

TEXTUALIZING ETHICAL SELVES:
The Rahitname and the Formation of Moral Sikh Communities in the Early Eighteenth
Century

by

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Abstract

This dissertation engages with the topic of early modern community formation in South Asia. It focuses on a didactic form of literature of religious ethics and behavior regulation in the Sikh religion known as the *rahitname* and asks why the two earliest texts of this genre were produced at all. The dissertation is based on primary documentation, and situates these texts in the historical and cultural context of the frontier regions of Northwest India. By doing so, we arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the role that normative textual production played in the articulation of Sikh self-understanding - particularly in the case of the Khalsa - an emergent order within the broader Sikh community - amidst the various complex competing configurations of religious and political power in the early eighteenth century. Additionally it situates the cultural production of the Sikh Khalsa in relation to other religious groups such as Sufis, Vaishnava groups, and Nath yogis, who were politically and culturally present in that milieu. The dissertation locates the production of the manuals in two separate locations, one in Punjab and the other in Maharashtra, and argues that the emergent Khalsa embarked upon localized forms of religious ethics as an expression of power and prestige. The dissertation further argues that this production of religious ethics took place in competition with other religious groups as well as a transfer of charismatic religious appeal from the last human Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, who was assassinated in 1708 just prior to the writing of the two texts, to the members of the Khalsa. Finally, the study concludes that the texts are based on the personal, charismatic bond between the Guru and the Khalsa order, and that they were meant to be memorized by the members of the Khalsa. The texts thus represent a Khalsa claim to prestige and power through a religious charismatic appeal, in two different geocultural environments.

Lay Summary

This dissertation investigates the rahitnama genre of Sikh texts that articulate religious ethics and behavior regulation, with a special emphasis on the Khalsa (an order in the Sikh community founded in 1699). More specifically, it focuses on the earliest texts (the *Tanakhahnama* and the *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama*, both produced in the early eighteenth century) and situates them in the multi-religious, cultural, and historical context of the frontier regions of early modern South Asia. The early eighteenth century in North India is poorly understood, and this dissertation seeks to elucidate the general topic of community formation as well as the more specific topic of why texts like these were produced at all. Finally, the dissertation is based on the edition and translation of primary manuscript materials, which are provided here as appendices.

Preface

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Peder Gedda.

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List of Abbreviations

BPSR	<i>Bhai Prahilad Singh</i>
CSR	<i>Chaupa Singh</i> rahitnama
TN	<i>Tanakhahnama</i>
KHc SHR	Khalsa college (Manuscript)
GNDU MS	Guru Nanak Dev University Manuscript

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Note on Transliteration and Translation

In order to be as phonetically coherent as possible for a North American reader, I follow a general transliteration practice for all Punjabi terms in this dissertation that avoids technical diacritical marks in favour of a simple form of transliteration.¹ Accordingly, I do not employ diacritical marks in favour of a simple form of transliteration. An example of this is “rahitnama” for “rahitnāma.” Foreign terms are defined the first time they appear as well as in the translations, either in a parenthetical or bracketed remark. Spellings of words in direct quotations have been left as they were in the original. All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

¹ Please see Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (University of California Press, 2010), xiii.

Dedication

To the memory of my father, Ove Gedda (1943-2018), and Zennie Cherak (1945-2018).

1. Introduction

The rahit literature is a didactic form of vernacular literature that attempts to outline religious behavior regulation collectively and individually for members of the Sikh community. The genre is known as rahitname (rahit: from the verb rahina [ਰਹਿਣਾ]: to live, name: plur. of nama [ਨਾਮਾ], manual or letter) and has been produced from the early eighteenth century into the modern era. It represents a literary effort of religious ethics that quantifies and qualifies behavior regulation and religious obligation, as a vehicle of instruction in idealized projections of behavioral standards. The genre is said to have emerged out of the events that took place during the Vaisakhi festival of 1699, when Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708), the tenth Guru within the lineage of ten Gurus, is described as having formed the Khalsa, a martial order with a direct relationship with the Guru. In conjunction with this, the Guru proclaimed a set of behavioral injunctions, known as the rahit.²

Some of the complicating factors that have emerged in the scholarly understanding of the rahit literature relate to its relationship to the event that it is associated with, the Vaisakhi festival of 1699. It is shrouded in considerable mystery, since no contemporaneous source is available to scholarship, and thus there is no historical confirmation of the event or its ascribed date. In other words, from a strictly historical point of view, what took place in 1699 cannot be affirmed without relying on later sources. Secondly, there is no mentioning of the Guru's proclamation of the rahit for the Khalsa in either of the two earliest rahit manuals that this dissertation analyzes. It

² W.H. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 46–48. The term *Khalsa* most likely comes from the Persian term *Khalisa*, and denotes a form of land management arrangement in the Mughal state, whereby the revenue from an administrative unit was paid directly to the central treasury without intermediaries. Louis Fenech, *The Darbar of the Sikh Gurus: The Court of God in the World of Men* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 88.

does however appear to be thematically related to the Gursobha (an early eighteenth century poetic work that focuses on the life of Guru Gobind Singh and the Sikh community of that period, composed in a mixture of Punjabi and Braj Bhasha) and is the source closest in time to the portrayed events of 1699.³ Finally, if there were a rahit (in the sense of a behavioral standard) proclaimed by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699, then the literary rahit genre as a whole becomes difficult to explain given that the relationship between the event and the literature has not been established historically. In other words, why are we left with multiple manuals, with at least two that can be placed in the early eighteenth century? Undergirding these manuals is the central question of why these texts were produced at all, and how can we understand the genre as a whole within its specific cultural context. In investigating these questions in relation to the formation of this genre of texts, and through a comparative study between them, this dissertation argues that the texts were products of two different historical milieus, in which the Khalsa were competing with other religious groups for social influence. They represent a Khalsa strategy for success in that competitive setting, namely transferring the charismatic religious appeal of Guru Gobind Singh to the Khalsa community directly through memorization of the texts.

1.1. Scope

This dissertation explores the early rahitname as literary products of a complex historical milieu in the Western frontier regions of the Mughal empire in the early modern period (sixteenth to nineteenth century). In particular, our attention is focused on the two earliest texts of the genre, both datable to the early eighteenth century (c. 1707-1718): The *Bhai Prahilad Singh*

³ Purnima Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks: The Making of the Sikh Warrior Tradition, 1699-1799* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24–33, 54–60.

Rahitnama, attributed to Bhai Prahilad Singh and the *Tanakhahnama* (“Manual of Penance”) (abbreviated hereafter as BPSR and TN) attributed to Bhai Nand Lal, both of whom are thought to have been in the immediate proximity of the tenth Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh. The dissertation seeks to establish why these two works can be viewed as originating in the early eighteenth century, and also why other examples of the genre are later products. It approaches these works in relation to the literary and historical milieu in which they were produced, in relation to the Khalsa as well as the larger social environment of the Northwest region of the subcontinent. It thus provides a historical analysis of the early genre, and explores the issue of the intended audience of the works, along with the differences and similarities between the two texts. Finally, the dissertation provides translations of the two texts.

The historian Purnima Dhavan has described the Sikh community of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century as an “affective community,” in other words a community defined by memorializing heroes, warriors, and martyrs through texts and sites. This included a memorial effort in describing the life and times of Guru Gobind Singh, as well as elaborate imaginative descriptions and explications of the court of the Guru and the bonds of loyalty to his person and lineage.⁴ If we accept this, then it can be seen as a translocal affective and cultural phenomenon of the Sikh community. This dissertation argues that, within this broader affective community, the Khalsa served as a “charismatic community” whose identity was defined by its relationship with the religious authority figure, Guru Gobind Singh, and points to how the Khalsa constructed its identity as a distinct sub-Panth order through the production of *rahitname*. Given that these texts were produced in two separate locations, the TN in Punjab and the BPSR in Maharashtra,

⁴ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 149–152.

this dissertation argues that they are best read as products of the emergent Khalsa community within these two distinct geocultural milieus, which accounts for the major differences between the texts. However, they both display the same underlying principle, namely the transfer of the Guru's charismatic appeal to the Khalsa as a collective body, through the normative regulation of religious and ethical behavior. This allows us to move away from viewing early Khalsa social identity as strictly defined by the 5 K's (symbols of Khalsa identity that members are expected to wear), especially in view of the suggestion by scholarship that the 5 K's as a conceptual unit emerged later than the early eighteenth century.⁵ Based on how non-Sikh communities are depicted in the BPSR and TN, I argue, furthermore, that the *rahitname* represent a Khalsa strategy for success in the religious marketplace in relation to the many religious groups that were competitors. The TN and BPSR thus reflect an intense competition between various social and religious groups. By the time of the production of these two texts, this competition had made it so that the various modes of expressing poetic and religious sensibilities and articulating markers of prestige and power, had been well-established. It is thus relevant to attempt to sketch the relationship between the two manuals, as well as with other forms of Sikh literature from the same period. In other words, in order to fully explore the early corpus, and by extension attempt to provide an analysis of why they were produced at all, the genre must be historically contextualized as we are analyzing one-dimension Khalsa cultural production.

⁵ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 74-80.

1.2. Methods of Sikh History and Historiography

Early modern Sikh history and historiography have been understood by a range of scholarly methods. Purnima Dhavan has explored early modern Sikh history from a perspective of larger developments in North India during the eighteenth century, with an emphasis on Mughal decline, the growth of the military labor market and political and social aspirations of groups like the Sikh Khalsa.⁶ Doris Jakobsh has explored how gender has been constructed and evolved in the history of the Sikh community.⁷ W.H. McLeod, has traced the evolution of the *rahit* texts from the early modern into the modern era, and done so in an empiricist framework.⁸ Along similar lines, Pashaura Singh and Gurinder Singh Mann have employed a text based, empiricist methodology for their studies on early modern Sikhism.⁹ Anne Murphy has focused on material objects and sites of memory-formation,¹⁰ and Harjot Oberoi looks at how modernity and colonialism intervened in modern construction of the Sikh premodern past.¹¹ These scholars have adopted sophisticated ways to speak of the premodern, and have provided a number of insights into Sikh history, their methods do not pay close, philological attention to texts themselves, or textual production - that is, the creation, dissemination, application, and reception of texts within situated, historically-contingent contexts. Broadly, speaking, this dissertation follows James

⁶ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 149–152.

⁷ Doris Jakobsh, “Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity,” (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2000).

⁸ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*.

⁹ Gurinder Singh Mann, “Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times,” *Journal of Punjab Studies* 15, no.1 and 2 (2008): 229-284. Pashaura Singh, *Life and Work of Guru Arjan: History, Memory, and Biography in the Sikh Tradition* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press: 2006).

¹⁰ Anne Murphy, *Materiality of The Past: History and Representation in Sikh tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹¹ Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity, and Diversity in The Sikh Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Hegarty's work on the Mahabharata especially in regard to the connection between past and place.¹² To make sense of the early 1700s in these terms, I am adopting a text-centered approach, that will focus on close readings and translations of manuscripts, with an eye towards capturing what they might have been designed to accomplish in the time in which they were being produced, copied, and disseminated.¹³ To do this, I will analyze the sources philologically, with a focus on both the materiality of the texts as well as the textual mechanics and narration. In order to be able to explain why these texts were produced at all, and what the differences and similarities between them are, my textual analysis is based on comparing and contrasting them. Finally, I contextualize them in their historical environment. The basis for this dissertation is the analysis of manuscripts of the TN and the BPSR. I came across these sources during fieldwork in India in 2013-2016. I have provided translations and readings of the texts using the majority principle and positive apparatus as appendices.

1.3. Scholarship on the Rahitname

The best known and most influential scholars on the rahitname have been the historian William Hew McLeod and the historian and ethicist Nripinder Singh, who have both operated on assumptions of textual linearity in order to explain how the genre came into being. The umbrella term that McLeod deploys in order to describe these developments is the "proto-rahit," where the earlier pronouncements on religious ethics and in the Sikh literary tradition are seen as the sources of a teleologically inflected growth process which eventually results in the rahit

¹² James Hegarty, *Religion, Narrative, and Public Imagination in South Asia: Past and Place in the Sanskrit Mahabharata* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

¹³ Sheldon Pollock, "Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World," *Critical Inquiry* 35 (2009): 934-935.

manuals.¹⁴ His three books on the genre all operate under this assumption, most clearly articulated analytically in *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, where the evolution of the rahitname is portrayed as a direct literary lineage from prior examples of Sikh literature, such as passages in the *Guru Granth Sahib*, as well as letters from the prior Gurus to individuals or communities (known as hukamname, letters of command) and the compositions attributed to the sixteenth and seventeenth century poet Bhai Gurdas.¹⁵ Historian Gurinder Mann has also located the production of the rahitname in relation to prior Sikh writings that deal with patterns of personal and collective comportment, and suggested that the origin lies in earlier Sikh prescriptions concerning behavior regulation. He emphasizes a list of five things a Sikh should do and five things he or she should refrain from.¹⁶ From this, he also identifies no fewer than three manuals in the period before the death of the Guru in 1708.¹⁷ The import of Mann's work is different from that of McLeod or Nripinder Singh, since he places the production of the rahitname in the Guru period, with a particular emphasis on the time that Guru Gobind Singh spent in Anandpur in the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century. Mann interprets the production of CSR, in particular, as reflecting a historical event, in which the Guru ordered Chaupa Singh to seek assistance from other disciples of the Guru in drafting a code of practice that would follow the testimony of the *Guru Granth Sahib*.¹⁸

¹⁴ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 29-40.

¹⁵ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 29-40.

¹⁶ Mann, "Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times," 249.

¹⁷ Mann, "Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times," 249-251. It is noteworthy that Mann places three other rahit manuals in this lifetime of Guru Gobind Singh; *A Rahitnama Bhai Nand Lal* (uncited in Mann's article), the *Tanakhahnama* and the *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama*.

¹⁸ Mann, "Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times," 249.

This interpretation of the origin of the rahitname replicates the “proto-rahit” formulation of McLeod closely, with the distinction that it condenses the time frame to the Anandpur era of Guru Gobind Singh’s life,¹⁹ and thus by extension excludes the possibility of the texts being written after the Guru had left Punjab. The strictly textual and linear approach culminates in a situation where the rahit manuals are described as literary (if not theological) outgrowths of the Guru Granth Sahib. This is especially evident in the work of Nripinder Singh. He also positions the rahit texts as being consonant with the teachings of the Guru Granth Sahib.²⁰ One of the underlying assumptions in this explanation model is that the rahit as a genre was a standardized code of practice first and foremost, with little explanation as to why more than one would need to have been composed. More recently, the historian Karamjit Malhotra’s work on the TN has provided a seminal translation of manuscript sources, but has also constructed and framed its argument on the aforementioned notion of linearity. More specifically, here we again encounter the view of the genre as manuals for a “Sikh way of life” based on earlier Sikh literature.²¹

The framework for interpretation of the origin of the rahitname has been to view the genre as derived from the earlier Sikh literature, modified slightly by the perceived dynamics and specific sources. It is indeed accurate that there have been earlier pronouncements of religious ethics in the Sikh literary corpus of literature, as McLeod, Mann, and Nripinder Singh observe, but to equate that as the sole origin of the rahitname disregards too many contextual factors and

¹⁹ Mann, “Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh’s Life and Times,” 250-251.

²⁰ Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition: Ethical Perceptions of the Sikhs in the Late Nineteenth/Early Twentieth Century* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1990), 105.

²¹ Karamjit Malhotra, “The Earliest Manual on the Sikh Way of Life,” in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition: Ideology, Society, Politics, and Culture. Essays for Indu Banga*, edited by Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 55-58.

in many ways the geopolitics that the TN and BPSR represent.²² In addition, the teleological nature of the “proto-rahit” proposition implies that the material that McLeod put under this label is the only source of influence for the TN and BPSR, which is a rather improbable proposition. More specifically, there are passages in the early genre that seem difficult to relate to the *Guru Granth Sahib*, such as the TN’s injunction to not listen to the words of women. Finally, it also effectively complicates the possibility of investigating the question of the intended audience of the rahitname, since larger literary, contextual tropes are difficult to take into account if one follows the teleological engagement to its logical conclusion. This trajectory of analysis may be seen as indirectly providing the basis for the notion of the texts having been “corrupted” by outside, “spurious” influences. This analytical approach effectively dismisses any attempt to account for the historical context as well as the many literary and social influences in the historical context, sometimes even explicitly utilizing the terminology of “authentic” or “authenticity.”²³

1.4. The Early 1700s in Sikh Cultural History

As we have seen, the rahitname are thus not the first statement of personal and collective religious ethics and behavior regulation in the history of Sikh literature, but rather a literary genre where the earliest examples are specific to the early eighteenth century. As recent scholarship has shown, the genre may be placed in a historical period when the Sikh community was subjected to considerable historical pressure, most notably in the form of the assassination of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. The period was one of friction vis-à-vis the Mughal state, when

²² McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 29-46.

²³ Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*, 108-109.

several political entities in the frontier regions were competing for influence.²⁴ This can be approached as participation in a complex religious marketplace in North India, that included a wide range of religious groups and actors. In other words, any group attempting to claim socio-religious recognition and influence had to engage in a diverse and to some extent unstable marketplace of religious activities, with the added pressure of patterns of allegiances that could change quickly. Successful participation in this market was an endeavour that entailed multiple, and rather elaborate, expressions of social and religious power, in which literary production was one out of several markers of projected merit and prestige, and thus not the only necessary avenue. It was a process that entailed visions of martiality, memoriality, and an articulation of charismatic religious leadership in relation to community formation and formulations of behavioral codes in literature.²⁵ It is also noteworthy that the Khalsa was not the only community engaging in this type of literary activity but rather one among others. In other words, in order to provide an analytical assessment of why the early *rahitname* exist, it is vital to avoid viewing the two manuals in isolation. Thus, the production of the two texts needs to be contextualized in the social and geopolitical milieu of the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century in North India, especially in relation to the activities of other groups in the religious market place.

²⁴ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 32-49; Hardip Singh Syan, *Sikh Militancy in the Seventeenth Century: Religious Violence in Mughal and Early Modern India* (London; I.B. Tauris, 2013), 214-222.

²⁵ James Hastings, "Poets, Sants, and Warriors: The Dadu Panth, Religious Change and Identity Formation in Jaipur State circa 1562--1860 CE," PhD diss.: The University of Wisconsin-Madison: UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2002. 257-301.

1.5. Overview of the Early Rahit Genre

The two texts that constitute the early genre are the *Tanakhahnama* (TN) and the *Bhai Prahilad Singh* rahitnama (BPSR), and are composed in premodern Punjabi with occasional vocabulary from Braj Bhasha. They are written in the early modern poetic meters *dohara* (couplet) and *chaupai* (four-foot meter). Only one manuscript carries a reliable date of composition, a copy of the TN dated to 1718. Several of the literary themes and articulations resonate with the historical realities and literary sensibilities of the early eighteenth century, even though it is not possible to fix a definite date to either of the two texts. As we shall see, we can, however, place them in the immediate aftermath of Guru Gobind Singh's departure from Punjab when he left for Abchnagar (Nanded) in Maharashtra in 1707. The rahitname are structured as conversations between the Guru and a prominent disciple, where the disciple asks Guru Gobind Singh about what constitutes good behavior. Within this narrative frame, the Guru then delivers injunctions on various topics related to the desirable individual and communal behavior.²⁶ Given the lack of sources contemporary to the events described in the texts, it is not possible to confirm whether these conversations are historically verifiable events. Scholars have also suggested that another, third rahit text was produced in the early eighteenth century: The *Chaupa Singh rahitnama* ("the rahit manual of Chaupa Singh" abbreviated hereafter as CSR). It has been placed in either the mid- to latter half of the eighteenth century by McLeod, and as early as 1700 by Gurinder Singh Mann.²⁷ We will explore the extant sources of the CSR in the next chapter, and arrive at the conclusion that the CSR is not an early eighteenth-century text.

²⁶ Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Guru Khalse de Rahitname* (Amritsar: Sikh History Research Board, 1979), 1-52, 59-63.

²⁷ Mann, "Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times," 249.

1.6. Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter Two outlines the criteria for the dating of the rahit genre, and why the TN and BPSR are the two manuals that can reliably be placed in the early eighteenth century. This chapter also outlines the larger scope of religious ethics in Sikh literature prior to the rahitname, and sketches out the characteristics of the works in relation earlier literary production, as well as the basics of how the texts operate. The chapter explores the philological matters related to the texts and shows why the TN and BPSR are the earliest texts of the rahit-genre.

Chapter Three explores the rahitname from the perspective of textual mechanics, as well as the narration and structure of the texts. It provides a detailed textual analysis of the two manuals, and explores the differences and similarities between them. Special attention is given to details found in the corpus, and the ways in which the texts express notions of behavior regulation, community formation, out-groups, memorialization and social prestige. This chapter emphasizes behavior regulation in the form of didactic injunctions at both the individual and communal level and how these are articulated.

Chapter Four situates the Khalsa in relation to the activities of other religious groups in that historical environment, and thus explores larger contextual concerns related to literary production of that era. It also explores how religious groups expressed religious prestige and power, and where behavior regulation was situated in relation to power. The chapter engages with the many similarities but also differences between the Khalsa and these groups.

Chapter Five frames the cultural production of the Sikh community of the early eighteenth century in terms of Dhavan's theorization of the "affective community," and argues that in tandem with this affective and translocal community formation of the Sikh community,

the Khalsa can be seen as a “charismatic community” by Maria Dakake, that was in the process of transferring the charisma of the Guru to the Khalsa community. It further argues that the Khalsa did this within a religious marketplace. This argument is developed by using the theoretical notions of the “religious marketplace” by Larry Witham. It concludes that the strategy that the Khalsa adopted in this “religious marketplace” was precisely a transfer of religious charisma from Guru Gobind Singh to the members of the Khalsa that was not only located in the Punjab after the passing of Guru in 1708.

The conclusion explores the implications of the new findings of this thesis, that Khalsa identity formation was a regionalized, pluralistic phenomenon in the early 18th C, and opens additional avenues for further engagement with the rahit materials - analysis of its moral/legal philosophy (karma theory, consequence models), as well as maybe the possibilities and limitations of thinking about "premodern textual marketing" as a broad framework for understanding religious commodities, marketplaces, and consumers in a pre-capitalist society.

2. The Early Eighteenth Century Rahitname

This chapter attempts to show why the *Tanakhahnama* and the *Bhai Prahilad Singh* (abbreviated TN and BPSR) works can be placed in the early eighteenth century, and why other texts said to belong to this genre (most notably the *Chaupa Singh* rahitnama, abbreviated CSR onwards) cannot be seen as originating then. This chapter establishes this on the basis of an investigation of the known primary sources. Based on these primary sources, this chapter attempts to answer the following: how do TN and BPSR depart from earlier articulations of religious ethics in Sikh literature? Finally, it also outlines some of the major textual characteristics of the two works.

As previously stated, one point McLeod's scholarship has been able to assert is that the rahitname in general and the early corpus in particular cannot be directly connected to the proclamation of the Khalsa in 1699. He also notes that much of the early genre lacks written dates.²⁸ Accordingly, this genre of literature appears slightly enigmatic for several reasons. For example, we do not know if the persons to whom the manuals are attributed actually wrote them, and when and where they were composed. In addition, there are few, if any, corroborating documents to the rahitname apart from manuscript copies of the texts themselves. It is possible to roughly date the manuscripts of the early corpus, but this provides no more than an estimate that places it in the early eighteenth century, in the two or three decades following the passing of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. We will now briefly explore the historical and cultural context in which they were produced.

²⁸ One exception is a copy of the TN found within a larger manuscript collection catalogued as MS770 in the Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar and dated 1718. The written date does not appear to be added by a different scribe.

2.1. Overview of Historical and Literary Context

At the onset of the eighteenth century the social landscape of North India was partially characterized by religious groups who competed in what may be described as a ‘religious marketplace’ for influence and prestige.²⁹ Their activities spanned a wide repertoire that included the commissioning of texts, as well as artistic endeavours. They also participated in the military labor market, a long standing phenomenon in South Asia.³⁰ What the unstable political landscape of the eighteenth century generated was an open marketplace for local warlords and other actors who articulated their power through religious claims, military proficiency (often through hiring mercenaries to serve as private armies), and political skills—enough to attract disciples.³¹

Additionally, these military agents expressed themselves through idioms of martial valour. Many of these groups expressed their prestige in terms of charismatically infused claims to lineages, mythological heroes of martial valour, as well as a common set of religious terminology and grammar to articulate shared notions and ideas.³² If we accept the concept of the religious marketplace, then it is relevant to note that participation in the patronage market was a highly complex and to some extent unstable activity that could change rapidly. What we should also note is a significant factor of differentiation between them, namely the ability to generate and sustain prolonged patronage from the state. The marketplace can be seen as having consisted of several moving parts, one of which was the perceived need of the Mughal state to gain

²⁹ Hardip Singh Syan, *Sikh Militancy in the Seventeenth Century*, 6-17; Larry Witham, *Marketplace of the Gods: How Economics Explain Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1-15.

³⁰ Dirk Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput, and Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 169-172.

³¹ William Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 255.

³² Purnima Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks: The Making of the Sikh Warrior Tradition, 1699-1799* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 135.

legitimacy to its rule, and grant legitimacy to the designated patronage groups.³³ In other words the religious marketplace was in a dynamic relationship with what had long been going on within early modern courtly culture across the subcontinent.³⁴

Patronage in particular was connected to courtly culture. The framework of this South Asian courtly culture has been carefully outlined in the work of Daud Ali among others. It can be seen as an “arena of activity and knowledge” based on the king, the ruling class and their various apparatuses and agendas.³⁵ Generally put, the court-apparatus was based on interactions and relationships of personal service between the king and the people lower in the hierarchy than him.³⁶ In this context, the need for the ruling class to secure a livelihood was one cause for norms and normative statements on appearance and etiquette to become part of the functioning of the court.³⁷ The role of the king, as articulated in the *Dharmashastra* texts, was to be the protector of the political and cosmic order. In the pursuit of this, he needed brahmans to conduct sacrificial rites to uphold the cosmic order. Religion was accordingly an integral part of state-craft and court-craft from an early date in India.³⁸ The king was often portrayed as adherent to *dharma* as well as possessing qualities of righteousness and heroic virtues that maintained peace and kept

³³ Simon Digby, “The Sufi Shaykh and the Sultan: A Conflict of Claims to Authority in Medieval India,” *Iran* 28 (1990): 71-75.

³⁴ Louis Fenech, *The Darbar of the Sikh Gurus: The Court of God in the World of Men* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1-11.

³⁵ Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 4-7.

³⁶ Ali, *Courtly Culture*, 104.

³⁷ Ali, *Courtly Culture*, 7-21.

³⁸ Monika Horstmann, “Theology and Statecraft,” *South Asian History and Culture* 2, no. 2 (April 2011): 186.

enemies of his rule at bay.³⁹ The role of the king also entailed a commitment to poetry, and as Jesse Knutson points out, anthologies were culturally part of the notion of statecraft, often imbued with narratives of battles with designated enemies.⁴⁰ The majority of men who were active at the court (often despite having official titles), were labelled “servants” or “retainers.” What deserves to be mentioned about this group is that they were the recipients of a distinct set of imperatives, rules, and recommendations in manuals of polity directed at them.⁴¹

Fenech has argued that the Sikhs of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century had articulated a political ambition based on conformity to the larger paradigm of power as articulated through the court in the Mughal context. For example, there may have been a group of people at the court of the Guru, with emphasis on Guru Gobind Singh, who could have constituted a Sikh “nobility” in resonance with the larger court-paradigm. He does point out that Sikhs who aspired to attain courtly status hoped to imitate this group. This is found in some of the *varan* (compositions of poetry) of the poet Bhai Gurdas.⁴² Another example is found in Persian sources which emphasize that Guru Gobind Singh portrayed himself in political terms, like a local raja, and that that was the main reason for Aurangzeb seeking to punish him.⁴³ Fenech does however state that in one of those sources, Guru Gobind Singh is referred to as “leader” (ra’is) of the Sikhs, and goes on to state that this can be seen as an indication of Mughal recognition of the tenth Guru’s authority. We need to be aware of the fact that the likelihood of

³⁹ Jesse Ross Knutson, “The Political Poetic of the Sena Court,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 69, No.2 (May 2010): 373-375.

⁴⁰ Knutson, “The Political Poetic of the Sena Court,” 375-378.

⁴¹ Ali, *Courtly Culture*, 44-48.

⁴² Fenech, *Darbar of the Sikh Gurus*, 14.

⁴³ Fenech, *Darbar of the Sikh Gurus*, 14-19.

the Mughal state recognizing the authority of a smaller court in an antagonistic position to itself is not likely given the nature of imperial policy towards groups it considered subjugated. Rather, it would appear that the usage of the term refers to the de facto political claim of Guru Gobind Singh, and by extension to the Sikhs. This does however not imply a recognition of authority per se. We also find other notable expressions used in Sikh cultural production such as “Khalsa” (from persian “khalisa”, a form of land management where the revenues from specific lands was sent straight to the central treasury, without intermediaries) and “hukam” (command) replicate the terminology found at the Mughal court.⁴⁴

As Dhavan’s research has shown, in the seventeenth century, Guru Hargobind (the sixth Guru) and his disciples had relocated from the traditional geographic areas in which they had earlier operated. One consequence of this was a physical detachment from the plains where the majority of Sikhs lived, and thus groups who were affiliated with other Guru lineages, like the Minas, continued to lay wider claims to the authority of the Guru and thus access to shrines.⁴⁵ As Dhavan points out, during that period, the literary productions of the rival lineages began to expand. This entailed a growing corpus of hagiographies of the founder of Sikhism, Guru Nanak, as well as an exegetical literature on prior Sikh scriptures being authored by Minas and other Sikh groups. It is also noteworthy that it was during this time that the Gurus came to rely on intermediaries, known as the Masands, between themselves and their disciples. These religious officiants performed multiple duties (often logistical in nature such as collecting dues), led congregations to visit the Guru at Diwali and Baisakhi, and initiated Sikhs into the Panth

⁴⁴ Fenech, *Darbar of the Sikh Gurus*, 22-23.

⁴⁵ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 29-32.

(community). Their power and influence became an issue internal to the Panth for decades prior to the creation of the Khalsa in 1699.⁴⁶ Minas, Masands, and other such groups are mentioned in antagonistic terms in the literary output that is contextually linked to the rahitname, and figure in the rahit genre, too, especially as enemies of Guru Gobind Singh, or as challengers to his authority.⁴⁷

From the early eighteenth century onward, Sikh literary production showed concern for how the past was to be remembered in relation to community formation. This was not limited to the rahit genre but constituted a broader trajectory within the tradition. A prime example of this is the *Gursobha* (splendor or radiance of the Guru). It is in itself part of a larger form of literature known as *Gurbilas* (play of the Guru), usually dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁸ As Dhavan has pointed out, the *Gursobha* is written as a eulogy, and may be seen as the first literary narrative in the Sikh context to envision the creation of the Khalsa as a restorative measure of an older Sikh moral order. Thus, the author of the work, Sainapati (court poet of Guru Gobind Singh), envisions the Khalsa as victorious at safeguarding the Guru's religious and political reforms in the future, especially in relation to tensions from members of a high-caste background.⁴⁹ Dhavan points out that the creation of the Khalsa, as envisioned in the *Gursobha*, can be seen as a departure from a prior held martial culture in the seventeenth century Sikh Panth, to "... a complete articulation of a Sikh moral order (dharam) that made it obligatory for

⁴⁶ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 31-32.

⁴⁷ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 33.

⁴⁸ Julie Vig, "Participating in Other Worlds: Locating Gurbilās Literature in the Wider World of Brajbhasha Traditions," (PhD diss, University of British Columbia, 2019), 25.

⁴⁹ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 23-25.

every male Sikh to bear arms and that tied this martial strain to a new ritual and spiritual practice.”⁵⁰

Sainapati’s eulogy to the Guru does not go through the convention of establishing caste credentials in terms of lineage of his former patron but focuses only on the spiritual lineage of the Gurus in the established hagiographical genre of the Sikh Sakhi. In relation to this it is noteworthy that he also discusses in detail the religious reforms of the Guru, which included the formation of the Khalsa. The narrative stipulates the Masands as the chief obstacle in achieving authority and stability in the Panth, and they are portrayed as an adversary not only to the teachings of the Gurus but also to the community at large as a clearly designated threat. Conversely, their banishment is portrayed as having placed the entire community firmly under Guru Gobind Singh’s command and interwoven into the word ‘Khalsa,’ as it refers to Mughal administrative terms, where Khalisa designated lands directly under crown control, without intermediaries.⁵¹ Dhavan has emphasized that it was during this period that we can describe the Sikh community as an “affective community.” This term refers to the bonds that appealed to peasant and warrior groups in the sense of texts and places memorializing heroes, martyrs, and warriors from the past, placed in the evolution of the Sikh community and the Khalsa of the eighteenth century. Literature was one formative aspect in these affective connections, that connected different people together, especially when they no longer were tied together by place.⁵² Summed up, these developments in the preceding century in part shaped the socio-

⁵⁰ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 26.

⁵¹ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 40-42.

⁵² Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 149-152.

historical and literary sensibilities that informed the process of writing of the *rahit* manuals in the early eighteenth century.

2.2. Vernacular Premodern Literary Culture in the Northwest Frontier Regions

Perhaps the most crucial context for Sikh literary tradition is one of new forms of language and expressive culture that proliferated in South Asian in the second millennium—that is to say, the emergence of vernacular literary production. The literary milieu had been influenced by the nuclear cosmopolitan languages, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit, that set the stage for literary expression from fourteenth century onwards. With the new literary languages, a complex cultural milieu emerged that was in part defined by vernacular literary production. These languages had not constituted the sole means of literary license and poetic expression. Across South Asia, the background noise had come in the form of a range of languages that emerged as vehicles of literary expression, coined “the vernacular millennium” by Sheldon Pollock. As a starting point, it can be approached as a complex and multidimensional process in which the mechanisms and protocols of literary expression not only changed, but the larger literary scenery changed as a consequence of the literary activities.⁵³

As Christian Novetzke has shown, the process of vernacularization encompasses more beyond than the purely literary language.⁵⁴ Novetzke points out that it is necessary to review the

⁵³ Aditya Behl, *Love's Subtle Magic: An Indian Islamic Literary Tradition, 1379-1545* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2-3.

⁵⁴ Christian Lee Novetzke, “Vernacularizing Jñāndev: Hagiography and the Process of Vernacularization,” *International journal of Hindu studies* 22, no.3 (12/01/2018): 385-387. Tyler Williams has underlined the complexity of the vernacular literary activities in South Asian history, and argued that in the process of making vernacular languages more expanded intellectually, the poets and authors in the example of early Hindi helped provide new definitions of genres like “science” (*śāstra*) and “literature” (*kāvya*). Tyler Williams, “Notes of Exchange: Scribal Practices and Vernacular Religious Scholarship in Early Modern North India,” *Manuscript studies* 3, no.2 (2018): 266-272.

term ‘vernacularization’ through a purely literary engagement and to include the perceived realities of everyday life. He argues that the process is anchored in that which “valorizes, claims, and utilises the social gravity of everyday life to transform myriad subjects, which include literature but also society, arts, culture, politics, and even individual figures.”⁵⁵ One of the points to note is that the quotidian may be seen as a realm inhabited by non-elites and elites alike and thus, as per Novetzke’s argument a place of interaction between the two. We can thus view Sikh early modern literature in the vernacular as part of this social framework for literary activities, especially in regard to the quotidian element of the TN and BPSR. This may be defined to some extent by language in the shape of metaphors and colloquialisms and by extension as Novetzke argues, this concept of vernacularization complicates the relationship between “cosmopolitan” and the vernacular as they present more overlap than separation.⁵⁶ To make this description even more complex, it also entailed adapting old stories to new circumstances, particularly in the sense using familiar stories and characters to introduce new ideas and narratives, by orienting and reorienting them in relation to a constantly changing environment. In the broad sense, this phenomenon would fall under the umbrella-term “intertextuality”; the relationship between texts, especially through relatively subtle thematic and stylistic ties.⁵⁷

The emblematic language of this development was *Braj bhasha*, from the Braj-Vrindavan area, and was included in the literary production of premodern Punjab, alongside premodern Punjabi and Persian. The developments that had fueled the success of Braj bhasha took place

⁵⁵ Novetzke, “Vernacularizing Jñāndev,” 388.

⁵⁶ Novetzke, “Vernacularizing Jñāndev,” 390.

⁵⁷ Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 246-248.

partially due to a series of overlapping historical and cultural processes. One was the consolidation of Mughal rule during the reign of emperor Akbar (1556-1605). Akbar's imperial capitals at Fatehpur Sikri as well as Agra, were situated not far from the Braj region. Numerous power brokers who had been amalgamated into the Mughal system (most notably of Rajput origin) were actively engaged in sponsoring temples in the Braj region.⁵⁸ In addition to this, Akbar's imperial commands (known as *farmans*), on behalf of the various Vaishnava communities of the region, also helped to emphasize its cultural prestige.⁵⁹ Braj bhasha became popular at the Mughal court, and a wide network of itinerant poets connected the literary nodes and markets in the imperial centers of the day with various religious communities over the subcontinent. In so doing, Braj bhasha also served as a key language of Sikh poetic expression from the sixteenth century onwards.⁶⁰ This literary medium was not the "property" of any single religious community, but rather a cultural force stretching far beyond any one religious grouping. Nevertheless, Busch has noted that by the latter half of the sixteenth century, Vaishnava cultural sensibilities were transforming the aural and architectural landscape of Braj itself, giving voice and shape to an expanded vernacular literary tradition.⁶¹ Also, the relationship between cosmopolitan languages (here, Persian) and vernacular languages may be seen as complex and also predicated by uncertain political realities. We can here turn to the period of the 1630s to late 1680s in the Deccan as an illustrative example when a process of conquest began to unfold in the region, and Subah Dayal has described it in the following words:

⁵⁸ Alison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: the Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 40-45.

⁵⁹ Busch, *Poetry of Kings*, 42-48.

⁶⁰ Busch, *Poetry of Kings*, 7-9.

⁶¹ Busch, *Poetry of Kings*, 27.

Between 1636 and 1687, an uncertain and contradictory set of processes unfolded when the Deccan region was not fully incorporated into the Mughal empire. Regional sultanates reached their greatest territorial extent while an empire attempted to establish itself in an area where preexisting structures of governance and courtly patronage already existed. By the seventeenth century, region and empire came to resemble each other, not just militarily but also through their artistic, literary, and textual production. For instance, Abu al-Fazl's *Akbar Nāmah* was, by the mid-seventeenth century, a standard reading in the Deccan's literary circles. The renown and emulation of this text was an obvious consequence of writers, poets, military commanders, and patrons who moved between Indo-Islamic courts. An absolute opposition between the Deccan sultanates and Mughal north India did not exist in the seventeenth century, given the circulation of migrant elites and their circuits across these polities in a period of nested conquest. These developments came in the aftermath of the appearance of Sufi texts as well as an enormous proliferation of epic and romance translations from Persian into *Dakkani*. Despite their prominence, battle poems or *razmīyah masnavī* composed in *Dakkani* have almost entirely been ignored even for the purpose of data extraction of events in political histories of the Deccan sultanates, let alone studied for their form or diglossic relationship to Persian.⁶²

What Dayal accurately points out is that this relationship existed in a polyvocal context where both the users and the audience existed across a broad social spectrum. The audiences shared imagined literary themes, such as conquest utilizing specific literary, ethnographic and sociological tropes in order to form elaborate narratives. Dayal posits that in the context of the seventeenth-century Deccan, *Dakkani* battle poetry and chronicles in Persian constituted an instrument and mechanism of incorporating various groups of people into a wide set of audiences.⁶³ One of Dayal's central points is the different levels of interaction with the literary works, since we have to take speaking, reading, writing and memorizing texts into consideration.⁶⁴ In other words, by the time the *rahitname* were composed, the larger cultural milieu of the frontiers was informed by vernacular religious mediums and modes of expression.

⁶² Subah Dayal, "Vernacular Conquest? A Persian Patron and His Image in the Seventeenth-Century Deccan," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 37, no.3 (2017): 550.

⁶³ Dayal, "Vernacular Conquest?," 551-552.

⁶⁴ Dayal, "Vernacular Conquest?," 552-554.

2.3. Articulations of Religious Ethics in Sikh Literature Prior to the Rahitname: An

Overview

At this stage, it is relevant to attempt to map the general patterns of literary articulations of Sikh religious ethics until the early eighteenth century. The rahit genre did not emerge from a literary vacuum, and accordingly we can assume that it was informed by a prior understanding of religious ethics and behavior regulation. It is not possible to cover all details in question but rather to sketch a tentative trajectory of this type of literature in order to account for some of the continuities as well as differences between the earlier articulations of religious ethics and the rahit texts. As we shall see, one difference between the two is that the articulations of religious ethics in the earlier literature show less commitment to regulating specific behaviors, and more attention to regulating decontextualized principles. The rahit manuals, on the other hand, articulate behavior regulation aimed at a range of specifically designated actions.

One example of this is the so called *Bahoval Pothi*, a work dated c.1600, which precedes the *Kartarpur* manuscript (1604) of the *Adi Granth*. Pashaura Singh places it as a prior draft in the compilation of the *Adi Granth*, and the *Bahoval Pothi* contains a narrative that articulates Sikh religious ethics. It is attributed to Guru Arjan and appears at folio 977/2 in the *Bahoval Pothi*. It reads:

By the grace of the True Guru. Thus, began Guru Baba's discourse. That is, Guru's instruction. The Guru said: 'One should perform five deeds. If one performs five deeds, one is liberated in life. There are five deeds, which should never be committed, and five which should be performed if the Guru gives the strength to do so. The five proscribed deeds are the following: Do not steal another's property. Do not have intercourse with another's wife. Do not slander another. Do not gamble. Do not consume either intoxicating liquor or meat. (If, however, you) perform the five (approved) deeds you shall find liberation in your present life. (These are as follows): Attend the *sangat* daily,

taking some food (as an offering), and listen to the Arti kirtan before retiring for the night. Act with respect and benevolence towards the poor, the afflicted, and the lowly, and encourage others to do likewise. Try to have a bride bestowed on anyone who has not been betrothed and if possible, give your own (daughter for this purpose). Try to restore any wayward Sikh to his true obedience. Do good to all, evil to none. Perceive the spirit of God (Braham) (within). This is true worship.⁶⁵

Pashaura Singh utilises McLeod's term of 'proto-rahit' notion in order to place it within an evolutionary account of the Sikh religious tradition, and emphasizes that the word 'rahit' appears already in Guru Nanak's works, in reference to "... the code of conduct that early Sikhs were expected to follow in their lives. His successors elaborated on his ideas of ideal Sikh behavior in the changing historical context. In particular, during the period of Guru Ram Das the code of conduct included waking early, reciting the morning prayer Japji by heart, joining the congregation, and listening to the advice of the Guru, while keeping the Divine in mind through the practice of *nam simaran* ('remembrance of the Divine Name')."⁶⁶

Two other sources deserve to be mentioned in this context, namely Guru Arjan's religious discourses as found in two old manuscripts known as *Pothi Bibi Rup Kaur* and *Granth Bhai Painda*.⁶⁷ These follow the pattern of the *Bahoval Pothi*, where three anecdotes (numbered 25, 27, and 37) are specifically identified as discourses of Guru Arjan. The anecdote of the *Bahoval Pothi*, discussed in the earlier section, is repeated here as anecdote 37 in *Granth Bhai Painda* under the title *Sakhi Mahala 5*. The other two Sakhis, 25 and 27, are found in the *Pothi Bibi Rup Kaur*. What is important to note is that in these narratives we find similar broad(er) injunctions

⁶⁵ Pashaura Singh, *Life and Work of Guru Arjan: History, Memory, and Biography in the Sikh Tradition* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 42-43.

⁶⁶ Singh, *Life and Work of Guru Arjan*, 43.

⁶⁷ These manuscripts are said to date from time shortly after the death of Guru Har Rai. The information about these two manuscripts may be seen in *Sri Satiguru ji de Muhain dian Sakhian* (Discourses from the Blessed Mouth of the True Guru) edited by Narinder Kaur Bhatia, 37-58.

concerning injunctions of behavioral discipline, and these narratives follow the pattern of a dialogue between the Guru and disciples. For example, in the anecdote related by Sakhi 25, Guru Arjan is asked by Bahora the goldsmith in Ramdasapur:

‘My lord, what is your command?’ This is (my) command: Do not fasten your affection on anyone’s wife. Treat her as you would treat your mother. Do not approach another’s woman. Never lie. Neither utter slander nor listen to it. Do nothing which will hurt another. Let none be harmed by you. See the (Eternal) One in all living creatures. Worship none save the Supreme Spirit (*parabraham*). Apply your heart and understanding to the Guru’s teachings. Repeat nothing save the words of the True Guru. Rising, sitting or sleeping, hold in perpetual remembrance the image of the True Guru. Bring (everything into submission) to the divine Name of God—wealth, physical appearance, family, possessions, food, fame, titles, happiness, liberation, and whatever greatness you may achieve. Do this and you shall be a Gurmukh.⁶⁸

Here we get a glimpse of some of the operative principles of religious ethics that were articulated in the history of Sikh religious literature. It would be strange to assume that the ethical principles from preceding centuries would be absent when the early rahit genre emerged, so there is some merit in concluding that there were ethical principles being passed down in the lived experience of the Sikh community. However, while the ethical principles may not have been new, there is a noticeable difference in how the rahit texts, like the TN and BPSR, sought to institutionalize these principles as social norms. The injunctions of the rahitname repeatedly regulate specific behaviors by attaching to them specific rewards and punishments. Earlier ethical statements within the Sikh tradition, in contrast, appear to be broader articulations of good Sikh behavior, laying out general principles rather than engaging in juridical specifics.

⁶⁸ Singh, *Life and Work of Guru Arjan*, 46.

Also, the earlier expressions of ethics are found in larger works such as the *Guru Granth Sahib*, but the *rahitname* are independent works.⁶⁹ This is one point of departure between the two *rahitname* and the prior articulations of religious ethics. In addition, the *rahit* genre is written with an acute sense of prescriptive and regulatory detail. The injunctions aimed at the individual considerations as well as the collective issues tend to address highly specific issues such as the injunctions to use the comb (*kanga*) and brush one's teeth.

Based especially on reading the two early examples, BPSR and TN, we can surmise that the *rahitname* articulate themes that can be located within the contemporary, immediate political concerns including several warnings about out-groups that were present in the immediate historical context. In other words, the *rahitname* do not by any means represent the first examples of a Sikh engagement with literary notions of religious ethics but rather a literary engagement informed to some degree by inherited notions of religious ethics in the context of the early eighteenth century. However, they seem to represent a different literary instrument of religious obligation and behavior regulation from the earlier articulations which arguably outline generic, decontextualized principles. Finally, the *rahitname* also situate the figure of Guru Gobind Singh in the centre of its narrative, and this focus is kept intact throughout the narration.

Beyond the broad scope of the literature mentioned above, we also find a letter (*hukamnama*) by Banda Singh Bahadur (a prominent Sikh military leader in the years immediately after the passing of Guru Gobind Singh) issued in 1710 is worth mentioning. The *hukamnama* genre of letters has a long history that was anchored in the Guru period, but what should catch our attention with this particular one is the brief injunction of adhering to the “*rahit*

⁶⁹ I thank Amarjit Singh for drawing my attention to this. The specific folio number in the *Bahoval Pothi* manuscript shown to me is 971A.

of the Khalsa.”⁷⁰ This injunction, even brief and in passing, is noteworthy in that it confirms that the term “rahit” being used already by this early date as a marker of idealized behavior. However, as mentioned, the term appears briefly and in passing and does not inform the reader about the specifics of what Banda Bahadur was referring to.

2.4. The Rahitname: The Early Eighteenth Century Corpus

In order to engage with the question of why the rahitname were composed, and to explain why, historically, the two texts that are at the center of this dissertation are critical to understanding the early formation of the genre, we need first two basic building blocks. Those are a) a proper historical contextualization of the major rahit works, including the TN and BPSR, in conjunction with b) primary documentation. The two texts (TN and BPSR) that can be placed in the early eighteenth century showcase a few characteristics that mandate such dating. The obvious one is that the TN found in MS 770 contains a reliable date of copying, 1718. Apart from that, both texts are written in poetic form, in the dohra-chaupai meter, and the language is Punjabi.⁷¹ They are both found in pothis⁷² and resonate with themes found in other forms of early eighteenth century literature, most notably the *Gursobha*. Unlike other rahit texts that are sometimes claimed to have been produced in the eighteenth century, such as the *Bhai Desa Singh* and *Bhai Daya Singh rahitname*,⁷³ the TN and BPSR are the only two rahit texts that are extant

⁷⁰ Ganda Singh, *Hukamname* (Patiala: Punjabi University Press, 1967), 194-195. Thank you Balwant Singh Dhillon for showing me this hukamnama.

⁷¹ Karamjit Malhotra, “The Earliest Manual on the Sikh Way of Life,” in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition: Ideology, Society, Politics, and Culture. Essays for Indu Banga*, edited by Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall (New Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 56.

⁷² See Chapter Three for detailed information about the manuscript themselves.

⁷³ Bhai Daya Singh in Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Guru Khalse de Rahitname* (Amritsar: Sikh History Research Board, 1979), 59-63, Bhai Desa Singh; Piara Singh Padam, *Rahitname* (Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 1974), 128-138.

in manuscript form, while others of this genre were disseminated in print. Given the significant number of copies of these manuscripts that have been found, we can surmise that they were circulated rather widely, as compared to other rahit texts.⁷⁴ Gurinder Mann has suggested that the first literary statement of rahit was produced on December 4, 1694 and was attributed to Bhai Nand Lal. Mann gives the exact sentence as “Samat satra sahis su bavan [1752], Magahar Sudi naumi sukh davan”⁷⁵ (the year 1752, first half of the eighth lunar month),⁷⁶ but does not mention the source of this statement. It does appear towards the end of the printed *Rahitnama Bhai Nand Lal* on page 56 in Piara Singh Padam’s publication *Rahitname*. I have yet to find a manuscript of this particular source. Although a manuscript called *Rahitnama Bhai Nand Lal* is catalogued at Khalsa College in Amritsar (KhC SHR 1442A), the two texts divergent in terms of content, linguistic style, and length. Without any definitive premodern testimony of Mann’s early rahit statement, it is difficult to assess its formative value for the rahit genre in any concrete terms.⁷⁷

McLeod dated no less than six rahit texts to the eighteenth century. However, this is generally not based on an established trail of primary documentation, but rather on printed sources with little to no information about which manuscripts have been utilized or where they can be located.⁷⁸ The six manuals that McLeod locates in the eighteenth century are: the

Tanakhahnama, the *Bhai Prahilad Rai (Singh) rahitnama*, the *Sakhi Rahit Ki*, the *Chaupa Singh*

⁷⁴ There are thirteen copies in total for this dissertation. There are also three copies (mss 223, 234, 245) of the TN at the Languages Department, Punjabi University Patiala. The number of copies that have been produced historically is unknown.

⁷⁵ Gurinder Singh Mann, “Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh’s Life and Times,” *Journal of Punjab Studies* 15, no.1 and 2 (2008): 249, 275, f.n. 97.

⁷⁶ My reading makes it 1696, not 1694.

⁷⁷ The manuscript at Khalsa college is KhC SHR 1442 A.

⁷⁸ W.H. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 261-377.

rahitnama, the *Desa Singh rahitnama* and the *Daya Singh rahitnama*. Neither the *Desa Singh* nor the *Daya Singh rahitnama* can be found in manuscript form. We cannot be certain, therefore, if these are eighteenth-century texts, despite their linguistic features and versified structure. This is not to conclude that there could not have been such sources available at one point but there are no extant manuscript sources to confirm or deny their existence.⁷⁹ Also, McLeod makes some rather confusing statements such as, when assessing the sources of the *Daya Singh rahitnama*, “A verse version is more likely to spring from a prose version than vice versa.”⁸⁰ The relationship between verse format and prose is far from that simple, and we also want to be careful especially when it comes to modern prose.

Among the remaining four eighteenth century *rahit* texts, the *Sakhi Rahit ki* is an independent composition, but as McLeod points out, it has been appended to the *Chaupa Singh Rahitnama* (CSR) for unknown reasons.⁸¹ The CSR, as well as the *Sakhi Rahit Ki*, will both be discussed below, but for now it is possible to state with certainty that neither of them are early eighteenth century sources. The CSR may be a product of the latter half of that century, and the *Sakhi Rahit Ki* most likely a nineteenth century composition.

2.5. The *Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*: Overview and Sources

⁷⁹ Padam locates a *Desa Singh rahitnama* manuscript, but there is considerable divergence between this text and the version found in Ashok' compilation. Ashok, 59-63; Padam, 68-76, 128-139. Padam's version of the *Daya Singh rahitnama* appears to be written in a more modern register, closer in fact to Hindi.

⁸⁰ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 123.

⁸¹ McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama* (Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press, 1987), 29-31.

2.5.1. Overview

The only contender for a confirmed eighteenth century origin beyond the TN and the BPSR is the CSR. It derives its name from a member of a prominent Chibbar family, named Chaupa Singh, who flourished in the early eighteenth century. Unlike the TN and the BPSR, this work is in terms of textual structure a composite document consisting of two manuals; the larger CSR-text itself, found on pages 1-47 in Ashok's edition, followed by a separate document known as the *Sakhi Rahit Patshahi Das* (also known as *Sakhi Rahit Ki*), found on pages 48-52 in Ashok's edition.⁸² The CSR is by far the largest of all the rahitname.

2.5.2. The *Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*

The CSR is actually also itself a composite work, articulating sections and themes from the aforementioned *Bansavalinama*, a literary production articulating the genealogy of the Sikh Gurus, dating not earlier than the 1760s.⁸³ The main manual is composed of four separate parts, the first being a rahitnama section (pp. 1-18), followed by the second, a narrative portion of the *Bansavalinama* (pp. 18-27). This is then followed by another rahitnama section (pp. 28-36) and finally another narrative from the *Bansavalinama* (pp. 36-47). McLeod points out that the two rahit sections may have derived from a common source, mostly due to the commonalities in language. He further positions the *Bansavalinama* sections as derived from a common source, again due to commonalities in language, thematic overlap, as well as commonalities in attribution (especially to Chaupa Singh). McLeod positions the two sections as “within the

⁸² Ashok, *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*, 1-52.

⁸³ McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 13, 25-28.

Chibbar family tradition.”⁸⁴ In the first section, there is no mention of the term “tanakhaia,”⁸⁵ but it appears often in the second section. Also given the size of the CSR, as well as the fact that it is the only manual that quotes previous texts such as the *Guru Granth Sahib* and the *Dasam Granth*, it is hard to argue for the CSR being a member of the early corpus. Finally, it also seems as if it may have been modelled on, or influenced by, the two earlier rahitname, given its structure of narration followed by listing of injunctions of behavioral regulation and religious obligation.

2.5.3. The *Sakhi Rahit Ki*

As McLeod has pointed out, the second part of the CSR is unrelated to the main manual, and appears to have been added later. It is much shorter, and is set as a conversation between Guru Gobind Singh and the court poet Bhai Nand Lal. It is noteworthy that the *Sakhi Rahit ki*, in contrast to the versified CSR, is written in a more modern prose register of Punjabi.⁸⁶ In other words it appears to be a modern text, attached to a premodern one.

2.5.4. Sources

The manuscript tradition of the CSR is complex where one of the main issues has been the lack of a reliably established tree between its witnesses. So far, the main sources have been:

⁸⁴ Ashok, *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*, 1-47; McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 25-28.

⁸⁵ The term is derived from tanakhah, salary or remuneration, and refers to a mechanism of discipline for people inside the community who break the injunctions in the rahit. McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 31-32.

⁸⁶ McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 29, Ashok, *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*, 48-52.

- 1) SRL 6124, a manuscript kept in the Sikh Reference Library at the Golden temple in Amritsar, and destroyed in 1984 during Operation Bluestar. As seen above, this MS carried the date of 1764, with Jind city as the specified location of writing/copying.
- 2) Shamsheer Singh Ashok's *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*, dated to 1979, a cyclostyled typewritten transcript of several rahitname (not just the Chaupa Singh) that were kept in the Sikh Reference Library, 3) MS 1018 in the Bhai Gurdas Library at Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar (mid nineteenth century).
- 3) Piara Singh Padam's published work *Rahitname* (1974), containing a large number of rahit works.
- 4) SHR 277 at Khalsa College in Amritsar. This is a modern transcription, in a school notebook, of a manuscript apparently held in Talvandi Sabo, Gurdwara Takhat Sri Damdama Sahib, carried out in 1941 according to the Khalsa College catalogue.⁸⁷
- 5) Two additional sources located by Gurinder Singh Mann, MS 227 and MS 228 of the Balbir Singh Sahitya Kendra in Dehradun.⁸⁸

Arguably the most important source of the text, SRL 6124, was destroyed in 1984 during storming of the Golden Temple by the Indian army during operation Bluestar. McLeod's edition of the text in his book *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, which followed a non-stemmatic majority principle, incorporated this manuscript as one of its sources. However, McLeod's edition was actually based on the substantially larger manuscript (MS 1018) that is dated to 1856-1857, a

⁸⁷ The text states that it was copied in Damdama Sahib in 1941 but lacks the reference to Jind city and a date and name of the scribe. McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 22, 52. McLeod rightly states that the manuscript catalogue might not be completely reliable in this regard. I have examined the book and given that it appears to be an unidentified transcript of an for us unknown manuscript, it is impossible to know its textual lineage. Nripinder Singh seems to have confused the content of this copy for SRL 6124, as he states that the textbook included the reference to Jind City and the year 1764. See Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*, 187.

⁸⁸ Mann, "Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times," footnotes 102 and 103, 276.

century later than SRL 6124.⁸⁹ For the collection of rahit manuscripts kept in the Golden Temple prior to Operation Bluestar, no reproduction is more persuasive than Shamsher Singh Ashok's *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*. One example pertains to the date recorded in SRL 6124. McLeod asserts that this manuscript

owed its considerable distinction not merely to its eighteenth-century origin but also to the fact that it was explicitly identified in terms of date and place. The colophon which concluded the complete manuscript stated that it was copied in Jind City and completed on Chet sudi 14, S. 1821 (1765 A.C.). There is no reason to mistrust this claim.⁹⁰

The colophon mentioned here actually appears at the end of the *Sakhi Rahit Ki*. As the previous exploration of that text shows, there is actually quite solid grounding for questioning the validity of the date in relation to the text it supplements, since the modern language in prose do not resonate with the compositional language and style of the mid eighteenth century work such as the *Bansavalinama*. However, we need to note that Ashok's work is the only one that contains this date and thus is a strong indication that the source he worked on was in fact SRL 6124. Also, a further comparison between the sentences that McLeod designates as the SRL manuscript in his critical edition and Ashok's rendition of the text, has generated a nearly perfect, identical match between Ashok's work and the SRL manuscript as seen in McLeod's apparatus.⁹¹ The

⁸⁹ This manuscript is dated V.S. 1913 (1856-57), copied by a scribe called Harinam Singh Khatri. The place of the composition is not given. Apart from SRL 6124, now lost, this is the only complete manuscript available to scholarship. However, it is important to note that the manuscript is in a very poor shape and the binding does not hold all of the pages together. It appears as if it has been broken and then stitched together again. Some pages have been moved around making it difficult to conduct philological research using this document. McLeod states openly in his book (*The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 22) that he has not consulted the SRL manuscript but rather MS 1018 as the basis for the work. G.S. Mann has also utilised it for a description of the work but in the context of a hypothesized earlier origin of the CSR. Gurinder Singh Mann, "Sources For the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times," 276, footnotes 102-103.

⁹⁰ McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 20.

⁹¹ I have conducted an analysis between the SRL references and Ashok in the larger Chaupa Singh manual: of 36 points of comparison, 31 are identical, and five are missing in Ashok but listed as SRL in McLeod's book. In the *Sakhi Rahit Ki*, the match is 100%.

match is of such proximity that Ashok's work may be seen as constituting the most reliable work in the absence of the destroyed manuscripts.⁹² In both publications, McLeod claims that he had gone into the temple in the years prior to the assault on the temple complex and that he acquired a copy of that particular manuscript, a claim he affirmed in both of the publications. In *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, McLeod explains:

I made a copy of the manuscript before it was destroyed and this has been published as ChS together with an English translation... A photo-copy of this copy is held by the Library of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.⁹³

In the *Chaupa Singh Rahitnama* edition he states that

The manuscript destroyed during Operation Bluestar was one of two copies which dominate the text presented in this volume. Prior to its destruction the manuscript was catalogued as number 6124 in the Sikh Reference Library. Fortunately, a copy was made and carefully checked during the preparation of this text and translation (A photocopy of this hand-written copy has been lodged with the library of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar).⁹⁴

After having compared McLeod's apparatus to the text presented by Ashok, and after locating the date in Ashok's text, the next logical step of inquiry was to locate the photocopy that McLeod supposedly gave to the library at Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. It is found at Guru Nanak Dev University in the Bhai Gurdas Library, labelled MSG 83 (G stands for 'gift') and is indeed his donated photocopied material. In it, he claims that

During the period 16-26 December 1972 the complete manuscript was copied by Dr W.H. McLeod of the History Department, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Dr.

⁹² It is also noteworthy that McLeod excludes Ashok from his work: "Another version appears in a cyclostyled document edited by Shamsher Singh Ashok and issued privately in October 1979 under the title *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*. This latter version is unsupported by any description of its origin or by satisfactory evidence that it represents a faithful copy of the actual manuscript. It has accordingly been omitted from the analysis that follows." McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 19-20.

⁹³ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 27.

⁹⁴ McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 20.

McLeod used his copy, together with Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript no. 1018 and other versions, to prepare a text and English translation.... In 1978, while preparing his Gurmukhi text, Dr. McLeod carefully checked his 1972 copy against the original in the Sikh Reference Library. A photocopy of the corrected 1972 copy follows this note.⁹⁵

It is however not, strictly speaking, a handwritten copy of the manuscript SRL 6124, but rather a working draft of his *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*. Upon investigation, it appears to be a hybrid between multiple sources, possibly with some of them unnamed, and because of its eclectic style, it is exceedingly difficult to know what source is used at any given moment. McLeod jumps between sources and thus very rarely allows the reader to know which source is being used. However, there is one noticeable point in this work that is not found anywhere in his publication. From page three onwards, every page contains reference notes to Kulwant Singh, given as “KS”, followed by either text or words in Punjabi or a comment by McLeod. This source is not mentioned in McLeod's published work. His notes also do not follow any standardized pattern and differ significantly internally; the notes range from “KS agrees with this date” to “KS:” followed by a sentence or word in Punjabi.

Kulwant Singh is now a retired professor from Khalsa College Amritsar. I contacted him and interviewed him about this matter in the presence of Balwant Singh Dhillon, who helped arrange the interview, as several question marks had emerged, especially why he was mentioned repeatedly in McLeod's work draft but was absent from the publication.⁹⁶ Kulwant Singh explained that he was hired by the Sikh Reference Library between 1966-1970 and then subsequently by Khalsa College. McLeod came to the Sikh Reference Library in 1970 for a total

⁹⁵ MSG 83, 1.

⁹⁶ The interview took place on 29 March 2016 in Kulwant Singh's house in Amritsar. I offer my thanks to both Kulwant Singh and Balwant Singh Dhillon.

of about 20 hours over three days and was making corrective notes from SRL 6124 (the likelihood being that he had already decided to work on MS 1018 of GNDU). Kulwant Singh offered his own handwritten copy, which he had made some time earlier out of personal interest. McLeod accepted it and never returned it to Kulwant Singh. What this serves to underline is the seemingly permanent dissonance between McLeod's claims about the Chaupa Singh work and its textual lineage. In other words, despite the hybrid format, at least two sources are known to have been used for McLeod's draft edition: MS 1018, which he states in the beginning of the work, and Kulwant Singh's material. The "other versions" that he mentions are not identified in the text so it is not possible to confirm their sources.

The date given at the end of the *Sakhi Rahit Ki* in MSG 83, dated V.S. 1821 (1765), is identical to the text given in Ashok, which paradoxically confirms Ashok's reliability (although we see the example of Ashok's editing by the addition of the isai (Western calendar) date of 1764). McLeod's comment at the side of the final page, where the date is located, states that it is difficult to be sure whether the date given is 1821 samvat, or 1812, because of scribal errors and then he states "Kulwant Singh agrees with this date."⁹⁷

Piara Singh Padam's book, *Rahitname*, is a collection of several manuscripts of various rahit manuals, not just the CSR.⁹⁸ There are a few problems with this publication. The first is the narrative concerning which specific sources he has utilised and where he got them from, and the statements concerning these matters are vague. For example, he states that he got the *Bhai Nand*

⁹⁷ The hybrid nature of McLeod's work can be seen when one compares the SRL footnotes in his Chaupa Singh publication, to Kulwant Singh's notes in MSG 83; There is no correlation between the two at all. In other words, McLeod did not just use Kulwant Singh as the source of the SRL manuscript, he was actively creating a hybrid manuscript in several stages.

⁹⁸ Utilized for example by McLeod, Mann, Malhotra, and Jeevan Deol in their publications.

Lal and *Bhai Prahilad Singh* manuals from a *granthi* (reader of the *Guru Granth Sahib* in devotional context) living near Anandpur but does not provide any information about whom this person was or where the sources originated from. He traces the CSR manual that he provides in the publication to a Chibbar family in Gujrat, Pakistan through a series of copies, which allegedly includes SRL 6124, but it is not entirely clear which exact source served as the basis for the text in his publication. It does however contain an admission of having consulted a book from the Kahn Singh Nabha Library, at Punjabi University, Patiala, again with little additional information.⁹⁹ From my research at this library, it is most likely MS NR 90288 in the rare book section which is part of the collection that Padam donated to the university. The work states that it was copied in 1901 by a copyist named Bhai Bishan Singh, while the original author was a certain Giani Bhagwan Singh. It is a large compilation of rahit texts and appears to be identical to the *Bibek Bardhi Granth* (book of wisdom), a book on religious ethics in part based on a collection of rahit texts compiled by Bhagwan Singh in the 1870s.¹⁰⁰

MS NR 90288 is not an original manuscript, nor is it the original publication but rather a handwritten transcription of the publication. It is also relevant to note that some rahit compositions cannot be located in manuscripts (such as the *Bhai Daya Singh* and the *Bhai Desa Singh*) but exist purely in printed form, despite claims of their being eighteenth century compositions.¹⁰¹ Most of the manuscripts in Padam's publication are not found in any other source except for this one. In fact, the contents of Piara Singh Padam's book and Giani Bhagwan

⁹⁹ Padam, *Rahitname*, 52.

¹⁰⁰ Gurinder Mann, "500 Years of Sikh Educational Heritage," *Journal of Punjab Studies* 12, No.1 (Spring 2005), f.n. 21.

¹⁰¹ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 65.

Singh's *Bibek Bardhi* match completely. In other words, this is the only source where the entire list of sources from Padam's book is covered. Some of the texts presented by Padam, most notably the *Daya Singh Rahitnama*, is written in modern language, which makes an early eighteenth-century origin rather unlikely.¹⁰²

Finally, the CSR in the Giani Bhagwan Singh publication contains an early date, 1700, the same date as given by Mann in his article on the sources of Guru Gobind Singh.¹⁰³ However, Mann also refers to two manuscripts from Dehradun (MS 227, MS 228). MS 227 is a composite document containing the CSR followed by two versions of the *Bhai Nand Lal rahitnama*. It does not contain any information about the scribe, date of composition, etc. It is a compilation of many different documents and scribes. From simple visual comparison, the three different texts within this codex seem clearly to be made with three different types of paper. The two copies of the *Bhai Nand Lal Rahitnama* seem to have had the same scribe, based on abundant parallels in orthography. The three manuscripts appear to have been laminated and bound into codex form sometime in the nineteenth century. All pages in the three rahit manuals contain a stamp that states "Allahabad." These colonial-period interventions have made it so that it is difficult to determine the original date and provenance of the CSR manuscript materials embedded within the larger codex. It also deserves to be mentioned that the CSR in MS 227 is NOT complete; it finishes prematurely at line number 126. On the other hand, it does feature a preface - unique among the manuscript witnesses - that provides the date of completion as being VS 1757, along with the story of its origins. As the text explains, Guru Gobind Singh gave Chaupa Singh the

¹⁰² Padam, *Rahitname*, 68-77.

¹⁰³ Mann, "Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times," 249, 276, footnotes 101-103.

order to write the rahit. When, in response, Chaupa Singh asked for further direction, the Guru replied, "You know the Sikhi, so start." Chaupa Singh then came up with a draft and delivers it to the Guru, who approved. It is important to note that this specific narrative is from the *Bansavalinama*, which is a composition placed in the 1760s.¹⁰⁴ Apart from this, there seems to be a strong resonance of textual and thematic features related to *Bansavalinama* within the text itself, which would make sense since its author Kesar Singh Chibbar was a descendant of Chaupa Singh, who is listed as the author of the *Bansavalinama*. McLeod has fleshed out the relationship between the two compositions in some detail and provides a convincing argument about their compositional proximity.¹⁰⁵

MS 228 is another version of the aforementioned *Bibek Bardhi*, where the catalogue states it is a copy of a manuscript at Oriental College, Lahore.¹⁰⁶ The author draws on multiple sources of Sikh scripture, including some rahit sources but it also contains a commentary on the *Gursobha*. Some pages contain no commentary, whereas others contain commentary in the margins in very small script. In other places there are considerable corrections done to the text in yellow cover-colour which then new text has been added to. The manuscript is presented on modern paper, until folio 95, where it switches to country paper. The modern section is made by a single hand, while the premodern folia - 95 to 140 - are the work of a number of different scribes, at least based on orthographical observation.

¹⁰⁴ McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 13, 50, footnote 22.

¹⁰⁵ McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 24-31.

¹⁰⁶ Author Bhagwan Singh, corrected by Baba Sumer Singh Ji Patna, date is 1877 AD. Mann also confirms that this is indeed the work. Mann, "500 years of Sikh Educational Heritage," f.n. 21.

The contents of the modern and premodern sections of MS 228 are also significantly different. The modern portions (prior to folio 95) feature, in particular, materials from the *Gursobha*, with marginal commentary. At the very end is a version of the *Sakhi Rahit Ki* text, as we had seen in Ashok's edition. No title, however, is given here. It is the text of the *Sakhi Rahit Ki* alone, without commentary - which is somewhat unusual for this manuscript, as the *Gursobha* has extensive marginalia, and corrections and emendations throughout.

Folios 95-140, in contrast, is an eclectic assemblage of materials from multiple scribes, and involving many different types of documents. There are lengthy commentarial materials that discuss theological topics and draw on multiple sources. There are lists of rahits, but the enumeration appears to be idiosyncratic to the scribe. At the end of the premodern portion, there is a section labeled "Rahitname," which offers a series of rahits, but the handwriting here is so small as to be illegible. These observations are not meant to disqualify the *Bibek Bardhi* (or indeed any of the other sources) as being valid texts for analysis, but rather to confirm that the rahit materials they contain cannot be situated within specific, historically-contingent moments and places in the early seventeenth century. In contrast, we can quite confidently do so with the TN and the BPSR.

As we can see, based on the extant material, the CSR cannot be seen as an early eighteenth-century product for a series of interrelated reasons. Firstly, is the length of the text in relation to the TN and the BPSR; the CSR is 47 folios in length, and (51 if one includes the *Sakhi Rahit Ki*), as opposed to the 12 folios of both the TN and the BPSR. Secondly, the CSR composite text, which to some extent may have been modelled on the TN and the BPSR. Thirdly, the language in the CSR seems later than the other two. Also, none of the assertions concerning

the date of composition of the CSR, except Ashok and perhaps MS 1018 of GNDU, can be relied upon as scholarly sources. MS 227 in Dehradun provides the earliest date on record (1700) but is an incomplete colonial-era document, written on colonial-era paper, with a colonial era-watermark, and provides the date in an introduction which is found in no manuscript version of the CSR. Likewise, the early date found in SRL MS 6124, and noted by Ashok, is problematic given that it does not appear in the CSR itself but in the appended, and textually unrelated, *Sakhi Rahit Ki*. For the CSR itself, we thus actually have no reliable date.

In summary, based on extant sources, it is not possible to date the CSR to the early eighteenth century with any accuracy, nor indeed to say much about it at all with any certainty. To better ascertain the historical significance of the CSR, and its connections to the early rahit texts, more scholarship is needed, including a systematic study in conjunction with the *Bansavalinama*. McLeod offers a starting point, connecting the dots between them and creating a solid groundwork for further research.¹⁰⁷ It is also relevant to note that there might be CSR related material in the various archives of Pakistan, including one held at the Oriental College, Lahore, as mentioned by the Dehradun manuscript. Future scholarship should investigate this possibility.

2.6. The *Tanakhahnama* and the *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama*

We now reach the two rahit manuals that can be dated with confidence to the early eighteenth century, namely the TN and the BPSR. First and foremost, both are found as unpublished manuscripts, rather than printed texts. Second, they are both almost identical in

¹⁰⁷ McLeod, *The Chaupa Singh Rahitnama*, 9-31.

length and substantially shorter than the CSR. Third, they both consistently display the dohra-chaupai poetic meter and despite internal differences between the two texts they seem to voice similar concerns related to the early eighteenth century. Some are warnings about the Turks and the Masands. Additionally, both rahitname share structural consistencies, as both are modelled on the concept of a conversation between the Guru and a disciple (the court poet Bhai Nand Lal in the TN and Bhai Prahilad Singh in the BPSR). The disciple begins by asking the Guru about what is and is not appropriate behavior. The Guru then responds and engages in a conversation that continues until the end of the manuscripts. In terms of style and imagery, it seems likely that there is proximity and conversation taking place between the two texts. Given that one manual (the TN) is a manuscript copy dated to 1718 and that it is indeed close in literary terms to the BPSR, it seems likely that the two were composed at roughly the same time, the early eighteenth century. However, as we have seen in the case of the CSR, determining the date of writing is by no means an uncomplicated affair.

Here it is also relevant to note the two earliest colonial era assessments on the rahit genre, namely the writings of Robert Leech and Joseph Davey Cunningham. Leech is arguably the de facto earliest colonial era statement on the rahit literature, and it can be found in his article “The Rites and Ceremonies of the Sikhs and the Sikh Sects,” published in 1844. Part one and two comprised a selection from the *Prem Sumarag Granth*, part three the *Tanakhahanama*, and part four the *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama*.¹⁰⁸ This was followed by Cunningham’s extensive book, *History of the Sikhs: From the origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*, published in 1849. Cunningham’s understanding of the rahit genre comprised the BPSR and TN, with no mention of

¹⁰⁸ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 466-467.

other texts. Although he does not reveal exactly which manuscripts he has consulted, he does provide parts of both texts in translation and they are clearly the two manuals in question.¹⁰⁹ The third colonial era writer who wrote on this matter was the widely influential Attar Singh who published his work *The Rayhit Nama of Prahlad Rai, or the Excellent Conversation of the Duswan Padsha and Nand Lal's Rayhit Nama, or Rules for the Guidance of the Sikhs in Religious Matters* in 1876. He also designates the TN as Nand Lal's rahitnama. Finally, Ernest Trumpp's work *Adi Granth or The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs* published in 1877 utilises Attar Singh's work and confirms that the two works mentioned by Attar Singh are indeed the BPSR and the TN.¹¹⁰

What these colonial commentators have in common is that they designate these two texts as constituting the rahit genre with no mention of the CSR. This confirms the findings of this dissertation, as the Chaupa Singh work is a later historical product. We will now explore the dating of the two works in more detail.

2.6.1. The *Tanakhahnama*

The date in the TN is significant for several reasons, especially given that all versions of the text are undated, except one. This is a document that Jeevan Deol had come across in the 1990s,¹¹¹ a dramatic finding in rahitnama research.¹¹² The discovery of the manuscript effectively

¹⁰⁹ Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 373-378.

¹¹⁰ Ernest Trumpp, *The Adi Granth or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs* (London: Allen & Tumbner, 1877. Reprint, New Delhi: Munshiram, Manoharlal, 1970), cxiv, cxiii.

¹¹¹ Jeevan Deol, "Eighteenth-century Khalsa Identity: Discourse, Praxis and Narrative," In *Sikh Religion, Culture and Ethnicity*, Christopher Shackle, et al. (eds), (London: Routledge: 2001), 25-46.

¹¹² Fenech, McLeod, and most extensively by Malhotra.

pushed the presumed date of composition of the TN back by a few decades.¹¹³ This extraordinary document is located in the Bhai Gurdas Library of the Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar within a manuscript catalogued as MS 770, which contains several other texts as well. It begins with the *Japuji* (folios 393-415), followed by the TN (folios 415-418), then *Savaiya Patshahi 1* (folios 418-419), and finally *Sakhi Mahala 1* (folios 419-426). However, there are three immediate issues with the TN (listed as *Rahitnama Bhai Nand Lal*) as found in MS 770. The first is that it is incomplete. As Fenech, Malhotra, and McLeod all note, it starts on line 7 and is thus a copy of an earlier, unidentified source. This remarkable find should hopefully spur a search for that unidentified source as well as a rereading of the other TN manuscripts available so far.¹¹⁴

Next, we arrive at the small but important issue concerning the utilization of the term for “manual of advice,” namely “nasihatnama.” The TN found in MS 770 is not the first that scholars have found to use this term but it is the earliest. From the evidence in MS 770 scholars like McLeod have come to the conclusion that the first version of the TN was in fact known as “nasihatnama.” However, as is evident by the exploration of several TN manuscripts, we can see the following pattern: in the beginning of the text comes either the “tanakhahnama” or sometimes “rahitnama” designation, and at the end comes either one of the three phrases, “This rahitnama is complete,” “This nasihatnama is complete,” or “This tanakhahnama is complete.” As stated previously, the TN in MS 770 is not complete since the first lines are missing. The missing lines constitute the location where the opening designation would have appeared. However, the manuscript concludes with “this nasihatnama is concluded.” Given that not a single

¹¹³ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 16.

¹¹⁴ With special emphasis on KHC SHR 1442D, which is a complete manuscript.

manuscript so far starts with the designation of “nasihatnama” but rather with “tanakhahnama” or “rahitnama,” and conjunctly that some finish with “nasihatnama” it seems plausible that the title is not “nasihatnama.”

Finally, having investigated the entire manuscript it is possible to state the following with certainty: while the date of V.S. 1775 (1718) does not appear in the TN itself, the handwriting of the scribe appears consistent throughout the manuscript. Also, the manuscript is intact and no folios have been taken out or inserted; from what could be surmised, the binding was also intact, i.e. it was not possible to notice any evidence for the binding having been opened up and then re-stitched or the binding being replaced entirely; and the ink is consistent throughout all of the folios and the writing has gotten less pronounced only to become stronger again thus indicating a brush that needed to be dipped into ink (this is in contrast to a modern pen, where the ink is of consistent pressure all through the writing). In other words, the tentative conclusion is that the manuscript has been written by a single scribe and not been tampered with after its composition. Thus, it appears as if the date is reliable.

2.6.2. The *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama*

The BPSR text presents a more complicated case in terms of dating, due to its multiple direct and indirect temporal cues. At the preliminary level of investigation, no manuscript thus far encountered contains a scribal date along the lines of the TN in MS 770, even though there is a date given in the text itself. It should be noted that the date appears in a rather peculiar place, in the closing half of the narrative but not at the very end. Different scholars have approached this date slightly differently. Piara Singh Padam, for example, edited whichever text he had at his

disposal and inserted the date at the very end of the text.¹¹⁵ Ashok on the other hand has kept the date in the text at its original place but brings up the salient point that the date (1696) contradicts the location given in the beginning (Abchalnagar) since the Guru was not there at that time.¹¹⁶ McLeod has given several suggestions about the date of the work; he initially placed the dating of the BPSR text in the late eighteenth century¹¹⁷ and then suggested the 1730s,¹¹⁸ then finally placed it in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁹ Gurinder Singh Mann has based his work on Piara Singh Padam's publication, in which Padam removes the date from its textual context and places it at the end of the text. Thus, both Padam and Mann view the date mentioned as the date of textual completion. Mann however provides an interesting suggestion that the date mentioned refers to the spring festival known as Basant Panchami but that does not correlate with a date of completion, given several other post-1708 references found in the text.¹²⁰ We need to explore a few interrelated issues of historiography at this stage. The text provides us with a few distinct references that are all placed after 1696. These are in no particular order, the reference to Abchalnagar, the references to the *Granth* as Guru, the deployment of the term "Khalsa," and finally the location within the text where the reference is found.

At the first instance, the most immediate issue concerns the apparent contradiction between the date in the narrative and the location given in the beginning of the text. It

¹¹⁵ Padam, *Rahitname*, 67.

¹¹⁶ Ashok, *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*, 58.

¹¹⁷ McLeod, *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 173.

¹¹⁸ McLeod accepts that the brevity of the work is indicative of an earlier origin as "It is as much due to the fact that the rahit-nama is a brief one as to any other reason. The longer ones characteristically belong to the middle or later years of the eighteenth century." McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 70-71.

¹¹⁹ McLeod, *The A to Z of Sikhism* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 161.

¹²⁰ Mann, "Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times," 249, 275, f.n. 99.

materializes along the lines of an inquiry into whether it resonates with or contradicts Guru Gobind Singh's time spent in Abchnagar (Nanded). Ashok is correct in stating that the Guru was not in Abchnagar at that date but only reached that location almost a decade later. Secondly, we also find the invocation of the *Granth* as Guru which comes towards the end of Guru Gobind Singh's life and certainly not in 1696. We also find that the term Khalsa is a complicated designation especially in the BPSR. It is a term used very rarely in the BPSR, and when it is used, it seems to refer more broadly to the entire Sikh community, rather than to a specific subgroup. The BPSR's understanding of "Khalsa" thus challenges the usual narrative of the meaning of this term in Sikh history. As previously mentioned, the references to the either specific congregations or even the community at large as "Khalsa" is found repeatedly in the letters by Guru Gobind Singh during the last years of his life.

We also need to assess the reference where the date appears and its location in the text. If the date of 1696 were acknowledged to be the date of completion, then the text would arguably contain anachronistic statements. Also, even if we accept that the date could have originally appeared at the end of the text, and that the sentences after the date were later interpolations, there is still an issue in the wording of the sentence:

ਸੰਮਤ ਸਤਾਰਾ ਸੈ ਭਏ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬਵੰਜਾ ਨਿਹਾਰ। ਮਾਘ ਵਦੀ ਥਿਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਵੀਰਵਾਰ ਸੁਭਵਾਰ।
 Sanmat satara se bhae bars bavanja nihar. Magh vadi thit panchm virvar subhvar.

My translation of it reads: "See the year of (sanmat) 1752 having passed, this is the fifth day, Thursday, of the lunar fortnight, an auspicious day." At no point does this sentence indicate the format of completion as found in the TN or later, in the end of the BPSR. The BPSR reads: "this rahitnama is complete." Here the statements of completion are clearly articulated. On the other

hand, the year of V.S.1752 is not articulated along those lines at all, but rather states that this date has passed.

It should perhaps also be noted that the date could add depth and perhaps even an added layer to the outer narrative frame, concerning the transmission of knowledge from Guru to disciple. If this is indeed the case, then it is relevant to note that the date provided does not have to correlate with the historical developments as we now recognize them. In other words, the author of the BPSR enters this date not by mistake but for a clear clear purpose, and at a meaningful point in his text. However, contemporary scholarship lacks sufficient sources to explain the reference. The term that should grab attention is *subhvar* (auspicious day), since one implication of this is a relationship of good omens for the future. Given that the date appears in passing, it is not possible to state clearly why this date was seen as auspicious since no explanation is given, although it might serve as a poetic filler given that it is a double rhyme (both in relation to the first stanza, as well as the internal rhyme with *Virvar*). Also, another question is why it appears where it does. If this has been a conscious decision, then the author has waited until line 36-37 to introduce this, only to continue the narrative for a few more lines. It seems rather unlikely that this took place by scribal sloppiness or lack of attention. One possibility is that it may have served as a literary claim to relevance, since readers or listeners would undoubtedly be aware of the significance of this date. It may be seen as a way to heighten the suspense in the narrative in the sense of situating it in a concrete memorial landscape with a date attached to it. The date in the common era is 1696 and is eleven years prior to Guru Gobind Singh reaching Nanded. However, there is a possibility on the part of the author to provide emphasis of this date as having passed, thus to emphasize a perceived auspicious moment in the

past. It may serve to anchor the story in a known memorial setting, not at a fixed date but to an easily recognised time period by the audience where the date provides the apex of perceived suspense. Padam and McLeod (who admits to having used the text provided by Padam for his own translation) put this date at the end of the text.¹²¹ This is problematic since it never appears at the end of any manuscript, and also because it seems likely that the date did not indicate a date of completion.

The seemingly irreconcilable contradiction between the reference in the beginning to Abchalnagar, on the one hand, as well as the post-1708 references such as the *Granth* as Guru given later in the text, and finally the 1696 date, can be rectified if the text is read like a historical report with several non-related moving parts in it. If we however do not assume that it is a historical report and that the references (as well as their position in the text) are not accidents or anomalies but rather desired by the author, then a possible starting point for investigation is that its composition had begun in 1696 but was later substantially reworked with the date kept intact but with post-1708 information added. Accordingly, we may here have encountered a work that has grown over time and been edited along the way. With this in mind, given the absence of sources to confirm this editing process, we may place the text in the first decades of the eighteenth century. In other words, it is unlikely that the author would have constructed a narrative of this brevity and consciously have constructed a built-in textual reference that anachronistically jeopardizes the narrative. Given that this date is intact in all the manuscripts thus encountered, it seems to have been part of the narrative mechanics from the spawning of

¹²¹ McLeod states that “Magh vadi 5, S. 1752, is the equivalent of Thursday the 13th of February 1696. It did not fall on a Sunday. The earlier text places this verse between 34 and 35. Only PSP places it at the conclusion of the rahit-nama,” McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 422.

this text. It seems as if the likely scenario is that this is a text that kept getting reworked and finally received as a Khalsa text in the Khalsa community that accompanied Guru Gobind Singh to Maharashtra.

There is however a larger chain of questions that need to be accounted for and which present a significant challenge to scholarship. First and foremost, what does the date signify? Perhaps Mann's suggestion of the Basant Panchmi festival is accurate. It seems to be a date built into the memorial imagination of the intended audience, since it is seen as being in the past. It can be implied that the audience was well aware of (factual event or not factual event does not matter) its relevance and knew the specific point as well as a larger suggestion that the author of the text was attempting to convey. Secondly, is it possible to sketch the literary process implied by the invocation of this date? In other words, does the date signify that a perceived malevolent time period came to an end in 1696, then succeeded by a perceived beneficial time? Or is it the opposite, that a benevolent time period finished in 1696 and was followed by a perceived times of trouble? There is no immediate answer to this. Also, what does the placement of this line in the text itself signify? In other words, what can be surmised about its relationship with the rest of the text and the effect that the author intended to generate? Finally, and perhaps most importantly, why was it introduced in the text in the first place? None of these questions have firm answers as we do not have access to corroborating documents.

A more detailed study of the textual mechanics and philological issues concerning the two works follows in Chapter Three. For now, we will attempt to get a feeling for the general characteristics of the two texts and how they operate. As mentioned previously, the structure of the two texts is based on a conversation between the Guru and a prominent disciple, where the

disciple asks the Guru questions about what is and what is not acceptable behavior. Doris Jakobsh reminds us that the proscriptive nature of these manuals do not constitute the lived reality of the Sikh community of that era. Rather, the proscriptive element may be seen as an expectation and thus articulates a view of regulated ideal behavior on behalf of the intended audience.¹²²

In both cases the disciples, Bhai Nand Lal and Bhai Prahilad Singh, are figures of prominence in the Sikh mythological and literary record and connected personally to the Guru. The conversation opens up by the question being asked and the guru is then the centre of the narrative as he provides more or less detailed instruction on what constitutes meritorious behavior. The texts can thus be seen as articulating didactic elements and operating within a framework of religious ethics. The charismatic figure of the Guru is the centre of narration and his religious prestige can be seen in both his pronouncements as well as his elevated stature, vis-à-vis his disciple. The connection to the disciple who is in conversation with him is noteworthy as part of a charismatic relationship.¹²³ As a general rule, the disciple gets nowhere near the same amount of attention as the guru figure, but is nevertheless portrayed as being in a subtle yet pronounced standing vis-à-vis the Guru, whereby the conversation confirms the perceived prestige of both parts. As a general rule, the TN is less explorative and detailed than the BPSR on this matter but still portrays narrative confirmation of the status of Bhai Nand Lal, as the Guru repeats his name several times throughout the composition.

¹²² Doris Jakobsh, *Sikhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012). 9-11.

¹²³ A useful corollary and articulation of this is Maria Dakake's work on Shi'a Islam, *The Charismatic Community: Shi'ite identity in Early Islam*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007). Please see Chapter Five for a more detailed exploration of the notion of the "charismatic community" in relation to the early eighteenth century Khalsa community.

The topics that are covered in the texts are complicated and multifaceted but one factor that resonates with many of them is the notion of community formation, whereby the correct observance of communal and individual concerns are posited as necessary for community cohesion. This is a process that can be described in terms of dual affirmation, namely the figure of the Guru, who embodies idealized behavior for the community he leads but also whose own status within the community is reaffirmed. The texts also display statements that may be viewed as referring to inherited ethical principles. In other words, the texts contain normative statements of behavior anchored in broad principles, working in tandem with highly detailed and specific actions as well as intentions. These broader, general statements are few in relation to the more specific ones but still constitute a noticeable textual mechanism, especially in relation to the rather harsh consequences that are envisioned as the punitive result if the injunctions are not followed. This is evident in the following examples:

ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਬਿਗਰੈ। ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮ ਮੋ ਧਰਮ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ

(He who) backbites and destroys good work, that birth is accursed which forgets dharam.
(TN, verse 21)

ਜਨਮ ਸੁਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਗਾ ਕੋਟੀ। ਬੀਜੇ ਹਾਥ ਬੁਰਾ ਓਸ ਖੋਟਿ

(he) will be born a dog ten million (innumerable) times, (whose) bad hand sows evil.
(BPSR, verse 5)

As we shall see in more detail later on, the main mode of delivery is to outline what behavior is not deemed as meritorious and offer a literary, punitive mechanism for encouraging normative behavior. It is articulated in different ways but can be seen through a means of correctly observed behavior as well as properly upheld patterns of affiliation. This takes place both in the injunction to reject other modes of affiliation, as well as the imperative to maintain the desired affiliation to

the Guru. Correct behavior is thus not articulated as a phenomenon in isolation, but rather integrated with other narrative points of perceived importance:

ਪਾਹਿਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਬਿਨ ਨਾ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ। ਸੇ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਗੁਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰਿਅ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸਾ

The Sikhs should not bow their heads in puja to stones. And that Shakta, who is always without the Guru, is punished by the Lord of the Earth. (BPSR, verse 17)

ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹਿ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਮੁਹਿ ਮਿਲ ਬੋਚ ਹੈ ਬੋਜ ਇਨ ਇਹ ਮਹਿ ਲੈਇ

Accept the Khalsa of the Guru as manifesting the body of the Guru. That Sikh who seeks me can find me in it. (BPSR, verse 26)

The same, or similar notion, can be seen in the rejection of behaviors/behavioral patterns associated with groups deemed antagonistic, such as the injunction against using tobacco. This is a topic that both of the manuals articulate and the punitive measure in both cases is rather harsh and eschatological in nature. It is also noteworthy that what is forbidden is a specific form of tobacco usage —snuff—and not tobacco in general:

ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕੈ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੇ ਨਸਵਾਰੁ। ਲਏ ਤਾਤਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ

(He who) wears red cloth, and takes snuff in the nostrils, seeing this, one is thrown into the darkness of hell. (BPSR, verse 12)

ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰੁ

(He who) uses snuff during the crimson hours, says Gobind, Yam will destroy him. (TN, verse 12)

ਗੁਰੂ ਤਲਪੀ ਕਪਟੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ। ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ

(He who) is deceitful towards the Guru, know that (he) is a vicious tanakhahia. (TN, verse 36)

The manuals also display a mechanism consequence that translates into a series of different articulations of behavior regulation, with some of them karmic in nature, where the repeated warning is centered on wasting one's reincarnation. We also find that this model of karmic consequences also articulates the notion of the perceived wrongdoer being sent to hell. The term

“tanakhahia” is an interesting example of the dynamics between the two works. What it refers to is a member of the Khalsa who has broken the rules of the behavioral codex and has to pay a fine, tanakhah, to the sangat (congregation/community).¹²⁴ This measure can be seen as a large scale measure of exclusion, as it is the designation of a mode of discipline and regulation against an individual who has committed a perceived behavioral transgression towards the entire community. It is noticeable that the term “tanakhahia” appears in only in the TN and is absent from the BPSR manual.

In both texts, the behavior deemed correct is occasionally juxtaposed vis-à-vis known out-groups, such as the Malecchas, Turks, or yogic practitioners, but also an extended implication of avoiding the behavior associated with such groups. It is thus not only a warning against the groups as such but also the actions that the authors of the manuals associate with these groups:

ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਬਿਸਾਹੁ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੇ ਹਿਤ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ਪਰੈ ਨਰਕ ਕੇ ਮਾਂਹਿ
Do not trust(a yogi) who cuts the ears, or a Turk. (BPSR, verse 27)¹²⁵

ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸੀਸ। ਸੇ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਬਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ। ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ। ਸੇ ਸਿਖ ਸਕਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ ਤਰੈ
(He who) bows the head to someone wearing a topi, that Sikh will be in the twentieth hell. (BPSR, verse 25)

The community receives significant attention and is articulated in a complex terminology, where some terms are used interchangeably. The terms Khalsa, Sangat, and Panth are examples of appellations for this larger community. It is also noteworthy that the notion of community formation works in tandem with both the formless one, Akal Purakh, being made manifest, as

¹²⁴ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 10-11. McLeod asserts that the term ‘tanakhahia’ does not appear in the earliest known manuscript of the TN, MS 770, but that is not accurate. In fact, it appears twice in that manuscript. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 82.

¹²⁵ George Weston Briggs, *Gorakhnath And The Kanphata Yogis* (Motilal Banarsidass, 1938), 1-8.

well as the lineage of Gurus. Finally, we find the notion of the *Granth* as Guru articulated as an order by Akal Purakh, and which should be accepted by the Sikhs. These are not the only examples of this complicated vision of pre-modern community formation in the texts but rather represent a few instantiations of a multidimensional topic:

ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹਿ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਮੁਹਿ ਮਿਲ ਬੋਚ ਹੈ ਖੋਜ ਇਨ ਇਹ ਮਹਿ ਲੈਇ

Accept the Khalsa of the Guru as manifesting the body of the Guru. That Sikh who seeks me can find me in it. (BPSR, verse 26)

ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਏਹੁ। ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਅਕਾਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੇਹਾ। ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ। ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਸਾਖੀ
This is the form of the Formless One, manifest in the Immortal Khalsa. No part of what I say is false, this is the testimony by Guru Nanak and Guru Angad. (BPSR, verse 30)

ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਸਿਓ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਚਲਾਇਯੋ ਪੰਥ। ਸਭ ਸਿਖੰਨ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮ ਯਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ

By the order of Formless One who caused the Panth to be made manifest. The command to all Sikhs is to accept the Granth as the Guru. (BPSR, verse 32)

Both of the works also warn against behavior that appears as antithetical to practices, most often communal, deemed central to the community. Individuals who do not observe the *dasvandh* (donations of one tenth of one's income to the *sangat*) but acts as if they have in fact performed this action, are portrayed as not worthy of trust, as well as those who take money from the offerings of the congregation, are described as not fulfilling their obligation to the Guru:

ਦਸਵੰਧ ਗੁਰੂ ਨ ਦੇਵਈ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਵਿਸਾਹੁ

(He who) has not given to the Guru's *dasvandh*, lies (about it) and (eats), Gobind says, listen Lal ji, one cannot have any faith in him. (TN, verse 18)

ਹੁਕਮ ਦੇਖ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੀ ਰਾਖੈ। ਗੋਲਕਿ ਗੋਪੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮੁਖ ਭਾਖੈ। ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮੰਨਤ ਚੁਰਾਵੈ। ਐਸਾ ਸਿਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਹੀ ਭਵੈ

(He who appears) to (follow) the order to give, or conceals the donation box, is as bad as the ones as (those who) steal from the congregational offerings, this kind of Sikh is not pleasing to the Guru. (BPSR, verse 9)

Finally, both manuals are informed by notions of specific individual behavioral patterns deemed desirable. This can take the form of highly specific practices relating to personal hygiene or for that matter correct behavior prior to eating:

ਕੰਘਾ ਦੋਨੋ ਵਖਤੁ ਕਰਿ ਪਾਗੁ ਚੁਨੇ ਬਿਨੁ ਬਾਂਧਈ। ਦਾਤਨੁ ਨੀਤ ਕਰੇ ਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ

Use the Kanga (comb) both times, and don't choose a turban already made. Brush your teeth and you will not suffer pain, Lal ji. (TN, verse 17)

ਪਗ ਓਤਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ। ਸੇ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ

The Sikh who puts off the turban to eat prasad (devotional food), that person will depart for a torturing and dreadful hell. (BPSR, verse 5)

It is also noteworthy that the articulations of martial power differ substantially in the two works, most evidently in the fact that they are virtually absent entirely from the BPSR manual, but figure more prominently in the TN, where it is most often articulated within the context of the Khalsa. That does not imply that the Khalsa is envisioned as only in martial terms in the texts, but perhaps that it should be viewed as one aspect of designated attributes. The tone of these injunctions is to some degree quite confrontational in nature, and articulate martiality at times as directly related to heroic virtues and confrontation of enemies:

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ

The Khalsa is (he who) fights first. (TN, verse 40)

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੇ ਖਾਨੁ

The Khalsa is (he who) kills the Khan. (TN, verse 41)

2.6.3. Gender, Caste, and Voice in the Early Eighteenth Century Sikh community

Let us turn our attention to whose voices we are hearing in these texts, as well as whose voices are missing from them. We will especially focus on how the texts articulate gender, caste as well as groups within the Sikh community of the early eighteenth century.

Many of the injunctions are clearly written with a male subject in mind, and the references to women seem to indicate to the author and audience was male.¹²⁶ For example, Khalsa masculinity is constructed in the texts by discussions of topics like marriage, nudity, and not listening to the words of women are clearly oriented towards male Khalsa members. Conversely, there are no specific injunctions that articulate what the authors expect women to do, such as child birth. The injunctions in the TN dealing with preparing *prasad* are for example not addressed at women specifically, and rather appear to be a communal and collective concern in the texts.¹²⁷ The texts seem to articulate behavior regulation, and behavioral concerns, from the point of view of a male subject-position, not a female one. The texts do display consistent hostility towards “daughter killers” (*kuri mar*). It is one of the designated “five reprobate groups” in Sikh literature—in other words, groups that one should not associate with. These groups are Masands, killers of female infants, hookah users, people who have had their heads shaved in the Hindu ritual, and finally Sikhs who have taken *amrit* and then cut their hair. The condemnations of female infanticide can be traced back to the earlier Gurus, most notably Guru Amar Das who also condemned widow immolation (*sati*).¹²⁸ In the Sikh context, (*kuri mar*) refers to the practice of female infanticide by the Khatri and Jat castes, and we can infer that caste is a central point of criticism for the authors of the TN and BPSR.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 77-98. Jakobsh, “Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity” (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2000), 48-59.

¹²⁷ Jakobsh, “Relocating Gender in Sikh History,” 45-65. Also see Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh’s *The Birth of the Khalsa: A Feminist Re-Memory of Sikh Identity* (State University of New York Press: 2005) for a feminist interpretation of the emergence of the Khalsa.

¹²⁸ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 37; Jakobsh, *Sikhism*, 25.

¹²⁹ Jakobsh, *Sikhism*, 20-25.

There is also a theme of caste as a social factor, seen most acutely in an expression that is found in both the Gurbilas and the rahitname. This is the pronouncement that the Khalsa has been established by the Guru to transform the four *varnas* (castes) into one. In other words, both genres articulated that the existence of the Khalsa was informed by the need to abolish caste as a social factor and by extension replacing it with another hierarchy based on scales of devotional activity.¹³⁰

Finally, the texts also articulate competitive and harsh sentiments in relation groups other than the Khalsa in the Sikh community. One such group is the Udasis, whose lineage is derived from the oldest son of Guru Nanak, Sri Chand. When Guru Nanak chose to pass on the guruship by merit rather than through family inheritance, a group of disciples had maintained that Sri Chand was to be regarded as his rightful successor. This was the foundation of the Udasis. The Udasi community had an ascetic component in terms of community structure and had attracted disciples in the preceding centuries.¹³¹ Another group that deserves to be mentioned in this context is the Minas. This group arose around the figure of Prithi Chand, the older brother of Guru Arjan, and thus constituted another claimant to the Guru-lineage. Accordingly, they made claims to custodianship of established shrines by virtue of the land held by prior Gurus.¹³² We also encounter a group that receives harsh condemnation in the TN and BPSR, namely the Masands. They emerged in the era of Guru Ram Das and reflected a significant geographical

¹³⁰ Anne Murphy, *The Materiality of the Past: History and Representation in Sikh tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 80-95.

¹³¹ Jakobsh, *Sikhism*, 42, 105.

¹³² McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 36-37; Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 28.

growth of the Sikh community and thus a need for greater organization.¹³³ They were administrators appointed by the Gurus and were responsible for a range of activities, such as the collecting of community donations. This also meant that the Masands over time became highly influential, with direct control over congregations. As early as the middle of the seventeenth century when several claimants to the guruship of Guru Nanak competed for influence, the Masand system became an autonomous power structure that emerged as another competitor of power. One aspect of the formation of the Khalsa in the late 1690s, was to dissolve the office of the Masands.¹³⁴ When the Khalsa was formed, one of the imperatives articulated by Guru Gobind Singh was for all congregations and disciples to denounce relations with the Masands and instead join the Khalsa and thus be under direct supervision of Guru Gobind Singh. As McLeod points out, many of the Masands did not comply and rather fortified their positions of independence by attempting to have local disciples stay with them. The messages that we find in the TN and the BPSR about shunning the Masands can be viewed in light of this tension, as the authors of the two manuals were enforcing Khalsa boundaries against them.¹³⁵

The way in which these internal identities are portrayed in the texts helps us understand how Khalsa identity was constructed during this time period in the formation of Sikh cultural history.

¹³³ Jakobsh, *Sikhism*, 26. For a thorough examination of the diversity in the history of the Sikh community, please see Harjot Oberoi's *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity, and Diversity in the Sikh tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

¹³⁴ Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 129-130.

¹³⁵ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 36-57.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the Sikh literary background to the early eighteenth century rahitname and sketched a broad overview of religious ethics in the Sikh tradition in the preceding centuries. It has also examined the credentials concerning which manuals can be placed in the early-eighteenth century and which manuals are later products. Additionally, it has gone over the extant trail of sources of arguably the most studied manual of all, the CSR, concluding that it is not a product of the early eighteenth century. The TN and the BPSR can both be placed in the early eighteenth century, more specifically the first decades following the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708 on the basis of several textual and content-based criteria, as we examined in this chapter. Given their contemporaneity, and parallels of content and literary themes, but their distinct provenance - with the TN focalized on Anandpur in the Punjab, and the BPSR focalized on Abchnagar/Nanded in Maharashtra, we may proceed with the hypothesis that these two earliest rahit texts were engaging in robust, historically-contingent conversation with one another regarding the nature of the Khalsa and what it meant to belong to it. The next chapters will explore more deeply the sites and terms of this conversation.

3. Textual Exploration

3.1. Textuality

In Chapter Two, we had determined that the TN and BPSR are the earliest exemplars of the rahit genre, and can be dated to the period immediately following Guru Gobind Singh's passing in 1708. This chapter explores the major characteristics of the texts and I argue that they articulate ideas of behavior regulation and religious obligation found in older Indic scholastic traditions that concerned theories of karmic consequences - e.g., the Brahminical Dharmashastras or Jain canonical texts - as well as from earlier Sikh writings. The terminology in particular requires our attention and this chapter will compare how motifs and ideas related to religious ethics and behavior regulation are expressed in the texts. A primary observation is that the texts express ideas based on a complex yet interrelated terminology of what constitutes good behavior. Both compositions are thus anchored in a wider vocabulary of religious ethics, but differ in the specific terms that they deploy to make their respective points. The chapter argues that the two texts engage with two different geo-political realities reflecting the Khalsa asserting religious identity in relation to other religious groups in two different historical milieus. The window of composition of the two works is the period after Guru Gobind Singh left Punjab for Abchnagar in 1707-1708, with the TN reflecting sensibilities of the Khalsa in Punjab, and the BPSR the members of the Sikh community who followed the Guru out of Punjab. As this chapter will demonstrate, the rahitname provide evidence that Khalsa identity was being forged in multiple locations, tailored to engage with the different social and political configurations in which Sikh communities found themselves in Punjab and Maharashtra in the early eighteenth century. We start by an exploration of the manuscripts and how these texts likely were used. We then proceed

to an analysis of the terminology and characteristics of the two texts, in terms of behavior regulation, in-groups and out-groups, the religious affiliation of the Khalsa and the wider Sikh community, the term "rahit," the lineages of the Gurus, the mechanism of memory, expressions of martiality, and finally, the terminology of royalty.

We need to bear in mind that the two rahit manuals are not part of the *Guru Granth Sahib*. They are thus outside the established performative canon of Sikh devotional religiosity such as the singing of kirtan. During the course of my research, I have not been able to locate any corroborative historical evidence concerning how the BPSR or the TN may have been performed during that era, nor have I been able to locate a single commentary on the texts. The same is true for the rahit texts from later historical periods - there is an absence of secondary materials to help us gain insight into the reception of these texts.¹³⁶ There is thus no extant material that relates to a publicly performed, devotional rahitnama tradition, either in sources in Punjabi or Persian. Additionally, it has not even been possible to establish the usage of the rahit manuals in the colonial period on the basis of the documents of the colonial archives mentioned in the last chapter. In other words, we cannot from a historical point of view situate the genre in a framework of large scale communal devotional practices. However, we need to qualify the notion of performance, as we are dealing with two versions of texts produced in two different local milieus and that have been copied extensively. Given the poetic style of the texts, it seems likely that they have been memorized, within a pedagogical framework of the Khalsa community but in two different historical environments. In other words, it seems likely that the texts reflect in-group memorization, maybe even recitation internal to the Khalsa especially given that the

¹³⁶ W.H. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003) 7-15.

texts are written in verse format and that they rhyme. For the sake of the present study, barring the finding of new historical sources,¹³⁷ we will assume that the rahit texts were not meant to be performed publicly but rather memorized and recited in the Khalsa pedagogical context.¹³⁸

Details of the extant manuscripts of the TN and BPSR are given in Table 3.1 below. All manuscripts in the table are written in the Gurmukhi script, on paper. What we can infer is that the two manuals have enjoyed some circulation and consultation on the basis of the number of manuscript copies. There seems to be no consistent pattern in how these manuscripts have been handled by later readers. For example, some have been combined in compilations that include such works as the *Zafarnama* of Guru Gobind Singh, as well as fragments of unrelated works of Sikh literary production. On a few occasions, the BPSR and TN do appear together within the same pothi - but this does not seem to have been a general rule.

¹³⁷ Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4-32.

¹³⁸ John Miles Foley, "Plenitude and Diversity: Interactions Between Orality and Writing," in *The Interface of Orality and Writing*, ed. by Annette Weissenrieder and Robert B. Coote (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2015), 103-118; Richard Bauman, "The Philology of the Vernacular," *Journal of Folklore Research* 45, (2008): 29-36; Stuart Blackburn, "Looking Across the Contextual Divide: Studying Performance in South India," *South Asia Research* 18 (1998): 1-11. Foley, Baumann and Blackburn all remind us that texts are not isolated from performance, but rather communicative technologies that intersect directly with performance and oral traditions.

Table 3.1 Manuscript information

BPSR mss numbers, folios, measurements	TN mss numbers, folios, measurements
	Dehradun MS 71: 6 folios,* undated, no scribal name.
GNDU MS 29: 7 folios, 11 X 16 cm, individual BPSR text undated but the compilation dated V.S. 1888, no scribal name.	GNDU MS 29: 8 folios, 11 X 16 cm, individual TN text undated but the compilation dated V.S. 1888, no scribal name.
	GNDU MS 770: 4 folios, 19 X 12 cm, dated to V.S. 1775, no scribal name.
	GNDU MS 1024: 2 folios, 26.5 X 16.5 cm, undated, no scribal name.
GNDU MS 1152: 14 folios, 13 X 8 cm, undated, no scribal name.	
GNDU MS 5017: 3 folios, 34 X 24 cm, undated, no scribal name.	GNDU MS 5017: 3 folios, 34 X 24 cm, undated, no scribal name.
	GNDU MS PPS 142: 6 folios, 19 X12 cm, undated, no scribal name.
KHc SHR 1442F: 6 folios,* undated, no scribal name.	KHc SHR 1442 D: 8 folios,* undated, no scribal name.
	KHc SHR 1579C: 5 folios,* undated, no scribal name.
KHc SHR 1797 B: 4 folios,* undated, no scribal name.	

* No measurement information was available for these manuscripts.

Beyond the thirteen in this dissertation, Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar stores the following in the Bhai Gurdas Library: MS 204, MS 769, MS 1018, and in a subdivision of the

library known as Professor Pritam Singh collection: PPS MS 72, PPS MS 142, PPS MS 193, PPS MS 397 and finally PPS MS 401. According to the Khalsa college catalogue, the archive stores a manuscript of the BPSR known as SHR 2300, but I was unable to locate it during my fieldwork there in 2013.¹³⁹ There are also three copies namely MS 223, 234, 245 at the Languages Department, Punjabi University, Patiala. Though there are likely more than extant manuscripts of the BPSR and TN than the ones listed above, the present study focuses on thirteen manuscripts that I was able to access within Indian archives (See Table 3. 1)

As is evident in the literary evolution of the *Guru Granth Sahib*, most of the central Sikh literary production was carried out in pothi (book/volume) format.¹⁴⁰ The situation concerning the rahitname is complicated as some have retained the pothi format whilst others appear to be manuscripts that have been removed from its original source, and then rebound together with other kinds of texts. Finally, some of the pothis that contain rahit works have been bound sometime after their original composition. The rahit manuals display considerable internal differentiation in their material formats, which may be a result of the chaotic time period in which they were produced. It is relevant to note that the rahitname also differ internally in terms of their layout. Some are very sparse, and do not showcase any ornamentation, whereas others have been decorated with some effort, whereas some have no ornamentation but quite elaborate orthographic patterns. The eclectic divergence in the materials, formats, or ornamentation and presentation styles for these manuscripts indicate that these rahit texts played an active role

¹³⁹ SHR 227 is also stored at Khalsa college, and is a copy of the composite CSR. It is written in a school book in modern ink. The catalogue states that it is a copy of an actual manuscript that was stored in Talvandi Sabo, Punjab. There is no information about this original manuscript.

¹⁴⁰ Balwant Singh Dhillon, *Early Sikh Scriptural Tradition: Myth and Reality* (Amritsar: Singh Brothers, 2009); Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture*, 3-40.

within the manuscript cultures of early modern Sikh communities, even though it is more difficult to identify the specific reasons why they were being copied and disseminated, or how they were being performed, received, or interpreted. On top of this general set of question marks, we do not have reliable information as to their provenance – that is, from where the archives acquired these manuscripts.¹⁴¹ If we are supposed to draw any conclusion at all, it might be that the possession of such texts has been seen as a marker of prestige and that some texts were elaborated upon either when they were written or in later decades of custodianship.¹⁴²



Figure 3.1 MS 5017, Tanakhahnama, folios 254-255, courtesy of Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

¹⁴¹ Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *The Powers of Philology: Dynamics of Textual Scholarship* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 2-9.

¹⁴² Williams, “Notes of Exchange: Scribal Practices and Vernacular Religious Scholarship in Early Modern North India,” *Manuscript studies* 3, no.2 (2018): 281-290.

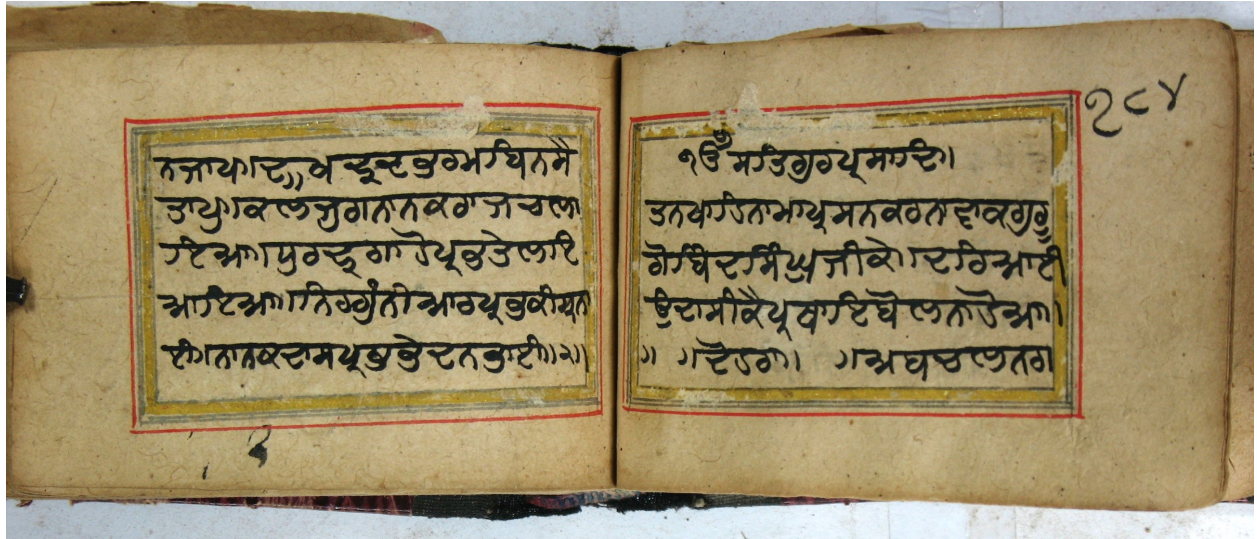


Figure 3.2 MS 1152, Bhai Prahlad Singh Rahitnama, folios 184-185, courtesy of Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

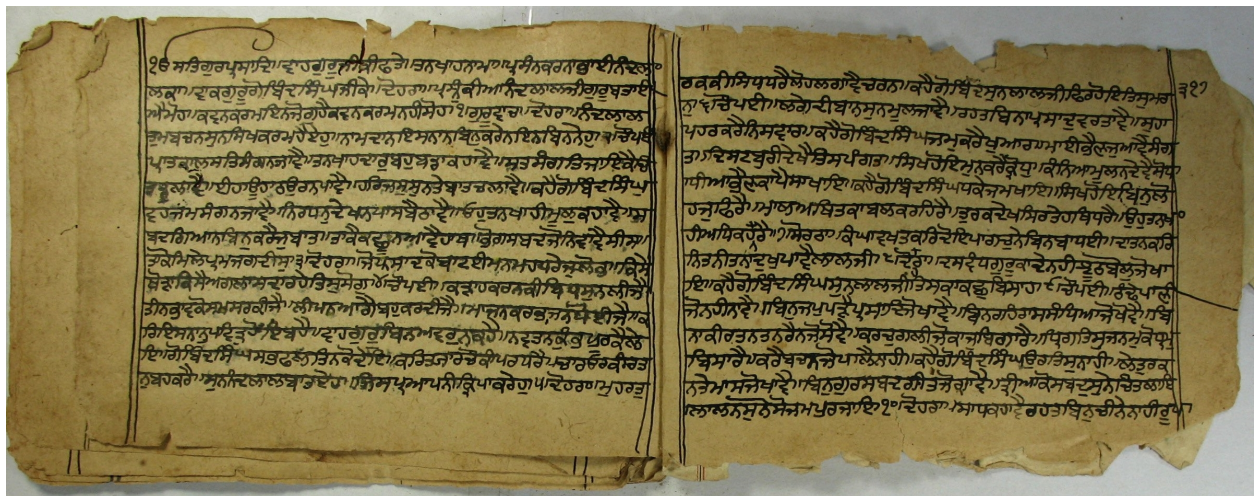


Figure 3.3 MS 1024, Tanakhahnama, folios 316-317, courtesy of Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

What further complicates our understanding is that the numbering sequences in the two texts are varied, almost chaotic. That is, while the narrative structure is the same among the different manuscripts of both the BPRS and TN, the numbering of verses is inconsistent and

appear in different places. The TN is particularly chaotic in this regard. Consider, for example, the following verse:

ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸੁ। ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮ ਜੁਗੁਦੀਸ। (3)
(He who) at the end of recitation bends his head, (will) then meet the supreme God.

This verse (labeled number 3 in my edition) alternatively is labelled as 1 in KHc SHR 1442, MS 5017 and MS 71, as 2 in PPS 142, as 3 in KHc SHR 1579C and MS 1024, and 4 in MS 29.

Verse 38 of my edition is another example:

ਨਗਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡੇ ਕਹਿਓ। (15)
(He who) is naked near the bowl of prasad is a great sinner.

This receives the number 1 in KHc SHR 1442 D, KHc SHR 1579C, MS PPS 142, and MS 770, 15 in MS 1024 and MS 5017, and finally 16 in MS 29. As is evident, the manuscripts are not consistent in how the verses are numbered. Given this overall situation, the TN text appended to this dissertation is based on the numbering found in the text provided in Shamsheer Singh Ashok's *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*, as Ashok has provided a consistent numbering pattern.¹⁴³

As the realities of the manuscript basis of the early rahit genre has shown, we are facing a complicated situation where only some basic assumptions can be maintained. Due to the eclectic nature of the manuscript traditions of the TN and BPSR - despite the sparseness of the corpus - we are facing a complicated editorial situation where only some basic philological assumptions can reasonably be maintained. For these reasons, I have adopted a "majority principle" method of editing both texts - for each reading, I give the most commonly found reading in the main text, and place variant manuscript readings in the apparatus, which also notes the positive readings.

¹⁴³ Shamsheer Singh Ashok. *Guru Khalse de Rahitname* (Amritsar: Sikh History Research Board, 1979), 52-55.

3.2. Terminology and Characteristics

The following section explores major characteristics of the two texts. The purpose is to investigate the dominant features of the texts and to get a sense of the conversation between the two works. More specifically, it explores the terminology of the texts in an attempt to shed light on how religious ethics are articulated in relation to inherited ideas of religious obligation. Finally, it explores the terminology of religious obligation and behavior regulation in an attempt to discern differences and similarities in how the texts operate. We start by a brief exploration of the broad features to get a sense of how the texts operate and then continue by a more detailed analysis of how ideas materialize in the corpus.

As a starting point, both texts articulate ideas of how the meritorious life should be lived and engages with this through qualifying and quantifying religious obligation. They address a wide range of topics and also showcase considerable detail. As we shall see in more detail later on, one of the distinguishing features of these *rahit* texts is a mode of delivery that outlines what behavior is forbidden. That is to say, prohibition serves as a mechanism for outlining correct behavior. We do not often encounter positive statements concerning good behavior. Below are two charts of the statements of prescriptive behavior that generate positive outcomes found in the texts.

Table 3.2 Prescription in the BPSR

BPSR	Translation
Verse 25: ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸੀਸ। ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਬਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ। ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ। ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਸਕਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ ਤਰੈ।	(He who) bows the head to someone wearing topi, that Sikh will be in the twentieth hell. (He who) makes seva (service) to the Formless one, that Sikh will save his lineage.
Verse 34: ਸਿਖ ਕੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਬਰੁ ਦੀਨਾ। ਕੋਟਿ ਅਸੁਮੇਧੁ ਜਗੁ ਫਲੁ ਲੀਨਾ। ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ। ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਵੈ।	The Sikh who gives cloth (performs charity) to another Sikh, gets the benefit of millions of Vedic horse sacrifices. (He who) learns the compositions of the Guru, gains the benefit of being released in this life.
Verse 35: ਚਾਪੀ ਕਰੈ ਮਲੇ ਸਿਖ ਚਰਣਾ। ਤਿਸ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਮੈਲੀ ਨਾ ਸਾਰਨਾ। ਕਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸਿਖਾ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ। ਤਿਸੁ ਸਿਖ ਕਉ ਗੁਰ ਵਾਰਨੈ ਜਾਵੈ।	(He who) massages the feet of a Sikh, that Sikh has not accomplished evil, (he who) makes prasad for other Sikhs, for that Sikh the Guru offers himself.
Verse 37: ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਸਮੈ ਸਿਖ ਹੁਕਮ ਕੇ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਸਤ ਭਾਇ। ਸਹਸ ਬਾਰਸ ਰਸਨਾ ਰਟੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੁਹਿ ਆਇ।	The Sikh should read the hukam (command) at the time of rahiras (hymns sung at sunset) with a loving mind. (He who) repeats with the tongue a thousand times, that one then appears before me.
Verse 38: ਬਚਨ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਰਖੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ। ਤੈ ਸੋਈ ਫਲ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਈ। ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ। ਮੁਕਤਿ ਭੁਕਤਿ ਵਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਪੂਰਤਿ।	The Sikh who puts faith in this speech shall receive a reward. The speech of the Guru is the image of the Guru. Liberation, enjoyment, blessing, they all will be fulfilled.
Verse 40: ਕਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਾ ਆਸਾ। ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਕਟਿ ਡਾਰੇ ਫਾਸਾ।	Cherish the Formless One, (and) the noose of rebirth is cut.

Table 3.3 Prescription in the TN

TN	Translation
Verse 3: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸੁ। ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮ ਜੁਗੁਦੀਸ।	(He who) at the end of recitation bends his head, (will) then meet the supreme God.
Verse 5: ਕੜਾ ਹੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਲੀਜੈ। ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮ ਸਰ ਕੀ ਜੈ।। ਲੀਪਨ ਅਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰ ਦੀ ਜੈ।	Listen to (how) to take the procedure of karah (mixture of flour, clarified butter, sugar), three equal measurements, having stirred, hand it out.
Verse 5: ਮਾੰ ਜਨ ਕਰਿ ਭਾ ਜੁਨੁ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ।। ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ। ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ।	Whilst cleaning and scrubbing the pots, having bathed in a stream you are pure, do not say anything else but vahiguru (praise to the guru).
Verse 5: ਕਰਿ ਤਯਾਰੁ ਚਉਕੀ ਤੇ ਧਰੈ। ਚਾਰ ਓਰ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੈ।	Prepare the chaunki (period of kirtan), then sit and sing kirtan (communal singing of devotional songs) in all four directions.
Verse 5: ਸੁਨੁ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ। ਜਿਸੁ ਪਰਿ ਆਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੋਇ।	Listen Nand Lal to this message, through which I have given my compassion.

They are also less elaborated upon and less detailed. For example, we find prohibitive statements where hell (narak) is a frequent designation for people who showcase undesirable behavior. Hell is elaborated upon as a place that one can fall into and that has a centre. We also often find karmic consequences related to hell that showcase a similar level of detail. What we do not find is any mention of heaven or something similar to it. We do however find liberation as a positive outcome. As a starting point, the texts are concerned with a perceived view of community behavior and express sensibilities to that effect. For example, patterns of designated loyalty, behavior deemed central, and expressions of valour all appear frequently. We can also note that there are some inherited terms that appear as designations of undesired behavior, such

as tanakhahia (penant). We will explore this in further detail below but what we need to note is that the modern application of this term is for a person who breaks the designated behavioral rules for the Khalsa and is thus excommunicated. It appears only in the TN and appears in the title of the text, which implies that it was of pronounced significance to the composers of the text. Tanakhahia is a term that carries negative connotations as a designation for someone who has broken central behavioral patterns but the text does not provide us with further elaboration. In other words, the texts frequently deploy elaborate and detailed designations, that rest on a view of inherited religious ethics, and that the designated audience does not require further explanation to get the point(s) across.

Finally, we also find designated out-groups, as the texts frequently operate in a setting where specific religious groups, social groups and the behavior associated with them receive harsh condemnations. McLeod has pointed out the antagonism between Muslims, specifically Turks/ Mughals and later the invasions of the Afghan Ahmad Shah Abdali, and Sikhs in that historical milieu. In the TN in particular, the Khalsa members are repeatedly directed to avoid Turks, or even kill them. We can infer that the author of the TN were well aware of the social tension between the Khalsa and the Turks.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 55-56.

3.2.1. Behavior Regulation

One of the primary features of the two texts is in behavior regulation. This hinges broadly on the interplay between prescriptive and prohibitive statements, but the texts reflect slightly different interpretations of this methodology. The manuals display an assortment of articulations of prohibition, with some being karmically oriented, in which the individual is repeatedly warned against ruining one's future birth, and others appearing to be actual punishments or fines levied by the community upon the transgressing individual. Karmic consequences are particularly featured in the BPSR, where this mechanism of punishment is fused with a detailed and elaborate definition of hell. In the TN, in contrast, we find less detailed descriptions of hell, with the focus being on social excommunication of the transgressive individual. For example, we find that the BPSR in particular engage in notions of hell that seem to resonate with behavioral regulations in relation to karma and hell that are found in the preceding centuries in the wider religious landscape. Hell (narak) is designated as a place after death and operates as a regulatory measure for undesired behavior. It resonates with a view of Hindu puranic theory of karma in which punishments in hell are designed to cleanse the individual of moral impurities, prior to the subsequent rebirth.¹⁴⁵ In this context we encounter Yama, the god of death. He is described as having a messenger, Chitragupta, who is closely associated with hell and he is described as keeping a karmic record of each individual. In other words, we find that hell and karma are closely tied within puranic Hindu thought, both as narrative and also a view of social order. It operates in a range of ways, from punishment for crimes to caste transgressions and thus disrupts

¹⁴⁵ Wendy Doniger, *The Origins of Evil in Hindu mythology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 57-94, 212-248; Wendy Doniger, "Karma and Rebirth in the Vedas and the Puranas," in *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian traditions*, edited by Wendy Doniger, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 3-38; Knut A. Jacobsen, "Three Functions of Hell in the Hindu Traditions," *Numen* 56, no. 2/3 (2009), 385-400.

socio-religious expectations. We can locate the tendency of multiple, terrible hells as the consequence for undesired behavior in this older view of behavior regulation informed by dharma and bad rebirths:

ਜਨਮ ਸੁਾਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਗਾ ਕੋਟੀ। ਬੀਜੋ ਹਾਬ ਬੁਰਾ ਓਸ ਖੋਟੀ। ਪਗ ਓਤਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ। ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ
(He) will be born a dog ten million (innumerable) times, (whose) bad hand sows evil. The Sikh who takes off the turban to eat prasada (devotional food), (he) will depart for a torturing and dreadful hell. (BPSR, verse 5)

ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕੈ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੇ ਨਸਵਾਰੁ। ਲਏ ਤਾਤਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ
(He who) wears red cloth, and takes snuff in the nostrils, seeing this, he is thrown into the darkness of hell. (BPSR, verse 12)

ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ। ਪਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਉਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਹੀ। ਫਾਸ ਪਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ
(He who) worships in a funeral monument, grave or temple and (he who) does not speak highly of the Panth is not a Sikh of the Guru. (He will) be caught like a small pebble by Yama and hanged to death. (BPSR, verse 24)

There is thus an element of social order as well as karmic consequences underpinning the BPSR's outlook of how behavior should be regulated.¹⁴⁶ In other words the BPSR articulates an Indic version of hell defined in terms of karma.

The TN on the other hand has an overall structure of karmic behavior regulation. On the other hand, while the TN does involve invocations of hell and karmic behavior regulation, its discourse is more focused on the concept of "tanakhahia", and the idea of excommunication from the Khalsa that it necessitates. One reason for this divergence may have been based on regional context - we may suppose that the BPSR's composers, in harmonizing Khalsa behavioral norms with broader Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain karma theory (involving karmic consequences experienced in hell), were informed by the realities of religious culture outside of Punjab, within the complex multi-religious milieu of central-southern Maharashtra. Conversely, the TN's

¹⁴⁶ Jacobsen, "Three Functions of Hell in the Hindu Traditions," 385-400.

author's deployment of ideas like tanakhahia reflect the Khalsa community's sharper self-boundaries within the social complexities of the Sikh population of Punjab at the onset of the eighteenth century.

The BPSR and TN, on occasion, have juxtaposed normative Khalsa Sikh behavior with that of "othered" communities, such as Mlecchas, Turks, Kanphata yogis, and Shaktas, with the implication being that the behavior of these out-groups was to be avoided. It is thus not only a warning against the groups as such but also the actions that the authors of the manuals associate with these groups:

ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਬਿਸਾਹੁ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੋ ਹਿਤ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ਪਰੈ ਨਰਕ ਕੇ ਮਾਂਹਿ
Do not trust (a yogi) who cuts the ears, or a Turk. That Sikh who does not do justice, that person is going to hell. (BPSR, verse 26)

ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦ ਕਾ ਮੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਹਦਿ ਲਏ ਜੁ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਕਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਵਾਇ
(He who) takes prasad from the Masands, Minas, or those who kill their daughters, will waste (his) subsequent birth. (BPSR, verse 22)

ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਦ ਲੇ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੇ ਜੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹਿ
The Khalsa of the Guru, which was established in the world as the beginning, we must always keep animosity towards the Shaktas from hell. (BPSR, verse 11)

The prohibitive measures in the texts are partially informed by the notion of the aforementioned groups, as both texts are in agreement that punishment is suitable for anyone who associates with them. However, the mechanism of prohibition is broad and multifaceted. In order to get a fuller understanding of how this system operates, we need to first grasp the basics of the punitive structure and the components involved. At its most elementary level of description it may be seen as an apparatus by which behavior deemed deviant elicits a type of response that is seen as befitting it. This ranges from mild injunctions such as lack of praise, to pronounced

condemnation, to severe punishments of various kinds, sometimes eschatological and karmic in nature. It is also relevant to note that the sphere of activities generating these punishments is equally broad in scope. We find a range of negative behavior from individual and collective transgressions to association with undesired groups to specific personal improprieties or failures to adhere to community norms and standards.

The term *tanakhahia* is an interesting example of the antithesis of this idealized sensibility of community cohesion. It refers to a member of the Khalsa who has broken the rules of the behavioral codex, and has to pay a fine, *tanakhah*, in order to be re-admitted into the order.¹⁴⁷ This punitive measure can be seen as a large scale measure of regulation and exclusion as it reflects the designation of a mode of discipline against an individual who has committed a perceived behavioral transgression towards the Khalsa. Within the early *rahit* genre of literature, the terms *tanakhahia* and *tanakhahdar* only appear in the TN,¹⁴⁸ and with little frequency.¹⁴⁹ However, there is little doubt that it is utilised as a regulatory measure for asserting a set of ideas concerning desired behavior. The appearance of this term in the TN is unusual, since there is no mention of exactly how an individual will be excommunicated or then readmitted into the Khalsa community. This discussion is often a central feature of the invocation of *tanakhahia* in later Sikh literature.¹⁵⁰ In the TN, apart from the prior example, we locate the three terms in the following passages:

¹⁴⁷ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 82.

¹⁴⁸ Despite McLeod's assertion that the word *tanakhahia* was not used in the earliest extant TN manuscript (MS 770), I have found it to occur twice - in verses 35 and 37. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 82.

¹⁴⁹ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 10-11. McLeod points out that the terminology started to acquire the above meaning in the early eighteenth century.

¹⁵⁰ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 11.

ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਸਾਤ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ। ਤਨਖਾਹਦਾਰੁ ਉਹ ਵਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ। ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਜਿਥੇ ਕੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਡੁਲਾਵੈ। ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ

Do not attend satsang (congregation) early in the morning, call him a serious tanakhahdar (who) having gone to the satsang (lets) his mind sway, he will not find refuge. (TN, verse 2)

ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥਿ ਧਰੈ। ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ

(He who) raises his hand to his head (in respectful greeting) upon seeing the Turk, he is a great tanakhahia. (TN, verse 16)

and finally,

ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਵਹਿ ਜਮ ਸੰਗ ਜਾਵੈ। ਨਿਰਧਨ ਦੇਖਿ ਨ ਪਾਸਿ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ। ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਮੂਲਿ ਕਹਾਵੈ

(He who) talks while listening to the praise of God, says Gobind, is going to the company of Yam. (He who) sees a poor person but does not sit next to him, that tanakhahia is the root of sin. (TN, verse 3)

It is arguably the case that the term here designates the behavioral patterns of someone who displays a lack of loyalty to the Guru as well as a failure to live up to the expectations of religious obligation, especially in relation to communal behavior deemed desirable. In other words, the mechanism of behavioral prohibition is directly interwoven with the notion of religious obligation.

From a point of view of behavior regulation, the texts thus work their way through a hierarchy of prohibitive measures that manifest into more or less detailed instantiations of religious obligation. We now look more closely at a specific subset of prohibition in the larger genre of regulatory mechanics, namely the notions of eschatology and karma. Both are frequently invoked in both manuals, but especially in the BPSR. They often work side by side and may be seen as some of the most potent consequences of undesired behavior. In relation to the articulations of hell, described and elaborated upon in relative detail, we find a noticeable

absence of a “heaven” as a positive counterweight. Secondly, the interplay between the karmic notions of hell and karmic negative rebirth, deserves some attention. In the BPSR, we notice that hell is clearly designated as a place, one with a centre and an edge that one can go over. We find seven specific references to hell in the text, in relation to eight that are karmic. Finally, we also find a fusion between the two, where the eschatological and the karmic expressions are interwoven; those appear three times.

Table 3.4 BPSR consequence model

Verse	Negative Karmic Consequence
<p>Verse 4a: ਪਗ ਓਤਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ। ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ।</p> <p>The Sikh who takes off the turban to eat prasad, that person will depart for a torturing and dreadful hell.</p>	Hell
<p>Verse 4b: ਜਨਮ ਸੁਾਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਗਾ ਕੋਟੀ। ਬੀਜੋ ਹਾਥ ਬੁਰਾ ਓਸ ਖੋਟਿ।</p> <p>(He) will be born a dog ten million (innumerable) times, (whose) bad hand sows evil.</p>	Rebirth
<p>Verse 10: ਟੂਟ ਪਰਿਉ ਮਿਐਅ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ। ਕ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਾਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ। ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਜਾਣ। ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸੁਜਾਣ।</p> <p>Break the noose of Maya, otherwise you will wander in ignorance for another 8,400,000 times (births), so brother recognise the Malecch. Listen wise Prahilad.</p>	Rebirth

<p>Verse 11: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਦ ਲੇ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੇ ਜੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹਿ।</p> <p>The Khalsa of the Guru, which was established in the world as the beginning, we must always keep animosity towards the Shaktas from hell.</p>	Hell
<p>Verse 12: ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕੈ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੇ ਨਸਵਾਰੁ। ਲਏ ਤਾੜਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ।</p> <p>(He who) wears red cloth, and takes snuff in the nostrils, seeing this, he is thrown into the darkness of hell.</p>	Hell
<p>Verse 13: ਬਿਨ ਜਪੁ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪੇ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੋ ਜੋਵੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ। ਸੋ ਬਿਸਟਾ ਕਾ ਕਿਰਮ ਹਿਓ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦਿ।</p> <p>(He who) eats without reciting japuji and jap, (he) is feces of a worm having wasted this birth.</p>	Rebirth
<p>Verse 15: ਲਾਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ। ਬਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਜਗ ਜਨਮੈ ਮਰੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਬਚਨ ਸਿਉ ਤੂਟਾ ਜਿਐ। ਦਰਗਹ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਿਐ।</p> <p>(He) will be reborn 8,400,000 times, will be born and die repeatedly in this world. (He who) breaks from the Guru's words and will be punished in the court of the Guru.</p>	Rebirth
<p>Verse 16: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੋ ਛਾਡ ਕੈ ਭਜੈ ਦੇਵ ਕੋਊ ਔਰ। ਜਨਮ ਜਨਮ ਭ੍ਰਮਤ ਫਿਰੇ ਲਹੇ ਨਾ ਸੁਖ ਕੀ ਠੋਰੁ।</p> <p>(He who) abandons the Formless One and runs after another god, will roam in ignorance birth after birth, without finding a place of comfort.</p>	Rebirth

<p>Verse 18: ਕਰੀ ਥਾਪਨਾ ਜਾਸ ਕੀ ਮਿਹ ਅਪਨੇ ਕਰ ਹਾਥਿ। ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸਮਸਰ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ ਜਰ ਜਾਵੈ ਕੁਲ ਸਾਥ।</p> <p>(He who) by his own hand establishes his glory through connection to me, (he who) equates them, they and their lineage will be burned.</p>	Hell
<p>Verse 22: ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦ ਕਾ ਮੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਹਦਿ ਲਏ ਜੁ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਕਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਵਾਦਿ।</p> <p>(He who) takes prasad from the Masands, Minas, or those who kill their daughters, will waste (his) subsequent birth.</p>	Rebirth
<p>Verse 24: ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ। ਪਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਊਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਹੀ। ਫਾਸ ਪਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ।</p> <p>(He who) worships in a funeral monument, grave or temple and (he who) does not speak highly of the Panth is not a Sikh of the Guru. (He will) be caught like a small pebble by Yama and hanged to death.</p>	Rebirth
<p>Verse 25: ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸੀਸ। ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਬਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ। ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ। ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਸਕਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ ਤਰੈ।</p> <p>(He who) bows the head to someone wearing topi, that Sikh will be in the twentieth hell. (He who) makes seva (service) to the Formless one, that Sikh will save his lineage.</p>	Hell

<p>Verse 27: ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਬਿਸਾਹੁ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੋ ਹਿਤ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ਪਰੈ ਨਰਕ ਕੇ ਮਾਂਹਿ।</p> <p>Do not trust someone (a yogi) who cuts the ears, or a Turk. That Sikh who does not do justice, that person is going to hell.</p>	Hell
<p>Verse 28: ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਨੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਰਸਨਾ ਜਪੈ ਜੁ ਹੋਰ। ਸੋ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਕਾ ਪਰਾ ਨਰਕ ਮਧ ਘੋਰ।</p> <p>(He who) recites with their tongue bani (verses) other than that of the Guru, will be struck by God and will fall into the horrible centre of hell.</p>	Hell

It may be that this phenomenon of amalgamation appears within the BPSR as an emphasis and means of underscoring the seriousness of the topic discussed in those injunctions. In the TN, karmic hell only appears once, while regulatory statements based on this-worldly negative consequences appear no less than seven times, and the fusion of both appears once. Below is a table of the consequence model found in the TN.

Table 3.5 TN consequence model

Verse	Punishment involved
<p>Verse 2a: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਸਾਤ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ। ਤਨਖਾਹਦਾਰੁ ਉਹ ਵਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ। ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਜਾਇ ਕੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਡੁਲਾਵੈ। ਈਹਾ ਉਹਾ ਨਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ।</p> <p>Do not attend satsang (congregation) early in the morning, call him a serious tanakhahdar (who) having gone to the satsang (lets) his mind sway, he will not find refuge.</p>	Karmic consequences
<p>Verse 2b: ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਵਹਿ ਜਮ ਸੰਗ ਜਾਵੈ।</p> <p>(He who) talks while listening to the praise of God, says Gobind, is going to the company of Yam.</p>	Karmic consequences
<p>Verse 2c: ਨਿਰਧਨ ਦੇਖਿ ਨ ਪਾਸਿ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ। ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਮੂਲਿ ਕਹਾਵੈ।</p> <p>(He who) sees a poor person but does not sit next to him, that tanakhaia is the root of sin.</p>	Community exclusion
<p>Verse 6: ਮੁਹਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਰੈ ਲੋਹ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਹਿੰਦ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ।</p> <p>(He who) puts seal of the Turk on the head, and keeps iron at their feet, (he) will be reborn continuously only to die again, remember this says Gobind.</p>	Karmic consequences

<p>Verse 12: ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰੁ।</p> <p>(He who) uses snuff during the crimson hours, says Gobind, Yam will destroy him.</p>	Karmic consequences
<p>Verse 14: ਕੀਨਿਆਂ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਦੇਵੈ ਸੋਧਿ। ਧੀਆ ਭੈਣ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਿਏ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਧਕੇ ਜਮੁ ਖਿਏ।</p> <p>(One) should not do business of selling brides, (those ones who) make a livelihood off the money of daughters or sisters, they will be beaten by Yama says Gobind.</p>	Karmic consequences
<p>Verse 16: ਤੁਰਤੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥਿ ਧਰੈ। ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ।</p> <p>(He who) raises his hand to his head (in respectful greeting) upon seeing the Turk, he is a great tanakhaia.</p>	Community exclusion
<p>Verse 21: ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਬਿਗਰੈ। ਧਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮ ਸੋ ਧਰਮ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ।</p> <p>(He who) backbites and destroys good work, that birth is accursed which forgets Dharam.</p>	Karmic consequences
<p>Verse 24: ਤਿਰੀਆ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤੁਲਾਇ। ਸੁਨ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਉਹ ਜਮੁ ਪੂਰੀ ਜਾਇ।</p> <p>(He who) listens to the words of women, and loses their senses, Lal ji, they will all go to the city of Yama.</p>	Karmic consequences

<p>Verse 30: ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੂਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲੁ। ਮਹਾਂ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਲੁ।</p> <p>(He who) slanders, gambles and removes goods, Oh Lal, they will suffer at that time.</p>	Karmic consequences
<p>Verse 32: ਗੋਲਕ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲਿ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਵਾਪਾਰ। ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕ ਹਜਾਰ।</p> <p>(He who) does deceitful business by not placing the golok (box for charity donations), listen Nand (Lal) Gobind says (he will) endure a thousand hells.</p>	Karmic consequences

Prohibition based on negative karmic consequences appears eight times in the BPSR, and eight times in the TN. The operative principle in the karmic regulation of behavior is rather straightforward; a perceived breach of—or perceived failure to live up to—idealized behavior regulation generates negative karmic consequences. It is also relevant to note that we encounter a sub-category of karma, namely the ones related to Yam, the Hindu god of death. It appears once in the BPSR and at least four times in the TN. The logic suggests that breaches in behavior generate negative karmic consequences that are commensurate with the severity of the breach. However, it might also be that these regulatory measures are not meant to be read literally but rather as a metaphorical gesture to the intended audience(s) about the importance of maintaining and upholding ethical standards. In either case, negative karmic consequences are mentioned twice as often as regulative measures based on hell.

The texts also showcase an effort, albeit much more limited than the regulative measures, to designate outcomes for positive behavior. Here again we find a dissonance in how the ideas

are expressed in the texts, both in numbers as well as in the variety. The positive aspects of behavior regulation can be designated in two separate categories. One is the positive outcome from behavior deemed meritorious, and the other is the absence of negative consequences. In the BPSR text, there are ten injunctions that contain rewards and they range from approval of/ proximity to the Guru, karmic release of suffering, and protection of one's own personal lineage. The TN on the other hand is much more sparsely articulated and contains only two such injunctions, one is meeting God and the other a gesture towards karmic release.

ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸੁ। ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮ ਜੁਗੁਦੀਸ

(He who) at the end of recitation bends his head, (will) then meet the supreme God. (TN, verse 3)

ਨਵ ਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕਰ ਲੇਹ। ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਸਭੀ ਫਲੁ ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਦੇਇ

Completely filled in a new pitcher, Gobind gives all fruits to them. (TN verse 5)

An example from the BPSR text:

ਬਚਨ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਰਖੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ। ਤੈ ਸੋਈ ਫਲ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਈ। ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ। ਮੁਕਤਿ ਭੁਕਤਿ ਵਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਪੂਰਤਿ

The Sikh who puts faith in this speech shall receive a reward. The speech of the Guru is the image of the Guru. Liberation, enjoyment, blessing, they all will be fulfilled. (verse 38)

In other words, there are few explicit formulations that designate positive karmic effects of adhering to the desired behavioral patterns, particularly in the BPSR work where these appear only twice. We find that the mechanism of positive outcomes is significantly limited numerically in relation to the much more frequent negative outcomes. A prime example of how this mechanism works is the following:

ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਬਰੁ ਦੀਨਾ। ਕੋਟਿ ਅਸੁਮੇਧੁ ਜਗੁ ਫਲੁ ਲੀਨਾ। ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ। ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਵੈ

The Sikh who gives cloth (performs charity) to another Sikh, gets the benefit of millions of Vedic horse sacrifices.¹⁵¹ (He who) learns the compositions of the Guru, gains the benefit of being released in this life. (BPSR, verse 34)

As noted before, the texts are much more oriented toward an apparatus of behavior regulation based on prohibition rather than positive outcomes, and even though both appear in the texts, the positive outcomes are much more limited, especially in terms of how frequently they are mentioned. The texts are preoccupied with regulating transgressions of prescribed behavioral norms as opposed to rewarding those who meet these implied or directly stated norms. In other words, the authors of the texts have attempted to communicate religious ethics and religious obligations with limited interest in showcasing what adherence to desired behavior will generate, in favour of elaborating at length about what negative outcomes will be generated for behavioral transgressions.

3.2.2. Antagonist communities: in-groups and out-groups

One tendency that we encounter in the BPSR and the TN is that the Khalsa narrative is qualified by mention of other religious groups and sects that the Sikh community were historically engaging with at this time. These groups were presented stereotypically in the BPSR and TN, portrayed as embodying the antithesis of idealized behavioral norms and standards for Khalsa Sikhs. This principle is manifested in a complex terminology where these antagonistic groups serve as didactic examples of behavior patterns that go against what is portrayed as meritorious and beneficial. More specifically, they are offered as embodied examples of malevolence to the Sikh community, thereby triggering further idealized measures of punishment

¹⁵¹ This is a direct invocation of an older, Brahminical symbol of imperial royal power.

for Sikhs who would collude with them or behave like them. This technique of presenting non-Khalsa religious communities (both Sikh in-groups as well as non-Sikh out-groups) as stereotyped antagonists to the ideal Khalsa Sikh is robustly present throughout both the BPSR and TN, and indeed may be thought of as a hallmark of the early rahit literature. As we have seen in chapter 2, there was a robust set of in-group rivalries among various Sikh subgroups and castes in the early 1700s, and in the BPSR and TN, we see particular animosity towards Udasis, Minas, and Masands. A number of out-groups, that is to say, non-Sikh communities, are also castigated in the BPSR and TN. Let us turn our attention to these.

McLeod has interpreted Shakta as referring to someone who—in a negative sense—loves worldly things and is hell-bound, and not as a statement of religious activity or religious affiliation.¹⁵² If we accept this interpretation, then this term does not carry an explicit identification of a religious community. Recent research has however pointed out that the term was frequently employed in bhakti poetry in North India, carrying multiple connotations. These included the specific worship of the goddess Shakti, involving ritualized meat-eating, liquor, as well as sexual activities. As Pauwels points out, these carried non-Brahmanical and low-caste connotations.¹⁵³ Given that the BPSR was either composed or significantly revised in Nanded, Maharashtra (referred to as Abchalnagar in the Sikh tradition), the stereotyped evocation of Shaktas in this text would perhaps be referring to members of goddess-devotional traditions in this city along the Godavari river.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 287.

¹⁵³ Heidi Pauwels, “Who Are the Enemies of the Bhaktas? Testimony About “Śāktas” and “Others” from Kabīr, Rāmānandīs, Tulsīdās, and Harirām Vyās,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130, no. 4 (Oct 2010): 509-511.

¹⁵⁴ Anne Feldhaus, *Water and Womanhood: Religious Meanings of Rivers in Maharashtra* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Another religious community that receives opprobrium in the BPSR and TN is the Kanphata or Nath yogis. Their practice of taking amrit (ambrosia) represented a theme which stretched back centuries in Indian history —the quest for immortality. This was one area where the Yogis possessed a perceived expertise.¹⁵⁵ They can be seen as a confederation of tantric practitioners linked to the Shaiva and Siddha traditions. Yogi groups appear to have been principally interested in soteriological or spiritual pursuits (immortality or nurturing superhuman powers within themselves), although they also did appear to have had significant impact in the social and political landscape of the period.¹⁵⁶ “Kanphata” refers to the practice among the members of the order to having their ears split and large earrings inserted, while the term Nath (“Lord”) refers to their acknowledged lineage of tantric Gurus.¹⁵⁷ However, the central figure of the tradition is Gorakhnath, who is claimed by disciples to be the founder of their lineage. Not much is known about the historical figure of Gorakh, and the bulk of the biographic material that surrounds him is mythological.¹⁵⁸ One aspect of these narratives is the need for the yogi to escape death and cheat Yama’s messengers along with the yogi’s death rituals.¹⁵⁹ The narratives, themes, and metaphors related to the Nath yogis are also visible in the pre-modern Sufi poetic compositions. They also appear in some malfuzat compositions related to prominent Sufi figures,

¹⁵⁵ Hardip Singh Syan, *Sikh Militancy in the Seventeenth Century: Religious Violence in Mughal and Early Modern India* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 17-21.

¹⁵⁶ William Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 56-66.

¹⁵⁷ George Weston Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* (Motilal Banarsidass, 1938), 1-10.

¹⁵⁸ Véronique Bouillier, *Monastic Wanderers: Nāth Yogī Ascetics in Modern South Asia* (London: Routledge, 2017), 10-20.

¹⁵⁹ Bouillier, *Monastic Wanderers*, 10-25.

sometimes in a mode of hostility or at least competition.¹⁶⁰ The point here is that the Nath yogis exercised a wide influence in early modern South Asia, and specific references to their behavior and appearance can be found in a wide range of literature.¹⁶¹ Historically, they have been found all over the subcontinent and what should catch our attention is that one aspect of the tradition has been to admit people from the lower castes.¹⁶² In other words, in the competitive environment of the religious marketplace in the frontier regions of the Mughal empire, the ability to attract disciples from multiple social backgrounds was one feature that gave Nath yogis a competitive edge. This competition for disciples was, perhaps, one reason why they become a target of censure in the BPSR and TN.

Another set of groups negatively stereotyped throughout the BPSR and TN are denoted by the terms "Turk" and "Mleccha." Both are broad terms and have changed meaning over time but we can locate some general characteristics. For example, "Turk" has been deployed to denote people from Central Asia who moved into South Asia. It also likely entailed a connection with this ethnic origin and at times seems to have been more or less synonyms with the much older term Mleccha, "outsider." We can thus locate one dimension of the "Turk" terminology, namely to designate the group as opposed to the norms of Indian society.¹⁶³ The term Maleccha/Mleccha has been understood as "outsiders," sometimes with the connotation that they did not observe Brahmanical rituals and religiosity. We do not exactly know who these "outsiders" were. At times, the term Mleccha specifically designates Muslims; at other times, it seems to refer to

¹⁶⁰ Bouillier, *Monastic Wanderers*, 20-35.

¹⁶¹ A.G. Shirreff. *Padmavati*. (Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1944), 92.

¹⁶² Weston Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*, 10-33.

¹⁶³ Christine Chojnacki, "Shifting Communities in Early Jain Prabandha Literature: Sectarian Attitudes and Emergent Identities," *Studies in History* 27, no. 2 (2011): 207-209.

anyone perceived to be disrupting religious life. And so we find that the term has a long history in pre-Islamic contexts, from the Sanskrit epics to Jain and Buddhist literature.¹⁶⁴ We find similar interpretations of the term in Jain and Buddhist contexts. In Buddhist literature, the Milakkhas were those who displayed habits and behavior that were antithetical to the attainment of nirvana (enlightenment), while in the Jain context the Milakkhus were described as ignorant people who engage in religious activities without understanding their meanings.¹⁶⁵ In this same vein, within the Sikh rahit texts, the term Maleccha appears to denote outsiders whose presence was oppositional to civilizational harmony. "Connected to Maleccha is the pejorative use of the term "Turk" - a commonly villainized figure.¹⁶⁶ In resonance with the eighteenth North Indian milieu, the term "Turk" has a complicated set of connotations in the Sikh context. McLeod has emphasised that for the authors of the rahit genre, it sometimes carried a generic marker of "Muslim" and sometimes not, and finally it also entailed religious and political connotations. The main enemies of the Khalsa in the first decades of the eighteenth century were the Mughals, and the term "Turk" likely implied people affiliated with the Mughal state.¹⁶⁷ Finally, the term "Khan" appears only once in either text, in the TN in a segment where warfare against the Turks appears repeatedly. Afghan migrants who had settled into the subcontinent via trade networks since the Ghaznavid and Ghurid expansions. However, given that the TN's injunction is specifically to "kill" the Khan, it seems more likely that this was a specific reference to a military

¹⁶⁴ Aloka Parasher, "*Towards Mlecchas and Other Outsiders In Northern India*," (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African studies, University of London, 1978), 60-92.

¹⁶⁵ Parasher, "*Towards Mlecchas and Other Outsiders in Northern India*," 60-64, Christine Chojnacki, "Shifting Communities in Early Jain Prabandha Literature: Sectarian Attitudes and Emergent Identities," 205-207.

¹⁶⁶ Aditya Behl, *Love's Subtle Magic: An Indian Islamic Literary Tradition, 1379-1545* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) 206-210.

¹⁶⁷ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 219-222.

group in the Punjab.¹⁶⁸ Along with these out-groups, as we had discussed in Chapter Two, we find that the TN and BPSR also castigate in-group Sikhs based on what are deemed to be aberrant forms of behavior - female infanticide, smoking the hookah, taking amrit and cutting the hair, or even shaving one's head in the manner of a Hindu. Other in-groups with which the Khalsa was competing, such as the Minas and Masands, are likewise criticized in the rahit texts.

Among Sikh in-groups, the BPSR speaks of the Minas and Masands twice each, and "daughter-killers" and Monas - Sikhs who cut their hair - once each. In terms of non-Sikhs, we find mention of Turks once, yogis and Mlecchas twice each, and Shaktas four times. Other groups are noticeably absent in this text (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 BPSR out-groups

Minas	<p>Verse 6: ਮੀਣਾ ਔਰ ਮਸੰਦੀਆ ਮੋਨਾ ਕੁੜੀ ਜੋ ਮਾਰਾ। ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਵਰਤਣ ਕਰੈ ਅੰਤ ਕਰੋ ਗਾ ਖੁਆਰੁ।</p> <p>Minas and Masands and Monas and those who kill their daughters, the Sikh who interacts with them will face a wretched end.</p> <p>Verse 22: ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦ ਕਾ ਮੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਹਦਿ ਲਏ ਜੁ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਹਾਬ ਕਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਵਾਇ।</p> <p>(He who) takes prasad from the Masands, Minas, or those who kill their daughters, will waste (his) subsequent birth.</p>
Masands	see above
Monas	see above
Daughter-killers	Verse 6 (see above)

¹⁶⁸ Jos Gommans, *The Rise of the Indo-Afghan Empire, c.1710-1780* (Leiden: New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 20-22. Naveena Naqvi, "Writing the Inter-Imperial World in Afghan North India ca. 1774 – 1857," PhD diss., UCLA (2018).

Turks	<p>Verse 27: ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਬਿਸਾਹੁ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੋ ਹਿਤ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ਪਰੈ ਨਰਕ ਕੇ ਮਾਂਹਿ।</p> <p>Do not trust someone who cuts the ears, or a Turk. That Sikh who does not do justice, that person is going to hell.</p>
Yogis	<p>Verse 12: ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕੈ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੇ ਨਸਵਾਰੁ। ਲਏ ਤਾੜਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ।</p> <p>(He who) wears red cloth, and takes snuff in the nostrils, seeing this, he is thrown into the darkness of hell.</p> <p>Verse 27 (see above)</p>

Shaktas	<p>Verse 7: ਵਾਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਜਪੈ ਔਰੁ ਕੋਈ ਜਾਪੁ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖ ਮੂਲ ਨਹੀ ਬਾਚਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਆਪ।</p> <p>(He who) recites another prayer without the mantra of the Guru, that Shakta is not a Sikh at core, so said Guru Gobind Singh himself.</p> <p>Verse 11: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਦ ਲੇ ਜੋ ਬਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੇ ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰੋਹਿ।</p> <p>The Khalsa of the Guru, which was established in the world as the beginning, we must always keep animosity towards the Shaktas from hell.</p> <p>Verse 17: ਪਾਹਿਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਬਿਨ ਨਾ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਗੁਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰਿਅ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸ।</p> <p>The Sikhs should not bow their heads in puja to stones. And that Shakta, who is always without the Guru, is punished by the Lord of the Earth.</p> <p>Verse 21: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮਨਤ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਚਿਤ ਭ੍ਰਮਾਇ । ਸੋ ਪਾਪੀ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਦਾ ਬਿਕਟਿ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇ ।</p> <p>(He who) makes an offering and then seeks the fulfilment of a wish, that Sikh's mind will be misguided. That Shakta will always be a sinner and will go into a terrible form of duality.</p>
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Mlecchas	<p>Verse 8: ਮੇਰੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਮਾਨੈ ਨਹੀ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ। ਸੇ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਪਛਾਨੇ ਭੇਵ।</p> <p>(He who) does not follow my command (hukam), they do not serve a Sikh. Recognise the difference that appears between the brother and the Mleccha(outsider, barbarian).</p> <p>Verse 10: ਟੂਟ ਪਰਿਉ ਮਾਇ ਅ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ। ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਾਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ। ਸੇ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੇ ਜਾਣ। ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸੁਜਾਣੁ।</p> <p>Break the noose of Maya, otherwise you will wander in ignorance for another 8400000 times (births), so brother recognise the Malech. Listen wise Prahilad.</p>
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The TN, on the other hand, seems to go in the opposite direction within this established set of categories. Turks are mentioned six times, someone keeping iron¹⁶⁹ at their feet once, Khans and Monas once each. Despite its noticeable martial sensibilities, the TN thus invokes out-groups less than half of the times that they are mentioned in the BPSR, and also seemingly from a narrower set of groups.

¹⁶⁹ McLeod has noted that iron is revered in the Khalsa, and this injunction refers to the act of disrespecting iron. It seems likely that the term acts as a modifier for the same person who puts the seal of the Turk on his head in verse 6. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 418.

Table 3.7 TN out-groups

Turks	<p>Verse 6: ਮੁਹਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਰੈ ਲੋਹ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ।</p> <p>(He who) puts seal of the Turk on the head, and keeps iron at their feet, that person will be reborn continuously only to die again, remember this says Gobind.</p> <p>Verse 16: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥਿ ਧਰੈ। ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ।</p> <p>(He who) raises his hand to his head (in respectful greeting) upon seeing the Turk, he is a great tanakhaia.</p> <p>Verse 23: ਲੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਤੇ ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ। ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਸਬਦ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ।</p> <p>(He who) takes meat from a Turk and eats it, (someone who) is singing songs but not including the songs of the Guru.</p> <p>Verse 51: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਸਤ੍ਰੁ ਕੇ ਧਾਰੈ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੇ ਮਾਰੈ।</p> <p>The Khalsa is (he who) carries (a) weapon, the Khalsa is (he who) kills the Turk.</p> <p>Verse 57: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ। ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖੁ ਜਾਵੈ ਗੋ ਭਾਜਿ।</p> <p>Ride a horse and fly a falcon, the Turks will see and run away in confusion.</p> <p>Verse 58: ਦੇਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਉ ਤੁਰਕ ਜਾਹਿ ਗੋ ਭਾਜ। ਸਵ ਲਾਖ ਸਿਉ ਏਕੁ ਲੜਵਾਉ।</p> <p>Seeing the Khalsa, the Turks will run, one will fight with 125,000.</p>
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Khans	<p>Verse 41: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੇ ਖਾਨੁ।</p> <p>The Khalsa is (he who) gives to charity, the Khalsa is (he who) kills the Khan.</p>
Mona	<p>Verse 62: ਇਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਸੀਹਤਨਾਮਾ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ ਪਤਿਸਾਹੀ ਦਸਵੀ। ਪੜੈ ਸੁਨੇ ਕਮਾਵੈ ਮੋਖ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਾਵੈ। ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਬਚਨੁ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਦਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੋਨਾ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੜ ਸੁਕੀ। ਜੋ ਮੋਨੇ ਦਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਸਿਖ ਜੋਵੈ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੜਹਰੀ।</p> <p>This manual of advice is finished. The one who reads (it) and listens (to it) is liberated. This is the message of the master. The Sikh whose son is a Mona, his roots have died, and if a Mona Sikh's son becomes a Sikh again, his roots will come alive again.</p>

The same, or similar notion, can be seen in the rejection of behaviors/behavioral patterns associated with these groups, such as the the injunction against using tobacco - specifically in the form of snuff powder, inhaled through the nostrils.:

ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕੈ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੇ ਨਸਵਾਰੁ। ਲਏ ਤਾਤਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ
(He who) wears red cloth, and takes snuff in the nostrils, seeing this, he is thrown into the darkness of hell. (BPSR, verse 12)

ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ। ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰੁ
(He who) uses snuff during the crimson hours, says Gobind, Yam will destroy him. (TN, verse 12)

ਗੁਰੁ ਤਲਪੀ ਕਪਟੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ। ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੇ ਸੋਇ
(He who) is deceitful towards the Guru, know that (he) is a vicious tanakhahia. (TN, verse 36)

It may thus be perceived that the two texts deploy the categories not covered by the other, and also to slightly different effect. What may be surmised is that both texts speak negatively about certain non-Khalsa groups (both Sikh in-groups and non-Sikh out-groups). There appears to be a slight shift of emphasis and nuance between the two texts as well as—by extension—a difference in function. The TN deploys a narrower set of categories, repeatedly focusing on one in particular: The Turk. While, as discussed above, this does not seem to be an explicit reference to Muslims as a religious group, to which the term *Mleccha* is more usually found here in the *rahitname*; instead, this seems to be addressing the Mughal state as a political entity. Still, such an interpretation does not account for why these texts have injunctions to avoid eating the meat of the Turks. In other words, it seems as if the term was in the process of synthesizing both religious and political connotations.¹⁷⁰

The BPSR goes in a different direction. While the Sikh and non-Sikh groups that it censures are undoubtedly seen as threatening to Khalsa identity, it does not seem that they are specifically treated as enemies in warfare or violent adversaries in this text - in contrast to how the Turks and Khans were treated in the TN. Rather, what is critical to the BPSR is that the stereotyped behavior of Turks, Khans, Masands, Minas, alongside Shakta Hindus, yogis, and other groups not mentioned in the TN - is to be regarded as antithetical to Khalsa identity. And so, the BPSR gives a straightforward message - that the way that these communities behave is improper, and that any Khalsa Sikh who should follow their practices is to be condemned and punished. These forms of behavior, as well as associating with groups that behave that way, is declared to be antagonistic to the disciples of the Guru. Here, we may note that two groups in

¹⁷⁰ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 219-222.

particular - Shaktas and yogis - are not singled out by the TN, but are discussed in great depth in the BPSR. The reason for their absence in the TN is not clear - perhaps these were not martial or political rivals to the Sikhs in the Punjab. On the other hand, the author of the BPSR was clearly interested in demarcating the cultural and religious boundaries between the Khalsa and these other religious groups. Forging such behavioral boundaries may have been especially relevant within the multireligious environment that the Khalsa found itself in within early eighteenth-century Maharashtra, after the founding of Abchnagar in Nanded. In other words, we can interpret the differences between the two texts as indicators of how the Khalsa, in the immediate aftermath of the passing of Guru Gobind Singh, and amidst the early modern transition towards a Sikh identity based on codified behavioral practices, inflected this codification differently, based on the specific geopolitical and geocultural circumstances that they found themselves in the Indian subcontinent. Let us now turn to what the rahit texts might tell us about how and why the religious identity of the Khalsa was being solidified at this time.

3.2.3. Religious Affiliation, the Terminology of Khalsa and Community

In the BPSR and TN, Khalsa religious affiliation is articulated in a variety of ways but can be seen through a means of correctly observed behavior as well as properly upheld patterns of loyalty. This takes place both by rejecting other non-Khalsa modes of affiliation, and by maintaining an idealized affinity for the Guru. Correct behavior is thus not articulated as a phenomenon in isolation:

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਬਿਨ ਨਾ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਗੁਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਿਰਅ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸਾ
 The Sikhs should not bow their heads in Puja to stones. And that Shakta, who is always
 without the Guru, is punished by the Lord of the Earth. (BPSR, verse 17)

The BPSR and TN advocate the correct observance of communal and individual concerns as a way to promote ideal community cohesion. This process can be described as a dual affirmation - first, the Guru authorizes how the Khalsa community's behavior ought to be regulated, and second, by doing so the Guru, even in his absence, reaffirms his preeminent status within the community itself. The texts also display statements that indirectly refer to inherited ethical principles. In other words, the texts contain statements of ethics anchored in broad principles, working in tandem with highly detailed and specific conduct as well as intentions. We encounter a complex, sometimes contradictory, vocabulary relating to the idea of community. The first point of analysis is the terminology used to describe and also designate the disciples of Guru Gobind Singh.

Two terms that are often used to describe the disciples of Guru Gobind Singh are Panth and Khalsa. These two terms are not synonymous but nevertheless have considerable overlap, with special emphasis in the BPSR. In the beginning of the text, the first mention of the community designates it as the panth established by Guru Nanak, and the line reads:

ਪੰਥ ਚਲਿਐਓ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ। ਰਹਤ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ
The Panth was established in the world by the blessing of Guru Nanak. Let me tell you
the rahit of the Khalsa, listen oh Bhai Prahilad. (BPSR, verse 3)

In another place, however, the BPSR designates the rahit not in terms of the panth, but the Khalsa. The context makes clear that the panth is understood as the wider community and the Khalsa is understood as a subgroup within this larger community. This is especially evident in the considerable emphasis on the claim surrounding the foundation of the Khalsa:

ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਦ ਲੇ ਜੋ ਥਾਏ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੇ ਜੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹਿ
The Khalsa of the Guru, which was established in the world as the beginning, we must
always keep animosity towards the Shaktas from hell. (BPSR, verse 11)

We also find two sentences that deploy “Panth” as a reference for the larger community:

ਛਾਡਿ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਕੇ ਲਏ ਪੰਥ ਜੋ ਹੋਰੁ। ਐਥੈ ਦੁਖੁ ਲਹੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੇ ਚੋਰੁ
(He who) abandons the Panth of the Sikhs and is received by another Panth, here and
there will feel pain, that thief among the Sikhs of the Guru. (BPSR, verse 23)

ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ। ਪਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਊਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ। ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਹੀ। ਫਾਸ ਪਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ
(He who) worships in a funeral monument, grave or temple and who does not speak
highly of the Panth is not a Sikh of the Guru. He will be caught like a small pebble by
Yama and hanged to death. (BPSR, verse 24)

The next textual description of the community suggests a possible dual meaning where the

Khalsa is defined as the manifest incarnation of the Guru:

ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦਿਹ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਮਿਹ ਮਿਲ ਬੋਚ ਹੈ ਖੋਜ ਇਨ ਇਹ ਮਹਿ ਲਿਏ
Accept the Khalsa of the Guru as manifesting the body of the Guru. That Sikh who seeks
me can find me in it. (BPSR, verse 26)

These polysemous meanings are found in both texts, although the terms themselves are deployed differently:

ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਏਹੁ। ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਅਕਾਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੇਹਾ। ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ। ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ
ਸਾਖੀ
This is the form of the Formless One, manifest in the immortal Khalsa. (BPSR, verse 30)

In the BPSR text, terms pertaining to the community appear six times in total, and the terms Panth and Khalsa both appear and to some extent overlap. This does not mean that the two terms are synonymous, as the text uses them differently with regard to other Sikh in-groups, namely

the Masands and Minas. Instead, it seems that the BPSR is envisioning the Khalsa in broader terms of community.

In the TN on the other hand, the term Panth does not appear a single time but the term Khalsa appears no less than thirty-one times. The majority of the sentences where the word Khalsa appears in the TN are usually specific in nature where it evokes a certain ideal mode of behavior - and by extension membership into the order. This normative behavior also contains a martial element that is absent in the BPSR. We need to recall that from the year 1700 until his death in 1708, Guru Gobind Singh repeatedly addresses individual congregations as his “Khalsa” in letters sent to them.¹⁷¹ Thus we can locate the following pattern in the terminology referring to the community: The BPSR uses both the term Panth and Khalsa, and there seems to be a degree of overlap between the two. On the other hand, in the TN, only the term Khalsa appears, and much more frequently than in the BPSR. The Khalsa related verses in the TN are substantially more specific, and notably more martial, in comparison to the BPSR. We may attribute these different understandings of the Khalsa to the different climates of militarism within the Punjab (TN), and outside of it (BPSR) in which each text was compiled.¹⁷²

3.2.4. The Term “Rahit,” Hierarchy of Behavior Regulation: Religious Obligation

What we can ascertain through this early rahit corpus is that these texts were predicating punishment, discipline, and reward on the basis of a hierarchy of idealized behavior modification. The behavioral patterns deemed meritorious or detrimental (and those that lay in

¹⁷¹ Ganda Singh, *Hukamname* (Patiala: Punjabi University Press, 1967), 163-191. We also find warnings about the Masands in the very same letters, one example is from the 6th of February 1702, 173. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 35-37.

¹⁷² McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 90.

between) are arranged hierarchically where a significant emphasis is upon how individuals are to behave, with regard to the various expectations, cohesion, and habits of the community of disciples of the charismatic Guru. Thus, it is relevant to bring the term *rahit* into our analytical framework. The term appears twice in the TN:

ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ
(he who) hands out *prasad* without *rahit* (TN, verse 11),
and

ਸਾਧ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ। ਕਪਟ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ
Calling someone a holy person without the *rahit* is to miss their form, O *Lalji*—on such deceit, it would be better to remain silent. (TN, verse 25)

In the BPSR, we can locate one direct deployment of the term, namely:

ਰਹਤ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ
Let me tell you the *rahit* of the *Khalsa*, listen O *Bhai Prahilad*. (BPSR, verse 3),

and then indirect references to it, both towards the end:

ਰਹਿਣੀ ਰਹੇ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ। ਉਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਮੈ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ
(He who) maintains this way of living is my Sikh. (He) is the master of whom I am the disciple. (BPSR, verse 40),

and finally,

ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਬਚਨ ਇਹ ਕਹਿਓ ਆਦਿ ਅਰ ਅੰਤ
Give this message to all of the Sikhs, (from) beginning to end. (BPSR, verse 42)

These references do not give us much to work with but what is fairly clear is that the term is used by the authors to designate an ideal trajectory of behavior interwoven through large- and small-scale forms of conduct encouraged for members of the charismatic community. The TN situates the term in relation to specific community habits, whereas the BPSR firmly connects it to the

term Khalsa. This is further complicated by the fact that the term barely appears in the BPSR, but figures on multiple occasions in the TN. From a historical point of view, this may resonate with differences relating to the social circumstances in which they were composed. The situation from the battle of Muktsar in 1705 and Banda Singh Bahadur's rebellion until his death in 1716 was one of warfare with the Mughals, and Banda's letter from 1710 does mention the Guru's rahit.¹⁷³ In other words, one contextual difference that undergirds how the Khalsa is described in the two texts is that the TN was composed in Punjab during an era of tension and violence against the Mughal state, whereas the situation in Nanded did not involve the same kinds of political strife.

What we encounter is not a descriptive not a descriptive, but rather a prescriptive view of how behavior in the Khalsa context ought to be enacted. We can glimpse that the principle that informs the hierarchical arrangement is the ethics of religious obligation internal to the Khalsa community, as well as membership being defined by adherence to the precepts in question. We can to some extent explain the differences between the texts in the geopolitical context in which they were written. For the author of the TN, membership in the Khalsa community is informed by the socio-historical climate of warfare and accordingly, the text employs prescriptions of valorized violence. For the author of the BPSR, on the other hand, the prescriptions that define Khalsa membership the prescriptions that define Khalsa membership are directed towards a competition with other religious communities that is not martial in nature, but rather based on degrees of social prestige. What we find is that the Khalsa notion of social hierarchy is built on

¹⁷³ Purnima Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks: The Making of the Sikh Warrior Tradition, 1699-1799* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 49-59. As mentioned earlier, we find the term used in the early eighteenth century, in one of the letters from Banda Singh Bahadur in 1710, where the term is referred to in passing and we get no information about what Banda Singh Bahadur specifically referred to.

idealized ethical norms, and by extension, necessitate a degree of commitment and behavioral obligation for its community members that is historically contingent.

3.2.5. Lineages and Lineage (Re)formulation

Both texts make references to the lineage of Sikh Gurus, which seems to have figured prominently in the rahit imaginary.¹⁷⁴ The way in which the idea of lineage operates demands closer attention, as the two texts employ the Guru lineage in different ways. At the first level of approximation, it functions as a transmission of not only authority between one Guru and another but also as a connecting point between adherents and the Guru figure. Both texts make sustained efforts in designating the Guru as the central figure in their respective narrative, and that entails firm articulations of lineage. However, what differentiates their portrayals is that the TN is centered entirely on the person of Guru Gobind Singh and, apart from a reference to the court of the Guru,¹⁷⁵ there is no direct mention of prior Gurus. The BPSR text however explicitly mentions not only Guru Gobind Singh, but Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Das as well. By doing so, the BPSR fully draws upon the mechanism of the Guru lineage in order to establish its authority, while the TN focuses only on Guru Gobind Singh as the main actor.

ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਬੰਸ। ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਤੀਨੋ ਕੀ ਅੰਸ। ਹੁਕਮ ਦਾਨ ਲਿਖਜਾ ਕਰਦੀਆ। ਤਿਨ ਕੁਲ ਮਧਿ ਨਿਵਾਸ
ਮੈ ਕੀਆ

From within all three lineages of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad and Amar Das, descends
my command in written form, I speak from the centre of the abode of the three lineages.
(BPSR, verse 19)

ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਸਿੰਥਾਏ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ। ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਸਾਖੀ

¹⁷⁴ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 28-29. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 82-91.

¹⁷⁵ This verse is covered below insertion 3.2.8, analyzing the royal terminology of the texts.

No part of my writings are false, this is the testimony by Guru Nanak and Guru Angad.
(BPSR, verse 30)

A slightly less obvious form of lineage articulation can be seen in the relationship between the Guru and the disciple to whom the rahit is addressed - in the case of the BPSR, this is Bhai Prahilad, and in the case of the TN, this is Bhai Nand Lal. From a narratological perspective, the primary function of these two disciples might be understood as facilitating a conversational frame, through which the ethical discourse itself can unfold. But it should be noted that both of the figures mentioned (Bhai Prahilad and Bhai Nand Lal) were themselves prominent individuals in the history of the Sikh community and are traditionally held to have been contemporaries to Guru Gobind Singh himself.¹⁷⁶ What these two texts thus portray is not only a transference of authority from one Guru to another but also as a point of (re)affirmation of the relationship between the Guru and well-known Sikh historical personae. Rather than only designating one-dimensional power claims, the idea of lineage thus encompasses a more elaborate process of validization of the ethical doctrines being disseminated by having well-known disciples act as recipients and participants in the lineage-making process. In the case of the BPSR, Bhai Prahilad Singh is one of several people mentioned in relation to Guru Gobind Singh in the beginning of the text:

ੴ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ। ਬਚਨ ਰਹਤਨਾਮਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀ ੧੦। ਦਰਿ ਆਈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਕੈ ਪ੍ਰਬਾਇ ਬੋਲਨਾ
ਹੋਅ

Ek Onkar, by the grace of the Guru. The rahitnama was delivered from the mouth of the Guru. Spoken from the mouth of the Guru with Daraya (the) Udasi. (BPSR, opening verse)

ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੋਆ ਪ੍ਰਹਲਾਦਿ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਿਪ ਜਾਤਿ ਹਸ ਰਿਐ। ਨਿਕਤ ਬੁਲਿਐ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਲੀਤੋ ਕੰਠ ਲਗਿਐ

¹⁷⁶ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 22.

The order came to fetch Prahilad Singh and the Brahmin Hans Rai. The Guru called (them) near and embraced (them). (BPSR, verse 2)

And the conversation is then directed towards Bhai Prahilad Singh as the second half of the following sentence reads:

ਰਹਤ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦ

Let me tell you the rahit of the Khalsa, listen Oh Bhai Prahilad. (BPSR, verse 3)

The TN commences designating Bhai Nand Lal in the first sentence:

ਪ੍ਰਸਨੁ ਕਰਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਕਾ। ਵਾਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕੇ

An enquiry by Bhai Nand Lal. Responded to by Sri Guru Gobind Singh. (TN, opening verse)

Bhai Nand Lal's name is repeated several times in the text, such as

ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨੋ ਸਿਖੁ ਕਰਮ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ। ਨਾਮ ਦਾਨੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਹੈ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ

You Nand Lal, listen to what I say, this is Sikh behavior. Without naam (divine name), daan (charity), isnaan (purity through bathing), one cannot act. (TN, verse 2)

What is striking is that only one of the texts bring up the notion of the central scripture, the Granth, as receiving the status/title of the Guru. The injunction is found in the BPSR text and reads as follows:

ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਸਿਓ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਚਲਿਏਯੋ ਪੰਥ। ਸਭ ਸਿਖੰਨ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮ ਯਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਿਾਨਏ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ

By the order of Formless One who caused the Panth to be made manifest. The command to all Sikhs is to accept the Granth as the Guru. (BPSR, verse 32)

This reference constitutes the only place in both texts where the *Adi Granth* is spoken of as the Guru itself. It is noteworthy that it takes place in a narrative context in which Akal Purakh (the Formless One) figures as the direct origin of the Panth. It may be argued that the Granth

injunction perhaps serves as a further elaboration of that point. It is obviously not possible to adjudicate the process by which the *Adi Granth* was elevated to *Guru Granth Sahib* on the basis of this injunction, but it is relevant to note that its surfacing in the text shows that the author was well aware of the larger vocabulary attached to this event in Sikh history.¹⁷⁷ This particular reference appears once in the BPSR, and can be seen as expanding the lineage claim but also in some regard anchoring it beyond Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa community.

We find that both texts invoke the idea of lineage in their respective narratives, and both center this lineage on the Guru. However, the way in which this mechanism operates is varied and takes on different appearance, most clearly seen in terms of the focus on Guru Gobind Singh in the TN and the extended range of Gurus in the BPSR, including the reference to the *Guru Granth Sahib*.

3.2.6. The Mechanism of Memory

Both texts also engage with a mechanism of memorialization but with slightly different trajectories and functions. The obvious starting point is that both conversations are set with people of perceived esteem from that particular era of Sikh history. Beyond that, the reference to the conversation taking place at Abchalnagar (present day Nanded in Maharashtra, where Guru Gobind Singh spent the last period of his life before his assassination in 1708) in the BPSR, is another historical gesture.¹⁷⁸ We do not find any equivalent reference to this specific episode in the TN.

¹⁷⁷ It should also be noted that this sentence assists in confirming, roughly, the era of its composition since this decision was taken by Guru Gobind Singh shortly before his death in 1708.

¹⁷⁸ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 70, 119.

As the BPSR unfolds, we locate a point of tension on the topic of memory and historical chronology. The first is the reference to Abchalnagar, the second concerns the *Granth* as Guru, and finally the last one is a date that appears towards the end. It is not a date of completion but is part of the narrative, which continues past this reference and then comes to an end. The first two are clearly designated in the historical chronology as appearing around the time of Guru Gobind Singh's death in 1708. However, the third reference generates tension vis-a-vis the first two, namely:

ਸੰਮਤ ਸਤਾਰਾ ਸੈ ਭਏ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬਵੰਜਾ ਨਿਹਾਰ। ਮਾਘ ਵਦੀ ਥਿਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਵੀਰਵਾਰ ਸੁਭਵਾਰ
 See the year of Samvat 1752 having passed, this is the fifth day, Thursday, of the lunar fortnight, an auspicious day. (BPSR, verse 36)

As Ashok has noted, the year of V.S. (Vikrama Samvatsara) 1752 (1696) does not correlate with where the Guru was located during that year, since conventional historiography places him in Anandpur at that time.¹⁷⁹ That fact, along with the reference to the *Adi Granth* becoming *Guru Granth Sahib* makes for a tripartite contradiction. As mentioned previously, we need to note that the date above is not designated as the date of textual completion and the wording of the verse does not in any way indicate that this was the date of scriptural completion. One possibility is that the date resonates with a suggested earlier event in Sikh history known to the audience and thus might serve as a gesture of emphasis. Gurinder Mann has suggested that it refers to the spring festival of Basant Panchmi, and this is likely the case. Why this specific year is mentioned is not clear at this point. Until more documentation emerges, it is not possible to state with

¹⁷⁹ Ashok, *Guru Khalse de Rahitname*, 58.

certainty what the date refers to except that it does not designate the date of scriptural completion.¹⁸⁰

This reference is, as we have seen, not uncomplicated especially in relation to the rest of the text. However, the designation of the event as taking place in Nanded should not be seen as accidental and it may be an extension of the charismatic religious claim as well as representing sensibilities of the “religious marketplace” that made the authors of the text place the event in that location, and we will explore this further in chapter 5. As Dhavan has noted, the memorial literary efforts were already felt in the Sikh community of the early eighteenth century.¹⁸¹ If we accept this notion, then the reference to Abchalnagar seems to resonate with the historical context of the group in Abchalnagar, in the sense that the Khalsa material that they possessed was amended to accommodate the *Adi Granth* becoming the *Guru Granth Sahib*. In other words, this oddity of this textual reading may be reconciled by understanding it to be an outcome of a process of re-composition of an earlier version - the amendment process taking place in Abchalnagar (Nanded). In other words, the regulation of Khalsa behavior in the BPSR seems to resonate with the religious landscape, marketplace, and socio-historical realities of the Khalsa members who accompanied Guru Gobind Singh out of Punjab.

The TN displays a more martial tone in general and it is in that context of martially imbued language that we locate this sentence:

ਚਲੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਊ। ਝੁਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਾਜੇ
They caused the liberation of the 40 Singhs. (TN, verse 59)

¹⁸⁰ Gurinder Singh Mann, “Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times,” *Journal of Punjab Studies* 15, no.1 and 2 (2008): 275.

¹⁸¹ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 145-160. For the tendency outside of the Sikh context, see Cynthia Talbot, *The Last Hindu Emperor: Prithviraj Chauhan and the Indian Past, 1200-2000* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 140-160, Diana L. Eck, *India: A Sacred Geography* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2012).

This is a historiographical reference to the battle of Muktsar in 1705 against Vazir Khan. Here it refers specifically to an event after the evacuation of Anandpur where forty disciples (Khalsa members) of Guru Gobind Singh sacrificed themselves in protection of the Guru.¹⁸² It is relevant to note that the reference appears in a one sentence interlude contained in a long list of valorization of warfare, worded as imperatives for future actions. At first, it may be seen as a rather strange literary device but it may be seen as articulating in-group cohesion internal to the Khalsa. The first is to glorify the disciples who sacrificed themselves for the charismatic religious figure and consequently valorize their devotional cohesion in relation to the Guru. In other words, the difference in martial pronouncements between the TN and the BPSR seems to be informed by difference in immediate socio-historical context. If we accept this, then the repeated language of valorizing warfare and violence in the TN likely derives from the aftermath of the conflict after the evacuation of Anandpur and stretching into the years of Banda Singh Bahadur's rebellion in Punjab. Conversely, the absence of such pronouncements in the BPSR may have been informed by the context away from Punjab in Maharashtra. Furthermore, if we accept that the two texts also influenced the notion of what it meant to be a member of the Khalsa, then we can infer that the two manuals can be seen as snapshots in the evolution of Khalsa identity in two different historical environments.

¹⁸² W. H. McLeod, *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 64-65.

3.2.7. Expressions of Martiality

As has been noted, there is a marked difference in the martial tone of the TN, in comparison to the BPSR. In fact, the BPSR does not contain any discernible martial language at all. In contrast, sizeable portions of the TN showcase valorized martial language at the individual and collective level. These are often directed against known antagonists and sometimes appear in references to war, either remembered or as an imperative for the future and future mobilization. More specifically, we find violent rallying cries in the battlefield:

Table 3.8 TN expressions of martiality

Verse 40: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਤਿਆਗੈ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ।	The Khalsa is (he who) has abandoned slander, the Khalsa is (he who) fights first,
Verse 41: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੇ ਖਾਨੁ।	The Khalsa is (he who) gives to charity, the Khalsa is (he who) kills the Khan.
Verse 48: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਾਪੁ ਕਰੈ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮੁਖਾਲਫ ਪਰਿ ਚੜੈ।	The Khalsa is (he who) recites the Name, the Khalsa is (he who) attacks the opponent.
Verse 50: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਤ ਜੰਗ।	The Khalsa is (he who) rides (the) horse, the Khalsa is (he who) always makes wars.
Verse 51: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੋ ਧਾਰੈ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੋ ਮਾਰੈ।	The Khalsa is (he who) carries (a) weapon, the Khalsa is (he who) kills the Turk.
Verse 57: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ। ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖੁ ਜਾਵੈ ਗੋ ਭਾਜਿ।	Ride a horse and fly a falcon, the Turks will see and run away in confusion.

Verse 58: ਦੇਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਉ ਤੁਰਕ ਜਾਹਿ ਗੇ ਭਾਜ। ਸਵ ਲਾਖ ਸਿਉ ਏਕੁ ਲੜਵਾਉ।	Seeing the Khalsa, the Turks will run, one will fight with 125,000.
Verse 59: ਚਲੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਉ। ਝੁਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਾਜੇ।	They caused the liberation of the 40 Singhs, adorn the swaying elephants with lances.
Verse 60: ਦੁਆਰ ਦੁਆਰੁ ਪਰ ਨਉਬਤ ਬਾਜੈ। ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖੁਜਬ ਹੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤਾ। ਤਬਿ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੇ ਅਸਤ ਲਉ ਜੀਤਾ।	Play the kettledrum at each door, light up 125,000 of the guns/torches, the Khalsa risks and conquers the untrue ones.

The language is specific, imperative, and may be seen as an injunction for large scale conflict—if not war—with several references to violent confrontation of one form or another. Members of the Khalsa appear to be encouraged to fight first, to murder the Khan, to scare off the Turks, to attack the opponent, to always make battle, to carry a weapon, and to kill the Turk. As discussed earlier, the terms Khan and Turk seem both to refer to Mughal or Afghan political agents active in the Punjab during this time period.¹⁸³ The TN's author clearly seems concerned about the larger processes of militarization that the Sikh community found themselves in the midst of during the early eighteenth century, and, as a result, moulded his vision of ideal Khalsa behavior and religious obligation in ways that gestured toward martial power and violence.

3.2.8. Terminology of Royalty

We also encounter gestures and language infused with connotations of royalty in the texts. The direct references are found in four places in the texts, two in each text. In the case of the BPSR, one is a reference to the court of the Guru, in a punitive context, and the other is a

¹⁸³ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 69.

reference to royal horse sacrifices, whereby the designation is a positive consequence of in-group instantiations of charity.

Table 3.9 BSPR terminology of royalty

BPSR	
Verse 15: ਲਾਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ। ਬਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਜਗ ਜਨਮੈ ਮਰੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਬਚਨ ਸਿਉ ਤੂਟਾ ਜਾਇ। ਦਰਗਹ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ।	(He) will be reborn 8,400,000 times, will be born and die repeatedly in this world. (He who) breaks from the Guru's words and will be punished in the court of the Guru.
Verse 34: ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਬਰੁ ਦੀਨਾ। ਕੋਟਿ ਅਸੁਮੇਧੁ ਜਗੁ ਫਲੁ ਲੀਨਾ। ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ। ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਵੈ।	The Sikh who gives cloth (performs charity) to another Sikh, gets the benefit of millions of Vedic horse sacrifices. (He who) learns the compositions of the Guru, gains the benefit of being released in this life.

McLeod designates the term for garment (ambar) as amrit, which changes the meaning to one Sikh who gives amrit to another Sikh. McLeod has here mostly cited colonial era documents.¹⁸⁴ However, if it does refer to garment then it likely designates a gesture of implied charity. In the case of the TN, we find a reference to the court of the Guru, whereby it functions as a punishment to not be the recipient of honor at the Guru's court, for not providing charity for a beggar. The second gesture of royal language is related to the Khalsa, where it serves as a descriptive statement in the context of several injunctions of perceived valour and prestige. The designation is that the Khalsa has a canopy over his head:

¹⁸⁴ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 421.

Table 3.10 TN terminology of royalty

TN	
Verse 28: ਅਖਿਤ ਦੇਖਿ ਜੋ ਦੇਇ ਨ ਦਾਨੁ। ਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਦਰਗਹ ਮਾਨ।	(He who) sees a beggar but gives no alms, will not find honor at the Guru's court.
Verse 52: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਧਰਮ ਕੋ ਪਾਏ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੀਸੁ ਛਤ੍ਰ ਦੇ ਨਾਲੇ।	The Khalsa is (he who) nourished by the dharam, the Khalsa is (he who) has a canopy over his head.

The canopy refers to courtly depictions of royalty and can be found in Sikh cultural production since the earlier centuries.¹⁸⁵ We see a somewhat inverted example between two of the sentences, namely the BPSR reference to the benefit of royal horse sacrifices as a consequence of a Sikh donating cloth to another Sikh, where the royal connotation is designated as a beneficial outcome. The example found in the TN articulates the failure to perform charity despite the proximity to a beggar, as generating the negative consequence of disqualification of honor at the Guru's court. In the BPSR, the marker of royalty is thus a positive result of properly executed charity. In other words, there seems to be a joint emphasis on the same ethical principle but addressed from two different angles. In the case of the BPSR, the emphasis is on in-group solidarity that generates meritorious consequences in a language of royalty. In the case of the TN the opposite is the case, where the term “beggar” seems to be broader in scope and failure to fulfil the perceived obligation to the beggar generates condemnation at the Guru's court. In other words, the idea of charity can also be seen as a marker of the Khalsa as envisioned by the author of the text. The principle in the case of the application of royal vocabulary seems to be intricately

¹⁸⁵ Louis, Fenech, *The Darbar of the Sikh Gurus: The Court of God in the World of Men* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5-6.

interwoven with ethical points deemed of considerable importance to the authors and by extension their intended audiences. If we accept the notion that the texts were written in conversation with one another, then these two designations of royal language should not be seen as accidental but rather as serving a larger purpose in ethical designation and markers of prestige. It is also noticeable that the mentioning of the Guru's court in the BPSR further complicates things, as it is clearly involved in a punitive measure. We can thus infer that the texts are tying the notion of the Khalsa and Khalsa membership to notions of membership at the Guru's court, as envisioned by the authors.

3.3. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the philological dimensions of the genre and the major characteristics of the texts and suggested that the texts may have been performed in the sense of recitation or memorialization. Furthermore, beyond the documentation of the genre itself, there is no tradition of commentary on the two works and the information relating to the manuscripts is limited. As we have seen, there is little reliable information about how the manuscripts have circulated, who the scribes were, and some of the manuscripts also seem to have been tampered with in the time period after their composition. As we have seen in the exploration of the terminology and general characteristics of the texts, they at times use overlapping but well established and contextually bound terminology to express more or less detailed notions of religious obligation. If we allow for some degree of speculation, the notion of why the texts operate like this (especially in regard to designated antagonists) might partially be explained in the context of the audience, especially in terms of sensibilities as felt during that historical time

period. As the preceding analysis has shown, the two texts articulate a complex set of themes, concepts, and textual mechanics that may be viewed as constituting the building blocks of the narratives. It is not possible to definitively determine which of these two texts were written first but they can be placed in a historical period of about 1707-1720. The TN appears to have been written in the context of Punjab immediately after Guru Gobind Singh left for Nanded and the BPSR reflects the Khalsa community that left the Punjab to accompany him there. The BPSR appears to have been reworked in that environment after the passing of Guru Gobind Singh the following year. They thus reflect the realities of two different geo-political and historical milieus.

Both texts are arranged along an internally organised and coherent understanding of religious ethics and behavior regulation that are evidently hierarchically arranged. It may be seen as a complex, multi layered and multifaceted mechanism that derives its *raison d'être* from the qualification and to some extent quantification of the notion of religious ethics. It may hinge on an overarching mechanism of behavioral regulation in relation to religious obligation, responding to the context in which it was produced but also employing an understanding of perceived meritorious behavioral patterns that emphasizes issues related to Khalsa-community life. It further may be seen as a product of, and further statement concerning, the perceived stature and self-perception of the Khalsa of that particular historical era. This emphasis can be seen as operating only under the assumption that the audiences had a firm understanding not only of the behavior deemed worthy of condemnation, but also why and to what extent.

4. Frontier Religiosity

In the previous chapter, we had explored the various dimensions of religious ethics and behavioral regulation in the early *rahitname*. This chapter will argue these concerns were closely tied in with Sikh ambitions towards cultural power in the geopolitical peripheries of early modern North India - a phenomenon that we may call "frontier culture." Furthermore, I will suggest that this involved a new collective understanding of the Sikh past that tried to make sense of this competitive religious and political milieu, in which Sikh communities were spreading geographically to new domains of practice. As we saw in the preceding chapter, the *TN* and *BPSR* reflect *Khalsa* narratives from the same time period but in response to two different geopolitical locations in the Western frontier regions. To understand what this might have meant to the authors and readers of these texts, this chapter situates the two *rahit* works in relation to the wider historical milieu and thus attempts to retrieve how the *Khalsa* attempted to distinguish itself in relation to the larger Sikh community in its historical environment. It also analyzes the relationship between the *Khalsa* and the trends of religious expressions of behavior regulation and prestige found in Western frontiers of the Mughal empire. Given that narrative motifs and tropes are shared bivalently across communities and literary cultures, this chapter does not argue that one tradition "borrowed" the literature of another, but instead investigates the milieu itself.¹⁸⁶

The *Khalsa* was one of several communities in the Western frontier regions of the Mughal empire of that era that produced literary models of religious ethics. As we will see in this chapter, the early *rahitname* provide evidence that the *Khalsa* had engaged productively with

¹⁸⁶ Carl Ernst, "Situating Sufism and Yoga," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15, no.1 (Apr., 2005): 15-20.

these other groups in formulating their own moral discourse, but that the rahitname project succeeded not only by adhering to the same cultural themes that were found in these other religious traditions, but by further infusing the rahit texts, like the TN and BPSR, with the charismatic appeal of the Guru. In this sense, reflecting on the fact that the founding of the Khalsa was critically informed by charismatic, restorationist sensibilities, we can conclude that the discourses of religious ethics and behavior regulation that we find in the rahitname acted as socio-religious expressions of power for the early Khalsa, vis-à-vis the "others" around them - both the non-Sikhs out-groups as well as the Sikh in-groups that we observed in the previous chapter.

We will start by exploring the notion of the sacred geography and the shared religious idioms it had, the seventeenth century modes of behavior regulation, the messianic claims, and finally the religious groups similar to the Khalsa in the social environment of the Western frontiers of the Mughal state. We will now explore some of the features of that societal milieu.

4.1. The Sacred Geography: Shared Religious Idioms

The conceptual starting place for an exploration of this expanded phenomenon can be found under the umbrella term “sacred geography,” which can be seen as one distinct feature of the wider religious landscape of South Asia during the early modern era.¹⁸⁷ It refers to the cultural practices related to tombs and shrines of religious scholars, saints, and mystics both legendary and real. It served as a mechanism of socio-cultural memory spread over large distances in South Asia and beyond. It may thus be seen as having constituted a multilayered

¹⁸⁷ Eck, *India: A Sacred Geography* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2012), 11-54, Chitralekha Zutshi, *Kashmir's Contested Pasts: Narratives, Sacred geography and the Historical Imagination* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 1-62.

network of religio-historical material sites and objects of popular piety. It cannot be stated that this sacred geography was monolithically tied to one religious tradition but rather one that many traditions (often vernacular) participated in. Citing Aditya Behl, Hawley emphasizes that North India was an environment of linked families of cultural practice, which can be seen in how poetry engaged in literary tendencies and grammar of literary portrayal to offer a description of the linkage between religion and cultural production of that era.¹⁸⁸ The shrines and shrine complexes attracted pilgrims, whose presence demanded services that in turn attracted commercial development.¹⁸⁹ This could take the form of a commercial infrastructure that catered to the needs of religious devotees such as shops, bazaars, eateries, and baths in the immediate vicinity of the shrine. Apart from the fact that these shrine complexes could swell into small towns and also be significant political actors, it is possible to assess their role as co-authors of sacred geography as well as anchors for identity formation for individuals and groups of devotees.¹⁹⁰ While all of the major religions of South Asia have constructions of sacred geography - with their concomitant networks of material sites and objects that provide practitioners a tangible way to "plug into" and experience the supranormal powers that their particular religious tradition was promising, we find that for Sikhs, located in Punjab and its environs, the most immediate and impactful articulation of the idea of "sacred geography" at the end of the seventeenth century came from Sufi traditions.

¹⁸⁸ John Hawley, *A Storm of Songs: India and the Idea of the Bhakti Movement* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), 91.

¹⁸⁹ Maria Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden, Netherlands: Boston: Brill, 2007), 192-195.

¹⁹⁰ Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, 195-200.

As the literary efforts that operated in this sacred geography, reimagining these individuals meant to some extent to situate them in imagined spaces which enabled the sanctification of new soil. One form of this can be seen in the trope of the city that derived its perceived sanctity, cultural standing and elevated status by virtue of those who had passed through and especially those who were buried there. In other words, we encounter two phenomena in premodern sacred geography: memorial and didactic sensibilities interwoven through literature and perceived sanctified space. This impetus towards what we might call a "multidimensional inscriptional memory" within regional Sufi traditions in north India demonstrates clear parallels to what we see happening in the two early Sikh rahitname, and is worth closer comparative scrutiny.¹⁹¹

In the same way that we can correlate the geographically-situated moral discourse of the Sikh rahitname to contemporary ideas of Sufi sacred geography, we can also connect its discourses of the charismatic Guru to how the legendary kings and heroes were depicted in Rajput courtly memorial literature of the time. This line of inquiry generates a set of interrelated issues about how historical figures or events are depicted in. It is not an uncommon scenario, as the historical figure or event can only be located in few sources, none of which are contemporary to the event or person that they describe. The question thus changes its form slightly and we are now faced with the conundrum of how the person or event has been imagined, and, crucially, why. Cynthia Talbot has studied the memorial practices surrounding the figure of the medieval Rajput king Prithviraj Chauhan, and she designates two premises from memory studies that need

¹⁹¹ Marcia K Hermansen, "Indo-Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications," in *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, eds: David Gilmartin, Bruce B. Lawrence, (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida: 2000), 319.

to be taken into consideration, namely that notions of the past are informed by the present, and usually in a group context. For instance, there are numerous examples that demonstrate that past rulers as memorialized in literature often served to unify or define communities, especially in moments of perceived crisis and uncertainty. Such ideas about kings and prominent figures would circulate widely at certain times and places since they carried relevance politically, ethically, and in terms of affirmation of allegiances.¹⁹² Among the important functions of memorial narratives was the consolidation of collective identities as the presence of a shared past provided solidarity to social groups in the present. The notion of memorial literature is thus indissolubly connected to an audience, in particular one that has a need for memorializing past events and figures. Talbot raises an important point here: for the audiences of such memorial narratives, it was fairly irrelevant whether or not they were perceived as factually accurate as long as they were “regarded to be true, in a more profound sense.”¹⁹³ In other words, the literature that focused on memorializing kings, especially when produced in a courtly context should not be evaluated in terms of their historical accuracy in portraying what happened but to understand how they are portraying kings and their actions in the best possible light. The same may be said, I suggest, for the Sikh Gurus in Punjabi literature of the early eighteenth century and for the religious communities who perhaps modelled their own internal structures upon the contemporary courtly sphere in which this memorial literature was active.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Cynthia Talbot, *The Last Hindu Emperor: Prithviraj Chauhan and the Indian Past, 1200-2000* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1-10.

¹⁹³ Talbot, *The Last Hindu Emperor*, 11.

¹⁹⁴ Louis Fenech, *The Darbar of the Sikh Gurus: The Court of God in the World of Men* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6-25.

As the analysis in Chapter Three showed, it is not accurate to view the TN and BPSR as works restricted to memoriality. Rather, the memorial aspect is one dimension through which the authors sought to regulate the behavior of the Khalsa. Furthermore, the TN and BPSR inflect this memoriality based on their different geocultural circumstances. I suggest that for the author of the TN, the claim to prestige that the Khalsa represented in the Punjab in the early eighteenth century was informed by the memory of the person of Guru Gobind Singh. This does not mean that the TN's author and audiences didn't care about the preceding Gurus. Rather, that the TN explicitly connected the persona of the tenth Guru to emergent Khalsa claims to martial valor and religious exclusivity from other Sikh in-groups like the Masands and Minas. It does however imply that the TN tied in the tenth Guru's person to Khalsa claims to valor and religious exclusivity both in relation to the Sikh community but also in relation to groups like Masands and Minas. Conversely, the BPSR situates the Khalsa not only in relation to Guru Gobind Singh, but several earlier Gurus as well. Here, the invocation of lineage extended to members of the Khalsa community a powerful claim of prestige and connection to the Punjab homeland, which would have been particularly impactful for differentiating their religious and cultural identity with respect to competing non-Sikh out-groups in Maharashtra.

As we have seen, one of the distinguishing features of the TN and BPSR is that they are written in the same time period but also in the absence of Guru Gobind Singh, as the TN was spawned in a specific geopolitical milieu in the Punjab after he left for Abchnagar and the BPSR similarly emerged from the Khalsa community in Maharashtra that had accompanied the Guru there. Accordingly, the two manuals formed their arguments of charismatic religious authority, religious ethics, as well as behavior regulation in relation to congregations that were

informed by specific milieus but also geographically dispersed across the Western frontiers. We can compare this tendency to the Sufi malfuzat literature, which was an established form of literary genre in the South Asian historical milieu dedicated to religious ethics and charismatic religiosity. My suggestion is not that the TN and BPSR are Sikh versions of malfuzat. However, as we shall see the malfuzat existed in response to the same sorts of historical realities of community as the early rahit genre did, most notably the absence of the charismatic religious figure and the spread of congregations.

The malfuzat is peculiar to the South Asian Muslim culture, despite Persian and Arabic antecedents from the Arab and Iranian regions. As a starting point, the malfuzat, was a record of the teachings of a Sufi saint as observed and compiled by a disciple. The Arabic word *malfuzat* means “what has been said” and refers to texts written, mostly in Persian, by the disciple of a Sufi shaykh recording as much as possible of the Shaykh’s conversations, activities, and teachings. It is an independent literary genre with each text focusing on a single figure whose teachings were recorded during his lifetime by a disciple in direct contact with him. Given the reputation of such religious figures, these texts were widely circulated and also imitated. By imitation, we are here referring to malfuzat of later shaykhs written by their disciples mimicking the more prominent ones as well as forgeries claiming to be the malfuzat of the predecessors of the famed shaykhs. In the memorial sense, it can be argued that the disciple is not a passive figure but actually a narrative collaborator in conjunction with the shaykh.¹⁹⁵ A significant aspect of the malfuzat is to allow those who cannot learn from the shaykh in person, to receive the same benefits as his disciples and students. The malfuzat tried to reproduce the whole experience of

¹⁹⁵ Amina Steinfels, “His Master’s Voice: The Genre of Malfuzat in South Asian Sufism,” *History of religions* 44, no.1 (2004), 57-61.

being in a saint's company, covering his words and actions. If we accept that hagiographies in conceptual terms attempt to create an (imaginary) moment in which the author and reader can be in the presence of a long dead saint, then the malfuzat texts deviate slightly from that trajectory since they try to preserve or capture the compiler's experience of being with the saint in question.¹⁹⁶ Ernst points out that as the malfuzat literature evolved by the fifteenth century the oral element in the malfuzat had been almost eliminated. He also identifies two types of malfuzat: a "retrospective" one where the saints are described as delivering repetitive sermons displaying rather firmly established literary tropes, as well as a "non-retrospective," where the stress is on the contents of Sufi teaching with an emphasis on practice. According to Ernst, the retrospective works move largely in the direction of hagiography in emphasizing personal charisma and authority over teaching. Also, these retrospective texts articulate themes such as initiatic genealogy, arguably in an attempt to solidify claims to authority.¹⁹⁷ If we accept this distinction, then a few things stand out. The first is that the malfuzat entailed a didactic element in terms of behavior regulation parallel to what we had seen in the BPSR and TN, namely the absence of the charismatic figure and the geographic spread of the intended audience. Second, the structural format of the malfuzats would have informed the production of the rahit texts, especially the connection between the religious charismatic figure and lineage. Again, this is not a suggestion of "borrowing" but rather of shared assumptions about how to express socio-religious prestige and relevance in a competitive environment at a moment in which the charismatic leader is now absent, and there is a peripheral geographic spread of congregations.

¹⁹⁶ Steinfels, "His Master's Voice," 62-68.

¹⁹⁷ Carl Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 62-150.

There may have been differences in how the Guru's absence was felt by the authors and readers of the TN - for whom he had left the Punjab for Maharashtra under political threat - and the authors and readers of the BPSR - who had experienced his violent assassination. Still, in both cases, just as in the malfuzat literature had done with Sufi saints, the regulative and memorializing textual materials serve to provide a literary-cultural "presence" of the absent Guru.

The authors of the early rahitname thus went along with an established premodern practice in South Asia, namely to reinterpret the past according to contextual needs in generating prestige and mandating desired religious behavior regulation. The rahitnama authors were operating in a world in which many groups of people shared similar modes of religious expression. This means that they were in dialogue with one another. As we have seen, the regulatory mechanism of religious behavior in the two manuals hinges on "others" who are described in negative if not harsh terminology. Accordingly, religious groups that operated in this sacred geography were far from isolated and engaged in both cultural and religious dialogue as well shared literary practices. The early rahit literature, thus, appears to be consonant with, and in conversation with, Sufi literary traditions that likewise sought to reinterpret the past according to context-based interest in generating prestige and regulating group behavior. Both Sufi and Khalsa communities were rallying their communities around the now-absent charismatic leader, and defining the sacred geography within which their communities could identify themselves. One reason for this focus on group identity and regulation was, as we had seen in the last chapter, a perceived threat from "other" groups that were competing within the same cultural space. These groups were, as we witnessed in the rahit texts, the object of a great deal of negative

opprobrium, if not outright hostility. Here, too, we find a convergence in the interests of the Khalsa and Sufi orders at the onset of the eighteenth century. Like the Khalsa, the Sufis also felt pressure from two groups in particular: The Nath yogis and the "Turks" - that is to say, the Mughal aristocracy. We can get a sense of how Sufi communities received the Nath yogis through the way in which their ideas were adapted and translated into Sufi thought. Carl Ernst has demonstrated the extent to which this took place in his study of the Sufi reception of the *Amṛtakunḍa* (Pool of Nectar), a Sanskrit and early Hindi text associated with the Nath tradition that outlined basic Hatha yoga practices.¹⁹⁸ The topics covered in the text include a repertoire of practices that ostensibly resonate in a yogic context. These include recitation of Sanskrit mantras, the summoning of female spirits, the performance of divination through breath control via the nostrils, and finally performing meditations on the cakras. As Ernst points out, Sufi interest in this methodology appears to have been practical and not philosophical. In other words, while Sufi literary production was influenced by the Nath tradition, it was to the extent that they adapted yogic articulations of self-control and regulation of behavior. It should be pointed out that this was part and parcel of an extensive engagement with the yogic religious-methodological vocabulary that took place among South Asian Sufi practitioners through vernacular languages, especially in places like the Punjab and Bengal. Along the same lines, other Bengali Muslim authors actively explored and engaged with the themes of yogic physiology and cosmology, such as detailed descriptions of the cakras, drinking nectar, and other yogic practices of religious activity. The Nath yogi was also a popular figure of regional

¹⁹⁸ Carl Ernst, "The Islamization of Yoga in the 'Amrtakunda' Translations," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13, no.2 (July 2003): 199-226.

vernacular Sufi poetry in places the Punjab, including Bulleh Shah (d. 1758), who invoked folk archetypes of the yogi as the mystical beloved.¹⁹⁹

Thomas De Bruijn has highlighted the difficulty in assessing why the yogic themes appeared to the extent that they did as seen in the literary record. A possible starting point is that ascetic and tantric nature of the Nath yogis meant that they were located in the periphery of society and were not restricted to the upper segments of society or any other class for that matter in the early modern period.²⁰⁰ Following the pattern of other religious groups, funerary shrines (samadhis) of local Nath yogis and adepts (siddhas) developed into regional centres of devotional religiosity and pilgrimage. As de Bruijn points out, in the early modern period the Nath yogis were relatively easily noticed in society, partially through the practice of cutting their earlobes as a sign of initiation and gaining the moniker "Kanhata."²⁰¹ This visibility was further enhanced as they cultivated martial arts in addition to serving as mercenary soldiers. Such activities, combined with the widely held belief in their ability to wield malevolent magical powers, made them both feared and respected wandering ascetics. Yogis thus occupied an important socio-religious position and wielded considerable power in the society in which they operated.²⁰² De Bruijn has also correctly noted that other religious groupings, such as the devotional groups collectively identified as bhakti as well as institutions such as the Sufi dargahs, could not avoid the direct imprint of the Nath yogis on the religious imagination of large

¹⁹⁹ As it happens, Ernst has pointed out that Bulleh Shah may in fact have been familiar with the Persian translation of the *Amṛtakunḍa* through his master Shah 'Inayat Qadiri (d. 1735), who also authored the *Dastur al-'amal* (Handbook of Practice), a work that discusses yogic teachings. Carl Ernst, "Situating Sufism and Yoga," 21-33.

²⁰⁰ Thomas De Bruijn, *The Ruby in the Dust: Poetry and History of the Indian Padmavat by Sufi Poet Muhammad Jayasi* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 101-114.

²⁰¹ De Bruijn, *The Ruby in the Dust*, 101-114.

²⁰² De Bruijn, *The Ruby in the Dust*, 101-114.

parts of the population. The poetic compositions found in collections such as the *Gorakhbani* seems to have exerted a pronounced influence on the poetic imagination and vocabulary of authors beyond the Nath Yogi tradition. Finally, Nath yogi theories of tantric mysticism and poetic semantics influenced many schools of early modern devotional poetry in the North Indian vernaculars. They thus showcased a set of images and rhetorical modes for devotional modes, social attitudes and religious experiences, while at the same time were anchored in the living religion as practiced in the Nath yogi devotional centres.²⁰³ In the Sikh context, one set of larger contextual resonances was the portrayal of certain religious groups such as the Siddhas and Nath yogis in the Sikh *Janamsakhi* literature (hagiographic works on the life of Guru Nanak)²⁰⁴ composed at the end of the sixteenth century.²⁰⁵

Thus, we can see that both Khalsa and Sufi writers, along with their target audiences, were engaging with the problematic presence of the Nath yogi in a way that was informed by yogic thought and practice, but also that demarcated their own identity as distinct from the Nath. For Sufi schools, resonance with the Nath appears to have extended to mystical practice or poetic idiom - and not to philosophical doctrine - while for the Khalsa community, any influence that the Nath would have had did not extend to behavioral practices, which were explicitly shaped by the *rahit* texts. Amidst the diverse geopolitical realities of "frontier religiosity", the Nath yogis were thus both influencers and competitors for Khalsa Sikh communities as well as for Sufi traditions.

²⁰³ De Bruijn, *The Ruby in the Dust*, 101-114.

²⁰⁴ W.H. McLeod, *The A to Z of Sikhism* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 99-100.

²⁰⁵ Simon Digby, "To Ride a Tiger or a Wall? Strategies of Prestige in Indian Sufi Legend," in *According to Tradition: Hagiographical Writing in India*, edited by Winand M. Callewaert and Rupert Snell, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 100-107.

Another common competitor, surprisingly perhaps, for both the Khalsa as well as Sufi communities was the Turk. These Hindavi literary works contain a recurring theme of confrontation between courageous Rajput warriors and the "evil Turk." The Turk is often portrayed as a character not to be trusted, especially by those in power. This antagonism, as Aditya Behl notes, is part of a general feature of this literary genre, in which such gestures served multiple functions of Sufi self-identification and self-expression.²⁰⁶ This Sufi framing of the Mughal as the "other" in order to create a positive construction of the "frontier" religious community works much as we had seen in the early rahits, where, rather than literary tropes, the authors had used stereotypes of unethical, impure, or irreligious behavior to depict the Turk - that is to say, Mughal power - as the other. There are good reasons to suppose that certain Sufi communities as well as the Sikh Khalsa dealt with Mughal power with not an unsubstantial amount of trepidation; let us now explore some of the reasons why this may have been so.

4.2. Seventeenth Century Modes of Behavior Regulation in the Mughal Cultural Sphere

By the early seventeenth century, the Mughal empire had managed to create a a martial bureaucracy that was indispensable for the proper operation of the imperial machinery. It was drawn from a large group of different people and constituted a service elite. The modus operandi of this group was a notion of hereditary service to the emperor and a new definition of honor based on corporate identity connected to internally recognizable standards for individual and collective behavior. This identity was founded upon establishing a direct relationship between the

²⁰⁶Aditya Behl, *Love's Subtle Magic: An Indian Islamic Literary Tradition, 1379-1545* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 180-182, 208.

Emperor and the corps.²⁰⁷ The possibility of assimilation into this imperial nobility (Khanazads) could only take place by accepting and displaying the qualities expected and demanded in terms of behavior. It was grounded in a direct or indirect affirmation of aristocratic and military honor compatible with a notion of dignified personal subordination to the emperor. The wider implications of this system entailed claims to lineages and martial honor fused with a corps-based discipline. In addition to demonstrating proper subordination and discipline, an individual aspiring to full membership within the Mughal imperial corps would have had to participate actively in the world of Indo-Persian courtly culture, as well as to adopt Mughal norms of personal etiquette and social behavior.²⁰⁸ One articulation of this notion of perfecting public moral conduct at the individual level was “adab.” It is not an uncomplicated term and has carried several different meanings, ranging from aristocratic manners, refined tastes, cultivated knowledge of wisdom, manners relating to cosmopolitan life in the urban centres, proper styles of conversation and gentlemanly behavior, and the codified behavior demanded when attending a royal court.²⁰⁹

In earlier centuries, prominent Sufi leaders had argued that their interpretation of Islam was based primarily on ways of behavior. The Sufi formulation of adab had outlined precise ways for disciples to practice the proper ways of desired behavior for novices. Adab thus carried

²⁰⁷ J.F. Richards, “Norms of Comportment among Imperial Mughal Officers,” in *Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, edited by Barbara Daly Metcalf, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 256-257.

²⁰⁸ Richards, “Norms of Comportment among Imperial Mughal Officers,” 263

²⁰⁹ Corinne Lefèvre, “Mughal Early Modernity and Royal ādāb: Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī’s Sufi Voice of Reform,” in *Adab and Modernity: a “Civilising” Process? (Sixteenth-Twenty-First Century)*, edited by Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 64-71; Muzaffar Alam, “The Debate Within: A Sufi Critique of Religious Law, *Tasawwuf* and Politics in Mughal India,” *South Asian History and Culture* 2 (March 2011): 138-148; Arthur Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 1-29, 98-131.

a wide range of meanings and was intimately connected to the law and order for Sufi disciples to follow in society, modelled on the life of the Prophet Muhammad, in the form of the “perfect human being” (insan al-kamil). The notion of adab was intimately connected to Sufi hierarchies. The disciples recognized the charismatic authority of the Sufi shaykh and their place in relation to him also referred to as the shaykh-murid relationship.²¹⁰ Sufi literature on adab drew on a wide scope of references, including pre-Islamic Qur'anic figures, pre-Islamic kings, prominent leaders in early Islamic history, as well as famous literary characters such as Layla and Majnun. The Sufi vision of adab encompassed not only proper social conduct, but also a range of deeper religious sensibilities in which idealized forms of social behavior and personal discipline were regarded as being grounded.²¹¹ Kia points out that the adab can be seen as one part of a complex that actually consisted of two indivisible parts, the other being akhlaq. Akhlaq refers to virtuous moral qualities, and adab was a form of idealized conduct that was seen as virtuous precisely because it was part of the moral cultivation of an individual. In other words, an individual who had virtuous moral qualities (akhlaq) also showcased refinement in conduct (adab), and vice versa. Kia explains that we might conceptualize the specific connotative architecture of these designated qualities - the pattern of how social conduct was manifested - as being Persianate. In other words, the Mughal adab-akhlaq complex was part of a wider moral imagination according to which the social was made intelligible across Western, Central, and South Asia. We can surmise that this standardized, transcultural scheme of regulated conduct, discipline, etiquette,

²¹⁰ Qamar-ul Huda, "The Light beyond the Shore in the Theology of Proper Sufi Moral Conduct (Adab)," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 72, no. 2 (2004): 462-472.

²¹¹ Mana Kia, "Adab as Literary Form and Social Conduct: Reading the Gulistan in Late Mughal India," in *'No Tapping Around Philology': A Festschrift in celebration and honor of Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday*, ed. Alireza Korangy and Daniel J. Sheffield, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 281-283.

and cultural expression allowed for the naturalization of Mughal claims to political hegemony in South Asia. At the same time, given the parallels to the behavior regulation that we have seen within "frontier" religious communities, the Mughal adab-akhlaq scheme serves to underline the fact that even for the imperial center, claims to power in the early eighteenth century involved extensive regulation of in-group behavior.²¹²

Accordingly, we do not only find these articulations exclusively in the Indo-Persianate setting or in the context of the Mughal court. The codification of group-based behavioral practices can also be found at the other end of the spectrum, the military labor market. This was a larger societal phenomenon from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, in which various religious groups organized themselves in the manner of military units, or akharas. These akharas also involved the articulation of distinct lineages as well as standards of behavior, for renunciant as well as non-renunciant traditions.²¹³ Being initiated into such a group entailed a new religious identity and an overlapping social sphere, codes of behavior, and hierarchies. Networks of akharas produced a kind of social infrastructure across the subcontinent that accommodated members of these groups as they moved around.²¹⁴ A central feature of these martial groups was lineage formation. In other words, in order to make a sustained bid for potential members, the groups needed to attach themselves to a historical claim of power, irrespective of whether such claims were factually accurate.²¹⁵ It also needs to be pointed out that multiple religious groups were involved in this practice of codifying and professionalizing religio-martial group activities,

²¹² Kia, "Adab as Literary Form and Social Conduct," 281-283.

²¹³ Matthew Clark, *The Dasanami-Samnyasis: The Integration of Ascetic Lineages into an Order* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2006), 25.

²¹⁴ Clark, *The Dasanami-Samnyasis*, 2.

²¹⁵ Clark, *The Dasanami-Samnyasis*, 151.

with the Sikh Khalsa, Nath yogis, Dasamnamis, and Dadupanthis arguably being the most well known examples of the period.²¹⁶ A number of Sufi orders also appear to have been part of these akhara networks. As Matthew Clark has pointed out, martially-inclined warrior Sufis had been active in India since at least the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the image and the rhetoric of the Islamic holy warrior (ghazi) appears in Indo-Muslim writing, an image that was then retroactively attributed to numerous individuals of previous centuries.²¹⁷ The large-scale institutionalization of codified military activity and religious identity-making became one central feature for religious movements with political ambitions during this time period. Therefore, it seems accurate to approach the formulations of religious behavior regulation and martial standards of these groups from that period as part of this wider framework. While the codification of religious behavior has a long history in South Asia - stretching back at least to 1000 BCE - what is particularly new about the ways in which these akharas were regulating the behavior of its religious communities was by connecting it to a larger culture of militarization. In this setting, many of these groups appear to have embarked in discussions on religious behavior regulation and religious obligation in conjunction with a pronounced martial ambition.²¹⁸

For our purposes, it is important to note that the Sikh Khalsa community did not express their systems of religious behavior regulation in the same way as Mughal courtly culture or specific Indo-Persianate expressions of refinement and etiquette. Rather, the Khalsa expressed

²¹⁶ Clark, *The Dasanami-Samnyasis*, 228-231.

²¹⁷ Clark, *The Dasanami-Samnyasis*, 239.

²¹⁸ David Lorenzen, "Warrior Ascetics in Indian History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 98, no.1 (01/1978): 68-70.

socio-religious standing and power through behavior regulations in competition with other religious groups in the frontiers who were also in a process of militarization. The early rahit literature can thus be viewed as a Khalsa initiative to express a central feature of power, namely namely that the religious behavior and ethical outlook of its members must be strictly regulated, in a social environment where militarization was an intrinsic feature of how a powerful community was to be constituted. This tendency is especially felt in the TN, where warfare appears repeatedly and testifies to the contextual geopolitical realities of early eighteenth century Punjab. The absence of martial discourse in the BPSR does not mean that its authors were not interested in constructing Khalsa power through standardizing Sikh behavioral norms; rather, it may have been the case that in the new context of Maharashtra, perhaps less conditioned by competing militarized religious communities, there was less of an immediate need to embed Sikh behavioral norms within a militant discourse. Accordingly, for the Khalsa community in Abchnagar, expressing societal power through means of behavior regulation was more a question of religious boundaries than warfare. We now reach another influential aspect of power claims and articulations namely, messianic claims of legitimacy.

4.3. Messianic Aspirations and Claims of Legitimacy

One prominent theme in the early modern South Asian power claims was the fusion of claims of messianic authority and imperial kingship. The Mughal emperor Akbar fashioned his imperial self in an already-established Timurid guise of the awaited messiah. Akbar thus connected his claim to kingship to an elaborate and multidimensional narrative of imperial governance built around the notion that a holy savior would manifest himself and herald a new

order on earth.²¹⁹ In other words, messianic claims were part of how power was expressed and negotiated in this context. It deserves to be mentioned that this did not take place in isolation. In the Mughal imperial realm, Akbar's expressions were not dissimilar from that of Shah Ismail in Iran and can partially be explained as products of a shared cultural inheritance.²²⁰ One immediate example of this is a term that had a long historical trajectory and played on a register of these deeply rooted cultural sensibilities, namely *sahib qiran* (the second lord of conjunction).²²¹ When Shah Jahan was enthroned in 1628, he openly used this term, embracing a millennial legacy and asserting his dynastic and personal linkage to Timur. It is not possible to accurately assess power articulations of that time period without an appreciation of this claim, since all of the regents of this time period in Mughal India and in Safavid Iran enacted multiple, yet interrelated, scripts of sovereignty.²²² The "messianic" and "saintly" nature of this type of sovereignty envisioned the king not only as a messenger of simplistic, one-dimensional claims of perceived saintliness but rather as an amalgam between religious prowess combined with the authority of kingship, often affirmed by means of lineages, patterns of devotion, and expected bodily submission by the subjects to the royal, saintly figure.²²³ For example, the Mughal imperial seal functioned as an affirmation in public of his (partially) genealogically granted legitimacy. This can be seen as an expression of the dynastic record, imperial grandeur and implied religious loyalties, as well as

²¹⁹ A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship & Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 3-4.

²²⁰ Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 4-10.

²²¹ Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002) 256-257.

²²² Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 211-215.

²²³ Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 5.

more detailed images of individual sovereigns.²²⁴ In the Mughal context, the imperially-anchored messianism also carried restorationist expectations. The language of complaint towards the Mughal state was often articulated in expressions of Persianate and Islamic terminology,²²⁵ seen most acutely in the shape of the language of criticism articulated by the jurist Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624). He never actually proclaimed to be the renewer of the second millennium but did resonate with it in his elaboration on becoming the “unique one.”²²⁶

Messianic religious motives were thus part of the mode of expression and claims of power and influence from religious groups in that context. For us, this is relevant as the founding of the Khalsa can be understood as partially informed by these motifs. The charismatic nature of the Guru figure and the direct relationship between the Khalsa and him can be seen in terms of restoring the relationship between the disciples and the Guru that had existed prior to the establishment of the Masands during the reign of Guru Ram Das.²²⁷ Thus, the narrative surrounding the origin of the Khalsa emerges as a claim of messianic and charismatic restoration specific to the Khalsa but informed by geopolitical realities.

Samira Sheikh has shown that the conflicts and tensions between emperor Aurangzeb and various religious figures who fell under the umbrella term “messianic” came from the nature of Mughal kingship itself, which also influenced his complex struggle for a more standardised legal

²²⁴ Lisa Balbanlilar, *Imperial Identity in the Mughal Empire: Memory and Dynastic Politics in Early Modern South and Central Asia* (London: New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 47-64.

²²⁵ Arthur Buehler, *Revealed Grace: The Juristic Sufism of Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624)* (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2011), 7.

²²⁶ Buehler, *Revealed grace*, 25.

²²⁷ McLeod, *The A to Z of Sikhism* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 127-128.

system.²²⁸ This also translated into regional politics influencing Mughal statecraft, as Aurangzeb embarked upon a project to solidify the exclusion of messianic and charismatic modes of non-state sanctioned forms of religiosity from being introduced into the carapace of the Mughal system. As Sheikh notes, the most direct confrontation arose arguably with messianic groups in general and with various ‘Alid and Shi’i groupings in particular.²²⁹ Sheikh locates Gujarat as an example of how regional socio-political and religious realities generated responses from the imperial state and also served as an emblematic example of how the imperial machinery processed these tendencies and thus generated policies. In sum, the Mughal state perceived itself as needing to redefine the relationship between the centre and its (affluent) regions, and it was in that sense that messianic groups in those regions were perceived as a source of instability or even threats. A few of the more Iran-oriented groups in the Deccan, such as various Ismaili groups, along with courtiers and intellectuals, gravitated towards more Persianate religious and cultural expressions. It may be implied that this was perceived as more or less a direct challenge to the Mughal mandate to govern and thus generated a broad policy from Aurangzeb against groups who articulated themselves along such lines. Whether or not the Mughal state viewed the Sikh community as a *bona fide* messianic group is difficult to answer. However, as is evident from the TN and BPSR, it seems difficult to refute that this type of literary expression was part of the repertoire of the authors of the manuals as well as expectations of the audience of Khalsa members.²³⁰

²²⁸ Samira Sheikh, “Aurangzeb as seen from Gujarat: Shi’i and Millenarian Challenges to Mughal Sovereignty,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28, no.3 (07/01/2018): 557-558.

²²⁹ Sheikh, “Aurangzeb as seen from Gujarat,” 557-560.

²³⁰ Sheikh, “Aurangzeb as seen from Gujarat,” 559-560.

One reason why the corollary example of Gujarat is instructive for our purposes is that this region, just like the Punjab, was regarded by the Mughals as affluent but also contained armed religious factions that were in a complex and unstable relationship with the Mughal state. In other words, a challenge to the state (inspired by messianic sensibilities or not), could rapidly morph into a military one. Aurangzeb put down a large-scale uprising by the Satnamis in 1672 - an event that resembled the evolving situation in the Punjab in the same time period. The rebellion did not entail explicitly Shi'ī motifs, but as Sheikh points out, the Satnamis displayed messianic overtones. Another such group were the Pranamis in Gujarat and India, led by the charismatic religious figure known as Prannath (1618-1694), who was regarded as an avatar of the *mahdi* (Islamic redeemer). The beginning of heightened tension appears to have been in the 1670s.²³¹ Several tropes emerge in the hagiographical record attributed to Prannath, most importantly the figure of a messianic leader who is in overt confrontation with a now visibly tyrannical emperor. The implication was that the Mughal state did not possess the realistic opportunity to accommodate similar groups, and so confrontation was the only recourse available. Similarly, the Mughal state suffered another messianic challenge from Gujarat, namely the Matiya rebellion of Nizari Isma'ili farmers which took place in 1687. The leader of the Matiya community, Sayyid Shahji, was arrested and killed by the governor of Gujarat, Shuja'at Khan as the result of a complex process by which the leader of the Matiyas had attracted noticeable tithe from his disciples. The response of the Mughal forces was predictable, resulting in the destruction of the Matiya rebels but also showing the de facto inability of the Mughal state

²³¹ Sheikh, "Aurangzeb as seen from Gujarat," 570-571.

to accommodate religious groups who expressed a strand of messianism fused with perceived friction in relation to the state.²³²

As we have seen, religious groups as well as the Mughal state itself made messianic and messianic claims to express power and prestige and to communicate social standing often in the guise of restoration. How, if at all, might these messianic discourses that we have seen to be active within the sphere of "frontier religiosity" have impacted the formation of Sikh Khalsa identity, and its articulation within the early *rahit* literature? While it remains difficult to call the Khalsa a "millenarian movement," we have seen that two discursive features were commonly found in the claims to power of messianic groups as well as by the Mughal state itself - a discourse of "restoration," as well as a prominent presence of the charismatic leader. We have seen both aspects - a discourse of restoration and the presence of the Guru - being worked out in intricate ways within the early *rahit* literature. It is thus safe to say, at the very least, that these discursive features allowed the integral ingredients of Khalsa identity to be meaningfully understood in messianic terms in North India at the turn of the eighteenth century.

4.4. Religious Groups in the Western Indian Frontiers- Parallels

As we have seen so far, we come across points of comparison for the Sikh community and the *rahitname* in the Western Indian frontier regions. One literary phenomenon that requires our attention is the South Asian Ismaili *ginans*. Although the designation of the community as Ismaili was a product of the colonial period,²³³ the trajectory of literary production with an

²³² Sheikh, "Aurangzeb as seen from Gujarat," 572-573.

²³³ Dominique-Sila Khan, *Crossing the Threshold: Understanding Religious Identities in South Asia* (London: New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 58-89.

emphasis on religious ethics does deserve mentioning. The term comes from “jnana,” the Sanskrit word for knowledge.²³⁴ As Christopher Shackle and Zawahir Moir have noted, the ginans in textual form appear to be later than the early-eighteenth century but preceded by an oral tradition.²³⁵ The point is that the previously mentioned didactic crossover point between religious ethics, charismatic appeal, and a vision of behavioral injunctions can be located in these texts. The texts are written in the *Khojiki* script in a composite poetic idiom in early modern Gujarati but with linguistic influences from Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.²³⁶ The amalgamated poetic and linguistic idiom is similar to what was found in many other religious communities of North India of that time period.²³⁷ We find injunctions of behavior regulation attributed to prominent figures in the Ismaili community.²³⁸ One of these, *The Hundred Good Deeds* of Pir Sadruddin, engages with many of the same ideas of community behavior and behavior regulation as we have found in the TN and BPSR, such as charity, condemnation of adultery, giving clothing to people who have none, a charismatic religious figure that one bows to, and the abandonment of falsehood.²³⁹

Despite internal differences, these texts take similar patterns of relatively short sentences similar to the pattern found in the *rahitname*.²⁴⁰ We need to note that the religious vocabulary found in the *ginans* includes terms like *pir* (teacher), *murshid* (teacher or guide), and *dhikr*

²³⁴ Christopher Shackle and Zawahir Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia: an Introduction to the Ginans* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000). 17.

²³⁵ Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, 14.

²³⁶ Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, 42-43.

²³⁷ Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, 42-43.

²³⁸ Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, 63-79.

²³⁹ Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, 63-69.

²⁴⁰ Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, 68-75.

(devotion or remembrance), which resonate with the Sufi traditions but at the same time set them apart from formulations of Islam that emphasize orthopraxical legalism. It is also relevant to note that the *ginans* tend to actively use a broad, shared religious vocabulary. One such example is the envisioning of the Imam in terms that resonate with the *avatara* (incarnation or manifestation of a deity) concept of Vaishnava religious groups. Specifically, the *ginans* identified the Shia Imam Ali with the long awaited tenth *avatara* of Vishnu, and thereby conceiving of Islam as being the culmination of Vaishnava devotional religiosity.²⁴¹ For our purposes, the *ginan* corpus of literature is relevant since it also contains articulations of religious ethics in relation to a notion of memorializing past prominent figures in vernacular languages. It should, however, be noted that the *ginan* texts that directly articulate the regulation of religious behavior differ from the early *rahit* texts in two distinct ways: first, these segments of the *ginans* are interwoven with a larger textual corpus, while the early *rahit* texts are independent works. Second, the *rahitname* convey a longer conversation between a disciple and the Guru spanning several pages, while the *ginans* deliver their points in brief. It is also relevant to note the absence of the disciple as listener in the *ginans*, whereas the person engaging in the conversation with the Guru in the *rahitname* is clearly stated and plays a role in the narrative.²⁴²

The Dadupanth of Rajasthan is another corollary for exploration. Specifically, we find the first of a few almost directly overlapping narratives between the Dadupanth and the Sikh community of that era and context. The Dadupanth is a religious community that can be traced to the sixteenth century and the religious figure of Dadu Dayal, and we here find one of several

²⁴¹ Ali Asani, "Creating Tradition Through Devotional Songs and Communal Script: The Khojah Isma'ilis of South Asia," in *India's Islamic traditions 711-1750*, edited by Richard Eaton (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 286.

²⁴² Shackle and Moir, *Ismaili Hymns from South Asia*, 70-81.

narratives concerning the Dadupanth that mirrors the Sikh community as well as the Khalsa. A prominent figure of the community, Jaitram, is said to have established a “code of honor” to end a conflict within the Panth. As we saw in the accounts explaining how and why Khalsa rahit literature was created, the formation of the Dadupanthi code of normative behavior was offered as a way to relieve the religious community of internal friction. As the story goes, one faction of the Dadupanth, under the leadership of a rival to Jaitram, wanted to stick to Rajput customs, and did not agree to Jaitram's custom of shaving the head. However, Jaitram's initiative of taking control of idealized religious behavior meant that he established his own persona (as well as that of his successor) as the focal authority on issues related to conduct. In this way, the Dadupanthi narrative is similar to that of the Khalsa, in that the regulation of group behavior is posited in relation to the charismatic figure of the religious leader. This leader (Jaitram) also clearly differentiates various in-groups within the larger Dadupanthi community, rather than trying to homogenize them into a single entity. There is, however, a key difference: in the Dadupanth, the formation of this code stems from internal disagreements about behavioral norms, while for the Khalsa, the rahit texts were professedly created to restore the charismatic authority of Guru Gobind Singh after his passing.²⁴³

We also need to note that both communities occasionally employed the term Khalsa to refer to the community of disciples rather than only an order within the community. As Hawley suggests, the fact that both communities engaged in a process of standardization of their respective literary anthologies in the year 1604 may not be entirely a coincidence. Also, the narrative account of Guru Gobind Singh stopping at Naraina during his journey to Nanded is

²⁴³ James Hastings, “Poets, Sants, and Warriors: The Dadu Panth, Religious Change and Identity Formation in Jaipur State Circa 1562--1860 CE” PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002), 46.

likely a conscious gesture to this affinity, based on an established devotional geography.²⁴⁴ It is in this context that Hawley has again posed the question of whether it is possible to discern the feature of a larger genre in which Sufi compositions such as malfuzat and the earlier Sikh Janamsakhi texts (hagiographical works of Guru Nanak) acted as participatory compositions that crossed the various boundaries of script and language.²⁴⁵ Beyond the charismatic religious appeal, and valour, located in the episode related to Jaitram, we also locate a descriptive language that is similar to the expression found in the Sikh literary production as well as institutional history of that time. For example, the Khalsa was called the “crown of the community” and articulated as being “around the Guru’s throne.”²⁴⁶ Beyond this, we also find references to communal meals and food storage within in the Dadupanthi community, in an institutional manner that is similar to the *langar* (community kitchen) of Sufis and Sikhs.²⁴⁷ It also deserves to be mentioned that both groups made arguments insisting that their respective militarization came as a response to aggression from another, similar actor. In the case of the Sikhs, the Mughals under Aurangzeb constituted this antagonist, whilst for the Dadupanthis, this was the Dasanami renunciants. What is also worth noting is that both of these groups had already participated in martial activities for a long time, but the Dadupanthi nagas (ascetics) had enjoyed state patronage whereas the Sikh relation to patronage had been unstable and ambivalent for some time.²⁴⁸ We also find partially resonating hagiographical material being produced by the

²⁴⁴ Hawley, *A Storm of Songs*, 127-130.

²⁴⁵ Hawley, *A Storm of Songs*, 138-141.

²⁴⁶ Hastings, “Poets, sants, and warriors,” 46.

²⁴⁷ Hastings, “Poets, sants, and warriors,” 287.

²⁴⁸ Clark, *The Dasanami-Samnyasis*, 231.

Dadupanth, where a category of literature known as the *Bhaktamals* were produced by a disciple of Dadu, focusing on the life of Dadu and his disciples, with several spin offs being produced.²⁴⁹ The genre seems predominantly written in Rajastani and can be placed in the middle of the eighteenth century. As Callewaert notes, the stories of the genre seem to have been well known to the audience, such that the purpose of the compilation seems to have been to condense inspiring stories into a specific sequence in order to emphasize how God helps those who behave correctly and punishes evil behavior.²⁵⁰ Callewaert makes the observation that this type of hagiographical literature, especially the early form of the *Dadu Janma Lila* of Jangopal, adapted the life stories of the saints to promote behavioral injunctions directed at devotional audiences that informed them the charismatic religious authority ought to have acted.²⁵¹ In other words, the As we have seen, these motivations for cultural production are very much in line with how early rahit literature functioned within the formation of the Khalsa.

4.5. Conclusion

In concluding this chapter on the impact of "frontier religiosity" on the formation of the Khalsa at the onset of the eighteenth century - and on the production of the early rahit texts - we might review what exactly this idea might entail, within the complexities of religious life in early modern South Asia. For one, frontier religiosity involves a radical relationship with what we have called a "sacred geography", a set of shared material sites and objects that around which a

²⁴⁹ Monika Horstmann, "The Example in Dadupanthi Homiletics," in *Tellings and Texts-Music, Literature and Performance in North India*, edited by Francesca Orsini and Katherine Butler Schofield, Open Book Publishers, (2015), 45-46.

²⁵⁰ Winand Callewaert, "Bhaktamals and Parcais in Rajasthan," in *According to tradition: hagiographical writing in India*, edited by Winand M. Callewaert and Rupert Snell (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 87-92.

²⁵¹ Callewaert, "Bhaktamals and Parcais in Rajasthan," 92-95.

particular religious group could forge their identity. Second, it involved peripheral religious groups establishing a conscious relationship - whether imitative or contesting, or both - with the Mughal state that was located at the center of religious and political life in North India. These relationships involved, in particular, generating standards or codes of normative behavior and moral conduct, of militarization, and of generating prestige through messianic, restorationist, or other types of narrative building. And third, these competing religious groups also sought to establish relationships with one another - again, whether imitative, dialogical, contestational, or all of the above. Several key themes that we had earlier noticed in the early rahit texts of the Khalsa can be understood as reflecting this frontier religiosity. For example, the negative stereotyping of Nath yogis and Mughals, the memorialization of the Guru as the charismatic authority for the group, and the restorationist approach to standardizing norms of behavior and religious ethics -- all of these central features that we had seen in the BPSR and TN can be read as consonant with a remarkable panoply of religious movements that proliferated in regions of North and West India that were peripheral to Mughal rule. The rahit texts do not contain, as far as we can determine, any explicit intertextualities to the literature of Ismailis, Dadupanthis, Sufis, Nath yogis, or others; however, it is safe to say that the affinities that the early rahit texts bear to these other religious traditions makes it certain that the formation of the Khalsa community would have involved deep awareness of, and interaction with, these other religious communities. One might, in fact, deem this multireligious environment as a kind of "religious marketplace", in which the Khalsa uniquely inflected the charismatic authority of the Sikh Guru, through modes of behavioral regulation and practice, to forge a powerful cultural identity. That is to say, the Khalsa became a "charismatic community." In the next chapter, we turn to more

specific exploration of these two theoretical perspectives as we seek to make sense of the role that the early rahit texts played in the formation of the Khalsa community.

5. The Khalsa - A Charismatic Community in the Religious Marketplace

If, as we had seen in Chapter Four, the frontier regions of the Mughal empire were a space of "frontier religiosity," where multiple religious communities, including the newly founded Sikh Khalsa, were jostling with one another for social and cultural prestige, then what was the nature of this competition? And what were the particular assets that the Sikh Khalsa developed in order for them to succeed within it? To address these questions, this chapter will turn to two particular lenses through which to understand the formative role that the early rahit literature played for the emergence of the Sikh Khalsa in the early eighteenth century: The ideas of the "religious marketplace" and of the "charismatic community."

I will argue that the early rahit texts played an active role in transferring the extraordinary charisma of the Guru not just into a textual form (as we see more prominently in the Guru Granth Sahib), but to the corporal body of the Khalsa community itself, through the personal memorization of rahit injunctions, that regulated the everyday practices and ethical actions of its membership. The early rahit texts thus mobilized the Guru's charisma in order to normativize the comportment and behavior of Khalsa members, in a way that allowed this charisma to be experienced on a personal basis. The reason why the early Khalsa sought to construct itself as a charismatic community through rahit literature, I will argue, was to gain a greater competitive edge within what we can think of as a premodern religious marketplace defined by "commodities" expressing religious prestige, in the frontier regions of the Mughal empire. Specifically, the rahit texts can be seen as providing the Khalsa with two "assets" with which to compete in this marketplace - a disembodied "capture" of the charismatic authority of the Guru, who had thusfar held the Sikh community together in its earlier history (and which is seen

perhaps more dramatically in the Guru-fication of the Granth), along with the group-wide standardization of ethical and behavioral norms to bring cohesion and stability to the community. This was not a static or monolithic process but rather contextually inflected in the two geopolitical milieus in which they were composed.

5.1. The Sikh Community in the first half of the eighteenth Century: The Affective Community

In assessing Sikh cultural production in the early-eighteenth century, Purnima Dhavan's conceptualization of "affective community" is a particularly meaningful place to start. The historical sensibilities of Sikh writings of this time period are based on an organizing principle that centered on the salvific teachings of the Gurus in conjunction with the formation of the community as a central institution of authority in proximity to the Guru. Dhavan's work demonstrates how Sikh literature - along with other memorializing cultural practices of the shrine and of the court - allowed the Sikh community to feel emotionally connected to the Guru and his authority.²⁵²

This literary formation of the Sikh affective community, in Dhavan's analysis, can best be understood as an active cultural engagement with the turbulent historical circumstances of the social and political world around them. The early eighteenth century was characterized by a move away from established state managerial and social practices, undoubtedly resulting in an increase of friction within the Mughal system of politically-managed loyalty. Accordingly, the central Mughal state could no longer maintain its previous nuclear role, especially in its

²⁵² Purnima Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks: The Making of the Sikh Warrior Tradition, 1699-1799* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 152, 157-164.

peripheries, such as Bengal, Maharashtra, or Punjab. One result of this process was that local and sub-imperial power brokers could pull away from Mughal political orbit and claim increased socio-political influence. As Dhavan notes, this is indeed what took place within the Sikh community, through the person of Banda Bahadur, who led a retributive campaign against the Mughals upon the assassination of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708, which also effectively served to destabilize Mughal power in the Punjab. It is amidst these contexts that Dhavan argues for the literary production of the Sikh "affective community" through texts like the *Gurbilas*.²⁵³

To what extent would the early rahit texts - as exemplified by the TN and BPSR - have been part of the literary formation of this Sikh "affective community?" While the didactic and prescriptive voice of the rahit texts is clearly distinct from hagiographical narrative literature like the *Gurbilas*, there are indeed a number of thematic overlaps, including, for instance, messianic undertones.²⁵⁴ More relevant to our concerns is the thematic focus of the *Gurbilas* texts on the actions of the Guru and events related to his Guruship, with special emphasis on the armed confrontations with the Mughal authorities as well as local political actors in the region. A second theme is the religious/theological pronouncements by the Guru. And finally, there is the proximity between the Guru and his disciples - close interactions that are found throughout Sikh literature of the period.²⁵⁵ We may also note that as *Gurbilas* literature forms a theologically proximal relationship of the Khalsa to figure of the Guru, like the rahit texts, these

²⁵³ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 51.

²⁵⁴ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 156-166.

²⁵⁵ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 23-46.

hagiographical narratives also presents antagonistic or ambivalent attitudes towards Masands, Mlecchas, Turks, and yogis.²⁵⁶

While, in this way, there are indeed significant parallels and overlaps between the early rahit texts and the Punjabi literary works that Dhavan has shown to be imbricated within the early eighteenth-century formation of the Sikhs as an "affective community," it is perhaps also not a sufficient model for understanding precisely how these didactic and prescriptive texts worked. After all, the *Gurbilas* literature recounts memorializing narratives about the Sikh Guru. The rahit texts, on the other hand, while they are couched within similar kinds of Guru-centered narrative frames, the production of affect is much less intrinsic to the texts, which instead focus on behavioral and material markers of belonging inscribed on the daily lives and physical comportment of the members of the Khalsa themselves. Given that this idea of belonging is intrinsically linked to the continuing charisma of the Guru, I suggest that the cultural power of such an inscription can be better understood through the concept of the "charismatic community," a complementary theoretical model developed in particular through the work of the Islamic studies scholar Maria Dakake. Let us now turn to how this model can help us understand more effectively how the early rahit texts were instrumental in transferring the charisma of the now-absent Sikh Guru onto the Khalsa community, and again inflected within two distinct geocultural settings.

²⁵⁶ The Masands are arguably the most well-known historical example; see Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 31-33.

5.2. The Charismatic community

How might the behavioral injunctions and the normative ethics of the early *rahit* texts have contributed to the formation of the Khalsa community in the early eighteenth century? Maria Dakake's work on the history of the Shias as a "charismatic community" provides one compelling theoretical framework to answer this question.²⁵⁷ In her detailed and historically robust work, Dakake argues that the glue that held together the early Shia community involved a strong sense of *walayah*, or charisma, that not only drew disciples to the founder of the Shia tradition, the first Imam Ali, but also pertained to the kinds of lateral forces that bound members of the community together with a sense of solidarity, loyalty, and belonging.²⁵⁸ This can be seen as a process of constructing in-group social relationships (as outlined initially by Max Weber),²⁵⁹ and, as Dakake argues consisted of transferring the singular charisma of the central religious figure onto the interpersonal qualities and skills expected among the community of disciples. And, at the same time, as Dakake takes pains to explain, the sustained public reception and understanding of the charisma of the religious leader requires the sustained and regulated existence of the community of disciples.²⁶⁰

There is, in this way, a certain degree of reciprocity involved in the charismatic relationship between a religious leader and the community of disciples. This is such that on the one hand, the power that the religious leader receives is dependent on fulfilling a set of

²⁵⁷ Maria Dakake, *The Charismatic Community: Shi'ite identity in Early Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 1-10.

²⁵⁸ Dakake, *The Charismatic Community*, 15-20.

²⁵⁹ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, transl. Talcott Parsons (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1947), 358-286.

²⁶⁰ Dakake, *The Charismatic Community*, 125-130.

obligations toward the community, while conversely, disciples also must behave in certain regularized ways, in addition to demonstrating loyalty to the group.²⁶¹ Ultimately the boundaries of a charismatic community are perpetually being negotiated, and what constitutes criteria of membership within that community is not self-evident, without careful, historically-situated analysis. Still, the larger theoretical perspective that we may extract from Dakake's investigations into early Shia religious history is that within emergent religious communities, one way in which social identity and belonging was articulated was through a bivalent production of charisma, in the figure of the religious leader, as well as in the disciples as a collective body. It is this concept, I suggest, that can help to better understand the significance of the early *rahit* texts for the emergent Khalsa community.

The charisma of Guru Gobind Singh, and its impact upon the Sikh community, figured prominently in the historical developments of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For one, Guru Gobind Singh's decision to oust the Masands from their role as intermediaries between the Guru and the community solidified a direct relationship between the Guru and his disciples.²⁶² Also, the derogatory treatment of the Minas, who had followed Prithi Chand, the elder brother of the fourth Guru Arjan, also reflects the charismatic centering around Guru Gobind Singh as the true Sikh leader.²⁶³ As we had seen in Chapter Three, this castigation of both Minas and Masands is a recurring theme within the early *rahitname*.

²⁶¹ Dakake, *The Charismatic Community*, 7-9, 23-25.

²⁶² W.H. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 36.

²⁶³ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa*, 36-37.

Equally important in the rahit manuals is the singular persona of Guru Gobind Singh. He is shown as the authoritative source of what constitutes the Sikh ethical system and behavioral norms. Throughout the rahit texts, it is the Guru himself who exhorts his disciples, directly, and through appeal to his charisma, to engage in certain behaviors and to refrain from others. This power, furthermore, stems not from any explicit narrative articulation of emotional attachment to the Guru, as one might expect from Dhavan's theorization of "affective community," since the rahit texts do not actually provide a hagiographical discursus of the Guru. Instead, the early rahit texts, which present themselves as direct communications from the voice of the Guru, rely on an already-present perception of the Guru's charisma among the Khalsa. The early rahits were taken to be authoritative because of the immediacy of Guru Gobind Singh's charismatic presence during the founding of the Khalsa community.

If the charismatic presence of Guru Gobind Singh had been instrumental to the formation of the Khalsa (and the censure of other Sikh in-groups), it was this charisma that was centrally at stake as the Khalsa - and indeed the entire Sikh community - was forced to pivot upon his death. The assassination and subsequent passing of the last Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh in 1708 can rightfully be viewed as the most emblematic moment of trauma in the history of the Sikh community. Not only was the assassination itself a deep tragedy, so too was the fact that he was to be the final living Guru, since he had mandated, only a few years before, the theological transfer of his Guruship onto the text of the Guru Granth Sahib. The resulting absence of a charismatic central leader for the Sikh community was a sharp departure from the tight-knit relationship between the Sikh Gurus and their disciples over more than 200 years of the history of this movement. The events of 1708 can thus be understood as a distinct rupture within the

history the Sikh tradition, one that required a series of cultural mediations. For one, the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib mitigated this loss of the living Guru, and allowed for the memorialization of an accumulated canon of the Gurus' charismatic literary expression - resulting in a presence of charisma that can readily be felt in gurdwaras even today. Second, the Khalsa community shaped itself around principles of what we can call "charismatic proximity" to the Guru, as the immediate relationship between the Guru and the disciples are based on a direct and charismatic relationship that distinguished it from intermediaries like the Masands as well as the larger Sikh community. For example, the TN states that:

The Khalsa is (he who) keeps the name to his mind, the Khalsa is (he who) breaks family attachments.(TN, verse 49)

And the BPSR states that:

Accept the Khalsa of the Guru as manifesting the body of the Guru. That Sikh who seeks me can find me in it. (BPSR, verse 26)

We have found in this dissertation that this was actively present within the rules and regulations articulated through the early rahitname.²⁶⁴

Secondly, the principle of charismatic proximity can be located in the Khalsa phenomenon. As we have seen, the term has a complicated and varied pattern in the two texts. In the BPSR, the term “Khalsa” is utilised in a generic way. In the TN, in contrast, it occurs much more frequently and displays patterns of valorized martiality. As we saw in Chapter Three, this reflects the two separate geographic locations and geopolitical realities, and thus two sets of arguments to articulate the charismatic claims of the Khalsa and the Guru. Despite these differences, there is little doubt that one consistent feature within the conceptualization of the Khalsa is the proximity

²⁶⁴ Dakake, *The Charismatic Community*, 2-12.

to the Guru. What both texts display is in some sense an underlying set of principles and associations related to the person of Guru Gobind Singh as perceived by the community that had recently lived through the experience of his passing.

It can be seen, in fact, that one of the chief markers of Khalsa identity, vis-à-vis other Sikh in-groups, was their claim to be closer to the Guru and his teachings. As we have seen in earlier chapters, the two early rahit texts, the BPSR and TN, interpreted the term "Khalsa" somewhat differently - with a greater valorization of martial sentiments in the TN. Still, both shared a common conceptualization of the Khalsa as answering directly to the Guru. This proximity was articulated through the strict regulation of behavioral and ethical norms, which is, as Dakake explains, something to be expected within the charismatic mode of religiosity, as these norms constitute one mode of regulating social relationships inside of the group, as well as projecting a distinct identity to others on the outside.²⁶⁵ In the case of the Khalsa, this kind of disciplinary identity was articulated, as we have seen, through the rahits that determined what does and does not qualify as ideal individual and collective behavior, as well as the karmic or legalistic consequences of adhering to or deviating from that behavior. The details of these injunctions, as we have seen, constitute the bulk of the rahit materials, and it is clear that their authoritative power stems not from the production of emotional affect towards the Guru lineage - as may have been the case with more expressive literature such as the Gurbilas - but rather from a capture of the Gurus' charismatic presence within the only narrative feature of the rahit texts, the outer dialogic frame.

²⁶⁵ Dakake, *The Charismatic Community*, 237-238.

In early rahit texts, the direct, charismatic relationship between the Guru and the group of disciples is projected onto the interrelationships between Khalsa members through both "positive" and "negative" injunctions - that is, statements that prescribe certain actions and manners for the Khalsa, as well as those that proscribe certain actions and manners that are associated with non-Khalsa groups. As Dakake points out, the central concerns for how a "charismatic community" constructs its identity is (a) how its membership is regulated, and (b) how certain practices and manners are naturalized through charismatic claims.²⁶⁶ The rahit injunctions articulate both of these concerns. While, as we have seen in Chapter Three, "positive" injunctions are less prevalent in both early rahit texts, when the TN and BPSR do speak of obligations that Khalsa members have towards other members of the community, these statements are infused with the charismatic appeal of the Guru. Khalsa members are told to honor and serve to other members of the Khalsa, to attend daily congregations (satsangs), even to massage their feet and offer prasad (BPS, verse 34). Perhaps the clearest example of this is verse 26 of the BPSR, where the reader is asked to "Accept the Khalsa of the Guru as manifesting the body of the Guru. That Sikh who seeks me can find me in it." In no uncertain terms, the Khalsa communal body is here being directly equated to the body of the (absent) Guru. Negative injunctions, which are far more frequent in the early rahit texts, also promoted the transference of charismatic authority of the Guru, albeit through a counter-normative stereotyping of non-Khalsa communities as the cultural "Other." That is to say, not only were certain practices and ways of behaving prohibited for Khalsa members, they were also projected onto other groups (both Sikh in-groups like the Masands, Monas, or Minas, as well as non-Sikh out-groups, such as

²⁶⁶ Dakake, *The Charismatic Community*, 125-139.

the yogis or the Turks). As Olivelle has pointed out in the context of Brahminical moral literature, often prohibitory injunctions within normative texts expose the kinds of practices that were actually happening within the community,²⁶⁷ and which were the site of greatest in-group friction. These would include modes of eating, sexual behavior, or dress, or deeper social issues such as female infanticide, caste, or violence. The early rahit texts, by prescribing some of the harshest punitive consequences to such actions, and by mapping them on to non-Sikh groups, generated a distinct feeling of repulsion towards these communities, and a reaffirmation of the identity of the Khalsa Sikh as charismatically connected to the now-absent Guru.²⁶⁸

Using both positive and negative injunctions in this way as instruments of mapping the Guru's authority onto the Khalsa moral body, in the words of the TN, the rahit texts sought to mobilize this charismatic community in such a way that "the Khalsa shall rule, and no one shall go against them" (TN verse 61). The Khalsa in the early eighteenth century were clearly in competition with a range of other communities, and appear to have leveraged the charisma of the Guru - and in particular the last, Guru Gobind Singh - to gain competitive advantage within this "religious marketplace." It is to this analytic frame that we may now turn, in order to make better sense of how and why rahit literature was significant for the formation of the Khalsa in the early eighteenth century.

²⁶⁷ Patrick Olivelle, *Ascetics and Brahmins: Studies in Ideologies and Institutions* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), 168-183.

²⁶⁸ McLeod, *Sikhs of The Khalsa*, 213-224.

5.3. The Religious marketplace in Early Modern South Asia

One aspect of South Asian social culture of the early eighteenth century that deserves some attention is the role of competition between religious groups in society. One way that we can understand the nature of this competition is through an especially thought-provoking idea of a religious "marketplace," as theorized by Larry Witham. Working with an economic-materialist approach to contemporary religious identities and practices, Witham's analogical framework suggests that the competition that we witness among different religious traditions on a global level today works very much like companies within a capitalist marketplace, in which consumers or service recipients - that is to say, disciples - are aware of their preferences and compare between multiple options of desired goods and services.²⁶⁹ He has thus attempted to explain the activities of religions and religious groups in society from a point of view of economic activity. The book is thus not a historical work but does attempt to explain how religious groups have competed with other groups in the past. By extension, Witham stipulates that the consumer or service recipient is aware of his or her preference and can compare between multiple options for desired goods and services.²⁷⁰ The idea here is that the religious marketplace is made up of religious groups and organizations who are active in the market as "entrepreneurs". Here we are reminded of Christian Novetzke's discussion of "venture spiritualists" in early modern South Asia,

Who operates outside the field of the state, of monastic or temple religion, and of civil society, someone who inaugurates a new "market" of spiritual economy, rather than simply assuming a position of authority in an old one. Such a figure innovates a new

²⁶⁹ Larry Witham, *Marketplace of the Gods: How Economics Explain Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7-8.

²⁷⁰ Witham, *Marketplace of the Gods*, 9-14.

spiritual paradigm by combining some old ideas about salvation with a new literary idiom. This is primarily not done for financial gain, but to reformulate spiritual capital, to reconfigure spiritual value. This new literary idiom...is drawn from the field of everyday life.²⁷¹

The Khalsa of the early eighteenth century can be viewed as a religious entrepreneur - or a venture spiritualist - precisely in the sense that it engaged in innovation to make itself relevant to a diverse set of practitioners within the religious marketplace rather than simply repeat older religious and devotional practices. The early rahit texts provided one means through which the Khalsa was able to succeed in this competition, especially since the Khalsa lacked one key characteristic that many of its competitors had: patronage.

Patronage, especially from kings or other governing bodies, was a complex phenomenon in early modern South Asia, involving a set of reciprocal relationships between religious groups and political elites. Monastic groups in particular were able to lend an air of legitimacy to temporal rulers, ranging from local lords to royal clans and the Mughal state.²⁷² What the religious groups received in return was land grants free of taxation, law and order and in the best-case scenario direct funding for building projects. There are some benefits to this arrangement from the state's point of view. The first is that the state does not have to engage in risk anywhere near the same extent as it would trying to push other competitors out of the market. The state would also not have any need to upset the regulatory mechanisms. It can also play the competitive mechanism to its advantage since religious groups will likely attempt to compete for the patronage that the state provides. In doing so, it maintains significant influence with reduced

²⁷¹ Christian Lee Novetzke, "Vernacularizing Jñāndev: Hagiography and the Process of Vernacularization," *International Journal of Hindu studies* 22, no.3 (12/01/2018): 390.

²⁷² Gregory C. Kozlowski, "Imperial Authority, Benefactions and Endowments (Awqāf) in Mughal India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38, no. 3 (1995): 357-365.

risk and liability since it can determine the criteria for who gets patronage and who does not. By extension, this means that it can directly impose partial or full policies in society by articulating demands that the religious groups competing for patronage are required to live up to. From a point of view of efficiency, this scenario may be viewed as highly desirable for a state since it can wield significant influence outside the strict scope of religion. In theory, the state can ask religious groups for a wide range of commitments and activities in order to receive patronage. In doing this, the state outsources risk but maintains influence in society and helps to enforce its own policies, whatever they may be. We also need to note that patronage does not automatically refer to monetary support. Rather, it can entail a whole range of potential direct and indirect benefits, such as relaxation of taxation, enhanced property rights, and the absence of some state demands.²⁷³

In sum, we can see that receiving state patronage would serve as quite an advantage within a religious marketplace, since it would both minimize risk for the group, as well as obviate their marketing strategies for gaining disciples, since these are readily provided by the state. Indeed, discussion of the role of the state and of state patronage is noticeably limited within Witham's theoretical model, which has after all been developed for understanding competition among contemporary world religions. Nevertheless, the religious marketplace concept can allow us to explain the nature of the Khalsa's engagement with rival religious groups in North India, and the role that discourses of behavior regulation and ethics played within this engagement.

²⁷³ Kozlowski, "Imperial Authority, Benefactions and Endowments (Awqāf) in Mughal India," 365-366.

5.4. The Religious Marketplace of the Western Frontier Regions in the Early Eighteenth Century

Before turning to how the Khalsa fashioned themselves as successful "venture spiritualists" within the religious marketplace, and how they used the rahit texts to do this, let us examine more closely how various other religious communities and orders were jostling with one other in the first decades of the eighteenth century in the frontier regions of the Mughal imperial orbit. Within this socio-historical context, we see a number of distinct religious groups, e.g., the yogis, Shaktas, and Dadupanthis discussed in Chapter Four, as religious entrepreneurs, coming up with distinct means for gaining patronage, prestige, and disciples.²⁷⁴

Given the cultural vacuum generated by the waning influence of the central Mughal state in places like the Punjab in the years following Aurangzeb's death in 1707, there arose a plethora of such competing groups and orders. This was a time in which older institutions, which would have brokered patronage and prestige among these groups, began to feel unstable, creating an open market where these groups sought stability and success on their own terms. With the Mughal state losing its hegemony as the exclusive mediator of religious patronage, the early 1700s was a time in which these competing religious groups and orders were able to engage directly for patronage with local rulers, or even the general public, and there is reason to believe, as Witham theorizes in his work, that the resultant "religious economy" was based on rational-choice principles.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Dhavan, *When Sparrows Became Hawks*, 50-51.

²⁷⁵ Witham, *Marketplace of the Gods*, 7-32.

In Novetzke's discussion of "venture spiritualists," for example, we find that these groups "reconfigured spiritual value" -- that is to say, they repackaged their ideas in a more fresh and appealing set of idioms -- to appeal to public audiences. At its core, this involved the recasting of hagiographical and doctrinal materials within a new vernacularized public discourse, involving art, performance, and literary expression.²⁷⁶ The work of Allison Busch also demonstrates the extent to which the regional (non-Mughal) courts were crucial players in the development and refinement of these new vernacular modes of expression, which fed into the cultural aspirations of regional kings in competition with the Mughal state.²⁷⁷

Sufi religious centres across the Mughal state also emerged as major actors in the domain of sub-imperial popular religion. The Sufi khanqahs for example developed pilgrimage networks that attracted large numbers of devotees and revenue. Incidentally, these groups, too, relied upon the charismatic appeal of a central religious figure, the pir, whose extranormal deeds and life-accounts were likewise captured in Sufi tazkira memorial literature.²⁷⁸

While we can, in this way regard the multi-patron context of the early eighteenth century as a marketplace in which vernacular forms of literary and cultural expression were the central commodities for a number of intensely competing groups. We must, however, also consider the impact that the militarization of these religious movements would have had on this premodern marketplace, and that the competition between these groups did at times result in coercive,

²⁷⁶ Novetzke, "Vernacularizing Jñāndev," 391-392.

²⁷⁷ Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings: The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 167-173.

²⁷⁸ Thomas De Bruijn, *The Ruby in the Dust: Poetry and History of the Indian Padmavat by Sufi Poet Muhammad Jayasi* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 17-31, 40-41.

violent confrontations.²⁷⁹ To properly understand the nature of the competitive engagements between major religious groups of the time, including Vaishnavas, Nath yogis, Dadupanthis, and Sufis - against which we find the emergence of the early Khalsa - we must first understand exactly how and why militaristic rhetoric figured into the dynamics between them.

The militarized milieu of the early eighteenth century can be said to be part of a broader history of soldiering in North India, in which religious or social prestige was expressed through martial credentials.²⁸⁰ By the mid-sixteenth to late seventeenth centuries, certain religious groups had entered the Mughal military labor market and organized themselves into active mercenary units that competed with other groups for Mughal patronage. This was a wide societal phenomenon across North India, not just in the frontier regions. One might say, in this way, However, in the onset of the eighteenth century, once the Mughal state could not exercise its influence as a large-scale broker of military patronage as exclusively as it had before, the frontier regions in particular became a place of pronounced "free" market activity by the groups in question.²⁸¹

And so, religious entrepreneurs adopted two distinct strategies to succeed this burgeoning frontier marketplace - the articulation of prestige in the vernacular, along with the pursuit of royal patronage outside of the Mughal sphere. Here, the central rhetoric appears to have been an opposition between the "heroic martial self," bound inextricably to the charisma of the group's leader, versus the "villainous enemy," whose behavior standards are censured for members of the

²⁷⁹ Witham, *Marketplace of the Gods*, 179.

²⁸⁰ Dirk Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput, and Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450-1850* (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

²⁸¹ Matthews Clark, *The Dasanami-Samnyasis: The Integration of Ascetic Lineages into an Order* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2006), 25.

group.²⁸² We had seen this extensively in how the early *rahit* texts expressed apprehension and disdain for Nath yogis, Shaktas, Turks, Mlecchas or the Khan - a designation that as we discussed earlier, perhaps referred to Afghan rulers in the frontier regions.

This militarized, us-versus-them rhetoric also appears to be a robust market strategy that many of the Khalsa's competitors used as well. Consider, for example the various Vaishnava groups in Rajasthan who were involved in the courtly activities of the regent Jaisingh (1700-1743). These groups, acting sometimes as a collective, sometimes independently, sometimes in response to demands by the court, and sometimes on their own.²⁸³ This became especially pronounced in the late regnal period of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (late seventeenth century) when the state enacted harsh policies towards Hindu temples, organisations, and deities with the outcome that Vaishnava groups were increasingly sought after by their traditional courtly patrons in Rajasthan. Their deities were legitimized by the Rajasthani courts which meant that Vaishnava status was enhanced. For the courts, it meant that they actively sought to express supremacy based on religious symbols.²⁸⁴ This impacted the Vaishnava groups since it accentuated the competition for patronage and took the shape of the court's demand that they prove their religious authority in terms of perceived orthodoxy.²⁸⁵ This was in resonance with the establishment of Vaishnava institutional forms as symbols of power and regal comportment for aspiring Hindu rulers. By extension, the need for patronage became a central

²⁸² Clark, *The Dasanami-Samnyasis*, 1-15.

²⁸³ Monica Horstmann, "Theology and statecraft," *South Asian History and Culture* 2, no. 2 (April 2011): 184-204. 184-185.

²⁸⁴ Horstmann, "Theology and Statecraft," 185.

²⁸⁵ Horstmann, "Theology and Statecraft," 185-187.

issue to these Vaishnava groups surrounding the court of Jaisingh in Rajasthan,²⁸⁶ along with the competition and confrontation from other groups, such as Dasnamis, where one response was the formation of Vaishnava armies.²⁸⁷ Hastings also notes that the topic of organizing an armed branch of the Vaishnava community was brought up at a conference internal to the community in the aftermath of the Dasnami sannyasi invasion of Ayodhya that most likely occurred sometime between 1707-1713.²⁸⁸

Another example of a militarized religious community of the time were the Nath yogis, who had a similarly ambivalent relationship to the Mughal state. There was, at this time, a loose confederation of tantric yogi lineages belonging to Shaiva and Siddha traditions. Primarily, of course, these Nath yogi schools have been known for soteriological rather than theological pursuits-- that is, seeking to attain immortality or superhuman powers for themselves. However, these aims were not detached from political considerations or goals. Rather, soteriological and supernatural pursuits were explicitly used by the Nath yogi groups to impact the political sphere.²⁸⁹ Starting in the late Delhi Sultanate and going into the Mughal period, Nath Yogis appeared in administrative and military documents. It appears as if the Mughal state, especially during the reign of Akbar, nurtured an interest in yogis and took particular notice of their knowledge of alchemy and martial skills. The Mughal state endowed these orders with land grants. It appears as if Mughal policy was pragmatic when it came to the Nath yogis: They did

²⁸⁶ Patton Burchett, "Bhakti Religion and Tantric Magic in Mughal India; Kacchvahas, Ramanandis, and Naths, circa 1500-1750," PhD-diss., Columbia University, 2012. 366.

²⁸⁷ James Hastings, "Poets, Sants, and Warriors: The Dadu Panth, Religious Change and Identity Formation in Jaipur State Circa 1562--1860 CE" (PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin-Madison 2002), 115-116.

²⁸⁸ Hastings, "Poets, Sants, and Warriors," 146.

²⁸⁹ Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires*, 56-66.

not interfere in Nath yogi affairs, and employed their services whenever there was a political need to do so. Indeed, there were cases in which Nath soldiers were recruited by the Mughal state through middle-men.²⁹⁰ The practice of taking amrit (ambrosia) represented a theme which stretched back centuries in Indian history—the quest for immortality. This was one area where the Yogis possessed a perceived expertise that fused with military and political ambitions.²⁹¹

A particularly compelling example of how these religious groups competed with one another in the frontier "religious marketplace" is the relationship between the Nath yogis and Sufis. These two groups appear to have been in competition over patronage at various courts in Western India, such as the Khaljis of Malwa, where Sufi hagiographical texts describe the "miracle contests" that took place between them.²⁹² At the same time, as we had discussed earlier, Sufi groups were certainly interested in the kinds of esoteric yogic physical practices and material culture that the Nath traditions had developed, especially for longevity. At least to that extent, it seems that Sufi groups sought to nurture a relationship with the Naths that was not entirely antagonistic. Incidentally, the Nath material culture was so widely known among Islamic circles that even Aurangzeb had produced an edict written to protect a Nath monastery through land grants, in exchange for a batch of treated quicksilver produced by the Nath yogis, and deemed to be an aphrodisiac.²⁹³ The bivalent relationship between the Sufis and Naths suggests two features that this religious marketplace had taken on as the hegemonic reach of the Mughal

²⁹⁰ David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 199-200.

²⁹¹ Hardip Singh Syan, *Sikh Militancy in the Seventeenth Century: Religious Violence in Mughal and Early Modern India* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 17-21.

²⁹² White, *Sinister Yogis*, 200-201.

²⁹³ Aurangzeb's edict suggests that these various groups, including the Naths, the Vaishnavas, and the Sufis, positioned themselves in a complicated manner with respect to the central Mughal state and its paradigmatic power articulation. Sometimes this was through joint ventures and sometimes antagonistically. White, *Sinister Yogis*, 199-221.

state slackened. First, state patronage appears to be the central commodity that is at stake in the competition between religious groups, even as other, regional political actors now enter the market. But it was not the commodity bought and sold in the marketplace; religious ideas, practices, and substances were the intellectual and cultural capital around which the competition for patronage took place.

The various groups, aside from the Sikh Khalsa, that we had to be in competition within the frontier religious marketplace - Vaishnavas, Naths, Sufis, Dadupanthis, etc. - developed a number of common features, perhaps through the dialectic engagement that the competition for patronage would have demanded. They developed similar community structures - centralized around singular charismatic leaders or Gurus - they developed similar devotional practices and patterns, and they developed similar tendencies towards militarization, likely in reaction to the similar historical and geographical context in which they were located. They developed similar kinds of literary production that related similar origin stories of the founding of their respective traditions, similar anxieties about social upheaval and uncertainty, and a similarly ambivalent relationship with the increasingly slackening presence of the Mughal state. In this kind of religious marketplace, it is no surprise, then that the Khalsa tailored Sikh doctrines to speak to the same kinds of anxieties and concerns that the other religious communities were articulating. The key difference, perhaps, was in their complete independence from Mughal patronage. On the other hand, as we look more closely at how the Khalsa presented itself in the frontier religious marketplace, it will become clear that the Khalsa did not simply imitate these other religious groups in wholesale fashion; rather, in order to gain a distinct advantage over the other groups within this marketplace, they integrated the militaristic and competitive outlook of these groups

with a focus on the charismatic leadership of the Guru, and its transference onto the social body of the Khalsa community. This took place, as we had earlier examined, not simply through the production of affective literary writings, but through also the production and dissemination of the early rahit texts.

5.5. Conclusions: The Khalsa Enters the Frontier Religious Marketplace

In this section, we will bring together the three different topics of this chapter (affective communities, charismatic communities, and the frontier religious marketplace) by turning our attention back to the foundation of the Khalsa and the crucial role that the early rahit literature would have played in its success. To do so, let us examine the specific strategies that the Khalsa used to gain prestige and patronage, in competition with other rival religious groups of the time. From what we have seen so far in this dissertation, these strategies included (a) generating deeply-felt and immediate feelings of attachment or affect toward the Guru, even after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh (through expressive texts like the Gurbilas), and (b) the mapping of this charisma, the glue that had kept the Sikh community together, now onto textual corpora, like the Guru Granth Sahib, as well as the social body of the Khalsa itself, through texts like the early rahitname. Given what we now know about the turbulent competition that was taking place between rival religious groups in the frontier marketplace of the early 1700s, what we would like to now determine is the extent to which, as the Khalsa was effectuating these changes within its own cultural sphere in the early eighteenth century, to what extent did they engage with the competitive and militaristic discourses of this market, and to what extent was the Khalsa construction of religious identity successful in earning patronage, legitimacy, and prestige? The

early rahit texts provide grounds for answering both of these questions, and indeed, this is why they were so important for the formation of the Khalsa community.

In some ways, we might imagine that the composers of the early rahitname were being pulled in two different vectors. On the one hand, there was the need to map the charisma of the now-absent Guru onto the community. And on the other hand, there was a need to go toe-to-toe with their competitors, to clearly demarcate what it meant to be a Khalsa Sikh and the severe consequences of deviating from these boundaries. The rahit texts address both concerns through "positive" and "negative" injunctions, respectively. Positive injunctions urging Khalsa members to behave according to common social and personal standards, and for the good of the group readily create a spirit of solidarity and proximity to the Guru. In the words of the BPSR,

(He who) massages the feet of a Sikh, that Sikh has not accomplished evil, (he who) makes prasad for other Sikhs, for that Sikh the Guru offers himself. (BPSR, verse 35)

And according to the TN,

The Khalsa is (he who) remains awake during the day, the Khalsa is (he who) holds the Gurbani in affection, the Khalsa is (he who) eats face to face. (TN, verse 45)

Negative injunctions, on the other hand, demarcated where the boundary of the Khalsa ends, who lies outside of it, and the harsh penalties that would ensue if one were to cross this line. This militaristic discourse of rivalry and antagonism, it seems, is in keeping with the general tone of the frontier religious marketplace, where multiple groups were targeting their rivals for negative stereotyping and "othering." As we had discussed, we do find here a certain degree of divergence between the two early rahits, at least in terms of who the rival groups were. While the TN does not hold back many punches in its negative stereotyping and villainization of the Turks and the

Khan (verses 6, 15, 41, 51) as well as key rival in-groups within the Sikh community (verses 6, 22) the BPSR is more worried about defining crisp boundaries vis-à-vis Nath yogis and Shaktas. So for example we find in the TN, the Khalsa Sikh is urged to be hostile towards Turks and the Khan, while in the BPSR, he is urged to avoid Monas, Masands and Minas.

Why do we see this distinctly two-toned approach to regulating social behavior and ethical principles in the early rahit texts? Our comparative analysis of the frontier religious marketplace in the early eighteenth century had determined that a militaristic discourse was intrinsic to the ways in which these religious groups were competing with one another, in an environment where the capital was being procured from an already militarized aristocratic class under the Mughal state. This militarism, with its discourses of heroic self and repulsive and ferocious other, is picked up by the Khalsa as a common strategy that would have been needed to match up with rival religious groups within the marketplace. As we have observed, this militarism was principally invoked due to political desires for patronage and anxieties about the hegemonic presence of the Mughal state.

What we can see in concluding this chapter is that the unique formula that the Khalsa adopted - mapping the charisma of the absent Guru on both its scripture and its corporate body created an in-group solidarity and regulation of behavior and ethics stands in contrast to other groups, like the Naths, Dasnamis, or Dadupanthis, that adopted more esoteric or antinomian social structures to define themselves. But still, the outwardly hostile attitudes that the rahit texts articulate towards rival Sikh in-groups as well as non-Sikh out-groups demonstrate the extent to which they shared common, militarized idioms of competition within the religious marketplace. And so it is no surprise that when the BPSR says that

The Khalsa of the Guru, which was established in the world as the beginning, we must always keep animosity towards the Shaktas from hell. (BPSR, verse 11)

and the TN says that

(He who) raises his hand to his head (in respectful greeting) upon seeing the Turk, (he) is a great tanakhaia. (TN, verse 16)

In the end, we can only surmise that this bold strategy - of constructing a strongly charismatic social body, but sharply drawing its outermost boundaries through harshly negative normative injunctions - allowed the Khalsa Sikh community to survive and indeed thrive in the religious marketplace of the eighteenth century, even when facing both the absence of their living Guru as well as a forced relocation from their homeland. The two early rahits serve as stark testimonia to how this new identity was produced for the Khalsa community. They also served, themselves, as integral cultural instruments through which this identity was actively produced, as Sikhism entered into a new phase of its history. In the final, concluding chapter of this dissertation, we will turn to a broader vision of why the rahit literature was so important to this history, and what these texts can tell us about the role that vernacular textual production played in the formation of early modern religious communities on a broader level.

6. Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the *Tanakhahnama* and the *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama*, the two earliest known rahit-texts. It has argued that they are products of the Khalsa order in the Punjab as well as in Maharashtra respectively following Guru Gobind Singh's move to Nanded in 1707, and that the texts represent the Khalsa strategy for success as the order entered the religious marketplace of these two locations. Chapter two explored the differences between the TN and BPSR in relation to earlier forms of Sikh religious ethical literature, and established that the two texts are the earliest of the rahitname. Chapter three explored the manuscripts of the TN and BPSR as well as how the narratives operate, and argued that the differences found in for example out-groups, consequence models, memory and expressions of royalty, are attributable to the texts being composed in the two different geocultural milieus. Chapter four argued that the Khalsa, like other religious groups in the frontiers of the Mughal empire, participated in a "sacred geography" in the form of material sites, texts, and objects, that help create religious identity. Further, the Khalsa had a relationship with the Mughal empire, as well as with the other religious groups and the TN and BPSR reflect these three cultural engagements. Chapter five explored the Khalsa strategy for success in the religious marketplace, namely the transfer of religious charisma from Guru Gobind Singh to the members of the Khalsa. It also argued that the production of the TN and BPSR was instrumental to this project and may be seen as a factor for why the Khalsa succeeded in the competition with other groups.

The central question is why are the early rahitname important for our historical understanding of the Sikh religion in general, and the Khalsa in particular?

As we have seen, the rahit texts represent a leap in how behavior regulation and religious ethics were constructed in the history of the Sikh religious tradition. As prior scholarship has confirmed, there are multiple ethical statements in the Sikh religious literature prior to the first decades of the early-eighteenth century. We need to bear in mind that the authors of the two manuals did not invent the ethical principles, or for that matter the normative nomenclature that they employed. As we saw in chapter two, the *Bahoval Pothi* from the early seventeenth century had demarcated a list of five proscribed deeds (stealing, adultery, slander, gamble, consumption of alcohol and meat) and five encouraged deeds (attending sangat, proper respect and benevolence to the poor and afflicted, have marriage done correctly, restore wayward disciples to true practice, do good to all and evil to none).²⁹⁴ We recall that the *Pothi Bibi Rup Kaur* text from mid- 1660s invoked similar sensibilities in the conversation between Guru Arjan and Bahora the goldsmith:

‘My lord, what is your command?’ This is (my) command: Do not fasten your affection on anyone’s wife. Treat her as you would treat your mother. Do not approach another’s woman. Never lie. Neither utter slander nor listen to it. Do nothing which will hurt another. Let none be harmed by you. See the (Eternal) One in all living creatures. Worship none save the Supreme Spirit (*parabraham*). Apply your heart and understanding to the Guru’s teachings. Repeat nothing save the words of the True Guru. Rising, sitting or sleeping, hold in perpetual remembrance the image of the True Guru. Bring (everything into submission) to the divine Name of God—wealth, physical appearance, family, possessions, food, fame, titles, happiness, liberation, and whatever greatness you may achieve. Do this and you shall be a Gurmukh.²⁹⁵

As is evident from this passage, the rahitname were informed by an inherited perception of religious ethics. However, this should not lead us to teleologically reduce the two rahit manuals

²⁹⁴ Pashaura Singh, *Life and Work of Guru Arjan: History, Memory, and Biography in the Sikh Tradition* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 42-43.

²⁹⁵ Singh, *Life and Work of Guru Arjan*, 46.

to the prior instantiations of religious ethics in Sikh literature. They undeniably display the influence of an inherited view of ethics but cannot be reduced to being products of that set of ethical standards. First and foremost, there are several topics that are brought up in the TN and BPSR that are not brought up in the pre-rahit material such as the injunction concerning brushing teeth. We also find a concern with demarcating Khalsa boundaries in relation to both other groups in the Sikh community like Masands, as well groups outside the Sikh community, most notably the injunctions promoting hostility towards Turks and Khans in the TN and complete silence on the topic of violence in the BPSR. Finally, the behavior regulation that we encounter in the TN and BPSR can be seen as a leap forward from the pre-rahit material since it displays clear localized sensibilities and considerations, that inform the narrative of the texts which the earlier texts do not.

We also need to pay attention to the role of behavior regulation in the form of rahit-texts for the Singh Sabha reformers when they attempted to define Sikh religious identity and customs in the colonial era.²⁹⁶ One of the legacies of the reformers was the decades long debates about ethical religious life that finally generated the *Sikh Rahit Maryada*(SRM), published in the middle of the twentieth century in India. It is a modern interpretation of the genre published by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC), a religious organisation that wields considerable influence in the Sikh community. Contrary to the localized sensibilities found in the TN and BPSR, the SRM can be seen as attempting to set a normative ethical standard for the worldwide Sikh community, in terms of adherence to doctrine, communal and temple life, and finally personal behavior. We should also note that despite the claim of being a single behavioral

²⁹⁶ Doris Jakobsh, *Sikhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: 2012), 40-42.

standard for the Sikh community, it is one among many. Several other groupings in the Sikh religious sphere like Namdharis and Nirankaris, have produced their own rahit text, which shows how deeply entrenched the legacy left by the TN and BPSR is in Sikh religious culture.²⁹⁷ Another enduring legacy from the colonial era is the focus on the five Ks in Sikh and Khalsa identity construction. The five Ks is a set of items starting with the Gurmukhi letter K, and worn by members of the Khalsa. They refer to uncut hair (kes), a wooden comb (kangha), dagger/sword (kirpan), wrist-wring (kara), and breeches (kacch). These are adopted by a person who undergoes the initiation into the Khalsa.²⁹⁸ The five Ks are not enshrined in the TN or BPSR as a codified unit, but we do find references to several of the individual items in the texts and as markers of identity. Thanks to the early rahit texts, physical markers have a distinct role to play in how the Sikh religious identity is constructed. The early rahit genre as well as the later interpretations, can thus be seen as emblematic specific historical developments, as well as an influential cultural mode of expression that informed the Khalsa sense of self perception in relation to the Sikh community and other religious groups.

As this study has shown, the TN and BPSR are contemporary literary products of the Khalsa community in two different geopolitical environments in the western frontiers of the Mughal empire. It has situated the Khalsa order of that period in relation to the social and religious landscape of that historical context, and situated the two texts as products of the Khalsa strategy for success in the religious marketplace, namely transferring the charismatic appeal and authority of Guru Gobind Singh to the Khalsa community. The study has shown that they also

Please see W.H. McLeod's *Textual Sources for the Study of Sikhism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) for these sources in translation.²⁹⁷ Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries: Culture, Identity, and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 63-68, 105-108.

²⁹⁸ McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10-11.

reflect the adaptation of this Khalsa project in the Punjab and in Maharashtra respectively, and is indicative of how self perception of the Khalsa order was informed by their immediate geopolitical environment in those two locations. We have thus begun to explore a set of questions that have not yet received scholarly attention, namely the historical realities of the Khalsa in the Punjab as well as outside the Punjab and accordingly, the TN and BPSR need to be read as products of two distinct geopolitical and geocultural realities.

The goal of this dissertation is to situate the history of the Sikh religion in the broader history of South Asia, as well as elucidate the relationship between text and ethics, physical comportment and social lives. The authors of the texts have clearly been concerned with the regulation of lived reality of their readership, which was a driving reason for these texts to be produced in the first place. It has also highlighted the role of primary sources in the study of South Asian history, and attempted to situate manuscripts in particular as a primary source of knowledge for history. One quote captures the larger message of the rahitname:

(He who appears) to (follow) the order to give, or conceals the donation box, is as bad as the ones as (those who) steal from the congregational offerings, this kind of Sikh is not pleasing to the Guru. (BPSR, verse 9)

What we see here is that the authors of the TN and BPSR clearly perceived behavior, personal comportment, and intention, as interwoven into the identity of the community and that deviation from these modes of behavior is to cease to belong to the group altogether.

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Dr Balbir Singh Sahitya Kendra, Dehradun

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Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama

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Appendices

A. Manuscript Pictures and Information

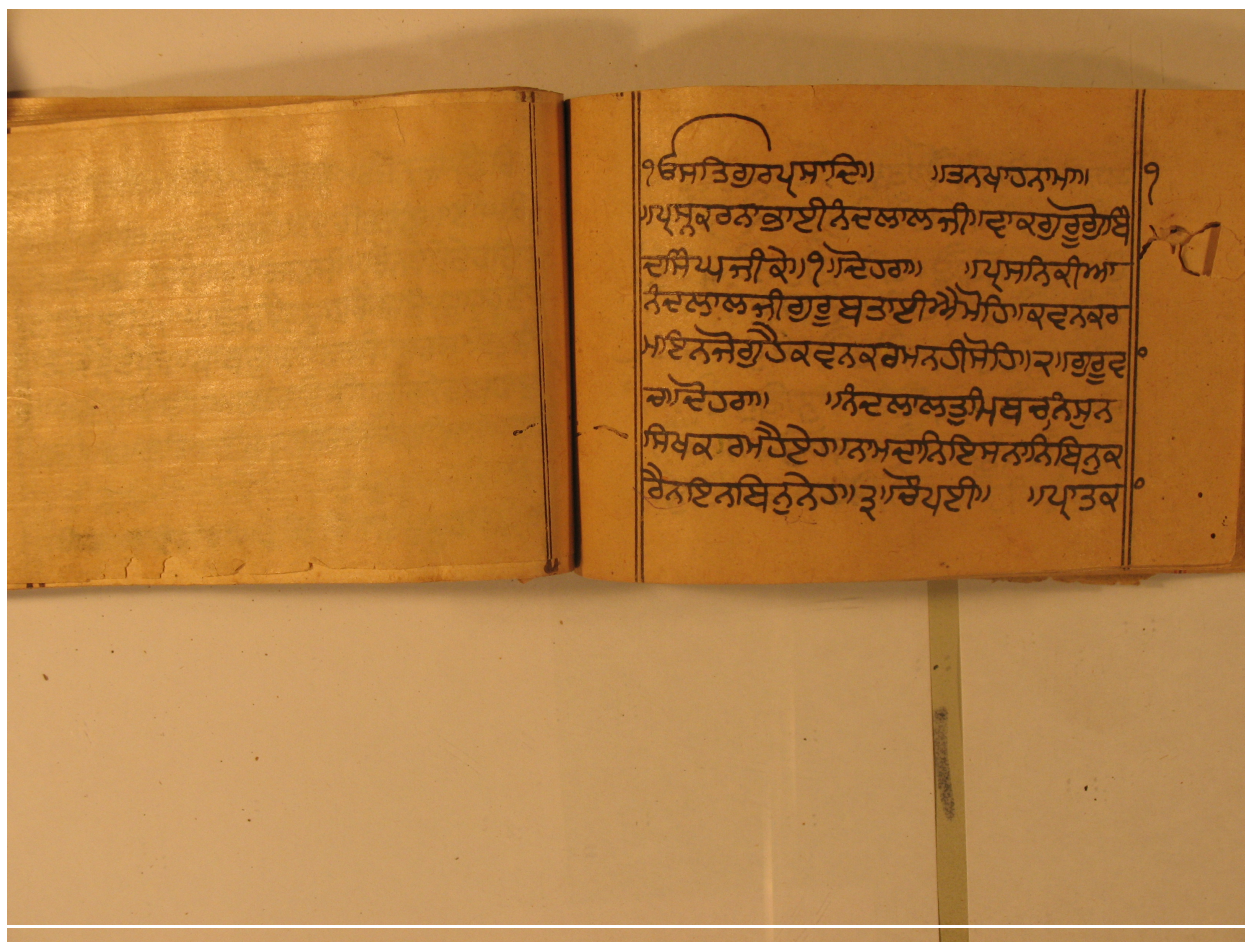


Figure A.4 GNDU MS 29: TN, 8 folios, 11 X 16 cm, individual TN text undated but the compilation dated V.S. 1888, no scribal name, courtesy of Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.



Figure A.5 GNDU MS 29: BPSR, 7 folios, 11 X 16 cm, individual BPSR text undated but the compilation dated V.S. 1888, no scribal name, courtesy of Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

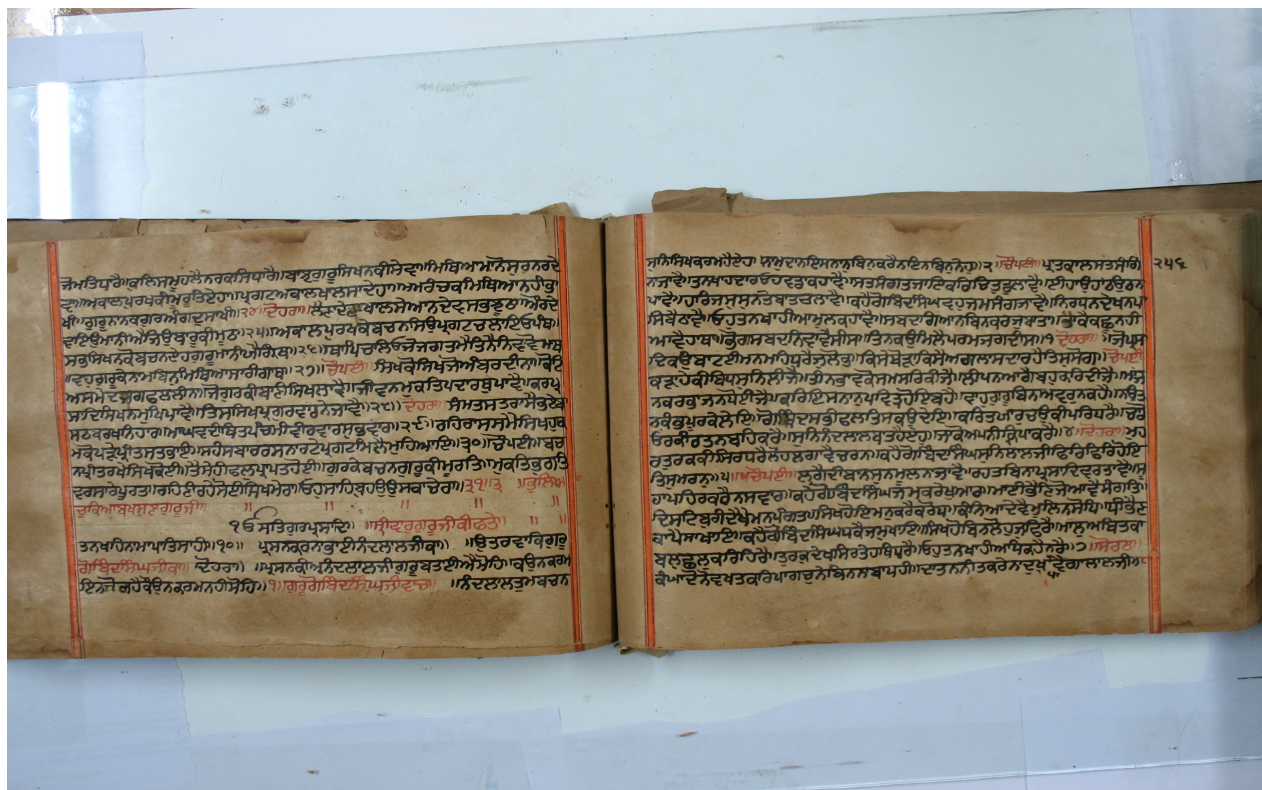


Figure A.6 GNDU MS 5017: TN, 3 folios, 34 X 24 cm, undated, no scribal name, courtesy of Bhai Gurdas

Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.



Figure A.7 GNDU MS 1152: BPSR, 14 folios, 13 X 8 cm, undated, no scribal name, courtesy of Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

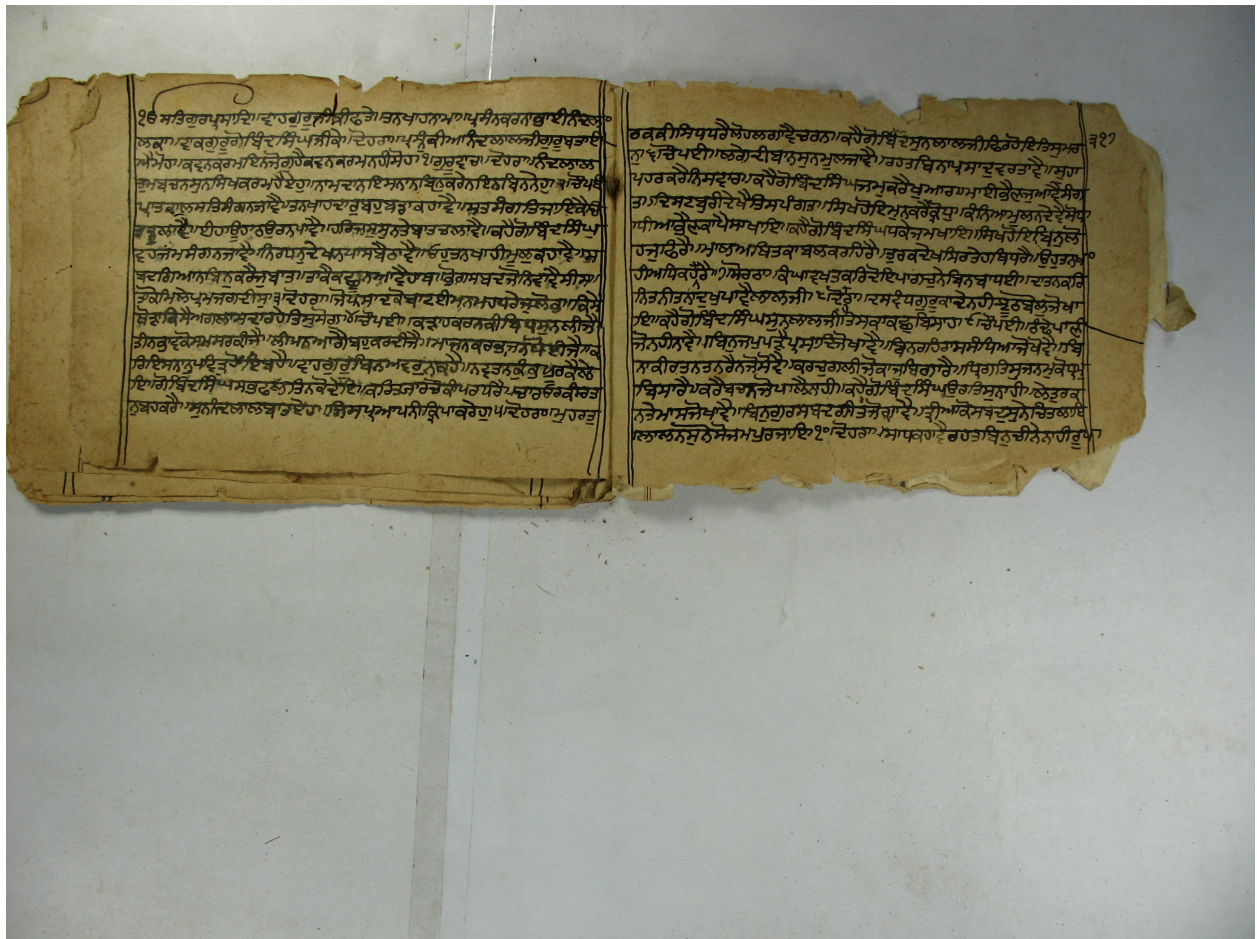


Figure A.8 GNDU MS 1024:TN, 2 folios, 26.5 X 16.5 cm, undated, no scribal name, courtesy of Bhai Gurdas Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

B. Pre-Rahit and Rahit Texts and Passages on Ethics

Table B.1 Pre-Rahit Texts

Author	Title	Date	Key Ethical Topics
N/A	<i>Bahoval Pothi</i>	1600	Community life, devotion, charity, adherence to the Guru's teachings
N/A	<i>Pothi Bibi Rup Kaur</i>	1660s	Community life, devotion, charity, adherence to the Guru's teachings
N/A	<i>Granth Bhai Painda</i>	1660s	Community life, devotion, charity, adherence to the Guru's teachings

Table B.2 Rahit Texts

Author	Title	Date	Key Ethical Topics
N/A	<i>Tanakhahnama</i>	Approx. 1707	Khalsa behavior regulation, community life, charity, devotional practices, correct religious affiliation
N/A	<i>Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama</i>	Approx. 1707	Khalsa behavior regulation, warfare, charity, correct religious affiliation, marriage as Khalsa duty
N/A	<i>Chaupa Singh Rahitnama</i>	Not earlier than 1760s	Khalsa behavior regulation, the <i>Guru Granth Sahib</i> , warfare, marriage, personal and communal life, charity

C. Editions and Translations

For the main edition of *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama*, I have chosen manuscript KHc SHR 1797 B, and for the *Tanakhahnama* KHc SHR 1442 D, both for reasons of orthographic clarity and absence of tears/holes in the manuscripts. I have made as few emendations as possible, in an attempt to stay as close to the manuscripts. Finally, I have also provided all of the variant readings in the apparatus, including those that agree with the edited text.

Edition and Translation of the *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama*

My edition is of the *Bhai Prahilad Singh Rahitnama* is based on the following witnesses:
KHc SHR 1797 B, GNDU MS 1152, GNDU MS 29, GNDU MS 5017, KHc SHR 1442F.

ੴ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ।²⁹⁹ ਬਚਨ ਰਹਤਨਾਂਮਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀ ੧੦ ।³⁰⁰ ਦਰਿ ਆਈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਕੈ ਪ੍ਰਥਾਇ ਬੋਲਨਾ ਹੋਅ ।
301

Ek Onkar, by the grace of the Guru. The rahitnama was delivered from the mouth of the Guru. Spoken from the mouth of the Guru with Daraya (the) Udasi.

ੴ ।³⁰² ਦੋਹਰਾ ।³⁰³

1. Dohara

²⁹⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੴ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਵਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਫਤੇ, MS 1152: ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ। ਤਨਖਾਹਿਨਾਮਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕਰਨਾ ਵਾਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘੁ ਜੀ ਕੇ, MS 29: ੴ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੇ, MS 5017: ੴ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ੴ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

³⁰⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਬਚਨ ਰਹਤਨਾਂਮਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀ ੧੦, MS 1152: ਤਨਖਾਹਿਨਾਮਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕਰਨਾ ਵਾਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘੁ ਜੀ ਕੇ

³⁰¹ MS 1152: ਦਰਿ ਆਈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਕੈ ਪ੍ਰਥਾਇ ਬੋਲਨਾ ਹੋਅ, MS 29: ਦਰਿ ਆਈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਕੇ ਪਰਥਾਇ ਹੋਅ

³⁰² KHc SHR 1797 B: ੴ, KHc SHR 1442F: ੴ

³⁰³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਾ, MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ

ਅਬਚਲਨਗਰ ਬੈਠੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਕੀਅ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ ।³⁰⁴ ਬਿਲਅ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਤਾਰਾ ।³⁰⁵

The Guru was sitting in Abchalnagar, he thought in his mind, the true Guru spoke fully, the form of the Creator.

੨। ³⁰⁶ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੋਆ ਪ੍ਰਹਲਾਦਿ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਿਪ ਜਾਤਿ ਹਸ ਰਾਇ ।³⁰⁷ ਨਿਕਤ ਬੁਲਾਇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਲੀਤੋ ਕੰਠ ਲਗਾਇ ।³⁰⁸

2. The order came to fetch Prahilad Singh and the Brahmin Hans Rai. The Guru called (them) near and embraced (them).

੩ ।³⁰⁹ ਪੰਥ ਚਲਾਇਓ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ।³¹⁰ ਰਹਤ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ।³¹¹

3. The Panth was established in the world by the blessing of Guru Nanak. Let me tell you the rahit of the Khalsa, listen oh Bhai Prahilad.

³⁰⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਅਬਚਲਨਗਰ ਬੈਠੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਨ ਮੈ ਕੀਯਾ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ, MS 1152: ਅਬਚਲਨਗਰ ਬੈਠੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਕੀਅ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ, MS 29: ਅਬਚਲਨਗਰ ਬੈਠੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਕੀਅ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ, MS 5017: ਅਬਚਲਨਗਰ ਬੈਠੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਕੀਅ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਅਬਚਲਨਗਰ ਬੈਠੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਕੀਅ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ

³⁰⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਬੋਲਿਅ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਤਾਰਾ, MS 1152: ਬੋਲਿਅ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਤਾਰਾ, MS 29: ਬੋਲਿਅ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਤਾਰਾ, MS 5017: ਬੋਲਿਆ ਸਚਾ ਪਤਿਸਹੁ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਤਾਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਬੋਲਿਆ ਸਚ ਪਾਤਸਾਹ ਮੂਰਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਤਾਰਾ

³⁰⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨, MS 29: ੩, MS 5017: ੧, KHc SHR 1442F: ੨

³⁰⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਹੁਕਮ ਹੂਆ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਿਪ ਜਾਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਰਾਈ, MS 1152: ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੋਆ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸਿੰਘੁ ਬਿਪ ਜਾਤ ਹਸਿ ਰਾਇ, MS 29: ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੋਆ ਪ੍ਰਹਲਾਦਿ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਿਪ ਜਾਤਿ ਹਸ ਰਾਇ, MS 5017: ਹੁਕਮ ਹੋਆ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਿਪੁ ਜਾਇ ਸਰਾਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਹੁਕਮ ਹੋਆ ਪ੍ਰਹਲਾਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਿਪੁ ਜਾਇ ਸਰਾਇ

³⁰⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਨਿਕਤ ਬੁਲਾਇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਲੀਤੋ ਕੰਠ ਲਗਾਇ, MS 1152: ਨਿਕਟਿ ਬੁਲਾਇਆ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਲੀਨੋ ਕੰਠ ਲਗਾਇ, MS 29: ਨਿਕਤ ਬੁਲਾਇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਲੀਤੋ ਕੰਠ ਲਗਾਇ, MS 5017: ਨਿਕਟਿ ਬੁਲਾਇਆ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਲੀਨਾ ਕੰਠ ਲਗਾਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਨਿਕਟ ਬੁਲਾਇਆ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਲੀਨਾ ਕੰਠ ਲਗਾਇ

³⁰⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੩, MS 1152: ੧, MS 29: ੪, MS 5017: ੨, KHc SHR 1442F: ੩

³¹⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਪੰਥ ਚਲਯੋ ਹੇ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਪਰਿਸਾਦਾ, MS 1152: ਪੰਥ ਚਲਉ ਹੈ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS 29: ਪੰਥ ਚਲਾਇਓ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS 5017: ਪੰਥ ਚਲਾਇਓ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਪੰਥ ਚਲਉ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

³¹¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਰਹਤ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਲਾਦਾ, MS 1152: ਰਹਤ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ, MS 29: ਰਹਿਤ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਲਾਦਿ, MS 5017: ਰਹਤ ਬਤਾਈ ਖਲਸੇ ਸੁਣਿ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਰਹਿਤ ਬਤਾਈ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਲਾਦਿ

੪ |³¹² ਚੌਪਈ |³¹³

4. Chaupai

ਹਿੰਦ ਸਿਖ ਸਿਰ ਟੋਪੀ ਧਰੈ |³¹⁴ ਸਾਤ ਜਨਮ ਕੁਸਟੀ ਹਿੰਦ ਮਰੈ |³¹⁵ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਗਲਮੈ ਤਾਗਾ ਮੇਲੈ |³¹⁶ ਚੌਪੜ ਬਾਜੀ ਗਨਕਾ ਖੇਲੈ |³¹⁷

A Sikh who would wear the topi, seven lives he will die a leper. That Sikh who wears threads around the neck, plays dice, or visits a prostitute,

੫ |³¹⁸ ਜਨਮ ਸੁਾਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਗਾ ਕੋਟੀ |³¹⁹ ਬੀਜੇ ਹਾਥ ਬੁਰਾ ਉਸ ਖੋਟਿ |³²⁰ ਪਗ ਉਤਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ |³²¹ ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ |³²²

5. (he) will be born a dog ten million (innumerable) times, (whose) bad hand sows evil. The Sikh who takes off the turban to eat prasad (devotional food), (he) will depart for a torturing and dreadful hell.

³¹² KHc SHR 1797 B: ੪, MS 29: ੫, MS 5017: ੪

³¹³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 1152: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਚੌਪਈ

³¹⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਸਿਰ ਟੋਪੀ ਧਰੈ, MS 1152: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਸਿਰ ਟੋਪੀ ਧਰੈ, MS 29: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਸਿਰ ਟੋਪੀ ਧਰੈ, MS 5017: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਸਿਰ ਟੋਪੀ ਧਰੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਸਿਰ ਟੋਪੀ ਧਰੈ

³¹⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸਾਤ ਜਨਮ ਕੁਸਤੀ ਹੁਇ ਮਰੈ, MS 1152: ਸਾਤ ਜਨਮ ਕੁਸਟੀ ਹੋਇ ਮਰੈ, MS 29: ਸਾਤਿ ਜਨਮ ਕੁਸਟੀ ਹੋਇ ਮਰੈ, MS 5017: ਸਤ ਜਨਮ ਕੁਸਟੀ ਹੋਇ ਮਰੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸਾਤ ਜਨਮ ਕੁਸਟੀ ਹੋਇ ਮਰੈ

³¹⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਗਲਮੈ ਤਾਗਾ ਮੇਲੈ, MS 1152: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਗਲਮੈ ਤਾਗਾ ਮੇਲੈ, MS 29: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਗਲਮੈ ਤਾਗਾ ਮੇਲੈ, MS 5017: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਗਲਮਹਿ ਤਾਗਾ ਮੇਲੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਗਲਮੈ ਤਾਗਾ ਮੇਲੈ

³¹⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੌਪੜ ਬਾਜੀ ਗਨਕਾ ਖੇਲੈ, MS 1152: ਚੌਪੜ ਬਾਜੀ ਗਨਕਾ ਖੇਲੈ, MS 29: ਚਉਪੜ ਬਾਜੀ ਗਨਕਾ ਖੇਲੈ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪੜ ਬਾਜੀ ਗਨਕਾ ਖੇਲੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਚੌਪੜ ਬਾਜੀ ਗਨਕਾ ਖੇਲੈ

³¹⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੫, KHc SHR 1442F: ੪

³¹⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜਨਮ ਸੁਾਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਗਾ ਕੋਟੀ, MS 1152: ਜਨਮੁ ਸੁਆਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਗੋ ਕੋਟਿ, MS 29: ਜਨਮੁ ਸੁਆਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਗੋ ਕੋਟਿ, MS 5017: ਜਨਮ ਸਆਨ ਪਾਵੈ ਗਾ ਕੋਟਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਜਨਮ ਸੁਆਨ ਪਵੈ ਗਾ ਕੋਧ

³²⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਬੀਜੇ ਹਾਥ ਬੁਰਾ ਉਸ ਖੋਦਾ, MS 1152: ਬੀ ਜਿਉ ਹਾਥ ਬੁਰਾ ਉਸ ਖੋਦਾ, MS 29: ਬੀ ਜਿਓ ਹਾਥ ਬੁਰਾ ਉਸ ਖੋਟਿ, MS 5017: ਬੀਜੇ ਹਾਥ ਬੁਰਾ ਉਸ ਖੋਟਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਬੀਜੇ ਹਾਥ ਬੁਰਾ ਉਸ ਖੋਟ

³²¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਪਗ ਉਤਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਪਗੁ ਉਤਾਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਪਗ ਉਤਾਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਪਗ ਉਤਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਪਗ ਉਤਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ

³²² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕਾ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ

੬।³²³ ਦੋਹਰਾ ।³²⁴

6. Dohara

ਮੀਣਾ ਔਰ ਮਸੰਦੀਆ ਮੋਨਾ ਕੁੜੀ ਜੋ ਮਾਰ ।³²⁵ ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਵਰਤਣ ਕਰੈ ਅੰਤ ਕਰੇ ਗਾ ਖੁਆਰੁ ।³²⁶

Minas and Masands and Monas and those who kill their daughters, the Sikh who interacts with them will face a wretched end.

੭ ।³²⁷ ਦੋ ।³²⁸

7. Dohara

ਵਾਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਜਪੈ ਔਰੁ ਕੋਈ ਜਾਪੁ ।³²⁹ ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖ ਮੂਲ ਨਹੀ ਬਾਚਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਆਪ ।³³⁰

(He who) recites another prayer without the mantra of the Guru, that Shakta is not a Sikh at core, so said Guru Gobind Singh himself.

³²³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੬, MS 5017: ੬, KHc SHR 1442F: ੫

³²⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਾ, MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਦੋਹਰਾ

³²⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਮੀਣਾਂ ਅਵਰ ਮਸੰਦੀਆ ਮੋਨਾ ਕੁੜੀ ਜੁ ਮਾਰ, MS 1152: ਮੀਣਾਅ ਮਸੰਦੀਆ ਮੋਨਾ ਕੁੜੀ ਜੋ ਮਾਰ, MS 29: ਮੀਣਾ ਔਰ ਮਸੰਦੀਆ ਮੋਨਾ ਕੁੜੀ ਜੋ ਮਾਰ, MS 5017: ਮੀਣਾ ਔਰ ਮਸੰਦੀਆ ਭਾਦਣੀ ਕੁੜੀ ਜੁ ਮਾਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਮੀਣਾ ਉਰ ਮਸੰਦੀਆ ਭਾਦਣੀ ਕੁੜੀ ਜੁ ਮਾਰ

³²⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਬਰਤਨ ਕਰੈ ਅੰਤ ਕਰੋਗਾ ਖੁਆਰ, MS 1152: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਵਰਤਣ ਕਰੈ ਅੰਤ ਕਰੇ ਗਾ ਖੁਆਰੁ, MS 29: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਵਰਤਨ ਕਰੈ ਅੰਤ ਕਰਉ ਗਾ ਖੁਆਰ, MS 5017: ਹੋ ਸਿਖ ਵਰਤਣ ਕਰੈ ਅੰਤ ਕਰੋਗਾ ਖੁਆਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਹੋਇ ਸਿਖ ਵਰਤਣ ਕਰੇ ਅੰਤ ਕਰੇ ਗਾ ਖੁਆਰ

³²⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੭, MS 29: ੭, KHc SHR 1442F: ੬

³²⁸ MS 1152: ਦੋ, MS 29: ਦੋ

³²⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਜਪੈ ਅਵਰ ਕੋਉ ਜਾਪ, MS 1152: ਵਾਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਜਪੈ ਔਰੁ ਕੋਈ ਜਾਪ, MS 29: ਵਾਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਜਪੈ ਅਉਰ ਜੋ ਜਾਪ, MS 5017: ਵਹੁਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨਾ ਅਉਰਿ ਜਾਪੈ ਜੋ ਜਾਪ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਅਵਰ ਜਪੈ ਗੋ ਜਾਪ

³³⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖ ਮੂਲ ਨਹੀ ਬਾਚਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਆਪ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖ ਮੂਲ ਨਾਹਿ ਬਾਚਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖਿ ਆਪਿ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖ ਮੂਲ ਨਾਹਿ ਬਾਚਹਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਅਪ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖ ਮੂਲ ਨਹੀ ਬਾਚਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖ ਮੂਲ ਨਹੀ ਬਾਚਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ

੮।³³¹ ਮੇਰੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਮਾਨੈ ਨਹੀ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ।³³² ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਪਛਾਨੇ ਭੇਵ।³³³

8. (He who) does not follow my command (hukam), they do not serve a Sikh. Recognise the difference that appears between the brother and the Mlecch(outsider, barbarian).

੯।³³⁴ ਚੌਪਈ।³³⁵

9. Chaupai

ਹੁਕਮ ਦੇਖ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੀ ਰਾਖੈ।³³⁶ ਗੋਲਕਿ ਗੋਪੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮੁਖ ਭਾਖੈ।³³⁷ ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮੰਨਤ ਚੁਰਾਵੈ।³³⁸ ਐਸਾ ਸਿਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਹੀ ਭਵੈ।³³⁹

(He who appears) to (follow) the order to give, or conceals the donation box, is as bad as the ones as (those who) steal from the congregational offerings, this kind of Sikh is not pleasing to the Guru.

³³¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੮, MS 29: ੮, MS 5017: ੭, KHc SHR 1442F: ੭

³³² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਮੇਰੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਮਾਨੈ ਨਹੀ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ, MS 1152: ਮੇਰੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਮਾਨੈ ਨਹੀ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ, MS 29: ਮੇਰੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਮਾਨੈ ਨਹੀ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ, MS 5017: ਮੇਰੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਮਾਨੈ ਨਹੀ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਮੇਰਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਮਾਨੈ ਨਹੀ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ

³³³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਪਛਾਨੇ ਭੇਵ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਪਛਾਨੇ ਭੇਵ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਪਛਾਨੇ ਭੇਵ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਪਛਾਨੇ ਭੇਵ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਪਛਾਨੇ ਭੇਵ

³³⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੯, MS 29: ੯, MS 5017: ੮

³³⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 1152: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਚੌਪਈ

³³⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਹੁਕਮ ਦੇਖ ਕਾਰ ਨਹੀ ਰਾਖੈ, MS 1152: ਹੁਕਮ ਦੇਖਿ ਕਾਰਿ ਨਹੀ ਰਾਖੈ, MS 29: ਹੁਕਮ ਦੇਖਿ ਕਾਰ ਨਾਹੀ ਰਾਖੈ, MS 5017: ਹੁਕਮ ਦੇਖ ਕਰ ਨਹੀ ਰਾਖੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਹੁਕਮ ਦੇਖ ਕਾਰ ਨਹੀ ਰਾਖੈ

³³⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਗੋਲਕਿ ਗੋਪੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮੁਖ ਭਾਖੈ, MS 1152: ਗੋਲਕਿ ਗੋਪੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮੁਖ ਭਾਖੈ, MS 29: ਗੋਲਕਿ ਗੋਪੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮੁਖਿ ਭਾਖੈ, MS 5017: ਗੋਲਕਿ ਗੋਪੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮੁਖਿ ਭਾਖੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਗੋਲਕਿ ਗੋਪੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮੁਖ ਭਾਖੈ

³³⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮੰਨਤ ਚੁਰਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮੰਨਤ ਚੁਰਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮੰਨਤ ਚੁਰਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮੰਨਤ ਚੁਰਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟਾ ਸੰਖ ਮਨਤ ਚੁਰਾਵੈ

³³⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਐਸਾ ਸਿਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਐਸਾ ਸਿਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਐਸਾ ਸਿਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਐਸਾ ਸਿਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਐਸਾ ਸਿਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ

੧੦।³⁴⁰ ਟੂਟ ਪਰਿਉ ਮਾਇਅ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ।³⁴¹ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਾਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ।³⁴² ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਜਾਣ।³⁴³ ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸੁਜਾਣ।³⁴⁴

10. Break the noose of Maya, otherwise you will wander in ignorance for another 8,400,000 times (births), so brother recognise the Malecch. Listen wise Prahilad.

੧੧।³⁴⁵ ਦੋਹਰਾ।³⁴⁶

11. Dohara

ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਦ ਲੋ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ।³⁴⁷ ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੇ ਜੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹਿ।³⁴⁸

The Khalsa of the Guru, which was established in the world as the beginning, we must always keep animosity towards the Shaktas from hell.

³⁴⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੧੦, MS 29: ੧੦, MS 5017: ੯, KHc SHR 1442F: ੮

³⁴¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਟੂਟ ਪਰਿਉ ਮਾਇਅ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ, MS 1152: ਟੂਟ ਪਰਿਉ ਮਾਇਅ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ, MS 29: ਟੂਟ ਪਰਿਉ ਮਾਇਅ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ, MS 5017: ਟੂਟ ਪਰਿਉ ਮਾਇਅ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਟੂਟ ਪਰਿਉ ਮਾਇਅ ਕੀ ਫਾਸੀ

³⁴² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲੱਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ, MS 1152: ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਾਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ, MS 29: ਭਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਾਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ, MS 5017: ਭਰਮਤ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਾਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਭ੍ਰਮਤ ਫਿਰੈ ਉਲਾਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ

³⁴³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਜਾਨਯਾ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਜਾਣ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਜਾਣ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਜਾਣ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਬੀਰਜ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੋ ਜਾਣ

³⁴⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸੁਜਾਣ, MS 1152: ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸੁਜਾਣ, MS 29: ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸੁਜਾਣ, MS 5017: ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸੁਜਾਣ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੁਣ ਭਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦਿ ਸੁਜਾਣ

³⁴⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੧੧, MS 1152: ੯, KHc SHR 1442F: ੯

³⁴⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਦੋਹਰਾ

³⁴⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਆਦਿ ਲੋ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ, MS 1152: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਆਦਿ ਲੋ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ, MS 29: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਆਦਿ ਲੋ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਦਿ ਲੋ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਦਿ ਲੋ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੇ ਜਗ ਮੋਹਿ

³⁴⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੈ ਗੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸਿਉ ਕਰੈ ਗੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੈ ਗੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੈ ਗੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਇਨ ਸੋ ਕਰੈ ਗੋ ਧ੍ਰੋਹ

੧੨ |³⁴⁹ ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕੈ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੈ ਨਸਵਾਰੁ |³⁵⁰ ਲਏ ਤਾੜਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ |³⁵¹

12. (He who) wears red cloth, and takes snuff in the nostrils, seeing this, he is thrown into the darkness of hell.

੧੩ |³⁵² ਬਿਨ ਜਪੁ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪੈ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੋ ਜੇਵੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ |³⁵³ ਸੋ ਬਿਸਟਾ ਕਾ ਕਿਰਮ ਹੋਇ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦਿ |³⁵⁴

13. (He who) eats without reciting japuji and jap, (he) is feces of a worm having wasted this birth.

੧੪ |³⁵⁵ ਚੌਪਈ |³⁵⁶

14. Chaupai

³⁴⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੧੨, MS 1152: ੧੦, MS 5017: ੧੦, KHc SHR 1442F: ੧੦

³⁵⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ, MS 1152: ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰਿ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ, MS 29: ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੁਨ ਨਸਵਾਰ, MS 5017: ਸੂਹੇ ਅੰਬਰ ਪਹਿਰ ਕੈ ਮੁਖ ਨਾਸੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੂਹ ਅੰਬਰ ਪੈਨ ਕੇ ਮੁਖਨਾਸੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ

³⁵¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਲਹੇ ਤਾੜਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਏ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ, MS 1152: ਲਹੇ ਤਾੜਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪ੍ਰ ਸੁਟਏ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ, MS 29: ਲਏ ਤਾੜਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ, MS 5017: ਲਏ ਤਾੜਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਅੰਧਾਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਲਹੈ ਤੜਨਾ ਸੀਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਨਰਕ ਦੁਆਰ

³⁵² KHc SHR 1797 B: ੧੩, MS 1152: ੧੧, MS 29: ੧੧, MS 5017: ੧੧, KHc SHR 1442F: ੧੧

³⁵³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਬਿਨ ਜਪੁ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪੈ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੋ ਜੇਵੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS 1152: ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪੁ ਜਪੈ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੋ ਜੇਵੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS 29: ਬਿਨ ਜਪੁ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪੈ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੋ ਜੇਵੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS 5017: ਬਿਨਾ ਜਾਪ ਜੀ ਪੜੈ ਜੋ ਜੇਵੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਬਿਨਾ ਜਾਪ ਜਪਜੀ ਪੜੈ ਜੋ ਜੇਵੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

³⁵⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਬਿਸ੍ ਕਾ ਕਿਰਮ ਹੈ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਬਿਸਟਾ ਕਾ ਕਿਰਮ ਹੋਇ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦਿ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਬਿਸਟਾ ਕਾ ਕਿਰਮੁ ਹੋਇ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਵਾਉ ਬਾਦਿ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਬਿਸਟਾ ਕ੍ਰਿਮ ਹੋਇ ਗਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦੁ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਬਿਸਟਾ ਕੇ ਜੰਤ ਹੋਇ ਗੋ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦ

³⁵⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੧੪, MS 29: ੧੨

³⁵⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 1152: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਚੌਪਈ

ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਗੁਰ ਗੀਤ ਨਾ ਗਾਵੈ ।³⁵⁷ ਰਹਰਾਸ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਪਾਵੈ ।³⁵⁸ ਬਾਹਰ ਮੁਖੀ ਸਿਖ ਤਿਹ ਜਾਨੈ ।³⁵⁹ ਸਭ ਵਰਤਨ ਤਿਸ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੈ ।³⁶⁰

(He who) doesn't sing the Guru's song in the morning or takes prasad without performing rahiras (evening prayer), the Sikhs know that person as an outwardly Sikh. Everyone must treat such person as false.

੧੫ ।³⁶¹ ਲਾਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ।³⁶² ਬਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਜਗ ਜਨਮੈ ਮਰੈ ।³⁶³ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਚਨ ਸਿਉ ਭੁਟਾ ਜਾਇ ।³⁶⁴ ਦਰਗਹ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ ।³⁶⁵

15. (He) will be reborn 8,400,000 times, (he) will be born and die repeatedly in this world. (He who) breaks from the Guru's words and will be punished in the court of the Guru.

੧੬ ।³⁶⁶ ਦੋਹਰਾ ।³⁶⁷

³⁵⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਗੁਰ ਗੀਤ ਨਾ ਗਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਗੁਰ ਗੀਤਿ ਨਾ ਗਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਗੁਰ ਗੀਤ ਨਾ ਗਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਗੁਰ ਗੀਤ ਨਾ ਗਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਗੁਰ ਗੀਤ ਨਾ ਗਾਵੈ

³⁵⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਰਹਰਾਸ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਰਹਰਾਸਿ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਪਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਪਾਵੈ

³⁵⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਬਾਹਰ ਮੁਖੀ ਸਿਖ ਤਿਹ ਜਾਨੈ, MS 1152: ਬਾਹਰ ਮੁਖੀ ਸਿਖ ਤਿਹ ਜਾਨੈ, MS 29: ਬਾਹਰਿ ਮੁਖੀ ਸਿਖ ਤਿਹਿ ਜਾਨੈ, MS 5017: ਬਾਹਰ ਮੁਖੀ ਸਿਖ ਤਹਿ ਜਾਨੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਬਾਹਰ ਮੁਖੀ ਸਿਖ ਤਹਿ ਜਾਨਹੁ

³⁶⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸਭ ਵਰਤਨ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਤਿਸ ਮਾਨੈ, MS 1152: ਸਭ ਵਰਤਨ ਤਿਸ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੈ, MS 29: ਸਭ ਬਾਤਨ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੈ, MS 5017: ਸਭ ਬਾਤਨ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸਭ ਵਰਤਨ ਤਹਿ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨਹੁ

³⁶¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੧੫, MS 29: ੧੩, MS 5017: ੧੩, KHc SHR 1442F: ੧੩

³⁶² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਲਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ, MS 1152: ਲਾਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ, MS 29: ਲਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀ ਭਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ, MS 5017: ਲਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਲਖ ਚੌਰਾਸੀ ਭਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ

³⁶³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਬਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਜਗ ਜਨਮੈ ਮਰੈ, MS 1152: ਵਾਰ ਵਾਰ ਜਗ ਜਨਮੈ ਮਰੈ, MS 29: ਵਾਰ ਵਾਰ ਜਗ ਜਨਮੈ ਮਰੈ, MS 5017: ਬਰ ਬਾਰ ਜਗ ਜਨਮੈ ਮਰੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਬਰ ਬਾਰ ਜਗ ਜਨਮੈ ਮਰੈ

³⁶⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਗੁਰ ਬਚਨਾ ਸਿਉ ਭੁਟਾ ਜਾਇ, MS 1152: ਗੁਰੂ ਬਚਨ ਸਿਉ ਭੁਟਾ ਜਾਇ, MS 29: ਗੁਰ ਬਚਨਾ ਸਿਉ ਭੁਟਾ ਜਾਇ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰੂ ਬਚਨ ਸੋ ਭੁਟਾ ਜਾਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਗੁਰ ਬਚਨਾ ਸੋ ਭੁਟਾ ਜਾਇ

³⁶⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦਰਗਹ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ, MS 1152: ਦੁਗਹਿ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ, MS 29: ਦਰਗਹ ਤਾ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ, MS 5017: ਦਰਗਹ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਦਰਗੇ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ

³⁶⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੧੬, MS 29: ੧੪, MS 5017: ੧੩, KHc SHR 1442F: ੧੩

³⁶⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਾ, MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ

16. Dohara

ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੋ ਛਾਡ ਕੈ ਭਜੈ ਦੇਵ ਕੋਉ ਔਰ ।³⁶⁸ ਜਨਮ ਜਨਮ ਭ੍ਰਮਤ ਫਿਰੇ ਲਹੇ ਨਾ ਸੁਖ ਕੀ ਠੋਰ ।³⁶⁹

(He who) abandons the Formless One and runs after another god, will roam in ignorance birth after birth, without finding a place of comfort.

ੴ ।³⁷⁰ ਪਾਹਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਬਿਨ ਨਾ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ ।³⁷¹ ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਗੁਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸਾ ।³⁷²

17. The Sikhs should not bow their heads in puja to stones. And that Shakta, who is always without the Guru, is punished by the Lord of the Earth.

ੴ ।³⁷³ ਕਰੀ ਬਾਪਨਾ ਜਾਸ ਕੀ ਮੁਹਿ ਅਪਨੇ ਕਰ ਹਾਥਿ ।³⁷⁴ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸਮਸਰ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ ਜਰ ਜਾਵੈ ਕੁਲ ਸਾਥ ।³⁷⁵

18. (He who) by his own hand establishes his glory through connection to me, (he who) equates them, they and their lineage will be burned.

³⁶⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੋ ਛਾਡ ਕੈ ਭਜੈ ਦੇਵ ਕੋਉ ਔਰ, MS 1152: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਉ ਛਾਡਿ ਕਰ ਭਜੈ ਦੇਵ ਕੋਈ ਔਰ, MS 29: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੋ ਛਾਡਿ ਕਰਿ ਭਜੈ ਦੇਵ ਕੋਈ ਅਉਰ, MS 5017: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੋ ਛਾਡ ਕੇ ਜਪ ਦੇਵ ਕੋਈ ਅਉਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਛਾਡ ਕੇ ਜਪੇ ਜਾਪ ਕੋਇ ਔਰ

³⁶⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜਨਮ ਜਨਮ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਹੈ ਨ ਸੁਖ ਕੀ ਠੋਰ, MS 1152: ਜਨਮ ਜਨਮ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਹੈ ਨ ਸੁਖ ਕੀ ਠਉਰ, MS 29: ਜਨਮ ਜਨਮ ਭਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੈ ਲਹੈ ਨ ਸੁਖ ਕੀ ਠਉਰ, MS 5017: ਜਨਮ ਜਨਮ ਭ੍ਰਮਤ ਫਿਰੇ ਲਹੇ ਨਾ ਸੁਖ ਕੀ ਠੋਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਜਨਮ ਜਨਮ ਭ੍ਰਮਤਾ ਫਿਰੇ ਲਹੇ ਨਾ ਸੁਖ ਕੀ ਠੋਰ

³⁷⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੴ, MS 29: ੴ, MS 5017: ੴ, KHc SHR 1442F: ੴ

³⁷¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਪਾਹਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖਨ ਨਿਵੈ ਨ ਸੀਸ, MS 1152: ਪਾਹਿਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਬਿਨ ਨਿਵੈ ਜੋ ਸੀਸ, MS 29: ਪਾਹਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਬਿਨ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ, MS 5017: ਪਾਹਿਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਬਿਨ ਨਿਵਾਏ ਸੀਸ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਪਾਹਿਨ ਕੀ ਪੂਜਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਬਿਨ ਨਾ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ

³⁷² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਗੁਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸਾ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਗੁਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਗੁਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਗੁਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰਕੀ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਗਦੀਸ

³⁷³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੴ, MS 29: ੴ, MS 5017: ੴ,

³⁷⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਕਰੀ ਬਾਪਨਾ ਜਾਸ ਕੀ ਮੁਹਿ ਅਪਨੇ ਕਰ ਹਾਥਿ, MS 1152: ਕਰੀ ਬਾਪਨਾ ਜਾਸ ਕੀ ਮੋਹਿ ਅਪਨੇ ਹਾਥ, MS 29: ਕਰੀ ਬਾਪਨਾ ਜਾਸ ਕੀ ਮੋਹਿ ਅਪਨੇ ਹਾਥ, MS 5017: ਕਰੀ ਬਾਪਨਾ ਕੰਸ ਕੀ ਮੋਹਿ ਅਪਨੇ ਹਾਥਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਕਰੀ ਬਾਪਨਾ ਬੰਸ ਕੀ ਮੋਹਿ ਅਪਨੇ ਹਾਥ

³⁷⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸਮਸਰ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ ਜਰ ਜਾਵੈ ਕੁਲ ਸਾਥ, MS 1152: ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸਮਸਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੇ ਜਰ ਜਾਵੈ ਕੁਲ ਸਾਥ, MS 29: ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸਮਸਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ ਜਰ ਜਾਵੈ ਕੁਲ ਸਾਥ, MS 5017: ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸਮਸਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਰੇ ਜਰਿ ਜਾਵੈ ਕੁਲਿ ਸਾਥ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਸਮਸਰ ਜੋ ਕਰੇ ਜਰ ਜਾਵੈ ਕੁਲ ਸਾਥ

੧੯ |³⁷⁶ ਚੋਪਈ |³⁷⁷

19. Chaupai

ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਬੰਸ |³⁷⁸ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਤੀਨੋ ਕੀ ਅੰਸ |³⁷⁹ ਹੁਕਮ ਦਾਨ ਲਿਖਜਾ ਕਰਦੀਆ |³⁸⁰ ਤਿਨ ਕੁਲ ਮਧਿ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਮੈ ਕੀਆ |³⁸¹

From within all three lineages of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad and Amar Das, descends my command in written form, I speak from the centre of the abode of the three lineages.

੨੦। ³⁸² ਤਿਨ ਸਿਉ ਦੇਖ ਦੁਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ |³⁸³ ਤਾਕੀ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਮੂਲ ਨਹੀ ਹੋਈ |³⁸⁴ ਜੋ ਥਾਪੈ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ ਪੂਜਾ |³⁸⁵ ਆਨ ਦੇਵ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਕਾਟੇ ਦੂਜਾ |³⁸⁶

20. (He who) sees a Sikh from distance is thus liberated. (He who) establishes (himself) and worships to an image, (his) illusion of the other god is cut.

³⁷⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੧੯, MS 29: ੧੮

³⁷⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 1152: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੋ, MS 5017: ਚੋਪਈ

³⁷⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਬੰਸ, MS 1152: ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਬੰਸ, MS 29: ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਬੰਸ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਬੰਸ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਬੰਸ

³⁷⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਤੀਨੋ ਕੀ ਅੰਸ, MS 1152: ਗੁਰ ਅਮ੍ਰ ਦਸ ਤੀਨੋ ਕੀ ਅੰਸੁ, MS 29: ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਤੀਨੋ ਕੀ ਅੰਸ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰੂ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਤੀਨੋ ਕੀ ਅੰਸ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਗੁਰ ਅਮਰ ਦਾਸ ਤੀਨੋ ਕੀ ਅੰਸ

³⁸⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਹੁਕਮ ਦਾਨ ਜਾ ਕੋ ਲਿਖਦੀਆ, MS 1152: ਹੁਕਮ ਦੰਨ ਜਾ ਕੋ ਕਰਦੀਆ, MS 29: ਹੁਕਮ ਦਾਨ ਲਿਖਜਾ ਕਾਰਦੀਆ, MS 5017: ਹੁਕਮ ਦਾਨ ਲਿਖਜਾ ਕਰਦੀਆ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਹੁਕਮ ਦਾਨ ਲਿਖਜਾ ਕੋਦੀਆ

³⁸¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਤਿਨ ਕੁਲ ਮਧਿ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਮੈ ਕੀਆ, MS 1152: ਤਿਨ ਕੁਲ ਮਧਿ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਮੈ ਕੀਆ, MS 29: ਤਿਨ ਕੁਲ ਮਧਿ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਹਮ ਕੀਆ, MS 5017: ਤਿਹ ਕੁਲ ਮਧ ਨਿਵਾਸ ਮੋਹਿ ਕੀਆ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਕੁਲ ਨਿਵਸ ਮੈਲੀਆ

³⁸² KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੦, MS 5017: ੧੬, KHc SHR 1442F: ੧੬

³⁸³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਤਿਨ ਸਿਉ ਦੇਖ ਦੁਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ, MS 1152: ਤਿਨ ਸਿਉ ਦੇਖ ਦੁਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ, MS 29: ਤਿਨ ਸਿਉ ਦੇਖ ਦੁਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੁਈ, MS 5017: ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਦੇਖ ਦੁਰੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਦੇਖ ਦੁਰੈ ਸੁਖ ਕੋਈ

³⁸⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਤਾਕੀ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਮੂਲ ਨਹਿ ਹੋਈ, MS 1152: ਤਾਕੀ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਮੂਲ ਨਹੀ ਹੋਈ, MS 29: ਤਾਕੀ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਮੂਲਿ ਨਹਿ ਹੋਈ, MS 5017: ਤਾਕੀ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਮੂਲ ਨਹਿ ਹੋਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਤਾਕੀ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਮੂਲ ਨਹਿ ਹੋਈ

³⁸⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜੋ ਥਾਪੈ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ ਪੂਜਾ, MS 1152: ਜੋ ਥਾਪੈ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ ਪੂਜਾ, MS 29: ਜੋ ਥਾਪੈ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ ਪੂਜਾ, MS 5017: ਜੋ ਥਾਪੈ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ ਪੂਜਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਥਾਪੈ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ ਪੂਜਾ, MS 1152: ਅੰਨ ਦੇਵ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਕਾਟੇ ਦੂਜਾ

³⁸⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਆਨ ਦੇਵ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਕਾਟੈ ਦੂਜਾ, MS 1152: ਆਨ ਦੇਵ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਕਾਟੈ ਦੂਜਾ, MS 29: ਆਨ ਦੇਵ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਕਾਟੈ ਦੂਜਾ, MS 5017: ਆਨ ਦੇਵ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਕਾਟੇ ਦੂਜਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਅਨ ਦੇਵ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਕਾਟੇ ਦੂਜਾ

21. Dohara

ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮਨਤ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਚਿਤ ਭ੍ਰਮਾਇ |³⁸⁹ ਸੋ ਪਾਪੀ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਦਾ ਬਿਕਟਿ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇ |³⁹⁰

(He who) makes an offering and then seeks the fulfilment of a wish, that Sikh's mind will be misguided. That Shakta will always be a sinner and will go into a terrible form of duality.

22. Dohara

ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦ ਕਾ ਮੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਹਦਿ ਲਏ ਜੁ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਕਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਵਾਇ |³⁹³

(He who) takes prasad from the Masands, Minas, or those who kill their daughters, will waste (his) subsequent birth.

³⁸⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੧, MS 1152: ੧੭, MS 5017: ੧੭

³⁸⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਦੋਹਰਾ

³⁸⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮਨਤ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਚਿਤ ਭ੍ਰਮਾਇ, MS 1152: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸਿਖ ਮੰਨਤ ਕਰ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਚਿਤ ਭ੍ਰਮਾਇ, MS 29: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸੁਖ ਮਨਤ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਚਿਤ ਕਰਿ ਖਾਇ, MS 5017: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸਿਖ ਮੰਨਤ ਕਰ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਚਿਤ ਭ੍ਰਮਾਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਕਾਰ ਭੇਟ ਸਿਖ ਮਨਤ ਕਰ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਚਿਤ ਭ੍ਰਮਾਇ

³⁹⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਪਾਪੀ ਸਦਾ ਬਿਕਟ ਰੂਪ ਹੈ ਜਾਯਾ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਪਾਪੀ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਦਾ ਬਿਕਟਿ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਪਾਪੀ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਦਾ ਬਿਕਟ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਪਾਪੀ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਦਾ ਬਿਕਟ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਪਾਪੀ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਦਾ ਬਿਕਟ ਰੂਪ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇ

³⁹¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੨, MS 1152: ੧੮, MS 29: ੨੦, MS 5017: ੧੮, KHc SHR 1442F: ੧੮

³⁹² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਰਾ

³⁹³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦ ਅਰੁ ਮੀਨੇ ਕੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਲਏ ਜੁ ਇਨ ਕੋ ਜਾਥ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦ, MS 1152: ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦ ਕਾ ਮੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਹਦਿ ਲਏ ਜੁ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਕਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਵਾਇ, MS 29: ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦੀਏ ਕਾ ਮੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਲਏ ਜੁ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਕਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦ, MS 5017: ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦ ਕਾ ਮੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ॥ ਲਏ ਜੁ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਕਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਕੁੜੀ ਮਾਰ ਮਸੰਦ ਕਾ ਮੀਨੇ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ। ਲਏ ਜੋ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਕਾ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦ

੨੩ |³⁹⁴ ਛਾਡਿ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਕੋ ਲਏ ਪੰਥ ਜੋ ਹੋਰੁ। ³⁹⁵ ਐਥੈ ਦੁਖੁ ਲਹੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਚੋਰੁ। ³⁹⁶

23. (He who) abandons the Panth of the Sikhs and is received by another Panth, here and there that thief among the Sikhs of the Guru will feel pain.

੨੪ |³⁹⁷ ਚੌਪਈ |³⁹⁸

24. Chaupai

ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ |³⁹⁹ ਪਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਉਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ |⁴⁰⁰ ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਹੀ |⁴⁰¹ ਫਾਸ ਪਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ |

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(He who) worships in a funeral monument, grave or temple and (he who) does not speak highly of the Panth is not a Sikh of the Guru. (He will) be caught like a small pebble by Yama and hanged to death.

³⁹⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੩, MS 1152: ੧੯, MS 5017: ੧੯, KHc SHR 1442F: ੧੯

³⁹⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਛਾਡਿ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੇ ਪੰਥ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਪੰਥ ਕੋਉ ਔਰ, MS 1152: ਛਾਡਿ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਕੋ ਲਏ ਪੰਥ ਜੋ ਹੋਰੁ, MS 29: ਛਾਡਿ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਕੋ ਲਏ ਪੰਥ ਜੋ ਹੋਰੁ, MS 5017: ਛੋਡ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਕੋ ਲਏ ਪੰਥ ਜੋ ਹੋਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਛੋਡ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੇ ਚਰਨ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਪੰਥ ਜੋ ਹੋਰ

³⁹⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਐਥੇ ਓਥੈ ਦੁਖ ਲਹੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਚੋਰ, MS 1152: ਐਥੈ ਓਥੈ ਦੁਖ ਲਹੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਨ ਕਾ ਚੋਰ, MS 29: ਐਥੈ ਦੁਖ ਲਹੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਚੋਰ, MS 5017: ਏਥੇ ਉਥੇ ਦੁਖ ਲਹੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਨ ਨਮ ਗਵਾਵੈ ਬਾਦ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਏਥੇ ਉਥੇ ਦੁਖ ਲਹੈ ਗੁਰ ਸਿਖਨ ਕਾ ਚੋਰ

³⁹⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੪, KHc SHR 1442F: ੨੦

³⁹⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ

³⁹⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ, MS 1152: ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ, MS 29: ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ, MS 5017: ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਮੜੀ ਗੋਰ ਦੇਵਲ ਜੋ ਮਾਨੈ

⁴⁰⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਪਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਉਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ, MS 1152: ਪ੍ਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਉਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ, MS 29: ਪਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਉਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ, MS 5017: ਪਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਉਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਪਰ ਪੰਥ ਨ ਕੋ ਉਚ ਬਖਾਨੈ

⁴⁰¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਿਖ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਸਿਖ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਹੀ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਸਾਕਤ ਸਿਖਗੁਰ ਕਾ ਨਾਹੀ

⁴⁰² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਫਾਸ ਪਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ, MS 1152: ਫਾਸ ਪ੍ਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ, MS 29: ਫਾਸ ਪਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ, MS 5017: ਫਾਸ ਪਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਫਾਸ ਪਰਿਓ ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਫਾਹੀ

੨੫ |⁴⁰³ ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸੀਸ |⁴⁰⁴ ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਬਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ |⁴⁰⁵ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ |⁴⁰⁶ ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਸਕਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ
ਤਰੈ |⁴⁰⁷

25. (He who) bows the head to someone wearing topi, that Sikh will be in the twentieth hell. (He who) makes seva (service) to the Formless one, that Sikh will save his lineage.

੨੬ |⁴⁰⁸ ਦੋਹਰਾ |⁴⁰⁹

26. Dohara

ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹ |⁴¹⁰ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਮਿਲ ਬੋਚ ਹੈ ਖੋਜ ਇਨ ਇਹ ਮਹਿ ਲਿਓ |⁴¹¹

Accept the Khalsa of the Guru as manifesting the body of the Guru. That Sikh who seeks me can find me in it.

⁴⁰³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੫, MS 1152: ੨੦, MS 29: ੨੨, MS 5017: ੨੦

⁴⁰⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸਿਸ, MS 1152: ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸੀਸ, MS 29: ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸੀਸ, MS 5017: ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ
ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸੀਸ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਟੋਪੀ ਦੇਖ ਨਿਵਾਵੇ ਸੀਸ

⁴⁰⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਬਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਬਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਬਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ, MS
5017: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਬਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਨਰਕੀ ਵਿਸਵੇ ਬੀਸ

⁴⁰⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ, MS 1152: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ, MS 29: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ, MS
5017: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੈ

⁴⁰⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਸਕਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ ਤਰੈ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਸਕਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ ਤਰੈ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਸਗਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ ਤਰੈ, MS 5017:
ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਸਗਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ ਤਰੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਸਿਖ ਸਕਲ ਬੰਸ ਲੈ ਤਰੈ

⁴⁰⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੬, MS 29: ੨੩, MS 5017: ੨੧, KHc SHR 1442F: ੨੧

⁴⁰⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਾ, MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁴¹⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹਿ, MS 1152: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹਿ, MS 29: ਗੁਰੂ
ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਨੀਐ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਨੀਯੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜਾਨੀਐ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ
ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਦੇਹਿ

⁴¹¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਮੁਹਿ ਮਿਲ ਬੋਚ ਹੈ ਖੋਜ ਇਨ ਇਹ ਮਹਿ ਲੈਇ, MS 1152: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਮੈ ਮਿਲ ਆਚਾ ਹੈ॥ ਖੋਜਿ ਇਨ ਮੋ ਲੇਹ, MS
29: ਮੋ ਮਿਲ ਬੋਚ ਹੈ ਖੋਜ ਇਨੁ ਮਹਿ ਲੇਹ, MS 5017: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਮੋ ਮਿਲ ਬੋਚ ਹੈ ਖੋਜ ਇਨ ਹੁ ਮੋ ਲਹੇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਮੋ ਸਿਖ ਮਿਲ ਬੋਚਹਿਤ
ਖੋਜ ਇਨੋ ਮੋ ਲੇਹ

੨੭। ⁴¹² ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਬਿਸਾਹੁ ।⁴¹³ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੇ ਹਿਤ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ਪਰੈ ਨਰਕ ਕੇ ਮਾਂਹਿ ।⁴¹⁴

27. Do not trust (a yogi) who cuts the ears, or a Turk. That Sikh who does not do justice, that person is going to hell.

੨੮ ।⁴¹⁵ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਨੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਰਸਨਾ ਜਪੈ ਜੁ ਹੋਰ ।⁴¹⁶ ਸੋ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਕਾ ਪਰਾ ਨਰਕ ਮਧ ਘੋਰ ।⁴¹⁷

28. (He who) recites with their tongue bani (verses) other than that of the Guru, will be struck by God and will fall into the horrible centre of hell.

੨੯ ।⁴¹⁸ ਚੋਪਈ ।⁴¹⁹

29. Chaupai

⁴¹² KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੭, MS 1152: ੨੨, MS 5017: ੨੨, KHc SHR 1442F: ੨੨

⁴¹³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਬਿਸਾਹੁ, MS 1152: ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਬਿਸਾਹੁ, MS 29: ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਬਿਸਾਹਿ, MS 5017: ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਵਿਸਾਹੁ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਕਾਨ ਕਟੇ ਅਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਮੂਲ ਵਿਸਾਹੁ

⁴¹⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੇ ਹਿਤ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ਪਰੈ ਨਰਕ ਕੇ ਮਾਂਹਿ, MS 1152: ਜੋ ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਹਿਤ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਸੇ ਸੇ ਨ੍ਰਕੈ ਜਾਇ, MS 29: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੇ ਹਿਤ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ਸੋਨਰ ਨਰਕੈ ਜਾਇ, MS 5017: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੇ ਹਿਤੁ ਨ ਜਰੇ ਸੇ ਸਰ ਪਰ ਨਰਕੇ ਜਾਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਸੇ ਹਿਤ ਨਾ ਕਰੇ ਸੋਨਰ ਨਰਕੇ ਜਾਇ

⁴¹⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੮, MS 1152: ੨੩, MS 29: ੨੪, MS 5017: ੨੩, KHc SHR 1442F: ੨੩

⁴¹⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਨੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਰਸਨਾ ਜਪੈ ਜੁ ਹੋਰ, MS 1152: ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੀ ਬਾਨੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਰਸਨਾ ਜਪੈ ਜੋ ਹੋਰ, MS 29: ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਨੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਰਸਨਾ ਜਪੈ ਜੋ ਹੋਰ, MS 5017: ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੀ ਬਾਨੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਰਸਨਾ ਜਪੈ ਜੁ ਹੋਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਨੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਰਸਨਾ ਜਪੈ ਸੇ ਹੋਰ

⁴¹⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੋ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਕਾ ਪਰਾ ਨਰਕ ਮਧ ਘੋਰ, MS 1152: ਸੋ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਕਾ ਪਰੈ ਨ੍ਰਕ ਮਧ ਘੋਰ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਕਾ ਪਰਿਆ ਨਰਕ ਮਧ ਘੋਰ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਕਾ ਪਰਾ ਨਰਕ ਮਧ ਘੋਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੋ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਕਾ ਪਰੇ ਨਰਕ ਮੈ ਘੋਰ

⁴¹⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੨੯, MS 29: ੨੬, KHc SHR 1442F: ੨੪

⁴¹⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੋਪਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਚੋਪਈ

ਛੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਜੋ ਮਤ ਧਾਰੈ ।⁴²⁰ ਕੁਲ ਸਮੂਹ ਲੈ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਰੈ ।⁴²¹ ਬਾਝ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ।⁴²² ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੋ ਸੁਰ ਨਰ ਦੇਵ ।
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(He who) holds belief in the six darshans (systems of Hindu philosophy), will go to hell taking all of his crowd (with him). Without the service of the Sikhs and of the Guru, even gods and men are false.

੩੦। ⁴²⁴ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਏਹੁ ।⁴²⁵ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਅਕਾਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੇਹਾ ।⁴²⁶ ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ ।⁴²⁷ ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਸਾਖੀ ।⁴²⁸

30. This is the form of the Formless One, manifest in the immortal Khalsa. No part of my writings are false, this is the testimony by Guru Nanak and Guru Angad.

੩੧ ।⁴²⁹ ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁴³⁰

31. Dohara

⁴²⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਛਯ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਜੋ ਮਤਿ ਧਾਰੈ, MS 1152: ਛੇ ਦ੍ਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਜੋ ਮਤ ਧਾਰੈ, MS 29: ਛੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਜੋ ਮਤ ਧਾਰੈ, MS 5017: ਛੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਜੋ ਮਤਿ ਧਾਰੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਛੇ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਜੋ ਮਤ ਧਾਰੈ

⁴²¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਕੁਲ ਸਮੂਹ ਲੈ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਰੈ, MS 1152: ਕੁਲ ਸਮੂਹ ਲੈ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਰੈ, MS 29: ਕੁਲ ਸੰਬੂਹ ਲੈ ਨਰਕ ਸਧਾਰੈ, MS 5017: ਕੁਲਿ ਸਮੂਹ ਲੈ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਰੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਕੁਲ ਸਮੂਹ ਲੈ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਰੈ

⁴²² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਬਾਝ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ, MS 1152: ਬਾਝ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ, MS 29: ਬਾਝ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ, MS 5017: ਬਾਝੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਬਾਝ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ

⁴²³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੋ ਸੁਰ ਨਰ ਦੇਵ, MS 1152: ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੋ ਸੁਰ ਨ੍ਰ ਦੇਵਾ, MS 29: ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੋ ਸੁਰ ਨਰ ਦੇਵ, MS 5017: ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੋ ਸੁਰ ਨਰ ਦੇਵ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਮਿਥਿਆ ਮਾਨੋ ਸੁਰ ਨਰ ਦੇਵ

⁴²⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੩੦, MS 1152: ੨੪, MS 29: ੨੭, MS 5017: ੨੪

⁴²⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਏਹੁ, MS 1152: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤ ਏਹੁ, MS 29: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਏਹੁ, MS 5017: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਏਹੁ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤ ਏਹੁ

⁴²⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਅਕਾਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੇਹਿ, MS 1152: ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਅਕਾਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੇਹਾ, MS 29: ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਅਕਾਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੇਹ, MS 5017: ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਅਕਾਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੇਹਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਅਕਾਲ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਦੇਹ

⁴²⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ, MS 1152: ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ, MS 29: ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ, MS 5017: ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਮਮ ਰੰਚਕ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਖੀ

⁴²⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਸਾਖੀ, MS 1152: ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦਿ ਸਾਖੀ, MS 29: ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਸਾਖੀ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦੁ ਸਾਖੀ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਸਾਖੀ

⁴²⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੩੧, MS 1152: ੨੫, MS 5017: ੨੫, KHc SHR 1442F: ੨੫

⁴³⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਾ, MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਦੋਹਰਾ

ਲੈਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਅਵਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਸਭ ਝੂਠਿ ।⁴³¹ ਆਂਨ ਦੇਵ ਇਵ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਜਿਵ ਬਾਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਠਿ ।⁴³²

Have dealings with the Khalsa, serving others is all false. Accepting other gods is like clutching at straw.

੩੨ ।⁴³³ ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁴³⁴

32. Dohara

ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਸਿਓ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਚਲਾਇਯੋ ਪੰਥ ।⁴³⁵ ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮ ਯਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਿਾਨਏ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ।⁴³⁶

By the order of Formless One who caused the Panth to be made manifest. The command to all Sikhs is to accept the Granth as the Guru.

੩੩ ।⁴³⁷ ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁴³⁸

33. Dohara

⁴³¹ KHC SHR 1797 B: ਲੈਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਅਵਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਸਭ ਝੂਠਿ, MS 1152: ਲੈਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਔਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਸਭ ਝੂਠ, MS 29: ਲੈਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਆਨਿ ਦੇਵ ਸਭ ਝੂਠ, MS 5017: ਲੈਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਆਨ ਦੇਵ ਸਭ ਝੂਠ, KHC SHR 1442F: ਲੈਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਔਰ ਬਾਤ ਸਭ ਝੂਠ

⁴³² KHC SHR 1797 B: ਆਂਨ ਦੇਵ ਇਵ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਜਿਵ ਬਾਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਠਿ, MS 1152: ਔਰ ਦੇਵ ਇਉ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਜਿਉ ਬਾਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਠ, MS 29: ਅਉਰ ਦੇਵ ਇਉ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਜਿਉ ਬਾਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਠ, MS 5017: ਔਰ ਦੇਵ ਇਉ ਮਾਨੀਐ ਜਿਉ ਬਾਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਠ, KHC SHR 1442F: ਔਰ ਇਵ ਮਾਨੀਐ ਜਿਵ ਬਾਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਠ

⁴³³ KHC SHR 1797 B: ੩੨, MS 1152: ੨੬, MS 5017: ੨੬, KHC SHR 1442F: ੨੬

⁴³⁴ MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁴³⁵ KHC SHR 1797 B: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਸਿਓ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਚਲਾਇਯੋ ਪੰਥ, MS 1152: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਸਿਉ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਚਲਾਇਉ ਪੰਥ, MS 29: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਸੋ ਪਰਗਟ ਚਲਾਇਓ ਪੰਥ, MS 5017: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਸੋ ਪਰਗਟ ਚਲਾਇਓ ਪੰਥ, KHC SHR 1442F: ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਸੋ ਪਰਗਟ ਚਲਾਉ ਪੰਥ

⁴³⁶ KHC SHR 1797 B: ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮ ਯਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨੀਏ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, MS 1152: ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਇਉ ਕਹਿਉ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨੀਉ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, MS 29: ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨੀਓ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, MS 5017: ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਬਚਨ ਏਹੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨੀਐ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, KHC SHR 1442F: ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਬਚਨ ਏਹੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨੀਐ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ

⁴³⁷ KHC SHR 1797 B: ੩੩, MS 1152: ੨੭, MS 29: ੨੯, MS 5017: ੨੭, KHC SHR 1442F: ੨੭

⁴³⁸ MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋ

ਥਾਪ ਚਲਿਓ ਜੁਓ ਜਗਤ ਮੈਂ ਤਿਨਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਵਹੁ ਮਾਥ ।⁴³⁹ ਵਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਸਾਰੀ ਗਾਥ ।⁴⁴⁰

(He who) would bow down the head to that which is established in the world, without the mantra of vahiguru, the whole epic is false.

੩੪ ।⁴⁴¹ ਚੌਪਈ। ⁴⁴²

34. Chaupai

ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਬਰੁ ਦੀਨਾ ।⁴⁴³ ਕੋਟਿ ਅਸੁਮੇਧੁ ਜਗੁ ਫਲੁ ਲੀਨਾ ।⁴⁴⁴ ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ ।⁴⁴⁵ ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਵੈ ।⁴⁴⁶

The Sikh who gives cloth (performs charity) to another Sikh, gets the benefit of millions of Vedic horse sacrifices. (He who) learns the compositions of the Guru, gains the benefit of being released in this life.

⁴³⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਥਾਪ ਚਲਿਓ ਜੁਓ ਜਗਤ ਮੈਂ ਤਿਨਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਵਹੁ ਮਾਥ, MS 1152: ਥਾਪ ਚਲਿਓ ਜੁਓ ਜਗਤ ਮੈਂ ਤਿਨਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਵਹੁ ਮਾਥ, MS 29: ਥਾਪ ਚਲਾਇਓ ਜਗਤ ਮੈਂ ਤਿਨਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਵਹਿ ਮਾਥ, MS 5017: ਥਾਪਿ ਚਲਿਓ ਜੋ ਜਗਤ ਮੈਂ ਤਿਨੈ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਮਾਥ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਥਾਪ ਚਲਿਓ ਜੋ ਜਗਤ ਮੈਂ ਤਿਨੈ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਮਾਥ

⁴⁴⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਸਗਰੀ ਗਾਥ, MS 1152: ਵਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਸਾਰੀ ਗਾਥ, MS 29: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਬਿਨ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਸਗਰੀ ਗਾਥ, MS 5017: ਵਹਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨੁ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਸਾਰੀ ਗਾਥ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਵਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਸਗਰੀ ਗਾਥ

⁴⁴¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੩੪, MS 29: ੩੦

⁴⁴² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 1152: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਚੌਪਈ

⁴⁴³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਬਰ ਦੀਨੈ, MS 1152: ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਬਰੁ ਦੀਨਾ, MS 29: ਸਿਖ ਕਉ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਬੁਤ ਦੀਨੈ, MS 5017: ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਬਰ ਦੀਨਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਤ ਦੀਨਾ

⁴⁴⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਕੋਟਿ ਅਸੁਮੇਧ ਜਗਯ ਫਲ ਲੀਨੈ, MS 1152: ਕੋਟਿ ਅਸੁਮੇਧੁ ਜਗੁ ਫਲੁ ਲੀਨਾ, MS 29: ਕੋਟ ਅਸਮੇਦ ਜਗ ਫਲ ਲੀਨੈ, MS 5017: ਕੋਟ ਅਸਮੇਦ ਜਗ ਫਲ ਲੀਨਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਕੋਟ ਅਸਮੇਦ ਜਗ ਫਲ ਲੀਨਾ

⁴⁴⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਸਿਖ ਲਾਵੈ

⁴⁴⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਦਾਰਥ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਦਾਰਥ ਪਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਤਿਸ ਸਿਖ ਪਰ ਵਾਰਨੇ ਜਾਵੈ

੩੫ |⁴⁴⁷ ਚਾਪੀ ਕਰੈ ਮਲੇ ਸਿਖ ਚਰਣਾ |⁴⁴⁸ ਤਿਸ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਮੈਲੀ ਨਾ ਸਾਰਨਾ |⁴⁴⁹ ਕਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸਿਖਾ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ |⁴⁵⁰ ਤਿਸੁ ਸਿਖ ਕਉ ਗੁਰ ਵਾਰਨੈ ਜਾਵੈ |⁴⁵¹

35. (He who) massages the feet of a Sikh, that Sikh has not accomplished evil, (he who) makes prasad for other Sikhs, for that Sikh the Guru offers himself.

੩੬ |⁴⁵² ਦੋਹਰਾ |⁴⁵³

36. Dohara

ਸੰਮਤ ਸਤਾਰਾ ਸੈ ਭਏ ਬ੍ਰਸ ਬਵੰਜਾ ਨਿਹਾਰ |⁴⁵⁴ ਮਾਘ ਵਦੀ ਬਿਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਵੀਰਵਾਰ ਸੁਭਵਾਰ |⁴⁵⁵

See the year of Samvat 1752 having passed, this is the fifth day, Thursday, of the lunar fortnight, an auspicious day.

੩੭ |⁴⁵⁶ ਦੋਹਰਾ |⁴⁵⁷

37. Dohara

⁴⁴⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੩੫, MS 1152: ੨੮, MS 29: ੩੧, MS 5017: ੨੮, KHc SHR 1442F: ੨੮

⁴⁴⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚਾਪੀ ਕਰੈ ਮਲੇ ਸਿਖ ਚਰਣਾ, MS 1152: ਚਾਪੀ ਕਰੈ ਮਲੇ ਸਿਖ ਚਰਨਾ, MS 29: ਚਾਪੀ ਕਰੈ ਮਲੇ ਸਿਖ ਚਰਣਾ, Khc SHR 1442F: ਚਾਪੀ ਕਰੇ ਮਲੇ ਸਿਖ ਚਰਨਾ

⁴⁴⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਜਮ ਕੰਕਰ ਬਸਿ ਤਾਹਿ ਤਲ ਪਰਨਾ, MS 1152: ਤਿਸੁ ਸਿਖ ਕਾ ਮੈਲੀ ਨੇ ਸੂਨਾ, MS 29: ਤਿਸੁ ਸਿਖ ਕਾ ਮੈਲੀ ਨੇ ਸਰਨਾ, Khc SHR 1442F: ਤਿਸ ਸਿਖ ਕੀ ਮੈਲੀ ਨਾ ਸਾਰਨਾ

⁴⁵⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਕਰੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸਿਖਨ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਕਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸਿਖਾ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਕਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸਿਖਨ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਕਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸਿਖਨ ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਵੈ

⁴⁵¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਤਿਸੁ ਸਿਖ ਪਰ ਗੁਰ ਬਾਰਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 1152: ਤਿਸੁ ਸਿਖ ਕਉ ਗੁਰ ਵਾਰਨੈ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਤਿਸੁ ਸਿਖ ਪਰ ਗੁਰ ਵਾਰਨੇ ਜਾਵੈ MS 5017: ਤਿਸ ਸਿਖ ਪ੍ਰ ਗੁਰ ਵਾਰਨੇ ਜਾਵੈ

⁴⁵² KHc SHR 1797 B: ੩੬, MS 5017: ੨੯

⁴⁵³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਦੋਹਿਰਾ

⁴⁵⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸੰਮਤ ਸਤ੍ਰੈ ਸਯ ਭਏ ਬਰਸ ਬਵੰਜਾ ਨਿਹਾਰ, MS 1152: ਸੰਮਤ ਸਤਾਰਾ ਸੈ ਭਏ ਬ੍ਰਸ ਬਵੰਜਾ ਨਿਹਾਰ, MS 29: ਸੰਮਤ ਸਤਰਹਿ ਸੈ ਭਏ ਬਰਿਸ ਸੋ ਨਿਹਾਰਿ, MS 5017: ਸੰਮਤ ਸਤਰਾ ਸੈ ਭਏ ਬਾਸਠ ਬਰਖ ਨਿਹਾਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸੰਮਤ ਸਤ੍ਰਹਿ ਸੈ ਭਏ ਬਾਸਠ ਬਰਖ ਨਿਹਾਰ

⁴⁵⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਮਾਘ ਬਦੀ ਬਿਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਬੀਰਬਾਰ ਸੁਭ ਵਾਰ, MS 1152: ਮਾਘ ਵਦੀ ਬਿਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਵੀਰਵਾਰ ਸੁਭਵਾਰ, MS 29: ਮਾਘ ਵਦੀ ਬਿਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਵੀਰਵਾਰ ਸੁਭਵਾਰ, MS 5017: ਮਾਘ ਵਦੀ ਬਿਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਵੀਰਵਾਰ ਸੁਭਵਾਰ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਮਾਘ ਵਦੀ ਬਿਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਵੀਰਵਾਰ ਸੁਭਵਾਰ

⁴⁵⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੩੭, MS 1152: ੩੦, MS 29: ੩੨, MS 5017: ੩੦

⁴⁵⁷ MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ

ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਸਮੈ ਸਿਖ ਹੁਕਮ ਕੋ ਪੜੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਸਤ ਭਾਇ ।⁴⁵⁸ ਸਹਸ ਬਾਰਸ ਰਸਨਾ ਰਟੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੁਹਿ ਆਇ ।⁴⁵⁹

The Sikh should read the hukam (command) at the time of rahiras (hymns sung at sunset) with a loving mind. (He who) repeats with the tongue a thousand times, that one then appears before me.

੩੮ ।⁴⁶⁰ ਚੌਪਈ ।⁴⁶¹

38. Chaupai

ਬਚਨ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਰਖੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ ।⁴⁶² ਤੈ ਸੋਈ ਫਲ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਈ ।⁴⁶³ ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ ।⁴⁶⁴ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਭੁਗਤਿ ਵਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਪੂਰਤਿ ।⁴⁶⁵

The Sikh who puts faith in this speech shall receive a reward. The speech of the Guru is the image of the Guru. Liberation, enjoyment, blessing, they all will be fulfilled.

੩੯ । ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁴⁶⁶

39. Dohara

⁴⁵⁸ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਸਮਯ ਸਿਖ ਹੁਕਮ ਕੋ ਪੜੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਯਾ, MS 1152: ਰਹਿਰਾਸਿ ਸਮੈ ਸਿਖ ਹੁਕਮ ਕੋ ਪੜੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਸਤ ਭਾਇ, MS 29: ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਸਮੈ ਸਿਖ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਸੋ ਪੜੈ ਸੁਨਤ ਸਤਿ ਭਾਇ, MS 5017: ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਸਮੈ ਸਿਖ ਹੁਕਮ ਕੋ ਪੜੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਸਤ ਭਾਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਸਮੈ ਸਿਖ ਹੁਕਮ ਕੋ ਪੜੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਸਤ ਭਾਇ

⁴⁵⁹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਸਹਸ ਬਾਰ ਰਸਨਾ ਰਟੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੁਹਿ ਆਇ, MS 1152: ਸਹੰਸ ਵਾਰ ਰਸਨਾ ਰਟੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੋਹਿ ਆਇ, MS 29: ਏਕ ਬਾਰ ਰਸਨਾ ਰਟੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੋਹਿ ਆਇ, MS 5017: ਸਹੰਸ ਬਾਰ ਰਸਨਾ ਰਟੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੁਹਿ ਆਇ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸਹਿਸ ਬਾਰ ਰਸਨਾ ਰਟੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੋਹਿ ਆਇ

⁴⁶⁰ KHc SHR 1797 B: ੩੮

⁴⁶¹ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 1152: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ

⁴⁶² KHc SHR 1797 B: ਬਚਨ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਰਖੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ, MS 1152: ਬਚਨ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਰਾਖੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ, MS 29: ਬਚਨ ਪਰਤੀਤ ਰਖੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ, MS 5017: ਬਚਨ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਰਖੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਬਚਨ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਰਖੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋਈ

⁴⁶³ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਤੈ ਸੋਈ ਫਲ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਈ, MS 1152: ਤੈ ਸੋਈ ਫਲੁ ਪਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਈ, MS 29: ਤੈਸੇ ਹੀ ਫਲ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਈ, MS 5017: ਤੈ ਸੋਈ ਫਲ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੋਈ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਤੈ ਸੋਈ ਫਲ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੋਈ

⁴⁶⁴ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ, MS 1152: ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤ, MS 29: ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਬਚਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਮੂਰਤਾ

⁴⁶⁵ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਮੁਕਤਿ ਭੁਗਤਿ ਵਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਪੂਰਤਿ, MS 1152: ਮੁਕਤਿ ਭੁਗਤਿ ਵਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਪੂਰਤ, MS 29: ਮੁਕਤਿ ਭੁਗਤਿ ਵਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਪੂਰਤਿ, MS 5017: ਮੁਕਤ ਭੁਗਤਿ ਵਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਪੂਰਤ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਮੁਕਤ ਭੁਗਤ ਵਰ ਸਾਰੇ ਪੂਰਤ

⁴⁶⁶ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਦੋਹਰਾ

ਇਸਟ ਮਾਨੀ ਏ ਆਪਣਾ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੀ ਏ ਸਭਨਿ । ਕਲ ਕੀ ਰਤਨ ਕਾ ਵਖਤੁ ਹੈ ਨਹੀ ਫੁਰੈ ਜਪ ਤਪ ਤੀਰਥ ਕਰਮਿ ॥੧॥ ਹੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ
467

Accept the desired one and serve, all. This is the time of the jewel of tranquility, it will not occur to you to do prayers, austerities, pilgrimage sites and actions, Oh Guru ji.

੪੦ । ਰਹਿਣੀ ਰਹੇ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ ।⁴⁶⁸ ਉਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਮੈ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ ।⁴⁶⁹ ਭੁਲਿਅ ਚੁਕਿਅ ਬਖਸਣ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ।⁴⁷⁰

40. (He who) maintains this way of living is my Sikh. (He) is the master of whom I am the disciple. Please watch over my mistakes, oh Guru.

ਕਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਾ ਆਸਾ ।⁴⁷¹ ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਕਟਿ ਡਾਰੇ ਫਾਸਾ ।⁴⁷²

Cherish the Formless One, (and) the noose of rebirth is cut).

੪੧ । ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁴⁷³

41. Dohara

ਸਤਿ ਅਕਾਲ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਮ ਬੀਜਾ ਈਤ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੁ ।⁴⁷⁴ ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਬਚਨ ਇਹ ਕਹਿਓ ਆਦਿ ਅਰ ਅੰਤ ।⁴⁷⁵

The Great Formless One is the supreme mantra. Give this message to all of the Sikhs, (from) beginning to end.

⁴⁶⁷ KHc SHR 1797 B: ਇਸਟ ਮਾਨੀ ਏ ਆਪਣਾ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੀ ਏ ਸਭਨਿ। ਕਲ ਕੀ ਰਤਨ ਕਾ ਵਖਤੁ ਹੈ ਨਹੀ ਫੁਰੈ ਜਪ ਤਪ ਤੀਰਥ ਕਰਮਿ। ਹੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ

⁴⁶⁸ MS 1152: ਰਹਿਣੀ ਰਹੇ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ, MS 29: ਰਹਿਤ ਰਹੇ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ, MS 5017: ਰਹਿਣੀ ਰਹੇ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਰਹਿਣੀ ਰਹੇ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ

⁴⁶⁹ MS 1152: ਉਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਮੈ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ, MS 29: ਓਹਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਮੈ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ, MS 5017: ਓਹੁ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਹਉ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਉ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਹੋ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ

⁴⁷⁰ MS 5017: ਭੁਲਿਅ ਚੁਕਿਅ ਬਖਸਣ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ

⁴⁷¹ MS 1152: ਕਰੈ ਅਕਾਲੁ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਾ ਆਸਾ, MS 29: ਕਰੈ ਅਕਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਾ ਆਸ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਕਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਾ ਆਸਾ

⁴⁷² MS 1152: ਜਨਮ ਮੂਨ ਕਟਿ ਡਾਰੇ ਫਾਸਾ, MS 29: ਜਨਮ ਮੂਨ ਕਟਿ ਡਾਰੇ ਫਾਸ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਕਟ ਡਾਰੇ ਫਾਸਾ

⁴⁷³ MS 1152: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁴⁷⁴ MS 1152: ਸਤਿ ਅਕਾਲ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਪ੍ਰਮ ਬੀਜਾ ਈਹ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੁ, MS 29: ਸਤਿ ਅਕਾਲ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਮ ਬੀਜਾ ਈਤ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੁ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸਾਤਿ ਅਕਾਲ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਮ ਬੀਜ ਇਹ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੁ

⁴⁷⁵ MS 1152: ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਬਚਨ ਇਉ ਕਹਿਓ ਆਦਿ ਅਰ ਅੰਤੁ, MS 29: ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਬਚਨ ਹੇ ਇਹ ਕਹਿਓ ਆਦਿ ਅਰ ਅੰਤ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਬਚਨ ਈਹ ਕਹਿਯੋ ਆਦਿ ਅਰ ਅੰਤ

ਰਹਿਤਨਾਮਾ ਸੰਪੂਰਣ ਹੋਇਆ।⁴⁷⁶

This rahitnama is complete.

D. Edition and Translation of the Tanakhahnama

My edition of the *Tanakhahnama* is based on the following witnesses: KHc SHR 1442 D, Dehradun MS 71, GNDU MS 29, KHc SHR 1579C, GNDU MS PPS 142, GNDU MS 1024, GNDU MS 5017, GNDU MS 770.

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ।⁴⁷⁷

Ek Onkar By the Grace of the Guru

ਤਨਖਾਹਿਨਾਮਾ।⁴⁷⁸

Tanakhahnama

ਪ੍ਰਸਨੁ ਕਰਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਕਾ।⁴⁷⁹ ਵਾਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕੇ।⁴⁸⁰

An enquiry by Bhai Nand Lal. Responded to by Sri Guru Gobind Singh.

⁴⁷⁶ MS 1152: ਰਹਿਤਨਾਮਾ ਸੰਪੂਰਣ ਹੋਇਆ॥ ੩੨॥ ਇਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਤਨਖਾਹਿਨਾਮਾ ਨਸੀਹਤਨਾਮਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ। ਪੜ੍ਹ ਤੇ ਸੁਣ ਤੇ ਮੋਖ ਮੁਖਤਿ ਲਹੰਤੇ, MS 29: ਰਹਿਤਨਾਮਾ ਸੰਪੂਰਣ ਹੋਇਆ, KHc SHR 1442F: ਰਹਿਤਨਾਮਾ ਸੰਪੂਰਣ ਭਯਾ

⁴⁷⁷ KHc SHR 1442 D: ੴ ਵਾਹਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS 71: ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS 29: ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, KHc SHR 1579 C: ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS PPS 142: ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, MS 1024: ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ॥ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੇ, MS 5017: ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ॥ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੇ

⁴⁷⁸ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਤਨਖਾਹਨਾਮਾ, MS 71: ਤਨਖਾਹਿਨਾਮਾ, MS 29: ਤਨਖਾਹਨਾਮਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਅਬਿ ਤਨਿਖਾਹਿ ਨਾਮਾ, MS PPS 142: ਤਨਖਾਹਿਨਾਮਾ, MS 1024: ਤਨਖਾਹਨਾਮਾ, MS 5017: ਤਨਖਾਹਿਨਾਮਾ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀ।੧੦।

⁴⁷⁹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕਰਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਕਾ, MS 71: ਪ੍ਰਸਨੁ ਕਰਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਕਾ, MS 29: ਪ੍ਰਸਨੁ ਕਰਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦੁ ਲਾਲ ਕਾ, MS PPS 142: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕਰਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦੁ ਲਾਲ ਕਾ, MS 1024: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕਰਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਕਾ, MS 5017: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕਰਨਾ ਭਾਈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਕਾ

⁴⁸⁰ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਵਾਕ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕਾ, MS 71: ਉਤਰ ਵਾਕਿ ਗੁਰ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਸਿੰਘੁ ਜੀ ਕੇ, MS 29: ਵਾਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕੇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬਾਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘੁ ਜੀ ਕਾ, MS PPS 142: ਵਾਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਸਿਉ, MS 1024: ਵਾਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕੇ, MS 5017: ਉਤਰ ਵਾਕਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਕਾ

੧ | ਦੋਹਰਾ |⁴⁸¹

1. Dohara

ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕੀਅ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਮੋਹਿ |⁴⁸² ਕਉਨੁ ਕਰਮੁ ਇਸੁ ਜੋਗ ਹੈ ਕਉਨੁ ਕਰਮੁ ਨਹੀ ਸੋਹਿ |⁴⁸³

Bhai Nand Lal asked the Guru, please tell me which action is appropriate and which is not.

ਗੁਰੋ ਵਾਚ |⁴⁸⁴

The Guru spoke.

੨ | ਦੋਹਰਾ |⁴⁸⁵

2. Dohara

⁴⁸¹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ੧॥ ਦੋਹਰਾ॥, KHc SHR 1579C: ੧॥ ਦੋਹਰਾ॥, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1024: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁴⁸² KHc SHR 1442 D: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕੀਆ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਮੋਹਿ, MS 71: ਪ੍ਰਸਨੁ ਕੀਆ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਮੋਹਿ, MS 29: ਪ੍ਰਸਨਿ ਕੀਆ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਮੋਹਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕੀਆ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਮੋਹਿ, MS PPS 142: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕੀਆ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਮੋਹਿ, MS 1024: ਪ੍ਰਸੁ ਕੀਆ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਮੋਹ, MS 5017: ਪ੍ਰਸਨ ਕੀਆ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਤਾਈਐ ਮੋਹਿ

⁴⁸³ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਵਨ ਕਰਮ ਇਨ ਜੋਗੁ ਹੈ ਕਵਨ ਕਰਮ ਨਹੀ ਮੋਹਿ, MS 71: ਕਉਨੁ ਕਰਮੁ ਇਸੁ ਜੋਗ ਹੈ ਕਉਨੁ ਕਰਮੁ ਨਹੀ ਸੋਹਿ, MS 29: ਕਵਨ ਕਰਮ ਇਨ ਜੋਗੁ ਹੈ ਕਵਨ ਕਰਮ ਨਹੀ ਮੋਹਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਉਨ ਕਰਮ ਇਨ ਜੋਗੁ ਹੈ ਕਉਨ ਕਰਮ ਇਨ ਸੋਹਿ, MS PPS 142: ਕਉਨ ਕਰਮ ਇਨ ਜੋਗੁ ਜੇ ਕਵਨ ਕਰਮ ਨਹੀ ਸੋਇ, MS 1024: ਕਵਨ ਕਰਮ ਇਨ ਜੋਗ ਹੈ ਕਵਨ ਕਰਮ ਨਹੀ ਸੋਹ, MS 5017: ਕਉਨ ਕਰਮ ਇਨ ਜੋਗ ਹੈ ਕਉਨ ਕਰਮ ਨਹੀ ਸੋਹਿ

⁴⁸⁴ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਚੁ, MS 71: ਗੁਰੋ ਵਾਚ, MS 29: ਗੁਰੂ ਵਚ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਵਾਚ, MS PPS 142: ਗੁਰੋ ਵਾਚ, MS 1024: ਗੁਰੂ ਵਾਚ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਵਾਚ

⁴⁸⁵ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ੩॥ ਦੋਹਰਾ॥, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1024: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ

ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨੇ ਸਿਖੁ ਕਰਮ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ।⁴⁸⁶ ਨਾਮ ਦਾਨੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਹੈ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ।⁴⁸⁷

You Nand Lal, listen to what I say, this is Sikh behavior. Without nam (divine name), dan (charity), isnan (purity through bathing), one can not act.

੩ । ਚੌਪਈ ।⁴⁸⁸

3. Chaupai

ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਸਾਤ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ ।⁴⁸⁹ ਤਨਖਾਹਦਾਰੁ ਉਹ ਵਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ ।⁴⁹⁰ ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਜਾਇ ਕੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਡੁਲਾਵੈ ।⁴⁹¹ ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ ।⁴⁹²

Do not attend satsang (congregation) early in the morning, call him a serious tanakhahdar (who) having gone to the satsang (lets) his mind sway, he will not find refuge.

⁴⁸⁶ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨੇ ਸਿਖੁ ਕਰਮ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS 71: ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨਿ ਸਿਖ ਕਰਮ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS 29: ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮਿ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨਿ ਸਿਖ ਕਰਮ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਨੰਦੁ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨਿ ਸਿਧੇ ਕਰਮ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS PPS 142: ਨੰਦੁ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨੇ ਸਿਖ ਕਰਮ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS 1024: ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨਿ ਸਿਖ ਕਰਮ ਮਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS 5017: ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਤੁਮ ਬਚਨੁ ਸੁਨਿ ਸਿਖ ਕਰਮ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ

⁴⁸⁷ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਨਾਮੁ ਦਾਨੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ, MS 71: ਨਾਮ ਦਾਨੁ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਹੈ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ, MS 29: ਨਾਮ ਦਾਨਿ ਇਸਨਾਨਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਨਾਮ ਦਾਨ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ, MS PPS 142: ਨਾਮ ਦਾਨ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ, MS 1024: ਨਾਮ ਦਾਨ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ, MS 5017: ਨਾਮੁ ਦਾਨ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਇਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਨੇਹ

⁴⁸⁸ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 71: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌਪਈ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਚੌਪਈ, MS PPS 142: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 1024: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ

⁴⁸⁹ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਪ੍ਰਾਤਿ ਕਾਲ ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਸਾਤ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਪ੍ਰਾਤਿ ਕਾਲ ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਪ੍ਰਾਤ ਕਾਲ ਸਾਤਸੰਗਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ

⁴⁹⁰ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਤਨਖਾਹਦਾਰ ਓਹੁ ਵਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਤਨਖਾਹਦਾਰੁ ਉਹ ਵਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਤਨਖਾਹਦਾਰੁ ਵਹੁ ਵਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਤਨਖਾਹਿ ਦਾਰਿ ਵਹੁ ਬਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਤਨਖਾਹਿਦਾਰੁ ਵਹੁ ਵਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਤਨਖਾਹਦਾਰੁ ਬਹੁ ਬਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਤਨਖਾਹਦਾਰ ਓਹੁ ਵਡਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ

⁴⁹¹ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਜਾਇ ਕੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਡੁਲਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਸਤ ਸੰਗਿ ਜਾਇ ਕਰਿ ਚਿਤੁਡੁਲਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਸਤ ਸੰਗ ਜਾਇ ਕੈ ਚਿਤੁਡੁਲਾਵੈ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗੁ ਜਾਇ ਬਹੁ ਚਿਤੁਡੁਲਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਸਤਿ ਸੰਗਿ ਜਾਇ ਜੋ ਚਿਤੁ ਡੁਲਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਸਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਜਾਇ ਕੈ ਚਿਤੁਡੁਲਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਸਤ ਸੰਗਤ ਜਾਇ ਕਰਿ ਚਿਤੁ ਡੁਲਾਵੈ

⁴⁹² KHe SHR 1442 D: ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪੋਵੈ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਈਹਾ ਊਹਾ ਠਉਰ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ

ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ ।⁴⁹³ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਵਹਿ ਜਮ ਸੰਗ ਜਾਵੈ ।⁴⁹⁴

(He who) talks while listening to the praise of God, says Gobind, is going to the company of Yam.

ਨਿਰਧਨ ਦੇਖਿ ਨ ਪਾਸਿ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ ।⁴⁹⁵ ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਮੂਲਿ ਕਹਾਵੈ ।⁴⁹⁶

(He who) sees a poor person but does not sit next to him, that tanakhahia is the root of sin.

ਸਬਦੁ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਜੁ ਬਾਤ ।⁴⁹⁷ ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥਾ ।⁴⁹⁸

(He who) speaks without the knowledge of the word, will receive nothing.

ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸੁ ।⁴⁹⁹ ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮ ਜੁਗਦੀਸ ।⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹³ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਹਰਿ ਜਸੁ ਸੁਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ

⁴⁹⁴ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਵਹਿ ਜਮ ਸੰਗ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਵਹੁ ਜਮ ਸੰਗਿ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਕਹੈ ਗੁਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਵਹੁ ਜਮੁ ਸੰਗ ਜਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਵਹੁ ਜਮੁ ਪੂਰੁ ਜਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਵਹੁ ਜਮ ਪੂਰ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਵਹੁ ਜਮ ਸੰਗ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਵਹੁ ਜਮ ਸੰਗ ਜਾਵੈ

⁴⁹⁵ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਨਿਰਧਨ ਦੇਖਿ ਨ ਪਾਸਿ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਨਿਰਧਨ ਦੇਖਿ ਨ ਪਾਸਿ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਨਿਰਧਨੁ ਦੇਖ ਨ ਪਾਸ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਨਿਰਧਨੁ ਦੇਖ ਨ ਪਾਸੁ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਨਿਰਧਨ ਦੇਖਿ ਨ ਪਾਸਿ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਨਿਰਧਨੁ ਦੇਖ ਨ ਪਾਸ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਨਿਰਧਨ ਦੇਖਿ ਨ ਪਾਸਿ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ

⁴⁹⁶ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਮੂਲਿ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀਆ ਮੂਲੁ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਮੂਲੁ ਕਹਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਉਹਿ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਮੂਲ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਮੂਲ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਮੂਲੁ ਕਹਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਉਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀਆ ਮੂਲ ਕਹਾਵੈ

⁴⁹⁷ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਸਬਦੁ ਗਿਆਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਜੁ ਬਾਤ, MS 71: ਸਬਦ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਜੁ ਬਾਤ, MS 29: ਸਬਦਿ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਜੁ ਬਾਤ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸਬਦਿ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਜੁ ਬਾਤ, MS PPS 142: ਸਬਦੁ ਗਿਆਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਜੋ ਬਾਤ, MS 1024: ਸਬਦ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਜੁ ਬਾਤ, MS 5017: ਸਬਦ ਗਿਆਨ ਬਿਨ ਕਰ ਜੁ ਬਾਤ, MS 770: ਸਦਾ ਗਿਆਨ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਜੋ ਬਾਤ

⁴⁹⁸ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥਾ, MS 71: ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨਹੀ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥਾ, MS 29: ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥਾ, MS PPS 142: ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥ, MS 1024: ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥ, MS 5017: ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨਹੀ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥਾ, MS 770: ਤਾਂ ਕੈ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਥ

⁴⁹⁹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸੁ, MS 71: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸੁ, MS 29: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦ ਜੋ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸੁ, MS PPS 142: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦੁ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸਿ, MS 1024: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦ ਜੋ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ, MS 5017: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦ ਜੋ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ, MS 770: ਭੋਗੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਨਿਵਾਵੈ ਸੀਸ

⁵⁰⁰ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਤਾਂ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮ ਜਗਦੀਸੁ, MS 71: ਤਿਨ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮ ਜਗਦੀਸੁ, MS 29: ਤਾਂ ਕੋ ਪਰਮ ਜਗਦੀਸੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਤਿਸੁ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮੁ ਜਗਦੀਸੁ, MS PPS 142: ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਜਗਦੀਸ, MS 1024: ਤਾਂ ਕੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਪ੍ਰਮ ਜਗਦੀਸੁ, MS 5017: ਤਿਨ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮ ਜਗਦੀਸ, MS 770: ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਮਿਲੈ ਪਰਮ ਜੁਗਦੀਸ

(He who) at the end of recitation bends his head, (will) then meet the supreme God.

੪ । ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁵⁰¹

4. Dohara

ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਕੋ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਮਨ ਮਹ ਧਰੈ ਜੁ ਲੋਭੁ ।⁵⁰² ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ ।⁵⁰³

(He who) sits holds greed in his heart for the prasād bowl, (gives) someone a little, gives the next one something else, (he) will always (be in) grief.

੫ । ਚੋਪਈ ।⁵⁰⁴

5. Chaupai

⁵⁰¹ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1024: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁵⁰² KHe SHR 1442 D: ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕੋ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਮਨ ਮੈ ਧਰੈ ਜੁ ਲੋਭੁ, MS 71: ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕਉ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਧਰੈ ਜੁ ਲੋਭੁ, MS 29: ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਕੋ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਮਨ ਮਹ ਧਰੈ ਜੁ ਲੋਭੁ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਕਉ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਧਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਨਿ ਮਹਿ ਲੋਭੁ, MS PPS 142: ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਕੋ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਧਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਲੋਭਿ, MS 1024: ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਕੋ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਮਨ ਮਹ ਧਰੈ ਜੁ ਲੋਭ, MS 5017: ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਕਉ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਧਰੈ ਜੁ ਲੋਭ, MS 770: ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਕੋ ਬਾਂਟਈ ਧਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਲੋਭੁ

⁵⁰³ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ, MS 71: ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ, MS 29: ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ, KHe SHR 1579C: ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ, MS PPS 142: ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ, MS 1024: ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ, MS 5017: ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ, MS 770: ਕਿਸੈ ਬੋੜਾ ਕਿਸੈ ਅਗਲਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਹੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਸੋਗੁ

⁵⁰⁴ KHe SHR 1442 D: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 71: ਚਉਪਈ, MS 29: ੫। ਚੋਪਈ ।, KHe SHR 1579C: ੩। ਚਉਪਈ ।, MS PPS 142: ੧। ਚਉਪਈ ।, MS 1024: ੪। ਚੋਪਈ ।, MS 5017: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 770: ਚੋਪਈ

ਕੜਾ ਹੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਲੀਜੈ ।⁵⁰⁵ ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮ ਸਰ ਕੀ ਜੈ ।⁵⁰⁶ ਲੀਪਨ ਅਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰ ਦੀ ਜੈ ।⁵⁰⁷

Listen to (how) to take the procedure of karah(mixture of flour, clarified butter, sugar), three equal measurements, having stirred, hand it out.

ਮਾਂ ਜਨ ਕਰਿ ਭਾ ਜੁਨੁ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ ।⁵⁰⁸ ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ ।⁵⁰⁹ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ ।⁵¹⁰

Whilst cleaning and scrubbing the pots, having bathed in a stream you are pure, do not say anything else but vahiguru (praise to the guru).

ਨਵ ਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕਰ ਲੇਹ ।⁵¹¹ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਸਭੀ ਫਲੁ ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਦੇਇ ।⁵¹²

Completely filled in a new pitcher, Gobind gives all fruits to them.

⁵⁰⁵ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕੜਾ ਹੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਲੀਜੈ, MS 71: ਕੜਾ ਹੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਲੀਜੈ, MS 29: ਕੜਾਹ ਕਰਨ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁਨ ਲੀਜੈ, KHc HR 1579C: ਕੜਾ ਹੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਅਬਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਲੀਜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਕੜਾਹ ਕੀ ਤੁਮ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਲੀਜੈ, MS 1024: ਕੜਾਹ ਕਰਨ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁਨ ਲੀਜੈ, MS 5017: ਕੜਾ ਹੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਲੀਜੈ, MS 770: ਕੜਾ ਹੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਤੁਮ ਸੁਨਿ ਲੀਜੈ

⁵⁰⁶ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮ ਸਰ ਕੀ ਜੈ, MS 71: ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕਉ ਸਮਸਾਰ ਕੀ ਜੈ, MS 29: ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮਸਰਿ ਕੀ ਜੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਤੀਨੁ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮਸਰਿ ਕੀ ਜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮਕਰ ਕੀ ਜੈ, MS 1024: ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮਸਰ ਕੀ ਜੈ, MS 5017: ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮਸਰਿ ਕੀ ਜੈ, MS 770: ਤੀਨ ਭਾਵ ਕੇ ਸਮਸਰਿ ਕੀ ਜੈ

⁵⁰⁷ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਲੀਪਨਿ ਆਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰਿ ਦੀ ਜੈ, MS 71: ਲੀਪਨਿ ਆਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰਿ ਦੀ ਜੈ, MS 29: ਲੀਪਨ ਅਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰ ਦੀ ਜੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਲੀਪਨੁ ਆਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰੁ ਦੀਜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਲੀਪਨ ਆਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰੁ ਦੀ ਜੈ, MS 1024: ਲੀਪਨ ਅਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰ ਦੀ ਜੈ, MS 5017: ਲੀਪਨ ਆਗੈ ਬਹੁ ਕਰਿ ਦੀਜੈ, MS 770: ਲੀਪਨੁ ਅਗੈ ਕਰਿ ਦੀ

⁵⁰⁸ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਮਾਂ ਵਨ ਕਰਿ ਭਾਂ ਵਨ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ, MS 71: ਮਾਂ ਜਨੁ ਕਰਿ ਭਾਂ ਜਨੁ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ, MS 29: ਮਾਂ ਜਨੁ ਕਰਿ ਬਾ ਜਨ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਭਾਂ ਜਨ ਮਾਂ ਜਨੁ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਮਾਂ ਜਨਿ ਕਰਿ ਭਾਂ ਜਨ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ, MS 1024: ਮਾਂ ਜਨ ਕਰਤ ਜਨ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ, MS 5017: ਮਾਂ ਜਨ ਕਰ ਭਾ ਜਨ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ, MS 770: ਮਾਂ ਜਨ ਕਰਿ ਭਾ ਜਨੁ ਧੋਈ ਜੈ

⁵⁰⁹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ, MS 71: ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ, MS 29: ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ, MS PPS 142: ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ, MS 5017: ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ, MS 770: ਕਰਿ ਇਸਨਾਨ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਹੈ

⁵¹⁰ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ, MS 71: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ, MS 29: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ, MS PPS 142: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ, MS 1024: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ, MS 5017: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ, MS 770: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ

⁵¹¹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਨਵ ਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰਿ ਕੈ ਲੇਹ, MS 71: ਨਵ ਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕੈ ਲੇਇ, MS 29: ਨਵ ਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕੈ ਲੇਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਨਵ ਤਨਿ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕੈ ਲੇਹ, MS PPS 142: ਨਵ ਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕਰ ਲੇਹ, MS 1024: ਨਵਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕੈ ਲੇਇ, MS 5017: ਨਉ ਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕੈ ਲੇਇ, MS 770: ਨਵ ਤਨ ਕੁੰਭ ਪੂਰ ਕਰਿ ਲੇਹਿ

⁵¹² KHc SHR 1442 D: ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਭ ਫਲੁ ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਦੇਹੁ MS 71: ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਸਭੀ ਫਲੁ ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਦੇਇ, MS 29: ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਭ ਫਲ ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਦੇਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਭੀ ਫਲਿ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਉ ਦੇਹੁ, MS PPS 142: ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਸਭੁ ਫਲੁ ਤਿਸ ਕੋ ਦੇਇ, MS 1024: ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਭ ਫਲ ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਦੇਇ, MS 5017: ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਭੀ ਫਲ ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਦੇਇ, MS 770: ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਭੁ ਫਲ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਉ ਦੇਹਿ

ਕਰਿ ਤਯਾਰੁ ਚਉਕੀ ਤੇ ਧਰੈ ।⁵¹³ ਚਾਰ ਓਰ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੈ ।⁵¹⁴

Prepare the chaunki (period of kirtan), then sit and sing kirtan (communal singing of devotional songs) in all four directions.

ਸੁਨੁ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ ।⁵¹⁵ ਜਿਸੁ ਪਰਿ ਆਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇਇ ।⁵¹⁶

Listen Nand Lal to this message, through which I have given my compassion.

੬ । ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁵¹⁷

6. Dohara

ਮੁਹਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਰੈ ਲੋਹ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ ।⁵¹⁸ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ ।⁵¹⁹

⁵¹³ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਰਿ ਤਿਯਾਰੁ ਚਉਕੀ ਪਰਿ ਧਰੈ, MS 71: ਕਰਿ ਤਈਆਰੁ ਚਉਕੀ ਪਰਿ ਧਰੈ, MS 29: ਕਰਿ ਤਿਯਾਰੁ ਚੌਕੀ ਪਰ ਧਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਰਿ ਤਿਆਰੁ ਚਉਕੀ ਪਰਿ ਧਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਕਰਿ ਤਯਾਰੁ ਚਉਕੀ ਤੇ ਧਰੈ, MS 1024: ਕਰਿ ਤਯਾਰ ਚੌਕੀ ਪਰ ਧਰੈ, MS 5017: ਕਰਿ ਤਯਾਰੁ ਚਉਕੀ ਪਰਿ ਧਰੈ, MS 770: ਕਰਿ ਤਈਯਰ ਚੌਕੀ ਤੇ ਪਰੈ

⁵¹⁴ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਚਾਰਿ ਓਰ ਕੀਰਤਨਿ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੈ, MS 71: ਚਾਰਿ ਓਰਿ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੈ, MS 29: ਚਾਰ ਓਰ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਚਾਰੇ ਓਰਿ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਚਾਰੇ ਓਰੁ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਬਹ ਕਰੈ, MS 1024: ਚਾਰ ਓਰ ਕੀ ਰਤਨੁ ਬਹ ਕਰੈ, MS 5017: ਚਾਰੇ ਓਰ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੈ, MS 770: ਚਰੇ ਓਰ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਬਹਿ

⁵¹⁵ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਸੁਣ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ MS 71: ਸੁਨਿ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤਿ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS 29: ਸੁਨੁ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤਿ ਹੈ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS PPS 142: ਸੁਨ ਨੰਦੁ ਲਾਲੁ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS 1024: ਸੁਨ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤ ਏਹੁ, MS 5017: ਸੁਨਿ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ ਏਹੁ, MS 770: ਸੁਨ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਬਾਤ ਹੈ ਏ

⁵¹⁶ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਜਿਸੁ ਪਰਿ ਅਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇਹ, MS 71: ਜਾਂ ਕਉ ਅਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇਹ, MS 29: ਜਿਸੁ ਪ੍ਰ ਅਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਜਿਸੁ ਪਰਿ ਅਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇਹਿ, MS PPS 142: ਜਿਸੁ ਪਰਿ ਆਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇਇ, MS 1024: ਜਿਸ ਪ੍ਰ ਅਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੇਹੁ, MS 5017: ਜਾ ਕੋ ਅਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੈ, MS 770: ਜਿਸੁ ਪਰ ਅਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਰੇ

⁵¹⁷ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1024: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 770: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁵¹⁸ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਮੁਹਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਰੈ ਲੋਹ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ, MS 71: ਮੁਹਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਰਿ ਧਰੈ ਲੋਹ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ, MS 29: ਮੁਹਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਰ ਧਰੈ ਲੋਹ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਮੋਹਰਿ ਤੁਰਕੀ ਸਿਰਿ ਧਰੈ॥ ਲੋਹਿ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ, MS PPS 142: ਮੁਹਰਿ ਤੁਰਕਿ ਕੀ ਸਿਰਿ ਧਰੈ ਲੋਹਿ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ, MS 1024: ਮੁਹਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਧ ਦੇ ਲੋਹ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ, MS 5017: ਮੁਹਰ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਰ ਧਰੈ ਲੋਹ ਲਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ, MS 770: ਮੁਹਰੁ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੀ ਸਿਰਿ ਧਰੇ ਲੋਹਿ। ਗਾਵੈ ਚਰਨ

⁵¹⁹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਹੈ ਗੁਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰ ਫਿਰ ਰਹੇ ਇਤਿ ਸੁ ਮਰਨ, MS 71: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ, MS 29: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੁਨੁ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰ ਫਿਰ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ, MS PPS 142: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ, MS 1024: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਫਿਰ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ, MS 5017: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੁਨਿ ਜੀ ਫਿਰ ਫਿਰ ਹੋਇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੁ

(He who) puts seal of the Turk on the head, and keeps iron at their feet, (he) will be reborn continuously only to die again, remember this says Gobind.

੭ । ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਧੰਨ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀਵੈ ।⁵²⁰ ਬਿਨ ਜਪ ਪੜੈ ਪਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ ।⁵²¹

7. Says Gobind, long live Nand Lal. (He who) without reading Japji sahib, eats prasad,

੮ । ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹੁਰਾਸਿ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ ।⁵²² ਬਿਨੁ ਕੀਰਤ ਗਤਿ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ ।⁵²³

8. (he who) passes the evening without rahiras, (he who) sleeps without the songs of kirtan,

੯ । ਚਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਬਿਗਾਣੈ ।⁵²⁴ ਧ੍ਰੁਗ ਤਿਸ ਜਨਮ ਜੋ ਧਰਮ ਬਿਸਾਰੇ ।⁵²⁵

9. (he who) spoils work forgets dharma in this life.

੧੦ । ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੇ ਨਹੀ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਠੋਰੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਹੀ ।⁵²⁶ ਲੇ ਤੁਰਤੇ ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਖਵੈ॥ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਬਚਨ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ ।⁵²⁷

10. (He who) does not take care of (this) speech, has no refuge says Gobind, (he who) immediately takes the meat and eats it, without singing the words of the Guru.

੧੧ । ਚੌਪਈ ।⁵²⁸

11. Chaupai

⁵²⁰ MS 770: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਧੰਨ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀਵੈ

⁵²¹ MS 770: ਬਿਨ ਜਪ ਪੜੈ ਪਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ

⁵²² MS 770: ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹੁਰਾਸਿ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ

⁵²³ MS 770: ਬਿਨੁ ਕੀਰਤ ਗਤਿ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ

⁵²⁴ MS 770: ਚਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਬਿਗਾਣੈ

⁵²⁵ MS 770: ਧ੍ਰੁਗ ਤਿਸ ਜਨਮ ਜੋ ਧਰਮ ਬਿਸਾਰੇ

⁵²⁶ MS 770: ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੇ ਨਹੀ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਠੋਰੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਹੀ

⁵²⁷ MS 770: ਲੇ ਤੁਰਤੇ ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਖਵੈ॥ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਬਚਨ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ

⁵²⁸ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 71: ਚਉਪਈ, MS 29: ੭॥ ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ੩॥ ਚਉਪਈ॥, MS PPS 142: ੧॥ ਚਉਪਈ, MS 1024: ੬॥ ਚੌਪਈ, MS 5017: ੫॥ ਚੌਪਈ

ਲਗੈ ਦੀਬਾਨ ਸੁਨ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ ।⁵²⁹ ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ ।⁵³⁰

(He who) does not go to attend the beginning of divan, (he who) hands out prasad without rahit,

ੴ । ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ ।⁵³¹ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰੁ ।⁵³²

12. (he who) uses snuff during the crimson hours, says Gobind, Yam will destroy him.

ੴ । ਮਾਇ ਭੈਣ ਜੋ ਆਵੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ ।⁵³³ ਦਿਸਟ ਬੁਰੀ ਦੇਖੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਪੰਗਤ ।⁵³⁴ ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਮਲੰ ਕਰੈ ਕਰੋਧੁ ।⁵³⁵

13. (Those) in the lines (in langar), who would look badly upon mothers and sisters in the sangat, the Sikh must be angry with them.

⁵²⁹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਲਗੈ ਦੀਬਾਨ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਲਗੈ ਦੀਬਾਨੁ ਸੁਨ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਲਗੈ ਦੀਬਾਨ ਸੁਨ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਲਗੈ ਦੀਬਾਨੁ ਸੁਨ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਲਗੈ ਦੀਬਾਨ ਸੁਣ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਲਗੈ ਦੀਬਾਨ ਮੂਲ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਲਗੈ ਦੀਬਾਨ ਸੁਨ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ

⁵³⁰ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਰਹਿਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ, KHC SHR 1579C: ਰਹਿਤੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਰਹਤਿ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਵਰਤਾਵੈ

⁵³¹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ, MS 71: ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ, MS 29: ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰੈ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਸਵਾਰ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਿਵਾਰ, MS PPS 142: ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰਿ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ, MS 1024: ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਸਵਾਰ, MS 5017: ਸੂਹਾ ਪਹਿਰ ਕਰੈ ਨਸਵਾਰ

⁵³² KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰੁ, MS 71: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰੁ, MS 29: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰੁ, MS PPS 142: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰਿ, MS 1024: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਮੁ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰ, MS 5017: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਮ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਆਰ

⁵³³ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਮਾਇ ਭੈਣ ਜੋ ਆਵੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ, MS 71: ਮਾਈ ਭੈਣਿ ਜੁ ਆਵੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ, MS 29: ਮਾਈ ਭੈਣ ਜੁ ਆਵੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਮਾਇ ਭੈਣਿ ਜੋ ਆਵੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ, MS PPS 142: ਮਾਈ ਭੈਣਿ ਜੋ ਆਵੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ, MS 1024: ਮਾਈ ਭੈਣ ਜੁ ਆਵੈ ਸੰਗਤ, MS 5017: ਮਾਈ ਭੈਣਿ ਜੋ ਆਵੈ ਸੰਗਤਿ

⁵³⁴ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਦਿਸਟ ਬੁਰੀ ਦੇਖੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਪੰਗਤ, MS 71: ਦਿਸਟਿ ਬੁਰੀ ਦੇਖੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਪੰਗਤਿ, MS 29: ਦ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ ਬੁਰੀ ਦੇਖੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਪੰਗਤਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦ੍ਰਿਸ੍ਟਿ ਬੁਰੀ ਦੇਖਹਿ ਤਿਸੁ ਪੰਗਤਿ, MS PPS 142: ਦਿਸਟਿ ਬੁਰੀ ਦੇਖੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਪੰਗਤਿ, MS 1024: ਦਿਸਟ ਬੁਰੀ ਦੇਖੈ ਤਿਸ ਪੰਗਤ, MS 5017: ਦਿਸਟਿ ਬੁਰੀ ਦੇਖੈ ਮਨੁ ਪੰਗਤ

⁵³⁵ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਮਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੁ, MS 71: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਮਲੰ ਕਰੈ ਕਰੋਧੁ, MS 29: ਸਿਖੁ ਹੋਇ ਮਨ ਕਰੈ ਕਰੋਧ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸਿਖਿ ਹੋਇ ਮਨਿ ਧਰੈ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੁ, MS PPS 142: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਮਨਿ ਧਰੈ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ, MS 1024: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਮਨ ਕਰੈ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੁ, MS 5017: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਮਨੁ ਕਰੈ ਕਰੋਧ

੧੪ । ਕੰਨਿਆਂ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਦੇਵੈ ਸੋਧਿ ।⁵³⁶ ਧੀਆ ਭੈਣ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਾਇ ।⁵³⁷ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਧਕੇ ਜਮੁ ਖਾਇ ।⁵³⁸

14. (One) should not do business of selling brides, (those ones who) make a livelihood off the money of daughters or sisters, they will be beaten by Yama says Gobind.

੧੫ । ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਬਿਨੁ ਲੋਹ ਜੁ ਫਿਰੈ ।⁵³⁹ ਮਾਲੁ ਅਥਿਤ ਕਾ ਬਲੁ ਕਰਿ ਛਲੈ ।⁵⁴⁰

15. That Sikh who travels without iron, is powerless like unstable goods.

੧੬ । ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥਿ ਧਰੈ ।⁵⁴¹ ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ ।⁵⁴²

16. (He who) raises his hand to his head (in respectful greeting) upon seeing the Turk, (he) is a great tanakhaia.

⁵³⁶ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕੰਨਿਆ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਦੇਵੈ ਸੋਧ, MS 71: ਕੰਨਿਆਂ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਦੇਵੈ ਸੋਧਿ, MS 29: ਕੰਨਿਆ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਦੇਵੈ ਸੋਧਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕੰਨਿਆ ਦੇਵੈ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਸੋਧ, MS PPS 142: ਕੰਨਿਆ ਦੇਵੈ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਸੋਧ, MS 1024: ਕੰਨਿਆ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਦੇਵੈ ਸੋਧਿ, MS 5017: ਕੰਨਿਆ ਦੇਵੈ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਸੋਧਿ

⁵³⁷ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਧੀਆ ਭੈਣ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਾਇ, MS 71: ਧੀਇ ਭੈਣਿ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਾਇ, MS 29: ਧੀਅ ਭੈਣ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਧੀਇ ਭੈਣਿ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਾਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਧੀ ਭੈਣ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਾਇ, MS 1024: ਧੀਅ ਭੈਣ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਾਇ, MS 5017: ਧੀ ਭੈਣ ਕਾ ਪੈਸਾ ਖਾਇ

⁵³⁸ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਧਕੇ ਜਮੁ ਖਾਇ, MS 71: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਧਕੈ ਜਮ ਖਾਇ, MS 29: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਧਕੇ ਜਮੁ ਖਾਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਜਮੁ ਧਕੇ ਖਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਧਕੈ ਜਮੁ ਖਾਇ, MS 1024: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਧਕੇ ਜਮੁ ਖਾਇ, MS 5017: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਧਕੈ ਜਮੁ ਖਾਇ

⁵³⁹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਬਿਨੁ ਲੋਹ ਜੁ ਫਿਰੈ, MS 71: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਬਿਨੁ ਲੋਹਿ ਜੁ ਫਿਰੈ, MS 29: ਸਿਖੁ ਹੋਇ ਬਿਨੁ ਲੋਹ ਜੁ ਫਿਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਬਿਨੁ ਲੋਹੇ ਫਿਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਬਿਨੁ ਲੋ ਹੇ ਫਿਰੈ, MS 1024: ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇ ਬਿਨੁਲੋਹ ਜੁ ਫਿਰੈ, MS 5017: ਸਿਖ ਹੋ ਬਿਨੁ ਲੋਹੁ ਜੁ ਫਿਰੈ

⁵⁴⁰ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਮਾਲੁ ਅਥਿਤ ਕਾ ਬਲੁ ਕਰਿ ਛਲੈ, MS 71: ਮਾਲੁ ਅਥਿਤ ਕਾ ਬਲੁ ਛਲੁ ਕਰਿ ਹਿਰੈ, MS 29: ਮਾਲੁ ਅਥਿਤ ਕਾ ਬਲੁ ਕਰ ਹਿਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਮਾਲੁ ਅਥਿਤ ਬਲੁ ਕਰਿ ਛਲੈ, MS PPS 142: ਮਾਲ ਅਥਿਤ ਕਾ ਬਲੁ ਕਰਿ ਛਲੈ, MS 1024: ਮਾਲ ਅਥਿਤ ਕਾ ਬਲ ਕਰ ਹਿਰੈ, MS 5017: ਮਾਲੁ ਅਥਿਤ ਕਾ ਬਲੁ ਛਲੁ ਕਰਿ ਹਿਰੈ

⁵⁴¹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥਿ ਧਰੈ, MS 71: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖਿ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥੁ ਧਰੈ, MS 29: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥੁ ਧਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰਿ ਤੇ ਹਥਿ ਧਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰਿ ਤੇ ਹਥ ਧਰੈ, MS 1024: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥਿ ਧਰੈ, MS 5017: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਹਥਿ ਧਰੈ

⁵⁴² KHc SHR 1442 D: ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ, MS 71: ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ, MS 29: ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਓਹਿ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਵਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ, MS 1024: ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ, MS 5017: ਓਹੁ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਅਧਿਕ ਹੈ ਨਰੈ

17. Soratha

ਕੰਘਾ ਦੋਨੋ ਵਖਤੁ ਕਰਿ ਪਾਗੁ ਚੁਨੇ ਬਿਨੁ ਬਾਂਧਈ |⁵⁴⁴ ਦਾਤਨੁ ਨੀਤ ਕਰੇ ਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ |⁵⁴⁵

Use the kanga (comb) both times, and don't choose a turban already made. Brush your teeth and you will not suffer pain, Lal ji.

18. Dohara

ਦਸਵੰਧ ਗੁਰੂ ਨ ਦੇਵਈ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ |⁵⁴⁷ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਵਿਸਾਹੁ |⁵⁴⁸

(He who) has not given to the Guru's dasvandh, lies (about it) and (eats), Gobind says, listen Lal ji, one can not have any faith in him.

⁵⁴³ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਸੋਰਠਾ, MS 71: ਸੋਰਠਾ, MS 29: ਸੋਰਠਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੋਰਠਾ, MS PPS 142: ਸੋਰਠਾ, MS 1024: ਸੋਰਠਾ, MS 5017: ਸੋਰਠਾ

⁵⁴⁴ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕੰਘਾ ਦੋਨੋ ਵਖਤੁ ਕਰਿ ਪਾਗੁ ਚੁਨੇ ਬਿਨੁ ਬਾਂਧਈ, MS 71: ਕੰਘਾ ਦੋਨੋ ਵਖਤ ਕਾ ਪਾਗੁ ਚੁਨੇ ਬਿਨੁ ਬਾਂਧਈ, MS 29: ਕੰਘਾ ਵਖਤ ਕਰਹਿ ਦੋਇ ਪਾਗੁ ਚੁਨੇ ਬਿਨੁ ਬਾਂਧਈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕੰਘਾ ਕੇ ਸੁਫਿ ਰੇਹਿ ਪਾਗਿ ਜੋ ਨਿਤਿ ਚੁਨ ਬਾਂਧਈ, MS PPS 142: ਕੰਘਾ ਦੋਨੋ ਵਖਤੁ ਪਾਗ ਚੁਨੇ ਬਿਨਿ ਬਾਂਧਈ, MS 1024: ਕੰਘਾ ਵਖਤ ਕਰਿ ਦੋਇ ਪਾਗ ਚੁਨੇ ਬਿਨ ਬਾਂਧਈ, MS 5017: ਕੰਘਾ ਦੋਨੋ ਵਖਤ ਕਰਿ ਪਾਗ ਚੁਨੇ ਬਿਨ ਨਾਬਾ ਧਰੀ

⁵⁴⁵ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਦਾਂਤਨ ਨਿਤ ਕਰੈ ਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ, MS 71: ਦਾਤਨੁ ਨੀਤ ਕਰੇ ਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ, MS 29: ਦਾਤਨੁ ਕਰਿ ਨਿਤ ਨੀਤਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦਾਂਤਨ ਪ੍ਰੀਤੁ ਕਰੇ ਹਿ॥ ਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ, MS PPS 142: ਦਾਂਤਨ ਨੀਤ ਕਰੈ ਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ, MS 1024: ਦਾਤਨ ਕਰਿ ਨਿਤ ਨੀਤਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ, MS 5017: ਦਾਤਨ ਨੀਤ ਕਰੇ ਨਾ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ਗਾ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ

⁵⁴⁶ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1024: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁵⁴⁷ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਦਸਵੰਧ ਗੁਰੂ ਨ ਦੇਵਈ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 71: ਦਸਵੰਧੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਨ ਦੇਵਈ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 29: ਦਸਵੰਧੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਹੀ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦਸਵੰਧੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਨ ਦੇਵਈ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਦਸਵੰਧੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਨ ਦੇਵਈ ਝੂਠਿ ਬੋਲਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 1024: ਦਸਵੰਧੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਦੇ ਨਹੀ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲੁ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 5017: ਦਸਵੰਧੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਨ ਦੇਵਈ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ

⁵⁴⁸ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਵਿਸਾਹੁ, MS 71: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਵਿਸਾਹੁ, MS 29: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੁਨ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਛੁ ਬਿਸਾਹੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਿਆ ਵਿਸਾਹਿ, MS PPS 142: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਨ ਬਿਸਾਹ, MS 1024: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੁਨ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਛੁ ਬਿਸਾਹ, MS 5017: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੁਨਿ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਵਿਸਾਹੁ

੧੯ | ਚੋਪਈ |⁵⁴⁹

19. Chaupai

ਠੰਢੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੋ ਨਹੀ ਨਾਵੈ |⁵⁵⁰ ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪੁ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ |⁵⁵¹

(He who) does not bathe in cold water, (he who) eats prasad without reciting japuji.

੨੦ | ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹਰਾਸ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ |⁵⁵² ਬਿਨਾ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਰੈਨ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ |⁵⁵³

20. (He who) loses (the opportunity) at sunset to recite rahiras, (he who) sleeps at night without performing kirtan.

੨੧ | ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਬਿਗਰੈ |⁵⁵⁴ ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਸੋ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ |⁵⁵⁵

21. (He who) backbites and destroys good work, that birth is accursed which forgets dharam.

⁵⁴⁹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 71: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੋਪਈ, KHc SHR 1579: ਚੋਪਈ, MS PPS 142: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 1024: ਚੋਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੋਪਈ

⁵⁵⁰ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਠੰਢੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੋ ਨਹੀ ਨਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਠੰਢੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੋ ਨਹੀ ਨਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਠੰਢੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੋ ਨਹੀ ਨਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਠੰਡੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੋ ਨਹੀ ਨਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਠੰਢੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੋ ਨਹੀ ਨਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਠੰਢੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੋ ਨਹੀ ਨਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਠੰਢੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੋ ਨਹੀ ਨਾਵੈ

⁵⁵¹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪੁ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪੁ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੁ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪਿ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪੁ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੁ ਖਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪੁ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪੁ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਬਿਨੁ ਜਪੁ ਜਾਪੁ ਪੜੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੁ ਖਾਵੈ

⁵⁵² KHc SHR 1442 D: ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹਰਾਸ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ, MS 71: ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹਰਾਸਿ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ, MS 29: ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹਰਾਸਿ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹਰਾਸੁ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ, MS 1024: ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹਰਾਸਿ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ, MS 5017: ਬਿਨੁ ਰਹਰਾਸ ਸੰਧਿਆ ਜੋ ਖੋਵੈ

⁵⁵³ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਬਿਨਾ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਰੈਨ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ, MS 71: ਬਿਨਾ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਰੈਨਿ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ, MS 29: ਬਿਨੁ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕੈਨ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬਿਨੁ ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਗਤਿ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਬਿਨੁ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਰਾਤਿ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ, MS 1024: ਬਿਨਾ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਰੈਨਿ ਜੋ ਸੋਵੈ, MS 5017: ਬਿਨਾ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਰੈਨਿ ਜੁ ਸੋਵੈ

⁵⁵⁴ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਬਿਗਰੈ, MS 71: ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜੁ ਬਿਗਰੈ, MS 29: ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਬਿਗਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜਿ ਬਿਗਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜੁ ਬਿਗਰੈ, MS 1024: ਕਰ ਚੁਗਲੀ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਬਿਗਰੈ, MS 5017: ਚੁਗਲੀ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਜੁ ਬਿਗਰੈ

⁵⁵⁵ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਸੋ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ, MS 71: ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਜੋ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ, MS 29: ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਜੋ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਜੋ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਸੋ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ MS 1024: ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਕੇ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਿਸਾਰੈ, MS 5017: ਪ੍ਰਿਗੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਜਨਮੁ ਜੋ ਧਰਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰੈ

ਕ੨ | ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੈ ਨਾਹੀ ।⁵⁵⁶ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਠਉਰ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ ।⁵⁵⁷

22. (He who) speaks without care, (he) has no refuge says Gobind.

ਕ੩ | ਲੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਤੇ ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ ।⁵⁵⁸ ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਸਬਦ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ ।⁵⁵⁹

23. (He who) takes meat from a Turk and eats it, (he who) sings songs but not including the songs of the Guru.

ਕ੪ | ਤਿਰੀਆ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤੁਲਾਇ ।⁵⁶⁰ ਸੁਨ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਉਹ ਜਮੁ ਪੂਰੀ ਜਾਇ ।⁵⁶¹

24. (He who) listens to the words of women, and loses their senses, Lal ji, they will all go to the city of Yama.

ਕ੫ | ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁵⁶²

25. Dohara

⁵⁵⁶ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੈ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 71: ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੈ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 29: ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੈ ਨਾਹੀ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੈ ਨਾਹੀ, MS PPS 142: ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੈ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 1024: ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੈ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 5017: ਕਰੈ ਬਚਨੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਲੈ ਨਾਹੀ

⁵⁵⁷ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਠਉਰ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 71: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਠਵਰੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 29: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਠਉਰ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਠਉਰੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ, MS PPS 142: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਠਉਰ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 1024: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਉਰ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ, MS 5017: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਠਵਰ ਤਿਸੁ ਨਾਹੀ

⁵⁵⁸ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਲੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਤੇ ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਲੇਇ ਤੁਰਕ ਤੇ ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਲੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਨ ਤੇ ਮਾਸੁ ਜੁ ਖਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਲੇਇ ਤੁਰਕੁ ਤੇ ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਲੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਤੇ ਮਾਸੁ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਲੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਨ ਤੇ ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਲੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਤੇ ਮਾਸੁ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ

⁵⁵⁹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਸਬਦ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਸਬਦ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦਿ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਬਚਨ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਬਚਨ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਸਬਦ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਬਿਨੁ ਗੁਰਸਬਦ ਗੀਤ ਜੋ ਗਾਵੈ

⁵⁶⁰ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤੁਲਾਇ, MS 71: ਤਿਰੀਆ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤੁਲਾਇ, MS 29: ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਨ ਕੋ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤੁ ਲਾਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਬਚਨ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤੁਲਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਸਬਦਿ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤੁਲਾਇ, MS 1024: ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਨ ਕੋ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤ ਲਾਇ, MS 5017: ਤਿਰੀਆ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤੁਲਾਇ, MS 770: ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਸਬਦਿ ਸੁਨੈ ਚਿਤਲਾਇ

⁵⁶¹ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਲਾਲੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਸੋ ਜਮ ਪੁਰਿ ਜਾਇ, MS 71: ਲਾਲੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਸੋ ਜਮ ਪੁਰਿ ਜਾਇ, MS 29: ਲਾਲੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਸੋ ਜਮ ਪੁਰ ਜਾਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੁਨੈ ਲਾਲ ਸੋ ਜਮੁ ਪੁਰਿ ਜਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਸੁਨਿ ਨੰਦੁ ਲਾਲ ਵਹੁ ਜਮ ਪੁਰਿ ਜਾਇ, MS 1024: ਲਾਲੁ ਸੁਨੈ ਸੋ ਜਮ ਪੁਰ ਜਾਇ, MS 5017: ਸੁਨਿ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਸੋ ਜਮਿ ਪੁਰਿ ਜਾਇ, MS 770: ਸੁਨ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਉਹ ਜਮੁ ਪੂਰੀ ਜਾਇ

⁵⁶² KHc SHR 1442 D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1024: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 770: ਦੋਹਰਾ

ਸਾਧ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ ।⁵⁶³ ਕਪਟ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ ।⁵⁶⁴

Calling someone a holy person without the rahit, is to miss their form, Oh Lal ji, on such deceit, it would be better to remain silent.

੨੬ । ਚੌਪਈ ।⁵⁶⁵

26. Chaupai

ਬਿਨੁ ਅਰਦਾਸੁ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ ।⁵⁶⁶ ਭੇਟ ਕੀਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਵੈ ।⁵⁶⁷

(He who) goes straight to work without ardas, without making an offering, and then eats,

੨੭ । ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੋ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਨ ਕਰੇਇ ।⁵⁶⁸ ਬਿਨੁ ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਰ ਮੇਈ ।⁵⁶⁹

27. (he who) has renounced, but grasps at material objects, (he who) has, without his woman, adorned his bed,

⁵⁶³ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਸਾਧ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ, MS 71: ਸਾਧੁ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਰਹਿਤ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸਾਧ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ, MS PPS 142: ਸਾਧ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਰਹਤਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ, MS 1024: ਸਾਧ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਰਹਤ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ, MS 5017: ਸਾਧ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਰਹਿਤ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ, MS 770: ਸਾਧ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਰਹਤਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਰੂਪ

⁵⁶⁴ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਕਪਟ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ, MS 71: ਕਰਨ ਕਪਟ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ, MS 29: ਕਪਟ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਪਟਿ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ, MS PPS 142: ਕਪਟ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ, MS 1024: ਕਪਟ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ, MS 5017: ਕਪਟ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ, MS 770: ਕਪਟ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਭਲੀ ਬਨੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਚੂਪ

⁵⁶⁵ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 71: ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1579: ਚਉਪਈ, MS PPS 142: ਚਉਪਈ, MS 1024: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 770: ਚੌਪਈ

⁵⁶⁶ KHc SHR 1442D: ਬਿਨੁ ਅਰਦਾਸੁ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਬਿਨੁ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਬਿਨੁ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਅਰਦਾਸ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਅਰਦਾਸ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਬਿਨੁ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਬਿਨੁ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ਜੋ ਕਾਮ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਅਰਦਾਸ ਬਿਨੁ ਜੋ ਕਾਜ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ

⁵⁶⁷ KHc SHR 1442D: ਭੇਟ ਕਰੇ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਭੇਟ ਕੀਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਭੇਟ ਕੀਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਭੇਟਿ ਕੀਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਭੇਟ ਕੀਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਭੇਟ ਕੀਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਭੇਟ ਕੀਏ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਭੇਟ ਕੀ ਬਿਨੁ ਕਛੁ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ

⁵⁶⁸ KHc SHR 1442D: ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੋਗੁ ਹਨ ਕਰੇਈ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੋ ਗ੍ਰਹਨ ਕਰੇਈ, MS 71: ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੋ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਨ ਕਰੇਇ, MS 29: ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੋ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਨ ਕਰੇਇ, KHc SHR 1579: ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਗ੍ਰਹਿਨ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੋ ਗ੍ਰਹਨਿ ਕਰੇਇ, MS 1024: ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੁ ਗ੍ਰਹਨ ਕਰੇਇ, MS 5017: ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੋ ਗ੍ਰਹਨੁ ਕਰੇ, MS 770: ਤਿਆਗੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਜੋਗੁ ਹਿਨ ਕਰੈ

⁵⁶⁹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਬਿਨੁ ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਰ ਮੇਈ, MS 71: ਬਿਨੁ ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਰ ਮੇਇ, MS 29: ਬਿਨੁ ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਰ ਵੇਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬਿਨੁ ਤਿਰੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਰ ਮੈ, MS PPS 142: ਬਿਨੁ ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਗ ਮੇਇ, MS 1024: ਬਿਨੁ ਤੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਰ ਵੇਇ, MS 5017: ਬਿਨੁ ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਰ ਮੇਇ, MS 770: ਬਿਨੁ ਤ੍ਰੀਆ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇ ਜਗ

੨੮ । ਅਥਿਤ ਦੇਖਿ ਜੋ ਦੇਇ ਨ ਦਾਨੁ ।⁵⁷⁰ ਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਦਰਗਹ ਮਾਨ ।⁵⁷¹

28. (he who) sees a beggar but gives no alms, will not find honor at the Guru's court.

੨੯ । ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਥਾ ਸੋ ਮਨੁ ਨਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ ।⁵⁷² ਸਾਧ ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ ।⁵⁷³

29. (He who) does not bring kirtan and katha (homily) into his heart, (he who) says bad things about the Sadh Sikh,

੩੦ । ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੁਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲੁ ।⁵⁷⁴ ਮਹਾਂ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਲੁ ।⁵⁷⁵

30. (he who) slanders, gambles and removes goods, Oh Lal, they will suffer at that time.

⁵⁷⁰ KHc SHR 1442D: ਅਥਿਤ ਦੇਖਿ ਜੋ ਦੇਇ ਨ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 71: ਅਥਿਤ ਦੇਖਿ ਜੋ ਦੇਇ ਨ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 29: ਦੇਖਿ ਅਥਿਤਿ ਜੋ ਦੇਇ ਨ ਦਾਨੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਅਤਿਬ ਦੇਖੁ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਨ ਦਾਨੁ, MS PPS 142: ਅਥਿਤ ਦੇਖ ਨ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 1024: ਦੇਖ ਅਥਿਤ ਜੋ ਦੇਇ ਨਾ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 5017: ਅਥਿਤ ਦੇਖ ਜੋ ਦੇਇ ਨ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 770: ਅਥਿਤ ਦੇਖੁ ਜੋ ਨੁ ਦੇਵੈਦਾਨੁ

⁵⁷¹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਦਰਗਹ ਪਾਵੈ ਮਾਨੁ, MS 71: ਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਦਰਗਹ ਮਾਨੁ, MS 29: ਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਦਰਗਹ ਪਾਵੈ ਮਾਨੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਦਰਗਹਿ ਮਾਨਿ, MS PPS 142: ਸੋ ਨਾਹੀ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਦਰਗਹਿ ਮਾਨੁ, MS 1024: ਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਦਰਗਹ ਮਾਨੁ, MS 5017: ਸੋ ਨਹੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਦਰਗਹਿ ਮਾਨੁ, MS 770: ਸੋ ਨਾਹੀ ਪਾਵੈ ਦਰਗਹ ਮਨੁ

⁵⁷² KHc SHR 1442D: ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਥਾ ਸੋ ਮਨੁ ਨਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਕਥਾ ਸਿਉ ਮਨੁ ਨਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਕੀਰਤਨਿ ਕਥਾ ਸੋ ਮਾਨੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਥਾ ਜੋ ਮਨ ਨਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਥਾ ਸੋ ਮਨ ਨਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਥਾ ਸੋ ਮਨੁ ਨਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਕੀਰਤਨੁ ਕਥਾ ਸਿਉ ਮਨੁ ਨਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਕੀਰਤ ਕਥਾ ਸਿਉ ਮਨ ਨਾਹੀ ਲਾਵੈ

⁵⁷³ KHc SHR 1442D: ਸਾਧ ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਸਾਧ ਸਿਖ ਕਉ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਸਿਖ ਸਾਧ ਕਾ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸਾਧ ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਸਾਧ ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਸਾਧ ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਸਾਧ ਸਿਖ ਕਉ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਸਾਧ ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਬੁਰਾ ਅਲਾਵੈ

⁵⁷⁴ KHc SHR 1442D: ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੁਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲੁ, MS 71: ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੁਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲੁ, MS 29: ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੁਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੁ ਮਾਲੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਨਿੰਦਿਆ ਜੁਐ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲੁ, MS PPS 142: ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੁਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲ, MS 1024: ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੁਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲੁ, MS 5017: ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੁਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲ, MS 770: ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੁਆ ਹਿਰੈ ਜੋ ਮਾਲ

⁵⁷⁵ KHc SHR 1442D: ਮਹਾਂ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਲੁ, MS 71: ਮਹਾਂ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਲਾਲ, MS 29: ਮਹਾ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਲੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਮਹਾਂ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲੁ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਲੁ, MS PPS 142: ਮਹਾ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਲੁ, MS 1024: ਮਹਾ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਤਿਸ ਕਾਲੁ, MS 5017: ਮਹਾਂ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਤਿਸ ਕਾਲ, MS 770: ਮਾਹਾ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਲਾਲ ਤਿਸੁ ਕਾਲ

੩੧ | ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਸੁਨੈ ਨਕਾਨ |⁵⁷⁶ ਭੇਟ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ |⁵⁷⁷

31. (He who) hears slander of the Guru without reacting, should not be presented with the kirpan.

੩੨ | ਦੋਹਰਾ |⁵⁷⁸

32. Dohara

ਗੋਲਕ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲਿ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਵਾਪਾਰਾ |⁵⁷⁹ ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕ ਹਜਾਰ |⁵⁸⁰

(He who) does deceitful business by not placing the golok (box for charity donations), listen Nand (Lal) Gobind says (he will) endure a thousand hells.

੩੩ | ਚੌਪਈ |⁵⁸¹

33. Chaupai

⁵⁷⁶ KHc SHR 1442 D: ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਸੁਨੈ ਨ ਕਾਨ, MS 71: ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਿਆ ਸੁਨੈ ਨ ਕਾਨ, MS 29: ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਸੁਨੈ ਨਾ ਕਾਨ, KHc SHR 1579: ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਿਆ ਸੁਨੈ ਨਾ ਕਾਨ, MS PPS 142: ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਿਆ ਸੁਨੈ ਜੋ ਕਾਨ, MS 1024: ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਸੁਨੈ ਨ ਕਾਨ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਿਆ ਸੁਨੈ ਜੁ ਕਾਨ, MS 770: ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਸੁਨੈ ਜੋ ਕਾਨ

⁵⁷⁷ KHc SHR 1442D: ਭੇਟ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ, MS 71: ਭੇਟ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ, MS 29: ਭੇਟ ਕਰੈ ਸਿਰਿ ਕਿਰਪਾਨ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਭੇਟਿ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ, MS PPS 142: ਭੇਟ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕਿਰਪਾਨ, MS 1024: ਭੇਟ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ, MS 5017: ਭੇਟ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ, MS 770: ਭੇਟ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕਿਰਪਾਨ

⁵⁷⁸ KHc SHR 1442D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1024: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 770: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁵⁷⁹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਗੋਲਕ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲਿ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਵਾਪਾਰਾ, MS 71: ਗੋਲਕ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਛਲੁ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਵਾਪਾਰੁ, MS 29: ਗੋਲਕ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਵਪਾਰ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਗੋਲਕੁ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਵਾਪਾਰੁ, MS PPS 142: ਗੋਲਕ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲਿ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਵਪਾਰਿ, MS 1024: ਗੋਲਕੁ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲ ਕਰੈ ਵਪਾਰ, MS 5017: ਗੋਲਕ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਵਾਪਾਰੁ, MS 770: ਗੋਲਕ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਛਲ ਕ ਕਰੈ ਵਪਾਰ

⁵⁸⁰ KHc SHR 1442D: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕ ਹਜਾਰ, MS 71: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦੁ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕ ਹਜਾਰ, MS 29: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕਿ ਹਜਾਰਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕਹੈ ਓਹ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕ ਹਜਾਰ, MS PPS 142: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦੁ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕਿ ਹਜਾਰਿ, MS 1024: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕ ਹਜਾਰ, MS 5017: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕ ਹਜਾਰ, MS 770: ਸੁਨਹੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕਹੈ ਭੋਗੈ ਨਰਕ ਹਜਾਰ

⁵⁸¹ Khc SHR 1442D: ਚੌਪਈ। ਚੌਪਈ, MS 71: ਚਉਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਚਉਪਈ, MS PPS 142: ਚਉਪਈ, MS 1024: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 770: ਚੌ

ਫੂਕਮਾਰ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਵਿਸਵਾਵੈ ।⁵⁸² ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ ।⁵⁸³

(He who) forgets to blow out the earthen lamp, (he who) extinguishes the fire with impure water.

੩੪ । ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਮੁਖੁ ਪਾਵੈ ।⁵⁸⁴ ਵੇਸਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ ।⁵⁸⁵

34. (He who) is found eating prasad without saying vahiguru, the Sikh who goes to the door of a prostitute,

੩੫ । ਪਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਿਉ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਵੈ ।⁵⁸⁶ ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ ।⁵⁸⁷

35. (he who) feels affection for (another's) wife, says Gobind, that Sikh is not pleasing (to the Guru).

⁵⁸² KHc SHR 1442D: ਫੂਕਮਾਰ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਵਿਸਵਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਫੂਕਮਾਰਿ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਵਿਸਮਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਫੂਕਮਾਰ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਵਿਸਵਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਫੂਕਮਾਰ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਬਿਸਮਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਫੂਕਮਾਰਿ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਵਿਸਵਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਫੂਕਮਾਰ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਵਿਸਮਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਫੂਕਮਾਰ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਬਿਸਮਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਫੂਕਮਾਰ ਦੀਪਕੁ ਵਿਸਵਾਵੈ

⁵⁸³ KHc SHR 1442D: ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਜੂਠੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਬੁਝਾਵੈ

⁵⁸⁴ KHc SHR 1442D: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਮੁਖੁ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਮੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਹੈ ਬਿਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਖਾਵੈ

⁵⁸⁵ KHc SHR 1442D: ਵੇਸਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਵੇਸ੍ਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਵੇਸਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬੇਸਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਬੇਸ੍ਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖੁ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਵੇਸਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਵੇਸਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਵੇਸਵਾ ਦੁਆਰੇ ਸਿਖ ਜੋ ਜਾਵੈ

⁵⁸⁶ KHc SHR 1442D: ਪਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਿਉ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਪਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਿਉ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਪਰਾ ਈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸੇ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਪਰਿ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸੇ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਪਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਿਉ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਪ੍ਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸੇ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਪਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਿਉ ਨੇਹੁ ਲਗਾਵੈ

⁵⁸⁷ KHc SHR 1442D: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS 71: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS 1024: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦੁ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਕਹੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਓਹੁ ਸਿਖੁ ਨਹੀ ਭਾਵੈ

੩੬ । ਗੁਰੁ ਤਲਪੀ ਕਪਟੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ ।⁵⁸⁸ ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ ।⁵⁸⁹

(He who) is deceitful towards the Guru, know that (he) is a vicious tanakhaia.

੩੭ । ਗੁਰ ਕਉ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਵਰ ਕਉ ਮਾਂਗੈ ।⁵⁹⁰ ਰੈਨ ਸੇਵੈ ਤੇੜ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਂਗੈ ।⁵⁹¹

37. Having abandoned the Guru, (he who) asks from another, (he who) at night sleeps nude below the waist,

੩੮ । ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ ।⁵⁹² ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਲਮ ਜਨ ਕਰੈ ।⁵⁹³

38. (he who) has sex in a nude state, (he who) enters water nude

੩੯ । ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁵⁹⁴

39. Dohara

⁵⁸⁸ KHc SHR 1442D: ਗੁਰੁ ਤਲਪੀ ਕਪਟੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ, MS 71: ਗੁਰ ਕਪਟੀ ਤਲਪੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ, MS 29: ਗੁਰ ਕਪਟੀ ਤਲਪੀ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਗੁਰੁ ਤਲਪੀ ਕਪਟੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ, MS PPS 142: ਗੁਰੁ ਤਲਪੀ ਕਪਟੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ, MS 1024: ਗੁਰ ਕਪਟੀ ਤਲਪੀ ਜੋਇ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰੁ ਤਲਪੀ ਕਪਟੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ, MS 770: ਗੁਰੁ ਤਲਪੀ ਕਪਟੀ ਹੈ ਜੋਇ

⁵⁸⁹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ, MS 71: ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ, MS 29: ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ, MS PPS 142: ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ, MS 1024: ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ, MS 5017: ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ, MS 770: ਬਡ ਤਨਾਖਾਹੀ ਜਾਨੋ ਸੋਇ

⁵⁹⁰ KHc SHR 1442D: ਗੁਰ ਕਉ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਉਰ ਸਿਉ ਮਾਂ, MS 71: ਗੁਰ ਕਉ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਵਰ ਕਉ ਮਾਂਗੈ, MS 29: ਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਵਰ ਕੋ ਮਾਨੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਗੁਰੁ ਕੋ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਵਰ ਸੋ ਮਾਂਗੈ, MS PPS 142: ਗੁਰੁ ਕੋ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਵਰ ਸੋ ਮਾਂਗੈ, MS 1024: ਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਵਰ ਕੋ ਮਾਨੈ, MS 5017: ਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਵਰ ਕਉ ਮਾਂਗੈ, MS 770: ਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਛੋਡਿ ਅਵਰੁ ਸੋ ਮਾਂਗੈ

⁵⁹¹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਰੈਨ ਸੇਵੈ ਤੇੜ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਂਗੈ, MS 71: ਰੈਨ ਸਵੈ ਤੇੜ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਂਗੈ, MS 29: ਰੈਨ ਸਵੈ ਤੇੜ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਂਗੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਰੈਨ ਸੇਵੈ ਸੋ ਤੇੜ ਨਾਂਗੈ, MS PPS 142: ਰੈਨ ਸੇਵੈ ਤੇੜ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਂਗੈ, MS 1024: ਰੈਨ ਸਵੈ ਤੇੜ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਂਗੈ, MS 5017: ਰੈਨ ਸਵੈ ਤੇੜ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਂਗੈ, MS 770: ਰੈਨ ਸੋਇ ਤੇੜ ਹੋਇ ਨਾਂਗੈ

⁵⁹² KHc SHR 1442D: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ, MS 71: ਨਗਨੁ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ, MS 29: ਨਗਨੁ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਨਗਨਿ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ, MS 1024: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ, MS 5017: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ, MS 770: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗੁ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ

⁵⁹³ KHc SHR 1442D: ਨਗਨੁ ਹੋਇ ਜਲਮ ਜਨੁ ਕਰੈ, MS 71: ਨਗਨੁ ਹੋਇ ਜਲਮ ਜਨੁ ਕਰੈ, MS 29: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਲਮ ਜਨੁ ਕਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੋ ਅਪਰਾਧੀ ਜਨ ਮਹਿ ਮਰਹਿ, MS PPS 142: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਲਮ ਜਨੁ ਕਰੈ, MS 1024: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਲਮ ਜਨੁ ਕਰੈ, MS 5017: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਲਮ ਜਨੁ ਕਰੈ, MS 770: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਲਮ ਜਨੁ ਕਰੈ

⁵⁹⁴ KHc SHR 1442D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 1024: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 770: ਦੋਹਰਾ

ਨਗਨ ਕਰੈ ਬਦਿ ਫੈਲ ਜੋ ਨਗਨ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ ।⁵⁹⁵ ਨਗਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡੇ ਕਹਾਇ ।⁵⁹⁶

(he who) becoming naked spreads evil and is eating with a bare head, (he who) is naked near the bowl of prasad is a great sinner.

੪੦ । ਚੌਪਈ ।⁵⁹⁷

40. Chaupai

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਤਿਆਗੈ ।⁵⁹⁸ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ ।⁵⁹⁹

The Khalsa is (he who) has abandoned slander, the Khalsa is (he who) fights first.

੪੧ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ ।⁶⁰⁰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੈ ਖਾਨੁ ।⁶⁰¹

41. The Khalsa is (he who) gives to charity, the Khalsa is (he who) kills the Khan.

⁵⁹⁵ KHc SHR 1442D: ਨਗਨ ਕਰੈ ਬਦਿ ਫੈਲ ਜੋ ਨਗਨ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 71: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਫੈਲ ਬਦ ਕਰੈ ਨਗਨ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 29: ਨਗਨ ਕਰੈ ਬਦ ਫੈਲ ਜੋ ਨਗਨ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਜੋ ਨਗਨਿ ਹੋਇ ਜੋ ਫੈਲ ਬਦ ਨਗਨਿ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਨਗਨ ਕਰੈ ਜੋ ਫੈਲੁ ਬਦੁ ਨਗਨ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 1024: ਨਗਨ ਕਰੈ ਬਦ ਫੈਲ ਜੋ ਨਗਨ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 5017: ਨਗਨ ਹੋਇ ਭੋਗ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ ਨਗਨ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ, MS 770: ਨਗਨ ਕਰੈ ਜੋ ਫੈਲ ਬਦਿ ਨਗਨ ਸੀਸ ਜੋ ਖਾਇ

⁵⁹⁶ Khc SHR 1442D: ਨਗਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡੇ ਕਹਾਇ, MS 71: ਨਗਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਜੁ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡੇ ਸਦਾਇ, MS 29: ਨਗਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡੇ ਕਹਾਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਨਗਨਿ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡਾ ਸਦਾਇ, MS PPS 142: ਨਗਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਜੋ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡਾ ਕਹਾਇ, MS 1024: ਨਗਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡੇ ਕਹਾਇ, MS 5017: ਨਗਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਕਉ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡੇ ਸਦਾਇ, MS 770: ਨਗਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਕੋ ਬਾਟਈ ਤਨਖਾਹੀ ਬਡਾ ਕਹਾਇ

⁵⁹⁷ KHc SHR 1442D: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 71: ਚਉਪਈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਚਉਪਈ। ਕਹੇ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਓਹਿ ਕੋ ਸੇਤਰੈ। ਸਰਿ ਪਰਿ ਜਾਨੇ ਨਰਕਹਿ ਪਰਹਿ, MS PPS 142: ਚਉਪਈ, MS 770: ਚੁ

⁵⁹⁸ KHc SHR 1442D: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਉ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਜੋ ਤਿਆਗੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਿਆ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS 1024: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕੋ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪਰ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS 770: ਖਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਤਿਆਗੈ

⁵⁹⁹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ, MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ, MS 1024: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ, MS 770: ਖਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਲੜੈ ਹੋਇ ਆਗੈ

⁶⁰⁰ KHc SHR 1442D: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 1024: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੇਵੈ ਦਾਨੁ

⁶⁰¹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੈ ਖਾਨ, MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਮਾਰੈ ਖਾਨ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੈ ਖਾਨ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੈ ਖਾਨ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੈ ਖਾਨ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਮਾਰੈ ਖਾਨ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਾਰੈ ਖਾਨ

੪੨ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਚ ਹੁਕੋ ਮਾਰੈ ।⁶⁰² ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਮਾ ਕਉ ਸਾੜੈ ।⁶⁰³

42. The Khalsa is (he who) kills the five vices, the Khalsa is (he who) burns actions.

੪੩ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਆਨ ਕਉ ਤਿਆਗੈ ।⁶⁰⁴ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਪਰ ਤ੍ਰਿਆ ਸੋ ਭਾਗੈ ।⁶⁰⁵

43. The Khalsa is (he who) renounces pride, the Khalsa is (he who) makes another woman into a married one.

੪੪ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਰੈਨਿ ਕੋ ਜਾਗੈ ।⁶⁰⁶ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਪਰਦ੍ਰਿਸਟ ਤਿਆਗੈ ।⁶⁰⁷

44. The Khalsa is (he who) gets up in the night, the Khalsa is (he who) renounces.

੪੫ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਅਨ ਦਿਨੁ ਜਾਗੈ ।⁶⁰⁸ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਹਿਤੁਲਾਵੈ ।⁶⁰⁹ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮੁਹਿ ਮੁਹਿ ਖਾਵੈ ।

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45. The Khalsa is (he who) remains awake during the day, the Khalsa is (he who) holds the Gurbani in affection, the Khalsa is (he who) eats face to face.

⁶⁰² KHc SHR 1442D: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਚ ਹੁਕੋ ਮਾਰੈ, MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਚ ਹੁਕਉ ਮਾਰੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਪੰਚਾ ਕੋ ਮਾਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਪੰਚੈ ਮਾਰੇ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਚਾਕੋ ਮਾਰੇ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪੰਚ ਹੁਕਉ ਮਾਰੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਪਾਚੋ ਮਾਰੇ

⁶⁰³ KHc SHR 1442D: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਮਾਂ ਕਉ ਸਾੜੈ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਮਾ ਕਉ ਸਾੜੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਮਾ ਕਉ ਸਾੜੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਕਰਮ ਕੋ ਸਾੜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਕਰਮ ਕੋ ਸਾੜੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਮਾ ਕਉ ਸਾੜੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਕਰਮ ਕੋ ਸਾਰੇ

⁶⁰⁴ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਆਨ ਕਉ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਆਨ ਕਉ ਤਿਆਗੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਆਨਿ ਕੋ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਆਨ ਕੋ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਆਨ ਕਉ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਆਨ ਕੋ ਤਿਆਗੈ

⁶⁰⁵ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਤ੍ਰਿਆ ਸਿਉ ਭਾਗੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਅਨ ਦਿਨੁ ਜਾਗੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਤਿਰੀਆ ਸੋ ਬਾਗੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਤ੍ਰਿਆ ਸੋ ਭਾਗੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪਰ ਤ੍ਰਿਆ ਸਿਉ ਭਾਗੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਪਰ ਤ੍ਰਿਆ ਸੋ ਭਾਗੈ

⁶⁰⁶ MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਤ੍ਰਿਆ ਸੋ ਭਾਗੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪਰ ਤ੍ਰਿਆ ਸਿਉ ਭਾਗੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਰੈਨਿ ਕੋ ਜਾਗੈ

⁶⁰⁷ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪਰਦ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ ਤਿਆਗੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਪਰਦ੍ਰਿਸੁ ਕੋ ਤਿਆਗੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਰੈਨਿ ਕੋ ਜਾਗੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਦ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ ਤਿਆਗੈ

⁶⁰⁸ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਅਨ ਦਿਨੁ ਜਾਗੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਅਨ ਦਿਨੁ ਜਾਗੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਅਨ ਦਿਨੁ ਜਾਗੈ

⁶⁰⁹ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਗੁਰ ਬਾਣੀ ਹਿਤੁਲਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਹਿਤੁਲਾਵੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਹਿਤੁਲਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਗੁਰ ਬਾਣੀ ਹਿਤੁਲਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਗੁਰ ਬਾਣੀ ਹਿਤੁਲਾਵੈ

⁶¹⁰ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮੁਹੇ ਮੁਹ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮੁਹ ਮੁਹਿ ਖਾਵੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਚੁ ਕੋ ਲਾਗੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮੁਹਿ ਮੁਹਿ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮੁਹੇ ਮੁਹਿ ਖਾਵੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮੁਹਿ ਮੁਹਿ ਖਾਵੈ

੪੬ | ਦੋਹਰਾ | ⁶¹¹

46. Dohara

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਖਲਿਕ ਕੀ ਜਾਣ ਕੇ ਖਲਿਕ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਹਿ | ⁶¹² ਖਲਕੁ ਦੁਖੈ ਤਬੈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਖਾਲਿਕੁ ਕਪੈ ਤਾਹਿ | ⁶¹³

Knowing what nature is, the Khalsa does not inflict pain on created beings, Oh Nand Lal Ji, if you cause pain to nature, then you destroy creation.

੪੭ | ਚੌਪਈ | ⁶¹⁴

47. Chaupai

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿਰਧਨ ਕਉ ਪਾਲੈ | ⁶¹⁵ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੁਸਦ ਕੋ ਗਾਲੈ | ⁶¹⁶

The Khalsa is (he who) supports the poor, the Khalsa is (he who) dissolves evil.

੪੮ | ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੁ ਕਰੈ | ⁶¹⁷ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮੁਖਾਲਫ ਪਰਿ ਚੜੈ | ⁶¹⁸

48. The Khalsa is (he who) recites the name, the Khalsa is (he who) attacks the opponent.

⁶¹¹ MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁶¹² MS 71: ਖਲਕ ਖਾਲਕ ਕੀ ਜਾਨ ਕੈ ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਹਿ, MS 29: ਖਲਕ ਖਾਲ ਕੀ ਜਾਨ ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਹਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਲਕੁ ਖਾਲਕੁ ਕੀ ਜਾਨ ਕੈ ਖਲਕੁ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਹਿ, MS PPS 142: ਖਲਕ ਖਾਲਕ ਕੀ ਜਾਣ ਕੈ ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਹਿ, MS 5017: ਖਲਕ ਖਾਲਕ ਕੀ ਜਾਨ ਕੈ ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਹਿ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਖਲਿਕ ਕੀ ਜਾਣ ਕੇ ਖਲਿਕ ਦੁਖਾਵੈ ਨਹਿ

⁶¹³ MS 71: ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖੈ ਜ ਦੁਖੀ ਖਾਲਕ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੇ ਤਾਹਿ, MS 29: ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖੈ ਜ ਬੰਨਦਜੀ ਖਾਲਕ ਕੋਧੇ ਤਾਹਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਲਕੁ ਦੁਖੈ ਜਬ ਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਖਾਲਕੁ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੇ ਤਾਹਿ, MS PPS 142: ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖੈਤ ਬੰਨਦਜੀ ਖਾਲਕ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੇ ਤਾਹਿ, MS 5017: ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖੈ ਜਬ ਨੰਦ ਜੀ ਖਾਲਕ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੇ ਤਾਹਿ, MS 770: ਖਲਕੁ ਦੁਖੈ ਤਬੈ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਖਾਲਿਕੁ ਕਪੈ ਤਾਹਿ

⁶¹⁴ MS 71: ਚਉਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਚਉਪਈ, MS PPS 142: ਚਉਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 770: ਚੌ

⁶¹⁵ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਿਰਧਨ ਕਉ ਪਾਲੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਿਰਧਨ ਕਉ ਪਾਲੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਿਰਧਨ ਕੋ ਪਾਲੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਿਰਧਨ ਕੋ ਪਾਲੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਿਰਧਨ ਕਉ ਪਾਲੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਿਰਧਨ ਕਉ ਪਾਲੈ

⁶¹⁶ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਦੁਸੁ ਕਉ ਗਾਲੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਦੁਟ ਕਉ ਗਾਲੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੁਸਟਿ ਕਉ ਗਾਲੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਦੁਸਟੁ ਕੋ ਗਾਲੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਦੁਸਟ ਕਉ ਗਾਲੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਦੁਸਦ ਕੋ ਗਾਲੈ

⁶¹⁷ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੁ ਕਰੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੁ ਕਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੁ ਕਰੇ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੁ ਕਰੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੁ ਕਰੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੁ ਕਰੈ

⁶¹⁸ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮੁਖਾਸ ਪਰ ਚੜੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮੁਖਾਲਫ ਪਰਿ ਚੜੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮੁਖਾਲਫ ਪਰਿ ਚੜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮੁਖਾਲਫੁ ਪਰਿ ਚੜੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮਹ ਖਾਸ ਰ ਪ੍ਰ ਚੜੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮੁਖਾਲਫ ਪਰਿ ਚੜੈ

੪੯ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਨ ਨਾਮ ਸਿਉ ਜੋੜੈ ।⁶¹⁹ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਬੰਧ ਨ ਕਉ ਤੋੜੈ ।⁶²⁰

49. The Khalsa is (he who) keeps the name to his mind, the Khalsa is (he who) breaks family attachments.

੫੦ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ।⁶²¹ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਤ ਜੰਗ ।⁶²²

50. The Khalsa is (he who) rides (the) horse, the Khalsa is (he who) always makes wars.

੫੧ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਸਤ੍ਰੁ ਕੋ ਧਾਰੈ ।⁶²³ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੋ ਮਾਰੈ ।⁶²⁴

51. The Khalsa is (he who) carries (a) weapon, the Khalsa is (he who) kills the Turk.

੫੨ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਧਰਮ ਕੋ ਪਾਏ।⁶²⁵ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੀਸੁ ਛਤ੍ਰੁ ਦੇ ਨਾਲੇ।⁶²⁶

52. The Khalsa is (he who) nourished by the Dharam, the Khalsa is (he who) has a canopy over his head.

੫੩ । ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁶²⁷

⁶¹⁹ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮਨ ਨਾਮ ਸਿਉ ਜੋੜੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮਨੁ ਨਾਮਿ ਸਿਉ ਜੋੜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮਨਿ ਨਾਮ ਸਿਉ ਜੋੜੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਮਨ ਨਾਮ ਸਿਉ ਜੋੜੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਮਨ ਨਾਮ ਸਿਉ ਜੋੜੈ

⁶²⁰ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਬੰਧ ਨ ਕਉ ਤੋੜੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਬੰਧ ਨ ਕੋ ਤੋੜੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਬੰਧ ਨ ਕਉ ਤੋੜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਬੰਧ ਨ ਕੋ ਤੋੜੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਬੰਧ ਨ ਕਉ ਤੋੜੈ

⁶²¹ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗੁ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗੁ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗੁ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ

⁶²² MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਤ ਜੰਗ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਤ ਜੰਗ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰੇ ਨਿਤਿ ਜੰਗੁ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਤ ਜੰਗੁ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਤ ਜੰਗ

⁶²³ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਸਸਤ੍ਰੁ ਕਉ ਧਾਰੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਸਤ੍ਰੁ ਕਉ ਧਾਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਸਤ੍ਰੁ ਸਭੁ ਧਾਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸਸਤ੍ਰੁ ਕੋ ਧਾਰੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਸਸਤ੍ਰੁ ਕਉ ਧਾਰੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਸਸਤ੍ਰੁ ਕੋ ਧਾਰੈ

⁶²⁴ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਉ ਮਾਰੈ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਤੁਰਕਿ ਕੋ ਮਾਰੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਤੁਰਕੁ ਕਉ ਮਾਰੈ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੋ ਮਾਰੈ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਉ ਮਾਰੈ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੋ ਮਾਰੈ

⁶²⁵ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੁ ਧਰਮ ਕਉ ਪਾਏ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਧਰਮ ਕੋ ਪਾਏ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਧਰਮ ਕੋ ਪਾਏ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਧਰਮ ਕਉ ਪਾਏ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਜੋ ਧਰਮ ਕੋ ਪਾਏ

⁶²⁶ MS 71: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੀਸੁ ਛਤ੍ਰੁ ਦੇ ਨਾਲੇ, MS 29: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੀਸਿ ਛਤ੍ਰੁ ਦੇ ਨਾਲੇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੀਸ ਛਤ੍ਰੁ ਦੇ ਨਾਲੇ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੀਸੁ ਛਤ੍ਰੁ ਦੇ ਨਾਲੇ, MS 5017: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੀਸ ਛਤ੍ਰੁ ਦੇ ਨਾਲੇ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੀਸੁ ਛਤ੍ਰੁ ਦੇ ਨਾਲੇ

⁶²⁷ MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS PPS 142: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 770: ਦੋਹਰਾ

53. Dohara

ਧ੍ਰੋਹੀ ਫਿਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦ ਕਟਿ ਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ।⁶²⁸ ਬਨ ਪਰਬਤੁ ਨਸਿ ਭਜਹਿ। ਗੇ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਸੋਇ ।⁶²⁹

No slanderer can roam freely having defamed the Formless One, Even if they run into forests and mountains, they will not be able to sleep.

ਪੜ । ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ।⁶³⁰ ਨਦਿ ਪਰਬਤ ਸਭ ਭਜੈ ਗੋ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਸੋਇ ।⁶³¹

54. The Khalsa has no equal, the rivers and the mountains all flow in the world with the Almighty's will.

ਪੜ । ਚੌਪਈ ।⁶³²

55. Chaupai

ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਇਹੁ ਸਾਜ ।⁶³³ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕਰੋ ਗਾਂ ਅਪਨਾ ਰਾਜ ।⁶³⁴

Listen Nand Lal, this is my creation, this will make my rule manifest.

⁶²⁸ KHc SHR 1442D: ਧ੍ਰੋਹੀ ਫਿਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦ ਕਟਿ ਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, MS 71: ਧ੍ਰੋਹੀ ਫਿਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਰਿ ਸਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, MS 29: ਧ੍ਰੋਹੀ ਫਿਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਧ੍ਰੋਹੀ ਫਿਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦ ਕੁਟਿ ਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, MS 5017: ਧ੍ਰੋਹੀ ਫਿਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਰਿ ਸਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, MS 770: ਧ੍ਰੋਹੀ ਫਿਰੈ ਅਕਾਲ॥ ਕੀ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕੁ ਇਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ

⁶²⁹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਬਨ ਪਰਬਤੁ ਨਸਿ ਭਜਹਿ। ਗੇ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਸੋਇ, MS 71: ਬਨ ਪਰਬਤ ਨ ਦੁਖੁ ਜ ਧਿਗੇ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਸੋਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਬਨਿ ਪਰਬਤਿ ਆਨੰ ਦੁ ਭਜੈ ਗੇ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤਿ ਸੌਭੈ ਸੋਇ, MS PPS 142: ਬਨ ਪਰਬਤ ਨਦੁ ਭਜੈ ਗੇ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਸੋਇ, MS 5017: ਬਨ ਪਰਬਤ ਸਭ ਭਜਹਿ ਗੇ ਤਰਹ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਸੋ, MS 770: ਬਨ ਪਰਬਤੁ ਨਸਿ ਭਜਹਿ ॥ ਗੇ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤ ਮੈ ਸੋਇ

⁶³⁰ KHc SHR 1442D: ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਈ ਕਰੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ

⁶³¹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਨਦਿ ਪਰਬਤ ਸਭ ਭਜੈ ਗੋ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਸੋਇ, MS 29: ਨਦਿ ਪਰਬਤ ਸਭਿ ਭਜੈ ਗੇ ਤਰੈ ਜਗਤਿ ਮਹਿ ਸੋਇ

⁶³² KHc SHR 1442D: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 71: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 29: ਚੌਪਈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਚੌਪਈ, MS PPS 142: ਚੌਪਈ, ਚੌਪਈ, MS 5017: ਚੌਪਈ, MS 770: ਚੌ

⁶³³ KHc SHR 1442D: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਇਹੁ ਸਾਜਿ, MS 71: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਇਹੁ ਸਾਜ, MS 29: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਇਹੁ ਸਾਜਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਇਹੁ ਸਾਜਿ, MS PPS 142: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਇਹੁ ਸਾਜ, MS 5017: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਇਹੁ ਸਾਜ, MS 770: ਸੁਨੋ ਨੰਦ ਲਾਲ ਜੀ ਇਹੁ ਸਾਜ

⁶³⁴ KHc SHR 1442D: ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕਰੋ ਗਾਂ ਅਪਨਾ ਰਾਜ, MS 71: ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿ ਕਰਉ ਗਾ ਅਪਨਾ ਰਾਜ, MS 29: ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿ ਕਰੈ ਗੋ ਅਪਨਾ ਰਾਜ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿ ਕਰੋ ਗਾ ਅਪਨਾ ਰਾਜ, MS PPS 142: ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿ ਕਰੂ ਗਾ ਅਪਨਾ ਰਾਜ, MS 5017: ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕਰਉ ਗਾ ਅਪਨਾ ਰਾਜ, MS 770: ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕਰੋਗਾ ਅਪਨਾ ਰਾਜ

੫੬ । ਚਾਰ ਵਾਰਨਾ ਇਕੁ ਰੰਗ ਕਰਾਉ ।⁶³⁵ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪਾਉ ।⁶³⁶

56. I will make the four varnas into one colour, recite the jap of vahiguru.

੫੭ । ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ ।⁶³⁷ ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖੁ ਜਾਵੈ ਗੋ ਭਾਜਿ ।⁶³⁸

57. Ride a horse and fly a falcon, the Turks will see and run away in confusion.

੫੮ । ਦੇਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਉ ਤੁਰਕ ਜਾਹਿ ਗੋ ਭਾਜ ।⁶³⁹ ਸਵ ਲਾਖ ਸਿਉ ਏਕੁ ਲੜਵਾਉ ।⁶⁴⁰

58. Seeing the Khalsa, the Turks will run, one will fight with 125 000.

੫੯ । ਚਲੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਉ ।⁶⁴¹ ਬੂਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਾਜੇ ।⁶⁴²

59. They caused the liberation of the 40 Sikhs, adorn the swaying elephants with lances.

⁶³⁵ KHc SHR 1442D: ਚਾਰ ਵਾਰਨਾ ਇਕੁ ਰੰਗ ਕਰਾਉ, MS 71: ਚਾਰਿ ਵਾਰਨ ਇਕੁ ਰੰਗ ਕਰਾਉ, MS 29: ਚਾਰ ਵਰਨਿ ਇਕ ਵਰਨਿ ਕਰਾਉ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਜਾਵੈ ਗੋ ਭਾਜ, MS PPS 142: ਚਾਰੁ ਵਰਨਿ ਇਕ ਰੰਗੁ ਕਰਾਉ, MS 5017: ਚਰ ਵਰਨ ਇਕ ਰੰਗ ਕਰਾਉ, MS 770: ਚਾਰ ਵਰਨ ਏਕ ਰੰਗ ਕਰਾਉ

⁶³⁶ KHc SHR 1442D: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪਾਉ, MS 71: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪਾਉ, MS 29: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪਾਉ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪਾਉ, MS PPS 142: ਵਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪਾਉ, MS 5017: ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪਾਉ, MS 770: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਜਾਪੁ ਜਪਾਉ

⁶³⁷ KHc SHR 1442D: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ, MS 71: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ, MS 29: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਜਾਵੈ ਗੋ ਭਾਜ, MS PPS 142: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ, MS 770: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ

⁶³⁸ KHc SHR 1442D: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖੁ ਜਾਵੈ ਗੋ ਭਾਜਿ, MS 71: ਤੁਰਕ ਦੇਖਿ ਕੇ ਜਾਹਿ ਗੋ ਭਾਗ, MS 29: ਤੁਰਕਿ ਦੇਖਿ ਕੈ ਜਾਵਹਿ ਭਾਜਿ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵਹਿ ਬਾਜਿ, MS PPS 142: ਤੁਰਕ ਦੇਖ ਕੇ ਜਾਵੈ ਭਾਜਾ, MS 5017: ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗ ਉਡਾਵੈ ਬਾਜ, MS 770: ਤੁਰਕੁ ਦੇਖ ਕ ਜਾਵੈ ਭਾਜਿ

⁶³⁹ MS 5017: ਦੇਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਉ ਤੁਰਕ ਜਾਹਿ ਗੋ ਭਾਜ

⁶⁴⁰ KHc SHR 1442D: ਸਵਾ ਲਾਖ ਸੋ ਏਕੁ ਲੜਾਉ, MS 71: ਸਵਾ ਲਾਖ ਸਿਉ ਏਕ ਲੜਾਉ, MS 29: ਸਵਾ ਲਾਖ ਸਿਉ ਏਕ ਲੜਾਉ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸਵਾ ਲਾਖ ਸਿਉ ਏਕੁ ਲੜਾਉ, MS PPS 142: ਸਵਾ ਲਾਖ ਸੋ ਏਕ ਲੜਾਉ, MS 5017: ਸਵਾ ਲਾਖ ਸਿਉ ਏ ਲੜਾਉ, MS 770: ਸਵ ਲਾਖ ਸਿਉ ਏਕੁ ਲੜਵਾਉ

⁶⁴¹ KHc SHR 1442D: ਚਲੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਉ, MS 71: ਚਲੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਉ, MS 29: ਚਲੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਉ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਚਲਹਿ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਉ, MS PPS 142: ਚਲੈ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਉ, MS 5017: ਚੜੈ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਾਉ, MS 770: ਚਲੈ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਿਸੁ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕਰਉ,

⁶⁴² KHc SHR 1442D: ਬੂਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਾਜੇ, MS 71: ਬੂਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਾਜੇ, MS 29: ਬੂਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਾਜੇ, MS PPS 142: ਬੂਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਾਜੇ, MS 5017: ਬੂਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਾਜੈ, MS 770: ਬੂਲੇ ਨੇ ਜੇ ਹਸਤੀ ਸਚੈ ਦੁਆਰ

੬੦ । ਦੁਆਰ ਦੁਆਰੁ ਪਰ ਨਉਬਤ ਬਾਜੈ ।⁶⁴³ ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖੁਜਬ ਧੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤਾ ।⁶⁴⁴ ਤਬਿ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੇ ਅਸਤ ਲਉ ਜੀਤਾ ।⁶⁴⁵

60. Play the kettledrum at each door, light up 125 000 of the guns, the Khalsa risks and conquers the untrue ones.

੬੧ । ਦੋਹਰਾ ।⁶⁴⁶

61. Dohara

ਰਾਜ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਯਾਂ ਕੀ ਰਹੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ।⁶⁴⁷ ਖੁਆਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਸਭ ਮਿਲੈ ਗੀ ਬਚੈ ਮਰਨ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ ।⁶⁴⁸

The Khalsa shall rule, and none will go against them, they will be disgraced, who are saved from death.

⁶⁴³ KHc SHR 1442D: ਦੁਆਰੁ ਪਰ ਨੋਬਤ ਬਾਜੈ, MS 71: ਦੁਆਰਿ ਦੁਆਰਿ ਪਰਿ ਨਉਬਤ ਬਾਜੈ, MS 29: ਦੁਆਰਿ ਦੁਆਰਿ ਪਰਿ ਨਉਬਤ ਬਾਜੈ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੁਆਰ ਦੁਆਰ ਪਰਿ ਨੋਬਤਿ ਬਾਜੈ, MS PPS 142: ਦੁਆਰ ਦੁਆਰੁ ਪਰ ਨਉਬਤਿ ਬਾਜੈ, MS 5017: ਦੁਆਰਿ ਦੁਆਰਿ ਪ੍ਰ ਨਉਬਤਿ ਬਾਜੈ, MS 770: ਦੁਆਰ ਦੁਆਰੁ ਪਰ ਨਉਬਤ ਬਾਜੈ

⁶⁴⁴ KHc SHR 1442D: ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖੁਜਬ ਧੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤਾ, MS 71: ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖਜਬ ਧੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤਾ, MS 29: ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖਜਬ ਧੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖੁਜਾਬੁ ਧੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤਾਂ, MS PPS 142: ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖਜਬ ਧੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤਾ, MS 5017: ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖਜਬ ਜਬ ਧੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤੀ, MS 770: ਸਵਾਲਾ ਖਜਬ ਧੁਖੈ ਪਲੀਤਾ

⁶⁴⁵ KHc SHR 1442D: ਤਬਿ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੇ ਅਸਤ ਲਉ ਜੀਤਾ, MS 71: ਤਉ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੇ ਅਸਤ ਲਉ ਜੀਤਾ, MS 29: ਤਉ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੇ ਅਸਤਿ ਲੋ ਜੀਤਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੈ ਅਸਤਿ ਲਉ ਜੀਤਾ, MS PPS 142: ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੇ ਅਸਤੁ ਲਉ ਜੀਤਾ, MS 5017: ਤਬ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੇ ਅਸਤ ਲਉ ਜੀਤਾ, MS 770: ਖਾਲਸੇ ਉਦੈ ਅਸਤ ਲੋ ਜੀਤਾ

⁶⁴⁶ KHc SHR 1442D: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 71: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 29: ਦੋਹਰਾ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 5017: ਦੋਹਰਾ, MS 770: ਦੋਹਰਾ

⁶⁴⁷ KHc SHR 1442D: ਰਾਜ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਯਾਂ ਕੀ ਰਹੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, MS 71: ਰਾਜੁ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਯਾਂ ਕੀ ਰਹੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, MS 29: ਰਾਜ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਕੀ ਰਹੈ ਨਾ ਕੋਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਰਾਜੁ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਯਾਕੀ ਲਉ ਜੀਤਾ, MS PPS 142: ਰਾਜ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਯਾ ਕੀ ਇਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, MS 5017: ਰਾਜੁ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਕੀ ਰਹੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ, MS 770: ਰਾਜ ਕਰੈਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਯ ਕੀ ਇਕੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ

⁶⁴⁸ KHc SHR 1442D: ਖੁਆਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਸਭ ਮਿਲੈ ਗੀ ਬਚੈ ਮਰਨ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ, MS 71: ਖੁਆਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਸਭ ਮਿਲੈ ਗੀ ਬਚੈ ਸਰਿਨ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ, MS 29: ਖੁਆਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਸਭਿ ਮਿਲੈ ਗੀ ਬਚੈ ਸਰਨ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਖੁਆਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਸਭਿ ਮਿਲੈ ਮੇ ਬਚੈ ਸਰਨਿ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ, MS PPS 142: ਖੁਆਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਸਭੁ ਮਿਲਹਿ ਗੇ ਬਚੈ ਸਰਨਿ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ, MS 5017: ਖੁਆਰੁ ਹੋਇ ਸਭ ਮਿਲੈ ਹੀ ਬਚੈ ਸਰਨਿ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ, MS 770: ਖੁਆਰੀ ਹੋਇ ਸਭ ਮਿਲੈ ਹਿ ਗੈ ਬਚੈ ਸਰਨ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ

੬੨ । ਇਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਸੀਹਤਨਾਮਾ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ ਪਤਿਸਾਹੀ ਦਸਵੀ ।⁶⁴⁹ ਪੜੈ ਸੁਨੇ ਕਮਾਵੈ ਮੋਖ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਾਵੈ ।⁶⁵⁰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਬਚਨੁ ਹੈ।
ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਦਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੋਨਾ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੜ ਸੁਕੀ। ਜੋ ਮੋਨੇ ਦਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਸਿਖ ਜੋਵੈ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੜਹਰੀ ।⁶⁵¹

62. This manual of advice is finished. He who reads (it) and listens (to it) is liberated. This is the message of the Master. The Sikh whose son is a Mona, his roots have died, and if a Mona Sikh's son becomes a Sikh again, his roots will come alive again.

⁶⁴⁹ KHc SHR 1442D: ੧॥ਇਤ ਨਸੀਹਤਨਾਮਾ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ॥੧, MS 71: ਇਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਤਨਖਾਹਨਾਮਾ ਸੰਪੂਰਨੰ, MS 29: ਇਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਸੀਹਤਨਾਮਾ ਸਪੂਰਨੰ, KHc SHR 1579C: ਇਤ ਤਨਿਖਾਹਿ ਨਾਮਾ ਮੁਖਵਾਕਿ ਪਾਤਸਾਹੀ ਦਸਿ, MS PPS 142: ਇਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਸੀਹਤਨਾਮਾ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ।੧, MS 5017: ੨੧। ਇਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਤਨਖਾਹਿ ਨਾਮਾ ਸੰਪੂਰਨੈ, MS 770: ਇਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਸੀਹਤਨਾਮਾ ਮੁਖਵਾਕ ਪਤਿਸਾਹੀ ਦਸਵੀ।

⁶⁵⁰ MS 71: ਪੜੈ ਸੁਨੇ ਕਮਾਵੈ ਮੋਖ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਾਵੈ, MS 29: ਪੜ ਤੇ ਸੁਣ ਤੇ ਮੋਖਿ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਾਵੈ।੨, KHc SHR 1579C: ਸੁਨੇ ਪੜੇ ਮੋਖੁ ਕੇ ਪਾਵੈ। ਬੋਲਹੁ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀਕ ਫਤੇ ਹੈ, MS 5017: ਪੜੈ ਸੁਣੈ ਕਮਾਵੈ ਮੋਖ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਾਵੈ। ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਬਚਨੁ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਦਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੋਨਾ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੜ ਸੁਕੀ। ਜੋ ਮੋਨੇ ਦਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਸਿਖ ਜੋਵੈ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੜਹਰੀ, MS 770: ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੇਹ

⁶⁵¹ MS 5017: ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਬਚਨੁ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਦਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੋਨਾ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੜ ਸੁਕੀ। ਜੋ ਮੋਨੇ ਦਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਸਿਖ ਜੋਵੈ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੜਹਰੀ