

## KABIR AND THE KABIRPANTH DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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The religious community known as 'Kabirpanth', formed after the name of Kabir, seems to be striking its organizational roots in the years following Kabir's *Samadhi* (death), but it was probably not well known by this name till his death. All the available textual evidences and oral tradition indicate that despite Kabir's widespread popularity both in royal and popular circles, scribes of the time do not refer to this word Kabirpanth (the *path* of Kabir) in their texts. Yet we have evidences to believe that certain places where Kabir himself had either visited or were invited as a *jinda pir* or a living guru, most of these places, saw the emergence of centres of devotion, involving active support of Kabir followers in all possible manners- financially, physically and religiously. These centres gradually grew into the congregational points and came to form a group of distinct religious panth called Kabirpanth in coming centuries. Kabir is said to have died in early sixteenth century. There seems to be consensus both among academic scholars and the sectarian believers on the year of Kabir's death at Magahar in 1518.

In the following, I first describe the centres of devotion which are said to have been in existence since the life-time of Kabir himself and are presently known as the oldest centres of the Kabirpanth in India.

Magahar, the place where Kabir breathed his last, presently located in the district of Sant Kabir Nagar<sup>1</sup>, Uttar Pradesh, has been famous for housing two religious structures- a Kabir *Mazar* and a Kabir *Samadhi* within a single complex, just separated by a low-lying wall in between within an expanded area of 500 hundred metres from each other. The Kabir *Mazar* (tomb) and the *Samadhi* presumably represent to the historians one of the few archaeological sites wherein the same person is adored structurally in two different religious forms-Hindu and Islam. The *Mazar* is said to have been maintained by the Muslim care-takers (*Sevaks*), who have been inhabitants of the village Karmua Kabirpur, just 1 km. from the site of the Kabir *Mazar* for the last 500 years.

The Kabir *Mazar* is said to be erected by Bijali Khan (Pathan) in 1518, who according to the present generation of his family, was an eminent disciple of Kabir. According to them, Kabir was originally a native of Magahar and had shifted to Kashi for the dissemination of his knowledge akin to a sufi.<sup>2</sup> To them, it was Bijali Khan who had led the group, in fact, arranged engravement of Kabir's dead body at the site where his tomb exists. The legend of Kabir's transforming into two pieces of flowers was said to be fabricated by Bijali Khan and his supporters just to quieten the agitated minds of radical Hindu followers of Kabir. The Hindu followers agreed only when they found one piece of the flower engraved inside the grave, and the other flower was shared with the Hindu followers who thereafter carried the 'flower' to Kabir Chaura, in Kashi where it was once again enshrined as Kabir's grave (*Samadhi*) primarily by the Hindu disciples of Kabir under the leadership of Veer (Bir) Singh Vaghela (Baghela).

The Kabir *Mazar* thus built later reported to be renovated by Fidae Khan in 1612 (V.S) as the Banares Gazetteer reports.<sup>3</sup> The erection of both these memorials is traced back to the event of Kabir's death itself by Kabirpanthis. It is a commonly accepted fact that followers of Kabir, during his life-time, included both Hindus and Muslims, two main religious groups of the time. Upon the death of a grand soul, who himself had declared the futility of the extraneous rituals through his *sakhis*, then followers of the surrounding regions could not find a better solution than erecting two separate

memorials of Kabir-one *Mazar* in an Islamic way, the other *samadhi* following the line of the Hindu bhakti tradition. It is said that the Muslim followers of the region were then led by the Bijali Khan, while the Hindu followings were led by Veer Singh Baghela, then *raja* of Bandhogarh.

However traditional belief about the origin of twin centres of graves in the same complex does not find favour in the light of existing evidences with us. Whatever evidence is available presently hints at the *samadhis*' formation in the eighteenth century, about 200 years later than Kabir *Mazar*. We have at least three textual evidences which lead us to believe the later installation of Samadhi at the present site of the complex of the Kabir mazar. The earliest reliable reference of the Mazar comes from Abul Fazl who has since been quoted by many scholars on Kabir. Ain e Akbari, the classic chronicle of the sixteenth century written within 75 years of Kabir's death, has more than one references of Kabir and his admirers. Abul Fazl mentions the existence of a Kabir tomb but at Ratanpur of that time. To quote him,

*Some say that at Rattanpur is the tomb of Kabir, asserter of the unity of God. The portals of the spiritual discernment were partly opened to him and he discarded the effete doctrines of his time. Numerous verses in the Hindi language are still extant of him containing important theological truth.*<sup>4</sup>

In the section on describing Oudh subah, Abul Fazl further wrote that

*Some affirm that Kabir Muahhid reposes here and many authentic traditions are related regarding his sayings and doings to this day. He was revered by both Hindu and Muhammadan for his catholicity of doctrines and the illumination of his mind and when he died, the Brahmans wished to burn his body and the Muhammadans to bury it.*<sup>5</sup>

Abul Fazl's description of the Kabir Mazar drew first the attention of Francis Buchanan while he was writing his ethnographic accounts of the eastern part of the British India during the early years of the nineteenth century. Francis Buchanan too makes interesting comment on Abul Fazl's note on Kabir tomb as quoted above:

*Abul Fazil mentions this tomb as being situated at Ruttenpoor (Ratnapoor), and that Kavir lived in the **time** of Sultan Secunder Lowdi (Gladwin's translation, vol.2, page 41). This would make him much later than the account of the keeper states; as Sekundur Lodi governed from 1488 to 1516; but it is likely, that Abul Fazil may have been mistaken in the date, as well as the place, for no tomb of Kavir(sic) was ever known at Ratnapoor (sic), now usually called Bangsi; while the official or Muhhamedan name of Magahar is Husunpoor. The Muhammedan governors have, however, always shown a good deal of respect for Kavir, and the present buildings round his grave are said to have been erected about 200 years ago, by a Nawab Fedi Khan, who was superintendent of the district (Chuklahdar) of Gorukhpoor (sic).<sup>6</sup>*

The mention of the Kabir *Mazar* at Ratanpur, to me, has been a definitive evidence of the initiation of the Kabir's *panth* since the sixteenth century. Seen in the present knowledge about the Kabirpanth, the mention of Ratanpur as having a tomb of Kabir may not be coroborative evidence for the Magahar tomb, but of the fact that Kabir's followers had opened there a famous centre of devotion in Kabir's name. Sectarian texts and prevailing tradition of the Dharamdasi branch lead us to believe that following the political chaos arising in the Bandhogarh kingdom by successors of Sikandar Lodi and the faternal feuds erupting in between two successor sons of Dharmdas during the latter half of the sixteenth century, the younger son of Dharamdas, Churamani *alias* Muktamani had shifted his religious centre from Bandhogarh to Ratanpur, which had been a capital town in the Kalachuri kingdom of the period. Abul Fazl had begun to write his chronicle around the same period and had completed his monumental work, *Ain-e Akbari* in 1595. The erection and preservation of a tomb, too betrays the signs of *panth* which was already in making as, could not have been possible without the active involvement and support of a substantial admirers, followers, and supporters of Kabir, traditionally associated with Muslims.

Another evidence of the emerging Kabirpanth comes from the early sixteenth century text of Abdul Haq in his *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, a Persian text,<sup>7</sup> Abdul recalls Kabir as having been a topic of conversation between his father and grand father as early as in 1522 (19 feb). Abdul Haq's reference of Kabir's religious image as mentioned his *Persian* work was first noted by Mohan Singh in 1943 and recently also described by Irfan Habib, can be summarized thus :

*My ancestor Agha Muhammed Turk Bukhari came to Delhi in the time of Ala-ud-din Khalji. His son was Malik Muiz-ud-din; Malik Musa was the son of Muiz-ud-din who lived in the time of Firoz Shah. One of Malik Musa's sons was Shaikh Firoz, who was alive in the first part of the reign of Sultan Bahlol and died in 1455 (A. H. 860). His posthumous son was Sa'dullah who was my real grandfather. Shaikh Rizq Ullah was Sa'dullah's eldest son. My uncle Rizq used to say that one day I asked Sa'dullah: this famous Kabir whose {Bishanpadas} men read, was he a Musalman or a Kafir? He replied: he was a Muvahhid, believer in one God. I then submitted: but a Muvaihhid is a ghair Kafir, non-Kafir, in other words, a Musalman. Thereupon, he said it is too difficult to comprehend this meaning or explanation. You should try to understand. Sa'dullah died in 1521 (A. H. 928). My father at the time was 8 years old. Shaikh Rizq Ullah was born in 1491 and died in 1581. My grandfather Shaikh Sa'dullah was a Murid or disciple of Shaikh Mohd Malava, whose tomb is at Malawa town in Qanauj. My uncle Rizq Ullah was also made a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad, when Shaikh Muhammad Malava visited these parts (Delhi) during the reign of Sultan Sikandar; my grandfather associated with him for several years.<sup>8</sup>*

By the time Abul Fazl, the court chronicler of Akbar, completed his *Ain-e- Akbari*, Kabir had begun to be recognized in the sixteenth century, not as a Muslim or Hindu, but eminently as a 'monotheist' (*muwahhid*). This is the purport of a conversation which Abdul Haqq reported as having taken place between his grandfather and father

as early as 1522.<sup>9</sup>

Oral tradition avers that at the time Kabir breathed his last at Magahar, the most prominent among those who were present were Bhagodas, Jagodas, Surati Gopal, Veer Singh Vaghela, Dharamdas and Bijali Khan among many others. These immediate followers besides having been perpetual companions of Kabir, in fact, belonged to the different geographical areas of the medieval India. Bhagodas hailed from present Uttarakhand, Jagodas Orissa, Surat Gopal from South India, Veer Singh Vaghela and Dharamdas from the Bandhogarh raj of present Madhya Pradesh and Bijali Khan from Magahar itself. We may treat them as the leading member of five respective regions, which must have sizeable followings of Kabir in their respective regions.

I have discovered definitive textual evidence regarding the initial period of formation of a panth in Kabir's name during Akbar's reign as well. The valuable document comes from the possession of a math situated presently at Satmalpur, a village in north Bihar. It is a 3 paged *sanad* still preserved at the Satmalpur math.<sup>10</sup> The *sanad*, in fact was issued under the seal of the Mughal Sultan, Ahmad Shah (1748-1754), the successor son of Muhammad Shah 'Rangeela'. It certifies that Lal sahib,<sup>11</sup> a *faqir-e-Kabir*, was donated 150 *bighas* of land near village Noorpur situated in the Kasama pargana. The certificate was issued by Qazi Ghulam, who was probably an official of land revenue at the paragana level in *hijari* 1020. This year pertains to the reign of Akbar the Great, the *sanad* also indirectly indicates at expanding trend of the panth then being formed in the name of Kabir. It seems to have by then acquired a distinct identity at least in the royal circle, as the Mughal authority categorized him as a *faqir-e-Kabir* implying thereby a line of sadhus then being identified with the tradition of Kabir.

Nabhaji, another near contemporary religious writer, also notes in his '*Bhaktmal*' of c1600:

Kabir refused to recognize caste rules (*Varnasram*) and the six (Brahmanical) schools. He held that without devotion (bhakti) religion would be irreligion (adharm). Asceticism (*jog*), fasting and charity are useless without adoration (*bhajan*). By means of *ramainis*,

*shabdis* and *sakhis*, he preached to both Hindus and Muslims (*Turaks*). He showed no partiality to anyone, but spoke for the benefit of all. He spoke boldly and tried to say what would please the world. Kabir's verses had become a household name in parts of Mughal India.<sup>12</sup>

Oral tradition, however, takes us back to the Kabir's life-time telling us about his spiritual tours to several parts of mediaval India, from Afganistan to Kuchh, and from Orissa to Bihar. In fact the accounts of Abul Fazl, and Nabhadass testify to the effects Kabir's *vanis* had left over the general public then resounding in the Mughal imperial court as well as in the writings of then near contemporary poets. Oral tradition prevailing among the Kabirpanth followers to whom we interviewed, pinpoint a number of places where Kabir himself had visited, which in turn gradually developed as major centers of the Kabirpanth.

Among the earliest places where Kabir had stayed for the reasonable span of time are: Benaras, Bandhogarh, Jagannathpuri, Fatuha, Chatiya and Dwarka, Kabir Vat and lastly in Magahar.<sup>14</sup> Although we do not have hard evidence to exactly know how much resourceful these centers Kabir's visit had developed in terms of followings and materials accumulation, but oral tradition and later evidence suggest that these must have had substancial resources, otherwise Kabir's *vanis* would not have spread so swiftly in all direction within such a short-time as being recorded by Abul Fazl within 70 years of Kabir's death, as well as by Nabhadass and finally being included in the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs compiled in 1604.

Abul fazl's account, as mentioned above, attest the fact that Kabir's preachings had begun to be heard in royal circles, he himself noted that a large number of Kabir's verses and legends had already occupied the attention of the people in general even before 1595. Nabhadass' accounts of Kabir, too, substantiate the spreading of the teachings of Kabir. His *vanis* had become so popular in the Punjab region by the turn of the sixteenth century that these occupied longest part of the *Adi Granth* as compiled by Guru Arjandev in 1604. Around the same time, his teachings had began to attract the common men in the central and western India, as had been noted by the some

contemporary writers of Gujrat. Padmnabh and Kamal are believed to be those contemporaries from the region who have noted Kabir's influence in the part of India.<sup>15</sup> All these contemporary followers of Kabir not only spread Kabir's teachings in their respective areas, but had also founded centers of devotion later becoming popular as the Kabirpanth's math, *sthan*, *jagan*, *asthan* and *fanri*, or also as gurudwara.

Of course it is not possible to know which was the earliest center formed in the name of Kabir, yet it is for sure that Kabir had, for major part of his life, lived in Vanaras at a place where presently the Kabir-Chaura math is located. To my great dismay, however, the Mahants of the Kabir-Chaura, have nothing in their possession to show us as a testimony of Kabir's time or to support the the oral history of the Kabir-Chaura, Kashi. Based on oral tradition, the ousted Mahant Pt.Gangasharan Shashtri of Kabir-Chaura,<sup>16</sup> writes that Kabir himself lived in a hut at the present site of the Kabir-Chaura, which was, after Kabir's death in 1518 (1575v.s) developed as a Kabir-*samadhi* by Surati Gopal, the first Mahant of the Kabir-Chaura. In these acts of buildings *Samadhi*, Maharaja Veer Singh Dev is said to have made huge material support. Apart from the *Samadhi* of Kabir, it also contains the preserved wooden *paduka* (slipper) and a wooden pot said to be used by Kabir himself, and an old-age photo of Kabir. The Kabir-Chaura management has taken special care to demonstrate *Samadhi* as the memorial of Kabir's time by adding the *trishul* of Gorkhnath and a rosari of Ramanand inside it.

The original name of Srutigopal (also called Suratgopal), the first head of the Kabir Chaura, was Servanand. He was a learned Brahmin pandit from south India. He went about India debating with rival pandit and defeated every one of them. He then told his mother that she should call him 'Sarvajit' since he had 'Conquered all'. His mother told him he must first debate with Kabir if he wanted to be known as Sarvajit in actual sense of the term. Sarvanand came to Benares and challenged Kabir to a debate. The debate went on for a long time, but Kabir would not convince Sarvanand. In disgust, Kabir finally agreed to let Sarvanand write a 'certificate of victory' saying that Kabir had been defeated. When Sarvanand got home, however, he found that the certificate said



that he himself had been defeated. He returned to Benares two more times to get new certificates, but each time he got home, he found that the certificate had been magically changed in Kabir's favour. Sarvanand finally gave up all his book learning and became Kabir's disciple, taking the new name Srutigopal.<sup>17</sup> The sadhus of the Kabir-Chaura branch of the Kabirpanth believe that Kabir appointed Suratigopal to be the head of the Kabirpanth with his *gaddi* at the site of Kabir's hut in the Kabir-Chaura neighbourhood of Benares. Today there is still one of the largest monastery at this site.

Kabir is said to have stayed in Jagannathpuri for quite some time on the sea-shore. Before reaching there, he is said to have stayed in Fatuha too, where a dry and unused pond is still famous as the meeting-point of Kabir and Guru Nanak.<sup>18</sup> Both these places saw the growth of famous Kabir-maths. Tradition has it that Kabir during his sojourn to the present Gujarat region instructed one of his disciple brothers, Tattva and Jeeva, of the locality to carry on the task of spreading his message from Fatuha, in Bihar.

In Jagannathpuri, there developed another Kabir-chaura math which still exists. There are many anecdotes and legends associated with Kabir and the temple threatened by the expanding area of the sea. Most of the Kabirpanthis believe that all the saints who had lived there along with Kabir including Malukdas preferred to take *Samadhi* at Kabir Chaura, Jagannathpuri itself even after Kabir's death. For example, Dharmdas took his *Samadhi* there, and his wife Ameena too had *Samadhi* there. According to some scholars Malukadas, an eminent disciple of Kabir, too, took *Samadhi* there alone. Most of these *samadhis* are still intact including the *Ashakubarri* of Kabir inside a cave where some meditators still use to spend sometime for nurturing their meditation.<sup>19</sup> The existence of a Kabir tomb also found reference in the travelogue of Tavernier during the mid-seventeenth century.

During the sixteenth century itself, Orissa had seen the emergence of another strong center of Kabir under the guidance of one of his immediate followers famous as Jago or Jagodas. About Jagodas, there is near unanimity that he belonged to Orissa. According to Kedarnath Dvivedi, he was born in 1538 (v.s).<sup>20</sup> His parents were Jaganath and

Kamleshwari. To Abhilash Das,<sup>21</sup> Jago's mother's name was Hanso Bae or Mata Haso. He came in contact with Kabir in Jagannathpuri itself, where Jago used to stay along with his parents, his father being a *pujari* of the Jagannath temple. Mesmerized by Kabir's personality and teachings, he is said to have joined the entourage of Kabir then onwards.

The *samadhis* of Dharmdas, Amina *mata*, Sitaramdas, Devki *mata*, Surat Gopal, Ratnabae in the middle of Kabir's *Samadhi* preserved on a stretched mound located on the southern side of the Kabir-Chaura math in Jagannathpuri. Kedarnath Dvivedi claimed that he had found a manuscript titled *Asha Sagar* which maintained that the math was built during the time of *raja* Indrdaman of Orissa.<sup>22</sup> It also included the event of Dharmdas death in Jagannathpuri. The geneology of gurus related to the Kabir-chaura, as listed the Oriyan manuscript had been too exhaustive to believe. It mentioned the list of 200 gurus associated with this math. Kedranath has, in his book, pointed out the discrepancies in these names-some of the names were repeated more than once, a few names were repeated even five times; to add to our confusion, a few names were written in divided forms; such as ghan and shyam, Vithal and Nath-to quote a few among more times. Kedarnath rightly suggests that these two names may be of the same person.

It is said that local *raja* of Orissa having its capital in Cuttack came under the influence of Jagodas. The *raja* of Cuttack is said to have bequeathed about 400 *bighas* of land in the vicinity of then emerging town of Cuttack.<sup>23</sup> The *raja* is said to have donated land to the sadhu as a token of respect, as the sadhu (whose name is presently not known to the locals) had provided him relief from an incurable disease.

Among the earliest places where Kabir's center of devotion developed presumably during his life-time is said to be village Chatiya in the present west Champaran district of Bihar. It is said that both Kabir and Bhagwan Das, formally a *Harvyasi* disciple before surrendering to Kabir, had been moving eastward towards Nepal along the bank of the Gandak/Narayani river. Bhagwan Das was a native of Sulemabad in the

Pithorabad district of the present Uttarakhand. According to Sukhdev Singh,<sup>24</sup> Kabir had been moving eastwards via the Ganga-Narayani confluence upto Chatiya, situated on the bank of Gandak river. It is also said that it was Chatiya where actual enlightenment (*gyan*) had descended over Bhagwandas in close proximity of Kabir, his *sadguru*. Exhausted they decided to take some rest in the midst of jungle of *java* plants spread along Narayani river almost 50 Kms from Motihari, the headquarters of the east Champaran district. In a couple of days, a large number of neighbouring villagers began to visit the sadhus' abode at Chatiya, including the local raja. Under the influence of the sadhus, the raja personally requested both of them not to leave and found a permanent centre in his territory. Moreover, the raja, on his own, also declared that both the sadhus could keep in their possession as much land tracts as they could reclaim in a day's time for the upkeep of the centre.

Bandhogarh has been another place where Kabir, in all probability, travelled and stayed there as a guest in the present Bandhogarh fort of the Baghel *raja*.<sup>25</sup> It is said that the then *raja* Veer Singh Baghel came to know of the divine character of Kabir through his immediate disciple, popularly famous as Dharmdas. Dharmdas originally named Judavan Prasad of Bandhogarh was born in 1452 (v.s). He belonged to a wealthy family of Kasaundhan *bania* of the region and used to travel extensively in connection with his family business. He only dashed against Kabir in Mathura where Kabir was staying in 1518 (v.s) Judavan too was on pilgrimage in Mathura. At the very first glance, Judawan got drawn towards Kabir and felt spiritually connected to him. Yet it took him another two years to meet Kabir but in Kashi, a reunion after which Judawan could not return home as a businessmen. From 1520 (v.s), Judawan became Dharmadas and turned into a constant company of his *sadguru* Kabir. It is also said that Dharmadas now onwards decided to dedicate his entire paternal properties to the spread of Kabir's message. Very soon Dharmadas paternal home itself emerged as a center for the dissemination of Kabir's message during his life-time. Nonetheless, the Acharya of the Dharmdasi *Vansh gaddi* claims its legitimacy to the putative blessings of Kabir once showered on

Dharmdas stating that his descendants, for the next 42 generations, would continue to spread Kabir's teachings, a standpoint which has been a source of persistent criticism and strong disputes both within and outside the Dharamdas family, resulting in its repeated division as it grew as a distinct branch of the panth in time.

The forgoing description based on the available written documents and the oral tradition prevailing among the *panth* followers persuade us to believe that the sixteenth century of medieval India not only saw the towering personality of outspoken Kabir, but also witnessed a number of devotional centres that had come up after his name.

## Footnotes

1. Sant Kabir Nagar district came into existence in 1997 during the Chief Ministership of Ms Mayavati, the supreme of the Bhaujan Samajwadi Party. Earlier it was part of district Basti. The headquarters of the the Sant Kabir Nagar has been Khalilabad, which is situated at the distance of about 8 Kms. from Magahar.
2. Khadim Hussain Ansari, interviewed, Mohalla-Karam-Kabir, Village-Magahar, Sant Kabir Nagar, Uttar Pradesh, 16 Feb, 2015. Khadim Hussain is the eldest son of the erstwhile care-taker named of the Kabir Mazar, Magahar. He along with some Muslim Kabirpanthis repeatedly exhorted that the house in which Khadim Hussain and his family has been living is actually the same place where Kabir had lived during the last phase of his life, and that his family in fact has been successive heirs of the Kabir lineage.
3. *Benares Gazeetter*, quoted in G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and Kabirpanth*, Munshiram Manoharlal, 2007(1907), p.2. To quote it, "Kabir was born at Belhara, a village in the district of Azamgarh. According to the belief of Kabir Panthis he was born in 1398 and died in 1518. The latter date is probably correct; the former is probably dictated to make him contemporaneous with Ramanand who is supposed to have lived in the fourteenth century."

4. Abul Fazl, *Ain- e- Akbari*, (trans. H.S. Jarrett), Vol.II, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1891, pp.171-172
5. Ibid, p.129.
6. Francis Buchanan, *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, (ed., by M.Martin), Vol. IV, Cosmos Publication, Delhi, 1976 (1838), p. 112.
7. Abdul Haqa, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, Ahmadi Press, Delhi, 1853, (pp. 198-200 and 341-343), quoted in Irfan Habib (ed.), *Religion in Indian History, Tulika Books, Delhi, 2001, p.157.*
8. Mohan Singh, *Kabir: His Biography, Kabir and the Bhagti Movement*, Vol.I, Atma Ram and Sons, Lahore, 1934, p.28
9. Irfan Habib, op.cit., 2001, p.153
10. I have obtained these 3-page *sanad* written in Persian from Ram Avatar Das, then Mahant of the Satmalpur math, Samastipur, Bihar, during my Ph.D. He died in 2001. The *Sanad* is attached as Annexure-A in the present report. Two pages of the *Sanad* can also be seen in my published book (2008).
11. I have got these pages of *sanad* translated by Dr. Y A. Zaffari, who has been one of the most famous scholar on the medieval Persian script and language. He retired as a faculty member from the Persian department of Zakir Hussain College, Delhi University and thereafter has kept himself busy in the development of the Persian language in India from his own paternal residence lying in the old Delhi area where I had to visit four times in course of these translation works.
12. Nabhadass, *Sribhaktmal*, Tejakumar, Lucknow, 1969, p.479
13. Description of Kabir's tours to far-flung regions of medieval Hindustan can be seen vividly described in didactic texts such as *Kabir Mansur* and *Anurag Sagar* in the form of myths and legends.
14. We have noted during our field works all the oral tradition relating to these places.

15. Padmnabh and Kamal are said to have two main immediate disciples of Kabir who carried forward their master's teaching to farther regions of present Gujarat,
16. Pt. Gangasharan Shastri has been leading a life of ousted Mahant in a math he developed after he was thrown away from the Kabir-Chaura by Vivek Das and his supporters in 2002, interviewed, Varanasi, 14 March, 2015; Vivek Das has been *de facto* Mahant of the Kabir-Chaura, Benares since 2000 and one of the most widely visiting Mahants in the Kabirpanth. The ousted Mahant Pt. Gangasharan Shastri and his admirers still contest Vivek Das's position as the Acharya Mahant of the Kabir-Chaura in the district court of Benares. Gangasharan Shastri, interviewed, Benares, 17 Feb, 2015
17. This legend has found place in most of the literary books on Kabir.
18. Find a view of the pond I had while conducting fieldwork at Fatuha in 2014, as Annexure-B. It is said that Guru Nanak had accompanied Kabir all along upto Jagannthpuri. I interviewed then Mahant Brajesh Muni, M.A., 26 June 2014. He was later removed from the seat of Mahant by the Bihar Board of the Religious Trusts, Patna in April, 2015.
19. *Ashakubadi* is the name of the wooden shaft that Kabir is said to have used to check the expansion of the sea at Puri. It is still preserved inside the cave temple of the Kabir-Chaura campus, Jagdishpuri, Swargdwar, Jagannathpuri; Uday, PF, visited this math, 5 Oct. 2013.
20. Kedarnath Dvivedi, *Kabir Aur Kabirpanth*, (Hindi), Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, 1965, p. 178. A few of these names are still visible on the stone slabs of the *samadhis*, however most of the inscribed names have become non-readable. Kedarnath might have been able to read as he had noted all these names about 60 years ago.
21. Abhilash Das, *Kabir Dashan*, Hindi, 2006, p. 377

22. King Indradaman had been a legendary king of Orissa, who is also said to have built parts of the Jagannath temple in Puri. Kabirpanthis also seem to have appropriated the name of the legendary king to add veracity to their history. For details on Indradaman, one can consult, L.E.B. Cobden-Ramsay, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Feudatory States of Orissa*, Concept Publishing House, Delhi, 1910, pp.164-165.
23. The local *raja* of Cuttack as mentioned in the souvenir had been Prataprudra Deva; this name has found repeated mention in the published Oriyan souvenir.
24. My description of the Chatiya-Barharwa math is based on my field work, conducted on 15Feb, 2015. Sukhdev Singh, a Prof of Hindi, had also written a monograph in Hindi, on the history of the Bhagatahi branch, see, Shukdev Singh, *Sant Kabir aur Bhagatahi Panth*, Hindi, Vishwvidyalaya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1998.
25. For details, see, Hiranand Shastri, *Baghel Dynasty of Rewa*, Archaeological Survey of India, No. 21, Govt. Of India, Calcutta, 1925, pp.1-14.