EARLY SIKH
SCRIPTURAL TRADITION
MYTH AND REALITY
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BALWANT SINGH DHILLON
Dedicated to
the fond memory of my grand-father
S. Kahn Singh
who led me on my first day to
the village school and encouraged me
to get entry into the portals of
higher education
CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 9

Note on Transliteration and Documentation 12

Foreword —Prof. Noel Q. King 13

Introductory 30

1. Gurbāṇi and Its Transmission 37

2. Guru Har Sahai Pothi:
   Myth of an Early Corpus of the Sikh Scriptur 64

3. The Goindwal Pothis: Myth and Reality 89

4. MS ā 1245: Myth of an Early Draft Reconsidered 183

5. Epilogue 259

Glossary 289

Bibliography 297

Index 303
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The book addresses to the issues that have cropped up from the textual studies of the Sikh scripture. It examines the various ways and means or the traditions through which the Gurbāī was being transmitted in the pre- Àdi Granth period. Besides inquiring into the role of the Sikh Gurus in nurturing the Sikh scribal tradition, it takes into account the rival traditions, namely the Udāsīs, the Bhallās and the Mīās that had come up to serve the sectarian interests. The study seeks to reiterate that before using the evidence of a document of Gurbāī, its authenticity, antiquity and authority need to be analysed in an analytical and surgical manner. It intends to subject the sources to rigorous examination that are considered to be at the base of the Àdi Granth. It also points to the limitations of Biblical methods of textual criticism which have been applied to the Sikh text without any testing and experimentation. It is hoped that this work will be a significant contribution to the Àdi Granth studies and with it some of the contentious issues originating from the understanding of the western scholars in respect to the formation of Sikh canon, may be laid at rest.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the very outset, I wish to express my profound gratitude to Prof. Noel Q. King, Prof. Emeritus of History and Comparative Religion, University of California at Santa Cruz, U.S.A. During my stay with him at his Watsonville home in June 1994, he suggested to me to analyse the early Sikh scriptural sources from textual point of view so that their role in the formation of Sikh canon could be understood in its proper perspective. I have had the honour to discuss with him from time to time the issues arising out of these sources. His critical comments have been most invaluable for me to prepare the final draft of the present study. I am indebted to him in more than one way. He has also written the foreword of this book which speaks volumes of his understanding of the issues involved in the Sikh Studies.

Scholars of manuscriptology know well that to secure access to historical and official documents is not an easy task. Usually, the custodians exhibit extreme reluctance to allow critics to examine the manuscripts in their possession. In December, 1995, the then Vice-Chancellor of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, disallowed me to obtain photostat copies of some folios of MS # 1245 that I needed badly for my present study. Yet prior to that, this very gentleman had, in a very clandestine manner carried a micro-film of this very manuscript to America, at the expense of university exchequer, for a foreign based Sikh scholar. Subsequent events have shown that this had probably been done deliberately for promoting certain scholars to establish a particular point of view to put the very authenticity of the Ādi Guru Granth Sāhib—the eternal Guru of the Sikh community to doubt. Rather than discouraging me, the disdainful attitude of the university authorities of those
times, had in fact, strengthened my resolve to carry on with this study with an added vigour to bring out the truth. So it was a blessing in disguise.

It is gratifying that there were a large number of people like S. Aridaman Singh Dhillon, S. Balkar Singh Sandhu, Prof. Kuldip Singh, Prof. Suba Singh, Principal Labh Singh and late Dr. Devinder Singh Vidyarthi, who were more than willing to help me to get access to the documents required for this study. I am very grateful to them. I am also indebted to the authorities of Punjabi University, Patiala; Punjab Languages Department, Patiala; Punjab State Archives, Patiala; Khalsa College, Amritsar; and Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, for allowing me to consult various manuscripts preserved in their libraries. Prof. Pritam Singh, Patiala and Dr. Darshan Singh, Head, Department of Religious Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, deserve my special thanks. I have got immense help from them to procure the relevant material as well as valuable views pertaining to these documents. My thanks are also due to Dr. Sabinderjit Sagar, Dr. Raijasbir Singh, Dr. Jasbir Singh Sabar, Dr. Narinder Kaur Bhatia and Dr. Jaswinder Kaur Dhillon, all my colleagues in the Deptt. of Guru Nanak Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, with whom I have been discussing various problems emanating out of this study. I am grateful to Dr. Sulakhan Singh, Deptt. of History, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, who has taken a keen interest in the study from its very beginning and has always been helpful to me in resolving the various issues that arose in the course of its preparation. Prof. Avtar Singh Canadian, formerly of Khalsa College, Amritsar, has gone through the write-up to make useful comments to present it in a coherent manner. However, all the errors and the views expressed in it are mine and I alone am responsible for them.

It is my sacred duty to recall my debt to the authors quoted in this study whose works have been a beacon of light for me to accomplish this work. Principal Shamsher Singh and Dr. Amarjit Singh, both of Shahid Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar, have woked hard with me to check the references. My friends Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann, S.
Yadwinder Singh Aulakh, S. Nishabar Singh Virk and S. Gurcharan Singh Bhangoo, have been a constant source of moral strength for me to execute this study to the best of my ability.

Miss Rupinder Walia and Mrs. Kalai Selvi Thangraj have done their best to prepare the type script. S. Gursagar Singh of Messrs Singh Brothers, deserves special appreciation for his enthusiastic response and meticulous care in producing this book. I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to my wife Dr. Usha Dhillon and my sons Samrat and Shahbaz without whose co-operation at home, it would not have been possible to complete this work.

BALWANT SINGH DHILLON
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Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DOCUMENTATION

For transliteration of the terms in their modern Punjabi forms we have followed the system of *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Punjabi University, Patiala. Unless otherwise specifically stated, all dates are Common Era. Instead of mentioning to 'a' or 'b' side of a folio of the manuscripts used in this study, we have referred to it by a single folio number that is marked on its right side. The abbreviations used in this work stand for the following names and terms:

- **AGGS**: Ádi Guru Granth Sāhib
- **ASS**: Abstracts of Sikh Studies
- **ast.**: Astpadi
- **Bk.**: Bikrami
- **C.E.**: Common Era
- **Chap.**: Chapter
- **chaup.**: Chaupadi
- **M.**: Mahali
- **MS**: Manuscript
- **JRS**: Journal of Religious Studies
- **JSS**: Journal of Sikh Studies
- **N.W.F.P.**: North West Frontier Province
- **S.G.P.C.**: Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
FOREWORD

It is a great honour to be asked to write a foreword. It is always a pleasure to join in presenting to the public a work of academic excellence which indicates the fruition and fulfilment of an important development in the academic scene.

When the British East India Company closed its regime of major conquests of territory in India in the middle of the last century, it was natural that the driving power which lay behind them should proceed to the next steps. That driving power could be called 'Westernization', 'Europeanization', or even 'Globalization'. That lust persisted in a territorial sense till another ninety years were spent. Then India, Africa, and various other parts of the world followed the example of Latin America of going into self-determination of some kind. Alas - the more subtle means of the old processes continue in full swing and we are witnessing the on-going struggle between Han China and others at this time.

In India, in the 1850s, it was natural that indigenous forms of higher education should be trodden under foot and the British should push the western university system hard. Some of the Indian peoples turned their backs on the new system as it began to unfold in the universities at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, then Lahore and the other places. But the juggernaut went inexorably on, and when India and Pakistan achieved independence in 1947, more and more local resources were poured into its expansion. Some saw it as a movement when the shackles of the British so-called drive for quality were shattered by a new country's need for quantity. Even so, some communities lagged behind. The Shi'a in part and the Sikhs were two such communities. But even they had second thoughts. The
young men and women who deserted the British system under the
influence of Mahatma Gandhi lived to regret it. Everybody had
forgotten that it was the Namdhari Sikhs that had first asked people
to avoid the westernizing system. Those boycotters had good right
to feel suspicious, for the British deliberately planned the production
of little Englishman with brown faces to take their places. After all,
Gandhi, Nehru, as well as Jinnah, had all been to Britain, and received
British qualifications which paid them off well. At that time, the Sikhs
could produce no politician of that caliber to stand up for Sikh rights.
So, also the old Awadhi nobility were left out. The great Maulana
Azad himself, being of Bengali background, did what he could for
the Muslims as a whole, but the Muslims too fell behind. Many hived
off to Pakistan.

There were some amongst the Sikhs who were prepared to
take the risk, though the members of royal families sent to England
seemed to achieve nothing or even to die in the kind of misery that
the good Prince Dalip suffered. But in independent India, under the
leadership of people like Prof. Harbans Singh, Dr. G.S. Mansukhani,
and S. Daljit Singh, there were some Sikhs prepared to work with
the new system while keeping it under control. It was natural when
the Sikhs had on behalf of India gained their great victory over
Pakistan in international warfare in 1965, that Mr. Lal Bahadar Shastri
should listen with friendship to their ideas for promoting their
language and culture. Much more was needed, but now it was high
time that the western end of the spectrum, should be given a fully
fledged university: on the eastern side, the Punjabi University, plus
additional chairs at Chandigarh, and in due time throughout India,
should be made available.

It was possible in these circumstances to have specifically Sikh
Religious Studies centered on Sri Guru Granth Sahib both at a
Department of that name at Patiala and in the Guru Nanak Studies
Department at Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. But even
before this the old tradition of Sikh scholarship had not been wholly
eradicated by the British. Somehow it had survived. The court at
Faridkot contributed a certain amount of patronage as did the other
princely families, but as we look back we get the feeling they did
not help as much as they ought. In fact, there were times when
if some of them who were collaborators with the British thought
the students of Khalsa College were too obstreperous, they
engineered the shutting off of resources so that sometimes the
Principal of the college, even if he were not himself British, came
under very severe pressure.

When the Sikh shrines were freed from the Mahants and other
incumbents, they became able to make a much more direct
contribution and various taksals arose or were revived which
continued the work of scholarship. The Shiromani Gurdwara
Parbandhak Committee were also patrons and promoters of
scholarship. The tradition of Sikh scholarship was picked up by the
Singh Sabha Movement of the 1870s onward, and they produced
a great person like Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha. On its side, Khalsa
College, Amritsar, produced Prof. Sahib Singh who takes the breath
away for his academic eminence and his sheer ability to carry the
traditional roots of his subject into the very front of original
scholarship in our century.

It is part of the subtlety of the modernization trend that there
must always be many stalwart, deep-thinking members of the old
ways who have open minds about the value of many things the new
ways bring, at least so far as to give them an honest and thorough
try-out. This leads to a certain dichotomy of thinking and action
which can enter into the very hearts and minds of even the strongest
supporter of the traditional ways. There is always division and
confusion and tergiversation in the ranks. Good people are found
on both sides. The same sincere person can change sides. Therefore
throughout, we should not consider collaborators with policies we
do not like as enemies to be hated or betrayers who have taken to
underhand ways. Nor can those who are normally our allies be
counted on always to support what we consider the right policy.

In 1945, I was returning by train from Burma to Chaklala near
Rawalpindi with my platoon on the way to Germany. At Amritsar
the guard asked me if I would like the company of a distinguished
Sikh personality. My welcome companion turned out to be Master
Tara Singh. We talked of happy things and starting of a new life.
I joked that I was going to settle in Ireland and he told me, for sure, if I loved the Tenth Guru, I should have to get a wolf hound and keep eagles. (Both these things came true.) He talked much of the disbanding of the armies and the return to peace. How quickly the journey to Lahore went. Now I am lucky I can get across the border and it takes a long time, and I weep as I go down the road which was a Via Dolorosa for millions of Punjabis going both ways. This holocaust and genocide was hardly noticed internationally, and the suffering of the Sikhs was greater than that of any other group. In 1947, they found themselves in a majority on the Indian side of the Punjab border. In 1965, they brought home for India a major victory in an international war. Having recovered from the untold trauma of partition, achieving this victory made them think that better times lay ahead. So far as the academic study of Sikhism is concerned, great possibilities were opening up. At the Punjabi University at Patiala in the centre of the compound is the Sri Guru Gobind Singh Department of Religious Studies. With it are kindred departments, including Guru Granth Sahib Studies and the Sikh Encyclopaedia as well as various research groups. It was the work of Prof. Harbans Singh that made this possible, where a number of religions can be studied side by side by exponents of the different religions as well as by Sikhs, and the subject can take its place along with other subjects in reciprocity.

In the meantime, in the west, that is chiefly north Europe, Britain and English-speaking North America, Australia and New Zealand, the critical approach to literary scholarship was developing rapidly. It seemed to come up about the same time as the natural sciences had their great take off from the 17th century onward, and by the 19th was well under way. Perhaps it reflects the same kind of mentality by which one isolates, 'eradicates,' 'de-guts,' a topic and deal with things in a very narrow kind of way, with a certain proud contempt of concomitants of what has gone before and the consequences. The approach has many features of which I wish to mention but a few. It is insisted that a tradition or a received account is to be treated with suspicion until proved
reliable. This seems rather like the idea that every accused is guilty till he or she can prove they are innocent. Everything miraculous is accordingly to be rejected out of hand. There is no pause to ask at what level the truth in these things can be discovered, rather than being rejected out of hand. If something cannot be treated on an absolutely objective, third party, cold-light-of-day level, it is to be ignored. Again, there are only 'yes' and 'no' answers. Questions are posed exclusively by the critic. As in a museum everything is an artifact. The critic chooses lighting, background and inscription, description. Obviously, there must be what has been called a hermeneutic of atheism. This does not stop at merely asking us to take into account that the divine hypothesis must not be resorted to in the manner of deus ex machina but that no reference to the divine, except for denial, no providential or overall plan, pattern or forethought is allowed, even if it is helpful as an hypothesis in understanding what the makers and actors in history may have been thinking. This leads to a good deal of anachronistic thinking in that the divine hypothesis has been recognised by most people up till the last century, and they let such thinking determine what they were trying to do. The critical approach takes it for granted that stories are to be understood literally as we who stand after the cheap printing press and the scientific revolution believe a story. "My love is like a red, red rose that is newly sprung in May" is on the same level as $\text{Zn} + \text{H}_2\text{SO}_4 = \text{ZnSO}_4 + \text{H}_2$.

When in the Janamsākhi the man squeezes and out comes milk or blood, this is history in its own sense the same way truth according to a very ancient Indic principle is often to be assessed from where the thing is going, from whence it has come, and what is the level of its purpose. The critical approach as it appears in its western form is more imperialist than the British themselves, for it takes it that it is of universal application without any differentiation. Things that worked out well for the critical literary study of English are applied wholesale to other languages such as Punjabi. In due time, when Marxist systems of thought came to be applied (and this is perhaps the place where Marxism will have its most long-lasting world effect) in historiography we see its ideas of evolution being
applied wholesale, and the idea of the class struggle being used to explain apparent changes in the natural unfolding of human thought forms.

Religious studies developed against this background in the universities. In places like Oxford, Edinburgh, Cambridge, Harvard, Yale, theology had been the queen of the subjects. Because of its historical strength and venerability, because also of the service it had rendered in the past to scientia omnia, it had to be left in some kind of position, however weak. It was put into a linked-up loop-line round which the old academic shunters could puff up and down. In the so-called secular universities it was nonexistent or had to find its way as best it could. The easiest way was to disguise it as one more historical, social science. Even in that guise it has managed to achieve great things. For instance, in the universities of the North American system, it can hold conferences with thousands of 'attendees' and millions of miasmic words emanating. The unwary can be buried by avalanches of paper. Periodicals proliferate. Somewhere there is something missing in it, and its enemies are not slow in pointing out that it sits as "a specter crowned on the grave of something which died long ago." The question was, in what shape or form Sikh studies were to emerge as a form of world discipline, because typically of Sikhism it soon began to make itself felt, not only in the Punjab but everywhere.

The study of the sacred text itself with the use of modern western methods had had the calamity of being taken up under colonial government auspices and launched by Prof. Ernst Trumpp of Munich. He was one of the most brilliant scholars in a brilliant age. He had made a distinguished name for himself as a linguist, and when serving at Karachi and Peshawar had done outstanding service in his studies of the languages of Northwest India. By the time he came again to Lahore and Amritsar at the end of the 1860s at the behest of the colonial government, his health and especially his brain and eyesight and his nervous strength were fast deteriorating. The loss of his first wife in India at the time of the first freedom movement had poisoned his mind. His preface to his edition of the
Holy Book stands as one of the finest monuments to the mentality of the imperialist, chauvinist pig that has ever been erected. The offensiveness and general lack of natural human decency and self-respect which Prof. Trumpp displays should not lessen our realization of his achievement and of the restraint of the Sikhs. Despite a defeat and shattering of their comity engineered by the basest of western chicanery and treachery, they had rallied and begun a revival. They still held the doors of study and academic investigation open in the face of shocking bad manners and colonialist effrontery. That the giãnis taught the professor as much as they did and quietly departed obviously in a state of shock was a great achievement when most of us would have given that scholar a bloody nose at the least. Having shut the door against himself, it is marvelous to see what the professor as an unaided etymological and critical scholar could produce. I have yet to see anything as good in English which can explain the prosody of the Granth in the terms of Greek and Latin paradigms which some westerners still know, as his work on the topic.

Just to fill out this story with one that balances it, it is good to be able to mention the work of Max A. Macauliffe. He was one of those Celtic fringe Scots-Irish servants of the Crown who had been facing English colonialism since the 12th century. Perhaps indeed Ireland was Caliban's island. These Irish and Scots had kept the empire going, and in a way were the spiritual ancestors of the Sikhs in that respect. Because of their disadvantaged status, they had to be twice as brave and efficient as ordinary Englishman. Sometimes they were super-helpful like the Lawrence brothers, sometimes diabolic like Dwyer (I gather things are similar in French imperialism with Bretons and Alsatians, in Spanish with Basques, and in Japan with Koreans). Macauliffe gave up his rich emoluments and privileges as a judge under the Indian government to seek out Sikh scholars and traditionalists and to study at their feet. Like Bhai Gurdas, he was unmarried and gave everything to the sevā (though a good partner would have doubled his effectiveness and certainly quadrupled his happiness).

In their intention, the succession of people like Macauliffe...
includes Dr. Carl Loehlin and some members of the 'Batala school.'
In the history of the development of Christian mission theology, at
long last in the era after World War Two, Christian thinkers plainly
stated that head-on confrontation and mutual vituperation were
clearly contrary to the Gospel. They began to insist one of God's
purposes in the meeting of the great religions was mutual teaching
and learning, self-reform and newness of life based on mutual love.
There were plans for cooperation and the exchange of study.
Probably Bishop Kenneth Cragg, who has laboured from the 1940s
to the present day to bring Islam and Christianity together and
published such books as Sandals at the Gate and the Call of the
Minaret is the best example. Dr. Loehlin did a book on the Sikhs
which gave true information about them and their religion. Principal
Ram Singh and Dr. Clarence MacMullen, whose family were Anglo-
Indians from Kabul, also contributed. Unfortunately, this school of
Christianity has hardly been noticed by the Sikhs who naturally resent
the kind of proselytization which a number of sects and extreme
fundamentalists still hand out to other religions. Then also there is
the work of people who are Christian no longer, whose work is then
marked up in the Christian book because that is where they took
their beginnings. Dr. Loehlin and his wife spent the last days of their
strength at Yuba City, California, helping to welcome new Sikhs as
they came and especially to assist them to fill out the innumerable
forms in English which is the sine qua non of American life.

In far away New Zealand, the second and third generation
Scots/Irish settlement was going ahead and prosperity was greeting
the work of the pioneers. It is a delight to report also that some Sikhs
had managed to settle there and began to make their way as dairies
farmers. It was an amazing community altogether, producing people
who climbed mountains, who went to England and carried out
revolutions in the discovery of antibiotics, and in young men and
women who went overseas to serve in Africa and in India. Hew
MeLeod was amongst them. He had gone to the local university of
Otago, at Dunedin, and there joined the Christian group around Knox
College, a Presbyterian theological school. He found himself taken
up by the student spirit of the time to give service to the world in
general, to serve and educate, not so much as to evangelize. Thus
he came to be teaching in a secondary school in the Punjab. His own
study of the languages and literature and religion, together with the
ability and willingness of his Sikh teachers, produced first-rate
scholarship. He went on to the School of Oriental and African studies
at London. By this time he found his faith had disappeared. He insists
he is not a Christian, nor in fact a believer of any kind. Nothing makes
him more angry than being called 'reverend' or being referred to as
a missionary or ex-missionary. He is blessed with a brilliant, able,
and utterly supportive partner. His overcoming of the effects of a
stroke which befell him in the 1980s is impressive. He is totally
sincere and devoted to the truth. This is the truth as he sees it, and
we recall to mind the teaching of Anekanta. It is not everybody's
truth. However, he is a sincere and honest person, and to belittle
his character or his motives or mix it up with Christianity is just
to befog our minds when we need every bit of mental and spiritual
lucidity we can muster.

In the meantime, back in the 1960s, the Sikhs had found
themselves in a majority in the area of the Indian Punjab after the
calamitous trauma of partition and resettlement. The Holy Book had
become more and more their rallying place, the veritable Ark of the
Covenant of the Lord round which their faith centered. In 1984, the
central government sent in the federal army and it destroyed the Akal
Takht, which is separated from the Darbar Sahib by but a short
causeway. Again, the Sikhs rallied round their Holy Book. And the
Holy Book once again sheltered and protected them from becoming
the victims of Mâyâ.

In the meantime, the work of scholarship has continued. And
it is against this background that this fine book by Dr. Balwant Singh
Dhillon, which we have before us, has been produced. A great
controversy arose over certain works which took up details of the
textural history of the Holy Book. This study had gone on quietly
since the beginning of Sikhism. The S.G.P.C. had itself commissioned
scholars to compile lists of scribal variant readings which occurred
in some of the manuscripts that had been collected in the central library at Darbar Sahib which atrociously was burnt down in 1984.

The tradition had begun with the first Guru and Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon sets before us how the Gurus collected together the genuine utterances they had received and carefully rejected those that were not genuine, raw, kachå, how the Gurus had selected certain scriptures for inclusion and excluded others. This work had gone on since the beginning under the supervision of the Gurus and in their circle. Certain other collections had been made by claimants to the Guruship, but it is possible to detect which these are by their characteristics. The fifth guru, Guru Arjan Dev, with Bhai Gurdas as amanuensis, before he went to Lahore and suffered his glorious martyrdom, gave us the authoritative Adi Granth which came on to the tenth Guru. He made some additions and reasserted the authenticity of the whole. This was the Scripture to which the tenth Guru, just before he expired to wounds inflicted by assassins, made obeisance and handed over to it and the Sangat the living Guruship. The tradition seems to speak remarkably, logically and clearly.

Why then was there altercation and all these discussions by scholars of old manuscripts and new suggestions? Sikhism has always been an open religion which has pulled in everybody to discuss the basic truths. No other religion has been as outstanding in opening everything to any who ask, and requesting them to see the truth of the message. Sikhism has never been afraid to keep the doors of learning open, because there is no mischief or wickedness in the purity of its religion. However, human beings, even scholars, are liable to commit faults and to be carried away by notions which, on more mature consideration, turn out to have led them into false ways. Despite this fallibility of scholars, they have to be encouraged, because that is a way in which we can ratify the truth.

An old great-grandfather academic like myself is able to say a number of things which cannot really be put into the text of a book, but is helpful for understanding the background and putting it into a wider context. And although it is against academic etiquette to use the first person, I think that Sikh society allows the elderly a little
bit of that kind of things. Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon has expressly refrained from the use of names and has asked me to try to avoid it. So I wish to emphasize that any naming of names is mine and the opinions I am giving are also mine. The author of the book is not to be held responsible for any of them.

This particular controversy seems to have started with a work published in 1992, *Gāthā Sri Ādi Granth*, written by Prof. Piar Singh of Guru Nanak Dev University, who was a well established research scholar of many years standing. No one can possibly question Prof. Piar Singh's devotion to research. I knew him as a friend from 1980 until his recent passing away. He was utterly devoted to his work. If he had a fault, it was that he wished his patrons to know that their patronage had produced excellent and outstanding results. He seems to have come upon a manuscript which is now in the special collection of Guru Nanak Dev University, under the number MS ā 1245. The bookseller who sold it to the University, when asked by the committee which we shall mention later on, gave a kind of cock and bull story about picking it up from a dealer in Rajasthan. We cannot be sure where it had come from. At some point, Prof. Piar Singh had been able to spend a lot of time with it, and I have seen with my own eyes the remarks he has inserted in English and in Punjabi in his own handwriting upon it. One can hardly believe he did this under the eyes of the specialist staff of the library who the world over watch one with the eyes of a hawk to see that we do not misuse a manuscript. I have had the privilege of carefully and at length examining the manuscript and I have to agree with Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon that Prof. Piar Singh's conclusion was a mistake. I believe Dr. Dhillon's explanation of what it really is, that is, a deliberate act of editing by a group of people who were interested in preserving a particular recension of *Bāni* other than the one recognized by us today. He has aptly remarked that the manuscripts taken up as the earliest sources of the Sikh canon instead of originating from the Sikh tradition represent different text families. Most probably they have been produced by individuals or a group intending to use them for singing, worship or sectarian
purposes. His understanding and textual analysis of these sources establish the fact that the text represented in them is in no way ancestral to the *Adi Granth*. Prof. Piar Singh discussed all this with me in some detail and sent me a large quantity of typewritten material. Careful perusal of this convinces me that his work, though I felt his suppositions about the importance of these manuscripts were wrong, was sincere.

The issue of Sikh studies has also been taken up by two other groups. One was the Institute of Sikh Studies located at Chandigarh. The leading light here was S. Daljeet Singh who befriended me early in the '80s and remained my friend until his own demise. In a very poignant moment he told me of how, in the '70s, he was catching the bus at Delhi in a winter sleet storm, with his mind full of the agony of Sikhism which had achieved so much and was now either being stultified by not being allowed its natural development, or undermined by enemies within as well as without. He especially mentioned the work of a certain New Zealand professor of history who had been a missionary in the Punjab. It was the work on the *Janamsākhīs* (the birth and childhood narratives) which was the source of S. Daljeet Singh's agony. He kept saying, "Do people go to their own martyrdom on behalf of figments of folk imagination?" I think here he was referring to his own part as a very small boy in the freeing of certain shrines from the *Mahants*. It was a genuine agony and he did an amazing and miraculous thing. He help found this Institute which has no resources of its own but as we shall see is able to bring together mighty resources, sufficient to move the mountains of the academy.

Prof. Hew McLeod was carrying on a remarkable work of establishing Sikh studies in the North American universities. The University of Toronto had obtained for him one of the largest National Endowment of Humanities grants obtained by any individual, and he was going from university to university lecturing on the importance of establishing chairs in Sikhism, or at least of getting the subject known. In the 1980s and 1990s, university chairs could be purchased by donors at bargain prices. The universities needed both
ethnic and subject diversification. They were 'strapped for cash': a lump sum from a donor as a living cashflow was most welcome, even though the long-term costs to the university would soon give the donors far more than they had put in, and go on paying for ever. In raising and administering money, the Sikhs have outstanding gifts and they do magnificently. Money was obtained, and donated. When the universities insisted that once the money was given the donors had no further say, this news was badly received. After all, the Sikh donor body, while it included some millionaires, also included the proverbial "little old ladies who had foregone the heating bill" in the North American winter so as to give the money to a Sikh chair. (Truth to tell, when the university accepts money from industrialists and big-time capitalists, it quietly connives with at least a generation of interference and influence-mongering.) It is to be hoped that the Sikh community will go on to give yet more donations for chairs in the university while the prices are still dirt low. The temptation is always to put things into marble and concrete (with one's own name carved in deep engraving) or into outside private institutions which can then become victims of our usual infighting, and the Guru-given leavening Sikhism gives to any outside institution of which it is part would be lost.

In the sequence of well-intentioned people which we were setting before the reader, one next places Dr. Pashaura Singh. He had been *granthi* at Calgary and was doing a Ph.D. on the text of the *Guru Granth Sāhib* which was accepted eventually by Toronto. A copy of his thesis was mimeographed and distributed, and it was taken that he had made serious mistakes in it and his case was brought before the acting Jathedar of Akal Takht. When he was summoned to Akal Takht to defend himself, Dr. Pashaura Singh went over there at his next opportunity and humiliated himself totally before the seat of authority and carried out the penance. He is now again a member of the Khalsa in good standing. His case in process had come before the American Academy of Religion whose relevant sub committee sent a letter to the Sikh leader at Amritsar in charge of the proceedings. Full of monumental misunderstandings, they
refer in false humility to the alleged accusation that in medieval times the Papacy did this kind of thing to Galileo. They completely misunderstood that 'excommunicate' is not a good translation of barādari se chheknā, meaning 'removal from the brotherhood.' Every human group has a right to ask a member of the brotherhood to refrain from claiming his or her rights until they could be reconciled. A case was laid against Dr. Pashaura Singh and he was asked to repent and given a penance which he carried out. Prof. Piar Singh had also appeared and been given a penance which he carried out. In neither case was it intended that the penance should be punitive though inadvertently telling Prof. Piar Singh to go to the gurdwārā where Bhai Gurdas penned the sacred volume each day because of the abysmal bus services became a heavy load on an old man. It is probable also that many North Americans had the Salmon Rushdie affair in the back of their minds. Not understanding the way that others, for instance some Muslims, think about these things, they fancy themselves as Don Quixotes riding out to defend the freedom of speech. On their side, the Sikhs insist throughout that there is nothing in common between the Rushdie case and their's.

The Institute at Chandigarh, together with a surgeon, Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann, who works in Fullerton, California, organized a series of conferences perhaps by chance over against those conferences that had been called earlier on by Hew McLeod, in which they stated the case for the absolute integrity of the Holy Book. This seemed to me as a university person, an amazing achievement by a private group: a quite miraculous bringing together of resources, gathering and shepherding professors from Chandigarh, Patiala and Amritsar, to the university towns of North America, from meeting at the airport, lodging, scheduling and returning them safe, all organized on a voluntary basis, self-supporting, but no doubt helped out by a very generous giver.

On the American side, Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann is a deep scholar of his own tradition and of medicine, so typical of so many Sikhs who are superb at their own profession and at the same time deeply versed in their own scriptures and tradition, who donate time and
substance to the Sikh cause. He has done a great deal also to give his time and resources to his local community, especially landless, paperless, Mexican workers who have been forced by poverty engineered by the economic politics of the U.S.A. to work for less than subsistence wages in the counterpart of the sweatshops of Los Angeles. Of these he once remarked: "The poor souls have nothing. Their language, civilization and culture, their very religion, has been destroyed by the outsider." Sikhism had no intention of allowing this to happen to her and in keeping with the teaching of the Gurus with regard to anyone else, they are willing to fight against wrong wherever they saw it. Here I would only tell of an ordinary Sikh's remarks from the floor during a conference at San Francisco: "I know my father and mother loved one another, and I was the product of that love. I do not want researchers investigating and analyzing the moments, motives and stages of that love. So it is with the Guru's gift of love to us in the Granth."

Surely a community to whom such a gift has been given, a gift in which and through which it consists (holds together), has a right and duty to uphold what it considers best for the research and study involved. Surely, too, the academic profession which compromised its freedom and integrity with Nazism, Fascism, Stalinism and the Cold War, has much rethinking and self-reformation to do. We have a full scale, fat journal called Lingua Franca which is devoted to the study of the faults and failures of the profession. Over a run of a number of years, it has never lacked material.

As an aside, I would like to say a word about the role of Oxford University Press in all this. The prestige of getting a book published by them and the facilities they possess world-wide for advertisement, distribution and sales, can contribute a great deal to a scholar's career, moreover it serves to establish the opinions of that author as a form of academic orthodoxy, a kind of referee and consultant of all that comes next in the subject (I believe Oxford University Press was associated with the notorious Earl of Claredon who, in the 1660s, established certain noxious doctrines in the English state church with dire effects which continued for more than a
century). Policy is laid down by a committee whose permanent
secretary is a paid employee of the press who consults not the
community concerned but scholars of his acquaintance, usually
cronies or a reputed world expert. Too few orthodox Sikhs in Delhi
take these people out to lunch at the Ashoka. Singh Brothers by the
deeply mourned Clock Tower do Sikh scholarship an immense service,
but neither they nor the university presses of Punjabi or Guru Nanak
Dev University have much all-world cover. Perhaps this will come.
A great effort should be made to bring it about soon. We also need
Sikh scholars of international, 'global,' stature, well-known socially,
academically respected. One could name one or two failed prophets
whom the Guru was coaching for the role, but they turned aside into
their own frivolities.

I hope that I have not been publically washing the laundry of
groups that have loved me and helped me for so many years
onwards, and including World War Two. I have only wanted to try
and point out the Sikh achievement in this whole matter and some
aspects of the university's role, and to say there are no villains, only
heroes. At the beginning of his Penguin on Sikhism, which will
undoubtedly be put in the hands of everybody seeking to know
something about Sikhism, Dr. McLeod names his students who
have been at the heart of these disputes (and there are more to come)
and affirms that they 'keep the flag flying.' For me, 'flag' used
absolutely, means 'flag of the Khalsa.' We pray the Guru that
somehow this may indeed be the case because the key academic
positions in North America are now in the hands of these people.
Of course, academic generations eventually do change and others
will come, and then we will know which way the Guru is directing
us more clearly. Certainly no other religion so little known at the
beginning of our century in so short a time has been so effectively
projected into the top ranks of scholarship and of academic
discussion. The story has yet much to be told. I have had the
privilege of seeing this part of it, and must testify to the greatness
of Sikhism, and affirm how eventually, whatever happens, the will
of the Guru will be done. I pray that many may be prompted to do
good things.
I commend to you this book as a work of sterling scholarship by someone who is genuinely of the culture of the Sikhs from ground level upwards as well as brilliant of intellect. His people were cultivators and irrigators in Rajasthan who turned a desert into an oasis. And he himself got his education the hard way, never at any of the British-type institutions that give some people an advantage, but rather with the common man and woman, using his own intelligence. I was very deeply impressed by how, in so many ways, it equalled the erudition of the people who first taught me Biblical and patristic textual studies in the best institutions the West can boast.

It is impressive to see how his type of learning has been able to use natural logical reasoning where we in the West have been going through the traumas of ever new forms of critical study, "rolled to larboard, rolled to starboard, when the surge is seething free." His work is of its own kind which can not be brushed aside in any way either by the native or western scholars. The reader is asked to take it up and read it, bearing in mind the Swahili proverb uttered by Grandfather Frog as he sees boys throwing stones into a well : "Their game : our death."

N.Q. KING

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INTRODUCTORY

1. Ever since its canonization in 1604 C.E., the Ádi Granth has been looked upon by the Sikhs as the most authentic and original repository of the divine 'word', i.e., the Bāni revealed to the Sikh Gurus during their respective periods of guruship. From the time of Guru Nanak, there is a mention of the Pothis of the Bāni being written down to transmit them to the successive generations. While compiling the Ádi Granth, Guru Arjan Dev also had some other sources of Bāni available to him besides the Pothi he had inherited from the fourth Guru. Unfortunately, none of the early sources or the original writings of the early Sikh Gurus, has survived to come down to us. The oldest manuscripts of the Bāni in our possession are copies, which in turn were copied from yet other copies and so on. Scholars interested in the textual studies have always lamented the non-availability of these sources which is considered a grave loss from the point of view of textual criticism.

2. It is widely believed that the Pothis of the Bāni, which were current in the Sikh Panth during the pre-Ádi Granth period, had no canonical authority. It is also felt that the available sources are either silent or reveal very little about the criteria of selection adopted in respect of the sacred writings which were included in or excluded from the Sikh scripture. On the basis of certain deletions and insertions in the text of old manuscripts of the Ádi Granth, it has been remarked that the final version established by Guru Arjan Dev in 1604 C.E., continued to be tampered with under the influence of socio-religious developments taking place in the history of the Sikh community.¹ Since 1970’s western scholars have shown a renewed interest in the textual studies of

the Sikh scripture so that 'a sure and certain text of the Ádi Granth could be established'.¹ Since textual analysis presupposes that history of the text is not sure and the text is also not original,² thus, the chief motive behind the above proposal has been to identify the possible sources of Sikh scriptural tradition and thereby to reconstruct the process that brought into being the Ádi Gur% Granth Sãhib as we have it in its present form. Resultantly, two Ph.D. dissertations—one at Toronto University and the other at Columbia University—have been completed under the guidance of western scholars of North-American universities.³ Whereas the former seeks to reconstruct the history of the text of the Ádi Granth', the latter attempts 'to clarify the process of scriptural evolution'. For pursuing their studies, both the scholars were in dire need of old manuscripts and versions which antedate 1604 C.E. Their inquiries resulted in the hypothesis that there may have been a source or a document available to Guru Arjan Dev that served as a prototype, providing basis for the Ádi Granth. Whereas the scholar at Toronto has largely based his formulations on MS a 1245, the scholar at Columbia, in addition to the above document has drawn heavily on Guru Har Sahai Pothi and the Goindwal Pothis to put forth his viewpoint. Both the scholars try to establish a genealogy between these sources and trace their origin to the early Sikh scriptural tradition. Accordingly, the above documents have been identified as the chief sources on which Guru Arjan Dev has depended to compile and canonize the Ádi Granth. It has been claimed that the above documents certainly represent the pre-canonical position of sacred Sikh scripture.

3. Back home, by accident or design, basically to provide 'a reliable text of the Sikh scripture', in Nov. 1993, Prof. Piar Singh also made an abundant use of the above documents to produce his controversial book.\(^1\) Inspite of minor differences here and there all the three scholars are invariably identical in their findings that (i) the history of the text of the Ádi Granth, as it stands today is quite obscure; (ii) before taking the scribal form the hymns of the Sikh Gurus have been in circulation through oral or musical tradition; (iii) the text of the Ádi Granth that we have in its present form lacks in originality, (iv) the Bãni of Guru Nanak Dev and his immediate successors has been revised in the final version; (v) Guru Arjan Dev has frequently modified his own hymns; (vi) the M%l-Mantra found in its present form has undergone a series of changes; (vii) a considerable number of genuine hymns of the Sikh Gurus have been left outside the Ádi Granth; (viii) the writings of the Bhagats have been in and out of the Sikh scriptures due to secular motives and so on.

4. Although, the above scholars claim that they have arrived at their conclusions after a careful study of various manuscripts of the Sikh text, yet their views have not found acceptance with a majority of scholars of Sikh studies and the leading Sikh institutions. Hence, an unsavoury controversy involving Prof. Piar Singh and Dr. Pashaura Singh erupted.\(^2\) Both the scholars had to appear before the Akal Takht, the highest seat of temporal and religious authority of the Panth, to explain their position. Though, they pleaded themselves to be guilty and accepted the verdict of the Akal Takht to go through religious penance, yet they have come out with writings which reiterate their previous views regarding the Sikh scripture.\(^3\)

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2. For the contentious issues, see Giani Bachittar Singh, ed., *Planned Attack on Aad Sr$ Gur% Gra*th S#hib.*
5. On my part, ever since my initiation into the field of Sikh studies, I have been making use of manuscript as well as scriptural sources. I had little thought that one day I will be obliged to examine the Ádi Granth sources from textual viewpoint. It all started in mid 1992 when I came to know that G.N.D. University library possessed a manuscript that has been claimed to be ‘an earlier draft of the Ádi Granth’.1 Anyway the discovery was so startling that it prompted me to examine the said manuscript from close quarters. My observations on it published in July 1993, were well-received by the scholars the world over.2 Subsequently, I was invited to North-America to present seminars on it in Sikh Study Conferences held at different universities. As stated elsewhere one day Prof. Noel Q. King asked me whether it was possible for me to go in for textual analysis of the sources that are considered to be at the base of the Ádi Granth. My prompt reply was that if he agreed, the project can be taken up as a joint venture. However, due to old age coupled with his not so well health in the years that followed, Prof. King could not participate in the proposed study beyond the stage of its inception. Nevertheless his contribution in the form of foreword reflects his eagerness and intellectual curiosity that he showed to me. On the other hand, my friends and colleagues who were aware of the issues asked me to carry on the work as in their opinion no critic was expected to do the desired study which is very vital for understanding the formation of Sikh canon.

6. It will not be out of place to mention that some scholars are prone to observe a dichotomy between the faith of Guru Nanak and that of his successors. They feel that the theology of Guru Nanak and the theology that has developed under the later Sikh Gurus, are not completely coterminous.3 Now on the basis of the above-mentioned documents, it has been advanced that there has been divergence and modification in the

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Sikh theology, especially the nature of God, at different stages of history. Thus, a new dimension to the debate has been added. Piqued by my observations on the history and authenticity of MS 1245, Prof. Piar Singh instead of addressing to the issues, has let loose a diatribe against me to indulge in personal insinuations. Anyway, it provided me an opportunity to consider the issues afresh.

7. After reflecting upon the issues, I feel and I am genuinely afraid that even keen scholars of Sikh studies have either very little information or they could not have access to the manuscripts in question. The scholars who had an opportunity to study them have advertently or inadvertently given information which, at times, is not factually true. Though, the documents in question have been extensively used for textual criticism of the Ádi Granth, yet the same have not been subjected to the rigorous methodology in testing their authenticity. All these reasons put together have weighed heavily upon the author to examine these documents thoroughly and rigorously and share views with the academicians. The results obtained remind me of Rattan Singh Bhangoo’s comments on Maulvi Bute Shah’s history of the Punjab that:

Having gone through his work I have told the true history as he had not described the story of the Khalsa in its totality.

Similarly, after going through the studies of above scholars on the Ádi Granth, I also feel that they have not told the whole story, honestly and truly. Much has been concealed than revealed regarding the so-called earlier sources of the Sikh canon.

8. The present study intends to examine the sources that are said to pre-date the Ádi Granth. Since I was interested in checking the veracity of the views expressed on the basis of these

documents, consequently it has arisen out of my personal quest and inquistiveness to find out the truth, and nothing else but truth about them. Hence, it seeks to share the data that I have accumulated over the past five years. It has been designed for the reader who intends to discern how these manuscripts originated, the history of the people who produced and preserved them and the peculiar features and ideas which they contain. It has been done in a manner which combines both the literary and historical methods. For a while, external evidence or what the custodians and scholars state about these documents, has been put aside. In fact, to check the validity of the claim of the custodians as well as to evaluate the antecedents of a document, internal evidence found recorded in it has been relied upon. In a way, after delving deep into the text, an attempt has been made to discern what a document speaks for itself.

9.1. I feel, before taking up textual criticism of the Ādi Granth, that a text critic must concern himself or herself with the peculiar ways, means and traditions that were prevalent in the Sikh community, for the transmission of Gurbāñi. The first chapter of the present work besides giving attention to the musical or oral tradition of Gurbāñi, traces the scribal tradition that has developed in the hands of Guru Nanak and his immediate successors. It also takes note of other traditions that had come up to compete with the main tradition. It underlines the role and very purpose of the traditions that had originated at the instance of the rivals of the Sikh Gurus. It helps to understand the scenario under which the various scribes worked to produce the Pothis of Gurbāñi for different uses and purposes. It sets the stage to discriminate the features of various text families that were prevalent in the pre and post-Ādi Granth period.

9.2. The second chapter deals with Guru Har Sahai Pothi, said to be the core of the Sikh scriptural corpus. As the Pothi is no more available for examination, on the basis of earlier studies on it, an attempt has been made to find out its internal as well as external features. Besides tracing the history of the said Pothi,
its definitive characteristics and its place in the evolution of Sikh scripture have been examined in detail.

9.3. The third chapter inquires into the origin, history and contents of the extant Goindwal Pothis. It explores their genuineness and evaluates their role in the formation of Sikh scripture, the Ádi Granth. To do so, no fact has been misconstrued but has been stated as such. To enlighten the reader about their various features, especially the arrangement of hymns, a first line index of all the writings found in them, has been provided in the appendix attached to it.

9.4. The fourth chapter studies in detail the various features of the recently surfaced document MS #1245. It addresses the issue whether it qualifies to be 'an earlier draft of the Ádi Granth' or not? Various appendices appended to it help to understand its merit from textual viewpoint.

9.5. Lastly, the limitations of various rules which the scholars usually apply to evaluate a manuscript of Gurbāni, have been discussed. In a way, it suggests the parameters to ascertain the authenticity of a document as well as its possible connection with the Sikh scriptural tradition.
I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Ádi Guru Granth Sāhib has preserved the sacred writings of the Sikh Gurus, which are collectively known as Gurbāñi or Bāñi. The term Gurbāñi in a literal sense means 'speech', 'words' or 'utterances' of the Sikh Gurus which have come down to them during a period of their spiritual ministry. As proclaimed by Guru Nanak and his successors as well, Gurbāñi is not merely a product of speculation or imagination inspired by a deity or personality, it relates to the highest kind of religious experience received in a state of unison, directly from God. Consequently, the Sikhs look upon it as the very words and embodiment of God. As such it is of utmost importance and authoritative to shape their faith and religious practices. Unparalleled place of importance of the Ádi Guru Granth Sāhib at the very centre of the Sikh religious life coupled with extensive dependence of the Sikhs on it, make of it the principle recourse to formulate their response to both the secular and religious issues concerning the community. Thus, outside the Semitic peoples, the Sikh community veritably enjoys the status of Ahl-I-Kitāb (the People of the Book). Before examining the documents in question, a discussion on the nature and history of Gurbāñi transmission is very much required. It will help us to set the stage to underline the principles that are to be demonstrated while doing textual analysis concerning the Sikh text.

II. ORIGIN OF GURBĀÑI

2.1. History of the Sikh scriptural tradition found recorded in the Ádi Guru Granth Sāhib, dates back to the ministry of Guru
Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith. In fact, his religious experience forms the very core of its origin. The Sikh tradition embroidering his childhood and early life depicting him as a deeply religious person, shows that he was always in quest of Truth. An analysis of his writings reveals that he intensely felt himself to be an intermediary of God to proclaim His will. Responding to the Divine call, he set out to preach his mission to the people of various lands. To express his religious experience, he has evolved a curious blend of poetry and music, which has an enchanting effect on the listeners. Subsequently, he has composed his hymns in various metres and rāgas. To convey his message to the general public and make it more understandable, he has made an effective use of vernacular language. For worship and devotional purposes, he has employed the method of Kīrtan. Lastly, he settled at Kartarpur and founded a religious centre where he taught the basic tenets of his faith to the people around him.

2.2. During the course of itineraries and his stay at Kartarpur whenever he felt inspired by God or the situation warranted, he composed various hymns. When Guru Nanak left the mundane world, there existed a single codex of his writings, which he bestowed on his successor Guru Angad. Recently, some scholars have stressed the central role of oral tradition in the preservation and transmission of Gurbānī. They claim that much before the development of scribal tradition, Guru Nanak's hymns had been in circulation orally through musical tradition. Some of them feel that oral or singing tradition has influenced the Sikh scriptural sources even after they were reduced to writings. The above approach has not found much favour with the majority of Sikh scholars. The discussion to follow intends to trace out the various modes, methods and traditions which have come to exist to transmit Gurbānī to the successive generations in the pre-Ådi Granth period.

1. ‘मैं एयरी से बांधकर भांगकर ले गिया’ that pothi (preserved by Guru Nanak) of Bani was received by Guru Angad, see Puratan Janamsakhi, (ed. Bhai Vir Singh), p. 114; Harji refers to it as मैं एयरी से बांधकर, investiture with the Sabad, see Gosti Guru Miharvanu (ed. Govind Nath Rajguru), p. 169.
III. SCRIBAL TRADITION

3.1. Unlike the scriptures of other religions, the Sikh scriptural tradition has come down from the persons whose writings it records. Though, a scholar trained in western methodology of textual criticism may look upon the above claim as little bit exaggerated, especially in the absence of documentary evidence, yet there seems to be no reason to disbelieve that right from its very manifestation Gurbânî was not being reduced to writing. There is every likelihood that Guru Nanak being born in a khatrī (trading community of Punjab) family got education in the art of reading and writing. Without a mediocre knowledge of accountancy, it would have been extremely impossible for him to carry the job of a Modi (store-keeper) at Sultanpur. It is a worthnoting that he presents himself as a Shãir (poet) also whose poetic works are considered par-excellence in the history of Panjabi literature.¹ His discourse with the Nãth Sidhas depicting the highest qualities of didactic skills is well-preserved in the Àdi Granth.² Similarly, his compositions, namely Àsã Pa__ì and Rãmkalì Onkãr which have been composed on the basis of Gurmukhi letters are a living testimony to his education.³ Moreover, on the basis of his writings we can say that his thought always centred upon writing the glory of God.⁴ In Rãmkalì Onkãr, we come across him advising a Brahmin pedagogue that instead of indulging in rigmarole writing, he should indite the Name of Sustainer of earth.⁵ He appreciates the scribe who is engrossed in recording the True Name.⁶ Keeping in view these facts, we can well-imagine that he might have been translating his

¹. AGGS, pp. 660
². AGGS, pp. 938-946.
³. Ibid., pp. 434-435, 929-938.
⁴. AGGS, pp. 636, 1291.
religious experience into writing on its very manifestation. Evidently, the book which he carried with him on his tour to west-Asia, was nothing else but a collection of his Bāni which he had got together over the years.

3.2. The testimony of the Janamsākhi tradition regarding the recording of Gurbāñi is very revealing. It describes how Guru Nanak mediated the Sabad to the entire people assembled, how the people assembled submitted themselves to obedience, how the devoted Sikhs then put the Sabad into writing and how the cultic ceremony was held at Dharamsālā where besides the devotional singing written hymns were subjected to public reading. We are told that some devout Sikhs accompanying him had also taken upon themselves to commit the Bāni into writing on its revelation. For example, Mãjh ki Vār and Sidh Gosh_i had been recorded by Saido Gheeho, who was with Guru Nanak on his tour to Southern India.¹ Similarly Malār Kī Vār had been reduced to writing by Hassu and Shiuan who were accompanying the Guru during his sojourn in Kashmir.² Guru Nanak's stay at Kartarpur was most productive and eventful for the development of Sikh Scribal tradition. Bhai Mansukh, a trader of Lahore who had come into the fold of Guru Nanak's faith, stayed for three years at Kartarpur, primarily to prepare Pothīs of Gurbāñi.³ Here at Kartarpur, besides explaining the significance of Japujī, Guru Nanak directed his spiritual heir (Guru) Angad to reduce it to writing and recite it, obviously to get it endorsed from him.⁴ It indicates that what had been composed and recorded by Guru Nanak so far was entrusted to (Guru) Angad to arrange it into a Pothī. Thus, well before the departure of Guru Nanak, first redaction of his sacred writings had come to be preserved in a codex, which he bestowed to Guru Angad on his appointment to the guruship.

3.3. Guru Nanak's writings left an indelible imprint on the subsequent growth of Sikh scriptural tradition. It provided

1. Puratan Janamsakhi, pp. 81, 86.
2. Ibid., p. 93.
3. Ibid., p. 75.
powerful stimulus to his successors to add new hymns to the received text. Though, Guru Angad's writings are not much in size, but his pontificate marked the next stage in the development of Sikh scribal tradition. His real contribution lies in the fact that he standardized the Gurmukhi letters and popularized their use for scribing the sacred writings of the Sikhs.\(^1\) At his demise he bequeathed the codex in his possession to his successor.\(^2\)

3.4. Guru Amar Das not only enriched the Sikh scriptural tradition but also took a keen interest to preserve its sanctity. Some diverse elements chiefly the Udāsīs were posing a serious threat to unity and doctrinal originality of the nascent faith. Guru Amar Das took upon himself to educate the Sikhs about the pseudo-guru and his writings.\(^3\) To prevent the possible interpolation of Sikh tradition, he is credited for putting forth the thesis of Sachi versus Kachī-bānī,\(^4\) which later on became a standard rule to canonize the Sikh scripture. Since, with the addition of the third Master's hymns the size of sacred writings expanded considerably, consequently he thought it prudent to arrange the codex afresh. From contemporary sources we find that Bulla Pandha was one of the leading scribes at Guru Amar Das' court who had dedicated himself to scribe the Pothis of Gurbahi for circulation among the Sikh Sangats.\(^5\) Adhering to the tradition established by his predecessors, Guru Amar Das handed over the codex prepared by him to his successor, Guru Ram Das.\(^6\)

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3. मंगलज्वूर सिद्धांत देख कवीं तै घटो॥
   संदेह देख मुनी कवियों कवियों घटो॥
   (AGGS, p. 920)
4. अश्रु जिथ मंगलज्वूर के दिखांविहूँ गाथा माले घटो॥
   (AGGS, p. 920; for more details see also pp. 1174-75)
3.5. As Guru Ram Das was actively involved in the organizational set-up of the Sikh Panth under Guru Amar Das, we can well-imagine that he was in full knowledge of the Sikh scribal tradition that had developed into the hands of his predecessor. On his part, he introduced new rãgas and metres to the scriptural text which reflect his poetic genius. Following faithfully in the footsteps of his predecessor, he would not allow the pseudo-gurus to confuse the originality of Gurbãni. He reaffirmed that only genuine hymns of the Sikh Gurus were acceptable. Ever since the pontificate of Guru Amar Das the range of the Sikh mission had widened, Manjìdãrs and Masands had fanned out across the region, the number of the Sikhs had swelled and Dharamsãlãs had sprung up in far flung areas. To meet the needs of worship and study authentic codices of the sacred writings were required. It called for renewed efforts to prepare the Pothis of Gurbãni. To encourage the Sikhs to take up scribing of Gurbãni in a big way, Guru Ram Das remarked that labour of those Sikhs was also sanctified whose hands were engaged in writing the glory of God. It suggests that during his pontificate scribing of Pothis of Gurbãni was developing into a pious pastime for the Sikhs. The editorial note, namely अूप जपव जपविन मन्त्र दी ही जपिन मन्त्र बनवी (Japu copied from the copy recorded by Guru Ram Das in his own hand) found recorded in the old manuscripts of the Àdi Granth, leads us to point out that Guru Ram Das had deeply involved himself in the scribal activities going on at his court. From the above note we can visualize that besides the Pothis, Guru Ram Das had taken the initiative to prepare lectionaries for the personal use of the Sikhs, in which authenticated texts for liturgical purpose had been arranged. Early Sikh literature while providing glimpses into the life in Dharamsãlã informs us that public reading of Gurbãni was an essential part of the Sikh

2. महिलाकृति की बाउँ चाँद सुभुष दे ताहैया बदरीनाथी॥
महिलाकृति की बाउँ बाद सुभुष दिन कृपया मे सुज्जवल बुझे खिड़की॥
देवकृति पावन देव भविष्य दे सदृश भविष्य दे सब भविष्य बजरी॥
(AGGS, p. 304)
3. उ कार धुरुल सहिव बाद वार निमंत्रिते मे वाय वाय वार व सखव निमंत्रिते दरभ॥
(AGGS, p. 540)
liturgy. All these factors point to the fact that well before the succession of Guru Arjan Dev in 1581 C.E., the Sikh Sangats had installed in the Dharamsala a standardized corpus in some kind of uniform order. Guru Arjan Dev's remarks that "Pothi is veritably the abode of God" coupled with the evidence provided by the Sikh sources confirm that he had inherited a definitive corpus of sacred writings from his father, Guru Ram Das.

3.6. In his turn Guru Arjan Dev contributed enormously to nurture the Sikh scriptural tradition. We have enough evidence to suggest that under his patronage the hymns of Sikh Gurus were being committed to writing. He appreciated the Sikhs who have dedicated themselves to record the sacred writings. Bhai Gurdas informs us that there were numerous Gursikhs who were copying up the compositions of the Sikh Gurus to prepare the Pothis not only for their personal use but for others as well. Unfortunately, once again the Sikh scriptural tradition had come under serious threat of interpolation. Prithi Chand, elder brother and rival of Guru Arjan Dev, had entered into an alliance with the detractors, to usurp the guruship of Sikh Panth. The internal crisis within the Sikh Panth was so acute that even Masands, Rababis, Aooms and Bhattas were found to be divided between two rival camps. To establish their line of guruship, Miharban, son of Prithi Chand had started composing Kachh-bani songs in the name of 'Nanak'. To purge the entry of spurious and ungenuine writings into the Sikh scriptural tradition, Guru Arjan Dev decided to codify the Sikh scripture once for all into a volume popularly known as the Adi Granth.

1. ज्ञानधारी तारी धारी मनोरा ज्ञानधारी तारी मनोरा ज्ञानधारी तारी मनोरा (AGGS, p. 444)
   also see Bhai Gurdas, 1.3; Surjit Hans, A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature, p. 100.

2. AGGS, p. 1226.

3. तारी नाम सुंदरनाथ संसान चानाते मे नाम चानात्र (AGGS, p. 322)

4. Bhai Gurdas, 6.12, 24.6, 28.5.

5. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Basiwal$n# Das# P$tsh$h*$ K#, p. 50.

6. Ibid., p. 50.
IV. READING OR RECITAL TRADITION

4.1. Another mode to transmit Gurbānī, which had developed in close proximity to the scribal tradition, related to reading or recitation of the sacred texts. According to their need the Sikh Gurus had provided to the Sikh Sangats the Pothīs of Gurbānī, which had been duly installed in the Dharamsālās. The Dharamsālā was not merely a religious establishment, it also served as a centre of learning where arrangements to impart teaching in Gurmukhī and sacred writings of the Sikhs also existed. Besides, the Kirtan session public reading or recitation of liturgical texts, namely Japūjī, Sodaru, Ārati and Sohilā also took place in Dharamsālā. Bhatt Gayand while highlighting the personality of Guru Ram Das, refers to the practice of reading of sacred hymns which had taken roots in the religious life of the Sikhs. Obviously, the practice of reading in congregation was not limited only to the liturgical texts but much of the compositions included in the Pothīs were read aloud for the benefit of those Sikhs who were not capable of reading. There is every reason to believe that Dharamsālās were not only repositories of sacred writings but powerful institutions also without which to spread Gurbānī at a large scale would not have been possible.

V. MUSICAL TRADITION

5.1. The style of expression underlying the Sikh scripture is a blend of music and poetry. It is most suitable for singing in public. For devotional purpose the medium of Kirtan had been employed. Beginning with Guru Nanak almost all the Sikh Gurus were gifted singers and connoisseurs of music as well. Even they had employed some Rabābis, a class of professional musicians to perform the Kirtan at central Sikh shrine. Resultantly, the musical or singing

1. Bhai Gurdas, 1.37, 26.4.
2. दिखे सभाना निष्ठुल ज्ञानार्थ भक्ता पार्यानांग दयापदे दिवेशतु॥ (AGGS, p. 1402)
3. Shamsher Singh Ashok, Mir#s$# D# Pichhoka, p. 35; The Sikh tradition refers to Rai Balwand and Satta who have been assigned the job to perform Kirtan at central Sikh Shrine. Their composition eulogising the Sikh Guru is well preserved in the Sikh scripture, see AGGS, pp. 966-968.
tradition had developed into a powerful mode to transmit Gurbâni among the Sikhs. Notwithstanding its appeal to popularize the message of Gurbâni, the musical tradition had certain limitations. The bands of musicians had to perform the Kirtan orally, consequently instead of committing to memory the whole corpus, they had memorized only selected hymns possibly relating to liturgy and for special occasions. They had to perform the Kirtan only for a couple of hours in the morning and evening so they need not to memorize the hymns in their totality. Considering the medieval milieu, the musical tradition would not have been capable to reach every nook and corner of the Sikh world. It would have remained confined to a few big urban centres where the Sikh Sangats had sufficient resources to support and employ the bands of musicians. Moreover the size of the Sikh sacred writings has been expanding under the successive Sikh Gurus, so to keep pace with it orally was gigantic task for the singers. It is quite possible that for the sake of memory or for convenience the musicians may have noted down their favourite hymns in small note-books, similar to the collections of modern day Râgis which some times they carry to perform the Kirtan. Subsequently, it gave rise to another scribal tradition which was minor in nature and comprised selective writings possibly thematically arranged. The musical tradition which had flourished at far away regions from the central Sikh shrine would have been prone to regional or local influence. Though, the various musical traditions popular among the Sikhs, had much in common but certain musical variants and modifications might have crept into them. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that musical tradition was only a means to popularize the message of Gurbâni but not an end to preserve it for posterity. Taking into account the well-nurtured main Sikh scribal tradition coupled with the history of literary activities in the early Sikh Panth, we can very safely state that the musical tradition or oral transmission popular among the main Sikh stream, has no independent origin but has thrived on the scribal tradition which has developed into the hands of the Sikh Gurus. Anyway, musical variants found in a manuscript provide vital clues to ascertain its merit.
VI. UDĀSÁ TRADITION

6.1. While appointing his successor on the institution of guruship, Guru Nanak had not followed the hereditary principle. Instead, Guru Angad's complete identification with the Master and his capability to carry on the mission faithfully, were the major factors which had weighed on Guru Nanak to appoint him on the seat of guruship. It is well-known in the Sikh tradition that after putting his son, Sri Chand, to a series of trials, Guru Nanak had decided in favour of Guru Angad which was quite contrary to the age old practice of hereditary succession prevalent in India.1 Though, Sri Chand was a deeply religious person, yet it seems plausible that Guru Nanak had not found him worthy for guruship simply because of his ascetic inclinations. On the other hand, Sri Chand instead of reconciling himself to the succession of Guru Angad, went ahead to lay his claim on guruship, subsequently establishing a separate sect known as the Udāsīs. He had started preaching the teachings of Guru Nanak in his own way which contrary to the ideals of Guru Nanak, laid stress on celibacy and asceticism. Besides controlling the Sikh centre at Kartarpur, he has been successful to attract a sizeable following to his fold. The schism created by Sri Chand had assumed alarming proportions which was a matter of serious concern for Guru Amar Das. To wean away the Sikhs from the influence of the Udāsīs, Guru Amar Das exhorted the Sikhs not to follow the Udāsī way of life. Instead he encouraged them to lead a householder's life.2 It seems, Sri Chand had also started composing Bânī like hymns. Guru Amar Das was quick in response to warn the Sikhs to be aware of the pseudo-guru and his 'false' writings.1 He vehemently opposed the circulation

1. पृष्ठ व्रह्न र ग्रहितः व्यय यथगुरु वर्ण भूतोभे॥
   तंत्रितं चर्चा व्ययोपदेव वर्ण श्रीनारायणां भूतोभे॥

2. “रूपुर थोथ र निधिक व्रह्न धृष्ट वर्ण भूतोभे॥
   तंत्रितं चर्चा व्ययोपदेव वर्ण श्रीनारायणां भूतोभे॥

   (AGGS, p. 967)

2. “से वेदनी निधि व्रह्न धृष्ट वर्ण भूतोभे॥
   तंत्रितं चर्चा व्ययोपदेव वर्ण श्रीनारायणां भूतोभे॥

   (See Narinder Kaur Bhatia, ed., Sri Satigurū Ji De Muhañ Diṭān Sākhān, p. 49.)
of *Kachi-bâñi* which had been most probably composed by Sri Chand to establish his own seat of gurudom. It is very significant to note that to educate the Sikhs about the worthlessness of *Kachi-bâñi*, Guru Amar Das propounded the idea of *Sachi-bâñi* and inspired them to sing it because it relates to the highest kind of revelation.² The above injunctions of the third Master are very significant because they indicate that some *Udāsi* writings were already in circulation. It is a foregone conclusion that among the early discontented descendants of the Sikh Gurus, Sri Chand was fairly successful to establish a parallel line of guruship to the Sikh Gurus. From the facts quoted above one can realize that the scriptural tradition which had come to be propounded by Sri Chand and his followers, besides the sacred writings of Guru Nanak, comprised the 'false' hymns of Sri Chand which he had composed in the vein of Guru Nanak. Although exact identification of *Kachi-bâñi* composed by Sri Chand, especially in the absence of documentary evidence, is not possible, yet the ideals followed by him lead us to suggest that the extra-canonical writings, namely *Ratnamālā, Jugāwali*, etc., which depict a strong bias towards asceticism and *ha_y* yoga practices had their origin in the *Udāsi* tradition.³ From the very beginning and during the period of persecution of the Sikhs some of the historical Sikh shrines had been in the possession of the *Udāsis* where they carried on their literary activities quietly and constantly.⁴ Obviously, the *Udāsi* scribes or scribes trained in the *Udāsi* lore were prone to include Sri Chand's writings in the compositions of the Sikh Gurus. Similarly, the scribes who had been patronized by *Udāsi* establishments to prepare the copies of Sikh scripture, were

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1. *มหัศ्व 齑 ตั้ง วฤทิ จ รสา* ||
   *จ รสา ค ตั้ง มหัศ्व ]=>* *มหัศ्व ค ตั้ง* ||
   *มหัศ्व ค ตั้ง* ||

   *(AGGS, p. 920)*

2. *มหัศ्व 齑 ตั้ง มหัศ्व ค ตั้ง* ||
   *มหัศ्व ค ตั้ง มหัศ्व ค ตั้ง* ||
   *มหัศ्व ค ตั้ง มหัศ्व ค ตั้ง* ||

   *(AGGS, p. 920; for more details see also pp. 1174-75)*


exposed to Udāsi influence, hence some of the Kachi-bānī compositions which had originated at the instance of Udāsis came to be attributed to the Sikh Gurus. Now it is the task of text critics to unravel the tradition from which a particular manuscript has come down. In other words they have to discern carefully whether a source is the product of Udāsi tradition or how far it has been under its influence.

VII. MOHAN OR BHALLĀ TRADITION

7.1. Another rival tradition, which competed with the main Sikh tradition, belongs to Baba Mohan and has its origin at Goindwal. However, it should not be confused with the original tradition that had developed under the patronage of Guru Amar Das. The main factor for its out-growth was that Guru Amar Das' descendants, especially his son Mohan, had not liked the nomination of Guru Ram Das to guruship. The Sikh scriptural sources confirm that though Guru Amar Das had prevailed upon his sons to accept the spiritual authority of Guru Ram Das but it seems they had submitted to him hesitatingly and temporarily. In fact during the pontificate of third Master, Goindwal had emerged into a flourishing Sikh centre. The construction of Bāoli, organization of Manjis and visits of Sikh Sangats to celebrate the festivals of Māghi and Baisākhī at Goindwal, had enhanced its prestige and prosperity. Obviously, Baba Mohan and his close relatives were not reconciled to part with the possession of such a vibrant centre to any one. Very rightly loss of guruship meant dispossession of the Sikh centre at Goindwal which was unbearable for them. According to Bhai Gurdas, the nomination of Guru Ram Das to guruship was such a terrible shock for Baba Mohan that he had lost his

1. मजनिलु दुर्भ विकं देवाक नामाफन प्राप्ति स्वतः तस्नानि स्वरूपम् ||
   महबूबु जलमु देवाक नामाफन पुराणमेव पवीत्र धर्म हृदम् ||
   संव विकं भवेत हसनी मजनिलु जित्वा हुसु अधि निरस्त्रतम् ||
   (AGGS, pp. 923-24)

2. For the development of Sikhism under Guru Amar Das at Goindwal, see Balwant Singh Dhillon, 'Guru Amar Das and the Mughal State', JSS, Vol. XI, pp. 88-89.
mental balance. On the basis of evidence at our disposal we can very safely state that Baba Mohan was not only a rival contender but had actually established a parallel line of guruship at Goindwal. To understand the resultant schism, a perusal of Guru Ram Das' observations is sine qua non in this context.

7.2. Guru Ram Das' compositions are replete with information which throw immense light on the nature of hostility and opposition that had developed against the main Sikh stream. His usage and treatment of certain technical words, namely, Nindak, Bemukh, Ku-iyar, Manmukh, Dusha_ etc., in relation to the activities of his rivals is worth noting. Their use is not limited merely to a detractor or an evil person but stood for a person who is an enemy of the Guru. Guru Ram Das reaffirms that chief aim of the detractor was to usurp God's wealth for self-aggrandisement. Everyday he casts covetous eyes on the wealth of others and wants to make away with the spiritual wealth of the Guru (probably the sacred writings). The Sikhs have been advised not to associate with him. Guru Ram Das also felt that his detractors were spiritually bankrupt who go for begging in the world but people would not spit even on their faces. He also finds that the detractors being envious of others had lost their credibility and instead had exposed themselves to disrepute. The wealth which they coveted could not be got by envy. They are hopeless fellows who roam about for money to no purpose. In contrast to the Gursikhs, the evil detractors can not tolerate

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1. (Bhai Gurdas, 26-33)
3. (AGGS, p. 1244)
4. (AGGS, pp. 852-853)
the greatness of the Guru. They were always unhappy over the well-being of others. Their evil designs against the Guru were of no avail because only that prospered which God willed. Guru Ram Das was of the firm belief that his detractors ultimately would meet with ignominy. He declares that even for four generations the detractors would not be able to achieve unison with God. It seems to bring back the detractors to the main stream, Guru Ram Das had responded positively towards rapprochement with them. However the experience failed simply because the detractors continued to conspire against the Guru. To undermine Guru Ram Das’ position his detractors encouraged desertions from Guru’s side to their camp. To check the exploitation of the Sikhs at the hands of detractors Guru Ram Das had to decree that except the Guru, the Sikhs should not take commands from anyone else. Instead, the Sikhs were

1. गुरु महाराज बिंदु हेतु उन्हीं तो बड़ी बड़ी बढ़ाई नाहिं बढ़ाई भयंकर ॥
   मंचन निम्न मंच बेंच बेंच तोबरी, बेंच मंच हिंदू करहीं ॥
   तिस्रह दुर्गा बड़िया हों वे संभार हुए प्रभात वर्ण त मधुरी ॥
   बिंदु राम जी भी वह भयंकर ना मचे हिंदू बट्टा आयों ॥
   निन गान बढ़ कर नाहिं निर्म खड़े मचनी मधु बिंदु भयंकर ॥

(AGGS, p. 850)

2. नाश उन्हीं से दूर बो दीम बढ़े विन्दु प्रसन्न पहिचं भयंकर ॥
   निन वो मंच 'से रात्स होनी निम्न निन्दु बे पढ़े बढ़ दो ॥
   निन धर्म बिंदु बड़िया सीनी होने साखाल नाश तपस्य प्रभात वर्ण ॥
   सुख पौडी आर्य ज्ञानिनी खोलनी विश्वे त धर्मण्ड वाह मंचब ज्ञान तिनकं ॥

(AGGS, p. 733)

3. वेंशे तिस्रह उन्हीं गुरु महाराज बिंदु हेतु सारक नाहिं गरे ॥
   विचार प्राण गुरु महाराज विभिन्न नाहिं गरे जानकारों राज बढ़े ॥
   निम्न भोग बुढ़ा जानकार राजस्व टांकन्त्रा नाहिं गरे मचनी पढ़े बिंदु बिंदु बिंदु मुनम निन्दु प्रभात वर्ण ॥
   रहुं बड़िया गुरु महाराज बिंदु हेतु सारक निम्न निम्निते
   जिनहर जुंग दुर्गा दूर निंदु अंदु आनें ॥
   रिंन बिंदु अधिक तेंधु में आनी मन बन बन गुरु महाराज हेतु नाहिं नाश पर ह्यं गरे ॥

(AGGS, pp. 854-55)

4. मंचब ज्ञान तिनकं बिंदु नाश करो भोग बुढ़ा बिंदु मधुमणि बढ़नें ॥
   नाश जुंग दुर्गा दूर निंदु अंदु आनें ॥

(AGGS, p. 312)

5. साभार विश्वे बिंदु गुरु महाराज विभिन्न बिंदु मधुमणि बढ़नें ॥
   भोग बुढ़ा बिंदु मात्रा मधुमणि नाश करो भोग बुढ़ा बिंदु मधुमणि बढ़नें ॥
   मर राज बिंदु जुंग दुर्गा दूर निंदु अंदु आनें ॥

(AGGS, p. 305)
advised to shun away from the company of such fellows. Guru Ram Das remarked that the deserters and their associates were destined to ruin. In his view first Guru Nanak had proscribed them and again Guru Angad had proved them false. Guru Amar Das had come to the conclusion that they were wretches and hopeless fellows. Now at fourth generation Guru Ram Das had forgiven them to redeem these evil detractors.

7.3. We also observe that the detractors had worked out various plans against the Guru. Commenting upon the rivals and their associates, Guru Ram Das had remarked that some one had made party of his friends, sons and brothers. Some one had tied up with his Jawaì (son in law) and Kuram (son or daughter's father-in-law). Someone had entered into an alliance with the chaudharis and shiqdar of the area. The sole aim of all these factions, was to harm the Guru. Evidently, the detractors of Guru Ram Das enjoyed the support of authorities at the village as well as parganâ level.

7.4. The most significant aspect of the activities of the detractors was that they had started imitating the Guru. They were churning out spurious compositions to attract the Sikhs to their camp. Now we are fairly in a good position to assess

1. drSp ldaepi w[ hpwq{ du epidltJ fjlhp w.qp wijdHbj
   v’C[ dalp epidltp dxdi V[ dC V bjr{ mm!!!
   (AGGS, p. 317)

2. Zpdi qji[ fPi{ ldaepiP l[Hg hpdS ldaepdi qji[ mm
   u[ q[vS V’ Whpa[ij v’ygb{ V s[Hg dqvS wiaji[ mm
   lal.eda T’Hg Vj vhdV drdy l.eda epdi rgyji[ mm
   w’Hg ujdH dqv{ hpdS YVj V’ dalp qji[ uqp u.sji[ mm
   epdi WjW{ dxBw[ l[ dxB[ epdi b>eds wga[ wPdCbji[ mm
   epdi agug fgCg rgyjdibj dwbj hdo H[Vj r[yji[ mm
   epip yRpog fgCg dBdwbj dadV dV>sw splB ldF aji[ mm
   (AGGS, p. 307)

3. AGGS, p. 366.

4. ldaepi wg WjSg lda liPfp h{ epiWjSg WSgb{ mm
   ldaepi wg igl{ h’di wyp dfyp W’vs[ l[ wPdCbji wPC[ NdC fCgb{ mm
   YV©j b>sdi h’ip qpdt h’ip h{ dWtp qjdHbj V’ Ndt qis[ wCgb{ mm
   (AGGS, p. 304)
the nature of opposition that Guru Ram Das was facing at the hands of his rivals. On the basis of the above evidence, it is crystal clear that the rivals cherished an earnest desire to succeed to the guruship, coveted the wealth of the Guru's establishment, cast envious eyes on the spiritual wealth i.e., *Bani* of the Gurus, indulged in tirades and slanderous campaigns to malign the Guru, encouraged desertion in the ranks of the Sikhs and imitated the Sikh Gurus to compose *Kachi-Bani* and worked on alliances to grab the *Gurgaddi*. Who were these detractors or rivals? To identify them is not an impossible task.

7.5. The Sikh tradition informs us that Baba Sri Chand who was one of the claimants, had been reconciled and had very cordial relations with the fourth Master. Guru Angad's sons, though unhappy over the succession of Guru Amar Das, had not been able to attract a sizeable following to their side. The Mina tradition, which we will discuss later on, had not yet taken off. Evidently it was none but Baba Mohan and his relatives whose hostility towards Guru Ram Das had engulfed the Sikh Panth in a serious internal crisis. Against the backdrop of Guru Ram Das' above-mentioned observations, the claim of Baba Mohan and his descendants, which we find recorded in the colophon of the *Ahiyapur Pothi*, becomes more significant and meaningful too. The said claim states that the custodians of the *Pothis* had got the blessings of three generations of the Sikh Gurus and that anyone following the Guru outside their progeny would certainly go to hell. It provides enough insights into the very purpose of the *Pothi*. It reflects that Baba Mohan and his descendants had refused to accord recognition to Guru Ram Das, and instead they wanted to establish a hereditary line of guruship. The extant Goindwal *Pothis* are themselves a clear proof that Baba Mohan and his close relatives had compiled a sort of scripture, so the Sikhs can be attracted to their establishment. The tradition developed by Baba Mohan and his descendants is well preserved in the extant Goindwal *Pothis*. Very truly it has incorporated the spurious writings of the Mohan tradition which they had

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2. See infra chap. 3.12.
composed in imitation to the Sikh Gurus.\(^1\) As referred by Guru Ram Das some of the *Kachi-Bani* writings included in these *Pothis* are really of unreliable nature. Moreover, the hereditary gurudom which Baba Mohan and his descendants desired to establish, has been very graphically presented in it.\(^2\) How far the Mohan tradition has depended on the original Sikh tradition for its origin is an important issue which needs thorough investigation. Likewise another way in which Mohan tradition had been influencing the subsequent literature also deserves probing. While identifying a source for the compilation of the *Âdi Granth*, a scholar has to be vigilant in his or her judgement that whether it is free from the characteristic features and variants associated with the Mohan tradition or not.

VIII. MINÀ TRADITION

8.1. One of the most significant rival traditions which laboured hard to run counter to the main Sikh tradition, owes its origin to Prithi Chand and his descendants, commonly known as the *Minas*. It was also an outgrowth of sectarian interests that had developed in reaction to Guru Arjan Dev's succession. The Sikh sources are unanimous in their view that even during the life of Guru Ram Das, the issue of succession had become highly debatable because Prithi Chand, had made his stand publically known that he desired to succeed his father. To usurp the guruship he not only schemed to outwit his younger brother (Guru) Arjan Dev but had also cast his net to manipulate the position in his favour. He had become so impatient and rowdy that he had started picking up feuds with his father, Guru Ram Das.\(^3\) To achieve his motive he had stooped to such a level that Guru Ram Das had to declare him a *Mina* (crooked).\(^4\) Instead of reconciling to Guru Arjan Dev's succession over guruship in

1. For *Kachi-bani* hymns included in the Mohan or Bhatta tradition, see infra chap. 3, Appendix IV.
2. See infra chap. 3.11.4.
3. ॥ वर्दी पुनः क्षत्रादि सदृशं मानित यथः॥
   निर्देश के सत्ते विस्तरीत न उपरि निर्देश निर्धारित यथः॥ \((AGGS, p. 1200)\)
4. ॥ भौटे उथान विस्तारीत बाँध बाँध उंचाय बाँध क्षत्रादि॥
   Bhai Gurdas, 26.33; for more comments on the activities of the *Minas* by Bhai Gurdas, see also Var 36.1-8.
September 1581, Prithi Chand carried on to contest his claim for guruship. Firstly, he conspired desertions and had won over some of the leading *Masands* to his camp.\(^1\) He was also successful in getting a share in the income from the city of Ramdaspur.\(^2\) Since, Guru Arjan Dev was issueless for quite a time, Prithi Chand cherished vainly the hope that ultimately the mantle of guruship would fall to his son Miharban. But the birth of (Guru) Hargobind in June 1595 C.E., totally upset the *Mina* apple cart, which subsequently proved to be a turning point in the take off *Mina* tradition. Afterwards he thought of an aggressive and relentless campaign against the Guru. To eliminate the child Hargobind, was one of the earliest options which he had exercised clandestinely.\(^3\) The scriptural as well as historical sources provide enough insights into the nature of hostility that Guru Arjan Dev had to face at the hands of his rival, Prithi Chand.

8.2. We find that Prithi Chand had conspired with the Mughal officials who out of jealousy were not found unwanting to promote his interest. He was instrumental to instigate Sulhi Khan, a Mughal official, to deliver a fatal blow to Guru Arjan Dev which due to untimely death of Sulhi Khan could not be carried out.\(^4\) In collusion with the provincial level Mughal officials he incited the royal court against the mission of Guru. Even a petition drawn against Guru Arjan Dev was put before Emperor Akbar but Prithi Chand and his associates had to face discomfiture because their allegations were unfounded and uncalled for.\(^5\) Having failed to dislodge Guru Arjan Dev from Ramdaspur, Prithi Chand moved to Hehar, a village near Lahore, where he

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4. \(\text{AGGS}, \text{p. 825}\)
5. \(\text{AGGS}, \text{p. 199}\)
founded a parallel centre to that of Guru Arjan Dev. However, after the departure of Guru Hargobind, the descendants of Prithi Chand had full control of Amritsar almost for a century, where they carried on their literary pursuits without any disturbance. The volume and variety of literature produced by the Mina line of guruship speak loudly and clearly of their motives.

8.3. An examination of the Mina literature leaves no room for any doubt that Prithi Chand from the very beginning had embarked on a systematic plan to groom his son, Miharban, as the future guru of the Sikh Panth. To make him a perfect and legitimate candidate for guruship, Miharban was encouraged to compose poetry in the vein of the Sikh Gurus. The Mina literature in its attempts to highlight Miharban as a rightful heir of Guru Arjan Dev not only projects him a great favourite of the Guru but a key figure at the Guru’s court who was highly skillful to carry on responsibilities on behalf of the Guru. Miharban was a prolific writer and no mean a poet as well. His literary works speak volumes of hard work which he put in to establish the Mina tradition. We are told that the Granth, a sort of scripture for the Minas that Miharban had compiled, also included the writings composed by him. On the pattern of the Sikh Gurus he had bands of musicians to perform Kirtan. He had employed a number of professional scribes who were entrusted with the work to prepare copies of his Granth, for subsequent circulation and installation at the establishments controlled by the Mina

1. Sohan, Gurbilas Chhevien Patshahi, p. 29; also see Gos_i Guru Miharvanu, pp. 191-194.
3. Ibid., pp. 175-176.
It is very obvious that threat to corrupt the originality of *Gurbani* was real and very serious. To counter the *Mina* tradition from taking roots deep into the Sikh Panth, Bhai Gurdas single-handedly performed a yeoman's job. He presented the main Sikh tradition as being so real and forceful that propaganda and heretical teachings of the *Minas* would not be able to prevail.2

8.4. Although most scholars have followed the traditional line to accuse the *Minas* for having corrupted the Sikh scripture, yet the vital issue as to how the *Mina* tradition conflicted with the main Sikh tradition in its approach to doctrinal and theological issues has not been adequately explored so far. Even no one has taken the studies to identify the characteristics or definitive features of the *Mina* tradition. Surely the above task is formidable, especially in the absence of *Mina* scripture, but the literary works of Miharban that have survived, have preserved some of the traces that can unfold the mysteries surrounding the *Mina* tradition. We have abundant evidence to prove that the primary concern of the *Minas* was to establish their line of guruship. Hence emphasis on Miharban as a *Satguru* has been repeatedly made in *Mian* works.3 In contrast to the Sikh Gurus, the *Mina* tradition deviates considerably in its approach to both Hinduism and Islam. On the one hand it accepts the Semitic prophets and on the other eulogises the Hindu *avtaras*.4 It does not hesitate to call Babur as *Marad ka Chela* and justifies Mughal rule over India as divine dispensation.5 The Brahmanical system, *hath-yoga* beliefs and practices, *Sarguua* mode of *bhakti* etc., which stood discarded by the Sikh Gurus, were reintroduced into

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1. Keso Das and Sunder Das were the chief scribes of the *Mina* tradition, see *Gosi Guru Miharvanu*, pp. 340, 347.
4. Whereas *Sukhmani Sahansarnama* eulogises the Hindu *Avtaras*, *Àdi Katha Muhammad Ki, Masla Hajrat Rasool Ka, Masla Moose Paigambar Ka, Masla Hasan Hussain Ka*, etc., deal with the Semitic religious personalities.
the Mina variety of Sikhism. A thorough and extensive study of the Mina literature can be of immense value for textual studies. Such a study will go a long way to finding out how the Mina tradition was different from that of the main Sikh tradition.

IX. HINDALI TRADITION

9.1. Another tradition, the Hindali that was totally heterodox in nature, also deserves our attention. It owes its origin to Hindal, a jat of Jandiala (Jandiala Guru), now in the district of Amritsar. The Sikh sources describe that previously he had been a follower of Sakhi Sarwar who had come under the spell of Guru Amar Das to dedicate himself to the service of langar at Goindwal. It is said that he was one of the Manjiders to whom Guru Amar Das had entrusted the responsibility to preach Sikhism in and around his village. Since he was fond of meditating God in the name of Niranjan, his followers came to be known as the Niranjanias. Though his association with Guru Amar Das is a debatable issue, yet we can safely state that Hindal who was a contemporary of Guru Arjan Dev, had embraced Sikhism at some stage of his career. It seems, subsequently he drifted away from the mainstream Sikhism to establish his own seat of gurudom at Jandiala. Bidhi Chand, the son and successor of Hindal carried on the Niranjania tradition to give it an independent

1. These ideas are found interspersed in the various Sakhis and Goshtis of Mina literature. For a cursory glance readers are referred to Gosti Guru Miharvanu, pp. 169-328.
4. Parchi Baba Hindal and some other sources inform us that Hindal took his birth on Vaisakh Vadi Puranmashi, 1630 Bk. (1573 C.E.), see Parchi Baba Hindal, folio 18: Kahn Singh Nabha, Mahan Kosh, p. 715. If it is true then he was only one year old when Guru Amar Das took his demise. It puts a big question mark as to confer a Manji on a child when he was still in his infancy does not look plausible on the part of Guru Amar Das. The Hindali as well as Sikh sources confirm that he was a contemporary of Guru Arjan Dev, see Giani Gian Singh, p. 2852: Parchi Baba Hindal, folios 23-24.
outlook than that of the Sikhs.\(^1\) Some of the sources inform us that he had married a Muslim girl of questionable character to become a *bete noire* in the eyes of public.\(^2\) Resultantly, a number of his followers had forsaken him to rejoin the main stream Sikhism. It seems thereafter Bidhi Chand and his successors became sworn enemies of the main stream Sikhs to cause an irreparable loss to them at the hands of Mughal and Afghan authorities. The *Niranjania* literature produced under the patronage of Bidhi Chand, has no scruple to denigrate Guru Nanak and his successors.\(^3\) It is replete with accounts that Hindal stood on a much higher spiritual pedestal than that of Guru Nanak. It also informs us that Hindal has composed a number of compositions.\(^4\) Significantly, some writings which are *raga* oriented have survived in the *Niranjania* works. It is equally noteworthy that his writings have been entered under the authorship of *Mahala* 1, a distinctive feature of the Sikh text to record the *Bani* of Guru Nanak.\(^5\) An analysis of the *Niranjania* literature reveals that Hindal has compiled a sort of *Granth* wherein besides his own writings, the hymns of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and medieval *Bhagats* have been included in it.\(^6\) A cursory glance at the writings of Hindal indicates that to compose them he has borrowed heavily from the *Bani* of the Sikh Gurus.\(^7\) Even to initiate their followers the *Niranjanias* have coined a formula that contains some peculiar features which put it apart from the Sikh tradition.\(^1\) The scholars of Sikh studies are unanimous in their viewpoint that to serve their vested

1. For the beliefs and practices of the *Niranjanias*, see *Parchi Baba Hindal*, folios. 49-75, 57-58, 154-161, 231-233; Giani Gian Singh, *Panth Parkash*, p. 2853.
7. See infra Appendix I.
interests, the Niranjanias have played a vital role to distort the Sikh tradition. Hence, the scholars working in the field of textual criticism have to be cautious in their approach as the possibility of Niranjania documents representing their version of the Bani of the Sikh Gurus surfacing at some stage of history can not be ruled out altogether.

X. CONCLUSIONS

10.1. The foregoing discussion helps us to understand that literary activity among the Sikhs is not a late phenomenon but its genesis can be traced back to the times of Guru Nanak. Our sources reveal that right from Guru Nanak the recording and copying of Gurbani and its subsequent circulation among the Sikhs have been well taken care of by the Sikh Gurus and the Sikhs commissioned by them. Consequently, under the watchful eyes of the Sikh Gurus a major or parent tradition of Gurbani in scribal form had flourished to which each Sikh Guru had contributed in a very significant manner. On the basis of diction, genre and other poetic elements it has been proved that the Sikh Gurus before Guru Arjan Dev had not only access to the hymns of their successors but to the writings of the Bhagats as well. Evidence at hand suggests that the process of recording, compilation and canonization did not take place once but over and over again for nearly a century, coming to an end with the codification of the Adi Granth in 1604 C.E. Undoubtedly in addition to the inherited writings, Guru Arjan Dev had to sift many other sources available to him, but to locate the sources of Sikh scriptural tradition a scholar has to be careful that

1. The Niranjania formula to initiate the followers has been recorded as:

   आदे सा || पहुंचे सा || तैं सा || राम सा || सुरभि निरंजन || निरंजन || निरंजन || निरंजन सरस || निरंजन सरस || निरंजन सरस

   (Parchi Baba Hindal, folio 99)


3. For details, see Sahib Singh, Adi Bir Bare, pp. 34-108.
besides the main Sikh tradition, four other rival traditions of Gurbani i.e., the Udasi, the Mohan or Bhalla, the Mina and the Hindali were also current among the Sikhs of various hues of that time. While analysing a manuscript and its possible relationship with the early Sikh scriptural sources, we have to ascertain to which of the above-mentioned traditions of Gurbani it belongs.
APPENDIX I CHAP. 1

SOME EXAMPLES OF HINDAL’S COMPOSITIONS

1. वन्दना भक्ति भुजग परिशिष्ट १

1. वन्दना भक्ति भुजग परिशिष्ट १

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1. वन्दना भक्ति भुजग परिशिष्ट १

(Parchi Baba Hindal, folios 42-43)
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

(Parchi Baba Hindal, folios 102-103)

(Parchi Baba Hindal, folios 103-105)
4. GURBÂNI AND ITS TRANSMISSION

(Parchi Baba Hindal, folio 166)
GURU HAR SAHAI POTHI
MYTH OF AN EARLY CORPUS OF
THE SIKH SCRIPTURE

I. INTRODUCTION
1.1. The traditional Sikh sources state that the Sikh Gurus while succeeding to the guruship had inherited a Pothi from their respective predecessors. The Pothi which was in the possession of Sodhi family of Guru Har Sahai, a village near Ferozepur in Punjab, has been claimed to be the original one bestowed by Guru Nanak on his successor, Guru Angad. Subsequently, it is said to have been inherited by Guru Arjan and till then it remained in the possession of Prithi Chand and his descendants.1 Recently, it has been argued by a scholar that even though Guru Har Sahai Pothi was not the original manuscript attributed to Guru Nanak, "It may have been a copy of the manuscript that represented the core of the Sikh scriptural corpus."2 The present study seeks to examine various features of the Pothi so that the scholars may assess its merit and determine its place in the codification of the Ādi Granth in 1604 C.E. For its proper analysis it becomes almost imperative that the family history of the Sodhis of Guru Har Sahai and Pothi in their possession may be known.

II. THE SODHI FAMILY OF GURU HAR SAHAI
2.1. The Sodhis of Guru Har Sahai are the direct descendants of Prithi Chand, a jealous contender and an elder brother of Guru

Arjan. Before settling down at Guru Har Sahai, the family had lived at Chunian in Lahore district, where they held a religious establishment. Kahn Singh Nabha states that the hostile attitude of the rulers of Lahore compelled the family to leave Chunian to migrate to Guru Har Sahai. It seems when the Sikhs had successfully established their political ascendancy over the Punjab, the family under the stewardship of Jiwan Mal, sixth in the line from Prithi Chand, had acquired a considerable socio-religious clout resulting in procuring a sizeable land grant in the neighbourhood of Ferozepur, where he founded the village of Guru Har Sahai after the name of his son. The family arose to be one of the biggest land holders of Malwa region. Their status which was second only to the Nawab of Mamdot, is well-reflected in Lepel H. Griffin's The Chiefs of Punjab, where he enumerated them among the families of note in the Punjab. Until 1970, when the Pothi was extant, Sodhi Jaswant Singh was the head of the family at Guru Har Sahai.

III. HISTORY OF THE POTHI

3.1. Besides other relics, the Sodhi family of Guru Har Sahai had in its custody a Pothi which is claimed to be the original Pothi prepared by Guru Nanak. Subsequently, it was handed down to Guru Arjan from where it came into the hands of Prithi Chand. In what way the Pothi ascribed to Guru Nanak, went

4. Towards the beginning of 20th century the family had about 24000 acres in their possession, see Kahn Singh Nabha, Mahan Kosh, p. 421.
5. Lepel, H. Griffin, Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab, pp. 234-236.
8. Giani Gurdit Singh, op.cit., p. 370; Gurinder Singh Mann without going into the merit, also subscribes to the above view, see The Making of Sikh Scripture, pp. 45-46.
into the hands of rival of Guru Arjan is yet to be known. In their literature the *Minas* have made an attempt to trace out their legitimacy to guruship by claiming that Prithi Chand inherited the *Pothi* from Guru Arjan and handed it over to his son, Miharban, before his death. Thus, the *Pothi* remained in the Sodhi family of Prithi Chand. However one cannot be sure that it was the same *Pothi*, which Guru Nanak had handed over to Guru Angad. Moreover, it does not seem plausible that Guru Arjan might have conferred the *Pothi* on his rival. To establish Guru Har Sahai *Pothi*'s connection with Guru Arjan and then back to Guru Nanak is not only historically unsound but against the course of Sikh history also. Since no contemporary and near contemporary historical source alludes to it, thus its history will remain shrouded in mystery.

3.2. In the early 19th century, Khushwaqt Rai wrote that Miharban, son of Prithi Chand had retrieved it from a fire which had broken out in *Guru ke Mahal* at Amritsar. Munshi Sohan Lal Suri, a court chronicler of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, made a reference to its existence at Guru Har Sahai. Interestingly, H.A. Rose, while writing about the *Mandir* at Guru Har Sahai states that "ten years ago a new building was constructed and the *mala* and *Pothi* brought from Chunian and placed therein." Obviously, before its installation at Guru Har Sahai the *Pothi* had been at Chunian. Remaining in oblivion for a century it surfaced again during the quincentenary of Guru Nanak in 1969 C.E. It was brought to Patiala for public display. Later on its custodian Sodhi Jaswant Singh took it to Faridabad also. Unfortunately, when he was returning to his village Guru Har Sahai by rail, he lost it along with his luggage.

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3.3. Available accounts confirm that the *Pothi* was neither used for any religious service nor it was allowed to be recited. However, it was displayed once in a year only on Baisakhi day for public view. If someone wanted to have a glimpse of it, he was expected to present a *nazrana* of Rs. 101, a huge amount, which was beyond the reach of the majority of the Sikhs. We are informed that followers of the *Mina* residing in N.W.F.P. used to send their annual offerings to the *Pothi Mala Mandir* at Guru Har Sahai. Thus, we have strong reasons to believe that the *Pothi* was a well-guarded secret of the family and it was kept mainly to appropriate maximum offerings.

3.4. Obviously, before its loss, it had not been subjected to a close scrutiny. On April 4, 1908, an Ahmadiya delegation examined it and reported that the *Pothi* was none else but an old manuscript of the *Quran*, which later turned out to be untrue. While working on old manuscripts of the *Adi Granth*, G.B. Singh also got interested in it. Though, he was unable to examine it personally, yet he got some information about it through a friend, who had a chance to have a look at it on April 13, 1944. Information gathered by him is very brief but still very useful to fill the gaps. Later on in 1960 and then again in 1969, Giani Gurjit Singh was able to watch it from very close quarters. He is the only living scholar, who has got fairly enough time to scrutinise it. Since the *Pothi* is not extant, our analysis of its contents is mainly based on Giani Gurjit Singh's observations, published by him in books and journals. I am fully aware that in the absence of *Pothi* to comment upon it is fraught with risks, yet for the interest of academics it is worth taking the risk.

4. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
IV. EXTERNAL FEATURES

4.1. The Pothi was in the size of 7” x 10”, shorter at base and longer in height. Each folio had eight to ten lines. It has been reported that each line had about ten words but the facsimiles belied the above statement. Initially, it consisted of about 600 folios but more than 100 folios were added later on, which were slightly larger in size than the earlier ones. Scholars have divided the Pothi into two parts viz., earlier and latter. The latter part has been further divided into two sections. Irrespective of its division into parts and sub-sections, the folio numbers of whole Pothi were in continuous order. As reported on April 13, 1944, it was in very poor shape. Some of the folios had crumbled. When Giani Gurdit Singh examined it, he also noticed utter negligence in preserving it. He testifies that it had become brittle, due to moisture some of the folios had stuck together and at many places the Pothi had totally worn off. It was so bad in shape that to look into its earlier part was absolutely impossible. With great efforts he could go through only 100 and odd folios of latter part.

V. INDEX (TATKARĀ)

5.1. As usual, at the outset the index of Bani according to the ragas had been recorded. Perhaps it related to the Bani included in the earlier part. Somewhere in the middle or at the beginning of latter part another index had been scribed which started as:

2. As the observations made by G.B. Singh’s friend in his note are very significant, for the benefit of inquisitive readers, we are taking liberty to produce it along with its English translation, see infra Appendix I.
8. Ibid.
9. G.B. Singh, op.cit., p. 21: Giani Gurdit Singh misses the index in the beginning. Perhaps due to the bad shape of the Pothi he may not have noticed it.
What does it mean or what was the need to prepare a new index? It may be a repetition of the earlier one or it can be for the Bani recorded in the latter part.

VI. INTERNAL CONTENTS OF THE POTHÁ

6.1. Information about its contents has come only through bits and pieces making it extremely difficult to understand its contents and internal arrangement. What Giani Gurdit Singh has described about its various sections is absolutely indispensable to evaluate its contents. We are taking the liberty to reproduce them here for the consideration of scholars.

6.2. The earlier part, considered to be old started with Japuji and ended with hymns in Tukhari mode. In between some important and longer Banis viz., Sidh Goshti, Onkar, Var Malhar and hymns of Tilang mode, also formed part of it. At what folio this part closed, information is not available. It has been stressed that it comprised the Bani of Guru Nanak only and no writing of the Bhagats, has been included in it. Contrary to his statement that he could not examine the first part, still Giani Gurdit Singh has ventured to describe its contents, consequently his statement may be accepted with caution.

6.3. The latter part, said to be of the post-Guru Amar Das period, has been further divided into two sections. The first section of it contained the salokas of Guru Angad followed by the hymns of Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan. Except the existence of Guru Angad's salokas and Guru Amar Das' Anandu

2. Ibid., p. 558.
3. Ibid., pp. 370, 550, 558.
4. Ibid., p. 550.
5. Ibid., pp. 370, 550, 558: Gurinder Singh Mann mentions the Bani of the Sikh Gurus up to Guru Ram Das but skips the name of Guru Arjan for reasons best known to him, see The Making of Sikh Scripture, p. 48.
6.4. Information about the contents of the second section of this part has come somewhat more liberally. It has been stated that it included Bhagat-bani, but as we will see, it has mixed hymns. Again from where did this section start? We have no knowledge. Preceded by some blank folios Namdev's pada has been recorded. Then swayye of the Bha-s, starting with Guru Nanak's hymn in Sri Raga had also found a place in it. From the facsimile, it seems that at folio 443 Kabir's pada had been scribed. Majh raga started at folio 445, but what type of hymns did it have? No information is forthcoming. Immediately after Majh mode there was a blank folio followed by six padas of Kabir, namely three hymns (Vej bhr Vje ujVjn qVp wdi qwj dwWvj wdi s'hgn VjRp q[i VjRp q[i Wjig) of Kabir and three hymns (Vje bjrVp Vje ujVjn qVp wdi qwj dwWvj) of Namdev. Besides, three extra-canonical padas in Bhairo, namely three padas of Kabir and three of Namdev, have been recorded. At folio 479 again Bhagat-bani has been recorded. After that Guru Nanak's hymn had also found a place. We do not know at which folio Bhairo mode started, but it had at least three hymns (Vje bjrVp Vje ujVjn qVp wdi qwj dwWvj) of Kabir and three hymns (Vje bjrVp Vje ujVjn qVp wdi qwj dwWvj) of Namdev.

2. Ibid., p. 579.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., facsimile at p. 3.
5. Ibid., p. 579.
6. Ibid., p. 580.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
attributed to Kabir, Namdev and Ravidas respectively, have been entered.\(^1\) After that swayye related to Guru Nanak have been recorded. Then Kabir's 35 salokas beginning from वर्चीरु मेली फ़िमादों के संगति has been followed.\(^2\) After a gap of two blank folios, at folio 664 Farid's salokas, 38 in number, have been scribed.\(^3\) In raga Kedara which started at folio 703, Kabir's pada रुक धितिं पश्चिमी ति धुलित विन्यास which has been recorded.\(^4\) Thereafter, hymns relating to आरती (Namdev) in Dhansari viz., जगद में वर्ष हरे कंघ संघ (Guru Nanak) वर्चीरु भुज्जंक प्रज्ञ धुलित विन्यास (extra-canonical of Kabir), वर्च संघ की आरती (extra-canonical attributed to Namdev), राज जे राज (Ravidas) and दोहों ने घचा (Dhanna) have been entered.\(^5\) There followed two hymns जपे तथ अपानु and जपे ज्ञ रथ ज्ञान of Namdev entered in Gau-ा Ramkali mode.\(^6\) It is worth noting that Gau-ा Ramkali mode finds no place in the ragas of Sikh scripture. After that three padas of Kabir, namely जिभे बजो फिलेहार बी आरही आयोग घरभाग गर्गुंड़े वे भर विदुः and an extra-canonical वर्चीरु भुज्जंक वर वर्चीरु विदुः जागो, have been recorded.\(^7\) Similarly, a pada of Madan Mohan Surdas has been reported but the raga is not known.\(^8\) Giani Gurdit Singh states that Kachi-bani probably recorded by Miharban was also inserted therein.\(^9\) Though, he argues that Miharban has not entered his writings into it, yet the following piece of prose:

\begin{center}
\textbf{हेत्र ग्रंथावली प्‌हलाड़ि।}
\textbf{मूँ तावू नूँ भावं अरिणार्व ततुः वचन तावू नूँ लगो भर्तम तावू मूँ तावू नूँ वे अन्तो।} गर्गुंड़े जिभे बजो फिलेहार। तै तावू जागा वा भर्तम वतुः तथे हरे कंघ संघ। वर्चीरु भुज्जंक वर वर्चीरु वर्च। जिभे तावू नूँ भावं ततुः जबे तावू नूँ बी जागा वर्च। भ. ९। तिन्द्र भाव तिन्द्र तुः तुः तृण तावू वतुः वे तेंदे
\end{center}

3. Ibid., pp. 371, 582.
4. Ibid., p. 580.
5. Ibid., pp. 582-583.
6. Ibid., p. 584.
7. Ibid.
8 Ibid., p. 584.
9. Ibid., p. 563: Gurinder Singh Mann again ignores the existence of Kachi-bani and the writings of Miharban in the Pothi, see The Making of Sikh Scripture, pp. 43-51.
Ik Onkar Satiguru Parsadi
(Coming in the presence of Āhakur Ji Guru Baba, Nanak started performing Kirtan before Āhakur Ji. Firstly he sang Sohila and then eulogised Thakur Ji in raga Āsa. Guru Baba Ji composed this Ārati of Parmeshwar Ji in raga Dhanasari. 1)

recorded at folio 710 makes it clear that Miharban's writings also formed part of the Pothi. 2

6.5. Undoubtedly, Giani Gurdit Singh has done a creditable job to examine the contents of the Pothi. As his submission, to consult the Pothi was not an easy task, consequently his reporting should not be considered a final word about its contents. 3 Anyway the contents referred to above suggest that no uniform or fixed pattern has been adopted to record the writings. Since the genre or poetic forms have not been differentiated, it has been taken by Gurinder Singh Mann as an unorganised system to prove its earlier origin. 4 But the very existence of an index indicates that writings of various authors have been recorded in accordance with the ragas. From the facsimiles and text available, it is very clear that each hymn or saloka had been assigned a specific serial number. 5 Even swayye of the Bha__s have been recorded under different headings. 6 Interestingly, attempts to arrange the hymns according to theme, as in the case

2. Style of the above piece of prose is almost identical to that of Miharban.
5. For example, compare the text of the salokas of Farid and Kabir provided by Giani Gurdit Singh, op.cit., pp. 370-371, 582.
6. Ibid., p. 561.
of Ārati in Dhanasari mode, have also been made.¹ In what sequence the rāgas have been arranged and within a raga what pattern had been adopted? In the absence of information it is hard to imagine.

VII. MĀL-MANTRA

7.1. Since we have no information as to how the Japuji or a new raga in the Pothi began, so to comment upon the form of Mul-Mantra with any certainty is not possible. Anyway, from the facsimiles of the Pothi’s folios, it is quite obvious that not full, but only a short form of invocation has been used. The Mul-Mantra which is said to have been found recorded at the beginning of the first part of the Pothi is quite unusual and some scholars have taken it as an earlier Mul-Mantra of the Sikh faith.² It follows as:

\[ \text{O} \text{nkar } \text{S} \text{a} \text{c} \text{n} \text{a} \text{m} \text{ } \text{K} \text{a} \text{r} \text{t} \text{a} \text{r} \text{ } \text{B} \text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \text{ } \text{N} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \text{k} \]

Gurinder Singh Mann is aptly right to remark that most of the scholars have failed to read it properly. Unfortunately, he himself falls short to decipher it accurately.⁴ Firstly, the figure of Ikk (੧) denoting the unity of Godhead has been dropped from it, which is quite contrary to the theological concern of Guru Nanak Dev and his successors. Secondly, the name of Guru Nanak has been made part of it which has no relevance to the attributes of God expressed in it. Obviously, in the above so-called earlier version along with the God, name of first Master (ਪਛਾਡੀ ਤਰਕਿਆ) has been invoked, which is again totally inconceivable in a Mul-Mantra having its origin from the founder of Sikhism. All these factors do not help to prove that Mul-Mantra contained in the Guru Har Sahai Pothi has come down from Guru Nanak himself.

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4. Besides the invocation to Baba Nanak, Gurinder Singh Mann fails to note the absence of Ikk (੧੧੧) in it. He simply reads it as ੧੧੧ ਸਾਚਨਾਮ ਬਹਿੱਡੀ, see The Making of Sikh Scripture, pp. 48, 85.
Two facsimiles of Guru Har Sahai Pothi that appear in Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. The first facsimile presents the so-called earliest form of the *Mul-Mantra* whereas the second carries the text of a *pada* of Kabir in *Sri raga*. A close look at both the facsimiles reveals that they are quite at variance in length and
breadth from each other.

7.2. Significantly, the most distinctive feature, which has hitherto remained unnoticed by most of the scholars, is the size of folio on which the alleged earlier form of Mul-Mantra has been recorded. On close examination we find that its size is diametrically different from that of the Pothi. The facsimile of the folio in question is a clear proof in itself that its dimensions are quite at variance with the other folios of the Pothi. Evidently, it was not an integral part of the original Pothi. It seems that a dislodged folio of another manuscript has crept into the Guru Har Sahai Pothi, possible for safe keeping. Ironically the scholars of manuscriptology have failed to observe the above fact. Even some of them have jumped to conclude that it represents the earliest form of invocation used by the Sikh Panth. Since, antecedents of the folio in question are obscure, consequently its historical value is highly unreliable to determine the text of the Mul-Mantra of Sikh faith.

VII. NÁSÀN

8.1. In the new index prepared in 1625 C.E. (1682 Bk.) there was a reference:

Nisan Sri Guru Arjan Ji ka.
(signature of Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji)

But this is found nowhere in the Pothi. It exposes the claim of the Guru Har Sahai family that Pothi has come to them from Guru Arjan. Probably the custodians or scribe in their efforts to legitimise the Pothi and circulate it as genuine one wanted to procure the Nisan of the fifth Master, but failed. Absence of Nisan is a clear proof that the Pothi did not belong to the main Sikh tradition.

IX. BHAGAT-BÀNI

9.1. As reported Bhagat-bani formed the second part of the Pothi. Available accounts suggest that not all the Bhagats of the Ādi Granth but only a few viz., Farid, Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas

2. Ibid., pp. 579-584.
and Surdas have found a place in it. Secondly, not the whole writings of these Bhagats, but only selective padas have been scribed. While recording their writings, they have been addressed variously. For example, Kabir has been addressed as मी उज्ज्वल गयानी ज्वलन। Similarly, Namdev has been introduced as तपन तपन श्रद्धालुः खेलते केदार जी रथभ गुजारी बी। Only Ravidas has been entered as Bhagat. Whether the distinction between the Bhagats was deliberate or Gosain for Kabir and Namdev was used in a casual manner, is difficult to be explained. Anyway, it reminds us of Miharban, who was in the habit of addressing the Bhagats as Gosains. Significantly, the text of Bhagat-bani, as we will see later on, has not come from the main Sikh scriptural tradition.

X. DATING THE POTHÁ

10.1. Giani Gurdit Singh assumes that the first part of the Pothi dates back to the times of Guru Nanak. Recently, Gurinder Singh Mann has argued that earlier part of the Pothi must have been scribed prior to 1570 C.E. He also feels that the latter part must have been scribed after the succession of Guru Ram Das, i.e., 1574 C.E. Irrespective of its parts and divisions, he assumes that the Pothi certainly antedated the compilation of Àdi Granth in 1604 C.E. Though, except in the case of a few compositions, to find out the chronology of Guru Nanak’s hymns is an elusive issue, yet on the basis of raga Tukhari being at the end of first section and on the evidence of Puratan Janamsakhi, it has been argued that the Pothi is relatively of earlier origin. Significantly, in raga Tukhari, Guru Nanak has made a reference to Halley’s comet, which appeared in Guru Nanak’s lifetime in August-September 1531. It helps us to suggest that the

5. Ibid., p. 50.
6. जग चित्रित लेखन विद्व दस विद्व ज्ञानविद्या दान॥ AGGS, p. 1110. We are extremely thankful to S. Pal Singh Purewal of Edmonton, Canada, for working out the date. He shared this observation in one of our discussions on the Sikh calendar while he was on his visit to Amritsar to attend the World Sikh Conference in September 1995.
hymns entered in Tukhari mode were composed in or around 1531 C.E. If the position taken by us is true then to conclude that Guru Nanak did not compose any hymn during the last eight years of his life, looks to be ridiculous. Evidently, the closing of the first section of the Pothi at Tukhari mode in no way points to its earlier origin.

10.2. The internal evidence contained in the Pothi instead of suggesting its earlier origin, points to the contrary. As reported by G.B. Singh in 1944, at the beginning of the Pothi immediately after the tatkara (index), on five folios, five different dates with some writings have been recorded. Of them the first referred to 1595 Bk. (1538 C.E.) and the last of 1661 Bk.1 Probably these dates referred to the passing away dates (धार्मिक सूजन सूजन सूजन) of the Sikh Gurus up to Guru Arjan. Anyway the above fact helps to conclude that the Pothi is certainly a post-1606 C.E. product. We are also informed that along with the passing away dates of the first five Gurus, Prithi Chand's death which occurred in April, 1618 C.E., has also been recorded.2 Another date i.e., July 1618, relating to family accounts entered in the Pothi reads as:

Sammat 1675 Sawan Vadi Naus.
Hisab mahine chhia da melia.
[Sawan Vadi 9, 1675 (July 1618) on Sabana's recommendation received the amount of (Rs.) 100. Account of six months computed.]

Furthermore, the new index which was completed on July 10, 1625, has been recorded as follows:

Sambatu 1682 Sawan Vadi 1 tatkara nawan likhia.
[On Sawan Vadi 1, 1682 Bk. (July 10, 1625) afresh index prepared.]

3. Ibid., p. 583.
4. Ibid., pp. 370, 582.
Traces of Miharban’s writings in the Pothi confirm that it continued to be scribed during his lifetime. Thus, the internal evidence of the Pothi, establishes beyond any doubt that it had been recorded between 1606 and 1625 C.E., and in no way antedated the Ádi Granth i.e., 1604 C.E. The scholars who consider it of pre-scriptural Sikh tradition are either ignoring the vital internal evidence or they are deliberately suppressing the facts.

XI. ORTHOGRAPHY

11.1. To determine the period of a manuscript on the basis of orthography, spellings and style of writing, is a very tricky issue about which nothing can be said with certainty, only conjectures are possible on this count. Above all due to regional, dialectal, educational or personal leanings the scribe may not be following the prevalent method in its totality. Nevertheless, the orthography of the Pothi has also been taken as an argument to prove its earlier origin.1 As noticed by the scholar, who has examined it for fairly a good time, scribing has been done in various hands.2 The Gurmukhi of Takari character has also been used.3 From the facsimiles, a distinctive style of orthography is quite obvious. Like the Hukamnãmãs of Guru Hargobind, the letters have not been joined but separated at the head. The handwriting of the facsimiles bearing the demise dates and padã of Kabir is identical. For the vowel sign of Kannã instead of a vertical line, a dot has been employed. The consonants ढ़ ठ़ ध ़ bear the Devanãgarì character. Some salokas written in Sanskrit have also been noticed.4 It suggests that the scribe was well-versed in Sanskrit also. Comparison of the orthography of the Pothi with that of the Hukamnãmãs of the Sikh Gurus, proves that it is very similar to the Gurmukhi script used in the Hukamnãmã of Baba Gurdita, the elder son of the sixth Master.1 On the basis of orthography, the scribing of Pothi can not be stretched back

4. Ibid., p. 561.
to pre-Guru Hargobind times.

XII. SCRIBE
12.1. In the *Pothi* no colophon indicating the scribe, date and place of writing, has been noticed. Sometimes, Lakhmi Chand, the younger son of Guru Nanak has been associated with its scribing.² But no internal and external evidence corroborates the above view. Moreover, text scribed in different hands has been found in it. Obviously, more than one scribe has been associated to record it. Giani Gurdit Singh feels that latter part of the *Pothi* has been prepared by Miharban.³ Though, in the absence of colophon it may be only a conjecture, yet on the basis of internal evidence i.e., inclusion of Prithi Chand’s death date alongwith the writings of Miharban,⁴ we have strong reason to believe that at some stage Miharban or someone from his family was closely associated with its scribing.

XIII. TEXTUAL VARIANTS
13.1. In the absence of the *Pothi* itself, its textual analysis is absolutely impossible and looks to be unacademic as well. Full text even of a single hymn of Guru Nanak and his successors has not been made available. A few specimens of *Bhagat-bânî* belonging to Farid, Kabir, Ravidas, Namdev and Surdas, have been reported. Comparison of these specimens, with that of the *Ádi Granth*, depicts various variants in the text.

13.2. Some of the variants belong to the *râga* pattern. For example two *padâs* of Namdev, namely भूगः भूगः भूगः भूगः पुरे बैंकू धनवर्ते and भूरे भूरे भूरे भूरे have been entered into *Gauri Râmkali*,⁵ while in the *Ádi Granth* they have been recorded under *Mâli Gauri*.⁶ Significantly, in the *Ádi Granth*, *Gauri Râmkali* mode has not been used. Evidently, the above *padâs* of Namdev belong to a different musical tradition than that of the *Ádi Granth*.

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3. Ibid., pp. 560-561.
4. Ibid., pp. 107, 558.
5. Ibid., p. 583.
13.3. We also observe that index lines of some padās are different than that of the Ādi Granth. In the Pothi, a padā of Kabir takes off from रुप्टे भे तीन रुप्टे भे बनी, while in the Ādi Granth it begins from रुप्टे भे तीन रुप्टे भे रुप्टे. Similarly, one of the padās of Namdev starts from तीन तीन नाम भे रुप्टे, but in the Ādi Granth it has नाम नाम नाम रुप्टे. Obviously, these variations are also of musical nature, which again suggest that the Pothi belongs to a different musical tradition.

13.4. Various modifications in the text to replace the syllables and phrases have been introduced. Even to change the expression and its meaning, the text has been revised. To illustrate it an example of Kabir’s saloka will suffice:

वन्दे महादेव मरे मुक्ते मम ने भाविष्य देव।
हिंदु रुपान्त ती जयक भ्रत बालिष्ये भरे देव।
हिंदु रुपान्त ती जयक भ्रत बालिष्ये भरे भरमे देव।
सुन्दर महादेव मरे मुक्ते देव मे भाविष्य देव।
हिंदु लघुवांछ तो तीन गिस बालिष्ये भरे रुप्टे भाविष्ये देव।

To appreciate the variants in the above text readers are referred to two salokas of Kabir found in the Ādi Granth. A cursory glance at the above salokas reveals that the text in the Pothi has been reworked and to change the expression fillers have been introduced. Though one line to the text has been added, yet it lacks rhythm and does not make any sense.

13.5. From the available data we find that six padās of extra-canonical nature attributed to Kabir, Namdev and Ravidas have been entered into the Pothi. Significantly, two padās, one each attributed to Kabir and Namdev, clearly represent Krishna-bhakti tendencies. If the Pothi had been prepared under the supervision of the Sikh Gurus or it represents the early Sikh scriptural tradition, then why have the extra-canonical padās of the Bhagats, not found a place in the Ādi Granth? Only a group

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 582.
4. AGGS, pp. 1372, 1374.
5. See infra Appendix II.
6. Giani Gurdit Singh, op.cit., pp. 581-583. For the text of these padas, see infra Appendix II.
or person dedicated to Krishna-bhakti would like to make these padās a part of their scripture, which in the case of Sikh Gurus, was totally unthinkable. It is worth noting that Krishna-bhakti has been a favourite and predominant feature of the Mīnā literature produced under Miharban and his descendants. Krishna-bhakti elements in the Pothi establish its close contact with the rivals of Guru Arjan. It nullifies its claim of belonging to the early Sikh scriptural tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus.

13.6. Of the 38 salokas recorded under the authorship of Shaikh Farid, many of them are of dubious character. Their text instead of conforming to the Ādi Granth has resemblance with the text of a late 17th century work authored by Miharban or his descendants. Secondly, the authorship of saloka No. 38, which belongs to Kabir, has been wrongly entered here as that of Farid. Thirdly, poetry of some of the salokas viz., serial No. 28 to 37, is so immature that it lacks the characteristics of the diction of Farid. It seems some unauthentic or extra-canonical salokas of Kabir have also got currency under the name of Farid. While recording these salokas in the Pothi, the scribe or compiler has miserably failed to check their origin.

13.7. From the above facts we can safely conclude that neither the text of the Pothi belonged to the main Sikh tradition nor it was remotely concerned with the sources of the Ādi Granth; rather it belonged to a different tradition.

XIV. CONCLUSIONS

14.1. In retrospect we can say that in order to enhance their socio-religious clout as well as to appropriate maximum public offerings, the Sodhi family of Guru Har Sahai had circulated the Pothi in their possession as the original one belonging to Guru

2. For the text of these salokas entered under the authorship of Shaikh Farid, see infra Appendix III.
4. AGGS, p. 1369.\]
Nanak. Contrary to the claim of the family, the *Pothi*'s movement from Guru Arjan to Prithi Chand or his son, Miharban, is highly debatable. Since Giani Gurdit Singh, who had fairly good time to examine it, was unable to scrutinise it fully, especially the earlier part, so his exercise to divide it into three parts, looks to be quite arbitrary. Significantly, its various parts have not been assigned separate folio numbers but the whole *Pothi* has folios marked in continuous order. Internal evidence contained in the *Pothi*, i.e., mention of Prithi Chand’s date of death which occurred in 1619 C.E., an entry of 1618 C.E. relating to the family accounts and reference to new index prepared in 1625 C.E., suggest that it had its origin in the post *Adi Granth* period. Most probably its scribing took place between 1606-1625 C.E. Even, some of its portions continued to be scribed during the lifetime of Miharban.

14.2. Some of the internal features of the *Pothi* viz., use of *Mul-Mantra* identical to the *Minās*, entry of Prithi Chand’s date of death, to address the *Bhagats* as *Gosāins* on the *Minā* pattern, inclusion of Miharban’s writings, resemblance of Shaikh Farid’s *saloka* with the text of *भगां ग्रंथ नवीन संस्करण* authored by Miharban, or his descendants, inclusion of *Krishna-bhakti* poetry, etc., are some of the strong reasons which suggest that it has originated at the rival camp to Guru Arjan. Consequently, its production in no way can be attributed to Guru Nanak and his early successors. Instead of representing main Sikh tradition it is closely related to the fissiparous tendencies spearheaded by the rivals of the Sikh Gurus, especially the *Minās*. The text of *Bhagat-bāni* included in it certainly belonged to a different tradition other than the *Adi Granth*. Actually, the *Pothi* represented a different tradition, which had been developed and nurtured by the *Minās*. To call it a document of pre-scriptural Sikh tradition originating from the time of Guru Nanak is absolutely unwarranted and uncalled for.
ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE NOTE:

On the day of Baisakhī, April 13, 1944, I watched a book at Guru Har Sahai, which is known as the Pothi. Guru Jaswant Singh in whose custody it is, displays it on the day of Baisakhī for 3-4 hours and the people from far and wide visit here to have a glimpse of it and make an offering. Guru Sahib dressed up in cholā, selhi and topī remains for the whole time in attendance to sit near the Pothi. For about ten minutes, I had an opportunity to examine it by turning its various folios. In the beginning of it like the volumes of (Àdi) Granth Sāhib, it has index (tatkarā) of Bānī according to the rāga pattern. Further after the index
there are few writings on five different folios. First of these is the date of 1595 (Bk.) and the last is of 1661 (Bk.). As the writing is not in an intelligible Gurmukhi and the folios being worn out, I could not decipher it. The index reveals that the Pothi has above 600 folios but actually their number is much more. It appears that towards the end about 100 folios have been added later on. Penmanship of these folios is quite different than that of the Pothi. The folios are in the size of 10” x 7”. But the folios added later on seems to be larger in size.

The scribing of the Pothi is not in a single hand, two or three scribes have done it. The script is Gurmukhi but at many places style of orthography is such that it cannot be deciphered easily.

At many places as is the case with the (Àdi) Granth, the letters have been joined at the head but at many places they have been separated and some of the vowel signs are not complete. Like the volumes of the (Àdi) Granth text is written vertically. On each folio there are eight to twelve lines. Even the columns of text scribed by a single scribe are not at equal space.

The shape of the Pothi is very poor and many of the folios have been reduced nearly to a half. In my opinion, the Pothi is an old volume (of the Àdi Granth).

(Sri Guru Granth Sãhib Diãn Prãchin Birân, pp. 22-23)

APPENDIX II CHAP. 2

EXTRA-CANONICAL PADAS OF THE BHAGATS IN GURU HAR SAHAI POTHI

1. तन्न तेहिं वर्षह

2. तन्न यत्तको अवधिं वर्षह दुनो बोली
3. वशीकरण

4. रज्जु बैठै तमभेद देहती 

5. रज्जु परगिनी आत्मा भ्रो से रंगे नुमदो बो 

6. रज्जु बैठै विभागम 

(The text of above padás has been taken from Giani Gurdit Singh, 'Ithãs Sri Guru Granth Sãhib', pp. 581-83)
APPENDIX III CHAP. 2

SHAIKH FARIDS SALOKAS FOUND IN GURU HAR SAHAI POTHI

वहिं मिलियो भुजाय
मलेव बनीट वे
बड़ीघर संभी तिलकण बहु दुर्गतान तृणितीभ।
भर भवानी बुँददे से बेंग बाँधुदभ।१॥
बड़ीघर नेवी संत बहो बैठो बोली संहार।
मे बेंग भान जिलिया भावह बीचा बिलेह।
बड़ीघर में एव मत्र में गु भिज भर स्व नाक।
जम मार बरु भरी अभासत बिच तिषाथि।१॥
तेजु उँ सब बिकर उँ सब बाजरे तेजु।
बिकर बुड़ा तबालों ने बूटे बुहर भें।॥२॥
बड़ीघर सजाता दी उँ साजा बुड़ी बिराज।
भिली बिसार्द रे वज ते भु हासे ब्रज।॥३॥
पीठी बिमारित हिंचा उबर बुझप मारेह।
बंचन रघु भिसाने वै भजी युझ दर्जीव।
बदलती हिटा निर्मती जीवन धरीज़ धरमी भगी।
बिंदुकी बुझ सातजी हिंदुरा हिंदूर भगी।
बदलते भरु मंजीरा चौहरा झुंग्व जेई लंड।
धियाँ वे बेटी त साह्यी शिखे बड़ी अंज़।
बदलती बिने म देशी मची धीरी नु नारीव।
उ चेनियाँ कर जाने न मटाइव।
बदलता भाग्य विमार बिनामा महलुल में।
भिंदुट की तिन कू चपट कू बेटी बेंग।
बदलता बेंग हरा धरा धरोब में देही वरद।
सौंभिता में विनामा भूलिया देही दी बच।
अनि विघोष वि चुध दिनी हिंद्र आदी जेंड।
उ फिर वे जानि तिम्रा झेंगा झेंगा बेंग।
बदलता भव सबवाने सैनिकहरा डिमा म भाच्चां।
बंदरु संनिव ता सुंगं चेंट मैं वरद।
बंदरुपण झेंगा सरकारी तुलना दर बिमार उद।
बदलता बरले में लुहार बरसन में बेंग।
सुरागी एँवणा मदिरा नें बेंग सबसै।
बदलता भई धरा अक्षाद सेंडदे भेजी अङ्कह बच।
तिमी हरारों दी दो नैक्षिंग त बचवृत बच।
बदलता अंश उ ने भजाह संपुट बिमार मोहरां।
भान निजहरू पुख्तिये निम्ने निहले लंडण।
बदलता राजीवं सध बड़ौटे बिंदित निम्ने निजीरो।
धव वह सध बुध्दि धव वह बंदरु पुख्तिये।
फिते दरब मंजीरा दरब बंदरु नेंसी।
से दरब मंजीरा दरब मंजीरा में मैवुट दुगंग।
भानुब भई हर्षरु निम्ने चर्च वि द्वार जलिया।
सिखे दखना सिखिया में भू मौत हाम।
बह भिंदुट वह मेंसी चर्च पिक्हिया द्वार।
बदलता निम दिनादे वह बही में लुहे दिखाई।
भानु दिन बही मुरीऊ दु देहा चुहा भानु।
भानु दिन हिंद्री बचमी ज्ञान व ज्ञान झाँग।
बदलता निम में सालै मरीऊ दु पूैढ़ी झाँग।
भिंदुट हिंद्री पुख्तिया दूं दूं बुझा त भाप भानु।
बदलता भडों देहा यच पुडयर दूं भाप दूं मारा।
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

(The text of above salokas has been taken from Giani Gurdit Singh, 'Ithãs Sri Guru Granth Sãhib', pp. 371-73)
THE GOINDWAL POTHIS
MYTH AND REALITY

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Some of the traditional Sikh sources describe that before embarking on the compilation of the अदि ग्रंथ, Guru Arjan approached Baba Mohan to lend the Pothis, which were said to have been prepared under the guidance of Guru Amar Das. At present the two Pothis, popularly known as the Goindwal or Babe Mohan Walian Pothian, are in the possession of two Bhalla families, who claim them as an inherited one from the days of Baba Mohan through successive generations. Several scholars have commented upon them in various contexts but their views, especially in regard to the role of Pothis in the codification of the अदि ग्रंथ, are so divergent, that they are hard to be reconciled1.

1. Some scholars have assigned a primary role to the Goindwal Pothis in the codification of the अदि ग्रंथ in 1604 C.E. For details, see Bawa Prem Singh Hoti, Mohan Pothian (ed. Gursharan Kaur Jagg), Alohana, Oct.-Dec. 1984; Giani Gurdit Singh, Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib: Piaa Singh Padam, Guru Granth Parkash. Besides, a host of scholars have commented upon them on the basis of Bawa Prem Singh's study. Recently, some scholars have again reiterated their significance in the compilation of the अदि ग्रंथ: see Pashaura Singh, The Text and Meaning of the Adi Granth and Gurinder Singh Mann, The Making of Sikh Scripture and also his The Goindval Pothis: The Earliest Extant Sources of the Sikh Canon; hereafter cited as The Goindval Pothis. On the other hand some scholars feel that the extant Goindwal Pothis owe their origin to sectarian developments within Sikhism and have been of no use for Guru Arjan in compiling the अदि ग्रंथ. For details, see Sahib Singh, अदि बिर बारे: Harnam Das Udasi, Paratani Biran te Vichar: Randhir Singh, 'Bhai Gurdas Bhalla Da Jiwan'; Daljeet Singh and Kharak Singh, 'Goindwal Pothis Post 1595 Production' and also see ➤
For proper analysis of the Pothis and judging their importance in the compilation of the Sikh scripture, it is necessary to know, in brief, the history of their origin.

II. CUSTODIANS

2.1. The Bhalla families, nowadays settled at Jalandhar and Pinjore, have one Pothi each in their possession. These Pothis are collectively known as Goindwal Pothis, the name derived from the village of Goindwal, district Amritsar, with which they have been associated because of their origin. Both the families trace their lineage from Guru Amar Das. Family claims as well as the genealogical tables of the Bhallas confirm that they are the direct descendants of Baba Mohan, the eldest son of Guru Amar Das. The history of the Bhalla family at Jalandhar can easily be traced back to Goindwal, where one of their ancestors, Bawa Mela Singh used to supervise a religious establishment associated with Baba Anand, son of Mohri and grandson of Guru Amar Das. There he had in his possession two Pothis said to have been scribed by Sahansar Ram, a grandson of the third Master. Bawa Mela Singh had two brothers, namely Bawa Dalip Chand and Bawa Chanan Mal, who at some stage of history left Goindwal to settle at Ahiyapur, a village in district Hoshiarpur. As stated by Bawa Prem Singh, in 1924 C.E., Bawa Mela Singh of Goindwal, handed over one of the Pothis to his brother, Bawa Dalip Chand of Ahiyapur, which subsequently came to be known as the Ahiyapur Pothi. In the 1980s the Ahiyapur Bhalla family

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Giani Bachitar Singh, ed., Planned Attack on Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Though, Piar Singh considers them to be old manuscripts but does not find any role for them in the compilation of Adi Granth by Guru Arjan, see Gatha Sri Adi Granth, p. 112.

1. The genealogical tables of the Bhallas confirm that both the families have common origin i.e., Baba Mohan. We are thankful to Dr. Jasbir Singh Bhalla, Librarian, Baba Buddha College, Bir Sahib, Amritsar, for making available these tables.


3. Bawa Prem Singh, Mohan Pothian, p. 26. Since, the Pothi is better known in literary circles as the Ahiyapur Pothi, so we have retained the name in our study.
shifted to Jalandhar, where Vinod Kumar Bhalla, the present head of the family, is in possession of a Pothi inherited from his ancestors. The family used to display it on Sangrand (first day of every month of the solar calendar) but at presently they no more observe the custom to allow the people to pay their obeisance.¹

2.2. The second Bhalla family's origin can also be traced back to Baba Mohan.² Bawa Bhagat Singh, the father of Kanwarjit Singh, the present head of the family, got a Pothi from Bawa Mela Singh of Goindwal. In 1940 C.E., he carried it to Hoti Mardan in N.W.F.P.³ After the partition of India, he migrated to Patiala and then to Pinjore, to finally settle there. Presently, the Pinjore family headed by Kanwarjit Singh Bhalla, has in its possession a Pothi, which is known as the Pinjore Pothi.⁴ The family has continued the practice to display it on Puranmasi, the full moon day of every month of the lunar calendar.

III. HISTORY OF THE POTHIS

3.1. Though, the Goindwal Pothis are said to have been the basis for compiling the Ádi Granth in 1604 C.E., yet no contemporary or near contemporary source of Sikh history alludes to them. Interestingly, quite a number of old manuscripts of the Ádi Granth, have preserved some important annotations such as: नन्द कुंद त्राभ्यम् नींद्री विश्व तामारम् वा समान्, Nisan of the Sikh Gurus, etc., which provide significant insights into the codification of the Sikh scripture. Surprisingly, no reference to the Goindwal Pothis in any context and form have been found recorded anywhere in the old manuscripts of Sikh scripture. Evidently, the early history of the Pothis is quite obscure, hard and hard to be reconciled to the claims

¹ The family of Vinod Kumar Bhalla now resides at 371, Lajpat Nagar, Jalandhar.
² Compare the genealogical tables of the Bhallas as mentioned in footnote 1, p. 90.
⁴ The family now lives at Sunder Kutia, Pinjore (near Chandigarh), Distt. Panchkula, Haryana. Since, the Pothi in possession of the family in question is known as the Pinjore Pothi, so we have referred to it as such in our study.
of their custodians.

3.2. The first reference to the Goindwal *Pothis* occurs in *Mahima Parkash*, a Bhalla tradition recorded by Sarup Das Bhalla in 1776 C.E. It states that during the pontificate of Guru Amar Das, his grandson, Sahansar Ram (son of Baba Mohan), used to scribe the *Bani* of the Sikh Gurus.1 When Guru Arjan initiated the codification of the *Adi Granth*, Bhai Gurdas requested him to procure the *Pothis of Gurbani* in the possession of Sahansar Ram at Goindwal.2 The tradition goes on to describe that, subsequently Guru Arjan visited Goindwal to request Sahansar Ram to lend the *Pothis*, which he declined.3 Here Sarup Das Bhalla introduces Baba Mohan, who on being moved by the praise showered on him by the fifth Master, intervenes to persuade his son Sahansar Ram to hand over the *Pothis* to Guru Arjan.4 Guru Arjan's following hymn:

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\[ \text{Surat \ Udeh \ Bhag \ Mal \ Aman} \]
\[ \text{Surat \ Udeh \ Milad \ Raghun \ Sootheh \ Mant \ Pach \ Aman} \]
\[ \ldots \]
\[ \text{Surat \ Udeh \ Bagh \ Aman \ Chir \ Dharam} \]
\[ \text{Surat \ U \ Bhit \ Pach \ Sootheh \ Mant \ Yakh} \]
\[ \ldots \]
\[ \text{Surat \ Tuj \ Man \ Wala \ Dharm \ Shukh \ Dharam} \]
\[ \text{Surat \ Nau \ Tach \ \& \ Aap \ \& \ Tuj \ Suth \ Dharam} \]
\[ \ldots \]
\[ \text{Surat \ Tuj \ Man \ Dars \ Mant \ Dharam} \]
\[ \text{Surat \ Pur \ Bhoor \ Chhun \ Wateh \ Aman} \]
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is alleged to have been sung at Goindwal in praise of Baba Mohan. This hymn has been at the centre of the effort to signify Guru Arjan's concern for the Goindwal *Pothis.*5 Nevertheless, Prof.

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6. The contemporary Sikh sources, *Varan Bhai Gurdas* and even later sources, namely *Das Gur Katha* (Kavi Kankan) and *Bansawali Nama* (Kesar Singh Chhibbar), do not make reference to the above incident. However, later Sikh sources beginning from *Sikhan Di Bhagat Mala*, *Gurbilas Chhevin Patshahi* (Sohan) and *Sri Gur Partap Suraj Granth* (Bhai Santokh Singh) have depicted the episode in a dramatic way.
Sahib Singh has logically and convincingly refuted the above version, but still some scholars have taken the authenticity of the Bhalas tradition for granted.\(^1\) They have not realised that name of Sahansar Ram, the scribe of the *Pothis*, has been obliterated to highlight the role of Baba Mohan in the codification of the *Adi Granth*. "Why did it occur?" is a moot question to be addressed. Secondly, if Baba Mohan had been so helpful, then Bhai Gurdas, who had a major role in the editing of the *Adi Granth*, would not have enumerated him among the rivals of the Sikh Gurus to remark as *मेहटा वाली तहिसतः*.\(^2\) Obviously, the story of Guru Arjan going all the way to Goindwal to get these *Pothis* from Baba Mohan, is a later concoction.

3.3. In consequence to the paucity of authentic information, the actual number of Goindwal *Pothis* has been shrouded in mystery. Anyway, we infer that there were more than one *Pothi of Gurbani* with Sahansar Ram at Goindwal. Some scholars have come forward with a novel idea to suggest that in his effort to claim for the Sikh tradition a status equal to that of its Indic and Semitic rivals, Guru Amar Das, had compiled the Sikh revelation in four volumes.\(^3\) Presently, only two *Pothis*, one at Jalandhar and another at Pinjore said to be compiled under the guidance of third Master, are extant. There was a third *Pothi* in the possession of a woman of Katra Maha Singh, Amritsar, which was examined by Giani Gian Singh alone.\(^4\) Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana in his letter to G.B. Singh, has informed that in December 1933, he had an opportunity to examine the *Pothis* at Goindwal. According to him, besides the *Japuji* and *Rahiras*, one *Pothi* included in it *Sidh Goshti* also.\(^5\) As the Pinjore volume having *Sidh Goshti*, does not possess the *Japuji*, consequently Dr.

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1. Prof. Sahib Singh, *Adi Bir Bare*, pp. 82-84; W.H. McLeod also feels that the story is not genuine but apocryphal, see ‘The Study of Sikh Literature’ in John Stratton Hawley and Gurinder Singh Mann, eds., *Studying the Sikhs: Issues for North America*, pp. 54-55.
Mohan Singh Diwana’s observations are of little help to identify the number of Goindwal Pothis and their contents as well. Giani Gurdit Singh informs us that one of the Pothis belonging to Goindwal was given in dowry to a Bhalla daughter, married at Phagwara.\(^1\) But, so far, it has not surfaced anywhere. Whether it was the same volume which Giani Gian Singh had examined at Amritsar in possession of a woman of Katra Maha Singh, is difficult to decide. The 12 rags, namely Suhi, Parbhati, Dhanasari, Basant, Tilang, Bhairo, Maru, Kedara, Ramkali, Sorathi, Sarang and Malar included in the two extant Pothis coupled with the five rags viz., Sri, Asa, Gauri, Wadhans and Kanra of the Pothi noticed by Giani Gian Singh do not account for the hymns in Bilawal, Gujri, Majh and Tukhari modes. Similarly all the Vars of first and third Gurus and the writings of various Bhagats in the above-mentioned modes, have not been reckoned with. If Sahansar Ram had endeavoured to compile all the available hymns of the Sikh Gurus up to the third Master, then the possibility of more volumes can not be ruled out. Unfortunately, nobody yet has noticed or retrieved them from oblivion.

3.4.1. Except in the context of compilation of the \(\text{Àdi Granth}\), we do not hear much about the Goindwal Pothis. It is assumed, Sahansar Ram, the compiler, or his descendants at Goindwal, must have installed them at a religious place held by them. For centuries they remained in oblivion, unattended and unnoticed. Suddenly in 1895 C.E., one Bawa Budh Singh of Goindwal, carried one of the Pothis (now at Pinjore) to Patiala to display it to royal house and public as well.\(^2\) Until 1924 C.E., both the extant volumes were fully secure in the custody of Bawa Mela Singh of Goindwal.\(^3\) He had installed them at a religious place associated with Anand, son of Mohri and a grandson of Guru Amar Das.\(^4\) In 1924 C.E., Bawa Mela Singh handed over one of the Pothis to his brother Bawa Dalip Chand of Ahiyapur, district

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2. Giani Gian Singh, \(\text{Tawarikh Guru Khalsa}\), p. 394.
Hoshiarpur.¹ For a half century, it remained at Ahiyapur finally to move with the family to Jalandhar.

3.4.2. The second *Pothi* which had been displayed at Patiala in 1895 C.E., continued to be at Goindwal even though the religious place at which it was installed has come under the supervision of Gurdwara Committee of Goindwal.² Somehow in 1940 C.E., Bawa Bhagat Singh, probably in collusion with Bawa Mela Singh, got possession of it to remove it from Goindwal to take it to Hoti Mardan in N.W.F.P.³ As a sequel to the partition of India in 1947, he migrated along with the *Pothi* to Patiala. After a few years stay at Patiala, Bawa Bhagat Singh again moved to Pinjore to finally settle there with the *Pothi* in his possession.⁴

3.4.3. The third *Pothi*, which is not at present retrievable had already moved out of Goindwal. It was in the custody of a woman residing at Katra Maha Singh, Amritsar, where towards the close of 19th century, Giani Gian Singh had a chance to examine it.⁵

3.4.4. Obviously, there is no certainty about the number of the *Pothis*. Though, scholars are inclined to believe that there were four *Pothis* in all, however the days, on which the remaining two *Pothis* were displayed are yet to be known. The extant Goindwal *Pothis*, have been in and out of Goindwal at the sweet will of their custodians. Even at the height of Gurdwara Reform Movement and ultimate takeover of Gurdwaras at Goindwal by the S.G.P.C., these volumes were fully secure there. Consequently, the major reason for their removal from Goindwal, was not the concern of its custodians to protect them from Akali activists.⁶ Actually, intra-clan feuds of the Bhallas to possess them for pecuniary gain, was the root cause for their removal from Goindwal. This view

². Kahn Singh Nabha completed his *Mahan Kosh* in 1926 C.E.; and subsequently it was published for the first time in 1930 C.E. He worked on the addenda between 1930 and 1938, which was appended to the second edition. Consequently, up to 1938 C.E., the *Pothi* remained at Goindwal though the Gurdwara at which it was displayed had come under the control of the Gurdwara Committee, see *Mahan Kosh*, p. 1172.
IV. STUDIES ON THE POTHIS

4.1. The Goindwal Pothis have attracted a number of scholars who have been commenting upon them from time to time. Towards the end of 19th century, Giani Gian Singh was perhaps the first to examine the Pothis, one of which is untraceable so far. It seems, he has scrutinized one of the volumes (now at Pinjore) from very close quarters but he knew only about the external features of the other viz., the ragas included in it. It is understood that Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha also had some vague idea of their contents, but unfortunately he has mixed up the contents of the Pinjore volume with that of the Ahiyapur. Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana claimed in a letter to G.B. Singh in December 1933, that he had gone through the Pothis at Goindwal, but his observations, as pointed out earlier, are not trustworthy. G.B. Singh was very eager to scrutinize them personally, but due to non-accessibility of the Pothis, he could produce only superficial information obtained through the good offices of Bawa Prem Singh.

4.2. In fact, the debate over the issues of Bhagat-bani, Raghmala etc., initiated by the Panch Khalsa Diwan, Bhasaur, Sangrur, coupled with the controversy over the Kartarpuri Bir in 1926 C.E., brought the Goindwal Pothis into sharp focus in Sikh scholarship. As the Bhagat-bani had been a part of the Goindwal volumes, consequently Sikh scholars found them handy to refute Panch Khalsa Diwan’s opinion about the Bhagats and their...
writings. In their enthusiasm to prove that Bhagat-bani has been a part of Sikh scripture long before the codification of the Ádi Granth in 1604 C.E., they took the authenticity of these volumes for granted and did not bother to scrutinize them thoroughly and rigorously. Bawa Prem Singh who happened to be from the Bhallas, examined one of the Pothis for two days on February 12, 18, 1945 at Hoti Mardan and the other on April 30, 1945 at Darapur, district Hoshiarpur. Since, the Pothis were not easily accessible to scholars, and moreover the custodian did not allow them to be consulted for academic purposes, consequently they have been forced to rely upon Bawa Prem Singh's study. Though, he laboured hard to report the external as well as internal features of the two extant Goindwal Pothis, yet he restrained himself to disclose some of the vital features, for example writings of Gulam Sada Sewak, Sharaf, etc., probably fearing that it would adversely affect their credibility. No doubt his study is useful but it needs to be used in a very cautious manner.

4.3. In 1960, Prof. Pritam Singh relied upon the evidence of Goindwal Pothis to trace out the origin and history of the Gurmukhi script. A few years back, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, assigned him a research project on these volumes, the results of which are eagerly awaited by the scholars. Among the modern scholars Giani Gurdit Singh has been most energetic to have access of these Pothis. Using his political clout and the resources of the Punjabi University, Patiala, he got the Ahiyapur Pothi photographed, copy of which

2. For example, to know about the status of Bhagat-bani, Bhai Jodh Singh has to rely on the information provided by Bawa Prem Singh, see Kartarpuri Bir De Darshan, pp. 125-26. Even, G.B. Singh had to approach Bawa Prem Singh to get information about these volumes, see Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Biran, pp. 27-29.
4. About 8 years back Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar has assigned him a project on the extant Goindwal Pothis. Having completed his study on the Ahiyapur Pothi, he has submitted it to the University and it is in the process of Publication. When the present work was almost ready for the press, Prof. Pritam Singh's study of the Ahiyapur Pothi has come out. We have taken note of his observations of the Pothi as and when required.
is available with the University at Patiala.\(^1\) No doubt, he has done yeoman service to the scholars interested in the text of Goinwal Pothis, but he has been so obsessed with the issue of Bhagat-bani that he did not see any reason to inquire into their authenticity.\(^2\) So far, western scholars of Sikh studies have not been able to examine these volumes. Approaching in a cautious manner, W.H. McLeod has pleaded for necessary research to find out the role of these Pothis in the compilation of the Àdi Granth.\(^3\)

In the recent past, these Pothis have been the focus of attention to determine their place in the codification of the Àdi Granth. While some scholars consider them important documents which help us to understand the formation of early Sikh canon,\(^4\) on the other hand there are some, who believe that the Goinwal Pothis do not belong to the main Sikh scriptural tradition and have been of no use for Guru Arjan in codifying the Àdi Granth.\(^5\)

V. EXTERNAL FEATURES

5.1. Both the Goinwal Pothis are in the size of 24 x 35 cm. While the Ahiyapur Pothi contains 300 folios, the Pinjore volume

1. We are thankful to M.S. Johal, Secretary to Vice-Chancellor Punjabi University, Patiala for making available the photocopy, which has stood in good stead for our study.

2. The major thrust of his study has been to prove that Bhagats were devotees of Guru Nanak and their writings have been an integral part of the Sikh scripture.


THE GOINDWAL POTHIS: MYTH AND REALITY

comprises 224 folios. Both the Pothis carry two separate sets of folio numbers. Originally the folio numbers have been inscribed in the middle at the top but later on another folio number has been recorded outside the margin at the top right corner. The difference in the reckoning of old and new folio numbers of the Ahiyapur volume, proves that about 6 folios of it at the beginning are missing. We may ask whether they have been deliberately removed? Whether the folios in question were blank or had some script? The answers can only be a matter of conjecture. Each folio has margin all around marked by five lines—two red lines in the outer, two black lines on the inner and one thick orange line in between them. The empty space of some of the opening folios of both the Pothis have been decorated with geometric and floral patterns. Usually on every folio 13 to 14 lines have been inscribed but variations here too are noticeable. Although, both the Pothis have been recorded in the hand of a primary scribe, yet examples of another hand are also available. Significantly, the orthography of the text recorded by the secondary scribe does not betray any sign of radical change. Even, at some places, the 

1. While describing the physiognomy of the Pothis, Gurinder Singh Mann has failed to take note of difference between the old and new folio numbers and the missing folios at the beginning, see The Goindval Pothis, pp. 29-38. In the present study new folio numbers recorded at the top right corner have been used for reference.

The arrangement of hymns within a raga does not conform to the Adi Granth pattern. At some places tunes to sing the hymns have been indicated but reference to beat (अ) has been altogether omitted. Although, to distinguish authorship the term Mahala

2. They all occur in the Ahiyapur Pothi at folio 38, 165, 185, 186, 273, 299.

3. Besides, the opening three salokas of Asa ki Var, they are in raga Wa ‘hans, Guyri, Bilawal and Malar; see above note 2.
or Mahalu has been employed, yet it has been dropped frequently. Contrary to the practice of the period, no index of contents has been appended. At the outset of a raga, the Mul-Mantra has been recorded but its version is quite different from that of the Àdi Granth. It is worth noting that no Var of the first and third Masters have been included in them.

5.2. Another unique feature of the Goindwal Pothis are the numbers that have been marked under three parallel drawn lines, usually occurring after a gap of 7 to 10 folios. In the Ahiyapur Pothi, the number consecutively goes on to twenty-seven to start again from one. Bawa Prem Singh feels that the number indicates to the compositions of an author, particularly the Sikh Gurus. Since the sections marked by these lines comprise the writing of more than one author and secondly the number goes up to twenty-seven, thus the above view does not hold any ground. According to Piar Singh these are the identification marks to compare the text with the loose folios or volumes of Bani from which it has been copied. On the other hand, Gurinder Singh Mann finds that the sign of lines points to the work accomplished by the scribe in a single sitting whereas the number denotes to the shifts or days taken for the scribing job. As the numbers in question are not in the penmanship of primary scribe rather they have been put by a different scribe with a different pen and shade of ink. Besides, instances of cutting, over-writing, discrepancies in counting are quite visible. All these factors do not allow us to agree with any of the above formulations. Anyway, the motive of these lines and the numbers marked under them is still a mystery.

VI. AUTHORSHIP

6.1. The most distinctive feature connected with the authorship of the Sikh Gurus, is the pen name of ‘Nanak’ which has been

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spelt in the Goindwal Pothis as 'Nanik' (ਨਾਨਕ). To differentiate the authorship of the Sikh Gurus, the term Mahala has been employed. It has inscribed both ways, i.e., ਮਹਾਲ and ਮਹਾਲ। In fact, where the authorship has been recorded, no uniform pattern has been adopted to scribe it.

6.2. For the writings of Guru Nanak Mahala 1, has been very rarely used, instead 'Baba' or 'Baba Patshah' has been employed. For examples:

1. Interestingly, the spellings of Nanak as ਨਾਨਕ appear with few exceptions throughout the Pothis in Gurba@i and Kachi-ba@i as well.
3. Ibid., folio 12.
4. Ibid., folio 62.
5. Ibid., folio 119.
6. Ibid., folio 168.
7. Ibid., folio 201.
8. Ibid., folio 276.
9. Ibid., folio 181.
10. For example a hymn in the Ahiyapur Pothi carries the heading ਨਾਨਕ ਭਾਵਣ ਕਹਿ ਕਹਿ ਚ ਭਾਵ ੪, folio 280.
12. Ibid., folio 127.
13. Ibid., folio 136.
starts. For example in the Ahiyapur volume, at the head of a new hymn only लंगों लंगों लंगों हंगों हंगों हंगों etc., have been recorded. Now it is up to the wisdom of a reader to guess the authorship of the succeeding hymn.

6.4. Authorship of most of the apocryphal hymns attributed to Gulam Sada Sewak, has been specifically mentioned. Bhagat-bani has been very rarely entered under the authorship of different Bhagats, invariably all the Bhagats have been clubbed together under the heading of Kabir and Namdev. It has been inscribed in the following manner:

लंगों लंगों रंगों रंगों रंगों रंगों
रंगों लंगों लंगों हंगों हंगों हंगों
रंगों लंगों लंगों हंगों हंगों हंगों
रंगों लंगों लंगों हंगों हंगों हंगों
रंगों लंगों रंगों रंगों रंगों रंगों
रंगों लंगों रंगों रंगों रंगों

Though, writings of Trilochan, Beni, Jaidev, Dhanna, Sain and Sharaf are also available in the Pothis, but their names in the titles of authorship have not been mentioned. Some of the titles ascribed to Bhagat-bani such as लंगों रंगों are quite misleading as the writings recorded under these titles begin with someone else's compositions. Obviously, to record authorship, no uniform pattern has been worked out, which reflects a casual and

A hymn of Guru Amar Das in Basant mode attributed to Guru Ram Das in the Ahiyapur Pothi, folio 177.
A hymn of Guru Nanak in Basant mode recorded under the authorship of Guru Ram Das in the Ahiyapur Pothi, folio 204.

2. Ibid., folio 3, 6, 7, 31, 33, 34, 64, 65, 121, 172.
3. Ibid., folio 58.
4. Ibid., folio 104.
5. Ibid., folio 151.
6. Ibid., folio 262.
7. Ibid., folios 259, 263.
8. For example, the authorship of Sharaf in Suhi mode has not been mentioned in the title. Similarly in Dhanasari mode the authorship of Dhanna, Sain and Trilochan has not been recorded, though their writings are very much there, see Ahiyapur Pothi, folios 61, 160-161.
9. For example, in the Ahiyapur Pothi at folio 151, the opening composition belongs to Ravidas.
PLATE II

A hymn of Guru Amar Das in Basant Mode attributed to Guru Ram Das in the Ahiyapur Pothi, folio 177
A hymn of Guru Nanak in Basant Mode recorded under the authorship of Guru Ram Das in the Ahiyapur Pothi, folio 204
immature approach on the part of scribes. To distinguish authorship, especially of those hymns where Mahalā or the name of the author has been dropped, has become cumbersome and leads to confusion.

6.5. Significantly, authorship of some hymns has been wrongly entered. For example, two hymns of Guru Nanak in *Suhi* mode (ननक सुही गुरु नानक) have been recorded as those of Guru Amar Das.¹ Like the *Janamsākhi* of Harji, son of Miharban and a grandson of Prithi Chand, a hymn (सनक सुही गुरु नानक) of Guru Nanak in rāga *Suhi*, has been attributed to Guru Angad.² Likewise, four hymns of Guru Nanak in rāga *Basant* (ननक बसंत) have been entered under the authorship of Guru Ram Das.³ Even, a *Basant* made hymn (जैसे मन्दर नानक) belonging to Guru Amar Das have been attributed to fourth Master.⁴ A *Dhanāsari* hymn (जैसे जहाँ जाता जा) of Guru Nanak has been reckoned as that of Guru Amar Das.⁵ At the beginning of *Bhairo* mode, a hymn (जैसे सोई जाता जा) of Guru Nanak, has been recorded under the authorship of Guru Angad.⁶ Again the opening hymn (कृपा घना नानक) of *Sārang* mode, belonging to first Master, has been entitled as *जैसे मन्दर नानक* 2.⁷ The figure of 2, suggests that it has also been attributed to the second Master. In all probability the following note: जैसे अक्षाण सिँचायाः अक्षाण जगचन्द्र जैसे जैसे मन्दर ब्रह्मदेव जैसे has been recorded at the head of above

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1. As authorship of many hymns has not been referred to and secondly hymns have not been arranged strictly in accordance with the authorship, consequently, we have taken only those hymns where authorship has been specifically entered and is not in consonance with the *Adi Granth*. For the above hymns see *Ahiyapur Pothi*, folios 9, 10.
2. *Ahiyapur Pothi*, folio 9, Harji’s *Janamsākhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji* has also attributed the above hymn to Guru Angad, see pp. 67-68.
3. *Ahiyapur Pothi*, folios 178, 187, 204, 300: Gurinder Singh mentions three hymns but fails to take note of the fourth hymn; see his *Goindval Pothis*, p. 178.
4. *Ahiyapur Pothi*, folio 177: Gurinder Singh Mann again fails to take note of it, see his *Goindval Pothis*, p. 69.
6. Ibid., folio 227.
A hymn of Guru Ram Das in Dhanāsari mode attributed to Guru Arjan in the Abīyāput Pothi, folio 136.
Recorded in the hand of primary scribe, Dhanāsari mode hymn of M.4 attributed to Guru Arjan Dev continues on folio 137 of the Ahiyāpur Pothi. The serial no. 20 assigned to it by the scribe reveals that it is an integral part of the Pothi since its very inception.
hymn, keeping in view the intention of scribe about its authorship. Although, the *Pothis* are said to have been scribed during the pontificate of Guru Amar Das, yet a hymn (*ङ्गि ग्रंज़ा मै जह ज्ञान सृष्टि चिन्हि*) of *Dhanāsari* mode belonging to Guru Ram Das, has been entered under the authorship of Guru Arjan. It is intriguing to note that some scholars in their efforts to arrive at a contrived thesis have confounded the issue by mis-statements. Instead of stating the plain facts that some of the hymns have been actually recorded under the authorship of *Mahalā* 4 and *Mahalā* 5, they have come out with a cooked up explanation that the authorship of M. 4 and M. 5 in connection with some hymns have been inserted later on. But the orthography belies the above explanation because attribution has been entered in the penmanship of primary scribe (see plates III, IV, IV). All the above facts establish that authorship of many a hymns has been either changed or confused. Evidently, to determine the authorship on the basis of these volumes, will certainly lead to wrong conclusions.

VII. ARRANGEMENT OF HYMNS

7.2. The arrangement of hymns neither conforms to the *Âdi Granth* pattern nor have the *Pothis* evolved any system of their own. In the *Âdi Granth*, at the beginning of a rāga, Guru Nanak’s hymns precede the writings of his successors. But in the case of *Goindwal Pothis*, instances of Guru Nanak’s Bā@i entered after the writings of Guru Amar Das are freely available. While in the *Âdi Granth* *as_padis* follow the *chaupadäs*, but in these volumes *chaupadäs* and *as_padis* have got mixed up. Similarly, in the *Âdi Granth*, *chaupadäs, as_padis, chhants*, etc., of the Sikh Gurus have been assigned separate serial numbers and towards the end the grand total of hymns belonging to a

1. *Ah$y#pur Poth$, folio 136.
3. For details see infra Appendix I, chap. 3.
4. For example Guru Nanak’s *chaupad#s* and *chha*ts of S%h$ mode have been recorded after the writings of Guru Amar Das. For details, see Appendix II, chap. 3.
5. To take stock of irregularities see Appendix II, chap. 3.
particular metre, have been inscribed. But in the Goindwal Pothis, two patterns are quite visible. In the case of Suhi mode all the chaupadás, as_padis and chhants, irrespective of metre and author have been assigned serial number in continuous order. Later on chaupadás, as_padis and chhants have been assigned separate serial numbers but their number according to authorship has not been reckoned. Significantly, the apocryphal writings belonging to Gulam Sada Sewak have been juxta-positioned between the compositions of the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats. Although, they carry the pen name of 'Nānik', but their serial number has not been reckoned with the hymns of Sikh Gurus. No doubt Bhagat-bā@i has been placed towards the end of a rāga, but it has been arranged in a haphazard manner. Although at some places Kabir's writings have been set at the beginning and then the padās of Namdev and Ravidas follow, but this system has been violated at a number of places. Even, the compositions of a Bhagat, belonging to the same mode are difficult to be found together.

7.2. Some hymns of the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats have been recorded under a different musical mode than that of the Adi Granth. Even, the hymns of those rāgas which do not form part of these volumes, have found their way into them. For example two hymns of Guru Nanak, namely \[ WjWj \] and \[ qVp q>sip aVp r[llwv.s ]\] respectively of Wa^hans and Bilāwal modes have been recorded in the Ahiyāpur Pothi. Similarly, a scribe associated with the custodians of the Pothis intended to record Guru Nanak's Àsā ki Vār in the Ahiyāpur
Pothi but somehow abandoned the idea.\(^1\) A padã \((पदा)\) of Trilochan in Gujri mode has also found its way into the above volume.\(^2\) Although, hymns of Malãr mode have been included in the Pinjore volume but a padã \((पदा)\) of Namdev, has strayed into the Ahiyãpur Pothi.\(^3\) Suppose if one of the untraceable Pothis belonging to Goindwal comprised the Wa^hans, Bilãwal and Gujri modes, then why have the above-mentioned hymns been displaced from their actual positions? It certainly depicts the casual approach of the compiler or scribe associated with the Pothis. Moreover, the recording of hymns under different musical modes than the Àdi Granth, reveals that the Pothis belong to a different musical tradition. All these factors do not help to establish that the present Goindwal Pothis were precursors to the Àdi Granth and served as a model for Guru Arjan to arrange the hymns of a rãga and author as well.

VIII. OMISSION OF HYMNS

8.1. Although the Goindwal Pothis are said to have been compiled towards the end of Guru Amar Das' guruship, yet they do not comprise the whole corpus of the compositions of the Sikh Gurus up to the third Master. Even the rãgas, which have been included in these volumes, do not possess the hymns of the Sikh Gurus in their entirety. We observe that a sizeable portion of the writings of the first and third Masters have been excluded from them.\(^4\) Normally, Japuji, the most important Bã@i of Guru Nanak and other hymns relating to the early morning liturgy of the Sikh community, should have been inscribed on the initial folios of the first juzu. But physiognomical features reveal that first six gatherings have been taken to record Suhi mode hymns of the Gurus.\(^5\) Obviously, the Japuji figured nowhere in the scribing scheme of these volumes. Significantly all the Vãrs composed by Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das, namely

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1. Ah$h#pur Poth$, folio 273.
2. Ibid., folios 185, 299.
3. Ibid., folio 165.
4. For details of missing text, see Appendix III.
5. Gurinder Singh Mann, Goi*dv#l Poth$s, pp. 33-34.
Suhi Ki Vār M. 3, Māru Ki Vār M. 3, Rāmkali Ki Vār M. 3 and Malār Ki Vār M. 1, which could have been recorded in the rāgas included in these Pothis, have been excluded. A hymn (नहि मत्तु जुठा सयकर) of rāga Parbhāti, belonging to Guru Amar Das is also missing. Again two hymns of M. 1 (सावट मारहसि दाँगिन दिशान्ति and तिसात्तनती मात्रत्र करि लोको) of Tilang mode are not available. Curiously, a considerable number of hymns in Māru mode, have been omitted. For example 7 chaupadās, three attributed to Guru Nanak and four to Guru Amar Das, have been excluded. Significantly, all the as_padis of rāga Māru (11 of M. 1 and one of M. 3), have found no place in it. Moreover, all the sohlās of Māru mode (22 of Guru Nanak and 24 of Guru Amar Das), have been altogether omitted. Again two hymns of Guru Amar Das, (सावट विशेषता रवी) and मरत नें जोख वे रत्नि of Malār and Sārang mode respectively are also not available. On close perusal of the Pothis, one observes that instances of missing and incomplete text are not uncommon. About 40 padās of various Bhagats, composed in the rāgas included in these Pothis, have been omitted from them. Evidently neither the compositions of the Sikh Gurus nor of the Bhagats, are available in their entirety in these volumes.

1. Gurinder Singh Mann assumes that the missing hymns must have been present originally but they were lost in the transference of folios, see Goi*dv#l Poth$s, p. 183. Since the serial numbers of Tila*g mode hymns are in continuous order, consequently his argument is not convincing.

2. Bawa Prem Singh's statement that all the Sohl#s are available, is not factually true, see Mohan Poth$a*, p. 58. For details of missing text in M#r% mode, see Appendix III, chap. 3.

3. As in the Ādi Gra*th, r#ga Ked#r# has no hymn of Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das, consequently to argue that missing hymns of M#r% mode may have been recorded originally in the Ked#r# of an untraceable Poth$, is a hope in vain, see Gurinder Singh Mann, Goi*dv#l Poth$s, p. 182.

4. See Appendix III, Piar Singh's statement that four as_pad$s of Mal#r mode, one belonging to Guru Nanak and three of Guru Amar Das, are not available, is not factually true, see G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th, p. 96.

5. Besides the incomplete text of Ana*du of Mahal# 3 and Sidh Gosh_j of Mahal# 1, there are some examples where a line or two of the text have been dropped, see Pritam Singh, Ah$y#pur Wal$ Poth$, pp. 198-201.

6. For the missing pad#s, see Appendix III, chap. 3.
8.2. All the above facts compel us to rethink whether Guru Arjan really would have commented upon the extant Goindwal *Pothis* as:


2. Some of the scholars have not addressed themselves to the above issue, see Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothi*: Giani Gurdev Singh, *Ithihas Sri Guru Granth Sahib*: Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of The Adi Granth*. However, Gurinder Singh Mann without any evidence argues that left out hymns may have been a part of an untraceable *Pothi*, see *The Goidwali Pothis*, pp. 182-83.


If the Goindwal *Pothi* have been compiled consciously to serve the purpose of Sikh scripture of the nascent Sikh community, then it is hard to reconcile that Guru Amar Das or the compiler commissioned by him, would have omitted such a sizeable number of hymns. The scholars who consider the Goindwal *Pothis* as a unique and genuine product of the early Sikh scriptural tradition, have no explanation to offer for the missing hymns. We can not brush aside the issue with a simple argument that the text of left out hymns was not available with Guru Amar Das, because it will be incongruous to suggest that even the text of his own *Baia* was not available with him. If *Malir Ki Var* composed by Guru Nanak had already been made part of Guru Har Sahai *Pothi*, the so called early Sikh corpus, then what were the reasons to edit it out from the Goindwal *Pothis*, the next
attempt in the formation of Sikh canon? Probably, instead of preserving the hymns of the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats in their totality, the scribe or compiler wanted to present only a limited and selective collection. Secondly, the tradition of the scribe or the source from which the extant Goindwal Pothis have originated, may not have had the whole corpus of the writings of the Sikh Gurus. As the extant Goindwal Pothis have not preserved the sacred writings of the Sikh Gurus in their entirety, so there are strong reasons to disbelieve that Guru Amar Das has prepared them to serve the purpose of Sikh scripture, especially to get equal status for the Sikh tradition to that of its Indic and Semitic rivals. As they do not represent the real or original Sikh scribal tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus in its totality, consequently they fall short to be the precursor or prototype of the Ádi Granth.

IX. THE RÁGAS AND TUNES

9.1. Both the extant Goindwal Pothis, have entered hymns into 12 rāga patterns. Besides, a few hymns in Wa^hans, Bilāwal, Gujri and Malār modes, the Ahiyāpur Pothi comprises hymns in Suhi, Parbhātī, Dhanāsari, Vasanti, Tilang, Bhairo, Māru and Kedārā modes. The Pinjore Pothi has hymns in Rāmkali, Sora_hi, Sārang and Malār modes. Titles of the rāgas, either at the beginning or within a rāga at the outset of metre or a new hymn, have been recorded in a haphazard manner. Sometimes the word rāga precedes the name of mode or sometimes it has been dropped. As observed earlier, instances of omission of authorship are not uncommon. Similarly, the scribe of Ahiyāpur Pothi at a number of places has not deemed it fit to indicate the musical mode of a hymn in its heading.1 Significantly, throughout both the Pothis, the scribe has not thought it prudent to indicate the beat (ūt) of a hymn. As mentioned earlier some

1. It has come to notice that as many as seven compositions of the Ahiyāpur Pothi are without the rāga reference, see Pritam Singh, Ahiyāpur W#l$ Pothi$ p. 84.
more elaborated or explanatory titles, such as तन्त्र (मुख्य) वचन दी, तन्त्र वाङ्ग वचन पारंपरिक रूप, तन्त्र मुख्य वचन पारंपरिक रूप, तन्त्र भवन वेदांतम वचन रूप ३ etc., have been provided. Obviously, besides the authorship musical mode has been given equal prominence. Strangely, such type of titles of musical modes are absent in the Sikh scripture.

9.2. Another distinctive feature relating to musicology is that along with the name of a rāga, its specific mode of singing has been indicated. For example लहैयी स्थानी, लहैयी स्थानी निपृण, पदमाजी स्थानी, शब्दाजी स्थानी, पदमाजी स्थानी पालु गानाए, पदमाजी स्थानी पालु गानाए, पदमाजी स्थानी पालु गानाए, पदमाजी स्थानी पालु गानाए, पदमाजी स्थानी पालु गानाए etc., have been indicated. The above-mentioned musical modes are quite different from that of the musical tradition of the Ādi Granth, and many of them have not been employed in the Sikh scripture. Contrary to the Ādi Granth tradition, in Rāmkali mode दक्षाई has been dropped from the title of Onkar Bāi of Guru Nanak included in the Pinjore Pothi. It is very interesting that tune of Rāmkali mode has been suggested as तन्त्र मुख्य वचन रूप. Similarly पदमाजी विख्यात and कंठे विख्यात of the Ādi Granth tradition find no mention in Parbhāti and Basant, respectively, or the Ahīyāpur Pothi. All these factors suggest that the scribe or compiler belonged to a different musical tradition which was not prevalent or popular among the main Sikh stream. It is very obvious that the scribe of Goindwal Pothis had a special obsession for दक्षाई (स्थानी) mode of all the rāgas. It leads us to a musical tradition which was prevalent in the south-west of Punjab, and probably the scribe or musicians associated with these volumes, have got expertise in it. Thus, the Goindwal Pothis do not owe their origin to the main scribal tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus but to a musical tradition

1. Ahīyāpur Pothi, folios 1, 168, 276, 280.
3. Pinjore Pothi, folio 34.
4. Ibid., folio 1.
5. Except मकर and तिला g modes all other rāgas have been appended with the title of दक्षाई.
6. Since, the Multan and Sahiwal areas formed part of southern Punjab, consequently the dialect spoken there was known as आकई (स्थानी), see Kahn Singh Nabha, Mahān Kosh, p. 417.
which was not even popular within the main-stream Sikhs.

9.3. The Goindwâl Pothis' close relationship with musical tradition other than the main Sikh stream is further supplemented by the facts that they have preserved some musical traces, which are quite strange to the Àdi Granth tradition. For example, in the musical tradition of these volumes, Mâru and Kedârã modes, were not radically different but comprised a composite râga. As mentioned earlier some of the tunes to sing the hymns have been recorded in these volumes. For example in Pinjore volume at the beginning of Râm kali mode a hymn (बैल हरि नाम बैल हरि) belonging to Guru Nanak has been entitled as यहि राम नाम बैल हरि. Obviously, to sing it on the tune of sadu has been indicated. Similarly, at the head of a Dhanâsari hymn, tune of जन परम पूर्व गाँव गाड़ी has been inserted. Moreover, in Suhi mode, especially at the beginning of chhants, tunes, such as तेरे गुर संग मंत्र आहे, मूर्त आवे मनसा रमारे चंदन भंडे जैन टही पूरी जावें धनासारी धर्म नीति etc., have been inscribed. Interestingly, at the beginning of a Dhanâsari hymn (चंदन संग मनसा रमारे चंदन भंडे जैन) place and time of जियरे जावे धर्म नीति has been mentioned. These musicological traces restrain us from believing that the text of the Goindwal Pothis owes its origin to the scribal tradition preserved by the main Sikh stream.

X. ALLEGED AUTOGRAPH OF JETH CHAND

10.1. Whereas some of the old manuscripts of Gurbâ@i carry a

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1. In the Ah$y#pur Poth$, Kedrã and Mâru have been clubbed together. Even, at some places Kedrã has been crossed to retain only Mâru, see Ah$y#pur Poth$, folios 278-291.
3. Meaning of भंडे जैन is not clear. In all probability it indicates to a tune, see Ah$y#pur Poth$, folio 136.
4. Ah$y#pur Poth$, folios 23, 24, 27, 29.
5. Ibid., folio 124.
6. Bawa Prem Singh has deciphered the letters as यहि राम नाम बैल हरि, see Mohan Poth$*, p. 46; Prof. Pritam Singh has decoded it as यहि राम नाम मंत्र आहे जियरे जावे धर्म नीति and feels, it may be an autograph of the fourth.
Nisã@ of the Sikh Gurus, in the case of extant Goindwal Pothis, it is altogether missing. However, in the Pinjore volume there are some Gurmukhi letters with obscure meanings, which have been construed as an autograph of Jeth Chand, the earlier name of Guru Ram Das, when he has not yet ascended the guruship.6 Though, the veracity of above letters is highly debatable, yet most of the scholars have not bothered to examine them from various aspects.1 Firstly, we do not come across any manuscript of Gurbã@i or even the Hukamnãmãs of the Sikh Gurus, where they have signed in their personal name. Secondly, up to the end of 19th century, when Giani Gian Singh had a chance to examine the Pinjore Pothi at Patiala from very close quarters, he did not notice the above-mentioned autograph. Even at that time nobody among the custodians knew it to point out that the Pothi has preserved the autograph of Jeth Chand. The celebrated Sikh scholars, namely Kahn Singh Nabha, Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana and G.B. Singh got no news of its existence. It was only in 1944 C.E., Bawa Prem Singh reported the finding of the above letters and through his ingenuity deciphered them as $\text{epvjq qlajV u[n y.s}$. He also gave currency to the idea that these letters denote to the autograph of Guru Ram Das, when he had not yet inherited the guruship.2 Obviously, the story of Guru Ram Das’ alleged autograph is of recent origin, yet some scholars have hypothetically established the fourth Master’s association with these volumes.3

10.2. Significantly, the alleged autograph does not occur at the beginning or at the end, but at an unusual place i.e., in the middle of Pothi, that too not at the outset of a rãga but in between Rãmkali mode, where no writing of Gulam

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1. Modern scholars trained in the methodology of textual analysis, without examining the letters, have followed the above version, see Pashaura Singh, The Text and Meaning of the Adi Gra*th, p. 10; Gurinder Singh Mann, The Goi*dv#* Poth$s, pp. 16, 24.
2. Bawa Prem Singh, Mohan Poth$#, p. 46; see also his letter to Bhai Jodh Singh in Kart#pur$ B$~ De Darshan, p. 123.
3. See supra p. 115 footnote 6 and above footnote 1.
4. Pi*jore Poth$, folio 94.
precedes or follows. The orthographic style, especially the use of Kannā (ਕੰਨਾ) and shape of ਜ, ਤ, ਚ etc., in these letters, suggests that the orthography of the alleged autograph and that of the Pothi, are not contemporaneous. Though the exact meaning and purpose of the letters in question are quite obscure, yet the scholars for their own convenience have been deciphering them as ਗੁਲਾਮ ਖਾਨ ਜੇਥਾ ਮੁਨਿਰ ਖੇਤਰ, because otherwise there is no way to associate the Pothi with Guru Ram Das. Contrary to the belief of these scholars, there is no evidence anywhere in Sikh history, that prior to guruship Bhai Jetha used to call himself Gulām or Mast. Though, it is difficult to state with certainty that these letters have some connection with Baba Mohan, but it is a fact that for his eccentric behaviour, he was well-known as Mast or Mastān. Anyway, to identify Gulam of the Goidwal Pothis with Guru Ram Das is not only a figment of imagination but also a travesty of facts, which has been given currency with the sole objective to legitimize the apocryphal writings of Gulam found in these volumes.

XI. APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS

11.1. Existence of a sizeable number of apocryphal writings, is one of the most prominent features of the Goidwal Pothis. For example a chhant in Suhi (ਸਹਿ ਚਿੱਤਾ ਮੰਨੂ ਲੈਣਾ) of apocryphal nature with the pen name of 'Nānik' has been included in the Ahiyāpur Pothi. Similarly, a hymn (ਧਾਨਸਾਰੀ ਤੀਜਣ ਕਡਿਆ) of Kaci-bāi in Tilang mode attributed to Guru Nanak has found its way into it. Though, the extant Goidwal Pothis are said to have been prepared during the guruship of Guru Amar Das, yet a spurious hymn (ਰਾਗਾ ਦਾਹਾ ਮਿਲੈ ਗੁਲਾਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਭੂਮਿ) of rāga Dhanāsari has been recorded under the authorship of Guru Ram Das. About

1. See supra p. 105 footnote no. 6.
2. Sarup Das Bhalla, Mahim Parksh, p. 358; Mahim Parksh Vīrtik, folio 42; Randhir Singh, Gur Parnal,*, p. 106.
3. For details of apocryphal writings, see Appendix III, chap. 3.
5. Ibid., folio 127.
6. For the text of apocryphal writings, see Appendix IV, chap. 3.
7. Ibid.
15 hymns composed by dubious authors, such as Gulam Sada Sewak and Sharaf, are found only in these volumes. Similarly, there are 18 compositions of extra-canonical nature attributed to Kabir, Namdev, Trilochan and Beni that form the part of these Pothis. The placement of apocryphal writings in the Pothis, along with their serial numbers, prove that they have been an integral part of the Pothis from their very beginning. What is the source of these writings? Why have such a large number of them found their way into the Goindwal Pothis? Does the apocrypha included in these volumes really belong to the Sikh Gurus? If it was not so, then who were Gulam and Sada Sewak? If the Goindwal Pothis represent the early Sikh scriptural tradition then why did the apocryphal writings included in them not found acceptance in the Adi Granth? These are some of the very pertinent issues, which need in-depth investigations. Unfortunately, traditional Sikh scholarship under the influence of undue reverence for the extant Goindwal Pothis have failed to check the antecedents of these volumes, whereas the scholars who have taken them as early sources of the Sikh canon have very conveniently skipped over these issues.

11.2. In the Ahiyãpur Pothi, four hymns of Suhi mode namely $\text{spVgbj V ljvjdh}$, $\text{qVhp V Vjqp drljip}$, $\text{hdi ug lPtqp beqp}$ and $\text{dulp wjidS aVp qVp ujdvbj}$, have been entered with an additional title of $\text{duepip}$. Unfortunately, scholars have been wide out of the mark to identify the author of above hymns. Literally $\text{duepip}$ indicates to the Guru, currently holding guruship. Only, two of the above hymns i.e., the first and the third, have been attributed to Guru Amar Das along with the title of $\text{duepip}$. But the remaining two hymns are not the compositions of Guru Amar Das, during whose period the Pothis are said to have been prepared. One of the above hymns ($\text{qVhp Vj ijqp drljip}$) relates to Guru Nanak and the other one ($\text{dulp wjidS aVp qVp ujdvbj}$) belongs to Shah Jahan. As mentioned earlier to associate Guru Ram Das’ name with the writings of Gulam is only of recent origin. The scholars who have taken the extant Goindwal Pothis as early sources of the Sikh canon have not addressed themselves to the above issue.
Sharaf, a Sufi poet. Significantly, the latter hymn has been enumerated among the writings of the Bhagats, which leaves no room for any doubt that it does not belong to Guru Amar Das. Evidently, Jiguru (ਜਗੁਰੂ) in no way signifies the contemporary Sikh Guru, i.e., the third Master. It has been suggested that Jiguru has been derived from Persian word ‘Digar’ which meant to indicate another hymn of Suhi or it may denote to a region, probably western Punjab. As it has occurred with Suhi Dakhāi, so the possibility of it relating to a region is not justified. Though, Jiguru may refer to a specific mode or musical tune of Suhi, however what exactly the scribe meant of it, is still a mystery.

11.3. Authorship of Shah Sharaf

11.3.1. As mentioned earlier an apocryphal song has been included in the Ahiyāpur Pothi under the title of ਤਤਕ ਸੂਹੀ ਸਨਤਾ. Though, it has been inscribed in a different hand but its orthography is not different from that of the primary scribe. On close examination we can observe that there are a number of hymns which have been entered into the Pothi in the same penmanship. In the Pothi the composition in question has been placed towards the end of Bhagat-bāi of Suhi mode. Interestingly, it has been assigned a serial number in its continuity. Moreover, some of the variants, especially ਤਤਕ ਸੂਹੀ ਸਨਤਾ establishes its close relationship with the other hymns of the Ahiyāpur Pothi. All these factors suggest that it has been a part of Bhagat-bāi, included in the Suhi mode, from its very inception. The song under consideration has been recorded as:

1. Mohan Singh Diwana, S%f$# D# Kal#m, p. 148.
2. It has been recorded at serial number 12 after the writings of Kabir, Farid and Namdev, see Ah$y#pur Poth$, folio 61.
4. Some scholars argue that it has been inserted later on by another scribe, see Piar Singh, G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th, p. 81; Pritam Singh, Ah$y#pur W#l$ Poth$, p. 118. But on examination one can find that it carries all the features related to the orthography of primary scribe.
5. Ah$y#pur Poth$, folio 39.
A close perusal of the above song confirms that it has been composed by Shaikh Sharaf, whose name occurs in its last verse. Secondly, the spirit of poetry lacks depth and intensity of spiritual experience associated with Gurbã@i. Leaving aside these issues, we are mainly concerned with the identity of Shaikh Sharaf and the ultimate source from which this particular song has originated. Curiously, no scholar has addressed himself to find out who was Shaikh Sharaf. Probably, on the basis of Purãtan Janamsãkhi, wild conjecture has been made to conclude that Shaikh Sharaf, a Sufi poet, belonged to Panipat. But Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din of Panipat, who was popularly known as Abu Ali

1. The Pur#tan Janams#kh$ states that Shaikh Sharaf was the P$ of Panipat with whom Guru Nanak has a dialogue on spiritual matters, see Bhai Vir Singh (ed.), Pur#tan Janams#kh$, pp. 22-24. Though, the Janams#kh$ author has not quoted a single verse of Shaikh Sharaf in Panjabi yet Gurinder Singh Mann has identified the Shaikh Sharaf of the Ah$y#pur Poth$s with that of the Panipat, see his Goi*dv#l Poth$s, p. 173.
Qalandar, had died way back on September 3, 1324. Moreover, in Panjabi literature not a single piece of poetry attributed to him, has been noticed so far. Another Shaikh Sharaf of Lahore, who has instigated Mir Abdul Aziz, the governor of Lahore, to revolt against Babur in July 1529, was a contemporary of Guru Nanak. Again, no scholar of Panjabi literature has found any Panjabi song attributed to him. The author of B. 40 Janamsākhi describes of a discourse of Guru Nanak with Shaikh Sharaf of Baghdad. It is said that Shaikh Sharaf dressed up as a women used to sing kāfis in the streets of Baghdad. It is worth noting that one of the stanzas of his kāfis quoted by the author of B. 40 Janamsākhi, occurs in the kāfi of Sharaf of the Ahiyāpur Pothi. Similarly, Masle Shaikh Farid Ke, a Mi@ã product of mid 17th century, informs us about one Shaikh Sharaf who is said to have been a contemporary of Shaikh Farid. It is quite interesting that a piece of poetry attributed to Shaikh Sharaf in the above mentioned document, has also found its way into the composition of Sharaf of the Ahiyāpur Pothi. All these factors indicate that Shaikh Sharaf was quite a popular poet whose writings have been included in the devotional literature produced in the second half of 17th century. According to Prof. Mohan Singh Diwana, the only

2. No Panjabi critic has attributed to him any piece of Panjabi poetry, see Mohan Singh Diwana, A History of Pa*j#b$ Literature: Abdul Gafoor Quraishi, Pa*j#b$ Zab#n D# Adab T#r$kh; also cf. Pa*j#b$ S#hit D# Ith#h (Bhasha Vibhag Panjab, Patiala).
3. B#bur-N#m$, pp. 659, 688.
4. (B. 40-Janams#kh$ Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji, p. 134)
5. (Masle Shaikh Far$d ke, p. 26)
6. We are informed that a Rajasthani manuscript dated VS 1733 (1676 C.E.) comprises some writings attributed to Shaikh Sharaf, see Winand M. Callewaert, 'Manuscripts a Precious Goldmine', JBS, Vol. XXII, p. 160. However, I have not been able to examine the above compositions. Interestingly, a Panjabi manuscript completed in 1755 has preserved the K#f$s of a Shah Sharaf that are also available in the B. 40-Janams#kh$, see Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala, MS # 265, folios 220-221.
known Panjabi Sufi poet Shah Sharaf belonged to Batala and was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Qadiri of Lahore. It is said, Shah Sharaf died in 1724 at Lahore where his Mazâr is still intact. In case Shah Sharaf of the Ahiyãpur Pothi is the same Shah Sharaf of Batala, then we would have to push forward the recording of the Ahiyãpur Pothi to the mid 17th century C.E.

11.4. IDENTITY OF GULAM SADA SEWAK

11.4.1. The Goindwal Pothis comprise 14 songs of apocryphal nature which have been recorded under the authorship of Gulam or Gulam Sada Sewak. At some places Gulam has been deleted, probably the scribe preferred to stress upon only one name i.e., Sada Sewak. Obviously, Gulam and Sada Sewak were not two different personalities but one, who was interchangeably known as Gulam or Sada Sewak. The writings attributed to him have been recorded in the Pothis in the hand of primary scribe. As pointed out earlier his compositions have been juxta-positioned between the hymns of the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats. While bulk of them, viz., 12 songs occur in the Ahiyãpur Pothi, only two have found a place into the Pinjore volume. Significantly, all of them carry the pen name of 'Nanik'. We observe that the starting song (तिरं देव वंश रंजीत भगवान्) is incomplete but its text has been taken to two succeeding songs. Spread over in 7 rāgas, namely Suhi, Parbhãti, Dhanãsari, Basant, Bhairo, Kedãrã and Sora_hi, these writings have been crossed by vertical lines.

11.4.2. Scholars are baffled over the identity of Gulam Sada Sewak, who has no qualm to compose poetry under the pen name of 'Nānik'. It has been remarked that writings of Gulam Sada Sewak, purportly the Kachi-bâ@i were composed during the

1. Mohan Singh Diwana, S%S$# D# Kal#m, pp. 84-85, 209-210; see also Kirpal Singh Kasel, Pa*j#b$ S#hit D$ Utpat$ Te Vik#, pp. 171-72; Jit Singh Sital, Pa*j#b$ S#hit D# Alochn#tmik Ith#s, Vol. I, p. 318.
2. Mohan Singh Diwana, S%S$# D# Kal#m, p. 85.
3. Ah$y#pur Poth$, folios 54, 211.
4. The text of the incomplete hymn occurs in two succeeding hymns, namely नेम भक्तजनानी देव देवता तिरं देव वंश रंजीत भगवान्, see Ah$y#pur Poth$, folio 54.
guruship of Guru Amar Das and the same were circulated as that of Bhai Jetha, ostensibly to create differences between the third Master and his spiritual heir.1 As explained earlier, Guru Ram Das was never known as Gulam or Mast, consequently there is no merit to attribute the writings of Gulam Sada Sewak to Jeth Chand, the name of Guru Ram Das before assuming guruship in 1574 C.E. We have also observed that to associate Gulam Sada Sewak with Jeth Chand, is only of recent origin.2 But some scholars jumping from only hypothesis to another have come to the conclusion that Gulam Sada Sewak was none-else but Jeth Chand.3 They are of the firm view that Guru Ram Das, before actually assuming guruship, has been composing Bã@i, under the pseudo name of Gulam or Sada Sewak. As the above hypothesis was bound to create doctrinal problems besides pushing forward the scribing of Pothis to the period of fourth Master, consequently Gurinder Singh Mann has put forth another novel idea that Guru Amar Das has given Jeth Chand, permission to use the authoritative signature of 'Nanak' for the poetry composed by him prior to guruship.4 It prompts to pose another question that if Jeth Chand (Guru Ram Das) was allowed to use the pen name of 'Nanak' and he had actually composed some writings which were not unknown to his perceptor, then these could have been easily made part of Gurbã@i in these Pothis. Normally, the scribe or compiler should have no reason to record them separately from that of the Sikh Gurus, especially keeping in view that scores of hymns in the Ahiyãpur Pothi have been recorded under the authorship of Mahalã 45 and Mahalã 56. If Jeth Chand was authorised to compose Gurbã@i with the pen name of 'Nanak' then it looks ridiculous to find that instead of

2. See supra p. 116.
5. For examples one hymn in Dhan#sar$ and five in Basa$t have been attributed to the authorship of Mahalâ 4, see Ah$y#pur Poth$, folios 127, 178, 187, 204, 300.
6. For the hymns attributed to M. 5, see Ah$sy#pur Poth$, folio 136.
124 EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

Mahalâ 4, his writings continued to be recorded in the Goindwal Pothis under the authorship of Gulam Sada Sewak.

11.4.3. Moreover, if the apocryphal writings recorded under the name of Gulam Sada Sewak, really belonged to Guru Ram Das, then why they have not found favour with Guru Arjan to preserve them for posterity in the Adi Granth. Further, if Guru Arjan has compiled the Sikh scripture on the basis of extant Goindwal Pothis, then what were the reasons to edit them out? It is ludicrous to suggest that "Guru Ram Das himself may well have decided to omit the writings of his youth." The above view is absolutely absurd and carries no argument, especially if these writings have been composed in full knowledge and permission of Guru Amar Das.

11.4.4. As pointed out earlier, the writings of Gulam Sada Sewak in the Goindwal Pothis have been crossed by vertical lines. Ostensibly, it has been done with the sole objective to delete them from the Pothis. At what stage of history, it occurred, is only a matter of conjecture. Now the question again rises that if the writings of Gulam Sada Sewak were really the compositions of Guru Ram Das then what was the exigency and who was responsible to strike them out, especially keeping in view the fact that the extant Goindwal Pothis have never been in possession of the fourth Master. It has been stated that "when Baba Mohan found himself in competition with Jeth Chand, now become Guru Ram Das, it is not surprising that he would have crossed out the writings of Jeth Chand/Gulam Sada Sewak from the Pothis in his possession." Above statement again looks totally illogical, especially in the face of alleged autograph of Guru Ram Das, which continued to be preserved and displayed to the public by the custodians. Normally, after deleting the compositions of Guru Ram Das, there was absolutely no need to keep his autograph.

11.4.5. It seems the descendants of Baba Mohan like the Sodhis and Bedis, having abdicated their claim to guruship to rally around the main Sikh stream, also desired to enhance their socio-

2. Ibid.
religious clout among the Sikh ruling class. To achieve their objectives, they schemed to legitimize the Goindwal Pothis in their possession. They were fully aware that existence of Kachh-bâ@i in these volumes does not fit into their scheme of things. Consequently, they thought it prudent to strike them out from the Pothis, otherwise it would have been very difficult to circulate them as the original Pothis belonging to Guru Amar Das.

**WHO WAS GULAM SADA SEWAK?**

11.4.6. The writings of Gulam or Sada Sewak have not been entered into the compositions of the Sikh Gurus. Furthermore, their serial number has not been assigned in continuity to the hymns of the Sikh Gurus, but carry separate serial numbers. Evidently, for the scribe or compiler Gulam or Sada Sewak does not allude to Guru Ram Das. In the Pothis they have been placed between the hymns of the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats. Their placement suggests that for the scribe status of Gulam was superior than the Bhagats. Use of pen name of 'Nânîk' confirms that author (Gulam) might be a rival claimant for guruship, otherwise he would not have dared to use it. His aspirations to establish his own line of guruship, have been very lucidly and graphically depicted in the following song:

```punjabi
laepdi fPi{ Vjqp dsCjdHbj mm
bYpeS q[ dB epSg WwljdHbj mm
laepi a{ VrdVdZ fjHg mm
laepi lhu[ idhbj lqjHg mm
laepi q’wYp FH{ s{bjvj mm
laepi w[ hq Wjv e’fjvj mm
laepi drdy rcg rdcbjHg mm
da lp laepi dHwp l[rwp FdHbj mm
dadV l[rdw lFp ue YpZdibj mm
dalp l[rw wYp lsj Wdvhjig mm
dudV cPWaj ugYp vgbj YpWjig mm
Yhp l[rwp Yhp laepi fPij mm
liW wvj ijy[ FifPij mm
bjf[ l[rw laepi fPij mm
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(The True-Teacher generated in me devotion for Name.
Delivering me from vices he inculcated virtues in me.
Through the True-Teacher, I obtained all exaltations.
The True-Teacher remains engrossed in meditation.
The True-Teacher has been very benevolent to me.
I am a favoured child of the True-Teacher.
The True-Teacher is the greatest of the great.
Nobody has realized the true worth of the True-Teacher.
This True-Teacher created a devotee.
That devotee emancipated the whole world.
I am always beholden to that devotee, who saved me from sinking in vices.
The True-Teacher of that devotee is perfect.
He possesses all the virtues in their entirety.
The devotee himself is also a perfect True-Teacher.
He strikes the divine music.
Enthusiasts of the divine music become unworldly.
O Nanik! the devotee remains engrossed in the ultimate.)

11.4.7. It is crystal clear that the quality and spirit of above piece of poetry, come nowhere near the Gurbani. Secondly, instead of propagating higher values, the author is more concerned with personal guruship. Thirdly, his chief aim is to highlight and glorify the image of his Satiguru (Satguru) and his disciple (Guru). Fourthly, the verse (Satguru ज्ञान गुरुत्वम्) alludes to the descendants of a Guru, perhaps Baba Mohan and his descendants. Lastly, the verses, such as, उन्मताराम ज्ञान उन्मताराम ज्ञान गुरुत्वम्, उन्मताराम उन्मताराम ज्ञान गुरुत्वम्, उन्मताराम उन्मताराम ज्ञान गुरुत्वम् ज्ञान गुरुत्वम् ज्ञान गुरुत्वम्, अभ्य उन्मताराम उन्मताराम ज्ञान गुरुत्वम् ज्ञान गुरुत्वम्, suggest that as if the author (Sada Sewak) has been commissioned to compose poetry to highlight the status of Satguru (Satguru) and

1. Ahalyapur Poth, folio 256.
his Sewak. This presumption is not totally unfounded because the colophon recorded at the beginning of Ahiyãpur Pothi explicitly refers that the custodians of the Pothi have the blessings of the three generations of the Gurus (Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Das), that anyone not accepting their guruship would go to hell (see plate VI.). Scriptural as well as traditional Sikh sources confirm that Baba Mohan has resented Guru Ram Das’ succession. ¹ Keeping in view the testimony of Bhai Gurdas that ‘Mohan went mad’ (Mohan mad ḍhoriya ḍhiriya ḍhoriya), there is no reason to disbelieve that Baba Mohan was not only one of the claimants, but had actually established a parallel line of guruship at Goindwal. ² The schism created by Baba Mohan and his descendants can be well-understood against the back-drop of Guru Ram Das’ observations which reflect his serious concern for the unity and integrity of the Sikh Panth. Contrary to the claim of Baba Mohan and his descendants that they have the blessings of three generations of the Sikh Gurus, what Guru Ram Das has underlined is worth-noting. He says:


Obviously, the fourth generation of Sikh Guru i.e., Guru Ram Das was well-aware of the internal crisis created by his rivals, the Bhallas. Actually, he has warned the Sikhs to be aware of their vicious propaganda and has decreed the Sikhs to shun away from their association. ⁴ Commenting upon the intrigues hatched by his rivals Guru Ram Das has remarked:

“Someone has made party of his brother, son and friend; someone has entered into alliance with his Jawâi (son-in-law, daughter’s husband) and Ku-am (son or daughter’s father-in-law); even some of them have conspired with chaudhary and shiqdar to harm

¹. AGGS, p. 924.
². Bhai Gurdas, V#r#*, 26.33.
³. AGGS, p. 307.
⁴. Ibid., p. 317.
⁵. Ibid., p. 356.
⁶. Ibid., p. 304.
He was not unaware that to imitate the Sikh Gurus, the rivals were churning out spurious hymns:

11.4.8. On the basis of above evidence we can very safely conclude that during the pontificate of fourth Master, the Sikh Panth was passing through a serious internal crisis created by Baba Mohan and his descendants. Evidently, Gulam Sada Sewak, the author of Kachi-bã@i recorded in the Goindwal Pothis, was either Baba Mohan or someone commissioned by him, possibly his son Sahansar Ram, who not only desired to claim guruship of the Sikh Panth but also aspired to keep it in his progeny. Notwithstanding the difficulty to establish the exact identity of 'Gulam', circumstantial as well as historical evidence point to the fact that he was none-else but a rival claimant for guruship, probably Baba Mohan or his son Sahansar Ram for whom the extant Goindwal Pothis seem to have been prepared to establish their seat of guruship.

XII. PERIOD OF SCRIBING

12.1. Traditionally, the Goindwal Pothis are said to have been recorded during Guru Amar Das' times. However, the Ahiyãpur Pothi, has preserved a colophon at its beginning which states that it has been written on Jan. 7, 1596 C.E. (Magh Vadi 1, 1652 Bk.).

Bawa Prem Singh, who has studied the Pothis in detail, instead of taking note of the above-mentioned date, had relied mainly on a non-existant source of Bhalla tradition, to put forth the view that the present volumes have been scribed between 1570-1572 C.E. Since the Pothis were not easily accessible and secondly, Bawa Prem Singh was a highly respected personality among the Sikh scholars, consequently, they found no reason to disbelieve.
his views concerning the *Pothis*. Moreover, it suited the Sikh scholarship of the period because in the absence of documentary evidence they were feeling restless to rebut the charges about *Bhagat-bā@i* and *Kartāṛpuri Bi~*, as well. They were out to prove that *Bhagat-bā@i* has been an integral part of the sacred literature of the Sikhs long before the codification of the *Ādi Granth* in 1604 C.E. Resultantly, without putting the Goindwal *Pothis* to any examination, some of the traditional Sikh scholars readily accepted Bawa Prem Singh’s statement that the extant *Pothis* had been scribed during the time of Guru Amar Das.¹

However, in 1960s Swami Harnam Das came forward to controvert the above thesis to assert that the extant Goindwal *Pothis* have been prepared in the year of 1652 Bk. (1596 C.E.).² It is only recently that some scholars, having taken note of the date recorded in colophon, have come to the conclusion that extant *Pothis* are a Post-1596 C.E. product.³ On the other hand some scholars hold that the date Magh Vadi 1, 1652 Bk. (Jan. 7, 1596 C.E.) refers, not to the date on which the *Pothi* was originally completed but to the time at which the colophon containing the blessings was inserted.⁴ To steer the issue clear of doubt let us examine the contents of colophon which follows:

4. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture*, p. 56; also see his *The Goo*dv#l Poths*, pp. 15-21. Actually, he has followed Giani Gurdit Singh, who was the first to float the idea that the date refers to the time when Guru Arjan has borrowed the *Poths*, see *Ith#s Sr$ Gur% Gra*th S#hib*, p. 82.
Colophon bearing the date and purpose of the Ah$y#pur Poth$. For its transcription and translation, see pp. 129-131.
[In the name of sole Supreme Being, Realized by the Perfect Perceptor’s Grace, Name, Person who is Creator, Fearless, Formless, Unincarnated, Self-existent. The Pothi was written by Guru Abir Baba (Amar Das) in Samatu 1652, Magh Vadi 1 (Jan. 7, 1596). This blessing was bestowed by Guru Baba (Guru Nanak) and the same was conferred by Guru Angad and Ambar (Guru Amar Das). The blessing conferred by the three generations (of the Sikh Gurus) was that whosoever would attune his mind to the Bāi would attain liberation in this very life, would be comforted both here and hereafter, and would not find himself wanting in anything. He will achieve emancipation and will enter the presence of Guru. The God is Transcendent one, there is no doubt or suspicion about it. This saying should be taken as a blessing. If anyone from our dynasty deserts the Guru to follow a Guru from another family, would certainly go to hell.]

12.2. A close perusal of the colophon reveals that it has been recorded at the beginning of the Pothi. Being placed at the outset, it has gone brittle with age and subsequently it has been repaired to reconstruct its crumbled writings. Fortunately, the portion containing the custodian’s claim to guruship, has been preserved in the hand of original scribe. The very reference to three generations of the Sikh Gurus leads us to suggest that the recording of Pothi has been done in the Post-Guru Amar Das period. Significantly, the fact that the Pothi was written in the year of 1652 Bk., has come to us without any cutting. Arguably, it confirms that the date i.e., Jan. 7, 1596 C.E., refers to the time on which the scribing of the Pothi was completed. Thus, to assume that instead of enhancing its antiquity, the scribe has indulged in post-dating, is absolutely inconceivable. In fact, the colophon is not a

1. Gurinder Singh Mann unnecessarily tries to confound the issue that the colophon on unnumbered folio continues on folio [9], see The Goidwâl Pothâs, pp. 19-20. But a careful reading of both the passages reveals that they form independent and separate units. If it has been a single passage then the names of first three Sikh Gurus would not have been repeated on folio 8 of the Pothi.
later insertion but has been an integral part of the *Pothi* from its very inception. It holds the key to the purpose and period of its writing. Hence, while dating the *Ahijapur Pothi*, the very fact that it was written on Magh Vadi 1, 1652 Bk. (Jan. 7, 1596 C.E.) cannot be ignored in any way.

12.3. Moreover, the internal evidence instead of proving the *Ahijapur Pothi*'s earlier origin points to the contrary. It is worthwhile noting that not only one but six hymns have been attributed to Mahalà 4 i.e., Guru Ram Das.² Although some scholars working at cross purposes have been misleading the readers to state that Mahalà 4 at the head of these hymns has been inserted later on by a different scribe, yet it is a plain fact that attribution to Guru Ram Das has been recorded in the penmanship of the original scribe.¹ The very fact that scores of hymns have been recorded under the authorship of Mahalà 4, restrains one from believing that the scribing of *Ahijapur Pothi* has been done during Guru Amar Das’ period.

12.4. Significantly, a hymn (संघर्ष चेतन नमुना इत्यादि) belonging to Guru Arjan, has found its way into the *Ahijapur Pothi*.² Another hymn (विधि चक्षु श्रीरं ज्ञातवित्ति) has been recorded in words and figures as well, under the authorship of Mahalà 5.³ Instead of taking into account the above fact to determine the period of *Pothi*, a scholar who wants to prove its earlier origin has not only mis-stated the fact that the hymn in question belongs to Guru Nanak but has also come up with a made-up suggestion that the authorship of Mahalà 5 has been inserted later on.⁴ Unfortunately, this is not an honest deduction because the attribution has been recorded in the hand of primary scribe. Although, the authorship has been wrongly entered, it has been a part of the *Pothi* from its very inception. It seems our scholar is well-aware of the above fact.

² *Ah$y#pur Poth$, folio 137.
³ Ibid., folio 136.
⁵ See plate on p. 200 of his *The Goa*°dv#l Poth$ where instead of describing the contents honestly and correctly, he has taken recourse to mis-state the fact that hymn in question belongs to Guru Nanak. However, not a single document has been noticed so far where it is attributed to M. 1.
yet inexplicably has taken recourse to confuse the readers by misquoting the facts. Evidently, recording of hymns under the authorship of Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan would not have been possible if the compilation of Ahiyãpur Pothi had completed during the period of Guru Amar Das. Anyway, existence of hymns under the authorship of Mahalã, proves beyond any doubt that the extant Pothis are a post-Guru Ram Das (1581 C.E.) product.

12.5. While recording Bhagat-bã@i some of the medieval Bhagats, namely Kabir and Namdev have been referred as बहादुर गधे ते. Literally this means that Kabir and Namdev were the devotees of Guru Nanak and some of the scholars like Giani Gurdit Singh ascribe to the above view which is historically impossible to be believed. On the other hand it is quite possible that the editorial notes mentioned above may refer to those Bhagats, whose writings in the opinion of the scribe had come from a source originating from Guru Nanak. However, to ascertain the status of the Bhagats vis-à-vis Sikh tradition we have to look at the original Sikh sources. A close perusal of the Sikh scriptural sources reveals that though the Sikh Gurus, namely Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan Dev appreciated the spiritual perfection of the various Bhagats, yet they do not refer to them anywhere as the disciples of Guru Nanak.² Bhatt Kalasahar in a penegyric to highlight the spiritual status of Guru Nanak besides referring to the various gods, goddesses and lesser figures in didactic manner, introduces Ravidas, Jaidev, Namdev, Trilochan, Kabir and Beni, who are overjoyed at the advent of Guru Nanak.³ Bhai Gurdas, except for reiterating the view of the Sikh Gurus, does not treat the Bhagats as the actual devotees of Guru Nanak.⁴ It is interesting to note that the position or status of the Bhagats vis-à-vis Guru Nanak starts changing in

1. Ah$y#pur Poth$, folios 259, 263.
2. AGGS, pp. 67, 733, 835, 1192.
3. Ibid., p. 1390.
4. Bhai Gurdas, V#r#*, 10.12-17, 25.4-5.
5. Miharban in his Janams$kh$ arranges Guru Nanak's dialogue with Kabir at Banaras and with other Bhagats at Ayodhya, see Janams$kh$ Sr$ Gur% Nanak Dev J$, pp. 154-157, 190-196.
the Mi@ã literature. Though Miharban restrains himself to depict the Bhagats as the disciples of Guru Nanak, yet he arranges their meeting with the Guru where they depart at a satisfying note.5 The above perception finds radical change in B. 40 Janamsãkhi, where Bhagat Kabir actually accepts Guru Nanak as his spiritual preceptor.6 Hence, the occurrence of editorial notes, such as भजूं रघुं ये इंकार जाते मे, indicates to a point in Sikh history when the Bhagats have come to be assumed as the devotees of Guru Nanak. Obviously, the scribe of extant Goindwal Pothis by referring to the Bhagats as भजूं रघुं ये इंकार जाते मे desired to place the medieval Bhagats on a spiritually lower pedestal than that of Guru Nanak. It helps us to place the extant Goindwal Pothis historically in the post-Miharban period (1640 C.E.).

12.6. Besides, a kãfi authored by Shah Sharaf, a Šufi poet has also found its way into the Ahiyãpur Pothi.1 Though, it has been recorded in the hand of a secondary scribe, yet its orthography, serial number and certain variants point to the fact that it has been a part of the Pothi from its very inception. As discussed earlier if the author of kãfi in question is the same Shah Sharaf of Batala, then we would be hard pressed to believe that the Goindwal Pothis had been scribed during the period of Guru Amar Das. Even, the statistical test conducted by Dr. Rai Jasbir Singh to ascertain the period of extant Pothis, confirms the above assumption that in no way they belong to the period of Guru Amar Das.2

XIII. MÂL-MAÅTRA

13.1. In the Goindwal Pothis the short as well as the full form of invocation has been employed. The full version of Mul-Mantra found in these Pothis is quite distinct from the present one recorded in the Àdi Guru Granth Sãhib. On the basis of these

1. Shah Sharaf, a well-known Panjabi Šufi poet had died at Lahore in 1724 C.E., see Mohan Singh Diwana, Šufi Kalâm, pp. 84-85, 209-210.
2. For the statistical study, see Rai Jasbir Singh, ‘Pothi B#b# Mohan—Question of Authenticity’, ASS, Jan. 1995, pp. 77-78.
Pothis some scholars hold that Mul-Mantra inscribed in them represents its earlier form, which has been modified by successive Sikh Gurus to give it its final form. To put the issue for analysis, instead of one let us have a look at the various forms of Mul-Mantra found recorded in the Goindwal Pothis. They are as follows:

A. 

B. 

C. 

D. 

E. 

F. 

G. 

After going through the above versions one can easily find various type of discrepancies and inaccuracies. Why has the scribe not adhered to the one version? Why has he been modifying it in the successive folios? No scholar has addressed these issues.

13.2. Firstly, the Mul-Mantra of the Goindwal Pothis, lacks uniformity and consistency. Secondly, instead of invoking God and describing his attributes it lays stress on a personal Guru. One can discern that in all the above-mentioned versions emphasis is on Satiguru (true Guru). In version C and D Satiguru has been defined as complete (पूर्ण) and his grace has

1. Ah$y#pur Poth$, folios 1, 12, 55, 104, 151, 168, 276.
2. Pi*jore Poth$, folios 34, 79, 110, 121, 145, 182, 211.
3. Ibid., folio 139.
4. Pi*jore Poth$, folio 1.
5. Ah$y#pur Poth$, folio 181.
6. Pi*jore Poth$, folio 215.
7. Recorded in La*^# script, it is available at folio 273 of the Ah$y#pur Poth$.
been invoked (ਸਾਤਾ ਥਿੰਨ ਵੇ ਰਾਮਾਰਾ). Obviously, instead of God, a personal Guru has been given prominence which links it to the sectarian development in Sikhism. Thirdly, along with the God and Satiguru, Guru Nanak has been invoked as ਸਾਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਅਤੇ ਸੋਮਾ ਰਾਸ਼ਤਰੀ ਰਾਮਾਰਾ (versions E and F). The occurrence of an invocation to Guru Nanak is totally unthinkable in a Mul·Mantra originating from the founder of Sikhism.

13.3. On the basis of above evidence we can safely state that the Mul·Mantra recorded in the Goindwal Pothis is full of incoherent features. Instead of representing the earlier form, it depicts the personal whims and doctrinal viewpoint of a scribe, associated with the rival of the Sikh Gurus. Significantly, some of its features, namely the stress on Satiguru (ਸਾਤਿਗੁਰੂ), Sachnāmu (ਸਾਥ ਨਾਮ), and Sambhau (ਸੰਬੌਹ) are strikingly similar to the Mul·Mantra of Miharban. This establishes that the Mul·Mantra of Goindwal Pothis has close affinity to the rival tradition represented by the Mī|ās.

XIV. SCRIBING AND ORTHOGRAPHY

14.1. Although Sahansar Ram is said to be the scribe of the Goindwal Pothis, yet a careful examination of these volumes reveals that besides the primary scribe two more persons were also involved in their recording. Usually, the hymns belonging to Sikh Gurus have been inscribed in the hand of the primary scribe. Penmanship of secondary scribes is visible towards the end of some rāgas, especially in the writings of Bhagats. The orthography of the primary and secondary scribe carry identical features and does not betray any sign of radical change. This suggests that all the scribes associated with the recording of these Pothis, were contemporaries. Besides, the penmanship of another scribe is also quite visible. Instead of Gurmukhi letters he has made use of the Lan^ā script to record some hymns. Alike the primary scribe, he has also introduced identical vocatives, such

1. At the beginning of Sach Kha^
1. At the beginning of Sach Kha^
1. At the beginning of Sach Kha^
1. At the beginning of Sach Kha^
1. At the beginning of Sach Khas authored by Miharban, the M%过高
1. At the beginning of Sach Khas authored by Miharban, the M%过高
1. At the beginning of Sach Khas authored by Miharban, the M%过高
1. At the beginning of Sach Khas authored by Miharban, the M%过高
1. At the beginning of Sach Khas authored by Miharban, the M%过高

2. Ah$yspur Poths, folio 39, 186.
as Bābā, in the text. It indicates that he might be an associate of the primary scribe. All these factors suggest that the scribing task of the Goindwal Pothis has not been executed by a single person or Sahansar Ram. Since, the orthography of the primary and secondary scribe is identical, consequently to suggest that some of the writings of the Bhagats have been inserted after the compilation of the Pothis, hold very little ground, especially to put forward an explanation for those writings which have not found acceptance with Guru Arjan in the Àdi Granth.

14.2. The question arises whether the present Goindwal Pothis were the first attempt to put the Gurbâi into writing? A close look at the physiognomy of both the Pothis reveals that very little or no space has been left blank between the sub-sections (chaupadâs, as_padis and chhants), the râgas and the writings of different authors. For instance in Suhi mode immediately after the hymns of Guru Nanak, hymns of Guru Amar Das follow. Similarly, at the end of Suhi mode, on the very next folio Parbhâti takes off. The above pattern can be discerned throughout the Pothis. Obviously, the recording of Pothis has been done serially and no room has been left blank to insert the writings to be procured later on. It suggests that the scribes were in possession of the whole text which they were going to record in the Pothis. Perhaps the text of all the hymns was available to them in the form of another source. At a few places an alternative text running parallel to that already recorded has been made available. Evidently, in the absence of another source all this would not have been possible. It compels us to think that scribes of the Goindwal Pothis had access to another source. Consequently, the Pothis cannot be called the first attempt to put the Gurbâi into writing.

14.3. A close look at the orthography of the Goindwal Pothis reveals that the scribes associated with their recording, have developed a distinct style. Some of the consonants, namely ṣ ṡ ṣ ṡ ṡ ṡ etc., are of peculiar shape. Similarly ṛ and ṟ betray Devanâgari features. For the vowel sign of kannã (Ũ) instead of vertical line, dot has been employed. Some scholars have picked up the Goindwal Pothis to trace out the origin and growth of Gurmukhi script. They assume that the Goindwal
Pothis have been scribed at an early stage when the Gurmukhi script was still in its evolutionary stage. Although in the absence of colophon, orthography may be of some help to place a manuscript within a period, yet it is not a sure method to determine its precise date. Some of the features which have not been taken note of by the scholars, relating to the orthography of the Goindwal Pothis restrain us from believing that they have their origin in the pre-Adi Granth period. Unlike the old manuscripts, the syllables and phrases have not been joined but separated at the head. Significantly, all the distinctive and unique features of the letters viz., ठठ ठठ etc., associated with the orthography of the Goindwal Pothis are quite visible in other manuscripts which have their origin in the mid and late 17th century C.E. Thus, the orthography instead of proving the Goindwal Pothis to be pre-1604 C.E., product push forward their origin to the mid 17th century.

XV. TEXTUAL VARIANTS

15.1. On comparison of the text of the Goindwal Pothis with that of the Adi Guru Granth Sahib, we find that they are full of variants. Scribal variants are so numerous that hardly a folio is free from them. Even some of the commonly used words, namely तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा तथा...
27), etc., instead of looking old seem to be of recent usage. Similarly, some of the spellings are very peculiar. For instance, नेमाण्ड वर्मालय फिलातम अधिरुष्ट and वर्मालय have been inscribed as नेमाण्ड वर्मालय फिलातम अधिरुष्ट and वर्मालय respectively which bear testimony to the scribal habits prevalent in these volumes.

15.2. A comparative study of the text scribed on seven folios of the Ahiyāpur Pothi with that of the Ādi Guru Granth Sāhib confirms that there are about 122 examples where they differ over the use of spellings. Similarly, there is a great deal of difference between the two on syllables and phrases employed in the text. A text critic can easily detect that the scribes associated with the Goindwal Pothis have brought various modifications in the text by replacing the syllables and phrases with their alternatives or synonyms. For instance in the Ahiyāpur Pothi नेराण धेयुर्भार्ये (जबुजजाल नेमाण्ड वर्मालय फिलातम अधिरुष्ट) रत्न (तत्त्वज्ञान निर्माण) साधन (उत्तम शोभा) तिमिर (दुर्भिक्षु तिमिर (चित्र) कर (लक्ष मितु) मनोहर (आधार धीर्म) उषी (मिटटी जन) गाज़ी (विक्रम में) दर्शन (दिपक गीत) चंद्र (जनगान निर्मित) मासिक (रघु मणि आर्ये आर्यमणि निर्मित) धेराड़ी (मणि) रेण (प्रेम नन्द) राजा (तत्त्व नन्द) दर्शन (सीता) खंभ (मणि) रेण etc., are the variants which can be categorised as intentional ones. According to an estimate more than 12500 variants of the above categories are present in the Ahiyāpur Pothi alone. Obviously, the number of variants is not negligible and an honest text critic can not ignore it in any manner. Anyway, the occurrence of such a large number of variants coupled with variation in their spellings indicate that the extant Goindwal Pothis and the Ādi Granth instead of sharing a common source, have descended from two different traditions.

15.3.1. We also notice that the text has not only been reshuffled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ahiyapur Pothi</th>
<th>Ādi Guru Granth Sahib</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>वर्मालय फिलातम (folio 60)</td>
<td>सा वर्मालय फिलातम (folio 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सा वर्मालय फिलातम (folio 794)</td>
<td>अधिरुष्ट वर्मालय (folio 12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Syllables in brackets refer to the AGGS.
but has also been modified with suitable phrases. For example:

Apparently, the above type of variants are intentional which have been probably introduced by the musicians associated with the tradition of the scribe.

15.3.2. Closely related to the above category of variants are the Ahiyapur Pothi and Adi Guru Granth Sahib.

'sfillers' which are quite numerous. For example:

One can not fail to note that the 'fillers' such as बाबा (p. 729) इज़ा (p. 794) and उज्ज ते बाबा इज़ा इज़ा (p. 1177) have been brought to make the text more explanatory, especially at the time of singing. Similarly in Suhi chhants at so many places vocatives of उज्ज and इज़ा have been introduced towards the end of a verse. We observe that the most conspicuous 'fillers' used in these Pothis are the vocatives out of which 'Bābā' (p. 1328) is most significant. Examples of its usage are as:

(Ahiyapur Pothi, folio 38)
Obviously, such type of ‘fillers’ in the form of vocatives have been introduced by the musicians in order to attract the audience and to enhance the effect of Bānī as well. It is difficult to imagine that Guru Nanak could make use of honorific like ‘Bābā’ for himself. The occurrence of such 'fillers' prove beyond any doubt that the text of the Goindwal Pothis has not come originally from Guru Nanak rather it has been modified by the musicians to suit their requirements.

15.3.3. A careful examination of the extant Goindwal Pothis reveals that they are replete with musicological variants. For example the sequence of rāgas adopted in the Pothis has not been followed in the Ādi Granth. Similarly, some of the composite musical modes, namely Suhi Dakhani (सुही धक्कानी), Suhì Dakhani Jiguru (सुही धक्कानी जिगुरी), Parbhātī Lalatā (परभाती ललाती), Dhanāsāri Dakhani (धनासारी धक्कानी), Dhanāsāri Pasto Maru Ga^āo (धनासारी पस्तो मरु गांवा), Basantu Dakhani (बसंतु धक्कानी), Bhairo Dakhani (भैरो धक्कानी), Māru Kedārā (मरु केदारा), Rāmkali Sadu (रामकली सदू), Sora_hi Dakhani (सोराही धक्कानी) and Sãrang Dakhani (संशंग धक्कानी) are radically different from the musical tradition of the Ādi Granth. Moreover, some of the composite modes of the Ādi Granth, such as Parbhātī Bibhās (परभाती बिभास) and Basantu Hin^ol (बसंतु हिनौल) are absent in the rāgas of the Pothis. Contrary to the tradition of the Ādi Granth, reference to beat (धू) has been totally dropped in the Pothis. The arrangement of hymns with in the rāga sub-sections is quite at variance with the Sikh scripture. Even some of the hymns forming part of a particular rāga of the Pothis, have not found a place in the same rāga of the Ādi Granth. Furthermore, some of the hymns of the Pothis
begin with a different line than that of the Sikh scripture. Though, the *Adi Granth* has preserved some of the tunes for singing, yet the tunes mentioned in the *Pothis*, namely *gha* गह लुक एक भाग नमस्त रसरस वेद तेज रस मंद्र तेजु गुर गुर गुर भगवान वह ने and चुँकि यह आज़ाद वर्णित have found no favour with Guru Arjan Dev to preserve them for posterity. All these factors indicate that the text of extant Goindwal *Pothis* and that of the *Adi Granth* belong to two different traditions. In other words as far as musicology is concerned, while codifying the *Adi Granth*, Guru Arjan Dev has not depended on the extant Goindwal *Pothis* in any manner.

15.4. Another distinctive feature of the extant Goindwal *Pothis* are the headings that have been ascribed to the *rāgas*, authors and their compositions. On close examination of the *Ahiyāpur Pothi* one comes across the titles such as:

- रागः मुखारी बाहु वर्णः च स्री (folio 1)
- रागः मुखारी बाहु वर्णः च स्री (folio 12)
- मूल रागः तन्भ वर्णः च स्री (folio 55)
- रागः भड़राजः वर्णः च स्री (folio 62)
- रागः रत्नगरी बाहु वर्णः च स्री (folio 119)
- रागः रत्नगरी तन्भ वर्णः च स्री (folio 151)
- रागः रत्नगरी साहिर वर्णः च स्री (folio 158)
- रागः कांटः वर्णः पर्णामः च (folio 168)
- विकर्णः वर्णः पर्णामः च वेल्कट (folio 181)
- कांटः आमदरवररः वर्णः चिनान (folio 201)
- रागः वैंसः मोहिन तन्भ वर्णः च स्री (folios 259, 263)
- रागः वैंसः मोहिन तन्भ वर्णः च स्री (folio 262)
- रागः भवः वर्णः पर्णामः च (folio 276)
- रागः भवः वर्णः पर्णामः च (folio 280)
- वेल्कटः मोहिन तन्भ वर्णः च स्री (folio 292)
- बाहु वर्णः पर्णामः च (folio 292)

It is worth noting that the above type of headings are quite alien to the *Adi Granth* and even a single of them has not found any mention in it. It again indicates that the *Pothis* in question and
the Ádi Granth have not descended from a common source but owe their origin to different traditions.

15.5. The above contention finds enough support from the fact that about 36 compositions attributed to various authors forming part of the extant Pothis, have found no acceptance in the Ádi Granth.\(^1\) Besides, there are atleast 12 hymns on which the Goindwal Pothis and the Ádi Granth differ over the issue of their authorship.\(^2\) As pointed out earlier neither the hymns of the Sikh Gurus up to third Master nor of the medieval Bhagats are available in the extant Goindwal volumes in their totality. A considerable number of hymns forming part of the rāgas of the Ádi Granth are not present in the rāgas of the Pothis. A careful examination of the Pinjore Pothi reveals that the text of Sidh Goshipi of M. 1 and Anandu of M. 3, is incomplete.\(^3\) Similarly, instances of verses missing from the text of some hymns are not uncommon.\(^4\) All these factors point to the fact that the text of the Ádi Granth codified by Guru Arjan Dev in 1604 C.E., has not been copied directly from the extant Goindwal Pothis. In fact Guru Arjan Dev had access to an incredible source otherwise the text that we have in addition to the Goindwal Pothis, would not have been possible in the Ádi Granth. On the basis of analysis of textual variants we can very safely state that there is a considerable genre difference between the two. To recapitulate, the extant Goindwal Pothis are proved by form criticism alone as not being ancestral to the Ádi Granth. Neither the Pothis in question have served the purpose of an exemplar nor Guru Arjan Dev has depended on them for codifying the Ádi Granth. Instead of sharing a common scribal tradition with the Sikh scripture, the extant Goindwal Pothis belong to a different recension which was predominantly musical in nature.

XVI. CONCLUSION

16.1. Though, the Goindwal Pothis have been a much talked about source of the Sikh canon, yet no contemporary source of

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1. For details, see Appendix IV, chap. 3.
2. See Appendix I, chap. 3.
Sikh history and scripture alludes to them. Even, the much publicised story of Guru Arjan's visit to Baba Mohan at Goindwal to procure them has been proved to be an apocryphal and later concoction. The extant Goindwal Pothis, said to be compiled under the direction of Guru Amar Das, have surfaced only in 1895 C.E. Actually, it was the debate generated by Panch Khalsa Diwan, Bhasaur, over the issue of Bhagat-bāni, which brought the Pothis into the limelight. Due to the non-accessibility of the Pothis, to get information about their contents has always been an uphill task. Resultantly, scholars have to depend heavily on Bawa Prem Singh's study conducted in the 1940s. Since, he was held in high esteem among his contemporary Sikh scholars, consequently traditional Sikh scholarship did not see any reason to disbelieve his observations and without putting the extant Pothis to any critical examination, they took their authenticity for granted. Subsequently, a number of misconceptions originating from Bawa Prem Singh have become nearly the established facts.

16.2. Traditional sources make us to believe that Sahansar Ram was the sole scribe of the Goindwal Pothis, but on examination penmanship of two more scribes is also quite visible. Some scholars feel that the extant Pothis had been prepared by Guru Amar Das to serve the purpose of Sikh scripture. If it was so, then the Japuji, the most significant Bāni of the Sikhs, should have been recorded on the initial folios of first Juzu (ਜੁਜ਼). But physiognomical features of the extant Pothis reveal that the Japuji figured nowhere in their scribal scheme. The rāgas included in the Pothis neither have the writings of first three Sikhs Gurus nor of the Bhagats in their entirety. Even the Bāni of Guru Amar Das, have not been preserved in their totality. Omissions are so heavy that they do not help us to believe that Guru Amar Das had got them prepared to serve the purpose of Sikh scripture.

16.3. We have demonstrated that no uniform pattern has been followed to differentiate the authorship. Not only confusion, in fact attribution of some hymns has been wrongly entered. The sequence of rāgas, their distinct modes and tunes are radically different to the Ādi Granth tradition. The musicological traces and textual variants, especially the 'fillers' and 'vocatives'
indicate that the text of Goindwal *Pothis* instead of coming down from the scribal tradition belongs to a musicological tradition. Inclusion of *Kachi-bâni* is one of the most prominent features of the Goindwal *Pothis*. As observed earlier, the apocryphal writings attributed to the Sikh Gurus, the *Bhagats*, Gulam Sada Sewak and Sharaf, have been an integral part of the *Pothis* from their very inception. Significantly, the *Kachi-bâni* of the *Pothis* has not found favour with Guru Arjan to preserve them in the *Àdi Granth*. If the extant *Pothis* are genuine product originating from Guru Amar Das and the same had provided a basis for editing the *Àdi Granth*, then what were the reasons before Guru Arjan to exclude the apocryphal writings? It looks absurd to suggest that Guru Amar Das had included *Kachi-bâni* in the so-called earlier scripture, but later on while editing the *Àdi Granth*, Guru Arjan rejected them, including the hymns attributed to his father, Guru Ram Das. The fact of existence of *Kachi-bâni* in the Goindwal *Pothis* severely undermines the extant *Pothis*’ claim to be the original product belonging to Guru Amar Das. In fact, the inclusion of *Kachi-bâni* is a pointer to the effect that the *Pothis* owe their origin to schismatic trends in Sikhism.

16.4. Some scholars are inclined to suggest that the *Mul-Mantra* recorded in the Goindwal *Pothis* represents its earlier form. In fact, the scribe has not adhered to one version but has been modifying it on the successive folios. The *Mul-Mantra* found recorded at various folios is full of incoherent features. We find that alongwith God, Guru Nanak has also been invoked, which is totally inconceivable in a *Mul-Mantra* coming down or originating from the founder of Sikhism. Although, the Goindwal *Pothis* are said to have been recorded during Guru Amar Das’s pontificate, yet the internal evidence of the *Pothis* points to the contrary. The colophon recorded in the *Ahîyãpur Pothi* explicitly refers to Mâgh vadi 1, 1652 Bk. (Jan. 7, 1596), the date on which the scribing job was completed. It is well-supplemented by the fact that scores of hymns have been recorded under the authorship of *Mahalâ* 4 and *Mahalâ* 5. Obviously, the scribing date of *Ahîyãpur Pothi* can in no way be pushed back before Jan. 1596 C.E. Actually, the inclusion of Shah Sharaf’s writings and certain textual variants, instead of proving the *Pothis* to be of
Guru Amar Das' times push forward their recording to the mid 17th century C.E.

16.5. As pointed out earlier, to identify Gulam Sada Sewak of the Goindwal Pothis with Guru Ram Das is totally uncalled for, which has been given currency in the recent past to legitimate the apocryphal writings. Similarly, the story of the alleged autograph of Guru Ram Das is not borne out of facts but is an imagination of recent origin. The colophon preserved in the Ahiyapur Pothi exhorts that its custodians had the blessings of three generations of the Sikh Gurus that anyone following the Guru other than their progeny would certainly go to hell. It leaves no room to disbelieve that the extant Goindwal Pothis owe their origin to the sectarian developments in Sikhism. The textual variants instead of proving them close to the Adi Granth prove that the extant Goindwal Pothis represent a different recension that owes its origin to the Bhalla tradition. Significantly, some of the features of the Pothis establish their close connection with the sectarian literature produced by Miharban and his descendants. Like the Anandu Parmarth of Harji, stanza No. 34 (कवि चन्द्रि धरियां) has been dropped from the text of Anandu of Guru Amar Das incorporated in the Pinjore Pothi. In fact Anandu's internal arrangement is very much identical to the version of Harji. Similarly, probably in conformity to Harji's Janamsakh of Guru Nanak, a hymn of first Master has been wrongly attributed to Guru Angad. Some of the extra-canonical padas namely, डाप्टे सुरजें वदन गिरियां वो बने and राजसु असे मुनी बनाकर देनां बने वि देसिय बने बने बिज बिनियमें belonging to Kabir and Namdev respectively, also occur in the Minä works. Significantly, Shah Sharaf's writing found recorded in the Ahiyapur Pothi, is partly available in Masle Shaikh Farid Ke, a Minä product. Perhaps taking queue from Miharban, the scribe of the Goindwal Pothis has tried to depict

1. For Harji's text of Anandu, see Rai Jasbir Singh, Guru Amar Das Sarot Pustak, pp. 174-201.
2. See supra p. 104 footnote 2.
the Bhagats, namely Kabir and Namdev, as the devotees of Guru Nanak. Even some of the titles and vocatives such as लिंगेन्द्र जमके परलमण ब्रज, strike a similar chord in the Minā literature as मील महाल भजन्न नै ब्रज लिंगेन्द्र. Moreover, some of the features of the Mul-Mantra of the Goindwal Pothis are strikingly similar to the Mul-Mantra of Miharban’s literature. All these factors put together indicate that either the scribe of the Goindwal Pothis was under the strong influence of the rivals of Guru Arjan, especially the Minās or the tradition of Goindwal Pothis has developed in close proximity to the Minā tradition. Why do the two traditions have so much in common? Which tradition has borrowed from the other or which one was thriving on the other is an important issue which requires indepth investigations, perhaps elsewhere.

16.6. In retrospect, we are inclined to say that the text of the Goindwal Pothis instead of coming down from a scribal tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus, belongs predominantly to a musicological tradition, patronized by the Bhallas at Goindwal. The notion that the extant Goindwal Pothis had been prepared under the direction of Guru Amar Das and represent a pre-canonical stage of Sikh scripture, find no validity. In fact, instead of representing the pre-scriputral tradition of the main Sikh stream, the Goindwal Pothis represent a recension that has it origin with the sectarian developments in Sikhism. On the whole, the role of the Pothis in the codification of the Ádi Granth, is more imaginary than real.

1. Sikh History Research Deptt., Khalsa College, Amritsar, MS# 2306, folio 161.
APPENDIX I CHAP. 3
CHANGE IN AUTHORSHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raga</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>First Line</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suhi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>सग उस वे बंसु बंजर</td>
<td>M.3</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>फिर जो हुए फ्राइंड फ्राइंड़ मलकठो</td>
<td>M.2</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>राज्य अंदाम में लो ब्रजमसी</td>
<td>M.3</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanasari</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>स्तनघि वहे उध मसबहिसा</td>
<td>M.3</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>136</td>
<td>अशा माध्य में जग एकमति</td>
<td>M.5</td>
<td>M.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basant</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>गणों में लो एकमति जंद</td>
<td>M.4</td>
<td>M.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>178</td>
<td>मनोय मंड उई अधिभाग</td>
<td>M.4</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td>भंगी मध्य मगरी मुस्तूप ब्रजि</td>
<td>M.4</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>187</td>
<td>अच्छे आश्चिरा में माफि</td>
<td>M.4</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>204</td>
<td>भाद बुझे ब्रजमस्त आपि सरफ़ि</td>
<td>M.4</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaire</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>दे दे बरफि लियुभि रू</td>
<td>M.2</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarang</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>बुद्रा धरठ शिक्षि धरणमय</td>
<td>M.2</td>
<td>M.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The appendix refers only to those hymns whose authorship has been specifically mentioned in the Poth$s to disagree with the AGGS.
APPENDIX II CHAP. 3
ARRANGEMENT AND FIRST LINE INDEX OF THE
HYMNS OF THE GOINDWAL POTHÁS

The Goindwal Pothis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R#ga</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Metre</th>
<th>First Line</th>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suhi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M.1</td>
<td>chaup.</td>
<td>ब्हुन्त पंडि वैसे पूछ चंद्र उ चढ़े</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>अंत्तिव बजे न चंद्र मर्गन्ति</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>भूल बुवासी भरवासी धौमधौँ विट्ठि</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>सां चु उर मे मंड्र बंधि उ मंड्र अंति</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The present appendix besides unfolding the internal arrangement of the Pothis presents first line index of the writings that form their part. It enables the readers to examine the relative position of various writings that appear in the corresponding ragas of the Pothis and the AGGS as well. For the Ahiyapur Pothi it is largely based on its facsimiles that are available in the library of Punjabi University, Patiala. To fill the gaps especially the description of Pinjore Pothi, besides relying upon Gurinder Singh Mann’s The Goindval Pothis, we have benefitted from the previous works, namely Mohan Pothian (Bawa Prem Singh), Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib (Giani Gurdit Singh), Gatha Sri Adi Granth (Piar Singh) and Ahiyapur Wali Pothi (Pritam Singh). Since, a large number of hymns in the Pothis are without attribution, thus to identify their authors we have invariably followed the AGGS. For describing writings in a folio, instead of referring to its 'a' or 'b' side, we have referred to its front and back sides by a single number that is marked on its top right corner. Similarly, reference to various headings and modes of the ragas have been dropped. Broadly speaking, the scribe of the Pothis has divided the writings of various authors into three categories, namely the Sikh Gurus, Gulam Sada Sewak and the Bhagats and each category in a raga has been assigned a separate set of serial numbers. To prepare the index, besides the above pattern we have followed the Suhi mode of the Pothis where hymns of the Sikh Gurus, irrespective of metre or genre, have been assigned serial numbers in continuous order. Thus, some of the serial numbers entered under the column of AGGS, do not indicate to the originals in the Sikh scripture. We have employed the term pada for the writings of the Bhagats to distinguish them from that of the Sikh Gurus. The symbol of cross (x) indicates the absence.
Suhi 5 M.1 chaup. 6 3
— 6 — — — 7 7
— 7 — — — 8 11
— 9 M.3 — 9 4
— 9 M.2 — 10 5
— 10 M.3 — 11 6
— 12 M.1 chhand 12 22
— 14 — — — 13 23
— 16 — — — 14 24
— 17 M.3 — 15 27
— 19 — — — 16 28
— 21 — — — 17 29
— 23 — — — 18 30
— 25 — — — 19 31
— 27 — — — 20 32
— 29 — — — 21 33
— 30 unknown — 22 x
— 32 M.1 — 23 25
— 34 — — — 24 26
Wadharis38 M.1 — x 16
Suhi 39 M.3 ast. 25 17
— 44 M.1 — 26 14
— 45 M.3 — 27 18

1. These three hymns in the AGGS, are attributed to M. 1, see pp. 729-730.
2. A Kachi-bani composition, the authorship of which is not known.
   However, in MS # 1245, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, it has been attributed to M. 1, see folio 748.
3. It has been recorded in the Landa script.
THE GOINDWAL POTHIS: MYTH AND REALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
<th>AST.</th>
<th>TOT.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suhi</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>M.3</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>M.1</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Gulam chau.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Kabir pada</td>
<td>63</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>Farid</td>
<td>64</td>
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<td>Ravidas</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>58</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Kabir</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Farid</td>
<td>68</td>
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<tr>
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<td>61</td>
<td>Namdev</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
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<td>61</td>
<td>Sharaf</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Parbhati</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
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<td>63</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Incomplete but its text has been taken to two succeeding compositions.
2. These three compositions of Kachi-bani attributed to Gulam Sada Sewak are not present in the AGGS.
3. An extra-canonical pada attributed to Kabir not found in the AGGS.
4. Incomplete but repeated with full text on folio 60.
5. An extra-canonical composition of Kabir not present in the AGGS.
6. An extra-canonical pada attributed to Namdev, not found in the AGGS.
7. Composition of Shah Sharaf, a Sufi poet, not available in the AGGS.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY</td>
<td>Parbhani 65 M.1 chaup.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>In the AGGS, these two hymns form part of the Suhi mode, see pp. 730-31.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. In the AGGS, these two hymns form part of the Suhi mode, see pp. 730-31.
1. Though, the scribe has not mentioned its authorship, yet a scholar attributes it to M. 3, see Gurinder Singh Mann, The Goidval Pothis, p. 175. However, in the AGGS, it has been recorded under the authorship of M. 1, see p. 1334.

2. These two compositions of Kachi-bani attributed to Gulam Sada Sewak, are absent in the AGGS.

3. In the AGGS, it forms part of the Suhi mode, see p. 793.

4. It is also in the Suhi mode of the AGGS, see p. 793.
| 1. However, in the AGGS, it is attributed to M. 1, see p. 661. |
| 2. A Kachi-bani composition attributed to Guru Ram Das, not found in the AGGS. However, Gurinder Singh Mann, due to inexplicable reasons, assumes it to be of Guru Amar Das’ composition, see The Goidval Pothis, pp. 175-176 note 48 and 56. |
| 3. In the AGGS at p. 670, it has been recorded under the authorship of M. 4, but Gurinder Singh Mann instead of stating the facts confounds the issue to remark that it could have been actually by Guru Nanak, see The Goidval Pothis, pp. 22, 151, 176, 200. |
| 4. A hymn of Guru Arjan Dev which in the Sikh scripture takes off from another line भग वर वर वर वर वर वर. |
| 5. A Kachi-bani composition attributed to Gulum Sada Sewak, not found in the AGGS. |
1. In the AGGS at p. 692, it begins with दिंद्रें देव दिख दिंद्रें देव, but its text has a number of variants.
2. In the AGGS, it takes off from नाना देव नाना देव नाना देव, see p. 694.
3. An extra-canonical pada not available in the AGGS.
4. In the Sikh scripture, it is in the Ast mode and begins with दे दित देव दित देव, see AGGS, p. 488.
5. In the AGGS, it takes off from another line राजनजीत दिख दिख दिख दिख दिख, see p. 695.
6. It is in the Landa script, however in the AGGS, it begins with में में में में में, see p. 1292.
In the *Pothi* these two hymns are without any attribution but in the *AGGS* they are found under the authorship of M. 3, see pp. 1169-70. Though, in the so-called earlier draft of the *Adi Granth*, MS# 1245 they are available in the compositions of M. 3, yet Gurinder Singh Mann attributes them to M. 1, see *The Goindval Pothis*, pp. 151, 178.

In the *AGGS*, it has been attributed to M. 3, see p. 1172.

According to the *AGGS*, these two hymns belong to M. 1, see pp. 1169-70.

4. In the *AGGS*, it also belongs to M. 1, see p. 1170.

5. A *Kachi-bani* composition attributed to M. 1, not found in the *AGGS*.

6. At both the places it has been recorded in the *Landa* script but its text on folio 299 is incomplete.

7. Its text is also in the *Landas*.
In the AGGS at p. 1187, it is attributed to M. 1.

2. These two Kachi-Bani compositions by Gulam Sada Sewak are absent in the AGGS.

3. In the Sikh scripture, it takes off from wa ujHgb{ izi, see AGGS, p. 1195.
1. In the AGGS, it begins with अद्ग, see p. 1194.
2. An extra-canonical pada not found in the AGGS.
3. Incomplete but has already occurred at folio 220.
4. In the Sikh scripture, it occurs in the hymns of M. 1, see AGGS, p. 1125.
1. These three Kachi-bani compositions authored by Gulam Sada Sewak are not present in the AGGS.

2. In the AGGS at p. 1157, it begins with दान भक्ति दर्शन मन्त्र भक्ति विश्वास यह भोजन जीत है।

3. It occurs in the Gauri mode of the AGGS, see p. 345.
### EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

**Bhairo**

| 270 Namdev pada | — | संहरू रै दिख देव संहरू 1 | 24 | x |
| — | 270 | — | दिख नाभ नाभ नाभ नाभ 2 | 25 | 30 |
| — | 271 | — | मृतकहूँ पूछ जन्म नाभ तेज 3 | 26 | x |
| — | 272 | — | नाभ नाभ नाभ नाभ नाभ 4 | 27 | 26 |
| — | 272 Kabir | — | नाभ नाभ नाभ नाभ नाभ 5 | 28 | 14 |

**Asa ki Var**

| 273 M.1 saloka | — | ब्रह्म 1 | 1 | 1 |
| — | 273 M.2 | — | से महूं चेहर पूछ शब्द पूछ मथन चेहर 2 | 2 | 2 |
| — | 273 M.1 | — | तपस्या मृतक र चेहर भगवान भगवान 3 | 3 | 3 |

**Maru**

| 276 chaup. | — | विद्या रज्जो समय समय धर्म बा 4 | 1 | 1 |
| — | 277 | — | भसिन भसिन भसिन भसिन 5 | 2 | 2 |
| — | 277 | — | बन्धी बन्धी मृतक हमराण हमरा 6 | 3 | 3 |
| — | 278 | — | विद्या विद्या विद्या विद्या विद्या 7 | 4 | 4 |
| — | 279 | — | मथा मथेछी जनाब बालीखो 8 | 5 | 5 |
| — | 279 | — | भूल भूली रणक तोला भूल भूल 9 | 6 | 6 |

**Kedara**

| 283 Kabir | — | वेदी बापे बुड़िया बे बेदी बेदीब 10 | 7 | 7 |
| — | 280 M.3 | — | नब नबदेवी दुर देव देव देवनाथ नब देवनाथ नब देवनाथ नब 11 | 8 | 13 |
| — | 281 M.1 | — | दिख यहू मथ सत्ताल यहू 12 | 9 | 8 |
| — | 282 | — | नब मन मन मन संपत संपत संपत संपत संपत संपत 13 | 10 | 9 |
| — | 282 Jaidev pada | — | चेहर मूर्ति बृजभाग राज राज मूर्ति पूजन 14 | 1 | 13 |

1. An extra-canonical song not present in the AGGS.
2. In the AGGS, it occurs at pp. 1165-67, but its text is quite different than that of the Pothi.
3. An extra-canonical song attributed to Namdev, but its theme is somewhat similar to the pada preceding it.
4. These three salokas of Asa Ki Var are in the Landas.
5. In the Sikh scripture, it takes off from परामर्श सबल प्रभुज दुल सो, see AGGS, p. 1102.
6. A Kachi-bani composition by Gulam Sada Sewak, absent in the AGGS.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pad</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Pada</th>
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</table>

1. These three padas form part of Kedara mode of the AGGS, see pp. 1123-24.
2. An extra-canonical pada absent in the AGGS.
3. It also forms part of the Kedara mode, see AGGS, p. 1124.
4. From here onwards the folio numbers refer to the Pinjore Pothi.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ramkali 7</th>
<th>M.1 chaup.</th>
<th>समन भवं दुःख दुःख भवं समन्तः</th>
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<td>मात्राणुणां सयं भेलं सयं भेलं</td>
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<td>M.1 ast.</td>
<td>में रंदिय चंद्रियों में उष्ण में सेठी</td>
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<td>सिङ्गारादी कं वित्तू बोधिगु</td>
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<td>रघु भवं भवं भवं भवं भवं भवं भवं</td>
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<td>ओनकरं विवेकं विवेकं द्विवर्णार्थम</td>
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<td>जनकं भवं भवं भवं भवं भवं भवं भवं परिशिष्ठं</td>
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</table>

1. Stanza No. 73 तेज भवं रिवारं भवं भवं is missing in the text, see Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goidval Pothisi*, p. 185.
2. Stanza No. 34 भवं सुप्पीरं आयतं and Stanza No. 40 भवं सुप्पीरं आयतं have been dropped from the text of *Anandu*, *Ibid.*, p. 186.
3. These three padas of extra-canonical nature are not present in the AGGS.
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1. It occurs in the Àsa mode of the AGGS, see p. 484.
2. These three compositions of extra-canonical nature are absent in the AGGS.
3. From here the scribe has assigned the serial numbers afresh but we have carried the total consecutively.
4. Piar Singh’s information that these two padas are absent in the Pothi, is not factually correct, see Gatha Sri Àdi Granth, p. 94.
5. In the AGGS at p. 971, it takes off from sikh mukhátavi khál khál, however, Piar Singh finds it absent in the Pothi, see Ibid.: p. 94.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sorathi 122</th>
<th>M.1 chau.</th>
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</table>
1. A chaupada already occurring at folio 132, repeated as an astpada.
2. These two compositions of Kachi-bani by Gulam Sada Sewak are absent in the AGGS.
3. It occurs in the Gauri mode of the AGGS and begins with दे दीन मैं फिर हम यहाँ रहने, see p. 330.
4. Though in the AGGS, it occurs in both the Sorathi and Mar% modes at page 658 and 1106 respectively, but in the Pothi it has been recorded twice in the same raga, see folio 175.
1. Piar Singh’s statement that the above pada of Namdev is absent in the *Pothi* is not factually correct. However, he fails to note that Kabir’s *M.1* is absent from the *Pothi*, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 95.

2. In the *AGGS*, it begins with the *M.1* and not the *M.3*, see pp. 658-59.

3. These two *padas* of extra-canonical nature are absent in the *AGGS*.

4. It has already occurred at folio 166.

5. An extra-canonical composition not found in the *AGGS*.

6. In the *AGGS*, it takes of from the *M.3* and not the *M.1*, see p. 659.

   According to Gurinder Singh Mann, its text is quite different, see *The Goindval Pothis*, p. 188.
1. These two compositions occur in the *astpada* section of the *AGGS*, see pp. 1276-77. However, the scribe of the *Pothi* has recorded them as *chaupadas*. Thus, Piar Singh’s statement that no *aspadi* of M. 3 is available in the *Pothi* is totally unfounded, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 96.

2. In the *AGGS*, it begins with *l[rgv[ e’fjv ijdH*, see p. 1292.

3. It also opens with a different line *q’ wRp aP. V dWljdi*, see *AGGS*, p. 1292.

4. In the *AGGS*, it takes off from *Vjei uVJ q[ig ujda dWdtbja y.qji*, see p. 1293.
Malar 214 Namdev pada
— 215 — chaup.

Sarag 215 M.2 chaup.
— 216 M.1 — chaup.
— 218 — ast.
— 219 — chaup.
— 220 M.3 — chaup.
— 223 Namdev pada
— 223 Kabir — chaup.
— 224 Namdev — chaup.

1. An extra-canonical song absent in the AGGS.
2. It occurs in the Gaund mode of the AGGS, see p. 874.
3. The figure of 2 in its heading probably indicates to its authorship of M.2. However, in the AGGS, it is attributed to M.1 and begins with नोहर नोहर नोहर नोहर, see p. 1197.
4. In the AGGS, it also begins with a different line यह यह यह यह, see p. 1197.
5. It takes off from तृतीय रूपों में पृथ्वी निरंतर, see AGGS, p. 1197.
6. In the AGGS it begins with यह यह यह यह, see p. 1232.
7. It also takes off from a different line यह यह यह यह, see AGGS, p. 1232.
8. It begins in the AGGS from भगवान नोहर नोहर नोहर नोहर, see p. 1233.
9. In the AGGS, it opens with भगवान नोहर नोहर नोहर नोहर, see p. 1234.
10. In the Sikh scripture, it also starts with a different line वन मी वन मी, see AGGS, p. 1252.
11. It also opens with a different line वन मी वन मी वन मी वन मी, see AGGS, p. 1251.
12. In the AGGS, it also takes off differently वन मी वन मी वन मी वन मी, see p. 1252.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raga</th>
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<th>Hymn</th>
<th>AGGS, pp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suhi</td>
<td>M.3</td>
<td>च्यो दुधी को समस्त 31</td>
<td>785-792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parbhātī</td>
<td>M.3</td>
<td>मन घेने लोक अङ्कण 32</td>
<td>1334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanāsari</td>
<td>Kabir</td>
<td>रघु रघुरंग रघु रघुरंग 33</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pipa</td>
<td>वचन वचनें अर्थम 34</td>
<td>695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Dhanna</td>
<td>सोपल ऊर्फ अत्युन 35</td>
<td>695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilang</td>
<td>M.1</td>
<td>हिरु उजु अर्थम विभिन्न विभिन्ने 36</td>
<td>721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Namdev</td>
<td>मे अंपूले को टेक ओर राम 37</td>
<td>727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>उमे पलाजे उसे चंचल 38</td>
<td>727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basant</td>
<td>Kabir</td>
<td>ताडिड़ देख बलस्वर 39</td>
<td>1194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Namdev</td>
<td>महं अवहं युवि भटी 40</td>
<td>1196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>शव चो सैको जेते 41</td>
<td>1196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairo</td>
<td>Kabir</td>
<td>धूककि नागिर बुध 42</td>
<td>1158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>दिउपर भड्डु बेडी ते 43</td>
<td>1159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>दयाण मैठ हस्तद 44</td>
<td>1161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>मदु बेढी चक्द बजत 45</td>
<td>1161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>विप्र तौवनी लज बेढा 46</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>तोजा नामार्थिर जाव 47</td>
<td>1162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>बेटि मुख लये 48</td>
<td>1162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Namdev</td>
<td>आप्रो बलहस्त बेलह 49</td>
<td>1167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māru</td>
<td>M.1</td>
<td>अर्थम भूरी द भूरी 50</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>बाजी सूचाँ रंभु 51</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>अविनाश सौजी तीन 52</td>
<td>993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.3</td>
<td>अच्छो सत्तर द बोधी 53</td>
<td>993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>ध्वनिके जतल विबंपार 54</td>
<td>994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>लिख रुहे मे टेक तुध 55</td>
<td>994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Since the scribe of the *Pothis* intended to compile the hymns of M.1 and M.3, thus Piar Singh’s statement that the *chhant*, मे लीले उजु विभिन्न is missing in the *Suhi* mode is meaningless as it is attributed to M.5, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 78; for the text of the hymn in question, see AGGS, p. 763.

2. Piar Singh fails to note its absence in the *Pothis*, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 82.

3. Piar Singh’s observation that an *astpadī*, हिरु दोषा बया बरामदेह belonging to M.1 is not present in the *Pothis*, is ludicrous, since in the AGGS it is attributed to M.4, see AGGS, p. 725, also see Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 86.

4. The absence of these two *padas* has not come into Piar Singh’s notice, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 85.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māru</th>
<th>M.3</th>
<th>M.1 (as padis)</th>
<th>M.3 (solahe)</th>
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1. According to Gurinder Singh Mann, the above stanza is not present in the text of *Sidh Gosti*, see *The Goidwali Pothis*, p. 185.
2. For the omission of these two stanzas in the Anandu, see *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.
3. Piar Singh’s information that Kabir’s *duh qpt W[sp ejdHa=g@ airi H[w bV.ap cji* and *duh dlqidV h’dH qpwda* of Ramkali mode are not present in the Pothi is factually incorrect, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 94.
4. Its absence in the Pothi has not come into the notice of Piar Singh, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 95.
5. Piar Singh’s information that Namdev’s *fjC fC’ldS fPdA v{* is also absent in the Pothi, is not correct, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 95.
6. Piar Singh fails to take notice of its absence in the Pothi. Instead he remarks that an *astpadì bV.ap cji* of *M.1* and three *astpadìs* of *M.3* of Malar mode are not present in the Pothi, which is wrong, see *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Author</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kedârã Kabir</td>
<td>(vâr)</td>
<td>1106-1094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râmkalì M.1</td>
<td>(sidh gosti)</td>
<td>946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.3 (anandu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vâr)</td>
<td></td>
<td>947-956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabir (padâ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beni</td>
<td></td>
<td>974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sora_hi Kabir</td>
<td></td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
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*1. According to Gurinder Singh Mann, the above stanza is not present in the text of *Sidh Gosti*, see *The Goidwali Pothis*, p. 185.*

*2. For the omission of these two stanzas in the Alnâdu, see *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.*

*3. Piar Singh’s information that Kabir’s *duh qpt W[sp ejdHa=g@ airi H[w bV.ap cji* and *duh dlqidV h’dH qpwda* of Ramkali mode are not present in the Pothi is factually incorrect, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 94.*

*4. Its absence in the Pothi has not come into the notice of Piar Singh, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 95.*

*5. Piar Singh’s information that Namdev’s *fjC fC’ldS fPdA v{* is also absent in the Pothi, is not correct, see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 95.*

*6. Piar Singh fails to take notice of its absence in the Pothi. Instead he remarks that an *astpadì bV.ap cji* of *M.1* and three *astpadìs* of *M.3* of Malar mode are not present in the Pothi, which is wrong, see *Ibid.*, p. 96.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malār</th>
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<tr>
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<td>1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>1293</td>
</tr>
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<td>M.3</td>
<td>1233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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1. Piar Singh is totally clueless about the absence of these two *padas*, instead he remarks that Namdev’s *Mālār* is not present in the *Pothi*, which is totally unfounded as it starts in a different line in the *Pothi* with a different line in *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*, p. 96.

2. Piar Singh has not taken note of its absence in the *Pothi*. His observations about the compositions of Kabir and Namdev in this mode, are not borne out of facts, see *Ibid.*, p. 96.
APPENDIX IV CHAP. 3
APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS IN THE GOINDWAL POTHÁS

1.1 मृती बेंड सप्ताही (८.९)
वधि लगन भू में क्रोण्या मृतु में बड़ा बरथा दमी दर्दी होती है।
हँसर मदन मध्य वर्स्त प्रेमावर्त प्रेमका मदन होती है।
यमन मधुर हिरा राज्य मधुर प्रेमका मदन होती है।
बदल प्रेमका मदन हिरा राज्य मदन होती है।
राज्यं भारत गर्वी कुलकर्मी पदहरू का मदन होती है।
राज्यं भारत गर्वी कुलकर्मी पदहरू का मदन होती है।
राज्यं भारत गर्वी कुलकर्मी पदहरू का मदन होती है।
राज्यं भारत गर्वी कुलकर्मी पदहरू का मदन होती है।
राज्यं भारत गर्वी कुलकर्मी पदहरू का मदन होती है।

1.2 राज्यं भारत गर्वी कुलकर्मी पदहरू का मदन होती है।

(अभियंता उपेन्द्र, उक्तवाणी ३०-३२)

2.1 पारम्परिक आरोप चुदंभ ४
वधि अनुभव भारतं भू मध्य मदन मदन होता है।
हँसर बरथा दमी दर्दी होती है।

(अभियंता उपेन्द्र, उक्तवाणी १३६)
3.1 "भगवान भद्र की भक्ति रुपूर्व की भक्ति"

भगवान भद्र ने बुद्ध की भक्ति रुपूर्व की भक्ति जड़ी। किन्तु कैसे अनुमोदन के वेदों पर भक्ति रुपूर्व की भक्ति 

3.2 "भगवान भद्र ने मंगल निकाला"

भगवान भद्र ने मंगल निकाला। तथं तत्त्व भक्ति स्थल भक्ति के रूप में विकास हुआ। 

3.3 "भगवान भद्र ने मंगल निकाला"

भगवान भद्र ने मंगल निकाला। तथं तत्त्व भक्ति स्थल भक्ति के रूप में विकास हुआ। 

3.4 "भगवान भद्र ने मंगल निकाला"

भगवान भद्र ने मंगल निकाला। तथं तत्त्व भक्ति स्थल भक्ति के रूप में विकास हुआ। 

(अन्वयनुसार पंक्ति, परिःक्रम १२)
3.5 गौइंधवल पोथास

अपने बाचन कीजेड मन बिंब उग्रन दिमा बिंब राती।

गौइंधवल चबै मन चली गयी समस्य अपने साथी।

भग साए पढ़ू ज मातलय जी पहीँ।

मातलय रोचकों तब संपर्क पहले मनम विवाह गायत्री।

एपे एडाये अपने साथी अपने से बनीवणो।

एपे बरे बहारे बहार अपने ही साथी।

सर बेचे उर एड धर्मशा मुसा अधूरा र बेढी।

रातिव गौइंधवल देशे सर्दी बिंबा बही सेदी।

(अतीपुपु देय, धरन 102)

3.6 यष्टानी वामन सेवक

गौइंधवल राथ सधे सदेही।

गौइंधवल ब्राह्मण धपणड देशी।

गौइंधवल बिंबा पढ़ू देशी।

रातिव देश नम्न दुह देशी।

गौइंधवल बिंब देशे डूंबु।

गौइंधवल देश मधे बहु हमसू।

गौइंधवल बिंबा बहु धारी।

गौइंधवल धारी नियम देशी।

गौइंधवल देश बौद्ध देशी।

रातिव गौइंधवल बिंबा बही।

(अतीपुपु देय, धरन 102)

3.7 यमुना गौइंधवल/सामन सेवक

एपे जी यमुना बालाजी तकडही अपने टूट विद्याधर।

एपे जी यमुना बोलन उ विद्याधर अपने अडान पवित्र।

उ अडान घडू अपने जी हजरा आधिष्ठ।

उपर उपर निम्न अन्धा न हमें दिखी जू अपने विद्याधर।

एपे जी जू जबारी सधे आधि धाराकिय देख।

उ अपने आधि धाराविद्या मधावी उठू र बेढी देख।

उ रचित नैसद विद्याधर नेम मधावी स जबारा जी धम धन्सा आधिष्ठ।

जबारा उपर जू जबारा या पूर्ण स्तंभ धाराय उठा रहो स्त्रीदेहा।

महं दस वात से जे दिनण बने मे ज़रह आधि धाराविद्या कह।

रातिव देशे सर राती अमहु मे जेह देह विद्याधर।

(अतीपुपु देय, धरन 144)
3.12 गोइंदवाल पोथास: म्यूथ एण्ड रियॉल्टी

3.13 गोइंदवाल पोथास

3.14 गोइंदवाल पोथास

4.1 पूर्वी वस्त्रित

1. For the text of extra-canonical compositions occurring in the Pi*jore Pothi we have invariably followed Gurinder Singh Mann, The Goidval Pothis.
4.6 संस्कृति विषय

271 संस्कृति विषय

272 संस्कृति विषय

273 संस्कृति विषय

4.7 संस्कृति विषय

274 संस्कृति विषय

4.8 संस्कृति विषय

275 संस्कृति विषय

5.1 अभ्यास

276 अभ्यास
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION : MYTH AND REALITY

5.2 बनाम समर्थ

विस्मय बनाम बने उचित आचे यथार्थम बल उन इसे।
राजी बनाम उचित बने उचित बुध बुधे रहे।
भेष बनाम वे गौड़ गौड गौड रहे।
बनाम बने बुधि बुलाये बुढ़िये कह।
मुझे मनुष्य अनुभव भवाव बुढ़ प्रा बुढ़ वाली मद यहाँ।
भाख बोले मध राजा रोके रुका रुकी रुकी दूधर दूधर।
माँ भूल जाने अनेक बनाम बुढ़ प्रा बुढ़ बुढ़ वाली मद यहाँ।
वर वे वर वर वर वर मंगादि मंगादि रमण रमण रमण लिस त भल।

(अर्जिन्धर पंडित, उत्तर 46%)

5.3 शैव रमणेश

मंगादि वे वर वर रामणादि। मैं वर वे रामण बहुल।

भिवन रुप शैव दुस पर शैव दुस। भिवन रुप शैव दुस पर शैव।

शैव रूप दुस दुस दुस। शैव रूप दुस पर शैव।

वर रामण दुस दुस। वर रामण दुस दुस।

(अर्जिन्धर पंडित, उत्तर 224)

5.4 शैव रमणेश

सन्तान पुढ़े वर वे रामण दुस सामने देव मैं।

मुखी में नहीं भाव निकल उद दिखाय अम्बार।

वे तथा सापु रामण तारा तारा।

वर रामण वे राजवाल।

भिवन रुप दुस पर शैव दुस। भिवन रुप दुस पर शैव।

शैव रूप दुस दुस। शैव रूप दुस पर शैव।

शैव में नहीं निकल निकल दिखाय।

(अर्जिन्धर पंडित, उत्तर 220)

5.5 चतुर्वेदी समर्थ

वर रामण वाजा सापु रामण दुस पर शैव।

में नहीं निकल निकल दिखाय।

(अर्जिन्धर पंडित, उत्तर 102)
5.6 गोइंद्वाल पोथ्स: मूर्ति और रियासत

6.1 गोइंद्वाल विस्तार

6.2 गोइंद्वाल विस्तार

7.1 गोइंद्वाल व्यापार
8.1 यह यह निकाल (मध्य)

मिल वर्तमान न्यू भंड मात्रा thereby \| मिल सक्षम वह संयुक्त \|।।

भंडी शर के हिस्से भंड मात्रा भरी \| वहीं वही के उंच भंड मात्रा भरी \|।।

मिल वर्तमान न्यू भंड मात्रा \|।। पूर्ण परिचय भंड मात्रा \|।।

विद्याधरित कंग्रैं जिन्हिं \|।। \|।।

हिंदी संवर भरत \|।। खुश \|।।

विद्याधरित अवध जानकर \|।। उंच भंड में तिंदी जानकर \|।।

हिंदी संवर भरत \|।। \|।।

विद्याधरित अवध जानकर \|।। \|।।

में रिजी तिंदी जानकर \|।। खुश \|।।

(अनुपम रूपो, मध्य ६२)
MS # 1245
MYTH OF AN EARLY DRAFT RECONSIDERED

I. INTRODUCTION
1.1. Recently surfaced MS #1245 (GNDU) has generated a lot of controversy in the field of Sikh studies. While Prof. Piar Singh remarks it to be an anterior and unique manuscript,¹ Pashaura Singh finds it to be an early draft "on which Guru Arjan seems to have worked to finally produce the text of the Ḍī Granth".² Similarly, Gurinder Singh Mann also considers it to be an earliest extant source of the Sikh canon which marks "a milestone in the evolution of the organizational structure of the Sikh scripture".³ On the basis of MS # 1245, it has been opined that to polish the metre and to add flavour to the music, not only the hymns of earlier Sikh Gurus have been revised, but Guru Arjan Dev has also frequently modified his own hymns in the final version. Similarly, the authenticity and originality of the received text, Mul-Mantra, the Japuji and some other hymns have also been questioned. The present study seeks to examine various features of MS # 1245 with a view to sharing them with the academic world, so that scholars who are not well versed in Gurbānī and manuscriptology or those who have very little information about this manuscript, may be able to judge the veracity and merit of some of the above observations.

II. HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

³ Gurinder Singh Mann, The Making of Sikh Scripture, p. 94.
2.1. MS # 1245 was procured by Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, in March 1987 from Harbhajan Singh and Harcharan Singh Chawla, manuscript dealers of Bazar Mai Sewan (now at Jallianwala Bagh), Amritsar. It is intriguing to note that they have been extremely reluctant to share any information about its origin and history. However, on persistent questioning, they have disclosed to a group of scholars that they have procured it along with some other works of Miharban, from somewhere in Rajasthan. Interestingly, while offering the manuscript for sale to the University, they have appended a note to it claiming that on the third (unnumbered) decorative folio, it contains a hymn written in the hand of Baba Buddha. On the basis of the above note some scholars have traced its history back to Baba Buddha and have come to the conclusion that for a long time it has been in the custody of his descendants. Since, this view finds no support in any source of history, to associate the family of Baba Buddha with it is highly untenable.

2.2. Recently, when Piar Singh was thick in the controversy, obviously for his formulations on the basis of MS # 1245, the Jathedar of Sri Akal Takht Sahib, Bhai Manjit Singh, summoned the Chawlas, the manuscript dealers, to shed light on its origin. They informed him that they have acquired it from a scrap dealer of Gajsinghpur, a remote town of district Sriganganagar of Rajasthan. They further submitted that their note, in which they have claimed that the manuscript has a hymn in the hand of Baba Buddha, was not the result of any inquiry or research on their part, but was purely based on the observations of one Bhai Karnail

1. It is the costliest manuscript purchased by the University so far. Procured at a cost of Rs. 7500/-, with accession number 1245, on March 30, 1987, it was put into the Rare Book Section of the G.N.D. University Library.
4. For the note of Chawlas, see infra Appendix I.
6. For the statement of the Chawlas before the Jathedar of Sri Akal Takht Sahib, Amritsar, see infra Appendix II.
7. Ibid.
Singh. It seems due to inexplicable reasons they have been misleading the scholars of their actual source of acquisition. Why they are so reluctant to reveal the truth? How can such an important manuscript land in the hands of a petty scrap purchaser on a bicycle? The story is hard to be believed.

2.3. Undoubtedly, reluctance on the part of Chawlas to divulge their actual source of acquisition, coupled with their conflicting statements, have made MS # 1245's origin and history quite murky. But on the basis of internal evidence, it is not difficult to dig out its recent past and to trace out its movement prior to its landing at the University.

2.4. I have mentioned a number of times that readers will be surprised to know that MS # 1245 contains notes in English and modern Panjabi. I have also pointed out somewhere else that a scribe of the modern era has inserted information indicating the beat (\textit{takta}) of a hymn in the text of this manuscript. Both, the notings and insertions have been executed in the same penmanship. The note in English, which is very brief, reads as "actually this is folio 522", whereas the one in Panjabi is more descriptive and follows as:

\begin{quote}
\begin{center}
\textit{V'B ^ ije rch.l s[ aawi[ sj qpTvj fag}
\end{center}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Note: \textit{Rãga Wa^hans de tatkare dã mu^hlã patti 522 wãlã patrã Granth de ãrambh wich laggã hoiã hai. Jilad banvãn samain hoì ukãì hai.}
\end{quote}

(Folio 522, the initial folio of \textit{rãga Wa^hans}' index, is affixed at the beginning of the Granth. It is an error that has occurred at the time of binding.)

During a conference of scholars convened by the S.G.P.C., at Amritsar on Jan. 5, 1996, I reiterated that the above notes hold the key to the movement of MS # 1245, and investigations are

1. I have shared the above fact, with scholars at various conferences on Sikh Studies held in North America in April-May, 1994.
Two folios of MS # 1245 bearing notes in Panjabi and English in the hand of Prof. Parv Singh.

PLATE VII
on to identify the person responsible for them.

2.5. Scholars are well aware that library rules the world over do not permit them to overwrite or make insertions in books and manuscripts of antique value. Even, library staff keeps a strict vigil over the scholars to prohibit them to do so. Anyway, scholars who have books and manuscripts in their personal collections unmindful of their acts, do take the liberty to indulge in such practices. Evidently, either the dealer or the person who introduced it to him, has made these notings, when it has not yet landed at the University library. Our assertion has the desired effect to bring the proverbial cat out of bag. Piar Singh in his recent publication has admitted that he had put up two notes one in English and the other in Panjabi to guide the readers and laminator as well.1 Unfortunately, his explanation is far from convincing. The fact remains that neither the University at any stage had authorised him to put up such notes nor do we expect from a mature scholar like Piar Singh that he has been transgressing library and scholarly rules to indulge in academically unethical practices. If he really intended to guide the laminator then very wisely he could have written the above notes on a separate piece of paper. Unfortunately, he was not also supposed to make any insertion in the text as he has done to indicate the beat (अं) of a hymn.2 Obviously, the above insertion and notes would not have been possible unless MS # 1245 had not been in the personal custody of Piar Singh for a considerable span of time. Truly, dead man tells no tales (Piar Singh died on Sept. 6, 1996) but traces left by him still lead us to his house from where MS # 1245 probably started its journey to the Chawlas, the manuscript dealers of Amritsar. If our above contention is true then we have no reason to disagree with Piar Singh, who while putting an explanation for the missing text, has suggested that MS # 1245 may have travelled from its original place to a far off place like Poonch in Jammu and Kashmir.3 But how and from whom he got it, is still a mystery, unless we dig out more information about it. It seems that by proxy, in collusion with

2. See MS # 1245, folio 75.
Folio 39 of MS # 1245 showing the scheme of the scribe to mention
III. EXTERNAL FEATURES

3.1. In the size of 17 x 27 cm, MS # 1245 has 1267 folios in all. The margins have been drawn vertically, thus the total written area on each folio measures about 14 x 24 cm. The folio numbers have been inscribed at the middle of right hand margin. Usually, each folio comprises 19 lines but instances of variation, particularly tightly recorded text, are also quite noticeable. It has been written very neatly with a very few erasures and deletions. The opening four (unnumbered) folios have been illustrated with flowery and geometric motifs. The note appended by the dealers claims that the third and fourth decorative folios contain a hymn recorded in the handwriting of Baba Buddha and Guru Hargobind’s Nisān respectively. The text starts on folio 27 with the Japuji followed by liturgical hymns of Sodaru section. Apart from the liturgical hymns of Sohilā and Sopurakhu sections, Guru Tegh Bahadur’s compositions are not available in it. Significantly, except for a few salokas of Kabir and Farid, the whole corpus of Bhagat-bānī has been excluded from it. On the other hand a considerable number of extra-canonical writings attributed to Guru Nanak,

1. In the liturgical section, it omits the hymns of the Sopurakhu and Sohilā sub-sections.
2. For the scheme of folio number of hymns, see index of Śrī Rāga, folio 39, also see plate VIII, p. 188.
Guru Amar Das and Guru Arjan have found a place in it. The arrangement of hymns within a rāga and sub-sections, invariably follows the Ādi Granth pattern, but instances of variations are also quite noticeable. The epilogue section is radically different from that of the Ādi Granth.¹ Towards the end of a rāga or in between the various sub-sections i.e., chaupadās, as_padīs, chhants, etc., blank spaces have been left. Interestingly, at a number of places only the first line of hymn has been inscribed and suitable blank space has been provided for the text, ostensibly to be filled in at some later stage. Although, instances of text completed later on by the primary as well as secondary scribe, are quite visible, yet there are about 170 hymns and salokas which are of an incomplete nature. Resultantly, some of the folios are partly or completely blank. Even, some folios, especially 22 folios at the beginning are missing. Whether they have been reserved for the master table of contents or not? What type of writings do they have? Why have they been removed from it? These are some of the issues which are difficult to be explained.

IV. AUTHORSHIP

4.1. The authorship of the Sikh Gurus has been differentiated by employing the term Mahalā (महला) which invariably follows the name of rāga. At a few places authorship has been mentioned both in words and figures.² Except for a few instances the salokas of the Sikh Gurus, found recorded in the various vārs of different modes, the term Mahalā referring to authorship has been dropped.³ Consequently, anyone who is not well-versed in Gurbānī can easily be misled that Guru Angad for instance, has no

¹ The sequence of epilogue section is as: Saloku vārān te bahri, Saloku Sahaskiritī, Gāthā, Samavan ka chalatu, Ratanmālā (M.1), Swayye (M.5), Chaubole (M.5), Swayye (M.5) and Swayye of Kalh Bha_.
² Interestingly, it occurs at the head of Guru Arjan Dev's hymns, see Dev Gandhārī, folio 496; Bairā-i, folio 676; and Māru, folio 930.
³ Most scholars feel that originally the salokas juxtapositioned between the stanzas of various vārs, were without attribution. They hold that Mahalā indicating to the authorship have been added at a later stage, see Jodh Singh, Kartārpurī Bī- de Darshan, p. 52; also, see Sahib Singh, Ādi Bī- Bāre, pp. 79-80. For saloka with attribution in MS # 1245, see Rāmkalī ki Vār, M. 5, folio 901.
composition to his credit. Though, authorship has not been indicated, yet one can find the second Guru’s salokas at their fixed place. Similarly, the authorship of stanzas which Guru Arjan had added to the vārs of earlier Gurus, has not been recorded.1 The most distinctive feature connected with the authorship is the attribution which has been simultaneously recorded under two authors. For instance a hymn (सहित विषय के भविष्य) of Guru Nanak in Gauś mode has been repeated under the same rāga as that of Guru Arjan.2 Similarly, three hymns of Guru Nanak, one occurring in Dhanāsāri (दनासारी नारदी) and two in Suhi (सूही उधं वा भोप वंदनं ज्ञातं उधं मेरि तु हिस नाराय) though recorded in the index as well as in the text under the section of Guru Nanak’s writings, yet they have been attributed both to Mahalā 1 and Mahalā 3.3 Besides, an as padī (अस पदी सप्तक) in the index of Māru mode has been attributed both to Mahalā 1 and Mahalā 3, but the text describes it to be of Guru Nanak alone.4 Again a sohlā (सौहल उत्तर अगर अथाण) of Guru Nanak has been recorded under the authorship of Guru Arjan.5 In addition to that two salokas (सलोकों जो हैं दो सलोकों) of Guru Amar Das and one (सलोक उज्ज्वल विच में दरस) of Guru Ram Das, have been inscribed as Guru Nanak’s compositions.6 Similarly, three salokas (सलोक उज्ज्वल अगर वैदेश उज्ज्वल हैं विच में नाराय नै) have been attributed to M. 3, whereas according to the Àdi Granth, they are the writings of Guru Ram Das.7 It is obvious, inadvertently or deliberately the authorship of many a hymn has not only been wrongly attributed but confused as well.

V. ARRANGEMENT

5.1. Though, the rāga pattern has been adopted to organize the

1. For example stanza number 27 (लोचर विश्वेश सवारा) which Guru Arjan Dev has added to the Vār Malār ki, M.1, does not carry the attribution, see folio 1182.
2. See rāga Gauś, folios 157, 162, 219.
3. For Dhanāsāri hymn, see folios 561, 565 and for Suhi hymns, see folios 697, 701.
4. See index and text of Māru, folios 918, 940.
5. See Māru, folio 1001.
6. See salokas surplus to the vārs, folios 1234-1236.
7. Ibid., folios 1244, 1246: also see AGGS, pp. 585, 1419.
hymns, yet its sequence is quite different from that of the \textit{\textipa{Adi Granth}}. The hymns within a \textipa{rāga} has been classified into various sub-sections, namely \textipa{chaupadās}, \textipa{as\_padīs}, \textipa{chhants} and \textipa{vārs}. As usual the shorter compositions precede the longer ones. Guru Nanak's compositions falling under various sub-sections have been placed at the beginning of each section followed by the writings of his successors. Within a sub-section hymns have been arranged according to the beat and separate serial number for the writings of each author has been inscribed. Invariably, with a few exceptions internal arrangement of a \textipa{rāga}, sub-sections and the writings of an author, is in conformity with the \textit{\textipa{Adi Granth}}. However, on close scrutiny, we observe certain anomalies in the pattern which are not only revealing, but are also very significant to ascertain its status and anteriority as well.

5.2. As mentioned earlier, instead of a master table of contents, a separate index of hymns has been appended at the outset of each \textipa{rāga}. It has been assumed that "this is the only extant manuscript in which the table of contents were prepared before the actual text was inscribed".\footnote{Gurinder Singh Mann, \textit{The Making of Sikh Scripture}, p. 84.} In fact a perusal of its internal structure, especially relationship between the index and text of the respective \textipa{rāgas}, holds the key to test the veracity of the above statement. A comparative study of the index and text of \textit{Sri rāga} reveals that three hymns (28, 29 and 30) of Guru Arjan inspite of being assigned to beat 1 (\textipa{ZI}) have been placed after the hymns of beat 6 (\textipa{vE}), an irregular place meant for them.\footnote{For violation of beat (\textipa{ZI}), see index of \textit{Sri rāga}, folio 41; also see \textit{To\_\^i}, folio 670.} It is interesting to note that in the text they have been again reshuffled to serial number 17, 23 and 24, but the order in the index inspite of variation in beat, corresponds to the \textit{\textipa{Adi Granth}}. Obviously, the text of \textit{Sri rāga} has not been inscribed in accordance with its index position. Similarly, the text of \textit{Gau\_i} mode was at variance with its original index position. Subsequently, not only the serial numbers of Guru Nanak's hymns (5 and 6) have been reversed but another entry at No. 12 has been introduced in the index.\footnote{See index of \textit{Gauri}, folio 157.} Similar reversal of serial numbers in the index of \textit{Asā}, \textit{Rāmkalī} and \textit{Bihāgrā} are quite noticeable.\footnote{See index of \textit{Gauri}, folio 157.}
Furthermore, the index of Kân~ã is akin to the Âdi Granth but its text especially, six as_padis belonging to Guru Ram Das, occur after the chhant of Guru Arjan, an unusual place for the as_padis. All these factors suggest that index and text of MS #1245, are replete with anomalies.

5.3. Another anomaly in the organization of text and index relates to omissions and additions. For example, in Tilang mode, three hymns, one belonging to Guru Ram Das (मे सर्न थैं जैन सहमस्तेन), and two of Guru Arjan (लिखित सर्न मानिस मृत्तके त्वम) are available in the text, but their reference in the index has been omitted. Originally, the index and text of Kedãrã did not comprise a Kachi-bânî hymn (जैन थे चड़ियाँ तिलिद सहमस्तेन) attributed to Guru Arjan but its entry into the index and text as well, was a later insertion. Significantly, the Kachi-bânî forming part of MS #1245 has not been recorded in accordance with the set pattern. For instance, the Kachi-bânî chhants (अच मे मंडुव नी रहित मन्दारण) attributed to Guru Amar Das and Guru Nanak, forming part of Sri and Suhî modes respectively, instead of chhant sub-sections, occur at irregular positions. Again in Âsã mode three hymns of Kachi-bânî attributed to Guru Arjan do not find place in the beat section, meant for them. There are numerous instances where the text instead of taking off from the index line, begins with a different line. All these factors indicate that index and text of MS #1245 have been taken from different sources. It seems after copying the index and text into the manuscript the scribe thought of introducing Kachi-bânî writings, and in the ensuing exercise he has violated the set pattern relating to beat and genre as well.

5.4. As pointed out earlier, at some places only the first line of a hymn or saloka has been inscribed. Consequently, it has been assumed that the scribe of MS #1245 was still in the process

2. See index and text of Kânrã, folios 1184, 1198.
3. Compare the index and text of Tilang, folios 679, 681, 682.
4. See index and text of Kedãrã, folios 1025, 1028.
5. For chhants of M.3 in Sri râga, see folios 42, 101-102 and for Suhî chhants of M.1, see index and text of Suhî, folios 699, 748.
6. See index of Âsã, folio 342.
7. For details, see infra 12.5 chap. 4.
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

to work out a plan for the organization of text.\(^1\) We cannot resolve the above phenomenon with a simple argument that the text of incomplete hymns was yet unavailable, because it will be incongruous to suggest that even the text of his own writings was not available with Guru Arjan. Interestingly, irrespective of the incomplete nature of all such hymns, they have been included in the index of respective rāgas. Actually the scribe was well-aware of the pattern and text, otherwise it would not have been possible to allot serial numbers as well as an appropriate blank space for the text to be filled at some later stage. On the basis of internal evidence we can safely say that MS # 1245 is not the result of an earliest attempt, rather its scribe had an access to a source in which pattern as well as index and text have already been fixed.

VI. OMISSIONS

6.1. A considerable number of writings, especially relating to the non-Sikh saints, have been excluded from MS # 1245. As mentioned earlier, except for a few salokas of Kabir and Farid,\(^2\) the whole corpus of Bhagat-bānī has not found favour to be included in it. It has been remarked that Guru Arjan’s primary concern was to fix the hymns of Gurus first, and then to deal with the issue of the hymns of the Bhagats.\(^3\) Yet another scholar has suggested that absence of Bhagat-bānī from MS # 1245, may have been the result of a decision (on the part of Guru Arjan) to drop the writings of non-Sikh saints from the Sikh canon.\(^4\) All these are unreliable and vague explanations, because without going into the authenticity of so-called earlier extant sources of Sikh canon, it can be safely concluded that long before the codification of the Ādi Granth in 1604 C.E., the Bhagat-bānī had not only found acceptance but had also become a part of the Sikh literature. It is noteworthy to remind the readers that Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das had already made reference to

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2. For the salokas of Farid and Kabir, see Gujrī kī Vār; M.3, folio 477; Bihāgarī kī Vār M.4, folio 518; Rāmkali kī Vār, M.5, folios 905-06.
the spiritual perfection of some of the Bhagats of the Ádi Granth. Guru Arjan has also appreciated the Bhagats for their devotion to God. Furthermore, if we take into account the existence of Kabir's salokas along with the comments of Sikh Gurus in MS # 1245, then Gurinder Singh Mann's argument that "around 1600 A.D., Guru Arjan considered dropping the hymns of the saints from the canon" looks totally untenable.

6.2. The vital question remains as to why has the scribe of MS å 1245 ignored the Bhagat-bañi completely? It is not a simple but very serious issue which requires in-depth investigation. One possible explanation may be that by omitting Bhagat-bañi, the scribe has tried to place the hymns of the Sikh Gurus on a spiritually higher pedestal than that of the Bhagats. But because of the presence of Bhagat-bañi in Sikh Sangats, the probability is that he is out to compile a volume, a singular collection and for that he has conceived no role for the Bhagats. Exclusion of Bhagat-bañi, instead of bringing MS # 1245 close to the main Sikh scribal tradition proves it to be of radically different tradition. It is very important to remind inquisitive readers that collections of Gurbañi which the Minâs had prepared under the guidance of Miharban, likewise MS # 1245, had the hymns of the Sikh Gurus alone and not of the Bhagats. Very truly the Guru Har Sahai Pothi, the so-called early source of Sikh canon, which has been in the custody of Miharban and his descendants, is said to have in its first part only the hymns of Sikh Gurus and Bhagat-bañi had come to be included in its latter part. It leads us to suggest that MS å 1245 has something in common with the first part of Guru Har Sahai Pothi. If we are on the right track then MS # 1245 marked a stage in the Minâ tradition when Bhagat-bañi was of no use to them.

6.3. The panegyrics (प्रकटीके) by the Bhattas, eulogising the Sikh Gurus are not found in their totality. To prove MS # 1245 as an earlier draft, it has been opined that by the time this manuscript was written some of the Bhattas had not yet appeared in the court of the Guru. On close scrutiny we observe that only 32 panegyrics

1. For Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan Dev's comments about the Bhagats, see AGGS, pp. 67, 733, 835, 1192.
2. Gos.i Guru Miharvânu, p. 175.
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

(नवनीत) by Kalh Bhatt have found acceptance in it. But it does not prove that except Kalh no other Bhatt had yet arrived at Sikh Gurus' court. On the basis of scriptural as well as traditional Sikh sources we can very safely state that led by Bhikha, the Bhatts had appeared for the first time at Guru Amar Das' court at Goindwal. Even panegyrics, composed by Bhikha and his associates in praise of Guru Amar Das are enshrined in the Ådi Granth. The issue remains as to why has the scribe of MS # 1245 chosen the panegyric of Kalh Bhatt alone to include in it? It seems our scholars have not delved deep into the historical developments within the Sikh Panth. Actually, during the internal crisis or schism created by the Minãs, the Bhatts and minstrels had also come to be divided into rival camps. It is very important to note that the Minã collections which have been prepared under the supervision of Harji (D. 1694 C.E.) comprised the panegyrics of Kalh Bhatt alone. Further, likewise the MS # 1245, the Minã literature also recalls Kalh or Kalasahar by the name of Kala Bhatt. Truly, all the 32 panegyrics included in MS á 1245 under the authorship of Kala Bhatt, have turned out to be the compositions of Kalh Bhatt only. Omission of panegyrics of the Bhatts, again indicates that MS á 1245 has originated in close proximity to the Minã tradition.

6.4. Some scholars have been widely out of the mark to identify the hymns which do not appear in MS # 1245. For example, it has been stated that बेदे बेदे आरों आरों and बहु बुझा भेंट, बुझा बुझा occurring respectively in Åsã and Rãmkali modes of the Ådi Granth do not find a place in it. But a close look at the text of above rãgas belie the above statement. The vãr of Satta and Balwand in Rãmkali mode is also not found in its text. The conclusion has been drawn that it has not come into vogue by

2. For the text of these panegyrics, see folios 1264-1267.
4. For the text of swayyes of the Bhatts composed in praise of Guru Amar Das, see AGGS, pp. 1392-1396.
5. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Bãnsãwalinãmã, p. 50.
7. Ibid.
the time this manuscript was ready.² It is very significant to note that the scribe has made a reference to it in the index of Rāmkali.³ Evidently, he was fully aware of the vār otherwise he would not have referred to it in its index. It is very obvious that while recording the manuscript, the scribe has deliberately omitted it from record.

6.5. Some salokas of Guru Nanak and three hymns and a few salokas of Guru Amar Das, have not found a place in it.⁴ Like so many old manuscripts of Sikh scripture, it does not include Guru Arjan’s vār in the Basant mode. Actually, a considerable number of Guru Arjan’s hymns have been excluded from it. Though, on the basis of the non-availability of some hymns, the scholars have been debating the original structure of the liturgical section, yet they have no explanation to offer for the large number of missing hymns. Although, it can be argued in the case of Guru Arjan’s hymns, that such hymns had not till then been composed, but there is no explanation why the compositions of earlier Sikh Gurus have been excluded. Hence, the line of their late construction is not tenable. In reality the manuscript is marred by numerous scribal mistakes and omissions. Instances of missing lines and stanzas are not uncommon.⁵ While evaluating its genuineness, mind has not been applied to the fact of missing text. As illustrated earlier due to sectarian affiliation of the scribe the Bhagat-bāni and panegyrics of the Bhattas have not found a place in it. Similarly some of the hymns, which were in full knowledge of the scribe have been deliberately omitted. In fact, to prove its earlier origin inflated data has been presented, which are totally untenable in the face of internal as well as external evidence.

1. Gurinder Singh Mann, The Making of Sikh Scripture, p. 244; Piar Singh, Gāthā Śri Ādi Granth, p. 160; but a close examination of the manuscript reveals that the hymns in question are very much present in it. see folios 341, 819.
3. See index of Rāmkali, folio 819.
4. For the compositions of the Sikh Gurus which have been omitted from it, see infra Appendix III.
5. See infra section 12.2 chap. 4.
VII. REPETITIONS

7.1. Although, a few hymns, especially of the liturgical section, have been repeated in the Ádi Granth with slight variation, yet a considerable number of hymns have been repeated in this manuscript without any variation.1 It seems either the scholars have failed to take account of them or have not addressed themselves to unearth the purpose of such repetitions. For instance, two of the fifteen apocryphal chhants (चंत) attributed to Guru Amar Das, have been repeated on the very next folio.2 As mentioned earlier, a hymn (आरोग्य) of Guru Nanak in Gau‘ì mode is also found in the same rāga under the authorship of Guru Arjan.3 A Dhanāsari hymn (धनासरी) of Guru Ram Das occurs in rāga Tilang also.4 Similarly, a hymn (आरोग्य) of Guru Arjan in Gau‘ì mode is also found in rāga Mājh.5 A Suhī mode hymn (सूही) of the fifth Guru has also found its way into Tilang, although in this case information to take it to Suhī mode has been provided in the margin.6 Significantly, a hymn (सूही) has been recorded at serial No. 31 and 39 also.7 By repeating it in the index as well as text of Suhī, the scribe has given proof of his gross negligence. Similarly, in place of stanza No. 30 (रामचन्द्र) which Guru Arjan has added in the vār of Guru Ram Das in Gaurī mode, stanza No. 33 (तुम्हारे प्रेम सागर) has been repeated.8 Likewise, a considerable number of salokas of Guru Arjan, have been recorded twice.9

7.2. On the basis of a Suhī hymn (सूही), it has been deduced that from the language and thematic point of view, Guru Arjan has been reshuffling the hymns of Sikh Gurus from one

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1. For the hymns recorded twice, see infra Appendix IV.
2. See the text of Śrī rāga, folios 101, 102.
4. See the text of Dhanāsari and Tilang, respectively at folios 572, 681.
5. See the text of Gaurī and Mājh, folios 116, 220; Piar Singh’s claim that it occurs in Sārang mode of the Ádi Granth is totally wrong, see Gāthā Śrī Ádi Granth, p. 150.
6. See the text of Tilang and Suhī, folios 682, 728.
7. See the text of Suhī, folios 713, 714.
8. See the text of Gau‘ı folios 319, 321
mode to another. But most of the scholars who consider MS # 1245 as 'an earlier draft' or 'earliest extant source' of the Sikh canon have failed to take notice of the above-mentioned repetitions. Either they have no knowledge of the dual occurrence or they have not addressed themselves to unravel the mystery surrounding repetitions. They have no explanation to offer as to whether the above hymns have not been repeated in the Ādi Granth due to editorial policy or their dual occurrence in MS # 1245 was the result of arbitrariness of the scribe. As stated earlier there are some hymns in this manuscript which appear to have been recorded again due to the negligence of the scribe. One hymn each of Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan has been repeated in Tilang mode. Interestingly, these hymns have been excluded from the index. Obviously, the scribe was well aware of the fact that they do not form part of Tilang. Actually, a hymn (आर्य गुरू आर्य गुरू निरवीक्षि) of Guru Arjan which has been recorded both in Gau~i and Mādh mode in MS # 1245, helps us to solve the mystery of dual occurrence. In the Ādi Granth it has been recorded under Gau~i Mādh, indicating to a mode of Gaurī which was prevalent in the Māhā region. But the scribe of this manuscript has misunderstood it to record the hymn in Gaurī as well as in Mādh. Consequently, practice to sing it in two different modes might have come into vogue. Thus, it is quite possible that in the musical tradition of the scribe the hymns which have been repeated in different rāgas, were actually sung in two different modes. It helps us to suggest that scribe of MS # 1245, belonged to a musical tradition which was different from that of the Ādi Granth.

VIII. APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS

8.1. Existence of apocryphal writings is another significant

1. For the hymns recorded twice, see infra Appendix IV.
3. See index of Tilang, folio 679.
4. AGGS, p. 217.
feature of this manuscript. Unfortunately, some of the seasoned scholars in their enthusiasm to project its uniqueness, have been very unfair in their judgement to brand the genuine hymns as that of Kachi-bâni. Leaving aside this issue, we observe that one as_padi in Ásã, a chhant in Sûhi and about eight salokas attributed to Guru Nanak which do not appear in the Ádi Granth have found a way into it. Even an apocryphal composition, the Ratanmâla, a ha_h-yoga treatise supposed to have been authored by Guru Nanak, has also found a place in it. Similarly, one as_padi each in Ásã and Rûmkali and 15 chhants in Sri râga recorded under the authorship of Guru Amar Das, occur only in this manuscript. Significantly, 14 hymns spread over in various modes and about six salokas of apocryphal nature attributed to Guru Arjan have also been included in it. On the basis of above evidence we can very well call MS # 1245, a rich repository of apocryphal writings.

8.2. A close look at the apocryphal writings included in MS â 1245, reveals that a major portion of Kachi-bâni has been entered under the authorship of Guru Arjan. Secondly, most of the Kachi-bâni hymns do not occur in the middle of a metre or sub-section, but at the end of it. On examination, we find that their entry into the indexes has been inserted at some later

1. For the text of Kachi-bâni, see infra Appendix V.
2. Piar Singh holds that 1. a pind ki jhû lêh (Gurmati 1. 47) gûnd pûre sb, b. têmân (Gurmati 1. 57) gûnd kûrb sb, c. dhûm sb, d. dhaub sb are absent in the Guru Granth, see Gâthâ Sri Ádi Granth, pp. 156, 157, 163, 164. Similarly, Gurinder Singh Mann finds that 1. a pind ki jhû lêh (Gurmati 1. 47) is not available in the Kartârpur Pothi, see The Making of Sikh Scripture, pp. 242, 311. Actually, both the scholars have failed to observe that some of the above hymns have been recorded in the manuscript twice and even some take off from a different line than that of the AGGS: also see Amarjit Singh 'Gâthâ Sri Ádi Granth', Gurmati Parkâsh, Jan. 1993, pp. 63-70.
3. For the text of apocryphal writings attributed to M.1, see infra Appendix V.
4. Ratanmâla in it has only 18 stanzas, for its text see folio 1257.
5. For the text, see infra Appendix V.
6. For the text of these writings, see infra Appendix V.
stage. Evidently, these writings were not part of the original source on which the scribe has depended to prepare it. In his attempt to incorporate the extra-canonical writings, the scribe has not only violated the norm of musical beat (mār) but has also taken liberty to violate the pattern fixed for recording the hymns. The recording of apocrypha coupled with its being placed at the end of set pattern, substantiate that neither is it an earlier draft nor it ante-dates 1604 C.E., the year in which the Ádi Granth was codified.

8.3. What is the source or origin of these writings? Why such a large number of them have found their way into this manuscript only? Are they really the compositions of Sikh Gurus? Why have they not found acceptance with Guru Arjan to be included in the Sikh scripture? These are some of the very relevant issues to which the scholars should have addressed to themselves. Unfortunately, some of the scholars are not even aware of the existence of above-mentioned apocrypha. While analysing the antecedents of this manuscript either the above issues have been overlooked or have been explained in a very casual manner. If it is believed that it is an earlier draft, and that it had been the basis for editing the Ádi Granth, then the learned scholars should have given reasons for the absence of apocrypha from the Sikh canon. It is very incongruous to suggest that Guru Arjan first included in the so-called earlier draft the Kachi-bānī relating to his predecessors and then edited it out from the Ádi Granth. The argument that apocryphal writings relating to Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das might have been overlooked in the process of rearranging and copying by the scribe of Kartārpuri Bir, is far from convincing. It is equally absurd to state that Guru Arjan or the scribe commissioned by him first included the Kachi-bānī attributed to himself and then consciously

1. For such insertions, see indexes of Suhī and Kedārā, folios 699, 1025.
2. See supra footnote no. 2, p. 192; footnotes 2, 5, 6, p. 193.
3. Pashaura Singh has pointed out only 15 chhants of Kachi-bānī attributed to Guru Amar Das, see The Text and Meaning of the Ádi Granth, p. 9, f.n.32.
deleted it, because he was not satisfied with its poetic merit.  
Existence of apocrypha is a pointer to the fact that MS # 1245 has originated from a totally different tradition which has nothing to do with Guru Arjan.

8.4. The problem of apocrypha included in this manuscript, requires an in-depth investigation. The scriptural as well as traditional Sikh sources confirm that Guru Arjan was well-aware of the fact that some apocryphal writings were in circulation among the Sikh Sangats. He was absolutely in no doubt that who were churning them out. In all probability the Kachi-bañi hymns included in this manuscript could not find acceptance with Guru Arjan because they were not genuine and owed their origin to the dissenters' camp.

8.5.1. It is well known in Sikh history that some of the rivals of Sikh Gurus were confusing the originality of Gurbañi by churning out spurious hymns. Some apocryphal hymns included in MS # 1245 provide insight into their designs. To take stock of distortion and interpolation, a few illustrations from this manuscript will suffice it. For instance in råga Gaun lines of hymn No. 21 have been inverted to record it as: त्रै रित पुंजर त्रै रित भलू। Towards the end, the scribe intended to record an other hymn which began from अगुण लग भल अनुभु, a line of the above hymn, but has left it incomplete. Similarly, in Bhairo mode, though two hymns छठे मनह तोह भाबियाँ and खुड़ा पुढ़ निरङ्ग have been inscribed with complete text at serial No. 51 and 54 but by taking two lines त्रै ब्रह्म ब्रह्म प्रारम्भी and भवि विकलन भवि प्रारम्भ of the respective hymns, an abortive attempt has been made to record two more hymns. Evidently, the scribe has split the text of a hymn to compose a new hymn. The above contention is not wholly unfounded when we observe that Gurbañi has been used to fabricate new hymns.

2. For scriptural evidence on the issue of Kachi-bañi, see the compositions of Sikh Gurus found recorded in the AGGS, pp. 304, 920; also see Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Bansāwalināmā, p. 50; Sikhān di Bhagatmāla, pp. 131-32.
3. See the text of Gaun, folios 693, 694.
4. See the text of Bhairo, folios 1065, 1066.
8.5.2. In the Ádi Guru Granth Sãhib there are a number of hymns which depict the religio-spiritual environment of Ramdaspur, the earlier name of Amritsar. One of the hymns begins as:

\[\text{epdi fPi}\{ dnfj Zjig mm}\\ \text{f+dF fPig v'y hqjig mm}\\ \text{wdi dHlVjVp de+dh bjH}[ mm}\\ \text{bVs q}\text{>ev lpt fjH}[ mm}

But by distorting the above verses the scribe of MS # 1245 has fabricated an apocryphal hymn which starts as:

\[\text{ijqsjlfpdi uW bjH}[ mm}\\ \text{aj bV.s q}\text{>ev lpt fjH}[ mm}

8.5.3. Moreover in the epilogue section of this manuscript we come across an apocryphal saloka attributed to Guru Nanak, which has in it the following verses:

\[\text{ZVp lp wjes wvq ZVp duap dvtgb}\{ lyj VjYp mm}\\ \text{ZVp qlrjSg qlp ZVp dvtShjij lp ZVp up epiqpdt dvt}\{ VjYp mm}\\ \text{wvq uv' lSp wjes}\{ qlrjSg uv ujYp mm}\\ \text{dvtShjij lp uv' dul dhis}\[ Vjhg VjYp mm}

A keen scholar of Gurbãnì will not fail to discern that these verses have been fabricated on the basis of different strands of Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das’ compositions. At another place stanzas of an aspadì have been converted into pau¬-is and an additional apocryphal saloka have been inscribed at the beginning of each of them. Though, there are numerous examples where apocryphal writings have been juxtapositioned between the compositions of Sikh Gurus, but a saloka in the epilogue section presents the best example of such distortions. The saloka in question runs as:

\[\text{u'e V Ferg wfC}[ u'ep V q}\{v\}[ r\{dl mm}\\ \text{zdi W}\{dnbj u'e fjHgb}\{ ldaepi w}\{ Rpfs\}[l mm}\\ \text{ldaepi dqdvbj ujSgb}\{ lap f}\{V\}[ lap tjdH mm}\\ \text{lap hg bjA}\{ lda ih}\{ la\}[ lr\{ lqjdH mm}

2. See the text of \textit{Sorathi}, folio 635.
3. See \textit{salokas} surplus to the vãrs, folio 1234.
4. For example look at the compositions of Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das in the \textit{AGGS}, pp. 84, 1291.
5. For the text of apocryphal salokas, see \textit{Bilãwal}, folios 797, 798.
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION : MYTH AND REALITY

The first verse of the above saloka has been taken from a saloka of Guru Amar Das and the rest has been fabricated in the name of Guru Nanak. Attempts at forgery coupled with the inclusion of such a large number of Kachi-bânî writings, restrict us to think that MS # 1245 is a genuine product of Sikh scribal tradition. Anyway, the apocrypha composed on the lines of Gurbânî to imitate it can not prove that this manuscript is older than the Àdi Granth, rather it provides evidence to suggest that it is a later work. If we add apocrypha to the genuine writings, then the size of Sikh Gurus’ writings would turn out to be much larger than what we have in the Àdi Granth. Consequently, the standard rule of textual criticism, that "the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one" will restrain us to believe that this manuscript has its origin in the pre-Àdi Granth period i.e., 1604 C.E.

IX. RÀGAS AND TUNES

9.1. The sequence of rãgas suggests that the scribe was following a musical tradition which was different from that of the Àdi Granth. Besides, the sequence, there are some other musical features of this manuscript which have hitherto remained unnoticed. For example Nat Nãrãin (नात नाराईन) a musical mode of the Àdi Granth has been spelt in an unusual manner as Nat Narãnì (नात नाराईन). Secondly, unlike the Àdi Granth tradition the composite rãga of Parbhãtì Bibhãs (परभाती विभाष) has been inscribed simply as Parbhãtì. Except one, the majority of the hymns in Basant, have been divorced from its Hìdol form. Significantly, two hymns of Basant mode have been entered under Hidol (हिदौल) only. Perhaps in the musical tradition of the scribe Parbhãtì’s Bibhãs mode did not exit. Likewise, Basant Hidol was not one but two different modes of music. The index

1. See salokas surus to the vārs, folio 1235.
2. AGGS, pp. 1420-21.
3. See the index of rãga Nat Narain, folio 661.
4. Confer the index and text of Parbhãtì, folios 1209-1227.
5. For the modes of Basant, see folios 1072-1088, 1088, 1088-1089.
of Gaunt mode has been inscribed as उद्वन्द गांट विस्तृत्ति भरूँ. It again indicates that probably in the musical tradition of the MS # 1245, Gaunt and Bilâwal were identical or closely related modes. Significantly, contrary to the Àdi Granth, Guru Nanak's Onkãr composition does not carry in its title the term of Dakhni, a mode of Rãmkali. Similarly, the beat of Dhamãl (Zqjv{ wg yjvg) which does not occur anywhere in the Àdi Granth, has been indicated for singing. We have already observed that scores of hymns recorded in this manuscript begin from a different line than that of the Àdi Granth. These variations were also due to the musicians, who have brought innovations to take off a hymn for singing in their own style. Even some of the hymns have been recorded in more than one rāga which again suggest that in the musical tradition of the scribe, practice to sing such hymns in two different modes was prevalent. Addition of vocatives such as जे and ले are pointer to the fact that the scribe or musicians associated with him have introduced modifications in the text to suit their musical requirements.

9.2. Though, in the Àdi Granth nine vãrs of different modes of various authors have been assigned dhunnìs (tunes indicating the musical style for singing), yet in the indexes of MS # 1245, seven vãrs have been referred with their dhunnìs. For example:

i) (आईण्ड्र बी) बस मलेक राजस्र भाषां 5 वरिश्व स्वरूप तिं भए चरण चो बस ली यूटी (folio 160).

ii) (आण्डर बी) बस मलेक राजस्र भाषां 9 दुरुप अशलयूँ ची यूटी (folio 343).

iii) बस गुणली ची मलेक ताति भाषां 3 मिश्रित कविलियूँ ची यूटी (folio 457).

iv) (बडीह बी) बस मलेक राजस्र भाषां 4 चंग बनिलियूँ ची यूटी (folio 523).

v) मलेक बी बस मलेक राजस्र भाषां 8 वरिश्व भाने उरली ची यूटी (folio 1097).

1. See the index of Gaunt, folio 685.
2. See Rãmkali, folio 867.
3. See the text of Bilâwal, folio 797.
4. For details see infra section 12.5 chap. 4.
5. The vãrs whose dhunnìs have been dropped are as: Vâr Mâjh kì M. 1 and Rãmkali kì Vâr M. 3.
206 EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

vi) (अटव वी) बच अस्र 9 महेंद्र राजसं करे बैलम मध्य भक्ति की पूर्ति (folio 1150).

vii) (वरटड़े वी) बच महेंद्र राजसं ह 4 भक्ति की बच की पूर्ति (folio 1184).

Naturally, the dhunnis mentioned in the indexes should have been inscribed in the text as well but except two, all the dhunnis have been dropped.¹ Their mention in the text also occurs somewhat differently. For example:

i) बच बचम 9 महेंद्र राजसं 4 
   भक्ति की पूर्ति (folio 551).

ii) बच अस्र 9 महेंद्र राजसं ह 4 
   भक्ति की पूर्ति (folio 1171).

Whether the omission of dhunnis was due to the arbitrariness of the scribe or a deliberate act on his part? In Pashaura Singh's view around mid 17th century, Mughal officials were not only successful to create dissensions, but also prevailed upon certain groups within the Panth to remove the dhunnis from the text of the Àdi Granth. Subsequently, Lahore recension of the Àdi Granth emerged in which disapproving Guru Hargobind's policy of armed confrontation, dhunnis of vãrs came to be dropped.² If it is true then MS # 1245 belongs to a period when debate within the Panth over the use of dhunnis with the vãrs has not yet been settled. Anyway, partial mention of dhunnis coupled with above-mentioned musical variants associate MS # 1245 to a musical tradition which was not only unusual but distinct from the musical tradition of the Àdi Granth.

X. NÁSÂN

10.1. While offering MS # 1245 for sale to the University, the manuscript dealers have appended a note claiming that on fourth folio it enshrines Nisân penned by Guru Hargobind.³ It seems to enhance its antique value they have associated it with the sixth Guru, but in reality the orthographical features of the Nisân, prove it to be of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The Nisân in question

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¹ Piar Singh's statement that MS # 1245 in its index carries reference to the dhunni of Vãr Rãmkali M. 3, is totally unfounded, see Gãthã Srî Àdi Granth, p. 162; also see MS # 1245, folio 819.
³ For the note of manuscript dealers, see infra Appendix I.
comprises the *Mul-Mantra* which has been inscribed on a separate piece of paper and has been pasted on the illuminated folio. Significantly, the colour and quality of paper on which the said *Nisān* is recorded, match with the paper of MS # 1245. Perhaps, it was not an integral part of the manuscript and has come to occupy its present place in the manuscript at some later stage of its history. Whether it is the handiwork of the scribe, the custodian or the dealer? It is very difficult to be explained satisfactorily. Considering the sanctity and status accorded to the *Nisān* of Sikh Gurus, it should have been placed on the opening folio. Normally, it should have got precedence over the so-called hymn attributed to Baba Buddha. Since, it has been introduced later on, consequently its mere presence in the manuscript is of little merit to associate the scribe with the main stream of Sikhism. The scholars who consider MS # 1245 of an earlier origin, have failed to visualize the problem as to why the scribe or custodian failed to get the *Nisān* of an earlier Guru contemporary to him. If it has been prepared by Guru Arjan or the scribe commissioned by him then it could have preserved the *Nisān* of fifth or the sixth Master. Ironically, it did not happen, which puts a big question mark on the manuscript having originated from Guru Arjan. Though, to ascertain the antecedents of this manuscript, the *Nisān* is of very limited value, yet it pushes forward its compilation to the period of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

XI. ALLEGED HAND OF BABA BUDDHA

11.1. As remarked earlier the manuscript dealers have claimed in their note that on the third decorated folio, it contains a hymn written in the hand of Baba Buddha, a venerable Sikh of the earlier Gurus who continued to serve them up to Guru Hargobind. The text of the hymn relates to a *saloka* of Guru Amar Das which also occurs in *Vār Bīhāgarā* of Guru Ram Das included in this manuscript.1 On close scrutiny, we find that recorded on a separate folio, it has been pasted on the above said folio.2 On the

1. The text of the *saloka* in question is as:

```devanagari
इश्वरिः पुरुष तेवरिः मरी मरा अहंरिः अल्लाहिः कुरीरिः इमामिः
सर्फ़ अल्लापे जाधिरे जाँड़ सारे अभिमापे द्रिविदिम् द्रिविदिम्
```
testimony of dealers note, some scholars have established Baba Buddha and his descendant's close connection with it. They assume that after preparing it Guru Arjan placed it in the custody of Baba Buddha and his descendants may have preserved it as a scriptural relic through the process of handing it over to next generations.\(^2\) On the other hand, Baba Darshan Singh, the present incumbent on the seat of Baba Buddha at Bir Sahib, Amritsar, as well as Baba Buddha's descendants at village Ramdas, district Amritsar, vehemently deny the above story that neither Baba Buddha has handed down such a manuscript to their ancestors nor anyone in their line has ever given away such a document to anybody.\(^3\) However, to arrive at their contrived thesis some of the scholars still insist that the family of Baba Buddha had lost memory of this manuscript a long time ago, perhaps when they disposed of the manuscript due to its incomplete nature.\(^4\) However, the fact remains that there is no internal or external evidence to suggest that Baba Buddha was in anyway connected with the recording and preservation of MS \(\textcircled{1245}\).

11.2. As usual the manuscript dealers, in their attempt to prove its antiquity and extract a maximum price for it, have fabricated the story to associate it with Baba Buddha. Since, the above notion finds no validity in any source of Sikh history, consequently to conclude on the face value of their note that MS

\begin{quote}
\textit{स्त्रक्षित निशान द्वारा द्वारा पुरा वर्णन हिस्सा केवल है}

\textit{स्त्रक्षित निशान द्वारा पुरा वर्णन हिस्सा केवल है}
\end{quote}

It again occurs in \textit{Bihâgre ki Vâr}, (M.4), folio 515.

1. To examine the writings beneath it on May 12, 1997, I again visited the Rare Book Section of the G.N.D. University library and was astonished to find that the folios bearing the Nisân and alleged handwritings of Baba Buddha were not present in the manuscript. The University staff managing the above section was totally at loss to explain the disappearance of above folios.

2. See supra footnote no. 5, p. 184.

3. To verify the fact, on April 13, 1997, I personally visited Sardar Uttam Singh (84 years old), village head (Nambardâr) of Ramdas, district Amritsar, whose ancestors for the last five generations have been managing the shrine in the village, associated with the birth of Baba Buddha and his descendants; also see Bhai Khan Singh Nabha, \textit{Mahân Kosh}, p. 881; ‘Blasphemous Attacks’, \textit{ASS}, Jan. 1993, p. 16.

4. See supra footnote no. 5, p. 184.
# 1245 has preserved the hymn recorded in the hand of Baba Buddha or it has been in the custody of his descendants, is highly unrealistic and illogical as well.

**XII. TEXTUAL VARIANTS**

12.1. A close perusal of the text of MS # 1245, confirms that it is replete with various type of variants. On the basis of certain variants some scholars have come to the conclusion that text of this manuscript belongs to an earlier strata, which subsequently has been revised into the final version of the *Adi Granth*. Before we discuss it, let us have a look into the nature of textual variants found in it.

12.2. On close examination, one can not fail to take note that the text of MS # 1245, differs in various aspects from that of the *Adi Granth*. For example, the writings of the medieval *Bhagats* and *Sufis* as well, have been excluded from it. Except the panegyrics of Kalh or Kalasahar no other panegyrist has found favour with its scribe. Similarly, the vār of Satta and Balwand in Rāmkāli mode has been deliberately omitted from the text. As remarked earlier existence of apocryphal writings is another significant feature of this manuscript. About 38 compositions of *Kachī-bānī* attributed to M.1, M.3 and M.5 which form part of it, have found no place in the *Adi Granth*. The text of some compositions especially stanza No. 26 and 27 of Ånandu M. 3 in Rāmkāli mode is quite at variance with the text recorded in the *Adi Granth*. For example:

*AGGS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGGS</th>
<th>MS # 1245</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>निम्न मदरद। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अप्य। युजु। वदुः।</td>
<td>निम्न मदरद। अप्य। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अप्य। युजु। वदुः।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तुतू। वदुः। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अप्य। युजु। वदुः।</td>
<td>तुतू। वदुः। अप्य। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अप्य। युजु। वदुः।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तुतू। वदुः। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अप्य। युजु। वदुः।</td>
<td>तुतू। वदुः। अप्य। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अन्धि हिदमद। वे वदु। अप्य। युजु। वदुः।</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Besides, there are about 12 hymns attributed to the Sikh Gurus on which the scribe of MS #1245 disagrees with the Ádi Granth over the issue of their authorship.\(^1\) About 68 compositions attributed to M. 1, M. 3 and M. 5 enshrined in the Ádi Granth, are absent in the text of MS #1245.\(^2\) Though, there are over 170 compositions whose text is of incomplete nature, yet instances of lines, verses or stanzas missing in the text of MS #1245 are not uncommon. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS # 1245</th>
<th>Missing Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i) Gaurí, M.5, chaup. 78, folio 203.</td>
<td>पवनुभव उनी मदनग्राही</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Májh M.5, chaup. 1, folio 107.</td>
<td>रुद्रु पोली सीधु अंदिर तमाही</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(AGGS, p. 195)

1. See supra section 4.1 chap. 4.
2. See infra Appendix III.
iii) Gujri ki Vär M.3, pau- i 7 saloka M.3(1), folio 477.

iv) Sorathi M.5, chaup. 58, folio 628.

v) Kaliyān M.4 ast. 3, folio 658.

vi) Suhī M.1, chaup. 6 folio 701.

vii) Bilāwal M.3, Vār Satu, folio 801.

viii) Bilāwal M.3, Vār Satu, folio 802.

ix) Bilāwal ki Vār M.4, pauri 12, folio 814.

x) Bilāwal ki Vār M.4, pauri 12, saloka M.3(2)

xi) Rāmkali ki Vār, M.5, pauri 19, saloka M.5, folio 904.

xii) Māru Solhe M.5 (वगचन मड़ श्रृङ विपणने), folio 998.

xiii) Māru Solhe M.5 (उपवर्मण मड़ श्रृङ विपणने), folio 1000.

xiv) Swayye Guru Arjan ke (Kalh Bhatt), folio 1266.
All these facts suggest that the *Adi Granth* and MS # 1245 do not share a common tradition rather they have descended from different sources. It also indicates that MS # 1245 is in no way ancestral to the *Adi Granth*, otherwise the text that we have in addition to it in the Sikh scripture would not have been possible.

12.3. Another distinctive feature of MS # 1245 is the headings which have been ascribed to various rāgas, their index, authors and their compositions. For example:

i) उजवल नृत्य रचना वा प्रभाव वें रंगू (folio 39)
ii) मूँ रचना भाषा वा प्रभाव वें रंगू (folio 89)
iii) उजवल भाषा वा प्रभाव वें रंगू (folio 340)
iv) उजवल नृत्य रचना रंगू निरंजन (folio 661)
v) उजवल नृत्य रचना निरंजन वा प्रभाव वें रंगू (folio 679)
vi) उजवल नृत्य रचना रंगू निरंजन वा (folio 685)
vii) सन्त झूठ मूँ झूठ भाषा 6 (folio 737)
viii) मंद मंद स्रवण वर्ण (folio 819)
ix) नृत्य रचना वा प्रभाव वें रंगू (folio 867)
x) भाषा लिख भाषा 5 खंडटे (folio 1094)
xi) मसेव बाण से वचन भाषा 6 (folio 1232)
xii) मसेव बाण से वचन भाषा 3 (folio 1236)
xiii) मसेव बाण से वचन भाषा 4 (folio 1244)
xiv) मसेव समाधिऴि वे (folio 1249)
xv) मसेव तेज अंदर से वचन रंगू वीरे (folio 1264)
xvi) मसेव तेज अंदर से (folio 1265)
xvii) मसेव तेज अंदर से वें (folio 1266)
xviii) मसेव तेज अंदर से वें भाषण भाषणेवें (folio 1263)

All the above-mentioned titles are quite unusual and none of them has found acceptance in the *Adi Granth*. Since Guru Arjan has never referred to himself in a manner as described in the last of the above titles thus to associate him with the compilation of this manuscript is totally unbelievable. At the same time some
of the titles such as:

i) उवज्ज उवज्ज वा
ii) उवज्ज मवण वा
iii) सध दृध कोणम सौहि बिधा समधूक्त वा रतवहु
iv) भाष भाषण प चिरि चैदि
v) अर्जुनी पुवकी सीवोकी भवण १
vi) पत्रभद्री भवद्री भवण १
vii) मुणी भवण १ वचनी
viii) भवभ भवभण ४

found recorded in the old manuscripts of the Àdi Granth are absent in MS # 1245. It points to the fact that both the sources do not owe their origin to a single source rather represent different recensions.

12.4. There is another category of variants that relates to the internal arrangement or organization of a rãga. Instead of comparing its internal structure with the index of any other manuscript or vice-versa, a comparative study of MS # 1245’s index with its own text, produces very useful and interesting results. As pointed out earlier there are numerous anomalies between the index and text of this manuscript. While recording the text the scribe has not strictly adhered to the pattern fixed in the index position.1 We observe that the index of so many râgas, instead of corresponding to its text, follows the Àdi Granth. Such variants in the arrangement of the index, indicate scribe's dependence on another source viz., the Àdi Granth, which severely undermines its claim of earlier origin.

12.5. On the basis of this manuscript it has been remarked that in the final version of the Àdi Granth not only have the verses of some hymns been altered but their refrain (इहरहो) has also been tampered with.2 To supplement the above contention, Guru Arjan's hymns in Tilang mode have been quoted very liberally.3 As no manuscript antedates 1604 C.E., consequently there is no other source to test the validity of the above hypothesis. Unfortunately, the scholars have ignored the vital

1. see footnote no. 2, p. 192 and footnote no. 6, p. 193.
3. Ibid., pp. 118-125.
Folio 619 of MS # 1245 depicting the index position of the hymns in Tilang mode. For a discussion on it, see p. 215.
internal evidence found in the index, which is very significant
to check the authenticity of text. A comparison of the index and
the text position of Guru Arjan's hymns in Tilang mode is very
revealing. For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. धन्व तुम्ह बहुध आसक्त चूलीर</td>
<td>1. धन्व तुम्ह बहुध आसक्त चूलीर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. धूर निदु धुम रुपो बैठि</td>
<td>2. सब्र दुर्खित गुरुवाल रुपाजन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. वहं वबुरे भाषायभ</td>
<td>3. तिलंक बनित तिलंक दिलंक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. भीमचन्द दिल संध</td>
<td>4. वरद लबरे भआयभ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. दिलंक जूक वीरज मकरणी</td>
<td>5. ने लील मान वक मकरण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. x</td>
<td>6. लील से पेपर मारविश</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. x</td>
<td>7. तिलंक जूक वीरज मकरणी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above study proves that Guru Arjan's hymn No. 2 in the index of Tilang mode has been entered as तुम्ह बहुध आसक्त चूलीर, whereas
in the text it takes off from another line सब्र दुर्खित गुरुवाल रुपाजन. Similarly the third hymn in the index begins with वहं वबुरे भाषायभ
but in the text at No. 4, it starts with वरद लबरे भआयभ. Again
the fourth hymn in the index has been recorded as भीमचन्द दिल संध
but in the text it has been placed at No. 6 and starts with लील से पेपर मारविश. Another hymn of M.5 (तिलंक बनित तिलंक दिलंक) is available in the text of Tilang at serial No. 3, but its entry into
the index has been omitted. Now it is crystal clear that the text
of Tilang mode does not conform to its index. On the other hand,
it is very significant that index lines of Tilang follow the Adi Granth
version. It is evident that the scribe of MS # 1245 has altered the
position of hymns as well as the order of verses of the hymns in
the text. It helps us to determine what the original reading was
which the scribe has altered to produce his singular reading.

Consequently, the allegation that Guru Arjan has reversed the
order of verses of hymns in the Adi Granth, is absolutely unfounded
and uncalled for. This fact becomes even more pronounced when
we compare the index lines of the other rāgas with their text. We
come across numerous instances where the text of a hymn does
not take off from its index line. For example:

Although, the index lines mentioned in the above table are

1. For comparison of the index and text of Tilang mode, see folios 679, 681
2. Ibid., folios 679, 682.
3. Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāga</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Index line</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Folio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>नी</td>
<td>र. 5</td>
<td>नर विद्वानां नीर्द्र भिन्न</td>
<td>नर विद्वानां भिन्न</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भ्रष्ट</td>
<td>र. 4</td>
<td>निक्नु निक्नु निमोढोम समजोती समा प्रभालिं दण्डोती</td>
<td>(भाग. 4)</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>तयिन सम्प तय योद्ध</td>
<td>तयिन सम्प तय योद्ध</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गंगेजी</td>
<td>र. 4</td>
<td>संजोज वीरज वीर्य सिक्कन</td>
<td>पौड़िक मसान निमुन</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>दुध मेघसार सम्प सुध समस्त</td>
<td>दुध मेघसार</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गंगेजी</td>
<td>र. 5</td>
<td>कृष्ण रवि बवि में</td>
<td>विन्ध विन्ध कृष्ण देख</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ता जताइंट जताष दत्ति</td>
<td>(चृं. 31)</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>सम बवछ चर्चिंड चर्चिंड चर्चिंड</td>
<td>(चृं. 14)</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>तन तर पुच तर तर हिमिति</td>
<td>तन तर पुच तर हिमिति</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>सन हो इश्वर सभित्व इश्वर</td>
<td>अवश्य हो पुंदरिक विकावो</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>दुध नम तिक तमस</td>
<td>माफ़ उसी कुटूट हिमिति</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>तम वे भेसु पूरा भरो</td>
<td>से से विज्ञाप नम वज</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>हुस समझौल हुस मध</td>
<td>मूर्तिसार हुस है खुच</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>दक्षिणा सुपपीत्व भूतक</td>
<td>वह विध भविति सम सीढ़न</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>भूल भेक तंखिय तभन</td>
<td>तभ (भाग. 10)</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>बागावत उदाह तेज उंटी</td>
<td>जस उंटी मुर जिखिएर</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अप्रम</td>
<td>र. 4</td>
<td>तु बुधज माधवन मेठन</td>
<td>मम तु बुधज माधवन</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अप्रम</td>
<td>र. 5</td>
<td>तुम्हारं प्रेम महाद</td>
<td>(चृं. 2)</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>सर ती पैल मकरी</td>
<td>पाँचलिखिष्ठ पाँचलिखिष्ठ</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
identical to the *Adi Granth*, yet the text in the manuscript has been started from a different line. It is very obvious that index lines have come from an original source i.e., the *Adi Granth*, but in the text the scribe has brought various innovations. Evidently, difference in the index lines and text confirms that variants in the text of MS # 1245 are due to the scribe's innovation or arbitrariness. On the basis of above variants to conclude that Guru Arjan has modified the text in the final version, is not based on facts.

12.6. Some hymns of the manuscript have been recorded in more
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

than one mode. For instance, there is a hymn in Suhì which has been repeated in Tilang also. Though, information to take it to Suhì has been provided in the margin, yet it has been argued that since the language and style of Tilang hymns of Guru Arjan presupposes a Muslim audience, consequently it has been shifted to Suhì, where it fits well with the preceding hymns of Guru Nanak. Significantly a Dhanāsari hymn of Guru Ram Das has also been repeated in Tilang. Why has it been shifted to Dhanāsari? No explanation is forthcoming. Similarly, an apocryphal hymn in Tilang attributed to Mahalà 5, does not fit well in the Tilang hymns, linguistically and thematically, yet it has not been taken to any other mode. Actually, the variants resulting from the hymns recorded in more than one rāga are also due to the scribe or musicians associated with him. It is highly probable that in the musical tradition of the scribe, the hymns which have been recorded in duplicate were sung in more than one musical mode.

12.7 On close scrutiny, we observe that the scribe has brought in several modifications which are of a musicological nature and intentional as well. Replacement of syllables and phrases with alternatives or synonyms is not uncommon. Sometimes they have been dropped altogether. For instance, there is a hymn of Guru Arjan in Sri rāga where in the text jīo has been dropped but in the index it is extant. Similarly in a Mājh hymn attributed to Mahalà 5, prītam has been brought in place of mīt. Instances of reshuffling of the text not only within a hymn but even in a line are also available. The scribe likes to recall a saloka as akhnā. At places he has not only introduced various fillers but has added, etc., as vocatives, simply to add flavour to the music. He has converted the stanzas of an as_padi into pau~īs. Similarly,

1. See supra footnote 4, 5 and 6, p. 198.
3. For the text of hymn in question, see infra Appendix V.
4. See index and text of Sri rāga, folios 42, 92.
5. See index and text of Mājh, folios 105, 113.
6. For example, see the text of Gau~ī ki Vār, M.5, folios 323-324, 327 and text of Jaitsari ki Vār, M.5, folios 598-602.
contrary to the Ádi Granth tradition, the beat or tune of Dhamãl for singing has been indicated.² Such variants indicate that the text of MS # 1245 has developed in close proximity to a musical tradition, hence the musicians associated with the scribe have brought in modifications to suit their requirements. Therefore, to conclude that Guru Arjan has modified the text in final version, is not justified by facts.

12.8. The text of the Japuji is full of variants. Some of the variants viz., यप्य, विप्य, दयप्य, दयप्य, वद्यप्य, दयप्य, वद्यप्य, दयप्य, वद्यप्य, दयप्य etc., said to be colloquial expressions, in fact have come to exist due to the dialectal bias or habits of the scribe. Similarly, some of the variants, such as मै, जॉ, जॉ etc., have been brought in as fillers to serve the purpose of vocatives. Yet another category of variants viz., खिउ (खैौ), खिबिद (खिबिद), मुख्य (मुख्य), अनुमू (अनुमू) etc., are scribal mistakes which have crept into it due to casualness on the part of scribe. The text of Japujì of this manuscript resembles closely the version used by Harji for his Japu Parmãrth.³ It is important to note that most of the old manuscripts of the Ádi Granth have preserved a note, namely तप तप वक्षण मोहील तपास मुक्त स्वम्भू तरास which helps us to establish the pedigree or anteriority of a manuscript. But in the case of MS # 1245, it is totally missing. Absence of the above note coupled with its common variants with the Japu Parmârthu of Harji, clearly indicate that the text of Japujì recorded in MS # 1245 has not come from the main Sikh scribal tradition. Consequently, to conclude on the basis of this manuscript that Guru Arjan has modified the language of the Japujì, is not borne out by facts.

12.9. A close perusal of MS # 1245 reveals that its text is full of musicological variants. We note that its sequence of rãgas does not conform to the Ádi Granth pattern. Unlike the Ádi Granth music tradition, the composite mode of Parbhãtì Bibhãs (परभाती बिहास) has found no mention in MS # 1245. Contrary to the Sikh

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1. Confer Sri rāga chhants of M.1 and M.4, folio 42 and Gau~ì M.1, hymn No. 19, folio 166.
2. See the text of Bìlãwal, folio 797.
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

tradition the Basant mode hymns in it, do not carry any reference to Basantu Hindol (बासन्त हिंडोल). Similarly, the hymns which have been recorded in the Dakhani modes of the Àdi Granth, namely Bilâval Chhant Dakhani (बिलावल चंट दखानी), Mâru Solhe Dakhani (मारू सोल्हे दखानी), Parbhâti Dakhani (परभाती दखानी) do not find any room in MS # 1245. A chhant in the Àdi Granth has been recorded under Gauri (गौरी) mode whereas MS à 1245 has referred to it under the Gau~ì Poorbi (गाउँ-पूर्वी) mode. In comparison to the Àdi Granth indication to partâl (पटल) and kãfi (काफी) have been omitted in it. Instances of hymns recorded in more than one rãga are also present. There are so many hymns which take off from a different line than that of the Àdi Granth. The Àdi Granth has preserved some tunes for singing such as:

i) गौरी धैर्य तृण भरे वे हंद वे भवि (AGGS, p. 203)
ii) गौरा भरा व विहन्दे भरा व हंद व भवि (Ibid., p. 431)
iii) विहन्दे भरा व जागत्री वे भवि (Ibid., p. 802)

The above-mentioned tunes are quite absent in the text of MS #1245, whereas its tune जागत्री वे चंट has found no entry in the Àdi Granth. All these facts indicate that as far as musicology is concerned, the text of MS # 1245 represents a musical tradition which is quite different than that of the Àdi Granth. In fact separate index appended at the outset of each rãga coupled with its scribe’s scheme to record the folio numbers of hymns in the index suggest that it has been prepared for the musicians to use it in an easy manner.

XIII. MS # 1245 VIS-A-VIS THE GOINDWAL POTHÁS

13.1. On the basis of a few common variants it has been suggested that the text of MS # 1245 represents an inter-mediar stage between the Goindwal Pothis and the Àdi Granth. It has been reiterated that "the preparation of this earlier draft was based
MS # 1245 : MYTH OF AN EARLY DRAFT RECONSIDERED

upon the Goindwal Pothis". According to Gurinder Singh Mann, "It seems likely that the GNDU Pothis was copied directly from the Goindwal Pothis and then used as a source for the Kartarpur Pothis". On close examination, we find that these are the general statements whose veracity does not stand the test of comparative analysis. For example:

i) The sequence of rāgas of MS # 1245 does not conform to that of the Goindwal Pothis.

ii) The pattern of arrangement of hymns within the rāga sub-sections is not the same in both the sources.

iii) The modes of rāgas employed in the Goindwal Pothis, especially the composite ones, namely मुरुंजी च्याटीठ मुरुंजी सिंघुजट ्राकोडी सुराजी च्याटीठ सुराजी च्याटीठ देलुई च्याटीठ देलुई च्याटीठ देलुई पाँझ भ्रु बाधुपद्ध बाधुपद्ध च्याटीठ च्याटीठ etc., have not found any mention in MS # 1245.

iv) The tunes mentioned for singing in the Goindwal Pothis, such as भार भार भार भार भार भार भार भार भार भार भार भार, have found no reference in MS # 1245.

v) The text of a rāga in the Goindwal Pothis invariably begins with full form of invocation, whereas the scribe of MS # 1245 has not adhered to the above practice.

vi) The headings or titles ascribed to various rāgas, authors and compositions of the Goindwal Pothis, have found no place in MS # 1245.

vii) The Kachi-bāni writings attributed to M.1 and M.4 that form part of Tilang and Dhanāsari modes respectively of the Goindwal Pothis, have not found their way into MS # 1245, the so-called earlier draft.

viii) Contrary to the tradition of the Goindwal Pothis, the scribe of MS # 1245, has dropped almost all the writings of medieval Bhagats from its text.

ix) The compositions of Gulam Sada Sewak penned under the chhāp of 'Nanik' which form part of the Goindwal Pothis, have found no acceptance with the scribe of MS # 1245.

2. Ibid., p. 157.
4. For the text of hymns in question see, Ahīyāpur Pothis, folios 127, 184.
There are about 12 hymns of the Sikh Gurus on which both the sources differ over the issue of their authorship. 2
The text of Anandu of M.3 in Rāmkali mode and its arrangement is quite at variance in both the sources. 3
There are a number of hymns whose text takes off differently in both the sources. 4
Besides the vārs, over 70 hymns of M.1 and M.3 which form part of various rāgas of MS # 1245, are absent in the corresponding rāgas of the Goindwal Pothis. 5
13.2. These are some of the most prominent features which set apart both the sources from one and another. This evidence cannot be ignored in any manner to establish a relationship, if any, between the Goindwal Pothis and MS # 1245. The very presence of these variants indicates that MS # 1245 has not descended from the Goindwal Pothis. However, inorder to satisfy the inquisitive mind that whether the text of MS # 1245 has been copied directly from the Goindwal Pothis or not, a comparative study of the text which is peculiar to these two documents will suffice our purpose. Firstly, we take into account a Kachi-bāni composition (जिकर संग्रह भगवान) which occurs only in these two sources. 6 On comparison, we observe that its text in both the sources instead of being identical carries a number of variants such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Ahīyāpur Pothi</th>
<th>MS # 1245</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सत्सुर</td>
<td>सत्सुर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>पञ्चवाणि</td>
<td>पञ्चवाणि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>भगी</td>
<td>भगी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>तेरि</td>
<td>तेरि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>तरोपटांच</td>
<td>तरोपटांच</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>वे</td>
<td>वे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>तरोपटांच</td>
<td>तरोपटांच</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>पीरि</td>
<td>पीरि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. For the writings of Gulam, see supra Appendix IV, chap. 3.
2. For differences over the authorship compare Appendix I, chap. 3; also see supra 4.1, chap. 4.
3. For the text of stanza No. 26 and 27 of MS # 1245, see supra 12.2, chap. 4; also see Gurinder Singh Mann, Goīnvāl Pothis, pp. 185-86.
4. Compare Appendix II, chap. 3; also see supra 12.3, chap. 4.
5. See supra Appendix III, chap. 3.
6. Ahīyāpur Pothi, folios 30-32: MS # 1245, folio 748.
13.3. The above study confirms that in a 24 lines text as much as 35 variants relating to spellings, syllables and phrases have crept into the text of MS # 1245. Similar is the case with another hymn (संघ उध बा खेल बेलरू) which has been attributed to M.3 in both the sources. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Ahiyāpur Pothi</th>
<th>MS # 1245</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>बेलरू</td>
<td>बेलरू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>सेवैं</td>
<td>सेवैं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>रुपैं</td>
<td>रुपैं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>सेवैं</td>
<td>सेवैं</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Ahiyāpur Pothi</th>
<th>MS # 1245</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>रुपैं</td>
<td>रुपैं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>सेवैं</td>
<td>सेवैं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>बेलरू</td>
<td>बेलरू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>बेलरू</td>
<td>बेलरू</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is evident, as many as 18 variants are present in the text of above hymn. There is absolutely no doubt that the result of study carried out into the relation of other compositions would be different. It is crystal clear that the spellings, syllables and phrases employed to record the text in both the sources are quite at variance. Such a high degree of textual variants, restrains us to conclude that the text of MS # 1245 has been copied directly from the Goindwal Pothis.

XIV. MS # 1245 VIS-A-VIS THE ĀDI GRAÂTH

14.1. Recently, in order to reconstruct the history of the Sikh text a genealogy or chronology between the sources has been established. Consequently, it has been concluded that MS # 1245 is not only a direct copy of the Goindwal Pothis but it has also served as a source for the Ādi Granth.¹ It has also been remarked that the text of MS # 1245 provides an earlier form of the Sikh text which has been modified by Guru Arjan in the final version i.e., the Ādi Granth.² Whether the above-mentioned three sources are linked to each other? Have they descended in a fashion as discerned by the critics? Did Guru Arjan really modify the received text? These are very contentious issues which can not be addressed in a better way than the

¹. Gurinder Singh Mann, The Making of Sikh Scripture, p. 87.
comparison of the corresponding text in these sources. For the scholars who are interested in textual criticism, a study into the variants found in a Tilang mode hymn (जब जबम जलम) of Guru Nanak promises interesting results. For example in the text of hymn in question we come across the variants such as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Ahiyapur Pothi</th>
<th>MS # 1245</th>
<th>Adi Granth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>दिव</td>
<td>जाबिर</td>
<td>प्रभ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>न्द्र</td>
<td>न्द्र</td>
<td>ठाँड़</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>रह</td>
<td>ठाँड़</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>उरमी</td>
<td>उरमी</td>
<td>उरमी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>सिस</td>
<td>सिस</td>
<td>सिस</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भ</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भ</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>भ</td>
<td>भ</td>
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</table>
14.2. The above study confirms that nearly 54 variants have crept into the text of above hymn. The presence of such a large number of variants coupled with variant readings reveal that neither the text of MS # 1245 is a direct copy of the Goindwal Pothis nor it has been a source for the Adi Granth. Besides one can not fail to take note that the fifth line of the above hymn is missing in the text of MS # 1245, whereas the Goindwal Pothis and the Adi Granth have preserved it. It refutes the claim that MS # 1245 provides an earlier form of the text.

14.3. Another hymn of Guru Nanak in Dhanasari mode also promises very interesting study. Its corresponding text in the sources under discussion has been recorded in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Ahiyapur Pothi</th>
<th>MS # 1245</th>
<th>Adi Granth</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
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<td>ਹਿਨਦੀ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A careful reading of the above three versions, reveals that a number of textual variants relating to spellings and syllables have found their way into the text of MS # 1245. It is worth-noting that its scribe has added a phrase towards the end of first two antras, whereas it is absent in the text of Goindwal Pothis and Adi Granth as well. The above modification in the text of MS # 1245 relates to musicology which has been brought in by the scribe to serve the purpose of singing. Since it is absent in the Goindwal Pothis, thus, its mere presence in the text of MS a 1245 does not help in any way that Guru Arjan has been revising the text in the final version. The textual variants present in the text of MS # 1245, prove that neither its text is a direct copy of the Goindwal Pothis nor it has been a basis for the Adi Granth. We can very safely state that the above three

1. Emphasis is mine which refers to the variants that are not present either in the Ahiyapur Pothi or the AGGS.
sources have not descended one after the other rather represent three different recensions of the Sikh tradition.

XV. MĀL-MAÅTRA

15.1. In MS # 1245 the shorter as well as full form of invocation has been employed. Whereas the full form of Mul-Mantra has been used very sparingly, the shorter one occurs frequently at the head of indexes, ragas and various sub-sections. The full form is quite distinct from the present version found recorded in the Adi Guru Granth Sahib. Though, the authenticity of the Goidwal Pothis is highly vulnerable on many counts, yet some scholars feel that the Mul-Mantra found recorded in them represents its earlier form. Without any sound evidence they have also come to assume that earlier form of Mul-Mantra first witnessed change in the hands of Guru Ram Das and later Guru Arjan worked over its text in successive drafts to give it its final form. Since MS # 1245 has been at the centre of the above formulations, consequently to analyse the issue we have to look at the various versions of Mul-Mantra found recorded in it. The full form of invocation which is available at six places throughout the whole manuscript, has the following four different versions:

i) Ḍīv dVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg 

ii) Ḍīv dVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg 

iii) Ḍīv dVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg 

iv) Ḍīv dVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg ḍijvg qVijqg 

The short form found inscribed at various places also has the

3. It is found recorded at the beginning of Japuji and Gauri mode, see folios 27, 160.
4. It is available at the head of raga Ása, folio 344.
5. It occurs at the head of Onkar M.1 in Ramkali, folio 867.
6. It has been inscribed at the head of chart of death-dates, folio 1255.
following four different forms:

v) 16th Māhāvaṃśa Pātramārgī
vii) 16th Māhāvaṃśa Pātramārgī
viii) 16th Māhāvaṃśa

15.2. An examination of the above versions confirms that the scribe has not adhered to a uniform pattern of invocation, instead he has been modifying it arbitrarily. Even, some of the very significant components of the Mul-Mantra, namely Akal Murti (अकल मूर्ति) and Parsadi (परस्पृशी) have been dropped from it once and twice, respectively (see above iii and iv). These are scribal variants which can be intentional as well as unintentional. Anyway, on the basis of above variants it would not be advisable to conclude that original Mul-Mantra was devoid of Akal Murti (अकल मूर्ति) and Parsadi (परस्पृशी) or Guru Arjan intended to drop them from his final version.

15.3. The most distinctive variant in the above two versions is Satiguru Parsadi (सतिगुरू पारस्पृशी) which has been brought in place of Gur Parsadi (गुर पारस्पृशी). It indicates that instead of God, the scribe desired to lay stress upon the grace of the personal Guru. Reference to Sri Satiguru (स्री सतिगुरू) or Satiguru (सतिगुरू) reflects the scribe’s bias for the personal Guru, which points towards his sectarian connection. Significantly, emphasis on मूर्ति Māhāvaṃśa or Māhāvaṃśa Pātramārgī is also one of the most distinctive features of the Mina literature. It again leads us to suggest that either the scribe was closely associated or was under the strong influence of the Minas.

1. See Gujri, Tilang and Bhairo, folios 457, 679, 1043.
2. With slight variation in the spellings of Satiguru, it has been employed frequently throughout the manuscript.
3. See the text of raga Kalyan, folio 655.
4. See the beginning of Var Gujri ki M.3, folio 476.
5. The Minas in their literature have constantly stressed the significance of personal Guru, consequently both Māhāvaṃśa and Māhāvaṃśa Pātramārgī have been employed, see Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji, Vol. I, p. 1; Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji, Vol. II, pp. 1, 262, 358; also see concluding part of various sakhis of both the volumes.
XVI. ORTHOGRAPHY AND THE SCRIBE

16.1. The orthography and the spellings of Gurmukhi of this manuscript are some of the other features which have been taken into account to prove its earlier origin. Since orthographic characteristics of a script do not change in a short span of time, consequently on the basis of orthographic features alone, it is very difficult to pin-point the precise age of a document. Secondly, it is highly probable that due to regional, dialectal or personal bias the scribe may not be following the prevalent method of writing in its totality. We observe that the scribe of this manuscript has developed a distinct style of orthography. For instance some of the consonants, namely च, ढ, ण, त, थ and ध are of peculiar shape. The vowel of उर (Y) invariably occurs with an open mouth (Y). For the vowel sign of कन्न (कन्ना) a dot has been employed, which has been picked up to prove its earlier origin. Besides the dot, the use of half कन्न which is visible almost at every folio has been overlooked by the scholars to describe its orthographic features. In fact it points to a transitional stage in the development of Gurmukhi orthography when the full vertical stroke (कन्न) has not yet come into use for the sign of कन्न. The distinct orthographic features of this manuscript, such as use of the dot for कन्ना and उर with an open mouth, are identical to the Hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Thus, the orthography instead of proving it to be an old manuscript, points to its origin somewhere in the second half of 17th century C.E.

16.2. The scribe of this manuscript has been assumed to be a close associate of Guru Amar Das, possibly Bhai Gurdas. The description of Guru Amar Das’ death in eulogistic manner has been taken as a proof to establish its scribe’s identity with Bhai Gurdas. Since, the orthographic style of Kartarpuri बि is quite distinct from that of MS # 1245, consequently to resolve the above contradiction, Pashaura Singh has remarked that Bhai Gurdas may have further improved his handwriting by the time

Folio 320 of MS a 1245 showing the text filled in later on by the secondary scribe.
Folio 1059 of MS a 1245 depicting the penmanship of another scribe.
Another folio 576 of MS # 1245 presenting the modern style of Gurmukhi letters.
he wrote the final draft of the Ádi Granth. As any devout Sikh of the third Guru can be expected to use the above type of terminology for him, consequently in no way it can be attributed to Bhai Gurdas alone. Actually, these are wild conjectures which find no support in any internal or external evidence. Besides, the orthography of this manuscript indicates that not just one but more than two scribes have been employed to assist the primary scribe. There are numerous folios which have been recorded in the hand of the secondary scribe. Similarly, there is no scarcity of places where the incomplete text has not been filled in a different hand. The orthography of the text completed later on instead of looking old seems to be of recent origin. Obviously, the whole manuscript has not been recorded in a single hand and during a single span of time. Moreover, the manuscript contains no colophon indicating information on the scribe, consequently to associate it or its scribing with Bhai Gurdas, is not justified.

XVII. PERIOD OF SCRIBING

17.1. Although, the manuscript contains no colophon indicating the scribe, date and place of recording, yet on folio 1255 it has preserved the chart of the death-dates of the first five Sikh Gurus, which help us to determine its period of recording. In his enthusiasm to prove its earlier origin, Pashaura Singh remarks that the last date i.e., Samat 1663, Jeth Sudi 4 (1606 C.E.), relating to the demise of Guru Arjan has been inserted later on by the same scribe. Unfortunately, this is not an honest deduction because all the relevant entries have been recorded with the same pen and bear the same shade of ink, and are in the same handwriting (see plate XIII). The idea of later insertion is only a made-up suggestion which has been floated
Folio 1255 of MS a 1245 bearing the chart of death dates of the first five Sikh Gurus recorded in the hand of primary scribe.
only to prove the pre-conceived idea of earlier draft. Recently, he has come up with another novel idea that when Emperor Akbar met Guru Arjan towards the end of 1598 C.E., he had seen some collections of Sikh writings and perhaps it was the G.N.D. University manuscript under preparation at that time. Gurinder Singh Mann also puts its compilation before 1600 C.E. Probably working at cross purposes these scholars tend to overlook the very fact relating to Guru Arjan’s demise in 1606 C.E., which holds the key to determine its period of scribing. Since, the chart of dates of the death of Gurus has been an integral part of the manuscript from its very inception, consequently it cannot be ignored in anyway to decide its date. Arguably, it does not permit us to push back its compilation before 1606 C.E. In fact scores of writings, namely the Ratanmala, a ha_h-yoga treatise attributed to Guru Nanak, swayye, funhe and chaubole of Guru Arjan and swayye of Kalh Bhatt, have been recorded on the folios immediately following the chart of death dates. It proves that the manuscript continued to be scribed even after the demise of Guru Arjan i.e., 1606 C.E.

17.2. Though, in the face of above fact any other evidence is insignificant, yet for the purpose of academics certain internal features also need to be taken into account. For example, the recording of the serial number of incomplete hymns alongwith the provision of appropriate blank space, would not have been possible if the scribe had no access to another source. Though, the scribe has brought various innovations in the index and text as well, however, originally they were strikingly similar to that of the _Adi Granth_. Similarly, the placement of _Kachi-ba@i_ writings being at the end of metres and _ragas_, and insertion of their entries into indexes, indicate that by the time this manuscript came to be recorded, the _Adi Granth_ had come to exist. Along with the serial number of hymns, the scribe intended to record the folio number also, perhaps to help the musicians

2. Gurinder Singh Mann, _The Making of Sikh Scripture_, p. 87.
3. For the text of these writings, see folios 1257-1267.
to find or consult the writings in an easy and quick manner. The above supposition is not wholly unfounded since instead of a master table of contents a separate index has been appended at the beginning of each raga. These type of characteristics are missing in the earlier manuscripts of Sikh scripture. Similarly, the Ratanmala, an apocryphal writing attributed to Guru Nanak does not occur in the earlier sources but has come to be included in the manuscripts recorded around 1640 C.E.\(^1\) The orthographic features of this manuscript also point to its origin in the second half of 17th century. The Nisah of Guru Tegh Bahadur though taken on a separate piece of paper, but the quality and colour of the paper on which it is recorded match with the paper of MS a 1245. It bears testimony to the fact that if it had been recorded earlier, then it is very natural that its scribe or custodian could have procured the autograph of an earlier Sikh Guru, contemporary to him. All these factors help us to place it possibly between 1606-1675 C.E. If the presence of Ratanmala coupled with omission of dhunnis in the vars of some manuscripts of Sikh scripture, provide any lead then we can place it around 1640 C.E. Anyway, to pinpoint its precise date is hazardous as it has not been recorded during a single span of time.

XVI. CONCLUSIONS

18.1. The foregoing analysis of MS # 1245, clearly shows that scholars of sacred Sikh scripture have failed to examine it rigorously and thoroughly. Ironically, instead of making an honest and objective exercise, vital internal evidence has been suppressed and mis-statements and mis-representation of facts have been made. Amazingly, the features, such as various

\(^1\) G.B. Singh feels that the Ratanmala came to be included in the old manuscripts of the Ádi Granth prepared around 1675 C.E., see Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Bi~an, p. 129; if we take into account the fact relating to preparation of Bhai Banno’s recension, then 1640 C.E., seems to be the possible time for Ratanmala to find its way into the old manuscripts of the Sikh scripture. For discussion on Bhai Banno’s recension, see Pritam Singh, ‘Bhai Banno’s Copy of the Sikh scripture’ JSS, Vol. XI (August 1984), pp. 98-115, also see Piar Singh, Gatha Sri Ádi Granth, pp. 231-245.
omissions, incomplete text, irregularities between the index and text, scribal and musical variants, violation of structural pattern, confusion about authorship, inclusion of *Kachi-ba@i* etc., which jeopardize its credentials as a genuine product of the main stream, have been taken to prove its earlier origin. Internal evidence indicates that the scribe has depended heavily on another source to prepare it. It is a neatly written document which unlike a draft is free from cutting and erasures. Obviously, such an attempt would not have been possible if the scribe had no access to another source. This manuscript has been considered an independent and sporadic attempt.¹ But to record such a voluminous work that too with illumination seems to be impossible in medieval times unless the scribe had the patronage of a group or an institution.² However, the issue remains as to who were the persons or group behind its compilation?

18.2. The inclusion of the *Ratanmala*, a *ha_h-yoga* treatise suggests scribe's inclination towards ascetic ideals. The subject of most of the apocryphal writings revolves around *Sant, Sadh, Sadhsang* and *Satiguru*.³ Though, these subjects are not alien to Sikhism, yet frequent reference to them indicates that the authors of apocrypha were more concerned about personal guruship and asceticism. The most significant fact is that the text of *Japuji* of this manuscript resembles with the *Japu Parmarth* of Harji, a grandson of Prithi Chand. Likewise, the earlier collections of the *Mi@a* tradition prepared under the guidance of Miharban, the whole corpus of *Bhagat-ba@i* had been excluded from it.⁴ Similarly, following in the footsteps of the *Mina* literature, Kalh Bhatt has been recalled as *Kala Bhatt*.⁵ We have also evidence to the effect that the earlier collections of the *Minas*

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². To prepare a manuscript, besides the labour of a scribe one has to pay for the paper, ink and binding. For the cost of a manuscript produced towards the end of 17th century, see Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Panjabi Hath Likhtan di Suchi*, Vol. I, p. 86.
³. To take stock of the above issues, have a close look at the apocryphal writings, see infra Appendix V.
⁴. *Gos_i Guru Miharvanu*, p. 175.
comprised the panegyrics of Kalh Bhatt alone. Significantly all the 32 swayye found recorded in this manuscript have also turned out to be the compositions of Kalh Bhatt. Moreover, in the full as well as short form of Mul·Mantra, this manuscript employs Satiguru Parsadi (ਸਿਤਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਸ) or Sri Satiguru Parsadi (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਿਤਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਸ) which is again a most distinctive feature of the Mi@a Mul·Mantra. The date of Guru Nanak's demise (Samat 1595, Assu vadi 10) found recorded in the chart of death·dates of this manuscript, though different from the one accepted in Sikh tradition, is the same which we find inscribed for the first time in Mi@a documents. Attempts at forgery, fabrication and above all modus operandi to circulate the apocryphal writings, associate it with the dissenters within the Sikh Panth. It should be remembered that after preparing a compilation, Miharban had made copies of it, to distribute and install them in various establishments. Its features common to the Mi@a tradition suggest that most probably this manuscript has originated in the above environment and sequence. To refute the above contention as well as to prove its earlier origin, it has been remarked that an extra-canonical hymn of it in the Àsa mode refers to the Mi@as for instigating Sulhi Khan to attack Guru Arjan's establishment. It is totally unfounded as the composition in question carries no reference to Sulhi Khan. Instead it alludes to the arrest and execution of a person, alongwith his followers by a ruler. Except Guru Arjan, these references do not fit well in the history of the Minas.

18.3. The foregoing analysis reveals that the index and text of many a raga are not in conformity with each other. The serial number, recorded with the incomplete hymns, suggests that information of total hymns in a particular raga was available to

2. Ibid., pp. 169-70; also see facsimile of Guru Har Sahai Pothi, at the end of introductory section in Giani Gurdit Singh, Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib.
5. For the text of composition, see infra Appendix V, 3.3.
the scribe. Mention of Satta and Balwand's var in the index of Ramkali mode, proves that he was aware of it. The apocryphal writings have been inserted at the end of metres of ragas. Instances of their entry into the index, inserted later on are clearly visible. All these features establish that prior to this manuscript the arrangement and pattern to record Guru Granth Sahib had already been fixed. The authorship of some of the hymns have been confused, so much so that at a time a hymn has been attributed to two authors. Whereas a large number of hymns have been omitted, yet many others have been repeated. The text of a sizeable number of hymns is incomplete. It is replete with scribal mistakes and modifications. These facts prove that it is not only an incorrect but also an incomplete document. One should hesitate to call it an earlier draft on the basis of orthography too, because besides the dot, we also find the usage of half kanna in it. Examples of text filled in later on in a different hand are clearly visible. To associate it with Bhai Gurdas and Baba Buddha, is absolutely illogical because no internal or external evidence validates it. The scribe has brought various modifications into the text, probably to suit musical requirements. Amazingly, most of the incomplete as well as repeated hymns, belong to Guru Arjan. Similarly, the major portion of apocrypha has been attributed to the fifth Master, and the same has not found favour with him for inclusion in the Adi Granth. These are some of the strong reasons to disbelieve that Guru Arjan has prepared it. Obviously, an impure, incomplete and incorrect manuscript could not become a basis for editing the Adi Granth. The dates of passing away of the first five Sikh Gurus, Nisar of Guru Tegh Bahadur, orthographic style and textual variants suggest that it is a post-Adi Granth product.

18.4. Its variants common to the Mina tradition lead us to suggest that it belongs to a text family which may have developed in close proximity to the Mina recension. The evidence at hand confirms that its scribe instead of depending on a single document has taken into account a number of sources. Whether it was the result of cross-fertilization between different recensions? Or was it a cautious blend of various text families? These are very
pertinent issues which are yet to be explored satisfactorily. Whatever may be the case, it is quite evident that on the one hand its scribe has tried to put together all the Kachi-ba@i writings attributed to the Sikh Gurus and on the other he has omitted from record the compositions that were in his full knowledge. On the basis of these facts we can argue that MS # 1245 was a deliberate act of editing on the part of its scribe or the patrons, who were weary of some writings that had been made part of the Adi Granth. It means even after the establishment of canon in 1604 C.E., some sections within the Panth continued to compile collections of Ba@i that were not strictly canonical in nature. In which part of the Sikh world and among whom these type of collections were popular, are the issues which are wide open for the debate. Anyway, on the basis of textual analysis of MS a 1245, we can state that neither it is an 'earlier draft' nor it has served to be a source for editing the Adi Granth. Rather it represents a different recension which was predominantly musical in nature.
राजी जी की खुश वैष्णव भाषित से दी मीत
अलबाद: सारीन 12" x 7"

लेखन— पार्श्व सूचे विच व पंजाब मार्गिता जात। इन्हें पंजाब देते विषय प्रमाण नहीं है। इसलिए विकाट व विषय सामने नहीं है। यह लेखन राम व विषय सामान्य रोग भिडिताने विश्व्व है। इसलिए विकाट व विषय सामने नहीं है।

सिंहपही आम्द वो अव मुहू घड़ी है। दिव वेंच है। तब ज पीसी लोकार्थ हो लोकार्थ हो जाता है। यो किभी तुब नवरूप हो जाता है। तब ता ता ता ता कही होती है। अव विच रजनारमण बो रही है। विभिन्न पंजाब देते समय यो कह वह है। घड़ी अव से वो बाल मजबूत बना उन बन सिद्धांत है। इस देवता भगवान सिद्धांत होवर वो बन सिद्धांत होवर वो बन सिद्धांत होवर वो बन सिद्धांत होवर वो बन सिद्धांत होवर वो बन सिद्धांत होवर । दिव हिंदी ग्रंथी जी वर्तमान मन्त्र वर्तमान उन बन सिद्धांत है। इस देवता भगवान सिद्धांत होवर वो बन सिद्धांत होवर वो बन सिद्धांत होवर ।

हृदेंदु रघुरामजी संचार ये दंडने दान ये उद्वेक्षण ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान । दिवेंद्र संगीतजी संचार ये दंडने दान ये उद्वेक्षण ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान । दिवेंद्र संगीतजी संचार ये दंडने दान ये उद्वेक्षण ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान । दिवेंद्र संगीतजी संचार ये दंडने दान ये उद्वेक्षण ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान । दिवेंद्र संगीतजी संचार ये दंडने दान ये उद्वेक्षण ये दंडने दान ये दंडने दान ।

अविव विच उत्तर अंतर होजाना उगार पुरुष सुवर्ण वध दी दुब रखी है।

उद्धवत निष्ठ उद्धवत निष्ठ उद्धवत
APPENDIX II CHAP. 4
STATEMENT OF THE CHAWLAS AT
SRI AKAL TAKHT SAHIB

मे उद्धरण सिद्ध चब्बस, जब उद्धरण सिद्ध उद्धरण सिद्ध चब्बस, जब चक्षुशंक्यान्तर न अवधारण प्रत्यय विश धिकसं उरिंतां तैही अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथा अवलोक तथা
### APPENDIX III  CHAP. 4

**HYMNS OF THE SIKH GURUS WHICH ARE ABSENT IN MS A 1245**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raga</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Omitted Hymn</th>
<th>AGGS pp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>मथ</td>
<td>आदि मथ सुकावि मथ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>भी मथ</td>
<td>मथ तिलेसर (H.4)</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>खुंबा सिफ़ार भूमा (H.8)</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>दिन सबसे बड़ीं तिलिमण (H.1)</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td></td>
<td>बहु तरुणां भयु देवति हनुमा (H.4)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>भीरक</td>
<td>भा भीरक आदि आदि (H.1)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>दिन भूम दिन भूम (H.1)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>जराल मे बाहु बाहु (H.1)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>वबिभ ललेंग ललेंग चुप (H.8)</td>
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<td>बलिऔ बेहारी सुगु भेते (H.4)</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>सलेह सममधुजी</td>
<td>पत पुलक मरिकर मरिकर</td>
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<td>सिम्बड़े उम लक्षमन</td>
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<td>मेज सिरे लिफर सकें</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>सलेह त्रां उ</td>
<td>ते हे दरव बे धुिंग सत्संगी</td>
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<td>तैरि बिखसे रानी भटे</td>
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<td>उप्रयु नि अवरु बुध</td>
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<td>भजी मे तू बनान का मुस</td>
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<td>उद न उपनि उदत मिति</td>
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<td>महती थानी मभ वसी</td>
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<td>ठम ने ठमां गर्व तमें</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>मिलो त्रां</td>
<td>सूरभी धिनुं बवे</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>तामा भोरी</td>
<td>तामे ताम्भि डिप मनिकिरन भ्रूि (५)</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>भाँं मथ</td>
<td>भाँ घुलबो भणरिजिर (पांढो २१)</td>
<td>1093</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>भाँ भुक्ति</td>
<td>भाँ भाँ भाँ भाँ बचाँ भाँ (सलेह)</td>
<td>516</td>
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**APPENDIX IV CHAP. 4**

**HYMNS RECORDED TWICE IN MS # 1245**

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APPENDIX V CHAP. 4
APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS IN MS # 1245

1.1. भाषा भाषा १ (आस्तिको)

1.2. कुछ भाषा १ \( (भाषिक) \)

(पत्रक ६०५)
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

1.3. クード ジュンガ クロスタ プル プル びゅう ぶしゅ

1.4. ミグモ トラ ラン ヴラ ル シュ サン ル サン ル びゅう びゅう

1.5. シミシ ルル ヴラ ト サル サル ハリ ハリ ハリ ハリ ハリ ハリ ハリ ハリ ハリ ハリ ハリ
16. कभी कभी कहा जा रहा है कि उसने बुध बनाने के नये प्रयासों ने सबसे पहले अधिक दिखाया हुआ।

17. धार्मिक विचार एक वर्ष तक सभी समय भर किया गया।

18. धर्म का बड़ा भाग सबसे बड़ा बनाया गया।

19. समय तर्क किसी जैसा वजन लागता है।

अनुभव भर थे नवनवाले मन के नवनवाले समय।

सांभर भर थे उसने नवनवाले प्रतिभा विलासित किया।

संपादक वद्यों के लिए वैश्विक भ्रष्टात्मक विश्व में बाधा कार्य किया।

मांसवर्धक प्रमाण प्रमाण वर्णित निर्देश समय रंगी।

अती चक्कर भविष्यवाणी बहराई अपने वर्ण।

देवें तर्क किसी जैसा सबसे पुराने किसी भी समय।

जो विश्वास किसी मनुष्य तर्क किया निर्देश निर्देश निर्देश निर्देश निर्देश।

पहले बुध बनाया वजन दिखाया किसी भी समय।

पहले भावनाएं भर थे विषयादय यह यह यह यह यह यह यह।

चुनारी रंग ने दिखाया होने वाली बलपी व्यवस्था।

भुत बनाया वजन प्रथम वजन प्रथम वजन प्रथम।

वजन पहले नवनवाले बनाया गया नवनवाले बनाया।

निर्देश वे निर्देश के समय उन्दु निर्देश यहाँ समय।
MYTH OF AN EARLY DRAFT RECONSIDERED

2.1. МУЯ РУПА 3 ИЗВКЕ

2.2. ВИШАТА РУПА МЕСЕБЕРУ СИ СУ "РУПА"
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

2.3. तत्वं तथा भूल तथाकथा जित खसमनी तव धरी।।
खिल खसमनी धरी समझे भरो सच्ची सच्ची जानन्द वे जो देखे दरा।।
जो देखे दरा वेरोहित बसा किंसु मानना धरकर।।
किंसु धरकर तद्विं सबरो सच्ची जानन्द मे पालन।।
निम्न दे चलनी बसू निम्न सच्ची सच्ची मा बच्चानी धरी।।
तत्वं तथा भूल तथाकथा जित खसमनी तव धरी।।

2.4. सभों भूल विनधकिना असब करणा।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
भूल पठने तीज स देये भरो बजे मनु देये आये।।
मनु देये भरो न तु तु जिंहु करी डी चरी।।
अव भारती भरी चरी वरी धरी पहलु चरी।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
सभों भूल तथाकथा असब करणा।।

2.5. सभों भूल तथाकथा मे धराभंजी आये।।
मनु संध्योसे सच्ची स लख आद अभारण।।
अव भारती भरी चरी मा यह किंसु फिर में।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
सभों भूल तथाकथा असब करणा।।

2.6. सभों भूल तथाकथा उँचे तथा तल घरी तिमाती।।
घरी तियाती मा जुप करी तिया बरी उ पहली।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
भूल पठने तीज स आद अभारण।।
सभों भूल तथाकथा असब करणा।।

2.7. पर्कर्करुु यह असरे उँची मा बर सम हो सल।।
सालकरुु तियाती फिरकिया अपाता धरी धरार।।
धारे धरारू वेल किर वियां।।
धारे धरारू वेल किर वियां।।
धारे धरारू वेल किर वियां।।
मनु संध्योसे सच्ची स लख आद अभारण।।

2.8. सभों भूल तथाकथा मे भरी उँची बड़ी आसा।।
बड़ी आसा उँचा बड़कर्ना मे तिया मे पहली।।
बजाषु उँचा मा अब बजा किर अवराम सतगरी।।
पर बजी बड़ी भरी मृत्तिकाः कर्री मे भरी बजा।।
सभों भूल तथाकथा मे भरी उँची आसा।।
2.9. 

2.10. 

2.11. 

2.12. 

2.13. 

2.14. 

2.15.
2.16. विश्व अभास मुक्तिः (अखरापली)

धरा धरा आयद कोहियमतुः तुषारभि मंदि परहि ||
धरा धरा प्रकाशक सते घरते परहि ||

धरा धरा तमभ दिनपुः है मंदि मनत बभागि ||

मन भर भर वे तुष्ट वाच कर्म भुधि ददिय दहागि ||

धरा धरा अभास अर्थाश्रि विनत यदृ पदत्र न भस्मूर सरहि ||

धरा धरा जयपुः वै अप्पेद पुरि मामि सुरहि ||
धरा सदे अस्पनीि देदे मामि समरह समागि ||

धरा धरा माधवानि मे वे दुहै वै मामि श्रीचापि ||

धरा धरा जयपुः पाढिको पुरि अनिकिण अवदागि ||

धरा धरा ते धिचै मंदि धापुः वृकण निमात दहागिः

एकाकण भीती महोदागि जये चे मनु सुरि सरहि ||

धरा धरा भूप दूसरे जये मामि सुरहि ||

धरा धरा जयपुः मिलण वै भुधि दर्शे पुत्रि सरहि ||

तौति वे अप्पे मेलिन्ति पुरि वे जे मंदि दिखागि

धरा धरा मन मंदा वक्ती जये वे तौति विनागि ||

धरा धरा जयपुः वबहिनस मुहे मामि सुरहि ||

धरा धरा भूप वशिण वमहिनु मुहे मामि सुरहि

तरव भूप सोमानु भजागि पहि पुत्रें दूरहि तरहि

(पढ़ा ४५) ||

2.17. विश्व कमलकी भक्तिः (अखरापली)

दुमभ संभु विज्ञ वे सेंजी घुमादी बोहिं ||

जय वे मामि भव नीसे में सेंजी मुहे तमभ दूमभे ||

सेंजी हिचार आमगैं बैम सेंजी बाजार तमभ अप्पे ||

शेष संभा कामार कथा ||

सीता भद्वै बुधानी सागार सतहि अस्तितुः तमभ खादी ||

सुई बिमबार दे देंदौ पादिशा सागे बिमपु भावि बादे ||

सेंजी सहाज उ भरे सेंजी पाठु वधम वाके ||

मे सेंजी दुमभ हिम हे आयद खादे ||

भरी संभा दुमभे वे देंदौ तुलिवर विचु वाके

बजी धिखार पादिशा आंगार बाजाम भिमार सागे

परशु वधम दुमभे वे वधम जुल विभी भावि दर्शे ||

सेंजी बी विमवे न सागार सेंजी उ मिंजुम भिम विचु भरहे

सेंजी बीही सेंजी बोसी नेंम सेंजु ममत बभागि

झूठ बापे उ जसराबूः वधम दराने तुंगि भााँगि

पादिशा लिकार भीमाश्चामी सेंजी उत्थान वधम भागि

बाजी दूष पडि मुहे वधम भिम विचु भरहे ||

उदात्त सेंजी भाषार पुरुष वे भेंटिग नागि

सुदर भावे मुहे सेंजी वधम भावि

हिमबार सेंजी फदुर सेंजी साके से मामि समागि ||
MS # 1245: MYTH OF AN EARLY DRAFT RECONSIDERED

3.1. आयुष्मान भद्र 5

3.2. आयुष्मान भद्र 5

3.3. आयुष्मान भद्र 5

3.4. विविधान आयुष्मान भद्र 5 (संबंध)

3.5. मैत्रेय भद्र 5

(पदल 358)
3.6. 

EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL/TRADITION : MYTH AND REALITY

3.7. 

3.8. 

3.9. 

3.10. 

3.11. 

3.12. 

3.13. 

(Verse 63)

(Verse 63)

(Verse 63-63)

(Verse 63-63)
3.14. THE NEGATIVE BHAUSA Y

The negative bhau'a y is a term used to denote something that is lacking or absent. It can be used to indicate the absence of an object, attribute, or characteristic. The term is often used in a negative context to highlight the absence of a desired feature or quality. For example, if someone is looking for a specific item and it is not available, they might say it is a "negative bhau'a y."
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION : MYTH AND REALITY

3.16. ਕਹਾਣੀ ਮਾਝ ਪ੍ਰਸੀਂਧਾਂ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਕਾਸ਼ਨਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਮੁਸਲੀਮ ਰਾਜਵੀਰਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਮੁਫਤ ਸ੍ਰਦਧਾਂ।

3.17. ਬੇਫਲ ਮਾਝ ਪ੍ਰਸੀਂਧਾਂ

3.18. ਮਾਝ ਮਾਝ ਪ੍ਰਸੀਂਧਾਂ

3.19. ਮਾਝ ਮਾਝ ਪ੍ਰਸੀਂਧਾਂ

3.20. ਮਾਝ ਮਾਝ ਪ੍ਰਸੀਂਧਾਂ
EPILOGUE

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The genesis of the Sikh scriptural tradition was not the outcome of aesthetic considerations, especially poetry and music. Though a number of authors have contributed to it, the whole literature is essentially religious in nature. It is primarily concerned with the ‘Numinous’ experience and thus to explain the theological issues arising out of it, at places the didactic approach has been applied. Obviously, it relates to the spiritual experience, which sets it apart from an ordinary piece of music and poetry. Besides, the Sikh scripture is at the centre of faith and worship of millions of Sikhs, thus any unjustifiable remark about it is liable to generate an acrimonious debate among the faithful and the critics. All these factors put together restrain us to subject it to those simple critical methods which are applied to literature in general. Furthermore, a dominant section of the scholars of Sikh studies believes that since the Sikh scripture has come down in an authenticated form from the very persons whose writings it records, consequently there is absolutely no need of textual studies of the Adi Granth. Perhaps this is the only reason that, so far, they have given scant attention to evaluating the sources properly, which are said to be of earlier origin. Obviously, the scholars who seek to ‘establish the sure and certain text’ of the Adi Granth, have to come up with unimpeachable evidence to support any of their formulations which seem to run contrary to the above theory. Well-intentioned studies which are aimed at promoting learning and understanding of the scripture need to be encouraged. However, the works which are based on mis-statements will ultimately tarnish the image and integrity of the academic fraternity and resultanty unsavoury controversies are bound to happen.
1.2. What is of particular significance for a manuscript of *Gurbēṅī* is not that it had long been stored or displayed at a particular religious place or had been in possession of a family descending from the Sikh Gurus. Inspite of the above merits, the antiquity, authority and authenticity of a manuscript has to be established. For that a text critic has to conduct rigorous inquiries such as: When was it recorded? Who was the scribe? What was his motive? Whether the manuscript before us is an original version or a copy of it? Was the scribe or copyist recording it for himself, for an institution, for a group or for his patron? And so on. Thus, while doing textual studies of the *Ādi Granth*, each source or even its smallest part has to be examined in an analytical and surgical manner.

1.3. There is no denying the fact that some manuscripts of the *Ādi Granth* carry certain textual variants which have been the focus of attention of critics working on the Sikh tradition.¹ Though, the earliest sources have been taken into account to comment upon the issues arising out of these variants, but arguing largely on the basis of common features of the manuscripts, a method which is better known to the western scholars as 'system of common faults' or 'community of errors',² the critics have grouped the extant manuscripts of the *Ādi Granth* into four major recensions, namely the Kartarpur or the Bhai Gurdas version, the Lahore, the Banno and the Damdama.³ The studies that have been conducted on the Sikh tradition under the western scholars, presume that behind the maze of manuscripts there existed an exemplar or prototype of the *Ādi Granth* and that by reconstructing the history or genealogy of the sources one can identify the archetype or original text of the Sikh tradition.⁴ It is well-known that a method evolved for a

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particular religious tradition may not have universal utility as it needs much experimentation and testing to determine its value for another tradition. However, some scholars have applied certain methods of textual criticism to the Sikh text which have been in use for Biblical studies. Here we will underline the relative merits and limitations of the textual methods that our critics have employed usually to do textual studies relating to the *Adi Granth*. It closes with our observations which are relevant to the studies of the Sikh scripture.

II. ROLE OF ORAL TRADITION

2.1. The role of oral tradition in order to identify the original text of the songs of the *Bhagats*, has been considered of significant value. The hypothesis for such approach being that their writings have not come to us in scribal form but through the singing tradition. Taking queue from such studies some critics of *Gurba@i* have veered round to the view that long before taking scribal form the hymns of the Sikh Gurus had been in circulation orally, especially through musical tradition. Hence, on the basis of musical variants found in some manuscripts of the *Adi Granth*, a few critics have claimed unearthing the original or earlier text of the Gurus' writings. As mentioned earlier, the musical tradition had no independent origin but had thrived on scribal tradition for its subsistence. Inspite of its merits, the musical tradition had its own limitations relating to accuracy and originality as well. The bands of musicians had not memorized the whole corpus but a small number of hymns for the purpose of *Kirtan*. It is quite possible that to dramatize the effect of singing, the musicians had brought in modification relating to variation in *ragas*, inversion of *antras* and addition of fillers and vocatives in the text, to suit their requirements. Above all with the multiplicity of musical bands such type of variants continued

1. See infra sub-sections III and IV.
EARLY SIKH SCRIPTURAL TRADITION: MYTH AND REALITY

To multiply. Thus, to decide about the accuracy and veracity of a particular musical tradition is a gigantic task to be solved satisfactorily. Mere presence of vocatives should not be taken as a proof to suggest that oral tradition had influenced the Sikh scribal tradition. One should also not forget that style of the \textit{Adi Granth} is a curious blend of music and poetry, which is most suitable for public singing. Hence, occurrence of vocatives is not a strange but a natural phenomenon. For the Sikh Gurus, the musical tradition was only a means to propagate \textit{Gurbâ\text{a}@}i but not an end to preserve it for posterity. Moreover in the presence of well-nurtured scribal tradition to rely upon oral or musical tradition for textual studies of the \textit{Adi Granth}, is not a sound approach.

III. UNUSUAL AND DIFFICULT READING

3.1. The Biblical critics have evolved a canon which is known as \textit{proclivi lectioni praestat ardue}, that to ascertain the age of a document you are always to prefer harder reading. According to E. Hobbs "the basis of preferring the harder reading is that scribes like to put down what makes sense: if they do not understand the text as it stands, they will make it simpler. Therefore, the easier reading must be wrong one, because that was what the scribes would have changed the earlier text into; the harder reading must be the original one."\textsuperscript{1} He has underlined its limitations also to point out that "if you follow the harder readings, you will end up with an unintelligible text."\textsuperscript{2} Critics desirous of taking recourse to the rule of 'harder' as well as 'unique' reading in relation to the \textit{Adi Granth} text must keep in mind that unlike the Bible, the Sikh text has not evolved out of tribal or primitive milieu when the writing methods were very crude. Rather it has grown in the full face of history and its recording has been well taken care of by the persons whose writings are enshrined in it. Compared to the Biblical manuscripts the variant readings present in the \textit{Adi Granth} manuscripts are few and far between and their occurrence can

\textsuperscript{1} Edward Hobbs, 'An Introduction to Textual Methods', pp. 18-19.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 19.
easily be explained with the help of sources at our disposal. Pashaura Singh has picked up some variants of MS # 1245 to claim that it qualifies the test of *lectioni arduae* and thus comes out to be much older than the Kartarpur manuscript.¹ But he fails to note that reading quoted by him is confined only to the above manuscript alone and no other manuscript of the *Adi Granth* attests to it thus instead of presenting 'primary reading' the text recorded in MS # 1245 turns out to be 'surplus or extraneous'.² It may very likely be the creation of its scribe rather than a part of the early Sikh tradition. The application of 'harder' or 'unusual' reading in the context of the *Adi Granth*, would mean that a document which has been recorded in a casual, crude and incorrect manner to differ with the standard version, automatically qualifies the test of anteriority, an unfair and academically unjust formulation. We have observed elsewhere at appropriate places that textual variants can be of various categories viz., scribal, musicological, intentional or unintentional. Their occurrence in a document can be on account of regional, dialectal, educational, sectarian affiliation and personal whims and fancies of a scribe. However, some of the variants of Goindwal *Pothis* and MS # 1245 as well, are so ill-devised that their presence has so distorted the text as to make it impossible to comprehend it properly.³ This in turn does not help in anyway to prove that the text is of genuine origin. Similarly, the corrupt use of syllables which makes the text to be of 'unusual' character does not connote that their correct poetic form had never been in use. In fact when a versional reading differs from the *Adi Granth*, its authenticity has to be determined on the basis of contextual meaning and for that the canon of 'unusual' or 'difficult' reading is of no merit.

IV. SHORTER READING

4.1. Another rule of textual criticism evolved by the Biblical

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3. For details see supra chap. 3.15 and chap. 4.12.
critics prescribes brevior lectio praeferenda verbosiri that to determine the text 'the shorter reading should be preferred to the longer one.' The basis for its currency was that in general scribes tend to add to the text rather than to omit from the text. However, the Biblical scholars avowed strong reservation of its usefulness that if you follow the shorter reading, you will end up with no text at all. It has been aptly remarked by A.C. Clark that "a text is like a traveller who goes from one inn to another losing an article at each halt." The point which he desired to emphasise is that a text handled by successive scribes largely because of intentional as well as unintentional omissions instead of getting longer may turn out to be a shorter one. Thus, a critic has to be judicious to observe that whether scribes have lengthened the shorter one or have indulged in shortening the longer one. As described earlier the writings that were in full knowledge of the scribe of MS # 1245 have been dropped from its text intentionally but a critic still claims "if the standard rule of textual criticism that the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one, is considered, the text of this manuscript comes out to be earlier than the famous Kartarpur manuscript." However, in the case of Sikh scriptural tradition the rule of 'shorter reading' is only partially true.

4.2. Critics are aware that some apocryphal writings attributed to the Sikh Gurus and Bhagats as well, have found their way into the codices. To ascertain the veracity of such writings the canon of 'shorter reading' can be of immense help for the critics of Gurba@i. For instance in MS # 1245, the hymns attributed to M.1, M.3 and M.5, are much larger in size than that of the Adi Granth. Similarly the ragas of the Goindwal Pothis comprise of more writings of the Bhagats than the ragas of the Sikh scripture. Obviously, in the above documents, more and more

6. See supra Appendix IV chap. 3 and Appendix V chap. 4.
writings have come to be associated with the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats as well. The rule of 'shorter reading' when applied to the writings of an individual author, constrains us to believe that the text of above documents belongs to earlier strata.

4.3. There is no reason to doubt that the Sikh scriptural tradition had developed around the Ba@i of Guru Nanak Dev. Subsequently, with the addition of the hymns of his successors and that of the Bhagats, it continued to expand, ultimately attaining the size and status of the Âdi Granth. Naturally, the Pothis which were in circulation prior to 1604 C.E., would have been small in volume. Besides, there were lectionaries in which only the hymns relating to liturgy, had been included. Pious Sikhs and musicians, instead of copying the whole mass of sacred writings, had prepared Pothis containing selected hymns of their choice, possibly for the purpose of study and Kirtan as well. Even, the codices prepared at the behest of the rivals of the Sikh Gurus, had also come in circulation. Since the Udasis intended to promote their tradition, hence the codices carrying the Ba@i of Guru Nanak Dev minus that of his immediate successors, cannot be ruled out altogether. Similarly, the Bhalla tradition had tried to minimize the role and authority of the main stream of Sikhism, consequently to include the hymns of M.4 and M.5 in their codices, as is the case with Goindwal Pothis, was of little relevance for them. Evidence at hand also confirms that though sometimes the text was in full knowledge of the scribe, yet he arbitrarily omitted to record it. All these factors suggest that the presence of codices with 'the shorter' text is not a sound proof to conclude that full text till then was non-existent. In fact, the very purpose and use made of the codex were largely responsible for its short or large size.

V. PHYSIOGNOMY

5.1. Our native critics, while examining a manuscript usually take note of its physiognomy. They often make remarks about its size, binding—original or redone, quality of paper, total numbers of folios, folio numbers—original or affixed later on, blank and missing folios, folios added later on, number of lines

1. For omission of the text see supra chap. 4.6.
scribed on a folio, count of words in a line, orthographic style and so on. Though, physiognomy helps very little to ascertain the precise age of a document, yet it can provide vital leads to find out whether a manuscript has come down to us in its original and complete form or not. For example, comparison of the old and new folio numbers assigned to the Goindwal Pothis suggests that a considerable number of opening folios of Ahiyapur Pothi are missing. Similarly, about 22 folios at the beginning of MS # 1245, are untraceable. Is it due to carelessness on the part of custodians to preserve them properly? Was it a deliberate act to remove the writings which were considered unpleasant? Similarly, there is every possibility that the custodians or unscrupulous manuscript dealers have done so to conceal the facts which were coming in their way to prove the antique value of the above documents. Anyway missing folios, especially at the beginning or at the end of a manuscript hamper considerably its claim to antiquity and originality as well.

VI. COLOPHON

6.1. Normally, the colophon of a manuscript is considered of utmost significance in that it may hold the key to its origin and antiquity as well. Depending upon its contents, it can shed light on the scribe, date and place of scribing of the concerned document. Unfortunately, in some of the old manuscripts of Gurba@i, it is totally missing. Wherever it is available, either it is placed in the beginning or towards the end. The mere presence of a colophon is not sufficient evidence to establish the credentials of a document. One has to ensure whether it has come down in its original and unobliterated form. Besides, efforts have to be made to locate the tradition of the scribe to which he belonged and also the very purpose of the manuscript for which it had been produced, otherwise conclusions drawn on the face value of a colophon, can go haywire.

VII. NÁSÄÆ

7.1. The Nisa@s of the Sikh Gurus besides their antique value have been highly revered relics to be preserved. It was basically a small piece of writing in Guru's own hand and usually
EPILOGUE

267

comprised of the *Mul-Mantra*, the cardinal formula of Sikh faith. Whenever a *Nisa@* of the Sikh Gurus is affixed to a copy of the Sikh scripture, it bestowed some sort of authority on it. We often find reference that such and such copy of the *Adi Granth* has preserved *Nisa@* of the one or another Sikh Guru. In the absence of colophon or especially undated manuscript, presence of *Nisa@* helps to place it in a broad period corresponding to the pontificate of the respective Guru whose *Nisa@* it bears. However, one should be aware that some unscrupulous persons have fabricated the *Nisa@s* attributed to the Gurus to mislead the faithful, which in turn may have found their entry into the manuscripts of the *Adi Granth*. Thus, before taking into account the *Nisa@*, one has to ensure whether it is genuine or not. After establishing its veracity beyond any doubt, one has to examine further whether the *Nisa@* is originally a part of the manuscript or has been pasted on it. If it is pasted then it is not of much significance to ascertain the period of a manuscript, rather it puts a big question mark on its anteriority. It may have been pasted for the simple reason to preserve it or for ulterior motives by a manuscript dealer, obviously to enhance the antique value of the manuscript concerned, as is the case with MS # 1245.

VIII. TABLE OF DEMISE DATES

8.1. On the testimony of Bhai Gurdas we can very safely state that practice to commemorate the *Gurpurabs*, sacred days associated with the lives of the Sikh Gurus, had come into vogue during his times.¹ For the memory sake, obviously to observe the *Gurpurabs* on stipulated dates चारों गुरुंं सेवी सेवी मन्नत लव’, the table of demise dates of the Sikh Gurus, came to be recorded in the copies of the Sikh scripture. It seems, initially it comprised the dates of first four Gurus but subsequently with the demise of successive Sikh Gurus, additional entries continued to be made into it. Consequently, the last entry in the table has been picked up to establish the anteriority of a manuscript. But one has to be cautious to observe whether the folio bearing the table originally formed the part of the manuscript or not? Whether all the entries are in the hand of original scribe and bear the

¹. Bhai Gurdas, 6.3, 9.17, 29.5.
same shade of ink or not? If it fulfils the above norms then besides indicating the anteriority of the manuscript, it can provide clues to the source or tradition from which it has descended.

IX. EDITORIAL NOTES

9.1. Our sources reveal that during the pontificate of Guru Ram Das codices of Gurba@i had been prepared for installation in the Dharamsalas and the practice of reading them in public had come into vogue. Unfortunately, none of the early sources originating from the early Gurus have survived. The manuscripts of the Adi Granth which we have are copies which in turn have been copied from another copy and so on back to the original. As our scribes were not of the strict habit to acknowledge the source, consequently we find no mention of a source from which they have copied. However in some manuscripts a brief but very significant editorial note, सूरो जाप सरहर्म सौरि वे साध्वा बर रब्बु (the copy of the copy of Japu recorded by Guru Ram Das) has been preserved which indicates a source originating from Guru Ram Das. Some of the scribes had carried over the above note to point out the position of their copies in a sequence of copies beginning from Guru Ram Das. Consequently, it helps to establish the pedigree of a manuscript as well as its tradition from which it has descended. Significantly, the above note is absolutely missing in the Goindwal Pothis and MS # 1245 as well, which indicates their genesis being other than the main Sikh tradition. Similarly, the editorial notes found recorded here and there in the Guru Har Sahai Pothi and the Goindwal Pothis are of immense historical value to conclude about their claim to anteriority.

X. LITURGICAL HYMNS

10.1. Some of the old manuscripts of the Adi Granth include only five hymns of the Sodaru section with the result that they omit the Sopurakhu and Sohila sections meant for evening liturgy session of the Sikhs. On the basis of the above documents our critics have come to the conclusion that the evening liturgy of the early Sikhs was restricted only to the hymns of Sodaru section and thus the manuscripts bearing the above hymns are
legitimately of earlier origin. But on the testimony of Bhai Gurdas and earlier Sikh sources one can safely remark that *Sohila* and *Arati* hymns had already become an essential part of the Sikh liturgy.\(^1\) Obviously, omission of these hymns in a document may be due to the ignorance or impudence of the scribe and it cannot be taken as a sure proof to establish the earlier origin of a document concerned.

**XI. ORTHOGRAPHY**

11.1. It is widely believed that except for the writings of the medieval *Bhagats* almost all the writings originating from the Sikh Gurus were written entirely in *Gurmukhi* script. Hence, we often come across studies in which the orthography of the *Gurmukhi* has been taken into account to determine the period of the document concerned. For example, shape of certain consonants and vowels has been picked up from the extant Goindwal *Potthi* and MS # 1245, to establish their earlier origin. However, all the orthographic features associated with the above documents, are also visible in dated documents produced in the late 17th century.\(^2\) Since, it is impossible for a script to acquire all the characteristics in a decade or so, consequently orthographic features help very little to pin-point the age of a document. Then there is every possibility that the scribe or copyist may not be following the prevalent method in its totality. The distinctive orthographic style may also be attributed to the regional, dialectal and educational milieu as well as personal proclivity of a scribe. Though on the basis of orthographic features, a manuscript can be placed in a broad period, however to ascertain its precise age on this count alone is not possible.

11.2. On the other hand, the orthographic features of a document help us to discern whether it has been recorded in a single span

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2. For the orthographical features of the documents produced during the second half of 17th century, see Ganda Singh (ed.), *Hukamn#me*; MS. No. 2306, Sikh History Research Deptt., Khalsa College, Amritsar; MS. No. 359, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab Library, Patiala.
of time or not. Its evidence needs to be taken in its totality but
not in a piece-meal manner to prove the contrived thesis. If the
hymns recorded by two different scribes in a document bear
identical orthographic features, as in the case of Goindwal Pothis,
one must have reasons to accept a particular style as earlier one
and reject the other as later construction. If one is inclined to
believe the alleged autograph of Guru Ram Das in Lan^a script
as genuine, then he must have sound reasons to discard the
writings of similar character that are present in the Pothis.

XII. PAINTINGS

12.1. Some of the old manuscripts of the Àdi Granth, especially
the opening folios bearing the Nisa@ and the Mul-Mantra have
been tastefully decorated. On close examination one can observe
that the art work has been done later on when the text has
already been transcribed or the manuscript was ready for
binding.1 Thus, the plan to decorate the manuscript was an after-
thought, most probably originating at the instance of the book-
binder to present the work in an impressive manner. Obviously,
the quality of binding and artwork on a manuscript depended on
the means of its scribe and his patron to afford the cost. The
geometrical and flowery pattern suggest that most probably it
was done by Muslim artists.2 Hence, these designs have nothing
to do with the Islamic influence on the formation of Sikh
scripture. An art historian can be of immense help to find out
the period of the artwork, which in turn may be useful to
ascertain the age of the manuscript concerned. However it is of
unlikely that any more than orthography, it can settle a date with
an accuracy of a generation plus or minus.

XIII. PAPER

1. To observe the above fact have a close look at the art work done on
the Goindwal Pothis.
2. Since orthodoxy in Islam did not allow the Muslim artists to depict
human and animal forms, thus they adopted geometrical and flowery
patterns to illuminate the manuscripts, especially, the Qur'àn; see Philip
13.1. Text critics often determine the antiquity of a manuscript on the basis of material on which it has been transcribed. Though to ascertain the age of paper, scientific techniques exist, but our critics have been doing it in an arbitrary manner to remark that it is of Kashmiri, Sialko_i or Desi origin. What difference does it make to the anteriority of a manuscript? They have no rationale. The witness of paper may be significant to determine the relative value of a manuscript but not necessarily the date on which the writings on it has been transcribed.

XIV. METHOD OF SCRIBING

14.1. The manner in which a document is recorded can also be helpful to discern its origin. A document which is relatively not marred by ha~tal (paste used for deletion), as is the case of MS # 1245, indicates that its scribe had access to a well-organized source to copy it. The frequent occurrence of blank spaces between various ragas and sub-sections of a raga suggests that the scribe intended to incorporate the writings expected later on. The documents wherein for example the Goindwal Pothis and MS # 1245, the scribes move from one raga to another without any break, prove that they had access to the whole literature which they were going to scribe, hence they continued to record their documents serially. However, at a number of places the scribe of MS # 1245, has recorded only the first line of a hymn to provide blank spaces to fill the text at some later stage. Since, all such hymns find their mention in the tatkara, and their serial number in the text have also been affixed, obviously it would not have been possible unless the scribe had access to a source similar to the Ádi Granth. Consequently, to argue that the lay out of Ba@i had not till then been worked out and some of the hymns were yet to be composed, is contrary to the internal evidence.

XV. TATKARÁ

15.1. The index (tatkara) whether appended to a document in the beginning or affixed separately to each raga, is a significant tool to check its internal contents and accuracy as well. Obviously, with its help one can understand not only the original writings included in a document but also the format pursued for arranging
the text. It can be of immense value to detect internal discrepancies relating to omissions occurring in the text, violations in the pattern fixed for arrangement, modifications introduced in the text and most significantly the additions or insertions carried on at a later stage. For example, a close look at the index and text of the respective ragas of MS # 1245, reveals that its scribe instead of adhering to the index, has brought in various innovations in the text. A comparison of the index and text of the above document proves beyond any doubt that its scribe was dependent on a source very much the same as the Àdi Granth to produce a copy of his choice.

XVI. SERIAL NUMBERS

16.1. The serial numbers affixed to the hymns, offer interesting results to discern the antecedents of a document. It not only helps us to understand the format pursued for arrangement, but also to check the veracity of a particular hymn whether it had been originally part of the document or is the result of interpolation. For example, the mention of serial numbers along with the progressive total assigned to the writings attributed to M.4, M.5, Gulam and Shaikh Sharaf of the Ahiyapur Pothi indicate that these writings had been an integral part of it from its very inception. Hence, the argument of their inclusion into it at later stage is not convincing. Similarly, the placement of Kachi-ba@i at the end of metres and sub-sections of MS # 1245, suggests that patterns to arrange the hymns of the Àdi Granth along with their serial numbers had already come into vogue.

XVII. ARRANGEMENT OF BÀÆÁ

17.1. The Àdi Granth is an organized scripture. Broadly, keeping in view the beat for singing, the hymns within a raga, each treated as a separate unit, have been arranged according to length in ascending order. For a scholar who is not well versed in Gurba@i, it may appear difficult to follow. Even a scholar of the ilk of Ernest Trumpp may find it inconsistent and repetitive both in the content and style to remark that it lacks in 'thematic unity and artistic beauty' in arrangement. All these scholars basically miss the point that though the Àdi Granth is an
organized scripture, yet its hymns move without any transition from one subject to another, often returning to a subject discussed earlier.

XVIII. **KACHÁ·BÀÆÁ**

18.1. Existence of *Kachi·ba@i* is another significant feature, which helps the critics to evaluate the credentials of a document. On the testimony of the Sikh Gurus one can safely state that their rivals were churning out 'spurious' hymns in the vein of 'Nanak'. The rivals had commissioned scribes to produce and circulate their own versions of scriptural writings. Obviously, the *Kachi·ba@i* composed at the behest of rivals had been included in their respective codices. It seems later on the scribes trained in the lore of rival traditions continued to include 'ungenuine' writings into their manuscripts. It is also quite possible that the scribes who were over-zealous to preserve any literature associated with the Sikh Gurus coming in their way went on to record it into their copies without any scruples. Hence, some of the *Kachi·ba@i* writings have found their way into some of the copies of the Sikh scripture. However, to discern the tradition from which a *Kachi·ba@i* manuscript has descended is not an impossible task. A close perusal of the *Kachi·ba@i* included in the Goindwal *Pothis* and MS # 1245 as well, reveals that it is not only of 'unripe' nature but also revolves around a personal guru, the *sarguna* mode of Bhakti, and ascetic ideals, especially *ha.h·yoga* practices. Obviously, the *Kachi·ba@i* incorporated in the above documents owe its origin to the rivals, whose primary interest lay in projecting their peculiar beliefs and practices. Furthermore, the manner in which the *Kachi·ba@i* had been recorded and placed in MS a 1245, confirms that it had been introduced at a stage when codification of the *Àdi Granth* had been completed, hence the above manuscript's claim to an earlier origin than that of the *Àdi Granth* is also not valid.

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XIX. TRADITION OF THE Scribe

19.1. Hitherto, the role played by the scribes in the transmission of Bani has not been adequately commented upon by the critics. Pashaura Singh has discerned Islamic influence on the early manuscripts of Sikh scripture to claim that "the early Sikh scribes followed the Qur'anic tradition to illuminate the margins and opening folios of the manuscripts of the Ádi Granth." However, a preliminary enquiry reveals that these so-called Islamic features were not confined to the Ádi Granth manuscripts alone. The illumination or art work may be attributed to the professional scribes and bookbinders who at the behest of their patrons got the services of illuminators with the sole aim to present the manuscript in an attractive and decent manner. In fact, the critics have not only neglected the role of professional scribes but also have failed to trace out the tradition with which a scribe was affiliated. They assume that almost all the documents relating to Gurbani, are the legitimate works of the main Sikh tradition, whereas one can very safely state that there were three other rival traditions which were prevalent in the pre-Ádi Granth period. The rivals of the Sikh Gurus had also produced codices of Gurbani, ostensibly to attract the Sikhs to their fold. For that they had commissioned scribes whose primary interest lay in projecting their peculiar beliefs and practices. In fact the entry of apocryphal writings into the Sikh scriptural writings can largely be attributed to the scribes working at the behest of their masters, the rivals of the Sikh Gurus. Thus, all the manuscripts which presently we have in the different libraries and private collections and those which might be surfacing in near future, are not ought to be the product of main Sikh tradition alone. The point which we wish to put-forth here is that while doing textual studies, religious outlook or affiliation of a scribe responsible for producing a document, is equally important and needs to be probed, otherwise conclusions drawn will not be able to stand the test of scrutiny.

19.2. As described earlier, though copying of Bani has developed

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into a pastime for pious Sikhs but there existed professional scribes whose livelihood was on the copying of Ādi Granth texts. It is hoped that they responded to the requirements of an individual and groups as well. It seems besides producing small prayer books (Guṇkas) they also made available selection of hymns for the use of musicians. Though, they were bound to copy the text as desired by their patrons yet their role in selecting the text arbitrarily can not be ruled out altogether. There is no doubt that the role of professional scribes in the transmission of Bani was quite considerable but their criteria to select the text or preference for popularizing a particular recension of Bani has remained a mystery so far which needs to be unveiled. Similarly, scribal habits of the scribes associated with various traditions within the Panth, namely the Udasis, the Bhallas and the Minas and those coming from mercantile community, namely Khatri, Aro~as and Bha~ias have not come into the focus of our critics.

XX. MĀL-MAÂTRA

20.1. The Mul-Mantra, primarily unfolds Guru Nanak’s perception of the Ultimate Reality he believed. Since, God is at the centre of Sikh sacred writings, consequently the Mul-Mantra can rightly be called the thematic core of the Sikh scripture. As observed earlier the form of invocation i.e., the Mul-Mantra employed in all the so-called earlier sources is not identical and secondly it has some variants which are not present in the version that we have in the Ādi Granth. Assuming that these sources are the genuine product of Sikh tradition and has descended from one after another, some critics have come to the conclusion that present form of Mul-Mantra is not original as it has undergone changes at various stages of Sikh history.¹ However, sustained investigation of these sources on which the above hypothesis is based confirms that neither they share a common tradition with the Ādi Granth nor they are ancestral to it. Instead they represent different recensions which most probably owe their origin to the sectarian elements within the Panth. Thus to conclude about the original Mul-Mantra

of Sikh tradition on the basis of these documents does not look fair. We have also observed that scribes of these documents have not adhered to one version, rather they have been modifying the Mul-Mantra on successive folios. The alleged earliest version of Mul-Mantra found in the Guru Har Sahai Pothi is preposterous to be accepted simply because the folio on which it has been recorded was not an integral part of the Pothi. Moreover, the size of folio in question does not match with the folios of the Pothi.1 Besides, it begins with Onkar (ੰ) to miss the figure of ikk (one). Even it invokes Baba Nanak which is highly unjustified in a Mul-Mantra handed down by Guru Nanak himself. Similar is the case with the Goindwal Pothis where at places ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ and ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ ਹਾਰ have been made part of the Mul-Mantra.2 All these facts put a question mark whether these Pothis have really preserved the original form of Mul-Mantra that had its origin with Guru Nanak.

20.2. On the basis of variants found in the text of the Mul-Mantra of these sources, some critics have come to the conclusion that originally the components such as Purakhu (ਪੁਰਕੁ) and Nirvairu (ਨਿਰਵਾਈਰੁ) were not present in the Mul-Mantra whereas some words, namely Sachnamu (ਸਕਨਮੂ), Kartar (ਕਰਤਾਰ), Nirikar (ਨਿਰਕਾਰ) and Satiguru (ਸਤੀਗੁਰੂ) of the original version have been replaced with Satinamu (ਸਾਤਿਨਾਮੂ), Kartapurakhu (ਕਰਤਾਪੁਰਕੁ, Nirvairu (ਨਿਰਵਾਈਰੁ) and Gur (ਗੁਰ) respectively. They also argue that the addition of the word Nirvairu (ਨਿਰਵਾਈਰੁ) is due to Guru Ram Das who "employs it to put emphasis on the divine attribute of benevolence." It has been further observed that "it may reflect his firm resolve to counteract the situation of hostility in real life, created by the animosity of his rivals, with the spirit of love and friendliness. Thus a new theological dimension is added to the Sikh understanding of Ultimate Reality."3 The above formulation is highly illogical as the Sikh Gurus right from Guru Nanak have

1. See supra chap. 2.7.
2. See supra chap. 3.13.
to face hostility at the hands of their rivals. Secondly, a close perusal of the Sikh text confirms that all the attributes of God mentioned in the Mul-Mantra have been stated in the Bani of Guru Nanak. Thus the constructions in the Mul-Mantra which the critics attribute to Guru Ram Das have already been a part of the Sikh understanding of God. For instance Guru Nanak says:

\[ \text{सती सती तुलनात्मक सती सती} \]

Similarly, Guru Nanak has referred to God as Sati (सती) and Purakhu (पुरक्षु) in his compositions at a number of places. There is a cluster of hymns in Sarang mode wherein Guru Ram Das elaborates the nature of God. At the beginning of one of these hymns he implores his mind to concentrate on the God whose attributes are similar to one mentioned in the Mul-Mantra. For instance:

\[ \text{सती सती सती सती सती} \]
\[ \text{सती सती सती सती सती} \]
\[ \text{सती सती सती सती सती} \]

However, the above reference has been taken to mean that Guru Ram Das has worked over the text of Mul-Mantra to introduce certain theological changes in it. It is well-known to the critics that the occurrence of such references in a text are not an unusual feature. It may be a part of Guru Ram Das’ methodology to expound the text of Mul-Mantra as to explain the technical terms or to explain the meanings the use of scripture has been a valid and reliable method of exegesis. In the Sikh scripture such examples are not uncommon. It is worth-noting that Guru Ram Das has resorted to the above mode of exegesis at a number of places. For example he remarks:

\[ \text{सती सती सती सती सती} \]

A keen observer of the Sikh text will not fail to take note that

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1. AGGS, p. 596.
2. Ibid., p. 1201.
4. AGGS, p. 1315.
the above composition reads like a commentary on a *saloka* that occurs at the beginning of *Japu* of Guru Nanak. All these factors point to the fact that the full text of *Mul-Mantra* in its present form along with the *saloka* (*बजव चंदन चंदन चंदन*) have already been a part of the Sikh text. Consequently, the hypothesis that Guru Ram Das has introduced certain theological changes in the text of *Mul-Mantra* does not stand the test of scrutiny.

20.3. The use of phrases such as *Sati guru Parasadi* (*सतीगुरु परसादी*), *Sri Sati guru* (*स्री सतीगुरु*) and *Gur Pure ke Parsadu* (*गुर पुरे के परसादु*) is another significant feature of the invocation employed in these *Pothis*. According to the critics "the scribes who are quite sure that the theology they have been taught is true, are certain that the text could not say anything that disagrees with their theology; therefore the text in front of them must be wrong if it says something contradictory to their theology." 1 Exactly, the occurrence of above-mentioned variants in the *Pothis* under discussion provides insights into the ideology of their scribes. We observe that instead of invoking to the divine Preceptor, the *Mul-Mantra* recorded in these *Pothis* lays stress on personal guru, a characteristic feature of the sectarian literature produced by the rivals of the Sikh Gurus. The way in which our critics have given tongue to theological changes in the text of *Mul-Mantra* reminds of P. McReynolds' remarks that "textual criticism is a nitpicker's paradise because of the small variations that we sometimes blow up to mean a great deal." 2 Similarly, to initiate debate on the originality of *Mul-Mantra*, critics have picked up the variants of those documents which do not belong to the Sikh Gurus. They have failed to discern that the variants found in the text of *Mul-Mantra* of these documents may be due to the theology of scribes and their sectarian interests as well. As the documents under discussion represent different recensions which owe their origin to sectarian elements, hence their evidence lacks in credibility to suggest changes in the text of *Mul-Mantra* of Sikh tradition.

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XXI. TEXTUAL VARIANTS

21.1. Notwithstanding the reverence in which the scribes held the Bani, the medieval milieu under which they worked to produce voluminous codices made a few scribal variants of inadvertent variety unavoidable. Secondly, the scribes trained and working for different traditions on occasion, deliberately altered the text to make insertions and deletions, to suit their theological and ethical leanings. Such alterations once having entered the text were often copied without any correction, thus finding a permanent place in the version popular in different regions and at particular religious establishments. The entry of extra-canonical writings into the Goindwal Pothis and MS a 1245, can largely be attributed to the above phenomenon. Thirdly, some of the variants are of 'intentional' variety and relate to musicology. The use of vocatives, insertion of fillers, replacement of syllables and phrases, reshuffling of text within a line, inversion of antras and the rendering of hymn in two different modes, were not uncommon among the musicians. Some of the variants of the Goindwal Pothis and MS # 1245 as well, belong to the above variety which suggest that the scribes of the above documents had tampered with the text under the influence of their respective musical traditions. Since, every codex of Gurbani had a specific purpose, hence difference in the sequence of ragas and arrangement of hymns had resulted largely from the use and purpose of the codices.

21.2. One of the 'vestigial footprints' located by a critic relates to musicology that in the initial stage only the main raga was mentioned and the practice to classify it into subtle modes, such as Basant Hin^ol, Parbhati Bibhas, etc., is of later origin.\(^1\) Unfortunately, he has not bothered to examine his sources in the light of the above theory. Contrary to his assertion majority of the ragas of Goindwal Pothis have been classified into Dakhni modes. Even a few of them have three modes (धन्धर्मी धन्धर्मी चप्पल धन्धर्मी गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट गर्गुलट) which are quite unusual. Since, the classification of the ragas of the Goindwal Pothis is more

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1. Piar Singh, Gatha Sri Àdi Granth and the Controversy, p. 44.
pronounced and varied than that of the Ádi Granth, thus the above Pothis are ineligible to be called earlier sources of the Ádi Granth.

21.3. Another category of vestigial footprints of earlier collections, which is said to throw light on the earlier sources, relates to scribing. Accordingly, it has been remarked that (I) to indicate the authorship of Sikh Gurus, the current substantive Mahala (ਗੱਢਾ) is of later origin; (II) to transcribe the names of ragas Sri and Bhairo as ਸ੍ਰੀ and ਬਹੀਰਾ respectively is a later practice; (III) to indicate authorship at the head of each hymn is also a practice of later period; (IV) the use of figure 1 before ਸਾਜ਼ (refrain) was not in vogue in earlier collections; and so on. Though, the presence or absence of the above-mentioned variants may be attributed to the personal whims and fancies of a scribe, however we can state with any amount of certainty that the scribing traits of a later period or periods are clearly visible in the Goindwal Pothis and MS # 1245 as well, which put a question mark on their relative anteriority.

21.4. Some of the vocables of the Goindwal Pothis and that of MS # 1245, namely ਭ੍ਰੀਆਂ, ਪ੍ਰੀਆਂ, ਬਹਿਰਾਂ, ਸਾਜ਼ਾ, ਸਾਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ, ਹਿਰਾਂ, ਹਿਰਾਂਰ, ਹਿਰਾਂ ਇਕਾਰਾਂ, ਹਿਰਾਂ ਇਕਾਰਾਂ, ਹਿਰਾਂ ਇਕਾਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਹਿਰਾਂ ਅਨੁਵਾਦਾਂ have been scribed in a corrupt manner. However, they have been picked up as colloquial forms said to be definitive features of the earlier collections. It has been aptly remarked that since we can not make fools behave like wisemen, thus taking recourse to the above approach would mean that we expect from the wisemen that they should have behaved like fools. Some of the variants of the above documents, are so ill-devised that sense of the syllables and phrases is hardly intelligible. Hypothetically, one can argue that their poetic and correct use was unknown to the Sikh Gurus and that they had composed their writings in a crude manner which is a highly improper formulation. Though, the presence of such vocables in their corrupt form may be due to the ignorance and dialectal reasons on the part of the scribe, yet their appearance is, in no

2. Ibid., p. 40.
4. For details see supra chap. 3.15 and chap. 4.12.
way, a certificate of antiquity of a document.

XXII. SCRIBAL TRADITION

22.1. The history of the Sikh scriptural text, as asserted by some critics, is not of obscure nature. Its origin can easily be traced back to Guru Nanak Dev, whose experience of the 'Numinous' formed its very core and basis as well. Truly, to popularize the message of Gurbani oral transmission in the form of musical tradition has been a popular mode but it was not the only way to preserve the Sabad for posterity. Our sources confirm that beginning with Guru Nanak Dev, the Sikh Gurus were not averse to recording the Sabad on its very manifestation. Before Guru Nanak Dev left the mundane world, the first redaction of his sacred writings had been compiled into a codex, popularly known as the Pothi. The successive Sikh Gurus not only contributed to the Sikh sacred writings but took a keen interest also to prepare and circulate the codices of Gurbani among the Sikh Sangats. Subsequently, a mother tradition of Gurbani in scribal form had flourished under the watchful eyes of the Sikh Gurus. Early Sikh sources belonging to the period of Guru Ram Das reveal that public reading of Gurbani had become an essential part of the Sikh liturgy. Subsequently, the scribing of Pothis of Gurbani had developed into a pastime for pious Sikhs. The codices that had been prepared had been duly installed in the Dharamsalas. Even, the practice to take vak (वक), to read the first hymn from the Pothi when opened, had come into vogue.¹ Evidence at hand indicates that a well-nurtured mother tradition of Gurbani in scribal form had come down to Guru Arjan Dev on his succession.

22.2. The musical or oral tradition of Gurbani which was prevalent among mainstream Sikhs had its no independent origin but had thrived purely on the mother tradition i.e., the scribal tradition. Looking back at the pre-Adi Granth milieu, there is no reason to doubt that to compete with the main stream Sikhism, at least three other traditions of Gurbani, namely the Udasi, Bhalla and Mina had come to stay among the Sikhs. The

¹. Surjit Hans, *A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature*, p. 100.
Sikh Gurus were impelled to defend the originality and authenticity of their mission vis-à-vis what their rivals claimed it to be. Nevertheless it is a fact that the rivals were also producing their own codices on the pattern of Sikh Gurus, ostensibly to establish and run their respective gurudoms. We can well-imagine that codices were being produced by different scribes for different reasons and purposes. Scholars have noticed some manuscripts originating from the Mina tradition in which Basant ki Var of M.5 that originally comprised three stanzas, has some additional writings from the pen of Miharban.\(^1\) The point that we intend to make here is that before using any source as an evidence for textual studies of the *Adi Granth*, a text critic has to evaluate the historical scenario out of which a particular source had originated. Besides, one has to unravel the process through which it had been composed, the sources employed for it and the very purpose of its origin. Moreover, a text critic has to give scrupulous attention to discern from which of the above-mentioned traditions of *Gurbani*, a particular source has originated, otherwise the conclusions drawn on its face value will not be valid.

XXIII. COMPILATION OF BĀNÁ

23.1. There is no denying the fact that in addition to the inherited codex, Guru Arjan Dev had access to some other sources also. However, traditional Sikh scholars in their zeal to highlight the efforts and labour put into by Guru Arjan Dev to compile and canonize the *Adi Granth*, feel that he had to procure *Gurbani* from different sources, especially from the Sikh Sangats and devout Sikhs settled in different regions of the Sikh world. They assume that *Gurbani* lay scattered in different sources at far-flung places. But this approach is not satisfactory as an explanation. Firstly, there is no reason to doubt that being the spiritual heir of Guru Nanak Dev’s mission, Guru Arjan Dev had not inherited the whole mass of scriptural writings associated with his predecessors. Secondly, though the range of Sikh mission was expanding, yet the most intense concentration of the Sikhs

was in Punjab, especially the Upper Bari Doab region. Almost all the immediate successors of Guru Nanak Dev had remained busy in the confines of the above region of Punjab. Thirdly, all the major centres of Sikhism such as Kartarpur (Ravi), Khadur, Goindwal, Ramdaspur, Tarn Taran and Kartarpur (Doaba) that had come up were situated in and around the Upper Bari Doab region of Punjab. In the face of above factors to conceive that Guru Arjan Dev was unfamiliar with the writings of his predecessors and to procure them he had to depend on the Sikhs settled at far away places, look not so convincing. However, to sift the writings of the medieval Bhagats he might have approached their devotees settled at different places in and outside Punjab to procure the sources available with them. On the testimony of titles such as नारिंद्रिय प्रसवेद नींदृ रुपर तसा धवलिया तितिफ जगा वर the occurrence in the Àdi Granth, we can vouch-safe that some writings of the Bhagats have come into the Sikh scripture from the sources that were available to the fifth Master.

XXIV. CANONIZATION OF BÀNI

24.1. The term 'canon' (Greek: kanon, measuring rod) while applied to the scriptural sources of any religious tradition sets them apart to determine its normative pattern and thus evolves a criterion by which doctrines, beliefs and practices described in a source are to be judged. The internal evidence of Sikh scripture points to a canonization process, which is marked by three pivotal stages. Firstly, it occurred during the pontificate of Guru Amar Das when the 'ungenuine' writings of a 'pseudo-guru', which were likely to affect the originality of Gurbani, were not allowed to enter into the Sikh scriptural tradition. We observe that Guru Amar Das after applying the criterion of Sachi versus Kachi-Bani had prepared the codex afresh. During the second stage Guru Ram Das very zealously guarded the originality of Sikh sacred writings and did not allow the Kachi-Bani, composed in the vein of Sikh Gurus to interpolate the Sikh scriptural sources. The codices that he had prepared for subsequent circulation among

1. For the expansion of Sikh mission during early 17th century, see Balwant Singh Dhillon, Parmukh Sikh te Sikh Panth, pp. 89-136.
the Sikh Sangats for worship and study held the authentic writings of the Sikh Gurus. The third stage related to the internal crisis created by the Minas when the Sikh scriptural tradition had come under serious threat of interpolation. It resulted in the culmination of canonization of Sikh scripture, the Ádi Granth by which Guru Arjan Dev rejected once for all the unauthentic writings which had come to be attributed to the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats as well. Thus, the canonization of Sikh scriptural tradition was the result of a half century long process whereby only those writings that had been proved authentic were elevated to the status of Sachi-Bani to play a decisive role in the formation of Sikh scripture. Hence, the canonization of the Sikh scriptural tradition should not be viewed as a late development related to Guru Arjan Dev only but it was an ongoing process, co-extensive with the pontificate of his predecessors as well.

24.2. It is a well-known fact that with the codification of the Ádi Granth, the canon has been closed. However, Piar Singh claims that the activities pertaining to the compilation and editing to the Holy Word "went on even after the reported canonization of Gurbani by the Fifth Master: otherwise we would not have witnessed the plethora of different recensions in the years that followed." To explain the emergence of different recensions this approach does not look convincing. In fact critics usually tend to overlook the vital fact that transmission of Bani in the pre and post-Ádi Granth period continued through various ways and means. Besides the tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus, the traditions propounded by the rival claimants for guruship were also prevalent. Thus, all the extant manuscripts of Bani may not have originated from the tradition associated with the Sikh Gurus. Similarly, a manuscript may have been produced keeping in mind a particular use. Moreover, a scribe while copying his text may have been making use of more than one document at times, hence manuscripts of corrupt or conflated nature may have come into existence. Even, over the years cross-fertilization between various recensions may have occurred. Lastly, the

1. Piar Singh, Gatha Sri Ádi Granth and the Controversy, p. 46.
variant readings that are present in the different manuscripts may be on account of scribal habits. It looks quite plausible that the codification of the Ádi Granth would have resulted in complete replacement of all other traditions but it could not be realized because with the movement of Sikh Gurus to the Shivalik hills the sectarian elements within the Panth have got ascendancy in the central Punjab to propagate their versions of Bani. The sources at hand indicate that even in the post-Ádi Granth period the textual recension such as MS # 1245 and the Banno which were not strictly canonical in nature continued to be made. However, the issue that to which segment of the Sikhs these recensions were acceptable requires an in-depth study at the hands of critics. Unfortunately, critics have not bothered to search into the history of the extant manuscripts that when, where and who produced them and what had been the use made of them. An enquiry into the origin as well as geographical distribution of the Ádi Granth manuscripts can provide vital leads to discern at which centre or in which part of the Sikh world and with whom a particular recension of Bani was popular to get importance over the others. The resultant data can be of immense value to explain the occurrence of features that are alien to the Ádi Granth.

XXV. DISAPPEARANCE OF SOURCES

25.1. Our sources reveal that history of the literary activities in the Sikh Panth is not of recent origin but is quite old. We observe that during the pre-Ádi Granth period, hymns of the Sikh Gurus had been reduced to writing, the Pothis of Gurbani had been installed in the Dharamsalas and their reading in public had become the core of Sikh liturgy. But it is quite astonishing to note that no writing or codex belonging to the earlier Gurus has survived. If they ever existed then why is none of them is traceable now? What are the reasons for their disappearance? Whether all these sources had been destroyed callously to promulgate the official scripture? All these issues are of serious concern for a text critic. Unlike the orthodox Caliphs of Islam, a decree on the part of the Sikh Gurus to destroy all the scriptural sources except the Ádi Granth, is still unheard of in the annals
of Sikh history. It seems with the codification of the 
Àdi Granth,
all other codices of Gurbani, had been rendered redundant and
lost religious significance for the Sikhs to preserve them for
posterity. Another reason, which is equally significant, is that
during the period of persecution, the Sikhs were hard pressed to
preserve their literature. What happened to the Sikhs and their
scripture during the ascendency of Lakhpat Rai, Diwan of Lahore
(1740s), is worth reminding in the words of Rattan Singh
Bhangoo:

It was announced with the beat of drum that no one
should utter the name of Guru. If anyone were found
uttering the name of Guru would be arrested and his
belly ripped open. It was also decreed that no one should
read the Bani of Guru Nanak. To avoid persecution at
the hands of Mughal authorities the Sikhs had to stack
away their Granth and Pothis as well.  

As noted by Ganda Singh even the word gu~ (molasses) which
sounded like Guru, was not to be uttered. The word Granth was
also to be replaced with Pothi. Many of the volumes of the Holy
Granth were collected and thrown into rivers and wells. The tank
of the Amritsar temple was filled with earth. In the light of above
scenario, the critics who rue for the disappearance of the sources
of the Àdi Granth, can well-imagine that where and with whom
the Pothis of Gurbani could have survived. In retrospect we can
very safely remark that until and unless the critics do not posses
the incredible sources pre-dating 1604 C.E., the hypothesis that
the text of the Àdi Granth codified by Guru Arjan Dev lacks in
originality, is difficult to believe. Since, no devout Sikh of the
stature of Bhai Gurdas would wilfully attempt to tamper with
the 'word' of God, we have to accept that the final version of the
Àdi Granth is a faithful production on the part of the fifth Master.

1. तेज धीरा मनवत कुलादि || लंबे दे लंबे दुहे लें रादि ||
   ले तूह राम गल सम राम || द्वारके रथपी वर्ध भगवान ||
   रामज हों लंबे दे लंबे रादो || तौं बुधवर पंचमौह त्रिशङ्के ||
   ले तूह दे लंबे दे लंबे राद || भुजमात्र त्रिपुर वर्ध भगवान ||
   (Rattan Singh Bhangoo, Sri Gur Panth Prakash, p. 308)

25.2. Contrary to the Sikh tradition Piar Singh does not feel that there has been any effort on the part of Guru Gobind Singh to finalize the Sikh canon in 1706 C.E. at Damdama. According to him even concern for correct and authentic text within the Sikh Panth is a later phenomenon which was a direct outcome of granting of guruship to the *Granth* in 1708 by the tenth Master.¹ These observations on the part of learned scholar are highly irrational. We are informed that Sikh Gurus have enjoined upon the Sikhs to recite the *Bani* correctly.² The notes such as Sudhu (ਸੁਦੁ) and Sudh Kichai (ਸੁਦ ਕੀਚਾਈ) found recorded in the old manuscripts of the *Adi Granth* bear an ample proof that there was no let up on the issue of textual accuracy. A manuscript of the *Adi Granth* dating back to 1659 C.E., now preserved at Dehradun notes that Mira Bai’s song is absent in the fifth Guru’s *Granth*. Similarly, another note in it informs that these *salokas* have been copied from the *Granth* of fifth Master.³ Significantly, another manuscript of the *Adi Granth* completed in 1692 C.E., now in the collection of Takht Patna Sahib, has a note that ‘this *Granth* is a copy of Fateh Chand’s *Granth* which in turn is a copy of the Puhkar (Pushkar) *Granth*. The Puhkar *Granth* has been corrected against the big *Granth* which the fifth Guru got recorded by Bhai Gurdas. A *Granth* corrected against that one becomes correct.’⁴ All these facts confirm that interest for authentic and authoritative text that has descended from Guru Arjan Dev, was always high in the minds of 17th century Sikhs.

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² For dissemination of *Bani* in its correct form under the sixth and tenth Gurus, see Sohan, *Gurbilas Chhevin Patshahi*, pp. 332-339; *Parchian Sowa Das Udasi* (ed. Hari Singh), pp. 160-161.
GLOSSARY

Adi Guru Granth Sahib (ਅਦੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰਨਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ): the present title of Sikh scripture that was finalised at Damdama and conferred with Guruship by Guru Gobind Singh at the time of his demise in 1708 C.E.

Arati (ਅਰਾਟੀ): lit. ceremonial worship of a deity with lighted lamps; title assigned to a hymn of Guru Nanak in Dhanasari mode forming part of evening prayer of the Sikhs.

Adi Granth (ਅਦੀ ਗ੍ਰਨਥ): lit. the first book, volume or codex; the initial name of Sikh canon codified by Guru Arjan Dev in 1604 C.E.

Ahl-i-Kitab (ਆਹਿ-ਕੀਤਾਬ): ‘the People of Book'; the people who possess a revealed book, namely the Jews, the Christians and the Muslims.

Akal Takht (ਆਕਾਲ ਤਕਖ਼): lit. ‘throne of the Timeless'; the highest temporal and religious seat of Sikh Panth instituted by Guru Hargobind opposite the Harimandir at Amritsar.

Akal Murti (ਆਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤੀ): the Immortal Being beyond time and death; an attribute of God mentioned in the Sikh scripture.

Akali (ਆਕਾਲੀ): lit. follower of the Timeless; an activist of the Akali Party, a political outfit of the Sikhs in Punjab.

Amrit (ਆਮਰਿਤ): nectar; elixir of life; ambrosia; initiation ceremony into the Order of Khalsa.

Antra (ਆਂਤਰਾ): verse, couplet or stanza of a hymn usually sung between the refrain; couplet of a song other than the take off one.

Arora (ਆਰੋਰਾ): a mercantile or trading community of the Punjab.

Astpadi (ਆਸਟ੍ਰੇਡੀ): a variety of hymn normally of eight stanzas employed in the Sikh scripture.

Baradari (ਬਰਾਦਰੀ): brotherhood; community joined by common social, religious or ethnic interests.

Baba (ਬਾਬਾ): grandfather; an old person; an honorific used for Guru Nanak in the Sikh literature.

Baisakhi / Vaisakhi (ਵਾਿਸਕੀ): a religious festival occurring on the first of Vaisakh, the first month of the Indian year according to the solar calendar.

Baai (ਬਾਈ): lit. utterances, words, speech; sacred writings of the Sikh Gurus and medieval Bhagats included in the Sikh scripture.

Baoli (ਬਾਲੀ): a well with paved steps leading to the water level.
Bari Doab (बारी दुबारा): an area bounded by the rivers of Beas and Ravi in the Punjab.
Bedi (बेडी): a sub-caste of the Khatris of Punjab.
Bemukh (बेमुख): a person who has turned away from the path of the Sikh Gurus.
Bhagat (भागत): lit. devotee or worshipper; title assigned to the exponents of Bhagati, particularly the medieval Indian saints.
Bhagat-Baai (भागत बाई): the compositions of medieval Indian Bhagats that are included in the Sikh canon.
Bhagati (भागती): adoration; worship; devotion towards God in personal form.
Bhai (बहाई): lit. brother; an honorific of a Sikh well-versed in the Sikh scripture and tradition.
Bhalla (बहला): a sub-caste of the Khatris of Punjab.
Bhaia (बहिया): a mercantile community in the Punjab.
Bhai (बहाई): bard; panegyrist; a professional caste of the Hindu minstrels.
Bi (बी): recension; volume; a manuscript volume of the Sikh scripture.
Chaudhari (चौधरी): a village level functionary in medieval India, normally a village headman.
Chauapa (चौपाना): lit. a hymn possessing four stanzas; a metrical composition of the Sikh Gurus comprising two or more stanzas.
Chawla (चावला): lit. rice trader; a sub-caste of the Aroas, a mercantile community of the Punjab.
Chhant (छहांट): a poetic mode of variable length employed in the Sikh scripture.
Akhaa (अखा): lit. southern; a dialect of southern Punjab known as Sairak: a prosordic mode popular in southern Punjab; title assigned to the couplets juxtapositioned between the stanzas (pau-īs) of var (ballad) in the Sikh scripture.
Dakhai (दक्खाई): lit. originating or belonging to the Deccan; suffix of some musical modes to make them composite ones. For instance, Ramkali Dakhai means a variety of Ramkali mode that is sung in the South.
Dandama (दंडमा): resting place; one of the five Takhts of Sikh Panth situated at Talwandi Sabo, Bathinda, Punjab.
Desi (देसी): indigenous; local.
Devanagri (देवनागरी): name of the script used for Sanskrit and Hindi.
Dhamal (धमल): a form of folk dance of the Punjab.
Dharamsala (धरमसाला): lit. place to practise religion; an inn for pilgrims and wayfarers; an earlier name of Sikh centre of worship, a prototype of modern day Gurdwara, consisting community kitchen and serai.
Dhuni (धुनी): musical tune for singing.
Doab (दुबारा): a region bounded by two rivers.
Doaba (दुबारा): a region of Punjab bounded by the rivers of Beas and Satluj also called Jalandhar-Doab or Bist-Doab.
Aoom (अौम) : a class of Muslim genealogists and minstrels also known as Mirasis.

Dusha (दुष्ट) : an evil-doer; demon.

Gharu (घर) : lit. house; musical beat indicating rhythm for singing.

Giani (गियानी) : lit. wise, knowledgeable; an honorific of a acknowledged Sikh scholar or theologian.

Gosh (गोश) : dialogue; discourse particularly on religious matters.

Gosain (गोसाईन) : lord or master; an epithet of God used in the Sikh scripture; a sect of the Hindu ascetics.

Granth (गुरुसंहिता) : a voluminous collection of sacred writings.

Gulam (गुलाम) : servant; slave.

Guavanti (गुवांती) : gifted or virtuous woman; title assigned to a hymn of Guru Arjan in Suhi mode of the Sikh scripture.

Gu~ (गु) : molasses; lumped brown sugar.

Gurbaai (गुरबाई) : lit. words or utterances of the Guru; sacred hymns included in the Sikh scripture.

Gurdwara (गुरद्वारा) : lit. door or house of the Guru; Sikh temple or place of worship.

Gurgaddi (गुरगद्दी) : seat of guruship or religious authority.

Gurpurab (गुरपूर्ब) : religious festival commemorating the life history of the Sikh Gurus.

Gurmukh (गुरमुख) : Guru-oriented as opposed to Manmukh.

Gurmukhi (गुरमुखी) : lit. from the mouth of Guru; script used by the Sikh Gurus to record their religious experience; modern day script of the Punjabi.

Gursikh (गुरसिख) : disciple or follower of the Sikh Gurus.

Gu_ka (गु_का) : lectionary; breviary; small prayer book for personal use of the Sikhs.

Harimandir (हरिमंदिर) : lit. the temple of God; the central Sikh shrine amidst the pool founded by Guru Arjan Dev at Amritsar also known as the Golden Temple.

Hartal (हर्तल) : name of the paste used for erasing.

Ha_h_yoga (हठ_योग) : a variety of yoga based on extreme austerities and difficult postures practised by the Shaivite yogis.

Hindalia (हिंदालिया) : a heretical sect of the Sikhs established by one Hindal in late 16th century. As he stressed upon the worship of Niranjan (formless nature of God), his followers were also known as Niranjanias.

Hukamnama (हुकामनामा) : lit. edict or order; epistle of the Sikh Gurus asking the Sikhs to observe the mandatory injunctions.

Janamsakhi (जन्मसाकhi) : lit. life or birth story; a traditional biographical account, especially of a religious personality.
Japu / Japuji (Jāpu) : a composition of Guru Nanak placed at the head of Sikh scripture forming an essential part of the morning prayer of the Sikhs.

Jawai (Jāwar) : son-in-law particularly daughter's husband.

Kachi-Baai (Jāptū ḍūṭī) : lit. unripe; false; apocryphal, extra-canonical writings attributed to the Sikh Gurus and Bhagats.

Kafi (Kāfi) : a poetic genre or musical mode.

Kartar (Kārtār) : lit. creator; an attributive Name of God employed in the Sikh scripture.

Khalsa (Kālsā) : a Sikh who has partaken the baptism of double edged sword instituted by Guru Gobind Singh; brotherhood of the baptized Sikhs.

Khatri (Khātri) : a trading and mercantile community, particularly of the Punjab origin.

Kirtan (Kīrtan) : divine music; devotional singing; public singing of Baai especially by a musical group.

Krishna-bhakti (Kīrtan Kārtār) : adoration, devotion or worship of Krishna as a personal God.

Kuchaji (Kuchā) : an ill-mannered or uncultured woman: title assigned to a hymn of Guru Nanak in Suhi mode of the Sikh scripture.

Ku-am (Ku-un) : son or daughter's father-in-law.

Ku-iwar (Kū-iwār) : a person in love with falsehood.

Lana (Lānā) : lit. tailless; a type of script without vowel signs normally used by the accountants.

Langar (Lāngār) : community kitchen attached to a Gurdwara (Sikh temple) where food is served without any distinction to everybody.

Mahala (Māhāl) : a term having mystical connotation used in the Sikh scripture to distinguish the writings of Sikh Gurus. For example, Mahala 1 being Guru Nanak and Mahala 2 meaning Guru Angad and so on.

Maghi (Māghi) : a religious festival occurring on the first of Magh, the tenth month of Bikrami era according to the solar calendar.

Mahant (Māhānt) : chief priest: head of a religious establishment, temple or monastery.

Maṭha (Maṭe) : lit. middle or mid-land; the central region of Punjab particularly the Upper Bari Doab area.

Mala (Māḷā) : string of beads: rosary used by a religious person to meditate on the Name of God.

Malwa (Maḷwa) : a region of Punjab towards south and south-east of the Satluj river.

Mandir (Māndir) : temple: place of worship.

Manji (Mānji) : lit. cot; seat of religious authority: dioceses established by Guru Amar Das in specified towns and areas to carry on the Sikh mission.
**Manjidar** (मन्जिदार): lit. holder of Manji; a pious Sikh bestowed with the authority to preach Sikhism on behalf of the Sikh Gurus at a specified place.

**Manmukh** (मन्मुख): self-centred; self-oriented as opposed to Gurmukh, a Guru-oriented person.

**Masand** (मसांद): lit. high seat; deputy or agent of the Sikh Gurus in the pre-Khalsa period authorized to preach and collect tithe from the Sikhs living in a specified area or city.

**Mast** (मस्त): ecstatic; intoxicated.

**Mastan** (मस्तन): self-absorbed; indifferent to worldly affairs.

**Miaa** (मिया): lit. cunning, crooked or deceitful; a schismatic and rival tradition of the Sikhs originating from Prithi Chand, elder brother of Guru Arjan Dev.

**Taksal** (तक्साल): lit. mint; seminary or school for the standardized study of Sikhism.

**Modi** (मोडी): store-keeper; incharge of commissariat.

**Mul-Mantra** (मुल-मंत्र): the cardinal formula of Sikh faith describing the nature of Ultimate Reality recorded at the head of the Sikh scripture also used as an invocation by the Sikhs.

**Nambardar** (नंभारदर): a hereditary village headman appointed by the State to assist the revenue officials.

**Nath-Sidha** (नाथ-सिधा): a Shaivite sect of the yogis having strong influence of Tantric Buddhism, expert in ha-h-yoga also known as Kanpha-a yogis.

**Nazrana** (नजरना): tribute; offering.

**Nindak** (निन्दक): detractor; slanderer; calumniator.

**Niranjania** (निरानंजाणी): lit. the follower of Niranjan (the formless God); a heretical Sikh sect founded by one Hindal, also see Hindalia.

**Nirguna-bhakti** (निर्गुण-भक्ति): worship, adoration and devotion of God who is without any form and incarnation.

**Nisan** (निसन): lit. mark or sign; a small piece of writings in the hand of Sikh Gurus, particularly the Mul-Mantra in its full or short form.

**Pada** (पदा): hymn, song or stanza attributed to the medieval Indian Bhagats.

**Panch Khalsa Diwan** (पंच खalsa दीवान): an organization of the Sikhs founded by Babu Teja Singh of Bhasaur, a strong votary to expunge the writings of Bhagats and Bha_s from the Sikh scripture.

**Pandha** (पंडा): a Brahmin priest or teacher.

**Panth** (पंथ): lit. path or way; religious sect; the Sikh community.

**Pargana** (पंजाब): an administrative unit usually a sub-division in medieval India.

**Patisahab** (पतिसाह): lit. the emperor; an honorific used for the Sikh Gurus.

**Patti** (पत्ती): a wooden board used by tutors to instruct the pupils; a composition of Guru Nanak in Asa mode.
**Parsadi** (ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ) : lit. grace; an attribute used in the Sikh scripture to depict the gracious and generous nature of God.

**Patal** (ਪਤਲ) : a kind of rhythm in Gurbai music.

**Pau-i** (ਪ੍ਰਪਾਲ) : lit. ladder or stairs; a kind of metre used for the stanzas of a var in the Sikh scripture.

**Pothi** (ਪੋਠੀ) : book; volume; codex; a collection of religious writings.

**Puranmasi** (ਪੂਰਨਮਸੀ) : a full moon day or night occurring on the 15th of sudi (bright half) of every month of lunar calendar in India.

**Rababi** (ਰਾਬਾਬੀ) : lit. rebeck player; a class of professional musicians or singers.

**Raga** (ਰਗ) : combination or arrangement of five or more musical notes to produce a melody.

**Ragi** (ਰਗੀ) : person skilled in raga; a Sikh musician well-versed in the Kirtan.

**Rahao** (ਰਾਹਾਓ) : pause; refrain.

**Rahirasu** (ਰਾਹਿਰਾਸੂ) : lit. righteous path; a term used for evening prayer of the Sikhs.

**Sabad** (ਸਬਦ) : 'Word' or self-expression of God in the form of actual words; hymns of the Sikh Gurus.

**Sachi-Baai** (ਸਚੀ-ਬਾਈ) : lit. true, correct or original writings; authentic compositions of the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats.

**Sachunam** (ਸਚੁਨਾਮ) : the True Name; an attribute of God used in the Sikh scripture.

**Sadh** (ਸਾਧ) : a religious person who holds full control over his senses.

**Sadu** (ਸਾਧੁ) : lit. summon or call; dirge; a prosordic form of song sung at the time of death of a person.

**Sadh-Sangat** (ਸਾਧ-ਸੰਗਤ) : an assembly of religious or saintly persons.

**Saloka** (ਸਾਲੋਕ) : couplet; a term employed for a short piece of writing juxtapositioned between the stanzas of a var and also forming part of the epilogue section of the Sikh scripture.

**Sammat** (ਸਾਮਤ) : era; calendar usually Bikrami era.

**Sambhau** (ਸੰਭਾਊ) : self-existent; an attribute of God used in the Sikh scripture.

**Sangat** (ਸੰਗਤ) : a religious assembly or congregation of the Sikhs.

**Sangrand** (ਸੰਗ੍ਰਣਦ) : first day of the twelve months of the Bikrami era when the Sun moves from one sign of the Zodiac to the next.

**Sant** (ਸੰਤ) : saint; holy person; virtuous and deeply religious person of any denomination in India.

**Sarguau-bhakti** (ਸਾਰਗੁਆਂ ਭਕਤੀ) : adoration, devotion or worship of God endowed with form, qualities and incarnation.

**Satigur** (ਸਾਤਿਗੁਰ) : the divine Preceptor; an attributive Name of God used in the Sikh scripture.

**Satiguru** (ਸਾਤਿਗੁਰੂ) : lit. the true guru; personal guru.
Sewak (ਸੇਵਕ) : servant; attendant; devotee.
Shair (ਸ਼ੈਰ) : poet; versifier.
Shiqdar (ਸ਼ਿਕਦਰ) : lit. holder of shiq, an administrative unit in medieval India.
Sodaru (ਸੋਦਰੁ) : title assigned to a group of hymns taken from the Sikh scripture that forms part of early evening prayer of the Sikhs.
Sohila (ਸੋਹਿਲਾ) : eulogy; song of thanks-giving recited as a bed time prayer by the Sikhs.
Solahe (ਸੋਲਾਹਾ) : a poetic form or metre employed in the Sikh scripture normally comprising 16 stanzas.
Suchaji (ਸੁਚਾਜੀ) : well-mannered, cultured or skillful woman; title assigned to a hymn of Guru Nanak in Suhi mode of the Sikh canon.
Swayye (ਸਵਾਇਦ) : panegyrics; a poetic mode used for eulogy.
Takht (ਤਕਹਤ) : lit. throne; one of the five seats of religious authority of Sikh Panth.
Åakari (ਏਕਾਰੀ) : an old script usually without vowel signs.
Tatkara (ਤਕਕੰਗਰ) : index; table of contents.
Udasi (ਉਦਾਸੀ) : indifferent to mundane world; otherworldly; a sect of the Sikh ascetics founded by Sri Chand, the eldest son of Guru Nanak Dev.
Vak (ਵਾਕ) : lit. speech; the first hymn on the left hand page of the Sikh scripture opened at random taken as a command of the day by the Sikhs.
Var (ਵਾਰ) : ode; ballad; a poetic genre eulogising heroic deeds.
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INDEX

Adbul Aziz, Mir 121
Abu Ali Qalandar 120
Afghan 58
Ah{l}-i-Kitab 37
Ahmadiya 67
Akal Takht 32, 184
Akali 95
Akbar, Emperor 54, 236
Amritsar 55, 57, 66, 90, 93, 94, 95, 184, 185, 187, 203, 208, 286
Anand, Baba 90, 94
Anandu 70, 143, 146, 209, 222
Anandu Parmarth 146
Arati 44, 71, 72, 73, 269
Aro-as 275
Asa 72, 94, 188, 193, 196, 200, 239
Asa ki Var 109
Asa Patti 39
B. 40 Janamsakhi 121, 133
Baba Patshah 101
Babur 56
Baghdad 121
Baisakhi 48, 67, 83
Baoli 48
Balwand 197, 209, 240
Banno 260, 285
Basant 94, 99, 103, 104, 105, 113, 114, 122, 197, 204
Basantu Dakhaai 141
Basantu Hindol 141, 204, 220, 279
Batala 121, 122, 134
Bedi 124
Bemukh 49
Beno 102, 117, 133
Bhagat Singh, Bawa 91, 95
Bhagat-baai 70, 75, 79, 82, 96, 97, 98, 102, 109, 119, 128, 133, 144, 189, 194, 195, 197, 238
Bhagats 32, 58, 59, 69, 75, 76, 81, 82, 94, 97, 102, 109, 111, 113, 119, 122, 125, 133, 134, 136, 137, 143, 144, 145, 147, 194, 195, 209, 222, 261, 264, 265, 269, 283, 284
Bhairo 70, 94, 99, 105, 113, 122, 202, 280
Bhairo Dakhaai 141
Bhakti 56
Bhalla 48, 60, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 127, 128, 146, 147, 265, 275, 281
Bhalla, Sarup Das 92
Bhalla, Vinod Kumar 91
Bhangoo, Rattan Singh 34, 286
Bhasaur 96
Bha_ias 275
Bhattas 43, 70, 72, 195, 196, 197
Bhikha 196
Bible 262
Biblical 261, 262, 263, 264
Bidhi Chand 57, 58
Bihagra 193
Bilawal 94, 109, 110, 113, 205, 211
Bilawal Chhant Dakhaai 220
Bir Sahib 208
Budh Singh, Bawa 94
Buddha, Baba 184, 189, 207, 208, 209, 240
Bulla Pandha 41
Bute Shah, Maulvi 34
Chanan Mal, Bawa 90
Chaudharies 51
Chawlas, Harbhajan Singh: Harcharan Singh 184, 185, 187, 189
Chunian 65, 66
Clark, A.C. 264
Columbia University 31
Dalip Chand, Bawa 90, 94
Damdama 260, 287
Darapur 97
Darshan Singh, Baba 208
Dehradun 287
Devanagari 78, 137
Dhamal 205, 219
Dhanasari Dakhhaai 141
Dhanasari Pasto Maru Gao 141
Dhanna 71, 102
Dharamsala 40, 42, 43, 44, 268, 281, 285
Dhunnis 205, 206, 237
Diwana, Mohan Singh 93, 94, 96, 116, 121
Doaba 283
Aoons 43
Dusha 49
Farid 71, 75, 79, 189, 194
Faridabad 66
Fateh Chand 287
Ferozepur 64, 65
Gajsinghpur 184
Ganda Singh 286
Gaun+a 202, 205
Gau-a Ramkali 71, 79
Gau-i 70, 94, 191, 192, 198, 199, 210, 220
Gau-i Majh 199
Gau-i Poorbi 220
Gayand, Bhatt 44
G.B. Singh 67, 77, 93, 96, 116
Gian Singh, Giani 93, 94, 95, 96, 116
Goindwal 48, 49, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 127, 144, 147, 196, 283
Gosain 76, 82
Griffin, Lepel H. 65
Guji 94, 110, 113, 211
Gulam 116, 117, 118, 272
Gulam Sada Sewak 97, 102, 109, 117, 118, 122, 123, 124, 125, 128, 145, 146, 222, 272
Gurjit Singh, Giani 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 76, 79, 82, 94, 97, 133
Gurudas, Bhai 43, 48, 56, 92, 93, 127, 133, 230, 234, 240, 260, 267, 269, 286, 287
Gurditta, Baba 78
Gurdwara Reform Movement 95
Gurgaddi 52
Gurpurabs 267
**INDEX**

Gursikhs 49


Guru Angad 38, 41, 46, 51, 52, 58, 64, 66, 69, 94, 105, 126, 129, 146, 190


Guru Gobind Singh 287

Guru Har Sahai 64, 65, 66, 67, 75, 82, 83

Guru Hargobind 54, 55, 78, 79, 189, 206, 207

Guru ke Mehal 66


Guru Tegh Bahadur 189, 207, 230, 237, 240

Gu_kas 275

Halley’s Comet 76

Harji 105, 146, 196, 219, 238

Hassu 40

Ha_hyoga 47, 56, 200, 236, 238

Hehar 55

Hi^ol 204

Hindal 57, 58

Hindali 57, 60

Hobbs, E. 262

Hoshiarpur 90, 95, 97

Hoti Mardan 91, 95, 97

Hukamnamas 78, 116

Indic 113

Islam 285

Islamic 270, 274

Jaidev 102, 133

Jalandhar 90, 91, 93, 95

Janamsakhi 40, 105, 146

Jandiala 57

Japu/Japuji 40, 44, 69, 73, 93, 110, 144, 183, 189, 219, 238, 268, 278

Japa Parmarth 219, 238

Jawai 51

Jeth Chand/Jetha, Bhai 115, 116, 117, 123, 124

Jiwan Mal 65

Jugawali 47

Kabir 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 102, 109, 117, 133, 146, 147, 189, 194, 195
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kachi-baai</td>
<td>41, 43, 47, 48, 52, 53, 71, 117, 122, 125, 128, 145, 193, 200, 201, 202, 204, 209, 211, 222, 236, 238, 241, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kafi</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kala Bhatt</td>
<td>196, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaliyaa</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kan-na</td>
<td>94, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanwarjit Singh</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnail Singh, Bhai</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kartarpur Bi~</td>
<td>96, 128, 201, 212, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kartarpuri</td>
<td>71, 94, 99, 113, 115, 122, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kedara</td>
<td>71, 94, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadur</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatris</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khushwaqt Rai</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirtan</td>
<td>38, 44, 45, 55, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishaa bhakti</td>
<td>80, 81, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku-am</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku~iyar</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>40, 55, 65, 121, 122, 206, 260, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhmi Chand</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhpat Rai</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lan~a</td>
<td>99, 136, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langar</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maghi</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharaja Ranjit Singh</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahima Parkash</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majh</td>
<td>94, 198, 199, 210, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majha</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majh ki Var</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majh raga</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malar</td>
<td>94, 99, 110, 111, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malar ki Var</td>
<td>40, 111, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali Gaura</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malwa</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamdot</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjids</td>
<td>42, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjis</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjit Singh, Bhai</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansukh, Bhai</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mann, Gurinder Singh</td>
<td>72, 73, 76, 100, 123, 183, 195, 221, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maru</td>
<td>94, 99, 111, 113, 115, 191, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maru ki Var</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maru Kedara</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maru Solhe Dakhai</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masands</td>
<td>42, 43, 54, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masle Shaikh Farid Ke</td>
<td>121, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLeod, W.H.</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McReynolds, P.</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mela Singh, Bawa</td>
<td>90, 91, 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miharban</td>
<td>43, 54, 55, 56, 66, 71, 72, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 105, 133, 136, 146, 184, 195, 238, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miaa/Miaas</td>
<td>52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 66, 67, 81, 82, 121, 133, 136, 146, 147, 195, 229, 238, 239, 240, 275, 281, 282, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mira Bai</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohan, Baba</td>
<td>48, 49, 52, 53, 60, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 117, 124, 126, 127, 128, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohri</td>
<td>90, 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughal</td>
<td>54, 56, 58, 206, 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mul-Mantra</td>
<td>32, 73, 74, 75, 82, 100, 134, 135, 136, 145, 147, 183, 207, 228, 229, 239, 267, 270, 275, 276, 277, 278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabha, Kahn Singh</td>
<td>65, 96, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namdev</td>
<td>70, 71, 75, 76, 79, 80, 102, 109, 110, 117, 133, 146, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na~ Narai</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na~ Naraii</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index Terms</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nath Sidhas</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nindak</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niranjania</td>
<td>57, 58, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisaa</td>
<td>75, 91, 115, 189, 206, 207, 237, 240, 280, 287, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noel Q. King</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onkar</td>
<td>69, 114, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panch Khalsa Diwan</td>
<td>96, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panipat</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parbhati</td>
<td>94, 99, 111, 113, 114, 122, 137, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parbhati Bibhas</td>
<td>141, 204, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parbhati Dakhai</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parbhati Lalata</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parbhati Lalata</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patiala</td>
<td>66, 91, 94, 95, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patiala</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pargana</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa-tal</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashaura Singh</td>
<td>32, 183, 206, 230, 234, 263, 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patiala</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piar Singh</td>
<td>32, 34, 100, 183, 184, 187, 189, 284, 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poonch</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prem Singh, Bawa</td>
<td>90, 96, 97, 100, 116, 128, 129, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pritam Singh</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithi Chand</td>
<td>43, 53, 54, 55, 64, 65, 66, 77, 79, 82, 105, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puranmase</td>
<td>91, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puratan Janamsakhi</td>
<td>76, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushkar</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quran</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rababis</td>
<td>43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ragis</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ragmala</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahiras</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rai Jasbir Singh</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramdaspuri</td>
<td>54, 55, 203, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramkali</td>
<td>94, 99, 113, 114, 115, 116, 193, 196, 197, 200, 205, 209, 211, 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramkali ki Var</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramkali Onkar</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramkali Sadu</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramkali Dakhai</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanmala</td>
<td>47, 200, 236, 237, 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravidas</td>
<td>71, 75, 76, 79, 80, 109, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose, H.A.</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sachibaai</td>
<td>41, 47, 283, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadu</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahansar</td>
<td>90, 92, 93, 94, 128, 136, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahib Singh</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sain</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakh Sarwar</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangrand</td>
<td>91, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarang</td>
<td>94, 99, 105, 111, 113, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarang Dakhai</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarguada</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satta</td>
<td>197, 209, 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semitic</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Farid</td>
<td>81, 82, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Qadiri</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Sharaf of Baghdad</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Sharaf of Lahore</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharaf</td>
<td>102, 117, 119, 120, 122, 134, 145, 146, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shihan</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiqdar</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidh Gosh_i</td>
<td>40, 69, 93, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh Sangats</td>
<td>41, 43, 44, 45, 48, 195, 202, 281, 282, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sodaru</td>
<td>44, 189, 268, 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sodhi/Sidhis</td>
<td>64, 65, 66, 82, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sodhi Jaswant Singh</td>
<td>65, 66, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohila</td>
<td>44, 72, 189, 268, 269</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Sopurakhu 268
Sora_hi 94, 99, 113, 122, 211
Sora_hi Dakhaai 141
Sri Chand 46, 47, 52
Sriganganagar 184
Sri/Sri raga 70, 74, 94, 192, 193, 200, 218, 280
Sufis 209
Suhi Dakhai 119, 141
Suhi Dakhai Jiguru 141
Suhi ki Var 111
Suhi Khan 54, 239
Sultanpur 39
Surdas 75, 79
Surdas, Madan Mohan 71
Suri, Sohan Lal 66
Swami Harnam Das 129
Takari 78
Takht Patna Sahib 287
Tarn Taran 283
Toronto University 31
Trilochan 102, 110, 117, 133
Trumpp, Ernest 273
Tukhari 69, 76, 77, 94
Udasi/Udasis 41, 46, 47, 48, 60, 265, 275, 281
Var Bihagara 207
Var Malhar 69
Wadhans 94, 109, 110, 113, 189