EARLY SIKH
SCRIPTURAL TRADITION
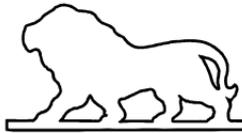## MYTH AND REALITY

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BALWANT SINGH DHILLON

SINGH BROS.
AMRITSAR

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

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CONTENTS

Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon is working as a senior lecturer in the Department of Guru Nanak Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. He did his post-graduation in History from Rajasthan University, Jaipur; and in Religious Studies from Punjabi University, Patiala. He was awarded doctoral degree for his thesis on The Sikh Gurus and the Mughal State. Among his earlier works, Sri Guru Amar Das Abhinandan : An Anthology of Guru Amar Das (1985), looks into the image and personality of Guru Amar Das; and his Parmukh Sikh te Sikh Panth (1997) presents an exhaustive account of the Sikh Panth of early 17th century. Over three dozen research articles published in leading Journals of national and international repute are also to his credit. He specialises in the study and analysis of manuscripts in Gurmukhi and Rajasthani. On the whole, his contribution to the field of Sikh studies, especially the study of Sikh scripture, the Sikh institutions and their role in the formation of Sikh identity and several other debatable issues in Sikh history and religion, is commendable, which has earned him international recognition.

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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

times, had in fact, strengthened my resolve to carry on with this study with an added vigour to bring out the truth. So it was a blessing in disguise.

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

It is my sacred duty to recall my debt to the authors quoted in this study whose works have been a beacon of light for me to accomplish this work. Principal Shamsher Singh and Dr. Amarjit Singh, both of Shahid Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar, have woked hard with me to check the references. My friends Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann, S.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DOCUMENTATION

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

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

FOREWORD

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

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

In India, in the 1850s, it was natural that indigenous forms of higher education should be trodden under foot and the British should push the western university system hard. Some of the Indian peoples turned their backs on the new system as it began to unfold in the universities at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, then Lahore and the other places. But the juggernaut went inexorably on, and when India and Pakistan achieved independence in 1947, more and more local resources were poured into its expansion. Some saw it as a movement when the shackles of the British so-called drive for quality were shattered by a new country's need for quantity. Even so, some communities lagged behind. The Shi'a in part and the Sikhs were two such communities. But even they had second thoughts. The

young men and women who deserted the British system under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi lived to regret it. Everybody had forgotten that it was the Namdhari Sikhs that had first asked people to avoid the westernizing system. Those boycotters had good right to feel suspicious, for the British deliberately planned the production of little Englishman with brown faces to take their places. After all, Gandhi, Nehru, as well as Jinnah, had all been to Britain, and received British qualifications which paid them off well. At that time, the Sikhs could produce no politician of that caliber to stand up for Sikh rights. So, also the old Awadhi nobility were left out. The great Maulana Azad himself, being of Bengali background, did what he could for the Muslims as a whole, but the Muslims too fell behind. Many hived off to Pakistan.

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

It was possible in these circumstances to have specifically Sikh Religious Studies centered on Sri Guru Granth Sahib both at a Department of that name at Patiala and in the Guru Nanak Studies Department at Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. But even before this the old tradition of Sikh scholarship had not been wholly eradicated by the British. Somehow it had survived. The court at Faridkot contributed a certain amount of patronage as did the other princely families, but as we look back we get the feeling they did

not help as much as they ought. In fact, there were times when if some of them who were collaborators with the British thought the students of Khalsa College were too obstreperous, they engineered the shutting off of resources so that sometimes the Principal of the college, even if he were not himself British, came under very severe pressure.

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

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

In 1945, I was returning by train from Burma to Chaklala near Rawalpindi with my platoon on the way to Germany. At Amritsar the guard asked me if I would like the company of a distinguished Sikh personality. My welcome companion turned out to be Master Tara Singh. We talked of happy things and starting of a new life.

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

In the meantime, in the west, that is chiefly north Europe, Britain and English-speaking North America, Australia and New Zealand, the critical approach to literary scholarship was developing rapidly. It seemed to come up about the same time as the natural sciences had their great take off from the 17th century onward, and by the 19th was well under way. Perhaps it reflects the same kind of mentality by which one isolates, 'eradicates,' 'de-guts,' a topic and deal with things in a very narrow kind of way, with a certain proud contempt of concomitants of what has gone before and the consequences. The approach has many features of which I wish to mention but a few. It is insisted that a tradition or a received account is to be treated with suspicion untill proved

reliable. This seems rather like the idea that every accused is guilty till he or she can prove they are innocent. Everything miraculous is accordingly to be rejected out of hand. There is no pause to ask at what level the truth in these things can be discovered, rather than being rejected out of hand. If something cannot be treated on an absolutely objective, third party, cold-light-of-day level, it is to be ignored. Again, there are only 'yes' and 'no' answers. Questions are posed exclusively by the critic. As in a museum everything is an artifact. The critic chooses lighting, background and inscription, description. Obviously, there must be what has been called a hermeneutic of atheism. This does not stop at merely asking us to take into account that the divine hypothesis must not be resorted to in the manner of *deus ex machina* but that no reference to the divine, except for denial, no providential or overall plan, pattern or forethought is allowed, even if it is helpful as an hypothesis in understanding what the makers and actors in history may have been thinking. This leads to a good deal of anachronistic thinking in that the divine hypothesis has been recognised by most people up till the last century, and they let such thinking determine what they were trying to do. The critical approach takes it for granted that stories are to be understood literally as we who stand after the cheap printing press and the scientific revolution believe a story. "My love is like a red, red rose that is newly sprung in May" is on the same level as $Zn+H_2SO_4=ZnSO_4+H_2$.

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

applied wholesale, and the idea of the class struggle being used to explain apparent changes in the natural unfolding of human thought forms.

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

The study of the sacred text itself with the use of modern western methods had had the calamity of being taken up under colonial government auspices and launched by Prof. Ernst Trumpp of Munich. He was one of the most brilliant scholars in a brilliant age. He had made a distinguished name for himself as a linguist, and when serving at Karachi and Peshawar had done outstanding service in his studies of the languages of Northwest India. By the time he came again to Lahore and Amritsar at the end of the 1860s at the behest of the colonial government, his health and especially his brain and eyesight and his nervous strength were fast deteriorating. The loss of his first wife in India at the time of the first freedom movement had poisoned his mind. His preface to his edition of the

Holy Book stands as one of the finest monuments to the mentality of the imperialist, chauvinist pig that has ever been erected. The offensiveness and general lack of natural human decency and self-respect which Prof. Trumpp displays should not lessen our realization of his achievement and of the restraint of the Sikhs. Despite a defeat and shattering of their comity engineered by the basest of western chicanary and treachery, they had rallied and begun a revival. They still held the doors of study and academic investigation open in the face of shocking bad manners and colonialist effrontery. That the *giānis* taught the professor as much as they did and quietly departed obviously in a state of shock was a great achievement when most of us would have given that scholar a bloody nose at the least. Having shut the door against himself, it is marvelous to see what the professor as an unaided etymological and critical scholar could produce. I have yet to see anything as good in English which can explain the prosody of the *Granth* in the terms of Greek and Latin paradigms which some westerners still know, as his work on the topic.

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

In their intention, the succession of people like Macauliffe

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

       In far away New Zealand, the second and third generation
Scots/Irish settlement was going ahead and prosperity was greeting
the work of the pioneers. It is a delight to report also that some Sikhs
had managed to settle there and began to make their way as dairy
farmers. It was an amazing community altogether, producing people
who climbed mountains, who went to England and carried out
revolutions in the discovery of antibiotics, and in young men and
women who went overseas to serve in Africa and in India. Hew
McLeod was amongst them. He had gone to the local university of
Otago, at Dunedin, and there joined the Christian group around Knox
College, a Presbyterian theological school. He found himself taken

up by the student spirit of the time to give service to the world in general, to serve and educate, not so much as to evangelize. Thus he came to be teaching in a secondary school in the Punjab. His own study of the languages and literature and religion, together with the ability and willingness of his Sikh teachers, produced first-rate scholarship. He went on to the School of Oriental and African studies at London. By this time he found his faith had disappeared. He insists he is not a Christian, nor in fact a believer of any kind. Nothing makes him more angry than being called 'reverend' or being referred to as a missionary or ex-missionary. He is blessed with a brilliant, able, and utterly supportive partner. His overcoming of the effects of a stroke which befell him in the 1980s is impressive. He is totally sincere and devoted to the truth. This is the truth as he sees it, and we recall to mind the teaching of Anekanta. It is not everybody's truth. However, he is a sincere and honest person, and to belittle his character or his motives or mix it up with Christianity is just to befog our minds when we need every bit of mental and spiritual lucidity we can muster.

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

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

in some of the manuscripts that had been collected in the central library at Darbar Sahib which atrociously was burnt down in 1984.

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

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

An old great-grandfather academic like myself is able to say a number of things which cannot really be put into the text of a book, but is helpful for understanding the background and putting it into a wider context. And although it is against academic etiquette to use the first person, I think that Sikh society allows the elderly a little

bit of that kind of things. Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon has expressly refrained from the use of names and has asked me to try to avoid it. So I wish to emphasize that any naming of names is mine and the opinions I am giving are also mine. The author of the book is not to be held responsible for any of them.

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

purposes. His understanding and textual analysis of these sources establish the fact that the text represented in them is in no way ancestral to the *Àdi Granth*. Prof. Piar Singh discussed all this with me in some detail and sent me a large quantity of typewritten material. Careful perusal of this convinces me that his work, though I felt his suppositions about the importance of these manuscripts were wrong, was sincere.

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

Prof. Hew McLeod was carrying on a remarkable work of establishing Sikh studies in the North American universities. The University of Toronto had obtained for him one of the largest National Endowment of Humanities grants obtained by any individual, and he was going from university to university lecturing on the importance of establishing chairs in Sikhism, or at least of getting the subject known. In the 1980s and 1990s, university chairs could be purchased by donors at bargain prices. The universities needed both

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

In the sequence of well-intentioned people which we were setting before the reader, one next places Dr. Pashaura Singh. He had been *granthi* at Calgary and was doing a Ph.D. on the text of the *Gur% Granth Sāhib* which was accepted eventually by Toronto. A copy of his thesis was mimeographed and distributed, and it was taken that he had made serious mistakes in it and his case was brought before the acting Jathedar of Akal Takht. When he was summoned to Akal Takht to defend himself, Dr. Pashaura Singh went over there at his next opportunity and humiliated himself totally before the seat of authority and carried out the penance. He is now again a member of the Khalsa in good standing. His case in process had come before the American Academy of Religion whose relevant sub committee sent a letter to the Sikh leader at Amritsar in charge of the proceedings. Full of monumental misunder-standings, they

refer in false humility to the alleged accusation that in medieval times the Papacy did this kind of thing to Galileo. They completely misunderstood that 'excommunicate' is not a good translation of *barãdari se chheknã,* meaning 'removal from the brotherhood.' Every human group has a right to ask a member of the brotherhood to refrain from claiming his or her rights until they could be reconciled. A case was laid against Dr. Pashaura Singh and he was asked to repent and given a penance which he carried out. Prof. Piar Singh had also appeared and been given a penance which he carried out. In neither case was it intended that the penance should be punitive though inadvertently telling Prof. Piar Singh to go to the *gurdwãrã* where Bhai Gurdas penned the sacred volume each day because of the abysmal bus services became a heavy load on an old man. It is probable also that many North Americans had the Salmon Rushdie affair in the back of their minds. Not understanding the way that others, for instance some Muslims, think about these things, they fancy themselves as Don Quixotes riding out to defend the freedom of speech. On their side, the Sikhs insist throughout that there is nothing in common between the Rushdie case and their's.

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

On the American side, Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann is a deep scholar of his own tradition and of medicine, so typical of so many Sikhs who are superb at their own profession and at the same time deeply versed in their own scriptures and tradition, who donate time and

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

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

As an aside, I would like to say a word about the role of Oxford University Press in all this. The prestige of getting a book published by them and the facilities they possess world-wide for advertisement, distribution and sales, can contribute a great deal to a scholar's career, moreover it serves to establish the opinions of that author as a form of academic orthodoxy, a kind of referee and consultant of all that comes next in the subject (I believe Oxford University Press was associated with the notorious Earl of Claredon who, in the 1660s, established certain noxious doctrines in the English state church with dire effects which continued for more than a

century). Policy is laid down by a committee whose permanent secretary is a paid employee of the press who consults not the community concerned but scholars of his acquaintance, usually cronies or a reputed world expert. Too few orthodox Sikhs in Delhi take these people out to lunch at the Ashoka. Singh Brothers by the deeply mourned Clock Tower do Sikh scholarship an immense service, but neither they nor the university presses of Punjabi or Guru Nanak Dev University have much all-world cover. Perhaps this will come. A great effort should be made to bring it about soon. We also need Sikh scholars of international, 'global,' stature, well-known socially, academically respected. One could name one or two failed prophets whom the Guru was coaching for the role, but they turned aside into their own frivolities.

I hope that I have not been publically washing the laundry of groups that have loved me and helped me for so many years onwards, and including World War Two. I have only wanted to try and point out the Sikh achievement in this whole matter and some aspects of the university's role, and to say there are no villains, only heroes. At the beginning of his Penguin on Sikhism, which will undoubtably be put in the hands of everybody seeking to know something about Sikhism, Dr. McLeod names his students who have been at the heart of these disputes (and there are more to come) and affirms that they 'keep the flag flying.' For me, 'flag' used absolutely, means 'flag of the Khalsa.' We pray the Guru that somehow this may indeed be the case because the key academic positions in North America are now in the hands of these people. Of course, academic generations eventually do change and others will come, and then we will know which way the Guru is directing us more clearly. Certainly no other religion so little known at the beginning of our century in so short a time has been so effectively projected into the top ranks of scholarship and of academic discussion. The story has yet much to be told. I have had the privilege of seeing this part of it, and must testify to the greatness of Sikhism, and affirm how eventually, whatever happens, the will of the Guru will be done. I pray that many may be prompted to do good things.

I commend to you this book as a work of sterling scholar-ship by someone who is genuinely of the culture of the Sikhs from ground level upwards as well as brilliant of intellect. His people were cultivators and irrigators in Rajasthan who turned a desert into an oasis. And he himself got his education the hard way, never at any of the British-type institutions that give some people an advantage, but rather with the common man and woman, using his own intelligence. I was very deeply impressed by how, in so many ways, it equalled the erudition of the people who first taught me Biblical and patristic textual studies in the best institutions the West can boast. It is impressive to see how his type of learning has been able to use natural logical reasoning where we in the West have been going through the traumas of ever new forms of critical study, "rolled to larboard, rolled to starboard, when the surge is seething free." His work is of its own kind which can not be brushed aside in any way either by the native or western scholars. The reader is asked to take it up and read it, bearing in mind the Swahili proverb uttered by Grandfather Frog as he sees boys throwing stones into a well : "Their game : our death."

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INTRODUCTORY

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

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

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1. W.H. McLeod, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community,* p. 77.

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

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1. Mark Juergensmeyer and N. Gerald Barrier, ed., *Sikh Studies : Comparative Prespective on a Changing Tradition,* pp. 97-105, 113-118; also see W.H. McLeod, 'The Study of Sikh Literature' in John Stratton Hawley and Gurinder SIngh Mann, ed., *Studying the Sikhs : Issues for North America,* pp. 47-60.

2. Paul R. McReynolds, 'Establishing the Text Familiers' in Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, ed., *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts,* p. 103.

3. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1991; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Columbia, 1993.

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

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

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1. *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* published in Nov. 1992, G.N.D. University, Amritsar, immediately withdrew it from sale on the instructions of S.G.P.C., Amritsar.

2. For the contentious issues, see Giani Bachittar Singh, ed., *Planned Attack on Aad Sr$ Gur% Gra*th S#hib.*

3. Pashaura Singh, 'An Early Sikh Scriptural Tradition : The Guru Nanak Dev University MS # 1245', *International Journal of Punjab Studies,* 1, 2 (1994), pp. 197-222; Piar Singh *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th and the Controversy.*

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

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

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1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 24, 70, 132.
2. Balwant Singh Dhillon, "Myth of an Early Draft of the Àdi Gra*th", *ASS,* July 1993, pp. 75-93.
3. W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion,* p. 163.

Sikh theology, especially the nature of God, at different stages
of history.[1] Thus, a new dimension to the debate has been added.
Piqued by my observations on the history and authenticity of MS
ã 1245, Prof. Piar Singh instead of addressing to the issues, has
let loose a diatribe against me to indulge in personal insinuations.[2]
Anyway, it provided me an opportunity to consider the issues
afresh.

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

> ਉਸ ਕੋ ਦੇਖ ਹਮ ਬਾਤ ਉਚਾਰੀ ॥
> ਇਨ ਗਲ ਖਾਲਸੈ ਕਹੀ ਨ ਸਾਰੀ ॥[3]
> (Having gone through his work I have told the
> true history as he had not described the story of
> the *Khālsa* in its totality.)

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

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

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1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 95-96;
    Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 418-420.

2. Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th and the Controversy,* pp. 116-127, 137.

3. Rattan Singh Bhangoo, *Sr$ Gur Pa*th Park#sh,* (ed. Jit Singh Sital), p. 41.

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

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

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

its definitive characteristics and its place in the evolution of Sikh scripture have been examined in detail.

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

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

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

GURBÀNI AND ITS TRANSMISSION

I. INTRODUCTION

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

II. ORIGIN OF *GURBÀNI*

2.1. History of the Sikh scriptural tradition found recorded in the *Àdi Guru Granth Sāhib,* dates back to the ministry of Guru

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

2.2.   During the course of itineraries and his stay at Kartarpur whenever he felt inspired by God or the situation warranted, he composed various hymns. When Guru Nanak left the mundane world, there existed a single codex of his writings, which he bestowed on his successor Guru Angad.[1] Recently, some scholars have stressed the central role of oral tradition in the preservation and transmission of *Gurbānì.* They claim that much before the development of scribal tradition, Guru Nanak's hymns had been in circulation orally through musical tradition. Some of them feel that oral or singing tradition has influenced the Sikh scriptural sources even after they were reduced to writings.[2] The above approach has not found much favour with the majority of Sikh scholars. The discussion to follow intends to trace out the various modes, methods and traditions which have come to exist to transmit *Gurbānì* to the successive generations in the pre-*Àdi Granth* period.

1. 'ਸੋ ਪੋਥੀ ਜੁ ਬਾਨਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਜੋਗ ਮਿਲੀ' that *pothi* (preserved by Guru Nanak) of *Bani* was received by Guru Angad, see *Puratan Janamsakhi,* (ed. Bhai Vir Singh), p. 114; Harji refers to it as ਸਬਦ ਦੀ ਥਾਪਨਾ, investiture with the *Sabad,* see *Gosti Guru Miharvanu* (ed. Govind Nath Rajguru), p. 169.
2. Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth and the Controversy,* p. 42.

III. SCRIBAL TRADITION

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

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1. ਨਾਨਕੁ ਸਾਇਰ ਏਵ ਕਹਤੁ ਹੈ ਸਚੇ ਪਰਵਦਗਾਰਾ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 660)*
2. *AGGS,* pp. 938-946.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 434-435, 929-938.
4. ਜਾਲਿ ਮੋਹੁ ਘਸਿ ਮਸੁ ਕਰਿ ਮਤਿ ਕਾਗਦੁ ਕਰਿ ਸਾਰੁ ॥
   ਭਾਉ ਕਲਮ ਕਰਿ ਚਿਤੁ ਲੇਖਾਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਪੁਛਿ ਲਿਖੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥
   ਲਿਖੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਾਲਾਹ ਲਿਖੁ ਲਿਖੁ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਰਾਵਾਰੁ ॥
   ਬਾਬਾ ਏਹੁ ਲੇਖਾ ਲਿਖਿ ਜਾਣੁ ॥
   ਜਿਥੈ ਲੇਖਾ ਮੰਗੀਐ ਤਿਥੈ ਹੋਇ ਸਚਾ ਨੀਸਾਣੁ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥   *(AGGS, p. 16)*
5. ਸੁਣਿ ਪਾਡੇ ਕਿਆ ਲਿਖਹੁ ਜੰਜਾਲਾ ॥
   ਲਿਖੁ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਗੋਪਾਲਾ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 930)*
6. *AGGS,* pp. 636, 1291.

religious experience into writing on its very manifestation. Evidently, the book which he carried with him on his tour to west-Asia, was nothing else but a collection of his *Bāni* which he had got together over the years.

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

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

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1. *Puratan Janamsakhi,* pp. 81, 86.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 93.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 75.
4. Harji, *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji,* pp. 249-250.

powerful stimulus to his successors to add new hymns to the received text. Though, Guru Angad's writings are not much in size, but his pontificate marked the next stage in the development of Sikh scribal tradition. His real contribution lies in the fact that he standardized the *Gurmukhì* letters and popularized their use for scribing the sacred writings of the Sikhs.[1] At his demise he bequeathed the codex in his possession to his successor.[2]

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

1. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mahima Parkash,* (ed. Gobind Singh Lamba), Vol. II, p. 10; also see Pritam Singh, 'Gurmukhi Lipi', pp. 385-389.
2. *Gosti Guru Miharvanu,* p. 171.
3. ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਬਿਨਾ ਹੋਰ ਕਚੀ ਹੈ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
   ਬਾਣੀ ਤ ਕਚੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਹੋਰ ਕਚੀ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
   ਕਹਦੇ ਕਚੇ ਸੁਣਦੇ ਕਚੇ ਕਚੀ ਆਖਿ ਵਖਾਣੀ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 920)*
4. ਆਵਹੁ ਸਿਖ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਪਿਆਰਿਹੋ ਗਾਵਹੁ ਸਚੀ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
   ਬਾਣੀ ਤ ਗਾਵਹੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇਰੀ ਬਾਣੀਆ ਸਿਰਿ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
                        (AGGS, p. 920; for more details see also pp. 1174-75*)*
5. "ਪਾਂਧਾ ਬੁਲਾ ਜਾਣੀਐ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਗਾਇਣੁ ਲੇਖਾਰੀ" see Bhai Gurdas, *Vārāṅ,* 11, 16; also see Bhai Santokh Singh, *Sūraj Parkāsh* (ed. Bhai Vir Singh), p. 1589; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mahān Kosh,* p. 662.
6. *Gosti Guru Miharvanu,* p. 171.

3.5.   As Guru Ram Das was actively involved in the organizational set-up of the Sikh Panth under Guru Amar Das, we can well-imagine that he was in full knowledge of the Sikh scribal tradition that had developed into the hands of his predecessor. On his part, he introduced new *rāgas* and metres to the scriptural text which reflect his poetic genius.[1] Following faithfully in the foot-steps of his predecessor, he would not allow the pseudo-gurus to confuse the originality of *Gurbānī.* He reaffirmed that only genuine hymns of the Sikh Gurus were acceptable.[2] Ever since the pontificate of Guru Amar Das the range of the Sikh mission had widened, *Manjìdārs* and *Masands* had fanned out across the region, the number of the Sikhs had swelled and *Dharamsālās* had sprung up in far flung areas. To meet the needs of worship and study authentic codices of the sacred writings were required. It called for renewed efforts to prepare the *Pothìs* of *Gurbānī.* To encourage the Sikhs to take up scribing of *Gurbānī* in a big way, Guru Ram Das remarked that labour of those Sikhs was also sanctified whose hands were engaged in writing the glory of God.[3] It suggests that during his pontificate scribing of *Pothìs* of *Gurbānī* was developing into a pious pastime for the Sikhs. The editorial note, namely ਜਪੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀਉ ਕੇ ਦਸਖਤਾ ਕਾ ਨਕਲੁ (*Japu* copied from the copy recorded by Guru Ram Das in his own hand) found recorded in the old manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth,* leads us to point out that Guru Ram Das had deeply involved himself in the scribal activities going on at his court. From the above note we can visualize that besides the *Pothìs,* Guru Ram Das had taken the initiative to prepare lectionaries for the personal use of the Sikhs, in which authenticated texts for liturgical purpose had been arranged. Early Sikh literature while providing glimpses into the life in *Dharamsālā* informs us that public reading of *Gurbānī* was an essential part of the Sikh

1. Surjit Hans, *A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature,* pp. 91-94.
2. ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਤਿ ਸਰੂਪੁ ਹੈ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਬਣੀਐ ॥
    ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਰੀਸੈ ਹੋਰਿ ਕਚੁ ਪਿਚੁ ਬੋਲਦੇ ਸੇ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਕੂੜੇ ਝੜਿ ਪੜੀਐ ॥
    ਓਨ੍ਹਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਹੈ ਬਿਖੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਨੋ ਝਖਿ ਮਰਦੇ ਕੜੀਐ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 304)*
3. ਤੇ ਹਸਤ ਪੁਨੀਤ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਹਹਿ ਮੇਰੀ ਜਿੰਦੁੜੀਏ ਜੋ ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਲੇਖਹਿ ਰਾਮ॥
                                                                    (AGGS, p. 540)

liturgy.[1] All these factors point to the fact that well before the succession of Guru Arjan Dev in 1581 C.E., the Sikh *Sangats* had installed in the *Dharamsālās* a standardized corpus in some kind of uniform order. Guru Arjan Dev's remarks that "*Pothì* is veritably the abode of God"[2] coupled with the evidence provided by the Sikh sources confirm that he had inherited a definitive corpus of sacred writings from his father, Guru Ram Das.

3.6. In his turn Guru Arjan Dev contributed enormously to nurture the Sikh scriptural tradition. We have enough evidence to suggest that under his patronage the hymns of Sikh Gurus were being committed to writing. He appreciated the Sikhs who have dedicated themselves to record the sacred writings.[3] Bhai Gurdas informs us that there were numerous *Gursikhs* who were copying up the compositions of the Sikh Gurus to prepare the *Pothìs* not only for their personal use but for others as well.[4] Unfortunately, once again the Sikh scriptural tradition had come under serious threat of interpolation. Prithi Chand, elder brother and rival of Guru Arjan Dev, had entered into an alliance with the detractors, to usurp the guruship of Sikh Panth. The internal crisis within the Sikh Panth was so acute that even *Masands, Rabābìs, Äooms* and *Bhatts* were found to be divided between two rival camps.[5] To establish their line of guruship, Miharban, son of Prithi Chand had started composing *Kachì-bānì* songs in the name of 'Nanak'.[6] To purge the entry of spurious and ungenuine writings into the Sikh scriptural tradition, Guru Arjan Dev decided to codify the Sikh scripture once for all into a volume popularly known as the *Àdi Granth.*

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1. ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹਰਿ ਪੜੀਐ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹਰਿ ਸੁਣੀਐ ਹਰਿ ਜਪਤ ਸੁਣਤ ਦੁਖ ਜਾਇ ਜੀਉ ॥
   (AGGS, p. 444)
   also see Bhai Gurdas, 1.3; Surjit Hans, *A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature,* p. 100.
2. *AGGS,* p. 1226.
3. ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਲਿਖਹਿ ਲਾਇ ਭਾਵਨੀ ਸੇ ਹਸਤ ਪਵਿਤਾ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 322)*
4. Bhai Gurdas, 6.12, 24.6, 28.5.
5. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Ba*s#wal$n#m# Das#* P#tsh#h$#* K#,* p. 50.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 50.

IV. READING OR RECITAL TRADITION

4.1.   Another mode to transmit *Gurbānì,* which had developed in close proximity to the scribal tradition, related to reading or recitation of the sacred texts. According to their need the Sikh Gurus had provided to the Sikh *Sangats* the *Pothìs* of *Gurbānì,* which had been duly installed in the *Dharamsālās.* The *Dharamsālā* was not merely a religious establishment, it also served as a centre of learning where arrangements to impart teaching in *Gurmukhì* and sacred writings of the Sikhs also existed. Besides, the *Kìrtan* session public reading or recitation of liturgical texts, namely *Japujì, Sodaru, Àratì* and *Sohilā* also took place in *Dharamsālā.*[1] Bhatt Gayand while highlighting the personality of Guru Ram Das, refers to the practice of reading of sacred hymns which had taken roots in the religious life of the Sikhs.[2] Obviously, the practice of reading in congregation was not limited only to the liturgical texts but much of the compositions included in the *Pothìs* were read aloud for the benefit of those Sikhs who were not capable of reading. There is every reason to believe that *Dharamsālās* were not only repositories of sacred writings but powerful institutions also without which to spread *Gurbānì* at a large scale would not have been possible.

V. MUSICAL TRADITION

5.1.   The style of expression underlying the Sikh scripture is a blend of music and poetry. It is most suitable for singing in public. For devotional purpose the medium of *Kìrtan* had been employed. Beginning with Guru Nanak almost all the Sikh Gurus were gifted singers and connoisseurs of music as well. Even they had employed some *Rabābìs,* a class of professional musicians to perform the *Kìrtan* at central Sikh shrine.[3] Resultantly, the musical or singing

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1. Bhai Gurdas, 1.37, 26.4.
2. ਇਕਿ ਪੜਹਿ ਸੁਣਹਿ ਗਾਵਹਿ ਪਰਭਾਤਿਹਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਇਸ੍ਨਾਨੁ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 1402)*
3. Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Mir#s$#* D# Pichhoka~,* p. 35; The Sikh tradition refers to Rai Balwand and Satta who have been assigned the job to perform *K$rtan* at central Sikh Shrine. Their composition eulogising the Sikh Guru is well preserved in the Sikh scripture, see *AGGS,* pp. 966-968.

tradition had developed into a powerful mode to transmit *Gurbānì* among the Sikhs. Notwithstanding its appeal to popularize the message of *Gurbānì,* the musical tradition had certain limitations. The bands of musicians had to perform the *Kìrtan* orally, consequently instead of committing to memory the whole corpus, they had memorized only selected hymns possibly relating to liturgy and for special occasions. They had to perform the *Kìrtan* only for a couple of hours in the morning and evening so they need not to memorize the hymns in their totality. Considering the medieval milieu, the musical tradition would not have been capable to reach every nook and corner of the Sikh world. It would have remained confined to a few big urban centres where the Sikh *Sangats* had sufficient resources to support and employ the bands of musicians. Moreover the size of the Sikh sacred writings has been expanding under the successive Sikh Gurus, so to keep pace with it orally was gigantic task for the singers. It is quite possible that for the sake of memory or for convenience the musicians may have noted down their favourite hymns in small note-books, similar to the collections of modern day *Rãgìs* which some times they carry to perform the *Kìrtan.* Subsequently, it gave rise to another scribal tradition which was minor in nature and comprised selective writings possibly thematically arranged. The musical tradition which had flourished at far away regions from the central Sikh shrine would have been prone to regional or local influence. Though, the various musical traditions popular among the Sikhs, had much in common but certain musical variants and modifications might have crept into them. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that musical tradition was only a means to popularize the message of *Gurbānì* but not an end to preserve it for posterity. Taking into account the well-nurtured main Sikh scribal tradition coupled with the history of literary activities in the early Sikh Panth, we can very safely state that the musical tradition or oral transmission popular among the main Sikh stream, has no independent origin but has thrived on the scribal tradition which has developed into the hands of the Sikh Gurus. Anyway, musical variants found in a manuscript provide vital clues to ascertain its merit.

VI. *UDÀSÁ* TRADITION

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

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1. ਪੁਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉਲੁ ਨ ਪਾਲਿਓ ਕਰਿ ਪੀਰਹੁ ਕੰਨੑ ਮੁਰਟੀਐ ॥
   ਦਿਲਿ ਖੋਟੈ ਆਕੀ ਫਿਰਨੑਿ ਬੰਨੑਿ ਭਾਰੁ ਉਚਾਇਨੑਿ ਛਟੀਐ ॥

   ....
   ਹੋਰਿਓ ਗੰਗ ਵਹਾਈਐ ਦੁਨਿਆਈ ਆਖੈ ਕਿ ਕਿਓਨੑ ॥

   ....
   ਸਿਖਾਂ ਪੁਤ੍ਰਾਂ ਘੋਖਿ ਕੇ ਸਭ ਉਮਤਿ ਵੇਖਹੁ ਜਿ ਕਿਓਨੑ ॥
   ਜਾਂ ਸੁਧੋਸੁ ਤਾਂ ਲਹਣਾ ਟਿਕਿਓਨੑ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 967)*

2. "ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਬੁਰਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਸਥ ਵਿਚਿ ਅਰਾਧੇਗਾ ਪਰਮੇਸਰੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਸੁਖੀ ਰਖੇਗਾ।" See Narinder Kaur Bhatia, ed., *Srī Satigurū Jī De Muhaiṅ Dīāṅ Sākhīāṅ,* p. 49.

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

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1. ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਬਿਨਾ ਹੋਰ ਕਚੀ ਹੈ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
   ਬਾਣੀ ਤ ਕਚੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਹੋਰ ਕਚੀ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
   ਕਹਦੇ ਕਚੇ ਸੁਣਦੇ ਕਚੇ ਕਚੀ ਆਖਿ ਵਖਾਣੀ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 920)*
2. ਆਵਹੁ ਸਿਖ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੇ ਪਿਆਰਿਹੋ ਗਾਵਹੁ ਸਚੀ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
   ਬਾਣੀ ਤ ਗਾਵਹੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇਰੀ ਬਾਣੀਆ ਸਿਰਿ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
                    (AGGS, p. 920; for more details see also pp. 1174-75*)*
3. Various *Janamsakhi* traditions attribute these compositions to
   Guru
   Nanak Dev, see *Puratan Janamsakhi* (ed. Bhai Vir Singh), pp. 116-
   120;
   also see G.B. Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Biran,*
   pp. 341-402.
4. Sulakhan Singh, *Udasis under the Sikh Rule (1750-1850 A.D.),*
   Ph.D. Thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1985.

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

VII. MOHAN OR BHALLÀ TRADITION

7.1.   Another rival tradition, which competed with the main Sikh tradition, belongs to Baba Mohan and has its origin at Goindwal. However, it should not be confused with the original tradition that had developed under the patronage of Guru Amar Das. The main factor for its out-growth was that Guru Amar Das' descendants, especially his son Mohan, had not liked the nomination of Guru Ram Das to guruship. The Sikh scriptural sources confirm that though Guru Amar Das had prevailed upon his sons to accept the spiritual authority of Guru Ram Das but it seems they had submitted to him hesitatingly and temporarily.[1] In fact during the pontificate of third Master, Goindwal had emerged into a flourishing Sikh centre. The construction of *Bāolì,* organization of *Manjìs* and visits of Sikh *Sangats* to celebrate the festivals of *Māghì* and *Baisākhì* at Goindwal, had enhanced its prestige and prosperity.[2] Obviously, Baba Mohan and his close relatives were not reconciled to part with the possession of such a vibrant centre to any one. Very rightly loss of guruship meant dispossession of the Sikh centre at Goindwal which was unbearable for them. According to Bhai Gurdas, the nomination of Guru Ram Das to guruship was such a terrible shock for Baba Mohan that he had lost his

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1. ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਜਿ ਬੋਲਿਆ ਗੁਰਸਿਖਾ ਮੰਨਿ ਲਈ ਰਜਾਇ ਜੀਉ ॥
    ਮੋਹਰੀ ਪੁਤੁ ਸਨਮੁਖੁ ਹੋਇਆ ਰਾਮਦਾਸੈ ਪੈਰੀ ਪਾਇ ਜੀਉ ॥
    ਸਭ ਪਵੈ ਪੈਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੇਰੀ ਜਿਥੈ ਗੁਰੁ ਆਪੁ ਰਖਿਆ ॥
    ਕੋਈ ਕਰਿ ਬਖੀਲੀ ਨਿਵੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਆਣਿ ਨਿਵਾਇਆ ॥   *(AGGS, pp. 923-*
2. For the development of Sikhism under Guru Amar Das at Goindwal, see Balwant Singh Dhillon, 'Guru Amar Das and the Mughal State', *JSS,* Vol. XI, pp. 88-89.

mental balance.[1] On the basis of evidence at our disposal we can very safely state that Baba Mohan was not only a rival contender but had actually established a parallel line of guruship at Goindwal. To understand the resultant schism, a perusal of Guru Ram Das' observations is *sine qua non* in this context.

7.2.   Guru Ram Das' compositions are replete with information which throw immense light on the nature of hostility and opposition that had developed against the main Sikh stream. His usage and treatment of certain technical words, namely, *Nindak, Bemukh, Ku~iyār, Manmukh, Dusha_* etc., in relation to the activities of his rivals is worthnoting.[2] Their use is not limited merely to a detractor or an evil person but stood for a person who is an enemy of the Guru. Guru Ram Das reaffirms that chief aim of the detractor was to usurp God's wealth for self-aggrandisement. Everyday he casts covetous eyes on the wealth of others and wants to make away with the spiritual wealth of the Guru (probably the sacred writings). The Sikhs have been advised not to associate with him.[3] Guru Ram Das also felt that his detractors were spiritually bankrupt who go for begging in the world but people would not spit even on their faces. He also finds that the detractors being envious of others had lost their creditability and instead had exposed themselves to disrepute. The wealth which they coveted could not be got by envy. They are hopeless fellows who roam about for money to no purpose.[4] In contrast to the *Gursikhs,* the evil detractors can not tolerate

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1. ਸੋਹਨੁ ਕਮਲਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਚਉਬਾਰਾ ਮੋਹਰੀ ਮਨਾਇਆ ॥   *(Bhai Gurdas, 26-33)*
2. Surjit Hans, *A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature,* pp. 105-107.
3. ਜਿਨ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਦੁਸਟੁ ਹੈ ਨਕ ਵਢੇ ਨਕ ਵਢਾਇਆ ॥
   ਮਹਾ ਕਰੂਪ ਦੁਖੀਏ ਸਦਾ ਕਾਲੇ ਮੁਹ ਮਾਇਆ ॥
   ਭਲਕੇ ਉਠਿ ਨਿਤ ਪਰ ਦਰਬੁ ਹਿਰਹਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਚੁਰਾਇਆ ॥
   ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮਤ ਕਰਹੁ ਰਖਿ ਲੇਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਰਾਇਆ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 1244)*
4. ਜਿਨੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਧਨੁ ਨ ਖਟਿਓ ਸੇ ਦੇਵਾਲੀਏ ਜੁਗ ਮਾਹਿ ॥
   ਓਇ ਮੰਗਦੇ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਸਭ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਕੋਈ ਮੁਹਿ ਥੁਕ ਨ ਤਿਨ ਕਉ ਪਾਹਿ ॥
   ਪਰਾਈ ਬਖੀਲੀ ਕਰਹਿ ਆਪਣੀ ਪਰਤੀਤਿ ਖੋਵਨਿ ਸਗਵਾ ਭੀ ਆਪੁ ਲਖਾਹਿ ॥
   ਜਿਸੁ ਧਨ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਹਿ ਸੋ ਧਨੁ ਚੁਗਲੀ ਹਥਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਓਇ ਭਾਵੈ ਤਿਥੈ ਜਾਹਿ ॥
   ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸੇਵਕ ਭਾਇ ਹਰਿ ਧਨੁ ਮਿਲੈ ਤਿਥਹੁ ਕਰਮਹੀਨ
   ਲੈ ਨ ਸਕਹਿ ਹੋਰ ਥੈ ਦੇਸ ਦਿਸੰਤਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਧਨੁ ਨਾਹਿ ॥   *(AGGS, pp. 852-853)*

the greatness of the Guru. They were always unhappy over the well-being of others. Their evil designs against the Guru were of no avail because only that prospered which God willed.[1] Guru Ram Das was of the firm belief that his detractors ultimately would meet with ignominy. He declares that even for four generations the detractors would not be able to achieve unison with God.[2] It seems to bring back the detractors to the main stream, Guru Ram Das had responded positively towards rapprochement with them.[3] However the experience failed simply because the detractors continued to conspire against the Guru.[4] To undermine Guru Ram Das' position his detractors encouraged desertions from Guru's side to their camp.[5] To check the exploitation of the Sikhs at the hands of detractors Guru Ram Das had to decree that except the Guru, the Sikhs should not take commands from anyone else. Instead, the Sikhs were

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1. ਗੁਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਵਿਚਿ ਨਾਵੈ ਕੀ ਵਡੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਹਰਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਆਪਿ ਵਧਾਈ ॥
   ਸੇਵਕ ਸਿਖ ਸਭਿ ਵੇਖਿ ਵੇਖਿ ਜੀਵਨਿ ਓਨਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਭਾਈ ॥
   ਨਿੰਦਕ ਦੁਸਟ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਵੇਖਿ ਨ ਸਕਨਿ ਓਨਾ ਪਰਾਇਆ ਭਲਾ ਨ ਸੁਖਾਈ ॥
   ਕਿਆ ਹੋਵੈ ਕਿਸ ਹੀ ਕੀ ਝਖ ਮਾਰੀ ਜਾ ਸਚੇ ਸਿਉ ਬਣਿ ਆਈ ॥
   ਜਿ ਗਲ ਕਰਤੇ ਭਾਵੈ ਸਾ ਨਿਤ ਨਿਤ ਚੜੈ ਸਵਾਈ ਸਭ ਝਖਿ ਝਖਿ ਮਰੈ ਲੋਕਾਈ ॥
   (AGGS, p. 850)

2. ਮੂਰਖੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੁ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਸ ਕਰੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਹਲਤਿ ਪਲਤਿ ਮੁਹੁ ਕਾਰਾ ॥.....
   ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਤੇ ਹਰਿ ਪਾਈਐ ਸਿਰਿ ਨਿੰਦਕ ਕੈ ਪਵੈ ਛਾਰਾ ॥
   ਜਿਸੁ ਘਰਿ ਵਿਰਤੀ ਸੋਈ ਜਾਣੈ ਜਗਤ ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਪੁਛਿ ਕਰਹੁ ਬੀਚਾਰਾ ॥
   ਚਹੁ ਪੀੜੀ ਆਦਿ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਬਖੀਲੀ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਾਇਓ ਹਰਿ ਸੇਵਕ ਭਾਇ ਨਿਸਤਾਰਾ ॥
   (AGGS, p. 733)

3. ਕੋਈ ਨਿੰਦਕੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਫਿਰਿ ਸਰਣਿ ਗੁਰ ਆਵੈ ॥
   ਪਿਛਲੇ ਗੁਨਹ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਬਖਸਿ ਲਏ ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਨਾਲਿ ਰਲਾਵੈ ॥
   ਜਿਉ ਮੀਹਿ ਵੁਠੈ ਗਲੀਆ ਨਾਲਿਆ ਟੋਭਿਆ ਕਾ ਜਲੁ ਜਾਇ ਪਵੈ ॥
   ਵਿਚਿ ਸੁਰਸਰੀ ਸੁਰਸਰੀ ਮਿਲਤ ਪਵਿਤੁ ਪਾਵਨੁ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਵੈ ॥
   ਏਹ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਨਿਰਵੈਰ ਵਿਚਿ ਜਿਤੁ ਮਿਲਿਐ
   ਤਿਸਨਾ ਭੁਖ ਉਤਰੈ ਹਰਿ ਸਾਂਤਿ ਤੜ ਆਵੈ ॥
   ਨਾਨਕ ਇਹੁ ਅਚਰਜੁ ਦੇਖਹੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਸਚੇ ਸਾਹ ਕਾ ਜਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਨੋ ਮੰਨੈ ਸੁ ਸਭਨਾਂ ਭਾਵੈ ॥
   (AGGS, pp. 854-55)

4. ਸਾਕਤ ਜਾਇ ਨਿਵਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਆਗੈ ਮਨਿ ਖੋਟੇ ਕੂੜਿ ਕੂੜਿਆਰੇ ॥
   ਜਾ ਗੁਰੁ ਕਹੈ ਉਠਹੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਬਹਿ ਜਾਹਿ ਘੁਸਰਿ ਬਗੁਲਾਰੇ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 312)*

5. ਸਚਿਆਰ ਸਿਖ ਬਹਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਾਸਿ ਘਾਲਨਿ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਨ ਲਭਨੀ ਕਿਤੈ ਥਾਇ ਭਾਲੇ ॥
   ਜਿਨਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਆਖਿਆ ਸੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਤਿਨਾ ਮੁਹ ਭਲੇਰੇ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਦਯਿ ਗਾਲੇ ॥.....
   ਜਨ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਕਨਾ ਗੁਰੁ ਮੇਲਿ ਸੁਖੁ ਦੇਵੈ ਇਕਿ ਆਪੇ ਵਖਿ ਕਢੈ ਠਗਵਾਲੇ ॥
   (AGGS, p. 305)

advised to shun away from the company of such fellows.¹ Guru
Ram Das remarked that the deserters and their associates were
destined to ruin. In his view first Guru Nanak had proscribed
them and again Guru Angad had proved them false. Guru Amar
Das had come to the conclusion that they were wretches and
hopeless fellows. Now at fourth generation Guru Ram Das had
forgiven them to redeem these evil detractors.²

7.3.   We also observe that the detractors had worked out various
plans against the Guru. Commenting upon the rivals and their
associates, Guru Ram Das had remarked that some one had
made party of his friends, sons and brothers. Some- one had tied-
up with his *Jawāì* (son in law) and *Kuram* (son or daughter's
father-in-law). Someone had entered into an alliance with the
chaudharìs and *shiqdar* of the area. The sole aim of all these
factions, was to harm the Guru.³ Evidently, the detractors of
Guru Ram Das enjoyed the support of authorities at the village
as well as *parganā* level.

7.4.   The most significant aspect of the activities of the detractors
was that they had started imitating the Guru. They were
churning out spurious compositions to attract the Sikhs to their
camp.⁴ Now we are fairly in a good position to assess

1. ਵਿਣੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮੈ ਜਿ ਗੁਰਸਿਖਾਂ ਪਾਸਹੁ ਕੰਮੁ ਕਰਾਇਆ
    ਲੋੜੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਗੁਰਸਿਖੁ ਫਿਰਿ ਨੇੜਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ॥.....
    ਜਿ ਵਿਣੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਮਨੁ ਮੰਨੇ ਕੰਮੁ ਕਰਾਏ ਸੋ ਜੰਤੁ ਮਹਾ ਦੁਖੁ ਪਾਵੈ॥

    (AGGS, p. 317)

2. ਹੁਰਿ ਮਾਰੇ ਪੂਰੈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਸੇਈ ਹੁਣਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਮਾਰੇ॥
    ਜੇ ਮੇਲਣ ਨੋ ਬਹੁਤੇਰਾ ਲੋਚੀਐ ਨ ਦੇਈ ਮਿਲਣ ਕਰਤਾਰੇ॥
    ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਢੋਈ ਨਾ ਲਹਨਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰਿ ਵੀਚਾਰੇ॥
    ਕੋਈ ਜਾਇ ਮਿਲੈ ਹੁਣਿ ਓਨਾ ਨੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਜਮੁ ਜੰਦਾਰੇ॥
    ਗੁਰਿ ਬਾਬੈ ਫਿਟਕੇ ਸੇ ਫਿਟੇ ਗੁਰਿ ਅੰਗਦਿ ਕੀਤੇ ਕੂੜਿਆਰੇ॥
    ਗੁਰਿ ਤੀਜੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਵੀਚਾਰਿਆ ਕਿਆ ਹਥਿ ਏਨਾ ਵੇਚਾਰੇ॥
    ਗੁਰੁ ਚਉਥੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਟਿਕਿਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਨਿੰਦਕ ਦੁਸਟ ਸਭਿ ਤਾਰੇ॥   *(AGGS, p. 307)*
3. *AGGS*, p. 366.
4. ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਤਿ ਸਰੂਪੁ ਹੈ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਬਣੀਐ॥
    ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਰੀਸੈ ਹੋਰਿ ਕਚੁ ਪਿਚੁ ਬੋਲਦੇ ਸੇ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਕੂੜੇ ਝੜਿ ਪੜੀਐ॥
    ਓਨ੍ਹ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਹੈ ਬਿਖੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਨੋ ਝਖਿ ਮਰਦੇ ਕੜੀਐ॥

    (AGGS, p. 304)

the nature of opposition that Guru Ram Das was facing at the hands of his rivals. On the basis of the above evidence, it is crystal clear that the rivals cherished an ernest desire to succeed to the guruship, coveted the wealth of the Guru's establishment, cast envious eyes on the spiritual wealth i.e., *Bani* of the Gurus, indulged in tirades and slanderous campaigns to malign the Guru, encouraged desertion in the ranks of the Sikhs and imitated the Sikh Gurus to compose *Kachi-Bani* and worked on alliances to grab the *Gurgaddi.* Who were these detractors or rivals ? To identify them is not an impossible task.

7.5. The Sikh tradition informs us that Baba Sri Chand who was one of the claimants, had been reconciled and had very cordial relations with the fourth Master.[1] Guru Angad's sons, though unhappy over the succession of Guru Amar Das, had not been able to attract a sizeable following to their side. The *Mina* tradition, which we will discuss later on, had not yet taken off. Evidently it was none but Baba Mohan and his relatives whose hostility towards Guru Ram Das had engulfed the Sikh Panth in a serious internal crisis. Against the backdrop of Guru Ram Das' above-mentioned observations, the claim of Baba Mohan and his descendants, which we find recorded in the colophon of the *Ahiyapur Pothi,* becomes more significant and meaningful too. The said claim states that the custodians of the *Pothis* had got the blessings of three generations of the Sikh Gurus and that anyone following the Guru outside their progeny would certainly go to hell.[2] It provides enough insights into the very purpose of the *Pothi.* It reflects that Baba Mohan and his descendants had refused to accord recognition to Guru Ram Das, and instead they wanted to establish a hereditary line of guruship. The extant Goindwal *Pothis* are themselves a clear proof that Baba Mohan and his close relatives had compiled a sort of scripture, so the Sikhs can be attracted to their establishment. The tradition developed by Baba Mohan and his descendants is well preserved in the extant Goindwal *Pothis.* Very truly it has incorporated the spurious writings of the Mohan tradition which they had

1. *Parchian Sewa Das* (ed. Hari Singh), p. 67.
2. See infra chap. 3.12.

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

VIII. *MINÀ* TRADITION

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

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1. For *Kachi-bani* hymns included in the Mohan or Bhalla tradition, see infra chap. 3, Appendix IV.
2. See infra chap. 3.11.4.
3. ਕਾਹੇ ਪੂਤ ਝਗਰਤ ਹਉ ਸੰਗਿ ਬਾਪ ॥
   ਜਿਨ ਕੇ ਜਣੇ ਬਡੀਰੇ ਤੁਮ ਹਉ ਤਿਨ ਸਿਉ ਝਗਰਤ ਪਾਪ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 1200)*
4. ਮੀਣਾ ਹੋਆ ਪਿਰਥੀਆ ਕਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਤੋਂਚਕ ਬਰਲ ਚਲਾਇਆ।
   Bhai Gurdas, 26.33; for more comments on the activities of the *Minas* by Bhai Gurdas, see also *Var* 36.1-8.

September 1581, Prithi Chand carried on to contest his claim for guruship. Firstly, he conspired desertions and had won over some of the leading *Masands* to his camp.[1] He was also successful in getting a share in the income from the city of Ramdaspur.[2] Since, Guru Arjan Dev was issueless for quite a time, Prithi Chand cherished vainly the hope that ultimately the mantle of guruship would fall to his son Miharban. But the birth of (Guru) Hargobind in June 1595 C.E., totally upset the *Mina* apple cart, which subsequently proved to be a turning point in the take off *Mina* tradition. Afterwards he thought of an aggressive and relentless campaign against the Guru. To eliminate the child Hargobind, was one of the earliest options which he had exercised clandestinely.[3] The scriptural as well as historical sources provide enough insights into the nature of hostility that Guru Arjan Dev had to face at the hands of his rival, Prithi Chand.

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

1. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Bansawalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka,* p. 50.
2. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Suraj Parkash* (ed. Bhai Vir Singh), p. 1763.
3. *AGGS,* pp. 1137, 1138.
4. ਸੁਲਹੀ ਤੇ ਨਾਰਾਇਣ ਰਾਖੁ ॥
   ਸੁਲਹੀ ਕਾ ਹਾਥੁ ਕਹੀ ਨ ਪਹੁਚੈ ਸੁਲਹੀ ਹੋਇ ਮੂਆ ਨਾਪਾਕੁ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 825)*
5. ਮਹਜਰੁ ਝੂਠਾ ਕੀਤੋਨੁ ਆਪਿ ॥ ਪਾਪੀ ਕਉ ਲਾਗਾ ਸੰਤਾਪੁ ॥
   ਜਿਸਹਿ ਸਹਾਈ ਗੋਬਿਦੁ ਮੇਰਾ ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਉ ਜਮੁ ਨਹੀ ਆਵੈ ਨੇਰਾ ॥
   ਸਾਚੀ ਦਰਗਹ ਬੋਲੈ ਕੂੜੁ ॥ ਸਿਰੁ ਹਾਥ ਪਛੋੜੈ ਅੰਧਾ ਮੂੜੁ ॥
   ਰੋਗ ਬਿਆਪੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਪਾਪ ॥ ਅਦਲੀ ਹੋਇ ਬੈਠਾ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਆਪਿ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 199)*

founded a parallel centre to that of Guru Arjan Dev.[1] However, after the departure of Guru Hargobind, the descendants of Prithi Chand had full control of Amritsar almost for a century, where they carried on their literary pursuits without any disturbance. The volume and variety of literature produced by the *Mina* line of guruship speak loudly and clearly of their motives.

8.3.   An examination of the *Mina* literature leaves no room for any doubt that Prithi Chand from the very beginning had embarked on a systematic plan to groom his son, Miharban, as the future guru of the Sikh Panth. To make him a perfect and legitimate candidate for guruship, Miharban was encouraged to compose poetry in the vein of the Sikh Gurus.[2] The *Mina* literature in its attempts to highlight Miharban as a rightful heir of Guru Arjan Dev not only projects him a great favourite of the Guru but a key figure at the Guru's court who was highly skillful to carry on responsibilities on behalf of the Guru.[3] Miharban was a prolific writer and no mean a poet as well. His literary works speak volumes of hard work which he put in to establish the *Mina* tradition.[4] We are told that the *Granth,* a sort of scripture for the *Minas* that Miharban had compiled, also included the writings composed by him.[5] On the pattern of the Sikh Gurus he had bands of musicians to perform *Kirtan.*[6] He had employed a number of professional scribes who were entrusted with the work to prepare copies of his *Granth,* for subsequent circulation and installation at the establishments controlled by the *Mina*

1. Sohan, *Gurbilas Chhevien Patshahi,* p. 29; also see *Gos_i Guru Miharvanu,* pp. 191-194.
2. *Gosti Guru Miharvanu,* pp. 174, 176, 336.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 175-176.
4. Piara Singh Padam, 'Miharvan te Hariji dian Rachnavan', pp. 38-40.
5. ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨ ਪੁਤ ਪ੍ਰਿਥੀਏ ਦਾ ਕਬੀਸਰੇ ਕਰੇ।
   ਪਾਰਸੀ ਹਿੰਦਵੀ ਸੰਸਠਿਤ ਨਾਲੇ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਪੜੇ।
   ਤਿਨ ਭੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਬਣਾਈ।
   ਭੋਗ ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਹੀ ਪਾਈ।.....
   ਮੀਣੀਆ ਭੀ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਇਕ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਬਣਾਇਆ।
   ਚਹੁੰ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀਆ ਦੀ ਸਬਦ ਬਾਣੀ ਲਿਖ ਵਿਚ ਪਾਇਆ।
   Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Bansawalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka,* p. 50.
6. *Gosti Guru Miharvanu,* p. 198.

Masands.[1] It is very obvious that threat to corrupt the originality of *GurBani* was real and very serious. To counter the *Mina* tradition from taking roots deep into the Sikh Panth, Bhai Gurdas single-handedly performed a yeoman's job. He presented the main Sikh tradition as being so real and forceful that propaganda and heretical teachings of the *Minas* would not be able to prevail.[2]

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

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1. Keso Das and Sunder Das were the chief scribes of the *Mina* tradition, see *Gos_i Guru Miharvanu,* pp. 340, 347.
2. Bhai Gurdas, 36.1-8.
3. *Gosti Guru Miharvanu,* pp. 181-190.
4. Whereas *Sukhmani Sahansarnama* eulogises the Hindu *Avtaras, Àdi Katha Muhammad Ki, Masla Hajrat Rasool Ka, Masla Moose Paigambar Ka, Masla Hasan Hussain Ka,* etc., deal with the Semitic religious personalities.
5. Miharban, *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji* (ed. Kirpal Singh), p. 465.

the *Mina* variety of Sikhism.[1] A thorough and extensive study
of the of *Mina* literature can be of immense value for textual
studies. Such a study will go a long way to finding out how the
Mina tradition was different from that of the main Sikh tradition.

IX. *HINDALI* TRADITION

9.1. Another tradition, the *Hindali* that was totally heterodox
in nature, also deserves our attention. It owes its origin to Hindal,
a jat of Jandiala (Jandiala Guru), now in the district of Amritsar.
The Sikh sources describe that previously he had been a follower
of Sakhi Sarwar who had come under the spell of Guru Amar
Das to dedicate himself to the service of *langar* at Goindwal. It
is said that he was one of the *Manjidars* to whom Guru Amar
Das had entrusted the responsibility to preach Sikhism in and
around his village.[2] Since he was fond of meditating God in the
name of Niranjan, his followers came to be knows as the
Niranjanias.[3] Though his association with Guru Amar Das is a
debatable issue, yet we can safely state that Hindal who was a
contemporary of Guru Arjan Dev, had embraced Sikhism at some
stage of his career.[4] It seems, subsequently he drifted away from
the main stream Sikhism to establish his own seat of gurudom
at Jandiala.[5] Bidhi Chand, the son and successor of Hindal
carried on the *Niranjania* tradition to give it an independent

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1. These ideas are found interspersed in the various *Sakhis* and
   Goshtis of *Mina* literature. For a cursory glance readers are
   referred to *Gosti Guru Miharvanu,* pp. 169-328.
2. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mahima Parkash,* Vol. II, pp. 223-226; Rattan
   Singh Bhangoo, *Sri Guru Panth Parkash* (ed. Jit Singh Sital), p.
   252; Giani Gian Singh, *Panth Parkash* (ed. Giani Kirpal Singh),
   p. 2851-2852.
3. Giani Gian Singh, *Panth Parkash,* p. 2852.
4. *Parchi Baba Hindal* and some other sources inform us that Hindal
   took his birth on Vaisakh Vadi Puranmashi, 1630 Bk. (1573 C.E.),
   see *Parchi Baba Hindal,* folio 18; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh,*
   p. 715. If it is true then he was only one year old when Guru Amar
   Das took his demise. It puts a big question mark as to confer a
   Manji on a child when he was still in his infancy does not look
   plausible on the part of Guru Amar Das. The *Hindali* as well as Sikh
   sources confirm that he was a contemporary of Guru Arjan Dev, see
   Giani Gian Singh, p. 2852; *Parchi Baba Hindal,* folios 23-24.
5. Rattan Singh Bhangoo, *op.cit.,* p. 253.

outlook than that of the Sikhs.[1] Some of the sources inform us that he had married a Muslim girl of questionable character to become a *bete noire* in the eyes of public.[2] Resultantly, a number of his followers had forsaken him to rejoin the main stream Sikhism. It seems thereafter Bidhi Chand and his successors became sworn enemies of the main stream Sikhs to cause an irreparable loss to them at the hands of Mughal and Afghan authorities. The *Niranjania* literature produced under the patronage of Bidhi Chand, has no scruple to denigrate Guru Nanak and his successors.[3] It is replete with accounts that Hindal stood on a much higher spiritual pedestal than that of Guru Nanak. It also informs us that Hindal has composed a number of compositions.[4] Significantly, some writings which are *raga* oriented have survived in the *Niranjania* works. It is equally noteworthy that his writings have been entered under the authorship of *Mahala* 1, a distinctive feature of the Sikh text to record the *Bani* of Guru Nanak.[5] An analysis of the *Niranjania* literature reveals that Hindal has compiled a sort of *Granth* wherein besides his own writings, the hymns of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and medieval *Bhagats* have been included in it.[6] A cursory glance at the writings of Hindal indicates that to compose them he has borrowed heavily from the *Bani* of the Sikh Gurus.[7] Even to initiate their followers the *Niranjanias* have coined a formula that contains some peculiar features which put it apart from the Sikh tradition.[1] The scholars of Sikh studies are unanimous in their view-point that to serve their vested

1. For the beliefs and practices of the *Niranjanias,* see *Parchi Baba Hindal,* folios. 49-75, 57-58, 154-161, 231-233; Giani Gian Singh, *Panth Parkash,* p. 2853.
2. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province,* Vol. II, p. 325; Giani Gian Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 2852; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh,* p. 715.
3. For *Niranjanias* attitude towards Guru Nanak and Guru Arjan Dev, See *Parchi Baba Hindal,* folios 26-30, 75-83, 100-101, 105-112, 131, 151; also see Rattan Singh Bhangoo, *Sri Guru Panth Parkash,* p. 254; Giani Gian Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 2853.
4. *Parchi Baba Hindal,* folios 102, 105.
5. *Ibid.,* folios 42, 102-104, 131, 145, 147, 162-164.
6. *Ibid.,* folio 113.
7. See infra Appendix I.

interests, the *Niranjanias* have played a vital role to distort the Sikh tradition.[2] Hence, the scholars working in the field of textual criticism have to be cautious in their approach as the possibility of *Niranjania* documents representing their version of the *Bani* of the Sikh Gurus surfacing at some stage of history can not be ruled out altogether.

X. CONCLUSIONS

10.1. The foregoing discussion helps us to understand that literary activity among the Sikhs is not a late phenomenon but its genesis can be traced back to the times of Guru Nanak. Our sources reveal that right from Guru Nanak the recording and copying of *GurBani* and its subsequent circulation among the Sikhs have been well taken care of by the Sikh Gurus and the Sikhs commissioned by them. Consequently, under the watchful eyes of the Sikh Gurus a major or parent tradition of *GurBani* in scribal form had flourished to which each Sikh Guru had contributed in a very significant manner. On the basis of diction, genre and other poetic elements it has been proved that the Sikh Gurus before Guru Arjan Dev had not only access to the hymns of their successors but to the writings of the *Bhagats* as well.[3] Evidence at hand suggests that the process of recording, compilation and canonization did not take place once but over and over again for nearly a century, coming to an end with the codification of the *Àdi Granth* in 1604 C.E. Undoubtedly in addition to the inherited writings, Guru Arjan Dev had to sift many other sources available to him, but to locate the sources of Sikh scriptural tradition a scholar has to be careful that

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

ਆਦ ਸਚੁ ॥ ਜੁਗਾਦ ਸਚੁ ॥ ਹੈ ਭੀ ਸਚੁ ॥ ਹੋਸੀ ਭੀ ਸਚੁ ॥ ਸਚੁਨਾਮ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ॥ ਨਿਰਭੈ ਨਿਰਵੈਰ ॥ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ॥ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਵ ॥ ਜਪੀਐ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

(Parchi Baba Hindal, folio 99)

2. Rattan Singh Bhangoo, *Sri Guru Panth Parkash,* p. 254; Giani Gian Singh, *Panth Parkash,* pp. 2852-2853; also see Karam Singh Historian, *Katak ki Vishakh,* pp. 116-131; Surjit Hans, *A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature,* pp. 204-205; Gurcharan Singh, 'Niranjania Samparda ate Usda Sahit', *Khoj Patarika,* 1967-68, No. 1, pp. 161-66.

3. For details, see Sahib Singh, *Àdi Bir Bare,* pp. 34-108.

besides the main Sikh tradition, four other rival traditions of *Gurbani* i.e., the *Udasi,* the Mohan or *Bhalla*, the *Mina* and the *Hindali* were also current among the Sikhs of various hues of that time. While analysing a manuscript and its possible relationship with the early Sikh scriptural sources, we have to ascertain to which of the above-mentioned traditions of *GurBani* it belongs.

APPENDIX I CHAP. 1

SOME EXAMPLES OF HINDAL'S COMPOSITIONS

1. ਰਾਗ ਗੁਜਰੀ ਮਹਲਾ ਪਹਿਲਾ ੧

ਤੂੰ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਪਰਮੇਸਰੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਸਭ ਉਪਾਈ ॥
ਤੂੰ ਅਚਰਜ ਦੀਸੇ ਅਚਰਜੁ ਸੁਣੀਐ ਅਚਰਜ ਤੇਰੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥
ਹਉ ਬਿਸਮ ਤੂੰ ਬੇਸੁਮਾਰ ਤੇਰੀ ਕੀਮਤਿ ਕਹੀ ਨ ਜਾਈ ॥
ਤੂੰ ਜਲਿ ਥਲਿ ਮਹੀਅਲਿ ਭਰਿਪੁਰਿ ਲੀਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਮਾਈ ॥
ਤੂੰ ਹਾਜਰ ਨਾਦਰਿ ਜਾਹਰ ਬਾਤਨ ਕਰਤੇ ਤੇਰਾ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਲਖਿਆ ਜਾਈ ॥
ਤੂੰ ਬਡਾ ਬਿਅੰਤ ਅਨੰਤ ਅਨਾਦੀ ਤੇਰੀ ਅਨਿਦਿਨਿ ਕੀਮਤਿ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਛਾਈ ॥
ਤੂੰ ਬਡਾ ਅਟੱਲ ਅਡੋਲ ਅਮੋਲਕ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਮਲ ਮੁਰਾਰੀ ॥
ਜਿਮੀ ਜਿਮੀ ਅਸਮਾਨੀ ਪਤਾਲਾ ਪੁਰੀਆ ਤੁਧ ਬਿਨ ਥੰਮਾ ਕਲਿ ਧਾਰੀ ॥
ਸੂਰਜ ਚੰਦ ਇੰਦੁ ਸਮੁੰਦ ਸਭ ਰਚਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਲਉਡੀ ਕਾਰ ਗੁਜਾਰੀ ॥
ਰਾਮ ਕਿਸਨ ਬਿਸਨ ਸਭ ਬੰਦੇ ਤੇਰੇ ਤੂੰ ਤਖਤ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰਿ ਛਤ੍ਰਧਾਰੀ ॥
ਜੋਧ ਮਹਾਬਲ ਵਡੇ ਵਡੇਰੇ ਭੈ ਤੇਰੇ ਸਭਿ ਭਰਿਦੇ ॥
ਸੁਰ ਨਰਿ ਗਣਿ ਗੰਧਪ ਦੇਵਤੇ ਤੇਰੀ ਠਾਢੇ ਉਸਤਤਿ ਕਰਦੇ ॥
ਪੀਰ ਪੈਕਾਂਬਰ ਗਉਸਿ ਕੁਤਬਿ ਅਉਲੀਏ ਸਭ ਨਿਵ ਨਿਵ ਮਥਾ ਧਰਦੇ ॥
ਸਿਧ ਸਾਧਿਕ ਰਖੀਸਰਿ ਮੋਨੀ ਵਹੁ ਭੀ ਤੇਰੇ ਬਰਦੇ ॥
ਭਗਤਿ ਤੇਰੇ ਦਰਿਬਾਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਰਤੇ ਨਰਕਾਰੀ ਸੇ ਖਾਸੇ ਚੇਰੇ ਘਰਿ ਦੇ ॥
ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਹਿ ਦਿਆਲੁ ਠਿਆ ਬੇਸੁਮਾਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਤਿਸੇ ਮਿਲਾਏ ॥
ਨਾਮ ਜਪਾਏ ਭਗਤੀ ਲਾਏ ਗੁਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਸਹਜਿ ਕਰਾਏ ॥
ਗਿਆਨ ਦ੍ਰਿੜਾਏ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਮਨ ਵਸਾਏ ਮਨ ਦੀ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਦੂਰ ਗਵਾਏ ॥
ਨਰਕਿ ਨ ਪਾਏ ਬੈਕੁੰਠਹੁ ਛਡਾਏ ਪੁਰ ਅਮਰਾਪੁਰ ਪਹੁਚਾਏ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਪੀਲਾਏ ਦਰਸੁ ਦਿਖਾਏ ਭਗਵਤਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਨਿਵਾਜੇ ਜਨ ਹੰਦਾਲ ਆਖ ਸੁਨਾਏ ॥

(Parchi Baba Hindal, folios 42-43)

2. ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮ: ੧

ਸਬਦੁ ਰੀਸਾਲੁ ਉਤੇ ॥ ਕਵਲਾਪਤੀ ਦੇਸ ਉਤੇ ਹੋਇਆ ॥
ਕੰਤ ਰੀਸਾਲੂ ਨਰੰਕਾਰ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਹੋਰ ਸਭ ਪੈਦਾਇਸ ਨਾਰ ਜੀ ॥
ਸਭ ਸੇ ਨਦਰਿ ਨਿਹਾਲਦਾ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਜਿਸੁ ਭਾਣੇ ਲਏ ਸਵਾਰ ਜੀ ॥
ਰਾਵੈ ਭਾਣੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਸਾਈ ਹੈ ਸਾਈ ਹੈ ਸਿਰਦਾਰ ਜੀ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮੇਲੀ ਦਇਆ ਕਰਿ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਨਾਇ ਰਤੀ ਪਰਵਦਿਗਾਰ ਜੀ ॥
ਸਾਈ ਹੈ ਸਤਿਆਵਤੀ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਇਕਸੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਟੇਕ ਜੀ ॥
ਦੂਜੀ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਭਰਮਿਆ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਦੋਜਕ ਪਵਹਿ ਅਨੇਕ ਜੀ ॥
ਸਭ ਦੂ ਉਪਰਿ ਬੁਝਣਾ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਸਾਚਾ ਗਿਆਨ ਰਤਨ ਬਿਸੇਕ ਜੀ ॥
ਵਿਰਲੀ ਕਾਈ ਏਤ ਘਰਿ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਲਾਖਾਂ ਅੰਦਰ ਏਕ ਜੀ ॥
ਏਹਾ ਪਉੜੀ ਤੇਰੇ ਮਿਲਨ ਦੀ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਭਾਣੇ ਚਲ ਜੀ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਭਾਣੇ ਚਲਿਆ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਥਿਰ ਚਉਥਾ ਲਹੈ ਮਹਲ ਜੀ ॥
ਮਹਲਾ ਅੰਦਰ ਨਰੰਕਾਰ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਨਿਹਚਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਅਟਲ ਜੀ ॥
ਪੀਓ ਪਿਆਲਾ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਦਾ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਤੇਰਾ ਏਹੁ ਮਿਲਣ ਦਾ ਵੇਲਾ ਜੀ ॥
ਚੰਗਾ ਲੋੜਹਿ ਆਪਣਾ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਹਰਿ ਏਕੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਇ ਜੀ ॥
ਕਰਮਾ ਬੋਂ ਨਿਹਕਰਮ ਰਹੁ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਦੂਜਾ ਭਾਉ ਮਿਟਾਉ ਜੀ ॥

ਹੋਇ ਸੰਤਾ ਕੀ ਰੇਣਕਾ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਤੂੰ ਏਹੁ ਸੀਗਾਰ ਬਨਾਇ ਜੀ ॥

ਹਰਿ ਹੰਦਾਲ ਆਖਿਆ ਗੋਰੀਏ ਤਵ ਛੇਜ ਰਾਵੈ ਹਰਿ ਆਇ ਜੀ ॥

(Parchi Baba Hindal, folios 102-103)

3. ਰਾਗਾ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧

ਸਬਦੁ ਚੋਲੇ ਉਤੇ ਹੋਇਆ ॥

ਅਰੰਮ ਅਗੋਚਰੁ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਧਿਆਇਆ ॥

ਨਵ ਨਿਧੁ ਨਾਮ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਪਾਇਆ ॥

ਸੋ ਸਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਸੇਜੀ ਆਇਆ ॥

ਤੁਧ ਮਿਲੰਦਿਆ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਲਖ ਮਿਲੇ ॥

ਜਾਨ ਮੇਰੀ ਤੁਧਿ ਮਿਲੰਦਿਆਂ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਲਖ ਮਿਲੇ ਜੀ ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥

ਹਰਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਮਿਲ ਦੇ ਦੀ ਕਿਆ ਨੀਸਾਨੀ ॥

ਤੈ ਸਹਿ ਰਤੀ ਮੈ ਹੋਰ ਨ ਜਾਨੀ ॥

ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਪਿਆਲਾ ਪੀ ਅਘਾਨੀ ॥

ਚਿਰੀ ਵਿਛੁੰਨਿਆ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮਾ ਲਗਿ ਗਲੇ ॥

ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਪਿਆਲਾ ਪੀਆ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਿਲਾਇਆ ॥

ਸਭ ਦੂੰ ਮਿਠਾ ਆਖਿ ਸੁਨਾਇਆ ॥

ਹਰਿ ਰਸੁ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਵਿਚ ਇਸਕ ਰਲਾਇਆ ॥

ਆਸਕ ਤਰੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮਾ ਇਸਕ ਰਲੇ ॥

ਆਸਕ ਇਸਕ ਲਾਇ ਲਈ ਜਿੰਦ ਮੇਰੀ ॥

ਖਰੀ ਸਰਸੀ ਹੋਈ ਘਰ ਦੀ ਚੇਰੀ ॥

ਹਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਸਚੇ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਹੈ ਫੇਰੀ ॥

ਘਰਿ ਦੀ ਚੇਰੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਦੇ ਪਾਉ ਮਲੇ ॥

ਘਰਿ ਦੀ ਚੇਰੀ ਸਚੇ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੂੰ ਭਾਣੀ ॥

ਰਾਇ ਛੁਵੀ ਤਾ ਹੋਈ ਰਾਨੀ ॥

ਤ੍ਰੈ ਗੁਣ ਛਡਿ ਚਉਥੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਪਦਿ ਸਮਾਨੀ ॥

ਬੁਰੇ ਬਿਖਿਆ ਥੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਭ ਜਲੇ ॥

ਅਚਰਜ ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਲਖਿਆ ਨ ਜਾਈ ॥

ਦੇਖ ਦੇਖ ਚਲਤ ਬਿਸਮ ਭਈ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਾਈ ॥

ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਸੁੰਞੀ ਛੇਜ ਨ ਕਾਈ ॥

ਸਾਇ ਸੁਹਾਗਣ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਸਹਜ ਮਿਲੈ ॥

ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਮਾਇ ਨਹੀ ਜਣਿਆ ਤਿਸ ਬਾਪ ਭੀ ਨਾਹੀ ॥

ਉਪਜੈ ਨ ਬਿਨਸੈ ਰਵਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਲੋਆ ਸਭ ਮਾਹੀ ॥

ਅਪਰ ਅਪਾਰ ਬੇਸੁਮਾਰ ਸਵਾਮੀ ਮੈ ਕੇਵਡ ਆਖ ਸਲਾਹੀ ॥

ਜਿਨੀ ਨ ਜਾਤੋ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਮੇਰਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਾਖਤਿ ਨਰਕ ਗਲੇ ॥

ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਸਭ ਸੈ ਦਾ ਸਿਰਜਨਹਾਰਾ ॥

ਉਮਤ ਸਗਲੀ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਲਣਹਾਰਾ ॥

ਜੋ ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਪਿਆਰੀ ਤਿਸੁ ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਪਿਆਰਾ ॥

ਤੇਰੀ ਭਗਤਿ ਬੰਦਗੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਦੁਖ ਟਲੇ ॥

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮੇਲੀ ਸਾਹ ਸੁਲਤਾਨ ਕਉ ਮਿਲਾਈ ॥

ਸਾਹ ਸੁਲਤਾਨ ਸਚੇ ਮਹਲ ਚੜਾਈ ॥

ਬਿਅੰਤ ਬਾਣੀ ਹੰਦਾਲੇ ਗਾਈ ॥

ਕਰਮਾਵੰਤੀ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮਾ ਕਰਮ ਭਲੇ ॥   *(Parchi Baba Hindal, folios 103-105)*

4. ਰਾਗ ਸੂਹੀ ਮ: ੧ ਘਰ ੧

ਮਨ ਕਾ ਘੋਰਾ ਸਤਿ ਖੁਰਗੀਨ ॥
ਸੰਤੋਖ ਲਗਾਮ ਜਤ ਕਾ ਜੀਨ ॥
ਇਤਬਿਧ ਰਣ ਮੋਂ ਸੀਝੈ ਭਾਈ ॥
ਇਨ ਪਾਂਚੋਂ ਸੋਂ ਕਰੈ ਲਰਾਈ ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਬਿੰਦ ਬਾਪ ਮਾਥੇ ਪਰ ਪਟਾ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਹਾਬ ਲੈ ਕੂਟਾ ॥
ਤਬ ਗਿਆਨ ਸੂਰਮਾ ਚਢੇ ਅਸਵਾਰਾ ॥
ਮਾਰੇ ਠੋਪ ਲੋਭ ਹੰਕਾਰਾ ॥
ਰੇ ਮਨ ਜਬ ਇਸ ਬਿਧ ਕੋ ਧਾਂਵਹਿ ॥
ਕਹੁ ਹੰਦਾਲ ਤਬ ਹੀ ਸਚੁ ਪਾਵਹੁ ॥   *(Parchi Baba Hindal, folio 166)*

GURU HAR SAHAI *POTHI*
MYTH OF AN EARLY CORPUS OF THE SIKH SCRIPTURE

I. INTRODUCTION

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

II. THE SODHI FAMILY OF GURU HAR SAHAI

2.1. The Sodhis of Guru Har Sahai are the direct descendants of Prithi Chand, a jealous contender and an elder brother of Guru

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1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 370.
2. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 51.

Arjan.[1] Before settling down at Guru Har Sahai, the family had lived at Chunian in Lahore district, where they held a religious establishment.[2] Kahn Singh Nabha states that the hostile attitude of the rulers of Lahore compelled the family to leave Chunian to migrate to Guru Har Sahai.[3] It seems when the Sikhs had successfully established their political ascendancy over the Punjab, the family under the stewardship of Jiwan Mal, sixth in the line from Prithi Chand, had acquired a considerable socio-religious clout resulting in procuring a sizeable land grant in the neighbourhood of Ferozepur, where he founded the village of Guru Har Sahai after the name of his son. The family arose to be one of the biggest land holders of Malwa region.[4] Their status which was second only to the Nawab of Mamdot, is well-reflected in Lepel H. Griffin's *The Chiefs of Punjab,* where he enumerated them among the families of note in the Punjab.[5] Until 1970, when the *Pothi* was extant, Sodhi Jaswant Singh was the head of the family at Guru Har Sahai.[6]

III. HISTORY OF THE *POTHÁ*

3.1.   Besides other relics, the Sodhi family of Guru Har Sahai had in its custody a *Pothi* which is claimed to be the original *Pothi* prepared by Guru Nanak.[7] Subsequently, it was handed down to Guru Arjan from where it came into the hands of Prithi Chand.[8] In what way the *Pothi* ascribed to Guru Nanak, went

1. Parkash Singh, 'Sodhi Miharban De Khandan Da Shizra' *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji,* Vol. II, pp. 77-81.
2. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Castes and Tribes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P.,* Vol. I, p. 714.
3. Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gur Shabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh,* p. 421, here- after abbreviated to *Mahan Kosh.*
4. Towards the beginning of 20th century the family had about 24000 acres in their possession, see Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh,* p. 421.
5. Lepel, H. Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab,* pp. 234-236.
6. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 560.
7. H.A. Rose, *op.cit.,* p. 714; Kahn Singh Nabha, *op.cit.,* p. 421.
8. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 370; Gurinder Singh Mann without going into the merit, also subscribes to the above view, see *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 45-46.

into the hands of rival of Guru Arjan is yet to be known. In their literature the *Minas* have made an attempt to trace out their legitimacy to guruship by claiming that Prithi Chand inherited the *Pothi* from Guru Arjan and handed it over to his son, Miharban, before his death. Thus, the *Pothi* remained in the Sodhi family of Prithi Chand.[1] However one cannot be sure that it was the same *Pothi,* which Guru Nanak had handed over to Guru Angad. Moreover, it does not seem plausible that Guru Arjan might have conferred the *Pothi* on his rival. To establish Guru Har Sahai *Pothi's* connection with Guru Arjan and then back to Guru Nanak is not only historically unsound but against the course of Sikh history also. Since no contemporary and near contemporary historical source alludes to it, thus its history will remain shrouded in mystery.

3.2. In the early 19th century, Khushwaqt Rai wrote that Miharban, son of Prithi Chand had retrieved it from a fire which had broken out in *Guru ke Mahal* at Amritsar.[2] Munshi Sohan Lal Suri, a court chronicler of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, made a reference to its existence at Guru Har Sahai.[3] Interestingly, H.A. Rose, while writing about the *Mandir* at Guru Har Sahai states that "ten years ago a new building was constructed and the *mala* and *Pothi* brought from Chunian and placed therein."[4] Obviously, before its installation at Guru Har Sahai the *Pothi* had been at Chunian. Remaining in oblivion for a century it surfaced again during the quincentenary of Guru Nanak in 1969 C.E. It was brought to Patiala for public display.[5] Later on its custodian Sodhi Jaswant Singh took it to Faridabad also. Unfortunately, when he was returning to his village Guru Har Sahai by rail, he lost it along with his luggage.[6]

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1. *Gosh_i Guru Miharvanu,* ed., Govind Nath Rajguru, pp. 171, 175-177.
2. Khushwaqt Rai, *Twarikh-i-Sikhan,* pp. 17-18.
3. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh,* Daftar Awal, pp. 73-74.
4. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Castes and Tribes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P.,* Vol. II., p. 714.
5. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 560.
6. *Ibid.*

3.3.   Available accounts confirm that the *Pothi* was neither used for any religious service nor it was allowed to be recited. However, it was displayed once in a year only on *Baisakhi* day for public view. If someone wanted to have a glimpse of it, he was expected to present a *nazrana* of Rs. 101,[1] a huge amount, which was beyond the reach of the majority of the Sikhs. We are informed that followers of the *Mina* residing in N.W.F.P. used to send their annual offerings to the *Pothi Mala Mandir* at Guru Har Sahai.[2] Thus, we have strong reasons to believe that the *Pothi* was a well-guarded secret of the family and it was kept mainly to appropriate maximum offerings.

3.4.   Obviously, before its loss, it had not been subjected to a close scrutiny. On April 4, 1908, an Ahmadiya delegation examined it and reported that the *Pothi* was none else but an old manuscript of the *Quran,*[3] which later turned out to be untrue. While working on old manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth,* G.B. Singh also got interested in it. Though, he was unable to examine it personally, yet he got some information about it through a friend, who had a chance to have a look at it on April 13, 1944. Information gathered by him is very brief but still very useful to fill the gaps.[4] Later on in 1960 and then again in 1969, Giani Gurdit Singh was able to watch it from very close quarters.[5] He is the only living scholar, who has got fairly enough time to scrutinise it. Since the *Pothi* is not extant, our analysis of its contents is mainly based on Giani Gurdit Singh's observations, published by him in books and journals. I am fully aware that in the absence of *Pothi* to comment upon it is fraught with risks, yet for the interest of academics it is worth taking the risk.

1. H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Castes and Tribes of the Punjab and N.W.F.P.,* Vol. I, p. 714; Kahn Singh Nabha informs us that the amount of *Nazrana* was Rs. 125, see *Mahan Kosh,* p. 421.
2. H.A. Rose, *op.cit.,* p. 714.
3. G.B. Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Bi~an,* pp. 14-19.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 22-23.
5. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* pp. 558-560.

IV. EXTERNAL FEATURES

4.1. The *Pothi* was in the size of 7" x 10", shorter at base and longer in height.[1] Each folio had eight to ten lines.[2] It has been reported that each line had about ten words but the facsimiles belie the above statement.[3] Initially, it consisted of about 600 folios but more than 100 folios were added later on, which were slightly larger in size than the earlier ones.[4] Scholars have divided the *Pothi* into two parts viz., earlier and latter.[5] The latter part has been further divided into two sections. Irrespective of its division into parts and sub-sections, the folio numbers of whole *Pothi* were in continuous order. As reported on April 13, 1944, it was in very poor shape. Some of the folios had crumbled.[6] When Giani Gurdit Singh examined it, he also noticed utter negligence in preserving it. He testifies that it had become brittle, due to moisture some of the folios had stuck together and at many places the *Pothi* had totally worn off.[7] It was so bad in shape that to look into its earlier part was absolutely impossible. With great efforts he could go through only 100 and odd folios of latter part.[8]

V. INDEX (*TATKARÀ*)

5.1. As usual, at the outset the index of *Bani* according to the *ragas* had been recorded.[9] Perhaps it related to the *Bani* included in the earlier part. Somewhere in the middle or at the beginning of latter part another index had been scribed which started as :

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1. G.B. Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Bi~an,* p. 22.
2. As the observations made by G.B. Singh's friend in his note are very significant, for the benefit of inquisitive readers, we are taking liberty to produce it along with its english translation, see infra Appendix I.
3. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 370. To count the words on a folio compare facsimile provided by him of Kabir's *pada.*
4. G.B. Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 21.
5. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 370.
6. G.B. Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 23.
7. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* pp. 560-561.
8. *Ibid.*
9. G.B. Singh, *op.cit.,,* p. 21; Giani Gurdit Singh misses the index in the beginning. Perhaps due to the bad shape of the *Pothi* he may not have noticed it.

ਸੰਬਤੁ ੧੬੮੨ ਸਾਵਣ ਵਦੀ ੧ ਤਤਕਰਾ ਨਵਾਂ ਲਿਖਿਆ ॥[1]

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

What does it mean or what was the need to prepare a new index ? It may be a repetition of the earlier one or it can be for the *Bani* recorded in the latter part.

VI. INTERNAL CONTENTS OF THE *POTHÁ*

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

6.2. The earlier part, considered to be old started with *Japuji* and ended with hymns in *Tukhari* mode.[2] In between some important and longer *Banis* viz., *Sidh Goshti, Onkar, Var Malhar* and hymns of *Tilang* mode, also formed part of it.[3] At what folio this part closed, information is not available. It has been stressed that it comprised the *Bani* of Guru Nanak only and no writing of the *Bhagats,* has been included in it. Contrary to his statement that he could not examine the first part, still Giani Gurdit Singh has ventured to describe its contents, consequently his statement may be accepted with caution.

6.3. The latter part, said to be of the post-Guru Amar Das period, has been further divided into two sections.[4] The first section of it contained the *salokas* of Guru Angad followed by the hymns of Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan.[5] Except the existence of Guru Angad's *salokas* and Guru Amar Das' *Anandu*

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1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 370.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 558.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 370, 550, 558.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 550.
5. *Ibid.,* pp. 370, 550, 558; Gurinder Singh Mann mentions the *Bani* of the Sikh Gurus up to Guru Ram Das but skips the name of Guru Arjan for reasons best known to him, see *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 48.

(ਅਨੰਦੂ), no information about other hymns has been provided.[1] At what folio did it begin and where did it end ? How many *ragas* were in it ? What was the sequence of *ragas* and what type of internal pattern had been adopted ? We are totally ignorant.

6.4.   Information about the contents of the second section of this part has come somewhat more liberally. It has been stated that it included *Bhagat-bani,* but as we will see, it has mixed hymns. Again from where did this section start ? We have no knowledge. Preceded by some blank folios Namdev's *pada* ਹਲੇ ਯਾਰਾ ਹਲੇ ਯਾਰਾ ਖੁਸਖਬਰੀ has been recorded.[2] Then *swayye* of the *Bha__s,* starting with ਚਰਨ ਤ ਪਰ ਸਕਯਥ were also there. At folio 439 Guru Nanak's hymn in *Sri Raga* ਮੋਤੀ ਤ ਮੰਦਰ ਉਸਰਹਿ had also found a place in it.[3] From the facsimile, it seems that at folio 443 Kabir's *pada* ਜਨਨੀ ਜਾਨਤ ਸੁਤੁ ਬਡਾ ਹੋਵੈਤੁ ਹੈ in *Sri raga* had been scribed.[4] *Majh raga* started at folio 445, but what type of hymns did it have ? No information is forthcoming.[5] Immediately after *Majh* mode there was a blank folio followed by six *padas* of Kabir, namely ਅਬ ਮੋਹਿ ਜਲਤ ਰਾਮ ਜਲੂਨ ਮਾਧਉ ਜਲ ਕੀ ਪਿਆਸ ਨ ਜਾਇਨ ਜਬ ਹਮ ਏਕੋ ਏਕੁ ਕਰਿ ਜਾਨਿਆਨ ਨਗਨ ਫਿਰਤ ਜੌ ਪਾਈਐ ਜੋਗੁਨ ਜਿਹ ਸਿਰਿ ਰਚਿ ਰਚਿ ਬਾਧਤ ਪਾਗ, and ਸੁਖ ਮਾਂਗਤ ਦੁਖ ਆਗੈ ਆਵੈ.[6] Though, their mode has not been reported, yet in all probability if we follow the *Àdi Granth* pattern they had been entered into *Gau~i* mode. Then some mixed hymns have been reported. At folio 479 again *Bhagat-bani* has been recorded. After that Guru Nanak's hymn ਲਖ ਨੇਕੀਆ ਚੰਗਿਆਈਆ had also found a place.[7] We do not know at which folio *Bhairo* mode started, but it had at least three hymns (ਨਾਂਗੇ ਆਵਨ ਨਾਂਗੇ ਜਾਨਾਨ ਮਨੁ ਕਰਿ ਮਕਾ ਕਿਬਲਾ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਹੀਨ ਨਾਉ ਮੇਰੇ ਖੇਤੀ ਨਾਉ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਰੀ) of Kabir and three hymns (ਰੰਗੀ ਲੇ ਜਿਹਬਾ ਹਰਿ ਕੈ ਨਾਇਤ ਦੂਧੁ ਕਟੋਰੈ ਗਜ਼ਵੈ ਪਾਨੀਠ ਜੈਸੀ ਭੁਖੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਅਨਾਜ) of Namdev.[8]   Besides, three extra-canonical *padas* in *Bhairo,* namely ਇਸ ਚੇਤੀ ਰਮਹਿ ਭੈ ਅਮਵਸੈਠ ਮਨ ਕਾ ਇਹੀ ਕਰਮ ਜੋਗਠ ਨਿਰਗੁਨ ਕੋ ਗੁਨ

1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* pp. 370, 559.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 579.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.,* facsimile at p. 3.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 579.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 580.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*

ਦੇਖਹੁ attributed to Kabir, Namdev and Ravidas respectively, have been entered.[1] After that *swayye* related to Guru Nanak have been recorded. Then Kabir's 35 *salokas* beginning from ਕਬੀਰ ਮੇਰੀ ਸਿਮਰਨੀ followed.[2] After a gap of two blank folios, at folio 664 Farid's *salokas,* 38 in number, have been scribed.[3] In *raga Kedara* which started at folio 703, Kabir's *pada* ਚਾਰਿ ਦਿਨ ਆਪਨੀ ਨਉਬਤਿ ਚਲੇ ਬਜਾਇ has been recorded.[4] Thereafter, hymns relating to *Àrati* (ਆਰਤੀ) in *Dhanasari* viz., ਗਗਨ ਮੈ ਥਾਲੁ ਰਵਿ ਚੰਦੁ (Guru Nanak)ਠ ਸੰਖ ਮ੍ਰਿਦੰਗ ਸਹਜ ਧੁਨਿ ਉਪਜੀ (extra-canonical of Kabir), ਕਲ ਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਆਰਤੀ (extra-canonical attributed to Namdev), ਨਾਮ ਤੇਰੋ ਆਰਤੀ (Ravidas) and ਗੋਪਾਲ ਤੇਰੋ ਆਰਤਾ (Dhanna) have been entered.[5] There followed two hymns ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਪ ਮਾਧਉ and ਸਭੈ ਘਟ ਰਾਮੁ ਬੋਲੈ of Namdev entered in *Gau~a Ramkali* mode.[6] It is worth noting that *Gau~a Ramkali* mode finds no place in the *ragas* of Sikh scripture. After that three *padas* of Kabir, namely ਦੇਖੋ ਭਾਈ ਗਿਆਨ ਕੀ ਆਈ ਆਂਧੀਠ ਡਗਮਗ ਛਾਡਉ ਰੇ ਮਨ ਬਉਰਾ and an extra-canonical ਬਾਬਾ ਕਥਤ ਸੁਨਤ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ, have been recorded.[7] Similarly, a *pada* of Madan Mohan Surdas has been reported but the *raga* is not known.[8] Giani Gurdit Singh states that *Kachi-bani* probably recorded by Miharban was also inserted therein.[9] Though, he argues that Miharban has not entered his writings into it, yet the following piece of prose :

<div align="center">ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ।</div>

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਠਾਕਰ ਜੀ ਪਹਿ ਆਇਆ ਗੁਰੁ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਲਾਗੇ ਮੁਜਰਾ ਕਰਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਠਾਕਰ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਆਗੇ। ਪਹਿਲਾ ਸੋਹਲਾ ਗਾਇਆ। ਜੈ ਘਰਿ ਕੀਰਤ ਆਖੀਅਹਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਕਾ ਹੋਇ ਬੀਚਾਰੋ। ਇਹ ਸੋਹਿਲਾ ਗਾਇ ਕਰ ਫਿਰ ਕੀਰਤ ਗਾਈ। ਆਸਾ ਰਾਗਾ ਮਹਿ ਗੁਰੁ ਬਾਬੇ ਠਾਕਰ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਕੀਰਤ ਕਹੀ। ਮ. ੧ ॥ ਛਿਅ ਘਰ ਛਿਅ ਗੁਰ ਤੋਂ ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਰਤੇ ਕੇ ਕੇਤੇ

1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* pp. 370, 559; Gurinder Singh does not mention them, see *The Making of Sikh Scripture,*
   pp. 43-51

2. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 580.

3. *Ibid.,* pp. 371, 582.

4. *Ibid.,* p. 580.

5. *Ibid.,* pp. 582-583.

6. *Ibid.,* p. 584.

7. *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.,* p. 584.

9. *Ibid.,* p. 563; Gurinder Singh Mann again ignores the existence of *Kachi-bani* and the writings of Miharban in the *Pothi*, see *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 43-51.

ਵੇਸ ਤਕ। ਪ੍ਰਮੇਸ਼ਵਰ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਇਹ ਆਰਤੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਜੀ ਕਹੀ। ਰਾਗ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਮ. ੧॥ ਗਗਨ ਮਹਿ ਥਾਲ ਰਵਿ ਚੰਦ ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਏ ਜਗਜੀਵਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ।[1]

Ik Onkar Satiguru Parsadi

(Coming in the presence of *Āhakur Ji* Guru *Baba* Nanak started perfoming *Kirtan* before *Āhakur Ji*. Firstly he song *Sohila* ਜੈ ਘਰਿ ਕੀਰਤ ਆਖੀਅਹਿ ਕਰਤੇ ਕਾ ਹੋਇ ਬੀਚਾਰੋ. After singing this *Sohila* he chanted the praise. In *raga Àsa* Guru *Baba* eulogised *Thakur Ji*. Beginning with ਛਿਅ ਘਰ ਛਿਅ ਗੁਰ it ended at ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਰਤੇ ਕੇ ਕੇਤੇ ਵੇਸ. Guru *Baba Ji* composed this *Àrati* of *Parmeshwar Ji. raga Dhanasari* M. 1. ਗਗਨ ਮਹਿ ਥਾਲ ਰਵਿ ਚੰਦ ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਏ ਜਗਜੀਵਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ.)

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

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

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1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 107.
2. Style of the above piece of prose is almost identical to that of Miharban.
3. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* pp. 560-561.
4. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 47.
5. For example, compare the text of the *salokas* of Farid and Kabir provided by Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* pp. 370-371, 582.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 561.

of *Àrati* in *Dhanasari* mode, have also been made.[1] In what sequence the *ragas* have been arranged and within a *raga* what pattern had been adopted ? In the absence of information it is hard to imagine.

VII. *MÂL-MANTRA*

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

> ੴ ਸਚਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕ ॥[3]
> *Onkar Sachnam Kartar Baba Nanak.*

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

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1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 582.
2. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 48.
3. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 582; see facsimile of Kabir's *pada* in the introduction.
4. Besides the invocation to Baba Nanak, Gurinder Singh Mann fails to note the absence of *Ikk* (ੲਿਕ) in it. He simply reads it as ੧ੳ ਸਚਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਰ, see *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 48, 85.

PLATE I
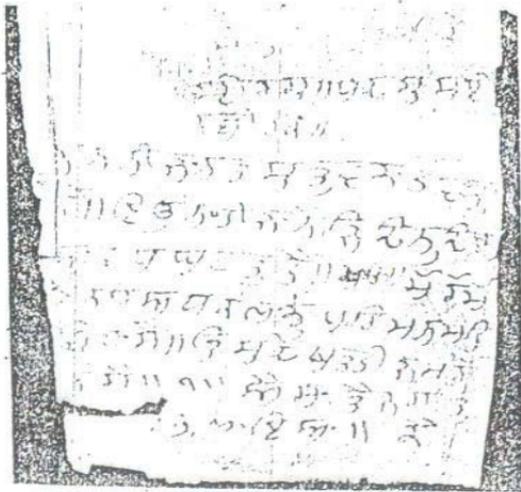
Two facsimiles of Guru Har Sahai *Pothi* that appear in Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib.* The first facsimile presents the so-called earliest form of the *Mul-Mantra* whereas the second carries the text of a *pada* of Kabir in *Sri raga.* A close look at both the facsimiles reveals that they are quite at variance in length and

breadth from each other.

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

VII. *NÁSÀN*

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

> ਨੀਸਾਣ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਜੀ ਕਾ।[1]
> *Nisan Sri Guru Arjan Ji ka.*
> (signature of Sri Guru Arjan Dev Ji)

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

IX. *BHAGAT-BÀNI*

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

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1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 370.
2. *Ibid.,* pp. 579-584.

and Surdas have found a place in it.[2] Secondly, not the whole writings of these *Bhagats,* but only selective *padas* have been scribed. While recording their writings, they have been addressed variously. For example, Kabir has been addressed as ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਗ ਪਦਾ ਕਬੀਰ ਗੁਸਾਈ ਕਾ. Similarly, Namdev has been introduced as ਰਾਗ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਏ ਨਾਮੇ ਗੁਸਾਈ ਕੀ. Only Ravidas has been entered as *Bhagat.*[1] Whether the distinction between the *Bhagats* was deliberate or *Gosain* for Kabir and Namdev was used in a casual manner, is difficult to be explained. Anyway, it reminds us of Miharban, who was in the habit of addressing the *Bhagats* as *Gosains.*[2] Significantly, the text of *Bhagat-bani,* as we will see later on, has not come from the main Sikh scriptural tradition.

X. DATING THE *POTHÁ*

10.1. Giani Gurdit Singh assumes that the first part of the *Pothi* dates back to the times of Guru Nanak.[3] Recently, Gurinder Singh Mann has argued that earlier part of the *Pothi* must have been scribed prior to 1570 C.E. He also feels that the latter part must have been scribed after the succession of Guru Ram Das, i.e., 1574 C.E. Irrespective of its parts and divisions, he assumes that the *Pothi* certainly antedated the compilation of *Àdi Granth* in 1604 C.E.[4] Though, except in the case of a few compositions, to find out the chronology of Guru Nanak's hymns is an elusive issue, yet on the basis of *raga Tukhari* being at the end of first section and on the evidence of *Puratan Janamsakhi,* it has been argued that the *Pothi* is relatively of earlier origin.[5] Significantly, in *raga Tukhari,* Guru Nanak has made a reference to Halley's comet, which appeared in Guru Nanak's life-time in August-September 1531.[6] It helps us to suggest that the

1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 579.
2. *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji,* pp. 154-157.
3. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* pp. 370, 560, 565.
4. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 48, 50-51.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 50.
6. ਤਾਰਾ ਚੜਿਆ ਲੰਮਾ ਕਿਉ ਨਦਰਿ ਨਿਹਾਲਿਆ ਰਾਮ ॥ *AGGS,* p. 1110. We are extremely thankful to S. Pal Singh Purewal of Edmonton, Canada, for working out the date. He shared this observation in one of our discussions on the Sikh calendar while he was on his visit to Amritsar to attend the World Sikh Conference in September 1995.

hymns entered in *Tukhari* mode were composed in or around 1531 C.E. If the position taken by us is true then to conclude that Guru Nanak did not compose any hymn during the last eight years of his life, looks to be ridiculous. Evidently, the closing of the first section of the *Pothi* at *Tukhari* mode in no way points to its earlier origin.

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

> ਸੰਮਤ ੧੬੭੫ ਸਾਵਣ ਵਦੀ ੯ ਨਉਸ ॥
> ਸਬਨੇ ਦੇ ਕਹੇ ਸਉ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
> ਹਿਸਾਬ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਛਿਆ ਦਾ ਮੇਲਿਆ ॥[3]
> *Sammat 1675 Sawan Vadi Naus.*
> *Sabane de kahe sau paiia.*
> *Hisab mahine chhia da melia.*
> [Sawan Vadi 9, 1675 (July 1618) on Sabana's recommendation received the amount of (Rs.) 100. Account of six months computed.]

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

> ਸੰਮਤੁ ੧੬੮੨ ਸਾਵਣ ਵਦੀ ੧ ਤਤਕਰਾ ਨਵਾਂ ਲਿਖਿਆ ॥[4]
> *Sambatu 1682 Sawan Vadi 1 tatkara nawan likhia.*
> [On Sawan Vadi 1, 1682 Bk. (July 10, 1625) afresh index prepared.]

1. G.B. Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Biran,* p. 22.
2. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 558.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 583.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 370, 582.

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

XI. ORTHOGRAPHY

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

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1. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 47.
2. G.B. Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Biran,* p. 22. Also see Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 370.
3. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 371.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 561.

to pre-Guru Hargobind times.

XII. SCRIBE

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

XIII. TEXTUAL VARIANTS

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

13.2. Some of the variants belong to the *rāga* pattern. For example two *padās* of Namdev, namely ਮੇਰੋ ਬਾਪੁ ਮਾਧਉ ਮੁ ਧਨੁ ਕੋਸੌ ਸਾਵਲੇ and ਸਭੈ ਘਟ ਰਾਮੁ ਬੋਲੈ have been entered into *Gauri Rāmkalì,*[5] while in the *Àdi Granth* they have been recorded under *Māli Gauri.*[6] Significantly, in the *Àdi Granth, Gauri Rāmkalì* mode has not been used. Evidently, the above *padās* of Namdev belong to a different musical tradition than that of the *Àdi Granth.*

1. Ganda Singh, *Hukamname,* pp. 62-69.
2. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Gra*th Sahib,* p. 558.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 560-561.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 107, 558.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 583.
6. *AGGS,* p. 988.

13.3. We also observe that index lines of some *padās* are different than that of the *Àdi Granth.* In the *Pothì,* a *padā* of Kabir takes off from ਨਾਉ ਮੇਰੇ ਖੇਤੀ ਨਾਉ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਰੀ,[1] while in the *Àdi Granth* it begins from ਇਹੁ ਧਨੁ ਮੇਰੋ ਹਰਿ ਕੋ ਨਾਉ. Similarly, one of the *padās* of Namdev starts from ਰੰਗੀਲੇ ਜਿਹਵਾ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਨਾਇ,[2] but in the *Àdi Granth* it has ਰੇ ਜਿਹਬਾ ਕਰਉ ਸਤ ਖੰਡ. Obviously, these variations are also of musical nature, which again suggest that the *Pothì* belongs to a different musical tradition.

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

> ਕਬੀਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸਚੇ ਸੁਰਮੇ ਸਬਦ ਜੋ ਮਾਰਿਉ ਏਕ ।
> ਤਿਤ ਲਾਗਤ ਹੀ ਭਰਮ ਮਿਟ ਗਇਉ ਪਰੈ ਏਕ ।
> ਤਿਤ ਲਾਗਤ ਹੀ ਭਰਮ ਮਿਟ ਗਇਉ ਪਰੈ ਕਰੇਜੈ ਛੇਕ ।
> ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸਾਚੇ ਸੁਰਮੇ ਏਕ ਜੋ ਮਾਰਿਉ ਬਾਨ ।
> ਤਿਤ ਲਾਗਿਤ ਹੀ ਭੋਇ ਗਿਰ ਪਰਿਉ ਪਗ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਇਉ ਜਾਨ ।[3]

To appreciate the variants in the above text readers are referred to two *salokas* of Kabir found in the *Àdi Granth.*[4] A cursory glance at the above *salokas* reveals that the text in the *Pothì* has been reworked and to change the expression fillers have been introduced. Though one line to the text has been added, yet it lacks rythm and does not make any sense.

13.5. From the available data we find that six *padās* of extra-canonical nature attributed to Kabir, Namdev and Ravidas have been entered into the *Pothì.*[5] Significantly, two *padās,* one each attributed to Kabir and Namdev, clearly represent *Krishna-bhaktì* tendencies.[6] If the *Pothì* had been prepared under the supervision of the Sikh Gurus or it represents the early Sikh scriptural tradition, then why have the extra-canonical *padās* of the *Bhagats,* not found a place in the *Àdi Granth* ? Only a group

1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Gra*th Sahib,* p. 580.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.,* p. 582.
4. *AGGS,* pp. 1372, 1374.
5. See infra Appendix II.
6. Giani Gurdit Singh, *op.cit.,* pp. 581-583. For the text of these *padas,* see infra Appendix II.

or person dedicated to *Krishna-bhakti* would like to make these *padās* a part of their scripture, which in the case of Sikh Gurus, was totally unthinkable. It is worth noting that *Krishna-bhakti* has been a favourite and predominant feature of the *Mìnā* literature produced under Miharban and his descendants.[1] *Krishna-bhakti* elements in the *Pothì* establish its close contact with the rivals of Guru Arjan. It nullifies its claim of belonging to the early Sikh scriptural tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus.

13.6. Of the 38 *salokas* recorded under the authorship of Shaikh Farid, many of them are of dubious character.[2] Their text instead of conforming to the *Àdi Granth* has resemblance with the text of ਮਸਲੇ ਸ਼ੇਖ਼ ਫ਼ਰੀਦ ਕੇਠ a late 17th century work authored by Miharban or his descendants.[3] Secondly, the authorship of *saloka* No. 38 (ਦਾਧੀ ਬਨ ਕੀ ਲਾਕਰੀ), which belongs to Kabir[4] has been wrongly entered here as that of Farid. Thirdly, poetry of some of the *salokas* viz., serial No. 28 to 37, is so immature that it lacks the characteristics of the diction of Farid. It seems some unauthentic or extra-canonical *salokas* of Kabir have also got currency under the name of Farid. While recording these *salokas* in the *Pothì,* the scribe or compiler has miserably failed to check their origin.

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

XIV. CONCLUSIONS

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

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1. *Goshti Guru Miharvanu,* pp. 227-337.
2. For the text of these *salokas* entered under the authorship of Shaikh Farid, see infra Appendix III.
3. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* p. 109; also see Inder Singh Charkarvarti, ed., *Masle Shaikh Farid Ke.*
4. *AGGS,* p. 1369.

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

14.2. Some of the internal features of the *Pothì* viz., use of *Mul-Mantra* identical to the *Mìnās,* entry of Prithi Chand's date of death, to address the *Bhagats* as *Gosāìns* on the *Mìnā* pattern, inclusion of Miharban's writings, resemblance of Shaikh Farid's *saloka* with the text of ਮਸਲੇ ਸ਼ੇਖ ਫਰੀਦ ਕੇ authored by Miharban, or his descendants, inclusion of *Krishna-bhaktì* poetry, etc., are some of the strong reasons which suggest that it has originated at the rival camp to Guru Arjan. Consequently, its production in no way can be attributed to Guru Nanak and his early successors. Instead of representing main Sikh tradition it is closely related to the fissiparous tendencies spearheaded by the rivals of the Sikh Gurus, especially the *Mìnās*. The text of *Bhagat-bānì* included in it certainly belonged to a different tradition other than the *Àdi Granth*. Actually, the *Pothì* represented a different tradition, which had been developed and nurtured by the *Mìnās.* To call it a document of pre-scriptural Sikh tradition originating from the time of Guru Nanak is absolutely unwarranted and uncalled for.

APPENDIX I CHAP. 2

DESCRIPTION OF GURU HAR SAHAI *POTHI*
BY A FRIEND OF G.B. SINGH

13 ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ 1944ਠ ਵਿਸਾਖੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਦਿਨ ਸੈਂ ਗੁਰੁ ਹਰ ਸਹਾਇ ਇਕ ਕਿਤਾਬ ਦੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕੀਤੇਠ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਪੋਥੀ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੁ ਜਸਵੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀਠ ਜਿਨਜਾਂ ਦੀ ਮਲਕੀਅਤ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਪੋਥੀ ਹੈਠ ਵਿਸਾਖੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਚਾਰ ਘੰਟੇ ਲਈ ਇਹਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਲੋਕੀ ਦੂਰੋਂ ਨੇੜਿਓਂ ਇਹਦੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕਰਨ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਤੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਜਤ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਗੁਰੁ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਚੋਗਾ ਤੇ ਸੇਲੀ ਟੋਪੀ ਪਾ ਕੇ ਸਾਰਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਪੋਥੀ ਦੀ ਹਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠਦੇ ਨੇ।

ਮੈਂ ਕੋਈ ਦਸ ਮਿੰਟ ਏਸ ਪੋਥੀ ਦੇ ਵਰਕੇ ਪਰਤ ਕੇ ਦੇਖੇ। ਇਹਦੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੁ ਵਿਚ ਗਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਹੋਰ ਬੀੜਾਂ ਦੀ ਤਰਜਾਂ ਰਾਗਾਂ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਬਾਣੀ ਦਾ ਤਤਕਰਾ ਹੈ। ਅੱਗੇ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਤਤਕਰੇ ਦੇ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਪੰਜ ਵਖਰਿਆਂ ਵਖਰਿਆਂ ਸਫ਼ਿਆਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਕੁਝ ਥੋੜਜੀ ਲਿਖਾਈ ਹੈ। ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਤਰੀਕ 1595 ਅਤੇ ਅਖੀਰਲੀ 1661 ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਲਿਖਾਈ ਸਾਡ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਅੱਖਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਨਾ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਅਤੇ ਵਰਕੇ ਪਾਟੇ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਜੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਗਈ। ਤਤਕਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਪੋਥੀ ਦੇ ਛੇ ਸੌ ਤੋਂ ਉਪਰ ਵਰਕੇ ਦਸੇ ਹਨਠ ਪਰ ਅਸਲ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਨੇ। ਪੋਥੀ ਦੇ ਅਖੀਰ ਵਿਚ ਸੌ ਕੁ ਵਰਕੇ ਪਿੱਛੋਂ ਜੋੜੇ ਗਏ ਦਿਸਦੇ ਨੇ। ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਰਕਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਲਿਖਾਈ ਵੀ ਬਾਕੀ ਕਿਤਾਬ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵਖਰੀ ਹੈ। ਵਰਕਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਸਾਈਜ਼ ਲਗਭਗ ਦਸ ਇੰਚ x ਸੱਤ ਇੰਚ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਵਰਕੇ ਕੁਝ ਵਡੇਰੇ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ।

ਕਿਤਾਬ ਸਾਰੀ ਇਕ ਹੱਥ ਦੀ ਲਿਖਤ ਨਹੀਂਠ ਦੋ ਜਾਂ ਤਿੰਨ ਹੱਥਾਂ ਦੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੈ। ਲਿਪੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਹੈਠ ਪਰ ਕਈ ਥਾਂ ਲਿਖਣ ਦਾ ਢੰਗ ਅਜਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਾਡ ਪੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ। ਕਈ ਥਾਂ ਇਬਾਰਤ ਜੁੜਵੀਂ ਹੈਠ ਜਿਸ ਤਰਜਾਂ ਕਿ ਗਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਕਈ ਥਾਂ ਹਰਫ਼ ਅਲਗ ਅਲਗ ਨੇ ਤੇ ਲਗਾਂ ਮਾਤਰਾਂ ਪੂਰੀਆਂ ਨਹੀਂ। ਲਿਖਾਈ ਲੰਬਾਈ ਵਾਰ ਹੈਠ ਜਿਸ ਤਰਜਾਂ ਗਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਹਰ ਸਫ਼ੇ ਪੁਰ ਅਠ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਰਾਂ ਤਕ ਸਤਰਾਂ ਹਨ। ਇਕੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਦੇ ਹੱਥ ਦੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਸਤਰਾਂ ਵਿਚਾਲੇ ਵਿੱਥ ਵਧ ਘਟ ਹੈ।

ਪੋਥੀ ਦੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਬਹੁਤ ਖਸਤਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਵਰਕੇ ਅੱਧੇ ਪਚੱਧੇ ਰਹਿ ਗਏ ਨੇ। ਮੇਰੀ ਜਾਚੇ ਪੋਥੀ ਇਕ ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਬੀੜ ਹੈ।

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੁ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਬੀੜਾਂਠ ਪੰਨੇ 22ਵ23)

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE NOTE :

On the day of *Baisākhì,* April 13, 1944, I watched a book at Guru Har Sahai, which is known as the *Pothì.* Guru Jaswant Singh in whose custody it is, displays it on the day of *Baisākhì* for 3-4 hours and the people from far and wide visit here to have a glimpse of it and make an offering. Guru Sahib dressed up in *cholā, selhì* and *topì* remains for the whole time in attendance to sit near the *Pothì.* For about ten minutes, I had an opportunity to examine it by turning its various folios. In the beginning of it like the volumes of (*Àdi*) *Granth Sāhib,* it has index (*tatkarā*) of *Bānì* according to the *rāga* pattern. Further after the index

there are few writings on five different folios. First of these is the date of 1595 (Bk.) and the last is of 1661 (Bk.). As the writing is not in an intelligible *Gurmukhì* and the folios being worn out, I could not decipher it. The index reveals that the *Pothì* has above 600 folios but actually their number is much more. It appears that towards the end about 100 folios have been added later on. Penmanship of these folios is quite different than that of the *Pothì*. The folios are in the size of 10" x 7". But the folios added later on seems to be larger in size.

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

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

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

(Srì Guru Granth Sāhib Diàn Prāchìn Bìrān, pp. 22-23)

<div align="center">APPENDIX II CHAP. 2</div>

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

1. ਰਾਗ ਭੈਰਉ ਕਬੀਰ

ਇਸ ਚੇਤੀ ਰਮਹਿ ਭੈ ਅਮਵਸੈ। ਅੰਬ੍ਰਿਤ ਛੋਡ ਕਾਹੇ ਬਿਖੈ ਰਸ।
ਕਹੁ ਰੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਤੂਹੈ ਲੈਇ ਟਾਗਉ। ਆਪਨੇ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਕਹੁ ਨ ਕਮਾਉ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਕੀ ਜੇਵਰੀ ਤੁਮ ਗਲਿ ਬਾਧਾ। ਤੀਹ ਲੈ ਜਾਉ ਜਹ ਮੇਰੋ ਮਾਧੋ ॥੨॥
ਤੁਮਰੈ ਅਵਗੁਨ ਆਪਨੇ ਗੁਨ ਕਹਿ ਸਾਰਉ। ਗਰ ਖੰਡ ਲੇਤ ਕੈ ਗਰਦਨ ਮਾਰਉ।
ਕਹਤ ਕਬੀਰ ਅਬ ਕਿਆ ਬਿਚਾਰੀ। ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਭਗਤਿ ਮਯ ਰਾਮ ਹਮਾਰੀ ॥੪॥੭॥

2. ਰਾਗ ਧਨਾਸਿਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਕਬੀਰ ਗੁਸਾਈ ਕੀ ॥

ਸੰਖ ਮ੍ਰਿਦੰਗ ਸਹਿਜ ਧੁਨਿ ਉਪਜੀ ਅਨਾਹਦ ਬਾਜੇ ਬੈਨ।
ਜੋਤ ਸਰੁਪ ਅਨੂਪ ਚਭਜ ਭੁਜ ਪੂਰ ਰਹਿਓ ਸਭ ਦੈਨਾ ॥੧॥
ਰਾਜਾ ਰਾਮ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਕਰਉ ਭਗਤ ਕਰ ਜੋਰ॥

ਮਨਸਾ ਬਾਚਾ ਕਰਮ ਨਾ ਮੇਰਾ ਜਨਮ ਨ ਦੇਹੁ ਬਹੋਰ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਹਰ ਨਿਜ ਭਗਤ ਕਾਇਆ ਕਰ ਥਾਤੀ ਬ੍ਰਿਹਮ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਕਰਬਾਡੀ।
ਪੰਜ ਤਤ ਲੈ ਦੀਪਕ ਜਾਲਿਆ ਜਲਿਉ ਆਖੰਡ ਸਗਲੀ ਰਾਤੀ॥੨॥
ਹਰਿ ਹਰਨਾਕਸ਼ ਛੇਦਿਆ ਦੀਆ ਸੂਰਾ ਕਉ ਰਾਜ।
ਸੋ ਹਰ ਕਹਾ ਨ ਸਿਮਰ ਤੂੰ ਜਿਨ ਉਧਾਰਿਆ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦੁ॥੩॥
ਦੇਵਕੀ ਨੰਦਨ ਅਸਰ ਨਿਕੰਦਨ ਰੁਕਮਨਿ ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਆਧਾਰ॥
ਕਹੁ ਕਬੀਰ ਇਕ ਭੇਖਿਆ ਮਾਗਉ ਮੇਰਾ ਆਵਾਗਵਣ ਨਿਧਾਰ॥

3. ਕਬੀਰ

ਬਾਬਾ ਕਥਤ ਸੁਨਤ ਕਿਛ ਨਾਹੀ।
ਜਬ ਲਗਾ ਜੀਅ ਜੇ ਜਲ ਨ ਚੁਕੈ ਬਿਖਿਆ ਬਿਕਲਤ ਨ ਮਾਹੀ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਸਾਖੀ ਸਿਖਿਆ ਬ੍ਰਿਹਮ ਹੋਇ ਬੈਠਾ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਪਾਪ ਕਮਾਵੈ।
ਪੂਛੇ ਤੇ ਪਰੰਚੀ ਖਾਨੀ ਸਾਖੀ ਅਗਮ ਕੀ ਲਿਆਵੈ।
ਏਕ ਸਾਖੀ ਸਿਉ ਸਾਧਕ ਕਹੀਐ ਇਹੀ ਅਹ ਮੁਨਿ ਅਪਰਾਪੀ।
ਏਹੁ ਤਉ ਅਰੌ ਸਾਧਕ ਮਾਨੇ ਕਿਛ ਮਨ ਮਾਹਿ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਗੀ।
ਏਹ ਤਉ ਬਾਤ ਇਆਨੇ ਜਾਕੇ ਤੂ ਸਮਝ ਸਿਆਨੇ।
ਕਹਤ ਕਬੀਰ ਤਿਸੈ ਕਿਆ ਕਹੀਐ ਦੇਖਤ ਚੀਨਸ ਭਲਾ ਕੇ॥੩॥

4. ਰਾਗ ਭੈਰਉ ਨਾਮਦੇਉ

ਮਨ ਕਾ ਇਹੀ ਕਰਮ ਜੋਗ। ਪਰਮ ਪੁਰਖ ਸਿਉ ਕਰਣੀ ਭੋਗ।
ਨਿਸ ਬਾਸਰ ਉਇ ਪਾਪ ਕਮਾਇ। ਨਾਮ ਜਪਤ ਬੈਕੁੰਠ ਸਿਧਾਇ॥੧॥
ਐਸਾ ਗਿਆਨ ਜਪ ਰੇ ਤਜੋਰੀਆ। ਭਜ ਲੇਹੁ ਰਾਮ ਕਰ ਮਹ ਮਤ ਬੀਆ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਨਾਮਾ ਕਹੀਅਤ ਹੈ ਜਾਤਿ ਅਲੋ। ਉਣ ਕਾ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨਿਅਤ ਤਿਹੁ ਲੋਕਾ।
ਭਗਤ ਹੇਤਿ ਭਗਤਾ ਕੇ ਬਿਲੈ। ਅੰਕ ਮਲ ਨਾਮੇ ਮਿਲੈ।
ਕੋਟ ਜਗ ਜੇ ਕੋਉ ਕੇਰੇ। ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਕੇ ਨਹੀ ਸਮਵਰੇ।

5. ਰਾਗ ਧਨਾਸਿਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਏ ਨਾਮੇ ਗੁਸਾਈ ਕੀ

ਕਰ ਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਭਾਵਤੀ।
ਪੁਰੀ ਦੁਆਰਕਾ ਨਾਥ ਹਰੀ। ਨਗਿੰਦ ਅਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਥ ਹਰੇ।
ਚਹੁ ਜੁਗੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਚਹੁ ਜੁਗੀ ਪੂਜਾ। ਰਵਿ ਰਹਿਉ ਰਾਮ ਅਵਰ ਨਹੀ ਦੂਜਾ॥੧॥
ਸਿਵ ਸਨਕਾਦਕ ਬ੍ਰਿਹਮਾਦਕ ਨਾਰਦ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਨਿਰਤ ਕਰੇ।
ਜੋ ਮਨ ਧਿਆਨ ਧਰਤ ਰੁਕਮਨਿ ਵਰੇ।
ਨਾਮੇ ਕੋ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਪਾਪ ਹਰੇ।

6. ਰਾਗ ਭੈਰਉ ਰਵਿਦਾਸ

ਨਿਰਗੁਨ ਕੋ ਗੁਨ ਦੇਖਹੁ ਆਇ। ਦੇਹੀ ਸਹਿਤ ਕਬੀਰਾ ਜਾਇ॥੩॥
ਕੁਟਲ ਜਾਤਿ ਕੁਲਟ ਕੇ ਬਾਸੁ। ਭਗਤ ਹੇਤ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਸਦਾ ਨਿਵਾਸ।
ਚਾਰੇ ਪਦ ਉਚਰਹਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਜੋਤਿ। ਜਨ ਰਵਿਦਾਸ ਕਹੈ ਚੜ ਓਤ॥੪॥

(The text of above padās has been taken from Giani
Gurdit Singh,
'Ithās Srī Guru Granth Sāhib', pp. 581-83)

APPENDIX III CHAP. 2

SHAIKH FARID'S *SALOKAS* FOUND IN GURU HAR SAHAI *POTHI*

ੴਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ

ਸਲੋਕ ਫਰੀਦ ਕੇ

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਜੰਘੀ ਨਿਕਈ ਥਲ ਡੂਗਰ ਭੂਮਿਓਮ।

ਮਝ ਮਸੀਤੀ ਕੂਜੜਾ ਸੈ ਕੋਹਾ ਥੀਉਮ॥੧॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਦੇਹੀ ਜਜਰ ਭਈ ਨੈਣੀ ਵਹੈ ਸਰੇਸ।

ਸੈ ਕੋਹਾ ਮੰਜਾ ਭਇਆ ਆਛਣ ਥੀਆ ਵਿਦੇਸ।

ਫਰੀਦ ਸੋ ਦਰ ਸਚਾ ਸੇਵ ਤੂ ਜਿਤ ਮਨ ਲਭੁ ਜਾਹਿ।

ਰਾਜ ਮਾਲ ਕਹਿ ਖਉ ਅਮਾਲਨ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਾਹਿ॥੧॥

ਨੇਹੁ ਤਾ ਲਭ ਕਿਆ ਤੇ ਲਭੁ ਕੁੜਾਵਾ ਨੇਹੁ।

ਕਿਚਰ ਝਟਿ ਲਭਾਈਐ ਤੁਟੈ ਛਪਰ ਮੇਹ॥੨॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਜਾਗਣਾ ਈ ਤਾ ਜਾਗ ਰਾਤੜੀ ਵਿਹਾਭ।

ਮਿਰੀ ਵਿਸਰਣ ਨ ਕਰਣ ਜੈ ਮੂ ਮਾਥੇ ਭਾਗ॥੩॥

ਪੀਰੀ ਵਿਸਾਰਨਿ ਬਿਆ ਰਵਨ ਕੁਬੁਧੀ ਚਾਵੇਨਿ ।

ਕੰਚਨ ਰਾਮ ਵਿਸਾਰ ਕੈ ਮੁਠੀ ਧੂੜ ਭਏਓਨਿ ॥੪॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਇਟ ਸਿਰਾਣੇ ਗੋਰ ਘਰ ਕੀੜਾ ਪਵਸੀ ਮਾਸਿ ।

ਕਿਤੜਿਆ ਜੁਗ ਜਾਨਗੋ ਪਇਆ ਇਕਤੁ ਪਾਸਿ ॥੫॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਖਾਕੁ ਸੰਚੀਆ ਢੇਰੀਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਮੇਲੇ ਕੱਖ ।

ਓਚੇ ਹੇ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਆਵਈ ਇਥੈ ਵਡੈ ਲੱਖ ॥੬॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਕਿਥੇ ਸਿ ਤੈਡੈ ਮਾਉ ਪਿਉ ਜਿੰਨੀ ਤੂੰ ਜਣਿਓਹਿ ।

ਤੈ ਦੇਖਦਿਆਂ ਲਛ ਗਏ ਤੂੰ ਅਜੈ ਨ ਪਤੀਣੋਹਿ ॥੭॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਦਮਾਮਾ ਵਜਿਆ ਚੜਿਆ ਮਲਕੁਲ ਮੌਤ ।

ਘਿਨਣ ਰਹੇ ਜਿਦੂੰ ਕੁ ਢਾਹਣ ਵਹੈ ਕੋਟ ॥੮॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਕੋਟ ਚਠਾ ਗੜ ਲੁਟਿਆ ਡੇਰੇ ਪਈ ਕਹਾਰ ।

ਜੀਵਦਿਆਂ ਸੋਤੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਮੁਇਆ ਦੇਈ ਦੀ ਰਾਹ ।

ਅਜ ਕਿ ਕਲਿ ਕਿ ਚਹੁ ਦਿਨੀ ਮਲਕ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਹੇਠ ।

ਕੈ ਜਿਤ ਕੋ ਹਾਰਿਓ ਸੌਦਾ ਏਹਾ ਵੇਰ ॥੯॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਮਝ ਦਰਵਾਜੇ ਵੈਹਿਦਿਆਂ ਡਿਠਮ ਸੈ ਘੜਿਆਲ ।

ਗਲਹੁ ਜੰਜੀਰ ਨਾ ਉਤਰੇ ਚੋਟ ਸਹੇ ਕਪਾਲ ।

ਬੇਗੁਨਾਹਾਂ ਏਹ ਮਾਰਿਐ ਗੁਨਾਹਾ ਦਾ ਕਿਆ ਹਾਲ ॥੧੦॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਕਾਲੇ ਮੈਡੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਕਾਲਾ ਮੈਡਾ ਵੇਸ ।

ਗੁਨਾਹੀ ਭਰਿਆ ਮੈ ਫਿਰਾ ਲੋਕ ਜਾਨੈ ਦਰਵੇਸ ॥੧੧॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਮੈ ਕਨ ਅਵਗਣ ਏਤੜੇ ਰੰਮੀ ਅੰਦਰ ਵਾਰ ।

ਨਿਰੀ ਖੁਆਰੀ ਥੀ ਰਹੈ ਜੋਇਸ ਨ ਕਾਹਰ ਵਾਰ ॥੧੨॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਅੰਦਰ ਤੈ ਜੇ ਮਾਮਲੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਕਿਆ ਸੀਗਾਰ ।

ਪਾਜ ਤਿਥਾਓ ਉਘੜੈ ਜਿਥੇ ਮਿਲੈ ਕੰਧਾਰ ॥੧੩॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਦਾੜੀਆਂ ਲਖ ਵਟੋਨਿ ਹਛਿਨ ਕਿਹੋ ਜਿਹੀਆਂ ।

ਹਿਕ ਦਰ ਲਖ ਲਹੰਨਿ ਹਿਕ ਕਥ ਕੰਨਹੁ ਹਉਲੀਆਂ ॥੧੪॥

ਸੇ ਦਾੜੀਆਂ ਕੁੜੀਆਂ ਸੋ ਸੈਤਾਨ ਭਚੈਨ ।

ਮਾਰਿਨ ਮਲੈ ਵਦਾਣ ਜਿਉ ਚਕਿ ਕਿ ਖੜ ਧਰੀਅਨ ॥੧੫॥

ਜਿਥੇ ਕਲਮਾ ਲਿਖੀਆਂ ਜੇ ਮੂ ਥੀਵਾ ਪਾਸ ।

ਕਰ ਮਿੰਨਤ ਕਰ ਜੋਦੜੀ ਵਡ ਲਿਖਾਈ ਰਾਸ ॥੧੬॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਜਿਤ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ ਧਨ ਵਰੀ ਸਾਹੇ ਲਏ ਲਿਖਾਇ ।

ਮਲਕੁ ਜਿ ਕੰਨੀ ਸੁਣੀਦਾ ਸ ਗੁਹ ਵੇਖਾ ਲਗਾ ਆਇ ॥੧੭॥

ਜਿੰਦ ਪਿਆਰੀ ਕਢਸੀ ਹਡਾ ਕੁ ਕੜਕਾਇ ।

ਸਾਹੇ ਲਿਖੇ ਨ ਚਲਸੀ ਜਿੰਦੜੀ ਕਉ ਸਮਝਾਇ ॥੧੮॥

ਜਿਦ ਵਹੁਟੀ ਰਵਣ ਵਰੁ ਲੈ ਜਾਸੀ ਜਾਇ ।

ਅਪਣ ਹਥੀ ਜੋ ਗਲਿ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਗਲ ਲਗੈ ਧਾਇ ॥੧੯॥

ਤਿਨਾ ਅਤਿ ਪਿਆਰਿਆਂ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਪੁਛੈ ਜਾਇ ।

ਖੰਨਿਅਹੁ ਤਿਖੀ ਪੁਰਸਲਾਤ ਤੈ ਕੰਨੀ ਨ ਸੁਣੀਆਹ ।

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਕਿੜੀ ਪਵੰਦੀ ਏ ਤੂੰ ਬੜਾ ਨਾ ਆਪ ਮੁਹਾਇ ॥੨੦॥

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਰਾਤੀ ਚਾਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਤੂੰ ਸਮਝ ਤੂੰ ਜਾਗ ।

ਘਣਾ ਸਵਸੀਂ ਗੋਰ ਮੈ ਲਹਿਸੀ ਆਏਹੁ ਵਿਰਾਗ ॥੨੧॥
ਫਰੀਦਾ ਕਾਪੜ ਰਤਾ ਪਾਇਹ ਮੁਜੋਠੈ ਕਉਣ ਰਤਾ ਦਰੀਆਵੈ।
ਬੰਦਾ ਨਾਉ ਅਲਹ ਦੈ ਰਤਾ ਸਤ ਬਿਨ ਅਵਰ ਨ ਭਾਵੈ।
ਭਠ ਪਈ ਸਾਹਰਗਤੀ ਮਜਲਸ ਜਿਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਚਿਤ ਨ ਆਵੈ ॥੨੨॥
ਫਰੀਦਾ ਏ ਬਹਿ ਜਾਂਦੀਆਂ ਘੁਥੀਆਂ ਰਖੀਆਂ ਰਬ ਧਵਾਰ।
ਜਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਇਸ ਜਹਾਨ ਮੈ ਤਾਂ ਤਾਂ ਰਬ ਚਿਤਾਰ ॥੨੪॥
ਫਰੀਦਾ ਵਡੀ ਵੇਰ ਨ ਜਾਗਿਓ ਜੀਵਨਦੰਤੋ ਸੋਇਓ।
ਜੇ ਤਉ ਰਬ ਵਿਸਾਰਿਆ ਤੁ ਰਬ ਨ ਵਿਸਰਿਓ ॥੨੫॥
ਫਰੀਦਾ ਦਰਵੇਸਾਣੀਆਂ ਕਾਨੀਆਂ ਰਾਬਾ (ਰੰਬਾ) ਲੈ ਘੜੀਆਨ।
ਲਗਨ ਤਿਨਾ ਮਨਫਕਾ ਕਦਰ ਨ ਜਾਣਨਿ ॥੨੬॥
ਫਰੀਦਾ ਜਿਨੀ ਦਾ ਸਬਰ ਕਮਾਲ ਜਿਕਰ ਕਮਾਵਦ ਕਾਨੀਆਂ।
ਹੰਨੇ ਸੰਦੇ ਬਾਣ ਖਲਕ ਖਾਲੀ ਨ ਕਰੈ ॥੨੭॥
ਕਿਆ ਤੁਮ ਲਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਜਾਨਤੇਠ ਕਿ ਮਨਹੁ ਬਿਸਾਰੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ।
ਕਾਗਦ ਘਨੋ ਹਰੁ ਮਸੁ ਘਨੀਠ ਘਨੋ ਹਮਾਰੋ ਪਿਆਰ।
ਅੰਤਿਰਿ ਹੀਅਰੇ ਬਸਿ ਰਹੇਠ ਕਿ ਲਿਖੋ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਯਾਰ ॥੨੮॥
ਕਨਕ ਮੋਲ ਕਾਗਦ ਭਇਆਠ ਅਰੁ ਮਸੁ ਭਈ ਹੀਰੇ ਮੋਲ।
ਲਿਖਨੀ ਭਈ ਜੁ ਥਕੇਠ ਏ ਦੋਉ ਪੀਆ ਕੇ ਬੋਲ ॥੨੯॥
ਕਰ ਕੰਪੈ ਲਿਖਨੀ ਗਿਰੈਠ ਰੋਮ ਰੋਮ ਅਕੁਲਾਇ।
ਸੁਧਿ ਆਏ ਛਾਤੀ ਜਰੇਠ ਪਤੀਆ ਲਿਖੀ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥੩੦॥
ਸਾਜਨ ਕਉ ਪਤੀਆ ਲਿਖੋਠ ਉਪਰ ਲਿਖੋ ਸਲਾਮ ॥
ਜਬ ਕੇ ਸਾਜਨ ਬੀਛਰੇਠ ਨੈਨੀ ਨੀਂਦ ਹਰਾਮ ॥੩੧॥
ਸਾਜਨ ਤੁਮਰੇ ਦਰਸਿ ਕਉਠ ਚਾਹਤ ਹੋ ਦਿਨ ਰੈਨ।
ਕੋਰਾ ਕਾਗਦ ਹਾਥਿ ਦੇਠ ਮੁਖੁ ਸੋ ਕਰੀਅਹੁ ਬੈਨ ॥੩੨॥
ਸਾਜਨ ਪਤੀਆ ਤਉ ਲਿਖੋਠ ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਹੋਇ।
ਹਮ ਤੁਮ ਜੀਅਰਾ ਏਕ ਹੈਠ ਦੇਖਨ ਕਉ ਹੈ ਹੋਇ ॥੩੩॥
ਕਹਾ ਕਰਉ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਬਿਨਾਂਠ ਕਲਪ ਬਿਰਛ ਕੀ ਛਾਉ।
ਗ੍ਰੀਖਮ ਢਕਿ ਸਹੇਲਰਉਠ ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਗਲਿ ਬਾਹੁ ॥੩੪॥
ਏਕ ਮੁਰਤਿ ਲੋਇਣਾਠ ਏਕ ਮੁਰਤ ਦੁਇ ਸਾਸ।
ਏਕ ਮੁਰਤ ਘਟਿ ਦੋਇ ਹੈਠ ਦੋ ਮੁਰਤ ਇਕੁ ਆਸ ॥੩੫॥
ਪਲਕਾਂ ਸੋ ਪਗੁ ਝਾਰਤੀਠ ਅਸੁਅਨਿ ਕਰਤ ਛਿਰਕਾਉ।
ਭਉਹਾਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਾਉ ਧਰਿਤ ਸਿਆਮ ਸਲੋਨੇ ਆਉ ॥੩੬॥
ਪਲਕਾਂ ਸੇ ਪਗੁ ਝਾਰਤੀਠ ਜੇ ਘਰ ਆਵੈ ਪੀਉ।
ਅਉਰ ਬਧਾਵਾ ਕਿਆ ਕਰੋਠ ਮੈ ਪਲੁ ਪਲੁ ਵਾਰੋ ਜੀਉ।
ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਤਨ ਮਤਿ ਜਾਨੀਅਹੁਠ ਤੁਮ ਬਿਛਰਤ ਹਮ ਚੈਨ।
ਦਾਧੇ ਬਨ ਕੀ ਲਾਕਗੀਠ ਸੁਲਕਤ ਹੈ ਦਿਨ ਰੈਨ ॥੩੭॥
ਦਾਧੀ ਬਨਿ ਕੀ ਲਾਕਗੀਠ ਠਾਢੀ ਕਰੈ ਪੁਕਾਰਿ।
ਮਤਿ ਬਸਿ ਪਰੋ ਲੁਹਾਰ ਕੈਠ ਜਾਰੈ ਦੂਜੀ ਬਾਰਿ ॥੩੮॥

(The text of above salokas has been taken from Giani Gurdit Singh,
'Ithās Srì Guru Granth Sāhib', pp. 371-73)

THE GOINDWAL *POTHIS*
MYTH AND REALITY

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1.   Some of the traditional Sikh sources describe that before embarking on the compilation of the *Àdi Granth,* Guru Arjan approached Baba Mohan to lend the *Pothis,* which were said to have been prepared under the guidance of Guru Amar Das. At present the two *Pothis,* popularly known as the Goindwal or *Babe Mohan Walian Pothian,* are in the possession of two Bhalla families, who claim them as an inherited one from the days of Baba Mohan through successive generations. Several scholars have commented upon them in various contexts but their views, especially in regard to the role of *Pothis* in the codification of the *Àdi Granth,* are so divergent, that they are hard to be reconciled[1].

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

For proper analysis of the *Pothis* and judging their importance in the compilation of the Sikh scripture, it is necessary to know, in brief, the history of their origin.

II. CUSTODIANS

2.1. The Bhalla families, nowadays settled at Jalandhar and Pinjore, have one *Pothi* each in their possession. These *Pothis* are collectively known as Goindwal *Pothis,* the name derived from the village of Goindwal, district Amritsar, with which they have been associated because of their origin. Both the families trace their lineage from Guru Amar Das. Family claims as well as the genealogical tables of the Bhallas confirm that they are the direct descendants of Baba Mohan, the eldest son of Guru Amar Das.[1] The history of the Bhalla family at Jalandhar can easily be traced back to Goindwal, where one of their ancestors, Bawa Mela Singh used to supervise a religious establishment associated with Baba Anand, son of Mohri and grandson of Guru Amar Das.[2] There he had in his possession two *Pothis* said to have been scribed by Sahansar Ram, a grandson of the third Master. Bawa Mela Singh had two brothers, namely Bawa Dalip Chand and Bawa Chanan Mal, who at some stage of history left Goindwal to settle at Ahiyapur, a village in district Hoshiarpur. As stated by Bawa Prem Singh, in 1924 C.E., Bawa Mela Singh of Goindwal, handed over one of the *Pothis* to his brother, Bawa Dalip Chand of Ahiyapur, which subsequently came to be known as the *Ahiyapur Pothi.*[3] In the 1980s the Ahiyapur Bhalla family

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

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

2. Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh,* pp. 427, 1172; Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothian*, p. 26.

3. Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothian,* p. 26. Since, the *Pothi* is better known in literary circles as the *Ahiyapur Pothi,* so we have retained the name in our study.

shifted to Jalandhar, where Vinod Kumar Bhalla, the present head of the family, is in possession of a *Pothi* inherited from his ancestors. The family used to display it on *Sangrand* (first day of every month of the solar calendar) but at presently they no more observe the custom to allow the people to pay their obeisance.[1]

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

III. HISTORY OF THE *POTHIS*

3.1.   Though, the Goindwal *Pothis* are said to have been the basis for compiling the *Àdi Granth* in 1604 C.E., yet no contemporary or near contemporary source of Sikh history alludes to them. Interestingly, quite a number of old manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth,* have preserved some important annotations such as : ਜਪੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀਉ ਕਿਆ ਦਸਖਤਾ ਕਾ ਨਕਲੁ, *Nisan* of the Sikh Gurus, etc., which provide significant insights into the codification of the Sikh scripture. Surprisingly, no reference to the Goindwal *Pothis* in any context and form have been found recorded anywhere in the old manuscripts of Sikh scripture. Evidently, the early history of the *Pothis* is quite obscure, hard and hard to be reconciled to the claims

1.   The family of Vinod Kumar Bhalla now resides at 371, Lajpat Nagar, Jalandhar.
2.   Compare the genealogical tables of the Bhallas as mentioned in footnote 1, p. 90.
3.   Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothian,* p. 26.
4.   The family now lives at Sunder Kutia, Pinjore (near Chandigarh), Distt. Panchkula, Haryana. Since, the *Pothi* in possession of the family in question is known as the *Pinjore Pothi,* so we have referred to it as such in our study.

of their custodians.

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

ਮੋਹਨ ਤੇਰੇ ਉੱਚੇ ਮੰਦਰ ਮਹਲ ਅਪਾਰਾ ॥
ਮੋਹਨ ਤੇਰੇ ਸੋਹਨਿ ਦੁਆਰ ਜੀਉ ਸੰਤ ਧਰਮ ਸਾਲਾ ॥

....
ਮੋਹਨ ਤੇਰੇ ਬਚਨ ਅਨੂਪ ਚਾਲ ਨਿਰਾਲੀ ॥
ਮੋਹਨ ਤੂੰ ਮਾਨਹਿ ਏਕੁ ਜੀ ਅਵਰ ਸਭ ਰਾਲੀ ॥

....
ਮੋਹਨ ਤੁਧੁ ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਧਿਆਾਵੈ ਦਰਸ ਧਿਆਨਾ ॥
ਮੋਹਨ ਜਮੁ ਨੇੜਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਤੁਧੁ ਜਪਹਿ ਨਿਦਾਨਾ ॥

....
ਮੋਹਨ ਤੂੰ ਸੁਫਲੁ ਫਲਿਆ ਸਣੁ ਪਰਵਾਰੇ ॥
ਮੋਹਨ ਪੁਤੁ ਮੀਤ ਭਾਈ ਕੁਟੰਬ ਸਭਿ ਤਾਰੇ ॥[5]

is alleged to have been sung at Goindwal in praise of Baba Mohan. This hymn has been at the centre of the effort to signify Guru Arjan's concern for the Goindwal *Pothis.*[6] Nevertheless, Prof.

1. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mahima Parkash,* p. 208.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 358.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 359-60.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 360.
5. *AGGS,* p. 248.
6. The contemporary Sikh sources, *Varan Bhai Gurdas* and even later sources, namely *Das Gur Katha* (Kavi Kankan) and *Bansawali Nama* (Kesar Singh Chhibbar), do not make reference to the above incident. However, later Sikh sources beginning from *Sikhan Di Bhagat Mala, Gurbilas Chhevin Patshahi* (Sohan) and *Sri Gur Partap Suraj Granth* (Bhai Santokh Singh) have depicted the episode in a dramatic way.

Sahib Singh has logically and convincingly refuted the above version, but still some scholars have taken the authenticity of the Bhalla tradition for granted.[1] They have not realised that name of Sahansar Ram, the scribe of the *Pothis,* has been obliterated to highlight the role of Baba Mohan in the codification of the *Àdi Granth.* "Why did it occur ?" is a moot question to be addressed. Secondly, if Baba Mohan had been so helpful, then Bhai Gurdas, who had a major role in the editing of the *Àdi Granth,* would not have enumerated him among the rivals of the Sikh Gurus to remark as ਮੋਹਣ ਕਮਲਾ ਹੋਇਆ.[2] Obviously, the story of Guru Arjan going all the way to Goindwal to get these *Pothis* from Baba Mohan, is a later concoction.

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

1. Prof. Sahib Singh, *Àdi Bir Bare,* pp. 82-84; W.H. McLeod also feels that the story is not genuine but apocryphal, see 'The Study of Sikh Literature' in John Stratton Hawley and Gurinder Singh Mann, eds., *Studying the Sikhs : Issues for North America,* pp. 54-55.
2. *Varan Bhai Gurdas,* 26.33.
3. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goindval Pothis,* pp. 27-28.
4. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa,* Vol. I, p. 394.
5. G.B. Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Biran,* p. 456.

Mohan Singh Diwana's observations are of little help to identify the number of Goindwal *Pothis* and their contents as well. Giani Gurdit Singh informs us that one of the *Pothis* belonging to Goindwal was given in dowry to a Bhalla daughter, married at Phagwara.[1] But, so far, it has not surfaced anywhere. Whether it was the same volume which Giani Gian Singh had examined at Amritsar in possession of a woman of Katra Maha Singh, is difficult to decide. The 12 *ragas,* namely *Suhi, Parbhati, Dhanasari, Basant, Tilang, Bhairo, Maru, Kedara, Ramkali, Sorathi, Sarang* and *Malar* included in the two extant *Pothis* coupled with the five *ragas* viz., *Sri, Àsa, Gauri, Wadhans* and *Kanra* of the *Pothi* noticed by Giani Gian Singh do not account for the hymns in *Bilawal, Gujri, Majh* and *Tukhari* modes. Similarly all the *Vars* of first and third Gurus and the writings of various *Bhagats* in the above-mentioned modes, have not been reckoned with. If Sahansar Ram had endeavoured to compile all the available hymns of the Sikh Gurus up to the third Master, then the possibility of more volumes can not be ruled out. Unfortunately, nobody yet has noticed or retrieved them from oblivion.

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

1. Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* pp. 567-68.
2. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa,* p. 394.
3. Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothian,* p. 26.
4. Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh,* pp. 427, 1172.

Hoshiarpur.[1] For a half century, it remained at Ahiyapur finally to move with the family to Jalandhar.

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

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

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

1. Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothian,* p. 26.
2. Kahn Singh Nabha completed his *Mahan Kosh* in 1926 C.E.; and subsequently it was published for the first time in 1930 C.E. He worked on the addenda between 1930 and 1938, which was appended to the second edition. Consequently, up to 1938 C.E., the *Pothi* remained at Goindwal though the Gurdwara at which it was displayed had come under the control of the Gurdwara Committee, see *Mahan Kosh,* p. 1172.
3. Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothian,* p. 26.
4. Gursharan Kaur Jaggi, *Baba Mohan Walian Pothian,* p. 18.
5. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa,* p. 394.
6. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 53.

is well-supported by the fact that to appropriate offerings not one but two different days, *Sangrand* and *Puranmasi* were fixed to display them to the public.

IV. STUDIES ON THE *POTHIS*

4.1.   The Goindwal *Pothis* have attracted a number of scholars who have been commenting upon them from time to time. Towards the end of 19th century, Giani Gian Singh was perhaps the first to examine the *Pothis,* one of which is untraceable so far.[1] It seems, he has scrutinized one of the volumes (now at Pinjore) from very close quarters but he knew only about the external features of the other viz., the *ragas* included in it. It is understood that Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha also had some vague idea of their contents, but unfortunately he has mixed up the contents of the Pinjore volume with that of the Ahiyapur.[2] Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana claimed in a letter to G.B. Singh in December 1933, that he had gone through the *Pothis* at Goindwal, but his observations, as pointed out earlier, are not trustworthy.[3] G.B. Singh was very eager to scrutinize them personally, but due to non-accessibility of the *Pothis,* he could produce only superficial information obtained through the good offices of Bawa Prem Singh.[4]

4.2.   In fact, the debate over the issues of *Bhagat-bani, Ragmala* etc., initiated by the Panch Khalsa Diwan, Bhasaur, Sangrur, coupled with the controversy over the *Kartarpuri Bir* in 1926 C.E., brought the Goindwal *Pothis* into sharp focus in Sikh scholarship.[5] As the *Bhagat-bani* had been a part of the Goindwal volumes, consequently Sikh scholars found them handy to refute Panch Khalsa Diwan's opinion about the *Bhagats* and their

1.   Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa,* p. 394.
2.   Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh,* pp. 427, 1172.
3.   G.B. Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Biran,* p. 456.
4.   *Ibid.,* pp. 26-28.
5.   Established in 1907 C.E., Panch Khalsa Diwan, Bhasaur, vehemently advocated the expunging of the *Bhagat-ba@i,* from the *Àdi Guru Granth Sahib.* Consequently, Babu Teja Singh, their chief protagonist, was excommunicated from the Sikh Panth on August 9, 1928, by an edict of the Sri Akal Takht Sahib. For a brief discussion over the controversies created by Panch Khalsa Diwan, Bhasaur, see Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* pp. 460-63; also see *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism,* Vol. I, p. 350.

writings. In their enthusiasm to prove that *Bhagat-bani* has been a part of Sikh scripture long before the codification of the *Àdi Granth* in 1604 C.E., they took the authenticity of these volumes for granted and did not bother to scrutinize them thoroughly and rigorously. Bawa Prem Singh who happened to be from the Bhallas, examined one of the *Pothis* for two days on February 12, 18, 1945 at Hoti Mardan and the other on April 30, 1945 at Darapur, district Hoshiarpur.[1] Since, the *Pothis* were not easily accessible to scholars, and moreover the custodian did not allow them to be consulted for academic purposes, consequently they have been forced to rely upon Bawa Prem Singh's study.[2] Though, he laboured hard to report the external as well as internal features of the two extant Goindwal *Pothis,* yet he restrained himself to disclose some of the vital features, for example writings of Gulam Sada Sewak, Sharaf, etc., probably fearing that it would adversely affect their credibility. No doubt his study is useful but it needs to be used in a very cautious manner.

4.3. In 1960, Prof. Pritam Singh relied upon the evidence of Goindwal *Pothis* to trace out the origin and history of the *Gurmukhi* script.[3] A few years back, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, assigned him a research project on these volumnes, the results of which are eagerly awaited by the scholars.[4] Among the modern scholars Giani Gurdit Singh has been most energetic to have access of these *Pothis.* Using his political clout and the resources of the Punjabi University, Patiala, he got the *Ahiyapur Pothi* photographed, copy of which

1. Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothian,* pp. 23, 46.
2. For example, to know about the status of *Bhagat-bani,* Bhai Jodh Singh has to rely on the information provided by Bawa Prem Singh, see *Kartarpuri Bir De Darshan,* pp. 125-26. Even, G.B. Singh had to approach Bawa Prem Singh to get information about these volumes, see *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Biran,* pp. 27-29.
3. Pritam Singh 'Gurmukhi Lipi' in Mohinder Singh Randhawa, ed., *Punjab*, pp. 387-410.
4. About 8 years back Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar has assigned him a project on the extant Goindwal *Pothis.* Having completed his study on the *Ahiyapur Pothi,* he has submitted it to the University and it is in the process of Publication. When the present work was almost ready for the press, Prof. Pritam Singh's study of the *Ahiyapur Pothi* has come out. We have taken note of his observations of the *Pothi* as and when required.

is available with the University at Patiala.[1] No doubt, he has done yeoman service to the scholars interested in the text of Goindwal *Pothis,* but he has been so obsessed with the issue of *Bhagat-bani* that he did not see any reason to inquire into their authenticity.[2] So far, western scholars of Sikh studies have not been able to examine these volumes. Approaching in a cautious manner, W.H. McLeod has pleaded for necessary research to find out the role of these *Pothis* in the compilation of the *Àdi Granth.*[3] In the recent past, these *Pothis* have been the focus of attention to determine their place in the codification of the *Àdi Granth.* While some scholars consider them important documents which help us to understand the formation of early Sikh canon,[4] on the other hand there are some, who believe that the Goindwal *Pothis* do not belong to the main Sikh scriptural tradition and have been of no use for Guru Arjan in codifying the *Àdi Granth.*[5]

V. EXTERNAL FEATURES

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

1. We are thankful to M.S. Johal, Secretary to Vice-Chancellor Punjabi University, Patiala for making available the photocopy, which has stood in good sted for our study.
2. The major thrust of his study has been to prove that *Bhagats* were devotees of Guru Nanak and their writings have been an integral part of the Sikh scripture.
3. W.H. McLeod, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community,* pp. 60-61; also see his recent article 'The Study of Sikh Literature' in John Stratton Hawley and Gurinder Singh Mann, eds., *Studying the Sikhs : Issues for North America,* pp. 54-55.
4. In recent years scholars have highlighted the Goindwal *Pothis'* significance in the codification of Sikh scripture; for details see Nirbhai Singh, 'The Collection of the Hymns of the Guru Granth', *JSS;* Vol. VIII, No. 1 (1981), pp. 9-22; Pashaura Singh, *The Text and the Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* pp. 9-15, 24; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 51-73; see also his recently published book, *The Goindval Pothis : The Earliest Extant Source of the Sikh Canon.*
5. Swami Harnam Das Udasi, *Àdi Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Puratani Biran te Vichar,* p. 64; Randhir Singh, 'Bhai Gurdas Bhalle Da Jiwan', *Panjabi Duniya,* p. 9; Daljeet Singh and Kharak Singh, 'Goindwal Pothis Post 1595 Production' in Bachittar Singh, ed. *Planned Attack on the Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib,* pp. 115-21; Balwant Singh Dhillon and Amarjeet Singh, 'A Peep into the Myth and Reality of Goindwal Pothis', *ASS,* oct. 1995, pp. 66-76.

comprises 224 folios. Both the *Pothis* carry two separate sets of
folio numbers. Originally the folio numbers have been inscribed
in the middle at the top but later on another folio number has
been recorded outside the margin at the top right corner. The
difference in the reckoning of old and new folio numbers of the
Ahiyapur volume, proves that about 6 folios of it at the beginning
are missing.[1] We may ask whether they have been deliberately
removed ? Whether the folios in question were blank or had some
script ? The answers can only be a matter of conjecture. Each
folio has margin all around marked by five lines—two red lines
in the outer, two black lines on the inner and one thick orange
line in between them. The empty space of some of the opening
folios of both the *Pothis* have been decorated with geometric and
floral patterns. Usually on every folio 13 to 14 lines have been
inscribed but variations here too are noticeable. Although, both
the *Pothis* have been recorded in the hand of a primary scribe,
yet examples of another hand are also available. Significantly,
the orthography of the text recorded by the secondary scribe does
not betray any sign of radical change. Even, at some places, the
Lan^a script has been used to record the hymns.[2] Though, the
raga pattern has been adopted to record the hymns, yet the
sequence of *ragas* is quite different from that of the *Àdi Granth.*
While the *Ahiyapur Pothi* has 8 *ragas*, namely *Suhi, Parbhati,
Dhanasari, Basant, Tilang, Bhairo, Maru* and *Kedara,* the
Pinjore volume comprises the *Ramkali, Sorathi, Sarang* and
Malar modes. Interestingly, some hymns of the *ragas* not forming
part of these volumes, have also strayed into them.[3] The
arrangement of hymns within a *raga* does not conform to the *Àdi
Granth* pattern. At some places tunes to sing the hymns have
been indicated but reference to beat (ਘਰੁ) has been altogether
omitted. Although, to distinguish authorship the term *Mahala*

1. While describing the physiognomy of the *Pothis,* Gurinder Singh Mann
   has failed to take note of difference between the old and new folio
   numbers and the missing folios at the beginning, see *The Goindval
   Pothis,* pp. 29-38. In the present study new folio numbers recorded at
   the top right corner have been used for reference.
2. They all occur in the *Ahiyapur Pothi* at folio 38, 165, 185, 186, 273, 299.
3. Besides, the opening three *salokas* of *Àsa ki Var,* they are in *raga
   Wa^hans, Gujri, Bilawal and Malar;* see above note 2.

or *Mahalu* has been employed, yet it has been dropped frequently. Contrary to the practice of the period, no index of contents has been appended. At the outset of a *raga,* the *Mul-Mantra* has been recorded but its version is quite different from that of the *Àdi Granth.* It is worth noting that no *Var* of the first and third Masters have been included in them.

5.2.   Another unique feature of the Goindwal *Pothis* are the numbers that have been marked under three parallel drawn lines, usually occuring after a gap of 7 to 10 folios. In the *Ahiyapur Pothi,* the number consecutively goes on to twenty-seven to start again from one.[1] Bawa Prem Singh feels that the number indicates to the compositions of an author, particularly the Sikh Gurus.[2] Since the sections marked by these lines comprise the writing of more than one author and secondly the number goes upto twenty-seven, thus the above view does not hold any ground. According to Piar Singh these are the identification marks to compare the text with the loose folios or volumes of *Bani* from which it has been copied.[3] On the other hand, Gurinder Singh Mann finds that the sign of lines points to the work accomplished by the scribe in a single sitting whereas the number denotes to the shifts or days taken for the scribing job.[4] As the numbers in question are not in the penmanship of primary scribe rather they have been put by a different scribe with a different pen and shade of ink. Besides, instances of cutting, over-writing, discrepancies in counting are quite visible.[5] All these factors do not allow us to agree with any of the above formulations. Anyway, the motive of these lines and the numbers marked under them is still a mystery.

VI. AUTHORSHIP

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

1.   Pritam Singh, *Ahiyapur Wali Pothi,* p. 167.
2.   Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Pothian,* p. 31.
3.   Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* p. 100.
4.   Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goindval Pothis,* pp. 34-35.
5.   Pritam Singh, *op.cit.,* pp. 165-66.

spelt in the Goindwal *Pothis* as 'Nanik' (ਨਾਨਿਕ).[1] To differentiate the authorship of the Sikh Gurus, the term *Mahala* has been employed. It has inscribed both ways, i.e., ਮਹਲੂ and ਮਹਲਾ. In fact, where the authorship has been recorded, no uniform pattern has been adopted to scribe it.

6.2.   For the writings of Guru Nanak *Mahala* 1, has been very rarely used, instead *'Baba'* or *'Baba Patshah'* has been employed. For examples : ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹਬੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ[2]ਠ ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ ਛੰਦ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ[3]ਠ ਰਾਗੁ ਪਰਭਾਤੀ (ਬਾਬੇ) ਦੀ[4]ਠ ਰਾਗੁ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ[5]ਠ ਰਾਗੁ ਬਸੰਤ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਦਾ[6]ਠ ਰਾਗੁ ਬਸੰਤੁ ਅਸਟਪਦੀਆਂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀਆਂ[7]ਠ ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕਾ[8]ਠ ਤਿਲੰਗ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕਾ ਬੋਲਣ[9] etc., have been recorded at the head of Guru Nanak's writings. Though, the above method has been used at a few places for Guru Amar Das also[10], yet it is crystal clear that the scribe had special reverence for Guru Nanak and he wanted to demonstrate it in a unique manner.

6.3.   Another method which is also noticeable in the Goindwal *Pothis* is that beside the name of a *raga*, authorship has been specifically mentioned in words and figures. For instance : ਸੂਹੀ ਤੀਜਾ ਮਹਲੁ[11]ਠ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਮਹਲਾ ਚਉਥਾ ੪[12]ਠ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਪਸਤੋ ਮਰੁ ਗਡਾਰ੍ਉ ਮਹਲਾ ਪੰਜਵਾਂ ੫[13] etc., have also been inscribed to refer to authorship. It has been observed that in the case of 12 hymns of the *Ahiyapur Pothi*, reference to authorship has been altogether dropped.[1] It usually occurs not at the outset of a new mode or metre, but within a section namely *chaupadas, astpadis,* etc., where a new hymn

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1. Interestingly, the spellings of Nanak as ਨਾਨਿਕ appear with few exceptions throughout the *Pothis* in *Gurba@i* and *Kachi-ba@i* as well.
2. *Ahiyapur Pothi,* folio 1.
3. *Ibid.,* folio 12.
4. *Ibid.,* folio 62.
5. *Ibid.,* folio 119.
6. *Ibid.,* folio 168.
7. *Ibid.,* folio 201.
8. *Ibid.,* folio 276.
9. *Ibid.,* folio 181.
10. For example a hymn in the *Ahiyapur Pothi* carries the heading ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ ਕੇਦਾਰਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਦਾ ਮਹਲੁ ੩, folio 280.
11. *Ahiyapur Pothi,* folio 10.
12. *Ibid.,* folio 127.
13. *Ibid.,* folio 136.

starts. For example in the Ahiyapur volume, at the head of a new hymn only ਸੂਹੀਠ ਰਾਗ ਸੂਹੀਠ ਸੂਹੀ ਛੰਦਠ ਪਰਭਾਤੀਠ ਧਨਾਸਰੀਠ ਬਸੰਤ etc., have been recorded.[2] Now it is upto the wisdom of a reader to guess the authorship of the succeeding hymn.

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

ਸੂਹੀ ਕਬੀਰ ਨਾਮਾ ਭਗਤ ਰਵਿਦਾਸ[3]
ਰਾਗੁ ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਲਲਤ ਕਬੀਰ ਨਾਮਦੇਉ[4]
ਰਾਗੁ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਕਮੀਰ ਨਾਮੇ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ[5]
ਰਾਗੁ ਭੈਰੋ ਕਮੀਰ ਨਾਮਾਦੇਉ ਪੂਰੇ ਭਗਤ[6]
ਰਾਗੁ ਭੈਰੋ ਕਮੀਰ ਨਾਮਾ ਭਗਤ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ[7]

Though, writings of Trilochan, Beni, Jaidev, Dhanna, Sain and Sharaf are also available in the *Pothis,* but their names in the titles of authorship have not been mentioned.[8] Some of the titles ascribed to *Bhagat-bani* such as ਕਮੀਰ ਨਾਮਾ are quite misleading as the writings recorded under these titles begin with someone else's compositions.[9] Obviously, to record authorship, no uniform pattern has been worked out, which reflects a casual and

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

1. Pritam Singh, *Ahiyapur Wali Pothi,* p. 105.
2. *Ibid.,* folio 3, 6, 7, 31, 33, 34, 64, 65, 121, 172.
3. *Ibid.,* folio 58.
4. *Ibid.,* folio 104.
5. *Ibid.,* folio 151.
6. *Ibid.,* folio 262.
7. *Ibid.,* folios 259, 263.
8. For example, the authorship of Sharaf in *Suhi* mode has not been mentioned in the title. Similarly in *Dhanasari* mode the authorship of Dhanna, Sain and Trilochan has not been recorded, though their writings are very much there, see *Ahiyapur Pothi,* folios 61, 160-161.
9. For example, in the *Ahiyapur Pothi* at folio 151, the opening composition belongs to Ravidas.

PLATE II

A hymn of Guru Amar Das in Basant Mode attributed to Guru Ram Das in the Ahiyapur Pothi, folio 177

PLATE III

A hymn of Guru Nanak in Basant Mode recorded under the authorship of Guru Ram Das in the Ahiyapur Pothi, folio 204

immature approach on the part of scribes. To distinguish authorship, especially of those hymns where *Mahalā* or the name of the author has been dropped, has become cumber- some and leads to confusion.

6.5. Significantly, authorship of some hymns has been wrongly entered. For example, two hymns of Guru Nanak in *Suhi* mode (ਜਪ ਤਪ ਕਾ ਬੰਧੁ ਬੇੜੁਲਾ and ਭਾਡਾ ਹਛਾ ਸੋ ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵਸੀ) have been recorded as those of Guru Amar Das.[1] Like the *Janamsākhi* of Harji, son of Miharban and a grandson of Prithi Chand, a hymn (ਜਿਨ ਕਉ ਭਾਡੈ ਭਾਉ) of Guru Nanak in *rāga Suhi,* has been attributed to Guru Angad.[2] Likewise, four hymns of Guru Nanak in *rāga Basant* (ਸਗਲ ਭਵਣ ਤੇਰੀ ਮਾਇਆ, ਮੇਰੀ ਸਖੀ ਸਹੇਲੀ ਸੁਨਹੁ, ਆਪੇ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਕਰੇ ਸਾਜਿ and ਮਨ ਭੂਲੋ ਭਰਮਸਿ ਆਇ ਜਾਇ) have been entered under the authorship of Guru Ram Das.[3] Even, a *Basant* made hymn (ਰਾਤੇ ਸਚਿ ਨਾਮਿ ਹਰਿ) belonging to Guru Amar Das have been attribute to fourth Master.[4] A *Dhanāsari* hymn (ਨਦਰਿ ਕਰੇ ਤਾ ਸਿਵਰਿਆ ਜਾਇ) of Guru Nanak has been reckoned as that of Guru Amar Das.[5] At the beginning of *Bhairo* mode, a hymn (ਤੈ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਕਿਛੂਆ ਨ ਹੋਇ) of Guru Nanak, has been recorded under the authorship of Guru Angad.[6] Again the opening hymn (ਪੂਰਨ ਪਰਾਨ ਜੋਤਿ ਪਰਮੇਸਰੁ) of *Sārang* mode, belonging to first Master, has been entitled as ਰਾਗੁ ਸਾਰਗ ਦਖਣੀ ੨.[7] The figure of ੨, suggests that it has also been attributed to the second Master. In all probability the following note : ਗੁਰੁ ਅੰਗਦ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਅਖਰ ਬਨਾਏ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ ਅਗੇ ਸਬਦੁ ਭੇਟ ਕੀਤਾਰਰ has been recorded at the head of above

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1. As authorship of many hymns has not been referred to and secondly hymns have not been arranged strictly in accordance with the authorship, consequently, we have taken only those hymns where authorship has been specifically entered and is not in consonance with the *Àdi Granth.* For the above hymns see *Ahiyapur Pothi,* folios 9, 10.
2. *Ahiyapur Pothi,* folio 9, Harji's *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji* has also attributed the above hymn to Guru Angad, see pp. 67-68.
3. *Ahiyapur Pothi,* folios 178, 187, 204, 300; Gurinder Singh mentions three hymns but fails to take note of the fourth hymn; see his *Goindval Pothis,* p. 178.
4. *Ahiyapur Pothi,* folio 177; Gurinder Singh Mann again fails to take note of it, see his *Goindval Pothis,* p. 69.
5. *Ahiyapur Pothi,* folio 122.
6. *Ibid.,* folio 227.
7. *Pinjore Pothi,* folio 215.

PLATE IV
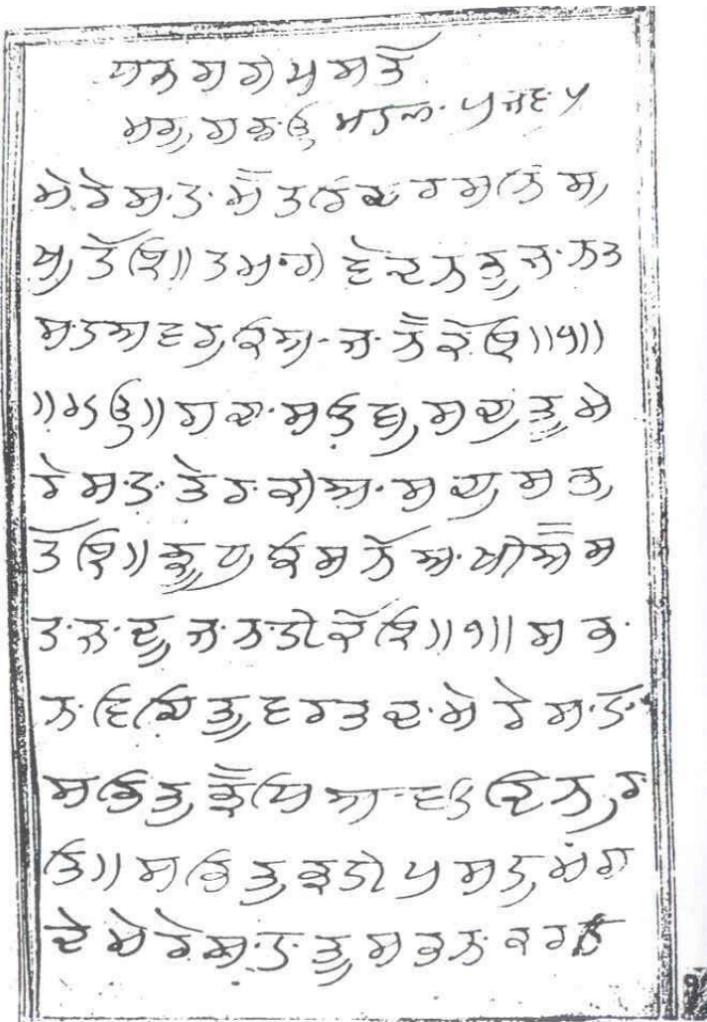
A hymn of Guru Ram Das in *Dhanāsari* mode attributed to Guru Arjan in the *Ahiyāput Pothi,* folio 136.

PLATE V

Recorded in the hand of primary scribe, *Dhanāsari* mode hymn of M.4 attributed to Guru Arjan Dev continues on folio 137 of the *Ahiyāpur Pothi.* The serial no. 20 assigned to it by the scribe reveals that it is an integral part of the *Pothi* since its very inception.

hymn, keeping in view the intention of scribe about its authorship. Although, the *Pothis* are said to have been scribed during the pontificate of Guru Amar Das, yet a hymn (ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਾ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ ਸੁਖਿ ਹੋਇ) of *Dhanāsari* mode belonging to Guru Ram Das, has been entered under the authorship of Guru Arjan.[1] It is intriguing to note that some scholars in their efforts to arrive at a contrived thesis have confounded the issue by mis-statements. Instead of stating the plain facts that some of the hymns have been actually recorded under the authorship of *Mahalā* 4 and *Mahalā* 5, they have come out with a cooked up explanation that the authorship of M. 4 and M. 5 in connection with some hymns have been inserted later on.[2] But the orthography belies the above explanation because attribution has been entered in the penmanship of primary scribe (see plates III, IV, IV). All the above facts establish that authorship of many a hymns has been either changed or confused.[3] Evidently, to determine the authorship on the basis of these volumes, will certainly lead to wrong conclusions.

VII. ARRANGEMENT OF HYMNS

7.2. The arrangement of hymns neither conforms to the *Àdi Granth* pattern nor have the *Pothis* evolved any system of their own. In the *Àdi Granth,* at the beginning of a *rāga,* Guru Nanak's hymns precede the writings of his successors. But in the case of Goindwal *Pothis,* instances of Guru Nanak's *Bā@i* entered after the writings of Guru Amar Das are freely available.[4] While in the *Àdi Granth as_padis* follow the *chaupadās,* but in these volumes *chaupadās* and *as_padis* have got mixed up.[5] Similarly, in the *Àdi Granth, chaupadās, as_padis, chhants,* etc., of the Sikh Gurus have been assigned separate serial numbers and towards the end the grand total of hymns belonging to a

1. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 136.
2. Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* p. 91; Gurinder Singh Mann, *Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* pp. 21-22, 172, 178.
3. For details see infra Appendix I, chap. 3.
4. For example Guru Nanak's *chaupad#s* and *chha*ts* of *S%h$* mode have been recorded after the writings of Guru Amar Das. For details, see Appendix II, chap. 3.
5. To take stock of irregularities see Appendix II, chap. 3.

particular metre, have been inscribed. But in the Goindwal *Pothis,* two patterns are quite visible. In the case of *Suhi* mode all the *chaupadās, as_padis* and *chhants,* irrespective of metre and author have been assigned serial number in continuous order.[1] Later on *chaupadās, as_padis* and *chhants* have been assigned separate serial numbers but their number according to authorship has not been reckoned.[2] Significantly, the apocryphal writings belonging to Gulam Sada Sewak have been juxta-positioned between the compositions of the Sikh Gurus and the *Bhagats.* Although, they carry the pen name of 'Nānik', but their serial number has not been reckoned with the hymns of Sikh Gurus.[3] No doubt *Bhagat-bā@i* has been placed towards the end of a *rāga,* but it has been arranged in a haphazard manner. Although at some places Kabir's writings have been set at the beginning and then the *padās* of Namdev and Ravidas follow, but this system has been violated at a number of places.[4] Even, the compositions of a *Bhagat,* belonging to the same mode are difficult to be found together.

7.2.   Some hymns of the Sikh Gurus and the *Bhagats* have been recorded under a different musical mode than that of the *Àdi Granth.* [5] Even, the hymns of those *rāgas* which do not form part of these volumes, have found their way into them. For example two hymns of Guru Nanak, namely ਕਾਇਆ ਕੂੜਿ ਵਿਗਾੜ ਕਾਹੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਯਓੁ and ਮਨੁ ਮੰਦਰੁ ਤਨੁ ਵੇਸ ਕਲੰਦਰ respectively of *Wa^hans* and *Bilāwal* modes have been recorded in the *Ahiyāpur Pothi.* [6] Similarly, a scribe associated with the custodians of the *Pothis* intended to record Guru Nanak's *Àsā ki Vār* in the *Ahiyāpur*

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1. See in Appendix II, chap. 3.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Almost all the writings of Gulam carry separate serial numbers.
4. For example, see folios 152, 153 of *Ah$y#pur Poth$* where the writings of Ravidas and Namdev precede Kabir. For details see Appendix II, chap. 3.
5. Two hymns of Guru Nanak in *S%h$* mode namely ਕਵਨ ਤਰਾਜੀ ਕਵਨ ਤੋਲਾ and ਜੋਗੁ ਨ ਖਿੰਥਾ have been shifted to *Parbh#t$ Lalatu;* see *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 82-83. Similarly two songs of Kabir, namely ਥਾਕੇ ਨੈਨ ਸਰਵਨ ਸੁਨਿ ਥਾਕੇ and ਏਕੁ ਕੋਟੁ ਪੰਚ ਸਿਕਦਾਰਾ have also been taken from *S%h$* to *Parbh#t$ Lalatu;* see *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 104, 112.
6. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 38, 186.

Pothi but somehow abandoned the idea.[1] A *padā* (ਅੰਤਿ ਕਾਲ ਜੋ ਲਖਮੀ ਸਿਮਰੈ) of Trilochan in *Gujri* mode has also found its way into the above volume.[2] Although, hymns of *Malār* mode have been included in the Pinjore volume but a *padā* (ਆਲਾਵਤੀ ਇਹ ਭਰਮ ਜੋ) of Namdev, has strayed into the *Ahiyāpur Pothi*.[3] Suppose if one of the untraceable *Pothis* belonging to Goindwal comprised the *Wa^hans, Bilāwal* and *Gujri* modes, then why have the above-mentioned hymns been displaced from their actual positions ? It certainly depicts the casual approach of the compiler or scribe associated with the *Pothis.* Moreover, the recording of hymns under different musical modes than the *Àdi Granth,* reveals that the *Pothis* belong to a different musical tradition. All these factors do not help to establish that the present Goindwal *Pothis* were precursors to the *Àdi Granth* and served as a model for Guru Arjan to arrange the hymns of a *rāga* and author as well.

VIII. OMISSION OF HYMNS

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

1. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* foilo 273.
2. *Ibid.,* folios 185, 299.
3. *Ibid.,* folio 165.
4. For details of missing text, see Appendix III.
5. Gurinder Singh Mann, *Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* pp. 33-34.

Suhi Ki Vār M. 3, *Māru Ki Vār* M. 3, *Rāmkali Ki Vār* M. 3 and *Malār Ki Vār* M. 1, which could have been recorded in the *rāgas* included in these *Pothis,* have been excluded. A hymn (ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਗੁਰ ਆਪਣਾ) of *rāga Parbhāti,* belonging to Guru Amar Das is also missing. Again two hymns of M. 1 (ਇਹ ਤਨੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਪਾਹਿਆ ਪਿਆਰੇ and ਇਆਨੜੀਏ ਮਾਨੜਾ ਕਾਇ ਕਰੇਹਿ) of *Tilang* mode are not available.[1] Curiously, a considerable number of hymns in *Māru* mode, have been omitted. For example 7 *chaupadās,* three attributed to Guru Nanak and four to Guru Amar Das, have been excluded. Significantly, all the *as_padis* of *rāga Māru* (11 of M. 1 and one of M. 3), have found no place in it.[2] Moreover, all the *sohlās* of *Māru* mode (22 of Guru Nanak and 24 of Guru Amar Das), have been altogether omitted.[3] Again two hymns of Guru Amar Das, (ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਵਿਰਲਾ ਕੋਇ) and ਮਨਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਕੋ ਨਾਮਿ of *Malār* and *Sārang* mode respectively are also not available.[4] On close perusal of the *Pothis,* one observes that instances of missing and incomplete text are not uncommon.[5] About 40 *padās* of various *Bhagats,* composed in the *rāgas* included in these *Pothis,* have been omitted from them.[6] Evidently neither the compositions of the Sikh Gurus nor of the *Bhagats,* are available in their entirety in these volumes.

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

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

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

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

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

6. For the missing *pad#s,* see Appendix III, chap. 3.

8.2. All the above facts compel us to rethink whether Guru Arjan really would have commented upon the extant Goindwal *Pothis* as :

> ਪੀਉ ਦਾਦੇ ਕਾ ਖੋਲਿ ਡਿਠਾ ਖਜਾਨਾ॥
> ਤਾ ਮੇਰੈ ਮਨਿ ਭਇਆ ਨਿਧਾਨਾ॥
> ਰਤਨ ਲਾਲ ਜਾ ਕਾ ਕਛੂ ਨ ਮੋਲੁ॥
> ਭਏ ਭੰਡਾਰ ਅਖੁਟ ਅਤੋਲ॥
> ਖਾਵਹਿ ਖਰਚਹਿ ਰਲਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਭਾਈ॥
> ਤੋਟਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਵਧਦੋ ਜਾਈ॥
> ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਿਸੁ ਮਸਤਕਿ ਲੇਖੁ ਲਿਖਾਇ॥
> ਸੁ ਏਤੁ ਖਜਾਨੈ ਲਇਆ ਰਲਾਇ॥[1]

If the Goindwal *Pothi* have been compiled consciously to serve the purpose of Sikh scripture of the nascent Sikh community, then it is hard to reconcile that Guru Amar Das or the compiler commissioned by him, would have omitted such a sizeable number of hymns. The scholars who consider the Goindwal *Pothis* as a unique and genuine product of the early Sikh scriptural tradition, have no explanation to offer for the missing hymns.[2] We can not brush aside the issue with a simple argument that the text of left out hymns was not available with Guru Amar Das, because it will be incongruous to suggest that even the text of his own *Bā@i* was not available with him. If *Malār Ki Vār* composed by Guru Nanak had already been made part of Guru Har Sahai *Pothi,* the so called early Sikh corpus,[3] then what were the reasons to edit it out from the Goindwal *Pothis,* the next

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1. *Àdi Gur% Gra*th S#hib,* p. 186; some scholars believe that above hymn alludes to Guru Arjan's assessment of the Goindwal *Poth$s;* see Gurusharan Kaur Jaggi, *B#be Mohan W#l$#* Poth$#*,* pp. 20-21; Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 14-15. But a close look at the contents of above hymn reveals that the above story is totally apocryphal.

2. Some of the scholars have not addressed themselves to the above issue, see Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Poth$#*;* Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ith#s Sr$ Gur% Gra*th S#hib;* Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of The Àdi Gra*th.* However, Gurinder Singh Mann without any evidence argues that left out hymns may have been a part of an untraceable *Poth$,* see *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* pp. 182-83.

3. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 43-51; see also Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ith#s Sr$ Gur% Gra*th S#hib,* p. 564.

attempt in the formation of Sikh canon ? Probably, instead of preserving the hymns of the Sikh Gurus and the *Bhagats* in their totality, the scribe or compiler wanted to present only a limited and selective collection. Secondly, the tradition of the scribe or the source from which the extant Goindwal *Pothis* have originated, may not have had the whole corpus of the writings of the Sikh Gurus. As the extant Goindwal *Pothis* have not preserved the sacred writings of the Sikh Gurus in their entirety, so there are strong reasons to disbelieve that Guru Amar Das has prepared them to serve the purpose of Sikh scripture, especially to get equal status for the Sikh tradition to that of its Indic and Semitic rivals. As they do not represent the real or original Sikh scribal tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus in its totality, consequently they fall short to be the precursor or proto-type of the *Àdi Granth.*

IX. THE *RÀGAS* AND TUNES

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

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1. It has come to notice that as many as seven compositions of the *Ah$y#pur Poth$* are without the *r#ga* reference, see Pritam Singh, *Ah$y#pur W#l$ Poth$,* p. 84.

more elaborated or explanatory titles, such as ਰਾਗੁ (ਸੂਹਬੀ) ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ, ਰਾਗੁ ਬਸੰਤ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਦਾ, ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕਾ, ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ ਕੇਦਾਰਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਦਾ ਮਹਲੁ ੩ etc., have been provided.[1] Obviously, besides the authorship musical mode has been given equal prominence. Strangely, such type of titles of musical modes are absent in the Sikh scripture.

9.2.   Another distinctive feature relating to musicology is that alongwith the name of a *rāga,* its specific mode of singing has been indicated. For example ਸੂਹੀ ਦਖਣੀ, ਸੂਹੀ ਦਖਣੀ ਜਿਗਰ, ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਦਖਣੀ, ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਲਲਤਾ, ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਦਖਣੀ, ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਪਸਤੋ ਮਰੂ ਗਡਾਉ, ਬਸੰਤ ਦਖਣੀ, ਬੈਰੋ ਦਖਣੀ, ਸੋਰਠਿ ਦਖਣੀ, ਸਾਰੰਗ ਦਖਣੀ etc., have been indicated.[2] The above-mentioned musical modes are quite different from that of the musical tradition of the *Àdi Granth,* and many of them have not been employed in the Sikh scripture. Contrary to the *Àdi Granth* tradition, in *Rāmkali* mode *Dakha@i* has been dropped from the title of *Onkār Bā@i* of Guru Nanak included in the *Pinjore Pothi.*[3] It is very interesting that tune of *Rāmkali* mode has been suggested as ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਸਦੁ.[4] Similarly ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਬਿਭਾਸ਼ and ਬਸੰਤ ਹਿੰਡੋਲ of the *Àdi Granth* tradition find no mention in *Parbhāti* and *Basant,* respectively, or the *Ahiyāpur Pothi.* All these factors suggest that the scribe or compiler belonged to a different musical tradition which was not prevalent or popular among the main Sikh stream. It is very obvious that the scribe of Goindwal *Pothis* had a special obsession for *Dakha@i* (ਦਖਣੀ) mode of all the *rāgas.*[5] It leads us to a musical tradition which was prevalent in the south-west of Punjab,[6] and probably the scribe or musicians associated with these volumes, have got expertise in it. Thus, the Goindwal *Pothis* do not owe their origin to the main scribal tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus but to a musical tradition

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1. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 1, 168, 276, 280.
2. *Ibid.,* folios 30, 51, 61, 70, 82, 136, 148, 203, 231; *Pi*jore Poth$,* folios 124, 188, 215.
3. *Pi*jore Poth$,* folio 34.
4. *Ibid.,* folio 1.
5. Except *M#r%* and *Tila*g* modes all other *r#gas* have been appended with the title of *Dakh@$.*
6. Since, the Multan and Sahiwal areas formed part of southern Punjab, consequently the dialect spoken there was known as *Äakh@#* (ਡਖਣਾ), see Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mah#n Kosh,* p. 417.

which was not even popular within the main-stream Sikhs.

9.3. The Goindwāl *Pothis'* close relationship with musical tradition other than the main Sikh stream is further supplemented by the facts that they have preserved some musical traces, which are quite strange to the *Àdi Granth* tradition. For example, in the musical tradition of these volumes, *Māru* and *Kedārā* modes, were not radically different but comprised a composite *rāga*.[1] As mentioned earlier some of the tunes to sing the hymns have been recorded in these volumes. For example in Pinjore volume at the beginning of *Rāmkali* mode a hymn (ਕੋਈ ਪੜਤਾ ਸਹੰਸਾ ਕਿਰਤਾ ਕੋਈ ਪੜੈ ਪੁਰਾਨਾ) belonging to Guru Nanak has been entitled as ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਸਦੁ.[2] Obviously, to sing it on the tune of *sadu* has been indicated. Similarly, at the head of a *Dhanāsari* hymn, tune of ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਪਸਤੋ ਮਰੁ ਗੜਾਉ has been inserted.[3] Moreover, in *Suhi* mode, especially at the beginning of *chhants,* tunes, such as ਸੂਹੀ ਹਮ ਘਰਿ ਸਾਜਨ ਆਏ, ਸੂਹੀ ਆਵਹੋ ਸਜਨਾ ਦਰਸਨੁ ਦੇਖਹੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਰਾਮ ਛੰਦ ਏਤੁ ਧੁਨਿ ਗਾਵਣੇ ਪਰਥਾਇ ਹੋਇ etc., have been inscribed.[4] Interestingly, at the beginning of a *Dhanāsari* hymn (ਚੋਰੁ ਸਲਾਹੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਨ ਭੀਜੈ) place and time of ਚਓਬਾਰੈ ਗਾਵੈ ਪਹਿਲਾ has been mentioned.[5] These musicological traces restrain us from believing that the text of the Goindwal *Pothis* owes its origin to the scribal tradition preserved by the main Sikh stream.

X. ALLEGED AUTOGRAPH OF JETH CHAND

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

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1. In the *Ah$y#pur Poth$, M#r%* and *Ked#r#* have been clubbed together. Even, at some places *M#r%* has been crossed to retain only *Ked#r#;* see *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 278-291.

2. *Pi*jore Poth$,* folio 1.

3. Meaning of ਮਰੁ ਗੜਾਉ is not clear. In all probability it indicates to a tune, see *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 136.

4. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 23, 24, 27, 29.

5. *Ibid.,* folio 124.

6. Bawa Prem Singh has deciphered the letters as ਗੁਲਾਮ ਮਸਤਾਨ ਜੇਠ ਚੰਦ, see *Mohan Poth$#*,* p. 46; Prof. Pritam Singh has decoded it as ਗੁਲਾਮ ਮਸਤ ਤੈਡਾ ਜੇਠ ਚੰਦ and feels, it may be an autograph of the fourth ☛

Nisā@ of the Sikh Gurus, in the case of extant Goindwal *Pothis,* it is altogether missing. However, in the Pinjore volume there are some *Gurmukhi* letters with obscure meanings, which have been construed as an autograph of Jeth Chand, the earlier name of Guru Ram Das, when he has not yet ascended the guruship.[6] Though, the veracity of above letters is highly debatable, yet most of the scholars have not bothered to examine them from various aspects.[1] Firstly, we do not come across any manuscript of *Gurbā@i* or even the *Hukamnāmās* of the Sikh Gurus, where they have signed in their personal name. Secondly, up to the end of 19th century, when Giani Gian Singh had a chance to examine the *Pinjore Pothi* at Patiala from very close quarters, he did not notice the above-mentioned autograph. Even at that time nobody among the custodians knew it to point out that the *Pothi* has preserved the autograph of Jeth Chand. The celebrated Sikh scholars, namely Kahn Singh Nabha, Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana and G.B. Singh got no news of its existence. It was only in 1944 C.E., Bawa Prem Singh reported the finding of the above letters and through his ingenuity deciphered them as ਗੁਲਾਮ ਮਸਤਾਨ ਜੇਠ ਚੰਦ. He also gave currency to the idea that these letters denote to the autograph of Guru Ram Das, when he had not yet inherited the guruship.[2] Obviously, the story of Guru Ram Das' alleged autograph is of recent origin, yet some scholars have hypothetically established the fourth Master's association with these volumes.[3]

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

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☛ Master; see Pritam Singh, 'Gurmukh$ Lip$ te Bol$', p. 387; also see Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ith#s Sri Gur% Gra*th S#hib,* p. 82; Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* p. 102.

1. Modern scholars trained in the methodology of textual analysis, without examining the letters, have followed the above version, see Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* p. 10; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* pp. 16, 24.

2. Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Poth$#*,* p. 46; see also his letter to Bhai Jodh Singh in *Kart#rpur$ B$~ De Darshan,* p. 123.

3. See supra p. 115 footnote 6 and above footnote 1.

4. *Pi*jore Poth$,* folio 94.

precedes or follows.[4] The orthographic style, especially the use of *Kannā* (ਕੰਨਾ) and shape of ਲ, ਨ, ਚ etc., in these letters, suggests that the orthography of the alleged autograph and that of the *Pothi,* are not contemporaneous. Though the exact meaning and purpose of the letters in question are quite obscure, yet the scholars for their own convenience have been deciphering them as ਗੁਲਾਮ ਮਸਤ ਤੈੜਾ ਜੇਠ ਚੰਦ[1], because otherwise there is no way to associate the *Pothi* with Guru Ram Das. Contrary to the belief of these scholars, there is no evidence anywhere in Sikh history, that prior to guruship Bhai Jetha used to call himself *Gulām* or *Mast.* Though, it is difficult to state with certainty that these letters have some connection with Baba Mohan, but it is a fact that for his eccentric behaviour, he was well-known as *Mast* or *Mastān*.[2] Anyway, to identify Gulam of the Goindwal *Pothis* with Guru Ram Das is not only a figment of imagination but also a travesty of facts, which has been given currency with the sole objective to legitimize the apocryphal writings of Gulam found in these volumes.

XI. APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS

11.1. Existence of a sizeable number of apocryphal writings, is one of the most prominent features of the Goindwal *Pothis*.[3] For example a *chhant* in *Suhi* (ਕਰਿ ਲਾਲਚ ਮਨੁ ਲੋਭਾਣਾ) of apocryphal nature with the pen name of 'Nānik' has been included in the *Ahiyāpur Pothi*.[4] Similarly, a hymn (ਅਲਹੁ ਏਕੁ ਕਰੀਮ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ) of *Kachi-bā@i* in *Tilang* mode attributed to Guru Nanak has found its way into it. Though, the extant Goindwal *Pothis* are said to have been prepared during the guruship of Guru Amar Das, yet a spurious hymn (ਕਾਮੁ ਕਰੋਧੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਮਦੁ ਮੀਠੇ) of *rāga Dhanāsari* has been recorded under the authorship of Guru Ram Das.[5] About

1. See supra p. 105 footnote no. 6.
2. Sarup Das Bhalla, *Mahim# Park#sh,* p. 358; *Mahim# Park#sh V#rtik,* folio 42; Randhir Singh, *Gur Parn#l$#*,* p. 106.
3. For details of apocryphal writings, see Appendix III, chap. 3.
4. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 30.
5. *Ibid.,* folio 127.
6. For the text of apocryphal writings, see Appendix IV, chap. 3.
7. *Ibid.*

15 hymns composed by dubious authors, such as Gulam Sada Sewak and Sharaf, are found only in these volumes.[6] Similarly, there are 18 compositions of extra-canonical nature attributed to Kabir, Namdev, Trilochan and Beni that form the part of these *Pothis.*[7] The placement of apocryphal writings in the *Pothis,* alongwith their serial numbers, prove that they have been an integral part of the *Pothis* from their very beginning. What is the source of these writings ? Why have such a large number of them found their way into the Goindwal *Pothis* ? Does the apocrypha included in these volumes really belong to the Sikh Gurus ? If it was not so, then who were Gulam and Sada Sewak ? If the Goindwal *Pothis* represent the early Sikh scriptural tradition then why did the apocryphal writings included in them not found acceptance in the *Àdi Granth* ? These are some of the very pertinent issues, which need in-depth investigations. Unfortunately, traditional Sikh scholarship under the influence of undue reverence for the extant Goindwal *Pothis* have failed to check the antecedents of these volumes, whereas the scholars who have taken them as early sources of the Sikh canon have very conveniently skipped over these issues.[1]

11.2. In the *Ahiyāpur Pothi,* four hymns of *Suhi* mode namely ਦੁਨੀਆ ਨ ਸਾਲਾਹਿ[2], ਮਨਹੁ ਨ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰੁ[3], ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਸੁਖਮ ਅਗਮੁ ਹੈ[4] and ਜਿਸੁ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਜਾਲਿਆ[5], have been entered with an additional title of ਜਿਗੁਰੁ. Unfortunately, scholars have been wide out of the mark to identify the author of above hymns. Literally ਜਿਗੁਰੁ indicates to the Guru, currently holding guruship. Only, two of the above hymns i.e., the first and the third, have been attributed to Guru Amar Das alongwith the title of ਜਿਗੁਰੁ. But the remaining two hymns are not the compositions of Guru Amar Das, during whose period the Pothis are said to have been prepared. One of the above hymns addressed themselves to the above issue, see Piar Singh and the other one (from the Àdi Granth) belongs to Shah

1. As mentioned earlier to associate Guru Ram Das' name with the writings of Gulam is only of recent origin. The scholars who have taken the extant Goindawal Pothis as early sources of the Sikh canon have not addressed themselves to the above issue, see Pashaura Singh and Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goi*dv#l Poth\$s,* p. 24.
2. *Ah\$y#pur Poth\$,* folio 39.
3. *Ibid.,* folio 44.
4. *Ibid.,* folio 45.
5. *Ibid.,* folio 61.
6. *AGGS,* p. 752.

Sharaf, a *Sufi* poet.[1] Significantly, the latter hymn, has been enumerated among the writings of the *Bhagats,*[2] which leaves no room for any doubt that it does not belong to Guru Amar Das. Evidently, *Jiguru* (ਜਿਗੁਰੁ) in no way signifies the contemporary Sikh Guru, i.e., the third Master. It has been suggested that *Jiguru* has been derived from Perisan word *'Digar'* which meant to indicate another hymn of *Suhi* or it may denote to a region, probably western Punjab.[3] As it has occurred with *Suhi Dakh@i,* so the possibility of it relating to a region is not justified. Though, *Jiguru* may refer to a specific mode or musical tune of *Suhi*, however what exactly the scribe meant of it, is still a mystery.

11.3. AUTHORSHIP OF SHAH SHARAF

11.3.1. As mentioned earlier an apocryphal song has been included in the *Ahiyāpur Pothi* under the title of ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ ਜਿਗੁਰੁ. Though, it has been inscribed in a different hand but its orthography is not different from that of the primary scribe.[4] On close examination we can observe that there are a number of hymns which have been entered into the *Pothi* in the same penmanship. In the *Pothi* the composition in question has been placed towards the end of *Bhagat-bā@i* of *Suhi* mode. Interestingly, it has been assigned a serial number in its continuity.[5] Moreover, some of the variants, especially ਸੂਹੀ ਜਿਗੁਰੁ establishes its close relationship with the other hymns of the *Ahiyāpur Pothi*. All these factors suggest that it has been a part of *Bhagat-bā@i,* included in the *Suhi* mode, from its very inception. The song under consideration has been recorded as :

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1. Mohan Singh Diwana, *S%f$#* D# Kal#m,* p. 148.
2. It has been recorded at serial number 12 after the writings of Kabir, Farid and Namdev, see *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 61.
3. Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* p. 80.
4. Some scholars argue that it has been inserted later on by another scribe, see Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* p. 81; Pritam Singh, *Ah$y#pur W#l$ Poth$*, p. 118. But on examination one can find that it carries all the features related to the orthography of primary scribe.
5. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 39.

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ
ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ ਜਿਗੁਰ
ਜਿਸੁ ਕਾਰਣੁ ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਜਾਲਿਆ ॥੧॥
ਤਿਹ ਸਿਰਜਨਿ ਕਉਲੁ ਨ ਪਾਲਿਆ ॥
ਮੇਰੀ ਡਾਲ ਨ ਮੋੜਿ ਮਸਤਾ ਮਾਲਿਆ ॥
ਕਚੀ ਕਲੀ ਨ ਤੋੜ ਮਸਤਾ ਮਾਲੀਆ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜਿਸ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਦੁਖੁ ਸੁਖ ਹਉ ਸਹਾ ॥
ਚੁਢੇਦੀ ਮਾਨਕ ਨ ਲਹਾ ॥੨॥
ਛਿਣਕਾਇਨ ਵੰਗਾ ਚੁੜੀਆ ॥
ਸਹ ਵਾਝਹੁ ਗਲਾ ਕੁੜੀਆ ॥੩॥
ਕਿਵ ਵੰਞਹਿ ਆਪਿ ਗਰਬਿਆ ॥
ਤਨੁ ਖਾਕੁ ਸੇਤੀ ਗਡਿਆ ॥੪॥
ਕਿ ਵਤਹਿ ਆਵਲ ਬਾਵਲਾ ॥
ਦੀਬਾਣੁ ਨਾਇਲਾ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਬਾਵਲਾ ॥੫॥
ਜੋ ਦਿਸੈ ਸੋਇ ਵਖਾਨੀਐ ॥
ਕੁਦਰਤੀ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਜਾਣੀਐ ॥੬॥
ਚੁਢੇਦੀ ਮਾਨਕ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਇਛ ਪੁਨੀ ਸਹੁ ਘਰੁ ਆਇਆ ॥੭॥
ਸੇਖ ਸਰਫ ਨ ਹੋਹੁ ਉਤਾਵਲਾ ॥
ਇਕਤ ਸਟ ਨ ਥੀਵਹਿ ਚਾਵਲਾ ॥੮॥

11.3.2. A close perusal of the above song confirms that it has been composed by Shaikh Sharaf, whose name occurs in its last verse. Secondly, the spirit of poetry lacks depth and intensity of spiritual experience associated with *Gurbā@i.* Leaving aside these issues, we are mainly concerned with the identity of Shaikh Sharaf and the ultimate source from which this particular song has originated. Curiously, no scholar has addressed himself to find out who was Shaikh Sharaf. Probably, on the basis of *Purātan Janamsākhi,* wild conjecture has been made to conclude that Shaikh Sharaf, a *Sufi* poet, belonged to Panipat.[1] But Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din of Panipat, who was popularly known as Abu Ali

1. The *Pur#tan Janams#kh$* states that Shaikh Sharaf was the *P$r* of Panipat with whom Guru Nanak has a dialogue on spiritual matters, see Bhai Vir Singh (ed.), *Pur#tan Janams#kh$,* pp. 22-24. Though, the *Janams#kh$* author has not quoted a single verse of Shaikh Sharaf in Panjabi yet Gurinder Singh Mann has identified the Shaikh Sharaf of the *Ah$y#pur Poth$* with that of the Panipat, see his *Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* p. 173.

Qalandar, had died way back on September 3, 1324.[1] Moreover, in Panjabi literature not a single piece of poetry attributed to him, has been noticed so far.[2] Another Shaikh Sharaf of Lahore, who has instigated Mir Abdul Aziz, the governor of Lahore, to revolt against Babur in July 1529, was a contemporary of Guru Nanak.[3] Again, no scholar of Panjabi literature has found any Panjabi song attributed to him. The author of *B. 40 Janamsākhi* describes of a discourse of Guru Nanak with Shaikh Sharaf of Baghdad. It is said that Shaikh Sharaf dressed up as a women used to sing *kāfis* in the streets of Baghdad. It is worthnoting that one of the stanzas of his *kāfis* quoted by the author of *B. 40 Janamsākhi,* occurs in the *kāfi* of Sharaf of the *Ahiyāpur Pothi.* [4] Similarly, *Masle Shaikh Farid Ke,* a *Mi@ā* product of mid 17th century, informs us about one Shaikh Sharaf who is said to have been a contemporary of Shaikh Farid. It is quite interesting that a piece of poetry attributed to Shaikh Sharaf in the above-mentioned document, has also found its way into the composition of Sharaf of the *Ahiyāpur Pothi.* [5] All these factors indicate that Shaikh Sharaf was quite a popular poet whose writings have been included in the devotional literature produced in the second half of 17th century.[6] According to Prof. Mohan Singh Diwana, the only

1. S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of S%fism in India,* Vol. I, p. 305.

2. No Panjabi critic has attributed to him any piece of Panjabi poetry, see Mohan Singh Diwana, *A History of Pa*j#b$ Literature;* Abdul Gafoor Quraishi, *Pa*j#b$ Zab#n D#Adab Te T#r$kh;* also cf. *Pa*j#b$ S#hit D# Ith#s* (Bhasha Vibhag Panjab, Patiala).

3. *B#bur-N#m#,* pp. 659, 688.

4. ਸੇਖ ਸਰਫ ਨ ਹੋਹਿ ਉਤਾਵਲਾ ॥ ਇਕ ਚੋਟ ਨ ਥੀਦੇ ਚਾਵਲਾ ॥

     (B. 40 Janams#kh$ Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji, p. 134)

5. ਛਿਣਕਾਇਨ ਵੰਗਾ ਚੁੜੀਆ ॥ ਸਹੁ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਗਲਾ ਕੂੜੀਆ ॥
    ਸੇਖ ਸਰਫ ਨ ਥੀਉ ਉਤਾਵਲਾ ॥ ਹਿਕੁ ਚੋਟ ਨ ਥੀਦੇ ਚਾਵਲਾ ॥

     (Masle Shaikh Far$d ke, p. 26)

6. We are informed that a Rajasthani manuscript dated VS 1733 (1676 C.E.) comprises some writings attributed to Shaikh Sharaf, see Winand M. Callewaert, 'Manuscripts a Precious Goldmine', *JRS,* Vol. XXII, p. 160. However, I have not been able to examine the above compositions. Interestingly, a Panjabi manuscript completed in 1755 has preserved the *K#f$s* of a Shah Sharaf that are also available in the *B. 40 Janams#kh$,* see Bhasha Vibhag Punjab, Patiala, MS # 265, folios 220-221.

known Panjabi *Sufi* poet Shah Sharaf belonged to Batala and was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Fazil Qadiri of Lahore.[1] It is said, Shah Sharaf died in 1724 at Lahore where his *Mazār* is still intact.[2] In case Shah Sharaf of the *Ahiyāpur Pothi* is the same Shah Sharaf of Batala, then we would have to push forward the recording of the *Ahiyāpur Pothi* to the mid 17th century C.E.

11.4. IDENTITY OF GULAM SADA SEWAK

11.4.1. The Goindwal *Pothis* comprise 14 songs of apocryphal nature which have been recorded under the authorship of Gulam or Gulam Sada Sewak. At some places Gulam has been deleted,[3] probably the scribe preferred to stress upon only on one name i.e., Sada Sewak. Obviously, Gulam and Sada Sewak were not two different personalities but one, who was interchangeably known as Gulam or Sada Sewak. The writings attributed to him have been recorded in the *Pothis* in the hand of primary scribe. As pointed out earlier his compositions have been juxta-positioned between the hymns of the Sikh Gurus and the *Bhagats.* While bulk of them, viz., 12 songs occur in the *Ahiyāpur Pothi,* only two have found a place into the Pinjore volume. Significantly, all of them carry the pen name of 'Nanik'. We observe that the starting song (ਪਿਰ ਕੈ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਤੀ ਸੋਹਾਗਣਿ) is incomplete but its text has been taken to two succeeding songs.[4] Spread over in 7 *rāgas,* namely *Suhi, Parbhāti, Dhanāsari, Basant, Bhairo, Kedārā* and *Sora_hi,* these writings have been crossed by vertical lines.

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

1. Mohan Singh Diwana, *S%f$#* D# Kal#m,* pp. 84-85, 209-210; see also Kirpal Singh Kasel, *Pa*j#b$ S#hit D$ Utpat$ Te Vik#s,* pp. 171-72; Jit Singh Sital, *Pa*j#b$ S#hit D# Alochn#tmik Ith#s,* Vol. I, p. 318.
2. Mohan Singh Diwana, *S%f$#* D# Kal#m,* p. 85.
3. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 54, 211.
4. The text of the incomplete hymn occurs in two succeeding hymns, namely ਮੈ ਅਵਗੁਣਆਰੀ ਕੋ ਗੁਣ and ਪਿਰ ਕੈ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਤੀ ਸੋਹਾਗਣਿ, see *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 54.

guruship of Guru Amar Das and the same were circulated as that
of Bhai Jetha, ostensibly to create differences between the third
Master and his spiritual heir.[1] As explained earlier, Guru Ram
Das was never known as *Gulam* or *Mast*, consequently there is
no merit to attribute the writings of Gulam Sada Sewak to Jeth
Chand, the name of Guru Ram Das before assuming guruship
in 1574 C.E. We have also observed that to associate Gulam Sada
Sewak with Jeth Chand, is only of recent origin.[2] But some
scholars jumping from only hypothesis to another have come to
the conclusion that Gulam Sada Sewak was none-else but Jeth
Chand.[3] They are of the firm view that Guru Ram Das, before
actually assuming guruship, has been composing *Bā@i*, under
the pseudo name of Gulam or Sada Sewak. As the above
hypothesis was bound to create doctrinal problems besides
pushing forward the scribing of *Pothis* to the period of fourth
Master, consequently Gurinder Singh Mann has put forth
another novel idea that Guru Amar Das has given Jeth Chand,
permission to use the authoritative signature of 'Nanak' for the
poetry composed by him prior to guruship.[4] It prompts to pose
another question that if Jeth Chand (Guru Ram Das) was allowed
to use the pen name of 'Nanak' and he had actually composed
some writings which were not unknown to his perceptor, then
these could have been easily made part of *Gurbā@i* in these
Pothis. Normally, the scribe or compiler should have no reason
to record them separately from that of the Sikh Gurus, especially
keeping in view that scores of hymns in the *Ahiyāpur Pothi* have
been recorded under the authorship of *Mahalā* 4[5] and *Mahalā* 5[6].
If Jeth Chand was authorised to compose *Gurbā@i* with the pen
name of 'Nanak' then it looks ridiculous to find that instead of

1. Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* p. 108; but another scholar attributes
   the above writings to Baba Mohan, see Pashaura Singh, *The Text and
   Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* p. 14.
2. See supra p. 116.
3. See supra pp. 115-116.
4. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* p. 24.
5. For examples one hymn in *Dhan#sar$* and five in *Basa*t* have been
   attributed to the authorship of *Mahal#* 4, see *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 127,
   178, 187, 204, 300.
6. For the hymns attributed to *M.* 5, see *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 136.

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

11.4.3.   Moreover, if the apocryphal writings recorded under the name of Gulam Sada Sewak, really belonged to Guru Ram Das, then why they have not found favour with Guru Arjan to preserve them for posterity in the *Àdi Granth*. Further, if Guru Arjan has compiled the Sikh scripture on the basis of extant Goindwal *Pothis,* then what were the reasons to edit them out ? It is ludicrous to suggest that "Guru Ram Das himself may well have decided to omit the writings of his youth."[1] The above view is absolutely absurd and carries no argument, especially if these writings have been composed in full knowledge and permission of Guru Amar Das.

11.4.4.   As pointed out earlier, the writings of Gulam Sada Sewak in the Goindwal *Pothis* have been crossed by vertical lines. Ostensibly, it has been done with the sole objective to delete them from the *Pothis.* At what stage of history, it occurred, is only a matter of conjecture. Now the question again rises that if the writings of Gulam Sada Sewak were really the compositions of Guru Ram Das then what was the exigency and who was responsible to strike them out, especially keeping in view the fact that the extant Goindwal *Pothis* have never been in possession of the fourth Master. It has been stated that "when Baba Mohan found himself in competition with Jeth Chand, now become Guru Ram Das, it is not surprising that he would have crossed out the writings of Jeth Chand/Gulam Sada Sewak from the *Pothis* in his possession."[2] Above statement again looks totally illogical, especially in the face of alleged autograph of Guru Ram Das, which continued to be preserved and displayed to the public by the custodians. Normally, after deleting the compositions of Guru Ram Das, there was absolutely no need to keep his autograph.

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

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1. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* p. 24.
2. *Ibid.*

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

WHO WAS GULAM SADA SEWAK ?

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

> ਸਤਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਦਿੜਾਇਆ ॥
> ਅਉਗਣ ਮੇਟਿ ਗੁਣੀ ਬਕਸਾਇਆ ॥
> ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਮੈ ਨਵਨਿਧਿ ਪਾਈ ॥
> ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਈ ॥੧॥
> ਸਤਗੁਰ ਮੋਕਉ ਭਏ ਦੈਆਲਾ ॥
> ਸਤਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਹਮ ਬਾਲ ਗੋਪਾਲਾ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
> ਸਤਗੁਰ ਵਿਚਿ ਵਡੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥
> ਸਤਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਕੀਮ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਾਈ ॥
> ਤਿਸੁ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਇਕੁ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਭਇਆ ॥
> ਤਿਨਿ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਸਭੁ ਜਗ ਉਧਰਿਆ ॥੨॥
> ਤਿਸੁ ਸੇਵਕ ਕਉ ਸਦਾ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੀ ॥
> ਜਿਨਿ ਡੁਬਤਾ ਜੀਉ ਲੀਆ ਉਬਾਰੀ ॥
> ਓਹੁ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਓਹੁ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਪੂਰਾ ॥
> ਸਰਬ ਕਲਾ ਰਾਚੇ ਭਰਪੂਰਾ ॥੩॥
> ਆਪੇ ਸੇਵਕ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਪੂਰਾ ॥

ਅਨਹਤੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਵਜਾਵੇ ਤੂਰਾ ॥
ਅਨਹਤਿ ਰਾਤੇ ਸੇ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ ॥
ਨਾਨਿਕ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਏਕਾ ਲਿਵਲਾਗੀ ॥੪॥[1]

(The True-Teacher generated in me devotion for Name.

Delivering me from vices he inculcated virtues in me.

Through the True-Teacher, I obtained all exaltations.

True-Teacher remains engrossed in meditation.

The True-Teacher has been very benevolent to me.

I am a favoured child of the True-Teacher.

The True-Teacher is the greatest of the great.

Nobody has realized the true worth of the True-Teacher.

This True-Teacher created a devotee.

That devotee emancipated the whole world.

I am always beholden to that devotee,

who saved me from sinking in vices.

The True-Teacher of that devotee is perfect.

He possesses all the virtues in their entirety.

The devotee himself is also a perfect True-Teacher.

He strikes the divine music.

Enthusiasts of the divine music become unworldly.

O Nanik ! the devotee remains engrossed in the ultimate.)

11.4.7. It is crystal clear that the quality and spirit of above piece of poetry, come nowhere near the *Gurbā@i.* Secondly, instead of propagating higher values, the author is more concerned with personal guruship. Thirdly, his chief aim is to highlight and glorify the image of his *Satiguru* (ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ) and his disciple (ਸੇਵਕ). Fourthly, the verse (ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਹਮ ਬਾਲ ਗੋਪਾਲਾ) alludes to the descendants of a Guru, perhaps Baba Mohan and his descendants. Lastly, the verses, such as, ਤਿਸੁ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਇਕੁ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਭਇਆ, ਤਿਨਿ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਸਭੁ ਜਗ ਉਧਰਿਆ, ਉਹੁ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਓਹੁ ਸਤਗੁਰੁ ਪੂਰਾ, ਆਪੇ ਸੇਵਕ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਪੂਰਾ etc., suggest that as if the author (Sada Sewak) has been commissioned to compose poetry to highlight the status of ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ (*Satiguru*) and

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1. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 256.

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

ਗੁਰਿ ਬਾਝੈ ਫਿਟਕੇ ਸੇ ਫਿਟੇ ਗੁਰਿ ਅੰਗਦਿ ਕੀਤੇ ਕੁੜਿਆਰੇ ॥
ਗੁਰਿ ਤੀਜੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਵੀਚਾਰਿਆ ਕਿਆ ਹਥਿ ਏਨਾ ਵੇਚਾਰੇ ॥
ਗੁਰੂ ਚਉਥੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਟਿਕਿਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਨਿੰਦਕ ਦੁਸਟ ਸਭਿ ਤਾਰੇ ॥[3]

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

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

1. *AGGS,* p. 924.
2. Bhai Gurdas, *V#r#*,* 26.33.
3. *AGGS,* p. 307.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 317.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 356.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 304.

the Guru."[5]

He was not unaware that to imitate the Sikh Gurus, the rivals were churning out spurious hymns :

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਗੀਸੈ ਹੋਰਿ ਕਚੁ ਪਿਚੁ ਬੋਲਦੇ ਸੇ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਕੂੜੇ ਝੜਿ ਪੜੀਐ ॥
ਓਨ੍ਹ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਹੈ ਬਿਖੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਨੋ ਝਖਿ ਮਰਦੇ ਕੜੀਐ ॥[6]

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

XII. PERIOD OF SCRIBING

12.1. Traditionally, the Goindwal *Pothis* are said to have been recorded during Guru Amar Das' times. However, the *Ahiyāpur Pothi,* has preserved a colophon at its beginning which states that it has been written on Jan. 7, 1596 C.E. (Magh Vadi 1, 1652 Bk.).[1] Bawa Prem Singh, who has studied the *Pothis* in detail, instead of taking note of the above-mentioned date, had relied mainly on a non-existant source of Bhalla tradition, to put forth the view that the present volumes have been scribed between 1570-1572 C.E.[2] Since the *Pothis* were not easily accessible and secondly, Bawa Prem Singh was a highly respected personality among the Sikh scholars, consequently, they found no reason to disbelieve

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1. We have taken the corresponding date of Jan. 7, 1596 C.E. to that of Magh Vadi 1, 1595 Bk. on the basis of Pal Singh Purewal, *Ja*tar$: 500 Years.*
2. Bawa Prem Singh, *Mohan Poth$#*,* p. 26.

his views concerning the *Pothis*. Moreover, it suited the Sikh scholarship of the period because in the absence of documentary evidence they were feeling restless to rebut the charges about *Bhagat-bā@i* and *Kartārpuri Bi~,* as well. They were out to prove that *Bhagat-bā@i* has been an integral part of the sacred literature of the Sikhs long before the codification of the *Àdi Granth* in 1604 C.E. Resultantly, without putting the Goindwal *Pothis* to any examination, some of the traditional Sikh scholars readily accepted Bawa Prem Singh's statement that the extant *Pothis* had been scribed during the time of Guru Amar Das.[1] However, in 1960s Swami Harnam Das came forward to controvert the above thesis to assert that the extant Goindwal *Pothis* have been prepared in the year of 1652 Bk. (1596 C.E.).[2] It is only recently that some scholars, having taken note of the date recorded in colophon, have come to the conclusion that extant *Pothis* are a Post-1596 C.E. product.[3] On the other hand some scholars hold that the date Magh Vadi 1, 1652 Bk. (Jan. 7, 1596 C.E.) refers, not to the date on which the *Pothi* was originally completed but to the time at which the colophon containing the blessings was inserted.[4] To steer the issue clear of doubt let us examine the contents of colophon which follows :

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸੰਮਤ ੧੬੫੨ ਮਾਘ ਵਦੀ ੧ ਪੋਥੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਬਿਰ ਬਾਬੇ ਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸਭਉ ॥੧॥ ਏਹ ਬਰੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀਆ ਸੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦੁ ਨੈ ਅਗੌ ਦੀਆ ਸੈ ਤਿਹਾ ਪੀੜ੍ਹਆ ਦੀਆ ਸੈ ਜਿ ਕੋਈ ਬਾਣੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਏਗਾ ਸੋ ਜੀਵਣ ਮੁਕਤ ਹੋਗ ਤਿਸ ਦੇ ਦੋਵੋ ਥੋਕ ਸਵਰਨਿਗੇ ਸੁਖਾਲਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਕਿਤੈ ਗਲੇ ਬੁੜੀਆਗਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਮੁਕਤ ਹੋਵਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਪਾਸਿ ਜਾਵਗਾ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਹੈ ਏਸ ਮਹਿ ਸਹਿਸਾ ਸੁਭਾ ਮੂਲਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਏਹ ਗਲੂ ਵਰਿ ਜਾਨਣੀ ॥ ਜਿ ਕੋਈ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਹੜੀ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਛਡਿ ਕੈ ਦੂਯੈ ਲਗੌਗਾ ਸੋ ਆਵਸਿ

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1. Teja Singh, 'Sr$ Gur% Gra*th S#hib D# Samp#dan', pp. 135-36; Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ith#s Sr$ Gur% Gra*th S#hib,* p. 565.

2. Swami Harnam Das, *Pur#tan$ B$~#* te Vich#r,* p. 64.

3. Daljeet Singh and Kharak Singh, 'Goindwal Poth$s Post-1595 Production'; Balwant Singh and Amarjit Singh, 'A Peep into the Myth and Reality of Goindwal Pothis', *ASS,* October 1995.

4. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 56; also see his *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* pp. 15-21. Actually, he has followed Giani Gurdit Singh, who was the first to float the idea that the date refers to the time when Guru Arjan has borrowed the *Poth$s,* see *Ith#s Sr$ Gur% Gra*th S#hib,* p. 82.

PLATE VI

Colophon bearing the date and purpose of the *Ah$y#pur Poth$.* For its transcription and translation, see pp. 129-131.

ਨਰਕਿ ਜਾਇਗੁ ।

[In the name of sole Supreme Being, Realized by
the Perfect Perceptor's Grace, Name, Person who
is Creator, Fearless, Formless, Unincarnated,
Self-existent. The *Pothi* was written by Guru Abir
Baba (Amar Das) in Samatu 1652, Magh Vadi 1
(Jan. 7, 1596). This blessing was bestowed by
Guru Baba (Guru Nanak) and the same was
conferred by Guru Angad and Ambar (Guru Amar
Das). The blessing conferred by the three
generations (of the Sikh Gurus) was that whosoever
would attune his mind to the *Bā@i* would attain
liberation in this very life, would be comforted both
here and hereafter, and would not find himself
wanting in anything. He will achieve emancipation
and will enter the presence of Guru. The God is
Transcendent one, there is no doubt or suspicion
about it. This saying should be taken as a blessing.
If anyone from our dynasty deserts the Guru to
follow a Guru from another family, would certainly
go to hell.]

12.2. A close perusal of the colophon reveals that it has been
recorded at the beginning of the *Pothi*. Being placed at the outset,
it has gone brittle with age and subsequently it has been repaired
to reconstruct its crumbled writings. Fortunately, the portion
containing the custodian's claim to guruship, has been preserved
in the hand of original scribe. The very reference to three
generations of the Sikh Gurus leads us to suggest that the
recording of *Pothi* has been done in the Post-Guru Amar Das period.
Significantly, the fact that the *Pothi* was written in the year of
1652 Bk., has come to us without any cutting. Arguably, it confirms
that the date i.e., Jan. 7, 1596 C.E., refers to the time on which
the scribing of the *Pothi* was completed. Thus, to assume that
instead of enhancing its antiquity, the scribe has indulged in post-
dating, is absolutely inconceivable.[1] In fact, the colophon is not a

1. Gurinder Singh Mann unnecessarily tries to confound the issue that the
   colophon on unnumbered folio continues on folio [9], see *The Goi*dv#l
   Poth$s,* pp. 19-20. But a careful reading of both the passages reveals
   that they form independent and separate units. If it has been a single
   passage then the names of first three Sikh Gurus would not have been
   repeated on folio 8 of the *Pothi.*
2. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 128, 178, 187, 204, 300.

later insertion but has been an integral part of the *Pothi* from its very inception. It holds the key to the purpose and period of its writing. Hence, while dating the *Ahiyāpur Pothi,* the very fact that it was written on Magh Vadi 1, 1652 Bk. (Jan. 7, 1596 C.E.) can not be ignored in anyway.

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

12.4. Significantly, a hymn (ਚੰਦਨ ਚੋਆ ਰਸੁ ਭੋਗ) belonging to Guru Arjan, has found its way into the *Ahiyāpur Pothi.*[2] Another hymn (ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਾ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨਿ) has been recorded in words and figures as well, under the authorship of *Mahalā* 5.[3] Instead of taking into account the above fact to determine the period of *Pothi,* a scholar who wants to prove its earlier origin has not only mis-stated the fact that the hymn in question belongs to Guru Nanak but has also come up with a made-up suggestion that the authorship of *Mahalā* 5 has been inserted later on.[4] Unfortunatly, this is not an honest deduction because the attribution has been recorded in the hand of primary scribe. Although, the authorship has been wrongly entered, it has been a part of the *Pothi* from its very inception. It seems our scholar is well-aware of the above fact,

1. Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Adi Gra*th,* p. 91; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* pp. 21-22, 172, 178.
2. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 137.
3. *Ibid.,* folio 136.
4. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* pp. 21-22, 176.
5. See plate on p. 200 of his *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s* where instead of describing the contents honestly and correctly, he has taken recourse to mis-state the fact that hymn in question belongs to Guru Nanak. However, not a single document has been noticed so far where it is attributed to *M.* 1.

yet inexplicably has taken recourse to confuse the readers by misquoting the facts.[5] Evidently, recording of hymns under the authorship of Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan would not have been possible if the compilation of *Ahiyāpur Pothi* had completed during the period of Guru Amar Das. Anyway, existence of hymns under the authorship of *Mahalā* 5, proves beyond any doubt that the extant *Pothis* are a post-Guru Ram Das (1581 C.E.) product.

12.5. While recording *Bhagat-bā@i* some of the medieval *Bhagats,* namely Kabir and Namdev have been referred as ਭਗਤ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ.[1] Literally this means that Kabir and Namdev were the devotees of Guru Nanak and some of the scholars like Giani Gurdit Singh ascribe to the above view which is historically impossible to be believed. On the other hand it is quite possible that the editorial notes mentioned above may refer to those *Bhagats*, whose writings in the opinion of the scribe had come from a source originating from Guru Nanak. However, to ascertain the status of the *Bhagats* vis-à-vis Sikh tradition we have to look at the original Sikh sources. A close perusal of the Sikh scriptural sources reveals that though the Sikh Gurus, namely Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan Dev appreciated the spiritual perfection of the various *Bhagats,* yet they do not refer to them anywhere as the disciples of Guru Nanak.[2] Bhatt Kalasahar in a penegyric to highlight the spiritual status of Guru Nanak besides referring to the various gods, goddesses and lesser figures in didactic manner, introduces Ravidas, Jaidev, Namdev, Trilochan, Kabir and Beni, who are overjoyed at the advent of Guru Nanak.[3] Bhai Gurdas, except for reiterating the view of the Sikh Gurus, does not treat the *Bhagats* as the actual devotees of Guru Nanak.[4] It is interesting to note that the position or status of the *Bhagats* vis-à-vis Guru Nanak starts changing in

1. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 259, 263.
2. *AGGS,* pp. 67, 733, 835, 1192.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 1390.
4. Bhai Gurdas, *V#r#*,* 10.12-17, 25.4-5.
5. Miharban in his *Janams#kh$* arranges Guru Nanak's dialogue with Kabir at Banaras and with other *Bhagats* at Ayodhya, see *Janams#kh$ Sr$ Gur% Nanak Dev J$,* pp. 154-157, 190-196.
6. *B. 40 : Janams#kh$ Sr$ Gur% Nanak Dev J$,* (ed. Piar Singh), pp. 103-104.

the *Mi@ã* literature. Though Miharban restrains himself to depict the *Bhagats* as the disciples of Guru Nanak, yet he arranges their meeting with the Guru where they depart at a satisfying note.[5] The above perception finds radical change in *B. 40 Janamsākhi,* where Bhagat Kabir actually accepts Guru Nanak as his spiritual preceptor.[6] Hence, the occurrence of editorial notes, such as ਭਗਤ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ indicates to a point in Sikh history when the *Bhagats* have come to be assumed as the devotees of Guru Nanak. Obviously, the scribe of extant Goindwal *Pothis* by referring to the *Bhagats* as ਭਗਤ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ desired to place the medieval *Bhagats* on a spiritually lower pedestal than that of Guru Nanak. It helps us to place the extant Goindwal *Pothis* historically in the post-Miharban period (1640 C.E.).

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

XIII. *MÂL-MAÅTRA*

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

1. Shah Sharaf, a well-known Panjabi *S%f$* poet had died at Lahore in 1724 C.E., see Mohan Singh Diwana, *S%f$#* D# Kal#m,* pp. 84-85, 209-210.
2. For the statistical study, see Rai Jasbir Singh, 'Poth$ B#b# Mohan— Question of Authenticity', *ASS,* Jan. 1995, pp. 77-78.
3. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 92-95; see also Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* p. 417; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 85-86.

Pothis some scholars hold that *Mul-Mantra* inscribed in them represents its earlier form, which has been modified by successive Sikh Gurus to give it its final form.[3] To put the issue for analysis, instead of one let us have a look at the various forms of *Mul-Mantra* found recorded in the Goindwal *Pothis.* They are as follows :

A.   ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ ਸਚੁਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ
     ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ॥[1]

B.   ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ ਸਚੁਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ
     ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਸਾਦ ॥[2]

C.   ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਚਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰੁ
     ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ॥[3]

D.   ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ ਸਚਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ
     ਗੁਰ ਪੂਰੇ ਕੇ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ ॥[4]

E.   ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕਾ ਸਚਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਨਿਰਭਉ
     ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ॥[5]

F.   ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ ਬਾਬੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਵੇਦੀ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਦੀਨ ਦੁਨੀਆ
     ਕੀ ਟੇਕ[6]

G.   ਓ ਸਚਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਪੁਰਖ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭੋ
     ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ[7]

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

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

1.   *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 1, 12, 55, 104, 151, 168, 276.
     Pi*jore Poth$, folios 34, 79, 110, 121, 145, 182, 211.
2.   *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 39, 85, 119, 201, 221, 227, 247.
3.   *Ibid.,* folio 139.
4.   *Pi*jore Poth$,* folio 1.
5.   *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folio 181.
6.   *Pi*jore Poth$,* folio 215.
7.   Recorded in *La*^#* script, it is available at folio 273 of the *Ah$y#pur Poth$.*

been invoked (ਗੁਰ ਪੂਰੇ ਕੇ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ). Obviously, instead of God, a personal Guru has been given prominence which links it to the sectarian development in Sikhism. Thirdly, alongwith the God and *Satiguru,* Guru Nanak has been invoked as ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ and ਨਾਨਕ ਵੇਦੀ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ (versions E and F). The occurrence of an invocation to Guru Nanak is totally unthinkable in a *Mul-Mantra* originating from the founder of Sikhism.

13.3. On the basis of above evidence we can safely state that the *Mul-Mantra* recorded in the Goindwal *Pothis* is full of incoherent features. Instead of representing the earlier form, it depicts the personal whims and doctrinal view-point of a scribe, associated with the rival of the Sikh Gurus. Significantly, some of its features, namely the stress on *Satiguru* (ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ), *Sachnãmu* (ਸਚੁਨਾਮੁ) and *Sambhau* (ਸੰਭਉ) are strikingly similar to the *Mul-Mantra* of Miharban.[1] This establishes that the *Mul-Mantra* of Goindwal *Pothis* has close affinity to the rival tradition represented by the *Mi@ãs.*

XIV. SCRIBING AND ORTHOGRAPHY

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

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1. At the beginning of *Sach Kha*^ Poth$,* authored by Miharban, the *M%l-Ma*tra* has been recorded as :
ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭੋ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ see *Janams#kh$ Sr$ Gur% N#nak Dev J$,* p. 1.
2. *Ah$y#pur Poth$,* folios 39, 186.

as *Bābā*, in the text.[2] It indicates that he might be an associate of the primary scribe. All these factors suggest that the scribing task of the Goindwal *Pothis* has not been executed by a single person or Sahansar Ram. Since, the orthography of the primary and secondary scribe is identical, consequently to suggest that some of the writings of the *Bhagats* have been inserted after the compilation of the *Pothis,* hold very little ground, especially to put forward an explanation for those writings which have not found acceptance with Guru Arjan in the *Àdi Granth*.[1]

14.2. The question arises whether the present Goindwal *Pothis* were the first attempt to put the *Gurbā@i* into writing ? A close look at the physiognomy of both the *Pothis* reveals that very little or no space has been left blank between the sub-sections (*chaupadās, as_padis* and *chhants*), the *rāgas* and the writings of different authors. For instance in *Suhi* mode immediately after the hymns of Guru Nanak, hymns of Guru Amar Das follow. Similarly, at the end of *Suhi* mode, on the very next folio *Parbhāti* takes off.[2] The above pattern can be discerned throughout the *Pothis.* Obviously, the recording of *Pothis* has been done serially and no room has been left blank to insert the writings to be procured later on. It suggests that the scribes were in possession of the whole text which they were going to record in the *Pothis.* Perhaps the text of all the hymns was available to them in the form of another source. At a few places an alternative text running parallel to that already recorded has been made available. Evidently, in the absence of another source all this would not have been possible. It compels us to think that scribes of the Goindwal *Pothis* had access to another source. Consequently, the *Pothis* cannot be called the first attempt to put the *Gurbā@i* into writing.

14.3. A close look at the orthography of the Goindwal *Pothis* reveals that the scribes associated with their recording, have developed a distinct style. Some of the consonants, namely ਵ ਹ ਚ ਛ ਠ ੜ etc., are of peculiar shape. Similarly ਯ and ਲ਼ betray *Devanāgari* features. For the vowel sign of *kannā* (ਕੰਨਾ) instead of vertical line, dot has been employed. Some scholars have picked up the Goindwal *Pothis* to trace out the origin and growth of *Gurmukhi* script. They assume that the Goindwal

1. Spread over in different *r#gas,* there are about 18 songs of extra-canonical nature attributed to Kabir, Namdev, Trilochan and Beni which are not available in the ACG.

2. *Gurmukhi pus Pothi,* folios 17, 81-82.

Pothìs have been scribed at an early stage when the *Gurmukhì* script was still in its evolutionary stage.[1] Although in the absence of colophon, orthography may be of some help to place a manuscript within a period, yet it is not a sure method to determine its precise date. Some of the features which have not been taken note of by the scholars, relating to the orthography of the Goindwal *Pothìs* restrain us from believing that they have their origin in the pre-*Àdi Granth* period. Unlike the old manuscripts, the syllables and phrases have not been joined but separated at the head. Significantly, all the distinctive and unique features of the letters viz., ੲਠ ਹਠ ਲ etc., associated with the orthography of the Goindwal *Pothìs* are quite visible in other manuscripts which have their origin in the mid and late 17th century C.E.[2] Thus, the orthography instead of proving the Goindwal *Pothìs* to be pre-1604 C.E., product push forward their origin to the mid 17th century.

XV. TEXTUAL VARIANTS

15.1.   On comparison of the text of the Goindwal *Pothìs* with that of the *Àdi Guru Granth Sāhib,* we find that they are full of variants. Scribal variants are so numerous that hardly a folio is free from them. Even some of the commonly used words, namely ਨਾਮੁਠ ਕਰਤਾਰਠ ਗੁਰਠ ਪਰਸਾਦਿਠ ਬਾਬਾਠ ਧਨਾਸਰੀਠ ਬਸੰਤੁਠ ਕਬੀਰ and ਤੀਰਥ have been recorded incorrectly as ਨਮਠ ਕਰਤਰਠ ਗਰਠ ਪਰਸਦਠ ਬੇਬੇਠ ਧਾਸਰੀਠ ਬਸੰਸਠ ਕਬਰੁ and ਥੀਰਤਿ respectively. Consequently to maintain the sanctity of religious text no care has been taken. The use of dot for the vowel sign of *kannã* has been frequently dropped. Similarly, the *_ippì* for creating nasal sound, has been either omitted or unnecessarily employed. The Persian vocabulary of a hymn of Guru Nanak (ਯਕ ਅਰਜ ਗੁਫਤਮ) in *Tilang* mode has not only been mispronounced but efforts to Sanskratise it have also been made. Some of the spellings such as ਛੰਦ (folio 13), ਵਿਚੋ (folio

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1. Pritam Singh, 'Gurmukhi Lippi', pp. 387-410.
2. For comparison of orthography confer *Hukamnamas* of Guru Hargobind and Baba Gurditta in Ganda Singh, ed., *Hukamname;* also see Bhasha Vibhag Panjab, Patiala MS # 359.

27), ਭੈਰੋ (folios 228, 260, 263), ਤਾਕੋ (folio 75) etc., instead of looking old seem to be of recent usage. Similarly, some of the spellings are very peculiar. For instance ਸੰਸਾਰਠ ਬਖਸੀਸਠ ਸਿਫਤਠ ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤ and ਕਬੀਰ have been inscribed as ਸੈਸਾਰਠ ਬਕਸੀਸਠ ਸਿਪਤਠ ਅੰਬ੍ਰਿਤ and ਕਮੀਰ repectively which bear testimony to the scribal habits prevalent in these volumes.

15.2. A comparative study of the text scribed on seven folios of the *Ahìyāpur Pothì* with that of the *Àdi Guru Granth Sāhib* confirms that there are about 122 examples where they differ over the use of spellings.[1] Similarly, there is a great deal of difference between the two on syllables and phrases employed in the text. A text critic can easily detect that the scribes associated with the Goindwal *Pothìs* have brought various modifications in the text by replacing the syllables and phrases with their alternatives or synonyms. For instance in the *Ahìyāpur Pothì* ਚਿਤੁ (ਮਨੁ)ਠ ਏਤੁਦੁਆਰੈ (ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰੈ)ਠ ਮੇਰਾ (ਹਮਾਰਾ)ਠ ਪਿਆਰੇ (ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ)ਠ ਰਤਨ (ਲਾਲ)ਠ ਸਾਬਾਹ (ਪ੍ਰਭਾਤੈ)ਠ ਰਿਦਿਆ (ਹਿਰਦੈ)ਠ ਭਗਤਿ (ਸਿਫਤਿ)ਠ ਮੁਰਗਾਈ (ਮੁਰਗੀ)ਠ ਫਿਰਿ (ਫੁਨਿ)ਠ ਲਿਵ (ਚਿਤੁ)ਠ ਮੁਖਿ (ਤਨਿ)ਠ ਜਨ (ਨਰ)ਠ ਜਿਦੁ (ਜਾਕੀ)ਠ ਉਸਹੀਕਾ (ਖਸਮ)ਠ ਵੇਸਿ (ਭੇਖਿ)ਠ ਝੂਠੀ (ਕਾਚੀ)ਠ ਨਾਮੁ (ਭਗਤਿ)ਠ ਜੀਅ ਜੰਤੁ (ਕਿਰਮ ਜੰਤ)ਠ ਭਾਗਾ (ਭਗਤਿ)ਠ ਸਬਦਿ (ਨਾਮਿ)ਠ ਆਖੈ (ਗਾਵਹਿ)ਠ ਮਿਨਤਿ (ਬੇਨਤੀ)ਠ ਡੂੰਘੀ (ਗਹਰੀ)ਠ ਜੰਤਾ (ਜੀਆ)ਠ ਖਬਰ (ਸਾਰ)ਠ[2] etc., are the variants which can be categorised as intentional ones. According to an estimate more than 12500 variants of the above categories are present in the *Ahìyāpur Pothì* alone.[3] Obviously, the number of variants is not negligible and an honest text critic can not ignore it in any manner. Anyway, the occurrence of such a large number of variants coupled with variation in their spellings indicate that the extant Goindwal *Pothìs* and the *Àdi Granth* instead of sharing a common source, have descended from two different traditions.

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

Ahiyapur Pothi	*Àdi Guru Granth Sahib*
ਕਵਨ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਦੇਹੁ ਮਿਲਾਏ (folio 60)	ਜਾ ਹੋਇ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲੁ ਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਮਿਲਾਏ (p. 794)
ਅੰਬ੍ਰਿਤ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਉ **ਮਨਿ ਵਸਾਇਸੀ** (folio 12)	ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਉ ਆਪਿ ਵਰਤਾਇਸੀ

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1. Pritam Singh, *Ah$y#pur W#l$ Poth$,* pp. 189-191.
2. Syllables in brackets refer to the *AGGS*.
3. Pritam Singh, *Ah$y#pur W#l$ Poth$,* p. 192.

ਤੂ ਕਿਆ ਸੋਇਆ ਉਠਿ ਜਾਗੁ **ਇਆਣਿਆ** (p. 730)	
(folio 58)	ਕਿਆ ਤੂ ਸੋਇਆ ਜਾਗੁ ਇਆਨਾ (p. 794)
ਝੂਠਾ ਜੀਵਣ ਤੂ ਸਚੁ ਕਰਿ **ਜਾਣਿਆ**	
(folio 58)	ਤੈ ਜੀਵਨੁ ਜਗਿ ਸਚੁ ਕਰਿ ਜਾਨਾ (p. 794)
ਚੇਤਿ ਰੇ ਬੰਦੇ ਚਲਣੁ ਸਵੇਰਾ (folio 58)	(p. 794)
ਚੇਤਿ ਰੇ ਬੰਦੇ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਫਾਨੀ (folio 58)	ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਮਿ ਸਮ੍ਹਾਰਿ ਸਵੇਰਾ (p. 794)
ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਏ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਰਸ ਮਹਿ ਰੰਗੁ ਕਰੇਈ	ਚੇਤਸਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਫਨ ਖਾਨੇ (p. 794)
(folio 143)	ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹੁ ਜਲਾਏ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਰਸ ਮਹਿ ਰੰਗ ਕਰੇਈ (p. 689)

but has also been modified with suitable phrases. For example :

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

15.3.2. Closely related to the above category of variants are the

Ahiyapur Pothi	*Àdi Guru Granth Sahib*
ਜਿਥੈ ਲੇਖਾ **ਮੇਰਾ** ਮੰਗੀਐ ਤਿਥੈ **ਹਾਜਰੁ** ਖੜੇ ਦਿਸਨੇ (folio 5)	ਜਿਥੈ ਲੇਖਾ ਮੰਗੀਐ ਤਿਥੈ ਖੜੇ ਦਿਸੰਨਿ (p. 729)
ਸਚੁ ਕਾ ਸਦੜਾ ਸੁਣੀਜੈ ਭਾਈ (folio 6)	ਤੇਰਾ ਸਦੜਾ ਸੁਣੀਜੈ ਭਾਈ (p. 730)
ਨਾਨਕ **ਇਹੁ ਤਨੁ** ਕੰਮਿ ਨ ਆਵਈ ਜਿਤੁ ਤਨਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਸਚਾ ਨਾਉ (folio 7)	ਨਾਨਕ ਕੰਮਿ ਨ ਆਵਈ ਜਿਤੁ ਤਨਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਸਚਾ ਨਾਉ (p. 730)
ਛੂਟੈ ਤਾ ਕੈ ਬੋਲਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ **ਕੀ** ਨਦਰਿ ਜਿਸੁ (folio 60)	ਛੂਟੈ ਤਾ ਕੈ ਬੋਲਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨਦਰਿ ਜਿਸੁ (p. 729)
ਤਪਿ ਤਪਿ ਲੁਹਿ ਲੁਹਿ **ਹਉ** ਹਾਥ ਮਰੋਰਉ (folio 60)	ਤਪਿ ਤਪਿ ਲੁਹਿ ਲੁਹਿ ਹਾਥ ਮਰੋਰਉ (p. 794)
ਜਿਸੁ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਸਿਧ ਭਏ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਦੇਵੀ **ਤੇਰਾ** ਮਰਮੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ (folio 64)	ਜੈ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਸਿਧ ਭਏ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਦੇਵੀ ਮਰਮੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ (p. 1328)
ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਟਉ **ਹਉ** ਵਾਰਿਆ ਭਾਈ (folio 190)	ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਟਹੁ ਵਾਰਿਆ ਭਾਈ (p. 1177)

'fillers' which are quite numerous. For example :

One can not fail to note that the 'fillers' such as ਮੇਰਾਠ ਹਾਜਰੁਠ ਸਚੁ ਕਾਠ ਇਹੁ ਤਨੁਠ ਕੀਠ ਹਉਠ ਤੇਰਾ and ਹਉ have been brought to make the text more explanatory, especially at the time of singing. Similarly in *Suhì chhants* at so many places vocatives of ਜੀਉ and ਰਾਮ have been introduced towards the end of a verse. We observe that the most conspicuous 'fillers' used in these *Pothìs* are the vocatives out of which *'Bābā'* (ਬਾਬਾ) is most significant. Examples of its usage are as :

ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਿਨ ਕਉ ਨਾਉ ਮਿਲਿਆ   *(Ahìyāpur Pothì, folio 38)*

ਤੰਤ ਕਉ ਪਰਮਤੰਤੁ ਮਿਲਿਆ **ਬਾਬਾ** ਨਾਨਿਕ ਬੁਧਿ ਪਾਈ   *(Ibid., folio 65)*

(ਮੇਰੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀਉ) ਤੇਰਾ **ਬਾਬਾ** ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਜਾਣਾ   *(Ibid., folio 82)*

ਤਾਕੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ **ਬਾਬਾ** ਨਾਨਿਕੁ ਰਹਤਾ   *(Ahìyāpur Pothì, folio 83)*

ਮੇਰੇ ਰਾਵਲਾ ਗਾਲੀ **ਬਾਬਾ** ਜੋਗੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ   *(Ibid., folio 83)*

ਜੋ ਤੁਧ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੋਈ ਚੰਗਾ ਇਕ **ਬਾਬਾ** ਨਾਨਿਕ ਕੀ ਅਰਦਾਸੇ *(Ibid., folio 186)*

ਕਰਿ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ ਵੇਖਹੁ **ਬਾਬਾ** ਨਾਨਿਕ ਬਿਨੁ ਨਾਵੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਈ
    (Pinjore Pothi, folio 54)

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

15.3.3. A careful examination of the extant Goindwal *Pothìs* reveals that they are replete with musicological variants. For example the sequence of *rāgas* adopted in the *Pothìs* has not been followed in the *Àdi Granth.* Similarly, some of the composite musical modes, namely *Suhì Dakhnì* (ਸੂਹੀ ਦਖਣੀ), *Suhì Dakhanì Jiguru* (ਸੂਹੀ ਦਖਣੀ ਜਿਗੁਰੁ), *Parbhātì Lalatā* (ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਲਲਤਾ), *Dhanāsarì Dakhanì* (ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਦਖਣੀ), *Dhanāsarì Pasto Maru Ga^āo* (ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਪਸਤੋ ਮਰੁ ਗਡਾਓ), *Basantu Dakhanì* (ਬਸੰਤੁ ਦਖਣੀ), *Bhairo Dakhanì* (ਭੈਰੋ ਦਖਣੀ), *Māru Kedārā* (ਮਾਰੂ ਕੇਦਾਰਾ), *Rāmkalì Sadu* (ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਸਦੁ), *Sora_hi Dakhanì* (ਸੋਰਠਿ ਦਖਣੀ) and *Sārang Dakhanì* (ਸਾਰੰਗ ਦਖਣੀ) are radically different from the musical tradition of the *Àdi Granth.* Moreover, some of the composite modes of the *Àdi Granth,* such as *Parbhātì Bibhās* (ਪ੍ਰਭਾਤੀ ਬਿਭਾਸੁ) and *Basantu Hin^ol* (ਬਸੰਤੁ ਹਿੰਡੋਲ) are absent in the *rāgas* of the *Pothìs.* Contrary to the tradition of the *Àdi Granth,* reference to beat (ਘਰੁ) has been totally dropped in the *Pothìs.* The arrangement of hymns with in the *rāga* sub-sections is quite at variance with the Sikh scripture. Even some of the hymns forming part of a particular *rāga* of the *Pothìs,* have not found a place in the same *rāga* of the *Àdi Granth.* Furthermore, some of the hymns of the *Pothìs*

begin with a different line than that of the Sikh scripture. Though, the *Àdi Granth* has preserved some of the tunes for singing, yet the tunes mentioned in the *Pothìs,* namely ਹਮ ਘਰਿ ਸਾਜਨ ਆਏਨ ਆਵਹੋ ਸਜਨਾ ਦਰਸਨੁ ਦੇਹਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਰਾਮ ਛੰਦ ਏਤ ਧੁਨ ਗਾਵਣ ਪਰਥਾਇ ਹੋਏ and ਚਉਬਾਰੈ ਗਾਵੈ ਪਹਿਲਾ have found no favour with Guru Arjan Dev to preserve them for posterity. All these factors indicate that the text of extant Goindwal *Pothìs* and that of the *Àdi Granth* belong to two different traditions. In other words as far as musicology is concerned, while codifying the *Àdi Granth,* Guru Arjan Dev has not depended on the extant Goindwal *Pothìs* in any manner.

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

> ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹਬੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ (folio 1)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ ਛੰਦ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ (folio 12)
>
> ਸੂਹੀ ਕਮੀਰੁ ਨਾਮਾ ਭਗਤ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ (folio 55)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ (folio 62)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ (folio 119)
>
> ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਕਮੀਰੁ ਨਾਮੇ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ (folio 151)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਰਵਿਦਾਸ ਜੀ (folio 158)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਬਸੰਤੁ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਦਾ (folio 168)
>
> ਤਿਲੰਗ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕਾ ਬੋਲਣਾ (folio 181)
>
> ਬਸੰਤੁ ਅਸਟਪਦੀਆ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀਆ (folio 201)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਭੈਰੋ ਕਮੀਰੁ ਨਾਮਾ ਭਗਤ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ (folios 259, 263)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਭੈਰੋ ਕਮੀਰ ਨਾਮਦੇਉ ਪੂਰੇ ਭਗਤ (folio 262)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕਾ (folio 276)
>
> ਰਾਗੁ ਮਾਰੂ ਕੇਦਾਰਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਦਾ ਮਹਲੁ ੩ (folio 280)
>
> ਕੇਦਾਰਾ ਕਮੀਰੁ ਨਾਮਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ ਭਗਤ (folio 292)
>
> ਗੁਰੁ ਕਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕਾ ਰਾਗੁ ਕੇਦਾਰਾ (folio 292)

It is worthnoting that the above type of headings are quite alien to the *Àdi Granth* and even a single of them has not found any mention in it. It again indicates that the *Pothìs* in question and

the *Àdi Granth* have not descended from a common source but owe their origin to different traditions.

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

XVI. CONCLUSION

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

1. For deatails, see Appendix IV, chap. 3.
2. See Appendix I, chap. 3.
3. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goi*dv#l Poth$s,* p. 185.
4. Pritam Singh, *Ah$y#pur W#l$ Poth$,* pp. 198-99.

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

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

16.3. We have demonstrated that no uniform pattern has been followed to differentiate the authorship. Not only confusion, in fact attribution of some hymns has been wrongly entered. The sequence of *rāgas,* their distinct modes and tunes are radically different to the *Àdi Granth* tradition. The musicological traces and textual variants, especially the 'fillers' and 'vocatives'

indicate that the text of Goindwal *Pothìs* instead of coming down from the scribal tradition belongs to a musicological tradition. Inclusion of *Kachì-bānì* is one of the most prominent features of the Goindwal *Pothìs.* As observed earlier, the apocryphal writings attributed to the Sikh Gurus, the *Bhagats,* Gulam Sada Sewak and Sharaf, have been an integral part of the *Pothìs* from their very inception. Significantly, the *Kachì-bānì* of the *Pothìs* has not found favour with Guru Arjan to preserve them in the *Àdi Granth.* If the extant *Pothìs* are genuine product originating from Guru Amar Das and the same had provided a basis for editing the *Àdi Granth,* then what were the reasons before Guru Arjan to exclude the apocryphal writings ? It looks absurd to suggest that Guru Amar Das had included *Kachì-bānì* in the so-called earlier scripture, but later on while editing the *Àdi Granth,* Guru Arjan rejected them, including the hymns attributed to his father, Guru Ram Das. The fact of existence of *Kachì-bānì* in the Goindwal *Pothìs* severely undermines the extant *Pothì's* claim to be the original product belonging to Guru Amar Das. In fact, the inclusion of *Kachì-bānì* is a pointer to the effect that the *Pothìs* owe their origin to schismatic trends in Sikhism.

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

Guru Amar Das' times push forward their recording to the mid 17th century C.E.

16.5. As pointed out earlier, to identify Gulam Sada Sewak of the Goindwal *Pothìs* with Guru Ram Das is totally uncalled for, which has been given currency in the recent past to legitimize the apocryphal writings. Similarly, the story of the alleged autograph of Guru Ram Das is not borne out of facts but is an imagination of recent origin. The colophon preserved in the *Ahìyāpur Pothì* exhorts that its custodians had the blessings of three generations of the Sikh Gurus that anyone following the Guru other than their progeny would certainly go to hell. It leaves no room to disbelieve that the extant Goindwal *Pothìs* owe their origin to the sectarian developments in Sikhism. The textual variants instead of proving them close to the *Àdi Granth* prove that the extant Goindwal *Pothìs* represent a different recension that owes its origin to the Bhalla tradition. Significantly, some of the features of the *Pothìs* establish their close connection with the sectarian literature produced by Miharban and his descendants. Like the *Anandu Parmārth* of Harji, stanza No. 34 (ਮਨਿ ਚਾਉ ਭਇਆ) has been dropped from the text of *Anandu* of Guru Amar Das incorporated in the *Pinjore Pothì*.[1] In fact *Anandu's* internal arrangement is very much identical to the version of Harji. Similarly, probably in conformity to Harji's *Janamsākhì* of Guru Nanak, a hymn of first Master has been wrongly attributed to Guru Angad.[2] Some of the extra-canonical *padās* namely, ਡਾਇਣ ਡਾਰੇ ਸੁਨਹੇ ਡੋਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਰਹਿਆ ਬਨ ਘੋਰੇ and ਨਾਰਦੁ ਕਹੈ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਨਾਰਾਇਣ ਬੈਕੁਠਿ ਵਸੈ ਕਿ ਕਉਲਾਸੰ belonging to Kabir and Namdev respectively, also occur in the *Mìnā* works.[3] Significantly, Shah Sharaf's writing found recorded in the *Ahìyāpur Pothì,* is partly available in *Masle Shaikh Farìd Ke,* a *Mìnā* product. Perhaps taking queue from Miharban, the scribe of the Goindwal *Pothìs* has tried to depict

1. For Harji's text of *Anandu,* see Rai Jasbir Singh, *Guru Amar Das Sarot Pustak,* pp. 174-201.
2. See supra p. 104 footnote 2.
3. For the text of above *padas,* see *Pinjore Pothi,* folios 102, 106. The *pada* belonging to Kabir is referred by Miharban in his *Janamsakhi Bhagat Kabir Ji Ki* (ed. Narinder Kaur Bhatia), pp. 221-222. The *pada* of Namdev occurs in *Goshi Guru Miharvanu* (ed. Govind Nath Rajguru), p. 274.

the *Bhagats,* namely Kabir and Namdev, as the devotees of Guru Nanak. Even some of the titles and vocatives such as ਬੋਲਣਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕਾ, strike a similar chord in the *Mìnā* literature as ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਬੋਲਣਾ.[1] Moreover, some of the features of the *Mul-Mantra* of the Goindwal *Pothìs* are strikingly similar to the *Mul-Mantra* of Miharban's literature. All these factors put together indicate that either the scribe of the Goindwal *Pothìs* was under the strong influence of the rivals of Guru Arjan, especially the *Mìnās* or the tradition of Goindwal *Pothìs* has developed in close proximity to the *Mìnā* tradition. Why do the two traditions have so much in common ? Which tradition has borrowed from the other or which one was thriving on the other is an important issue which requires indepth investigations, perhaps elsewhere.

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

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1. Sikh History Research Deptt., Khalsa College, Amritsar, MS# 2306, folio 161.

APPENDIX I CHAP. 3
CHANGE IN AUTHORSHIP[1]

The Goindwal *Poth$s*				*AGGS*
Raga	Folio	First Line	Author	Author
Suhi	9	ਜਪ ਤਪ ਕਾ ਬੰਧੁ ਬੇੜੁਲਾ	M.3	M.1
—	9	ਜਿਨ ਕਉ ਭਾਡੈ ਭਾਉ ਤਿਨਾ ਸਵਾਰਸੀ	M.2	M.1
—	10	ਭਾਡਾ ਹਛਾ ਸੋ ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵਸੀ	M.3	M.1
Dhanasari	122	ਨਦਰਿ ਕਰੇ ਤਾ ਸਿਵਰਿਆ	M.3	M.1
—	136	ਮੇਰਾ ਸਾਹਾ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨਿ	M.5	M.4
Basant	177	ਰਾਤੇ ਸਚਿ ਨਾਮਿ ਹਰਿ	M.4	M.3
—	178	ਸਗਲ ਭਵਣ ਤੇਰੀ ਮਾਇਆ	M.4	M.1
—	300	ਮੇਰੀ ਸਖੀ ਸਹੇਲੀ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਭਾਇ	M.4	M.1
—	187	ਆਪੇ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਕਰੇ ਸਾਜਿ	M.4	M.1
—	204	ਮਨ ਭੂਲੋ ਭਰਮਸਿ ਆਇ ਜਾਇ	M.4	M.1
Bhairo	227	ਤੈ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਕਿਛੂਆ ਨ	M.2	M.1
Sarang	215	ਪੂਰਨ ਪਰਾਨ ਜੋਤਿ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ	M.2	M.1

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1. The appendix refers only to those hymns whose authorship has been specifically mentioned in the *Poth$s* to disagree with the *AGGS*.

APPENDIX II CHAP. 3
ARRANGEMENT AND FIRST LINE INDEX OF THE HYMNS OF THE GOINDWAL *POTHÁS* [1]

R#ga	Folio	Author	Metre	First Line	AGGS Sr. No.	Sr. No.
Suhi	1	M.1	*chaup.*	ਭਾਡਾ ਹੋਇ ਬੈਸ ਧੂਪੁ ਦੇਵਹੁ ਤਾ ਦੂਧੈ ਕਉ ਜਾਵਹੁ	1	1
—	2	—	—	ਅੰਤਰਿ ਵਸੈ ਨ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਜਾਇ	2	2
—	3	—	—	ਸਭਿ ਅਵਗਣ ਮੈ ਗੁਣੁ ਨਹੀ ਕੋਈ	3	10
—	3	—	—	ਮਾੂ ਕੁਰਜੀ ਅਮਾਵਣਿ ਡੋਸੜੈ ਕਿਉ ਸਹੁ ਰਾਵਣਿ ਜਾਉ ਜੀਉ	4	19
—	4	—	—	ਜਾ ਤੂ ਤਾ ਮੈ ਸਭੁ ਕੋਇ ਤੂ ਸਚਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਰਾਸਿ ਜੀਉ	5	20

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1. The present appendix besides unfolding the internal arrangement of the *Pothis* presents first line index of the writings that form their part. It enables the readers to examine the relative position of various writings that appear in the corresponding *ragas* of the *Pothis* and the *AGGS* as well. For the *Ahiyapur Pothi* it is largely based on its facsimiles that are available in the library of Punjabi University, Patiala. To fill the gaps especially the description of *Pinjore Pothi,* besides relying upon Gurinder Singh Mann's *The Goindval Pothis,* we have benefitted from the previous works, namely *Mohan Pothian* (Bawa Prem Singh), *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib* (Giani Gurdit Singh), *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth* (Piar Singh) and *Ahiyapur Wali Pothi* (Pritam Singh). Since, a large number of hymns in the *Pothis* are without attribution, thus to identify their authors we have invariably followed the *AGGS.* For describing writings in a folio, instead of referring to its 'a' or 'b' side, we have referred to its front and back sides by a single number that is marked on its top right corner. Similarly, reference to various headings and modes of the *ragas* have been dropped. Broadly speaking, the scribe of the *Pothis* has divided the writings of various authors into three categories, namely the Sikh Gurus, Gulam Sada Sewak and the *Bhagats* and each category in a *raga* has been assigned a separate set of serial numbers. To prepare the index, besides the above pattern we have followed the *Suhi* mode of the *Pothis* where hymns of the Sikh Gurus, irrespective of metre or genre, have been assigned serial numbers in continuous order. Thus, some of the serial numbers entered under the column of *AGGS,* do not indicate to the originals in the Sikh scripture. We have employed the term *pada* for the writings of the *Bhagats* to distinguish them from that of the Sikh Gurus. The symbol of cross (x) indicates the absence.

Suhi	5	M.1	*chaup.*	ਉਜਲੁ ਕਹਿਆ ਚਿਲਕਣਾ ਘੋਟਿਮ ਕਾਲੜੀ ਮਸੈ	6	3
—	6	—	—	ਜੋਗੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਜੋਗਵੈ ਭੋਗੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਖਾਇ	7	7
—	7	—	—	ਕਚਾ ਰੰਗੁ ਕਸੁੰਭ ਕਾ ਥੋਰੜਿਆ ਦਿਨ ਚਾਰਿ	8	11
—	9	M.3	—	ਜਪ ਤਪ ਕਾ ਬੰਧੁ ਬੇੜੁਲਾ ਜਿਤੁ ਲਘੀਹਿ ਵਹੇਲਾ[1]	9	4
—	9	M.2	—	ਜਿਨ ਕਉ ਤਾਡੈ ਭਾਉ ਤਿਨਾ ਸਵਾਰਸੀ[1]	10	5
—	10	M.3	—	ਭਾਡਾ ਹਛਾ ਸੋ ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵਸੀ[1]	11	6
—	12	M.1	*chhand*	ਭਰਿ ਜੋਬਨਿ ਮੈ ਮਤਾ ਪੇਈਅੜੈ ਘਰਿ ਪਾਹੁਣੀ ਬਲਿਰਾਮ ਜੀਉ	12	22
—	14	—	—	ਹਮ ਘਰਿ ਸਾਜਨ ਆਏ	13	23
—	16	—	—	ਘਰਿ ਆਵਹੁ ਸਾਜਨਾ ਦਰਸਨ ਦੇਖਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਰਾਮ	14	24
—	17	M.3	—	ਸੁਖ ਸੋਹਲਿੜਾ ਹਰਿ ਧਿਆਵਹੁ ਰਾਮ	15	27
—	19	—	—	ਭਗਤ ਜਨਾ ਕਾ ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਰਖੈ ਜੁਗਿ ਜੁਗਿ ਰਖਦਾ ਆਇਆ ਰਾਮ	16	28
—	21	—	—	ਸਬਦਿ ਸਚੈ ਸਚੁ ਸੋਹਿਲਾ ਜਿਥੈ ਸਚੇ ਕਾ ਹੋਇ ਵੀਚਾਰੋ ਰਾਮ	17	29
—	23	—	—	ਜੁਗ ਚਾਰੇ ਧਨ ਜੇ ਭਵੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸੁਹਾਗੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ ਰਾਮ	18	30
—	25	—	—	ਹਰਿ ਹਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਏ ਰਾਮ	19	31
—	27	—	—	ਜੇ ਲੋੜਹਿ ਵਰੁ ਬਾਲੜੀਏ ਤਾ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਚਰਨੀ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਏ ਰਾਮ	20	32
—	29	—	—	ਸੋਹਿਲੜਾ ਹਰਿ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮੁ ਗੁਰਸਬਦੀ ਵੀਚਾਰੇ ਰਾਮ	21	33
—	30	unknown	—	ਕਰਿ ਲਾਲਚ ਮਨੁ ਲੋਭਾਣਾ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਛੁਟੀਐ ਜੀ[2]	22	x
—	32	M.1	—	ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਆ ਤਿਨੈ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਜਗੁ ਧੰਦੜੈ ਲਾਇਆ	23	25
—	34	—	—	ਮੇਰਾ ਮਨੁ ਰਾਤਾ ਗੁਣ ਰਵੈ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੋਈ	24	26
Wadharis	38	M.1	—	ਕਾਇਆ ਕੂੜਿ ਵਿਗਾੜਿ ਕਾਹੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਚਿਓ[3]	x	16
Suhi	39	M.3	*ast.*	ਦੁਨੀਆ ਨ ਸਲਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਮਰਿ ਜੰਮਸੀ	25	17
—	44	M.1	—	ਮਨਹੁ ਨ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰਿ ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਧਿਆਈਐ	26	14
—	45	M.3	—	ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਸੂਖਮੁ ਅਗਮੁ ਹੈ ਕਿਤੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਜਾਇ	27	18

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

Suhi	47	M.3	*ast.*	ਨਾਮੈ ਹੀ ਤੇ ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੋਆ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਜਾਪੈ	28	15
—	50	—	—	ਕਾਇਆ ਕਾਮਨਿ ਅਤਿ ਸੁਆਲਿਓ ਪਿਰੁ ਵਸੈ ਜਿਸੁ ਨਾਲੇ	29	16
—	51	M.1	—	ਮਾਨਸ ਜਨਮੁ ਦੁਲੰਭੁ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਇਆ	30	12
—	52	—	—	ਜਿਓ ਆਰਣਿ ਲੋਹਾ ਤਾਇ ਭਨਿ ਘੜਾਈਐ	31	13
—	53	Gulam	*chaup.*	ਪਿਰੁ ਕੈ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਤੀ ਸੋਹਾਗਨਿ ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਰਲੀਐ ਮਾਨੈ[1]	x	x
—	54	—	—	ਮੈ ਅਵਗਨਿਆਰੀ ਕੋ ਗੁਣੁ ਨਾਹੀ[2]	1	x
—	54	—	—	ਪਿਰ ਕੈ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਤੀ ਸੋਹਾਗਨਿ ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਰਲੀਐ ਮਾਨੈ[2]	2	x
—	55	—	—	ਪਕੈ ਮੰਡਪ ਮਹਲ ਹਜਾਰਾ[2]	3	x
—	55	Kabir	*pada*	ਜੈਸੇ ਰੰਗੁ ਸੁਪਨੇ ਨਿਧਿ ਪਾਈ ਮਨ ਹੀ ਮਨੁ ਸਮਾਨਾ[3]	1	x
—	56	Farid	—	ਬੇੜਾ ਬੰਧਿ ਨ ਸਕਿਆ ਬੰਧਨ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ	2	10
—	57	Ravidas	—	ਸਹ ਕੀ ਸਾਰ ਸੁਹਾਗਨਿ ਜਾਨੈ	3	6
—	57	—	—	ਉਚੈ ਮੰਦਰ ਸਾਲ ਰਸੋਈ	4	8
—	58	—	—	ਜੋ ਦਿਨ ਆਏ ਸੋ ਦਿਨ ਜਾਹੀ	4	7
—	58	Farid	—	ਤਪਿ ਤਪਿ ਲੂਈ ਹਾਥ ਮਰੋੜੇ[4]	5	9
—	59	Kabir	—	ਅਵਤਰਿ ਆਇ ਕਹਾ ਤੁਮ ਕੀਨਾ	6	1
—	59	—	—	ਘਰ ਘਰ ਕੰਪੈ ਬਾਲਾ ਜੀਉ	7	2
—	59	—	—	ਅਮਲੁ ਸਿਰਾ ਨੋ ਲੇਖਾ ਦੇਨਾ	8	3
—	60	Farid	—	ਤਪਿ ਤਪਿ ਲੁਹਿ ਲੁਹਿ ਹਉ ਹਾਥ ਮਰੋਰਉ	9	x
—	60	Kabir	—	ਕੁਸਲ ਕੁਸਲੁ ਕਰ ਸਭੁ ਜਗ ਬਿਨਸਿਆ ਪੜਿਓ ਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ[5]	10	x
—	61	Namdev	—	ਮਾਤ ਕਹੈ ਮੇਰੇ ਪੁਤਰਾ ਘਰਿ ਅੰਨਿ ਕਿਓ ਸਰਸੀ[6]	11	x
—	61	Sharaf	—	ਜਿਸ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਜਾਲਿਆ[7]	12	x
Parbhati	62	M.1	*chaup.*	ਨਾਇ ਤੇਰੈ ਤਰਣਾ ਨਾਇ ਪਤਿ ਪੂਜ	1	1
—	63	—	—	ਤੇਰਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਰਤਨੁ ਕਰਮੁ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਤਿਥੈ ਲੋਇ	2	2
—	64	—	—	ਜੈ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਬੇਦ ਬਰਹਮੈ ਉਚਰੈ ਸੰਕਰਿ ਛੋਡੀਲੇ ਮਾਇਆ	3	3
—	65	—	—	ਜਾ ਕੈ ਰੂਪੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਜਾਤਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਮੁਖੁ ਮਾਸਾ	4	4

1. Incomplete but its text has been taken to two succeeding compositions.
2. These three compositions of *Kachi-bani* attributed to Gulam Sada Sewak are not present in the *AGGS*.
3. An extra-canonical *pada* attributed to Kabir not found in the *AGGS*.
4. Incomplete but repeated with full text on folio 60.
5. An extra-canonical composition of Kabir not present in the *AGGS*.
6. An extra-canonical *pada* attributed to Namdev, not found in the *AGGS*.
7. Composition of Shah Sharaf, a *Sufi* poet, not available in the *AGGS*.

Parbhati 65		M.1	*chaup.*	ਤਾ ਕਾ ਕਹਿਆ ਦਰਿ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ	5	5
—	66	—	—	ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਨੀਰੁ ਗਿਆਨਿ ਮਨਿ ਮਜਨ ਅਠਸਠਿ ਤੀਰਥ ਸੰਗ ਗਹੇ	6	6
—	67	—	—	ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਵੀਚਾਰੈ ਪੜਿ ਪੜਿ ਪਾਵੈ ਮਾਨੁ	7	7
—	67	—	—	ਆਵਤੁ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਰਾਖਿਓ ਜਾਵਤੁ ਕਿਉ ਰਖਿਆ ਜਾਈ	8	8
—	68	—	—	ਦਿਸਟ ਵਿਕਾਰੀ ਬੰਧਨਿ ਬਾਧੈ ਹਉ ਤਿਸੁ ਕੈ ਬਲਿ ਜਾਈ	9	9
—	69	—	—	ਮਨੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਮਨੁ ਧਾਇਆ ਮਨੁ ਪੰਖੀ ਆਕਾਸੁ	10	10
—	70	—	—	ਜਾਗਤੁ ਬਿਗਸੈ ਮੂਠੋ ਅੰਧਾ	11	11
—	70	—	—	ਮਸਟਿ ਕਰਉ ਮੂਰਖੁ ਜਗਿ ਕਹੀਅਉ	12	12
—	71	—	—	ਖਾਇਆ ਮੈਲੁ ਵਧਾਇਆ ਪੈਧੈ ਘਰ ਕੀ ਹਾਣਿ	13	13
—	72	—	—	ਗੀਤ ਸਾਦ ਹਰਖ ਚਤੁਰਾਈ	14	14
—	73	—	—	ਅੰਤਰੁ ਦੇਖਿ ਸਬਦਿ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਨਿਆ ਅਵਰੁ ਨਾ ਰਾਗਣੁਹਾਰਾ	15	15
—	74	—	—	ਬਾਰਹੁ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਵਲ ਖਪਿ ਜਾਵਹਿ ਚਹੁ ਛਿਅ ਮਾਹਿ ਸਨਿਆਸੀ	16	16
—	75	—	—	ਸੰਤ ਕੀ ਰੇਨੁ ਸਾਧ ਜਨਾ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਤਰੁ ਤਾਰੀ	17	17
—	76	M.3	—	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਵਿਰਲਾ ਕੋਈ ਬੂਝੈ ਸਬਦੈ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਈ	18	18
—	77	—	—	ਨਿਰਗੁਣਿਆਰੇ ਨੋ ਬਕਸਿ ਲੈ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਆਪੇ ਲੇਹੁ ਮਿਲਾਈ	19	19
—	78	—	—	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹਰਿ ਸਲਾਹਿਆ ਜਿਨਾ ਤਿਨਾ ਸਲਾਹਿ ਹਰਿ ਜਾਤਾ	20	20
—	79	—	—	ਜੋ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਰਣਾਈ ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਤਿਨ ਤੂ ਰਖਣ ਜੋਗੁ	21	21
—	79	—	—	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਸਦਾ ਧਿਆਵਹੁ ਜਬ ਲਗਿ ਜੀਉ ਪਰਾਨ	22	22
—	82	M.1	—	ਕਵਣੁ ਤਰਾਜੀ ਕਵਣੁ ਤੋਲਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਕਵਣੁ ਸਰਾਫੁ ਬੁਲਾਵਾ[1]	23	x
—	83	—	—	ਜੋਗੁ ਨ ਖਿਥਾ ਜੋਗੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਡੰਡੈ ਜੋਗੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਭਸਮ ਚੜਾਈਐ[1]	24	x
—	85	—	*ast.*	ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਬਉਰੀ ਮਨੁ ਬਉਰਾਇਆ	25	25
—	87	—	—	ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹਿ ਸਗਲ ਜਗੁ ਛਾਇਆ	26	26
—	90	—	—	ਨਿਵਲੀ ਕਰਮੁ ਭੁਅੰਗਮ ਭਾਠੀ ਰੇਚਕ ਪੂਰਕ ਕੁੰਭ ਕਰੈ	27	27
—	92	—	—	ਗੌਤਮ ਤਪਾ ਅਹਿਲਿਆ ਇਸਤਰੀ ਤਿਸੁ ਦੇਖਿ ਇੰਦੁ ਲੋਭਾਇਆ	28	28
—	93	—	—	ਆਖਣਾ ਸੁਨਣਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਆਧਾਰੁ	29	29

1. In the *AGGS,* these two hymns form part of the *Suhi* mode, see pp. 730-31.

Parbhqti 95	M.1	*ast.*	ਰਾਮੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪਿ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਪੂਜਾ	30	30
—	96	—	—	ਇਕਿ ਹੁਰਿ ਬਕਸਿ ਲਏ ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੇ ਸਚੀ ਬਣਤ ਬਣਾਈ	31	31
—	97	—	—	ਆਪੇ ਭਾਤਿ ਬਣਾਏ ਬਹੁ ਰੰਗੀ ਸਿਸਟਿ ਉਪਾਇ ਪਰਭਿ ਖੇਲੁ ਕੀਆ¹	32	23
—	98	M.3	—	ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਵੇਖੁ ਤੂ ਹਰਿਮੰਦਰੁ ਤੇਰੈ ਨਾਲਿ	33	32
—	100	—	—	ਭੈ ਭਾਇ ਜਾਗੇ ਸੇ ਜਨ ਜਾਗਰਣੁ ਕਰਹਿ ਹਉਮੈ ਮੈਲੁ ਉਤਾਰਿ	34	33
—	102	Gulam	*chaup.*	ਸਹਜ ਭਾਇ ਮਿਲਾਇਆ ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਹਉਮੈ ਧੋਈ²	1	x
—	102	—	—	ਆਪਣੈ ਵਸਿ ਕੀਤੋਨੁ ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੋਰਸੁ ਹਥਿ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ²	2	x
—	104	Kabir	*pad#*	ਥਾਕੇ ਨੈਨ ਸਰਵਨ ਸੁਣਿ ਥਾਕੇ ਥਾਕੀ ਸੁੰਦਰੀ ਕਾਇਆ³	1	x
—	105	—	—	ਮਰਨ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਸੰਕਾ ਨਾਸੀ	2	1
—	106	Namdev	—	ਮਨ ਕੀ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਮਨਹੁ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿਆ ਬੁਝਲ ਅਗੈ ਕਹੀਐ	3	6
—	107	Kabir	—	ਅਲਹੁ ਏਕੁ ਮਸੀਤਿ ਵਸਤੁ ਹੈ ਅਵਰੁ ਮੁਲਖੁ ਕਿਸ ਕੇਰਾ	4	2
—	108	—	—	ਅਵਲਿ ਅਲਹ ਨੂਰੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਕੇ ਸਭ ਬੰਦੇ	5	3
—	108	—	—	ਵੇਦ ਕਤੇਬ ਕਹਉ ਮਤੁ ਝੂਠੇ ਝੂਠਾ ਜੋ ਨ ਵੀਚਾਰੈ	6	4
—	109	Namdev	—	ਆਦਿ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਜੁਗੋ ਜੁਗੁ ਤਾ ਕਾ ਅੰਤ ਨਿ ਜਾਨਿਆ	7	7
—	110	—	—	ਅਕਲਿ ਪ੍ਰਖੁ ਇਕੁ ਚਲਤੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ	8	8
—	111	Beni	—	ਤਿਨਿ ਚੰਦਨ ਮਸਤਕਿ ਪਾਤੀ	9	9
—	112	Kabir	—	ਸੁਨਿ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਤੇਰੀ ਦੇਵ ਦੇਵਾਕਰਿ ਅਧਪਤਿ ਆਦਿ ਸਮਾਈ	10	5
—	112	—	—	ਏਕ ਕੋਟੁ ਪੰਚ ਸਿਕਦਾਰਾ ਪੰਚੇ ਮਾਗਹਿ ਹਾਲਾ⁴	11	x
Dhana- *sari* 119	M.1	*chaup.*	ਜੀਉ ਡਰਤੁ ਹੈ ਆਪਣਾ ਕੈ ਸਿਉ ਕਰੀ ਪੁਕਾਰ	1	1
—	120	—	—	ਹਮ ਆਦਮੀ ਹਾ ਇਕ ਦਮੀ ਮੁਹਲਤਿ ਮੁਹਤਿ ਨਾ ਜਾਨਾ	2	2
—	121	—	—	ਕਿਵ ਸਿਵਰੀ ਸਿਵਰਿਆ ਨਾਹੀ ਜਾਇ	3	3

1. Though, the scribe has not mentioned its authorship, yet a scholar attributes it to M. 3, see Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goindval Pothis,* p. 175. However, in the *AGGS,* it has been recorded under the authorship of M. 1, see p. 1334.
2. These two compostions of *Kachi-bani* attributed to Gulam Sada Sewak, are absent in the *AGGS.*
3. In the *AGGS,* it forms part of the *Suhi* mode, see p. 793.
4. It is also in the *Suhi* mode of the *AGGS,* see p. 793.

Dhana-sari	122	M.3	*chaup.*	ਨਦਰਿ ਕਰੇ ਤਾ ਸਿਮਰਿਆ ਜਾਇ[1]	4	4
—	123	M.1	—	ਜੀਉ ਤਪਤ ਹੈ ਬਾਰੋ ਬਾਰ	5	5
—	124	—	—	ਚੋਰੁ ਸਲਾਹੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਨ ਭੀਜੈ	6	6
—	125	—	—	ਕਾਇਆ ਕਾਗਦੁ ਮਨੁ ਪਰਵਾਨਾ	7	7
—	126	—	—	ਕਾਲੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਜੋਗੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਸਤ ਕਾ ਢਬੁ	8	8
—	126	M.3	—	ਹਮ ਭੀਖਕ ਭੇਖਾਰੀ ਤੇਰੇ ਤੂ ਨਿਜਪਤਿ ਹੈ ਦਾਤਾ	9	18
—	127	M.4	—	ਕਾਮੁ ਕਰੋਧੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਮਦੁ ਮੀਠੇ ਦਲ ਬਦਲ ਜਿਉ ਉਨ ਵਿਰਹੇ[2]	10	x
—	128	M.3	—	ਇਹੁ ਧਨੁ ਅਖੁਟੁ ਨਾ ਨਿਖੁਟੈ ਨ ਜਾਇ	11	10
—	129	—	—	ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਨੁ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਅਤਿ ਅਪਾਰਾ	12	11
—	130	—	—	ਸਦਾ ਧਨੁ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਮਾਲੇ	13	12
—	131	—	—	ਜਗੁ ਮੈਲਾ ਮੈਲੋ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇ	14	13
—	131	—	—	ਜੋ ਹਰਿ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਤਿਨ ਬਲਿ ਜਾਉ	15	14
—	132	—	—	ਮਨੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਧਾਤੁ ਮਰਿ ਜਾਇ	16	15
—	133	—	—	ਕਚਾ ਧਨੁ ਸੰਚਹਿ ਮੂਰਖ ਗਵਾਰ	17	16
—	134	—	—	ਨਾਵੈ ਕੀ ਕੀਮਤਿ ਮਿਤਿ ਕਹੀ ਨਿ ਜਾਇ	18	17
—	135	M.1	—	ਗਗਨ ਮਹਿ ਥਾਲੁ ਰਵਿ ਚੰਦੁ ਦੀਪਕ ਬਨੇ ਤਾਰਿਕਾ ਮੰਡਲੋ ਜਨਕ ਮੋਤੀ	19	9
—	136	M.5	—	ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਾ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਸੁਖੁ ਹੋਇ[3]	20	13
—	137	—	—	ਚੰਦਨ ਚੋਆ ਰਸ ਭੋਗ ਕਰਤ ਅਨੇਕੈ[4]	21	61
—	138	M.1	*chhant*	ਤੀਰਥਿ ਨਾਵਣਿ ਜਾਉ ਤੀਰਥੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਹੈ ਜੀਉ	22	22
—	140	—	—	ਜੀਵਾ ਤੇਰੈ ਨਾਇ ਮਨਿ ਆਨੰਦੁ ਹੈ ਜੀਉ	23	23
—	142	—	—	ਪਿਰ ਸੰਗਿ ਮੂਠੜੀਏ ਤੈ ਖਬਰਿ ਨ ਪਾਈਆ ਜੀਉ	24	24
—	145	—	*ast.*	ਗੁਰੁ ਸਰੁ ਸਾਗਰੁ ਰਤਨੀ ਭਰਪੂਰੇ	25	19
—	148	—	—	ਸਹਜਿ ਮਿਲੈ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ	26	20
—	149	Gulam	*chaup.*	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੈ ਜਨੁ ਕੋਈ[5]	1	x

1. However, in the *AGGS,* it is attributed to M. 1, see p. 661.
2. A *Kachi-bani* composition attributed to Guru Ram Das, not found in the *AGGS.* However, Gurinder Singh Mann, due to inexplicable reasons, assumes it to be of Guru Amar Das' composition, see *The Goindval Pothis,* pp. 175-176 note 48 and 56.
3. In the *AGGS* at p. 670, it has been recorded under the authorship of M. 4, but Gurinder Singh Mann instead of stating the facts confounds the issue to remark that it could have been actually by Guru Nanak, see *The Goindval Pothis,* pp. 22, 151, 176, 200.
4. A hymn of Guru Arjan Dev which in the Sikh scripture takes off from another line ਮੇਰੇ ਲਾਲ ਭਲੋ ਰੇ ਭਲੋ ਰੇ, see *AGGS,* p. 678.
5. A *Kachi-bani* composition attributed to Gulam Sada Sewak, not found in the *AGGS.*

Dhana-sari	151	Ravidas	*pada*	ਹਮ ਸਰਿ ਦੀਨ ਦੈਆਲੁ ਨਾ ਤੁਮ ਸਰਿ ਅਬ ਪਤਿਆਰ ਕਿਆ ਕੀਜੈ	1	11
—	152	Namdev	—	ਮਾਰਵਾੜਿ ਜੈਸੇ ਨੀਰੁ ਵਾਲਿਆ ਵੇਲਿ ਵਾਲਿਆ ਕਰਹਲਾ	2	8
—	153	Kabir	—	ਸਨਕ ਸਨੰਦਨ ਮਹੇਸ ਸਮਾਨਾ	3	1
—	154	—	—	ਦਿਨ ਤੇ ਪਹਰ ਪਹਰ ਤੇ ਘੜੀਆ ਆਵ ਘਟੈ ਤਨੁ ਛੀਜੈ	4	2
—	155	—	—	ਜੋ ਜਨ ਭਾਉ ਭਗਤਿ ਕਛੁ ਜਾਨੈ ਤਾ ਕਾ ਅਚਰਜੁ ਕਾਹੋ	5	3
—	155	Namdev	—	ਡੂਘੀ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਨੀਵ ਖੁਦਾਈ ਉਪਰਿ ਮੰਦਰ ਛਾਏ	6	6
—	156	Kabir	—	ਸਤੁ ਸੰਧਿਓ ਆ ਭਈ ਵਡਿਆਈ[1]	7	4
—	156	Namdev	—	ਪਤਿਤ ਪਾਵਨ ਮਾਧੋ ਬਿਰਦੁ ਤੋਰਾ	8	10
—	157	—	—	ਦਸ ਬੈਰਾਗਨਿ ਮੋਹਿ ਬਸਿ ਕੀਨੀ ਪੰਚਹੁ ਕਾਮਿ ਨਾਵਉ	9	7
—	158	Ravidas	—	ਚਿਤਿ ਸਿਮਰਨੁ ਕਰਉ ਨੈਨਿ ਅਲੋਵਉ ਸਰਵਨਿ ਬਾਨੀ ਬਲਿ ਪੁਰਿ ਰਾਖਉ	10	12
—	158	—	—	ਨਾਮੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਆਸਣੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਉਰਸਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਕੇਸਰੋ ਲੇ ਛਿਟਕਾਰੇ[2]	11	13
—	159	Trilochan	—	ਦੇਹੁਰੀ ਭਤਿਰਿ ਸਰੁ ਸਰਹਿ ਭਤਿਰਿ ਜਲ ਜਲਹਿ ਭਤਿਰਿ ਆਛੈ ਨਿਜ ਕਵਲੰ[3]	12	x
—	160	Dhanna	—	ਜਿਨਿ ਮਾਤਾ ਕੇ ਉਦਕ ਉਦਰ ਮਾਹਿ ਕੀਆ ਦਸ ਦੁਆਰਾ[4]	13	x
—	160	Sain	—	ਧੂਪ ਦੀਪ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਸਾਜਿ ਆਰਤੀ ਵਾਰਨੈ ਜਾਉ ਕਉਲਾਪਤੀ	14	15
—	161	Trilochan	—	ਸੰਕਰੋ ਸੁਰਸਰੀ ਵਸਤਾ ਸੁਰਸਰੀ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਰੇ[5]	15	14
—	163	Namdev	—	ਪਹਿਲ ਪੁਰੀਏ ਪੰਡਰਕ ਵਨਾ ਤਾਚੇ ਹੰਸਾ ਸਗਲੇ ਜਨਾ	16	9
Malar	165	—	—	ਆਲਾਵਤੀ ਇਹ ਭਰਮ ਜੋ ਹੈ ਮੈ ਉਪਰ ਸਭ ਕੋਪਲਾ[6]	x	2
Basant	168	M.1	*chaup.*	ਮਾਹਾ ਮਾਹਿ ਭੁਮਾਰਖੀ ਚੜਿਆ ਸਦਾ ਬਸੰਤੁ	1	1
—	169	—	—	ਰੁਤਿ ਆਈਲੇ ਸਰਸ ਬਸੰਤ ਮਾਹਿ	2	2
—	170	—	—	ਸੁਇਨੇ ਕਾ ਚਉਕਾ ਕੰਚਨ ਕੁਆਰਿ	3	3

1. In the *AGGS* at p. 692, it begins with ਇੰਦੁ ਲੋਕ ਸਿਵ ਲੋਕਹਿ ਜੈਬੋ, but its text has a number of variants.
2. In the *AGGS,* it takes off from ਨਾਮੁ ਤੇਰੋ ਆਰਤੀ ਮਜਨੁ ਮੁਰਾਰੇ, see p. 694.
3. An extra-canonical *pada* not available in the *AGGS*.
4. In the Sikh scripture, it is in the *Àst* mode and begins with ਰੇ ਚਿਤ ਚੇਤਸਿ ਕੀ ਨ, see *AGGS,* p. 488.
5. In the *AGGS*, it takes off from another line ਨਾਰਾਇਣ ਨਿੰਦਸਿ ਕਾਇ ਭੂਲੀ ਗਵਾਰੀ, see p. 695.
6. It is in the *Landa* script, however in the *AGGS,* it begins with ਮੋ ਕਉ ਤੂੰ ਨ ਬਿਸਾਰਿ, see p. 1292.

Basa*t	171	M.1	*chaup.*	ਸਾਲਗਿਰਾਮ ਬਿਪ ਪੂਜਿ ਮਨਾਵਹੁ ਸੁਕਰਤ ਤੁਲਸੀ ਮਾਲਾ	4	9
—	172	—	—	ਸਹੁਰੜੀ ਵਥੁ ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਸਾਝੀ ਪੇਵਕੜੇ ਧਨ ਵਖੇ	5	10
—	173	—	—	ਰਾਜਾ ਬਾਲਿਕੁ ਨਗਰੀ ਕਾਚੀ ਦੁਸਟਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਪਿਆਰੋ	6	11
—	173	M.3	—	ਵਸਤੁ ਉਤਾਰਿ ਦਿਗੰਬਰੁ ਹੋਗੁ[1]	7	4
—	175	—	—	ਸਾਹਿਬ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ[1]	8	8
—	175	—	—	ਮਹਾ ਰੁਤੀ ਮਾਹਿ ਸਦਾ ਬਸੰਤੁ	9	13
—	176	—	—	ਤੇਰਾ ਕੀਆ ਕਿਰਮ ਜੰਤੁ	10	25
—	177	—	—	ਬਨਾਸਪਤਿ ਮਵਲੀ ਚੜਿਆ ਬਸੰਤੁ	11	26
—	177	M.4	—	ਰਾਤੇ ਸਚਿ ਨਾਮਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਿਹਾਲਾ[2]	12	14
—	178	—	—	ਸਗਲ ਭਵਣ ਤੇਰੀ ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹਿ[3]	13	5
—	300	—	—	ਮੇਰੀ ਸਖੀ ਸਹੇਲੀ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਭਾਇ[3]	14	6
—	187	—	—	ਆਪੇ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਕਰੇ ਸਾਜਿ[4]	15	7
Tilang	181	M.1	—	ਇਕ ਅਰਜ ਗੁਫਤੰ ਪੇਸਿ ਤੂ ਦਰਗੋਸ ਕੁ ਕਰਤਾਰ	1	1
—	182	—	—	ਭਉ ਮੇਰਾ ਭਾਗਾ ਖਲੜੀ ਮੇਰਾ ਚੀਤ	2	2
—	182	—	—	ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਕਿਆ ਕਹੀਐ ਰੇ ਭਾਈ	3	6
—	183	—	—	ਜੈਸੀ ਮੈ ਆਵੈ ਖਸਮ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਤੈਸਾ ਕਰੀ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਲੋ	4	5
—	184	—	—	ਅਲਹੁ ਏਕੁ ਕਰੀਮੁ ਕੁਦਰਹਿ ਸਚੁ ਕਾਦਰ ਪਾਕੁ[5]	5	x
G%jr$	299	Trilochan	*pada*	ਅੰਤਿ ਕਾਲ ਜੋ ਲਖਮੀ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਐਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਜੋ ਮਰੈ[6]	x	7
Tila*g	299	Kabir	—	ਬੇਦ ਕਤੇਬੀ ਇਫਤਰਾ ਜਿਤੁ ਦਿਲ ਕਾ ਫਿਕਰੁ ਨ ਜਾਇ	1	1
G%jr$	185	Trilochan	—	ਅੰਤਿ ਕਾਲ ਜੋ ਲਖਮੀ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਐਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਜੋ ਮਰੈ[6]	x	7
Bil#wal	186	M.1	*chaup.*	ਮਨ ਮੰਦਰ ਤਨ ਵੇਸ ਕਲੰਦਰ ਘਟ ਹੀ ਤੀਰਥ ਨਾਵਾ[7]	x	2

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1. In the *Pothi* these two hymns are without any attribution but in the *AGGS* they are found under the authorship of M. 3, see pp. 1169-70. Though, in the so-called earlier draft of the *Àdi Granth*, MS# 1245 they are available in the compositions of M. 3, yet Gurinder Singh Mann attributes them to M. 1, see *The Goindval Pothis,* pp. 151, 178.
2. In the *AGGS,* it has been attributed to M. 3, see p. 1172.
3. According to the *AGGS,* these two hymns belong to M. 1, see pp. 1169-70.
4. In the *AGGS,* it also belongs to M. 1, see p. 1170.
5. A *Kachi-bani* composition attributed to M. 1, not found in the *AGGS.*
6. At both the places it has been recorded in the *Landa* script but its text on folio 299 is incomplete.
7. Its text is also in the *Landas.*

Basant	188	M.1	*chaup.*	ਸਾਚਾ ਸਹੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਸੁਖ ਦਾਤਾ ਹਰਿ ਮੇਲੇ ਭੁਖ ਗਵਾਏ	16	12
—	188	M.3	—	ਸਭਿ ਜੁਗ ਤੇਰੇ ਕੀਤੇ ਹੋਏ	17	27
—	189	—	—	ਤਿਨ ਬਸੰਤੁ ਜੋ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਇ	18	28
—	190	—	—	ਬਸੰਤੁ ਚੜਿਆ ਫੂਲੀ ਬਨਰਾਇ	19	29
—	190	—	—	ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਟਹੁ ਹਉ ਵਾਰਿਆ ਭਾਈ ਸਬਦ ਵਿਟਹੁ ਬਲਿ ਜਾਈ	20	30
—	191	—	—	ਹਰਿ ਸੇਵੈ ਸੋ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਲੋਕੁ	21	15
—	192	—	—	ਅੰਤਰਿ ਪੂਜਾ ਮਨ ਤੇ ਹੋਇ	22	16
—	193	—	—	ਭਗਤਿ ਵਛਲੁ ਹਰਿ ਵਸੈ ਮਨਿ ਆਇ	23	17
—	194	—	—	ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਜਲਾਏ	24	18
—	194	—	—	ਪੂਰੇ ਭਾਗਿ ਸਚੁ ਕਾਰ ਕਮਾਵੈ	25	19
—	195	—	—	ਭਗਤਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਜਨ ਵੇਖਹਿ ਦੂਰਿ	26	20
—	196	—	—	ਨਾਮਿ ਰਤੇ ਕੁਲ ਕਾ ਕਰਹਿ ਉਧਾਰੁ	27	21
—	197	—	—	ਵਿਣੁ ਕਰਮਾ ਸਭ ਭਰਮਿ ਭੁਲਾਈ	28	22
—	198	—	—	ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਮੇਲਾਏ	29	23
—	199	—	—	ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੀ ਹਰਿ ਚੀਤਿ ਸੁਭਾਇ	30	24
—	201	—	*ast.*	ਨਵ ਸਤ ਚਉਦਹਿ ਤੀਨਿ ਚਾਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਮਹਲਤਿ ਚਾਰਿ ਬਹਾਲੀ	31	38
—	203	M.1	—	ਜਗ ਕਉਆ ਨਾਮੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਚੀਤਿ	32	31
—	204	M.4	—	ਮਨ ਭੂਲੇ ਭਰਮਸਿ ਆਇ ਜਾਇ[1]	33	32
—	205	M.1	—	ਮਤੁ ਭਸਮੁ ਅਢੁਲੇ ਗਰਬਿ ਜਾਇ	34	35
—	206	—	—	ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਪਿਆਸ ਜਿਸੁ ਨਰ ਹੋਇ	35	33
—	208	—	—	ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਅਢੁਲੀ ਕਾਰ	36	36
—	208	—	—	ਆਪੇ ਭਵਰਾ ਫੂਲ ਵੇਲਿ	37	37
—	209	—	—	ਚੰਚਲ ਚੀਤ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਪਾਰਾ	38	34
—	211	Gulam	*chaup.*	ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਸੰਤੁ ਭਗਤੀ ਲਾਇ ਆਪੇ ਦੈਤੁ ਚਿੜਾਇਆ[2]	1	x
—	211	—	—	ਜੋਤਾ ਕਪੜਾ ਅੰਗਿ ਹਢਾਇਆ[2]	2	x
—	213	Ramanand	*pada*	ਏਕੁ ਦਿਵਸਿ ਮੰਨਿ ਭਇਓ ਉਮੰਗੁ[3]	1	8
—	220	Kabir	—	ਇਸ ਤਨ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਮਦਨ ਚੋਰ	x	5
—	221	—	—	ਮਉਲੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਮਉਲਿਆ ਅਕਾਸੁ	1	1
—	222	—	—	ਪੰਡਿਤ ਜਨ ਮਾਤੇ ਪੜਿ ਪੁਰਾਣ	2	2
—	222	—	—	ਮਾਤਾ ਜੂਠੀ ਪਿਤਾ ਭਿ ਜੂਠਾ ਜੂਠੇ ਹੀ ਫਲ ਲਾਗੇ	3	7
—	223	Namdev	—	ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸੰਕਟਵੈ ਸੇਵਕ ਭਜੈ	4	9
—	223	—	—	ਲੋਭ ਲਹਿਰ ਅਤਿ ਨੀਝਰ ਵਾਜੈ ਕਾਇਆ ਡੂਬੈ ਕੇਸਵਾ	5	10
—	224	Ravidas	—	ਮਨ ਤੁਝੈ ਸੁਝੰਦਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹਿ	6	12

1. In the *AGGS* at p. 1187, it is attributed to M. 1.
2. These two *Kachi-Bani* compositions by Gulam Sada Sewak are absent in the *AGGS*.
3. In the Sikh scripture, it takes off from ਕਤ ਜਾਈਐ ਰੇ ਘਰ, see *AGGS*, p. 1195.

Basant	225	Kabir	*pada*	ਦੇਖਹੁ ਲੋਕਾ ਕਲਿ ਕਾ ਭਾਉ[1]	7	3
—	225	—	—	ਪ੍ਰਿਹਲਾਦੁ ਸਿਧਾਰੇ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਸਾਲ	8	4
—	226	Namdev	—	ਕਿਸਨ ਬਸੰਤ ਭਲੇ ਤੁਮਿ ਆਏ ਦੁਆਦਸਿ ਬਨ ਤਨ ਫੁਲੇ[2]	9	x
—	227	Kabir	—	ਇਸੁ ਤਨ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਮਦਨ ਚੋਰ[3]	x	5
Bhairo	227	M.2	*chaup.*	ਤੈ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਕਿਛੂਆ ਨ ਹੋਇ[4]	1	1
—	228	M.3	—	ਜਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਗਰਬੁ ਨ ਕਰੀਅਹੁ ਕੋਈ	2	9
—	228	—	—	ਜੋਗੀ ਗਿਰਹੀ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਭੇਖਿਆਧਾਰੀ	3	10
—	229	—	—	ਜਾਕਉ ਰਾਖੈ ਅਪੁਨੀ ਸਰਣਾਈ	4	11
—	229	—	—	ਮੈ ਕਾਮਣਿ ਮੇਰਾ ਕੰਤੁ ਕਰਤਾਰੁ	5	12
—	230	—	—	ਸੋ ਮੁਨਿ ਜੋ ਮਨ ਕੀ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਮਾਰੇ	6	13
—	231	M.1	—	ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਤਰੇ ਮੁਨਿ ਕੇਤੇ ਇੰਦ੍ਰਾਦਿਕ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਾਦਿਕ ਤਰੇ	7	2
—	231	—	—	ਨੈਨੀ ਦਿਸਟਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਤਨੁ ਹੀਨਿਆ ਜਰਾ ਜੀਤਿਆ ਸਿਰਿ ਕਾਲੋ	8	3
—	232	—	—	ਗੁੰਡੀ ਚਾਲ ਚਰਨ ਕਰ ਖਿਸਰੇ ਤੁਚਾ ਦੇਹ ਕੁਲਮਾਨੀ	9	4
—	233	—	—	ਸਗਲੀ ਰੈਣਿ ਸੋਵਤ ਗਲਿ ਫਾਹੀ ਦਿਨਸੁ ਜੰਜਾਲਿ ਗਵਾਇਆ	10	5
—	234	—	—	ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਰਤੈ ਦਿਨੁ ਰਾਤੀ ਰਾਮ ਰਸਨਿ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਾਤਾ	11	6
—	234	—	—	ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਰਬ ਧਨੁ ਧਾਰਣੁ ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਪਾਈਐ	12	7
—	235	—	—	ਜਗਿ ਨ ਹੋਮ ਪੁਨ ਤਪ ਪੂਜਾ ਦੇਹ ਦੁਖੀ ਨਿਤ ਦੁਖੁ ਸਹੈ	13	8
—	241	M.3	—	ਰਾਮੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਗਤਿ ਨਿਸਤਾਰਾ	14	14
—	236	—	—	ਨਾਮੇ ਉਧਰੇ ਸਭਿ ਜਿਤਨੇ ਲੋਇ	15	15
—	236	—	—	ਗੋਵਿਦ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਸਨਕਾਦਿਕ ਉਧਾਰੇ	16	16
—	237	—	—	ਕਲਜੁਗ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮੁ ਉਰਿਧਾਰਿ	17	17
—	237	—	—	ਕਲਜੁਗ ਮਹਿ ਬਹੁ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਹਿ	18	18
—	238	—	—	ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਰੋਗਿ ਵਿਆਪੇ ਤਿਸਨਾ ਜਲਹਿ ਅਧਿਕਾਈ	19	19
—	239	—	—	ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਸਦਾ ਹੈ ਰੋਗੀ ਸਗਲ ਸੈਸਾਰਾ	20	20
—	239	—	—	ਦੁਖ ਵਿਚਿ ਜੰਮੈ ਦੁਖਿ ਮਰੈ ਦੁਖ ਵਿਚਿ ਕਾਰ ਕਮਾਇ	21	21
—	240	—	—	ਸਬਦੁ ਵੀਚਾਰੇ ਸੋ ਜਨੁ ਸਾਚਾ ਜਿਨ ਕੈ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਸਾਚਾ ਸੋਈ	22	22
—	242	—	—	ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਭੁਖ ਆਸਾ ਨਹ ਉਤਰੈ ਦੂਜੈ ਭਾਇ ਖੁਆਏ	23	23
—	243	—	—	ਕਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਪਰੇਤੁ ਜਿਨੀ ਰਾਮ ਨ ਪਛਾਤਾ ਸਤਿਜੁਗ ਪਰਮਹੰਸ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ	24	24

1. In the *AGGS,* it begins with ਜੋਇ ਖਸਮੁ ਹੈ ਜਾਇਆ, see p. 1194.
2. An extra-canonical *pada* not found in the *AGGS.*
3. Incomplete but has already occurred at folio 220.
4. In the Sikh scripture, it occurs in the hymns of M. 1, see *AGGS*, p. 1125.

Bhairo	243	M.3	*chaup.*	ਮਨਸਾ ਮਨਹਿ ਸਮਾਇ ਲੈ ਗੁਰਸਬਦੀ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ	25	25
—	244	—	—	ਬਾਝੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਗਤੁ ਬਉਰਾਨਾ ਭੂਲਾ ਚੋਟਾ ਖਾਈ	26	26
—	245	—	—	ਹਉਮੈ ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹਿ ਖੁਆਇਆ ਦੁਖੁ ਖਾਟ ਦੁਖੁ ਖਾਇ	27	27
—	247	M.1	*ast.*	ਆਤਮ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਮੁ ਰਾਮ ਮਹਿ ਆਤਮੁ ਚੀਨਸਿ ਗੁਰ ਵੀਚਾਰਾ	28	30
—	249	M.3	—	ਗੁਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਤੇ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਫਲੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਹਉਮੈ ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਬੁਝਾਈ	29	32
—	250	—	—	ਤਿਨਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਇਕੁ ਚਲਤੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ	30	31
—	253	—	—	ਮੇਰੀ ਪਟੀਆ ਲਿਖਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਗੋਵਿੰਦੁ ਗੋਪਾਲਾ	31	28
—	254	—	—	ਆਪੇ ਦੈਤ ਲਾਇ ਦਿਤੇ ਸੰਤ ਜਨਾ ਕਉ ਆਪੇ ਰਾਖਾ ਸੋਈ	32	29
—	255	Gulam	*chaup.*	ਹਉਮੈ ਮਮਤਾ ਸਬਦੇ ਖੋਈ[1]	1	x
—	255	—	—	ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵੈ[1]	2	x
—	256	—	—	ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਦਿੜਾਇਆ[1]	3	x
—	256	Kabir	*pada*	ਨਾਗੋ ਆਵਣਾ ਨਾਗੇ ਜਾਵਨਾ	1	2
—	257	—	—	ਸੋ ਮੁਲਾ ਜੁ ਮਨ ਸਿਉ ਲਰੈ	2	11
—	257	Namdev	—	ਰੇ ਜਿਹਵਿਆ ਕਰੀ ਸੰਤ ਖੰਡ	3	21
—	258	Kabir	—	ਮੈਲਾ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਾ ਮੈਲਾ ਇੰਦੁ	4	3
—	258	Namdev	—	ਪਰਧਨ ਪਰਦਾਰਾ ਪਰਹਰੀ	5	22
—	259	Kabir	—	ਸਿਵ ਕੀ ਪੁਰੀ ਵਸੈ ਬੁਧਿ ਸਾਰੁ	6	10
—	259	Namdev	—	ਜੈਸੀ ਭੂਖੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਅਨਾਦੀ	7	27
—	260	Ravidas	—	ਬਿਨੁ ਦੇਖੇ ਨਾਹੀ ਉਪਜੈ ਆਸਾ	8	32
—	261	Kabir	—	ਆਗਮ ਦੂਰਗਮ ਗਜਿ ਰਚਿਓ ਵਾਸੁ	9	19
—	262	—	—	ਮਨ ਕਰਿ ਮਕਾ ਕਿਬਲਾ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਹੀ	10	4
—	262	Namdev	—	ਮੈ ਬਾਵਰੀ ਮੇਰਾ ਰਾਮੁ ਭਤਾਰੁ	11	24
—	263	—	—	ਸੰਡਾ ਮਰਕਾ ਜਾਇ ਪੁਕਾਰੇ	12	29
—	264	Kabir	—	ਨਾਉ ਮੇਰੈ ਖੇਤੀ ਨਾਉ ਮੇਰੈ ਵਾੜੀ[2]	13	1
—	264	—	—	ਗੁਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਤੇ ਭਗਤਿ ਕਮਾਈ	14	9
—	265	Namdev	—	ਦੂਧੁ ਕਟੋਰੈ ਗਡਵੈ ਪਾਨੀ	15	23
—	265	—	—	ਕਬਹੁ ਖੀਰਿ ਖੰਡ ਘਿਰਤੁ ਭੋਜਨ ਨ ਭਾਵੈ	16	25
—	266	Kabir	—	ਗੰਗਾ ਕੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਸਲਿਤਾ ਬਿਗਰੀ	17	5
—	266	—	—	ਮਾਥੈ ਤਿਲਕੁ ਹਾਥਿ ਮਾਲਾ ਬਾਨਾ	18	6
—	266	Namdev	—	ਘਰ ਕੀ ਨਾਰਿ ਤਿਆਗੈ ਅੰਧਾ	19	28
—	267	Kabir	—	ਜੋ ਪਾਥਰ ਕਉ ਕਹਤੇ ਦੇਵਾ	20	12
—	268	—	—	ਜਲ ਮਹਿ ਮੀਨ ਮਾਇਆ ਕੇ ਬੇਧੇ	21	13
—	268	Namdev	—	ਜਉ ਗੁਰਦੇਉ ਤ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੁਰਾਰਿ	22	31
—	269	Ravidas	—	ਬੇਗਮਪੁਰੁ ਸਹਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਉ[3]	23	x

1. These three *Kachi-bani* compositions authored by Gulam Sada
   Sewak are not present in the *AGGS*.
2. In the *AGGS* at p. 1157, it begins with ਇਹੁ ਧਨੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਕੋ ਨਾਉ ॥
3. It occurs in the *Gauri* mode of the *AGGS*, see p. 345.

Bhairo	270	Namdev	pada	ਸੰਤਨ ਕੈ ਇਕ ਰੋਟੁ ਜਾਚੁਲਾ[1]	24	x
—	270	—	—	ਹਿਦੂ ਗਰਦਨਿ ਮਾਰਉ ਤੋਹਿ[2]	25	30
—	271	—	—	ਸੁਲਤਾਨੁ ਪੂਛੈ ਕਹੁ ਰੇ ਨਾਮਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਕੈਸਾ ਹੈ[3]	26	x
—	272	—	—	ਹਸਤ ਖੇਲਤ ਨਾਮਾ ਦੇਹਰੈ ਆਇਆ	27	26
—	272	Kabir	—	ਜਉ ਲਗਿ ਮਇ ਮੇਰੀ ਕਰੈ	28	14
Àsa ki Var	273	M.1	saloka	ਬਲਿਹਾਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਦਿਉਹਾੜੀ ਸਦ ਵਾਰ[4]	1	1
—	273	M.2	—	ਜੇ ਸਉ ਚੰਦਾ ਉਗਵਹਿ ਸੂਰਜ ਚੜਨ ਹਜਾਰ[4]	2	2
—	273	M.1	—	ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਨ ਚੇਤਨੀ ਮਨਿ ਆਪਣੈ ਸੁਚੇਤ[4]	3	3
Maru	276	—	chaup.	ਪਿਛੈ ਰਾਤੀ ਸਦੜਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਖਸਮੁ ਕਾ ਲੇਹੁ	1	1
—	277	—	—	ਮਿਲਿ ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਿੰਡੁ ਕਮਾਇਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਲੇਖੁ ਲਿਖਾਇਆ	2	2
—	277	—	—	ਕਰਣੀ ਕਾਗਦੁ ਮਨੁ ਮਸਵਾਨੀ ਬੁਰਾ ਭਲਾ ਦੁਇ ਲੇਖ ਪਏ	3	3
—	278	—	—	ਬਿਮਰ ਮਝਾਰੈ ਬਸਸਿ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਜਲ ਪਦ ਮਨਿ ਜਾਵਲਰੇ	4	4
—	279	—	—	ਸਖੀ ਸਹੇਲੀ ਗਰਬ ਗਹੇਲੀ	5	5
—	279	—	—	ਮੂਲ ਖਰੀਦੀ ਲਾਲਾ ਗੋਲਾ ਮੇਰਾ ਨਾਉ ਸੁਭਾਗਾ	6	6
—	280	—	—	ਕੋਈ ਆਖੈ ਭੂਤਨਾ ਕੋ ਕਹੈ ਬੇਤਾਲਾ	7	7
—	280	M.3	—	ਜਹ ਬੈਸਾਲੇਹਿ ਤਹ ਬੈਸਾ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਜਹ ਭੇਜੋਹਿ ਤਹ ਜਾਵਾ	8	13
—	281	M.1	—	ਇਹ ਧਨ ਸਰਬ ਰਹਿਆ ਭਰਪੂਰਿ	9	8
—	282	—	—	ਸੂਰ ਸਰੁ ਸੋਸਿ ਲੈ ਸੋਮ ਸਰੁ ਪੋਖਿ ਲੈ ਜੁਗਿਤ ਕਰਿ ਮਰਤਸੁ ਸਨਬੰਧੁ ਕੀਜੈ	10	9
—	282	Jaidev	pada	ਚੰਦੁ ਸਤਿ ਭੇਦਿਆ ਨਾਦੁ ਸਤਿ ਪੂਰਿਆ ਸੂਰਿ ਸਤ ਖੋਜਿ ਸਦਤੁ ਕੀਆ	1	13
Kedara	283	Kabir	—	ਵੇਦ ਪੁਰਾਣ ਪੜੇ ਕਾ ਕਿਆ ਗੁਣੁ ਖਰ ਚੰਦਨ ਜੈਸੇ ਭਾਰਾ[5]	4	1
—	283	Gulam	chaup.	ਸਤਗੁਰ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਾਇਓ ਸਭ ਥਕੀ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਹਿ[6]	1	x
—	284	Kabir	pada	ਬਨਹੁ ਬਸੇ ਕਿਆ ਹੋਈਐ ਜਾਤੇ ਮਨਹੁ ਨ ਜਾਹੁ ਵਿਕਾਰ	5	2

1. An extra-canonical song not present in the *AGGS*.
2. In the *AGGS,* it occurs at pp. 1165-67, but its text is quite different than that of the *Pothi.*
3. An extra-canonical song attributed to Namdev, but its theme is somewhat similar to the *pada* preceding it.
4. These three *salokas* of *Àsa Ki Var* are in the *Landas.*
5. In the Sikh scripture, it takes off from ਪੜਿਆ ਕਵਨ ਕੁਮਤਿ ਤੁਮ ਲਾਗੇ, see *AGGS,* p. 1102.
6. A *Kachi-bani* composition by Gulam Sada Sewak, absent in the *AGGS*.

Mode	Folio	Author	Type	Text	No.	No.
Kedara	285	Kabir	*padu*	ਦੇਹੀ ਗਾਵਾ ਜੀਉ ਹਰਿ ਮਹਤਾ ਬਸਹਿ ਕਿ ਪੰਚ ਕਿਰਸਾਨਾ	2	7
Kedara-Maru	285	—	—	ਉਸਤਤਿ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਦੋਵੈ ਬਿਬਰਜਤ ਛੋਡਿ ਮਾਨੁ ਅਭਿਮਾਨਾ¹	3	x
Maru	286	—	—	ਗਿਧਿ ਸਿਧਿ ਜਾਕਉ ਫੁਰੀ ਤਬ ਕਾਹੂ ਸਿਉ ਕਿਆ ਕਾਜਾ	6	3
—	286	—	—	ਅਨਭਉ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਬੈਰਾਗੀਅੜੇ	7	8
—	287	—	—	ਜਿਨਿ ਗੜ ਕੋਟ ਕੀਏ ਕੰਚਨ ਕੇ ਛੋਡਿ ਗਇਅਉ ਸੋ ਰਾਵਨ	8	6
—	287	—	—	ਕਿਨਹੀ ਵਣਜਿਆ ਕਾਸੀ ਕੈਸਾ ਤਾਮਾ ਕਿਨ ਹੀ ਲਉਗ ਸੁਪਾਰੀ¹	9	x
Maru-Kedara	288	Ravidas	—	ਖਟ ਕਰਮ ਕੁਲਿ ਸਉ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਹੈ ਹਰਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਹਿ¹	10	x
Kedara	289	Kabir	—	ਉਦਦ ਸਮੁੰਦ ਸਲਲ ਕੀ ਸਾਖਿਆ ਨਦੀ ਤਰੰਗ ਸਮਾਵਹਿਗੋ	11	4
—	289	—	—	ਰੇ ਕਲਵਾਲ ਗਵਾਲ ਮੂੜ ਮਤਿ ਉਲਟਿਆ ਪਵਨ ਫਿਰਾਵਉ	12	x
—	290	—	—	ਚਾਲੀ ਅਚਲ ਭਈ ਥਿਤਿ ਪਾਈ ਜਹ ਕੀ ਤਹਾ ਸਮਾਈ	13	x
—	290	—	—	ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਮੋਕਉ ਦੂਰਿ ਕਰਤ ਹਉ ਤਉ ਤੁਮ ਮੁਕਤ ਬਤਾਵਹੁ²	14	5
—	292	—	—	ਕਾਮ ਕਰੋਧਿ ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਕੇ ਲੀਨੇ ਗਤਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਏਕਾ ਜਾਨੀ	15	x
—	292	Namdev	—	ਚਾਰਿ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਚਾਰਿਉ ਸਿਧਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਕੈ ਦੂਲਹ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕੀ ਸਰਨਿ ਪਰਿਓ	16	11
Kedara-Maru	293	Kabir	—	ਟੇਢੀ ਪਾਗ ਟੇਢੇ ਚਾਲੇ ਲਾਗੇ ਬੀਰੇ ਖਾਨਿ³	17	x
Ramkali	1	M.1	*chaup.*	ਕੋਈ ਪੜਤਾ ਸਹਸਾ ਕਿਰਤਾ ਕੋਈ ਪੜੈ ਪੁਰਾਨਾ⁴	1	1
—	2	—	—	ਸਰਬਜੋਤਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਪਸਰਿ ਰਹੀ	2	2
—	3	—	—	ਜੈ ਦਰਿ ਵੈਸਹਿ ਕਵਨੁ ਦਰੁ ਕਹੀਐ ਦਰਾ ਭਤਿਰਿ ਦਰੁ ਕਵਨੁ ਲਹੈ	3	3
—	4	—	—	ਸੁਰਤਿ ਸਬਦ ਸਾਖੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਸਿਝੋ ਵਾਜੈ ਲੋਕ ਸੁਨੈ	4	4
—	4	—	—	ਸੁਣਿ ਮਾਛਿੰਦਾ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਬੋਲੈ	5	5
—	5	—	—	ਹਮ ਡੋਲਤ ਬੇੜੀ ਪਾਪਿ ਭਰੀ ਹੈ ਪਵਣਿ ਲਗੈ ਮਤਿ ਜਾਈ	6	6
—	6	—	—	ਸੁਰਤੀ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਰਲਾਈਐ ਏਤੁ	7	7
—	6	—	—	ਤੁਧਨੋ ਨਿਵਣੁ ਮੰਨਣੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਨਾਉ	8	8

1. These three *padas* form part of *Kedara* mode of the *AGGS,* see pp. 1123-24.
2. An extra-canonical *pada* absent in the *AGGS.*
3. It also forms part of the *Kedara* mode, see *AGGS,* p. 1124.
4. From here onwards the folio numbers refer to the *Pinjore Pothi.*

Ramkali 7		M.1	*chaup.*	ਸਾਗਰ ਮਹਿ ਬੂਦ ਬੂਦ ਮਹਿ ਸਾਗਰ ਕਵਣ ਬੁਝੈ ਬਿਧਿ ਜਾਣੈ	9	9
—	8	—	—	ਜਾ ਹਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਭਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਧਾਰੀ	10	10
—	8	—	—	ਛਾਦਨ ਭੋਜਨ ਮਾਗਤੁ ਮਾਗੈ	11	11
—	9	M.3	—	ਸਤਿਜੁਗਿ ਸਚੁ ਕਹੈ ਸਭੁ ਕੋਈ	12	12
—	10	M.1	*ast.*	ਸੋਈ ਚੰਦੁ ਚੜਹਿ ਸੇ ਤਾਰੇ ਸੋਈ ਦਿਨੀਅਰੁ ਤਪਤ ਰਹੈ	13	13
—	11	—	—	ਜਗੁ ਪਰਬੋਧਹਿ ਮੜੀ ਬਧਾਵਹਿ	14	14
—	12	—	—	ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਦੇਹੀ ਮਨੁ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ	15	15
—	14	—	—	ਸਾਹਾ ਗਣਹਿ ਨ ਕਰਹਿ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ	16	16
—	15	—	—	ਹਠੁ ਨਿਗ੍ਰਹੁ ਕਰਿ ਕਾਇਆ ਛੀਜੈ	17	17
—	16	—	—	ਅੰਤਰਿ ਉਤਭੁਜ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ	18	18
—	18	—	—	ਜਿਵ ਆਇਆ ਤਿਵ ਜਾਹਿਗਾ ਬਵਰੇ ਜਿਵ ਜਨਮੇ ਤਿਵ ਮਰਣੁ ਭਇਆ	19	19
—	20	M.3	—	ਸਰਮੇ ਦੀਆ ਮੁੰਦਾ ਕੰਨੀ ਪਾਇ ਜੋਗੀ ਖਿੰਥਾ ਕਰਿ ਤੂ ਦਇਆ	20	22
—	23	M.1	—	ਜਤੁ ਸਤੁ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਸਚੁ ਦ੍ਰਿੜਾਇਆ ਸਚਿ ਸਬਦਿ ਰਸਿ ਲੀਆ	21	20
—	24	—	—	ਅਓਹਠਿ ਹਸਤ ਪੜੀ ਘਰੁ ਛਾਇਆ ਧਰਨਿ ਗਗਨਿ ਕਲ ਧਾਰੀ	22	21
—	25	M.3	—	ਭਗਤਿ ਖਜਾਨਾ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਜਾਤਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਬੂਝਿ ਬੁਝਾਈ	23	23
—	27	—	—	ਹਰਿ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਦੁਲੰਭ ਹੈ ਸੰਤਹੁ ਕਹਣਾ ਕਿਛੂ ਨ ਜਾਈ	24	24
—	28	—	—	ਹਮ ਕੁਚੀਲ ਕੁਚੀਲ ਅਤਿ ਅਭਿਮਾਨੀ ਮਿਲਿ ਸਬਦੈ ਮੈਲੁ ਉਤਾਰੀ	25	25
—	31	—	—	ਨਾਮੁ ਖਜਾਨਾ ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਪਾਇਆ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤਿ ਰਹੇ ਅਘਾਈ	26	26
—	34	M.1	*Onkar*	ਓਅੰਕਾਰਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਾ ਉਤਪਤਿ	54	54
—	54	—	*Sidh Gosti*	ਸਿਧ ਸਭਾ ਕਰਿ ਆਸਣਿ ਬੈਠੇ ਸੰਤ ਸਭਾ ਜੈਕਾਰੋ[1]	72	73
—	79	M.3	*Anan-du*	ਅਨਦੁ ਭਇਆ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਾਏ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਮੈ ਪਾਇਆ[2]	38	40
—	100	Namdev	pada	ਬਨਾਰਸੀ ਤਪੁ ਕਰਿ ਉਲਟੀ ਤੀਰਥ ਮਰਿ	1	16
—	101	Kabir	—	ਮਦਰੁ ਚੁਨਤ ਮਾਸ ਦਸ ਲਾਗੇ ਦੁਇ ਥਮ ਦਸੇ ਦੁਆਰਾ[3]	2	x
—	102	Beni	—	ਦੁਪਰੀਤੇ ਸੁਪਰੀਤੇ ਅਨਿਕ ਕਰਮ ਕੀਤੇ ਮਰਨ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਬੁਝਿ ਲੇ ਬਾਜੀ[3]	3	x
—	102	Namdev	—	ਨਾਰਦ ਕਹੈ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਨਰਾਇਣ ਬੈਕੁਠਿ ਵਸੈ ਕਿ ਕਉਲਾਸੰ[3]	4	x

1. Stanza No. 73 ਤੇਰੀ ਗਤਿ ਮਿਤਿ ਤੂ ਹੈ ਜਾਣਹਿ is missing in the text, see Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goindval Pothis,* p. 185.
2. Stanza No. 34 ਮਨਿ ਚਾਉ ਭਇਆ and Stanza No. 40 ਅਨਦੁ ਸੁਣਹੁ ਵਡਭਾਗੀਹੋ have been dropped from the text of *Anandu, Ibid.,* p. 186.
3. These three *padas* of extra-canonical nature are not present in the *AGGS*.

Ramkali 103		Kabir	*pada*	ਅੰਤਰਿ ਮਲੁ ਜੇ ਤੀਰਥ ਨਾਵੈ ਤਿਸੈ ਬੈਕੁੰਠ ਨ ਜਾਨਾ[1]	5	x
—	104	Trilochan	—	ਰਾਜਾ ਰਾਵਣਿ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕਹੈ ਮਦੋਦਰਿ ਰਾਨੀ[2]	6	x
—	104	Kabir	—	ਪੰਧਾ ਕਰਤ ਚਰਨ ਕਰ ਥਾਕੇ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਇਆ ਤਨੁ ਛੀਨਾ[2]	7	x
—	106	—	—	ਡਾਇਣ ਡਾਰੇ ਸੁਨ ਰੇ ਡੋਰਾ ਸਿੰਧ ਰਹਿਆ ਬਨ ਘੋਰੇ[2]	8	x
—	110	—	—	ਕਾਇਆ ਕਲਾਲਨਿ ਲਾਹਨ ਮੇਲਾਓ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਗੁੜੁ ਕੀਨ ਰੇ[3]	9	1
—	111	Namdev	—	ਆਨੀਲੇ ਕਾਗਦੁ ਕਾਟੀਲੇ ਗੁੜੀ ਅਕਾਸ ਮੰਧੇ ਭਰਮੀਅਲੇ	10	13
—	112	—	—	ਵੇਦ ਪੁਰਾਣ ਸਾਸਤ ਅਨਰਾਗੀ ਗੀਤ ਕਵਿਤ ਨ ਗਾਉਗੋ	11	14
—	113	Kabir	—	ਚੰਦੁ ਸੂਰਜੁ ਦੁਇ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਰੂਪੁ	12	11
—	113	—	—	ਜੈ ਮੁਖਿ ਵੇਦੁ ਗਇਤੀ ਨਿਕਸੈ ਸੋ ਕਿਉ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਨ ਬਿਰਹੈ ਕਰੈ[4]	13	5
—	114	—	—	ਬੰਧਚਿ ਬੰਧਨ ਪਾਇਆ	14	10
—	114	Ravidas	—	ਪੜੀਐ ਗੁਣੀਐ ਭਇਓ ਸਭੁ ਸੁਣੀਐ ਅਨਭਉ ਭਾਉ ਨ ਦਰਸੈ	15	17
—	115	Kabir	—	ਤਰਵਰ ਏਕੁ ਅਨੰਤ ਡਾਲ ਸਾਖ ਪਤ ਪੁਹਪ ਰਸਿ ਭਰਿਆ[4]	16	6
—	116	—	—	ਗੁੜ ਕਰਿ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਧਿਆਨੁ ਕਰਿ ਮਹੂਆ ਭਉ ਭਾਠੀ ਮਨ ਧਾਰਾ	17	2
—	116	Namdev	—	ਮਾਇਆ ਨ ਹੋਤੀ ਬਾਪੁ ਨ ਹੋਤਾ ਕਰਮੁ ਨ ਹੋਤੀ ਕਾਇਆ	18	15
—	117	Kabir	—	ਮੁਦਾ ਮੋਨਿ ਦਇਆ ਕਰਿ ਝੋਲੀ ਪਤ ਕਾ ਕਰਹੁ ਵੀਚਾਰ ਰੇ	19	7
—	117	—	—	ਕਵਨਿ ਕਾਜ ਸਿਰੇ ਜਗ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਜਨਮਿ ਕਵਨ ਫਲੁ ਪਾਇਆ	20	8
—	118	—	—	ਐਸਾ ਸਿਮਰਨੁ ਕਰਿ ਮਨ ਮਾਹਿ[5]	21	9
—	120	—	—	ਤੂ ਮੇਰਾ ਮੇਰੁ ਪਰਬਤੁ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਓਟ ਗਹੀ ਮੁਝ ਤੇਰੀ	22	3
—	120	—	—	ਸਤਾ ਮਾਨਉ ਦੂਤਾ ਡਾਨਉ ਇਹ ਕੁਟਵਾਰੀ ਮੇਰੀ	23	4
Sora_hi 121		M.1	*chaup.*	ਸਭਨਾ ਮਰਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਵੇਛੋੜਾ ਸਭਨਾ	1	1

1. It occurs in the *Àsa* mode of the *AGGS,* see p. 484.
2. These three compositions of extra-canonical nature are absent in the *AGGS*.
3. From here the scribe has assigned the serial numbers afresh but we have carried the total consecutively.
4. Piar Singh's information that these two *padas* are absent in the *Pothi,* is not factually correct, see *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* p. 94.
5. In the *AGGS* at p. 971, it takes off from ਜਿਹ ਸਿਮਰਨਿ ਹੋਇ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਦੁਆਰੁ, however, Piar Singh finds it absent in the *Pothi,* see *Ibid.*; p. 94.

Sorathi	122	M.1	*chaup.*	ਮਨੁ ਹਾਲੀ ਕਿਰਸਾਣੀ ਕਰਣੀ ਸਰਮੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਤਨੁ ਖੇਤੁ	2	2
—	123	—	—	ਪੜੁ ਧਰਤੀ ਪੜੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਆਸਣੁ ਚਾਰਿ ਕੁਡ ਚਉਬਾਰਾ	3	4
—	124	—	—	ਜਾ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵਾ ਤਦ ਹੀ ਗਾਵਾ ਤਾ ਜਨੁ ਗਾਵੈ ਕਾ ਫਲੁ ਪਾਵਾ	4	12
—	125	—	—	ਮਾਇ ਬਾਪ ਕਉ ਬੇਟੋ ਨੀਕੋ ਸਸੁਰੈ ਚਤੁਰ ਜਵਾਈ	5	3
—	125	—	—	ਹਉ ਪਾਪੀ ਪਤਿਤੁ ਪਰਮ ਪਾਖੰਡੀ ਤੂ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੀ	6	5
—	127	—	—	ਅਲਖੁ ਅਪਾਰੁ ਅਗਮੁ ਅਗੋਚਰੁ ਨ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਲੁ ਨ ਕਰਮਾ	7	6
—	127	—	—	ਜਿਉ ਮੀਨਾ ਬਿਨੁ ਪਾਣੀਐ ਤਿਉ ਸਾਕਤੁ ਮਰੈ ਪਿਆਸੁ	8	7
—	128	—	—	ਅਪਨੇ ਘਰੁ ਮੁਸਤ ਰਖਿ ਨ ਸਕਹਿ ਕੀ ਪਰ ਘਰ ਜੋਹਨਿ ਲਾਗਾ	9	10
—	129	—	—	ਤੂ ਪਰਭੁ ਦਾਤਾ ਦਾਨਿ ਮਤਿ ਪੂਰੀ ਹਮਿ ਥਾਰੇ ਭੇਖਾਰੀ ਜੀਉ	10	8
—	130	—	—	ਸਰਬ ਜੀਆ ਸਿਰਿ ਲੇਖੁ ਧੁਰਹੁ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੋਈ	11	11
—	131	—	—	ਜਿਸ ਨਿਧਿ ਜਲ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਤੁਮਿ ਜਗਿ ਆਏ ਸੋ ਅੰਬ੍ਰਿਤ ਗੁਰ ਪਾਹੀ	12	9
—	132	M.3	—	ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਉਲਟੀ ਭਈ ਭਾਈ ਜੀਵਤ ਮਰੈ ਤਾ ਬੂਝ ਪਾਇ	13	20
—	133	—	—	ਤਿਹੀ ਗੁਣੀ ਤ੍ਰੈਭਵਣ ਵਿਆਪਿਆ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਬੂਝ ਬੁਝਾਇ	14	21
—	133	—	—	ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸੁਖ ਸਾਗਰ ਜੁਗ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਹੋਰ ਥੈ ਸੁਖ ਨਾਹੀ	15	22
—	134	—	—	ਬਿਨੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸੇਵੇ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਦੁਖ ਲਾਗਾ ਜੁਗ ਚਾਰੇ ਭਰਮਾਈ	16	23
—	135	—	—	ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸੇਵੇ ਤਾ ਸਹਜੁ ਧੁਨਿ ਗਤਿ ਮਤਿ ਤਦ ਹੀ ਪਾਏ	17	24
—	136	—	—	ਸੇਵਕ ਸੇਵ ਕਰਹਿ ਸਭਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਜਿਨ ਸਬਦੈ ਸਾਦੁ ਆਇਆ	18	13
—	137	—	—	ਭਗਤਿ ਖਜਾਨਾ ਭਗਤਾ ਕਉ ਦੀਆ ਨਾਉ ਹਰਿ ਧਨੁ ਸਚੁ ਸੋਈ	19	14
—	138	—	—	ਸਾਚੀ ਭਗਤਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਹੋਵੈ ਸਾਚੀ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਬਾਣੀ	20	19
—	139	—	—	ਦਾਸਨਿ ਦਾਸੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਾ ਹਰਿ ਪਾਏ ਵਿਚੋਹੁ ਆਪੁ ਗਵਾਈ	21	15
—	140	—	—	ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਤੁਹਨੋ ਸਦਾ ਸਲਾਹੀ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਜਿਚਰੁ ਘਟ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਹੈ ਸਾਸਾ	22	16
—	141	—	—	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਪਰਭ ਭਾਵਹਿ ਅਨਦਿਨ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਖਾਨੇ	23	17
—	143	—	—	ਸੋ ਸਿਖੁ ਸਾਖੀ ਬੰਧਪੁ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਜਿ ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਭਾਣੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਆਵੇ	24	18

Sorathi	145	M.1	*ast.*	ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਨ ਪੜਉ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਹੋਰ ਨ ਪੂਜਾ ਮੜੈ ਮਸਾਣਿ ਨ ਜਾਈ	25	25
—	147	—	—	ਆਸਾ ਮਨਸਾ ਬੰਧਨੀ ਭਾਈ ਕਰਮ ਧਰਮ ਬੰਧਕਾਰੀ	26	26
—	149	—	—	ਤੂ ਗੁਣਦਾਤਾ ਉਜਲੋ ਭਾਈ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਮੈਲੁ ਨ ਹੋਇ	27	28
—	151	—	—	ਜਿਨੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸੇਵਿਆ ਤਿਨ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਤਰੈ	28	27
—	153	M.3	—	ਨਿਗੁਣਿਆ ਨੋ ਆਪੇ ਬਖਸਿ ਲਏ ਭਾਈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਲਾਇ	29	30
—	155	—	—	ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਸਬਦੇ ਜਾਪਦਾ ਭਾਈ ਪੂਰੈ ਭਾਗਿ ਮਿਲਾਇ	30	31
—	156	—	—	ਭਗਤਾ ਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਤੂ ਰਖਦਾ ਪਰਭ ਜੀਓ	31	29
				ਧੁਰਿ ਤੂ ਰਖਦਾ ਆਇਆ		
—	158	—	—	ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਉਲਟੀ ਭਈ ਭਾਈ ਜੀਵਤੁ ਮਰੈ ਤ ਬੁਝ ਪਾਇ[1]	32	20
—	159	Gulam	*chaup.*	ਨ ਬੇੜੀ ਨ ਤੁਲਹੜਾ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਨ ਵਿਧਿ ਪਾਰਿ ਪਾਇ[2]	1	x
—	160	—	—	ਮਨ ਰੇ ਸਾਚੀ ਲਿਵ ਰਹੁ ਤੂ ਲਾਗਾ[2]	2	x
—	160	Kabir	—	ਜਾ ਕਾ ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਨੀਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ[3]	1	x
—	161	—	—	ਦੁਇ ਦੁਇ ਲੋਚਨ ਪੇਖਾ	2	4
—	162	—	—	ਬੁਤਿ ਪੂਜਿ ਪੂਜਿ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੂਏ ਤੁਰਕ ਮੂਏ ਸਿਰੁ ਨਿਵਾਈ	3	1
—	163	Ravidas	—	ਦੁਲੰਭ ਜਨਮੁ ਪੁਨਿ ਫਲ ਪਾਇਆ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਜਾਤੁ ਹੈ ਅਬ ਬੇਕੀ	4	17
—	164	—	—	ਜਬ ਹਮ ਹੋਤੇ ਤਬ ਤੂ ਨਾਹੀ ਜਬ ਤੂ ਹੈ ਹਮਿ ਨਾਹੀ	5	15
—	165	Namdev	—	ਜਬ ਦੇਖਾ ਤਬ ਗਾਵਾ	6	12
—	166	Kabir	—	ਰਿਦੈ ਕਪਟੁ ਸੁਧੁ ਮਨਿ ਗਿਆਨੀ	7	8
—	166	Ravidas	—	ਸੁਖ ਸਾਗਰ ਸਰਤਰ ਚਿੰਤਾਮਣਿ ਕਾਮਧੇਨਿ ਵਸਿ ਜਾ ਕੇ[4]	8	18
—	167	Kabir	—	ਤਿਸੁ ਬਾਝੁ ਨ ਜੀਵਿਆ ਜਾਈ	9	6
—	167	Bhikhan	—	ਐਸਾ ਇਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਰਤਨੁ ਨਿਰਮੋਲਕੁ ਪੁਨਿ ਪਦਾਰਥ ਪਾਇਆ	10	23
—	168	—	—	ਨੈਨੀ ਨੀਰ ਵਹੈ ਤਨੁ ਖੀਨਾ ਭਏ ਕੇਸ ਦੁਧਵਾਨੀ	11	22
—	169	Ravidas	—	ਜਉ ਹਮ ਬਾਧੇ ਮੋਹ ਫਾਸ ਹਮ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਬੰਧਨਿ ਤੁਮ ਬਾਧੇ	12	16

1. A *chaupada* already occuring at folio 132, repeated as an *astpada.*
2. These two compositions of *Kachi-bani* by Gulam Sada Sewak are absent in the *AGGS.*
3. It occurs in the *Gauri* mode of the *AGGS* and begins with ਰੇ ਜੀਅ ਨਿਲਜ ਲਾਜ ਤੋਹਿ ਨਾਹੀ, see p. 330.
4. Though in the *AGGS,* it occurs in both the *Sorathi* and *Mar%* modes at page 658 and 1106 respectively, but in the *Pothi* it has been recorded twice in the same *raga,* see folio 175.

Sorathi	169	Kabir	*pada*	ਜਾ ਕੋ ਨਿਗਮ ਦੂਧ ਕੇ ਠਾਟਾ	13	5
—	170	—	—	ਕਿਆ ਪੜੀਐ ਕਿਆ ਗੁਣੀਐ	14	7
—	171	—	—	ਜਬ ਜਾਰੀਐ ਤਬ ਹੋਇ ਭਸਮੁ ਕਿਰਮ ਦਲ ਖਾਈ	15	2
—	172	Namdev	—	ਪਾੜ ਪੜੋਸਣਿ ਪੂਛਿਲੇ ਨਾਮਾ ਕੈ ਪਹਿ ਛਾਨਿ ਛਵਾਈ[1]	16	13
—	172	Ravidas	—	ਜੇ ਤੁਮ ਨ ਤੋਰਹੁ ਤ ਹਮ ਨਹੀ ਤੋਰਾ[2]	17	19
—	173	Kabir	—	ਬੇਦ ਪੁਰਾਨ ਸਭੈ ਮਤਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਕੈ ਕਰੀ ਕਰਮ ਕੀ ਆਸਾ	18	3
—	173	—	—	ਜੋ ਪੂਜਾ ਹਰਿ ਭਲ ਮਾਨੈ ਸਾ ਪੂਜਨਹਾਰ ਨਾ ਜਾਨੈ[3]	19	x
—	174	—	—	ਤੂ ਦੈਆਲ ਮੈ ਦਮ ਦਮੰਦਰ ਵਾਜਉ ਜੈਸੇ ਵਜਾਵੈ[3]	20	x
—	174	Ravidas	—	ਸੁਖ ਸਾਗਰੁ ਸਰਤਰਿ ਚਿਤਾਮਣਿ ਕਾਮਧੇਨੁ ਵਸਿ ਜਾ ਕੈ[4]	21	x
—	174	Kabir	—	ਮਾਟੀ ਖੋਦਿ ਕੈ ਭੀਤਿ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਪਸੂ ਕਹੈ ਘਰੁ ਮੇਰਾ[5]	22	x
—	175	Ravidas	—	ਆਰ ਨਾਹੀ ਜਿਤ ਤੂਪਾ ਰਬੀ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਾ ਥਾਉ ਅਰੂਪਾ[6]	23	21
Malar	182	M.1	*chaup.*	ਖਾਣਾ ਪੀਅਣਾ ਹਸਣਾ ਸਵਣਾ ਵਿਸਰਿ ਗਇਆ ਹੈ ਮਰਣਾ	1	1
—	183	—	—	ਪਵਣੈ ਪਾਣੀ ਜਾਣੈ ਜਾਤਿ	2	6
—	184	—	—	ਇਕੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਵੇਛੋੜਾ ਇਕ ਦੁਖੁ ਭੁਖ	3	7
—	184	—	—	ਦੁਖ ਮਹੁਰਾ ਮਾਰਣੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮੁ	4	8
—	185	—	—	ਬਾਗੇ ਕਾਪੜ ਬੋਲੈ ਬੈਣ	5	9
—	186	M.3	—	ਕਿ ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁ ਗਿਰਹੀ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਮਨ ਉਦਾਸੀ	6	19
—	187	—	—	ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਅਕਾਰੁ ਹੈ ਆਪੇ ਆਪੇ ਭਰਮੁ ਭੁਲਾਏ	7	10
—	188	M.1	—	ਸਾਚੀ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਨਾਮਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤੇ ਹਉਮੈ ਕਰਤ ਗਵਾਇਆ	8	3
—	189	—	—	ਜਿਨਿ ਧਨ ਪਿਰ ਕਾ ਸਾਦੁ ਨ ਜਾਨਿਆ ਸਾ ਬਿਲਖ ਬਦਨਿ ਕੁਲਮਾਨੀ	9	4
—	190	—	—	ਪਰ ਦਾਰਾ ਪਰ ਧਨ ਤਜਿ ਲੋਭਾ ਹਉਮੈ ਬਿਖੈ ਬਿਕਾਰਾ	10	5

1. Piar Singh's statement that the above *pada* of Namdev is absent in the *Pothi* is not factually correct. However, he fails to note that Kabir's ਸੰਤਹੁ ਮਨ ਪਵਨੈ ਸੁਖ occurring at p. 656 of the *AGGS,* is not present in the *Pothi,* see *Gatha Sri Adi Granth,* p. 95.
2. In the *AGGS,* it begins with ਜਉ ਤੁਮ ਗਿਰਿਵਰ ਤਉ ਹਮ ਮੋਰਾ, see pp. 658-59.
3. These two *padas* of extra-canonical nature are absent in the *AGGS.*
4. It has already occurred at folio 166.
5. An extra-canonical composition not found in the *AGGS.*
6. In the *AGGS,* it takes of from ਚਮਰਟਾ ਗਾਂਠਿ ਨ ਜਨਈ, see p. 659. According to Gurinder Singh Mann, its text is quite different, see *The Goindval Pothis,* p. 188.

Malar	192	M.3	*chaup.*	ਜਿਨੀ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਪਛਾਣਿਆ ਸੇ ਹਰਿ ਮਿਲੇ ਹਉਮੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਜਲਾਇ	11	11
—	192	—	—	ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਪਾਵੈ ਘਰੁ ਦਰੁ ਮਹਲੁ ਸੁ ਥਾਨੁ	12	15
—	193	—	—	ਬੇਦੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਜੁਗ ਵਰਤਦਾ ਤ੍ਰੈ ਗੁਣ ਕਰੇ ਵੀਚਾਰ[1]	13	29
—	195	—	—	ਜੀਉ ਪਿੰਡੁ ਪਰਾਣ ਸਭਿ ਤਿਸਦੇ ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਇ	14	16
—	196	—	—	ਮੇਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਸਚਾ ਦੁਖ ਨਿਵਾਰਣੁ ਸਬਦੇ ਪਾਇਆ ਜਾਈ	15	17
—	196	—	—	ਗੁਰ ਸਲਾਹੀ ਸਦਾ ਸੁਖ ਦਾਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਨਰਾਇਣੁ ਸੋਈ	16	13
—	197	—	—	ਗੁਣ ਗੰਧ੍ਰਬ ਨਾਮੇ ਸਭਿ ਉਧਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਬਦ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ	17	14
—	198	—	—	ਹਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਕਾਰੈ ਲਾਏ[1]	18	30
—	200	—	—	ਭਰਮਿ ਭਰਮਿ ਜੋਨਿ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਭਰਮਾਈ	19	20
—	201	—	—	ਹਉਮੈ ਬਿਖੁ ਮਨੁ ਮੋਹਿਆ ਲਦਿਆ ਅਜਗਰਿ ਭਾਰੀ	20	18
—	202	—	—	ਜੀਵਤ ਮੁਕਤ ਗੁਰਮੰਤੀ ਲਾਗੇ	21	21
—	202	—	—	ਰਸਨਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਭੁ ਕੋਈ ਕਹੈ	22	22
—	203	M.1	—	ਕਰਉ ਬਿਨਉ ਗੁਰ ਅਪਨੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਹਰਿਵਰੁ ਆਨਿ ਮਿਲਾਵੈ	23	2
—	205	—	*as_.*	ਚਕਵੀ ਨੈਨ ਨੀਦ ਨਾਹੀ ਚਾਹੈ ਪਿਰ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੀਦ ਨ ਪਾਈ	24	23
—	206	—	—	ਅਖਲੀ ਉਡੀ ਜਲੁ ਭਰ ਨਾਲਿ	25	26
—	207	—	—	ਮਰਨ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਗਤਿ ਸਾਰ ਨਿ ਜਾਨੈ	26	27
—	207	—	—	ਜਾਗਤੁ ਜਾਗਿ ਰਹੇ ਗੁਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਬਿਨ ਹਰਿ ਮੈ ਕੋ ਨਾਹੀ	27	24
—	208	—	—	ਚਾਤਕਿ ਮੀਨ ਜਲ ਹੀ ਤੇ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਸਾਰਗ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਹਾਈ	28	25
—	209	M.3	—	ਕਰਮੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਸਤਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਈਐ ਵਿਣੁ ਕਰਮੈ ਪਾਇਆ ਨ ਜਾਇ	29	28
—	211	Namdev	*pada*	ਜਾਚੈ ਘਰਿ ਦਗਦਗਾ ਸਰਾਇਚਾ[2]	1	1
—	213	—	—	ਅਲਾਵੰਤੀ ਏਹਿ ਭਰਮ ਜੋ ਹੈ ਮੈ ਉਪਰਿ ਸਭਿ ਕੋਪਲਾ[3]	2	2
—	213	Ravidas	—	ਸੁਰਸਰੀ ਸਲਲ ਕਿਰਤ ਬਾਰੁਨੀ ਰੇ ਸੰਤ ਜਨ ਕਰਤ ਨਾਹੀ ਪਾਨੁ[4]	3	3

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1. These two compositions occur in the *astpada* section of the *AGGS,* see pp. 1276-77. However, the scribe of the *Pothi* has recorded them as *chaupadas.* Thus, Piar Singh's statement that no *aspadi* of M. 3 is available in the *Pothi* is totally unfounded, see *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* p. 96.
2. In the *AGGS,* it begins with ਸੇਵੀਲੇ ਗੋਪਾਲ ਰਾਇ, see p. 1292.
3. It also opens with a different line ਮੋ ਕਉ ਤੂੰ ਨ ਬਿਸਾਰਿ, see *AGGS,* p. 1292.
4. In the *AGGS,* it takes off from ਨਾਗਰ ਜਨਾਂ ਮੇਰੀ ਜਾਤਿ ਬਿਖਿਆਤ ਚੰਮਾਰੰ, see p. 1293.

Malar	214	Namdev	*pada*	ਗਗਨਿ ਅਮਰੁ ਛਾਇਆ ਆਪੁਨੇ ਰੰਗੇ[1]	4	x
—	215	—	—	ਮੋਹਿ ਲਾਗਿ ਲੇ ਤਾਲਾ ਮੇਲੀ[2]	5	x
Sarag	215	M.2	*chaup.*	ਪੂਰਨ ਪਰਾਨ ਜੋਤਿ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਪਰਾਨ ਹਮਾਰੇ[3]	1	1
—	216	M.1	—	ਜਬ ਲਗਿ ਦਰਸ ਨ ਪਰਸੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਤਬ ਲਗ ਭੂਖ ਪਿਆਸੀ[4]	2	2
—	216	—	—	ਇਨ ਵਿਧਿ ਹਰਿ ਮਿਲੀਐ ਵਰ ਕਾਮਨਿ ਧਨ ਸੋਹਾਗੁ ਪਿਆਰੀ[5]	3	3
—	218	—	*ast.*	ਹਰਿ ਕੀ ਪਿਆਸ ਪਿਆਸੀ ਕਾਮਨਿ ਦੇਖਉ ਰੈਨਿ ਸਬਾਈ[6]	4	4
—	219	—	—	ਕਰੋਧੁ ਨਿਵਾਰਿ ਜਲੇ ਹਉ ਮਮਤਾ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਸਦਾ ਨਵ ਰੰਗੀ[7]	5	5
—	220	M.3	—	ਕੋਟ ਕੁਟੰਤਰ ਕੇ ਦੁਖ ਬਿਨਾਸਨ ਹਰਿ ਸਾਚਾ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਇਆ[8]	6	7
—	221	—	—	ਹਰਿ ਗਹਿਰ ਗਭੀਰ ਗੁਨੀ ਗਹੀਰੁ ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਪਛਾਨਿਆ[9]	7	8
—	223	Namdev	*pada*	ਆਪੁਨਾ ਦੇਹੁ ਦੇਹੁਰਾ ਅਪੁਨਾ ਆਪਿ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਪੂਜਾ[10]	1	4
—	223	Kabir	—	ਬਹੁਤ ਪਰਤਾਪੁ ਗਾਵ ਸਉ ਪਾਏ ਟਕਾ ਲਖ ਦੁਇ ਬਰਾਤਾ[11]	2	1
—	224	Namdev	—	ਜੈਸੇ ਮੀਨੁ ਪਾਨੀ ਮਹਿ ਰਹੈ[12]	3	3

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1. An extra-canonical song absent in the *AGGS.*
2. It occurs in the *Gaund* mode of the *AGGS,* see p. 874.
3. The figure of 2 in its heading probably indicates to its authorship of M.2. However, in the *AGGS,* it is attributed to M.1 and begins with ਅਪੁਨੇ ਠਾਕੁਰ ਕੀ ਹਉ ਚੇਰੀ, see p. 1197.
4. In the *AGGS,* it also begins with a different line ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਿਉ ਰਹੀਐ ਦੁਖ ਬਿਆਪੈ, see p. 1197.
5. It takes off from ਦੂਰਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਮੋਰੋ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਪਿਆਰਾ, see *AGGS,* p. 1197.
6. In the *AGGS* it begins with ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਿਉ ਜੀਵਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਾਈ , see p. 1232.
7. It also takes off from a different line ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਿਉ ਧੀਰੈ ਮਨੁ ਮੇਰਾ, see *AGGS,* p. 1232.
8. It begins in the *AGGS* from ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਅਤਿ ਮੀਠਾ, see p. 1233.
9. In the *AGGS,* it opens with ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਕੀ ਅਕਥ ਕਹਾਣੀ, see p. 1234.
10. In the Sikh scripture, it also starts with a different line ਬਦਹੁ ਕੀ ਨ ਹੋਡ ਮਾਧਉ ਮੋ ਸਿਉ, see *AGGS,* p. 1252.
11. It also opens with a different line ਕਹਾ ਨਰ ਗਰਬਸਿ ਥੋਰੀ ਬਾਤ, see *AGGS,* p. 1251.
12. In the *AGGS,* it also takes off differently ਕਾਏਂ ਰੇ ਮਨ ਬਿਖਿਆ ਬਨ ਜਾਈ, see p. 1252.

APPENDIX III CHAP. 3
THE MISSING COMPOSITIONS IN
THE CORRESPONDING *RÀGAS* OF THE *POTHÁS*

Raga	Author	Hymn	*AGGS*, pp.
Suhi	M.3	ਵਾਰ ਸੂਹੀ ਕੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੩[1]	785-792
Parbhātì	M.3	ਮਨੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਗੁਰੁ ਅਪਣਾ[2]	1334
Dhanāsarì	Kabir	ਰਾਮ ਸਿਮਰਿ ਰਾਮ ਸਿਮਰਿ	692
—	Pipa	ਕਾਯਉ ਦੇਵਾ ਆਇਅਉ	695
—	Dhanna	ਗੋਪਾਲ ਤੇਰਾ ਆਰਤਾ	695
Tilang	M.1	ਇਹੁ ਤਨੁ ਮਾਇਆ ਪਾਹਿਆ ਪਿਆਰੇ[3]	721
—	—	ਇਆਨੜੀਏ ਮਾਨੜਾ ਕਾਇ ਕਰੇਹਿ	722
—	Namdev	ਮੈ ਅੰਧੁਲੇ ਕੀ ਟੇਕ ਤੇਰਾ ਨਾਮ	727
—	—	ਹਲੇ ਯਾਰਾਂ ਹਲੇ ਯਾਰਾਂ	727
Basant	Kabir	ਨਾਇਕੁ ਏਕ ਬਨਜਾਰੇ[4]	1194
—	—	ਸੁਰਹ ਕੀ ਜੈਸੀ ਤੇਰੀ	1196
—	Namdev	ਸਹਜ ਅਵਲਿ ਧੂੜਿ ਮਣੀ[4]	1196
Bhairo	Kabir	ਉਲਟਿ ਜਾਤਿ ਕੁਲ	1158
—	—	ਨਿਰਧਨ ਆਦਾਰੁ ਕੋਈ	1159
—	—	ਸਤਰਿ ਸੈਇ ਸਲਾਰ ਹੈ	1161
—	—	ਸਭੁ ਕੋਈ ਚਲਤ ਕਹਤ	1161
—	—	ਕਿਉ ਲੀਜੈ ਗਢ ਬੰਕਾ	1161
—	—	ਗੰਗ ਗੁਸਾਇਨਿ ਗਹਰ	1162
—	—	ਕੋਟਿ ਸੂਰ ਜਾਕੇ	1162
—	Namdev	ਆਉ ਕਲੰਦਰ ਕੇਸਵਾ	1167
Māru	M.1	ਮਾਇਆ ਮੁਈ ਨ ਮਨੁ	992
—	—	ਜੋਗੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਨਾਮੁ	992
—	—	ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਜਾਗੈ ਨੀਦ	993
—	M.3	ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣਾ ਨ ਥੀਐ	993
—	—	ਪਿਛਲੇ ਗੁਨਹ ਬਖਸਾਇ	994
—	—	ਸਚਿ ਰਤੇ ਸੇ ਟੋਲਿ ਲਹੁ	994

1. Since the scribe of the *Pothì* intended to compile the hymns of M.1
   and M.3, thus Piar Singh's statement that the *chhant,* ਜੋ ਦੀਸੈ ਗੁਰ
   ਸਿਖੜਾ is missing in the *Suhì* mode is meaningless as it is
   attributed to M.5, see *Gatha Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 78; for the text
   of the hymn in question, see *AGGS, p. 763.*
2. Piar Singh fails to note its absence in the *Pothì,* see *Gatha Srì Àdi
   Granth,* p. 82.
3. Piar Singh's observation that an *astpadì,* ਹਰਿ ਕੀਆ ਕਥਾ ਕਹਾਣੀਆ
   belonging to M.1 is not present in the *Pothì,* is ludicrous, since in
   the *AGGS* it is attributed to M.4, see *AGGS,* p. 725, also see Piar
   Singh, *Gatha Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 86.
4. The absence of these two *padas* has not come into Piar Singh's
   notice, see *Gatha Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 85.

Māru	M.3	ਮਾਰੂ ਤੇ ਸੀਤਲ ਕਰੇ	994
—	M.1 (*as_padìs*)	ਬੇਦ ਪੁਰਾਨ ਕਥੇ ਸੁਨੇ	1008
—	—	ਬਿਖੁ ਬੋਹਿਥਾ ਲਾਦਿਆ	1009
—	—	ਸਬਦਿ ਮਰੈ ਤਾ	1010
—	—	ਸਾਚੀ ਕਾਰ ਕਮਾਵਣੀ	1010
—	—	ਲਾਲੈ ਗਾਰਬੁ ਛੋਡਿਆ	1011
—	—	ਹੁਕਮੁ ਭਇਆ ਰਹਣਾ	1012
—	—	ਮਨਮੁਖ ਲਹਰਿ ਘਰੁ	1012
—	—	ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਸੰਜੋਗਿ	1013
—	—	ਆਵਉ ਵੰਞਉ ਡੁੰਮਣੀ	1014
—	—	ਨਾ ਭੈਣਾ ਭਰਜਾਈਆ	1015
—	—	ਨਾ ਜਾਣਾ ਮੂਰਖੁ ਹੈ ਕੋਈ	1015
—	M.3	ਜਿਸ ਨੋ ਪ੍ਰੇਮੁ ਮੰਨਿ	1016
—	M.1 (*solahe*)	ਸਾਚਾ ਸਚੁ ਸੋਈ ਅਵਰੁ	1020
—	—	ਆਪੇ ਧਰਤੀ ਧਉਲੁ	1021
—	—	ਦੂਜੀ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਅੰਨੀ	1022
—	—	ਆਦਿ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਅਪਰ	1023
—	—	ਸਾਚੈ ਮੇਲੇ ਸਬਦਿ	1024
—	—	ਆਪੇ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ	1025
—	—	ਕੇਤੇ ਜੁਗ ਵਰਤੇ ਗੁਬਾਰੈ	1026
—	—	ਹਰਿ ਸਾ ਮੀਤੁ ਨਾਹੀ	1027
—	—	ਅਸੁਰ ਸੰਘਾਰਣ ਰਾਮ ਹਮਾਰਾ	1028
—	—	ਘਰਿ ਰਹੁ ਰੇ ਮਨ ਮੁਗਧ	1030
—	—	ਸਰਣਿ ਪਰੇ ਗੁਰਦੇਵ	1031
—	—	ਸਾਚੇ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸਿਰਜਣ	1032
—	—	ਕਾਇਆ ਨਗਰੁ ਨਗਰ	1033
—	—	ਦਰਸਨ ਪਾਵਾ ਜੇ ਤੁਧੁ	1035
—	—	ਅਰਬਦ ਨਰਬਦ ਧੁੰਧੂਕਾਰਾ	1036
—	—	ਆਪੇ ਆਪਿ ਉਪਾਇ	1036
—	—	ਸੁੰਨ ਕਲਾ ਅਪਰੰਪਰਿ ਧਾਰੀ	1037
—	—	ਜਹ ਦੇਖਾ ਤਹ ਦੀਨ	1038
—	—	ਹਰਿ ਧਨੁ ਸੰਚਹੁ ਰੇ ਜਨ	1038
—	—	ਸਚੁ ਕਹਹੁ ਸਚੈ ਘਰਿ	1040
—	—	ਕਾਮੁ ਕ੍ਰੋਧਿ ਪਰਹਰਿ ਪਰ	1041
—	—	ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਕਰਨੈਹਾਰ ਅਪਾਰਾ	1042
—	M.3 (*solahe*)	ਹੁਕਮੀ ਸਹਜੇ ਸ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ	1043
—	—	ਏਕੋ ਏਕ ਵਰਤੈ ਸਭੁ ਕੋਈ	1044
—	—	ਜਗਜੀਵਨੁ ਸਾਚਾ ਏਕੋ	1045
—	—	ਜੋ ਆਇਆ ਸੋ ਸਭੁ ਕੋ	1047
—	—	ਸਚੁ ਸਾਲਾਹੀ ਗਹਿਰ	1048
—	—	ਏਕੋ ਸੇਵੀ ਸਦਾ ਥਿਰੁ	1049
—	—	ਸਚੈ ਸਚਾ ਤਖਤੁ ਰਚਾਇ	1050
—	—	ਆਪੇ ਆਪਿ ਉਪਾਇ	1051
—	—	ਆਪੇ ਕਰਤਾ ਸਭੁ ਜਿਸੁ	1052
—	—	ਸੋ ਸਚੁ ਸੇਵਹੁ ਸਿਰਜਨ	1053
—	—	ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਸੇਵਨਿ ਸੇ ਵਡ	1054
—	—	ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਸੇਵਹੁ ਅਗਮ	1055

Māru	M.3 (*solahe*)	ਮੇਰੈ ਪ੍ਰਿਭ ਸਾਚੈ ਇਕੁ ਖੇਲੁ	1056
—	—	ਨਿਹਚਲੁ ਏਕੁ ਸਦਾ ਸਚੁ	1057
—	—	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਨਾਦ ਬੇਦ	1058
—	—	ਆਪੇ ਸ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ ਹੁਕਮਿ	1059
—	—	ਆਦਿ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਦਇਆ	1060
—	—	ਜੁਗ ਛਤੀਹ ਜੀਓ	1061
—	—	ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਦਾਤਾ ਅਗਮ	1062
—	—	ਜੋ ਤੁਧੁ ਕਰਣਾ ਸੋ ਕਰਿ	1063
—	—	ਕਾਇਆ ਕੰਚਨੁ ਸਬਦੁ	1064
—	—	ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰਿ ਆਕਾਰੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ	1065
—	—	ਅਗਮ ਅਗੋਚਰ ਵੇਪਰਵਾਹੇ	1067
—	—	ਨਦਰੀ ਭਗਤੀ ਲੈਹੁ	1068
—	— (*vār*)	ਮਾਰੂ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮ: ੩	1086-1094
—	Kabir (*padas*)	ਰਾਜਨ ਕਉਨੁ ਤੁਮਾਰੈ	1105
—	—	ਗਗਨ ਦਮਾਮਾ ਬਾਜਿਓ	1105
—	—	ਦੀਨੁ ਬਿਸਾਰਿਓ ਰੇ	1105
—	—	ਰਾਮ ਸਿਮਰ ਪਛੁਤਾਹਿਗਾ	1106
—	Ravidas	ਐਸੀ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਝ ਬਿਨ	1106
—	—	ਸੁਖ ਸਾਗਰੁ ਸੁਰਿਤਰੁ	1106
Kedārā	Kabir	ਚਾਰਿ ਦਿਨ ਅਪਨੀ ਨਉਬਤਿ	1124
Rāmkalì	M.1 (*sidh gosti*)	ਤੇਰੀ ਗਤਿ ਮਿਤਿ ਤੂਹੈ ਜਾਣੈ (੭੩)[1]	946
—	M.3 (*anandu*)	ਮਨਿ ਚਾਉ ਭਇਆ (੩੪)[2]	921
—	—	ਅਨਦੁ ਸੁਣਹੁ ਵਡਭਾਗੀਹੋ (੪੦)[2]	922
—	— (*vār*)	ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮ: ੩	947-956
—	Kabir (*padā*)	ਦੁਨੀਆ ਹੁਸਿਆਰ[3]	972
—	Beni	ਇੜਾ ਪਿੰਗੁਲਾ ਅਉਰ	974
Sora_hi	Kabir	ਬਹੁ ਪਰਪੰਚ ਕਰਿ	656
—	—	ਸੰਤਹੁ ਮਨ ਪਵਨੈ ਸੁਖੁ[4]	656
—	—	ਭੂਖੈ ਭਗਤਿ ਨ ਕੀਜੈ	656
—	Namdev	ਅਨਮੜਿਆ ਮੰਦਲੁ ਬਾਜੈ[5]	657
—	Ravidas	ਜਲ ਕੀ ਭੀਤਿ ਪਵਨ ਕਾ ਥੰਭਾ	659
Malār	M.3	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਕੋਈ ਵਿਰਲਾ[6]	1258

1. According to Gurinder Singh Mann, the above stanza is not present in the text of *Sidh Gosti,* see *The Goindval Pothìs,* p. 185.
2. For the omission of these two stanzas in the *Ana*du,* see *Ibid.,* pp. 185-86.
3. Piar Singh's information that Kabir's ਜਿਹ ਮੁਖ ਬੇਦੁ ਗਾਇਤ੍ਰੀ, ਤਰਵਰ ਏਕ ਅਨੰਤੁ ਡਾਰ and ਜਿਹ ਸਿਮਰਨਿ ਹੋਇ ਮੁਕਤਿ of *Ramkalì* mode are not present in the *Pothì* is factually incorrect, see *Gatha Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 94.
4. Its absence in the *Pothì* has not come into the notice of Piar Singh, see *Gatha Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 95.
5. Piar Singh's information that Namdev's ਪਾੜ ਪੜੋਸਨਿ ਪੂਛਿ ਲੈ is also absent in the *Pothì,* is not correct, see *Gatha Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 95.
6. Piar Singh fails to take notice of its absence in the *Pothì.* Instead he remarks that an *astpadì* ਅਖਲੀ ਉਡੀ ਜਲੁ ਭਰੁ ਨਾਲਿ of M.1 and three *astpadìs* of M.3 of *Malar* mode are not present in the *Pothì,* which is wrong, see *Ibid.,* p. 96.

Malār	M.1 (var)	ਮਲਾਰ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮਃ ੧	1278-1291
—	Ravidas	ਹਰਿ ਜਪਤ ਤੇ ਉ ਜਨਾਂ[1]	1296
—	—	ਮਿਲਤ ਪਿਆਰੋ ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਨਾਥ[1]	1293
Sārag	M.3	ਮਨਿ ਮੇਰੈ ਹਰਿ ਕੈ ਨਾਮਿ[2]	1233
—	Kabir	ਰਾਜਾ ਸ੍ਰਮ ਮਿਤਿ ਨਹੀ	1252
—	—	ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਉਨੁ ਸਹਾਈ	1253
—	Namdev	ਦਾਸ ਅਨਿੰਨ ਮੇਰੋ ਨਿਜ	1252
—	Parmanand	ਤੈ ਨਰ ਕਿਆ ਪੁਰਾਨੁ	1253
—	Surdas	ਛਾਡਿ ਮਨ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਮੁਖਨ	1253

1. Piar Singh is totally clueless about the absence of these two *padas,* instead he remarks that Namdev's ਮੋਕਉ ਤੂ ਨ ਬਿਸਾਰਿ is not present in the *Pothì,* which is totally unfounded as it starts in the *Pothì* with a different line ਆਲਾਵੰਤੀ ਏਹਿ ਭਰਮ ਜੋ ਹੈ, see *Gatha Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 96.

2. Piar Singh has not taken note of its absence in the *Pothì.* His observations about the compositions of Kabir and Namdev in this mode, are not borne out of facts, see *Ibid.,* p. 96.

APPENDIX IV CHAP. 3
APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS IN THE GOINDWAL *POTHÁS*

1.1 ਸੂਹੀ ਛੰਦ ਦਖਣੀ (ਮ.੧)

ਕਰਿ ਲਾਲਚ ਮਨੁ ਲੋਭਾਣਾ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਛੁਟੀਐ ਜੀ ॥
ਇਹੁ ਸਾਕਤੁ ਭਰਮਿ ਭੁਲਾਣਾ ਦਰਗਹ ਚੁਕਿ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਜੀ ॥
ਦਰਗਹ ਪਤਿ ਜਾਵੈ ਚੋਟਾ ਖਾਵੈ ਜਿਸੁ ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥
ਧਰਮ ਰਾਇ ਸਿਰਿ ਲੇਖਾ ਮਾਗੈ ਜਮ ਪਕੜੈ ਦੁਖੁ ਦੋਈ ॥
ਕਰਨ ਪਲਾਵ ਕਰੇ ਬਿਲਲਾਵੈ ਧਿਗੁ ਜੀਵਣੁ ਸੈਸਾਰੇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਹੋਇ ਗੁਰਸਬਦੀ ਹਰਿ ਜਪੀਐ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਜੀ ॥੧॥
ਲਾਲਚ ਛੋਡਿ ਮਨਾ ਮਹਲੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਸੀ ਜੀ ॥
ਛੁਟਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਜਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਇਸੀ ਜੀ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵਹਿ ਗਤਿ ਪਤਿ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਹਰਿ ਸੰ(ਤ) ਜਨਾ ਕੈ ਸੰਗੇ ॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਸਾਜਿ ਕੀਆ ਗੜੁ ਮੰਦਰੁ ਸੋ ਰੰਗਨਹਾਰਾ ਰੰਗੇ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮਿ ਰਤੇ ਇਦਾਦਿਕ ਮੁਨਿ ਜਨ ਤੇਤੀਸ ਕਰੋੜੀ ਪਾਰਿ ਤਰੇ ॥
ਸਾਧਿਕ ਸਿਧ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਆਪੁਨੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਉਤਮ ਸੰਗਿ ਹਰੇ ॥੨॥
ਕੂੜ ਕਲਰੁ ਖੈ ਕਾਲੁ ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਲਦਿਆ ਜੀ ॥
ਜਗ ਸਾਗਰੁ ਖਰਾ ਅਸਗਾਹੁ ਗਰਬਿ ਗਰਬਿਆ ਜੀ ॥
ਪੰਚਿ ਪਚਿ ਮੁਏ ਅਚੇਤ ਨਾ ਚੇਤਹਿ ਜਿਉ ਹਰਣਾਖਸ ਦੁਰਜੋਧਨੁ ਗਇਆ ॥
ਕੁੰਭਕਰਣੁ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਵਣੁ ਦਹਸਿਰੁ ਲੰਕਾ ਸਮੇਤੀ ਭਰਮ ਭਇਆ ॥
ਜਨ ਕੀ ਪਤਿ ਰਾਖੀ ਰਾਖਨਹਾਰੈ ਗੁਰਿ ਗੋਪਾਲਿ ਮੁਰਾਰੇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਮਿ ਨਾਮਿ ਮਨੁ ਰਤਾ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸਬਦ ਵੀਚਾਰੇ ॥੩॥
ਹਰਿ ਭਗਤਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਅਧਾਰੁ ਸੋ ਪ੍ਰਭਿ ਭਾਇਆ ਜੀ ॥
ਅੰਤਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਪਾਇਆ ਜੀ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦ ਕਮਾਇਆ ਪੂਰਾ ਪਾਇਆ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਪੀ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤਾਸੁ ਭਏ ॥
ਆਵਣਾ ਗਾਵਣਾ ਦੋਊ ਮੇਟੇ ਹਉਮੈ ਲੋਭਾ ਸਬਦਿ ਦਹੈ ॥
ਸਾਸਿ ਗਿਰਾਸਿ ਕਬਹੁ ਨਾ ਵਿਸਰੈ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਜੀਅ ਪਰਾਣਾ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਤਗੁਰਿ ਟੇਕ ਟਿਕਾਈ ਗੁਰਸਬਦੀ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਨਾ ॥੪॥

(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰੇ ੩੦-੩੨)

1.2 ਤਿਲੰਗੁ (ਮਹਲਾ ੧)

ਅਲਹੁ ਏਕੁ ਕਰੀਮ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਸਚੁ ਕਾਦਰ ਪਾਕੁ ॥
ਸਰ ਗਸਤ ਬਾਜੀ ਖਲਕ ਸਾਜੀ ਹਮੁ ਹੋਸੀ ਖਾਕੁ ॥੧॥
ਦੁਨੀਆ ਮਕਾਮੀ ਫਨਾਹਿ ॥
ਅਲਮਉਤੁ ਅਜਰਾਈਲੁ ਹਾਜਰੁ ਕਬਜ ਕਰਿ ਲੇ ਜਾਹਿ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜਨ ਮਾਦਰਿ ਪਿਦਰਿ ਫਰਜੰਦ ਬਿਰਾਦਰ ਮਹਲ ਮੰਡਿਪ ਊਚ ॥
ਚੰਦ ਨ ਅਲਾਮ ਜਾਇਸੀ ਮੁਕਾਮੁ ਖਾਨੇ ਕੂਚ ॥੨॥
ਅਰਦਾਸ ਬੰਦੇ ਭਗਉ ਨਾਨਕ ਤੁਮਿ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨੁ ਖੁਦਾਇ ॥
ਤੇਰਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਤਰਫੇ ਹਮ ਰਾਜੁ ਪਨਹ ਬੰਦੇ ਲਾਇ ॥   *(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੮੪)*

2.1 ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਮਹਲਾ ਚਉਥਾ ੪

ਕਾਮੁ ਕਰੋਧ ਮਾਇਆ ਮਦੁ ਮੀਠੇ ਦਲ ਬਦਲ ਜਿਉ ਉਨ ਵਿਰਹੇ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ ਆਚਾਰੁ ਕਮਾਇਆ ਮੈ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਲੇ ਨਾਮੁ ਸੁ ਤਨ ਲਹੇ ॥੧॥

ਆਤਮਾ ਰਾਮ ਕਉ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਜਪੁ ਪੂਜਾ ॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਅਪਨੇ ਠਾਕੁਰ ਜਾਨਿਆ ਹਉਮੈ ਕਟਿਆ ਭਉ ਦੂਜਾ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਪ੍ਰਿਉ ਪ੍ਰਿਉ ਕਰੈ ਬਾਬੀਹਾ ਬੋਲੈ ਇਕ ਨਿਸ ਬੂਦ ਸਹੰਰੈ ॥
ਊਨਵਿ ਘਨਿਹਰੁ ਵਾਰਸਿ ਗਰਜੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਜਲ ਪਿਆਸ ਨ ਟਰੈ ॥੨॥
ਮਨੁ ਪੰਖੀ ਤਨੁ ਤਰਵਰੁ ਕਹੀਐ ਪੰਚ ਭੂਤ ਸਚਿ ਰੰਗਿ ਵਸੇ ॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸਬਦਿ ਤਤੁ ਲੇ ਸੰਗਰਹਿ ਹਰਿ ਭਜੁ ਕਾਲੁ ਬਿਕਾਲੁ ਨਸੇ ॥੩॥
ਕੀਰਤਿ ਕਰਨੀ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਰ ਰਸੁ ਚਰਨੀ ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਮਜਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਗਿਆਨੇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਮਾਣੁ ਨਿਮਾਣੇ ਸਾਚਾ ਰਿਦ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਰ ਧਿਆਨੇ ॥੪॥੧੦॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੨੨)</div>

3.1 ਸੂਹੀ ਗੁਲਾਮੁ

ਮੈ ਅਵਗਨਿਆਰੀ ਕੋ ਗੁਣੁ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਣ ਬੇਟੇ ਮਿਲਣੁ ਨ ਪਾਹੀ ॥੧॥
ਨ ਮੈ ਚਜੁ ਆਚਾਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥ ਕਿਉ ਕਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਮਿਲਾਵਾ ਹੋਈ ॥੨॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਮੈ ਸੀਗਾਰ ਬਹੁ ਰੂਪ ਅਚਾਰ ॥ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਬੇਟੇ ਜਮ ਕਰੇ ਖੁਆਰ ॥੨॥
ਨ ਮੈ ਰੂਪੁ ਨ ਰੰਗੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥ ਸਹਜੇ ਹਰਿ ਪਰਭੂ ਰਵੈ ਨ ਸੋਈ ॥੩॥
ਖਰੀ ਸਿਆਣਪ ਬਹੁਤ ਚਤੁਰਾਈ ॥ ਦੂਜੈ ਲਾਗੀ ਭਰਮਿ ਭੁਲਾਈ ॥
ਕਾਮਨਿ ਕੰਤਿ ਚਿਤਿ ਨ ਪਾਈ ॥੪॥
ਤਿਸਨਾ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਡੇ ਬਹੁ ਮਾਇਆ ॥ ਤਾ ਕਾਮਨਿ ਸੇਜੈ ਸਿਰੀਰ ਗੁਆਇਆ ॥੫॥
ਭਨਥ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਪਰਭੁ ਅਲਖੁ ਅਬਿਨਾਸੀ ॥ ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਸੋਚੈ ਜਿਨਿ ਸੀ ॥੬॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੫੪)</div>

3.2 ਸੂਹੀ ਗੁਲਾਮੁ ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕੁ

ਪਿਰ ਕੈ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਤੀ ਸੋਹਾਗਨਿ ਅਨਦਿਨ ਰਲੀਐ ਮਾਣੈ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਕੈ ਨਾਇ ਰਤੀ ਸਦਾ ਬੈਰਾਗਨਿ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਖਾਣੈ ॥੧॥
ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪਹੁ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਾਈ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਮੈ ਰਹਣੁ ਨਾ ਜਾਈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਤੁ ਦੈਆਲ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਮੈ ਦੀਜੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਡਾਈ ॥
ਨਾਮੁ ਦਾਨੁ ਦੇਹਿ ਮਸਤ ਜਨ ਕਉ ਭਜਿ ਆਇਆ ਸਰਣਾਈ ॥੨॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰੇਮੁ ਨ ਚਾਖਿਆ ਸੇ ਭੂਭਿ ਮੂਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਪਾਣੀ ॥
ਜਮ ਦਰਿ ਬਧੇ ਚੋਟਾ ਖਾਵੈ ਅਬ ਕਿਆ ਕਹੈ ਪਰਾਣੀ ॥੩॥
ਜਿਸ ਤੂ ਦੇਹਿ ਸੋਈ ਜਨੁ ਪਾਵੈ ਇਕ ਤਿਲ ਤੇਰੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥
ਨਾਨਿਕ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਜੈ ਘਟਿ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਤਾ ਸਹਜੇ ਹਰਿਗੁਣ ਗਾਈ ॥੪॥੨॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੫੪)</div>

3.3 ਸੂਹੀ ਗੁਲਾਮੁ

ਪਕੇ ਮੰਡਪ ਮਹਲ ਹਜਾਰਾ ॥ ਖਿਨ ਮਹਿ ਜਾਤ ਨ ਲਾਗੈ ਬਾਰਾ ॥੧॥
ਇਹ ਧਨ ਐਸਾ ਜੈਸੇ ਬਿਰਖ ਕੀ ਛਾਇਆ ॥ ਬਿਨਸਿ ਜਾਇਗਾ ਨ ਰਹੇਗੀ ਮਾਇਆ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਪੂਤੁ ਕਲਤੁ ਮੋਹ ਝੂਠ ਪਸਾਰਾ ॥ ਨਾਲਿ ਨ ਚਲਿਆ ਅੰਤ ਕੀ ਬਾਰਾ ॥੨॥
ਇਸਤਰੀ ਪੁਰਖੈ ਬਹੁਤ ਪਿਆਰਾ ॥ ਓਹ ਭੀ ਛੋਡਿ ਗਏ ਘਰ ਬਾਰਾ ॥੩॥
ਭਨਥ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਗੁ ਸਗਲਾ ਸੋਇਆ ॥ ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਜਨੁ ਮੁਕਤੁ ਹੋਆ ॥੪॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੫੫)</div>

3.4 ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਗੁਲਾਮੁ

ਸਹਜ ਭਾਇ ਮਿਲਾਇਆ ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਹਉਮੈ ਖੋਈ ॥
ਸਦਾ ਅਲਿਪਤੁ ਰਹੈ ਦਿਨ ਰਾਤੀ ਪੂਰਨ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਹੋਈ ॥੧॥

ਜਪਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਨਾਮੁ ਨਿਧਾਨੁ ॥
ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਦਿੜਾਇਆ ਸਹਜ ਭਾਇ ਜਪੀ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਏਕ ਨਾਮ ਤੇ ਸਭ ਜਗ ਉਪਜਿਆ ਜਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਦੇਈ ॥
ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਮੂਲੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ਆਪਣਾ ਦੂਜੈ ਭਾਇ (ਪਤਿ) ਖੋਈ ॥੨॥
ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਉਲਟੀ ਭਈ ਤਾ ਮਨ ਨਿਜ ਘਰਿ ਆਇਆ ॥
ਪਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਜਾਤਾ ਘਰਿ ਮਹਿ ਆਇਆ ਤਾ ਸਹਜੇ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਇਆ ॥੩॥
ਅਓਗਣ ਮਹਿ ਗੁਣੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਦਿਖਾਇਆ ਤਾ ਮਨੁ ਰਹਿਆ ਠਾਈ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਵਡਭਾਗੀ ਪਾਇਆ ਤਾ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਈ ॥੪॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੨)</div>

3.5 **ਗੁਲਾਮੁ ਪਰਭਾਤੀ**

ਅਪਨੈ ਵਸਿ ਕੀਤੈਨੁ ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੋਰਸੁ ਹਬਿ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ ॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੁ ਚਰਨੀ ਲਾਗੈ ਮਨਮੁਖੁ ਆਵੈ ਜਾਹੀ ॥੧॥
ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਉ ਤੂ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਪਾਈ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਨਵ ਨਿਧਿ ਪਾਵੈ ਸਹਜੇ ਹਰਿਗੁਣ ਗਾਈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਆਪੇ ਦੇਵੈ ਆਪੇ ਲੇਵੈ ਆਪੇ ਦੇ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥
ਆਪੇ ਕਰੇ ਕਰਾਏ ਕਰਤਾ ਆਪੇ ਰਹੈ ਸਮਾਈ ॥੨॥
ਜਹ ਦੇਖਾ ਤਹ ਏਕੋ ਪਸਰਿਆ ਦੂਜਾ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਏਕੋ ਜਾਣੈ ਤ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਹਉਮੈ ਖੋਈ ॥੩॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੨)</div>

3.6 **ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕੁ**

ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੈ ਜਨੁ ਕੋਈ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਪਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਈ ॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਵਿਰਲਾ ਬੂਝੈ ਕੋਈ ॥ ਨਾਮਿ ਰਤੇ ਸਦਾ ਸੁਖ ਹੋਈ ॥੧॥
ਜਪਿ ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਏਕੋ ਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਦਿਤਾ ਏਹੁ ਨਿਧਾਨੁ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਇਹੁ ਧਨੁ ਪਲੈ ਪਾਇ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਇ ॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਜਾਤੋ ਘਰ ਮਹਿ ਆਨੈ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਪਛਾਨੈ ॥੨॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਲੋਹ ਭਏ ਹੈ ਕੰਚਨ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਦੋਖ ਸਗਲੈ ਭਓ ਭੰਜਨ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਧੰਨੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਸੋਈ ॥ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਕੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਚਿਤ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥੩॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਮਸਤਕ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਲੇਖੁ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਰਿ ਉਤਾਰੈ ਏਕੁ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਮਿਲੈ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਈ ॥੪॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੪੯)</div>

3.7 **ਬਸੰਤੁ ਗੁਲਾਮੁ/ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕ**

ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਸੰਤੁ ਭਗਤੀ ਲਾਇਓੁ ਆਪੇ ਦੈਤੁ ਚਿੜਾਇਆ ॥
ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਸੰਤ ਕੀ ਕਰਹਿ ਤੂ ਰਖਿਆ ਆਪੇ ਦੁਸਟ ਪਚਾਇਆ ॥੧॥
ਤੂ ਆਪਣਾ ਖੇਲੁ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕਰਦਾ ਆਇਆ ॥
ਹਉ ਹੋਰਸੁ ਕਿਸੁ ਆਖਾ ਜਾ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਦੀਸੈ ਤੂ ਆਪੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਇਆ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਤੂ ਭਗਤੀ ਲਾਏ ਆਪਿ ਕਰਾਵਹਿ ਸੇਵਾ ॥
ਤੂ ਆਪੇ ਆਪਿ ਵਰਤਹਿ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਹੋਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਦੇਵਾ ॥੨॥
ਤੂ ਦੀਨ ਦੈਆਲ ਕਿਰਪਾਲ ਮੇਰੇ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਤੂ ਭਗਤਾ ਕੀ ਪੈਜ ਰਖਦਾ ਆਇਆ ॥
ਭਗਤ ਤੇਰੇ ਤੂ ਭਗਤਾ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਭਗਤ ਪਏ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਰਣਾਇਆ ॥੩॥
ਸੰਤ ਜਨ ਕੀ ਜੇ ਕੋ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਰੇ ਸੋ ਪਰਭਿ ਆਪਿ ਭੁਲਾਇਆ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਹਰਿ ਜੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਅੰਤਰੁ ਜਾ ਹਰਿ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਇਆ ॥੪॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੧੧)</div>

3.8 ਬਸੰਤੁ ਗੁਲਾਮੁ/ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕੁ

ਜੇਤਾ ਕਪੜੁ ਅੰਗੁ ਹਢਾਇਆ ॥ ਭਲੇ ਭਲੇ ਤੈ ਭੋਜਨੁ ਖਾਇਆ ॥
ਤਾ ਬੁਰਾ ਕਰੇਦੇ ਅਗੈ ਆਇਆ ॥੧॥
ਮੇਰਾ ਗੋਵਿਦੁ ਗਰਬਾ ਪਰਹਾਰੀ ॥ ਜੋ ਨਰੁ ਗਰਬੁ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਤਾਕਉ ਹੋਗਿ ਖੁਆਰੀ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਕਬਹੁ ਚਿੜ ਘੋੜੈ ਧਾਵੈ ॥ ਕਬਹੁ ਪੈ ਪਾਸ ਡਰਾਵੈ ॥
ਅੰਤ ਕੀ ਵੇਲਾ ਚਿਤਿ ਨਾ ਆਵੈ ॥੨॥
ਹੁਣਿ ਤੇਰਾ ਕਾਲੁ ਨੇੜੇ ਆਇਆ ॥ ਕਿਹੁ ਨ ਚਲੈ ਜਮ ਪਕੜਿ ਚਲਾਇਆ ॥
ਪੂਰਬ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਸੋ ਫਲੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥੩॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਨਾਲਿ ਚਿਤੁ ਨਿਮਖ ਨ ਲਾਇਆ ॥ ਅੰਤ ਕਾਲਿ ਤੁਧ ਹੋਇ ਸਖਾਇਆ ॥
ਆਪਣਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਆਪੇ ਪਾਇਆ ॥੪॥
ਇਹੁ ਜੰਤੁ ਕਿਆ ਕਰੇ ਵੇਚਾਰਾ ॥ ਤੁਧ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਸਿਰਿ ਦਿਤਾ ਭਾਰਾ ॥
ਨਾਨਿਕ ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨਾ ਡੂਬਿ ਮੋਆ ਸੈਸਾਰਾ ॥੫॥   *(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੧੧)*

3.9 ਭੈਰਉ ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕੁ

ਹਉਮੈ ਮਮਤਾ ਸਬਦੇ ਖੋਈ ॥ ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ ਸਦਾ ਸੁਖ ਹੋਈ ॥੧॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਹਉਮੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਜਲਾਏ ॥ ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਪਰਮਪਦ ਪਾਏ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜਿਸ ਊਪਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰੇ ਕਰਤਾਰੁ ॥ ਸੋ ਗੁਰਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਪਾਰੁ ॥੨॥
ਮੈ ਮੂਰਖ ਹੋਰ ਟੇਕ ਨ ਕਾਈ ॥ ਜਿਉ ਭਾਵੈ ਤਿਉ ਰਾਖਿ ਲੇਹੋ ਗੁਸਾਈ ॥੩॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਪੂਰੈ ਭਾਗਿ ॥ ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਸਬਦੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਜਾਗਿ ॥੪॥
                                                    (ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੫੫)

3.10 ਭੈਰਉ ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕ

ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵੈ ॥ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਜਿ ਹਉਮੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਜਲਾਵੈ ॥
ਹਉਮੈ ਮਾਰਿ ਰਹੈ ਨਿਰਬਾਣੁ ॥ ਸੋ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਦਰਗਹ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ॥੧॥
ਪੜ ਰੇ ਪੰਡਿਤ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਸਦ ਹੀ ਲਾਗੀ ਤੈਨੇ ਸਹਜ ਧਿਆਨੁ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਜਿ ਪੰਚਾ ਮਾਰੈ ॥ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਜਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਮਾਰੈ ॥
ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਜਿ ਮਾਇਆ ਤੇ ਦੂਰਿ ॥ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਸਦਾ ਹਦੂਰਿ ॥੨॥
ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮੁ ਪਛਾਤਾ ॥ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਜਿ ਹਰਿ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਾਤਾ ॥
ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਹਉਮੈ ਮਾਰੀ ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਰਿਦੈ ਵਸੈ ਮੁਰਾਰੀ ॥੩॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਹਉਮੈ ਖੋਈ ॥ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਲੋਹ ਕੰਚਨ ਹੋਈ ॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਮੇਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਅਧਾਰਾ ॥ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਹਉ ਸਦਾ ਬਲਿਹਾਰਾ ॥੪॥
ਭਨਬ ਨਾਨਿਕ ਜਨੁ ਕਰੇ ਕਰਾਇਆ ॥ ਸੋਈ ਮੁਕਤੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਇਆ ॥
ਕਰਣ ਕਾਰਣੁ ਆਪੇ ਪਰਭੁ ਸੋਈ ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਵਿਣੁ ਦੂਜਾ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥੫॥
                                                    (ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੫੫)

3.11 ਭੈਰਉ ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕੁ

ਸਤਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੇ ਨਾਮੁ ਦਿੜਾਇਆ ॥ ਅਉਗਣ ਮੇਟਿ ਗੁਣੀ ਬਕਸਾਇਆ ॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਮੈ ਨਵਨਿਧਿ ਪਾਈ ॥ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਈ ॥੧॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਮੋ ਕਉ ਭਏ ਦੈਆਲਾ ॥ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਹਮ ਬਾਲ ਗੁਪਾਲਾ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਵਿਚਿ ਵਡੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਕੀਮ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਾਈ ॥
ਤਿਸ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਇਕੁ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਭਇਆ ॥ ਤਿਨਿ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਸਭੁ ਜਗੁ ਉਧਰਿਆ ॥੨॥
ਤਿਸੁ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਕਉ ਸਦ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੀ ॥ ਜਿਨਿ ਡੂਬਤਾ ਜੀਉ ਲੀਆ ਉਬਾਰੀ ॥
ਓਹੁ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਓਹੁ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਪੂਰਾ ॥ ਸਰਬ ਕਲਾ ਰਾਚੇ ਭਰਪੂਰਾ ॥੩॥
ਆਪੇ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਪੂਰਾ ॥ ਅਨਹਤੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਵਜਾਵੈ ਤੂਰਾ ॥
ਅਨਹਤਿ ਰਾਤੇ ਸੋ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ ॥ ਨਾਨਿਕ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਏਕ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਗੀ ॥੪॥
                                                    (ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੫੬)

3.12 ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕ ਗੁਲਾਮੁ ਕੇਦਾਰਾ

ਸਤਗੁਰ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਾਇਓ ਸਭ ਥਕੀ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਇ ॥
ਜੇ ਬਹੁਤੇਰਾ ਲੋਚਹਿ ਪਰਾਨੀ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਬਦੈ ਥਾਇ ਨ ਪਾਈ ॥੧॥
ਤੂ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਚਰਨੀ ਲਾਗ ਮਨਾ ॥
ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਾਇਓ ਤੂ ਭਜਿ ਪਉ ਸਰਨਾ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜੋ ਜੋ ਸਰਨਿ ਪਏ ਪਰਭ ਤੇਰੀ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸੈ ਓਟ ਗਹੀ ॥
ਚਰਨ ਕਵਲ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਰਾਖਹੁ ਏਹ ਗਾਠਿ ਦੇਹੁ ਮਨ ਮਹੀ ॥੨॥
ਮੇਰੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਕਰਤ ਮੂਏ ਤੁਮ ਪਰਾਨੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਈ ॥
ਜਿਨ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਤੂ ਸੰਚਹਿ ਮਾਇਆ ਤੇ ਫੁਨਿ ਕਾਮਿ ਨ ਆਈ ॥੩॥
ਧਰਮ ਰਾਇ ਜਬ ਲੇਖਾ ਮਾਗੈ ਤਬਿ ਕਿਆ ਕਰਹਿ ਪਰਾਨੀ ॥
ਜਮ ਡੰਡੁ ਸਿਰ ਉਪਰਿ ਕੜਕੈ ਦਰ ਕੀ ਖਬਰਿ ਨ ਜਾਨੀ ॥੪॥
ਭਜਿ ਪਉ ਤੂ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸਰਨਾ ਜੋ ਹੋਵੈ ਅੰਤਿ ਸਖਾਈ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਮਨ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਵਸਿਆ ਤਾ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਈ ॥੫॥

(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੯੩)

3.13 ਸੋਰਠਿ ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕੁ

ਨਾ ਬੇੜੀ ਨਾ ਤੁਲਹੜਾ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਨ ਵਿਧਿ ਪਾਰਿ ਪਾਇ ॥
ਨ ਜਪੁ ਨ ਤਪੁ ਸੰਜਮਾ ਭਾਈ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਲੰਘਿਆ ਜਾਇ ॥੧॥
ਮਨ ਰੇ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਪਉ ਸਰਨਾਇ ॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਬੇੜਾ ਨਾਮ ਕਾ ਭਾਈ ਸੋ ਤੁਧ ਲਏਗਾ ਲਘਾਇ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜਿਨੀ ਚਲਣ ਜਾਣਿਆ ਭਾਈ ਸੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਕਿਉ ਲਗੈ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਰਤਨੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ਭਾਈ ਗਏ ਨੀ ਪਛੋਤਾਇ ॥੨॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸਉ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਈਐ ਭਾਈ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਲਏ ਲਘਾਇ ॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸਉ ਜੋ ਗਹਿ ਰਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਸੋ ਅੰਤ ਨ ਪਛੋਤਾਇ ॥੩॥
ਨਾਨਕਿ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਚਰਨੀ ਲਾਗੁ ਭਾਈ ਅੰਤੇ ਲਏ ਛਡਾਇ ॥
ਨਵਨਿਧਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਪਲੈ ਪਵੈ ਭਾਈ ਤਾ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹੇ ਸਮਾਇ ॥੪॥ *(ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ [1], ਪਤਰਾ ੧੫੯)*

3.14 ਸੋਰਠਿ ਸਦਾ ਸੇਵਕੁ

ਮਨ ਰੇ ਸਾਚੀ ਲਿਵ ਰਹੁ ਤੂ ਲਾਗੁ ॥
ਸਾਚੀ ਲਿਵਲਾਗੀ ਸਾਚੋ ਉਪਜੈ ਦੂਜਾ ਭਰਮੁ ਭਉ ਭਾਗਾ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਸਚੁ ਪ੍ਰਗਾਸਿਆ ਜਿਨ ਕਉ ਧੁਰਿ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਭਾਈ ॥
ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਨਵਨਿਧਿ ਪਾਈ ਤਿਸ ਦਾ ਕਹਿਣਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾ ਜਾਈ ॥੧॥
ਇਹ ਰਸ ਸਾਚਾ ਤਿਨ ਕਉ ਆਇਆ ਜਿਨਾ ਇਕ ਮਨਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਧਿਆਇਆ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸਾਚੀ ਬੂਝ ਬੁਝਾਈ ਤ ਅਲਖੁ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥੨॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਛਡਿ ਜੋ ਦੂਜੇ ਲਾਗੈ ਤਿਨੀ ਅਪੁਨਾ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ॥
ਜਮੁ ਦਰਿ ਬਧੇ ਚੋਟਾ ਖਾਵਹਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਜੋਨੀ ਪਾਇਆ ॥੩॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸਰਨਾਈ ਪਵੈ ਤਾ ਜੂਨਿ ਕਟੀਐ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਆਪਿ ਗਵਾਇ ॥
ਆਪੁ ਗਇਆ ਤਾ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਨਾਨਕਿ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣੁ ਗਾਇ ॥੪॥

(ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੬੦)

4.1 ਸੂਹੀ ਕਬੀਰ

ਜੈਸੇ ਰੰਗੁ ਸੁਪਨੈ ਨਿਧਿ ਪਾਈ ਮਨ ਹੀ ਮਨ ਸਮਾਨਾ ॥
ਨਾਹੀ ਓਹੁ ਰੰਗੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਸੋਈ ਧਨੁ ਫਿਰ ਪਾਛੈ ਪਛੁਤਾਨਾ ॥੧॥
ਬਾਵਰੇ ਤੈ ਮਤੁ ਜਾਨਿਆ ਤਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਹੈ ਮੇਰਾ ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਸੁਤ ਭਾਈ ॥
ਖਿਨ ਭੰਗਨ ਪਾਨੀ ਪਾਖਾਣ ਜਿਵ ਥਾਵੈ ਥਾਵ ਬਿਲਾਈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥

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1. For the text of extra-canonical compositions occuring in the *Pi*jore
    Pothi* we have invariably followed Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Goindval
    Pothìs.*

ਪੂਤੁ ਕਲਤੁ ਗਿਰਹੁ ਸਗਲ ਬਿਥਾਰਾ ਤੇ ਮਤਿ ਜਾਨਹੁ ਸਾਰਾ ॥
ਕੈ ਕਿਰਮੁ ਹੋਹਿ ਕੈ ਬਿਸਟਾ ਮੂਏ ਹੋਹਿ ਸਭ ਛਾਰਾ ॥੨॥
ਜਮੁ ਕਾਹੂ ਕੀ ਸੰਕਿ ਨ ਮਾਨੈ ਕਰ ਗਹ ਚੋਟੀ ਮਾਰੇ ॥
ਅਜੈ ਨ ਚੇਤਿਆ ਮੂੜ ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਵੇਦ ਪੁਰਾਨ ਪ੝ਕਾਰੇ ॥੩॥
ਇਹੁ ਸੈਸਾਰ ਅੰਧ ਕੀ ਜੇਵੜੀ ਭੁਲਿ ਪੜੇ ਜਮ ਫਾਹੀ ॥
ਕਹੁ ਕਬੀਰ ਸੋਈ ਜਨ ਉਬਰੇ ਇਕ ਰਾਮੁ ਜਿਨਾ ਮਨ ਮਾਹੀ ॥੪॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੫੫)</div>

4.2 ਸੂਹੀ ਕਬੀਰ

ਕੁਸਲੁ ਕੁਸਲੁ ਕਰ ਸਭ ਜਗ ਬਿਨਸਿਆ ਪੜਿਓ ਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ ॥
ਏਕੁ ਅਲਖ ਨ ਜਾਈ ਲਖਿਆ ਪੂਰਨ ਸਰਬ ਨਿਵਾਸੀ ॥੧॥
ਕੁਸਲੁ ਖੇਮ ਅਰ ਸਹੀ ਸਲਾਮਤਿ ਏਹ ਕਤ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਕੀਨੇ ॥
ਆਵਤ ਜਾਤ ਦੋਊ (ਪਦ) ਲੂਟੇ ਸਰਬ ਸੰਗਿ ਹਰਿ ਲੀਨੇ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਸੁਰਿ ਵਰ ਮੁਨਿ ਜਨ ਪੀਰ ਅਉਲੀਏ ਤਹ ਆਦਿ ਪਰਮਪਦ ਚੀਨੇ ॥
ਕੋਟਿ ਅਸੰਖ ਕਰ ਲਉ ਬਰਨਉ ਤਿਨ ਪੈਆਨੇ ਚੀਨੇ ॥੨॥
ਧਰਨਿ ਅਕਾਸੁ ਪਉਣ ਫੁਨਿ ਜਾਈ ਹ ਚਦੁ ਸੂਰਜ ਫੁਨਿ ਜਾਸੀ ॥
ਕਹੁ ਕਬੀਰ ਫੁਨਿ ਮੈ ਤੁਮ ਜਾਈ ਹੈ ਰਹੈ ਰਾਮੁ ਅਬਿਨਾਸੀ ॥੩॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੬੦)</div>

4.3 ਮਾਰੂ ਕੇਦਾਰਾ ਕਬੀਰ

ਚਾਲੀ ਅਚਲ ਭਈ ਖਿਤਿ ਪਾਈ ਜਹ ਕੀ ਤਹਾ ਸਮਾਈ ॥
ਅਬ ਮੋਹਿ ਹਰਿਓ ਰੇ ਭਾਈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਕਰਤ ਭੇਖੁ ਭਰਮ ਅਰੁ ਪਖੰਡਾ ਲੇ ਲੇ ਸੰਖ ਉਪਾਈ ॥
ਗਿਆਨ ਅੰਜਨ ਜਰਿ ਭਏ ਭਸਮ ਸਰਿ ਦੇਤ ਦੋਤਿ ਮਿਲਾਈ ॥
ਨਾਹੀ ਉਰਵਾਰੁ ਪਾਰੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਪਰ ਮਿਤਿ ਕਤ ਆਵਹੁ ਕਤ ਜਾਵਉ ॥
ਕਹੁ ਕਬੀਰ ਮੈ ਅਵਸਰੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਬਹੁੜਿ ਨ ਫੇਰਿ ਬਜਾਵਉ ॥੨॥

<div align="right">(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੯੦)</div>

4.4 ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਕਬੀਰ

ਮਦਰੁ ਚੁਨਤ ਮਾਸ ਦਸ ਲਾਗੋ ਦੁਇ ਥਮ ਦਸੇ ਦੁਆਰਾ ॥
ਸੋਈ ਜੋਗੀ ਆਸਣਿ ਬੈਠਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਤ ਉਧਾਰਾ ॥੧॥
ਮੈ ਕਿਆ ਜਾਨਾ ਐਸਾ ਜੋਗੀ ॥
ਰਹੈ ਅਲਿਪਤੁ ਸਰ ਬਰਸ ਭੋਗੀ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਆਵਤੁ ਜੋਗੀ ਸਭ ਜਗੁ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਜਾਤੁ ਨ ਲਖਿਆ ਕੋਇ ॥
ਆਸਣੁ ਛੋਡਿ ਚਲਿਆ ਜਬ ਜੋਗੀ ਪਾਛੈ ਮੁਦਰਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਰੋਈ ॥੨॥
ਆਪੇ ਜੋਗੀ ਆਪੇ ਭੋਗੀ ਆਪੇ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਅਕੇਲਾ ॥
ਤੀਨਿ ਭਵਣ ਮਹਿ ਸਿਧੀ ਵਾਜੈ ਆਪਿ ਗੁਰੁ ਆਪਿ ਚੇਲਾ ॥੩॥
ਪਵਨ ਕਰਿ ਕੇ ਭਸਮ ਉਡਾਵਉ ਮਨ ਕੀ ਮੁਤਉ ਮਾਈ ॥
ਮਨ ਪਣਵਤੇ ਊਪਰਿ ਆਸਣੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਕਮੀਰਿ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਈ ॥੪॥   (ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੧)

4.5 ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਕਬੀਰ

ਧੰਧਾ ਕਰਤ ਚਰਨ ਕਰ ਥਾਕੇ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਇਆ ਤਨੁ ਛੀਨਾ ॥
ਥਾਕੇ ਨੈਨ ਸਰਵਣ ਸੁਨਿ ਥਾਕੇ ਕਪਟ ਰਹਿਆ ਮਨ ਲੀਨਾ ॥੧॥
ਜਾਹਿ ਜਾਗਾ ਦੀ ਨਾਉ ਨ ਲੀਆ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜਾਗੁ ਜਾਗੁ ਜਾਗ ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਸੋਇ ਰਹਿਆ ਕਦਿ ਜਾਗਹਿਗਾ ॥
ਜਾ ਘਟ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਚੋਰੁ ਪੜੈਗਾ ਤਾ ਕਿਸ ਕੈ ਅੰਜਲਿ ਲਾਗਹਿਗਾ ॥੨॥

ਕਹਤੁ ਕਬੀਰ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਮਨਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਕਰਿ ਲੈਹੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਕਰਨਾ ॥
ਲਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ ਫੇਰੁ ਪੜੈਗਾ ਅੰਤਿ ਨਿਹਾ ਇਤਿ ਮਰਨਾ ॥੩॥   *(ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੪)*

4.6 ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਕਬੀਰ

ਡਾਇਨ ਡਾਰੇ ਸੁਨ ਰੇ ਡੋਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਰਹਿਆ ਬਨ ਘੇਰੇ ॥
ਪੰਚ ਕੁਟੰਬ ਗਿਰਹਿ ਮਹਿ ਜੁ ਤੇਤਾ ਵਾਜੇ ਸਬਦ ਘਨੇਰੇ ॥੧॥
ਤਬ ਨਾਮ ਜਪਹੁ ਰੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਬੁਝਹੁ ਅਕਥ ਕਹਾਨੀ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਰੋਹਿਆ ਮਿਰਗ ਸਸੈ ਬਨ ਘੋਰਿਆ ਪਾਰਥਿ ਬਾਨੁ ਨ ਮੇਲੈ ॥
ਜੇ ਜਲ ਜਲੈ ਸਗਲ ਬਨ ਫਾਟਾ ਮਤ ਅਹੇੜੈ ਖੇਲੈ ॥੨॥
ਸੋਈ ਪੰਡਤਿ ਸੋਈ ਪੜਿਆ ਜੋ ਇਸ ਪਦੈ ਵੀਚਾਰੈ ॥
ਕਹਤੁ ਕਮੀਰੁ ਸੋਈ ਗੁਰੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਜਿ ਆਪ ਤਰੈ ਮੋਹਿ ਤਾਰੈ ॥੩॥   *(ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੬)*

4.7 ਸੋਰਠਿ ਕਬੀਰ

ਜੋ ਪੂਜਾ ਹਰਿ ਭਲ ਮਾਨੈ ਸਾ ਪੂਜਨਹਾਰਾ ਜਾਨੈ ॥੧॥
ਗੁਸਾਈਆ ਭਈ ਬਿਕਲ ਮਹਿ ਮੇਰੀ ॥
ਨ ਜਾਨਾ ਦੁਨੀ ਦਿਵਾਨੀ ਤੇਰੀ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਕਹਿ ਭਉ ਭਗਤੀ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਿਉ ਭਇਆ ਦੇਵ ਤੇ ਦੂਜਾ ॥
ਕਿਆ ਕੀਚੈ ਝੂਠੁ ਪਸਾਰਾ ਪੂਜੀਐ ਪੂਜਨਹਾਰਾ ॥੨॥
ਕਹੁ ਕਮੀਰੈ ਸੁ ਗਾਵਾ ਮੈ ਨ ਗਾਵਾ ਆਪੁ ਲਖਾਵਾ ॥
ਜੋਇ ਸੁਖ ਦੁਖ ਮਾਹਿ ਕਮਾਨਾ ਸੋਈ ਪੂਜਨਹਾਰੁ ਸਿਆਨਾ ॥੩॥   *(ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੨੩)*

4.8 ਸੋਰਠਿ ਕਬੀਰ

ਤੂ ਦੈਆਲ ਮੈ ਦਮ ਦਾਮੰਦਰ ਵਾਜਉ ਜੈਸੇ ਵਜਾਵੈ ॥
ਕਰਮ ਬੰਧੁ ਮੈ ਚਮ ਕਾ ਪੁਤਰਾ ਨਾਚਉ ਜੈਸੇ ਨਚਾਵੈ ॥੧॥
ਤ੍ਰਿਗੁਣ ਕਾਢਿ ਕਾਢਿ ਆਵੈ ॥
ਨਾਨਾ ਵਿਧਿ ਸੁਆਗਾ ਦਿਖਾਵੈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜੈਸੇ ਕਾਚਾ ਭਾਡਾ ਬਿਨਸਿ ਫੂਟਿ ਜਾਇ ਬਹੁੜਿ ਕਾਮਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਆਵੈ ॥
ਰਾਮ ਜਪਤ ਜਨ ਕਹਾ ਸਮਾਏ ਕੋਈ ਹੈ ਕਮੀਰ ਸਮਝਾਵੈ ॥੨॥   *(ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੨੪)*

4.9 ਸੋਰਠਿ ਕਬੀਰ

ਮਾਟੀ ਖੋਦਿ ਕੈ ਭੀਤਿ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਪਸੂ ਕਹੈ ਘਰ ਮੇਰਾ ॥
ਘਰਿ ਛੋਡਿ ਹੰਸਿ ਕੀਆ ਪੈਆਨਾ ਬਹੁੜਿ ਨ ਕਰਸੀ ਫੇਰਾ ॥੧॥
ਮਨ ਰੇ ਤਨ ਕਾਗਦ ਕਾ ਪੁਤਰਾ ॥
ਉਪਜੈ ਬਿਨਸਿ ਜਾਇ ਛਿਨ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਗਰਬੁ ਨ ਛੋਡੈ ਬਪੁਰਾ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਤਿਲੁ ਤਿਲੁ ਕਰ ਕੈ ਇਹੁ ਧਨੁ ਜੋੜਿਆ ਲੈ ਮਾਟੀ ਸੈ ਗਾਡਿਆ ॥
ਰੂਪਾ ਕੁੰਭ ਸਬਦੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਉਚਰੈ ਜਹ ਗਾਡਿਆ ਤਹ ਛਾਡਿਆ ॥੨॥
ਕਹੁ ਕਮੀਰ ਨਟ ਨਾਟਿਕਾ ਥਾਕੇ ਸਿਆਮ ਜੀਉ ਬੇਨੁ ਬਜਾਵੈ ॥
ਗਏ ਪਖੰਡੀਆ ਬਾਜੀ ਨ ਪਾਈ ਕਵਣ ਕਾਹੈ ਕੈ ਆਵੈ ॥   *(ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੨੪)*

5.1 ਸੂਹੀ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ

ਮਾਤ ਕਹੈ ਮੇਰੇ ਪੁਤਰਾ ਘਰਿ ਅੰਨਿ ਕਿਉ ਸਰਸੀ ॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਏਹੁ ਜਗਤੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ ਸੋ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਕਰਸੀ ॥੧॥
ਕਰਮ ਕਰਾ ਕੋਕਰਮ ਕਰ ਤਾ ਬਰਜੁ ਰੀ ਮਾਈ ॥
ਆਦਿ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਮੈ ਸੇਵਿਆ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਿਸਟਿ ਉਪਾਈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਦੀਪ ਕੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਮੰਦਰੁ ਕੈਸਾ ਸਿਸੀਅਰ ਬਿਨ ਰੈਨੀ ॥
ਬਿਨ ਮਾਤਾ ਬਾਲਿਕੁ ਕੈਸਾ ਤਿਉ ਨਾਮ ਵਿਹੂਣੀ ॥੨॥

ਕਾਹੂ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਕੋਊ ਵਸੈ ਕਾਊ ਕਿਛੁ ਸੁਹਾਈ ॥
ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਰਾਮਈਆ ਛੀਪਾ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਨ ਗਾਈ ॥੩॥   *(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੬੧)*

5.2 ਬਸੰਤੁ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ

ਕਿਸਨ ਬਸੰਤ ਭਲੇ ਤੁਮਿ ਆਏ ਦੁਆਦਸਿ ਬਨ ਤਨ ਫੂਲੇ ॥
ਨਾਭਿ ਕਵਲ ਤੇ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਾ ਉਪਜੈ ਤ ਤੁਮਿ ਕੈਸੇ ਭੂਲੇ ॥੧॥
ਮਨ ਭਵਰਾ ਰੇ ਪੀਉ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮੁ ਰਸੁ ॥
ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨ ਭਵਹਿ ਸੁਨਹਿ ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜੁਗ ਜੁਗ ਸਿਆਮ ਅਥਰਬਣ ਫੂਲੇ ਫਲਤ ਭਈ ਸਭ ਧਰਤੀ ॥
ਅਮਰ ਵੇਲਿ ਸੁਖ ਨਾਰਦ ਪੀਵਦੇ ਤੂ ਕਿਉ ਨ ਪੀਵਹਿ ਓਧਰੰਤੀ ॥
ਸਹਜਿ ਮੂਲ ਗਹੁ ਅਡੋਲ ਭਗਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਪੰਚ ਤਤੁ ਕੁਲ ਜੋਤੀ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਗਹੁ ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਲਹੁ ਬਦਤਿ ਨਾਮ ਦੇਉ ਕਿਸ ਨ ਮਤੀ ॥੩॥
(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੨੬)

5.3 ਭੈਰੋ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ

ਸੰਤਨ ਕੈ ਇਕੁ ਰੋਟੁ ਜਾਚੁਲਾ ॥ ਸੋ ਰੋਟੁ ਲੇ ਨਾਨੋ ਬੀਠੁਲਾ ॥੧॥
ਘਿਰਤ ਲੇਹੁ ਜੀਉ ਤੁਮਿ ਘਿਰਤ ਲੇਹੁ ॥ ਘਿਰਤ ਲੇਹੁ ਮੋਕਉ ਦਰਸਨੁ ਦੇਹੁ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਕੂਕਰ ਹੋਇ ਨ ਵਸੈ ਉਜਾਰਿ ॥ ਘਿਰਤ ਸੰਗਿ ਰੋਟ ਖਾਹੁ ਮੁਰਾਰਿ ॥੨॥
ਊਤਮ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਦੇਖੁ ਅਲੋਨੀ ॥ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਕੈ ਹਬਿ ਘਿਰਤਾ ਕੀ ਡੋਨੀ ॥੩॥
(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੭੦)

5.4 ਭੈਰੋ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ

ਸੁਲਤਾਨ ਪੂਛੈ ਕਹੁ ਰੇ ਨਾਮਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਕੈਸਾ ਹੈ ॥
ਸੁਕੀ ਸੇਜ ਜਲੈ ਮਹਿ ਨਿਕਲੈ ਤਝ ਦੀਬਾਨਿ ਅਮਝਾਵੈ ॥੧॥
ਰੇ ਘਰਿ ਜਾਹੁ ਨਾਮਾ ਗਾਵੈ ਰਾਮਾ ॥
ਭਗਤ ਜਨਾ ਕੇ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਾਮਾ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਤ੍ਰਿਭਵਣ ਧਨੀ ਮਤਿ ਪਿਤਬਰੁ ਬਸੁਲੇ ਨਾਮਾ ਗਾਵੈ ॥
ਸੁਕੀ ਸੇਜ ਜਲੈ ਤੇ ਨਿਕਸੈ ਖਡਿ ਦੀਬਾਨਿ ਪਹੁਚਾਵੈ ॥੨॥
ਜੇ ਨ ਜੀਵਾਵਹਿ ਮੁਈ ਗਾਇ ॥
ਤਾ ਨਾਮਾ ਪਕੜਿ ਮਾਰਹੁ ਠਾਇ ॥
ਉਠੀ ਬਛਰੈ ਚੁਘੀ ਮਾਇ ॥
ਨਾਮੈ ਭਗਤਿ ਕਰੀ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਇ ॥੪॥   *(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੭੧)*

5.5 ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ

ਨਾਰਦ ਕਹੈ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਨਰਾਇਨ ਬੈਕੁਠਿ ਵਸੈ ਕਿ ਕਉਲਾਸੈ ॥
ਜਹ ਮਮ ਕਥਾ ਤਹੀ ਹਉ ਨਿਹਚਲੁ ਬਸਨ ਮੰਦਰਿ ਵਾਸੈ ॥੧॥
ਵੈਸਨੋ ਤੇ ਮੈ ਮੈ ਤੇ ਵੈਸਨੋ ਸੁਨਿ ਨਾਰਦ ਮੁਨਿ ਸਾਚੈ ॥
ਜੋ ਭਗਤਾ ਗੀਤਾ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵੈ ਤਾ ਕੈ ਰਿਦੈ ਤਕਤ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਚੈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜੋਗੀ ਜਤੀ ਤਪੀ ਸਨਿਆਸੀ ਇਕ ਟਕਿ ਧਿਆਨਿ ਬਹੀਠਾ ॥
ਜ ਜਹਿ ਜਗ ਵੇਦਾ ਅਉਰੁ ਉਚਰਹਿ ਤਿਨ ਹਉ ਕਬਹੁ ਨ ਡੀਠਾ ॥੨॥
ਗੰਗਾ ਆਦਿ ਸਗਲ ਤੀਰਥ ਕਰਿ ਉਨ ਜਾਸ ਕ ਕੋਟ ਭਰਮਿ ਆਵਹਿ ॥
ਸਭਿ ਵਰਤ ਵਰਤ ਸਾਧਨ ਕਰੇ ਸੋ ਮੈ ਕਬਹੁ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ ॥੩॥
ਜੋ ਭਗਤ ਮੇਰਾ ਜਸੁ ਗਾਵਹਿ ਤੇ ਭਗਤਾ ਮਮ ਸਾਹੈ ॥
ਉਨ ਕਉ ਜਿਵਾਇ ਮਇ ਜੇਵਾ ਉਨ ਕਉ ਪੀਆਇ ਮਇ ਪੀਆ ਨਾਮਦੇਉ ਤਿਨ ਪਹਿ ਵਾਰੈ ॥੪॥
(ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੨)

5.6 ਮਲਾਰ ਨਾਮਦੇਵ

ਗਗਨਿ ਅਮਰੁ ਛਾਇਆ ਆਪੁਨੈ ਰੰਗੇ ॥
ਅਲਖ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਰਾਮਈਆ ਰਵਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਸੰਗੇ ॥੧॥
ਤੇਰੀ ਨ ਜਾਨੀ ਮਾਇਆ ॥
ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮੈ ਜੀਅੜਾ ਵੇਖਿਆ ਭਰਮੁ ਚੁਕਾਇਆ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਪਣਵਤਿ ਨਾਮਾ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਹਰਿ ਕੀਨੀ ਦਇਆ ॥
ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਕਾ ਭਰਮੁ ਮਿਟਿ ਗਇਆ ॥੨॥   (ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੨੧੪)

6.1 ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਤਿਰਲੋਚਨ

ਦੇਹੁਰੀ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਸਰੁ ਸਰਹਿ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਜਲ ਜਲਹਿ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਆਛੈ ਨਿਜ ਕਵਲੰ ॥
ਸੋਈ ਗੀ ਸੀਤਲ ਸਰੁ ਸੋਈ ਹੈ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਜਲ ਜਾਗਤੁ ਸੋਵਤੁ ਮੋਕਉ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਹੈ ਸਾਰਗਧਰੁ ॥੧॥
ਮੋਰੈ ਮੋਰੈ ਅਹਨੈ ਰਾਮੁ ਰਵਿ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਚਲਿਤੁ ਮੋਰੈ ਹੀਅਰੈ ਵਸਿਓ ਰੀ ਮਾਇ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਨੈਨ ਨਿਵਾਰਿਉ ਤ ਸਰਵਨ ਨ ਰਹਨੀ ਸਰਵਨ ਨਿਵਾਰਿਉ ਤਾ ਮਨੁ ਰਹੈ ਨ ਠਾਇ ॥
ਠਗ ਚੇ ਲਡੂ ਖਾਏ ਦੀਨੇ ਰੀ ਜਾਦਮ ਰਾਏ ਜਤ ਬੀਠਲ ਤਤ ਜਾਉ ਰੀ ਬਹਿ ਨ ਮਾਇ ॥੨॥
ਲੋਹੇ ਚੇ ਸੰਗਲ ਪਾਏ ਤੋੜੇ ਰੀ ਘਨ ਚ ਘਾਏ ਅਸਨੇਹ ਕੇ ਸੰਗਲ ਤਿਸ ਨ ਤੋੜੇ ਨ ਜਾਹੀ ॥
ਬਦਿਤ ਤਿਲੋਚਨ ਗਹਿਓ ਹੈ ਉਜਲ ਠਾਉ ਮੇਰਾ ਮਨੁ ਤੇਰੇ ਪਹਿ ਲਾਗੌ ਹੈ ਦੁਆਰਕੇ ਰਾਇ ॥੩॥
                                                      (ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੫੯)

6.2 ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਤਿਰਲੋਚਨ

ਰਾਜਾ ਰਾਵਣੁ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕਹੈ ਮਦੋਦਰਿ ਰਾਨੀ ॥
ਜਿਸ ਕੇ ਰੀਤੈ ਕਾਰਨ ਮੇਟੀ ਤਿਸੁ ਕੇ ਰੀਤੈ ਆਨੀ ਰੇ ॥੧॥
ਸੀਆ ਫੇਰਿ ਨ ਕਰਿ ਸਾਗ ਰਾਮ ॥
ਪਗਿ ਲਗਿ ਕੰਤੁ ਮਨਾਵਹੁ ਰਾਜਾ ਰਾਮੁ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਦਸ ਸਿਰ ਬੀਸ ਡੰਡ ਭੁਜ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੁਭਕਰਨ ਮੇਰਾ ਭਾਈ ॥
ਮੇਘਨਾਥਗੁ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਗਾਜੈ ਮਦੂ ਸਾਗਰ ਮੇਰੀ ਖਾਈ ॥੨॥
ਰਿਛ ਬੰਦਰ ਮਿਲਿ ਭਏ ਇਕਠੇ ਉਹ ਦੇਖੁ ਸਹਿਰੁ ਬੰਧ ॥
ਦੁਹ ਦੁਹ ਲੋਚਨ ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਸੁਝੈ ਬੀਸ ਲੈਨ ਹੇ ਅੰਧ ॥੩॥
ਰਿਛ ਬੰਦਰ ਮਿਲਿ ਭਏ ਇਕਠੇ ਤਾ ਕਾ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਬਦਿਤ ਤਿਲੋਚਨੁ ਮੂਰਖ ਰਾਵਣ ਮਰਣੁ ਪਟਨੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਆਇਆ ॥੪॥
                                                      (ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੪)

7.1 ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਬੇਣੀ

ਦੁਪਰੀਤੇ ਸੁਕਰੀਤੇ ਅਨਕ ਕਰਮ ਕੀਤੇ ਮਰਨ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਬੁਝਿ ਲੇ ਬਾਜੀ ॥
ਤਿਹ ਗੁਣਾ ਤੇ ਰਹੈ ਵਖਿ ਬਰਹਮ ਲਖੈ ਬਹੁਜਿ ਬਹੁਜਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਤੇਰੀ ਸੁਦਰੀ ਸਾਜੀ ॥੧॥
ਐਸੇ ਖਾਇ ਮਨੁ ਲਾਗਾ ਰਹਣੁ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਦੁਕਰਤੁ ਸੁਕਰਤੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਗਇਆ ਹੀ ਗਵਾਇ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਬਿਚਰਿ ਲੇ ਮਾਇਆ ਬਿਆਪੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੇ ਫਨੈ ਸਮਾਧੀ ਗੁਰਿ ਤਤੁ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਨਿਜਰ ਅੰਭ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੀਆ ॥
ਸਬਦ ਕਾ ਕਲਸ ਕੀਆ ਤਾਸੁ ਲੇ ਅੰਭ੍ਰਿਤ ਪੀਆ ਦੇਖੀ ਬਾਜੀ ਉਲਟੀ ਤਾ ਗਵਣੁ ਕੀਆ ॥੨॥
ਅਕਥ ਨ ਕਿਆ ਕਥੀਐ ਤੇਰਾ ਕਉਨੁ ਥਾਨੁ ਜਿ ਮਥੀਐ ਰੂਪ ਅਨੇਕ ਅਨੰਤ ਮਾਇਆ ॥
ਸਹਜ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਕਿਰਨਿ ਵਿਗਾਸੀ ਆਤਮਾ ਪਰਗਾਸੀ ਖੋਜਿਤ ਖੋਜਤ ਅਚਿਤ ਭਇਆ ॥੩॥
ਸੁਨ ਮੰਧੇ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੀ ਤੜਾ ਜੈਸੇ ਚਮਤਕਾਰੀ ਧਨਖ ਕੀ ਰੇਖਿਆ ਅਨੂਪ ਬਾਣੀ ॥
ਸਹਜ ਕੀ ਪੈਖੜੀ ਜਾਗੀ ਤਾਸੁ ਮੰਧੇ ਭਇਆ ਰਾਗੀ ਭਨਥ ਬੇਣੀ ਤੇਰੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਐਸੀ ॥੪॥
                                                      (ਪਿੰਜੌਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੨)

8.1 ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ ਜਿਗੁਰੁ (ਸ਼ਰਫ)

ਜਿਸੁ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਜਾਲਿਆ ॥ ਤਿਹ ਸਰਜਨਿ ਕਉਲ ਨ ਪਾਲਿਆ ॥੧॥
ਮੇਰੀ ਡਾਲ ਨ ਮੋਜਿ ਮਸਤਾ ਮਾਲੀਆ ॥ ਕਚੀ ਕਲੀ ਨ ਤੋੜ ਮਸਤਾ ਮਾਲੀਆ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜਿਸੁ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਦੁਖੁ ਸੁਖੁ ਹਉ ਸਹਾ ॥ ਚੁਢੇਦੀ ਮਾਣਕ ਨ ਲਹਾ ॥੨॥
ਛਿਣਕਾਇਨ ਵੰਗਾ ਚੁੜੀਆ ॥ ਸਹੁ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਗਾਲੀ ਕੂੜੀਆ ॥੩॥
ਕਿਝ ਵੰਝਹਿ ਆਪ ਗਰਬਿਆ ॥ ਤਨੁ ਖਾਕੁ ਸੇਤੀ ਗਡਿਆ ॥੪॥
ਕਿ ਵਤਹਿ ਆਵਲ ਬਾਵਲਾ ॥ ਦੀਬਾਣੁ ਨਾਇਲਾ ਸੰਵਹਿ ਰਾਵਲਾ ॥੫॥
ਜੋ ਦਿਸੈ ਸੋਇ ਵਖਾਣੀਐ ॥ ਕੁਦਰਤੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜਾਣੀਐ ॥੬॥
ਚੁਢੇਦੀ ਮਾਣਕੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥ ਇਛ ਪੁਨੀ ਸਹੁ ਘਰਿ ਆਇਆ ॥੭॥
ਸੇਖ ਸਰਫ ਨ ਹੋਹੁ ਉਤਾਵਲਾ ॥ ਇਕਤ ਸਟ ਨ ਥੀਵਹਿ ਚਾਵਲਾ ॥੮॥

(ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਪੋਥੀ, ਪਤਰਾ ੯੧)

MS # 1245

MYTH OF AN EARLY DRAFT RECONSIDERED

I. INTRODUCTION

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

II. HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

1. Piar Singh, *Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth,* pp. 135-173; also see his recently published book in response to the controversy, *Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth and the Controversy,* pp. 23-27, 116-127.
2. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 24.
3. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 94.

2.1. MS # 1245 was procured by Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, in March 1987 from Harbhajan Singh and Harcharan Singh Chawla, manuscript dealers of Bazar Mai Sewan (now at Jallianwala Bagh), Amritsar.[1] It is intriguing to note that they have been extremely reluctant to share any information about its origin and history.[2] However, on persistent questioning, they have disclosed to a group of scholars that they have procured it alongwith some other works of Miharban, from somewhere in Rajasthan.[3] Interestingly, while offering the manuscript for sale to the University, they have appended a note to it claiming that on the third (unnumbered) decorative folio, it contains a hymn written in the hand of Baba Buddha.[4] On the basis of the above note some scholars have traced its history back to Baba Buddha and have come to the conclusion that for a long time it has been in the custody of his descendants.[5] Since, this view finds no support in any source of history, to associate the family of Baba Buddha with it is highly untenable.

2.2. Recently, when Piar Singh was thick in the controversy, obviously for his formulations on the basis of MS # 1245, the Jathedar of Sri Akal Takht Sahib, Bhai Manjit Singh, summoned the Chawlas, the manuscript dealers, to shed light on its origin. They informed him that they have acquired it from a scrap dealer of Gajsinghpur, a remote town of district Sriganganagar of Rajasthan.[6] They further submitted that their note, in which they have claimed that the manuscript has a hymn in the hand of Baba Buddha, was not the result of any inquiry or research on their part, but was purely based on the observations of one Bhai Karnail

1. It is the costliest manuscript purchased by the University so far. Procured at a cost of Rs. 7500/-, with accession number 1245, on March 30, 1987, it was put into the Rare Book Section of the G.N.D. Universtiy Library.
2. Piar Singh, *Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 135.
3. 'Blasphemous Attacks', *ASS,* Jan. 1993, p. 16.
4. For the note of Chawlas, see infra Appendix I.
5. Pashaura Singh, 'The Guru Nanak Dev Universtiy Manuscript 1245', *International Journal of Punjab Studies,* 1,2 (1994), p. 199; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 93.
6. For the statement of the Chawlas before the Jathedar of Sri Akal Takht Sahib, Amritsar, see infra Appendix II.
7. *Ibid.*

Singh.[7] It seems due to inexplicable reasons they have been misleading the scholars of their actual source of acquisition. Why they are so reluctant to reveal the truth ? How can such an important manuscript land in the hands of a petty scrap purchaser on a bicycle ? The story is hard to be believed.

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

2.4.   I have mentioned a number of times that readers will be surprised to know that MS # 1245 contains notes in English and modern Panjabi.[1] I have also pointed out somewhere else that a scribe of the modern era has inserted information indicating the beat (ਘਰੁ) of a hymn in the text of this manuscript.[2] Both, the notings and insertions have been executed in the same penmanship. The note in English, which is very brief, reads as "actually this is folio 522", whereas the one in Panjabi is more descriptive and follows as :

> ਨੋਟ : ਰਾਗ ਵਡਹੰਸ ਦੇ ਤਤਕਰੇ ਦਾ ਮੁਢਲਾ ਪਤੀ
> ੫੨੨ ਵਾਲਾ ਪਤ੍ਰਾ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਦੇ ਆਰੰਭ ਵਿਚ ਲੱਗਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ।
> ਜਿਲਦ ਬਣਵਾਉਣ ਸਮੇ ਹੋਈ ਉਕਾਈ ਹੈ।[3]
> Note : *Rāga Wa^hans de tatkare dā mu^hlā patti*
> *522 wālā patrā Granth de ārambh wich laggā hoiā hai.*
> *Jilad banvān samain hoì ukāì hai.*
>
> (Folio 522, the initial folio of *rāga Wa^hans'* index, is affixed at the beginning of the *Granth*. It is an error that has occurred at the time of binding.)

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

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1. I have shared the above fact, with scholars at various conferences on Sikh Studies held in North America in April-May, 1994.
2. Balwant Singh Dhillon, 'Myth of An Early Draft of the Adi Granth', *ASS,* July 1993, p. 83.
3. See plate VII, p. 186.

PLATE VII

Two folios of MS # 1245 bearing notes in Panjabi and English in the hand of Prof. Piar Singh.

on to identify the person responsible for them.

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

1. Piar Singh, *Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth and the Controversy,* pp. 126-27.
2. See MS # 1245, folio 75.
3. Piar Singh, *Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 173.

PLATE VIII

the   manuscript
Folio 39 of MS # 1245 showing the scheme of the scribe to mention

the folio number of each hymn in the index of *Àsā mode.*
dealers, Piar Singh was able to dispose it of at a good price to
the University, otherwise there is absolutely no reason on the
part of Chawlas to be secretive and reluctant to disclose their
actual source of acquisition.

III. EXTERNAL FEATURES

3.1. In the size of 17 x 27cm, MS # 1245 has 1267 folios in all.
The mariglns have been drawn vertically, thus the total written
area on each folio measures about 14 x 24cm. The folio numbers
have been inscribed at the middle of right hand margin. Usually,
each folio comprises 19 lines but instances of variation,
particulary tightly recorded text, are also quite noticeable. It has
been written very neatly with a very few erasures and deletions.
The opening four (unnumbered) folios have been illustrated with
flowery and geometric motifs. The note appended by the dealers
claims that the third and fourth decorative folios contain a hymn
recorded in the handwriting of Baba Buddha and Guru
Hargobind's *Nìsān* respectively. The text starts on folio 27 with
the *Japujì* followed by liturgical hymns of *Sodaru* section.[1]
Besides, the epilogue, the text has been divided into 30 *rāga*
sections. The sequence of *rāgas* up to *Wadhans,* corresponds to
the *Àdi Granth* but afterwards it differs radically. Contrary to
the earlier manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth,* a table of contents
(aawij) is not available at the outset, instead a separate index
has been appended at the beginning of each *rāga.* It seems in
the index alongwith the serial numbers, the scribe intended to
record the folio number of each hymn, but due to some reason
dropped the scheme incomplete.[2] Apart from the liturgical hymns
of *Sohilā* and *Sopurakhu* sections, Guru Tegh Bahadur's
compositions are not available in it. Significantly, except for a
few *salokas* of Kabir and Farid, the whole corpus of *Bhagat-bānì*
has been excluded from it. On the other hand a considerable
number of extra-canonical writings attributed to Guru Nanak,

1. In the liturgical section, it omits the hymns of the *Sopurakhu* and
   Sohilā sub-sections.
2. For the scheme of folio number of hymns, see index of *Srì Rāga,*
   folio 39, also see plate VIII, p. 188.

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

IV. AUTHORSHIP

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

1. The sequence of epilogue section is as : *Saloku vārān te bahri, Saloku Sahaskiritì, Gāthā, Samavan ka chalatu, Ratanmālā (M.1), Swayye (M.5), Chaubole (M.5), Swayye (M.5) and Swayye of Kalh Bha__.*
2. Interestingly, it occurs at the head of Guru Arjan Dev's hymns, see *Dev Gandhārì,* folio 496; *Bairā~ì,* folio 676; and *Māru,* folio 930.
3. Most scholars feel that originally the *salokas* juxtapositioned between the stanzas of various *vārs,* were without attribution. They hold that *Mahalā* indicating to the authorship have been added at a later stage, see Jodh Singh, *Kartārpurì Bì~ de Darshan,* p. 52; also, see Sahib Singh, *Àdi Bì~ Bāre,* pp. 79-80. For *saloka* with attribution in MS # 1245, see *Rāmkalì ki Vār,* M. 5, folio 901.

composition to his credit. Though, authorship has not been indicated, yet one can find the second Guru's *salokas* at their fixed place. Similarly, the authorship of stanzas which Guru Arjan had added to the *vārs* of earlier Gurus, has not been recorded.[1] The most distinctive feature connected with the authorship is the attribution which has been simultaneously recorded under two authors. For instance a hymn (ਸਤਗੁਰੁ ਮਿਲੈ ਸੁ ਮਰਣੁ ਦਿਖਾਏ) of Guru Nanak in *Gau~ì* mode has been repeated under the same *rāga* as that of Guru Arjan.[2] Similarly, three hymns of Guru Nanak, one occurring in *Dhanāsarì* (ਨਦਰਿ ਕਰੇ ਤਾ ਸਿਮਰਿਆ ਜਾਇ) and two in *Suhì* (ਜਪੁ ਤਪੁ ਕਾ ਬੰਧ ਬੇੜੁਲਾ�armਈ ਭਾਂਡਾ ਹਛਾ ਸੋਇ ਜੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵਸੀ) though recorded in the index as well as in the text under the section of Guru Nanak's writings, yet they have been attributed both to *Mahalā* 1 and *Mahalā* 3.[3] Besides, an *as_padì* (ਲਾਲੇ ਗਾਰਬੁ ਛੋਡਿਆ) in the index of *Māru* mode has been attributed both to *Mahalā* 1 and *Mahalā* 3, but the text describes it to be of Guru Nanak alone.[4] Again a *sohlā* (ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਕਰਨੈਹਾਰ ਅਪਾਰਾ) of Guru Nanak has been recorded under the authorship of Guru Arjan.[5] In addition to that two *salokas* (ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਧਨਵੰਤੀ ਜਾਣੀਐਠ ਜੋਗ ਨ ਭਗਵੀ ਕਪੜੈ) of Guru Amar Das and one (ਸਭਨਾ ਰਾਗਾ ਵਿਚ ਸੋ ਭਲਾ) of Guru Ram Das, have been inscribed as Guru Nanak's compositions.[6] Similarly, three *salokas* (ਸਭਨਾ ਦਾਤਾ ਆਪਿ ਹੈ ਗਣਤੇ ਸੇਵ ਨ ਹੋਵਈਠ ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਸਭ ਆਕਾਰ ਹੈ) have been attributed to M. 3, whereas according to the *Àdi Granth,* they are the writings of Guru Ram Das.[7] It is obvious, inadvertently or deliberately the authorship of many a hymn has not only been wrongly attributed but confused as well.

V. ARRANGEMENT

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

1. For example stanza number 27 (ਸਭੋ ਵਰਤੈ ਚਲਤੁ) which Guru Arjan Dev has added to the *Vār Malār kì,* M.1, does not carry the attribution, see folio 1182.
2. See *rāga Gau~ì,* folios 157, 162, 219.
3. For *Dhanāsarì* hymn, see folios 561, 565 and for *Suhì* hymns, see folios 697, 701.
4. See index and text of *Māru,* folios 918, 940.
5. See *Māru,* folio 1001.
6. See *salokas* surplus to the *vārs,* folios 1234-1236.
7. *Ibid.,* folios 1244, 1246; also see *AGGS,* pp. 585, 1419.

hymns, yet its sequence is quite different from that of the *Àdi Granth.* The hymns within a *rāga* has been classified into various sub-sections, namely *chaupadās, as_padìs, chhants* and *vārs.* As usual the shorter compositions precede the longer ones. Guru Nanak's compositions falling under various sub-sections have been placed at the beginning of each section followed by the writings of his successors. Within a sub-section hymns have been arranged according to the beat and separate serial number for the writings of each author has been inscribed. Invariably, with a few exceptions internal arrangement of a *rāga,* sub-sections and the writings of an author, is in conformity with the *Àdi Granth.* However, on close scrutiny, we observe certain anomalies in the pattern which are not only revealing, but are also very significant to ascertain its status and anteriority as well.

5.2. As mentioned earlier, instead of a master table of contents, a separate index of hymns has been appended at the outset of each *rāga.* It has been assumed that "this is the only extant manuscript in which the table of contents were prepared before the actual text was inscribed".[1] In fact a perusal of its internal structure, especially relationship between the index and text of the respective *rāgas,* holds the key to test the veracity of the above statement. A comparative study of the index and text of *Srì rāga* reveals that three hymns (28, 29 and 30) of Guru Arjan inspite of being assigned to beat 1 (ਘਰੁ ੧) have been placed after the hymns of beat 6 (ਘਰੁ ੬), an irregular place meant for them.[2] It is interesting to note that in the text they have been again reshuffled to serial number 17, 23 and 24, but the order in the index inspite of variation in beat, corresponds to the *Àdi Granth.* Obviously, the text of *Srì rāga* has not been inscribed in accordance with its index position. Similarly, the text of *Gau~ì* mode was at variance with its original index position. Subsequently, not only the serial numbers of Guru Nanak's hymns (5 and 6) have been reversed but another entry at No. 12 has been introduced in the index.[3] Similar reversal of serial numbers in the index of *Àsā, Rāmkalì* and *Bihāgrā* are quite noticeable.[1]

1. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 84.
2. For violation of beat (ਘਰੁ), see index of *Srì rāga,* folio 41; also see *To^ì,* folio 670.
3. See index of *Gaurì,* folio 157.

Furthermore, the index of *Kān~ā* is akin to the *Àdi Granth* but its text especially, six *as_padìs* belonging to Guru Ram Das, occur after the *chhant* of Guru Arjan, an unusual place for the *as_padìs*.[2] All these factors suggest that index and text of MS # 1245, are replete with anomalies.

5.3. Another anomaly in the organization of text and index relates to omissions and additions. For example, in *Tilang* mode, three hymns, one belonging to Guru Ram Das (ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਾ ਸੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ), and two of Guru Arjan (ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨ and ਜੋ ਦੀਸੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖੜਾ) are available in the text, but their reference in the index has been omitted.[3] Originally, the index and text of *Kedārā* did not comprise a *Kachì-bānì* hymn (ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਨਿਤ ਨਮਸਕਾਰ) attributed to Guru Arjan but its entry into the index and text as well, was a later insertion.[4] Significantly, the *Kachì-bānì* forming part of MS # 1245 has not been recorded in accordance with the set pattern. For instance, the *Kachì-bānì chhants* (ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ and ਕਰਿ ਲਾਲਚ ਮਨੁ ਲੋਭਾਣਾ) attributed to Guru Amar Das and Guru Nanak, forming part of *Srì* and *Suhì* modes respectively, instead of *chhant* sub-sections, occur at irregular positions.[5] Again in *Àsā* mode three hymns of *Kachì-bānì* attributed to Guru Arjan do not find place in the beat section, meant for them.[6] There are numerous instances where the text instead of taking off from the index line, begins with a different line.[7] All these factors indicate that index and text of MS # 1245 have been taken from different sources. It seems after copying the index and text into the manuscript the scribe thought of introducing *Kachì-bānì* writings, and in the ensuing exercise he has violated the set pattern relating to beat and genre as well.

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

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1. See folios 340, 507, 817.
2. See index and text of *Kānrā*, folios 1184, 1198.
3. Compare the index and text of *Tilang,* folios 679, 681, 682.
4. See index and text of *Kedārā*, folios 1025, 1028.
5. For *chhants* of M.3 in *Srì rāga,* see folios 42, 101-102 and for *Suhì chhants* of M.1, see index and text of *Suhì,* folios 699, 748.
6. See index of *Àsā,* folio 342.
7. For details, see infra 12.5 chap. 4.

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

VI. OMISSIONS

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

1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 25.
2. For the *salokas* of Farid and Kabir, see *Gujrì kì Vār,* M.3. folio 477; *Bihāgarā kì Vār* M.4, folio 518; *Rāmkalì kì Vār, M.5,* folios 905-06.
3. Pashaura Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 26.
4. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 91-92.

the spiritual perfection of some of the *Bhagats* of the *Àdi Granth.* Guru Arjan has also appreciated the *Bhagats* for their devotion to God.[1] Furthermore, if we take into account the existence of Kabir's *salokas* along with the comments of Sikh Gurus in MS # 1245, then Gurinder Singh Mann's argument that "around 1600 A.D., Guru Arjan considered dropping the hymns of the saints from the canon" looks totally untenable.

6.2. The vital question remains as to why has the scribe of MS ã 1245 ignored the *Bhagat-bānì* completely ? It is not a simple but very serious issue which requires in-depth investigation. One possible explanation may be that by omitting *Bhagat-bānì,* the scribe has tried to place the hymns of the Sikh Gurus on a spiritually higher pedestal than that of the *Bhagats.* But because of the presence of *Bhagat-bānì* in Sikh *Sangats,* the probability is that he is out to compile a volume, a singular collection and for that he has conceived no role for the *Bhagats.* Exclusion of *Bhagat-bānì,* instead of bringing MS # 1245 close to the main Sikh scribal tradition proves it to be of radically different tradition. It is very important to remind inquisitive readers that collections of *Gurbānì* which the *Mìnās* had prepared under the guidance of Miharban, likewise MS # 1245, had the hymns of the Sikh Gurus alone and not of the *Bhagats.*[2] Very truly the Guru Har Sahai *Pothì,* the so-called early source of Sikh canon, which has been in the custody of Miharban and his descendants, is said to have in its first part only the hymns of Sikh Gurus and *Bhagat-bānì* had come to be included in its latter part. It leads us to suggest that MS ã 1245 has something in common with the first part of Guru Har Sahai *Pothì.* If we are on the right track then MS # 1245 marked a stage in the *Mìnā* tradition when *Bhagat-bānì* was of no use to them.

6.3. The panegyrics (ਸਵਈਏ) by the Bhatts, eulogising the Sikh Gurus are not found in their totality. To prove MS # 1245 as an earlier draft, it has been opined that by the time this manuscript was written some of the Bhatts had not yet appeared in the court of the Guru.[1] On close scrutiny we observe that only 32   panegyrics

1. For Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan Dev's comments about the *Bhagats,* see *AGGS,* pp. 67, 733, 835, 1192.
2. *Gos_i Guru Miharvānu,* p. 175.

(ਸਵਈਏ) by Kalh Bhatt have found acceptance in it.[2] But it does not prove that except Kalh no other Bhatt had yet arrived at Sikh Gurus' court. On the basis of scriptural as well as traditional Sikh sources we can very safely state that led by Bhikha, the Bhatts had appeared for the first time at Guru Amar Das' court at Goindwal.[3] Even panegyrics, composed by Bhikha and his associates in praise of Guru Amar Das are enshrined in the *Àdi Granth.*[4] The issue remains as to why has the scribe of MS # 1245 chosen the panegyric of Kalh Bhatt alone to include in it ? It seems our scholars have not delved deep into the historical developments within the Sikh Panth. Actually, during the internal crisis or schism created by the *Mìnās*, the Bhatts and minstrels had also come to be divided into rival camps.[5] It is very important to note that the *Mìnā* collections which have been prepared under the supervision of Harji (D. 1694 C.E.) comprised the panegyrics of Kalh Bhatt alone.[6] Further, likewise the MS # 1245, the *Mina* literature also recalls Kalh or Kalasahar by the name of Kala Bhatt.[7] Truly, all the 32 panegyrics (ਸਵਈਏ) included in MS ā 1245 under the authorship of ਸਵਈਏ ਗੁਰੁ ਅੰਗਦ ਕੇ ਕਾਲੇ ਭਟਿ ਕੀਤੇ, have turned out to be the compositions of Kalh Bhatt only. Omission of panegyrics of the Bhatts, again indicates that MS ā 1245 has originated in close proximity to the *Mìnā* tradition.

6.4.   Some scholars have been widely out of the mark to identify the hymns which do not appear in MS # 1245. For example it has been stated that ਅਗਮ ਅਗੋਚਰ ਦਰਸ ਤੇਰਾ and ਗੁਰੁ ਪੂਰਾ ਮੇਰਾ ਗੁਰੁ occurring respectively in *Àsā* and *Rāmkalì* modes of the *Àdi Granth* do not find a place in it.[1] But a close look at the text of above *rāgas* belie the above statement. The *vār* of Satta and Balwand in *Rāmkalì* mode is also not found in its text. The conclusion has been drawn that it has not come into vogue by

1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 26.
2. For the text of these panegyrics, see folios 1264-1267.
3. Sarup Das Bhallas, *Mahimā Parkāsh,* p. 126; also see Balwant Singh Dhillon, *Srì Guru Amar Dās Abhinandan,* p. 19.
4. For the text of *swayyes* of the Bhatts composed in praise of Guru Amar Das, see *AGGS,* pp. 1392-1396.
5. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Bansāwalìnāmā,* p. 50.
6. *Gosti Guru Miharvānu,* p. 343.
7. *Ibid.*

the time this manuscript was ready.[2] It is very significant to note that the scribe has made a reference to it in the index of *Rãmkalì*.[3] Evidently, he was fully aware of the *vãr* otherwise he would not have referred to it in its index. It is very obvious that while recording the manuscript, the scribe has deliberately omitted it from record.

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

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1. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 244; Piar Singh, *Gãthã Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 160; but a close examination of the manuscript reveals that the hymns in question are very much present in it, see folios 341, 819.
2. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of The Àdi Granth,* p. 26.
3. See index of *Rãmkalì,* folio 819.
4. For the compositions of the Sikh Gurus which have been omitted from it, see infra Appendix III.
5. See infra section 12.2 chap. 4.

VII. REPETITIONS

7.1.   Although, a few hymns, especially of the liturgical section, have been repeated in the *Àdi Granth* with slight variation, yet a considerable number of hymns have been repeated in this manuscript without any variation.[1] It seems either the scholars have failed to take account of them or have not addressed themselves to unearth the purpose of such repetitions. For instance, two of the fifteen apocryphal *chhants* (ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਨਾਵੈ) attributed to Guru Amar Das, have been repeated on the very next folio.[2] As mentioned earlier, a hymn (ਸਤਗੁਰ ਮਿਲੈ ਸੁ ਮਰਣੁ ਦਿਖਾਏ) of Guru Nanak in *Gau~ì* has been included in the same *rāga* under the authorship of Guru Arjan.[3] A *Dhanāsarì* hymn (ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਾ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ) of Guru Ram Das occurs in *rāga Tilang* also.[4] Similarly, a hymn (ਆਓੁ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਰਾਮ ਪਿਆਰੇ) of Guru Arjan in *Gau~ì* mode is also found in *rāga Mājh*.[5] A *Suhì* mode hymn (ਜੋ ਦੀਸੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖੜਾ) of the fifth Guru has also found its way into *Tilang,* although in this case information to take it to *Suhì* mode has been provided in the margin.[6] Significantly, a hymn (ਗੁਰ ਪੂਰੇ ਜਬ ਭਏ ਦੈਆਲਾ) has been recorded at serial No. 31 and 39 also.[7] By repeating it in the index as well as text of *Suhì,* the scribe has given proof of his gross negligence. Similarly, in place of stanza No. 30 (ਨਾਨਕ ਵੀਚਾਰਹਿ ਸੰਤ ਮੁਨਿ) which Guru Arjan has added in the *vār* of Guru Ram Das in *Gaurì* mode, stanza No. 33 (ਤੂ ਸਚਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤਿ ਵਡਾ) has been repeated.[8] Likewise, a considerable number of *salokas* of Guru Arjan, have been recorded twice.[1]

7.2.   On the basis of a *Suhì* hymn (ਜੋ ਦੀਸੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖੜਾ), it has been deduced that from the language and thematic point of view. Guru Arjan has been reshuffling the hymns of Sikh Gurus from one

1. For the hymns recorded twice, see infra Appendix IV.
2. See the text of *Srì rāga,* folios 101, 102.
3. See *rāga Gaurì,* folios 157, 162, 219.
4. See the text of *Dhanāsarì* and *Tilang,* respectively at folios 572, 681.
5. See the text of *Gaurì* and *Mājh,* folios 116, 220; Piar Singh's claim that it occurs in *Sārang* mode of the *Àdi Granth* is totally wrong, see *Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 150.
6. See the text of *Tilang* and *Suhì,* folios 682, 728.
7. See the text of *Suhì,* folios 713, 714.
8. See the text of *Gau~i* folios 319, 321

mode to another.[2] But most of the scholars who consider MS # 1245 as 'an earlier draft' or 'earliest extant source' of the Sikh canon have failed to take notice of the above-mentioned repetitions. Either they have no knowledge of the dual occurrence or they have not addressed themselves to unravel the mystery surrounding repetitions. They have no explanation to offer as to whether the above hymns have not been repeated in the *Àdi Granth* due to editorial policy or their dual occurrence in MS # 1245 was the result of arbitrariness of the scribe. As stated earlier there are some hymns in this manuscript which appear to have been recorded again due to the negligence of the scribe. One hymn each of Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan has been repeated in *Tilang* mode. Interestingly, these hymns have been excluded from the index.[3] Obviously, the scribe was well aware of the fact that they do not form part of *Tilang.* Actually, a hymn (ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਰਾਮ ਪਿਆਰੇ) of Guru Arjan which has been recorded both in *Gau~ì* and *Mãjh* modes in MS # 1245, helps us to solve the mystery of dual occurrence. In the *Àdi Granth* it has been recorded under *Gau~ì Mãjh,*[4] indicating to a mode of *Gaurì* which was prevalent in the *Mãjhã* region. But the scribe of this manuscript has misunderstood it to record the hymn in *Gaurì* as well as in *Mãjh.* Consequently, practice to sing it in two different modes might have come into vogue. Thus, it is quite possible that in the musical tradition of the scribe the hymns which have been repeated in different *rãgas*, were actually sung in two different modes. It helps us to suggest that scribe of MS # 1245, belonged to a musical tradition which was different from that of the *Àdi Granth.*

VIII. APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS

8.1. Existence of apocryphal writings is another significant

1. For the hymns recorded twice, see infra Appendix IV.
2. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 127.
3. See index of *Tilang,* folio 679.
4. *AGGS,* p. 217.

feature of this manuscript.[1] Unfortunately, some of the seasoned scholars in their enthusiasm to project its uniqueness, have been very unfair in their judgement to brand the genuine hymns as that of *Kachì-bānì.*[2] Leaving aside this issue, we observe that one *as_padì* in *Àsā,* a *chhant* in *Suhì* and about eight *salokas* attributed to Guru Nanak which do not appear in the *Àdi Granth* have found a way into it.[3] Even an apocryphal composition, the *Ratanmālā,* a *ha_h-yoga* treatise supposed to have been authored by Guru Nanak, has also found a place in it.[4] Similarly, one *as_padì* each in *Àsā* and *Rāmkalì* and 15 *chhants* in *Srì rāga* recorded under the authorship of Guru Amar Das, occur only in this manuscript.[5] Significantly, 14 hymns spread over in various modes and about six *salokas* of apocryphal nature attributed to Guru Arjan have also been included in it.[6] On the basis of above evidence we can very well call MS # 1245, a rich repository of apocryphal writings.

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

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1. For the text of *Kachì-bānì,* see infra Appendix V.
2. Piar Singh holds that ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਾ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ (ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਮ. ੪)ਠ ਗੁਰ ਪੂਰੇ ਜਬ ਭਏ ਦੈਆਲਾ (ਸੂਹੀ ਮ. ੫)ਠ ਗੁਰ ਗੋਪਾਲੁ ਗੁਰ ਗੋਵਿੰਦਾ (ਮਾਰੂ ਸੋਲਹੇ ਮ. ੫)ਠ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਲੋਕ ਸਦਾ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵਹਿ (ਭੈਰਉ ਮ. ੫) and ਅਨਿਕ ਗਿਆਨ ਅਨਿਕ ਧਿਆਨ (ਭੈਰਉ ਮ. ੫) are absent in the *Guru Granth,* see *Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth,* pp. 156, 157, 163, 164. Similarly Gurinder Singh Mann finds that ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਰਾਮ ਪਿਆਰੇ (ਮਾਝ ਮ. ੫) is not available in the *Kartārpur Pothì,* see *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 242, 311. Actually, both the scholars have failed to observe that some of the above hymns have been recorded in the manuscript twice and even some take off from a different line than that of the *AGGS;* also see Amarjit Singh 'Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth', *Gurmati Parkāsh,* Jan. 1993, pp. 63-70.
3. For the text of apocryphal writings attributed to M.1, see infra Appendix V.
4. *Ratanmālā* in it has only 18 stanzas, for its text see folio 1257.
5. For the text, see infra Appendix V.
6. For the text of these writings, see infra Appendix V.

stage.[1] Evidently, these writings were not part of the original source on which the scribe has depended to prepare it. In his attempt to incorporate the extra-canonical writings, the scribe has not only violated the norm of musical beat (ਘਰੁ) but has also taken liberty to violate the pattern fixed for recording the hymns.[2] The recording of apocrypha coupled with its being placed at the end of set pattern, substantiate that neither is it an earlier draft nor it ante-dates 1604 C.E., the year in which the *Àdi Granth* was codified.

8.3.   What is the source or origin of these writings ? Why such a large number of them have found their way into this manuscript only ? Are they really the compositions of Sikh Gurus ? Why have they not found acceptance with Guru Arjan to be included in the Sikh scripture ? These are some of the very relevant issues to which the scholars should have addressed to themselves. Unfortunately, some of the scholars are not even aware of the existence of above-mentioned apocrypha.[3] While analysing the antecedents of this manuscript either the above issues have been overlooked or have been explained in a very casual manner. If it is believed that it is an earlier draft, and that it had been the basis for editing the *Àdi Granth,* then the learned scholars should have given reasons for the absence of apocrypha from the Sikh canon. It is very incongruous to suggest that Guru Arjan first included in the so-called earlier draft the *Kachì-bānì* relating to his predecessors and then edited it out from the *Àdi Granth.* The argument that apocryphal writings relating to Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das might have been overlooked in the process of rearranging and copying by the scribe of *Kartārpurì Bìr,* is far from convincing.[4] It is equally absurd to state that Guru Arjan or the scribe commissioned by him first included the *Kachì-bānì* attributed to himself and then consciously

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1. For such insertions, see indexes of *Suhì* and *Kedārā,* folios 699, 1025.
2. See supra footnote no. 2, p. 192; footnotes 2, 5, 6, p. 193.
3. Pashaura Singh has pointed out only 15 *chhants* of *Kachì-bānì* attributed to Guru Amar Das, see *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 9, f.n.32.
4. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 202-207.

deleted it, because he was not satisfied with its poetic merit.[1] Existence of apocrypha is a pointer to the fact that MS # 1245 has originated from a totally different tradition which has nothing to do with Guru Arjan.

8.4. The problem of apocrypha included in this manuscript, requires an in-depth investigation. The scriptural as well as traditional Sikh sources confirm that Guru Arjan was well-aware of the fact that some apocryphal writings were in circulation among the Sikh *Sangats.*[2] He was absolutely in no doubt that who were churning them out. In all probability the *Kachì-bānì* hymns included in this manuscript could not find acceptance with Guru Arjan because they were not genuine and owed their origin to the dissenters' camp.

8.5.1. It is well known in Sikh history that some of the rivals of Sikh Gurus were confusing the originality of *Gurbānì* by churning out spurious hymns. Some apocryphal hymns included in MS # 1245 provide insight into their designs. To take stock of distortion and interpolation, a few illustrations from this manuscript will suffice it. For instance in *rāga Gaun^* lines of hymn No. 21 have been inverted to record it as : ਨ ਇਹ ਬੁਢਾ ਨਾ ਇਹ ਬਾਲਾ. Towards the end, the scribe intended to record an other hymn which began from ਅਚਰਜ ਕਥਾ ਮਹਾ ਅਨੂਪ, a line of the above hymn, but has left it incomplete.[3] Similarly, in *Bhairo* mode, though two hymns ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਲੋਕ ਸਦਾ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵਹਿ and ਪ੍ਰਤਪਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਠਿਪਾਲ have been inscribed with complete text at serial No. 51 and 54 but by taking two lines ਭੈ ਕਉ ਭਉ ਪੜਿਆ and ਅਨਿਕ ਗਿਆਨ ਅਨਿਕ ਧਿਆਨ of the respective hymns, an abortive attempt has been made to record two more hymns.[4] Evidently, the scribe has split the text of a hymn to compose a new hymn. The above contention is not wholly unfounded when we observe that *Gurbānì* has been used to fabricate new hymns.

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1. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 208.
2. For scriptural evidence on the issue of *Kachì-bānì,* see the compositions of Sikh Gurus found recorded in the *AGGS,* pp. 304, 920; also see Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Bansāwalìnāmā,* p. 50; *Sikhān dì Bhagatmāla,* pp. 131-32.
3. See the text of *Gaun^,* folios 693, 694.
4. See the text of *Bhairo,* folios 1065, 1066.

8.5.2. In the *Àdi Guru Granth Sāhib* there are a number of hymns which depict the religio-spiritual enviornment of Ramdaspur, the earlier name of Amritsar. One of the hymns begings as :

> ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਠਿ�M ਧਾਰੀ ॥
> ਪ੍ਰਭਿ ਪੂਰੀ ਲੋਚ ਹਮਾਰੀ ॥
> ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਿ ਆਏ ॥
> ਅਨਦ ਮੰਗਲ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਏ ॥[1]

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

> ਰਾਮਦਾਸਪੁਰਿ ਜਬ ਆਏ ॥
> ਤਾ ਅਨੰਦ ਮੰਗਲ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਏ ॥[2]

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

> ਧਨੁ ਸੁ ਕਾਗਦ ਕਲਮ ਧਨੁ ਜਿਤੁ ਲਿਖੀਐ ਸਚਾ ਨਾਉ ॥
> ਧਨੁ ਮਸਵਾਣੀ ਮਸੁ ਧਨੁ ਲਿਖਣਹਾਰਾ ਸੁ ਧਨੁ ਜੁ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਲਿਖੈ ਨਾਉ ॥.....
> ਕਲਮ ਜਲੋ ਸਣੁ ਕਾਗਦੈ ਮਸਵਾਣੀ ਜਲ ਜਾਉ ॥
> ਲਿਖਣਹਾਰਾ ਸੁ ਜਲੋ ਜਿਸ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਨਾਉ ॥[3]

A keen scholar of *Gurbāni* will not fail to discern that these verses have been fabricated on the basis of different strands of Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das' compositions.[4] At another place stanzas of an *aspadì* have been converted into *pau~ìs* and an additional apocryphal *saloka* have been inscribed at the beginning of each of them.[5] Though, there are numerous examples where apocryphal writings have been juxtapositioned between the compositions of Sikh Gurus, but a *saloka* in the epilogue section presents the best example of such distortions. The *saloka* in question runs as :

> ਜੋਗ ਨ ਭਗਵੀ ਕਪੜੇ ਜੋਗੁ ਨ ਮੈਲੇ ਵੇਸਿ ॥
> ਘਰਿ ਬੈਠਿਆ ਜੋਗ ਪਾਈਐ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਉਪਦੇਸ ॥
> ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਜਾਣੀਐ ਸਤੁ ਪੈਨੇ ਸਤੁ ਖਾਇ ॥
> ਸਤੁ ਹੀ ਆਛੈ ਸਤਿ ਰਹੈ ਸਤੇ ਸਵੈ ਸਮਾਇ ॥

1. *AGGS, pp. 621-22.*
2. See the text of *Sorathi,* folio 635.
3. See *salokas* surplus to the *vārs,* folio 1234.
4. For example look at the compositions of Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das in the *AGGS,* pp. 84, 1291.
5. For the text of apocryphal *salokas,* see *Bilāwal,* folios 797, 798.

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਸਚੁ ਫਲੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਲਿਖਾਏ ਲੇਖੁ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਨਾਮੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਜੀਵਣੁ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਏਕੁ ॥[1]

The first verse of the above *saloka* has been taken from a *saloka* of Guru Amar Das[2] and the rest has been fabricated in the name of Guru Nanak. Attempts at forgery coupled with the inclusion of such a large number of *Kachì-bānì* writings, restrict us to think that MS # 1245 is a genuine product of Sikh scribal tradition. Anyway, the apocrypha composed on the lines of *Gurbānì* to imitate it can not prove that this manuscript is older than the *Àdi Granth,* rather it provides evidence to suggest that it is a later work. If we add apocrypha to the genuine writings, then the size of Sikh Gurus' writings would turn out to be much larger than what we have in the *Àdi Granth.* Consequently, the standard rule of textual criticism, that "the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one" will restrain us to believe that this manuscript has its origin in the pre-*Àdi Granth* period i.e., 1604 C.E.

IX. *RÀGAS* AND TUNES

9.1.   The sequence of *rāgas* suggests that the scribe was following a musical tradition which was different from that of the *Àdi Granth.* Besides, the sequence, there are some other muscial features of this manuscript which have hitherto remained unnoticed. For example *Nat Nārāin* (ਨਟ ਨਾਰਾਇਣ) a musical mode of the *Àdi Granth* has been spelt in an unusual manner as *Nat Narānì* (ਨਟ ਨਰਾਣੀ).[3] Secondly, unlike the *Àdi Granth* tradition the composite *rāga* of *Parbhātì Bibhās* (ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਬਿਭਾਸ) has been inscribed simply as *Parbhātì.*[4] Except one, the majority of the hymns in *Basant,* have been divorced from its *Hìdol* form. Significantly, two hymns of *Basant* mode have been entered under *Hìdol* (ਹੀਡੋਲ) only.[5] Perhaps in the musical tradition of the scribe *Parbhātì's Bibhās* mode did not exit. Likewise, *Basant Hìdol* was not one but two different modes of music. The index

1. See *salokas* suplus to the *vārs,* folio 1235.
2. *AGGS,* pp. 1420-21.
3. See the index of *rāga Nat Narain,* folio 661.
4. Confer the index and text of *Parbhātì,* folios 1209-1227.
5. For the modes of *Basant,* see folios 1072-1088, 1088, 1088-1089.

of *Gaunt* mode has been inscribed as ਤਤਕਰਾ ਗੋਡ ਬਿਲਾਵਲ ਕਾ.[1] It again indicates that probably in the musical tradition of the MS # 1245, *Gaunt* and *Bilāwal* were identical or closely related modes. Significantly, contrary to the *Àdi Granth,* Guru Nanak's *Onkār* composition does not carry in its title the term of *Dakhnì,* a mode of *Rāmkalì.*[2] Similarly, the beat of *Dhamāl* (ਧਮਾਲੈ ਕੀ ਚਾਲੀ) which does not occur anywhere in the *Àdi Granth,* has been indicated for singing.[3] We have already observed that scores of hymns recorded in this manuscript begin from a different line than that of the *Àdi Granth.*[4] These variations were also due to the musicians, who have brought innovations to take off a hymn for singing in their own style. Even some of the hymns have been recorded in more than one *rāga* which again suggest that in the musical tradition of the scribe, practice to sing such hymns in two different modes was prevalent. Addition of vocatives such as ਵੇ and ਰੇ are pointer to the fact that the scribe or musicians associated with him have introduced modifications in the text to suit their musical requirements.

9.2.   Though, in the *Àdi Granth* nine *vārs* of different modes of various authors have been assigned *dhunnìs* (tunes indicating the musical style for singing), yet in the indexes of MS # 1245, seven *vārs* have been referred with their *dhunnìs.*[5] For example :

   i)   (ਗਉੜੀ ਕੀ) ਵਾਰ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੫
       ਰਾਇ ਕਮਾਲ ਦੀ ਮੋਜ ਦੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ (folio 160).

   ii) (ਆਸਾ ਕੀ) ਵਾਰ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲ ਮਹਲਾ ੧
       ਟੁਡੇ ਅਸਰਾਜੈ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ (folio 343).

   iii) ਵਾਰ ਗੁਜਰੀ ਕੀ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੩
       ਸਿਕੰਦਰ ਬਿਰਾਹਮ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ (folio 457).

   iv) (ਵਡਹੰਸ ਕੀ) ਵਾਰ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲ ਮਹਲਾ ੪
       ਲਾਲ ਬਹਿਲੀਮ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ (folio 523).

   v) ਸਾਰੰਗ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੪
       ਰਾਇ ਮਹਮੇ ਹਸਨੇ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ (folio 1097).

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1. See the index of *Gaunt,* folio 685.
2. See *Rāmkalì,* folio 867.
3. See the text of *Bilāwal,* folio 797.
4. For details see infra section 12.5 chap. 4.
5. The *vārs* whose *dhunnìs* have been dropped are as : *Vār Mājh kì* M. 1 and *Rāmkalì kì Vār* M. 3.

vi) (ਮਲਾਰ ਕੀ) ਵਾਰ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲਿ
ਰਾਣੇ ਕੈਲਾਸ ਤਥਾ ਮਾਲਦੇ ਕੀ ਧੁਨਿ (folio 1150).

vii) (ਕਾਨੜੇ ਕੀ) ਵਾਰ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਮ. ੪
ਮੂਸੇ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ (folio 1184).

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

i) ਵਾਰ ਵਡਹੰਸ ਕੀ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲ ੪
ਲਾਲ ਬਹਿਲੀਮ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਗਾਵਣੀ (folio 551).

ii) ਵਾਰ ਮਲਾਰ ਕੀ ਸਲੋਕਾ ਨਾਲ ਮਹਲਾ ੧
ਮਾਲਦੇ ਕੀ ਧੁਨੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਗਾਵਣੀ (folio 1171).

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

X. *NÁSÀN*

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

1. Piar Singh's statement that MS # 1245 in its index carries reference to the *dhunnì* of *Vār Rāmkalì* M. 3, is totally unfounded, see *Gāthā Srì Àdi Granth,* p. 162; also see MS # 1245, folio 819.
2. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 67.
3. For the note of manuscript dealers, see infra Appendix I.

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

XI. ALLEGED HAND OF BABA BUDDHA

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

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1. The text of the *saloka* in question is as :
   ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਸਦਾ ਸਾਚਾ ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਸਹਜਿ ਪਿਆਰਿ ॥
   ਸਦਾ ਅਨੰਦ ਗਾਵਹਿ ਗੁਣ ਸਾਚੇ ਅਰਧਿ ਉਰਧਿ ਉਰਿਧਾਰਿ ॥   ☛

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

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

☛ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਵਸਿਆ ਸਾਚਾ ਧੁਰ ਕਰਮਿ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਕਰਤਾਰਿ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਆਪਿ ਮਿਲਾਇਸੀ ਆਪੇ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਧਾਰਿ ॥
It again occurs in *Bihāgre kì Vār*, (M.4), folio 515.

1. To examine the writings beneath it on May 12, 1997, I again visited the Rare Book Section of the G.N.D. University library and was astonished to find that the folios bearing the *Nìsān* and alleged handwritings of Baba Buddha were not present in the manuscript. The University staff managing the above section was totally at loss to explain the disappearance of above folios.
2. See supra footnote no. 5, p. 184.
3. To verify the fact, on April 13, 1997, I personally visited Sardar Uttam Singh (84 years old), village head (*Nambardār*) of Ramdas, district Amritsar, whose ancestors for the last five generations have been managing the shrine in the village, associated with the birth of Baba Buddha and his descendants; also see Bhai Khan Singh Nabha, *Mahān Kosh,* p. 881; 'Blasphemous Attacks', *ASS,* Jan. 1993, p. 16.
4. See supra footnote no. 5, p. 184.

1245 has preserved the hymn recorded in the hand of Baba Buddha or it has been in the custody of his descendants, is highly unrealistic and illogical as well.

XII. TEXTUAL VARIANTS

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

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

AGGS	MS # 1245
ਸਿਵ ਸਕਤਿ ਆਪਿ ਉਪਾਇ ਕੈ	ਸਿਵ ਸਕਤਿ ਘਰ ਹੀ ਅੰਦਰਿ
ਕਰਤਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਵਰਤਾਏ॥	ਤਿਨਿ ਸਚੈ ਆਪਿ ਵਸਾਈ॥
ਹੁਕਮੁ ਵਰਤਾਏ ਆਪਿ ਵੇਖੈ	ਵਸਾਈ ਤ ਸਿਵ ਸਕਤਿ ਸਕਤਿ
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਕਿਸੈ ਬੁਝਾਏ॥	ਸਬਲੁ ਵਰਤਾਈਆ॥
ਤੋੜੇ ਬੰਧਨ ਹੋਵੈ ਮੁਕਤੁ	ਤਹਾ ਤਾਮੁ ਗੁਬਾਰੁ ਹੋਆ
ਸਬਦੁ ਮੰਨਿ ਵਸਾਏ॥	ਭਾਇ ਦੂਜੈ ਲਾਇਆ॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਜਿਸ ਨੋ ਆਪਿ ਕਰੇ ਸੁ	ਇਕ ਨਾਮਿ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ
ਹੋਵੈ ਏਕਸ ਸਿਉ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਏ॥	ਭਈ ਉਲਟੀ ਸਿਵ ਸਬਲ ਵਰਤਾਈਆ॥
ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਆਪਿ ਕਰਤਾ	ਤਹਾ ਮਿਟਿਆ ਤਾਮੁ ਭਇਆ
ਆਪੇ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਬੁਝਾਏ॥੨੬॥	ਪਰਗਟੁ ਨਾਮਿ ਲਾਗਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਵਰਤਾਈਆ॥
	ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਸਿ(ਵ) ਸਕਤਿ
	ਧੁਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਸਚੈ ਪਾਈਐ॥੨੬॥

ਸਿਮ੍ਰਿਤਿ ਸਾਸਤ੍ਰ ਪੁੰਨ ਪਾਪ ਬੀਚਾਰਦੇ   ਸਿਮ੍ਰਤ ਸਾਸਤ ਬਹੁਤ ਵਖਾਨਦੇ
ਤਤੈ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਜਾਣੀ ॥   ਤਿਨੀ ਤਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਤਤੈ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਜਾਣੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਝਹੁ   ਤਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ ਏਤੁ ਦਆਰੈ
ਤਤੈ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਜਾਣੀ ॥   ਏਤੁ ਦਆਰੈ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਤਿਹੀ ਗੁਣੀ ਸੰਸਾਰੁ ਭ੍ਰਮਿ ਸੁਤਾ   ਤ੍ਰੈ ਗੁਣ ਅਵਚ ਨ ਹੋਏ
ਸੁਤਿਆ ਰੈਨਿ ਵਿਹਾਣੀ ॥   ਭਰਮਿ ਭੁਲਾਇਆ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਤੇ ਸੇ ਜਨ ਜਾਗੇ   ਇਕਨਾ ਮੇਲਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਦੇ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਅੰਜਨੁ
ਜਿਨਾ ਹਰਿ ਮਨਿ ਵਸਿਆ   ਤਤੁ ਮਨਿ ਵਸਾਇਆ ॥
ਬੋਲਹਿ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਬਾਣੀ ॥   ਸੇ ਜਨ ਜਿਨਾ ਜਾਤਿ ਬਿਬੇਕ ਹੋਈ
ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਸੋ ਤਤੁ ਪਾਏ   ਬਿਬੇਕੁ ਜਿਨਾ ਆਇਆ ॥
ਜਿਸ ਨੋ ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਹਰਿ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਗੈ   ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਸਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਸਾਸਤ ਸੋਧਿ ਵੇਖਹੁ
ਜਾਗਤ ਰੈਨਿ ਵਿਹਾਣੀ ॥੨੭॥   ਏਹੁ ਗੁਰੁਦੁਆਰੇ ਤਤੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥੨੭॥

(p. 920)   *(folios 883-84)*

Besides, there are about 12 hymns attributed to the Sikh Gurus on which the scribe of MS # 1245 disagrees with the *Àdi Granth* over the issue of their authorship.[1] About 68 compositions attributed to M. 1, M. 3 and M. 5 enshrined in the *Àdi Granth,* are absent in the text of MS # 1245.[2] Though, there are over 170 compositions whose text is of incomplete nature, yet instances of lines, verses or stanzas missing in the text of MS ã 1245 are not uncommon. For example :

MS # 1245	**Missing Text**
i) *Gaurì*, M.5, *chaup.* 78, folio 203.	ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਰਨਾਇ ॥ ਬੰਧਨ ਕਾਟਿ ਤਰੈ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਇ ॥ *(AGGS, p. 195)*
ii) *Mãjh* M.5, *chaup.* 1, folio 107.	ਹਉ ਘੋਲੀ ਜੀਉ ਘੋਲਿ ਘੁਮਾਈ ਗੁਰ ਦਰਸਨ ਸੰਤ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਜੀਉ ॥..... ਹਉ ਘੋਲੀ ਹਉ ਘੋਲਿ ਘੁਮਾਈ ਗੁਰ ਸਜਣ ਮੀਤ ਮੁਰਾਰੇ ਜੀਉ ॥..... ਹਉ ਘੋਲੀ ਜੀਉ ਘੋਲਿ ਘੁਮਾਈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸਚੇ ਗੁਰ ਦਰਬਾਰੇ ਜੀਉ ॥..... ਹਉ ਘੋਲੀ ਜੀਉ ਘੋਲਿ ਘੁਮਾਈ ਜਨ ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਸ ਤੁਮਾਰੇ ਜੀਉ ॥ *(AGGS, pp. 96-97)*

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1. See supra section 4.1 chap. 4.
2. See infra Appendix III.

iii) *Gujrì kì Vār* M.3, *pau~ì* 7
 saloka M.3(1), folio 477.

ਏਸ ਨੋ ਕੂੜੁ ਬੋਲਿ ਕਿ ਖਵਾਲੀਐ ਜਿ
ਚਲਦਿਆ ਨਾਲਿ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥
(AGGS, p. 511)

iv) *Sorathì* M.5, *chaup.* 58,
 folio 628.

ਹਰਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਭਾਇ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਗਾ ॥
ਜਪਿ ਜੀਵਹਿ ਸੇ ਵਡਭਾਗਾ ॥
(AGGS, p. 623)

v) *Kaliyān* M.4 *ast.* 3,
 folio 658.

ਤੂ ਜਲ ਨਿਧਿ ਮੀਨ ਹਮ ਤੇਰੇ
ਕਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਸੰਗਿ ਰਖੀਜੈ ॥
(AGGS, p. 1325)

vi) *Suhì* M.1, *chaup.* 6
 folio 701.

ਮਤੁ ਕੋ ਜਾਣੈ ਜਾਇ ਅਗੈ ਪਾਇਸੀ ॥
(AGGS, p. 730)

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

ਹਰਿ ਅਗਮ ਅਗੋਚਰ ਅਪਰੰਪਰ ਸੁਆਮੀ
ਜਨ ਪਗਿ ਲਗਿ ਧਿਆਵਉ ਹੋਇ ਦਾਸਨਿ ਦਾਸਾ ॥
(AGGS, p. 841)

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

ਜਾ ਕੈ ਮਸਤਕਿ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਲੇਖੁ ॥
ਤਾ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਵਸਿਆ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਏਕੁ ॥
(AGGS, p. 842)

ix) *Bilāwal kì Vār* M.4,
 paurì 12, folio 814.

ਪਇਐ ਕਿਰਤਿ ਕਮਾਵਦੇ
ਜਿਵ ਰਾਖਹਿ ਤਿਵੈ ਰਹੰਨਿ ॥
(AGGS, p. 854)

x) *Bilāwal kì Vār* M.4,
 paurì 12, *saloka* M.3(2)

ਹਿਰਦੈ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਰਸੁ
ਕਵਲਾ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਤਿਸੁ ॥
(AGGS, p. 854)

xi) *Rāmkalì kì Vār,* M.5,
paurì 19,
 saloka M.5, folio 904.

ਵਖਰੁ ਹਿਕੁ ਅਪਾਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ
ਖਟੇ ਸੋ ਧਣੀ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 965)*

xii) *Māru Solhe* M.5 (ਤੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ
ਹਉ ਸੇਵਕੁ), folio 998.

ਤਿਸਹਿ ਸਰੀਕੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੇ ਕੋਈ ॥
ਕਿਸ ਹੀ ਬੁਤੈ ਜਬਾਬੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਆਪੇ ਆਪੇ ਕਰਿ
ਵੇਖੈ ਚੋਜ ਖੜਾ ॥   *(AGGS, p. 1082)*

xiii) *Māru Solhe* M.5 (ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ
ਸਭ
 ਊਚ ਬਿਰਾਜੇ), folio 1000.

ਚਰਣ ਕਮਲ ਸਰਣਾਈ ਆਇਆ ॥
ਸਾਧਸੰਗਿ ਹੈ ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਗਾਇਆ ॥
ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਸਭਿ ਦੂਖ ਨਿਵਾਰੇ
ਜਪਿ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਭਉ ਨਹੀ ਕਾਲ ਕਾ ॥
(AGGS, p. 1084)

xiv) *Swayye Guru Arjan ke*
(Kalh
 Bhatt), folio 1266.

ਸਿਮਰੇ ਸੋਈ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਅਚਲੁ ਅਬਿਨਾਸੀ ॥
ਜਿਸੁ ਸਿਮਰਤ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਮਲੁ ਨਾਸੀ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਚਰਣ ਕਵਲ ਰਿਦਿ ਧਾਰੰ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਅਰਜੁਨ ਗੁਣ ਸਹਜਿ ਬਿਚਾਰੰ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਘਰਿ ਕੀਅਉ ਪ੍ਰਗਾਸਾ ॥
ਸਗਲ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਪੂਰੀ ਆਸਾ ॥
ਤੈ ਜਨਮਤ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮੁ ਪਛਾਣਿਓ ॥
ਕਲੵ ਜੋੜਿ ਕਰ ਸੁਜਸੁ ਵਖਾਣਿਓ ॥
(AGGS, pp. 1406-07)

All these facts suggest that the *Àdi Granth* and MS # 1245 do not share a common tradition rather they have descended from different sources. It also indicates that MS # 1245 is in no way ancestral to the *Àdi Granth,* otherwise the text that we have in addition to it in the Sikh scripture would not have been possible.

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

    i) ਤਤਕਰਾ ਸ੍ਰਿ ਰਾਗ ਕਾ ਸਬਦਾ ਕੇ ਨਾਉ (folio 39)

   ii) ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਗ ਮਾਝ ॥ ਵਣਜਾਰਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੪ ॥ (folio 89)

  iii) ਤਤਕਰਾ ਆਸਾ ਕਾ ਸਬਦਾ ਕੇ ਨਾਉ (folio 340)

  iv) ਤਤਕਰਾ ਰਾਗ ਨਟ ਨਰਾਣੀ ਕਾ ਸਬਦਾ ਕੇ ਨਾਉ (folio 661)

   v) ਤਤਕਰਾ ਸਬਦਾ ਕੇ ਨਾਉ ਰਾਗੁ ਤਿਲੰਗ (folio 679)

  vi) ਤਤਕਰਾ ਰਾਗਾ ਗੋਡ ਬਿਲਾਵਲ ਕਾ (folio 685)

 vii) ਲਾਵਾ ਛੰਤ ਸੂਹੀ ਛੰਤ ਮਹਲਾ ੪ (folio 737)

 viii) ਸਦੁ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਨਾਈ ਕਾ (folio 819)

  ix) ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਓਓਂਕਾਰ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ (folio 867)

   x) ਮਾਰੂ ਵਾਰ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ ਡਖਣੇ (folio 1094)

  xi) ਸਲੋਕ ਵਾਰਾ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ (folio 1232)

  xii) ਸਲੋਕ ਵਾਰਾ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੩ (folio 1236)

 xiii) ਸਲੋਕ ਵਾਰਾ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰੇ ਮਹਲਾ ੪ (folio 1244)

 xiv) ਸਲੋਕ ਸਹਸਠਿਤ ਕੇ (folio 1249)

  xv) ਸਵਈਏ ਗੁਰੁ ਅੰਗਦ ਕੈ ਕਾਲੈ ਭਟ ਕੀਤੇ (folio 1264)

 xvi) ਸਵਈਏ ਗੁਰੁ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਕੇ (folio 1265)

 xvii) ਸਵਈਏ ਗੁਰੁ ਅਰਜਨ ਕੇ (folio 1266)

 xviii) ਸਵਈਏ ਮਹਲਾ ਪੰਜਾ ਕੇ ਮਹਲੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਕੇ
         ਗੁਰੁ ਅਰਜਨ ਕੇ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ (folio 1263)

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

of the titles such as :

i) ਤਤਕਰਾ ਤਤਕਰੇ ਕਾ

ii) ਤਤਕਰਾ ਸਬਦਾ ਕਾ

iii) ਜਪੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀਉ ਕਿਆ ਦਸਖਤਾ ਕਾ ਨਕਲੁ

iv) ਮਾਝ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ ਦਿਨਿ ਰੈਣਿ

v) ਗਉੜੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਦੀਪਕੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧

vi) ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧

vii) ਸੂਹੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ਕੁਚਜੀ

viii) ਮਾਰੂ ਅੰਜੁਲੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

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

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

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

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1. see footnote no. 2, p. 192 and footnote no. 6, p. 193.
2. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 118.
3. *Ibid.,* pp. 118-125.

PLATE IX

Folio 619 of MS # 1245 depicting the index position of the hymns in *Tilang* mode. For a discussion on it, see p. 215.

internal evidence found in the index, which is very significant to check the authenticity of text. A comparison of the index and the text position of Guru Arjan's hymns in *Tilang* mode is very revealing.[1] For instance :

Index	Text
1. ਖਾਕ ਨੂਰ ਕਰਦੰ ਆਲਮੁ ਦੁਨੀਆ	1. ਖਾਕ ਨੂਰ ਕਰਦੰ ਆਲਮੁ ਦੁਨੀਆਇ
2. ਤੁਧੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਦੂਜਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਕੋਇ	2. ਸਭ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮੁ ਦਾਤਾਰੁ
3. ਕਰਤੇ ਕੁਦਰਤੀ ਮੁਸਤਾਕੁ	3. ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨੁ ਪਿਆਰਾ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨੁ
4. ਮੀਰਾਦਾਨਾ ਦਿਲ ਸੋਚ	4. ਕਰਤਾ ਕੁਦਰਤੇ ਮੁਸਤਾਕੁ
5. ਨਿਰਮਲਾ ਸੁਖ ਰੀਤਿ ਸੁਆਮੀ	5. ਜੋ ਦੀਸੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖੜਾ
6. x	6. ਦੀਦਨੇ ਦੀਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ
7. x	7. ਨਿਰਮਲਾ ਸੁਖ ਰੀਤਿ ਸੁਆਮੀ

The above study proves that Guru Arjan's hymn No. 2 in the index of *Tilang* mode has been entered as ਤੁਧੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਦੂਜਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਕੋਇ, whereas in the text it takes off from another line ਸਭ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮੁ ਦਾਤਾਰੁ. Similarly the third hymn in the index begins with ਕਰਤੇ ਕੁਦਰਤੀ ਮੁਸਤਾਕੁ but in the text at No. 4, it starts with ਕਰਤਾ ਕੁਦਰਤੇ ਮੁਸਤਾਕੁ.[2] Again the fourth hymn in the index has been recorded as ਮੀਰਾ ਦਾਨਾ ਦਿਲ ਸੋਚਠ but in the text it has been placed at No. 6 and starts with ਦੀਦਨੇ ਦੀਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ.[3] Another hymn of M.5 (ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨੁ ਪਿਆਰਾ ਮਿਹਰਵਾਨੁ) is available in the text of *Tilang* at serial No. 3, but its entry into the index has been omitted. Now it is crystal clear that the text of *Tilang* mode does not conform to its index. On the other hand, it is very significant that index lines of *Tilang* follow the *Àdi Granth* version. It is evident that the scribe of MS # 1245 has altered the position of hymns as well as the order of verses of the hymns in the text. It helps us to determine what the original reading was which the scribe has altered to produce his singular reading. Consequently, the allegation that Guru Arjan has reversed the order of verses of hymns in the *Àdi Granth,* is absolutely unfounded and uncalled for. This fact becomes even more pronounced when we compare the index lines of the other *rāgas* with their text. We come across numerous instances where the text of a hymn does not take off from its index line. For example :

Although, the index lines mentioned in the above table are

1. For comparison of the index and text of *Tilang* mode, see folios 679, 681
2. *Ibid.,* folios 679, 682.
3. *Ibid.*

Rāga	Author	Index line	Text	Folio
ਸ੍ਰੀ	ਮ. ੫	ਮਨ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਜੀਉ ਮਿਤ੍ਰਾ (ਛੰਤ ੧)	ਮਨ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਮਿਤ੍ਰਾ	92
ਮਾਝ	ਮ. ੫	ਨਿਤੁ ਨਿਤੁ ਦਇਉ ਸਭਾਲੀਐ (ਅਸਟ. ੪)	ਸਾਧੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਾਈਐ	140
—	—	ਹਰਿ ਜਪਿ ਜਪੇ ਮਨੁ ਧੀਰੈ (ਅਸਟ. ੫)	ਮਨੁ ਧੀਰੇ ਮਨੁ ਧੀਰੈ	140
ਗਉੜੀ	ਮ. ੪	ਜੋਗੀ ਗੋਰਖੁ ਗੋਰਖੁ ਕਰਿਆ (ਚਉ. ੧)	ਪੰਡਿਤ ਸਾਸਤ ਸਿਮ੍ਰਿਤ	173
—	—	ਤੁਮ ਦੈਆਲ ਸਰਬ ਦੁਖ ਭੰਜਨ (ਚਉ. ੧੮)	ਰਾਮ ਤੁਮ ਦਇਆਲ	177
ਗਉੜੀ	ਮ. ੫	ਕੁਸਲੁ ਨਰਿ ਕਹਿ ਮੇਰੀ (ਚਉ. ੧)	ਕਿਨ ਬਿਧ ਕੁਸਲ ਹੋਤ	187
—	—	ਹਮ ਭਗਵੰਤ ਭਾਗਠ ਹਰਿ (ਚਉ. ੩੧)	ਪਿਉ ਦਾਦੇ ਕਾ ਖੋਲ	194
—	—	ਐਸੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਗੋਵਿੰਦ ਸਿਉ (ਚਉ. ੪੩)	ਭਰਤਾ ਪੇਖਿ ਬਿਗਸੈ ਜਿਉ	205
—	—	ਨਿਤ ਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਨਾਵਣ ਰਾਮਸਰਿ (ਚਉ. ੪੫)	ਨਿਰਮਲ ਉਦਕ ਗੋਵਿਦ	206
—	—	ਸੋ ਕੁਛ ਕਰਿ ਜਿਤੁ ਮੈਲ (ਚਉ. ੪੬)	ਏਕਿ ਸਿਮਰਿ ਨ ਦੂਜਾ	206
—	—	ਜਨ ਕੀ ਪੁਰਿ ਮਨਿ ਮੀਠ (ਚਉ. ੧੦੦)	ਅਹੰਬੁਧਿ ਮਨ ਪੂਰਿ ਥਿਪਾਈ	206
—	—	ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨਿਤ ਰਸਨ (ਚਉ. ੧੦੨)	ਸਾਤਿ ਭਈ ਗੁਰ ਗੋਵਿਦ	207
—	—	ਰਾਮ ਕੌ ਬੋਲੁ ਪੂਰਨ ਭਾਈ (ਚਉ. ੧੧੪)	ਜੋ ਜੋ ਚਿਤਵੈ ਦਾਸੁ ਹਰਿ	209
—	—	ਭੁਜ ਬਲਬੀਰ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਸੁਖ (ਚਉ. ੧੧੫)	ਸ੍ਵਨਨਿ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਨੈਨ ਸੁੰਦਰ	209
—	—	ਦਇਓ ਗੁਸਾਈ ਮੀਤਲਾ (ਚਉ. ੧੧੬)	ਤੁਝ ਬਿਨੁ ਘਰੀ ਜੁ ਜੀਵਨਾ	209
—	—	ਮਿਲ ਮੇਰੇ ਗੋਵਿਦ ਅਪਨਾ ਨਾਮ (ਅਸਟ. ੧੦)	ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੁ ਪਹਿਰੈ ਖਾਇ	244
—	—	ਨਾਰਾਇਣ ਹਰਿ ਰੰਗ ਰੰਗੋ (ਅਸਟ. ੧੪)	ਤਜਿ ਹਉਮੈ ਗੁਰ ਗਿਆਨ	245
ਆਸਾ	ਮ. ੪	ਤੂ ਕਰਤਾ ਸਚਿਆਰ ਮੈਡਾ (ਚਉ. ੨)	ਸਭ ਤੇਰੀ ਤੂ ਸਭਨੀ ਧਿਆਇਆ	362
ਗੁਜਰੀ	ਮ. ੫	ਬ੍ਰਹਮਾਦਿਕ ਅਰ ਰੁਦ੍ਰ (ਚਉ. ੨੧)	ਅਬ ਮੋਹਿ ਮਨ ਆਇ	455
—	—	ਜਨ ਕੀ ਪੈਜ ਸਵਾਰੀ	ਹਰਿਗੋਵਿਦ ਰਾਖਿਓ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ	467

		(ਚਉ. ੨੪)		
ਧਨਾਸਰੀ	ਮ. ੪	ਚਉਰਾਸੀਹ ਸਿਧ ਬੁਧ ਤੇਤੀਸ	ਜਪਿ ਮਨ ਰਾਮੈ ਨਾਮ	572
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੧੦) ਸੇਵਕ ਸਿਖ ਪੂਜਨ ਸਭਿ	ਬੋਲਹੁ ਭਾਈ ਹਰਿ ਕੀਰਤਿ	572
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੧੧) ਇਛਾ ਪੂਰਕੁ ਸਰਬ ਸੁਖ	ਜਪਿ ਮਨ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਸਦਾ	572
—	ਮ. ੫	(ਚਉ. ੧੨) ਸਿਮਰਿਓ ਸਿਮਰਿ ਸਿਮਰਿ	ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਬਚਨ ਬਸੈ ਜੀਅ	580
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੩੨) ਭਏ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲ ਦਇਆਲ	ਸੰਤਨ ਕਉ ਅਨਦੁ ਸਗਲ	580
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੩੩) ਦਰਬਵੰਤ ਦਰਬੁ ਦੇਖਿ	ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਅਪੁਨੀ ਓਟ	580
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੩੪) ਜਾ ਕਉ ਹਰਿ ਰੰਗੁ ਲਾਗੋ	ਠਾਕੁਰ ਗਾਈਐ ਆਤਮ ਰੰਗਿ	580
ਤਿਲੰਗ	ਮ. ੫	(ਚਉ. ੩੫) ਤੁਧੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਦੂਜਾ ਨਾਹਿ ਕੋਇ	ਸਭ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ	681
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੨) ਕਰਤੇ ਕੁਦਰਤੀ ਮੁਸਤਾਕ	ਕਰਤਾ ਕੁਦਰਤੇ ਮੁਸਤਾਕ	681
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੩) ਮੀਰਾਦਾਨਾ ਦਿਲ ਸੋਚ	ਦੀਦਾਨੇ ਦੀਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ	682
ਗੋਂਡ	ਮ. ੫	(ਚਉ. ੪) ਜਾ ਕੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਏਹੁ ਮਨੁ	ਜਾ ਕੈ ਦਰਸਨ ਏਹ ਮਨੁ	689
ਸੂਹੀ 7	ਮ. ੫	(ਚਉ. ੬) ਬਹਤੀ ਜਾਤ ਕਦੇ ਦ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ 1	ਮਾਧਵੇ ਭਜੁ ਦਿਨ ਨਿਤ ਰੈਨੀ 3	
ਰਾਮਕਲੀ	ਮ. ੫	(ਚਉ. ੩੩) ਰਾਜਾ ਰਾਮ ਕੀ ਸਰਣਾਈ	ਜਾ ਕੈ ਰਾਮਬਸਹਿ ਮਨ	837
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੫੩) ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੋ ਥੀਆ	ਪੂਤ ਕਲਤ ਲਖਮੀ ਦੀਸੈ	838
—	—	(ਚਉ. ੫੫) ਰੂਪ ਰੰਗ ਸੁਗੰਧ ਭੋਗ	ਭੰਡਾਰ ਦਰਬ ਅਰਬ ਖਰਬ	838
ਮਲਾਰ	ਮ. ੪	(ਚਉ. ੫੮) ਹਰਿ ਜਨ ਬੋਲਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਮ (ਚਉ. ੮)	ਹਰਿਧਨੁ ਵਣਜਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਸੰਚਹੁ	1159

identical to the *Àdi Granth,* yet the text in the manuscript has been started from a different line. It is very obvious that index lines have come from an original source i.e., the *Àdi Granth,* but in the text the scribe has brought various innovations. Evidently, difference in the index lines and text confirms that variants in the text of MS # 1245 are due to the scribe's innovation or arbitrariness. On the basis of above variants to conclude that Guru Arjan has modified the text in the final version, is not based on facts.

12.6. Some hymns of the manuscript have been recorded in more

than one mode.[1] For instance, there is a hymn (ਜੋ ਦੀਸੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖੜਾ) in *Suhì* which has been repeated in *Tilang* also. Though, information to take it to *Suhì* has been provided in the margin, yet it has been argued that since the language and style of *Tilang* hymns of Guru Arjan pre-supposes a Muslim audience, consequently it has been shifted to *Suhì,* where it fits well with the preceding hymns of Guru Nanak.[2] Significantly a *Dhanāsarì* hymn of Guru Ram Das has also been repeated in *Tilang.* Why has it been shifted to *Dhanāsarì* ? No explanation is forthcoming. Similarly, an apocryphal hymn in *Tilang* (ਨਿਰਮਲਾ ਸੁਖ ਗੀਤ ਸ਼ੁਆਮੀ) attributed to *Mahalā* 5, does not fit well in the *Tilang* hymns, linguistically and thematically,[3] yet it has not been taken to any other mode. Actually, the variants resulting from the hymns recorded in more than one *rāga* are also due to the scribe or musicians associated with him. It is highly probable that in the musical tradition of the scribe, the hymns which have been recorded in duplicate were sung in more than one musical mode.

12.7. On close scrutiny, we observe that the scribe has brought in several modifications which are of a musicological nature and intentional as well. Replacement of syllables and phrases with alternatives or synonyms is not uncommon. Sometimes they have been dropped altogether. For instance, there is a hymn of Guru Arjan in *Srì rāga* (ਮਨ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਜੀਉ ਮਿਤ੍ਰਾ) where in the text *jìo* (ਜੀਉ) has been dropped but in the index it is extant.[4] Similarly in a *Mājh* hymn (ਆਉ ਸਾਜਨ ਸੰਤ ਮੀਤ ਪਿਆਰੇ) *prìtam* (ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ) has been brought in place of *mìt* (ਮੀਤ).[5] Instances of reshuffling of the text not only within a hymn but even in a line are also available. The scribe likes to recall a *saloka* as ^*akhnā* (ਡਖਣਾ).[6] At places he has not only introduced various fillers but has added, ਵੇ, ਰੇ, ਜੀ etc., as vocatives,[1] simply to add flavour to the music. He has converted the stanzas of an *as_padì* into *pau~ìs.* Similarly,

1. See supra footnote 4, 5 and 6, p. 198.
2. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 127.
3. For the text of hymn in question, see infra Appendix V.
4. See index and text of *Sri rāga,* folios 42, 92.
5. See index and text of *Mājh,* folios 105, 113.
6. For example, see the text of *Gau~ì kì Vār,* M.5, folios 323-324, 327 and text of *Jaitsarì kì Vār,* M.5, folios 598-602.

contrary to the *Àdi Granth* tradition, the beat or tune of *Dhamāl* for singing has been indicated.[2] Such variants indicate that the text of MS # 1245 has developed in close proximity to a musical tradition, hence the musicians associated with the scribe have brought in modifications to suit their requirements. Therefore, to conclude that Guru Arjan has modified the text in final version, is not justified by facts.

12.8. The text of the *Japujì* is full of variants. Some of the variants viz., ਉਤਰੈ, ਕਿਉ, ਜੀਉ, ਤਿਉ, ਕਉਣ, ਪਉਣ, ਦੇਖਾ, ਸਿਪਤੀ, ਅੰਬ੍ਰਿਤ, ਕਾਜੀਆ etc., said to be colloquial expressions, in fact have come to exist due to the dialectal bias or habits of the scribe. Similarly, some of the variants, such as ਮੈ, ਹਉ, ਤਾ etc., have been brought in as fillers to serve the purpose of vocatives. Yet another category of variants viz., ਮਿਤ (ਮਤਿ), ਸਿਥਤਿ (ਸਿਫਤਿ), ਸਮ੍ਰਤ (ਸਿਮ੍ਰਤ), ਅਸੁਰਮੋ (ਅਸੁਲੂ) etc., are scribal mistakes which have crept into it due to casualness on the part of scribe. The text of *Japujì* of this manuscript resembles closely the version used by Harji for his *Japu Parmārth.*[3] It is important to note that most of the old manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth* have preserved a note, namely ਜਪੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਮਦਾਸ ਜੀਉ ਕਿਆ ਦਸਖਤਾ ਕਾ ਨਕਲੁ which helps us to establish the pedigree or anteriority of a manuscript. But in the case of MS # 1245, it is totally missing. Absence of the above note coupled with its common variants with the *Japu Parmārthu* of Harji, clearly indicate that the text of *Japujì* recorded in MS # 1245 has not come from the main Sikh scribal tradition. Consequently, to conclude on the basis of this manuscript that Guru Arjan has modified the language of the *Japujì,* is not borne out by facts.

12.9. A close perusal of MS # 1245 reveals that its text is full of musicological variants. We note that its sequence of *rāgas* does not conform to the *Àdi Granth* pattern. Unlike the *Àdi Granth* music tradition, the composite mode of *Parbhātì Bibhās* (ਪ੍ਰਭਾਤੀ ਬਿਭਾਸ) has found no mention in MS # 1245. Contrary to the Sikh

1. Confer *Srì rāga chhants* of M.1 and M.4, folio 42 and *Gau~ì* M.1, hymn No. 19, folio 166.

2. See the text of *Bilāwal,* folio 797.

3. For Harji's *Japu Parmārth,* see MS ã 427, Khalsa College Amritsar; also see *Janamsākhì Srì Guru Nānak Dev Jì* (ed. Kirpal Singh), Vol. II, pp. 261-297.

tradition the *Basant* mode hymns in it, do not carry any reference to *Basantu Hindol* (ਬਸੰਤੁ ਹਿੰਡੋਲ). Similarly, the hymns which have been recorded in the *Dakhanì* modes of the *Àdi Granth,* namely *Bilāval Chhant Dakhanì* (ਬਿਲਾਵਲ ਛੰਤ ਦਖਣੀ),[1] *Māru Solhe Dakhanì* (ਮਾਰੁ ਸੋਲਹੇ ਦਖਣੀ),[2] *Parbhātì Dakhanì* (ਪ੍ਰਭਾਤੀ ਦਖਣੀ)[3] do not find any room in MS # 1245. A *chhant* in the *Àdi Granth* has been recorded under *Gaurì* (ਗਉੜੀ) mode whereas MS ã 1245 has referred to it under the *Gau~ì Poorbì* (ਗਉੜੀ ਪੂਰਬੀ) mode.[4] In comparison to the *Àdi Granth* indication to *partāl* (ਪੜਤਾਲ) and *kāfi* (ਕਾਫੀ) have been omitted in it.[5] Instances of hymns recorded in more than one *rāga* are also present.[6] There are so many hymns which take off from a different line than that of the *Àdi Granth.* The *Àdi Granth* has preserved some tunes for singing such as :

i)	ਗਉੜੀ ਬੈਰਾਗਨਿ ਰਹੋਏ ਕੇ ਛੰਤ ਕੇ ਘਰਿ	*(AGGS, p. 203)*
ii)	ਆਸਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ ਬਿਰਹਜੇ ਘਰੁ ੪ ਛੰਤਾ ਕੀ ਜਤਿ	*(Ibid., p. 431)*
iii)	ਬਿਲਾਵਲੁ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ ਯਾਨਜ਼ੀਏ ਕੈ ਘਰਿ	*(Ibid., p. 802)*

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

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

13.1. On the basis of a few common variants it has been suggested that the text of MS # 1245 represents an inter-mediary stage between the Goindwal *Pothìs* and the *Àdi Granth.*[1] It has been reiterated that "the preparation of this earlier draft was based

1. *AGGS,* p. 843.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 1033.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 1343.
4. MS # 1245, folio 260.
5. *Ibid.,* folios 715, 769, 942, 1066.
6. See infra Appendix IV.

upon the Goindwal *Pothìs* ".[2] According to Gurinder Singh Mann, "It seems likely that the GNDU *Pothì* was copied directly from the Goindwal *Pothìs* and then used as a source for the Kartarpur *Pothì* ".[3] On close examination, we find that these are the general statements whose veracity does not stand the test of comparative analysis. For example :

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

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

iii) The modes of *rāgas* employed in the Goindwal *Pothìs,* especially the composite ones, namely ਸੂਹੀ ਦਖਣੀਠ ਸੂਹੀ ਜਿਗੁਰੁਠ ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਲਲਤਠ ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਦਖਣੀਠ ਭੈਰਉ ਦਖਣੀਠ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਦਖਣੀਠ ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਪਸਤੋ ਮਰੂ ਗਡਾਓਠ ਬਸੰਤ ਦਖਣੀ etc., have not found any mention in MS ã 1245.

iv) The tunes mentioned for singing in the Goindwal *Pothìs,* such as ਆਵਹੋ ਸਜਨਾ ਦਰਸਨੁ ਦੇਖਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਰਾਮ, have found no reference in MS # 1245.

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

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

vii) The *Kachì-bānì* writings attributed to M.1 and M.4 that form part of *Tilang* and *Dhanāsarì* modes respectively of the Goindwal *Pothìs,*[4] have not found their way into MS ã 1245, the so-called earlier draft.

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

ix) The compositions of Gulam Sada Sewak penned under the *chhāp* of 'Nanik' which form part of the Goindwal *Pothìs,*[1] have found no acceptance with the scribe of MS ã 1245.

1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 23.

2. *Ibid.,* p. 157.

3. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 87.

4. For the text of hymns in question see, *Ahìyāpur Pothì,* folios 127, 184.

x) There are about 12 hymns of the Sikh Gurus on which both the sources differ over the issue of their authorship.[2]

xi) The text of *Anandu* of M.3 in *Rāmkalì* mode and its arrangement is quite at variance in both the sources.[3]

xii) There are a number of hymns whose text takes off differently in both the sources.[4]

xiii) Besides the *vārs,* over 70 hymns of M.1 and M.3 which form part of various *rāgas* of MS # 1245, are absent in the corresponding *rāgas* of the Goindwal *Pothìs.*[5]

13.2. These are some of the most prominent features which set apart both the sources from one and another. This evidence can not be ignored in any manner to establish a relationship, if any, between the Goindwal *Pothìs* and MS # 1245. The very presence of these variants indicates that MS # 1245 has not descended from the Goindwal *Pothìs.* However, inorder to satisfy the inqusitive mind that whether the text of MS # 1245 has been copied directly from the Goindwal *Pothìs* or not, a comparative study of the text which is peculiar to these two documents will suffice our purpose. Firstly, we take into account a *Kachì-bānì* composition (ਕਰਿ ਲਾਲਚੁ ਮਨ ਲੋਭਾਣਾ) which occurs only in these two sources.[6] On comparison, we observe that its text in both the sources instead of being identical carries a number of variants such as :

Line	*Ahìyāpur Pothì*	MS # 1245
1	ਲਾਲਚ	ਲਾਲਚੁ
4	ਧਰਮਰਾਇ	ਧਰਮ ਰਾਓ
—	ਮਾਗੈ	ਮੰਗੈ
—	ਦੇਈ	ਰੋਈ
Line	*Ahìyāpur Pothì*	MS # 1245
5	ਕਰਨਪਲਾਵ	ਕਰਣਪਲਾਵ
—	ਕਰੇ	ਕਰੈ
6	ਨਾਨਿਕ	ਨਾਨਕ
—	ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ	ਪ੍ਰਭ

1. For the writings of Gulam, see supra Appendix IV, chap. 3.
2. For differences over the authorship compare Appendix I, chap. 3; also see supra 4.1, chap. 4.
3. For the text of stanza No. 26 and 27 of MS # 1245, see supra 12.2, chap. 4; also see Gurinder Singh Mann, *Goindvāl Pothìs,* pp. 185-86.
4. Compare Appendix II, chap. 3; also see supra 12.3, chap. 4.
5. See supra Appendix III, chap. 3.
6. *Ahìyāpur Pothì,* folios 30-32; MS # 1245, folio 748.

7	ਲਾਲਚ	ਲਾਲਚੁ
—	ਜੀ	x
8	ਜਿ	ਜਾ
—	ਧਿਆਇਸੀ	ਧਿਆਸੀ
10	ਸੰ	ਸੰਤ
11	ਇਦ੍ਰਿਕ	ਇਦ੍ਰਿਦਕ
12	ਗੁਰ	ਗੁਰ
—	ਆਪਨੇ	ਆਪਨੇ
—	ਉਤਮੁ	ਉਤਮ
13	ਮਨਮੁਖਿ	ਮਨਮੁਖੁ
14	ਸਾਗਰੁ	ਸਰੁ
15	ਪੰਚਿ ਪਚਿ	ਪਚਿ ਪਚਿ
—	ਜਿਉ	ਜੀ
16	ਭਰਮ	ਭਸਮ
—	ਭਇਆ	ਭੈਇਆ
17	ਗੁਰਿ	ਗੁਰ
—	ਗੋਪਾਲਿ	ਗੋਪਾਲ
19	ਪ੍ਰਿਭ	ਪ੍ਰਭ
—	ਭਇਆ	ਪਾਇਆ
—	ਜੀ	x
20	ਸਤਗੁਰ	ਸਤਿਗੁਰ
21	ਅੰਬ੍ਰਿਤੁ	ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ
22	ਅਵਨਾ ਗਵਨਾ	ਆਵਨ ਗਵਨ
—	ਲੋੜਾ	ਲੋੜੁ
—	ਦਹੈ	ਦਹੇ
23	ਕਬਹੂ ਨ	ਨ ਕਬਹੂ
24	ਨਾਨਿਕ	ਨਾਨਕ

13.3. The above study confirms that in a 24 lines text as much
as 35 variants relating to spellings, syllables and phrases have
crept into the text of MS # 1245. Similar is the case with another
hymn (ਜਪ ਤਪ ਕਾ ਬੰਧੁ ਬੇੜਲਾ) which has been attributed to M.3 in
both the sources. For example :

Line	*Ahìyāpur Pothì*	MS # 1245
1	ਬੇੜੁਲਾ	ਬੇੜੋਲਾ
—	ਲੰਘੈਹਿ	ਲਘਹਿ
2	ਨ	ਨਾਹੀ
3	ਨਾਉ	ਨਾਮ
Line	*Ahìyāpur Pothì*	MS # 1245
4	x	ਤੂ
—	ਸਦਰਗਿ	ਸਦਰੰਗ
5	ਪਿਆਰਿਆ	ਪਿਆਰੇਆ
—	ਕਿਉ	ਕਿਵ

6	ਗੀਠੜੀਐ	ਗਠੜੀਐ
8	ਆਵਾਗਉਣ	ਆਵਾਗਵਣੂ
—	ਨਿਵਾਰੀਐ	ਨਿਵਾਰਿਆ
—	ਹੈ ਸਾਚਾ	ਸਾਚਾ ਹੈ
10	ਸਹੁ	ਫਲੂ
—	ਅੰਬ੍ਰਿਤ	ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤ
11	ਨਾਨਿਕੁ	ਨਾਨਕੁ
—	ਸਹੇਲੀਓ	ਸਹੇਲੀਹੋ
12	ਹਮ ਸਾ	ਹਮ ਸਹ
—	ਸਚਾ	ਸਾਚਾ

It is evident, as many as 18 variants are present in the text of above hymn. There is absolutely no doubt that the result of study carried out into the relation of other compositions would be different. It is crystal clear that the spellings, syllables and phrases employed to record the text in both the sources are quite at variance. Such a high degree of textual variants, restrains us to conclude that the text of MS # 1245 has been copied directly from the Goindwal *Pothìs.*

XIV. MS # 1245 VIS-A-VIS THE *ÀDI GRAÅTH*

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

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1. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 87.
2. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* pp. 118, 140.

comparison of the corresponding text in these sources. For the scholars who are interested in textual criticism, a study into the variants found in a Tilang mode hymn (ਯਕ ਅਰਜ ਗੁਫਤਮ) of Guru Nanak promises interesting results. For example in the text of hymn in question we come across the variants such as :

Line	*Ahiyapur Pothi*	MS # 1245	*Adi Granth*
1	ਇਕ	ਯਕਿ	ਯਕ
—	ਗੁਫਤੰ	ਗੁਫਤਮ	ਗੁਫਤਮ
—	ਪੇਸਿ	ਪੇਸ	ਪੇਸਿ
—	ਤੂ	ਤੋ	ਤੋ
—	ਕੂ	ਕੁਨੁ	ਕੁਨ
2	ਹਾਕਾ	ਹਕਾ	ਹਕਾ
—	ਕਮੀਰੁ	ਕਬੀਰ	ਕਬੀਰ
—	ਕਰੀਮੁ	ਕਰੀਮ	ਕਰੀਮ
—	ਬ ਐਬ	ਬੇ ਐਬ	ਬੇ ਐਬ
—	ਪਰਬਦਗਾਰ	ਪਰਵਦਗਾਰ	ਪਰਵਦਗਾਰ
4	ਤਹਕੀਕੁ	ਤਹਕੀਕ	ਤਹਕੀਕ
5	ਦਿਲ	ਦਲ	ਦਿਲ
—	ਮਮ	X	ਮਮ
—	ਸਰ	X	ਸਰ
—	ਮੂਅ	X	ਮੁਇ
—	ਅਜਰਾਈਲ	X	ਅਜਰਾਈਲ
—	ਗਿਰਫਤੰ	X	ਗਿਰਫਤਹਿ
—	ਦਿਲਿ	X	ਦਿਲ
—	ਹਿਚਿ	X	ਹੇਚਿ
—	ਨ	X	ਨਿ
—	ਦਾਨੀ	X	ਦਾਨੀ
6	ਪਿਸਰਿ	ਪਿਸਰ	ਪਿਸਰ
—	ਪਿਦਰਿ	ਪਦਰ	ਪਦਰ
—	ਬਿਰਾਦਰਾਹ	ਬਿਰਾਦਰਾ	ਬਿਰਾਦਰਾਂ
—	ਕੌ	ਕ	ਕਸ
—	ਨੇਸਿ	ਨੇਸ	ਨੇਸ
7	ਬਿਰਖਤੰ	ਗਿਰਫਤਮ	ਬਿਅਫਤਮ
—	ਆਖਰਿ	ਆਖਰਿ	ਆਖਿਰ
—	ਦਾਨਦਿ	ਦਾਨਦ	ਦਾਰਦ
—	ਚੋ	ਚੁ	ਚੁੰ
—	ਸਬਦਿ	ਸਵਦ	ਸਵਦ
—	ਤਕਦੀਰ	ਤਦਬੀਰ	ਤਕਬੀਰ
8	ਸਭੁ	ਸਭ	ਸਭ
—	ਰੋਜ	ਰਜੋ	ਰੋਜ
—	ਗਾਸਤੰ	ਗਾਸਤਮ	ਗਾਸਤਮ

Line	Ahiyapur Pothi	MS # 1245	Ādi Granth
8	ਦਰਿ	ਦਰ	ਦਰ
—	ਹਵਾਲ	ਹਵਾ	ਹਵਾ
—	ਕਰਦੰ	ਕਰਦਮ	ਕਰਦੇਮ
—	ਬਦਿ	ਬਦੀ	ਬਦੀ
9	ਸਾਹੇ	ਗਾਹੇ	ਗਾਹੇ
—	ਕਰਦੰ	ਕਰਦਮ	ਕਰਦਮ
—	ਮਮ	ਮਨ	ਮਮ
—	ਏ	ਈ	ਈ
—	ਚਨੀ	ਚਿਨੀ	ਚਿਨੀ
—	ਹਵਾਲ	ਅਹਵਾਲ	ਅਹਵਾਲ
10	ਬਦਿਬਖਤ	ਬਦਬਖਤੰ	ਬਦਬਖਤ
—	ਹਮਚ	ਹਮਚੁ	ਹਮਚੁ
—	ਗਾਫਿਲ	ਗਾਫਲ	ਗਾਫਿਲ
—	ਨਾਨਿਕੁ	ਨਾਨਕ	ਨਾਨਕ
—	ਬੁਗੋਅੰ	ਬੁਗੋਇਦ	ਬੁਗੋਯਦ
—	ਜਨ	ਜਨ	ਜਨੁ
—	ਤਰਾ	ਤੁਰਾ	ਤੁਰਾ
—	ਪਇ	ਪਾਇ	ਪਾ
—	ਖਾਕ	ਖਾਕੁ	ਖਾਕ

14.2. The above study confirms that nearly 54 variants have crept into the text of above hymn. The presence of such a large number of variants coupled with variant readings reveal that neither the text of MS # 1245 is a direct copy of the Goindwal *Pothis* nor it has been a source for the *Àdi Granth.* Besides one can not fail to take note that the fifth line of the above hymn is missing in the text of MS # 1245, whereas the Goindwal *Pothis* and the *Àdi Granth* have preserved it. It refutes the claim that MS # 1245 provides an earlier form of the text.

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

Ahiyapur Pothi	MS # 1245	Ādi Granth
ਗਗਨ ਮਹਿ ਥਾਲੁ ਰਵਿ ਚੰਦ ਦੀਪਕ ਬਨੇ ਤਾਰਿਕਾ ਮੰਡਲੋ ਜਨਕ ਮੋਤੀ ॥	ਗਗਨ ਮਹਿ ਥਾਲੁ ਰਵਿ ਚੰਦ ਦੀਪਕ ਬਨੇ ਤਾਰਿਕਾ ਮੰਡਲ **ਜਨ** ਮੋਤੀ ॥	ਗਗਨ ਮੈ ਥਾਲੁ ਰਵਿ ਚੰਦੁ ਦੀਪਕ ਬਨੇ ਤਾਰਿਕਾ ਮੰਡਲ ਜਨਕ ਮੋਤੀ ॥
ਧੂਪ ਮਨਿਆਨਲੋ ਪਉਣ ਚਉਰੋ ਕਰੇ ਸਗਲ ਬਨਰਾਇ ਫੁਲਤ ਜੋਤੀ ॥	ਧੂਪ **ਮਨਆਨਲੋ ਪਵਨ ਚੰਵਰੋ** ਕਰੇ ਸਗਲ ਬਨਰਾਇ ਫੁਲੰਤ ਜੋਤੀ ॥	ਧੂਪ ਮਲਆਨਲੋ ਪਵਣੁ ਚਵਰੋ ਕਰੇ ਸਗਲ ਬਨਰਾਇ ਫੁਲੰਤ ਜੋਤੀ ॥੧॥

Ahiyapur Pothi	**MS a 1245**	*Àdi Granth*
ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ ਭਉ ਖੰਡਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ॥	ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ ਭਉ ਖੰਡਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ॥	ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ ਭਵ ਖੰਡਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ ॥
ਅਨਹਤਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਵਜੰਤ ਭੇਰੀ ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥	**ਅਨਹਦਾ** ਸਬਦੁ **ਬਾਜੰਤ** ਭੇਰੀ **ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ** ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥	ਅਨਹਤਾ ਸਬਦ ਵਾਜੰਤ ਭੇਰੀ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਨੈਨ ਨਨਾ ਨੈਨ ਹੈ ਤੋਹਿ ਕਉ ਸਹਸ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਨਾ ਏਕੁ ਤੁਹੀ ॥	**ਸਹੰਸ ਤਰਵ** ਨੈਨ ਨਨ ਨੈਨ ਹੈ ਤੋਹਿ **ਕੰਉ ਸਹੰਸ** ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਨਾ **ਏਕਿ ਤੂ ਹੀ** ॥	ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਨੈਨ ਨਨ ਨੈਨ ਹੈ ਤੋਹਿ ਕਉ ਸਹਸ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਨਾ ਏਕ ਤੋਹੀ ॥
ਸਹਸ ਪਦ ਬਿਬਲ ਨਨਾ ਏਕ ਪਦ ਗੰਧ ਬਿਨ ਸਹੰਸ ਗੰਧਿ ਇਵ ਚਲਤ ਮੋਹੀ ॥੨॥	ਸਹੰਸ ਪਦ ਬਿਮਲ ਨਨ ਏਕ ਪਦ ਗੰਧ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਹੰਸ ਤਵ ਗੰਧ ਇਵ ਚਲਤ ਮੋਹੀ **ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ** ॥੨॥	ਸਹਸ ਪਦ ਬਿਮਲ ਨਨ ਏਕ ਪਦ ਗੰਧ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਗੰਧ ਇਵ ਚਲਤ ਮੋਹੀ ॥੨॥
ਸ੍ਰਬ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਹੈ ਸੋਇ ਜਿਸ ਕੈ ਚਾਨਣਿ ਸਰਬ ਮਹਿ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਹੋਇ ॥	ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਹੈ ਸੋਇ ਤਿਸ ਕੈ ਚਾਨਣਿ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ **ਚਾਨਣ** ਹੋਇ ॥	ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਹੈ ਸੋਇ ॥ ਤਿਸ ਕੈ ਚਾਨਣਿ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਹੋਇ ॥
ਗੁਰਸਾਖੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਪਰਗਾਟੁ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਜੋ ਤਿਸ ਭਾਵੈ ਸਾ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ ॥੩॥	ਗੁਰਸਾਖੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਪਰਗਾਟੁ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੁ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ ॥੩॥	ਗੁਰ ਸਾਖੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਪਰਗਾਟੁ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੁ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ ॥੩॥
ਹਰਿ ਚਰਨ ਕਵਲ ਮਰਕੰਦ ਲੋਭਿਤ ਮਨੋ ਅਨਦਿਨੋ ਮੋਹਿ ਆਇਹੀ ਪਿਆਸਾ ॥	ਹਰਿ ਚਰਨ ਕਮਲ ਮਕਰੰਦ ਲੋਭਿਤ ਮਨੋ ਅਨਦਿਨੇ ਮੋਹਿ **ਇਆਹੀ** ਪਿਆਸਾ ॥	ਹਰਿ ਚਰਣ ਕਮਲ ਮਕਰੰਦ ਲੋਭਿਤ ਮਨੋ ਅਨਦਿਨੋ ਮੋਹਿ ਆਹੀ ਪਿਆਸਾ ॥
ਕਿਰਪਾ ਜਲੁ ਦੇਹ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਰੰਗ ਕਉ ਹੋਇ ਜਾ ਤੇ ਤੇਰੈ ਨਾਇ ਵਾਸਾ ॥੪॥	ਕਿਰਪਾ ਜਲ ਦੇਹਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਰੰਗ **ਕੰਉ** ਹੋਇ **ਜਾਇ**[1] ਜਾਤੇ ਤੇਰੈ ਨਾਮਿ ਵਾਸਾ ॥੪॥	ਠਿਪਾ ਜਲੁ ਦੇਹਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਰੰਗ ਕਉ ਹੋਇ ਜਾ ਤੇ ਤੇਰੈ ਨਾਮਿ ਵਾਸਾ ॥੪॥

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

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1. Emphasis is mine which refers to the variants that are not present either in the *Ahiyapur Pothi* or the *AGGS.*

sources have not descended one after the other rather represent three different recensions of the Sikh tradition.

XV. *MÂL-MAÅTRA*

15.1. In MS # 1245 the shorter as well as full form of invocation has been employed. Whereas the full form of *Mul-Mantra* has been used very sparingly, the shorter one occurs frequently at the head of indexes, *ragas* and various sub-sections. The full form is quite distinct from the present version found recorded in the *Àdi Guru Granth Sahib.* Though, the authenticity of the Goindwal *Pothis* is highly vulnerable on many counts, yet some scholars feel that the *Mul-Mantra* found recorded in them represents its earlier form.[1] Without any sound evidence they have also come to assume that earlier form of *Mul-Mantra* first witnessed change in the hands of Guru Ram Das and later Guru Arjan worked over its text in successive drafts to give it its final form.[2] Since MS # 1245 has been at the centre of the above formulations, consequently to analyse the issue we have to look at the various versions of *Mul-Mantra* found recorded in it. The full form of invocation which is available at six places throughout the whole manuscript, has the following four different versions :

i) ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਓ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ[3]

ii) ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਓ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ[4]

iii) ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਓ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ॥ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ[5]

iv) ੧ਓ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਓ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ[6]

The short form found inscribed at various places also has the

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1. Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* pp. 417-420; Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 93; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 85-86.
2. Pashaura Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 86.
3. It is found recorded at the beginning of *Japuji* and *Gauri* mode, see folios 27, 160.
4. It is available at the head of *raga Àsa,* folio 344.
5. It occurs at the head of *Onkar* M.1 in *Ramkali,* folio 867.
6. It has been inscribed at the head of chart of death-dates, folio 1255.

following four different forms :

   v) ੧ੳਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ[1]

  vi) ੧ੳਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ[2]

 vii) ੧ੳਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ[3]

viii) ੧ੳਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ[4]

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

15.3. The most distinctive variant in the above two versions is *Satiguru Parsadi* (ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ) which has been brought in place of *Gur Parsadi* (ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ). It indicates that instead of God, the scribe desired to lay stress upon the grace of the personal Guru. Reference to *Sri Satiguru* (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ) or *Satiguru* (ਸਤਿਗੁਰ) reflects the scribe's bias for the personal Guru, which points towards his sectarian connection. Significantly, emphasis on ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ or ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ is also one of the most distinctive features of the *Mina* literature.[5] It again leads us to suggest that either the scribe was closely associated or was under the strong influence of the *Minas.*

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

XVI. ORTHOGRAPHY AND THE SCRIBE

16.1. The orthography and the spellings of *Gurmukhi* of this manuscript are some of the other features which have been taken into account to prove its earlier origin.[1] Since orthographic characteristics of a script do not change in a short span of time, consequently on the basis of orthographic features alone, it is very difficult to pin-point the precise age of a document. Secondly, it is highly probable that due to regional, dialectal or personal bias the scribe may not be following the prevalent method of writing in its totality. We observe that the scribe of this manuscript has developed a distinct style of orthography. For instance some of the consonants, namely ਹ, ਚ, ਛ, ਣ, ਲ and ਯ are of peculiar shape. The vowel of *ura* (ੳ) invariably occurs with an open mouth (ੳ). For the vowel sign of *kanna* (ਕੰਨਾ) a dot has been employed, which has been picked up to prove its earlier origin. Besides the dot, the use of half *kanna* which is visible almost at every folio has been overlooked by the scholars to describe its orthographic features. In fact it points to a transitional stage in the development of *Gurmukhi* orthography when the full vertical stroke (ਡੰਡੀ) has not yet come into use for the sign of *kanna.* The distinct orthographic features of this manuscript, such as use of the dot for *kanna* and *u~a* with an open mouth, are identical to the *Hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur.[2] Thus, the orthography instead of proving it to be an old manuscript, points to its origin somewhere in the second half of 17th century C.E.

16.2. The scribe of this manuscript has been assumed to be a close associate of Guru Amar Das, possibly Bhai Gurdas.[3] The description of Guru Amar Das' death in eulogistic manner has been taken as a proof to establish its scribe's identity with Bhai Gurdas. Since, the orthographic style of *Kartarpuri Bi~* is quite distinct from that of MS # 1245, consequently to resolve the above contradiction, Pashaura Singh has remarked that Bhai Gurdas may have further improved his hand-writing by the time

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1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 27; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 77.
2. Ganda Singh, *Hukamname,* pp. 72, 110, 114, 116, 118.
3. Pashaura Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 28.

PLATE X

Folio 320 of MS a 1245 showing the text filled in later on by the secondary scribe.

PLATE XI

Folio 1059 of MS a 1245 depicting the penmanship of another scribe.

PLATE XII

Another folio 576 of MS # 1245 presenting the modern style of *Gurmukhi* letters.

he wrote the final draft of the *Àdi Granth*.[1] As any devout Sikh of the third Guru can be expected to use the above type of terminology for him, consequently in no way it can be attributed to Bhai Gurdas alone. Actually, these are wild conjectures which find no support in any internal or external evidence. Besides, the orthography of this manuscript indicates that not just one but more than two scribes have been employed to assist the primary scribe.[2] There are numerous folios which have been recorded in the hand of the secondary scribe. Similarly, there is no scarcity of places where the incomplete text has not been filled in a different hand.[3] The orthography of the text completed later on instead of looking old seems to be of recent origin.[4] Obviously, the whole manuscript has not been recorded in a single hand and during a single span of time. Moreover, the manuscript contains no colophon indicating information on the scribe, consequently to associate it or its scribing with Bhai Gurdas, is not justified.

XVII. PERIOD OF SCRIBING

17.1. Although, the manuscript contains no colophon indicating the scribe, date and place of recording, yet on folio 1255 it has preserved the chart of the death-dates of the first five Sikh Gurus,[5] which help us to determine its period of recording. In his enthusiasm to prove its earlier origin, Pashaura Singh remarks that the last date i.e., Samat 1663, Jeth Sudi 4 (1606 C.E.), relating to the demise of Guru Arjan has been inserted later on by the same scribe.[6] Unfortunately, this is not an honest deduction because all the relevant entries have been recorded with the same pen and bear the same shade of ink, and are in the same handwriting (see plate XIII). The idea of later insertion is only a made-up suggestion which has been floated

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1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 28.
2. For variation in the penmanship, see *Gujri,* folios 319-20; *Dhanasari,* folios 576-577, 582, 583; *Bhairo,* folios 1057-1067.
3. For example, look at folios 319-20, 577, 582, 773, 1057.
4. Especially, see *Dhanasari,* folios 576-77, 582-83.
5. See plate XIII, p. 235.
6. Pashaura Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 28.

PLATE XIII

Folio 1255 of MS a 1245 bearing the chart of death dates of the first five Sikh Gurus recorded in the hand of primary scribe.

only to prove the pre-conceived idea of earlier draft. Recently, he has come up with another novel idea that when Emperor Akbar met Guru Arjan towards the end of 1598 C.E., he had seen some collections of Sikh writings and perhaps it was the G.N.D. University manuscript under preparation at that time.[1]. Gurinder Singh Mann also puts its compilation before 1600 C.E.[2] Probably working at cross purposes these scholars tend to overlook the very fact relating to Guru Arjan's demise in 1606 C.E., which holds the key to determine its period of scribing. Since, the chart of dates of the death of Gurus has been an integral part of the manuscript from its very inception, consequently it cannot be ignored in anyway to decide its date. Arguably, it does not permit us to push back its compilation before 1606 C.E. In fact scores of writings, namely the *Ratanmala,* a *ha_h-yoga* treatise attributed to Guru Nanak, *swayye, funhe* and *chaubole* of Guru Arjan and *swayye* of Kalh Bhatt, have been recorded on the folios immediately following the chart of death dates.[3] It proves that the manuscript continued to be scribed even after the demise of Guru Arjan i.e., 1606 C.E.

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

1. Pashaura Singh, 'Guru Nanak Dev University Manuscript 1245', *International Journal of Punjab Studies,* 1,2 (1994), pp. 201-02.
2. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* p. 87.
3. For the text of these writings, see folios 1257-1267.

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

XVI. CONCLUSIONS

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

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1. G.B. Singh feels that the *Ratanmala* came to be included in the old manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth* prepared around 1675 C.E., see *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Bi~an,* p. 129; if we take into account the fact relating to preparation of Bhai Banno's recension, then 1640 C.E., seems to be the possible time for *Ratanmala* to find its way into the old manuscripts of the Sikh scripture. For discussion on Bhai Banno's recension, see Pritam Singh, 'Bhai Banno's Copy of the Sikh scripture' *JSS,* Vol. XI (August 1984), pp. 98-115, also see Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* pp. 231-245.

omissions, incomplete text, irregularities between the index and text, scribal and musical variants, violation of structural pattern, confusion about authorship, inclusion of *Kachi-ba@i* etc., which jeopardize its credentials as a genuine product of the main stream, have been taken to prove its earlier origin. Internal evidence indicates that the scribe has depended heavily on another source to prepare it. It is a neatly written document which unlike a draft is free from cutting and erasures. Obviously, such an attempt would not have been possible if the scribe had no access to another source. This manuscript has been considered an independent and sporadic attempt.[1] But to record such a voluminous work that too with illumination seems to be impossible in medieval times unless the scribe had the patronage of a group or an institution.[2] However, the issue remains as to who were the persons or group behind its compilation ?

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

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1. Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth and the Controversy*, pp. 120-21.
2. To prepare a manuscript, besides the labour of a scribe one has to pay for the paper, ink and binding. For the cost of a manuscript produced towards the end of 17th century, see Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Panjabi Hath Likhtan di Suchi,* Vol. I, p. 86.
3. To take stock of the above issues, have a close look at the apocryphal writings, see infra Appendix V.
4. *Gos_i Guru Miharvanu,* p. 175.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 343

comprised the panegyrics of Kalh Bhatt alone.[1] Significantly all the 32 *swayye* found recorded in this manuscript have also turned out to be the compositions of Kalh Bhatt. Moreover, in the full as well as short form of *Mul-Mantra,* this manuscript employs *Satiguru Parsadi* (ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ) or *Sri Satiguru Parsadi* (ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ) which is again a most distinctive feature of the *Mi@a Mul-Mantra.* The date of Guru Nanak's demise (Samat 1595, Assu vadi 10) found recorded in the chart of death-dates of this manuscript, though different from the one accepted in Sikh tradition, is the same which we find inscribed for the first time in *Mi@a* documents.[2] Attempts at forgery, fabrication and above all modus operandi to circulate the apocryphal writings, associate it with the dissenters within the Sikh Panth. It should be remembered that after preparing a compilation, Miharban had made copies of it, to distribute and install them in various establishments.[3] Its features common to the *Mi@a* tradition suggest that most probably this manuscript has originated in the above environment and sequence. To refute the above contention as well as to prove its earlier origin, it has been remarked that an extra-canonical hymn of it in the *Àsa* mode refers to the *Mi@as* for instigating Sulhi Khan to attack Guru Arjan's establishment.[4] It is totally unfounded as the composition in question carries no reference to Sulhi Khan.[5] Instead it alludes to the arrest and execution of a person, alongwith his followers by a ruler. Except Guru Arjan, these references do not fit well in the history of the *Minas.*

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

1. *Gosti Guru Miharvanu,* p. 343.
2. *Ibid.,* pp. 169-70; also see facsimile of Guru Har Sahai *Pothi,* at the end of introductory section in Giani Gurdit Singh, *Ithas Sri Guru Granth Sahib.*
3. *Gosti Guru Miharvanu,* p. 343.
4. Pashaura Singh, 'The Guru Nanak Dev University Manuscript 1245', p. 200; also see J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretations of the Sikh Tradition,* p. 259.
5. For the text of composition, see infra Appendix V, 3.3.

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

18.4. Its variants cammon to the *Mina* tradition lead us to suggest that it belongs to a text family which may have developed in close proximity to the *Mina* recension. The evidence at hand confirms that its scribe instead of depending on a single document has taken into account a number of sources. Whether it was the result of cross-fertilization between different recensions ? Or was it a cautious blend of various text families ? These are very

pertinent issues which are yet to be explored satisfactorily. Whatever may be the case, it is quite evident that on the one hand its scribe has tried to put together all the *Kachi-ba@i* writings attributed to the Sikh Gurus and on the other he has omitted from record the compositions that were in his full knowledge. On the basis of these facts we can argue that MS # 1245 was a deliberate act of editing on the part of its scribe or the patrons, who were weary of some writings that had been made part of the *Àdi Granth.* It means even after the establishment of canon in 1604 C.E., some sections within the Panth continued to compile collections of *Ba@i* that were not strictly canonical in nature. In which part of the Sikh world and among whom these type of collections were popular, are the issues which are wide open for the debate. Anyway, on the basis of textual analysis of MS a 1245, we can state that neither it is an 'earlier draft' nor it has served to be a source for editing the *Àdi Granth.* Rather it represents a different recension which was predominantly musical in nature.

APPENDIX I CHAP. 4
NOTE OF THE CHAWLAS APPENDED TO MS A 1245

ਆਦਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਬੀੜ
ਆਕਾਰ ਸਾਈਜ਼ 12" x 7"

ਵੇਰਵਾ— ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਵਿਚ ੫ ਪੱਤਰੇ ਸੁਨਹਿਰੀ ਹਨ। ਦੂਜੇ ਪੱਤਰੇ ਰਤੇ ਗੋਲਡਨ ਅਸ਼ਟਾਕਾਰੀ ਚੱਕਰ ਹੈ। ਤੀਜੇ ਪੱਤਰੇ ਰਤੇ ਇਕ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਬਾਬਤ ਕਿਹਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੁੱਢਾ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਕਰ ਕਮਲਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਚੌਥੇ ਪੱਤਰੇ ਰਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਹਰਿਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਦਸਤੇ ਮੁਬਾਰਕ ਨਾਲ ਨੀਸ਼ਾਣ ਮੰਗਲਾਚਰਨ ਹੈ।

ਲਿਖਾਈ ਆਦਿ ਤੋਂ ਅੰਤ ਤਕ ਬਹੁਤ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ ਹੈ। ਇਕ ਹੱਥ ਦੀ ਹੈ। ਸਭ ਥਾਂ ਕੰਨਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਜਗਜਾ ਬਿੰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਬੀੜ ਵਿਚ ਨੌਵੇਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਕਬੀਰ ਫਰੀਦ ਦੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਹੈ। ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਰਾਗਮਾਲਾ ਵੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਇਕ ਪੱਤਰੇ ਰਤੇ ਸਮਾਵਣੇ ਦਾ ਚਰਿਤ੍ਰ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਪੰਜਵੀਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਤਕ ਹੈ। ਪ੍ਰਭਾਤੀ ਮਹੱਲੇ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਸਲੋਕ ਵਾਰਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਅਗਲੇ ਪਤ੍ਰਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਵਾਰਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰਲੇ ਮਹਲਾ ੩ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਇਕ ਇਕ ਤੁਕ ਦਾ ਫਾਸਲਾ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਲਿਖੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਉਪਰੰਤ ਸਹੰਸਠਿਤੀ ਸਲੋਕ ਤੇ ਫੁਨਜੇ ਗਾਥਾ ਤੇ ਰਤਨਮਾਲਾ ਹੈ ਕੁਝ ਪੱਤਰੇ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਤੇਰਾਂ ਸਵੱਯੇ ਮਹਲੇ ਪੰਜ ਦੇ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਏਥੇ ਹੀ ਭੋਗ ਪਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ। ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤ ਭੇਦ ਹਨ। ਮੰਗਲਾਚਰਨ ਵਿਚ ਕਈ ਜਗਜਾ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਕਈਆਂ ਸਫ਼ਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਕਈ ਭੇਦ ਹਨ। ਸਵੱਯਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤ ਭੇਦ ਹਨ। ਬੀੜ ਬਹੁਤ ਵਚਿਤ੍ਰ ਭੇਦਾਂ ਭਰੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਲਿਸਟ ਨਾਲ ਨਮੂਨੇ ਵਜੋਂ ਕੁਝ ਕੈਮਰਾ ਫੋਟੋ ਨਾਲ ਨੱਥੀ ਕਰ ਦਿਤੇ ਹਨ।

ਆਰੰਭ ਵਿਚ ਮੂਲ ਮੰਤਰ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਤ੍ਵਾਦਿ ਸਚੁ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਸਚਰ ਦੀ ਤੁਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ।

ਹਰਭਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਹਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਚਾਵਲਾ
ਆਰਟ ਐਂਡ ਮੈਨੂਸਠਿਪਟਸ ਡੀਲਰਜ਼,
ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਮਾਈ ਸੇਵਾਂ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

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

ਮੈਂ ਹਰਭਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਚਾਵਲਾ, ਫ਼ਰਮ ਹਰਭਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਹਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਚਾਵਲਾ, ਬਾਗ ਜਲਿਆਂਵਾਲਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਪੁਰਾਤਨ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤਾਂ ਪੋਟਿੰਗਾਂ ਹੈਂਡੀ ਕਰਾਫਟ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। ਅਜ ਮਿਤੀ 5.5.93 ਵਾਰ ਬੁਧ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਭਾਈ ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਲਿਖਤ ਬਿਆਨ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹਾਂ।

ਜੋ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤ ਬੀੜ ਇਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਵਿਚ ਜੋ ਲਾਇਬਰੇਰੀ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਖਰੜਾ ਨੰ. 1245 ਹਥ ਲਿਖਤ ਬੀੜ ਹੈ, ਉਹ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ। ਉਸ 1245 ਨੰ. ਬੀੜ ਦਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਾਸ ਪਹੁੰਚਣ ਦਾ ਵੇਰਵਾ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਹੈ।

ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਕਾਰੋਬਾਰ ਦੇ ਸਬੰਧ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਨ 1979-1980 ਦੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਰਾਜਸਥਾਨ ਦਾ ਟੂਰ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਸ਼ੈਹਰ ਗਦਸਿੰਘ ਨਗਰ (ਗਜ ਸਿੰਘਪੁਰ) ਜ਼ਿਲਜਾ ਗੰਗਾਨਗਰ ਵਿਖੇ ਇਕ ਤੁਰਦੇ ਫਿਰਦੇ ਰੱਦੀ ਵੇਚਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਸਾਈਕਲ ਤੇ ਫੇਰੀ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ ਉਸ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੋਈ। ਉਸ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਇਸ ਬੀੜ ਬਾਰੇ ਪੁੱਛਣ ਤੇ ਇਹ ਪਤਾ ਲੱਗਿਆ ਕਿ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਪਿੰਡ ਦੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਘਰ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਰੱਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੀ ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀ। ਮੇਰੇ ਪਾਸ ਇਹ ਬੀੜ ਤਕਰੀਬਨ ਤਿੰਨ ਚਾਰ ਸਾਲ ਪਈ ਰਹੀ। ਇਸ ਅਰਸੇ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਪੁਰਾਤਨ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਾਚਨ ਦਾ ਸ਼ੌਕ ਰੱਖਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਇਕ ਭਾਈ ਕਰਨੈਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਬਤੌਰ ਅਖੰਡ ਪਾਠੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ, ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮੈਂਨੇ ਇਸ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤ ਦੇ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਕਰਾਏ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਦੱਸਣ ਲਈ ਆਖਿਆ। ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਜੋ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਦੱਸੇ, ਉਹ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤ ਦੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਨੋਟ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖ ਦਿੱਤੇ।

ਇਹ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਾਸੋਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਦੇ ਲਾਇਬ੍ਰੇਰੀਅਨ ਨੇ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਲਈ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੀ। ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਮਾਇਆ ਮੈਂਨੇ ਵਸੂਲ ਕਰ ਲਈ। ਇਸ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤ ਦੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਮੇਰੇ ਵਲੋਂ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਨੋਟ ਇਸ ਬੀੜ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਖੋਜ ਤੇ ਅਧਾਰਿਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਬਲਕਿ ਜੋ ਕੁਝ ਭਾਈ ਕਰਨੈਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਪਾਠੀ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਮੈਂਨੂੰ ਦਸਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਉਹ ਮੈਂਨੇ ਉਪਰ ਲਿਖ ਦਿੱਤਾ।

ਦਾਸ

ਹਰਭਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਚਾਵਲਾ

5.5.93

ਅਸਥਾਨ :–ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਦੁਕਾਨ :–ਹਰਭਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ, ਹਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ

ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਜਲਿਆਂਵਾਲਾ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

APPENDIX III CHAP. 4
HYMNS OF THE SIKH GURUS WHICH ARE ABSENT
IN MS A 1245

	Raga	Author	Omitted Hymn	*AGGS* pp
1.	ਜਪੁ	ਮ.੧ (ਸਲੋਕ)	ਆਦਿ ਸਚੁ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਸਚੁ	1
2.	ਸੋ ਪੁਰਖ	ਮ.੪	ਸੋ ਪੁਰਖ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ (ਮ.੪)	10
	—		ਤੂੰ ਕਰਤਾ ਸਚਿਆਰ ਮੈਡਾ (ਮ.੪)	11
	—		ਤਿਤੁ ਸਰਵਡੇ ਭਈਲੇ ਨਿਵਾਸਾ (ਮ.੧)	12
	—		ਭਈ ਪਰਾਪਤਿ ਮਾਨੁਖ ਦੇਹੁਰੀਆ (ਮ.੫)	12
3.	ਸੋਹਿਲਾ		ਜੈ ਘਰਿ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਆਖੀਐ (ਮ.੧)	12
	—		ਛਿਅ ਘਰ ਛਿਅ ਗੁਰ (ਮ.੧)	12
	—		ਗਗਨ ਮੈ ਥਾਲੁ ਰਵਿ (ਮ.੧)	13
	—		ਕਾਮਿ ਕਰੋਧੁ ਨਗਰੁ ਬਹੁ (ਮ.੪)	13
	—		ਕਰਉ ਬੇਨੰਤੀ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਮੇਰੇ (ਮ.੫)	13
4.	ਸਲੋਕ ਸਹਸਠਿਤੀ	ਮ.੧	ਪੜ੍ਹ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਬਾਦੰ	1353
	—	—	ਨਿਹਫਲੰ ਤਸਵ ਜਨਮਸਵ	1353
	—	—	ਜੋਗ ਸਬੰਦ ਗਿਆਨ ਸਬੰਦ	1353
5.	ਸਲੋਕ ਵਾਰਾਂ ਤੋਂ	ਮ.੧	ਹੈ ਹੈ ਕਰਿ ਕੇ ਉਹਿ ਕਰੇਨਿ	1410
	ਵਧੀਕ			
	—	—	ਹੈਨਿ ਵਿਰਲੇ ਨਾਹੀ ਘਣੇ	1411
	—	—	ਮਨਹੁ ਜਿ ਅੰਧੇ ਘੂਪ	1411
	—	—	ਸੋ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਣ ਜੋ ਬਿੰਦੈ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ	1411
	—	—	ਖਤ੍ਰੀ ਸੋ ਜੁ ਕਰਮਾ ਕਾ ਸੂਰੁ	1411
	—	—	ਤਨੁ ਨ ਤਪਾਇ ਤਨੂਰ ਜਿਉ	1411
	—	—	ਸਭਨੀ ਘਟੀ ਸਹੁ ਵਸੈ	1412
	—	—	ਮਾਣੁ ਘਲੈ ਉਠੀ ਚਲੈ	1412
	—	—	ਉਦੋਸਾਹੈ ਕਿਆ ਨੀਸਾਨੀ	1412
	—	—	ਦੋਸੁ ਨ ਦੇਅਹੁ ਰਾਇ ਨੋ	1412
6.	ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗੁ	ਮ.੩	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਠਿਹਾ ਕਰੇ	32
7.	ਆਸਾ ਪੱਟੀ	ਮ.੩	ਕਕੈ ਕਾਮਿ ਠੋਧਿ ਭਰਮਿਓਹ ਮੂੜੇ (੮)	435
8.	ਵਾਰ ਮਾਰੂ	ਮ.੩	ਭਾਣੈ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਮਨਿਇਓਨ (ਪਉੜੀ ੨੧)	1093
9.	ਵਾਰ ਗੁਜਰੀ	ਮ.੩ (ਸਲੋਕ)	ਏਹੁ ਸਭੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣੁ	516
	—	—	ਮਨੁ ਕੁੰਚਰੁ ਪੀਲਕੁ ਗੁਰੁ	516
	—	—	ਖੇਤ ਮਿਆਲਾ ਉਚੀਆ	517
	—	—	ਮਿਠਾ ਸੋ ਜੋ ਭਾਵਦਾ	517
10.	ਸਲੋਕ ਵਾਰਾਂ ਤੋਂ	ਮ.੩	ਅਭਿਆਗਤ ਏਹ ਨ ਆਖੀਅਹਿ	1413
	ਵਧੀਕ			
	—	—	ਅਭੈ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਪਰਮਪਦੁ	1413
	—	—	ਹੋਵਾ ਪੰਡਿਤੁ ਜੋਤਕੀ	1413
	—	—	ਬ੍ਰਹਮਣ ਕੈਲੀ ਘਾਤੁ	1413
	—	—	ਮਨਮੁਖ ਬੋਲੇ ਅੰਧੁਲੇ	1415
	—	—	ਨਾਨਕਾ ਤਿਨਾ ਬਸੰਤੁ	1420

APPENDIX IV CHAP. 4
HYMNS RECORDED TWICE IN MS # 1245

	Raga Title Author		Hymn	Repetion	Folios
1.	ਗਉੜੀ	ਮ.੧	ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮਿਲੈ ਸੋ ਮਰਣੁ ਦਿਖਾਏ	ਗਉੜੀ ਮ.੫	162/219
2.	ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਗ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮ.੪	ਮ.੧ (ਸਲੋਕ)	ਗੁਰ ਬਿਨ ਗਿਆਨ ਧਰਮ	ਸਲੋਕ ਵਾਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ	94/1233
3.	ਸੂਹੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮ.੩	ਮ.੧ (ਸਲੋਕ)	ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਭੀਖਿਆ ਦੇਹੁ ਮੈਂ	—	753/1233
4.	ਵਡਹੰਸ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮ.੪	ਮ.੧ (ਸਲੋਕ)	ਜਾਲਉ ਐਸੀ ਰੀਤ	—	555/1233
5.	ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਗ	ਮ.੩	ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਮੈਂ ⎤ ਛੰਤ ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ⎬ ਕਚੀ ਤੇਰੇ ⎦ ਬਾਣੀ	ਸ੍ਰੀ	101/102
	—	—		—	101/102
6.	ਗਉੜੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ	ਮ.੪	ਤੂ ਸਚਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤ ਵਡਾ (ਪਉੜੀ ੩੩)	ਗਉੜੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ	319/321
7.	ਧਨਾਸਰੀ	ਮ.੪	ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਾ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ	ਤਿਲੰਗ	572/681
8.	ਗਉੜੀ	ਮ.੫	ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਰਾਮ ਪਿਆਰੇ	ਮਾਝ	116/220
9.	ਸੂਹੀ	ਮ.੫	ਜੋ ਦੀਸੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖੜਾ	ਤਿਲੰਗ	682/728
	—	—	ਗੁਰ ਪੂਰੈ ਜਬ ਭਏ ਦਇਆਲਾ	ਸੂਹੀ	713/714
10.	ਗੁਜਰੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮ.੫	ਮ.੫ (ਸਲੋਕ)	ਤਿਸ ਨਉ ਮਨ ਵਸਾਇ	ਗਉੜੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮ.੫	326/489
11.	ਫੁਨਹੇ	ਮ.੫	ਪਰ ਤ੍ਰਿਅ ਰਾਵਣਿ ਜਾਹਿ	—	325/1262
	—	—	ਮੇਰੇ ਹਾਥਿ ਪਦਮ	—	326/1265
	—	—	ਚਾਤ੍ਰਿਕ ਚਿਤ ਸੁ ਚਿਤ	—	326/1265
	—	—	ਜਿਥੇ ਸਭੇ ਥਾਵ ਨਹੀ ਤੁਧ	—	326/1265
12.	ਗਾਥਾ	ਮ.੫	ਅਪਜਸੰ ਮਟੰਤ ਸਪੁਤ੍ਰਹ	—	325/1254
	—	—	ਸੁਭਬਚਨ ਰਮਣ ਗਵਨੇ	—	325/1254
	—	—	ਬੇਦ ਪੁਰਾਣ ਸਾਸਤ੍ਰ	—	326/1254
	—	—	ਮਰਣ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਬਿਸਰਨ	—	326/1254
	—	—	ਦਸਨ ਬਿਹੂਨ ਭੁਇਅੰਣੀ	—	326/1254
	—	—	ਚਰਨਾਰ ਬਿੰਦ ਮਨ	—	327/1254
	—	—	ਪਤ੍ਰ ਭੁਰਿਜੈਣ ਝੜੀਅਯੰ	—	327/1254
13.	ਸਾਰੰਗ ਕੀ	ਮ.੫	ਧਰਤਿ ਸੁਹਾਵੀ ਆਕਾਸ ਸੁਹੰਦਾ	ਗਉੜੀ ਕੀ	323/1144
	ਵਾਰ ਮ.੫	(ਸਲੋਕ)		ਵਾਰ ਮ.੫	
14.	ਗਉੜੀ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ ਮ.੫	ਮ.੫ (ਸਲੋਕ)	ਬਿਖੇ ਕਉੜਤਣਿ ਸਗਲ ਮਹਿ	ਸੂਹੀ ਛੰਤ ਮ.੫ (ਸਲੋਕ)	325/746

APPENDIX V CHAP. 4
APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS IN MS # 1245

1.1. ਆਸਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ (ਅਸਟਪਦੀ)

ਜਿਨਾ ਹਰਿ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਹਰਿਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਭਾਇਆ ॥
ਸੇ ਬਹੁ ਦੁਖੀਏ ਜਗ ਮਹਿ ਆਇਆ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਬੇਮੁਖ ਨਾਮੁ ਚੁਰਾਇਆ ॥
ਸੇ ਜਮ ਕੇ ਵਸਿ ਬਨਿ ਚਲਾਇਆ ॥੧॥
ਨਾਮੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਲਾਹਾ ਲੈ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਪੂਜੀ ਸਾਚੀ ਗੁਰ ਟੇਕ ਟਿਕਾਈ ਚਰਨ ਗਹੇ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮਿ ਸਮਾਇਆ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜਿਉ ਪੂਬੈ ਰੁਈ ਤੰਦੁ ਚੜਾਇਆ ॥
ਬਖਰੇ ਫੇਰਿ ਲਏ ਬਹੁ ਤਾਇਆ ॥
ਤਿਉ ਅਹੰਕਾਰੀ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਜਿਉ ਤਿਸ ਭਾਵੈ ਤਿਵੈ ਬਨਾਇਆ ॥੨॥
ਜਿਉ ਅਹਿਰਣਿ ਲੋਹਾ ਤਪੈ ਤਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਲਖ ਧਵੀਕਲੈ ਬਿਖੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਸਿਰਿ ਘਣੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਸਬਾਇਆ ॥
ਇਉ ਸਾਕਤੁ ਗਰਭ ਜੂਨੀ ਵਿਚਿ ਪਾਇਆ ॥੩॥
ਜਿਉ ਤਿਲ ਤੇਲੀ ਪੀੜਿ ਪੀੜਾਇਆ ॥
ਕਾਇਆ ਕੋਲੁ ਲਠਿ ਕਮਾਇਆ ॥
ਕੂੜਿ ਕਲਰਿ ਲਗਿ ਤਤੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ॥
ਬਿਨੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਭੇਟੇ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ॥੪॥
ਦੇਹੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਹਰਿ ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਮਨੁ ਕਿਰਸਾਣੁ ਭਇਆ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਜਸੁ ਗਾਇਆ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਬੀਜੁ ਗੁਰਿ ਭਾਇਆ ॥
ਨਿਪਜੀ ਸਾਖ ਹਰਿ ਖੇਤੁ ਜਮਾਇਆ ॥੫॥
ਤ੍ਰੈਗੁਣ ਮੇਟਿ ਨਿਰਾਲਮੁ ਰਾਇਆ ॥
ਪੰਚ ਤਤੁ ਲੈ ਸਹਜਿ ਸੁਭਾਇਆ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਾਤੇ ਲਾਲਿ ਰੰਗਾਇਆ ॥
ਤੈਸਾ ਰੰਗੁ ਭਇਆ ਜੈਸਾ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਭਾਇਆ ॥੬॥
ਅਠ ਛਿਅ ਭਵਨ ਭਾਠੀ ਏਹ ਕਾਇਆ ॥
ਕਾਮੁ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਲੈ ਸਮਧਾ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਰਸੁ ਪੀਆ ਮਨੁ ਤਿਪਤਾਇਆ ॥
ਆਦਿ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਮਿਲੇ ਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥੭॥
ਦੇਹ ਲਵੇਰੀ ਦੂਧੁ ਗੁਨ ਗਾਇਆ ॥
ਤ੍ਰਿਕੁਟੀ ਫੋਰਿ ਗੁਰਿ ਮਨੁ ਸਮਝਾਇਆ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਗੁਨ ਸਾਰਿ ਦੁਧ ਮਥੀ ਆਇਆ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਰਸੁ ਪਾਇਥਾ ॥੮॥   *(ਪਤਰਾ ੪੦੮)*

1.2. ਸੂਹੀ ਛੰਤ ਮਹਲਾ ੧

ਕਰਿ ਲਾਲਚੁ ਮਨੁ ਲੋਭਾਣਾ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਛੁਟੀਐ ਜੀ ॥
ਇਹੁ ਸਾਕਤੁ ਭਰਮਿ ਭੁਲਾਣਾ ਦਰਗਹ ਚੁਟਿ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਜੀ ॥

ਦਰਗਹ ਪਤਿ ਜਾਵੈ ਚੋਟਾ ਖਾਵੈ ਜਿਸੁ ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥
ਧਰਮ ਰਾਉ ਸਿਰਿ ਲੇਖਾ ਮੰਗੈ ਜਮੁ ਪਕੜੈ ਦੁਖੁ ਰੋਈ ॥
ਕਰਣ ਪਲਾਵ ਕਰੈ ਬਿਲਲਾਵੈ ਫਿਗੁ ਜੀਵਣੁ ਸੈਸਾਰੇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਹੋਇ ਗੁਰਸਬਦੀ ਹਰਿ ਜਪੀਐ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਪਿਆਰੇ ॥੧॥
ਲਾਲਚੁ ਛੋਡਿ ਮਨਾ ਮਹਲੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਸੀ ॥
ਛੂਟਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਜਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਸੀ ਜੀ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਵਹਿ ਗਤਿ ਪਤਿ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਹਰਿ ਸੰਤ ਜਨਾ ਕੈ ਸੰਗੇ ॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਸਾਜਿ ਕੀਆ ਗੜੁ ਮੰਦਰੁ ਸੋ ਰੰਗਨਹਾਰਾ ਰੰਗੇ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮਿ ਰਤੇ ਇਦ੍ਰਾਦਕ ਮੁਨਿ ਜਨ ਤੇਤੀਸ ਕਰੋੜੀ ਪਾਰ ਪਰੇ ॥
ਸਾਧਿਕ ਸਿਧ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਊਤਮ ਸੰਗਿ ਹਰੇ ॥੨॥
ਕੂੜੁ ਕਲਰੁ ਧੈ ਕਾਲੁ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਲਦਿਆ ਜੀ ॥
ਜਗੁ ਸਰੁ ਖਰਾ ਅਸਗਾਹ ਗਰਬਿ ਗਰਬਿਆ ਜੀ ॥
ਪਚਿ ਪਚਿ ਮੁਏ ਅਚੇਤ ਨ ਚੇਤਹਿ ਜੀ ਹਰਣਾਖਸ ਦੁਰਯੋਧਨੁ ਗਇਆ ॥
ਕੁੰਭਕਰਣ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਵਣੁ ਦਹਿਸਰੁ ਲੰਕਾ ਸਮੇਤੀ ਭਸਮ ਭੈਇਆ ॥
ਜਨ ਕੀ ਪਤਿ ਰਾਖੀ ਰਾਖਨਹਾਰੈ ਗੁਰ ਗੋਪਾਲ ਮੁਰਾਰੇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮਿ ਮਨੁ ਰਾਤਾ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੁ ਵੀਚਾਰੇ ॥੩॥
ਹਰਿ ਭਗਤਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਅਧਾਰੁ ਸੋ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਅੰਤਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਪਾਇਆ ਜੀ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੁ ਕਮਾਇਆ ਪੂਰਾ ਪਾਇਆ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਪੀ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤਾਸੁ ਭਏ ॥
ਆਵਨ ਗਾਵਨ ਦੋਉ ਮੇਟੇ ਹਉਮੈ ਲੋਭੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਦਹੇ ॥
ਸਾਸਿ ਗਿਰਾਸਿ ਨ ਕਬਹੁ ਵਿਸਰੈ ਜਾਕੇ ਜੀਆ ਪਰਾਣਾ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਟੇਕ ਟਿਕਾਈ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੀ ਮਨੁ ਮਾਨਾ ॥੪॥   *(ਪਤਰਾ ੨੪੮)*

ਸਲੋਕ ਵਾਰਾ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੧

1.3. ਭੁਖ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਖਾਵਣਾ ਦੁਖ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਸੁਖ ॥
ਦੁਖਾ ਸਿਉ ਹਮਰਉ ਕੀਆ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਿਆ ਜਾਣਾ ਕੈਸੇ ਸੁਖ ॥੨੩॥

1.4. ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਦਾਤਾ ਨਾਮ ਕਾ ਏਹੁ ਹੋਰ ਨਿ ਦਾਨੁ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥
ਚਾਰੇ ਕੁੰਡਾ ਜੇ ਭਵੈ ਵਿਣੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਨਾਮ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਕੋਇ ॥
ਸੇਵਕੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਸੋ ਕਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਬਦ ਰਤਨੁ ਮਨਿ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਲਏ ਪਰੋਇ ॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਜਾਦਾ ਜੀਓ ਬਹੋੜਿਆ ਤਿਸੁ ਆਗੇ ਏਹੁ ਤਨੁ ਅਰਪੀਐ ਗੁਰ ਦਾਤਾ ਵੇਖਹੁ ਸੋਇ ॥
ਅੰਦਰੁ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਨਾਉ ਮਨਿ ਹਉਮੈ ਕਢੇ ਧੋਇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਵੈ ਕੀਆ ਵਡਿਆਈਆ ਵਿਰਲਾ ਪਾਵੈ ਕੋਇ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਨਾਉ ਪਾਈਐ ਕਰਮਿ ਪਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਇ ॥੨੪॥

1.5. ਬਸੰਤੁ ਰਾਗੁ ਤਾ ਕਰਹੁ ਜਾ ਸਚਾ ਮਨਿ ਵਸੈ ਤਿਸਨਾ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਫਲੀਐ ਫਲੀਐ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਫਲੁ ਲਾਗੈ ਅਤਿ ਮੀਠਾ ਜਿਸੁ ਬਖਸੈ ਸੋ ਖਾਇ ॥
ਐਸਾ ਹਰਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਜਿ ਕਹਣਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਮਮਤਾ ਚੁਕ ਏਕ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਗੈ ਜੋਤੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਮਿਲਾਏ ॥
ਪੰਚ ਮਾਰ ਵਸਿ ਕਰੈ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਬਦ ਕਮਾਇ ॥
ਬੰਧਨ ਕਟਨਿ ਜਮ ਕਾ ਫਾਹਾ ਸਹਜੈ ਰਹੈ ਸਮਾਇ ॥
ਜਰਾ ਜੋਹਿ ਨ ਸਕਈ ਮਰੈ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰਮਤੀ ਵਡੀਆ ਵਡਿਆਈਆ ਜਿਸ ਨੋ ਆਪੇ ਕਰੇ ਰਜਾਇ ॥੨੮॥

1.6. ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮਿਲੈ ਤਾ ਭਉ ਪਵੈ ਭੈ ਪਇਐ ਭ੍ਰਮੁ ਕਟੀਐ ਸਚੇ ਸਿਉ ਧਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੁ ॥
ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਬੈਸੈ ਭੈ ਵਸੈ ਭੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਕਾਰ ਕਮਾਇ ॥
ਐਥੈ ਸੁਖ ਵਡਿਆਈਆ ਦਰਗਹ ਮੋਖ ਦੁਆਰੁ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਭੈ ਰਚੈ ਸੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਾਮੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਅਪਾਰੁ ॥੨੯॥

1.7. ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਕਰਹੁ ਤੁਮ ਭਾਇ ਰਹੁ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਨਿ ਵਸੇਹੁ ॥
ਸੇਵ ਕਰੇਹੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਆਗੈ ਜੀਉ ਧਰੇਹੁ ॥
ਭਾਣੈ ਚਲਹੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੈ ਮਮਤਾ ਦੂਰਿ ਕਰੇਹੁ ॥
ਤ੍ਰਿਕੁਟੀ ਛੁਟੈ ਉਲਟੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਅਨਹਦ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਣੇਹੁ ॥
ਨਿਜ ਘਰਿ ਵਡੀਆ ਵਡਿਆਈਆ ਵਾਸਾ ਏਹੁ ਕਰੇਹੁ ॥
ਓਥੈ ਇਕ ਸਚੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਹੈ ਸਚੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸੁਣੇਹੁ ॥
ਸਬਦ ਪੀਵਹੁ ਭ੍ਰਮੁ ਕਟੀਐ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਕਰਮ ਕਰੇਹੁ ॥
ਸਚ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਕਰਹੁ ਇਕ ਸਾਸਿ ਚਿਤੁ ਧਰੇਹੁ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਪੁਛਿ ਜਪੁ ਗਇਤ੍ਰੀ ਤਰਪਣੁ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਨੀਰੁ ਕਰੇਹੁ ॥
ਟਿਕਾ ਕਢਹੁ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮ ਧੋਤੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਕਰੇਹੁ ॥
ਜਨੇਉ ਵਟਹੁ ਗੁਣ ਚੰਗਿਆਈਆ ਨਾ ਓਹੁ ਤੁਟੈ ਨਾ ਮਲੁ ਲਗੈ ਜਨੇਉ ਏਹ ਪਏਹੁ ॥
ਨਦਰੀ ਕਰਮ ਕਰਾਇਦਾ ਮਤੁ ਕੋ ਆਪੁ ਗਣੇਹੁ ॥
ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਇਕ ਰਾਮ ਨ ਜਾਣਨੀ ਲੋਭ ਲਹਰੀ ਮਨ ਵਝੋਏਹਿ ॥
ਪਿਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉ ਅਪਿਉ ਨ ਅਪੜੈ ਜੂਠੇ ਕਰਮ ਕਰੇਹੁ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਤਿਸ ਕੈ ਹਥਿ ਹੈ ਜਿਤੁ ਸਚਾ ਲਾਏ ਤਿਤੁ ਲਗਹੁ ਮਤੁ ਕੋ ਰੋਸੁ ਕਰੇਹੁ ॥੩੦॥

1.8. ਸਚੇ ਕਾ ਭਉ ਅਤਿ ਸਬਲੁ ਕਹਣਾ ਕਛੂ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਭੈ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਉਪਜੈ ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਸੰਉਪੈ ਤਾ ਸਹ ਕੇਰੀ ਸਚ ਮਹਿ ਰਹੈ ਸਮਾਇ ॥
ਸਾ ਸੁਲਖਣੀ ਸਾ ਸੁਆਲਿਉ ਖਸਮੈ ਮਾਹਿ ਸਮਾਇ ॥
ਚਿਤੁ ਕਠੋਰੁ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਕੇਰਾ ਭੈ ਕੀ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਜਾਣਈ ਸਬਦੁ ਨ ਭੇਦਿਆ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਨੈਣੀ ਨੀਰੁ ਵਹੈ ਅਤਿ ਅਗਲਾ ਕੂੜੀ ਕਰੈ ਰਜਾਇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾ ਕੁਲਖਣੀ ਸਾ ਕਰੂਪਿ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਨ ਜਾਣੈ ਖਸਮ ਕਾ ਨਾ ਖਸਮੈ ਮਾਹਿ ਸਮਾਇ ॥੩੨॥

1.9. ਸਚਾ ਨਾਉ ਵਿਸਾਰਿ ਕੈ ਅਵਰੀ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਹਿ ॥
ਮਨਮੁਖ ਮਗੁ ਨ ਜਾਣਨੀ ਮਨਿ ਨ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਨਾਉ ॥
ਜੰਮਣੁ ਮਰਣੁ ਦੁਖ ਘਣਾ ਪਇਐ ਕਿਰਤਿ ਫਿਰਾਹਿ ॥
ਸੰਗਤਿ ਢੋਈ ਨ ਮਿਲੈ ਬੈਸਣੁ ਮਿਲੈ ਨ ਥਾਉ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪੁਛਹਿ ਕਰਮ ਕਰਹਿ ਨਿਤ ਜਪਹਿ ਸਚਾ ਨਾਉ ॥
ਅਗੈ ਦਰਗਹ ਮਿਲਨਿ ਵਡਿਆਈਆ ਮਹਲੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਥਾਉ ॥
ਏਕੋ ਨਾਉ ਲਿਖਾ ਤਾ ਜੀਵਾ ਦੂਈਆ ਲਿਖਾ ਮਰਿ ਜਾਉ ॥
ਹਉ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੀ ਤਿਨਾ ਸਜਣਾ ਲਿਖਹਿ ਜਿ ਸਚਾ ਨਾਉ ॥
ਧਨੁ ਸੁ ਕਾਗਦੁ ਕਲਮ ਧਨੁ ਜਿਤੁ ਲਿਖੀਐ ਜਿ ਸਚਾ ਨਾਉ ॥
ਧਨੁ ਮਸਵਾਣੀ ਮਸੁ ਧਨੁ ਲਿਖਣਹਾਰਾ ਸੁ ਧਨੁ ਜੁ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਲਿਖੈ ਨਾਉ ॥
ਚੁਗਲੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੋ ਲਿਖੈ ਕੂੜੀ ਕਲਮ ਵਗਾਇ ॥
ਮੁਹ ਕਾਲੇ ਤਿਨਾ ਗਾਫਲਾ ਦਰਗਹ ਧਕੇ ਖਾਹਿ ॥
ਕਲਮ ਜਲੋ ਸਣੁ ਕਾਗਦੈ ਮਸਵਾਣੀ ਜਲਿ ਜਾਉ ॥
ਲਿਖਣਹਾਰਾ ਸੋ ਜਲੋ ਜਿਸੁ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਨਾਉ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਨਾਉ ਪਾਈਐ ਹੋਰੁ ਦੂਜਾ ਨਾਹੀ ਥਾਉ ॥
ਜਿਨ ਕੈ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਤੂ ਵਸਹਿ ਹਉ ਤਿਨ ਵਿਟਹੁ ਬਲਿ ਜਾਉ ॥੩੩॥

1.10. ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਜਾਣੀਐ ਸਤੁ ਪੈਨੈ ਸਤੁ ਖਾਇ ॥
ਸਤੁ ਹੀ ਆਛੈ ਸਤਿ ਰਹੈ ਸਤੇ ਸਵੈ ਸਮਾਇ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਸਚੁ ਫਲੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਲਿਖਾਏ ਲੇਖ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨੁ ਜੀਵਣੁ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਏਕੁ ॥੩੫॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੧੨੩੩-੧੨੩੫)

1.11. **ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ਰਤਨਮਾਲਾ**
ਤਿਹੁ ਕਾ ਮਾਰਿ ਮਿਲਾਏ ਮਾਨੁ ॥ ਪੰਚਾ ਮਹਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਪਰਧਾਨੁ ॥
ਪੰਚਾ ਕਾ ਜੋ ਜਾਨੈ ਭੇਉ ॥ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਤਾ ਸੋਈ ਦੇਉ ॥
ਆਗਮ ਨਿਗਮੁ ਜੁ ਬਾਚੈ ਜਾਨੈ ॥ ਬੰਧੈ ਨਵ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਘਰ ਮਹਿ ਆਨੈ ॥
ਸਤ ਸਤਾਈਹਿ ਚਉਦਹਿ ਚਾਰਿ ॥ ਤਾ ਕੈ ਆਗੈ ਖੜੇ ਦੁਆਰਿ ॥
ਅਠ ਅਠਾਰਹ ਬਾਰਹ ਬੀਸ ॥ ਆਗੈ ਕਾਢਹਿ ਖੜੇ ਹਦੀਸ ॥
ਊਚੀ ਨਦਰਿ ਸਰਾਫੀ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਸੋਇ ॥੧॥
ਉਦਾਸੀ ਸੋ ਜਿ ਕਰੈ ਉਦਾਸੁ ॥ ਭੂਖਿ ਬਿਰਖ ਗੁਹਿ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਵਾਸੁ ॥
ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਰਹਿਬੋ ਜੋਗ ਅਭਿਆਸੁ ॥ ਪਰਸੈ ਅੰਗ ਨ ਲਾਏ ਪਾਸੁ ॥
ਜਿਤੁ ਘਟ ਦੁਤੀਆ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਮੈਲੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਸੋਈ ॥੨॥
ਗਿਆਨ ਖੜਗ ਲੈ ਮਨ ਸਿਉ ਲੂਝੈ ॥ ਮਰਮੁ ਦਸਾ ਪੰਚਾ ਕਾ ਬੂਝੈ ॥
ਮਨ ਮ੍ਰਿਤਕ ਕੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਗੰਠਿ ॥ ਤੀਰਥ ਪਰਸੈ ਤ੍ਰੈ ਸੈ ਸਠਿ ॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਏਹੁ ਮੈਲੁ ਨ ਮਨੈ ਕੀ ਧੋਈ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਸੋਈ ॥੩॥
ਦੇਹੀ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਅਠਸਠਿ ਹਾਟ ॥ ਤਾ ਕੇ ਬਜਰ ਜੜਾਏ ਪਾਟ ॥
ਅਵਘਟ ਘਾਟ ਬਿਖਮੁ ਹੈ ਵਾਟ ॥ ਐਸਾ ਮਾਰਗੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਦਿਖਾਇਆ ॥
ਦਹਦਿਸਿ ਦੇਖਿ ਸਹਜ ਘਰਿ ਆਇਆ ॥ ਅਠਸਠਿ ਗਠੀ ਖੋਲੈ ਕੋਇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਸੋਇ ॥੪॥
ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਪੂਰਬ ਕਉ ਦਿਸਟਿ ਧਾਰੈ ॥ ਦੁਤੀਆ ਦਖਣ ਕਉ ਗਵਣੁ ਕਰੈ ॥
ਦਖਣ ਤੇ ਜਾ ਪਛਮਿ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਤਾ ਹਾਟ ਪਟਣ ਕੀ ਸੋਝੀ ਪਾਇ ॥
ਪਛਮ ਤੇ ਜਾ ਚੜੇ ਸੁਮੇਰਿ ॥ ਆਵੈ ਪਰਦਖਣਾ ਕੈ ਫੇਰਿ ॥
ਪੁਰੀਆ ਸਪਤ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਵਲਾਸਣੁ ॥ ਤਿਥੈ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਕਾ ਆਸਣੁ ॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਹੀਰੇ ਰਤਨੀ ਮਾਲਾ ਪਰੋਈ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਸੋਈ ॥੫॥
ਕਹਾ ਸੁ ਗਗਨ ਦੇਉ ਕਾ ਭਵਣ ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਉ ਸਦਾ ਮਨਾਵੈ ਸਉਣੁ ॥
ਏਹਾ ਸੂਰਾ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਉਣੁ ॥ ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਬੰਧੈ ਦੁਰਜਨ ਦਉਣੁ ॥
ਬੇਧੇ ਬਸੰਤਰੁ ਅਰੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਪਉਣੁ ॥ ਗਗਨ ਕਮੰਡਲਿ ਜਿਨਿ ਗਉਆ ਚੋਈ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਸੋਈ ॥੬॥
ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਭਗਤੁ ਇਦ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਜਤੀ ॥ ਹਿਰਦੇ ਕਉ ਕਤਾ ਮੁਖਕਾ ਸਤੀ ॥
ਦਿਸਟਿ ਦੈਆਲੁ ਦੇਖੈ ਕਰਿ ਦਾਨੁ ॥ ਜੇ ਘਟਿ ਨਿਵੈ ਤਾ ਨਿਵਿਆ ਜਾਨੁ ॥
ਬਚਨ ਸਬਦ ਕਾ ਸਾਫਲਿ ਉਹਾਤਾ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਅਵਧੂਤਾ ॥੭॥
ਚੰਚਲ ਚਾਇ ਨਾ ਜਾਇ ਤਮਾਸੈ ॥ ਜੂਐ ਜਾਇ ਨਾ ਖੇਲੈ ਪਾਸੈ ॥
ਅੰਗੈ ਚੰਗੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਨ ਲਾਏ ॥ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਦੀਆ ਅੰਕਿ ਹੰਢਾਏ ॥
ਪਰ ਘਰਿ ਜਾਇ ਨ ਕੀਜੈ ਕਥਾ ॥ ਐਸੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੇਰੀ ਨਥਾ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸਿਖ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਰੇ ਪੂਤਾ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਅਵਧੂਤਾ ॥੮॥
ਗਗਨੰਤਰ ਕਉ ਭਵਰੁ ਉਡਾਵੈ ॥ ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਗੁੜੀ ਡੋਰੀ ਲਾਵੈ ॥
ਪਰਚਿਆ ਹੋਇ ਤ ਫਿਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਆਵੈ ॥ ਇਤੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਕਮਾਵਹੁ ਜੋਗੁ ॥
ਆਇਆ ਹਰਖੁ ਨ ਗਇਆ ਸੋਗੁ ॥ ਜਤੁ ਸਤੁ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਨਿਵਾਸੀ ਸੂਤਾ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਅਵਧੂਤਾ ॥੯॥
ਅਸਰਾ ਨਦੀ ਉਪਠੀ ਤਰੀ ॥ ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਸਦਾ ਸਿਘੀ ਰੇਸਰੀ ॥
ਉਲਟੈ ਕਵਲ ਪਲੇਟੈ ਪਵਣੁ ॥ ਏਉ ਨਿਵਾਰੇ ਆਵਾਗਵਣੁ ॥

ਮਨ ਪਵਣੈ ਕਉ ਰਾਖੈ ਬੰਧਿ॥ ਲਹੈ ਤ੍ਰਿਬੇਣੀ ਤ੍ਰਿਕੁਟੀ ਸੰਧਿ॥
ਆਪਣੈ ਵਸਿ ਕਰਿ ਰਾਖੈ ਦੂਤ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਅਵਧੂਤ॥੧੦॥
ਅਰਚੈ ਕੈ ਘਰਿ ਰਹੈ ਉਦਾਸ॥ ਪਰਚੈ ਕੈ ਘਰਿ ਕਰੇ ਨਿਵਾਸੁ॥
ਉਦਰ ਕੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਬਿਲਾਈਆ ਭਾਗੀ॥ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਕਹੈ ਤੇਈ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ॥੧੧॥
ਬੈਰਾਗੀ ਸੋ ਜੁ ਬੈ ਮਹਿ ਆਵੈ॥ ਸਿਵ ਕੈ ਆਗੈ ਸਕਤਿ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ॥
ਸਿਵ ਸਕਤੀ ਕੇ ਕਰਮ ਕਰੈ॥ ਅਜਰੁ ਵਸਤੁ ਅਗੋਚਰੁ ਜਰੈ॥
ਐਸਾ ਅਵਖਧੁ ਪਾਹਿ ਗਵਾਰਾ॥ ਜਿਤਿ ਖਾਧੈ ਤੇਰੇ ਜਾਨਿ ਵਿਕਾਰਾ॥
ਤਾਮਸੁ ਤਿਸਨਾ ਸਮੈ ਤਿਆਗੀ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਤੇਈ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ॥੧੨॥
ਆਸਣੁ ਸਾਧਿ ਨਿਰਾਲਮੁ ਬਹੈ॥ ਪੰਚ ਤਤੁ ਨਿਗ੍ਰਹ ਕਰਿ ਲਹੈ॥
ਸੁਚੇਤ ਨਿਦਾ ਅਲਪ ਆਹਾਰੀ॥ ਸਾਧ ਕਾ ਪਿੰਡੁ ਸਦਾ ਵੀਚਾਰੀ॥
ਜਤੁ ਸਤੁ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਬਿਚਖਣ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਜੋਗ ਕੇ ਲਖਣ॥੧੩॥
ਜਾ ਬੋਲੈ ਤਾ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਗਿਆਨੀ॥ ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਜਾਗੈ ਰਹੈ ਧਿਆਨੀ॥
ਸੁੰਨਿ ਮੰਡਲ ਮਹਿ ਡੋਰੀ ਧਰੈ॥ ਗੁਰਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਕਬਹੂ ਨ ਮਰੈ॥
ਇਤੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੇਵਹੁ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ॥ ਤਾ ਕਉ ਬੰਦਹਿ ਸਗਲੇ ਦੇਵ॥
ਜਿਹਬਾ ਭੇਦੁ ਨ ਦੇਈ ਚਖਣਿ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਜੋਗ ਕੇ ਲਖਣ॥੧੪॥
ਤਾਮਸੁ ਤਿਸਨਾ ਲੋਭੁ ਨਿਵਾਰੈ॥ ਪੰਚ ਅਗਨਿ ਘਰ ਭੀਤਰਿ ਜਾਰੈ॥
ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਰਹੈ ਗਡੀਰ ਚੜਾਇ॥ ਸਹਜਿ ਉਪਜੈ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਜਾਇ॥
ਸਾਧਨਿ ਵਾਜੈ ਬਾਧੈ ਚੋਰ॥ ਗੁਰ ਬਿਨੁ ਮੰਤ ਨ ਜਪੀਐ ਹੋਰੁ॥
ਉਤਮ ਭਲੇ ਤਿਨਾ ਕੇ ਜਖਣ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਜੋਗ ਕੇ ਲਖਣ॥੧੫॥
ਪੰਜੇ ਇੰਦ੍ਰੀ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ ਕਰ ਰਾਖੈ॥ ਜਿਹਬਾ ਮੁਖਿ ਅਸਤਿ ਨ ਭਾਖੈ॥
ਕੋਟ ਕੋਟੰਤਰ ਤਤੁ ਕਾ ਬੇਤਾ॥ ਸੁਨਿ ਮੰਡਲ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਖੈ ਚੇਤਾ॥
ਸਾਚੁ ਪਿਆਲੇ ਸੁ ਭਰੁ ਭਰੇ॥ ਜਾਇ ਤ੍ਰਿਬੇਣੀ ਸੰਗਮੁ ਕਰੇ॥
ਨਉ ਸਤ ਪੰਚ ਲਗਾ ਰਖਣਿ॥ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਕਹੈ ਜੋਗ ਕੇ ਲਖਣ॥੧੬॥
ਪੂਰਬਿ ਚੜੈ ਤਾ ਪਛਮਿ ਆਵੈ॥ ਰਵਿ ਸਸਿ ਦੂਹਾ ਇਕੰਤਿ ਮਿਲਾਵੈ॥
ਚੀਨੈ ਹਾਟ ਪਟਣ ਕੀ ਵਾਟ॥ ਤਾ ਪਰੁ ਬੁਝੈ ਅਵਘਟ ਘਾਟ॥
ਦੇਖੈ ਨਵਖੰਡ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੀ ਪੂਰਬੁ ਪਛਮੁ ਉਤਰੁ ਦਖਣੁ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਜੋਗ ਕੇ ਲਖਣ॥੧੭॥
ਏਹੁ ਤਨੁ ਭਾਂਡਾ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਹੈ ਦੂਧੁ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਵਿਚਿ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਸਮਾਇਣ ਸੂਧੁ॥
ਜੁਗਤਿ ਜਤਨ ਕਰਿ ਸਹਜ ਸਮਾਇ॥ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਵਿਹੂਣਾ ਵਿਕ ਵਿਜਾਇ॥
ਗਿਆਨੁ ਮਧਾਣਾ ਨੇਤ੍ਰਾ ਨਾਉ॥ ਇਨ ਬਿਧਿ ਜਪੀਐ ਕੇਵਲ ਰਾਮੁ॥
ਰੋਲਿ ਵਿਰੋਲਿ ਲੈ ਆ ਜਾ ਮਖਣੁ॥ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਕਹੈ ਜੋਗ ਕੇ ਲਖਣ॥੧੮॥

<div align="right">(ਪਤਰਾ ੧੨੫੭-੧੨੫੯)</div>

2.1. ਸ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਗੁ ਮਹਲਾ ੩ ਛੰਤ

ਭਰਮਿ ਭੁਲੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਤੂ ਮੈ ਸਚੁ ਬੁਝਾਏ॥
ਸਚੁ ਬੁਝਾਏ ਮਨਿ ਵਸਾਏ ਸਾਹੁਰੜੇ ਕੰਮਿ ਸਿਖਾ॥
ਸਹੀਆ ਵਿਚਿ ਫਿਰਾ ਸੁਹੇਲੀ ਤੁਧੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨਾ ਦੇਖਾ॥
ਅਪੁਨੈ ਕੰਤੈ ਖਰੀ ਪਿਆਰੀ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਆਪਿ ਗੰਵਾਏ॥
ਨਦਰਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਤਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮੇਲੇ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹਾ ਸਮਾਏ॥
ਭਰਮਿ ਭੁਲੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਤੂ ਮੈ ਸਚੁ ਬੁਝਾਏ॥੧॥

2.2. ਵੀਆਹੁ ਹੋਆ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਸੋ ਸਹੁ ਮੈ ਪਾਇਆ॥

ਸੋ ਸਹੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਦਿਖਾਇਆ ਤਾ ਮਨਿ ਭਲਾ ਭਾਇਆ॥
ਕਵਨ ਮੁਕਲਾਉ ਕਿਥੈ ਲੈ ਜਾਹੀ ਸਭਨਾ ਮਾਹਿ ਸਮਾਇਆ॥
ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣ ਕਾ ਦੁਖੁ ਚੁਕਾ ਨਿਜ ਘਰਿ ਵਾਸਾ ਪਾਇਆ॥

ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣਾ ਹੈ ਮਨਮੁਖਾ ਜਿਨਾ ਦੂਜੈ ਸਿਉ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਇਆ ॥
ਵੀਆਹੁ ਹੋਆ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਸੋ ਸਹੁ ਮੈ ਪਾਇਆ ॥੨॥

2.3. ਨਦਰਿ ਕਰੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ ਹਉ ਪਾਈ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨ ਪਾਈ ਸਬਦੁ ਮਨਿ ਵਸਾਈ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਭਾਣੈ ਚਲਾ ॥
ਭਾਣੈ ਚਲਾ ਹੋਇਨਿ ਭਲਾ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਸਹਸਾ ਗਵਾਏ ॥
ਹਲਤੁ ਪਲਤੁ ਦੋਵੇ ਸਵਾਰੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਮੈ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਕਉ ਸਿਧ ਸਾਧਿਕ ਲੋਚਦੇ ਸਾ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਪਾਈ ॥
ਨਦਰਿ ਕਰੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸਨੁ ਹਉ ਪਾਈ ॥੩॥

2.4. ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਅਲਖੁ ਅਪਾਰਾ ॥
ਸੁ ਦਾਜੁ ਦੇਹਿ ਜੁ ਅਮਰ ਅਪਾਰਾ ॥
ਸੁ ਦਾਜੁ ਦੇਹਿ ਜੁ ਤੇਰੇ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਵੈ ਸਾਹੁਰੈ ਕੰਮਿ ਆਵੈ ॥
ਸਾਹੁਰੈ ਪੇਈਐ ਸਭੁ ਤੁਹੈ ਤੁਹੇ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਭਰਮੁ ਚੁਕਾਵੈ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਮਨਿ ਵਸੈ ਪੋਹਿ ਨ ਸਕੈ ਕਾਲਾ ॥
ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਅਲਖ ਅਪਾਰਾ ॥੪॥

2.5. ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਮੈ ਪਰਣਾਉਂੜੇ ਆਏ ॥
ਤਿਤੁ ਜੰਞੜੀਐ ਸਾਥਿ ਨ ਲਾੜਾ ਅਵਰ ਪਠਾਏ ॥
ਅਵਰੁ ਪਠਾਏ ਮੇਰੀ ਮਾਏ ਸਾ ਧਨ ਤਿਸੁ ਪਿਰ ਸੰਦੀ ॥
ਧਨੁ ਥਕੀ ਬਾਲੀ ਪਕੜਿ ਚਲਾਈ ਕਰਨ ਪਲਾਹੁ ਕਰੰਦੀ ॥
ਪੁਨ ਦਾਨ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਸਿਮਰਿਓ ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਗਈ ਵਿਹਾਏ ॥
ਨਿਤ ਜਿਨਾ ਕਾ ਧੋਖਾ ਬਾਬੁਲਾ ਸੇ ਪਰਣਾਉ ਆਏ ॥
ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਮੈ ਪਰਣਾਉਂੜੇ ਆਏ ॥੫॥

2.6. ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਨਾਵੈ ਨਉ ਖਰੀ ਨਿਮਾਣੀ ॥
ਖਰੀ ਨਿਮਾਣੀ ਜਾ ਤੁਧੁ ਭਾਣੀ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਹਿ ਤਾ ਪਾਈ ॥
ਜਿਉ ਤੂ ਰਾਖਹਿ ਤਿਉ ਹਉ ਰਹੰਦੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਕਿਆ ਚਤੁਰਾਈ ॥
ਜਾ ਤੁਧੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਤਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮੇਲਹਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਹਮਾਰੀ ॥
ਏਹ ਤੇਰੀ ਵਡੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਜਿ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਮਾਣੀ ॥
ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਨਾਵੈ ਨਉ ਖਰੀ ਨਿਮਾਣੀ ॥੬॥

2.7. ਪੇਵਕੜੇ ਧਨ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਹੋਤੀ ਸਹ ਕਾ ਸਹਜ ਨ ਜਾਤਾ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਬੁਝਿਆ ਆਪਣਾ ਖਸਮੁ ਪਛਾਤਾ ॥
ਖਸਮੁ ਪਛਾਤਾ ਕਰਮ ਬਿਧਾਤਾ ਜਿਸੁ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਸਹੁ ਜਾਤਾ ॥
ਸਹਿ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਕਾਮਣਿ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਹੋਈ ਪਾਇਆ ਜਗਜੀਵਣੁ ਦਾਤਾ ॥
ਦੇਖਹੁ ਸੰਤਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਰੰਗਿ ਸੁਣਹੁ ਇਕ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਛਾਤਾ ॥
ਪੇਵਕੜੇ ਧਨ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਹੋਤੀ ਸਹ ਕਾ ਸਹਜ ਨ ਜਾਤਾ ॥੭॥

2.8. ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਮੈ ਮਨਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਵਡੀ ਆਸਾ ॥
ਵਡੀ ਆਸਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਭਰਵਾਸਾ ਜੋ ਇਛਾ ਸੋ ਪਾਈ ॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਵਾ ਤਾ ਆਪੁ ਖੋਵਾ ਕਰਿ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਸੁਣਾਈ ॥
ਧਨ ਬਾਲੀ ਭੋਲੀ ਖਰੀ ਸੁਆਲਿਉ ਖਸਮੈ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਵਾ ॥
ਸਚੇ ਮੇਲਿ ਲਈ ਫਿਰਿ ਆਪੇ ਏਹੁ ਵਡਾ ਭਰਵਾਸਾ ॥
ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਮੈ ਮਨਿ ਵਡੀ ਆਸਾ ॥੮॥

2.9. ਜਤ ਕਾ ਦੇਹਿ ਸਾਰਾ ਬਾਬੁਲਾ ਚੋਲੀ ਦੇਹਿ ਦਇਆ ॥
ਤਿਤੁ ਚੋਲੜੀਐ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਸੀਦੜਾ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਸੀਦੜਾ ਪਾਇਆ ਸਤ ਕਾ ਚੀਰ ਹਢਾਏ ॥
ਨਾਲਾ ਸੰਤੋਖੀ ਤੇ ਵਰ ਚੋਖੀ ਤੀਹਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੜਾਏ ॥
ਧੀਰਜ ਦਸਤਾਨਾ ਹੰਸੁ ਖਿਮਾ ਕਰਿ ਇਹੁ ਪਹਿਰਾਵਾ ਲਾਇਆ ॥
ਜਤ ਕਾ ਦੇਹਿ ਸਾੜਾ ਬਾਬੁਲਾ ਚੋਲੀ ਦੇਹਿ ਦਇਆ ॥੯॥

2.10. ਵਡੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਸਾ ਧਨੁ ਤੇਰੀ ਬੰਦੀ ॥
ਸਾਈ ਬੰਦੀ ਜੋ ਸਹੁ ਜਾਨੈ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਨਿਸੰਗੀ ॥
ਸਾ ਸੁਆਲਿਉ ਸਾ ਰੂਪਿ ਬਚਖਨਿ ਤਿਸਨਾ ਜਿਸਦੀ ਖੰਡੀ ॥
ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੁਲਾ ਸਾ ਧਨ ਤੇਰੀ ਬੰਦੀ ॥੧੦॥

2.11. ਸਾਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਸਾ ਧਨ ਤੇਰੀ ਚੇਰੀ ॥
ਸਾਈ ਚੇਰੀ ਜੁ ਖਸਮੁ ਪਛਾਨੈ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਛਡੈ ਮੇਰੀ ॥
ਮੇਰੀ ਤੇਰੀ ਕਰਿ ਘਣੀ ਵਿਗੁਤੀ ਦੇਖਹੁ ਕੋ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਏ ॥
ਏਹੁ ਕਮੁ ਕਿਸੈ ਕੇ ਵਸਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਸੋ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਏ ਨਦਰਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਜਿਸੁ ਤੇਰੀ ॥
ਸਚੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਸਾ ਧਨ ਤੇਰੀ ਚੇਰੀ ॥੧੧॥

2.12. ਸੀਗਾਰੁ ਦਸਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਜਿਤੁ ਹਰਿ ਮੇਰਾ ਭੀਜੈ ॥
ਸਸੁਰ ਭੀਜੈ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਪੀਜੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨਹੀ ਵਿਣੁ ਨਾਵੈ ॥
ਅੰਜਨੁ ਮਹਿ ਜਲਿ ਆਪ ਪਛਾਨਿਆ ਐਸਾ ਰੰਗੁ ਨਹਾਵੈ ॥
ਜਿਸੁ ਕੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਤਿਸਹੀ ਕੇ ਹਹ ਹਮ ਦੋਸਿ ਨ ਕਾਹੂ ਦੀਜੈ ॥
ਸੋ ਸੀਗਾਰੁ ਦਸਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਜਿਤੁ ਹਰਿ ਮੇਰਾ ਭੀਜੈ ॥੧੨॥

2.13. ਧਨ ਇਆਣੀ ਪਿਰੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਚਤਰੰਗੋ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਸੇਤੀ ਮੈ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਰਖਿਅੜਾ ਰੰਗੋ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਸੇਤੀ ਮੈ ਰੰਗੁ ਨ ਰਖਿਆ ਜਿਉ ਹਮ ਤਿਉ ਤੁਮ ਸੁਝੈ ॥
ਅਸੀ ਪਾਪ ਕਮਾਵਹੁ ਪਛੋਤਾਵਹ ਅੰਧੇ ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨ ਬੁਝੈ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਲੀਜੈ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਪੀਜੈ ਜਮਪੁਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਨਿਸੰਸੋ ॥
ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਧਨ ਇਆਣੀ ਪਿਰੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਚਤਰੰਗੋ ॥੧੩॥

2.14. ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਸਭਨਾ ਕਾ ਭਤਾਰੁ ਸੋਈ ॥
ਸਭਨਾ ਰਾਵੈ ਏਕੋ ਸੋਈ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਦੂਜਾ ਕੋਈ ॥
ਏਹੁ ਸੈਸਾਰੁ ਸਭੁ ਕਚਾ ਪਸਾਰਾ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਬੁਝੈ ਕੋਈ ॥
ਮਨਮੁਖ ਭੋਗੋ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਜਾਨੈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪੁਰਖ ਗਰਬਿ ਬਿਆਪੈ ਦੁਖੀ ਰੈਨਿ ਵਿਹਾਣੀ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਨ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਭੋਗ ਭੋਗਨਿ ਲਗਾ ਵਿਣੁ ਸਹਜੈ ਭੋਗੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥
ਕਹੈ ਨਾਨਕ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਸਭਨਾ ਕਾ ਭਤਾਰੁ ਸੋਈ ॥੧੪॥

2.15. ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਮੈ ਖਰਾ ਪਿਆਰਾ ॥
ਖਰਾ ਪਿਆਰਾ ਜੀਅਹੁ ਜਾਣਾ ਤੁਧੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਵਾਝਹੁ ਮਗ ਨ ਪਾਏ ਜੋ ਲੋਚੈ ਸਭ ਕੋਈ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਸੋ ਸਹੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਾ ਹੋਈ ॥
ਮੇਰਾ ਕੰਤੁ ਕੁਲਵੰਤੁ ਖਰਾ ਸੁਆਲਿਉ ਤਾ ਧਨ ਸਰਸੀ ਹੋਈ ॥
ਸਬਦ ਸੀਗਾਰੁ ਕੀਆ ਕੁਲਵੰਤੀ ਜਾ ਸਹੁ ਡਿਠਾ ਘਰ ਆਇਆ ॥
ਤਾ ਧਨ ਪਿਰ ਮੇਲਾਵਾ ਹੋਆ ਜਾ ਸਗਲ ਤਜੇ ਵਿਕਾਰਾ ॥
ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਾਬੋਲਾ ਤੂ ਮੈ ਖਰਾ ਪਿਆਰਾ ॥੧੫॥   *(ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੨-੧੦੩)*

2.16. ਰਾਗੁ ਆਸਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੩ (ਅਸਟਪਦੀ)

ਖਰੇ ਖੋਟੇ ਆਪਿ ਕੀਤਿਅਨੁ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸੋਝੀ ਪਾਇ ॥
ਖਰੇ ਪਰਖੇ ਪਾਰਖੁਆ ਲਏ ਖਜਾਨੈ ਪਾਇ ॥੧॥
ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਨਿਧਾਨੁ ਹੈ ਮੇਰੈ ਮਨਿ ਵਸਾਇ ॥
ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵਾ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਰਹਾ ਲਿਵਲਾਇ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਖੋਟੇ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਭਜਦੇ ਦੁਖੁ ਲਾਗੈ ਬਿਲਲਾਇ ॥
ਖੋਟੇ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਆਖੀਅਨਿ ਤਿਨਾ ਬਹਣੁ ਨ ਮਿਲਈ ਜਾਇ ॥੨॥
ਖਰਿਆ ਮਹਲੁ ਹਦੂਰਿ ਹੈ ਆਪਣੈ ਘਰਿ ਸਹਜਿ ਸੁਭਾਇ ॥
ਖਰੇ ਸਚੇ ਆਖੀਅਨਿ ਸਚੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਸਮਾਇ ॥੩॥
ਖਰਿਆ ਸੇਵਨਿ ਸੇ ਖਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ ॥
ਖੋਟੇ ਮਹਲੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਨੀ ਧੁਰਿ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਕਰਤਾਰਿ ॥੪॥
ਖੋਟੇ ਖਰੇ ਇਕ ਤੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੁਕਮੀ ਸਿਸਟਿ ਉਪਾਇ ॥
ਪਾਰਖੁਆ ਅਗੈ ਸਟੀਅਨਿ ਤਦ ਹੀ ਪਾਜੁ ਲਹਿ ਜਾਇ ॥੫॥
ਖਰਿਆ ਕੇ ਮੁਖ ਉਜਲੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸਹਜਿ ਸੁਭਾਇ ॥
ਖੋਟਿਆ ਤਨੁ ਸਿਆਹੁ ਹੈ ਮੁਹਿ ਕਾਲੈ ਉਠਿ ਜਾਇ ॥੬॥
ਗੁਰਿ ਖਰੇ ਆਪੇ ਮੇਲਿਅਨੁ ਧੁਰਿ ਸਚੈ ਲੇਖੁ ਲਿਖਾਇ ॥
ਹਰਿ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਸਦਾ ਰੰਗ ਸਿਉ ਸਚੈ ਸਹਜਿ ਸੁਭਾਇ ॥੭॥
ਹਰਿ ਵਰੁ ਪਾਇਆ ਕਾਮਣੀ ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਹੇਤਿ ਪਿਆਰਿ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਚੁ ਸੀਗਾਰੁ ਬਨਾਇਆ ਧਨੁ ਕੁਲਵੰਤੀ ਨਾਰਿ ॥੮॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੪੯੪)

2.17. ਰਾਗੁ ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੩ (ਅਸਟਪਦੀ)

ਉਤਮ ਜੋਗੁ ਗਿਰਹੁ ਹੈ ਜੋਗੀ ਗੁਰਮਤੀ ਵੀਚਾਰੇ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਸਬਦਿ ਮਰਿ ਜੀਵੈ ਸੋ ਜੋਗੀ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਉਰਧਾਰੇ ॥
ਸਾਚੀ ਲਿਵ ਆਸਣਿ ਬੈਸੁ ਜੋਗੀ ਭਗਤਿ ਨਾਮ ਆਧਾਰੇ ॥੧॥
ਐਸਾ ਜੋਗ ਕਮਾਓ ਪਰਾਣੀ ॥
ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਗੁਰਮਤੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਖਾਣੀ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਗੁਰ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਤੇ ਜੋਗਿ ਪਾਇਆ ਜਾਏ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਆਪਿ ਗਵਾਏ ॥
ਜੋਗੁ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਤਾ ਪਾਏ ਜੋਗੀ ਧਾਵਤੁ ਵਰਜਿ ਰਹਾਏ ॥
ਸੋ ਜੋਗੀ ਉਤਮੁ ਜਿਸ ਨੋ ਆਪਿ ਬੁਝਾਏ ॥੨॥
ਭੇਖੀ ਜੋਗੁ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ ਜੋਗੀ ਨਾ ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਜਾਏ ॥
ਕਚੀ ਪਿੰਡੀ ਘਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਮਾਗਹਿ ਦਰਗਹ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਏ ॥
ਪਾਖੰਡ ਕਰਹਿ ਉਦਰੈ ਕੈ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਭੁਖ ਕਿ ਆਗੈ ਖਾਏ ॥੩॥
ਜੋਗੀ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਨ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਜੋਗੀ ਤਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸਿਉ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਇ ॥
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੋਈ ਕੀਜੈ ਐਸਾ ਜੋਗੁ ਕਮਾਇ ॥
ਭਉ ਕਰਹਿ ਤਾ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਸਹਜੇ ਰਹਿ ਸਮਾਇ ॥੪॥
ਪੰਡਿਤ ਗਿਰਹੀ ਸਨਿਆਸੀ ਜੋਗੀ ਹਉਮੈ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਇ ॥
ਕਾਮਿ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਜਗੁ ਭਰਿਆ ਜੋਗੀ ਕੁੜੁ ਬੋਲਿ ਬਿਖੁ ਖਾਇ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਸੇ ਜਨ ਉਬਰੇ ਸਚਿ ਰਹੇ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਇ ॥੫॥
ਹਉਮੈ ਮਾਰਹਿ ਸਾਚਿ ਸਮਾਵਹਿ ਜੋਗੀ ਇੰਦ੍ਰੀ ਵਸਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਸਬਦਿ ਕਮਾਇ ॥
ਨਿਹਚਲੁ ਜੋਗੁ ਨਿਜ ਘਰਿ ਪਾਹਿ ਜੋਗੀ ਤਾ ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਸਮਾਹਿ ॥
ਕਰਤੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਰਤਾ ਕੀਮਤਿ ਕਹਣੁ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥੬॥
ਏਕੋ ਨਿਹਚਲੁ ਸਚਾ ਹੈ ਜੋਗੀ ਜਿਸਦਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਨ ਮੇਟਿਆ ਜਾਇ ॥
ਹੁਕਮੁ ਪਛਾਣੈ ਸੁ ਜੋਗੀ ਕਹੀਐ ਭਾਣੈ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਇ ॥
ਤ੍ਰਿਭਵਣਿ ਜੋਗੀ ਤਿਹੁ ਲੋਈ ਜਾਪੈ ਸਚੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਸਮਾਇ ॥੭॥

ਸਬਦਿ ਮਰੈ ਸੋ ਨਿਚਲੁ ਜੋਗੀ ਸਿਝੀ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਵਜਾਇ ॥
ਭੇਖੀ ਮੈਲੁ ਨ ਉਤਰੈ ਜੋਗੀ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਬਦੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਪਾਇ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਚਿ ਨਾਇ ਨਿਸਤਾਰਾ ਹੋਰਿ ਝੂਠੇ ਭੇਖ ਸਬਾਇ ॥੮॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੮੫੧-੮੫੨)

3.1. ਆਸਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਸਗਲੇ ਰੋਗ ਮਿਟਾਏ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਉਖਧੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਲੈਆ ॥
ਕਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਜਾਕਉ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਦੇਵੈ ਦ੍ਰਿਸਟੀ ਆਵੈ ਸਰਬ ਮਇਆ ॥੧॥
ਸੰਗਿ ਗੁਪਾਲ ਹਮਰੇ ਵਸਤਾ ॥
ਸਿਮਰਤ ਕਾਜਾ ਭਾਗਨ ਭਇਆ ॥
ਸਾਧੂ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਤਿਸਹਿ ਪਰਾਪਤਿ ਜਾਕੈ ਮਸਤਕਿ ਲੇਖੁ ਪਇਆ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਅਨੇਕ ਉਪਾਵ ਕੀਏ ਬਹੁਤੇਰੇ ਬਿਨ ਹਰਿ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਦੁਖੁ ਨ ਗਇਆ ॥
ਧਾਰਿ ਅਨਿਗ੍ਰਹੁ ਰਾਖਿ ਲੀਨੇ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਤਾਕੀ ਸਰਨਿ ਪਇਆ ॥੨॥

(ਪਤਰਾ ੩੯੮)

3.2. ਆਸਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੈ ਕਾਢੀ ਮਾਰਿ ॥ ਕੁਸਲੁ ਹੋਆ ਪਰਵਾਰ ਸਧਾਰ ॥੧॥
ਮਨਊ ਗਈ ਗੁਰਿ ਆਪਿ ਗਵਾਈ ॥ ਸਹਜ ਅਨੰਦੁ ਕਰਹੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਭਾਈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਕਉ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਭਏ ਦਇਆਲਾ ॥ ਰਾਖਿ ਲੀਏ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਬਾਲ ਗੁਪਾਲਾ ॥੨॥

(ਪਤਰਾ ੩੯੮)

3.3. ਆਸਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਉਨਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਭੂਪਤਿ ਜਾਇ ਚਰਾਇਆ ॥ ਪਰਪੰਚੁ ਝੂਠਾ ਦਿਖਲਾਈ ਮਾਇਆ ॥
ਆਪਾਨਾ ਜੋਹ ਬਹੁ ਤੁਖਰ ਭਰਾਨੇ ॥ ਹਮਰਾ ਰਾਖਾ ਸਾਰੰਗ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੇ ॥੧॥
ਅਪਨੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਸਭਕੋ ਸੇਵੈ ॥ ਉਨਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਭੂਪਤਿ ਹਮ ਗੁਰਦੇਵੈ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਓਹੁ ਕਹੈ ਮੈ ਮਾਨੁਖ ਤਾਣੁ ॥ ਹਮਰੈ ਘਰਿ ਸਾਚਾ ਦੀਬਾਣੁ ॥
ਓਹੁ ਕਿਰਮੈ ਕੈ ਪਾਢੈ ਪਰਿਆ ॥ ਗਾਲੁ ਘੁਟਿ ਮੇਰੈ ਸਾਹਿਬਿ ਖਰਿਆ ॥੨॥
ਹਰਿ ਚੰਦਉਰੀ ਜਿਉ ਦੁਇ ਘਰੀਆ ॥ ਫੁਲੈ ਬੂਕੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਉਪਰੀਆ ॥
ਬਿਨਸਿ ਗਇਓ ਬਾਦਲ ਜਿਉ ਵਾਉ ॥ ਹਮਰਾ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਆਵੈ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥੩॥
ਪਚਿਆ ਨਿਦਕ ਸਣੁ ਮਿਲਿ ਭੂਪਤ ਸਭਾ ॥ ਇਕਿ ਕਾਟੇ ਇਕਿ ਭਾਗੈ ਨ ਲਭਾ ॥
ਜਨ ਕਾ ਲੀਆ ਕੁਪਿਆ ਰਾਮ ਰਾਇ ॥ ਜਨ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਦਕ ਦੀਏ ਬਹਾਇ ॥੪॥
ਜਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਸ ਕਰਹੁ ਮਤੁ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਜਨ ਕਾ ਰਾਖਾ ਸਾਚਾ ਸੋਇ ॥
ਪੁਤ ਰਖਿਓ ਜਿ ਮਾਤਾ ਬਾਪਿ ॥ ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਨੁ ਆਪੇ ਆਪਿ ॥੪॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੩੯੮)

3.4. ਬਿਹਾਗੜਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ ਛੰਤ (ਸਲੋਕ)

ਧਾਵਤੜੇ ਸੇ ਰਹਿ ਗਏ ਸਭੇ ਕਮ ਵਿਸਾਰਿ ॥
ਨਾਨਕੁ ਏਹੁ ਫਬਿਆ ਜਪਿਆ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਮਾਰਿ ॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੫੦੮-੫੦੯)

3.5. ਸੋਰਠਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਰਾਮਦਾਸਪੁਰਿ ਜਬ ਆਏ ॥
ਤਾ ਆਨੰਦ ਮੰਗਲ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਏ ॥੧॥
ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਵਿਟਹੁ ਕੁਰਬਾਨੁ ॥
ਦੈਆਲੁ ਹੋਆ ਪੂਰਨ ਪਰਮੇਸਰੁ ਬਖਸਿ ਲੈਆ ਹੈ ਬਚੜਾ ਮਾਨਾ ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਸੋਗੁ ਨਿਵਾਰਿਆ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮਿ ਆਪੇ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਭਇਆ ਜਹਾਨਾ ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੈ ਜਪਿ ਜੀਵੈ ਹਰਿ ਕੀ ਪਇਆ ਸਰਾਨਾ ॥੨॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੬੩੫)

3.6. ਸੋਰਠਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਸੰਤਨ ਕਾ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸਭ ਉਪਰਿ ਉਨ ਕਉ ਕੋ ਨ ਪਹੁਚਨਹਾਰਾ॥
ਨਾਮ ਧਨ ਸੰਤਨ ਕੈ ਪਲੈ ਅਖੁਟ ਭਰੇ ਭੰਡਾਰਾ॥੧॥
ਸੰਤ ਜਨਾ ਸਿਉ ਦੁਖਨ ਕਰਤਾ ਤਿਨਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਆਪਿ ਪਚਾਇਆ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਗਰਬੁ ਕਰੈ ਓਹੁ ਪਾਪੀ ਤਿਨਿ ਮਾਰਿ ਪਛਾਰਿਆ॥
ਜਿਉ ਕੁਠਾਰੁ ਕਰੇ ਘਰੇ ਬਡਾਈ ਸੁਕਾ ਕਾਸਟ ਖੰਡ ਖੰਡ ਕਰਿ ਡਾਰਿਆ॥੨॥
ਮਾਨਸੁ ਸੇਵੈ ਸੋ ਦੁਖੁ ਪਾਏ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਦਾਸੁ ਸੁਹੇਲਾ॥
ਪਾਪੀ ਪਾਪ ਰਹੇ ਸਿਰ ਉਪਰਿ ਜਮਪੁਰਿ ਉਠਿ ਸਿਧਾਰਿ ਇਕੇਲਾ॥੩॥
ਸੁਨਹੁ ਸੰਤ ਲੋਕੁ ਸਭਿਨਿਅਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਵਿਚਾਰਾ॥
ਜੋ ਭਗਤਨ ਸਿਉ ਕਰੈ ਬਖੀਲੀ ਸੋ ਪਰਮੇਸਰਿ ਮਾਰਿਆ॥੪॥   *(ਪਤਰਾ ੬੩੫)*

3.7. ਤਿਲੰਗ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਨਿਰਮਲਾ ਸੁਖਰੀਤਿ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਨਿਰਮਲਾ ਸੁਖਰੀਤਿ॥
ਆਸ ਪਿਆਸ ਉਲਾਸ ਮਨਹਿ ਤੇਰੇ ਪਾਇ ਪਰਸਉ ਨੀਤਿ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਤੁਮ ਹਮਰੇ ਕਰਤਿਆ ਹਮ ਤੁਮਾਰੇ ਰੇਨ॥
ਤੁਮ ਹਮਰੇ ਪਾਇਕਾ ਹਮ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ਘੇਨ॥
ਤੁਮ ਹਮਰੇ ਸਾਹਿਬਾ ਹਮ ਤੁਮਾਰੇ ਦਾਸ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਖਹੁ ਲਾਇ ਲਜਿ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਇਹ ਅਰਦਾਸਾ॥੨॥   *(ਪਤਰਾ ੬੯੩)*

ਬਿਲਾਵਲ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ ਸਲੋਕ

3.8. ਅਨਦਿਨ ਨਾਮ ਜਪਉ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਅਨਦਿਨ ਨਾਮ ਜਪਉ॥
ਸਭੁ ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਅਰਪਉ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਸਭੁ ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਅਰਪਉ॥

3.9. ਬੇਨਤੀ ਏਹ ਕਰੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਇਹ ਕਰੀ॥
ਹਰਿ ਬਿਸਰੁ ਨ ਏਕ ਘਰੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਸਰੁ ਨ ਏਕ ਘਰੀ॥

3.10. ਮੈ ਮਨਿ ਤਨਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਸ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਮੈ ਮਨਿ ਤਨਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਸ॥
ਕਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਾਟੀ ਜਮ ਫਾਸ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ॥ ਕਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਾਟੀ ਜਮ ਫਾਸ॥

3.11. ਸਾਧੂ ਸਰਨਿ ਗਹੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਸਾਧੂ ਸਰਨਿ ਗਹੀ॥
ਬਿਨੁ ਦਰਸਨ ਦੇਖੁ ਨ ਲਹੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਬਿਨੁ ਦਰਸਨ ਦੇਖੁ ਨ ਲਹੀ॥

3.12. ਸਿਧਿ ਸਾਧੂ ਸੰਗਿ ਲਧੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਸਿਧਿ ਸਾਧੂ ਸੰਗਿ ਲਧੀ॥
ਹਰਿ ਮਨਿ ਤਨਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਵਧੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਮਨਿ ਤਨਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਵਧੀ॥
                    (ਪਤਰਾ ੭੯੭-੭੯੮)

3.13. ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਕਰਨ ਕਰਾਵਨਹਾਰੁ ਬਿਧਾਤਾ॥ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮੁ ਆਪੁਨੈ ਰੰਗਿ ਰਾਤਾ॥
ਊਚ ਨੀਚ ਸਭ ਏਕ ਸਮਾਨਿ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾ ਕੀਆ ਸਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਮਾਨਿ॥੧॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਆ ਤਿਸੁ ਧਿਆਇ ਪਰਾਨੀ॥
ਤਿਸਹਿ ਤਿਆਗਿ ਅਵਰ ਲਪਟਾਵਹਿ ਜਾਸਹਿ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਵਾਇ ਪਰਾਨੀ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਤੂ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਿਆ ਤੇਰਾ ਮੂਲੁ॥ ਝੂਠੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਕਰਿ ਫੂਲੁ॥
ਜਾ ਕੀ ਬਸਤਿ ਸੋਈ ਫੁਨਿ ਲੇ॥ ਭੁਲਾ ਪਰਾਨੀ ਰੁਦਨ ਕਰੇ॥੨॥
ਜਿਉ ਜਿਉ ਰਾਖਹਿ ਤਿਉ ਤਿਉ ਰਹਨਾ॥ ਸੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਲਹਨਾ॥
ਨਾਮੁ ਆਪਨੇ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ ਜਿਸੁ ਦਾਤਿ॥ ਧਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਸੋ ਜਨ ਜਿਸੁ ਹਰਿ ਧਨ ਰਾਸਿ॥੩॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪਹੁ ਗੋਵਿੰਦ॥ ਬੂਡਤ ਨਾਹੀ ਭਵਜਲ ਸਿੰਧ॥
ਭਾਉ ਭਗਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਸੰਤਨ ਸੰਗਿ ਪਾਈਐ॥ ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਬਹੁਰਿ ਕਾਹੇ ਆਈਐ॥੪॥
                    (ਪਤਰਾ ੮੯੮)

3.14. ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਆਪੇ ਦੀਨਉ ਅਪਿਆਉ ॥ ਜੀਅਨ ਕੋ ਲਾਇਓ ਸੁਆਉ ॥
ਕੀਨੇ ਬਹੁ ਚਲਤ ਬਿਡਾਨਾ ॥ ਪੂਰਨ ਪੁਰਖ ਸੁਜਾਨਾ ॥੧॥
ਮੇਰੇ ਗੋਵਿੰਦ ਕੀ ਧੂਮਸਾਲ ਪਿਆਰੇ ॥ ਆਪਿ ਪਰੋਸਨਹਾਰੁ ॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਆਵਣ ਜਾਨ ਕੀਓ ਇਕੁ ਖੇਲ ॥ ਮਮਤਾ ਮੋਹ ਹਮ ਤੁਮ ਬਹੁ ਮੇਲੁ ॥
ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਆਵੈ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਮੋਹ ਕਾ ਬਾਧਾ ਨਹ ਠਹਰਾਇ ॥੨॥
ਕਬਹੂ ਊਚ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਬਿਸਥਾਰੁ ॥ ਕਬਹੂ ਨੀਚ ਫਿਰੈ ਭੇਖਾਰ ॥
ਕਬਹੂ ਸੋਗ ਕਬਹੂ ਅਨੰਦ ॥ ਮੀਠੇ ਠਾਕੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਹੁ ਬੰਧ ॥੩॥
ਕਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਪੂਰਨ ਏਕ ॥ ਨਾਮ ਤੇਰੇ ਕੀ ਤਰੀਐ ਟੇਕ ॥
ਤੁਧੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਦੂਜੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਆਇ ਪਰਿਓ ਸਰਨਾਇ ॥੪॥

(ਪਤਰਾ ੮੩੮-੮੩੯)

3.15. ਮਾਰੂ ਸੋਲਹੇ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਅਗਮੁ ਅਗੋਚਰੁ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਧਿਆਇਆ ॥ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਪੀਆ ਜਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪੀਆਇਆ ॥
ਮਿਲਿ ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਨਵਨਿਧਿ ਪਾਈ ਕੋ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਜਪੈ ਨਿਰਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੧॥
ਵਿਣੁ ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਸਚੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ॥ ਭਰਮਿਆ ਫਿਰੈ ਸੁ ਤੀਰਥਿ ਨਾਵੈ ॥
ਬਾਰਹੁ ਪੰਥ ਸਭੇ ਹੈ ਝੂਠੇ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਸਚੁ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੨॥
ਨਿਰਮਲ ਮੈਲੁ ਨ ਲਾਗੈ ਦਾਣਾ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਦੂਜੇ ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣਾ ॥
ਇਸ ਪਉੜੀ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਨਰੁ ਚੁਕੈ ਸੋ ਸਣੁ ਪਿਤਰੀ ਹਤਿਆਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੩॥
ਗੁਰ ਗੋਵਿੰਦੁ ਅਨਾਹਦੁ ਬਾਣੀ ॥ ਸੋਈ ਸੇਤੁ ਜਿਨਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਜਾਣੀ ॥
ਵਿਣੁ ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਭਗਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਈ ਜਾਇ ਪੁਛਹੁ ਵੇਦ ਪੁਰਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੪॥
ਸੁਰਿ ਨਰ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਸਿਧ ਵੇਚਾਰੇ ॥ ਗਾਣ ਗੰਧ੍ਰਬ ਗੁਰ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਹਾਰੇ ॥
ਜੇਤੇ ਦੇਵ ਸਭੇ ਜਮਿ ਬਾਧੇ ਜਿਨੀ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੫॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੰਤਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ॥ ਆਪਿ ਤਰਿਆ ਪਿਤਰੀ ਸਮੇਵਾ ॥
ਸੋਈ ਕੁਲੁ ਸੰਤ ਜਿਤ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੰਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਕੁਲੁ ਮਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੬॥
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਕੁਲ ਸਭਾਏ ਤਾਰੇ ॥ ਤਿਸ ਸੰਤਨ ਕੈ ਸਦਾ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੇ ॥
ਕੋਡਿ ਤੇਤੀਸ ਪਰਸਨ ਕੈ ਤਾਈ ਸੰਤ ਚਰਨ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੭॥
ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਤੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ॥ ਪਰਹਰ ਉਤਰਿਆ ਆਪਣ ਖੇਵਾ ॥
ਜਨ ਕਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਕਬਹੁ ਨ ਬਖਸੀਐ ਸੁਆਨਿ ਜੂਨਿ ਲੈ ਉਤਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੮॥
ਜਨ ਕੇ ਮਾਰਿਐ ਦੀਪ ਬਿਨਾਸੈ ॥ ਸੰਤਨ ਤੇ ਜਮ ਪਰਹੁ ਨਾਸੈ ॥
ਆਇਆ ਸੰਤੁ ਕੰਤੁ ਮਨਿ ਵਸਿਆ ॥ ਧਰਮ ਰਾਇ ਕਿਆ ਚਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੯॥
ਜਮ ਵਾਟ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਜਨ ਵੀਸਾ ॥ ਉਧਰਿਆ ਸੰਤੁ ਕਿਸੈ ਕਿਆ ਰੀਸਾ ॥
ਮਨਮੁਖ ਸੇਤੀ ਸਾਝਿ ਨ ਕਰੀਅਹੁ ਇਤ ਉਤ ਦੂਹ ਘਰਿ ਹਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੧੦॥
ਲਾਹੇ ਕਾਰਨਿ ਵਣਜੁ ਚਲਾਇਆ ॥ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਹਥਹੁ ਮੂਲੁ ਗੀਵਾਇਆ ॥
ਕਿਆ ਲਹੁੜਾ ਕਿਆ ਵਡਹੁ ਵਡੇਰਾ ॥ ਜਿਸੁ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰੇ ਸੁ ਉਧਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੧੧॥
ਤੂ ਦਾਤਾ ਸਭੁ ਜਗਤੁ ਭੇਖਾਰੀ ॥ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਕਾਰ ਨਿਰਹਾਰੀ ॥
ਸਭਨਾ ਕਾ ਪੂਰਨੁ ਏਕੋ ਦਾਤਾ ॥ ਜਨ ਕਾ ਕਾਜੁ ਸੰਵਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੧੨॥
ਅਕਥ ਕਥਾ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦ ਬੁਝਾਇਆ ॥ ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਤੇ ਸੋ ਫਲ ਪਾਇਆ ॥
ਸਚੀ ਟੇਕ ਸਚੀ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਸਚਿ ਸਬਦਿ ਜਨੁ ਤਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੧੩॥
ਰਤਨੁ ਪਦਾਰਥ ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਪਾਵੈ ॥ ਜੈਸਾ ਬੀਜੈ ਤੈਸਾ ਖਾਵੈ ॥
ਅਨਹਦ ਬਾਣੀ ਗੁਰਸਬਦਿ ਪਛਾਣੀ ਸਚਿ ਸਬਦਿ ਜਮੁ ਮਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੧੪॥
ਚੁਕੀ ਤਾਤਿ ਪਰੋਜਨ ਸਰਿਆ ॥ ਸਾਚਾ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਮੀਤੁ ਹਮਾਰਾ ॥
ਆਵਾਗਵਣੁ ਮਿਟਿਆ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਤੇ ਬਾਹੁੜਿ ਦੁਖੁ ਨ ਦਾਰਾ ਹੇ ॥੧੫॥

ਤਿਖ ਬੁਝੀ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਪੀਆਇਆ॥ ਨਾਮੁ ਦਾਨੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਦਿੜਾਇਆ॥
ਜਨ ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਤਾ ਗੁਰੁ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮੁ ਪਤਿ ਪੂਰੀ ਨਿਸਤਾਰਾ ਹੋ॥੧੬॥

<div align="right">(ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੦੧-੧੦੦੨)</div>

3.16. ਕੇਦਾਰਾ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਹਰਿ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਨਿਤਿ ਨਮਸਕਾਰੁ॥
ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਖਿਨੁ ਨ ਬਿਸਰਤ ਇਹੈ ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਅਧਾਰੁ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਧਨੁ ਸਰਬੰਸੁ ਮਾਯਉ ਮੁਕੰਦ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਮੁਰਾਰ॥
ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਿ ਨਿਧਾਨੁ ਪਾਇਉ ਬਿਨਸਿਉ ਅਹੰਕਾਰੁ॥੨॥
ਗੋਪਾਲ ਗੁਣ ਨਿਤ ਗਾਉ ਰਸਨਾ ਉਧਰਿਉ ਸੰਸਾਰ॥
ਸਮਰਥ ਸਰਨਿ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਆਇਉ ਦਰਸ ਪਿਆਸ ਅਪਾਰ॥੨॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੨੮)

3.17. ਬਸੰਤ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਸਰਨਿ ਪਰੇ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕਰਨਹਾਰ॥
ਜਿਉ ਭਾਵੈ ਤਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਤਪਾਰ॥੧॥
ਗੁਰ ਚਰਨ ਲਗੋ ਮਨੁ ਸੀਤਲੁ ਹੋਇ॥
ਰਾਮੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਹਿਰਦੇ ਮਹਿ ਵਸਿਆ ਤਾਤੇ ਬਿਘਨੁ ਨ ਲਾਗੈ ਕੋਇ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਹਰਿ ਚਰਨੀ ਜਾਕਾ ਮਨੁ ਲਾਗਾ॥
ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਤਾਕੇ ਵਡਭਾਗਾ॥੨॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੧੦੮੭)

3.18. ਮਲਾਰ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਪ੍ਰਭ ਮੇਰੇ ਬੇਧੇ ਦਰਸਿ ਤੁਹਾਰੇ॥
ਉਠਤ ਬੈਠਤ ਸੋਵਤ ਜਾਗਤ ਦਿਨੁ ਰੈਨਿ ਏਹੀ ਬੀਚਾਰੇ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਜੀਵਨ ਰੂਪ ਸਾਧ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਕੀ ਮਨ ਤਨ ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਆਧਾਰੇ॥
ਤੂ ਸਮਰਥ ਕਰਨ ਕਾਰਨ ਕੋ ਮਹਾ ਬਿਖਿਆ ਤੇ ਤਾਰੇ॥੧॥
ਪ੍ਰਭ ਅਮੋਲ ਅਤੋਲ ਅਤਿ ਭਾਰੀ ਜਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਿਸਤਾਰੇ॥
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਰਨਿ ਦੀਨ ਦੁਖ ਭੰਜਨ ਬਾਛੈ ਸੰਤ ਰਵਾਰੇ॥੨॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੧੧੬੪)

3.19. ਮਲਾਰ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਰਾਮ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੇਤੇ ਰਸ ਕੀਤੇ॥
ਰੋਗ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਇ ਉਪਜੈ ਤਿਨ ਕਉ ਕਹਾ ਮਹਾ ਦੁਖਿਤ ਹੋਇ ਬੀਤੇ॥੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
ਪੂਤੁ ਕਲਤੁ ਲਖਮੀ ਇਹ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਕੀ ਰੀਤੇ॥
ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਨਹ ਚੂਕੈ ਸਹਸਾ ਨਰਕ ਘੋਰ ਮਹਿ ਸੀਤੇ॥੧॥
ਧਾਰਿ ਅਨੁਗ੍ਰਹੁ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਦਾਸ ਰਾਖੇ ਨਾਮੁ ਮਹਾ ਰਸੁ ਪੀਤੇ॥
ਸਾਧ ਸੰਗਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਭਏ ਮੁਕਤੇ ਸਗਲ ਪਦਾਰਥ ਜੀਤੇ॥੨॥   (ਪਤਰਾ ੧੧੬੪-੧੧੬੫)

3.20. ਮਲਾਰ ਮਹਲਾ ੫

ਪ੍ਰਾਨ ਮਾਨ ਏਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ॥
(ਇਹ ਪਦਾ ਅਧੂਰਾ ਹੈ, ਪਤਰਾ ੧੧੬੫)

EPILOGUE

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The genesis of the Sikh scriptural tradition was not the outcome of aesthetic considerations, especially poetry and music. Though a number of authors have contributed to it, the whole literature is essentially religious in nature. It is primarily concerned with the 'Numinous' experience and thus to explain the theological issues arising out of it, at places the didactic approach has been applied. Obviously, it relates to the spiritual experience, which sets it apart from an ordinary piece of music and poetry. Besides, the Sikh scripture is at the centre of faith and worship of millions of Sikhs, thus any unjustifiable remark about it is liable to generate an acrimonious debate among the faithful and the critics. All these factors put together restrain us to subject it to those simple critical methods which are applied to literature in general. Furthermore, a dominant section of the scholars of Sikh studies believes that since the Sikh scripture has come down in an authenticated form from the very persons whose writings it records, consequently there is absolutely no need of textual studies of the *Àdi Granth.* Perhaps this is the only reason that, so far, they have given scant attention to evaluating the sources properly, which are said to be of earlier origin. Obviously, the scholars who seek to 'establish the sure and certain text' of the *Àdi Granth,* have to come up with unimpeachable evidence to support any of their formulations which seem to run contrary to the above theory. Well-intentioned studies which are aimed at promoting learning and understanding of the scripture need to be encouraged. However, the works which are based on mis-statements will ultimately tarnish the image and integrity of the academic fraternity and resultantly unsavoury controversies are bound to happen.

1.2.   What is of particular significance for a manuscript of *Gurba@i* is not that it had long been stored or displayed at a particular religious place or had been in possession of a family descending from the Sikh Gurus. Inspite of the above merits, the antiquity, authority and authenticity of a manuscript has to be established. For that a text critic has to conduct rigorous inquiries such as : When was it recorded ? Who was the scribe ? What was his motive ? Whether the manuscript before us is an original version or a copy of it ? Was the scribe or copyist recording it for himself, for an institution, for a group or for his patron ? And so on. Thus, while doing textual studies of the *Àdi Granth,* each source or even its smallest part has to be examined in an analytical and surgical manner.

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

1.   For a discussion on such variants see Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 437-489; Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 145-195.

2.   Edward Hobbs, 'An Introduction to Textual Methods' in Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty ed., *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts,* p. 11.

3.   Pashaura Singh, *op.cit.,* pp. 61-81; also see Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th and the Controversy,* pp. 47-49.

4.   Pashaura Singh, *op.cit.,* p. 23.

particular religious tradition may not have universal utility as it needs much experimentation and testing to determine its value for another tradition. However some scholars have applied certain methods of textual criticism to the Sikh text which have been in use for Biblical studies.[1] Here we will underline the relative merits and limitations of the textual methods that our critics have employed usually to do textual studies relating to the *Àdi Granth.* It closes with our observations which are relevant to the studies of the Sikh scripture.

II. ROLE OF ORAL TRADITION

2.1.   The role of oral tradition in order to identify the original text of the songs of the *Bhagats,* has been considered of significant value. The hypothesis for such approach being that their writings have not come to us in scribal form but through the singing tradition.[2] Taking queue from such studies some critics of *Gurba@i* have veered round to the view that long before taking scribal form the hymns of the Sikh Gurus had been in circulation orally, especially through musical tradition. Hence, on the basis of musical variants found in some manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth,* a few critics have claimed unearthing the original or earlier text of the Gurus' writings.[3] As mentioned earlier, the musical tradition had no independent origin but had thrived on scribal tradition for its subsistence. Inspite of its merits, the musical tradition had its own limitations relating to accuracy and originality as well. The bands of musicians had not memorized the whole corpus but a small number of hymns for the purpose of *Kirtan.* It is quite possible that to dramatize the effect of singing, the musicians had brought in modification relating to variation in *ragas,* inversion of *antras* and addition of fillers and vocatives in the text, to suit their requirements. Above all with the multiplicity of musical bands such type of variants continued

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1. See infra sub-sections III and IV.
2. Winand M. Callewaert and Mukund Lath, *The Hindi Pad#val$ of Namdev,* Chap. 2.
3. Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th and the Controversy,* pp. 42-43; Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 117-129.

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

III. UNUSUAL AND DIFFICULT READING

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

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1. Edward Hobbs, 'An Introduction to Textual Methods', pp. 18-19.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 19.

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

IV. SHORTER READING

4.1. Another rule of textual criticism evolved by the Biblical

1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* pp. 25, 123.
2. For criteria fixing the primary reading, see Paul R. McReynolds, 'Establishing Text Families' in Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty ed., *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts,* pp. 105-106.
3. For details see supra chap. 3.15 and chap. 4.12.

critics prescribes *brevior liectio praeferenda verbosiri* that to determine the text 'the shorter reading should be preferred to the longer one.'[1] The basis for its currency was that in general scribes tend to add to the text rather than to omit from the text.[2] However, the Biblical scholars avowed strong reservation of its usefulness that if you follow the shorter reading, you will end up with no text at all.[3] It has been aptly remarked by A.C. Clark that "a text is like a traveller who goes from one inn to another losing an article at each halt."[4] The point which he desired to emphasise is that a text handled by successive scribes largely because of intentional as well as unintentional omissions instead of getting longer may turn out to be a shorter one. Thus, a critic has to be judicious to observe that whether scribes have lengthened the shorter one or have indulged in shortening the longer one. As described earlier the writings that were in full knowledge of the scribe of MS # 1245 have been dropped from its text intentionally but a critic still claims "if the standard rule of textual criticism that the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one, is considered, the text of this manuscript comes out to be earlier than the famous Kartarpur manuscript."[5] However, in the case of Sikh scriptural tradition the rule of 'shorter reading' is only partially true.

4.2.   Critics are aware that some apocryphal writings attributed to the Sikh Gurus and *Bhagats* as well, have found their way into the codices. To ascertain the veracity of such writings the canon of 'shorter reading' can be of immense help for the critics of *Gurba@i.* For instance in MS # 1245, the hymns attributed to M.1, M.3 and M.5, are much larger in size than that of the *Àdi Granth.* Similarly the *ragas* of the Goindwal *Pothis* comprise of more writings of the *Bhagats* than the *ragas* of the Sikh scripture.[6] Obviously, in the above documents, more and more

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1. Edward Hobbs, 'An Introduction to Textual Methods', p. 18.
2. James R. Royse, 'Scribal Habits in the Transmission of New Testament' in Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty ed., *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts,* p. 143.
3. Edward Hobbs, *op.cit.,* p. 19.
4. As quoted by James R. Royse, *op.cit.,* p. 155.
5. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Gra*th,* p. 25.
6. See supra Appendix IV chap. 3 and Appendix V chap. 4.

writings have come to be associated with the Sikh Gurus and the *Bhagats* as well. The rule of 'shorter reading' when applied to the writings of an individual author, constrains us to believe that the text of above documents belongs to earlier strata.

4.3. There is no reason to doubt that the Sikh scriptural tradition had developed around the *Ba@i* of Guru Nanak Dev. Subsequently, with the addition of the hymns of his successors and that of the *Bhagats,* it continued to expand, ultimately attaining the size and status of the *Àdi Granth.* Naturally, the *Pothis* which were in circulation prior to 1604 C.E., would have been small in volume. Besides, there were lectionaries in which only the hymns relating to liturgy, had been included. Pious Sikhs and musicians, instead of copying the whole mass of sacred writings, had prepared *Pothis* containing selected hymns of their choice, possibly for the purpose of study and *Kirtan* as well. Even, the codices prepared at the behest of the rivals of the Sikh Gurus, had also come in circulation. Since the *Udasis* intended to promote their tradition, hence the codices carrying the *Ba@i* of Guru Nanak Dev minus that of his immediate successors, cannot be ruled out altogether. Similarly, the *Bhalla* tradition had tried to minimize the role and authority of the main stream of Sikhism, consequently to include the hymns of M.4 and M.5 in their codices, as is the case with Goindwal *Pothis,* was of little relevance for them. Evidence at hand also confirms that though sometimes the text was in full knowledge of the scribe, yet he arbitrarily omitted to record it.[1] All these factors suggest that the presence of codices with 'the shorter' text is not a sound proof to conclude that full text till then was non-existent. In fact, the very purpose and use made of the codex were largely responsible for its short or large size.

V. PHYSIOGNOMY

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

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1. For omission of the text see supra chap. 4.6.

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

VI. COLOPHON

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

VII. *NÁSÀÆ*

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

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

VIII. TABLE OF DEMISE DATES

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

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1. Bhai Gurdas, 6.3, 9.17, 29.5.

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

IX. EDITORIAL NOTES

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

X. LITURGICAL HYMNS

10.1. Some of the old manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth* include only five hymns of the *Sodaru* section with the result that they omit the *Sopurakhu* and *Sohila* sections meant for evening liturgy session of the Sikhs. On the basis of the above documents our critics have come to the conclusion that the evening liturgy of the early Sikhs was restricted only to the hymns of *Sodaru* section and thus the manuscripts bearing the above hymns are

legitimately of earlier origin. But on the testimony of Bhai Gurdas and earlier Sikh sources one can safely remark that *Sohila* and *Àrati* hymns had already become an essential part of the Sikh liturgy.[1] Obviously, omission of these hymns in a document may be due to the ignorance or impudence of the scribe and it cannot be taken as a sure proof to establish the earlier origin of a document concerned.

XI. ORTHOGRAPHY

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

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

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1. Bhai Gurdas, 1.38, 6.3, 26.4; Narinder Kaur Bhatia (ed.), *Sr$ Satigur% J$ de Muhai* D$#* S#kh$#**, p. 57.
2. For the orthographical features of the documents produced during the second half of 17th century, see Ganda Singh (ed.), *Hukamn#me;* MS. No. 2306, Sikh History Research Deptt., Khalsa College, Amritsar; MS. No. 359, Bhasha Vibhag Punjab Library, Patiala.

of time or not. Its evidence needs to be taken in its totality but not in a piece-meal manner to prove the contrived thesis. If the hymns recorded by two different scribes in a document bear identical orthographic features, as in the case of Goindwal *Pothis,* one must have reasons to accept a particular style as earlier one and reject the other as later construction. If one is inclined to believe the alleged autograph of Guru Ram Das in *Lan^a* script as genuine, then he must have sound reasons to discard the writings of similar character that are present in the *Pothis.*

XII. PAINTINGS

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

XIII. PAPER

1. To observe the above fact have a close look at the art work done on the Goindwal *Poth$s.*
2. Since orthodoxy in Islam did not allow the Muslim artists to depict human and animal forms, thus they adopted geometrical and flowery patterns to illuminate the manuscripts, especially, the *Qur#n;* see Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs,* pp. 423-424.

13.1. Text critics often determine the antiquity of a manuscript on the basis of material on which it has been transcribed. Though to ascertain the age of paper, scientific techniques exist, but our critics have been doing it in an arbitrary manner to remark that it is of *Kashmiri, Sialko_i* or *Desi* origin. What difference does it make to the anteriority of a manuscript ? They have no rationale. The witness of paper may be significant to determine the relative value of a manuscript but not necessarily the date on which the writings on it has been transcribed.

XIV. METHOD OF SCRIBING

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

XV. *TATKARÀ*

15.1. The index (*tatkara*) whether appended to a document in the beginning or affixed separately to each *raga,* is a significant tool to check its internal contents and accuracy as well. Obviously, with its help one can understand not only the original writings included in a document but also the format pursued for arranging

the text. It can be of immense value to detect internal discrepancies relating to omissions occurring in the text, violations in the pattern fixed for arrangement, modifications introduced in the text and most significantly the additions or insertions carried on at a later stage. For example, a close look at the index and text of the respective *ragas* of MS # 1245, reveals that its scribe instead of adhering to the index, has brought in various innovations in the text. A comparison of the index and text of the above document proves beyond any doubt that its scribe was dependent on a source very much the same as the *Àdi Granth* to produce a copy of his choice.

XVI. SERIAL NUMBERS

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

XVII. ARRANGEMENT OF *BÀÆÁ*

17.1. The *Àdi Granth* is an organized scripture. Broadly, keeping in view the beat for singing, the hymns within a *raga,* each treated as a separate unit, have been arranged according to length in ascending order. For a scholar who is not well versed in *Gurba@i,* it may appear difficult to follow. Even a scholar of the ilk of Ernest Trumpp may find it inconsistent and repetitive both in the content and style to remark that it lacks in 'thematic unity and artistic beauty' in arrangement.[1] All these scholars basically miss the point that though the *Àdi Granth* is an

organized scripture, yet its hymns move without any transition from one subject to another, often returning to a subject discussed earlier.

XVIII. *KACHÁ-BÀÆÁ*

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

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1. Piar Singh, *G#th# Sr$ Àdi Gra*th and the Controversy,* p. 119.

XIX. TRADITION OF THE SCRIBE

19.1. Hitherto, the role played by the scribes in the transmission of *Bani* has not been adequately commented upon by the critics. Pashaura Singh has discerned Islamic influence on the early manuscripts of Sikh scripture to claim that "the early Sikh scribes followed the Qur'anic tradition to illuminate the margins and opening folios of the manuscripts of the *Àdi Granth*."[1] However, a preliminary enquiry reveals that these so-called Islamic features were not confined to the *Àdi Granth* manuscripts alone. The illumination or art work may be attributed to the professional scribes and book-binders who at the behest of their patrons got the services of illuminators with the sole aim to present the manuscript in an attractive and decent manner. In fact, the critics have not only neglected the role of professional scribes but also have failed to trace out the tradition with which a scribe was affiliated. They assume that almost all the documents relating to *Gurbani,* are the legitimate works of the main Sikh tradition, whereas one can very safely state that there were three other rival traditions which were prevalent in the pre-*Àdi Granth* period. The rivals of the Sikh Gurus had also produced codices of *Gurbani,* ostensibly to attract the Sikhs to their fold. For that they had commissioned scribes whose primary interest lay in projecting their peculiar beliefs and practices. In fact the entry of apocryphal writings into the Sikh scriptural writings can largely be attributed to the scribes working at the behest of their masters, the rivals of the Sikh Gurus. Thus, all the manuscripts which presently we have in the different libraries and private collections and those which might be surfacing in near future, are not ought to be the product of main Sikh tradition alone. The point which we wish to put-forth here is that while doing textual studies, religious outlook or affiliation of a scribe responsible for producing a document, is equally important and needs to be probed, otherwise conclusions drawn will not be able to stand the test of scrutiny.

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

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1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 17.

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

XX. *MÂL-MAÅTRA*

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

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1. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* pp. 95-97; Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* pp. 417-420; Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture,* pp. 85-86.

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

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

1. See supra chap. 2.7.
2. See supra chap. 3.13.
3. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* pp. 95-96; also see Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* p. 420.

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

<div align="center">ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਪੂਰਨ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਮਾਈ ॥[1]</div>

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

<div align="center">ਜਪਿ ਮਨ ਨਿਰਭਉ ॥ ਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਸਦਾ ਸਤਿ ॥
ਨਿਰਵੈਰ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ॥ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ॥
ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਅਨਦਿਨੁ ਧਿਆਇ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਾਹਾਰੀ ॥[2]</div>

However, the above reference has been taken to mean that Guru Ram Das has worked over the text of *Mul-Mantra* to introduce certain theological changes in it.[3] It is well-known to the critics that the occurrence of such references in a text are not an unusual feature. It may be a part of Guru Ram Das' methodology to expound the text of *Mul-Mantra* as to explain the technical terms or to explain the meanings the use of scripture has been a valid and reliable method of exegesis. In the Sikh scripture such examples are not uncommon. It is worth-noting that Guru Ram Das has resorted to the above mode of exegesis at a number of places. For example he remarks :

<div align="center">ਸਭਿ ਧਿਆਵਹੁ ਆਦਿ ਸਤੇ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਸਤੇ ਪਰਤਖਿ ਸਤੇ
ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਸਤੇ ਜਨੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਸੁ ਦਸੋਨਾ ॥[4]</div>

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

1. *AGGS,* p. 596.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 1201.
3. Pashaura Singh, *The Text and Meaning of the Àdi Granth,* p. 95.
4. *AGGS,* p. 1315.

the above composition reads like a commentary on a *saloka* that occurs at the beginning of *Japu* of Guru Nanak. All these factors point to the fact that the full text of *Mul-Mantra* in its present form alongwith the *saloka* (ਆਦਿ ਸਚੁ ਜੁਗਾਦਿ ਸਚੁ) have already been a part of the Sikh text. Consequently, the hypothesis that Guru Ram Das has introduced certain theological changes in the text of *Mul-Mantra* does not stand the test of scrutiny.

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

1. Edward Habbs, 'An Introduction to Textual Methods', p. 7.
2. Paul R. McReynolds, 'Establishing Text Families'. p. 99.

XXI. TEXTUAL VARIANTS

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

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

1. Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth and the Controversy,* p. 44.

pronounced and varied than that of the *Àdi Granth,* thus the above *Pothis* are ineligible to be called earlier sources of the *Àdi Granth.*

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

21.4. Some of the vocables of the Goindwal *Pothis* and that of MS # 1245, namely ਅੰਬ੍ਰਿਤ (ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤ)ਠ ਸੰਬ੍ਰਥ (ਸਮਰਥ)ਠ ਸਿਪਤ (ਸਿਫਤ)ਠ ਸੈਸਾਰ (ਸੰਸਾਰ)ਠ ਕਮੀਰ/ਕੰਬੀਰ (ਕਬੀਰ)ਠ ਬਕਸ (ਬਖਸ)ਠ ਅਜਰਾਈਅਰ (ਅਜਰਾਈਲ)ਠ ਥੀਰਤਿ (ਤੀਰਥਿ)ਠ ਬੇਬੇ (ਬਾਬੇ) and ਧਾਸਰੀ (ਧਨਾਸਰੀ) have been scribed in a corrupt manner. However, they have been picked up as 'colloquial forms' said to be definitive features of the earlier collections.[2] It has been aptly remarked that since we can not make fools behave like wisemen, thus taking recourse to the above approach would mean that we expect from the wisemen that they should have behaved like fools.[3] Some of the variants of the above documents, are so ill-devised that sense of the syllables and phrases is hardly intelligible.[4] Hypothetically, one can argue that their poetic and correct use was unknown to the Sikh Gurus and that they had composed their writings in a crude manner which is a highly improper formulation. Though, the presence of such vocables in their corrupt form may de due to the ignorance and dialectal reasons on the part of the scribe, yet their appearance is, in no

1. Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth and the Controversy,* pp. 35-41.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 40.
3. Edward Hobbs, 'An Introduction to Textual Methods', p. 10.
4. For details see supra chap. 3.15 and chap. 4.12.

way, a certificate of antiquity of a document.

XXII. SCRIBAL TRADITION

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

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

1. Surjit Hans, *A Reconstruction of Sikh History from Sikh Literature,* p. 100.

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

XXIII. COMPILATION OF *BÀNÁ*

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

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1. Piara Singh Padam, 'Miharban di Sahit Sewa', *Khoj Patrika,* Vol. I, p. 91.

was in Punjab, especially the Upper Bari Doab region.[1] Almost all the immediate successors of Guru Nanak Dev had remained busy in the confines of the above region of Punjab. Thirdly, all the major centres of Sikhism such as Kartarpur (Ravi), Khadur, Goindwal, Ramdaspur, Tarn Taran and Kartarpur (Doaba) that had come up were situated in and around the Upper Bari Doab region of Punjab. In the face of above factors to conceive that Guru Arjan Dev was unfamiliar with the writings of his predecessors and to procure them he had to depend on the Sikhs settled at far away places, look not so convincing. However, to sift the writings of the medieval *Bhagats* he might have approached their devotees settled at different places in and outside Punjab to procure the sources available with them. On the testimony of titles such as ਗਉੜੀ ਕਬੀਰ ਜੀਉ ਨਾਲਿ ਰਲਾਇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ that occurs in the *Àdi Granth,* we can vouch-safe that some writings of the *Bhagats* have come into the Sikh scripture from the sources that were available to the fifth Master.

XXIV. CANONIZATION OF *BÀNI*

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

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1. For the expansion of Sikh mission during early 17th century, see Balwant Singh Dhillon, *Parmukh Sikh te Sikh Panth,* pp. 89-136.

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

24.2. It is a well-known fact that with the codification of the *Àdi Granth,* the canon has been closed. However, Piar Singh claims that the activities pertaining to the compilation and editing to the Holy Word "went on even after the reported canonization of *Gurbani* by the Fifth Master; otherwise we would not have witnessed the plethora of different recensions in the years that followed."[1] To explain the emergence of different recensions this approach does not look convincing. In fact critics usually tend to overlook the vital fact that transmission of *Bani* in the pre and post-*Àdi Granth* period continued through various ways and means. Besides the tradition nurtured by the Sikh Gurus, the traditions propounded by the rival claimants for guruship were also prevalent. Thus, all the extant manuscripts of *Bani* may not have originated from the tradition associated with the Sikh Gurus. Similarly, a manuscript may have been produced keeping in mind a particular use. Moreover, a scribe while copying his text may have been making use of more than one document at times, hence manuscripts of corrupt or conflated nature may have come into existence. Even, over the years cross-fertilization between various recensions may have occurred. Lastly, the

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1. Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth and the Controversy,* p. 46.

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

XXV. DISAPPEARANCE OF SOURCES

25.1. Our sources reveal that history of the literary activities in
the Sikh Panth is not of recent origin but is quite old. We observe
that during the pre-*Àdi Granth* period, hymns of the Sikh Gurus
had been reduced to writing, the *Pothis* of *Gurbani* had been
installed in the *Dharamsalas* and their reading in public had
become the core of Sikh liturgy. But it is quite astonishing to
note that no writing or codex belonging to the earlier Gurus has
survived. If they ever existed then why is none of them is
traceable now ? What are the reasons for their disappearance ?
Whether all these sources had been destroyed callously to
promulgate the official scripture ? All these issues are of serious
concern for a text critic. Unlike the orthodox Caliphs of Islam,
a decree on the part of the Sikh Gurus to destroy all the scriptural
sources except the *Àdi Granth,* is still unheard of in the annals

of Sikh history. It seems with the codification of the *Àdi Granth,* all other codices of *Gurbani,* had been rendered redundant and lost religious significance for the Sikhs to preserve them for posterity. Another reason, which is equally significant, is that during the period of persecution, the Sikhs were hard pressed to preserve their literature. What happened to the Sikhs and their scripture during the ascendancy of Lakhpat Rai, Diwan of Lahore (1740s), is worth reminding in the words of Rattan Singh Bhangoo :

> It was announced with the beat of drum that no one should utter the name of Guru. If anyone were found uttering the name of Guru would be arrested and his belly ripped open. It was also decreed that no one should read the *Bani* of Guru Nanak. To avoid persecution at the hands of Mughal authorities the Sikhs had to stack away their *Granth* and *Pothis* as well.[1]

As noted by Ganda Singh even the word *gu~* (molasses) which sounded like Guru, was not to be uttered. The word *Granth* was also to be replaced with *Pothi.* Many of the volumes of the Holy *Granth* were collected and thrown into rivers and wells. The tank of the Amritsar temple was filled with earth.[2] In the light of above scenario, the critics who rue for the disappearance of the sources of the *Àdi Granth,* can well-imagine that where and with whom the *Pothis* of *Gurbani* could have survived. In retrospect we can very safely remark that until and unless the critics do not posses the incredible sources pre-dating 1604 C.E., the hypothesis that the text of the *Àdi Granth* codified by Guru Arjan Dev lacks in originality, is difficult to believe. Since, no devout Sikh of the stature of Bhai Gurdas would wilfully attempt to tamper with the 'word' of God, we have to accept that the final version of the *Àdi Granth* is a faithful production on the part of the fifth Master.

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1. ਹੋਕਾ ਦੀਨਾ ਸਹਿਰ ਬੁਲਾਇ॥ ਲੇਵੇ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਨਾਇ॥
   ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਨਾਮ ਸੁਨਯ ਹਮ ਕਾਨ॥ ਛਾਡੋਂ ਨਾਂਹੀ ਕਢੋਂ ਪਰਾਨ॥
   ਨਾਨਕ ਕੀ ਕੋਊ ਪੜੈ ਨ ਬਾਨੀ॥ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਲੁਕੋਇ ਪੋਥੀਆਂ ਛਿਪਾਨੀ॥
   ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਕੋਊ ਲਵੈ ਨਾਮ॥ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਉਸ ਕਰੋਂ ਪਛਾਨ॥
   (Rattan Singh Bhangoo, Sri Gur Panth Prakash, p. 308)
2. Ganda Singh and Teja Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs,* p. 124.

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

1. Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* p. 472.
2. For dissemination of *Bani* in its correct form under the sixth and tenth Gurus, see Sohan, *Gurbilas Chhevin Patshahi,* pp. 332-339; *Parchian Sewa Das Udasi* (ed. Hari Singh), pp. 160-161.
3. G.B. Singh, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Dian Prachin Bi~an,* pp. 169-170.
4. Piara Singh Padam, *Sri Guru Granth Parkash,* p. 89; also see Piar Singh, *Gatha Sri Àdi Granth,* p. 341.

GLOSSARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Baoli (ਬਉਲੀ) : a well with paved steps leading to the water level.

Bari Doab (ਬਾਰੀ ਦੁਆਬ) : an area bounded by the rivers of Beas and Ravi in the Punjab.

Bedi (ਬੇਦੀ) : a sub-caste of the *Khatris* of Punjab.

Bemukh (ਬੇਮੁਖ) : a person who has turned away from the path of the Sikh Gurus.

Bhagat (ਭਗਤ) : lit. devotee or worshipper; title assigned to the exponents of *Bhagati,* particularly the medieval Indian saints.

Bhagat-Baai (ਭਗਤ ਬਾਣੀ) : the compositions of medieval Indian *Bhagats* that are included in the Sikh canon.

Bhagati (ਭਗਤੀ) : adoration; worship; devotion towards God in personal form.

Bhai (ਭਾਈ) : lit. brother; an honorific of a Sikh well-versed in the Sikh scripture and tradition.

Bhalla (ਭੱਲਾ) : a sub-caste of the *Khatris* of Punjab.

Bha_ia (ਭਾਟੀਆ) : a mercantile community in the Punjab.

Bha__ (ਭੱਟ) : bard; panegyrist; a professional caste of the Hindu minstrels.

Bi~ (ਬੀੜ) : recension; volume; a manuscript volume of the Sikh scripture.

Chaudhari (ਚੌਧਰੀ) : a village level functionary in medieval India, normally a village headman.

Chaupada (ਚਉਪਦਾ) : lit. a hymn possessing four stanzas; a metrical composition of the Sikh Gurus comprising two or more stanzas.

Chawla (ਚਾਵਲਾ) : lit. rice trader; a sub-caste of the *Aro~as,* a mercantile community of the Punjab.

Chhant (ਛੰਤ) : a poetic mode of variable length employed in the Sikh scripture.

Äakhaa (ਡਖਣਾ) : lit. southern; a dialect of southern Punjab known as *Sairaiki;* a prosordic mode popular in southern Punjab; title assigned to the couplets juxtapositioned between the stanzas (*pau~is*) of *var* (ballad) in the Sikh scripture.

Dakhai (ਦਖਣੀ) : lit. originating or belonging to the Deccan; suffix of some musical modes to make them composite ones. For instance, *Ramkali Dakhai* means a variety of *Ramkali* mode that is sung in the South.

Damdama (ਦਮਦਮਾ) : resting place; one of the five *Takhts* of Sikh Panth situated at Talwandi Sabo, Bathinda, Punjab.

Desi (ਦੇਸੀ) : indigenous; local.

Devanagri (ਦੇਵਨਾਗਰੀ) : name of the script used for Sanskrit and Hindi.

Dhamal (ਧਮਾਲ) : a form of folk dance of the Punjab.

Dharamsala (ਧਰਮਸਾਲਾ) : lit. place to practise religion; an inn for pilgrims and wayfarers; an earlier name of Sikh centre of worship, a prototype of modern day *Gurdwara,* consisting community kitchen and *serai.*

Dhuni (ਧੁਨੀ) : musical tune for singing.

Doab (ਦੁਆਬ) : a region bounded by two rivers.

Doaba (ਦੁਆਬਾ) : a region of Punjab bounded by the rivers of Beas and Satluj also called Jalandhar-Doab or Bist-Doab.

Äoom (ਭੂਮ) : a class of Muslim genealogists and minstrels also known as *Mirasis.*

*Dusha_* (ਦੁਸ਼ਟ) : an evil-doer; demon.

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

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

Gosh_i (ਗੋਸ਼ਟਿ) : dialogue; discourse particularly on religious matters.

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

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

Gulam (ਗੁਲਾਮ) : servant; slave.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ha_h-yoga (ਹਠ-ਯੋਗ) : a variety of *yoga* based on extreme austerities and difficult postures practised by the Shaivite *yogis.*

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

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

Janamsakhi (ਜਨਮਸਾਖੀ) : lit. life or birth story; a traditional biographical account, especially of a religious personality.

Japu / Japuji (ਜਪੁਜੀ) : a composition of Guru Nanak placed at the head of Sikh scripture forming an essential part of the morning prayer of the Sikhs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ku~iyar (ਕੁੜਿਆਰ) : a person in love with falsehood.

Lan^a (ਲੰਡਾ) : lit. tailless; a type of script without vowel signs normally used by the accountants.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mandir (ਮੰਦਿਰ) : temple; place of worship.

Manji (ਮੰਜੀ) : lit. cot; seat of religious authority; dioceses established by Guru Amar Das in specified towns and areas to carry on the Sikh mission.

Manjidar (ਮੰਜੀਦਾਰ) : lit. holder of *Manji;* a pious Sikh bestowed with the authority to preach Sikhism on behalf of the Sikh Gurus at a specified place.

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

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

Mast (ਮਸਤ) : ecstatic; intoxicated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nath-Sidha (ਨਾਥ-ਸਿਧ) : a Shaivite sect of the *yogis* having strong influence of Tantric Buddhism, expert in *ha_h-yoga* also known as *Kanpha_a yogis.*

Nazrana (ਨਜ਼ਰਾਨਾ) : tribute; offering.

Nindak (ਨਿੰਦਕ) : detractor; slanderer; calumniator.

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

Nirguaa-bhakti (ਨਿਰਗੁਣ ਭਗਤੀ) : worship, adoration and devotion of God who is without any form and incarnation.

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

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

Panch Khalsa Diwan (ਪੰਚ ਖ਼ਾਲਸਾ ਦੀਵਾਨ) : an organization of the Sikhs founded by Babu Teja Singh of Bhasaur, a strong votary to expunge the writings of *Bhagats* and *Bha__s* from the Sikh scripture.

Pandha (ਪਾਂਧਾ) : a Brahmin priest or teacher.

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

Pargana (ਪਰਗਨਾ) : an administrative unit usually a sub-divison in medieval India.

Patishah (ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ) : lit. the emperor; an honorific used for the Sikh Gurus.

Patti (ਪਟੀ) : a wooden board used by tutors to instruct the pupils; a composition of Guru Nanak in *Àsa* mode.

Parsadi (ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ) : lit. grace; an attribute used in the Sikh scripture to depict the gracious and generous nature of God.

Pa~tal (ਪੜਤਾਲ) : a kind of rhythm in *Gurbaai* music.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rahao (ਰਹਾਉ) : pause; refrain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sammat (ਸੰਮਤ) : era; calendar usually Bikrami era.

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

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

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

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

Sarguaa-bhakti (ਸਰਗੁਣ ਭਗਤੀ) : adoration, devotion or worship of God endowed with form, qualities and incarnation.

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

Satiguru (ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ) : lit. the true guru; personal guru.

Sewak (ਸੇਵਕ) : servant; attendant; devotee.

Shair (ਸ਼ਾਇਰ) : poet; versifier.

Shiqdar (ਸ਼ਿਕਦਾਰ) : lit. holder of *shiq,* an administrative unit in medieval India.

Sodaru (ਸੋਦਰੁ) : title assigned to a group of hymns taken from the Sikh scripture that forms part of early evening prayer of the Sikhs.

Sohila (ਸੋਹਿਲਾ) : eulogy; song of thanks-giving recited as a bed time prayer by the Sikhs.

Solahe (ਸੋਲਹੇ) : a poetic form or metre employed in the Sikh scripture normally comprising 16 stanzas.

Suchaji (ਸੁਚਜੀ) : well-mannered, cultured or skillful woman; title assigned to a hymn of Guru Nanak in *Suhi* mode of the Sikh canon.

Swayye (ਸਵਈਏ) : panegyrics; a poetic mode used for eulogy.

Takht (ਤਖ਼ਤ) : lit. throne; one of the five seats of religious authority of Sikh Panth.

Āakari (ਟਾਕਰੀ) : an old script usually without vowel signs.

Tatkara (ਤਤਕਰਾ) : index; table of contents.

Udasi (ਉਦਾਸੀ) : indifferent to mundane world; otherworldly; a sect of the Sikh ascetics founded by Sri Chand, the eldest son of Guru Nanak Dev.

Vak (ਵਾਕ) : lit. speech; the first hymn on the left hand page of the Sikh scripture opened at random taken as a command of the day by the Sikhs.

Var (ਵਾਰ) : ode; ballad; a poetic genre eulogising heroic deeds.

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