

## INTRODUCTION

In recent months some developments have taken place, which have created the necessity of bringing out the present publication. One of them is the production of two volumes. The first is a Ph.D. thesis by one Pashaura Singh of Toronto University, supervised by W.H. McLeod, who makes the blasphemous statement that Guru Arjun changed, theologically and linguistically, the barn or hymns of Guru Nanak, and having done that, he passed these reconstituted hymns as the actual bani of Guru Nanak. The entire thesis of Pashaura Singh seeks to support the above proposition, and to attack the theological and linguistic originality and authenticity of the Aad Granth, now Guru Granth Sahib. This has been followed by publication of a small book, 'Studying the Sikhs', which comprises mostly generalised or defensive statements in justification of the earlier work of W.H. McLeod and his erstwhile colleagues in the Batala Mission, who have been criticised for some of their misleading, incorrect and even blasphemous statements. As expected, there was strong and spontaneous reaction to the work of Pashaura Singh, in the Sikh academic world in India and abroad. This reaction has been twofold. First is the proceedings of blasphemy initiated by the SGPC, Amritsar, after obtaining reports of two expert committees of Gurmat and university scholars, against Pashaura Singh before the Akal Takht. The second part is the publication of a large number of reviews, papers and articles by well known academicians who criticised the work of Pashaura Singh as 'blasphemous', and his findings 'preconceived', 'baseless', and 'motivated'.

Since it is believed that the thesis of Pashaura Singh supported by McLeod, an ex-missionary from the Punjab Missionary organisation, is in continuation of the thinking and objectives of the Batala Group, it is necessary first to give the background, approach and history of some of its scholars, and to state concisely the substance and slant of Pashaura Singh's Thesis, and the criticism embodied in the 34 papers that form the body of this publication.

The Background and Approach: The Christian Mission appeared in the Punjab soon after the annexation of the state by the British in the middle of the last century. Almost since its inception, it has, apart from doing normal missionary activities, simultaneously been producing literature, subversive to the identity and growth of other religions, particularly Sikhism. It is well known that the reaction of the Singh Sabha was partly due to these activities of the Mission working under the wings of the British Administration. At one time, the Mission declared that three Sikh boys of their school at Amritsar would be openly converted to Christianity and their hair publically shaved.

In order to understand the approach of the missions in Punjab, it is relevant to give the following decision of the World Council of Churches made in one of its meetings. A proposal was made by the North American Churches that, because of the danger of Secularism, Christian Churches should seek the co-operation of other religions in order to create a common front against the danger of Secularism. Metropolitan Paulo Mar Gregorios, a former Chairman of the World Council of Churches, reports: "The American view was that there are three realities: Christianity, other Religions, and Secularism, and that these three realities can either be allies. or enemies. It was argued that the Christians had to choose whether they were to ally themselves with other religions against Secularism. The Americans, especially the Boston Personalists, who were leading the debate at that time, took the view that Secularism is a common danger for all religions, and, therefore, there must be an alliance of all religions to fight Secularism. European theologians, particularly Barth, Brunner, and Kramer, took a totally different view. They maintained that Secularisation, not Secularism, is the primary process. It is a process in which some of the values of the Christian faith have been put into a secular framework, bringing about a powerful force which is destroying all old ideas. Hence Secularisation is an ally, because it will destroy Hinduism, Islam and other forms of what they considered to be superstition. So we should ally ourselves with Secularisation, and see it as the work of God. That was Bonhoffer's, Barth's, and Kramer's point of view."

"A similar debate took place in 1932 or 1933 in Madras at the

next Missionary Conference. There the American point of view was totally defeated." "One of the books published during that era by Emil Brunner, the Swiss theologian, was called 'Either/Or'. In it Brunner argued that the Christian Gospel has overcome all its enemies except one, and that is mysticism. Mysticism is an enemy, because it claims that you can have unmediated access to God, and as long as you can have unmediated access, there is no use for Jesus Christ. Therefore, mysticism is the only remaining enemy, and one has to make a clear choice: either the Gospel or Mysticism."

"That is why at the World Council of Churches it was almost impossible to begin any kind of dialogue."

At another meeting in 1975 at Nairobi the Chairman was confronted with the observation, "We do not feel we have anything lacking. And so we are opposed to dialogue, unless it is for the sake of testifying to Jesus Christ." "That was it. Then they passed a resolution saying that under no circumstances should multi-religious dialogues be undertaken, because multi-religious dialogues put Christianity at the same level as other religions, and this is unacceptable."

"That is the point of view that has triumphed in the World Council of Churches. Some of us are still trying to change that point of view, but it is difficult."

We do not say that honest attempts at inter-faith dialogue are not taking place, but the general approach governing missionary activities is quite clear.

Even after the Akali Movement of the twenties and the Indian Independence, the work of mission continued in Punjab. A branch of the Mission called the Batala Group, organised a special Centre of Sikh Studies, which has from time to time been producing half-baked literature that seeks in many subtle and even unsubtle ways, to attack the institutions of Sikhism. Missionaries or ex-missionaries and their associates have been quite prolific in bringing out such material, and three of them, Loehlin, McLeod and McMullen, are considered their experts in Sikh Studies.

Literature produced by this group on Sikhism and its institutions, is controversial. From both universities and other institutions, a large body of criticism has appeared to show

how superficial and biased the works of McLeod and his associates, are. Here we shall indicate only one of the blasphemous issues raised by McLeod in his books.

McLeod Attacks the Authenticity of Guru Granth Sahib:

McLeod's small volume; "Evolution of the Sikh Community", contained an unfounded attack on the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir, which forms the basis of the Guru Granth Sahib, worshipped by all Sikhs the world over, as their living Guru. The level of the scholarship of the author is evident from the following extracts from the reviews published in the Journal of Sikh Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. "In the short space of 104 pages the author attempts to cover the background, origin and growth of ideology, and all the institutions of the Sikhs, and naturally the method adopted is journalistic and speculative, rather than comprehensive and academic." "It is the common failing of persons with mechanistic views to ignore the role of ideas and ideology as a cementing and directing force in human history and to overstretch and overestimate the significance of ordinary facts and routine events which otherwise, in similar circumstances have never shown any like potential. If oddity is originality, and conjectural assertions and assumptions pieces of historical evidence, the book abounds in them." The assessment in the Sikh Review, Calcutta is : "Dr McLeod has turned his attention on the Sikhs and their religion with a view to giving special notoriety to his views on Sikhs and Sikhism as he wants to or does see it. The result is dearly a mildly and certainly a perverted version of the Sikh esoteric principles and Sikh history and its exposition... It would rank with Trumpp's translation of Guru Granth Sahib; the Dhirmalian's 'Var Piran Pikambran ki'; or the contemporary, 'the bani of nakli Nirankaris', to mention just a few of the gems of envious literary genius ever ready to knock down the prophetic mission and achievements of the Sikh Gurus."

This book is full of unsupported generalisations and even blasphemous statements against the Guru Granth Sahib and the Sikhs. Over the subsequent years controversies about it have continued, especially about his libellous or blasphemous statement against the authenticity of the Guru Granth Sahib. Without going into many of his other unacademic statements like, "This is widely regarded as a great pity, even within the

Sikh society, where the numerically preponderant Jats commonly bewail the fact that there was never a single Jat Guru.", we shall here confine ourselves only to one issue about his statement against the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir or Guru Granth Sahib, which is principally relevant to our present volume. The worst part exposing the perfunctory scholarship and the underlying motive of McLeod is that he made, and continued to repeat, these unfounded statements without examining the Kartarpuri Bir of 1604 AD, without examining the Banno Bir. of 1642 AD, and without studying the related literature on the subject. His allegation is that Guru Granth Sahib, is a tampered with, or a forged Granth, out of which inconvenient hymns have been obliterated by the Sikhs. The Punjabi University, Patiala, published two books, the first in 1968, and another in 1987, on the Kartarpuri Bir, which show that McLeod's statements are unwarranted and baseless. Both these books were written after examination of the Kartarpuri Bir, and testify to its authenticity. Unfortunately, knowing full well that what he was saying was incorrect, he continued with his libellous statements in 1979 and again in 1989. Since McLeod's allegations were considered un-called-for and offensive to the authenticity of the Guru Granth Sahib, four academic organisations of Punjab wrote in 1989 to the University of Toronto that it was very anomalous that a person who had been making blasphemous statements against the authenticity of the Guru Granth Sahib, the Guru as well as the Scripture of the Sikhs, had not only been appointed by the University on a Chair funded by the Sikhs of Canada in order to project a correct image of Sikhism and its institutions, but he had been making his attacks from the platform of the University. As there was no response from the University, the correspondence exchanged was published. Here it is very relevant to state that of the four organisations that wrote to the University about the blasphemous conduct of McLeod, one was presided over by a former Judge of the Punjab and Haryana High Court and the other was headed by an ExMinister of Government and a very senior advocate of the High Court. They very well understood the ingredients of blasphemy, and whether or not McLeod's statements amounted to that. To recapitulate, the three ingredients of blasphemy are: one,

that the statement should be false; two, that the author should know it to be so; and, three, that the statement should be defamatory of a religious person or body. It is, therefore, necessary to give the requisite extracts of McLeod's statements to the readers, so that they can well understand the position. He published the following in his book 'Evolution of the Sikh Community' of 1975; in which he alleges deletion or obliteration of a portion of the Ramkali hymn attributed to Guru Arjun: "There seems to be only one possible reason for the appearance of these two fragments. The bulk of the hymn in each case must have been deleted, leaving a small remainder which was faithfully copied into the standard printed text. A fourth point seems to clinch the issue.

The Banno text of the missing portion indicated good reason for later deletion, particularly in the case of Ramkali hymn by Guru Arjun. This hymn describes the puberty rites conducted by Guru Arjun at the initiation of his son, Hargobind. The rites follow a standard Hindu pattern and in the third stanza there is a reference to the manner in which the boy's head was shaved. This feature is in obvious contradiction to the latter prohibition of hair cutting. When the prohibition became mandatory not merely for Jat Sikhs, but also those of other castes, the reference in the hymn could only be regarded as intolerable." "The conclusion that seems to be emerging with increasing assurance was that the widely disseminated Banno version must represent the original text; and that the Kartarpuri manuscript must be a shortened version of the same text. A few portions must have been deleted, because they could not be reconciled with beliefs subsequently accepted by the Panth. This much appears to be well established " "Later still, portions of the Kartarpuri manuscript (the original manuscript written by Bhai Gurdas) were ineptly obliterated in order to bring the two versions into line."

The above statement, especially the last sentence, is a clear conclusion, without any reservation, saying that the inconvenient hymn in the KartarpuriBir was obliterated. And, this conclusion follows over four pages of argumentation in support of his conclusion. To the reader the conclusion, as argued by McLeod and as arrived at by him, is a clear assertion. And yet his conclusion, as admitted by him, is false.

For, on the very page of his conclusion he writes: "Dr Jodh Singh assures us that there has been no obliteration at the point. He reports a similar condition in the case of Guru Arjun's Ramkali hymn. The solitary couplet is followed by a blank space which extends to more than two folios - and no obliteration." These blank spaces, as elsewhere in the text, are at the end of a raga, and, for that reason, are natural, and nothing unusual. This shows that the author, when he drew the earlier inference, knew his statement to be incorrect. Because, while he laboured to write four pages to arrive at his inference that the Ramkali hymn had been 'ineptly obliterated' in the Kartarpuri Bir, and this he did without examining the Kartarpuri Bir, the Banno Bir or the related literature, he knew full well that Dr Jodh Singh, who had done the meticulous work of recording page by page position of the Kartarpuri Bir, had categorically stated that there was no obliteration of the Ramkali hymn whatsoever. The third ingredient of blasphemy is the defamation involved in McLeod's conclusion that the inconvenient portion of the Ramkali hymn was later obliterated by the Sikhs, when they found it to be intolerable, and for that reason the Guru Granth Sahib is a forged Granth that stood tampered with by the Sikhs. Thus, defamation would, we believe, inevitably follow from the writing of the author. Hence the complaint of the four organisations to the University about unacademic, unethical and defamatory conduct of its employee. Further, is the question as to whether he really gave up his inference about the tampered with character of the Kartarpuri Bir after his knowledge of Jodh Singh's book of 1968, as admitted by him in his 'Evolution of the Sikh Community'. There is no evidence whatsoever of his having given up his idea when he read his paper at Berkeley in 1976. For, there too, he clearly repeated his old assertion, "The earliest, representing nearest approach to Guru Arjun's dictation would be Banno, the second, an intermediate recension bearing the actual marks of a later revision through the excision of unacceptable material, would be Kartarpuri." The above statement makes it clear that there is not the least sign of his ever having retracted his earlier stand. On the other hand, he clearly repeats his statements of Kartarpuri Bir being a later production done by the 'excision of unacceptable material'.

In July 1987 the Punjabi University, Patiala, published another study by Daljeet Singh made after a rational examination of the Kartarpuri Bir, which concludes that (a) Kartarpuri Bir is the original authentic Bir written by Bhai Gurdas under the direction of Guru Arjun; (b) that there is no obliteration whatsoever of the Ramkali hymn, as alleged, (c) that while the Kartarpuri Bir clearly records that it had been prepared in 1604 AD, it is equally explicit that the Banno Bir had been prepared. in 1642 AD, and (d) that McLeod's conclusions regarding the alleged originality of the Banno Bir and later obliteration of the Ramkali hymn from the Kartarpuri Bir are not only baseless, incorrect and misleading, but have wantonly been made without any worthwhile academic effort and without seeing the Banno Bir, the Kartarpuri Bir or studying the many known publications making clear statements on the two issues.

Yet in 1989 McLeod published his book "The Sikhs" in which he wrote, "This comparison suggests that the Banno recension may actually represent the original text by Bhai Gurdas," but adds that "if this is indeed the case the original version has subsequently been amended by obliterating occasional portions of the text."

Neither in his book of 1975, nor in his published views of 1979 and 1989 there is the least evidence of McLeod having ever abandoned his idea about obliteration in the Kartarpuri Bir. On the other hand, the reader is continually fed with the contrary idea of later 'obliteration' of 'unacceptable material'. After the four organisations had a long correspondence with the

University regarding the conduct of its employee, in December 1990 McLeod published a letter in 'India Abroad' saying, "What I said was that at first it had appeared to me that this had been done, but when I read Dr. Jodh Singh's book 'Kartarpuri Bir de Darshan', I abandoned the notion." On reading McLeod's above self-contradictory explanation or denial, we find that, Dr. 5.5. Dharni of New York published a letter reproducing all the above three statements (of 1975, 1979 and 1989) of McLeod and suggesting that it was clear that his denial about having abandoned the notion was just another mis-statement.

The above reproduction makes the truth explicit. For, neither in 1975, nor in 1979, nor in 1989, did he ever abandon the

notion. In fact, even after the publication of the two books on the Kartarpuri Bir by the Punjabi University, Patiala, McLeod continued with his wrong allegations against the Sikhs and against the authenticity of their Guru Granth Sahib.

In all such matters the subsequent conduct of a person is very relevant. Apart from McLeod's part in relation to Pashaura Singh's blasphemous Thesis, his four page tirade against the Sikh Scripture, and his statements in 1979 and 1989, leave hardly any doubt as to the intentions of the writer, which apparently could be called neither academic, nor rational, nor ethical. Because he went on repeating his statements without ever studying the two Birs and the many publications clearly contradicting his views, and when he knew full well from Dr Jodh Singh's book that there was no obliteration and what he was suggesting was not correct. Under the circumstances the question of the writer having any academic interest in making the allegations appears out of the question.

Now, in his paper in the book of 1993, 'Studying the Sikhs' he virtually repeats his old plea that he just made a 'surmise' and never said anything categorically. We believe that the two legal luminaries, when they conveyed their allegation of blasphemy or libel to the University, knew quite well both the Law in this regard, and whether his statements attracted its provisions.

Whether the writer's motives were academic or otherwise, is also apparent from the facts that, during over a decade, neither did he exhibit any interest in studying the literature on the point, nor did he ever make the least attempt to examine the Banno Bir which showed, that it had been prepared in 1642 AD, 38 years after the compilation of the Kartarpuri. Bir, and that even in that Bir (Banno) the unacceptable part of the Ramkali hymn was clearly a later interpolation, made after 1642 AD, the date of its preparation. McLeod, when he now makes his simplistic explanation in his paper of 1993 also knows that one of his own students, and another one Gurinder Singh Mann of Dr. J.S. Hawley's Department in the University of Columbia, have inspected the Kartarpuri Bir and found it to be genuine, and authentic and without any obliteration. What McLeod has suggested, is a direct attack not only on the Sikhs and their integrity, but also on the authenticity of their Guru Granth Sahib, before whom 15 millions Sikhs bow their heads and pray

every day.

The above being the context, it is now too simplistic to put forward the plea that only 'surmise' was made, or questions were raised. We wonder if even the most gullible would accept such a naive explanation. We also wonder if such statements of the learned author, believed to be unwarranted, unethical, and unacademic, as they are, could find any support in any sober society. Yet it is unfortunate and amazing that persons who tend to claim exalted academic status, find it necessary not only to accept it but also to support it.

This being the background, we now take up the work of Thesis of Pashaura Singh guided by McLeod, as exemplified in his Thesis. Pashaura Singh started his Ph.D. work in 1987 under the guidance of Dr. McLeod at the Toronto University, and submitted his Thesis in 1991. This work has been considered another proxy attack against the authenticity of the Guru Granth Sahib. The spurious and pre-meditated character of this Thesis has been explained both in the Editorial of the Abstracts of Sikh Studies, January 1993, and further in the 34 papers, reviews and articles that are being published in this volume. We shall, therefore, refrain from giving details, except that we shall just record the broad features of Pashaura Singh's attack and indicate some aspects of the thesis discussed by the scholars. Six aspects of Pashaura Singh's Thesis need to be mentioned:

1. At the very start of Pashaura Singh's chapter on Textual Analysis he quotes a letter published under the name of Dr Loehlin, a co-missionary of McLeod at the Batala Mission, wherein it is suggested that textual analysis of the Aad Granth is necessary, and that some Sikhs and their friends have started it. Presumably, among the contemplated Sikhs is Pashaura Singh, and among friends is McLeod. The strange part of the article is as to why it was written, who wrote it, and its history.

2. The second point is his theory of changes made by Guru Arjun in the theological and linguistic structure of Gurbani or hymns of the earlier Gurus. It is based on the assumption that manuscript MS 1245 purchased by the GND University Amritsar in 1987 is an earlier draft of the Aad Granth by Guru Arjun. Since there are, he says, many differences between the language and contents of MS 1245, and those of the Aad Granth,

he builds his entire thesis on that assumption. Pashaura Singh did examine the Kartarpuri Bir (the Aad or original Granth), and he concedes that it is authentic, but because of the contents of MS 1245, he asserts that the Guru changed the bani of the earlier Gurus. The related question is whether the draft theory has a history, and how and why it was introduced, when it is well known that the very concept of a draft was unknown in India in the times of Guru Arjun. It would also have to be seen whether or not the draft theory and its creation are a compulsive necessity for building a case for textual analysis.

3. Third is the veracity, value and history of MS 1245 and whether the manuscript has a worthwhile character, or it is just an odd manuscript introduced to build the draft theory and make the exercise of textual analysis a possibility. In short, a brief examination is necessary to assess the dating and authenticity of the manuscript.

4. Fourth is the value of Mohan Pothis which Pashaura Singh has also partly used for the purpose of his Thesis. Their veracity, authenticity and history have to be considered.

5. Fifth, there is the question as to what are the objectives that have prompted Pashaura Singh or his supervisor to pursue this Thesis, and whether that choice has a relevance to the objectives and approach of the Batala Mission.

6. Lastly, we shall have to draw our conclusions from the various points mentioned above. It has to be seen whether all the above points have an inter-relation and suggest a pre-conceived plan to produce this Thesis in continuation of the earlier objectives of McLeod and his group which had been frustrated, because their moves were found to be without any substance, and, perhaps, motivated.

Textual Analysis: The Aad Granth, as is now admitted by all concerned, including Pashaura Singh, was first prepared and authenticated by the Fifth Guru himself in 1604 AD. As such, the concept of textual analysis is irrelevant, and inapplicable to it for three reasons. First, as the Aad Granth is revealed bani and has been called as such by the Gurus, and as it has been recorded and authenticated by the Guru himself, the question of examining its authenticity, or of making change in it does not

and cannot arise. This point was further fortified by the Seventh Master, when he punished his own son for making a change of only one word in it. Textual analysis is relevant only in the case of man-made scriptures or manuscripts which were collected or compiled centuries or decades after the demise of the prophet concerned, and have, on that account, no authentication. No one makes textual analysis of Spengler's 'Decline of the West', or Aldous Huxley's, 'Island'. The second fact is that we have not known of any manuscript of the Bani in our history which is prior to the date of the Kartarpuri Bir and which is considered to be the compilation of the Guru and as having been authenticated by him. Therefore, the very question of textual analysis becomes inapplicable and absurd, because one cannot validate or question the validity of an authentic Granth by comparing it with an unauthentic Granth, which has neither any priority nor any authenticity. Thus, the very idea of textual analysis is misplaced in the case of the Aad Granth, which is admittedly authentic. For, the very idea of comparing or using an unverified and unauthentic manuscript from the street for the purpose of correcting the Aad Granth authenticated by the Guru is too irrational to have any sense. No one has ever tried to set right or correct the standard by measuring it with the substandard. The concept of textual analysis has a meaning or relevance, when two conditions are fulfilled, namely, when the later manuscript is unauthentic or is man-made, and when another older and a distinctly more authentic manuscript is available. Factually and historically these two conditions can never be fulfilled in the case of the Aad Granth. For, whereas the authenticity of the Aad Granth compiled by Guru Arjun, is now admitted by even the McLeod's own group, we have never heard of an earlier manuscript containing all the Gurbani, much less have we an authenticated version of it. Evidently, the repeated suggestion of the need of textual analysis has emanated only from the Batala group, and has its obvious meaning in view of the history and objectives of that group. Excepting this group, no one has ever thought that the suggestion could have any sense or relevance. Yet, McLeod having failed in his earlier attempts to

attack the authenticity of the Aad Granth, has seemingly now taken another route, through the Thesis of Pashaura Singh, towards his old goal.

Pashaura Singh has quoted an article supposed to be by Dr Loehlin. That article was published in 1987 in England and again in 1990 in the Sikh Review, Calcutta. Three facts are very significant about it. Loehlin stood admitted to a Home for old persons since 1983. The administrator of the Home has indicated that since 1983 Loehlin was neither capable of writing nor wrote any such article. This has also been confirmed by the daughter of Dr Loehlin. Loehlin died in August 1987, and yet the same article was published in 1990 in the Sikh Review, Calcutta. The question is who wrote or contributed it, for it could possibly not have been done by Loehlin. The second point is that Loehlin had contributed one article on the subject at the History Conference in 1965. Another article on the same issue, including part of his earlier article, he wrote in 1976. In the second article Loehlin had included the version of Dr. Jodh Singh who, while controverting some of Loehlin's assertions and suggestions, has stated categorically that the Kartarpuri Bir was genuine and authenticated. Normally, even if reproduction was considered necessary by him, it is Loehlin's later article of 1976 which should have been republished; but the article claims to be a reproduction of the 1965 paper of Loehlin. This statement is also not quite correct. The intriguing question is why the earlier article was sought to be republished, and not the later article, which Loehlin had himself rewritten and contributed at Berkeley in order to make it up-to-date and more comprehensive, in so far as the views of Dr. Jodh Singh had also been incorporated therein. Evidently, the publication of the earlier article is incongruous, and the only reason could be that, to the ghost contributor, the views of Jodh Singh about the Aad Granth, incorporated by Loehlin himself, were not palatable, since those included affirmation of the authenticity of the Aad Granth, and for that reason, made textual comparison meaningless. The third question is that there is a lot of material in the published paper of 1990 which was neither there in Loehlin's article of 1965 nor of 1976. The question is who

introduced that material in the article and why. In fact, part of it could not even be germane to the History Conference or the Berkeley Conference. On the other hand, though not by name, the event of Pashaura Singh and his supervisor having taken up the work of textual analysis is recorded therein. Poor Loehlin who was languishing in an Old Preachers Home to expire in August 1987 could hardly be concerned or be aware about it so as to highlight it. The only person who possibly could make the article as a base, as Pashaura Singh later did, was he or his guide. Accordingly, in December 1992 Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann, wrote a letter of enquiry to Dr. McLeod, O'Connell and Pashaura Singh at Toronto, especially because McLeod was an ex-missionary colleague of Loehlin at Batala, and both had attended the Punjab History Congress as well as the Berkeley Conference on Sikhism, and presumably he must have been in touch with the condition and affairs of Loehlin. By this letter Dr. Mann wanted to know who had contributed the article, because the quarters of Loehlin had virtually denied its authorship by him, and, on the other hand, Pashaura Singh supervised by McLeod had used the article as genuine. May be even the clue about the presence of the History Conference article was given by McLeod to Pashaura Singh. Unfortunately till the date of our publication no reply whatsoever has been received from Toronto. Hence suspicions about the genuineness and authorship of the ghost article continue. The letter by Dr. J.S. Mann has been reproduced in Appendix C. Thus, there is no rational reply to the three questions, namely, (1) who contributed the article, (2) why the earlier article was chosen in preference to the later one which had been suitably brought up-to-date by Loehlin for the conference at the Berkeley University, and (3) who made additions in the published article indicating that the work of textual analysis had been taken up by Sikhs and their friends? It is a fact that Pashaura Singh has used it as virtually a preamble of his chapter, and justification for the choice of his Thesis on textual analysis. In any case, the entire issue becomes extremely suspicious, especially when we find that the very relevance or sense of textual analysis in the case of the admittedly authenticated Aad Granth, by the Guru himself, cannot arise.

Draft Theory: Pashaura Singh says that as MS 1245 is a draft which is earlier to the compilation of the Aad Granth, and as there are many differences between the hymns in MS 1245 and those in the Aad Granth, the conclusion is that Guru Arjun made many theological and linguistic changes in the bani of the earlier Gurus, before he compiled the Aad Granth. A number of questions arise concerning the draft theory. First, as mentioned earlier, for Pashaura Singh and his guide, the necessity for the presence of an earlier manuscript is compulsive, otherwise, the question of textual analysis or comparison between the two manuscripts cannot be taken up. Second, the very idea of a draft and its preparation for the Aad Granth, is incongruous and self contradictory in relation to the revealed bani, which according to the Gurus cannot be changed. Third, a draft is made only in regard to something which has not yet been fully formed, planned or thought out; or something which is yet rough, tentative and not final. As such, the very concept of a draft in relation to the Guru's bani is out of question. For, the Guru was to copy the bani of the earlier Gurus, and not himself to frame or reframe it for them, and pass it as the bani of the earlier Gurus. Fourth, the concept of a draft was unknown to India at that times, and even otherwise, it becomes an impossibility, when the question is of writing without purpose about 1400 pages. For, the object was mere copying or compiling of bani and not its composition. Fifth: The incongruity is that in MS 1245 an internal index of the hymns of each raga has been given. In a draft such a thing would be a meaningless superfluity. It would be necessary only in a compilation or collection. The sixth question about the draft is as to who introduced this irrelevant concept in relation to the Aad Granth. We find that McLeod is the person who earlier suggested this idea in his book 'Evolution of the Sikh Community' of 1975, where he wrote without any specific reference that the point had been mentioned in the History Conference. The proceedings of the History Conference do not record any mention of the suggestion. In the literature printed in English the concept of a draft regarding the Aad Granth, has

first been mentioned by McLeod, and that also without any earlier reference. Though the draft theory falls to the ground as a valid or relevant concept in relation to the Aad Granth, yet it does raise certain suspicions as to why it has been done and whose objectives or plans it seeks to serve.

History and Veracity of MS 1245 : The strangest part of MS 1245 is that it has no known history prior to 1987. It has just appeared in the library of GNDU, after its purchase that year from a local dealer, who is said to be reluctant to give its history, but suggests that it was earlier with the family of Baba Budha. Without any known history it is very unusual and dogmatic for any academic student to assume that the manuscript first seen in 1987 was actually compiled before 1604 A.D. by the Guru. It needs too much of credulity to believe this. The successors of the seat of Baba Budha have categorically denied the ownership or knowledge of the manuscript. It is strange that whereas the researchers say that the dealer is reluctant to disclose anything, yet on actual contact the dealer showed no inhibition. For, when questioned, without any hesitation he voluntarily stated that he had obtained it from a dera of Minas in Rajasthan. But, when still later, the name of the place of the dera was asked from him by another scholar, he is reported to have stated that he got it from a rehriwala or a street hawker. The shift in statements about the source of the manuscript is indeed intriguing. For, there is an apparent anxiety to conceal it. But the more intriguing part is that Pashaura Singh whose job it was to probe into the matter, made not the least attempt to trace the origin and history of the manuscript, especially when both the dera of Baba Budha and the dealer have been willing to make their statements. That such a questionable document should be so readily accepted as a draft of the Aad Granth, and Pashaura Singh awarded a Ph.D. degree, is certainly beyond comprehension or expectation from a seat of higher research and learning.

Another feature of this document is that it has a forged nishan (mark) pasted on leaf 4 of it. Pashaura Singh concedes that because of its handwriting, the nishan is probably of the Ninth Guru. Yet, its scribe has mentioned it as that of the Sixth Guru.

Pashaura Singh has without any question swallowed this incongruous fact, namely, that the use of a forged NISHAN (mark) affects seriously the veracity both of the author and the manuscript. Third, it is evident that even the scribe did not want to give to the manuscript a date earlier than the period of the Sixth Guru, whose nishan he had forged. And yet it is incredible how Pashaura Singh and his supervisor have discarded all these contradictory pointers, and have done the still more incredible thing of calling it a draft by the Fifth Master whose Nishan it does not bear.

Further, we find that MS 1245 has many apocryphal hymns attributed to Guru Arjun which find no place in the Aad Granth. This is a conclusive proof of the fact that the manuscript could neither be a draft by, nor be written at the instance of, Guru Arjun. For, it is too unbelievable that the Guru first included an apocryphal hymn in the draft under his own name and then omitted it. Similarly, Balwant Singh Dhillon of the Guru Nanak Dev University in his comprehensive and detailed examination of MS 1245, points out that the scribe has distorted, and even fabricated, the hymns of the Fifth Guru and others. While pointing out the glaring faults relating to the apocrypha and the forged hymns, disparity between the index of the ragas and the actual hymns in the text, omissions, duplications, and orthographic evidence, he concludes that the manuscript is of the period of the Ninth Guru, and could not be of the period of the Sixth Guru or any earlier time. We also find that the alleged discrepancy of the Mul-Mantar, which Pashaura Singh tried to point out, is hardly a relevant factor, because the full form of Mul-Mantar appears five times in the manuscript, and there are variations in those writings. This shows that the scribe is far from being a careful writer, especially because at many places though the index shows that the hymn was started with the correct line appearing in the Aad Granth, yet in the text of the manuscript the hymn is recorded with altogether a different line.

There is, in addition, a glaring and conclusive fact about the manuscript not being a draft by Guru Arjun. For, inside of the text on page 1255 of the manuscript, the death dates of Guru

Arjun and the earlier four Gurus are recorded in the same hand and ink as the writing of the hymns before and after it. We wonder if any rational person could consider a document to have been authored by a person whose death date finds mention in its contents. All this suggests that the only reason for Pashaura Singh to arrive at his inference could be that he was so pre-possessed with the evident compulsion of calling the manuscript a draft, that he was obliged to ignore every rational hurdle in his chosen path towards a pre-conceived objective. The casual, irrational and abnormal manner of the process, coupled with many incongruous and even suspicious factors suggests that apparently the objective was anything but academic.

Veracity of Mohan Pothis: Pashaura Singh has also used the Mohan Pothis for his textual criticism. That Mohan Pothis are not an authentic collection of bani, and were not used by the Fifth Master, is a matter that was long back dealt with and analysed by Dr. Sahib Singh in his well-known work, wherein he unambiguously arrives at the above conclusion. He has clearly discarded the suggestion that the word Mohan in the Aad Granth in any manner refers to the schismatic Mohan who refused to abide by the decision of the Third Master when he conferred Guruship on Guru Ram Das. For in the entire Guru Granth Sahib nowhere have hymns been recorded in praise of a private person, and that the Guru should have done that in regard to a defiant person who had started a deviant branch, is simply out of the question. Second, the manuscript has throughout been in the possession of the schismatic group that had been opposing and cursing those Sikhs who would follow the Guru and not their line. For, in the Mohan Pothis it is recorded that those who do not accept them as the Guru would go to hell. To suggest that such a manuscript could be a collection of the bani of the Gurus or be recorded at the instance of the Third Master, is just preposterous. Third, the date on one of the manuscripts, which appears to have been put at a later time, is 1595 AD. This fact, coupled with the point that the manuscript has the hymns of the Fourth and Fifth Guru as well shows that the time of the preparation of the manuscript

could only be subsequent to the period of the Fifth Master, whose bani had by then been recorded in the Aad Granth and had, thus, gained currency to enable the scribe to copy it in his collection. In any case, it is obviously self-contradictory to suggest that the manuscript was got recorded by the Third Guru, and that whereas he conferred Guruship on the Fourth Master, he transferred his collection of the written bani to one who had openly defied him by not abiding by his decision, and by refusing to recognise the Fourth Master as the new Guru. The fifth reason is that the text of the Mul Mantar in this manuscript is the same as had appeared in the collections of another schismatic group called Handalis. Accordingly, there is hardly any evidence about the origin or authenticity of the Mohan Pothis, maintained by a schismatic group, much less can it be called a collection of the bani of the Gurus commissioned by the Third or any other Guru.

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS**

The facts indicated above suggest that Pashaura Singh has an objective which is linked with the objectives of the Batala Missionary Group. We have seen that McLeod from that Mission continued making unwarranted attacks against the authenticity of the Aad Granth, without ever having had a look at the Aad Granth, and without studying, or in utter disregard of, the literature that had long before his attack existed on the subject. However, truth cannot be denied indefinitely, i!., the face of overwhelming available evidence and the affirmation by his own student who confirmed its authenticity. So eventually he had to accept that the Kartarpuri Bir was the genuine original Aad Granth compiled by Guru Arjun.

Though his first attempt failed, yet that was not to be the end of his objectives. After his frustration, he presumably changed his plank. Now Pashaura Singh's Ph.D. Thesis, which he supervised, says that while preparing the Aad Granth, Guru Arjun changed the bani of Guru Nanak and other earlier Gurus, linguistically as well as ideologically, including the Mul Mantar or the very creedal statement of Guru Nanak. The so-called research in the Thesis followed a crudely manoeuvred suggestion for textual analysis of the Aad Granth published by a ghost contributor in the name of a dead Loehlin. A compulsive requirement of their theory was the existence of an earlier manuscript of the Granth. Since none existed, one had somehow to be produced. For this purpose MS 1245 appeared almost overnight, and support was also taken from the Goindwal Pothis. The reality about these two manuscripts has been exposed in the articles of the present volume, and, therefore, need not be repeated here. While the former is a copy prepared sometimes in the late seventeenth century and is full of inaccuracies, omissions and apocryphal hymns, the latter is clearly the work of a schismatic group done in seventeenth century .

In any case one thing is obvious that as between the earlier attempt of McLeod to attack the authenticity of the Aad Granth and the present thesis supervised by him, there is evident unity

of design, rationale and purpose to show that the holy Scripture of the Sikhs, Guru Granth Sahib, is not authentic.

#### ACTS OF BLASPHEMY

From their narration and study of the events, the authors of the 34 articles in this book, find that Pashaura Singh has committed the following acts of blasphemy:

- i. That the bani, as proclaimed by Guru Nanak and the other Gurus, is not revealed one, because it can be changed and has been changed by Guru Arjun himself.
- ii. That Guru Arjun and the Fourth Guru made theological changes in the bani of Guru Nanak.
- iii. That Guru Arjun made misrepresentations in so far as he passed on the bani changed by him as that of Guru Nanak.
- iv. That the hymns which for the Guru were apocrypha, are suggested by the scholar to be true bani of Guru Nanak.
- v. That bhagat bani was included in the Aad Granth by Guru Arjun at a later stage, and that the reasons for so doing were socio-political, including the anxiety to gain credibility or following among different castes.

### **INVALIDITY OF PASHAURA SINGH'S THESIS**

Normal moves of men need to be seen in their proper context, with which these are often intimately linked. We have noted both the approach and the objectives of the Mission which came to

India during the period of triumphant colonialism. The basic belief was, "extra ecclesiam nullus salus" (Outside the Church no salvation), and that Indian religions were steeped in superstition. Obviously, some of these missionaries in the Punjab carried the same burden of bringing salvation to the misguided Sikhs as was felt by the colonial administration, for the social emancipation of the backward East. We have seen the opening of the Centre of Sikh Studies at Batala and the repeated assertions of McLeod to convince the Sikhs that their Guru Granth was a forged one and that for the sake of their own salvation they should wake up to the 'truth' which he had perceived. Unfortunately for him, the Sikhs felt that this unsolicited concern of his could, perhaps, be part of the process of what A.A. Malek and Edward Said have considered to be the search for knowledge in order to gain power. "Abdel Malek had emphasised in connection with Orientalist studies in particular that there could be no disinterested knowledge", and similarly, "Said has demonstrated the connection of knowledge to power most effectively". However, W.H. McLeod continued unabated with his 'research' tending to show that Sikhism was hardly a coherent religious system, and that its institutions and militancy had been modelled just on the "Jat cultural pattern". But the significant event was that in the mid-eighties he was chosen to occupy a Chair of Sikh and Punjabi studies at the University of Toronto for which the Sikhs of the area contributed the funds.

Pashaura Singh's thesis supervised by McLeod is a part of the work done under the guidance of that Chair. The 34 papers included in this volume have brought out with clarity that Pashaura Singh's thesis rests on a precarious prop which has no rational basis. The chief claim of the ex-missionary and his friends all these years has been that they use critical western methodology. Pashaura Singh's thesis, which is a sample of that methodology, is founded essentially on MS 1245, which he calls a draft of the Aad Granth by Guru Arjun. As described by Balwant Singh Dhillon of GND University, who has studied the manuscript in the University even more closely than did Pashaura Singh during his hasty and short visit to Amritsar, the manuscript is a stray collection of Gurbani interspersed with numerous

apocryphal hymns, and it has no known history whatsoever beyond the year 1987 when it was purchased, and when Pashaura Singh started his work at Toronto. Another coincidence is that he began his research in 1987 almost simultaneously with the publication of an article supposed to have been contributed by a dying Loehlin. It is also relevant to note that extracts from that article are quoted by Pashaura Singh in the beginning of his chapter on Textual Analysis, by way of justification for his project. Thus, the inspiring reflection of Batala missionaries appears to have been gainfully used. Dr Jasbir Singh's letter to the University as to who wrote the article, since it had virutally been dis-claimed by the Administrator of the Home where Loehlin expired, and by his daughter, remains unanswered to date.

As stated earlier, the scribe, author, compiler or custodian of MS 1245 is unknown and unknowable, except that its architect has admittedly been a forger, though it is conceded that it has probably the mark of the Ninth Guru (1664-1675). But Pahsaura Singh violates all canons of logic and rationality, when he calls MS 1245, which contains in its contents the death date of Guru Arjun, as also many apocryphal hymns attributed to him, a draft by Guru Arjun himself.

The simultaneous appearance of MS 1245, almost from nowhere, with a dealer who has from time to time been changing the story of its procurement, the seemingly ghost article in the Sikh Courier of 1987, coupled with the denial of successors of Baba Budha who were suggested to have owned and sold it, cast a pall of suspicion on the entire version of Pashaura Singh. The irrationality of his work has been shown to be so gross, and the apparent blasphemy so obvious, that far from its carrying any conviction, the very bona fides of the author become questionable. Two things are evident, namely, the irrationality of the thesis and a basic compulsive drive to arrive at preconceived inferences unrelated to facts on the ground. Except for the general support from friends and associates of the group, there has not been a single paper in any manner agreeing with or endorsing the views of Pashaura Singh. It is strange that the University failed to understand that it could hardly be fair or

reasonable to produce at their centre such a work as is considered baseless and blasphemous by scholars of the community and still to require the local Sikhs to finance it. For, it is difficult for anyone to ignore the reality that McLeod, who for over a decade had been unreasonably attacking the authenticity of the Aad Granth, is the same scholar who has now guided the thesis of Pashaura Singh, who too attacks the authenticity and purity of the Bani (hymns) in the Aad Granth. In both the cases the target of this claimed western methodology is Guru Granth Sahib, the holy Scripture of the Sikhs. It is unfortunate and surprising that, without disclosing or realising the blunder of accepting MS 1245, bearing the death date of Guru Arjun, as a draft by him, letters are being published and circulated among scholars by a representative of the University complaining against academic criticism of Pashaura Singh's shoddy work. Hence the need of the present publication.

### "STUDYING THE SIKHS"

We have mentioned the book, "Studying the Sikhs", which apart from containing certain generalisations, is broadly written to support W.H. McLeod and his associates. It includes some self-justification by the former in the field of Sikh Studies, Religion and History. The book does not add much to our knowledge. There are certain observations therein, which will require some comments.

**a. Personal Attacks:** It makes two statements, namely, that personal attacks have been indulged in, and that there is only one group (as echoed by Pashaura Singh also), that is taking what they consider a confrontational view. Both the assertions are surprising. We have indicated the approach of the Christian missions, their objectives in Punjab, and particularly the so-called academic work of McLeod. In his Cambridge lecture published in 1975 he went out of the way virtually to malign the Sikhs by suggesting that they had obliterated an inconvenient hymn in the Aad Granth. In addition, his simultaneous suggestion was that Guru Granth Sahib of the entire Sikh community was a tampered with Granth. The suggestions were not only known to him to be incorrect, but the author had not made the requisite

academic effort before making them. The universities in Punjab published literature to show that the ex-missionary's allegations were baseless and unacademic. In 1988 he was invited to an academic conference at Los Angeles for a discussion of the issue. In 1989, four Institutions/Organisations approached the Toronto University pointing out his blasphemous statements, and suggested his discussion at a seminar. There was no response or regret from him, except a belated letter in 'India Abroad', saying that he had abandoned the notion, after his knowledge of Dr. Jodh Singh's book of 1968, though this was also a mis-statement. We fail to understand what else could be the line of action the scholars in India could follow, when an unwarranted and clearly blasphemous attack had been made against the Sikhs and their Scripture, the Guru Granth Sahib. The lack of concern on the part of the University, and its continued efforts to employ and back up the same person indicated that the attack of W .H. McLeod had their support. The only action taken in India was twofold, a reasoned reply through a university production and a complaint of the activity of McLeod to his employer. We wonder if anything could be more tolerant or sober than this. It reminds one of Bernard Shaw's dictum that when a man kills a lion, it is sport, but when a lion kills a man, it is ferocity. It is -indeed unfortunate and passes one's comprehension that responsible persons should suggest that an attack on the Sikh Guru and the entire Sikh community without any rational or tangible basis is considered academic activity, but to point out its faults and rebut the same lawfully is unacademic personal attack. The insularity of such approach is to say the least, quite obvious it is the surprisingly by unperceptive approach of same in the University that has now led to what we have described above as the apparently unfounded and blasphemous attack, this time not only on the Sikhs, but also against Guru Arjun, Guru Ram Das and the Guru Granth Sahib. The reaction to the work of McLeod and his student Pashaura Singh has, as the contents of the 34 articles show, been spontaneous and wide- spread the world over; so much so that the SGPC considered the subject through two Expert Committees consisting of scholars from the universities and other

parts of India and the world. The authors of these articles are most of them academicians working in universities in India and North America. It is just the poverty of Pashaura Singh's work, the doubtful nature of his material and motives, and the outrageous character of his inferences that have led to the profusion of response in the Sikh academic world. The surprising part is that the ex-missionary and his group still seem to be working in a colonial atmosphere, completely impervious to the views of other scholars and the feelings of a whole community.

**b. Quietist Sants:** There were a number of unauthenticated formulations about Sikhism in W.H. McLeod's book 'Evolution of the Community' that appeared in 1975. One of them is that Sikhism is a projection of the Vaishnav Bhakti Movement, the saints and Naths. Since then many publications have appeared to show that Vaishnavas and Bhakti Saints belong to a category or class of religious systems which are entirely different from that of Sikhism. More than a dozen works including Gurdev Singh's 'Sikh Tradition', 'The Sikh Ideology', 'Sikhism', 'A Comparative Study', 'The Sikh Revolution', 'Perspectives on Sikh Studies', 'In the Caravan of Revolutions', 'Advanced Studies in Sikhism - An Oecumenical Religion', etc., have been published in which the issue has been specifically examined and McLeod's observations found to be very superficial, because doctrines is wanting in the study of the hymns and doctrines of the Gurus and their lives. The strange part is that never has McLeod or anyone sought to support his formulation by any academic work beyond ritual repetition which has been made also in the work, 'Studying the Sikhs': "A more credible view, the one most clearly articulated by W.H. McLeod, is that Sikh tradition emerged from medieval Hinduism."

It is well known that quietist saints and mystics have appeared the world over and in all ages and times. In Judaism these appeared when Jewish life was unable to meet the challenges of Babylonian invasion. In Greece they appeared as Neo-Platonists when Greek culture and life were distinctly on the ebb. Similarly, in Christianity monasteries appeared at the close of the third century, and, slowly, apart from the fall of the Roman Empire and the success of the barbarians, followed the Dark Ages.

Similarly, Sufism and its khanqahs appeared later in Islam after its elan" was on the decline. The position in India has been no different.

Invariably, the saints or quietist mystics have some definite characteristics. They cater only for the personal salvation of a few. Celibacy and withdrawal from life are their other characteristics. Not only pacifism or Ahimsa is an essential feature of these groups, but they have been consistently disinclined to form or organise a society. Much less have they ever accepted social responsibility, which is an essential character of a whole-life system. It is evident from the religious history of man that whereas quietist saints have definite characteristics and have lived and worked in all countries, never have they bloomed into creating a whole-life system anywhere. Because, whole-life systems, apart from accepting social responsibility and facing the problems of evil in all spheres of life, organise social institutions and society in order to tackle its challenges. Invariably, they accept the use of force for a righteous cause and reject celibacy, pacifism, Ahimsa and withdrawal. It is just as simplistic to say that the Vaishnava or other quietist saints led to the Sikh Gurus and Sikhism as to say that a citrus plant could in course of time bear the fruit of an apple. Religious history of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam clearly shows that whereas quietist mystics have always followed activity or prophetic mystics, never has the vice versa happened. Yet, without any academic evidence or study of the Guru Granth Sahib, we find regular ritual repetition of the unexamined statement that Sikhism is a development of the Sant tradition, an assertion contrary both to facts on the ground and the lesson of the religious history of man. For, neither any of the saints in India or mystics or Sufis elsewhere organised a society nor did they accept social responsibilities, as did the Gurus.

**TWO CLASSES OF SCHOLARS:** We have had a glimpse of the work of a group of foreign-trained scholars who are otherwise never weary of claiming their superior methodology and training. While talking of two schools of Sikh history, N.G. Barrier's indulgence in some self-praise is understandable, although

the method has never been considered very exalting. He writes, "Over the last several decades a second, contrasting group of historians has gradually emerged, usually trained in and affiliated with Western universities. These scholars question traditional sources and apply the same type of rigorous textual analysis that is used by historians of the Western mode." Two samples of foreign trained scholarship have been given above. But our learned author, while making sweeping generalisations about the work of local scholars, gives no example to support his statement. He downgrades their scholarship simply because, "The institutional base for Sikh studies has tended to centre on a network of institutes and university departments within the Punjab. The funding and intellectual milieu within that state affects the focus of research and the understanding of how Sikhism has evolved. Whether lay or professional, most Sikh commentators on Sikh history share certain preconceptions and commitments." "Most recently they have shared an insistence that non-violence had never been a cardinal element in Sikh ideology. They wish to show that the defence of Sikhism through the use of force is a traditional Sikh value." The Sikh Scripture and the Sikh ideology were formed four hundred years earlier, and this is the ideology the Gurus lived for 240 years. There is nothing new about this ideology. It can neither be reformulated nor reframed now or in the future. The position is not like that in some other religions where the Scripture is man-made and was compiled centuries after the demise of the prophet; and later centuries are having their own but variant interpretations of that ideology. In fact, the very lives of the Ten Gurus are a complete demonstration of their system under variant socio-economic and environmental circumstances. True, among foreign scholars knowledge of the Sikh Scripture is either absent or less than adequate. That is their major difficulty and handicap. For example, if Barrier had studied the Scripture, he would have known that religious duty and responsibility of a Sikh are to defend justice and righteousness and not Sikhism, as he says so incorrectly. While for the purpose of ideology the Scripture is the primary and basic

source, as also the 240 years of the lives of the Gurus, no local historian has ever ignored the importance of historical evidence, contemporary and the rest. For example, the three interpretative studies of Jagjit Singh, 'The Sikh Revolution', 'In the Caravan of Revolutions' and 'Perspectives on Sikh Studies', while they give evidence from the lives of the Gurus and their hymns, are profuse with historical and other data on the issues discussed.

On the other hand, without naming anyone we give two more examples of Western trained scholars. In one case, the author while preparing the resource bibliography for Sikh Studies, completely excluded from the list practically every book, including over a dozen admittedly standard works on Sikh religion and history, that gave a point of view opposed to that of the learned author (Authenticity of Kartarpuri Bir, Punjabi University, Patiala, p. 73). In the other case, the foreign trained scholar, while discussing a particular period of Sikh history and quoting an authority on the subject regarding some detail completely excluded his emphatic conclusion, since it would demolish both his data and inferences: "In this context, Rose clearly endorses Bhangu's view, 'comparatively few Sikhs are followers of Sarvar and there is in fact a sort of opposition in the Central districts between Sikhs and Sultanis. You hear men say that one party in a village worships the Guru, the other worships Sarvar', that is, that one party are Sikhs, the other ordinary Hindus who follow Sarvar. It has been suggested that worship of Sarvar probably spread eastward among the Jats in the 15th and 16th centuries, and was the prevalent cult at the time of the great development of Sikhism in the days of Guru Gobind Singh; and that most of the conversions of the Khalsa faith were from worshippers of Sultan. This appears a very probable account of the origin of such opposition as does exist between these two forms of faith. As between the Hindus generally and the Sultanis there is no sort of opposition; there are instances in the popular legends of men opposing the cult of Sarvar, but in the present days the Sultanis are looked on as ordinary Hindus. Oberio while he gives irrelevant details of the miraculous powers attributed to Sakhi Sarvar and lavishly quotes Rose as evidence,

seems to have deliberately concealed the above mentioned conclusion drawn by Rose and, instead, made the distortion that Singh Sabha leaders were the first to object to such practices. Such clear mis-statements are generally made by partisan propagandists but never, we believe, by any academician. This indicates either a lack of in-depth study or a conscious attempt to suppress facts with a view to mis-representing Sikhism." The particularly relevant fact is that Barrier calls that very author's work on the subject, in the context of which he made the above suppression, the best study on the issue. It shows why perceptions and preferences differ. In his paper, 'The Sikhs and the British' G.S. Dhillon reports Barrier's own sense of apparent inconsistency; and, perhaps, conditioned: "Barrier in his article, 'The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870-1908' : 'My men are expected to extend equal rights to all native religions and to align with none'. On the basis of the above statement and other facts Barrier concludes that 'the first Punjab administration thus responded to a communal problem with religious impartiality'. In fact the burden of his article is to suggest British neutrality towards different religious communities in Punjab and defend them against the charge of creating communal divisions. It is difficult to understand what climatic change has occurred or interests have over-weighed with the same author that he later writes that, 'the British also played an important role by supporting the maintenance of separate Sikh identity for military purposes'. Because, it is normally unusual for an author to give on the one hand a clean chit to the British for their avowed and practical neutrality towards the three communities in Punjab, and on the other hand strongly to endorse the oft-repeated charge of Hindu politicians that the Hindu-Sikh divide in Punjab is a British creation to serve their partisan interests. Besides, this religious policy regarding various communities had been formulated by the British long before the publication of pamphlets by the Singh Sabha at the fag end of the 19th century". May be, Dr. Dhillon has overstressed the point, because human frailties of this kind are nothing uncommon.

Unlike as Barrier has done, we should not like to divide

historians into two classes, one of locals and the other of those trained abroad. Because, there are numerous scholars of religion like Huston Smith, Schuon, John Hick, David Lockhead, Noel King, James Lewis, Nichols, Frank Kaufmann, James Massey, Metropolitan Gregoios, whose sense of fairness and scholarship is, indeed, admirable.

Barrier and McLeod are fond of saying that Macauliffe's works, about the Sikh Religion, which give a view opposed to theirs, are dated in so far as they represent a view of a particular era. The reality is that no writer in English, whether Indian or foreigner, has made a more thorough study of the Sikh Scripture than did Macauliffe. As such, unlike those of some other scholars, Macauliffe's views about Sikhism and its history are based on an intimate relation between the Sikh Scripture and the lives of the Gurus. May be some day, Macauliffe's work could be overshadowed by a more patient, more thorough, deeper study and broader vision, but not by mere gibes. The unfortunate part, about almost every so-called foreign-trained scholar is his virtual lack of knowledge of the Sikh Scripture and the history of the Guru period when the Sikh ideology was demonstrated and the society was modelled, conditioned, and organised by the Gurus. It is that handicap of the scholars that makes the work of the group dated or limited by the influences of the Mission or Colonialism. Could Barrier really be so unaware as not to know that many of the works of the scholars of the group whom he puts in a higher class, have been reviewed in Indian universities and other journals, and found to be faulty? It is amazing that self-sponsored, and even unethical observations or notions in some cases, are considered the product of critical methodology and undated. Universities everywhere are funded by the national state or regional organisations, and Punjab or India is no exception. We had no desire to give the details, but it appears necessary to contradict the implied theory of hierarchical, class or caste structure introduced by the learned author. We should like to stress that

none is against freedom of research and expression so long it does not cross the bounds of normal or academic ethics.

### **FUNDAMENTALISM**

It is unfortunate that short-term economic interests often overshadow the vision of long term global problems. The basic issue as Toynbee voiced decades back, was Religion versus

Secularism. While indicating that Higher Religions have acted as a chrysalis between the fall of one civilisation or culture and the rise of another, he lamented the coming up of national secular states which he considered parochial developments like the Graeco-Roman worship of local goddesses. In fact, in his Burge Memorial Lecture he accepted a global spiritual contribution from the Christian Church, implying thereby that Christianity would have a permanent future role, being the last spiritual dispensation, a belief also held by Islam in its own case. But, now economic interests of the West in the Middle East have led it to a new pose of trying to raise Secularism to the level of a new religion and dub as fundamentalisms all those movements that are either dissatisfied or disillusioned with the greed or immorality of modern Secularism: or consumerism. In the political field it has, on the one hand, led support to Jewish religious nationalism in Israel, and in contrast opposition to neighbouring Islamic nationalism in Iran.

In the academic field, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences has initiated through the Chicago University a major project called the Fundamentalisms Project. Mark Juergensmeyer's volume, 'The New Cold War', is comparatively a modest summary survey of so-called fundamentalist or religious movements the world over. The underlying theme in both the cases the same, namely, that Western Secularism is the only viable future civil religio-political system for man and all religious growths or revivals opposed to it are fundamentalist or parochial in character. However, unlike as in the case of Communism, Juergensmeyer has the merit of suggesting that instead of considering religious movements or religious nationalism a foe, the West should try to live and co-exist with it.

As is understandable, when a global survey is undertaken, there are errors of description. Such errors took place even in the case of the broader survey of the Fundamentalisms Project of the Chicago University, and faults regarding Sikhism were broadly pointed out in the Editorial of 'Abstracts of Sikh Studies', July 1992. The position is no different in the survey of Juergensmeyer. While describing the Sikhs in the Punjab, misinformation

regarding their movement is evident. For example, he completely ignores the well-known and long-standing Sikh secular demands for undoing the complete usurpation of their riparian rights over the Punjab rivers and hydel power, which subjects the Centre had unconstitutionally transferred to its own control. Irrigation and hydel power form the base of all agricultural and industrial development. The deprivation done can be gauged from the fact that at the time of Independence the refugees lost 2.2 million acres of perennially irrigated land, and had to be content with only 0.4 million acres in the East Punjab; now, the Centre, instead of enabling the State to irrigate its land with its own river waters, has allotted or diverted 75% of Punjab waters to non-riparian States, even though it is the Punjabis who are the lone sufferers from their floods each year involving sometimes loss of hundred of lives and over a billion dollars of property in a single flood. Actually, the Punjab agitation of the 1980's was against this very unconstitutional decision of the Centre, and it was started against the laying down of the foundation of the SYL Canal by the Prime Minister, since that was the main channel to carry Punjab waters to non-riparian states. He also ignores the well documented fact that while everyone among the Akalis, including Bhindranwale, had more than once agreed to a reasonable settlement, it was the Prime Minister who always changed her mind, and staged the Bluester attack. This has been reported by persons like Harkishen Singh Surjit, Kuldip Nayyar, Dr. Ravi and others.

Regarding the Sikh ideology too he makes a similar confusion, when he says that while Guru Nanak was just an introspective Sant, it was his successors who acted as leaders of a separate community and that the Mughal military administration too adjudged and dealt with them as such. Juergensmeyer could not be unaware of the fact that it was Guru Nanak who created in his own life time the three societal institutions of congregational centres for meetings, called Dharamsals, congregational worship, and Langar and Pangat, involving community dining and food for the indigent. These three institutions had distinct social and societal implications that were in opposition to the earlier discriminatory caste practices. Further,

he started the system of succession with the clear objective of continuance and development of his socio-spiritual mission through committed leaders. No Sant took any of these social measures. Equally faulty is the hackneyed, but long since exploded suggestion that Jats in any way influenced the Sikh ideology.

However, factual errors apart, there is evident, sobriety and wisdom in Juergensmyer's recommendation to his country men and the West generally that reasons for the breakup of the Soviet Empire should be grasped, and the rise of smaller national States should be looked upon and dealt with understanding and not with hostility.

#### CONCLUSION

In sum, the story of these essays is simple. At the University of Toronto, Pashaura Singh has been awarded the degree of Ph.D. for a thesis, guided by an ex-missionary Professor, which declares

a manuscript (MS 1245), with unknown and unknowable author or scribe or history, to be a draft of Aad Granth by Guru Arjun, even though in its contents, in like hand and ink, the death date of the same Guru is clearly recorded. That the University should award a Ph. D. degree on grounds of such a ridiculous rationale, is no concern of Sikh scholars. But what do concern them are two facts. First, that simultaneously, on the basis of the alleged manuscript, the thesis asserts that Guru Arjun changed, theologically and linguistically, the Sikh Scripture, Guru Granth Sahib; and that accordingly the same stands altered and is unauthentic. The second fact is that for over a decade the same professor had without any academic ground, been asserting that the Sikh Scripture was unauthentic and had been tampered with, even though he had known full well that the tampering with or obliteration suggested by him was non-existent. In fact, after examination of the Granth, it had earlier been categorically declared that there had been no such obliteration as later indicated by him. Since in both the cases the target of attack is the authenticity of the Aad Granth, the scholar involved is the same, and the factual basis of the attack is either absent, incorrect or baseless, the perception of the Sikh scholars is that the work done is biased and motivated. Facts being as they are, we wonder if anyone can object to these natural perceptions. When confronted and accused of blasphemy, to turn round and say that he had 'abandoned the notion', or only raised 'questions' or made 'surmises' is too simplistic an argument to be rationally acceptable. To make unwarranted attacks against the authenticity of a Scripture of another religion is indefensible. The surprising part is that none of his group have realised the enormity of the lapse, and preference seems to have been given to observance of group loyalties. On the other hand, the friends of the Professor have all the years been raising the chorus that they are specially trained in Western methodology and that the scholars in India, being from local universities financed by the state, are committed to old perceptions. But apparently the particular speciality of these scholars and the field in which they outshine, appears evident from the two afore-mentioned instances.

In 1990 Sikh scholars, many Sikh organizations and Sikh

representatives from Toronto approached the University with details of a critical review of Dr. McLeod's work. But, the proposal for clarification was spurned, rather the response was accusatory; "the proper thing for such critics to do is to withdraw their criticisms explicitly in public and in published form. "We are ready before any academic forum to show that MS 1245 is unauthentic and not an early draft. If McLeod and O'Connell, who are so much proud of their method, cannot prove its authenticity, they should withdraw the blasphemous observations in public and in published form. Infact, all the formulations of Dr. McLeod have been challenged, and perfectly rational conclusions to the contrary have been drawn using sound methodology. Proceedings of such seminars have been published and are available for scrutiny. Issues have been clearly defined and must be taken up for dispassionate academic discussion instead of making tall claims that stand exposed in the case of Pashaura Singh's thesis.

It is learnt from reliable sources that there are words in English and some lines in Punjabi recorded on the manuscript in the handwriting of a Prof. indicating that the introduction of the manuscript may be fraudulent and needs investigation.

By using unauthentic MS 1245 the so-called methodological atheists have clearly shown the true nature of their scholarship. Nobody is objecting to any research, whether genuine or faulty, but the issue is : Honest Research VS Unethical or Blasphemous production. As Guru Granth is the living Guru of the Sikhs, any attack on its authenticity and integrity will never go unanswered. We do not see any problem between believers and critical scholars. But in this case it is obvious that production has been done without any sense of rationality, responsibility or accountability. We hope that the international response of 34 scholar; would be a reasonable encounter and create intelligent goodwill that will help permanently to stop any production of unethical or spurious work.. For, it will create, maturity of understanding and cooperation among all concerned and will build and promote authentic Sikh studies and the Sikh way of life in Canada and the United States.

In order to clarify the confusion that has been raised by the two scholars, it is necessary to publish the various papers and reviews that have appeared from time to time on the issues. The experience of the last two decades shows that prejudices have to

be shed and caustic observations avoided, and instead, the only useful path would be that of dialogue and discussion, preceded by a detailed study of the Sikh Scripture which is prominently missing from the academic equipment of practically all the existing scholars claiming use of critical methodology. For, no understanding of the Sikh religion and its history can be rational or authentic, until the study both of the Guru Granth Sahib and the history of the Guru period is combined. Otherwise, unidimensional studies cannot obviously be objective or valid, much less profound.

The editor is particularly grateful to all the scholars for contributing stimulating articles which express their concerns over this PhD dissertation. It is also our great pleasure to express our thanks to various International Sikh organisations and the Sikh Community of North America for their contributions, cooperation, and participation in taking up this cause of the community and Sikh Studies.

Chandigarh  
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## 2 BLASPHEMOUS ATTACKS

*By*  
**Dr. GURNAM KAUR**  
**Dr. KHARAK SINGH**

It is well-known that Christian missions started their activities in the Punjab in the second half of the nineteenth century. A Missionary Centre was started at Batala. Evidently, the object was to spread Christianity, and wean away people from their existing religions. At Amritsar Sikh students of a Mission School were openly sought to be converted to Christianity. The response from the Singh Sabha successfully checked these attacks from the Mission. Later, the Akali Movement in the early twenties brought about an awakening among the Sikh masses, and the missionary activities of the Batala Group were virtually stopped. However, the Mission changed its tactics, and started another line of attack. It opened a Centre of Sikh Studies. The activities of some of its functionaries as the facts seem to disclose, have been subversive of the Sikh ideology and its institutions. In this paper we shall deal with their sustained attack on the authenticity of Guru Granth Sahib.

### **Guru Granth Sahib - A Unique Scripture :**

The Sikh Scripture, is unique in many ways. It completely embodies the Sikh ideology, and lays down firm foundations of all Sikh doctrines. Second, these principles are not man-made, but are spiritually revealed. The Gurus say: (1) "O, Lalo, I express what the Lord conveys me to speak." (2) "Nanak says the words of Truth, he expresses only the Truth, it is time to convey the Truth" (3) "I have expressed only what You made me say." (4) "I have no voice of my own, all what I have said, is His Command." (5) Guru's words are divine nectar (Amrit). These quench all spiritual thirst." (6) "Consider the Bani of the Satguru the words of Truth. "O, Sikh, it is the Lord who makes me convey them." The message is repeatedly stressed by the Gurus in Bani. Third, this Scripture stands authenticated by the Guru himself. Nothing that is revealed in Gurbani, is outside it. As such, it is unalterable. Lastly, the revealed Bani or Shabad

has been declared the Living Guru of the Sikhs. In contrast, all other scriptures of the world are man-made, compiled or recorded centuries or decades after the demise of the concerned prophet. For these reasons, there are a spate of controversies, and a growing crop of literature that casts doubt about the real message or canon of the prophet concerned.

### **Kartarpuri Bir Inspected:**

The above gives the context as to why the Batala functionaries may be uneasy, and, seemingly, seek crudely to strike at the unshakable ideological base of Sikhism and its established canon.

In 1945-46 there was a case going on between the SGPC and the Kartarpur Sodhis about the custody of the Kartarpuri Bir. It is unanimously accepted as the original Aad Granth, compiled by Guru Arjun Dev himself in 1604 A.D. The date of writing it, is recorded in the Granth itself, and it is authenticated by the Guru by writing his Nishim which is indexed in the List of Contents. During this period the Commission was allowed access to the Bir comprising three persons, namely, Rev. CH. Loehlin of the Batala Mission, br. J.C. Archer, and Dr. Jodh Singh. They made separate examination of it. The notes of their examinations are extremely revealing as to the approach and the mind of these persons. Evidently, the most important fact about the originality or the authenticity of a document is the date of its writing, besides its author or scribe. It is undoubted that the date of writing the Kartarpuri Bir is given at the very beginning of it. What is extremely significant, is that the dates of demise of the first four Gurus are in one handwriting and are in the same shade of ink and manner. The date of demise of the Fifth Guru is also recorded by the same scribe, but the shade of ink is different as also the words thereof, because in this case, even the day, apart from the date of demise, is indicated.

### **Batala Group misrepresents authenticity of Adi Granth.**

We give below the observations of these three scholars who in a way reported their findings at the Punjab History Conference held in November 1965.

Loehlin read his paper in which he produces both his

observations and those of Archer. They had full access to the Granth. In his own observations, he completely omits reference to the date on the Bir, including the clear proof as follows from the record about dates of death of the first five Gurus. He records that in the very beginning, there is Guru Arjun's writing as the nishan of the Guru. But he says that there are no signatures, little knowing that the recording of signatures was never an Indian practice then, and that the only and the recognised method of authentication was putting of Mul Mantar, called Nishan" by the Guru on any Holy Granth. Similarly, Archer, while admitting the presence of the Index and mention of the Nishan of Guru Arjun therein, makes a very misleading observation that the Bir bears no dates and that its authenticity cannot be proved. Further, in this paper it is recorded that the problem of the book is acute and although the Granth is said to have been dictated by Guru Arjan Dev, yet its textual criticism like that of the Christian Scripture would be necessary. The paper records: "The observations are not so superficial, as they might at first seem. For one thing, Dr. Archer's statements are those of a trained observer. Both are the reactions of friendly critics, who know how irreplaceable such a book is. Both are from men who have had to study the involved subject of textual study of the Christian Scripture." Such self-recommendations by the author about the two observers in an academic paper is extremely uncommon and indeed amusing. How 'friendly' the two observers are, is evident from the fact that their eyes remain closed to see dates on the Bir and the proof of its writing, as was clear from the dates of demise of the five Gurus, and the traditional Nishan of the Fifth Guru. Not only do they omit every fact about the date and authenticity of the Bir, but they also go on narrating its non-existent defects and recommending textual criticism by these two 'friends'. Archer also goes to the extent of making a mis-statement that the date is not there. That the omission and self-recommendations of these friendly critics, seemingly deliberate, were made with apparently unfortunate objectives, is evident from the paper of Jodh Singh, the third person who also saw the Bir. His paper contributed at the same Conference,

not only gives the date of the Bir, but also explains cogently the blank spaces and other seeming objections raised by Loehlin and Archer. Since Jodh Singh's paper at the Conference exposed the superficial scholarship, and perhaps also their intentions, the Batala Mission remained quiet for some time.

### **McLeod Suggests Adi Granth is Tampered with :**

But in 1975 the attack was repeated by W.H. McLeod, a Batala trained ex-employee of the Mission, in his book 'Evolution of the Sikh Community'. He went a step further from the attempts of Loehlin and Archer. He wrote that the Kartarpuri Bir, was not the original one and that the Banno Bir was the original Bir which had a hymn by the Fifth Guru, recording the alleged Tonsure ceremony of the Sixth Guru, conducted by Guru Arjun, and that probably the Sikhs had obliterated the hymn from the Bir at Kartarpur. He wrote "The conclusion which seems to be emerging with increasing assurance, was that the widely disseminated Banno version must represent the original text; and that the Kartarpuri manuscript must be a shortened version of the same text. A few portions must have been deleted because they could not be reconciled with beliefs subsequently accepted by the Panth. This much appears to be well-established..." "Later still, portions of the Kartarpuri manuscript (the original manuscript written by Bhai Gurdas) were rather ineptly obliterated in order to bring the two versions into line." "When the prohibition became mandatory, not merely for Jat Sikhs, but also those of other castes, the reference in the hymn could only be regarded as intolerable." McLeod's suggestion is that the Guru never prescribed the keeping of hair, and since it was a Jat cultural practice, others also started keeping their hair and the hymn in the Kartarpuri Bir was obliterated by the Sikhs. McLeod also pleads for textual examination, the same plan and pleas as made by the 'friendly' pair of scholars; earlier. The surprising parts of it are two. First, in 1968 had appeared Jodh Singh's detailed and meticulous record, page by page, of the Bir, along with clear reasons and conclusions of its being the original Adi Granth dictated by the Fifth Guru. He stated that the blank spaces were due to the reason that a fixed cluster of leaves was kept for each Raag, and since in some cases the cluster could not be filled from the available hymns, space at

its end remained blank. In fact, this was a clear additional proof of its authenticity. Dr. Jodh Singh's book clearly recorded that there was no obliteration of the Ramkali hymn at the place alleged by McLeod. Thus McLeod's suggestion about obliteration was blatantly unwarranted, incorrect and misleading. McLeod was well aware of the work of Jodh Singh which he quoted in his book. The second reason to doubt both McLeod's motive and scholarship is that he made these assertions without examining either the Kartarpuri Bir or the Banno Bir. Besides, he should have known that there was literature about the Banno Bir (Mahan Singh's book), saying that the recorded date on it showed that it was scribed in 1642 A.D., 38 years after the preparation of the Kartarpuri Bir, i.e., in the times of Guru Hargobind Sahib. Yet in his book of 1975, he wrote about four pages of his incorrect tirade against the Sikhs for obliterating the hymns and recommending textual examination.

### **McLeod Repeats Blasphemy:**

The Batala Group did not rest at that. In 1979 a Conference of Sikh Studies was held at Berkeley, and both Loehlin and McLeod read papers on the Adi Granth. This time Loehlin was a little hesitant and, compared to McLeod, fair, and while he reproduced the statements of his own and those of Archer, he also gave some of the observations from Jodh Singh's paper of 1965 presented at the History Conference. But he repeated the mis-statement of Archer that there was no date on the Bir. He repeated this mis-statement, even though he knew it to be incorrect, simply because he wanted to repeat, as he did in the end, his earlier suggestion for textual criticism. Similarly, McLeod repeated his blasphemous and baseless statement that the Ramkali hymn had been obliterated and that the Banno Bir was the original one, even though he had still not examined either of them. He wrote, "The earliest, representing nearest approach to Guru Arjan's dictation would be Banno. The second, and intermediate recension bearing the actual marks of a later revision through the excision of unacceptable material, would be Kartarpur."

It was, however, on record that there was no obliteration of the Ramkali hymn in the Kartarpuri Bir (Jodh Singh's book of 1968), and that the Banno Bir had been scribed in 1642 A.D.

(Mahan Singh's book of 1952). Without examining the Birs and without caring to study the profuse and conclusive literature on the point, McLeod continued with his apparent blasphemy, even in 1989 in his book "The Sikhs". He wrote, "This comparison suggests that the Banno recension may actually represent the original text by Bhai Gurdas. The theory allows that the Kartarpur manuscript may well be the document recorded by Bhai Gurdas, but adds that if this is indeed the case, the original version has subsequently been amended by obliterating occasional portions of the text."

But the real facts are that not only had the examination of the Kartarpuri Bir by Jodh Singh (1968), Harbhajan Singh (1981) and Daljeet Singh (1987), been published proving unambiguously the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir, and accusing McLeod of making deliberate blasphemous statements, but many scholars like Mahan Singh (1952), the University Team from the GNDU Amritsar, Principal Harbhajan Singh (1981), and Professor Pritam Singh (1982-84), had published papers or reported that the Banno Bir had, on its own record, been scribed in 1642, and that even there the Ramkali hymn was just an interpolation made after that year. And yet over the years without examining the two Birs and disregarding the available published University and other literature on the issues, McLeod went on with his baseless and unethical attacks saying (a) that the Banno Bir was the original Bir, (b) that there was motivated obliteration of the Ramkali hymn in the Kartarpuri Bir, and (c) that textual criticism was necessary. One wonders if any further comments are necessary about his motives, level of scholarship and extraneous objectives. Textual Analysis:

Here, a few words about textual criticism and its relevance. As noted, except the Adi Granth, there is no scripture in the world that had been recorded either by or in the time of the original prophet. Whether it is the Torah, the Bible, the Dhamapada or the Quran, each was compiled and finalised after the demise of the prophet concerned. Hence the problems of correct canon or textual criticism, form criticism, redaction and like criticism have arisen. In the time between the demise of the prophet concerned and the date of its final compilation,

there had been many man-made versions of concerned scriptures or parts thereof. In fact, in the case of the Jewish and Christian scriptures there are innumerable intervening manuscripts suggesting one inference or the other. It has given unlimited mass of material to scholars to exercise their intellectual ability or give vent to their idiosyncracies, some of them even malicious. So much so, that on the basis of a doubtful and unproven manuscript, Morton Smith went to the extent of casting unbecoming aspersions on Jesus Christ. Now the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 has put in confusion both the versions of the Talmud and the Bible. It is the unique vision of the Fifth Master that he eliminated all possibilities of such criticism by himself compiling and authenticating the Bani. Further, the Gurus established a tradition, in fact a firm direction, that since it was a revealed bani, no one had the right to change even a word of it, and that nothing outside the Guru Granth, unless a copy of it, is Gurbani. For, there could be no question for Guru Arjun, to leave Gurbani outside and not to include it in the Adi Granth. The Seventh Guru even banished his own son for changing a single word of it, and the Tenth Master was very angry with a Sikh who wrongly pronounced a word, which could be misconstrued to change the meaning of the hymn.

### **Blasphemy Evident**

These being the facts and realities, the Batala missionary has gone out of the way to muddy the waters by making unethical and unwarranted statements. These opinions, besides being clear mis-statements, were unacademic, since these were made over the years without ever examining the Birs. These were written in clear contradiction to and in utter disregard of the readily available published literature on the subject before 1975 and 1979. Even a junior student of Sikhism knows that (a) the Kartarpuri Bir was dated and authentic, (b) that the Banno Bir was dated 1642 A.D. with a subsequent interpolation of the alleged Ramkali hymn, and (c) that the question of textual analysis could not arise in view of unambiguous statements of the Gurus, that the Bani was revealed and was authenticated by Guru Arjun himself. For these reasons, it would indeed, be arrogant for any scholar today (400 years later) to claim a better sense of judgement by suggesting that some

authentic Bani was, mistakenly or otherwise left out by the Guru.

### **McLeod Accused of Blasphemy:**

Thus the frivolous suggestions of the Batala Group died out, especially because McLeod had since lost all academic credibility by his having made baseless attacks against the Sikh scripture. In fact, in 1989-90 four Sikh Organizations wrote to the University demanding how McLeod, while knowing full well the truth from the publication of Dr. Jodh Singh had written page after page, suggesting 'inept deletion' of 'unacceptable' material from the Sikh Scripture, and how the University could defend such misconduct of their employee. Perhaps, in response to these accusations of blasphemy, he wrote a letter to the "India Abroad" in December of 1990 virtually saying that he had abandoned his doubts about the Kartarpuri Bir after reading Dr. Jodh Singh's book. It was a strange and unbelievable denial, because every blasphemous statement of McLeod, whether of 1975 or 1979 or 1989, had been made after the publication of Jodh Singh's book of 1968, knowledge of which he had even accepted in his book of 1975.

### **Another Ghost Attack Starts:**

After his exposure, McLeod seemingly changed his plank of attack against the Adi Granth. In 1987, a paper under the caption "Need for Textual and Historical Criticism" appeared under the name of Loehlin in the Sikh Courier' (U.K.). Therein parts of Loehlin's paper which had been published in 'Sikh Studies' in Berkeley were reproduced. The unfortunate part which exposes the motive of the author, is that whereas the statement of Archer that the Kartarpuri Bir was undated and unauthentic, was reproduced, it omitted the portion of Jodh Singh's paper wherein he had categorically concluded that the Bir was original, because it was dated and authenticated with the Nishan of the Fifth Guru. The article noted that it was a reproduction of Loehlin's paper read at the Punjab History Conference and published in 1966. Evidently, this incongruous reference to Loehlin's Paper of 1965, 22 years old, by omitting reference to his later paper of Berkeley published in 1979, was significant, and perhaps deliberate, because evidently, the writer wanted to project the alleged faults of the Bir and to exclude from the notice of the readers, the views of Dr. Jodh Singh contradicting erroneous observations of Loehlin and

Archer, that had appeared in the Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference of 1965 and the Berkeley Conference of 1979. Further, even the foot - note was incorrect, because the present article contains considerable additional material, referring to the writings of Giani Partap Singh regarding Dasam Granth, to Grewal and Bal's book on Guru Gobind Singh, to the event of the creation of Khalsa, and to Dr. Radhakrishnan's observations in the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs. These additional 2 or 3 columns of the article concluded with the suggestion: "Western friends of Sikhism and Sikhs likewise have noted this lack of critical interest on the part of Sikhs. Fortunately many of their scholars and research experts are doing research of textual and historical problems." The new concluding para exposes the objective of republishing an old paper. For, it was sought to be made a preparatory ground for reviving a dead issue. The anomalous part is that even the note "A Paper read at the Punjab History Conference and published in the proceedings, 1966" is also not quite accurate, since the article contains considerable additional material with a new slant. Second, The Western 'friends' of Sikhs would seem to be, perhaps, none other than the 'friendly' McLeod of the Batala Group and his student, Pashaura Singh, who had taken up research on the issue in 1987. Third, Loehlin who died in August 1987, stood admitted since 1983 to an old Home for Ex-missionaries in California, and was understood to have been incapable, since 1983 of doing any academic work. Further, according to the records of the Home he is reported neither to have written nor revised any such paper. Dr. Amrit Singh and Dr. J.S. Mann visited the Home and talked to Mr. Rollings, Executive Director of the Home, where Loehlin had lived since 1981. After the visit, Dr. Mann wrote to Mr. Rollins by way of confirmation of the information Mr. Rollins had conveyed to them. He says, "You also reviewed the above two papers published under the name of Dr. C. Loehlin in spring - summer of 1987 and March - April of 1990, as I had faxed you on October 7 of 1992. For the sake of records I am confirming our discussion and your opinion that 'You knew Dr. Loehlin very closely, and in your personal recollection since 1983 (when you Joined the centre) till his death, and also review of records of Westminster Gardens reflect that till his death Dr. Loehlin did not publish any article during his stay at Westminster Gardens'.

I also contacted Mrs. Marian Davies (Dr. C. Loehlin's daughter) via telephone on October 6th, 1992. She also does not recall that her Dad published any article on Sikhism in later years of his life when he moved to Westminster Gardens". This clearly proves that the real author of the paper is not Loehlin. Because Loehlin never worked at Berkeley, and could never describe himself as from Berkeley as noted in the ghost article.

Another incongruous and surprising event is that the same paper by Loehlin under the same heading was published in the Sikh Review of March - April 1990, making a plea for textual analysis of the Bir, even though Loehlin had died three years earlier. Unfortunately, this time, even the note that it was a reproduction of the earlier paper was not there, giving thereby the impression that the article contained new academic research about the allegedly undated Bir. Thus even though exposed about his earlier statements regarding the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir and the alleged deletions, it appears that someone again resorted to pleas for textual examination under the name of a dead ex-Batala Missionary. Evidently, all this is inexplicable as a normal or ethical academic activity.

### **A Proxy Attack against the Bir Starts:**

Having failed to attack the authenticity of the Guru Granth, an obvious question arises, as to who is the ghost author or body sending articles in the name of a dead Loehlin, making misrepresentations that the Bir is undated and pleading for textual analysis, (which is supposed to have begun, or been taken up by 'friendly' persons) ? Facts tend to point out that it could be an ex-Batala man behind it. His antecedents suggest an apparent bias against the Sikh Scripture, because, without examining it, he went to the extent of making incorrect suggestions about its being a tampered with or forged Granth. Second is the subsequent coincident event as to who has implemented the suggestion in the paper about textual analysis that appeared in the name of dead Loehlin. In the same period, about 1987, it is McLeod who, as supervisor, and Pashaura Singh, as his student, who took up the so-called research on the text of Adi Granth. Pashaura Singh in his dissertation, guided by McLeod at Toronto starts his chapter on Textual Analysis with the observation and a quotation from the ghost paper of 1987; "In the 1940's two Western scholars,

J.C. Archer and CH. Loehlin, had an opportunity to take a look at the Kartarpuri Bir. Although their comments are mainly concerned with the internal physiognomy of the manuscript, they have, nevertheless, stressed the need for textual and historical criticism of the Adi Granth. To quote Dr. Loehlin: The Sikhs will hold a unique position among the religions of the world, if they prove through careful textual criticism the widely accepted belief that the Kartarpuri Granth is the MS dictated by Guru Arjan.'

### **Concept of a Draft:**

A significant and fundamental fact of Pashaura Singh's accepted dissertation is the ridiculous theory of a draft by Guru Arjun, based on a manuscript which is without antecedents, without history, without date, and without scribe's name, that was first heard of only in 1987. A very revealing fact is that this draft theory of Pashaura Singh is presumably based on the phoney idea of his supervisor, Dr. McLeod, which he brought into print (suggesting the theory of draft) in his book of 1975. He wrote, "Another has suggested that the present manuscript must be a first draft, subsequently amended by the Guru himself". (the manuscript referred to is the Kartarpuri Bir). The foot-note about the 'another person' who made the suggestion, is as follows: "This opinion was advanced orally during the discussion which followed the reading of Dr. Loehlin's paper, 'A Westner looks at the Kartarpur Granth' at the First Session of the Punjab History Conference. "The name of another person, is not given, and there is no reference or record of that person or anyone giving, the draft idea, in the Conference Proceedings. Perhaps, it may not be inaccurate to suggest that the another person', author of draft idea, may be none other than Pashaura Singh's guide.

Here a few words about the irrelevance of the draft idea. In the available literature about the Adi Granth, the draft concept has been unknown. Because, this is just a modern western concept, and because, a draft in relation to the Adi Granth is a contradiction in terms. The bani being revealed, had only to be copied or compiled. A draft has to be made about something that is half baked, sketchy, preparatory or rough, or something about which ideas are not clear or have yet to be formed or finalized. As such, to the concept of revealed and unalterable

Bani, as emphasised by the Gurus themselves, the idea of a draft is inapplicable. Second, it would be impossible to think of drafts, when a sacred Granth of over 1400 pages has to be copied. As stated already, both the concepts of textual analysis and a draft are in the case of the Bani of the five Gurus. It is to eliminate all possibilities of controversy or confusion of authenticity that Guru Arjun took the sagacious step of compilation and authentication. Unfortunately, McLeod is obsessed by the presence of such confusion and controversy regarding Christian and Jewish Scriptures, finalised centuries after Christ and Moses, respectively. They never recorded or authenticated their thought in their own times. What is available are often unowned, or sketchy manuscripts mostly in parts or patches. It is from these that the Scripture or the Canon has to be constructed (not reconstructed, because there never was an original in full, or complete) by men of variant beliefs, prejudices, abilities or learning. The Scripture had to be finalised by a process of consensus, possibility, feasibility and even guess by men, who, as professor Nichols emphasises, have or had culture entirely different from the earlier culture of the prophets and their times. Accordingly, when anyone has to construct, frame or finalise a scripture, or even to interpret it, he has to take into consideration the principles of form or redaction criticisms. For, there is nothing given or authenticated before him. The present scholar is as much human as the one who made an earlier construction or interpretation from the portions or fragments from the works of the earlier writers. For, no earlier prophet authenticated his message. Because of the uncertainty and the lack of authenticity of the original works of the prophets, concepts of form or textual analysis or man-made drafts have some relevance. Evidently, McLeod's ideas of textual criticisms, drafts and hermeneutics are conditioned by the Christian background. These ideas are irrelevant and inapplicable to Sikhism where the Scripture, as now universally accepted by all, was authenticated by the Fifth Master himself, declaring it to be both revealed and final. Sniping by 'friends' apart, this is the academic and real position, as given to us by the Fifth Master.

### **Manuscript 1245.:**

Now we come to Manuscript 1245 on which Pashaura Singh

Builds the entire edifice of his Ph.D. thesis. He calls it a draft of the Adi Granth prepared by Guru Arjun through Bhai Gurdas.

(a) The raft theory, we find, is too flimsy to sustain. But Pashaura Singh seems to know of no wavering from the thinking or plan of his supervisor, the ex-Batala Missionary.

(b) The second significant feature of MS 1245 is the coincidence of its sudden appearance, almost from the blue, on the shelf of an Amritsar dealer and its purchase by the University in 1987. It is also in 1987 that the ghost article, recommending textual criticism and announcing the start of work by Western Sikh 'friends' appears. Again, it is in 1987 that Pashaura Singh supervised by McLeod takes up the subject of textual criticism for his Ph.D. work. It is difficult to dispel the thought that this triple coincidence of events in 1987 has an adverse significance for the authenticity of MS 1245 or that all this has some connection with the traditional plan of 'muddying' the waters.

(c) The third unfortunate fact is the history or lack of history of MS 1245. It has no history whatsoever. The entire literature of Sikhism, including the Survey List of Shams her Singh's Catalogue of old manuscripts, or the Sikh tradition does not refer to its existence anywhere.

(d) The dealer who sold it in 1987 does not know of its history. The dealer's supposed note typed on the manuscript is very revealing. It contains almost every argument Pashaura Singh had given to suggest its antiquity, namely, its having been with Baba Budha whose hymn is written on it, its not having Bhagat Bani, its having Satgur Prasad and not Gurprasad, its not having the line of Aad Sach, jugad Sach, etc. On an oral and lengthy examination of the dealer, Harbhajan Singh, by scholars, he stated that he got this manuscript (which he said was the only one he had and sold it to the GND University in 1986 or 1987) from Rajasthan, alongwith a few other Mehrban group (Meena) books. He repeatedly mentioned its Mehrban antecedents. He did not say a word about its other noted characters or its Baba Budha antecedents. This would appear to suggest that the distorted note was written at the instance of someone else, and for that reason, the dealer had no idea or remembrance whatsoever of its contents. His only recollection was that it was a Mehrban Granth which he sold

to the University in 1986-87.

On interview, the renowned successor, Sant Baba Darshan Singh, at the seat of Baba Budha, clearly stated that there was no handwritten Bir linked with Guru Arjun or Baba Budha with them, and that the question of selling such a prize, if available could never arise. He also said that they had never known of Baba Budha jee having composed any poem or bani, and gave a written statement to that effect. But the most inexplicable fact is the complete silence of Pashaura Sigh about its history. He founds almost all of his conclusions, largely on this manuscript, and yet he says nothing about its source or custody during the preceding 400 years. There is not even a word suggesting that he made any attempts to trace its past or inquire from the dealer or elsewhere, its history, which is the basic requirement of the reliability of a manuscript. He makes a clear reference, without any supportive evidence or inquiry, that the manuscript had remained with the family of Baba Budha. But equally intriguing is the fact that although he was in Amritsar for about a week, and MS 1245 is the corner stone of his thesis, yet he never cared to verify its history from the well known Gurdwara or Centre of Baba Budha where the present successor is Sant Baba Darshan Singh, who lives only a few miles away from Amritsar. The successors at the Baba Budha centre completely deny any knowledge of it. All this demolishes the reliability or value of the manuscript. One wonders if a scholar working for a Ph.D. thesis could be so blissfully ignorant, smug, or unconcerned about the history of the basic manuscript of his work. Equally intriguing is the apparent lack of concern on the part of the supervisor in this respect.

(e) The Japuji in MS 1245 is virtually the same as in Mehrban literature. This with the presence of a couplet with the word Nanak seeking to attribute its authorship to the Guru, even though it is not Gurbani, shows that it is a Mina collection. One of the reasons for preparation of the Adi Granth was the circulation of such misleading hymns. All this and the clear statement of the dealer that he got it from Rajasthan from a Mehrban group, establishes its Mehrban or Mina character.

(f) Lack of consistency is always a natural proof of one's bias or motive. In 1975 McLeod attacked the authenticity of the

Kartarpuri Bir saying that the Banno bir was original, because it contained more material than the Kartarpuri Bir, "The conclusion which seems to be emerging with increasing assurance was that the widely disseminated Banno version must represent the original text; and that the Kartarpur manuscript must be a shortened version of the same text." Now Pashaura Singh, approved by McLeod, uses manuscript 1245 to attack the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir, because it is a shorter version, "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 the earlier than the famous Kartarpuri manuscript." Both Pashaura Singh and his supervisor seek to attack the authenticity of Kartarpuri Bir on the basis of MS 1245, even though it is a Mina collection, and is, as facts prove conclusively, a post-1606 manuscript.

(g) Intriguing also is the contrast of approach of McLeod, to this manuscript, which is brought forward to oppose the authentic Sikh Scripture, on the one hand, and to the views attacking the Kartarpuri Bir, on the other. The Adi Granth is dated, and it has the Nishan, which is virtually the signature of the Fifth Guru. The Nishan is listed in the Table of Contents. Besides, the notes of dates of demise of the first four Gurus and the note regarding the Fifth Guru are in different shades of ink, although both are in the hand of Bhai Gurdas. All this, its proper custody over the centuries, and numerous other internal and external pieces of evidence, prove its authenticity. Despite the knowledge of this conclusive evidence, McLeod wrote in his Berkely paper of 1979, doubting the authenticity of Kartarpuri Bir, "One is the obscurity which envelops a significant period of the text's actual history." And similarly, Archer wrote in his article, "It is said that Guru Tegh Bahadur hid it once for 14 days in the river Beas to protect it but there are no signs of water damage." He concluded that "Its authenticity cannot be proved." In one case the alleged uncertainty of custody for 14 days disproves the authenticity of a manuscript, but in the other case its lack of history or knowledge of custody for 400 years is ignored as of no consequence. As against it, MS 1245 has no date, no Nishan of the Fifth Guru, and no clues about its scribe, or the history of its custody in 400 years. And yet,

McLeod seems to have suddenly turned the Nelson's eye to all this. Bias could be a reason for such incongruous conduct.

(h) There is another intriguing contrast. Whereas the Kartarpuri Bir contains the Fifth Guru's Nishan, MS 1245, according to Pashaura Singh, and as seen by us, has a forged Nishan pasted on it which is considered to be that of the Ninth Guru, on the basis of identity of handwriting. But the owner represents this Nishan as that of the Sixth Guru. And yet, on the basis of MS 1245, whose owner has evidently forged the Nishan of the Sixth Guru, Pashaura Singh and his Supervisor suggest that Guru Arjun made theological changes in the Bani of Guru Nanak. We wonder if modern scholarship or textual criticism involves attacking authentic Scripture on the basis of a forged manuscript, especially when even its owner does not pretend to claim it as of Guru Arjun's period. No one can be to blame, if such 'friendly Western scholarship' is considered to be suspect, and to have brought its reputation to an unenviable level.

(i) MS 1245 is not a Bir. It is just a collection of 'hymns' recording as the scribe has been able to find them. The collection includes both Bani and non-Bani, and the hymns stand recorded without any order of ragas or any other order as in the Adi Granth. It is significant that the dates of demise of first five Gurus are written on leaf 1255. Normally these dates are written either in the beginning or at the end of a manuscript. But even after writing these dates on leaf 1255, the scribe went on collecting upto leaf 1266, the Bani of third, fourth and fifth Gurus as well as non-Bani. The recording is all haphazard, without any system or sequence of any kind. By no stretch of reason can the manuscript be called a Bir or a draft. It is just an odd recording of available hymns the scribe could lay his hands upon.

(j) There is another intriguing fact. We are not told that MS 1245 has any known history. It entered the vision of academic forum in 1987 after it was listed in the university catalogue following its purchase. The entire thesis of Pashaura Singh and the arguments of textual analysis are largely based on this manuscript. Without it, Pashaura Singh could make no comparison or progress in the field of his research, because in the Sikh academic world no such manuscript or first draft has

ever been mentioned. Neither Pashaura Singh nor McLeod ever visited Amristar after the cataloguing of this manuscript until 1990. How is that Pashaura Singh chose the subject and his supervisor approved of it, when both of them had no knowledge of the existence of MS 1245, or anything like it, in the absence of which no one could make any headway in this field? Besides this a number of other questions arise. Did Pashaura Singh know of it and its contents? Did he include mention of its basic importance in his synopsis? If so, who conveyed the presence and the detailed contents of MS 1245 to him in 1987 so as to give him both material and confidence to start his textual venture? In the background of ghost articles the truth may be quite revealing.

**MS 1245 was Scribed after 1606 A.D. :**

As one fact alone is enough to knock the bottom of the dating or period regarding the time of scribing of MS 1245, we need not go into many other details and facts. Manuscript 1245, according to Pashaura Singh, contains the dates of demise of all the first five Gurus. He writes that they are in the same hand, and although he gives no reasons for it, he says that the date' of the fifth Guru was recorded later. The factual position, as clear from our examination, and the photocopy of the five dates, is that the dates of demise of all the five Gurus are in one hand and in the same shade of ink. This shows conclusively that the manuscript was scribed after the demise of the Fifth Guru (1606). And, thus, the question of its being a draft by Guru Arjun cannot arise. Accordingly, the entire rationale of the thesis of Pashaura Singh regarding alleged changes by Guru Arjun becomes baseless. Pashaura Singh well understood the significance of this feature of the manuscript. Therefore, he appears to have been obliged to make the mis-statement that the date of demise of the Fifth Guru had been written later, although, he could give no reason to support it, since the hand and shade of ink were the same. Second, the scribe or the owner of the manuscript does not attempt to give by way of the forged Nishan of the Sixth Guru, a date earlier than the period of Guru Hargobind. This shows that its being a manuscript of a time prior to 1606 is out of the question, and was not claimed as such. Actually the handwriting of Nishan shows it to be of 10th Guru, and, thus MS 1245 could only be of the time of the

Ninth Guru.

Pashaura Singh's guess about the scribe of MS 1245 is also untenable. He conceded that although the hand writing of the scribe does not match with that of Bhai Gurdas in the Kartarpuri Bir, Bhai Gurdas must have improved it by the time he wrote Guru Arjun's Granth. Seemingly, he also improved his knowledge of Gurmukhi writing, since MS 1245 is not written in the kind of script with matras, in vogue in the period of the Fifth Master. Further, if Bhai Gurdas wrote MS 1245, how did this manuscript travel from the Bhallas to the area of the Baba Budha family? Since the handwriting of all the five dates is the same, as seen by us, the 'improvement of handwriting' theory of Pashaura Singh falls to the ground and the scribe could never be Bhai Gurdas. For, the five dates stand written simultaneously by the same scribe. And, what was the need of writing the date of demise of the Fifth Guru, if it was merely a discarded draft? Further, why were the dates of demise of subsequent Gurus not mentioned? Evidently, the writer never intended to claim a date prior to 1606 A.D., i.e., the period of the Sixth Guru, which is fixed by the author having forged the Nishan of Guru Hargobind. Just as the author of the manuscript has, by the pasted forged Nishan, sought to extend his ambitious claim about the time of scribing MS 1245, Pashaura Singh has now so irrationally sought further to extend that period to the time of the Fifth Master. .

The fact that the dates of demise are on leaf 1255 and the scribe records the Bani of Gurus and other hymns on the subsequent over twenty pages, shows clearly that manuscript continued under use and preparation even after 1606 A.D. Further, the manuscript has a hymn alleged to be of Baba Budha in which the author uses the word 'Nanak' for himself, as was done by the Gurus. This fact, as referred to earlier alone is sufficient to prove that MS 1245 is spurious, and is a production of an anti- Guru or anti-Sikh section. Because a devout Sikh would never pass his own poetry as Bani of Guru Nanak or his successors. Such pretentious profanity on the part of Baba Budha is inherently impossible.

**Available Material is Unauthentic:**

As it is, there are hundreds of manuscripts of the Aad Granth, with private owners and in the Sikh Gurdwaras.

Everywhere the owners keep them with utmost respect and veneration, and usually try to establish their antiquity by linking them with one of the Gurus or some other historic figure. Yet, so far, never has the story of a draft or the claim of a Bir being earlier than 1604 A.D. been made. This is the deadline, because, in the existing tradition, history and facts, everyone knows that any claim beyond that date would be unacceptable and even ridiculous. The earliest story in this regard was the Banno story, claiming the simultaneous scribing of the Bir by Bhai Banno in 1604 AD. The facts have conclusively revealed that the story has no basis, and that this Bir is dated 1642 AD. Human ingenuity can be unlimited but so far no one has dared to claim the existence of a manuscript of the Adi Granth earlier than that of 1604 AD. Of course this 'research' has now come from the so-called 'friendly Western scholarship'. The point to stress is that there are innumerable hand-written copies of the Adi Granth. If this kind of irrational claim is entertained, anyone can come forward with spurious arguments, seeking to claim authenticity for his Bir, and to 'muddy' the waters.

### **Need for Investigation to Stop Malpractice:**

One fact more needs to be mentioned. After the destruction of the Sikh Reference Library in 1984, the story is current that many of its manuscripts are still available and persons are making claims of their ability to procure them for a price. Such trade is said to be going on both inside and outside India. MS 1245 could be part of the goods being traded about. It is, therefore, essential that the entire transaction and the matter be looked into.

### **Significance of Kartarpuri Bir :**

The creation of the Kartarpuri Bir or the authenticated Adi Granth by the Fifth Master is a landmark in academic and religious history, which, apart from showing the Guru's vision and sagacity, has the deepest significance. The Guru had all the authentic material available to him. The Sikh Sangat of the time, although sizeable, was well known to the Guru. Second, the Bani of the earlier Gurus, if claimed to be present with any Sikh, could not remain unknown or undisclosed to the Guru. In fact, every claim of such Bani in existence would have been proudly and voluntarily offered to the Gurus. The Fifth Master

took a long period to complete the Bir, which he considered to be sacred. Every Bani, hymn or couplet in the Adi Granth is numbered, with progressive totals indicated in the text. These are also listed in the Table of Contents. It shows his decision to make sure that no one could in the future make any interpolation or change in the text. He would certainly have exercised utmost care to ascertain the authenticity of the material before recording it in his Adi Granth. We have the story of Pransangli which was obtained from Ceylon, but later rejected as unauthentic on scrutiny. We can be absolutely sure that any Bani in existence at that time, was available to him. It is rather far fetched that after 400 years someone should come forward and claim a greater sense of discrimination, spiritual perception, vision or ability to know or test the authenticity of the Bani, than Guru Arjun Dev ji. His preparation of the Adi Granth was a clear declaration of three facts. One, that the Bani in the Adi Granth is the only true Bani of the Gurus. Two, that no Bani of the Gurus has been left out by him outside the Adi Granth. Three, that any claimed existence of the Bani could not be true, since the same would have been scrutinized and tested by the Fifth Master himself. Obviously any claim made subsequent to that would be meaningless, since in the above context post-facto claims would always be spurious. It is also impossible that anyone withheld any Bani from the Fifth Master, only to disclose it now. The Gurus lived for over a hundred years after 1604 AD., and there is no record of any additional Bani having been offered during this period. Only the Bani of the Ninth Master was included in the Guru Granth. The Guru has given us not only an authentic Scripture but also a supreme touchstone to test whether anything produced or represented by anyone is Gurbani or not. The corollary of Guru's edict or decision is that any suggestion of a hymn which is outside the Adi Granth, being called Gurbani is a clear act of blasphemy.

From the above context one conclusion is inevitable. Since the very object of Guru Arjun was to locate, identify and compile authentic Bani in order to exclude all pretensions that were being made about it in some quarters, including Minas, what he included in the Adi Granth, is the only true text of the Bani. Consequently even if there was anything elsewhere in a form

different from that in the Adi Granth, the logical corollary, is that it was either spurious or stood Incorrectly recorded, which the reason for the Fifth Master having rejected it or having rejected it in the form in which it was there.

It is sheer illogic of Pashaura Singh's argument, that has led him to make the main suggestion that Guru Arjun changed his own Bani in the final Adi Granth. The evident, the logical and the simple inference is that the scribe of MS 1245 has wrongly copied not only the Bani of Guru Nanak but also of Guru Arjun, and has forged the Nishan of the Sixth Guru to claim authenticity and hide the spurious character of his work. It is the good luck of the scribe of MS 1245 that posthumously he has found in Pashaura Singh and his supervisor enthusiastic advocates and logicians who have called his work an original compilation. If the topsy turvy logic of Pashaura Singh is to be followed, every plagiarist would claim to be the author and every author would be in the dock.

### **Baseless Insinuations:**

Pashaura Singh seeks to depict the Fifth Master almost as a political figure, anxious to attract followers in order to gain socio-political prominence and standing. He writes, "their (Ravidas's and Dhanna's hymns) inclusion in the scriptures reflects a situation wherein the followers of those Bhagats (The Jats and Cobblers) were attracted to the Sikh fold in large numbers." "Although Kabir is prominently represented in the Sikh Scripture followed by Namdev, Ravidas and Sheikh Farid, eleven other figures from different regions and castes are given a token representation to justify the Sikh claim to universality". Further it is the same logic that makes Pashaura Singh also to say, because of the absence of Bhagat Bani in MS 1245, that the reasons for inclusion of some Bhagat Bani in the Adi Granth were not ideological but mundane or almost political. For he writes regarding the Bani of Bhagat Dhanna, "Its later adgition may reflect a situation when Jats were attracted into the Sikh fold in large numbers. It should be emphasised that the inclusion of Bhagat Bani in the Adi Granth, may have been motivated primarily by the popular impulse of the times in which different sectarian traditions (Sampradays) were equally involved ..."

## **Change of Guru Nanak's Bani Theologically**

### **Impossible:**

We have already given reasons why a change in revealed Bani is a theological contradiction. So far as Guru Nanak's Bani is concerned, it is doubly so, because his spiritual status has been recognised to be unique and exalted. As explained by Bhai Gurdas in his 20th Var, Guru Nanak was Guru or Gurmukh from the very start, and received directly the Grace of God. But every other Guru, as stated in the Var, was first a Gursikh, and subsequently became the beneficiary of His Grace through Guru Nanak or his successor. Accordingly it is an inherent theological impossibility that Guru Arjun could ever think of altering the Bani of Guru Nanak, much less his theology.

### **Mohan Pothis :**

Apparently Pashaura Singh's presumption is that Mohan Pothis were got recorded at the instance of the Third Master. This presumption is also baseless. For, the date on one of the Mohan Pothis as claimed and recorded, is 1595 AD. Evidently to give priority to Mohan Pothis by calling them a pre-Fifth Guru manuscript, is as ridiculous as to consider MS 1245 with the forged Nishan of the Sixth Guru, to be an earlier draft. While there can be some plausible reasons for considering a manuscript to actually be of a date later than the one recorded on it, it is absurd to attribute to it a date earlier than the one written thereon. The story about Mohan Pothis is impossible and self-contradictory. Because, it is unthinkable that the Third Master after having appointed Guru Ram Das as his successor, would give the Bani got dictated by him to his adversary who openly refused to recognise the Fourth Master. The hymn in the manuscript cursing those who did not recognise their 'Hundi', could only be from a frustrated and discarded group and never from the benevolent and beneficent Guru.

### **Conclusion:**

Our review of Pashaura Singh's thesis supervised by McLeod leads to some clear conclusions: (1) For several individually conclusive reasons, like forged Nishan of the Sixth Guru, the one-time record of the dates of demise of the first five Gurus, its lack of known writer (or scribe), dating, history, etc., MS 1245 is obviously of a date far later than 1606 AD. (2) Because of a couplet with the word Nanak now attributed to Baba Budha, it is certain that the manuscript is the preparation of

someone in the anti-Sikh quarters, i.e., the Mehrban group as also disclosed by the dealer. (3) There are numerous factors and facts to suggest that in the preparation of the thesis the concerned persons have crossed bounds of academic propriety and made statements that are apparently indefensible or blasphemous. For example, it is not possible for a disinterested person to ignore that (a) In 1975 McLeod wrote that in the Adi Granth, now Guru Granth Sahib, 'inept deletions' of an unacceptable hymn' had been made, and even when he knew from Jodh Singh's book that there were no such deletions, and even when he had never examined the Kartarpuri Bir, and the Banno Bir, for which he claimed originality. He continued repeating these unwarranted and incorrect allegations, but virtually retraced them only after he had been accused of blasphemy. (b) Apparently doctored reproduction of Dr. Loehlin's papers appeared under his name in 1987 and 1990 even when Loehlin was invalid or dead, and for these reasons was unlikely to write them. (c) The triple coincidence of the appearance of a ghost article, Pashaura Singh taking up his research work on the subject and the appearance of MS 1245 in the same year (1987) is a very intriguing circumstance. This coupled with the idea of a draft by Guru Arjun, which first appeared in McLeod's book of 1975, and which forms the entire base of Pashaura Singh's thesis would, together with the other factors, seemingly suggests a planned course of events in calling a post 1606 manuscript, with a forged Nishan, a draft by

Guru Arjun, and alleging on that account that the Guru had made changes in the Bani of Guru Nanak, Pashaura Singh supervised by McLeod has made unwarranted and blasphemous statement against the Guru' Granth, Guru Arjun and the entire Sikh community. In fact both these attempts would appear to be quite inter-connected, the singular objective being to attack the authenticity of Guru Granth Sahib which has the unique distinction of its having been compiled by the Prophet himself. Irrelevant arguments of deletion, tampering with, a first draft, textual analysis, etc., are being advanced, the apparent objective being to cloud the originality of the Adi Granth (now Guru Granth) through frivolous and uncalled for attempts. (5) The facts, chain of events and the matter are too serious to be ignored. These need to be investigated

with a view to taking if called for action according to the law, the religious code and the academic regulations. Because, there seem to be reasons to suggest that the author could have an objective other than academic.

Note: Photo copy of the leaf 1255 from MS 1245 has been given in this book as Appendix' A'.

### 3

## AN ACADEMIC ANALYSIS OF A PH.D THESIS

By  
**Dr. GURMEL SINGH SIDHU**

Pashaura Singh was awarded a Ph.D. degree on the basis of the thesis, "The Text and Meaning of the Adi Granth" submitted to the University of Toronto in 1991. In his thesis, Dr. Singh has raised some doubts about the editorial aspect, authenticity and apocalyptic nature of the barn of the Adi Granth. As a result, many Sikh scholars have expressed their concern regarding the contents of the thesis. This article will examine, apart from other aspects, the authenticity, originality and scientific standard of research embodied in this thesis. Based on the findings, conclusions will be drawn as to whether or not this thesis is worthy of a Ph.D. degree.

**Academic Basis of a Ph.D. Dissertation:** The doctorate of philosophy degree is awarded in various fields, such as science, religion, literature and other social sciences. In addition to completion of required class work, submission of an acceptable doctoral dissertation is required in all cases to earn the doctorate in philosophy. While some requirements of the doctoral dissertation vary depending on the academic field, it must always satisfy certain basic requirements. Specifically, the research must be original and authentic. It should have the potential of contributing to the welfare of humanity.

There is a set pattern to the research conducted for a doctoral dissertation. It should have a clear cut aim, appropriate materials and methodology and unbiased conclusions. The later should be based on the data generated and results deduced. Based on the subject matter there could be minor adjustments in the methodology of a thesis, but the basic tenets should remain the same. While definitive research avenues in the fields of mathematics and chemistry may require slightly different approaches than the non-definitive research avenues, such as theology and literature, the requirements for the originality and authenticity of research are of paramount importance. They cannot be ignored at any cost. Any academic research must always adhere to these principles.

Outline of Pashaura Singh's Doctoral Dissertation: Let us now examine Pashaura Singh's doctoral dissertation under the

light of the above requirements.

**Materials:**

Adi Granth

Goindval Pothis

GNDU MS 1245

Other manuscripts

**Procedure:** Textual criticism, linguistic analysis and explanations of the manuscripts that formulated the basis of the Adi Granth. Grouping of Seventeenth Century manuscripts of the Adi Granth using sampling method.

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters:

Chapter 1 : Introduction

Chapter 2 : Manuscripts of the Adi Granth

Chapter 3 : Origin of the Adi Granth

Chapter 4 : Textual Analysis

Chapter 5 : Editorial Policy of Guru Arjun

Chapter 6 : The meaning of the Adi Granth

Chapter 7 : Conclusions

Academic Analysis of Chapters of the Dissertation: In the following pages, a critical analysis and discussion of the relevant chapters is offered.

**CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

The salient features of chapter one, as presented by Pashaura Singh, are given below with appropriate comments and/or analysis where ever required.

**Feature A :** The Adi Granth is a sacred book of the Sikhs. The prefix " Adi" indicates that it is the first scripture of the Sikhs and is different from the Dasam Granth of Guru Gobind Singh.

**Feature B:** The process that led to the compilation of the Adi Granth, was initiated during the time of Guru Nanak (Grewal, 1979). Guru Nanak had a clear vision of preserving his bani in written form. Bhai Gurdas indicated that Guru Nanak wrote his hymns in a Pothi which he always carried with him (Varan Bhai Gurdas). Guru Nanak's hymn :il Ky bñhu sriq nñhl bil bil gvñelAñ (Añid gñ pññ: 566) indicates the importance of preserving his bani in the oral and / or written form. Guru Nanak regarded himself as a mouthpiece of Akal Purakh, and he preached whatever the Almighty gave him to preach. This is obvious from his shalok: jñsl my Añvy Ksm kl bñxl qñsvñ krl igAññu

vj lwl o (Awid gND pthw: 772) which can be roughly translated: "As the Lord sends the bani so do I deliver it."

Comments: Two points are worth noting here: (1) the bani of Guru Nanak was intentionally preserved in either the oral and / or written form, and (2) it was revelatory in nature.

Analysis: The revelatory nature of the bani is unique as compared to other religions (Christianity, Islam and Hinduism) in the sense that it has been translated from its abstract into concrete form by glorifying its meaning through wordly examples. By using the name Lalo, Guru Nanak simply makes its impact more concrete for human minds. Such practical examples are scattered throughout the Adi Granth. Babar bani is one of the outstanding examples of bani of Guru Nanak.

Feature C: Guru Angad stressed the functioning of the Divine Order (Hukam in worldly affairs, thereby overriding the law of Karma that emphasises caste system, through divine grace.

Feature D: Guru Amar Das identified bani with the "Formless Lord" (nirankar) vthuvthubixl inrkwr hliqsij yfuvrvin kie (Awid gND pthw: 515)

Thus, the bani functions as the living "voice" of Akal Purakh which resounds throughout the creation. Guru Amar Das put more emphasis on this concrete form of "Guru Granth Sahib" as the embodiment of "Guru".

Feature E: Guru Amar Das made the first attempts to collect the bani in written form. This was done to preserve the authenticity of bani, because some spurious hymns in the name of Guru Nanak were being circulated. Guru Amar Das prepared the so-called Goindval Pothis by collecting together his own bani along with that of his predecessors, Guru Nanak and Guru Angad, and of some bhagats. Originally, there were four Goindval Pothis, two of which are now extant with the descendants of the Third Guru.

Comment: As discussed in chapter two of Dr Singh's dissertation, Goindval Pothis were among the pre-written manuscripts on the basis of which Guru Arjun is said to have compiled and edited the Adi Granth. Dr Singh's discussion about the authenticity of these pothis is unwarranted in chapter one. This should have been discussed alongwith GNDU MS 1245, the manuscript which he has claimed, was the

other main source used by Guru Arjun to compile the Adi Granth.

Feature F: Guru Ram Das also collected Gurbani, and perhaps, used scribes to copy the works of the previous Gurus. Guru Amar Das says: qyhsq pivqū hir mjr ij dVley j o hirj sū hir hir l k̄ih r̄im translated as "Those hands are pure and holy, my soul, which are used in writing the praises of the Lord". Guru Ram Das expanded the range of ragas by adding eleven new mode sequences. He explicitly identified bani with the Guru : b̄ixl grū ḡruh̄l̄b̄ixl ivic b̄ixl Aimb̄ s̄m̄f̄ gr̄b̄ixl kh̄l̄sȳkuj̄ num̄nl̄pr̄q̄ik̄ gr̄ūins̄q̄ry [ (Awd̄ ḡm̄ p̄th̄r: 982) which says, "The bani is the Guru and the Guru the bani and the nectar permeates all the bani. When the Guru utters bani and the believer responds with faith, then shall it be seen that the Guru bears him to freedom".

Guru Ram Das was concerned about imitative teachings and apostasy, as indicated in one of his hymns: siqgr̄ kl̄ r̄l̄s̄l̄ hr̄ kc̄ū ip̄c̄ū b̄l̄ dȳ sȳ k̄l̄V̄Āw̄r̄ k̄l̄ȳ Jiv̄ p̄iv̄ey (Awd̄ ḡm̄ p̄th̄r: 304) "Those who in imitation of the true Guru make false utterances are fools and they are destroyed by their lies. "Dr Singh asserts that four such hymns are present in Goindval Pothis which are not included in the Adi Granth.

Comments: According to Giani Gurdit Singh (1990), as referred to by Dr Singh, these four hymns in the Goindval Pothis were written by Amar Das before he ascended gurguddi.

Therefore, they were not included in the Adi Granth. Dr Singh thinks this is questionable. He says that these four hymns were written and incorporated by a claimant of gurus hip, perhaps Baba Mohan. yet on page nine of the dissertation, Dr Singh claims that the Goindval Pothis were prepared by Guru Amar Das. On the same page, he contradicts himself, stating that "traditionally, the Goindval Potms were written during the period 1570-72 C.E. (A.D.) by Baba Sahansram, a son of Baba Mohan and grandson of Guru Amar Das." More comments and analysis of the Goindval Pothis will be offered during the discussion of MS 1245.

Feature G: Guru Arjun, inherited a large volume of sacred verses from various sources in the form of pothis, including Goindval Pothis, from Baba Mohan. In his dissertation Dr Singh states that Guru Arjun alludes to the acquisition of pothis in one of his verses : plal̄ d̄wd̄ȳ k̄w̄ K̄il̄ if̄T̄w̄ K̄j̄ w̄n̄, q̄w̄ m̄rȳ min̄ B̄iēĀw̄

inDinw (Avid gD pthw: 186) When I opened the treasure of my father and grandfather to see for myself, then I realised the divine treasure in my mann" (combination of the English concepts heart, mind and soul). Pashaura Singh says that the works of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, and bhagats were grouped in the Goindval Pothis. Guru Ram Das was not represented in these pothis; therefore, his bani was obtained through another manuscript (unnamed).

Analysis: Goindval and Mohan Pothis are one and the same manuscripts. They are two in number. These pothis contained bani of Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das and of bhagats in their entirety. Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das wrote bani in 19 and 17 ragas, respectively. The contents of bani of both the Gurus in different ragas, which are not included in Goindval Pothis, are strikingly similar in language and meaning. Both Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das wrote bani in Ragas Gauri and Asa, and the similarity of meaning and style is apparent from the following few examples:

Guru Nanak (Raga Gauri)

1. Dth rIx shj Vley j launld n AwV ]
2. mD inmwVAw j lay ibnuDnl ipAw ]
3. six nith pBlj lay ekl VI bn mihy

Guru - Amar Das -(Raga Gauri)

1. Dth rIx shj Vley j lay hirisaucqul wey ]
2. iml umry pIqmw j lay qDuibn Krl inmwxl ]
3. Dn ekl VI j lay ibn nith ipAwry ]

Guru Nanak -(Raga Asa)

mn kuhy Bil y mV mru ]

j b I Kw dKih blrw, qau piVAw ] rhwau ]

Guru Amar Das (Raga Asa)

mn ASw I Kw qlkl piVAw ]

I Kw dKw qry isir rihAw ] rhwau ]

The similarity in mea;Ung and style cannot be merely coincidental. The conclusion one draws, is that the Third Guru possessed the entire bani of his predecessors, which he gave to his son-in-law, Guru Ram Das. Guru Ram Das in turn, forwarded the entire bani to Guru Arjun Dev. The shalok: plal dndy kw ifTw Kj wru ] indicates the line of succession that started with Guru Nanak.

Feature H : For two reasons, Guru Arjun compiled the Adi

Granth after consulting various manuscripts. First, it was his intention to authenticate the bani of the Gurus and save it from the threat of spurious hymns that were being circulated by Minas (the descendants of Prithi Chand). Second, Guru Arjun sought to "crystallize" the Sikh tradition that was undergoing socio-political changes.

**Analysis:** Dr. Singh clearly indicates that the purpose of his dissertation is to "examine the preparation of the Scripture as integral to the wider process of crystallization of the Sikh tradition, which had already begun in Guru Nanak's lifetime during the Kartarpuri period. It is worth noting that the process of crystallization reached another milestone in the history of the Panth during the Fifth Guru."

He borrowed this idea from two Western scholars, Dr. Archer and Dr. Smith. Both of them and particularly Dr. Archer (1946), wrote about Sikh religion primarily from an historical point of view. The word "crystallization", as Dr. Singh acknowledges, was first used in this context in an article by Smith (1981). He used the term to refer in general to preserving divinely inspired utterances in written form, though not necessarily in a changed written form, as Dr. Singh implies.

Interestingly, Smith applies his "crystallization" concept only on the Quran and the Adi Granth, sparing Christianity. According to Dr. Singh, Smith puts "too much emphasis on the Muslim influence in the formation of the Adi Granth..." "This would, imply that both these authors consider that the Quran and the Adi Granth are not revelatory, and thus needed "Crystallization" during their compilation. This dangerous thought has brought Dr. Singh the ill-will of the Sikh community since it is contrary to the clear statements of the Guru themselves.

Dr. Singh's conclusion that Guru Arjun compiled the Adi Granth to preserve sacred word for posterity and "also to frustrate any attempts by schismatic groups to circulate spurious hymns for sectarian ends" is praiseworthy. However, his basis of crystallization of bani, which includes certain changes in divine words, is unfounded.

For the sake of reasoning, let us accept that his assertions are correct. Then the question arises, how did he arrive at his conclusions? Is there any acceptable and authentic evidence to support his thesis? This will be examined in the following pages.

## CHAPTER TWO : MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ADI GRANTH

This chapter opens with a brief discussion on the Kartarpur-Banno debate that was initiated by Pashaura Singh's mentor, Dr. McLeod (1975). Dr. Singh accepts that Guru Arjun produced the Adi Granth in 1604 AD. However, he challenges the history and authenticity of the Adi Granth.

History of Compilation of the Adi Granth: Dr. Singh says that the process of the Adi Granth compilation was initiated much earlier than previously believed and continued even after its completion. According to geneology (Fig. 1) given by Pashaura Singh, Guru Arjun consulted various manuscripts, such as:

A. Goindwal Pothis

B. GNDU MS 1245

C. Other manuscripts (Bhagat bani, Gurbani)

However, the Goindwal Pothis and MS 1245 formed the basis of his thesis. According to Pashaura Singh, Goindwal Po this are manuscripts (finished handwritten material), and M/S 1245 is a draft (material under preparation). Goindwal Pothis were available to Guru Arjun at the time of compilation of the Adi Granth, whereas MS 1245 was prepared under his direction. Dr. Singh offers conflicting views about the authenticity and date of compilation of both the Goindwal Pothis and MS 1245. Below, his views and evidence will be analysed in the light of the true situation.

### A. Goindwal Pothis

(i) Guru Amar Das "undertook the task of collecting the sacred works of his own and that of the previous Gurus... and prepared the so-called Goindwal Pothis... "This the Third Guru did" in response to the threat of spurious hymns becoming popular among the Sikhs and to provide authentic version of bani

(ii) Traditionally, the Goindwal Pothis were written during the period of 1570-72 AD by the grandson of Guru Amar Das. This assertion was originally made by Bawa Prem Singh. "However, the actual date given on Volume 1.. is Sambat 1652... corresponding to 1595 C.E. (AD)."

**Analysis:** On page 8/b of Ahiyapur Pothis, names of the first three Gurus are given, indicating that these were written after the time of Guru Amar Das. Moreover, the handwriting of

page Bib does not resemble the handwriting of the first folio, suggesting that there were two different writers. Also, the name of Guru Amar Das is correctly written on page 8/b as compared to Guru Amar Das on the first folio, confirming that two writers were involved. This also puts the authorship of a scribe in jeopardy; Sahansram may not be the actual author of these pothis as is usually believed.

(iii) There is a story that Guru Arjun visited Baba Mohan to collect bani (pothis) before the initiation of the Adi Granth. The Fifth Master narrated a hymn in praise of Baba Mohan. This myth is impressively discarded by Sahib Singh, who concluded that the word "Mohan" in bani is in praise of God, not a person. Praise of a person in bani is against the tenets of Sikh religion.

(iv) A hundi on the first folio clearly indicates a reference to Guru Ram Das because he was an outsider to ascend the throne of Gurguddi. Moreover, distortion of his name as "Gulam" (Gulam mastan Jeth Chand) and "Servant" (Sewak) on page 94 of Volume II also indicates an ill - will among aspirants for Gurgaddi, such as Baba Mohan.

Going back to the reference of *plau dudy kwi Kil ifTiw Kj iw qw mry mn BieAw inDinw* suggesting that Guru Arjun received bani in the form of pothis from Guru Ram Das, also becomes irrelevant due to the followings :

- (a) It is impossible that the Fourth Guru would have entertained pothis without his own bani and containing a reference to his name in bad taste.
- (b) It is also out of the question that the Fifth Master would go to Baba Mohan to collect bani that does not contain hymns of his father (the Fourth Master) and alludes to a statement hundi) obviously referring to the Fourth Master in a negative sense.
- (c) It is also impossible that the Third Master, having collected the Bani of his own and that of his predecessors would hand it over to his son, Baba Mohan, who was not considered worthy of Gurguddi
- (d) Manglacharan in Goindwal Pothis is recorded from pothis of another estranged group called Hundalis. It is inconceivable that Guru Arjun could have entertained bani tainted with anti-Sikh religious contents.

(v) The copying of Jap of Guru Nanak from Guru Ram Das is accredited accordingly in the Adi Granth. It is impossible that the Gobindwal Pothis would not enjoy the same recognition in the Adi Granth in the event of their being an authentic source of bani.

(vi) There is no mention of the names of Baba Mohan or Sahansram as scribe or editor of the Goindwal Pothis. There is no evidence that the pothis were written at the instance of Guru Amar Das by Sahansram, as has been speculated. It is inconceivable that all the work of Guru Amar Das would not have been a part of the pothis if they were compiled under his supervision.

(vii) The pothis contain two hymns by Guru Ram Das and one by Guru Arjun Dev in Raga Dhanasri, suggesting that the scribe was not partial to any group. It also shows that the process of its copying was going on contemporarily to the compilation of the Adi Granth.

The above events may help us to reconstruct the chronological events of Goindwal Pothis.

Chronological Events of Goindwal Pothis: (1) The mention of the names of three Gurus in the past tense proves that they were written after 1574 AD. (2) The presence of some hymns by the Fourth and Fifth Gurus make the pothis contemporary to the time of Guru Arjun (1581-1606 AD). (3) During the time of compilation of the Adi Granth by Guru Arjun, some schismatic group(s) (apparently belonging to the Baba Mohan tradition) also initiated the collection of bani as a challenge to the line of Gurguddi. Perhaps they called their collection Goindwal Pothis. The head of this group inscribed a date (1595 AD) earlier to that of the Adi Granth completion (1604 AD) on the first page in order to show their antiquity.

## **B. Guru Nanak Dev University MS 1245**

Pashaura Singh claims that MS 1245 is a draft prepared under the direction of Guru Arjun Dev before he actually prepared the Adi Granth. In support of this hypothesis, he offers certain assertions as proof. His assertions are either deducted from the cursory textual analysis of the text or are concocted to lay a basis for writing his dissertation, willfully ignoring the concrete evidence inherently apparent in the draft.

**Analysis:** Pashaura Singh applied two standard rules of

textual criticism:

Rule 1 : the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one.

Rule 2 : The more difficult reading is generally preferable.

According to Rule 1, MS 1245 is shorter to read than the Adi Granth and, therefore, is older. Although MS 1245 contains a few shorter hymns, the fact remains that MS 1245 has all the bani of the five Gurus.

For example, Guru Amar Das has comparatively many hymns in MS 1245 among the first five Gurus only. The Third Guru has extra Chaupadas in Sirirag (I), Asa (I), Ramkali (I), Chhant in Sirirag (15), Ashatpadian in Asa (1) and Ramkali (1). Comparatively, the Third Guru has five shaloks less than in the Adi Granth. Guru Amar Das has one extra shabad in Raga Tilang and two extra shaloks. Guru Arjun Dev has extra chaupadas in Asa (3), Sarang (2), Ramkali (2) and Suhi (1). Guru Arjun Dev has one and four chaupadas less in Gujri and Devgandhari, respectively.

As far as the bhagat bani and Bhatan de Savaye are concerned, the scribe seems to be interested only in the bani of the Gurus. This has nothing to do with the "shorter reading". A few instances of blank spaces, or mention of first lines of some shaloks, does not make a case for "shorter reading" because they are a drop in the bucket as compared to the entire volume of hymns in MS 1245.

From the above, one can safely conclude that, in fact MS 1245 contains extra bani of five Gurus that is not found in the Adi Granth. Therefore, use of Rule 1 of Textual Analysis is not applicable. It contains apocrypha. Thus no one from the house of Guru could be connected with it.

Let us examine the applicability of Rule 2 regarding MS 1245. Pashaura Singh says that this rule may be equally applied to the GNDU text since it contains archaic linguistic expressions which were standardized in the Kartarpuri volume. "To qualify his statement he writes that the "Gurmukhi script of the manuscript is still in the process of development.. to a large extent its style is very similar to the Gurmukhi script of the Kartarpuri manuscript. This is a self-contradiction.

The most distinctive differences, however, he thinks, are "in the formation of certain letters and vowel signs.." For example a dot (.) represents a kanna, and vowel ura (€) , is written with

an open end (as E) while the consonant chhachha (i:) is still in the older sharda form. These few examples cannot be considered a linguistic analysis worthy of a doctoral dissertation. Moreover, on the basis of these cases, one cannot conclude that MS 1245 contains a "more difficult" reading than the Adi Granth. Therefore, use of Rule 2 is also inapplicable.

Analysis: MS 1245 does possess some differences in word formation, letter configuration and sentence construction as compared to its counterparts found in the Adi Granth. For example, the words *Drj aqrI, il iKAw, isPqI mtho ipCy* found in the Adi Granth have their corresponding counterparts in MS 1245 as *Drje, aqrI il KIAI ispqI mtho pICy*. These examples indicate oldness of MS 1245. However, other words, such as *ikaU hoU hoU dKw, kaUw pwaK* found in MS 1245 are written as *ikv, hovin, nwie, vyKW, kvxu, pvxu*, the Adi Granth, indicating newness of MS 1245. These examples are taken only from Jap ji of Guru Nanak; such variations in word formations are scattered all over MS 1245. Would you call MS 1245 old or new?

These variations are merely colloquial or pertain to the level of the bearing of the scribe and have nothing to do with the linguistic characteristics of the draft.

Pashaura Singh has quoted only two cases of variations in letters (i.e., E and C). If you examine MS 1245 carefully, you will also find that A, e, h, G, c, C, also show sharda form. Moreover, *aunkar dolankare* and *hora* are also written in different form than the Adi Granth. Do these variations in vowels, consonants and their signs make MS 1245 older than the Adi Granth ?

The compelling evidence inherent in this draft supports the view that it was written after the compilation of the Adi Granth. The following conclusive evidence will support this view.

I. MS 1245 contains the dates of demise of all the First Five Gurus written in same hand and ink. Pashaura Singh acknowledges this truth but purposefully and wrongly adds that the date of demise of the Fifth Guru was written later by the same scribe.

II. MS 1245 contains a nishan in the handwriting of Guru Tegh Bahadur (1664-1675 AD). A nishan becomes significant only if it is written in the handwriting of a Guru (i.e., someone who is actually occupying the seat of Gurgaddi). Therefore, the nishan of the Ninth Guru must be written between the years 1664-1675 AD. It is immaterial whether it was pasted later on the draft as claimed by Pashaura Singh.

III. Pashaura Singh concedes that the scribe of the draft may

possibly be Bhai Gurdas, who was the scribe for the Adi Granth. Since the handwritings of MS 1245 and the Adi Granth are different, he assumed that Bhai Gurdas may have improved his handwriting by the time he wrote the Adi Granth. If MS 1245 and the Adi Granth were written by the same scribe (i.e. during the period of Guru Arjun), then the theory of improvement of handwriting seems to be utterly baseless and quite possibly ludicrous. Moreover, why would Bhai Gurdas add the date of demise of the Fifth Guru on a discarded draft?

IV. Without scrutiny, Pashaura Singh accepts the dealer's savoury note indicating a hymn and signature of Bhai Buddha on folio 3 of the manuscript. This he sees as further confirmation of its relative antiquity, forgetting that Baba Buddha lived long after the death of Guru Arjun Dev. Moreover, Baba Buddha never wrote any hymn, as was confirmed by his descendants.

V. MS 1245 contain extra bani of Guru Arjun Dev. The extra canonical hymns may be the ones Guru Arjun did not include in the Adi Granth but which were remembered and included in MS 1245 by his followers. This possibility implies MS 1245 to be a much later draft than the Adi Granth. The fact that there are many pages of hymns added after the demise dates on leaf 1255, suggest that the compilation of this draft must have continued even after 1606 AD., the date of demise of Guru Arjun Dev.

The factual evidence given above clearly shows that MS 1245 was written after the compilation of the Adi Granth in 1604 AD. Pashaura Singh knows that, but compelled by his drive to earn a doctoral degree, has concocted facts and ignored obvious evidence inherent in the body of this draft. The hypothesis of "earlier manuscripts of the Adi Granth" was first proposed by McLeod, and Pashaura Singh merely honoured his wishes. The scientific aspect of research embodied in his thesis is purposely falsified, and thus cannot be considered worthy of a Ph. D. degree.

### **CHAPTER THREE: ORIGIN OF THE ADI GRANTH**

In this chapter, Pashaura Singh considered the basis of origin of the three recensions, Lahore recension, Banno recension and Damdama recension, after the establishment of the Adi Granth as the authentic final sacred Granth of the Sikhs. He concluded "that different recensions of the Adi Granth originated as a

result of factional division in the Panth and external interference in its affairs." This is a narrative chapter and does not command any analysis.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS**

This chapter is the one which has raised the question of blasphemy in Sikh religion. This chapter opens under the guise of two Western scholars (namely Dr. J.C. Archer and C.H. Loehlin), who have expressed the idea of textual analysis of the Adi Granth. Although textual analysis is inapplicable to the Kartarpuri Bir, let us examine the academic aspect of the textual criticism of the Adi Granth.

Pashaura Singh has devoted this chapter to textual criticism of five hymns and individual works of various Gurus. By doing so, he aims to reconstruct the history of the text of the Adi Granth. The hymns he has considered are the following:

- (1) Mul Mantar
- (2) Jap ji and Rehras
- (3) Suhi hymn of Guru Nanak
- (4) Tilang hymn of Guru Arjun
- (5) Ramakali hymn of Guru Arjun

Of these; Dr Singh's discussion of Mul Mantar has drawn most attention from Sikh scholars.

Mul Mantar and its Analysis: Mul Mantar is the opening hymn of the Adi Granth. It has a prime importance in Sikh religion. Mul Mantar is considered a summary of thoughts of Jap ji, and Jap ji in turn is regarded as the summary of the Adi Granth. Let us first reproduce three variations of Mul Mantra from Goindwal Pothis, MS 1245 and the Adi Granth.

#### **Govindval Pothis, Vol. I :**

1E siqgr prsidi

scunmukrqru inrBau inrIkuru Akil mfiq Aj thl sIBau (1)

#### **MS 1245 :**

1E siqnmmkrq prKu inrBau inrvhu Akil mfiq Aj thl sBmsiqgrllprsiid ]

#### **The Adi Granth**

1E siqnmmkrq prKu inrBau inrvhu Akil mfiq Aj thl sBmigr pssid ]

In MS 1245, only the word siq (siqgr) is extra compared to the text of the Adi Granth. However, the following difference in the words or spellings are obvious between the Mul Mantar of the Govindwal Pothis and the Adi Granth :

## The Goindwal Pothis

scnwm

krqwr

inrkw

sBau

siqgru prsidi

## The Adi Granth

siqnmu

krqw prKu

inrvr

sBM

gr pswid

Pashaura Singh accepts that the basic tenets of Mul Mantar in the Goindwal Pothis "come from the works of Guru Nanak. Presumably he himself formulated it during the Kartarpur period. "The significant additions or variations of words such as nirvauru, gurparsadi and purakh, he suggests were made later. Pashaura Singh says that Guru Ram Das added the word nirvairu and Guru Arjun replaced satguru parsadi with gurparsadi and also added the word purakh to the revised text of Mul Mantar. Let us look into the etymological, religious and sociological aspects of the changed words in the two Mul Mantar.

(a) Sachnaam vs. Satnaam: The word sachnaam is relatively limited in meaning. Therefore, its connotation has concrete form. Some examples from Gurbani will clarify this point.

scKlf (sicKlf vs/inrkw - m : 1)

sicGir (sicGir bls rhygx gwey - m : p)

scuGru (scGru l hubqwie - m : 1)

sic (sic rhusdw srjusk apj - m : 3)

sic (sic ml un l ugw Brn Bau Bwg - m : 1)

sc (sc ibnusk ml yn bwl - m : 1)

scu (scuqw pr jw l Avj w irdl scu hie - m : 1)

scu (scu iml Y scu apj - m : 1)

scu (Awid scu j gwid scu - m : 1)

scu (mn mlj Y scu sie - m : 1)

scu (scu kl bwl nink AwkY - m)

Comparatively the usage of Satnaam is mostly attributed to the Creator or Super Being. The following examples will attest to our point.

siq (siq nmu krqw prKu - m : 1)

siq (Awip siq klAw sB siq - m : p)

siq (n siq mlf mfwel ksl m : 1)

siq (j oikCu krys iq kir mnhu - m : 4)

siq (siq srpu irdl ij in mwinAw B s : p)

In Gurbani, the word sachnaam is found in greater abundance than satnaam. This is understandable, because it is related to person(s), time and space. On the other hand, most often the word satnaam relates to the Super Being (prmwqmw). Mul Mantar contains a praise of Super Being, therefore, the word satnaam is more appropriate than sachnaam. For example, Satnaam, Satkartar, and sat sri akal are used in praise of Super Being. In Mul Mantar the prefix "Sat" is deleted from Satgurparsaad because of its personification, whereas in Goindwal Pothis it is retained.

**(b) purakh vs. Kartapurakh :** Pashaura Singh writes that "Guru Arjun added the word purakh to the received text of Mul Mantar (because) by this time the personal (purakh) aspect of the Supreme Being acquired prominence as compared with Guru Nanak's emphasis on the formless (nirankar) nature of Ultimate Reality." Does this mean that by the time of Guru Arjun, the Ultimate Reality ceased to exist? The word purakh is used in the bani of Guru Nanak at various places:

1. ij s sqgr prK n Bjte  
sij Baj il pcl pcie [
2. ibn ipr prKin jixel sicj  
gr k'hjq ipAwir [

Guru Nanak's bani views nature and God interchangeably, and puts human beings in the context of both of these entities. This ideology is found all over Guru Nanak's bani. The compound words Kartapurakh, Aadpurakh, Akalpurakh, and Satpurakh in the bani of Guru Nanak prove our point.

The etymology of the word purakh in relation to the Supreme Being and nature is very interesting. Purakh has its root in Purash. Old Sanskrit literature relates Purash to both nature and God. In Santmat, Purash means Supreme Being (prmwqmw). According to Rigveda, Purash means "God" (eISvr) who creates the world. Rigveda goes further to describe Purash as having 1,000 heads, eyes and feet. Anything that has happened or will happen on this earth is embodied into Purash (j h inrml prKu prKpiq hq - m: 5)

In Geeta, Brahmata (bhm - q-pmwqmw) is translated into Purshotam (prS + aqm). Grammar also follows the timeless

concept of Purakh (i.e. first person (ੴ ਪ੍ਰਸ), Second person (ਮੰਮ ਪ੍ਰਸ) and third person ( ਅੰ ਪ੍ਰਸ). Purakh in Guru Nanak's bani and especially in the Mul Mantar, does not specify a person, but signifies the Supreme Being. Most of Guru Nanak's diction has its basis in Sanskrit literature. In old Sanskrit literature (Vedas), Purakh signifies Supreme Being (ਪੁਰੁਸ਼ਕ੍ਰਮ). Kartapurakh truly denotes the Creator in the Mul Mantar of the Aad Granth. This emphasises that there is only one Creator of the world, and Guru Nanak makes a combination (ਕਰੁਪੁ + ਪ੍ਰਕ) to clarify the significance of the Creator in relation to Purakh.

Pashaura Singh's statement that the word purakh was added by Guru Arjun cannot be considered "academic research" by any standard. In making this assertion, he has challenged the basic tenets of Sikhism.

(c) Nirankaar vs. Nirvair: Pashaura Singh suggests that the world nirikaar of Goind wal Pothis was changed to nirvair by Guru Ram Das. This he did "... to counteract the situation of hostility in real life created by the animosity of his rivals ..." His rivals were apparently the sons (Baba Mohan and Baba Mohri) of Guru Amar Das. (The Fourth Guru was son-in-law of the Third Guru). This would imply that Guru Ram Das changed this word simply due to his estranged relations with the family of his predecessor. What a limitation is bestowed upon the personality of a Guru, who is supposed to be the head of a religion, rather than a family!

The word Nirikar of Mul Mantar is composed of Nir and Akar (ਨਿਰ-ਅਕਾਰ) which means formless. The next two words, Akalmurat and Ajuni, theologically also signify Nirikar. All the three words imply different aspects of the Supreme Being. However, the absence of the word Nirvair in Mul mantar is obvious. Guru Nanak was a public preacher with a divine message against the ills of his contemporary society, which was composed of various religions including Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and others. Although each one of these religions believed in a God (or Gods), they preached against each other on the basis of religious animosity. Guru Nanak consciously used the word Nirvair in Mul Mantar to get rid of the shortfalls of other contemporary religions. Gurbani contains various examples of Nirvair and particularly Guru Nanak put more

emphasis on this aspect of the Supreme Being. (bisE invr irdmir - m : 1 )

A corollary of Pashaura Singh's hypothesis could also be true. The people who showed animosity towards Guru Ram Das, may have deleted the word Nirvair from his original version of Mul Mantar.

(d) Sambhau vs. Saibhung: Gurbani contains various variations of the word saibhung (ᅃᅃ) These include sambhau (ᅃᅃ) and sambhaviou (ᅃᅃivAa). Perhaps these variations crept in due to variations in pronunciation, without a change in meaning. Pashaura Singh is silent about this change.

(e) Satguru Parsaad vs. Gur Parsaad: Pashaura Singh speculates that Guru Arjun turned "satguru" into "gur" in order to "provide a more coherent structure to the text of the Mul Mantar." The word "gur" he thinks, "stands for the divine principle, functioning behind the free and sovereign act of grace".

In the Mul Mantar of the Adi Granth, the word satnam (ᅃiq + nam) is appropriately used in praise of the Supreme Being, whereas in Goindwal Pothis, the word satguru (ᅃiq + gr) implies "with the grace of the Guru". It seems inappropriate to use the word "sat" in relation to both God and the Guru in the same couplet, i.e. Mul Mantar. To make this distinction, Guru Nanak appropriately used the word "sat" in relation to God and "Gur" in relation to God (Guru). To keep rhythm and coherence, both words are available in Guru Nanak's bani at appropriate places:

- (1) siqgr hiD inbV JgV ckieA
- (2) isKI isiKA gr vlcir
- (3) gr prsrdl j xIAI qai AnBau pV
- (4) namk siqgr AS j xIAI j o sBSI I ey iml wey j laj

MS 1245 also contains satgur parsad; otherwise, there is no difference in the Mul Mantar of this draft and of the Adi Granth.

Comments: Pashaura Singh has attempted a cursory textual analysis of the Mul Mantar of Guru Nanak and suggested that Some of the key words were, in fact changed by Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjun Dev in order to make it contemporary to the Sikh thought. He believes that the Mul Mantar of the Goindwal Pothis is that of Guru Nanak, whereas the one found in the Adi Granth is a modified version. The changes were made under

the influence of socio-political atmosphere, suggesting that it is not revelatory.

In our view, scarcely any textual analysis of the Mul Mantar, other than undocumented statements, a couple of sentences long, is given in Dr Singh's doctoral dissertation. A textual analysis from the modern scientific point of view requires that it should employ knowledge gained from other disciplines, such as scriptology, philosophy, history, (if possible), ethnology and biotechnology. Nowhere in his thesis has Pashaura Singh analyzed the Mul Mantar under the light of these disciplines. On the contrary, without supporting evidence, he hastily drew wrong conclusions. In fact, he asked 'the wrong questions that apparently led to wrong conclusions.

**Comparative Analysis of Jap ji:** Goindwal Pothis do not contain Jap ji, whereas MS 1245, with a few variations, contains this bani Pashaura Singh believes that Jap ji was present in both MS 1245 and the Adi Granth, with some difference which will be considered below.

According to Pashaura Singh, MS 1245 "provides an earlier version of the Morning Prayer before its standardization." He brings out "important differences." Let us examine their credibility and importance.

(1) "First, the Mul Mantar is given in its earlier form..."

**Analysis:** The word satgur (ਸਿਗੁਰ) is used in MS 1245, as compared to gur (ਗੁਰ) in the Adi Granth. This is the only difference in the two Mul Mantars. Pashaura Singh argued that by "...replacing satgur parsadi (ਸਿਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ), by the grace of the True Guru with gur parsadi (ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ) by 'the grace of Guru, Guru Arjun provided a more coherent structure of the text of the Mul Mantar. This is the logical conclusion, but is based on wrong approach. In Gurbani, the intended usage of the word "sat" (ਸਿ) is always in praise of the Supreme Being, and seldom in relation to a living Guru. This is the ingenuousness of the Gurus, who so meticulously uttered the words of God. It is impossible that Guru Nanak would call himself Satguru suggesting equality with the Almighty in whose praise the Mul Mantar (the root formula of Sikhism) is uttered. The words Satnam and Satguru in these manuscript are not only redundant, but also theologically incorrect.

Out of faith, followers some times call their Guru as Satguru,

and this tendency is apparent in Goindwal Pothis and other such manuscripts. For example, in Goindwal Pothis the following formations are available:

1E gr̄is̄iq  
 gr̄ siq  
 siqgr̄l̄ pr̄s̄īid  
 1 s̄l̄ siqgr̄l̄ p̄s̄īid

Since such manuscripts were prepared by the followers of the Guru, they inserted words of praise for their Guru in Curbani. However, this could not have been done by Guru Arjun, who was recording revelatory' bani received by his predecessors.

(2) "Second, the title of the composition is mentioned as japu mohalu (1 j̄ p̄u 1 m̄h̄l̄ u 1) indicating specifically the authorship of Guru Nanak. The symbol mahalu is omitted in the Adi Granth."

Analysis: Pashaura Singh accepts that all three variations of Mul Mantar refer to its historical development. Nowhere in the dissertation does he question the authorship of Guru Nanak (mahala 1) Why, then, does "mahala In become so significant in the text in relation to the historical aspects of Mul Mantar ?

(3) Third, Pashaura Singh has pointed out certain linguistic variations in Jap Ji of MS 1245 and the Adi Granth. He quotes some examples of words, i.e., j̄j̄e j̄y aṁṁṁṁṁṁ ikaṁ ikv[

Analysis: Pashaura Singh says that the word j̄j̄e of MS 1245 was changed by Guru Arjun to it in the Adi Granth, but both these words are used in Jap ji:

j̄y ky kh̄l̄ ip̄C̄y p̄C̄ṁṁṁṁṁṁ (The Adi Granth)  
 j̄y ky kh̄l̄ p̄ṁṁṁṁṁṁ p̄C̄ṁṁṁṁṁṁ (MMS 1245)

The second example he quotes is of the words ikaṁ and ikv. Both these words are used interchangeably in both versions of Jap ji.

ikv kir Aṁṁṁṁṁṁ ikv s̄ṁṁṁṁṁṁ ikaṁvr̄nl̄ ikv j̄ṁṁṁṁṁṁ (The Adi Granth)  
 ikaṁkir Aṁṁṁṁṁṁ ikays̄ṁṁṁṁṁṁ ikaṁvr̄nl̄ ikv j̄ṁṁṁṁṁṁṁ (MS 1245)

There are numerous other examples of interchangeability of words in both versions of Jap ji.

In conclusion, Pashaura Singh's linguistic analysis is limited to spelling or variations of some words. He has not studied the etymology of any words under the light of linguistic principles. The examples of linguistic variations are of subsidiary

importance in the analysis of Jap ji. Moreover, he failed to note the fact that word variations are often found in manuscripts prepared by followers of Gurus. This may well have occurred due to colloquial pronunciation of words.

The word variations are prevalent in the bani of individual Gurus. Such variations are part and parcel of poetry because of rhyme and rhythm problems. Guru Arjun Dev was compiling the bani of Gurus, rather than editing it in the critical sense. It would have been almost impossible to change a word and still keep its authentic meaning and raga sequence of concerned hymns.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE : EDITORIAL POLICY OF GURU ARJUN**

Pashaura Singh praises the editorial skills of Guru Arjun. According to him, Guru Arjun's policy was based on five major principles:

- (1) doctrinal consistency,
- (2) idea of balanced life,
- (3) an optimistic spirit,
- (4) the universal nature of the Sikh claim and
- (5) the concern for distinctive Sikh identity.

His view on Bhagat Bani and reasons for its inclusion in Adi Granth are questionable. It is incorrect to suggest that Bhagat Bani was included due to political reasons. Bhagat Bani was procured, selected and edited according to its merit and suitability in Sikh faith.

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

In his thesis the meaning and text of Adi Granth, Pashaura Singh has attempted to analyse the bani of Gurus, and the process of compilation of the Adi Granth (Kartarpuri Bir). Other authors have examined the religious, philosophical and revelatory aspects of the Adi Granth as discussed by Dr. Singh. This paper is an attempt to look into the scientific and academic merits of this thesis. The aim was to explore whether or not this thesis is worthy of a Ph.D. degree.

Primarily, Pashaura Singh raised the following three issues regarding the authenticity of the bani and the process of compilation of the Adi Granth.

I. During the compilation of the Adi Granth, Guru Arjun consulted two manuscripts, namely, Goindwal Pothis and GNDU MS 1245.

II. Guru Arjun selected, modified and improved upon the bani of his predecessors before its inclusion into the Adi Granth. This he did in order to "Crystallize" the Sikh thought and tradition.

III. Guru Arjun included Bhagat bani in the Adi Granth on the basis of contemporary political pressure, rather than of the suitability of the bani according to the Sikh thought.

Our examination revealed that the two manuscripts that formed the basis of the thesis were written after the compilation of the Adi Granth (1604 AD). Therefore, the materials he selected for his thesis were inappropriate.

Selection of material for the thesis is very important to conduct viable and meaningful research. Material should be prone to critical evaluation through suitable methodology. Procedures are applied to analyse the material in order to generate data. If the materials are not prone to suitable methodology, the data will pose problems of analysis. That is exactly the problem we see in Dr. Singh's thesis. The procedures applied have no set scientific pattern; therefore, he ran into problems of analysis. Analytical procedures and research methodology are only as good as the materials they analyse.

Pashaura Singh has attempted linguistic analysis of some bani from the points of view of word-variation and word-selection. His analysis lacks depth. Standard techniques of evaluation of a theological topic are not employed. Often his analysis is less critical and more narrative - an attribute undesirable in doctoral research.

The data do not yield results. Rather the results are Superimposed on the data. For example, the two manuscripts are purposely shown to be pre-Adi Granth compilation, ignoring the persuasive evidence present in them against that.

The most serious aspect of Dr. Singh's thesis is the suggestion that the bani is non-revelatory. According to his thesis, Guru Arjun made theological changes in Gurbani in order to crystallize the Sikh tradition and thought. The Guru did this under influence of socio-political pressure. The suggestion is Contrary what Gurus have emphasized that Gurbani is revelatory. This is the most dangerous thought that any scholar of scriptures can suggest because it totally destroys the existence of a basic belief that sustains the human existence. Even an atheist eventually admits that where intellect

ceases to exist, the realm of some unknown power takes over.

In conclusion, Pashaura Singh has failed to produce a thesis worthy of a doctorate of philosophy. His thesis lacks suitability of materials, methodology, and (therefore) scientific data. It seems that his conclusions are preconceived, and the data concocted to comply with desired results.

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**4**  
**MYTH OF EARLY DRAFT OF THE ADI  
 GRANTH (MS 1245)**

**By**  
**Dr BAL WANT SINGH DHILLON**

**I. INTRODUCTION**

1.1 Recently, observations of some scholars on Pashaura Singh's Thesis, the Text and Meaning of the Adi Granth,. Have generated a lot of controversy in the field of Sikh Studies. It has been opined that there exists an earlier draft on which Guru Arjun seems to have worked before compiling the Adi Granth. It has also been alleged that to polish the metre and to add flavour to the music, not only the hymns of earlier. Sikh Gurus were revised in the final version, but Guru Atjun also frequently modified his own hymns. Similarly, the originality and authenticity of Mul Mantar, Japu ji and other liturgical hymns have also been challenged. Although one of the scholars claims that his findings are based purely on the Western methodology of textual criticism, and another asserts that Pashaura Singh has drawn his conclusions after a careful analysis of various manuscripts of the Adi Granth, yet their views are an attempt to distort the Sikh ideology and to create misunderstanding about the authenticity of the Sikh Scripture. As the scholars have either very little or incomplete information about this manuscript (MS 1245) or the so-called earlier draft, nd as some scholars have, advertently or inadvertently, given Information which is not factually true, it was considered necessary to examine the main features of the manuscript and share the findings with the academic world.

**II. MS 1245**

2.1 MS 1245 was purchased by Guru. Nanak Dev University in 1987 from, M/S Harbhajan Singh Harcharan Singh Chawla , Manuscript Dealers, Bazar Mai Sewan, Amritsar. It is said they were reluctant to share information about its origin or history interestingly, they disclosed to another group of scholars that they had procured it along with other works of Meharban from somewhere in Rajasthani. In fact in the absence of any colophon in the, manuscript, its history will remain shrouded in mystery.

2.2 This manuscript has 1267 folios in all. Some folios are

completely or partly blank. Some of the folios are even missing. The hymns in it are recorded in 30 ragas, 2 the sequence of which corresponds to the Guru Granth upto Wadhans, but changes after that. Contrary to the earlier manuscripts of the Adi Granth, index of hymns is not available at the beginning. Instead, a separate index has been appended at the outset of each raga. It seems the scribe intended to record the folio number of hymns, but he has left it incomplete.<sup>2</sup> The hymns and salokas of Guru Tegh Bhadur are not found in it. The liturgical hymns of the so purakh and sohila sections are also missing. Similarly, except for a few salokas of Bhagat Kabir,<sup>3</sup> the whole corpus of bhagat-bani has been excluded from it. The arrangement of hymns of the epilogue section does not conform to the standard version. Although, the recording of hymns, in the ragas is on the Guru Granth pattern, yet instance of violation are also found in it. The order in the Sri and Todi raga has been changed to a considerable extent, and where the metre of hymns ends, blank spaces have been left. At a number of places only the first line of hymn has been recorded, and blank spaces have been provided, ostensibly to complete the text later. Instances, where the text has been completed in a different hand, are clearly visible. Still there are about 170 hymns and salokas which are in incomplete form. Irrespective of their incomplete text, all such hymns have been included in the index. The scribe has left appropriate blank space for the completion of the incomplete text, and at some places, has recorded the serial number of the incomplete hymns in the blank spaces, which confirms that he was well aware of the text and order of the hymns to be inscribed, and had another source at his disposal showing that it is a copy but not the original.

2.3 In all the salokas of the Sikh Gurus which are found in the various vars, the term rnahala mhl ॥ indicating their authorship has been omitted. Consequently, a scholar not well versed in gurbani, can easily be misled that Guru Angad, for instance, has no composition to his credit. Though authorship has not been differentiated yet the Second Guru's salokas are found at their fixed place. Similarly, the authorship of pauris which Guru Arjun had added to the vars of other Gurus, has not been shown. In addition to that a hymn of Guru Nanak which occurs in Rag Gauri has been repeated in the

same raga under the authorship of the Fifth Guru 4.

Again, a hymn of Guru Nanak I.n Maru (ਕੜੀਕ ਕਰਨਹਾਰ ਅਮਰਿ) has been attributed to Guru Arjun<sup>5</sup>. Three salokas of Guru Amar Dass and one of Guru Ram Das, have been recorded as Guru Nanak's compositions 6. It is obvious, inadvertently or deliberately, the authorship of many hymns has been confused in this manuscript.

### III. REPETITIONS

3.1 Though a few hymns have been repeated in the Guru Granth with some variation, yet a considerable number of hymns have been repeated in this manuscript without any variation. For instance, two of the fifteen apocryphal chants attributed to Guru Amar Oas, have been repeated on the very next folio<sup>7</sup>. As mentioned earlier, a hymn of Guru Nanak in raga Gauri has been included again in the same raga under the authorship of Guru Arjun. A Dhanasri hymn of Guru Ram Das occurs in raga Tilang also. Similarly, a hymn of Guru Arjun in raga Gauri is also found in raga Majh. . A Suhi raga hymn of the Fifth Guru also occurs in Tilang, although in this case information to take it to Suhi has been provided in the margin<sup>8</sup>. Significantly, a hymn of Guru Arjan, in Suhi has been recorded at serial Nos. 31 and 39 also<sup>9</sup>. By repeating it in the index, the scribe has given proof of his gross negligence and of his objective being just non-religious or mere non-serious collection. Similarly, in place of pauri no. 30 of Guru Ram Das var in Gauri mode pauri No. 33 has been repeated<sup>10</sup>. Likewise, a saloka of var Gujri of Guru Arjun has also found its way in his var of Gauri mode<sup>11</sup>. A considerable number of salokas of Guru Arjun, have been recorded twice<sup>12</sup>. On the basis of a Suhi hymn, Pashaura Singh has deduced that from the language and thematic point of view, it has been taken from Tilang to the Suhi mode<sup>13</sup>. But he does not mention the above repetition. He has no explanation to offer as to whether the above hymns have not been repeated in the Adi Granth due to editorial policy or the arbitrariness of the scribe. As mentioned earlier, some of the hymns to appear have been recorded again due to the negligence of the scribe. One hymn each of Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjun has been repeated in Tilang raga. They have been excluded from the Index. Obviously the scribe was well aware of the fact that these hymns do not occur in this raga. A hymn ( ਅਮਿਉ ਹਮਰਿ ਰਿਮਿ ਚਿਅਮਿ) of Guru Arjun which has

been recorded both in Gauri and Majh modes helps us to solve the mystery of repeated hymns. In the Guru Granth it has been recorded under Gauri Majh, indicating a mode of Gauri which was prevalent in the Majha region. But the scribe of this manuscript has misunderstood it to record the hymn in Gauri as well as in Majh. Consequently, the practice to sing it in two different modes must have come into vogue. Thus it is quite apparent that in the musical tradition of the scribe, the hymns which have been repeated in different modes, were actually sung in two different modes.

#### **IV. OMISSIONS**

4.1 A considerable number of hymns have been omitted from this manuscript. Only 32 panegyrics (swayye) by Kalh Bhatt are found in it. 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<sup>14</sup>. Except for a few salokas of Bhagat Kabir, bhagat bani has totally been excluded. It has been suggested that Guru Arjun's primary concern was to fix the hymns of the Gurus first, and then to deal with the issue of the hymns of the bhagats<sup>15</sup>. This is a very unreliable and vague explanation, because without going into the authenticity of the Goindwal Pothis, it can safely be concluded that before the codification of the Adi Granth in 1604 AD, the bhagat bani had not only found acceptance, but had also become a part of the Sikh literature. A question arises as to why the scribe ignored the bhagat bani completely. It is not a simple, but a serious issue, the probability is, that by excluding it, the scribe has shown that he is out to compile his own or his sect's parallel scripture to the Adi Granth, and for that reason has no use for the bhagat bani which related to other sects, to whom he obviously had no desire to give prominence, since, unlike that of Guru Arjun, his objective was quite different, viz., creation of a new seat of Gurudom and to give currency to apocrypha which he has introduced in the manuscript.

4.2 Again, Guru Arjun's var in Basant mode is not available in this manuscript. The var of Satla and Balwand in Ramkali mode is also not available in it. The conclusion has been drawn that it had not come into vogue by the time this manuscript was ready<sup>16</sup>. But, the scribe has made a reference to it in the index<sup>17</sup>. It shows the presence of the hymns and knowledge of

the scribe, and, thus, indicates only his omission in recording them. It proves that the learned scholar is ignorant about the manuscript and has jumped to a wrong and preconceived conclusion.

4.3 Moreover, some salokas of Guru Nanak, and three hymns and a few salokas of Guru Amar Das, are also not available<sup>8</sup>. Similarly, a considerable number of hymns of Guru Arjan have also been omitted. Though, on the basis of non-availability of some such hymns, Pashaura Singh has challenged the authenticity and originality of some liturgical hymns, yet he has no explanation to offer for the large number of missing hymns. Although it can be argued in the case of Guru Arjun's hymns, that those had not till then been composed, yet there is no explanation why the compositions of earlier Gurus have been excluded. Hence the line of argument of their late construction is untenable. In reality, the manuscript is marred by numerous scribal mistakes and omissions. Instances of missing lines and stanzas are very common. Obviously, mind has not been applied to the fact of the text being incomplete and deficient while evaluating the genuineness of this manuscript.

## **V. APOCRYPHA**

5.1 Existence of apocryphal hymns is another significant feature of this manuscript. One astpadi in A sa, a chhant in Suhu and about five salokas attributed to Guru Nanak, but not found in the Guru Granth are included in it<sup>19</sup>. Similarly, one astpadi each in Asa and Ramkali, and 15 chhants in Sri Rag under the authorship of Guru Amar Das, occur only in this manuscript. About 14 hymns spread over various modes and some slokas of apocryphal nature attributed to Guru Arjun, have also been included. Evidently, a major portion of the apocrypha has been entered under the authorship of the 'Fifth Guru. Most of the apocryphal hymns do not occur in the middle of a metre, but are at the end of it on the unrecorded blank folios. Similarly their entry into the index has been inserted later. In this way the scribe has not only violated the musical beat (Gr). but also taken liberty to violate the pattern fixed for recording the hymns in the Adi Granth. The recording of apocrypha being at the end of the set pattern, substantiates that this is not an earlier draft, but a later work where

additions have been made.

5.2 What is the source of these apocryphal hymns? Why has such a large number of them found its way into this manuscript only? Are these really the compositions of Sikh Gurus? Why have these not found acceptance in the Adi Granth? These are some of the very relevant issues to which the scholar should have addressed himself. Unfortunately, these questions have been overlooked very conveniently, while analysing the manuscript. However, Pashaura Singh has taken notice of only 15 chhants of Guru Amar Das, and appears to be unaware about the above mentioned hymns. It again proves that his knowledge about the manuscript is very superficial or he is knowingly ignoring the truth. If it is believed that it is an earlier draft, and that it has been the basis for editing the Adi Granth, then he should have given reasons why the apocryphal hymns, and of earlier Gurus, are in such a large number and why they were rejected.

5.3 Although it is very incongruous even to suggest that the Guru first included in the so-called draft the apocrypha relating to the other Gurus and then rejected it, it is almost absurd to say that he (or the scribe) first included the apocrypha relating to himself and then rejected it especially when mostly it is at the end of the correct hymns. It is a conclusive proof to show that the manuscript is by an outsider and has nothing to do with the Gurus.

5.4 It looks very plausible that Guru Arjun was aware about some apocryphal hymns being in circulation. These hymns could not find acceptance, because they owed their origin to his rivals or dissenters. The problem of apocrypha included in the manuscript, requires an in-depth investigation. As we will demonstrate later, serious attempts have been made in it to distort the originality and authenticity of the hymns of the Sikh Gurus. Attempts at forgery coupled with the inclusion of such a large number of apocryphal hymns, are some of the conclusive evidence to substantiate that this manuscript is a later copy or a production of some rival camp of Guru Arjun.

## **VI. FORGERY**

6.1 To take stock of distortion in this manuscript, the scholars are referred to Guru Arjun's two hymns, one each in Gaund and Bhairo raga. In raga Gaund the order of lines of hymn



arrangement of the text, correspond to the Guru Granth, at some places they have been changed to a considerable extent. To illustrate it, a study of its Sri raga can be very useful. Here the order of Guru Arjun's hymns has been changed in the text but the index, instead of corresponding to it, follows the Guru Granth pattern<sup>28</sup>. Apparently, the scribe has obtained the index from another source. This again, refutes the claim that it is an earlier draft of the Adi Granth, because he is well aware of the pattern in Adi Granth where from he has copied it. It shows clearly the priority in time of Adi Granth.

7.2 It has been opined that the text of this manuscript belongs to an earlier strata which has subsequently been revised in the final version of the Adi Granth<sup>29</sup>. It has also been alleged that not only the verses of some hymns have been altered but their refrain (rhwā) has been tampered with<sup>30</sup>. To prove these arbitrary assumptions, Guru Arjun's hymns in Tilang mode have been quoted very liberally. As no manuscript antedates 1604 AD, obviously, there is no other source to authenticate it. Unfortunately, the scholar has totally ignored the vital information provided in the index, which is very significant to check the authenticity of the text. Had he done so, he might not have drawn his wrong conclusions. For instance, while in the index Guru Arjun's hymn No. 2 in Tilang mode has been entered as (qid ibn dġ ġ nwhl kie), yet in the text it starts with another line (šB aġir pwr bġhm dġqr). The fourth hymn in the index begins with kŕqġ kŕqġ mšqk, but in the text it has kŕqġ kŕqġ mšqk. Similarly, the fifth hymn in the index has been recorded as mlrW dŵrW idl šc, while in the text it starts with another line (šldny dldŵr),<sup>31</sup>. Entry of the third hymn (imhrvġm sġhb imhrvġm) has been omitted from the index altogether, otherwise we could well know how it would have been recorded. Obviously, the text of Tilang raga does not conform to its index. Significantly, the index lines of the above hymns follow the standard version of the Adi Granth. It is evident that the scribe has altered the verses in the text. Consequently, the allegation that Guru Arjun has changed the order or verses of hymns in the Adi Granth is absolutely unfounded and shows superficial and hasty character of so called research.

7.3 The above fact becomes even more significant, when we compare the index of other ragas with the text. In the Appendix (D) at serial Nos. 1 to 13 are those index lines which correspond to the Adi Granth,<sup>32</sup> but the text in the manuscript starts with different lines. Obviously, where the index and text of the

manuscript are in unison with the Adi Granth, they have come directly or indirectly, from a correct copy or source. Secondly, the differences in the index and text, suggest that these variations are due to either the intentions or faults of the scribe, and in no way can these be attributed to Guru Arjun.

7.4 It has also been alleged that Guru Arjun has shuffled the hymns from one mode to another<sup>33</sup>. As pointed out earlier, there is a hymn in Sui in this manuscript, which has been repeated in Tilang also. Though information to take it to Sui has been provided in the margin, yet it has been argued that since the language and style of Tilang hymns of Guru Arjun pre-suppose a Muslim audience, and because the theme and (poetic genre) of this particular hymn differ from the Tilang hymns, it has been shifted to Sum, where it fits well with the preceding hymns of Guru Nanak<sup>34</sup>. Significantly we find a Dhanasri hymn of Guru Ram Das which has been recorded again in Tilang<sup>35</sup>. Why has it been shifted to Dhanasri? Pashaura Singh has no explanation for it. Similarly, an apocryphal hymn (inrml || sK rliq sAml)<sup>36</sup> attributed to Guru Arjun found in Tilang mode, does not fit in the Tilang hymns linguistically, and also does not appear to have been addressed to Muslims, yet it has not been taken to the other mode. 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 mode.

## VIII. MODIFICATIONS

8.1 On closer scrutiny we find that the scribe has made several modifications in the text. Various syllables and phrases have been replaced with alternatives or synonyms. Sometimes they have been dropped from the text altogether. For example there is a hymn of Guru Arjun in Sri raga (nn ipAwrA|| jIE imq) where in the text, jio (j IE) has been dropped, but in the index it is available<sup>37</sup>. Similarly at another place (A||au sij n stj ipAwr) Sant has been replaced with Pritam (p|qm) in the text<sup>38</sup>. The scribal variations can be due to dialectal and regional peculiarities. Some musicological variations are also found in this manuscript. For example, in hymn (hir hir aqm nrm h) refrain (rhw) has been repeated seven times<sup>39</sup>. At another place stanzas of an astpadi have been converted into pauris and an additional Saloka (apocryphal) has been added to each of

them<sup>40</sup>. Similarly, contrary to the tradition of the Guru Granth, the beat of dhamal for singing has been indicated with the mode<sup>41</sup>. Such variants confirm that the scribe and musicians associated with him, have brought modifications in the text to suit their requirements. To conclude, on the basis of these modifications, that Guru Arjun had revised the text in the final version, is totally illogical and unjustified.

8.2 Even Mul Mantar has not been spared from scribal modifications. Though, the authenticity of the available Goindwal Pothis is highly debatable, yet it has been alleged that the Mul Mantar found in them represents the earlier form<sup>42</sup>. It has been alleged that first Guru Ram Das had modified it, and then Guru Arjun worked over the text in successive drafts to give it its final form<sup>43</sup>. In the Mul Mantar in this manuscript Satguru Prasad (sqgrll prswid) has been employed. A close examination of manuscript reveals that full form of Mul Mantar occurs five times in it. Even at these places the Akal Murt and Prasad have been dropped from it once and twice, respectively<sup>44</sup>. Obviously, this is a scribal variant which can be intentional or unintentional. But it would be ridiculous to conclude on this basis that the original Mul Mantar did not include these terms.

## IX. ORTHOGRAPHY

9.1 The orthography, spellings and style of Gurmukhi of this manuscript, are some other features which have been taken into account to prove its earlier origin. As it is impossible for a script to acquire all the characteristics in just a decade or so, it is hard to pin-point the age of a manuscript on this basis. Only conjectures can be made on this count. It is also possible that due to regional, dialectical or personal taste, the scribe may not be following the prevalent method. The scribe of this manuscript has been considered by the scholar to be a close associate of Guru Amar Das, possibly Bhai Gurdas<sup>46</sup>. This is a wild conjecture which finds 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 complete the unfinished manuscript. There are numerous folios where the incomplete text has been filled in a different handwriting. The orthography of some folios, instead of looking old, seems to be of recent origin<sup>47</sup>. At one folio a scribe of the present era has inserted information indicating the beat (Gr) of a hymn<sup>48</sup>. This shows that either the dealer or the person who introduced it to him, made this

writing. Thus, the whole of the manuscript has not been written in a single hand, and during a single period of time, and the chances of interpolation and forgery in it seem evident.

9.2 The use of a dot for the vowel sign of Kanna which is the distinctive feature of early gurmukhi style, has been picked up to indicate its earlier origin<sup>49</sup>. This is again a gross misrepresentation of facts. In fact the use of half kanna almost at every folio is clearly visible besides the dot. The use of such half kanna and vowel sign of ura (€) with an open mouth are also found in the Hukamnamas of Guru Harkrishan and Guru Tegh Bahadur<sup>50</sup>. Thus, instead of proving the manuscript to be old, its orthography points to its origin somewhere in the second half of the 17th century AD. This view finds support from the fact that the manuscript has preserved an autograph of Guru Tegh Bahadur. If it had been scribed earlier, then its scribe or custodian could have procured the autograph of an earlier Sikh Guru contemporary to him. That the scribe of this manuscript is a forger, and for that matter, unreliable, is evident from the fact that he writes this nishan as that of the Sixth Guru.

9.3 In this manuscript the dates of passing away of the first five Gurus have been recorded. This establishes beyond any doubt, that the manuscript has been written after Guru Arjun's martyrdom. In his enthusiasm to prove earlier origin of this draft, Pashaura Singh has stated that the last date has been written later by the same scribe (i.e. Bhai Gurdas)<sup>51</sup>. Unfortunately, this can hardly be an honest deduction because the relevant entries have been made with the same pen and have the same shade of ink, and are in the same handwriting. Moreover, while making the above observations, he himself contradicts his earlier statement that Bhai Gurdas, "may have further improved his handwriting by the time he wrote the final draft of the Adi Granth"<sup>52</sup>. As mentioned earlier, the manuscript contains no colophon indicating the scribe, date and place of writing. Thus there is no proof to associate the manuscript or its scribing with Bhai Gurdas. It is just a figment of imagination. Description of Guru Amar Das's death in eulogistic manner can in no way be attributed to Bhai Gurdas alone. Any devout Sikh of the Third Guru can be expected to use this type of terminology. Perhaps to enhance its

value, the seller or the manuscript dealer has himself made a suggestion that the manuscript contains a hymn written in Bhai Budha's hand. The scholar who boasts that his study is based on the Western methodology of textual criticism, has taken this note on its face value to conclude that it is quite possible that the descendants of Bhai Budha may have preserved the manuscript through the process of handing it over to the next generation<sup>53</sup>. But this notion finds no validity in any internal or external evidence. It is a made-up suggestion which Pashaura Singh is inexplicably willing to swallow with the least attempt at verification, otherwise he would have readily found it to be spurious. But persons with predetermined ideas are rarely serious or sound in their effort.

## **X. DHUNNIS**

10.1 Though nine vars of the Adi Granth have dhunnis (tunes indicating the musical style) at their beginning, yet in the index of this manuscript only eight vars are found with their dhunnis. Amazingly, in the text except two all the dhunnis have been dropped<sup>54</sup>. Pashaura Singh has pointed towards the Lahore recension of the Adi Granth, in which dhunnis have been removed from the text<sup>55</sup>. It is also said that as the result of some influence dhunnis were removed from the text of the Adi Granth<sup>56</sup>. Naturally, the omission of dhunnis from the text of this manuscript also establishes its close relationship with the later Lahore recension which, again proves that it is not an earlier draft but a late 17th century product.

## **XI. WHO PREPARED IT ?**

11.1 Internal evidence establishes that the scribe has depended heavily on other sources to prepare it. If it was an independent attempt to compile the hymns of the Sikh Gurus, then who were the persons or group behind this move? The inclusion of Ratanmala (18 stanzas) suggests that the scribe has inclinations towards ascetic ideals, especially the hatha-yoga practices. The subject of most of the apocryphal hymns revolves around Sant, Sadh, Sadhsang and Satguru. Though, these subjects are not altogether alien to Sikhism, yet frequent reference to them indicates that the authors of apocrypha were more concerned about personal Guruship and ascetic tendencies. The most significant fact is that the text of Japu Ji of this manuscript resembles the Japri Parmarath of Harji, a grandson of Pirthi Chand<sup>57</sup>. Moreover,

in the Mul Mantar as well as in the shorter form of invocation, this manuscript uses Satguru Parsadi instead of Gur Prasadi, which is again a most distinctive feature of the Mina Literature<sup>58</sup>. We have evidence to suggest that collection of Gurbani which the Minas had prepared under the guidance of Meharban, had the hymns of the Sikh Gurus alone<sup>59</sup>. Likewise in the manuscript, also there is no indication that it has bhagat bani in it. In this manuscript, the title of panegyrics by the bards (bhatts) has been entered as sveyey guru Akhd ky kwl Y Bit klq<sup>60</sup>. Significantly, Kalh or kalashar Bhatt was known as Kala bhatt in the Mina literature<sup>61</sup>. The Mina collection also contained the panegyrics by Kala bhatt only<sup>62</sup>. Truly, all the 32 swayye, included in this manuscript have turned out to be the composition of Kalh bhatt only. Attempts at forgery and fabrication found in this manuscript, have already been illustrated. The apocrypha attributed to the Sikh Gurus, is the most characteristic feature of this manuscript. All these facts establish its close connection with the dissenters within the Sikh Panth, particularly the Minas, the descendants and followers of Pirthi Chand. It should be remembered that after preparing a compilation, Meharban had made copies of it to distribute and install them in various establishments<sup>63</sup>. Most probably, this manuscript has originated in that environment and sequence.

## **XII. CONCLUSIONS**

12.1 The foregoing analysis reveals that the index and text of the manuscript do not correspond with each other. The serial number, recorded with the incomplete hymns, suggests that information of total hymns in a particular raga was available to the scribe. Mention of Satta and Balwand's var in the index proves that he was aware of it. The apocryphal hymns have been inserted at the end of metres. These have been inserted in the index later on, and some of them have been recorded very tightly in the text. All these features establish that prior to this manuscript, arrangement and pattern to record the Gurbani had been fixed. The authorship of some hymns has been changed. Even the authorship of the salokas recorded in the rars has not been indicated to differentiate them. 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. These facts prove that it is not only an incorrect but also an incomplete manuscript. 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 Kanna in it. Examples of text interpolated later in a different handwriting are clearly visible. To associate it with Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Budha is absolutely illogical, because no source, history or evidence validates it. The scribe has altered the order of verses of some hymns, and has brought various modifications to suit his requirements. There are examples where a hymn has been split into two to fabricate a new hymn. Most of the incomplete as well as repeated hymns belong to Guru Arjun. Similarly the major portion of apocrypha has been attributed to the Fifth Guru. These are some of the strong reasons to suggest that the rivals of Guru Arjun had produced it to distort his compositions. Obviously, such an impure, incomplete and incorrect manuscript could not be a draft or become a basis for editing the Adi Granth. The dates of passing away of the first five Sikh Gurus, autograph of Guru Teg Bahadur, and the orthographic style, prove conclusively that it is a late 17th century product, and cannot be a basis of a draft. Before relying on this manuscript, it was imperative for a serious scholar to go into its authenticity. Ironically, the learned scholar has miserably failed in this respect, because, instead of making an honest and an objective exercise, vital internal evidence has been overlooked, and misstatements and mis-representation of facts have been made to prove the pre-conceived idea of an earlier draft, which is totally untenable and unjustified. Observations made on the Adi Granth on the basis of this manuscript will certainly boomerang and meet a fate similar to the one of the fake fossil research of Prof. V.J. Gupta which has landed the Punjab University, Chandighr, in the thick of an international controversy, badly ravaging its reputation and standing in the academic fraternity.

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5

THE TEXT AND MEANING OF THE ADI GRANTH  
ACADEMIC BLASPHEMY

By

Dr. BALKAR SINGH

The Ph. D. Thesis submitted by Pashaura Singh to the University of Toronto can be termed as an academic blasphemy. The writer was no doubt born in the Sikh house, but after his thesis, "The Text and Meaning of the Adi Granth", he does not qualify to be a Sikh. Nobody could have even imagined his present role in creating an unhealthy controversy directed wilfully towards erosion of the Sikh faith. The devout Sikhs who provided him travel grant (Mr. Gurmez Singh Bains), love and support (Sardar Savinder Singh Bhasin) and (Sardarni Nicketpal Kaur Bhasin), hospitality during his stay in England (Sardar Bhajan Singh Sandhu), must be a shaken lot at the disservice done by Mr. Pashaura Singh in his Ph.D Thesis to a cause, dear to them. He has belied the hopes of Gurmat College, Patiala, which, after giving him a stipend, must have expected from him the role of a good Sikh missionary. His parents and his community will not be able to reconcile with his becoming an agent of anti-Sikh forces. These observations are intended to place on record my disappointment as a student of Sikhism after reading his thesis carefully.

Sikhism is the only religion in the world for which curiosity for knowing prevails among other religions. The tragic part is that this has created jealousy and panic among the missionaries of almost all the religions. Christian missionaries took a lead in this direction as early as second half of the nineteenth century. Doctor Trump started this and Pandit Shardha Ram Philauri provided the basis for it. The detailed account of this is not needed in the present context. What I want to say is that Sikh academics which had never been established systematically, faced continuous erosion particularly from the Christian missionaries. Pseudo or unbaked Sikh scholarship took pride in siding with them. Western tools are supposed to be used to evaluate the Sikh academics.

Pashaura Singh is the latest to join this bandwagon.

The main thrust of his thesis is that Guru Arjan Dev ji did not confine himself merely to the compilation of the Bani of his, redecessors but, instead, allowed himself full freedom to delete and discard, subtract and substitute and add or axe any of its portions. This means that for Pashaura Singh, Bani was raw material to be shaped and Improved by Guru Aqan Dev Ji at will. No serious student of Sikhism can think in this way as the internal evidence of Sri Guru Granth Sahib proves beyond doubt the nature and character of Sikh revelation enshrined in the Holy Guru Granth SahIb. So the question of reshaping and recasting or re-writing the Bani of earlier Gurus cannot be entertained. Pashaura Singh's thesis starts from wrong premises and naturally suffers from wrong conclusions. In order to build his thesis on preconceived and biased opinions, he stretches his infirm arguments too far to stand the strain of close scrutiny. I am convinced that the Sikh tenets and traditions are at complete variance with the conclusions of Pashaura Singh's thesis.

He has committed the sin of misquoting and misinterpreting the established Sikh doctrine. Its established truth is that the compilation of Guru Granth Sahib was done in order to maintain the authenticity of Bani. In the preface of the thesis the writer, puts this positive perspective into a wrong statement by saying, "Examination of earlier manuscripts has revealed that Guru Arjan worked over a number of drafts to produce the final text in 1604 C.E." He forgets here the principle laid down in Bani i.e. the harmonisation of light and praxis, p. 966 : "The same light permeated him, the same praxis, only the Master and his visible form had changed." So Lord's word (Khasam Ki Bani) becomes 'draft' for Pashaura Singh and he persists to confuse Bani with poetry.

He perhaps wilfully overlooks the tradition of treating 'Bani' as being of a higher status than the Guru in person because of Guru's prevalent or established belief that the 'Shabad' or 'The Holy Word' is the very embodiment of the Holy Lord or,

**Akalpurakh',**

He is not able to be in tune even with his master's voice. i.e. of his guide. With the result that irrelevance and contradictions came his style. At the very first page in the preface of his thesis he

declares, on the last line of second paragraph, the Kartarpuri manuscript to be the final text of the Adi Granth. But on the same page, in the first line of third paragraph, he contradicts this by giving credence to Kartarpuri-Banno debate and the three recensions of the Adi Granth. He wants to cover himself under the cloak of so-called 'Careful research'. The only mission with him is to reduce Bani to the level of secular poetry. The entire thesis shows that Pashaura Singh wilfully, but without any basis, seeks to distort established Sikh doctrines. I want to conclude my comments as under:

1. This Thesis is written in McLeodian style and aims at the erosion of the authenticity of Sikh tenets.
2. The infallible and everlasting Sikh spiritual doctrine of "Shabad Guru" has been established beyond any doubt in the form of Guru Granth Sahib. Pashaura Singh tries in his thesis to confuse this with secondary or peripheral perspectives. It is confusing infallibility with fallibility.
3. The threefold mission which Pashaura Singh seems to have aimed at in this thesis is to befool the students, and ignore the source material. All this has nothing to do with Sikh religion and Sikh academics.
4. The basic controversy regarding the authenticity of Kartarpuri Bir was started by Dr. W.H. McLeod along with another controversy based on the Jat theory. S. Daljeet Singh and S. Jagjit Singh answered this in detail in their books, Authenticity of Kartarpuri Bir and Sikh Revolution respectively. Pashaura Singh only repeats McLeod's version time and again in his thesis without refuting the facts given by the above authors.
5. Published or handwritten recensions of Guru Granth Sahib are still carrying very minor textual variations. The mistakes of scribes or printers should not be attributed to the Gurus. The reasons for this are known to every body. The publishing agencies have intruded in the "Sikh circles. In spite of all efforts to the contrary, the intruding agencies in field are successful in their unbridled interference.

6. Researcher, especially in the field of theology, needs training of the intellect and purity of the soul. But the negation of this is Pashaura Singh, if his thesis is seen in the perspective of Gurbani, its meanings and spirit, which Pashaura Singh has shown he lacks. His confused and contradictory efforts have resulted in chaos more for himself than for others who know Gurbani.

One can easily conclude after the study of Pashaura Singh's thesis that he can be placed in the tradition of Pandit Sharda Ram Philauri who provided the basis for erosion of Sikh religion and ethos in his books like "Punjabi Baat Cheet" and "Sikhan De Raj di Vithya". The model Mr. Pashaura Singh is using by saying in his conclusion, "These hymns were committed to memory by his first disciples, who passed them on to the next generation through oral transmission of a singing tradition", is not the Sikh model. He lacks the much-needed discriminating knowledge for a researcher and fails to understand the independent concerns of Sikhism. His sweeping statements heavily mitigate against the sanctity and integrity of the Sikh scriptures. It is why his thrust is totally unacceptable. His labour is of a mercenary scholar. He has tried his level best to demolish the entire gamut of the firmly authenticated Sikh tenets and traditions. He completely fails in his mission as awakened Sikhs are coming out with the truth. What Pashaura Singh has done is against the written writ of the Guru and hence his work is blasphemous.

6  
 MANUSCRIPT 1245 :  
 A POST 1606 COLLECTION  
 By  
 Dr. KHARAK SINGH MANN

The following is an interim report of the examination of the Manuscript 1245, which forms the basis of the conclusions and observations in the thesis of Pashaura Singh for PhD, degree. A detailed report by the scholars will follow.

1. The manuscript is neither a Bir of the Granth Sahib, nor its earlier draft. It is only a collection of poems, arranged in a haphazard manner. The arrangement of Ragas and Bani does not even remotely follow the one in the Aad Granth (Kartarpuri Bir), authenticated by the fifth Guru.

2. Several Bani and hymns of Bhagats are missing in the Manuscript.

3. The handwriting of the scribe is completely different from that of Bhai Gurdas, who scribed the Kartarpuri Bir.

4. The manuscript was purchased by GND University in 1987 from a dealer of Amritsar. Nobody knows its antecedents. The University authorities including the Librarian and the members of the purchase committee pleaded ignorance, since according to them, the dealer was not willing to part with his trade secret.

5. According to the supposed dealer's note on the manuscript, and Pashaura Singh's surmise, there is a suggestion that the manuscript is connected with the family of Baba Budha, the well-known devout Sikh. The Ms 1245 has a Shlok attributed to Baba Budha in which, like the Gurus, he has used the name "Nanak", for himself. The successors of Baba Budha at Bir Baba Budha Sahib, have completely denied the existence of any such Bir or any hymn ever composed by Baba Budha.

6. There is no date nor scribe's name on the manuscript, nor any evidence of its antiquity. Rather, there is conclusive evidence that the manuscript was scribed much later than 1606 AD. There is a Nishan pasted on the Bir on leaf 1253, which, the scribe claims to be of the Sixth Master. Evidently, the scribe wants us to believe that he wrote it during the tenure of Guru Hargobind. This claim has been rejected even by Pashaura Singh, for, the Nishan bears no resemblance to that of Guru Hargobind, but resembles that of Ninth Master. Thus

there is no basis for Pashaura Singh to claim it as an earlier draft of the Adi Granth, compiled by Guru Arjan Dev in 1604.

7 The Japuji version in the manuscript resembles closely with that of Meharban, who had been considered an enemy, and ex-communicated from the Panth by the Guru. The presence of word 'Nanak' in the couplet on folio 3, also proves its Mina origin. Even the dealer said that he had obtained it from a Meharban group. The collection is undoubtedly part of the Mina Sahitya. To call such literature an earlier draft of Guru Arjan, is an unforgivable travesty of facts. This seems to have been planted in the University in 1987, perhaps with ulterior motives.

8. Scriptures of most other religious faiths came into existence long after the demise of the prophets concerned. The ex-missionary group of Batala has been trying to deny originality and authenticity of the Aad Granth (Kartarpuri Bir) on frivolous grounds. The present attempt attributing changes in the Bani of Guru Nanak, by Guru Arjan Dev Ji appears to be part of the same plan.

9. The Ms 1245 gives on leaf 1255 dates of demise of the first five Gurus in the same handwriting and the same ink-shade. This fact alone conclusively proves that MS 1245 is a post-1606 collection. Pashaura Singh knows this, and that is why he makes the mis-statement that the date of demise of Fifth Master was written later.

10. Moreover, the dates of demise on folio 1255, do not mark the end of the manuscript. The recording of collected hymns continues for another 22 pages. This shows that the work on the collection, continued later than 1606.

11. It is also incorrect to interpret that Manglacharan contains the word 'Nirankar' or 'kartar. The word 'Karta purakh' is clearly recorded.

12. By calling a forged and later manuscript as 'first draft' Pashaura Singh is considered to have committed blasphemy on four counts.

a. The Gurbani, as proclaimed by Guru Nanak and other Gurus, is not revealed Bani. For, later it can be changed and has been changed by Guru Arjan. Its revealed and unalterable character was there thereby by destroyed by the Guru himself.

b. That Guru Arjan made theological changes in the Bani of

Guru Nanak.

c. That Guru Arjan made mis-representations in so far as he passed his own Bani as Bani of Guru Nanak.

d. That the hymns which, for the Guru, were not true Bani (or was Kachi Bani), are eulogised by the scholar to be the true Bani of Guru Nanak, and that the authentic Bani, so declared by the Guru, is not true Bani of Guru Nanak.

Can traversivity of facts or blasphemy go further than this?

7  
GOINDW AL POTHIS-A POST 1595  
PRODUCTION

By  
DALJEET SINGH AND KHARAK SINGH MANN

In recent years there has been some confusion regarding the relevance of manuscripts, including Mohan Pothis, as a source of the Aad Granth of the Fifth Master, or textual analysis. This misunderstanding needs to be cleared, especially because in some quarters such manuscripts are being used as authentic source of Gurbani. In order to understand the true position, it is essential to grasp the significance of Guru Arjun Dev Ji's sagacious decision and his unmatched vision in creating the Aad Granth.

Significance of the Aad Granth: It is well known that in the case of all other religions, their scriptures are man-made, and were compiled centuries or decades after the death of the concerned prophets. It is the unique vision of Guru Arjun that, having sensed the confusion and controversy in the case of other religions, and having known that Minas and others were circulating spurious hymns as those of the Gurus, and thereby misleading the Sikhs; he made his landmark decision to compile the Sikh Scripture and authenticate it. The Guru carefully organized all available material, and scrutinized other granths or writings, including may be Mohan Pothis. It is certain that every material, other than what was with the Guru, available with any Sikh or non-Sikh must have been procured or produced before him for inclusion. The Guru's search for authentic material was so keen that he presumably obtained Pransangli from Ceylon, but did not include it, being not Bani.

There are good reasons to suggest that the Guru had reliable sources of Gurbani. The first Var of Bhai Gurdas clearly states that Guru Nanak during his tours in West Asia carried a book with him. Evidently, the book could neither be the Vedas, nor the Gita, nor Quran; it could be nothing else than a collection of his own hymns, and it is unimaginable that while appointing a successor, he would not pass on to him this most valuable part of the heritage, or that his successor would be less conscious or discreet in the matter and not repeat the process of recoding the hymns and ensuring their preservation and transfer to the successors. The Puratin Janam Sakhi records that

at the time of appointing his successor Guru Nanak also gave Guru Angad the manuscript of his Bani. There is another manuscript, now with the Punjab University Lahore, quoted by Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana in his book "Punjab Bhakha Te Chhand Bandi", saying that Guru Nanak preserved his Bani and gave this treasure (the word used is Khazana) to Guru Angad. Apart from that, both Sahib Singh and Harbhajan Singh have compared this Bani with that of the other Gurus. The comparison is based on identity of diction, phraseology and idiom and they have produced convincing evidence that all the Gurus were well acquainted with, and had close knowledge of the hymns of their predecessors. This authentic material for compilation of the Aad Granth was available with the Fifth Master.

The preparation of the Kartarpuri Bir has triple significance, namely; (a) That all authentic and revealed Bani has been included in the Bir; (b) That no authentic Bani of the Gurus is outside it; (c) That the Bani being revealed, it stands meticulously numbered and compiled, so that no one could change even a word of it. The Seventh Guru even banished his own son for changing a single word of it. And the Tenth Master was very angry with a Sikh who wrongly pronounced a word which could be misconstrued. The Scripture (Pothis) was installed at Harmandir Sahib, and was revered throughout by the Guru and the Sikhs. The decision of the Guru unambiguously laid down that there was no authentic Bani of the Gurus outside it. Thus the question of any confusion, mischief or textual analysis stands eliminated for all time by this compilation.

Textual Analysis Irrelevant: Here a few words about textual criticism and its relevance. As noted, 'except the Aad Granth, there is no scripture in the world that was recorded either by or in the time of the prophet concerned. Whether it was the Torah, the Bible, the Dhampada or the Quran, each was compiled and finalised after the demise of the respective prophets. Hence the problem of correct canon or textual criticism, form criticism, redaction criterion and like criticisms have arisen. In the time between the demise of the prophet concerned and the date of its final compilation, there have been many man-made versions of the concerned scripture or parts thereof. In fact, in the case of Jewish and Christian Scriptures there are

innumerable intervening manuscripts suggesting one inference or the other. It has given unlimited mass of material to scholars to exercise their intellectual ability or give vent to their idiosyncracies, some of them being malicious. So much so that on the basis of a doubtful and unproven manuscript, Morton Smithy went to the extent of casting unbecoming aspersions on Jesus Christ. Now the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 has put in confusion both the versions of the Talmud and the Bible. Hence the question of textual analysis is irrelevant and stands distinctly eliminated by the Guru. Because, for good reasons any manuscript even if it were now presented as an old one, would be suspect and valueless. First, its being old cannot be accepted, because in our tradition and history no such manuscript (except Mohan Pothis) is known; and its being without any history or with a doubtful history, would by itself negate its claim. Second, it has to be assumed that if it was there before 1604 AD., it was either knowingly not presented to the Guru, or, if presented, it was rejected by him. In either case the document becomes meaningless. After 400 years it is difficult to accept the credibility of a scholar saying that he has been able to trace Gurbani which the search, vision or the sense of discernment of Guru Arjan failed to find or judge properly. Such a claim would be too tall to have any sense or credibility. Hence the irrelevance of all talk of textual analysis and the claim, pretension or value of any manuscript and its use for any purpose.

Mohan Pothis: According to a traditional story there were some Pothis with Baba Mohan. Two of these are extant, one at Ahyiapur and the other at Pinjore. Bawa Prem Singh Hoti Mardan, from a Bhalla family, refers to these Pothis. Three questions arise about these Pothis, namely, their authenticity, their dating, and the reliability of the story.

(a) Authenticity: On the point of authenticity we have already stated that the Guru's decision to compile the Kartarpuri Bir categorically emphasizes that any composition that is variant in form or content from the Kartarpuri Bir is not Sachi Bani of the Gurus. Therefore, a variant manuscript can neither be used, nor have any claim to authenticity for the purpose of the identity of Gurbani. Accordingly, if there is any variation in any Pothe or Granth from Gurbani in the Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib, it

has to be considered unauthentic in the light of the historic decision of the Fifth Master. Because of the tradition, it can be assumed that the Mohan Pothis were with the Gurus and were rejected to the extent their Bani is variant from the Bani in Aad Granth. Therefore, except for the reverence in which any Pothi is held as a family treasurer it cannot be of any significance as a source of Gurbani, which is only the Aad Granth, the Living Guru of the Sikhs. This is the unambiguous consequence of the decision of the Fifth Master.

(b) Dating of the Mohan Pothis: So far there is no clarity even about the dating of the extant Pothis, much less is there a distinct proof of their genuineness. According to tradition, these Pothis are said to have been recorded by Sahansar Ram, grandson of the Third Master. The Fourth Master, while he was a Gursikh is also said to have been associated with it. Except for an assertion and a story, there is no evidence that either the Third Master got them dictated through Sahansar Ram, or that they were written by him in association with the Fourth Master, while he was Bhai Jetha. On the other hand, the facts controvert such suggestions. It is inconceivable that had the Third Master commissioned the compiling of the Bani in these Pothis, there would not have been any mark of the Master thereon. Bawa Prem Singh claims them of the period between 1570-72 AD. This assertion is obviously controverted by the Ahiyapur Pothi. On the first page of it the year 1652 Bikarmi is recorded. The hand may be different from the one in which the body of the Pothi is written. This corresponds to 1595 A.D. the period of the Fifth Master. It is evident and natural that the person who has later written this date has made an attempt to give it a date earlier than the date on it while it was actually scribed, so as to claim for it greater antiquity. It is out of question that the owner, scribe or author would ever allow the Pothis to be postdated as against its actual date. Hence the story of the pothis having been compiled in the time of the Third or Fourth Guru is ruled out. It is significant that Kalyan Das Udasi also gives 1595 AD. as the year of its production. Mrs. Jaggi, who has only followed Baba Prem Singh mistakenly says that Kalyan Dass does not support his view by any evidence. She seems to have ignored the actual date (1652 BK) given on the Pothi of Ahiyapur. Another important fact is that in Kartarpuri

Bir the Fifth Master, records that the Japu of Guru Nanak had been copied from the one recorded by the Fourth Master. That being an authentic source, the fifth Master has clearly referred to it. Had any Mohan Pothi also been written either at the dictation of the Third Master, or in association with the Fourth Master, or been an authentic source, it is unthinkable that Guru Arjan Dev would not have clearly indicated its presence as a source of authenticity, as he did in the case of Japuji Sahib.

(c) An impossible Story: Sahib Singh feels that the Mohan pothis story, as had been the practice then of some writers, including those of Janamsakhis, is just a narration woven around a couplet of Guru Arjan's to seek popularity and recognition. In the entire Guru Granth Sahib there is no hymn praising a person other than the Gurus, much less is there a eulogy of one virtually in the opposite camp. The word Mohan in the couplet means and is thus addressed to God. It has decidedly no reference to the person of Baba Mohan. Two facts are extremely against the historicity of the story, and the manuscript.

The date (1652 Bk) as stated, clearly shows its post-Fourth Guru production. Apart from that, the very fact that the Pothis record that the custodians have the blessings of three generations, show that it is a post-Third Guru production (1574 AD.) and not one dictated or ordered by him. The reference of the Fourth Guru or the fourth generation of the Gurus is not given, because the Mohan group was opposed to the recognition of Guru Ramdasji as the Guru or his line. As such, The production is certainly of 1595 AD or a date subsequent to it. Further, the note recording about the blessings of the three Gurus adds that anyone not accepting their leadership (Hundi) would go to hell. To suggest that such an unbecoming method of cursing those who do not follow the Guru, was utilized or dictated by him, is just an obvious traversity. This statement could never be even at the remotest suggestion or thought of the Guru. On the other hand, it is a statement by a seemingly unstrated group or person (which the branch of Mohan and Sahansar Ram was), wanting to regain recognition by such curses and tactics of claiming to have the Pothi or Bani of the Gurus. Hence the recording of the Pothis is certainly of the time of Guru Arjun. Second, there is a strong reason for not recognizing the authenticity of the Pothis. On the assumption

that the Third Master did have his recorded Bani, it is just ridiculous to suggest that whereas he conferred Guruship on Guru Ramdas, he would convey, against the known tradition, the treasure of the Bani to the estranged or aggrieved persons who were even not willing to recognize the Fourth Master as the Blessed Guru. The Guru Granth Sahib itself says that whereas Mohri the Guru's other son, accepted Guru Ramdas as the successor, Baba Mohan remained sullen and apart. Hence the story of the authentic Bani being with this group is both an impossibility and an inherent contradiction.

Conclusion: The conclusion is inevitable that even if the Mohan Pothis had been available to the fifth Master, .he kept what he considered to be Bani and rejected the rest. In fact, as we have stated above, this is the task of scrutiny of Bani, the Guru had been judiciously performing, Le., either accepting it as Sudh, or correcting it, or' rejecting it.

However one may like to discard the idea, the facts do seem to suggest that some persons have apparently felt uneasy at the idea that the Sikhs have the unique distinction of having an authenticahed scripture which had been compiled by their Guru. First, there was in 1975 a misleading and incorrect suggestion, an insinuation, that the Kartarpuri Bir had been tampered with by obliteration of an unacceptable hymn. This suggestion made by McLeod was considered blasphemous and irresponsible, because it was made without examining the concerned Birs, without going through the related literature on the point and in contradiction of the known work of Jodh Singh which stated that there was no such deletion. It seems to have been withdrawn because the facts of the matter were too clear to enable him to proceed further with the blasphemous suggestion.

Now another oblique route of textual analysis appears to have been taken up under the guise of western scholarship. The seeming object is the old one, namely, to attack the authenticity of the Aad Granth. But, as earlier, the props raised to support it are too feeble and frivolous to sustain it. For it is partly based on MS 1245 with an externally pasted and forged mark (Nishan) of the Sixth Guru which is actually of the Ninth Guru. Further, the manuscript contains in its contents, simultaneously recorded death dates of the first five Gurus proving thereby that it is a post 1606 AD. production Partly, the attdck is based on a self-contradictory

and discarded story of Mohan Pothis given currency by an anti-Guru group.

Assuming that such futile attempts have the cover of the freedom of expression and also do not bring the promoters in conflict with the law, we wonder if these can enhance the reputation of anyone for academic or moral credibility.

Note:Suggested reading on Goindwal Pothis Prof. Sahib Singh D. Lit., "Gurbani Tay Ithas Baray" Principal Harbhajan Singh, "Gurbani Sampadan Nirnay"  
Principal Teja Singh, "Guru Granth Da Sampadan"

PASHAURA SINGH'S "THE TEXT AND  
MEANING OF THE ADI GRANTH"

By  
RANBIR SINGH SANDHU

**INTRODUCTION**

Dr. Pashaura Singh's doctoral thesis [1], in his own words, "seeks to reconstruct the history of the text of the Adi Granth" and examine Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji's editorial policy, "particularly his approach towards the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani in the Sikh scripture. "The author has written about the preservation of their writings by the Sikh Gurus, the compilation of the Sri Granth Sahib and the editorial policy of Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji.

The author has put in an immense amount of work in identifying numerous manuscripts, going through several of them very carefully, and comparing them. An entire chapter is devoted to the discussion of so-called different versions of the Adi Granth Sahib and another to the origins of the various traditions. He has correctly concluded that the source for all these later versions was the Kartarpur manuscript. However, in analyzing some of the data he had accumulated, he has made numerous assumptions, and drawn several conclusions that appear to be quite rash. In his discussion of the preservation of the Bani, editorial policy of Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji, the role of some manuscripts in the preparation of the "final" version of the scripture, and the motivation for the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani, his approach is definitely questionable. Certain views are postulated without presenting independent supporting evidence. Arbitrary assumptions are made to bolster the claims, and significant conclusions are drawn regarding his own speculative statements as proven facts.

Dr. Pashaura Singh ignores vital information, available from the text of Sri Guru Granth Sahib, about the nature of the revealed Word and the character of those who brought the divine message. Presumably, this has been done in the name of objectivity. His comment: "It is a conspicuous feature of the modern Panth to perceive critical scholarship as an attack on the Sikh faith" is indeed uncalled for and unfortunate. No one

disputes the need for critical scholarship to establish facts. However, many Sikhs have objected to what they consider to be wild and sacrilegious speculation In the name of research. In the context in which the author has made this comment, It must be noted that the Banno-Kartarpur debate was settled by Dr. Jodh Singh in his book [2] titled: Sri .Kartarpur Bir de Darsan. Since that time, the debate has essentially been marked by Dr. McLeod's refusal to accept the facts. It is gratifying to note that Dr. Pashaura Singh has been able to satisfy Dr. McLeod that the entry of the year on Banno version is indeed samvat 1699 and not 1659.

The purpose of the article is to look at some of the statements made and the conclusions drawn by the author. Clearly, there are two approaches to this exercise. One would use the contents of the Adi Granth, the subject of Dr. Pashaura Singh's research, to evaluate his analysis. This would be the approach of a "believer". The other would ignore, as the author has done, the message of the Adi Granth and the claim of the Sikhs that its authors speak on behalf of the Divinity. This 'secular' approach would regard the contents of the Adi Granth as the work of ordinary mortals who, driven by the desire for popularity and personal gain, might possibly be willing to yield to sodo-political pressures.

### **PRESERVATION OF THE BANĪ.**

Dr. Pashaura Singh states [1, page 2]: "It would appear that Guru Nanak had a clear vision of preserving his own bani, by committing it to memory in the first place and then possibly to writing during his own lifetime". It is difficult to understand how the author sets up a sequence of first committing it to memory and then "possibly to writing." Did someone else compose these verses for Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji that he had to commit it to his memory? The author himself states [1, page 3] : "There are numerous references in the hymns of Guru Nanak that point towards the existence of a written tradition during his lifetime" and that: "Bhai Gurdas records a tradition that Guru Nanak used to carry a book (Kitab) of his own compositions on his missionary tours." He records (1, page 3,3) two references to this in Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's Bani and concludes correctly that: "This verse clearly suggests that the Written tradition of Gurbani must have begun during Guru Nanak's lifetime. "Guru Sahib has himself

said:

gn gie sin il iK dje ] s0srb Pl hir l je ]

He who sings (God's) praise, listens to (the same), writes them and gives them (to others), attains union with God who is the giver of all rewards [3, page 838]

hir pV hir il K u hir j pu hir g u E hir Baj l pu ir a q u r l ]

O Man, read God's Name, write God's Name, recite God's Name, sing God's Name. God takes one across the ocean of fear [3, page 669]

In view of Bhai Gurudas Ji's assertion and Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's own instructions, it is clear that written records of Gurbani were prepared by Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji himself, or under his direct supervision, and carefully preserved by him. These were possibly copied, even during his lifetime, by many disciples and, conceivably, even reproduced extensively. As noted [1, page 7] by the author, Sri Guru Amar Das Ji, in one of his verses, exhorts: "Come, dear Sikhs of the True Guru, sing the true bani." The Bani had to be available to be sung. Also in Raag Bilawal Guru Amar Das Ji, writing about "seven days" (ੴ ਸ੍ਰ) of the week, refers to the "fifteen dates" (੦੧) of the lunar month. A bani with that title was given by Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji and immediately precedes the one by the third Guru. The connection between the two is obvious and points to the fact that the third Guru had the bani given by Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji with him when he recorded the verse associated with his name. Clearly the recorded bani as augmented by succeeding Gurus and the collected works were transferred by each of them to his successor. The timing and manner of writing it down are immaterial.

The conjecture, by the author, of Guru Nanak Dev Ji first committing the bani to memory and then of his "possibly committing it to writing during his own lifetime" stands in contradiction of the author's own findings. This conjecture is at the root of subsequent questions of authenticity, selectivity, and possible revision of the text elaborated in his thesis; Noting the ample evidence showing that the Gurus themselves preserved their bani in writing possibly as it came to them from God, Dr. Pashaura Singh's statement is unwarranted and the subsequent

discussion based upon it without substance and merit.

### **COMPILATION OF SRI GRANTH SAHIB**

The author, trying to guess the reason for the compilation of Sri Granth Sahib, regards the effort as "integral to the wider process of crystallization of the Sikh tradition. "He quotes [1, page 16] John Archer: "The bare fact of canon-making has significance in itself. The Sikhs were intent upon a book." These comment by Archer imply the need for a book, the absence of one, and a deliberate attempt to create it. These are irrelevant to the subject of the research because the Sikhs all along had a "book" inasmuch as each Guru had the bani of his predecessors with him and kept adding to it his own. The process of compiling Sri Granth Sahib was continual one, having had its start with Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The content of the "book" increased through a process of accretion based on continual revelation to Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji and his successors. It did not terminate with the Kartarpur manuscript when scribed in 1604 A.D. The author correctly notes about Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji: "Even during the last two years of his life he added to the scripture a number of his own verses before he died in 1606 CE." This is an affirmation of continued revelation of the bani even after the Kartarpur MS was compiled. Indeed the process continued till the bani of Sri Guru Tegh Bahadar Sahib was included and Sri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib conferred eternal Guruship upon Sri Granth Sahib.

Throughout, the text was extensively copied.

### **SOURCES FOR THE COMPILATION OF SRI GURU GRANTH SAHIB.**

#### **a. The Goindwal Pothis**

The author states [1, page 8,9] : "the first definite attempt by the Sikh tradition to record a single collection of approved works was evidently made during the Guru Amar Das' period " " Guru Amar Das... prepared the so-called Goindwal pothis, at least two of which are still extant with the descendants of the third Guru... " It is understandable that the owners of these pothis would much like to have these accorded the high status they claim for them. However, it is by no means "evident" that these manuscripts were "the earliest attempt" or that they were prepared during Sri Guru Amar Das Ji's time. No evidence has been presented to establish

that these pothis were prepared by, under the supervision of, or even with the knowledge of Sri Guru Amar Das Ji. No evidence has been produced to show that Sri Guru Amar Das Ji was aware of their existence. These could well have been copies. The non-availability of a source from which these were directly derived does not mean one never existed. Their relationship to the authentic bani of the Gurus could be quite remote. The author correctly doubts (1, pages 9-12) the authenticity of the Jalandhar pothi. The same doubts ought to extend to the others.

Even though his statement regarding the Goindwal Pothis being the "first definite attempt by the Sikh tradition to record a single collection of approved works" is in contradiction of the fact that Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji recorded his own bani and "carried a book," the learned author has proceeded to accept, without critical scrutiny, the story that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji "procured the Goindwal pothis for use in the compilation of the Adi Granth. "He goes on to state (1 page 13) : "Although the Goindwal volumes provided a substantial nucleus for formulating the scripture there were other collections of the Gurus' hymns that were preserved by devout Sikhs and. that must have been available to Guru Arjan... "The question of "procurement" of pothis has been dealt with very ably by Dr. Sahib Singh [4.] Here we shall merely list the assumptions implicit in the author's statement. For Dr. Pashaura Singh's assertion to be valid one has to accept the following premises: 1. Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji did not have all the previous Gurus' bani with him as part of his inheritance. It would follow from this assumption that either each Guru did not record and keep in his possession all the "bani" given by himself and his predecessors or that part of all of such records had been lost.

2. There were persons other than the Gurus themselves who had authentic records of the bani of the current Guru or the previous Gurus. This would imply that when the Gurus spoke, records of the bani were kept, not for them, by themselves (or by their immediate retinue) but by outsiders who chose to keep the records in their own custody.

3. Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji, when he had "procured" these documents, had some way of finding out whether any or all of

their contents were indeed genuine and not fake (kach pich kcipc).

The third assumption above would necessitate the existence of a "master" version against which the "procured" material could be verified. Else, one would have to take the "believer's" approach and assume that Guru Arjan Dev Ji had the ability to verify the contents by inspection and from memory. This is in contradiction to the need for "procurement" of the bani. There is no evidence that these pothis had any bearing on the Kartarpur manuscript. All available evidence points to the bani being in the personal custody of each Guru during his time. This would be the "master" version. If the Fifth Guru had this version with him, there would be no need to "procure" material. On the other hand, if the Guru could verify the contents without reference to a master text and simply from memory or divine inspiration, this alternative could serve as the primary source, eliminating the need for "procurement." Of course, people were encouraged to write the bani and evidently many copies more or less complete and more or less contaminated came into existence. However, to assume that the Gurus, in particular Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji, did not have access to the authentic bani of the preceding Gurus and had to depend upon his Sikhs, and even upon some who did not accept him as the Guru, to provide him the same is altogether fanciful.

Dr. Pashaura Singh states (1, page 14) "Guru Arjan... was filled with admiration when he examined the works of his predecessors from the pothis, which he evidently obtained from various sources, including the Goindwal volumes from Baba Mohan.." The first part of the statement is verified by Sri Guru Granth Sahib (quoted by the author on page 15 of reference 1). The later part is totally speculative. There is nothing to indicate that the Khajana (ਖਜਾਨਾ) referred to by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji consisted of or even included the Goindwal volumes nor is there any evidence that anything was obtained from Mohan. There is no basis for assuming that Sri Guru Arjun Dev Ji, in his admiration of the Khajana is implying that he did not have the khajana with him all the while and that there was a definitive date and time when he first saw it after procurement". Noting that the Goindwal pothis were

incomplete, the author states correctly [1, page 15] that "Guru Arjan presumably had access to a second manuscript" If this is so, the need for the incomplete pothis disappears. According to the author [1, page 17, 18) : "Guru Arjan had before him a considerable array of material gathered from reliable manuscripts when he started to codify the compositions of the Gurus and the Bhagats into an authorized volume..." These statements are entirely conjectural. There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji did not have with him the authentic collection of the bani as augmented by each succeeding Guru. There was no need for him to look for "reliable external sources." Each Guru had the complete Bani with him and did not need help from outside.

#### **b. The GNDU MS # 1245**

The learned author has seen a manuscript designated GNDU MS # 1245 that was acquired by the Guru Nanak Dev University in 1987 C.E. He has tried to prove it to be an earlier draft of the Adi Granth Sahib implying that the bani as written after revelation was revised by the Guru. In claiming its being an earlier draft, the author asserts "the standard rule of textual criticism" that "the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one" and another that "the more difficult reading is generally preferable." There are serious questions regarding the assertion that this manuscript predates the Kartarpur manuscript. The author has himself stated that the introductory note regarding the autograph written in "Guru Hargobind's blessed hand" is not correct. However, his own observation that the autograph attributed to Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib is fake, has not deterred the author from drawing several conclusions. He also notes that the manuscript gives the "death dates of the first five Gurus." Inspection of the manuscript by some learned persons [5] who have provided copies of the relevant page, clearly shows that all the entire are in the same handwriting establishing that the manuscript was worked on after Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji's passing away. He has not produced any evidence that the manuscript was indeed written by (or at the instance of) Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji, and that Guru Sahib had it in his possession and used (or directed that it be used) for the purpose of producing the "final draft." Many

explanations can be given regarding the existence of this manuscript. It could, among other possibilities, be a collection made by some Sikh of whatever part of the bani he was able to gain access to. There can be any number of reasons for the blanks in some places. The difference in Raag sequence in various copies is explained quite easily once it is accepted that the Gurus possibly kept the barn in each Raag as a separate collection. Access to the entire barn, in its original form, at one time would be a rare privilege for any Sikh. The manuscript could very likely be a compilation from bits and portions as they become available to the writer. The writing of a shabad in Raag Talang whereas it is in Raag Sum in the original, and then noting the error in the margin conveys nothing beyond that the scribe made an error and noted the same. The author has not provided any evidence that the writing is of Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji or of Bhai Gurdas Ji or any other known Sikh.

Incorrectly accepting the work to predate the Kartarpur manuscript, the author has gone on to assume that the same was prepared by or for Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji and that he had it with him when the final version was prepared. Extending this line of erroneous thought, he has concluded not only that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji worked on several drafts of Sri Granth Sahib but also that he frequently revised them. He attributes the authorship of a verse to Baba Buddha Ji on the basis of a note by the booksellers. He goes on to make the preposterous suggestion that the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani in Sri Granth Sahib "reflected a situation wherein the followers of those Bhagats (the Jats and the cobblers) were attracted into the Sikh fold in large numbers." This would require us to believe that"

1. Dhanna Ji had a large following among the Jats;
2. People of various castes were followers of Bhagats belonging to their own castes;
3. Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji deliberately augmented Sri Granth Sahib during the preparation of the final draft by including the Bhagat Bani in order to increase his followings.

There is no historical evidence to show that people of various castes actually joined the Sikh fold because of the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani. One wishes the author had provided some evidence of Jats and cobblers becoming Sikhs because Dhanna

Ji's and Ravidas Ji's bani was included in Sri Granth Sahib. Also, if the author's line of argument be accepted, inclusion of a large number of Kabir Ji's compositions should have led to a large influx of people of the weaver caste. Sikh history does not provide any support for the assumption that persons of various castes joined the Sikh fold because the writings of Bhagats of their caste were included in the Guru Granth Sahib.

The author notes some differences in titles of some collections of verses and presumes that these were editorial corrections made by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji while preparing the final draft. His argument that the Gurmukhi script of the manuscript, using a dot for the kanna and some characters from the Sharda script establishes it as an earlier draft does not stand scrutiny. It is well known that a dot was still in use for the Kanna in Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib's time. The scribe who wrote the GNDU # 1245 manuscript may not have been knowledgeable enough or may have had certain preferences in writing style. Dr. Pashaura Singh, using the word "evidently" to replace the need for logical discussion states (1, page 22) "Guru Arjan evidently worked over a number of drafts before he produced a 'final' text in 1604 A.D." This statement is totally unfounded and offensive to the Sikh belief. He has provided no evidence to show that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji did not have a complete set of all the bani as revealed to himself and his predecessors or that he did not dictate the entire bani himself, or that he made any changes in the bani given by his predecessors. The mere existence of a manuscript - GNDU MS # 1245 or any other possibly predating the Kartarpur manuscript cannot by itself give it the status of a draft prepared by the Guru. The author's chart on page 23 [Reference 1] should start with the Kartarpur MS; the claims regarding the so-called earlier documentation, other than the one in the Gurus' own possession, being entirely speculative.

### **EDITING THE KARTARPURI BIR**

Compilation of any work includes collection of source material, editorial selection of material that is to form the final product, selection of a sequential order for presentation of the material, and correction of errors of transcription, if any. In the case of Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the source was revelation of the

bani to the Gurus and, apparently, selection of additional works of the Bhagats and Bhattas. The sequential order selected by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji and, presumably, by his predecessors, was according to Raag (music). It is easy to understand that Gurus kept separate records of the bani in each Raag and the records were further subdivided into collections of Shabads comprising dupadas, tipadas, chaupadas, etc., by musical groupings (ghar); astapadis, chhants, special collections and Bhagat Bani, under individual headings. It would be extremely convenient and natural for each succeeding Guru to add his own bam to each of these several sets as accretions at the end. This is the arrangement in the Kartarpur Bir. It is also easily understandable that those who made copies of bani might have had access only to portions at a time and, for this reason alone, their collections might differ in their order for each Raag.

The editorial necessity that Sri Arjan Dev Ji saw and resolved was the handling of individual shlok and collections of shlok that formed part of the bani. He added many of these at appropriate locations in the several Vars and compiled those left over as a separate collection. The author states [1, page 30]: "... sections, each of which was carefully read by Guru Arjan Dev before he was able to pronounce it sudh ('pure', correct)." As explained by Dr. Sahib Singh, the comment sudh applies to the Shlokas added to the Vars. There was no question of correcting the bam that had already been recorded by the preceding Gurus or by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji himself.

## **OTHER BIRS**

### **a. The Lahore Recension**

Dr. Pashaura Singh, in discussing the Lahore recension, notes correctly that the Kartarpur Bir indicates the dhunis for singing the Vars. He correctly discounts the tradition that these were introduced by Sri Guru Hargobind' Sahib. However, this does not stop him from indulging in speculation regarding Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji's motives in giving that direction. He states [1, page.66] : "Presumably the tradition of singing the Vars to the heroic tunes may have begun during Guru Arjan's period or even before with the specific purpose of attracting the rural people, especially the Jats, into the Sikh fold." The Gurus used the local vernacular in communicating God's message to the people.

However, the suggestion that they would be choosing their words to "attract" followers is contradictory to their teachings. They were proclaiming the Truth - often bluntly and not soliciting votes. Again, the author Starts with the assumption, introduced by McLeod, that the Sikh faith was based on the so-called Sant tradition before Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji's martyrdom and that militancy was introduced into the faith by this event. Even if this baseless suggestion is accepted, how would this "militancy" be introduced by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji before his martyrdom? In fact, there never was any change in the Sikh belief even till the times of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib who states in the Zafarnama [6] : "I came to the battlefield when there was no other alternative." Also, he never continued any battle longer than necessary for safety and peace. He never was an aggressor at any time. We note too that Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji said [3] : "If you desire to play the game of love, come my way with your head on the palm of your hand." All the Gurus consistently preached the message of Divine love and of meeting God through love and humility. At the same time, they all inculcated fearlessness in the Sikhs and taught them to stand up for truth and justice and for the defence of the weak and the helpless.

#### b. The Banno Tradition.

Discussing the Banno tradition, the author speculates [1, page 73] : "It is quite possible that Guru Arjan's policy of frequently revising the revised texts caused some resentment among the' Udasi Sikhs." As there were no revisions of the divine word the comment is superfluous, and words Udasi Sikhs is a contradiction in terms since Sikhism rejects sanyas or being a reduce". The Banno version is apocryphal and not the work of Sikhs. It has been in existence for a long time but has never been accepted by the Panth. In his concluding statements [1, page 89-91], the author states: "although the Damdama version of the Adi Granth were used by the Sikh community in the eighteenth century the Banno recension was' predominant." This is incorrect. The author has himself indicated that the apocryphal versions were, used by followers of Sants and that the Banoo group, included Hindalis, Udasis, Bhatras and Brahamins. All these groups were not Sikhs. The Sikhs have always accepted as their Guru only the version that was given

eternal Guruship by Sri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. All other versions are apocrypha In nature an Irrelevant to to Sikhs. The Singh Sabha reforms" did not sanctify this version" as the auther states; Sri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib did that.

### **c. Other Manuscripts.**

. As has been stated earlier, many copies of the Granth Sahib more or less complete and more or less authentic were prepared by various people, The number of such copies surviving cannot be made the yardstick for the acceptance or the prevalence of any of them. This phenomenon would be greatly influenced by the size of the congregation, availability of scribes and, most importantly, of the political conditions in the region. The Sikh Religious and Educational Trust Library has a manuscript of Sri Granth Sahib completed in 1759 C.E. This manuscript is in a single handwriting, does not include the Raag Maala; indicates Mahala 10 after the first line of the Dohra in Sri Guru Tegh Bahadar Sahib's Shlokes, has shlokes of Bhagat Kabir and Sheikh Farid recorded after the Mundavani; has the shloke : "Tera Keta" ....included in Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji's shlokes; has the Swayyas by the Fifth Guru and the Bhattas at the end; includes the Chhant beginning with "Ranjhunjanra" in Raag Ramkali as completed in the Banno version; and has "Chhad Har Bemukh ko Sang" entered after Surdas shabad in Raag Saarang. It does not have Mira Bai's hymn. It includes the dates of passing of Baba Gurditta Ji and Guru Hargobind Sahib along with the note: "This is a copy of the writing of the eighth Guru, the Creator Lord, who wrote this with his own special hand (mhl ॥ 8 mhl y ATvy j l d w nkl ॥ hYKis kl m Awpxl hQl il iKAw krqy pr iK )." Utilizing the classification given by Dr. Pashaura Singh, this would belong to the group of manuscripts described as the Kangra-Kiratpur tradition. It is noteworthy that this manuscript lists the dates of passing of only the .first nine Gurus. This would show that the original from which it was copied was compiled during Sri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's time. The scribe who did the copying 51 years after the passing of the tenth Guru apparently chose not to make any additions to the text. It is also noteworthy that the numbers are recorded only on the right hand margin of the right hand page when the manuscript is opened but the left side is referred to by the same number in the

table of contents. Such versions represent copies from other copies, more or less correct and more or less complete but not correct versions verified against the authentic bani. They have no value or authenticity but an unscrupulous person can use it to make a mountain of a mole hill.

### **TEXTUAL ANALYSIS**

The author devotes a chapter to "textual criticism of certain hymns and individual works in order to reconstruct the history of the text of the Adi Granth." He does this by examining the textual variations in some of the hymns as they appear in the Goindwal po this and in the so-called early manuscripts of the Adi Granth. Having noticed the textual variations between the Goindwal pothis and the GNDU MS#1245 on the one hand and the Kartarpur Granth Sahib on the other, the author concludes {I, page 140}: "It is quite evident from the occasional textual variations in some of the hymns as they are recorded in the Goindwal Pothis and in the manuscripts of the Adi Granth that Guru Arjan frequently revised the received texts in the interest of establishing a canonical scripture." This is an irrational conclusion based upon the speculation that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji did not have the original bani and indeed relied upon the Goindwal pothis.

The entire exercise is fruitless because it is based on the unproved assumptions that such earlier manuscripts predating the standard version did indeed exist, that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji or the earlier Gurus were the authors of these, and that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji indeed revised his work frequently. None of these assumptions have any base. All are entirely conjectural. There is a lot of discussion centering upon the Mul Mantar. The standard version is given in Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji's own writing. No earlier version exists. All the different versions presented by the author are apocryphal writings and not stages in an evolutionary process. The Japji is ascribed to Sri Guru Ram Das Ji. Referring to the shloke at the beginning of the Japji, the author states [ 1, page 102] : "Evidently this shloke was added by Guru Arjan much later when he produced the final text of Japji". Noting its occurrence in Gauri Sukhmani, the author asserts: This fact alone apparently makes it the composition of Guru Arjan." The author's inference is not only "evident" but indeed farfetched. In Sri Guru Granth Sahib, there are numerous instances of the bani stated by the Gurus

taining repetition of lines already given by earlier Gurus or containing repetition of lines already given by earlier Gurus or even by themselves. The author notes this on page 107 but still goes on to draw the wrong conclusion. Why could he not accept that in Gauri Sukhmani, Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's shloke is repeated in a slightly different form? How does he assume that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji was trying to pass some of his own work under Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's name?

Similarly, the author has repeated (1, page 105] McLeod's hypothesis that Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji "added his own shloke at the end" of Japji. This is based upon the fact that similar shloke under Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji's authorship appears in Raag. The statement amounts to accusing Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji of passing his work as if it was Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's. Firstly, Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji's giving, under his own name, a shloke that closely resembled one by Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji would not be an unusual matter. Secondly, can we accept that

Sri Guru Angad Dev Ji would lie regarding the authorship of any verse? If indeed he had to add his shloke to Japji, why wouldn't he, or after him Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji, write the words "Mahla 2" before the shloke ?

The author goes on : "The use of the word Sudh... in the margins of the Kartarpur manuscript in a different hand acquires a new significance in the light of the findings of the present study. Clearly, Guru Arjan would employ it only when he had approved the content, form and organization of the bani in a particular raga section in the final text. "Once again, these comments are speculative and not based on reason. According to Dr. Sahib Singh [4], these comments Sudh or Sudh keechay, apply only to the (editing) addition of shlokas (addition of) Slokas of the Vars. The author regards them as marks of approval to the entire bani in that Raag up to the end of the Var. Dr Sahib Singh's interpretation is supported by the fact that these comments appear only in Raags where Vars occur and then not with all Vars either. If Dr. Pashaura Singh's hypothesis is accepted we face the anomaly that the other Raags do not have such comment. Also in that case, one would expect the comment of approval to be at the end of the Bhagat in each Raag. The author's interpretation appears to be motivated by the need to prove his somewhat outlandish hypothesis that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji revised and added to

the text given by the earlier Gurus.

The author refers to Dr. Jodh Singh's work [2] as "Scrupulously accurate." However, discussing the apocryphal addition in Raag Ramkali in the Banno version, he ascribes a motive to Dr. Jodh Singh in adding the word "shloke" and the count of 1 at the end of the two lines by Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji. The error is definitely there but it is difficult to see any motive in making an "incomplete text look complete." The author himself has stated that such single lines occur elsewhere in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. To bracket Dr. Jodh Singh, one of the most illustrious scholars, with those who sought to change the Guru's word is, to say the least, very unfair.

### **CONCLUSIONS**

The main inferences of the thesis are based primarily upon the study of two manuscript that, the author claims, predate the Kartarpur Bir and numerous others that followed it. He argues that the Kartarpur Bir is the final text of the Adi Granth having evolved through a number of drafts which Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji revised frequently. We have attempted to show that the author's reasoning is faulty and his conclusions rather hastily drawn without looking at possible alternative scenarios. It appears that he started by making the assumptions that Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji did not have all the bani of his predecessors with him and had to depend upon records kept by others, that he had in his possession the two manuscripts, the author claims, that predate the final version, and that he changed the bani frequently and added to the collection with the purpose of attracting followers of particular castes. He has regarded the Gurus as any other literary person (who often has to revise his initial draft a number of times to take it to final form); as ordinary public figures willing to tailor their writings to soda-political pressures and to do what it needs to increase their followings. Thus, the contents of Sri Guru Granth Sahib, regarded by the Sikh as the sacred word of God revealed through the Gurus, are reduced to the status of writings of social-political opportunists.

The Sikhs believe that the Gurus brought God's Word and taught people the way to union with God. This makes Guru God's own mouthpiece, as recorded by the Gurus. The Guru has divine qualities. In Sri Guru Granth Sahib there are numerous references and explanations of this concept.

For instance.

gruḡpāl iḡruḡivāḡ ] grūdieAḡ ḡsdḡ bKisāḡ ]

Guru is the preserver the universe, Guru is Govind. Guru is gracious, ever forgiving.

[3, page 1074]

gruḡprmsruḡruḡivāḡ ] grūdiqḡ dieAḡ bKisāḡ ]

Guru is the Supreme Lord, Guru is Govind; Guru is the Giver, the merciful forgiver.

[3, page 897]

gruḡmḡrḡ pḡ ] grūḡibāḡ ] grūmḡrḡ pḡrbāḡmḡgrūBgḡvāḡ ]

The Guru is my worship, the Guru is the preserver of the universe. My Guru is god; the Guru is all powerful.

[3, page 864]

siḡgruḡmḡrḡ ḡsdḡ ḡsdḡ nḡ Aḡvḡn j iie ] Eh Aibnāsl pḡrKūhḡsB mih rihAḡ smie ]  
My Satguru is forever...He does not take birth nor does He die.

He is the Eternal Pervader Who pervades all.

[3, page 759]

The Guru is regarded as a person having born in human form for the salvation of the world, and in total communion with God. The author has himself referred to Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's mention of his bani being sent by God [1, page 3]. However, he adds ambiguity by stating [1, page 2], about Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji that "He frequently regarded himself as the mouthpiece of Akal Purakh". The Sikhs firmly believe that the Guru was speaking for God not only "frequently" but that all the bani preserved by him for his successors came from God. All the succeeding Gurus as well spoke for God.

Even disregarding the Sikh belief in the divinity of the Gurus, the work by the author is replete with unsubstantiated statements, disregard of available evidence and rash and unsupported conclusions based upon conjecture contrary to logic.

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2. Jodh Singh, *SR krqḡpḡr bIV dḡ drSn*, " Punjabi Univerusity, Patiala, 1968.

3. Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the printed version of 1430 pages.
4. Sahib Singh, "Guru Granth Sahib Darpan, "Raj Brothers, Jalandhar.
5. Gurnam Kaur and Kharak Singh, "Blasphemous Attacks".

## 9

**IF IT IS A Ph D THESIS?**

By

**Dr. DARSHAN SINGH**

This thesis of Dr. Pashaura Singh builds itself entirely upon only one point and that is that Goindwal's Pothis and the manuscript No. 1245 lying in Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, presumed to be of Adi Granth, were the manuscripts which were available to Guru Arjan Dev at the time of the compilation of Adi Granth. Therefore, according to Dr. Pashaura Singh, Guru Arjan Dev worked upon these manuscripts and prepared many drafts before the final draft of Adi Granth was prepared in 1604 A.D. If only this were his opinion, though it is unproved and hence unaccepted, it might have been considered, at least for the sake of argument. But, he does not stop here. He further observes that during the process of compilation of Adi Granth Guru Arjun Dev worked upon the Bam of preceding Gurus also. He changed the lines, the words, rearranged them for the clarification and strengthening of a particular point of view and made many interpolations and incorporations for the refinement of the words and adjustment of ideas. This observation in terms of its authenticity is not only untenable but unthinkable. Rather it is criminal and unlike of a research scholar. Further, the whole of this thesis is standing upon the walls of sand, and the moment it confronts the reality, it collapses.

Dr. Pashaura Singh writes on page 9, "Thus there is a question of the authenticity of the Jalandhar Pothi and of whether or not it is one of the original volumes prepared under the supervision of the third Guru or just a copy of the original". He himself is not sure of the authenticity or the originality of the Pothi. To me it appears from the subsequent treatment of the subject from PP. 9 to 12 by Dr. Pashaura Singh himself that these two pothis, which he has consulted, are the copies of an original Pothi prepared by Baba Sahans Ram which was lost like most of the precious Sikh literature, during the turmoil of Sikh history. In the process of copying, scribes either committed mistakes or changed or manipulated to meet their own vested interest. This can be the attempt of Hindalis or Minas. Dr. Singh has extolled them because he has made these Pothis the

touchstone for examining the manuscript of Adi Granth.

Dr. Pashaura Singh further states, "This theory of the Origin of the Banno tradition, therefore, represents the union of Hindali, Udasi and Bhatra interest", (p. 74). This exactly is the case about the Goindwal Pothis and the manuscript No. 1245 which he consulted. Like other innumerable later recensions of Adi Granth, Manuscript No. 1245 is full of variations and deviations. This also is the product of vested interests of the estranged sections of the Sikhs after the execution of Guru Arjun Dev ji.

All the 8 features of Manuscript No. 1245, discussed by Dr. Pashaura Singh, on pages 25 to 27, can easily be reversed for evolving a factually correct perspective and thus it can be concluded that the change in all the eight cases was actually brought in by the later scribes. Thus, one is led to believe, because the whole treatment of this subject by Dr. Pashaura Singh points towards this end, that he has made very funny formulations. For example, he says on page 93 to 97, that Guru Arjun Dev revised the Mul Mantar from the Goindwal's Pothi to Manuscript No. 1245, and from Manuscript No. 1245 to the present Granth. Does it make any sense? Particularly, when he himself believes, "The origin of the major components of the earlier form of the Mul Mantar as given in the Goindwal Pothis can be traced directly from the work of Guru Nanak", (p. 93)

There are three points which deserve our attention: First, "Further, it is claimed that the manuscript contains a hymn written in Bhai Budha's hand on the third decorated page", (p. 27). Bhai (Baba) Budha was not a writer. Therefore, this conclusion is fake. Second, in Manuscript No. 1245, this hymn, claimed to be written by Baba Budha Ji, is written in the name of Nanak like the succeeding Gurus' way of writing in the name of Nanak. This fact Dr. Pashaura Singh likes to hide. How can a devout Sikh like Baba Budha do this? Third, Baba Budha was alive even after the execution of Guru Arjun Dev Ji. If, he had written a hymn and it was included in the Adi Granth, it could be done only after the execution of the 5th Guru. It could not be the case that Guru Sahib included his hymn in one manuscript, that is manuscript No. 1245, and dropped the same in the Adi Granth.

Furthermore folio 1255 of the manuscript contains the death-

dates of the first five Gurus only", (p. 28). There cannot be a more solid and dependable proof than this one. Second, Manuscript No. 1245 extends beyond pp.1255 upto 1266 i.e. even after giving the death dates of five Gurus. This clearly indicates that this Manuscript is not written by one person and also not at one time. This together with other indications, like unsystematic arrangement of the matter, leaving about 150 pages blank, about 12 pages with only one hymn written on them, missing of the Bhagats Bani the inclusion of the Kachi (not approved by Guru Arjun Dev) and Paki (approved by Guru Arjun Dev) Bani alternatingly, clearly means that writers of this manuscript No. 1245 did this job after the execution of the 5th Guru and the compilation of Adi Granth in 1604 A.D.

Since the hand-writing of Manuscript 1245 is different from that of Bhai Gurdas, and the Adi Granth was undoubtedly written by him, the whole story of the Manuscript No. 1245, being on earlier manuscript is proved to be fabricated. He says, "Bhai Gurdas, who may have further improved his handwriting by the time he wrote the final draft of the Adi Granth", (p. 28). Does this observation make any sense? As if, the first draft he wrote when he was a child.

"A comparative analysis of the earlier manuscripts (Goindwal Pothis and the GNDU MS 1245) and the Kartarpur Bir has revealed that Guru Arjun standardized the Gurmukhi script when he prepared the final text of the Adi Granth", (p. 32). It means Guru Arjun Dev used an underdeveloped script when he wrote M.S.1245 (presumed by Dr. Singh) : and a developed one when he wrote Kartarpuri Bir. Can there be a statement more funny than this?

Kartarpuri Bir definitely was written earlier than M.S. 1245. In addition to the above mentioned points the following points further confirm this fact:

(1) It contains editorial comments given by the compiler, that is, Guru Arjun Dev Ji. Dr. Singh himself writes, "The editorial comments in this manuscript, which are unique and quite revealing, are not to be found in any other manuscript" (p.28)"

(2) The autograph of the sixth Guru is on folio 45" (p.29)

(3) The actual recording of the Mul Mantar is in Guru Arjun's hand, (p. 29)

(4) "The date of completion of the volume is recorded at the head of the Table of Contents as follows', (p.28) that is 1604 A.D.

(5) Guru Arjun Dev himself writes 'Sudh' (Correct, final) at a number of places in the Kartarpuri Bir.

In the face of such a factually solid evidence there remains practically no place for any doubt about the originality and the precedence of Kartarpur Bir.

Dr. Pashaura Singh raises the issue of Guru Arjun Dev's adding a couplet in between the years 1604 A.D. and 1606 A.D. in the Adi Granth. In support of his argument he writes, "The use of a different pen and the absence of its mention in the index clearly indicate that this couplet was added after the compilation of the scripture in 1604 and before Guru Arjun's death in 1606", (p. 32). The use of a different pen and the absence of its mention in the index is made out to be the reason for its later incorporation. Sikh historical chronicles amply record that Guru Arjun Dev, after completing the compilation of the Adi Granth brought it in a procession, in a royal manner, placed it on a higher platform and he himself sat at its feet. Second, right from the days of Guru Nanak, the 'Shabad' is adored like the Guru and Guru Arjun Dev anticipated the embodiment of that concept by Guru Gobind Singh Ji at Nander. Will he himself change it just to include only one of his couplets in it? Do the above said two reasons justify addition? For it has already been shown that M.S. 1245 is a manuscript which was prepared much after the execution of Guru Arjun Dev Ji.

Therefore, once this fact is established that Goindwal pothis and Manuscript 1245 were written after Kartarpuri Bir, the whole perspective of the thesis is changed because the entire treatment is factually and logically based on wrong presumptions and the incorrect proposition that M.S. 1245 was written earlier than the Kartarpuri Bir. Therefore, the whole structure of the thesis becomes baseless and unsustainable. Thus whatever he has discussed in the subsequent pages, given the correct perspective, proves otherwise. The thesis thus becomes an out-burst of an undisciplined mind and irrelevant by itself. The genealogical map on page 23 also becomes absolutely undependable.

On page 92 to 101, Dr. Pashaura Singh argues that Mul Mantar was framed by the manuscript writers before Guru Arjun Dev. He also believes that this Mul Mantar was arranged with the help of the words taken from the Bani of Guru Nanak. This observation is contradictory. The Mul Mantar was written and arranged in the present form by Guru Nanak himself and, therefore, it is not the creation of the writers of Gomdwal's Pothis or Manuscript No. 1245. In fact, the situation is clearly otherwise. This was written by Guru Nanak, Guru Arjun placed it, as it was, in the beginning of, Adi Granth, and the later scribes, including those of Govindwal's Pothis and M.S. No. 1245, because of diverse reasons, made changes. The above said two manuscripts are, in fact, the product of unknowing and motivated scribes and, therefore, are full of mistakes. Dr. Pashaura Singh himself writes, Guru Arjun seems to have indicated that the ultimate source of all the Bani is the Eternal Guru, who revealed himself through Guru Nanak and his successors", (p.101)

Thus, Dr. Singh accepts the claims of Guru Nanak and his successors that this Bani is revealed one (Dhur Ki Bani, Khasam Ki Bani), that they are only the vehicle of communication and that their word is actually the word of God. This status of Bani is undoubtedly accepted by Guru Arjun Dev himself. Historically speaking, we know that the 7th Guru punished his son by turning him out of the house, because he, under fear or temptation, changed a word (that too verbally) while reciting Bani in the Mughal Court of Delhi. Such a small alteration was not forgiven even to the son of the Guru. In this situation, will Guru Arjun Dev, for that matter any devout Sikh, ever think of changing, improving upon or making interpolations in Bani? Dr. Pashaura Singh insists that Guru Arjun Dev made changes in order to restructure the Mul Mantar and so many other hymns, thereby, implying that Guru Nanak and his successors wrote Bani which required further corrections or improvements. This only Pashaura Singh can say, knowing full well that this point of 'view could not stand the test of fact and logic.

Dr. Singh further says, lilt should however, be emphasized here that this revision is in keeping with both the rhythm and the meaning of the hymn", (p. 21). I don't think that there can anything more absurd than this observation; as it implies

that Guru Arjun Dev earlier wrote something which was unrhythmical and meaningless. Clearly these changes were brought in by the later scribes.

Dr. Pashaura Singh's claimed linguistic modifications of certain words in a hymn are discussed from page 120 to 125 and change of the musical mode of a hymn from page 125 to 130. Similarly, his treatment about Guru Arjun's Ram Kali Bani is discussed from pages 120 to 130. In fact, the whole of this chapter stands on the ill-conceived presumption that the variations took place either before the compilation of the Adi Granth or after it, between the years 1604-1606. It has amply been shown that both the presumptions are wrong. Hence whole of the chapter collapses. Since all these supposed changes appeared in the later versions, Goindwal's Pothis and manuscript no. 1245, which he consulted, were prepared or copied from the original manuscript by the Hindalis or Minas, who have committed mistakes or brought in interpolations to serve their vested interests.

In order to prove his point, he wrongly associates authorship of the second hymn with Guru Gobind Singh. This opinion he claims to have formed on the basis of information contained, in the early manuscripts, (p. 153). The myth of early manuscripts is already exploded. The two hymns are undoubtedly written by Guru Teg Bahadur. Invariably, the theme of the second part of both hymns is identical, it is like this:

KAHO NANAK AB OAT HAR (I) GAJ (I) JEO HOH (U)  
SAHAI NANAK SABH KICHH TUMRE HAATH ME  
TUMHI HOT SAHAI M.9., S.G.G.S.P 1429

Therefore, on the basis of this version the issue of thematic continuity cannot be disproved. Moreover, such like observations prove lack of understanding of a piece of literature. This is further exemplified by another observation of Dr. Singh. He says, "Also this was time when he appears to have instructed his son to add his own Bani to the Adi Granth for the sake of preparing the final text", (p. 153). There is a clear case of ignorance resulting in mischief by the author. He wants to prove that Guru Gobind Singh defied his father by not adding his Bani except one hymn, in the Adi Granth. If he wrote and added this hymn to Adi Granth' he could also add

more of his Bani which he wrote in abundance. It should have been possible for him to add, If he wanted, especially when according to Dr. Pashaura Singh, he got the sanction of his father the 9th Guru.

At many places, he writes s-heer libel. He presumes that Gurus were in search of clients in order to put everyone in their basket. This is neither historically true nor logically acceptable, particularly when we know that in Sikhism there is no concept of conversion. Whosoever entered the door of Sikhism, did so mainly because of his ideological commitment in terms of his declared objective of being on the side of the oppressed. His main objective was to make available freedom, equality and brotherhood to all human beings. But, let us have a look at this author's method of treating Sikh Guru being governed by mundane objectives. He writes that Guru Arjun deliberately got the Bir autographed by the Sixth Guru so as to ensure his succession (of Guru Har Gobind) in the wake of prevailing hostility, p.p. 29-30.

The selection and fixation of the heroic tunes for the singing of the Vars of the Adi Granth was done for the "specific purpose of attracting the rural people especially the Jats into the Sikh fold, (p. 66)

In order to prove a hypothetical thesis about Mul Mantar, he contrives a very strange explanation. He argues that the word 'Nirvair' was brought in the Mul Mantar by Guru Ram Das to "Gounteract the situation of hostility in real life", (p. 96)

Dr. Pashaura Singh writes that the placing of the Shalok in the end of Japuji Sahib was an attempt on the part of Guru Nanak "to institutionalize the office of Guruship to ensure its survival and permanence", (p. 108)

While discussing the placing of Guru Arjun's own Shalok before that of Guru Nanak, he argues, "It serve~ to underline Guru Arjun's claim that he carries the spiritual authority of Guru Nanak", (p. 147). It means that even after the tradition of generations and after serving the Panth for twenty-five years on the seat of Guru Nanak, he still had to prove that he carried the spiritual authority of Guru Nanak. Can there be a more funny statement than this ?

About the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani in the Guru Granth Sahib he argues, "Although Kabir is prominently represented in

the Sikh scripture followed by Namdev, Ravidas and Sheikh Farid, eleven other figures from different regions and castes are given a token representation to justify the Sikh claim to universality", (p.p. 174-75).

While writing about the use of Dakhni musical tunes Dr. Singh writes, "Their use in the Adi Granth may perhaps be seen as symbolic expression of the Sikh claim to universality, which would embrace a southern audience", (p. 200).

Attaching motives to every move of the Sikh Gurus amounts to distorting the facts and suggesting them to be nothing more than politicians persons. Does it behove a scholar? One who looks through coloured glasses, finds the same colour everywhere.

Some of Dr. Pashaura Singh's observations are really blasphemous and mischievous distortions. For example, while discussing the inter-relationship of the two hymns given under the authorship of Guru Teg Bahadur in Guru Granth Sahib, (p. 1429), Dr. Pashaura Singh concludes, "It may also reflect the contemporary debate over the issue of Sikh identity: that is whether one follows the teachings of Guru Nanak and his successors contained in the Adi Granth or one joins the Khalsa of Guru Gobind Singh", (p. 86). The suggestion that the two are different is a baseless attempt to divide Sikhism right from its foundation. He first builds a wrong hypothesis and then tries to make it believable by introducing distortions. Again, he says, Guru Arjan's frequently revising the received text along with other reasons was due to "internal pressure created in the Sikh community as a result of disagreement over Guru Arjan's editorial policy also (p. 74)". There was not, nor could be disagreement over Guru's decisions. The suggestion is a deliberate distortion.

Again while discussing Guru Har Gobind's resolve to fight the imperialist oppression by taking up arms against it, Dr. Pashaura Singh hypothetically presumes a situation in which he tries to say that Sikhs were divided over this policy. He writes, "Presumably these groups were still holding Sant beliefs and did not approve the shift towards militancy in the affairs of the Panth", (p. 76). This tendency of Pashaura Singh to twist the facts shows his anxiety to please his mentor by becoming the mouthpiece of his shallow views that already stand blasted by scholars.

Within the Sikh Panth there have been no, nor could be, two groups. These are only a few selected instances from a long list of deliberate distortions made to please his supervisor.

Similarly, Dr. Pashaura Singh is in the habit of making unwarranted comments. Just for example on Page 12, he writes, "In designating his son-in-law as Guru, Guru Amar Das had 'bypassed' his own sons, Baba Mohan and Baba Mohri", (p. 12) Again, on page 108, he tries to prove that Guru Angad's Shalok was added to 'insure' the survival of Guruship. Probably, Dr. Pashaura Singh does not know the meaning of the words 'bypass' and 'insure', and of their inapplicability at least in the given context of spiritual merit for Guruship.

Throughout his thesis, Dr. Pashaura Singh makes uncalled for, wrong and distorted remarks which do not behove a scholar. Many examples have been given. Similarly he writes that Adi Granth was created as a text parallel to Vedas. Such statements only expose his ignorance and level.

Dr. Pashaura Singh very rarely touches upon the philosophical or ideological aspects of the Bani in the Adi Granth. Even in his Chapter 6, which should have been devoted to these problems, he side-tracks the main issue. On top of it, whenever he just touches upon these issues, he is wrong. For example, his explanation about the word 'Hukam' and 'Raja' is absolutely wrong. He further writes, "He stresses the functioning of the divine order (Hukam) in human affairs, which overrides the law of Karma", (p. 6). In this explanation the relationship between Hukam and Karma is based on wrong interpretation. The 'Hukam' does not override the law of 'Karma'. On the other hand Hukam or His will is pressed into operation by God. Law of Karma is, in fact, not something which IS separate or independent. There is no question of overriding of one by the other.

Similarly, while discussing Guru Arjun's hymn, he concludes' that the appreciation of the contribution of the saints drawn from so-called low castes means Guru Arjun's attempt to attract the Jats into Sikh Panth, (p.p. 173-74).

I don't know how one can form such far-fetched and hollow theories. Sikh Gurus genuinely believed that no one is lower or higher because of his birth. Each individual is equal in spirit and form and hence is the embodiment of the same elements.

Therefore, whosoever achieves distinction by his actions deserves the appreciation of the Sikh Gurus. They appreciated the Sants drawn from so-called low-castes in this context. The attempt to divide the society into fragments and fix their estimation through this method was not the ideology of Sikh Gurus. They were genuinely interested in oneness of God and oneness of mankind and this was the core of their teaching. Second, this theory is absolutely wrong that Jats were attracted towards Sikhism only during or after the period of Guru Arjun Dev. For this purpose one cannot ignore the fact that even before Guru Arjun Dev, like other communities including Muslims, Jats joined the Sangat of Guru Nanak and they continued to participate in its growth. In order to verify this point one has to have a look at the list of Sikhs given by Janam Sakhis, and Bhai Gurdas and of the generals of Guru Har Gobind's forces. The attempt to divide Sikhism, on caste basis, however clever it be, could not succeed in history and this is not likely to succeed even now. It is so, precisely because in Sikhism ideological commitments throughout the struggle remained unchanged. It is not a sociologic~l development. Sikhs, as individuals and also as a community, are bound by certain ideological considerations. Therefore, the understanding of Sikhism requires a deep understanding of the Bani and its philosophy.

Dr. Pashaura Singh touches upon another theoretical point also. He refers to the status of Reality in Sikhism, particularly, in terms of God being personal and impersonal. Undoubtedly in Sikhism, God is one, formless and very personal. He is absolutely not impersonal. He is personal to the extent that He intensely loves all beings, and as a mother or a father loves them. He shapes the destiny of his people like a teacher. He accompanies them through the difficult period like a genuine friend and He takes them across like a competent guide. On the whole, He is with His people in all and in every situation, being nearer than anything else. This can be possible if He is formless. Therefore, Sikhism conceives of a God who is formless and is within each being at the same time. Therefore, the traditional perception of God, His being personal or impersonal, transcendental or immanent, Sarguna or Nirguna, does not apply to the concept of God in Sikhism..In a similar context,

Dr. Singh comes to a very funny conclusion when he distinguishes between a personal Guru and a divine Guru (p.95). As if a personal Guru cannot be a divine Guru and divine Guru cannot be personal. This simply speaks of his poor understanding of the issues with which he is dealing.

Dr. Pashaura Singh begins his thesis with the point that the collection of Bani was started by Guru Nanak himself. This point has already been established by Dr. Sahib Singh in his 'Sri Guru Granth Sahib Darpan', (Vol. 3, p.p. 803-828).

Height of his ignorance is amply displayed when he says, "In fact, the first complete vernacular commentary on the Adi Granth appeared only in the beginning of the century", (p. 217). This process started much earlier through interpretation of different Parnalis which he himself has mentioned in the subsequent pages. Here he takes a self-contradictory stand.

While discussing the editorial scheme of Guru Arjun Dev Ji, Dr. Pashaura Singh mainly depends upon two aspects. First he deals with different schools of criticism or interpretation available in Punjabi since its origin. The second aspect is locating the musical basis of the Bani. The first part, as he himself admits, is borrowed from Dr. Taran Singh. And the second part is totally wrong. In his Raga organization of the Adi Granth, (P. 195), he makes indefensible mistakes which clearly show that the author does not know much of this subject. It is true that Guru Arjun Dev arranged the major portion of Bani in accordance with the Ragas in which that portion is prescribed to be sung. This factor is known to every one. But let us have a glance at how Dr. Pashaura Singh treats this subject:

1. While writing in the beginning of page 195, he says, "The basic division of the middle section of the Adi Granth is according to ragas or melodic patterns". This cannot be called melodic phrases or notes. This is how the very beginning is wrong.

2. On the same page he observes by quoting his personal interview with Professor James Stephan, "Apart from the Sikh tradition the Asa Rag is now found in the musical tradition of Afghanistan and not in musical traditions of North India." Asa Raga is in fact very popular in Sikh tradition as well as in almost all the musical traditions of India since the days of Guru Nanak. In fact, many scholars are of the view that the Asa Raga

is a local Raga i.e., a Raga of this land.

3. On the same page, 196, he has used the word "pure notes" for sudhang. Now these notes are neither pure nor impure. In music they are major or minor.

4. On page 197, he says, "Obviously he had intended to compile a scripture with a theological as well as musicological coherence in mind." Guru Aqun's theological concerns are evident but musicological ones are not the end in themselves. It is only a vehicle through which one can reach at the meaning, the spirit, the inspirational part of Bani. Therefore, the two cannot be equated.

5. On the same page, he has translated "Ragan Vich Sri Rag Hai" as "Sri Rag is chief among the Ragas". This translation is wrong and distorted mainly because the whole line is not kept in mind. In fact, Guru Amar Das accepts Sri Rag conditionally. Similar is the case with most of other Ragas also. They are accepted only if they help in reaching at the goal. The traditions in which Raga was the ultimate end, are, by now, lost to the dust of history.

6. In terms of the time theory of the music the emphasis is not upon Purvang or Uttarang, (p.199). It is on the common or Sudh Suar.

7. The Gharana cannot be translated as 'family'. It has to be 'school,' like Patiala school etc., (p. 204).

8. On Page 202, he says, "This kind of classification is to be found in the Adi Granth Rag Mala". This is true that this classification is found in Rag Mala, but it is not applicable to the Ragas used in Adi Granth. In the Adi Granth the Ragni is not used. All the Ragas given in Raga Mala are not used. Similarly, all the Ragas used in Adi Granth don't find mention in Raga Mala. Unfortunately, in the above statement, Dr. Pashaura Singh tries to confuse the readers in terms of Adi Granth and Raga Mala relationship. Obviously, the author of this thesis neither knows the spirit of the Adi Granth, nor the Bani and Raga relationship in it; his technical expertise is out of question.

9. This can further be exemplified with a quotation from his thesis. On page 66 he writes, "There are other such poetic 'genres (ghorian, alahanian, birahara and pahare) which are modelled on the folk tunes in the Adi Granth". Now, these folk forms of poetry

or folk tunes were there even before the Adi Granth. What Sikh Gurus did was a unique experiment. They rescribed these forms to be sung in classical music. For example, it is prescribed in Adi Granth to sing ghorian and alahanian in Raga Vadhans, and Birahare in Rage Asa. In fact, this was done by Sikh Guru to produce "balanced effect on the minds of both listeners and performers", (pp. 200-201). For this they brought the folk music under classical discipline and 'toned down' the classical by singing them in folk tunes in order "to create a reflective mood".

Contradictions in statements, information and arguments and casual and unauthentic statements are the landmarks of this thesis. Therefore, it is very difficult to draw any clear or useful information about any of the points made by the research scholar; he starts or concludes almost every point with the word: presumably, possibly, may be, seems to, etc., as if he himself is not sure about what he wants to say.

Another problem with Dr. Pashaura Singh and his supervisor Dr. W.H. McLeod is that both of them do not know the meaning of the words of Gurbani. And a still more serious problem is that without it, it is very difficult to understand the growth of Sikh history, Sikh institutions and Sikh doctrines. In order to overcome this difficulty Dr. Pashaura takes refuge in "reader response", (p. 210), theory of Schuyler Brown. He says, "McLeod is suggesting an approach that maintains that the process of unfolding the meaning of the Adi Granth text depends upon the level of the understanding of human beings", (p. 210). But to their dismay this theory does not work in terms of understanding of Gurbani. This can be partially true in case of Vedas or old Testament because they are written in classical languages and also they do not support the growth of history. Such vague references to inapplicable ideas, while they could mislead western persons ignorant of Gurbani, but not those who understand something of it. Even otherwise, the inefficiency of a reader, particularly of a scholar, cannot be the responsibility of the text. The text has to be understood by genuine interest, labour and keenness to know more. I fear both the gentlemen are wanting in it. There is clear evidence to this effect in the present work.

As far as the quality of work is concerned manuscript No.

1245 and Dr. Pashaura Singh's thesis are almost identical in their performance, accuracy and level. Both are ill-logical and

ill-supported, and are inspired by vested interests and a strong sense of vengeance. Both contain stray collections of material and ideas, in many cases, copied from others and serve no meaningful purpose in academic compilation, research or ideological understanding. It is beyond one's comprehension how such a baseless, absolutely irrational and apparently blasphemous attempt could be accepted as a Ph.D thesis by a university of an advanced country or supposed to have been supervised by a teacher of Sikh studies. No one is to blame if reasons for doing so are considered unacademic. I am particularly pained to know that this gentleman was earlier a student of Gurmat College, Patiala, and a Granthi of a Gurudwara in Canada.

NOTE: The page nos. which I have given throughout, mean numbers of the pages of the manuscript (by Dr. Pashaura Singh), which I have reviewed.

10

THE TEXT AND MEANING OF THE ADI  
GRANTH : CRITICAL COMMENTS

By

Dr DEVINDER SINGH CHAHAL

### **Introduction**

The work entitled, "The Text and Meaning of the Adi Granth" was submitted by Pashaura Singh (name abbreviated as PS in this article) in conformity with requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the University of Toronto in 1991. It has become the second recent biggest controversy since the Panth (Khalsa Commonwealth) has again become active after a long time to safeguard the Sikh philosophy presented in the Aad Guru Granth Sahib (AGGS). The first one was the work of Dr W.H. McLeod (1).

Although Sikhism came into being when the science was in its primordial form, I have found it the most scientific and logical religion which is without any mythology; but some writers have been trying to portray it as another mythological religion similar to Hinduism. Since its foundation and now others are undermining the lofty ideals of Sikhism by misinterpretation of Gurbani incorporated in the AGGS. Sikhism was first presented to the western world by E. Trump (3) in 1877. But his work was declared apocryphal by the Panth. A good presentation of Sikhism to the western world came from the work of Max Arthur Macauliffe (4) in 1909. But in 19705 W.H. McLeod started systematically undermining the Sikh scripture and the Sikh philosophy (1).

Sikhism remained the domain of theologians in the past. But during the second half of the twentieth century it became the most studied subject by peoples from judiciary, administration and by historians and academicians from various fields i.e. languages, physics, chemistry, astronomy, natural sciences, etc. Therefore, any recent writings on Sikhism cannot escape the eyes of the Sikh academicians belonging to the above fields.

From now on, therefore, it would be very difficult for the future writers to misinterpret the Gurbani, incorporated in the AGGS and also to disrupt the lofty ideals of Sikhism. But this awakening in the Panth has been taken as "an attack on the Sikh faith", "insecurity in their (Sikh academicians) approach" and "a

new phenomenon linked with post 1984 events", by PS as follows:

"A great deal of this energy is directed these days at the writings of W.H. McLeod, who has been raising questions about the Adi Granth and making a plea for a sustained campaign of textual analysis to establish a sure and certain text. Although McLeod combines sensitivity with meticulous care in his analysis of Sikh documents, his arguments on the Sikh scripture have been received with caution within Sikh community. It is a conspicuous feature of the modern Panth to perceive critical scholarship as an attack on the Sikh faith. That is perhaps why the organized response offered by a group of Sikh scholars (of whom the most notable include retired civil servants of the Government of India and doctors of medicine, as well as academics) appear to be so defensive that one can easily sense a feeling of insecurity in their approach. It appears to be a new phenomenon linked with post 1984 events. Thus there is need for a textual critic to proceed with extreme caution and circumspection." (pages 20-21).

But it appears that PS failed very badly to be observing extreme caution and circumspection in presenting his work in his PhD thesis. That is the main reason that a number of comments have already appeared about his (PS) work on textual analysis of Adi Granth in many weeklies and still many more may appear in the future. Just possible that it may become a serious matter of discussion amongst the academicians and theologians alike in the future.

### **CRITICAL COMMENTS**

In the present article I have tried to give my comments on some areas which have not been reviewed critically from academic and theological point of views so far:

Spelling of "Aad" (ਅੰਦ) :

In this work the word "Aad" has been spelled as "Adi". Similarly many scholars use the same spelling i.e. "Adi". If 'Adi' is spelled back into Gurmukhi script it would become ਅੰਦ " which means one half in Hindi and habitual in Punjabi. But the original meanings of "Aad" are: preceding all others

in time order or importance; first; primary; original; cardinal; outstanding; paramount; pivotal, etc. The above spelling have been coined by keeping in view the words having "siari" with the last letter e.g. in Jap" ieiK ik and hkiM hukm in pauri

2; kiD Kath in pauri 3; grmiK gurmukh in pauri 5sriq, miq min, Git, sid surt, mat, man, ghat, sud in pauri 36, min on page 186; ieiK ik; kir "kar on page 566; hir har sbid sabad, shij sehj, Git ghat, grmiK and gurmukh on page 775 of AGGS.

It is my humble suggestion to all the scholars to spell "Awid" as "Aad" in future in their writings. If we continued to spell it as "Adi" then the time is not far off when readers would draw an erroneous inference or someone may write another PhD thesis to prove that the 'Adi Granth' is one half and the "Dasam Granth" is the second half of the whole Sikh philosophy. Then it would become another big problem to be resolved by the Panth.

### **Use of 'Sri'**

I had just finished my comments when an ordinance, in reponse to the controversies raised by Dr Pashaura Singh in North America and Dr Piar Singh in India, was issued by S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President of Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) that no research on AGGS should be done in any university. And he also mentioned that the Sikh Granth should be called "Sri Guru Granth Sahib" (World Sikh News, Stockton, California, February 5, 1993). I was stunned to note that he had dropped the most important and appropriate adjective "Aad" from the title of the Sikh Granth. It is beyond the scope of my present article to write about the dire consequences of banning research on the AGGS and on Sikhism in the future, however, I would like to write a little about the dropping of "Aad" from the title of the AGGS.

The title of the Sikh Granth which is published by the SGPC is, "Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib". I don't understand why all of a sudden "Aad" has been dropped from the title by S. Tohra, Without giving any reasons and "Sri" has been retained. Most of the time "Sri" is added before the Guru by many writers also out of devotion e.g. Sri Guru Granth Sahib (Darpan) by Dr Sahib Smgh (5); Sri Guru Granth Sahib (English Version) by Dr Gopal Singh (6); Sri Guru Granth Sahib (English Translation) by Gurbachan Singh Talib (7), etc. It is a pity that the above scholars have not used "Aad" with

the title. Some scholars think that the adjective " Aad" is used only for the Granth originally compiled by Guru Arjan. They are mistaken because the present Aad Guru Granth Sahib is the same Aad Granth of Guru Arjan in which the "Gurbani" of Guru Teg Bahadur was added by Guru Gobind Singh. He also ordained it as the "Guru" of the Sikhs. Since then the present Granth is known as the " Aad Guru Granth Sahib".

The adjective, "Sri", used with "Guru" seems to be redundant as there is no adjective which could 'qualify the Guru. Because "Guru" itself is of a higher order than "Sri". Moreover "Sri" is a very commonly used title to address even a common man in the street of India as "Mr" is used in the western world. It should also be noticed that "Sri" has never been used as an adjective for the "Guru" in the "Gurbani" by the Sikh Gurus in the AGGS.

It is emphasized here that when " Aad" is added to "Guru" then it becomes" Aad Guru" meaning the "Guru" who precedes all others in time, order and importance. Thus" Aad Guru" becomes the Almighty, whereas "Sri Guru" remains an ordinary Guru as "Sri" is used for a common man in the street also. Thus the" Aad Granth Sahib" means the Granth which contains the revealed Bani of the Almighty and also it means the first and the primary Granth of the Sikhs.

Therefore, it is my humble request to all the scholars to use "Aad", the most appropriate adjective, in the title of the Sikh Granth without "Sri", and it should always be addressed as "Aad Guru Granth Sahib" (AGGS) in the future to be consistent. Gurbani Distorted:

On page 2 PS writes the following ill-conceived idea: "It would appear that Guru Nanak had clear vision of preserving his own Bani by committing it to memory in the first place and then possibly to writing during his own lifetime:" Then on page 3 PS mistranslates the Gurbani to justify his above ill-conceivd ideas as follows:

"He (Guru Nanak) maintained that one might lose the divine word through oral recitation alone, if one has not written it down to preserve it." Then PS quoted the following stanza from the Gurbani [illegible]

AGGS, M 1, P 556.

But its real interpretation by everyone is :

"Without His blessing (will) no one gets high consciousness (about the Almighty), but one loses (the opportunity) in mere taking." Dr Sahib Singh (5) has the same view. PS's interpretation is not even comparable to those of Dr Gopal Singh and Dr Gurbachan Singh Talib on which he has relied for English translation (preface) :

"Without the (Lord's) Writ, one is conscious not (of His Truth); and one prattles in vain." Or Gopal Singh (6).

"Without recorded destiny comes not realization, Utterance without realization is only void." Dr Gurbachan Singh Talib (7). The above discussion clearly indicates that PS perverted the interpretation meaning of the above stanza of Gurbani to justify his above ill-conceived idea.

Through the above statement PS has raised doubts about the writing of bani by Guru Nanak by using the word "possibly" in his statement. On page 4 PS has again reiterated that, "It is entirely possible that Guru Nanak may have himself written down his own composition in his lifetime." Here PS again used the words "possible" and "may" to create doubts. On page 4 and 5 PS continued to build up the same ill-conceived idea as: "Although the manuscript of this collection is no longer extant, its mention by Bhai Gurdas may indicate that Guru Nanak was the first person to begin a written collection of his own works."

And finally PS wrote: "There exists no known manuscript of Guru Nanak's composition written in his own hand or coming from his time."

Thus PS has created a situation where one can start doubting that Guru Nanak might not have written his own Bani by himself as was not done by the other prophets of other religions of the world.

It is a matter of grave concern for the Sikhs in general that PS has Ignored the diligent research done by Prof. Sahib Singh (8) to prove that Guru Nanak recorded his own Bani as soon as it was revealed to him and he always kept it with him with other collections of Bhagat banis and he passed it on to Guru Angad and Guru Angad wrote his bani and added it to that of Guru Nanak and passed it on to Guru Amar Das. Then Guru Amar Das continued the tradition and passed on his bani and that of his predecessor Gurus to Guru Ramdas. Finally Guru Ramdas passed on his own bani and the bani of his predecessor Gurus to

Guru Arjan as an ancestral treasure of divine wisdom from which Guru Arjan compiled the Aad Granth, Kartarpur Bir. This fact has been mentioned by Guru Arjan in AGGS as follows:

plalldwcyk Kíl ifT Kj (ੴ ]

q my min BieAw inD (ੴ ]

AGGS, M 5, P 186.

"When I opened up and looked into the ancestral (inherited) treasure then my mind realized the divine wisdom (treasure)." AGGS, M 1, 186.

(Note : plalldwcyk K Kj (ੴ " is a well-known Panjabi proverb meaning. " ances tra ll inherited treasure")

But very tactfully PS continued to build up a base through his further manipulations to highlight the importance of Goindval Pothis by ignoring the above fact of handing over the ancestral treasure of divine wisdom by Guru Ramdas to Guru Arjan as recorded by Guru Arjan in AGGS on page 186 as above.

PS wrote on page 9 : "Traditionally, Goindval Pothis were written during the period 1570 72 AD by Baba Sahansram (Sahansar Ram), a son of Baba Mohan and grandson of Guru Amardas" to establish that the Gurbani was still not written by the Gurus themselves but was written by others i.e. Baba Sahans Ram.

Furthermore, to make the Goindval pothis as a base for writing of final version of Kartarpur Bir by Guru Arjan, PS again perverted the above verse (plalldwcyk Kíl ifT Kj (ੴ ) of Gurbani of Guru Arjan as follows:

"When I opened the treasure of my father and grandfather to see for myself, then I realized the divine treasure in my 'man' (heart-mind-soul).' (page 15).

He further mentioned:

"Here the reference to both his father's and grandfather's "treasure" may suggest that Guru Arjan received at least two sets of manuscripts of Gurbani, one belonging to his father and the other to his grandfather. The works of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad together with the Bhagats, were grouped with his grandfather's bani in the Goindval Pothis. Since his father, Guru Ramdas was not represented in these volumes, Guru Arjan presumably had access to a second manuscript." (page 15).

Here PS interpreted " plalldwcyk K Kjl iBT Kj (ੴ " very literally as "the treasure of father and grandfather," the treasure

(i.e. Goindwal Po this) which Guru Arjan procured from Baba Mohan as stated on page 14. On these assumptions PS has constructed Genealogy Figure 1 on page 23 indicating that two Goindwal pothis form the base of the first draft, the Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript (GNDU MS) 1245, and then finally Kartarpur Bir was prepared by Guru Arjan after collecting more bani from other sources.

Thus the whole objective of PS is to convince the readers by mistranslating the Gurbani about his ill-conceived idea that Gurbani was not written by the Gurus themselves and was not kept by them. And Guru Arjan had to procure the Goindwal Pothis (written by Sahans Ram) from Baba Mohan and other Bani from other sources to prepare the final version of Kartarpur Bir. Thus PS has topsy turvyed the well established fact that Guru Arjan received the ancestral treasure as one unit from Guru Ramdas as established by Prof. Sahib Singh (8) and others.

#### **TEXTUAL ANALYSIS (Chapter 4)**

The need and importance of textual analysis given by PS is based on the following quotation of Dr Loehlin on page 92 :

"The Sikhs will hold a unique position among the religions of the world if they prove through careful textual criticism the widely accepted belief that the Kartarpur Granthis the MS dictated by Guru Arjan." C. Loehlin (9).

Most probably keeping the above quotation in mind, PS has written two special chapters (pages 20-91) to strengthen the illconceived idea of Loehlin wherein he doubts the established fact that Kartarpur Granth was compiled by Guru Arjan.

From the unauthentic and apocryphal materials recorded in these two chapters (Chapter 2 : manuscripts of Adi Granth and Chapter 3 : Origin of Adi Granth) PS has drawn the following dubious conclusions :

1. "The foregoing examination of the Manuscripts revealed that the GNDU MS # 1245 was one of the many drafts on which Guru Arjan seems to have produced the final text of the Adi Granth in 1604." (page 59).

2. "Another important outcome of this scrutiny is the confirmation of the Kartarpur manuscript as the final text of the Adl Granth as compiled by the fifth Guru." (page 59).

3. . "This analysis also shows that there was no unity of the Adi Granth text to be found among the different versions

during the last quarter of the seventeenth century." (page 59).

4. "Of all the three competing versions of the text of the Adi Granth that were being used by different groups with the Panth, it appears that the Banno version was coming to the fore at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth." (page 60).

5. "It is claimed here that Guru Gobind Singh prepared the final recension of the Adi Granth at Damdama (Damdama Sahib, Talvandi Sabo in Bhatinda in 1705 AD) by adding a collection of the work by the ninth Guru to the original compilation. This is not correct, since the bani of Guru Teg Bahadur had already been incorporated in a number of manuscripts immediately after his death. The point to be noted is that a single couplet, attributed to Guru Gobind Singh in the earlier manuscripts, became part of the fifty-seven shloks of the ninth Guru." (page 78-79).

6. "Although he (Guru Gobind Singh) approached Dhir Mal's descendants at Kartarpur to obtain the Adi Bir, he did not succeed in persuading them to part with the volume. A number of copies of Kartarpur text, however, were available at that time, along with two other versions of the Adi Granth. It was these that he used to prepare the Damdama version of the Aad Granth at a resting-place (damdama) in Anandpur Sahib in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Further, the bani of Guru Tegh Bahadur had also become part of all the different recensions of the Adi Granth immediately after his death." (page 80).

To strengthen the above statement PS quoted the following information:

7. "Harbhajan Singh briefly mentions that two manuscripts of Adi Granth, written in sambat 1739 (1682 CE) and sambat 1748 (1691 CE), which contained the works of the ninth Guru at appropriate places with raga jaijvanti following the prabhati mode in the standard way. He calls them Damdama versions because they were written at a place called "Damdania" in Anandpur Sahib." (page 80).

8. "Although the Damdama.version of the Adi Granth was

prepared by Guru Govind Singh at Anandpur in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, different versions of the Adi Granth were used by the Sikh community in the eighteenth century. The Banno recension was predominant. The standardization of the text of the Adi Granth-based on the Damdama version-took place during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was able to procure the Kartarpur volume for this purpose. The first printed edition of the standard Damdama version appeared in 1868 CE, which gave a fillip for universal acceptance. The Singh Sabha reformers sanctified this standard version and set aside all other versions used in earlier centuries." (page 90-91).

9. "The solitary couplet that was attributed to the tenth Guru in early manuscripts lost its authorship and became the part of Guru Teg Bahadur's shalokas. This may have been intentionally done to keep Guru Gobind Singh's authorship limited to the bani of Dasam Granth. It may also reflect the contemporary debate over the issue of Sikh identity: that is, whether one follows the teachings of Guru Nanak and his successors contained in the Adi Granth or one joins the Khalsa of Guru Gobind Singh" (Page 86).

**Comments:**

My comments on all the conclusions drawn by PS are given one by one as followings :

**Conclusion 1 :**

PS did not give any sound, logical and scientific reasons or any special characteristics which could prove that GNDU MS 1245 is one of the early drafts. Where are the other drafts? Moreover, a number of questions will arise about its being a draft e.g. Does any scholar keep first, second or third draft of his work as a record or give them as souvenir to others who in turn would prefer to preserve it as a substitute oi the final text? Why a person who kept this draft for almost four centuries decided to sell it to a bookseller in Amritsar who says he got it from a street hawker? Nevertheless, these days everybody is aware of the fact that a rare MS like this could be sold to the institutes of higher learning e.g. Guru Nanak Dev University or Punjabi University or

the highest authority of the Sikhs i.e. Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandaak Committee (SGPC) at a very high price.

A very important point has been discussed by Prof. Sahib Singh (8) that Guru Arjan categorized the bani (ancestral treasure) into different Rags and sections. And a Juz (quire: a paper folded twice to make four sheets; a collection of sheets of papers, usually 24) was assigned for writing each category under certain Rag or section. Some sheets of certain Juz remained blank when the writing of that portion of bani or section was completed. Thus there are some blank sheets in the Kartarpur Bir. If we accept the assertion of PS that GNDU MS 1245 was one of the early drafts, then there could be no possibilities to have blank sheets in the original Kartarpur Bir which has been accepted by PS as the final text in his conclusion 2 (page 59). From Prof. Sahib Singh's findings it is clear that the Kartarpur Bir was the first and the final version of Aad Granth.

Since the authenticity of GNDU MS 1245 has become a great issue, its origin should be studied by the panel of judges, constituting persons from judiciary, languages, history, archives and sciences. This panel should find out who planted GNDU MS 1245 to confuse the Sikhs.

PS's conclusion that the final version of Kartarpur Bir was prepared from the Goindval Pothis and other materials as shown in Figure 1 on page 23 is also based on unauthentic information. Actually PS should have first disproved the findings of Prof. Sahib Singh (8) where he proved that all the writings of the predecessor Gurus were handed over to Guru Arjan as an ancestral treasure by Guru Ramdas wherefrom the Kartarpur Bir was prepared.

### **Conclusion 2 :**

PS admits that the Kartarpur manuscript is the final text of the Aad Granth as compiled by the Fifth Guru, but after writing many drafts and making changes in the original Gurbani. But the Kartarpur Bir is the first and the final version of Aad Granth according to Prof. Sahib Singh (8).

### **Conclusion 3 :**

It is true that there is no unity of Aad Granth Text found in different versions. It is so because every scribe had tried to copy the text according to his own whims and added, deleted, modified certain banis and also re-arranged sequence of banis as he wished.

### **Conclusion 4 :**

According to Prof. Sahib Singh (8) the Banno version was most common because people had easy access to copy the Banno version as the real and authenticated version of Aad Granth installed in the Harmander Sahib at Amritsar which was not easily available for copying.

### **Conclusions 5,6,7,8,**

PS has given more weight to a small piece of information given by Harbhajan Singh to make his point that Damdama Bir was compiled at Damdama in Anandpur Sahib. But he ignored completely without giving any solid reasons of rejecting the facts recorded in Gurbilas Chhevin Patshahi and by Gian Singh in Sri Guru Panth Prakash that Damdama Bir was prepared by Guru Gobind Singh who also added the bani of Guru Teg Bahadur at Damdama Sahib in Talvandi Sabo, Bhatinda. Because of this importance, in addition for others, Damdama Sahib was declared the fifth Takht by the S.G.P.c. Moreover, PS also ignored the information given by Mehar Singh (10) that Guru Gobind Singh was given the Gurgaddi of Guru Nanak (pontification) after the demise of the Ninth Guru at a place called Damdama Sahib near Anandpur Sahib, but there was no mention about the compilation of Aad Granth by Guru Gobind Singh at this place. However, it has been mentioned that Guru Gobind Singh compiled the Aad Granth at Damdama Sahib, Talvandi, Bhatinda. It is evident from the above information that PS did so to undermine the important role played by Guru Gobind Singh to give the Sikhs a final authenticated version of AGGS by adding the bani of the Ninth Guru, Teg Bahadur. He also got made some copies of this authenticated Damdama Bir, and these were sent to all the Takhts and other important Sikh centres (Manjis).

The assertion of P.S. that the authorship of Guru Gobind Singh was removed from Shlok 54 of Guru Teg Bahadur by the scholars appointed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh or by Singh Sabha

at the time of preparing a standardized version, is without any base. It is a question of simple common sense that Guru Gobind Singh, who had every right to add his Bani in the AGGS, why he should restrict himself to adding only one stanza of his bani in the sloks of Guru Teg Bahadur.

PS blames Singh Sabha for declaring the Banno Bir as "khari" (brakish or bitter) which means spurious or apocryphal (page 89). It is a pity that PS, a scholar, did not consult the literature carefully before making such a statement. I hope he might be aware of the information that Banno Bir was declared apocryphal by Guru Arjan himself (Prof. Sahib Singh 8). PS should also have disproved the findings of Dr Sahib Singh before blaming Singh Sabha for declaring Banno Bir as apocryphal. Conclusion 9:

This conclusion of PS should be viewed very carefully. Here PS is trying to create two distinct sects of Sikhism: The Sikhs of Guru Nanak who would follow the AGGS, and the Khalsa of Guru Gobind Singh who would follow Dasam Granth. But Guru Gobind Singh did not do anything which was not of the philosophy of Guru Nanak, incorporated any other doctrine in the AGGS. In fact Guru Gobind Singh was propagating and giving practical shape to the philosophy of Guru Nanak.

It is very unfortunate that PS is not aware of the fact that Guru Gobind Singh never said, advised or ordered any Sikh to follow any granth other than the AGGS. It is crystal clear that had Guru Gobind Singh any intentions to create Khalsa as a different sect from the mainstream Sikhism, (as pointed out by PS), he would not have advised his Sikhs (Khalsa) to follow Aad Guru Granth Sahib. But he did not do so, instead he added Gurbani of Guru Teg Bahadur in the Kartarpur Bir and reiterated at the time of his departure to heavenly abode that the AGGS is the Guru of the Sikhs from that time and also ordained the stoppage of further succession to the spiritual throne of Guru Nanak in the form of human Gurus.

### **1. Mul-Mantar :**

PS has tried to prove that the present form of Mul Mantar in the AGGS was not given by Guru Nanak alone. PS has developed a thesis that Mul Mantar found in the present form

the AGGS is the result of additions of new words and in modification of some, as warranted by the circumstances, done by Guru Arjan in the original Mul Mantar of Guru Nanak.

Before I could comment on this issue it would be necessary to look into the presentation of such developments in Mul Mantar given by PS in Chapter 4 (pages 92-141) :

1. The following form of the Mul Mantar was current during the period of Guru Amar Das which was found in the Goindval Pothi Vol. 1 :

< siqgru prsıd

scunm krqruinrBauinrkuruAkıı mİiq Aj İhl sBau ]

1.- '1' "Oamkar (There is one supreme Being").

He is the True Guru who reveals himself through grace.

The True Name, the Creator, the Fearless One and Formless One.

He is timeless Who is beyond birth and death.

He is self existent." (page 92-93).

PS further explains that this is based on the philosophy of Guru Nanak and quotes many verses of Guru Nanak to support his assumption that this is the earliest form of Mul Mantar developed by Guru Nanak :

"The basic elements of the earlier form of the Mul Mantar come from the works of Guru Nanak. Presumably he himself formulated it during the Kartarpur period, when the first Sikh community started using it in worship." (page 95).

2. Guru Ramdas invoked the divine attributes of the Mul Mantar in one of his composition as follows (page 95).

j ip mn inrBau [ siq siq sdı [ inrvıuAkıı mİiq ]

Aj İhl sBau ] my mn Anidno iDAıie inİtkıru inrİhrı ]

"Contemplate the fearless one, my- man (mind). (He who is) true, true and always true. He is without enmity, the Timeless one. He is beyond birth and death, He is self-existent. Meditate day and night on the Formless one, my man, He who is above any need of sustenance. AGGS, M4, P 120L.

PS says that word "nirvair" (without enmity) was added in the Mul Mantar to reflect his (Guru Ramdas') 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.

3. Guru Arjan worked over the text of the Mul mantar 10 successive drafts to give it its final form. The Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript, which is early draft of the Adi Granth, gives the form of Mul Mantar before its standardization:

< siqn̄m̄ krq̄ p̄rKuinrBauinrv̄r Ak̄il̄ m̄riq̄ Aj̄ ĩn̄ s̄B̄siqgr̄ p̄š̄wid̄ ]  
 "IK" Oankar (There is one supreme being). His name is the Eternal Truth. He is the Creator, without fear and devoid of enmity. He is the Timeless One, who is beyond birth and death. He is self existent. He is the True Guru who reveals himself through grace." (page 96).

In his final version Guru Arjan replaced the phrase 'satguru parsadi; (siqgr̄ ĩ p̄rš̄wid̄), by the Grace of the True Guru' with 'gur parsadi' gr̄ p̄rš̄wid̄ by the Grace of the Guru', presumably to provide a more coherent structure to the text of the Mul Mantar.

"Another significant point is that Guru Arjan added the word 'purkh' to the received text of the Mul Mantar. It clearly indicates that by this time the personal (purkh) aspect of the Supreme Being acquired prominence as compared with Guru Nanak's emphasis on the formless (nirankar) nature of the ultimate Reality. This may provide an adequate explanation of the subsequent development that took place in Sikh doctrine as well as within the Panth since the days of Guru Nanak. This will, however, challenge the traditional understanding of the Mul Mantar as being created in the present form by Guru Nanak." (page 96-97).

Before making any comments on the above thesis of PS about the step by step development of Mul Mantar, it is necessary to look into the information given by Mohinder Kaur Gill (11) and

Sikh Phulwari (12) about the different forms of Mul Mantar found in the AGGS.

1. <siq gur p̄rš̄wid̄ (There is one supreme being, known by the grace through the true Guru). It has been used 519 times (523 times-Sikh Phulwari) at the beginning of various headings and subheadings in different sections of the AGGS.

2. < siqn̄m̄ gr̄ p̄š̄wid̄ (There is one supreme being, the eternal Reality, known by His grace). It has been used only two times in the AGGS (once in Siri Rag on page 81 second time in Bihagara Rag on page 544.) .

3. < siqn̄m̄ krq̄ p̄rK̄igr̄ p̄š̄wid̄ (There is one Supreme Being, the Eternal Reality. He is the Creator, known by His grace). This form has been used 9 times (8 times - Sikh Phulwari) in the AGGS.

4. < siqn̄m̄ krq̄ p̄rK̄i inrBau inrv̄r̄ Ak̄il̄ m̄riq̄ Aj̄ ĩn̄ s̄B̄l̄igr̄ p̄š̄wid̄ (There is one Supreme Being, the Eternal Reality. He is the Creator, without fear and devoid of enmity. He is the timeless

Who is beyond birth and death. He is self-existent, and is known by Guru's grace). This unabbreviated form has been used 33 times in the beginning of almost all the new sections of Rags in the AGGS.

Gill (11) and Sikh Phulwari (12) have also mentioned a fifth form of Mul Mantar i.e. Ik O'ankar (<). It has been used once in old birs, (granths) but it is not found in the present form of AGGS. However, this shortest form (Ik O'ankar) has been accepted without any hesitation by the Sikhs and it is used very commonly in their writings.

Note: The readers are advised to read the article by Dr. Trilochan Singh about Mul-Mantar in chapter 12 of this book Editor.

### **Comments:**

The thesis of PS that the present form of the Mul Mantar is the result of additions of new words and modifications of some, as warranted by the circumstances, done in the original Mul Mantar of Guru Nanak by Guru Arjan is without any solid arguments or logics as it is based on the information available only from Goindval Pothi Vol. I and the GNDU MS 1245, the unauthenticated materials as discussed before.

I would like to repeat that when Guru Arjan compiled the AGGS it was compiled from the "ancestral treasure" received from his father, Guru Ramdas, and not from Goindval Pothis or any other materials. The Mul Mantar written in the Kartarpur Bir was the original Mul Mantar found by Guru Arjan in that "ancestral treasure" received by him. PS also admits that Guru Arjan had written in Kartarpur Bir that the "Jap" was copied from the manuscript written in Guru Ramdas' hand (page 101-102), which clearly indicates that the Mul Mantar found in Kartarpur Bir is from the "Jap" of Guru Nanak found in Guru Ramdas' collections which was authenticated by the Fifth Guru. Therefore, the assertion of P.S. that Mulmantar was copied from the Pothi of Goindval is baseless. Moreover, the Goindval Po this were written by Sahans Ram not by Guru Ramdas. Therefore, the Mul Mantar written by Guru Arjan in the Kartarpur Bir is the original Mul Mantar written by Guru Nanak which was passed

on to him (Guru Arjan) as 'ancestral treasure' through successive Gurus. The variations in the Mul Mantar found in Goindval Pothi Vol.

I and in the GNDU MS 1245 is the result of imperfect copying from the original Granth by the scribes or modifications done according to the whims of the scribes. It is an irony of the fact that PS has taken the aid of unauthentic materials for proving his thesis of step by step development of Mul Mantar.

Let us consider the divine attributes e.g. "Nirbhao, Sat, Nirvair, Akal Murat, Ajuni Sangbhao (Swebhan), Nirankar, Nirahari" of Mul Mantar invoked by Guru Ramdas as discussed by PS above.

These attributes are from the fourth of six stanzas of Guru Ramdas in Rag Sarg (Sarang) (Page 1201-1202 of AGGS). These attributes were used for the Almighty by Guru Ramdas to persuade the Sikhs to attach their mind with the Almighty. Guru Ramdas used different attributes e.g. "Jagnath, Jagdishrao, Jagjivnao, Mohan, Narhare, Ram, Madhoo, Madh Sudhan, Sri Rangao, Satparmeshrao, Prabh, Anterjami, etc." in his first three stanzas. Then again in the fifth and sixth stanzas he used the attributes like Govindo and Sri Ram, Sat Ram, Sad Ram, etc. The analysis of attributes used in these six stanzas of Guru Ramdas would clearly indicate that Guru Ramdas used the attributes in the first three, and fifth and sixth stanzas which were commonly used and understood by the people at that time. And then he (Guru Ramdas) used the attributes e.g. "Nirbhao, Nirvair, Akal Murat, Ajuni, Sangbhao (Swebhan)" which were used by Guru Nanak in the Mul Mantar to put more emphasis on these new attributes used by Guru Nanak. Using of such attributes (used in the Mul Mantar) in the Bani is a common practice of other Gurus also (including Guru Nanak and Guru Arjan). Moreover, the word "nirvair" was already in use by Guru Nanak in his Ramkali Dakhani O'ankar (AGGS, page 931) before Guru Ramdas used it and PS is aware of this fact (page 96). Therefore, the question of updating Mul Mantar by Guru Arjan or Guru Ramdas by adding the word "nirvair" of Guru Ramdas does not arise. Thus the assertion of PS that word 'Nirvair' used by Guru Ramdas was added in the Mul mantar by the Guru to reflect his resolve to counteract the situation of hostility in real life, created by the animosity of his rivals, with the spirit of love and friendliness, has got no standing. In fact the word "nirvair" was already there in the original Mul Mantar of Guru Nanak as proved above.

Similarly the reason given by PS for addition of word "Purkh" in updating the Mul Mantar is also baseless.

Now let us examine the different forms of Mul Mantars given by Gill (11) :

There are four different forms of Mul Mantars found in the AGGS. The maximum used form of Mul Mantar (1 above) contains the word "Satgur Parsad". It has been used in the AGGS for 519 times. It is hard to understand why Guru Arjan would replace the word "Satgur Parsad" from the so-called first form of Mul Mantar of draft Mul Mantar with a short word "Gur Parsad", when "Satgur Parsad" has been used in the short form of Mul Mantar for more than 519 times in the AGGS. PS says that Guru Arjan did so to provide a more coherent structure to the text of Mul Mantar. It is again hard to understand what coherent structure was given by dropping the epithet "Sat" from "Satgur Parsad". It would have been more appropriate had Guru Arjan dropped the "Satgur Parsad" from the shortest Mul Mantar (1 above) used by Guru Arjan in the AGGS more than 519 times. But Guru Arjan did not do so. Why? PS is silent on this issue. Thus it is clear from the above discussion that the word 'Gur Parsad' was present in the first instance in the original Mul Mantar of Guru Nanak and the Sat Guru was added by the scribe by mistake OR it has been added intentionally by the scribe in the GNDU MS 1245 to create confusion in the Sikh doctrine.

Now we enter into another area which gives rise to a big question which has not been discussed by PS. Why are there four different forms of Mul Mantar in the AGGS? It needs a thorough research to answer this question. Mohan Singh Diwana and many others raised the following question: "Is the full Mantra on the same level of potency as the shorter ones or the potency increases with the short wave-length?" ( A foot note on page 98 of PS Theses).

Gill (11) has pointed out that the different forms of Mul Mantars have been used in the AGGS to break organizational Monotony" and to add diversity to the structure of the Sikh scripture. But according to Gurus' philosophy it would be more appropriate to say that Guru Arjan (It is still to be studied which Guru abbreviated the Mul Mantar) abbreviated the Mul Mantar to convince the Sikhs that either the Mul Mantar is not a Mantar or to disclaim the belief of Sharma or Hindu's philosophy that chanting of Mantars whether completely and correctly or in abbreviated form does not mean anything. But

the real thing is to understand the realization of the Almighty by following and practising the Gurbani, but not in chanting" the Mantars. If we study the Mul Mantar (as it is commonly called) carefully, it clearly indicates that it is the most concise and precise definition of the Almighty not found anywhere else. This definition of the Almighty given by Guru Nanak remained unchanged during the time of ten Sikh Gurus till to date and I am sure, that it would remain unchanged even with the new advancements in scientific knowledge about the Nature (God) in the future (2).

Bhai Kahn Singh (13) has described Mul Mantar as "the root mantar, 'O'ankar', of all the mantars e.g. "Ik O'ankar sat nam karta purkh "He has also recorded it as a "Manglacharan" which means the definition of the Almighty which has been discussed above. I would also like to add here that whenever the word "mantar" has been used in the Gurbani it has been used as simile only to explain certain points but it does not signify it as a "Mantar" used in the terms of Hindu philosophy. According to the Sikh philosophy it would be right to call, "Ik O'ankar sat nam karta purkh "as Mul Mantar. It is the creedal statement given to us by Guru Nanak, it gives a profound definition of God which forms the base of Sikh doctrines.

## **2. Liturgical Texts:**

PS has drawn the following conclusions from his analysis of liturgical texts :

### **Conclusion 1.**

"It should be emphasized that Guru Arjan even revised his own composition in the final text of the Adi Granth." (page 130).

### **Comments:**

To draw the above conclusion PS has compared the hymns of Guru Arjan in the Kartarpur Bir with those of his hymns found in the Goindval pothis, GNDU MS 1245 and other sources. The above conclusion cannot be accepted because all above sources of Gurbani are not accepted as authentic materials according to Prof. Sahib Singh (8), as discussed earlier.

Similarly the argument of deletion of certain bani from the Kartarpur Bir is also not justified when it is compared with Bani

present in such unauthentic bus. One such example of addition made is a slok of Guru Arjan in Rag Ramkali by some Sikh in the Banno Bir to give legitimacy to Brahminical rituals in Sikh Society, has been given by PS himself (page 130-140). Thus the question of deletion of a portion of bani raised by McLeod in PS thesis on page 138, from the original Kartarpur Bir cannot be justified merely on the basis that the portion of a hymn, is present in an unauthentic Bir (Banno Bir).

### **Conclusion 2.**

"During the editorial process, Guru Arjan achieved linguistic refinement through substituting of synonyms for certain words and other minor modification of the text (without letting lose the original meaning and rhythm of those hymns)." (page 140).

### **Comments :**

Yes, it is evident in the present volume of the AGGS that there are some substitution of synonyms of certain words and minor modifications e.g. in the slok, "Pawan guru pani pila..." at the end of fap and Paun 27 of Jap, "Sodar Keha so ghar keha " If Guru Arjan did make such changes to achieve linguistic refinement then why he (Guru Arjan) would repeat the same salok on page 146 of AGGS and same paun 27 on pages 8 and 347 of AGGS without making such changes? Does not Guru Arjan want to be consistent throughout the text of the AGGS ? Thus some changes in spelling could have been made because those words were spelled like that at the time the Jap was written by Guru Arjan in the Kartarpur Bir. Similarly Guru Arjan also omitted some words to abridge the Pauri 27 as is done when one writes a summary of one's work, because jap is the Quintessence (summary) of the whole Sikh scripture. Thus it becomes very clear that had Guru Arjan made such changes to improve the language or rhythmic tone, he would have repeated these sloks and pauris in the text with the improved language but he did not do so. Thus the claim of PS that Guru Arjan achieved linguistic refinement of the text is baseless. Nevertheless there could be some other reasons to take such changes which we cannot figure out at present and It needs further research before some conclusions could be drawn.

### **Conclusion 3 :**

The absence of M 2 for the epilogue of Jap, "Pawan guru pani pita" has raised some questions in the mind of some scholars. Thus PS has also pointed out following three possibilities about the authorship of the epilogue of Jap (pages 105-107) :

- i. "Traditionally the concluding shalok of Japji is understood

to be Guru Nanak's own composition. There are, however, scholars who regard Guru Angad as its real author.

ii. "Guru Nanak may have initiated his successor, Bhai Lehna, into the poetic skill of verse composition in the literary form of a shalok and this training may have been part of his designation to the office of Guruship."

iii. "Presumably it was introduced in Sikh worship as part of the Japji by his successor, Guru Angad, who may have made it obligatory that the shalok be recited at the conclusion of all the Sikh ceremonies. Thus with the passage of time the shalok became popular under the symbol of Guru Angad.

PS again pointed out that "There are other such instances in the Adi Granth when a composition is repeated at two different places under the symbols of two succeeding Gurus e.g. Guru Amar Das shalok 2 in Var Sri Rag (AG, p. 86) is repeated under the symbol for Guru Ram Das as shalok 28 in Varan le Vadhik (AG, p. 1424). Similarly, Guru Ram Das' Pauri

12 in Var Gauri (AG, p. 306) appears in the same Var under the symbol of Guru Arjan as pauri 31" (AG, pp. 316-317". A footnote on page 107 in PS' thesis).

### **Comments:**

Jap is considered as the quintessence of the whole Sikh scripture by almost all the Sikh scholars. It is also regarded as the composition of Guru Nanak. But the present volume of the AGGS shows that a slok, "Aad such jugad such hai bhi such Nanak hosi bhi such", of Guru Arjan (from page 285 of AGGS) is found immediately after the "Manglacharan" and another slok, "Pawan guru pani pila ...oo" of Guru Angad (from page 146 of AGGS) is found as an epilogue of Jap of Guru Nanak.

First of all, we should note that throughout the Jap no Mahla (M) has been assigned to any slok or pauri. Why? The most logical reason seems to be that the Jap is regarded as the quintessence of the whole Sikh scripture thus its authorship could only belong to the First Master who got the revelation and whose spirit and thesis is expressed by other Gurus. The revelation to Guru Nanak was total and not in parts to different Gurus. Such an idea is baseless, being contrary to the fundamental concept that Guru Nanak had a mission which was carried out by other Gurus who also had the same revelation and there may be some good reasons for the differences

on or likeness in diction. It needs further reasearch before we can generalize anything. However, such minor variations are immaterial because all the Gurus are the light of Guru Nanak.

The other point of PS was that slok, "Pawan guru pani pila ...." was composed together by Guru Nanak and Guru Angad as part of training to Bhai Lehna (Guru Angad) for Guruship is an ill-conceived thought. The above thought of PS might have originated from some spurious story about writing of letters by Guru Arjan to his father, Guru Ramdas. From these letters Guru Ramdas judged the ability of Guru Arjan and decided to pontificate the gurus hip to Guru Arjan instead to his elder brother, Prithi Chand. The story goes on to declare that these letters became the first shabads of Guru Arjan, Mera man loche gur darshan lai.. (AGGS, M 5, P 96). This has been refuted by Dr Sahib Singh (5,8) and he proved that these Shabads are addressed to the Almighty not to his father, Guru Ramdas, as claimed in the story. Thus a question arises if Guru Nanak trained Guru Angad, as claimed by PS, then who trained Guru Amar Das, Guru Ramdas and Guru Teg Bahadur for writing bani and for guruship ?

The simple answer is that the bani was revealed by the Sikh Gurus and nobody taught any Guru. No specific changes (except those minor ones as discussed above) were made by Guru Arjan while compiling the Kartarpur Bir from the ancestral treasure received from Guru Ramdas. It is now, as always, an accepted fact that Guru Arjan gave us an authentic Aad Granth after full scrutiny and with complete authority. No Guru has given authenticity to any other manuscript and no claim ever was made before any Guru. If today any Tom, Dick or Harry says that he has found true Bani, it is on the dual a~sumptions that the person has a better capacity of discernment and authority than the Gurus, and that has found what the Gurus could not. Can such inherently irrational claims be entertained by any scholar without any bias? Only P.S. and his supporters could do it who call MS 1245, with date of demise of Guru Arjan in its contents, a draft of the Adi Granth.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The most outstanding feature of PS' thesis is that first an imaginary question of textual analysis of Kartarpur Bir was raised and then textual analysis was done by taking

information from unauthentic birs and other materials. Prof. Sahib Singh (8) had already done an extensive research to prove that the Kartarpur Bir was compiled by Guru Arjan from the ancestral treasure received from Guru Ramdas and not from any other unauthentic Bir, pothis or materials. This has also been supported by the information recorded by Guru Arjan in the AGGS. (Piodade ka khol dhitha khazana AGGS, M 5, P 186) and the original Bir is the Kartarpuri Bir. Therefore, it is absolutely unjustified and meaningless to do textual analysis of Kartarpur Bir by taking information from unauthentic Birs or materials. The "Mul Mantar)" at the beginning of the Jap in the AGGS is the original one given by Guru Nanak and no changes or modifications were done by Guru Arjan or any other Guru. And there was no first or second draft prepared by Guru Arjan.

The so-called draft, GNDU MS 1245 and all other versions of Aad Granth found at different places or with different persons are the copies of the unauthenticated Banno Bir in which a lot of changes were made by different scribes according to their own whims.

PS has also tried to topsy turvey the important role played by Guru Gobind Singh to give us the authentic Granth which was prepared from the Kartarpur Bir by adding the bani of Guru Teg Bahadur at Damdama Sahib, Talvandi Sabo near Bhatinda (not at Damdama of Anandpur Sahib as emphasized by PS). Guru Gobind Singh also got made some copies of Damdama Bir and those were sent to all the Takhts and other important Sikh institutes (Manjis) to replace the unauthenticated and spurious Birs. Guru Gobind Singh also ordained to the Sikhs to accept this Damdama Bir as their Guru. PS also tries to undermine the role played by the scholars appointed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. and the role of Singh Sabha to popularize the Damdama Bir in all the Gurdwaras, and Institutions, and among the Sikhs.

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11  
CAN DR. PASHAURA SINGH BE DEFENDED?

By  
GURTEJ SINGH

I have seen with great interest the open letter written by Prof. Joseph T.O'Connell in defence of Dr. Pashaura Singh, which is in itself an oddity because true scholarship needs no defence. It becomes necessary to defend a scholar when he transgresses the legitimate limits of academic activity and joins politicians in trying to undermine the existence of an inconvenient group. The Sikhs have been at the receiving end of such activity ever since India obtained independence from colonial rule in 1947. Great stress has been laid on dissolving the distinct Sikh identity. One expression of it is in trying to establish that Sikhism is merely a sect of Hinduism. This argument does not make much headway in the face of the existence of Sri Guru Granth Sahib which is a record of the mystic experiences of the Sikh prophets. It clearly proposes that Sikhism is a sovereign dispensation.

Challenge to separate Sikh identity can only be posed by denying that it is an authentic record of revelation. This has been attempted by some others in the recent past. But they had to rescind their positions, because it was possible to confront them with established facts to the contrary. Pashaura Singh is trying to achieve the same aim through a different route. He does not deny the originality of the Kartarpur volume compiled by Guru Arjun himself. He is trying to challenge selected text of the original by raising the ghost of a previous draft of the same and would like to pave the way for later challenging the contents of the entire original volume.

Toward this end he has suggested that a manuscript bought by the Guru Nanak Dev University in 1987, is an earlier draft. For the following reasons MS1245 cannot be accepted to be anything but a later copy of the original Sikh scripture: 1) it is an undated volume with the traditional dates of demise of the first five Gurus written in the same hand and ink. Date of demise of Guru Arjun being included, it is clearly not a draft of the original unless, according to western methodology it is quite in order to accept books edited posthumously. 2) There is no concept of a draft in relation to compilation of the Sikh scriptures in the last four

hundred years. All history and all tradition speaks of only one volume having been compiled.

3) The entire concept of textual study which Pashaura Singh is attempting to undertake, is misconceived because Aad Granth has been compiled by the Prophet of the faith and no grounds for discovering the original text or its meaning exist: especially in this case because Pashaura Singh has already accepted the authenticity of the Kartarpur volume.

4) The volume he is using here is an apocryphal writing of a schismatic sect ostracized from Sikhism some centuries ago. Even while taking good care to hide its Mina origin he should have known that it is at best a tainted evidence.

Before setting out to cast stones left and right, must not the University look within and try to understand how it has been able to grant a degree of Ph. D. in spite of the above?

Every word of the open letter smacks of arrogance, unusual, at least to us in the not very enlightened East. Professor O'Connell regrets that the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee is not eligible to obtain his certificate of knowing the aims of modern scholarship. Evidently, the precondition is that it must tolerate baseless attacks on the Sikh scriptures and the Sikh religion. The SGPC is woefully aware that McLeod had recently attacked the original volume basing himself on the Banno version which is dated 38 years later and which has always been universally regarded as a copy. Then for the purpose of proving the original to be a copy and the copy to be original he propounded the strange theory that parts of hymns which do not square with later Khalsa beliefs were obliterated in the original. For upholding this proposition it did not matter to the vintage western scholar that the original volume had always been in the custody of a sect opposed to the Khalsa way, and the strangest fact, that no such obliteration actually exists. Would the Professor excuse the SGPC for not understanding the ways of this special brand of western scholarship ?

It is strange that a case for the favourite Pashaura Singh is being built up on the supposed failure of the Eastern people to understand the "aims of western scholarship". Pashaura Singh has received all his education in India though nobody holds it against him, particularly because the aims of legitimate

academic activity are the same everywhere. India, because of its colonial past, has been following the same system of education as followed in the west. It is also clear to the SGPC that no standards of scholarship justify the kind of destructive activity being carried out by the Batala group and those supporting it.

Some of the main formulations of this scholar are contrary to verifiable facts and are in support of a Christian missionary group the aims of which can be readily discerned. It is the Sikh people who have to judge whether they are also detrimental to the interests of Sikhism. Their well reasoned conclusion has been arrived at after meticulous scrutiny and has been articulated by the SGPC. Now it has put it to the genuine scholar to judge for himself whether the activity of scholars like Pashaura Singh which is being sustained and promoted by some University professors is detrimental also to the interests of truth. The Sikh people do not need the support of old scholars referred to, nor will they be deflected by the acidic and un-academic comments of those fast approaching intellectual barrenness.

Contention of the SGPC is that Pashaura Singh has violated every canon of objectivity. His best defence in the circumstances is to exhibit how he has retained regard for truth. Crude attempts to intimidate the SGPC are not adequate. Citing of University norms is of no consequence unless it can also be shown that they have been actually followed. Recently an attempt was made to bring such violations of norms by McLeod to the notice of the concerned University. After a long drawn out correspondence on the subject, the university found it impossible to retire from his defence although the Reverend had to later rescind some of his earlier formulations. Correspondence with the university is published and will convince any impartial reader of the truth of this contention.

Commendation of Pashaura Singh, stands condemned by the very fact that it is found necessary. In the opinion of the Sikh people, he is distorting the Sikh religion and is misleading the academic world by misusing the prestige of a University. Let this be the central point of the debate. The Sikhs refuse to learn from O'Connell as to what is Sikhism or who is doing what for it or to it. It appears from the open letter that Pashaura Singh is being sold to the Sikhs in an attractive package by an aggressive salesman.

Must we buy the goods recommended?

With respect to middle aged scholars interested in destabilizing Sikhism, it can be stated that there is no group of "elderly Indian-educated" people trying to lead a "Campaign" against equally India-educated Pashaura Singh. Just as the entire concept of education in India is western, the standards of scholarship are universal and have been particularly favoured by the Sikhs since they basically fit in very well with the Khalsa code of conduct. Western educated scholars do not know their own ground but they presume to teach a lesson or two to the Sikhs. Sikhs are interested in honest research and do not care who takes it up and where, provided it remains honest.

It is a figment of imagination that attempts are being made to "disrupt efforts to build up" Sikh studies. Protests are against the very determined effort to destroy the basis of Sikhism. For instance, one of the formulations of this highly recommended group of "three or four" easily identifiable scholars is, that Sikhism is not an independent dispensation but is a part of either the Bhakti movement, Sant tradition or the Nath tradition, that is, eventually that of Hinduism.. Sikhism does not need such pliable scholars to continue with such propaganda of the interested parties. What good are they who consider gains of a few dollars much above regard for objectivity. If they really believed in what they wrote, would they not quit chairs meant for Sikh studies in favour of those meant to study Hinduism?

The SGPC has pointed out that Pashaura Singh has come to a wrong conclusion not warranted by the evidence cited. It is therefore clear that he is trying to please his masters who have been pursuing destructive aims for decades. These bad conclusions can be useful to the political enemies of the Sikhs and are of value to a certain set of missionaries who have not Come out of the syndrome of White man's Burden. There is no use of recommending Pashaura Singh as an answer. It is good to know that he is at least a good family man and everybody will have regard for that trait. But the SGPC is questioning his credentials as a scholar and his objectivity; that is what needs an explanation.

Others are considered unethical for calling in question the most irresponsible thesis based on conjectures, because they did

not write to Pashaura Singh about their grievance. This ex-India educated scholar finds it quite in order to write an open letter about it. Just as he feels it necessary to come to Pashaura Singh's defence, others found it necessary to expose his unreasonable formulations. The SGPC represents the Sikh people and cannot remain complacent about so sensitive an issue. Perceptions like the existence of a pressure group waiting to pounce upon a thesis writer, are products of persecution mania usual to pamphleteers. Similarly it is mischievous to suggest that indictment of his client has been particularly harsh. Much has been made of the temporary excommunication which is effective only so long as the concerned person does not present himself to the appropriate authority to explain himself. Established standard procedure has been followed and no exception has been made in Pashaura Singh's case. Closer look will reveal that the procedure followed to ensure the attendance of the accused is basically the same in all jurisprudence.

His shedding of crocodile tears would have been better appreciated had he taken care not to whip up hysteria against the SGPC by writing the kind of open letter he has written. Similarly his interest in the welfare of the Sikh people would have struck a sympathetic chord had he not tried at the same time to cause a vertical schism within the Sikh Panth by attempting to pit the younger generation against the older. That however will not happen; a buffalo does not die to oblige the scavenger birds. With this open letter the game plan of the blasphemous group is clearer. They hope to be able to bring out the threatened schism by such pseudo scientific writings. Even eastern educated people are able to make out what is meant when the wet nurse makes a show of more concern than even the mother.

His indignation at the unethical use of the unpublished thesis is quite in order and goes well with eastern standards. The author must get an opportunity to revise his opinion. If it is a hint that this is what is intended, then it should be welcome, for such foolhardiness cannot be sustained for long. One would, however, like to know what he wrote to Rev. McLeod when he similarly used the half-baked ideas from the similar unpublished works of Harjot Singh and Surjit Hans. The concept that the body responsible for sustaining an erring

scholar must be addressed is likewise sound. However as mentioned earlier, that was when it was pointed out to a university that certain contentions of Rev. McLeod were contrary to verifiable facts and conclusions drawn on their basis were therefore motivated. Response of that body was to turn a deaf ear. Must one indulge in that fruitless exercise again and again? Such options would be freely used once the concerned bodies establish a reputation for dealing with valid objections in an impartial manner.

Pashaura Singh goes ahead to undertake a textual examination after clearly admitting the existence of scripture compiled by the prophet of the faith. It is well known that this volume has a recorded history of custody since its compilation. His exercise amounts to challenging the original text on the basis of a later undated apocryphal copy originating in a schismatic sect and having no record of custody. It is admitted that the scribe of the copy had pasted a forged Nishan of the Sixth Guru to give it antiquity and authenticity of production. Is this the research we are being called upon to support? No other university even in the darkest of dark continents would grant a Ph. D. degree for it. Since that is what has been done, are we being unreasonable when we draw warranted conclusions?

It is useless to contend that the scholar has approached the Guru Granth Sahib with respect. That will be determined by all the factors taken into account while formulating conclusions. When the approach is unsound, the evidence concocted and the conclusions awry, the scholar must look within and explain. Here is a set of scholars who are on a weak wicket in all respects and yet are shouting like hell to drown the voices which are pointing this out to them. Scholar's work is not the Pharaoh's decree; it must partake of humility. Those who presume to teach this to the SGPC must exhibit that they imbibe it also. The threat to whip up sentiments of specified communities against the SGPC is hardly helpful and will never work.

The kind of dialogue now being sought was sought by certain scholars (of all ages) in the winter of 1990 but was denied for no rational reasons. If they are to retain their credibility, the seats of higher learning must not presume to be the sole repositories of

truth. Almost all the primary formulations of Rev. McLeod have been challenged by well known scholars. Perfectly rational conclusions to the contrary have been drawn using sound methodology. Proceedings of such seminars have been published and are available for scrutiny. Issues have been clearly defined and must be taken up for dispassionate discussion immediately. That would be a welcome step.

12  
 PASHAURA SINGH'S THESIS ON  
 "THE TEXT AND MEANING OF ADI GRANTH"  
 By  
 Dr TRILOCHAN SINGH

I had seen the first proofs of my book when news came about the controversial thesis of Pashaura Singh guided by Dr Hew McLeod in the University of Toronto. The learned Guide has induced his docile and abjectly submissive student to project, rationalize and uphold his crude and irresponsible and unsubstantiated views about Adi Granth in the hope of getting respectability and credibility for his views in U.S.- Canadian academic world. Pashaura Singh, a willing victim of Dr McLeod's indoctrinated propaganda machinery has been pushed into the pit of ignominy and humiliation he is unfortunately facing now. He succeeded in persuading Pashaura Singh to write in McLeodian language and idiom what even Dr Hew McLeod did not dare to write in any of his books.

I received a copy of Pashaura Singh's thesis from U.S.A. on 20th November. There is a high level clique that has been working as a willing tool of "McLeod Sahib" as they call the learned Guide of Pashaura Singh. The highest authority in the University provided a microfilm to McLeod Sahib, but Sikh and Indian scholars were virtually denied access to the GNDU MS 1245. With considerable difficulty I was able to get a Zerox copy of some portions and permission to go through a Zerox copy kept in the Rare section room. The original was kept by the librarian in his office and presented only for "darshan" of the specially decorated pages having an alleged verse of Bhai Budha and the autographs of Sikh Gurus.

Pashaura Singh's thesis has seven chapters out of which only three are connected with his subject, the Textual study of GNDU MS 1245. It opens with a long quotation from his learned Guide and ends with a longer quotation claiming to have proved what his learned Guide has said in his books. Pashaura Singh gives over sixty references from Dr Hew McLeod's books and does not give a single line from the scholarly opinions of learned commentators on Adi Granth of nineteenth and twentieth century. But he goes on quoting, rationalizing and repeating Dr Hew McLeod's pet hostile phrases, pungent terminology, conjectural comments and

derogatory remarks ending each irrelevant theme crudely discussed by him with inconsequential questions which are always based on false premises, prejudiced observations and blasphemous assumptions. Like his Guide, Pashaura Singh never considers it necessary to give any credible evidence for any of his disturbing statements and proclamations in the style of Dr Hew McLeod's assertion quoted in thirteen chapters of this book.

This induced and contrived thesis of Pashaura Singh is verily a Pandora Box of clumsy distortions, highly absurd prompted contortions and inspired malformations. It is said about the Pandora Box of Greek mythology that when all the evils that flesh is heir to flew forth out of it and have ever since continued to afflict the world, the last that flew out of it was 'Hope'. But in the Pandora Box constructed through Pashaura Singh's thesis by Dr Hew McLeod, the Christian Missionary Critic of Adi Granth has left no place for 'Hope'. Throughout the thesis there is a lot of quibbling and cavilling, but one does not find any internal or external credible evidence on any page of the thesis.

### **Pashaura Singh's Thesis is Not**

#### **A Textual Study in Any Sense of the Word.**

I have already stated in my book that "hermeneutical studies and textual analysis of Dasm Granth and Adi Granth (based only on historically accepted authentic recensions) has been a continuous process in the past two centuries. I have mentioned the names of scholars who have devoted their life-time to hermeneutical studies of Sikh scriptures. I have personally known a number of eminent scholars who have been working, each in his own ways and expressing their views freely and frankly, but always remaining open to other points of view. It is unbelievable that Pashaura Singh did not find time to look at the shelves of University-libraries which are rich in material. He does not even mention their names probably for fear of offending the sensibilities of his Guide, whose backseat driving in his research work has landed him in the pit of such multiple blunders out of which he finds it difficult to extricate himself.

There are many textual analytical studies of Sanskrit works. Even though, many manuscripts of Kabir's works are available and scholars of great eminence have worked on him, but no one has as yet prepared a Textual analysis of his works.

But a gifted Belgian scholar Dr Winand Callawaert, Professor of Indian Studies at Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, Belgium has given a remarkable Textual and Critical analysis of all existing recensions of Hindi Padavali of Namdev. On the Rajasthani collection he is assisted by Dr Mukand Lath. If there are five different versions of the text, he has given all the five. He has also given a very simple and beautiful translation of his collection leaving a few untranslated. The translation matches the sublimity and inner mystical charms of Namdev's Kymns. Dr Winand Callawaert's "Hindi Padavali of Namdev" is a shining example of an excellent and scholarly Textual Analysis of Hymns of a medieval saint of eminence. If he prepares a similar work of Namdev's Marathi Abhangas he will certainly emerge as the most outstanding scholar of Namdev's works. Compared to Professor Callawaert's work Pashaura Singh's work is not a Textual Analysis in any sense of the word.

Pashaura Singh has even failed to correctly present and interpret the Mul Mantar and japji from authentic recensions. He simply picks up less than a dozen hymns out of bulky text of 1267 folios (2534 pages) and gives erratic and bizarre interpretations without comparing with any of the hundreds of dated authentic old recension.

### **Use of Irrelevant and Inappropriate Terms**

Pashaura Singh follows his Guide mindlessly in the use of quite inappropriate words for well known oriental religious concepts. A knowledgeable reader clearly notices a clever derangement of concepts through the use of these irrelevant words.

Formula for Mantra: Both Pashaura Singh and Dr Hew McLeod translate the Mantra as formula. There is as great differences between formula mathematical or otherwise or Mantras as between the jewel of a crown and shining stones on the sea shore. The word mantra means the Mystic Word or Words; and such words exist in every faith such as Bismilla in Koran. Each Hindu sect has its own deities, gods or goddesses and for them the priests have coined mantras. But the mantra (Mulmantar and gurmantar) in Sikhism are. divine Words carrying within them the essence of revelation of the Light of God to Guru Nanak. Let us first explain what a mantra is and What it is not.

The eminent German scholar Agehananda Bharati says, "Finally mantra is not a senseless mumbo-Jumbo of words, a view expressed by European scholars in the last century and held by Arya Samajists and other Indian scholars to this day. There is a two-fold danger today of perpetuating this erroneous notion. The first stems from philosophy which would relegate mantra to hocus pocus dustbins. Mantra is verifiable not by what it describes but by what it effects, if it creates that somewhat complex feeling in the practising person."

Heinrich Zimmer says, "Mantra" is Power, not a mere word or speech which the mind can contradict or evade. What the mantra expresses by its sound exists, comes to pass, Here if anywhere, words are deeds, acting immediately. It is the peculiarity of the true poet that his word creates actuality, calls forth and unveils something real. His word does not talk, it acts. The mantra is the Word which is vehicle of mystical forces. Mantras are inward and spiritualized words. It is blasphemous to call them secular words."

About the meditation on mantras in Buddhism, the German Buddhist monk Anagarika Govinda says, "Buddha's spiritual power is present in the mantra but the impulse which amalgamates the qualities of heart and mind and the creative forces which respond to the idea and fill it with life, this is what the devotee has to contribute. If his faith is not pure, he will not achieve inner unity; if his mind is untrained; he will not be able to assimilate the idea if he is physically dull; his energies will not respond to the call; and if he lacks in concentration, he will not be able to co-ordinate form, heart and mind.

Mulmantar and gurmantar have a profoundly exalted place in Sikh religious and mystical discipline and practices: The hymns of Guru Granth have given elaborate interpretation of Mulmantar and Gurmantar in Sikh Scriptures. We give only a few quotations.

Mulmantra is the divine alchemy of the Name of God, Contemplating which says Nanak

The Perfect Lord is attained

A.G. Guru Nanak, Rag Maru, P 1040

Remember and Recite the gurmantar

In inner consciousness, says Nanak

You will be free from all sorrows and sufferings

A.G. Guru Arjan Sh. I Gujari P 521

The True Word has been imparted as gurmantar to me  
 I have meditated on this true Word  
 Glorified the presence of the Lord  
 And dispelled all disquiet and distress.

A.G. Gurur Arjan Vadhans P 576

The True Guru has initiated me  
 Into the gurmantra (Mystic Word)  
 And imparted His Name  
 As the panacea of all ailments.

A.G. Guru Arjan P 1002

Count Keyserling has rightly said, "Man is exactly as immortal as his ideal and exactly as real as the energy with which he serves it." Scholars completely lacking higher moral and spiritual perceptions have dehumanized and sterilized some of the most exalted and refined aesthetical and mystical doctrines of Sikh religion. "A merely historical or philological interpretation of a mantra is indeed the most superficial and senseless way of looking at it, since it takes the shell for the Kernel and the shadow of the substance; because words are not dead things, which we toss at each other like coins and which we can put away, lock up in a safe or bury underground, and which we can take out.

Pothis; Anthologies of Gurbani; When Guru Nanak set up and institutionalized the Sikh Church at Kartarpur he fixed three daily prayers (Nitnem) for all initiated Sikhs nearly twenty years before he left this world. The prayers were japji, Rahiras (Guru Nanak's verses) and Arti Sohila (Guru Nanak's verses). When some disciples who came from far off places asked, "Sire, when can we have a glimpse of your divine Presence again," Guru Nanak replied "My physical and temporal body is transient, but the Shabad, the Bani is my real Personality and Being; Contemplate it and you can achieve nearness to me." So it became an article of faith with Sikhs to have a collection of Hymns of Guru Nanak in the form of Pothis. The Sikh Sangats of far off places had such collections. The hymns of Kabir and other Nirgun Bhagtas were also collected.

Guru Nanak passed on a definitive collection of his own hymns and those of some Bhagtas to Guru Angad. Those authentic

collections were given by Guru Angad to Guru Amar Das, whose own collections were considerable. Goindwal became the ancestral home of our fourth and fifth Gurus. When Guru Ram Das and Guru Atjan came to Amritsar the original Pothis were still at Goindwal, but copies and the original works of Guru Ram Das and Guru Atjan were preserved in Kotha Sahib built just opposite the Harimandir (Golden Temple). Adjacent to Kotha Sahib Guru Hargobind built Akal Takht.

A Manuscript copy of Bhai Mani Singh's *Sikhan di Bhagatmala* copied within three years of his martyrdom and other printed versions report the following historical facts which are supported by other historical documents of considerable importance.

Bhai Gopi Mehta and his fair companions came to the presence of Guru Atjan. They humbly said "O true King of Kings, on hearing the Bani (Hymns) of the Satguru the mind is inspired by reverence and devotion. But Prithimal, Mahadev and other Sod his (referring to Meharban) have written Bani with the signature line of Nanak. On hearing the compositions of these Sod his the mind of the listener is filled with vanity and crafty thoughts."

"On hearing this well - founded and convincing complaint Guru Atjan said to Bhai Gurdas, "Now we have Sikhs who can discriminate between the Bani of the true Guru (True Prophets) and false Guru (false prophets). The spiritually enlightened Sikhs today perceive the difference between authentic Bani (Sachi Bani) and fake Bani (kachi Bani) of imitators and pretenders, but in future it may be difficult. So collect all the Bam Pothis for the compilation of Granthji. Also simplify the Gurmukhi alphabet (Gurmukhi akhar sugam kichai) so that everyone may read them easily (sabh Kisai de vachan vich sugam hovan). So all the collections of Bani were collected and kept in a room (at Amritsar) (Kothai vich baman lkathian kitian). Pashaura Singh's Prosaic and Discursive observations on Some Recensions of *Adi Granth*.

In the second and third chapters of his thesis Pashaura Singh makes superficial observations on Goindwal Pothis, Kartarpur bir and other recensions which he has neither seen or has he studied the text of anyone of these volumes. He- has seen some

old copies in Punjabi University and other places, but says nothing even about the Japji and other important texts of these recensions. He only repeats the remarks of his Guide, Dr Hew McLeod here and there.

Without giving an iota of internal or external evidence, and without quoting a single sentence from historical documents and without refuting contemporary or near contemporary evidence about the canonization of Adi Granth (known earlier as pothi Sahib or Granth Sahib as Guru and Successor of Guru Gobind Singh, he makes a blasphemous statement saying, "The foregoing examination of the early manuscripts reveals that GNDU MS/1245 was one of the many Drafts on which Guru Atjan seems to have worked to produce the final text of the Adi Granth in 1604 A.D." (Thesis Chapt. 2 p. 60) According to Pashaura Singh, both the Sikh Panth and even Guru Gobind Singh failed to produce a final standard edition, a task which according to him and his Guide was fulfilled by the illiterate ruler Ranjit Singh with the help of a council of scholars whose names are not mentioned by him. At the end of the third chapter he re-iterates his mischievous and unsubstantiated statement without giving even a correct resume of any of the recensions mentioned in his thesis by authoritatively asserting: A careful survey of the early manuscripts reveal that there was no one version of Adi Granth. Ranjit Singh abolished the institution of gurmatta (collective decision of the Khalsa Panth) and tried to down play the doctrine of Guru Panth. He also made efforts to bring forward the doctrine of Guru Granth. Maharaja Ranjit Singh appointed a council of prominent Sikh scholars to prepare an authorised version of Adi Granth (Thesis Chap. 3, p. 82). Pashaura Singh is not tired of repeating this utterly stupid suggestion without giving an iota of evidence. Guru Atjan frequently revised the received texts in the interest of establishing a canonical scriptures. During the editorial process, Guru Atjan achieved linguistic refinement through substitution of synonyms for certain words, "which he p.resumes Guru Atjan did not have in earlier drafts. Pashaura Singh mindlessly follows the absurd suggestions of his Guide Dr McLeod but he does not give a single line or a single word from the text to prove what he so loudly asserts.

### **Pashaura Singh's Mendacious Concoctions and**

## **Presentations of GNDU MS 1245 as Guru Arjan's First Draft**

This chapter opens with a passage from an essay of Dr Loehlin, which was originally written by him long ago. But after his death Hew McLeod clique prepared a distorted form of it, introducing in it passages to which he never subscribed during his life time. They have got it published under a new title "The Need for Textual and Historical Criticism" to suit their purpose.

These three chapters move around one lamp-post in the blind-alley in which Pashaura Singh ventures to enter. This lamp-post is his Light-house, and whenever he gropes in the darkness of bluff, blustering deception, he follows the light-house repeatedly asserting: McLeod says, McLeod thinks, McLeod suggests, McLeod concludes. With such back-seat driving of his learned Guide, Pashaura Singh again and again jumps out of the frying pan into the fire of hostile and ignominious postures constructed by his guide. But a scholar with academic interests looks for some concrete internal or external evidence in support of his much trumpeted theory that GNDU MS 1245 is an early Draft prepared by Guru Arjan.

Pashaura Singh!McLeod's Magical Formula Many people like me do not believe in magic, but when you happen to see a magical show you are impressed by the art of illusion. But Pashaura Singh and his learned Guide Dr Hew McLeod have evolved a novel magical formula for upgrading and downgrading sacred scriptures and fake documents to whatever position they desire. Besides giving a newly constructed Genealogical Table, historically incorrect and misleading from top to bottom (Thesis p. 23) he introduces a new magical formula in Toronto University academic studies by making the following statement.

"If the standard rule of textual criticism that "the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one (*Brevior lectio praeferenda varbrosiori*) is considered the text of this manuscript comes out to be earlier than the famous Kartarpur manuscript. Another rule that "the more difficult reading is generally preferable" (*Proclivi lectioni praestat ardua*) may be equally applied to GNDU text since it contains archaic linguistic expressions which were standardized in the Kartarpur volume."

If some learned Christian scholars like Dr Hew McLeod applies an abracadabra magic formula and some Latin or Greek so called standard rules of criticism, to the Bible and places the Forth Gospel before the First, and Epistles of St. Paul before the birth of Jesus Christ, his Christian colleagues of Berkley and Toronto Universities might consider Dr Hew McLeod and his students and admirers genuses of a new genre, but all those eminent scholars who devoted a life time to the study of the Bible might turn in their graves on hearing of this new methodology of studying sacred scriptures. Even orthodox Sikhs are very tolerant people but no one in his normal senses can tolerate such gibberish nonsense.

Both Dr Hew McLeod and Pashaura Singh might have been on better grounds if they had taken shelter under such Latin or Greek phrases to protect and propagate their prejudices and errors as: *urgumentum* and *ignorantium* (arguments based on the adversary's ignorance; or *individium* (peoples hatred and prejudices). These universities have lowered their own prestige by instituting such, unacademic research which only ventilates the ignorance, contempt and prejudices of a hostile Christian scholar and a stupid Sikh student.

Mul-Mantar in Authentic Guru Granth copies

Mul-Mantar and Gur-mantar in Sikh scriptures have been one and the same ever since they were revealed to Guru Nanak. They have come down to us only through written tradition. Cult-groups virtually disassociated from Sikhism even during the Guru-period have tried to corrupt the Mulmantar, Gurmantar and also distort Gurbani, but the Mulmantar and gurmantar of Guru Nanak has been recorded in all authentic recensions of Adi Granth, historically acceptable Janamsakhis, GurbiJases is absolutely correct, The correct Mulmantar is

Ek : The One Transcendent God

Omkar : All-pervading Immanent Spirit

Satnam : His Name is Eternal Truth

Karta Purkh : Creator, Perfect Being

Nirbhau : Without Fear

Nirvair: Without Enmity

Akal murat : Immortal His divine Image

Ajuni : Unborn

Saibhan : Self-Existent

Gurparshad : By his Grace attained

The Mulmantar is based on Guru Nanak's experience and vision of the Unmanifest Absolute one and only one God, and His Manifest Immanent, all-pervading Light Omkar. This ek Omkar is also called the Bij mantr and is present in all invocations. The divine Attributes of God are given in the Mulmantar. It embodies the luminosity of the Unmanifest Absolute God and His All-pervading Light which gives Life and divine speak to all living creatures. It unfolds a vision of the Ultimate Reality and the Creative Power behind the universe.

Contemplation and meditation on the Mulmantar opens the inner most being of man to the spiritual consciousness of the Immanent and Transcendent Presence of God. In the Guru Granth we find it in 33 places besides being placed at the opening of new Ragas it is particularly attached to two major compositions of Adi Granth namely japji and Asa-Ki-Var. it appears it was inseparably associated with these compositions from the time of Guru Nanak.

Minor Invocations: For invocations as minor sub-headings a part of it ek Omkar satnam kartapurkh gurprashad is used only eight times, while a still shorter invocation ek Omkar satgurprashad is used 525 times. These minor invocations are not Mulmantras. They are used even while writing a letter. For writing encydic letters (Hukamnamas) these invocations were still reduced to brief statements and ekomkar guru sat. Guru Gobind Singh introduced a number of other invocations such as Vahguru-ji-ki Fateh, tav prashad, Akal Sahai. These Invocations are not mantras and are not used for meditations.

Bhai Gurdas has explained in detail the significance of Mulmantra in two of his verses in such a way that the distortions can easily be detected. Bhai Gurdas, the co-compiler of Adi Granth authoritatively confirms what the real Mulmantar in Sikh Scriptures is and what it means.

ekomkar akang likh  
 Ura Omkar lakhaya  
 satnam karta purkh  
 nirbhau hoe nirvair sadaya  
 akal murat partakh soe  
 nau ajuni saibham bhaya  
 gurprashad su adi sach

jageh jugantar honda aya  
 After writing the numerical akang (one)  
 Symbolizing ekomkar : the Transcendent God.  
 The letter Ura was written along with it . . .  
 Symbolizing Omkar : All pervading Immanent Spirit  
 Satnam : Eternal Truth is His Name  
 Karta Purkh : he is Creator, perfect Being  
 Nirbhau hoe, being Ever Fearless  
 Nirvair sadaya : He is known as "Without Enmity;,  
 Akal Murat His Immortal image is Visible Presence.  
 His attribute is Ajuni : Unborn  
 He is ever self-Existent: Saibham  
 By the grace of Eternal Guru ("Gurparshad)  
 He is achieved: The Primal Truth  
 Who ever exists from age to age.  
 Bhai Gurdas : Var 39, pauri 1.

Bhai Gurdas repeats this confirmation of Guru Nanak's Mulmantar in Var 26 Pauri

As break away cults, like Minas, who were condemned as highway robbers had already started corrupting Gurbani, distorting Mulmantar and gurmantar so Bhai Gurdas not only clearly states what Mulmantar in Sikh Meditations is, but also gives clear expression to Guru Nanak's gurmantar when he says "Vah-Guru Gurmantar hai jup haumai khoi. Vah-Guru is the gurumantar contemplating which the disciple gets rid of all I-ness (ego consciousness).

Forgeries, Fabrications in Guru Nanak Dev University Manuscript: GNDU MS 1245

Guru Nanak Dev University bought this manuscript from Curio Dealers Harbhajan Singh and Harcharan Singh Chawla. Dr Piar Singh and Or Madanjit Kaur of Guru Nanak Studies Department of the University certified it as a very rare and unique manuscript of Adi Granth. A micro-film copy of this manuscript was specially provided to Dr Hew McLeod, perhaps on the strong recommendation of Dr Piar Singh and Dr Madanjit Kaur, two of the four or five strong admirers of Dr Hew McLeod and uncritical supporters and propagators of his bluff-blunder books allegedly called academic.

The claim of the Dealers or those who have committed the forgeries that there is "Nishan mangal" of Guru Hargobind are

utterly false. A Mul-mantar written by the clearly discernable handwriting of Guru Tegh Bahadur is pasted on it afterwards.

### **Forged Hymns in the name of Bhai Buddha**

It is shocking to note that Professors who recommended it as a rare Manuscript of Adi Granth, in their rash enthusiasm to promote this completely fake eighteenth century document as an early and rare draft of Adi Granth failed to note that the crude hand in which this hymn falsely attributed to Bhai Buddha is a recent forgery pasted on it to give it historical colouring and increase its sale value.

### **Forgery of Fake Hymn Attributed to Bhai Buddha**

A hymn is pasted on the Manuscript which is attributed by those who forged it to Bhai Buddha's handwriting. Pashaura Singh says, "The attribution of this hymn to Bhai Buddha is based on the family tradition. See the Manuscript Note by Harbhajan Singh and Harcharan Singh Chawla (P 27-28 f.n.) Pashaura Singh writes "The manuscript contains a hymn written in Bhai Buddha's hand on the third decorated page, which may show his involvement in the creation of the scriptures. It is quite possible that his descendants may have preserved the manuscript through the process of handing it over to the next generation."

The forgery is clear from the following facts:

(1) During the course of my researches I have maintained a regular contact with the deras and villages 'connected with Bhai Buddha's life. These deras and shrines never had any recension of Adi Granth or any document having anything written by Bhai Buddha's hand.

(2) These lines written with a rustic hand are from a distorted hymn of Guru Amar Das. They have nothing to do with Bhai Buddha.

(3) Bhai Buddha was the first teacher who taught the Punjabi alphabet first to Guru Arjan and then formally to Guru Hargobind. No man in his proper senses would believe that Bhai Buddha wrote in such a clumsy and crude handwriting. Bhai Buddha was the most honoured and the first Patriarch of Sikh history who was not only the most loved and respected disciple of Guru Nanak, but he was appointed by the Founder of Sikhism to anoint his successor. God granted him such long life and spiritual strength that he anointed five successors of Guru Nanak.

When the compilation of Adi Granth (Pothi Sahib) was complete, he was asked to install it in the Hari Mandir (Golden Temple). He was appointed the first High Priest of this most sacred shrine in the light of his first hand knowledge and experience of the durbars of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das. Those who have presented a forged hymn under his forged handwriting deserve to be condemned for such blasphemous act.

#### Mina-Cult Attitude Towards Bhai Buddha

If there was anyone whom the Mina-Cult rival gurus hated it was Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gurdas, who campaigned against the aggressive and mischievous schismatic activities of Prithi Mal and his son Meharban, who were condemned by them as Minas (Highway robbers). They bribed the Masands and indirectly plundered the tithes before they reached the legitimate Guru. They corrupted and plagiarized Gurbani, and thus committed literary thefts in many ways. When Guru Ram Das handed over the articles of spiritual regalia to Bhai Buddha and asked him to anoint his youngest son Arjan Mal as his successor, Prithi Mal rudely confronted Bhai Buddha and said,

Listen O old Man,  
 I know you very well;  
 You are praised  
 As companion of Guru Nanak;  
 I am the eldest son,  
 And deserved to be set  
 on the pontific throne of the Guru  
 You have not done the light thing;  
 You are an old man now,  
 And have lost all sense of discrimination;  
 I conducted all the administration,  
 What have you done old Man.  
 You have anointed Arjan as the successor.  
 If I do what I must do  
 You will have to face dishonour and humiliation'  
 I will wrest control of the pontific throne. '

Kavi Santokh Singh : Suraj Prakash Rashi 2, Anou 22 The hostility of the Mina Sodhis (prithi Mal and Meharban) continued to the end of the life of the great Patriarch who was respected as a great Apostle and contemporary of Guru Nanak

by all the Sikh Gurus.

### **Bhai Gurdas' Criticism of Mina Sodhis: Prithi Mal. and Meharban**

It is an established fact that the decision to compile an Adi Granth (pothi : Holy Book) was taken when it was detected that the Mina Sodhis started mixing their own hack-work and imitation verses in authentic Gurbani. Kesar Singh Chhiber in his Bansavali-nama writes:

"Meharban son of Prithi Mal started composing poetry. He was educated in. Persian Hindvi, Sanskrit and Punjabi. He composed his own Bani, with the signature line of Nanak. The bards ignorantly started singing it as real Bani. These Mina Sodhis set up their own durbar and prepared their own Granth. They put into their Granth the Banf of earlier Gurus."

When Guru Arjan heard the bards ignorantly singing Mina-Bani as real Bani, he addressed Bhai Gurdas and said, "These Minas are corrupting Gurbani by mixing their own fake Bani in it. This we will not permit,"" Thus Bhai Gurdas was asked to collect all the authentic Pothis. Sarup Das Bhalla also writes in his Mehma Prakash

Guru Arjan immediately commanded  
Bhai Gurdas to collect all Barn Pothis  
Compile the True Gurbani  
Include in it the Bhagat Bani  
And take out the fake bani (Kachi Bani)

Sarup Das Bhalla : Mehma Prakash P. 701

The more pacific Guru Arjan remained, the more aggressive and violent was the attitude of Prithi Mal and Meharban. Every time Guru Arjan sent Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gurdas for reconciliation and peaceful family relations, Prithimal and Meharban insulted them and were extremely rude to them. When they made an all out bid to bribe the Masands and win the support of the Mughal authorities to capture the control of Amritsar, Bhai Gurdas exposed them by writing a whole Var (Canto) of stirring verses exposing their hypocracy, duplicity, meanness and wicked deeds thus:

"The Minas are as hypocritical as the cranes, who dwell in holy rivers, cheating by their pretensions on places of pilgrimage. The True Guru is the King of kings. The Minas are spiritless evil persons whose faces are blackened with evil deeds. (Var 36-1)

Just as a Jackal who jumped into the vat of a dyer changed his external appearance and posing as King of the Jungle he frightened all animals' into submissions; but when the Jackal opened his mouth his utterances exposed him. Such are the false and mischievous (kupata) Minas. They are without character and honour and will be chastised and exposed in the Court of God (36-2).

How can a Mina glowworm ever face the Light of ever shining Moon? How can a Mina who is like a drop of water ever be equal to the Vast Sea (the true Guru). You stand condemned from the divine Source 0 Minas. You are doomed hell. (36-3).

Just as a prostitute is beautiful but her black heart and soul pushes her lovers to the pit so the companionship of Minas pushes a person to the pit of sorrow and suffering. (36-5)

How do you distinguish the True Guru from the Mina hypocrites. Minas are like counterfeit coins. They are like condemned and repudiated Pirs who get shoe beating wherever they go (36-8)

Without possessing any moral or spiritual qualities these Minas proclaim themselves to be Gurus of the Sikhs. (36-11).

The Janam Sakhis, the Goshtis, the imitative Bani written by Prithimal, Meharban and his son Harji stood condemned and anathematized by the Sikhs. At first, Prithimal claimed to be the fifth, Guru of the Sikhs, but a sustained campaign against them earned on by Bhai Buddha and Bhlli Gurdas ousted them out of Amritsar.. The supreme sacrifice of. Guru Arjan in suffering martyrdom with divine calmness and endurance put the Minas in the Shade. But when Prithvi Mal found the 11-12 year old Hargobind installed as sixth Guru, he felt that he could easily oust, him as successor of his father. So Prithi Mal started captioning his imitative Bani as Mahal Sixth, and when he died his son Meharban started calling himself the seventh Guru of the Sikhs. Guru Hargobind publicly declared that he would not

compose any hymns and there would be no Bani under Mohalla sixth or seventh. Thus we find the Bani under Mohalla sixth, seventh and eighth is all Mina Bani.

Technique Adopted by Meharban and other Minas of Composing Bani

The Minas adopted a tactless technique of lifting half the lines from the compositions of earlier Gurus, juxtapositioning them into a new verse-line, and after putting three or four lines in verse order added Das Nanak as their signature line claiming divine descent from Guru Nanak. For example, Meharban picks the following half-lines either in their original form or slightly changed form.

kudrat kar      Guru Nanak Sri Rag  
 paki nae pak    Guru Nanak Sri Rag  
 sabh kich terai vas      Guru Arjan, Var  
 Ramkali

From these plagiarized lines Meharban has composed the following verse which has no rhythm or pohi beat.

kudrat kar dikhlalya hindu musalman  
 paki nai pak tu ap ram rahmin  
 sabh kich terai vas hai das Nanak ke meharvan

It is with this three-line verse Janam Sakhi of Meharban ends. There are over 150 such verses of Meharban in his Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak. The lines of each verse can be traced to the earlier composition of the Sikh Gurus.

### **Mina-Cult Mul-Mantar in GNDU MS/1245**

Pashaura Singh quotes the following Mul-Mantar from GNDU MS/1245 and has devoted over six pages of comments on it.

< siqnm krqm prK inrBau inrvr  
 Akw mlriq Aj hl sBl siqgr prswid

This is the innovative Mulmantar which was introduced by Meharban and his Mina-Cult after Guru Arjan had compiled the Adi Granth. Meharban's Janam Sakhi begins with this corrupted form of Mulmantar,. This Mulmantar is also found in the following other manuscripts of the Mina-gurus Harji Mina and Chaturbhuj.

1. Pothi Harji a continuation of Meharban's Janam Sakhi (who claimed to be a successor of Guru Nanak).

## 2. Pothi Chaturbhuj

Both of these works begin with the Mina-Cult Mulmantar and both are published by Khalsa College, Amritsar.

The following other Manuscripts found in other libraries and about a dozen Mina-Cult deras also have this Mul-Mantar as their distinguishing feature.

1. Ramkali. Omkar Vada. In imitation of Guru Nanak's Omkar, in Ramkali Rag (54 verses) this Mina-Cult composition has 87 verses. The plagiarizing tadics are clearly visible. Most of the lines are picked up from Guru Nanak's Bani.

2. Sukhmani Sahansar-Nama. The Manuscript of this also has the same Mina-Cult Mul-mantar. It is a composition prepared to replace Guru Arjan's Sukhmani. It is completely an anti-thesis of Guru Arjan's work. Guru Arjan's Sukhmani has 24 Ashtapadis. Mina Sukhmani has 30 Ashtapadis. Guru Arjan's Sukhmani glorifies only God and true saints and illumined Mystics (Brahm-Giani) of God. The Mina-Sukhmani glorifies Hindu Avatars and praises Rama, Krishna in order to attract Hindu Vaishnavas to Mina-Cult fold. Historically all these works were composed after Guru Arjan had completed the Adi Granth.

For Pashaura Singh to call this Mina-Mul Mantar the first draft of G.uru Arjan, without giving any evidence is an absurdity of the first order. This Mul-mantar has nothing to do either with Guru Arjan or with Adi Granth.

Distortion of the Japu Ji in GNDU MS/1245

It is an established fact and confirmed from many copies prepared from the original Kartarpur recension that Guru Arjan used a very authentic version of Jap ji from a copy prepared by his father Guru Ram Das. The Jap(u) in all authentic versions is found as follows:

"j pi"	Jap(u)
Awid scuj igwid scw ]	adi sach jugadi sach
hYBI scunink hsi BI scw ]	hai bhi sach nanak hosi bhi sach.

Meditation

In the beginning He was the Truth

Throughout the ages He has been, the Truth

Even now He is the Immanent Truth  
 For ever in future He shall be the Truth.

In this GNDU MS/1245 Mina-Cult scribes have introduced all their innovations by distorting the text. The Shloka Adi Sach Jugadi sach is completely removed, but used by Minas elsewhere in their own Bani. The Jap Text only 40 verses had been a daily prayer of all Sikhs during the last twenty years of Guru Nanak's life. Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das maintained the same text as authentic from 1569 onwards. Guru Arjan copied the correct Text from a personal prayer Book prepared by his own father. Now in 1990 Pashaura Singh/Hew McLeod want the Sikhs to believe that a Mina-Cult Manuscript of eighteenth century full of a distorted version of Japji was the first draft of Japji and Adi Granth hymns. Four Gurus, and even its author Guru Nanak could not prepare a final version of this most important meditation during his life time. Guru Nanak had time to finalize the text of all his compositions which are longer than Japu, but failed to give the most important and inspired composition a final form.

### **Mina-Cult Distortions in Jap(u) Text of GNDU MS/1245**

Guru Arjan in the first compiled volume had already stated that the Japu was from a copy recorded by his father in his own hand. In order to prove to their disciples that the Bani they were recording was from more authentic sources, Minas have even distorted lines from Japji. We give ten lines from the first six pauries of Japji.

Text of Authentic version

Corrupted Text in  
 GNDU MS/1245.

BiKAw BK n aqrI  
 Shs isAwxpw I K hih qw  
 ikv sicAww hieAI ikv  
 hikim hwin Awwr  
 hikml hwin jIA  
 swcW swihb swcW nwie  
 mhho ik bd x bd IAY  
 ivx BwxYik nwie krl  
 jql isriT apnel vKw  
 ivx krmw ik iml Y

BiKAw BK n atqrY  
 shh isAwxpw I K hin qW  
 ikau sicAww hieAI ikatI  
 hikim hAw Awwr  
 hikml hey jIAw  
 swcW swihb swcW nwaU  
 mhhu ik bd x bd IAY  
 ivx BwxYikAw nwie krl  
 jql issid apnel vKw  
 ivx krmw ikAw iml Y

Even in Japu this kind of innovative distortions go on to show to their Mina-Cult followers that they have a different and better

copy of Japji. They ignored the fact that these innovative distortions changed the accentuation of syllables and the number of accentuated syllables in a line. Thus this method of distorting the metre also made the verse unpoetic and irregular.

#### Distortion By Changing Verse Order

There are many hymns which have been, distorted by changing the verse sequence. Pashaura Singh calls these distorted forms, the earlier forms, When this undated manuscript form is of Meharban and Harji period and decidedly later distorted form; how can they be called earlier forms by mere application of Latin formula. On page 118-119 of his thesis Pashaura Singh gives a well known hymn of Guru Atjan in Rag Tilang. We give below the correct text found in all recensions, the correct translation and then the distorted version.

Guru Arjan : Rag Tilang

#### **Refrain**

Mira dana dil soch  
muhabate man tan basal  
sach shah bandi moch

1

didnai didar sahib  
kachh nahi iska mol  
pak parvardgar tu  
khud khasm viida atol.

2

dastgiri dehi dilawar  
tuhi tuhi ek  
kartar kudrat karni khaliq  
nanak teri tek.

#### **Translation**

Guru Arjan: Rag Tilang

#### **Refrain**

O my King kings (Mira)  
O Embodiment of Wisdom  
This thought and reflection  
Has come to my mind.

Your Love illumined with Your Presence (Mhabate)

Ever dwells in my mind and body  
 You are the true King of kings  
 You are the Emancipator from bondage

1

Lord, to see the vision of Your Presence With my inner eyes,  
 Is pre-dous beyond price.  
 O Omnipotent Protector and Nourisher  
 Your are Pure and Perfect  
 O Self-Created Lord  
 You are Great and Immeasurable

2

Lead me with They Hand, Lord  
 And inspire me with divine value Thou and Thou Alone art  
 One

You are the refuge of Nanak  
 O Creator and Maker of Cosmic Nature  
 Adi Granth, Rag Tilang, P. 724

On the same page of Adi Granth there is a hymn of Guru Arjan beginning with a line karte kudrati mushtak. In the ten lines of this hymn nine lines are so shamefully corrupted that no one knowing the ABC of poetry can ever think that such ugly unpoetic and incorrect words can ever come out of the pen of Guru Arjan.

Lines as Found in All  
 Authentic Recensions

krqy kdrqI msqwk  
 dIn dInIAw ek qIhI  
 Awcrj qrw rIb  
 kax j IxI cmqI qry  
 idnsurIx ij qDu ArIDy  
 Ajrwell Xir bItly  
 gnh au skysgl AwPI qryjn  
 gr imil nwnk biJAw

Lines as Found in Mina-Cult  
 GNDU MS/1245

krqI kdrqI msqwk  
 dIn dInIAw ek qIhI  
 Acrj qrw rIb  
 kvx j IxI cl qI qry  
 idnu rIn qI ArIDqy  
 Ajrwell Adlr bItly  
 gnh an ky AwPI jyn  
 imil plr nwnk biJAw

The italic words are distortions which pashaura Singh and McLeod call the first Draft of Guru Arjan. Throughout the Adi Granth the word Azrael is correctly written by the Sikh Gurus and Sheikh Farid. No one has ever used the word Arai-clair for Azrael anywhere. Only ignorant and mischievous corrupters of Fake Bani like the Minas-cult do it in order to

corrupt the authentic hymns of Guru Arjan. No historic consensus has ever given this completely distorted reading. Only Dr Hew McLeod and his headless research students like Pashaura Singh can attribute such preposterous language and poetry to Guru Arjan.

Shocking Alterations in Var Gauri of Guru Arjan P 323 to 328 of GNDUMS/1245

In Gauri Var of Guru Arjan the Pauris are intact and have few errors. But all shlokas have been removed from their proper places and attached to some other Pauris while shlokas have been completely eliminated. Some shlokas are called Dakohas a Multani name for a couplet.

But the most sacrilegious and stupid arbitrary misplacement is, verses attached to some Pauris. In place of the appropriate shlokas some verses have been picked up from Guru Arjan's well known composition *Phunhe* of 23 verses on P. 1361-1363 of *Guru Granth* and *Gatha* a composition of 24 verses on P. 1360-61 of *Guru Granth*. Shlokas connected with Pauri 16 are removed and replaced by *Phunhe* verse 11 followed by verse 7. Pauri No. 17 of *Guru Arjan's Var Gauri* has shlokas in authentic text. These shlokas have been removed and replaced arbitrarily by verse 10 from *Phunhe* followed by verse 18 from *Gatha* of *Guru Arjan*. This pick and chose malformation and distortion is the most stupid thing the Mina-Cult scribes of this MS 1245 could do. This pattern is followed by them in a number of other places.

May I ask Christian scholars and experts on the text of the Bible just one question: "How would they feel if some genius like Dr Hew McLeod produced an apparently old Manuscript in which passages from Sermons on the Mount are shifted to the Psalms, and verses from Solomon's "Song of Songs" are shifted to the Fourth Gospel and this rare genius claims that this document is older than the Books of Wisdom in Old Testament. And when he is asked to give any internal or external evidence he recites a Latin or Greek formula like the Tantrics reciting magical mantram.

Collections arduous : "If the canon of unusual readings is applied to determine the age of a document then it can certainly be placed anywhere. The erratic whims of such academic researchers of Toronto University illumni present any

absurd illogical nonsense to conceal their ignorance behind these Latin or Greek utterances. If we were to list all the distortions in this Manuscript, it will require over two hundred pages along with the correct text found in hundreds of authentic recensions.

### **Elimination of Bhagat-Bani and Ludicrously Stupid Comments**

Ragas were inseparable part of the hymns of the Guru. All the Gurus who composed hymns that were to be sung fixed Ragas to them which his successor never changed. Authentic, Bhagat bani also became a part of the Bani Pothi collections. 'The hymns of Sheikh Farid and Jayadev were collected by Guru Nanak. Just as Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das and even' Bhai Gurdas have commented on many verses of Jap(u) meditation, to elucidate and give deeper meaning of Guru Nanak's hymns, the Sikh Gurus have written some commentary hymns in some verses of the Bhagats. Some of these great saints whose hymns are selected for Adi Granth lived centuries earlier and in an entirely different religious atmosphere and' cultural milieu. There are some verses of Sheikh Farid written with the background of a life-long self-mortification. While the Gurus appreciated the real mystic and moral fervour of these verses, they did not wish that these should be taken literally. Even Farid recommended detachment and trust in god and not self-mortification to his disciples.

The person who has prepared this manuscript has completely removed the Bhagat-Bani in order to please Brahmanical Hindu Vaishnavas. Mina-Cult people called themselves Bhagatias, a word used in Punjab for Vaishnavas. There are no doctrinal differences in the Guru-Bani and Bhagat Bani. Anyone who has dared to remove Bhagat-Bani from Adi Granth has been excommunicated, No one can ever say that Guru's Bani is superior to Bhagat Bani. For the Sikh the Bani of Sheikh Farid and Kabir is as much the Word of God and True Bani (Sachi-Bani) as the Bani of the Sikh Gurus.

### **Bhagat Bani Introduced to Attract Low Caste People to Sikh-Fold**

The most mischievous suggestion in this thesis is made to project another harum scarum theory of Hew McLeod. Although the Text of MS/1245 has no Bhagat-Bani but Pashaura Singh turns to Kartarpur to record twice in his thesis (pages 26 and 174 of

Thesis) to heedlessly support Hew McLeod's theory that the purpose of including the Bhagat-Bani of low-caste to medieval saints was none other than attracting disciples from low-caste Hindus. The number of these hymns of low caste Bhagats also was gradually increased in proportion to their support of Sikhism. On pages 26 and 174 of his thesis Pashaura Singh refers to Kartarpur Bir saying that Bhagat Dhanna's hymn "Gopal tera arta" in Dhanasri Rag and Ravidas' hymn Begampura sahar ko nau were interpolated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflecting a situation in which Jats and cobblers were attracted into the Sikh fold in large numbers. These hymns are found in all recensions prepared before 1700 A.D. and were among the first important hymns of Ravidas and Dhanna. No one had ever changed a word nor dared to interpolate in Guru Gobind Singh's authorized version prepared at Anandpur called Adi Singhasan Damdama. I have two dated recensions prepared during the lifetime of Guru Gobind Singh, before the Adi Granth was installed Guru. These hymns are in their proper places even in much earlier recensions. The suggestion that they were interpolated in seventeenth or eighteenth century is highly mischievous and blasphemous.

This theory of Hew McLeod also suggests that because the largest number of hymns included in Adi Granth are those of Kabir (weaver: Julaha) and Sheikh Farid (a Muslim), the largest number of followers of the Sikh Gurus obviously were weavers (Oulahas) and Muslims. Next in importance and numbers as followers were tailors inspired by Namdev's Bani and Cobblers because of Ravidas. Jats should have been minimum as in Adi Granth. By making such unsubstantiated suggestions I do not know whether Hew McLeod and Pashaura Singh are making a fool of their readers or the Canadian academic world or themselves. No one who has even a rudimentary knowledge of Sikh history believes in such harum scarum luff theories of Hew McLeod, projected through Pashaura Singh.

### **Blasphemous Suggestion of Ranjit Singh As Final Compiler of Standard Edition of Adi Granth**

There are more than half a dozen contemporary historical evidence of the installation of Guru Granth as Guru by Kavi Sainapati : Guru-Sobha Granth, Bard Nath Mall, Bhai Nand Lall

and other contemporaries of Guru Gobind Singh who had spent nearly their whole life in the Guru's durbar. The most important document is Hukamnama of Mata Sundari, wife of Guru Gobind Singh, now in the possession of Bhai Chet Singh of Bhai Rupa village which strongly condemns those cults whose leaders tried to become eleventh Guru of the Sikhs. In it some cults are named. Besides God and the Shabad (Word of the Guru) manifest in Guru Granth no one was to be the Guru. Bhai Nand Lall was with Guru Gobind Singh during his last days and stayed with Mata Sundri at Delhi for nearly two decades writes: He says

He who wishes to see the true Guru  
 let him go and see the Granth  
 He who wishes to speak with the true Guru,  
 let him read and meditate  
 On the Word (Shabad) in the Granth,  
 He who wishes to hear the word of the  
 Guru Let his heart and soul  
 Listen to the word of the Granth

Bhai Nand Lall: Rehatnama

Quoting Hew McLeod as his sole authority Pashaura Singh writes, A careful survey of the early manuscripts reveal that there was no one version of the Adi Granth that was accepted by all the Sikhs in the eighteenth century. Maharaja Ranjit Singh abolished the gurmatta (collective decision of the community). He also made efforts to bring forward the doctrine of Guru Granth, a doctrine which affirms the authority of a Scriptural Guru." (Thesis P. 82.-83). "It is quite possible that Maharaja Ranjit Singh appointed council of prominent Sikh scholars to prepare the authorized version of the Adi Granth" (Thesis P. 84)

History cannot be created out of fantasy theories and wild imaginative suggestions. Neither Hew McLeod nor Pashaura Singh explain how over a hundred dated copies of the authentic version of Adi Granth still exist all over India and even in Kabul and Dacca which were written and completed long before Ranjit Singh was born. Ranjit Singh never summoned a council either of saints or of scholars on any religious issue. But during the last 25 years of his life the atmosphere of his durbar was so full of voluptuary

activities backed by Dogra Chiefs of Jammu and Kashmir that we have given documentary evidence to show that even the High Priest of Golden Temple considered his sons frequent visits an involvements in our affairs an insult to his prestige and position.

Hew McLeod's and Pashaura Singh's Definition of Fundamentalist Sikh Scholars

Hew McLeod and Pashaura Singh give fantastic definition of fundamentalist scholars. Sikh scholars who try to fix only one meaning to a text are called fundamentalists while those who according to their knowledge and spiritual perceptions give more than one interpretation are liberal. There is no such division amongst Sikh theology. According to this division Bhai Vir Singh is liberal while his brother Dr Balbir Singh is fundamentalist.

When the Gurus or Bhagtas wrote the hymns they had in their mind only one meaning and only one experience and vision. Different scholars try to reach this real meaning in different ways. No scholar throughout Sikh history has ever claimed that his meaning and interpretation is the final and the only correct one. Bhai Vir Singh told me that he tried to record all the written traditions so that the scholars in future may not have to search them and reflect on them separately. Interpretation of Adi Granth requires the following equipment for its study (1) Good knowledge of Prakrit, Appabransh, Punjabi, and Persian. (2) a good knowledge of schismatic as well as Hindu-Buddhist doctrines. (3) Most important of all an intuitive perception and experiences of the moral and spiritual experiences of the hymns (4) A Good knowledge of the Grammar of Adi Granth. If any of these is lacking the interpretation will reveal the shortcoming. There is no such as Singh Sabha tradition, Udasi tradition etc. Faridkot Tikka was prepared during Singh Sabha Movement. Pashaura Singh gives it a fanciful name .of intuitional. Bhai Vir Singh started work on his exegesis when he left the Singh Sabha Movement far behind him, and even Akali movement was on the decline.

Shabad-Shloka Definition. Pashaura Singh tries to give a novel interpretation of Shabad Shaloka relation. The word Shabad is used in a number of senses in Sikh Scriptures. It is used for Gurbani Unstruck Music, name of God. The Shlokas are generally connected with pauni in Vars. The wold Pauni is

the exact Punjabi translation of the word Sura. Both these words mean step of a ladder by which a person mounts. When a Shloka is attached to a padavli and not a pauri, the padavali is called Shabad which means a hymn. We have given- Our comments in the odd and irrelevant comments of Pashaura Singh on his thesis. He has neither seen or examined the Kartarpur recension, nor the Goindwal Pothis. His comments on other recensions are extremely superficial and he says nothing positive or substantial about the texts of these recensions. His attempt- to upgrade this Mina-Cult GNDU MS 1245 of eighteenth centuries and place it historically above Kartarpur recension with the magical trick of Latin formulas and McLeod-Style utterly incorrect and misleading is of the type he uses for Janam-Sakhis has ultimately boomeranged on him. As his Guide Dr Hew McLeod does not consider it necessary to give any historically reliable evidence for all his recklessly hostile assumptions, conjectural statements. Pashaura Singh also fails to quote a single trustworthy historically correct statement. On the other hand all well established, published and unpublished documents and studies on Adi Granth contravene and controvert all his capricious and fantastic statements picked up exclusively from Hew McLeod's books or superimposed on Pashaura Singh's thesis by his Guide.

Calligraphy and Index Pashaura Singh is absolutely wrong when he says that the calligraphic style is the same as that found in two Goindwal Pothis available. The Goindwal Pothis consisted of the Bani of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Das. The Bani of Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan were outside them. As each Pothi has on the average 3000 hymns, the total number of Pothis having the Bani of the Gurus and Bhagatas should have been at least eight. The calligraphic style of the Pothis is distinctly different from that found in GNDU MS 1245. Pashaura Singh also is wrong when he says that the whole GNDU MS 1245 is in one hand. It is written at least by four or five scribes. He attributes the writing to Bhai Gurdas and suggests that an entirely different hand in the end means that Bhai Gurdas improved his handwriting.

When Pashaura Singh calls a unique feature, it actually exposes the Manuscript to be fake from one end to another. Each Rag has a separate index, but both Pashaura Singh and his guide fail to

note that these indexes do not tally with the contents. No page or folio number is given. It is quite obvious that these Indexes are picked up from some other collections without checking whether they -would fit in here or not. The order of the Ragas, the order in which different chhandas are placed are all irregular and not found either in any Pothi or recension of Adi Granth.

Following his Guide Dr Hew McLeod, Pashaura Singh time and again tries to prove that there was no authentic version which was installed by Guru Gobind Singh as the Guru. As Hew McLeod has a sustained tendency of rejecting or ignoring all historically correct documents and never quoting any historical document in support of his own fantasy theories, both he and his headless students like Pashaura Singh reject what all European and Indian scholars have accepted. Even Dr Ernest Trumpp confirms this historical fact, when he says.

"The Guru felt that his dissolution was near at hand, and ordered his Sikhs to keep ready wood (for cremation) and shroud. Having done so they all joined their hands and asked, "O true Guru, whom will you seat, for the sake of our welfare, on the throne of the Guruship ? " He answered: "As the nine Kings before me were at the time of their death seating another Guru on their throne, so shall I now not do, I have entrusted the whole society (of the disciples to the bosom of the Timeless Divine Male (Akal Purkh). After me you shall everywhere mind the book of the Granth-Sahib as your Guru; whatever you shall ask it will show to you. Whoever be my disciple, he shall consider the Granth as the Form of the Guru." Having uttered these verses he closed his eyes and expired A.D. 1708 (pp xcvi)

Dr Hew McLeod and his students like Pashaura Singh have gone far beyond even Dr Trumpp in constructing utterly false history and unfounded mendacious doctrines which no Sikh with the name ever accepts.

Courtesy: from the book entitled "William Hewat McLeod and Ernest Trumpp as Scholars of Sikh History, Religion and Culture"

13

RESEARCH-COVERAGE OF BLASPHEMY  
A Critical Evaluation of Mr. Pashaura Singh's TEXT AND  
MEANING OF THE ADI GRANTH,

By

Dr SURINDER SINGH KOHLI

The school of thought founded by Professor W.H. McLeod through his works like *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, *Evolution of the Sikh Community*, *Early Sikh Tradition*, *A Study of the Janamsakhis*, *Who is a Sikh 1*, *The Problem of Sikh Identity*, *The Sikhs : History, Religion and Society*, *The B40 Janamsakhi*, *The Chaupa Singh's Rahit-nama* and carried further by his students and admirers like Harjot Singh, Pashaura Singh, Surjit Hans and others is a conscious effort at misconstruction of Sikh History, Religion, Philosophy and Theology by indulging desultory discussions, distortions and misrepresentations, leading towards blasphemy and spreading doubts about well-authenticated historical facts. In the words of Dr Noel Q. King, Dr McLeod in his works exhibits lack of respect for truth and historical records.

2. Mr. Pashaura Singh, while working under the supervision of Dr W.H. McLeod, has produced his Ph. D. Thesis entitled "THE TEXT AND MEANING OF THE ADI GRANTH". In his Abstract of the Thesis, he has mentioned: "Examination of early manuscripts has revealed that Guru Arjan worked over a number of drafts to produce the final text in 1604 CE. He prepared the scripture primarily in response to the process of crystallization of the Sikh tradition that was taking place during his period". This is the basic argument on which the edifice of his whole thesis has been raised. But this edifice falls down at once, when we take into consideration the following verses from the Sikh Scripture itself :

- i. Whatever Bani of the Lord I received, I pass on the knowledge contained in it, O Lalo! (Tilang M. I, p. 722)
- ii. Through the True Bani (utterance), one enters the Abode of the Lord. (Asa M. 3, p. 423)
- iii. The Bani is the. Guru and the Guru is the Bani and all the ambrosias dwell in this Bani. (Nat. M. 4, p. 982).

- iv. This Bani has come from the very outset. (Sorath M. 5 p. 628)

The above quotations imply the revelatory character of the verses of the Adi Granth. The Scripture is a revelation from God to man, therefore, it is blasphemous to suggest or say that Guru Arjan Dev worked over a number of drafts to produce the final text or the Scripture, when he himself says: "I speak on what you make me speak, O Lord-God !" (Sorath M. 5, p. 623)

3. The manuscript of the Adi Granth, on which the researcher Pashaura Singh has based his thesis is the Guru Nanak Dev University (GNDU) Manuscript No. 1245, which was purchased in 1987 by the University from Harbhajan Singh Harcharan Singh Chawla, the Manuscript dealers of Bazar Mai Sewan, Amritsar. The writer of the article, when he was the Professor and Head of the Department of Punjabi, Panjab University, Chandigarh, during his tenure, from 1962 to 1979, made purchases of several manuscripts from the same dealers which also included one manuscript of the Adi Granth. Mr. Pashaura Singh has not visited the Panjab University Library, which is a treasury of many valuable manuscripts. The manuscripts of the Adi Granth before the advent of the Printing Press, had been continuously scribed and copied in large numbers, not only in the Sikh religious centres far and wide in India, but also in various places abroad, where the Sikh settlers, traders and missionaries (Udasis or priests) had gone to stay with their families. There was a great demand for them from individuals, Gurdwaras and Dharmshalas, as the Sikh movement grew and the adherents increased. Hundreds and thousands of such manuscripts were destroyed during sacrileges and attacks by the inimical forces. Many old manuscripts were consigned to riverwaters. But still hundreds of such manuscripts were preserved in Sikh Shrines, Gurdwaras and Libraries. There are dealers, who trace them out from various places and old prestigious families and sell them to the institutions of learning and research. There are still several scholars and old houses, in whose personal libraries, there are many valuable

collections of manuscripts. The writer of this article has also got a valuable collection of manuscripts in his personal library. Sardar G.B. Singh, the author of "Sri Guru Granth Sahib dian Prachin Biran" in Punjabi, did preliminary research on some selective manuscripts of the Adi Granth, lying scattered in India and abroad. Mr. Pashaura Singh, seems to have consulted about two and a half dozen manuscripts in India and about one and a half dozen in the United Kingdom. Out of these manuscripts, he has selected one manuscript of Guru Nanak Dev University No. 1245 as the basis of his research, claiming that it is one of the drafts on which Guru Arjan Dev worked in order to produce the final text of the Adi Granth.

4. (a) The above mentioned manuscript is undated, therefore in order to justify and prove that it was prepared earlier than the famous Kartarpur manuscript, the researcher has mentioned two criteria of textual criticism that 'the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one' and the more difficult reading is generally preferable', but no logical and satisfactory proof of its earlier preparation is provided.
- (b) It is very childish of the researcher to think that the long eulogistic description of Guru Amar Das's death indicates that the scribe was possibly Bhai Gurdas, who may have further improved his handwriting by the time he wrote the final draft of the Adi Granth. In this manuscript, a short hymn of four verses is believed to have been written by Bhai Buddha. In its last verse, this hymn contains the name "Nanak" in it, which was only used by the Gurus in their bani or the Minas like Meharban used it in their verses. How could a true Sikh like Bhai (or Baba) Buddha think" of composing a verse in the name of his Guru? Bhai Buddha never wrote any poetry according to the Sikh historical records. According to the introductory note written in the beginning of the manuscript there is a benedictory autograph written in Guru Hargobind's blessed hand. The researcher himself says that this note is incorrect. He found on examination that a different piece of paper, containing the Mul Mantar

- written in Guru Tegh Bahadur's hand, was pasted. Then how could he conclude that the said manuscript was one of the drafts, on which Guru Arjan Dev 'seemed to work'?
- (c) In this manuscript, the researcher has seen blank spaces for insertion of shaloks, difference in raga sequence, some marginal notes, incomplete panegyrics by the bards, different titles in the epilogue and the useage of Gurmukhi script, which is still in the process of development. Such like peculiarities can be noticed elsewhere also, because of the changing mood, whim, disposition and handwriting of the scribe or the copyist. The researcher does not find in the manuscript the Bhagat Bani. He believes that Guru Atjan's primary concern was to fix the hymns of the Gurus first. This is far from truth, because the Guru was compiling the bani of both the Gurus and the Bhagat at the same time. It is ludicrous to think that the bani of the Bhagats was included anticipating the attraction of the followers of the Bhagats in the Sikh fold. None would accept the blasphemous statement of the researcher that Guru Atjan Dev, who received the bani intuitively from the Lord, modified his own hymns in a number of places. Why has the researcher not visualized the consequences of denigrating the revelatory character of the scripture and indulging in blasphemy by specifying such a manuscript as the basis .of his research, which is undated, unauthentic and without any historical significance?
5. In his Textual Arudysis, the researcher has given the first place to the consideration of Mul Mantar (The primary Sacred Formula), which is given in the very beginning of the Adi Granth, after which the Dani entitled JAPU begins. It is also a part of Japu, and is recited daily by the Sikhs as such. It occurs many times in the body of the scripture in its complete form as well as in other abbreviated forms at the beginning of various sections and sub-sections of the scripture. In his analysis, the researcher has referred to its different text, which occurs in volume I of the Goindwal Pothis. The researcher believes that this was the form that was current during the

period of Guru Amar Das. In this text the words Satgur Prasad are given instead of Gur Prasad, Such Nam instead of Satnam, Kartar instead of Karta Purkh, Nirikar instead of Nirvair and Sambhau instead of Saibhang. Satgur Prasad occurs after Ik-Aumkar and with the word Sambhau the Mul Mantar ends. The volume, which the researcher has referred to does not contain the bani Japu, therefore we cannot be sure whether the same form of Mul Mantar has been used there. Many a time, the scribes and copyists have stumbled and written according to their discretion. We have to see how the master scribe like Bhai Gurdas has written the same, or how Guru Arjan Dev has recorded the same. In the Kartarpur manuscript, Bhai Gurdas has written the form of Mul Mantar, recorded in his own hand by Guru Arjan Dev as confirmed by the researcher himself. There is, of course, no writing available in the hand or scribe by Bhai Gurdas. The researcher, in his zeal for bringing forth something new, tries to prove that the earlier draft of Mul Mantar in the Goind wal Pothe changed to the following form of Mul Mantar:

Ik-Aumkar Satnam Karta Purkh Nirbhau Nirvair Ajuni  
Saibhang Satguru Parsad

In the Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript No. 1245, the only difference being of Satguru Parsad instead of Gur Prasad. But according to the researcher during the development of Mul Mantar, Guru Ram Das changed the word Nirikar to Nirvair, which reflects 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. Guru Arjan Dev replaced Satguru Parsad with Gur Prasad to provide a more coherent structure to the text of the Mul Mantar. He also added Purkh changing the word Kartar to Karta, because by his time the personal (Purkh) aspect of the Supreme Being acquired prominence as compared with Guru Nanak's emphasis on the formless (Nirankar) nature of Ultimate Reality. According to the researcher "This may provide an adequate explanation of the subsequent development that took place in Sikh doctrine as

well as within the panth since the days of Guru Nanak. This will, however, challenge the traditional understanding of the Mul Mantar as being created in its present form by Guru Nanak himself." This CHALLENGE of the researcher regarding the traditional understanding of the Mul Mantar, is in fact, a challenge to the whole Panth. IT IS THE HEIGHT OF BLASPHEMY. Generally, the mantar occurs in two forms. One form is the regular prayer in words, which is called Mul Mantar. The other form of the Mantra is the combination of syllables. It is called Bijamantar, which is Wahi-Guru in Sikhism. It may also be Ik-Aumkar. Mul Mantar is prepared only by the founder of the Faith. In the case of Sikhism, it was undoubtedly prepared by Guru Nanak himself. None can change any word or letters of the Mul Mantar. It was Guru Nanak himself, who used the words Mu! Mantar in his verses. He says: "Mul Mantar is the source of ambrosia, tasting which, one realizes the Perfect Lord" (Maru M. I, p. 1041). Thus Mul Mantar is the name of the Lord whose recitation leads one towards Ultimate Reality. It is thus sacrilegious to say that the components of the Mul Mantar were prepared at different times to suit the worldly situations or religious developments. The researcher has tried to trace directly from the works of Guru Nanak, the origin of the major components of the earlier form of the Mul Mantar, as though the founder Guru was not the author of the Primary Sacred Formula. Does the researcher not know that the attributes of the Lord mentioned by Guru Nanak in the Mul Mantar, when practised by the disciple (Sikh) make him God-like ? Whereas the Lord is Nirbhau (Fearless), the disciple becomes fearless: "He becomes fearless, in whose heart abides the Lord" (Maru M. 1,9.1042). Similarly the Lord is Nirvair and according to Guru Nanak Dev, the disciple destroys all 'Yair Virodh' (enemity). How could then the researcher think that Guru Ram Das introduced the word Nirvair in Mul Mantar, because of personal reason. The researcher does not seem to have any hold on the religious philosophy of the Sikh Scripture. He thinks that for Guru Nanak the word Nirankai is of utmost

importance. The Sikh Gurus believed in both the aspects of the Lord i.e. Nirguna (Transcendent) and Sarguna (Immanent). Guru Nanak Dev said, "Nirgun te Sargun thia" (Ramkali M. 1, Siddh Goshta, p. 940) Guru Arjan Dev said, "Nirgun aap Sargun bhi Ohi" (Gauri Sukhmani M. 4, p. 387). Did Guru Nanak Dev not say that the Lord has no eyes, no form, etc. (Sarguna aspect) ? (Dhanasari M. 1, Aarti, p. 13). Then what special importance has been given to the Nirguna aspect by using the word Nirankar? Undoubtedly, the Guru pays his obeissance to the Lord, who is above maya, but this world is the abode of the Omnipresent Lord, therefore it has a significance for him. The researcher says further that Guru Arjan Dev introduced the word Purkh in Mul Mantar, because with him, the personal (purkh) aspect of the Lord acquired prominence as compared with Guru Nanak's emphasis on the formless nature of Ultimate Reality. The researcher seems to be ignorant of the philosophical term Purusha, from which the word Purkh had been formed in Sant Bhasha (the saint-language). According to Sankhya Shastra, after Prakriti, the other co-eternal reality is of Purushai it is pure consciousness, eternal, changeless but passive. There are innumerable Purushas. When Purusha comes into contact with Prakriti, evolution takes place. The Lord God of Guru Nanak is also called Purusha, but He is called the Primal Purusha (Aad Purkh), Creator (Karta Purkh). Purusha is without the impact of maya

(Niranjan Purkh), etc. The ordinary Purushas are souls, which are a part and parcel of the Primal Purusha or Lord-God.

6. After Mul Mantar, the researcher has taken up the textual analysis of JAPU and some other hymns. According to him, the Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript No 1245 provides an earlier version of Japu before its standardization. Here also he has tried to prove that Guru Arjan refined the language of certain passages and polished the metre. While writing about the concluding shaloka of Japu, he says that traditionally this shaloka is understood to be Guru Nanak's own composition, but there are scholars who

regard Guru Angad as the real author. Along with this, he has made a very obnoxious Suggestion: "Guru Nanak may have initiated his successor Bhai Lehna into the poetic skill of verse composition in the literary form of a shalok, and the training may have been a part of his designation to the office of guruship. The two Gurus may have worked together on the text of the epilogue of the Japji and accordingly both may be regarded as its joint authors".

7. Another marvel that has come to our notice is the reference of the researcher to an article of Dr. C.H. Loehlin entitled "The Need for Textual and Historical Criticism" in his Bibliography. This article was published in "The Sikh Courier (Spring-Summer, 1987). The actual article of Rev. C.H. Loehlin entitled "A Westerner Looks at the Kartarpur Granth" was published in the Proceedings of Punjab History Conference (First Session dated November 12-14, 1965). A rebuttal of this article entitled "A Note on Kartarpur Granth" by the eminent Sikh savant Bhai Jodh Singh was published in 1965. Loehlin's article was first published in The Sikh Courier in 1987 and later on published in the "The Sikh Review" in its March-April 1990 issue. In these two articles we find additional matter after the actual earlier article of Loehlin of about ninety lines. This addition of about hundred lines is the same in both these journals. The articles are published under the name of C.H. Loehlin. Dr. Loehlin presented himself this article personally in 1965 in the Punjab History Conference. He passed away on August 27, 1987 at the age of ninety. He resided in Westminster Gardens Presbyterian Retirement Community Center, 1420 Santo Domingo Avenue, Duarte, California 91010 from 1981 until his death. According to the catalogue (Memories of Westminster Gardens) of all the academic papers published by the residents of the above facility during their stay, Dr. C. Loehlin did not publish any article during his stay at the above facility. Now the question arises as to who has tampered with the actual article of Dr. Loehlin published in 1965 and sent the additional matter along with the actual article to The Sikh Courier in 1987 under Dr. Loehlin's name? The title of the

article has been changed from "A Westerner Looks at the Kartarpur Granth" to the "Need for Textual and Historical Criticism". It was in 1987 itself that researcher Pashaura Singh started his research in Toronto under the supervision of Dr McLeod, and the Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript No. 1245 was also purchased in the same year by the end of March, which was made the basis of his Textual Analysis. We have every reason to believe that all this is the work of a CLIQUE, with which the researcher is associated. The additional matter contains such blasphemous and obnoxious statements :

"If the problem of the Adi Granth is so acute, much more so than of the tenth Granth is ? Who wrote it ? How really was it compiled? What is its authentic text ? What is the purpose of its various books?.... The Adi Granth is not given an exclusive preference over the bani of Guru Gobind Singh ....Western friends of Sikhism and the Sikhs likewise have noted this lack of critical interest on the part of the Sikhs. Fortunately many of their scholars and research experts are doing research on textual and historical problems."

The Sikh scholars and research experts, mentioned in the above quotation can be none else than the members of the abovementioned clique. We do not understand how the editors of the prestigious Sikh Journals like The Sikh Courier and The Sikh Review could publish such blasphemous material, which has been deliberately introduced in order to rake up new controversies regarding the well-established Revelatory Character of the Sikh Scripture and mislead the faithful adherents.

The researcher has wilfully indulged in an irreligious exercise and act of blasphemy, knowing full well as a Sikh the sentiments and beliefs of his own people. He has been given a wrong advice in selecting an undated manuscript, which is unauthentic and has no locus standi. Many of his statements about the Gurus and their works are ill-conceived and ill-considered. They are illogical assumptions. A great disservice has been done through this research. The Sikhs religious institutions should take note of blasphemous works, which try to demolish the spiritual foundation of their Faith.

## 14

**SACRILEGE IN THE NAME OF RESEARCH  
A Critical Analysis of Pashaura Singh's Assault  
on the Sikh Scriptures**

**BY**

**Prof. MANJEET SINGH SIDHU**

"Evad Ucha hovia Koe "Tis Uche Ko Jane Soe" only the one as exalted as the Lord Himself can fully comprehend Him. "G.G.S. page 5.

Gurbani is God's Word (shabad) revealed through the medium of the Sikh Gurus. To attempt a textual analysis of the Lord's Word without the Guru's God-bestowed grace and mystic intuitiveness is like pursuing on the ground shadows of the birds in flight-an exercise in utter futility. Pashaura Singh's doctoral thesis, "The Text and meaning of the Adi Granth" eminently qualifies for this dubious distinction. It is the latest in the series of motivated attempts to somehow negate the essentially revelatory character of the Gurbani as recorded in the Adi Granth by Guru Arjan Dev and subsequently updated by Guru Gobind Singh by including Guru Teg Bahadur's Bani in it. Pashaura Singh's thesis is a pathetic subterfuge to present afresh Prof. Mcleod's malodorous wine in a new bottle and is characterized by the same inadmissible ratiocination and sacrilegious sophistry.

Pashaura Singh admits that G.B. Singh in challenging the authenticity of the Kartarpur recension (Bir) "Seemed to be serving the Arya Samaj interests as evidenced by his defence of Dayanand's argument in his book, "but feels absolutely no qualms in endorsing much more dangerous designs of Dr Mcleod, his mentor and Ph. D. supervisor. Dr Mcleod, while working as a Christian propagandist for a Christian missionary Institute in the Punjab was smart enough to realize that the Sikh religion's revelatory fount would prove to be an insurmountable stumbling block in disseminating Christianity and securing conversions to his faith. He, therefore, embarked upon a wild-goose chase of planting doubts about the revelatory character of the Gurbani by questioning established historical events and by weaving like

a spider a web of untenable hypothesis. His frivolous and unacademic approach in determining Bhai Banno's Bir to be the authentic Bir as compared to the Kartarpur Bir without even casting a single glance at either of the two Birs and without consulting the well-researched available books on the subject very dearly demonstrates his real intent.

Pashaura Singh, as a devout disciple of Dr. Mcleod, follows like him the stratagem often used to distort the facts of history. First a conjectural premise is presented and then a cumbersome rationale is so contrived as to completely obliterate the conjectural nature of the premise. The arguments are stretched and twisted, stretched and twisted till the originally groundless premise is made to appear as a solid historical reality. Mr. Mcleod used and perfected this technique in his wilful onslaught on the Sikh religion but confounded by a barrage of incontrovertible and scientific evidence rebutting his insidious statements and conclusions questioning the authenticity of the Kartarpur Bir, Janam Sakhis, creation of the Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh on the Baisakhi day of 1699 etc., he seems to have recruited some careerists who are willing to compromise their integrity for unknown reasons. They now serve as his minions and are engaged in their assigned task of subverting the Sikh religion and its sacred traditions.

By suggesting that "Guru Arjan worked over the text of the Mul Mantar in successive drafts to give it its final form" Pashaura Singh has launched a frontal attack on the revelatory nature of the Gurbani. He contends that Guru Arjan changed the Mul Mantar to make it conform to the contemporary concept of personal Guru as against Guru Nanak's Formless Divine Guru. He also contends that Guru Ram Dass changed the world "Nirikar" to "Nirvair" "to counteract the situation of hostility in real life, created by the animosity of his rivals, with the spirit of love and friendliness." These and many other such contentions in the thesis reduce the Gurbani to a conscious and laboured poetic expression composed as a situational response to the changing times, and thus reject Guru Nanak's repeated assertion that the Gurbani was mystically revealed to him. Says Nanak (1) "O, Lalo I express what the Lord conveys to me to speak" G.G.S. Page 722 (2) "I have no voice of my own, all what I have said is His command." G.G.5. Page 763 (3) "Consider the Bani 'of the Sat Guru to be the words of Truth, O, Sikh, it is the Lord who

makes me convey them." G.G.S. Page 308.

Before undertaking any study or research relating to the text, aning or history of the Aad Granth, Pashaura Singh and others of his persuasion must necessarily proceed from the historically established premise of the Gurus being inspired messengers ordained by the Lord to disseminate his Word (Shabad) among the mankind. No research, academic or otherwise, is valid unless it fulfils this primary requisite. Just as no study of Christianity and Islam is valid that does not accept Christ and Mohammad as the prophets, similarly no approach to Sikh scriptures is valid that does not accept Sikh Gurus as divine messengers. Pashaura Singh's failure lies in the fact that he has difficulty accepting Guru Nanak and his successor Gurus as the prophets. According to him Guru Nanak "regarded himself as the mouthpiece of Akal Purakh" (Thesis Page 2) implying that Guru Nanak was not the mouthpiece of Akal Purakh, he merely "regarded" himself as the mouthpiece. It is this basic failure that leads him from one fallacy to another. This failure gets further compounded when he makes a ' spurious manuscript, the so-called Guru Nanak Dev University MS # 1245, as the bedrock of his pitifully hollow formulations. This manuscript was purchased in 1987 by Guru Nanak Dev University from Amritsar dealers Harbhajan Singh and Harcharan Singh Chawla of Bazar Mai Sevan. It bears no date, no name or any other distinguishing mark that can place it in the time frame in which Pashaura Singh has vainly attempted to place it. On page 4 of his thesis Pashaura Singh says, "It is entirely possible Guru Nanak may have himself written down his own compositions in his lifetime unlike many religious figures of his day he was not illiterate. Bhai Gurdas records a tradition that Guru Nanak used to carry a book (Kitab) of his own compositions on the missionary tours." He also accepts that some "schismatic groups were circulating hymns under the name of Nanak with the intention of winning a following of loyal Sikhs" and quotes Guru Amar Dass's general warning against the circulations of such utterances :. "Apart from the (compositions of the) true Guru all Bani is spurious. Those who recite It are spurious, likewise those who hear it and those who propagate it." Yet he makes a spurious manuscript as the base to snipe at the revelatory character of the Bani. The fact of the

matter is that every other composition outside the Kartarpur Adi Granth and the final Granth Sahib is spurious and therefore, totally irrelevant to the study of Gurbani. While discussing the editorial policy of Guru Arjan Pashaura Singh has attempted to prove that Guru Arjan "frequently revised the received text in the interest of establishing a canonical scripture." The important point that he, consciously or unconsciously, misses here is that Guru Arjan while compiling the Adi Granth collected only such writings of his predecessors as were not in his possession, which forms only a negligible portion of their writings. His collection mostly covered the writings of the Bhagats, Sants and Savants that he wanted to include in the Adi Granth. He recorded the works of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Dass and Guru Ram Dass in their purest form without adding or altering even a single syllable anywhere. The cardinal principle underlying the revealed Word is that it does not admit addition or alteration. It would be a grievous blunder to attempt such a sacrilege and no body could be more sensitive to it than Guru Arjan. To suggest anything contrary to this would itself be a sacrilege. Guru Arjan devised a brilliant format in which Bani was arranged according to a definite order based on the ragas. (For details see Daljeet Singh's Essays on the Authenticity of Kartarpur Bir and the Integrated Logic and Unity of Sikhism.) The collected material was handed over to Bhai Gurdas who then put it in the order and place appropriate to the hymn and its author. The deletions and erasions were effected by Guru Arjan when he found that a hymn of a Bhagat or a Sant scribed by Bhai Gurdas was not in consonance with the revealed Word. There are no deletions or obliterations with regard to the Bani of the Gurus. Even when he found one of his hymns occurring at two places, he did not delete either of the two. He only inserted a note to that effect.

Pashaura Singh on the one hand accepts Kartarpur Bir as the authentic Bir and also accepts that Guru Arjan recorded "Sudh" in the margin in his own hand after the works of the Gurus in each section, but on the other hand attempts to project it as the revised version of a spurious writing like GNDU MS # 1245. His attempt to make it an earlier text than the Kartarpur Bir is both awkward and groundless. His argument that archaic linguistic

expressions -found in MS # 1245 were later on standardized in the Kartarpur Bir only betrays his ignorance about the continual use of suchf archaic linguistic expressions even up to our own modern time especially by Sadhus and Sants. I remember a wandering minstrel who used such expressions and "Lande" style of writing Punjabi. Clearly the spurious copies of the Barn were written by each Scribe according to his own training, affiliation and background with the purpose of building up his own clientele. Other arguments in support of making MS # 1245 an earlier draft than Kartarpur Bir are equally fallacious. Pashaura Singh's whole thesis thrives on expressions typically used by a political manipulator, expressions like "it seems", "it appears", "perhaps", "may be", "it is possible", etc., etc. The truth, however, is that time tested traditions cannot be eroded by arbitrarily invented grotesque mental images. A serious researcher must rely on unimpeachable sources and conclusive evidence and scrupulously avoid playing second fiddle to intolerant scholars like Dr. McLeod who have ulterior motives in denigrating traditions other than their own.

Pashaura Singh has tried to revive the dead issue regarding some notional division "over the issue of Sikh identity, that is, whether one follows the teachings of Guru Nanak and his successors in the Aad Granth, or joins the Khalsa of Guru Govind Singh." Eminent scholars of Sikhism have time and again tom to shreds any suggestion of a departure by Guru Gobind Singh from the teachings of Guru Nanak. They consider it as both repugnant and incorrect. Guru Govind Singh himself states as follows about the integrated logic and unity of the Sikh doctrine:

"The holy Nanak was revered as Angad,  
 Angad was recognised as Amardas,  
 Amardas became Ramdas.  
 The pious saw this, but not the fools,  
 Who thought them all distinct;  
 But some rare person recognised that they were all one.  
 They who understood this obtained perfection  
 Without understanding perfection cannot be obtained :

(History of the Sikhs, Macauliffe, Vol. V,P. 295)  
 Pashaura Singh, misguided as he is, contends that Guru Gobind

Singh's solitary couplet in the Adi Granth was assimilated in Guru Tegh Bahadur's Shaloks "to keep Guru Gobind Singh's authorship limited to the Bani in the Dasam Granth." Had Guru Gobind Singh perceived any dichotomy between his doctrine and that of the Granth Sahib, he would not have bestowed Guruship upon the Granth Sahib. He would have given his unique position to the Dasam Granth. Besides, whatever Guru Gobind Singh did or said is in full conformity with Guru Nanak's mission and philosophy. Guru Nanak rejected the escapist paths advocated by Jainism, Nathism and other similar scholars of thought. He declared that though everything else was less important than the vision of Truth, the life of good conduct was of greater importance than that vision. "Truth is higher than everything, but higher still is truthful living." In the Japuji, the final stage recounted by him of spiritual development is that of the "Heroism of Mighty Endeavour." "Death is the privilege of brave men, provided they die in approved cause," he declared. In Babar Bani Guru Nanak deplored the brutality of the invaders and not only sanctioned the use of force for righteous causes, but also prescribed that it was both the duty and the responsibility of the religious man to resist aggression and oppression. Creation of the Khalsa of Guru Gobind Singh, therefore, followed as the natural and logical culmination of Guru Nanak's teachings.

Gurbani, being the divine Word, is characterized by inherent universality and only such Bhagat bani was included in the Adi Granth as had universal appeal. It was not included as suggested by Pashaura Singh, to attract larger following or to "Justify the Sikh claims to universality" or to give representations to different regional and caste divisions of the Bhakti movement. The only criterion for inclusion was uniformity with the integrated logic and unity of the Gurbani. By insinuating that Guru Amar Dass included hymns of Kabir and Namdev in his collection in the pursuit of his "expansionist policy" intended to attract the followers of the Sants into the Sikh fold, Pashaura Singh has transgressed every conceivable canon of responsible research. His thesis is a poor ill-conceived and collection of conjectural statements. He lacks both the capability and the corroborative evidence to substantiate his hollow hypothesis.

In conclusion it would be pertinent to state that Sikhs are not inimical to an in-depth study of the Gurbani. However, the study must strictly maintain and follow objectivity, sincerity, and academic principles and should stay within the parameters as the Bani's interpretation, its poetic excellence and import and scope of the message. Reprehensible and motivated assaults under the pious garb of intellectual inquiry are bound to prove counter-productive leading to unnecessary tensions and tempers. Pashaura Singh ought to apologize for his ill-advised blasphemy and make amends by re-writing his thesis keeping in mind the inviolable sanctity of the Gurbani as God's revelation unto mankind through the Sikh Gurus. Deviation from this basic truth would mean groping in the dark for something that is just not there.

To put an end to such misguided and vicious attacks on the Sikh religion and its scriptures, S.G.P.C. should create a Standing Committee of unbiased Gurbani scholars and approach the Universities of the world requesting them to coordinate with the Standing Committee before a research work concerning the Gurbani is given any kind of recognition.

TEXT AND MEANING OF ADI GRANTH:  
PASHAURA SINGH

By

Dr. GURBAKSH SINGH

The study of the thesis reveals it to be a case of misplaced scholarship and blasphemy. The author attempts to make the readers accept his baseless assumptions and his "new feelings" regarding Gurus and Guru Granth Sahib. Most of the statements are incorrect and some are self contradictory.

**A. Review of the Abstract**

1. It's very first para gives an unexpected shock to a Sikh : "It also examines various factors that first led to the emergence of three different traditions of the Adi Granth and then to the eventual -standardization of its text". "Standardize" means to conform to a standard, to make uniform, to remove the irregularities or variations. The author thus gives an impression that there were three different accepted versions of the Adi Granth from which a standard version was prepared. While the fact is that the Gurus and the Panth always accepted the Kartarpur Bir as the only original and genuine Bir. Ironically the author accepts this: "The debate started in 1944 when G.B. Singh set about marshalling evidence to challenge the authenticity of the Kartarpur manuscript as being the original text." He also agrees, "G.B. Singh seemed to be serving the Arya Samaj interest as evidenced by his defence of Dayanand's arguments in his book." Where lies the question of standardization of the Bir, removing irregularities and variations? This statement is basically wrong and is an attack on the revelation aspect of the Gurbani. The idea of 'Three different traditions' is also a misleading part of the statement. It gives acceptability to the copied Birs containing modified or fake hymns. Further, it limits the fake versions to two only. Both these observations are incorrect. Birs compiled later are available with many kinds of changes made in them by different writers. For example, with and without Ragmala, with and without Rattan Mala, with and without fake hymns, with different arrangements and sequence of hymns, and with many other variations. The second para makes the reader wonder if those statements could be made by a knowledgeable Sikh.

"Examination of earlier manuscripts has revealed that Guru Arjan worked over a number of drafts to produce the final text in 1604 CE." This statement is wrong even if the author's naïve assumptions are taken to be true. He is misleading the readers to believe that the Guru made many drafts before the one written in 1604.

The author mentions only one such draft, GNDU MS 1245. Others, he assumes, might be somewhere not yet traced by the Sikhs. Even his MS 1245 has nothing to do with the Gurus. It is again an assumption by the author, based on the following; (i) Old form of writing (ii) less Bani (iii) differences in titles, etc. Knowing that the writing styles in the two Birs are different and there is no reason, and the author gives none, to believe it to be written by Bhai Gurdas under the guidance of the Guru, the author makes one more ridiculous assumption, "Bhai Gurdas, improved his handwriting." He knows the handwriting in MS 1245 is not of Bhai Gurdas. Therefore, he makes this mistatement to cover up the truth that Bhai Sahib's handwriting in Kartarpur Bir is entirely different from that of the scribe of MS 1245.

Based on the information given even in the thesis, none else but the Kartarpur Bir is the only Bir prepared by the Guru. (i) Kartarpur Bir has more than 1.14 of the total pages blank. A copy prepared from an earlier draft cannot have that many blank pages. Blank pages were left to include late received hymns at the right place. Such additions, as is evidenced by the study of the Kartarpur manuscript, were actually made (ii) There are deletions, changes, corrections and notes in the margins as they are supposed to be in the original; a copy cannot have such deletions or writings.

2. Regarding MS 1245-who wrote it, why and where it was written : From the observations mentioned by the author (i) Old Writing style (ii) absence of Bhagat Bani and other Bani (iii) some different title words, (iv) Bhallas did not accept the fourth Guru (v) Bir was written by a Bhalla (vi) some incorrect claims made in the Bir on page 4, etc., one can state that it was prepared by the Bhallas, opponents of the Gurus, to claim right to Guruship. They on their own excluded Bhagat Bani and Sata Balwand Var and some of the Bani not available to them. Further, the scribe retained the original vowel form because his knowledge was poor. Many

admittedly late writings have this style because of the low level of education of the scribe. Thus, the finding, in that "The Guru worked over a number of drafts." an important conclusion of the study, is baseless when logically examined.

3. The author makes another wrong claim, "One important outcome of this study is that the Kartarpur manuscript as compiled by Guru Arjan is confirmed through scrutiny of the manuscript evidence as the final text of the Aad Granth".

It means, the author believes that Bhai Jodh Singh's team of scholars, who studied it page by page over a long time, wrote without scrutiny of manuscript evidence. But later he himself writes that they made thorough study of the manuscript. That being the admitted position, why should McLeod, his guide, have falsely accused the Sikhs of deleting the hymns from the Bir to suit their thinking? The Sikhs have to address themselves about the observations and writings of such "scholars" .

Review of Text :

1. Twisting Gurbani meanings to fit his assumptions: There are many wrong translations and quotes chosen out of context to build or endorse his own baseless theories. Out of these, three cases are reported below;

(i) "It would appear that Guru Nanak had a clear vision of preserving his own Bani by committing it to memory in the first place and then possibly writing it during his own life time. He maintained that one might lose the divine Word through oral recitation alone, if one did not write it down to preserve it. (ੴ ਕ੍ਯ ਬ੍ਜਿ ਹਿ ਸ੍ਰਿਯ ਨਿਹਿ ਬਿ ਬਿ ਗੁਮੈਲਾਯ)"

Reading of the complete hymn reveals that the correct message of the quote is: "Without God's will (ੴ ਕ੍ਯ ਬ੍ਜਿ ਹ- without having been ordained by God) one cannot know the truth; talking alone (without practicing truth) is a losing process (ਬਿ ਬਿ ਗੁਮੈਲਾਯ)"

The hymn is not even remotely concerned with the author's theory, "preserving Bani by oral recitation, and later writing down for fear of its being lost. This comment (or 'findings; as the author wants the readers to accept) only lowers the status of the Guru and Gurbani by saying that Guru thought of writing down the revealed Bani only later in his life.

(ii) After quoting hymns *ipa᳚ d᳚dy k᳚ K᳚l i fT᳚ K᳚ ᳚᳚᳚*, the author writes, "Here the reference to both his father's and grandfather's "treasures" may suggest that Guru Arjan received at least two sets of manuscripts of Gurbani, one belonging to his father and the other to his grandfather".

It is unbelievable that a Sikh born and raised in a village does not know that the phrase *ipa᳚ d᳚dy k᳚* means 'ancestral'. To suit his theory, he separates the words and literally translates them to assume there were two separate manuscripts, one obtained from Guru Ram Das and the second from Guru Amar Das. But Guru Amardas was not his dada (grandfather), he was his nana. Hence dada cannot refer to third Guru, who was not his grandfather. We also know there are no such pothis or their copies available which contain Banis of individual Gurus.

(iii) P-30 (*iehu Sbd᳚ d᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚ c᳚VA᳚ h᳚l b᳚᳚᳚᳚ h h*) Its translation should be: This hymn was got written twice, it is (at) 52. But read the results of his "research" and observe what kind of changes the author makes in its translation and interpretation. "At a number of places Guru Arjan discards one or other of his own hymns and points out that a better version of the same is to be found somewhere else. For instance, there is a marginal note in folio 836/1 referring to one of Guru Arjan's hymns, "This hymn is unnecessarily repeated here, its actual place is at (number) 52."

A simple note indicating that the Shabad had been mistakenly written twice, has been wrongly translated by adding words 'unnecessarily', to give negative impression. Further, he construes from it a highly objectionable and baseless statement that the Guru discarded one version in preference to a better version.

The author also assumes the 'first Shalok in japji, "A᳚id sc᳚ ᳚᳚l Bl sc᳚, was written by Guru Arjan Dev. If so, would he say that the Guru revised his Shalok when he included it in Sukhmani by replacing "+E" with "A+" to have a better version of the old Shalok ? Then why the inferior version in Japji ?

Further, there are three versions of Sodar in the Guru Granth Sahib, all by Guru Nanak Dev. Will the author say which is the best of the three, and why Guru Arjan Dev retained the other two ? Why only the 'best' version was not retained and the other ignored by the Guru? The thesis is full of distortions and assumptions which do not stand the test of logic. Instead of

research work it may be mentioned as distortion work. P. 26 Further "research findings by the author".

"Their (Ravidas' hymn and Dhanna's hymn) inclusion in the scripture reflects a situation where the followers of those Bhagats (The Jats and the Cobblers) were attracted into the Sikh fold in large numbers."

"It should be emphasized that the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani in the Aad Granth may have been motivated primarily because of the popular impulse of the times in which different sectarian traditions were equally involved in moulding the poetry of the Sants into collection of scriptures."

" Although Kabir is prominently represented in the Sikh scriptures followed by Nam Dev, Ravi Das and Sheikh Farid, 11 other figures from different regions and castes are given a token representation to justify the Sikh claim to universality." "It may be stated that the selection of the Bhagat Bani was not made exclusively on the basis of the identity with the teaching of the Gurus."

All these and similar other statements of the author mean that primarily there were mundane reasons (other than the recordings of the divine message for the seekers of the truth) for the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani in the Guru Granth Sahib. Attraction of the followers of the Bhagats to the Sikh fold has been mentioned as the main reason for it. Further, token representation has been given to 11 Bhagats of different castes so that Gurus could make a claim to the universality of Gurbani. Is it not blasphemy? Evidently, the object is to lower the status of the Guru Granth from its being divine revelation to its being a political document for increasing the number of Sikhs by pleasing them.

Gurbani repeatedly stresses the brotherhood of humanity. It is being the foundation of the Sikh faith. Caste pride has been deplored repeatedly since the time of Guru Nanak Dev, the founder of the faith. (P 349 Guru Granth P 1330 Guru Granth.) Bhagats too have spoken very strongly against the caste pride. How could the Gurus be accused of including Bhagat Bani because of their castes so as to claim universality? Does not the hymn *ijnI nwmu iDAwieAw geymsikq Gwil* (anybody who loves God, realizes him) give the message of universality? The inclusion of the Bhagat Bani is an endorsement of this message and mission Bani of Guru

Nanak Dev and other Gurus (see closeness of the words in the hymns).

Those mentioned above are not the only "wrong conclusions and baseless assumptions of Pashaura Singh, they are just mentioned as a sample.

3 Professional honesty: Mr. McLeod has made many false accusations about the Gurus, Sikhs and their scriptures obviously, he did so to destroy their image under the pretence of writing on Sikhism for English knowing people.

The author himself has found in his study that his accusation relating to the Sikh scripture were false. McLeod wrote that the Sikhs deleted from the Kartarpur Bir a hymn relating to the hair cutting ceremony of the Sikh Guru.

Pashaura Singh however has found there was no such Shabad and no such deletion in the Bir.

However in the face of these findings of his own that the accusations of McLeod are false, he still gives a credibility certificate to his guide.

"Although McLeod combines sensitivity with meticulous care in his analysis of Sikh documents, his arguments on the scriptures have been received with caution with the Sikh community it is a conspicuous feature of the modern Panth to perceive critical scholarship as an attack on the Sikh faith."

"Further he accuses critics of McLeod to be having a "feeling of insecurity" and relates their criticism to post- 1984 events. Pashaura Singh ignores the fact, which is known to him, that criticism of his guide about his work bring incorrect and poor was made long before 1984 when his book was reviewed in a University and another journal. While it is known that students generally follow the path laid down by the teacher it is, indeed, a new and surprising convention, that a student in his thesis should give certificate of academic ability and good conduct to his own supervisor. But does it not show the atmospheric pressures and level of the place?

## 16

## THE TEXT AND MEANING OF THE ADI GRANTH

By

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When I was asked to review this thesis, I was aware of the highly critical opinion on it that had been published by scholars like Kohli, Sukhminder, Marco and J.S. Mann, yet I agreed because a wider debate can only benefit us. It is only in the Sikh religion that a doctoral thesis is debated and analysed in a lay publication and not necessarily in a scholarly, university based journal. Consequently, the discussion is open to all and not limited to those affiliated with academic institutions. This is our strength though it is centered on whether textual comparison of extant Gurbani with earlier versions of it is blasphemy. To us Sikhs, Gurbani is revealed word of God but the Guru Granth is also a book to be read and analyzed. To others Gurbani appears as literature, much as we view the Bible. And there is no harm in that.

Sikhism evolved in a milieu with a predominantly- oral tradition but not much of a written one. Pashaura makes the case that Guru Nanak saw the necessity for a permanent written record which would evolve into the Guru Granth Sahib. He and the Gurus who succeeded him acted to preserve and codify Gurbani in a process that culminated with Guru Arjan's monumental effort. Naturally the process took years during which many documents had to be reconciled. One must keep in mind that in the days preceding printing and mass education, documents were handwritten. There were few scribes, some had their own agenda reflecting many factions and divided loyalties. They made mistakes, some unintentional" others stemming from their background, bias and nature. If any changes appear to have been made by Guru Arjan, they may not be deliberate modifications of the text but merely corrections of errors introduced by different scribes. Pashaura's conclusion that Guru Arjan amended Guru Nanak's writing is therefore, not tenable.

Until the time of Ranjit Singh, Sikhs had little peace or leisure. It is no wonder that it took many years to lay all doubts to rest, discard all of the competing or erroneous versions and to establish the primacy of the standard version of the Guru Granth Sahib which had been compiled by Guru Arjan.

Pashaura reinforces this traditional view, well buttressed by research that the Kartarpur version is authentic.

Pashaura's thesis rests on an analysis of an undated, rare document, MS I245, primarily from two aspects:

- 1) Inclusion of certain hymns or parts thereof, and; .
- 2) Features in the written script of the manuscript which may allow dating of the document.

Unfortunately, neither yardstick is in itself sufficient and the lumping together of two inadequate criteria does not always make for good logic.

As is well known, and Pashaura readily admits, one cannot clearly document whether a hymn or a part thereof was not included by a decree of the Guru, a whim of the scribe, or at the behest of a competing, schismatic group. Dating a manuscript by the selective use of characters of a script is also not without pitfalls. In that age of less than universal education, evolutionary changes in a script did not necessarily percolate so rapidly through the populace. Other corroborating evidence must be found before one can assign a definite place, if any, to MS I245 in the history of the Guru Granth Sahib. MS I245 remains a document of considerable interest and deserving of much research, but at present, one of unknown antecedents, questionable authenticity, and limited usefulness. The problem with Pashaura's thesis becomes that his case, no matter how intricately argued, rests on a shaky premise, the authenticity of MS I245 which remains open to question. Pashaura Singh has, in his zeal, over-interpreted MS I245 and extrapolated well beyond what the document allows.

Since Gurus' routinely interpreted their own writing as well as that of their predecessors, it becomes ridiculous to suggest that Guru Nanak may have initiated Guru Angad in the art and skill of versification. What was Guru Nanak doing, running a class in creative writing? The argument reminds one of the asinine discussions on who wrote Shakespeare's plays. I am always amazed at how one creative mind spawns a thousand dissertations which are bent on splitting hair even where none exist! It is too bad that in trying to be rigorously intellectual (a desirable goal), Pashaura Singh has fallen into a quagmire of his own making.

One place Pashaura defends his mentor McLeod by attacking

his detractors as former bureaucrats and medical doctors. Such misplaced loyalty to one's guide is understandable but that kind of thinking has no place in a thesis. Since when is it that bureaucrats or medical doctors may not also be philosophical and erudite? Witness such bureaucrats as Francis Bacon or closer to home, Kapur Singh. Look at medical doctors such as Leydig, Somerset Maugham or Arthur Conan Doyle, etc. The list is endless. When McLeod's critics point to his connection with a Christian Missionary Institution, it is relevant for in the interpretation of religious tenet, he may have a bias. Similarly, the religious affiliation of his critics (Sikhs) is pertinent, their being bureaucrats is not. The Sikhs have come a long way in 500 years. I can visualize the rich tapestry and unbroken tradition in Sikh literature and history and its continuing evolution. It has progressed from giants such as Bhai Gurdas, Nandlal and Mani Singh, who were less historians and more scribes and interpreters of Gurbani, indeed the repositories of our heritage. There have been Puran Singh and Vir Singh, who combined the mystic's vision with a sure grasp of historical detail. Finally we have the serious historical scholars - giants like Kahn Singh, McAuliffe, Kapur Singh, Jodh Singh, Teja Singh, Ganda Singh, Sahib Singh and Harbans Singh, followed by contemporary, significant analysts like Kohli, Khuswant, Mansukhani and Shan. Such an evolution with an emphasis that oscillates between the devotional and the analytic is quite natural to any religion. Others have had their day in the sun and now the torch must pass to a new generation of scholars. In the process, many missteps will occur - witness G.B. Singh's analysis of the Kartarpur Bir, and some of the errant nonsense from McLeod and Khuswant. Pashaura's work has to be looked at in perspective.

Not so long ago the radio commentator, Jodh Singh, observed to me that we Sikhs tend to discover either 'blossom or blasphemy' in a strictly analytical study of religion. Pashaura's work is a run of the mill Ph. D. thesis which doesn't add anything that novel or earth shattering to our understanding of Gurus, Gurbani or human nature. Only time and further research will tell us if MS 1245 has any significant value. But in the meantime, let us treat this young scholar - Pashaura Singh trained in the skills and rigor of historical analysis and dedicated to defining our roots, as a well intentioned man at the beginning of his intellectual exploration. Let this matter not become like the Sulman Rushdie for that does not become us.

**17**  
**PASHAURA SINGH; PROVOCATIVE,  
 CONTENTIOUS, CONTROVERSIAL**

**By**  
**KULDEEP SINGH TOLEDO, OHIO**

In 1992, Pashaura Singh earned his Ph.D. degree based on his thesis, "The Text and Meaning of Aad Granth." The thesis was submitted at the University of Toronto through the supervisor, Dr. W.H. McLeod, a controversial figure in the arena of Sikh Studies. The contents of Dr. Pashaura Singh's thesis have further served to fuel the forest fire of opposition prevalent against the "McLeodian' master" and, what is seen as his continuing wilful attack on the authenticity of the Guru Granth.

The main thrust of Pashaura Singh's thesis is that the Aad Granth is not a strict collection of the Bani of the Gurus but is instead a modified, and edited version of that collection. Pashaura Singh claims that Guru Arjan Dev Ji, the fifth Guru who is credited with the compilation of the Aad Granth, gave himself full editorial licence to do as he pleased with the "raw" material at his disposal. By doing so, Pashaura Singh claims that "Guru Arjan refined the language of certain passages and polished the meter".

The above claims strikes a blow at the very foundation of the basic Sikh ideology that Sikh doctrines have been spiritually revealed through Gurbani and are not man-made:

O Lalo, I express what the Lord conveys me to speak. Nanak says the words' of God, he expresses only the Truth, it is time to convey the message of God.

I have expressed only what you made me say.

I have no voice of my own, all what I have said, is His Command.

Guru's words are divine nectar (Amrit). These quench all spiritual thirst.

Consider the Bani of the Satguru the words of Truth.

O Sikhs, it is the Lord who makes me convey them.

The message is clear that Gurbani is unalterable; the question of reshaping or modifying the Bani of a Guru is unthinkable.

Pashaura Singh's conclusion is drawn virtually from a single source: that source being Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript 1245, lying since 1987 with that University. Prior to that it was unknown. There is no reference in Sikh literature,

Sikh tradition or in any index of Sikh collections to the existence of this manuscript. Pashaura Singh claims it is a draft of the Aad Granth prepared by Guru Arjan. No attempt is made to provide its authenticity.

Pashaura Singh builds his hypothesis by :

twisting and misinterpreting Gurbani,

presuming that one of the principal sources for the compilation of the Scripture was the Goindval Pothis, and that the second source of the Scripture is Guru Nanak Dev University Manuscript No. 1245.

### THE MISINTERPRETATION OF GURBANI

1. On page 2 of his thesis, Pashaura Singh states:

"It would appear that Guru Nanak had clear vision of preserving his own Bani by committing it to memory in the first place and then possibly to writing during his lifetime". Then, in defence, he quotes Gurbani :

Likhey bajhon surat naahin, bol, bol gavaiaiy.

This is translated by Pashaura Singh as :

One might lose the divine word through oral recitation alone, if one has not written it down to preserve it.

This example of Pashaura Singh's interpretation indicates that he lacks even the most basic understanding of Gurbani. Pashaura Singh gives new meaning to the dictum that the devil can quote scripture to suit his own needs. If the entire shabad is carefully recited, the meaning given above is rendered invalid. The actual meaning of the quote is :

Unless it is predestined by Waheguru Akal Purkh, realization of God cannot take place. All the intellectual talk of human beings is of no avail.

2. Pashaura Singh's interpretative ability is further demonstrated on page 15 of his thesis, where he claims that:

Guru Arjan received at least two sets of manuscripts of Gurbani, one belonging to his father and the other to his grandfather.

He supports this with:

Peo dadey ka Khol ditha khazana,

Ta merey maan bhaya nidhana

which is translated as :

When I opened the treasure of my father and grandfather to

see for myself, then I realised the divine treasure in my heart, mind and soul.

Here the Guru is using the term Peo Dada Le to indicate ancestral heritage, and the "divine treasure" referred to is that of God's Name. Pashaura Singh translates this quote very literally to give the idea that at least two manuscripts existed which Guru Arjan then put together. Misinterpretation aside, Pashaura Singh's logic also falls apart because of the fact that Guru Amardas ji was Guru Arjan Dev Ji's Naana (maternal grandfather) and not Dada (Paternal grandfather) as the shabad is clearly referring to 'Dada'.

3. In footnote 18 on page 30, Pashaura Singh mistranslates the Shabad that starts with Satgur Sachey Diya Bhej as "Guru Arjan's intention to designate his only son as his successor may be seen in his hymn which he composed to celebrate the later's birth.

vadhi vel bhau piri chali

"With the increase of the family tree the succession has become continuous."

The Gurgaddi was given to the most suitable Sikh whose humility and Sikh way to life was tested and proven to be second to none. How could Guru Arjan Dev Ji designate the infant Hargobind as the next Guru ?

4. Pashaura Singh portrays Guru Arjan Dev ji as a person who would go to any length in order to gain prominence and attract followers.

On page 26 of this thesis, he points out that Bhagat Ravi Das Ji's hymn, "Begumpura shehar ko naun", and that of Bhagat Dhanna Ji's, "GopaI Tera Aarta", were added because "their inclusion in the scriptures reflects a situation wherein the followers of those Bhagats (the Jats and the Cobblers) were attracted into the Sikh fold in large numbers."

On page 66 of his thesis, Pashaura Singh argues that "Guru Arjan probably selected the heroic tunes for the singing of the Vars of the Aad Granth in order to reach out to the rural

audience" and " " Although Kabir is prominently represented In the Sikh Scripture followed by Namdev, Ravidas and Sheikh Farid, eleven other figures from different regions and castes are given a token representation to justify the Sikh claim to universality.





Two pages missing from here book page no 238-39

Onkar Satgur Parsad", which is complete in itself, is a short form of the Mulmantar (and is frequently used in the Kartarpur Bir) whereas the second and third sentences are the additions of the scribe of the Goindval Pothis. The words Such Nam Kartar", seem to have been picked up from another Shabad of Guru Nanak Dev Ji. Bolo Such Naam Kartar, Phun Bahurh Na Avan var.

Pashaura Singh, however, accepts the 3 line version as the Mulmantar and without giving any evidence goes on to say on p. 93: "Evidently, this was the form that was current during the period of Guru Amardass." He further explains how Guru Ramdas Ji added the word "Nirvair by giving the following "reasoning" for his addition: "This 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 friendship."

Pashaura Singh claims that "Satguru Parshad" was changed to "Gurparsad" in order to provide a more coherent structure to the text of the Mulmantar. He conveniently leaves unexplained why the allegedly "incoherent" "Ek Onkar Sat Gurparshad" is used 519 times in the Aad Granth.

3. At yet another place, Pashaura Singh says that Guru Atjan Dev ji changed the word "Kartar" to "Karta Purakh" because "by this time, the personal (Purkh) aspect of the Supreme Being acquired prominence as compared with Guru Nanak's emphasis on the formless (Nirankar) nature of Ultimate Reality." His interpretation is that with the passage of time, the emphasis on the form Nirankar shifted and the Purakh aspect of the Supreme Being which he translates as "personal" gained prominence. Pashaura Singh's imagination has led him to conclude that, with the passage of time, Guru Nanak's ideas became old fashioned and obsolete and were ultimately replaced by Guru Arjan's ideas. With this conclusion, he attempts to drive a wedge between the ideologies of the two Gurus. GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY'S MANUSCRIPT NO: 1245

This manuscript appeared out of the blue on the shelf of Harbhajan Singh, Harcharan Singh Chawla, Antique dealers of Amritsar in 1987. It was purchased shortly thereafter by Guru Nanak Dev University. The manuscript is 1277 pages long; on page 1255 are written the dates of demise of Five Gurus; there is also a forged Nishan pasted in the manuscript. There is

controversy about whose signature this Nishan represents: The note accompanying Manuscript 1245 claims that the Nishan is that of the Sixth Guru; handwriting experts claim the writing is of Ninth Guru. Pashaura Singh claims that this manuscript represents a draft of the Aad Granth prepared by Guru Arjan Dev through Bhai Gurdas. Although he concedes that the handwriting of the scribe of this manuscript does not match with that of Bhai Gurdas in the Kartarpuri Bir, yet in order to force his theory, Pashaura Singh counters that this could be Bhai Gurdas's "unimproved" handwriting. No attempt is made to substantiate this theory. The antique dealer when questioned by a group of Sikh scholars knew nothing more than that it originated in Rajasthan and that he had sold it along with a

typed note and a few other Meharban group (Meena) books. Meharban was the son of Prithi Chand. The "Meharban group" consisted of Prithi Chand's followers. The dealer repeatedly mentioned the Meharban antecedents of the manuscript. He had no recollection of the contents of the typed note accompanying the Meharban Granth.

On this shaky, unsupported and flimsy evidence, Pashaura Singh expounds his theories!.

1. Pashaura Singh claims manuscript 1245 was compiled before 1604 i.e. before the Kartarpuri Bir. In support of this claim, he presents that the dates of demise of the first five Gurus are in the same hand but the date of the Fifth Guru has been written in later. The fact is that all 5 dates are in the same hand and in the same shade of ink. This indicates that the manuscript was scribed after the demise of the fifth Guru i.e. 1606. And, thus, the question of its being a draft by Guru Atjan cannot arise. This one point alone is sufficient to knock the wind out of Pashaura Singh's theories.

2. Manuscript 1245 has forged Nishan pasted on it. The note attached to this manuscript proclaimed that the Nishan, mark or handwriting was that of Guru Hargobind Sahib Guru. Regardless, of the forged Nishan, even the scribe does not attempt to give a date earlier than the period of Guru Hargobind. Oblivious to all this, Pashaura Singh continues to suggest that this manuscript was completed by Guru Arjun Dev before 1604 A.D.

3. The dates of demise of the five Gurus appear on page 1255 of the manuscript. Hymns from the third, fourth and fifth Gurus are recorded on some 20 subsequent pages as well. This indicates that the manuscript was under preparation after 1606 A.D.

4. The manuscript contains a hymn alleged to be of Baba Budha Ji, the hymn finishes with the word 'Nanak'. Pashaura Singh uses this to authenticate Baba Budha Ji's involvement in the creation of this manuscript. However he is silent about how a devout Sikh like Baba Budha could use the word Nanak for himself. The head at the Dera of Baba Budha has given a written statement to the effect that they know of no poem, Bani or writing authored by Baba Budha Ji.

5. On page 104 of his thesis, Pashaura Singh writes: There are numerous such examples throughout the text of Jupji where Guru Arjan refined the language of certain passages and polished the meter." Is he implying that the language of Guru Nanak Dev Ji was not refined and its meter required polishing ? And that is why Guru Arjan had to correct them? Pashaura Singh obviously does not believe in the golden words of Gurbani :

Bhullan andar subh ko,

abhul Guru Kartar

All are liable to commit error

The Guru and Waheguru are the only exceptions to the rule.

6. Manuscript 1245 contains a version of Jupji Sahib which differs from that in the Aad Granth. Excerpts from Jupji Sahib appear at numerous places in Manuscript 1245. Pashaura Singh expounds a new but baseless theory to explain the difference. On page 106, he says "Guru Arjan revised the Shalok in the fiqal version of Jupji .but he retained its earlier form in Var Majh." Why would a version deemed incorrect be retained in even one spot? The "misguided professor" does not care to explain this.

7. Here the question of why a number of Shabads in manuscript 1245 differ from those in Aad Granth must be addressed. The explanation perhaps lies in the fact that Meharban was known to compose poetry. Bansvali Nama by Kesar Singh Chibber, a historian, is quoted below to substantiate historical evidence:

Meharbaan poot Prithiyay ka kabishri karey  
 Farsi Hindvi Sanskriti naley Gurmukhi parhey  
 Tinn bhee baani bahut banai bhog Guru Nanak ji da hi paai.  
 It means Mehrban son of Pirthya composes poetry; he uses  
 Persion, Hindi, Sanskrit and Gurmukhi in it; he has created lot  
 of Bani, but uses the name of Nanak instead.

Chibber also writes :  
 Doom lagey shabad  
 meenian ke gavan;  
 pura darbar guriai lavan.  
 meenian vee ik pustak  
 granth banaya;  
 char patshahyan  
 de shabad Bani  
 vich likh paya.

It means:  
 Bards sang shabad  
 written by Meenas;  
 They had their  
 own court and  
 started their own  
 Gurudom; Meenas  
 also created a  
 book as their granth;  
 They also wrote the  
 Bani of first  
 four Gurus in  
 this granth

The above present clear historical evidence that although the  
 granth of the Meenas contains the bani of the Sikh Gurus, this  
 granth could vary drastically from the original Aad Granth as  
 a result of the efforts of the Meenas to produce a fake granth  
 to mislead people.

#### CONCLUSION:

The greatest lacunae in the thesis of Pashaura Singh are the  
 lack of authentication of Manuscript 1245 as well as the persistent  
 misinterpretation of a number of hymns of Gurbani.

Pashaura Singh indicates nowhere that he ever attempted to verify the history or trace the past of the manuscript upon which his house of cards has been built. This is extremely damaging; in fact it has demolished the credibility of his entire work. Whether this is due to smugness, lack of concern for truth, deliberate provocation, plain mischief or pure and simple ignorance he alone can say. A greater intriguing fact, however is the apparent lack of concern on the part of his supervisor, Dr. McLeod, in this respect.

In this day and age sensitive scientific testing could have been availed of in order to accurately estimate the age of manuscript 1245. The type of paper, the inks used, the glue, the binding technique as well as any residue, no matter how minute, from the pages could provide valuable clues for analysis. The reputation of Pashaura Singh and his master as Sikh scholar has been irreparably damaged. In fact, there is no room in the arena of Sikh studies for those who persist in standing by the incorrect and baseless claims made by Pashaura Singh and W.H. McLeod. The attacks on the Guru Granth Sahib, Guru Arjan and the beliefs of the entire Sikh community are serious and cannot be tolerated. Pashaura Singh should either present concrete proof of the reliability of his sources or should withdraw the libelous and offensive portions contained in his thesis.

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## MUL MANTAR REVELATION OF GURU NANAK

By

Dr. PIARA SINGH, CERRITOS CA

1. My gratitude to Sikh scholars for their articles of high understanding and caliber (1) Centre of Sikh Study of blasphemy by Dr. Sukhminder Singh (WSN Oct. 2, 1992), (2) Sikh Mul Mantar Revelatory, by Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann (WSN Oct. 9, 1992), (3) Research coverage of Blasphemy by Professor Surinder Singh Kohli (WSN Oct. 16 and Nov. 6, 1992) (4) "Text and Meaning of Aad Granth", by Dr. Gurbaksh Singh (WSN Nov. 27, 1992) and (5) You Call It Research Dr. Mcleod, by Dr. Hakam Singh (WSN Dec. 11, 1992) written in response and to expose the self contradictions and blasphemous statements of Mr. Pashaura Singh covered in his thesis called "Text and Meaning of Aad Granth", supervised by Dr. W.H. Mcleod, a Christian Missionary.

2. The conclusions and observations of Mr. Pashaura Singh are based on: (1) A compromising posture with a Kartarpuri brand Bir of 1642, Jat Militancy theory, and Miri (spiritual), Peeri (Temporal), earlier publications of Blasphemy by Dr. W.H. Mcleod & Associates, which had been rejected categorically by eminent world scholars like Dr. Jodh Singh and Dr. King, (2) MS 1245 (3) Mul Mantar in Goindwal Pothi Vol.

1, (4) Classic Music and Ragas of Guru Granth Sahib, (5) Mr. Pashaura Singh says: Guru Arjun shaped the Guru Granth Sahib to suit the environment. Guru consciously re-created his style and theme while keeping in mind the growing needs of the Sikh community. Guru added Muslim/Arabic words to attract the Muslim audience and Bhagat Bani to claim universal nature of the Guru Granth Sahib. It is not known about which environment and the type of militancy, Mr. Pashaura Singh is contemplating but the historical facts tell us otherwise.

(a) MS. 1245 : The MS 1245 gives on leaf 1255 dates of demise of the first five gurus in the same handwriting and in the same ink and shade. This fact alone conclusively proves that MS 1245 is a post 1606 collection. Mr. Pashaura Singh knows that and that is why he makes the mis-statement that the date of demise of fifth Guru was written later. Moreover the dates of demise of folio 1245, do not mark the end of the Manuscript. The

recording of collected hymns continued later than 1606.

(b) GOINDWAL POTH. VOL. 1 : It was the only Source of verification of Mul Mantar says Mr. Pashaura Singh. The Pothi was with the Guru Har Sahai family, direct descendants of Guru Amar Das, and the same was lost in a train theft in 1973. Historically, it is known that Guru Arjun had collected all the relevant pothies before compiling Aad Granth. Nowhere, some family could have the copies of original one. The family in question not only had a Pothi but also had an original beautiful rich brocade Chola (Dress) of Guru Nanak. The family (Baba Jaswant Singh) used to display these for public Darshan (Glimpse) on Guru Nanak Dev Ji's birthday each year. In 1960's I was fortunate to have Darshan of Pothi and Chola. Mul Mantar was there in the beginning of the Japji Sahib as we find today. Now the question arises that:

How Mr. Pashaura Singh came to know about the loss of the Pothi in train theft in 1973 ? Did he go to the family and inquire personally? Did he ask the family members about Mul Mantar ? The family kept the Pothi for centuries. They must have read the Mul Mantar in the beginning of the Japji Sahib. Mr. Pashaura Singh is silent about this fact finding efforts. I believe Mr. Pashaura Singh did not go to the family and these blasphemous statements are the figments of his own mind.

(c) CLASSIC MUSIC AND RAGAS OF GURU GRANTH SAHIB: I wonder if they, Mr. Pashaura Singh and Dr. Mcleod and Associates, are qualified to interpret the Classic Music and Ragas. Their observations are based on the interpretation of Classic Music and Ragas, its musical sound, tune, melody, language of Ragas, style, theme, rhyme and mode. The world would like to know which school both of them attended and specialised in classic music and ragas. If none, then tell us the name of the 'Sashtri' who helped to interpret all this for you.

(d) THREE (3) WAYS OF COMMUNICATIONS OF GOD WITH HIS PROPHETS: (1) By calling Prophet to His Presence (2) By commanding Prophet (3) By direct communication with Prophet. In each case, the Spirit of God is felt and experience within by each prophet. During the process of communication the prophet is possessed of absolute consciousness and utters his divine words to be delivered to mankind. The prophet himself has no control over the flow

though conscious (witnessing only) of what is happening. That is why in Sikhism personal experience of the mystic variety is admitted as an authentic experience. Something happened first time in the history was that during the process of divine communications each Guru recorded the divine words as they came to him.

(1) BY CALLING PROPHET TO HIS PRESENCE:

When Prophet Moses was called to the presence of God, then what did he see? Did he see the God As spirit? You cannot see the spirit. The spirit can only be felt or experience within or seen in form. Prophet Moses must have seen the God's spirit in form.

(2) BY COMMANDING PROPHET: In this case the spirit of God working through the Prophet mayor may not reveal his own identity in form to the Prophet. But the divine words are true as in the other case. This can be applied to those Prophets who revealed God as spirit or Prophet as God.

(3) BY DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS WITH PROPHET:

In this case the spirit of God working through the Prophet reveals his identity to the Prophet. Guru Nanak has revealed this in Mul Mantar as; 'KARTAPURUKH' God as spirit yet in form. The same spirit of God chose to carry out his divine mission through Guru Nanak to 10th Guru Gobind Singh. After having strict test of each successor, Prophet Nanak did not pass on his spiritual throne either to any of his two sons or to his wife. After a severe test he found a disciple of his, Lehna by name, alone worthy of being his successor. Each Prophet chose his successor, only a few days earlier of his demise. It is blasphemous when Mr. Pashaura Singh says Guru Nanak and Guru Angad might be the joint authors of a shalok written at the end of Japji Sahib. Besides Mul Mantar and Japji Sahib, Mr. Pashaura Singh is silent about the authorship of thousands of other Shabads, revelations of Guru Nanak incorporated in the Guru Granth Sahib. It is important to note, that prior to proclamation of Prophethood, divine words did not come to each Guru. It happened only after each Guru succeeded to the spiritual throne. The consistency and the unity of thought in the name of one Nanak, one spirit was kept in contact by all the ten Prophets, because each one of them not only experienced the same spirit of God but also saw God's spirit in form. Since the creation of the Universe, the divine Mission of such a nature is not known or seen. Perhaps the divine message

of God is sometimes not grasped by us because of our weak nature or because of too many middlemen between God and the human beings. Revelations thus can never be the product of any circumstances or environment. It is direct experience of the truth. Gurbani according to its textual testimony by all Gurus is the spiritual experience which is qualitatively a distinct state, a direct communication with the finite being and a merger of one's individual spirit with Eternal Being.

(e) ENVIRONMENTS PROPHET: By definition environment means: Conditions by which one is surrounded. Prophet is one who utters divinely inspired revelations. Prophet is the person who never compromises the divine mission under any circumstances. The Gurus and Gurbani insist on one's having authentic personal experience and not the spurious thrill. Is there anyone who has such internal experience of God? Does anyone know the language through which the spirit of God communicates with the Prophet? If none, then any assumption used to prove otherwise is a blasphemy.

The tune of the divine mission of ten Prophets was the Era of Mugal Emperors Babar-Aurangzeb-Bahadur Shah. The legislative, judicial, and the executive powers were vested in the king and his word was the law and order of the land. The story stands as the testimony to the depth of human degradation and tyranny of this Era. During times of such human degradation and tyranny the Gurus proclaimed their mission with courage and strength.

(1) GURU NANAK AGE 9 : At an arranged Hindu ritual ceremony he refused to bow before the Idol of Saligram and to accept Gyatri Mantra and to wear the sacred thread called jenu, instead he told the Pandit that he was willing to wear it if it was made of compassion and contentment. With divine word Guru Nanak changed the lives of thugs (Sajan), cannibals, man-eaters, (Koda Rakhsh) going himself to their dens. Guru Nanak used spiritual power only when needed. The same spirit of God later chose to move making 'Lehna' the prophet Angad and so on till 10th prophet.

(2) GURU ANGAD : Guru Angad refused to extend any special treatment to Emperor Humayun when he came to Guru's darshan (Glimpse) and seek blessings.

(3) GURU AMAR DAS : He asked Akbar, Emperor of India,

to go to Guru Ka Langar and eat in Pangat first before he is granted Guru's holy glimpse. Guru stopped the "Sati" custom from the society.

(4) GURU ARJUN DEV JI : Instead of compromising his faith, he preferred death as ordered by Emperor Jahangir who made him to sit on a red hot iron pan, and poured burning sand over him, to inflict death, and threw him in the river Ravi. The prophet even in the midst of such terrible tortures, was all the time uttering holy words: "O, Lord it is a blessed pleasure, for me to abide in thy Will". The following Holy words were on the lips of Guru at the time of his martyrdom:

"IT IS THE GLORY OF GURU NANAK, MY LORD HAS GRANTED MY SUPPLICATION, AND NOTHING COULD DETER ME., NOW THE GLORY OF GURU NANAK, HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF IN ALL THE AGES THROUGH"

No doubt, the glory of the holy mission of Guru Nanak Dev Ji manifested itself in this martyrdom.

(5) GURU HAR KRISHAN AGE 8: When present at Bangla Sahib, Aurangzeb, Emperor of India, wanted to meet him. The Guru refused him the boon because he had usurped the throne through stratagem by killing his father and brothers.

(6) GURU TEG BAHADUR : He injected new life into the sleeping souls of his countrymen by bringing home to them freedom of worship and thus said, "Those who fear are cowards, and those who frighten are fools, he, alone is an enlightened soul says Nanak, who frightens none". Each Prophet was conscious about the status and the importance of

the spiritual throne and the divine mission.

Thus all Gurus never adjusted themselves or compromised with the environment, but were seen bringing about fundamental changes in the attitude and the superstitious beliefs held by the people. However Mr. Pashaura Singh and Dr. Mcleod & Associates may think otherwise.

3. GURUS AND DIVINE TRADITION: While founding the Sikh faith the first foundation stone that Guru Nanak laid was of "Self sacrifice", thereby specifically enjoying that whosoever Wished to enter the path of his faith must come with his head on his palm not in a spirit of seeking any gain but out of sheer divine love. Says Guru Nanak Dev Ji : "Shouldst Thou wish to play the game of love, come unto my path with the head on thy paim, and

once you step into this path, you may well give up thy head, rather than the cause". The same ideal is enshrined in the commandments of Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das, and Guru Arjun Dev, who thus said: "He who is martyred in defending the "Truth" attains to such a divine bliss that even the holiest of the holy Yogi envy". Guru Har Gobind has also enjoined on every Sikh that while the Sikh should extend warm hospitality to every guest, he must also keep his arms ready for dealing with any misguided adversary.

(1) GURU HAR GOBIND JI : In the fourth battle of Kartarpur (Jalandhar) Painside Khan, the traitor, led the attack against Guru Har Gobind. The Guru allowed him to attack first. Painside Khan made many abortive attempts on the life of Guru, but himself fell a victim to the first blow of the Guru. The sun was shining at its peak. Alighting from his horse, the Guru shaded the face of Painside Khan with his shield and asked him to recite the Holy words from Gurbani in the last moments of his life. Painside Khan, however, replied, "Thy shield alone is my Holy Word" and uttering thus breathed his last.

(2) GURU GOBIND SINGH JI : In the battle of Bhangani, the Guru allowed Hari Chand thrice to attack first. Hari Chand charged three arrows but the Guru remained unhurt. Later, the Guru struck down Hari Chand with his very first arrow. The ultimate victory thus, lay with the Panth and the enemy ran away from the field in great disorder. The personal precepts of the Holy Gurus followed by their followers gave birth to the tradition of martyrdom. Says Gurbani, "To court death for an approved cause, is the right of every true hero".

(3) SIKH AND DIVINE TRADITION: The tradition of martyrdom has a long history in Sikhism. There is hardly any mode of torture, which the Sikhs have not suffered. This is true even today. The Sikh prayer like their religion itself cannot note universalism. History abounds in records that even in the thick of a battle when the turban of an adversary got off his head the Sikh withdrew his sword to allow the enemy to redeem his Turban. The Sikhs were essentially fighting for "Truth" and righteousness. They would never rob a person of his honour, a woman of her jewellery or for that matter, cast an evil eye on anyone. Even in the face of increasing number of losses, the Khalsa was making

its presence felt everywhere. En-route Kabul, when Abdali was camping at the bank of river Jhelum, the Sikhs stormed into his very camp, at which he exclaimed, "They for sure, have some thing divine, to frustrate every effort of mind". They are certainly blessed by God and as such, nobody could ever defeat them. Their courage is a symbol of, righteousness, truthfulness, fearlessness and bravery. However, Mr. Pashaura Singh and Dr. Mcleod and Associates may call it militancy, nay it is a divine order, a shield to uphold the Dharma, truth and righteousness, without which human dignity will perish from the face of this planet. We all are born with this right, but one has freedom as to how one takes it. But the highest level of consciousness comes only with the grace of God.

4. DR MCLEOD'S CHRISTIAN VIEW & REFLECTION AND MR. PASHAURA SINGH'S THESIS: Mr. Pashaura Singh and Dr. Mcleod are seen equating the development of Gurbani as that of Christian Bible. The development of Bible was based on : plural transmission, Bible history used as the unifying element rather than as topical approach, and even Archaeological discoveries in the Bible lands were used to understand it. Out of many Bibles, 5 were accepted. Holy scriptures of all other faiths (Gita, Quran, Bible) came into existence long after the demise of the prophets concerned. This is not so in Gurbani, each Guru had written and recorded 'the "Gurbani as it came". And the fifth Prophet Guru Arjun compiled to its musical setting in 1604, and later it was declared as Guru after adding

Bani of ninth Guru by Guru Gobind Singh, the 10th, Prophet. No question whatsoever about the authenticity of other scriptures are raised by Dr. Mcleod and Associates, but unfortunately they refuse to accept the Gurbani. They ignore the facts that: the Sikh history and wisdom contained in each word of "Gurbani in Aad Granth" stand alone as testimony of Its "Divinity, doctrine and the Prophethood". To understand the philosophy of the Sikh religion, one needs to examine the spiritual experience as recommended by the Prophets of the Sikh faith, the 10 Gurus. Being the true christian missionary, Dr. Mcleod, should be more concerned to clear up the controversial issues raised by one of the "Hindu Prophet, Dayanand "about Christ and Christianity. He has directly attacked Sikhism, Islam, Budhism, Christianity and the lot, all in

the name of Hinduism.

5. ATTACK ON MUL-MANTAR AND THE REASONS: In Christianity there is principle of loving one's neighbour, in Islam they give a call of sharing with the men of faith, Sikh religion gives a call to anyone who is under the sky. "When God is one, his order must be one". That order or divine word finally came to rest in Guru Granth Sahib. Each word of Guru Granth Sahib is revelatory, that was the reason, all Gurus did not claim any word of their own and Guru Har Rai disowned his son Ram Rai who changed a single word of Gurbani. Guru Gobind Singh was very angry with a Sikh who pronounced one word wrongly, which could be mis-construed. The author of classic music and ragas in Guru Granth Sahib is none but God himself. All Gurus including Bhagats did not go to any school to learn classic music and Ragas. Each divine word of Guru Granth Sahib "reveals one God, describes the one, and unites with the one". Bhagat Bani which met this criteria, Guru Arjun included that in the Aad Granth. Including Bhagat Bani in Aad Granth is also reminder from God to the entire mankind that : God has no barrier of time, age, caste, creed, place or nationality. His grace can fall upon on any of his creations may he or she be rich or poor, high or low (untouchable), medical doctor or engineer. Gurbani says": "Ek Pitai Ekas Ke Ham Balak"; Our father is one, and we are all his children". The basic characteristics of God revealed in Mul-Mantar are not found any where else, and are beyond the comprehension of human mind, and that could be known or revealed by none but God himself. Mul- Mantar is the one that removes the middleman and establishes direct communication of human beings with one God and thereby contradict the beliefs of other major religions who says that: (1) God takes birth..... incarnation theory (Hindu Trinity God head) and (2) Prophet as God or a preferred religion". Thus, read and understand very carefully, the Mul-Mantar revelation of Guru Nanak. "Ik Onkar, Sat Nam, Karta Purkh, Nirbhau, Nirvalf, Akal Murat,. Ajuni Saibhang, Guru-Parsad". (Japji, GURU Nanak). Means "God is one, His name is truth, He is creator of all (formless yet in form), He is without fear, He is without fear enmity, He is timeless, He neither takes birth nor dies, create by himself, and with His grace, He is realized".

The divine word, kept intact in Aad Granth. and uthenticated by Prophets themselves is with us, and it would be a misfortune if we all fail to recognize the "Truth" and see Enlightenment and be a witness to the "Truth". The choice is with everyone, but we (Sikhs) remain the believers of Gurbani which teaches us that: "Ek Pita, Ekas Ke Ham Balak"; our "Father is One, and we are all His children".

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**YOU CALL IT RESEARCH, DR. MCLEOD ?****By****Dr HAKAM SINGH**

Recently I had a chance to go through a thesis entitled, "The Text and Meaning of the Adi Granth" submitted to the University of Toronto by Pashaura Singh for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The research work was carried out under the direction of Dr. W.H. McLeod. In this thesis the author claims to have endeavoured to reconstruct the history of the text of the Aad Granth, to provide textual analysis of certain portions of the Aad Granth and to examine Guru Arjan's editorial policy, particularly his approach towards the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani in the Sikh Scripture". The basis of his dissertation is a rather recently acquired manuscript of Aad Granth from bazar Mai Sevan, Amritsar, by Guru Nanak Dev University (Manuscript No. 1245). The researcher puts forth some extremely flimsy and childish arguments to show that this manuscript was written earlier than the Kartarpuri Bir. The depth (or shallowness) and quality of his research work becomes quite evident when one finds that the manuscript at issue has neither any date of writing nor the name of the scribe nor any authentication by Guru Arjan. Without even an iota of evidence (historical or traditional) he maintains that Bhai Gurdas was the writer of this manuscript. Now it is a historical fact that the scribe of Kartarpuri manuscript was Bhai Gurdas. Pashaura Singh has realized that the hand-writings of the two manuscripts are markedly different. However, he puts forth the silly argument that Bhai Gurdas's handwriting probably improved by the time he wrote Kartarpuri manuscript. As he proceeds further his conclusions approach the levels of absurdity to blasphemy. It will not be possible for me to discuss here all the preposterous conclusions that he has reached in his "don't confuse me with facts, I have made up my mind" analysis because that will require a whole book, so I will confine myself to some glaring blasphemies that he has professed. Modification of Mul Mantar, by Guru Arjan: Pashaura Singh suggests that the original Mul Mantar given by Guru Nanak was changed to the present form by Guru Arjan. This statement could only be possible from a person who is suffering from Amnesia because in

his thesis (p.101) he writes that "the entry in the intex of Kartarpuri manuscript, however reads, the Japji is copied from the manuscript written in Guru Ram Das's hand". Thus the Japji in Kartarpuri manuscript is identical to that in current printed copies of Guru Granth Sahib and this was written by Guru Ram Das. How then could Guru Arjan have modified it to its present form? Furthermore, in reaching this conclusion the researcher has utterly disregarded the established traditions of Sikhism, a rather young religion where the probability of changes because of time factor is not very high. 'Reciting of japji in the morning has been a daily chorus of every Sikh from the time 'of Guru Nanak. Nowhere is there any indication of Japji having been changed.

This is a blatant violation of established tradition of Research. According to Dictionary, the word "Research" means to investigate thoroughly or careful or diligent search. It is hard to find even a slight element of diligence or depth in Pashaura Singh's research work.

Authorship of the Concluding Shalok of Japji : In spite of the fact that ' Puratan Janamsakhi as well as Miherban Janamsakhi both state that this shalok was recited by Guru Nanak, Pashaura Singh ignores them completely and seems to follow the purely conjectural conclusion drawn by W.H. McLeod, who had the temerity to write that Bano recension (Khari Bir) represented the original text of the Aad Granth without even seeing the Kartarpuri manuscript and totally ignoring the famous book by Bhai Jodh Singh on the same subject (Kartarpuri Bir de Darshan). Prof. Surinder Singh Kohli in his recent article (World Sikh News, Oct. 16, 1992) has aptly (but politely) called Pashaura Singh's suggestion as obnoxious which goes as follows "Guru Nanak may have initiated his successor, Bhai Lehna, into the poetic skill of verse composition 10 the literary form of a shalok, and the training may have been a part of his designation of the office of Guruship." Again this seems to be a premediated conclusion drawn by the researcher In the face of strong historical evidence to the contrary.

Bhagat Bani in the Aad Granth : There are numerous conclusions drawn by the author on the inclusion of Bhagat Bani in the Aad Granth and under the title, "Doctrinal Issues arising from the Bhagat Bani" (Pashura Singh's thesis pp.174-194) which

indicate lack of knowledge of Guru Granth Sahib and the basic tenets of Sikhism on the part of the author. I will take only a couple of examples. On page 174 the statement "one hymn of Dhanna in the Dhanasri mode was incorporated in the Kartarpuri manuscript after it was bound in 1604 CE. This is quite evident from the way it is recorded on folio 519/2 with the extended margin on the left hand side of the volume. Its later addition may reflect a situation when Jats were attracted into the Sikh fold in large numbers". This statement in the light of logic, can at best be called childish. When already several hymns of Dhanna were included in the Aad Granth, why one additional hymn was felt to be necessary by Guru Arjan for inclusion in order to attract Jats to the Sikh fold or to please them?

Another preposterous statement is to be found on page 109 which reads "by doing so he (Guru Arjan) is in fact inviting the followers of the Bhagat (Sur Das) to become part of the Sikh Sangat and to enjoy the state of blissful sahj through devotional singing. It is a historical fact that none of the Sikh Gurus ever tried to invite, implicitly or explicitly, anyone to become his follower. In fact the basic principles and standards of values laid down by the Gurus do not recommend solicitation for conversion to Sikh faith. This indicates the negligence of the researcher to study in depth the Sikh Religion and its basic principles or he has purposely ignored them. Furthermore, unlike Kabir and Ravidas, there has never been a separate and coherent staunch following of Sur Das which renders this conclusion of Pashaura Singh redundant. This conclusion however, becomes easy to comprehend if we realize that the supervisor of this thesis is none other than W.H.McLeod who is a Christian missionary and like all other men of his profession is obsessed with the idea of converting 'heathens' to his faith, According to his own words, "The sacred Scripture is indeed the Guru, but it conveys its message in different ways to different people, communicating with some at one level of perception and with others at a different level (W.H.McLeod). The Meaning of Sikh Fundamentalism and its origin, Nov. 1990 conference at University of Chicago)". Thus someone with obsession of conversion to his faith, like a jaundiced eye, will see the same motivation elsewhere also.

Conclusion: Pashaura Singh in his thesis has arrived at certain conclusions based on the existence of an obscure and spurious manuscript of Aa Grant with no proof of Its authenticity. These conclusions seem to disregard the revelatory character of the Aad Granth, totally ignore the Sikh traditions and even negate some of his own observations made from other historical sources and entered in his own thesis. He seems to have advertently or inadvertently fallen into a diabolic trap and has become a mouthpiece of Dr. McLeod, whose writings seem to indicate that he is obsessed with distorting and misinterpreting the established Sikh religious traditions in the name of research. Finally, I appeal to the decency of Dr. McLeod that enough is enough. If he failed to bring Sikhs in Punjab to the fold of Christianity during the period of his missionary work there, he should not puff out his pent up frustration to mislead innocent Sikhs by bringing out (himself as well through his stooges) ill-conceived and preposterous publications which have little historical, traditional or even logical corroborative truth.

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 PASHAURA SINGH THESIS ON ADI GRANTH  
 A Critique and Assesment  
 By  
 IQBAL SINGH SARA

The Sikh World owes a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Gurmail Singh Sidhu, of the Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia. Dr. Sidhu has recently published a very interesting critique, in English and in Punjabi, (the Indo-Canadian Times, April 8, 1993) of an internationally controversial thesis authored by Pashaura Singh in 1991. Mr. Pashaura Singh created this thesis to earn a Ph.D. degree, working under the supervision of another controversial ex-Christian missionary in the Punjab who spent decades there in advancing his mission. Dr. W.H. McLeod has since authored a number of publications in a dedicated program of attacking and confounding Sikh beliefs, tenets and history.

Pashaura Singh produced his thesis called, "THE TEXT AND MEANING OF THE ADI GRANTH", working under McLeod, at the Centre for Religious Studies, of the Toronto University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Previously, Pashaura Singh held a Master's degree from an Indian University, and sometimes wrote, promisingly inspired articles, such as : "Dharam Dhuja Farhant Sada". Until, that is, he came under the tutelage of missionary McLeod, who has operated from Toronto for some years now, following his earlier activity from the University of Otago, New Zealand.

The abstract of Pashaura Singh's thesis consists of 237 pages, done on triple space, not including Bibliography. Included in the bibliography are a number of English Works. It is noteworthy, that these sources list W.H. McLeod as the author of as many as ten (10) works about Sikhs, which is the largest number attributed to any single author listed under English Works, even through many Sikh authors have a greater contribution.

The ten works of McLeod, of course, include his 1975 publication, Evolution of the Sikh Community, which stirred a

storm of literary protests from all over the world. Some of these published in magazines such as the Sikh Review, Calcutta, at the time. As a western scholar, and involved with the Sikh homeland of Punjab and a Christian crusader, W.H. McLeod has concentrated, through his publications, on interpretations and nuances that best effected his purpose: to call into question, challenge and controvert Sikh beliefs, scriptures and sources of theological polity. His mission has been carried on steadfastly against the Sikhs and is still ongoing.

The latest manifestation seems to be incarnated in Pashaura Singh's PhD. thesis. The Preface to it, opens with the ominous statement, of Pashaura Singh, thus :

"This study seeks to reconstruct the history of the text of the Adi Granth. It provides textual analysis of certain portions of the Aad Granth and examines Guru Arjan's editorial policy particularly his approach towards the inclusion of the Bhagat Bani in the Sikh Scripture. It also examines various factors that first led to the emergence of three different traditions of the Aad Granth and then to the eventual standarization of its text.

Examination of early manuscripts has revealed that Guru Arjan worked over a number of drafts to produce the final text in 1604 CE. He prepared the scripture primarily in response to the process of crystallization of the Sikh tradition that was taking place during his period. One important outcome of this study is that the Kartarpuri manuscript as compiled by Guru Arjan is confirmed through scrutiny of the manuscript evidence as the final text of the Aad Granth.

Pashaura Singh, typically, uses the phrase 'traditions' of the Aad Granth. This phrase is reminiscent of W.H.McLeod's characteristic phraseology as applied to Sikh scriptures or theology or tenets. Everything that is today concrete and clear, and part and parcel of Sikh practice and belief, is characteristically under siege by McLeod (and even by other detractors, such as Harjot Singh Uberoi, occupying another seat of Sikh Studies at the University of British Columbia). The tool or weapon of assault is that there was such and such a tradition", and therefore the Sikh contemporary practice is suspect. Pursuant to this method of contradiction, all the author

has to do is conceive, formulate and fabricate or argue a set of contrary or discrepant, though associated, set of circumstances or half-facts, and cap them off under the style of "tradition" which is urged or suggested as inconsistent with the current Sikh practices and beliefs. Thus a rival set of demi-facts is put up; a discussion is developed, at least a controversy is created. The effect of this 'scholastic' endeavour is, at the minimum, an attack or challenge to the object or belief against which it is asserted. The method of fleshing out discordant facts as "tradition" is independent of any principles or rules of authority. A nebulous discussion of the period, its collateral events, unsuspecting or remotely related circumstances involving personalities, episodes, activities, ceremonies or meetings and conversations, are all bits and scraps of building material for the "researcher's" quest for a Sikh contrary "tradition" - which detracts from patent Sikh belief.

In this perspective, it is not difficult to see and understand that both McLeod's and Pashaura Singh's phraseology pivoting on "tradition" is by now familiar to Sikhs.

There are other serious questions about the Ph.D. thesis.

Who proposed it? Was it suggested, or encouraged by McLeod? He, of course, as Pashaura Singh's supervisor, must have had an immense influence in the reasoning, and the deductions and inferences. The student would be amenable to the guidance and direction offered by the professor and supervisor. At least the suggestions available to the candidate for the doctoral degree, in the environment, could not be ruled out.

Why was it thought to be so significant or important that somebody should come up with the notion of "seeking to reconstruct the history of the text of the Adi Granth" ?

What was thought to be wrong with the text of the Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the signed, sealed and delivered Scripture, of the Sikhs ?

Guru Arjan, Nanak the fifth, himself authenticated and bequeathed the Sikh gospel, the Adi Granth, to the Sikhs in A.D. 1604. Why would any scholar, barring the involvement of

McLeod in the matter, decide upon questioning the finality of the Adi Granth, four hundred years later?

Even if there had been in 1595 A.D. some alleged collections,

in book form, (called, Mohan Pothianor Goindwal Pothian) of the first four Gurus revelatory compositions, what difference would it make to the cardinal fact that the Aad Guru Granth, the Sikh scripture, as exists, is the final and irrefutable Scripture of the Sikhs declared as such by the Guru?

What is the object or purpose or value of any other spurious or rival materials being resurrected in this day and age? Is the purpose not that, ipso facto, the resuscitation of bygone illegitimate materials would tend to challenge and attack the established integrity and authenticity of the Sikh scripture today? The fact is that Guru Granth, and Guru Granth alone is and always was, since 1604 A.D., the sole Sikh gospel. It is the successor Guru, since the demise of our tenth prophet, Guru Gobind Singh, in 1708. Sikhs believe in its supremacy as their ever-living Guru. Sikhs are a people of the Book, in this respect, like the Christians and the Muslims.

Further, to the Sikhs there is no division, difference or distinction between the first Nanak and the fifth Nanak, as their prophets. Guru Nanak is the same as Guru Arjan the fifth Guru. Who cares, or should, whether the Aad Granth, the Sikh scripture was compiled by the fifth Guru, as is a fact, or by the first Guru Nanak himself? It would make absolutely no difference to Sikhs, anywhere. Consequently, the entire exercise and debate engendered by McLeod and Pashaura Singh is nefarious. One sure result of it is the affront to Sikhs, the injury to their religious sentiments and spiritual beliefs. It does absolutely no good to anybody else at all; unless, of course, it can be expostulated that the spirit of the rivalaries of anti-Sikh "Matths", of the Guru period, dispensed by anti-Guru "characters, such as Mohan, Mohri, Ram Rai, Meharban, and the 'Dhirmalias', is still extant, as it was in Guru Arjan's time. Sikhs must regard it as an abomination, in all the self-evident circumstances.

At worst, it must also be the source of imaginative provocation to Sikhs. Similar literary and research 'scholarship' has strayed far afield, and ventured on to deny historical facts such as the holocaust, with understandable inflammation of the Jewish religious sentiments. Salman Rushdie targeted the Holy Quran, taking refuge behind poetic and literary genius. But it has failed

to blunt the legitimate fury of the Islamic peoples all over the world. By comparison, it is indeed a miracle that so far the anti-Sikh scholastic works have not touched off a protest of ugly proportion.

All seven chapters, and the conclusions, of Pashaura Singh's thesis, have come under the critical scrutiny of Dr. Gurmail Singh's Sidhu. The valuable commentary was published recently in the Punjabi Weekly earlier mentioned. This analysis appears to have deflated some of the myths or conjectures Pashaura Singh thesis has capitalized on. By his erudite critical analysis, coupled with an amazing scholarship of the Sikh scripture and its contents, Dr. Sidhu was well able to establish the following points, as facts:

(1). The Mool Mantar (the root hymn or incantation) is exclusively the apostolic utterance of Guru Nanak; it is prophetic and fundamental. That, contrary to Pashaura Singh's premise, no alteration or extrapolation has been introduced therein by Guru Arjan (the fifth Apostle). Pashaura Singh has apparently mis-stated in the thesis in question that the phrase: "Sac" (Sach) was introduced into by Guru Arjan for the first time. On the "textual analysis principle", Pashaura Singh had reasoned that this must be so because Guru Arjan is seen to have used the same Sloka, namely, "Ad sac, (sach) Jugad sac, (sach) hai bhi sac, (sach) Nanak hosi bhi sac (sach)", in the beginning of the 17th Asht-Padi, (Asht-Padi meaning a poetic composition consisting of Asht, or Ocht (German) or Eight Stanzas, each stanza consisting of some ten couplets) of the "Sukhmani" composition of Guru Arjan:

Dr. Sidhu finds that Mr. Pashaura Singh has evidently erred in so supposing, or reading the pertinent part of the Sukhmani. While the Sloka, heading the 17th Ashtpadi, is a correct quote of Guru Nanak's Mool-Mantar, as quoted by Guru Arjan, the succeeding 17th Asht- Padi is redolent with the phrase "Sac" (sach) (and not "Sac"). Consequently, the Pashaura Singh presumption is in fact erroneous.

(2) It is established fact that the Goindwal texts or Pothian (books) are sans Jap Ji Sahib the cardinal composition of the first apostle, Guru Nanak, attests to their spurious character. The hymnology was obviously deliberately omitted by the oval claimants of Guru's time. But it is of course duly inscribed in the

Guru Granth, the Sikh scripture, as authenticated by Guru Arjan, or the fifth Nanak, its compiler.

(3) It is established that the document or manuscript numbered 1245, was created in or after the period of the Sixth Guru, Sri Guru Har Gobind. It is not even a contemporary parallel source material related to the time of Guru Arjan when Aad Granth was compiled. It is subsequent in sequence. Therefore it is of no significance whatsoever as regards the Sikh authentic scripture, the Aad Granth. It may be of interest to advert to Dr. Sidhu's analysis of this 1245 document, and its notorious features. For instance, in editing the Aad Granth, the ending phrase "Sudh" or "Sudh Kichay" is inscribed. Not so in the manuscript No. 1245 which is subsequent. Again, by comparison, each Var (ode) in the Aad Granth is also ascribed to the specific Guru (by designating as the First, Second, Third or Fourth and so on). But this is not done in the document numbered 1245, which, as stated, is of a later date. Further, certain extra or additional verses of the fifth Guru are included in document No. 1245 which do not form any part of the Aad Granth compiled by him, indicating that these are not by the fifth Guru and are apocrypha included by a schismatic scribe to mislead the Sikhs. And now Pashaura Singh is doing the same. Further, the most important of the Sikh prayers, the Anand Sahib (of the Third Guru) has been departed from in the later document No. 1245. The most striking or remarkable thing about document 1245 is that the date of death of each of the five Gurus is inscribed in the hand of the same writer and in same ink. Yet Pashaura Singh glosses over this factual circumstance by reasoning that the date of death of the fifth Guru, Arjan, was added later on, which is a misstatement. Document no. 1245 does not contain the bani of the Bhagats. This is entirely contrary to the Sikh belief, tenet and an affront to Sikhism. Because Sikhism transcends all differences of caste or creed. It would have been thus quite liberal and different. It thus appears that the editor or compiler of MS 1245 was not at one with the fundamentals of Sikhism. It is likely therefore that the links of No. 1245 were with the sect of Ram Rai or Meharban (rivals of our Guru Arjan).

The Sikhs firmly believe that the bani (divine verbal composition) of each and every individual Bhagat (divine) was

critically weighed by the compiler of the Aad Granth, Guru

Arjan, and matched with the norms of divine revelation. Only those pieces were accepted for inclusion that met this standard.

(4) It is absurdly suggested by Pashaura Singh, that the bani of the Bhagats was enshrined in the Aad Granth because of alleged pragmatic considerations on the part of its compiler,

Guru Arjan. It was suggested that Guru Arjan anticipated attracting Hindu converts to Sikhism, by this expansion of the Aad Granth. Guru Arjan, and indeed the whole Sikh concept was an all embracing concept open to all humanity. The essentials of Sikhism were anchored in supremacy of God and universalities of mankind. Thus those Hindu, or, for that matter, Muslim divines, who echoed this ethos of the Gurus, were welcome to become part of the Sikh scripture.

Only the inculcated impulse for converts to Christianity, could conceivably presume to import such intentions to the Sikh Gurus, who, as the historical record attests, counselled devotees to adhere to their own religion, without conversion to Sikhism. Only when the urge to embrace the path shown by the Gurus was overwhelming, did our Gurus accede, and let the new corners into the Sikh fold. It is indeed a sad and deplorable portent that Pashaura Singh, as a Sikh, guided by McLeod, his supervisor, would inject insinuations and conjectures of this nature, both into the celebration of the Sikh Gurus and the sanctity of their Sikh scripture.

This is beyond the pale of scholarship, and is thoroughly unsupported by any research material. All it does is reach for the divinity and piety of the Sikh Gurus and, their sanctity, and raze them to the level of common adventurers.

Both the Centre for Religious Studies, and the University of Toronto, appropriately merit the indignant censure of all the Sikh world, for allowing this sort of 'scholarship' or 'research' to go forward, when quite clearly, its object and aim is the vilification of a whole religious community, spread in almost each and every country of the world.

5) Dr. Gurmail Singh Sidhu's sound commentary arrives at three last conclusions, arising from Pashaura Singh's disturbing thesis :

- (A) There is no reliable basis upon which to hold the Goindwal Pothian (books) as pre-dating the compilation of the Guru Granth; They cannot have any significance in so far as the compilation of the Sikh Scripture is concerned;

The manuscript no. 1245 is entirely dateless, but its contents attest to the fact that it dates to the time between the sixth and the ninth Guru. It is impressed with the insignia of the ninth Guru. It also embodies the dates of the death of each of the first five Gurus. Yet Pashaura Singh presumes to suggest that its chronology pre-dates the Guru Granth - the Aad Granth. This reveals his level of rationality and academic ability.

- (B) It is an unsupportable supposition that, as Pashaura Singh alleges, the fifth Guru, Guru Arjan, doctored the Gurbani (the Gurus' articulations) and embodied it into the Granth; and that he did so in order to answer the need for 'Crystallization of the Sikh 'tradition'.

What in the world Pashaura Singh means by stating that "the process of crystalization of the Sikh tradition that was taking place during his (Guru Arjan's) period" ? Have we not heard that from McLeod, before? Here again, the genie of "tradition' is so subtle and elemental that it can serve every purpose the essayist has set for himself.

Dr. Sidhu correctly concludes that the above premise, from which Pashaura Singh, proceeds to write his thesis, ipso facto, has degenerated or detracted from the God-inspired quality of the Sikh Scriptural contents.

Dr. Sidhu attests that he is not at all satisfied by the discussion or comments or explanations offered by Pashaura Singh, which are sparse and scant. For instance, his unsatisfactory treatment of the position of the Mul-Mantar, as earlier discussed.

Even if it be supposed, to admit his argument that Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan had altered any wording, then such words, for instance, "Purukh" or "Nirvair", indeed are found in the bani of Guru Nanak also and are repeatedly employed at appropriate places to good effect.

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## CENTRE OF SIKH STUDIES OR BLASPHEMY?

By

Dr. SUKHMINDER SINGH

Guru Arjan with his unique vision authenticated the revealed Bani of the Gurus in the Aad Granth (Kartarpuri Bir) in 1604 A.D. thereby excluding for all times any scope of form, red action or textual criticisms, and declaring that what is included in the Aad Granth is alone Bani, and what is outside it, unless it is a copy of it, is not the Bani of the Gurus.

But, W H. McLeod, a former limb of the Christian Mission in Punjab, which came there under the wings of the British Colonialism, to convert and civilize the heathens, started in 1975 the game of "mud dying" the holy waters by saying, "Portions of the Kartarpuri manuscript were rather ineptly obliterated in order to bring the two versions into line". The conclusion which seemed to be emerging with increasing assurance was that widely disseminated Banno version must represent the original text: and that Kartarpuri manuscript must be a shortened version of the same text. A few portions must have been deleted, because they could not be reconciled with beliefs subsequently accepted by the Panth. This much appears to be well established". In 1979, he wrote, "The earliest, representing the nearest approach to Guru Arjan's dictation, would be Banno the second and intermediary recension bearing the actual marks of a later revision through the excision of unacceptable material would be Kartarpuri. "In 1989 he repeated, "The comparison suggests that Banno recension may actually represent the original text inscribed by Bhai Gurdas," Actually, it was well known that the Banno Bir had been scribed in 1642 A.D. McLeod's level and intention can be assessed from the fact that he wrote all this against the Sikh Scripture without even examining the Kartarpuri Bir or the Banno Bir. McLeod was accused of blasphemy for alleging motivated deletions, implying that the Kartarpuri Bir or Aad Granth was a forged one, even when he knew that Dr Jodh Singh's work of 1968 had categorically stated that there was no deletion of Ramkali hymn in the Kartarpuri Bir. After. this accusation of blasphemy against him, in 1990, he seemingly retracted his position, saying that on studying Jodh Singh's work of 1968 (which he had even quoted

in his books 1975), he abandoned the notion of doubt about the originality of the Kartarpuri Bir. This was found to be a misstatement because he made all his allegations of 1975, 1979 and 1989 after reading Jodh Singh's book of 1968. These being the facts, we leave it to the readers to assess the veracity of his various statements.

Now the role of "muddying" the holy waters and spreading "blasphemy" appears to have been taken up by Pashaura Singh whose thesis for Ph.D. was guided by McLeod as supervisor.

Every Sikh knows that since the Bani is revealed, no one could ever think of changing even a word or matra (vowel) of it. Much less could anyone think of committing a blasphemy by changing a doctrine or concept of Guru Nanak Dev or other Gurus. It is well known that the Guru banished his own son Ram Rai, for changing a single word, and the 10th Master was very angry with a Sikh who pronounced one word wrongly which could be misconstrued.

But Pashaura Singh writes, "Guru Arjun worked over the text of the Mul Mantar in successive drafts to give it the final form. The Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript, which is an early draft of the Adi Granth, gives the form of the Mul Mantar, before its standardization." "Another significant point is that Guru Arjun added the word "Purakh" in the received text of the Mul Mantar. It clearly indicates that by his time the personal (Purakh) aspect of the Supreme Being acquired prominence as compared with Guru Nanak's emphasis on the Formless (Nirankar) nature of the Ultimate Reality. This may provide an adequate explanation of the subsequent developments that took place in Sikh Doctrines as well as within the Panth since the days of Guru Nanak. This will, however, challenge the traditional understanding of the Mul Mantar as being created in its present form by Guru Nanak himself." Similarly, he writes, "The comparison of this text with earlier forms of the Mul Mantar given above clearly indicates the addition of the word "Nirvair" (without enmity), which Guru Ram Das employs to put emphasis on the divine attribute of benevolence. Thus a new theological dimension is added to the Sikh understanding of the Ultimate Reality". Thus, the same temporal considerations he has attributed to the fourth Guru for using the word "Nirvair," and

adding new dimension, because he was suffering hostility in social life. Further, he writes, "In his final version, Guru Arjun replaced the phrase satgur prasad (by the grace of the True Guru) with Gur prasad (by the grace of the Guru)". the implication of all these apparently blasphemous statements is that the description of God's attributes is not the result of revelation or spiritual experience, but follows needs of the social milieu i.e., the Marxian logic of environment governing all thought and denial of spirituality. He also writes, "A comparative analysis of this text with the standard version of the Japji reveals the following important differences which illuminate the different stages in the process of its development." "The most distinctive difference is that the introductory couplet of the Japji is missing in the earlier text. In the standard version it reads "'The Eternal one, From the Beginning, Through All Time, present Now, the Everlasting Reality' Evidently this shalok was added by Guru Arjan much later when he produced the final text of the Japji," "Evidently Guru Arjan modified the language of certain words." "There are numerous such examples throughout the text of the Japji, where Guru Arjun refined the language of certain passages and polished the meter."

"All these examples clearly indicate that certain linguistic revisions were made at the same time of standardization of the text of the Japji"

"Traditionally, the concluding shaloka of the Japji is understood to be Guru Nanak's own composition. There are, however, scholars who regard Guru Angad as the real author." (the scholar who is cited in support, is no other than McLeod). "Second, Guru Nanak may have initiated his successor, Bhai Lehna, into the poetic skill of verse composition in the literary form of shaloka, and this training may have been a part of his designation to the office of Guruship. The two gurus may have worked together on the text of the epilogue of the Japji, and accordingly, both may be regarded as its joint authors."

The author has attacked the spiritual basis and the unalterable character of the Sikh Scripture. Not only has the sanctity of the Bani and its revealed character, as pronounced by the Gurus themselves, been violated, but he has also asserted that Guru Arjun changed the fundamental concept about God laid down by Guru Nanak, from a Formless God to a Personal God, who is the object

of worship and prayer. These changes he adds, the Guru made purely out of temporal considerations and to suit subsequent developments in the Panth, requiring a shift in doctrines. All his arguments support the Mechanical theory of social challenge and response, eroding the theory of Spirituality: By willingly or unwillingly pursuing the Marxian line, Pashaura Singh has tried to undo the work of Guru Arjun who with his eternal vision, stopped all possibility of textual or like criticism, as had happened in the case of scriptures, compiled by devotees scores of years or centuries after the demise of the concerned prophet. Now the author by his work seeks to open the flood gates of such destructive, baseless and wild conjectures, which, Dr Jodh Singh said in reference to G.B. Singh's criticism of the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir, strikes at the very roots of the spiritual and revelatory origin of the Bani and the consequent Sikh faith.

It is amazing that practically all the assertions of Pashaura Singh are based on a manuscript which has no authenticity, no history and no dating to suggest its alleged earlier character as a draft by Guru Arjun. It is a manuscript, which the Guru Nanak Dev University catalogued only in 1987, after its purchase from the dealer that year. Nothing is known as to who or when anyone wrote it, or how the dealer got it. There is not yet an iota of evidence to suggest that it is an early manuscript or draft. On the contrary it is clear that the manuscript is a later copy of the Aad Granth probably of the time of the Ninth Guru. The scribe himself has claimed it to be only of the time of the Sixth Guru by interpolating a paper which he calls Nishan of the Sixth Guru, and which claim Pashaura Singh himself concedes, is incorrect, the Nishan presumably being of the Ninth Guru. Pashaura Singh says that the manuscript was scribed by a Bhalla, because in it many lines have been devoted to the praise of the Third Master. He adds that the writer must be Bhai Gurdas, although the handwriting does not tally with the one in the Kartarpuri Bir. But he argues that the difference should not matter, because al Gurdas must have improved his handwriting when he wrote the Kartarpuri Bir. He also concedes that its Gurmukhi writing is without many vowels. Yet, while calling it a draft by Guru Arjun he neither explains why the Guru allowed an eulogy to the Third

Guru alone to the exclusion of an eulogy to Guru Nanak, the Fourth or other Gurus, nor does he explain a radical change in the writing of Bhai Gurdas from the one without vowels to the one with all the necessary Matras, or why Guru Arjun allowed the alleged draft to be written without Matras, when the script had been standardized much earlier, probably in the time of the Second Master. In fact, in the time of the Fifth Guru, Gurmukhi was being written, except by less illiterate persons, with necessary vowels. Pashaura Singh makes the ridiculous suggestion about Bhai Gurdas having written the draft, because he knows that it would be even more ridiculous to say that the draft was got written by Guru Arjun from an unknown Sikh, who was discarded later and the original was got written from Bhai Gurdas. There is not the least sign of any mark pretended or otherwise of the Fifth Guru. It is self-contradictory to vouch for the authenticity of a manuscript the writer or owner of which is considered to have forged the Nishan of the Sixth Guru. Pashaura Singh's assertions about change by the Fifth Master are apparently blasphemous, because the very basis of his arguments is a castle in the air. It is strange that McLeod called the Banno Bir the original one, because it contained more material than that in the Kartarpuri Bir, and now he seems to have approved of the argument that GND University manuscript is the original draft, because it contains far less material than that in the Kartarpuri Bir. Such lack of consistency would cast a cloud on the seriousness or objectivity of the rationale.

There is no evidence to suggest that any Granth or Pothi is more true than the Aad Granth compiled by the Guru after his scrutiny of the authenticity of the Bani of the Gurus. This unique step the Sikh Prophet took, which no other prophet had taken, in order to eliminate the possibility of any clumsy attempt to question the authenticity and sanctity of the Bani. Pashaura Singh's work has to be assessed in this light. It is distressing that an authentic Granth, admittedly compiled by the Guru himself is called tampered with or forged and a manuscript with an admittedly forged Nishan of the Sixth Guru is accepted as authentic. Let the reader judge the level or motive of such scholarship.

Nothing has been emphasized more in the Guru Granth than

the revelatory and authentic character of the Bani in the Aad Granth compiled by the Guru. And nothing is more sacred than the Shabad therein and its truth. What Pashaura Singh has repeatedly asserted, we feel, is clearly contrary to the established and accepted authenticity and revelatory and unalterable character of the Bani. We, therefore, believe that his statements are baseless and blasphemous, and need thoughtful and appropriate response from the sangats and other organizations who should consider the issue. Jathedars of the Takhats and other religious institutions or Taksals, that are concerned with the Bani and the Sikh faith, should also be addressed. The Jathedars of the Takhats, being the authority on the subject, could be requested to call the explanation of Pashaura Singh, and deal with him according to Gurmat. Further, it appears necessary to obtain legal advice to find if what has taken place is actionable.

The overall rationale of the thesis is unsatisfactory and faulty. But we have no desire to comment on that at present. The author appears, by and large, to have chosen, by consent or compulsion, to be only the mouthpiece of his supervisor.

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## MUL MANTAR REVELATORY

By

Dr. JASBIR SINGH MANN

*Ikna nadi na bedi na gia rasu, rasu, kasu na jananti  
Ikna sidhi na budhi na agli sar, akkhar ka beheo na lahanti,  
Nanak te nar asli khar, ji binu gun garabu karanti*

(Guru Granth, 1, 1411)

iekno nadi n bedi na gia rasu, rasu, kasu na jananti  
iekno sidhi n Agil sar AKR ka beheo na lahanti  
nanak qynr Asil Kr ij binu gun garabu karanti

Sardar Kapur Singh translates the above hymn as : "There are those who are cultured neither in philosophy nor in scripture, not have developed proper taste for. Music. And likewise, there are those who are unacquainted with aesthetics. and arts. They have neither a trained character, nor disciplined intellect, and as such, they are devoid of true learning, so much so that the true significance accumulated human wisdom is out side their sphere of interest. Such people, says Nanak, are true animals for they strut as human beings without the qualifications of human beings."

It is very. painful to review and record that Pashaura Singh's thesis suggesting that the original Mul Mantar revealed to Guru Nanak, was subsequently modified by his successors to suit the changing socio-political scene is clearly blasphemous. Pashaura Singh contradicts himself when he writes: "Guru Nanak employed both phrases, 'Karta Purakh' and ' Akal Purkhu' being in the first stanza of Var Majh (AG, 138 and in Maru Solhe 18 (AG, P. 1038) respectively". "Although Guru Nanak has also employed the word nirvair for the supreme being in his Ramkali Dakhni Onkar (AG p. 931), the frequency of its usage is greater in the composition of Guru Ramdas". Pashaura Singh should understand that revelation cannot be set aside on the mere suspicions of unjustified scepticism of an ex-employee of a Christian mission. He should have gone deeper to find the authenticity of GNDU M.S. # 1245.

Sikhism is a revealed religion. The spiritual and religious truths which Guru Nanak preached had been revealed to him "through

a direct encounter with God at some level of consciousness" and he preached what he had been told by God to teach. He conveyed only those words to the world which God had wished him to give as His divine message as stated by him in verses such as the following:

As the Lord's Word descends to me So I express it, Lalo !" (G.G.S pg. 722) "I have uttered only what you, O' Lord have inspired me to utter". (GGS. pg 566)

Guru Nanak has also mentioned in another hymn that he was an ordinary minstrel who was commissioned and blessed by God with his service. Describing his first audience with the Supreme Being the Guru sang aloud thus in words which read as under:

"I was an idle bard, God assigned to me a rewarding task, and commanded me to sing His praises night and day. He summoned me to His Eternal Mansion, bestowed on me the robe of holy laudation, And feasted me on the holy Name ambrosial. The Supreme Being is attained says Nanak, by laudation of the holy Eternal." (GGS. 148 & 150)

As is well known to the students of comparative religion, contents of a revealed religion are conveyed to the people by the Supreme Being through His special messengers either by calling them to His presence, as in the cases of Moses, or by communicating His messages to them, as in the case of Prophet Mohammad. As regards Sikhism, God is stated to have been pleased to use direct ways to convey His Words, Laws and Commandments to its founder, as stated above by the first Sikh Prophet, Guru Nanak, himself in his own words. (This has also been duly mentioned by the earliest chroniclers of Sikh Religion, such as, Bhai Gurdas (1551-1629) in his var no. 1 pauri No. 24; Puratan Janamsakhi (1634 c.) pp. 17-18; Sodhi Meharban (1581-1640) in his Sachkhand Pothi (dt. 1620 c.), pp. 88-89; Bhai Nand Lal (1633-1741 in his Ganj Namah, Ch. 1, verses 48-50). The thought contained in Sri Guru Granth Sahib is not the product of the environment, nor were the Gurus compelled by the circumstances, the conditions of that period to say whatever they have said. There was nothing new in the environment to being about the revolutionary changes in thought made by





## Page No 274 and 275 was not scanned

to undo it. By his great wisdom and vision Guru Arjun Dev has himself vouched for the authenticity of the Bani of Guru Nanak. Now Pashaura Singh has come forward to say that this is not correct, and Guru Arjun Dev Ji changed it. Is this not blasphemy?

Sikhs owe it to themselves to find out how and why this has happened. The SGPC and all Sikh institutions should take appropriate action against such misadventure. It is unfortunate that despite the standard of Jethedar Kesgarh Sahib that Sikhs should not cooperate with McLeod, he has found a collaborator in Pashaura Singh. It is learnt that another coordinator is coming up with similar plans. Sikhs must set their own house in order, so that atleast no Sikh becomes a party to commission of blasphemy.

Pashaura Singh must answer Sikh Panth two questions :

1) Does he believe that Sikhism is a Revelatory Religion and the Bani of Guru that what they have recorded is revelation or is it a product of History?

2) Does he believe in constant unity of Sikh thought. ?

As Sikh Panth believes in the concept "He (Nanak) established religion in the Kaljug...Nanak assumed the body of Angad Afterwards Nanak was called Apwr Das. As one lamp lit from another... And Amar Das become Ram Das, The pious saw this, but not the fools, Who thou};ht them all distinct., But some rare persons recognized that they were all one."

Hope Waheguru gives strength to Pashaura Singh to understand the revelatory text and meaning of Aad Granth, and that Bani in Granth is not there in response to socio-political circumstances.

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23

## PASHAURA SINGH AND HIS THESIS : ANALYSIS

by

SIKH MISSIONARY CENTRE, MICHIGAN

There are two copies of Pashaura Singh's thesis in Detroit Gurdwara and we have read it very carefully. As other writers have pointed out, Pashaura Singh writes in his thesis, "Examination of early manuscripts has revealed that Guru Arjan worked over a number of drafts to produce the final text in 1604 CE. He prepared the scripture primarily in response to the process of crystalization of the Sikh tradition that was taking place during that period."

The main exphasis of Pashaura Singh's thesis is that Guru Arjan Dev made a number of drafts before producing the final text of the Aad Granth. We feel the need to point out here that there is no such thing as 'Aad Granth' now as majority of the scholars are still referring to the present 'BIR' as Aad Granth in their writings. It is now " Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib" and not Aad Granth.

There are two main points to be considered here, first, Faith and then clarity of the Basic Concept of Gurmat. It seems that Pashaura Singh lacks both.

FAITH: Intense devotion and unwavering faith in Guru's Word inculcates Fear in a Gursikh. This Fear is not a fear from worldly dangers. It is the fear out of Love, Devotion and, Honour for Him. Holding Him in such high esteem that doing anything against His Word by word, deed or thought, would shake human mind, body and soul. Pashaura Singh claims that he is a believing Sikh. Had he any faith in Sikh Religion, he would never have dared to write that Guru Arjan Dev made a number of drafts of the Aad Granth when Guru Arjan Dev himself calls it "Dhur Ki Bani".Dhur ki bani aae, tin sagli chint metae

Dir kl bixl AueI ]

iqin sgl l ictj imtwel ]"

(sriT m: 5 pthw 628)

CLARITY OF BASIC CONCEPT OF GURMAT :Guru Nanak was the Embodiment of Divine Light (Jot) : Guru Nanak Dev is Gobind Roop.

gr nank dy givtl rj ]"  
 (bksq m: 5 plhw 1192)  
 Gr lanak lanak lar Si  
 grunank nankhir sie ]"  
 (grf m: plhw 965)

Guru Nanak Dev Ji gave an unparalleled form and content to his Guruship. Transformation from one Guru to the other is recognized as one. It was a Holy transformation of the 10 Gurus since all of them came from the same Divine Light (Jot) in continuity of the same Divine Mission. This Divine status of Guru Nanak's Guruship is a supreme and essential character of Sikh faith. Guru Arjan Dev was sitting on the Divine Throne of Guru Nanak. Under what authority Pashaura Singh theorizes that Guru Arjan Dev made a few drafts before producing the final text of Aad Granth? He claims that he is basing his argument on facts which he himself contradicts in his thesis. Pashaura Singh has thus reduced Dhur Ki Bani to a level of human poetry. Did he care to find out what Guru Arjan Dev said? The fifth Nanak himself says:

"I know not how to speak,  
 I say what He commandeth me to say"  
 hau Awphu bil nw jwxclw  
 mY kihAw sBu hkmwE j lau ]"  
 (rwg sthl m: 5 plhw 763)

By writing his so-called Thesis he has not exhibited his faith in Sikh Religion. Religious teachings in schools and universities (as being taught by Pashaura Singh in University of Michigan), which do not reflect their teacher's dedication and deep-rooted faith in that particular religion, are undesirable and unwanted. A religious teacher's faith has to be evident in his work.

### **Who makes the drafts?**

Human beings prepare drafts because of imperfections inherent in human nature. Guru is a Supreme authority. God, Guru and Guru's word (Gurbani) all these three are absolute and unchangeable.

"ibrunrwix ibrugrl  
 ibrusicw bclw ]"

(dKxl EAlkr m: 1 plhw 934)

How could the Eternal Guru Nanak Divine Light (Jot) (Guru Arjan Dev) change Gurbani by making draft after draft as proclaimed by Pashaura Singh when Guru Arjan Dev himself says:

1. Jeso Guru updesya mai teso keha pukar

j ʃo gr apdjsAw

mʃ qʃo kihAw pkr ]

(rwg gwat/ m: 5 plhw 214)

2. Jio bulavo tio Nanak das bolai

ij au bul vvhv iqau nink dīs bl Y ]

(gal/ sKml m: 5 plhw 292)

3. Dhur ki bani aae tin sagli chint mitae

Dr kl bixl Awel ]

iqin sgl l icth imtuel ]"

(sirt m: p plhw 628)

4. Bolai sahib kai bhanai. das bani braham vakhanai

bl y swihb kY BixY ]

dīs bixl blhm vKivY ]

(srit m: 5 plhw 629)

5. Hao aapo bol na janda, mai kiha sabha hukmao jio

"hau Awphu bil n w j wxdw, mʃ

kihAw sBu hkmwE j lau ]"

(rwg sthl m: 5 plhw 763)

6. Nanak OOlai tis ka bulaya

nink bl Y iqskw bl wAw ]"

(ml w m: plhw 1271)

Sikhism is not a man-made philosophy course, not an academic procedure. Sikh faith is a total allegiance to the Guru's Word. It is a way of life lived with complete submission and unconditional

surrender to the Guru's order where all technical and academic knowledge prove hollow and worthless. It is a way of life full of commitments to the Guru, Guru Granth Sahib, and Dhur Ki Bani Par Excellence.

To say or to conclude that it is not "Dhur Ki Bani", is committing sacrilege of Guru Nanak's Guruship.

Egoistic minds of some scholars prohibit them from understanding the divinity of the Guru. As long as their minds remain under the intoxication of the so-called technical and academic knowledge, they can never perceive the power and touch of heavenly Divine Light (Jot) and can never comprehend God and His Glory.

From the very beginning there have been attacks on Sikh religion and they will continue in the future also, but Eternal Truth shall always prevail which is : Aad Sach Jugad Sach Hai bhee Sach Nanak hosi bhee Sach.

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PATHOLOGY OF PSEUDO-SIKH RESEARCHERS  
WITH LINEAR, MYOPIC, LEFT BRAIN, AND  
MYSTIFIED WESTERN REALITIES

By

Dr. S.S. Sodhi

There is no odour so bad as that which arises from Goodness Tainted. If I know for certainty that a man was coming to my house with the conscious design of doing me good, I should run for life. Thoreau, Famous American Philosopher. In this article, I would attempt to provide a psycho-social analysis of the pathological functioning of some Western/Eastern Sikh scholars who have made a habit of trampling over the subjective faith of the Sikhs with narcissistic arrogance and "scholarly" ignorance.

These historians are A.L. Basham, Ernest Trumpp, Huston Smith, Archer, CH. Leohlin, J.S. Grewal, S.S. Hans, M. Juergen Smeyer, W.H. McLeod, Pashaura Singh, Piar Singh, Harjot Singh Oberoi, O'Connell and his associates at the University of Toronto. Some of these researchers feel that just as Jesus of History is different from Jesus of Faith, similarly Nanak of History has to be separated from Nanak of Faith to bring respectability to Sikh religion. Furthermore, they feel that Sikh community's permission is not needed for doing such "scholarly" research in secular universities.

It is also believed that bringing "correctness" to Sikh history and tradition is the secular right of these self appointed scholars indulging in "objective" research. Whether such research

destroys the faith and causes pain to the believers is not the concern of these scholars. They forget that legendary and mythological elements are a psychological necessity for the believers for building faith with which to encounter the modern world.

Most of these historians are either non-believers or are running away from their own religion. But there is one element which they seem to share. Most of them start as missionaries and hence do not hesitate to use religion to become mobile in their lives. The examples of Pashaura Singh who came to Canada as a Granthi

and Dr. McLeod who went to Kharar, India, as a missionary are cases in point. McLeod used the missionary money of New Zealand to stay in India. He came to India with the motivation of producing from poverty stricken untouchables of Kharar and Batala some "Rice Christians", Punjabi speaking Sikhs of Kharar, India, taught him Panjabi and identified with him as one minority community identifies with another minority community.

When Gyani Jaimal Singh of Kharar saw McLeod's growing interest in Janam Sakhis, he felt that there was a Cunning ham or Macauliffe in the making. Little could he fathom that this Christian student of his will attempt to "Summarize the Nanak of History in one page".

Dr. Neol Q. King writing for *Advance Studies in Sikhism* (1989, P.8) published by Sikh Community of North America, P.O. Box 16635, Irving, Ca, U.S.A. sums the psyche of the likes of McLeod and Pashaura Singh as follows

"For them Scriptures and Traditions are specimens. In their own estimation they approach them with impartial objectivity, they are not concerned with what effect their work has on public ethics or on religious bodies, no more than scientists hold themselves responsible for military or commercial use of their research."

The Western Scholars with a few exceptions have been arrogantly unkind to Sikhism. They consider that Sikh studies in Panjab are of a traditional type, whereas Western Scholars using social science methods have produced objectives and unprejudiced research. To challenge this assertion let us examine the statements about Sikhs and their scriptures as produced by these "instant" Sikh Scholars.

1. Aad Granth was perhaps the most shallow and empty book that exists, in proportion to its size (Ernest Trumpp, 1877).

2. Sikh religion appears to bear the kind of relation to the Hindu religion, which the protestant does to Romish (Major James Browne, 1788)

3. Sikhism is a hybrid of two old religions Islam and Hinduism (John A. Hardon, 1963).

4. Nanak was closer to Hinduism (R.W. Morgan, 1933).

5. Nanak leaned rather more to Islam than to Hinduism (Ninian Smart, 1976).

6. There is no doubt that Muslim sources predominate in Sikhism (John A. Hutchism, 1969).

7. Sikhism because of its syncretic character is not in any absolute sense new (John B. Noss and Davit S. Nose, 1984)

8. Guru Nanak though a man of peace was not a pacifist (John Ferguson, 1978).

Dr. James Lewis, Professor of Philosophy and Religion, Appalachian State University Boone, North Carolina feels that Christian authors, and their role dancing disciples, or those who use religion in the instrumental sense to make a living or get a PhD. and a job might be projecting their guilt unto Sikh religion. He comments :

"To the extent that the author is Christian, or at best from a Christian background, it might be possible to postulate that a kind of guilt projection is at work here. In other words, if one is uncomfortable with the tension contradiction in Christian religion, then one is likely to project those contradictions onto other religious traditions - whether or not such tensions actually exist in other traditions."

In other words, the Sikh 'scholars with Western realities including McLeod are using, covert-value judgement when it comes to Sikhism because" of their unresolved tensions and contradictions about their own faiths.

What else can be said about the arrogance of these self appointed scholars of subjective faiths of others ?

They are still attempting to carry white man's burden by bringing "civilized" white culture's mystification to the faiths of others that are declared rustic (Oberio) or syncretic (Khushwant Singh).

Most of them in their zeal to become "Scholars" have jumped on McLeod's bandwagon. The name of S.S. Hans, Pashaura Singh, J.S. Grewal, Gurinder Singh Mann and yet another scholar in the making, Mr. Frank (University of Toronto) comes to mind.

As a Social Scientist working in Canada, I know that this is a very common phenomena in Social Sciences. Some body invents a pardigm. Historians in a hurry jump on it; do the damaging research and then disappear leaving others to clean the mess.

It also appears, these scholars are mostly left brain thinkers, affective domain of their personality is usually retarded. No wonder then can call Guru Arjan, the greatest poet of the 16th century of India as politically motivated person and hence murdered by Jahangir.

Many seem to lead a life which is instrumentally motivated. They can violate all codes of Social Science, Humanities Research of any country to get a Ph.D. or land a job (Pashaura Singh & McLeod who were funded by Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada violated all the codes and can be legally sued for these human rights violations).

These scholars so as to reinforce themselves from a collective group mind call conferences, publish books, develop chairs, appoint their own students for in-breeding to take place. Incidentally, the research done by these scholars who sit on these chairs is against the same community that provides funds from their hard earned money. Sikh chair, 'controlled by Dr. Oberio, at the University of British Columbia is a case in point. These scholars are so linear, myopic, convergent, and neurotically narcissistic that the "other kind of seeing" does not touch them with a ten foot pole.

If they internalized the faith by listening to the faith music, do the Zen of Sewa they may" come to their senses by losing their linear minds"!

Christianity has been a violent religion. Ask any community that was colonized. First nation Canadians are cases in point. To expect from Christian missionaries kindness to other religion is just like expecting "milk from a house that keeps the bulls"!

We knew that "objective" research on Sikhism is done mostly by the non-believers or those who went to India as missionaries but later became non-believers, or those who came to Canada as Granthis but later under the influence of Christian scholars got mystified. A historian with faith will never indulge in divergent speculations about Sikh Gurus who were producing Gods work under very trying conditions. Such persons will never speculate ,about who corrected whose bani but rather get amazed about the beauty, originality of the poetry that was produced under the altered state of consciousness.

I must say that Dr. McLeod's perception is selective. He skips over periods of the Sikh History where the white colonial power

did the most damage. The rope of Sikh empire which was carefully planned in Ludhiana in 1820 and then executed in cold blooded fashion between 1839-1849 does not fascinate him. The torch of Kukas (Namdaris), the execution of Bhagat Singh and other 2500 Sikh young men that were hanged by the "secular" British masters does not even get a line in his writings. Discussion of Christianity as a cultural and colonial imperialism that destroyed a budding Sikh nation is intentionally ignored by these historians.

I will challenge Dr. McLeod and his associates to develop the role of Sikh Gurus under Mughal rule, and also attempt to write glorious history of Sikhs between Banda's death and the emergence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

I am very upset with the activities of Dr. McLeod and Loehlin who as missionaries of a minority communities living in Punjab have done a great disservice to the religion of another minority community.

If this provocation continues, one can imagine the adverse effects between the relations of Sikhs and small pockets of Christians in Panjab when the need of the hour is to unite the minority communities to defend themselves.

This brings one to the concept of responsibility in Sikh research or the research that affects the life chances of a minority community. Those days are gone that one could hide behind secular university research. The guide lines of SSHRC have declared any research unethical which produces a negative image of a community.

The universities and centres doing such research should be tried in the courts of North America and India. Clause 15 of Canadian Constitution and Amendment 14 of U.S.A. Constitution should be tested to see if "McLeod gang" can be brought to their senses. When all measures of convincing the scholars fail we should try what non-violent philosophers call "embarrassing the enemy" using verbal and non-verbal measures.

In the end, let me sum up the "researched" speculations of these "Historians in a hurry". I have concentrated mainly on the research produced by "Sikh Scholars" (McLeod, Pashaura Singh, J.S.Oberoi, M. Juergen Smeyer, J.S., Grewal, S.S. Hans & S.S.Dhillon).

1. Guru Nanak was the founder of Sikh religion in the organizational sense and not in the religious sense.

2. Nath tradition was worked by Kabir, Guru Nanak provided the extension.

3. Guru Nanak in a way is Saint Nanak.

4. Guru Nanak never went abroad.

5. Regression from Sikhism to Hindu religion took place at the time of Guru Amar Das.

6. Jat influence got Guruship to Guru Arjan Dev Ji.

7. Guru Arjan corrected the bani written by Guru Nanak.

8. Compilation of Aad Granth was a process. It was not Dhur Ki Bani. (Revealed)

9. Bhagat Bani was included in Guru Granth Sahib to please the minorities.

10. Singh Sahha imposed a single correct interpretation to Guru Granth Sahib.

11. A rare undated manuscript No. G.N.D.U. it 1245 should be studied very carefully. This is the first draft of Guru Granth Sahib on which Guru Arjan Dev Ji worked and produced Kartar Pur Wali Bir.

12. Exclusion of Mira Bai's Shabads from Guru Granth Sahib was done in an attempt to develop Sikh identity. Also her Shabads were extremely erotic.

13. Khalsa was not given 5 'Kakars' by Guru Gobind Singh on Baishakhi day, 1699.

14. Hair and turban and sword entered Sikhism through the Jat influence, "Jat did not enter Sikhism empty handed."

15. Bachittar Natak was no written by Guru Gobind Singh.

16. Guru Granth Sahib became the Sikh Guru, because Guru Gobind Singh had no surviving children.

17. Guru Arjan was murdered and not martyred in 1604 A.D. "Sikh Scholars" at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, and J.S. Oberoi at the University of B.C. Vancouver, Canada are still busy producing research which is very harmful and damaging to Sikhism. In Canada, Dr. Carole A. Murphy, Director Fellowship Division, Science Humanities Research Council of Canada, 255 Albert Street, P.O. Box 610, Ottawa, Canada, K1P 6G4 funds such research. If the readers agree with the sentiments expressed in this article, I would urge them to drop Dr. Murphy a line. We would see that SSHRC grant to University of Toronto be stopped unless they agree to mend their ways.

## ADI BIR BARE (PUNJAB I)

Prof. Sahib Singh a most celebrated scholar of "gurbani", has written a book *Adi Bir Bare* (punjabi) which shows that Guru Nanak carefully preserved his "bani", and passed it on to Guru Angad Dev ji who succeeded him. The practice was followed by the subsequent Gurus also, so that the entire "bani" of all the Gurus, was available with Guru Arjun, when he undertook compilation of the *Aad Granth*. The hymns of the "bhagats" had likewise been collected by Guru Nanak and his successors for inclusion in the *Granth*. The book which is divided into fourteen chapters, provides extremely useful information on the Sikh Scripture, and answers convincingly many of the questions raised from some quarters.

In the first chapter, the author reproduces relevant portions from the account given by Bhai Santokh Singh in '*Gur Partap Suraj*', as also from Giani Gian Singh's '*Twareekh Guru Khalsa*', besides the details recorded in the '*Gur Bilas Patshahi Chhevin*'. Giani Gian Singh reports that part of the bani came in response to "hukamnamas" issued by Guru Arjun Dev ji, and that contribution from the Goindwal pothis was marginal.

Dr Sahib Singh rejects the above assumptions in the second chapter for lack of historical evidence, and with convincing arguments. He considers it highly improbable that during Guru Nanak's itinerary, there were always some people with pens and paper in their hands, ready to record the Guru's hymns, and later to preserve these bits of paper for generations, until the Fifth Master demanded them. The author also believes that the alleged story of "Bhai Bakhta" is only a figment of imagination.

In the third chapter 'the author supports his view with a critical analysis of selected episodes in Guru Nanak's life, mentioned in "*Janamsakhis*", and builds his case for the view

that it was the Guru himself who recorded and preserved his "bani"

In the fourth chapter Professor Sahib Singh rejects G.B.Singh's erroneous suggestion that thrown into the river alongwith the motal remains of Baba Sri Chand. Quoting from the Puratian

Janamsakhi' and comparing the verses of Guru Angad Dev with those of Guru Nanak Dev, it is concluded that the "bani" was passed on to the succeeding Gurus, so that each Guru had the "barn" of the previous Gurus available to him.

Chapter five highlights the remarkable similarity in the form of poetry employed by Guru Nanak and the Third Master, like the chhant, ashtpadi, etc., and the 'pause' (raha) verse. Further, it is not a mere coincidence that Guru Amar Das delivered his "bani" in the 17 raags (musical modes), which were all selected from the 19 raags employed by Guru Nanak Dev, viz., sri raag, majh, gauri, asa, gujri, vadhans, sorath, dhansari, tilang, suhi, bilawal, ramkali, maru, tukhari, bhairo, basant, sarang, malhar and parbhati. Besides, there are comments of Guru Amar Das side by side with the views of Guru Nanak Dev. All this is cited as evidence of the fact that Guru Nanak's "bani" was available with Guru Amar Das.

The sixth chapter examines and rejects the story of Guru Arjun Dev going to Baba Mohan to collect any pothis. He explains that the story is built around the Guru's hymn, "Mohan tere uche mandir", and that the praise is addressed to God, and not to Baba Mohan or any other mortal, in this hymn, as in so many others.

In the seventh chapter the author deals with the "Bhagat" "bani". He does not accept the view that it was Guru Arjun who collected the "bani" of the 15 "bhagats" included in the Aad Granth, or that the "bhagats" or their spirits personally came to offer their compositions. Their names are Beni, Namdev, Ravidas, Pipa, Sadhna, Sain, Bhikhan, Dhanna, Jaidev, Trilochan, Parma Nand, Ramanand, Kabir, Farid and Surdas. Quoting extensively from Farid and Beni, the author brings out a similarity between the "bhagats" and the Gurus in several respects. The saloks of Baba Farid are interspersed with those of Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das, which shows that collection of "bhagat bani" was in fact made by Guru Nanak, and that it was available to the succeeding Gurus.

Chapter eight furnishes convincing evidence to show that the "var" of Satta and Balwand was included in the Aad Granth with the approval of Guru Arjun Dev ji, and is recorded in the hand of Bhai Gurdas.

Chapter nine deals with the date of compilation of the Aad Granth, and its installation in the Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar, and points out the complete agreement among historians on the fact that the "bir" was completed and installed in 1604 AD. professor Sahib Singh does not accept the story that the "bir" was sent to Lahore -for binding, and that Bhai Banno cleverly got a second "bir" copied on the way. Instead, the author believes that the binding was done in Amritsar itself. The arguments, the discussion, and the analysis of available historical data, given in this chapter, are indeed very illuminating and informative.

Chapter ten is a description of the sequence and the system employed in the compilation of the "bani" in the Aad Granth. Starting with Mul Mantar, Japji, So Dar, So Purakh and Kirtan Sohila, the "bani" appears under 31 "raags", followed by Sahaskriti Saloks, Gatha, Funhe, Chowbole, Saloks of Kabir and Farid, Swaiyyas, additional saloks and concludes with saloks of Guru Tegh Bhadur, Mundavani and Raag Mala. Under each raag hymns follow a set sequence starting with shabads followed by ashtpadis, chhants, vars, etc. Under each of these, the "bani" of different Gurus follows a set precedence, with hymns of "bhagats" at the end, usually starting with Kabir.

Chapter eleven is a scholarly discussion of the variations from the Aad Granth or the additional compositions/verses found in the Banno Bir and some other subsequent copies. The author refers to the overwhelming evidence produced by historian Karam Singh in his book 'Katik ke Vaisakh?' and proves that the additions are the result of a deep-rooted and subtle conspiracy hatched by a schismatic group of "Handalis".

Chapter twelve examines the case of such hymns of Bhagat Surdas and Miranbai, as were not included in the Aad Granth by Guru Arjun Dev ji. Professor Sahib Singh disproves the

claim of G.B. Singh that these formed a part of the Banno Bir or the Bohat Bir, which were perhaps the earliest copies of the Aad Granth. On the contrary, these hymns are conclusively shown to be motivated later interpolation made sometimes after 1732 AD.

Chapter thirteen is a critical study of the 'Puratin Janamsakhi' and the 'Bala Janamsakhi'. On the basis of internal evidence, language and style, it is assumed that the former was written during

the time of Guru Hargobind, while the later belongs to the period of the Tenth Master. There is no indication as to the author of the 'Puratin Janamsakhi' in the book. Professor Sahib Singh surmises, however, that he belonged to an Uppal Khatri family of Tolambha village in the Multan district of Punjab (Pakistan). He also points out on the basis of a careful comparison that the "Bala Janamsakhi" draws heavily on the author of the 'Puratin Janamsakhi' for its account of several episodes in the Guru's life. The author also shows that followers of Handal added several "sakhis" with ulterior motives, and that parts of them were interpolated in the later "birs" or recensions of Guru Granth Sahib also by the same group.

The last chapter draws attention to a wealth of information that is available in the Aad Granth, prepared by Guru Arjun Dev Ji, regarding other religious systems of the Gurus' times, like Hinduism, particularly Nathism, Vaishnavism, Puranic stories, worship of gods and goddesses, etc., Jainism and Islam, besides prevalent social and cultural values, rituals of worship and ceremonies connected with marriage, birth, death, etc.

The book brings out the farsightedness and vision of Guru Nanak Dev Ji and his successors in carefully preserving the "bani" for the salvation of humanity, until the Fifth Master undertook the historic and momentous task of compiling the Aad Granth. The author, through a meticulous study of the relevant literature, has exposed successfully the nefarious attempts of schismatic groups to interpolate their own compositions to confuse the Sikhs, with ulterior motives. Unfortunately the attempts still continue. The book, therefore, has tremendous relevance in the present context also.

### GURBANI SAMPADAN NIRNAI (Punjabi)

Principal Harbhajan Singh in this volume who is well known for his contribution to understanding of Sikhism through numerous books, and services rendered as Principal of the 5hahid Sikh Missionary College and Editor of the two leading Gurmat magazines, 'Gurdwara Gazette' and 'Gurmat Parkash', gives a brief and concise narration of the circumstances attending the compilation of "Gurbani" by Guru Arjun Dev ji and provides wealth of information on several related issues.

The first four chapters introduce the author and the subject. Opening the subject in the 5th and the 6th chapter, the author stresses that "Gurbani" is revealed. He concedes that during the time of Guru Arjun, Mehrban, son of Prithi Chand was composing his own verses under the name Nanak, which was causing confusion among the Sikh masses, for it was not easy for an ordinary person to tell genuine Gurbani from fake verses of Mehrban and other Minas who had set up a rival Guruship. Guru Arjan saw the need for compiling true Bani for guidance and benefit of the Sikh. This was not, however, the only reason for compiling the Aad Granth although this could have been the immediate cause. The author's view is that the compilation of the Granth is not the result of special requirements of a particular point or period of time. Rather, it was intended to provide eternal lead to mankind in spiritual, social, economic and political spheres in the process of evolution of man from his present stage of Manmukh to that of superman (angel) or Gurmukh.

In chapter seven which deals with the sources of the "bani", the author shows clearly that all the Gurus themselves recorded their "bani", and as expected, took utmost care to preserve the revealed word for salvation of humanity, and that it was passed on to the successor Gurus. Thus authentic "bani" was already available with Guru Arjun Dev Ji. The point is proved by overwhelming internal evidence, since there are numerous reference to verses of the earlier Gurus in the "bani" of the later

Gurus. Bhai Gurdas is also quoted to support this view. Besides, this chapter lists the contribution of each Guru in terms of shabads, chhants, etc., in the Aad Granth, which are, respectively, 974, 62, 907, 679, 2218 and 116, for the 1st 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 9th Patshahi.

Chapter eight deals with the Bhagat "bani". The shabads/shaloks of Jaidev ji, Farid ji, Namdev ji, Trilochan ji, Beni ji, Sain ji, Dhanna ji and Bhikhan ji, are respectively, 2,4-12-18, 60 4,3,1,4,2. Rejecting other current theories, the author believes that the Bhagat "bani" was largely collected by Guru Nanak himself. This view is supported by Teja Singh, Sahib Singh, Gapda Singh, Mohinder Kaur, Oharama Anant Singh as well as Pandit Tara Singh Narotam. Referring to "bani" of Sheikh Farid, he says that the "bani" is of the original Sheikh Farid, and not that of his successor, Sheikh Ibrahim who was contemporary of Guru Nanak. Dr Mohan Singh is quoted in support of this view, besides sixteen other renowned scholars.

Chapter nine gives further details about the contents of the Aad Granth. The "bani" is classified according to raags or modes or systems of music. There are 31 major raags, besides 11 combinations and 6 minor raags. There are, however, a few compositions which are free, and do not belong to any of these disciplines. A notable example is Japji in the beginning and some verses towards the end of the Aad Granth, after the raag Jajawanti of the Ninth Guru.

Chapter ten deals with pronunciation of the words used in the "bani". The author vehemently opposes the view 'Read as recorded' preached by some, since it tantamounts to distorting the real meaning or the sense of the "bani": Besides different dialects; of Punjabi language, the Gurus have drawn upon vocabulary from more than a dozen other languages, like Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Marathi, Sindhi, etc. These words should, in all fairness, be pronounced as in their parent languages. Any inaccuracy in recording is due to the inadequacy of the alien script. But if these words have acquired a changed (tat-bhav) form, then they must be pronounced in the new form. The symbols *tipi* and mostly *bindi* for nasik sounds are frequently not given, since the vogue permitted their omission. They must, however, be duly pronounced in order to retain the meaning. Talking of such symbols as *siari* and *aunkar* (grammatical), which have been used with the

last letter in the Aad Granth to denote the "case" of a noun or an adjective, the author explains that these should be ignored in pronunciation, although they are vital in understanding the meaning of a word or the verse in which they occur, according to the Gurbani Grammar.

The following three chapters indicated the sequence of various components, the bani of the Bhattas, and the Vaars, After the Mul Mantar and the major banis of nitnem including 'Japji' 'So Oar', 'So Purkh', 'Kirtan Sohila', etc., which cover the first 13 pages, the Guru Granth Sahib includes bani classified under 31 raags covering pages 14 to 1353. From page 1354 to page 1430 raag-rehat bani (bani not classified under any particular raag) is recorded. It includes 'Sahaskriti Saloks' 'Bhatt Bani', 'Salok Varan te Vadhik', etc. The Bhatt bani is a contribution by 11 Bhattas who were contemporaries of Guru Arjun, and were highly devoted to him. They have paid very glowing tributes to the Gurus and have compared them with the greatest in all human history.

Vaars were a popular form of poetry, which was employed by the Gurus to convey their message. There are 22 vaars in all, three by Guru Nanak Dev, four by Guru Amar Das, eight by Guru Ram Das, and six by Guru Arjun Dev. The vaars are invariably given at the end of a raag. The bani within each raag follows a strict pattern. The bani of the Gurus in each set, is given in the beginning and is recorded in order of their succession. The Bani of the Bhagats follows in a pre-determined order, starting with Kabir and followed by Namdev, Ravidas, Trilochan and other bhagats.

Chapter fourteen describes the system of enumeration, which prescribes a serial Number to each verse, stanza or shabad, and to each group or category of shabads. The numbering system also give progressive totals, and has been so designed that it eliminates any chance of later interpolation or deletion of any part of the bani. This has been very effective in preserving the Integrity of the Aad Granth and has successfully frustrated attempts to tamper with it from vested interests.

In the fifteenth chapter the author deals with the Mul Mantar. He reports that while the full Mul Mantar has been used 33 times in the Aad Granth, mostly at the beginning of a raag, the following abbreviated forms have also been used with frequencies shown against each:

- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| i. Ik onkar satinam karta purkh gur parsad : | 8 times   |
| ii. Ik onkar satinam gur parsad :            | 2 times   |
| iii. Ik onkar satgur parsad :                | 523 times |
| iv. Ik onkar:                                | 1 time    |

Total 567 times

The author also reports that in the Aad Granth (Kartarpuri Bir) the recording of Mul Mantar precedes the heading of a bani.

Chapter sixteen gives some additional useful information about the Aad Granth. For example, the writing of the whole verse is in continuous form without separating the words. This is because of the vogue current in Hindi and Sanskrit during those times. The author, however, pleads for and justifies the padchhed or separation of words done in recent Editions of the Sri Granth Sahib, including those published by the SGPC, since the Gurbani is meant for the masses. Without it this Treasure would remain a monopoly of the scholarly elite. The author further points out that the Gurus have avoided exclusivism, and have freely used words from other languages which impart richness to their compositions, and add to their meaning and content. Metre requirements of poetry have been a major consideration, but nowhere has the meaning been subordinated to this requirement. Wherever necessary, metre has been sacrificed to retain the sense or the meaning.

In the seventeenth chapter the author briefly recalls some historic birs or recensions of the Aad Granth. Since during the Gurus' times printing was unknown, the birs were written by professional scribes and this was considered an honourable profession. The Sikh Reference Library at Amritsar had as many as 1500 hand-written birs, quite a few of them written before 1663. The author is convinced that the original Aad Granth scribed by Bhai Gurdas under the direction and supervision of Guru Arjun himself, is at Kartarpur in the custody of the Sodhi descendants of Prithi Chand. This is a view supported by Bhai Vir Singh, Sarup Das Bhalla, Kesar Singh Chhiber, Santokh Singh, Gian Singh, Macauliffe, Kahan Singh, Jodh Singh, Teja Singh, Sahib Singh, Taran Singh, Daljeet Singh and Rattan Singh Jaggi. Besides this, the following other birs find mention in this chapter.

Bir of Bhai Hardas : Hardas was official scribe of Guru Gobind Singh. This bir records the bani of Guru Tegh Bahadur at proper places, besides dates of demise of the first nine Gurus.

It is clear that the bani of Guru Tegh Bahadur had been included by Guru Gobind Singh soon after he ascended the Gaddi. The bir also contains Raag Mala and a few extra compositions. .

Sammat 1739 Damdami Saroop Bir (Sr-77) : This also contains bani of the Ninth Master at appropriate places, but no extra compositions.

Sammat 1742 Bir : Shows Mul Mantar at the proper place. Samat 1748 Bir : Contains bani of Guru Tegh Bahadur at proper place and no extra bani.

Pindi Lala (Gujrat) Bir : Scribed in 1732. Contains no extra bani. Bir Bhai Pakhar Mal Dhillon : It was procured from Bhai Gurbaksh Singh in 1954. It was sponsored by one of his ancestors, Khushal Singh, Head Granthi of Gurdwara Sri Tarn Taran Sahib, generations earlier in 1745 AD. It contains no extra bani. The position of the Mangal is as in the Kartarpuri Bir.

Samat 1811 Bir : Scribed after Guru Gobind Singh ji.

Bure Sandhu Wali Bir : Scribed by Bura Sandhu during Guru Arjun's time under the sponsorship of Milkhi Ram Peshawar.

Chapter eighteen describes the birs in Harmandir Sahib. The Parkash Bir is believed to have been scribed during Jassa Singh Ahluwalia's time. The Sunehri Jild Bir (The Bir with Golden Cover) was carefully preserved in the Akal Takht for parkash during Jalau only, 5-6 times during a year. A bir supposed to have been sent by Baba Deep Singh, was available in the toshakhana of Darbar Sahib. It was later transferred to Sahid Bunga Baba Deep Singh under the charge of Bhai Manna Singh. He resigned and Tara Singh took over. Later when Bhai Manna Singh visited the Bunga, he discovered that the bir had been replaced and nobody knew where the original bir had gone. The present bir with the gold binding is a replacement.

Bhai Banno Bir : The author does not accept the version that the Aad Granth was sent to Lahore for binding and that during the journey another bir was prepared by Bhai Banno.

In chapter nineteen the author discusses the stories built around the Damdami Bir. He does not believe that the so-called Damdami Bir was reproduced by Guru Gobind Singh as a result of taunts

by Dhirmal. The fact is that birs with Guru Tegh Bahadur's bani incorporated, had already been produced at Anandpur Sahib at a place, also called Damdama Sahib, specially set up for this purpose. Some of the birs mentioned in the earlier chapter bear testimony to this fact. Later, however, some birs were probably scribed at Sabo ki Talwandi also. The Damdami Bir is defined as Kartarpuri Bir with bani of Guru TaAegh Bahadur added to it. This had been done long before the GaAuru reached Talwandi Sabo.

Chapter twenty deals with the printing of birs. A resolution passed by the SGPC in 1964 prescribes three conditions :

- a) Damdami Sarup should form the basis for printing.
- b) the position of Mangal relative to the heading should be identical to that in the Kartarpuri Bir.
- c) In case of confusion lead should be taken from the Damdami Bir.

In practice, however, the author feels that condition (b) is difficult to implement, since it could be done only through tracing or photostat. In chapter twentyone the author makes a fervent appeal to observe the decision of SGPC on the position of the Mul Mantar as well as the headings of bani, which should follow the pattern approved by Guru Arjun Dev ji, who compiled the Aad Granth. In Chapter twenty two, with convincing historical evidence

the author rules out any possibility of a meeting between Guru Nanak and Kabir.

In Chapter twenty three the author raises the issue of correct pronunciation in reciting the bani. He also summarises some of his earlier points as follows:

- i. The bani of the Ninth Master was added soon after his martyrdom, by Guru Gobind Singh, at Damdama Sahib of Anandpur Sahib. Several extant birs scribed before 1762 AD, are the evidence.

- ii. While there is no doubt that the Guru had the powers of reproducing the entire Guru Granth Sahib, yet it was not necessary to exercise these miraculous powers, since several copies of the bir were already available.

- iii. There were centres for making copies of the Aad Granth. It hardly matters where the 'present Damdami form was finalized. No basic doctrine is involved. Sikhism is word-based, and not legend -based.

vi. The Sikhs have been busy creating history during the last 500 years. They have, however, not paid an adequate attention to presenting to the world an accurate record of it.

About a dozen Appendixes given at the end greatly add to the value of the book, since they support and provide extremely useful and authentic information on the points discussed in the text of the book. These are :

- The views of Giani Gurdial Singh, Jathedar, Sri Akal Takht.
- "The place of writing the Damdami Bir" by Giani Garja Singh. Additional Evidence' by Piara Singh Padam.
- 'The Real Damdami Bir and its Manuscripts' by Shamsheer Singh Ashok.
- 'On Sequence of Mangal and Pachhed by Giani Harbhajan Singh.
- 'On the Damdami Bir' by Jaswinder Singh. An article by Randhir Singh on the 'Itinerary of Guru Gobind Singh from Anandpur Sahib to Abchal Nagar.
- 'On the Current Tradition regarding Incorporation of Guru Tegh Bahadur's Bani in the Guru Granth Sahib' by Giani Fauja Singh, Jathedar Sri Kesgarh Sahib.
- Statement of Giani Bhagat Singh, Ex Manager, Takht Sri Kesgarh Sahib.
- Sri Oamdami Bir Bare' by Giani Jagtar Singh Jachak.

27

**'Blasphemy Prohibited Not Research'****By****Prof. GURDARSHAN SINGH DHILLON**

In view of the decision of Gurmat Scholars on the 28th January 1993 every Sikh refrained from making any comments on the many charges of blasphemy against Pashaura Singh, which have been placed before the Jathedar Akal Takht. But it is extremely unfortunate that this silence is being used by the accused group to denigrate the highest Sikh institution of Akal Takhat and to mis-state facts. For example, it is well known to this group that (1) Heads of the Departments of Guru Granth Sahib and Sikh Studies, at the Patiala and the Panjab Universities, had both written articles, calling Pashaura Singh's work to be unacademic and blasphemous; and (2) both of them were not only present in the meeting of the 28th January 1993, but also supported the resolutions passed on the concerned issues.

Evidently, what has disturbed this group is the decision of the 28th January, that since the facts and circumstances of the cases, a Committee of experts should be appointed to go into the entire affair and unearth the other participants of the accused. Hence, their attempts to camouflage the issues, so that the truth remains covered. For reasons stated already, at present facts and realities are not being publicised, but will be exposed at the appropriate time.

As clarified by the acting Jathedar Sri Akal Takhat, what is sought to be stopped is not any Research or interpretation regarding Guru Granth Sahib or the Bani, but blasphemous attacks on its authenticity and integrity, because the same stand authenticated by the Guru himself. Hence, it would be illogical and ridiculous for anyone to claim that he has a better sense than of the Guru. No one says that there will still not be persons who will make such tall claims or make blasphemous attacks on the Guru. The tradition to deal with such arrogance has been set by Guru Har Rai Sahib himself by punishing his own son. Should that tradition be set aside as is being pleaded by some so-called academicians and 'Liberals'? What the Guru and the meeting of the 28th January 1993 stopped, is blasphemy and not any research.

In the west, too blasphemy is punishable both by the Church and the Law. Nowhere has blasphemy been ever adjudged by academician or at the public platform. Even at Oxford University, an academician is employed on the assumption that he or she would not question or attack the Christian Gospel. Guru Granth Departments have been established on the basis that an authentic Guru Granth was given to us by the Guru himself. If that basis is to be questioned, the very rationale for having the departments of Guru Nanak Chairs becomes irrelevant. Of course, there are, and will be persons who will question the integrity of the Gurus and the Guru Granth Sahib, but the fact alone will determine on which side of the line they stand.

The entire Criminal Law is based on two assumptions, namely, that man has a free will, and is responsible for his voluntary acts, and that there is an existing standard of public morality. Both of these assumptions are questionable. For, there are persons, religious and otherwise, who assert that man is a determined being incapable of free activity or that public morality is too much of a changing and vague concept to be denned rigorously and yet no one has ever argued in a court of Law that the accused should be set free and declared faultless, because he or she is as determined as a river flood or a volcano, or that a certain offence is no longer considered objectionable by modern standards of public morality.





### APPENDIX-C

December 4, 1992,

Dear Hew, Joseph & Pashaura;

I am enclosing few more reviews written by academics of all three Universities from Punjab and seems that all the accusations are based on facts. I attended Sikh conference at San Francisco last week where Western friends of Sikhism and Sikhs likewise were unable to understand the unacademic behaviour of critical scholarship by use of unauthentic GNDU Manuscript 1245 and use of ghost articles under name of Dr. Loehlin written in 1987 and 1990 when he was invalid or dead respectively. They advised me to approach you directly.

As you know many forces are working in present political environment who can use all means to diffuse Sikh Identity. Can you provide me with the following information :

1. When and how you came across GNDU Manuscript 1245 and where it was before 1987?

2. Who could publish article under authorship of Dr. Loehlin in 1987 & 1990 suggesting "Western friends of Sikhism and the Sikhs likewise have noted this lack of critical interest on part of the Sikhs. Fortunately, many of their scholars and research experts are doing research on textual and historical problem"

I am also hereby enclosing new book by G.S. Dhillon "India commits Suicide" which explains the Sikh perspective of Punjab problem being a political and economic problem rather than fundamentalist.

Hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,  
Jasbir Singh Mann

## **APPENDIX-D**

### **Will Dr. O'Connell Respond to Real Issue**

It is unfortunate that in his open letter, O'Connell has forgotten the maxim that those who live in glass houses, should not throw stones on others. No one objects to academic research, genuine or even faulty. Only libel and blasphemy are criticized. Detailed and specific objections have been raised by writers against Pashaura Singh's work. But inexplicably Dr. O'Connell, who should have known everything, has avoided defining the issues. Instead, he writes only in vague and general terms. The January issue, Abstracts of Sikh Studies, of the Centre of Sikh Studies, Santa Ana (CA) gives the entire background and the real issues. Let O'Connell reply to them instead of abusing the critics. We shall give only an example of shady work of Pashaura Singh. He concludes that MS 1245, on which his entire thesis is based, is the first draft of the AAD Granth by Guru Arjun, even though the date of demise of the Guru is written on pg. 1255 of the MS in the same hand and shade of ink as the rest of the text before and after it. If elsewhere a schoolboy were to answer that a book was authored by a person whose date of death was mentioned in the text, his sanity would be questioned and he would be asked to reappear his test. But such is modern scholarship of which Dr. O'Connell is so proud that it has not only supervised, supported and approved of his thesis, but the examiners have awarded a PhD degree. Further, on the basis of the ridiculous dating, Pashaura Singh has indulged in many blasphemous statements, including that Guru Arjun made theological changes in hymns of Guru Nanak and passed his own words as those of Guru Nanak.

With all due respect Dr. O'Connell is blaming elderly India educated men responsible for criticizing unethical academic work of Pashaura Singh, while he is completely aware of the fact that a research supervised by him has evoked widespread criticism from several universities in India as well as North America. The following Authors have reviewed his thesis and we request Dr. O'Connell to publish all these articles in his publications of the center for the study of religion, in Toronto. Because by doing so, such a center can be regarded as an unbiased, literary endeavour, rather than an apparent hot bed of calumny against the Sikhs, by a medium of research :

- 1] Dr. Surinder Singh Kohli (former Prof. and Head Dept. of Punjabi, Punjab University, Chandigarh)
- 2] Dr. Balkar Singh (Prof and Head Dept. of Guru Granth Sahib Studies, Punjabi University Patiala, India).
- 3] Dr. Darshan Singh (Prof. and Chairman Dept. of Guru Nanak Sikh Studies, Punjab Univ. Chandigarh, India).
- 4] Dr. Gurnam Kaur (Reader Dept. of Guru Granth Sahib Studies, Punjabi Univ. Patiala India)
- 5] Dr. Devinder Singh Cbahal (Prof. Univ. du Quebec Laval. Quebec, Canada)
- 6] Dr. Sukhmander Singh (Prof. Cal State, Santa Clara, CA)
- 7] Dr. Ranbir Singh Sandhu (Prof. and Head Civil Engg. Dept., Ohio State Univ Columbus, Ohio)
- 8] Dr. Kharak Singh (Phd Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio, Editor Abstracts of Sikh Studies)
- 9] Dr. Gurbaksh Singh Gill (Phd Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio, Former Dean Agriculture Univ. Ludhiana, India)
- 10] Sardar Gurtej Singh (National Prof. of Sikhism, India)
- 11] Sardar Daljeet Singh (Retired IAS, author of several books on Sikhism, India)
- 12] Dr. Gurmail Singh Sidhu (Phd Simon Fraiser Univ., Vancouver, Canada; presently Prof. at Cal State Fresno)
- 13] Sardar Kuldeep Singh (President Sikh Youth Federation, Taledo, Ohio)
- 14] Sardar Iqbal Singh Sara (Barister and Solicitor, Vancouver, Canada; President all Canada Sikh Federation)
- 15] Dr. Jasbir Sing Mann (Diplomat American Board of Orthopaedic Surgery, and Fellow International College of Surgeons, Anaheim, CA)
- 16] Dr. Harjinder Singh Dalgeer (Director Guru Nanak Institute of Sikh Studies, Norway)
- 17] Sardar Manohar Singh Marco (Director Marco Research Foundation, New Delhi; Authority on old manuscripts of Sikh Religion)
- 18] Dr Hakam Singh (PhD UCLA, President Sikh Welfare Foundation, LA)
- 19] Dr. I.J. Singh (Prof New York University)
- 20] Dr. Piara Singh (PhD Beverly Hills University, LA)
- 21] Sardar Manjit Singh Sidhu (Former Prof. Punjab University, Chandigarh)

It is beyond the scope of this letter to give detailed bio-data of the above authors, but all above authors are well known in the field of Sikh Studies and have published hundreds of books, and contributed thousands of articles, and supervised many Ph.d thesis in Sikh Studies. I humbly request Dr. O'Connell to respond to the Academic issues raised in their articles.

The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Amritsar the apex body looking after Sikh Shrines and religious affairs, took serious notice of the allegations, and in order to examine the matters closely, appointed a committee consisting of eight members including scholars : Prof. Jagjit Singh, Principal Gurmukh Singh (Head Sikh Reference Library and former Principal Gurmat College Patiala), Dr. Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon (Punjab Univ., Chandigarh), Dr. Jagjit Singh (Principal Gurmat College, Patiala, Director Guru Nanak Foundation, New Delhi), Sardar Shamsher Singh (Principal Sikh Missionary College), Principal Harbhajan Singh (Former Principal Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar), and Sardar Waryam Singh (Editor, Gurmat Prakash), Sardar Gurtej Singh (National Prof. of Sikhism). The committee unanimously indicted Pashaura Singh of gross blasphemy, holding that he had attacked the Gurus for doing the selection of bani, and making changes in the Mul-Mantar.

The findings of the committee were unanimously endorsed on the 28th of January, 1993 in a largely attended gathering of practically all the representative organisations of the Panth, including inter alia, Delhi Gurudwara Managing Committee, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Damdami Taksal (both branches), Tarna Dal (Harian Belanwale), Guru Nanak Chair Punjabi University Patiala, Guru Gobind Singh Foundation, Guru Nanak Foundation Kendri Singh Sabha, Institute of Sikh Studies Chandigarh, U.P. Sikh Partinidh Board, Guru Granth Sahib Studies dept. Punjabi University Patiala, Giani Amolk Singh, U.K. Singh Sabha, Akhand Kirtani Jatha, Arjun Singh Ghuman (representing the Canadian Sikhs), Mahant Tirath Singh of Sewa Panthi Organisation, etc., besides senior scholars like Principal Satbir Singh. The meeting was presided over by Sardar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, himself and lasted over four hours.

Member after member who had studied the research supervised by Dr. McLeod expressed their surprise that such blatantly blasphemous observations could be made by a Sikh. Over seventy scholars were present. They unanimously endorsed the recommendations of the committee for referring Dr. Pashaura Singh's case to the Akal Takhat Sahib for decision according to Gurmat tradition, set up by the Seventh Master. Dr. O'Connell must know that SGPC did not make any decision hastily or under any pressure group. Somebody at Toronto Univ. must investigate how this Ph.d has been awarded as the physical evidence used in this research is unauthentic and conclusions drawn directly attack the Sikh Gurus, and Guru Granth Sahib, which is revered daily in all Sikh homes and Sikh Gurdwaras. Thus, all this is a calculated blasphemy.

The fundamental fact is that so as to avoid any confusion about authenticity. Guru Arjun himself compiled an authenticated Sikh Scripture which is the only scripture in the world compiled by the prophet. Accordingly, the system of textual, form or redaction analysis is inapplicable to it. It is to avoid such exercises that the Guru compiled the Scripture himself. Hence, methodologies only relevant to man-made scripture, as is the case in all other Higher Religions, are inapplicable and irrelevant in the case of Sikh scripture. In fact, the very concept is a contradiction in terms.

For our part we are ready to prove before any academic forum that Pashaura Singh has called a MS having date of demise of Guru Arjun to be a draft by the same Guru and the other statements mentioned above. May we ask the western academic world if it is wrong to criticize such poor and ethically unsound work?

May 10, 1993

Enclosed : Editorial Article, Abstracts of Sikh Studies  
January, 1993

Sincerely Yours,

Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann  
(Editor, Advanced Studies in Sikhism,  
Fundamental Issues in Sikh Studies,  
and Recent Researches in Sikhism)

## APPENDIX-E

Dalhousie University

Dr. J.Robert S. Prichard  
 President  
 University of Toronto  
 Toronto, Ontario  
 M5S IAI  
 (416) 978-2001

3 August 1993  
 School of Education  
 Halifax, Nova Scotia  
 Canada B3H 315  
 (902)494-3724  
 Fax (902) 494-2847

Dear Dr. Prichad:

I had the honour of attending a very well organized Sikh Education Conference in Toronto, (sponsored by Sikh Social and Education Society Box 87600 Thornhill Square - Postal Outlet Thronhill, Ontario, L3T 7R3), in July 93. Morning Session of July 25 was exclusively devoted to "Sikh Studies Research" conducted in various North American Universities with special reference to Dr. Pashaura Singh's, University of Toronto (1991) Thesis. The presenters and persons in attendance agreed that historians using Dr. McLeod's model of research are intentionally attempting to bring "correctness" to Sikh History and traditions without involving the Sikh community. This "objective" research done in the "secular" University of Toronto is causing turmoil and pain to the Sikh community throughout the world (see attached, especially the letter from S.G.P.C. Amritsar.)

In Canada, research on Sikhism has been mainly carried out at St. Michael's College University of Toronto, and University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. Sikhism with the history of only 500 years has been selected for the application of objective research using Social Science methods. This, so called "sophisticated" research has started generating misinformation about Sikh Gurus and their scriptures. Here are some examples from Dr. McLeod's and Dr. Pashaura Singh's paradigms.

1. Guru Nanak was the founder of sikh religion in the organizational sense and not in the religious sense.
2. Nath tradition was worked by Kabir, Guru Nanak provided the extension.
3. Guru Nanak in a way is Sant Nanak.
4. Guru Nanak never went abroad.
5. Regression from Sikhism to Hindu religion took place at the time of Guru Amardas.

6. Jat influence got guruship to Guru Arjan Dev.
7. Guru Arjun corrected the Bani written by Guru Nanak.
8. Compilation of Aad Granth was a process. It is not Dhur Ki Bani (revealed).
9. Bhagat Bani was included in Guru Granth Sahib to please the minorities. Shabads of Dhanna were included to please the Jats. There is no truth in using the term Damdama Sahib wali Bir. It was compiled in Anandpur Sahib in 1680 A.D.
10. Singh Sabha imposed a single correct interpretation to Guru Granth Saheb.
11. A rare undated manuscript No. G.N.D.U # 1245 should be carefully studied. This is the first draft of Guru Granth Sahib on which Guru Arjan Dev worked and produced Kartarpur Wali Bir.
12. Exclusion of Mira Bai's Shabad from Guru Granth Sahib was done in an attempt to develop a Sikh Identity. Also the Shabad was extremely erotic.
13. Khalsa was not given 5 Ks by Guru Gobind Singh on Baisakhi day, 1699.
14. Hair and Turban and Sword entered Sikhism through the Jat influence. "Jat did not enter Sikhism empty handed".
15. Bachittar Natak was not written by Guru Gobind Singh.
16. Guru Granth Sahib became the Sikh Guru because Guru Gobind Singh had no surviving children.
17. Guru Arjan was murdered and not martyred in 1604. One could go on till one starts shaking one's head in disbelief. The conscious and unconscious motivations of the researchers to cause hurt and pain to the Sikh Community becomes transparent. Pashaura's Singh Thesis (University of Toronto, 1991) was the last straw that broke the "Camels" back.

It appears Pashaura Singh was provided a ready made "McLeod" paradigm to fit his research if he wanted to get his Ph. D. Pashaura's "role dance" got him a doctorate as well as a job.

In their mystification the supervisors who incidentally were non-Sikhs, and their student forgot the subjective and emotional nature of the topic but hastened to bring historic correctness by trampling on the Sikh traditions and their subjective Faith.

This type of disrespectful research has to stop. One way, the

minorities and females have accomplished this in Canadian setting is, by writing to the Presidents of those universities where such research is conducted and demanding that an ethics committee be set up that would review all research pertaining to the community before it is allowed to progress.

On behalf of the Sikh Community of Canada, I am writing to request you to set up an ethics committee to evaluate and approve any research conducted on Sikhs at the University of Toronto. I can assure you, it will partially remediate the harm and hurt this research is causing to 16 million Sikhs living in India and abroad. I am sending five hundred copies of this letter to various Sikh organisations in India and abroad. I hope they will be writing to you individually. Kindly feel free to contact me if you need any further information.

With kind regards

S.S. Sodhi, Ph.D.  
 Professor of Sp. Education  
 School of Education  
 Dalhousie University  
 Halifax, N.S., Canada, B3H3J5  
 (902) 443-3269, 494-3724

c.c. Chairperson, Board of Governors, U. of Toronto  
 c.c. 500 Sikh organizations in India, Canada and Abroad  
 c.c. Ontario and Govt of Canada Human Rights Commission  
 c.c. Minister of Higher Education Govt of Ontario, Toronto.

**Please Note :** If you agree with the theme and contents of this letter and want that Dr. J.R. Prichard should set up an ethics committee to evaluate and approve research done on sikhs, kindly sign it and mail it to him. Thanks.

**APPENDIX – F**

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT & PROVEST

27 King's College Circle,  
Simcoe Hall, Room 225  
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1, CANADA

TEL : (416) 978-6783  
FAX : (416) 978-3939

September 10, 1993

Dr. S. Sodhi  
School of Education  
Dalhousie University  
Halifax, NS  
B3H 3J5

Dear Dr. Sodhi :

The President has referred your letter of August 3, 1993 to my attention and I apologize for the delay in responding to you.

As you may be aware, the University has had a number of meetings with representatives of the Ontario Council of Sikhs. At these meetings the issues of Dr. Singh and Professor McLeod's work have been discussed. The University understands and regrets the harm and hurt the members of the Sikh community may experience concerning the work of these two individuals. As you may be aware, the University and the Ontario Council of Sikhs have been attempting to increase the opportunities to study and participate in the university community. It is thus especially unfortunate that we have not been able to pursue this goal with the success we had hoped.

In reference to the more specific points that you have raised in your letter, I believe it is important to bear in mind that neither Dr. Singh nor Professor McLeod are currently members of the University of Toronto. Indeed, Dr. Singh has not been associated with the University of Toronto beyond his receiving of the doctorate and Dr. McCleod, while having taught for us, is not a member of the permanent faculty of the University of Toronto and is not scheduled to teach in our programs in the coming year.

You have raised the suggestion that the University should establish an ethics committee that would review all research pertaining to the Sikh community. The University has considered a variant of this proposal earlier in our discussions with the

Ontario Council of Sikhs. As I am sure you are aware, the University's tradition has been to foster in the academic community an environment where the right of free inquiry and expression is safeguarded with the responsibility of the individuals who enjoy this freedom to be held accountable to their peers through scholarly publication and debate. In particular, in areas where there are allegations such as those against Pashaura Singh, the University respects the authority of the various religious bodies to rule on such matters and does not itself believe that it has or should have jurisdiction with regard to the alleged blasphemies in the thesis. It is for this reason that the University has not established a committee that would review such research proposal.

The University of Toronto continues to maintain an interest in the Sikh community and in furthering scholarship in Sikh Studies. We will be looking to establishing in the next year a number of seminars that will allow for the participation of a number of scholars in Sikh Studies so that our students will be exposed to a number of view points. We hope that this will continue interest in Sikh Studies at the University and that we will work in the future to overcome some of the difficulties that we have currently.

Thank you for taking time to write to the President.

Yours sincerely,

**Adel Sedra**

Vice-President and Provost

xc :

D. Cook, Vice-Provost Staff Functions

M. Chander, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Science

J.Mc Auliffe, Centre for the Study of Religion

A.M. Castrilli, Governing Council

MS Bal, Secretary, Ontario Council of Sikhs

P.O Brien, Development

G. Singh, Governing Council

J. Cohen, Dean, School of Graduate Studies

**APPENDIX – G**

University of Toronto  
Office of the Vice-President and  
Provost

27 King's College Circle,  
Simcoe Hall, Room 222

Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1, CANADA

Tel : (416) 978-6159

FAX : (416) 978-3939

e-mail :

davidcook@provost.Utoronto.ca

September 17, 1993

Mr. Manohar Singh Bal  
Secretary  
Ontario Council of Sikhs  
238 Davenport Road, Suite 10  
Toronto, ON, M5R 1J6

Dear Mr. Bal :

I thought I would send you a short note just bringing you up to date on some of the things that have transpired since I returned from my leave.

As I know you are aware, the concerns that you and your colleagues expressed to Provost Foley are shared by other members of your community, some of whom have taken time to write to the University. I enclose for your information a copy of the most recent correspondence with Dr. Sodhi. As you have seen from the earlier correspondence, the University basically believes that the resolution of the charges against Pashaura Singh are appropriately being explored outside the University and through scholarly and other forms of debate. Pashaura Singh's doctorate was awarded following the University's rules which we have a legal obligation to honour.

There has obviously been considerable discussion of Dr. McLeod's work in your community and in scholarly forums. Again, I think these are appropriate forums for raising issues that have troubled your community and others. As you may also know, the University will not be employing Dr. McLeod to teach in our program.

I appreciate very much that the recent past has made it very difficult for the Sikh community to support the University at a level we all hope for. I believe that the point that you and your

colleagues raised concerning the availability of other Sikh scholars to participate in the University's programs, was an important one and that the University should strive to widen the involvement of individuals to be more reflective of the various perspectives in the scholarly community I regret that the University, for a number of reasons including our fiscal situation, is not able to mount the courses that we have been able to offer, in part with your assistance, over the last number of years. I am pleased to indicate that the University will be supporting a series of seminars in the area of Sikh Studies which we hope will involve a number of Sikh scholars. I would hope that this measure would provide a bridge to the future, whether this would be through a more formal agreement with the Sikh community or through the active participation of members of your community in the University. I would be pleased to discuss this with you should you so desire.

Best wishes,  
David Cook  
Vice Provost

rk :

xc : A. Sedra, Vice-president and Provost  
M. Chandler, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Science  
J. McAuliffe, Centre for the Study of Religion  
A.M. Castrilli, Governing Council  
P.O'Brien, Development  
G. Singh, Governing Council  
J. Cohen, Dean, School of Graduate Studies

## **APPENDIX H**

### **THE FUTURE OF SIKH STUDIES IN NORTH AMERICA**

In recent months, an attempt has been made to create an impression that the Sikhs are against academic freedom and religious studies being conducted in foreign universities. The issues of fundamentalism, religious beliefs and orthodoxy are wrongly portrayed as the reason for this supposed reluctance to use the so-called modern methodology. Recently, Dr McLeod in his article, "Where it all started" published in the Sikh Review, Journal (January, 1994), is sidetracking the charges against him once again, by making erroneous personal generalizations; such as, being an atheist, the issue of critical scholarship verses faith and believers, issue of and other misunderstanding by the readers, limitations of Punjabi and Gurmata, and not being a member of the Panth. He is intentionally clouding the real issue, that has been raised by Sikh scholars after reviewing research work in Sikh studies by him and his followers. The real issues are unethical academics, misstatements, use of fake writings and libel. When closely examined, it is evident that the problem is very different and has arisen from the work of McLeod and his student Pashaura Singh. It is therefore necessary to impart facts so that it can be understood as to why "generalities" are being indulged in, and realities obviated.

Encyclopaedia Britannica clearly defines that "Academic Freedom is never unlimited. The general law of the society including those concerning... and libel apply also to academic disclosure and publications." In the United States, for example, scientific conclusions on questions of racial difference or similarities have met with hostility in some communities. At such times, individual citizens, pressure groups, or even community at large may wish to interfere with teaching or research". Ethical Guidelines of Social Science Humanities Research Council of Canada clearly protects the rights of the individual; "the right of cultural groups to accurate and respectful description of their heritage and customs and to the discreet use of information on their lives and aspirations." "Greater consideration must be given to the risks of physical, psychological, humane, propriety, and cultural values than to the potential contribution of the research to knowledge." "Research on cultures, countries and ethnic groups different from one's own requires a different ethic." Taking the

above rights of the individual and groups, the facts of unethical and libel issues of Sikh studies are as follows.

In 1975 McLeod, a long time resident Missionary in Punjab, wrote that the Sikh Scripture, the *Adi Granth*, prepared by the Fifth Guru, suffered from motivated and “inept deletions”, suggesting that whereas the Gurus had recorded a hymn involving the “mundane” ceremony of his son, the Sikhs had later deleted the hymn from the *Guru Granth*, because in the 18th century the practice of unshorn hair had been started by them. This statement was considered by competent lawyers to be blasphemous or libellous, because (a) it was false, (b) McLeod knew it to be such, (c) it was defamatory of the Guru and the Sikh Scripture before whom millions of Sikhs pray everyday and (d) it was prematurely motivated, since McLeod had made no sincere attempt either to study the original *Adi Granth*, or the *Banno Bir*, which he said was the original *Bir* or the related literature. Four organizations including one headed by a former Judge of the Punjab High Court and another headed by a former Minister and senior advocate of the High Court, wrote to Toronto University, complaining against the misconduct of McLeod. For, he was then occupying a visiting professorship funded by the Sikhs with the object of projecting Sikhism in its true light. The University took no action. But in response McLeod again made a misstatement saying that after reading Jodh Singh’s book of 1968, which he had quoted in 1975, he had “abandoned” the notion about the deletion. However, this is not the end of the story.

In 1992, Pashaura Singh supervised and guided by Dr McLeod, produced a thesis in which on the basis of a manuscript # 1245 of the GND University, Amritsar, he wrote that Guru Arjun had linguistically and theologically changed the hymns (*bani*) of Guru Nanak, and had instead passed his own *bani* as that of Guru Nanak. Previously, McLeod had accused the Sikhs of removing the Guru’s hymns by deletion, now Pashaura Singh accused Guru Arjun for making alterations in Guru Nanak’s theology and hymns. The assertion of Pashaura Singh guided by McLeod is also considered libellous and unethical by competent scholars, because (a) the assertion is false, (b) Pashaura Singh knows it to be so, (c) it is defamatory of the Guru, and *Guru Granth* (which is asserted to be

unauthentic and without the original words and theology of Guru Nanak).

Pashaura Singh called MS # 1245 the original draft of the Adi Granth by Guru Arjan and thus based his false assertions on it. The features of MS # 1245 are : (1) it was never heard of before 1987, when Pashaura Singh started his PhD work in Toronto and the manuscript was purchased by the GNDU at Amritsar, (2) it has no history beyond 1987, and Pashaura Singh has not traced any, (3) it has no date, and no scribe's name, (4) It has numerous forged hymns, (5) in addition, it has several modified hymns in so far as parts of one hymn are linked to another hymn from the Guru Granth to form a new hymn, (6) the index of the hymns quite often tallies with the index of the Guru Granth, but the hymns recorded in the text are entirely different, (7) it has a forged nishan or mark of the Sixth Guru on page four even though admittedly the nishan is of the Ninth Guru and (8) in its contents on page 1255 the death date of Guru Arjun is recorded in the same hand and ink as scores of other pages before and after the death date. Dr Balwant Singh Dhillon, from GNDU, Amritsar, has done a thorough scrutiny of this manuscript and in his article "Myth of an Early Draft" he states : "Ironically, the learned scholar (Pashaura Singh) has miserably failed in this respect, because instead of making an honest and objective exercise, vital internal evidence has been overlooked, and misstatements and misrepresentation of facts have been made to prove the preconceived idea of an earlier draft, which is totally untenable and unjustified. Observations made on the Adi Granth on the basis of this manuscript will certainly boomerang and meet a fate similar to the one of the fake fossil research of Professor V.J. Gupta, which has landed the Punjab University, Chandigarh, in the thick of an international controversy, badly ravaging its reputation and standing in academic fraternity". "And yet, Pashaura Singh, approved or abetted by McLeod, calls it a draft of the Adi Granth made by Guru Arjun before 1604 A.D. All the above features and facts of MS # 1245 are well known to Pashaura Singh, since he came to Amritsar in 1990 and examined it. Evidently, no one with any sense of reason or sanity can call a manuscript bearing the death of a person to have been authored by the same writer.

Thus, all the ingredients of the offence of unethical academics and libel are present in the writing of Pashaura Singh who knowingly made false and defamatory statements.

An important fact is a close link and identity between the unethical statements of McLeod made in 1975, 1978 and 1989, and Pashaura Singh's statement made in 1992. In both the cases, firstly, the statements were made without requisite analytical, rational or academic effort or approach, secondly, they were made in clear contradiction of academically known and authentic facts, and, thirdly, the common objective of the statements has been wanton attacks on the authenticity of the Guru Granth calling it not revelatory but rather a response to the socio-political pressures.

The objectionable features of Pashaura Singh's thesis are so apparent that it created a spontaneous reaction from scholars all over the world, more so, in the Western world. Of the 30 and more articles, the majority of them were written by scholars trained in foreign universities and institutions. An advocate of the Panjab and Haryana High Court has brought out a publication compiling them in a book entitled, "Planned Attack on Guru Granth Sahib" with the foreword written by Dr Bishan Singh Samundri, former Vice-Chancellor of GNDU. The book gives the background and history of the related events of libel. The second book by Dr Trilochan Singh titled, "Hew McLeod and Ernest Trump as scholars of Sikh religion and history", containing foreword by Dr Neol King has also exposed the real scholarship of the two authors. Once the scholars of Sikh Studies have reviewed these two books, they will come to know the truth of the story.

Another feature of Pashaura Singh's thesis is that he has quoted a fake article published under the name of Loehlin in 1987 and again in 1990. Loehlin was an ex-missionary well known to McLeod who also worked as such in Punjab. Loehlin was admitted into Westminster Gardens Presbyterian Retirement Community Centre, Duarte, California in 1983, and died there in mid-1987. The quarters of Loehlin denied the publication of any article by him. McLeod could not be unaware of the demise or invalidity of his old missionary colleague. And yet, Pashaura Singh approved by McLeod, has quoted this fake article as a justification for taking up the subject of his PhD thesis.

Similarly, MS # 1245 also seems to be a planned introduction,

and was purchased at Amritsar at the appropriate time. It bears apart from the forged nishan and hymns, lines in English and Punjabi by a local Professor.

It is the use of seemingly fraudulent or fake documents, unethical activities under the garb of research and all with the object of attacking the authenticity of the Guru Granth Sahib that have aroused, on the one hand, the spontaneous reaction of Sikh Scholars, and on the other hand, the move of the SGPC for dealing with Pashaura Singh according to the Sikh code of conduct. Let it be known that the SGPC made the move only after obtaining written reports of two expert committees, which included Heads of Departments of Religion of Punjab University, Chandigarh, and the Punjabi University of Patiala, and the Principals of two colleges of Sikh religion. They recommended action, both at Akal Takhat and under the law. Can anyone with a sense of reason, propriety, or ethics blame the scholars or the SGPC for a move against Pashaura Singh, when competent persons consider that he as guided by McLeod had committed unlawful and libellous acts? The President of Toronto University was addressed by scholars in North America regarding the unethical work of Pashaura Singh, supervised by McLeod. The University has now said that they are not employing either Pashaura Singh or McLeod.

This being the reality, it is unfortunate that facts are being concealed, and instead general statements are being made and the wrong cry of "academic freedom in danger" raised. No one objects to authentic research conducted in foreign universities by foreign scholars of any hue or kind. The serious issue, however, is of unauthentic, motivated, unethical and libellous production. The following senior scholars of Sikh Studies have refuted Dr McLeod's various formulations in the past, but their work has been purposely suppressed :

Dr Hari Ram Gupta	Former Professor and Head Dept. of history; Punjab Univ. Chandigarh.
Dr Ganda Singh	Former Director, Dept. of Punjab historical studies; Punjabi Univ.
Dr Surinder Singh Kohli	Former Professor and Head

- Dr Hal-bans Singh Dept of Punjabi; Punjab Univ. Former Director Guru Gobind Singh religious studies, Punjabi Univ.
- Prof. Jagjit Singh Well known scholar of Sikh history and religion
- Dr Avtar Singh Head Dept. of philosophy and dean of academic affairs, Punjabi Univ. Patiala.
- Dr Harnam Singh Shan Former Professor and Head Dept. of Guru Nanak Studies, Punjab Univ.
- Dr Trilochan Singh Well known scholar of Sikh religion and history.
- Dr O'Noel King Former Professor of religion, UC Santa Cruz.
- Dr James Lewis Former Professor of philosophy and religion, Appalachian State Univ., Boone, North Carolina.
- Dr Madanjit Kaur Professor and Head Dept. of Guru Nanak Studies, GNDU, Amritsar.
- Daljeet Singh Well known scholar of Sikh religion.
- Dr Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon Reader, Dept. of history, Punjab Univ. Chd.
- Dr Pashaura Singh's PhD thesis has been reviewed and questions have been raised by the following senior scholars of Sikh studies
- Dr Surinder Singh Kohli Former Professor and Head Dept. of Punjab Univ., Chandigarh
- Dr Darshan Singh Professor and Chairman, Dept. of Guru Nanak and Sikh Studies, Punjab Univ. Chd.
- Dr Balkar Singh Professor and Head Guru Granth Sahib Dept. Punjabi Univ.
- Gurnam Kaur Reader, Dept. of Guru Granth

Dr Balwant Singh Dhillon	Sahib, Punjabi Univ. Dept. of Guru Nanak Studies, GNDU, Amritsar.
Sardar Gurtej Singh	National Professor of Sikhism, appointed by SGPC, Amritsar.

All the above authors are working presently or have worked in the past in the field of Sikh studies, and are holding or held in the past senior faculty positions in Indian and Western universities. Is suppressing facts and the opposite point of view academic freedom?

In fact, for years, Sikhs in the Toronto area have paid the University for services of McLeod who has virtually abused his position and privileges. Sikhism is the only religion, that doesn't claim any exclusiveness, rather it recommends, ideologically, inter-faith dialogue and cooperation. This is laid down by their Gurus in the Guru Granth Sahib. It was in this context that McLeod and his friends were invited to conferences on Sikh studies in North America and elsewhere. The issue is serious and specific, namely, has Pashaura Singh, guided by McLeod, committed an offence against the Law? Knowledgeable and competent scholars say that he has violated both the law and the religious code. Is a person working in University above the Law? Is a certificate of good character enough to absolve a person of an offence, or to satisfy a person or persons against whom the offence is committed by the accused?

Academically, scholars in universities either in India or abroad study the same philosophy, sciences, and technologies, employing same methods of criticism, the same modes of interpretation, and the same principles of logic, ethics, jurisprudence and the Law. It is therefore, time that we in the academic world at least come out of the grooves of an old mentality and of making distinctions and claims of superiority on the basis of a particular locale, or pulpit. It is also equally clear that the universities, whether in the East or in the West are mostly financed by the people and the state. In early 1994, Conferences of Sikh Studies are being held at Toronto and Michigan Universities, but the community whose issues are being discussed is not allowed to participate. A written communication by Lee I. Schlesinger (program officer, CSSEA,

Univ. of Michigan) dated January 12, 1994 to one of the organizing member of the Chair states that : “Only those scholars who have been invited to present or to discuss papers and University of Michigan Faculty and students are to attend the sessions, it did not seem necessary to make the effort to publicize this conference off-campus. “What kind of academic freedom is this? What is there to hide? Is there any kind of hidden agenda?

Can anyone having respect for normal codes of Law and ethics assert that a person having blatantly violated them should not be dealt with under the prescribed codes, merely because he has a certain colour or is product of a certain institution? It is impossible not to believe that any honest academic scrutiny would not clearly show that the articles and the manuscript # 1245, relied upon by Pashaura Singh and McLeod are fake and could not have been authored by Loehlin and Guru Arjun, respectively. Hence, the evident offence against ethics and Law. In fact, it is very strongly believed that had Toronto University heeded to the advice of the four organizations that had specifically addressed the issues in regard to McLeod’s conduct, the present unfortunate events of Pashaura Singh’s affair would have been avoided.

Repeating again, Academic Freedom is never unlimited and the general social law, including that of libel applies equally well to it. Under academic freedom, individuals and groups have the right to protest against research which can produce psychological pain, suffering, and misinterpretations of doctrines. Many Sikh scholars from different universities and various Sikh centres have published several books and articles exposing unethical and libellous issues in Sikh studies. The Sikh community at this time requests that ethical committees for the review of the above issues in Sikh studies, should be set up immediately by Toronto and Michigan Universities, and impartial and independent opinions about the above issues should be obtained and presented to the public. If this is done, then the future of Sikh studies in North America can very well be viewed optimistically and cooperation of all concerned elicited. Only then, the academic freedom for the scholars and the rights of the Sikh community will not be in danger.

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**OUR CONTRIBUTORS**  
**EXPLAINING SIKH PERSPECTIVE ON**  
**“TEXT AND MEANING OF AAD GRANTH”**

**DISSERTATION FROM TORONTO UNIVERSITY 1991**

- |                           |  |
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- Principal Harbhajan Singh Scholar and author of several books on Sikh Studies. "Gurbani Sampadan Nimai (Punjabi)", Published by, Satnam Parkashan, Chandigarh; Abstract : "Opening the subject in the 5th and 6th chapter, the author stresses the Gurbani is revealed. He concedes that during the time of Guru Arjun, Meharban, son of Prithi Chand, was - composing his own verses under the name Nanak, which was causing confusion among the Sikh masses, for it was not easy for an ordinary person to tell genuine Gurbani from the fake verses of Meharban and other Minas who had set up a rival Guruship."
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- Dr. Sukhmander Singh Prof. and Head Civil Engineering, Santa Clara University, CA; Editor of 2 scientific books; author of a number of articles on Sikh religion; Former President, Sikh Council of North America
- Dr. Sahib Singh Former Professor, Religious Studies, Author of dozen books on Sikhism including "Aad Bir Bare (Punjabi)", Published by M/s Singh Brothers, Amritsar; Abstract : "shows that Guru Nanak carefully preserved his Bani, and passed it on to Guru Angad Dev Ji who succeeded him. The practice was followed by the subsequent Gurus also, so that the entire bani of all the Gurus, was available with Guru Arjun, when he undertook compilation of the Aad Granth."
- Dr. S.S. Sodhi Professor, School of Education, Dalhousie University Halifax, Nova Scotia
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**ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਭਾਗ**  
**(PUNJABI SECTION)**



< siqgr pšwid ]

**Awid**

**sR grUgD swihb qy  
Xj nwb'D hml w**

**Akwdimk crcw j WDrn inldAw**

Afitr

bic'qr isG igAwnl

Afvkjt

**iemrnSnl sitr Aw& is'K st'flz**

kōTl nM : 1182, sktr 44 - bl

cflgVH



# 1 mK-b

khfwdl Xhivrstl trltovl ipSrw isG f fwktr AwP iPl wPl dl ifgrl dx l el "Awid gnd dw ivSw AqyArQ" dyisrl K hT il iKAw Qlss isK pnd ivc qkVvvd ivvvd dw kwrx bx igAw hY[ pSrw isG nyieh Kj btwl w grp dyswbk ieswel pndrl fbl XU Ab. mkl f dl rK dK hT klql hY[ Kj dw ADwr grUnwk dy Xhivrstl, Amlqsr vl 1987 el. ivc muel syWbij wr dyiek psqk ivkrqwr hrBj n isG Aqyhrcrn isG civil w Awrt Awf mhskirpt fil rz pwsNKrdl hQ il Kq (KrVw) ij s f Xhivrstl nyKrVw nM 1245 grdinAw, bxwieAw igAw hY[ l Kk nyAwid gnd dyieqhs f mV isrj n dl kwl hrkq kr dy heyAwid sl grlgnd swihb dymll pWT dw ivSl sx, grUArj n dl slwdnWpwl Isl AqyBgqWdl bwxl Suml krn dw An-AwDwrq qQW Aqy gr-j thyrwrnw Flg nwl klqw hYij s f kael vl SrDwvwn isK Kj dl AwV hT ies qrWnhll kr skdw [

ies Kj kwr nyAwpxyKj p'qr dyplhw 23 atqyrKw ic'qr ad lkdyheygiehvwil pQIAW (1570-72 el.) f sB qdApr Aqydj y nlr qygrUnwk dy Xhivrstl dl il Kq nM 1245 rkl hY Aqyqlj y nlr qykrqwrpiri blV ( 1604 el. ) Aqyies qd ipCnbthoblv Aqyhr il KqW [

pSrw isG Awid gnd dl slwdnWdw mK vsll w giehvwil pQIAW dsdw hYAqydj y nlr qygrUnwk dy Xhivrstl dl il Kq (KrVw) nM 1245 [ ies il Kq iv'c BgqWdl bwxl drj nhll [ esyl Kq dyAwDwr qymll -mkr, j pj l, sdr rihrw, grUArj n dy dysnl rwg, iql hY rwg, rwmkl l rwg 'c Sbd Aqy grUArj n dl Awid gnd bwrys slwdnW pl Isl qytlkw itpxl krs w hieAw vvd-ivvvd dy Gryjvc iGr j Wdw hY [

## mü -müç

Awid-gü dymüF ivc Alikq mü -müç bürpSürw isig (plhw 93) qyil Kdw hlik gieüvwl pQIAWdl ij l d nll 1 ivc mü -müç ies qrwil iKAw hyl:-

< siqgr pßwid [

scunim krqwr inrBauinrkwr Akwl müçiq Aj thl sßau [ pßülies dyAük qyikqy-ikqy "gülpükyprswid" Bl Alikq hyl [ Apr Awid gü ivc Alikq mü -müç nwl ikqyBl my nhll Kldw [ ies qü AgypSürw isig gülrüm dws dyiek Sbd 'cükqkwl ky is'D krn dl kßS krdw hlik ieh Awid gü ivc Alikq mü -müç nwl iml dIAWj d dIAw hn j oies pkrwr hn:-

j ip mn inrBau [ siq siq sdw siq [ inrvr Akwl müçiq [ Aj thl sßau [ myrm Anidno iDAwie inrkwr inrwurl [ (mhl w 4, swrky 2 plhw 1201)

akq hvwl ydykypSürw isig il Kdw hyl (plhw 96) ik mü -müç f Aükym Skl dy l el gülarj x nyvKovK KriVAWaqyivcwr klq [ ieh sj wx Kj l esypühyqy il Kdw nylk Awid gü ivc Alikq mü -müç qü pihl W gülrünk dy Xhlvrstl h'Q il Kq nür 1245 (plhw 27 b) ivc mü -müç ies qrwAlikq hyl:-

< siqnümkrqw pürKuinnrBauinrvr Akwl müçiq Aj thl sßm siq gülrprswid [

iPr il Kdw hyl ik gülarj x ny mü -müç f Aükym rü dy l igAW 'siqgülrprswid' dl QW 'gürpßwid' il K idqw qWj omü -müç f j cvWqygülvWbxwieAw j w sky [

pSürw isig dl Kj Answr ies dw Bwv ieh hieAw ik Awid sk gülgü dyArß ivc Alikq mü -müç gülrünk dw acwirAw hieAw hlbhü ah nhl bl ik gülarj x ny kel KriVAW qy ivcwr krn aprky

mll -mlyr f Akqm rlp idqw [

AwpxyKj -p'qr ivc pS0w isIG mthdw h'lik ieh ibl kl sBv h'lik g'rl'nw nk nyAwpxl AwXld0'wn hl swrySbdWf il Kqi rlp idqw hwy ikatik d'j yDrmW dymFIAW v'lg ah AnpVlnhln sn [ eQypS0w isIG Bwel g'rd'is dl vwr 32 dw hvwl w id'lyheykih'lw h'lik Drm prcwr d'ry sm'j g'rl'nw nk ikqwb nwl rKdysn [

p'li swihb isIG Bwel g'rd'is dl vwr 32 dw hvwl w id'lyheyil Kdy hn ik j d'lg'rl'nw nk m'kyivc pj yqd h'z'l qym'l Wg'rl'nw nk p'ist'p'icx l gy"p'icx Kd ikqwb f v'f'w ih'w'lik m's'l m'nel [ b'byAw'kyh'w'j IAWsB Aml Wb'w'ndw'y'nel" [

ienWsq'rd'yil Kwrl f 1945-46 ivc Kwrl sw kw'l j A'lm'q'sr dw ivedAw'rQl h'x sm'j p'li swihb isIG dw swigrd bnx dw m'wn p'lpq h'y [ b'w'w'j h'x d'IAWp'QIAW Aqygr'b'w'xl b'w'ryad'n'Bl bihs j i'eAw krdl sl [ p'li swihb isIG Bwel g'rd'is dl apr'l l vwr dw hvwl w d'kykihAw krdy sn ik g'rl'nw nk nyAwpxl b'w'xl il Kqi rlp ivc sBw'l kyrKl Aqygr g'dl Bwel l ih'xy(g'rl'Aw'gd) f s'p'x sm'j ieh b'w'xl Bl an'w'dyh'w'l ykl'ql [ iesyqr'w'g'rl'Aw'gd, g'rl'Amr d'is Aqygr'U'rm d'is nyj ov'w'xl rcl ah pih'l ygr'U'AW dl b'w'xl iv'c A'lkq krkyp'iv'w' dr p'iv'w' Agl ygr'U'AW f s'p'dygey [ esyp'Ql ivc A'lkq b'w'xl f g'rl'Arj x kyhr'lm'w'lr swihb ivc sQwpq klqw AqykihAw 'p'Ql prm's'r kw Q'w'nd [

g'ie'd'w'w'l p'QIAW b'w'ry p'li swihb isIG kihAw krdysn ik g'rl' Arj x ny"m'h'n q'rya'icym'w'lr mihl Ap'w'w'" dl qk nwl Ar'B h'x w'l w Sbd Akw'l prK f s'w'd'q klqw h'y [ ieh ikv'w' hoskdw h'lik p'QIAW p'lpq krn l el g'rl'Arj x b'w'w' m'h'n d'yc'b'w'ry h'y'f KV'ky ieh Sbd a'ic'w'rn [

b'w'xl ivc k'yl Akw'l prK dl hl asq'q h'y'ks'y'ivAk'ql dl nh'ln'ies q'li'el w'w'w' b'w'w' m'h'n nygr'U'Amr d'is vl d'lg'rl'U'rm d'is f gr g'dl s'p'x dyP'Bl yf Bl sv'kw'r nh'ln' sl klqw [ so g'rl'Arj x A'ij h'y ivAk'ql dl isPq ivc Sbd ikv'w' a'ic'w'r skdyhn ?

gieđlvwl pQIAWl gwqwr asygrp dykby yivc rhlAWj obwbw  
 mhn f gurUnw mthx vwl yisKWf ksdyrinđlysn Aqykiđlysn ik j okel  
 anđ f gurUnhln mthgw nrkWf j wvgw [ ies l el bwbw mhn vwl IAW  
 pQIAWf grlAWdl bwxl Xw grlAmr dws vl Nil Kuel bwxl dsxw srwsr  
 gl q hY[ gieđlvwl pQIAWij nWf bwbw mhn vwl IAWpQIAWvi kihAW  
 j Vclw hYdl dj l ij l d qyies dww il Kq swl 1595 el: hY[ ies ivc gurU  
 rum dws AqygrUArj x dyv dySbd Amkq hoxyswbq krđw hYik ieh  
 pQl Awid gđ dl sđwđnw qđ ipCđ il Kl gel [ ienWpQIAWivc Amkq  
 mđ -mđqr Bl Awid gđ ivc Amkq mđ -mđqr nwl đ vl iBđ hY[ sopSđw  
 isđ vl đ bwbw mhn dIAWpQIAWf AwDwr bxw kyil iKAw Kđ -p'qr q'QW  
 AqysbđW dyAwDwr qypđw nhln aqrđw [ inSwrw gr bwxl dl Kđ nhln  
 bl ik hr hl hY[

pSđw isđ mđ mđqr qk hl slmq nhln [ Kđ -p'qr dypđw 102  
 qyil Kđw hYik Awid gđ ivc Amkq 'Awid scu j gwid scu [ hYBl scu  
 nwnk hđl Bl scu [ ' qkWgrUArj n nyj pj l f Ađm Skl đx smđ Siml  
 klqIAWj omFI IAWil KqWivc nhlniml dIAW [

Kđ -p'qr dypđw 100 Aqy101 qyj pj l dyArđ bwrđil Kđw hY  
 ik gurUnwnk dyv Xđlvrstl dl h'Q il Kq nđ 1245 Answr ieh ies  
 pkr hY-

<

siqnwmukrqw prKuindrBawinrvruAkwl mđiq Aj thl sđm  
 siqgr prswid j pu [ mhl w 1

scYsic nw hwel j yscl l Kvr [ cpYcp nw hwel j ie l wie  
 rhw il vqr [ BilKAw BK n aqrYj ybnw prlAW Bwr [ shđ isAwxpw  
 l K hñn qWiek nw cl Ynwil [ ikausicAwrw hēlAYikaukŪYqđYpwił  
 [ hkm rj wel cl xw nwnk il iKAw nwi l [1]

pSđw isđ ieh swbq krnw cwhđw hYik h'Q-il Kq 1245 ivc  
 mđ -mđqr apr il KyAnswr hY Aqyies ivc 'Awid scu j gwid scu [

hyBl scunink hsl Bl sci, dIAWqkWAkkq nhInj ogrUArj x nyj pj l f Akqm rtp dx smYSwml klqIAW [

Kj kwr nyAgyil iKAw hYik Awid gD ivc ml -mlyr qn ipCn mhl w '1' Bl drj nhInklqw igAw [ ies kykwrn Bl ah ibAwn krdu hY [ akq il Kl pihl l pvl bwyil Kdw hYik ies ivc grUArj n ny 'j ie' dl QW 'j o 'aqry dl QW 'aqrl' 'bnw' dl QW 'bhw' shs dl QW 'shs' 'hin' dl QWhoh Aqy'ikat dl QW 'ikv' il iKAw qWj oivAwkrx Aqyvzn dynkqyqnl imAwrI bxwieAw j w sky [

j pj l dl 6 vll pvl bwyKj p'qr kypthw 104 qypS0w isIG il Kdw hYik h'Q-il Kq 1245 ivc ies pavl dIAW hYI il KIAW qkW ies qrW hn:-

"qlrQ nww j yiqsuBivw ivn BixyikAw nwie krl [ j pl issit apwel dKw ibnukrmw iKAw iml Yl el [ imiq ivic rqn j vhr mwxk j y gr kl ies isK sxl [" ieh AnKw Kj kwr il Kdw hYik grUArj n ny aprl IAWqkW ivc 'iKA' dl QW 'ik' (qlrQ nww j yiqsuBivw ivxuBixy ik nwie krl) Aqy'imiq' dl QW 'miq' (miq ivic rqn j vhr mwxk j y iek gr kl isK sxl il Kkyies f imAwrI rtp idqw [

pS0w isIG Agyil Kdw hYik h'Q-il Kq 1245 ivc j pj l dIAW ieh qkW ies qrWAkkq hn:-

"ij auj auhkmiqvYiqaukr ["

"ikausicAwrw hElAYklyqtYpwil "

akq qkW ies qrWAkkq hn:-

"ij auj auhkmiqvYiqaukr ["

"ikausicAwrw hElAYikauklyqtYpwil "

akq qkW ivc grUArj n ny'ij at dl QW 'ij v' Aqy'iqat dl QW 'iqv' il K kydrsqI klqI [

j pj l dyAk ivc Akkq sl k bwrpS0w isIG il Kdw hYik h'Q-il Kq 1245 ivc ieh sl k hYI il KyAnswr Akkq hY:-

"pax grUpxl ipqw mqw Driq mha [

idnsurwiq die dwel dwieAw KJ Ysgl j gqu [

clgAweIAw birAweIAw vncYDrnuhdw [

krml AwpAwpxl kynjykydŀr [
ij nl nwmuiDAwieAw geymskiq Gwil [
nwnk qymK aj l ykqI Cutl nwiI [”

ies sl k bwrpSŀw isŀG il Kdw hŀik grŀArj x ny’paix’ dl
QW’pvxti ‘idnsi dl QW’idvs’ Aqy’nŀjY dl QW’nŀjY il K kysl k f
Aŀqm rŀb idqW ij vŀik Awid gŀD ivc Aŀlkq hŀI [

ieh Kŀ kwr Agyil Kdw hŀik sŀBv hŀik sl k il Kx smŀI grŀI
nwnk AqygrŀAŀgd nyiml kyil iKAw hwŀyAqydWf ies dysŀŀyI ŀKk
vl kihAw j oskdw hŀI [

ieh hŀKŀ pSŀw isŀG dl kyI j pj l bwrŀ [ Awid gŀD dl
sŀbŀdnw bwrŀies Kŀ p’qr dl hr Kŀ vKrl hŀj ol ŀK l hŀw hŀx dyfrŀleQy
kw il Kxw sŀBv nhŀI [

is’K Awid sl grŀI gŀD sŀihb ivc Aŀlkq bŀxl f Dir kl bŀxl
grŀI rŀb ivc mŀhdyhn [ j pj l grŀInwnk dl mŀI l rcnw hŀij s dl
ivAwiKAw AqyPI ŀsPI ibAwn krnl bVw hl kTn kŀh hŀI [ kl ieh sŀBv
AqymŀhxXg hŀik grŀArj x, grŀInwnk vl ŀrcI j pj l dl bŀxl ivc
sŀDwel krn AqyvK vK KriVAW qyivcwr krkyj pj l dl bŀxl ivc
sŀDwel krn AqyvK vK KriVAW qyivcwr krkyj pj l f Aŀqm Skl dx,
mŀ -mŀŀr ivc Bl sŀDwkrn [

pSŀw isŀG 1987 el: ivc grŀInwnk dy Xŀhŀvrstl vl ŀKrl dl
h’Q-il Kq 1245 Aqybŀbw mŀhn dIAW pŀQIAW f AwDwr bxw ky im.
mkl ŀf di dŀK rŀK hŀŀ iqAwr klqyKŀ p’qr ivc ieh sŀbq krn dl
kŀS kryik ieh Dir kl bŀxl nhŀI ies ivc qbdl IAW AqysŀW hŀelAW
hn, is’K pŀD ikvŀI bŀrdwŀsq krgw ?

pŀs’D mŀsI mwn ivdvn pŀPŀr SnsŀdAl l ny’Aŀlkq klrqn’
dynvŀbr 1993 Aŀk ivc Cpyl ŀK ivc il iKAw hŀik grŀInwnk nygrŀI
Aŀgd f g’dI dx smŀI bŀxl dl pŀQI dx dynwŀ hl bŀxl dw gwien krn
l el bl vŀf rŀbŀl Bl grŀAŀgd dyhvŀl yklqW qŀj o grmq sŀŀŀq dl
pŀrŀr f j wrI riKAw j w sky(rŀbŀl mrdnw grŀInwnk dy kw smŀI hl

svrgvns hoigAw sl) [ grrlj l j dñivsmwd ivc Awky 'Dir kl bwxl'  
 acwrdyqd mrdwrbw vj wkyAlyml hl wrydl Cihbr l gw idkdw [ grrl  
 nwnk nybwxl rwgW ivc rcl Aqygrbwxl dyklrqn dw Awdš idq [

Almby klrqn, rsw ydyAFltr fw. j glr isIG il Kdychn ik  
 rwg grbwxl dw rcnw ml q'q hyl [ grbwxl dyhr Sbd apr rwg dw nW  
 pihl W il iKAw igAw hyl [ j nm swKIAW Aqy Kj IAW dIAW itpxIAW  
 Answr rwg Aqygrbwxl iekTyhl acwrygey [ pirwqn j nm swKI ivc  
 Ank hvwl yiml dyhn ij Qygrlnwnk dy mrdwnyf kihdyhn: -

“mrdwinAWrbwb vj w bwxl Awel”

qd mrdwnyrg klqw

ies qrW rwg dIAW srW pihl W vj welAW gelAW iPr asyrgw  
 ivc bwxl rcl gel [

grrlnwnk qñipCñgrrlAlyd, grrlAmr dws Aqygrlwnm dws ny  
 bwxl rwgW ivc rcl Aqybl vlf vrgyrbwblAW nyrbwb vj wel [

grrlArj n f ikhVI l W plgel ik grrlnwnk, grrlAlyd, grrl  
 Amrdws Aqygrlwnm dws vl ñricq bwxl f j orwgWqysrWAnswr rcl  
 qygwien klql gel as ivc sDWkrn [ pSrw isIG f trWtoXhivrstl  
 ivc pj kyhl iel hwm hieAw hyl ik bd l f mlj vl, Fikvln AqygTvln  
 bnwax l el grrlArj n nymhx pQIAWAqyh'Q il Kq nM 1245 ivc sDW  
 krkykrqwrpir l blv iqAwr klql [

srfyij hvyl Kwr l eh kihdyhn ik pSrw isIG dyQISS f Blfxw  
 Aqy as f sl Akwl qKq aqy bl waww grbwxl dl Kj aqy pwbkl  
 l gwaww h'aww f ies psqk kyl K pVn qñipCñj rlf Aihsws hoj wvww  
 ik 'Dir kl bwxl' Aqysl grrlgw swihb dl pñwixkqw f cl j krnw hr  
 gl h'AqyKj krnl hr [

pSrw isIG dw ieh kihxw ik grrlnwnk Aqyanw qñipCñ hey  
 grrlAW dl bwxl AqyisiKAwWAnswr cil Aw j wy j Wgrrlgwbdl isIG dy

Kwī sw pld Answr, isk pld ivc nvwAqyv/ wvvd-ivvvd KVw krnw hY  
ij s dw plis'D isk ivdvwn icrkxw Klf n kr ckyhn j odsW grlAW f  
iekoj q smJdyhn [

Awid gld dl sldnvwrygrlArj n dl AftrIAI pil Isl aqy  
iklqUkrnw ik Bgq rivdws AqyBgq Dhw dl buxl cimAwrW Aqyj twf  
iskl dweryvc il Awax l el Amkq klql gel, grlUink k krwiel hY [  
grlUAmrdws vl il Bgq kblr AqyBgq nwm dyv dl buxl f pld ivc  
Swiml krn f iskl dl ivsqrvwdl pil Isl dsxw bvl hl gr-ij thyrwrvw  
gl hYj omAwP krn Xg Bl nhln [

grlUAlg d dy j l dw grlUgld swihb dyplhw 146 aqymwJ rwg  
ivc ieh sl k Amkq hYij s dl pihl l qtk ieh hY:-

paix grlUpxl ipqw mwcw Drq mhq [  
idnsurwq die dwel dwieAw Ky Ysgl j gqu [  
cllgAwelAw birAwelAw vicyDrmuhdlr [  
krml AwpoAwpxl kynjYkydlr [  
ij nl nwmuiDAwieAw geyskiq Gwil [  
nwnk qymk aj l ykql Cutl nwi l [  
ies dynwl ieh patl Amkq hYij s dl pihl l qtk ielw hY:-  
scw Bj nuBwaisiqgr disAw [

pSow islg AwpxyQlss ivc il Kdw hYik j pj l dyAlg ivc  
Amkq sl k ivc grlUArj x ny 'paix' dl QW 'pvxt', 'idnst dl QW  
'idvst Aqy'nyY dl QW 'nyY il Kkysl k f Alg m rlb idqw ij vYik Awid  
gld ivc drj hY [ pllpSow islg f grlUAlg d dw mwJ rwg ivc akq  
mhl w2 kzrlNnhlnAwieAw ij s ivc 'paix' Aqy'idnst Sbd Awid gld  
ivc Amkq hn [ grlUArj x nygrlUnnk dyj pj l dyAlg ivc Amkq  
sl k ivc 'paix' dl QW 'pvxt' Aqy'idnst dl QW 'idvst' qw il K idqw

Abr giruAld dymhl w 2 ivc 'paix' Aqy'idnst SbdW f asyqrW  
Awid gnd ivc ikatAlik klqw ? ies dw pStw istG pws kel j vnb hY  
? ies f kihlyhn aG dIAW piqwl mwrnIAW [ kl esyf pl Ab. fl.  
kihlyhn ?

BrxKq vsliil AW qti iml l j wxkwrI Answr h'Q il Kq 1245  
aqy iek pPsr dl hQIn Ahrj l A'Kr Aqy pji wbl dIAW kw l weInW  
il iKAW helAW hn ij s qnswP pgt hYik il Kq iek DKudhI AqyPrwf  
hYij sdi pVqwl klq j wxl j rti hY[

pStw istG dyies Kj p'qr bwrhQI l psgk ivc Ahrj l Aqy  
pji wbl dyatI dyisk ivdvrW dyKj BrptI l K Swml klqygeyh ij nW  
f eQydrwaixw aicq nhIn [ prhU'Q il Kq 1245 dl ptpqI Aqyies  
dyipCkV dl pVqwl krn l el isk ivdvrW, isk j 'j W, ieqhwskrW  
Aqyvkil Wpr inrBr iek pVqwl IAW kimSn inXkq klqw j wxw cwldw  
hYj optI Kj qypVqwl krkyh'Q il Kq 1245 bwrj q'Q isk pnd dy  
swhmxyil AwyAqyas f GKx ipCnmkl f AqypStw istG aqyAdwl q  
ivc Drm inIdAw Aqygrbwxl dl byAdbl krn dw kjs cl wieAw j wyqW  
j oAgNI el iksyivdvr f Awid st giruGnd swihb ivc Alikq bwxl dl  
pknwixqw f cl ji krn dw hIAw nw pvy[  
kati nM 1182, sktr 44-ey

bicqr istG igAwnl

clfigVh Birq

Afvkyt

imql : 19 dsbr, 1993

pji wbl AqyhirAixw hwel krt  
Afltr rzwnw nvInpBiq  
kl kqw - clfigVh

## 2

**pSŏw isŏ dyQliss dw Akwimk AiDAh  
fw grmj isŏ is'DU**

pSŏw isŏ nytrWtoivSv ividAwl w qŏl 1991 ivc iek Qliss "Awid gŏ dw ml kQn AqyBwvwrQ" dyisrl Ŷ hŷt il K kypI.Aŷ.fl. dl apwDI pŏp q klqI [ ies Qliss rwhllanW nyisKW dypwv n gŏ dl spwcnw, ies ivcl I kw bwxI dl pŏwixkqw AqybwxI dyiel hml pK bwykw ikkŏlŏtwey [ Pl srŏ ies Qliss dl Dwrimk ivcwrDwrw Aqy ies ivcl I hr smgrI bwyAnŷ ivdvwrW nyAwpxyAwpxymqBŏdl dw iezhr klq [ ies I Ŷ rwhllAsllpSŏw isŏ dyQliss dl mŏI kqw Aqy pŏwixkqw dw I Ŷw-j Kw krŏgy [ sB qŏl pihl Wieh ivcwrn dl I W hŷik pl.Aŷ.fl. dyQliss I el Kŷ dymŏ qŏ kl hn AqyienW dl pŏqI I el Akwimk ADwriSI w kl hŷ?

**pl.Aŷ.fl. dl Akwimk ADwriSI w**

pl.Aŷ.fl. ArQwq iPl wPI dl fwktryt (Doctor of Philosophy) ivigAwn, Dm, swihq Aqy hr smwjj k KqrW ivc id'ql j Wdl hŷ [ ieh apwDI (Degree) iksy ivSy dl mŏI k Kŷ (Original research) dyADwr qyiek ivSv ividAwl w j W Kŷ kŷdr qŏl pŏp q klqI j Wdl hŷ [ ies apwDI dl ml Av'Skqw kŷl ieh hŷik Kŷ mŏI k hwy ArQwq Aij hl Kŷ n w qŏl pihl WiksynyklqI hwyAqynw hl swimAk qŏr qypkŏsq hocikl hwy [ Kŷ ivc aŏh q'q hŷycwŏldyhn ij nW rwhll mwrwvqw dw iksynw iksyp'KNBI w hosky [ pdwrQk, smwjj k j W rŏhwrŏl qŏr qymwrwvqw dw kil Awx Kŷ rwhll hŏlŏ AwieAw hŷ [ phley ibj I I, tŏI IPn dl kwF, j Iv-ivigAwn rwhll mntKw dIAW j mlŏdrŏl AqyCbŏCwq dIAW blmwrIAW dl rŏQwm, idmŷgl sŏc ivcwr AqymŏivigAwnk gŏl-ivDIAW dw inrlKx, iel hml qŏr qygrhx klqI r'bl SkqI rwhllmn dl SŏlqI AqydtK-sŏk inhwrn dw bl Awid swrlAŏl pŏp qIAW v'K-v'K Kŷ

Kyrrw rhn ivigawnlawn hylpq klqlawn [ Aij hlaw Kj wdl ptpql  
 I el Kj kwr Awpxl Kj I el iek Kws Flcw ad lkdynh [ ies Flcydym  
 q'q hlyhn, Kj sm'grl (material) kwrj pklwl I (methodology or  
 procedure), q'Q (date), is'ty (results), ivcwr (discussion) Aqyincw/  
 (conclusions) [ ivSy Aqy Kj -Kyrr dy AwDwr qy ienw ml q'qw ivc  
 Qwll-bhag Adl w-bdl I qw hokdl hYpr Qliss dl m0l kqw hmSw  
 brkrwr rihdl hY [ inSicq ivigawn Kyrrw ij vj ik swihq AqyDrm  
 (Literature and religion) Awid ivc q'Q (data) Awid iek'Tw krn dy  
 qrlkyv'Kryhokdyhn, pr Kj dl m0l kqw dw hoxw bhag zrl I hY [

### **pS0w isK dy Qliss dl ivaltblwl**

**Qliss dl Kj sm'grl (materials):** Awid gnd di blv (krqwrprl blv)  
 dw inkwS, ivkwS Aqyprnwixkqw [ ies ivcl I bwxl dw AiDAh [

**Qliss dl kwrj pklwl I (Methodology or procedure):** kwrj pklwl I  
 Qliss dysPw 18 aqyid'ql gel hY j oies pkrwr hY

(1) vthgl ivDI (Sampling Method) j o l Kk Answr Awid  
 gnd dypihl yKriVAW (mhn pQIAW AqyKrVw n0br 1245)  
 dyinriKx I el vrql gel [

(2) pVlq-ivSI Sx (Textual analysis) : j o Awid gnd dl  
 prnwixkqw Aqy'Dr kl bwxl' dl Adl w bdl I (j opS0w isK  
 Answr grl Arj n dy j l nyspbw dnw d0wn klql) I el  
 vriqAw igAw [

swrw Qliss s'q kWFw ivc vWFw hieAw hY:

pihl w kWF: j wx pihj wx (Introduction)

dj w kWF: Awid gnd dw KrVw (Manuscript of Adi Granth)

qlj w kWF: Awid gnd dw inkwS (Orign of the Adi Granth  
 Tradition)

cQw kWF: pVlq-ivSI Sx (Textual anaylsis)

gij vW kWF: gurUArj n dyv dl s'bwdn n'ql (Editorial policy of Guru Arjan)

CyW kWF: Avid gRD dw BwvwrQ (The meaning of the Adi Granth)

s'qvW kWF: is'ty (Conclusions)

pihl ykWF ivc Qliss dypswr bwryj wxkwr l id'ql gel hY [ Q'l yid'qynkqyvrnxXg hn:

(a) Avid gRD is'KW dw piv'qr Drm gRD hY [

(A) Avid gRD dl s'bwdnw dyblj gurUnwk dymy'qnl hl b'ejj w c'kysn [

(e) gurUnwk dyv j l f ies g'l dw iDAwn sl ik b'xl zbwnl j Wil Kql r'p ivc s'Bl j wvY [

(s) gurUnwk dyv j l Awpxy Awp f Akw l p'rk dw p'vkqw (Mouthpiece) smJdysn [ (j 'sl mY AwvY Ksm kl b'xl q'bv w krl igAwn vyl w l o [)

(h) is'KW l el gurUnwk ismrn Aqyiel whl b'xl dw siqkwr krnw Awm sl [

(k) k'cl b'xl dypswr f r'kx l el gurUAmrdws j l nyp'kwixk b'xl iek'Tl klql Aqygie'lvwl p'QIAW dw s'kl l n klqw j w krwieAw [

### it'pxl

gie'lvwl p'QIAW (mhn p'QIAW) ij n'w f p'Sw is'G nyAvid gRD dypihl yKriVAW ivcl'd'isAw hY Aqyj ogurUArj n dyv j l nyAvid gRD dl s'bwdnw smy'GKIAW ivcwrIAW, bwrypihl ykWF ivc Brp'r crcw hY [ ies dw kwrn ieh h'ik p'Sw is'G nyien'w f Avid gRD dl s'bwdnw dw m' srq d'isAw hY [ ies l el ien'w bwryvDrycwrnxw p'waxw b'xdw sl [ pr ien'w bwrypihl ykWF ivc Ahl ivAwikaW b'j w l j w pdl hY [ c'hw h'bw j y ieh ivAwikaW d'j ykWF ivc KrVw n'br 1245 dynw hl klql j w d l [



Qliss dw mitK AwSw ieh hYik Awid gRd dl sPwcdnw grllswihb nyis'K pPbrw f inqwr (Crystallization) ky pS krn l el klql [ ieQy ieh g'l ivcwrn Xcg hYik Sbd Crystallization (ij vYlpSGrw isIG vl mhdw h) ivl Prf klit ivl sim'Q dl DrmWbwrycrcw ivcWAwieAw hY[ ies bwyhr crcw A'gycl kykrWgy[ ieQyiehw d'sxw hl aicq hwrgw ik ies Sbd dl vrqWAwid gRd dysbDd ivc kQwel hY[ fw. sim'Q Sbd Crystallization p'Cml Aqykrwn dysbDd ivc vrqdw hY[ is'K Drm qWbgr bwl swryDrm gRd anW dypgbbrw j WAnAwelAW dyimbqkw ql kel sdiAWbwAd ivc rcygey [

anW dysbDd ivc Crystallization qW aicq hYpr is'K Drm dygRd dl sPwcdnw j WivcwrDwrw aqyl wgluhhN hhdw, ikatik Awid gRd dl sPwcdnw Kd grlAWnw Amp klql hY[ iesiel j Wiesl wml DrmWdyDwrmk gRd (bwebl Aqykrwn) anW dypwdrIAW j WmD vIAW nybwAd ivc slnw-b-slnw qrlAW AwatdIAW iel hwml buxl dIAW XwdwSqW dy AwDwr qy sPwcdq klqy[ ies l el ahnW Dwrmk gRdW dw inqwrw (Crystallization) zrlrl sl [ pCml j Wiesl wml DrmW dl sPwcdnw dyAwDwr (Basis) f grll gRd swihb dl sPwcdnw aqyl wglkrky pSGrw isIG Ampxy Qliss dy ml mnro qW ak igAw hY[ ieh akwel as nyp'Cml ivdvwnW, Kws krky Ampxyingrwn (fw. mkl waf) dypBwv hY[ klql hY[ hoskdw hYik j y as f pl.Ab.fl. ifgrl dl l wl sw nw hhdI qW Swied ah AmpxyisKqv dy p'Q f nw Bl dw [ Agl ykWfW ivc pSGrw isIG nyAmpxymW mnro dl Kj klql hY[ pl Br l el cl omh l Wdyhw ik as dw mnro Tik hY[ hx dYxw ieh hYik ies mnro dl plq l el as nyKj dl mDl kqw f ikQW qk brkrwr r'ikAw hYaqyies dl Akwdimk mh'qqw kl hY[

### **dj yklWf dw Akwdimk inrlKx**

ies kWf dydomK mnro hn:

(1) Awid gRd dl sPwcdnw dw ieiqhwsK p'K [

(2) Auid g<sup>10</sup> q<sup>11</sup> b<sup>12</sup> d<sup>13</sup> IAW imsl W (recensions) A Qv<sup>14</sup> b<sup>15</sup> V<sup>16</sup> d<sup>17</sup> l J<sup>18</sup> -j<sup>19</sup> K<sup>20</sup>  
[

pS<sup>21</sup> w<sup>22</sup> is<sup>23</sup> G<sup>24</sup> dw pihl ym<sup>25</sup> n<sup>26</sup> r<sup>27</sup> Q<sup>28</sup> dw sv<sup>29</sup> vl<sup>30</sup> ies kl p<sup>31</sup> n<sup>32</sup> w<sup>33</sup> a<sup>34</sup> q<sup>35</sup> y<sup>36</sup> A<sup>37</sup> w<sup>38</sup> d<sup>39</sup> w<sup>40</sup> r<sup>41</sup> q<sup>42</sup> h<sup>43</sup> y<sup>44</sup>  
ik Auid g<sup>45</sup> d<sup>46</sup> l s<sup>47</sup> p<sup>48</sup> b<sup>49</sup> d<sup>50</sup> n<sup>51</sup> dw k<sup>52</sup> w<sup>53</sup> j<sup>54</sup> g<sup>55</sup> r<sup>56</sup> l<sup>57</sup> A<sup>58</sup> r<sup>59</sup> j<sup>60</sup> n<sup>61</sup> d<sup>62</sup> y<sup>63</sup> d<sup>64</sup> y<sup>65</sup> s<sup>66</sup> m<sup>67</sup> j<sup>68</sup> q<sup>69</sup> l<sup>70</sup> b<sup>71</sup> h<sup>72</sup> q<sup>73</sup>  
pihl W A<sup>74</sup> w<sup>75</sup> r<sup>76</sup> B<sup>77</sup> h<sup>78</sup> o<sup>79</sup> c<sup>80</sup> i<sup>81</sup> k<sup>82</sup> A<sup>83</sup> w<sup>84</sup> s<sup>85</sup> l<sup>86</sup> A<sup>87</sup> q<sup>88</sup> y<sup>89</sup> a<sup>90</sup> n<sup>91</sup> w<sup>92</sup> d<sup>93</sup> y<sup>94</sup> k<sup>95</sup> w<sup>96</sup> l<sup>97</sup> q<sup>98</sup> l<sup>99</sup> b<sup>100</sup> w<sup>101</sup> A<sup>102</sup> d<sup>103</sup> i<sup>104</sup> v<sup>105</sup> c<sup>106</sup> v<sup>107</sup> l<sup>108</sup>  
cl dw i<sup>109</sup> r<sup>110</sup> h<sup>111</sup> w<sup>112</sup> [ ies dw A<sup>113</sup> r<sup>114</sup> Q<sup>115</sup> p<sup>116</sup> S<sup>117</sup> w<sup>118</sup> is<sup>119</sup> G<sup>120</sup> i<sup>121</sup> e<sup>122</sup> h<sup>123</sup> k<sup>124</sup> 'F<sup>125</sup> d<sup>126</sup> w<sup>127</sup> h<sup>128</sup> y<sup>129</sup> i<sup>130</sup> k<sup>131</sup> A<sup>132</sup> u<sup>133</sup> i<sup>134</sup> d<sup>135</sup>  
g<sup>136</sup> d<sup>137</sup> q<sup>138</sup> l<sup>139</sup> p<sup>140</sup> i<sup>141</sup> h<sup>142</sup> l<sup>143</sup> W<sup>144</sup> b<sup>145</sup> w<sup>146</sup> x<sup>147</sup> l<sup>148</sup> d<sup>149</sup> y<sup>150</sup> k<sup>151</sup> e<sup>152</sup> l<sup>153</sup> K<sup>154</sup> r<sup>155</sup> V<sup>156</sup> y<sup>157</sup> s<sup>158</sup> n<sup>159</sup>, i<sup>160</sup> j<sup>161</sup> t<sup>162</sup> h<sup>163</sup> w<sup>164</sup> d<sup>165</sup> y<sup>166</sup> A<sup>167</sup> w<sup>168</sup> d<sup>169</sup> w<sup>170</sup> r<sup>171</sup> q<sup>172</sup> y<sup>173</sup> g<sup>174</sup> r<sup>175</sup> l<sup>176</sup> A<sup>177</sup> r<sup>178</sup> j<sup>179</sup> n<sup>180</sup>  
d<sup>181</sup> y<sup>182</sup> j<sup>183</sup> l<sup>184</sup> n<sup>185</sup> y<sup>186</sup> k<sup>187</sup> r<sup>188</sup> q<sup>189</sup> w<sup>190</sup> r<sup>191</sup> p<sup>192</sup> i<sup>193</sup> r<sup>194</sup> l<sup>195</sup> b<sup>196</sup> i<sup>197</sup> v<sup>198</sup> j<sup>199</sup> W<sup>200</sup> A<sup>201</sup> u<sup>202</sup> i<sup>203</sup> d<sup>204</sup> g<sup>205</sup> d<sup>206</sup> f<sup>207</sup> i<sup>208</sup> q<sup>209</sup> A<sup>210</sup> w<sup>211</sup> k<sup>212</sup> l<sup>213</sup> q<sup>214</sup> w<sup>215</sup> [ i<sup>216</sup> e<sup>217</sup> n<sup>218</sup> W<sup>219</sup>  
K<sup>220</sup> r<sup>221</sup> i<sup>222</sup> V<sup>223</sup> A<sup>224</sup> w<sup>225</sup> i<sup>226</sup> v<sup>227</sup> c<sup>228</sup> l<sup>229</sup> a<sup>230</sup> h<sup>231</sup> d<sup>232</sup> o<sup>233</sup> K<sup>234</sup> r<sup>235</sup> i<sup>236</sup> V<sup>237</sup> A<sup>238</sup> w<sup>239</sup> f<sup>240</sup> K<sup>241</sup> w<sup>242</sup> s<sup>243</sup> m<sup>244</sup> h<sup>245</sup> 'q<sup>246</sup> q<sup>247</sup> w<sup>248</sup> i<sup>249</sup> d<sup>250</sup> t<sup>251</sup> h<sup>252</sup> w<sup>253</sup> h<sup>254</sup> y<sup>255</sup> i<sup>256</sup> k<sup>257</sup> a<sup>258</sup> t<sup>259</sup> i<sup>260</sup> k<sup>261</sup>  
i<sup>262</sup> e<sup>263</sup> h<sup>264</sup> d<sup>265</sup> o<sup>266</sup> K<sup>267</sup> r<sup>268</sup> V<sup>269</sup> y<sup>270</sup> a<sup>271</sup> s<sup>272</sup> d<sup>273</sup> y<sup>274</sup> m<sup>275</sup> q<sup>276</sup> w<sup>277</sup> i<sup>278</sup> b<sup>279</sup> k<sup>280</sup> A<sup>281</sup> u<sup>282</sup> i<sup>283</sup> d<sup>284</sup> g<sup>285</sup> d<sup>286</sup> l<sup>287</sup> s<sup>288</sup> p<sup>289</sup> b<sup>290</sup> d<sup>291</sup> n<sup>292</sup> dw m<sup>293</sup> l<sup>294</sup> s<sup>295</sup> r<sup>296</sup> q<sup>297</sup>  
b<sup>298</sup> x<sup>299</sup> y<sup>300</sup> [ i<sup>301</sup> e<sup>302</sup> h<sup>303</sup> K<sup>304</sup> r<sup>305</sup> V<sup>306</sup> y<sup>307</sup> h<sup>308</sup> n<sup>309</sup>:

(1) g<sup>310</sup> i<sup>311</sup> e<sup>312</sup> l<sup>313</sup> v<sup>314</sup> l<sup>315</sup> p<sup>316</sup> Q<sup>317</sup> I<sup>318</sup> A<sup>319</sup> W<sup>320</sup> [

(2) g<sup>321</sup> r<sup>322</sup> l<sup>323</sup> n<sup>324</sup> i<sup>325</sup> n<sup>326</sup> k<sup>327</sup> d<sup>328</sup> y<sup>329</sup> i<sup>330</sup> v<sup>331</sup> s<sup>332</sup> v<sup>333</sup> i<sup>334</sup> v<sup>335</sup> i<sup>336</sup> d<sup>337</sup> A<sup>338</sup> w<sup>339</sup> v<sup>340</sup> v<sup>341</sup> l<sup>342</sup> w<sup>343</sup> K<sup>344</sup> r<sup>345</sup> V<sup>346</sup> w<sup>347</sup> n<sup>348</sup> b<sup>349</sup> r<sup>350</sup> 1245 [  
i<sup>351</sup> e<sup>352</sup> n<sup>353</sup> W<sup>354</sup> K<sup>355</sup> r<sup>356</sup> i<sup>357</sup> V<sup>358</sup> A<sup>359</sup> w<sup>360</sup> f<sup>361</sup> A<sup>362</sup> u<sup>363</sup> i<sup>364</sup> d<sup>365</sup> g<sup>366</sup> d<sup>367</sup> q<sup>368</sup> l<sup>369</sup> p<sup>370</sup> i<sup>371</sup> h<sup>372</sup> l<sup>373</sup> W<sup>374</sup> d<sup>375</sup> y<sup>376</sup> i<sup>377</sup> s<sup>378</sup> 'D<sup>379</sup> k<sup>380</sup> r<sup>381</sup> n<sup>382</sup> l<sup>383</sup> e<sup>384</sup> l<sup>385</sup> p<sup>386</sup> S<sup>387</sup> w<sup>388</sup>  
is<sup>389</sup> G<sup>390</sup> n<sup>391</sup> y<sup>392</sup> i<sup>393</sup> k<sup>394</sup> h<sup>395</sup> V<sup>396</sup> y<sup>397</sup> s<sup>398</sup> b<sup>399</sup> t<sup>400</sup> j<sup>401</sup> p<sup>402</sup> S<sup>403</sup> k<sup>404</sup> l<sup>405</sup> q<sup>406</sup> y<sup>407</sup> h<sup>408</sup> n<sup>409</sup> A<sup>410</sup> q<sup>411</sup> y<sup>412</sup> i<sup>413</sup> e<sup>414</sup> n<sup>415</sup> W<sup>416</sup> s<sup>417</sup> b<sup>418</sup> t<sup>419</sup> j<sup>420</sup> w<sup>421</sup> d<sup>422</sup> l<sup>423</sup> m<sup>424</sup> l<sup>425</sup> k<sup>426</sup> q<sup>427</sup> w<sup>428</sup> k<sup>429</sup> l<sup>430</sup>  
h<sup>431</sup> y<sup>432</sup>?

### **g<sup>433</sup> i<sup>434</sup> e<sup>435</sup> l<sup>436</sup> v<sup>437</sup> l<sup>438</sup> p<sup>439</sup> Q<sup>440</sup> I<sup>441</sup> A<sup>442</sup> W<sup>443</sup>**

i<sup>444</sup> e<sup>445</sup> n<sup>446</sup> W<sup>447</sup> p<sup>448</sup> Q<sup>449</sup> I<sup>450</sup> A<sup>451</sup> W<sup>452</sup> d<sup>453</sup> i<sup>454</sup> l<sup>455</sup> K<sup>456</sup> x<sup>457</sup> i<sup>458</sup> q<sup>459</sup> Q<sup>460</sup> l<sup>461</sup> b<sup>462</sup> w<sup>463</sup> r<sup>464</sup> y<sup>465</sup> k<sup>466</sup> e<sup>467</sup> l<sup>468</sup> T<sup>469</sup> e<sup>470</sup> s<sup>471</sup> b<sup>472</sup> t<sup>473</sup> q<sup>474</sup> n<sup>475</sup> h<sup>476</sup> l<sup>477</sup> l<sup>478</sup> [ p<sup>479</sup> l<sup>480</sup> p<sup>481</sup> r<sup>482</sup> i<sup>483</sup> g<sup>484</sup> q<sup>485</sup> q<sup>486</sup> o<sup>487</sup> q<sup>488</sup>  
b<sup>489</sup> i<sup>490</sup> v<sup>491</sup> w<sup>492</sup> p<sup>493</sup> i<sup>494</sup> h<sup>495</sup> is<sup>496</sup> G<sup>497</sup> m<sup>498</sup> i<sup>499</sup> q<sup>500</sup> w<sup>501</sup> i<sup>502</sup> b<sup>503</sup> k<sup>504</sup> i<sup>505</sup> e<sup>506</sup> h<sup>507</sup> p<sup>508</sup> Q<sup>509</sup> I<sup>510</sup> A<sup>511</sup> W<sup>512</sup> 1570-72 e<sup>513</sup> l<sup>514</sup> s<sup>515</sup> v<sup>516</sup> l<sup>517</sup> i<sup>518</sup> v<sup>519</sup> c<sup>520</sup> i<sup>521</sup> l<sup>522</sup> K<sup>523</sup> I<sup>524</sup> A<sup>525</sup> W<sup>526</sup> g<sup>527</sup> e<sup>528</sup> l<sup>529</sup> A<sup>530</sup> W<sup>531</sup>  
[ p<sup>532</sup> r<sup>533</sup> A<sup>534</sup> w<sup>535</sup> h<sup>536</sup> l<sup>537</sup> A<sup>538</sup> p<sup>539</sup> i<sup>540</sup> r<sup>541</sup> v<sup>542</sup> i<sup>543</sup> l<sup>544</sup> p<sup>545</sup> Q<sup>546</sup> l<sup>547</sup> (p<sup>548</sup> Q<sup>549</sup> l<sup>550</sup> n<sup>551</sup> b<sup>552</sup> r<sup>553</sup> 1) a<sup>554</sup> q<sup>555</sup> y<sup>556</sup> i<sup>557</sup> l<sup>558</sup> K<sup>559</sup> x<sup>560</sup> q<sup>561</sup> w<sup>562</sup> r<sup>563</sup> I<sup>564</sup> K<sup>565</sup> 1595 e<sup>566</sup> l<sup>567</sup> s<sup>568</sup> v<sup>569</sup> l<sup>570</sup>  
i<sup>571</sup> l<sup>572</sup> K<sup>573</sup> l<sup>574</sup> h<sup>575</sup> e<sup>576</sup> l<sup>577</sup> h<sup>578</sup> y<sup>579</sup> [ p<sup>580</sup> r<sup>581</sup> i<sup>582</sup> e<sup>583</sup> h<sup>584</sup> q<sup>585</sup> w<sup>586</sup> r<sup>587</sup> I<sup>588</sup> K<sup>589</sup> i<sup>590</sup> g<sup>591</sup> A<sup>592</sup> w<sup>593</sup> n<sup>594</sup> l<sup>595</sup> g<sup>596</sup> r<sup>597</sup> i<sup>598</sup> d<sup>599</sup> 'q<sup>600</sup> is<sup>601</sup> G<sup>602</sup> A<sup>603</sup> n<sup>604</sup> s<sup>605</sup> w<sup>606</sup> r<sup>607</sup> b<sup>608</sup> w<sup>609</sup> A<sup>610</sup> d<sup>611</sup> i<sup>612</sup> v<sup>613</sup> c<sup>614</sup>  
i<sup>615</sup> l<sup>616</sup> K<sup>617</sup> k<sup>618</sup> y<sup>619</sup> p<sup>620</sup> i<sup>621</sup> h<sup>622</sup> l<sup>623</sup> y<sup>624</sup> s<sup>625</sup> P<sup>626</sup> y<sup>627</sup> n<sup>628</sup> w<sup>629</sup> l<sup>630</sup> i<sup>631</sup> c<sup>632</sup> p<sup>633</sup> k<sup>634</sup> w<sup>635</sup> e<sup>636</sup> l<sup>637</sup> h<sup>638</sup> e<sup>639</sup> l<sup>640</sup> h<sup>641</sup> y<sup>642</sup> [ A<sup>643</sup> r<sup>644</sup> Q<sup>645</sup> w<sup>646</sup> i<sup>647</sup> e<sup>648</sup> n<sup>649</sup> W<sup>650</sup> p<sup>651</sup> Q<sup>652</sup> I<sup>653</sup> A<sup>654</sup> W<sup>655</sup> d<sup>656</sup> i<sup>657</sup> l<sup>658</sup> K<sup>659</sup> x<sup>660</sup>  
i<sup>661</sup> q<sup>662</sup> Q<sup>663</sup> l<sup>664</sup> b<sup>665</sup> w<sup>666</sup> r<sup>667</sup> y<sup>668</sup> i<sup>669</sup> k<sup>670</sup> t<sup>671</sup> h<sup>672</sup> y<sup>673</sup> [

p<sup>674</sup> S<sup>675</sup> w<sup>676</sup> is<sup>677</sup> G<sup>678</sup> n<sup>679</sup> y<sup>680</sup> p<sup>681</sup> Q<sup>682</sup> I<sup>683</sup> A<sup>684</sup> W<sup>685</sup> d<sup>686</sup> i<sup>687</sup> l<sup>688</sup> K<sup>689</sup> x<sup>690</sup> -i<sup>691</sup> q<sup>692</sup> Q<sup>693</sup> l<sup>694</sup> b<sup>695</sup> w<sup>696</sup> r<sup>697</sup> y<sup>698</sup> h<sup>699</sup> o<sup>700</sup> s<sup>701</sup> w<sup>702</sup> l<sup>703</sup> A<sup>704</sup> i<sup>705</sup> d<sup>706</sup> q<sup>707</sup> y<sup>708</sup> h<sup>709</sup> n<sup>710</sup>:

(1) p<sup>711</sup> Q<sup>712</sup> I<sup>713</sup> A<sup>714</sup> W<sup>715</sup> d<sup>716</sup> l<sup>717</sup> A<sup>718</sup> n<sup>719</sup> t<sup>720</sup> h<sup>721</sup> l<sup>722</sup> i<sup>723</sup> v<sup>724</sup> A<sup>725</sup> w<sup>726</sup> i<sup>727</sup> K<sup>728</sup> A<sup>729</sup> w<sup>730</sup> q<sup>731</sup> l<sup>732</sup> p<sup>733</sup> q<sup>734</sup> w<sup>735</sup> l<sup>736</sup> g<sup>737</sup> d<sup>738</sup> w<sup>739</sup> h<sup>740</sup> l<sup>741</sup> i<sup>742</sup> k<sup>743</sup> i<sup>744</sup> e<sup>745</sup> h<sup>746</sup> g<sup>747</sup> r<sup>748</sup> l<sup>749</sup>  
A<sup>750</sup> m<sup>751</sup> r<sup>752</sup> d<sup>753</sup> w<sup>754</sup> s<sup>755</sup> j<sup>756</sup> l<sup>757</sup> n<sup>758</sup> y<sup>759</sup> i<sup>760</sup> l<sup>761</sup> K<sup>762</sup> v<sup>763</sup> w<sup>764</sup> e<sup>765</sup> l<sup>766</sup> A<sup>767</sup> W<sup>768</sup> [

(2) p<sup>769</sup> Q<sup>770</sup> I<sup>771</sup> A<sup>772</sup> W<sup>773</sup> f<sup>774</sup> i<sup>775</sup> q<sup>776</sup> t<sup>777</sup> h<sup>778</sup> w<sup>779</sup> p<sup>780</sup> l<sup>781</sup> v<sup>782</sup> i<sup>783</sup> A<sup>784</sup> W<sup>785</sup> d<sup>786</sup> w<sup>787</sup> v<sup>788</sup> r<sup>789</sup> d<sup>790</sup> i<sup>791</sup> n<sup>792</sup> s<sup>793</sup> l<sup>794</sup> [ (i<sup>795</sup> e<sup>796</sup> h<sup>797</sup> B<sup>798</sup> l<sup>799</sup> t<sup>800</sup> k<sup>801</sup> w<sup>802</sup> l<sup>803</sup>, i<sup>804</sup> v<sup>805</sup> c<sup>806</sup>  
i<sup>807</sup> l<sup>808</sup> i<sup>809</sup> K<sup>810</sup> A<sup>811</sup> w<sup>812</sup> h<sup>813</sup> i<sup>814</sup> e<sup>815</sup> A<sup>816</sup> w<sup>817</sup> h<sup>818</sup>) i<sup>819</sup> e<sup>820</sup> s<sup>821</sup> q<sup>822</sup> l<sup>823</sup> v<sup>824</sup> l<sup>825</sup> p<sup>826</sup> q<sup>827</sup> w<sup>828</sup> l<sup>829</sup> g<sup>830</sup> d<sup>831</sup> w<sup>832</sup> h<sup>833</sup> y<sup>834</sup> i<sup>835</sup> k<sup>836</sup> i<sup>837</sup> e<sup>838</sup> h<sup>839</sup> g<sup>840</sup> r<sup>841</sup> l<sup>842</sup>  
A<sup>843</sup> m<sup>844</sup> r<sup>845</sup> d<sup>846</sup> w<sup>847</sup> s<sup>848</sup> v<sup>849</sup> j<sup>850</sup> y<sup>851</sup> i<sup>852</sup> l<sup>853</sup> K<sup>854</sup> I<sup>855</sup> A<sup>856</sup> W<sup>857</sup> g<sup>858</sup> e<sup>859</sup> l<sup>860</sup> A<sup>861</sup> W<sup>862</sup> [



### KrVv n̄br 1245

KrVv n̄br 1245 d̄j w KrVv h̄lj opS̄w is̄t̄G An̄s̄w Auid ḡD̄ dl s̄p̄wdn̄w ivc sh̄w̄el h̄ieAw [ ies KrVȳanḡy k̄el il Kx iq̄Ql nh̄ll̄ id'q̄l h̄el [ ieQyPr̄ k̄w̄j p̄k̄w̄l IAW r̄uh̄ll̄ ies KrVȳf Auid ḡD̄ q̄l̄ p̄ihl W̄dw is'D̄ kr̄n dl I W̄ h̄Y [ pS̄w is̄t̄G n̄ypV̄l̄q̄ ivSĪ š̄x (textual analysis) AqyB̄w̄S̄w ivigĀw̄n d̄yisD̄ll̄q̄ vr̄qyhn̄ [ pV̄l̄q̄ ivSĪ š̄x d̄ydo inX̄m pS̄w is̄t̄G n̄yv̄r̄qyhn̄:

(1) s̄K̄p̄q̄w̄, ivsQ̄w̄r̄q̄w̄ q̄l̄ p̄ihl W̄ Āw̄at̄dl̄ h̄Y (The Shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one) ArQ̄w̄q̄ d̄oKriVAW̄ ivcl̄ ij s̄ ivc G't̄ ivsQ̄w̄r̄ h̄w̄y āh̄ p̄r̄w̄x̄w̄ smiJĀw̄ j̄ W̄dw h̄Y [ pS̄w is̄t̄G An̄s̄w̄ KrVv n̄br 1245 ivc kr̄q̄w̄r̄p̄r̄l̄ b̄iv̄ n̄w̄l̄ ņG't̄ ivsQ̄w̄r̄ h̄Y ies I el̄ ieh̄ KrVv̄ p̄r̄w̄x̄w̄ h̄Y [

(2) AK̄l̄ il̄ Kq̄, s̄K̄l̄ il̄ Kq̄ q̄l̄ p̄ihl W̄ Āw̄at̄dl̄ h̄Y (The more difficult reading is generally preferable) ArQ̄w̄q̄ j̄ y do KriVAW̄ ivcl̄ ied̄ AK̄w̄ p̄V̄h̄w̄ h̄w̄yq̄W̄ āh̄ p̄r̄w̄x̄w̄ smiJĀw̄ j̄ W̄dw h̄Y ij̄ v̄j̄ KrVv n̄br 1245 ivc b̄l̄ I d̄w̄ AK̄w̄ p̄ḡt̄w̄ah̄ȳies I el̄ Auid ḡD̄ n̄w̄l̄ ņ̄ p̄r̄w̄x̄w̄ h̄Y [

### itpxl

pS̄w is̄t̄G n̄yienW̄ dl̄ vr̄q̄l̄ kr̄kyĀw̄p̄xȳigĀw̄n d̄w̄ ivK̄iv̄w̄ q̄W̄ kl̄q̄w̄ h̄Ypr̄ ies dl̄ āicq̄ AqyBr̄p̄t̄ vr̄q̄l̄nh̄ll̄Kl̄q̄l̄ [ c̄h̄ȳ h̄h̄l̄w̄ j̄ y āh̄ KrVv n̄br 1245 ivc̄h̄ad̄w̄hr̄x̄W̄ Ī YkyAuid ḡD̄ n̄w̄l̄ q̄l̄ n̄w̄ kr̄d̄w̄ [ ieh̄ Tik̄ h̄Yik̄ KrVv n̄br 1245 ivc̄ B̄ḡq̄W̄dl̄ b̄w̄xl̄ nh̄ll̄, ies I el̄ s̄K̄p̄ h̄Y [ iesykr̄kyp̄V̄l̄q̄ ivSĪ š̄x d̄yp̄ihl̄ yinX̄m dl̄ p̄w̄l̄ x̄w̄ kr̄d̄w̄ h̄Y [ pr̄ 1245 dl̄ b̄l̄ Ī k̄el̄ AK̄l̄ nh̄ll̄sḡl̄Auid ḡD̄ dl̄ b̄l̄ Ī vr̄gl̄ hl̄ h̄YAqypS̄w is̄t̄G An̄s̄w̄ KrVv n̄br 1245 dl̄ S̄V̄ Ī Āw̄m̄ kr̄kyAuid ḡD̄ n̄w̄l̄ iml̄ dl̄-j̄ ņ̄ dl̄ h̄Y [ B̄iS̄w̄ ivigĀw̄n KrVv n̄br 1245 ivc̄ k̄h̄ydl̄ Q̄W̄n̄k̄q̄w̄ (Dot) v̄riq̄Āw̄ igĀw̄ h̄Y a dl̄ Q̄W̄ Ē v̄riq̄Āw̄ igĀw̄ h̄YAq̄C̄ Aj̄ yvl̄ s̄w̄rd̄w̄n̄w̄l̄ m̄j̄ K̄l̄w̄ h̄Y

[ ies qrW dw ivSI šx SI wGwXg hY pr BrpLqW qNatkW hY[ Aij hy  
 pgl yp'Dr qyivSI šx dl vrqNmOI k Kj nwl inAWnhlnkrdl [

### itpxl

KrVw nibr 1245 dl Atdrl I ivAwikaW qNpqW l gdw hYik ieh  
 grlArj n dy j l dl Shldl qNbwAd il iKAw igAw hYikaNk ies ivc  
 pihl ypl grlAWdlAWj qlj q smawx dlAWqwrIKW iek h'Q il Kq ivc  
 il KIAWhelAWhn [ pr pSrw isIG ieh j wxidAWhieAW vl ies q'Q  
 f ieh kih kyary-prykr idlw hYik Shldl dl qwrIK mgrN pr asy  
 kwqb nyil KI [ ies KrVyaaqygrUhr gibbl isIG j l dydsiq-mbwrk  
 nwl hsqwKSr vl d'syj Wdyhn, pr pSrw isIG ies g'l f ieh kih ky  
 iqAng idlw hYik dsqKq vwl w sPw bwAd ivc j oVAw igAw hY[ pSrw  
 isIG Answr ies KrVyivc Bwel biFw j l dw iek sl k hY[ hoskdw hY  
 asdy aqrAiDkwrIAW pws ieh KrVw irhw hwy pr Bwel biFw j l dy  
 aqrAiDkwrIAW ny mInAw hY ik Bwel biFw j l kykdy kæl sl k nhln  
 ricAw [ AKlr ivc pSrw isIG iek hr hwshtxl dl ll vl idlw hYik  
 hoskdw hYieh KrVw vl Bwel gurdw j l nyil iKAw hwyAqyAwid gND dy  
 il Kx q'k anW nyAwpxl hQ il Kq sDwr l el hwy[

ielW j wpdw hYik pSrw isIG ieh j wxidAWhieAW vl ik KrVw  
 nibr 1245 Awid gND qNipCndl il Kq hY Awpwx pthw zr ieh is'D krn  
 l el l wel j w irhw hYik ieh Awid gND qN pihl W dw KrVw hY[ ielW  
 kridAW ath swiKAwq scwel f AKN prKyhl nhln krdw sgn pVbq-  
 ivSI šx AqyBwSw-ivigAwW dyinXmW dl dirvrqN vl krdw hY[ ies  
 dirvrqN qN bwAd ad dl Kj dl mOI kqw qW iek pwsyrhl, as dlAW  
 dl ll Wvl mnGVq AqyEpriAW-EpriAW l gdIAW hn [ ielW j wpdw hY  
 ik pSrw isIG nyist'ypihl W k'F rKyhn AqyienW dl pWqw l el q'Q  
 (data) bwAd ivc l 'Bdw iPrdw hY[

### qly ykWF dl ivAwIKAw

ies kWF ivc pS<sup>o</sup>w isIG Awid g<sup>o</sup> dl ivaltq<sup>o</sup>b<sup>o</sup>dl l el gr<sup>o</sup>l Arj n dy j l f SrDw dy Pil c<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup>klw h<sup>o</sup>YAgym<sup>o</sup>klw h<sup>o</sup>Yik gr<sup>o</sup>lSwihb dl s<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup>dnw ivDI Adiq<sup>o</sup>l sl [Awid g<sup>o</sup> dl sQ<sup>o</sup>pnw q<sup>o</sup>l bwAd kel imsl W KVIAW h<sup>o</sup>elAW, ij n<sup>o</sup>W ivc l wh<sup>o</sup> imsl, b<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>o imsl Agydmdmw imsl p<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>s'D hn [ ien<sup>o</sup>W imsl W bwrypS<sup>o</sup>w isIG nyBrp<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup> crcw klql h<sup>o</sup>Y j o ivrq<sup>o</sup>ll<sup>o</sup>qk izAw<sup>o</sup>dw AgyivSI šn<sup>o</sup>qimk G't h<sup>o</sup>Y]

### cQy kWF dl ivAwIKAw

ies kWF ivc pS<sup>o</sup>w isIG nyAwid g<sup>o</sup> dlAW kw b<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup>xlAW dw pV<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>q-ivSI šx klq<sup>o</sup> h<sup>o</sup>Y [ ies ivSI šx r<sup>o</sup>wh<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>ais nyieh is'D krn dl k<sup>o</sup>iSS klql h<sup>o</sup>Yik gr<sup>o</sup>lArj n dy j l nyAwid g<sup>o</sup> dl s<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup>dnw sm<sup>o</sup>yl doKriVAW dw Awsrw il Aw [ ies k<sup>o</sup>irj d<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>rn an<sup>o</sup>W nyb<sup>o</sup>xl dl s<sup>o</sup>D<sup>o</sup>wel vl klql Agyas f m<sup>o</sup>ll<sup>o</sup>j Aw s<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>wirAw vl [ ies ivc<sup>o</sup>wr dl p<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup> ais nyh<sup>o</sup>Y il KIAW p<sup>o</sup>jl b<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup>xlAW dyq<sup>o</sup>l n<sup>o</sup>qimk AiDA<sup>o</sup>h diAw<sup>o</sup>rw klql h<sup>o</sup>Y

(1) m<sup>o</sup>l m<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>r [

(2) j p<sup>o</sup>j l-r<sup>o</sup>ih<sup>o</sup>rw is ivAwIKAw [

(3) gr<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>nk ricq s<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>l r<sup>o</sup>wg dySbd [

(4) gr<sup>o</sup>lArj n ricq iql l<sup>o</sup>q r<sup>o</sup>wg dySbd [

(5) gr<sup>o</sup>lArj n ricq r<sup>o</sup>imkl l r<sup>o</sup>wg dySbd [

ien<sup>o</sup>W b<sup>o</sup>w<sup>o</sup>xlAW s<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>DI pV<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>q-ivSI šx dl ivAwIKAw krn q<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>pihl W kw pV<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>q-ivSI šx dyinXm<sup>o</sup>W bwrykih<sup>o</sup>w ieQy<sup>o</sup>k<sup>o</sup>Q<sup>o</sup>W nh<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>wg [

### pV<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>q-ivSI šx (Textual Analysis)

Aksj lisz (Exegesis) X<sup>o</sup>h<sup>o</sup>wnl B<sup>o</sup>rw dw Sbd h<sup>o</sup>Y ij s<sup>o</sup>l a<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>l qyivk<sup>o</sup>s p<sup>o</sup>rwxyAgyn<sup>o</sup>yl t<sup>o</sup>s<sup>o</sup>t<sup>o</sup>ml<sup>o</sup>t<sup>o</sup>W (Testaments) dl iviKAw ADIn h<sup>o</sup>ieAw [ ies d<sup>o</sup>w S<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>bidk ArQ 'K<sup>o</sup>ir<sup>o</sup> k<sup>o</sup>F<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>' j W 'ivAwIKAw' krnw h<sup>o</sup>Y K<sup>o</sup>is krky Drm ivAwIKAw [ Drm ivAwIKAw ivc D<sup>o</sup>rimk p<sup>o</sup>s<sup>o</sup>qk dyk<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>b f bh<sup>o</sup>q mh<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>q idq<sup>o</sup>l gel h<sup>o</sup>Y ies l el k<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>b bwryK<sup>o</sup>j f bh<sup>o</sup>q mh<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>q idq<sup>o</sup>l gel h<sup>o</sup>Y ies l el k<sup>o</sup>q<sup>o</sup>b bwryK<sup>o</sup>j f vl ies Sbd dl pV<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>q-ivSI šx (Textual

analysis) ikhw j Wdw hY pr Prk isrP A'hw hYik pVltq-ivSI Šx swihq dw vl hoskdw hYAqyDrm-pšqkWdw vl [

AwDink pVltq-ivSI Šx 19vll sdl dl p'blwvr hY [ ies dw Akwdimk ADwr mnkl ipq nw hldAW hieAw hix ivigAwnk q'QW qy vDyrzr idWw hY [ Kws krkyiksyDrm pšqk dw pVltq ivSI Šx krn l el kel KqrW ArQwq prwq'qv (archaeology), drSn (philosophy), ieiqhws (history), BwSw ivigAwn (linguistics) AqypVltq Awl cnw (textual criticism) dw pKqg klqw j Wdw hY [

AwDink pVltq-ivSI Šx ivc aprkq KqrW dynwl -nwl iel g'l qyvl zr id'qw igAw hYik rbl Sbd (iel hml bwxl) dl Dwrink mh'qqw f hmšw brkrwr r'Kxw cwhldw hY [ j ynw rKgyqW Drm dy AnAwelAWvl h's^q p'lkrm hoskdw hYAqyDrm ivAwikAw j WpVltq-ivSI Šx krwhyvl pYskdw hY [

### **mU mltqr**

mU mltqr Awid gRd dw p'K ih'sw hY [ ies ivc mlK q' qy Akwl prK dygkwdl slKp crcw hY [ is'K Drm ivc ies dl bhq v'fl mh'qqw mhl gel hY [ kwrn ieh hYik mU mltqr j pj l swihb dw incV mlnAw igAw hYAqy j pj l swihb grlgRd swihb dw swrš mlnAw igAw hY [ mU mltqr Aqy j pj l swihb dw ygrlnwnk j l dIAW rcnwW hn [

pS'w isš Answr mU mltqr dw sB qlpihl w il Kql r'p gielwvl vvl IAW pQIAW ivcN iml dw hY j oies p'kwr hY:

< siqgruprsudu

scunwukrqruinrBauinrlkuruAkul

m'iq Aj hl sBau(1)

ies mU mltqr dw ivkws KrVwnlbr 1245 ivc iml dw hY j oies p'kwr hY:

< **siqn̄mukrqw̄pr̄Kuivr̄Bauivr̄YuAkwl̄  
m̄tiq̄ Aj̄ th̄l̄ s̄B̄M̄siqgr̄l̄pr̄s̄wid̄ [**

ies m̄ll̄ m̄k̄r̄ d̄w̄ ivk̄w̄s̄ Awid̄ ḡll̄ ivc̄ ies̄ p̄k̄w̄r̄ h̄Ȳ:

< **siqn̄mukrqw̄pr̄Kuivr̄Bauivr̄Ȳ  
Akwl̄ m̄tiq̄ Aj̄ th̄l̄ s̄B̄M̄gr̄ pr̄s̄wid̄ [**

KrVw̄ n̄l̄br̄ 1245 ivc̄ idq̄ym̄ll̄ m̄k̄r̄ Aq̄ȳAwid̄ ḡll̄ ivcl̄ yml̄  
m̄k̄r̄ ivc̄ bh̄q̄ Q̄W̄w̄ Prk̄ h̄Ȳ [ KrVw̄ n̄l̄br̄ 1245 ivc̄ isl̄ P̄ ‘siq̄’  
(siqgr̄l̄) v̄w̄D̄Ūh̄Ȳ b̄w̄kl̄ d̄h̄W̄m̄ll̄ m̄k̄r̄W̄ivc̄ kw̄ Sbd̄-j̄ W̄W̄ (Spelling) q̄ll̄  
isv̄w̄eȳhr̄ k̄el̄ Prk̄ nh̄ll̄ [ Sbd̄-j̄ W̄W̄ d̄w̄ Prk̄ vl̄ l̄ k̄w̄el̄ (Colloquial)  
j̄ W̄ b̄d̄ -c̄w̄l̄ dl̄ b̄d̄ l̄ k̄w̄rn̄ h̄Ȳ [ n̄w̄l̄ ȳas̄ sm̄Ȳl̄ q̄k̄ p̄j̄ll̄ w̄bl̄ b̄d̄ l̄ nȳ Aj̄ ȳ  
tk̄sw̄l̄ l̄ r̄p̄ nh̄ll̄sl̄ D̄w̄ir̄Aw̄, ies̄ l̄ el̄ l̄ k̄ ij̄ v̄Ȳ b̄d̄ d̄ys̄n̄ aw̄Ȳll̄ il̄ Kd̄ys̄n̄  
[ p̄S̄ir̄w̄ is̄l̄Ḡ nȳvl̄ ien̄W̄d̄h̄W̄m̄ll̄ m̄k̄r̄W̄f̄ Aw̄p̄x̄yp̄V̄l̄q̄-iv̄Sl̄ j̄S̄x̄ d̄w̄ iv̄S̄w̄  
nh̄ll̄bx̄w̄iēAw̄ [ X̄w̄d̄ r̄h̄ȳ As̄ll̄p̄ih̄l̄ Wil̄ K̄ c̄k̄ȳh̄W̄ik̄ KrVw̄ n̄l̄br̄ 1245  
C̄ȳȲl̄p̄w̄q̄S̄wh̄l̄ d̄ȳv̄j̄ ȳq̄ll̄ vl̄ S̄w̄ied̄ ip̄C̄ll̄ dl̄ il̄ K̄q̄ h̄Ȳ [

ḡīel̄v̄w̄l̄ p̄Q̄l̄AW̄Aq̄ȳAwid̄ ḡll̄ d̄ym̄ll̄ m̄k̄r̄ ivc̄ Q̄’l̄ yid̄’q̄ȳB̄d̄  
hn̄:

<b>ḡīel̄v̄w̄l̄ p̄Q̄l̄AW̄</b>	<b>Awid̄ ḡll̄</b>
sc̄n̄m̄m̄	siqn̄m̄
kr̄q̄w̄r̄u	kr̄q̄w̄pr̄K̄
in̄r̄l̄k̄w̄r̄u	in̄rv̄Ȳ
s̄B̄au	s̄B̄M̄
siqgr̄l̄ pr̄s̄wid̄	gr̄l̄ pr̄s̄wid̄ [

ien̄W̄Sbd̄W̄d̄ȳink̄īS̄, iv̄k̄īS̄, Aq̄ȳiv̄Aw̄p̄k̄q̄w̄ b̄ir̄j̄iv̄c̄ir̄ zr̄th̄l̄ h̄Ȳ [  
gr̄l̄th̄w̄nk̄ d̄ȳ dl̄ b̄w̄xl̄ ivc̄ ‘sc̄l̄ Aq̄ȳ’siq̄’ d̄h̄W̄Sbd̄W̄d̄w̄ iz̄kr̄

h̄Ȳ

- (1) swcwwswhb swic nwie [
- (2) Awid scuj gwid scu[
- (3) scuibnusiwkl mll on bwkl [
- (4) scuwl bwxl nwnkuAwKY[
- (5) scuiml yscuapj Y[
- (6) scuqw pr j wxlAj w irdYscw hie [

kw adwhrxw 'sq' j w 'siq' dIAwvl dK0:

- (1) rj qm sq kl qrl CwieAw [
- (2) siq nwmukrqw prK [
- (3) nw siq mllf mflwel kysl, n siq piVIAw djs iPrih [

## itpxl

'krqwr j W 'krqw' pdW ivo ArQ dl kel smisAw nhll, dvy  
 prnwqm l el vrgj Wdyhn [ ieh dvy] Sbd gurUnnk dl bwxl ivcDiml  
 j Wdyhn [ krqwrK prnwqm dl hl rlpmqw hY [ ieh Sbd prnwqm f  
 isStl dw stwl k inrDwrq krw hY [ gurUnnk dy dl bwxl dw bhq  
 ihsr rb Agypkrql dysbD Agyies ivc mniK dl hsqf siQr krn  
 vl zr idlw hY [ vSyvl isK Dm ivc prKu f prnwqm dyrb ivc  
 icqivAw igAw hY [ ieh dl ll dl pStl bwxl ivc vrgyAnk W Sbd,  
 Awid prKu Akw prKu siq prKuAwid [ kw nwk bwxl dIAwadhrxw  
 dK

(1) ij susqgurprKun Bj tE, so Baj il pcYpcwie [

(2) ibn ipr prKun j wxel, siygr klhjg ipAw [

aprKq crcw qll ieh is'D hldw hYik gurUnnk dy j l nyhl  
 krqwrK mll mlqr ivc vrigAw [

pSrw isG nypVq-ivSl sX dl vrgll krkyidiqhwsk p'K vl ll  
 'prK' pd dl aqpgl gurUArj n dy j l dy vj ydl d'sl hY [ ieh  
 Sl WGXg awm hY [ pr cwhldw ieh sl ik ah 'prK' Sbd dl BwSw  
 ivigAw nhll aqpgl AgyivkWS dl crcw krw [ ies pd dl hr  
 DmW'cl adhrxw nhll, Dwrink pDql is'D krw [ gurUnnk dykw  
 ivc ies Sbd dl hld Agymhqw bwrwcrcw krw ivSs krkyj yieh pd

girtinink dl bixl ivc AwieAw sl qll as dl dwrSink ivcwrDwrw dw  
 l K-w-j K-w krdu, pr ienll Akwidmk inXmW dl pil xw dl Girt krkyah  
 ieh is'D nhll kr sikAw, ik 'prik' Awid gnd dymll mltir ivc girtl  
 nwnk dy j l dl dx nhll [

gieblvwl vwl IAWpQIAW ivc Sbd 'inrlkwrtd Awaldw hyl [ ies  
 Sbd f girtlrmndis j l ny 'inrvr' ivc bdil Aw [ ieh anll nyAwpxy  
 ivrDIAW (bwbw mhn Awid dyvDdyvYr Bwv dypqlkRn vj D) dieAw Drm  
 f mhqqw dx l el klqw [ Xwd rhyik girtlAmrdis j l nyringdl Awpxy  
 pqrWf Cf ky (bwbw mhn Aqybwbw mhrI) Awpxyj Awel rmdis j l f dy  
 idql sl [ ies krkygirdl l el klnw ivrD qW sl, pr ies ivrD f  
 slq qysDrv ivc rK ky 'inrvr' pd f mll mltir ivc j vnw kel bhql  
 pBwvSul l dl ll nZR nhllAwaldl [

### it'pxl

gieblvwl pQIAW ivcl w 'inrlkwrtd (inr+Awkr) dw ArQ hY  
 Awkr-rihq, ij s f inrgx srtq vl kihllyhn [ j ygth nwl djKAw  
 j wvqW 'inrlkwrtd Aqymll mltir dy Agl ydo Sbd 'Akwl mtriq' Aqy  
 'Aj thl' vl dwrSink qf qy 'inrlkwrtd dw hl ArQl dhrwauhY [ inrvr  
 isK Drm ivc Swied dbrYDrml dy Awp sl ivrD dypqlkrm vj ll AwieAw  
 [ girtinink dy j l ihllY iesl nm Aqyelswel DrmW ivcl IAWKwmlAWf  
 isK Drm ivclscq qf qyKwz krnw chwllYsn [ ies l el 'inrvr'  
 Sbd dl mhqqw anll l el sgnvDyrhxl sl [ mll mltir ivc ieh Sbd  
 girtinink dy j l dw hl l gdw hYnw ik girtlrmndis j l dw [ girtinink ivc  
 inrBau Aqy inrvr f bhq mhqqw idql gel hY [ (bisE inrvr  
 inrltr) [ Aij hySbd dw girtinink dymll mltir ivc hxxw sbwivk hl hY  
 pSf isG ny 'inrvr' pd f smwij k pKll mll mltir ivc vl  
 AwieAw drsiewAw hY [ ieh pVlq-ivSl Sx dw Aihm gx hY pr girtl  
 rmdis j l vl ydysmij k pK f girtinink dy vl Bl lBlq j wxdysn [

pS0w isIG Answr grUrwmdws dyivrDI qWGr dyhl sn, pr grUrnwk dyivrDI sBwrk sn, ij nWivc smwj ivrDI, k'tVpQleyAwid sn [ grUrnwk dl bwxl ivc invr' Sbd dw nw hoxw AsBwivk j wpdw hY [ ij vYl pihl Wkih cikyhWik Sbd 'inr'kw' dynwl 'Akwl ml'riq' Aqy' Aj thl' SbdW dw hoxw dwl w Bwv p'bw kr dw hY j d'lik ml mlqr (Basic tenents) dw qWiek'l w-iek'l w Sbd p'kwqmw dl apmw plq ArQW ivc slmq hoxw chwldw hY [ Awid g'ld dymU mlqr ivc ieh vifAwel hY pr g'iektvwl vwl IAW pQIAW dymU mlqr ivc kw SbdW dyd'hyArQ I Bwemw heyhn [

Xwd rhyik b'bw mlhn Awpxyipqw Amrdws nwl g'rg'dl nw iml x krkynwrwz sn [ anWnyAwpxyipqw dyDrm (is'K Drm) ivrDI Awpw m'q cl waww chwAw Aqymhn pQIAW (g'iektvwl pQIAW) Awpxy p'qr sh'w rwm q'nil KwelAW [ ies qrW dyivrD Bwv r'Kx kwrn ho skdw hY ik anWnygrAW dl kw bwxl ivc Adl w-bdl IAW il AWdIAW hox [ ml mlqr ivcl IAW Adl w-bdl IAW vl Swied ies ivrDqw dw hl is'tw hox [

Sbd 'sB'at dl QW Awid g'ld dymU mlqr ivc 'sB'w vriqAw igAw hY [ ies b'wrypS0w isIG AwpxyQliss ivc cip hY [ grmKI il pl ivc Awaudl vrq'p'ihl l'p'ihl p'cl q sl [ ieh hoskdw hY ik bwAd ivc ieh m'wml l ij hl (bg'r ArQW dybdil AW) Sbd-sD 'sB'at q'w'sB'w (sB'w) ivc Aw gel hwy [ p'f'q swDlissIG ny'gr'lg'ld p'clp' ivc sB'w dw ArQ 'A'khkrx ivc p'kwS' krkyklqw hY [ ieh ml mlqr dl ml Dwrw dw A'q' vl j wpdw hY [

Agl w ml mlqr dw Sbd hl'sqgr prswdi (KrVw n'br 1245 g'iektvwl pQIAW) Aqy'gr p'wid' (Awid g'ld) ies b'wryvl pS0w isIG ny Awpw p'v'q-ivSl s'x klqw hY [ as Answr grUArj n dy ny'siqgr' f'gr' ivc bdl idqw hY [ pS0w isIG Answr grUArj n dy j l nyiejl

mll mltjr ivc ieksrqw Aqysrl qw il Awax l el klqw [ nwl ygrll  
Arj n dy Answr Sbc 'grll iel whl isDlw nwl vDyryml Kldw hYAqy  
ies nwl pBtsqw (Sovereign) dl mhqqw vDdl hY[

### itpxl

pSrw islg dw ieh inrlKx Akwdimk qWzrl l gdw hY pr sc  
ivcwr ADln ies ivSyl el pBwSw l pqlq nhlnhllw [ ij vjlk pihl W  
apr il K ctkyhWik Sbd 'siqgr' j W'gr' ivc kel flgw miq Bdl nhll  
dwy Sbd Swied qd qklq f brkrwr r'Kx l el brbxl ivc QW-QW  
vrqygeyhn [ ienW ivc kel isDlw k ivKryW pqlq nhlnhllw [ j ygrll  
Arj n dy mll mltjr ivc ieksrqw il Aax l el 'siqgr' f 'gr' ivc  
bdl skdyhn qW grllnwk dy j l epW kr skdyhn [ pSrw islg ny  
iek-pwsv dl ll isrp AwpxymnrQ f plrn l el id'ql j wpdll hY[ grll  
nwk dy j l dl bxll ctkw adwhrxW dKw

(1) siqgr hiQ inbyuJgVickwieAw [

(2) iskl isikAw gr vlcwr [

(3) gr pswdl j wxlAYqauAnBaupwV[

(4) nwk siqgr Abw j wxlAYj osBstl eyiml wie j lau[

Bw ieh ik 'siqgr' Aqy'gr' SbdW ivc kel isDlw k Ahtj  
nhll [

KrVw nltbr 1245 ivc plrw mll mltjr pjll QwW'qyiml dw hY[

eQysrw KrVw nltbr 1245 nwl kel m'qBdl nhll ikalik ieh

KrVw Awid gll qll mgrll Cyll pwwSwhl vj yil ikAw igAw sl [

### j pj l Aqyrihrws ivAwkAw

**j pj l:** giehlvwl vwl lAW pQlAW ivc j pj l swihb dl bxll Aklkq  
nhll AqyKrVw nltbr 1245 ivc QWYsbd-j Ww dl iBhqw ql aprtk ieh  
bxll drj hY[ pSrw islg ieh ikAw s kr dw hY ik j pj l swihb anW dy  
giehlvwl pQlAW ivc drj sl j ogAwc ciklAW hn [ j pj l swihb grll

gŕd swihb dŕ mKvŕ hŕAqyies dŕ gielŕvŕl pŕQIAW ivc Amkq nŕ hŕw  
 vl iehd'sdŕ hŕik ieh pŕQIAW ivrŕDI DVyvl ŕrcIAW gelAW [ ienŕ  
 pŕQIAW f Awid gŕd dŕ KrVŕ mŕhxŕ iek bj ŕl g'l j ŕpdŕ hŕ[

hŕ j pj l swihb dŕ vŕd ivvŕd KrVŕ nŕbr 1245 AqyAwid gŕd  
 vŕl l bŕxl q'k hl mihdŕl rih j ŕdŕ hŕ[ KrVŕ nŕbr 1245 ivc mŕ mŕbr  
 qŕbŕAd ivc j pu]mhl ]1] pihl l sqr ivc il KIAW hŕ[ dŕj l sqr  
 ivc j pj l dl pihl l paŕl, 'scŕsc nŕ hŕel' j jscŕ l Kvŕr [ cpŕcp  
 nŕ hŕel j je l wid rhŕ il vqŕr" hŕ[ iDAŕnXg g'l ieh hŕik ies  
 KrVyivc mŕFI ŕ SI k 'Awid scŕj gŕd scŕ[ hŕBI scŕnŕnk hŕl BI scŕ  
 (1) nhŕl hŕ[Awid gŕd ivc ieh SI k hŕ[ pSŕŕ isŕG Anŕŕr ieh SI k  
 grŕlArj n dŕ j l dŕ hŕ[ ies dl pŕŕt l el ah ieh dl ll idŕdŕ hŕik  
 grŕlArj n dŕ j l nyiehl SI k skmnl swihb dl sqŕrvŕlASTpdŕ dy  
 mŕF ivc vriqAw hŕ j opSŕŕ isŕG Anŕŕr ies pŕkŕr hŕ 'Awid scŕ  
 j gŕdŕscŕhŕiB scŕnŕnk hŕl iB scŕ[

### itpxl

Awid gŕd ivcl ŕ j pj l mFI ŕSI k grŕlŕmŕdŕs j l qŕnkl klqŕ igAw [  
 ies bŕrygrŕlArj n dŕ nykrqŕrŕrŕl blV ivc pŕq'K il iKAW hŕ 'j pu  
 grŕlŕmŕdŕs j l kynkl kŕnkl ' [ ies dŕ mql b ieh hŕeAw ik aŕs vŕ j  
 kul hr j pj l swihb dlAWnkl ŕvl pŕl q hŕglAW [ Aij hlAWnkl ŕ  
 inScŕhl hr blVŕ ivc vl drj hŕglAW [ KrVŕ nŕbr 1245 vl anŕ  
 blVŕ ivcl j ŕpdŕ hŕ[ pSŕŕ isŕG dŕpVŕq ivSI ŕx dl mŕmŕ l ij hl Jŕq  
 aŕs dŕieh kihx ivcl iml dl hŕik mFI ŕ SI k inScŕhl grŕlArj n dŕ  
 j l dŕ hŕ ikatŕk ieh SI k anŕAWŕpxl rcnŕ skmnl ivc BI vriqAw [  
 pr ah j ŕx-bŕl kyj ŕAXgihl l krkyieh tŕl ŕ Kw igAw [ skmnl  
 swihb vŕl ŕSI k ivc Sbd 'scŕ dl vrqŕ nhŕl klql gel, sgŕ 'siq'  
 Sbd dl vrqŕ klql hŕ[ j ygrŕlŕnŕnk dl bŕxl f pVcl leyqŕAWŕn krky  
 Sbd 'scŕ dl hl vDŕryvrqŕl hŕel hŕ[ ieh SI k Tik pihl ygrŕldŕ hl hŕ  
 hŕ ieh qŕhŕoskŕdŕ hŕik grŕlArj n dŕ nyies f Amkq Awpxl ŕŕbŕdn

ivDI rwhInj pj l qd'pihl Wklqw hwy[ pSf'w isIG f ielW j wpdw hY Sbd  
'sci AStpdl dySl k dyivc j wx-bw kydrj klqw qW ik ah Awpxy  
isDlq dl pStl kr sky[ ieh bdidAwngdwr l hl nhInsgnbwxl dl vl  
byAdbl hY[ Aij hl Kj pl.Ab.fl. dyQliss dl SBw nhInbx skdl, sgn  
ies apwDI dl hYI hY[

KrVw nBr 1245 AqyAwid gD dl bd l ivc j WArQWivc kel  
Bd nhIn, j ykel Bd hYqW Sbd-j Wwivc hY[Awid gD dl bd l srl hY  
AqySbd j W vD'ryj 0 k bd l nwl iml dyhn [ Sbd-j Wwivc iviBthqw  
rcq dl pStl j Wacwrx ivDI krkyj wpdl hY[ grUAtgd dy j l nybd l  
dyA'Kr bxweypr l gWmqrWdl iviBthqw acwrx nwl sbDq hY[ ies  
l el bd l dyADwr qj W Sbd-j WwidyADwr 'qyKrVw nBr 1245 f pihl l  
il iKAw hieAw is'D nhIn klqw j w skdw, pr iek g'l mthxXg hY ik  
pSf'w isIG nybd l dl ivBthqw bwrypBwSw l crcw klq hY[

pSf'w isIG nygrUArj n dy j l dyrwkl l Sbd bwryj oBl Xw  
sl, as f kwPl pBwSw l Flg nwl inptwieAw hY[ ieh as dyQliss dl  
p'pql kh l j w skdl hY[

### Awid gD AqyKrVw nM 1245 dy l Kx kw

ij vj AsIn pihl Wvl is'D kr cikyhW ik KrVw nBr 1245,  
Awid gD dl il Kx iqQl (1604 elsvl) qd'bwAd ivc il iKAw igAw [  
Bwv'ies pr swiKAwq q' qykel il Kx iqQl nhInid'ql hel, pr Adrl y  
inrIKx qd' is'D hoj Wd w hY ik ieh grUArj n dy j l dyj q l q smwax  
qd'bwAd kw SrDwl WAwnyAwid gD iqAwr krn dl l wl sw ADIn s'p'ndn  
klqw [ ieh nqlj w Q'l yidqynkiqAW 'qyinrBr hY:

(1) Awid gD dl s'p'ndn ivc Sbc 'sD' j w 'sD klc' hY KrVw

- nbr 1245 ivc nhlnhy[
- (2) Avid gnd ivc vrvdySI kwnwl mh'lydrj klqygeyh, qwik hr grldl bwxl ivl 'Kx qtr 'qydrswel jw sky[ KrVw nbr 1245 ivc Aij hw nhln[
- (3) pjl vlygrldl vndubwxl KrVw nbr 1245 ivc hly ij vlyik Amsw mhl w 5 ivc grlArj n dy dy 162 capidAw ql aprth iqth hr nvlycapdydrj hn [ iesyqrll kel hr rvgw ivc vl grlArj n dy dl vndubwxl drj hly [ (rvg srit, rvg iql th Avid) [ ies qrll dyPrk hr grlAw dIAwbxIAw ivc vl apl bD heyhn [
- (4) Awnd swihb, j oisK Drm ivc bhq mh'qqw r'Kdw hly ivd vl pwtw dybhq Bjd hn, dKopaWl 26 Aqy27 [
- (5) sB ql mhqvplrn gl ieh hlyik KrVw nbr 1245 ivc pjl w grlAw dyj ql j q smwax dIAw qwrIKW iekoil Kwrl ny iekoisAwhl nwl il KIAWhelAW hn [ pr pStw isIG ies scwel f j wxidAW hieAW vl ieh kih kyr'd kr idtlw hly ik pjl vlygrldy j ql j q smwax dl qwrIK bwAd ivc il Kl gel [
- (6) KrVw nbr 1245 ivc BgqW dl bwxl nhlnhy[ Aij hw nw hoxw is'K m'q AqyDrm qyis'Dl cot hly ikalk is'K Drm ivc j wq-pwq dw kel Bjd Bwv nhlnhy[ hr ivAkql dl bwxl f is'K Drm dyAsll wf mdK rK kyhl grlgnd swihb ivc cwivAW igAw [ ieh ABwv qwiehois'D krdu hlyik KrVw nbr 1245 dw spwidk Swied is'K Drm dl mdK Dwrw nwl j iVAw nhlnsl [ hoskdw hlyik as dw ih'q rnrwey j Wimhrbwn spbdwie nwl hwy[

### **pjl vlykWF bwy**

ies kWF ivc grlArj n dy j l dl spbdn kl w bwyrcrcw hly[ pStw isIG pjl vlypwqSwndl spbdn cqrnel qybhaq spbst hlyAqyAvid

gŕ f ac kl w-ikrq mhdw hY [ ieh g'l sŕbn qŕ qyh'vl s'cl [ sŕbdn kl w ivc grŭgŕ swihb qlaprk A'j qk kæl vl pŕsqk Adŭql nhllkhl j w skdl [ skŭ isŕg skŭ f iek vŕrl pŕj w b ivSv ividAw w ny kæl pŕsqk sŕbdn krn l el ikhw [ anŭdw j Awb sl ik grŭgŕ dl sŕbdnw mgrŭ ml kl sŕbdn kr skdw hŭ, myrqŭ kæl mŕl k swihq dl pŕsqk il Kvŭ l E [Awid gŕ dl sŕbdnw scmtc hl sŕwr dIAw pŕsqkŭ ivcliek v'fl kl w ikrq hY [ ies ivc ij vŕ pSŕw isŕg mhdw hY grŭ Arj n dy j l nyisDŭqk drSn dl iekswrqw, grŭqŭ dl ekqŭ, Bŭv dl AKŭfŭ Awid dw bVl isAwxp nŭl iKAw r'iKAw hY [ s'B qŭ v'D vifAwel vŭl l g'l ieh h'ik grbŭxl f rŭgŭ Answr qŕqlb dykynŭl hl bŭxl dl dwrSink mh'qqŭ f vl brkrwr r'iKAw igAw hY [

BŭvŭrQ vj ŭ grŭswihb nys'cl mŭcl izŭgl 'qy'zŕ hl nhll id'qŭ sgl is'K Dŕm dyisDŭqŭ dy AwDŭr 'qycvŭl kl w dw p'K vl kwiem r'iKAw [

### itpxl

pSŕw isŕg ies kŭf ivc vl grŭArj n dy j l dl sŕbdnw dŕwn bŭxl dl sDŭel qy'zŕ idŭw hY pr Awpxymŭl mnŕQ ivc kmXŭb irhw hY [ ies kŭf ivc as nyAwid gŕ f grŭArj n dy rŭhll 1604 elsvll ivc sŕbdn klqŭ hŕeAw hl nhllmlnAw sgl iesdl aqikŕStŭqŭ bŭryvl Brpŭr crŭw klql hY [ ies kŭf ivc pVŭ-ivSl Ŗx dw apXŭg kæl bhŭql mh'qqŭ nhllr'Kdw, ies l el ieh swFl ivAw iKAw dw AwDŭr nhll bixAw [

ieQypSŕw isŕg dyBgŭdl bŭxl bŭryAqyas dl sŕbdnw ivDl bŭrykihŭw zrŭfl bxdw hY [ pSŕw isŕg Answr grŭArj n dy j l ny grŭAw dl bŭxl f pihl Wqŕj lh idql, ieh dl ll Tik vl hŕskdl hY [

BgqWdl bwxl fn Awid g<sup>10</sup> ivc drj krn dw kurn BgqW dycjl Awdw is'K Dm dymird bxnw sl, iek gl q nqlj w hY[ bwxl dl s<sup>10</sup>wdnw sm<sup>10</sup> bwxl dl m<sup>10</sup> ivcwrDwrw (j ois'K Dm dl ivcwrDwrw nwl m<sup>10</sup> Kldl sl) f hl iDAwn ivc r'ikaAw igAw, bwxl dyil Kxhwryf nhln[ ieh Tik hYik Awid g<sup>10</sup> ivc BgqWdl bwxl f s<sup>10</sup>wdnw sm<sup>10</sup>s<sup>10</sup>wdn klqw igAw, pr ieh s<sup>10</sup>wdn is'K Dm dl ivcwrDwrw f m<sup>10</sup>K r'K kyhl klqw igAw [ ij v<sup>10</sup> vS<sup>10</sup>n m'q is'K Dm nwl t<sup>10</sup>wkrw Kldw hY j W b<sup>10</sup>q p<sup>10</sup>j w j W ivAkq<sup>10</sup> p<sup>10</sup>j w dw is'K Dm ivc k<sup>10</sup>el AsQ<sup>10</sup>wn nhln Aqyij xsl ipAwr Bvvnw vl is'K Dm ivc k<sup>10</sup>el mh'qqw nhln r'Kdl [ ij n<sup>10</sup>W SbdW ivc Aij hyivcwr sn, ahn gr<sup>10</sup>UArj n dy j l nyAwid g<sup>10</sup> ivc drj nhln klqy[ pS<sup>10</sup>rw is<sup>10</sup>G dw ieh inrxw ik kel Aprvixq BgqW dy Sbd bwAd ivc il KIAW bivW ivc drj kr l eygey (ieh an<sup>10</sup>W dyivrDIAW nyklqw) Tik j w p<sup>10</sup>dw hY[ p<sup>10</sup> ivrDI kel DwrwW c'l dIAW rhIAW hn Aqykel imsl W dw AwrB ies g'l dl p<sup>10</sup>stl kr<sup>10</sup>dw hY[

gr<sup>10</sup>Ug<sup>10</sup> dl s<sup>10</sup>wdnw AwpxyAw<sup>10</sup> ivc Adtql p<sup>10</sup>pql sl [ ies p<sup>10</sup>pql f sihx n<sup>10</sup>w kridAW kel hr Dm ivrDI j W gr<sup>10</sup>UArj n dy j l dy ivrDI AISW nykel bivW iqAwr kr<sup>10</sup>v<sup>10</sup>elAW h<sup>10</sup>xglAW [ Aij hl Bvvnw dw aq<sup>10</sup>p<sup>10</sup>h h<sup>10</sup>xw kel Axh<sup>10</sup>xl g'l nhln smJl j w xl cwhldl [ ien<sup>10</sup>W bivW ivc Awid g<sup>10</sup> nwl t<sup>10</sup>kw v<sup>10</sup>Krw kw Gt j W vD A<sup>10</sup>lkq krnw s<sup>10</sup>Bwivk g'l hl sl [

### Cy<sup>10</sup>UklwF dl ivAwiKAw

ies kwF ivc pS<sup>10</sup>rw is<sup>10</sup>G nyAwid g<sup>10</sup> dl bwxl dy BvvrQ bwry pVcd klql hY[ Awid g<sup>10</sup> An<sup>10</sup>h<sup>10</sup>kw l gr<sup>10</sup>bwxl dw mj 'smw hY[ iesykrky ieh is'K Dm ivc 'gr<sup>10</sup>Ug<sup>10</sup> swihb' krkyj wixAw j W dw hY[ 'Sbd' j W 'gr<sup>10</sup>USbd' f bhq mh'qqw id'ql gel hY j o<sup>10</sup>r<sup>10</sup>em'rw dl iz<sup>10</sup>h<sup>10</sup>gl ivc ivcrdw hY[ Sbd dl mh'qqw f m<sup>10</sup>K rK kyhl gr<sup>10</sup>Ug<sup>10</sup> swihb dl

ivAwiKAw klql j w skdl hY[

Bwrql ivcwrDwrw Answr Drm gDw dl ivAwiKAw cwr ivDIAW  
Answr klql j w skdl hY[

- (1) SbdwrQ (Meaning of the word)
- (2) tIkW (Commentary)
- (3) ivAwiKAw (Exegesis)
- (4) pkrwrQ (Sublime meaning)

SbdwrQ ivDI ivc 'Sbd' (word) dyArQ aqyvDryzr idqw  
j Wdw hY[ iek Sbd (word) dw vKry-vKrySbdW (Hymns) ivc ArQ  
smJx dl kiSS klql j Wdl hY[

tIkW ivDI rwhll swrySbd (hymn) dw smucw ArQ smJx dl  
kiSS klql j Wdl hY[

ivAwiKAw ivDI rwhll iksy iek Sbd (hymn) dl iksy Kws  
idStl ql ivAwiKAw klql j Wdl hY[

pkrwrQ ivDI Answr Sbd (hymn) dw AiDAwqimk p'K  
pVcöl Aw j Wdw hY[

grrlgD igAwn dw Aqwh smw hY[ v'K-v'K ivDIAW rwhllies  
dl ivAwiKAw ies swyf GKx ivcwrn dw kwrj hl ikhw j w skdw hY[  
grrbwxl ivAwiKAw mllh zbwrl (Oral) j Wil Kql Bw (Written) ivc klql  
j w skdl hY[ fw. qwrn islg nyij v'pSrw islg mllhdw hY[ grrbwxl  
ivAwiKAw f s'q v'KriAW-v'KriAW p'kw lIAW ivc v'lfAw hY[ ieh  
hn: sihj p'kw l, Bwel p'kw l, pkrwrQ p'kw l, adwsl p'kw l, inrml w  
p'kw l, igAwnl p'kw l Aqyislg sBw p'kw l [ ienw swrlAW p'kw lIAW dw  
AwSw pSrw islg nyfw. qwrn islg dl ivAwiKAw ql aDwr il Aw hY[

### itpxl

ieh kWF ivrqWqk v'D AqyAl cnuqimk G't hY[ ies kWF dl sm'grl Drm gNDW baryiml dIAW pbsqkW ivcDl apl bD hY[ pS0W isIG dw isvweyies g'l eyik A'j kl HAWid gND 'qyswihqk p'KN ivcwr horhl hY AwpXW kW nhll [ clyw hDw j yaln AwpXyVky-ivSI SX rwhll Awid gND dl ivAwiKAW krDw, ArQWq AwpXyivcwr hr pKw l dyslBD ivc drswaldw [ ikqy-ikqyas dyAwpXyivcwrWdl JI k ij hl zrt pldl hY [ AwKlr ivc asdw ieh ivcwr ik swihqk pKw l Awid gND f ivAwiKAW rwhll slBwr dyDrmW dymkubl yqyKVW kr skdl hY vrnX Xh hY [

### isty(Conclusions)

pS0W isIG dyQliss "Awid gND dw ml -kQn AqyBwvwrQ" bary Asllivcwr klql hY[ ies ivc pS0W isIG nyiqth Aihm msl yaUweyhn:

- (1) Awid gND dl slBwdnw vj ygrlArj n dy j l nydoKriVAWdw Amsrw il Aw [ ieh hn: giedvwl pQIAW AqyKrVw nBwr 1245 [
- (2) grlArj n dy j l nyienW KriVAW ivcDl cK-cK kybwxl ie'kqr klql Aqyies f Awid gND ivc slBwdn klql [ ieh anW nyis'K pBwr AqyivcwrDwr f inqwrn (Crystallization) Kwqr klqw [
- (3) Bgq bwxl anW nybwAd ivc Bgq j nWdl SrDw dK kydrj klql [

bwkl swryQliss ivc mlyvW ivrqWqk izkr hY[

aprkq iqth msil AW dypqIkrm vj llis'K j gq ivc iq'Kw vvd-ivvd SrllhieAw hY[ Ank is'K ivdvnW dyivcwr Agyzyl Aqy pjlwbl dyAKbwvW ivc Cpyheyn [

ienW swryjvDvnW nypS0W isIG dyaprkq iqth Aihm msil AW bwryswriQk q0 'qy AwpXy- AwpXyivcwr pgtweyhn [ ienW swryl JW

ivc ivcwr f Akwidmk pDr aqyhl riKAw igAw hY [ Bwyl ikqyikqy  
Bwvik mnBwvW dw JO w vl pldw hY [ swryl K iek g'l qyrzwmld hn ik  
pS0w isIG nyAwid gND dyiel hml pK qys't murl hY [

mll ies l K ivc pS0w isIG dyQliss dl pVcd p'Dql, Kj dw  
imAwr Aqyies dyivigAwnk p'K f ivcwrn dl kiSS klql hY [ ieQy  
myrw AwSw isrP ieh prKx dw sl ik kl pS0w isIG dw Qliss iek  
pl.A'b.fl. dl ac apuDI dyimAwr dw hY? myjistyies plkw hn:

(1) Awid gND dl s'p'wcdnw l el vraqyeyKriVAW dl prnwixkqw  
[

(a) **giehvw pQIAW** doapl bD pQIAW aqykæl prnwixk il Kq  
iqQl nhlnhY j oienw f inrstdh Awid gND qnprnxIAW is'D kr sky [ j o  
qrIk apr iml dl vl h'Yaln 1595 elsvl hY ij s maqwbk ieh Awid gND  
dys'p'wcdnwkw l ivc hl rclAW gelAW [ pS0w isIG kæ l FikvllKj plkw l  
rwhln ienw f prnxIAW is'D nhll kr sikAw [

(A) **KrVwnbr 1245:** ies KrVy aqykæl il Kx iqQl mll thl  
nhlnhY [ ies dl AWR l ivAWiKAw qn ieh BI IBWq is'D hoj wcdw hY ik  
ieh Cjvll Agyn@ll p'wqSw h l dysm'f ivc il iKAw igAw hY [ pjl WgrVAW dl  
j qj j q smwax dl qrIk dw hoxw Agyn@ll p'wqSw h dyinSw n dw hoxw ieh l  
is'D kr dw hY [ ies s'c q'lj wxl pS0w isIG vl hY pr AwpxIAW k'clAW  
ij hIAW dl ll W rwhln ies KrVy f Awid gND qn pihl W dw isrP ies krky  
d'sdw hY qW ik asdyQliss dl zmln iqAwr hosky [ eQyvl as nykæl  
ivigAwnk Flg nwl ies KrVy f Awid gND qn prwxw is'D krn dl kiSS  
nhll klql [

(2) **grlArj n dy j l nygrbwxl** ivc s'Dwel klql Aqyies f  
Awid gND ivc drj klqw [ anw ielw is'K p'brw f inqwrn l el klqw [  
ies ivcwr nybwxl dl iel hml mh'qqw Gtwel hY [ ieh bV  
plfw msl w hY [ pr ikatik ies dw AwDwr Awid kw l qn hl mwrn dIAW

mnBivnvwW nwl j iVAw hieAw hY ies l el ies f Kj dy Gry ivo  
il AwaKw A'g qyqj iCVkx vwl l g'I hY [ ielW krkypS0rw isIG ny  
pVcd dl lwl sw ADIn, AwpXl ADgql dw Kth Awp pditAw hY [

mWpS0rw isIG dl ivAwikaW qnBl pBivq nhlnhieAw [ ij vYl  
anW nymU mltjr ivo AweySbdW dl Adl w-bdl l f vl kel Ts sbtW  
rwhlnnhln drswieAw [ j yieh mth vl l eleyik SbdW dl Adl w-bdl l  
grUrnmdws AqygrUArj n dy j l nyklql, pr Adlrhl ivAwikaW qnlpqw  
l 'gdw hYik bdl yheySbd (prK, invr) grUrnwk dy j l dl bwxl  
ivctvl iml dyhn Aqysiqwrl rlp ivo QW-QWj Vyheyhn [ ielW j wpdw  
hYik ieh 'inqwrn' dw kwj , j opS0rw isIG nygrUArj n dy j l dyisr  
miVAw hY vl pS0rw isIG dl idmgl kwF hY [ ieh kwF as ny Awpxy  
Qliss dw mswl w iek'Tw krn kwrn k'Fl [

(3) BgqWdl bwxl bWAd ivo Bgq j nWdl SrDw dK kyAmkq  
klql gel [

ieh msl w is'K ivcwrDwrw dl mFl l pbrw 'qys't mwrdu hY [  
bwxl is'K ivcwrDwrw j WdwrSink aqyprK kyhl Awid gR ivo drj  
klqi gel hYnw ik iksymnikvwdl j W rWj nlqk pBivWADIn [

iek gl pS0rw isIG dyh'k ivo j Wdl hYik asdy Qliss f  
piVAw ielW j wpdw hYik ieh bVl imhnq Aqy pBivSwl l Sl l ivo  
il iKAw hieAw hY pr j yiek pl.AE.fl. dypDr dl Kj ies ivctvl Bley  
qWies apwDI dyhux dl Kj dl ies ivo Gwt hY [

ivcwrnXg gl ieh hYik pS0rw isIG ny Awpxy Awp f grldw  
is'K mhidAw hieAw Aij hw ikaW klqw ! myrivcwr ivo ieh as ny  
pl.AE.fl. dl apwDI dl p'Cml ivdvrw vl lid'ql gel lwl sw ADIn  
klqw hY [ ies dw ptnux as dy Qliss ivo QW-QW ieh mthxw ik 'Awid  
gR' hl isKW dl ptnuxIk bIV hY ivctvl iml dw hY [ myrivcwr Answr  
p'Cml ivdvrw ny pS0rw isIG f iek hQ-klfw bxwieAw hY qW ik ah

Awpxl ivcwrDwrw iksyisK ividAwrQl rwhllis'K m'q apr Tš skx [
   
 ieh isK ividAwrQl dw dirBwg h' [ pr svwl ieh aũdw h'ik ies
   
 dnIAW ivc ikthykuivAkql Ašyhøgyj oDrm Kwr Awpxl røl dyswDnW
   
 f l 'q mwr dx ? ies svwl dw aqr l Bx l el swf AwpxyAwr f'G
   
 nwr mwrnl pvgl, pr grllkyAsl l isK Swied isK Dm dyAsU Wf hl
   
 mhqqw dx [

3

griUnink dy XhIvristl dl hQ il Kq  
1245 dw qW-swr

**fW KVk isG min, cflgVH**

aprKq hQ il Kq dw ieh KrVw ij s dyAwDwrq-q'QWdl GK-  
pVqwl qy trWto dyiek ivAkql pSrw isG ny Awpxl pl.Ab.fl. dl  
apwDI l el kth klqw as dw pihl w srVXx hwrz hY[

1. prwqn hQ il KqWdysbD ivc vriqAw igAw aprKq KrVw  
nw qWsr grlgD swihb dl hQ il Kq hl AwKx dw hkdwr hYqynw hl mFl y  
pRpq KriVAW ivc hl ies dl igxql klql j w skdl hY[ ies ivc rwgW  
dw Aqybwxl dl SDqw dw hl kw ij hw JI kwrw vl iksysbwpq hQ il Kq  
nwl mj nhIn Klidw, ij s f siqgrlj l dl prwncw kdl iml l hwyij vj  
krqwrprl bIV hY[

2. siqgrWdlAW kel bwxIAW AqyBgqW dykel SbdWdw vl ies  
h'Q il Kq ivc ABw hY[

3. ies ivc Bwel girdws j l dyil Kql Flg dw Jal w vl nhIn  
idsdw ij nWnySrDw prvk krqwrprl bIV dl syw Aqysbrncw klql [

4. ieh KrVw griUnink dy XhIvristl ny1987 el: AflmQsr  
dyiek fl r pwsIKrlidAw [ XhIvristl dw kel vl sbDq ivAkql  
h'Q il Kq dl iviQAw ql j wxlnhIn [ ies AdwrydypqlInD j W ies dy  
l wiebrylAN Aqynw hl kmytI dymllor ies dl Krlid ql j wxlnh [ ah  
dsdyhn ik iesdw ivkrqW-ivAkql vl ies khwxl f gpq rKxw cwhtw  
hY[

5. ies KrVyapr ivkrqW dw id'qw iek not: AqypSrw isG dy  
Anmwn Answr, ieh KrVw bwbw bIFw j l dypirvwr nwl sbDq hY(bwbw  
bIFw j l siqgrW dybhq hl inktvrql AqyAinn Bgq sn) [ ies

KrVyivc iek sl k bwbw bdfwj l vl ti "nwnk-Cwp" hjtWid'qw hYij s  
 dypkqg dw Aidkwr kyt g'dl-sQwpq siqgrVAWf hl htdw sl [ bwbw  
 bdfwj l dw AsQwn, j ohx anWdynil, "bIV bwbw bdfwj l" kr kypIs'D  
 hY aQydypbDk j Wbwbw bdfw pirvwr dw kael ivAkql iehoij hyiksyvl  
 q'Q qtl ienkwl hn, qyd'sdyhn ik anW kdyvl iksyiehoij hl h'Q  
 il Kq bwbq, j Wbwbw j l vl tikDryil Kygeysl k bwbq nWkdysixAw hY  
 nw Xkln vl klqw j w skdw hY[

6. ies kiQq h'Q il Kq apr nw hl kael il Kql sthq j Wikqy  
 kael qrlk hY qynw hl ikqyil Kwl kw kael slkq hY ij s qtl ies h'Q  
 il Kq dl prwqnwq hl is'D hosky[ pl'n inscw hYik ieh h'Q il Kq  
 sth 1608 qtlvl bhq ip'Clidl hY[ ies h'Q il Kq ivc iek "nlsix"  
 plhw 1255 qyicpkwieAw hieAw hY ij s dw stbD Cyyl siqgrlj l nwl  
 disAw igAw hY[ ies dysbly vj tl pSfrw isIG ies h'Q il Kq f Cyyl  
 siqgrlj l dysm'ldl is'D krnw cwhtdw hY[ Xwd rhy ik ieh inSwm ies  
 h'Q il Kq apr nhll hY bwAd ivc icpkwieAw igAw iek kwz hYij s  
 bwrypSfrw isIG Amp vl sth'ivc hYik ieh inSwm Swied grllqg bhadr  
 j l dw hwy[ ieh grllCyylpqSwth dl il Kq nwl myl nhll Kldw [ ies  
 iekoq'Q qtlhl ieh is'D hoj Vdw hYik pSfrw isIG vl ti ies KrVyf grll  
 Arj n dy j l dysm'lj W1604 sth dw is'D krn dl gl by-binAwd hY[

7. j pj l dl il Kq, ies KrVyivc, sFl imhrbw dl il Kq nwl  
 iml dl hY[ ij s sFl f grll-Gr dw ivrDI AqygrllpD dw CjkAw hieAw  
 mlthAw igAw hwy as dl prlbrw Answer "nwnk-Cwp" dl htd, ies KrVy  
 dypkhy 3 qyidqySl k dyAwDwr qyies f mlxw-pirvwr nwl j Wdl hY[  
 ieh fl r vl dsdw hYik ieh KrVw vl imhrbw pirvwr dyiksyivAkql  
 qtlhl hQ l gw hY[ inrsth, ieh KrVw vl mlxw-swhq dl hl ikrq hY  
 [ iehoij hl il Kq f grllArj n dy j l nwl stbDq krnw Asl qQWf  
 qWn dw iek nw-bKSyj wx vwl w AprwD hY[ j wpcdw hYik ieh swrw

kikrm 1987 el: f ies Xhivristl ivc hl AwrB hieAw [

8. ikqny hr DrmW dIAW Drm-pisqkW, anW dystal k grt-  
pgrW dycl wxyqnl bwd hl htd ivc AweIAW [ btwl w stQw dyeh rih  
ciky pkrk, sirfl prvinq Drm pisqk st grtgrt swihb j l dl  
"krqwrprl blV" dl SDQw Aqyprmwixkqw f mne-kl pq gl q q'QWdy  
ADrw qy vgr rhy hn [ ieh ivrDI-Xqn, ij s rwhll grbwl ivc  
Adl w bdl IAWvl grtArj n dy j l nwl stDQ krnlAW, iesykikrm dw  
hl iek Ah hn [

9. KrVw # 1245 dyplw 1255 apr id'ql tlk "cil q j ql  
j q smxyky' pihl yplj siqgrW bwry ieko il Kwrl h'QIN Aqy ieko hl  
isAw hl nwl il Kyhn [ ieh iekoq'Q hl ieh is'D krn l el kw&l hYik  
ieh KrVw 1245, sth 1606 el. sth 1663 dyip'CN dl kwF hYqypSrw  
istG, ies j q q ql Bl l pkr j wxl vl hY [ ah ies rwhll Cyj pwiqSw  
dl j ql j q smxak dl iqQ f ies ql bwaAd dl is'D krnw cwhtw hY [

10. iek hl hr ik plw 1255 apr id'qy "cil q j ql-j q  
smxyky' dynwl h'Q il Kq dw Bg nhll plj Vdw, sgl ies dybwaAd vl hr  
sl k j w bwxl l el 22 plhyvrqygeyhn ies q'Q dl vl pStl htd hYik  
sth 1606 el. dybwaAd vl ies h'Q il Kq dl il Kq cl dl rhl [

11. ieh dSn vl Asl linrm hYik "mthl w-crn" ivc, AKr  
"inrkwr" j w "krqwr" ikatlvriqAw igAw, ieQyAKr inrd "krqwr-  
prk" il iKAw j w pdw hY [

12. iehoj hl dSg AqyipCN il Kl h'Q il Kq f iks cqrwel  
nwl pihl l h'Q il Kq is'D kr ky pSrw istG nyiek grt-inthk Aqy  
ivdrhl dw p'K plrAw hY ij s dycwr mk Bg hn ij vl:-

(a) grtlnk dy j l sxycwr hr grtAW dl bwxl, "Dir kl bwxl"

nhll [ ies ivc bAd ivc Adl w-bdl l hlll rhl hY qygrllArj n dyv  
j l Awp vl krdrhyhn [

(A) grllArj n dyv j l nyAiDAwqmk pKll ies ivc kel vllDy-  
Girtyklqyhn [

(e) grllArj n dyv j l nybwxl dl gl q-vrqllkridAwbwxl f  
grllnink dl bwxl disAw [

(s) ij hvw Sl k, grllj l dl pkl bwxl nhll sl, as dygix  
glldAwpsll isll nyas f isr qyctk il Aw [

kel dsyik AKrWf qrv-mv krn dwieh krm, j ykPr nhll  
qwhr kl hY?

## 4

iek plicn h'Q-il Kq dl cæ  
mnr isIG mnrko

ieh gl vl pSf wisIG bwrhl hÿ qyhÿvl grlhwk dyv Xthlvristl  
dl h'Q-il Kq 1245 bwrj [ ivdvwn l jk f ieh h'k hÿ ik s'c f  
DdI w dsx l el, Jt dw kæl vl prpc KVw kr l vy pr scæ dl gl qll  
ieh hÿ ik fwrtr dl apwDI l el AwpxygrlqlmK mVn dl Srq qyzrl  
nhllhhl [ Kÿ ! ieh cæ hr mnK dl Awpxl hÿ]

sædw hÿ, ies by-nvllh'Q il Kq dw ipCkV ikQnI iBAw j wvy j y  
ikDrÿvl ies dw izkr pihl Wcil Aw hÿw, qV ies bwrjgl krn dl kæl  
dwDw vl nhllsl hxl [ ies h'Q-il Kq 1245 dw iksynW vl nhllsixAw  
[ ies f sthq 1663 ( sth 1604) qll pihl W dw is'D krn dw Xqn,  
krqwrprl bIV j W Bwel bthoj l vwl l bIV f ies qll nkl hælAw is'D  
krn dl iek cwl hÿ]

Aj qk isK ieighws ivc AwelAw bIVW ivcÿ sthq 1661 qll  
sthq 1870 qk kyl cwr il Kql bIVW dw izkr hÿ-

1. Awid bIV qll isDI nkl Bwel bthovwl l bIV sthq 1661
2. Bwel bthoqll nkl , bthV vwl l bIV sthq 1662
3. ipfI - l wl w vwl l bIV sthq 1663
4. bIVw sDlVwl l bIV sthq 1662

aprkk cwrÿ bIVW qyswihb grlArj n dyv j l dynlSwx mÿ l  
hn, qyienW dl nkl hxl dw AsQwn kw mll Wdyhl Gryivc Bwel bthoj l  
dyipfI Kurw mltgt dyigrdysl [

sthq 1770 qk hr cwr bIVWnkl hælAw, ij nW dl pCwx l el,  
anW dynwW dw vrnx ieh hÿ:-

5. rts dl l wiebryl ivc bIV sthq 1661
6. l whfI bIV pwrSwhl Cylvll sthq 1667
7. bIV rvg gÿf qll ArB is: rÿ l : sthq 1667
8. Bwel pDw j l (hklm bthw isIG rvl ipfI) sthq 1663

ies ibairyAnisur sthq 1700 (st 1643) qk iksvl ieho  
 j hl biv dw izkr nhln, j oKrvw nhr 1245 vwl l h'Q-il Kq nwl mj  
 Kldl hwy[

kw pirwqn-il Kql A'Krw ql kw kwgz dl bxqr ql kw  
 isAwhl ql qybhw l gw-mwqrWdl pirwqnqw qlhl kw isD krn dw Xqn  
 klqw j wegw [ ies dl pirwqnqw isD krnw, Qliss dyl Kk dw klh sl, pr  
 ais nyqWj wx-bw kyieh Jthyl w KVw klqw hyl qyAwp qmwSbln bx kyswrw  
 qmwSw vK irhw hyl[

mryswhmxyies vj yies biv dypihl yplhydl il Kq dw iek  
 nmthw hylj s ql il KwrI-hQIN " < " dl bxqr, AKrw dl qyl gw mwqrWdl  
 pirwqnqw hl isD klql j w skdl hyl [ ies il KwrI dl il Kq dyAKr pirwqn  
 hn, pr hQ-il Kq smyl qk nvl n-mwqrW dw prcl n hockw sl qyhQ-  
 il Kq sthq 1700 ql pihl Wdl kdwicq isD nhln hockdl [ " < "  
 ivc E dl GfI, Agyvl f mW/n dl QW, ipCy vl f hyl qyieh qQ ies  
 f gurlCyyl pWqSw h dysmjl ql vl AgyI YAwatbw hyl [

## 5

**dSmx bŏq kryAnhøł  
mnhŕ isŦ murko**

gl pSŦw isŦG dl krn l 'gw hŏł, j oAsl ŏsŕfŏ dSmx nhŏł, sgl iek s'j x hŏł [ g'l vl as dyhøxyhl inbŏySDpbŦD j WQliss bŏryhŏł ij s dw ivSŏ hŏł "THE TEXT & MEANING OF THE ADEGRANTH" [ ies dyAŏrŦB ivc smrpŏ vj ŏ il Kdŏhn, "mŏł idl ŏ Aŏdr sihq Aŏpxymŏqŏ j l dw dŏxdŏr hŏł, ij nŏł gŏrbŏxl dl dwq nŏł mŏł invij Aŏ" [ zŕw sŏcyqŏshl, ik iehoj hŏ bŏłw, sŕfŏ dSmx ikvŏł ho skdŏhŏł ij s f gŏłŏł gŏrbŏxl dl iml l hŏy pr j ŏpdŏ ieh hŏłk Swied AŏpxySD-pbŦD l el iksyl ŏl c j Wiksydyvrgl ŏyivc Aŏ igAŏ hŏy [ Bil Aŏ l kŏ [ ieqnł ij hl g'l bdl qŏłf gŏrŏłqŏł bŏmŏK hŏx dl kl l ŏ sl ? ieqnł ij hŏ qŕw kŏł qŏłWbŏymŕypŏsŏłhl inbŏV j ŏdŏ [ qŏłf ieh l ŏ vl kl sl, ik Axigxq mh'qŏ-pŏłn ieiqhŏsk bŏłWŏł ky Aŏpxyl el qŏł kŏł Aij hl h'Q-il Kq , iksyKŏł yqŏłj ŏtd dw ij s dw nŏłvl iksyKŏł l ny kdŏnhŏłsŏxŏw, ij s dŏyl Kŏrł dw kŏł Aqŏ-pqŏ nhŏł, ij s dŏstŏ-sŏhq dw ikqŏkŏł sŏkŏ nhŏł, qŏł ieh sB ies l el ik qŕyies kŏł qŏkŏł ikŏłŏ nŏł kr sky [ qŏłAŏp hl d's ik qŕł ies h'Q-il Kq dw j ykŏł Kŏł j j ŏłł hl nhŏłhŏvgŏ qŏłŏh qŕykŏł qŏłkŏłkl kr skgŏ? vŏr ! qŏłAŏp hl sŏ kyds ik iehoj hl bŏłvl h'Q-il Kq dy tŏł yivc ad J ky qŏłikŏł AŏpxyieSt dy sŏryj g qŏłv'Kŕyqŏivl 'Kx kŏł qŏłmŏł mŏł kŏłŏł f kŏł iek Aŏm il Kŏrł dl p'Dr qŏł Aŏ kyGK-pVqŏł AŏrŦB kr id'qł ij vŏłŏł vl qŕyŏłłg hl Aŏpxł iksyŏirvŏrk l ŏ smŏł, AŏpxyisKŏł f 'inŕvŏł' hŏx dw apdŏ idŏłw hŏł [ mŕyisAŏxyŏłr, iek ivdŏm hŏx dy nŏqŏ kl qŕw ieh Prz nhŏłsl bŏxdŏ, ik ij s 'gŏr ŏrŏsid' dŏstŏkŏ dw qŏłieqnł ivvŏd AŏrŦBAŏ hŏł, as il Kq dl iek ŏtŏł Cŏp idŏłw qŏł j o iksyKŏł l f ieh pqŏ hl cl skdŏ ik ieh il Kq iks gŏrŏłj l dl hŏł Bŏł

girdws j l dl h' j Wiksyksbl-il Kwrl dw ikisyf tpl w dx dw Xqn h' [ ies 'siqgr p'swid' vwl ynlSwx, m'lpihl l vwl Bwel blh'j l vwl l b'V ivc b'jtkxyicpk'yheyv'Kysn, j oiek kwgz dytkV'j'f b'V dyiek p'hy qyicpk'wieAw h'ieAw sl qy'as il Kq dw s'ld' gr'U'hirg'ab'kl j l nwl d'isAw igAw sl [ myr' ieh iKAw sl ik ieh 'gr p'swid' dl QW 'siqgr p'swid' dw v'wDw Swied gr'U'Arj n dy' j l q'lpihl W dyiksy gr'U'ivAkq' dw hwy'ik an'W dy' j lvn kw' ivc hl, an'W dy s'Dy qy s'Qwpq ml -m'kr' ivc, an'W dy Awpxyhl sihX'g sp'qr ikv'k'iel v'wDw kr skdyhn [ h'x q'k b'VW dl il Kq, an'W dl il Kq s'lhq'w dy AwDwr qym'h' j wx ivc kw'&l crcw rh' h' pr ika'lj okel l B' prS Awpxyp'is pelAw b'VW dw ml v'Dwx l el hl ien'W dyst'hq'w ivc v'wDw Grtw kr dy Aweyhn, qy' j s dw kw' p'K'g Bwel blh'ovwl l b'V ivc vl h'ieAw h' [ ies b'V dw s'lhq' il Kx dy b'w'Ad as il Kw'el apr h'Vqwl Pr kyh'j' l y'Alk f 1659 bxw id'qw igAw (iKAw h'ik ieh Alk 1699 sl) kw' vl hwy' ieh s'lh' nh'ln kihAw j w skdw ik ieh s'lhq' ika'lj q'VAw igAw pr iek inrnw n'W inSicq h'ik ieh b'V Asl 'Awid b'V' dw a'qwrw h' qy'bw'kl swrl iviQAw ies dl ij l d bxw'ak Awid dl p'cl q h'q'w'ik ies b'V dyst'hq' Awid dl g' l , ies l Kk (p. s.) nyq'W Awr'Bl h'Yqw' ik ieh swbq klqw' j w skyik s'lhq' 1699 (1659) vwl l b'V, s'lhq' 1661 vwl l Awid-b'V q'lpihl W dl h'Yqy'h'x ij s ibn'W-s'lhq' vwl l gr'Unwnk dy' X'h'lvristl dl n'W 1245 h'Q il Kq ij sqy'ieh Qliss ADwrq h'Y'as f ien'W apr'kq d'n'W b'VW q'lv' pr'w'qn isD klqw' j w sky [

apr'kq ivSy'bw'rymzyd' g' l ieh h'yik Qliss il Kx v'j' yqk l Kk ny'as b'V f q'ikAw nh'ln, ivc'w'irAw nh'ln, qy'bs inrnw l Yky il Kxw Ar'B kr id'qw h' [ 'gr'U'ij n'W dyt'pxyc'j yj wx CVp' [

iek hr huse-hlxl g'l v'l iDAwn j Vdw h'ik Bwel bhodl blV,  
ies l el bhql ivSvnsXg h'ik as ivc kw vUDubxlAW h'k kwrn as  
dw Akwr v'f'w hl [ Akwr p'KllqW h'k q'k apl bd swrlAW blVW ivcl  
'hklm blt'w isIG vwl l (j WBwel p'Dw j l r'vvl lip'fl vwl l blV) bhq Bwr l  
vl sl qybhqlAW b'xlAW l as ivc sn, pr as f krqwrprl blV h'k  
dw m'ix iksynw id'qw [ ies dw mql b hieAw, ik j ypS'w isIG bhqlAW  
g'l W kryqW ah m'kl IEf dw vl g'rl hieAw [

hr prwqn hQ-il Kq blV ivc iek t'k qkrydyArB ivc  
id'ql h'hl sl, 'j p'grUrw d'w j l kydsKqW kl nkl ' pr as gl f  
inKjVAw ikqynhll igAw ik anW dsKqW dyArQ kl sn? ml -m'kr dw  
isrl K, '< siqgr p'swid' hl h' [ h'okdw h'ik 'Aj hl sBl gr  
p'swid' ivc q'klq dyqd f SD r'Kx v'wqyies q'rlklq igAw h'w [ j y  
s'cmic ikqypS'w isIG, g'rlkw vl y'h'w, qW Swied swf'yies SD ml -  
m'kr dw sr'p kw hr hl h'w [

Bgq-b'xl dw g'rlgr' s'whb ivc S'wl krn dw ieh mql b  
l k'w, ik BgqW dyBgqW f A'pxl is'Kl dyGryivc il A'wax dl iek g'rl  
cwl sl bq'kl gl h' [ j yieh g'l h'hl, qW iPr Bgq Prld j l dyieh  
A'Kr ik 'Prldw by-inm'zw k'iqAw, ieh nw Bl l r'q...' vrgys^q  
A'Kr, blV ivc S'wl kr kysiqgrlj l A'pxykel m'sl m'w sn'hlAW qn  
d'w h'j Wdy [

inr'kr, krqw-prK j Wsiqgrl'ivc k'el B'p-B'w smJ kyk'el  
Adl w-bdl l nhll h'el j w'pd [ v'ihgrl'dybyA'kl n'w s'whb dSmS j l ny  
'j w'pus'whb' ivc v'rqyhn, ah k'el n'w W dw B'p-B'w nhll sl, ah qW  
inr'kr dw SrDw-mel ac'wrn sl [ j ygrUArj n dy j l nym' m'kr dw  
iek T'k bh'hdq, qW ah swf'w sr'v-p'w'wq ml -m'kr isD hieAw qyas  
ivc k'el vl Adl w-bdl l b'wAd ivc h'el sihn nhllklql j w skdl [

iesys'hd ivc ieQyivc'wrn vwl l g'l iek hr h' ij s l el

I Kk nybhq zr l w kykel vwr l dhrwieAw h'ik grUArj n dy j l ny ml -mlr f AwKrl Skl dx l el bVI vwr l KrVw bdil Aw qybVw icr kt-vF krn dybwAd ies f hx vwl w rtp idqw [ ieh 'kel icr' Aqy 'bVyXqnW vwl l g'l dl smJ nhllAw skl ik ieh ikhoij hl sm'isAw sl ij s qk pij x ivc kel Xqn krnypey? ieh Xqn ikatllkrnypeyqy ieatlbr-bwr ktx-ktwx dl l W Bwsdl rhl? Awpxy'cwcy f 'qwieAw kihx nwl kl phwV al t p'kw sl? SrDw dl hd ivc rih kyhr stbDn Awpxl QW bxw il Aw krdw h' [ ies ivc grUBvvnw qW ikqybdil l nhll j wpd [ 'gr p'swid' Aqy'siqgr p'swid' qyivcwr bVI mml l gl sl, ies qyieqnr zr l gw kygl krn dl Bvvnw bwbq scxw p'irhw h' [

ml mlr ivc grUnnk dy j l dy 'inrkwr' dy adhrx f 'Akwl prK' ivc ikatllbdil Aw igAw? ieh vl tlk, bVzr nwl prkl gel h' [ ieh ml -mlr dw SD-srtp swihb grUArj n dy j l nystqW dl Agvvel l el iek Tik j WStandard vj llbKiSAw qylyqW f inrkwr j WAwl prK dylstbDn nwl kel ivGn vl kdynhllipAw [

grUnnk dy j l, iksyf iml x vl y'Piqh' nhllsn bd waltdyqy ij v'lsWklwr dsdw h'ik ah kihl'ysn, bd mrdwinAw 'siq krqwr' [ bwAd ivc g'ietl'vwl dlAWpQIAWAnswr grUAmrdys j l nyas 'krqwr' f 'inrkwr' dw stbDn bKiSAw [ grUArj n dy j l nyies f 'krqw-prK' AwlKAw [ hx ij v'lpStw istG nyAwpxl cx nll 1245 vwl l hQ-il Kq ivc kiQq nlsx 'siqgrU f swihb hirg'ibdl j l dw stbDn mllnAw h' [ grUdsm p'iqSw AwpxyKwl syf 'v'ihgrUj l kw Kwl sw' m'hdyn, qW ieqny n'vW apn'vW dylstbDn nwl sirfl SrDw ivc kel ivGn kdynhllAwieAw qW ml -mlr ivc vrqygey'grUj W siqgrU dy acwrn nwl vl sirf'w kw ivgV nhllcil Aw, ieh qWkyv iksyskw r dl ivdvqW dw ivKwl w h' [



## sɪ ɡrɪŋd swɪhb bɪrɪpsɔw ɪsɪɔ dw ɔlɪss ɪs'K Drm dɪɪkl w& ɪek v'fl swɪzS

### hrɪj ɪr ɪsɪɔ ɪdl ɡlɪr

sɪ ɪpsɔw ɪsɪɔ (asɪɔ nɪw nɪw ɪsɪɔ ɪl Kxw mɪwɪsb nɦɪɪ) nɪ 1991 dɪAKɪr ɪvc "kɪɦl l kɪɦl l" Awpxw pl.Ab.fl., ɔlɪss trɪwto Xɦɪvrɪstɪl f pɔs klqɪ Aqɪas qɪpl.Ab.fl. ɪml vl ɡel [ (Dɦ stɦfrf ɪes Xɦɪvrɪstɪl dw) [ ɔlɪss pVɦ mgrɦj ɔAɦsɪs hɦeAw as dw nɪw ɡɪsɪ, rɦ, nPrq, ɪG&w j wkw hr rɦKAw j wɪy ɪeh mɦPɦl w nɦɪɪkr sɦKAw [ ɪek ɡl sw& hɦɪk ɪeh ɪek v'fl swɪzS dw Awɪwz trɦb nɪklqɪ sl [ as mgrɦ hɦrl kɪrt qɪ SrDw rɪw ɪPl ɪrl, ɪPr mɦɪl Ef, ɪPr hrj ɔ Ebrwɪyqɦx ɪpsɔw [ jɪAb. ɡrɪwɪl, rɦɦl, sɦrj lq hɦs ɪes l Vl dw dlj w ɪsrw hn [ ɪesyl Vl ɪvc Aj jɦek hr ɔlɪss ɡɦrɦr mɦn (Amɦkɪ) dl vl ɪehzɦr hɦ [ as dw ɡwɦf vl mɦɪl Ef (Aɦtɪ-ɪsKprɪrk) hl hɦ [ apr ɪzkr klqɪ ɔlɪss dɪkw nɦɪɪqAw bɪrɪɪvcɦr hɦɪ ɪl KyAnsɦr hɦ:-

1. sB qɦpɦl wqɦ "Abstrɦkt" dw s&w hɦ [ as ɪvc l jk AwKdw hɦɪk sɪ ɡrɪŋd swɪhb dlAw sɪ ɡrɦArj n swɪhb qɦpɦl wɦqɦ pɦbɦrwɦ sn [ sɪ ɡrɦArj n swɪhb nɪanɦ f "ɦmAwrl" bɪwɦeAw [ l jk mɦwɦb sɪ ɡrɦArj n dɪ swɪhb nɪkɦɦfrɦPt ɪqAw rkrqɦqɪ AKɪr krqɦpɦrl blV f AwKrl frɦPt mɦzɦr klqɪ [ l jk sɦrɪɔlɪss ɪvc ɪkqɪvl swɦbq nɦɪɪkrdw ɪk pɦl ɦkɦl hr frɦPt vl sl [ ɪksɪ AɦDɦsmɦqɦvl aɦ ɪeh swɦbq nɦɪɪkrdw [ Xkɦn as dw ɦSɦw ɡɦrl swɦb dl kwbl lAq, rɦɦɦlAq, ɪel m aqɦɦl w kɦw hɦ [ l jk dw l &z "ɦmAwrl" (Standardization) bɪwɦx vl ad Jx ɪvc pɦwɦ vl w hɦ [ kl aɦ bɦxl f ɪksɪɦmAwr dw bɪw kɦsɦɦdn kɦ vl ɪeSɦw kɦ

irhw hY? j Wik Awm Dwrimk j W Adbl pKl as dyim Awr dl gl kr dw hY  
 ? dw W ivcl kel vl j W kul vl vj W heyp d iek gl qW swP hYk I Kk  
 grl swihb, grb wxl qygrlgr d swihb dl qhln krn dl kōSS kr irhw  
 hY [

s&w 1 qyil Kdw hYk "gr d" dw mql b "isrP ikqwb" h d hY  
 [ I Kk ešlAw dw qypl w b dw hō dybwj d epw bšmJ hYk g d I & z  
 hr ikqwb vwsqy nhllvriqAw j W dw, isrP Dwrimk ikqwb vwsqyvriqAw  
 j W dw hY [ S w s q r , grl sw Kl L & z vl Awm mw AinAW ivc nhllvrcqj W dy  
 [

s&w 2 qy j y Aš. grywl dl t k d x dl vl kel qk nhll [  
 isrP as dw nW d x vwsqy Aw W Brql klql gel hY [ Aw Krl I weln 'c  
 I Kk il Kdw hYk "ah (grl unink swihb) Awpxy Aw p f Akwl p r K dw  
 "mw d p l s" sm J d y s n q y i e s a q y X k l n k r k y a n W n y i e s f z b w n l q y  
 il Kql r b i v c s B w l x w c w i h A w h e g w [ i e s g l f I K k ' K j ' A w K d w  
 hY [ d j w , e Q y L & z m š j l r j W s p k s m h n h l l b l i k " m w a d p l s " p w g l p n  
 v r g l g l h Y j o l K k k y h C w p x q y q h l n k r n d y i e r w d y d w i e z h w r h Y [

s&w 3 qyah b w x l dl i e k t k d j d w h ' i l K y b w J h u s r i q n h l  
 b i l b i l g v i e l A y ' ( g r l g r d s w i h b , p l h w 5 6 6 ) q y i e s d w A r Q il K d w h Y  
 i k j y z b w n l b w x l r K l q W g u A w c j w e g l , il K x w z r l f l h Y [ i p S ō w k y g r l  
 i v c g r d l I g w i r h w h Y q y k e l s w l p j w d y D n q y p l d w i r h w h Y [ a s v l d  
 b w x l d y A n r Q k r n A i k b G x q w n h l l q W h r k l h Y [ i j s t k dl a h g l  
 k r d w h Y a h p l h w 5 6 5 q n S i r U h d l h Y ( v f h s m h l w p i h l w ) a s d w m w A n w  
 s w P s p S t h Y k " v i h g r l v l d ( k r m W i v c ) il K y b w J n s r i q ( i g A w n ,  
 s c d w c u n x ) n h l l h o s k d w q y & k l A W g l W ( b i l b i l ) ' c A s l i z l g l  
 g v W d y h W ' [ i e h i p S ō w i s t g dl b w x l f A w p x l J U l " K j " v w s q y g l q  
 m w A n y k F k y v r q x dl s w i j S h Y [

iqh s&y dl Aw Krl I weln j o s&w 4 qy j W dl hY ivc hr J ' K  
 m w r d w h Y [ a h il K d w h Y ' D h s u k w g d u k l m D h u D h u B W f w D h u m s u [ D h u

il Kurl nwnk ij in nwnil KwieAw scd' [ qllah mwanw k'Fdw hYik gurl  
 swihb nyil Kql rlb SruUkr id'qw sl j dlik ies tlik dw mwanw ieh hY  
 ik ah il Kurl, kl m, isAwhl, kwgz, isAwhl dw BWFw krmw/vwl w hldw hY  
 jos'cw nW, r'b dl is&q sl wh 'c il Kdw hY[ ies dynwl iek hr XBI I  
 mwr l hel hY(Q'l yPut not nibr 10) ik j obw xl dIAW kwplAW kr kyvcdy  
 hn, gurlj l anW f inldyhn hwl W ik vnr swrlty ivc il K il K vpcynwau  
 pffqW dyj wdlutkyvpcx qyitpxl hY[

s&w 5 qyPr bwxl dygl q mwanYkrdw hY[ "iqn kauikAw  
 apdSIAYij n gurlnwnk djar' epydjadw mwanw dx (nW) nhlnhYbl ik  
 ieh mwanw hYik 'ij nW f (hynwk) gurlnyhl (iel m) idqw hY(dja) anW  
 f vDrysmJwax dl zrltq nhlnhY[ gurlgld swihb dypthw 150 qyiesy  
 sl k qllAgl w (mhl w) ivc vl iehl ibAwn hY[ "Awip bwweysel bWjY[  
 ij s Awip swweyiqs sBuikC sWY' [ iPr bQvl dKQ I Kk AwKdw hlik  
 gurlAld swihb nyisr& 62 sl k il Kyqyah vl ies krkyij nW dw gurl  
 nwnk hYanW f hr bwxl dl zrltq nhln [ ikAw Kij hY?

plhw nibr 7 qyah gurlAmr dws j l dl tlik "bwxl q gwvhugurl  
 kryl, bwxlAW isir bwxl" ivc ah iek gurl dl bwxl vl ieSwrw kr dw hY  
 j d ik ieh Dir kl bwxl dymwAinAW ivc vriqAw igAw hY[ vwh Kij ey  
 [ as ieh igxw idqw ik gurlAmr dws nybwxl l &z 170 vwr l vriqAw  
 hYpr gurlnwnk swihb nyisrP 62 vwr l [ ieh Akwdimk 'Kj ' hY?

plhw 9 qy'kcl bwxl' Pr l &zl belmwnl dw iSkwr hY[ epy  
 Kwij ydw gwvh fflvlg ah Awpxyb& isKintlk mkl Ef (Altl-iskiezm  
 l ihr dw 'cyArmh') dyGVymwAnydldw hY[ ah 'kcl AwK vKwxl' f  
 "prcwrrn" AwKdw hY[ iek bcyf vl vKwxl sw& smJ Aw j lldw hY[

s&w 13 qy'iPr isK-intlk mkl Ef f grbwxl dymwAinAW dw

mwihr mth kyas dw qrzmw mnzlt klqw hY[ eQyas ny'gurbwxi khY  
 sykuj numwY f "j dltgrubwxi aicwrdw hYqyisk mthdw hY' dymwAinAW  
 ivc il Aw hYj dlt ik Asl mwAnw hY "j ogurbwxi AwKdl hYisk aIs qy  
 Aml krdw hY' hwl Wik s. gurbcn isIG qwil b, ipstlpl swihb isIG,  
 gpwl isIG, mnmlhx isIG dytkyiml dyhn pr ipStw isIG f mkl Ef qtl  
 vfw gurbwxi dw tikwkr hl nhln l Bdw [ iPr s&w 14 qyath AwKdw hY  
 ik grUArj n swihb nyj dlt Awpxy qtl pihl ygrUswihb dIAW pQIAW  
 (buxl dIAW) hwisl klqIAW qyanW dw mqwil AW klqw qW anW dw idl  
 prstW nwl Br igAw [ lKk dsxw cwhbW hYik grUArj n swihb ny  
 1581 qtl pihl Wbuxl pVll nhln sl j oanW pQIAW dw "mqwil Aw" krn  
 mgrUbwxi dypstsk bxy[ ieh grUArj n swihb f Al IV AwKx vrgl  
 hl gl nhln qW hr kl hY? iPr iesynkqyivc (s&w 15 q) iek hr  
 bQvl mwr l hYij s qtl pqw l gdw hYik Bwel ipStw isIG f nW qW grU-  
 qvwrIK dw pqw hYqynw buxi dymwAinAW dw pqw hY[ aIn hwil w idbW hY  
 ik rwg gj rl (pthw 186)" [ aIn AwKdw hYik grUArj n swihb kd  
 buxi dydoKrVypj y: iek bwp dw, iek dwdydw [ swbk grUdl f ieh vl  
 nhln pqw ik grUAmrdws aIs dydw dw j l nhln, nwnw j l sn [ Akgryzl  
 ivc "grUFPwdr" dw qikw qWcl j wxw sl pr buxi ivc qWsw& "Kd ifTw  
 Kzwnw" dw mql b swrySbd ivc dlt ik qypQIAW nhln ink l dw [ swrySbd  
 dw swr smJleyqWpqw l gdw hYik ^zwnw 'vwi hgrUdw num j pnw" hYnw  
 ik kEl pQl Prd xw [

s&w 15-16 qyath il Kdw hYik kw&l icr qtl is'KW ivc ieh  
 ivcwr mnzlt klqw j Wdw sl ik mlxAW vl ll buxi ivc Kot rl wax dl  
 swij S f m'dy-nzr rKidAW grUArj n swihb ny Awid gR dl bIV  
 iqAwr krwvel [ 'Kj l' AwKdw hYik ies ivcwr bwrykel smkw l sbbq  
 nhln iml dw [ aIn ies ivcwr f 18vln sdl dyis'KW dl sc AwKdw hY[  
 aIn kpr isIG iCbr dw "bSwvl Inwmw (1769) AqycpW isIG dw rihqnmw  
 (1765) f nw-mnzlt kr ky1848 ivc Cpl Awrcr dl g'l mth l bdw hY

ik 'is'KW nyiek ikqwb bxwax dw qh'elAw klqw hieAw sl" [ vnyrvwy j weley'Kj ' dyik j og'l is'KW 1765 'c il Kl, ah r'dl dl tkrl ivc qyj oAwrcr (gr'-is'K) ny1946 el. ivc AwKl ah snd [ ies qtlv'D bjhXwdl kl hoskdl hY?

s&w 20 qyath Pjr mkil Ef f v'fw swibq krn vwsqyr'j vlll qwrI& kr kyas f 'mhwv ivdvwn' qyis'KW f "Cotyidl vwl j' AwKx dl hrkq kr dw hY[ ah il Kdw hYik (s&w 21) Aj kypQ ivc ieh SryAwv nzzr Awatdw hYik Aw ml pVcd f isK Drm qyhml w smiJAw j Vdw hY[ Swied iesykr kyhl is'K skwl rWdw iek td w AwpxybcwA vwsqyrnl kōSS kr irhw hYik anWdi scxl 'c mihPlzhlxqw dw Aihsws Awswvnl nwl nzzr Aw j Vdw hY[ ienW ivc bhqym Shw ah bldyhn j oBwrcr skrw dyirtwief A&sr j WmFlsn dyfwktr hn [ ies dyipCkV ivc 1984 el. qtl bwAd dIAW GtnwW hn [ ieQyswbk grQI ieh swibq krnw cwhW hYmkil Ef nyj obkvis il Kl sl ah qWAKfFimk pVcd sl qykw Awel. ey A's. A&sr 1984 el. qtl mgrnl as dyip'Cy peyhoyhn [ ipSrw isG f pqw hoxw cwhldw hY ik 1975 el. qtl mgrnl hl (j dli mkil Ef nyis'KW qyv'fyhml ySirUklq) is'K skwl rz mkil Ef f ntyw krn l g peysn [ dlj w ipSrw ij s mkil Ef f "bwrlkl qy ivdvqw vwl w" Aqysj l dw Kj l AwKdw hY as nyj okPr qol Aw as clkw pš hn (cgyrhyik mkil Ef nykrqwrprl blv v'kl hl nhllsl):

1. Bwel bthovvl l blv Asl blv hY[
2. isKW nykrqwrprl blv 'cd "isK grldykš ktx vwl l rsm" k't id'ql sl [
3. krqwrprl blv bthovvl l blv qtl nkl klql gel sl, ieh kwpl hY[
4. grldgōbdl isG swihb nygrldgō swihb f gr-gdl nhll id'ql [ isKW nyAwpxyAwv ies f grUmbh il Aw [

5. pji kkw isIG sBw l ihr nyprvvn klqy [
6. Aj kl j dj ihd 'c Bwrq srkw Tlk h'qyisK gl q hn [ somkil Ef isrP Dm, gD, kl cr bwrhl nhln bl ik isAwsq bwrvyl "Avtl-isKiezm qihrlk" dw AwgUbxdw h'qyiPr vl ipSrw isIG as f "inrpK, stjldw, skw r" AwKdw h' [ drAsl ieh 'Kj ' nhln bl ik mkil Ef dy bykwb hoj wx mgrt, as f dbrw kwiem krn vsqyiqAwr klql ikqwb h' [ ies ivc nW qW Kj h' nw dl II , nw hklkq, nw qQ [ ies ivc isrP AAwzy qiky gpW, bQvIAW, QQyiPkry gl q qrj mw qykel j gH iek dj ydyal t g'l W vl hn [ atj idl csp gl ieh h'ik Kad ipSrw isIG mkil Ef f kel j gH gl q swibq kr j Wdw h' [

kl irtwierf Awel. ey A's. A&sr j W hr ivdvvn Dm qy &l s&ydysskw r nhln hoskdy? ipSrw isIG dl ivdvq dw imAwr qW idsdw hl h' [ hoskdw h'ain iel m dypKN alw hwypr kel vl Awl m &wzl iksvl ivSyqyKj kr skdw h' [ ieh qW XBl l mwrn vwl l g'l h'ik Amkw Awel. ey A's. j W m'f'f' f'w'ktr h' [ Aij hy&qvydx dl ibj weyjenW awl mW dynkiqAW dw j vwb dpxw chwldw h' (j yj vwb h'eyqW) [ s&w 23 qybxwieAw igAw nkSw vl AAwizAW qyhl KVH h' [ g'iektvwl dIAW pQIAW qH bW Ad aih iek dm gurUnw XhIvrstl dyKrVw n'br 1245 qy Awatdw h' [ Bgq bwxl qy hr gurU bwxl bwrVrVv vl aih AAwizAW ivc hl r'K l Wdw h' [ Asl b'el mwnl eQDhl SrUhoj Wdl h' [ ies swij S f aGvNw sB qH v'D zrl' h' [ ipCl y 383 swl iv'c (1604 qH 1987) ieh bIV ikqyl kl rhl qyAcwnc 1987 ivc prgt kr id'ql gel qyain vl A'f'm'qsr dyiek d'kwndwr rwhln [ cpyrhyik j th 1984 'c is'K rPr'ls l wiebryl dl iemwq swVj wx mgrt l wiebryl s'Aw h' hoj wx dw crcw cil Aw sl [ kel kVgrsl vl m'hdyn ik as r&r'ls l wiebryl dIAW bhqIAW clzW Bwrq srkw dl Pj kd hn [ Acwnc 1987 ivc iek p'w'xl h'Qil Kq bIV l B kyAl wn kr idqw

igAw ik "Awid gnd dw sB qn pihl w KrVw I B ipAw hY" [ 30 mwrC, 1987 f ieh KrVw Xthlvristl dl I wiebryl ivc phllcAw Aqyasyswl ipSrw islg nyKj Srllkr id'ql [ kl ieh swij S nhll sl ik aIs KrVy f Kns qf qyies mkSD vwsqyil Alldw igAw qWj oipSrw islg iek qW mkil Ef f "mhwn" swbq kr skyqyis'K ivdvwnW f I I Upj UAY wn kr dyv Aqy Awid gnd dymwx qy siqkr f fig ky is'KW f Dm, SrDw, &I s&ydyPKllnksin phllwieAw j w sky [ pr swj Sl mkil Ef, hrj q Ebrwey ipSrw islg qyAwll-is'K skll dl swij S kmXwb nhll hiel [ p'g blhky grllGr 'c gnd rih ky pj w dw Dm Kw kyipSrw Bwel vrgy ikhynlvjldrj yq'k j w skdyhn [

hix Bwel ipSrw dIAWQDIAWdl II WvKok ikvJah (mkil Ef nykrqwrprl bIV dw mwx Gtwax I el blhodl bIV shl qypihl I Awkl sl) krqwrprl bIV f r'd krn vwsqyKrVw nllr 1245 f shl qypihl I bIV swibq krn dl nllm kISS krdr hY [ I Kk dyieh nkqyivcwrn Xg hn :-

1. KrVy'c 1267 vrkyhn [ Xwnl grllArj n swihb Aj yies qykh kr rhyhxy [ ik ieh dl II hY [ kel Aij hy KrVy chlfgVh Almbqsr, pitAwl y'c peyhxy ij hW 'c ies qllv'D vrkyhxy [ iPr qWah ies qllvl pihl Wdy KrVyhxy [
2. rvgW dl qraqb vKrl hY [ kl ieh dl II ies f prwxw KrVw swibq krdr hY?
3. Agyies ivc kel Sbd AByhn ij nll ivcNkw krqwrprl bIV 'c 'sDy heymhcdw hY [ ieh ikauhlln hoskdw ik 1245 'c mgrllgl q nkl klqw igAw hwy [
4. ies ivc Bgq bwxl nhllhY [ ipSrw islg f ieh nhllpqw ik grllgrnd swihb qllBgq bwxl vK krn dl j r'Aq qWpk Kwl sw dlvrn (qj w islg Bsw) nyvl klql sl [ Aij hIAW

kiSSW XklInn KrVw n1br 1245 vj yqN mgrt vl h1IAW  
rhIAW h1xglAW [

ies ivc swij S dw iek k1w iPKrw hYik 'bgmpirw Sihr kw  
nwat Aqy'gpwl qrw Awrqw' krqwrpiri bIV ivc mgrt p1elAW gelAW [  
ah ies v1sqyklqw igAw ik cmwr qyj 't isK Drm 'c Swiml hoj wx [  
ipS1rymqwibk grlswihb nyieh 'd1B' klqw sl [ ieh d1B hl sl ik "Dir  
kl b1xl" 'c iek j 't qyiek cmwr dySbd ies inSwynwl pweyik d1hW  
ibrwdrlAW 'c d1cy jvDwey j wx [ ipS1rw Bwel f ieh pqw h1w cwhldw hY  
ik Awid gr1D 'c Bgq rvld1s dy40 sl k hn qyBgq D1hW dy4 sl k  
[ ies I Jk dw epw vl m1hx qyidl nh1lklqw ik j y39 sl k pihl 1pwey  
hn qWiek XklInn, mgrt1ml x kr kybwAd 'c Swiml klqw igAw h1egw  
[ grlswihb qyAij hynlc iel z1m, b1binAwid hl nh1l1bl ik iek swij S  
hY [

5-6 qy7 nkqyj 1dl II W p1s kr dyhn ah Q1IAW hn [ anW  
idnW 'c klqIAW kwplAW XklInn ikSqW ivc h1IAW h1xglAW [ ies krky  
1245 n1br KrVw j d1nk1 klqw igAw h1egw as kwiqb dl kmzrl kr  
kyAij hw hieAw h1egw [

8 nkqw vl h1shlxw hY [ a dl j gh E, j WC dyn1grl dw h1w  
ieh swibq kr dw hY ik qwb p1j w b1 d1r dl h1ey [

ieW hl I Jk 27 s&w qyBwel b1Fw dl h'Q il Kq "mgrt p1el"  
m1hdw hY (hoskdw hY AwK k) ikat1k vrnw ieh KrVw Cyj1p1wqSw h dyvj y  
dw bx j wx sl [ b1bw b1Fw Cyj1p1wqSw vj yij aldy sn [

ieW hl I Jk "cDypqryqygr1hr g1b1 swihb dl hQ il Kq" f  
vKrw kwgz AwK k ymgrt p1w1eAw AwKdw hY [ ah ieh AwKdw hY ik ah  
il Kq grlqg bh1dr swihb vrgl hY [ kl ah KrVw grlqg bh1dr  
swihb dyvj ydw nh1lhoskdw ? kwiqb nykwpl iqAw kr kygrlswihb  
kl hQ il Kq, KrVydl p1klzgl vDwax dl SrDw nwl vKrykwgz qy  
il Kw1el h1ey?

s&w 28 qy1 Jk AwKdw hY ik KrVy'c p1j grlswihbwn dyj q1

j q smwax dIAW qwrIKW hn qyAwKrl (grUArj n swihb j l dl) asy  
kwiqb nymgrtl il Kl hegl [ SwbS ies Kj dy[ I Yk f 'iel hwm' ho  
igAw ik ah qwrIK mgrtl hl il Kl hegl [

iesys&yqyhr bQvl mwrl hæl hYik "Bwel girdws nymgrtl  
Awpwx ^q sDwr il Aw hej" [ ieh nhll ik 1245 nibr KrVw vwl w  
kwiqb, Xwl kopl krn vwl w, kæl nv-isiKAw j WApthn hegw [ gl  
qW, hr hwl q ivc, dIB f sc swibq krn dl nwj wicz kãSS hY [ qiky  
Akwzy Pšl y iPkry ikAws ArwelAW Kj nhll hdy [ Bwel pSrw ies  
KrVyf CyVj j WnQygrUswihbwn qñpihl W dw swibq qW nhll kr sikAw  
pr ieh zrt swibq kr igAw hYik ieh 'Kj " nhlliksy "vfl swij S" dw  
iek Aihm ihs w zrt hY [

1245 nibr KrVw bwyikqysbtq nhlliml dw ik ieh 1604 el.  
qñ1987 el. qk 383 swl ikQyrhl [ ies dyl Yk, qwrIK, kwiqb qy  
hr swrw kw ivclkw vl nhll [ iPr vl ies f krqwrpr vwl l blV qñ  
pihl W dl mth l kw vlvll sdl dl sB qñ vfl Akwdimk swij S hY [  
Xklnn ies ipCy zrt kæl vfw hQ hl hegw [

elswel pndrl imSnrl mkl Ef dl ies f srprsqi iksykñlqrl  
swij S vl ieSwrw kr dl hY [ ies ivc k& k& Swiml hY? anW dy  
bykwb hox dl SirAWq aQñ hl hoj wegl ij Qñ l k ies j wAl l-Kj l dl  
hmwieq krn j Was dl sPwel pš krn dl kãSS krngy [

## Allmġ karw ibiKAw mTI grqj isĊ, pB&sr Aw& is'Kiezm

AKwx hYik j dNmIsIbqWAwatDIAWhn qWiek-iek krkynhll  
bl ik fwrW bllh-bllhAwatDIAWhn [ k'cyGVyaqynll ivc iT'I ĩk I 'gl  
shxl Awl y-dAwl ynzr mwrđl hēl kihll hY "A'j qPwn hnyrl C'I WsB  
nykrl sl wh, ieh vl pwpX dnIAW vlgllptq dw rkx rwh" [ esyqrW  
A'j ij s pwsyvl ingwh mwrq kēl n kēl Kwł sydw isdk prKx I el Pn  
Pv wēl KVll hY[

Aj dw msl w btwl w imSn dysk ihallmkl waf dl imhrbwll  
sdkw 1975 ivc aiTaw [ ies Aġryz pwrđl I el elswel mq dyvWdy  
Kwqr AqyBwrq dl rñj sl sm'isAw dyp'kyisAwsl h'I vwsqy isKl  
dIAWcld ivl 'Kxqvwlf ml IAwmyt krnw zrl'I sl [ ies nysk grllgll  
swihb aqyiek zbrdsq hml w ieh il KkyklqW : 'krqwrprl bIV dy  
kel ih'sybVykWjFllg nwl msysgeyhn ... j wpdw hYik bllhovvl I hl Asl I  
bIV hYaqykrqwrprl bIV as dw slKp rlp hY[ kw ih'syimtW id'qygey  
ikatl'k ieh bWAd ivc bxl pllk pirAwdw dyAnkl nhllsl [ epw ku  
qWsp'St hl hY [ 1979 ivc ies pB&rk nyil iKAw, 'grllArj n ny  
sB qllpihl Wbllhovvl I bIV il Kwvel [ ivc-ivcwl ysD dyinSwll vvl I  
krqwrprl bIV nYj s ivcllkw sm'grl k'F id'ql gel hY[ 1989 el.  
ivc ies nymll dlj ypsykr il Aw Aqyil iKAw, 'dnWdw myl krn nwl qW  
iehl j wpdw hYik bllhovvl I bIV Asl hYj oBwel gurdws nyil Kl sl [  
I jkn sB j wxdyhn ik bllhovvl qW 1642 elsvl ivc il Kl gel sl' [  
ieatl'is'Kl dyDrysll grllgll swihb aqyies dypihl yh'l ydw Aġj hieAw  
[ trlp qllbwAd j goj g Atl grllaqyieh sB qllvfw hml w sl [  
mFl yqr aqymkl waf ny rumkl I rñg dy Sbd aqyhVqwl

Pryn dw dS I wieAw sl hwl Wik sB ivdvn j wxdyhn ik ieh q'Q gl q  
 hY [ ah isD krnw chw hwl sl ik isK bwhrl kwrnw krkygrbwxl ivc  
 vWdW-Grtw krdr rhyhn [ mK mksd sl ik grlg gD swihb dl Asl bIV  
 f AwKp isD krky isK isDlq ivc Bbl Bly dw rwh Ktl AW j wvy [  
 bclmwn dl hd ieh sl ik as nyaprKq sB kw il Kx qtlpihl Wnw qW  
 bthobIV f vjKAw Agynw hl krqwrprl bIV f [ 1968 ivc Cpl Bwel  
 j D isIG dl psqk Aqy1987 ivc Cpl s. dl j lq isIG dl ikqwb ivc  
 ies q'Q f JitI wieAw igAw hYik iksyAij hySbd auqyhVqwl Prl gel  
 hY [ s. dl j lq isIG dl prnxlk ikqwb Cpx qtl ies nyBw il Aw ik kwT  
 dl hWfl dbrw nhllcVllskdl ikatlk ies nydnw f nZRAtwz klqw sl  
 [ ies l el ies auqyvj b iel zwm l 'igAw sl ik as nypRwixk qQWqtl  
 l WBy w kykPr qtl Aw hY [ 1990 ivc Bwel bthovvl l bIV f Asl swbq  
 krn dw dwAvw vips l k dw iehwAsl kwrn sl [ KqI dygl l 'g ky  
 prql GimAwrl nybAwn klqw ik as nyBwel j D isIG dl ikqwb pVhky  
 ieh ivcwr bdil Aw hY [ pr Bwel swihb j D isIG dl psqk qW1968  
 ivc Cpl sl Aqy1975 vwl l mkl waf dl ikqwb ivc ies dyhvw yqtl  
 sp'St hYik 'sll krqwrprl bIV dydrSn' dyq'QWqtlmkl waf SirUqtl hl  
 vnk& sl [ kyI esyg'I qtl hl ies dyisDw bclmwn hx dw Atwz w l 'g  
 j Wdw hY [ r'sl sV gel, pr v't nw igAw [ Akwdimk dnIAW ivc  
 bclmwn qtlmkr hxw zrtI sl, pr ivclidl sw& nw hieAw [ 'rth B'j  
 vVybiqKwny qy'zwhr ij sm inwuj l' [ sodbrw ipSrw isIG rwhllsll grl  
 gD swihb f FwA l waix dw isl isl w SirUklqw igAw [ as nymkl waf  
 dl dK-rK hYt Awpxw pl.Ab.fl. Qliss il iKAw ij s ivc trlb dl rth f  
 dbrw ij hwl klqw igAw [

ieiqhw gwih hYik sll rwm rweymsl mwn dl QW bclmwn pVh  
 krky(il Kx krkynhl) grlGr qtlCkygeysn qydsvtl pwaqSw ny'ky dl  
 QW'ky pVh vwl yisk f Btf kyspSt klqw sl ik grbwxl dl qk, mwaqwr,  
 kthw, hWw Awid bdl xw vl isKl isDlq auqyhml w krnw hY [

Kj -p'qr (Qliss) j W  
**Aid sk grlgD swhb qyis'Dw hml w**  
**grqj isG p&sr Aw& isKiezm**

iek sdi qn vl vD smW hocikw h'lj d qn isK m'q bwry Bl Ky  
 pwaax l el An'k'W k'issW ho rhlAW hn [ kdy nkl l grlgD swhb  
 il Kweygey kdyrihq mirXwv bwryik'k'Uklqygey kdymlt bwrySikw  
 a'w'el gel, kdykkw'W bwry kdyAl'm'k' Ckwaax dl ivDI bwryqy'kdyhr  
 An'k'W p'k'W bwry [ 1984 ivc nll w q'w'w Ap'sn sm'lj q'w swrl isK r'Pr'is  
 l wiebry l hl swv id'q' gel q'w'ik nw rhyb'ls qynw bj yb'lsrl [ Xwv rhy  
 ik 1965 qy 1971 dIAW p'iks qm nwl l Vw'elAW sm'lj vl p'iks qm nyst  
 hirm'k'lr swhb j l dl piv'qrqw dw iKAw l r'Kdy h'ey b'lw'rl nhll'kl'q  
 sl [ ivd'SW ivc pl.Ae.fl (fw'k'tr AwP iPl ws&l) dIAW ifgrlAW vl  
 is'K Drm dl Kj krn vwil Aw'f v'w'fIAW gelAW [ ies ivSyqy Qliss  
 s'w'w'DI is'K ivd'vw'w' dl 30 ml'brl kmyt l bxl h'lj oAk'w' dimk p'Dr qy  
 is'K Drm dybin Aw'dl As'w' W qy b'w'xl (ij s f is'K Drm ivc 'Dr' kl  
 b'w'xl ikhw igAw h) s'w'w'DI S'kyp'bw krn vwil Aw'f a'qr dy'gl [ ieh  
 p'isqk ies p'is'v'vl in'w'w'w' j j'w' Xqn h'lj j s f isK p'w' vl n'Brv'W h'w'w'w'  
 iml n dl Aw'sw h'lj [

eny p'rn'w'x h'w'w'Aw ip'S'w' is'G il Kdw h'vik gr'U'Arj n nym'w' ml'w'r  
 (j W m'k'lj w'w'w'w') f Aw'K'rl Skl dy q'n p'ihl W kel KrVyb'w'w'ey [ gr'U'w'w'nk  
 dy X'hl'vristl k'w' p'ihl l b'lv h'lj s ivc Aw'K'rl Skl dy q'n p'ihl W dw  
 ml'w' ml'w'r drj h'lj [ ies ivc 'p'ir'K' l & z b'w'Ad ivc p'w'ieAw igAw ij s  
 q'n spSt h'lj ik gr'U'Arj n dy sm'lj q'n p'rn'w'q'w' dw p'ir'K s'rl'p p'c'il q  
 h'ieAw j d'w'ik gr'U'w'w'nk dy dy sm'lj q'n b'w'Ad isK Drm isD'w'q Aqy isK  
 p'w'w' dw bdil Aw' h'w' l Aw' ieat' spSt hoj W'w'w' h'lj [ iesyqr'w' gr'U'w'w'nd'w's ny  
 ml'w' ml'w'r ivc 'inrv'f' l & z p'w'ieAw j o'ik ah'n'w' dy Gr'lj U'iv'r'D ivc

inrvr rihx d w stck hY[ pr swbq krn l el as pr pbrw f cktql dyl  
 pvgl ij s Answr ml mtr grlnwk dl rcnw hY[ ieadliskl isDlq  
 ivc nvl stkl p j w/y.. AwKrl KrVyivc grlArj n nysiqgr pswid  
 (scygrldl ikpw) f 'gr pswid ( gr dl ikpw) kr idqw [ hr l & z  
 AqyCkl bkl bdl x dykel iel j m grlhztr auqyl wldw hieAw ieh gr  
 inlkl il Kdw hY 'kw Kj l j pj l swihb dyAwKrl sl k f grlnwk dl  
 nhll bl ik grlAld dl rcnw mlhdyhn' Aqyah 'Kj l' mkl waf dw  
 hvwl w idklw hY[

grlntkl ipSrw istG swbq krnw cihklw hY[ (1) ik grbwxl  
 is'K bcnW Aqyis'K mncq Answr 'Dir kl bwxl' nhll bl ik diinAwvl  
 p'K pln vrsqgyhy-bgwhyrcl gel kivqw hY[ (2) ik pj vl pwwSwh  
 Aqybwkl grlswihbn nyvl in'j l l W Answr is'K isDlq f qV-mV ky  
 plc'l q klqw ; (3) ik grlglw swihb f is'K Drm isDlq j wxn l el  
 pknxik nhll ml nAw j w skdw [ ieh grl isDlq Aqyis'K m'q isDlq  
 auqymkl Bwvwn ql pl r q wlyhml yhn, ij hnWdw Akwdimk sqtrqw Aqy  
 il Kx qyKj x dl Awzwdl nwl dtr dw vl stkl nhll [ hr sp'St AwKley  
 qWis'K Drm dlAW j Vw ivc qy dx dl kiSS klql gel hYqW ik dSry  
 DrmWdl swrQkqw f Alc nw Awv' [

Biel girdis j l Pirmatdyhn:

ij alkr stj inkil Aw qwryCpyADr pl Aw

ieh mtrv hr vl spSt hoj Wdw hYj dW Asllj wxdyhW ik hml y  
 dw iek AwDwr hYhQ-il Kq nM 1245 j oik grlnwk dy Xthlvristl ny  
 1987 ivc bwzwr muel syW ivcl Krdl sl [ ieh aQyikvyl phlcl, iks  
 nyphlcl, ikall phlcl ies dw qW Kj aprtl hl pqw cl gw, pr epl ku  
 j wxkwl qW hYik ieh 1984 dyG l Guryql bwAd plgt hel [ cgyrhyik  
 Ah as vl yj dW ik isK rPrts l wiebryl ivc plpq sB prwqn blW  
 Agn Byt klqlAW j w ciklAW j Wsrkwl kbzyivc l elAW j w ciklAW sn

ieh h'Q-il Kq prgt hæl [ kbzyivc l el sm'grl dw msl w as vj y  
 dypDwn mltlrl kd aaiTAW sl AqybVI aml d sl ik vwp sl huj wvgl pr  
 Aj yq'k kw nhllnkiil Aw [ drbwir swihb auqyhml yqll kel idn bwAd  
 ikqub Gr swVn dw ikqyiehomltv qWnhllnsl ? elswel m'q nwl sbbDq  
 f'f' sl krl 0 qWpjl wh swl bwAd vl gppq r'Kjy w rhyhn pr is'K Drm  
 auqyhml yl el ies h'Q-il Kq f qrltj vrg il Aw igAw [ vihVkw Klh  
 ivc if'g ipAw hYqWnQ vl huxypw l el j wvydl Bivnw ADIn ieh hieAw  
 [

ies hQ-il Kq dl hr qwrIP ieh hYik ies auqykæl qwrIK  
 nhlln il Kl hæl [ nw il Kwrl dw Aqw-pqw hY [ il Kwrl nyCyjl pwiqSw  
 dw (JTW scil) inSwm iek pthyaucyicpkwieAw hYij s qlzwhr hYik ah  
 ies f Gt-Gt Cyjl pwiqSw vj yil Kl gel p'cl q krnw cwhllw hY [  
 ipSrw isIG dw AwpXw m'q hYik ieh inSwm Swied nwyjl pwiqSw dw hY [  
 Aij hl hQ-il Kq f ipSrw isIG krqwrprl blV qlpihl Wdw il iKAw asy  
 dw KrVw ibnW hll hij q dyJ't p'win kr l Wdw hY [ ah ieh vl p'win kr  
 l Wdw hYik ieh hQ-il Kq il Kl vl Bwel girdis j l dl hY [ ieh zrl'f sl,  
 nhlln qW ikvyl d'isAw j Wdw ik KrVw il Kx vwl yisK kd W hl krqwrprl  
 blV ikatllnw il Kwvel gel [ ies mSiki f h'l krn l el ipSrw isIG  
 il Kdw hYik Bwel girdis nykrqwrprl blV ivc AwpXl h'Q-il Kq f  
 sDwr il Aw sl [ S'kr hYik an nyieh vl nhllnikhw ik Bwel girdis ny  
 DKw dx l el ies KrVyf iksyhr dl h'Q-il Kq ivc il D id'qw hwygw  
 [ 'ATI s ieth v'f'rl W'f' ivc qW s dygd ydw vkll kihllw hYik bgwvq  
 krwax vwl l ic'TI gd ynyhlln il Kl ikatllk ieh as dl h'Q il Kq ivc  
 nhlln hY [ ivrDI vkll kihllw hYik v'koieh gd w ikllw D'iq Aqymkw  
 hYik as nyicTI AwpXl hQ il Kq ivc nhlln il Kl [ ipSrw isIG p'kwx  
 isrP ieh pS kr dw hYik ies hQ-il Kq ivc l gw-mwqrW qlt ibnW  
 girmkl il Kl hYj oik gurUnnk qlt pihl W p'cl q sl [ v'ryv'ryj weley  
 swdgl dy [ myrybw j l srdwr elSr isIG vl gurUnnk swihb qlt pihl W  
 heyswbq h'lyhn ikatll uatn vl l gw-mwqrW nhlln sn vraqdy ip'f'W ivc

kl qk ibnWl gW-mwqrWqnl fypk'l q sn [ vko! ikvjAwk'S vj f  
p'qy Pil Aqy&l l gyhn [

ies dw grUkihtw sl Bwel bthovvl l bIV Asl hY ikatik as  
ivc sm'grl krqwrpirl bIV nwl t'v'D hY[ hix grUdl sihmql nwl cy w  
kihtw hYik nvll hQ-il Kq 1245 Asl KrVw hY ikatik as ivc  
sm'grl G't hY[ kf'l icq pvyqWmll ij iqAw pt AwvyqWqsll hury[  
elswel mq dl Ajll qkrlbn 1400 swl ivc mktlhl hæl sl, bID Drm  
dyapdS mhwcmm qls0swl bwAd kl mbtl hey kurwn SrIP f hzrq  
mhtlhd swihb qlbwAd iekTww klqw igAw [ elsw mslh dyphvvl apdS  
dw elsw dyj nm qtl pihl Wdw KrVw vl iml dw hY[ iehnWswryDrm gRdW  
dl pVcd pRwxlk pRwxlAW il KqW nwl klql j w skdl hY[ aQyieh  
pVcd j wiez hY[ Pr vl bVy Trlhy Aqy izlhyvrl nwl klql j Vdl hY  
ikatik krWl kWdlAW BwvnnvWnw! ies dw sbID hhtw hY[ pr is'KW dw  
kl hY ieh qW Aj kl Hij ax dyh'k qtl vl vWYhn [

sl grUgRd swihb qW pjl vjl piqSwih nyAwp il KwieAw hY [  
il Kviax dw iek kurwn ieh vl sl ik AwKp k'cl bwxl grUswihbwn dy  
nW hYt p'cl q horhl sl [ zwihr hYik k'cl bwxl nwl grUgRd dw mj  
krnw isDw kPr hY[ j ogurUnwk piqSwih nyacwirAw sl, ahopjl vjl  
piqSwih nybIV ivc drj klqw, bwkl sB kcl bwxl hY[ krqwrpirl bIV  
dl, grUgRd dl ivl Kxqw iehohYik ieh ibnW SilkyDir kl bwxl dw Asl  
snw hY[ kl Shtxl girdiAww pbdk kmyt l AqyqKqWdyj QdurWqtl amld  
r'Kleyik ah k&r f Tl Hpwaxgy? sbswr dysdlvl kil Awx l el sl grU  
gRd swihb dw ivl Kx srp j go-j g Atl rihxw zrhl hY[

Awl cniqimk AiDAh

**^j dynWqyDrm inlDaw**

pil mñj lq isG is'DU

“eyfu altw hwl kie ] iqs altw kauj wxl sie ]”

pRnwqmw f isr& ah hl smJ skdw hYj oas vllg hl mhwn qy  
 srv-sfST hwy[ grbwxl pRnwqmw dyainnWSbdWdw rþ hYj ois'K grIAW  
 dymwiDAm rwhln idStwel gel hY[ grlj l dl imhr AqyApwr dwq qñ  
 bgf pRnwqmw dyiehnWSbdWdl ivAwIKAw krn dw Xqn krnw Asmwn  
 ivc afdypICIAWdyDrql qypldyprCwvlf prVn dl inAwel hY[ ipSfW  
 isG dw Kj -p'qr 'dl tkst Aif mlinhg Aw& dl Awid gnd' vl kw ies  
 qrWdw hl aprwl w hY[ grbwxl dl ivcwrDwrw f CitAwax dw ieh sB  
 qñInVnqm Xqn hY[ ipSfW isG nyies Kj p'qr rwhln pil mkl waf  
 dl prwxl Srw b f nviAW bql Wivc hl nhllpwieAw sgn ahnWvllg hl  
 grbwxl dl piv'qrqwf bhq hl sKm Flg dAurw Bly krn dykwyXqn  
 vl klqyhñ [ ipSfW isG nyieh gl qWsvlkr klql hYk j l.bl. isG  
 nykrqrpr vw l grlgnd swihb dl biv f pRnwixk nw mth kyAwriAw  
 smwj IAWdl scxl dl ip'T Tkl hYpr Kad fw. mkl waf dl Kqrnk sc  
 f AgyvDwax ivc kel hrz nhllsmiJAw ikatkk pil mkl waf as dl  
 pl.Ab.fl. dl ifgrl l el sprwelzr sl [

fw. mkl waf pjlwb ivc j d elswel imSnrl sBQw dw pbcwrk sl  
 q ah smJdw sl ik elswel imSnrl Agthl bwxl dyigAwn dw tukrw nhll  
 kr skxgyAqyies f elswel m'q dypbcwr l el ah iek rk smJdysn  
 [ ies l el as nygrbwxl ivc drsweyplkwSmel igAwn ivruD mnGVq  
 SllkAw dw j wl bxnw SirUkr id'qw [ grlgnd swihb dl krqrpr vw l  
 biv dymk wbl jivc as nyBwel btho vw l biv f pRnwink hox dw AV wn

bgf iksyKj dyAwdw qykr idqw Agyscuel qW ieh h'ik j d as ny  
 ieh Al wn klqw qWas smj'q'k as nydw w blVW ivc l iksydyvl drSn  
 nhll klqy sn [ ipSf w isIG ny vl fw. mkl walf dw SrDwl Uhx dynwqy  
 Awpxygrlvlg hl Aksr ieiqhisk q'QWdl qV-mrW klql hY[ pihl W  
 iek Atkl p'clij hl Dwrnw KVll klql gel AgyiPr ies dydAWl yvvr-  
 vvr l thycV/yqrk qydl ll Wdl GthxGrI KVll krkyAhtj ieh pBiv dx dl  
 kiSS klql gel h'ik ArB ivc j oingkl ij gl Blmkw id'ql gel sl, ah  
 vl ij vjk el ieiqhisk scuel hwy[ mkyqyKw sw pQ dl isrj nw Auid  
 boryieiqhisk q'QWdyivrD ivc Awpxl igxl-imQl sc Answr Aij hy  
 SikyKVyklqyqWk grbwxl dyAgthl igAwn ivc Awn l kW dl SrDw f  
 GtwieAw j w sky[ ies klh l el as nykw Aij hyivAkql vl iqAwr  
 klqj opqw nhll ika l Awpxl njk-nlql qyiemwduwl nwl smJqy krn  
 l el vl rwzl hogej[ Aij hyivAkql hl hx mthryhokysis'K Dm Agy  
 ies dIAW piv'qr rvwieqW qyvvr-vvr hml ykr rhyhn [

ipSf w isIG dw ieh swaxw ik grlArj n dy j l nymll -mlbr  
 f sD kyies f mj dw rp idqw hY srwsr grbwxl dyrbl rp hx f  
 vlyrxw hY[ ah ieh vl dwAvw krdw h'ik grlArj n dy nymll -mlbr  
 f inj l grldl Dwrnw dyAnkl bxw id'qw j d ik grlwnk Awkr rihq  
 r'bl grl ivc ivSwis rKdysn [ as dw kihxw h'ik grlwnk Awkr  
 rihq rbl grl ivc ivSwis rKdysn as dw kihxw h'ik grlwnk dws ny  
 'inrlkr' Sbd f 'inrvf' ivc bdl idqw qW ik Asl j lvn dyivrDqw  
 vvl yhwl wq dw ipAwr Agydsq dl Bivnw nwl mkwbl w klqw j w sky[

ieh AgyAij hIAW hr kel DwrnwVlj oipSf w isIG dyKj -pqr

ivc drsuelAW gelAW hn, anW qñ ies gl dyslkq idqygeyh ik  
 grbwxl kæl rbl iel hwm nw hokyiek Awm kuiv-mel ikkq hl hYij s  
 ivc smYqyhwl wq Answr qbdll l klql j Wdl rhl hY[ ies qrWkrky  
 ahnWnygrlUnnk dy dyies vvr-vvr AweykOn f JwTl wax dl kóSS  
 klql hYij s ivc d'isAw igAw hYik grbwxl dw iel hwm r'bl hY[ grll  
 gñ ssihb dypthw 722 qygrlUnnk dy &rmwalyhn ik hyl wl o mllah  
 hl bcn krdu hWj o pñwqm mYf krn l el kihldw hY[ pñw 763 qy  
 AWkq hYik mYl Awpxi kæl Awvuz nhll j owl acwrn klqw hY ah as  
 pñwqm dy hkm Answr hl klqw hY[ pñw 308 qy &rmwAw hYik  
 siqgrldl bwxl f sc krkyj wxq ikalik pñwqm ieh acwrn krn l el  
 kih irhw hY[

ies qñ pihl W ik ipStw isIG j W as nyhr AniAwel grllgñ  
 ssihb dl tkst, ies dyArQ Aqyieiqhws sbbDI kæl Kj kw kurj Sirl  
 krn, ahnWf cuhldw hYik ah ies ieiqhws Dwrnw f pñw krn ik  
 grlAWnyah hl bwxl acwrn klql ij s f pñwqm nymnkqwk phlcwax  
 l el hkm klqws l [ kæl vl Kj adllqk shl nhllkhl j w skdl j dlq'k  
 ik ah ies mFl l scwel f mth kyAgynhllqrdu [ ij vYelswel mq j W  
 iesl um dw kæl vl AiDAh awl dy qk ADlw hY ij thl dy ah elsw  
 msh j Wmthhd ssihb f pñw svlkr nhllkrdu [ Tik asyqrWiskW  
 dyDwirimk gñ sbbDI iksvl Kj j w ivcw f pñw nhll klqw j w skdw  
 j d qk ik isK grlAW f rb dydtq dyqñ qyprvwn nhll klqw j Wdl [  
 ipStw isIG dl AsPl qñ dw kwrn hl ieh hYik as f grlUnnk Aqyas  
 dyj wSln grlAW f pñw mthx ivc mSKl pS Aw rhl hY[ as dykihx  
 Answr grlUnnk AwpxyAw f Akwl prK dw bl wv smJdysn [ ies  
 dw Biv eh hieAw ik ah grlUnnk Akwl prK dysht qñ qybl wrynhll  
 sn Aqykyl bl wryhx dw dwAvw hl krdysn [ ieh ml gl ql hl as

dl Kij f iek Bil qndj l Bil v' l f iK'cl qrl j Vdl hY[ ipS0w isIG  
 dl gl ql hr vl gWl dnr ies krkybx gel ikalik as nyKj dl tk  
 iek Aij hl il Kq f bxwieAw hYj o 1987 el. ivc gurUnnk dy  
 Xhivristl nyAlmkqsr dybizwr muel syw dyfil r hrBj n isIG Aqy  
 hrcrn isIG cowl w qnKrdl sl [ ies il Kq qynw kel qurIK Amkq hY  
 nw il Kx vwl ydw nW Aqynw hl kel Aij hyinSun hn ij s qn ik ies  
 il Kq f gurAW dykw nwl j oVAw j w skypr ipS0w isIG ies Dwrnw f  
 l YkyqirAw hYik ieh il Kq as kw dl hl ibkVq krdl hYj oik shl  
 nhllhY[ AwpxyKj -p'qr dyplhw 4 qyipS0w isIG ies g' l dl sBvrvw  
 vl pgt krw hYik hoskdw hYik gurUnnk dy nyAwpxyj lvn kw  
 d0rn hl AwpxlAW rcnrvW Amkq kr id'qlAW h0x, ikalik as smj dy  
 bhq swryDwrimk AnglAW vlg ah AnpVthhlnsn [ Bwel gndws nyvl  
 ieh vrnx klqw hYik gurUnnk AwpxyimSnrl d0rAW d0rn iek ikqub  
 Awpxykd r'Kdysn [ ipS0w isIG nyieh vl mflnAw ik SrDwl Uis'KW  
 ivc Awpxw rsIK vDwax l el kel hr vK0-vKrygrip vl nwk dynW qy  
 AwpxySbdW dw gwien kr rhysn Aqyies sbbd ivc gurUrm dws vl ti  
 Aij hySbdW dygwien ivrD idql icqwnl dw izkr vl Qliss ivc klqw  
 igAw hYij s ivc ikhw igAw sl ik gurlj l dl acwrx klql hel bwxl qn  
 iel wv bwl swrySbd nkl l hn Aqyj ol k ienW dw gwien kr dyhn,  
 ah ivAkql vl Aij hySbdW f snx Aqyptwr krn vwil AW vlg hl  
 nkl l hn [ pr ieh swrl Kj as nkl l h'Q il Kq qyAwDwirq hY[ j o  
 Aij hySbdW f sindyj Wgwien kr dyhn, ah ivAkql vl Aij hySbdW f  
 snx Aqyptwr krn vwil AW vlg hl nkl l hn [

pr ieh swrl Kj as nkl l h'Q il Kq qyAwDwirq hYij s dl  
 tk l YkyipS0w isIG nygrbwxl dyrbl iel hwm h0x dl ieiqh0sk mFl l  
 scwel qyikl0klqw hYj d ik hkIkq ieh hYik krqwrpr dl Anid blV  
 AqygD swihb qn bwhr dl swrl rcnw nkl l hYij s dyAwDwr qygrbwxl

dl klql Kij dykel ArQ hl nhll rih j Wdy[

grlthnk dy j l vl llgrbixl slwidq krn dyisDlql dl ivAwlKAw  
 krdyheyipSf w isIG nyieh is'D krn dl kōSS klql h'lik grlArj n  
 dy j l nytpq tkst ivc sD ies l el klql qlwik ies f r'bl iel hwm  
 dw gD is'D klqw j w sky[ pr pthK pihl Uij s f as nyj wx-blJ ky  
 j w sqyisD AKl ahl yklqw h'lah ieh h'lik grlArj n dy j l nyAwpxy  
 qll pihl ygrlAW dl bixl isRP ahl iek'Tl klql j oannWkd mg ldl nhllsl  
 AqygrlAW dl bixl dw bhq hl mwm l ih'sw Aij hw sl j oalhnW kd  
 aBl bD nhllsl [ ahnW nymk qf qyahnW BgqW qyskyl dl bixl hl  
 iek'Tl klql ij s f ik ah Awid gD ivc Siml krnw cwhlysn [ grl  
 Arj n dy j l nygrlthnk dy, grlAld dy, grlAmrdis Aqygrlthnk  
 dws dl acwx klql hel bixl f as ivc bgr kel A'Kr v'D-G't  
 klqyeth-ibth asyrb ivc Amkq klqw [ grlAW dl bixl dl piv'qrqw f  
 Blj krnw iek mhin gl ql h'Aqyies plq grlArj n dy qll v'D hr  
 kel j wgrk nhll hoskdw sl [ grlArj n dy j l nybhq hl Swwr  
 ivvsQw rwhll riqW dy AwDwr qybixl f qrqlb id'ql (hr vrvyl el  
 krqrpr vvl l bIV dl pthwxkq Aqyis'K m'q dl ekqw qyeklkrn  
 isDlq slbDI dl j lq isIG dw l j vjKAw j w skdw h) [ swrl ptpq bixl  
 Buel grdws dyhvyl ykr id'ql sl qlwik ah ies dyrcnhwr Aqybixl  
 dl aic'qqw Answr as f Xg QW qyAmkq kr skx [ grlArj n dy  
 j l nybwAd ivc kw BgqW qyskyl dyah Sbd ies ivcl'k'F id'qyj or'bl  
 bixl dl Awl Okkqw nwl mj nhllKlysn [ grlAW dl bixl ivc nw kel  
 Sbd j iVAw igAw Aqynw hl GtweAw igAw [ ieQl'k'ik j dlahnW  
 nyvjKAw ik ahnW dw Awpwx iek Sbd doQwvW qyAmkq h'qlw ahnW ny  
 ies f k'itAw nhllsglies slbDI ahnW nyiek vrvw drj kr id'qw [  
 iek pisyqlw ipSf w isIG krqrpr bIV f pthwxk bIV plvwn

krdw h' Aqy ieh vl svlkrw krdw h' ik grl Arj n dy j l ny grl  
 swihbn dl rcnw qnbw Ad hr Bwg qy Awpxl h' Q- il Kq dAwrw pthyd  
 nkr ivc 'sD' Sbd Amlkq klqw h' pr dij ypsyies pthixk blv f  
 grl nwk dy Xthlvristl kd pel nkl l blv dw sD A w hieAw rpb  
 drswax dw Xqn klqw h' [ ipSrw islg vl klqygey Xqn ik Xthlvristl  
 kd pel blv krqwrpr vw l blv qnpihl Wdl il Kq h' ivAwrQ hax dy  
 nwl nwl q'Ohlx vl hn [ as dl ieh dl il ik Apk' il q BwSw j o  
 Xthlvristl kd pel blv ivc vrql hæl h' as f bw Ad ivc krqwrpr  
 vw l blv ivc sD id'qw igAw h' as dl AigAwrqw dw ptk h' ikaik  
 ieh Apk' il q BwSw qwmj b w smj q' k vl Kws krkysw D w- skw vl vvrql  
 j vdl rhl h' [ myf iek Aij hymqysw D w dw pqw h' j oik p j w bl f l f f A w  
 ivc il Kdw sl [ ies qn ieh sp' St q' qyis' D hbw h' yik is' iKA w Aqy  
 ipCkV Answr Awpysr D w l A w dl igxql ivc vw Dw krn l el grbw xl  
 dIA w nkl l kwplA w il KIA w gelA w [ iesyqrw Xthlvristl kd pel blv  
 f krqwrpr vw l blv qnpihl Wdl rcnw is' D krn dIA w dl IA w vl  
 gl q hn [ ipSrw islg ny K j - p' qr ivc hiSAwr isA w sl l kw vl lg  
 Sbdw vl l vrql h' ij v' iek 'ieh l 'gdw h' y, 'ieh pqlq hbw h' y, 'Swied',  
 'hoksdw h' y, 'ieh sBv h' y Awid Awid [ pr scwel ieh h' yik prK qy  
 p f IA w aqrlA w rvwieq w f mnGVq iKA w l pCw ivA w dl shwieq nwl  
 Jw l wieAw nhn j w skdw [ iek cby K j kwr l el ieh zrw l h' yik as  
 dl K j dyq' Q w f ivA w pk sbw w rwhn is' D klqw j w sky Aqy K j dl tk  
 Aij hysimA w qyhw yij n w qykel ik b w n w klqw j w skdw hw y [ K j kwr f  
 hr hwl q ivc Aij hysA w rQ l ivdvw n w dw dmCl w bxn qn grz krnw  
 chwldw h' yij n w dw mkyv dij A w dIA w rvwieq w f nSt krnw hw y [

ipSrw islg nyiek Aij hymdyf m w sirj lq krn dl vl k' SS  
 klql h' j oiskl pihcw nwl sbw D q h' [ asdw ieh il Kxw ik kl grl

nink Aqyas qñbwaAd dygrAW ij nW dl bixl Awid gñd ivc drj hY  
 dIAW isiKAWV qycil Aw j wvyj W gñlgóbd isIG dyKw sw pñd Answr  
 isK pñd ivc nvWvñd ivvñd KVw krxw hY [ isK ivdvñW nyvñr-vñr  
 ies Dñrnw dw Kñfx klqñ hYij s ivc ieh ikhw igAw hYik grñhñk, grñ  
 góbd isIG dIAW isiKAWV qñvKrysn [ ah swryies f gl q hl nhññ  
 mhdysgñ ies dl inKPI vl kr dyhn [ grñlgóbd isIG nyKw vl is'K  
 isDñq dl AxikVvl sc Aqyèkqñ dybwryPñrnñeAw hY [

mqbkr nink f Añd dyñp ivc siqkwirAw igAw, Añd dl  
 pihcix Amr dñs ivcñ hñl AqyAmrdñs nyrim dñs dw rñp DñirAw [  
 ij hVypwik piv'qr hn, anW f qW ieh sB ivKñel idññ hYpr mñrKW f  
 nhññ j oienW f vKry-vKrysmJdyhn [ kñl ivrl yhl mñk hn ij nW f  
 ies dl pCwx hYik ieh swryhl iek srñp hn [ j oies scñel f smJdy  
 hn ah spñrñ hñgeyhn, ies smJ qñbgñr spñrñqñ pñpñ klq hl nhññ  
 j w skdl [

grñlgñd swihb ivc grñlgñ bhñdr dySl kw Añdr grñlgóbd  
 isIG dw iek hl Sbd drj hñ bwryipSñrñ isIG nygl q qñr qyñrñq hñ  
 sdkw is'tyvl qW-mrW kykFyhn [ añs dw ieh kihxw ik grñlgóbd  
 isIG nyAwpñl rcñw f dsm gñd q'k hl slmq r'ikaW hY Tik nhññ hY [  
 j kr grñlgóbd isIG dyisDñq Aqygrñlgñd swihb dl ivcñrDñrñ ivc kñl  
 dPñV hññw qW anW gñd swihb f grñldw drj w nñ id'qñ hññw Aqyieh mñx  
 ah dsm gñd f idññ [ ies qññel wñw grñlgóbd isIG nyj owl klqñ Aqy  
 j owl acñrx klqñ, ah pñryqñr qygrñhñk dy dyimSn qyñPI wñPI nwl  
 mñl Kññdw hY [ grñhñk dy nyj hñ mñ, bñD mñ, Aqyies qññdl sc vñl y  
 hñr pl wñenvñd dy AnñAñelAW dymñrg f mññ hl rñd idqñ sl [ anW  
 PñrnñeAw ik Bwññsc dymñhmñxystñr dIAW hñr swññAW cñzW hñc hn pr  
 SB kññW qyAnñDñrñq j lvn ies qññvl vD mhñqvñrñ hY [ j pñ l swihb

Aldir Awiqimk ivkws l el d'sdyheypkniwqm dl mhwn Gwl nww dw apdS id'qwigAw hyl [ grllgibtdl isIG nyvl ikhw h'ik bhwr AwdmlAW l el mQ iek r'bl dwq hyl pr ieh qW hl sBv hyl yieh ikssysrv pRwinq adS l el shyl j wy [ bwr bwxl ivc grlwnnk nyDwVlAW dyj br zl m dl inldw hl nhllklql sgd'ieh vl ikhw h'ik Aij hyzl m Aqyj br dw tkrrw krnw hr Durimk ivAkql dw Drm vl h'qyizthyrwl vl [ ies l el grllgibtdl isIG vl l Kw sw pD dl isrj xw grlwnnk dyv dIAW isIKAww dw kdraql AqyqrkSll isKr hl hyl [

rbl bwxl hx krn grbwxl srv-ivAwpk hyl AqyBgqW dl Aij hl bwxl hl grllgnd swihb ivc Suml klql gel hyl j s dw srp srv-ivAwpk hyl [ ipSrw isIG dw ieh kQn Tik nhllh'ik BgqW dl bwxl grllgnd swihb ivc ies l el Suml klql gel qW ik SrDwl IAW dl igxql vDwel j w skyj Wis'KW dysrv-ivAwpkqw dydwAvyf shl is'D klqw j w sky [ iek+iek AwDwr ij s dl ibnw qyBgqW dl bwxl grllgnd swihb ivc Suml klql gel, ah sl as dw grbwxl dw ekikrn qyjkqw dl ivcwrDwrw nwl mj KwXw [

grlAmr dws vl l Bgq kblr AqyBgq nwwdy dl bwxl f Suml krn sldl ipSrw isIG dw ieh kihxw ik Aij hw sldw dySrDwl IAW f is'Kl dydweryivc il Awax l el ivsqwrwvdl pwl sl qihq klqw igAw iksvl izthyrw Kj dIAW swrlAW h'dw-bh'yt p j wx vwl l gl hyl [ anw dw Kj -pqr bhq DwrnwW dw pl ldw hyl j s ivc anw Awpxyvl l k'FygeyisitAW dysmrQn ivc kel sbtdl nhll idqy Aqyanw Aldir Aij hyKj pqr f pthw krn l el l Wldl Xgqw dl vl Gwt hyl [

Aldy ivc ieh d'sxw bhq hl mhqvp'rn h'ik isK grbwxl dy gihr-gB'ir AiDAH dyivrD nhllhn bSrqyik ieh AiDAH vwsqivkqw, sihrdqw AqyAkwdimk Asll Wqycl dyhejgrbwxl dl ivAniKAw srv-pRwinq dwerydyAldir rih kyies dl kwiv-mel pqlISTw AqyadSll pql

hwy [ h r mlyvll qll p l r q h o k y b 0 D k j w x k w r l d y B K h y T k l q y g e y D w y  
 ivruD qnauAqyql ^l p d w h x l k d r q l h y [ i p S t w i s t G f c u h l d w h y i k  
 p l n i q m w i v r u D k P r q d x l e l m u P l m l y A q y A u p x l B l d l s D l e l i e s  
 g l f i D A w i v c r ' K d y h e y i k p i v q r g r b i x l d w a c u r x p l n i q m w n y  
 m n i K q w d y B l y l e l g r l A w d y m K w r i b 0 q l k r v i e A w h y A u p x y K j - p q r  
 f m w n v l i s r y q l i l K y [

The present volume seeks to disclose how some quarters have been uneasy at the unique vision of the Sikh Gurus who have given the Sikhs an authentic scripture, Sri Guru Granth Sahib; and how they have repeatedly tried one way or the other to erode the authenticity of the Gurbani. The book graphically reveals the story of these continuous activities, the frustration of their authors, and the account of how a manuscript, unknown until 1987 was planted, and how ground was prepared for the so-called 'textual analysis' and ghost articles were got contributed to enable a university student to make baseless and blasphemous observations on the Aad Granth. Watchful scholars discovered and exposed the plan. Never has the community been so united in its universal condemnation of the nefarious designs. Never before has the reaction been so spontaneous as in this case. The entire Sikh community from all quarters of the globe rose like one man. The present volume reproduces the dismal story and true facts about the subject, showing a high degree of alertness on the part of the community. The book, besides providing valuable information on the authenticity of the bani is a clear warning against any repetition of similar attacks.

“It has been my pleasure to glance through ‘planned attack on the Aad Granth’. It is a very welcome contribution exposing the ugly and sinister designs of the group ending in the thesis of Pashaura Singh aimed at eroding the originality and authenticity, of Guru Granth Sahib as is evidenced by the Kartarpuri Bir. It is intriguing to know how an unreliable manuscript, with forged Nishan of the Guru and forged hymns attributed to the Guru, was suddenly adopted to form the shaky basis of a University thesis. This unauthentic manuscript is treated as a draft of the Adi Granth even when the author knows that the date of demise of Guru Arjun Dev clearly stands recorded in its contents. Equally intriguing is the unexplained fact how a dead scholar was resurrected to contribute a new article to the Sikh Review which has been used as a justification for choice of the subject of the thesis.

We should be grateful to the contributors to this volume and particularly to S Bachittar Singh for exposing these activities, which are galling to the established views of Sikh religious scholars, both present and past.

Justice Ram Singh Bindra (Retd.)  
High Court of Assam and Nagaland

**PLANNED ATTACK ON  
AAD  
SRI GURU GRANTH SAHIB  
Academics or Blasphemy**



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*Editor*

**BACHITTAR SINGH GIANI  
Advocate**

**INTERNATIONAL CENTRE OF SIKH STUDIES  
CHANDIGARH**

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International Centre of Sikh Studies  
Chandigarh

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*Editor*  
BACHITTAR SINGH GIANI

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Dedicated  
to  
The Sikh in India  
and Abroad  
Who preserve and uphold  
the originality and  
authenticity of  
The Adi Sri Guru Granth Sahib



## ਮੂ - ਮੰਤਰ MUL-MANTER

<	Ek Omkar
ਸਿਗਨੰਮੁ	Satnam
ਕਰਕਪੁਰਕੁ	Kartapurkh
ਿਨਰਬਾੁ	Nirbhau
ਿਨਰਵੈ	Nirvair
ਅਕਾਲ ਮੁਰਤਿ	Akal Murat
ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸਾਭਨ	Ajuni Saibhan
ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ	Gur parshad

### **MUL-MANTAR IN AUTHENTIC GURU GRANTH COPIES**

Mul-Mantar and Gur-Mantar in Sikh scriptures have been one and the same ever they were revealed to Guru Nanak. They have come down to us only through written tradition. Cul-groups virtually disassociated from Sikhism even during the Guru-period have tried to corrupt the Mulmantar, Gurmanter and also distort Gurbani, but the Mulmantra and gurmantar of Guru Nanak has been recorded in all authentic recensions of Ada Sri Guru Granth Sahib, historically acceptable Janamsakhis, Gurbilases is absolutely correct, the correct Mulmantar is

Ek: The One Transcendent God

Omkar: All-pervading Immanent Spirit

Satnam: His Name is Eternal Truth

Karta Purkh: Creator, Perfect Being

Nirbahu: Without Fear

Nirvair: Without Enmity

Akal murat: Immortal His divine Image

Ajuni : Unborn

Saibhan: Self-Existent

Gurparsad: By his Grace attained

The Mulmantar is based on Guru Nanak's experience and vision of the Unmanifest Absolute one and only one God, and His Manifest Immanent, all-pervading Light Omkar. This ek Omkar is also called the Bij mantar and is present in all invocations. It embodies the luminosity of the Unmanifest Absolute God and His All-pervading Light which gives Life and divine speak to all living creatures. It unfolds a vision of the Ultimate Reality and the Creative Power behind the universe.

Contemplation and mediation on the Mulmantar opens the inner most being of man to the spiritual consciousness of the Immanent and Transcendent Presence of God. In the Guru Granth we find it in 33 places, besides being placed at the opening of new Ragas it is particularly attached to two major compositions of Aad Guru Granth Sahib namely Japji and Asa-Ki-Var. It appears it was inseparably associated with these compositions from the time of Guru Nanak.

Minor Invocations: For invocations as minor sub-headings a part of it ek Omkar satnam kartapurkh gurparshad is used only eight times, while a still shorter invocation ek Omkar satgurparshad is used 525 times. These minor invocations are not Mulmantar. They are used even while writing a letter. For writing encyclic letters (Hukamnamas) these invocations were still reduced to brief statements and ekomkar guru sat. Guru Gobind Singh introduced a number of other invocations such as Vahigurji-ki Fateh, tav parshad, Akal Sahai. These Invocations are not mantras and are not used for meditations.

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## PREFACE

Academic Circles are aware that a group of scholars generally concerned with the Christian Mission in Punjab have researched or even unbiased. But, it is now well known that Pashaura Singh in his present work guided by the ex-missionary W.H.Macleod has evidently crossed all limits of propriety. For, he calls a manuscript, which admittedly bears in its contents a forged 'Nishan' of a Guru and the date of demise of the Fifth Gurn, a draft of the Aad Granth by Guru Arjun. The Manuscript has no date and no name of the scribe nor any history beyond its sudden appearance at Amritsar in 1987, when curiously Pashaura Singh started his textual research at Toronto. Surprisingly, the manuscript is understood to have on it some words in English and few lines in Punjabi supposed to have been written by a professor. On the basis of this manuscript Pashaura Singh has accused the Fifth Guru of Granth Sahib. By any measure Pashura Singh has gone beyond the bounds of rationally, ethics or even the Law. It is indeed amazing that such a sub-standard work, which appears evidently motivated should have been accepted in a foreign University. The only reason for such spurious work having been passed as academic activity could be an ignorance in the Western world of essentials of Sikh Studies and literature on the subject.

It is, evidently, the baseless, content and character of Pashaura Singh's work that has aroused a spontaneous reaction and response from the Sikh literate world both in India and abroad. So far as the Sikh academic world is concerned they know by now the facts of the matter, But, these are known nether to the public at large nor generally among which the western academic world. It is this aspect of the matter which we feel needs to be well known. Hence, the necessity of present publication so that the shoddy nature of the work is exposed and well known.

The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee a representative body of the Sikhs and a final authority on religious affairs after having received reports of two experts Pashaura Singh to appear before Sri Akal Takhat to explain his acts of blasphemy. Mr. Pashaura Singh is still evading to

appear apparently because he has hardly any ground to defend himself.

, It is our great pleasure that a galaxy of scholars, from Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Punjabi University, Patiala, Punjab University, Chandigarh, Institute Aramand Frappier, University of Qubec, Canada. Ohio State University, U.S.A., 'University British Columbia, Vancouver, New York University, Santa Clara University, C.A., Dalhousie University, Dr. Trilochan Singh, Editors of Sikh Journals, many other Academicians and representatives of Sikh Organisations have contributed to his book b their thoughtful and valuable writings.

It is under the inspiration and blessings of the Guru that this book has been undertaken and the project was completed within a short period. Because of pressures and the need to bring out the publication early, the errors and omissions in it are deeply regretted.

We also take this opportunity profusely to thank all the scholars who have very kindly contributed their articles for this book.

We are deeply grateful to the members of this organisation for their generous help in publishing of this book. In this regard our thanks are also due to Dr. Bishan Singh Samundri Formerly Vice-Chancellor, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, for writing a forword.

In the end, we should suggest to the S.G.P.C., Chief Khalsa Diwan and other Sikh Organisations in India and abroad to see the proper distribution of this book amongst all circles, so that they become aware of the Truth of the matter and get educated in order to take adequate measures to stop any mischief of this kind.

Dated: 19th January, 1994

PARAMJIT SINGH  
Advocate  
Secretary  
International Centre of Sikh Studies,  
Chandigarh

## FOREWORD

Ideological challenge is a normal phenomenon not uncommon in the history of religious thought. In fact it may even be desirable, since it leads to better understanding of religious doctrines and provides an opportunity to its adherents to affirm their faith. Sikhism has faced such challenges in the past. Because of its origin and history Sikhism has often been confused with Hinduism, and described as one of its sects. Such a view has often been expressed not only by opponents of Sikhism, but also by those whose study of it is superficial or casual. No one can ignore the too visible existence and achievements of the Sikh movement and the transformation of society from a divided down-trodden and helpless lot to a virile and proud community based on a degree of equality unknown to humanity in earlier history.

While well-meaning quarters of the Hindu society have always been anxious to retain this powerful community as its limb, though the Sikhs have, without wavering from their ideological course, always maintained close and fraternal ties with it throughout history. Even at the time of the Partition of India in 1947, when the country was divided on a communal basis, Sikhs decided to throw in their lot with India, spurning offers of autonomy in the India subcontinent from the ceding Muslim community. The decision cost millions of Sikhs their very hearts and homes and their fertile lands and property. In this migration lacs lost their lives, and the community underwent suffering on a scale unparalleled in human history. It is no exaggeration to say that it was largely the Sikhs who paid for the freedom of India in blood, distress and property. Since the Sikhs have a long history of struggle for their political rights culminating in the gory events of 1984, any suggestion that Sikhs are Hindus, has obviously political implications for the socio-religious identity of the Sikhs. Unfortunately, ideological challenges, motivated or otherwise, have been made with renewed zeal, saying that Sikhism is a part of the Vaishnava Bhakti or Sant movements. Such claims ignore two obvious facts. Sikhism is a whole-life religion, which is strictly mono-theistic and is committed to perfect egalitarianism, householders life and acceptance of social responsibility. The system is opposed to the earlier Indian tradition that believes

in personal salvation, social hierarchy, withdrawal and sanyasa as religious values. Since the divergence on these basic issues is too glaring, it was not difficult for Sikh scholars to meet the challenge. Such attacks were effectively repulsed in the end of the last century by leaders of the Singh Sabha Movement as also during the present century.

Recently, however, the situation has taken a different turn. Opponents have blatantly started striking at the very roots of the Sikh faith. The challenge is directed at the authenticity and integrity of Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib, which is not only the sole Scripture of the Sikhs, but their Living Guru, embodying the spirit of the Ten Masters. Pashaura Singh's thesis supervised by an ex-missionary of Batala is an example in question. It was followed closely by a publication of Piar Singh. Both came out with preformulated and heretical propositions based on bogus and purposely selected material, suggesting a motivated attempt.

It is indeed very unfortunate that Pashaura Singh's attack on the authenticity of Guru Granth Sahib is sought to be based on a manuscript called a draft by Guru Arjun Dev, when its text bears in its contents the date of demise of the Fifth Master. It is also unfortunate that use has been made of an article of doubtful authorship, because the recorded name is considered to have been wrongly used. Such tactics can hardly do credit to a scholar or to any academic institution.

It is gratifying that Sikh scholars as well as the common man, took the challenge as soon as it came. The SGPC also took cognizance of the attack. The present volume is a story of the spontaneous reaction of the community to the blasphemous attacks on Sikhism, and it thoroughly exposes the designs of the quarters known for their hostility to Sikhism. I congratulate the scholars and the publishers for the production and publication of this important material in one volume for the benefit of readers so that they know the truth.

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