reading of the text, the rejected one being put in a foot-note. In a few instances the reading of a single Ms. had to be preferred where it made good sense, whereas that of the others made no sense and seemed to be a mistake of the writers. Nevertheless the rejected reading has been given in a foot-note.

In disputed places, the Dehú Ms. had a preponderance of weight, as it is the most accurate Ms. in readings as well as orthography—far more accurate than one could have expected, judging from the general inaccurate way in which Maráthí Mss. are written. In many places where the Pandharapúra Ms. makes no sense or very bad sense, the Dehú Ms. makes the most perfect and happy one. Words have been separated by spaces and correct orthography according to the recognized rules followed. The Dehú Ms. and the form of reciting Abhangas recognized as proper by the Várkarí heads—the *Sanhitá* form—favour the correct orthography. Tukáráma's characteristic Prákrit words and corruptions of Sanskrit words have been, however, preserved.

It was decided, in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction, the Government referee, faithfully to reproduce the text of Tukáráma and not to leave out any word or verse, even where it appeared indecent.



LIFE OF TUKÁRÁMA.



It appears to be a universal law, that, from the perusal of great and inspiring works, the curiosity of the reader is transferred to enquiry respecting the minds whence they emanated. In the case of the songs or Abhangas* of Tukáráma, this is especially the case. If there is one characteristic more conspicuous than another which distinguishes the writings of Tukáráma from those of others who have been reckoned by the Maráthá nation as its sacred poets and religious guides, it is the personal stamp of the man which they bear. The same truths that he has inculcated have been written upon by almost all religious and moral writers, but they have been breathed out by him in a way which is peculiar to himself. At every Abhanga embodying a great and noble truth, the poet, as it were, personally stands before the reader and makes its utterance in his own peculiar way, unmindful and uninfluenced by any worldly consideration. Others again, intensely devotional, cannot be understood in their full force without the reader's picturing to his mind the condition and mode of life of the wonderful man from whom they emanated. There is still a third portion which is entirely personal, alluding to several passages in the life of the poet, and which cannot be understood or appreciated without a knowledge of the events to which they allude. Besides the importance of a knowledge of Tukárám's life to understand his poems, there is one other point, which makes such a knowledge of extreme importance. Tukáráma represents the time when the Maráthá nation, long sunk under Mahomedan despotism, made a grand and successful effort to recover its independence, and established in the heart of the Mahomedan Empire a kingdom which within a hundred years shook to its foundations the Masnad or throne of the Great Moghal himself. Contemporaries of the great Shivájí himself, the lives of Tukáráma and Rámdása (his personal instructor) give an insight into the moral and religious condition of the nation at the commencement of the short brilliant interval of two hundred years during which the Maráthá people breathed independent nationality. Viewed in this light, an investigation of Tukáráma's life becomes of great historical importance. It is not, however, the object of this short notice, to accomplish this task. It must be effected by some future biographer by a thorough study of the works of Tukáráma himself and of the historical events of the time in which he lived. It is intended here principally to bring together

* Abhanga literally means "without break," and the metrical composition which bears this name was probably so called because it contains a continuously indefinite number of lines, sometimes as many as even a hundred. An Abhanga approaches nearest to an English sonnet.

those passages in his *Abhangas* which bear on his personal history and tend to give a personal picture of the great moral teacher to whom Western India has given birth.

The biographer's task, in writing a faithful life of any of the guiding spirits who in their time influenced the Hindu nation, is extremely difficult. The idea of recording events faithfully for the information of after ages never existed in the nation. Whenever the influence on the succeeding generations of any of the important personages has been great enough to induce some body to write his biography, the tendency towards deification has been so great, that the little of real events that has descended by tradition has been mixed up with fable to such a degree as to almost defy all attempts at separation. In Tukáráma's case, however, the singular advantage that a biographer possesses is the free outspokenness of that remarkable man. Frank in the extreme, with a mind constantly working to give vent in metrical form to any thing and every thing that was uppermost in his mind at the time, Tukáráma has himself recorded almost every incident of his life. What has been aimed at, therefore, in this notice, is to bring together the several passages in the following Collection bearing on the poet's life, linking them together by the light furnished by the mythological account of Mahípati who flourished about a century ago and was himself a poet and biographer of *Sants* (Saints).

Tukáráma was by caste a S'údra and by profession a Vání or cornchandler and retail dealer. He was born, and lived, in the village of Dêhú, about sixteen miles north west of Púná. The correct date of his birth appears to be the year of S'áliváhana 1530 or the year of Christ 1608, though it has been placed by some in A. C. 1588. For, the date of his death or rather disappearance from Delú, has been accurately mentioned in the following Collection to be the 2nd of Phálgun, Monday morning, S'ake 1571, the name of the year being Virodhi. The corresponding year of Christ is 1649. Now, it is generally believed that Tukáráma disappeared from this world in his 42nd year, which is confirmed by the statement of Mahípati that the first half of his life ended with his bankruptcy which is mentioned as having taken place in his 21st year.* This gives the year of Christ 1608, therefore, as the date of his birth. Another reason for regarding the year A. C. 1588 as the year of Tukáráma's birth to be incorrect, is afforded by the fact that at the time when Tukáráma disappeared, his wife was pregnant and gave birth soon after to a son, named Vithobá after Tukáráma's favourite deity. Should A. C. 1588 be taken as the correct date, Tukáráma's disappearance and the birth of his youngest son would be placed in the 62nd year of his age—an age too advanced, in the view of the traditions which we possess, to have about it the probability of truth.

The members of Tukáráma's family, from remote ancestors, were devotees of the God Vithobá of Pandharpúra, where they used to make regular pilgrimages

* *Bhaktalámrita*, Adhyáya 5, Ovis 136—38.

as *Várkaris*. Mahípati gives the following list of Tukáráma's ancestors and states all of them to be pious men, given to religious devotion, except Hari and Mukunda who entered the service of the State and fell in the battlefield.

1. Vis'vambhara, who had two sons—
2. (a) Hari.
- (b) Mukunda, who died without issue.
3. Vithobá.
4. Pádájí.
5. S'ankara.
6. Kánhayá.
7. Bolhojí.
8. Tukáráma.

It is related that when Vis'vambhara was come of age his mother advised him to go to Pandharpúra regularly on pilgrimage, as was the custom of his ancestors. Accordingly he resolved to visit it on the 11th* of each half of every month and made sixteen such visits, when one night he had a dream which led to the discovery of *svayambhu* or the self-existent images of Vithobá and Rakhumái, his wife, under ground. He placed them in a small temple on the banks of the Indráyani, the river on which Dehú is situate, and thence discontinued his visits to Pandharpúra. Thus began that devotedness to Vithobá and a general tendency towards religious devotion in Vis'vambhara's family which culminated in the birth of the subject of this biographical notice.

Tukáráma was one of three sons of Bolhojí. When Bolhojí became old, he wished to entrust the management of the family to his eldest son Sávaji which, however, the latter refused, as he was of a devotional turn of mind and did not wish to engage his attention in worldly concerns. Thereupon Tukáráma was initiated into the business from his thirteenth year, which he carried on well for some time. He had two wives, Rakhumái and Jijái, the first of whom died in the twentieth year of her husband's age. He also lost a son named Santù in the same year. He had already lost his parents and his elder brother's wife before this, the brother also leaving the house on pilgrimage. The famine and consequent bankruptcy completed the cup of his earthly sorrow, which so disgusted him of all worldly pursuits that he gave them up and became a devotee of Vithobá at Dehú. He himself relates in Abhangas 1333-35,† the causes which led him originally to take this course in answer to a query on that point by his brother devotees. His account is as follows :—

1333.

“By caste a s'údra, I carried on trade; this god [Vithobá] was the family god from the beginning.

I ought not to speak on this matter, but have given respect to the words of you sages—to answer the question ye have asked.

* The Hindu lunar month is divided into two halves of generally fifteen days each. The eleventh of each half is considered a very holy day by them and observed with fasting and prayer.

† These figures denote the Abhangas as numbered in the following Collection.

I became tormented by the extreme miseries of this life after the death of my parents. The famine exhausted all my money and made me honorless, and one wife of mine died, crying for food.

Shame overcame me; I lost my quiet by this sorrow, and I observed my trade bringing me loss.

There was the dilapidated temple of the God which I chose to make [my residence.]

At first I began to perform Kírtana* on the 11th but in the beginning my mind was not in study.

I committed to memory some pieces of holy men with reverence and faith in them;

Took up the chorus when others sang before†—with a pure heart and full of belief;

Would take the water of the feet of holy men without allowing shame to enter my mind;

Did what good I could to others, by toiling this body;

Paid no regard to the advice of friends and relations—I was disgusted of all worldly pursuits;

Made my own mind the witness of truth and untruth and paid no attention to the opinion of the many.

Respected the initiation of the *Mantra* (sacred formula) imparted to me by my teacher in the dream and placed full belief in the efficacy of God's name;

After this came on the poetic inspiration, and I held the feet of Vithobé firm in my heart.

Then came on the stroke of prohibition to compose, which wounded my heart for some time.

I threw the books of my verses into the river and sat in Dharné‡ [in God's temple,] where—upon God appeased me.

If I were to relate in extenso all the details, it would be very late, therefore enough of it now.

What the present state is ye see, God knows of the future.

The merciful God no-way neglects the believer,—this I have come to know.

'All my capital,' says Tuká, 'consists in the sayings [verses] which Pánduranga has made me speak.'

1334.

"Oh sages, hear this what I say; I am a great fallen sinner.

Why do ye love me with such tenderness?

My heart is witness to me that I am not redeemed.

A person wears one thing, and people think it to be another.

I was extremely tormented by family affairs—I even became a drover of cattle goading them on by twisting their tails.

When, notwithstanding all this, I could not get sufficient for my wants, I took to the present course of life.

Already my little treasure of money was over, so I did not give up wealth, distributing it to Bráhmanas or those who stood in need of it.

I cut off connection with my wife, sons, brothers,

And thereby necessarily made myself a stupid, mean wretch.

I could not show my face to the people and so withdrew myself to a corner or lived in the wilderness.

This was the cause of my solitude.

I was vexed and hardened by the cravings of the belly and therefore the feeling of compassion had no place in me.

* Kírtana or Kathá is a form of preaching accompanied with music and singing. For more information, see further on.

† In the Kathá, the preacher begins a song which the chorus then take up.

‡ Dharné was a mode of enforcing payment of debt. The creditor or his agent sat at the door of his debtor till the debt was paid. Hence the term was applied to such dogged sitting and fasting at the door of a temple to move God to grant the supplicant's prayer.

For this reason naturally, I said "yes," when any body called.
My ancestors were devotees and therefore I worship this God.
Tuká says, 'For FAITH let somebody take to this kind of life.'

1335.

"It was well, O God, that I became a bankrupt; it was well that famine afflicted me.
The deep sorrow which they produced kept in me the recollection of thee and made worldly
pursuits nauseating to me.

It was well, O God, that my wife was a vixen; it was well that I came to such a miserable
plight among the people.

It was well that I was dishonored in the world; it was well that I lost my money and cattle.

It was well that I did not feel worldly shame; it was well that I surrendered myself to thee
O God;

It was well that I made thy temple my abode, neglecting children and wife.

'It was well,' says Tuká, 'I observed a fast on the 11th and kept myself awake at night in
thy prayer.'

The above extract gives in Tukáráma's own words the unvarnished tale of the causes which led him to take to the course of life which was the foundation of all his future greatness and made him pre-eminently the teacher and benefactor of mankind. Verse 1334 also shows the strict censorship he held over his own heart and the severity with which he judged himself. He has said that his wife was a vixen, and he has given a complete picture of her and the reasons of her complaint, with the kind of scolding he received at her hands, in the following verses:—

566.

"It is only as far as I am concerned that he has renounced the world; has he lost any of his
own enjoyments?

All comforts come home walking, but *my* disgrace cannot still be averted.

Whose housewife am I to become in order to keep the family agoing? How many miseries
should I suffer in family matters?

What shall I give to children, who will eat me up for hunger? It were well if they were all
dead now.

He allows nothing to remain in the house, he has washed it clean of every thing; there is not
left even one head of cattle for dung to cowdung the ground.

'Abject wretch,' says Tuká, 'she of herself thoughtlessly bears the burden on her head and
then frets for its heaviness.'

567.

"I do not know if this blockhead was my enemy in my previous life and has satisfied his
revenge by becoming my husband in this life.

How much misery am I to suffer all throughout; how often am I to open my mouth to others
for help?

Damned be Vitthala—what good has he done to me or my family?

Tuká says 'Such fits of passion the wife gets into, and she frets and lowly weeps, intermixed
with some laugh also.'

568.

"A sack of grain comes home but he will not let children have bread out of it.

No, instead of it, this stupid domestic thief will fill the baskets of strangers.

'This chafed mad woman,' says Tuká, 'seizes my hands [when I give grain,] with fiendish
violence.

'O damned woman, sinful is the stock of thy past life [which leads thee to do so.]'"

569.

"What wilt thou eat, O child, now? My husband [thy father] has become a resident of the temple.

He dresses his head and wears garlands of flowers, and has given up all concern of his calling. He has made provision for his belly and cares nothing about us.

With *Tála** in hands, he opens wide his mouth and sings in the temple before the God.

What are we now to do, he would not even sit at home but would go to the lonely forest?

Tuká says, 'have patience, all is not over yet.'"

570

"It is all right that he† is gone; in losing him I get every thing.

I shall now eat my belly-full of bread, coarse though it be.

How much had I to scold him, accursed that I am;

'Tuká's wife loves him though she uses scornful words.'"

571

"He cannot pursue any calling because he gets plenty to eat without exerting himself for it. No sooner does he get up from his bed than he begins to strike his *Tála* and makes [with followers] unbearable noise.

All of them are as dead though alive, they have swallowed up all sense of shame.

They do not attend to their family concerns and leave them to go to the dogs.

Their wretched wives feel the pangs of misery and take up stones to crush themselves to death with imprecations on their husbands.

'It is all right,' says Tuká, 'receive what is written in thy destiny.'"

572.

"What for do people come to our house? Have they not their own business to attend to?

Tuká says, 'On account of God, the whole world has become related to me; what is lost by gentle words?

People who would not condescend to come even if most respectfully entreated, visit me for love.

This damned woman cannot relish what she ought to regard as an ornament; she goes after people as a mad cur.'"

Tukáráma's devotion converted in some degree the heart of even such a wife. When he began to avoid home through disgust, she entreated him not to do so, promising to conduct herself according to his desire. The following Collection contains eleven verses 1981-91 wherein he has explained to her the nothingness of all worldly happiness in comparison with the eternal happiness of heaven and counselled her not to covet the riches of this world and be perfectly resigned and engage herself in the service of God.

Tukáráma's routine of life immediately after he renounced the world was to bathe early in the morning, to go to the temple of Vithobá and worship the idol, and then repair to the forest. There is a hill named Bhandára about four miles from Dehù which was also Tukáráma's favourite haunt. There he used to spend day after day in silent contemplation, returning to Dehù in the evening to sing his prayer and dance before Vithobá at night. He still used to take his

* A musical instrument of bell-metal used to beat time in music.

† In the original, the neuter pronoun is used instead of the masculine, to indicate that she held him in extreme contempt.

meal, which was very temperate, at home, and though he had given up looking after the concerns of the family, he did not cut himself off entirely from it.

Thus freed from the ties of family cares and worldly concerns, Tukárâma's future code of belief and course of life seem to have nevertheless been still unsettled; and it was superhuman agency, according to Tukárâma, that finally settled them. The distinguishing tenet most warmly advocated by him has been that of salvation by Faith and the efficacy of Prayer or rather of God's name. This doctrine he was led firmly to stick to on account of a dream wherein a person appeared to him who declared his own name to be Bábâjí, and who also mentioned the names of Râghava Chaitanya and Kes'ava Chaitanya* to indicate the line of his spiritual teachers. Bábâjí gave Tukárâma the sacred Formula "Râm, Krishna, Hari." Hence it is that the names of Râghava Chaitanya, Kes'ava Chaitanya and Bâbâ Chaitanya are placed at the head of the following Collection, and to them Tukárâma bows as his spiritual teachers before he begins his poems. The date of the dream was the 10th of the bright half of the month Mâgha. Tukárâma himself relates the incident as follows :—

368.

"The king of spiritual teachers has bestowed his blessing on me, but I have done no service to him.

I had a dream, wherein, while going to bathe on the holy river, he discovered himself to me on the road and placed his hand on my head.†

He asked for a quarter of a S'ér of Gñi in consenting to come to dine, but I forgot of it.

He came to know that there was some obstacle—was it on that account that he hastened away?

He mentioned to me the names of Râghava Chaitanya and Kes'ava Chaitanya, to indicate the line of his spiritual teachers.

His own name he gave out to be Bábâjí, and he gave me the sacred Formula "Râm, Krishna, Hari."

* The Chaitanyas are a very large sect of the Vaishnavas in Bengal. It was founded by the person whose name it bears about the end of the 15th century. Chaitanya is said to have disappeared from this world and to have bodily returned to Vaikuntha like Tukárâma.

The object of the worship of Chaitanyas is Krishna, whom they regard as the Paramâtmâ and both the cause and the substance of creation.

The Chief features of their faith as sketched by H. H. Wilson in his "Essays and lectures on the religion of the Hindus" are the identification of Vishnu with Brahma, in common with all the Vaishnava sects, and the assertion of his possessing, in that character, sensible and real attributes, in opposition to the Vedânta belief of the negative properties of God. The identity of Krishna and Chaitanya is believed in, and the whole religious and moral code of the sect is comprised in one word, *Bhakti*, which signifies a union of implicit faith with incessant devotion. As all men are alike capable of feeling the sentiments of faith and devotion, it followed as an important consequence of the doctrine, that all castes become by such sentiments equally pure. The Nâma Kirtana, or constant repetition of any of the names of Krishna, or his collateral modifications is declared to be the peculiar duty of the present age, and the only sacrifice the wise are required to offer. It is of itself quite sufficient to ensure future felicity, though other duties, or Sâdhana, are enjoined, the principal of them being fasting every eleventh day, singing and dancing in honour of Krishna, suppressing anger, avarice and lust, and servilely venerating the spiritual teacher, which was technically called Gurupadâs'raya.

The reader of Tukárâma will perceive the close affinity of Tukárâma's doctrines with those sketched above. His God is the same as that of the Vaishnavas, Krishna, though worshipped under the name of Vithobâ, and he often emphatically calls himself Vaishnavabhakta to indicate the sect he belonged to. When and under whom the Chaitanya sect spread its doctrines in the Deccan is not known.

† Placing the hand on the head is indicative of full grace and favour.

Observing that it was Thursday, the 10th of Māgha S'uddha, he made me his own."

369.

"Knowing the desire of my mind, he the King of Teachers, has used adequate means. He initiated me into the simple sacred Formula of my liking, such a Formula as would not cause perplexity anywhere.

Some saints have crossed, others are crossing this sea of earthly life.

According as he is clever or ignorant, and according to his liking, each receives a float of canoes, rafts, or of gourds to cross by.

Tuká says, 'for me he (the great teacher in the dream) pointed out Pánduranga, the very sea of kindness, as my ship.' "

370

"Throwing all weight of difficulties on Vithobá, I lived without any anxiety; the saints entrusted me to him.

He touched me kindly on the head and told me that I need entertain no anxiety. With hands placed akimbo, and his beautiful feet placed close in a line, he stands on the banks of the Bhímá.

O Kes'ava, all other efforts are over for this creature. He has caught thy feet. Thou Infinite, do what thou likest now, the saints have my shame."

371.

"Know this determination of my mind—I have now become ready to give away life itself.

I will take to none else but Thyself. I have thrown off fear, shame, doubt.

There was already relation between me and Thee, O Infinite; the saints have strengthened it.

I have placed my faith and my life on thy feet, this is all I have, there is nothing else. Thou shouldst bear my shame now.

Tuká says, 'The saints have entrusted me to thee; I will not now leave thy feet.' "

The next stage we arrive at in Tukáráma's life is the time when he began to compose poems. The incident which led him to it he tells us in Verses 1320-21.

1320.

"Námdeva* awaked me in a dream, accompanied by Pánduranga.

He prescribed to me the task of composing poems, warning me not to spend time in useless talk.

He measured out the quantity, Vithala holding the marker; and he encouraged me by patting me on the back.

The numerical amount he mentioned was one hundred Crores (one billion), to complete which, Tuká was to add whatever was wanting."

1321.

"If thou wilt give me place, I will live with thee always at thy feet in company with the saints.

I have given up a place of which I was fond, so do not hold me off indifferently.

Give me the lowest place, since I am of mean desert; with that I shall attain peace of mind.

To Tuká thou hast appeared in a dream on account of Námdeva; this favour he has stored up in his breast."

Thus, according to Tukáráma's own account, was received the first poetic inspiration which entirely absorbed his future life. He had already read and committed to memory many of the Abhangas of Námdeva, and it were Námdeva's poems which, according to the dream, he was to supplement and bring up to the

* Námdeva, the oldest principal writer of Abhanga poetry was of S'impf or tailor caste. He is represented by some a founding, by others the son of Dámás'eti and Gonai. He is said to have been a contemporary of Kabír. He was a worshipper of God Vithoba of Pandharpúra.

number of one hundred Crores. An Abhanga, evidently not Tukáráma's, mentions that he composed five Crores and thirty-four thousand of them—the number which was wanting to complete the one hundred Crores which Námdeva had intended to compose. The following Collection can certainly lay no pretensions to contain this incredible number. It contains about 4,621, though each stanza sometimes contains as many as a hundred couplets. It must be remembered moreover, that Tukáráma had latterly acquired such facility in composing Abhangas—a metre already the simplest in Maráthi verse—that he almost spoke in them. His principal occupation by this time was the Bhajana and the Kathá. The Bhajana is the devotional service of God, generally in verse. It is held in public. In it the preacher or principal person sings out hymns, or poems, and his followers, if any, take up and repeat them. It is unaccompanied with any explanation. These Bhajanas must have given scope to Tukáráma to pour out endless number of Abhangas composed extempore on the spot, which of course were never taken down nor intended to be recorded and so have not come down to posterity. That this supposition is not ideal may be inferred from the fact, that, at this very day, one Bává,* almost walking in the footsteps of Tukáráma, may be mentioned as existing, who composes extempore Abhangas at all his Bhajanas. With regard to Tukáráma, tradition informs us that such of his poems as he intended should outlive him, he dictated to some one of his disciples who always accompanied him to transcribe them or follow his other behests. His principal transcribers were Gangáji Mawál and Santáji Telí. These poems he generally composed in Vithobá's temple or at another lonely place which is pointed out to a visitor of Dehú as the one where Tukáráma sat alone and composed. The history of the Mss. which have been made use of in the present edition will show that some of them are written by the recognized transcribers of Tukáráma, and it is, therefore, probable that the poems in the following Collection were all that Tukáráma thought to be of permanent value, although he might have composed thousands of extempore ones in his daily Bhajana.

Tukáráma's fame began to spread far and wide with his poems, the publicity of which was ensured by the most efficient machinery that could be had in those times. It was the Kathá, which by this time had become Tukáráma's regular employment. The Kathá is the most pleasant and the most impressive form of lecture or sermon that exists in Maráthi. In it, the preacher, after the preliminary prayer in verse, quotes a text from some poet as the thesis on which he is to preach on the occasion. This he expounds, illustrates, amplifies, by quotations from various authors, intermixed with tales legendary or otherwise. Singing is an indispensable part of a Kathá. The quotations the preacher introduces are taken up and finished by the chorus. In Tukáráma's case the impressive character of this form of preaching was heightened by the fact that he preached with all the intensity of his devotedness and inward convictions, and without receiving a single pie as remuneration for his preaching.

*Narsinga Bava in Benar.

With the spread of Tukáráma's fame, came also the many personal torments and sore trials to which he was subjected, which, however, thoroughly tested the superhuman virtues of the man and made him what he is now regarded to be, a type of holiness, resignation, truthfulness, disinterestedness, humility, devotion, and sympathy, and a saviour of mankind. All Bráhmancial pride and superstition were arrayed against him—a S'údra, who had dared to expound the Vedas, and who, on account of his devotion, had caused disturbance in the established order of things. Though of a low caste, the simple-hearted honest people began to prostrate before him, an honour which the pride of the Bráhmanas told them to be their own monopoly. Men began naturally to take the word Bráhmána in its sense of the knower of the Brahma, or God, and to regard Tukáráma as a Bráhmána, and this feeling increased to such an extent towards the close of Tukáráma's career, that the priestly Bráhmána family at Chinchavada, that of the Devas reputed incarnations of Ganapati, actually dined with him.* All this excited the fierce envy, prejudices, and thirst for revenge of the Bráhmanas. The first sore trial which Tukáráma had to undergo was one from Mambájí, a Bráhmána Gosávi at Dehú who was burning with jealousy at Tukáráma's fame and his own nonentity. To keep up appearances, however, he used to be a daily attendant at his Bhajana. Mambájí had a garden just behind the temple of Vithobá which he had fenced in by fagots of prickly trees. On an 11th of a month, a day of great festival at Dehú which attracted a very large concourse of pilgrims to the place, Tukáráma saw these prickly fagots to have spread to the very temple and blocked up the passage of those who had to take their rounds† about the temple. He took them away with his own hand and cleared the passage. This incensed Mambájí to such a pitch that he thrashed Tukáráma in the most cruel manner with those very prickly fagots. Calm even amid such bodily torture, he continued his daily avocations unimpaired and felt no resentment towards his tormentor. He describes the incident in the following verses:—

355.

"I will not leave thy feet, Vithobá, I will not, I will not;
Let any heavy calamity come upon me, putting my life into great jeopardy,
Let an armed man cut my body into a hundred pieces, still I will not fear;
For, says Tuká 'I have prepared my mind and made it stationary at the very beginning.'"

356

"Well, well, well, Vithobá, thou hast done well; observing that there is forgiveness inside,
thou hast let the outward body be chastised with prickly sticks.
Also by submitting me to disgrace by endless abuse,
'Thou hast rescued me', says Tuká, 'from falling into the hands of anger.'"

357

"I am satisfied, I am satisfied, I am satisfied, O God;
Whatever was in my good luck, that has come to pass, what is there for me to speak now?"

* Mahipati Adhyáya 16, v. 98.

† In visiting a temple, the usual way of paying respect to the idol among Hindus is to bow before the idol and then to go round it from the left to the right one or more times. As the idol is situate generally close to a wall, the sanctuary itself wherein it is placed is gone round.

With a guileless heart, I tried to clear the passage of its prickly fagots; Tuká says, 'I did that and have been [also] separated [from the passions].'"

Forbearance such as this could not but have its effect. Mambájí is said to have been extremely humbled and became a great admirer of Tukáráma.

But a still greater trial was awaiting Tukáráma by this time. As has been said before, his rising fame gave great umbrage to Bráhmanas. One of them in particular, named Rámes'vara Bhatta, an inhabitant of Vágholí, a village a few miles distant from Púná and to the north-east of it, began to look upon him with great hatred. He succeeded in persuading the Officer of the District that Tukáráma, an ignorant S'údra, was a great heretic, and got him to send an order to the Pátíla of Dehú to drive him out of the village. Tukáráma has the following verse in reference to the incident :—

676.

"What should I eat, where should I go, under whose protection should I live in the village? The Pátíla and all the people of the village have become angry with me, who will now even give me alms?"

'He has transgressed his bounds,' say they, and take the matter for decision to a court of justice.

Good people have insinuated the notion into him and brought ruin on me poor wretch.

'His company is not good,' says Tuká, 'let me now go in search of Vitthala.'"

Tukáráma went to Rámes'vara Bhatta himself* and asked his forgiveness. He continued to perform his Bhajana and Kathá, however, even in Rámes'vara Bhatta's presence, which very much incensed the Bráhmana. He told Tukáráma that in his Kathá he expounded the Vedas which it was a sin for a S'údra to utter and for auditors to hear from him, and forbade him in future from composing any poems. Tukáráma replied that whatever worthless pieces he composed were by the commandment of Pánduranga, but since a Bráhmana's command was to him equally worthy of veneration, he would cease from composing any thing in future, and requested directions as to what should be done with the poems already composed. Rámeshvara Bhatta ordered that all the books of his poems should be drowned. He promised to do so, repaired to Dehú, uttered before Vithobá what had taken place, and threw the books into the river Indráyani with his own hand, taking care, says Mahípati, to cover them on either side with thin slates of stone and wrapping them up in a cloth. He was apparently easy for five days, when the evil men of the village began to taunt him that he threw some time before all his bonds and other valuable securities into the river and thus ruined his worldly prospects, and now by throwing his poems into the river, he ruined his prospects of the world to come, and that another man in his place would rather have ended his life. This taunt went deep to his heart. He gave up food and water and lay upon a stone in the courtyard of Vithobá's temple, resolving not to get up till Vithobá should hear his prayer. Verses 2222-2240 contain his

* Mahípati states that Rámes'vara Bhatta was at the time at Vágholí. In the Heading to Verses 2222-2240 in the following Collection, however, it is mentioned that Tukáráma was told not to compose any new poems and drown those already composed, in the course of a Kathá at Alakápurí or Alandí.

breathings out on the occasion. In them, he supplicates Vithobá in a variety of ways to come to his protection and by some special mark of favour to save him from the disgrace to which he was reduced. He lay in this manner for thirteen days without receiving any consolation.

His end seemed evidently to be nigh; at any rate, with his poems all drowned in the river, and he forbidden to compose any new ones, he seemed destined to live a life of nonentity, to pine away in a lonely forest, leaving the world to his persecutors, who evidently thought they had gained every thing they wanted. But no; by that inherent force of truth to triumph and to outlive, and by that unforeseen and unexpected succour which the truly faithful and sincere receive from quarters unknown, call it miracle or any thing else, Tukáráma and his poems outlived his persecutors and inculcated in the Maráthá nation the great doctrine of "Salvation by faith." On the 13th day, according to Mahípati's account of the event, the drowned books began to float on the surface of the water and were taken out by the people and carried to Tukáráma. The more rational and trustworthy account is to be gathered from the Heading to Verses 2241-46 in the following Collection. It says that when Tukáráma thus lay in the courtyard for thirteen days, God seemed to appear to him in the form of a child, embraced him, and consoled him by informing him that the books of poems were dry in the water and that they should be taken out. This was accordingly done, and observing that the books came out safe from the water, Tukáráma breathed out seven verses in earnest thanksgiving, upbraiding himself at the same time that he should have put his God to so much trouble for him :—

2241.

"I committed a great offence, in having made a trial of thee to the uttermost.
For people's talk I disturbed thee.

I tired and troubled thee—ungrateful wretch that I am—by remaining thirteen days with eyes closed.

I put thee into difficulty by laying upon thee the burden of my death without food and water,
that thou mightest give me redress.

Thou preservedst the papers in the water, stopped thereby the evil talk of the people, and made thy own motto true."

2242.

"Thou kind mother, thou art the shade of us helpless beings.

Thou camest uncovered to me in the form of a child.

Thou didst satisfy me by thy beautiful incarnate form, and quieted my mind by embracing me.

Thou didst extend thy mercy to me through the people, and gavest me place near thy feet
through the saints.

Thou didst not at all let me feel what sorrow was.

Tuká says 'I am an offender, forgive me O mother; I will not put thee in any strait hereafter.' "

2243.

"Let any body cut my throat, let people persecute me to their hearts' content,

I will not do anything which will put thee to trouble.

For once I committed a mistake, *Chándála** that I am,—I made thee stand in the water and
preserve the books.

* *Chándála* meant a person born from a S'údra father and Bráhmans mother; hence it is figuratively used to signify a wicked or loathsome creature.

I did not consider what (little) merit I had.
 I was shamefully ignorant of the way in which to ask an obligation of the Great.
 There is no use of vain talk about the past,
 'Care should be taken in future', says Tuká."

2244.

"What do I, mean man, know of thy infinite power, O Pánduranga?
 If men have patience, what wilt not thou do for them?
 I became impatient from the beginning, dunce that I am;
 Still, thou sea of mercy, thou didst not reject me in scorn.
 Thou art the God of gods, the life of the universe;
 What occasion was there, therefore, for us, thy servants, to cry for mercy?
 Tuká says 'O Providence, I am really a fallen man, for, I sat in *Dharné*.'"

2245.

"No knife was falling on my head, nor was I going to receive a wound in my back, that I
 should have given out, O Harí, such loud wailings.
 Thou becamest divided at two places—with me and in the water—and didst not allow any
 harm to come at either place.
 Father and mother take even life in anger for a small fault,
 Whereas what thou borest was not common, only thou couldst know of it.
 Tuká says, 'Thou merciful God, there is no giver like thee,
 How shall I praise thee, I have no words to do it.'"

2246.

"Thou art kinder than a mother, more refreshing than the Moon, thinner than water—all a
 wave of joy.
 To what shall I compare thee, besides thyself, O God?
 I wave myself around thee as an offering to thy name.
 Thou didst create the nectar, but thou art sweeter than that;
 Thou art the creator of the five elements and the master of all existence.
 Without saying any thing now, I lay my head upon thy feet.
 "Forgive me my fault, O God of Pandharí' says Tuká."

2247.

"I am of ill desert and an offender beyond description.
 Give me now place, O Vitthala, near thy feet.
 Inexorable destiny does not allow a man to remain undisturbed in one place.
 The endless waves of desire assume new colours every moment,
 But if worldly life were to be taken to, it proves destructive.
 Tuká says, 'cut off my anxiety now, O God of Pandharí;
 Come and reside in my heart.'"

While these events took place at Dehú, a miraculous scene is related of Rámes'vara Bhatta, the persecutor of Tukáráma. It is said that he happened to bathe in a well at Púná which belonged to a *Fakír* named Anagada. The bath, instead of cooling his body, began to burn it, and for days and days together he was wailing under torments as if his body were all on fire. Some people began to ascribe it to some poisonous drug which was suspected to have been given by Anagada, while others attributed it to divine wrath Rámes'vara Bhatta had brought upon him by drowning Tukáráma's poems. Rámes'vara Bhatta is said to

have repaired to Alandī to pray to Dnyānes'vara* for relief. He had a dream, it is said, wherein he was told to throw himself on Tukārāma's mercy. He heard at the same time of Tukārāma's books of poems having come out of the water. He repented for having persecuted him and wrote an Abhanga to him asking his forgiveness. The following Abhanga was sent by Tukārāma, in reply, which is said to have removed Rāmes'vara Bhatta's ailment :

1751.

"If the heart be pure, enemies become friends, and even the tiger does not eat him and the serpent does not sting him.

Poison becomes nectar, distress a fortune, and a prohibited act a moral one.

All sorrow will bring out happiness, and the burning flames will be cooled.

Living beings will love one another as themselves, since the emotions in all are the same.

'God has bestowed his mercy on thee,' says Tukā, 'know it by this present experience.'

Whatever credence is to be attached to the above related occurrence, this much is certain that Rāmes'vara Bhatta, the greatest persecutor of Tukārāma, became his most devoted follower; so much so, that during the rest of his life he always lived by Tukārāma and became a transcriber of those very poems of his which he had forbidden him to compose. Moreover, the Abhanga above quoted contains allusion to the "Burning flames" which, Rāmes'vara Bhatta is assured, will be cooled by the heart becoming pure. The following four Abhangas, 1079-82, placed in the Collection in a footnote as their authorship is ascribed to Rāmes'vara Bhatta, show how complete a change came over that bigoted Brāhmana :—

1079.

"God's devoted worshippers, saints enjoying salvation in this very life,—persons whose extraordinary fame is spread throughout the world—

Among such endless men, the endless, the saviour of the world by his unconscious deeds,

Such a being, Tukā, that stood the test by his communion with Brahma, the friend of the Universe—has at present made this earth the scene of his diversions.

Thou, king of the faithful, thy conduct I have seen to be in accordance with the S'astra and the rules approved of by the great;

By offering the last oblation† of water to the objects of desire and those which are proscribed, and by offering up to God Yoga itself without any desire.‡

* "Dnyānoba' or Dnyānēdeva, was a Brāhman, whose head-quarters were at Alandī, north of Pūnā, where a shrine, much frequented, is now consecrated to his memory. He is highly venerated, especially by the priestly fraternity, in the Mahārāshtra, and is the author of a paraphrase, in the *Orā* metre, of the Bhagavad-Gītā, designated from himself the *Dnyānes'vari*, or *Opus Dnyānes'vari*. It is full of poetical forms of words differing from those of the language of conversation, and some of its vocables are now obsolete; but it is intelligible to the student. It bears the date of Shake 1212 (A. D. 1290), and is possibly of this age. Dnyānoba seems to have belonged to a family noted for its learning. Nivrīti, his elder brother; Sopānēdeva his younger brother; and Muktabāī, his sister, are, with himself, mentioned with respect. Indeed, the whole family has attained to the apotheosis,—he, as an incarnation of Vishnu; Nivrīti, as an incarnation of Brahmā; Sopānēdeva, as an incarnation of Ś'iva; and Muktabāī, as an incarnation of Brahmī! This is the more remarkable that he gives some of the pantheistic verses of the Gītā an almost anti-idolatrous turn."—*Dr. Wilson in Notes prefixed to Molesworth's Dictionary, p. XXVI.*

† It is a custom to pour out water with Sesamum seed to the manes of a defunct until the tenth day after his decease; hence, the expression निज्जन्तुदेवे means to relinquish desire or hope of a thing.

‡ The indispensable condition of uniting with the godly essence, according to Vedantic philosophy, was to conquer all desire and to do nothing with the object of getting any reward short of union with Brahma itself.

In the circle of saintly stars, thou hast eaten up (dispelled) the darkness of the world; thou,

Tuká, art the sun that hast appeared on the distant mountain of sunrise.

Tuká is the Sinhasta* in human form, and Hari-kathá is the holy river Goutamí, to visit which, holy waters in the form of saints resort.

Peace of mind, that continent woman, has now been married, and being satisfied of all desires is now desireless.

Forgiveness is widely known in the world by acts of forgiveness, but it has received corporate form in thee.

Thou, lord of the helpless, thou hast kept mercy alive, thy fame has spread throughout the whole world.

Thou hast raised the arm and unfurled the standard of the Vedas, and hast respected Gods, Bráhmanas and all the elements.

Religion suffered from the consumptive disease irreligiosity, but thou hast cured it by faith and faith alone.

Along with the tenet of the unity of Brahma and the Universe, thou hast extended faith and thereby fulfilled the object of the texts of the Vedas.

Do not disregard me who am deluded by pride of caste and belief in the external body as the ego.

Rámes'war Rámchandra prays that his mind may never go astray in his belief in Tuká's feet."

1080.

" Even Pandits (those read in Shástras), Vaidiks (those read in Vedas), or Dashagranthis (those who have mastered the 10 books of the Rigveda) cannot equal Tuká.

They read the Shástras, Puránas, or the Gítá regularly every day, but they do not understand the essence.

In this Kaliyuga, the Bráhmanas have brought on their own ruin by the pride of *Karma* (religious rites) and pride of caste.

Tukáráma is not the ordinary Váni given to his trade; he has his belief in Vithobá's feet.

His correct voice has showered nectar—who can make it incorrect?

He has explained the four Vedas, bringing out their profoundest meaning,

And distinguishing and classifying the good, the better, and the best.

I have not seen a man superior to Tuká in faith, philosophy, and renunciation of worldly desires.

He has put to shame, Japa, Tapa, Yadnya and charities, by singing the name of God.

Many great poets preceded him, but tell me who ascended to heaven with his body?

Rámes'vara says ' he (Tuká) took leave of all and went up in a heavenly car.' "

1081.

" I have been convinced by sad experience; with ignominy I suffered for it.

Because I hated him internally, I suffered from intense torments of the body.

Dnyánes'vara obliged me by informing me of the whole in a dream:—

' Tuká is superior to all and worthy of our great love, for he is the incarnation of Námdéva.

Thou spokest something ill of him and hence those torments thou art laboring under.

Now hear me and do the one thing I tell thee: with a firm resolve throw thyself on his mercy.

I have given thee the counsel which will destroy thy sin by the very sight [of Tuká],'

Putting faith in that counsel I always go to Tuká's Kirtana.

Rames'vara says ' In his company this body of mine became free of torments.' "

* The period of time during which the position of the planet Jupiter is in the sign Leo. It occurs duodecennially, and it is believed that at that juncture the river Ganges goes to visit the Elder Ganges Godávarí at Trimbaka near Nassick and the river Krishna. Those pilgrims, therefore, who wish to bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges flock at this time to Trimbaka, Wase and other places situate on the Godávarí (Goutamí,) or the Krishna.

1082.

“ He who assigns *caste* to a Vaishnava will go to hell ;
The Vedas and Puránas have spoken so. That disqualification (of caste) cannot attach to the faithful.

He who is liked by God, should not be called of high or low caste.
This privilege extends to all the four castes, and there is no sin in saluting him by (the particular form) Namaskára.

As the S'áligráma is worthy of worship by all and should not be called a stone,
So this great teacher, himself the *Parabrahma*, the God of gods, should not be called a human creature.

Rámes'vara says ‘ those who make the name of God the constant delight of their hearts, themselves become God.’ ”

With the recovery of the books of poems thrown into the river, and the conversion of Rámes'vara Bhatta's hatred into intense devotedness and admiration for Tukáráma, our author's persecution was over, and his sincerity of faith and true saintliness became acknowledged throughout the country. The great S'ívájí, the founder of the Maráthá Empire and a contemporary of the poet, whom he counted among his subjects, sent a letter of invitation, with due pomp, requesting the favor of a visit from him. It may be mentioned here that S'ívájí was naturally of a devotional turn of mind, and was even at this time, as appears from verse 1889, a declared disciple of Rámdása, to whom, the reader knows, he had offered all his kingdom and would receive it back only as his representative, which was indicated by the national flag being a red-ochre-coloured cloth worn by Sanyás'is. Tukáráma did not accept S'ívájí's invitation, though a retinue of servants, horses, state umbrella &c., waited upon him to escort him to the rising victor. He wrote a reply in verse, consisting of seven Abhangas, wherein he explained the reason of his declining the invitation for a visit, and conveyed the soundest general advice, directing his attention to his duties as a king and as a man. These seven Abhangas are extremely characteristic of Tukáráma, bringing out prominently the most remarkable traits of his character :—

1884.

“ Torches, umbrella, horses, these are not good.
Why dost thou, O master of Pandharí, now entangle me into them ?
Honor, pomp, show,—these to me are (as loathsome) as pig's dung.
'Hasten, O God,' says Tuká, 'to my relief.' ”

1885.

“ What I do not like, that thou dost give me.
Why dost thou put me to such constant and desperate trial ?
I desire to have no company, to be away from the world,
To enjoy solitude, to speak nothing, and to regard society, wealth, and body as vomited food.
'But all is in thy power,' says Tuká, 'O master of Pandharí.' ”

1886.

“ Brahmá has created all this Universe, making it the scene of his diversion and skill.
I observe an amiableness in thy letter which proves thee
A child of skilfulness, devout in faith and wise, with a heart devotedly loving thy spiritual guide.

The holy name “ S'iva ” was rightly given thee, since thou art the throned monarch of the people, the holder of the strings of their destiny,

By going through the several stages of religious observances, austerities, meditation and abstraction, thou hast made thyself free.

Thy letter contains the important mention of thy being actuated with a desire for my visit. In answer to it, hear, O king, this earnest prayer of mine.

I am a liver in the forest, wandering about without any desire ; my sight is wretched and unseemly.

Unprotected by clothing, my body has become dirty; living on fruits, it has become powerless ; The lean hands and feet give a ghastly appearance. What satisfaction can there be, therefore, from my sight ?

Tuká says, ' this is my familiar prayer : speak not of seeing me. ' ”

1887.

“ That I speak so humbly, regard it to be favor upon thee of Him who lives in the breasts of all. For, we, who are always resigned to Pánduranga, are not poor men or objects of pity.

Pánduranga is our protector and supporter, what are others before him ?

What have I to ask of thee by seeing thee—I have reduced all worldly desires to a cipher.

Absence of desire is the village that has been given to me in fee simple, having resigned the region of desire.

As the only desire a chaste woman has is to see her husband, so do I act towards Vitthala.

All the universe is Vitthala to me and nothing else, and I see thee also in Him.

I had regarded thee also as Vitthala, but this [letter] has come in the way.

Thou art the ornament of the good master Rámadása,—rivet thy mind there and do not let it waver.

If thy mind were to wander to different persons, how canst thou then be faithful to Rámadása?

Tuká says, ' O thou sea of intelligence, faith is the salvation of the faithful. ' ”

1888.

“ Of what use is my going to you ? It will be only so much useless trouble of walking.

If I have to ask for food, begging is the great path open to me ; If I want clothing, the rage in the street will provide me with it.

For sleep, I have the best bed—stone, and the mantle of the sky to cover myself.

Such being the case, what have I to expect from any body ? Desire only makes a waste of life.

A king's palace is to be sought with the desire of honor, does peace of mind dwell there ?

In the king's palace, it is the rich that are honored, the common ones get no honor there.

For me, I become instantly dead when I see men of fine clothes and ornaments.

By hearing this if thou becomest indifferent, still God will not neglect me.

I have now only to tell thee this wonder, that there is really no happiness so great as in beggary.

Great and good men, practising great austerity, penance, and sacrifices, act with meanness so long as they are enslaved by desires.

Tuká says ' O rich men, ye are of honor only, but [we,] devotees of God, are fortunate from the beginning. ' ”

1889.

“ Now, accomplish well this one Yoga—never to dislike what is good ;

Never undertake anything which might lead thee to commit sin.

Never listen to the advice of backbiters and evil men who might be in thy service ;

Deliberately judge who are the real protectors of the realm.

I need not tell thee, O all-knowing king, that thou shouldst always help the cause of the helpless.

I shall be happy to hear this of thee ; there is no good in actual visit.

What pleasure is there in paying a visit? The days of life are fleeting fast.

Having known one or two duties which are the real essence, I shall now live in my own delusion.

The meaning of the whole, which will do thee good is this—God is the all-pervading soul in every created object.

Live with thy mind unforgetful of the all-pervading soul, and witness thyself in Rámadása.

Blessed is thy existence on earth, O King, thy fame and praise extend over the three worlds.*”

1890.

“ Now, I have this request to make to you, eight ministers;—give the right counsel to the king.

You Pratinidbí, clever in the protection of honor, you are the treasure of all virtues.

Understand Mujumdára, master of the pen, the essence of my letter;

To ye, Pes’ve, Surnis, Chitnis, Dabír, Rájádnjá, Sumanta, Senápati, Panditaráya, the ornament and treasure of learning, and Vaidyarája, I’bow myself.

Know the meaning of my letter, revolve it well in your minds and convey it to the king.

I have spoken much by way of advice, affection, and illustration to make my meaning plain.

Convey my message to the king as it is, let not my meaning be lost.

If, through fear, ye should communicate it, dropping its real meaning, that will do you harm.

Tuká says, ‘ I bow to you officers, communicate my letter to the king.’ ”

It will be evident from the above that Tukáráma’s resignation of the world was of the truest type. Here was an opportunity for a man who was led apparently, at first, to resign the world through famine and bankruptcy, to ingratiate himself into royal favor and for ever remove poverty from his family. But wealth to him was really as detestable as the vilest thing in the world; and all personal desires being out of the question, the only business he could have with S’ívájí was to warn him of his great responsibility and give him general advice regarding his duties as a king. This he did in language at once soothing and independent in his reply, and warned the ministers not to suppress any portion of his letter. Those are the rising times of a nation wherein exist men whose lives teach holiness by example and who dare openly and fearlessly tell a king his faults as well as his merits. Tukáráma’s letter to S’ívájí is said to have produced such an impression on the mind of the latter that he determined to go himself to bow at the feet of his saintly adviser. He went to Lohagáva, where Tukáráma was at the time, with rich presents of jewels which the saint disdainfully refused. Mahípati adds, that S’ívájí became such a devoted admirer of his and his mode of life, that he gave up his kingdom and repaired to a forest to lead a life of contemplation. At last it is said, Tukáráma’s intercession at the prayer of Jijábái, S’ívájí’s mother, brought her son back to his kingdom.† Tukáráma, however, nowhere makes mention of this event, and it seems to be a creation of after times.

While S’ívájí’s invitation tested Tukáráma’s resignation of worldly riches, another event occurred which tested his practical virtue and command over the strongest of passions. A woman, young and beautiful, a constant attendant at Tukáráma’s Kirtanas, conceived a lustful desire for him. She watched her time, and on an occasion when he was alone, expressed to him her desire. His feelings on the occasion and his answer to her are contained in the following two Abhangas:—

* Swarga, Mrityu, and Pátála, or heaven, earth, and nether regions.

† Mahípati Adhyáya 13, Verse 101 and sequel.

523.

" O God, give not the company of women to this dried up tree, to this stony frame of mine. By it, God is forgotten, prayer becomes impossible, and the impassioned mind becomes uncontrollable.

The sight of the face, through the agency of the senses, brings on death; beauty is truly the source of sorrow.

Tuká says ' although fire were to become a saint, he would still burn those he came in contact with.' "

524.

" Any woman but my wife is to me as Rakhumái (wife of the God Vithobá.)

This resolution has become a part and parcel of me.

Go thou, my mother, do not take vain trouble; we, servants of Vishnu, are not of that sort thou thinkest us of.

I cannot bear this degradation of thine, do not utter this wicked talk.

' If thou want a husband,' says Tuká, ' is there any lack of men? "

The test of true faith and real merit is that they convert in course of time the bitterest traducers into the most ardent admirers and, if possible, into the most devoted followers. The intensity of devotion brings into existence that class of followers distinguishingly called the "Disciples." Tukáráma counted fourteen of them, many of whom, like Rámes'varabhata were at one time his bitterest persecutors. The principal of them as mentioned by Mahípati were the following:—

Rámes'varabhata; Kánhayá, younger brother of Tukáráma; Gangáji Mavála Kaduskara, Bráhmaña; Kondobá Lohokaré, Bráhmaña; Santáji Telí (oil-seller) Jagnáde; Návaji Málí (flower-seller); and S'iváji Kására, (brazier).

About the last of these there is an anecdote which is borne out by an Abhanga of Tukáráma himself. This Kására was an inhabitant of Lohagáva, the village where king S'iváji is mentioned before to have met Tukáráma. It is a few miles distant from Dehú, and contained many admirers of the poet. Hence it was frequently the scene of his Kirtana, and there is no place where he is mentioned to have repaired so often as to Lohagáva. S'iváji Kására was known in the village as a covetous man and a traducer of Tukáráma, but in course of time he became such a great believer in him as to neglect even his calling and be in the poet's company whenever he would go to Lohagáva. This change in the husband excited the anger of the Kására's wife, who, in addition to being very covetous, was one of the veriest shrew. She called Tukáráma to dine at her house, proposed to bathe him with warm water, and while doing so, poured, in revenge for having spoiled her husband, boiling water on his head, so that his whole body was burnt and he lay wailing and calling upon God for relief. The following is the Abhanga referring to the event:—

1318.

" My body is burning, it has caught wild fire; run, O Kes'ava, who art my father and my mother.

My whole body and the hair on it are on fire, I cannot check it and it has consumed me.

My heart is on the point of being rent in twain, why art thou still looking on.

Hasten immediately with thy quenching water, no body else can help me here.

Tuká says, ' thou art my mother, who else will protect me in the time of distress? "

This fire ordeal, so to say, of Tukáráma, converted, however, the heart of this shrew, who, henceforward, began to admire him and whose husband became a disciple of Tukáráma and always lived by him.

The above incidents in the life of Tukáráma sufficiently tested the stuff he was made of and proved beyond doubt his true resignation of worldly comforts, his perfect command over his passions and desires, his patience in suffering bodily torments, his forgiveness, and, above all, his intense faith and devoutness. They furnish a faithful picture of the man and enable us to understand the force of his writings and the internal causes of his immortal renown as a moral teacher of mankind. Faith in God and unchangeable determination to act up to what one believed to be right were two of the cardinal doctrines he inculcated in his writings, and the above incidents show how heroically he illustrated them by his life. The following Collection contains several other Abhangas, such as those about the siege of Lohagáva, 557-60, the Bráhmána who came from Pandharpúra and was given 11 Abhangas 2324-2334, letters to the Ganges, 1656-58, Vithoba, 1909-44, &c., the complaint of the Brahmacháris to Dádojí Kondadeva against Tukáráma and his preaching, which are of historical value and bear on the poet's life, but they need not be noticed here as the incidents related above are sufficient, it is believed, to give a faithful picture of Tukáráma to the reader, which is the object of this short biographical sketch.

A very perplexing problem in connection with Tukáráma's life is the question whether Tukáráma believed, and if he did, how far, in miracles and his own power of working them. His followers of course tell all manner of miracles about him and represent him as working them almost every day and hour of his life, and Mahípati's biography of the poet is the best index as well as the source of this belief. In the quotations that have been given above from Tukáráma himself, there is very little savouring of miracle in the strict sense of the word and none whatever which would denote his having possessed and been conscious of the power of working them. Rámes'varabhata's recovery from his ailment by his submission to Tukáráma, and the restoration of the drowned Mss. come nearest to miracles; but they can be easily explained on rational grounds, and there is nothing in the verses of Tukáráma himself about the events which makes such explanation impossible. There can be no doubt, however, that Tukáráma believed in the possibility of miracles; in fact, it would be a wonder if it were otherwise. His very faith in the idol Vithobá could not but have a substratum of belief in miracles, and the course of his life was formed by incidents which of course he believed to be direct inspiration from God. His cardinal doctrine of "Salvation by faith and the efficacy of repeating God's name," was derived by him in his first dream after renouncing his worldly callings, and his poetic inspiration came also to him, according to his own account, in a dream. All that his writings point out is, only, that there is very little evidence to be derived from them for the innumerable miracles that are ascribed to himself. It cannot be said, however, that they are entirely free from such evidence, though it must be said that that evidence is capable of a

rational instead of a miraculous interpretation. There exist in the following Collection two verses referring to two incidents, which may be considered to go to prove that Tukáráma believed in his possessing the power of working miracles. Verse 2315 is headed in the Collection as the one referring to Tukáráma having brought to life a dead child. The verse itself is as follows:—

2315.

“ O Náráyana, you are not powerless to make an inanimate object animate. How many legends do we know of your past wonders,—why should we not see something with our own eyes now ?

Our fortune is great, we are under the leadership of the able—is it little that we call ourselves your slaves ?

Tuká says, ‘ satisfy my eyes by the manifestations of your power.’ ”

The incident as related by Mahípati was the following.—In the course of a Kírtana at Lohagáva, a woman brought the corpse of her dead child and threw it before Tukáráma, saying that if he were a true believer in Vishnu, he would restore the child to life. Tukáráma thereupon composed and recited the above Abhanga, and the legend adds that to the surprise of all, the child became alive.

The other incident was on the occasion of Tukáráma’s visit to Chintámana Deva, the worshipper of the Ganapati of Chinchavada, a village about five miles from Dehú. It is related by Mahípati that as Tukáráma’s fame began to spread, he was one day requested by Chintámana Deva to favour him with a visit at Chinchavada. Tukáráma complied with the request. He was well received by Deva and entertained at dinner. He was of course served in a separate line at which he took no offence, but he asked Deva to serve a separate dish and call his God Ganapati to dine. Deva plainly confessed his inability to do so, but Tukáráma insisted on two additional dishes being served, and the Gods Vithobá and Ganapati, says Mahípati, came to dine to his prayer. Mahípati, however, adds that none but Deva and Tukáráma could see the Gods dining but that the common people observed the dishes to have become empty of themselves. The following Abhanga in the Collection has reference to the above incident:—

2882.

“ O Chintámaní Deva, get Ganapati, and dine you in another dish.

Deva says, ‘ O Tukýá, where have I so much greatness ? Pride has undone me.

The dishes have long since been served, the victuals have become cold, and the Bráhmanas are all waiting impatiently.’

Tuká says : ‘ by the merit that is in you, O Deva, I shall bring Morayá (Ganapati) quickly.’ ”

It will be observed that though the two Abhangas above quoted show Tukáráma to have been conscious of possessing direct communion with God, they are more modest in their tone than the subsequent interpretations of Mahípati and others founded upon them.

Very great obscurity prevails as to the end of Tukáráma’s earthly existence. The popular belief is that he ascended alive to Heaven in the Car of Vishnu, and there are verses, 1606-1609, which lend countenance to it. In all the Mss., however, which have been collated for the present edition, there is a statement

in prose that Tukáráma "disappeared in S'aka 1571, the name of the year being Virodhí, on the 2nd of the dark half of Phálguna, in the first quarter of the day, (i.e., between 6 and 9 A. M)." Nothing is spoken of the Car of Vishnu or of Tukáráma having gone alive to Heaven. A more interesting statement, and one which gives a true insight into what actually happened, is, however, contained in the little Manuscript at Dehú, which is supposed to be one of those that were taken out of the water, and which is at the present day worshipped as one of Tukáráma's relics. At the end of the Ms. appears the following :—

१ "सकें १५७१ वीरोधिनां संवत्तरेः सोमगा वद्य द्वितीयाः वार सोमवारः ते दीवर्तीः
प्राःय काळीः तुकोबानीः तीर्थास प्रयाणं केलें शुभ भवतुः मंगळं." ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

MEANING.—*S'ake 1571, the name of the year Virodhí, the 2nd of the dark half of S'imagá (Phálguna), day of the week Monday—on that day, in the morning, TUKOBA STARTED ON PILGRIMAGE. Farewell."

This is the oldest and most faithful version of the event, without any thing miraculous about it.

There appears to be a way of reconciling the different accounts of the end of Tukáráma. It has been mentioned by Mahípati that for some time before Tukáráma's disappearance from Dehú, he was heard to say to every one who asked him that he was going to Vaikuntha or the Heaven of Vishnu. His mental state at the time is described as one of intense abstraction. He was absorbed in contemplation and in the actual realization of the Vedantic doctrine of pantheism. An anecdote is related of him referring to this period, viz., that while he happened to go to the temple of Dnyánes'vara at Alandí, he observed a flock of birds, that were picking up grain below the Ajána tree in the temple-yard, flying away at his approach. He was pained at the sight and bethought to himself that he had not yet attained to the state of universal pantheism wherein he should cease to be an object of fear to any creature whatever. He thereupon stood below the tree so still and quiet, with his breath all suspended, that in a short time the birds began to sit upon him, regarding him as an inanimate object. This anecdote explains the state of mind he was in at the time, and the 24 Abhangas, 1586-1609, which are headed in the Collection as those referring to the union of Tuká with Brahma, and at the end of which the date of his disappearance is put, are illustrative of the same. In these twenty-four Abhangas Tukáráma states the Vedantic doctrine of the visible being illusory and the Brahma being the only all-pervading, one, eternal, true existence; speaks of his efforts to realize the truth to himself and of his succeeding in it through God's favor; and, lastly, of his consequent preparation to be absorbed into the Infinite and to disappear from this world. He therein makes mention of his disappearing henceforward from the world, of his going to Heaven in the Car of Vishnu, and of his absorption into Brahma. Viewed by the Vedantic light, a consistent meaning might

* The orthography of the Maráthí original is very incorrect, and indicates the writer to be a person other than a Bráhmans.

be made out of these Abhangas, and they would seem to point out, that Tukáráma felt the truth of the doctrine of the unity of God and the Universe, thought that his worldly duty was over, wished to be rid of that visible existence which according to that philosophy is what separates man from the everlasting, real, existence, Brahma, which was all beatitude, and therefore went on pilgrimage with the intention of never returning to Dehú, and probably of putting an end to his existence. Such seems to be the probably true way of reconciling the conflicting accounts of the end of Tukáráma. S'aka 1571 is, therefore, strictly speaking, the date of Tukáráma's disappearance from Dehú, though it may be taken practically to be that of his death. On the fourth day of his disappearance he is said to have sent back to Dehú his *Tála* and mantle and some Abhangas by way of message.

Tukáráma of course belonged to the sect of Vithobá-worshippers and his poems are looked upon as its Veda or Bible. It is not to be supposed, however, from this, that he was the first poet of the Sect, on the contrary he is the last, Dnyánadeva, Námadeva, Ekanátha, and a host of others having preceded him. But his poems are as it were the last development, and as such they are regarded as the code of their faith and belief by the members of the Sect. But it is not as the poet of the Sect of Vithobá-worshippers that Tukáráma is principally known and respected among the Maráthá nation. It is as a great moral teacher, as a poet in whose writings the most intense personal religion is to be found, as the holy writer whose short but most pointed and pithy verses brought moral truths straight to the heart of every reader or reciter, rustic as well as gentle, without any mixture of worldly suavity, and whose pure life illustrated by example the sincerity of his teachings—it is these that have endeared him to the Maráthas and made him the poet of the nation, instead of the Sect. His Abhangas are in the mouth of every body—Brahmana as well as S'údra, the learned Haridása (performer of the Kathá) as well as the ignorant rustic singing out his prayer at night. Royal houses such as those of the Scindia, the Holkar, and of the Bráhma Chief of Vinchura profess themselves to be his followers and regularly sing out his poems personally with companions on stated days in the month; as to humbler classes, all the Várkaris are of course the regular reciters of his Abhangas, and their number may be judged from the fact that between 80,000 and 100,000 of them make regular pilgrimages to the shrine of Vithobá at Pándharapúra in the months of A'shádha and Kártika every year. Besides, Tukáráma and Rámadása command respect as Sádhus (Saints) from every Maráthi-speaking Hindu. Their works are read extensively and their teachings listened to with reverence. In this manner, Tukáráma has, by his writings, left a mark behind him which is observed in the highest royal houses as well as in the huts of the lowest peasants.

To convey an idea to the English reader of the general religious and moral principles of Tukáráma and his manner of expressing them, the following specimens of Abhangas, translated and commented by Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., have

been here reproduced from the *Fortnightly Review* for January 1867, where they form part of an article on Tukáráma by that learned Baronet.

(1.)

“ Sing the song with earnestness, making pure the heart ;
If you would attain God, then this is an easy way.
Make your heart lowly, touch the feet of saints,
Of others do not hear the good or bad qualities, nor think of them.
Tuká says.—‘ Be it much or little, do good to others.’ ”

In this *Abhanga* we have one of Tukáráma’s favorite summaries of the essence of religion. He opens with a reference to the controversy among the Hindus as to the mode of attaining God, or identity with God ; namely, as to the three roads, the road of faith (*Bhakti-márğa*), the road of works (*Karma-márğa*), and the road of knowledge (*Gnyána-márğa*). Tukáráma pronounces in favor of the road of faith. He always says that religion is a simple thing ; consisting of singing a hymn, or taking the name of God, with faith and earnestness, and accompanying that act with purity of life and charity. In the concluding verse we have his usual method of concluding his *Abhanga*,—“Tuká says.” This method is not peculiar to Tukáráma ; it is usual with Námadeva and other Hindu religious poets. It conveys a sort of claim to authority and inspiration. The next specimen contains the same view as to the simplicity of religion.

(2.)

“ If you regard another’s wife as your mother, what loss is it ?
If you refrain from blaming others or coveting their wealth, is this any pain ? tell me.
If when you sit down, you utter the name of Ráma, what labour is that ?
Tuká says,—‘ To obtain God, no other efforts are necessary.’ ”

(3.)

“ There is no need to place the child in the mother’s hands—
By her own instinct she draws it to her ;
Why should I take thought ? He whose business it is, will be responsible.
Without its asking, the mother keeps sweet things for the child,
(Else) in eating them she feels no satisfaction.
When it is engaged in play she seeks and brings it ;
Sitting down, she presses it close to her breast.
When it is sick she is restless as the parched corn on the fire.
Tuká says,—‘ Take no thought for your own body—
The mother will not allow the child to be hurt.’ ”

This beautiful *Abhanga* contains Tukáráma’s view of the tender care of God for the believer. It is imaged not under the paternal, but under the maternal relationship, with something of the feeling which prompts the Virgin-worship of the Catholic Church.

(4.)

“ With all my heart, I am come to you for protection—
With body, and voice, and mind, O God.
Nothing else is admitted to my thoughts—
My desire remains fixed on you.
There is a heavy load on me,

Except you, who will remove it, O God ?
 I am your slave—you are my master,
 I have followed you from afar.
 Tuká says,—‘ I have put in an execution for debt,
 Grant me a meeting for the settlement of accounts.’ ”

The last two lines bear reference to the Hindu custom of a creditor sitting down before the door of his debtor, and refusing to move till his claims have been satisfied.

(5.)

“ Lowliness is good, O God ; then no man’s envy will prevail.
 By a great flood trees are carried away,
 While the rushes there remain ;
 If the waves of the river come,
 They bend low and the waves pass over them.
 Tuká says,—‘ This is the fruit of falling low,
 No man’s strength will prevail against one.’ ”

(6.)

“ Give me smallness, O God : the ant enjoys the grain of sugar,
 While the splendid jewel, Airávatí, receives the blows of the hook.
 Whoever has greatness in his body, for him severe afflictions are reserved.
 Tuká says,—‘ Know this, you should be the smallest of the small.’ ”

“ Airávatí ” is the elephant of Indra ; and the poet says that his huge bulk brings on him the blows of the driver’s hook ; while the ant, through its insignificance, enjoys its sugar in peace. From a political point of view there is not much merit in the image.

(7.)

“ Spitting out greediness, pride, and hypocrisy, I sing the praise of God ;
 I am become indifferent to my body, I have no other desire but one.
 Considering wealth to be like poverty, I have put it aside.
 Worldly distractions are removed, and Tuká remains pure.’ ”

(8.)

“ For this cause I have endured toil—
 Namely, that my last day might be sweet.
 Now I have securely obtained rest,
 The motion of my desires has ceased,
 I rejoice at the outlay I have made,
 By it have got good fortune.
 Tuká says,—‘ Salvation is the bride I have married,
 Now there shall be revelry for four days.’ ”

“ Salvation ” is in the original *Muktí* ; that is, emancipation from the necessity of being born again into the world ; in other words, absorption into the essence of God. Tukáráma represents his feeling of the attainment of salvation as the conclusion of a marriage contract, which is worthy of being celebrated, after Hindu fashion, by a marriage feast of four days’ duration.

(9.)

“ When I demand my share, where then will you hide yourself, O God ?
 The saints are witnesses to your promise,

These signs are known to them.
 I will sit at your door, as a creditor.
 And will not suffer you to enter in.
 Tuká says,—‘ I am imperishable,
 You bear the weight of Godhead.’ ”

This *Abhanga* contains a carrying out of the same image as was contained in specimen (4.) The last two lines boldly express the intensity of the soul's wrestling with God. The believer, by faith attains the sense of immortal power ; while God, by reason of His divinity, has, as it were, a service imposed upon Him.

(10.)

“ Pity, patience, calm, where these three are, there is the abode of God.
 He comes running to the house, and finding an asylum there, remains.
 In the place where His praises are sung, as a crowd of beggars run (where there is a chance of alms), so he comes.
 Tuká says—‘ By mention of his name, worship is performed, and God is obtained.’ ”

(11.)

“ For thinking upon God no separate time is required,
 It should go on at all times ;
 That mouth is blessed, which always utters ‘ Náráyana.’
 Learn to place your affections on the highest,
 All else that is spread out is in vain,
 So Tuká advises all men always.”

(12.)

“ Salvation is not difficult for us to obtain,
 It is clearly to be found in the bundle on our back.
 If we desire the pleasures of faith,
 Our longing for them shall be satisfied.
 You give, O God, each man his due and what is fit ;
 Acknowledging it to be good, I accept it readily.
 Tuká says,—‘ If you like, give me this world,
 But give me an asylum for my affections.’ ”

“ If you like, give me this world (Sansára),” is an expression of the extremest resignation, amounting to quietism. The great object of horror to the mind of a religious Hindu, is the prospect of being born over and over again into this miserable world. It is, according to Hindu ideas, the destiny of every unsaved, unemancipated man, to undergo eight million four hundred thousand transmigrations of the soul and births into the world. Tukaráma's resignation to the will of God is so great, that he professes himself ready to bear this course of prolonged individuality, provided only that, as long as he is in this world, he may have God as the object of his affections.

(13.)

“ He who is the source of holiness to shrines, he who is the fruit of all observances,
 That very Brahma has come to Pandharí,
 That we have seen with our own eyes,
 The longing of the sight is satisfied.
 The life of all life, the region of all happiness is standing, with his hands placed upon his hips,
 The creator of mankind, the ocean of mercy,
 The pitier of the poor, the destroyer of the wicked.

This is he whom the highest gods and the highest sages revere,
 With form and without form.
 Tuká says,—‘ Him whom the Vedas did not understand,
 We have found out in singing his praises.’ ”

This *Abhanga* contains Tukáráma’s devotional outburst on the sight of the image of Vithobá at Pandharapúra. If it be idolatry, this is at all events not Fetichism. The idol, while worshipped by Tukáráma is, and yet is not, God. The following specimens will show Tukáráma’s feeling more clearly. He says that God in mercy to us assumes the shape conceived of by the believer, and he shows that in all the ceremonies of worship there is something greater behind.

(14.)

“ According as each man thinks,
 So the Merciful One becomes.
 To be with form, or formless, is His sport.
 He has placed his foot on the brick.
 As in sugar the whole substance (is uniform)
 And no particle is defective, if taken separately, (so is God).
 Tuká says,—‘ Whatever Hari does is still of the nature of the divine.’ ”

(15.)

“ Pleasing You in your receptacle, I worship You ;
 But within You, there are fourteen worlds.
 We make You dance and exhibit You for a show,
 And yet You have neither form nor features.
 For you we sing the hymn,
 And yet You are beyond all words.
 For You we have hung garlands,
 And yet You are aloof from all creation.
 Tuká says,—‘ Now taking form, think on my welfare.’ ”

(16.)

“ Purifier of the guilty ! protector of the poor ! O Náráyana,
 May your form remain in my mind, and my tongue utter your name !
 O Master of the Universe, and defender of your followers !
 O life of the living ! Tuká says,—‘ O God of Gods ! ’ ”

(17.)

“ I have taken my stand at the door,
 As a mendicant and beggar. Send me as alms, O God, some sweetmeat of love !
 Do not suffer the importunity of the beggar and his perpetual coming back.
 Tuká says,—‘ A true gift implies no service rendered.’ ”

(18.)

“ This perishable body, be sure that it will perish ;
 Why do you not give utterance to His name with your voice !
 That name has saved crores and crores of people,
 And has made them to sit down in Vaikuntha.
 There is nothing in the universe so real as this name,
 What, do you not remember it in your mind ?
 Tuká says,—‘ That name is above the reach of the Vedas,
 But Gopála has given it to us without price.’ ”

A "crore" is ten millions. "Vaikuntha" is the heaven of Vishnu. "Gopála" is a name for Krishna.

The following specimen contains a denunciation of the idleness of the external ceremonies practised at one of the periodical festivals of the Hindus.

(19.)

"When Jupiter enters Leo, the barbers and the priests enrich themselves;
In the mind are millions of sins,
But externally the man shaves his head and his beard.
What is shaved, that is removed,
But tell me, what is altered in the man?
His vices are not changed,
Which would be the sign of the removal of his sin.
'Without faith,' says Tuká, 'all is in vain.'"

(20.)

"This is called 'sin'—if doubt remains in the mind;
In the mind itself are both merit and guilt.
The highest good consists of noblest thoughts.
As is the seed, so are the fruits,
Excellent or inauspicious.
Tuká says,—'to purify the mind, that is good.'"

The following specimen contains one of Tukáráma's summaries of morality.

(21.)

"Having gathered wealth by honest trade,
One should spend it with justice.
He alone will obtain an excellent end,
And will enjoy an excellent banquet,
Who does good to others, and knows not how to reproach them;
To whom others' wives are ever as sisters and mothers;
Who is merciful to the creatures, and cherishes cattle;
And in the desert gives water to the thirsty;
Who is calm and never blames any,
And exalts the dignity of his elders.
Tuká says,—'This is the fruit of A'shramas,
The climax of asceticism.'"

The "A'shramas" are the four divisions of a Bráhma's life—bachelorhood, housekeeping, retirement, mendicancy.

Perhaps Tukáráma's highest moral flight is contained in the following specimen.

(22.)

"He who calls those his own
Who are vexed and troubled,
He should be recognized as a saint,
God surely must dwell with him.
He that takes to his heart
One who has no protector,
And shows to his servants
The same kindness, which he shows to his sons,
Tuká says,—'Beyond all expression, he is the image of God.'"

The next is a declaration of indifference to worldly circumstances.

(23.)

" At one time one may carry water,
 At another time one may repose on a couch.
 As occasion comes, so must one be,
 At one time many dishes,
 At another time dry bread.
 At one time riding in a carriage
 At another time on bare feet.
 At one time splendid robes,
 At another time worn-out garment.
 At one time all riches,
 At another time the endurance of poverty.
 At one time the companionship of the good,
 At another time connection with the bad.
 Tuká says,—' Know that happiness and misery are indifferent.' "

The next *Abhangas* express the poet's dependence on God.

(24.)

" No one speaks by his own strength ;
 Beloved Bhagavanta,—the voice is His.
 The cuckoo utters a sweet note,
 But he that teaches her is Another.
 How should I, poor wretch, make answer ?
 The Lord of the world has given me the power of utterance.
 Tuká says,—' Who knows His art who makes the lame to walk without feet ?' "

(25.)

" I have seized the waste of the Powerful One.
 Now how can I be harmed ?
 Make haste and come to me,—I will invoke you, O Vitthala,
 I need not look in all directions,
 The instant I call you draw near.
 Tuká says,—' I have no courage but through your pity have become firm.' "

(26.)

" God feels great love for him
 Who has abandoned the world ;
 He constantly walks behind him
 And himself feels his joys and sorrows.
 Whoso takes God's name,
 God does his work for him.
 Tuká says,—' Vitthala is simple and tender in showing compassion.' "

(27.)

" We servants of Vithobá are not such,
 That any one else should pity us.
 Before the power of our Master all bow,
 Kali Yuga and Death are subjected to Him.
 God feels pride in one who is stamped with His mark.
 And who lays all his possession at His feet.
 Tuká says,—' May Náráyana fulfil our longing prayer.' "

" Kali Yuga" is the present degenerate age of the world, in which, according to the Hindus, religion has fallen away from its original purity.

The following specimen expresses the worthlessness of the outward signs of asceticism and sanctity, as compared with internal graces.

(28.)

“ Whoso is pure of heart and sweet of speech,
It matters not if he have a rosary on his neck or no.
Who has made clear the way of self-knowledge,
It matters not if he have clotted hair on his head or no.
Whoso is passionless towards his neighbour's wife,
It matters not if there be ashes on his body or no.
Whoso is blind to another's wealth and dumb in blaming,
You may point to him as a saint, says Tuká.”

The following *Abhangas* has a certain interest as illustrating a point of philosophy. There are two schools among the Hindus with reference to the ultimate identity, or non-identity, of subject with object—of the soul with God. The *dvaita* doctrine is that the soul remains distinct from God, and contemplates Him as an object. The *advaita* doctrine is that the soul is ultimately made identical with God, and that the distinction of subject and object will cease. Tukáráma, by illustrations of the force of habit, sets forth the strong hold which he believes the *dvaita* doctrine to have upon the human mind. He says that praising God has become so much a part of his nature, that, even when he is identified with God, he will not be able to relinquish it.

(29.)

“ At first he was one of Khandobá's mendicants,
By good luck he became a captain of horse ;
But his beggar's cry would not stop,
His original nature would not depart.
At first he was a village astrologer,
Then a king's throne fell to his lot ;
But his proclaiming of the almanac would not stop,
His original nature would not depart.
At first she was a servant,
Then she became chief queen ;
But her running about would not stop,
Her original nature would not depart.
At first Tuká was the companion of saints,
Then he was identified with Pánduranga ;
But his repetition of the name of God would not stop,
His original nature would not depart.”

Many of Tukáráma's *Abhangas* are expressive of a strong sense of sin, as may be seen from the following specimens.

(30.)

“ I am fallen and a sinner, to thee I am come for protection,
Save me from shame, O Pánduranga.
Your limits in saving the faithful are not known,
I am greatly fallen, O Pánduranga.
Draupadí, your sister, was tormented by her enemies,
Yet you made her like yourself, O Pánduranga.
For Pralháda's sake you became incarnate in the pillar.”

Why have you forgotten me, O Pánduranga?
 Sudáma, the Bráhmāna, was plunged in poverty,
 Yet you made him like yourself, O Pánduranga.
 Tuká says—' With my whole heart I have come to you for protection,
 Let my sin be destroyed, O Pánduranga.' "

(31.)

" My sin and my sorrow, my good and my bad qualities,
 Remove, O Krishna, Vishnu, Hari, Náráyana.
 Ejecting lust and wrath, which are my enemies,
 Do you abide in my heart, O Pánduranga.
 Is there anything impossible if you would wish to do it?
 You created the three worlds in mere sport.
 Why should I teach the all-powerful?
 Tuká says—' Pánduranga, come.' "

On the other hand, it is a misrepresentation to say, as has sometimes been said, that the chief characteristic of Tukáráma's writings is a restless and unsatisfied religious craving, as if he were seeking for something which he could not find. Far more characteristic of him is the sense of peace and satisfaction which his *Abhangas* express, as may be seen above in specimen (8), and also in the following specimens.

(32.)

" Who regards this restless world?
 My friends are the people of Hari;
 My time passes in musing upon God,
 Accumulated pleasure remains.
 I have no trouble, even in dreams;
 Night and day pass on,
 Tuká says,—' The fruition of God is a feast of excellent flavour.' "

(33.)

" All evil passions are in this human life,
 But by invocations we have made ourselves pure,
 Now this universe has become holy,
 We have washed away the sense of differences.
 We dwell continually in the city of Brahma;
 The face of pollution is not to be seen.
 Tuká says,—' We shall for ever dwell in solitude,
 And enjoy in Brahma the fruition of Brahma.' "

"The sense of differences" here introduced is one of those philosophical phrases which Tukáráma, in an electric sort of way, frequently avails himself of, without, however, logically holding to the idea. He here speaks of getting rid of the sense of difference (between subject and object, and the like), as if it were the great thing to aim at. In a former specimen (29) we have seen him express a clinging to the *dvaita* doctrine. Tukáráma, like the Hindus in general, is extremely wavering in his point of view. He uses, and impairs his poetry by the use of the metaphysical terms of Vedantism. But he is never really philosophical—only always moral and devout. The following specimens, with which we may conclude, are of a general human interest. They are written, or supposed to be written, at the close of the poet's life, when he is on the point of departing to Vaikuntha, the heaven of Vishnu.

(34.)
 " I am going to my own village,
 Accept my farewell.
 Till this time I have lived in your village,
 Continue to think kindly upon me.
 Henceforth there will be no more going and coming.
 All talk has come to its natural end.
 Utter the names of Ráma, Krishna, and Vitthala ;
 Tuká is going to Vaikuntha."

(35.)
 " Within and without my house may you live happily ;
 Give my humble salutation to the elders.
 To the sweetness of the honey the bee flies.
 When the fold of the garment is torn, it cannot be replaced ;
 When the stream of the river has reached the ocean,
 It never goes back,
 Receive this word carefully ;
 Tuká has gone ; he will never return.' "

(35.)
 " O my friends, O good people, take the name of Ráma.
 Tell me truly, who is there beside ?
 ' Although the gem of our village is lost,
 Yet no one informed us,' so you will say ;
 Therefore I have made known to all my going.
 One should not walk in the path of righteousness alone,
 With loads of flags and the dinning of drums,
 Go the servants of Hari to Pandharapura."

(37.)
 " The Pandharí of the people is on the earth,
 But I have to go afar to Vaikuntha.
 Whatever you do, you will not be able to find the way ;
 Therefore I make this loud announcement.
 Behind me you will keep and raise lamentations ;
 Tuká will never more return.
 So difficult is my way.
 There is no royal road on my path."

(38)
 " Tuká has passed the test,
 Wonder is felt in the three worlds.
 Daily he utters praises ;
 This is his only act of service.
 Tuká has sat in a heavenly car ;
 The saints see it with their eyes.
 God was hungry for faith,
 He has brought Tuká to Vaikuntha."

"The test" is in Maráthí *Tukí*. This is of course a play on the word 'Tuká.' The idea is identical with that of St. Paul—"I have fought the good fight ; I have finished my course." The whole *Abhanga* boldly represents Tukáráma as already taken up in a heavenly car to Vaikuntha ; and it was doubtless the origin from which sprang the legends of Mahápati concerning Tukáráma's translation to heaven.