

An Analysis of

Text as sword: Sikh religious violence taken for wonder

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Introduction

In 2007, **Routledge** (Taylor & Francis Group) published a book titled *Religion and Violence in South Asia: Theory and Practice*, edited by John R. Hinnells and Richard King. Chapter 5 of this book, titled “Text as sword: Sikh religious violence taken for wonder” is authored by Balbinder Singh Bhogal [1]. This chapter comprising 29 pages of the book from 107 to 135 is the subject of my inquiry.

Prof. Bhogal holds “Sardarni Kuljit Kaur Bindra Chair in Sikh Studies” at Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York. As posted on the University’s website, this Chair is “endowed by Ishar Singh Bindra and his family in honor of Mr. Bindra's wife and family matriarch, Sardarni Kuljit Kaur Bindra. The chair was established to promote the academic study of Sikh religion, culture and history. The endowment supports the appointment of a faculty member in Sikh Studies, helps build the University Library's holdings in Sikhism, provides scholarship assistance to students interested in Sikh religion and culture, and funds annual conferences and lectures directed toward the academic community as well as the general public.”

The Chapter’s title is eye-catching and interesting mixture of: “‘Text as sword’ signals the idea that Sikh scripture and practice, ostensibly about the *love* of Akal through relationships with others, simultaneously concerns *violence*.” And he borrows “Signs Taken for Wonder” from one of Homi K. Bhabha’s (of Harvard University) works.

What prompted Prof. Bhogal to adopt and propose a new radical approach to the study of Sikh tradition—labeling his new paradigm as “continuity-in-difference”—in contrast to the models espoused earlier? A brief background is in order here.

The Sikh tradition holds a belief of unity of Guruship: Sikhs view ten Gurus as ten lamps lighting each other sequentially. The Sikh revolution from Guru Nanak (1469-1539) to Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708)—from the perspectives of ideology and organization—reveals that Guru Nanak founded both the ideology (Nanakian philosophy, *Gurmat*) as well as the organization, the Sikh Panth. Guru Nanak’s successors nurtured his movement, enriched his philosophy through exposition, elaboration and amplification in their own *baani* (poetic composition) over a period of 169 years (1539-1708). In addition, they strengthened the Sikh movement by introducing innovative practices designed to meet the threat posed by the tyrannical Mughal rule and the caste system. (Appendix D).

Oddly, non-Sikh scholars like W.H. McLeod assert that a break occurred in the Sikh tradition which turned Guru Nanak’s pacifism, which McLeod calls (interior religion) to sixth Guru Hargobind’s *Miri-Piri* (spiritual and temporal sovereignty – militancy and politics) culminating in Guru Gobind Singh’s Khalsa Order (saint-soldiers) openly aspiring for *Patshahi* (political power).

Interestingly, Bhogal’s objective is to “demolish” McLeod’s thesis by advocating a novel paradigm: “Rather than read militarization after sixth Guru’s martyrdom [2] as a *break* in tradition (amounting to a loss of the ‘religious’) as ‘outsider interpreters’ do, or claiming a

continuity of the same ‘Nanakian’ essence throughout Sikh history as ‘insider exegetes’ are wont to do, I argue for a ‘continuity-in-difference.’” His model “continuity-in-difference” in the Sikh tradition is indeed a worthy idea meriting scholarly investigation. By “continuity-in-difference” Bhogal implies that there were no fundamental changes in ideology, though the successive Gurus introduced measures to combat challenges stemming from new threatening circumstances.

After elaborating his introductory exposition, he details the inner workings of his model under two parts: (1) Re-Understanding ‘Religion’ and ‘Bhakti’, and (2) The Sikh Tradition: Metaphor, Ambiguity and Reality. Should Prof. Bhogal be commended for advocating this model? The devil is in the details and only after analyzing these details I felt alarmed. Take for example: “continuity-in-difference” model is nothing short of a unique cocktail of ideas that are in direct opposition to Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat) enshrined in Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS): (1) he takes for guaranteed Dasam Granth (DG) being the work of Guru Gobind Singh, (2) Guru Nanak’s insight is a conflation of “Hindu Yogi’s esoteric Tenth–Door *within (dasa-duar)* along with Muslim divine Door (*dar*) of God’s court (*darbar*) *without*”, (3) Sikh revolution arising from conflation of Indic Vaisnava and Sakta traditions, and (4) the God of AGGS is also violent because the God of Semitic Texts is violent (Bhogal, p. 130), and so forth. The tragedy is that Bhogal misreads AGGS and puts words in the mouth of Guru Gobind Singh via *Dasam Granth* (DG) without providing any evidence on Guru’s authorship of DG. I will encourage readers to read Bhogal’s chapter in its entirety in order to understand and appreciate my scrutiny of his thesis.

Discussion

I find Bhogal’s thesis to be cumbersome, bizarre, disjointed logic, incoherent and outright devoid of scholarly vigor and objectivity. This rebuttal covers only the salient points related to Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS), continuity in Sikh ideology and Dasam Granth. Part 1 of this chapter is bizarre to such an extent that I decided to skip it altogether in favor of part 2.

It is plausible that Bhogal has difficulty in comprehending Gurumukhi text. For example: he quoted McLeod’s translation of a passage from Bhai Gurdas’ *Vars* without a preliminary check for its accuracy. McLeod proposed that it was Guru Hargobind, who changed the peaceful religious tradition of Guru Nanak, to a militaristic political movement:

The earlier Gurus sat peacefully in *dharamsalas*; this one roams the land. Emperors visited their homes with reverence; this one they cast in gaol. No rest for his followers, ever active; their restless Master has fear of none. The earlier Gurus sat graciously blessing; this one goes hunting with dogs. They had servants who harboured no malice; this one encourages scoundrels. Yet none of these changes conceal the truth; the Sikhs are still drawn as bee to the lotus. The truth stands firm, eternal, changeless; and pride still lies subdued. (Var 26.24, tr. McLeod 1984:31). (Bhogal: 120).

While I have provided the original passage in Gurumukhi [3], here is my English translation of the passage:

Instead of sitting in one place in a *dharamsala*, he [Guru Hargobind] travels around in the land preaching his message. The kings came to pay him obeisance when he was imprisoned with them

in the fort by the Emperor. The followers (*Sangat*) do not find him at home as he is running around fearlessly. He sits on the throne to hold congregations and goes hunting with dogs. He listens to and sings hymns in battle tunes instead of routine devotional exposition, singing and recital. He welcomes not only common people but also those who are opposed to the wicked leaders (rulers). Yet none of these changes in the life style of Guru Hargobind conceal the Truth (Ideology), as Sikhs are still drawn to his feet as bee to the lotus. He is carrying unbearable burden but he does not let any one know about it.

In the last two lines Bhai Gurdas makes two central points: Firstly, there was no change in ideology in spite of the change in the style of the Guru, wearing royal attire and donning two swords, and secondly, the young Guru had unbearable burden of responsibility for the wellbeing of the Sikh movement which was under severe threat from the Mughal government, schismatic elements who were attempting to hijack the movement, and the proponents of caste ideology. Regrettably, McLeod misreads the central message, as well most of the passage. Why has Bhogal failed to see this discrepancy? I suspect Bhogal's knowledge of Punjabi language is rudimentary along with skills to prod deeper.

On page 124, Bhogal writes:

This violent-love aesthetic and rhetoric, however, must be seen in a wider Indic context to make sense. This Sikh violent-love arises from the conflation of Vaisnava and Sakta traditions, that is, the love of Krishna's flute and the violence of Kali's blood-dripping sword. ... AG reflects the Flute, with Vaisnava names (Hari, Ram), and the DG invokes the Sword, with Sakta names (Sri Bhagauti, Sarab-loh). Guru Gobind Singh names his Sword after Goddess, *Candi* (Skt. 'vicious, fierce, violent,). ... It is clear that the Sikh texts and traditions conjoin Hari (flute) with Sri Bhagauti (the sword), compassion (lotus) with wisdom (thunderbolt and sword), just as in Tantra Shiva (spirit) is united with Shakti (matter). ... Guru Gobind Singh's saint-soldiers and Guru Hargobind's two swords are not inventions alone but innovations that conserve Guru Nanak's own ideas. For example they play out Nanak's own use of Tantric compound of Siva and Sakti (*siva-sakati*) - which connects to the wider Samkhyan categories of Purusa and Prakriti (*puraku* and *kudarati*) - denoting passive spirit (love) and active material power (violence). Both elements constitute the reality of creation (AG: 1096 G. Arjan; AG: 1056 G. Amardas [Amar Das]). Hari as the 'One' is a constant interplay of two opposite but complementary forces. Conjointly both express Hari's Order and Will (AG: 920 G. Amardas [Amar Das]; AG: 1027; 1037 G. Nanak).

From the above quote it is clear that Bhogal's expertise on AGGS is limited to what he has gleaned from the Brahmanical and literal English translations of the AGGS. There is no support for Bhogal's arguments. He betrays ignorance of the concept of God, *Hukam* (Cosmic Law), *Gurmukh* and *Haumai* in the AGGS. Guru Nanak condemned asceticism, celibacy, austerities and self-mortification. Instead he advocated householder life as the only proper way in pursuit of God. Therefore, violent love/violent bhagti/violent devotion are alien to Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat). For Guru Nanak, God is the center of family life: father, mother, sibling, husband, lover and friend. Most probably, Bhogal misunderstands or is confused by the martyrdoms of Guru Arjan, Guru Tegh Bahadur and numerous Sikhs for upholding the "Truth", "freedom of conscience" and universal liberty and equality. He interprets their martyrdoms as examples of

violent devotion/bhagti/love. He has gleaned verses, phrases and words from the AGGS and translated literally to present them as examples of rhetoric of “devotional violent-love” to suite his thesis. This wild interpretation mutilates the poetic beauty of the metaphor and subverts AGGS’ meanings as pointed out by Professor Puran Singh (1881-1931) [4, 5].

More recently, Professor Harinder Singh Mehboob in his exhaustive analysis of DG in *Sehje Rachio Khalsa* debunks the myth that it was authored by Guru Gobind Singh [6], and echoes Puran Singh’s warning on the pitfall of Brahmanical/Vedantic interpretation of Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*) [7].

Additionally, in support of his thesis Bhogal has quoted Judeo-Christian, Hindu and Buddhist traditions. Perhaps he is unaware that Guru Nanak rejected all earlier religious traditions along with their entire stream of dogmas and doctrines [8, 9, 10, 11, 12, & Appendix A].

On page 119, Bhogal writes:

Within the AG life is framed by violence and love and these constitute the fabric of one’s past *karma*. The ‘Sword of Death’ (*jam-kharag*) hangs over each head (AG: 1087 G. Amardas [Amar Das]). Violence is sanctioned by Hari: ‘When it pleases you, they wield swords cutting of heads [of their enemies] as they go’ (AG: 145 G. Nanak). Indeed Hari Himself is violent. He himself kills and rejuvenates (AG: 1034 G. Nanak). Justice is the violent recompense of one’s ‘bad’ deeds. Each moment must be recognized as the possible speaking of the Guru-Word, which includes, inevitably, the striking of the Sword of Death.

Firstly, there is no support on pages 145, 1034 and 1087 of AGGS for Bhogal’s interpretations. Besides, Nanakian philosophy is life-affirming and revolutionary – egalitarian socially and plebian politically. And it rejects karma and reincarnation. It urges humans to rise above animal level to become *gurmukhs* (moral enlightened beings), and stresses the freedom of conscience: action and responsibility for the consequences. Furthermore, other world religions describe “God” in the context of supernaturalism whereas in Guru Nanak’s system, “God” is strictly confined within the context and framework of naturalism (Appendix B).

Secondly, God of AGGS is not violent. In sharp contrast to the portrayal by Bhogal: the God of AGGS is *Nirvair* (without enmity and non-retributive), merciful, kind, loving, forgiving, and generous and enlightener. And “Benevolence” is manifest in the creation. Being born as a human being is an act of Benevolence as the Creator (Cosmic Law) has endowed mankind with superior intellect, critical thinking and conscience. Regrettably, in English literature on Sikhism, Benevolence has been translated or interpreted in the context of “Biblical Grace” which has led to confusion, misinterpretation and distortion of its proper meaning in Nanakian philosophy. God is without enmity and non-retributive, loving, forgiving and bountiful (Appendix B).

Thirdly, Bhogal’s statement “God Himself kills and rejuvenates and justice is the violent recompense of one’s ‘bad’ deeds” is a Brahmanical interpretation of Nanakian philosophy. The God of *Gurmat* is radically different from the concept of God in other religious traditions. Cosmos is the manifest/visible form of God whereas *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) is Its un-manifest/invisible form that pervades throughout the Cosmos. It is *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) that

controls the Cosmos and its functions--creation/birth and destruction/death (Appendix C).

Further, on page 119, Bhogal writes:

The first Mughal ruler, Babur (1483-1530), invaded India in the 1520s. These violent invasions were witnessed by Guru Nanak and commented upon in four hymns. In one, Guru Nanak rationalizes that 'those whom the Creator would destroy – He (first) strips them of virtue' (AG: 417).

Bhogal's interpretation of Babur Bani is totally erroneous [13]. Guru Nanak was an eyewitness to Babur's invasion. In Babur Bani (hymns about Babur's invasion), Guru Nanak describes the defeat of Lodhis (Pathan rulers) and the atrocities by Babur's army on the civilian population, especially women, and the miserable condition of the survivors. In this composition Nanak points out that it was not God who sent Babur to invade India as God is *Nirvair* (without enmity), loving, kind, merciful, forgiving and non-retributive. And God does not take sides in wars or human conflicts, as It is the protector of all. Humans are free to choose their own course of actions and are responsible for the consequences. Moreover, Guru Nanak condemned the Lodhis for their failure to defend the country and its citizens. He also points out that it was the superior military power (weaponry) of Babur's army that overwhelmed the Lodhis.

Furthermore, Guru Nanak didn't believe in absolute pacifism because peaceful resistance alone cannot stop/prevent injustice or tyranny or armed aggression. Babur's easy victory was mainly due to the superior firepower of his forces. He condemned the Indian rulers for their lack of preparedness and failure to provide protection to their subjects. When people become self-centered, their actions are governed by their *Haumai* [8], which result in wars and innocent people too suffer for being a part of the society.

Further On page 119, Bhogal says:

Accepting Hari as all-powerful and violence integral to His Will, Guru Nanak seems to justify his own powerlessness, later stating that those who died were destined to die. He ends with a blunt tone of abject resignation that barely lifts itself to praise, noting that pleasure and pain occur by His will and none can change this: 'what is written [by Hari], is to be received'. It is that 'resigned' tone that changes in the later Gurus – though not the teaching itself for in the wider context of his hymns it is clear that for Guru Nanak love itself is a form of violence.

Is there any doubt that Bhogal doesn't have even rudimentary knowledge of Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat) enshrined in the Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS), and the Sikh history - - the battles Khalsa (Sikhs) fought for three quarters of a century (1680s to 1760s) against the tyranny of three formidable foes: Mughals, foreign invaders and the proponents of caste ideology? How else he would make such irresponsible, erroneous and untenable statements that repudiate Guru Nanak's observation and reaction to contemporary society recorded in his compositions [8 (Chapter 1), 12]? Guru Nanak rejected karma and reincarnation unequivocally [13]. Guru Nanak was a revolutionary who laid the foundation of a revolution that is egalitarian

socially and plebian politically and there in no hint in his *baani* (poetic compositions) of what Bhogal wrote. May I suggest Bhogal to benefit by reading *The Sikh Revolution* by Jagjit Singh [14]!

More Misinterpretations:

1. On page 107, Bhogal wrote:

Loving-devotion (bhagti) of Hari is the sword (kharag) and armour of the True Guru. ...
(*Adi Granth*: 312 G. Ramdas [Ram Das])

There are a number of verses and phrases which Bhogal has presented as examples of rhetoric of “*violent love*.” In this verse sword (*kharag*) is a metaphor for protection. Bhogal has taken a single line from a stanza of four lines in which Guru Ram Das emphasizes that the protector of the True Guru is God, so no harm would come to him.

ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਅਗੰਮੁ ਹੈ ਜਿਸੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਉਰਿ ਧਾਰਿਆ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਨੇ ਅਪਤਿ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਸਕਈ ਜਿਸੁ ਵਲਿ ਸਿਰਜਣਹਾਰਿਆ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਖੜਗੁ ਸੰਜੋਉ ਹਰ ਭਗਤਿ ਹੈ ਜਿਤੁ ਕਾਲੁ ਕੰਟਕੁ ਮਾਰਿ ਵਿਡਾਰਿਆ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਰਖਣਹਾਰਾ ਹਰਿ ਆਪਿ ਹੈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੈ ਪਿਛੈ ਹਰਿ ਸਭਿ ਉਬਾਰਿਆ ॥

The True Guru's greatness is unfathomable as God resides in his heart. No one is equal to the True Guru as God is on his side. Devotion to God is True Guru's armor (protection) and sword that destroys the fear of death. God is the protector of the True Guru and his followers.
AGGS, M 4, p. 312.

2. On page 118, Bhogal wrote:

Wearing the armour of (yogic) absorption, (the Guru) has climbed and mounted (the horse) of wisdom.
Holding the bow of Dharma, the fight of devotion and morality has started. He is fearless in the Fear of the Permanent Hari;
He has thrust the spear of the Guru's Word into the mind.
(AG: 1396 Sal).

Here is the Gurumukhi text followed by the English translation:

ਪਹਿਰਿ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਸਨਾਹੁ ਗਿਆਨਿ ਹੈ ਆਸਣਿ ਚੜਿਅਉ ॥
ਧੰਮ ਧਨਖੁ ਕਰਿ ਗਹਿਓ ਭਗਤ ਸੀਲਹ ਸਰਿ ਲੜਿਅਉ ॥
ਭੈ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਹਰਿ ਅਟਲੁ ਮਨਿ ਸਬਦਿ ਗੁਰ ਨੇਜਾ ਗਡਿਓ ॥
ਕਾਮ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਲੋਭ ਮੋਹ ਅਪਤੁ ਪੰਚ ਦੂਤ ਬਿਖੰਡਿਓ ॥

Wearing the armor of contemplation on God, Guru Amar Das mounted the horse of knowledge. And holding the bow of Truth and the arrow of love and humility in hand, he set out to fight against immorality (corrupting influences of worldly temptations). Under the command (*bhai*) of the “Sovereign and Self-Sustaining, and Eternal/Immutable” One, he subdued the five enemies: *Kaam* (lust, sexual drive), *Kroadh* (anger), *Loabh* (covetousness, economic drive), *Moah* (attachment) and *Ahankar* (egotistical pride) with the spear of Guru's teachings (Sabad).
AGGS, Sal, p. 1396.

Eulogizing Guru Amar Das, Bhat Sal talks about Guru's wisdom, humility, love and control over *Kaam* (lust, sexual drive), *Kroadh* (anger), *Loabh* (covetousness, economic drive), *Moah* (attachment) and *Ahankar* (egotistical pride) through devotion to Sabad (Guru Nanak's teachings). The five drives/instincts if uncontrolled cause moral degradation that people face daily. Sal does use terminology of physical battle metaphorically but it does not represent "The battle of love is superimposed on to the battle of warriors" as Bhogal interprets. For some reason, Bhogal excludes the line "subdued *Kaam* (lust, sexual drive), *Kroadh* (anger), *Loabh* (covetousness, economic drive), *Moah* (attachment) and *Ahankar* (egotistical pride)" which is the central theme of the stanza.

3. On page 119, Bhogal says:

*The understanding of Your way (is) horses, war harness, girths, gold.
The appetite for virtue (is) bow, arrow, quiver, spear, sword belt.
With honour manifest (as) cavalry and military band, your action is my caste.
O Baba, the pleasure of other rides is false. (AG: 16).*

Here is the Gurumukhi text followed by English translation:

ਘੋੜੇ ਪਾਖਰ ਸੁਇਨੇ ਸਾਖਤਿ ਬੂਝਣੁ ਤੇਰੀ ਵਾਟ ॥
ਤਰਕਸ ਤੀਰ ਕਮਾਣ ਸਾਂਗ ਤੇਗ ਬੰਦ ਗੁਣ ਧਾਤੁ ॥
ਵਾਜਾ ਨੇਜਾ ਪਤਿ ਸਿਉ ਪਰਗਟੁ ਕਰਮੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਜਾਤਿ ॥
ਬਾਬਾ ਹੋਰ ਚੜਣਾ ਖੁਸੀ ਖੁਆਰ ॥

For me understanding/finding the path that leads to God/Truth is like the pleasure of riding a horse decked with a saddle and crupper made of gold. Contemplating on God's excellences (Truth) is like possessing "quiver, arrow, bow, spear and sword-belt". Being accepted as worthy by God is like the display of chivalry/jousting (*nejaabaajee*) and God's benevolence is my caste/social status. O *baba*, seeking pleasure in worldly temptations ruins inner happiness by distracting from God/Truth.

AGGS, M 1, p. 16.

Bhogal has picked a single stanza from a Sabad of four stanzas and misinterpreted it to portray *bhagati* as "warrior's arsenal and lifestyle." In this *Sabad* Guru Nanak advises modest living in the pursuit of moral life, as extravagant lifestyles lead to moral degradation.

On page 1087 Guru Amar Das uses the word *kharag* (sword) twice as metaphor for *gian* (power of knowledge/wisdom) and *jam* (fear of physical death), respectively. It is difficult to understand how knowledge or fear of death is rhetoric of violent *bhagati* or violent love. Similarly, on page 918 Guru Amar Das talks about the uniqueness of *bhagats/gurmukhs* as their life style (path) is clearly defined/marked like the sharp edge of a double-edged sword, not what Bhogal has interpreted as "The discipline of the true devotion has to demonstrate a 'path along a double-edged Sword'."

ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਅਤਿ ਖੜਗੁ ਕਰਾਰਾ ॥
ਦੂਜਾ ਭਰਮੁ ਗੜੁ ਕਟਿਆ ਮੋਹੁ ਲੋਭੁ ਅਹੰਕਾਰਾ ॥

The knowledge I obtained from the Guru has destroyed my doubts (duality) caused by attachment, greed and egotistical pride, the way a very powerful sword (force) conquers a fortress.

AGGS, M 3, p. 1087

ਮਾਇਆ ਵੇਖਿ ਨ ਭੁਲੁ ਤੂ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਮੂਰਖਾ ॥
ਚਲਦਿਆ ਨਾਲਿ ਨ ਚਲਈ ਸਭੁ ਝੂਠ ਦਰੁਬ ਲਖਾ ॥
ਅਗਿਆਨੀ ਅੰਧੁ ਨ ਬੂਝਈ ਸਿਰ ਉਪਰਿ ਜਮ ਖੜਗੁ ਕਲਖਾ

O' stupid self-centered (*manmukh*) person, do not be fooled by the allure of riches. All the wealth you see is a false hope as it shall not save you from death. O' you ignorant fool, you do not understand that the threat of physical death is ever present like sword hanging over your head.

AGGS, M 3, p. 1087.

Due to his misunderstanding of the concept of *Haumai* Bhogal has interpreted *apu mare* (ਆਪੁ ਮਾਰੇ) as “kill the self” and he has repeatedly used this phrase as an example of violent love in the AGGS whereas *apu mare* (ਆਪੁ ਮਾਰੇ) or “kill the self” means subduing *Haumai* (8). Similarly, he misread the meaning of *hau varia* (ਹਉ ਵਾਰਿਆ), *kurabani* (ਕੁਰਬਾਨੀ) and “path along a double edged sword”. For example, *khanio tikhi valon niki* (ਖੰਨਿਅਹੁ ਤਿਖੀ ਵਾਲਹੁ ਨਿਕੀ) does not mean “path along a double edged sword” (Bhogal: 119). Rather it means that the path or way of living of a *gurmukh* is well-defined (truthful living) unlike ordinary people who do whatever their *Haumai* (self-centeredness) dictates.

ਚਾਲਾ ਨਿਰਾਲੀ ਭਗਤਾਹ ਕੇਰੀ ਬਿਖਮ ਮਾਰਿਗ ਚਲਣਾ ॥
ਲਬੁ ਲੋਭੁ ਅਹੰਕਾਰੁ ਤਜਿ ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਬੋਲਣਾ ॥
ਖੰਨਿਅਹੁ ਤਿਖੀ ਵਾਲਹੁ ਨਿਕੀ ਏਤੁ ਮਾਰਿਗ ਜਾਣਾ ॥

The way of living of God-centered beings (*bhagats/gurmukhs/moral enlightened beings*) is unique and distinct as it requires strict discipline. They control the morally corrosive influence of greed, egotistical pride and avarice, and they are polite and reserved in their speech. Their way of living (path) is very clearly defined like the thinness of sharp two-edged sword or hair (ਖੰਨਿਅਹੁ ਤਿਖੀ ਵਾਲਹੁ ਨਿਕੀ).

AGGS, M 3, p. 918.

In like fashion, Bhogal misinterpreted other verses of Guru Nanak he has cited from pages 145, 1034, 417, 418 of AGGS (Bhogal: 119). This is because of his misunderstanding of the concept of *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) and the concept of God in Nanakian philosophy *Gurmat*.

Further, the statement “Bhai Gurdas whose *Vars* are seen as key to comprehend the Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS)” (Bhogal: 122) is absurd, as there is no evidence in support for this either in the AGGS or the *Vars*. There is no mention of Bhai Gurdas in the AGGS or his *Vars* or that the *Vars* being essential for comprehension of AGGS nor is there any hint about it in the *Vars*. Moreover, there is no mention of AGGS in the *Vars* or that Bhai Gurdas is the author of the *Vars* or the time period of writing the *Vars*. Besides, there are many statements in the *Vars* that contradict the AGGS [15].

Additionally, when scholars mention “*Dasam Granth*,” they acknowledge at the outset that its authorship is controversial. But Bhogal doesn't do that [16]. For Bhogal Guru Gobind Singh is

the author of “*Dasam Granth*” as is evident from his following statements:

1. “Dasam Granth, ‘Book of the Tenth Guru’ was collated by Mani Singh.” (Bhogal: 108).

This statement is as absurd as the fairy tale that Bhai Mani Singh was cut limb by limb because a Sikh cursed him that he (Bhai Mani Singh) would suffer such a death [16, 17, 18].

2. “... there is a third Sikh scripture, that directly substantiates the Sikh ‘Text as Sword’, and that is *Sarab-loh Granth* (The ‘All-Steel Book’, or ‘All-Sword Book’). This text is popular among contemporary *Nihangs* (Sikh warriors) and claimed by them to be the work of tenth Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh. The work is, however, almost certainly after Gobind’s time (see McLeod 2003:139) and for this reason will not be consulted here.” (Bhogal: 130).

What is amazing here is that Bhogal agrees with McLeod in not using “*Sarab-loh Granth*” because McLeod says that this work is dated after Guru Gobind Singh. But then Bhogal fails to pay attention to what McLeod said of *Dasam Granth*:

The first of these supplementary scriptures to be noted is the *Dasam Granth* or ‘Book of the Tenth Guru’. This work must be distinguished from Damdama version of *Adi [Aad] Granth* with which it is sometimes confused. The *Dasam Granth* is a large collection of miscellaneous writings attributed to Guru Gobind Singh which in no way overlap the contents of the *Adi [Aad] Granth*. In marked contrast to the consistent religious message of the earlier collection it embodies a considerable diversity of material, owing a particular debt to the Puranas and anecdotes from the current oral tradition. ... Were all these compositions the work of Guru Gobind Singh? The autobiographical and devotional compositions may well be Guru’s own work, and perhaps also *Chandi ki Var*. The remainder must substantially and probably entirely the work of others who were present in his court. The various works were collected after his death (perhaps as the tradition claims, by the celebrated disciple Mani Singh) and because they had all come from the tenth Guru’s court the ordinal *dasam* was attached to the volume [19].

For unknown reason McLeod doesn’t explain why *Dasam Granth* or “Book of the Tenth Guru” was confused with Damdama version of *Adi [Aad] Granth*? Had McLeod explained the confusion, he would have ended the ongoing controversy about the authorship of “Dasam Granth.” The explanation is: It was Guru Gobind Singh who prepared the “Damdama version of *Aad Granth*” also known as “*Damdami Bir*” and vested it with Guruship in 1708. It was also called “*Dasven Patshah Da/Ka Granth*” to distinguish it from *Aad Granth* compiled by Guru Arjan in 1604. The confusion arose when the spurious “*Dasma Padshah ka Granth*” was concocted by anti-Sikh elements most probably in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

3. The *Markendaya-Purana*’s mythic episodes, that express martial valour, skill and strength, were used by Guru Gobind to inspire Sikhs to fight. Not merely to fight, nor take pride in the righteousness of the dharmic cause, but to appreciate the violence of battle as a martial art of divine love. Yet the early Gurus in the AG educe a similar chill:

Humility is my spiked club. My double-edged Sword is the dust of all men’s feet.

No sinner can withstand these weapons.

The perfect Guru has given me this understanding.

(AG: 628 G. Arjan)(Bhogal: 125-26).

First of all Bhogal has totally misinterpreted Guru Arjan who says that it is humility that is his protection.

Secondly, Bhogal is grossly ignorant not only of AGGS but also of the history of the Indian subcontinent and the history of Sikhs. Why would Guru Gobind Singh use the narratives from Hindu mythology to inspire Sikhs when the AGGS clearly rejects gods and goddesses? Probably, Bhogal does not understand or ignores the fact that it was Guru Gobind Singh who conferred Guruship on the final version of Aad Granth (Damdami Bir/ Dasven Padshah Da/Ka Granth) in 1708 [16].

ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੂਲੇ ਭੂਲੇ ਅਖੁਟੀ ਜਾਂਹੀ ॥ ਨਾਰਦਿ ਕਹਿਆ ਸਿ ਪੂਜ ਕਰਾਂਹੀ ॥

ਅੰਧੇ ਗੁੰਗੇ ਅੰਧ ਅੰਧਾਰੁ ॥ ਪਾਥਰੁ ਲੇ ਪੂਜਹਿ ਮੁਗਧ ਗਵਾਰੁ ॥

ਓਹਿ ਜਾ ਆਪਿ ਡੁਬੇ ਤੁਮ ਕਹਾ ਤਰਣਹਾਰੁ ॥

Hindus are utterly mistaken and going on the wrong path. They worship whatever Nard (a prominent ancient Hindu sage) told them to worship. They are spiritually blind and dumb, and are groping in the darkness. The ignorant fools worship stones. How a stone that itself sinks in water help human being cross the ocean of worldly temptations (corrupting influences)?

AGGS, M 1, p. 556.

ਦੇਵੀ ਦੇਵਾ ਪੂਜੀਐ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਆ ਮਾਰਉ ਕਿਆ ਦੇਹਿ ॥

ਪਾਹਣੁ ਨੀਰਿ ਪਖਾਲੀਐ ਭਾਈ ਜਲ ਮਹਿ ਬੂਡਹਿ ਤੇਹਿ ॥

O brother, you worship gods and goddesses. What can you ask of them and what can they give to you? O brother, the stones/idols sink in water with which you wash them. How could these stones help you cross the ocean of worldly temptations?

AGGS, M 1, p. 637.

The categorical rejection of Hindu gods and goddesses by Sikhs is reported by almost all non-Sikh observers of the Sikhs. For example, the author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* describes an interesting anecdote about Guru Hargobind's visit to the temple of goddess Naina Devi.

A Sikh of his Bhairu by name, going to the temple, broke the nose of the goddess. The *Rajas* got the news of it and complained to the *Guru*, taking his [Bhairu's] name. The *Guru* summoned Bhairu. Bhairu denied it. The *Rajas'* servants said, "We recognize this {man}." He replied, "O *Rajas*, ask the goddess. If she takes my name, you can kill me." The *Rajas* said, "Fool, how can the goddess speak." Bhairu broke into laughter, saying, "One now knows who the fool is. When she cannot prohibit anyone from breaking her own head, and cannot identify the person who attacked her, what good do you expect from her, and why do you worship her?" The *Rajas* were put to silence [20].

While the Sikhs of Guru Hargobind were poking fun at the power of Durga/Chandhi and the absurdity of its worship, Bhogal expect readers to believe that Guru Hargobind's grandson, Guru Gobind Singh was instilling bravery in his Sikhs by telling them exploits of goddess Chandhi. How ridiculous!

Further, could Bhogal explain when the worshippers of Chandhi/Kali/Bhawani were prostrating before Mughals and singing paeans "*Ishwara va Dillishwara va*, (the Lord of Delhi is as great as God) [21, 22], how did Guru Hargobind inspire a handful of ordinary Sikhs from diverse background to take up arms against Mughals and Khattris, and defeated them [23]? Or how did Guru Tegh Bahadur inspire Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das and Bhai Dayal Das to make supreme sacrifice in the defense of Truth, freedom of conscience and human rights [24, 25]? Besides, *Markendaya-Purana* is an ancient text and Hindus have been worshipping Chandhi and its various manifestations since time immemorial, but there is no evidence that *Markendaya-Purana* and Chandhi inspired Hindus to take up arms against tyranny and injustice. Though most Hindus worship goddess Chandhi/Kali/Bhawani, but not with the zeal and devotion shown by the Bengalis and Rajputs. Of interest, there is no evidence that either of the two groups were inspired by Chandhi/Kali/Bhawani to take up arms against Muslim invaders or rulers [22].

Mahmud of Ghazni attacked India numerous times from 1000-1033 C.E. penetrating deeper all the way to Somnath Temple in Gujarat. Al-Biruni (973-1048/49 CE), the renowned Indologist, came to India in the wake of the invading forces led by Mahmud of Ghazni. He spent years observing Hindus and their culture, and studying their religion, sciences and literature. He writes:

No Muslim conqueror passed beyond the frontier of Kabul and the river Sindh until the days of the Turks, when they seized power in Ghazna under the Samani dynasty and the supreme power fell to the lot of Nasiraddaula Sabuktigin. This prince chose the holy war as his calling, and therefore, called himself *Al-ghazi* (i.e. *warring on the road of Allah*). In the interest of his successors he constructed, in order to weaken the Indian frontier, those roads on which afterwards his son Yaminaddaula Mahmud marched into India during a period of thirty years and more. God be merciful to both father and son! Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims [26].

Finally, there is no evidence or any logical explanation that Guru Gobind Singh authored the spurious contents of the "*Dasam Granth*" with the exception of a letter (*Zafarnama*) in Persian, that he is said to have written to Emperor Aurangzeb. On the other hand there is overwhelming evidence that goes against the Guru's authorship of *Dasam Granth* (Appendix E).

Conclusion

Balbinder Singh Bhogal got Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 2001. To date his thesis remains unpublished and if this chapter's details are linked to his thesis, then I think we have an obligation to read his entire thesis, provided it is released

first. It is pertinent here that the academic standards and requirements for Ph.D. degree in Sikh Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies be brought to the public attention. W.H. McLeod also received his Ph.D. from this School and we know that his thesis supervisor knew nothing about Guru Nanak and little about the Punjabi language and his two thesis examiners who knew hardly anything about Sikh religion, approved the thesis without reading it completely [27, 28].

It is obvious from Bhogal's chapter that his academic standards, norms and ethics were shaped by the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. It is also evident that he has limited understanding of the Gurumukhi text. That is why he has relied on unreliable English translations of AGGS, *Vars* of Bhai Gurdas and Dasam Granth. He has gleaned words, phrases and verses from the English translation of AGGS and misinterpreted them to match the violence in Dasam Granth to argue his thesis. While constructing his new model, he completely distorted the message of AGGS and maligned Guru Gobind Singh. For "Aad Guru Granth Sahib" Bhogal uses the erroneous name "Adi Granth"--used for the first time in literature on Sikhs by John Malcolm for "Aad Granth" in 1812 [29]--while accusing western scholars and Singh Sabha reformers for favoring and emphasizing Aad Guru Granth Sahib over Dasam Granth:

From the perspective of modern colonial consciousness, co-opted but also co-created by Sikh reformers, this structural distortion brings into currency a chain of polarized pairs headed by a reflection on scripture where the AG (due to its 'monotheism' becomes a Western mimete and the DG (given its 'polytheism') remains the orientalist's other. ... The Singh Sabha reformers (1870-1960), given their project of constructing a Sikh identity in contradiction to the Hindu and in mimesis of the ruling British (and Protestant Christian) power, only managed to re-inscribe such dichotomies. Thus a firm wedge was placed between the religious and the political, private and public (Bhogal: 111-12).

It seems that in his understanding of the Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat), Bhogal has surpassed Virsa Singh [30] in distorting the teachings of AGGS in order to impose Dasam Granth on the Sikhs. One can forgive Virsa Singh for his lack of formal education, but what do we make of Prof. Bhogal? After all he occupies the Sikh chair at Hofstra University. This brings into focus the question of Sikh Chairs in the Western universities. Are these Chairs really established to promote Sikh studies? The answer is discouraging when we examine the publications of these scholars [31]. Sikhs and the general public are being hoodwinked into believing that these chairs are endowed by the Sikhs to spread the message of Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat) enshrined in the AGGS.

Before I finish this paper I think the reader after being presented with varied distorted interpretations depicting the Sikh Gurus in an unfavorable violence-ridden light, Prof. Bhogal has the audacity to say this just before he penned his concluding remarks:

Rather than doctrinal laws, the Gurus leave us with a questioning dialectic that seeks to confront all ideologically based thinking.... *Neither militarism nor pacifism were taught by the Gurus*, nor asceticism or pleasure-seeking.... [Italics are mine; Bhogal: 129].

I wish Prof. Bhogal to undertake some refresher courses on the fundamentals of Sikhism, Punjabi language and Gurumukhi script. I will encourage him to contact those Sikhs who too, like him, aspire to share genuine scholarship, and an accurate portrayal of AGGS and Sikh history. I wish he will discard his model of “continuity-in-difference,” and join us, not at the expense of his academic standings, but to cement the scholarly roots deeper. I extend my invitation to him as well as to all other Sikh Chairs in North America to join hands with those of us who are outside of the academic circles to pursue the lofty goal of presenting Sikhism accurately and objectively.

References:

1. John R. Hinnells & Richard King (Eds.), *Religion and Violence in South Asia: Theory and Practice*: Routledge, London, 2007.

2. “Sixth Guru’s martyrdom” should read as “Fifth Guru’s martyrdom.” Similarly Bhogal made another minor error on page 119 where he referred Jahangir as “third Mughal emperor.” The correction: Jahangir was the fourth Mughal emperor.

3. ਧਰਮਸਾਲ ਕਰ ਬਹੀ ਦਾ ਇੱਕਤ ਥਾਂ ਨ ਟਿਕੈ ਟਿਕਾਯਾ ।
ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ ਘਰ ਆਂਵਦੇ ਗੁੜ ਚੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਯਾ ।
ਉੱਮਤ ਮਹਿਲ ਨ ਪਾਂਵਦੀ ਨੱਠਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਨ ਡਰੈ ਡਰਾਯਾ ।
ਮੰਜੀ ਬਹਿ ਸੰਤੋਖਦਾ ਕੁੱਤੇ ਰੱਖ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਖਿਲਾਯਾ ।
ਬਾਣੀ ਕਰ ਸੁਣ ਗਾਂਵਦਾ ਕਥੈ ਨ ਸੁਣੈ ਨ ਗਾਵ ਸੁਣਾਯਾ ।
ਸੇਵਕ ਪਾਸ ਨ ਰੱਖੀਅਨਿ ਦੋਖੀ ਦੁਸਟ ਆਗੂ ਮੁਹਿ ਲਾਯਾ ।
ਸੱਚ ਨ ਲੁਕੈ ਲੁਕਾਇਆ ਚਰਣ ਕਵਲ ਸਿਖ ਭਵਰ ਲੁਭਾਯਾ ।
ਅਜਰ ਜਰੈ ਨ ਆਪ ਜਣਾਯਾ ।

4. Puran Singh, *Spirit of the Sikhs*, Part II, Volume Two: Punjabi University: Patiala, 2nd ed., 1993, p. 271: It is to be regretted that Sikh and Hindu scholars are interpreting Guru Nanak in the futile terms of the colour he used, the brush he took; are analyzing the skin and flesh of his words and dissecting texts to find the Guru’s meaning to be same as of the Vedas and Upanishads! This indicates enslavement to the power of Brahmanical tradition. Dead words are used to interpret the fire of the Master’s soul! The results are always grotesque and clumsy translations, which have no meaning at all. Macauliffe’s almost schoolboy-like literal rendering into English, following possibly the interpretations given him by the Brahmanical type of gyanis, the un-illuminated theologians who lacked both the fire of inspiration, and the modern mental equipment and who were decayed and eaten up by the inner fungus of the Brahmanical mentality, has made the live faith of the Sikh a dead carcass. It has produced neither the beautiful artistic color of the idol and the shrine, nor the fervor of the inspiration of love. And from his

translations, one thinks Sikhism is weak Brahmanism. Much that is redundant is put before a world-audience, without the light that made every straw and every little dust particle, every petty detail even, radiant and beautiful.

5. Ibid., p. 75: The words Brhman (Brahm) and Para-Brahm also come in Guru Granth, but as Cunningham says “by way of illustration only.” Similarly are the names of other gods and goddesses of Brahminical Pantheon.

6. Harinder Singh Mehboob, *Sehje Rachio Khalsa* (Punjabi), Singh Brothers: Amritsar, 2nd ed., 2000, pp. 610-746.

7. Harinder Singh Mehboob, *Sehje Rachio Khalsa* (Punjabi), Singh Brothers: Amritsar, 2nd ed., 2000, p. 26: ਮੈਂ ਇਹ ਦਾਅਵਾ ਤਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦਾ, ਪਈ ਮੈਂ ਸਹਿਜੇ ਰਚਿਓ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰਮਤ ਦੀ ਵਿਆਖਿਆ ਦੇ ਆਦਰਸ਼ਕ ਨਮੂਨੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤੇ ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਮੈਂ ਅਤਿ ਹਲੀਮੀ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਕਰਾਂਗਾ, ਪਈ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰਮਤ ਦੀ ਵਿਆਖਿਆ ਦੀਆਂ ਕੁਝ ਅਜਿਹੀਆਂ ਸੇਧਾਂ ਮੁਹੱਈਆ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਜਹਿੜੀਆਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਰੁਹਾਨੀਅਤ ਦੇ ਧਿਆਨ ਸਮੇਂ ਪੰਥਕ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਭਾ ਨੂੰ ਬਿਪਰ ਸੰਸਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਗੁਮਰਾਹਕੁਨ ਰੋਲ ਤੋਂ ਚੇਤੰਨ ਕਰਨਗੀਆਂ । ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਾਜਣ ਦੀ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਉਂਦੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਦੀ ਆਤਮਾ ਨੂੰ ਬਿਆਨ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਸਿੱਖ-ਪ੍ਰਤਿਭਾ ਦੇ ਇਕ ਵੱਡੇ ਭਾਗ ਨੇ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ, ਧਰਮ ਪੁਸਤਕਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਮਿਥਿਹਾਸ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਨਾਂਤਰਾਂ ਤਕ ਹੀ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਅੰਤਰ-ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੀਮਤ ਕਰ ਦਿਤਾ। ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਵਿੱਦਵਾਨਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਲਿਖੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਸ਼ੋਧ-ਪਤਰਾਂ, ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਫਰੀਦਕੋਟੀ ਟੀਕਾ ਅਤੇ ਸ: ਕਪੂਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਈ.ਸੀ.ਐਸ. ਦੀ ਪੁਸਤਕ *The Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh* ਨੂੰ ਮਿਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਤੌਰ ਉੱਤੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ । (I do not claim that in *Sehje Rachio Khalsa* I have presented ideal paradigms for the exposition of *Gurmat* but in utmost humility I would like to state that in this book I have presented some directions/guidelines for the exposition of *Gurmat* that would warn the Sikh genius to be aware of the misleading Brahmanical role in the understanding of Sikh spirit “*Gurmat*”. While explaining Guru Gobind Singh’s purpose in the establishment of the Khalsa Order and the essence of the teachings of AGGS, a large section of Sikh intellectuals have confined *Gurmat* insights within the boundaries of Hindu history, scriptures and mythology. Many of the publications on Sikhism by university scholars, Guru Granth Sahib’s *Faridkoti* translation and the *Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh* by S. Kapur Singh I.C.S. could be considered as such examples).

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13. Baldev Singh, “Nanakian Philosophy: The Path of Enlightenment”, SikhSpectrum.com, October, 2008: *Babur Baani*.

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17. Daljeet Singh, "The Historical Identity of 'Dasam Granth'", *Abstracts of Sikh Studies*, July 1994, pp. 81-94.

18. Jagjit Singh, "The Historical Identity of 'Dasam Granth'", *Abstracts of Sikh Studies*, July 1994, pp. 95-99.

19. W.H. McLeod, *The Sikh Scriptures in the Evolution of the Sikh Community (Sikhs and Sikhism)*, Oxford University Press: New Delhi, 1999, pp. 79-81.

20. J.S. Grewal & Irfan Habib, *Sikh History from Persian Sources*, Tulika, New Delhi, 2001, p. 69.

21. Gokal Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, New Book Society of India: New Delhi, 5th edition, 1960, p. 98.

22. Baldev Singh, "Evaluating Dayanand's Views on Guru Nanak and the Sikhs," "e-Symposium: Swami Dayanand and Satyarth Parkash (*Light of Truth*)," *SikhSpectrum.com*, March 2008.

23. Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History*, Uncommon Books: New Delhi, 2001 4th ed., pp. 45-46, 47-49.

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Appendix A

Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*) differs from other religions in the basic premise – the concept of God. Surely the concept of “one God” was known long before Guru Nanak. However, that “one God” idea has been nothing more than a “tribal god.” In addition to millions of gods and goddesses, Hindus also believe in a God who communicates only through the Brahmins (highest caste) and then there is a God for the chosen people, the Jews. Christian God is approachable only through His only Son, Jesus Christ, whereas the Muslim God, Allah, is accessible only through Mohammed who is Allah’s last and final Prophet in a long line of Prophets. And Muslims claim that theirs is the only, true prophetic religion. In sharp contrast, Guru Nanak talks about *sarab saanjha* (Universal) God Who is understandable to all without regard to caste, gender, race, creed and ethnicity. Moreover, he did not assign gender or specific name to the “One and Only” Entity, the Cause of all causes and the Source of all, Who is *Surgun* (manifest) as the Cosmos and *nirgun* (invisible) as *Hukam* (Cosmic Law). And he declared that the Universal God is beyond the scope of Hindu and Semitic texts:

ਛਿਅ ਘਰ ਛਿਅ ਗੁਰ ਛਿਅ ਉਪਦੇਸ ॥ ਗੁਰੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਏਕੋ ਵੇਸ ਅਨੇਕ ॥

There are six different schools of Hindu philosophy by six different teachers with six different sets of teachings. But the Teacher (God/Truth) is One, Who is interpreted in so many different ways.

AGGS, M 1, p. 12.

ਬੇਦ ਕਤੇਬੀ ਭੇਦੁ ਨਾ ਜਾਤਾ ॥

Neither the *Vedas* [four Hindu texts] nor the four *Katebs* [Semitic texts: the *Torah*, the *Zabur* (Psalms), the *Injil* (Gospel) and the *Quran*] know the “Reality”.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1021.

ਬੇਦ ਕਤੇਬ ਕਰਹਿ ਕਹ ਬਪੁਰੇ ਨਹ ਬੁਝਿਹ ਇਕ ਏਕਾ ॥

What can the poor *Vedas* and *Katebs* teach when their authors themselves did not understand the “One and Only” Reality (Universal God).

AGGS, M 1, p. 1153.

ਬੇਦ ਕਤੇਬ ਸਿਮ੍ਰਿਤਿ ਸਭਿ ਸਾਸਤ ਇਨ੍ਹੁ ਪੜਿਆ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥

The readings of the *Vedas*, *Katebs*, *Simrtis* and all the *Shastras* do not show the path to salvation (freedom from ignorance and falsehood).

AGGS, M 5, p. 747.

ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨ ਮਉਲਾ ਤੂਹੀ ਏਕੁ ॥ ਪੀਰ ਪੈਕਾਂਬਰ ਸੇਖ ॥

ਦਿਲੁ ਕਾ ਮਾਲਕੁ ਕਰੇ ਹਾਕੁ ॥ ਕੁਰਾਨ ਕਤੇਬ ਤੇ ਪਾਕੁ ॥

The Merciful One is the only Emancipator (*Maula*), not *pirs* (spiritual guide), *sheikhs* and prophets. The Master of every heart, Who delivers justice, is beyond the Quran and other Semitic texts.

AGGS, M 5, p. 897.

Further to refute the notion of the exclusive nature of God or exclusive path to God, and the coercion of others to follow that exclusive path, Guru Nanak emphasizes repeatedly the infinite, ineffable and unfathomable nature of God. He makes it crystal clear that a finite entity like man can not define an infinite Entity in totality:

ਕੇਤੇ ਆਖਹਿ ਆਖਣਿ ਪਾਹਿ ॥ ਕੇਤੇ ਕਹਿ ਕਹਿ ਉਠਿ ਉਠਿ ਜਾਹਿ ॥

ਏਤੇ ਕੀਤੇ ਹੋਰਿ ਕਰੇਹਿ ॥ ਤਾ ਆਖਿ ਨ ਸਕਹਿ ਕੋਈ ਕੋਇ ॥

ਜੇਵਡੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਤੇਵਡੁ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਾਣੈ ਸਾਚਾ ਸੋਇ ॥

How many are attempting to describe God? How many have departed doing the same. If God were to create as many more people as already created, even then they would not be able to describe how great God is. God is as great as Its *Hukam* (Cosmic Law). O Nanak, the True One alone knows Its greatness.

AGGS, Jap 26, p. 6.

ਸਾਚੇ ਨਾਮ ਕੀ ਤਿਲੁ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥ ਆਖਿ ਥਕੇ ਕੀਮਤਿ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਈ ॥

ਜੇ ਸਭਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਕੇ ਅਖਣ ਪਾਹਿ ॥ ਵਡਾ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਘਾਟਿ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥

If all the people get-together, even then after their best efforts they can't describe even an iota of God's greatness. Further, what they say does not enhance or diminish God's greatness.

AGGS, M 1, p. 349.

ਬਾਬਾ ਅਲਹੁ ਅਗਮ ਅਪਾਰੁ ॥ ਪਾਕੀ ਨਾਈ ਪਾਕ ਥਾਇ ਸਚਾ ਪਰਵਦਿਗਾਰੁ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥

ਤੇਰਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਨ ਜਾਪੀ ਕੇਤਤਾ ਲਿਖਿ ਨ ਜਾਣੈ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਜੇ ਸਉ ਸਾਇਰ ਮੇਲੀਅਹਿ ਤਿਲੁ ਨ ਪੁਜਾਵਹਿ ਰੋਇ ॥

ਕੀਮਤਿ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਾਈਆ ਸਭਿ ਸੁਣਿ ਸੁਣਿ ਅਖਹਿ ਸੋਇ ॥ ... ਪੁਛਿ ਨ ਸਾਜੇ ਪੁਛਿ ਨ ਢਾਹੇ ਪੁਛਿ ਨ ਦੇਵੈ ਲੋਇ ॥ ਆਪਣੀ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਆਪੇ ਜਾਣੈ ਆਪੇ ਕਰਣੁ ਕਰੇਇ ॥ ਸਭਨਾ ਵੇਖੈ ਨਦਿਰ ਕਰਿ ਜੈ ਭਾਵੈ ਤੈ ਦੇਇ ॥

O *baba* (Sir), Allah is unreachable and infinite (beyond human comprehension in totality). Sacred is Its name and sacred is Its abode. It is eternal and Cherisher of all. Pause. Even the power of Its immutable *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) is indescribable. No one could write it down. If hundred poets were to get-together, even they would not be able to describe even a tiny bit after racking their brains. No one can evaluate Allah's greatness. They all merely repeat again and again what they have heard before. ... Allah does not consult anyone when It builds or destroys, or when It gives or takes away. Allah alone knows Its *qudrat* (creation and the power to create). It alone is the Doer. It watches over all kindly and provides them according to their needs.

AGGS, M 1, p. 53.

Further, all the world religions describe "God" in the context of supernaturalism, but in Guru

Nanak's system, "God" is strictly confined within the context and framework of naturalism. Because he expounds naturalism, he discards the entrenched beliefs in magic and miracles like virgin birth and resurrection from death, and discourages the magical thinking inherent among the followers of traditional religions by emphasizing reason and logical thinking in the understanding of God and life. For Guru Nanak, God is Truth and Knowledge (*Sabad*) understandable through wisdom and discerning intellect (*bibek buddh*):

ਮਿਲਿ ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਿੰਡੁ ਕਮਾਇਆ ॥

ਤਿਨਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਲੇਖੁ ਲਿਖਾਇਆ ॥

Mother and father create a child through sexual union according to the *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) - - biology of reproduction of life.

AGGS, M 1, p. 989.

ਮਾ ਕੀ ਰਕਤੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਬਿਦੁ ਧਾਰਾ ॥ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਸੂਰਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਆਪਾਰਾ ॥

The infinite *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) fashions human body with beautiful features from father's semen and mother's blood (eggs).

AGGS, M 1, p. 1022.

ਜੰਮਣੁ ਮਰਣਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੈ ਭਾਣੈ ਆਵੈ ਜਾਇ ॥

It is *Hukam* (cosmic Law), which causes birth and death or birth and death occur according to *Hukam* (biology of death and birth).

AGGS, M 1, p. 472.

ਤੰਤੁ ਮੰਤੁ ਪਾਖੰਡੁ ਨ ਜਾਣਾ ਰਾਮੁ ਰਿਦੈ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਨਿਆ ॥

I know nothing of deceitful Tantric spells and magical mantras; I imbibe God/Truth in my heart.

AGGS, M 1, p. 766.

ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਅਉਖਧੁ ਤੰਤੁ ਨ ਮੰਤਾ ॥ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਸਿਮਰਣੁ ਕਿਲਵਿਖੁ ਹੰਤਾ ॥

There is no other medicine, Tantric spells or magical mantras, but *Naam Simran* (dwelling on God/Truth) destroys evil.

AGGS, M 1, p. 416.

ਆਪਿ ਨਾਥ ਨਾਥੀ ਸਭ ਜਾਕੀ ਰਿਧਿ ਸਿਧਿ ਅਵਰਾ ਸਾਦ ॥

Cosmic Law/God Itself is the Controller and It controls every thing; the desire to acquire fame/wealth through the so-called supernatural powers leads one astray from Truth.

AGGS, Jap 29, p. 6.

ਸਿਧ ਹੋਵਾ ਸਿਧਿ ਲਾਈ ਰਿਧਿ ਆਖਾ ਆਉ ॥

ਗੁਪਤੁ ਪਰਗਟੁ ਹੋਇ ਬੈਸਾ ਲੋਕੁ ਰਾਖੈ ਭਾਉ ॥

ਮਤੁ ਦੇਖਿ ਭੁਲਾ ਵੀਸਰੈ ਤੇਰਾ ਚਿਤਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਨਾਉ ॥

What would I gain if I were to become a *sidha* (yogi) and acquire the so-called supernatural power (magical trickery) to perform miracles to disappear and appear at will so that people would hold me in awe? I am afraid such temptations would make me forget God/Truth.
AGGS M 1, p. 14.

ਕਿਨ ਹੀ ਸਿਧ ਬਹੁ ਚੇਟਕ ਲਾਏ ॥ ਕਿਨ ਹੀ ਭੇਖ ਬਹੁ ਥਾਟ ਬਨਾਏ ॥
ਕਿਨ ਹੀ ਤੰਤ ਮੰਤ ਬਹੁ ਖੇਵਾ ॥ ਮੋਹਿ ਦੀਨ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਸੇਵਾ ॥

Many *sidhas* are busy performing miracles. Many wear different garbs to set up their own orders. Many practice Tantric spells and chant magic mantras. But I, the humble, serve only God/Truth.
AGGS, M 5, pp. 912-13.

In contrast to other religious traditions that require adopting the blind faith, Guru Nanak emphasized wisdom and discerning intellect (*bibek budhi*) in the understanding of God. Logical thinking is the key to the understanding of Truth and for the creation of a progressive, dynamic and just society based on universal liberty and equality. He preached and emphasized this message wherever he went and to whomever he talked during his travels:

ਅਕਲਿ ਇਹੁ ਨ ਆਖੀਐ ਅਕਲਿ ਗਵਾਈਐ ਬਾਦੁ ॥ ਅਕਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸੇਵੀਐ ਅਕਲੀ ਪਾਈਐ ਮਾਨੁ ॥
ਅਕਲੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਿਕੈ ਬੁਝੀਐ ਅਕਲੀ ਕੀਚੈ ਦਾਨੁ ॥ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਆਖੈ ਰਾਹੁ ਏਹੁ ਹੋਰਿ ਗਲਾਂ ਸੈਤਾਨੁ ॥

Wisdom is not which is wasted in futile arguments. Use wisdom and reason in the service of God and practice of charity. Learn by intelligent reading and earn respect by exercising wisdom. Says Nanak, this is the right path while other things (failure to apply discerning intellect) lead to wickedness.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1245.

ਇਕਨਾ ਸੁਧਿ ਨ ਬੁਧਿ ਨ ਅਕਲਿ ਸਰ ਅਖਰ ਕਾ ਭੋਉ ਨ ਲਹੰਤਿ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸੇ ਨਰ ਅਸਲਿ ਖਰ ਜਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਣ ਗਰੁਬ ਕਰੰਤਿ ॥

Those who lack commonsense, intelligence and discerning intellect can't understand the mystery of the word (*Hukam*). Nanak, those are real donkeys, who have no virtues but are filled with egotistical pride.

AGGS, M I, p. 1246.

ਜਤੁ ਪਹਾਰਾ ਧੀਰਜੁ ਸੁਨਿਆਰੁ ॥ ਅਹਰਣਿ ਮਤਿ ਵੇਦੁ ਹਥਿਆਰੁ ॥ ਭਉ ਖਲਾ ਅਗਿਨ ਤਪਤਾਉ ॥
ਭਾਂਡਾ ਭਉ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਤਿਤਿ ਢਾਲਿ ॥ ਘੜੀਐ ਸਬਦੁ ਸਚੀ ਟਕਸਾਲਿ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਨਦਰੀ ਨਦਿਰ ਨਿਹਾਲ ॥
ਜਿਨ ਕਉ ਨਦਿਰ ਕਰਮੁ ਤਿਨ ਕਾਰ ॥

In the smithy of self-control with the patience of a goldsmith, make intellect the anvil, knowledge the hammer, dedication the bellows and hard work the heat of fire. In the crucible of love mould God/Truth-consciousness, which is the true mint to construct truthful thoughts. Those are blessed whose actions are guided by God/Truth-consciousness. O Nanak, this is the way the Merciful one grants bliss. (Using metaphors Guru Nanak emphasizes self-discipline, intellect and knowledge in arriving at the Truth).

AGGS, Jap 38, p. 8

ਵਾਜਾ ਮਤਿ ਪਖਾਵਜੁ ਭਾਉ ॥ ਹੋਇ ਅਨੰਦੁ ਸਦਾ ਮਨਿ ਚਾਉ ॥

Make intellect the *vaaja* (harmonium, musical instrument) and love the drum. Playing this music

will produce bliss and lasting pleasure in your mind.

AGGS, M 1, p. 350.

ਪਹਿਲਾ ਵਸਤੁ ਸਿਵਾਣਿ ਕੈ ਤਾ ਕੀਚੈ ਵਾਪਾਰੁ॥

First evaluate the goods, then buy (first evaluate an idea or philosophy before accepting it).

AGGS, M 1, p. 1410.

ਬੂਝੈ ਬੂਝਨਹਾਰੁ ਬਿਬੇਕ॥

One who applies discerning intellect understands the subject in its real perspective.

AGGS, M 5, p. 285.

ਸੋ ਧਨਵੰਤਾ ਜਿਸੁ ਬੁਧਿ ਬਿਬੇਕ॥

One who is endowed with discerning intellect is indeed a wealthy person.

AGGS, M 5, p. 1150.

ਸਤਿਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੈਸੀ ਜਾਣੀਐ ॥ ਜਿਥੈ ਏਕੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਖਾਣੀਐ ॥

What constitutes a society (*satsangat*) of saints/enlightened beings? There is *Satsangat* where is deliberation/contemplation on the True One.

AGGS, M 1, p. 72.

ਸਭਸੈ ਉਪਰਿ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੁ ਬੀਚਾਰ॥

Deliberation and discussion on Guru's teaching/Truth is the utmost objective for a Sikh (learner of Truth).

AGGS, M 1, p. 1410.

ਸੇਵਾ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਰਹਿਤੁ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵਾ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਬੀਚਾਰਾ ॥

ਖੋਜੀ ਉਪਜੈ ਬਾਦੀ ਬਿਨਸੈ ਹਉ ਬਲਿ ਬਲਿ ਗੁਰ ਕਰਤਾਰਾ॥

I focus my mind on the excellences of the Creator (Cosmic Law) and deliberate on them with enlightened beings (God-centered beings/*gurmukhs*). A researcher makes advancement/progress, while the one who indulges in polemics (useless discussion) is wasted. I am awed by the Creator (CoSmic Law), the Enlightener.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1255.

ਜਬ ਲਗੁ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਰਹੀਐ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਿਛੁ ਸੁਣੀਐ ਕਿਛੁ ਕਹੀਐ ॥

“Do not live a life of isolation; interact with others. Keep learning from others and teaching others as long as there is a breath of life,” says Nanak.

AGGS, M 1, p. 661.

ਮੰਦਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਨ ਆਖੀਐ ਪਤਿ ਅਖਰੁ ਏਹੋ ਬੁਝੀਐ ॥ ਮੂਰਖੈ ਨਾਲਿ ਨ ਲੁਝੀਐ ॥

It is the wisdom of learning/education that teaches not to denigrate anyone or debate with the ignorant.

AGGS, M 1, p. 473.

ਪਉਣ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨੀ ਕਾ ਬੰਧਨੁ ਕਾਇਆ ਕੋਟੁ ਰਚਾਇਦਾ ॥

ਨਉ ਘਰ ਥਾਪੇ ਥਾਪਣਹਾਰੈ ॥

ਦਸਵੈ ਵਾਸਾ ਅਲਖ ਅਪਾਰੈ ॥

The body-fort is built with nine gates (mouth, two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, sexual organ and anal canal) and is maintained with water, air and energy (food). However, the approach to the infinite and invisible God/Truth is through the tenth gate, the brain.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1036.

Brain controls the physical, chemical, biological and electrical functions of the body. And it processes and interprets the information gathered by the five senses. It is also the site of consciousness that generates thoughts, emotions, feelings, ideas, perceptions and stores knowledge and memories gathered through life experiences. Further, there is a faculty in the brain, which distinguishes between true and false, right and wrong, good and bad, and logic and illogic. Guru Nanak calls it *Dasam Duar* (ਦਸਮ ਦੁਆਰ).

He glorified and sang the praises of the "One and Only" Entity (God/Truth) by proclaiming that It is accessible (understandable) to all seekers of "Truth" irrespective of their creed, caste, gender, color, ethnicity and geographical consideration. He did not assign any specific gender or name to the Entity; he called It: *Gur* (Enlightener), *Satgur* (true Enlightener or Eternal), *Nirankar* (without material content), *Alakh* (Invisible), *Kartar* (Creator) and *Sach* (Truth). And he used the prevalent Islamic names for Allah and a number of those used by the Hindus for their respective deities without any distinction along with adding and addressing new names of his own. Besides, most often in the AGGS, the Entity is described by Its attributes like -- Almighty, Supreme Being, Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Infinite, Ineffable, Great, Merciful, Loving, Forgiving, Bounteous, Protector, Emancipator, Master, King, True King, Husband, Lover, *Sabad* (Knowledge/Truth), *Naam* (attributes of God) or simply as True One, One or You or *Oh* meaning That or He/She. The opening verse of AGGS, gives some of the attributes of the "One and Only" Entity that constitute the foundation (creedal statement) of Nanakian philosophy (gurmat):

ੴ ਸਤਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

That One and Only (*IkOoh*) -- known (*Naam*) as Truth (*Sat*), Creator (*Karta*), Omnipresent (*Purkh*), Sovereign and Self-Sufficient/Self-Sustaining (*Nirbhau*), without enmity and non-retributive (*Nirvair*), Timeless Being/Deathless Being (*Akal Moorat*), does not incarnate /beyond birth and death (*Ajuni*), Self-Created/Eternal (*Saibhan*), Enlightener (*Gur*) and Bounteous and Sustainer (*Parsad*).

AGGS, Opening Verse, p. 1.

“ੴ” is a special symbol for the “One and Only” Entity that is infinite, ineffable and unfathomable – beyond human comprehension in totality. It is noteworthy that Guru Nanak used numeral 1 (1) instead of writing one in script as ਇੱਕ (*Ik*) to emphasise the “oneness” of God and Its creation.

Besides, in the AGGS the word *nirgun* (inrgun/inrgux) means invisible or virtue-less person, not God without attributes.

Appendix B

Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*) rejects karma and reincarnation as it is life-affirming and revolutionary (egalitarian socially and plebian politically). It urges humans to rise above animal level to become *gurmukhs* (moral enlightened beings) and stresses the freedom of action and responsibility for the consequences.

ਅਕਲਿ ਇਹ ਨ ਆਖੀਐ ਅਕਲਿ ਗਵਾਈਐ ਬਾਦੁ ॥ ਅਕਲੀ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸੇਵੀਐ ਅਕਲੀ ਪਾਈਐ ਮਾਨੁ ॥
ਅਕਲੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਕੈ ਬੁਝੀਐ ਅਕਲੀ ਕੀਚੈ ਦਾਨੁ ॥ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਆਖੈ ਰਾਹੁ ਏਹੁ ਹੋਰਿ ਗਲਾਂ ਸੈਤਾਨੁ ॥

Wisdom is not which is wasted in futile arguments. Use wisdom and reason in the service of God and practice of charity. Learn by intelligent reading and earn respect by exercising wisdom. Says Nanak, this is the right path while other things (failure to apply discerning intellect) lead to wickedness.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1245.

ਇਕਨਾ ਸੁਧਿ ਨ ਬੁਧਿ ਨ ਅਕਲਿ ਸਰ ਅਖਰ ਕਾ ਭੇਉ ਨ ਲਹੰਤਿ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸੇ ਨਰ ਅਸਲਿ ਖਰ ਜਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਣ ਗਰੁਬ ਕਰੰਤਿ ॥

Those who lack commonsense, intelligence and discerning intellect can't understand the Word (*Hukam/ Cosmic Law*). Nanak, those are real donkeys/stupid, who have no virtues but are filled with egotistical pride.

AGGS, M I, p. 1246.

ਸਾ ਜਾਤਿ ਸਾ ਪਤਿ ਹੈ ਜੇਹੇ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਏ ॥

It is one's deeds that determine one's social status and honor.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1330.

ਜੈਸਾ ਕਰੇ ਸੁ ਤੈਸਾ ਪਾਵੈ ॥ ਆਪਿ ਬੀਜਿ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਖਾਵੈ ॥

One earns what one does and one reaps what one plants.

AGGS, M 1, p. 662.

ਦਿਨੁ ਰੈਨਿ ਅਪਨਾ ਕੀਆ ਪਾਈ ॥ ਕਿਸੁ ਦੋਸ ਨ ਦੀਜੈ ਕਿਰਤੁ ਭਵਾਈ ॥

We earn what we do day and night. Why blame others, it is our own doings that lead us astray.

AGGS, M 5, p. 745.

Moreover, AGGS challenges the validity of the Brahmanical view of karma by asking who created the law of karma or how did the first being inherit it?

ਜਬ ਅਕਾਰੁ ਇਹੁ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਦ੍ਰਿਸਟੇਤਾ ॥ ਪਾਪ ਪੁੰਨ ਤਬ ਕਹ ਤੇ ਹੋਤਾ ॥ ਜਬ ਧਾਰੀ ਆਪਨ ਸੁੰਨ ਸਮਾਧਿ ॥
ਤਬ ਬੈਰ ਬਿਰੋਧ ਕਿਸ ਸੰਗ ਕਮਾਤਿ ॥ ਜਬ ਇਸ ਕਾ ਬਰਨੁ ਚਿਹਨੁ ਨ ਜਾਪਤ ॥ ਤਬ ਹਰਖ ਸੋਗ ਕਹੁ ਕਿਸਹਿ ਬਿਆਪਤ ॥
ਜਬ ਆਪਨ ਆਪ ਆਪਿ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ॥ ਤਬ ਮੋਹ ਕਹਾ ਕਿਸੁ ਹੋਵਤ ਭਰਮ ॥ ਆਪਨ ਖੇਲੁ ਆਪਿ ਵਰਤੀਜਾ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਕਰਨੈਹਾਰੁ ਨੂ ਦੁਜਾ ॥

When there was no visible world (before Cosmos came into being/existence) then who was doing

good or bad deeds? When God was in action-less state [*sun-samadh* ((suMn smwiD))] then who was directing enmity or hostility against whom? When God was un-manifest then who was happy and who was sorrowful? When God was alone Itself (un-manifest form) then who was attached to whom and who was suffering from illusions/doubts? It is God Who manifested Itself as the Cosmos and set in motion the game of creation and destruction (birth and death and pain and pleasure as part of life). Nanak, God (Hukam/Cosmic Law) alone is the doer, not anyone else. AGGS, M 5, p. 290-91.

ਜਬ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਸੀਓ ਤਬ ਕਿਆ ਕਰਤਾ ਕਵਨ ਕਰਮ ਕਰਿ ਆਇਆ॥
ਅਪਨਾ ਖੇਲੁ ਆਪਿ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਖੈ ਠਾਕੁਰਿ ਰਚਨੁ ਰਚਾਇਆ॥

When there was no visible world (creation), then what deeds were done or who created karma initially? The reality is that it is *Hukam*/Cosmic Law which created the world. Creation and destruction is function of the *Hukam*.

AGGS, M, 5, p. 748.

ਪੰਚ ਤਤੁ ਮਿਲਿ ਕਾਇਆ ਕੀਨੀ ਤਤੁ ਕਹਾ ਤੇ ਕੀਨੁ ਰੇ॥
ਕਰਮ ਬਧ ਤੁਮ ਜੀਉ ਕਹਿਤ ਹੋ ਕਰਮਹਿ ਕਿਨਿ ਜੀਉ ਦੀਨ ਰੇ॥

You (Brahman) say that the body is made of five elements, but from where were the elements created? You say that the law of karma determines man's fate, but who created the law of karma? AGGS, Kabir, p. 870.

ਮਾਇ ਨ ਹੋਤੀ ਬਾਪੁ ਨ ਹੋਤਾ ਕਰਮੁ ਨ ਹੋਤੀ ਕਾਇਆ ॥
ਹਮ ਨਹੀ ਹੋਤੇ ਤੁਮ ਨਹੀ ਹੋਤੇ ਕਵਨੁ ਕਹਾ ਤੇ ਆਇਆ॥
ਸਾਸਤੁ ਨ ਹੋਤਾ ਬੇਦ ਨਾ ਹੋਤਾ ਕਰਮੁ ਕਹਾ ਤੇ ਆਇਆ॥

When there was neither mother, nor father, nor body, nor deeds, or when neither I was there, nor you were there, then who knows what came from where? When there was no Veda or *Shastra*, there was no karma? Then how did the karma originate?

AGGS, Namdev, p. 973.

Furthermore, *Gurmat* rejects the concept of past or future life when it lays utmost stress on the present life with a clear warning that this is the only opportunity to realize God/Truth:

ਸੁਣਿ ਮਨ ਮਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਮਿਲ ਵੇਲਾ ਹੈ ਇਹ॥ ਜਬ ਲਗੁ ਜੋਬਨਿ ਸਾਸੁ ਹੈ ਤਬ ਲਗ ਇਹ ਤਨ ਦਿਹ॥

O' my mind, my dear friend, listen; this is the only time for you to meet God (realize Truth). Moreover, this opportunity will last only as long as the body is healthy and full of vitality.

AGGS, M 1, p. 20.

Here Guru Nanak emphasizes that healthy mind is a must for the realization of God/ Truth.

ਮਤੁ ਕੋ ਜਾਣੈ ਜਾਇ ਅਗੈ ਪਾਇਸੀ ॥ ਜੇਹੇ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਇ ਤੇਹਾ ਹੋਇਸੀ ॥

One must not think that the benefit of deeds done here will be rewarded in the next life. It is here in this life that one reaps what one sows.

AGGS, M 1, pp. 729-730.

ਭਈ ਪਰਾਪਤਿ ਮਾਨੁਖ ਦੇਹੁਰੀਆ॥ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਮਿਲਣ ਕੀ ਇਹ ਤੇਰੀ ਬਰੀਐ॥

Being born as a human is a blessing as this is your only chance to meet God (realize Truth).
AGGS, M, 5, p. 378.

ਆਗਾਹਾ ਕੂ ਤ੍ਰਾਪਿ ਪਿਛਾ ਫੇਰਿ ਨਾ ਮੁਹਡਤਾ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਿਤਿ ਇਵੇਹਾ ਵਾਰ ਬਹੁਤਿ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੀ ਜਨਮਤਾ॥

Look ahead; don't look backwards. O Nanak, this is your only chance to realize God, because you won't be born again.

AGGS, M 5, p. 1096.

ਮਾਨਸ ਦੇਹ ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨਹ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਕਛੂ ਉਪਾਉ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਾ ਕਰੁ ਰੇ॥

ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹਤੁ ਗਾਇ ਕਰੁਨਾਮੈ ਭਵਸਾਗਰ ਕੈ ਪਾਰਿ ਉਤਰੁ ਰੇ॥

“You shall not obtain this human body again, so make some efforts to achieve liberation (realization of Truth) right now. Praising the Merciful One will take you across the ocean of worldly temptations,” says Nanak.

AGGS, M 9, p. 220.

ਮਿਲੁ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਮਿਲਨ ਕੀ ਬਰੀਆ॥ ਚਿਰੰਕਾਲ ਇਹ ਦੇਹ ਸੰਜਰੀਆ॥

This is your chance to meet the Lord of the universe (God/Truth), meet It. It took a very long time for the human body to evolve.

AGGS, M 5, p. 176.

Further, *Gurmat* rejects both the Hindu and the Semitic concepts of soul and salvation.

ਦੇਹੀ ਮਾਟੀ ਬੋਲੈ ਪਉਣੁ॥ ਬੁਝੁ ਰੇ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਮੂਆ ਹੈ ਕਉਣੁ॥

ਮੂਈ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਬਾਦੁ ਅਹੰਕਾਰੁ॥ ਓਹ ਨ ਮੂਆ ਜੋ ਦੇਖਣਹਾਰੁ॥

The body is made of earth (various elements) and it is the air (breath) that keeps it alive. O' wise one, then tell me who died because the body and the air it breathed are still here? It is “consciousness” that died along with disputes caused by egotistical pride, but the One (*Hukam/Cosmic Law*) Who takes care of all does not die.

AGGS, M 1, p. 152.

The meaning of the four pithy verses becomes abundantly clear when we consider that God is manifest both as Cosmos and un-manifest as omnipresent *Hukam/Cosmic Law*. Death of the body affects only the manifest form of God - the matter (elements) that constitutes the body. The matter goes back to earth and is recycled to create new life. The Omnipresent One (*Hukam/Cosmic Law*), which operates in all living beings and pervades everywhere is everlasting and immutable. It is remarkable that Guru Nanak defines physical death as the loss of consciousness, which is similar to the modern understanding of death, medically speaking. Cosmos is the manifest form of God, which is continuously changing, but it does not change in Its total content.

Guru Arjan elaborates on this issue further. In the AGGS *ghumar* (potter), *bhanda* (pot) and *miti* (clay, earth) are used metaphorically for the Creator, being and the material that makes the being, respectively:

ਪਵਨੈ ਮਹਿ ਪਵਨੁ ਸਮਾਇਆ ॥ ਜੋਤੀ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਰਲਿ ਜਾਇਆ ॥ ਮਾਟੀ ਮਾਟੀ ਹੋਈ ਏਕ ॥ ਰੋਵਨਹਾਰੇ ਕੀ ਕਵਨ ਟੇਕ ॥
ਕਉਨੁ ਮੂਆ ਰੇ ਕਉਨੁ ਮੂਆ ॥ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਮਿਲਿ ਕਰਹੁ ਬੀਚਾਰਾ ਇਹੁ ਤਉ ਚਲਤੁ ਭਇਆ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥
ਅਗਲੀ ਕਿਛੁ ਖਬਰਿ ਨ ਪਾਈ ॥ ਰੋਵਨਹਾਰੁ ਭਿ ਉਠਿ ਸਿਧਾਈ ॥ ਭਰਮ ਮੋਹ ਕੇ ਬਾਂਧੇ ਬੰਧ ॥ ਸੁਪਨੁ ਭਇਆ ਭਖਲਾਏ ਅੰਧ ॥
ਇਹੁ ਤਉ ਰਚਨੁ ਰਚਿਆ ਕਰਤਾਰਿ ॥ ਆਵਤ ਜਾਵਤ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਅਪਾਰਿ ॥ ਨਹ ਕੋ ਮੂਆ ਨ ਮਰਣੈ ਜੋਗੁ ॥
ਨਹ ਬਿਨਸੈ ਅਬਿਨਾਸੀ ਹੋਗੁ ॥ ਜੋ ਇਹੁ ਜਾਣਹੁ ਸੋ ਇਹੁ ਨਾਹਿ ॥ ਜਾਨਣਹਾਰੇ ਕਉ ਬਲਿ ਜਾਉ ॥
ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰਿ ਭਰਮੁ ਚੁਕਾਇਆ ॥ ਨਾ ਕੋਈ ਮਰੈ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਜਾਇਆ ॥

After death air [breath] merges into air, light merges into light (consciousness is lost when *Hukam* stops operating in the body) and the earth (lifeless body) becomes one with earth. What support is there for the one who cries over this loss? Who has died? O' who has died? O' enlightened beings get-together and ponder over this question. This is indeed a puzzle! Pause. Without any information about what happened to the dead, the one who was crying also dies. The ignorant fools shackled by doubts and attachments babble about death as if dreaming. This world is the creation/Cosmos of the Creator (*Hukam/Cosmic Law*). Coming (birth) and going (death) is controlled by the infinite *Hukam*. No one dies as no one is capable of dying. The Eternal One does not perish. What people think/talk about death is not what actually happens after death. I am awestruck by the one who understands this reality. Says Nanak, the Guru has dispelled my doubts. No one dies or no one comes and goes.

AGGS, M 5, p. 885.

ਕਥਾ ਕਹਾਣੀ ਬੇਦੀ ਆਣੀ ਪਾਪੁ ਪੁੰਨੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥
ਦੇ ਦੇ ਲੇਣਾ ਲੈ ਲੈ ਦੇਣਾ ਨਰਕਿ ਸੁਰਗਿ ਅਵਤਾਰ ॥
ਉਤਮ ਮਧਿਮ ਜਾਤੀ ਜਿਨਸੀ ਭਰਿਮ ਭਵੈ ਸੰਸਾਰੁ ॥

It is the teachings of Vedas, which has created the concepts of sin and virtue, hell and heaven, and karma and transmigration: One reaps the reward in the next life for the deeds performed in this life and goes to hell or heaven according to one's deeds. The Vedas have also created the fallacy of inequality of caste and gender for the world.

AGGS, M 2, p. 1243.

ਰਾਜੁ ਨ ਚਾਹਉ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਚਾਹਉ ਮਨ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਚਰਨ ਕਮਲਾਰੇ॥ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਮਹੇਸ ਸਿਧਿ ਮੁਨਿ ਇੰਦ੍ਰ ਮੋਹਿ ਠਾਕੁਰ ਹੀ ਦਰਸਾਰੇ॥

I don't crave for worldly kingdom or salvation (going to heaven); I crave for the comfort of God's beautiful lotus feet (meditation on God's excellences /Truth). Whereas others search for *Brahma, Shiva, sidhas, munis* and *Indra* (Hindu deities), I yearn for the glimpse of the Master/Truth.

AGGS, M 5, p. 534.

ਸੁਰਗ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਬੈਕੁੰਠ ਸਭਿ ਬਾਂਛਹਿ ਨਿਤਿ ਆਸਾ ਆਸ ਕਰੀਜੈ॥
ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੇ ਜਨ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਮਾਂਗਹਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਦਰਸਨ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤਿ ਮਨੁ ਧੀਜੈ॥

All yearn for the pleasure of heaven through salvation (*mukti*) and continuously place their hopes

in them. But the devotees, who long for vision of God, do not ask for salvation, as they are satisfied having the vision of the Beloved (realization of Truth).
AGGS, M 4, p. 1324.

Here Guru Ram Das emphasizes that the objective of life for a Sikh (seeker of Truth) is truthful living.

Divine Benevolence

Unlike other religious traditions, God described in the Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS) is without enmity and non-retributive. Further, it is described again and again as merciful, kind, loving, forgiving, and generous and enlightener. Divine benevolence is manifest in God's creation, the Cosmos. The very act of creation is Divine benevolence. Being born as a human being is an act of benevolence as the Creator has endowed mankind with superior intellect, critical thinking/discerning intelligence and conscience. The sum total of one's capabilities/talents constitutes Divine benevolence in *Gurmat*. In the AGGS Divine benevolence is expressed by words like, *kirpa*, *parsaad*, *daya* (Punjabi) and *karam*, *taras*, *mehar*, *baksheesh/bakhsheesh*, *rahim* and *rahmit* (Persian/Arabic) and these words mean: benevolence, kindness, mercy, pity, favor, compassion, clemency, sympathy, boon, blessing, gift, grant, donation and forgiveness. Regrettably, in English literature on Sikhism, Divine benevolence has been translated or interpreted in the context of Biblical grace which has led to confusion, misinterpretation and distortion of its proper meaning in Nanakian philosophy:

ਆਸਣੁ ਲੋਇ ਲੋਇ ਭੰਡਾਰ ॥
ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਸੁ ਏਕਾ ਵਾਰ ॥

The Creator (Cosmic Law) has established storehouses in every habitat to take care of all. Whatever sustenance was required was put there once for all.
AGGS, Jap 31, p. 7.

ਸਾਚਾ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸਾਚੁ ਨਾਇ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਭਾਉ ਅਪਾਰੁ॥
ਆਖਹਿ ਮੰਗਹਿ ਦੇਹਿ ਦੇਹਿ ਦਾਤਿ ਕਰੇ ਦਾਤਾਰੁ॥

True is the Master (Cosmic Law), true is Its justice, love is Its language and It is infinite. People pray and beg, "give us, give us"; the Great Giver (Cosmic Law) keeps giving.
AGGS, Jap 4, p. 2.

ਦੇਦਾ ਦੇ ਲੈਦੇ ਥਕਿ ਪਾਹਿ॥
ਜੁਗਾ ਜੁਗੰਤਰਿ ਖਾਹੀ ਖਾਹਿ॥

The Great Giver (Bounteous) keeps giving and the recipients get weary of receiving. Throughout the ages they subsist on Its bounties.
AGGS, Jap 3, p. 2.

ਮਿਠਬੋਲਤਾ ਜੀ ਹਰਿ ਸਜਣੁ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਮੇਰਾ ॥
ਹਉ ਸੰਮਲਿ ਥਕੀ ਜੀ ਓਹੁ ਕਦੇ ਨ ਬੋਲੈ ਕਉਰਾ ॥
ਕਉਤਾ ਬੋਲਿ ਨ ਜਾਨੈ ਪੂਰਨ ਭਗਵਾਨੈ ਅਉਗਣੁ ਕੋ ਨ ਚਿਤਾਰੇ ॥
ਪਤਿਤ ਪਾਵਨੁ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਰਦੁ ਸਦਾਏ ਇਕੁ ਤਿਲੁ ਨਹੀ ਭੰਨੈ ਘਾਲੇ ॥
ਘਟ ਘਟ ਵਾਸੀ ਸਰਬ ਨਿਵਾਸੀ ਨੇਰੇ ਹੀ ਤੇ ਨੇਰਾ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਸੁ ਸਦਾ ਸਰਣਾਗਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਸਜਣੁ ਮੇਰਾ ॥

My beloved Master, my dear friend speaks so sweetly. I got tired of recalling if It ever spoke to me harshly.

It does not know any bitter words. The perfect Master does not even consider my faults. This is Its natural way of transforming bad people into good people and It does not overlook even a tiny bit of one's sincere effort/honest hard work. It dwells in each and every heart and everywhere and It is nearest of the near to every one. Nanak, the devotee seeks the sanctuary of the beloved Master forever as It is eternal.

AGGS, M 5, p. 784.

ਸਰਬ ਜੀਆ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਪਾਲਦਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਜਿੰਦੁਤੀਏ ਜਿਉ ਬਾਲਕ ਪਿਤ ਮਾਤਾ ਰਾਮ ॥

O' my mind, the Protector treats all as father and mother treat their children.

AGGS, M 5, p. 541.

ਸਦ ਬਖਸਿੰਦੁ ਸਦਾ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨਾ ਸਭਨਾ ਦੇਇ ਅਧਾਰੀ ॥

You are always forgiving and merciful, and support and sustain all.

AGGS, M 5, p. 713.

ਨਾਨਕ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਭੇਟਿਐ ਪੂਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਜੁਗਤਿ ॥

ਹਸੰਦਿਆ ਖੇਲੰਦਿਆ ਪੈਨੁੰਦਿਆ ਖਾਵੰਦਿਆ ਵਿਚੇ ਹੋਵੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ॥

O' Nanak, when one meets the true Guru one learns the proper discipline to realize God/Truth. One is liberated (from ignorance and falsehood) while enjoying worldly pleasures and comforts (laughing, playing, eating good food and wearing good clothes).

AGGS, M 5, p. 522.

ਕਰਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਕਰਣੀ ਕਰਿ ਪਾਈ ॥

ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਤੀ ਤਿਨਿ ਕੀਮਤਿ ਪਾਈ ॥

The Creator created the system which awards people according to their deeds, but only the Creator knows how it is accomplished.

AGGS, M 1, p. 932.

ਅਵਰ ਜੋਨਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਪਨਿਹਾਰੀ ॥

ਇਸੁ ਧਰਤੀ ਮਹਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਕਦਾਰੀ ॥

Other species are at your (human) service and you are their commander on this earth.

AGGS, M 5, p. 374.

ਇਸੁ ਪਾਨੀ ਤੇ ਜਿਨਿ ਤੂ ਘਰਿਆ ॥

ਮਾਟੀ ਕਾ ਲੇ ਦੇਹੁਰਾ ਕਰਿਆ ॥

ਉਕਤਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਲੈ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਪਰੀਖਿਆ ॥

ਮਾਤ ਗਰਭ ਮਹਿ ਜਿਨਿ ਤੂ ਰੀਖਿਆ ॥

Remember the One Who (Cosmic Law) fashioned you out of water (father's semen and mother's egg), constructed your body from the earthly elements and endowed it with life, wisdom and discerning intellect.

AGGS, M 5, p. 913.

According to the modern understanding of the evolution of life, life evolved in water. Finally, in the AGGS God is described as *Gur* (Enlightener), *Kartar* (Creator/Cosmic Law), *Sach* (Truth), Merciful, Loving, Forgiving, Bounteous, Benevolent, Cherisher, Sustainer, Protector, Emancipator, Husband, Lover, Father, Mother, Brother, Relative and Friend. So what more one could ask from God? A *gurmukh* (God-centered being/moral enlightened being) is not distracted by worldly temptations and rejoices by adoring the greatness and generosity of God (Cosmic Law):

ਰਾਜੁ ਨ ਚਾਹਉ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਚਾਹਉ ਮਨ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਚਰਨ ਕਮਲਾਰੇ॥

bRhm mhys isiD muin ieMdRw moih Twkur hI drswry]

I don't long for worldly kingdom or salvation; I long for the comfort of God's beautiful lotus feet (meditation on God's excellences). Whereas others search for *Brahma*, *Shiv*, *Sidhas*, *munis* and *Indra* (Hindu deities), I yearn for the glimpse of the Master.

AGGS, M 5, p. 534.

From the foregoing discussion it is quite evident that the idea of Divine Benevolence in the AGGS is radically different from that of "Biblical Grace".

Appendix C

God in Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat) is radically different from the concept of God in other religious traditions. Cosmos is the manifest/visible form of God whereas *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) is Its un-manifest/invisible form that pervades throughout the Cosmos. It is *Hukam* that controls the Cosmos and its functions – creation/birth and destruction/death.

Guru Nanak uses the term *Sunn-Samadh* (ਸੁੰਨ ਸਮਾਧਿ) for the inactive/ action-less state of the Entity/God before the creation of the Cosmos. He proposes that *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) was inherent in the *Sunn* (ਸੁੰਨ) (Primordial Substance/God) from the very beginning. For endless eons there was darkness when the Entity/God was in an inactive state. And then at some moment according to the *Hukam* (Cosmic Law), the Cosmos came into being with the infusion of *Hukam* (Cosmic Law):

ਅਰਬਦ ਨਰਬਦ ਪ੍ਰਿਧੁਕਾਰਾ॥
ਧਰਣਿ ਨ ਗਗਨਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਅਪਾਰਾ॥
ਨਾ ਦਿਨੁ ਰੈਨਿ ਨ ਚੰਦੁ ਨ ਸੂਰਜੁ ਸੁੰਨ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਲਗਾਇਦਾ ॥

...

ਜਾ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਣਾ ਤਾ ਜਗਤੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਬਾਝੁ ਕਲਾ ਆਡਾਣੁ ਰਗਾਇਅਏ ॥

For endless eons there was darkness when the Entity/God was in inactive state ((ਸੁੰਨ ਸਮਾਧਿ). Neither was there Earth or sky nor day or night nor moon or sun, nor the infinite *Hukam* in operation. ... Then at some moment the Cosmos came into being according to *Bhava* (*Hukam/Cosmic Law*) without any visible support upholding the vast expanse. AGGS, M 1, p. 1035.

The Cosmos sprang from a single command of the *Hukam/Cosmic Law*:

ਕੀਤਾ ਪਸਾਉ ਏਕੋ ਕਵਾਉ ॥

The Cosmos sprang from a single act of *Hukam/Cosmic Law* generating innumerable currents of creation.

AGGS, M 1, Jap 16, p. 3.

Cosmos is the manifest/visible form of the God whereas *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) is Its un-manifest/invisible form that pervades throughout the Cosmos. Guru Nanak has explained this dual nature of God in the following hymn and other places:

ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਨੈਨ ਨਨ ਨੈਨ ਹੈ ਤੋਹਿ ਕਉ ਸਹਸ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਨਾ ਏਕ ਤੋਹੀ ॥
ਸਹਸ ਪਦ ਬਿਮਲ ਨਨ ਏਕ ਪਦ ਗੰਧ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਗੰਧ ਇਵ ਚਲਤ ਮੋਹੀ ॥

You have thousands of eyes, and yet You are without eyes. You have thousands of faces, and yet You are without a face. You have thousands of feet, and yet You are without feet. You have thousands noses, and yet you are without a nose.
AGGS, M 1, p. 663.

Furthermore, in the beginning of Jap (Japji), on the opening page of AGGS, Guru Nanak equates God with eternal Truth (*Sach*). Then in the first stanza of Jap on the same page he explains the purpose of human life by asking:

ਕਿਵ ਸਚਿਆਰਾ ਹੋਈਐ ਕਿਵ ਕੂੜੈ ਤੁਟੈ ਪਾਲਿ॥

ਹੁਕਮਿ ਰਜਾਈ ਚਲਣਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਨਾਲਿ॥

“How could one becomes a *sachiara* (*gurmukh*/God-centered being/moral enlightened being) and how could one get rid of ignorance and falsehood?” “By living in harmony with *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) is the answer,” says Nanak. AGGS, Jap 1, p. 1.

ਚਾਲਹਿ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਰਜਾਈ ॥

A *gurmukh* follows the *Hukam* faithfully.
AGGS, M 1, p. 227.

ਤਾ ਕਉ ਬਿਘਨੁ ਨ ਲਾਗਈ ਚਾਲੈ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਰਜਾਈ ॥

One who follows the *Hukam* does not face obstacles (troubles).
AGGS, M 1, p. 421.

Hukam is an Arabic word and its Punjabi equivalent is *Bhana*. In the AGGS, *Hukam* means Cosmic Law, Guru’s teachings or temporal law. It is also interpreted as order, command, decree, mandate, permission and sanction. The compliance with *Hukam* is called *Rajaa*, which is also an Arabic word. *Hukam* is infinite and ineffable (incomprehensible in totality). It is immutable and it sustains and supports the Cosmos. Everything in the Cosmos is subject to *Hukam* and nothing is beyond it. Every action and reaction and happening occurs according to *Hukam*. It is ignorance of the *Hukam*, which makes people say that such a phenomenon or happening is a miracle.

ਹੁਕਮੀ ਹੋਵਨਿ ਆਕਾਰ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਨ ਕਹਿਆ ਜਾਈ ॥ ਹੁਕਮੀ ਹੋਵਨਿ ਜੀਅ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਮਿਲੈ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥

ਹੁਕਮੀ ਉਤਮੁ ਨੀਚੁ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਲਿਖਿ ਦੁਖ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਈਅਹਿ ॥ ਇਕਨਾ ਹੁਕਮੀ ਬਖਸੀਸ ਇਕਿ ਹੁਕਮੀ ਸਦਾ ਭਵਾਈਅਹਿ ॥

ਹੁਕਮੈ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਭੁ ਕੋ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਹੁਕਮੈ ਜੇ ਬੁਝੈ ਤ ਹਉਮੈ ਕਹੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥

Hukam/Cosmic Law creates the visible world (shapes/forms). *Hukam* is inexplicable (in totality). Life evolves and develops according to *Hukam*. Living beings develop higher and lower levels of consciousness and intelligence, and experience pain and pleasure according to *Hukam*. Some are liberated (illuminated) through the understanding of *Hukam* and some wander aimlessly forever due to ignorance of *Hukam*. Everything in the Cosmos is subject to *Hukam* and nothing is beyond it. Nanak, it is only when one comprehends the *Hukam* that one subdues one’s *Haumai* (self-centeredness).

AGGS, Jap 1, p. 1.

ਜੰਮਣੁ ਮਰਣਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੈ ਭਾਣੈ ਆਵੈ ਜਾਇ ॥

Hukam causes birth and death (creation and destruction) or birth and death occur according to *Bhana*.

AGGS, M 1, p. 472.

ਹੁਕਮੇ ਆਵੈ ਹੁਕਮੇ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਆਗੇ ਪਾਛੈ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਸਮਾਇ ॥

Hukam creates, *Hukam* destroys and *Hukam* pervades everywhere.

AGGS, M 1, p. 151.

ਨਾਨਕ ਆਪਿ ਕਰਾਏ ਕਰੇ ਆਪਿ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਸਵਾਰਣਹਾਰਾ ॥

Nanak, *Hukam* acts and causes others to act and It controls development/progress.

AGGS, M 1, p. 141.

One who does not understand the *Hukam/Cosmic Law* is ignorant to the utmost:

ਸੋ ਕਿਉ ਅੰਧਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਿ ਹੁਕਮਹੁ ਅੰਧਾਂ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਨ ਬੁਝਈ ਅੰਧਾਂ ਕਹੀਐ ਸੋਇ ॥

Why call a sightless person blind? Blind is the one who does not comprehend the *Hukam*.

AGGS, M 2, p. 954.

Instead of *Hukam*, Guru Nanak also used the words *bhai* (ਭੈ) which literally means fear. But here it is fear of the *Hukam* (Cosmic Law), meaning compliance with the *Hukam/Cosmic Law*. In other words every thing in the Cosmos is fearful (subject to) of the Cosmic Law:

ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਪਵਣੁ ਵਹੈ ਸਦਵਾਉ ॥ ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਚਲਹਿ ਲਖ ਦਰੀਆਉ ॥

ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਅਗਨਿ ਕਢੈ ਵੇਗਾਰਿ ॥ ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਧਰਤੀ ਦਬੀ ਭਾਰਿ ॥

ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਇੰਦੁ ਫਿਰੈ ਸਿਰ ਭਾਰਿ ॥ ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਰਾਜਾ ਧਰਮੁ ਦੁਆਰੁ ॥

ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਸੂਰਜੁ ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਚੰਦੁ ॥ ਕੋਹ ਕਰੋੜੀ ਚਲਤ ਨ ਅੰਤੁ ॥

Wind blows forever under the Fear. Innumerable rivers flow under the Fear (under the Command of Cosmic Law). Energy works under the Fear. Earth supports its weight in compact form under the Fear. Clouds move in the sky under the Fear. The mythical “judge of justice” (action and reaction) performs its duty under the Fear. Sun and moon travel tens of millions miles endlessly under the Fear.

AGGS, M 1, p. 464.

Additionally, expressions like *jo tis bhaavai* (ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ) or if it pleases God or God's Will mean according to *Hukam/Cosmic Law*.

Finally, “physical death” is the fate of all living beings as it is subject to *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) whereas “moral death” (moral degradation) is avoidable and that is the point that is emphasized in the AGGS again and again. *Gurmukh* remains unaffected by moral death whereas a *Manmukh* experiences it all his/her life. We should be afraid of moral death and not of physical death, and

we must strive to overcome moral death.

ਚਿੰਤਾ ਤਾ ਕੀ ਕੀਜੀਐ ਜੋ ਅਨਹੋਨੀ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਇਹੁ ਮਾਰਗੁ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਕੋ ਨਾਨਕ ਬਿਰੁ ਨਹੀ ਕੋਇ ॥
ਜੋ ਉਪਜਿਓ ਸੋ ਬਿਨਸਿ ਹੈ ਖਰੋ ਆਜੁ ਕੈ ਕਾਲਿ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਨ ਗਾਇ ਲੇ ਛਾਡਿ ਸਗਲ ਜੰਜਾਲ ॥

Worry about something that is unnatural. O' Nanak this is the mandate of (*Hukam/Cosmic Law*) that nothing is everlasting *in the world*. Whatever takes birth dies today or tomorrow? O Nanak, shun all worldly temptations with corrupting influences and contemplate on God/Truth.
AGGS, M 9, p. 1429.

Thus the purpose of life is to become a *gurmukh* (God-centered being, moral enlightened being) and to enlighten others.

Appendix D

Unity of Ideology in the Sikh Tradition

The Sikh revolution was not only an egalitarian social revolution; it was also a plebian political revolution as well. A successful revolution requires two essential elements: ideology/philosophy and a dedicated organization that promotes and promulgates it with vigor and zeal. If we examine the Sikh revolution from Guru Nanak (1496-1539) to Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708) from the perspective of ideology and organization, we find impeccable evidence for the unity of ideology within the AGGS and outside. Guru Nanak is both the founder of the ideology (Nanakian philosophy, *Gurmat*) and the organization, the Sikh Panth. Guru Nanak's successors nurtured the Sikh movement and enriched his philosophy through exposition, elaboration and amplification in their own *baani* (poetic composition) over a period of 169 years (1539-1708). Moreover, they strengthened the Sikh movement by introducing innovative practices from time to time to meet the threat from the Mughal rulers and the ever-pernicious caste ideology.

As discussed earlier Guru Nanak not only rejected old religious traditions but also radically altered the concept of God. For Guru Nanak, God is both the Cosmos and Cosmic Law (*Hukam*). To bring this Universal God that is infinite, unfathomable and incomprehensible (in totality) in the realm of human understanding, he equates It with Knowledge and Truth. It is on this aspect of God that he wants people to contemplate all the time (1). Further Guru Nanak attributes all his understanding and experience of the world to God (Knowledge and Truth). Cosmos the manifest (*sargun*) form of God is the laboratory for gathering knowledge for the understanding and testing of *Hukam* (Cosmic Law), the invisible (*nirgun*) form of God that pervades the Cosmos.

ਜੈਸੀ ਮੈ ਆਵੈ ਖਸਮ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਤੈਸਤਾ ਕਰੀ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ ॥

O Lalo, I describe to you the way I understand the Master (the working of Cosmos).
AGGS, M 1, p. 722.

ਗੁਰੁ ਦੇਵਾ ਗੁਰੁ ਅਲਖ ਅਭੇਵਾ ਤ੍ਰਿਭਵਣ ਸੋਝੀ ਗੁਰੁ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ॥

Guru (God) is Enlightener, Formless/Invisible and Mysterious (incomprehensible in totality).
One, who understands the Guru (God), comprehends the nature of the Cosmos.
AGGS, M 1, p. 1125.

ਅਪਰੰਪਰ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਪਰਮੇਸਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਸੋਈ ਜੀਉ ॥

Nanak met the Guru, Who is Infinite, Invisible (beyond the material world) and Supreme Being.
AGGS, M 1, p. 599.

ਆਦਿ ਗੁਰਦੇ ਨਮਹ ॥ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਗੁਰਦੇ ਨਮਹ ॥

I salute the Guru (God/Truth), Who is Primordial. I salute the Guru, Who is Primeval.
AGGS, M 5, p. 262.

ਤੇਰਾ ਕਵਣੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਤੂ ਚੇਲਾ॥ ,ਸਬਦੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਧੁਨਿ ਚੇਲਾ॥

“Who is your Guru or whose disciple you are of?” “The *Sabad* (Knowledge, Truth)) is my Guru and my mind which is focused on the *Sabad* and comprehends it, is the disciple,” is the answer. AGGS, M 1, p. 942.

Guru Arjan (fifth Nanak) reiterates the same with emphasis when he says:

ਪੋਥੀ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਕਾ ਥਾਨੁ ॥

The sacred text, *Pothi* (Aad Granth) is the abode of the Almighty (storehouse of knowledge for the understanding of God/Truth).

AGGS, M 5, p. 1226.

Both Guru Nanak and Guru Arjan make it abundantly clear that Guru is the *Sabad* (Knowledge, Truth), not the Guru person. Guru person is the medium for transmitting the Knowledge.

ਗਿਆਨ ਅੰਜਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦਿ ਪਛਾਨਿਆ ॥

Knowledge is *anjan* (Antimony that is supposed to sharpen one's vision) that made me see (understand) Guru's teachings.

AGGS, M 1, p. 221.

ਗੁਰ ਗਿਆਨ ਅੰਜਨੁ ਸਚੁ ਨੇੜੀ ਪਾਇਆ ॥ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਅਗਿਆਨੁ ਅਧੇਰੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ॥

I applied the *anjan* of Guru's teachings (Truth) to my eyes. It enlightened my mind by destroying the darkness of ignorance and falsehood.

AGGS, M 3, p. 124.

ਗਿਆਨ ਖੜਗੁ ਕਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਦੀਨਾ ਦੂਤ ਮਾਰੇ ਕਰਿ ਧਾਈ ਹੇ ॥

I have used the sword of knowledge to conquer the corrupting worldly influences.

AGGS, M 5, p. 1072.

Guru Nanak's successors, second to fifth and ninth wrote *baani* (sacred hymns of AGGS) under the signature of Nanak to affirm and emphasize the point that their message is the echo of Nanak's thoughts [*sixth, seventh, eighth and tenth did not compose baani of canonical status*]. Moreover, in some of their hymns they use the word (ਨਾਨਕੁ/ *Nanaku*) to emphasize that what they are saying is Nanak's voice. For example:

ਵਾਹੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਜੇਵਡੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥

It is marvelous that *Baani* (*Sabad*) is the voice of the Invisible One, nothing equals it.

AGGS, M 3, p. 515.

ਬਾਣੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੈ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਬਾਣੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਸਾਰੇ ॥

ਗੁਰੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਕਹੈ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਜਨੁ ਮਾਨੈ ਪਰਤਖਿ ਗੁਰੁ ਨਿਸਤਾਰੇ ॥

Baani is Guru and Guru is *Baani* as it is the elixir of spiritual life (Truth). Guru utters the *Baani*; the Sikh, who accepts it, certainly gets emancipation (from ignorance and falsehood).
AGGS, M 4, p. 982.

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਜਾਣਹੁ ਗੁਰਸਿਖਹੁ ॥, ਹਰਿ ਕਰਤਾ ਆਪਿ ਮੁਹਹੁ ਕਢਾਏ ॥

Dear Sikhs, consider the utterance of the true Guru as Truth, as it is the Creator (*Hukam*), Which makes the Guru utter it.
AGGS, M 4, p. 763.

ਹਉ ਆਪਹੁ ਬੋਲਿ ਨ ਜਾਣਦਾ ॥ ਮੈ ਕਹਿਆ ਸਭੁ ਹੁਕਮਾਉ ਜੀਉ ॥

I don't know what to say, I speak the way I understand the *Hukam* (Cosmic Law).
AGGS, M 5, p. 763.

ਤਿਨ ਕਉ ਕਿਆ ਉਪਦੇਸੀਐ ਜਿਨ ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਉ ॥

What teachings can be imparted to those who have been taught by Guru Nanak!
AGGS, M 2, p. 150.

ਭੈ ਕੇ ਚਰਣ ਕਰ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਲੋਇਣ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਕਰੇਇ ॥, ਨਾਨਕੁ ਕਹੈ ਸਿਆਣੀਏ ਇਵ ਕੰਤ ਮਿਲਾਵਾ ਹੋਇ ॥

Let fear of *Hukam* (Cosmic Law) be your feet, love for God/Truth be your hands and contemplation be your eyes. O wise bride (human being), Nanak says, this way you shall be one with the Husband (God).
AGGS, M 2, p. 139.

ਇਉ ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਮਨ ਤੂੰ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਰੂਪੁ ਹੈ ਆਪਣਾ ਮੂਲੁ ਪਛਾਣੁ ॥

O' my mind, says Nanak, "You are the embodiment of Primordial Light, recognize your root/origin."
AGGS, M 3, p. 441.

ਜਨੁ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਬੋਲੇ ਗੁਣ ਬਾਣੀ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਹਰਿਨਾਮਿ ਸਮਾਇਆ ॥

Nanak the person speaks of "goodness," as his words are the voice of God (Truth).
AGGS, M 4, p. 494.

ਬਲਿਓ ਚਰਾਗੁ ਅੰਧਾਰ ਮਹਿ ਸਭਿ ਕਲਿ ਉਧਰੀ ਇਕ ਨਾਮ ਧਰਮ ॥ ਪ੍ਰਗਟੁ ਸਗਲ ਹਰਿ ਭਵਨ ਮਹਿ ਜਨੁ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ॥

Nanak, the Guru has appeared in the world as light in darkness to dispel the ignorance of the world with the message of Truth that the Formless One pervades everywhere in the Cosmos.
AGGS, M 5, p. 1387.

ਭਗਤਿ ਭੰਡਾਰ ਗੁਰਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਉ ਸਉਪੇ ਫਿਰਿ ਲੇਖਾ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਲਇਆ ॥

God entrusted Guru Nanak with the treasure of "Love" for distribution to all, and never asked for the account.
AGGS, M 5, p. 612.

ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਜਿਨ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਪੇਖਿਆ ਸੇ ਫਿਰਿ ਗਰਭਾਸਿ ਨ ਪਰਿਆ ਰੇ ॥

Those who have heard and accepted Guru Nanak's teachings don't fall into the womb of "falsehood and ignorance".

AGGS, M 5, p. 612.

ਸਭ ਤੇ ਵਡਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਕਲ ਰਾਖੀ ਮੇਰੀ ॥

Nanak, the true Guru, is the greatest of all Gurus, whose teachings protect my honor.

AGGS, M 5, p. 750.

Further Bhai Satta and Bhai Balvand, whose baani was incorporated in the Aad Granth by Guru Arjan, assert that the Gurus were one and the same in spirit (thoughts). Eulogizing Guru Ram Das (fourth Guru) they say:

ਨਾਨਕੁ ਤੂ ਲਹਣਾ ਤੂ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੁ ਅਮਰੁ ਤੂ ਵੀਚਾਰਿਆ ॥

O' Guru Ram Das! you are Nanak, you are Angad, and you are Amar Das. In other words Guru Nanak and his successors were one in thought (ideology).

AGGS, Satta and Balvand, p. 968.

According to *Gubilas Patshahi* 6 [2], Guru Hargobind donned royal attire and two swords as symbol of spiritual and temporal sovereignty, and held congregation in a royal manner. In spite of this change in leadership style from his predecessors, his message was the same as that of Guru Nanak, and he advised his successor, Guru Har Rai to do the same.

ਜੋ ਸਿਖਿਯਾ ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਕੇਰੀ । ਸੋ ਦੀਨੀ ਸੁਖਸਿੰਧੁ ਘਨੇਰੀ ।

...

ਏ ਬਿਧਿ ਸਿਖਿਯਾ ਦਈ ਅਪਾਰ । ਗੁਰ ਹਰਿ ਰਾਇ ਹੀਏ ਸਭ ਧਾਰਿ ।

...

ਗੁਰਸਿਖਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੀਯੋ । ਏਕ ਟੇਕ ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਧਰੀਯੋ । ...

ਜੋ ਦਰਸਨੁ ਕਰਿ ਮੇਰਾ ਚਾਹੈ । ਹਰੀਰਾਇ ਗੁਰ ਦਰਸ ਉਮਾਹੈ ।

ਹਰੀਰਾਇ ਮਮ ਭੇਦ ਨ ਕੋਈ । ਜੋ ਇੱਛਾ ਕਰਿ ਪਾਵੈ ਸੋਈ ।

The teachings of Guru Nanak, is immensely blissful. ... Guru Har Rai was advised to imbibe this teaching in his heart. ... Accept only Guru Nanak's guidance and serve his Sikhs. ... Those who want my glimpse (guidance, advice) should seek Guru Har Rai enthusiastically. There is no difference between Har Rai and me. He would be your guide everywhere.

Gur Bilas Patshahi 6, Chapter 21, p. 796.

As described earlier, Bhai Gurdas also pointed out that the six Gurus from Nanak to Hargobind were one and the same in spirit (ideology).

ਪੰਜ ਪਿਆਲੇ ਪੰਜ ਪੀਰ ਛੁਟਮ ਪੀਰ ਬੈਠਾ ਗੁਰ ਭਾਰੀ॥ ਅਰਜਨ ਕਾਇਆ ਪਲਟ ਕੈ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਹਰਿਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਵਾਰੀ॥

In contrast to the first five Gurus, the sixth Guru, Hargobind Sahib (openly proclaimed spiritual and temporal sovereignty). However, his message (teachings) was the same as if his predecessor Guru Arjan was speaking through him.

Bahi Gurdas, *Var* 1(48), p. 19.

Quoting the author of *Dabistan* [1643-53] and Bhai Gurdas, J. S. Grewal refers to the firm belief of the Sikhs in the unity of Guruship (Unity of thought/ideology from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh).

The spirit of Guru Nanak entered the bodies of his successors – Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan. That is why each Guru was referred to as *mahal*: Guru Nanak as the first *mahal*, Guru Angad the second *mahal*, and in this way Guru Arjan as the fifth *mahal*. A Sikh who does not regard Guru Arjan as Baba Nanak is not a true Sikh. Indeed, Bhai Gurdas underscores the unity of Guruship from Guru Nanak to Guru Hargobind in one of his *Vars* [XIII (pauri 25)]. This is reiterated in another *Var* [XX (pauri 1&2)] in which the metaphors of light and water are used to emphasize that they are all the same [3].

The author of *Dabistan* also says that Guru Hargobind used the title of Nanak for himself [4].

Gradually each succeeding Guru impersonalized Guruship by bringing *Sabad/Baani* and the Panth (Sikh community) into parallel prominence with the personal Guru. Finally, in 1708 upholding Guru Nanak's proclamation that *Sabad/Bani* is the Guru, Guru Gobind Singh terminated personal Guruship and conferred Guruship jointly on the Granth (*Damdami Bir*, the final version of *Aad Granth*, *Dasven Patshah Da/Ka Granth*) and the Panth (corporate body of Sikhs).

The decision taken by Guru Gobind Singh did not abolish Guruship itself but personal Guruship. The position of the Guru was henceforth given to the Khalsa and to *Sabad-bani* as a logical development from Guru Nanak's decision to nominate a disciple as the Guru during his lifetime and his equation of the *Sabad* with the Guru. As a further logical development, the decision of Guru Gobind Singh crystallized into the twin doctrine of Guru-Panth and Guru-Granth [5].

Now let us examine the evolution of the "Sikh revolution" from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh. The objective of Nanakian philosophy was to create a society based on universal liberty, equality and justice by transforming people into a *gurmukhs*. Quick computer scan of AGGS revealed that the word *gurmukh* has been used 1572 times and it means God-centered being (moral enlightened-being) - one who has subdued *Haumai* (self-centeredness) and is free from the corrosive corrupting influence of five drives/instincts: *Kaam* (lust, sexual drive), *Kroadh* (anger), *Loabh* (covetousness, economic drive), *Moah* (attachment) and *Ahankar* (egotistical pride) that influence the psychology of human mind - thoughts and behavior [1]. Further, Guru Nanak emphasizes again and again that the primary objective of human life is to become a *gurmukh*, as the progress of human civilization is dependent on *gurmukhs*.

ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਲਾਹੀਐ ਹਉਮੈ ਨਿਵਰੀ ਭਾਹਿ ॥

Gurmukh extinguishes the fire of *Haumai* (self-centeredness)
by contemplating on God/Truth.

AGGS, M 1, p. 20.

ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਕੂੜੁ ਨ ਭਾਵਈ ਸਚਿ ਰਤੇ ਸਚ ਭਾਇ ॥

Gurmukh is not influenced by falsehood as he/she imbibes Truth and understands the *Hukam* (Cosmic Law).
AGGS, M 1, p. 22.

ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਵੈਰ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਗਵਾਵੈ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਗਲੀ ਗਣਤ ਮਿਟਾਵੈ ॥
Gurmukh is free from enmity and hostility. *Gurmukh* gets rid of ill will to all.
AGGS, M 1, p. 942.

ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਕਰਣੀ ਕਾਰ ਕਰਾਏ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਮੇਲਿ ਮਿਲਾਏ ॥
Gurmukh does good deeds and inspires others to do so. *Gurmukh* enlightens other by leading them on the path of God/Truth, says Nanak.
AGGS, M 1, p. 942.

ਪੰਚ ਦੂਤ ਮੁਹਿ ਸੰਸਾਰਾ ॥ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਅੰਧੇ ਸੁਧਿ ਨ ਸਾਰਾ ॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੁ ਆਪਣਾ ਘਰੁ ਰਾਖੈ ਪੰਚ ਦੂਤ ਸਬਦਿ ਪਚਾਵਣਿਆ ॥
The whole world is deceived/swindled by the “five drives/passions -- *Kaam* (lust, sexual drive), *Kroadh* (anger), *Loabh* (covetousness, economic drive), *Moah* (attachment) and *Ahankaar* (egotistical pride),” but the ignorant self-centered person (*manmukh*) does not understand this fact. On the other hand a *gurmukh* is free from the corrupting influence of the five [*Kaam* (lust, sexual drive), *Kroadh* (anger), *Loabh* (covetousness, economic drive), *Moah* (attachment) and *Ahankaar* (egotistical pride)], as he/she contemplates on the teachings of Guru (Truth).
AGGS, M 3, p. 113.

ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਧਰਤੀ ਸਾਚੈ ਸਾਜੀ ॥
The True One has fashioned the earth for the sake of *gurmukhs*. (In other words the progress of human society is dependent on the *gurmukhs*).
AGGS, M 1, p. 941.

Further Guru Nanak radically changed the meaning of warrior when he says that the real warrior is a *gurmukh*.

ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਮਨੇ ਸੋ ਸੂਰਾ ॥
Warrior is the one who follows Guru’s teachings (practices Truth).
AGGS, M1, p. 1023.

ਮਰਣੁ ਨ ਮੰਦਾ ਲੋਕਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਮਰਿ ਜਾਣੈ ।
ਮਰਣੁ ਮੁਣਸਾ ਸੂਰਿਆ ਹਕੁ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ ਮਰਨਿ ਪਰਵਾਣੈ ॥
ਸੂਰੇ ਸੇਈ ਆਰੈ ਆਖੀਅਹਿ ਦਰਗਾਹ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਸਾਚੀ ਮਾਣੈ । ।
O’ people, do not regard death as bad if it is the death (subduing) of *Haumai* (self-centeredness). It is justified to call a person a warrior/martyr who accepts such a death. Those are true warriors/martyrs, who pass the test of Truth.
AGGS, M 1, pp. 579-580.

ਨਾਨਕ ਸੇ ਸੁਰਾ ਵਰੀਆਮੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਦੁਸਟੁ ਅਹੰਕਰਣੁ ਮਾਰਿਆ ॥

O Nanak, one is a brave warrior who has conquered the corrupting influence of *Haumai*.
AGGS, M 3, p. 86.

As discussed earlier Guru Nanak not only rejected the contemporary world view of religion but also challenged the political, economic and social orders. He denounced the oppressive and bigoted Muslim rulers and their administrators while the Hindu elite were hand-in-hand with the oppressors [6, 7]. Beyond the confines of the Indian sub-continent, in Europe the custodians of Christianity invested despots with “divine rights,” and in the Muslim world, the ruler (*khalifa* or *caliph*) was regarded as the representative of Prophet Mohammad. Contrary to the norms, Nanak called for the establishment of rule of justice for all by declaring spiritual and temporal sovereignty. He proclaimed that the ultimate source of temporal power is God and it is the duty of a *gurmukh* (God-centered being/ moral enlightened being) to oppose tyranny, injustice and immorality:

ਰਾਜੇ ਸੀਹ ਮੁਕਦਮ ਕੁਤੇ॥ ਜਾਇ ਜਗਾਇਨਿ ਬੈਠੇ ਸੁਤੇ॥

ਚਾਕਰ ਨਹਦਾ ਪਾਇਨਿ ਘਾਉ ॥ ਰਤੁ ਪਿਤੁ ਕੁਤਿਹੋ ਚਟਿ ਜਾਹੁ॥

The rulers are like tigers/lions and their officials as dogs, who harass and persecute the innocent subjects. The claws of the dogs (government servants) inflict wounds on the public. The rulers suck the blood of the public through these dogs who lick the wounds.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1288.

ਮਾਣਸ ਖਾਣੇ ਕਰਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਜ ॥ ਫੁਰੀ ਵਗਾਇਨਿ ਤਿਨ ਗਲਿ ਤਾਗ ॥ ਤਿਨ ਘਰਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਣ ਪੂਰਹਿ ਨਾਦ ॥

The man-eaters (Muslim rulers) perform *Namaz* (formal Muslim prayer). The ones who carve out the flesh for them wear the sacred thread around their necks (Khatris). The Brahmans blow the conch in the homes of Khatris to sanctify their doings.

AGGS, M 1, p. 471.

ਅੰਧੀ ਰਯਤਿ ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਹੂਣੀ ਭਾਹਿ ਭਰੇ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ॥

The blind (ignorant) subjects are burning in the fire of official corruption.

AGGS, M 1, p. 468.

ਜੇ ਰਤੁ ਲਗੈ ਕਪੜੈ ਜਾਮਾ ਹੋਇ ਪਲੀਤੁ। ਜੋ ਰਤੁ ਪੀਵਹਿ ਮਾਣਸਾ ਤਿਨ ਕਿਉ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਚੀਤ।

If bloodstain defiles/pollutes the robe/garment then how could the conscience of those who drink human blood (exploit, persecute and murder people) be clean?

AGGS, M 1, p. 140.

ਰਾਜਾ ਨਿਆਉ ਕਰੇ ਹਥਿ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਨ ਮਾਨੈ ਕੋਇ ॥

Even the king does not accept the petition unless the petitioner bribes. If someone petitions only in the name of God (justice), nobody listens.

AGGS, M 1, p. 350.

ਰਾਜੇ ਧਰਮ ਕਰਹਿ ਪਥਰਾਇ ॥ ਆਸਾ ਬੰਧੇ ਦਾਨੁ ਕਰਾਇ ॥

The kings perform religious duties for selfish interests and practice charity for heavenly rewards.
AGGS, M 1, p. 1024.

Further he proclaimed the freedom of conscience and universal liberty, equality and justice by declaring allegiance only to God:

ਜੇ ਦੇਹੈ ਦੁਖੁ ਲਾਈਐ ਪਾਪ ਗਰਹ ਦੁਇ ਰਾਹੁ ॥ ਰਤੁ ਪੀਣੈ ਰਾਜੇ ਸਿਰੈ ਉਪਰਿ ਰਖੀਅਹਿ ਏਵੇ ਜਾਪੈ ਭਾਉ ॥
ਭੀ ਤੂੰ ਹੈ ਸਾਲਾਹਣਾ ਆਖਣ ਲਹੈ ਨ ਚਾਉ ॥

I will adore God even if I was to be afflicted with bodily pain under the influence of unlucky stars and I was to suffer under blood-sucking rulers. Even under such conditions my longing to adore God/Truth and sing Its praises would not diminish. (In other words, I will not waver from the path of Truth).

AGGS, M 1, p. 142.

ਤਿਸੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਰਾਜਾ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥

There is no other king, except God.

AGGS, M 1, p. 936.

ਏਕੋ ਤਖਤੁ ਏਕੋ ਪਾਤਸਾਹੁ ॥ ਸਰਬੀ ਥਾਈ ਵੇਪਰਵਾਹੁ ॥

There is one Throne and one Emperor, Whose authority is unchallenged everywhere.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1188.

ਤਖਤਿ ਬਹੈ ਤਖਤੈ ਕੀ ਲਾਇਕ ॥ ਪੰਚ ਸਮਾਏ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਪਾਇਕ ॥

Only a *Gurmukh* (God-centered being), who has control over lust, anger, greed, attachment and egotistical pride, deserves to occupy the throne.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1039.

ਤਖਤਿ ਰਾਜਾ ਸੇ ਬਹੈ ਜਿ ਤਖਤੈ ਲਾਇਕ ਹੋਈ ॥ ਜਿਨੀ ਸਚੁ ਪਛਾਣਿਆ ਸਚੁ ਰਾਜੇ ਸੇਈ ॥

ਏਹਿ ਭੂਪਤਿ ਰਾਜੇ ਨ ਆਖੀਅਹਿ ਦੂਜੈ ਭਾਇ ਦੁਖੁ ਹੋਈ ॥

He alone should sit on the throne, who is worthy of it. A true king is the one who has realized God/Truth. These mere rulers of the land are not kings as their minds are occupied by the corrupting influence of world.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1088.

Guru Nanak also pointed out that God's bounty is a commonwealth for all to share, but there is maldistribution due to *Haumai* (self-centeredness) that afflicts humankind. He denounced the exploitation of the masses by the elite (rulers, government official, clergy and the rich) and laid stress on honest work.

ਸਾਹੁਰਤੀ ਵਥੁ ਸਭੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਸਾਝੀ ਪੇਵਕਤੈ ਧਨ ਵਖੇ ॥ ਆਪਿ ਕੁਚਜੀ ਦੋਸੁ ਨ ਦੇਉ ਜਾਣਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਰਖੇ ॥

God's bounty belongs to all but it is maldistributed in the world due to *Haumai* (self-centeredness) and greed. Who is to blame? Humans are ill equipped to distribute it properly.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1171.

ਹਕੁ ਪਰਾਇਆ ਨਾਨਕਾ ਉਸੁ ਸੁਅਰੁ ਉਸੁ ਗਾਇ ॥ ਗੁਰ ਪੀਰੁ ਹਾਮਾ ਤਾ ਭਰੇ ਜਾ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ਨ ਖਾਇ ॥
ਗਲੀ ਭਿਸਤਿ ਨ ਜਾਈਐ ਛੁਟੈ ਸਚੁ ਕਮਾਇ ॥ ਮਾਰਣ ਪਾਹਿ ਹਰਾਮ ਮਹਿ ਹੋਇ ਹਲਾਲੁ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕੁ ਗਲੀ ਕੂੜੀਈ ਕੂੜੋ ਪਲੈ ਪਾਇ ॥

To violate or usurp someone's right or take away what rightfully belongs to another is like eating pork for a Muslim and beef for a Hindu. The spiritual guide (*gur pir*) would stand by only if the follower does not make unlawful living. Mere talk does not lead to paradise; salvation lies in right conduct. Adding spice to unlawfully earned food does not make it *Halal* (lawful). Nanak, falsehood begets only falsehood.

AGGS, M 1, p. 141.

ਕਾਦੀ ਕੂੜੁ ਬੋਲਿ ਮਲੁ ਖਾਇ॥ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ ਨਾਵੈ ਜੀਆ ਘਾਇ॥ ਜੋਗੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਨ ਜਾਣੈ ਅੰਧੁ॥
ਤੀਨੇ ਓਜਾੜੇ ਕਾ ਬੰਧੁ॥

Qazi (Muslim magistrate) tell lies and takes bribes (instead of being the guardian of justice). The Brahman priest takes life (exploits the ignorant parishioners and practices the inhuman caste system), but bathes ceremoniously. The blind yogi has lost his way in search of "tranquility" without knowing the Truth. The three are spiritually barren.

AGGS, M 1, p. 662.

ਇਸੁ ਜਰ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਘਣੀ ਵਿਗੁਤੀ ਇਨਿ ਜਰ ਘਣੀ ਖੁਆਈ ॥
ਪਾਪਾ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਮੁਇਆ ਸਾਥਿ ਨ ਜਾਈ ॥

For the sake of this wealth so many were ruined, and because of this wealth so many were disgraced. Wealth can not be amassed without illegal means and it does not go with the dead.

AGGS, M 1, p. 417.

ਸੰਪਉ ਸੰਚੀ ਭਏ ਵਿਕਾਰ ॥

Amassing riches leads to moral degradation.

AGGS, M 1, p. 222.

ਘਾਲਿ ਖਾਇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਥਹੁ ਦੇਇ॥ ਨਾਨਾਕ ਰਾਹੁ ਪਛਾਣਹਿ ਸੇਇ॥

O Nanak, One who works hard to make an honest living and practices charity finds the "righteous path."

AGGS, M 1, p. 1245.

From early on, Nanak rebelled against the Hindu beliefs. According to Sikh tradition, to the embarrassment of family, friends and relatives, he refused to wear the sacred thread [*janaeu*] at the ceremony by raising questions about its benefit:

ਦਇਆ ਕਪਾਹ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਸੂਤੁ ਜਤੁ ਗੰਢੀ ਸਤੁ ਵਟੁ॥ ਏਹੁ ਜਨੇਉ ਜੀਅ ਕਾ ਹਈ ਤ ਪਾਡੇ ਘਤੁ॥

Make compassion the cotton, contentment the yarn, continence the knot and truth the twist. O pundit (priest), a thread of this type awakens the inner-self (conscience). If you have such a *janaeu*, then put it on me?

AGGS, M 1, p. 471.

He held three major problems facing the masses and then declared wholeheartedly his solidarity with the masses and launched a campaign to awaken the masses to fight against the tyranny of rulers and the caste system.

ਦੁਖੁ ਵਿਛੋੜਾ ਇਕੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਭੂਖ ॥ ਇਕੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਸਕਤਵਾਰ ਜਮਦੂਤ ॥

One pain is the separation from God (lack of morality), second pain is the grinding poverty and third pain is the tyranny of the ruler.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1256.

ਨੀਚਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਨੀਚ ਜਾਤਿ ਨੀਚੀ ਹੁ ਅਤਿ ਨੀਚੁ॥ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਤਿਨ ਕੇ ਸੰਗਿ ਸਾਥਿ ਵਡਿਆ ਸਿਉ ਕਿਆ ਰੀਸ॥
ਜਿਥੈ ਨੀਚ ਸਮਾਲੀਅਨਿ ਤਿਥੈ ਨਦਿਰ ਤੇਰੀ ਬਖਸੀਸ॥

Nanak will stand by the lowest of the lowest, not with the elite. Societies that take care of the downtrodden have the blessing of God.

AGGS, M 1, p. 15.

In tune with the true revolutionary zeal, Nanak gave a clarion call to the masses to join his movement with an explicit warning that it would require supreme sacrifices:

ਜਉ ਤਉ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਖੇਲਣ ਕਾ ਚਾਉ॥ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਰਿ ਤਲੀ ਗਲੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਉ॥

ਇਤੁ ਮਾਰਗਿ ਪੈਰੁ ਧਰੀਜੈ॥ ਸਿਰ ਦੀਜੈ ਕਾਣਿ ਨ ਕੀਜੈ॥

If you want to play the game of love (follow the righteous path/Truth) then follow me and be prepared to sacrifice your life. Once you step on this path, do not hesitate to offer your head.

AGGS, M 1, p. 1412.

This proclamation is central to the Sikh revolution as it is the basis of *Miri-Piri* (temporal and spiritual sovereignty) and the evolution of the noble Khalsa Order. Only a moral person (*gurmukh*) can be a *mir-pir* or Khalsa.

Guru Nanak's universal message of liberty, equality, justice peace, love and respect brought more and more adherents (Hindus and Muslims) into the vibrant Sikh movement making it stronger and stronger with each succeeding Guru. And this irked the defenders of caste ideology and conservative Muslim clergy so much that "even in the times of Guru Ram Das the martyrdom of the Guru was in the air (anticipated) as noted by Surjit Hans in his analysis of Guru Ram Das' hymns [8]".

ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਸਾਲਾਹਿਹੁ ਸੰਤਹੁ ਤਿਸ ਦੀ ਵਡੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਰਾਜਾ ਕਰਿ ਤਪਾਵਸੁ ਬਣਤ ਬਣਾਈ ॥
ਨਿਆਉ ਤਿਸੈ ਕਾ ਹੈ ਸਦ ਸਾਚਾ ਵਿਰਲੇ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਮਨਾਈ ॥

O' enlightened beings praise forever the greatness of God. Except God, there is no other King as it is only God Who has established the system of true justice. Its justice is always true but only rare beings understand this fact.

AGGS, M 3, p. 912.

ਜਿਸ ਕੇ ਘਰਿ ਦੀਬਾਨੁ ਹਰਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਮੁਠੀ ਵਿਚਿ ਜਗਤੁ ਸਭੁ ਆਇਆ ॥॥
ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਤਲਕੀ ਕਿਸੈ ਦੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਹਰਿ ਦੀਬਾਨਿ ਸਭਿ ਆਣਿ ਪੈਰੀ ਪਾਇਆ ॥

In whose heart the ruler is God, controls all the worldly desires. And such a person is not obliged to anyone because God rules over everyone.

AGGS, M 4, p. 591.

ਜਿਤਨੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਸਾਹ ਰਾਜੇ ਖਾਨ ਉਮਰਾਵ ਸਿਕਦਾਰ ਹਰਿ ਤਿਤਨੇ ਸਭਿ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਕੀ ਏ ॥
ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਰਾਵੈ ਸੁ ਓਇ ਕਰਹਿ ਸਭਿ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਅਰਥੀਏ ॥

The emperors, kings, rulers, nobles, aristocrats and chiefs, all of them are created by God. All of them are subject to God's *Hukam* and they are beggars at Its door.

AGGS, M 4, p. 851.

ਪਹਿਲਾ ਮਰਣੁ ਕਬੂਲਿ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਛਡਿ ਆਸ ॥ ਹੋਹੁ ਸਭਨਾ ਕੀ ਰੇਣੁਕਾ ਤਉ ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪਾਸਿ ॥

First subdue your *Haumai* (self-centeredness) then give up *Moah* (attachment), treat all with utmost humility and, then follow me (righteous path).

AGGS, M 5, p. 1102.

ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਾ ਕਉ ਗੁਰਿ ਦੀਆ । ਨਾਨਕ ਤਾ ਕਾ ਭਉ ਗਇਆ ।

“Whom the Guru puts on the path of righteousness/Truth becomes fearless,” says Nanak.

AGGS, M 5, p. 211.

ਤਤੀ ਵਾਉ ਨ ਲਗਈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਰਖੇ ਆਪਿ॥

Not the slightest harm comes to those who seek shelter in God.

AGGS, M 5, p. 218.

ਸਭੇ ਸਾਝੀਵਾਲ ਸਦਾਇਨਿ ਤੂੰ ਕਿਸੈ ਨ ਦਿਸਹਿ ਬਾਹਰਾ ਜੀਉ ॥

All are partners in Your (God) commonwealth and You do not look at anyone as a stranger.

AGGS, M 5, p. 97.

ਨਾ ਕੋ ਬੈਰੀ ਨਹੀ ਬਿਗਾਨਾ ਸਗਲ ਸੰਗਿ ਹਮ ਕਉ ਬਨਿ ਆਈ ॥

Neither we regard anyone as enemy nor stranger, living in harmony with all is our cardinal faith.

AGGS, M 5, p. 1299.

ਕਿਆ ਏ ਭੂਪਤਿ ਬਪੁਰੇ ਕਹੀਅਹਿ ਕਹੁ ਏ ਕਿਸ ਨੋ ਮਾਰਹਿ । ਰਾਖੁ ਰਾਖੁ ਰਾਖੁ ਸੁਖਦਾਤੇ ਸਭੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਗਤੁ ਤੁਮਾਰਹਿ ।

What could these helpless kings do, whom could they harm? “O’ the Giver of comforts, please protect us all, as the world belongs to You,” prays Nanak.

AGGS, M 5, p. 1211.

ਹੁਣਿ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੋਆ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਣ ਦਾ ॥ ਪੈ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਕਿਸੈ ਰਵਾਣਦਾ ॥

ਸਭ ਸੁਖਾਲੀ ਵੁਠੀਆ ਇਹੁ ਹਲੇਮੀ ਰਾਜੁ ਜੀਉ ॥

Now the Merciful has issued a Command that no one would be persecuted/harassed by anyone.

All would live happily in peace under the benevolent rule of justice.

AGGS, M 5, p. 74.

Guru Arjan (fifth Nanak) called for the establishment of kingdom of peace and justice for “all”. His growing popularity was perceived as threat by Emperor Jahangir, the proponents of caste ideology and the schismatic opponents. He was tortured on the orders of the Emperor by his Hindu and Muslim underlings and he died the death of a martyr on May 30, 1606 in Lahore [9].

Guru Arjan’s successor, his son Guru Hargobind girded two swords, as the Sikh tradition puts it, one symbolizing his spiritual authority and the other his temporal power. He successfully resisted armed aggression against him by Mughal officials and Hindu Khatri who were opposed to Sikh Gurus and their teachings [10, 11]. Later on when Emperor Aurangzeb terrorized the Hindus by imposing forced conversions to Islam, Guru Teg Bahadur (ninth Nanak) counseled him that a learned/wise (civilized person) neither threatens anyone nor is intimidated by others. He became a martyr in Delhi on November 11, 1675 for his valiant stand for the freedom of conscience/religion and human rights [12].

ਭੈ ਕਾਹੂ ਕਉ ਦੇਤ ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਭੈ ਮਾਨਤ ਆਨ ॥ ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਾਕ ਸੁਨਿ ਰੇ ਮਨਾ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਤਾਹਿ ਬਖਾਨਿ ॥

O' Nanak, a learned (intelligent and wise, sagacious) person does not threaten any one nor is intimidated by anyone.

AGGS, M 9, p. 1427.

Left with no alternative for peaceful co-existence with universal freedom and equality, Guru Gobind Singh (tenth Nanak) created the Khalsa brotherhood, army of saint-soldiers on the Vaisakhi day of 1699 to fight against the tyranny of the murderous Mughal regime supported by the caste hierarchy. Inspired by the Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*), the Khalsa forces forged mostly from the downtrodden stocks of the Hindu Society--Sudras and Untouchables--fought against three formidable foes: the mighty Mughals, the caste hierarchy and the foreign invaders for about three-quarters of a century [13, 14]. Eventually the Khalsa established a Kingdom over a vast tract in the northwest region of the Indian sub-continent about which Baron Hugel, an Austrian traveler, wrote:

“The state established by Ranjit Singh was ‘the most wonderful object in the whole world.’ Like a skilful architect the Maharaja raised a ‘majestic fabric’ with the help of rather insignificant or unpromising fragments [15].”

Further it was Guru Nanak who created the organization (Sikh Panth) to bring about the revolution. He saw caste ideology as the major obstacle to his philosophy and the growth of Sikh movement, therefore, he established the community of Sikhs outside boundary of caste society as aptly described by Bhai Gurdas:

ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸਿੱਕਾ ਜਗਤ ਵਿਚ ਨਾਨਕ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਪੰਥ ਚਲਾਇਆ।

Nanak made his mark in the world by establishing a *nirmal* (pure)Panth (community of Sikhs, the followers of Truth).

Bhai Gurdas, *Varan Bhai Gurdas*, 1, p. 18.

In the concluding part of his life (about 15 years), Guru Nanak founded the town of Kartarpur (abode of the Almighty) on the banks of river Ravi opposite the town of Dehra Baba Nanak and settled down there as a farmer. Since he viewed the caste system as the greatest obstacle in the way of developing an egalitarian society, he established a community of Sikhs outside the boundary of the caste society. To break off the caste barriers between high, low and the untouchables, and the stigma of fraternizing with the Muslims, he started the institution of *Sangat* (congregation), *Pangat* (commensality, eating together sitting in a row) and *Seva* (voluntary service to society). *Sangat* was made up of people without regard to religion, caste and gender. Food-stuff provided by volunteers and cooked by volunteers in the *Langar* (community kitchen) was served to the *Sangat* sitting in a row without any sense of discrimination. The food/meal served from *Langar* was regarded as “*Guru Ka Langar*” meaning food from Guru’s Kitchen. Not only that, he also advised his followers to bow by addressing each other as *bhai* (brother) and *mai* (mother, elder sister) while greeting. These were daring and effective attacks on the pillars which held the superstructure of the caste system. These practices drew sharp and relentless condemnation from the proponents of the caste ideology (Brahmans, Rajputs and Khattris) who called Guru Nanak a *karahiya* (gone astray):

ਕੋਈ ਆਖੈ ਭੂਤਨਾ ਕੇ ਕਹੈ ਬੇਤਾਲਾ॥ ਕੋਈ ਆਖੈ ਆਦਮੀ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਵੇਚਾਰਾ॥
ਭਇਆ ਦਿਵਾਨਾ ਸਾਹ ਕਾ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਬਉਰਾਨਾ॥ ਹਉ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਜਾਨਾ॥

Some say that Nanak is an evil spirit; others say that he has gone astray, and still others say that he is a helpless poor man. But I, foolish Nanak, am madly in love with my Lover (God). I know of none other than God /Truth.

AGGS, M 1, p. 991.

Seeing the end of his life drawing near, Guru Nanak hand-picked his successor from amongst his followers. Prof. Grewal’s lucid description of the transfer of *Guruship* to Bhai Lehna depicts precisely the exaltation of a Sikh to the level of Guru where the two become one-in-spirit (thought):

Before his death at Kartarpur in 1539 Guru Nanak chose his successor from amongst his followers, setting aside the claims of his sons [Siri Chand, Lakhmi Das]. Nomination of a successor from amongst one’s own disciples was not a new thing; it was known to many an ascetical order of the times. But the nomination of Lehna by Guru Nanak was regarded as unique because Guru Nanak himself installed Lehna in his office. His name too was changed from Lehna to Angad, making him “a limb” of the founder. This nomination was important not merely because it enabled Guru Nanak to ensure the continuation of his work but also because it served as the basis of the idea that the positions of the Guru and the disciple were interchangeable. Closely linked with this was the idea that there was no difference between the founder and the successor, they represented one and the same light [16].

What Prof. Grewal wrote above is authenticated in the AGGS:

ਨਾਨਕਿ ਰਾਜੁ ਚਲਾਇਆ ਸਚੁ ਕੋਟੁ ਸਤਾਣੀ ਨੀਵੈ ਚੈ॥ ਗੁਰਿ ਚੇਲੇ ਰਹਿਰਾਸਿ ਕੀਈ ਨਾਨਕਿ ਸਲਾਮਤਿ ਥੀਵੈ॥
ਸਹਿ ਟਿਕਾ ਦਿਤੋਸੁ ਜੀਵੈ॥ ਲਹਣੇ ਦੀ ਫੇਰਾਈਐ ਨਾਨਕਾ ਦੋਹੀ ਖਟੀਐ॥
ਜੋਤਿ ਓਹਾ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਸਾਇ ਸਹਿ ਕਾਇਆ ਫੇਰਿ ਪਲਟੀਐ॥

Nanak established his kingdom (spiritual) on the firm foundation of Truth. Nanak bowed before his disciple Lehna and installed him on the throne. Due to the greatness of Nanak, Lehna's fame spread far and wide. They were one and the same in spirit (thoughts), only different bodily. AGGS, Balwand and Satta, p. 966.

ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਅਰਪਿਆ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਮਨਿ ਸਰਧਿਆ ਗੁਰ ਸੇਵਕ ਭਾਇ ਮਿਲਾਏ ॥ ਦੀਨਾ ਨਾਥੁ ਜੀਆ ਦਾਤਾ ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਖਾਏ ॥
ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੈ ਏਕੋ ਗੁਰ ਉਪਦੇਸੁ ਚਲਾਏ ॥

When a Sikh meets the perfect Guru and puts his/her mind and body at Guru's disposal with love and dedication then the Guru unites the Sikh with God, the Protector of the poor and Sustainer of all. Sikh is exalted to the position of the Guru when the Sikh becomes one with the Guru in thought – their teaching is one.

AGGS, M 4, p. 444.

Guru Angad carried Guru Nanak's mission forward by strengthening the Sikh movement with zeal, vigor and vitality.

Earlier Guru Nanak and Bhai Lehna (Guru Angad) constructed a new script called Gurmukhi from existing crude scripts for the writing of Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat) and its propagation in the language of masses. Guru Nanak's composition "Patti Likhi in Rag Aasa," (AGGS, p.432) which has 35 letters in the same sequence as the modern Gurmukhi script with the exception of the five letters of the first line and last letter of the second, indicates that he was involved in constructing the Gurmukhi alphabets when he composed this hymn.

The evidence presented in the foregoing discussion confirms unequivocally that Guru Nanak is the founder of Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat) which is the foundation of the Sikh revolution and it was Guru Nanak who established the Panth to bring about the revolution. Moreover, it is deeply etched in the collective memory of Sikhs that all Gurus were one and the same in spirit – they were all “Nanak” – one in thought. For example, what kept the Khalsa fighting tenaciously during the first half of the eighteenth century when price was put on the head of Sikhs and they were hunted like animals by Mughal authorities and their collaborators (the caste hierarchy), was the firm belief of the Khalsa that it was destined to rule because Guru Nanak bestowed upon it the sovereignty. When Captain Murray asked Rattan Singh: “Who gave Khalsa the mandate to rule?” “Guru Nanak,” replied Bhangoo [17]. Banda Singh Bahadur's seal and the coin he struck after the conquest of Sirhind and the declaration of a sovereign state in 1710 confirm that the Sikhs firmly believed that Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh were one and the same in spirit (thought) [18, 19].

Obverse (in Persian script):

sikka zad har do alam tegh-i- Nanak wahib ast

fateh Gobind Singh Shah-i-shahan fazl-i-sacha sahib ast

(Coin struck for two worlds with the sword of Nanak, and victory granted by the grace of Gobind Singh, King of Kings, and true emperor.)

Reverse:

zarb ba aman-ud-dahar masavarat sahar

zinat-ut-Takhat-i-Mubarak Bakhat

(Struck in the heaven of refuge, the beautiful city, the ornament of the blessed throne.)

The inscription on Banda's seal became a model for future inscriptions on Sikh coins and seals:

degh o tegh fateh o nusrat-i-bedrang

yaft az Nanak guru Gobind Singh

(Through the hospitality and the sword to unending victory granted by Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh.)

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Appendix E

Authorship of Dasam Granth

There is no evidence anywhere or logical explanation that Guru Gobind authored the spurious contents of the so-called *Dasam Granth* with the exception of a letter (*Zafarnama*) in Persian [1], that he is said to have written to Emperor Aurangzeb. On the other hand there is overwhelming strong evidence that goes against the authorship of *Dasam Granth* by Guru Gobind Singh.

In order to ascertain the authenticity of authorship of any *baani/gurbaani* (poetic compositions) attributed to Sikh Gurus that is outside the Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS), it is essential to understand the tradition of writing *baani/gurbaani* by Sikh Gurus and the process of compiling the Sikh Canon which was vested with *Guruship* jointly with the Khalsa Panth (entire Sikh community) by Guru Gobind Singh in 1708 [2] before his demise.

1. Guru Arjan compiled the first formal Sikh Canon in 1604 [3] by incorporating the *baanis* of his four predecessors, his own and that of humanist *bhagats* and sufis that were consistent with Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*), in the form a *Pothi/Granth* (book) and he named it *Aad Granth* (Eternal Granth). Careful reading of the AGGS reveals that it contains *baanis* of Six Gurus only: Nanak, Angad, Amar Das, Ram Das, Arjan and Tegh Bahadur. This means that the other four Gurus: Hargobind, Har Rai, Har Krishan and Gobind Singh did not write *baani* worthy of canon status. Further the *baanis* of Gurus are distinguished from each other by the succession numbers of Gurus to the house of Nanak with their *baanis* (*Mahala*: first, second, third, fourth, fifth and ninth) whereas the *banis* of *bhagats* and sufis are designated as *bhagat baanis* under their names. Furthermore, the *baanis* of all the Gurus are recorded under the signature of “Nanak” to affirm and emphasize the “unity of ideology/thought in the Sikh tradition”. Moreover, in some of the hymns they use the word *nwnku* (*Nanaku*) to emphasize that what they are saying is Nanak’s voice. Further it is noteworthy that Guru Teg Bahadur (ninth Nanak) added his *baani* to a copy of *Aad Granth* [4, 5]. Finally, according to Sikhs tradition, Guru Gobind Singh prepared the final version of *Aad Granth* called *Damdami Bir* that contained all the *baanis* of *Aad Granth* and the *baani* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. It acquired this name as it was prepared at a resting station (*Damdama*) either in Anandpur or Sabo Ki Talvandi and it was this final volume or its copy (*Damdami Bir*) on which Guru Gobind invested *Guruship* in 1708 [2]. So had Guru Gobind written any *baani* of canon status, he would have done so under the signature of Nanak and incorporated it into the copy of *Aad Granth* he inherited from his father, Guru Tag Bahadur? Moreover, had Guru Gobind Singh written any *baani* that was not of Canon status, but of value to the Sikhs, he would have issued instructions/edict about it to the Sikhs, and there is absolutely no evidence of that he did.

2. *Dasam Granth*, the compendium of *Puranic* literature and Hindu mythology is the antithesis of AGGS. It totally repudiates Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*). As discussed earlier, Guru Nanak rejected all the essentials of Hinduism, its scriptures and the Sanskrit language. Further, Guru

Gobind Singh reiterated the same as “Nash Doctrine or Five Freedoms” as a must for the Khalsa. The Khalsa should annihilate (*nash*) the influence of *Varna Ashrarma Dharama*/caste system. In other words Khalsa should be completely free from the influence of *Varna Ashrarma Dharama* (*dharma nash*); Hindu rituals/ceremonies/ formalities (*karam nash*); superstition (*bharam nash*); family lineage (*kul nash*) and caste-based occupation restrictions (*krit nash*) [6]. So why would Guru Gobind Singh write himself or ask any one else to write or approve of any writing that repudiates *Gurmat* and his Nash doctrine?

3. Guru Gobind Singh’s contemporaries and close associates like Sainapati, Nanad Lal, Chaupa Singh and Sewa Das make no mention of Guru Gobind Singh’s writings though they mention *Guru Granth* and *Guru Panth* or *Guru Khalsa* pointing out that Guru Gobind Singh abolished the personal line of Guruship by conferring it jointly on the Sikh community (*Panth*) and the *Granth* (*Damdami Bir*)[7]. Had Guru Gobind Singh written such a large number of miscellaneous works as the contents of modern so-called *Dasam Granth*, it is difficult to imagine that Sainapati, Nanad Lal, Chaupa Singh and Sewa Das would have failed to notice them? Further even the modern version *Rahitnamas* attributed to Guru Gobind Singh’s close associates, Nand Lal, Daya Singh, Chaupa Singh and Prahlad Singh written after 1720 C.E. make no mention of *Dasam Granth* or any of Guru Gobind’s writings while emphasizing Guru Gobind Singh’s edict about *Guru Granth* and *Guru Panth*[8]. Further Professor J. S. Grewal quotes contemporary and later Sikh source to point out that Guru Gobind Singh abolished personal line of Guruship when he vested Guruship jointly on the *Granth* (*Damdami Bir*) and Khalsa (entire Sikh community).

The evidence of Sikh writers on the issue of Guruship does not support the idea that any person after Guru Gobind Singh could be regarded as Guru. In the contemporary works of Sainapat, Guruship is vested by Guru Gobind Singh himself in the Khalsa and Shabsd-Bani. Sainapat, 133-35. Around the mid-eighteenth century, Chaupa Singh’s *Rahit-Nama* refers to Guruship vested in the *Granth Sahib* and in the Khalsa, the entire Khalsa or the entire Sikh Sangat. Chaupa Singh, 76, 98, 100, 116, & 120. Koer Singh, who is placed in the mid-eighteenth or early nineteenth century, refers to Guru-Khalsa and *Guru Granth*. Koer Singh, 138, 139, 183 & 184. Kesar Singh Chhiber refers to the ‘ten forms’ as lamps lighted by one another. He refers to the *Adi Granth* and the Khalsa as *Guru*. Chibber, 29, 36, 112, 126, 136 & 163-64. Ratan Singh Bhangu in the 1840s talks of the Khalsa and the *Adi Granth* as the *Guru*. Bhangu, 297, 298 & 389. Thus, the evidence in favour corporal and scriptural Guruship is overwhelming. The individuals who claimed Guruship did so in spite of the doctrines of *Guru-Granth* and *Guru-Panth* [9].

4. As discussed above, the available eighteenth century Punjabi sources of Sikh history mention *Guru Granth* and *Guru Panth* but not *Dasam Granth*. Similarly, the available European sources on Sikhs up to the end of 18th century, mention that Sikhs had only one scripture - *Guru Granth*, and make no mention of *Dasam Granth* [10]. For example, George Forster who travelled in Punjab in 1783 observed:

The tenets of Nanock forbid the worship of images, and ordain that the places of public prayer

shall be of plain construction, and devoid of every exhibition of figure. A book, entitled the *Grunth*, which contains civil and religious institutes of Nanock, is the only typical object which the Sicques have admitted into their places of worship. Instead of intermediation of subordinate deities, they are directed to address their prayers to one God, who, without the aid of any deligate, is to be considered the unassociated ruler of the universe [11].

John Griffith in “Extraordinary Modern People: Dominions of the Sikhs, 1794” records:

The Seik, in the performance of religious Ceremonies, always invoke the name of their Founder Baba Nanuk, whom they also call their Guru, and frequently reiterate the Word Bhalden. The tenants of Nanuk have been collected into a Book, which they call their Ghiruntejee, and guard as a sacred Deposit, or rather Oracle, at a place called Amber Ser, two and twenty Coss in the Dehly side of Lahore; Here they assemble in great numbers (150, or 200,000 Men) at two fixed periods of the year, about October and April, to consult upon their Warlike Operations; The Decisions of the Oracle, whether for war or peace, they invariably adhere to [12].

Bhalden is most probably *baldaan* (bldwn , means gift of power) uttered in *Ardas* (Congregational prayer) for the grant of power and wisdom.

The author of “A Failed Spying Mission to Lahore, 1808” also confirms that there was only one sacred book at Darbar Sahib, Amritsar.

To-day I visited, in due ceremony, and without shoes Amrutsur (or the pool of immortality) from which the town takes its name; it is a bason of about one hundred and thirty-five paces square, built of burnt brick, in the centre of which stands a pretty temple, dedicated to Goroogobind Singh, to which you go by a causeway. It is neatly decorated, both within and without, and the rajah is making additional ornamented work to it at his own expense. In this sacred place is lodged, under a silken canopy, the book of laws written by Goroogobind Singh, in Goormook’hee character. The temple is called Hurmundul, or God’s place; there are from five to six hundred akalees, or priests, belonging to it, who have built good houses for themselves out of voluntary contributions of people visiting it. Holkar made offering of two thousand rupees, and they receive considerable sums from the rajah, who visits twice in a day during his stay at Amrutsur [13].

“The book of laws written by Goroogobind Singh in Goormook’hee character” refers to “*Damdami Bir*” prepared by Guru Gobind Singh and vested with Guruship in 1708.

The author of this memoir, most probably was Captain Mathews who traveled through Punjab in 1808, according to Hari Ram Gupta [14]

However, Kesar Singh Chhibber, who claims to belong to a Brahman family whose head, was cotemporary of Guru Gobind, talks about the writings of Guru Gobind Singh in *Bansavalinama* (1769), written 61 years after the death of Guru Gobind Singh. And he says that he is no chronicler; he has written *Bansavalinama* merely on hearsay and just as matter of hobby; “I state what I have heard and what I could recollect. This hearsay I record by way of my hobby

(*shauk*).” Further he makes inconsistent and contradictory statements about Guru Gobind Singh’s so-called writings:

The Guru got written a Granth called ‘Samundar Sagar’. Later he got it thrown in a river. Later still he composed other writings. But during the battle at Anandpur, the leaves of these writings or packets (*sanchian*) were scattered to the wind and lost. Chhibber is vague about the contents or nature of these writings. Once he calls it ‘Samundar Sagar, at another time ‘Avtar Leela’. There is no reference at all to ‘Dasam Granth’ [7].

Now does it make any sense that Guru Gobind Singh would throw ‘Samundar Sagar’ or any writing in the river that was of any value to the Sikhs? Chhibber also tells a bizarre story about the compilation of a granth by Bhai Mani Singh by changing the order of the *bani*s of Aad Guru Granth Sahib and combining them with the writings of Guru Gobind Singh, and the curse for doing so. For doing this mix-up, and thereby violating the prescribed sequence of *gurbani*, Mani Singh was cursed by a poor Sikh who said, “Just as you had disjointed the *gurbani* and mixed it up, you would also be cut into pieces [7].”

Later on in couplet no. 389 he says, “In 1698 A. D. Guru Gobind Singh rejected the request of the Sikhs to combine the *Aad Granth* with his own writings [7].” Moreover, Chhibber’s work is perfused with narration of Brahmanical practices and beliefs in Hom, mantras, curses, deamons and fairies. He interprets Sikhism from his Brahmanical perspective so much so that he implies:

That the Khatri are rivals to the Gurus and the Muslims as their persecuters had no place in Sikhism. The low-castes are inherently disqualified. Thus, the Sikh rule should have been brought into existence to uphold Brahmins and Brahminism. According to Chhibber, Guru Gobind Singh created the Panth to escape personal responsibility for the destruction of Turks. Guru Gobind Singh fell short of King Bikramajit when he failed to sacrifice his own person before the Goddess [15].

Further, Chhibber’s statements about Guru Gobind Singh’s writings are refuted by latter works. For example, Srup Das Bhalla (a Khatri, descendant of Baba Mohan, rival of Guru Ram Das) in *Mehma Parksah* (1776), cotrradicts all the three assertions of Chhibber, namely the preparation or loss of any granth like *Samundar Sagar* or *sanchis* of other writings, the request of Sikhs to the Guru to add his *bani* to Aad Granth or any combined compilation by Bhai Mani Singh, and the curse by a poor Sikh. On the other hand, Bhalla gives the story that the Guru got prepared a granth since lost, called *Vidya Sagar*, which constituted the translation of Sanskrit literature. He does not say that the Sikhs ever requested the Guru to include his *bani* in Aad Granth, or that Mani Singh ever prepared any such compilation [7].

Thus, the above discussion establishes three things: 1) Guru Gobind Singh abolished personal Guruship and vested it in the *Granth (Damdami Bir)* and the entire Sikh Sangat (Khalsa); 2) Guru Gobind Singh did not compose *baani* worthy of cannon status or of any value essential to the Sikhs and 3) the book called *Dasam Granth* did not exist in the eighteenth century.

Besides, the book named Dasam Granth was not known to the Sikhs in Punjab even in the nineteenth century. For example, Cunningham (1849) [16], Macauliffe (1909) [17] and Bhangoo (1841) [18] do not mention any *Granth* (book) called *Dasam Granth*. Furthermore, the counts/observations of three British officials at three different times, the late eighteenth century, early nineteenth century and early twentieth century, respectively, confirm that the Sikhs of Bihar had only one Sikh scripture (*Granth*). They make no mention of *Dasam Granth*. Charles Wilkins (1781):

There stood also near the altar, on a low desk, a great book of a folio size, from which some portions are daily read in their divine service. ... The great Book, desk, and all, was brought with some little ceremony from the altar and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. ... The book was now opened, and the old man began to chant to time of the drum and cymbals. ... The book was then closed and restored to its place at the altar [19].

“It is said,” wrote Buchanan (1809-10) “that all the *Fakirs* [Udasis] can read and understands the book called *Guru Mukhi*, which I, however, very much doubt, from the nature of their conversation, and I find few of them possess a copy. Those whom I have consulted say that they admit no other book to be canonical [20].”

“The Sikhs were directed to pay their unflinching reverence to *Dasam Padshah ka Granth* (i.e., Granth of Guru Gobind Singh) alone which was the embodiment of Guru’s spirit. They professed belief in pure monotheism, stripped of Hindu mythology, its scriptures, priests and modes of worship. It appears that the Sikhs of this province had fallen away to some extent, from their original faith like the Sikhs of Punjab,” wrote O’Malley in 1904 [21].

O’Malley’s mention of “Dasam Padshah ka Granth” refers to *Damdami Bir* which was vested with Guruship by Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. That is why the Sikhs regarded it as “Guru’s spirit).

Additionally, as pointed out in Appendix D, the Sikh tradition regards the ten Gurus as ten Nanaks, like ten lamps lighted by each other in succession. In other words they were one in spirit (one in thought/ideology). And it is *sabad/baani* (Guru’s teachings) that is the Guru. Furthermore, Sikhs have been reminded since the early 18th century that *Damdami Bir* (*Dasven Patshah daa/Kaa Granth*) which was vested with Guruship by Guru Gobind in 1708 is the only Guru for the Sikhs.

ਸਭ ਸਿੱਖਣ ਕਉ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੁ ਮਾਨਿਓ ਗਰੰਥ । ਗੁਰੁ ਗਰੰਥ ਜੀ ਮਾਨਿਓ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਗੁਰਾਂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹ ।
ਜ ਕਾ ਹਿਰਦਾ ਸੁਧ ਹੈ ਖੋਜ ਸਬਦ ਮੇਂ ਲੇ ਹ । ਚ (ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕੋ ਮਿਲਬੋ ਚਹੇ ਖੋਜ ਸਬਦ ਮਹਿ ਲੇਹ) ।

Sikhs are directed to recognize Granth as the Guru. Recognize the Granth as the embodiment of Gurus. Those who are sincere would find the Gurus’ spirit in *sabad/baani*.

[From a hymn that is recited after *Ardas* (The Sikh congregational prayer).]

Before proceeding further let me briefly describe the evolution of the Sikh Canon (Aad Guru Granth Sahib) and its name. There was bitter opposition to Guru Nanak from the proponents of

caste ideology.

ਕੋਈ ਆਖੈ ਭੂਤਨਾ ਕੋ ਕਹੈ ਬੇਤਾਲਾ॥ ਕੋਈ ਆਖੈ ਆਦਮੀ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਵੇਚਾਰਾ]
ਭਇਆ ਦਿਵਾਨਾ ਸਾਹ ਕਾ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਬਉਰਾਨਾ॥ ਹਉ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਜਾਨਾ॥

Some say that Nanak is an evil spirit; others say that he has gone astray, and still others say that he is a helpless poor man. But I, foolish Nanak, am madly in love with my Lover (God). I know of none other than God /Truth.

AGGS, M 1, p. 991.

The opponents also started creating apocryphal *baani* (*kuchi baani*) to distort Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*). Taking note of this subversion, Guru Amar Das (third Nanak) declared that such compositions are worthless as their composers are false.

ਆਵਹੁ ਸਿਖ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਖਿਆਰਿਹੋ ਗਾਵਹੁ ਸਚੀ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
ਬਾਣੀ ਤ ਗਾਵਹੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਕੇਰੀ ਬਾਣੀਆ ਸਿਰਿ ਬਾਣੀ ॥

O' beloved Sikhs of the Guru, sing the true *baani* (poetic composition). Sing the *baani* of the Guru which is the superior most among the *baanis*.

AGGS, M 3, p. 920.

ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨਾ ਹੋਰ ਕਚੀ ਹੈ ਬਾਣੀ ॥ ਬਾਣੀ ਤ ਕਚੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਹੋਰ ਕਚੀ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
ਕਹਦੇ ਕਚੇ ਸੁਣਦੇ ਕਚੇ ਕਚੀ ਆਖਿ ਵਲਾਣੀ ॥

O' Sikhs except only true Guru's *baani*, as all others are false. It is only true Guru's *baani* that is true, all others are false. The ones who utter *kuchi baani* are false as are the exegetes and listeners.

AGGS, M 3, P. 920.

To put a stop to this type of subversion, in 1604 Guru Arjan (fifth Nanak) consolidated the *baanis* (compositions) of his four predecessors, his own and that bhagats and Sufis, in a *Pothi* (Book) he named *Aad Granth* (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, Eternal Granth). However, the opponents started making copies of *Aad Granth* with alterations and interpolations. To distinguish *Aad Granth* from its spurious copies it was called *Panjaven Mahale Ka Granth* [Granth of the fifth Nanak (Guru Arjan)]:

ਮੀਰਾਬਾਈ ਕਾ ਸਬਦ ਪੰਜਵੇ ਮਹਲੇ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਨਾਹੀ (Mira Bai's *sabad* is not present in fifth Nanak's Granth). ਇਤਨੇ ਸਲੋਕ ਪੰਜਵੇ ਮਹਲੇ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਉਪਰਹੁ ਲਿਖੇ (So many *sabads* (stanzas) are copied from fifth Nanak's Granth) [22].

Before falling into the hands of Dhirmal, who brought it to Kartarpur for the purpose of establishing his own Guruship after the death of Guru Harkrishan, it was known as the Granth of the fifth Guru (*panjaven mahale ka granth*), and it was kept at Kiratpur by the seventh and eighth Gurus [23].

The sixth, seventh and eighth Gurus did not write *baani*, but the ninth Guru Tegh Bahadur did

and he incorporated his *baani* into a copy of *Panjaven Mahale Ka Granth* (Granth of the fifth Guru, *Aad Granth*) [4, 5]. Further according to Sikhs tradition, Guru Gobind Singh prepared the final version of Aad Granth called *Damdami Bir* that contained all the *baanis* of *Aad Granth* and the *bani* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. It acquired this name as it was prepared at a resting station (Damdama) either in Anandpur or Sabo Ki Talvandi. It is believed that it was this volume which he carried to Nander with him and vested it with Guruship before his death. Furthermore, it is said that during battle with Ahamad Shah Abdali in 1762 it was last for good [24]. Before his death in 1708 Guru Gobind abolished the personal Guruship and vested Guruship jointly on the *Damdami Bir* and the Khalsa Panth (entire Sikh Sangat). To distinguish *Damdami Bir* from *Aad Granth* (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ), it was called “*Dasven Patshah daa/kaa Granth*”.

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਵਾਮੀ ਨੇ ਦਮਦਮੇ ਦੇ ਮਕਾਮ ਸੰਮਤ ੧੭੬੨-੬੩ ਵਿੱਚ ਜੋ ਆਤਮਿਕ ਸ਼ਕਤਿ ਨਾਲ ਕੰਠ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਣੀ ਉੱਚਾਰਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥਸਾਹਿਬ ਲਿਖਵਾਇਆ, ਉਸਦਾ ਨਾਉਂ ਦਸਵੇਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਦਾ ਗ੍ਰੰਥਸਾਹਿਬ ਹੋਇਆ, ਪਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਿੱਧ ਨਾਉਂ ਦਮਦਮੇ ਵਾਲੀ ਬੀੜ ਹੈ।

The Granth that Guru Gobind Singh dictated from spiritual memory at Damdama in 1705-06 C. E. is called “*Dasaven Patshah daa Granthsahib*”, but its popular name in “*Damdami Bir*” [25].

[Notwithstanding Kahan Singh’s remarks, Guru Gobind Singh indeed inherited a copy of *Aad Granth* from his father].

Since then its name has evolved from “*Damadami Bir*” or “*Dasaven Patshah daa/Kaa Granth*” to *Guru Granth* to *Guru Granth Sahib* to *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* to *Aad Sri Guru Ganth Sahib Ji* and, in English literature from *Adi Granth* to *Adi Guru Granth* to *Adi Guru Granth Sahib*. However, recently, Devinder Singh Chahal and I, and others use the name *Aad Guru Granth Sahib*. We have dropped “*Sri*” and “*Ji*” from “*Aad Sri Guru Ganth Sahib Ji*”, the name assigned to the Sikh scripture by Sharomani Gurdwara Parbhandhak committee (SGPC) [26].

In spite of the overwhelming evidence that Guru Gobind abolished the *personal Guruship* (*Gurta*) in 1708 and vested it jointly on the *Damdami Bir* (*Dasven Patshah daa/kaa Granth*) and the Khalsa Panth (entire Sikh Sangat/community), and that Guru Gobind did not write any *baani* of canonical status or essential for the Sikhs, some scholars have recently made false and misleading statements about Dasam Granth.

In *The Guru Granth sahib: Canon, Meaning and Authority* published in 2000, Pashaura Singh writes:

The Dasam Granth enjoyed an equal status with the Adi[Aad] Granth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, both the Granths were installed side by side on the same platform. Kesar Singh Chibber, the author of *Bansavalinama* (1769), maintained that the two Granths were like ‘real brothers’ and the Adi Granth being the older, was entitled to greater respect and veneration. However, with the rise of Tat Khalsa, the dominant wing of the Singh Sabha movement, the Dasam Granth was relegated to a lower status [27].

However, as described earlier Chhibber does not mention even the name “Dasam Granth”, not to speak of the statements attributed to him by Pashaura Singh. (To confirm Daljeet Singh’s finding, I studied *Bansavlinama-dasan Patshahian da* very carefully line by line). Further, the book called Dasam Granth did not exist in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Four years later, in his autobiography published in 2004; Professor W. H. McLeod asserts that *Dasam Granth* was accepted as part of Guru Granth by the Khalsa.

It appears that the Dasam Granth was indeed accepted by the Khalsa as a part of the Guru Granth in the later eighteenth century as the testimony of John Malcolm makes clear. It was the Singh Sabha that raised serious questions about the authorship of Dasam Granth and so of its status. This led at first to shelving of the scripture (or most of it) and ultimately to the conviction that much of the greater part of it could never have been the work of Guru Gobind Singh [28].

In support of his statement, McLeod cites John Malcolm [29]. However, careful examination of a reprint Malcolm’s *Sketch Of The Sikhs* (1812) published in 1986 [30] and the digital copy of its first edition, 1812 (<http://books.google.com>) reveals that there is no mention even of “Dasam Granth” not speak of the statement: “It appears that the Dasam Granth was indeed accepted by the Khalsa as a part of the Guru Granth in the later eighteenth century.”

On the contrary Malcolm says:

... and it is stated, in a tradition which is universally believed by the Sikhs, and has, indeed, been inserted in their sacred writings, that Guru Govind, when asked by his followers, who surrounded his death-bed, to whom he would leave his authority? replied, “I have delivered over the Khalsa (commonwealth) to God, who never dies. I have been your guide, and will still preserve you; read the Grant’h, and attend to its tenets; and whoever remains true to the state, him will I aid [31].”

Their D’herma Sala or temples of worship, are, in general, plain buildings. Images are, of course, banished. Their prescribed forms of prayer are, I believe, few and simple. Part of the writings of Nanac, which have been since incorporated with those of his successors, in the Adi [Aad] Grant’h, are read, or rather recited, upon every solemn occasion [32].

Dasma Padshah ka Gran’th, or book of the tenth king, which was written by Guru Govind, is considered, in every respect, as holy as the Adi [Aad] Grant’h of Nanac, and his immediate successors [33].

Here Malcolm mispronounces *Aad Granth* as *Adi Grant’h* compiled by Guru Arjan in 1604. And he calls *Dasven Patshah daa/Kaa Granth (Damdami Bir)* prepared by Guru Gobind Singh at Damdama as “*Dasma Padshah ka Grant’h*”, which Guru Gobind Singh vested with Guruship in 1708. *Dasven Patshah daa/Kaa Granth* differs from *Aad Granth* as the latter does not have the *baani* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Earlier commenting on the *Guru-mata* or great national council Malcolm says:

When the chiefs and principal leaders are seated, the Adi [Aad]-Grant'h and Dasma Padshah ka Grant'h are placed before them. ... The Acalis then exclaim: "Sirdars! (Chiefs) this is a Guru-mata!" on which prayers are again said aloud. The chiefs, after this, sit closer, and say to each other: "The sacred Grant'h is betwixt us, let us swear by our scripture to forget all internal disputes and to be united [34].

From the above narrative it is clear that Sikhs swore by the Granth (scripture) which was vested with Guruship: *Dasven Patshah daa/kaa Granth (Damdami Bir)*. From the above mentioned observations of Malcolm it is abundantly clear that Sikhs revered both *Aad Granth* and *Dasven Padshah daa/kaa Granth (Damdami Bir)*, but it was the latter that was "Guru Granth" – the scripture that was vested with Guruship by Guru Gobind Singh 1708.

It needs to be pointed out here that European observers of the Sikhs up to the end of eighteenth century had very limited accurate information about Sikhs and their religion. They did not know the name of the Sikh scripture and mispronounced Sikh, Guru, Granth and Guru's names [35], so much so that they used 17 different spellings for "Sikh" [36]. On the contrary, John Malcolm had not only good understanding of Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*) but even challenges those who misinform him and corrects the errors of earlier European observers of the Sikhs, for example, commenting on Guru Nanak he says:

We meet with a creed of pure deism, grounded on the most sublime general truths, ... he endeavored to conciliate both Hindus and Muslims to his doctrine, by persuading them to reject those part of their respective beliefs and usage, which, he contended, were unworthy of that God who they both adored [37].

The object of Nanac was to abolish the distinction of caste amongst the Hindus, and bring them to the adoration of that Supreme Being, before whom all men, he contended, were equal. Guru Govind, who adopted all the principles of his celebrated predecessor, as for as religious usages were concerned, is reported to have said, on the subject, that the four tribes of Hindus, the Brahmen, Cshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, would like pan (betle-leaf), *chunam* (lime), *supari* (betle-nut), and *khat* (*terra japonica*, or *catechu*), become all of one colour, when well chewed [38].

Wherever the religion of Guru Govind prevails, the institutions of Brahma must fall [39].

It is stated by a Sikh author named Nand, that Har Govind, during his ministry, established the practice of invoking the three great Hindu deities, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, but this is not confirmed by any other authority which I have seen [40].

The Sikh priest, who gave an account of this custom, was of a high Hindu tribe; and retaining some of his prejudices, he at first said, that Muhammedan Sikhs, and those who were converts from sweeper cast, were obliged, even on this occasion, to eat a little apart from other Sikhs; but on being closely questioned, he admitted the fact as stated in the narrative; saying, however, it was only on this solemn occasion that these tribes are admitted to eat with others [41].

Several historical accounts of the Sikhs, particularly that published by Major Browne, which is, in general, drawn from authentic sources, appear to be in error with regard to the period at which

this race first took arms, which the last author states to have occurred under Guru Govind; but several Sikh authors, of great respectability and information, agree in ascribing to the efforts of Har Govind, the son of Arjan [42].

Moreover, his understanding and assessment of Sikh polity is quite accurate – jealousy and rivalry among Sikh chiefs and their fragile alliances. Nonetheless, there are numerous erroneous statements which may be due his source of information, and his confusion about *Aad Granth* and *Dasven Patshah daa/kaa Granth (Dadami Bir)*.

John Malcolm was an army officer of East India Company who accompanied Lord Lake in 1805 in hot pursuit of Maratha Chief, Jaswant Rao Holarker all the way to Lahore, the capital of Maharaja Ranjit Singh [43]. To my knowledge he is the first westerner to use the name *Adi Grant'h* for *Aad Granth* compiled by Guru Arjan in 1604. Since then westerners as well as Sikhs educated in the British system including the holders of Sikh Chairs in the west have used the name *Adi Granth* for Sikh scripture (*Aad Guru Granth Sahib*). This is indicative of the “superficiality” and “intellectual poverty” of scholars of Sikh studies. To my knowledge, Malcolm was also the first person to report that there was another “*Dasma Padshah ka Grant'h*” compiled under Guru Gobind Singh’s name.

I succeeded with difficulty in obtaining a copy of the *Adi [Aad]-Grant'h*, and of some historical tracts, the most essential parts of which, when I returned to Calcutta, were explained to me by a Sikh priest of the *Nirmala* order, whom I found equally intelligent and communicative, and who spoke of the religion and ceremonies of his sect with less restraint than any of his brethren whom I had met with in the Punjab. This slender stock of material was subsequently much enriched by my friend Dr. Leyden, who has favoured me with a translation of several of the tracts written by Sikh authors in the *Penjabi [Panjabi]* and *Duggar* dialects, treating of their history and religion; which, though full of that warm imagery which marks all oriental works, and particularly those whose authors enter on the boundless field of Hindu mythology, contain the most valuable verifications of different religious institutions of the Sikh nation.

I understand, however, that the indefatigable research of Mr. Colebrooke has procured not only *Adi [Aad] Grant'h*, but also *Dasima Padshah ka Grant'h* and that consequently, he is in possession of the two most sacred books of the Sikhs [44].

It is understandable that Malcolm had difficulty in procuring *Aad Granth* he calls *Adi Grant'h*, as its copies were rare because in 1708 Guru Gobind Singh vested Guruship on *Damdami Bir (Dasven Patshah daa/Kaa Granth)*, and as a consequence more and more copies of *Dasven Patshah daa/kaa Granth* were made to meet the demand of Gurdwaras/Dharamsalas and individuals. But why Colebrooke had to search indefatigably for “*Dasima Padshah ka Grant'h*”? Further Malcolm does not say how and where Colebrooke got it? But it becomes abundantly clear that Colbrooke’s *Dasima Padshah ka Grant'h* is not the same as *Dasven Patshah daa/kaa Granth (Damdami Bir)*, the living Guru of the Sikhs) when we examine Malcolm’s other statements about it.

Guru Govind Singh, in *Vichitra Natak*, a work written by himself, and inserted in *Dasam Padshah Ka Grant'h*, traces the descent of Cshatriya tribe of Sondi, to which he belongs, from a race of Hindu Rajas who founded the cities of Casur and Lahore [45].

Guru Govind closes his first work, the *Vichitra Natak*, with a further representation on the shame that attends apostasy, and the rewards that await those that prove true to their religion; and he concludes by a prayer to the Deity, and a declaration of his intention to compose for the use of his disciples, a still larger work; by which the Sikhs conceive that meant the rest of the *Dasma Padshah ka Grant'h*, of which the *Vichitra Natak* forms the first section [46].

To my knowledge, this is the first mention of *Vichitra Natak* in the English literature on Sikhs. Further, Malcolm quotes excerpts in verse and prose from the *Vichitra Natak* (pages: 55-62) which are found in the modern version of *Bachittar Natak* [47]: chapters, 6, 7 8 and 13. However, he makes no mention of other parts of "*Dasma Padshah Ka Grant'h*". Now the question is who wrote *Vachitra Natak* and who translated it into verse form in English? And who wrote other parts of "*Dasma Padshah Ka Grant'h*" which are found in the modern *Dasam Granth*?

Further he quotes extensively from the *Vars* of Bhai Gurdas and Var no. 41 that has been cleverly appended to it under the pseudonym Gurdas (pp., 152-163, 193). According to Sangat Singh the interpolator of Var 41 was none other than Koer Singh the author of *Gurbilas Patshahi 10* (1751) [48]. He also quotes verse form of *So Dar* from *Aad Guru Granth Sahib* (pp.169-71) and there is stanza of six lines which seems to be from *Sarab Loh Granth* (p. 117), and an excerpt from *Bano Bir* (p. 162: "A hundred thousand of Muhammeds," said nanac, "a million of Brahmas, Vishnus, and hundred thousand Ramas stand at the gate of the Most High)." Further, he says that he was helped by a Nirmala Sikh priest and Dr. Leyden, but there may be other Nirmalas, Udasis and British orientalists, like Coalbrooke and Charles Wilkins.

However, before Malcolm's mention of *Vachitra Natak* (1812), Kesar Singh Chhibber in *Bansavalinama dasan Patshaia ka* (1769) [49] also mentions *Bachittar Natak* and quotes from chapter 6 of *Bachittar Natak* he had, a different version of *Apni Katha* (autobiography) without the first five stanzas which are found in chapter 6 of the current version of *Bachittar Natak* [47]. However, he does not call it *Apni Katha*, nor he mentions the name of the author of *Bachittar Natak*. On the other hand Malcolm quotes the first four stanzas [50] of chapter 6 of the current version of *Bachittar Natak* [47]. This suggests that Malcolm's *Vachitra Natak* is different from Chibber's *Bachittar Natak*.

Although, Chhibber does not say who authored the *Bachittar Natak* he had or from where he got it, but he has left enough fingerprints that make a compelling suggestion/case that *Bachittar Natak* is the work of the same mindset that produced *Puranic* literature. Like *Puranas*, *Bachittar Natak* is also full of Brahmanical ceremonies, formalities, beliefs, unbelievable and chimerical tales and lies.

For example, in Chhibber's narrative in Chapter 10 (*Dasvan Charan-Dasvin Patshahi*) of *Bansavalinama* Guru Gobind Singh is a minor player; the creation of Khalsa seems to be a Brahman affair. Chhibber talks about the prominent role his ancestors played in the Sikh movement and it was Cibber's ancestors who suggested to Guru Gobind Singh how to prepare the holy water for *Khande Dee pahul*. There is long dialogue between Guru Gobind Singh and various Brahmans who were brought from different parts of India to make Goddess Kali/Kalka appear. The Goddess also intervenes in the dialogue occasionally, at one place telling Guru Gobind Singh that I crown you as my son and I give you the mandate to protect the *dharama* and destroy the demons. With this mandate from Kalka, Guru Gobind Singh declares that I have come to the world with that mission [51]. Here is a small excerpt from that dialogue.

ਮੈਂ ਅਪਨਾ ਸੁਤ ਤੋਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਜਾ । ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਕਰਬੇ ਕਹੁ ਸਾਜਾ ।
ਜਾਇ ਤਹਾਂ ਤੈ ਧਰਮੁ ਚਲਾਇ । ਕਬੁਧਿ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲੋਕੁ ਹਟਾਇ ।
ਕਾਲਕਾ ਕਹਾ: “ਇਹ ਹੀ ਕਰੋ । ਆਪ ਨ ਕਾਹੂੰ ਸੇਤੀ ਲਤੋ ।
ਅਪਨਾ ਪੰਥ ਤੂ ਦੇਹਿ ਚਲਾਇ । ਵਹੁ ਦੈਂਤਾ ਕੇ ਮਾਰੇ ਜਾਇ” ।

I am crowning you as my son. I have created you to establish a *panth* (Khalsa Order). Go there to spread *dharama* and to stop people from straying from the path of *dharama*. Kalka said, “Do what I say. Do not fight among yourself. You create your *panth* to destroy those demons. *Bansavalinama*, chapter 10, p. 134.

Then Chhibber makes Guru Gobind Singh attest to this mandate from Goddess Kalka.

ਇਹ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਮੋਹਿ ਪਠਾਇਓ । ਤਬ ਮੈ ਜਗਤਿ ਜਨਮੁ ਧਰਿ ਆਇਓ ।

It is for this reason, that God sent me. Then I took birth to come to the world. *Bansavalinama*, chapter 10, p. 134.

It needs to be pointed out here that the Brahmans used the word *dharama* for Brahmanism (Varana Ashrama Dhrama) and the word *daint* (dYnq, *demon*) for Muslims.

He goes on telling chimerical anecdotes one after another for example: Emperor Aurangzeb metamorphosed into a parrot and flew to Mecca to fetch a berry in order impress Guru Gobind Singh with his spiritual prowess. But he could not do that as Guru Gobind Singh also appeared there under the berry tree with slingshot in his hand.

ਅਉਰੰਗਾ ਤੋਤਾ ਬਣਿ ਕੇ ਮੱਕੇ ਗਿਆ । ਸਾਹਿਬ ਹੇਠ ਜਾਇ ਖੜੋਤੇ, ਹਥਿ ਗੁਲੇਲਾ ਲਿਆ ।
ਜਦਿ ਬੇਰ ਪਾਸ ਸੁਆ ਆਵੈ । ਤਬ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਗੁਲੇਲਾ ਚਲਾਵੈ ।
ਬੇਰ ਲੈਣ ਨਹੀ ਦੇਵੈ ਅਉਰੰਗੇ ਨੂੰ । ਮਾਰਨ ਗੁਲੇਲਾ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਟੰਗੇ ਨੂੰ ।

Aurangzeb metamorphosed into a parrot and flew to Mecca. Guru Gobind Singh followed him with slingshot in hand. Whenever the parrot approached the tree to pluck a berry, Guru Gobind Singh shot a mud ball at him. Thus he did not allow the parrot to pluck the berry by aiming shots at the parrot's legs.

Bansavalinama, chapter 10, p. 181.

Further, Chhibber makes a bizarre claim that Prophet Mohammad's ancestors were Brahmans and his father King Amritpal was a great scholar of Hindu scriptures. After killing his father, Mohammad started his own religion. He learned the philosophy *Atharavan Veda* and separated Quranic elements from the *Puranas* and wrote the Quran in Arabic. He asked for Shiva's favor for the safekeeping of Quran. Shiva split the trunk of a *Pipal* tree in order to make a cavity for hiding the Quran.

ਛਲ ਕਰਨਾ ਤੁਰਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਧਰਮੁ ਹੈ । ਮੁਹੰਮਦ ਭੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਏਹੋ ਕਰਮੁ ਹੈ ।
ਪਿਉ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰਿ ਉਸ ਰਾਜ ਲਇਆ । ਅਰਬ ਦੇਸ ਦਾ ਰਾਜ ਸੀ ਭਇਆ ।

...

ਖਟ ਸਾਲ ਜੁੱਧ ਕਰਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ । ਕਾਲ ਪਾਇ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਪਾਲ ਰਾਜਾ ਮਰ ਗਿਆ ।
ਪਿਤਾ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਇਆ ਸੀ, ਚਾਰਿ ਵੇਦ ਅਠਾਰਹਿ ਪੁਰਾਨ । ਨਉਂ ਬਿਆਕਰਨ, ਖਟ ਸ਼ਾਸਤ੍ਰ ਮਾਨ ।

...

ਵੇਦਾਂਤ, ਬੇਦ ਅਥਰਬਣ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਨ ਤਤ ਚੁਣਿ ਲੀਤਾ । ਧਿਆਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੁਪਾਰੇ, ਪੁਰਾਨ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕੁਰਾਨ ਕਢਿ
ਜੁਦਾ ਕੀਤਾ ।

...

ਸਿਵ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਪਿੱਪਲ ਫਾਟਿ ਜਾਹ । ਪਿੱਪਲ ਗਿਆ ਪਾਟ, ਕੁਰਾਨ ਰਖਿਆ ਤਿਸ ਮਾਹ ।

Muslims practice the religion of deception and that is what Mohammad did too. He killed his father to usurp his kingdom. This way he became the ruler of all Arab lands.

... He fought for six years and in due course of time King Amritpal died. ... His father taught him four Vedas, eighteen Puranas, nine systems of grammar and six schools of Hindu philosophy. ... He learned the philosophy of *Atharvan Veda*. Skillfully, he separated the Quranic element from *Puranas*. ... Shiva ordered the Pipal tree to split. The Pipal tree obeyed the command and Quran was placed inside it for safekeeping.

Bansavalinama, chapter 10, pp. 167-169.

Thus Chhibber's narrative reinforces the claim that all the *Gurbilas* literature and "*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*" were written by Brahmans or people with Brahmanical thinking. For example, Mahant Sukha Singh of Patna author of *Gurbilas Dasvin Patshahi* (1779) also wrote a copy "*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*" with some additional material [52]. And it is claimed that Nahar Singh was sanctioned a grant by Maharaja Ranjit Singh for a copy of "*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*" which he obtained from Charat Singh, son of Sukha Singh (Mahant of Patna) [7]. It is noteworthy that Mahant Sukha Singh of Patna was not only on the payroll of East India Company but also used to get 20 seers of opium annually as reported by Ved Parkash in *Sikhs in Bihar* (Appendix F). Further there is a manuscript in the possession of Sethi family of Delhi which consists of the compositions *Dasam Granth* and Aad Guru Granth Sahib arranged Guru-wise and bhagat-wise, not rag-wise [7].

It is well-known that Maharaja Ranjit Singh and other chiefs used to give grants to families who had in their possession old Sikh manuscripts [53, 54]. It is very likely that clever people started

creating granths in the name of Guru Gobind Singh to take advantage of the largesse of the illiterate Sikhs Chiefs who were ignorant of Nanakian philosophy (Gurmat) [55].

While the Brahmans like Chhibber claimed that Sikhs were Hindus and the Khalsa was created to protect Brahmans and Brahmanism, the Christians had their own agenda - they wanted to subjugate and evangelize the Sikhs is evident from the records of East India Company and the writings of orientalist and Christian missionaries [56, Appendix F&G]. The East India Company was deeply concerned about the rising power of Sikhs in northwestern India as is evident from Warren Hastings's memorandum of 1784 on the threat of Sikhs and the statements Governor General of India Lord Dalhousie made in 1848 and 1849.

... A new source of serious contemplation has arisen from near quarter, namely, that of Sikhs, a people who from a mean sect of religious schismatics have rapidly grown into the master of a dominion extending from the most western of the Attock to the walls of Delhi. ... We are too apt to despise the danger which we have not experienced, and to conclude that what has not happened in the ordinary course of events never will happen [57]. ...

The British recognized the Sikh Nation as a separate nation with unique Sikh identity repeatedly in their official references and treaties with Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1809, 1846 and 1847. But Lord Dalhousie, Governor General of India, in 1848 and 1849 made highly contradictory speeches and remarked:

“Unwarned, by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh Nation has called for war, and on my word, Sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance.”

“There never will be peace in Punjab so long as its people are allowed to retain the means and opportunity of making War. There never can be now any guarantee for the tranquility of India until we shall have effected the entire subjection of the Sikh people and destroyed its power as an independent nation.”

Further, there is strong evidence in the writings of British orientalist and missionaries that the British goal was to subjugate Sikhs and to convert them en-masse.

Though the Brahman religion still sways the minds of a large portion of the population of Punjab, and the Mohammedan of another, the dominant religion and power for the last century has been the Sikh religion, a species of pure theism, formed in the first instance by a dissenting sect from Hinduism. A few hopeful instances lead us to believe that the Sikhs may prove more accessible to scriptural truths than Hindus and Mohammedans [58].

For instance, in the first two decades after Punjab's annexation, the colonial government of India, as part of its general policies, insisted that the administration relinquish its control over Sikh shrines like the Golden Temple; at the same time the British army was furthering its image of Sikh identity and employing Sikh granthis, and the provincial administration in Punjab was pressing to retain control over major Sikh shrines. Moreover, evangelical district officers like R. Cust, confident that Sikhism was on the decline, were simultaneously drafting policies to push it towards its final demise [59].

Unlike Bengal, Madras and Bombay, where officials were somewhat wary of evangelical activities, in Punjab they were not assailed by doubt. Robert Cust, who had been associated with Punjab administration

since 1846 and moved on to be a judicial commissioner, says in an autobiography intended for private circulation:

Another important subject had to be handled firmly. I had belonged from the very first, 1843, to supporters of the principle, that it was our duty to Evangelize, and all leading Punjab officials were of the same school ... After the Mutinies there were signs of fanatical spirit, and desire to introduce the Bible into state schools, to push Christians forward in Government-office, to let the Missionaries interfere, to preach to the prisoners in Gaol [60].

Wilkins's work on the Sikhs, being one of the earliest accounts that dealt with issues other than military and political, was a long-standing primary source for future writers. He presents an unprejudiced view of the Sikhs and their practices, so much so that even amongst later missionary activity in India, his influence quite drastically informed views on Christian missionary policy on the Sikhs. In a 1814 article titled "Important Documents Relating to the Seekers in India," Wilkins's account was quoted along with extracts from the Edinburgh Review of *Sketch of the Sikhs* by Lt. Col. Malcolm. The introduction reads: "To those who wish to propagate Christianity throughout the world, it must be gratifying to hear of any facts or circumstances favourable to that object." Then follow extensive extracts with article concluding: "It has not been our object to give a particular history of this sect, which has become a nation in India, but to mention such facts as afford ground to hope that the efforts to introduce Christianity among the natives in that part of the world will not go in vain." It continues further, "The success of Nanac shows that the habits and prejudices of the Hindoos are not so immutably fixed as many in Great Britain have imagined. The pacific character of Nanac, and the approach of his doctrines to those of Christianity, are circumstances remarkable and important; and we need more information on the subject, than we now possess, to account for them without the aid of inspiration. As the dispersion of Jews facilitated the spread of gospel among Gentiles in various parts of the world, so the existence of Seekers may yet facilitate the spread of gospel in India. It is devoutly to be desired, that nothing may be done on the part of Christians to introduce their religion among the nations of India, which shall tend to impress a belief that Christianity is less tolerant, mild and pacific, or in any respect less worthy of reception than the religion of Nanac. Besides, the account we have of the principle doctrines of the Seekers, should excite our gratitude to the common Father of our race, that he has, in one way or another, diffused some correct ideas of himself, more extensively, than has been generally known or supposed by Christians [61].

From the above discussion it is obvious that both Brahmans and Christians wanted to Hinduise Sikhs, though for different purposes. The former wanted to make Sikhs part and parcel of Hindu society whereas the latter wanted to subjugate and evangelize them, and use the converted Sikhs to evangelize the Indian subcontinent. And both realized that there was one formidable obstacle in their path to accomplish their objectives, and that was the unshakable faith of the Sikhs in their living Guru: "*Dasven Patshah daa/kaa Granth (Damdami Bir)*" currently called Guru Granth Sahib or Aad Guru Granth Sahib. So in order to alienate the Sikh masses from Guru Granth Sahib, a parallel *granth*, "*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*" was compiled from Puranic literature under the name of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru.

It is very likely that the writing and compiling of "*Dasma Patshah Ka Granth*" was a joint project of Nirmalas and Udasis living in Calcutta, Mahanat Sukha Singh of Patna and British orientalist under the sponsorship of East India Company. For example, Kesar Singh Chhibber in his *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshian Da* (1769 C.E.) mentions Bachittar Natak but not "*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*", and *Mahima Parkash* (1776 CE) authored by Sarupdas Bhalla, descendant

of Guru Amar Das, makes no mention of Bachittar Natak or “*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*” or any other writing by Guru Gobind Singh. On the other hand Malcolm in 1812 C.E. mentions that “Vachitra Natac” is the first chapter of “*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*”. This suggests that “*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*” was written and compiled outside Punjab and gradually introduced in Punjab through *Udasis* and *Nirmalas* (Appendix F), so much so that in the last quarter of nineteenth century there were at least 32 different versions of “*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*” circulating in Punjab [62]. The Singh Sabha leaders, Professor Gurmukh Singh and Giani Ditt Singh who examined “*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*” in the light of Aad Guru Granth Sahib rejected it as the work of Guru Gobind Singh [63, 64]. However, it was embraced by the so-called Sanatan Sikhs [65] described by eighteenth century European observers of the Sikhs as *Khulasa or Khalasa* Sikhs [66]. Their leader was *janeu* (sacred thread) wearing Sir Khem Singh Bedi (1832-1904) who regarded himself as the 15th Guru of the Sikhs. He and his followers were the bitter opponents of Singh Sabha Movement and openly preached that Sikhs were Hindus and Sikh Gurus were the Avatars (reincarnations) of Hindu deities, Rama and Krishna. They supported the *mahants* against the Gurdwara reform movement, advocated caste system and practiced untouchability openly, worshiped Goddess Durga and opposed the Anand Marriage Act [67, 68, 69]. Khem Singh Bedi’s Son Kartar Singh Bedi [Kartaru *Bedin* (the faithless *Kartaru*)] supported Mahant Narain Das who murdered about 130 Sikhs at Nanakian Sahib in 1921 [70, 71]. His other son, Gurbakhsh Singh Bedi used to declare from Hindu stages that Sikhs are Hindus [72, 73]. And his great-grandson Amitabh Bachan (son of Teji Bachan) applauded the Indian army attack on Darbar Sahib in June 1984 and he was standing with Rajiv Gandhi when Hindu mobs killed thousands of innocent Sikhs all over India after the assassination of Indira Gandhi on October 31, 1984, “to the teach the bastards a lesson”.

It was the “Sodhak Committee” made up of Khem Singh Bedi’s followers, which recommended in 1897 C.E. the publication of one version of “*Dasma Padshah Ka Granth*” by editing numerous versions under the title: *Dasam Granth*. Thus the book named *Dasam Granth* was published for the first time after 1897 C.E. [62]. Sodhak Committee was set up by “The Gurmat Granth Parchark Sabha Amritsar”, an affiliate of Singh Sabha, Amritsar, led by Sir Khem Singh Bedi who was the bitter opponent of the Singh Sabha, Lahore, led by Giani Ditt Singh and Professor Gurmukh Singh [67].

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Appendix F

Udasis (ਉਦਾਸੀ)

In his composition, *Sidh Gost* and other hymns, Guru Nanak rejected the ideology and practices of the *sidhas/yogis*. His attitude was the same for other ascetic orders. He rejected and denounced celibacy and ascetic way of life in no uncertain terms. For Guru Nanak householder life is the only proper way to realize God/Truth, as it is the householder, who sustains society whereas ascetics are parasites on society.

ਮਖਟੂ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਕੰਨ ਪੜਾਏ ॥ ਫਕਰੁ ਕਰੇ ਹੋਰੁ ਜਾਤਿ ਗਵਾਏ ॥ ਗੁਰੁ ਪੀਰੁ ਸਦਾਏ ਮੰਗਣ ਜਾਏ ॥
ਤਾ ਕੈ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਲਗੀਐ ਪਾਇ ॥ ਘਾਲਿ ਖਾਇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਥੁ ਦੇਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਾਕ ਰਾਹੁ ਪਛਾਣਹਿ ਸੇਇ ॥

A lazy unemployed fellow gets his ear pierced. He becomes a beggar and brings bad name to his family. Never touch the feet of the one who claims to be a *gur pir* (spiritual guides) but lives on charity. O' Nanak, One who works hard to make an honest living and practices charity finds the "righteous path/Truth."

AGGS, M 1, p. 1245.

ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰਿ ਜੋ ਰਹੈ ਸਮਾਇ ॥ ਕਾਹੇ ਭੀਖਿਆ ਮੰਗਣਿ ਜਾਇ ॥
Why should he beg who claims to dwell on God?

AGGS, M 1, p. 953.

ਬਿੰਦੁ ਨ ਰਾਖਹਿ ਜਤੀ ਕਹਾਵਹਿ ॥

Yogi calls himself *jati* (celibate) but has no control over his sexual drive.

AGGS, M 1, p. 903.

ਜਤਨ ਕਰੈ ਬਿੰਦੁ ਕਿਵੈ ਨ ਰਹਾਈ ॥

In spite of all efforts the yogi/ascetic cannot control his sexual urge.

AGGS, M 1, p. 906.

ਹਸੰਦਿਆ ਖੇਲੰਦਿਆ ਪੈਨੂੰਦਿਆ ਖਾਵੰਦਿਆ ਵਿਚੇ ਹੋਵੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ॥

One could attain liberation (from ignorance and falsehood) while enjoying life (laughing, playing, eating good food and wearing good clothes).

AGGS, M 5, p. 522.

Guru Nanak did not find either of two of his sons to be worthy to lead the Sikh movement, therefore, seeing the end of his life drawing near, he hand-picked his successor among his followers, Bhai Lehna [Guru Angad] who guided the nascent Sikh movement with zeal, vigor and vitality. However, Guru Nanak's recluse son Siri Chand claimed himself to be the heir apparent to the house of Nanak and set up his own sect of *Udasis* (acetic and celibate order), which is the antithesis of Nankian philosophy (*Gurmat*). The succeeding nine Gurus kept the *Udasis* at arms length to protect the life-affirming and revolutionary Sikh movement from their life-negating influence. Bhai Satta and Bhai Balvand, Guru Ram Das and Bhai Gurdas say that Guru Nanak's sons Sri Chand and Lakhmi Chand did not follow Guru Nanak's teachings—the path of Truth/Enlightenment.

ਸਚੁ ਜਿ ਗੁਰਿ ਫੁਰਮਾਇਆ ਕਿਉ ਏਦੂ ਬੋਲਹੁ ਹਟੀਐ ॥ ਪੁਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉਲੁ ਨ ਪਾਲਿਓ ਕਰਿ ਪੀਰਹੁ ਕੰਨ ਮੁਰਟੀਐ ॥
ਦਿਲਿ ਖੋਟੈ ਆਕੀ ਫਿਰਨਿ ਬੰਨਿ ਭਾਰੁ ਉਚਾਇਨਿ ਛੁਟੀਐ ॥ ਜਿਨਿ ਆਖੀ ਸੋਏ ਕਰੇ ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਤੀ ਤਿਨੈ ਥਟੀਐ ॥

Why disobey the command of the true Guru (Nanak)? His sons refused to obey him and turned their back on him. They were dishonest, disobedient and self-conceited. The one (Bhai Lehna) who obeyed Guru Nanak (who followed Guru Nanak's teachings with love and dedication) was placed on the throne.

AGGS, Balvand and Satta, p. 967.

ਗੁਰਿ ਬਾਬੈ ਫਿਟਕੇ ਸੇ ਫਿਟੇ ਗੁਰਿ ਅੰਗਦਿ ਕੀਤੇ ਕੂੜਿਆਰੇ ॥ ਗੁਰਿ ਤੀਜੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਵੀਚਾਰਿਆ ਕਿਆ ਹਥਿ ਏਨਾ ਵੇਚਾਰੇ ॥
ਗੁਰੂ ਚਉਥੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਟਿਕਿਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਨਿੰਦਕ ਦੁਸਟ ਸਭਿ ਤਾਰੇ ॥

Guru Nanak censured them (his sons) and, Guru Angad regarded these arrogant ones as liars. The third Guru felt pity for these wretched fellows. It was the fourth Guru who forgave all the slanderers and wicked.

AGGS, M 4, p. 308.

Bhai Gurdas, who was Guru Amar Das's nephew and contemporary of five Gurus from second to sixth, was an erudite, a distinguished poet and a great Sikh theologian. Guru Arjan chose him as the scribe for Aad Granth compiled in 1604. He reiterates what Satta and Balvand and Guru Ram Das say about Guru Nanak's sons.

ਪੁਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੌਲ ਨ ਪਾਲਿਆ ਮਨ ਖੋਟੇ ਆਕੀ ਨਸਿਆਰਾ ।

The sons did not follow Guru Nanak's path, as they were disobedient, self-conceited and misguided.

Bhai Gurdas, *Varan Bahi Gurdas*, 1, p. 16.

ਬਾਲ ਜਤੀ ਹੈ ਸਿਰੀਚੰਦ ਬਾਬਾਣਾ ਦੇਹੁਰਾ ਬਣਾਇਆ । ਲਖਮੀ ਦਾਸਹੁ ਧਰਮ ਚੰਦ ਪੋਤਾ ਹੋਇਕੈ ਆਪ ਗਣਾਇਆ ।

Siri Chand (elder son) adopted celibate and ascetic life as a young man. After Guru Nanak's death, he built a *dehura* (shrine, temple) in the name of Guru Nanak to set up his own Udasi (ascetic) sect. Guru Nanak's grandson, Dharam Chand son of Lakhmi Chand, turned out to be vainglorious.

Varan Bahi Gurdas, 26, p. 214.

Moreover, Bhai Gurdas also mentions the bitter opposition of Mohan (elder son of Guru Amar Das) and Pirthia (elder son of Guru Ram Das) to the Sikh movement. He calls Mohan as mentally deranged (ਕਮਲਾ, *kamla*) and Pirthia as crooked (ਮੀਣਾ, *mina*).

ਮੋਹਣ ਕਮਲਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਚਉਬਾਰਾ ਮੋਹਰੀ ਮਨਾਇਆ । ਮੀਣਾ ਹੋਆ ਪਿਰਥੀਆ ਕਰ ਕਰ ਤੋਢਕ ਬਰਲ ਚਲਾਇਆ ।

Mohan who became mentally disturbed confined himself in the upper story of the house. His younger brother Mohri persuaded him to respect Ram Das as Guru. In madness, the crooked Pirthia started his own schismatic sect.

Varan Bahi Gurdas, 26, p. 214.

However, due historical circumstances the Udasis [1] took control of Sikh places of worship in the 18th century. After the demise of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708, Mughal authorities and their Hindu collaborators launched an all out assault to destroy Sikhs and Sikh philosophy (*Gurmat/Sikhi*). There were two major massacres of Sikhs known as *chhota ghalughara* (1746)

and *wada ghalughara* (1762) carried out by Lakhpat Rai and Ahmad Shah Abdali, respectively [2]. And then there was a systematic extermination of the Sikh population under Farrukh Siyar and Zakariya Khan and his Diwan Lakhpart Rai. Price was fixed on the heads of Sikhs; rewards bestowed on the informers and bounty hunters, and hunting parties organized for searching the Sikhs. While being looted wholesale, the government confiscated their homes and lands. The utterance of the words, Guru or Granth and the keeping of Guru Granth Sahib or Gurbani in any form were proscribed [3, 4]. As a consequence of this campaign only a few thousand Sikhs survived by taking shelter in the desert of Rajasthan and the forests of Shivalik hills, and among their ranks only a few could read and write. Among the heads of twelve Sikh Misl (confederacies) only Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1718-1783) could read or write. In the meantime, the *Udasis* (*pujaris*, *mahants*) who had taken control of Sikh religious places played havoc with Nankain philosophy (*Gurmat*) using anti-*Gurmat* literature [*Janam-sakhis* (biographies of Guru Nanak), *Hukamname* (edicts) in the name of Gurus, *Rehatname* (code of conduct for Khalsa), *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka*, *Mahima Parkash*, *Gur-Bilas Patshahi 10*, *Gur-Bilas Dasvin Patshahi*, *Gur Bilas Patshahi 6*, *Nanak Prakash*, *Gyanratanavali*, *Suraj Prakash*, *Bhagat Ratnawali* and so on] that was created by *Udasis*, *Nirmalas*, Brahmans, and other anti-Sikh elements [5,6].

As the Khalsa power rose in Punjab, some of *Udasis* adopted Khalsa symbols and called themselves *Nirmalas* [7]. After the annexation of Punjab, the British government took direct control of Darbar Sahib at Amritsar and other major Sikh centres and made *Udasi* priests and mahants permanent custodians of Gurdwaras.

With the advent of the British Government in the Panjab a new source of danger arose to Sikhism. Many of the priests (*bhais*, *mahants*, *pujaris*) did not strictly observe the tenants of the faith and not a few of them led an unclean life. Unfortunately, the new laws made them the virtual proprietors of Gurdwaras with all their offerings and the landed endowments attached to them. The law courts did not provide sufficient protection to the Sangats (Sikhs) who had previously exercised effective control over the administration of their places of worship. Early in the present century a wave of purification agitation swept over the length and breadth of the province, which naturally brought the whole Sikh community into clash with the powerful British officialdom [8].

On February 20, 1921, a *jatha* (batch) of 150 reformers led by Bhai Lakshman Singh visited Gurdwara Janam Asthan in Nankana Sahib for religious services. Mahant Narain Das and his men opened fire on them killing most of them. Their bodies were burnt. The Deputy Commissioner who was camping only 12 miles away was very slow to respond; most probably he was the real culprit because the British had informers in every village. Mahant Narain Das had been collecting weapons for some time and had hired 28 criminals and mercenary Pathans. The government first gave figures of dead as 20, then 67 and finally 130 on the bases of skulls collected. The actual figure could be another 20 or so [9]. The cold-blooded murder of the Sikh by the Mahant Narain Das with the complicity of the British shocked and stirred the entire Sikh nation so much so that it resolved to liberate the Gurdwaras from the clutches of *Udasis*. The Sikhs launched vigorous peace protests in the face of the ugly fangs of colonial oppression which

shocked the conscience even of Christian missionaries at Guru Ka Bagh *morcha* (action or agitation). In this peaceful struggle to liberate Gurdwaras, Sikhs suffered unspeakable punishment at the hands of British administrators and their henchmen.

C.F. Andrews (1871-1940), who visited Guru Ka Bagh in September 1922 was shocked by the brutality and inhumanity of the British administrators and their henchmen, but admired the Akalis for their patient suffering without any sign of fear. In his eyes the Guru Ka Bagh *morcha* was a “new lesson in moral warfare [10].

C.F. Andrews’ description of the equipoise with which the Akali volunteers bore, what he termed, the most cowardly and foul blows needs to be recalled: “The vow of non-violence they had made to God was kept to the letter. I saw no act, no look, of defiance.” As to the spirit of the suffering endured, he stated, “it was very rarely that I witnessed any Akali Sikh who went forward to suffer, flinch from blow when it was struck. ... The blows were received one by one without resistance and without a sign of fear [11].

During the five years of the non-violent Akali movement 400 died, 2,000 were wounded and 30,000 men and women were jailed. The pensions and *jagirs* of many were withdrawn, fines were imposed and property was confiscated in the case of many others; many lost their jobs, soldiers were court-martialled for wearing kirpan or a black turban; printers, publishers and editors suffered for their sympathy with the movement [12].

The *Udasi* “parasites” flourished for two centuries on the generosity of the Sikhs. After the Sikhs took control of Gurdwaras (1925 C. E.), the *Udasis* showed their true colour.

This event of cold-blooded massacre was fraught with far-reaching consequences. Afraid of being thus dislodged from their *gaddis*, or shorn of power and their belonging, the *Udasis*, who as it were, the pillars and ornaments of the Sikh faith, severed all connections from the latter. These itinerant mendicants gave vent to their estranged feelings by retrograding towards their original Hindu fold and declaring themselves to be non-Sikhs. The holy *Granth* (i.e., the Sikh Bible), which once formed the sole object of worship in their shrines was replaced by the sepulchres of their respective founder-*Mahants* and idols of Hindu divinities, with all their paraphernalia. They have adopted such peculiar customs which go against the very spirit of their faith. Such was the height of indignation and intensity of hatred that the *Udasis* got themselves enumerated as *Hindus* at the forthcoming census of the country. They have gone so far as to connect themselves with mythological figures and saints of the hoary past. They regarded Siri Chand simply as one of their *Peshwas* and they had respect for Guru Nanak, not as the founder of Sikh the Sikh faith, but as father of Siri Chand [13].

The *Udasis* were patronized by Mughals rulers, *Zamindars* (landlords) and *Chaudharies* (headmen) as pointed out by Ved Parkash [14].

In 1781, British orientalist Charles Wilkins wrote to the Secretary to the Asiatic Society about his visit to Sikh College Patna (Bihar).

As *Patna* was on my way to *Banaris*, I no sooner arrived there than I inquired about the College,

and I was presently conducted to it; and now I request you will please to lay before Society, the few observation and inquiries which a single visit of about two hours would admit of my making. If, such as they are, they should hereafter be found useful either as clew to guide another in his researches in the same path, or to add to some future account to render in more complete, my end in troubling to you lay it before the Society is fully answered.

I Found the College of the *Seeks*, situated in one of the narrow streets of Patna, at no very considerable distance from the Custom-house. I was permitted to enter outward gate, but, as soon as I came to the steps which led into the Chapel, or public hall, I was civilly accosted by two of the Society. I asked them if I might ascend into the hall. They said it was a place of worship open to me and all men; but, at the same time intimated that I must take off my shoes. ... The floor was covered with a neat carpet, and furnished with six or seven low desks, on which stood as many of the books of their laws; and the walls, above the arches, were hung European looking glasses in gold frames, and pictures of *Mussulman* Princes and *Hindoo* Deities. ... There stood also near the altar, on a low desk, a great book of a folio size, from which some portions are daily read in their divine service. ... The great Book, desk, and all, was brought with some little ceremony from the altar, and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. An old man, with a reverend silver beard, kneeled down before the desk with his face towards the altar; and on side of him sat a man with a small drum, and two or three with cymbals. The book was now opened, and the old man began to chant to the time of the drum and cymbals. ... I learnt that subject was a Hymn in praise of the unity, the omnipresence, and omnipotence of the Deity. ... The Hymn being concluded, which consisted of about twenty verses, the whole congregation got up and presented their faces with joined hand towards the altar, in the attitude of prayer. A young man now stood forth; and, with a loud voice and distinct accent, solemnly pronounced a long prayer or kind of liturgy, at certain periods of which all the people joined in general response, saying *Wa Goorro*. ... This prayer was followed by a short blessing from the old man, and an invitation to the assembly to partake of the friendly feast. The book was then closed and restored to its place at the altar and the people being seated as before, two men entered bearing a large caldron, called a *Curray*, just taken from the fire, and placed in the center of the hall upon low stool. These were followed by others with five or six dishes, some of which were of silver, and large pile of leaves sewed together with fibres in the form of plates. One of these plates was given to each Company without distinction, and dishes being filled from the caldron, their contents were served out till everyone had got his share; myself was not forgotten. ... They offered to admit me in their Society; but I declined the honour; contenting myself with the alphabet which they told me to guard as the apple of my eye, as it was a sacred character. I find it differs but little from *Dewnagur*: The number, order and power, of the letters are exactly the same. The language itself is a mixture of *Persian*, *Arabic*, and some *Shanscrit*, grafted upon the provincial dialect of *Punjab*, which is kind of *Hindovee*, or, as it is vulgarly called by us, *Moors* [15].

The religious ceremony conducted at Patna in 1781 is very similar to the one we find in modern Sikh Gurdwaras under the control of Sharomani Gurdwara Parbhandhak Committee. However, the question is how come a Sikh place of worship at Patna (Bihar) was flourishing while Sikhs in Punjab were systematically exterminated and their places of worship destroyed by Mughals and their Hindu collaborators? The answer is that the shrine at Patna was controlled by *Udasis* who

were opposed to the Khalsa and had no commitment to Nanakian philosophy (*Gurmat*) or the Sikh Panth. As pointed out earlier during the Muslim rule the *Udasis* were supported by the Government and *Zamindars* and *Chaudharies* and later on by the British colonist who took control of the historic Sikh shrine (*Harmandir*) at Patna. After the defeat of Siraj ud-Daula at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the East India Company became the ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orisa [16].

Because of its great historical significance, its management was directly under the control of the India Government (East India Company) through the Board of Revenue, Bengal, under Regulation XIX of 1810 and it remained as such till 11th March, 1865 when it came under the control of the District Judge of Patna according to the Religious Endowment Act XX of 1863. After preparing a list of the movable and immovable properties of the temple, its charge was handed over to *Mahanth* Ganda Singh on the 11th of March 1865. He was appointed its first manager by the order of the District Judge of Patna. By virtue of the powers so vested in him, the District Judge has been exercising jurisdiction under the Act of 1863 since that day and playing a dominant role in appointing and dismissing succeeding *mahanths* and managers or trustees of the *Harmandir* from time to time [17].

Further, it is also quite apparent from a letter of W. R. Jennings, the Collector of Patna, dated 10th February, 1932, that on 1st February, 1790, James Ross granted diurnal allowance of five pice to the *Pujari* of *Harmandir* though he failed to trace out from records preserved in his office, regarding the basis of such a bestowal. ... Besides these, "an extract from the Register of Pensions payable from the Patna Treasury," submitted by W. R. Jennings on 2nd July, 1831 reveals that the *Harmandir*, an annual *Mofussil* opium pensioner, drew Rs. 2/5/10 per mensem or Rs. 28/2 annually with commencement from 9th December, 1814 as per order of the Board of Revenue of the same date, 'for keeping up religious ceremonies of this place.' Though the records of the Collector's office furnished no information as regards the grounds on which such pension was allowed, there is no denying the fact that ever since the commencement of the allowance in question, either the *Mahanth* of the temple in person or his authorised agent, had presented himself at the State Treasury for receiving it. ... A document relevant to this affair and preserved in the Bengal Archives refers to the Batta allowance of Rs. 4/8/-percent granted to *Harmandir* vide Accountant's Order, No.526, dated 23rd January, 1836. The Petition of *Mahanth* Sukha Singh for the enhancement in percentage of the said Batta was rejected by the Commissioner of Patna on 4th December, 1855. The officiating Secretary, E. T. Trevor, vide his letter No. 93, dated 6th June, 1856 also rejected it on the ground that "the claim of the petitioner to an enhanced rate of allowance cannot be admitted after the lapse of twenty years [18]."

Like the religious places of other faiths, the *Harmandir* also received 20 Seers of opium every year from the Government. According to *Mahanth* Sukha Singh, a letter of the Court, dated 17th December, 1847 was sent to the Opium Agent, ordering him to grant the usual annual quota of 20 Seers of opium to him and on its receipt, it was distributed among the *faqirs* [19].

From the above evidence, it becomes abundantly clear why after the annexation of Punjab, the British government took direct control of Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple) and appointed *Udasis*

and *Nirmalas* as custodians and priests (pujaris) of Gurudwaras to Hinduize the Sikhs.

The influence of Bhais and Sardars was utilized by new rulers to maintain effective control over the Golden Temple and institutions in its precincts. A committee headed by Raja Tej Singh was formed to advise Sardar Jodh Singh who was appointed as an Extra Assistant Commissioner at Amritsar to manage the affairs of Golden Temple complex. Through an administrative manual (*dastur al-aml*), signed by a large number of Sardars and the functionaries of the Golden temple in the presence of the Deputy Commissioner in 1859, its management was transformed into 'simple magisterial and political control' to maintain influence over the 'high spirited and excitable Khalsa [20]'.

To begin with, there was the very question of Sikh identity, and jurisdiction of the government to define who was a Sikh. This was complicated by government interference in religious affair of the Sikhs; the continued management of the Golden Temple under official patronage; the glaring defiance of the Temple management in according differential treatment to low caste Sikhs causing obstruction to revivalist groups; the judgement in June 1919 confirming the appointment of an apostate Sikh as a manager of Gurdwara Babe di Ber, Sialkot, bringing to the fore the inadequacy of law; and British Courts serving as vehicles of imposition of status quo to the indignation of the Tat Khalsa [21].

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Appendix G

Orientalists

The growth of trade between Europe and the Indian subcontinent in the sixteenth century aroused the interest of European scholars especially, British orientalist in the Indian civilization. In the beginning there was genuine interest in understanding the Indian people - their culture, languages and religions. However, the colonization of India by the British brought a marked change in the attitude of the orientalist. Serving the interest of colonial powers and the justification for colonization became the primary interest at the expense of genuine scholarship as recently noted by Thomas Trautman.

With the inauguration of the British Empire in India in the middle of the eighteenth century, British colonizers were prompted to ask and answer certain questions about their own identity as Britons, about the essence of the newly conquered Indians, and about their relationship to their Indian subjects. 'Conquest provoked the questions, and also provided the means for more intimate knowledge of India by which they could be answered' (Trautman 1997:3). The questions asked and answered took a dramatic turn during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. What Thomas Trautman describes as 'Indomania' began in the eighteenth century with educated European gentlemen unreservedly enthused by the study of Sanskrit; in the similarities of Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, they saw intimate kinship between British and Indian civilizations. The earliest Orientalists, most notably Friedrich Max Muller looked to the ancient Vedas to understand the origin of this kinship. Through their analysis of Vedic sources, the Orientalists concluded that Indian civilization was older and more original than that of Greece; the authority of the scripture stemmed from its independence and antiquity in comparison to the Bible. ... Still Hinduism in its contemporary context was the enigmatic link to the wisdom of Vedic antiquity and was thus a domain worthy of dutiful attention. ... With the nineteenth century came the radically diverging Evangelical and Utilitarian movements. ... In conjugation the two movements constituted the prevailing Anglicist policy of the nineteenth century. Trautman characterizes the profound change in British attitudes in the early nineteenth century as a move from 'Indomania' to 'Indophobia', constructed by Evangelicalism and Utilitarianism [1].

Misinterpretation of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution (*On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London: John Murray, 1859) came in handy for the British colonists for asserting their racial superiority and the justification for the colonization of "inferior and uncivilized races". Not only that, social scientists misused the evolution theory to explain the racial and ethnic differences among the Indian people for dividing the population into various groups in order to play one group against other to the advantage of the colonial masters.

The anthropologist Sir Herbert Risley notes (1915: 1130) with not a small degree of imperialistic self-satisfaction that the decision 'served to illustrate the practical working of the principle that the sole test of social precedence prescribed was the Indian public opinion, and that this test was to be applied with due consideration for the susceptibilities of the persons concerned.' ... Risley developed an elaborate scheme to scientifically prove that definite differences between the conquered peoples of India existed. Based on

indices such as head size, stature, and colour, he analysed the inhabitants of north-west India: (ibid.: 49). ... We are concerned merely with the fact that there exists in the Punjab and Rajputana at present day, a definite type, represented by the Jats and Rajputs, which is marked by a relatively long (dolicho-cephalic) head; a straight, finely cut (leptorrhine)nose; a long, symmetrically narrow face; a well-developed forehead, regular features, and high facial angle. The stature is high and the general build of the figure is well proportioned, being massive in the Jats and relatively slender in the Rajputs. Throughout the group the predominant colour of the skin is very light transparent brown, with tendency towards darker shades in the lower social strata. ... In respect of their social characters the Indo-Aryans, as I have ventured to call them, are equally wholly distinct from the bulk of the Indian people. They have not wholly escaped the contagion of caste, but its bonds are less rigid among them than with any other Indian races, and the social system retains features which recall the more fluid organization of the tribe [2].

While in the earlier Indophobic milieu any intimations of possible kinship between Indians and the British were loudly refuted. In the newly conquered people of Punjab, the colonizers found remnants of ancient ties which inextricably bound them. They found more elements of kinship with Jat Sikhs than with any other group. The British saw in them a reflection of themselves in an earlier, less civilized age (Cunningham 1910: 46-7). Beyond the perceived ties of colour, race, or notion of gender, the prevalent village community and its peasant population caught the British imagination. George Campbell (1893: 114) compared the eighteenth-century Sikh rulers in Punjab to the princes of medieval Germany. He was amazed that the Sikh Jats could create a 'complete and fully organized feudal system'. The only explanation he could offer was that the 'feudal system which prevailed in Europe is a sort of natural instinctive habit of the Aryan race when they go forth to conquer' [3].

The British invented the Aryan race theory and accomplished their imperialist objectives by dividing the Indian people into numerous groups in order to play one group against the other.

The Aryan race theory or Aryan invasion theory, was an ingenious tool of the nineteenth century utilized to understand contemporary conditions in India. Max Mueller, the chief spokesperson for the early Sanskritists, had earlier used it to show that the civilizing process of the Aryans had culminated in the south of India with peaceful colonization by Brahmins. Muller (1847, cited in Trautman 1997: 176) had suggested that they 'followed the wiser policy of adopting [for] themselves the language of the aboriginal people and of conveying through its medium their knowledge and instruction to the minds of uncivilized tribes' as opposed to the vanquishing, destroying, and subjection which took place in the north of India from whence the invaders came. This interpretation of historical events came to be contradicted with novel version of the invasion theory in the nineteenth century. Having taken on a distinctly biological flavour, the theory asserted that the 'higher civilization and superior physique' of the Aryan invaders became soiled as they advanced further south and eastwards through their intermingling with the uncivilized; their higher creed came eventually to be corrupted by the 'foul Dravidian worships of Siva and Kali, and the adoration of the lingam and the snake' (Taylor, cited in Trautman 1997:1850. ... The divine right to rule the loathsome Dravidians, increasingly characterized as a weakened, morally corrupt and effete race of people, was not difficult for the nineteenth-century imperialist mindset to justify [4].

The colonists divided Indian people into Dravidians versus Indo-Aryans, martial races versus non-martial races, agriculturists versus non-agriculturists; the effeminate Bengali *babus* versus the unpolished though manly frontiersmen in the newly annexed colony of Punjab; Hindus

versus Muslims; Hindus versus Sikhs; Sikhs versus Muslims, Sikhs versus Sanatan Sikhs (Hinduized Sikhs), Arya Samajists versus Sanatan Hindus and so on [5].

Alarmed about the rising power of Sikhs the British colonist stepped up spying on Sikhs in the garb of travellers, diplomats, missionaries, and their agents recruited from the native population. Moreover, they started a campaign of defamation and misinformation about Sikhs and their religion through their own writings and spurious literature. Their aim was to create division among Sikhs by reviving the caste system and dividing Sikhs into Khalsa and non-Khalsa Sikhs and to turn Hindus and Muslims against Sikhs [6]. It is evident from some of the statements in Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* (1812) that the British were ready at that time to launch a campaign of defamation and misinformation against the Sikhs. Describing Khalasa Sikhs (Sikhs who have not taken *Khande Dee Pahul*) he says:

Their character differs widely from that of the Singhs. Full of intrigue, pliant, versatile, and insinuating, they have all the art of the lower classes of Hindus, who are usually employed in transacting business: from whom, indeed, as they have no distinction of dress, it is difficult to distinguish them [7].

This statement is repeated word for word by Colonel Steinbach in 1846 in (*The History of the Sikhs together with concise Accounts of the Punjab and Cashmere*) while praising the Khalsa Sikhs and denigrating non-Khalsa Sikhs.

Thus the British turned to the Sikhs of the Khalsa, 'true' Sikhs, describing them as 'generally speaking, brave, active and cheerful, without polish, but neither destitute of sincerity nor attachment'. Those Sikhs who were not of Khalsa brotherhood Steinbach (1846:113-15) describes as, 'Full of intrigue, pliant, versatile, and insinuating, they have all the art of the lower classes of Hindus, who are usually employed in transacting business: from whom, indeed, as they have no distinction of dress, it is very difficult to distinguish them'[8].

The Muhammedans who have become Sikhs, and their descendants, are, in Penjabi [Panjabi] jargon, termed Mezhebi Singh or Singh of the faith; and they are subdivided into four classes which are vulgarly, but erroneously, supposed to distinguish the followers of Muhammed, Sayyad Singh, Sheikh Singh, Moghul Singh, and Patan Singh; by which designations the names of particular race or country of the Muhammedans have been affixed, by Hindus, as distinctions of cast [9].

Commenting on the situation of Muslims under Sikh rule he says:

These, though very numerous, appear to be all poor, and to be an oppressed, despised race. They till the ground, and are employed to carry burdens, and do all kinds of hard labour: they are not allowed to eat beef, or say their prayers aloud, and but seldom assemble in their mosques; of which few, indeed, have escaped destruction [10].

Malcolm's claim that Muslim subjects under the Sikh rule were mistreated is refuted by non other than Fakir Syed Waheed-ud-Din the author of "*The Real Ranjit Singh*", whose ancestors

were among the prominent ministers in Ranjit Singh's court.

Quoting from *Vachitra Natac* Malcolm says:

There is a remarkable passage in this chapter, in which Guru Govind appears to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor. "God," he says, "formed both Baba (Nanac) and Baber (the emperor of that name). Look upon Baba as the Padshah (king) of religion, and Baber, the lord of the world. He who will not give Nanak a single damri, (a coin the sixteenth part of an ana,) will receive a severe punishment from Baber [11]."

The implication of this absurd and historically untenable statement is that that Sikhs should submit peacefully to the British rule after the conquest of the Sikh kingdom. Whereas Malcolm has portrayed the relationship between Sikh Guru and Mughals as cordial, the Mughals executed two of the Sikh Gurus, Arjan and Tegh Bahadur and murdered thousands of innocent Sikhs and committed untold unspeakable atrocities on the Sikh population.

John Griffith (1794) says:

Their Book, they declare contains a prediction that "the European will one day be in possession of Delhy." This probably the Oracle, or rather the Interpreter of the Oracle, has suggested to keep suspicion awake [12].

Here Griffith is referring to the Sikh scripture (Aad Guru Granth Sahib): "The tenets of Nanuk have been collected into a Book, which they call Ghiruntejee, and guard as sacred Deposit or rather Oracle, at a place called Amber Ser [12]." Contrary to Griffith's assertion, Aad Guru Granth Sahib categorically, rejects prophecy and the belief in prophecy.

Half a century later Cunningham (1849) quotes few more prophecies from a spurious *granth* compiled by anti-Sikh elements under the name of Guru Gobind Singh.

In the *Granth* of Guru Gobind Singh there are at least four allusions to European, the last referring specially to an Englishman. First in the *Akal Stut*, Europeans are enumerated among the tribes inhabiting India, second and third, in the *Kalki* chapters of the 24 *Autars*, apparently in praise of the systematic modes of Europeans; and fourth, in the Persian *Hikayatas*, where both a European and an Englishman appear as champion for the hand of a royal damsel, to be vanquished, of course, by the hero of the tale [13].

Sixty years later in 1909 Macauliffe elaborates on prophecies with a relish.

A few advantages of the Sikh religion to the State may be here enumerated. One day, as Guru Tegh Bahadur was in the top story of his prison, the Emperor Aurangzeb thought he saw him looking towards the south in the direction of Imperial zenana. He was sent for the next day, and charged with grave breach of Oriental etiquette and propriety. The Guru replied, 'Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments or any queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the sea to tear down thy pardas and destroy thine empire.' Sikh writers state that these words became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on the mutineers in Dihli (Delhi) in 1857, under General John Nicholson, and that thus the prophecy of the ninth Guru was gloriously

fulfilled.

When it was represented to Guru Gobind Singh that a Muhammadan army would eventually come to overpower his Sikhs, he replied, 'What God willeth shall take place. When the army of the Muhammadans cometh, my Sikhs shall strike steel on steel. The Khalsa shall then awake, and know the play of battle. Amid the clash of arms the Khalsa shall be partners in present and future bliss, tranquillity, meditation, and divine knowledge. Then shall the English come, and, joined by the Khalsa, rule as well in the East as in the West. The holy Baba Nanak will bestow all wealth on them. The English shall possess great power and by force of arms take possession of many principalities. The combined armies of the English and the Sikhs shall be very powerful, as long as they rule with united councils. The empire of the British shall vastly increase, and they shall in every way obtain prosperity. Wherever they take their armies they shall conquer and bestow thrones on their vassals. Then in every house shall be wealth, in every house religion, in every house learning, and in every house happiness.

It is such prophecies as these, combined with monotheism, the absence of superstition and restraint in the matter of food, which have made the Sikhs among the bravest, the most loyal and devoted subjects of the British Crown[14].

Macauliffe avoids naming the source of this prophetic information; he simply refers to "Sikh writers".

It is deplorable that Sikh scholars have not critically examined the writings of westerners, particularly the British on Sikhs. It is indicative of the superficial nature and intellectual poverty of scholars of Sikh Studies!

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