CHAPTER I

AUTHORSHIP OF THE DASAM GRANTH

The Dasam Granth is variously known to be Daswen Padshah ka Granth, The Book of the Tenth King, The Granth of the Tenth Guru, The Granth of the Sahib Tenth Guru, The Granth of Gobind Singh, and as Sri Dasam Guru Granth Sahib Ji.¹

It is, therefore, held sacred and treated as one of the holy books, second in sanctity only to the Adi Granth, or a “Sister Volume” to it. In certain gurdwaras, it is also given a place of honour. Some parts of it, like the Jap, the Swaiyas, Akal Ustat and Benti Chaupai are included in nit-nem or daily recitations by pious Sikhs.³

But while the tradition about authorship of the Dasam Granth is so strong, there are historians who hold that all the works included in the Dasam Granth were composed not only by Guru Gobind Singh himself but also by some other poets kept in his service at Anandpur.⁴

On the authority of Suraj Parkash by Santokh Singh, Macauliffe in his The Sikh Religion, says :—

“The Guru kept fifty-two bards permanently in his employ and others occasionally visited him. They wrote on all the nine subjects* which in the opinion of the orientals are suitable themes for poetry; but the composition of eulogies on the Guru occupied most of their attention. The Guru once had the curiosity to weigh their compositions. They amounted to about two and a half hundredweight. They included them in a compilation which he called Vidyadhar. He so valued the book that he ever kept it by him—even when he went into battle—but it was lost in one of his engagements. Some of the bards’ compilations are preserved in the Suraj Parkash, where they may be perused by the curious.”⁵

Cunningham in his History of the Sikhs, also holds the same view:

“Five chapters, or portions only and the commencement of a sixth are attributed to Gobind himself; the remainder, i.e., by far the larger portion, is said to have been composed by four scribes in the service of the Guru; partly, perhaps, agreeably to his dictate. The names of Sham and Ram occur as two of the writers, but, in truth, little is known of the authorship of the portions in question.”⁶

² T. S., 336, 342; D. D. 3; In New Delhi, Hamuman Road, Kohi No. 47, I have noticed a manuscript of the Dasam Granth bound together with one of the Adi Granth in the possession of Raja Gulab Singh Sethi who has secured it from Nader. This fact is further corroborated by a writer in Jiwan Sandesh, May, 1951. page 144.
³ Bhai Kahan Singh on page 1252, photo-stat No. 5, of Guru Shabad Ratanakar Mahan Kosh, Vol. II, refers to an edition of the Dasam Granth at Hazur Sahib and has given a photostat of page 746 of this Granth. This very edition is now in the possession of Raja S. Gulab Singh Sethi.
⁴ R. N. G. (13), R. N. D., 32; S. I. L., 100; Jap, i. preface.
⁵ T. S., 312, H. H. L., 64; S. R. Vol. V., 161; H. S. 356; H. P. L. 40; P. S., 39.
⁷ S. R. Vol. V., 161. In his Mahan Kosh Vol. IV, p. 2530, Bhai Kahan Singh has given the names of these fifty-two poets.
⁸ H. S., 356.
The critics of this school firmly believe that certain portions of the Granth could never have been the composition of Guru Gobind Singh. The works like Pakhyan Charitra and Hikayats, they argue, seem to be quite out of harmony with the deep religious and philosophical portions of the Granth. A poet, they add, who had written extremely devotional verses could not have indulged in purely earthly matters, relating to women and their "wiles".

Macauliffe also records in Volume V of The Sikh Religion that the sentiment of disapproval was voiced by several learned Sikhs at Talwandi Sabo or Damdama who met to examine the compilation of the Dasam Granth after Mani Singh's execution in 1734 A.D. (1791 B). He says:

"Several intelligent Sikhs were of opinion that the tales and translations in the volume, as at present found, ought not to have been included in it, for many of them are of Hindu origin, others not fit for perusal and none comparable with hymns contained in Adi Granth. The Sikhs, therefore, maintained that the Hikayats or Persian tales, and the whole of the Triya Charitra or stories illustrating the deceits of women, should be omitted and included in a separate volume which might be read not for religious purposes but for the entertainment and delectation of the public." 

Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana is of the opinion that:

"Rama and Shyama of the fifty-two poets said to have lived at the socio-religious court of the Guru at Anandpur, are the writers of the anthology Triya Charitra, women's wiles."

It is probably this composition which provokes a similar opinion in Dr. G. C. Narang:

"It is a miscellaneous collection and only a part forms the Guru's own work; the rest being written by a number of Hindi poets, whom the Guru kept in his service. The collection does not do credit to Guru's name and much of it, except the Guru's own composition, might well have been omitted. The book does not command much respect among cultured Sikhs who look upon most of its contents as spurious."

From all this it appears that there is a strong difference of opinion on the authenticity of the Dasam Granth.

Besides the question of the authenticity of the Granth, there is another difficulty about the date and the place of its composition and compilation. The critics generally, put it in 1706 A.D. (1763 B), at Damdama.

Quoting Cunningham, Indu Bhushan Bannerjee writes in the second volume of his Evolution of the Khalsa:

"That at Damdama the Guru occupied himself in composing the supplementary or the Book of the Tenth King, to rouse the energies and sustain the hopes of the faithful." But this," adds Bannerjee, "cannot be true. The Dasam Granth is a huge unwieldy medley of heterogeneous matter and there is clear internal evidence that different parts of it were written by different writers at different times. The Guru is said to have kept fifty-two bards in his employ,
the names of some of whom are given in the *Panth Parkash*. Together with these, the Guru had commenced abridged versions of the more interesting works on the Hindu mythology and from a few references, here and there, it appears that much of it had been completed even before 1696.\(^\text{1}\)\(^\text{2}\)

This, however, does not rule out the possibility that a part of it might have been written at Damdama.

Dr. Narang says that the Guru compiled the *Dasam Granth* at Damdama\(^3\), but we know from the Sikh records that the compilation by Bhai Mani Singh took place twenty-six years after the Guru’s death\(^4\).

We shall now carefully examine this formidable body of evidence and try to find out as to which of the works included in the *Dasam Granth* are from the pen of Guru Gobind Singh, and which others, if any, may have been contributed by his court poets.

**External Evidence**

There is sufficient external evidence to contend that the *Dasam Granth* was written by Guru Gobind Singh himself:

1. Kesar Singh Chhibber\(^5\), who claims to be a grandson of Dharam Chand\(^6\), a Dewan in the court of Guru Gobind Singh, and the son of Bhai Gurbaksh Singh, Darogha, Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, was, in his early life, intimately associated with Mata Sundari\(^7\), wife of Guru Gobind Singh. He wrote his work *Bansawali Nama Dasan Patshahian ka*\(^8\) (Geneology of the Ten Kings) in 1826 B. and revised it in 1836 B. A. (1779 A.D.).

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\(^1\) P. P., 164; S. R. op. cit—Vol. V., 67.
\(^2\) E.K., 189.
\(^3\) T. S., 166.
\(^4\) S. R. Vol. V., 223 f, n.
\(^5\) He seems to have been either unfortunately ignored by, or most probably unknown to, the authorities quoted already.
The manuscript is in the possession of Bhai Vir Singh, and an incomplete copy of it is available in the Khalsa College, Sikh History Research Library, Amritsar. He tells us in this manuscript that Guru Gobind Singh completed his Granth in the year 1755 B1 (1698 A.D.) at Anandpur. He tells us further that it was composed by the Guru himself:

Sahiban nun si pyara apne hathin likhia ate khidayaw.

(It was dear to the Lord who wrote it himself and got enacted.)

He may have dictated, partly at least, to his court poets:

Ate ap rasnam thi uchar banayaa.

(And the composition he uttered from his own lips.)

He further adds that some of his courtiers requested the Guru to add the Dasam Granth to the volume of the Adi Granth which he had already completed in the same year, but he declined to do so.

2. The view that the Dasam Granth was finally completed at Anandpur is further confirmed in the Report of Sodhak Committee Dasam Patshahi Shri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, Khalsa Dewan, Amritsar, Katak 1, 1954 B. (Nanak Shahi 428 or 1897 A.D.).

"Bachitra Natak, Chandi Charitra Vadda, Chhota, Var, Gian Prabodh ad sabh banian da uchar Anandpur men hoya."

(Bachitra Natak, Chandi Charitra I & II, Var, Gian Prabodh, etc., all the poetic works "Baniyan" were recited at Anandpur.

3. Still further light is thrown on the sanctity and the Guru’s authorship of the Dasam Granth by the Report which says in clause 20,—

If this Granth (Bani) had not been the Guru’s, the ten swaiyas beginning with Sravag sudh, etc., and the quatrain (Benti Chaupai), Hamri karo hath de rachha would not have been recited at the time of the Sikh baptism; the recitations from Ramavtar would not have been given on the Dussehra days, the recitations from Chandi Charitra would not have been performed at the time of the Akhand Path.

1.  ......बोटा ग्रंथ जी जबमें साहित्य तमरं पाविबाह, के धाम।
मरत सहारों से पत्तरंजा, बहुत खिडावे खिडावे नाम।
बूझी नूं ची विखारा अपनी हर्षी लिखिता ते खिडावा।
अले आव रसना भी उदहर बनावा।

B., (222)

2.  साहिकां नूं भी विखारा अपनी हर्षी लिखिता ते खिडावा।

B., (244)

3.  अले आव रसना भी उदहर बनावा।

B., (294)

4.  हममी की कृति बकरा, जो ! नाल बाहीरे मिलावा।
बचन कीता ‘प्रव्य है उह, हि आसारे है लेब’।

B., (223)

5.  साहित्य नाटक, चंडी चरित्र, वड़ड़ा, बोटा, वार, गयान प्रमो, आव जब चांडीहाँ हा उच्चार अनेंदुर में होया।

R. S. P. II, cl. 2.
been given during Nauratas (the nine nights preceding Dussehra), the recitations from 
Krishan 
Avtar would not have been given at the Harmada during Hola Mohalla."

It appears that historians like Narang, Cunningham and Macauliffe did not come across this piece of evidence, which is dated 1954 B. and a printed copy of which is with Principal Jodh Singh, now at Ludhiana.

4. In 1944, from December 21 to December 25, on the occasion of the birthday celebrations of Guru Gobind Singh, there was held an Akhand Path of the Dasam Granth at the Akal Takhat by Jathedar Mohan Singh who was then the Jathedar of Akal Takhat Sahib as well as the President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

5. During his retreat at Damdama (1704-7)* in the Patiala State, between Ferozepore and Hansi, it is said by Dr. Narang and Cunningham that the Guru compiled the Dasam Granth. But as Indu Bhushan Bannerjee has pointed out, the Sikh records nowhere confirm the view. The writer himself has gone through Suraj Parkash by Santokh Singh, Panth Parkash by Gyani Gian Singh, Twarikh Guru Khalsa, but has found no mention of Dasam Granth having been compiled at Damdama Sahib. Dr. Indu Bhushan Bannerjee himself, however, is of the view that a part of it might have been written at Damdama. It is, no doubt, true, as Trumpp says and Gur Bilas confirms it, that Damdama became a new centre of literary activities and the Guru called it "Hamari Kas" (our Banaras). The study of the Granth became much in vogue there and the "Gurmukhi" writers of Damdama came to be regarded as the best, for the Guru himself had blessed the place saying that howsoever foolish a man might be, he could become wise by his stay there. But there is no evidence to prove that the Dasam Granth was compiled there.

On the authority of Bhai Kahan Singh and Macauliffe, it may be contended that it was here, in 1705, that Guru Gobind Singh wrote his Bachitra Natak which was later incorporated with his other literary labours of Anandpur into Dasam Granth. But there is no evidence to prove the same. The account of the events narrated in the Bachitra Natak precedes 1699 A.D., long before Anandpur Sahib was evacuated. Sikh tradition, however, maintains that the Adi Granth, not the Dasam Granth, was thus dictated to Bhai Mani Singh by the Guru from memory in as much as his personal copies of the Granth were lost in the confusion that followed the battle near the Sirsa. It was on the same
occasion that the Guru’s mother, Gujari, with her two younger grandsons, Jujjhar Singh and Fatch Singh had got separated from the Guru’s party. Unfortunately the two copies of the Adi Granth prepared here are believed to have been lost in Kulba Bahmani Ghalu Ghara in 1762 B2.

6. Kesar Singh Chhibber tells us further in his Bansawali Nama that Bhai Mani Singh came to Amritsar and compiled the Granth (1782—92 B). Dr. Kshitimohan Sen, in his Medieval Mysticism of India, also supports the same. Here Macauliffe also holds the same view about Mani Singh’s achievement. Macauliffe, however, adds that it was compiled at Amritsar. Mani Singh made a long search and cast his net wide in order to find out manuscript-copies of the Dasam Granth from everywhere. He spared no pains and no expenses in achieving his object. He secured five of the leaves from a Sikh, in Lahore, found folded three times and tied up in a piece of cloth. Seven more leaves were found with another person in Delhi. These manuscript-leaves were genuine, because they were in the handwriting of the Guru himself. The original compilation made at Anandpur was not bound in a single volume. On account of a hurried evacuation of Anandpur and the sudden attack from behind, of the imperial armies on the evacuees, the works of the Dasam Granth were almost cast to the winds. And Bhai Mani Singh collected these with the help of many Sikh followers and friends.

1. E. K., 137. 2. J. S., 131 f; P. P., 226
3. M. M., 165. According to Dr. Kshitimohan Sen the Granth was compiled in 1734 A. D. (1792 B.)
6. I. E. K., 137. 7. B., (375)
The tradition says that Bhai Mani Singh made copies of the manuscript that he recovered, while he sent the original to Mata Sundari per Jhanda Singh to be delivered to Shian Singh. Bhai Mani Singh kept the copies with himself. In this way there were compiled, in course of time, two copies of the Dasam Granth, one made by Mani Singh himself at Amritsar and the other by Shian Singh at Delhi, under the supervision of Mata Sundari. The former manuscript copy is now in the possession of Raja Gulab Singh Sethi of New Delhi and the latter is in Gurdwara, Sangrur. The index of either is the same and their paging is continued from the Adi Granth. In other words, there is a continuity in pages from the Adi Granth to the Dasam Granth indicating that both form two parts of the same Scripture. Both the manuscripts are found existing to this day and it can be verified by any critic.

By far the most valuable evidence is available in the historic manuscript letter by Bhai Manir Singh, a playmate, classfellow and a devoted disciple of Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji and a top-ranking scholar of his time, who survived the Guru by many years and was martyred at Lahore1. He wrote it from Amritsar to Mata Sundari Ji (the wife of Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji) at Delhi in April 1716. This manuscript is in the possession of Giani Harnam Singh ‘Ballabh’, Gurdwara Rakab Gunj, New Delhi, a photostat of which is given below, along with a photostat of romanized copy of this letter taken from The Sikh Review April, 1955.

Romanized copy of Bhai Mani Singh's letter to Mata Sundari ji

plj mti di de cmmq pa mani sihgh ki chnhhat bndsn. bhoro simncr vscn ke dhdr uon pa sdt vrt rkg k dthk vttr hke gua hksvst ntki hnd. dpk k bnd do bnr smni. par mandr k srd ms ko ddk ntki. des vcl hlls d bll cht gara hks. vghh phrvslhi bllnhrl vie jin hns hkm. mtclhht ki des mth dthi hks. bnti mth hllk jnsl vtr dt mtnms ntki. mphk mhk hr bhrd hkm. grr drrk b nttl d snq ml gsn hkm. hndil mi krm mkblr krd hkn. sbi cch gsn hkm. msntd bby gsn hkm. nsk e pr ab ab ab pr abh b rch b hks. bl k bhsr ntki. bhkfhk dl lkmnm ntj hkm. bnd ntsngh d pttmt d lkmnm stt k hkr hks. ptknl st j mhl ntsngh rck. bhek st sn vcl ntki. pr 363 crrrsr npkhpnn d dphj jy hkr cml sn ntsngh mht mth nhn. nmn mltf k ptk f bhsr b ml ntki. krtshktur npkhpnn pr mtt ntrcdrd ntki. js mltr cch b人力资源. des vcl pghh ks k bndrr bndsn mkt hkr bby gsn hks. nttl bnhst ndr lnn ge. tplt pr snml nkkshcyd k nhntn k chncn dn ltn gsr ksn knhdsr sr bhek jy hks 17 rjsptn b jhnsngh snk d bhr plkm. 5 rjsptn sr snl d d bks bdnnd b hks. k sn nh jlns g. mttngd n bxlr nhx dnt js hrr by bhrs bnds pntng. nsk e pr ab ab bch k mtncn zhkk. ml snknhn 22. dsnh mknnng grr cch hwnj. jsbl pr snl.

1. S. R. Vol, I, IV, V; M. K., 2845; P. S., 8 f; S. M., 10 f.
The English version of this letter by the learned Giani runs thus:

"May Almighty help us!

Mani Singh makes his humble prostration at the holy feet of his venerable mother. Further news is that the climate of this place has aggravated my rheumatism and my health deteriorates fast. Twice I have heard the healing parable of the tertian fever. But my illness has caused no slackness in the performance of the holy service of the Hari Mandir (Golden Temple). The Khalsa no more holds sway over the country and its power has waned. The Sikhs have migrated to the mountain retreats. The Malechhas reign supreme in the country. There is no security for the (Sikh) children and women in any habitation. They are hunted out and killed. The apostates have also joined hands with them. The Hindalians spy on the Sikhs. All the Sikhs have deserted the Chak. The mutasaddis (priests) have also fled. So far the Immortal Lord has protected me. Tomorrow is uncertain. What is ordained by Lord shall prevail. The adopted son of Binod Singh has passed away. Among the books I sent per Jhanda Singh, there is one entitled '303 tales' by the Lord (Guru Gobind Singh). Give that to Shian Singh in the Mahal. So far there is no trace of the book Nam Mala. I found the first part of the Krishna Avtar but not the second. I shall send it when available. There is a rumour in the country that Banda (Bahadur) has made good his escape from the Emperor’s jail. May the Guru protect him. The Guru’s family, at Khandur has sent five tolas of gold as a gift for your son’s bride. Recover seventeen rupees from Jhanda Singh. I gave him rupees five to meet the expenses of the journey.... These expenses will be incurred by him. The mutasaddis have not yet settled accounts, otherwise I would have sent you a draft from the big city. If my health improves, I shall come in the month of Asoj."

Baisakh 22

Sd/- Mani Singh

Guruchak, Bunga.

P. S. Reply in bamboo stick

1. The earliest name of Amritsar. 2. Matia Mahal i.e. in the interior of the city.
3. The descendants of the Gurus.
4. An adopted son of Mata Ji as all her four sons were martyred already. 5. Presumably Lahore.
6. As being confidential.*

In this document, Bhai Mani Singh says that he is sending her a manuscript containing "303 tales" of women by the Guru and another manuscript containing the first half of Krishna Avtar, the second part of which has not yet been traced out. Further, he regrets that he has not been able to recover so far any manuscript copy of the Sastra Nam Mala. The year of the composition of the letter is most probably 1774 B (April 1716 A.D.) as it makes reference to what appears to be the death of Banda in the same year. It shows that Pakhyan Charira and Krishna Avtar were written by Guru Gobind Singh himself. This evidence is as definite and authoritative as any.

Summary:

After weighing the external evidence given above we arrive at the hypotheses that

(i) The Dasam Granth was composed at Anandpur;
(ii) The Dasam Granth was recompiled by Mani Singh at Amritsar, after a long research covering a period of about nine years;

(iii) Charitra Upakhyan and Avtars were regarded, and recovered by Mani Singh, as genuine writings of the Tenth Guru;

(iv) Ten swaiyas of the Akal Ustat and Chaupai, Ramavtar, Chandi Charitra, Krisanavtar being taken as the Guru’s compositions were in the beginning recited on sacred occasions by the Sikhs.

Internal Evidence

Now with the help of the internal evidence we shall try to establish that all the contents of the Dasam Granth, found in the authentic copy compiled by Bhai Mani Singh and now in the possession of Raja Gulab Singh Sethi, are genuine works of the Tenth Guru:

1. Some of the works included in the Dasam Granth begin with the phrase Sri Mukhwak Patsahi Das (From the lips of the Tenth King). These are:
   (i) The Jap, (ii) Bachitra Natak, (iii) Swaiya and (iv) Sabad Hazare. All these four are unquestioned as genuine writings of the Tenth Guru. The (i), (iii) and (iv) are, as stated in the beginning, parts of the Sikh scriptures, recited daily and especially on all sacred occasions. The (ii) is quoted by all historians as an authentic document.

The introductory phrase suggests that the Guru dictated these words (wak) to an amanuensis, i.e. to some of his fifty-two court poets. Such a practice was not uncommon in those days, for, gurus, saints and other scholarly sanyasis sometimes dictated their thoughts or hymns to their disciples. It would, therefore, be too much to suggest that all that the court poets wrote were their own compositions. This introductory phrase warns us against such a presumption.

2. In the Bachitra Natak which is a fragment of his autobiography, the Guru says:

   “Just as intuition awakened in me the knowledge of the Avtars, so I composed my works in giving their accounts.

   I will describe what I have learnt of Satyug in my account of the Goddess (Debi Charitra).”

   I first composed Chandi Charitra. I related it from the beginning to the end in proper order.

   Then I dealt with it at length. Now I wish to re-compose it in praise (of her).”

Dr. Trilochan Singh, Giani Narain Singh and others however translate the last line as “It was a short version. Now I wish to give a more detailed version.” This translation does not seem to be correct as would be clear from examples given under Evidence of Style, (i) 24, in this Chapter.
This bit of evidence is a plain statement about the composition of *Chandi Charitra* I and II. The first version contained 233 stanzas and couplets, while the second version has 262. Secondly, this evidence tells us that the Guru had composed the stories of incarnations even as they suggested themselves to him. In other words, *Chandi Charitra*—two versions, and stories of Avtars, according to his own admission, are his own compositions.

3. At the end of the story of *Ramavtar*, the author gives his name as ‘Gobind’ and gives also the date of completing the story as 1755 B (or 1698 A. D.) at the foot of the *Netra Tung* (*Naina Devi*) mountain, besides the *Sutlaaj*. It may be recalled that in the following year, i.e. 1699 A.D, the Guru was re-christened as Gobind Singh by his founding the *Khalsa* Baptism of the *Khanda* (two-edged sword). This confirms Guru’s own statement of the composition of Avtars before the Baptism in 1699 A. D.

4. The composition of *Krisanavtar* throws considerable light on several important points.

In the first place, the poet says that he composed 1192 chhandas:

*Je Je Kisan charitra dikhaye Dasam bich sabh bhakh sunaye,*

*Gyara sahas banve chhanda bahe Dasam Pur baith Ananda*.

At the end of *Krisanavtar* he further adds:

*Satrah se petal mahi Sawan sudi thiti dip*

*Nagar Pannata suh karan Jamana bahe samip*.

*Avar basana nahi Prabh dharam judh ke chae*.

That is, he finished the composition in *Bhakha*, of the tenth skandh of *Bhagwat* at *Paunta* in 1745 B, besides the *Jamana* with the intention of the “Holy War” (dharam judh). The phrase dharam judh ke chae (for the love of Holy War) indicates that it was Guru Gobind and no other poet who had the high ambition of waging a holy war. This view is supported by Giani Harnam Singh who says in his *Dashmesh Kavya Pradip*, that Guru Gobind Singh commenced the composition of *Krisanavtar* at the age of 18 and completed it when he was 22 i.e. in about 1687 A. D.5

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In Bhai Mani Singh’s Bir on Page 615/i (a photostat copy of which is given here) in chhandas 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 3444, 3445, 3785, 3786, 3921, 3922, 3923, 3924, 3925, 4800, 4801, and 4802, Guru Gobind Singh, while staying at Paunta, says he had composed at Anandpur 1186 stanzas of the Dasam skandh. He further adds that he has composed more chhandas as under:—

227  Debi Path (देबी पाठ)
875  Judh Prabandh
340  Ras Mandal
134  Gopi Biruh

---

1576
2038  Ab Ka (now composed)

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3614

The photostat copy and its contents help us to prove that Guru Gobind Singh composed Krisanavtar partly at Anandpur and partly at Paunta. The handwriting, as affirmed in his Guru Shabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh by Bhai Kahan Singh, the great lexicographer, who has produced a photostat copy

(The above line clearly shows that the Guru himself wrote on loose sheets and gave the necessary instructions to the抄ists.)
of another page in the same hand-writing, from the same Bir, is that of Guru Gobind Singh himself. It is also clear from the photostat copy of the Guru’s hand-writing produced here. This photostat copy is taken from the article Afghanistan Cha Ik Mahina by Dr. Ganda Singh, appearing in the annual number of Itihasik Patra Samvat 484 Guru Nanak=2009 B=1952-53 A. D. of the Sikh History Society (S. G. P. C.). The evidence is, therefore, authentic and establishes the authorship of the composition.

It confirms further that Chandi Charitra called here Debi Path (देबी पाठ) is also Guru Gobind Singh’s composition.

5. In some chhandas of the Kriśnāṣṭakar, the name of Rama occurs as a narrator of the events of the story. In some others, the name of Syam as a poet, similarly
occurs. This has led certain critics like Cunningham and Dr. Mohan Singh to believe that Ram and Syam were two of the Guru’s fifty-two court-poets, who composed entirely or at least partly some of the works included in the Dasam Granth. Krisanavtar is cited as an evidence for this contention. But this cannot be accepted.

(a) The report of the Sodhak Committee throws an interesting light on this point by telling us that the original name of Guru Gobind Singh was Syam as suggested by the time of his birth. It may, therefore, be taken provisionally that Syam was a favourite pen name of the Guru and he adopted Ram also as an alternative to it.1

(b) In his Dasam Granth Da Itihas, Randhir Singh points out that in the two versions of the Dasam Granth in possession of the Patna Gurdwara, there are chhandas which show that the pen name Ram is used in place of Syam in these two, at many places. They are interchanged therein, i.e., the same chhand is associated with Ram in one version and with Syam in the other. This evidence, therefore, suggests that Ram and Syam are most probably two pen names of the same poet.

Dr. Trilochan Singh also affirms this view when he says:

“The names Ram and Shyam are used in some places as pen names. Actually speaking, they were not pen names but poetic translations of Guruji’s names. Guruji’s name Gobind is an attributive name of God; so also are Ram and Shyam. In Sikh theology the three words Govind, Ram and Syam mean the same thing as the following quotations from the Guru Granth prove:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syam Sunder taj nind kion aai</th>
</tr>
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 Govind Govind Govind Har Govind gungi sidhan
 Govind Govind Govind jap mukh ulja parthan

Guru Ram Das : Var Kanya

Ram Ram Ram kirtan gae. Ram Ram Ramsada sajae

Guru Arjan : Rag Gond

In all the above quotations from the Guru Granth the words Ram, Syam and Govind mean the same thing and so also do they in the Dasam Granth where they stand for Guru Gobind Singh. That is why two or sometimes all three of these names occur in the same composition.”

1. सो कहलाया गुरु जी दा जनम सत मिला निद्रा ने दो चरण विचा रोया। इस करके गुरु जी दा जनम सत शाम सी, यह हतुमान नाटक बालिका भिय सी जो गुरु जी गावे वच रखे से, यह (जो कृपाल लेख बियों कथा) यह (युक्त नेत्रा क्षण) ऐसे कविता गुरु साहिब ने नाटक की काव्य पर ही रचे हो रहा। सो इस चाल जो हो शरीर ते संयोजन में राम वर्ष बिहिया है। चार प्राचीन साहित्य में शाम ही है राम घर ही नदी है।

This practice of writing a synonym for the proper noun in the Dasam Granth applies not only to his own name but to many other names also. In the Dasam Granth, Guru Gobind Singh writes Neira Trung for Naina Devi, Satdrav for Satluj, Dasmpr for Anandpur, Shah Sangram for Sango Shah, and Madra-desh for the Punjab.

(c) This suggestion is further supported by a tradition among the Sikhs that the name of a new born child was obtained from the lips of the Guru. So Guru Tegh Bahadur who was in Assam at the birth of his son at Patna, was requested to give a name to the child. He, it is said, named him ‘Gobind.’ But when the child came to be called Gobind, his mother still called him by the original name, ‘Syam’, since his new name was similar to that of his grand-father, Har Gobind, the sixth Guru, and she would not use that name out of regard for him, according to the old custom among the Hindus. The words Gobind and Syam have the same meaning. Because the mother hesitated to call him ‘Gobind’, she preferred to call him ‘Syam’.

(d) In the Introduction to the Chaubis Avtar, the Guru says:

“Now I am telling you the stories of the twenty four incarnations as I have come to understand them.

O, ye, all saints, listen carefully. Syam is going to tell you, as he has found them interesting.”

In other words, the stories of the Chaubis Avtars are being narrated by the poet ‘Syam’, but the author of Bachitra Natak, has told us already that before writing his autobiography he has written the story of Avtars. In other words, the author of the Bachitra Natak is also the author of the Avtars i.e. Guru Gobind Singh is the self-same poet as Syam.

(e) In Krisanavtar, the poet Syam expresses his desire to die as a martyr. He says that he is not interested in getting rich, for riches come to him from all parts of the country if only he wants them. He is skilled in warfare, too, besides being a poet of note. He is respected by all.
A person of this stamp who is venerated and who can command money as well as influence all over the country, can be no other than Guru Gobind Singh himself. These lines reveal the great awareness that the poet feels about his own fame and name both as a poet and a warrior. An ordinary court poet could not have dared to express his sentiments so strongly and so openly. Therefore, these lines indicate that Syam is no other a person than Guru Gobind Singh himself.

(f) The poet concludes Ramavtar with the verse:

“Of all the doors, I have chosen to knock at Thine,
Thou shalt honour me by Thy protection, Gobind is Thy slave.”

This is a clear indication that Ramavtar, in particular, was composed by Guru Gobind Singh himself. The date of its composition is further indicated to be 1755 B.

6. (a) It is on the basis of this assumption that we agree with the report of the Sodhak Committee that Pakhyan Charitra also is the Guru’s composition, in as much as the pen names Ram and Syam are employed in it for the author of the composition. The chhandas 14th of the 28th tale, 22nd of tale No. 122, 10th of tale No. 401 bear out this suggestion. In particular, the chhandas 19 and 32 of the 109th tale contain both the pen names Ram and Syam indiscriminately.

(b) In Pakhyan Charitra the pen name Kal occurs at three places together with other pen names. This is interpreted by some to be the pen name of some poet Kalidas or Kali Charan, but this seems to be unwarranted because Kal cannot be read as Kali. Randhir Singh concludes, therefore, that this ‘Kal’ is another pen name like

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1. देहर—समय टुच्छ सर खर्चि के गाहने टुच्छ टुच्छ टुच्छ ||
2. बाहि गाहि की लाज अस गोलियर दास टुच्छ टुच्छ टुच्छ || R. A. (864)
3. चोप्पे—समय साहेब साहेब पथावन || हाट वरी विवाह सुखदयन ||
4. ते महाराज करि गंभीर युग्म || मूल परी लहू लहू युग्म || R. A. (860)
5. The reader may recall to his mind in this connection that Bhai Mani Singh had secured 303 women’s tales and sent the manuscript to Delhi per Jhanda Singh to Shian Singh through Mata Sundari.
7. ‘राम’ मने निन त्रिय मद् कभी अचिक बहायो नेह || P. Ch., 28 (14, 2)
8. ‘सु’ कबि ‘राम’ पुरन मयो तब ही कथा प्रसंग || P. Ch., 122 (22, 2)
9. ‘बहु’ बिबि ‘ला’ पितु माता कहो गई सित के संग || P. Ch., 401 (10, 2)
10. ‘सु’ कबि ‘राम’ पुरन मयो तब ही कथा प्रसंग || P. Ch., 195 (29)
11. ‘बहु’ बिबि ‘ला’ पितु माता कहो गई सित के संग || P. Ch., 217 (52)
'Ram', 'Syam', 'Hari' and 'Gobind' of the Guru, who had a special feeling for the God's name Akal Purakh (अकल पुराख) or Akal (अकल).

(c) There is also another bit of evidence which lends support to the view that Pakhyon Charitra is also a genuine composition of the Guru. We noticed in paragraph 1, above, that some major compositions of the Guru begin with Sri Mukh Wak (स्री मुख वाक). Compared with it there is another phrase: "Thus speaketh the poet." It suggests that the poet himself employs this phrase speaking of himself in the third person as the poets in Persian and Urdu have been doing from the earliest times. While speaking of his birth in his autobiography, the author writes not the 'story of my birth', but the 'story of the poet's birth', speaking of himself again in the third person. But at the same time in the same context, five lines below, he writes,

"There was I born in the city of Patna."

In this way, he confirms our view that the word Kabi (कवि) stands for Guru Gobind Singh himself. The phrase 'Kabi bach' or 'Kabyobach' occurs twice in the Bachitra Natak. This leaves no doubt that the phrase 'Kabi bach' or 'Kabyobach' is adopted by Guru Gobind Singh for himself. Now a very similar phrase occurs in Pakhyon Chritra at the end as the title of the epilogue: The poet's plea (Kabyo bach benti कवयो बाच बेंती).
This epilogue is in twenty-six quatrains. In the second quatrain, the poet says:

*Hamari karo hath de rachha, etc.*

‘O God give me Thy hand of protection and the desire of my heart be fulfilled,
My mind may remain attached to Thy feet. Protect me as Thy own.

Throughout the epilogue, the poet uses for himself the first person plural *Hamari, Hamara, Hamre* as is the fashion or wont with him in other books as well. The translators invariably render this in the first person singular. In other words, then, it is Guru Gobind Singh who, after finishing his tales of *Pakhyan Charitra*, offers thanks-giving to his Creator, using both the terms *Kabi* and *Hamre* for himself.

(d) In *Pakhyan Charitra*, we find echoes of the *Bachitra Natak*. There is, for instance, a swaiya in *Bachitra Natak* in which the poet declares his faith in the sword:

“In this Kali Age and at all times there is great confidence in the powerful arm of the sword.”

This faith is further affirmed in *Pakhyan Charitra*.

There is again a couplet in *Bachitra Natak* in which the poet says that the grace of God works wonders:

“The dumb would recite the six shastras, cripples would climb mountains; the blind would see; the deaf, hear; if God would only favour.”

The same couplet with a little change is transferred to *Pakhyan Charitra*.

There is another echo in *Pakhyan Charitra* of an early work like *Chaubis Avtar*:

“There is one spirit, one reality assuming forms radically different from one another. Verily, He is in the king, in a petty chief and in the pauper.”

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1. In certain printed texts the number is twenty-five.

2. Ch. 405, (377)  
3. P. Ch., 71 (2, 2)  
4. B.N., I (92)  
5. P. Ch. I, (47, 4)  
6. B.N., II (2)  
7. Ch. A, Intro. (37)
The same idea is found in the same words in the epilogue of *Pakhyan Charitra*.1

(e) In the prologue to *Bachitra Natak*, there is a *swaiya* in which the Guru says:

“It is difficult to win the Grace of God by any means other than prayer.”

The same spirit of piety and devotion is found in the same verses in the *Pakhyan Charitra*.2

(f) There is another similarity between *Pakhyan Charitra* and *Ramavtar*. In *Ramavtar*, the poet, instead of giving the whole story (of how King Dasharath granted two boons to his wife), has made only a passing reference to it as, according to him, he himself had already dealt with it in *Bachitra Natak* and also in *Pakhyan Charitra*.3

From this it is evident that the author of *Ramavtar* and *Bachitra Natak* is also the author of *Ramavtar* and *Pakhyan Charitra*.4

From this sixfold internal evidence, besides the external evidence given above on pages 3 to 8, we can safely assert that *Pakhyan Charitra*, too, like others is a genuine work of Guru Gobind Singh.

If we add to these the epilogue to *Pakhyan Charitra*, the evidence appears to be conclusive. The last *Chaupai* known as “Kabyobach Benti” is one of the five daily prayers of the Sikhs. This, “poet’s invocation”, is also used for preparing the *Amrit* in the initiation of a person into Khalsa brotherhood.

This is also corroborated by the *Nirmala* view that the internal evidence of style, idiom, and general form of presentation bear ample proof of Guru Gobind Singh’s authorship of *Pakhyan Charitra*.5

All the facts mentioned above clearly prove that all the parts of the *Dasam Granth* were composed by Guru Gobind Singh himself. Most of his works seem to have been written while he was at Anandpur and even the work like the *Pakhyan Charitra* came from him. If at all, any of the court poets had any hand in the composition of the *Granth*, it was purely in the nature of an amanuensis. It is quite possible that the Guru dictated his poems to his court poets. This does not necessarily mean that they had composed any part of the *Granth*. The personality of Guru Gobind Singh, is indelibly stamped on almost every line of this *Granth*. It may, therefore, in the end, be said with confidence that the *Dasam Granth* is the work of Guru Gobind Singh himself and of no body else.

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1. चौपाईं—एक रूप अनूठ सहू। रङ्ग भरो राव कही मुण। | P. Ch. 403 (274)
2. काच किसान निन निनिनी। न तण तुम की ग्रह नैं रिहैं। | B. N., I (101)
3. प. चू. 266 (14)
4. पुन रीत शोक तीय वर। जित मोढलिमिश्र ब्लू न कर। ||
कही नाटक माध चरित कथा। जय दीन सुरंग नरेस जया || R. A., (17)
Cf. B. N. II, (20, 21); P. Ch., 102.
5. P. S., (59)
The Evidence of Style

The saying that style is the man, holds good in the works of Guru Gobind Singh, as does it in the case of other poets of note. The excellencies as well as the peculiarities, manners as well as mannerisms, imagery, diction as well as metres of his works, bear the stamp of his versatile genius. In his treatment of different themes, the Guru consciously or unconsciously projects his personality in his works and gives or lends his personal touch even to conventional themes. The unity of style in all his works is a further proof and internal evidence of the common authorship of these works.

(a). After the manner of ancient poets and dramatists, the poet begins his works with an invocation, not, however to a god or goddess, but to God Himself seeking his blessings in his adventurous song. It is a poetic convention that he has adopted, but with a different note that is ringing in the voice of the rebel architect. He ends again, Ramavtar and Pakhyan Charitra of his works with a thanks-giving to God, expressing his gratitude for successfully accomplishing the work with all the humility, as a slave to God.

(b). (i) A peculiar feature of his style is his Sirkhandi Chhand which is his own invention in Punjabi literature. This is the sole metre of Chandi-di-Var, which is composed

1. दोहरा— नमस्कार । ती कः लङ्ग को करो धु हितु धिवा लाई ।
   पूरा करो गिरोरं इह तुम मुहि करो सरदाइ । । R. N. I., (1)

2. दोहरा— प्रनुदः - करन सम से - हरन नाम चंद्रबन जास ।
   रंगो चरित्र चंत्र नुश करो सरदा प्रकास । Ch. Ch. I., (3)

3. दोहरा— संफ सतोधी सत, जागी सागारी जिह नाम ।
   सरा हमारे जिव बतो सत्ता करो सम काम । S. M., (27)

4. दोहरा— नाम आचार जानो नही बाद तुराह बिसाद ।
   मंद सहल पूरा कीयो भयेवत तिसर प्रसाद ह । R. A., (962)

5. रघु— पाइ गहे जब ते तुमेर तव ते कोड़ ा में नही भावो ।
   राम रहीम पुराण कुलान अनेक कहे मत एक न मानो ॥
   सिन्धी साहन गढ़ सवे बुढ़े भर गई हम एक न जानो ॥ R. A., (963)

6. दोहरा— नम दुशार कठ छादि के गही दुःहो दुर्द र ।
   बंधि गहे की जान भास नोहिंद गाह तुराह । R. A., (961)

7. चोपड़े— भी खुसियाँ जब में दियाहार । पूरन करा मंद तत्काल ॥
   मन संकत फल पते सर्दैं हूँ । धूँ न विसे विशाल केंद्र ॥ P. Ch., 405 (603)

8. सिरसंदै— कड़क उठो रत चंद्री फिडुँ देख उखः के । भूरल मिठानो खबर होई सही ।
   सभे बीर संघरे घूमर-भेंगा दे । जाण ले कठे भारे नर्सत बाही । Ch. V., (27)
in Punjabi, in 55 verses. This chhand has also been employed in Ramavtar, and also in Nihkalanki Avtar while these latter compositions are in Braj, not in Panjabi. In his times no one else employed nor since then, has any other poet employed this metre in Braj.

We may add to this, his predilections for Persian Phraseology, which he introduces in Braj versification. This again was a poetic idiosyncrasy of no one other than Guru-Gobind Singh himself.

(ii) It is customary in the use of the Arilla chhand to add a particle to a word in the very last line. Such a particle is the peculiar mark of a poet who uses it. Invariably while employing this very chhand, Guru Gobind Singh adopted 'ho' as a sound particle. This is found in all the specimens of Arilla chhand, used in the Dasam Granth:

This stylistic device proclaims his authorship of the works in which it is found.

(iii) In the course of his treatment of a subject the poet when, having dealt with

1. सिरसंबी— जुझे चीर जुझारो धमाण। कह्रीणा। कह्रीणा। तुझी जान। कह्रीणा। कह्रीणा।

Also cf. N. A., (186, 181)

2. सिरसंबी— बच्चे मातृ मुरीगी धमाण। पोशीणा। पोशीणा। तबचे जाण। पोशीणा। पोशीणा।

Also cf. N. A., (122)

3. भगवती हृद। गरीलुल। विनविन। गरीलुल। पासती। विनविन। मानाण। जमीलुल। मानाण।

Also cf. A. U., (236)

4. अधिजल— वेरी माये यस्ते नाते राज कह पाण। देव माये चितरह हों। डुलसाई। जब मानक कल। हम आन। कह्राह है। हो जगत। पूज। कार। कोह। परम। पद। पार। है। II B. N. IV, (7)

Also cf. A. U., (260)

Senapati has used 'ji' as a distinguishing sound-particle in all his Arilla chhandas.
one point, takes up the next, he employs certain phraseology, thereby giving a hint to his readers, though inadvertently, of the change-over.1

(c) Lest there should be created any misunderstanding in the mind of the readers at some future time, the poet cannot help telling us that he does not believe in incarnations, gods or goddesses of Hindu or Mohammedan religious books:

(i) While treating the story of *Ramavtar*, he says,

"Since I have embraced Thy feet I have paid regard to none besides. The Puranas and Quran, Ram and Rahim express various opinions, but I accept none of them. The Smritis, Shastras, and the Vedas all expound different doctrines, but I accept none of them. O holy God, by Thy favour it is not I who have been speaking; all that hath been said hath been said by Thee."

(ii) Similarly in “Introduction to his Hindi translation of the *Krisanavtar*”, as Macauliffe puts it, we find the touch of poet's personality when he says,

"I do not at the outset propitiate Ganesh; I never meditate on Krishan or Vishnu; I have heard of them but I know them not; It is only God's feet I love."

(iii) In *Krisanavtar*, he has created new characters: Kharag Singh, Karam Singh, Anup Singh and many others with 'Singh' as a second part of their names4, for which there was ample scope in the account of war in which many heroes and warriors played their part. But there is no evidence of such names in the days when Krishna lived. It was only Guru Gobind Singh who could venture to take the liberty of using anachronisms. There are other similar instances also in which we find the touch of Guru Gobind Singh.

(d). Now we shall see that certain verses and words which are favourites of the poet, help us to establish his craftsmanship of these works. In *Bachitra Natak*, for example, we find these lines:

\[
\text{Nahin jan jai kachoo rup rekham, kahan bas toko phirai hain bhakham} \\
\text{Kaha nam taka kaha kai kahave, kaha main bakhano kahe mo na auve.5}
\]

1. Jullundhur A. (12)
2. P. Ch., 109. (22)
3. R. A. (863)
4. K. A., (434)
5. See K. A. (1382-1476)
These very two lines are repeated in *Akal Ustat*, with a slight variation in two words only.

Happily, this very stanza occurs again in prologue to *Gyan Prabodh* with no difference at all, and also in *Pakhyan Charitra*.

The context of all the four is the same: an invocation to God in the same mood and spirit. The sameness of their author is unimpeachable and it leads us to hold that all the four compositions (*Bachitra Natak*, *Akal Ustat*, *Gyan Prabodh* and *Pakhyan Charitra*) in which this stanza occurs bear the stamp of the author.

There is again a verse common between *Akal Ustat* and *Bachitra Natak*:

*Kite Krisan se keet hotai banas*  
(Millions of Krishnas are created there.)

*c*. There is another common point of similarity in *Akal Ustat* and the *Upavtars* (containing incarnations of *Brahma* and *Rudra*). There are two verses rhyming together in the 38th chhand in *Akal Ustat*, which is again found in the introduction to the *Upavtars*. The only difference being in one word ‘Bhagat’ in *Akal Ustat* and ‘Nam’ in *Upavtar*.

This similarity also points to the same conclusion that *Akal Ustat* and the *Upavtars* are from the same author.

Again, a line found in canto XI of *Bachitra Natak* (*Apni katha*) in the description of war in which the Guru himself was an active participant appears without any alteration in *Chandi Charitra II* in which the exploits of the goddess Chandi are narrated.

Expressions like these, repeated in almost all the works indicate the oneness of the author of all these compositions.

(f). Apart from these common verses suggesting common authorship of *Bachitra Natak*, *Akal Ustat*, *Gyan Prabodh*, *Upavtars*, the DICTON of the poet also provides evidence of common authorship of works like *Bachitra Natak*, *Akal Ustat*, *Gyan Prabodh*, *Pakhyan Charitra*, *Avtars*, *Swaiyas* and *Sabad Hazare*.

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1. *This verse is found repeated in Ch. Ch. II, (162).*
(i). As a religious reformer Guru Gobind Singh condemns what he regards as corrupt practices, ceremonies and customs. He expresses this attitude of his towards them, by employing a set of these words: jar (जड़), pasu (पसु), and mvrh (मवर्ह).

(ii) These very words jar (जड़), pasu (पसु) and mvrh (मवर्ह) are made use of under similar circumstances in the secular works also of the Dasam Granth.

For Further references, see 8, (24, 30, 32), 99, (70), P. Ch. 266 (12), 266 (22), 266 (46), 275 (10), 265 (9), 312 (11), 232 (9), 235 (18), 238 (12), 239 (10), 251 (14), 255 (9), 345 (11).

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. (24)</td>
<td>S. (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. U. (74)</td>
<td>A. U. (233)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. U. (53)</td>
<td>For further references, see K. A., (70), P. Ch. 37 (11), 48 (3), 89 (0), 92 (16), 107 (5), 120 (15), 145 (12), 156 (12), 171 (10), 196 (10, 19), 213 (22), 228 (18), 232 (9), 235 (18), 238 (12), 239 (10), 251 (14), 255 (9), 312 (11), 341 (7, 9), 354 (11).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(k) जड़ (i) Devotional Works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authorship</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>चेति रे चेति ज्ञान जीवन में जड़ वाला कि जग ने ऐसा!</td>
<td>B. N., I. (99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पाहि तेहि परमेसर के जड़, पाहि में परमेसर जाहि!</td>
<td>B. N., I. (99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कपि तोहि ताहि हे मुनि जड़ चाप हुयियों मय सागर।</td>
<td>S. H., (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तर ये कहि सिद्ध है रे जड़ तोहि बच्चू बरे है।</td>
<td>S. H., (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बचर हासर विचार करे जड़, तत्व समस्त ही तत्त्व जै।</td>
<td>S. (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>चेति रे चेति अचेत महाजहूं, भेल के कीन अचल न पहे।</td>
<td>S. (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हों महत्त्व भोजियों न चाहे जड़, ऐसे ही हंस मुनि गयाई।</td>
<td>S. (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जड़!</td>
<td>For Further references, see 8, (24, 30, 32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Secular Works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authorship</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पाहि किसि विचार हें पाहि तेहि ज्ञान जीवन में जड़ ज्ञान है।</td>
<td>P. Ch. 266, (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पाहि किसि विचार हें पाहि तेहि ज्ञान जीवन में जड़ ज्ञान है।</td>
<td>P. Ch. 266, (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पाहि किसि विचार हें पाहि तेहि ज्ञान जीवन में जड़ ज्ञान है।</td>
<td>P. Ch. 266 (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पाहि किसि विचार हें पाहि तेहि ज्ञान जीवन में जड़ ज्ञान है।</td>
<td>K. A. (376)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पाहि किसि विचार हें पाहि तेहि ज्ञान जीवन में जड़ ज्ञान है।</td>
<td>K. A. (278)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Further references, see K. A., (70), P. Ch. 37 (11), 48 (3), 89 (0), 92 (16), 107 (5), 120 (15), 145 (12), 156 (12), 171 (10), 196 (10, 19), 213 (22), 228 (18), 232 (9), 235 (18), 238 (12), 239 (10), 251 (14), 255 (9), 312 (11), 341 (7, 9), 354 (11).
The poet employs the names of the weapons of war for God Himself. And this he does, not only in his devotional works but in his secular ones also. These weapons are *Kharag* (खऱग), *Kati* (कती), *Katari* (कतरी), *Asi* (असी), *Bhagauti* (भगौती), and the like.

### (ii) Secular Works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>तब राजा चेरो भए ताको रमत निःशारिः</td>
<td>P. Ch. 170(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कविता — कहाँ जात चेरो काल हैं रुढ़ महँ बाँधियो गरम या धेरों को दारे मारहे</td>
<td>K. A., (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुंजन प्रवास—कहाँ मूढ़ वेठो सु असत्र संभारो। बचो भाज ना भो सब सत्र बाहर</td>
<td>P. P. A., (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भोरा मूढ़ नाही बखु ना लला कोजन लागा छार</td>
<td>P. Ch. 45, (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अतक सन्ति तब लिप सक्षों भेद नाही चीन</td>
<td>P. Ch., 90 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रोज़ारा तो फिरवा बखु सक्षों न मूढ़ बिशारिः</td>
<td>P. Ch., 97 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अति अति लाज महर वेठो सक्षों न लल बखु चाह। सेला की रानी दुई ताई सिख ठहराई</td>
<td>P. Ch., 105 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मूढ़ राज प्रतीज्ञित सचो सक्षों न हल बखु पाई।</td>
<td>P. Ch., 143 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्राम बलोरार साहि चत रानी हॅ हे संचारिः</td>
<td>P. Ch., 168 (28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>नासकार की लहँग को करिसु हिविचित काल</td>
<td>B. N., I. (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पूरन करो गिरार सी हुम सुपह करह सहाद</td>
<td>B. N., III (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुंजन प्रवास—कहाँ हटकी जुक्ती सोरों हुर्यों। बहो बीयार कतारी किवाण कटारी</td>
<td>B. N., I. (87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भूर संदेशो बहु छुड़ सेल। बहु संदे सांग मई रेत पेल।</td>
<td>S. M. (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सम संरोही सेक बल तीर तुषक तराकर। स्तब्धतक कस्बाणिं—कर बहीं रघु हमार</td>
<td>S. M. (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बल क्रियन धार धरी सेफ्सु लुम भम—ढाड</td>
<td>S. M. (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कलदक्त स्तवत कर तेंग तीर धराकर</td>
<td>S. M. (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बल क्रियान लो। बहु छुड़ तब तर बर बल तीर। सेफ संरोही सेफ्सु यही हमारें पैर।</td>
<td>S. M. (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तीर तुड़ो सेभो तुड़ो हुड़ी तुड़ो तब तर तरारु। नामं हिरों जो अपे में संव क्र फार।</td>
<td>S. M. (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तुड़ी कतारी सेल सम तुड़ी करद क्रियान। विधास भगतुरी सिम के गुर नामक कहई विषाण</td>
<td>S. M. (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फिर अंगद गुर ते अभर शाल रामदासें हॅई सहाद</td>
<td>Ch. Y. (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AUTHORSHIP OF THE DASAM GRANTH
(h). The poet has also coined a few martial phrases which are found in several of his works, both devotional and secular. These phrases are:—

Asisan (Asisalan), Asidhuj (Asidhuj), Asidhari (Asidhari), Asiketu (Asiketu), Kharagketu (Kharagketu), Chhatram-chhatri (Chhatram-chhatri), Sattram-pranasi (Sattram-pranasi), Sasatrapane (Sasatrapane), Asatrapane (Asatrapane), Dhanurpane (Dhanurpane), Kharagpane (Kharagpane), Kharag-dharam (Kharag-dharam), Banpanam (Banpanam), Sarangdhar (Sarangdhar).

1. भाग गहि जव ते तुमरे तब ते कोक भास तरे नही भासि।
   राम राम पुरान झुकान भान कहै मत एक न मानो।
   सिधिविन तासू बेहर बढ़ू बेंट कहै हुस एक न जानो।
   यह ‘ससलान’ किया तुमा रहि म न कहैं। सब तोहिः बस्त बस्तियो। R. A., (863)
2. वापु हास दू हुनौ उवरिये। सरसकाल का अल निवरिये।
   हुइ तहा हुमा फड़ा। तो ‘ससलान’ जूऽ करिवृद्ध रचय। P. Ch., 405 (381)
   यह ‘ससलान’ जब मथ दिबाला। पूरा करा थंब तवाला।
   मनवांत फल पाव लोही। दूऽ न सिंह विषाणु कहै। P. Ch., 405 (403)
3. निरविकाल निरजन निरंत्र निरु निरविवल नरक-निवारी।
   किया - किया काल - क्रम - क्रमानुसार।
   भजनानु किर्तियो भजन अविकाल भजनिय।
   यह ‘ससलान’ निरंत्र निरु निरविवल नरक।
   साध ठीक भरी भरी भरी। दुःस्त ठीक ते लेह ठीक। P. Ch., 405 (401)
4. फ्रिल वात तहै ती ढुक्क अर्जुक। ढूऽ रद्रो अर्जुक छुंज पर नाला। P. Ch., 405 (174)
5. ‘ससलान’ में सरस किया। वापु हास दू हुनौ उवरी।
   सरस ठीक भरी भरी भरी। दुःस्त ठीक ते लेह ठीक। P. Ch., 405 (401)
6. ‘ससलान’ किया। कि ‘खबडानी’ है।
   कि ‘खबडान’ सहै। कि अनुम अनुम।
   जप. (106)
7. सदा बनियो तन्त्र प्रणाम। करियो बँकियो समस्तुल निवासी।
   बजाब बिखै गजाब गायी। हरीबंध करीभ करीभ बंधे।
   नमो ‘सतनयाह्नें’।
   नमो ‘सतनयाह्नें’।
   नमो प्रमरिताला। नमो लोकबत्ता।
   जप. (52)
8. ‘पृथ्वी’ सिनियो धरायय असिविकाल बलिय।
   हो मतिमंद बनियो नागिनागिन तव गाय लेह उभार।
   सदा एक रुणरुण अजीती सतहु। महाभूमयुन बनिय।
   निरंभार निवाण न रुण निवाण। कलाकारों नमो ‘लहानयाहु’।
   नमो शेषर्वें नमो ‘लहानयाहु’।
   नमो रजसव सातक तासीदः। नमो निरजन नमो निरुजुरें।
   नमो ‘बाणयाहु’। नमो निरजन नमो शेषर्वें। शेषर्वें भावें।
   कि नमो खड़ा खड़ा किया। कि ‘बदते’।
   नमो ‘बाणयाहु’। नमो बनियो बनियो। बनियो बनियो। बनियो बनियो।
   बनियो ‘बाणयाहु’। नमो घोडों भोकों बिखारिय।
   जप. (87)
(i). There are a few expressions, words and phrases, which occur here and there in different works, both devotional and secular, which seem to be peculiar to the poet and are seldom found in any other poet's works. These expressions are:

- **Bhagauti** (भगौती)**, Granth badhan te ati daru maniat or Katha badhan te adhik draun or Katha bridh te mai daron, etc. (And in the act of devotion or in the act of meditation or in the act of earnest speech, etc.),

- **Deg teg** (देग तेग), Bhut bhavikh bhawan (चुरू भविख भवान)

---

14. **Namo nāth bhirākh namo nismukh, sitīṣam.**

- **Bhagauti** (भगौती)**, Granth badhan te ati daru maniat or Katha badhan te adhik draun or Katha bridh te mai daron, etc. (And in the act of devotion or in the act of meditation or in the act of earnest speech, etc.),

- **Deg teg** (देग तेग), Bhut bhavikh bhawan (चुरू भविख भवान)

---

1. **'Mangāti'** जी

- **Namo nāth bhirākh namo nismukh, sitīṣam.**

---

2. **Bhagauti** (भगौती)**, Granth badhan te ati daru maniat or Katha badhan te adhik draun or Katha bridh te mai daron, etc. (And in the act of devotion or in the act of meditation or in the act of earnest speech, etc.),

- **Deg teg** (देग तेग), Bhut bhavikh bhawan (चुरू भविख भवान)

---

3. **Namo nāth bhirākh namo nismukh, sitīṣam.**

---

4. **Namo nāth bhirākh namo nismukh, sitīṣam.**

---

This verse is a part of the Reh Ras, an evening prayer of the Sikhs.

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This expression is also found used in the following verses impressed on the seal of Banda Bahadur (1708—1716) and adopted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh for his coinage.
AUTHORSHIP OF THE DASAM GRANTH

5. भूषण बलिक भजन के भूषण कलन गंगा नहीं जानी जाती विषय।
   काल में भजन कलन में भिन भूषण को 'बंसे के धाम' सिद्धार्‌त || A. U., (23)
   हरी दरबार बचाल भजे विन वास के 'बंसे के धाम' सिद्धार्‌त || A. U., (253)
   कोई अनेक ही बार प्रहर किया को 'बंसे के धाम' पताका दुःख || K. A., (1565)

6. ज्वल तर सिद्धा सिद्धा हुई फूल बुरा बन्द || Jap., (80)
   'ज्वल तर' सिद्धा सिद्धा 'जिंदा ठहर सदर विसात || Rudra. A., (116)

द. 'ज्वल तर' सिद्धा सिद्धा विरज़क सार सिद्धार्‌त। भजन आयो में गंगा पर रङ देव बनान।
   जाने जाने सुख में को घर मान न करवैं || रुद्रीमान सबी मन वालहै के प्रभुदेन || Rudra. A. (129)

7. ज्वल तर सिद्धा सिद्धा हुई फूल बुरा बन्द || Jap., (80)
   कि दुखु दुखु कहीं असुख भजन जुगू है। सु अंध दुखु हुई हरी 'सिद्धा सिद्धा' न सुना है। N.A. (386)
   भज में लगे सु 'सिद्धा सिद्धा' मर्याद आया तबी सिंह वे देख रोए || K. A., (222)
   काल ही पाइ दुखुदुखु गंगव वसख सुरुजाहु 'सिद्धा बिसात' है। B.N., I (84)

8. This Persian word is used in Dasam Granth throughout to indicate total number of verses and to show that the matter is continuous.

9. सेवे 'पोकत परम' काम है जान || B. N. I. (63)
   काल में सपा बनाग़े के 'पोकत परम' निवास || B.N.VI (47)
   'पोकत परम' याहै वह भस्म || इतने सरत में कोई करता || B.N.VI. (49)
   नासं 'प्रूद' कन्या प्रेमाम || 'पोकत परम' न करी काम || B.N.VI. (57)
   'पोकत परम' पिते जग करर्दै। नरिक कुंड भिदे वे परर्दै || B.N.VI. (58)
   जिह 'पोकत परम' सबी ताज है। इस विशाल भीमन्द की भज है। A. U. (159)
   'पोकत परम' सबी हम एक ही 'विश नौं भाषा मामलों || S., (13)
   ता ही को 'धनु मनान हसा इस 'पोकत परम' करन पूर्ण नाही || S., (18)
   'पोकत परम' मरो पापहीन ल पूजा सिला जुगि कोट गाये || S., (19)

10. वेद पुराण क़बी आरुण किशो 'विमला जमान' संधान के पेले || A. U. (24)
    'विमला जमान' के विन साम्य एक जीत है || A. U. (166)
    कहौं हुर लां नहीं || A. U. (53)

11. की बों बे मुहाबतु शाहदनिन शाहद || J. N. (71)
    जो विन कहा सु समन उपाहे विन विन कढ़ु कड़ु नक न करे || B.N.VI (60)
    कादे को विन को जग में इजराल गायो परोक रायो || P. Ch. 266 (24)
    न नैं विन विचार || न विन विलास || न कुकार कमाक || न शेडी कहाद || B.N.VI. (52)
    जो जग को विन विलास || नोरह मुहूँ धरी धरीधरी मुक खर || B.N.VI. (57)
    जो हम को परमेसर उवरं है। || ते सम नरिक कुंड मथे पर || A. U. (24)
    जो को दुःख 'तावन' का जाो || वही में में न रंच पायो || B.N.VI. (32)
    मुख ज्ञान निरं हम जुग्लयो || अपि 'तावन' की धार विसात || B.N., I (4)

12. 'स्वरा' वरणिन मुर तबन की लामात सुमा समान || P. Ch. 21 (38)
    'तवन' विसात को दुर्र ही होगार पार उपर || ताहि दुर्र मारत भने मरो रसरिया दारि || P. Ch., 17 (2)
28 THE POETRY OF THE DASAM GRANTH

Keet (कीट), Moond mundana (मूंड मुन्दना), Madra des (मद्रा देस), Samapata-masatu subhamsatu (समापत्तमसतु सुभमसतु), Kal (काल), Mahakal (महाकाल),

13. This expression is found at the end of almost each part or work of the Dasam Granth.

14. ‘महाकाल’ की मूंड बक छिन्न बारोबारा जिस स्कट B.A., Intro. (23)

15. कब्र रस में बनर वत्त जग लग जा वजा की काला है। B. N., I (84)

16. अब जो बनर रस में बनर शब्द बच्चे। B. N., XIII (3)

17. तब रस रस में बनर वत्त जग लग जा वजा की काला है। B. N., XIII (3)

18. कब्र रस में बनर वत्त जग लग जा वजा की काला है। B. N., VI (2)
AUTHORSHIP OF THE DASAM GRANTH

19. Dr. M. D. H. M. ‘Akal’ 
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21. Dr. M. D. H. M. ‘Akal’ 
22. Dr. M. D. H. M. ‘Akal’ 
23. Dr. M. D. H. M. ‘Akal’ 
24. Dr. M. D. H. M. ‘Akal’ 

Akal (םָּאָל), Sarab kal (סָּרָבָּא), Karam kal or karam rekhi or Karam jar (כָּרָמָא, קָּרָמָא), Asidhu (אָסיַדְוּ), Asikutu (אָסְיָקְוִטְוּ), Chhor (שׁוֹרָא), etc.

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(j) There are certain words and expressions, frequently used by the poet in his works, which have left a precedent for the Sikhs to follow in every day life. These words and expressions are:

**Sattinam** (सत्तिनाम), *ek Onkar Wahisuru ji ki Fateh* (एक ओंकार वाहिसुर जी की फतेह)*.

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25. 

**Rai or Rae or Ray** (राई या रई या रे), **Mahadin** (महादिन), **Tapodhan** (तपोधन), **Mare reechh rojh jhankhara** (मारे रोज जंकर), **Ka (kaha) bhayo jo** (का भयो जो जंकर जंकर).

26. 

There are certain words and expressions, frequently used by the poet in his works, which have left a precedent for the Sikhs to follow in every day life. These words and expressions are:

- **Sattinam**
- **Onkar Wahisuru ji ki Fateh**
- **Rai or Rae or Ray**
- **Mahadin**
- **Tapodhan**
- **Mare reechh rojh jhankhara**
- **Ka (kaha) bhayo jo**

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2. Ch. I (first line); Ch. V. (first line) Ch. A. (first line), S. (first line); S. M. (first line), P. Ch. (first line), J. N. (first line).
AUTHORSHIP OF THE DASAM GRANTH

Ek Onkar Satgur Prasadi (Ek Onkar Satgur Prasadi), Akal Purakh (Akal Purakh), Kal Purakh (Kal Purakh), Sach he Patshah (Sach he Patshah), Yazdan Akal (Yazdan Akal), Twa prasadi (Twa prasadi), Ardas (Ardas), Kes (Kes), Sardar (Sardar), Singh (Singh), Kuar or Kunari or kaur (Kuar or Kunari or kaur). The seven-fold external evidence and six-fold internal one together with that of a matchless style with a vigorous uniformity of its own, when fully weighed and considered, lead one to the conclusion that the whole of the Dasam Granth, with all its parts, without exception, is the work of one poet alone and that poet is no other than Guru Gobind Singh. He is himself Ram, Syam, Hari, Kal and Gobind. He was a versatile genius, a warrior, a saint, a poet, gifted with a sense of humour and a love for drama, as it is evident from the anecdotes of his life, narrated by Macauliffe. He was himself the greatest actor of his time on the stage of the Punjab. In every line of each of the works of the Dasam Granth, there is a characteristic ring of his voice, a characteristic touch of his hand, and every word of it bears a characteristic impress of his mind.

5. B. N., IX (3), XII (3); K. A. (1352-1476),
6. Ch, 25, (4)