

The background of the cover is a photograph of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, India. The temple's white marble facade and multiple domes are reflected in the calm water of the Sarovar. To the left, a portion of the temple is under renovation, with scaffolding visible. The sky is a pale, clear blue.

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF

# SIKHISM

SECOND EDITION

W . H . M C L E O D

**HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF RELIGIONS,  
PHILOSOPHIES, AND MOVEMENTS**

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# Historical Dictionary of Sikhism

*Second Edition*

W. H. McLeod

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## Editor's Foreword

Most Sikhs can be recognized by their distinctive dress, not only on the Indian subcontinent, where the largest communities reside, but in every part of the world. Unfortunately, this recognition doesn't necessarily imply understanding of the basic tenets of Sikhism. Even the Sikhs' geographical neighbors are often ignorant about their religion, one of the world's most active and dynamic.

This revised and expanded edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism* helps fill this gap. It includes a historical overview in the chronology and a broad survey in the introduction. Then the dictionary provides information on the principles, precepts, and practices of the religion, as well as the history, culture, and social arrangements of Sikhism. Numerous entries address the founder, early Gurus, and current Sikh leaders and organizations. Others deal with historical events and conflicts that shaped Sikhism, as well as the current problems and challenges influencing its future direction. A copious bibliography rounds out this complete reference work.

Dr. W. H. McLeod, one of the foremost authorities on Sikhism, taught in the Punjab in the 1960s and has studied and written extensively on the subject. He is the author of the first edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism*, as well as numerous articles and several books, including *The Sikhs: History, Religion, and Society*. Dr. McLeod has also been professor of history at the University of Otago in New Zealand and visiting professor of Sikh studies at the University of Toronto.

This exceptional reference work, updated and amplified, explains long misunderstood aspects of Sikhism.

Jon Woronoff  
Series Editor

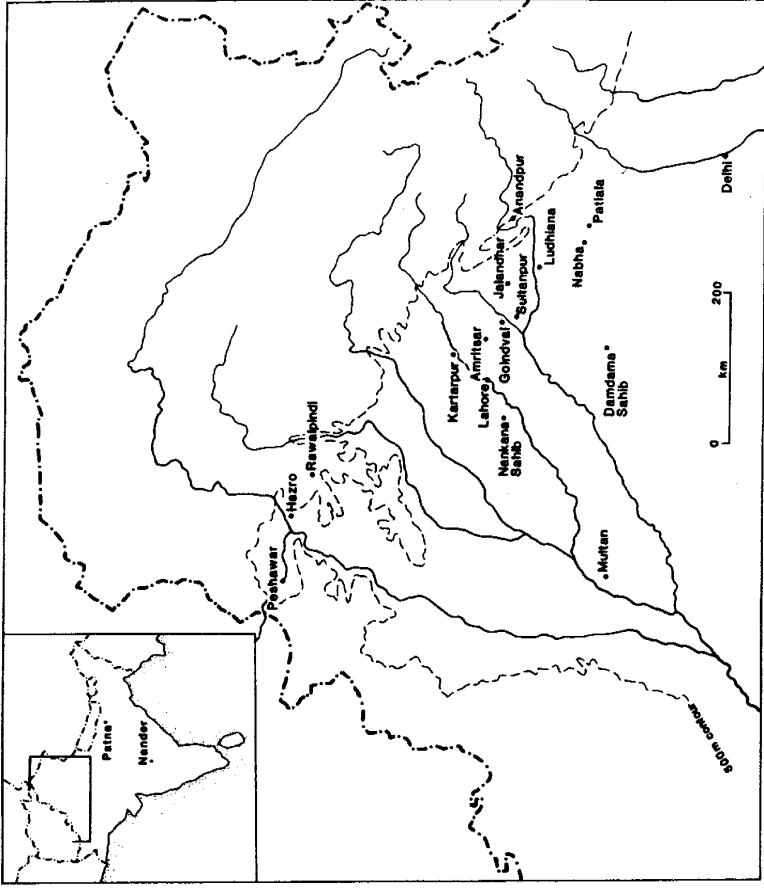


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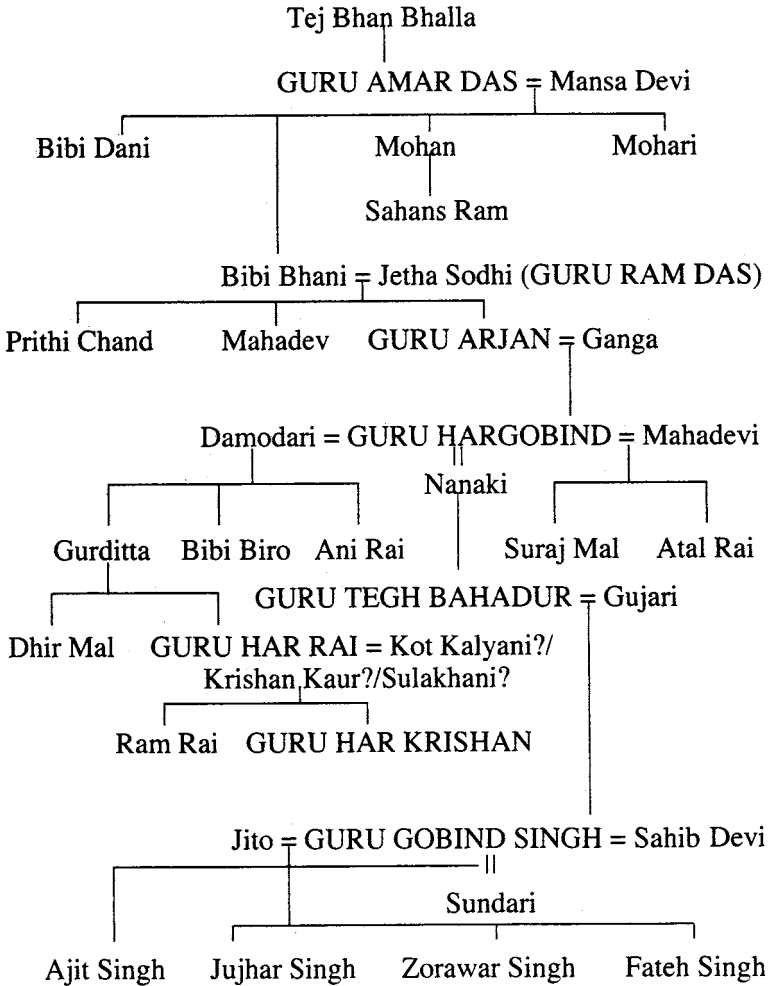
## **Acronyms and Abbreviations**

AG	Adi Granth
AISSF	All-India Sikh Students' Federation
CKD	Chief Khalsa Divan
ICS	Indian Civil Service
KCF	Khalistan Commando Force
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
SLS	Sacred Language of the Sikhs



The Punjab

## The Descendants of Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das



## Chronology

**1469** Birth of Guru Nanak.

**1538–1539** Death of Guru Nanak. Succeeded by Lahina, who becomes Guru Angad.

**1552** Death of Guru Angad. Succeeded by Amar Das.

**1574** Death of Guru Amar Das. Succeeded by his son-in-law Jetha, who becomes Guru Ram Das.

**1581** Death of Guru Ram Das. Succeeded by his third son, Arjan.

**1603–1604** Compilation of the Adi Granth.

**1606** Death of Guru Arjan in Mughal custody. Succeeded by his only son, Hargobind.

**1644** Death of Guru Hargobind. Succeeded by his grandson Har Rai.

**1661** Death of Guru Har Rai. Succeeded by his second son, the child Har Krishan.

**1664** Death of Guru Har Krishan. Succeeded by Tegh Bahadur, a son of Guru Hargobind.

**1675** Execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur by the Mughals in Delhi. Succeeded by his only son, Gobind Rai (later Gobind Singh).

**3 October 1688** Battle of Bhangani between Gobind and Fateh Shah of Garhwal.

**30 March 1699** Probable date of the inauguration of the Khalsa.

**1704** The great siege of Anandpur and its evacuation by Guru Gobind Singh on December 21.

**1708** Guru Gobind Singh's meeting with Banda at or near Nander in the Deccan. On October 7, following an assassination attempt, the tenth Guru dies. No successor is appointed, and the role of Guru passes to the scripture.

**1709–1715** Rebellion against the Mughals in the Punjab led by Banda Bahadur.

**1716** Execution of Banda Bahadur in Delhi.

**1726** Zakariya Khan becomes governor of Lahore.

**1733** Land grant offered to the Khalsa Sikhs by Zakariya Khan. Accepted together with the rank of Nawab for Kapur Singh.

**1738** Execution of Mani Singh.

**1740** Massa Ranghar assassinated by Mahtab Singh and Sukha Singh.

**1746** Yahiya Khan becomes governor of Lahore. On May 1 the Chhota Ghallughara (lesser holocaust) occurs.

**1747** The invasions of the Punjab by Ahmad Shah Abdali begin. During the middle decades of the eighteenth century the Sikh misls develop.

**6 February 1762** The Vadda Ghallughara (great holocaust) occurs.

**1772** Death of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

**1780** Birth of Ranjit Singh.

**1799** Occupation of Lahore by Ranjit Singh.

**1818** Occupation of Multan by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

**1819** Conquest of Kashmir by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

**1834** Occupation of Peshawar by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

**27 June 1839** Death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Succeeded as Maharaja by Kharak Singh.

**6 November 1840** Death of Kharak Singh and Prince Nau Nihal Singh.

**20 January 1841** Sher Singh succeeded as Maharaja.

**1843** Assassination of Sher Singh and Raja Dhian Singh. Duleep Singh proclaimed Maharaja.

**1845–1846** First Anglo-Sikh war. Annexation of the Jalandhar Doab.

**1848–1849** Second Anglo-Sikh war and the annexation of the remainder of the Punjab kingdom by the British.

**1873** First Singh Sabha founded in Amritsar.

**1879** Singh Sabha of Lahore founded.

**1898** Kahn Singh Nabha's *Ham Hindū Nahīn* (We Are Not Hindus) published.

**1902** Chief Khalsa Divan established.

**1909** Anand Marriage Act passed.

**1913** Rakabganj Gurdwara protest campaign.

**1919** Central Sikh League founded, followed by the Akali Dal.

**1920–1925** Gurdwara reform movement.

**1925** Sikh Gurdwaras Act passed.

**15 August 1947** Indian independence from Britain, followed by the partition of the Punjab. Mass migration of Sikhs and Hindus from Pakistan Punjab and Muslims from Indian Punjab.

**1966** Punjabi Suba (Punjabi state) granted by the government of India. A smaller Punjab is formed by cutting off areas where a majority declared their mother tongue to be Hindi.

**4 June 1984** The government of India launches an attack on the Golden Temple and its environs. Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale and many others are killed.

**31 October 1984** Indira Gandhi is assassinated by one of her Sikh guards. This is followed by a massacre of Sikhs, particularly in Delhi and New Delhi. Rajiv Gandhi succeeds his mother as prime minister.

**24 July 1985** An accord is signed between Rajiv Gandhi and the Sikh leader Harchand Singh Longowal, agreeing that the city of Chandigarh should be transferred to the Punjab, that the canal waters issues should

be considered by a judge of the Supreme Court, and that other grievances of the Sikhs should be reexamined.

**20 August 1985** Longowal is assassinated. The terms of the accord remained fulfilled.

**1985–1992** Turmoil in the Punjab, with many casualties. Sikh underground movements exercise considerable influence. The police are accused of serious brutality. Sikh leaders during this period include Parkash Singh Badal, Gurcharan Singh Tohra, and Simranjeet Singh Mann. By the end of 1992, the government of India secures the upper hand, and an uneasy peace is established in the Punjab.

**1993–2004** Since 1993, peace has returned to the Punjab. The principal issues involving the Sikhs (investigation of the killings, the status of Chandigarh, canal waters, etc.) remain, however, unresolved.

**2004** Dr. Manmohan Singh becomes prime minister of India in a Congress government.



## Introduction

Sikhism has long been a little-understood religion. Although Sikhs are more numerous than is generally supposed, their prominence has been seen largely in terms of military activity or sports. Until recently they resided almost exclusively in northwest India, and few major events involving them enlisted the attention of the outside world. Moreover, Sikhs themselves have disagreed on the meaning of the faith they affirm, with some seeing it as a part of the wider field of Hindu India and others insisting that it is a separate faith. Westerners who knew a little about the Sikhs vaguely regarded the religion as a blend of Hinduism and Islam.

Today the Sikhs and their religion are at last exciting interest and receiving attention, reflected in the growing number of encyclopedias and dictionaries of Sikhism. The world is slowly gaining awareness of the Sikh religion as a distinctive faith. This is a result both of the total number of Sikhs and the fact that they comprise a highly mobile community that numbers approximately 20 million worldwide. About a million live outside India, constituting a significant minority in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States. Many of them are highly visible, particularly the men, who wear beards and turbans, and they naturally attract attention in their new countries of domicile.

Less fortunately, the Sikh community has in recent years been the object of considerable interest to the outside world as a result of political differences with the government of India. These led in 1984 to an assault by the Indian army on the Golden Temple of the Sikhs and to several years of serious disturbance in the Sikh home state, the Punjab. The situation has now quieted, but for many people the memory still remains, and not all who remember it are Sikhs.

One result of this confrontation with the government of India has been a further emphasis on the separate nature of the Sikh religion. This

was claimed by some Sikh scholars at the end of the nineteenth century, and during the hundred years since it has won increasing acceptance. The recent troubles have further strengthened this conviction for many Sikhs.

Sikh history and religion are inextricably intertwined. It is impossible to study the religion of the Sikhs without reference to their history. Likewise, it is impossible to study the history without frequent recourse to their religion. The religion was born in historical events and continues to evolve in intimate response to the unfolding pattern of events. To some extent this can be said of any religion. It is abundantly true of Sikhism.

## THE TEACHINGS OF NANAK

Sikhism traces its beginnings to Guru Nanak, who was born in 1469 and died in 1538 or 1539. With the life of Guru Nanak the account of the Sikh faith begins, all Sikhs acknowledging him as their founder. Stories of the life of Nanak abound, but they are related in hagiographies known as *janam-sakhis*, and very few can be authenticated. Many of them are, as one would expect, plainly impossible. All that is known with certainty concerning his life is as follows. Nanak was a Hindu, born in the Punjab village of Talvandi forty miles west of Lahore. He was sent to the town of Sultanpur and worked in the local ruler's commissariat. While there, he evidently underwent the experience that convinced him of his divine mission. For several years he journeyed around India and perhaps beyond, returning to the Punjab in the early 1520s. He spent his final years in the village of Kartarpur on the Ravi River, receiving the people who came to hear the teachings that were increasingly winning him a following. Beyond this there is little to add with any assurance, apart from the names of some of his relatives.

Although his life is sketchy, his teachings can be positively known. This is due to the copious works he left, which have been treasured by his Sikhs as a part of the *Adi Granth* (the Sikh scripture). Nanak emerged as a religious teacher belonging to the Sant tradition of northern India, commonly considered part of the *Bhakti* movement, as indeed it was. It was, however, a very distinctive part. It drew most of its support from Hindus but laid paramount stress on the conviction that the

one God in whom they believed could never be represented in visible form. Religion for the Sants was wholly inward, and they meditated on God. For them there could be no outward forms, no temple nor mosque, no holy scriptures, no sacred person such as a Hindu Brahman or a Muslim qazi. Idols were totally rejected, as were castes.

Most Sants were in fact low caste or outcaste, and in this respect Nanak was a conspicuous exception. Like all of the Sikh Gurus he was a Khatri, a highly ranked mercantile caste. This made no difference to the message he communicated, which was as rigorous with regard to caste as that of any other Sant. Caste was useless when it came to liberation, and the outcaste had just as good a chance of attaining it as the Brahman or anyone else. Those who meditate regularly will at last attain liberation from the bonds of transmigration.

For Nanak the key to liberation lay in the *nām* (the divine name). All that could be affirmed concerning Akal Purakh (God) was an aspect of the *nām*, and the evidences of the *nām* lay all around and within a person. Akal Purakh was *sarab viāpak*, everywhere present, and the person who was spiritually attuned to Akal Purakh would increasingly comprehend the manifold presence of the *nām*. Meditate on the *nām* in all its aspects (*nām simaraṅ*), and the believer would progressively find liberation. By the regular practice of *nām simaraṅ* a person would achieve a final harmony of spirit in which the endless wheel of death and rebirth would be stilled, and the soul would find ultimate peace.

This was the message that Nanak communicated to all who would hear him. It required no separation from the life of the world, and it could be followed by any person, regardless of present caste or past deeds. Above all it was wholly internal, a discipline to be followed without any assistance from sacred persons or sacred things. Regular meditation was the one requirement. *Nām simaraṅ* could consist of the simple repetition of meaningful words (words such as *sat nām*, “true is the name,” or the popular modern name for God, *vāhigurū*); it could be the singing of hymns that told the glories of the *nām*, or it could be deep meditation within. These teachings were delivered with clarity, and the hymns that express them are noted for their beauty. As such, Nanak is the preeminent Sant.

The origins of the Sant movement were found primarily in Vaishnava bhakti, or devotion to Vishnu, with the all-important difference that Akal Purakh (unlike Vishnu in all his incarnations) was strictly without

form (nirgun). The emphasis on formlessness and the need for inner meditation evidently owe something to the beliefs of the Naths. The Naths (or the Kanphat yogis) were followers of the semilegendary Gorakhnath (dated sometime before 1200). Nanak certainly was no Nath and criticized them openly. The Naths, however, laid paramount stress on interior discipline, and there are clear evidences of their influence on some other members of the Sant tradition (particularly Kabir).

Nanak's teachings have been represented by Westerners, as already noted, as a syncretic mix of Hindu and Muslim beliefs. This is not correct. An analysis of the works of Nanak reveals very little that can be traced to a Muslim source. The Sant tradition was part of the wide area of Hindu belief, and any suggestion that it or the teachings of Nanak were syncretic is a mistake. Hindu and Muslim ways could be, for Nanak, either true or false. They were true if they upheld interior devotion, and they were false if they put their trust in exterior symbols such as temples or mosques.

Is Sikhism merely another expression of the Hindu tradition? For a modern Sikh the answer would usually be no. In Nanak's time the question was unlikely to arise. The particular teachings that he imparted would not have marked the Sikhs as significantly different from their Punjabi neighbors, though Nanak certainly distanced himself from those (whether Hindu or Muslim) who preached a conventional form of religion with its dependence on externals. In this sense the religion he taught transcended both Hindu tradition and Islam.

The real difference came with the tenth and last Guru. At the end of the seventeenth century, Guru Gobind Singh formed the core of his followers into the Khalsa, which thereafter assumed the dominant form of Sikhism. The Khalsa, though, was still regarded by most of its members as a special form of India's religious landscape without any clear sense of being a separate faith. At the end of the nineteenth century there developed the Singh Sabha movement, and as a result of the keen scrutiny of some Singh Sabha members there evolved the unambiguous conviction of Sikhism as a wholly distinct and separate religion. This conviction is now generally accepted.

In Nanak's own time the person who accepted his teachings became his Sikh or "learner," and the community of his followers came to be known as the Nanak-panth, those who followed the way of Nanak. Later the name Nanak was dropped and the term applied to the Sikh

community became simply the Panth. The word *panth* is commonly used in India for the disciples of a particular person or doctrine, but for the Sikhs it has a special meaning; if written in English it is better spelled with a capital P. The Sikh community is the Panth, and is referred to as such in this volume.

Nanak was not usually called Guru by his early followers, the name Baba (Father) being preferred. To later generations of Sikhs, however, he was the one who had revealed the truth and enshrined it in works of great beauty. As such he was their Guru, and so too were his nine successors. It is believed that when the tenth Guru announced that with his death the line of personal Gurus would end, the title passed to the Granth Sahib (the Adi Granth) which contained their teachings, and it thus came to be known as the Guru Granth Sahib.

## THE SUCCESSORS OF NANAK

Nanak appointed one of his devoted disciples to follow him, a man called Lahina, who became second Guru under the name of Angad (1538/39–1552). Guru Angad continued to direct the Panth in the manner of Nanak, but by the time he was succeeded by Guru Amar Das (1552–1574) times were changing. To meet the needs of a Panth growing to maturity, Amar Das appointed his village of Goindval as a pilgrimage center, digging there a *bāolī* or sacred well where pilgrims were expected to bathe. Devout Sikhs were appointed as *manjis* to engage in preaching, and particular days (notably Diwali) were designated festival days. On these days, Sikhs, when practicable, were encouraged to visit Goindval and receive the Master's blessing. The various hymns of his two successors were recorded, together with his own, in what came to be known as the Goindval Pothis (volumes).

To modern eyes it may seem that Amar Das was steering the Panth away from the inward emphasis taught by Nanak, setting up a visible center of pilgrimage, and recording hymns in a visible scripture. Amar Das, however, had to contend with a changing situation. The original Sikhs had joined the Panth from personal conviction and required little organization to hold them together. Now the Panth included many who had been born into it, and it was extending its geographical bounds as Sikh traders carried their faith to distant places. A firmer organization

was required, and Guru Amar Das was providing the Panth with a rudimentary one. It was, moreover, seen to be the actions of the first and only Guru. Sikhs believe that the ten persons who occupied the position of Guru were providing a habitation for the one eternal Guru. As ten torches can successively pass on the same flame, so the ten Gurus were really one. Decisions taken by Amar Das were therefore decisions that Nanak would have taken in the changing circumstances.

The fourth Guru was Ram Das (1574–1581), the son-in-law of Amar Das, who moved the center of the Panth to the new foundation of Amritsar. His youngest son, Arjan, became the fifth Guru (1581–1606), and from then onward all the Gurus were male descendants of Ram Das. Guru Arjan is important for two reasons. The first was the delivery to his Sikhs of a formal scripture, the *Adi Granth*, which built on the extensive foundations laid by the Goindval Pothis. Later the *Adi Granth* was supplemented by the compositions of the ninth Guru. The scripture was installed in the central shrine of Amritsar known as *Harimandir Sahib*, which eventually achieved renown as the celebrated Golden Temple. (At the death of the tenth and last Guru it came to be regarded, as already noted, as the permanent habitation of the eternal Guru and is accordingly known as the *Guru Granth Sahib*.)

The second reason was the manner of Arjan's death, interpreted by Sikhs as the first martyrdom. At that time, north India was ruled by the Mughal dynasty, and the Mughals were becoming concerned at the growth of the Panth. Arjan was arrested and died in Mughal custody.

Arjan was succeeded by his only son, Hargobind (1606–1644), under whom the Panth resorted to arms to protect itself from Mughal hostility. This change has been interpreted as the introduction of *mīrī/pīrī* by Hargobind. As Guru he maintained his five predecessors' emphasis on spiritual matters (*pīrī*). The new element was the willingness to engage in worldly affairs and to physically fight for the Panth's preservation (*mīrī*). This was symbolized by the two swords of the Guru and by the erection of *Akal Takht*, the worldly counterpart to the spiritual quality of the neighboring *Harimandir Sahib*.

Guru Hargobind was eventually compelled to withdraw from the plains of the Punjab and took up residence at *Kiratpur* on the edge of the *Shivalik Hills* overlooking the plains. His three successors all spent the greater part of their tenure as Guru in the *Shivaliks*, generally safe from Mughal enmity. The seventh Guru was a grandson of Hargobind named *Har Rai*

(1644–1661), and he was followed by his son Har Krishan (1661–1664). Har Krishan was a small child and died in Delhi of smallpox after a short tenure. His dying words, *bābā bakāle*, were understood to indicate that his choice of a successor was a surviving son of Hargobind, a recluse living in the Punjab village of Bakala—Tegh Bahadur (1664–1675). In 1675 Guru Tegh Bahadur was executed by the Mughals in Delhi, becoming the second Guru to be martyred.

## GURU GOBIND SINGH AND THE KHALSA

When Tegh Bahadur was executed, his only son, Gobind Rai (later Gobind Singh, 1675–1708), was still a young boy. The execution is said to have had a profound effect on the child. Little is known of his upbringing in the Shivalik Hills. He emerged as the leader of his Sikhs, fighting to sustain his position as the ruler of a small Shivalik principality. In 1699, or shortly before, he took the most critical decision in all Sikh history when he established the order of the Khalsa.

The Guru evidently already had a Khalsa, which comprised those Sikhs under his direct supervision. Most Sikhs, however, were under the intermediate supervision of *masands*, men appointed to watch over the Guru's Sikhs and convey their offerings to him. The *masands*, first instituted by Guru Ram Das, had by this time grown corrupt and dangerously independent. Guru Gobind Singh therefore decided to suppress them and have all his Sikhs join his own Khalsa.

This appears to have been one reason for the creation of the order, but there was clearly more to it than this. Those who joined the Khalsa were to adopt a highly visible appearance, which was to include uncut hair and the bearing of weapons. Just what the uniform precisely was is far from clear, but tradition is adamant that it included the Five Ks: *kes* (uncut hair), *kañghā* (comb), *kaṛā* (iron or steel ring for the wrist), *kirpān* (sword or dagger), and *kachh* or *kachhahirā* (breeches that must not come below the knee). The Five Ks actually evolved during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but on this point tradition brooks no doubt. The same applies to the *Rahit*, or Code of Belief and Conduct, which the Guru is said to have delivered at the same time. It too evolved during the next century and a half in accordance with the pressures of the period (particularly the wars of the eighteenth century) from a nucleus imparted by the Guru.

The actual details are far from clear, but there can be no doubt that the Guru inaugurated the Khalsa and that he summoned all who were committed to his cause to join it. This was done through a rite of initiation, each candidate swearing allegiance to the Guru's way. Each male added Singh to his name, and each female added Kaur. Many of his followers joined, particularly members of the Jat caste. Others held back, continuing to regard themselves as Sikhs but not as Sikhs of the Khalsa. Those who did join rendered themselves conspicuous by their appearance. It is said that the Guru vowed that never again would Sikhs be able to conceal their identity as they had done when his father was executed.

The inauguration of the Khalsa raises the fact that its emphasis on exterior symbols is the direct antithesis of Nanak's insistence on the interior nature of religious belief. The answer lies in the same justification applied to the changes introduced by Amar Das, namely, that the decisions were taken by the one eternal Guru in accordance with the changed circumstances of the time. Belief in the one eternal Guru is fundamental for Sikhs. Gobind Singh faced differing circumstances that demanded the obligation to fight for justice against the forces of evil. It was to meet this demand that the Khalsa was created.

Serious trouble followed after the creation of the Khalsa. The Guru was besieged in his fortress of Anandpur by Shivalik enemies allied with Mughal forces from Sirhind. He was obliged to evacuate Anandpur in 1704 and to fight his way through to the safety of southern Punjab. In the process he lost two of his four sons to the governor of Sirhind, who put them to death by walling them up. The other two were killed during the escape. A defiant letter, the *Zafar-nāmā*, was dispatched to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. In 1707 Aurangzeb died, and the Guru traveled south with his successor, Bahadur Shah, apparently in order to negotiate peace between the two. In the Deccan town of Nander he was assassinated by unknown assailants, probably agents of the governor of Sirhind.

## SUBSEQUENT SIKH HISTORY

Following the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708 the Punjab declined into almost a century of intermittent warfare. Sikh tradition represents it as a century in which a Sikh rebellion was followed by an attempt to



exterminate the Panth. This was answered by heroic deeds, swinging the balance of power increasingly in favor of the Panth. Ultimately the century was crowned by the success of Ranjit Singh, who emerged as Maharaja of the Punjab in 1801.

The rebellion against the Mughals was led by Banda Bahadur (Banda the Brave). Banda was a recluse who was selected by Guru Gobind Singh shortly before his death in Nander and who, after several years of mixed fortunes, was eventually captured and cruelly executed in 1716. The attempt to exterminate or (more likely) to bring the Panth under strict control was eventually marked by the appearance of the Sikh misls in the middle years of the century. These were territorial forces, each under the command of its own leader. The middle years of the century were also marked by the invasions of the Afghan ruler, Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Sikh misls gradually won the upper hand but used their success to fight among themselves. Eventually one of them was able to assert his hold over all the others, achieving his objectives by friendship, marriage alliances, and force. This was Ranjit Singh of the Shukerchakia misl.

The four decades of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign are regarded as a period of glory. Certainly Ranjit Singh extended the bounds of his kingdom in three directions, prevented from doing so in the fourth only by the arrival of the British. The Satluj River formed the border between the two. In one respect, however, Ranjit Singh's reign was not a success. He created a powerful army along European lines, but he did not succeed in creating a firm financial base for it. Moreover, Ranjit Singh did little to prepare his kingdom for the period after his death. When he died in 1839 the kingdom rapidly declined into confusion and was annexed to British India in 1849, following two Anglo-Sikh wars.

The Sikhs were saved from a corresponding decline in morale by the appearance of the Singh Sabha movement. Founded in 1873 to arrest this decline, the Singh Sabha soon split into two major groups. One, centered in Amritsar, comprised the Sanatan ("orthodox") Sikhs, formed by old leaders (both social and religious) and some scholars who regarded the Panth as a special form of the Hindu tradition. The other, with its chief center in Lahore, was the Tat ("true") Khalsa. This comprised the majority of scholars and insisted that the Panth was clearly distinct from all other religious systems. Numerous other Singh Sabhas were formed in cities, towns, and even villages, each

one usually in sympathy with either Amritsar or Lahore. A third extremist opinion found expression in the Bhasaur Singh Sabha.

After several decades of controversy, the Tat Khalsa emerged as the victor, and ever since references to the Singh Sabha movement have assumed a Tat Khalsa meaning. By the end of the second decade of the twentieth century it was overtaken by the Akali Dal, a new political party that gave expression to the revived sense of Sikh identity. The Akali Dal immediately entered into a vigorous dispute with the British government of the Punjab for the control of the Sikh gurdwaras (temples), known as the Gurdwara reform movement, and in 1925 the passage of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act signaled their complete victory.

The act further strengthened the hold of the Khalsa on the Panth. It embodied a definition of a Sikh that leaned strongly toward the exclusivist Khalsa view, as opposed to the broader inclusive view of those Sikhs who cut their hair and plainly were not members of the Khalsa.

When India won its independence from Britain in 1947, the Sikhs opted for India and a large-scale migration from Pakistan followed. Although the proportion of Sikhs in the much smaller Indian Punjab was significantly higher than in the total Punjab, they were still in a minority. After much agitation the government of India agreed to Punjabi Suba (Punjabi State) in 1966, and those areas which had declared themselves to have a majority of Hindi speakers were separated from the Punjab, most of them to form the new state of Haryana. The Sikhs were now a majority in the Punjab, but this did not mean a stable rule for the avowedly Sikh political party, the Akali Dal. The Akali Dal represented a significant proportion of Sikh landowners, and the conviction rapidly grew that the central government was hostile to their interests.

In the early 1980s the militant Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale appeared as an uncompromising leader and, rapidly gathering strength in the Panth, occupied the precincts of the Golden Temple. In June 1984, the government of India committed a serious mistake by sending the army into the Golden Temple area. Only after fighting against very heavy opposition did it manage to kill Bhindranvale. Several years of grievous disorder followed, with many Sikhs claiming that their only future lay in the creation of Khalistan or independent Punjab. In late 1992 the forces of the government of India were eventually able to kill or capture most of the leading dissidents, and an uneasy peace has now returned to the Punjab.

## SIKH IDENTITY

A point that is still largely misunderstood by the outside world concerns the identity of Sikhs. Those having a slight acquaintance with the Panth generally identify a male Sikh as having a beard and a turban. This is not always the case, particularly outside India. Recall from the discussion above that those who joined the Khalsa adopted the Khalsa Rahit, whereas those who declined cut their hair and did not observe the Rahit.

This distinction identifies two main groups of Sikhs. Those who take initiation into the Khalsa are known as Amrit-dhari Sikhs, having received the amrit, or water of baptism. Those who held back adopted the name Sahaj-dhari Sikhs, a term that is variously construed.<sup>1</sup> Actually, three groups of Sikhs were indicated. Those who do not take initiation but observe the fundamentals of the Rahit (particularly the uncut hair) are known as Kes-dhari Sikhs, those who preserve their hair (kes).<sup>2</sup> The Kes-dharis are normally indistinguishable from the Amrit-dharis and form a far larger group within the Panth. No statistics exist, but it is generally assumed that only about 15 percent are Amrit-dharis. The Kes-dharis as well as the Amrit-dharis are generally regarded as constituting the Khalsa.

These were the three main groups within the Panth until relatively recently. The overwhelming majority of Sikhs were rural, and the vast majority of them were generally considered to be Amrit-dharis or Kes-dharis (though the loyalty of many Kes-dharis to the Khalsa Rahit was distinctly shaky). The Sahaj-dharis were mainly urban dwellers belonging to certain castes, and their numbers are relatively few today.<sup>3</sup> Particularly among the migrants, however, there is a marked tendency on the part of Khalsa Sikhs to abandon their beards and turbans. Consequently those living in England or North America do not proclaim their identity and so remain invisible Sikhs. For this group no name exists, though they are certainly identifiable as a separate group in overseas countries. Coming from Khalsa families, they are easily recognized by the fact that the men still have Singh as a middle or last name, and the women have Kaur.

Finally there are the Patit Sikhs. An Amrit-dhari who commits any one of four specified sins (notably having their hair cut or smoking tobacco) is declared a Patit (fallen) Sikh. Kes-dharis can also be regarded

as Patits if they flagrantly disobey the prime Rahit. Few Sikhs are actually declared to be Patit, however, and the category exists more as a notional form, serving to assert the wrongness of falling away from Khalsa standards.

## CONCERNING THIS DICTIONARY

Earlier in this introduction I emphasized the impossibility of explaining the Sikh religion without constant reference to Sikh history and tradition. There is one other point that also requires emphasis. This is the all-important meaning that should be attached to the words “tradition” or “traditional” and the part they play in the interpretation adopted here for the explanation of various items.

With reference to Sikh history, tradition means that which is handed down within the Panth. The material thus passed down is not subjected to rigorous scrutiny, but for a traditionalist historian that is not necessary. It is known to be true because it is said to be derived from sources that the Panth believes to be absolutely secure. The *janam-sákhís*, for example, are traditionally known to be generally accurate because they deal with matters concerning the life of the first Guru, and they have been recorded by faithful followers of the Guru. Occasionally they may err with regard to detail, but they are substantially accurate. When the material derives from the Gurus themselves or is intimately associated with them, it is treated as wholly and absolutely beyond reproach.<sup>4</sup>

This difference needs to be understood, for clearly there is fundamental disagreement on this point. It covers a whole range of historical method, but in the last analysis it comes down to the difference between two approaches. On one side stands the historian of religions who trusts traditional sources; on the other the one who views such sources with skepticism. Within each camp, of course, there are differences of opinion. Some of the traditionalists impart a degree of rigor to their research, while others view the traditions as true in all essential respects. Likewise, one expects degrees of skepticism from the other side, some giving traditional sources a measure of cautious trust while others are thoroughgoing in their criticism of them. But almost all fall within the territory marked out as either traditional or skeptical. The historian who

can claim to have a foot in both camps is a very rare person indeed, though certainly that person may exist.

A major example concerns the Sikh scripture, the *Adi Granth*. According to the traditional view, the text is beyond investigation. The *Adi Granth* is perfect because it came to us through perfect men, and there is no possibility of any research into it.

Not all adherents of the traditional school would carry the definition as far as that, but essentially they would agree with its substance. The general tenor of their interpretation makes this clear. Opposed to it are religious historians of the opposite camp, who embrace the skeptical view with its rigorous examination of sources. For them the text of the *Adi Granth* is indeed open to investigation. The investigation must be conducted in a reverential manner, for the researcher needs to be acutely aware that this is sacred ground which is being traversed. At the same time the *Adi Granth* must be available for research, for otherwise a highly important element in religious studies will not be understood.

Another example is provided by questions associated with the Singh Sabha period in Sikh history.<sup>5</sup> Whereas the traditional historian of religion will conduct research on the basis of a general acceptance of the truth of the Singh Sabha interpretation, the thoroughgoing skeptical historian will assume the reverse. Or at least the interpretation will be treated as the product of scholars who were themselves a part of the Singh Sabha movement (men such as Vir Singh or Kahn Singh Nabha) and will be set aside. Study is then conducted on the basis of modern historical research, employing such skills as sociology and linguistics. Although some of the results may agree with earlier interpretations, others assuredly will not. A scholar employing this approach will break open the Singh Sabha movement and demonstrate that it was the result of at least three major factions, one of which (the *Tat Khalsa*) eventually carried the day and assumed the title of the whole Singh Sabha movement. This awareness makes an enormously important beginning to the task of interpreting the period.

No apology is given for this definition because the meaning it expresses is genuinely believed to be true. It means, however, that the explanations given for various features of Sikh history and religion (including some major ones) differ from those found in other dictionaries and encyclopedias. These occur, for example, in the *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, published by Punjabi University in Patiala. The encyclopedia is much larger than this

dictionary (the complete set is composed of four volumes), and much sound work has gone into its preparation. For these and other reasons it will be a useful tool to the person working on various aspects of Sikh history and religion. It is, though, based on a different understanding of the nature of religious truth. Whereas it takes its stand on the general reliability of tradition, this historical dictionary adopts the contrary view.

Needless to say, the interpretation reached by skeptical historians of religion will not stand forever, each generation of historians finding new insights and consequently producing new interpretations. But that is the nature of history, or at least of the skeptical variety. History is constantly being rewritten and no interpretation is forever fixed.

### **Dates and Alphabetization of Names**

Except where specifically mentioned, common era dating is used for all dates in the dictionary entries.

In the dictionary, all names are alphabetized according to Indian usage—by the first letter of the first name. For example, Vir Singh appears under V, not S. This is because in India two-word names are invariably used and listed in this way. To expect any reader in that part of the world to look up Vir Singh under Singh, Vir would invite some puzzlement. The natural place for such a reader to search would obviously be under V. Only where the individual uses a third name (which is generally a caste title) does India sometimes use the Western method of listing according to the initial letter of the last name. In the dictionary, this method is not followed; Abdus Samad Khan, for example, is listed under A, not under K.

In the bibliography, however, this practice has been reversed, reluctantly. Many users of this bibliography will want to consult works held by Western libraries; there they will find that the Western method is invariably used. Vir Singh is catalogued under S as Singh, Vir. Consequently this practice is followed in the bibliography of this work.

### **NOTES**

1. See SAHAJ-DHARI.
2. The term is sometimes spelled Kesh-dhari.

3. This point can, however, be argued. There are many Punjabi Hindus who might hesitate to call themselves Sahaj-dhari Sikhs, but their devotion to the religion of the Gurus makes them in every way the same as the Sahaj-dharis.

4. See TRADITION.

5. See SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT; SANATAN SIKHS; TAT KHALSA; and BHASAUR SINGH SABHA.

# The Dictionary

– A –

**ABDUS SAMAD KHAN.** The **Mughal** governor of **Lahore** who in 1715 captured **Banda** and for the next five years continued to wage war against **Khalsa** Sikhs, driving them into hiding. Thereafter, with affairs more stable, he relaxed his firm policy. In 1726 he was transferred to **Multan** and was succeeded in Lahore by his son **Zakariya Khan**.

**ABILCHALNAGAR.** *See* NANDER (NANDED).

**ABLUTION.** *See* ISHNAN.

**ABORTION.** Sikhs today are debating the question of abortion. In recent years, with advances in amniocentesis and particularly in ultrasound, the rate of abortions of females has increased among the Sikhs, as with other communities in India. Boys are still greatly preferred to girls in India, and this preference is present in a large majority of **Sikh** families. Ultrasound permits the sex of the fetus to be ascertained while there is still time for abortion to take place, and a female fetus is often aborted. This trend will produce problems of gender imbalance throughout India in the future. The incidence is also growing among the Sikhs and other Indians of the diaspora.

**ACHAL BATALA.** A place near Batala in Gurdaspur District where **Guru Nanak** is said to have debated with **Nath** yogis.

**AD DHARM.** A protest movement in **Doaba** of **Chamars** (including Sikh **Ramdasia**s), founded in 1926 and initially led by Mangoo Ram



of Garshankar tahsil in Hoshiarpur District. Mangoo Ram maintained that Chamars could not be regarded as Hindus, Muslims, or **Sikhs**. They were the original inhabitants of India, and their religious beliefs were the Ad Dharm, or “Original Faith.” Ad Dharm is still strong among Chamars in Central **Punjab**. *See also* CASTE; DALIT.

**ADI GRANTH.** The principal Sikh scripture. Anthologies of religious songs were common in late medieval India, and one had already been collected during the time of the third **Guru, Amar Das**. This three- or four-volume work was known as the **Mohan Pothis** or **Goindval Pothis**. According to tradition, **Guru Arjan** was persuaded of the need to compile a definitive scripture because other claimants were circulating their own works, spuriously attaching the name **Nanak** to them. A substantial base was provided by several drafts of the Goindval Pothis, which contained all the works of the first three Gurus together with those of **Sant** poets and was ordered according to the pattern of **rag** and author that Guru Arjan followed. The task was carried out in **Amritsar** from 1603 to 1604. For this purpose Guru Arjan had prepared a number of working drafts. To the Goindval Pothis he added the works of his father, **Guru Ram Das**, and his own substantial array of compositions.

This large manuscript, recorded by **Bhai Gurdas**, is held in **Kartarpur** (Jalandhar District) and is known as the **Kartarpur bīṛ** (volume). Several drafts of Guru Arjan’s collection had been prepared and this one served as the master draft, which later scribes copied. The collection reached its final form with the addition of the works of the ninth Guru, **Tegh Bahadur**, and later came to be known as the Adi Granth (the “original” Granth) to distinguish it from the **Dasam Granth**. There are thus four recognizable stages in its compilation: the **Goindval Pothis**, several drafts, the Kartarpur recension, and finally the Adi Granth. The collection proved to be of crucial importance, particularly after the death of the tenth and last Guru when the sacred volume came to be accepted as the literal embodiment of the eternal Guru. As such, it came to be called the **Guru Granth Sahib**, “the sacred volume which is the Guru.” The full title used today is **Adi Sri Guru Granth Sahibji**. The Supreme Court of India recognizes it as a juristic person, the only sacred scripture anywhere granted this status.

**ADI GRANTH BANNO RECENSION.** In addition to the standard **Kartarpur** text of the Adi Granth there also exists the **Banno** recension, which differs from Kartarpur at three significant points and also incorporates some concluding works that Kartarpur lacks. One of the three textual differences is important. Banno includes a work said to be by **Guru Arjan** that appears in the Kartarpur version only as the opening couplet followed by a blank space. This hymn describes how traditional puberty rites were conducted for the future **Guru Har-gobind**, including the shaving of his head. This point has generated considerable controversy in the **Panth**. The consensus still holds that the Banno version was amended later and that the text of Kartarpur still stands as the correct one. The dispute, however, continues. The recension is also called the Mangat or the Khari version, *khārī* meaning “brackish” or (in this context) “spurious.” Mangat is the village from which the copyist of the Banno recension is said to have come. Another tradition traces the origin of Khari to Khara, which was evidently an earlier name for the village. *See also* BANNO; BANNO BIR; DAMDAMI BIR; KARTARPUR BIR.

**ADI GRANTH CONTENTS.** Although it is a substantial collection, comprising 1,430 pages in the standard printed edition, the Adi Granth is remarkably consistent in terms of content. The message it communicates is that spiritual liberation comes through belief in the divine **Name** and the regular practice of **nām simaran**.

**ADI GRANTH LANGUAGE.** The Adi Granth has a reputation for wide-ranging linguistic variety. This is not correct. The **Gurus**, like their **Sant** predecessors, used a simplified form of early Hindi known as **Sant Bhasha** or Sadhukari. This designates a language based on **Khari Boli**, the Hindi of the Delhi region, which was widely used for religious poetry before and during the time of the early Gurus. There are, however, variants in the different Gurus’ usage. **Nanak** has a strongly Punjabi version whereas Arjan tends more towards western Hindi. Hymns for particular audiences take account of their particular language (e.g., Persian) without abandoning the Sant Bhasha framework. Because no term expressly denotes the language of the Adi Granth, it is sometimes called the Sacred Language of the **Sikhs** (SLS). It was written in the **Gurmukhi** script.

**ADI GRANTH MANUSCRIPT 1245.** Considerable interest has been raised by the purchase in 1987 of the manuscript numbered 1245 by **Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar**. Two scholars who made use of it were Piar Singh and Pashaura Singh, the first in a published book and the other in his Ph.D. thesis for the University of Toronto. Although their use was responsible, the result was a storm of protest in the **Panth**. The alleged offenders were summoned before **Akal Takhat**, and in 1993 Piar Singh was declared a **tanakhahia**, compelled to recant and perform humiliating tasks as penalty. According to Pashaura Singh, an analysis of the contents of the manuscript reveals that it can be placed historically sometime between 1595 and 1604, the years of the present **Goindval** volume 1 and the **Kartarpur** manuscript, respectively. As such it illuminates the textual process through which the evolution of the **Adi Granth** has taken place. His opponents argue that the manuscript is later than the Kartarpur manuscript and that it has a **Mina** provenance. *See also* GOINDVAL POTHIS; KARTARPUR BIR.

**ADI GRANTH STRUCTURE.** The **Adi Granth** is divided into three unequal parts. The introductory section (pp. 1–13) contains liturgical works. It opens with the **Mūl Mantra** (the basic credal statement) and then records **Nanak's Japjī**, the **Sodar** collection of nine hymns, and the **Kīrtan Sohilā** group of five hymns. Then comes a lengthy section devoted to 31 **rags** or musical modes (pp. 14–1353). Finally, there is the short epilogue consisting of miscellaneous works (pp. 1353–1430). The middle section is subdivided according to rag, and then within each rag the text is further subdivided as follows. First there are brief hymns by the **Gurus**, comprising four verses and a refrain (**chaupad**). Second, there are longer hymns by the **Gurus**, usually eight verses and a refrain (**ashtapadī**). Third, there are long hymns by the **Gurus**, usually consisting of four or six long stanzas (**chhant**). Fourth, there are much longer works by the **Gurus**, such as **Arjan's Sukhmanī Sāhib**. Fifth, there is the distinctive **Adi Granth** form of the **vār**. Finally there is the **bhagat bāñī**, the works of various **sants** whose compositions were in harmony with the message of liberation through the divine **Name** taught by the **Gurus**. Within the **chaupads**, **ashtapadīs**, and **chhants** there is a further classification, each one being grouped according to author. First come the **chaupads** of **Nanak** in a particular rag, then those of **Amar Das**, **Ram Das**, **Arjan**, and finally (if any) those of

**Tegh Bahadur.** This is followed by the ashtapadīs in the same order and finally by the chhants. There are no hymns (**shabads**) by **Guru Angad** in the Adi Granth, only couplets or shorter works (**shaloks**) that are mainly included in the vārs. This intricate but generally consistent ordering of material is characteristic of other collections of scripture by religious groups in medieval and early modern India.

**ADI GRANTH TERMINOLOGY.** The compositions in the Adi Granth are almost all grouped according to 31 **rāgs**, a musical mode. A hymn in the Adi Granth is termed a **shabad**. According to the teachings of **Nanak**, the shabad is the vehicle of divine communication between **God** and man, and the term used for **Word** came to be applied to the composition that gave it expression. A shorter composition (usually a couplet) is called a **shalok**.

**ADI GRANTH VERSIONS.** The **Kartarpur bīṛ** serves as the master draft of the Adi Granth. Prior to its recording **Guru Arjan** had several drafts prepared such as **manuscript 1245**. After the Kartarpur manuscript had been completed two further versions, the Lahore and the **Banno recensions**, appeared. Finally **Guru Gobind Singh** added works by his father, **Tegh Bahadur**, in the Damdama version, and the canon of the Adi Granth was thereby closed.

**ADI SAKHIS.** A **janam-sakhi**, which in its extant form dates from the late 17th century.

**ADINA BEG KHAN (d. 1758).** In 1739, during the rapid decline of **Mughal** authority in the **Punjab**, Adina Beg was appointed the governor of the Jalandhar Doab by **Zakariya Khan**. Until he died in 1758 he served his own interests, variously supporting or opposing the Mughals, **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, and the **Sikhs**.

**ADULTERY.** This is strictly forbidden by the **Sikh Gurus**. It is regarded as one of the four **kurahits**.

**AHIMSA.** Nonviolence. This doctrine, so fervently preached by Gandhi, is upheld by **Sikhs** in normative terms except when justice is threatened.

**AHLUVALIA.** A small **Sikh caste**, originally **Kalals** or brewers of country liquor. The Kalals were very close to being Outcastes in status. It was a small, tightly organized caste, and late in the 19th century its leaders decided to Sanskritize (i.e., adopt professions and a way of life that would result in an ascent in caste terms). They adopted for the caste the name of a famous Kalal, **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia**, and rigorously followed a lifestyle conspicuously higher than was required of a low caste. In adopting the name of a distinguished **misdar**, the Ahluvalias have been much more successful than the **Ramgarhias**, who adopted the name of **Jassa Singh Ramgarhia**. The change was aided by the fact that the ruling family of **Kapurthala** (the descendants of **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia**) was also Kalal. So successful have they been that today their Kalal antecedents have been largely forgotten, and the Ahluvalias rank with the **Khattris** in caste status. Most Ahluvalias are Sikhs.

**AHLUVALIA MISL.** A small **misl** with a distinguished founder, **Jassa Singh Ahluvalia**. Its territory was southwest of Jalandhar with its chief center in **Kapurthala**. Jassa Singh Ahluvalia, though not a **Jat**, was regarded as the principal misl chieftain, and **Ranjit Singh** permitted his successor to retain his estates after the other misls had been extinguished. When the British took over the territory in 1846, it preserved its status as the princely state of Kapurthala.

**AHMAD SHAH ABDALI (1722–1772).** Also known as Ahmad Shah Durrani, he was the ruler of Afghanistan who invaded the Punjab eight times between 1747 and 1767. Serious damage resulted, but each time he was compelled to withdraw to Kabul. During this period **Sikh** forces grouped as independent **misls**.

**AISSE.** *See* ALL-INDIA SIKH STUDENTS' FEDERATION.

**AKAL BUNGA.** *See* AKAL TAKHAT and BUNGA.

**AKAL PURAKH.** The “Timeless One,” **God**. A favorite term for God held by **Nanak** and other **Gurus**. Many other words are used in the attempt to encompass the infinity of God. He is **nirāṅkāṛ**, the Formless One. He is the Creator, Sustainer, and Destroyer. He is abināṣī

(eternal), anādi (without beginning), achal (ever constant), nirañjan (pure), agam agochar (inscrutable), alakh (ineffable), yet by his **grace** he is immanent to those who will but open their eyes and look around and within themselves. He is the Supreme Lord of the entire universe, knowable to those who meditate on his **nām**, which consists of everything that can be comprehended about him. *See also* GENDER OF GOD.

**AKAL TAKHAT.** Preeminent among the five **takhats** of the **Panth**, Akal Takhat stands immediately facing **Harimandir Sahib** (the **Golden Temple**). Harimandir Sahib is the primary religious center of the **Sikhs**, and Akal Takhat is the primary temporal center where major decisions concerning the affairs of the Panth are made. Strictly speaking, Akal Takhat is housed in **Akal Bunga**, one of the numerous **bungas** that once surrounded Harimandir Sahib. The building stands near the **Darshani Deorhi** at a slight angle to Harimandir Sahib. During the 18th century the **Sarbat Khalsa** met in front of Akal Takhat, and today any decision of the whole Panth must be announced from it in the form of a **hukam-nama**. It was in Akal Takhat that **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** was killed by government of India forces in June 1984.

**AKAL USTATI.** “Praise to the Timeless One,” an unfinished poem attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**, included in the **Dasam Granth**. **God** is addressed as **Sarab Loh**, the “All Steel,” described in militant terms as absolutely supreme.

**AKALI.** “A follower of the Timeless One [**God**].” Originally it was applied to irregular **Sikh** soldiers of the 18th and early 19th centuries who fought with reckless bravery on behalf of the **Panth**, acknowledging no leader who was not an Akali (also spelled *Akalee*). During the turbulent middle years of the 18th century the Akalis generally fought in the **Shahid misl**. In the early 19th century there emerged the most famous of the early Akalis, **Phula Singh**, the ill-disciplined but fearless warrior who with other Akalis under him fought for **Ranjit Singh**. Following the death of Phula Singh in 1823 the strength of the Akalis dwindled, and the small remnants that still survive today are known as **Nihangs**. The word has meanwhile assumed a different

meaning. In 1920 radical Sikhs aiming at control of the **Sikh gurdwaras** formed the **Akali Dal**, or “Akali army,” an explicitly Sikh political party. Ever since “Akali” has designated a member of the Akali Dal.

**AKALI DAL.** During the early years of the 20th century devout **Sikhs** were concerned that many of their **gurdwaras** were in the possession of men who were not members of the **Khalsa**, nor even **Kes-dhari Sikhs**. Since the turmoil of the 18th century the gurdwaras had been managed by **mahants** who frequently claimed to be **Udasi Sikhs** but lacked the visible marks of the Khalsa order. Under the British, who took over the administration of the **Punjab** in 1849, ownership of the gurdwaras was conferred on whoever could claim to be in possession. The **Singh Sabha** movement, from its foundation in 1873, had awakened Sikhs to the unsatisfactory nature of this situation, and, prompted by the growing strength of the **Tat Khalsa**, many expressed misgivings. The British rulers, however, were anxious to uphold the validity of their settlement; **Sanatan Sikhs** who, through the **Chief Khalsa Divan** exercised administrative dominance within the Singh Sabha, were concerned about staying on good terms with them. In late 1920 radical Sikhs, irritated at the loyal obedience of the Chief Khalsa Divan, announced two decisions from **Akal Takhat** reached by the newly formed **Central Sikh League**. The first was the foundation of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)**, a group to manage all major Sikh shrines. This was followed by the creation of the Akali Dal (Akali Army), a body based on a military model that would train men to confront the government and occupy gurdwaras. Until the splits of recent years, the Akali Dal was much the largest of the specifically Sikh political parties, and Akalis have been (and still are) a prominent feature of Sikh life.

**AKALI DAL HISTORY.** The Akali Dal was founded in 1920 as an explicitly **Sikh** organization and has remained so ever since. Throughout the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** it operated on military lines with small groups led by **jathedars**. The **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925** signaled victory, and since then the Akali Dal (or **Shiromani Akali Dal**) has functioned as a Sikh political party. Within the **Panth** its power has always been contested by members of the Indian Na-

tional **Congress**. Its authority has remained unchallenged inside the highly influential **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, which has an exclusively Sikh electorate. Here, however, it has been plagued by rifts. In state politics (where voting is shared with Hindus) it has been less successful. In national politics its influence is negligible except when it stood against Mrs. Gandhi during the Emergency of 1975–1977. For much of its career the Akali Dal was dominated by **Tara Singh**. In 1961, following an abortive fast, he was challenged for the leadership by **Fateh Singh** and the party split. It has remained split ever since, the dominant faction for many years associated with Fateh Singh, Parkash Singh Badal, and **Harchand Singh Longowal**. Since the 1984 assault by Indian government troops on the **Golden Temple** it has, however, divided into several factions, with no one faction able to claim controlling dominance. The **Akali** color is dark blue, and male Akalis often wear turbans of this color. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICS; HISTORY, RECENT.

**AKHAND KIRTANI JATHA**. Known previously as the **Bhai Randhir Singh ka Jatha** (“the followers of Bhai **Randhir Singh**”), Akhand Kirtani Jatha is the name that has become increasingly popular. Adherents form a group of **Sikhs** with members laying paramount emphasis on the sacred text of scripture. Great importance is attached to **kirtan**, and congregations frequently devote the whole night to it. They also attach particular significance to the word **Vahiguru**, which they regard as the **Guru**’s mantra. The implanting of the **gur-mantra** on the breath by the **panj piare** during **amrit sanskar** produces, so they believe, the practice of continually repeating the gur-mantra during both private and congregational **nām simran**. Vegetarianism is strictly observed, and in place of the **kes** in the **Five Ks** they substitute the **keskī**, which women wear as well as men. The **Dasam Granth** is regarded as sacred and **Rāg-mālā** is not accepted. References to caste differences are strictly forbidden. Although **Randhir Singh** was himself a **Jat**, the leadership of the sect is now in the hands of **Khatris** and **Aroras**. Ludhiana is the center of the organization. The Akhand Kirtani Jathi came to prominence in April 1978 when several member were killed during a confrontation with the **Sant Nirankaris** in **Amritsar**. For some years after a group of



members of the **Jatha** lived near the **Akal Takhat** and organized **kirtan** in **Harimandir Sahib**. At that time Amarjit Kaur was leader of the group. She was close to **Harchand Singh Longowal** and opposed to **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**. *See also* ORTHODOXY; RAGMALA; RAHIT BIBEK; HISTORY, RECENT.

**AKHAND PATH.** An “unbroken reading” of the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

This is performed by a relay of readers who, reading in turn without intermission, complete the task in approximately 48 hours. It is held on all occasions of importance to **Sikhs** such as a marriage, the opening of a new business, or a funeral. Each reader should bathe and wear clean clothes before beginning his turn. **Karah prasad** should be brought into the presence of the **Guru Granth Sahib** before beginning an **Akhand Path**; the six appointed stanzas of **Anand Sahib** should be read, **Ardas** should be recited, and a **hukam** should be taken. The reading concludes with a **bhog** ceremony. Much the same procedure is followed with a **Sadharan Path** or a **Saptahak Path**. The practice of holding Akhand Paths appears to have developed during the late 18th or early 19th centuries. A practice rarely undertaken is that of the Ati Akhand Path, which involves only one person. The task, which takes about 27 hours, can be performed only by a person of uncommon stamina and reading skill.

**AKHARA.** “Wrestling arena.” A center of either the **Udasis** or **Nirmalas**. The number of Udasi akharas was estimated at more than 250 in the mid 19th century, some located in places well beyond the **Punjab**. There were fewer belonging to the Nirmalas, but their influence was equal to the Udasis. *See also* BAKHSHISH; DHUAN.

**ALCOHOL.** This is an ongoing issue within the **Panth**. Consumption of alcohol and drugs is prohibited by **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**, yet a substantial number of **Sikhs** (particularly in rural areas) partake of alcohol, frequently of a singularly fiery kind. Voting for the elections of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** also requires the voter to certify that he or she does not consume alcohol, yet a large majority of the male voters are not abstainers. Passages from the **Adi Granth** can be interpreted in support of either side, though

the **Gurus** were clearly against the use of either alcohol or drugs. The controversy continues. *See also* VEGETARIANISM.

**ALLARD.** Jean Francois Allard, a former officer of Bonaparte, was employed by **Ranjit Singh** and, with other Europeans, developed the **Punjab** army into a formidable fighting force on the Western model.

**ALL-INDIA SIKH STUDENTS' FEDERATION (AISSF).** Although the AISSF was founded almost 60 years ago, it was not prominent until the mid-1970s, when it adopted an anticommunist stance. In the early 1980s, under its president Amrik Singh, it became a dedicated supporter of the militant **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**, strongly critical of the moderate political policies of **Harchand Singh Longowal**. Amrik Singh was killed with Bhindranvale when the Indian army attacked the **Golden Temple** complex in June 1984. *See also* HISTORY, RECENT.

**ALMAST (1553–1643).** An **Udasi** and a disciple of **Gurditta**, he established a shrine dedicated to **Nanak** at Nanakmata (near Pilibhit in the Kumaon Hills). By tradition Nanak had visited the place and made sweet the bitter fruit of a soap-nut tree. **Hargobind** included Nanakmata on one of his tours.

**AMAR DAS (1479–1574).** Third **Guru**, born in **Basarke**, the son of Tej Bhan Bhalla. According to tradition, he was a pious Vaishnava, prompted to search for a Guru by another devotee. On his way to the Ganga he happened to overhear the daughter of **Guru Angad**, who had married his brother's son, singing one of the hymns of **Nanak**. So captivated by it was he that he insisted on being taken to **Khadur** to pay his respects to Nanak's successor, Angad. There he became a **Sikh**. Amar Das greatly impressed Guru Angad by his devotion, and although well advanced in years he was appointed to succeed him as third Guru of the **Panth**. When he became Guru in 1552 he was already 73, remaining in the position until he died at the age of 95. While Angad was still alive he was sent to the neighboring village of **Goindval**, and when he succeeded as Guru this became the new center of the Panth. He continued the tradition of married Gurus, his wife being **Mansa Devi**, and his family numbering two sons and either one or two daughters.

**AMAR DAS'S POLICY.** **Amar Das** assumed responsibility for the **Panth** in 1552, at a time when it was settling down after the first flush of its early years. It was spreading geographically, and to preach the faith still further pious followers were appointed, each as a **manji**. The anticaste **langar** was apparently inaugurated in his time; at least three rituals were introduced for the **Sikhs**. A sacred well (**bāoli**) was dug as a pilgrimage center in **Goindval**, two festival days were designated, and a sacred scripture was recorded in four volumes (the so-called **Goindval Pothis** or **Mohan Pothis**). In instituting these changes, **Amar Das** seemed to be directing his **Sikhs** back to the external customs that they had renounced under **Nanak**. The **bāoli**, with its 84 steps corresponding to the 84 lakhs of existences in the transmigratory cycle, was to be a visible **tīrath**, or center of pilgrimage, and the festivals were those celebrated by Hindus. They were, however, changes with a specifically Sikh content. The **tīrath** was in **Goindval**, and the festivals were celebrated by **Sikhs**. Under **Nanak** the **Panth** consisted of first-generation **Sikhs** who had been attracted to him by his teachings. Now there was an increasing number of **Sikhs** who had been born into the faith, and for them the **Panth** needed exterior rituals and practices. *See also* MOHAN.

**AMARO.** The daughter of **Guru Angad**, whose singing of a hymn by **Nanak** was overheard by **Amar Das** and led him to become a **Sikh**. She was married to a nephew of **Amar Das** and resided in **Basarke**.

**AMAVAS.** The night of the new moon, the last night of the “dark” fortnight when the moon is waning (*badī*), followed by a “light” fortnight when the moon is waxing (*sudī*). The occasion, also called *Masia*, is an important festival for the **Panth**. *See also* PANCHAMI; PURAN-MASHI; SANGRAND.

**AMRIT.** “Deathless.” [The water of] eternal life; the nectar of immortality.

**AMRIT-DHARI.** A **Sikh** who has “taken **amrit** (nectar),” namely, been initiated into the **Khalsa**. This is done by the ceremony of **amrit sanskār**. There is no way of accurately estimating the proportion of **Sikhs** who are **Amrit-dhari**, though 15 percent is sometimes hes-

itantly mentioned. Strictly speaking, only the **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** constitute the Khalsa, though in practice **Kes-dhari Sikhs** are usually included also. *See also* IDENTITY.

**AMRIT SANSKAR.** The order for **Khalsa** initiation is detailed in **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**, the contemporary **rahit-nama**. It is also called **amrit chhaknā**. An open copy of the **Guru Granth Sahib** is required at the place of initiation together with six initiated **Sikhs**, each bearing the five **Khalsa** symbols (the **Five Ks**). One sits with the scripture, while the ceremony is conducted by the other five. Either men or women can officiate, though normally the participants are men. Those who administer initiation should be physically sound. Anyone who is old enough to understand the ceremony, who affirms belief in the Sikh faith, and who vows to live according to Khalsa principles can take initiation. *See also* AMRIT SANSKAR PROCEDURE; KHANDE DI PAHUL; NAMING CEREMONY.

**AMRIT SANSKAR PROCEDURE.** Candidates for **Khalsa** initiation, having bathed and washed their hair, present themselves for the rite wearing the **Five Ks**. After the initiates have confessed their faith and a **hukam** has been read, the five officiants take their places beside the large iron bowl that is used for the initiation. Fresh water is poured into it and soluble sweets added. Having done this, the officiants adopt the “heroic posture” (**bīr āsan**) in which the right knee is placed on the ground and the left knee is held upright. One of the officiants then recites five passages from scripture (**Japjī**, **Jāp**, the **Ten Savayyās**, a portion of **Benatī Chaupaī**, and six stanzas from the **Anand**), all the time stirring the water with a two-edged sword. This is done with the right hand, the left hand resting on the bowl. The other four keep both hands on the bowl, with their eyes fixed on the water. The recitation completed, all five stand up holding the bowl and one of them recites **Ardas**. The initiates then adopt the “heroic posture,” and each cups his or her hands with the right hand over the left. Five times the sanctified water (**amrit**) is poured into the cupped hands. As each portion is drunk the officiant who gives it cries, “**Vāhigurū jī kā Khālsā, Vāhigurū jī kī fateh,**” and after drinking it the recipient repeats the cry. The water is then sprinkled five times onto the initiate’s eyes and five times over the hair.

The remainder of the water is then drunk in turn by the initiates. Next the initiates are required to repeat the **Mūl Mantra** five times in unison, and the **Rahit** is expounded to them by one of the officiants. This requires them to wear the **Five Ks**, and they are commanded ever after to avoid the four **kurahits**. Certain people and practices are to be avoided, such as eating from the same dish as a **patit** or a person who has not received **Khalsa** initiation. **Ardas** is recited again, a **hukam** is taken, and if the initiate has not received a name from the **Guru Granth Sahib**, one should be conferred in the approved manner, each male adding **Singh** to his name and each female adding **Kaur** to hers. Finally **karah prasad** should be distributed, all taking it from the same iron dish.

**AMRIT SANSKAR (UNORTHODOX FORMS).** The orthodox form of **Khalsa** initiation is set out above. Certain groups or sects follow forms different in detail. For example the **Damdami Taksal** and the **Sikh Dharma** movement insist on reciting the whole of **Benatī Chaupaī** and **Anand** instead of the portions specified in **Sikh Rahit Marayada**. The **Damdami Taksal** also observes a different form of **bīr āsan**, laying the left knee on the ground with the right knee upright. A distinctive practice of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha** involves the laying of hands on the initiate's head in order to transfer the spiritual power of the divine **Name** (the **nām**). The form of the **Rahit** that they communicate requires total vegetarianism and amends the **Five Ks**, insisting on **keskī** instead of **kes**. The order followed by **Nihang Sikhs** is also different in detail.

**AMRITSAR.** Founded by **Guru Ram Das** on instructions from **Guru Amar Das** in the late 16th century. The settlement was first known as **Guru ka Chak** or as **Ramdaspur**. **Amritsar** ("the waters of eternal life") was the name of the pool dug by **Ram Das** that surrounds **Harimandir Sahib**. **Guru Arjan** completed both **Harimandir Sahib** and the town, making the latter his center. His successor, **Hargobind**, was forced to leave the plains, and for much of the following century **Amritsar** was in the hands of the **Minas**. In the 18th century it eventually recovered its preeminence as the **Sikhs** battled for its possession, first with the **Mughals** and then with **Afghans**; it was finally secured late in the century. Although **Ranjit Singh** used neigh-

boring **Lahore** as his capital, Amritsar was regarded as first among the religious centers of the **Sikhs**. It still retains that status, with central positions occupied by **Harimandir Sahib** (the **Golden Temple**) and **Akal Takhat**.

**AMRIT VELA.** The last watch of the night (the period between 3:00 and 6:00 A.M), which because of its stillness is particularly suitable for meditation. In a greatly loved passage from **Japjī** 4 (Adi Granth, p. 2) **Nanak** says, “In amrit velā meditate on the grandeur of the one true **Name**.” **Sikh Rahit Marayādā** states that **Sikhs** are expected to arise in the amrit velā and, after bathing, to meditate on the divine Name.

**ANAHAD SHABAD.** The mystical “sound” or “unstruck music” that is “heard” at the climax of **hatha yoga**. The term is also used by the **Gurus** to communicate the sense of the inexpressible condition of **sa-haj**. It appears that **shabad** passed into **Sant** practice from its usage in **Nath** sources and thence into its widespread **Sikh** currency. *See also* DASAM DUAR; KUNDALINI.

**ANAND GHAN.** An **Udasi** scholar of the late 18th and early 19th centuries who, living in Banaras, wrote commentaries on the **Adi Granth** strongly influenced by Brahmanical thought. **Santokh Singh** worked under him for a time.

**ANAND KARAJ.** The **Sikh** marriage ceremony. **Anand Karaj** was not performed until the middle of the 19th century, although it is certain that at least the **Anand Sāhib** portion was well established for a long time prior to that. The marriage ceremony was, however, essentially a Hindu one performed around a sacred fire. The **Nirankari** sect claims that it devised or recovered Anand Karaj earlier in the 19th century and that its example was copied by the **Singh Sabha** for the wider **Panth**. The introduction of Anand Karaj as the only approved order for Sikh marriage was a major concern of the Singh Sabha, an emphatic demonstration that Sikhs were not Hindus. Eventually the Anand Marriage Act, which laid down a specific order for Sikhs, was passed in 1909. According to this order, the couple being wed sit before the Guru Granth Sahib and are instructed by an officiant concerning the duties of marriage. The

hem of a scarf or other garment worn by the groom is then placed in the bride's hand, and she follows the groom around the sacred scripture in a clockwise direction four times (**lāvān**). Before they make each round a verse of **Guru Ram Das's** *Sūhī Chhant* 2 is sung by the scriptural reader or **ragis**, and the verse is repeated by the congregation while the couple make the round. Six stanzas of *Anand Sāhib* are then sung, and the ceremony concludes with **Ardas** and the distribution of **karah prasad**.

**ANANDPUR.** Anandpur (or Anandpur Sahib) is situated on the edge of the **Shivalik Hills**, near the Satluj River. **Guru Tegh Bahadur** moved his center from **Kiratpur** to neighboring Makhoval, and after rebuilding it renamed the new village Anandpur. There the **Khalsa** was inaugurated. Kesgarh Gurdwara, which commands the heights of Anandpur, is one of the five **takhats**.

**ANANDPUR SAHIB RESOLUTION.** A charter of demands that was proposed by the Akali Dal in 1973 and confirmed in 1978. This lodged both economic demands (notably fair distribution of canal waters from Punjab rivers) and also religious ones such as the relaying of **kirtan** by radio from the **Golden Temple** should be sanctioned. **Chandigarh** was to be the capital solely of the **Punjab** and Punjabi-speaking areas not incorporated in the state should be brought within it. The sale of tobacco and alcohol around the Golden Temple should be ended. There are actually three different versions of it and, as it was originally written in English, translation into Punjabi created further problems. The author of much or all of it is reputed to have been **Kapur Singh**. It acquired importance in the Sikhs' dispute with the Central government in the 1980s. One interpretation holds that it demands an independent state of **Khalistan**.

**ANAND SAHIB.** The "revered [song of] joy" (**Adi Granth**, pp. 917–22). A portion of **Guru Amar Das's** *Anand* commands a particular prominence in **Sikh** ritual and liturgy. The section comprising the first five stanzas and the last is sung or chanted as a part of the evening order of **Raharas**, before commencing a reading of the complete **Adi Granth** and again at the conclusion (both **sadhāran pāṭṛh** and **akhanṛḍṛ pāṭṛh**), prior to the distribution of **karah prasad**, at

the conclusion of orders of service for child naming and marriage, during the brief postcremation ritual, and as part of the **Khalsa** initiation ceremony.

**ANGAD, GURU (1504–1552).** Second **Guru**. Born as **Lahina**, probably in the village of **Harike** in central **Punjab**, he married **Khivi**, the daughter of a **Khatri** of **Khadur**, and had three children. **Lahina** was the religious teacher of **Khadur**, a follower of the goddess **Durga**. While leading a village group on pilgrimage to Jvalamukhi, he encountered **Guru Nanak** in **Kartarpur** and was converted to the **Sikh** way. Prior to Nanak's death in 1539 he was chosen to succeed him, preferred over both of Nanak's sons, and was renamed Angad (*aṅg* means "limb") to indicate his closeness to the first Guru. Angad appears in the **janam-sakhis**, always noted for his unquestioning obedience to his master, the first Guru. His few works recorded in the **Adi Granth** testify to his reputation for austerity and loyal obedience. All of his works are **shaloks**, there being no **shabads** among them. Before his death Angad chose **Amar Das** as his successor, also noted for his implicit obedience to the Guru's will.

**ANGLO-SIKH WARS.** See ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

**ANI RAI (b. 1619).** A son of **Guru Hargobind**.

**ANJUMAN-I-PANJAB.** Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Founded in 1865 by Leitner, principal of Government College in **Lahore**, the society began a free public library in Lahore and vigorously encouraged education in the **Punjab**. Among those influenced by it in the second half of the 19th century were **Khem Singh Bedi**, **Attar Singh of Bhadaur**, and **Gurmukh Singh**.

**ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.** War between the British and the **Punjab** broke out in 1845, six years after the death of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**. During these years the **Lahore** court was in increasingly serious disorder. The first Anglo-Sikh war (1845–1846) was fought because the British, fearing a disturbed Punjab on their border, reached a secret agreement with the authorities in Lahore. Because the army was beyond control, British assistance was needed to



restore order. After stiff resistance from the troops and treachery on the part of their commanders, the Punjabi army succumbed. The British annexed the **Jalandhar Doab**, **Gulab Singh** was permitted to purchase Jammu and Kashmir, and the Punjabi army was reduced in strength. A British force was stationed in Lahore and the child **Dalip Singh** remained on the throne. Dalhousie, the governor-general of India, then watched and encouraged the continuing crisis in the Punjab. An incident in **Multan** led to the second war (1848–1849). This too was vigorously fought (including the British defeat at **Chillianwala**), but finally the **Sikh** forces were overcome. The remainder of the Punjab was annexed to British India on March 29, 1849. *See also* GUJRAT; MUL RAJ.

**ANTIM SANSKAR.** *See* FUNERAL.

**ANUP KAUR.** A woman of **Lahore** (also called Rup Kaur) who unsuccessfully tried to seduce **Guru Gobind Singh**. The **Tria Charithra**, or tales of the wiles of women included in the **Dasam Granth**, are sometimes said to be the **Guru's** warning against such temptations.

**ARATI.** A Hindu ceremony of adoration that consists of waving round the head of an idol a platter containing five burning wicks. **Nanak** reinterpreted this in the hymn *Dhanāsarī* 3 (**Adi Granth**, pp. 13, 663), declaring that the whole universe was the scene for the proper performance of Arati. The hymn is part of **Kīrtan Sohilā** and is also sung at **Sikh funerals**.

**ARCHITECTURE.** A distinctively Sikh architecture, which evolved during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, is exemplified by **gurdwaras**. **Harimandir Sahib** (the **Golden Temple**) in **Amritsar** is the primary example, having been finally rebuilt in the time of **Ranjit Singh**. The **gurdwara** is late **Mughal**, an origin at once evident in its domed pavilion and in the **chattrī** (a structure resembling a minaret) at each of the four corners. It differs from a mosque, however, having doors on all four sides and no **miharab**. Normally the dominant color of a gurdwara exterior is white, but in the case of **Harimandir Sahib** the upper two stories were gilded by **Ranjit Singh**,

who was also responsible for much of the inlaid marble. Although most gurdwaras were built in the 20th century, they continued to replicate the basic elements of style present in Harimandir Sahib.

**ARDAS.** A formal prayer recited at the conclusion of most **Sikh** rituals. Although it is called the Sikh Prayer, the title is perhaps misleading as the content is strongly **Khalsa** rather than that of the wider **Panth**. When any ritual draws to its close, a portion of **Anand Sāhib** is read. Ardas is then recited by a leader, with the congregation joining in at set points. A hymn from the **Adi Granth** is read, and the service concludes with the distribution of **karah prasad**. Ardas is the Punjabi form of the Persian *'arz-dasht*, “a written petition.” Used in its ordinary sense, it meant a deferential request. In Sikh tradition it is commonly used to express the act of laying a petition before the **Guru**, and the Gurus themselves used it as a form of address to **Akal Purakh**. At some stage during the 18th century, however, *ardās* assumed a more specific meaning in Sikh usage. There developed the convention of prefacing requests for divine assistance with the invocation to **Chanḍḍī kī Vār** recorded in the **Dasam Granth**, an invocation that calls to mind the **grace** and virtues of the first nine Gurus. To this was added a similar reference to the tenth Guru, and the supplemented invocation came to be known as Ardas in a particular sense. *See also* ARDAS, CONTENTS.

**ARDAS, CONTENTS.** In the modern version of Ardas the invocation from **Chanḍḍī kī Vār** remains mandatory and, together with the two concluding lines of Ardas, it is the only portion that is unalterable. A lengthy sequel then follows this standard invocation. There exists a generally agreed text for this sequel, most of it comprising a review of the past trials and triumphs of the **Khalsa** uttered in clusters by the leader. Each cluster concludes with the congregation responding in unison with a fervent **Vāhigurū**. The text of this second section was largely composed early in the 20th century by scholars of the **Tat Khalsa** and is printed in **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**. Variant versions are used, however. A third section may follow in which personal or community intercessions are offered. These are usually brief and follow no set text. The prayer concludes with the mandatory two-line exhortation and the **Khalsa salutation**.

**ARJAN, GURU (1563–1606).** The **fifth Guru**, the youngest of the three sons of **Guru Ram Das**. In 1581 he succeeded his father as **Guru**, the two older brothers having been passed over. The decision of Guru Ram Das to select **Arjan** as his successor was not welcomed by his eldest son, **Prithi Chand**, who made at least one unsuccessful attempt to poison Arjan's only son **Hargobind**. Prithi Chand managed to secure recognition among a portion of the **Sikhs**, branded by the followers of Arjan as **Minas** or "scoundrels." According to tradition, Prithi Chand's followers were circulating spurious hymns and this convinced Arjan that a definitive scripture was needed. Whatever the reason, a volume (subsequently finalized as the **Adi Granth**) was prepared in 1603–1604, with Bhai **Gurdas** serving as the Guru's amanuensis. A substantial basis for the new scripture was provided by the **Goindval Pothis**, which had been compiled under instructions from the third Guru, **Amar Das**, and to this Arjan added the works of his father and his own extensive range of compositions. His wife was **Ganga** and Hargobind was their only child. When he died in 1606, Hargobind succeeded him as Guru.

**ARJAN'S DEATH.** During the period of Guru Arjan and his predecessors, the **Sikh Panth** steadily extended its popularity in the **Punjab**, notably among the rural population and in particular with those who were **Jat** by caste. It was still, however, an exclusively religious Panth, preaching liberation through remembrance of the divine **Name**. Arjan's death in 1606 marks the bridge between an exclusively religious Panth and one with political and military features. The **Mughal** rulers of the Punjab were evidently concerned with the growth of the Panth, and in 1605 the Emperor **Jahangir** made an entry in his memoirs, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, concerning Guru Arjan's support for his rebellious son Khusro. Too many people, he wrote, were being persuaded by his teachings, and if the Guru would not become a Muslim the Panth had to be extinguished. Mughal authorities seem plainly to have been responsible for Arjan's death in custody in **Lahore**, and this may be accepted as an established fact. Whether death was by execution, the result of torture, or drowning in the Ravi River remains unresolved. For Sikhs, Arjan is the first martyr **Guru**. Tradition adds that prior to his death he gave instructions to his son and successor, **Hargobind**, that after his death the Guru should bear

arms, the Panth should also be armed, and tyranny should be resisted. *See also* JAHANGIR; MUGHAL RELATIONS.

**ARMY, ARMED FORCES.** During the 17th and particularly the 18th centuries the **Khalsa** fought tenaciously for the **Punjab**, and such features as the sword and steel became symbols of power for them. **Ranjit Singh** created a strong army, showing a particular preference for **Sikh** troops, and in the 1840s the Khalsa army met the British in determined battles. This won British respect for the Khalsa, and they extensively recruited Sikhs for the Indian army. The British also insisted on Sikh troops retaining the Khalsa symbols. Following independence opportunities have opened up in the navy and air force, but the government of India has steadily cut back the number of Sikhs in the army, arguing that each region is entitled to a quota. Sikhs reply that quality is much more important for an army than regional quotas and that the Punjab is the region on the border with Pakistan (the potential or actual enemy). *See also* MARTIAL RACES; MILITANCY.

**ARORA.** A mercantile **caste** of western **Punjab** (now in Pakistan). Some are Sikhs but a majority are Hindu. Many Aroras originally came from the **Pothohar** area and many members of the caste are now prominent shopkeepers in **Amritsar** and other cities of the Punjab. During the **Singh Sabha** period they played a prominent part. **Vir Singh** was an Arora. Traditionally the Aroras, though a relatively high caste, were inferior to the **Khatris**, but the difference has now progressively narrowed. **Khatri**-Arora marriages are not unknown nowadays. *See also* BHAPA.

**ARRANGED MARRIAGES.** In India marriages are usually arranged by families, not by individuals, and most Sikhs still prefer the system whereby the spouse is chosen by the head of the family. An increasing number are following the Western style of individual choice, but this still involves only a small fraction of the total population. In some cases arrangements are handled entirely by elders. Usually, however, prospective partners are given an opportunity to meet and to approve the choice. Families arranging marriages are expected to select partners who are well suited to each other in terms of age, education, economic status, and general suitability. **Sikhs** almost always observe

**caste** rules when arranging marriages, choosing partners belonging to the same **zat** and of a different **got**. *See also* CASTE.

**ART.** Sikhs have been ambivalent toward art. On the one hand, it would be difficult to claim that any “great” art has emerged within the **Panth**. Amrita Sher-gil (1911–1941) was an artist of talent. Her mother was Hungarian, however, and most of her work was scarcely **Sikh**. Also there was Sobha Singh (1901–1986), whose dreamy art has exercised a considerable fascination for Sikhs. More recently Kirpal Singh has specialized in painting scenes from Sikh history in rather garish colors. Such artists have been few in number. On the other hand, the popularart of the Sikhs (expressed in such forms as embroidery and murals) is vigorous and rich. The ambivalence toward sophisticated art is encouraged by the suspicion of scholars, held by the **Singh Sabha**, concerning paintings of the **Gurus** (a suspicion probably derived from Muslim example). The earliest extant paintings by Sikhs (predictably of **Guru Nanak**) go back to a **janam-sakhi** of the mid 17th century. Janam-sakhi illustrations continue into the 20th century, the form changing with the introduction of printing in the late 19th century. In the 20th century bazaar posters assume primacy. **Nanak** and **Gobind Singh** are particularly popular subjects, Nanak dressed soberly and Gobind Singh in gorgeous apparel. Sikh martyrs are popular; the headless body of **Dip Singh** fighting with his head in his hand is prominently displayed, and the two children of Gobind Singh being bricked up alive are commonly portrayed.

**ARTI.** *See* ARATI.

**ARYA SAMAJ.** A Hindu reformist movement, founded in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswati, which secured a very strong following in the **Punjab**, particularly from **Khatris**. Initially it had many **Sikh** members, but Dayananda’s writings and an attack by several members on the **Gurus** in 1888 led to considerable Sikh opposition to the movement, which has continued ever since.

**ASA DI VAR.** The most cherished of all the **vārs** in the **Adi Granth**, appearing on pages 462–75. The 24 **paurīs** forming the structure are by **Guru Nanak** and likewise 44 of its 59 **shaloks**. The remaining 15

shaloks are by **Guru Angad**. *Āsā dī Vār* is regularly sung in **gurdwaras** early in the morning, daily in the case of large gurdwaras, and weekly or as occasion demands in the smaller ones. The peaceful quality of **Rāg Āsā** is well suited to the early morning hour.

**ASCETICISM.** This was not encouraged by the **Gurus**, their emphasis instead being on moderation in all things. All the Gurus who were old enough were married men, and the life of a **grahastī** was enjoined. In spite of this, a preference for celibacy has remained among many **Sikhs**, particularly for **sants**.

**ASHTAPADI.** In theory a **shabad** from the **Adi Granth** comprising eight verses. Almost always it adheres to this format and there are collections of ashtapadīs in the **Adi Granth** by the first, third, fourth, and fifth **Gurus**. **Sukhmani Sahib** is also termed an ashtapadī, but it is much longer than the standard format. *See also* ADI GRANTH STRUCTURE.

**ASTROLOGY.** Astrology, which is so influential across India, is also powerful in the **Punjab**, with extensive patronage bestowed on the **Brahmans** who practice it. The **Tat Khalsa**, as opposed to the **Sanatan Sikhs**, took a hostile view of it as superstition and banned it in **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**. It is impossible to estimate the effect of their ban on the **Panth**. *See also* DIVINATION.

**ATAL RAI (1619–1628).** The youngest of the five sons of **Guru Har-gobind**, Atal Rai died aged nine. According to tradition this was because his father rebuked him for raising a playmate from the dead. To atone for his mistake he entered a trance from which he did not awaken. *See also* BABA ATAL GURDWARA.

**ATMA (SKT. ATMAN).** “Breath,” spirit, soul; the individual soul or spirit of a person. The objective of each person must be to free his or her *ātmā* from individuality and merge it in the **Paramatma**, which is **God**. This is achieved by means of regular **nām simaran** and good works.

**ATONEMENT.** Atonement is a word that does not occur frequently in **Sikh** theology, but the need is nevertheless felt and the means of acquiring it provided. According to Sikh theology atonement is, in

general, attained through **nām simaraṅ** and the performance of worthy actions. It does, however, provide for particular lapses, both serious and minor. In the case of **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** four **tanakhahs** (serious infringements of the **Khalsa** code) are specified: cutting one's hair, eating **kuttha** meat, committing sexual intercourse with any person other than one's spouse, and using **tobacco**. Less serious **tanakhahs** are also listed in **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**, the concluding one specifying in general terms, "Neglecting to fulfill any part of the **Rahit**." Penances may be reading passages from scripture a specified number of times, sweeping the floor of a **gurdwara**, or cleaning the shoes of worshipers attending the **gurdwara**.

**ATTAR SINGH OF BHADAUR (1833–1896)**. Related to the **Phulkian** princes, he controlled a large estate near Barnala under the suzerainty of **Patiala**. He chose, however, to be member of the **Lahore Singh Sabha**. A learned person, he possessed an extensive library and excelled in historical research. He was involved in the founding of **Khalsa College** and educational issues generally.

**ATTAR SINGH MASTUANA (1866–1927)**. A famous **sant** of **Malwa**, renowned for his austerities, preaching, and **kirtan**. He was educated by the **Nirmalas** and adopted celibacy. Traveling around the **Punjab**, he was received with the reverence accorded to great saints. To receive **pāhul** at his hands was considered a high honor. **Tara Singh** and **Jodh Singh** were among those who took initiation from his **Panj Piores**. Attar Singh was for a time a patron of the **Bhasaur Singh Sabha** but abandoned it when Babu **Teja Singh** adopted views that were considered too extreme. He remained a supporter of the **Tat Khalsa** movement.

**AURANGZEB (r. 1658– 1707)**. The **Mughal** emperor who was responsible for the execution of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** and for a generally hostile attitude to **Guru Gobind Singh** (who is said to have addressed the letter **Zafarnāmā** to him).

**AUSTERITY**. In contrast to many branches of the Hindu tradition, rigorous austerity is forbidden by Sikhism. A moderate lifestyle that falls between asceticism and gross materialism is commended, and

the way of the **grihastī** is upheld as ideal. *See also* NAM JAPO, KIRAT KARO, VAND CHAKO.

**AUSTRALIAN SIKHS.** **Sikhs** have been settled in Australia since 1860. They were initially employed as camel drivers in the deserts of Central Australia. During the 1860s word percolated through to Sikh soldiers in Singapore and Hong Kong of a new island called Telia (Australia). On discharge some of them traveled south and worked cutting sugar cane, centered on Cairns. They are now heavily concentrated in and around the small town of Woolgoolga in northern New South Wales. They make up only 0.06 percent of the present Australian population. *See also* MIGRATION.

**AVATAR.** A “descent.” The incarnation of a deity (usually Vishnu). The term is also used for the birth of **Nanak**.

**AVTAR SINGH VAHIRIA (b. 1848).** The principal apologist for the **Sanatan** group in the controversy with the **Tat Khalsa** for control of the **Singh Sabha**. A follower of **Khem Singh Bedi**, he wrote a rejoinder to **Kahn Singh Nabha’s Ham Hindū Nahīn** (We Are Not Hindus). His principal work, *Khālsā Dharam Shāstra*, was first issued in 1894 and then in an expanded edition in 1914. In 1898 he formed the Chalda Vahir, an itinerant band of earnest preachers whose task was to visit towns and villages exhorting **Sikhs** to uphold the true customs and rituals. They should never, he maintained, be misled by these new and erroneous notions that were being spread in the **Panth** by mischievous adherents of the emergent **Tat Khalsa**. Vahiria was an intelligent Sikh, but because he belonged to the wrong side little attention has been paid to him.

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**B40 JANAM-SAKHI.** An unusually clear **janam-sakhi** in terms of period, place, and sources. It is dated S.1790 (1733 C.E.) and was evidently recorded near **Nanak’s** village of **Kartarpur**. The sources include those used by the **Purātan** tradition, the **Ādi Sākhīs**, small amounts from the **Miharbān** and **Bālā** traditions, and some from



oral tradition. The janam-sakhi is called after its accession number in the India Office Library.

**BABA.** “Old man.” A title of great respect applied to men (or even boys) of wisdom and piety. The **janam-sakhis** normally use this title for **Nanak** in preference to **Guru**.

**BABA ATAL GURDWARA.** A nine-story gurdwara built close to the **Golden Temple in Amritsar** to commemorate the death at the age of nine of **Atal Rai** in 1629. Atal Rai was the son of **Guru Hargobind** and his wife **Mahadevi**. The traditional cause of his death arose from the psychic powers of the child. He had restored to life one of his friends who had just died and his father was angry with him for performing this miracle. Atal Rai took this rebuke to heart and immediately gave up his own life. The foundation of the gurdwara was laid in 1770 and it was completed in 1835. Surmounted by a gilded dome, the octagonal structure is 45 meters high and remains the tallest in Amritsar. The metal covering of the doors are engraved with scenes of **Sikh** history. On the walls of the first floor are series of frescos, the most conspicuous being scenes with text from the **janam-sakhis** painted in the last decade of the 19th century. Unfortunately these frescoes have recently been “restored” in a way that deprived them of their original form.

**BABA BAKALE.** Tradition relates that the child **Guru Har Krishan**, before he died, uttered the words “Baba Bakale” (“The Baba [who is in] Bakala [will be the next **Guru**]”). Claimants hastened to Bakala, a village in Amritsar District, thereby posing a problem as to who was the designated one. A merchant called **Makhan Shah Lubana**, whose life was endangered during a storm at sea, promised to donate 500 gold mohurs to the Guru if he was saved. To fulfill his vow he traveled up to the **Punjab** and in Bakala was confronted by several claimants. (The number varies.) To test them he presented each with five mohurs. (This also varies.) When he laid the mohurs before **Tegh Bahadur**, he was asked where the remainder were. At once he rushed up to the rooftop to proclaim that he had found the true Guru.

**BABAR-VANI.** “Utterances concerning **Babur**.” Four hymns composed by **Nanak** probably following the **Guru**’s witnessing of Babur’s attack and sacking of the town of **Saidpur**. In them he writes

about the devastation caused by Babur's army and condemns the **Lodi** rulers for failing to protect the people of Hindustan against the ravages of Babur's army. Babur represented divine judgment on the Lodis, coming on them as the Angel of Death. The four hymns are *Āsā* 39, *Āsā ashtapadī* 11, *Āsā ashtapadī* 12, and *Tilāṅg* 5 (**Adi Granth**, pp. 360, 417, 417–18, 722–23).

**BABBARAKALI.** “Lion Akali.” A revolutionary group that embraced violence in the fight for control of the **gurdwaras** in the early 1920s. The group was suppressed by the British. *See also* GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT.

**BABBAR KHALSA.** An extremist offshoot of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**. It claimed responsibility for killing many **Sant Nirankaris** in the 1980s. *See also* HISTORY, RECENT.

**BABUR (1483–1530).** The first **Mughal** emperor of India, who won a portion of north India by defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at the battle of Panipat in 1526. **Babur** had first ruled in Farghana but was forced out of there and then harried in Kabul by the invading Uzbeks. This turned his attention to north India. Although the anecdotes of the meetings between **Nanak** and Babur recorded by the **janam-sakhis** are not believable, the naming of **Saidpur** as a town attacked by Babur is certainly credible. At some point Nanak evidently witnessed Babur's invasion of India. The four hymns known collectively as the **Bābar-vāṇī** point to this. *See also* MUGHAL RELATIONS.

**BABUR-VANI.** *See* BABAR-VANI.

**BACHITAR NATAK.** The term is sometimes used for the entire **Dasam Granth** but is normally confined to a poetic composition in it attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**. The form of the poem is autobiographical, describing the **Guru**'s prebirth meditation and the early battles in his career. It concludes before the founding of the **Khalsa** at the end of the 17th century.

**BAGARIAN.** A distinguished lineage of **Bhais** dating back to the time of **Hargobind**. By caste they were **Tarkhans**. Their ancestral village is in Sangrur District, where the lineage still flourishes today.

**BAHADUR SHAH.** The successor of **Aurangzeb** and the seventh of the **Mughal** emperors. Bahadur Shah evidently regarded **Guru Gobind Singh** as an ally in the inevitable struggle with his brothers. It was in his support that the Guru proceeded to the south, only to be assassinated at **Nander** on the banks of the Godavari River.

**BAHAUDDIN.** Shaikh Baha' al-Din Zakariyya, **Pir** of **Multan**, widely acclaimed in the **Sufi** hagiography of the **Punjab**. Although he died in 1266, he appears in several meetings with **Guru Nanak** in the **janam-sakhis**, where he is known as Makhdum Bahauddin.

**BAIKUNTH.** The heaven of Vishnu; paradise. In strict terms **Sikhs** do not believe in another place, baikunth being the state of bliss that the worshiper enjoys through the practice of **nām simaran**. In practice, however, Sikhs commonly regard death as the soul's passage to its "heavenly abode." *See also* SVARAG.

**BAISAKHI.** The New Year festival held on the first day of the month of Baisakh (March-April). Technically the new year begins a month earlier, but Sikhs regard Baisakhi as the appropriate date. It marks the ending of the previous agricultural cycle and the beginning of a new one. **Guru Amar Das** took over the existing Baisakhi festival and made it a day for visiting the **Guru**. The **Panth** believes that **Guru Gobind Singh** chose this day for the inauguration of the **Khalsa** in 1699, when large numbers would be visiting **Anandpur Sahib**. The festival is marked by visits to **gurdwaras**, where the **nishan** is replaced, and by singing and dancing of the **bhangra** and the **giddha**. Baisakhi is also the occasion for many **Sikhs** to be initiated into the **Khalsa**. *See also* KHALSA INAUGURATION.

**BAKALA.** *See* BABA BAKALE.

**BAKSHISH.** "Grant." Traditionally one of six foundations from which certain **Udasi** orders trace their origin. Other **Udasi** orders trace their origins to one of the four **dhuans**. *See also* AKHARA.

**BALA.** **Bhai Bala**, or Bala Sandhu, is named by the **janam-sakhis** of the **Bālā** tradition as one of the two companions of **Nanak** in his

early life and travels. There is no doubt that **Mardana** was a companion of the **Guru**. The existence of Bala is, however, doubtful, and if he did exist he occupied a very minor place in Nanak's life. Popular portraits of Nanak frequently depict him flanked by **Mardana** the minstrel and by **Bhai Bala** fanning him with a peacock feather.

**BALA JANAM-SAKHI TRADITION.** The most popular of the **janam-sakhi** traditions among ordinary Sikhs. For more than two centuries the **janam-sakhis** of the **Bālā** tradition have appealed to the popular imagination because of the extent to which they feature the grossly miraculous and the bizarre. They have enjoyed this reputation in spite of the fact that the tradition probably had its origins among a schismatic group, the **Handalis**. The tradition takes its name from **Bhai Bala**, who figures very prominently in most of the anecdotes. There are two recensions of the tradition, one including the death of **Nanak** and the other ending before it.

**BALA SAHIB GURDWARA.** The **gurdwara** near the Nizamuddin railway station in Delhi that marks the cremation of **Guru Har Krishan**. Two of **Guru Gobind Singh's** wives were also cremated there: **Sahib Devi** and **Sundari**.

**BAL GUNDAN.** "Plaiting the hair," a ceremony that may be performed when a child is five. In the presence of the **Guru Granth Sahib** the hair is tied either in plaits or in a topknot.

**BALAK SINGH (1799–1862).** Founder of the **Namdhari** sect. He lived in Hazro in the northwestern corner of **Ranjit Singh's** domain and was influenced by another teacher, **Jawahar Mal**. Like his master, **Balak Singh** exhorted his followers to return to the simple religious message of the **Gurus**. In accordance with this message he taught a strict doctrine of **nām simaran**. The impact of **Balak Singh's** personality on the sect was considerable and by the time of his death he was recognized by his followers as the eleventh **Guru** after the tenth one, **Guru Gobind Singh**. He was succeeded when he died by **Ram Singh**, recognized as the 12th **Guru** and as the reincarnation of **Gobind Singh**. Following his death and the move down to **Bhaini**

**Sahib**, the ranks of the **Namdharis** swelled considerably, drawing mainly from **Tarkhans** and poorer **Jats**.

**BALDEV SINGH (1902–1961)**. A **Jat** and an **Akali** politician prominent in the negotiations for India's independence. After independence he joined Nehru's central government and remained there until 1952.

**BALVAND AND SATTÀ**. Rai Balvand and Satta the Dum were two rabab players who, according to tradition, sang **kirtan** for **Guru Angad**. After some years they became increasingly insubordinate and left the **Guru's** service. When they lost popularity, they were humbled. To signal their contrition they wrote the first five stanzas of **Ṭikke dī Vār**, composing the remaining three stanzas in the time of **Guru Arjan**.

**BANA**. The dress of the **Khalsa**, at least for males. It comprises tight-fitting trousers and a long shirt worn outside the trousers. The **Five Ks** must be worn, with the **kirpan** on a baldric across the right shoulder.

**BANDA (1670–1716)**. The early history of **Banda Bahadur**, or **Banda the Brave**, is known only by tradition. Probably born in Poonch, on the northern fringe of the **Punjab**, he was called Lachhman Dev but became a Vaishnava ascetic under the name of Madho Das. He was dwelling in the Deccan when **Gobind Singh** came south, and meeting the **Guru** shortly before the latter's death in 1708 he was instantly converted to the **Sikh** faith. Renamed Banda (Slave), he was commissioned to return to the Punjab and to wreak vengeance on **Vazir Khan**, who had executed the **Guru's** two sons. Banda journeyed up to the Punjab and gathered an army of peasants. From this point on his history can be established, at least in general outline, though numerous questions remain unanswered. The towns of Samana and Sadhaura were sacked, and in 1710 he confronted Vazir Khan near Sirhind. Fighting with great determination, he defeated and killed Vazir Khan. For five years Banda's fortunes ebbed and flowed as he led peasant armies fighting against the embattled **Mughal** rulers of the Punjab. Finally he was trapped in the village of Gurdas Nangal in Gurdaspur District by **Abdus Samad Khan**

and was captured after a lengthy siege. Escorted to Delhi in chains, he was barbarously executed in June 1716.

**BANDAI SIKHS.** During the years of warfare in the early 18th century, a dispute within the **Panth** opened up between the followers of **Banda** (the Bandai Sikhs) and those who identified with one of **Gobind Singh's** widows, **Mata Sundari** (the **Tat Khalsa**). This concerned Banda's decision to abandon the blue clothing of the **Khalsa** for red, his insistence that his followers be vegetarians, and the introduction of a new Khalsa slogan (Fateh darshan). The dispute, which probably indicates factionalism within the Khalsa, has tarnished Banda's reputation to a limited extent.

**BANGLA SAHIB.** A handsome **gurdwara** in central New Delhi marking the spot of Raja Jai Singh's bungalow. **Guru Har Krishan** stayed here for some months and contracted smallpox prior to his death in 1661. The gurdwara is large and wealthy with a golden dome and attracts numerous worshipers. Attached to it is a secondary school for girls and a clinic.

**BANI.** "Sound," "speech." In **Sikh** usage *bānī* designates the utterances (believed to be inspired) of the **Gurus** and **bhagats** recorded in the **Adi Granth** or **Dasam Granth**. *See also* GURBANI.

**BANNO.** A **Sikh** of **Guru Arjan** who lived in the village of Mangat in Gujrat District. Unreliable tradition relates that he secured permission to take Arjan's newly dictated scripture back to his village on loan. The reluctant Guru granted permission, provided he promised to keep it there for one night only. This condition Banno circumvented by traveling very slowly to and from Mangat, copying the entire scripture on the way. This is one tradition of the purported origin of the **Banno Bir**. The other is that the new scripture was sent with Banno to **Lahore** for binding and that he made his copy while on this mission. *See also* ADI GRANTH BANNO RECENSION.

**BANNO BIR.** "Banno volume." the **Banno recension** of the **Adi Granth**, which disagrees with the **Kartarpur recension**. A manuscript is held in Kanpur that purports to be the original Banno version.

This claim is unproven. *See also* ADI GRANTH BANNO RECENSION.

**BAOLI SAHIB.** The **gurdwara** erected over the paved well (bāoli) in **Goindval** marking one of the most sacred sites for the **Sikh** faith. Descending to the well are 84 steps, with an inscription that it was constructed by **Guru Amar Das**. The significance of the well lies in its relation to the teachings of **Guru Nanak** on the one hand and to other such sacred watering-places (**tīraths**) on the other. According to tradition the well was established by **Amar Das**, his intention being that this well should be the Sikhs' tīrath, or center of pilgrimage. Certainly the 84 steps (corresponding to the traditional 84 **lakhs** of existence in the total transmigratory cycle) suggest that the purpose of the well was more than the mere provision of drinking water. Guru Nanak's teaching, however, appears to conflict with this tradition. Nanak, with the characteristic **Sant** emphasis on interiority, had plainly declared that there was only one tīrath, only one pilgrimage center for the true devotee, and that was within his own heart. All others were useless. Here, however, we find his second successor apparently inaugurating the very thing he had spurned. Obviously the establishment of this new pilgrimage center was the response of a **Guru** who was facing problems of definition and organization. Such problems would have been slight in the early days with devotees joining the **Panth** directly, but now the Panth was growing. A second generation of **Sikhs** was growing up and the bond of immediate personal commitment, for family or geographical reasons, was weakening. Bonds other than those based on direct religious belief were becoming necessary, and the third Guru found the solution in recourse to traditional Indian institutions. He provided not only this new pilgrimage center but also distinctive festival days, distinctive rituals, and a collection of sacred writings (the **Goindval Pothis**). Guru Nanak had rejected all these. Guru Amar Das, in different and more difficult circumstances, was compelled to return to them. This does not imply disloyalty. There was no rejection of Guru Nanak's stress on interior devotion, as the works of Guru Amar Das make clear. Moreover, the innovations he introduced were not really innovations at all. He did little more than reintroduce traditional Punjabi

customs, together with a strong element of the Sikh faith. The pilgrimage center was in Goindval. It was not at Hardwar, nor at Kurukshetra, nor at any of the other places that his Sikhs might have visited. *See also* SANT TRADITION; TRANSMIGRATION.

**BAPTISM.** *See* AMRIT SANSKAR.

**BARAH-MAHA.** “Twelve months,” a poetic form in which the author reflects feelings through the changing aspects of nature as portrayed in the twelve-month cycle. **Nanak** and **Arjan** each composed a barah-maha (**Adi Granth**, pp. 1107–10, 133–36).

**BASANT.** The spring festival held on the fifth day of the light half of the month of Magh (January-February), observed by Hindus and Sikhs. Everyone should wear a yellow garment.

**BASARKE.** **Guru Amar Das**’s native village, situated near **Amritsar**.

**BAVAN AKHARI.** “Fifty-two letters.” A poem based on the alphabet, each verse beginning with a letter in sequence. The form is named after the Deva-nagri alphabet of Sanskrit, which has 33 consonants, 16 vowels, and three conjuncts. There are two bāvan akharīs in the **Adi Granth**. **Guru Arjan**’s has an introductory **paurī** and **shalok** followed by 55 paurīs and shaloks (AG, pp. 250–62). **Kabir**’s has 45 paurīs (AG, pp. 340–43).

**BEAS SATSANG.** *See* RADHASOAMI.

**BEDI.** The **Khatri** subcaste to which **Guru Nanak** belonged. Comparatively few **Bedis** became **Sikhs**, but those who did enjoyed considerable prestige as **Guru-vans**. One distinguished lineage was that of the **Bedis of Una** descended from **Sahib Singh Bedi**. Another was the lineage centered on **Rawalpindi**, which included **Khem Singh Bedi**.

**BENATI CHAUPAI.** “Invocation in the chaupai meter.” The epilogue to the **Pakhyān Charitra** from the **Dasam Granth**, part of **Sodar Raharās**.



**BENI.** A **bhagat**, unknown apart from his three compositions in the **Adi Granth**.

**BHAGAT.** A bhakta; an exponent of **bhagti**. In **Sikh** usage a bhagat is one of the **Sant** poets, such as **Kabir** or **Namdev**, whose works appear in the **Adi Granth**. The Hindi versions are “bhakta” and “bhakti,” the latter being the general term applied to the whole devotional movement in India (the Bhakti movement).

**BHAGAT BANI.** “The utterances of the bhagats,” **shabads** or **shaloks** by **bhagats** that are included in the **Adi Granth**.

**BHAGAT-RATANAVALI.** A work unreliably attributed to **Mani Singh** on the **bhagats** listed in **Vār 11** of **Bhai Gurdas**. The work is also called *Sikhān dī Bhagat-māl(ā)*. See also **GYAN-RATANAVALI**.

**BHAGAT SINGH (1907–1931).** A young revolutionary, active against British rule during the late 1920s. He was captured in 1929 and executed in 1931. Although he came from a **Sikh** family, he held atheist beliefs. Attempts to reclaim him are sometimes made by members of the contemporary **Khalsa**.

**BHAGAUTI.** The goddess **Durga** (or **Devi**) who appears in three works in the **Dasam Granth**. Her appearance created a problem for **Tat Khalsa** scholars, who strongly affirmed monotheism. The question was settled by concluding that Bhagauti symbolizes **God** as the Divine Sword. As such she (or it) is addressed in the invocation to **Ardas**. See also **CHANDI KI VAR**; **DEVI WORSHIP**.

**BHAGO.** Mai Bhago, a **Sikh** woman who by tradition was initiated Bhag Kaur when the **Khalsa** was first established. She fought for **Guru Gobind Singh** in the battle of **Muktsar** and remained with him thereafter.

**BHAGTI (BHAkti).** Adoration of a personal God.

**BHAI.** “Brother,” a title of reverence traditionally conferred on male Sikhs of acknowledged piety and learning. Among those who have

received the title are **Gurdas**, **Nand Lal**, and **Mani Singh**. The title continues to be used today with its strong sense of respect still intact, two 20th century examples being **Vir Singh** and **Jodh Singh**. A second usage emerged in the 19th century, when *bhai* came to be applied to teachers in **Gurmukhi** schools. A third usage developed in modern times whereby **ragis** are also known by the same title. When applied to *ragis* it loses much of its traditional veneration and may even be used in a pejorative sense. The term is also popularly used as an affectionate title for a man to show him friendship.

**BHAI BALA.** *See* BALA.

**BHAINI.** The village in Ludhiana District where **Ram Singh**, second **Guru** of the **Namdharis**, was born. When Ram Singh moved down from the northwest where he had been a soldier in the army of the Punjabi state, Bhaini became the center for the **Namdharis**.

**BHAI RANDHIR SINGH DA JATHA.** *See* AKHAND KIRTANI JATHA.

**BHALLA.** The **Khatri** subcaste to which **Guru Amar Das** and **Bhai Gurdas** belonged.

**BHANGANI.** In 1688 **Guru Gobind Singh** won the battle of Bhangani, the most important of those he fought against his neighbors in the **Shivalik Hills** until the 1704 attack on **Anandpur**. In this battle, which is vividly described in **Bachitar Nāṭak**, he defeated Fateh Shah of Garhwal.

**BHANGI MISL.** A large **misl** centered on a village in the **Amritsar** district. It was founded early in the 18th century by Hari Singh and acquired its name because of his fondness for *bhāng* (cannabis). It grew in size and strength, dividing into several groups under individual **sardars** and forming a confederacy. For a time it controlled territory extending from Attock to **Multan**, briefly emerging as the paramount power of west **Punjab**. A succession of deaths in the late 1760s, however, deprived the federation of effective leadership. In the 1790s the **Bhangis** opposed the rising power of the **Shukerchakia misl** under

**Ranjit Singh** but collapsed following the confrontation at Bhasin in 1799 and soon after disappeared.

**BHANGRA.** A lively Punjabi folk dance performed by men or boys dressed in colorful garb. Dancers form a circle around a drummer. As they dance vigorously around him, he determines the beat with his **dholak** drum. The dance is very physical and is accompanied by suitable shouts from the participants. The bhangra season in the **Punjab** villages extends from the sowing of wheat to its conclusion at the **Baisakhi** festival. In recent years the bhangra beat has become particularly popular with **Sikhs** of the **diaspora** (particularly in England) and is blended with other musical styles.

**BHANI (1535–1598).** The younger daughter of **Guru Amar Das**, wife of **Guru Ram Das**, and mother of **Guru Arjan**. Bibi Bhani is renowned for her pious service, particularly toward her father, Amar Das. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**BHAPA.** “Brother” in the **Pothohari** dialect spoken around **Rawalpindi**, used of the **Sikhs** from that area by the Sikhs of central **Punjab** (**Manjha**, **Doaba**, and **Malwa**). By **caste**, the Sikhs of the Rawalpindi area are predominantly **Khatris** and **Aroras**, and the term is typically used dismissively by **Jats** to express opprobrium toward Sikhs of these castes. Until recently it was never used in polite company or in print, but today the word is used quite openly.

**BHASAUR SINGH SABHA.** The branch of the **Singh Sabha** founded by **Teja Singh Bhasaur** of the village of Bhasaur in the princely state of **Patiala**. The actual foundation was in 1893. In 1907 it became the **Panch Khalsa Divan** (also known as the **Khalsa** Parliament), thus marking its divergence from the **Chief Khalsa Divan**. Teja Singh Bhasaur was not its founding president, but he was the spirit behind it. For him, the **Sanatan Sikhs** were far too timid, and the **Tat Khalsa** was not much better. His ideal was strictly fundamentalist and offered an awkward challenge to the dominant views of the **Singh Sabha** and the Chief Khalsa Divan. **Brahmanical** concepts that he detected in Sikhism were one of his targets, as was **caste**. Both conversion of non-Sikhs and reconversion of lapsed **Sikhs** were vig-

rously advocated, ideals that were prominently displayed at a famous gathering at the village of Bakapur in 1903. In the Bhasaur Singh Sabha beards flowed free, women were required to wear **turbans**, **Sahaj-dharis** were cast out, **Ardas** was changed, and the **Rag-mala** was dropped from the **Adi Granth**. Eventually the actions of the Bhasaur Singh Sabha became too radical for more orthodox Sikhs to accept, and in 1928 Teja Singh Bhasaur was banished from the **Panth** by **Akal Takhat**. The Panch Khalsa Divan then faded from view, losing the allegiance of some prominent Sikhs who had hitherto supported them. *See also* KHALSA RAHIT PRAKASH.

**BHATRA.** A tiny caste of peddlers and astrologers, mainly from Sialkot and Hoshiarpur Districts. Some of the Bhatras were **Sikhs**, and the first identifiable Sikhs among the immigrants to England were from this **caste**. They went there in the early 1920s and earned a living peddling clothes and foodstuffs from door to door. The term “Bhatra” is regarded by many members of the community as demeaning. They prefer Bhat. *See also* UNITED KINGDOM SIKHS.

**BHATT.** The Bhattas were a subcaste of **Brahmans** from **Malwa**, who by profession were bards. The allegiance of some of them to the **Sikh Gurus** evidently began when one of an extended family became a follower of **Amar Das**. In the time of **Guru Arjan** many of them composed panegyrics in praise of the various **Gurus**, and 123 of their compositions have been recorded in the **Adi Granth**. Several of them also wrote **Bhatt Vahis**. Like practically all Brahman Sikhs, the various members of the subcaste did not accept initiation into the **Khalsa**. Those who remained Sikhs adopted the style of **Sahaj-dharis**.

**BHATT VAHI.** A genealogy (account book) of a **Bhatt**. Because the Bhattas were bards by profession, several of them recorded genealogies of the **Gurus** and supplemented them with extensive chroniclers’ details. These they wrote in a script called Bhatkshri, which was a family code such as Lande and Mahajani. Their works were transcribed into **Gurmuki** by Giani Garja Singh and are now held by **Punjabi University** in **Patiala**. The information they supply (particularly concerning the last two Gurus) can be useful if treated cautiously. *See also* GURU KIAN SAKHIAN.

**BHIKHAN.** Two works by Bhikhan appear in the **Adi Granth**. Traditionally he is regarded as a **Sufi** from Kakori near Lucknow who died in 1574. It is possible, however, that he was a Hindu **sant** of the same name.

**BHINDRANVALE.** *See* JARNAIL SINGH BHINDRANVALE.

**BHOG.** Literally “pleasure”; sexual intercourse; consummation. In Sikh usage the term also designates the ceremonial concluding of a complete reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. The procedure is as follows. If guests are to be present they are invited to assemble immediately before the projected time of completion. The reading concludes with either the **Rag-mala** or (for those who dispute its authenticity) **Guru Arjan’s Mundāvāṇī** and attached **shalok**, the work that immediately precedes it on the last page of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. The six appointed stanzas of **Anand Sāhib** are then read; **Ardas** is recited; a **hukam** is taken; and **karah prasad** is distributed to all who are present. After it is over a mantle, whisk, or canopy for the **Guru Granth Sahib** is commonly donated, and **langar** may be served. *See also* AKHAND PATH.

**BHOG MARK.** The practice of inscribing an auspicious symbol (such as a swastika) on a blank folio of a manuscript of the **Adi Granth** following the completion of an **Akhand Path**.

**BIDHI CHAND.** He succeeded in recapturing two horses, Dilbagh and Gulbagh, which were being brought from Kabul for **Guru Hargobind** and had been seized by **Mughal** officials of **Lahore**. This led to one of the skirmishes between Hargobind and Mughal forces.

**BIKRAMA SINGH (1835–1887).** A younger brother of the Raja of **Kapurthala** and an important patron of the **Singh Sabha**. A supporter of the **Sanatan** view, he was a scholar of Sikh scriptures and a master of classical music.

**BIKRAMI.** *See* SAMMAT DATING.

**BIKRAM SINGH (1842–1898).** Raja of Faridkot and the leading patron of the **Singh Sabha**. A supporter of the **Sanatan** view, he also

avored modern education and persuaded the Singh Sabha to encourage it. In 1898 he played an important role in the controversy over the electrification of **Harimandir Sahib**, leading to the success of the campaign. *See also* FARIDKOT TIKA.

**BIR.** Volume, tome, recension.

**BIRADARI.** “Brotherhood.” A patrilineal descent group that traces its origins to a common ancestor. Most biradaris are limited to four or five generations and are confined to a compact area.

**BIR SINGH, BHAI (1768–1844).** A prominent **sant** during the period immediately following the death of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**. Bir Singh commanded a large following during events leading to the collapse of the **Punjab** kingdom. He was killed in an attack on his center by **Hira Singh Dogra**.

**BIRTH CEREMONY.** Water is poured into a steel or iron cup, sweets or honey added and stirred with a **kirpan** while the first five stanzas of **Japji** Sāhib are recited. A few drops are then given to the child to drink, the remainder being drunk by the mother. A prayer of thanksgiving is also offered. This ceremony is voluntary.

**BLASPHEMY.** This term, hitherto limited to Jewish, Christian, and Muslim usage, has recently begun appearing in Sikh publications. Literally meaning “to damage a reputation,” it originally referred to speech, thought, or action that manifested contempt for **God** or denied his or her existence. In **Sikh** circles the term is loosely used for anything that contradicts the conventional teachings of the **Panth**.

**BOTA SINGH (d. 1739).** A **Sikh** martyr. Tradition records that he went into hiding during attempts to exterminate the Sikhs but was shamed by a comment that the **Khalsa** never hid. With a companion Garja Singh he proclaimed his Khalsa allegiance and openly began collecting a toll on the highway near **Tarn Taran**. When this failed to attract notice he dispatched a defiant letter to **Zakariya Khan** in **Lahore**. A large force was sent to capture them and, after resisting stoutly, both were killed.

**BRAHAM-GIANI.** One who knows Braham (**God**); a model of piety and good works.

**BRAHMAN.** According to the varna hierarchy, the Brahman caste is at the apex. Sikhs, however, tend to regard Brahmans as pretentious (particularly in rural areas) and place them distinctly lower on the **caste** scale. This is partly due to the strictures that the **Gurus** laid on Brahman pride and partly to the ordering of Punjabi rural society, which normally confers dominance on the **Jat** caste. Very few Brahmans have become **Sikhs**, notable exceptions being **Chhibbar** Brahmans. **Chaupa Singh** was a Chhibbar Brahman.

**BRAJ.** The vernacular spoken around Mathura and Brindaban, associated with the Krishna stories. Braj differs from **Punjabi**, though they have a certain amount in common. The greater part of the **Dasam Granth** is in Braj, recorded in the **Gurmukhi** script.

**BRAVERY.** For the Khalsa, unyielding bravery merits the highest praise. Such quotations as the following passage from the **Dasam Granth** are held up for emulation: “Strengthen me, O Lord, that I shrink not from righteous deeds, That freed from the fear of my enemies I may fight with faith and win. The wisdom which I crave is the grace to sing your praises. Grant that when life’s span shall end I may meet my death in battle.”

**BRITISH OFFICIAL SOURCES.** During its period of rule in India the British administration regularly released valuable publications of continuing usefulness. They include for the **Punjab**: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (including an atlas of India), settlement reports for individual districts, gazetteers of individual districts, decennial censuses, effectively beginning with the 1881 census, and *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, compiled by H. A. Rose (1919).

**BROWNE, JAMES.** *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs* by James Browne, a servant of the East India Company, was published in 1788. This was a translation for Warren Hastings of *Risālā-i-Nānak Shāh* by his clerk Budh Singh Arora and contains many errors.

**BUDDHA, BHAI (trad. 1506–1631).** A **Jat** from Kathu Nangal, who was originally called Bura Randhava. While he was still a child **Guru Nanak** renamed him Buddha (old man or wise man) because of his youthful wisdom and piety. Bhai Buddha served as a faithful disciple of six of the **Gurus**, dying at the reputed age of 125. Traditionally he participated in the installation of all the Gurus after **Nanak**. **Har-gobind**, **Arjan**'s only child, is believed to have been conceived after Bhai Buddha blessed Arjan's wife, **Mata Ganga**.

**BUDDHA DAL.** *See* TARUNA DAL.

**BUNGA.** As the **Sikhs** gained control of **Harimandir Sahib** during the late 18th century, defensive buildings (buêgā) were erected around its surrounding pool. Smaller clusters were built around other major Sikh shrines but nothing to equal those at Harimandir Sahib. These bungas were named for the people or groups responsible for their erection, whether **misdars**, important **sardars**, rich communities in the towns, or particular sects such as the **Nirmalas** or **Udasis**. One of them, **Akal Bunga**, houses **Akal Takhat**, the primary temporal center of the **Panth**. They remained in private hands until the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925** recognized them as the property of Harimandir Sahib. The precise number is not known, but there would have been between 70 and 90. During the 19th century the bungas provided accommodation for pilgrims, and some of them secured reputations as centers of learning. **Santokh Singh** was one poet who received his training in a bunga. Very few bungas now remain, since the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** has demolished most of them to provide an uninterrupted **parikarama** around the pool.

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**CALENDAR.** *See* NANAKSHAHI CALENDAR.

**CANADIAN SIKHS.** The beginnings of **Sikh** migration to the West Coast of North America are obscure, though obviously it must date from the turn of the 20th century. In 1887 a troop of Sikhs who had been brought to the United Kingdom for Queen Victoria's jubilee returned to



India via Canada. There is, however, no evidence that this created any desire to immigrate. The more likely explanation is that Sikhs serving in Hong Kong and Singapore heard of another island over the Pacific called Mitkan (American) and a few adventurous souls eventually found a way there. By 1903 there were approximately 300 Sikhs in British Columbia (virtually all of them men), a few of whom traveled down the coast to Washington, Oregon, and California. By 1908 more than 5,000 Sikhs had settled in British Columbia, most working for lumber companies. An attempt was made to frustrate their entry through a policy requiring all Indians to travel from their home country by a “continuous journey.” The government of Canada was aware that every ship from India would call at some other port before reaching Vancouver and there could be no possibility of Indians migrating to Canada. This led to the **Komagata Maru** incident in 1914. Hostility by white workers limited the number of Sikhs living in Canada to barely 700. During the 1960s, however, official policy was liberalized, leading to a significant reversal of Sikh migration, and Canada soon acquired a reputation as the most favorable destination. There are now more than 200,000 Sikhs living in Canada. Within Canada the preferred destinations are British Columbia and Ontario. *See also* MIGRATION.

**CASTE.** Sikhs explicitly reject caste in terms of status or privilege. **Nanak** denounced it, subsequent **Gurus** reinforced his message, and ritual observance confirms it. In **gurdwaras** all sit together, the only distinction being between men and women. All receive the same **karah prasad** and eat in the same **langar**, sitting in straight lines to do so. At **Khalsa initiation** all initiates must drink the same **amrit**. Caste is, however, retained within the **Panth** as a social order. The Gurus, who were all **Khatris**, married their children within the same caste. This convention has survived largely intact, and consequently virtually every Indian **Sikh** belongs to a particular caste (**jāti**, Punjabi **zāt**). Each **zat** is divided into a number of subcastes (**gotra**, Punjabi **got**) and Sikhs (like most other Indians) are endogamous by **zat** and exogamous by **got**. In terms of **zat** an absolute majority are **Jats**. Other important castes with both Hindu and Sikh sections are the **Khatri** and **Arora**. Distinctive Sikh castes are the **Ramgarhia**, **Ahluvalia**, **Mazhabi**, and **Ramdasia**. *See also* ARRANGED MARRIAGES; DALIT.

**CENTRAL SIKH LEAGUE.** A political party formed by **Sikh** leaders in March 1919 for the following purposes: to rebuild the demolished wall of **Rakab-ganj Gurdwara**, to bring **Khalsa College** under panthic control, to liberate **gurdwaras** from their existing control, and to inspire Sikhs to participate in India's freedom struggle. An existing newspaper, *Khālsā Akhbār*, was taken over as organ of the party and renamed the *Akālī*. In 1920 the more radical **Akali Dal** was formed. Under the leadership of **Kharak Singh** the Central Sikh League maintained a lively existence alongside the Akali Dal throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. In 1933 the two parties merged. *See also* GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**CHAITANYA (1485–1534).** The founder of an important Vaishnava sect in Bengal, noted for his singing and dancing. It is assumed by some writers that **Guru Nanak**, who was a contemporary, must have visited him on his travels. There is no evidence for such a visit.

**CHALI MUKTE.** The “Forty Liberated Ones.” Forty men from the **Manjha** region who deserted **Guru Gobind Singh** during the siege of **Anandpur** and returned to their homes. Shamed by **Bhago** and their other women, they rejoined the **Sikhs** shortly before the battle of **Muktsar**, in which all were killed. In recognition of their restored loyalty the **Guru**, responding to the pleas of Mahan Singh (the last to remain alive), tore up the disclaimer (*bedāvā*) they had signed in Anandpur and declared them to be mukte, men who had attained deliverance.

**CHAMAR.** Outcaste, normally a leather worker. *See also* AD DHARAM; CASTE; DALIT; RAMDASIA.

**CHAMKAUR.** After vacating **Anandpur** in 1704, **Guru Gobind Singh** withdrew to the village of Chamkaur, where another battle was fought with the pursuing **Mughals**. The **Guru's** two eldest sons, Ajjit Singh and Jujhar Singh, were killed in this battle, but he himself escaped. *See also* SAHIB-ZADE.

**CHANANI.** A canopy that is always over the **Guru Granth Sahib** in a **gurdwara**. It indicates great respect.

**CHANDI CHARITRA.** Two lengthy compositions in the **Dasam Granth**, both in **Gurmukhi Braj**, relating the exploits of the goddess **Chandi** or **Durga**. One of the two is known as the *Chañḍī charitra ukati bilās*.

**CHANDIGARH.** The joint capital of **Punjab** and Haryana. The city was designed and built after **Partition** by the French architect Le Corbusier. When the state of Haryana was formed in 1966, both states claimed Chandigarh. Consequently it became a joint capital.

**CHANDI KI VAR.** A work, correctly entitled *Vār Srī Bhagautī jī kī*, that is included the **Dasam Granth**. It is attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh** but is probably by one of his entourage. The poem, which is in **Punjabi** (not **Braj** like most of the **Dasam Granth**), tells the story of the struggle between the goddess Chandi and demons. The source is the Markandeya Purana. Its invocation is used at the beginning of **Ardas**. *See also* BHAGAUTI.

**CHAND KAUR.** Wife of **Kharak Singh** and mother of **Nau Nihal Singh**. She claimed the regency following the death of her son, assisted by the **Sandhanwalia sardars**. **Dhian Singh** evidently caused her to abort Nau Nihal Singh's baby and then brought about her death.

**CHANDU SHAH.** By tradition a **Khatri** of **Lahore** who tried unsuccessfully to marry his daughter to **Guru Arjan's** son **Hargobind**. When this failed, the humiliated Chandu Shah is said to have participated in the arrest and death of **Arjan**. **Sikh** tradition reports that he subsequently earned the displeasure of the Emperor **Jahangir** and was delivered to the scavengers of **Lahore** to be led through the streets suffering shoe beatings on the way. Eventually he was struck by an iron ladle and died.

**CHAR PADARATH.** The four qualities: prosperity, observance of **caste** duties, success, and liberation.

**CHARAN-AMRIT.** "Foot initiation." Also called charan-pāhul. The pre-**Khalsa** method of initiation into the **Panth**. The **Guru** or designated deputy would touch water with the toe of his right foot, and the candidate would then drink it as a token of submission.

**CHAR BARAN.** The four **castes** according to traditional Hindu belief: **Brahman**, Kshatriya, Vaisha, and Shudra.

**CHARHDI KALA.** “High spirits.” Unwavering confidence in divine justice; absolute certainty that overrides all doubts; supreme bravery that rises above any thought of defeat; cheerfulness.

**CHARITRO-PAKHYAN.** *See* PAKHYAN CHARITRA.

**CHAUBIS AUTAR.** Tales of 24 incarnations of the god Vishnu included in the **Dasam Granth**. They comprise 4,371 verses, of which 864 concern the Ram-avataar and 2,492 the Krishan-avataar. The language is **Braj** and the script **Gurmukhi**.

**CHAUNKI.** A period of **kirtan**. All major **gurdwaras** have at least four chaunkis (or “sittings”) each day. Their names and starting times are **Asa di Var** di chaunki (early morning), Bilaval di chaunki (four hours after sunrise), **Raharasi** di chaunki (immediately before the recitation of **Raharas**), and Kalyan di chaunki (immediately before **Kirtan Sohila**).

**CHAUPAI.** A four-line stanza. In the **Dasam Granth** it designates a composition of 25 stanzas by **Guru Gobind Singh**, correctly known as **Benafī chaupai**.

**CHAUPAD.** A brief hymn in the **Adi Granth** comprising four verses and a refrain. *See also* ADI GRANTH STRUCTURE.

**CHAUPA SINGH (d. 1723).** A member of the Chhibbar **Brahman** family who was prominent in the retinue of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Chaupa Singh achieved importance as an associate of the **Guru** from the latter’s childhood onward and is credited with writing a **rahit-nama**. This **rahit-nama** owes at least something to Chhibbar’s influence. *See also* CHAUPA SINGH RAHIT-NAMA.

**CHAUPA SINGH RAHIT-NAMA.** **Chaupa Singh** is said to have written the **rahit-nama** that bears his name. This work was written in the 1740s, making it too late to be his, though it may have been influenced by an earlier work by him as it bears clear marks of his

brahmanical background. In addition to setting out a version of the **Rahit**, it contains a narrative of the life of **Gobind Singh** that gives the date of the founding of the Khalsa as 1697.

**CHAURI.** Chowrie; whisk used by a reader of the **Guru Granth Sahib** to protect the sacred volume from any impure object.

**CHETO.** A leader of the **masands** cast out by **Guru Gobind Singh** for misappropriation. *See also* PANJ MEL.

**CHHANT.** A lengthy hymn in the **Adi Granth**, usually consisting of four or six long stanzas. *See also* ADI GRANTH STRUCTURE.

**CHHIMBA.** A depressed **caste** of calico printers. During the 20th century Sikh members of the caste unsuccessfully tried to elevate their status by calling themselves Tank Kshatriyas.

**CHHOTA GHALLUGHARA.** The “lesser carnage.” An occasion in 1746 when **Lakhpai Rai**, chief minister of **Lahore**, killed several thousand **Sikhs** in a single engagement. *See also* VADDA GHALLUGHARA.

**CHHOTE MEL.** The **Sodhi** lineage descending from **Prithi Chand** was known as the “lesser relationship” as opposed to the “greater relationship” of **Suraj Mal**’s descendants. This lineage formed the leadership of the schismatic **Minas**, always mentioned as the first of the **Panj Mel**.

**CHIEF KHALSA DIVAN (CKD).** The body created in 1902 to unite the divided **Amritsar** and **Lahore Singh Sabhas** with their respective satellite **Singh Sabhas**. It acted as the principal voice of the **Sikhs** for the next eighteen years, amid growing unease for its conservative and pro-British stance. The CKD was eventually overtaken by the more activist **Akali** movement, but it contributed much to convincing at least literate Sikhs that the Singh Sabha interpretation of their past was the only correct one. The CKD still exists, but its activity is largely confined to organizing its annual education conference. *See also* GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**CHILLIANWALA.** An important battle fought in January 1849 during the second Anglo-Sikh war in which the British were defeated. *See also* ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB; GUJRAT.

**CHUHRA.** An Outcaste, normally from the sweeper **caste**. *See also* DALIT; RANGHRETA.

**CLERGY.** One commonly reads references to **Sikh** “clergy” or “priests.” These are mistakes. The Sikh faith does not recognize ordination, nor is anyone set apart for religious functions. Within the **Panth** all duties may be performed by any **Amrit-dhari Sikh** in good standing. *See also* GRANTHI; SACRAMENT.

**CONGRESS.** The Congress Party of India. Prior to **Partition** Sikhs, led by Master **Tara Singh**, supported Congress against the Muslim League. Since 1947 the **Akali Dal** has been generally in opposition, but many **Sikhs** support Congress and it has frequently been able to form ministries in the **Punjab**. Manmohan Singh, elected prime minister of India in 2004, belongs to Congress. He is a Kohli, a **Khatri got** originally from **Pothohar**. He does not, however, advertise this fact.

**CONTRACEPTION.** There is no ruling or convention for Sikhs concerning contraception. Individuals should form their own attitude on the basis of the rules of morality that they accept. In practice this means that there is little objection to it.

**CREATION.** The entire creation was, according to the **Adi Granth**, created by **Akal Purakh** through the exercise of the **hukam**. Beyond that man does not know why the world was created or what its ending must be.

**CRORE.** Ten million. One hundred times a **lakh**.

**CUNNINGHAM, JOSEPH (1812–1851).** Wrote *A History of the Sikhs* (1849), based on actual observation and gives a sympathetic account of the **Sikhs**. Cunningham was at the time in the political service of the British and had witnessed the first of the Anglo-Sikh wars.

His book displeased his superiors, and he was returned to regimental duties. The book remains a classic.

**CUSHION CONTROVERSY.** The gadelā (cushion) question created a deep rift between **Sanatan Sikhs** and the **Tat Khalsa** in the 1880s. The Sanatan Sikhs said that descendants of the **Gurus** had the right to sit on cushions before the **Guru Granth Sahib**, whereas the **Tat Khalsa** maintained that the egalitarian principles of the **Sikh** faith forbade it. The issue centered on **Khem Singh Bedi**, a descendant of **Guru Nanak** and an important **Sanatan** leader, who insisted on using a cushion. As with all issues the Tat Khalsa won, but the victory was not complete. The deference shown by ordinary people to persons of acknowledged spiritual stature was too deeply held to be rooted out, and the extreme respect shown to **sants** still continues today. *See also* GURU-VANS.

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**DABISTAN-I-MAZAHIB.** A Persian work about the religions of India by an unknown Zoroastrian visitor from Persia, previously attributed to Mohsin Fani but now thought to have been by Maubad Zulfiqar Ardastani. The author was personally known to both **Guru Hargobind** and **Guru Har Rai**. This work, completed in 1645, includes an important chapter on the **Nanak-panthis** (the **Sikhs**).

**DALIP SINGH (1837–1893).** The youngest of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**'s seven children. He was placed on the throne when his half brother **Sher Singh** was assassinated in 1843 but deposed by the British when they annexed the **Punjab** in 1849. Placed in the care of an English couple, he became a Christian and was taken to England where he became a favorite of Queen Victoria. He received the estate of Elveden in Norfolk but found his expenses outrunning his capacity to pay, with little assistance forthcoming from his English patrons. In the **Punjab** the **Kukas** were astir with rumors of his return, and in this regard were greatly encouraged by **Thakur Singh Sandhanvalia**. Thakur Singh corresponded with him, and in 1866 he set out for India. But the British intercepted him in Aden and sent him back

to England. In Aden he underwent formal reconversion to the **Sikh** faith. In 1893 he died in a hotel room in Paris and was buried in Elveden. His grave now serves as a shrine for the Sikhs in England. His name is correctly spelled Dalip Singh, though Duleep Singh and Dhuleep Singh are commonly used by English writers. *See also* UNITED KINGDOM SIKHS.

**DALIT.** From *ḍalnā*, to throw down. Dalit is the name preferred today by an increasing number of Outcastes. Whereas other terms (Untouchables, Harijans, Scheduled Castes, etc.) have been given by **caste** Hindus, they themselves have chosen Dalit (Oppressed). **Mazhabis** and **Ramdasiyas** are **Sikh** Dalits.

**DAL KHALSA.** (1) During the 18th century the fighting **Khalsa** was divided into **jathas**, most of which later formed **misl**s. Sometimes they agreed to form a group of **misl**s for a particular purpose (such as a campaign against the Afghan invader), and as such would constitute the **Dal Khalsa**, or army of the Khalsa. **Jassa Singh Ahluwalia** was recognized as its commander. (2) In 1978 a **Dal Khalsa** was formed to fight for **Khalistan**. The group briefly achieved prominence in 1981 at an education conference organized by the **Chief Khalsa Divan** at which Ganga Singh Dhillon of California advocated the formation of **Khalistan**. In this he was strongly supported by the Dal Khalsa. After the conference, however, the popularity of the Dal Khalsa rapidly declined. *See also* BUDDHA DAL; TARUNA DAL.

**DALLA.** The land owner of Talvandi Sabo (**Damdama Sahib**), who welcomed **Guru Gobind Singh** to his village in 1706 following the **Guru**'s withdrawal from **Anandpur**.

**DALLEVALIA MISL.** A **misl** of medium strength with territories in eastern **Doaba**.

**DAMDAMA.** A small town 28 kilometers southeast of Bathinda in southern Punjab, also known as Damdama Sahib or as Talvandi Sabo. **Guru Gobind Singh** stayed in the town for more than nine months in 1706 following his withdrawal from **Anandpur**. In the early 18th



century it acquired a reputation for learning associated with the **Sikh** scriptures, and it became the home of the **Damdami Taksal**. In 1966 the **Shiromani Gudwara Parbandhak Committee** raised it to the status of a **takhat**. Takhat Sri Damdama Sahib was built in the 1970s. The town contains several other **gurdwaras** and Sikh shrines.

**DAMDAMI BIR.** According to tradition there once existed a third recension of the **Adi Granth** in addition to the **Kartarpur** and **Banno** versions. This version, known as the Damdami Bir, is said to have been dictated from memory by **Guru Gobind Singh** during his period in **Damdama** in 1706, adding to it the works of his father **Guru Tegh Bahadur**. Afghan invaders are said to have carried off this version later in the century. This tradition is incorrect. In some unknown way an enlarged version, comprising the Kartarpur recension together with the works of Tegh Bahadur, had already been compiled in the late 17th century and had come to be regarded as standard. It is this enlarged version which today constitutes the **Adi Granth**. The tradition is, however, widely accepted, and printed copies of the **Adi Granth** are generally labeled Sri Damdami Bir. *See also* ADI GRANTH RECENSIONS; BANNO BIR; KARTARPUR BIR.

**DAMDAMI TAKSAL.** A “school” of fundamentalist Sikh theology that today exists as a formal organization or sect. According to tradition **Guru Gobind Singh**, while staying at **Damdama** in southern Punjab, founded a school for studying the Sikh scriptures. One of its first students was **Dip Singh**, who subsequently converted the school into the Damdami Taksal (Mint of Damdama). Until the 20th century it was unimportant. Under Sant Sunder Singh (d. 1930), however, it attracted attention for its strictly traditionalist approach, and it achieved prominence under the militant leadership of **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** during the 1970s and early 1980s as a powerful fundamentalist force in Sikh politics. It continues, with diminished strength, to this day.

**DAMODARI (1597–1631).** The first of **Guru Hargobind**’s three wives, the mother of **Gurditta**, and the grandmother of **Dhir Mal** and **Har Rai**. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**DAN.** Charity; a gift given to the poor. *Dān* is frequently enjoined in the **Adi Granth**. The word is also used for charity dispensed on specific occasions by a patron to members of various service castes who perform duties for him. *See also* DASVANDH; NAM DAN ISHNAN.

**DANCE.** *See* BHANGRA; GIDDHA.

**DARBAR.** Royal court; a place where a **Guru** or an important **sant** gives audience; a grand mansion; the executive government of a princely state.

**DARBAR SAHIB.** *See* HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR).

**DARSHAN.** “Audience.” Sight; [to be in] the presence of someone or something important; to meet someone or visit something.

**DARSHANI DEORHI.** The gateway to the causeway of **Harimandir Sahib**.

**DARSHAN SINGH PHERUMAN (1885–1969).** Successively a member of the **Akali Dal**, **Congress**, and the Swatantra Party. In 1969 he fasted to death as protest against the failure to have **Chandigarh** and other Punjabi-speaking areas incorporated in the **Punjab**.

**DAS GRANTHI.** A small book containing a selection from the **Dasam Granth**. There is no prescribed content, but the selection usually includes (among other works) **Jāp**, **Bachitar Nāṭak**, **Akāl Ustati**, and **Gīān Prabodh**. *See also* PANJ GRANTHI.

**DASAM DUAR.** The “tenth door” of **Nath** physiological theory (in addition to the nine natural orifices of the human body); the portion of the skull corresponding to the fontanel through which the liberated spirit passes at the climax of the **hatha yoga** discipline. The **Sikh Gurus** use the term figuratively.

**DASAM GRANTH.** A second scripture recognized as canonical by the Sikhs, the primary scripture being the **Adi Granth**. Its place in the canon is, however, a source of perplexity. During the 18th century it was treated (together with the **Adi Granth**) as the incarnate **Guru**,

but over the last century doubts have surrounded it and the question has been largely shelved. **Tat Khalsa** reformers encouraged these doubts, for much of the Dasam Granth conflicted with their vision of the **Sikh** faith. For two decades after the death of **Guru Gobind Singh** the works that together constitute the Dasam Granth are believed to have been collected by **Mani Singh**. This would have been a difficult task, as many such works reputedly were lost in the evacuation of **Anandpur** in 1704. An independent collection was gathered by **Dip Singh** and a third collection by **Sukkha Singh** of **Patna**. The greater part of the three collections is the same, but there were differences. In 1885 a committee was set up by the **Sanatan Sikhs** of the **Amritsar Singh Sabha**, and in 1902 it published an authorized version. The name “Dasam Granth” was given to the collection when it was first printed in 1902. This title, *The Book of the Tenth* [Guru], evidently served to distinguish it from the **Adi** (Original) Granth. An alternative theory (much less likely) is that it means one-tenth of a longer collection. The length of the modern printed version is 1,428 pages.

**DASAM GRANTH AUTHORSHIP.** Traditionally the whole of the **Dasam Granth** is regarded as the work of **Guru Gobind Singh**. This view is rejected by most scholars, who accept that the collection may have come from **Gobind Singh**’s entourage but believe that only a small part of it is actually by him. A third view holds that even this small part cannot be safely attributed to him, originating instead from the poets of his following. Although the specific origins are obscure, its association with **Guru Gobind Singh** seems beyond doubt. Among the works attributed to him are the **Jāp**, an autobiographical work entitled **Bachitar Nāṭak**, the **Akāl Ustati**, and a defiant letter said to be by him entitled **Zafar-nāmā** addressed to the Emperor **Aurangzeb**. The last of these works was not definitively included in the collection until the end of the 19th century.

**DASAM GRANTH CONTENTS.** The **Dasam Granth** contains some works that most scholars attribute to **Guru Gobind Singh**. These include the **Jāp**, **Akāl Ustati**, and **Bachitar Nāṭak**. The great bulk, however, comprise a retelling of the **Ram** and **Krishna** legends and a lengthy series of diverting anecdotes, mainly tales of the ways of

women (the **Trīā Charitra**). Most of the collection is written in the **Braj** language, with little in **Punjabi**. The script, however, is **Gurmukhi**. *See also* BENATI CHAUPAI; CHANDI CHARITRA; CHANDI KI VAR; CHAUBIS AUTAR; GIAN PRABODH; HIKAYAT; PAKHYAN CHARITRA; SHASTAR NAM-MALA; TEN SAVAYYAS.

**DASHMESH (DASMESH)**. The “Tenth Lord,” Guru Gobind Singh.

**DASHMESH REGIMENT**. An extremist antigovernment **Sikh** organization that functioned for some years following the banning of the **All-India Sikh Students Federation** in 1984. It claimed responsibility for several assassinations.

**DAS SAVAYYE**. *See* TEN SAVAYYAS.

**DASTAR BANDANA**. The **turban**-tying ceremony that may be performed when a boy is 13. In the presence of the **Guru Granth Sahib**, the boy’s father or a village elder ties on a first **turban**. The ceremony is also performed on the oldest son when his father dies.

**DASU (b. 1524)**. The elder of **Guru Angad**’s two sons. He refused to accept his father’s appointment of **Amar Das** as third **Guru**, but tradition relates that he was soon reconciled.

**DASVANDH (DASAUNDH)**. A tithe, the portion of one’s income that is given for community service. Gifts to a **gurdwara** are an example, frequently donated before the **Guru Granth Sahib** on entry and thence into the **Guru**’s **golak** (treasure chest). Its distinction from **dān** (charity) is not clear, some saying that **dān** is included in **dasvandh** and some saying it is separate.

**DATU (1537–1628)**. **Guru Angad**’s younger son, who, according to tradition, remained unreconciled to his father’s successors until the time of **Guru Arjan**.

**DAULAT KHAN LODI (d. 1526)**. **Nanak**, as a young man, worked in **Sultanpur** for a person called **Daulat Khan**. It seems likely that this

was Daulat Khan Lodi, later governor of **Lahore** under Sultan **Sikandar Lodi**.

**DAYAL (1783–1855)**. Founder of the **Nirankari** sect. Baba Dayal was born in **Rawalpindi** into a family of **Sahaj-dhari Khatri**s. During the later years of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** and his successors he preached that contemporary Sikhs had strayed from the path of **nām simaran** and instead had adopted Hindu practices.

**DAYAL DAS (d. 1675)**. An elder brother of **Mani Singh**, one of three **Sikhs** executed in **Delhi** with **Guru Tegh Bahadur**. *See also* MATI DAS; SATI DAS.

**DAYA SINGH RAHIT-NAMA**. **Daya Singh** was the first **Sikh** to offer his head to **Guru Gobind Singh** at the inauguration of the **Khalsa** at the end of the 17th century, and a prose **rahit-nama** is attributed to him. The nature of its contents and language indicate a provenance at the very end of the 18th century or early in the 19th. *See also* RAHIT-NAMA.

**DEATH**. To a loyal **Sikh** who has been punctilious in his observance of **nām simaran**, death is the enfolding of the human spirit in the Universal Spirit. A tiny number can achieve this while yet alive. Less observant Sikhs, however, can expect to be caught in the cycle of **transmigration**. This view of death is confined to a small number of Sikhs. Others announce a death as the Sikh having “gone to his (or her) heavenly abode.”

**DEATH CEREMONY**. *See* FUNERAL.

**DEGH TEGH FATEH**. “Victory [by the grace of the **Guru**] to the supplier of wants and to the wielder of the **sword**,” a slogan of the 18th century **Khalsa**. In the 18th century the **degh** or **deg** (cooking vessel) symbolized the **langar**, which in turn symbolized the **grace** of the **Guru** to a casteless society. **Tegh** (or **teg**) meant the sword and **fateh** victory.

**DELHI**. **Sikh** history has frequently involved **Delhi**. **Guru Har Krishan** died there; **Guru Tegh Bahadur** was executed there; two of **Guru Gobind Singh**’s widows remained there for several years; and during

the late 18th century Sikh raids assailed the city. Several important **gurdwaras** are located in Delhi or its environs and are administered by the **Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee**, separate from the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee in **Amritsar**. The 1984 anti-Sikh disturbances which followed the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi were largely centered on the twin cities of Delhi and New Delhi, and many Sikhs were killed. *See also* BANGLA SAHIB GURDWARA; RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA; SIS GANJ.

**DELHI SIKH GURDWARA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE.** The body set up by the Delhi Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1971 to manage **gurdwaras** and gurdwara property within the union territory of **Delhi**. The legislation was modeled on the 1925 **Sikh Gurdwaras Act**, and the committee it authorized is similar to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. One difference is that only **Amrit-dharis** and **Kes-dharis** are entitled to vote for the **Delhi** Committee, not **Sahaj-dharis**.

**DERA (DEHRA).** Encampment. The dwelling place of a **sant**.

**DERA BABA NANAK.** A small town previously called Pakhoke, located in Gurdaspur District on the left bank of the Ravi. It is immediately across the river from **Nanak's** village of **Kartarpur**, and much of the land belongs to his **Bedi** descendants. One of the **gurdwaras** has in its possession cholā sāhib, an old cotton cloak with Arabic inscriptions from the Qur'an on it. This is traditionally believed to have been worn by Nanak during his visit to Mecca and Medina. It is said that after having been held by his four successors, it passed to a descendant who kept it as a sacred relic. In 1895 attention was drawn to the cholā by Ghulam Ahmad, founder of the Ahmadiyah movement, as evidence that Nanak was really a Muslim.

**DERA SAHIB (GURU ARJAN).** The **gurdwara** in **Lahore** that marks the death of **Guru Arjan** at the hands of the **Mughals** in 1606. *See also* MUGHAL RELATIONS.

**DESA SINGH RAHIT-NAMA.** A verse **rahit-nama** that claims to record the words of **Guru Gobind Singh** but dates from at least the late 18th century. *See also* RAHIT-NAMA.

**DEVI WORSHIP.** For the **Sikhs** of the 18th century, the goddess Devi clearly had a considerable fascination, and much modern **Singh Sabha** scholarship has gone into disproving a tenacious tradition that **Guru Gobind Singh**, prior to inaugurating the **Khalsa**, made a sacrifice to her on the slopes of Naina Devi. Tales contained in the **Dasam Granth** and other sources also bear witness to this fascination. The explanation may be related to the **Guru's** conviction that physical force was necessary to restore a moral society and that he had been chosen for this purpose. As **God** had chosen her, so now had he been chosen to restore the balance of society. Devi worship was practiced by many rural **Sikhs** and Hindus in the 18th and 19th centuries. She also appears under various other names (Durga, Kali, Kalka, etc.). *See also* BHAGAUTI.

**DHADI.** An itinerant singer of Sikh ballads and narrator of the heroic **Sikh** tradition. Usually working in pairs, dhadis accompanied their songs or narration with dhads or **dholaks** (small hand-held drums).

**DHANI.** The elder daughter of **Guru Amar Das**, Little is known about Bibi Dhani.

**DHANNA.** A **Jat** bhagat traditionally born in 1415 in Rajasthan and a disciple of Ramanand. Four works by Dhanna are recorded in the **Adi Granth**.

**DHARAM-RAJ.** **Yam**, the god of the dead, in his role of the divine arbiter of the fate of each individual.

**DHARAM-SALA.** The room or building that formed the center of the early **Panth**. It was used for worship, congregational assembly, discourse, the singing of devotional songs, or any other religious purpose. The term was evidently used throughout the period of the **Gurus**, but during the 18th and 19th centuries it gradually gave way to **gurdūārā** (anglicized as **gurdwara**), which was previously used only for locations associated with one of the Gurus. As the term gurdwara was expanded to include dharam-sala, the meaning of the latter word came to be attached to a hospice attached to a gurdwara for travelers or visitors. The custodian of the early dharam-sala was called a dharam-salia.

**DHARAM-YUDH.** A “war in defense of righteousness.” Before having resort to arms, every effort should be made to reach a settlement by peaceful means. Only when these fail is the **Panth** constrained to take up arms. Today a major campaign of the **Akali Dal** may be termed a *dharam-yudh*.

**DHARMA (DHARAM).** A word with a wide range of meanings, none of which corresponds to an English translation. A common meaning is the specific duties to be performed by any particular **caste**. In modern Punjabi, dharam has been used as a translation for “religion.” This is not quite as inaccurate as first sight suggests. **Guru Nanak** lived and taught others to live a certain way of life, a way which involved in particular an emphasis on meditation of the **Nām**, supplemented by concern for others. This can be termed his *dharam* and the English translation is not so far from the mark as first appears.

**DHIAN SINGH (d. 1843).** The second of the three **Dogra** Rajput brothers who served under Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** as chief minister. He retained his power under Ranjit Singh’s successor **Kharak Singh** and **Nau Nihal Singh** and also under their successor **Sher Singh**, but was assassinated with him and his son in 1843. *See also* DOGRA FAMILY.

**DHIR MAL (b. 1627).** Elder son of **Gurditta** and eldest grandson of **Guru Hargobind**. Gurditta predeceased Hargobind. Although by this time the line of **Gurus** was firmly fixed in Hargobind’s line, Dhir Mal was not considered suitable to be the seventh Guru. With his **Sodhi** family he resided in **Kartarpur** (located in Jalandhar District), and in 1643 he received a revenue-free grant from the **Mughal** Emperor Shah Jahan, who was evidently seeking to sow discord in the **Panth**. His loyalties were diverging markedly from his grandfather Hargobind who was confined to **Kiratpur** in the **Shivalik Hills**. Allied to the Mughals, he proved a growing menace to the followers of the orthodox line of Gurus. Hargobind, before he died, chose as his successor Dhir Mal’s younger brother, **Har Rai**. *See also* DHIR MAL’S OPPOSITION; GURU-VANS.

**DHIR MAL’S OPPOSITION.** **Dhir Mal** was already hostile to orthodox Sikhs under his grandfather **Guru Hargobind**, and this increased when



he was passed over as Hargobind's successor. He was able to detach an indeterminate number of Sikhs from the orthodox line, particularly in the area around **Kartarpur**. From his father or grandfather he had secured possession of what purports to be the original copy of the **Adi Granth** and used it to buttress his claims to the office of **Guru**. The manuscript still resides in **Kartarpur**. After the accession of **Tegh Bahadur** in 1664, his opposition contributed to Tegh Bahadur's having to leave the plains and withdraw to the **Shivalik Hills**. His antagonism and that of his successor continued into the 18th century, and at the founding of the **Khalsa** the **Dhirmalias** were included in the **Panj Mel**. Only in the second half of the 18th century was the exclusion of the **Sodhi** family of Kartarpur lifted. The successor who won this reprieve was probably **Vadbhag Singh**, famous as a banisher of evil spirits who initiated a cult that continues to the present day. *See also* KARTARPUR BIR.

**DHOLAK.** A small hand-held drum with two strings and sounding leather at either end.

**DHUAN.** "Smoke." Hearth; a place where fire is always kept burning. The controlling centers of certain ascetic orders in India were referred to as *dhuans*, including several of the **Udasi** orders. There were four Udasi dhuans, each controlling certain preaching areas. These were eastern India (with the main center at Nanakmata), western **Punjab** and Kashmir, **Malwa**, and **Doaba**. *See also* AKHARA; BAKHSHISH.

**DHULEEP SINGH.** *See* DALIP SINGH.

**DHUR KI BANI.** Original message; original text; revealed text.

**DIASPORA.** *See* MIGRATION.

**DINA NATH.** Appointed Diwan by **Ranjit Singh**, he survived the period of confusion that followed the Maharaja's death, eventually emerging as a reluctant supporter of the British. *See also* ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

**DIP SINGH (1682–1757).** A celebrated **Sikh** martyr, killed in battle by the Afghans. He is believed to have been initiated into the **Khalsa**

by **Guru Gobind Singh** and to have assisted him in transcribing the scriptures during the period in **Damdama**. Tradition records that while there he also founded the **Damdami Taksal**. He fought for the Sikhs during the first half of the 18th century, latterly as a member of the **Shahid misl**. In retirement at Damdama, he was roused by the sacrilege done to **Harimandir Sahib** by the Afghans in 1757 and with a small army marched on **Amritsar**, vowing to cleanse the sacred **gurdwara** or die in the attempt. Several kilometers short of the city, his army was met by a much larger one, and in the ensuing battle his head was severed. At this point a divided tradition takes over. According to one version he held his head in his hand and fought on to Amritsar, dying when he reached the city. A second claims that he hurled his head over the intervening distance, landing it in the precincts of Harmandir Sahib. A third combines the first two. With severed head, Dip Singh fought as far as Ramsar on the outskirts of Amritsar and then threw his head the remaining distance to Harimandir Sahib. A hexagonal stone set in the **parikarama** marks the spot where it is believed to have fallen.

**DITT SINGH (1853–1901)**. Like many **Sikhs** of the late 19th century, Ditt Singh supported the **Arya Samaj** but renounced it in 1888 and turned to the **Singh Sabha**. He became an influential leader of the **Lahore** group and thus of the **Tat Khalsa**. As author, journalist, and preacher he did much to formulate and popularize Tat Khalsa ideals, writing more than forty books covering Sikh doctrine, history, martyrology, and social reform. He laid great stress on the difference between Sikhs and Hindus, endeavoring to persuade ordinary Sikhs to abandon folk religion in favor of what he regarded as pure Sikhism. Ditt Singh was a rare example of a **Mazhabi Sikh** who was an important leader of the Sikhs.

**DIVALI**. Festival of Light, held on the day of the new moon in the month of Kattak (October–November). The occasion has long been celebrated by Hindus with the theme of material wealth. Accounts are closed for the year, houses are cleaned, sweets are distributed, and countless lights are lit at night. **Sikhs** impart a distinctive meaning to it by commemorating the release of **Guru Hargobind** from Gwalior, where he had been imprisoned by the **Mughal** Emperor **Jahangir**.

Celebrations center on **Harimandir Sahib**, which is illuminated for the occasion.

**DIVAN.** A royal court; a **Sikh** congregation; Sikh worship; a collection of Persian poems by **Nand Lal**.

**DIVANA.** A section of the **Minas** devoted to asceticism.

**DIVINATION.** Divination has been widely practiced by the **Panth** and various methods are still used, commonly involving the **Adi Granth**. Numerous usages are recorded in **Sikh** history and tradition, **Ranjit Singh** being a firm believer. It is difficult to draw a clear line between superstition (which met with **Tat Khalsa** disapproval) and faith, as, for example, with the practice of **hukam**. *See also* ASTROLOGY.

**DIVINE NAME.** *See* NAM.

**DIVINE WORD.** *See* SHABAD (SABAD).

**DIVORCE.** The contemporary **Rahit** frowns on divorce, but marriage breakdown is tacitly acknowledged and in such cases **Sikhs** are free to divorce. Sikhs have no personal code, and when divorce is sought in India it must be by the Hindu Code.

**DOABA.** The plains territory bounded by the Beas and Satluj Rivers, one of three areas into which central **Punjab** is divided. The inhabitants are known as Doabis. *See also* MALWA; MANJHA.

**DOGRA FAMILY.** A family of Dogra Rajputs from Jammu who exercised substantial power under Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** and during the turbulent years immediately following his death in 1839. All were murdered except **Gulab Singh**. Although they bore the name **Singh**, the family was Hindu. *See also* SANDHANVALIA FAMILY.

**DOLI.** A litter used for women. A bride used to leave home in one. To-day she commonly leaves in an automobile, but departure with the groom is still described as “departure of the doli.”

**DOWRY.** There are varying views concerning dowries (dāj) in the **Panth**, and the issue is very complicated. **Sikh Rahit Marayāda** opposes it, but the injunction (when obeyed) singles out only cash payments for condemnation. This allows expensive gifts in kind and consequently leaves the way open for a transfer of varying amounts of property at marriage from the bride's family to the groom's. As such it continues to underline that importance is attached to boys rather than girls. The **Namdharis** are explicit about banning all dowries, but their clear example is not always followed by orthodox **Sikhs**. During the period of **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** dowries were forcibly abolished for all Sikhs. With his death, however, they have shown clear signs of returning. For Sikhs they continue to present a problem, and it is impossible to generalize the orthodox response. *See also* ABORTION; GENDER.

**DUBIDHA.** "The other." That which is not eternal; maya.

**DUKH NIVARAN.** **Patiala's** leading **gurdwara**, built in memory of a visit by **Guru Tegh Bahadur**.

**DULEEP SINGH.** *See* DALIP SINGH.

**DYAL SINGH MAJITHIA (1849–1898).** Founder of the *Tribune* newspaper and, although a **Sikh**, a member of the Brahma Samaj. His death roused controversy when the Punjab Supreme Court, in opposition to his widow's claims regarding his will, declared him to have been a Hindu.

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**EAST AFRICA SIKHS.** During the latter part of the 19th century the British, impressed by the skill of the **Ramgarhia** Sikhs in laying railway tracks, took many of them to East Africa to work on the new railway system being built in Uganda. Subsequently their descendants were compelled to leave Uganda by Idi Amin in 1972 and life in independent Kenya was also difficult for them. They were permitted to migrate to the **United Kingdom** and ever since have maintained an

essentially separate organization with a network of Ramgarhia **gurdwaras** throughout the country. *See also* MIGRATION.

**EAST ASIAN SIKHS.** Sikhs in East Asian countries were welcomed by the British as policemen and soldiers. In 1867 a contingent of Sikh police was introduced to Hong Kong and others soon followed. Sikh soldiers were brought to Malaya in 1873 to guard the Perak tin mines from the Chinese. At that time Singapore was a part of Malaya. In 1921 the population of Sikhs in Malaya exceeded 8,000. Ten years later the number passed the 15,000 mark and remained that way until independence in 1965. In 1980 the Sikh population of Malaysia was estimated at 32,685. In the early times of Sikh settlement some former policemen and soldiers migrated on to **Australia** and **New Zealand**. Some also migrated to Fiji to work as sugar cane cutters and others to Indonesia. The community in neighboring Thailand, however, was not one that, for the most part, migrated from Malaya. A majority of the Sikhs living there are said to be **Namdhari** goldsmiths from **Pothohar**. *See also* MIGRATION.

**EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HISTORY.** The 18th century was of critical importance for **Sikhs** in general and for the **Khalsa** in particular. It began with the foundation of the Khalsa, probably in 1699, and ended with the triumph of **Ranjit Singh** in 1800. Between these two dates the Sikhs went through a period of revolt under **Banda** followed by decades of suppression. This was succeeded by the invasions of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, which Sikhs opposed with increasing success, leading to the creation of the **misls** and the establishment of their authority over much of the **Punjab**. With the external enemy removed, the misldars began fighting among themselves. Eventually one of them, Ranjit Singh, rose above all the rest and in 1801 was installed as Maharaja. To this period the Khalsa owes many of its heroes, martyrs, and enemies. It also owes some distinctive features to it. During the century its **Rahit** was evolving, and major items in the Rahit can be traced to particular characteristics of the period. Some of these reflect the social background, others the political. The Sikhs, for example, were fighting against enemies who were Muslim, whether **Mughals** or Afghans, and items that derived from this conflict were clearly written into the early **rahit-namas**.

**EQUALITY.** One of the prime virtues of the **Sikh** faith, particularly of the **Khalsa**. As opposed to the emphasis on **caste** differences of traditional Hindu society, Sikhs maintain that within the **Panth** there is complete equality. Although most Sikhs continue to observe caste in terms of marriage arrangements, those who are true to the Khalsa ideal insist that this in no way obstructs their acceptance of equality. A few Sikhs draw other distinctions on the basis of caste, but on sacred ground (which means in the **gurdwaras**) the ideal is certainly maintained. Anyone can attend a gurdwara or a **langar**, and those who do must sit in status-free rows. **Karah prasad** and langar food are distributed indiscriminately, and all recipients of **Khalsa initiation** are required to drink from the same vessel.

**ETHICS.** Sikhs recognize a range of ethics. The four cardinal sins an **Amrit-dhari Sikh** must swear to observe are cutting one's hair, eating **kuttha** meat, sexual intercourse with anyone other than one's spouse, and smoking. Other activities banned are indicated by the groups of five proscriptions, for example, the **five evil deeds** and the **five evil impulses**.

**EK-OANKAR.** *See* IK-OANKAR.

**EMINABAD.** *See* SAIDPUR.

**EXCOMMUNICATION.** Since the **Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee** was constituted in 1925 it (or its president) has on occasion formally ejected from the **Panth** someone who is held to have seriously violated its religious or political interests. Such decisions are routed through the **Jathedar** of **Akal Takhat**. An offender is an unrepentant **tanakhahia**, and in English the action is called excommunication. An early example was **Teja Singh Bhasaur** of the **Panch Khalsa Divan**. Another was **G. B. Singh**, who published a book on the manuscripts of the **Adi Granth**. An individual who is excommunicated may be given an opportunity to confess errors and perform humiliating punishment. When this has been completed, the offender is readmitted to the Panth. *See also* BLASPHEMY; TANAKHAH.

## – F –

**FAIR.** Fairs are invariably held at **festivals**, wherever the number of **Sikhs** justifies such celebration. Individual locations also have fairs because of some incident that occurred there, particularly those associated with the **Gurus**. Fairs follow a general pattern in the Punjab and surrounding states. Two days before the fair begins an **Anand Path** is initiated, the **bhog** ceremony timed to take place on the day of the fair. A brass band heads a procession led by **Panj Piare** with drawn swords. **Kirtan** takes place throughout the day, starting with **Asa di Var** in the early morning. Various functions follow, including rousing speeches, sports, and possibly fireworks displays.

**FAIZULAPURIA MISL.** *See* SINGHPURIA MISL.

**FAQIR.** “Poor man.” Muslim renunciant. The word is loosely used to designate a **Sufi** and also a non-Muslim renunciant.

**FARID (1173–1266).** A famous **Sufi** who lived in the **Punjab** and is buried in Pak Pattan, where his tomb is still the object of reverent devotion. Hindus and **Sikhs** as well as Muslims have been greatly attached to the compositions attributed to Sheikh Farid for the **sant** spirit they incorporate. Four of his **shabads** and 130 of his **shaloks** have been included in the **Adi Granth**. **Nanak** is said by the **janam-sakhis** to have discoursed with him. This is not possible, but it is quite credible that he met the incumbent **pir** in the line descending from Farid. *See also* SANT TRADITION.

**FARIDKOT.** A town with its small surrounding area situated approximately 17 kilometers south of Ferozepore. Because it lay on the left bank of the Satluj it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to become **PEPSU** (**Patiala** and Eastern Princely States Union).

**FARIDKOT TIKA.** The Faridkot commentary on the **Adi Granth**. When **Trumpp** published his translation of a part of the **Adi Granth** in 1877, **Sikhs** found its introduction deeply insulting. In the same year Raja

**Bikram Singh** of Faridkot commissioned Giani Badan Singh Sekhvan to produce an authoritative commentary. The task proved to be much more difficult than foreseen, but three volumes were finally published in 1905 and 1906, and later the fourth and final volume was produced. The collection was the first example of a published commentary, but the Faridkot Tika never attained authoritative status and was soon superseded by other exegetical works.

**FATEHGARH SAHIB.** Fatehgarh Sahib, near Sirhind, is the village where Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh, the two younger sons of **Guru Gobind Singh**, were bricked up alive by Nawab **Vazir Khan**. The spot is marked by a large and impressive **gurdwara**. A neighboring gurdwara has been erected in memory of **Gujari**, the mother of Guru Gobind Singh, who died there on hearing the news of her grandsons' fate. *See also* SAHIB-ZADE.

**FATEH-NAMA.** The “triumphant letter.” A Persian poem of 24 short stanzas attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**, said to have been written in Machhiwara shortly after the evacuation of **Anandpur** in December 1704 and addressed to the **Mughal** Emperor Aurangzeb. It was later followed by **Zafar-nāmā**.

**FATEH SHAH.** The Raja of Garhwal against whom **Gobind Singh**, in alliance with the Raja of Sirmur, fought the battle of **Bhangani** in 1688.

**FATEH SINGH, SANT (1911–1972).** A **Jat** from Ganganagar District who was brought into the **Akali Dal** by **Tara Singh**. In 1960 he organized a massive campaign for **Punjabi Suba** against the Punjab government and in 1961 took the disgraced **Tara Singh**'s place as leader of the **Akalis**. **Punjabi Suba** was eventually granted in 1966.

**FEMALE INFANTICIDE.** Practiced among certain sections of the Sikhs prior to its suppression by the British in the late 19th century. Explicit directions prohibiting it have been commonly written into the **rahit-namas**, including **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**. Boys were much preferred to girls, with the result that midwives were sometimes instructed to kill the newborn if it was female. This was done by turning the baby's face into the placenta so that she suffocated in her



mother's blood. Other methods were strangulation, feeding drops of akk dā dūdh (calotropis procera) mixed with gur (raw sugar), or burying alive. Among **Sikhs** the practice was particularly prevalent with the **Bedis**, a result of their high social and ritual status. It was essential to marry daughters to a higher subcaste (**got**), but because they occupied the highest rank of their section of the **zāt** the Bedis had nowhere to go. Often they preferred infanticide as the solution. The custom was practiced throughout India as a whole, not just among Sikhs. There is little sound evidence for its continuation today. *See also* ABORTION; CASTE.

**FEMINISM.** *See* GENDER; PATRIARCHY.

**FESTIVALS.** Sikhs celebrate eight major festivals plus others of lesser importance. The eight major festivals are the birth (according to tradition) of **Guru Nanak**, the martyrdom of **Guru Arjan**, the martyrdom of **Guru Tegh Bahadur**, the birth of **Guru Gobind Singh**, the installation of the **Guru Granth Sahib**, **Baisakhi**, **Divali**, and **Hola Mahalla**. Other lesser festival include **Basant** and **Lohri**. At Divali Sikhs celebrate the release of **Guru Hargobind** from imprisonment by the Mughal Emperor **Jahangir** in Gwalior, not the Hindu Festival of Light. The **Guru** is known as **Bandi Chhor** (Releaser of the Prisoners) in commemoration of the tradition that 52 princes were also released with him by clinging to a lengthy garment that he had fashioned. *See also* GURPURAB.

**FIVE.** In common with other traditions in India and beyond, the number five (pāñch or pañj) was of particular significance for the Sikhs. At the inauguration of the **Khalsa**, **Guru Gobind Singh** chose five **Sikhs** to form the foundation of the new order; today members of the **Khalsa** must wear the **Five Ks**. Many other important items are grouped in fives. *See also* terms beginning with FIVE and PANJ.

**FIVE ABLUTIONS.** Washing of hands, feet, and mouth preceding **nām simaran** or entry of a **gurdwara**.

**FIVE EVIL DEEDS.** Lying, calumny, evil gossip, misappropriation, and ingratitude.

**FIVE EVIL IMPULSES.** Lust, anger, covetousness, attachment to worldly things, and pride. Also known as the pañj dūt.

**FIVE Ks.** The pañj kakār or pañj kakke, five external symbols that all **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** must wear, so called because each begins with *k*. The five are **kes** or kesh (uncut hair), **kañghā** (comb), **karā** (iron or steel ring round the wrist), **kirpān** (sword or dagger), and **kachh** or kachhahirā (shorts that must not come below the knee). The time when these five symbols were introduced is obscure. Tradition insists that it was at the inauguration of the **Khalsa**. At the inauguration, however, only three of the items were named (kes, kirpān, and kachh). Although there are early references to “five weapons” that the **Khalsa Sikh** is expected to bear, the pañj kakke are not mentioned at this stage. A reference in a later version of the **Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā** lists five items, but in addition to the original three it names **bāñī** and **sādh sañgat**. Only in the 19th century does definite mention of five items beginning with *k* occur, and only with the influence of the **Tat Khalsa** does the custom receive explicit inclusion in the **Rahit**. The one piece of evidence that seems to deny this is a **hukam-nāmā** that **Guru Gobind Singh** is said to have directed to his Kabul **Sikhs** in S.1756 (1699 C.E.). This **hukam-nāmā** must be regarded as spurious, as it possesses neither the initials nor seal of the **Guru** and conflicts with other contemporary evidence clearly indicating only three items.

**FIVE Ks, PURPOSE.** The purpose of the Five Ks is obscure, although reasons can be suggested for the earliest three. The kes may be a borrowing from the conventions of the **Jats**, who by this time were strongly dominant in the **Panth**, and the **kirpān** and **kachh** were appropriate for a people preparing to fight. Their introduction into the **rahit-namas** seems not to have been linked to their initial *k*. At this early stage they rank with other conventions of the **Khalsa**, such as the ban on the **hookah**. Reasons for the choice of the Five Ks are, of course, frequently suggested in modern apologetics. Today they are absolutely mandatory for all **Amrit-dhari Sikhs**. The five (or some of them) are also commonly worn by **Kes-dhari Sikhs**.

**FIVE LOVED ONES.** See PANJ PIARE.

**FIVE SINS.** Theft, fornication, gambling, drunkenness, and lying.

**FIVE WEAPONS.** The early **Khalsa** was commanded to pay particular respect to the following five weapons and carry them when practicable: **sword (kirpān)**, bow (kamān), musket (bandūk), a kind of dagger (kaṭār), and either lance (nezā or barchhā) or quoit (chakkar).

**FOLKLORE.** Throughout its history the **Panth** has included a large segment believing in elements from popular **Punjabi** culture, for example, benign and malevolent spirits, omens, and miracles wrought by dead saints. The **Tat Khalsa** segment of the **Singh Sabha** movement regarded such beliefs as rank superstition. The **Sanatan Sikhs**, however, were much more tolerant of them. In the struggle between the two groups the Tat Khalsa clearly emerged as victor, but the essentially intellectual view of the faith that they projected has not caused folk belief to die out. The Tat Khalsa view strongly dominates the presentation of Sikhism through literature. Folklore is, however, abundantly present in popular beliefs such as those mentioned above or in legends such as those of Hir Ranjha or Sohni Mahival.

**FORSTER, GEORGE.** In 1782 George Forster left Calcutta on an overland journey to England, passing through the **Punjab** in early 1783. There he observed the **Sikhs** closely and included a lengthy description of them in *A Journey from Bengal to England*, published in London in 1798.

**FORTY SAVED ONES.** See CHALI MUKTE.

**FUNDAMENTALISM.** The question of whether there are fundamentalists among the **Sikhs** causes problems, as the word actually has at least two different meanings: those who adhere to an inerrant view of scripture and those who are militants in a political sense. The latter meaning certainly applies to extremist supporters of **Khalistan**, though their number has been considerably diminished in the recent past. The inerrancy of scripture, however, is not an issue among Sikhs. There are few historical facts in the **Adi Granth**, and the multitude of hymns praising the nām do not present the kind of material that requires a listener or reader to decide whether it is factually right or wrong. The Adi

Granth has much to say about truth, but the meaning that should be attached to the words translated as “truth” is distinctively different from what the term connotes in Western thought. The question of fundamentalism arose in a Western context with specific application to Judaism and Christianity. It does not arise in connection with Sikhism except as it has been popularized by the media. *See also* SAT.

**FUNERAL.** Where possible, the deceased should be cremated. The corpse should be bathed and clad in clean garments. In the case of an **Amrit-dhari** all **Five Ks** are essential. At the cremation ground the funeral pyre should be lit by a son, relative, or close friend. When it is ablaze, *Kīrtan Sohilā* should be sung, followed by a recitation of **Ardas**. After the cremation a *pāṭh* should be commenced, preferably to be completed within ten days. When the pyre has cooled, the ashes are gathered and either deposited in running water or buried at the place of cremation. Depositing the ashes in the Ganga, Satluj, or Ravi Rivers is not approved.

– G –

**GADDI.** “Cushion.” Seat; throne; position of authority.

**GAMBLING.** Gambling is prohibited by **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**.

**GANDA SINGH (1900–1987).** Distinguished Sikh historian. His most famous work was his *Ahmad Shah Abdali*. Ganda Singh was a celebrated archivist, collecting and publishing the valuable *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*. He was also founder of the journal *Panjab Past and Present*.

**GANGA (d. 1628).** Mata **Ganga**, the wife of **Guru Arjan** and the mother of **Guru Hargobind**. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**GANGU-SHAHI.** Gangu Das is said to have been a **manji** of **Guru Amar Das**, preaching in the **Shivalik Hills**. His great-grandson Javahar Singh banded his followers together as the Gangu-shahis and for a time commanded a sizable force in the hills.

**GARJA SINGH (d. 1739).** The **Ranghreta** companion of **Bota Singh**, killed by soldiers of **Zakarya Khan** in 1739.

**GATKA.** The Sikh martial art practiced by two contestants, each with a leather shield and a stick four feet long. Gatka is particularly popular among the **Nihangs** and as an exercise at camps for schoolboys.

**G. B. SINGH (1877–1950).** A Kapur by **caste**, he trained as an engineer and served as one throughout his working life. Late in life he was excommunicated from the **Panth** for his critical analysis of **Adi Granth** manuscripts and for denying that the **Gurmukhi** script was introduced by **Guru Angad**. It became virtually impossible to obtain a copy of his *Srī Gurū Sāhib dīān prāchīn bīān*. *See also* EXCOMMUNICATION.

**GENDER.** The Sikh faith does not recognize differences in gender. Women have the same religious obligations as men and receive the same rewards. They are entitled to read the **Guru Granth Sahib** in public, to be members of the **Panj Piare**, and in general to discharge any of the roles that might be construed as male. Sikhism has, however, been located in a society that observes patriarchal control, with the result that in some important respects the operative observances of **Sikhs** differ from the normative prescriptions of their faith. Very few Sikh women appear in Sikh history, and today most major Sikh institutions are overwhelmingly male in membership and control. This gender difference is defended on the grounds that only men can provide their women with necessary protection. Signs of change are appearing, particularly among Sikhs living overseas. There is, however, a considerable distance to travel before gender equality is attained. This applies in particular to rural Sikhs, where gender ranking is determined in large part by the ownership of property. **Jats** customarily leave land only to their sons. *See also* DOWRY; FEMALE INFANTICIDE; PATRIARCHY.

**GENDER OF GOD.** **Punjabi** and **Sant Bhasha** are more suitable languages for referring to **God** than English, though they are not perfect. They lack the explicitly male and female pronouns; verb endings denote gender, and the agreement required by an adjective

usually indicates the gender of the noun to which the adjective is attached. Similarly the use of terms that can be translated as “Lord,” “Master,” and so on, frequently imply that God is thought to be masculine. Referring to him or her by masculine verbs, pronouns, or titles may demonstrate the weakness of any language that does not provide a common gender. It may also demonstrate patterns of dominance in the society which uses any particular language. Punjabi society certainly maintains concepts of male dominance, and references to God reflect this. **Sikhs** are, however, much better placed in this regard than (for example) Christians. In Christian usage God is traditionally masculine, and the English language renders this explicitly. In the Sant Bhasha of the **Adi Granth** God is normally left undefined in gender terms, and in some places he or she (or the mystical **Guru**) is identified with conglomerates that include feminine as well as masculine. In **Japji** 5 the divine Guru is Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma (who may arguably be regarded as masculine), but he or she is also Parvati (who is definitely feminine). **Akal Purakh** is, Sikhs maintain, far above all such distinctions, and the **Adi Granth** generally supports them.

**GENDER OF GOD, TRANSLATIONS.** The real difficulty concerning the gender of **God** occurs when the scripture is translated into a language such as English. Here the problem is inescapable, and partly because Christians until recently always regarded God as male, he or she has almost always been rendered as masculine in **Sikh** translations. One solution is to insist that the scripture never be translated. Portions may be translated as aids to understanding, but the **Adi Granth** itself must remain inviolable. Others insist that this must necessarily rob those who do not comprehend the original **Adi Granth** language of the deeper meaning that the scripture conveys. This particularly applies to people raised outside India, and it is inevitably in the West that the rumbles of discontent may be heard. The problem is serious.

**GHADR MOVEMENT.** A revolutionary movement, partly Hindu and Muslim in membership but mainly **Sikh**, which arose among immigrant laborers on the West Coast of the United States and Canada shortly before the World War I. In 1913 a newspaper called *Ghadr*

(Revolution) was founded in Stockton, California, and was soon circulating in many countries. Sympathies were with the Germans, and men volunteered to return to the **Punjab** to take up the cause. The Punjab, however, was scarcely ready for revolution, and by 1915 the movement there had collapsed. An effort to ship arms from the United States similarly failed. The United States government tolerated the movement only as long as it was neutral in the war. When it entered the war in 1917, the Ghadr movement ceased.

**GHAHNAIYA RAM (BHAJ GHAHNAIYA).** A servant of **Tegh Bahadur** and **Gobind Singh** who earned particular commendation from the latter for serving water during the battle of **Anandpur** to the **Guru's** wounded enemies as well as to those of his own troops. Followers of Bhai Ghahnaiya later formed the Seva Panth. His name is also spelled Ghanaiya, Kahnaiya, Kanhaiya, Kanaiya, or Kanahiya.

**GHALLUGHARA.** *See* CHHOTA GHALLUGHARA; VADDA GHALLUGHARA.

**GIANI.** A wise or learned man; a university degree.

**GIANI SCHOOL.** The hereditary Gianis were those exegetes of the **Adi Granth** who did not follow the strongly Vedantic cast of **Nirmala** thought. According to tradition, some **Sikhs** were appointed to interpret the scripture by **Guru Gobind Singh**. It was in the 19th century, however, that certain families acquired reputations for teaching and interpretation, particularly in **Amritsar**. Their most influential pupil was **Santokh Singh**.

**GIAN PRABODH.** A section of the **Dasam Granth** consisting mainly of stories from the *Mahābhārata*.

**GIAN SINGH, GIANI (1822–1921).** A **Nirmala** and disciple of **Tara Singh Narotam** who achieved considerable prominence as a traditional historian. Gian Singh combined **Singh Sabha** concerns with the **gur-bilas** tradition which preceded it. His *Panth Prakāsh* (1880) and his lengthy *Tavarīkh Gurū Khālsā* (1891-1919) are still extensively consulted.

**GIDDHA.** A Punjabi round dance performed by women or girls.

**GOBIND SINGH, GURU (1666–1708).** Tenth and last personal **Guru** of the **Sikhs**. He was born in **Patna** as Gobind Rai, the only child of the ninth Guru, **Tegh Bahadur**. At the age of five he was brought to his father's town of **Anandpur**, situated on the northeastern edge of the **Punjab** where the **Shivalik Hills** meet the plains. There he was educated in Sanskrit and Persian, acquiring the arts of both poetry and warfare. In 1675 his father was executed in Delhi by the **Mughal** Emperor **Aurangzeb**, an event that must have made a considerable impression on the child. He succeeded to the title of **Guru** and for several more years continued his education in the **Shivalik Hills**. It was as the ruler of a small Shivalik state that he grew to manhood and participated in wars against the other chieftains of the hills. Hunting was a sport in which he delighted.

Following the creation of the **Khalsa**, the Guru was again attacked in Anandpur, this time by the other Shivalik chieftains assisted by troops sent by the Mughal governor of Sirhind. In 1704 he was compelled to evacuate his fort, losing two of his sons in the process, with the remaining two cruelly executed later in Sirhind by being bricked up alive. **Gobind Singh** escaped to southern Punjab where he inflicted a defeat on his pursuers at **Muktsar**. He then stayed in nearby **Damdama** and is said by tradition to have been occupied with the preparation of the final version of the **Adi Granth**. After the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb died in 1707, Gobind Singh agreed to accompany his successor, **Bahadur Shah**, to the south. There, in Nander on the banks of the Godavari River, he was assassinated in 1708, possibly by an agent of the Mughal administrator of Sirhind. Guru Gobind Singh ranks as the supreme exemplar of all that a Sikh of the **Khalsa** (a **Gursikh**) should be. His bravery is admired, his nobility esteemed, his goodness profoundly revered. The duty of every **Khalsa** member must be to strive to follow his path and in their lives perform works that would be worthy of him. *See also* BHANGANI; DASAM GRANTH; DASHMESH; JAITA; KALGIDHAR; KHALSA INAUGURATION; MUGHAL DYNASTY; TRADITION.

**GOBIND SINGH'S DOCTRINE.** **Gobind Singh** regarded himself as the legitimate **Guru**, the only true successor of his nine predecessors; he



accepted the emphasis on the divine **Name** that had descended from **Guru Nanak**. There was, however, a further development of his belief in **God**. From time to time the forces of good and evil veer out of balance as the strength of the latter increases alarmingly. God then intervenes in human history to set the balance right. Particular individuals are chosen to act as agents of God, combating with physical strength the forces of evil that have acquired too much power. Gobind Singh believed that he was such an agent and that the **Panth** must be prepared to fight under him. Overcoming the dispersed nature of the Panth under the **masands** was evidently a reason for the creation of the **Khalsa**.

**GOBIND SINGH'S FAMILY.** **Guru Gobind Singh** had three wives. The first was **Jito**, married in 1677 and mother of Jujhar Singh, Zorawar Singh, and Fateh Singh. The second was **Sundari**, married in 1684 and mother of his oldest son, Ajit Singh. The third was **Sahib Devan**, married in 1700 and without issue. *See also* SAHIB-ZADE.

**GOD.** *See* AKAL PURAKH ; VAHIGURU.

**GOINDVAL.** A town on the right bank of the Beas River near its confluence with the Satluj, by tradition named for a man called Gobind who had begun building it in honor of **Guru Angad**. Angad declined to live in the new village but sent his faithful disciple **Amar Das** to reside there. The town became Amar Das's center when he succeeded Angad as **Guru**.

**GOINDVAL POTHIS.** The earliest known recension of the **Adi Granth**. According to tradition **Guru Amar Das** had the works of the first three **Gurus**, together with those of the **bhagats**, copied out by his grandson Sahans Ram in a series of three or (more likely) four **pothis** (volumes). A **pothi**, which purports to be an original one, was in the possession of the late Baba Dalip Chand of Mandi Darapur in Hoshiarpur District and is now held by his family in Jalandhar. Another, also claiming originality, was with the family of the late Bhagat Singh of **Patiala** and is now in Pinjore. Both families are **Bhallas**, the subcaste to which Guru Amar Das belonged. **Guru Arjan** evidently had access to the collection when preparing the later recension of the **Adi Granth**. The text of the **Kartarpur** version is very close to that of

the Goindval Pothis, particularly the works of the three Gurus. The collection owes its name to **Goindval**, as it was compiled there. Because the manuscripts were subsequently held by Mohan, son of Amar Das, they are also commonly known as the **Mohan Pothis**. *See also* GULAM SADASEVAK; GURU HAR SAHAI.

**GOLAK.** The box or container in which money intended for charity is placed.

**GOLDEN TEMPLE.** *See* HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR).

**GOLDEN TEMPLE ASSAULT.** *See* HISTORY, RECENT.

**GORAKHNATH.** An historical figure who lived in India, probably between the ninth and 12th centuries C.E. Virtually everything that is related about him is legend, but he must have been an important religious figure. Guru Gorakhnath is acknowledged as the principal figure in the **Nath** movement. He appears anachronistically in numerous **janam-sakhi** incidents as an interlocutor of **Nanak**.

**GOT (GOTRA).** Exogamous group within an endogamous **zat**; a sub-caste.

**GRACE.** “Grace” is expressed by several terms, of which nadar or nazar is a key one. **Akal Purakh** imparts grace when his glance (nazar) falls on the beneficiary. Other terms meaning grace are prasād, bakhshīsh, bhānā, daiā (dayā), kirpā (kripā), mihar, and taras. Grace, according to **Nanak**, is essential for spiritual liberation to be secured. The practice of **nām simaraṅ** is certainly necessary, and for this the choice rests with each person. Alone, however, it is not enough. Only by the grace of Akal Purakh through the mediation of the **Guru**, coupled with the freely chosen practice of **nām simaraṅ**, can liberation be achieved. *See also* NANAK’S DOCTRINE.

**GRAHASTI.** A householder; a married person.

**GRANTH.** “Book.” The **Adi Granth** or **Guru Granth Sahib**.

**GRANTH BHAI PAINDA.** An early collection of **sakhis** that probably date from the mid 17th century. *See also* POTHY BIBI RUP KAUR.

**GRANTHI.** The custodian of a **gurdwara** responsible for its religious services and for upkeep of the building. It is a mistake to call a granthi a “priest,” Sikhism being a lay faith. A granthi does not normally command high status in Sikh society. *See also* PRIEST.

**GREWAL, J. S. (b. 1927).** Modern Sikh historian, author of several works, including *The Sikhs of the Punjab*.

**GUGGA PIR.** The legendary healer of snake bites, worshiped in the villages of the **Punjab** by Muslims, Hindus, and **Sikhs** alike.

**GUJARI (1621–1704).** The wife of **Tegh Bahadur** and mother of **Gobind Singh**. She came from a **Khatri** family of Lakhnaur (near Ambala). Attached to her four grandchildren, she died when she learned that Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh had been bricked up. A **gurdwara** marks the spot where her death occurred in **Fategarh Sahib**. *See also* SAHIB-ZADE; WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**GUJRAT.** The decisive battle of the second Anglo-Sikh war fought in February 1849 and won by the British. The complete **annexation of the Punjab** followed. *See also* CHILLIANWALA.

**GULAB-DASI.** A follower of Gulab Das (1809–1873), a hymnist who taught Vedantist ideals learnt from the **Nirmalas**. Gulab Das did not believe in pilgrimage, religious ceremonies, or the veneration of holy men. The group enjoyed limited prominence in the late 19th century but appears to be extinct today. Both **Jawahir Singh Kapur** and Giani **Ditt Singh** had Gulab-dasi phases early in their careers.

**GULAB-RAIA.** A follower of **Gulab Rai**, great-grandson of **Guru Hargobind**. **Gulab Rai** accepted initiation into the **Khalsa** by **Guru Gobind Singh** but after Gobind Singh’s death tried to set himself up as successor. His effort died out early in the 18th century.

**GULAB SINGH.** The eldest of the three **Dogra** Rajput brothers who served under Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**, gaining considerable power as

ruler of Jammu. During the first Anglo-Sikh war he sided with the British and after it was permitted to purchase Kashmir which, with Jammu, he and his descendants ruled as Raja until **Partition**. *See also* ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB; DOGRA FAMILY.

**GULAM SADASEVAK.** The identity of Gulam Sadasevak is disputed. The name appears in the **Goindval Pothis** as the author of seven compositions that were subsequently crossed out. One opinion holds that it was the youthful pseudonym of **Ram Das** before he became the fourth **Guru**, excised when he assumed the title. The other opinion maintains that they were spurious compositions circulated by enemies of the orthodox line of Gurus during the time of **Amar Das** and they were crossed out when their identity became known.

**GUPTA, HARI RAM (1902–1992).** A Hindu historian whose works were generally accepted by the **Sikhs**. His most famous work was his seven-volume *History of the Sikhs*, five of which have been published.

**GURAMAT PRAKASH BHAG SANSKAR.** A *rahit-nama*, emphasizing **panthic** ritual, which was published by the **Chief Khalsa Divan**. The committee preparing it consisted of **Vir Singh, Jodh Singh, Takhat Singh**, Trilochan Singh, Sant Gurbakhsh Singh, and Babu **Teja Singh Bhasaur**, with **Sundar Singh Majithia**, secretary of the Chief Khalsa Divan. Babu Teja Singh did not participate in the committee's deliberations, regarding it as a **Tat Khalsa** enterprise. The first meeting was held in 1911 and the document was published in 1915. It proved to be too long and complex, and failed to win much support. The document did, however, succeed in reducing **Sikh** ceremonies to systematic order. *See also* SIKH RAHIT MARYADA.

**GURBAKHSI SINGH (d. 1765).** A martyr of the **Panth**, killed when he led a tiny force against a large army of **Ahmad Shah Abdali** which was desecrating **Harimandir Sahib**.

**GURBANI.** Strictly speaking, **gurbānī** refers only to the **Gurus'** works recorded in the **Adi Granth** and **Dasam Granth**. It can also apply, however, to the **bhagat bānī**. *See also* BANI.

**GUR-BILAS.** Literally “the **Guru**’s pleasure.” A style of hagiography that focused attention on the heroic qualities of the Gurus (notably the sixth and 10th Gurus). In contrast with the **janam-sakhis**, it stressed the destiny of the Gurus in fighting against the forces of evil (identified with **Mughal** authority) and their supreme courage in doing so. Most Gur-bilas works attach great importance to the story of the goddess **Devi** as preparation for the founding of the **Khalsa**. Examples are Sohan’s *Srī Gur Bilās Pāṭshāhī 6* and Kuir Singh’s *Gur-Bilās Pāṭshāhī 10*. See also DEVI WORSHIP; GOBIND SINGH’S DOCTRINE.

**GURDAS (c. 1558–c. 1 637).** Bhai Gurdas is the most famous of all **Sikh** poets and theologians. Born in **Goindval**, he was a **Khatri** of the **Bhalla** subcaste and was related to **Guru Amar Das**. From his earliest days he appears to have been closely associated with the line of orthodox **Gurus**, serving successively Amar Das, **Ram Das**, **Arjan**, and **Hargobind**. During these years he was a missionary, steward, and personal messenger, his main task in the latter respect being to conduct negotiations with **Prithi Chand**. He was also chosen to act as Arjan’s amanuensis when preparing the **Adi Granth**. His puzzled acceptance of the change of atmosphere in the Guru’s entourage is spelled out in a famous verse, the fifth Guru having been a man of peace and the sixth Guru surrounding himself with the means of war (**Vār 26:24**). The enduring contribution of Bhai **Gurdas** is his poetry. This comprises 556 brief works in **Braj** known as kabitts and the much more popular 40 vārs in **Punjabi**. It is upon the latter that his considerable reputation rests. See also VARAN BHAI GURDAS.

**GURDAS II.** There are actually 41 vārs attributed to Bhai **Gurdas**, and a few scholars regard them all as his work. The majority correctly treat the fortieth vār as the work of a Sindhi poet of the same name who lived in the early 18th century. See also VARAN BHAI GURDAS.

**GURDIT SINGH, BABA (1859–1954).** While in Hong Kong Gurdit Singh learned of the Canadian Government’s insistence on a “continuous journey” for all immigrants, whereby Indians were blocked from entry to **Canada**. This was because no vessel ever sailed di-

rectly from India to a Canadian port, and the owners of those sailing from East Asian ports were well aware that they were not to carry **Sikhs**. To overcome this condition Gurdit Singh hired the Japanese steamer **Komagata Maru** and sailed from Hong Kong with 165 passengers (mainly Sikhs) on May 23, 1914. More passengers were picked up in Shanghai and Yokohama. The party was held up by Canadian authorities in Vancouver harbor and eventually was compelled to sail back to Calcutta. The passengers were immediately transferred to railway carriages and carried up to the **Punjab**. Gurdit Singh, however, evaded the police and went underground until his dramatic reappearance at **Nankana Sahib** in 1921. He was arrested but soon released.

**GURDIT SINGH, GIANI (b. 1923)**. Distinguished Punjabi author and journalist.

**GURDITTA (1613–1638)**. Oldest son of **Guru Hargobind**. He was groomed to succeed his father but predeceased him. Gurditta was apparently attracted to **Udasi** teachings.

**GURDWARA**. A place for Sikh worship and community gatherings. Any room or building is constituted a gurdwara by installation of the **Guru Granth Sahib** (the **Adi Granth**) in it. In the **Adi Granth** the term *gurū duārā* refers to the **grace** of the **Guru**, understood as the “voice” of **Akal Purakh**. Places associated with the Gurus acquired particular sanctity and as such imparted a special blessing. In this way the single word *gurduara* (anglicized as “gurdwara”) came to apply to Sikh places of pilgrimage visited in the manner that one visited a **ūrath**. During this early period the term used for an ordinary congregational center where a **sangat** met for such purposes as singing devotional songs was **dharam-sala**. Gradually, during the 18th and 19th centuries, *dharam-sala* was abandoned for this purpose and the meaning of *gurduara* extended to take its place. Two developments produced this change. The first was the attribution of the Guru’s authority to the **Adi Granth**. The second related development was the practice of installing copies of the scripture in **dharam-salas**. This meant that the means of grace and guidance was now located within the **sangat**’s place of assembly. The place of assembly, formerly a **dharam-sala**,

thus became known as a gurdwara. The gurdwara is a powerful institution in the **Panth**, frequently providing **Sikhs** with a social center as well as a place of worship. This is particularly the case overseas. *See also* ARCHITECTURE.

**GURDWARA CONTROL.** Until the end of the 19th century the **gurdwara** served a broad section of the **Punjabi** community, being commonly controlled by non-**Khalsa Sikhs** and in some cases providing space for idols. Under the influence of the **Tat Khalsa** a campaign for cleansing them was initiated, leading to the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** and final victory in the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925**. Virtually all prominent gurdwaras in the Punjab were entrusted to the authority of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee**, and with substantial funds flowing in from their estates, control of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee is strongly contested. Within the area covered by the Sikh Gurdwaras Act the major gurdwaras are almost all controlled directly by the SGPC. Those of **Delhi** are under the **Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee**. Lesser gurdwaras within these areas are, however, independent, as are all gurdwaras elsewhere in India and the world. The organization of these gurdwaras is therefore strictly congregational and does not depend on control from above. *See also* AKALI DAL.

**GURDWARA PROCEDURE.** In a **gurdwara** worship is led by a reader and three **ragis**. Every person who visits a gurdwara must remove footwear, and feet should be washed if unclean. In some cases **leather** belts and handbags must also be removed. The head must be covered. On entering the gurdwara he or she bows before the **Guru Granth Sahib**, touching the floor with the forehead. Upon rising he or she may greet the **sangat** collectively with palms together, saying “**Vahiguru ji ka Khalsa, Vahiguru ji ki fateh.**” He or she should then take a seat on the floor and listen to, or participate in, the singing of hymns. When walking around a gurdwara or the **Adi Granth**, each person should proceed in a clockwise direction. *See also* PARKASH KARNA; SUKHASAN.

**GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT.** An agitation lasting from 1920 until 1925 for control of the major **Sikh gurdwaras** by the

**Panth** rather than by the individual owners who had been granted possession by the British. Before World War I Sikhs were restive about the control of their gurdwaras, and as soon as the war ended they took action. In 1919 the **Central Sikh League** was constituted, and it in turn formed the **Akali Dal** and the **Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee** in 1920. The purpose of these two organizations was to wrest control of the principal gurdwaras from the **mahants** and to make the government recognize that it had been transferred. The Akali Dal was to seize the gurdwaras, and the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee was to take over the management when they had yielded. Initially the **Punjab** government opposed the movement as ownership had been granted to the mahants who had title deeds to prove it. A series of incidents soon showed them that the **Akali Sikhs** were in deadly earnest, most notably the massacre at **Nankana Sahib**. This persuaded the government that it would have to give way, but it delayed the drafting of appropriate legislation as it searched for a face-saving formula. Eventually it passed the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925**, which transferred ownership of a lengthy list of the more important gurdwaras in the Punjab to a committee to be elected by those people whom the Act defined as Sikhs. The title of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee was then transferred by the Akalis to the committee which was to control the gurdwaras. *See also* GURU KA BAGH; JAITO; KEYS AFFAIR; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT, ORIGINS.** By the beginning of the 20th century many **gurdwaras** were actually owned by non-Khalsa **mahants** or hereditary supervisors, some of who claimed they were **Udasis**. The accepted explanation was that in the 18th century, when **Sikhs** of the Khalsa were being hunted down, it was more convenient to leave Sikh shrines in the hands of people without the outward appearance of the Khalsa and that for this reason they were entrusted to Udasis. In the late 19th century the **Singh Sabha** had succeeded in arousing the awareness of many Sikhs, a process greatly hastened by the struggle between the **Sanatan Sikhs** and the **Tat Khalsa**. This struggle was in part resolved by the creation in 1902 of the **Chief Khalsa Diwan** as a means of drawing the two sides together. It soon became clear, however, that the Chief Khalsa



Diwan was too politically conservative for many of the Tat Khalsa. Before World War I the **Rakabganj Gurdwara** affair indicated a growing sense of dissatisfaction on the part of many Sikhs and a feeling that their Khalsa rights were not adequately recognized. Soon after the war the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** began.

**GUR-MANTRA.** “The Guru’s mantra.” The **Khalsa** mantra or sanctified formula; an expression that is piously repeated as a form of **nām simaran**. This may be sat **nām** (True Name) or sat **nām vāhigurū**. **Trumpp** believed it to be sat akāl srī gurū. **Gian Singh** claimed that it comprised the first five stanzas of **Japjī**.

**GURMAT.** “The teachings of the **Guru**.” Sikhism. Gurmat is a very important term and deserves to be in English usage.

**GURMATA (GURUMATA).** During the 18th century the dispersed forces of the **Khalsa** developed the practice of representatives of the various **misls** meeting together before **Akal Takhat** in **Amritsar**. When a decision was made by an assembly of the **Sarbat Khalsa** it was regarded as a gurmata, “the will of the **Guru**,” and all were expected to accept it. The sanction of such decisions came from their being reached in the Guru’s actual presence in the scriptural form of the **Guru Granth Sahib** (the **Adi Granth** and also the **Dasam Granth**). Open copies of both scriptures were present at such assemblies.

**GURMUKH.** “One whose face is turned toward the **Guru**.” A faithful follower of the Guru. *See also* MAN; MANMUKH.

**GURMUKHI.** “From the mouth of the **Guru**.” The script of **Punjabi**. To devout Sikhs it possesses a sacred quality. The tradition that it was invented by **Guru Angad** is incorrect, though he may possibly have adapted it and introduced it to **Sikh** writings. Gurmukhi closely resembles the script of **Khatri** traders, and it was from this source that the Gurus obviously derived it.

**GURMUKH SINGH (1849–1898).** Born into a family of poor **Jats**, he began as a cook in the kitchen of the princely state of **Kapurthala**.

Assisted by the Raja, he acquired Western education and rose to be a professor of **Punjabi** at Oriental College in **Lahore**. He identified with the **Lahore** branch of the **Singh Sabha** and so with its **Tat Khalsa** section. A case was brought against him by conservatives, and he was banished from the **Panth** in 1887 for his radical approach. Eventually, however, he was vindicated. His campaign against doctrinal conservatism and **caste** continued, and his Tat Khalsa interpretation did much to indicate the future direction of the **Sikh** faith.

**GURMUKH SINGH MUSAFIR (1899–1976)**. Chief minister of **Punjab** (1966–1967), one of the few non-**Jats** to hold the position.

**GURNAM SINGH (1899–1973)**. Chief minister of **Punjab** in 1967 and 1969–1970.

**GUR-PRANALI**. A work listing the descendants of a **Guru**.

**GURPURAB**. Anniversaries of significant events associated with the **Gurus**, celebrated on lunar dates of the Indian calendar. Four are of particular importance: **Nanak**'s birthday, traditionally observed on a date in October or November, the martyrdom of **Arjan** (May–June), the martyrdom of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** (November–December), **Gobind Singh**'s birthday (December–January). Numerous other Gurburabs are also celebrated. The practice was greatly encouraged by the **Singh Sabha**.

**GURSIKH**. A “**Sikh** of the **Guru**.” A devout Sikh; an **Amrit-dhari** Sikh.

**GUR-SOBHA**. *See* SAINAPATI.

**GURU**. “Guru” means “preceptor” and for Hindus has normally indicated a human teacher. Within the **Sant** tradition, however, “Guru” came to be identified with the inner “voice” of **Akal Purakh**. This view was inherited and transmitted by **Nanak**, for whom the Guru or **Satguru** represented the divine presence, mystically apprehended and inwardly guiding the truly devout along the path leading to **mukti**. Because Nanak communicated this essential truth with unique

clarity, he, as human vehicle of the divine Guru, eventually received the title of Guru. This role was transmitted in turn to each of his nine successors, the divine spirit successively inhabiting ten enlightened individuals. **Guru Gobind Singh** is traditionally believed to have announced that the personal transmission would end at his death, but that the mystical Guru would remain embodied in the scripture and the corporate **Panth**. *See also* GURU GRANTH; GURU PANTH.

**GURU DI CHARANI LAGNA.** “Entering the **Guru**’s shelter.” The ceremony observed by some families when a child begins reading the **Guru Granth Sahib** for the first time.

**GURU GRANTH.** Sikhs recognize only one **Guru**, preexistent before **Nanak** as the mystical “voice” of **Akal Purakh** and then successively incarnated in ten men. By tradition, before he died **Guru Gobind Singh** decreed that no personal Guru would follow him. Instead, the mystical Guru would be enshrined jointly in the sacred scripture (**Guru Granth**) and the corporate decisions of the **Panth** (**Guru Panth**). During the 18th century **Sikhs** recognized the **Dasam Granth** as the Guru as well as the **Adi Granth**. Since that time preferences have shifted increasingly to the **Adi Granth**, a process greatly encouraged by the **Tat Khalsa**. Today the **Adi Granth**, together with a few works from the **Dasam Granth**, is tacitly recognized by many **Sikhs** as the only recorded voice of the Guru. Because of the status thus accorded to the **Adi Granth** it is usually called the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

**GURU GRANTH SAHIB.** “The sacred volume that is the **Guru**.” Strictly speaking, this entry is covered by that of the **Adi Granth**, as both refer to the same sacred scripture. A separate entry is justified on the grounds that **Sikhs** attach such enormous importance to this scripture as the eternal Guru, treating it as central to all their observances. By tradition, shortly before he died **Guru Gobind Singh** announced that there would be no more personal Gurus and that at his death the functions of the Guru would be eternally embodied in the scripture and the **Panth**. The **Adi Granth** thus became the **Guru Granth Sahib**. This belief evidently arose after his death, perhaps several decades later. When the **Dasam Granth** was compiled, it too came to be

treated as the Guru, and later in the 18th century both volumes were displayed together. During the 19th century, however, the Dasam Granth receded in comparison with the Adi Granth, and for most Sikhs it is now the Adi Granth that alone possesses the title of Guru. As such its importance is absolutely supreme. The two terms can now serve different functions. Whereas Guru Granth Sahib is the sacred scripture venerated by believers, Adi Granth is a neutral title usually employed by scholars.

**GURU GRANTH SAHIB VENERATION.** The Guru Granth Sahib is regarded as the living **Guru** to all **Sikhs**. In the morning it is taken in procession from its resting place and carried into the **gurdwara** to welcoming cries from those attending. It is then installed under a canopy and is fanned by an attendant. Whenever anyone enters a gurdwara the obligation is to do a **mathe tekana** (bowing down and touching the floor with the forehead) before the sacred book. The volume is opened at random and a **hukam** taken (**hukam lainā**). At night it is ceremonially returned to its resting place. Whenever it is carried this must be on the head of the bearer.

**GURU HAR SAHAI.** The direct descendants of **Prithi Chand** who live in the village of Guru Har Sahai (Ferozepur District) claimed to possess the oldest volume of compositions subsequently recorded in the **Adi Granth**. This volume was reported stolen in a train theft in 1970.

**GURU KA BAGH.** A **gurdwara** near **Amritsar**. In 1921, during the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**, the custodian accepted initiation into the **Khalsa** but then complained to the police when **Akalis** started cutting timber from gurdwara land. The police acted forcibly, and the Akalis responded by organizing a regular series of nonviolent groups to march on the gurdwara. They were met by considerable police brutality, but the marches continued. After three weeks the governor of the **Punjab** was persuaded to visit the scene, and the violence was then stopped. As a face-saving device the gurdwara land was privately purchased and then given to the gurdwara, by this time in Akali hands.

**GURU KIAN SAKHIAN.** “Stories about the **Guru**.” Said to have been written in 1790 by Svarup Singh Kaushish in a manuscript related to

the **Bhatt vahis**. This manuscript is held by **Punjabi University**. In its description of the first **amrit sanskār** it specifies a **keskī** instead of the uncut **kes**. It has yet to be closely examined, but may have been interpolated. *See also* BHATT VAHIS.

**GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY.** Founded in **Amritsar** as **Guru Nanak University** in 1969, partly for the quincentenary of Guru Nanak's birth and partly to give **Jats** some influence over a university. Later the word Dev was added to its title. *See also* PUNJABI UNIVERSITY.

**GURU PANTH.** The Guru Panth was a doctrine particularly suited to the circumstances of the 18th century, providing an effective means of decision making for Sikhs who were divided into several **mils**. When unification was achieved under **Ranjit Singh** the practice of eliciting corporate decisions from the **Panth** was discarded. The doctrine is still maintained today, and efforts are occasionally made to seek the **Guru's** will by this means. It is, however, seldom invoked. The voice of the Guru is much more commonly sought through the words of the **Guru Granth**.

**GURUSHABAD RATANAKAR MAHAN KOSH.** A substantial encyclopedia prepared by **Kahn Singh Nabha** and issued in four volumes in 1931. The work projects a **Tat Khalsa** view, but apart from some items that concern European subjects it is remarkably full and very accurate. It is still in wide use today, generally known simply as *Mahān Kosh*.

**GURU-VANS.** "The descendants of the **Gurus**." These were **Sikhs** of the **Bedi**, **Trehan**, **Bhalla**, and **Sodhi** subcastes of the **Khatri** caste who were descended from one of the Gurus. **Nanak's** subcaste was Bedi, **Angad's** was Trehan, **Amar Das's** was Bhalla, and **Ram Das's** was Sodhi. All the subsequent Gurus were the descendants of Ram Das and consequently were also Sodhis. Throughout most of subsequent Sikh history the descendants of the Gurus were regarded with great respect and accorded privileges greater than those of ordinary Sikhs. This changed, however, with the influence of the **Tat Khalsa**, who insisted that all Sikhs should be regarded equally. *See also* CUSHION CONTROVERSY.

**GUTKA.** A small book containing the readings for **Nit-nem** and a short anthology of popular hymns. Also called a Sundar Gutka.

**GYAN-RATANAVALI.** A **janam-sakhi** based on Bhai **Gurdas's Vār** I, erroneously attributed to **Mani Singh**. It is an early 19th century product of the **Udasi** sect. *See also* BHAGAT-RATANAVALI.

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**HAKIKAT RAH MUKAM RAJE SHIV-NABH KI.** “The truth [concerning] the way to Raja **Shiv-nabh's** [abode].” A brief work purporting to describe how to reach the land ruled by Shiv-nabh, appended at the end of all copies of the **Banno** recension of the **Adi Granth**.

**HALAL.** “Lawful.” Flesh of an animal killed in accordance with the Muslim ritual whereby it is bled to death. *See also* JHATKA; KUTTHA.

**HAM HINDU NAHIN.** *We Are Not Hindus.* The booklet by **Kahn Singh Nabha**, first published in 1898, which summarizes in its title a key aspect of the message of the **Tat Khalsa**. The booklet largely comprises proof text quotations.

**HANDALI.** Followers of Handal (or Hindal), a **Jat** from Batala. Under his son Bidhi Chand the followers of Handal (the Handalis) formed a schismatic group that disputed the leadership of the **Panth** with **Hargobind**. The Handalis have no importance, except that they are credited with originating the **Bālā** tradition of **janam-sakhis**. The group is also known as the Niranjani Panth. The Handali center was Jandiala in **Amritsar** District.

**HAQIQAT RAI (1724–1742).** A **Khatri Sahaj-dhari** of Sialkot who was executed in **Lahore** in spite of pleas for his piety. He thereby acquired the title of a **Sikh** martyr, his memory being particularly venerated by Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**.

**HARBANS SINGH (1921–1998).** First registrar of **Punjabi University**, distinguished as an author for his understanding of Sikhism.

**HARCHAND SINGH LONGOWAL (1932–1985).** President of the **Akali Dal** when the Indian army attacked the **Golden Temple** complex in June 1984. In 1985 he signed an accord with the new prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, which, had it been carried out, would have settled most of the Sikh grievances. Later that year he was assassinated, evidently by a militant **Sikh**. He was a **sant**, and although the complexities of the **Punjab** situation frequently eluded him, he was a genuinely humble person.

**HARGOBIND, GURU (1595–1644).** The sixth **Guru** of the **Sikhs** who succeeded his father **Arjan** in 1606 (following the latter's death at **Mughal** hands). Four skirmishes were fought with Mughal troops during his period. In 1634 **Hargobind** withdrew with his armed retinue to **Kiratpur** at the edge of the **Shivalik Hills**. This was much safer for him as it lay within Hindur, the territory of a vassal of the Mughal emperor rather than the actual empire. The direction of the **Panth** was now firmly fixed, emphasis being laid on military defense in addition to remembrance of the divine **Name**. His eldest son **Gurditta** had predeceased him, and Gurditta's elder son **Dhir Mal** was considered unsuitable. The succession was already firmly fixed in the male line of the **Sodhi Khatri**s, and the actual candidate chosen to follow him as Guru was Gurditta's younger son, **Har Rai**. Hargobind had three wives (**Damodari**, **Nanaki**, and **Mahadevi**). **Damodari** was the mother of Gurditta and **Nanaki** of the ninth Guru, **Tegh Bahadur**. Three other sons and one daughter were also born to him. No works were left by Hargobind. *See also* ANI RAI; ATAL RAI; MUGHAL RELATIONS; SURAJ MAL.

**HARGOBIND, CHANGES OF POLICY.** The period of **Guru Hargobind** makes clear a change in the **Sikh Panth** that had already begun to appear under his father, **Arjan**. When he succeeded to the office of **Guru** in 1606, the hostility of the **Mughal** rulers of the **Punjab** was already evident, and Hargobind had to spend some time imprisoned in Gwalior Fort. His following by this time consisted overwhelmingly of rural folk (particularly people belonging to the **Jat** caste), and these people were not inclined to submit to the threats of Mughal control. Hargobind, by tradition, marked this change by three symbolic gestures. The first was the wearing of two **swords** at his consecration, one

representing the spiritual authority that his predecessors had always possessed (pīṛīṁ) and the other the temporal power that he was now assuming (mīṛīṁ). A second was that he had **Akal Takhat** erected in **Amritsar**, a high platform signifying the same temporal power. The third was that he surrounded himself with armed men and preferred hunting to the peaceful pastimes of the first five Gurus. Many of his Sikhs were disquieted by this, preferring to have a Guru who stressed **nām simaraṅ** rather than these martial qualities. The poet Bhai **Gur-das**, however, recorded a famous verse in which he declared that the Guru alone can judge the circumstances of the time. *See also* MUGHAL RELATIONS.

**HARI.** One of the most common names for **God** in the **Adi Granth** as in Hindu usage. The abbreviated form “Har” is also used. *See also* AKAL PURAKH; RAM; VAHIGURU.

**HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR).** The Divine Temple of **Hari** (**God**), the **gurdwara** that is the prime focus of **Sikh** reverence and devotion. Sikhs also call it Darbar Sahib, or the Divine Court, though strictly speaking this term covers the whole temple complex. To English speakers (particularly Europeans) it is known as the **Golden Temple**. The latter name was attached to it as after Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** gilded the upper two stories, and it became known as the **Suvaran Mandir**, or the Golden Temple. Harimandir Sahib is situated within **Amritsar** and is regarded as the holiest place in the holiest city. **Guru Ram Das** (1574–1581), who founded Amritsar, excavated the pool that surrounds it. Tradition associates an ancient ber tree on the bank opposite Harimandir’s entrance with the water’s power to cleanse leprosy.

The gurdwara was completed by **Guru Arjan** (1581–1606), who installed in it the newly completed **Adi Granth**. His son, **Guru Hargobind** (1606–1644), was compelled to withdraw to the **Shivalik Hills** from Amritsar, and for almost a century Harimandir remained in hostile sectarian hands. In the 18th century, however, **Khalsa Sikhs** returned and fought for it. By midcentury the gurdwara had become the principal focus of Sikh loyalty, and by 1800 it was firmly in their hands, never again to be surrendered. In 1984 its environs were badly damaged by the Indian army in its attempt to



dislodge **Khalistan** supporters, some bullets actually lodging in the gurdwara itself. Harimandir Sahib sits in the middle of the pool with a causeway connecting it to the bank. The space occupied by the actual gurdwara is relatively small, but the building has three stories. The body of the gurdwara is built of marble with semiprecious stones inlaid in various patterns. *See also* ARCHITECTURE; HISTORY, RECENT.

**HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR), ENVIRONS.** Several important buildings surround Harimandir Sahib. These include **Akal Takhat**, which stands a short distance opposite the entrance to the causeway on the western side. On the eastern side of the pool are the **langar**, the headquarters of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, and the **Guru Ram Das Sarai**, which provides accommodation for pilgrims. The Sikh Reference Library (southern side) was destroyed by fire during the army action in 1984, but the Central Sikh Museum (northern side) still stands. At the entrance to the causeway is an impressive gateway, the **Darashani Deorhi**. In the upper story is housed the Tosh-khana (Treasury), its contents displayed once a year. *See also* PARIKARAMA.

**HARIMANDIR SAHIB (AMRITSAR), PROCEDURE.** The gates of Harimandir Sahib are opened at 2:00 A.M. in summer and 3:00 A.M. in winter. In summer they close at 11:00 P.M. and 10:00 P.M. in winter. **Kirtan** begins after their opening. The hours of closure are used for cleaning. At 5:00 A.M. the **Guru Granth Sahib** is placed on a palanquin, brought in procession from **Akal Takhat**, and installed in Harimandir until it is returned to its resting place (also in procession) before the closure each night. Crowds come for darshan, particularly on festival days. Four **akhaṇḍpāṭhs** are always taking place on the upper story, the relays of readers being among the numerous **sevadars**. *See also* GURDWARA PROCEDURE.

**HARIMANDIR SAHIB (PATNA).** The **gurdwara** in **Patna** that marks the spot where **Guru Gobind Singh** was born in 1666 while his father, **Tegh Bahadur**, was traveling in the east of India. It is one of the five **takhats**. The present building was erected in the mid-1950s.

**HARI SINGH NALVA (d. 1837).** The most famous of **Ranjit Singh's** generals, brave in combat and a ruthless administrator. He was killed at the battle of Jamrud near the Khyber Pass.

**HAR KRISHAN, GURU (1656–1664).** Eighth **Guru** of the **Sikhs** who succeeded to the title of **Guru** when only five years old. The history of his short life is obscure. His elder brother **Ram Rai** is said to have offended his father **Guru Har Rai** through his sycophantic dealings with the **Mughal** Emperor **Aurangzeb** and was accordingly passed over in 1661, the title going instead to **Har Krishan**. In 1664 **Aurangzeb** summoned him from the **Shivalik Hills** to **Delhi** where he resided in the village of Raisina just outside **Delhi** at the house of **Raja Jai Singh**, marked by **Gurdwara Bangla Sahib**. While there he contracted smallpox, which proved fatal. Tradition records that before he died he uttered the words “**Baba Bakale.**” This indicated to his retinue that the next **Guru** was “the **Baba** [who is] in **Bakala,**” **Tegh Bahadur**, son of **Guru Hargobind** and his grandfather's half brother. His name is also spelled **Hari Krishan**. *See also* **MUGHAL RELATIONS.**

**HAR RAI, GURU (1630–1661).** Seventh **Guru** of the **Sikhs**, a younger grandson of the sixth **Guru**, **Hargobind**. His father, **Gurditta**, had predeceased **Hargobind**, and his elder brother, **Dhir Mal**, was held to be unsuitable as a successor. When **Hargobind** died in 1644 **Guru Har Rai** withdrew from **Kiratpur** further back into the **Shivalik Hills** to avoid conflict and settled with a small retinue in the territory of **Sirmur**. From there he sometimes emerged onto the plains to preach and to visit his **Sikhs**. On the **Malwa** portion of the plains his **masands** were able to maintain his authority against competing interests, and on one of his visits he converted **Phul**, progenitor of the leaders of the **Phulkian misl** and of the princely families of **Malwa**. He is said to have been well disposed toward **Dara Shikoh**, the eldest son of Emperor **Shah Jahan** and rival of younger brother **Aurangzeb** for the **Mughal** throne. **Aurangzeb**, having won the throne, summoned **Har Rai** to **Delhi** in 1661 to explain his conduct. The **Guru** sent his elder son **Ram Rai** who, according to tradition, sought to ingratiate himself with **Aurangzeb** by claiming that a line from the **Adi Granth** to which the emperor took exception had been mistranscribed. This convinced

Har Rai that his successor should be his younger son **Har Krishan**, only five years old when his father died. Guru Har Rai left no works, and sources for his life are particularly scarce. His name is sometimes spelled Hari Rai. There is disagreement concerning his wife or wives, one source naming two (Kot Kalyani and Krishan Kaur, each mother of one of his two sons) and another only one (Sulakhani). *See also* MUGHAL RELATIONS; WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**HARSHA SINGH ARORA.** First teacher of **Punjabi** at Oriental College, **Lahore**, and with **Gurmukh Singh** the founder of the **Lahore Singh Sabha** in 1879.

**HATHA YOGA.** “Yoga of force.” The kind of yoga practiced by **Nath** yogis, requiring extremely difficult physical postures. In the context of Nath theory the word **shabad** is characteristically used in conjunction with anahad or anahat and refers to the mystical “sound” that is “heard” at the climax of the haṭha yoga technique. The anahad shabad is, according to this belief, a “soundless sound,” a mystical vibration audible only to the adept who have succeeded in awakening the **kuṇḍalīnī** and caused it to ascend to the sushumnā. According to the physiological theories of haṭha yoga there are three principal channels (nāni) that ascend through the human body. These are the inā and piṅgalā, which terminate in the left and right nostrils respectively, and the sushumnā, or sukhmanā, which is held to run up the spinal column. Along the sushumnā are located six or eight chakar (discs, wheels, “lotuses”) and at its base, behind the genitals, is the kuṇḍalīnī, a latent power symbolized by the figure of a sleeping serpent. By means of the haṭha yoga discipline the kuṇḍalīnī is awakened, and ascending the sushumnā it pierces each chakar in turn, thereby releasing progressively effectual stores of psychic energy. At the climax of the ascent it pierces the sahasradal, “the lotus of a thousand petals,” said to be located at the top of the cranium. The **dasam duār** (“tenth door”) then opens and the spirit (jīv) passes through the fontanelle into the ineffable condition of **sahaj**, the state of ultimate union with **Brahman**. This theory was a powerful contender in the days of the early **Gurus**, and **Nanak** in particular devoted many hymns to negating it. Some of the Nath terminology (notably **sahaj**) did, however, pass into his usage.

**HAUMAI.** Literally “I-I” (the first person singular pronoun repeated). The self-centeredness of an unregenerate person, which can only be overcome by meditation on the divine **Name**.

**HAWK.** In popular art **Guru Gobind Singh** is frequently depicted with a white hawk on his wrist. A hawk is identified as the bearer of the **Guru**’s spirit, exhorting the **Sikhs** to hold fast during times of oppression. One was observed at **Guru ka Bagh** in 1921, and another was seen during the massacre of Sikhs following Mrs. Gandhi’s assassination in 1984.

**HAZARA SINGH (d. 1908).** Member of a distinguished family of **Amritsar gianis** and a renowned scholar of **Sikh** literature. He supported the **Singh Sabha** at its inauguration in 1873 and contributed learned works to its program. Among these, his edition of the **vārs** of Bhai **Gurdas** is still extensively used today. He was the maternal grandfather of **Vir Singh**.

**HAZUR SAHIB.** The chief **gurdwara** in Nander, recognized as one of the five **takhats**. It is also known as Sach Khand Hazur Sahib.

**HEAVEN.** *See* SVARAG.

**HELL.** *See* NARAK.

**HEMKUNT SAHIB.** In the Himalayas of the Garhwal region, at a height of 4,636 meters, is Hemkunt. This spot is said to be the place where **Guru Gobind Singh**, prior to his human birth, engaged in austerities. These austerities are described in **Bachitar Nāṭak**, which traditionally was written by the **Guru**. A claim to have identified the place by its topographical resemblances was made in the early 1930s by **Tara Singh Narotam**. A **gurdwara** in the modern style has recently been erected there, accessible only in the warmer months.

**HIKAYAT.** Eleven stories from the **Dasam Granth** in **Gurmukhi** Persian, principally about the ways of women.

**HINDALI.** *See* HANDALI.

**HINDU ORIGINS.** The question of whether **Sikhs** are Hindus surfaced explicitly during the **Singh Sabha** period, clearly dividing the **Sanatan Sikhs** from the **Tat Khalsa**. The Sanatan Sikhs had no difficulty in affirming that Sikhs are Hindus, but the Tat Khalsa were adamantly opposed. The most famous publication to emerge during the Singh Sabha period was entitled *Ham Hindū Nahīn* (We Are Not Hindus), by the Tat Khalsa writer **Kahn Singh Nabha**. As the Tat Khalsa view permeated the **Khalsa**, this exclusivist view came to be accepted as orthodox, though **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs** still maintained that it was incorrect. **Nanak** was certainly born a Hindu. Today, however, most orthodox Sikhs (which means Sikhs of the Khalsa) hold that they are definitely not Hindus. *See also* IDENTITY.

**HIRA SINGH.** Son of **Dhian Singh** following whose assassination he won considerable support from the populist army. He lost it in 1844 and was killed by the army while trying to escape to the hills. *See also* DOGRA FAMILY.

**HIR RANJHA.** The enormously popular poetic story, set to music, of Hir and his beloved Ranjha.

**HISTORY, RECENT.** For several years prior to 1984 hostility had been growing between the government of India and the **Akali Dal**. The Akali claim centered on the **Anandpur Sahib Resolution** of 1973. This document asserted the right of the Akali Dal to represent the **Sikhs** and embodied several claims, some religious and some economic. The **Congress** Party (which controlled the central government) evidently sought to provoke disruption within the Akali Dal, promoting the interests of a young militant called **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** without him being aware of the fact. He soon proved himself much more radical than the leadership of the Akali Dal, insisting on a thoroughly **fundamentalist** approach. With his followers he occupied the buildings around **Harimandir Sahib** and, threatened with further hostilities, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi decided to send in the army. The attack (Operation Blue Star) began on June 5, 1984. So determined was the resistance that it was not until the following day that Bhindranvale was killed and the opposition subdued. The army had largely managed to avoid attacking Harimandir itself, but

in other respects the damage was considerable. The Sikh Reference Library had been burned and **Akal Takhat** lay in ruins.

In October 1984 Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards, and for several days mobs in **Delhi** and elsewhere killed Sikhs unchecked. The **Punjab** became the scene of warfare, Sikh militants fighting government of India forces. Not until 1992, with the killing of several militant leaders, did the government of India secure effective control over the state. Meanwhile, an accord signed in 1985 by the new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and **Harchand Singh Longowal** remains unfulfilled. Three items in particular are outstanding: the city of **Chandigarh** should be transferred to the Punjab; the question of contiguous villages needs to be recognized; and the distribution of river water must be determined. These issues have not yet been settled, but slowly the Sikhs have abandoned **Khalistan**. Bhindranvale, however, remains a martyr for many Sikhs. The all-India elections in 2004 returned a Congress government and when Sonia Gandhi, leader of the Congress Party, declined the office of prime minister it went instead to a Sikh, Dr. Manmohan Singh. His appointment was widely welcomed by the Sikhs. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICS.

**HOLA MAHALLA.** A Sikh festival that takes place on the first of Chet (March-April), the day following the Hindu festival of Holi. The instituting of the festival is attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**, the specific purpose being to provide for his Sikhs a day of military exercises. This, however, is most unlikely as Sikh sources indicate that Holi was celebrated by Sikhs into the 19th century. It is much more likely that HOLA Mahalla was elevated to its present status by the reforming **Tat Khalsa**. The festival is still celebrated at **Anandpur** with martial competitions and a mock battle in which **Nihangs** participate prominently.

**HOLKAR.** A Maratha chieftain who, pursued by East India Company forces, took shelter in the **Punjab** in 1805. **Ranjit Singh** required him to withdraw and in 1806 signed a treaty of friendship with the company.

**HONIGBERGER.** A Hungarian, one of many Europeans employed by **Ranjit Singh**, though not in drilling the army but rather in preparing gunpowder.

**HOOKAH (HUQQA).** A smoking apparatus. The **tobacco** burns in a small bowl, from which smoke is drawn by inhaling it down through a receptacle containing water and thence up a lengthy (often flexible) stem. Hookahs were strictly forbidden to the early **Khalsa**, probably because their use was identified as a distinctively Muslim custom. The prohibition now extends to tobacco in any form. Smoking is regarded with particular aversion by Sikhs and is treated as one of the **kurahits**. *See also* TOBACCO.

**HUKAM.** “Order.” The divine Order to which each person must submit in order to find liberation. In the teachings of **Nanak**, the divine Order is the constant principle governing the entire universe, manifested in the perfect consistency and regularity of **God**’s physical and moral creation. Each person must, through constant practice, strive to bring his or her life into accord with this principle. When the accord is perfect, liberation has been attained.

**HUKAM LAINA.** “To take an order.” For “taking a **hukam**” (or taking a **vāk**) the procedure is to open the **Guru Granth Sahib** at random and read the first hymn that appears at the top of the left-hand page (if necessary going back to the preceding page for the beginning of the hymn). This hymn is the **hukam** (or **vāk**). If the portion happens to be a part of a **vār**, the complete stanza together with its associated **shaloks** should be read. A **hukam** is always taken at the conclusion of a worship service and as a part of the **bhog** ceremony following a complete reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. It may also be taken as a daily routine by devout **Sikhs** in the early morning.

**HUKAM-NAMA.** “Letter of command.” From the time of **Guru Har-gobind** such documents were sent to sangats or individuals, giving instructions or requesting assistance. Several examples are extant. Virtually all of these early **hukam-namas** are, however, regarded by some scholars as spurious, the products of corrupt **masands** rather than those of the various Gurus or of **Banda** whose names they bear. Today **hukam-namas** are rarely issued and always come from a **takhat**, normally **Akal Takhat**. The modern procedure is for the Dharmik Salahakar Committee of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee to be summoned by the **Jathedar** of Akal Takhat, and if it decides that one should be issued it recommends doing so to him.

In 1978 one was promulgated against the **Sant Nirankari** Darbar. Hukam-namas are believed to carry the full authority of the **Panth** and disobeying them is a very serious offense for **Sikhs**.

– I –

**IDENTITY.** There are five varieties of Sikh identity. (1) **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** are initiated members of the **Khalsa**, having received **amrit**, or the sanctified water of initiation. (2) **Kes-dhari Sikhs** observe some or all of the **Khalsa Rahit**, always including the uncut hair, but do not take initiation. All **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** are also **Kes-dhari**, but only a minority of Kes-dharis are Amrit-dharis. Kes-dharis are usually regarded as members of the Khalsa, although a strict definition excludes all except the Amrit-dharis. (3) The **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs** cut their hair and do not observe the **Rahit**. (4) The fourth group consists of those who belong to Khalsa families (bearing the name **Singh** for men or **Kaur** for women) but cut their hair. This group has no satisfactory name. The term **Mona** (shaven) **Sikhs** is sometimes used but has pejorative overtones. **Ichhā-dhārī** (“one who desires”) has also been suggested but has not yet taken root. (5) The **Patit** (fallen) Sikhs are Amrit-dharis who have committed one of the four **kurahits**. The term is, however, loosely used to mean all Kes-dharis who cut their hair. *See also* SIKH.

**IDOL WORSHIP.** For Sikhs today, idol worship is strictly banned. Until the development of the **Singh Sabha** movement the practice was tolerated, and the **Sanatan Sikhs** could see no harm in keeping idols in the precincts of **gurdwaras**. The **Tat Khalsa**, however, was strenuously opposed to the practice, and in 1905 idols were removed from the precincts of **Harimandir Sahib**. Tat Khalsa opposition was based on an insistence that **God** could never be thus represented and also on their conviction that **Sikhs** were not Hindus. Its view is now accepted as orthodox.

**IK-OANKAR.** A popular emblem used by Sikhs, a combination of the **Gurmukhi** figure 1 and the letter O, taken from the **Adi Granth**, where it is employed as the first part of various invocations. It represents the unity of **God** (“One Oankar” or One Being). The emblem is a common feature of **Sikh** logos and frequently appears on buildings, clothing, books, letterheads, and so on. “Oankar” is actually a cognate



of “Om” and can carry the same mystical meaning. Many Sikhs, however, object to any suggestion that they are the same word. For them “Om” is Hindu whereas “Oankar” is Sikh. *See also* HINDU ORIGINS.

**IMMANENCE.** In Sikh doctrine **Akal Purakh** is both immanent and transcendent. In his fullness, he is far beyond the understanding of mankind, yet he is known to them through the created world. One needs but open one’s eyes, and the divine **Name** is everywhere to be seen. This message is repeatedly expressed in the hymns of the **Adi Granth**.

**INITIATION TO KHALSA.** *See* AMRIT SANSKAR.

**ISHNAN.** “Bathing.” Enjoined by the **Adi Granth** before meditation on the divine **Name**. **Sikhs** are expected to bathe immediately after arising before commencing **Nit-nem**. Where complete bathing is not practical, **pañj ishnān** are permissible.

**IZZAT.** “Prestige.” Honor associated with the social status of a family. The sense of izzat is particularly strong among the **Jats**.

– J –

**JAIDEV.** A Bengali poet of the 12th century. Traditionally he is regarded as the same Jaidev as wrote the *Gīt Govind*. There are two works by him in the **Adi Granth**.

**JAI RAM.** The husband of **Nanak**’s sister **Nanaki**, employed as the steward of **Daulat Khan Lodi** in **Sultanpur**. He was certainly a **Khatri**. His subcaste is variously said to have been Uppal or Palta.

**JAITA.** Bhai Jaita was a **Ranghreta Sikh** who was present at the execution of **Tegh Bahadur** and secretly carried the severed head up to **Anandpur** to lay it before **Gobind Singh**. Tradition also relates that upon taking initiation into the **Khalsa**, he assumed the name Jivan Singh and became a leading soldier under **Guru Gobind Singh**. He was killed at **Chamkaur** during the withdrawal from **Anandpur** in 1704.

**JAITO.** In 1923 the British government of the **Punjab** forced the abdication of Ripudaman Singh, the Maharaja of **Nabha**. He was reputed to be sympathetic to the **Akalis** who organized a number of **akhandpāths** throughout the state in sympathy. One of these, in the village of Jaito, was interrupted by the police and led to a major episode in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. The Akalis conducted a determined campaign, establishing the right to worship freely. Jaito also attracted much attention from Gandhi and the **Congress Party**, though Gandhi stressed that the religious issue should be detached from the political question of abdication.

**JALAU.** The public display of jewels and other precious articles held by **Harmandir Sahib**, **Akal Takhat**, and **Gurdwara Baba Atal Rai**. They are put on display during the **gurpurabs** of **Nanak**, **Ram Das**, and **Gobind Singh** and on the anniversary of the installation of the **Guru Granth Sahib**.

**JALLIANWALA BAGH.** During the disturbances of 1919 Brigadier General Dyer, who was in command of **Amritsar**, feared a serious outbreak in the city and placed it under martial law. Hearing that a large crowd had gathered in the park known as Jallianwala Bagh, he immediately dispatched troops, who opened fire on the unarmed people who had gathered there. This had two results: the death of an indeterminate number of people and the creation of a powerful psychological weapon for the Indian resistance movement under Gandhi.

**JANAM-ASTHAN.** The **gurdwara** in **Nankana Sahib** marking the birthplace of **Nanak**. *See also* NANKANA MASSACRE.

**JANAM-SAKHI.** A hagiographic work on the life of **Nanak**. The earliest dated janam-sakhi was recorded in 1658, but clearly their origins go much further back, probably to the actual lifetime of the **Guru**. Janam-sakhis first circulated orally as individual anecdotes about Nanak. After some time recorded versions began to appear, with the anecdotes loosely grouped in various chronologies corresponding to birth, childhood, manhood, and death. Later another version ordered the anecdotes about Nanak's adult life into a more structured sequence. Beginning with stories of his childhood, they take him

through early manhood in the town of **Sultanpur**, extensive travels within and beyond India, and a final period of teaching back in the **Punjab at Kartarpur**. Banaras, Sri Lanka, Mecca, and the legendary Mount Sumeru are among the many places he visits on his travels. The janam-sakhis derive from earlier **Sufi** models and many of the anecdotes are borrowed from Hindu and Muslim sources. Practically all of them are in simple Punjabi prose. All quote extensively from the **Adi Granth**, though their versions are seldom correct copies. Few facts can be ascertained from them, most of the anecdotes being tales of wisdom or marvelous deeds of a kind that so easily attach themselves to a great religious teacher. They have, however, been extensively used for writing “biographies” of Nanak, with popular accounts favoring the **Bālā tradition** and more respectable accounts depending on the **Purātan tradition**. This misunderstands the nature of hagiographic writing, for no reliable account of Nanak’s life can be derived from any of the janam-sakhis.

**JANAM-SAKHI TRADITIONS.** Several **janam-sakhi** versions or traditions have survived. The most important are the **Bālā** and **Purātan** traditions. Others are the **Ādi Sākhīs**, the **Gyān-ratanāvalī**, and the two versions of the **Mahimā Prakāsh** tradition, one of which is in verse. A significant version that did not give rise to a tradition was the **B40 Janam-sakhi**. A rather different style is followed by the **Miharban Janam-sakhi**, a work that is traced to the **Minas**. This uses the anecdotal framework to form the basis for a lengthy series of exegetical commentaries on the works of **Nanak**.

**JANG-NAMAH.** A Persian work written by Nur Muhammad in 1764–1765 while he accompanied **Ahmad Shah Abdali** on his seventh invasion. It contains information about 18th century **Sikhs**.

**JAP.** A work of 199 short verses attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh** and included in the **Dasam Granth**. It contains numerous terse descriptions of **God**, many only a single word. The **Jāp** (or *Jāp Sāhib*) should not be confused with **Guru Nanak’s Japji**.

**JAPJI.** *Japjī* or *Japujī*, “Repeat [God’s Name].” The best-known and most loved of all the scriptural works of the **Panth**. *Japjī* (or *Japjī*

*Sāhib*) is a composition by **Guru Nanak** that occurs at the beginning of the **Adi Granth** on pages 1–8, immediately after the **Mul Mantra**. Unlike the remainder of the **Adi Granth**, it is recited or chanted, not sung. It is included in the early morning portion of **Nit-nem**, to be said after waking and bathing. Many **Sikhs** observe only this part of the daily liturgy, murmuring *Japjī* while performing other duties such as preparing breakfast or proceeding to work. *Japjī* consists of 38 stanzas with an epilogue by **Guru Angad**, expressing in words of singular beauty a long hymn of praise to **God**. It concludes with a description of the five **khandḥs**, the levels through which the soul ascends to perfect union with the divine. *Japjī* should be distinguished from **Gobind Singh**'s *Jāp*, also specified as a part of **Nit-nem**.

**JARNAIL SINGH BHINDRANVALE (1947–1984)**. A **sant** born into a poor family and sent by his father to the **Damdami Taksal** at the age of seven. The **Taksal** gave him an education in the **Guru Granth Sahib**, and he became a fervent preacher of fundamentalist **Khalsa** traditions. He also became leader of the **Damdami Taksal** at a young age. **Punjab** politics at this time were divided by hostility between the **Akali Dal** and the central government over the claim that the state should have greater autonomy in managing its affairs. The **Congress** Party (which controlled the central government) was seeking some **sant** to cause disruption within the **Akali Dal** and, unaware, **Bhindranvale** was selected for this purpose. In this he succeeded, going well beyond the intentions of the **Congress** and attracting an increasing number of **Sikhs** to his radical cause. As conditions in the **Punjab** deteriorated still further, he took up residence in the **Golden Temple** complex, ever exhorting the **Sikhs** to be true to their traditions and never to bow before the devious and cunning **Hindus**. Conditions became even worse, and the central government eventually mounted an attack by the army on the **Golden Temple** complex in early June 1984. In this attack **Bhindranvale** was killed. A considerable mythology gathered around him during his lifetime, and there is every indication that he will always be regarded as a great hero and martyr of the **Panth**. See also **POLITICAL PARTIES; HISTORY, RECENT**.

**JASSA SINGH AHLUVALIA (1718–1783)**. Prominent **Sikh** military leader during the turbulent middle years of the 18th century. He was

born in the village of Ahlu near **Lahore** and became leader of the **Ahluvalia misl** with **Kapurthala** as its center. Together with other **misl** leaders he fought the **Mughals** and Afghans for control of the **Punjab**. On the occasions when the misls joined to form the **Dal Khalsa**, Jassa Singh Ahluvalia was recognized as supreme leader. His only son had died young, but the territory he controlled in **Doaba** survived under his successor, Bhag Singh. Even within the united Punjab of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**, the next successor, Fateh Singh, was allowed considerable independence. Jassa Singh Ahluvalia was a Kalal by **caste**, a fact that acquired importance when the Kalals were consciously elevating their status in the caste hierarchy of the Punjab.

**JASSA SINGH RAMGARHIA (1723–1803)**. Born in the village of Ichogil near **Lahore**, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia was by **caste** a **Tarakhan** and was previously known as Jassa Singh Thokar or Jassa Singh the Carpenter. During the **misl** period he took command of what was to become the **Ramgarhia misl** and adopted policies that conflicted with those of most other **sardars** who commanded misls. He built the mud fort Ram Rauni beside **Amritsar**, but when he was commanded by his superior **Adina Beg** to attack it he changed sides and defended it instead. Subsequently he rebuilt the damaged fort and named it Ramgarh in 1752. From this fort he came to be called Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. He held the territories to the north of **Amritsar**, but in the period of internecine warfare between the misls he lost it to the **Kahnaiya misl**. Turning to the southeast, he led his followers in attacks across the Jamna River and for a short time held **Delhi**. He died in 1803 and his son Jodh Singh surrendered his territories to **Ranjit Singh**. *See also* RAMGARHIA.

**JAT**. A rural **caste** of **Punjab** and Haryana. In Pakistani Punjab the **Jats** are Muslims; in Indian Punjab, adjacent Haryana, and northern Rajasthan they are **Sikhs**; and in the remainder of Haryana most of them are Hindus. In rural Punjab the Sikh Jats are strongly dominant, owning most of the valuable land and controlling the administration. This control extends into the state politics of the Punjab, where most of the chief ministers since independence in 1947 have been Jats. In the **Panth** they are particularly prominent, comprising more than 60 percent of all Sikhs. There they are frequently in competition with the **Bhapa Sikhs**

who, although much smaller in actual numbers, possess considerable skill in leadership and resources.

**JATHA.** A “military detachment” commanded by a **jathedar**. During the 18th century the **Sikhs** fought in **jathas**. Today the **Akali Dal** is organized into **jathas**.

**JATHEDAR.** The commander of a **jatha**; the chief officiant of a **Sikh** institution.

**JAWAHIR SINGH KAPUR (1859–1910).** A **Khatri Sikh** who joined the **Lahore Singh Sabha** in 1885 and became one of its most prominent members. Previously he had belonged to the **Arya Samaj**, but left it when its hostility to the **Sikh** faith became apparent. Education was for him a compelling interest.

**JHATKA.** The flesh of an animal killed with a single blow, approved for consumption by members of the **Khalsa**. *See also* HALAL; KUTTHA.

**JHINVAR.** A depressed **caste** of porters, water carriers and basket makers.

**JIND.** One of the three **Phulkian** states. Because it, like all three Phulkian states, lay to the east of the Satluj it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to become **PEPSU (Patiala and Eastern Princely States Union)**.

**JINDAN.** The youngest of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**’s three wives and the mother of his seventh son, **Dalip Singh**.

**JITO.** The first of **Guru Gobind Singh**’s three wives, married in 1677; mother of Jujhar Singh, Zorawar Singh, and Fateh Singh. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**JIVAN-MUKAT.** “One who has found liberation while yet physically living.” A person who, by reason of great piety, achieves the goal of liberation and union with the divine before death.

**JODH SINGH (1882–1981).** A **Khatri Sikh**, member of the **Singh Sabha** and a leading educationalist.

**JOINT FAMILY.** Most **Sikhs** used to live in joint families, and many still do. The convention is weakening, however, as some Sikhs are now required to live as nuclear families or prefer to do so. The gradual passing of the custom is regarded with regret, at least by older Sikhs, as its weakening is accompanied by diminishing obedience traditionally shown to elders.

**JOTI JOT.** The expression “joti jot samauna” means “to merge light into light” and is used for the death of a pious person (including the **Gurus**). It refers to the belief that each individual is a fragment of light from the Supreme Light or **Paramatma**, and at the death of a pious person that fragment merges back into the Light from which it came without having to continue the rigors of transmigration.

**JUGAVALI.** An apocryphal work attributed to **Nanak** by the Colebrooke version of the **Purātan janam-sakhi** tradition. *See also* KACHCHI BANI.

**JURA (JOORA).** The topknot into which a male **Sikh** ties his hair.

– K –

**KABIR (c. 1440–1518).** The most celebrated exponent of the **Sant** tradition of northern India apart from the **Sikh Gurus**. Kabir’s name is a Muslim one, but the beliefs that can be extracted from his many hymns seem Hindu. In view of the **Nath** terminology and concepts in them, he probably came from a family with Nath connections that had recently superficially converted to Islam. Kabir spent most of his life in Banaras where he followed his lowly **caste** occupation as a Julaha (weaver). Probably he was illiterate. Three collections of his works exist: the eastern (the *Bījak*), the western (*the Kabīr-granthāvalī*) and the **Punjabi** (the **Adi Granth**). The **Adi Granth** collection appears to be the oldest. Each differs from the other two, but the degree of overlap and other similarities mean that they essentially

have a common origin, although modified by their differing oral traditions. The *Adi Granth* contains 534 **shabads** and **shaloks**, making the Kabir collection the largest of the **bhagat bani**. Through his works, Kabir emerges as a thorough **sant**, at once blunt and mystical. All externals of religion are scathingly rejected, the way of true belief being wholly within.

**KACHCHI BANI.** A spurious composition falsely attributed to one of the **Gurus**. *See also* JUGAVALI; PRAN SANGALI.

**KACHH (KACHHAHIRA).** Shorts that must not reach below the knee. It is one of the **Five Ks** and as such mandatory for both male and female **Amrit-dhari Sikhs**. They may be worn as an undergarment.

**KAHNAIYA, BHAI.** *See* GHAHNAIYA RAM.

**KAHNAIYA MISL.** A **misl** of medium strength with territory northeast of **Amritsar**. The chieftain's son, Gurbakhsh Singh, was killed in fratricidal strife between misls in 1782. His widow, **Sada Kaur**, emerged as the effective leader of the misl and married her daughter to **Ranjit Singh**. For a while she was able to protect the misl from being absorbed by the Kingdom of the **Punjab**. In 1821, however, **Ranjit Singh** annexed her territories.

**KAHN SINGH NABHA (1861–1938).** A learned Sikh, author of the detailed and generally accurate encyclopedia of Sikhism entitled **Gurushabad Ratanākar Mahān Kosh** (first published in 1931). Born a **Jat**, he took his name from the town of **Nabha** and was for a time chief minister of the small princely state of Nabha. He attained fame as an apologist for the **Tat Khalsa** group within the **Singh Sabha**. One work of his, a small booklet entitled **Ham Hindū Nahīn** (We Are Not Hindus), first issued in 1898, became the standard-bearer in asserting that **Sikhs** are fundamentally different from Hindus. In spite of his work for the Tat Khalsa he was for some time regarded with caution because of his ties with the **Panch Khalsa Diwan** and his interest in the **Namdharis**. Kahn Singh gave considerable assistance to **Macauliffe** in writing and publishing *The Sikh Religion*. His first name is also spelled Kahan and sometimes misspelled Kanh.



**KALAL.** *See* AHLUVALIA.

**KALGIDHAR.** “Wearer of the aigrette.” **Guru Gobind Singh.**

**KALIYUG (KALIYUGA).** The fourth of the four eras in the cosmic cycle; the age of ultimate degeneracy that precedes the Satiyug, or the Age of Truth. At present the world is passing through the Kaliyug, often likened to a stormy ocean. According to **Gurmat** only meditation on the **nām** can ensure that the ocean is crossed.

**KALSIA.** A state with territory in the **Punjab** (near Moga) and what is now Haryana (near Jagadhri). Because the territories of Kalsia all lay east of the Satluj it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to form **PEPSU** (**Patiala** and Eastern Princely States Union).

**KALU.** Known as Mahita Kalu, he was a **Bedi Khatri**, keeper of the land records in the village of **Rai Bhoi di Talvandi** and father of **Guru Nanak**. He was married to **Tripta** and had a daughter, **Nanaki**, in addition to Nanak.

**KAMRUP.** In Kamrup the **janam-sakhis** set their story of the legendary **strī-desh**, or Land of Women. When **Nanak** and **Mardana** arrive at its border, Mardana offers to go ahead to beg for food. There he is turned into a sheep by the women of Kamrup. Nanak follows and they try to enchant him also, but to no effect. Eventually the women acknowledge his superior power and make their submission. Kamrup has been identified with the area of that name in Assam, but this is not possible, partly because the **janam-sakhis** have no idea of its actual location and partly because of the nature of the story. The actual origin is found instead in tantric mythology, where Kamrup figures as a symbol of eroticism and dark magic.

**KANA.** Having only one eye and therefore an unsuitable person for administering initiation into the **Khalsa**. The term is also used to mean a Muslim.

**KANGHA.** The small wooden comb worn in the topknot by **Sikhs** of the **Khalsa**. It is one of the **Five Ks**.

**KANPHAT.** *See* NATH TRADITION.

**KAPUR SINGH (1909–1986).** An important intellectual in the campaign for **Punjabi Suba** and in the **Khalistan** agitation.

**KAPUR SINGH, NAWAB (1697–1753).** Prominent Sikh military leader during the 18th century struggle for supremacy against Muslim power in the **Punjab**. He first attained prominence in 1733 when **Zakariya Khan**, trying peaceful means of controlling the **Khalsa**, offered the rank of Nawab to anyone chosen by the **Sikhs**. Kapur Singh was selected, and for a few years the Punjab remained relatively quiet. Later the forces of the **Khalsa** divided into **misl**s, Kapur Singh leading the **Faizulapurias**. For a time he was recognized as the leader of the **Dal Khalsa**, but later stood aside in favor of **Jassa Singh Ahluwalia**. Kapur Singh was a **Jat**.

**KAPURTHALA.** A separate state in **Doaba** from the **misl** period when it was founded by Sadhu Singh. Later it came under the control of **Jassa Singh Ahluwalia**. Because **Ranjit Singh** regarded him with favor, the state was permitted to retain a measure of independence even though it lay within the Doaba, a part of Ranjit Singh's territory. When the Doaba was taken over by the British in 1846 following the first Anglo-Sikh war, **Kapurthala** retained its limited independence and continued as a princely state until the British departure. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to form **PEPSU (Patiala and Eastern Princely States Union)**. *See also* ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

**KARA.** The iron or steel ring that **Sikhs** of the **Khalsa** wear around the right wrist. It is one of the **Five Ks**.

**KARAH PRASAD.** “[Sacramental] food prepared in a karahi.” A karahi is a large shallow iron dish used for boiling confections and other food. Karah prasad is distributed to every participant in a gurdwara at the conclusion of ordinary worship or of any special ritual

such as an **akhaṇḍpāth**, **amrit sanskār**, or **anand kāraj**. It may be offered by an individual worshiper who then retains a portion, the remainder being distributed to others. The actual origins of the practice are uncertain, though it has presumably been taken over from the Hindu custom of offering prasād in temple worship. The connection with an iron utensil suggests that the Sikh karah variety of prasād must have developed as a **Khalsa** ritual and that it should be traced no further back than the beginning of the 18th century. There is, however, a reference in the first vār of Bhai Gurdas, which may indicate that it dates from the 16th century. Karah prasād is prepared with equal parts of coarsely refined wheat flour (āṭā), clarified butter (ghī), and raw sugar (gur), with water added. While it is being prepared bāṇī is sung or recited. It is then brought into the presence of the **Guru Granth Sahib**, and the six appointed verses of **Anand Sāhib** are read. **Ardas** is recited, and finally the karah prasād is touched with a **kirpan** to signify that it is duly sanctified. It may then be distributed. Other portions that are brought to the **gurdwara** during the day may be added to it.

**KARAM (KARMA)**. The destiny or fate of an individual generated in accordance with the deeds performed in present and past lives. The **Gurus** affirmed karam but taught that it could be overcome by regular meditation on the divine **Name**.

**KAREVA**. Widow remarriage. In some **castes** when a husband dies, the widow is remarried to a brother of the deceased. The custom has been widely followed among **Jats**.

**KARORSINGHIA MISL**. A **misl** that had territory around Hoshiarpur. It was also known as the Karoria misl.

**KAR-SEVA**. “Work service.” Work that is undertaken without pay for some large task in the service of the **Panth**. The construction of a **gurdwara** would be an example. A special kār-sevā is the desilting of the pool surrounding **Harimandir** in **Amritsar** every fifty years. **Sikhs** from all walks of life consider it an honor to participate in cleaning the pool.

**KARTAR (KARTA, KARTA PURUKH).** “Creator.” A term commonly applied to **God**.

**KARTARPUR.** There are two towns of this name. One is on the right bank of the Ravi River, directly opposite **Dehra Baba Nanak**, and was founded by **Guru Nanak**. The other is in Jalandhar District, the town settled by **Dhir Mal**, which is where the **Kartarpur** volume of the **Adi Granth** is located.

**KARTARPUR BIR.** “Kartarpur volume.” The master draft of the **Adi Granth** held in Kartarpur. It is believed to be the copy dictated by **Guru Arjan** in 1603 and 1604 to his amanuensis, Bhai **Gurdas**. This origin is disputed by some scholars. *See also* ADI GRANTH BANNO RECENSION.

**KATHA.** “Homily.” A discourse, normally strongly hortatory, on a passage from **Sikh** scripture, an anecdote from the **janam-sakhis** or from traditional **Sikh** history.

**KAUR.** All female **Amrit-dharis** must add Kaur to their first name. As the custom is also followed by **Kes-dharis** and those of **Khalsa** background, the name is thus borne by a large majority of female Sikhs. Etymologically it derived from the Rajput term **kanvar**, or “prince,” and was used for persons of status. The usage that applied it to all **Khalsa** women was not introduced until the time of the **Singh Sabha** in the early 20th century. The first **rahit-nama** to include it was **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**. *See also* AMRIT SANSKAR; IDENTITY; NAMING CEREMONY; SAHIB DEVI.

**KAURA MAL (d. 1752).** A **Sahaj-dhari Sikh** who served under **Mir Mannu**, remembered by the Sikhs as Mittha (“sweet”) Mal instead of Kaura (“bitter”) Mal because of favors toward them.

**KES (KESH).** Uncut hair. One of the **Five Ks**.

**KESAR SINGH CHHIBBAR.** A member of the Chhibbar **Brahman** family that enjoyed power in the retinue of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

Author of *Bansāvalī-nāmā dasān pātshāhīān dā*, completed in 1769. This is an account of the **Gurus** from the author's point of view, biased by the family's loss of influence to the militant **Khalsa**. He gives the date of the founding of the Khalsa as 1696.

**KES-DHARI (KESH-DHARI)**. "One who wears hair [uncut]." **Sikhs** are generally identified by uncut hair (**kes** or kesh). Not all Sikhs can be recognized in this way, however, for the **Khalsa** rule forbidding the cutting of hair is not accepted by every Sikh. **Kes-dhari Sikhs** are those who do keep their hair uncut, forming an indeterminate majority of the **Panth**. The men are easily recognized by their distinctive **turbans**. Kes-dharis are generally (if loosely) regarded as the **Khalsa**, but only a small minority of them actually take initiation into the Khalsa. The remainder do not necessarily observe all of the **Rahit**, though they do retain their hair. All **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** (those who have taken initiation) are also Kes-dhari, but only some Kes-dhari are also Amrit-dhari. *See also* IDENTITY.

**KESGARH SAHIB**. The most famous **gurdwara** in **Anandpur Sahib**, overlooking the place where **Guru Gobind Singh** inaugurated the **Khalsa**. One of the five **takhats** is located at Kesgarh Sahib.

**KESKI**. A small under-turban, approximately one-quarter the length of a normal **turban**, worn by a **Kes-dhari** male when he is not appearing in public. The *keskī* may also be worn during sleep. A Kes-dhari who is fully dressed commonly retains it under his turban, with a small portion showing where the two sides of the turban meet on the upper forehead. In such cases it is normally of a different color. **Amrit-dharis** are permitted to wear *keskīs*. A few **Sikhs**, principally those of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**, hold that the **kes** is not one of the **Five Ks** that all Amrit-dhari Sikhs must wear, substituting instead the *keskī* for women as well as men.

**KEYS AFFAIR**. An incident in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**, which took place in 1921. The district commissioner of **Amritsar** decided that he would demand the keys of the **Golden Temple** treasury from the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** and entrust them to his own nominee. The seizure created a considerable

disturbance, and the governor of the **Punjab** consequently backed down and returned the keys.

**KHADUR.** The home village of **Angad** and the **Sikh** center during his period as **Guru**. It is in **Amritsar** District, near the right bank of the Beas River.

**KHALASA SIKH.** A term used for **Sahaj-dharis** in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

**KHALISTAN.** The name adopted for a sovereign Sikh state, independent of India. It has not been granted.

**KHALISTAN COMMANDO FORCE (KCF).** A guerrilla organization formed during the disturbances following the storming of the **Golden Temple** in 1984. It had connections with the **Damdami Tak-sal** and **All India Sikh Students Federation**. In 1988 it was seriously weakened by betrayal and by the consequent killing of its commander Labh Singh.

**KHALSA.** The order instituted by **Guru Gobind Singh**, certainly on Baisakhi Day (the first day of the Indian year) and probably in 1699 (though this date is disputed). The traditional reason given for its founding was the **Guru's** decision to provide his followers with a militant and highly visible identity, essential if they were to withstand imminent trials. Evil men had arisen, with the result that **God** was about to intervene. The **Khalsa** was to be the means of intervention. To this a supplementary reason needs to be added. The Guru was determined to have a united following, an objective that was being frustrated by the **masands**. They were to be disestablished, and all **Sikhs** would be required to pay their fealty direct to the Guru. Although the word *khālsā* derives from the Arabic/Persian *khālisā* (pure), a secondary meaning that had come to apply within the **Mughal** empire was "lands under the emperor's direct control." Some Sikhs were already under the immediate control of the Guru and remitted their offerings directly to him. All were now commanded to come under his direct control, renouncing their obedience to the masands. They were, in other words, to join his

Khalsa. In doing so they joined a militant order with a rigorous discipline and showed absolute loyalty to its master. The Khalsa still continues, its membership being the mark of a truly orthodox Sikh. Entry into it is by a ceremony of initiation known as **amrit sanskār**. Only a small minority of Sikhs actually undergo initiation, but those who do (the **Amrit-dharis** or the **Gursikhs**) are generally regarded as full-fledged Sikhs. The word is also used to designate any individual member of the Khalsa. *See also* KHALSA DATE; KHANDE DI PAHUL.

**KHALSA COLLEGE.** Khalsa College in **Amritsar** was the leading **Sikh** educational institution until the founding of Punjabi University in 1962. The decision to establish it was made in 1883. After tussling for control, the **Sanatan Sikhs** and the **Tat Khalsa** both agreed that they needed the other, and a Khalsa school was opened in 1893. In 1897 Khalsa College was begun with an English principal and, although in the first years it was very unstable, by 1905 its future was assured. For its foundation it depended on donations from some wealthy supporters of the Sanatan cause. As Khalsa College stabilized, however, it became a clearly Tat Khalsa institution. It expressed the conviction, born of the British example, that every community in India needed premiere educational institutions to symbolize its strength and to prepare its young men for the future. In 1920 it refused a grant from the government, thus freeing itself from government control. It is now a college of **Guru Nanak Dev University**.

**KHALSA DATE.** The date of the inauguration of the **Khalsa** has caused much perplexity. **Kuir Singh** gives a date that corresponds to 1689; **Sainapati** and **Ratan Singh Bhangu** give 1695; **Kesar Singh Chhibbar** gives 1696; and **Chaupa Singh** gives 1697. This evidence is contested by the historian Bute Shah who, writing in the middle of the 19th century, claimed that a newswriter, sent by the Emperor **Aurangzeb** to observe the event, names Baisakhi Day 1756 (1699 C.E.). Bute Shah is, however, much too late to be acceptable. Baisakhi Day 1756 (1699 C.E.) is first mentioned in an extant source by **Sukkha Singh** almost one hundred years later, in 1797. The date is strongly supported, however, by the modern historian **Ganda Singh** in articles and by his interpretation of certain

**hukam-nāmās.** The academic issue has not been definitively settled, but there can be no doubt concerning the corporate view of the **Panth**. Baisakhi Day 1699 is definitely the approved date.

**KHALSA INAUGURATION.** Probably on Baisakhi Day 1699 (the first day of the new year corresponding to March 30) **Guru Gobind Singh** summoned his **Sikhs** to his center at **Anandpur** for what turned out to be the most important event in Sikh history—the inauguration of the **Khalsa**, the militant order that Sikhs have ever since been encouraged to join. Much that happened on that Baisakhi Day is still subject to research. Two things, however, can be positively affirmed. Sikhs who joined the Khalsa were thereafter required to keep their hair uncut and were to carry arms. According to tradition, the **Guru** appeared with drawn **sword** before his followers, gathered for the Baisakhi festival, and demanded the head of a loyal Sikh. A Sikh called Daya Singh eventually volunteered and was conducted behind a screen to be dispatched. Four more volunteers were then required, and they too were taken behind the screen. With five victims apparently dispatched, the Guru revealed that none of them had in fact been slain. One version claims that five goats were killed instead. The Guru was merely testing their loyalty in order to form the nucleus of his new order. These five (the **Panj Piare**, or “Cherished Five”) had thereby proven themselves. The Guru then held an initiation ceremony for the Panj Piare, followed by the same ceremony for all Sikhs who were prepared to undertake the discipline of the Khalsa. *See also* AMRIT-DHARI; AMRIT SANSKAR; BAISAKHI; KHALSA DATE.

**KHALSA JI KA BOL-BALA.** The welfare, prosperity, of the **Khalsa**. Given as the **Panth**’s highest aspiration in the **Anandpur Resolution**.

**KHALSA MAHIMA.** “Praise of the **Khalsa**.” A portion of the **Sarab Loh Granth**.

**KHALSA PARLIAMENT.** *See* BHASOUR SINGH SABHA.

**KHALSA RAHIT PRAKASH.** A **rahit-nama** produced by Babu **Teja Singh of the Bhasaur Singh Sabha** that gave expression to his fundamentalist views of the **Khalsa Rahit**.



**KHALSA TANAKHAHS.** There are four **tanakhahs** that an initiated **Khalsa Sikh** must vow never to commit: showing disrespect to one's hair (by cutting it), eating **kuṭṭhā** meat, engaging in sexual intercourse with any person other than one's spouse, and using tobacco (smoking or chewing). The Khalsa Sikh who commits any of these **kurahits** is obliged to seek the forgiveness of his **sangat**, discharge the penance laid on him, and then seek reinitiation.

**KHALSA TRACT SOCIETY.** Founded by **Vir Singh** in 1894, it published pamphlets on themes of interest to the **Tat Khalsa**. Simply written and cheaply produced, they secured a wide distribution. Most of the pamphlets were actually written by Vir Singh. Christian publications provided the model.

**KHAND.** *See* PANJ KHAND.

**KHANDA.** (1) A two-edged **sword**. To **Guru Gobind Singh** the khanda represented **God** and is held in great reverence by the **Khalsa**. (2) The modern insignia of the Khalsa comprising a vertical two-edged sword over a quoit (chakkar), with two crossed sabers (**kirpān**) below the quoit. During the late 19th century the emblem apparently consisted of a cooking vessel, a kaṭār dagger, and a saber, corresponding to the Khalsa slogan "**deg tegh fateh**." It seems that this evolved into the modern insignia in the early 20th century, the round cooking vessel becoming a quoit. Today the emblem is displayed on the Khalsa flag, **turbans**, buttonholes, building decorations, publications, car windows, and so on.

**KHANDE DI PAHUL.** "Initiation by the **sword**." Initiation into the **Khalsa**. When administering initiation to a candidate, water (pāhul or pad-jal, lit. "foot water") must be stirred with a two-edged sword (khandā). *See also* AMRIT SANSKAR; CHARAN-AMRIT.

**KHARAK SINGH, BABA (1867–1963).** Prominent leader of the **Sikhs** during the 1920s in the **Central Sikh League** and later in the **Congress**. In the early 1920s he was active in the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. During the 1930s he formed his own group, the Central **Akali Dal**, in opposition to the Shiromani Akali Dal. In

the latter period he commanded little influence. Kharak Singh was an **Ahluvalia**.

**KHARAK SINGH, MAHARAJA (1803–1840).** The eldest son of **Ranjit Singh**, he was poorly trained to succeed his father. In 1839 he became Maharaja but left administration to his son, **Nau Nihal Singh**. He died as a result of opium consumption in 1840.

**KHARI BOLI.** The language that in **Guru Nanak's** day was spoken around **Delhi**. It is closely related to modern Hindi.

**KHATRI CASTE.** A high-ranking **caste (zāt)** in the **Punjab**, occupying a position at or near the top of the **Punjab's** urban hierarchy. The name is the **Punjabi** form of Kshatriya, the **Khatri**s claiming that they were warriors who took to trade. In their traditional occupation they command the better positions and are commonly found in large industry, banks, and insurance companies. Many Khatri's traveled to distant places in pursuit of trade, and early **Sikh sangats** in widely scattered locations were really Khatri foundations. They have also been very prominent in culture and education. The vast majority of Khatri's have remained Hindus, only a little more than 2 percent of all Sikhs belonging to the caste. They have, however, had an influence on the life of the **Panth** far greater than their numbers would suggest (particularly on education and the professions). When contracting marriages, Khatri generally marries Khatri. Most Khatri Sikh families have no inhibitions about marrying their children to Hindus of the same caste. All the **Gurus** were Khatri's by caste. *See also* GURU-VANS; KHATRI GOT ORGANIZATION.

**KHATRI GOT ORGANIZATION.** The **Khatri caste** has, by tradition, a complicated internal organization. In their **got** organization the **zāt** is internally divided into several endogamous units. The principal division is the traditional **chār bārah bavañjāh** or 4:12:52 convention. Four got's claiming a particularly elevated status observe endogamy; 12 more of intermediate status similarly constitute a separate endogamous grouping; and the remainder (notionally 52 in number) together form a third. The superior grouping comprises the Mehra/Malhotra, Kapur, Khanna, and Seth got's. Other patterns of

precedence are maintained and other restricted endogamies have emerged within the third category, the most famous of which is the fourfold grouping of gots that produced the 10 **Sikh Gurus**. These are the **Bedi, Trehan, Bhalla,** and **Sodhi gots**. No Sikh got claims a higher status than that of the Bedis. The stratification thus generated within traditional Khatri society today shows clear signs of decreasing as its members form marriage alliances across the 4:12:52 lines and as they transgress caste altogether and marry **Aroras**, another mercantile caste.

**KHEM SINGH BEDI (1832–1905)**. A direct descendant of **Guru Nanak** and one of the founders of the **Singh Sabha** in 1873. As a **Sanatan Sikh**, who maintained that there were no essential differences between **Sikhs** and Hindus, he was opposed by reformers of the **Tat Khalsa** persuasion. He had, however, a considerable following in northwest **Punjab**, where his descent and considerable charisma brought him many devotees.

**KHIDRANA**. *See* MUKTSAR.

**KHIVI (d. 1582)**. A **Khatri** of **Khadur**, wife of **Guru Angad**. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**KHUSHWANT SINGH (b. 1915)**. Modern **Sikh** historian, journalist, and novelist.

**KHWAJA KHIZAR**. A legendary Muslim saint worshiped as the river god in the **Punjab**. According to the **Purātan janam-sakhis**, **Guru Nanak** discoursed with Khwaja Khizar.

**KINSHIP**. Broad kinship relationships are very important to Sikhs (as to other Indians). Every individual is, in theory, a member of a joint family, a **biradari**, a **got**, and a **zat**. The number of familial words (much larger than in English) testifies to this importance. Descent for the Sikhs is patrilineal, and marriages link two groups of kin rather than two individuals.

**KIRATPUR**. A village in the **Shivalik Hills**, situated by the Satluj River overlooking the plains. **Guru Hargobind** acquired it in some

manner, perhaps from the Raja of Bilaspur, and retired there when conflict with the **Mughal** authorities made the plains too dangerous. His successor, **Guru Har Rai**, was compelled to abandon it and move further into the safety of the Shivaliks. **Guru Tegh Bahadur** returned to it but soon left and moved five miles northeast along the Shivaliks to the village of Makhoyal, which he rebuilt and renamed **Anandpur**. *See also* MUGHAL RELATIONS.

**KIRPAL CHAND.** The brother of Mata **Gujari**. He achieved prominence as a member of the retinue of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

**KIRPAL SINGH BHALLA.** Said to be the author of the *Mahimā Prakāsh Vāratak*, alleged to have been completed in the mid 18th century. His name is also given as Kirpal Das Bhalla. *See also* MAHIMA PRAKASH.

**KIRPAN.** The sword or poniard that is carried by members of the **Khalsa**. One of the **Five Ks**. Fierce controversy has erupted from time to time over the right to wear the **kirpan** and the size required. In general six to nine inches in total length is regarded as satisfactory, though many **Sikhs** wear miniatures less than one inch in length attached to the **kañgha**. The terms “dagger” and “knife” are commonly regarded as demeaning translations.

**KIRTAN.** The corporate singing of devotional songs. For **Sikhs**, these are normally compositions from the **Adi Granth**. This is specific if the practice is known as **shabad** kirtan. Shabads are sung in the various **rags** represented in the compositions of the **Adi Granth**, their character depending on the time of day and the mood of the **sangat**. Kirtan **darbars** or sessions in which those who have gathered sing kirtan are commonly held.

**KIRTAN SOHILA.** *See* SOHILA.

**KOER SINGH.** *See* KUIR SINGH.

**KOMAGATA MARU.** Early in the 20th century, the **Canadian** government, concerned by increasing immigration from India, decreed

that all prospective entrants must come from their own country by means of a “continuous journey.” The Canadian parliament was still subject to limitation by the British government, and since India was a part of the British Empire, overt discrimination was not allowed. Covertly, however, this was possible, and as no shipping line sailed direct from India to Canada without transshipping, the “continuous journey” provision was acceptable. This still permitted Sikhs to sail from East Asian ports, but ship owners were aware that no **Sikhs** would be allowed to land. **Gurdit Singh**, a Singapore businessman, thwarted this by chartering a ship (the *Komagata Maru*) and sailing it from Hong Kong to Vancouver, where it arrived on May 23, 1914. On board it carried 376 Indians, all but 30 of them Sikhs. Permission to land was refused (except for 22 who were able to prove Canadian domicile), and a two-month legal battle ensued. The government of British Columbia was clearly in the wrong, but it held to its view. In the end, threatened by a cruiser and with provisions exhausted, Gurdit Singh had to weigh anchor and sail to Calcutta. When the *Komagata Maru* berthed there, the British ordered all its passengers to board a train for the **Punjab**. Gurdit Singh and his followers refused to obey and left the ship, carrying the **Guru Granth Sahib** in procession. The police opened fire, killing 18. Gurdit Singh and 28 others escaped and went into hiding. The remainder were captured and sent up to the Punjab, most of them to be interned there. In Canada the *Komagata Maru* incident is still well remembered by the Sikhs.

**KOTHA SAHIB.** The room in **Akal Takhat** where the **Guru Granth Sahib**, installed in the **Golden Temple** by day, is laid to rest at night.

**KUIR SINGH.** Alleged author of *Gur-bilās Pātshāhī 10*, the heroic story of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Although the work claims an 18th century origin, it was actually written in the early or mid 19th century. *See also* DEVI WORSHIP; GUR-BILAS.

**KUKA SIKHS.** *See* NAMDHARI.

**KULLA PATH.** A complete reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib** in an indefinite period with no preordained date for the **bhog** ceremony. *See also* SADHARAN PATH.

**KUNDALINI.** The term *kundalīni* has been inherited from the **Nath tradition**. **Sikhs**, however, believe that it refers to a person's spiritual being benefiting from contact with **gurmukhs** (the **sadh sangat**). The followers of **Yogi Bhajan** (members of the **3HO**) call their discipline kundalini yoga. *See also* SIKH DHARMA OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

**KURAHIT.** Violation of the **Rahit**, or “serious sin.” The modern Rahit, as set out in **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**, specifies four prohibitions or **kurahits** that are particularly serious for **Amrit-dhari** Sikhs: cutting one's hair, eating meat that is **kuṭṭhā**, having sexual intercourse with anyone other than one's spouse, and using **tobacco**. Anyone who commits any of these cardinal sins must confess and then be reinitiated. Three of the prohibitions were included in the 18th century Rahit. The sexual intercourse item, however, is evidently a modern development from the 18th century prohibition of intercourse with Muslim women.

**KURI-MAR.** *See* FEMALE INFANTICIDE.

**KUTTHA.** Animals killed according to Muslim law (halāl meat). One of the four **kurahits** that **Sikhs** of the **Khalsa** must swear at initiation to avoid. The purpose of making this a kurahit was clearly to distinguish Sikhs from their enemies, the Muslims. Meat is halāl when the animal has been allowed to bleed to death while the Muslim confession of faith is recited. Sikhs of the **Khalsa** may consume meat only from an animal that has been killed with a single blow (**jhatkā**).

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**LABANA.** *See* LUBANA.

**LACHHMAN SINGH GILL (1917–1969).** Chief minister of **Punjab**, 1967–1968.

**LAHINA (1504–1552).** A **Trehan Khatri** of **Khadur** who became a disciple of **Nanak**. He was later renamed **Angad** and succeeded **Nanak** as the second **Guru** of the **Sikhs** in 1539.

**LAHORE.** The chief city of undivided **Punjab** and the capital city of **Ranjit Singh** and his successors. **Lahore** has many shrines sacred to the **Sikhs**, among them **Dera Sahib** and **Shahidganj**.

**LAKH.** 100,000. One hundred lakhs equal a **crore**.

**LAKHI JUNGLE.** A wasteland south of Firozpur where the **Khalsa** sheltered during periods of persecution in the 18th century.

**LAKHMI DAS (trad. 1497–1555).** One of the two sons of **Guru Nanak**, traditionally believed to have opposed his father's appointment of **Angad** as second **Guru**. His descendants continue to this day. *See also* GURU-VANS; SIRI CHAND.

**LAKHPAT RAI.** A chief minister of **Lahore** under the **Mughal** Governor **Zakariya Khan**, noted for persecuting the **Khalsa**. In 1738 he had the custodian of **Harimandir Sahib**, **Mani Singh**, executed. Under **Zakariya Khan**'s successor **Yahya Khan** he continued his vigorous persecution, and in 1746 he killed several thousand **Sikhs** near **Gurdaspur** in the **Chhota Ghallughara**.

**LAKKHI SHAH.** *See* RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA.

**LAKSHMAN SINGH, BHAGAT (1863–1944).** A prominent if uncritical writer in the time of the **Singh Sabha**. Author of *Guru Govind Singh, Sikh Martyrs*, and a useful *Autobiography*.

**LALO.** According to later **janam-sakhi** tradition, **Nanak** once stayed in **Saidpur** with a low-caste carpenter named **Lalo**. A rich **Khatri**, **Malik Bhago**, wished to know why the **Guru** had not stayed with him. In reply **Nanak** took a portion of **Lalo**'s coarse food in one hand and some of **Bhago**'s rich fare in the other. When he squeezed them milk issued from **Lalo**'s food, and blood from **Bhago**'s. The amazed **Bhago** at once fell at his feet and, giving away his ill-gotten gain, became his faithful **Sikh**.

**LAL SINGH.** Appointed vazir of the **Punjab** in 1845 by **Jindan**, with the understanding that he would help destroy the power of the pop-

ulist leaders of the Punjab army. With **Tej Singh** he secretly contacted the approaching British and aided them significantly in the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1845–1846. *See also* ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

**LANGAR.** The free kitchen and dining hall, or other provision for serving meals, that must be attached to all **gurdwaras**. The purpose was clearly to eliminate **caste** on the territory of the gurdwara and so to eliminate it as either a means or a hindrance to liberation. Everyone had to sit in the same status-free lines (**pangat**), and everyone had to take the food without knowing who had prepared it. The convention was borrowed from **Sufi** establishments (*khānqāhs*). It is not known for certain which **Guru** introduced the practice, but it was evidently present in the time of **Amar Das**. In smaller gurdwaras the langar may operate only once a week; in the larger ones every day. Gifts of produce and fuel are **sevā** to the Guru, as is unpaid time spent serving in the langar.

**LANGUAGES.** Sikhs attach a deeply affectionate importance to the **Punjabi** language and its **Gurmukhi** script. Although most of the **janamsakhis** are recorded in Punjabi, the language of the **Adi Granth** is best described as **Sant Bhasha** (Sant language), or the sacred language of the Sikhs. The **Dasam Granth** is in the Gurmukhi script, but the language is predominantly **Braj** (the language of the Mathura region and the Krishna cycle). In the 19th century **Sikh** literary usage swung strongly back to Punjabi. *See also* ADI GRANTH LANGUAGE.

**LAVAN.** The act of circumambulating a sacred fire (Hindu rite) or the scripture (Sikh rite) during a marriage ceremony. In **Anand Karaj** the couple make four lavan round the **Adi Granth** while the four stanzas of **Guru Ram Das's** *Sūhī Chhant* 2 (AG, pp. 773–74) are sung.

**LEATHER.** Leather is commonly regarded as polluting in India, and leather workers are typically **Dalit Chamars**. Strict **Namdharis** will not drink tap water because it must pass over leather washers. This distaste for leather is sometimes carried over to **gurdwara** entry, many worshippers surrendering leather belts and women's handbags



before entering. Soldiers and police may have to abandon their leather belts before entry. Opponents of this custom quote the instance of Bhai **Kahnaiya**, who dispensed water to friend and foe alike from a leather bag.

**LITURGY.** By the time the **Adi Granth** was compiled in 1603 and 1604, a daily liturgy had clearly emerged within the **Panth** and is recorded on the opening 13 pages of the scripture. This liturgy comprises **Nanak's Japji** (early morning); **Raharās** (sunset); and **Kīrtan Sohilā** (before retiring at night). *See also* NIT-NEM.

**LOHRI.** A festival marking the end of the short winter, held at night on the last day of the month of Poh (January).

**LONGOWAL (LANGAVAL).** *See* HARCHAND SINGH LONGOWAL.

**LUBANA.** A caste of traders, carriers, and hawkers of the hill area of the **Punjab**. Approximately 30 percent of the Lubanas are **Sikhs**. The claim of descent from **Rajputs** and Gaur **Brahmans** seems impossible to sustain. *See also* MAKHAN SHAH.

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**MACAULIFFE, MAX ARTHUR (1837–1913).** A name deeply revered in the **Panth**. Max Arthur Macauliffe was an Indian civil service (ICS) officer assigned to the **Punjab**. He rose to be a deputy commissioner in 1882 and a divisional judge in 1884. Meanwhile, he had been studying the literature of the **Sikhs**, and in 1893 he resigned from the ICS to devote his time exclusively to it. **Trumpp's** translation of the **Adi Granth** had deeply offended the Sikhs, and Macauliffe's intention was to produce a translation of his own that would repair the damage. Also, he argued, the government would be wise to understand a people who were potentially of great assistance to it. Working closely with **Kahn Singh Nabha** and various **gianis** in **Amritsar**, he circulated his drafts widely among the Sikhs. Eventually the work was completed and was published as *The Sikh Religion* (six volumes in three) in 1909. It con-

tains accounts of the lives of the 10 **Gurus** and the **bhagats** of the **Adi Granth**, together with extensive translations of their works. Unfortunately the work received no patronage from the Punjab government, and as a result the publication cost Macauliffe a large sum. *The Sikh Religion* has had an immense and continuing success. It is important to remember, however, that the author consistently reflects the **Singh Sabha** attitudes of his close Sikh associates. Highly sympathetic to the **Tat Khalsa**, his work is generally uncritical of it.

**MAHADEVI.** The third of the three wives of **Guru Hargobind**. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**MAHALA.** The word employed in the **Adi Granth** to indicate authorship by one of the **Gurus**. Mahala 1 (or M1) designates **Guru Nanak**; Mahala 2 (or M2) **Guru Angad**; and so on. The formula is used at the beginning of each work. The origin of the word is obscure. It may have been borrowed from **Mughal** usage, which referred to a principality as a mahala. Alternatively mahal means “abode,” and mahalā, deriving from mahal, may mean “the place [where **Akal Purakh** resides].”

**MAHAN SINGH (d. 1792).** The leader of the **Shukerchakia misl** and father of **Ranjit Singh**.

**MAHANT.** “Superior.” The head of an establishment such as those of the **Naths** or **Udasis**. Its reputation for modern **Sikhs** has been tarnished beyond redemption, for this was the title applied to the hereditary proprietors of **gurdwaras**, some of whom became a scandal to the **Panth** during the early years of the 20th century. *See also* GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT.

**MAHARAJ SINGH, BHAI (d. 1856).** The successor of **Bir Singh**, he attracted thousands of **Sikhs** by his preaching and his reputation as a miracle worker. He fought against the British in the second Sikh war of 1848–1849. After eluding capture, he was finally taken and transported to Singapore.

**MAHIMA PRAKASH.** There are two different **janam-sakhis** of this name: the *Mahimā Prakāsh Vāratak* (prose) and the *Mahimā Prakāsh*

*Kavitā* (verse). Apart from the fact that both originated in **Khadur**, there is little to connect them. Both appear to have been composed in the middle of the 18th century.

**MAHTAB SINGH.** *See* MASSA RANGHAR.

**MAHTON.** A small **caste** centered on the **Doaba**, some of whom have become Sikhs. Their own account of their origins holds them to be **Rajputs**. Others dispute this.

**MAKHAN SHAH.** Makhn Shah Lubana is traditionally said to have been a trader of the mid 17th century. During a storm at sea he vowed to give the **Sikh Guru** 500 gold mohurs if he was spared. After the storm abated, he traveled up to the **Punjab** and was informed that the **Guru** was to be found in the village of **Bakala**. On proceeding there, he found many claiming the title vacated by the recent death of **Guru Har Krishan**. He decided to test them all, laying before each of the claimants two mohurs. When he reached **Tegh Bahadur**, he was asked for the remainder he had promised. Immediately he rushed up to the rooftop, proclaiming that he had found the true Guru.

**MALA.** A garland; a necklace; a rosary for aiding meditation.

**MALCOLM, JOHN (1769–1833).** Following a visit to the **Punjab** with Lord Lake in 1805, John Malcolm published his *Sketch of the Sikhs* in 1810. The work, which was the result of extensive inquiries, mixes error with some very perceptive observations.

**MALERKOTLA.** A small town south of Ludhiana previously was ruled by a Muslim. Sher Muhammad, who was ruler in the time of **Guru Gobind Singh**, interceded with **Vazir Khan** without success for the lives of the **Guru**'s two sons. This gesture has never been forgotten by the Sikhs, and Muslims fleeing from **Sikhs** in **Partition** days were safe once they had crossed the border into Malerkotla. Because it was east of the Satluj, it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After Partition it merged with other princely states to become a part of **PEPSU (Patiala and Eastern Princely States Union)**.

**MALWA.** The territory southeast of the Satluj River, one of the three areas into which central **Punjab** is divided. The eastern and southern boundaries are where the **Punjabi** language gives way to Hindi. The inhabitants are known as Malwais. *See also* DOABA; MANJHA.

**MAN.** This word (a cognate of *manas* and pronounced “mun” as in “mundane”) is of key importance in **Gurmat**. It denotes the inner human faculty that combines the heart, mind, and soul of conventional Western usage. When led astray by his or her own wayward notions, a person is following *man* and is said to be **manmukh** (one who follows his or her own self-centered impulses). The opposite is **gurmukh**. The way to truth involves the conquest of the *man*. “Mani jītai jagu jītu,” “To conquer the *man* is to conquer the world” (AG, p. 6).

**MANI SINGH (1673–1738).** A **Jat Sikh** born in a village near **Patiala**. He became a devoted follower of **Guru Gobind Singh** and after the evacuation of **Anandpur** in 1704 escorted two of the Guru’s wives to **Delhi**. Returning to join the **Guru** in **Damdama Sahib**, he inscribed, by tradition, a copy of the **Adi Granth** at the Guru’s dictation. He is also said to have gathered together the various works that now form the **Dasam Granth**. This too is by tradition. In the controversy over changes introduced into the **Panth** by **Banda**, he evidently sided with the **Tat Khalsa**. When the **Punjab** eventually quieted down following the execution of Banda, he was placed in charge of **Harimandir Sahib** by Mata **Sundari**. In 1738 he was executed by the **Mughal** governor of **Lahore** on a spurious charge of failing to pay tribute. Since then he has been remembered by the **Panth** as a great martyr.

**MANI SINGH JANAM-SAKHI.** *See* GYAN-RATANAVALI.

**MANJHA (MAJH, MAJHA, MANJH).** The Bari interfluvial tract; the territory between the Beas/Satluj and Ravi Rivers, one of three areas that constitute central **Punjab**. The inhabitants are known as Majhails. *See also* DOABA; MALWA.

**MANJI.** Considerable uncertainty surrounds the title “manji,” granted to a small number of faithful **Sikhs** during the early years of the

**Panth.** Literally meaning “string bed,” the word designated the person who, possessing authority or esteem, sat on the bed while everyone else sat on the ground. In this sense, the word is used today to designate the stool or lectern on which the **Guru Granth Sahib** rests. **Guru Amar Das** is usually credited with appointing the first manjis and awarding the title to those empowered to preach in his name. The honor did not imply any geographical authority, and there is no justification for the parallel with the Emperor Akbar’s 22 provinces (bāi sūbā). The order did not last long and was replaced under **Guru Ram Das** by the **masands**, men with a significantly larger and more formal authority than the manjis possessed.

**MANJI SAHIB.** 1. The lectern on which the **Guru Granth Sahib** is placed in a **gurdwara**. 2. Several shrines or **gurdwaras** bear the name of Manji Sahib, a prominent one being on the southeastern side of the pool of **Harimandir Sahib** in **Amritsar**, where **Guru Arjan** is said to have held regular audience. It has since been frequently used for Sikh gatherings and is now covered in by the Divan Hall.

**MANMUKH.** “One whose face is turned to [his or her own] *man*.” A self-willed, wayward person. *See also* GURMUKH.

**MANSA DEVI.** The wife of **Guru Amar Das**. Little is known of her. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**MARDANA (1459–1634).** A Muslim by religion and a Mirasi by **caste**, Mardana was born in **Nanak**’s village of **Rai Bhoi di Talvandi** and presumably earned his early living by his **caste** profession of minstrel, playing the rabab. The **janam-sakhis** are unanimous in naming him as **Nanak**’s regular companion and rababi, and this can be accepted. In the **janam-sakhis** he regularly appears as a foil to **Nanak**’s wise sayings or miracles. Three compositions by him appear in the **Adi Granth**.

**MARRIAGE.** *See* ANAND KARAJ; ARRANGED MARRIAGES.

**MARTIAL RACES.** When the British developed their theory of the “martial races” of India during the latter part of the 19th century

the **Sikhs** were one of the main beneficiaries. The British needed soldiers for the Indian army who possessed both fighting skills and loyalty to their commanders. In response they developed the theory of the martial races. The Sikhs were prime candidates for inclusion, partly because they had fought the British so vigorously in the Anglo-Sikh wars and partly because most of them proved to be hostile to the Indians responsible for the 1857 uprising. As a result they were strongly favored in recruitment, taking their place with other “martial races” such as the **Punjabi** Muslims and the Gurkhas. Not all Sikhs were so favored, however, and recruitment officers had manuals that specified **castes** and regions that were regarded as sound or otherwise. Whereas in general the **Jats** were greatly esteemed, the **Aroras** were largely ignored. During World War II remittances to **Punjab** villages caused the **Akali Dal** to favor continued recruitment in spite of the fact that it had been aligned with the **Congress** Party, which opposed it. After independence in 1947 the proportion of Sikhs in the armed forces was seriously cut back, places being filled by regional quotas. Sikhs, protesting this, claim that places ought rather to be filled by those with reputations for fighting ability. *See also* ARMY, ARMED FORCES; MILITANCY.

**MARTYR.** *See* SHAHID.

**MARYADA.** Ritual; order of service; religious practice.

**MASAND.** Evidently a corrupted version of the Arabic *masnad*, “throne” or “one who sits on a throne.” The masands were first instituted as surrogates of the **Guru**, evidently by **Ram Das**. It appears that they replaced the **manjis** appointed by **Amar Das**, creating a regular order and significantly enlarging the responsibilities of the manjis. In addition to preaching, they were also commissioned to oversee individual **sangats** or groups of sangats and to collect offerings made to the Guru (the **dasvandh**). These would be passed on to the Guru whenever the masands made contact with him, perhaps at one of the annual festivals. During their early years, the masands apparently performed their duties faithfully, but by the time of **Guru Gobind Singh** many of them had become largely independent and

corrupt. The Guru therefore abolished them when he founded the **Khalsa**, probably in 1699. A follower of a masand is called a masandia. *See also* PANJ MEL.

**MASIA.** *See* AMAVAS.

**MASSA RANGHAR.** A Hindu **Rajput** appointed commandant of **Amritsar** by the **Mughal** governor of **Lahore**, **Zakariya Khan**. He used the precincts of **Harimandir Sahib** for amusement with dancing girls and in 1740 was assassinated for his sacrilege by Mahtab Singh and Sukkhar Singh.

**MATA.** “Mother.” A title of respect given to older women. The wives of the **Gurus**, for example, are always called Mata.

**MATHA TEKANA.** “To [bow down and] place the forehead [on the ground].” The action performed before the **Adi Granth** by anyone entering a **gurdwara**.

**MATI DAS (d. 1675).** One of three **Sikhs** executed with **Guru Tegh Bahadur**. *See also* DAYAL DAS; SATI DAS.

**MAYA.** In the **Adi Granth** maya signifies the corrupt and corrupting world with all its snares, seductively presented to people as permanent and incorruptible and thus masquerading as ultimate truth. In some **Sikh** contexts it means filthy lucre.

**MAYA SINGH.** A prominent member of the early **Lahore Singh Sabha** and editor of the Urdu *Khalsa Gazette*. Formerly a member of the **Arya Samaj**.

**MAZHABI.** A **Sikh** from the **Chuhra** (sweeper) **caste**; an Outcaste Sikh. *See also* DALIT; RAMDASIA; RANGHRETA.

**MEHTAB SINGH (1879–1938).** An **Arora Sikh** who was a prominent political leader in the early 1920s.

**MEWA SINGH.** A **granthi** in Vancouver who in 1914 killed an Anglo-Indian policeman called Hopkinson who was employed by the gov-

ernment of British Columbia to break up the **Ghadr** movement. Mewa Singh is regarded as a martyr, and the anniversary of his execution is celebrated by the **Sikhs** of North America.

**MIAN MIR (1550–1635).** A **Sufi** with whom **Guru Arjan** is traditionally believed to have been friendly. The belief that he laid the foundation stone of **Harmandir Sahib** is unsubstantiated.

**MIGRATION.** Until the late 19th century migrant **Sikhs** were chiefly traders who settled elsewhere in India or in neighboring lands to the west. This range was substantially enlarged by the Indian army of the British. Sikh soldiers stationed in Singapore and Hong Kong began the **Punjabi** migration to both territories, a small flow that soon extended to **Australia, New Zealand,** and Fiji. Most were male **Jats**, virtually all of them seeking temporary unskilled employment. Others had discovered opportunities along the West Coast of North America, the first migrants evidently arriving in 1903. Semiskilled artisans (mainly **Ramgarhias**) were also taken across to East Africa to lay railways. Early in the 20th century these doors were closed. When the **Punjabi** flow recommenced after World War II, it issued from both India and Pakistan, with most migrating to England but with significant numbers again going to North America. As before, a substantial majority of those from India were Sikhs from districts bordering the upper Satluj. The Sikh population in the **United Kingdom** was 336,000, according to the census of 2001. There are also communities of roughly 180,000–200,000 each in the **United States** and **Canada**. *See also* POPULATION.

**MIHARAB.** The niche in a mosque that indicates the qibla (i.e., the direction of the Ka'bah in Mecca).

**MIHARBAN (1581–1640).** The son of **Prithi Chand** and his successor as leader of the **Mina** sect.

**MIHARBAN JANAM-SAKHI.** A six-volume **janam-sakhi** attributed to **Miharban** and his successors. As they were **Minas**, the **janam-sakhi** is generally thought to be heretical. This is not so, as the **Minas**, though schismatic, were generally orthodox. The work uses the **janam-sakhi** pattern as a framework, but adds extensive exegesis of



the works of **Nanak** to each janam-sakhi incident. Only the first three volumes have survived.

**MILITANCY.** The **Sikhs** have won fame as a warrior race. This reputation has certainly been earned by many of them, but it needs to be qualified. It is the **Jats** who have been largely responsible for this reputation, other **castes** being less conspicuous. The **Punjab** has always been crossed by invaders, and open warfare is a useful means both of protection and offence. The Jats were notably successful in this respect, gradually establishing for themselves the position of the dominant caste in rural Punjab. A Jat normally went armed, at least with a stave, and the men had long since discovered that the force of their arms was the best method of securing their objectives. This attitude has been widely believed to be characteristic of the **Panth** as a whole. It should be noted that more than 60 percent of Sikhs are Jats, so the mistake is an understandable one. Moreover, other **Punjabi** castes such as the **Khatris** could also produce their warriors, including of course **Guru Hargobind** and **Guru Gobind Singh**. Sikhs sometimes show their sympathy for militancy in the personal names they choose. (“Karnail” and “Jarnail” are the Punjabi forms of “Colonel” and “General.”) It was also conspicuously displayed by the actions of many members of the Panth in opposing the government of India in the troubles affecting the state between 1984 and 1992. *See also* ARMY, ARMED FORCES; MARTIAL RACES.

**MILNI.** The meeting of the relatives of both sides prior to the celebration of a wedding. At the place of marriage the father of the groom steps forward and is embraced by the father of the bride. Brothers and uncles then follow. Gifts are given to the groom’s relatives by the relatives of the bride.

**MINA.** “Dissembler.” Unscrupulous scoundrel. The term applied to any follower of **Prithi Chand**, eldest brother of **Arjan** and disappointed contender for the title of **Guru. Ram Das** had three sons, and although he had decided that the office should remain in his family, his choice of a successor went to his youngest son, Arjan. Prithi Chand vigorously disputed this decision and on one occasion is said to have tried to poison the young **Hargobind**, Arjan’s only child. Prithi Chand was suc-

ceeded in his claim to be the rightful Guru by his son **Miharban**. The group controlled **Amritsar** for much of the 17th century, and under the second successor Hariji was able to keep **Guru Tegh Bahadur** from entering it. The Minas were included in the **Panj Mel**. During the 18th century the group faded away and is now virtually extinct.

**MIR MANNU (d. 1753)**. Son of the Vazir of **Delhi**, his correct name was Muin ul-Mulk. He was appointed governor of **Lahore** and **Multan** in 1748 during the period when **Mughal** power was rapidly declining in the Punjab and made determined efforts to suppress Sikhs who were disrupting the province. He had to confront the Afghan invader **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, however, which necessitated enrolling **Sikhs** in his army. With this danger past he returned to a policy of vigorous suppression. In 1753 he was killed when his horse threw him.

**MIRA BAI**. One hymn by the female **bhagat** Mira Bai is included in the **Banno** version of the **Adi Granth**. The same hymn appears in the **Kartarpur** version in a different hand from that of the original scribe, but has been crossed out.

**MIRASI**. A depressed caste of Muslim genealogists and musicians; the **caste** to which Mardana belonged. Also called Dum.

**MIRI/PIRI. Hargobind** is traditionally believed to have symbolically donned two **swords** when succeeding as sixth **Guru**. One sword was called *pīrī*, marking a continuation of the spiritual mission of his five predecessors. The other was new. This represented *mīrī*, the right of the Guru to wear arms and to fight against tyranny. Both terms are of Muslim derivation, *pīrī* signifying the spiritual role of a **Sufi pir** and *mīrī* the rank of a mir or chieftain. The term *mīrī/pīrī* seems not to have been used for some time, but it later attained popularity as a result of its rhyme and is frequently cited as justification for the duty of the **Panth** to fight against oppression.

**MIRTAK SANSKAR**. *See* FUNERAL.

**MISL**. An armed group of **Sikh** horsemen during the middle and later decades of the 18th century. Under their **misdars** they acquired

regional authority over areas of varying size. The **misls** (or misals) began as warrior bands providing protection for the **Khalsa** as order progressively broke down in the **Punjab** and taking advantage of conditions of growing lawlessness. **Jats** were particularly prominent in the misls, though other rural castes also participated. In the early years rudimentary misls fought against the declining authority of the **Mughals**. Later, as they became firmer in their organization, the chief enemy was the Afghan army under **Ahmad Shah Abdali**. As the Afghan threat receded, the misls marked out their individual territories more distinctly and at times engaged in internecine warfare. Operations were based on *rāk̄hī* or protection money, normally one-fifth of a village's produce. Two of them (the **Bhangi** and the **Phulkian** misls) had meanwhile grown into confederacies. Finally one of their number, **Ranjit Singh** of the **Shukerchakia** misl, defeated or absorbed all the misls north and west of the Satluj River and emerged as ruler of an undivided Punjab around 1800. Misls to the south of the Satluj were obliterated or protected by the advancing British. Those that were protected (all parts of the Phulkian federation) were retained as princely states, the chief among them **Patiala**. Twelve misls are recognized: the Bhangi, Shukerchakia, **Kahnaiya**, **Ramgarhia**, **Nakkai**, **Faizulpuria** (or **Singhpuria**), **Ahluvalia**, **Dallevalia**, **Karorsinghia**, **Nishanvalia**, **Shahid**, and Phulkian. In addition to these twelve there were other bands of Khalsa horsemen, each under its **sardar**, which evidently lacked the distinction of a misl. The precise nature of the Sikh misls as fighting bands and as political authorities is still imperfectly understood. So too is the etymology of the word misl, which may derive from the Arabic *mishal*, "equal." *See also* EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HISTORY.

**MISLDAR.** The **sardar** in command of a **misl**.

**MOHAN.** The elder of the sons of **Amar Das**, he opposed his father's choice of **Ram Das** as fourth **Guru**. He retained custody of the **Goindval Pothis**, recorded on his father's instructions by his son Sahans Ram.

**MOHAN POTHIS.** *See* GOINDVAL POTHIS.

**MOHAN SINGH DIWANA.** A noted **Punjabi** author of the mid 20th century.

**MOHAN SINGH VAID (1881–1936).** An Ayurvedic doctor from Tarn Taran who worked enthusiastically for the **Singh Sabha**. His principal contribution lay in his **Punjabi** writings (journalism, pamphlets, books, and novels) in which social issues were prominent. His large library was left to **Punjabi University, Patiala**.

**MOHARI.** The younger son of **Amar Das**. He opposed his father's choice of **Ram Das** as fourth **Guru**.

**MOKSH.** *See* MUKTI.

**MONA.** Strictly, any person who has undergone ritual shaving of the head. **Singh Sabha** usage designated those who cut their hair after **Khalsa initiation**. In modern usage it refers loosely and somewhat pejoratively to any Sikh who cuts his or her hair.

**MONOGAMY.** **Sikh Rahit Marayādā** states that “normally a **Sikh** should have only one wife.” The “normally” is evidently added because **Guru Hargobind** and **Guru Gobind Singh** both had three wives simultaneously. In the **Punjab**, strongly influenced by Muslim example, an important person would commonly be expected to marry more than once for such reasons as signifying alliances or providing protection to women needing it. Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** also had several wives.

**MORCHA.** “Facing the enemy.” A campaign against the government waged by the **Akali Dal**.

**MOUNT SUMERU.** The legendary Puranic mountain at the center of the earth. The **janam-sakhis** all relate a discourse that **Guru Nanak** held there with the 84 immortal **Siddhs**.

**MUGHAL RELATIONS.** **Babur**, the first of the **Mughals**, invaded north India from Afghanistan and with the battle of Panipat in 1526 established the Mughal dynasty. This falls within the lifetime of

**Nanak. Aurangzeb**, the last of the six so-called Great Mughals, died in 1707, the year before the death of **Gobind Singh**. The height of Mughal rule thus coincided with the 10 **Gurus**. The line of Gurus first became the object of hostile notice by the Mughals when the fourth emperor, **Jahangir**, observed in his memoirs that it was attracting too many followers and that the incumbent Guru, **Arjan**, had evidently offered support to the rebel Prince Khusrau. The action taken against Arjan is obscure, but it seems that he received a heavy fine he was unable to pay and he died in prison.

Jahangir's enmity was carried over to the sixth Guru, **Hargobind**, who after some brushes with Mughal troops found it expedient to withdraw in 1634 to **Kiratpur** in the **Shivalik Hills**. While they remained in the Shivaliks the Gurus were not seriously troubled by the Mughals, apart from a summons to **Guru Har Rai** in 1661 and the execution of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** at Aurangzeb's command in 1675. It was in the time of Guru Gobind Singh that relations became critical. Mughal troops under **Vazir Khan**, the administrator of Sirhind, joined hill chiefs in an assault on his center of **Anandpur** and in 1704, while the **Sikhs** were withdrawing from it, treacherously attacked them. The Guru managed to escape but lost all four sons. He withdrew to south **Punjab** where Aurangzeb evidently decided to conciliate him, suggesting that they should meet in the Deccan. Before they could do so Aurangzeb died. Gobind Singh went to the Deccan to meet his successor **Bahadur Shah** and was assassinated in Nander in 1708, probably by a henchman of Vazir Khan. *See also* SAHIB-ZADE.

**MUKTI.** Liberation of the human spirit from the bonds of **transmigration**. The term *moksh* is also commonly used.

**MUKTSAR.** In 1705 at Khidrana, south of **Faridkot**, **Vazir Khan** caught up with the army of **Guru Gobind Singh** but was repulsed. The site was renamed Muktsar, "Pool of the Liberated Ones," in remembrance of the **Chali Mukte**, who were all killed in the battle. *See also* BHAGO.

**MULA.** A Chona **Khatri** of Batala, father-in-law of **Nanak**.

**MUL MANTRA.** The root mantra, the basic credal statement that begins the **Adi Granth**. In translation it reads: "There is one Supreme

Being, the Eternal Reality. He is the Creator, without fear and devoid of enmity. He is immortal, never incarnated, self-existent, known by **grace** through the **Guru**.” *See also* GENDER OF GOD.

**MUL RAJ.** The governor of **Multan**, unfairly regarded by the British as a rebel responsible for starting the second Anglo-Sikh war. *See also* ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

**MULTAN.** A city southwest of the **Punjab** proper and the capital of a *sūbā* (province) under the **Mughals**. Bhai **Gurdas** relates a story of how **Nanak**, while approaching Multan, was sent a cup brimful of milk by the **pirs** of the city, signifying that it already had all the holy men it could contain. Nanak’s answer was to lay a jasmine petal on the milk and return it without spilling a drop, thereby proclaiming that there was room for one more. This illustrates the kind of story that gains common currency in hagiography. The anecdote, applied to **pirs**, already had wide popularity among the **Sufis**.

**MUNDAVANI.** A composition by **Guru Arjan** that, with its attached **shalok**, concludes the text of the **Adi Granth** on page 1429. Only the **Rag-mala** remains.

**MUSIC.** Sikh sacred music is almost entirely vocal, with very little attention paid to the hand-operated harmoniums or the *tabla* (drums) that accompany the human voice. Relatively little attention is paid also to the solo performer, most **kirtan** being sung by groups of **Sikhs**, sometimes quite large. **Kirtan** is normally accompanied by three musicians (two with harmoniums and one with *tabla*) and they play not their own compositions but the various **rags** indicated specifically for particular **shabads** by the **Adi Granth**.

**MUSLIM RELATIONS.** In the time of the **Gurus** the **Mughal** emperors, who were also Muslims, sometimes showed enmity toward them. During this period there is little evidence of strong hostility toward the Muslims on the part of the **Sikhs**. In the 18th century, however, this hostility grew markedly in response to attacks by **Mughals** and later by **Afghans** (also Muslims). So powerful did the feeling become that several anti-Muslim injunctions are specifically written into the early

**Rahit** as it evolved during the 18th century. Under **Ranjit Singh** the feeling subsided to some extent, but it has always remained in at least a subdued form within the **Panth**. In the events leading up to the **Partition** of India in 1947, the Sikhs, faced by the choice between the Hindus and the Muslims, chose to confront the Muslims. The bloody events that followed partition produced the deepest bitterness. The Muslims of the **Punjab** felt the same with regard to both Sikhs and Hindus. During the struggle for **Khalistan** in the later 1980s, some efforts were made to reach agreement with the Muslims of Pakistan. It seems, however, that Pakistan's principal concern was embarrassment for India and no lasting friendship resulted. *See also* MUGHAL RELATIONS.

**MUSLIM WOMEN.** Sources from the 18th century indicate that sexual contact with Muslim women was polluting, and **Guru Gobind Singh** is said to have commanded that during warfare they should not be seized for this purpose. This feature evidently perplexed the **Singh Sabha** reformers. **Kahn Singh Nabha** claimed that at the time most prostitutes were Muslim women and that the Guru's command can therefore be construed as a prohibition against sexual intercourse with any woman other than one's wife. This interpretation has been written into the contemporary **Rahit**, where it appears in **Sikh Rahit Marayādā** as the third of the **kurahit**.

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**NABHA.** One of the three **Phulkian** states. Like all three Phulkian states it lay east of the Satluj, and therefore it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to become **PEPSU** (**Patiala** and Eastern Princely States Union).

**NADIR SHAH.** The Shah of Persia and raider of north India, appearing in **Lahore** in 1739 and sacking **Delhi** before withdrawing. Among his valuable loot was the Peacock Throne of the **Mughals**. **Sikhs** attacked the rear of his invading column as it withdrew, leading to a warning from Nadir Shah that these were enemies to be watched.

**NAGARA.** A large drum. Every **gurdwara** should possess one for special occasions. The origins are obscure, though it can be assumed to have played an important part in the martial activities of **Guru Gobind Singh**.

**NAGAR KIRTAN.** “Singing in town.” Taking the **Guru Granth Sahib** on procession through a town on a day of religious celebration such as a **gurpurab** or religious fair. Following ceremonies at a **gurdwara**, the scripture is mounted above the cabin of a suitably decorated truck or other float. Preceded by **Panj Piare**, normally with unsheathed **swords** and often accompanied by a brass band, it leads a procession through the streets to the accompaniment of **kirtan**.

**NAI.** The barber **caste**. A few Nais became **Sikhs**. They are generally thought to form with members of the **Tarkhan** (carpenter) and Raj (blacksmith) castes the exclusively Sikh caste known as **Ramgarhia**. This is, however, disputed.

**NAKKAI MISL.** A small **misl** with territory bordering on **Multan**. **Ranjit Singh**, whose second wife was from the Nakkai misl, annexed its territories early in the 19th century.

**NALAGARH.** Formerly a small princely state. Because it was on the left bank of the Satluj it was not absorbed by **Ranjit Singh** and instead became a princely state under British rule. After **Partition** it merged with other princely states to become **PEPSU** (**Patiala** and Eastern Princely States Union).

**NAM.** The doctrine of the **nām** lies at the heart of **Nanak**’s teaching, and in subsequent **Gurmat** it retains its primacy. The word means literally “**name**,” sometimes used in combinations such as hari-nām or rām-nām (the Name of **God**) but normally standing alone. It is a convenient shorthand, designating in summary terms the nature and being of **Akal Purakh**. Anything that may be affirmed concerning Akal Purakh is an aspect of the **nām**. This means that it embraces such concepts as love, power, omniscience, infinity, and other qualities of the divine. Ultimately the **nām** is beyond human grasp, but to each person is given the means for a sufficient understanding of it.



Akal Purakh resides immanently in this world. By opening one's eyes, inward as well as outward, one can perceive the *nām* in all its wonder and all its glory. *See also* NAM JAPAN; NAM SIMARAN; SHABAD.

**NAM DAN ISHNAN.** “The divine **Name**, charity, and bathing.” A popular formula for spiritual liberation spelled out frequently in the **janam-sakhis**. The formula was used by both **Nanak** and **Arjan**, but in their case “bathing” probably meant inner purity.

**NAMDEV (1270–1350).** A poet of the Varkari bhakti sect of Pandharpur in Maharashtra. Sixty-one works (possibly 62) by Namdev appear in the **Adi Granth**, a number that is second only to **Kabir** in the **bhagat bani**. There is still some doubt whether the **Adi Granth** works are by the Pandharpur poet, and if so whether Namdev ever paid an extended visit to the **Punjab**. The first of these is a strong likelihood, and the second is at least possible. In the village of Ghuman near Batala there exists a tradition of a lengthy visit and a very old *samādhī* (cenotaph).

**NAMDHARI.** An important **Sikh** sect, also known as the **Kuka** (crier) movement, owing to ecstatic practices performed during religious services. Earlier names were Jagiasi (worshiper) and Abhiasi (one who meditates). Originally it developed in northwest **Punjab** through the preaching of **Balak Singh**, recognized as the eleventh **Guru** of the sect. According to **orthodox** Sikh belief the line of human Gurus ended with the death of the 10th **Guru, Gobind Singh**, the function of the Guru thereafter exercised through the **Panth** and through the sacred book, the **Guru Granth Sahib**. This belief is denied by the Namdharis. They maintain that the 10th Guru lived for many years after 1708, eventually bestowing the succession personally on **Balak Singh**. They accordingly differ from the orthodox in claiming that the personal line of Gurus still continues. Following his death the movement under its second leader **Ram Singh** shifted its center to **Bhaini Sahib** in Ludhiana District where its numbers rapidly multiplied, most of its strength coming from **Tarkhans** and poorer **Jats**. The British were very skeptical about their activities and following an attack on **Muslim** butchers of **Amritsar** and Raikot (enemies be-

cause they were killers of cattle) they launched attacks on Malaud Fort and **Malerkotla** in 1872, both Muslim areas. The district commissioner of Ludhiana District then had 49 Namdharis (or **Kukas**) blown away from without trial. Another 16 were similarly executed by the commissioner of Ambala after a summary trial. This, with the imprisonment of **Ram Singh** in Burma, served to quiet the situation and thereafter the Namdharis gave little trouble.

The Namdhari Sikhs are strict vegetarians and vigorous protectors of the cow. They attach equal importance to the **Adi Granth** and the **Dasam Granth**, and they include the Dasam Granth composition **Chandī kī Vār** in their daily **Nit-nem**. All Namdharis are at least **Kes-dharis**. They wear only white homespun clothing, and the men are easily recognized by their method of tying turbans horizontally across the forehead. Their distinctive rituals include a fire ceremony (havan) and the practice of circumambulating a fire during the course of their wedding ceremony. These ceremonies are normally conducted with many couples being married at the same time. This is because the Namdharis insist on a simple, inexpensive way of life. Today almost all Namdharis are Tarkhans. *See also* NIL-DHARI.

**NAMING CEREMONY.** As soon as convenient after birth, the family should take the baby to their **gurdwara**, together with **karah prasad**, and there give thanks. If a complete pāth has been arranged this visit should coincide with the **bhog**. The **Guru Granth Sahib** is then opened at random and a name is chosen beginning with the same letter as the first composition on the left-hand page. When a hymn begins on the preceding page (as is usually the case), the person selecting a letter turns back to its actual beginning. No distinction marks boys' and girls' names (either can, for example, have the name Prem), but to a boy's name "**Singh**" should be added (Prem Singh) and to a girl's name "**Kaur**" (Prem Kaur).

**NAM JAPAN.** "Repeating the Name." Nām japan is a less sophisticated form of meditation than **nām simaran**. It consists of uttering a word, syllable, or mantra of particular religious import (e.g., **sat nām**, **vāhiguru**) either as a pious ejaculation or a repeated utterance. For the latter procedure a simarani (rosary) is commonly used. A more varied form, which may be characterized as either nām simaran

or *nām japaṅ*, is singing or chanting **gurbani**. **Gurdwara** worship or daily **nit-nem** is thus legitimate meditation.

**NAM JAPO, KIRAT KARO, VAND CHHAKO.** “Repeat the divine **Name**, work, and give a share [of your earnings to others less fortunate].” A popular proverb that sums up the duty laid on all **Sikhs**. It does not appear in the **Adi Granth**.

**NAM SIMARAN.** The Sikh meditation technique. **Gurmat** affirms that liberation is attained primarily through the discipline of *nām simaraṅ*, “remembering” the divine **Name**. By meditating regularly, one will progressively shed the bonds of **haumai**. The spirit is gradually liberated from the afflictions of **transmigration**, and finally the faithful disciple enters the condition of **sahaj**, or perfect peace. *See also* NAM JAPAN.

**NAME.** For the divine Name. *See also* NAM.

**NANAKI.** 1. The sister of **Guru Nanak**. 2. The second of **Guru Har-gobind**’s three wives; the mother of **Tegh Bahadur**. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**NANAK, GURU (1469–1539).** The first **Guru** of the **Sikhs**. Sikhs date the foundation of the **Panth** from his life of teaching and example. Although there exist extensive hagiographic accounts of his life known as **janam-sakhis**, little of the information they provide can be accepted as proven or even possible. His teachings are secure, however, as a large number of his authentic works are recorded in the **Adi Granth**. **Nanak** shares a particular place in Sikh sentiments with **Gobind Singh**. The life of simple piety that he lived, together with the beauty of his hymns, elicits firm loyalty and a deeply held affection. *See also* NANAK, LIFE; NANAK, TEACHINGS.

**NANAK, LIFE.** Ample knowledge of the teachings of Nanak contrasts with the scarcity of detail concerning his life. Although the **janam-sakhis** are strictly hagiographic, they have been widely accepted within the **Panth**, and the traditional account that they offer can be collectively summarized as follows. In 1469 **Nanak**, son of **Kalu**

**Bedi** and **Tripata**, was born in the **Punjab** village of **Talvandi Rai Bhoi**. He had one sister, **Nanaki**; his wife's name was **Sulakhani**; and two sons (**Lakhmi Das** and **Siri Chand**) were born to them. Many stories are recounted in the janam-sakhis concerning the marvels associated with the child Nanak. A much favored one is the story of the ruined crop restored. The child Nanak was sent out to graze buffaloes and fell asleep beside a wheat field. While he slept the buffaloes trampled on the crop and ate the wheat. The aggrieved owner rushed to **Rai Bular**, the village headman, and demanded restitution. Nanak replied that his buffaloes had done no harm to the crop. When Rai Bular sent a messenger to inspect the crop he discovered that Nanak spoke the truth. The crop was fully restored. Another favorite is the story of the tree's stationary shadow. Rai Bular was out hunting one day and observed the sleeping Nanak in the shadow under a tree. When he returned several hours later the shadows cast by all the other trees in the grove had moved, but the one shielding Nanak had remained stationary.

As a young man Nanak was dispatched to **Sultanpur**, where he received a mystical call from **Akal Purakh (God)** to surrender himself to a life of preaching the one means of liberation, the divine **Name (nām)**. The janam-sakhis diverge at this point, and many modern **Sikhs** accept the pattern of the **Purātan** janam-sakhis. These take Nanak on a series of travels, dividing them into four major and one minor missionary journeys. On the major journeys (known as *udāsīs*) he visited respectively east India, Sri Lanka, the legendary **Mount Sumeru**, and Mecca. After they were over, he founded the village of **Kartarpur** on the right bank of the Ravi River, northeast of **Lahore**. Having attracted a following that was the nucleus of the Panth and appointed **Angad** as his successor, he died there in 1539. This is the traditional account that is found in the janam-sakhis. Certain facts can be affirmed. Details concerning his family relationships are generally accurate; he traveled extensively to places unknown; he spent his latter years in Kartarpur; and Angad succeeded him. Of the remainder, however, very little stands up to historical analysis. *See also* TRADITION.

**NANAK, TEACHINGS.** Guru Nanak taught a doctrine of liberation closely modeled on that of the **Sant Tradition** of northern India, and

his numerous hymns are contained in the **Adi Granth**. In these hymns he holds up the **nām** (the divine **Name**) as the sole and sufficient means of liberation. All people are subject to **transmigration** in accordance with their past deeds, but by devoutly meditating on the divine Name they can overcome their evil impulses and attain liberation from the transmigratory round. The divine Name comprises all that is around one and all that is within, functioning in accordance with the **hukam** (order) of **Akal Purakh (God)**. Akal Purakh utters the **shabad** (the divine **Word**) and the divine Word, if heard, illumines all that constitutes the divine Name.

For this, **grace** is essential. Having received the divine Word by grace, it is each person's choice to accept or reject it. Accept it and you will perceive the signs of the divine Name in the world around and within you. Meditate on it and you shall find the means of liberation progressively revealed. Ascending to higher and yet higher levels of mystical experience the devout practitioner of **nām simaran** (remembrance of the Name) experiences a mounting sense of peace and joy. Eventually **sach khand** is reached, the "abode of truth" in which the believer passes into a condition of perfect and absolute union with Akal Purakh. This condition is beyond description, known only to those who have experienced its transcending wonders. They are the **sants**, the ones who know the truth, and they alone have found freedom from the transmigratory round. This Word is uttered within the believer by the mystical "voice" of Akal Purakh that is the **Guru**. Nanak, in communicating the Word, was performing this function, and so he came to be known as Guru Nanak. In appointing a successor Nanak was passing on the role of Guru as one torch is lit from its predecessor. The one Guru passed along the line of ten chosen men, which illuminated the words and actions of **Gobind Singh** being the same Guru as had found expression in Nanak. *See also* PANJ KHAND.

**NANAK-PANTH.** "The way of **Nanak**." A term commonly used for the entire pre-**Khalsa Sikh Panth** or for those post-Khalsa Sikhs who do not follow the **Rahit**. *Nanak-panthi* was frequently used for any **Sikh** prior to 1699, and the term is still sometimes used for a **Sahajdhari Sikh**.

**NANAKSAR.** A Sikh movement that originated with Nand Singh (d. 1943) of Kaleran village near Jagraon in Ludhiana District. Nand

Singh, a **Ramgarhia**, spent some time at Hazur Sahib in Nander and then traveled around the **Punjab** for many years, living a life of extreme austerity. He eventually returned to Kaleran in 1918 and stayed in the nearby wilderness where Nanaksar now stands. There he continued his life of austerity, practicing **nām simaraṅ** in bhore (holes, caves) and refusing to allow any building to be erected. He believed that **Nanak** had physically appeared to him out of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. Nand Singh was succeeded by his devoted follower Ishar Singh, a **Jat** under whom the Nanaksar movement rapidly expanded. In 1950 the **gurdwara** at Nanaksar was commenced, a magnificent marble structure enclosing beneath its golden dome an underground room to represent a bhora. Ishar Singh nominated no successor, and the movement has now divided under several leaders. One with a substantial following in Coventry and Vancouver is Mihan Singh. Some differences distinguish the Nanaksar movement from the orthodox **Khalsa**. Devotion is focused strongly on Nanak (though the other **Gurus** are not excluded), the emphasis on austerity is still maintained, and no **nishan** flies above the gurdwaras. The movement claims to take no interest in politics. *See also* ORTHODOXY.

**NANAKSHAHI CALENDAR.** Recently devised by a **Canadian Sikh**, Pal Singh Purewal, the Nanakshahi calendar claims to have solved the problem of important dates that move around the calendar annually when an attempt is made to follow the **Sammat** or **Bikrami** system of dating in countries where **San**, or common era, dating is followed. Until recently Sikhs followed the Sammat or Bikrami system like Hindus, with the result that key dates would move around segments of the common era calendar without having any fixed position. The traditional birth of **Guru Nanak**, for example, had different dates in successive years. Like the Gregorian calendar, the Sammat/Bikrami calendar has 12 months in the year, but these are lunar months; to keep the system in order, an extra lunar month is added when need arises. By contrast the Gregorian calendar has a short February and adds to it a day every four years except then the leap year falls on the change to another century. The Nanakshahi calendar ensures that all important dates fall on the same day as the Gregorian calendar indicates.

In January 2003 the Nanakshahi calendar was approved by the **Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC)**. Both the **Bikrami** civil year and the Nanakshahi year commence on Chet

1, which in the case of the latter is always March 14. Baisakh (or Vaisakh) is the second month, but for the **Punjab** peasantry, with their harvest due, it was a more convenient time for the New Year to begin. **Baisakhi** or the beginning of the month always falls on April 14. Similarly, **Guru Gobind Singh's** birth would always be celebrated on January 5. The dates of the other **gurpurbs** were also fixed. In accepting this new arrangement the **Akal Takhat**, acting for the SGPC, declared that **Guru Nanak's** birthday would be an exception and would be celebrated every year according to the Bikrami calendar. This meant that it would always be celebrated on Kattak **Puran-mashi** (the full moon in the lunar month of Kattak). That date, together with **Diwali** and **Hola Mohalla**, is movable and, following the Bikrami calendar, changes every year. Kattak Puran-mashi was too deeply rooted in the Sikh faith for it to be abandoned. The other dates continued on the Bikrami calendar to maintain unity in the celebration of common cultural traditions by both Sikhs and Hindus in India. Similarly, **Basant** and **Lohri** also follow the old calendar. *See also* FESTIVALS.

**NAND LAL (1633–1715)**. Sikh poet born in Ghazni. From there he traveled to **Delhi** via **Multan**, where he married a Sikh wife. He worked as a servant of Prince Muazzam (later **Bahadur Shah**), but his real skill lay in composing Persian poetry. To mark this, he adopted the pen name Goya (Eloquent). In 1689 he moved to **Anandpur**, where he entered the service of **Guru Gobind Singh**, and it is as a Sikh poet that his reputation was securely established. Two of his collections, his *Divān* and the *Zindagī-nāmā*, merit special attention. Because they are both in Persian, however, they are little read today. After the death of Gobind Singh he retired to Multan, dying there in 1715. Like most other **Khatris**, he declined to take initiation into the **Khalsa**, and his poetry reads much more like the devotional works of the early **Gurus**. Three **Punjabi rahit-namas** are wrongly attributed to him. *See also* PRASHAN-UTTAR; SAKHI RAHIT KI; TANAKHAH-NAMA.

**NANDER (NANDED)**. A town situated in eastern Maharashtra on the Godavari River. **Guru Gobind Singh** died here in 1708 following an assassination attempt. In **Sikh** sources the town is commonly known

as **Abilchalnagar** (Resolute City). Hazur Sahib, the principal **gurdwara** of Nander, is one of the five **takhats**.

**NAND SINGH.** *See* NANAKSAR.

**NANKANA MASSACRE.** Because of his immoral way of life, Narain Das, custodian of the **Nankana Sahib gurdwaras** and the wealthiest of all the **mahants**, was a particular target for the **Akalis** during the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** of the early 1920s. A group of Akalis entered **Gurdwara Janam-asthan** on February 20, 1921, and were set upon by hired thugs of Narain Das; 130 were killed. Three of the killers were executed, and Narain Das was transported for life. The incident had a considerable effect on **Sikhs** everywhere and greatly strengthened their resolve to free the gurdwaras from their mahant owners.

**NANKANA SAHIB.** The birthplace of **Guru Nanak**. Formerly called **Talvandi Rai Bhoi**, it is in Sheikhpura District, approximately 40 miles west-southwest of **Lahore** and now in Pakistan. It contains several **gurdwaras**, including **Gurdwara Janam-asthan**, which marks the birthplace of **Nanak**.

**NARAK.** “Hell.” As with **svarag** (heaven) this term is variously understood. Those who are well acquainted with the **Adi Granth** regard it as the condition of separation from **God**. This is the sense in which the word is used by the **Gurus**, as also in their references to **Yam**, the god of death. Many **Sikhs**, however, conceive narak as a place where evil people go after death. The origin of this latter belief among the Sikhs is presumably Islam.

**NASIHAT-NAMA.** “Missive of Good Advice.” 1. A work spuriously attributed to **Guru Nanak**. 2. The correct name for the **Tanakhah-nama** of **Nand Lal**.

**NATH TRADITION.** The ascetic Nath or Kanphat tradition of India comprises a cluster of yogic sects, all claiming descent from the semilegendary **Gorakhnath** and all promulgating **hatha yoga** as the means of spiritual liberation. This involves physical postures



and breath control of formidable difficulty. The tradition figured prominently among the early **Sikhs** for two reasons. First, the **Sant** tradition of northern India, of which **Nanak** was a conspicuous representative, was significantly influenced by Nath ideals, though the Sants (including Nanak) strongly opposed their theories. Nath doctrine affirms that the rigorous application of hatha yoga induces a psychophysical process whereby the spirit ascends to mystical bliss. The Sants rejected the physical features of hatha yoga in favor of meditation technique but accepted the concept of a spiritual ascent to ultimate bliss. **Kabir** was a notable Sant apparently connected to the Nath. He scorned their physical notions while accepting their belief in a wholly inward spiritual enlightenment. Second, the Nath was also important to the early **Panth** in that they provided considerable competition for followers. **Janam-sakhi** anecdotes give much prominence to debates between Nath masters (called **Siddhs**) and Nanak. The tradition, though greatly weakened, still survives. It derives the name of Kanphat yogis from the practice of splitting their ears and lengthening the lobes.

**NAU NIDH.** The “nine treasures.” Used in the **Adi Granth** to denote fabulous wealth. **Nām simaraṅ** brings all these treasures.

**NAU NIHAL SINGH (1821–1840).** Son of **Kharak Singh** and grandson of **Ranjit Singh**. A capable youth, he assumed the state’s administration soon after his grandfather’s death. Killed on the day of his father’s funeral by a collapsing arch in **Lahore**. Following his death the **Punjab** state fell into confusion.

**NEO-SIKH.** *See* TAT KHALSA.

**NEW ZEALAND SIKHS.** The first **Sikhs** to enter New Zealand were two Gill brothers, who crossed the Tasman in or around 1890. Initially the few Sikhs who were in New Zealand did a variety of jobs such as hawking and coal mining. After World War I their numbers began to increase substantially and in 1920 the government moved to block future immigration. Until after World War II those who remained worked at clearing manuka and gorse in the central North Island. Since then they have moved increasingly into dairy farming, small

grocery businesses, and gas stations. Like the **Australian Sikhs** they number only 0.06 percent of the population. *See also* MIGRATION.

**NIHANG.** Today the Nihangs form only a remnant of their initial strength of the 18th and early 19th centuries. At that time they were known as **Akalis** and were greatly feared as determined warriors. The origins of the Akalis or Nihangs are not known, although they claim to be the true representatives of **Guru Gobind Singh** and in consequence the true **Khalsa**. In the time of the **misl**s they usually fought for the **Shahid misl**. Under **Ranjit Singh**, they were renowned both for their intrepid bravery and their total lack of discipline except when controlled by other Akalis. After the death of their famous leader **Phula Singh** in 1823 they dwindled in importance, and they survive today only as a historic relic. They are seen by others as having two main vices: their fondness for **bhāng** (cannabis) and their habit of not paying for anything they require. They are, however, generally rigorous in observing the **Rahit** as they understand it. The name Nihang (free from care or free from worldly concerns) may have been taken from the pre-initiation name of **Akali Phula Singh**.

**NIHANG ORGANIZATION.** The Nihangs are divided into four “armies” (dal), each under its own **jathedar**. These are the **Taruna Dal**, the Baba Bidhi Chand Dal, the Baba Bhindran Dal, and the **Buddha Dal**. Most are unmarried, believing that as true soldiers of the **Khalsa** they must remain unencumbered by family ties. For part of each year they remain in their “camps” (**ḍerā**), attending to cultivation. At other times they roam around the **Punjab** and adjacent states on horseback, conspicuously visible in their blue garments and for the range of steel weapons they carry. On their heads they wear a high turban known as a **damālā**, surmounted by a piece of cloth called a **pharaharā** (standard or flag). For the festival of **Hola Mahalla** they converge on **Anandpur** to participate in mock battles.

**NIL-DHARI.** “Wearer of a blue [belt].” A small subset of the **Namd-hari Sikhs**.

**NINDAK.** A slanderer, one who defames another. The term is particularly used of those who spoke ill of one of the **Gurus**.

**NINE TREASURES.** All blessings that may be conferred in this life.

**NIRANJAN.** “Unspotted.” Pure; an epithet of **Akal Purakh**.

**NIRANJANI.** *See* HINDALI.

**NIRANKAR.** “Without form.” An epithet of **Akal Purakh**.

**NIRANKARI.** A Sikh sect that developed in northwest **Punjab** during the later years of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh**. The original Nirankaris were the followers of Baba **Dayal**, who preached a return to the doctrine of **nām simaran**. Most were members of trading castes and were called Nirankaris because of Dayal’s stress on the formless nature of **God (nirankār)**. The sect includes both **Kes-dhari** and **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs**, and outwardly they are indistinguishable from most other Sikhs. The acceptance of **Anand marriage** by orthodox Sikhs settled the main issue separating them from the main body, and today the Nirankaris deviate only in that they recognize a line of continuing **Gurus**, beginning with Baba Dayal. With the **Partition** of India in 1947, they shifted their main center from **Rawalpindi** to **Chandigarh**. They should be distinguished from the **Sant Nirankaris**, a small group viewed with hostility by orthodox Sikhs and Nirankaris alike. *See also* ORTHODOXY.

**NIRANKARI DARBAR.** *See* SANT NIRANKARI.

**NIRGUNA.** Without “qualities” or attributes; doctrine of a formless **Akal Purakh**. *See also* SAGUNA.

**NIRMALA.** “Spotless.” By tradition the order of **Nirmala sants** was founded by **Guru Gobind Singh**, who dispatched five **Sikhs** to Banaras to learn Sanskrit. This is highly improbable, and the **Nirmala** order is scarcely mentioned in Sikh literature until the 19th century. It acquired particular strength in the Malwa region in the 19th century because of patronage from the Sikh rulers of **Patiala** and other **Phulkian** states. Although it is accepted as a part of the **Panth**, its ascetic discipline deviates from Sikh teachings and practice. Its members wear saffron robes and observe celibacy, and its teachings are

strongly Vedantic. As itinerant preachers they did much to commend Sikh teachings beyond the **Punjab**. Although some of their doctrines met with disapproval from the **Tat Khalsa**, they were regarded cordially by **Sanatan Sikhs**. A famous Nirmala scholar was **Tara Singh Narotam**. *See also* AKHARA.

**NISHAN SAHIB**. The **Khalsa** flag, which should fly above every **gurdwara**. It is usually triangular in shape and saffron in color. Dark blue is also permitted. The mast will be draped in cloth of the same color (the *cholā*). On the flag should be embroidered or printed a **khaṇḍā**, and it should be surmounted by a steel spear, a two-edged **sword**, or another *khaṇḍā*. The origins are obscure. It was certainly being used in the 19th century, though without the *khaṇḍā* on it.

**NISHANVALIA MISL**. A small **misl**. The founder was a Gill **Jat** from Firozpur District, but its territory is uncertain. Whereas some historians place it southeast of the Satluj River, others believe it was kept as a reserve force in **Amritsar**. The name means “flag bearing.”

**NIT-NEM**. The daily devotional discipline for all **Sikhs**. Three times are appointed: (1) Between 3:00 and 6:00 A.M. after bathing: **Japjī**, **Jāp** and the **Ten Savayyās**, concluding with **Ardas**; (2) at sunset: **Raharās**, with **Ardas**; (3) before retiring: **Kīrtan Sohilā**.

**NUMISMATICS**. Since the time of **Banda** the Sikhs have issued coins in territories they controlled. A particularly celebrated coin was the Nanakshahi or Gobindshahi rupee struck in **Amritsar** in 1764 where the Sikh **misdars** had gathered following the sixth invasion of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**. On the coin there was the slogan “Deg tegh o fateh nusrat be-dirang / Yaft az **Nanak Guru Gobind Singh**” (The cooking pot, power, victory [and] assistance without delay / Are the gifts of Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh). Particularly prolific were the coins struck in the reign of **Ranjit Singh**.

– O –

**OANKAR**. *See* IK-OANKAR.

**OBEDIENCE.** A prime virtue among the **Sikhs**. Children are expected to show implicit obedience to their parents, and all Sikhs should be obedient to any command that carries the sanction of the **Guru**.

**OBSCENITY.** **Punjabi** is a very colorful language, and particularly in rural **Punjab** it produces some very robust expressions. These expressions are sometimes used with the intention of giving insult, but normally they are harmless (if somewhat upsetting to delicate ears). Swear words center on kinship relationships. They never concern the **Gurus**.

**ORTHODOXY.** In the **Panth** there is, as one would expect, a continuum from orthodoxy through semi-orthodoxy to sect to heresy. Orthodox Sikhs constitute the **Khalsa**. They believe in the 10 **Gurus**, revere the **Guru Granth Sahib**, and accept the **Rahit** as set out in **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**. Examples of those who differ in detail from the orthodox (the semi-orthodox) are the **Nanaksar** movement or the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**. Arguably, the **Nirankaris** would also be included in this group, because although they agree that the line of personal Gurus has ended, they nevertheless accept as leader a person who is called a Guru. They could, however, be regarded as a sect. This term can be applied to those who differ in some fundamental respect from the orthodox. The **Namdharis** are a sect, as they believe in the continuing line of personal Gurus yet explicitly maintain the **Rahit**. Many **Sikhs** would also regard **Sahaj-dharis** as a sect, accepting as they do the Gurus and the scripture but rejecting the **Rahit**. Heresy means that a group with Sikh origins has departed in a radical sense from orthodoxy. The **Sant Nirankaris**, with their belief in a scripture larger than the **Guru Granth Sahib**, are regarded as committing heresy.

– P –

**PAG, PAGARI.** *See* **TURBAN**.

**PAHUL.** *See* **KHANDE DI PAHUL**.

**PAINDA KHAN (d. 1635).** A Muslim who entered the service of **Guru Hargobind**. His enormous physical strength turned him to insolence, and having been detected in deceit, he was dismissed. He became the **Guru's** enemy and was slain by Hargobind at **Kartarpur**.

**PAKHIAN CHARITRA.** A lengthy series of 404 anecdotes in the **Dasam Granth**, many of which tell of the skills that women bring to the art of seduction. This section is also known as the *Charitropākhyān*. The language is **Braj**, and the total number of verses is 7,558. These stories are drawn from a wide range of sources (Epic, Puranic, **Rajput**, Persian, and native **Punjabi**). **Benati Chaupāi**, included in **Sodar Raharās**, appears as an epilogue. Because the Dasam Granth is generally regarded as a sacred scripture, the collection is usually interpreted as a series of cautionary tales to protect careless men from the perils of lust. *See also* ANUP KAUR; TRIA CHARITRA.

**PALKI.** “Palanquin.” A litter in which the **Guru Granth Sahib** is carried; the canopied structure in a **gurdwara** where the Guru Granth Sahib is placed.

**PANCHAMI.** The fifth day of each half of the lunar calendar. *See also* AMAVAS; SANGRAND; PURAN-MASHI.

**PANCH KHALSA DIVAN.** *See* BHASAUR SINGH SABHA.

**PANGAT.** “Line.” The lines in which the **sangat** must sit in the **gurdwara** and particularly in the **langar**. The convention is anticaste, no one being able to claim superior status by sitting forward or to acknowledge inferiority by sitting back.

**PANJA SAHIB.** “The Holy Palm.” A location near Hasan Abdal in Attock District, where **Nanak** is said to have stopped with his hand a boulder rolled down the hill by a jealous Muslim dervish called Vali Qandhari. Vali Qandhari became enraged when Nanak opened a spring at the foot of the hill, thereby cutting off his own spring further up the hill. The anecdote is a late entrant into the **Bālā janamsakhis**, owing its origins to a story dating from the time of Maharaja

**Ranjit Singh.** The story is plainly an impossibility. Not only is there the problem with the hand print but a rock rolled down the hill from Vali Qandhari's abode would not have gone in the direction of the rock that bears the hand print. Until 1940 the "impression" of Nanak's palm projected from the rock, and only in that year was it carved into it. There is a famous **gurdwara** on the spot.

**PANJ GRANTHI.** A book that contains five favorite works of the **Sikhs**. There are at least three versions. **Japji** is always included, plus such compositions as **Sukhmani**, **Sodar Raharās**, **Kīrtan Sohilā**, **Āsa dī Vār**, and **Anand Sāhib**. *See also* DAS GRANTHI.

**PANJ GUN.** The five virtues: **truth**, contentment, compassion, patience, and fulfillment of one's **dharma**.

**PANJ HATHIAR.** *See* FIVE WEAPONS.

**PANJ ISHNAN (PANJ ISNAN, PANJ SNAN).** The "five washings" (two hands, two feet, and mouth) to be undertaken before meditation or before entering a **gurdwara** when full bathing is not practical. *See also* ISHNAN.

**PANJ KAKKAR, PANJ KAKKE.** *See* FIVE Ks.

**PANJ KHAND.** The five "realms" that **Nanak** describes in **Japji**. These are stages of developing spiritual awareness through which one must pass, by means of regular **nām simaran**, to union with the divine. The five realms are dharam khaṇḍ (moral duty), giān khaṇḍ (knowledge), saram khaṇḍ (humility or effort), karam khaṇḍ (**grace**, action, or fulfillment), and **sach khaṇḍ** (truth). Debate continues regarding the nature of the third and fourth realms. The origins of this pattern have been the subject of various theories. One traces it to the **Sufis**. Another holds that it represents Nanak's adaptation of **hatha yoga** doctrine, with the five khaṇḍs replacing the chakkars of the **Naths**. There is no suggestion, however, that Nanak actually accepted Nath theory. *See also* NANAK, TEACHINGS.

**PANJ MEL.** The five reprobate groups that members of the **Khalsa** must swear to spurn. The identity of the five has never been settled.

The **Minas** and the **Masands** are in every list; the **Dhir Malias** and **Ram Raias** are usually included. The fifth group is much disputed, however. The earliest list names the Masandias (followers of the **Masands**). Other candidates are those who kill female infants (**kuṛī-mār**), those who observe the head-shaving ritual (bhadaṇī), users of the **hookah** (**naṛī-mār**), and **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** who subsequently cut their hair (**sir-gum**). During the **Singh Sabha** period much attention was paid to the question, and the list that was finally agreed on included the four usual groups together with those who are sir-gum. Today's **rahit-nama**, **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**, avoids the issue by naming seven groups as “transgressors” (tanakhāhie) to be avoided by Amrit-dhari Sikhs.

**PANJ PIARE.** The “Cherished Five” or “Five Loved Ones.” The first five to volunteer at the inauguration of the **Khalsa**. These were Daya Singh, Dharam Singh, Himmat Singh, Sahib Singh, and Muhakam Singh (respectively, a **Khatri**, a **Jat**, a **Jhinvar**, a **Nai**, and a **Chhimbar**). Presumably the name **Singh** was added when they were initiated. Today the term designates five **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** who are chosen to represent a **sangat** at a Khalsa initiation or for any other function. For Khalsa initiation they must be physically sound, possessing both eyes, ears, legs, and arms. In theory, women may serve as Panj Piare, though in practice men are almost always chosen. *See also* AMRIT SANSKAR; KHALSA INAUGURATION.

**PANJ THAG.** “The five thugs”: power, wealth, high **caste**, youth, and beauty. Five desires that seduce a person from remembrance of the divine **Name**.

**PANTH.** The **Sikh** community. The Sanskrit word *panth* (literally “path”) is used in India to designate groups following particular teachers or doctrines. The early Sikh community was thus known as the **Nanak-panth** or “followers of **Nanak**.” After the **Khalsa** was established Nanak’s name was dropped, and the community came to be known simply as “the Panth.” Doubt remains concerning who belongs to the Panth, though the term tends to be used for **Kes-dhari Sikhs**. Many **Sahaj-dharis** still prefer the title “Nanak-panth,” using “**Khalsa Panth**” for the **Kes-dharis**. In a script that employs capital letters, “panth” designates any of the innumerable



religious groups in India, whereas “Panth” is reserved for the Sikh community alone. As such the capitalized form is an extremely important word, one that deserves to be a part of normal English usage. The Sikh community is the Panth just as Christians constitute the Church.

**PANTHIC.** Concerning the **Panth**.

**PANTH PARKASH.** *See* PRACHIN PANTH PARKASH.

**PAONTA SAHIB.** A small town in the **Shivalik Hills** near Nahan. Here, on the banks of the Yamuna River, **Guru Gobind Singh** lived from 1685 to 1688.

**PARAMATMA.** The universal or cosmic spirit in which the individual’s *ātmā* or soul should seek to blend. The nearest translation (quite inadequate) is “**God**.”

**PARCHIAN SEVADAS.** A collection of anecdotes by Seva Das **Udasi** concerning the 10 Gurus, with a heavy emphasis on **Guru Gobind Singh**. It is said to have been completed in 1708.

**PARDAH.** The influence of **Muslim** social tradition has been powerful in the **Punjab**, and consequently many **Sikh** women (particularly in villages) used to veil themselves in the presence of strange men. **Pardah** (or **purdah**) is, however, forbidden for Sikh women. According to **Sikh Rahit Marayāda**, they should not cover their faces with a veil, including when they are in a **sangat**. The custom of wearing **pardah** is fast waning in the Punjab.

**PARIKARAMA.** Used in the Hindu tradition for making a clockwise circuit of an idol. For the **Sikhs**, it designates the walkway around a pool surrounding a **gurdwara**. Pilgrims always approach **Hari-mandir Sahib** or any other **gurdwara** by walking clockwise around the **parikarama**.

**PARKASH KARNA.** Installing the **Guru Granth Sahib** in a **gurdwara** early each morning. The sacred volume is carried respectfully

on the head by a **Sikh** into the gurdwara from the resting place where it has been placed for the night. While all present sing hymns, the rumalas in which it was wrapped for the night are changed for fresh ones. *See also* SUKHASAN.

**PARMANAND.** Little is known of this poet except that he lived in Sholapur District. There is one work by him in the **Adi Granth**.

**PARTITION.** When India gained independence from Britain in 1947, the country was divided into Bharat (India) and Pakistan. For the **Sikh** population in the Pakistan portion of the **Punjab** it involved a tremendous upheaval. Virtually all the Sikhs from this area, together with a large majority of the Hindus, crossed to India, the Muslims from India moving in the opposite direction. The savage killings that took place on both sides of the border have left memories that still live on in all three communities. The estimated number of Sikhs who were massacred is estimated as 200,000. The number of Hindus and Muslims slaughtered was likewise high. *See also* MUSLIM RELATIONS; PUNJAB.

**PATH.** A reading of any portion of scripture. *See also* AKHAND PATH; SADHARAN PATH; SAPTAHIK PATH.

**PATIALA.** The largest and much the wealthiest of the princely states that was merged following **Partition** into **PEPSU** (**Patiala** and Eastern Punjab States Union). The city was founded by Ala Singh of the **Phulkian misl** in the middle of the 18th century, and because it was on the left bank of the Satluj it was protected from annexation by **Ranjit Singh**. Instead it cast its lot with the British and was permitted to remain a princely state until it became a part of PEPSU (Patiala and Eastern Punjab States Union). The ruler of Patiala and the last in his dynasty, Yadvindar Singh, was appointed Raj Pramukh or governor of the new union. Patiala is one of the largest cities in the **Punjab**. Owing to the number of refugees from Pakistan who settled there after the **Partition** it is the only city in the Punjab with a majority of **Sikhs**.

**PATIT.** A “fallen” **Sikh**; an apostate; an **Amrit-dhari** who knowingly commits one of the **kurahits**. The term is also loosely applied to **Kes-dharis** who trim or cut their hair.

**PATKA.** The patka is a recent addition to male **Sikh** dress that has acquired widespread popularity. It is a piece of cloth measuring approximately two feet by two feet that has four cloth ties of the same material, one at each corner. Boys wear them in place of the rumal while still too young for the **turban**. Athletes commonly wear them in sports where there is a risk of entangling the turban. The patka fits snugly over the head, covering almost all the hair. Neither **Amritdhari** males nor any females are permitted to wear the patka.

**PATNA.** The capital city of Bihar state. **Guru Gobind Singh** was born in Patna, which now has one of the five **takhats**.

**PATRIARCHY.** **Guru Nanak** gave women a share in the process of religious liberation, which places them on the same level as men. Women have the same privileges and the same duties as men. They too must meditate on the divine **Name** and can hope to attain the condition of **sahaj**, or perfect bliss. Human life depends on women, for without them how can mankind continue? A stanza that well expresses this is *Vār Āsā* 19:2 (AG, p. 473). This belief is, however, set within the society in which Nanak lived. It is a patriarchal structure that allowed no share of ancestral property to women and assumed that when married they would move from their parents' home to that of their husband. This pattern has been maintained ever since and has involved the **Sikh** religion in a situation at once uneasy and hopeful. The situation is uneasy in that social practice seems clearly at variance with the **Guru's** teaching. It is hopeful in that Sikhs possess the appropriate doctrine to provide a way out of the difficulty as societies move toward greater equality between the sexes. *See also* GENDER.

**PAURI.** "Step." A stanza from one of the **Adi Granth vārs** or other longer works.

**PEPSU.** The **Patiala** and East Punjab States Union that was formed following Partition between India and Pakistan in 1947. PEPSU comprised Patiala, **Nabha**, **Jind**, **Kapurthala**, **Faridkot**, **Nalagarh**, **Kalsia**, and **Malerkotla**. The state was centered on **Patiala** and had a **Sikh** majority. The Maharaja of Patiala was the Raj Pramukh (governor), and Gyan Singh Rarewala was the chief minister. In 1956

PEPSU was united with the **Punjab**, which at that time had a Hindu majority.

**PHERUMAN, DARSHAN SINGH.** *See* DARSHAN SINGH PHERUMAN.

**PHULA SINGH (c. 1761–1823).** His original name was Nihang Singh, changed to Phula Singh when he took **Khalsa** initiation. He was a **Jat**, son of an attendant at **Akal Takhat**, and joining the **Akalis** became their most famous leader. He first attracted attention by leading a group of Akalis in an unsuccessful raid on Metcalfe's escort in **Amritsar** and then by appearing before Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** with drawn sword, demanding vengeance on the strangers who had humiliated him. Ranjit Singh treated him tactfully, and thereafter **Phula Singh** entered his service, paying no heed to attempts to discipline him but fighting with conspicuous bravery in many battles. In 1823 he was killed in the battle of Nushahira against the Afghans, and the strength of the Akalis then began to dwindle. In accordance with the rule of celibacy generally observed by the early Akalis (the later **Nihangs**), he was unmarried.

**PHULKARI.** Cloth embroidery, normally on a sheet or a shawl, which **Sikhs** retain for personal use or give as a desirable present.

**PHULKIAN.** Descendants of Baba **Phul**, a Sidhu **Jat** of the **Malwa** region. The princely houses of **Patiala**, **Nabha**, and **Jind** were all Phulkian in origin.

**PHULKIAN MISL.** A large **misl** founded by the descendants of Baba **Phul** with territories south of the Satluj River. During the Afghan invasions of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, their chieftain, Ala Singh, frequently sided with the invader against the remainder of the **Khalsa**. Following his death the misl was divided into three groups and became a confederacy. These were saved from **Ranjit Singh** by the advancing British who, placing **Malwa** under their protection at the beginning of the 19th century, permitted the **Phulkian chieftains** to retain their territories as princes. The principal one was **Patiala**.

**PILGRIMAGE.** **Guru Nanak** taught that external religious practices, including pilgrimage, were fruitless. The impulse to conduct pilgrimages was, however, too strong, and during the time of **Guru Amar Das** provision was evidently made for distinctively **Sikh** pilgrimages. A **bāoli** (sacred well) was dug in **Goindval**, and Sikhs were encouraged to visit both it and the **Guru**. Since then the number of sacred sites has greatly multiplied. They are always places associated with one of the Gurus, **Harimandir Sahib** in **Amritsar** being the leading one. Pilgrimages to visit a selection of these has long been a regular custom. *See also* GURDWARA; TIRATH.

**PIPA.** Traditionally a **Rajput** chieftain of Gagaraun, born in 1425. From being a follower of the goddess **Durga** he is said to have changed to Ramanand. There is one work by him in the **Adi Granth**.

**PIR.** The head of a **Sufi** order; a renowned Sufi.

**POLIER.** A Swiss employee of the East India Company and the state of Oudh who was responsible for the first connected account of the **Sikhs** by a European. Entitled "The Siques," his essay was evidently written in 1780 and was read to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta in 1787.

**POLITICAL PARTIES, PREPARTITION.** **Sikh** political parties date from the **Chief Khalsa Divan** or CKD, founded as a merger of the **Amritsar** and **Lahore Singh Sabhas** in 1902. By the end of World War I ardent **Sikhs**, particularly those influenced by the **Tat Khalsa**, wanted more radical political expression. In 1919 the **Central Sikh League** was founded and stridently demanded that the **gurdwaras** should be returned to the **Panth**. In 1920 two new organizations were begun under its auspices, the **Akali Dal**, to take over the gurdwaras, and the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, to administer them once they were in Sikh hands. Following the success of the **Gurdwara Reform Movement** in 1925, the Akali Dal continued as the principal political party of the Panth. On the right the CKD formed the **Khalsa National Party** after 1935 and joined the **Unionist Party** (a multicomunal landlord party) to form the government of the **Punjab**. On the left were several small parties. Between them

were many more Sikhs supporting either the Akali Dal (the majority) or the **Congress** Party (a minority). The latter comprised those Sikhs who preferred Congress's all-India strategy rather than the explicitly Sikh policy of the Akali Dal. During this period the dominant figure in Akali affairs, and indeed in all Sikh politics, was Master **Tara Singh** who retained his authority until **Partition** in 1947 and for almost two decades after it.

**POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.** **Tara Singh** and the **Akali Dal** survived the experience of **partition** in 1947, casting in their lot with India. The **Punjab** that survived was, however, a Hindu-majority state, and the Akalis had no hope of ever ruling it. Attention was turned to securing **Punjabi Suba**, an appreciably smaller state with a majority of **Sikhs**. After vigorous campaigns based on who spoke Punjabi this was eventually secured in 1966, though by that time Tara Singh had been eclipsed as leader by **Fateh Singh**. Although the Punjab now had a majority of Sikhs, the Akali Dal still found power elusive. It was able to form the government of the Punjab for brief periods, but each time its authority was undermined (usually by the **Congress**). In the 1980s the situation in the Punjab deteriorated, with power increasingly passing from **Harchand Singh Longowal** to the militant **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**. In 1984 the central government ordered the army to attack Bhindranvale and his followers in the **Golden Temple** and its precincts, which they had occupied. Bhindranvale's death was followed by the avenging assassination of Indira Gandhi, the prime minister. The result of this period was disastrous for the Akali Dal. It split into several different groups, each claiming the name of the Akali Dal. The dominant group still continues to exist, however, and still claims a considerable measure of power. *See also* POLITICS; HISTORY, RECENT.

**POLITICS.** Much Sikh energy has been channeled into political activity during the 20th century. The results have scarcely been rewarding but leaders of the principal **Sikh** party, the **Akali Dal**, have always insisted that politics and faith are intimately bound together. Political activity is, they maintain, directly concerned with a Sikh's duty as a member of the **Khalsa**. **Tara Singh** was particularly identified with this view. The Sikh faith inescapably involves politics, he maintained, and all politics

should be conducted with the interests of the Khalsa paramount. In spite of results, the **Akalis** have carried with them a very substantial portion of the **Panth**, particularly in their **morchas**. Their brand of politics still commands a wide following. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES; HISTORY, RECENT.

**POPULATION.** In 1985 Sikhs were estimated to total approximately 16 million worldwide. Of these, roughly 14 million lived in the **Punjab** and adjacent areas, 1 million lived elsewhere in India, and 1 million lived in other countries. Outside India the largest **Sikh** population was in the **United Kingdom**, where in 1987 they were estimated to total 269,600 out of a South Asian population of 1,271,000. According to the census of 2001 the Sikh population in the United Kingdom was 336,000 (0.6 percent of the total population). **Canada** and the **United States** both had numbers that are extremely difficult to estimate, recent immigration having complicated the issue. Numbers are estimated at roughly 180,000–200,000 in each country, with Canada larger than the United States. Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Kenya all had more than 10,000 Sikhs. Since 1985 the total Sikh population has considerably increased and is variously estimated as 18 to 23 million. Probably 20 million is a safe estimate. All of these totals (particularly the foreign ones) include the several varieties of Sikhs, not just **Kes-dhari Sikhs**, who are easily recognizable. *See also* IDENTITY; MIGRATION.

**POTHI.** Volume; tome.

**POTHI BIBI RUP KAUR.** An early collection of **sakhis** that probably date from the mid 17th century. *See also* GRANTH BHAI PAINDA.

**POTHOHAR.** The area centered on **Rawalpindi** lying between the rivers Indus and Jhelum. The inhabitants or their successors are known as Pothoharis or (in the context of rivalry with **Jats** from further down the **Punjab**) as **Bhapas**. Many leaders of the **Panth** came from this area or trace their ancestry from it. Most of the Pothoharis who are **Sikhs** are either **Khatris** or **Aroras**.

**PRACHIN PANTH PARKASH.** **Sikh** history, particularly the foundation of the **Khalsa**, as related by **Ratan Singh Bhangu**. In the cur-

rent edition the word “Hindu” has frequently been changed to “Sikh” by the editor, **Vir Singh**.

**PRAHILAD SINGH (PRAHILAD RAI)**. A brief **rahit-nama** in simple **Punjabi** verse said to have been composed at Nander shortly before **Guru Gobind Singh** died. This cannot have been the case. The **rahit-nama** was probably composed in the mid 18th century. It contains some very important lines concerning both the **Panth** and the **Granth** as **Guru**.

**PRAJA MANDAL**. The Tenants Association formed in the princely states of the **Punjab** in 1928, affiliated to the Indian National **Congress**. It comprised both **Sikh** and Hindu members. *See also* SEVA SINGH THIKRIVALA.

**PRAN SANGALI**. “The chain of the breath.” A lengthy apocryphal work attributed to **Nanak** that shows clear evidence of **Nath** influence. The **janam-sakhis** of the **Purātan** tradition claim that Nanak composed it while visiting Raja **Shiv-nabh**. *See also* KACHCHI BANI.

**PRASAD (PRASHAD)**. Either “**grace**” or “**food**.” The two meanings are linked by the fact that **prasād** also means food offered to a god or the leavings of a person of great piety. The common **Adi Granth** formula **gur prasād** (or **sat-gur prasād**), “by the (True) **Guru**’s grace,” is a central doctrine of **Gurmat**. *See also* KARAH PRASAD.

**PRASHAN-UTTAR**. A brief **rahit-nama** in simple **Punjabi** verse attributed to **Nand Lal**. It is, however, most unlikely that it can be traced to him. The date is uncertain, but is probably late 17th century. It must have been composed before the founding of the **Khalsa**, for no reference to the **Khalsa** is made in it. *See also* SAKHI RAHIT KI; TANAKHAH-NAMA.

**PRATAP SINGH KAIRON (1901–1965)**. A **Jat**, he was educated at the University of Michigan and then joined the **Congress Party** in 1929. His politics, prior to independence in 1947, were mainly **Akali**, but in 1956 he became the Congress chief minister of the **Punjab**, remaining in the position until 1964 when he was forced to resign over



corruption charges. As chief minister he was very effective, successfully opposing **Punjabi Suba** as long as he was in the position. In 1965 he was assassinated.

**PREM SUMARAG.** “The Way of True Love.” A lengthy prose **rahit-nama** composed in the late 18th century that represents the way of life observed by a **Sanatan Sikh**, with rituals that differ considerably from the **Khalsa** style. The author is unknown. It is also referred to as the *Param Sumārag*.

**PRIEST.** The terms “priest” and “high priest” have been introduced into popular usage by the news media, seeking translations for **granthis** and **jathedars** of the Sikh **takhats**. This usage is wholly mistaken. Sikhism is a lay religion and has no place for a priesthood.

**PRINSEP, HENRY R.** British observer who published *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* in 1834. It contains a valuable section by Captain W. Murray entitled “On the Manners, Rules and Customs of the **Sikhs**.”

**PRITHI CHAND (1558–1618).** The older brother of **Arjan** and unsuccessful contender for the title of **Guru**. See also MINA; SULHI KHAN.

**PUJARI.** The person who was responsible for ritual in major **Sikh** shrines. The term is not currently in common use.

**PUNJAB.** Punjab means “five waters,” from the five rivers that flow through it, together with the Indus in the west in which they all merge. The five rivers are (from the Indus eastward) the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Satluj. These rivers have conferred on the Punjab extensive areas of highly productive soils, with irrigation in recent times adding much more. Modern Punjab comprises adjacent portions of India and Pakistan, divided by **Partition** in 1947. The Indian portion was more narrowly defined by the creation of **Punjabi Suba** in 1966. Undivided Punjab was the homeland of the **Sikhs**, and before 1947 the vast majority lived within its borders, ranging from comparative scarcity in the northwest to relative

density in the areas of **Manjha**, **Doaba**, and **Malwa**. **Nanak** was born in the Punjab, and there the **Gurus** carried out the greater part of their labors. According to the 1921 census, only 11 percent of undivided Punjab was **Sikh**. Because they had ruled the Punjab prior to annexation by the British they occupied a disproportionate share of the land, and of the so-called leading families approximately half were Sikh. Even so the Government of India Act of 1919 granted the Sikhs only 19 percent of the seats in the new constitution, and in 1947 **Partition** proceeded without serious consideration of their interests. Forced to choose, they opted for India, thereby swinging more of central Punjab to India than would otherwise have been the case.

At Partition in 1947 virtually every Sikh in Pakistan, together with the vast majority of Hindus, crossed to India. Muslims moved the other way. At this stage the Punjab was still distinct from the former princely states that formed the Sikh-dominated **PEPSU**. When the two were brought together in 1956, Hindus were 62 percent of the united state. This was held to justify Hindi as the state language rather than **Punjabi**. The Sikhs vigorously maintained that a large portion of the state spoke Punjabi and as a result of the Punjabi Suba agitation, they eventually succeeded in 1966 in having the boundaries of the Punjab more narrowly drawn. This excluded those areas where the majority had declared Hindi to be their mother tongue instead of Punjabi. This at last gave the Sikhs a Punjab with 56 percent of the people Sikhs, though as it turned out it did not give them invariable control of the parliamentary process. *See also* POPULATION; REGIONAL FORMULA.

**PUNJABI SUBA.** "Punjabi State." The **Punjabi**-language state. **Sikhs**, led by the **Akali Dal**, agitated for it from **Partition** in 1947. Following vigorous Sikh participation in the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war the government of India granted a separate Punjabi-speaking state in 1966 by separating Haryana and Himachal Pradesh from the existing Punjab. *See also* REGIONAL FORMULA; TARA SINGH.

**PUNJABI UNIVERSITY.** Founded in 1962 Punjabi University in **Patiala** served as chief minister **Pratap Singh Kairon**'s attempt to answer the **Punjabi Suba** campaign by founding an institution for the encouragement of **Punjabi** language and literature. *See also* GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY.

**PURAN-MASHI.** The day of the full moon; the end of a lunar month. An important festival for the **Panth**. *See also* AMAVAS; PAN-CHAMI; SANGRAND.

**PURAN SINGH (1881–1931).** Trained in glass technology and pharmaceutical chemistry at Tokyo University, Puran Singh worked as an industrial chemist when he returned to India. His chief distinction, however, was as a poet in both **Punjabi** and English. Influenced by Walt Whitman, he produced blank verse that stressed the universal appeal of the **Sikh Gurus**.

**PURATAN JANAM-SAKHI TRADITION.** The Purātan tradition forms a small group of immensely influential **janam-sakhis**. Scholarly **Sikhs** during the late 19th century were uneasy that the **Bālā tradition**, with its strong emphasis on the miraculous and the bizarre, provided the material for life of **Nanak**. In 1872 **Trumpp** discovered a different janam-sakhi in London and declared it to be probably the origin of all janam-sakhis. When it was examined in the **Punjab**, scholarly Sikhs agreed, and the manuscript was termed the Purātan or “ancient” janam-sakhi. This has since been shown to be in error, for although the manuscript is certainly old, the janam-sakhi that it records is well structured. The anecdotes that relate the travels of Nanak are organized into four major missionary journeys in four directions (plus one minor one), a feature of a comparatively late janam-sakhi. The two main manuscripts of the tradition are the Colebrooke (the London one) and the Hafizabad (now destroyed). Biographies of Nanak written during the 20th century are normally based on the Purātan tradition. The tradition is, however, no more reliable than other traditions.

**PURITY/POLLUTION.** In a sense **Sikhs** are little bothered by concepts of purity or pollution. They do, however, generally observe the rules of **caste** marriage, and strict members of the **Khalsa** will not eat with nonmembers. The attitude toward **Dalits** is distinctly ambivalent. Whereas they recognize that the **Gurus** spoke against discrimination, they nevertheless maintain a clear awareness of who is an Outcaste. They also commonly absorb other less weighty customs from their Indian background, such as distinguishing their use of the

right (pure) and left (polluted) hand or always circling a sacred object clockwise.

– Q –

**QAUM.** “A people who stand together.” [The **Sikh**] community.

**QAZI (QADI).** A Muslim judge; administrator of Islamic law. Qazis are cast as unsympathetic interlocutors of **Nanak** in the **janam-sakhis**.

**QUOIT.** Steel quoits are a conspicuous part of a **Nihang**’s uniform, worn in the turban. Greater standing as a Nihang means that the quoit is worn higher in the turban. The quoit also appears in the modern **khanda** device.

– R –

**RABAB.** A musical instrument like a rebeck.

**RADHASOAMI.** A **Sant** movement that traces its origins to a parent movement founded in Agra by Swami Shiv Dayal in 1861. The Agra movement later divided, and a branch was established beside the Beas River in **Amritsar** District by Jaimal Singh, a **Jat Sikh**. This came to be called the Beas Radhasoami Satsang, as distinct from the parent group that continued in Agra. In 1903 he was succeeded by Sawan Singh, the “Great Master,” another Jat Sikh. A line of Masters was thus established, teaching the threefold message of **simaran** (repetition of the Lord’s many **Names** until attention is focused on the Third Eye that lies within), **dhyān** (contemplation of the immortal form of the Master), and **bhajan** (hearing the celestial music within us). The movement is led by Sikh Masters, and many Sikhs have been attracted to it. To orthodox Sikhs, however, it is unacceptable. This is partly because of the differences between Sikh doctrine and the teachings of the **Satsang** and partly because the Satsang consists predominantly of Hindus.

**RAG (RAGA).** A series of five or more notes on which a melody is based; melody. Different rags are held to be appropriate for various times of the day. The works in the **Adi Granth** and other collections of hymns are divided according to their rags.

**RAGI.** A professional singer of **kirtan**. Normally employed by a **gur-dwara**, ragis are also available for singing kirtan at private functions.

**RAG-MALA.** The list of **rags** at the very end of the **Adi Granth** (pp. 1429–30). Because of its apparent mistakes, Rag-mala is regarded with doubt, and its status as a part of the **Adi Granth** is undecided. **Santokh Singh, Gian Singh, Kahn Singh Nabha, Teja Singh Bhasaur,** and **Randhir Singh** were among those who doubted or wholly rejected it. According to **Sikh Rahit Marayādā** the question is left open, though Rag-mala is not normally recited in **akhandpāṭhs** at **Harimandir Sahib**.

**RAHARAS.** *See* SODAR RAHARAS.

**RAHAU.** The refrain of a **shabad**.

**RAHIT.** The code of belief and discipline that all **Amrit-dhari Sikhs** vow to observe at initiation into the **Khalsa**. Recorded versions are known as **rahit-namas**. According to tradition the **Rahit** was promulgated by **Guru Gobind Singh** when he instituted the **Khalsa** in 1699. If so, this must have been a **rahit** different from the modern version. During the 18th century the **rahit** continued to change, principally in accordance with the predominantly **Jat** constituency of the **Panth** and its conflict with Muslim enemies. It continued to alter at a slower rate during the 19th century and toward the end of the century was taken up by the reforming **Singh Sabha**. After a lengthy debate a modern version of the **rahit** was finally published in 1950. The **rahit** is binding only on **Amrit-dhari Sikhs**, not on **Sahaj-dharis**. Strictly speaking, it does not apply to **Kes-dharis** who are not **Amrit-dharis**, though they are strongly encouraged to observe it as far as possible. *Rahit* is a very important term and deserves to be a part of regular English usage. *See also* SIKH RAHIT MARYADA.

**RAHIT BIBEK.** The **rahit-nama** observed by the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha**. It deletes **kes** from the **Five Ks**, instead substituting **keskī**, which it requires women as well as men to wear. Also, it commands complete vegetarianism and insists on the use of **sarab loh** (all iron) whenever possible. Members of the **Jatha** reject the manual **Sikh Rahit Marayāda** as mistaken in these important respects.

**RAHITIA.** A **Sikh** from the **Chamar** (leather-working) caste; an Out-caste Sikh. *See also* CASTE; DALIT; RAMDASIA.

**RAHIT-NAMA.** A manual that records any version of the **Rahit** of the **Khalsa**. The original rahit is attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh**, and the early rahit-namas all purport to reproduce his actual words. Although there is considerable uncertainty concerning sequence and dates, it seems certain that the oldest extant rahit-nama emerged at the end of the second decade of the 18th century. This was a poetic collection of a limited number of injunctions mistakenly termed the **Tanakhāh-nāmā** and attributed to **Nand Lal**. This was followed by other 18th-century rahit-namas attributed to Prahilad Rai (or **Prahlad Singh**), **Chaupa Singh**, **Desa Singh**, **Daya Singh**, and the unidentified **Prem Sumārag**. Another was also attributed to Nand Lal. This was the **Sākhī Rahit kī**. The **Prashan-uttar**, also attributed to Nand Lal, is not really a rahit-nama and was probably composed before the foundation of the Khalsa.

Subsequently there appeared two other rahit-namas in prose embedded in the **Sau Sākhīs**. These attributions have been attached to them spuriously. They were, however, accepted by **Singh Sabha** scholars, and from these sources they attempted to distill the original rahit. In 1915 they published their reformist views as an entirely new rahit-nama. This manual, the **Guramat Prakāsh Bhāg Sanskār**, failed to win acceptance. Not until **Sikh Rahit Marayāda** was issued in 1950 did an authoritative and accepted rahit-nama appear.

**RAI BHOI DI TALVANDI.** *See* NANKANA SAHIB.

**RAI BULAR.** The village landlord of **Talvandi Rai Bhoi** when **Nanak** was young. Traditionally he is regarded as warm admirer of the youthful **Nanak**.

**RAIDAS.** *See* RAVIDAS.

**RAJ KAREGA KHALSA.** At the conclusion of **Ardas** the following couplet is recited: “The **Khalsa** shall rule (raṁj karegaṁ **khalsā**), no enemy shall remain. All who endure suffering and privation shall be brought to the safety of the **Guru**’s protection.” This is a quotation from the **Tanakhāh-nāmā** attributed to **Nand Lal**. It reflects the increasing self-confidence of the Khalsa in its contest for power in the **Punjab**.

**RAJPUT.** A large caste related to the **Jats**. They are particularly numerous in Rajasthan and also important in the **Punjab**. Their origins are disputed, some tracing them back to the Rajaputra of Vedic times and others linking them much more closely with the Jats as a late entry into Indian society. Several **castes** trace their origins to the Rajputs, connections that are based entirely on tradition. *See also* LUBANA, MAHTON.

**RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA.** The **gurdwara** in New Delhi marking the place where the headless body of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** was secretly cremated by **Lakhi Shah** who, with his son, managed to carry it away by night from the place of execution in Delhi to his house in the village of Raisina on the outskirts of Delhi. To avoid suspicion, Lakhi Shah’s whole house, with the body inside, was burned. A **gurdwara** was built on the spot in 1790 by Baghel Singh, one of the raiding chieftains who had briefly taken Delhi. In 1913, during the construction of New Delhi, the outer wall of the gurdwara was demolished by the British government in order to provide a straight road to the Viceregal Lodge. This raised widespread protest. The issue was shelved during the war but broke out again after the war ended, and it was one of the reasons for the founding of the **Central Sikh League** in 1919. A band of prospective martyrs led by Sardul Singh Caveeshar marched on Delhi to reconstruct the wall. Before they arrived, the government, realizing it had stirred up something not considered essential, had rebuilt the wall and handed the gurdwara over to the **Khalsa** Divan of Delhi. *See also* JAITA.

**RAKHI.** One-fifth of the harvest taken by **misls** in return for protection of villages (including from government officials).

**RAKHRI (RAKSHA BANDHAN).** A festival celebrated by Hindus and **Sikhs** held on the full moon day of the month of Saun (August), on which a girl ties a ribbon on her brother's wrist, and he promises to defend her honor throughout his life.

**RAM.** One of the most common names for **God** in the **Adi Granth**, as in Hindu usage also. *See also* AKAL PURAKH; HARI; VAHIGURU.

**RAMANAND (c. 1400?).** A religious figure particularly associated with Vaishnava **bhakti** in north India. The tradition that he was **Kabir's guru** is spurious. One work in the **Adi Granth** is attributed to him.

**RAMDASIA.** A **Sikh** of the **Chamar** (leather-working) caste; an Out-caste Sikh. *See also* CASTE; DALIT; RAHITIA; RAVIDASI.

**RAM DAS, GURU (1534–1581).** Fourth Guru. Born in **Lahore**, a member of the **Sodhi** subcaste of **Khatris**. Known as Jetha until he became a **Sikh**, he was married in 1554 to **Bhani**, the daughter of **Guru Amar Das**. Before Amar Das died in 1574 at the age of 95, his choice as successor and fourth **Guru** fell on **Ram Das**. Sources for the life of Guru Ram Das are sparse (as they are for all Gurus from the second to the eighth), and although it is clear that he should undoubtedly be associated with the founding of **Amritsar**, it is not certain whether he did so on his own initiative or in response to instructions from Guru Amar Das. Amritsar was nevertheless established by Ram Das and known first as Chak Guru, then as Ramdasapur. The first act of the Guru was to excavate the pool that ultimately gave the site its name of Amritsar (pool of nectar).

Guru Ram Das is credited with establishing the **masands**, representatives who acted for the Guru in his absence. Composing hymns was a particular skill of his, and many of his works have been recorded in the **Adi Granth**. In the early **Panth** the singing of hymns in praise of the divine **Name** was the dominant activity, an emphasis that continues to the present day. Guru Ram Das is very important as a contributor to this tradition. He chose his youngest son, **Arjan**, to succeed him as the fifth Guru, passing over his two older sons **Prithi**



**Chand** and Mahadev. All the Sikh Gurus were thereafter his direct male descendants.

**RAMGARHIA.** A Sikh artisan caste comprising predominantly **Tarkhans** (carpenters) together with small numbers of Sikh masons, **barbers**, and blacksmiths. Sikh Tarkhans, seeking to elevate their position in the caste hierarchy, abandoned the Tarkhan identity, choosing instead the name **Ramgarhia** from **Jassa Singh Ramgarhia**, who was also a Tarkhan. Their success has, however, been markedly less than that of the **Ahluvalias**, who also adopted the name of a famous **misl** as part of a campaign to elevate their caste. Ramgarhias were extensively employed by the British on building the railways of East Africa, and from there many have migrated to Britain and North America. *See also* CASTE; MIGRATION.

**RAMGARHIA MISL.** A misl led by **Jassa Singh Thoka** (a Tarkhan by caste) who, taking his name from the fort known as Ramgarh outside **Amritsar**, became **Jassa Singh Ramgarhia**. His territory spread eastward from Batala across the Beas River. Jassa Singh frequently adopted positions that conflicted with other chieftains, including occasional support for the Afghan invader **Ahmad Shah Abdali**. The misl came to an effective end when it joined the alliance that **Ranjit Singh** overcame at Bhasin in 1799.

**RAM RAI (1646–1687).** The elder son of **Guru Har Rai**. Because **Har Rai** had supported Dara Shikoh in the **Mughal** war of succession, the successful contender **Aurangzeb** required him to send Ram Rai to the court in Delhi as a hostage. The intention was to educate the hostage in Mughal ways, converting him into a supporter of the throne. In this regard Aurangzeb was evidently successful. Sikh tradition explains it by describing a particular incident. It records that Ram Rai successfully ingratiated himself by his answer to what Aurangzeb held to be a demeaning reference in the **Adi Granth**. How did he explain the claim that earthenware pots were made from *mittī musalamān kī* (“the dust which is formed by Muslim [bodies]”)? Ram Rai replied that the words were miscopied, the original text reading *mittī beīmān kī* (“the dust which is formed by [the bodies] of faithless people”).

On hearing this Guru Har Rai declared that Ram Rai, having presumed to amend the words of **Guru Nanak**, should never again appear before him. His younger brother **Har Krishan** should instead succeed Har Rai as Guru. The tradition can be presumed to be accurate, at least to the extent that it describes relations between Aurangzeb and Ram Rai. Aurangzeb granted revenue-free land in the Dun Valley to Ram Rai, the town there subsequently known as Dehra Dun because Ram Rai set up a *dehrā* (shrine) on his estate. Ram Rai proved to be a rival to the orthodox line for the allegiance of the **Sikhs**. For this reason, his followers, known as **Ram Raiyas**, were included in the **Panj Mel**.

**RAM RAIYA.** A member of the schismatic group led by Ram Rai. The group is usually included as one of the **Panj Mel**.

**RAM SINGH (1816–1885).** The second and most influential **Guru** of the **Kuka** or **Namdhari** sect, believed by members of the sect to be the reincarnation of **Guru Gobind Singh**. **Ram Singh** was a **Tarkhan** or a **Ramgarhia**, and under him the **Namdharis** became a predominantly rural sect largely comprising Ramgarhias and poorer **Jats**. In 1871 and 1872 there were disturbances involving the Namdharis that the British rulers treated as a prelude to revolution. Because no court would have convicted Ram Singh, he was deported without trial to Rangoon. He died there in 1885.

**RANDHIR SINGH (1878–1961).** A Grewal **Jat** from Narangwal near Ludhiana who spent lengthy periods in British jails, where he created considerable problems by his rigorous interpretation of the **Khalsa** faith. In particular he insisted on **sarab loh** (all iron) and refused to eat anything that had not been cooked in an iron vessel. For a lengthy period he was associated with **Teja Singh of Bhasaur** and the **Panch Khalsa Divan** but parted company when Teja Singh was banished from the **Panth**. His followers were known as the Bhai Randhir Singh da **Jatha**, now commonly termed the **Akandh Kirtani Jatha**.

**RANGHRETA.** A section of the **Mazhabi Sikh** Outcastes who claim an elevated status on the grounds that **Jaita**, one of their number, carried the severed head of **Guru Tegh Bahadur** to his son **Gobind Singh** from **Delhi** to **Anandpur**.

**RANJIT SINGH (1780–1839).** Sikhs remember Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** with respect and affection as their greatest ruler. Ranjit Singh was a Sansi and this identity has led some to claim that his **caste** affiliation was with the low-caste Sansi tribe of the same name. A much more likely theory is that he belonged to the **Jat got** that used the same name. The **Sandhanvalias** belonged to the same got. Ranjit Singh was the son of **Mahan Singh**, leader of the **Shukerchakia misl**, and succeeded his father at a time when the **misls** were still confronted by Afghan invasions. In 1792 he succeeded his father, when control of the **Punjab** was moving strongly in favor of the misls. By means of marriages, alliances, and open wars Ranjit Singh was able to reduce all the other misls west of the Satluj River and to emerge in 1801 as Maharaja of most of the Punjab. Those east of the Satluj were protected by the advancing British.

During the next two decades he enlarged his territories, capturing **Multan**, Peshawar, and Kashmir. He took a particular interest in his army, bringing in several Europeans to train it in the western style. He was much less able in economics, however, and the finances of the kingdom were never put on a sound footing. Ranjit Singh was small, scarred by smallpox, and illiterate. In spite of the latter feature, he was able to choose competent servants, favoring the **Sikhs** but nevertheless balancing the three communities that dominated the Punjab. When he died the kingdom rapidly descended into murderous strife, and after two wars fought with the British the Punjab was annexed to British India in 1849. *See also* ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB; DALIP SINGH; JINDAN; KAHNAIYA MISL; KHARAK SINGH, MAHARAJA; SADA KAUR; SHER SINGH, MAHARAJA.

**RATAN SINGH BHANGU (d. 1846).** Mahtab Singh, one of the assassins of **Massa Ranghar**, had a grandson who was called on to relate the history of the **Sikhs**. This was Ratan Singh Bhangu. In 1809 Bhangu was invited to tell the story of the Sikhs to the Englishman Captain Murray in Ludhiana; in 1841 he issued his account in **Braj/Punjabi** under the title of **Panth Parkāsh** (subsequently known as **Prāchīn Panth Parkāsh** to distinguish it from the later work of the same name by **Gian Singh**). Although he retained the same emphasis of earlier writers on destiny and struggle, the focus is strongly on the creation of the **Khalsa**. The Khalsa was created to rule; all who

acknowledge its discipline must be prepared to assert that right. He gives the date of the founding of the Khalsa as 1695.

**RAVIDAS (c. 1500).** An Outcaste (**Chamar**) **bhagat** of Banaras, also known as Raidas. There are 40 of his works in the **Adi Granth**. The inclusion of the works of a Chamar in the **Adi Granth** shows that no importance was attached to **caste** by the **Gurus**.

**RAVIDASI.** Concerning **Ravidas**. A Ravidasi **gurdwara** is one attended by **Dalits**, normally **Ramdasias**.

**RAWALPINDI.** The main city of the **Pothohar** region. *See also* BHAPA.

**RECENT HISTORY.** *See* HISTORY, RECENT.

**REGIONAL FORMULA.** When India became independent in 1947 a decision was taken to divide the country into states, in each of which one dominant language was spoken. In the case of the **Punjab**, however, **Punjabi** was not accepted as the one dominant language as a majority of the old eastern Punjab were Hindus who were persuaded to declare their language as Hindi, regardless of what they actually spoke. The **Sikhs** agitated against the decision and in response the central government set up a scheme called the regional formula. The Punjab was divided into two areas, one of which had returned Punjabi in the census and the other Hindi. Each area had its own legislators and they decided all matters separately except those of law, order, finance, and taxation. This complicated system failed to work satisfactorily and Sikhs under Master **Tara Singh** began a **Punjabi Suba** agitation. After four years of turmoil a full-fledged Punjabi-speaking state was finally formed in 1966, the Hindi-speaking areas detached to form the separate states of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES, POSTPARTITION.

**RIKAB-GANJ GURDWARA.** *See* RAKAB-GANJ GURDWARA.

**rites of passage.** Prior to the **Singh Sabha** movement in the late 19th century, the **Panth** had observed rituals similar to, or identical

with, those of the Hindus. The rise of the **Tat Khalsa**, however, produced a determination to observe only **Sikh** rituals, and for several decades a struggle between Tat Khalsa and **Sanatan Sikhs** took place within the **Panth**. The most significant victory of the Tat Khalsa was the passing of the **Anand Marriage Act** in 1909, one that set out a Sikh form of marriage. The victory was eventually total. Other rites of passage that date from this period are ceremonies for **birth, naming, initiation, and death**. Hindu ceremonies such as the shrādh (for deceased forbears) are forbidden, although they had previously been practiced by Sikhs. *See also* RITUALS.

**RITUALS.** **Nanak** taught that rituals were mere external practices and as such were useless. **Sikhs**, however, observe a limited number of rituals. The principal ones are **amrit sanskār, Anand marriage,** and the **funeral** service. *See also* RITES OF PASSAGE.

**RUCHI RAM SAHNI.** A prominent **Sahaj-dhari Sikh** and member of the Brahma Samaj in the late 19th early 20th centuries.

**RUMAL.** “Handkerchief.” A small piece of cloth covering the topknot, which was commonly worn without a **turban** by sportsmen and by boys too young for a turban. During the 1980s and 1990s it was increasingly supplanted by the **patka**.

**RUMALA.** A cloth (normally ornate) in which the **Guru Granth Sahib** is wrapped when not being read; a portion of the “robes” of the Guru Granth Sahib. Each set of robes contains three items, of which the rumala is the centerpiece. Two side pieces (pālakān) complete the set.

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**SACH.** *See* SAT.

**SACHA PATISHAH.** “True King.” A form of address used for **God** by **Nanak**. Later **Gurus** came to be addressed by their **Sikhs** in the same way, as they were seen as the representatives of God.

**SACH KHAND.** The condition of ineffable **sahaj** attained at the climax of **nām simaran**. This is the meaning of sach khand as used by **Nanak** in **Japjī**. For many **Sikhs**, however, sach khand is conceived as a “heavenly abode,” a place to which one’s spirit goes at physical death, rather than a mystical condition transcending death. *See also* PANJ KHAND.

**SACH KHAND GURDWARA.** *See* HAZUR SAHIB.

**SACRAMENT.** **Sikhs** recognize no sacraments. The word belongs to Western religious practice and, like “clergy,” is inappropriate in the Sikh context.

**SACRED AREAS.** According to **Sikh Rahit Marayādā** only **Amritdhari Sikhs**, loyal in their observance of the **Rahit**, are permitted to enter particular areas of a **takhat**. Other parts of a takhat are open to all, **Sikh** or non-Sikh, except for **patits** and **tanakhāhīe**. **Gurdwaras** are open to all.

**SADA KAUR (d. 1832).** The widow of Gurbakhsh Singh, heir to the chieftainship of the **Kahnaiya misl**, who was killed in 1782. She was recognized as the effective leader of the misl and for some time was able to prevent **Ranjit Singh** from absorbing it by marrying her daughter Mahtab Kaur to him. Relations became increasingly strained, however, and in 1821 Ranjit Singh confiscated the Kahnaiya territories, keeping her in custody until her death in 1832.

**SADHANA.** A **bhagat**. One work of his appears in the **Adi Granth**.

**SADHARAN PATH.** “Ordinary reading.” A complete reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib** with gaps between installments. The reading may be completed in a week, a month, or with an indefinite conclusion and no preordained date for the **bhog**. It is also called a **sahaj pāth**. *See also* AKHAND PATH; KULLA PATH; SAPTAHAK PATH.

**SADH SANGAT.** A congregation of believing **Sikhs**.

**SADHU.** Mendicant; renunciant; ascetic.

**SAGUNA.** The doctrine that **God** possesses visible “qualities” or attributes. *See also* NIRGUNA.

**SAHAJ.** The condition of ineffable bliss that is the climax of **nām simaran**; eternal bliss in union with **Akal Purakh**. The word is taken from the usage of the **Naths**.

**SAHAJ-DHARI.** A Sikh who does not observe the **Rahit** and, in particular, cuts his or her hair. The etymology of the term is disputed. **Singh Sabha** scholars believed it to mean “slow adopter” and to designate those **Sikhs** who were on the path to full **Khalsa** membership. A much more likely origin is that the term derives from **sahaj**, meaning the ineffable bliss of union that climaxes the process of **nām simaran**. Practically all Sahaj-dharis are members of the **Khatri/Arora/Ahluvalia** group of urban castes. This group commonly used to have one son of a family initiated into the Khalsa while the rest of the family remained Sahaj-dharis. *See also* IDENTITY.

**SAHAJ PATH.** *See* SADHARAN PATH.

**SAHIB.** “Sir.” A title for **Akal Purakh** or one implying great respect for places of religious significance. The **Golden Temple**, for example, is always called **Harimandir Sahib** or Darbar Sahib, and **Amritsar** is often known as Amritsar Sahib. Sahib is also applied to men to denote respect.

**SAHIB DEVI (d. 1734).** Sahib Devi, or Sahib Devan, was the third wife of Guru **Gobind Singh**. Because she was childless she was, according to tradition, designated Mother of the **Khalsa** and renamed **Sahib Kaur**. The change will have taken place during the **Singh Sabha** period. **Gurmat Prakash Bhag Sanskar**, which was promulgated in 1915, still lists her name as Sahib Devi. *See also* KAUR; WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**SAHIB KAUR.** *See* SAHIB DEVI.

**SAHIB SINGH (1892–1977).** Distinguished Sikh theologian and commentator on the **Adi Granth**. Author of a 10-volume commentary. Born as Nathu Ram, he became a **Sikh** at age 14.

**SAHIB SINGH BEDI (1756–1834).** A direct descendant of **Nanak** and greatly venerated by the **Sikhs**. From his father he inherited property at Una in Hoshiarpur district. A vigorous man, he led armed Sikhs in forays across the Satluj River. He developed a considerable reputation as a Sikh preacher and gathered a large following in central **Punjab**. Among his disciples Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** figured conspicuously, and in 1801 Sahib Singh Bedi conducted his coronation ceremonies in **Lahore**.

**SAHIB-ZADE.** “Offspring of the Master”: Ajit Singh, Jujhar Singh, Zoravar Singh, and Fateh Singh, sons of **Guru Gobind Singh**. The two elder sons were killed by **Mughals** in 1704 while defending **Chamkaur**. The two younger ones were cruelly executed in 1705 by the Mughal administrator of Sirhind, **Vazir Khan**, bricked up alive and so dying the death of **shahids**. *See also* SUCHANAND.

**SAIDPUR.** A small town eight miles south east of Gujranwala that was sacked by **Babur** in 1520. The **janam-sakhis** all record that **Nanak** was present on the occasion. The town was subsequently rebuilt by the Emperor Akbar and renamed Eminabad.

**SAIN.** Believed to have been a barber of Rewa who lived in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. He is reputed to have been a disciple of Ramanand. The **Adi Granth** contains one of his hymns.

**SAINAPATI.** Author of **Srī Gur-Sobhā**, “Radiance of the Guru,” a narrative poem completed in either 1711 or 1745 (almost certainly the former). The work provides rare testimony to the beliefs and practices of the **Khalsa** in the early 18th century. It gives the date of the founding of the Khalsa as 1695. *See also* KHALSA DATE.

**SAKHI.** An anecdote concerning the life of **Nanak**; a story from a **janam-sakhi**.

**SAKHI RAHIT KI.** A prose **rahit-nama** mistakenly attributed to **Nand Lal**. *See also* PRASHAN-UTTAR; TANAKHAH-NAMA.

**SAKHI SARVAR.** A popular semilegendary figure among the rural people of the **Punjab**, widely worshiped by **Sikhs** and Hindus as well



as Muslims. Sakhi Sarvar attracted attention in the late 19th century, particularly from British scholars. His real name was, by tradition, Sayyid Ahmad, and he is said to have lived in the twelfth century. He practiced austerities in the area of **Multan**, and his reputation for working miracles attracted a vast following.

**SALUTATIONS.** An early form of salutation was “Pairi pavana,” loosely translated as “I fall at your feet.” “Kartar Kartar,” “[Hail to] the Creator,” was also common. Later “Sat Sri Akal” (True is the Immortal One) became dominant as the common salutation, used by **Sikhs** and non-Sikhs addressing Sikhs. Among Sikhs a more formal greeting is “**Vahiguruji ka Khalsa**” (Hail to the **Guru’s Khalsa**), to which the response is “[Siri] **Vahiguruji ki fateh**” (Hail the Guru’s victory).

**SAMMAT DATING.** Vikrami dating (or Bikrami dating, i.e., according to the era of Vikramaditya), which is approximately 56 years and nine months ahead of common era dating. For example, the equivalent of the first nine months of S. 1957 is A.D. 1900 (or 1900 C.E.). The equivalent of the last three months is equivalent to the first three months of A.D. 1901. In such dating S. stands for Sammat (or Sanvat). Prior to the British annexation of the **Punjab** in 1849, **Sikh** dates were either Sammat or Hijari (the Muslim era). In the period of the **Singh Sabha** Hijari dating was abandoned, and Sikh dates were given as either Sammat or **San** or both. *See also* NANAKSHAHI DATING.

**SANATAN SIKHS.** “Traditional **Sikhs**,” conservative Sikhs within the **Singh Sabha**, as opposed to the radical **Tat Khalsa**. The term assumed an inclusive view of the Sikh faith, accepting beliefs drawn from a wide range of Hindu and Muslim tradition (beliefs in the Vedas, Hindu epics, idolatry, **Sufi pirs**, etc.). Sanatan Sikhs, comprising largely the landed aristocracy and those of similar views, were largely responsible for the founding of the first Singh Sabha in **Amritsar** in 1873. They retained their hold on Amritsar but were soon opposed by the more ardent followers of the Tat Khalsa in **Lahore** and elsewhere who stressed the exclusive nature of the Sikh faith. The two groups shared membership in the **Chief Khalsa Diwan**, which they cofounded in 1902, but the Tat Khalsa found that it largely reflected the views of the Sanatan Sikhs. During the early

decades of the 20th century influence in the **Panth** passed increasingly to the Tat Khalsa, leaving the Sanatan Sikhs with a rapidly declining strength. Among the prominent Sanatan Sikhs were **Khem Singh Bedi** and **Avtar Singh Vahiria**.

**SAN DATING.** Dating according to the Christian (or common) era. *See also* SAMMAT DATING.

**SANDHANVALIA FAMILY.** A family of **Jat Sikhs**, the principal rivals for power against the **Dogra** family in the turbulent years immediately following the death of Maharaja **Ranjit Singh** in 1839. The principal members were Lahna Singh, Attar Singh, and Ajit Singh. Their most conspicuous success was the assassination of **Sher Singh**, his son Partap Singh, and **Dhian Singh Dogra** in 1843. This was followed by the revenge killing of Lahna Singh and Ajit Singh shortly after. Attar Singh was killed the following year. *See also* THAKUR SINGH SANDHANVALIA.

**SANGAT.** Being together; a congregation. The sangat is of central importance in the **Sikh** faith, the assembly of believers being the venue where the divine **Name** is remembered by the singing of **kirtan**. The terms **satsang** (the company of truth) or **sadhsang** (the company of the pious) are also used. *See also* SADH SANGAT.

**SANGRAND.** The first day of the month according to Bikrami dating. Sangrands are observed as highly auspicious by the **Panth**. Bathing in the pool surrounding **Harimandir Sahib** is particularly popular, as many **Sikhs** believe that this confers health and prosperity during the remainder of the month. *See also* AMAVAS; PANCHAMI; PURAN-MASHI.

**SANSAR.** The cycles of **transmigration**. According to **Gurmat**, a person can escape sansār by regular meditation on the divine **Name**, leading finally to permanent bliss. *See also* MUKTI; SAHAJ.

**SANT.** Originally applied to followers of the **Sant Tradition**, either as religious poets or as ordinary believers. The word derives from **sat**, “truth,” the sant being “a person who knows the truth.” Following the

end of the line of personal **Gurus** within the **Panth** in 1708, the ancient master/disciple tradition survived, though the master could never be called a Guru. Many **Sikhs** attached themselves to preceptors who had acquired reputations as teachers or exemplars and eventually acquired the title of Sant. They continue to flourish within the Panth, particularly among its rural members, and some of them command substantial influence. Recent examples with considerable political prestige include Sant **Fateh Singh**, Sant **Harchand Singh Longoval**, and Sant **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale**.

**SANT BHASHA.** *See* ADI GRANTH LANGUAGE.

**SANT NIRANKARI.** Founded by Avtar Singh in the 1940s as a break-away from the **Nirankaris**. The principal differences between the Sant Nirankaris and orthodox **Sikhs** are the former's addition of other works to the **Adi Granth** and the exalted homage paid to their leader as **Guru**. In 1978 there was conflict with orthodox Sikhs over holding of a Sant Nirankari conference in **Amritsar**, an incident that led to a fatal police shooting and to the emergence of **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** as a leader of the orthodox. Bhindranvale's violent denunciations were widely reported, and in 1980 the leader of the Sant Nirankaris, Gurbachan Singh, was assassinated. After more than a decade of serious discord with the orthodox Sikhs, the sect largely faded from sight.

**SANTOKH SINGH (1788–1844).** The most prominent of all **Sikh** hagiographers. A **Chhimba** by **caste**, he was born near **Amritsar** but spent most of his working life in **Malwa**, where he lived in Buria and Kaithal under the patronage of their respective **sardars**. Santokh Singh wrote indifferent verse in a mixture of **Punjabi** and **Braj**. He was strongly influenced by the heretical ideas of the **Handalis** and by the Vedantic doctrines of the **Udasis** and **Nirmalas** but earned considerable popularity owing to the fact that he covered the complete range of **Gurus**. His account of **Nanak**, *Gur Nānak Prakāsh* (or the *Nānak Prakāsh*), which was completed in 1823, takes as its principal source the **Bālā tradition**, supplemented by the **Gyān-ratanāvalī** and by other **janam-sakhis**. The other **Gurus** he covered in his lengthy *Gur Partāp Sūray* (the *Sūraj Prakāsh*), completed in 1844. *See also* ANAND GHAN; BUNGA.

**SANT-SIPAHI.** The ideal **Sikh**. Spiritual qualities are summed up in the first word. A Sikh should be humble and pious like a **sant**, devoted to the **nām**, and willing to be the dust under everyone's feet. A Sikh should also possess the martial qualities of a sipahi (soldier), ever courageous and bravely prepared to fight gallantly for justice even if it should mean death. The term applies to both male and female Sikhs, though in actual usage it is largely confined to men.

**SANT TRADITION.** A religious movement in northern India that draws heavily on **Bhakti** antecedents but also has other roots. Two major sources can be identified. Vaishnava Bhakti (devotion to one of the avatars or "incarnations" of the god Vishnu, particularly Krishna or Ram) is one of these, and for most Sant poets is clearly the dominant source. To it must be added the **Nath** tradition, a source that is particularly evident in the works of **Kabir** (probably c. 1440–1518). **Sufi** influence may also have contributed to the development of Sant ideals, though its influence was appreciably less than the first two sources. As with believers in Bhakti, the Sants stress devotion as essential to liberation. They differ in their insistence that **God** is **nirgun** (without form) and can be neither incarnated nor represented iconically as can the **sagun** (with form) concept. They evidently owe their stress on a wholly interior response to the Nath. God, immanently revealed, is contemplated inwardly, and all exterior forms are spurned. Sants are commonly (but wrongly) included in Vaishnava Bhakti. The connection with the Sant tradition of Maharashtra is closer. Most Sant poets were of humble backgrounds, as with the weaver Kabir or the Outcaste leather worker **Ravidas**. **Nanak** and his successor **Gurus**, though certainly within the tradition, were exceptions to this rule as all were high-caste **Khatris**. The tradition still thrives, a modern representative being the **Radhasoami** movement.

**SAPTAHAK PATH.** "Seven-day reading," the most common period for an intermittent reading of the complete **Guru Granth Sahib**. The reading concludes with a **bhog**. *See also* AKHAND PATH; PATH; SADHARAN PATH.

**SARAB LOH.** "All Steel." From the time of **Guru Gobind Singh** onward an epithet for God. The term is also used as a description for Mahakal or Shiv (Siva). *See also* AKAL USTATI.

**SARAB LOH GRANTH.** A work by an unknown poet, probably dating from the late 18th century, which concerns an avatar of **Sarab Loh** or Shiv (Siva). Traditionally (but mistakenly), it has been regarded as the work of **Guru Gobind Singh**. Among the **Nihangs** it has been particularly popular. **Tara Singh Narotam**, the **Nirmala** scholar, claimed it to be by **Sukkha Singh**, the **granthi** of **Patna Sahib**. Because it contains verses in praise of the **Khalsa**, it is at least thought to derive from a **Sikh** origin. The work has been little studied.

**SARBARAH.** Official appointed by the British to manage **Hari-  
mandir Sahib** until it was taken over by the **Shiromani Gurdwara  
Parbandhak Committee** in 1926.

**SARBAT DA BHALLA.** “[May] all be blest,” the three closing words of **Ardas** commonly uttered as a blessing.

**SARBAT KHALSA.** The “entire **Khalsa**” or “plenary **Khalsa**,” a term that emerged during the later 18th century to describe the temporary unity accomplished by the linking of **misl**s for some shared purpose, such as campaigns against the Afghan invader. Today it means a representative body of **Sikhs** summoned by the **Jathedar** of **Akal Takhat**, acting on instructions from the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, for an important matter concerning the **Panth**.

**SARDAR.** “Chieftain.” In the 18th century a title applied to the leader of a **misl** or **jatha**. Today it is invariably applied to all **Kes-dhari Sikhs**. The form for women is **Sardarni**.

**SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR (1886–1963).** Prominent radical journalist during the early decades of the 20th century.

**SAROPA.** “Head and feet.” Robe of honor. **Saropas** are given to individuals for piety or distinction. The quality of the **saropa** reflects the status of the recipient, ranging from saffron head coverings to resplendent robes.

**SAROVAR.** The pool for bathing that is sometimes part of a **gurdwara**. The name **Amritsar** is a combination of **amrit** (nectar) and

sar[ovar] (pool). The term is frequently and ineptly translated by the ugly word “tank.”

**SARUP DAS BHALLA.** Author of the *Mahimā Prakāsh Kavītā*, said to have been completed in CE 1776. *See also* MAHIMA PRAKASH.

**SAT (also SATI, SATYA, SACH, SACHA).** “True.” That which genuinely exists. The word is immensely important in the **Sikh** tradition (and in other Indian traditions also) and is impossible to translate satisfactorily.

**SATGURU.** “True **Guru**.” Term of particular reverence.

**SATI (SUTTEE).** The burning of a widow on her deceased husband’s funeral pyre. The practice was denounced by the **Gurus**.

**SATI DAS (d. 1675).** One of three **Sikhs** executed in **Delhi** with **Guru Tegh Bahadur**. *See also* DAYAL DAS; MATI DAS.

**SATIYUG.** *See* KALIYUG.

**SAT-NAM.** “True [is] the divine **Name**.” A common form for **nām japaj**, that is, for practicing **nām simaraṇ** by means of the simple repetition of a single word or mantra.

**SATSANG.** *See* SADH SANGAT.

**SAT SRI AKAL.** “True is the Immortal One.” The common greeting used when at least one person is a **Sikh**. It is also used as a triumphal shout in Sikh assemblies. A leader cries “Bole so nihal” (Blessed is the one who utters . . .) to which all who are present reply with a fervent “Sat Sri **Akal!**” *See also* SALUTATIONS; VAHI GURUJI KA KHALSA, VAHI GURUJI KI FATEH.

**SATTA AND BALVAND.** *See* BALVAND AND SATTA.

**SAU SAKHIAN.** “The Hundred Sayings,” correctly entitled *Gur Ratan Māl*. In it are embedded two brief **rahit-namas** (**sakhi** 8 and sakhi

65). It was probably composed in the late 18th century and extensively interpolated in the first half of the 19th. One version of this work was particularly popular with the **Namdharis**, containing a prophecy that they claimed pointed to their leader **Ram Singh**.

**SAVA LAKH.** “A lakh and a quarter.” The **Khalsa**. **Gobind Singh** traditionally declared that in place of the tiny number of **Sikhs** who had stood by his father at the time of his execution he would create a highly visible host numbering 125,000 (*savā lakh*).

**SAVAYYA, SAVAIYA.** A kind of meter; a song in this meter; a panegyric.

**SELI.** The woolen cord that **Nanak** is thought to have worn in his turban. It is traditionally believed to have been passed down to his successors until **Hargobind** put it aside as inappropriate to the **miri/piri** role that he was assuming.

**SEPIDARI.** The Punjabi system of granting customary shares of each harvest to members of various **castes** (agricultural laborers, carpenters, barbers, sweepers, etc.) tied to a particular patron in a hereditary service arrangement. In most of northern India this system is known as *jajmani*.

**SEVA.** “Service.” This may be rendered to the **Guru**, either in money or kind or duties performed, or it may be directed to ordinary people. In the former case, it is normally focused on the **gurdwara** and involves cash donations, contributions of food to the **langar**, or such unpaid duties as reading the scripture, cleaning the premises, polishing the shoes of worshipers, or helping in the **langar**. The word can also be given a wider connotation to mean service to the community in the general sense.

**SEVADAR.** Servant, attendant at a **gurdwara**.

**SEVA PANTH.** Followers of **Ghahnaiya Ram** who formed an order dedicated to service of the wider community. The order was formed largely by Addan Shah, a Sindhi disciple converted by Bhai **Ghah-**

**naiya** early in the 18th century, and until the **partition** of India in 1947 its chief center was at Nurpur in Sindh. Seva-panthis are **Sahajdhari Sikhs** and must earn their keep by labor, not by begging. Their distinctive clothing is simple, and their way of life austere. Celibacy is enjoined and borrowing money forbidden. The size of the order is very small.

**SEVA SINGH THIKRIVALA (c. 1882–1935).** An **Akali** who was the moving spirit behind the **Praja Mandal** (Tenants Association) of the princely states. In 1935 he succumbed to treatment received in a **Patiala** jail.

**SGPC.** *See* SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE.

**SHABAD (SABAD).** “Word.” Shabad has two related meanings. (1) For **Nanak** it was the revelation that communicates the message of the **nām**. The Word is uttered by the mystical **Guru** to the believer who thereby perceives the **nām** (the divine **Name**) around and within him or her. (2) As Nanak himself came to be regarded as the inspired communicator of the shabad, his hymns were treated as its actual expression. This belief was extended to his successors as Guru and shabad thus came to mean a hymn recorded in the **Adi Granth**. *See also* SHALOK (SLOK).

**SHAHADAT.** “Martyrdom,” a term that shares the same importance for the **Sikh** faith as **shahid**. It is justified on the grounds that it becomes inevitable when the **Panth** is resolutely involved in protecting the weak from oppression and the defenseless against tyrants. Sikhs who avow martyrdom as a supreme virtue insist that at no point have the **Gurus** ever been quietist or pacifist.

**SHAHID.** “Martyr.” The concept of martyrdom, evidently borrowed from the Islamic culture of the **Punjab**, is extremely important in **Sikh** history and tradition. Before the arrival of the British, all martyrs met their deaths at Muslim hands. Two **Gurus**, **Arjan** and **Tegh Bahadur**, are held to have been martyred, and the **shahid-ganj** (place of martyrdom) in each case is endowed with a special sanctity. In later history



three martyrs who exercise a particular fascination are the two **Sahibzade**, the younger children of **Guru Gobind Singh** who are believed to have been bricked up alive in **Sirhind**; and **Dip Singh**. The two older children of the Guru are also regarded as martyrs, as is **Banda Bahadur**. The concept has continued to play a central part in the history of the **Panth**. **Jarnail Singh Bhindranvale** is widely regarded as a modern martyr, and there are many more besides him.

**SHAHIDGANJ.** The Nakhās, or Saleyards, in **Lahore** where numerous **Sikhs** were executed during the mid 18th century, particularly under the rule of **Zakarya Khan**. Subsequently a **gurdwara** was built on the site and was the scene of heavy fighting during the **Partition** riots.

**SHAHID MISL.** A small **misl** with territory in the **Malwa** area around **Damdama Sahib**. **Dip Singh** is believed to have belonged to this misl. It was renowned for keeping alive the traditions of the **Khalsa**, later maintained by the **Nihangs**.

**SHAHID SIKH MISSIONARY COLLEGE.** An institute in **Amritsar** for training **granthis** and **pracharaks** (itinerant preachers). It does not specialize in **Sikh** theology, its function concentrating more on such skills as the correct reading of Sikh scripture. Sikhism, as a lay faith, offers no seminary or training institute for specializing in theology.

**SHALOK (SALOK).** Normally a couplet; any short composition contained in the **Adi Granth**. *See also* SHABAD (SABAD).

**SHASTAR NAM-MALA.** “An inventory of weapons.” A portion of the **Dasam Granth** that lists seven weapons and relates the deeds of some who used them. The weapons are the **sword**, the katar dagger, the lance, the quoit, the arrow, the noose, and the gun. The seven names are cryptically expressed as puzzles.

**SHER SINGH, MAHARAJA (1807–1843).** Second son of **Ranjit Singh**. He succeeded his half brother **Kharak Singh** in 1840 but with his son **Partap Singh** was assassinated by the **Sandhanvalia** brothers in 1843. His palace still stands in Batala.

**SHIROMANI or SHROMANI.** Great; supreme; paramount.

**SHIROMANI AKALI DAL.** *See* AKALI DAL.

**SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE.** After World War I radical **Sikhs** militantly demanded control of all **gurdwaras**. In 1920 the **Central Sikh League** formed a committee of 175 members known as the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (usually abbreviated to **SGPC**), the intention being that it should launch a movement on behalf of the **Panth** for liberating gurdwaras from their existing custodians, the **mahants**. This was followed by the formation of the **Akali Dal** the same year. The Akali Dal was to attempt to gain control of the gurdwaras, and the SGPC was then to administer them. For five years the struggle was maintained. Eventually the Sikhs won, and the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925** provided for a committee elected by Sikhs to manage the gurdwaras. Sikh leaders conferred this responsibility on the SGPC, which thereafter possessed a statutory function. As manager of almost all the major gurdwaras in undivided **Punjab** it controls considerable estates and patronage, much of which is used for political purposes. Since 1925 it has remained in the hands of the **Akalis**. *See also* DELHI SIKH GURDWARA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE; GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**SHIVALIK HILLS.** Foothills of the Himalayas, forming the north-eastern boundary of the **Punjab**. A section of the hills has been very important in the history of the **Sikhs** from the time of **Guru Hargobind** to that of **Guru Gobind Singh**. The **Mughal** empire did not extend far into them, and they were ruled by hill chieftains who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughals. **Kiratpur** and **Anandpur** are situated on the edge of the **Shivaliks**, overlooking the Punjab plains across the Satluj River. *See also* MUGHAL RELATIONS.

**SHIV-NABH (SIVANABH).** A raja whom **Nanak**, according to the **janam-sakhis**, is said to have converted. Traditionally he is placed in Sri Lanka. There is no evidence for his existence.

**SHRADH.** A Hindu ceremony performed annually on behalf of deceased forbears, the purpose being to assist their passage to Paradise or whatever destination has been determined by their karma. Before the late 19th century the custom was observed by many **Sikhs**. Reformers of the **Tat Khalsa** within the **Singh Sabha**, fortified by scriptural injunctions, mounted a generally successful attack on the practice of the ceremony by Sikhs.

**SHUKERCHAKIA MISL.** A **misl** with territories to the north and west of **Lahore**. In the late 18th century it won total supremacy in western and central **Punjab**, developing into the Kingdom of the Punjab under **Ranjit Singh**.

**SIDDH (SIDDHA).** Eighty-four venerable men believed to have attained immortality through the practice of yoga and to be dwelling deep in the Himalayas. In the **Adi Granth** and the **janam-sakhis Siddh** and **Nath** are used interchangeably.

**SIDDH GOSHT.** “Discourse with the **Siddhs**.” A lengthy work by **Nanak** in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 938–36).

**SIKH.** A Sikh is defined by **Sikh Rahit Marayādā** as “any person who believes in **Akal Purakh**, in the 10 **Gurus (Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh)**, in **Sri Guru Granth Sahib**, other writings of the 10 **Gurus** and their teachings, in the **Khalsa** initiation ceremony instituted by the 10th **Guru**, and who does not believe in any other system of religious doctrine.” This definition is an enlarged version of what was written into the **Sikh Gurdwaras Act of 1925**. That act marked the victory of the **Tat Khalsa** over others who took a more relaxed view of the **Panth**, particularly the **Sahaj-dharis**. The latter could scarcely agree that a Sikh had to “believe in” (*nischā rakhdā*) the **Khalsa initiation** ceremony or that there was no place for other religious systems. The definition is rather that of a **Khalsa Sikh**. A definition of a Sikh that would embrace all who claim the title would have to omit these two items and add a reference to the ideal of **nām simaran**. At the same time it must be acknowledged that this latter definition would be rejected by many members of the **Khalsa** as inadequate and that an agreed definition is impossible. *See also* IDENTITY.

**SIKH ARCHITECTURE.** *See* ARCHITECTURE.

**SIKH DHARMA OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.** Founded in 1971 in the United States by Harbhajan Singh Khalsa Yogiji (commonly called **Yogi Bhajan**), the sect now claims several thousand Western adherents scattered over 17 countries. Its strength is concentrated in the United States. Members are distinguished by white apparel (including **turbans** for women as well as men) and by a rigorous discipline of meditation and what is called kundalini yoga. The movement is also distinctive in that it possesses an ordained ministry. Relations with the orthodox **Khalsa** are cautious, though in general members are punctilious in observing the **Rahit**. The movement is best known as **3HO** (Healthy Happy Holy Organization), strictly the name of its educational branch). Members all take **Punjabi** names but adopt the name Khalsa as their surname.

**SIKH GURDWARAS ACT, 1925.** Enacted by the Legislative Council of the Punjab, this act marked the triumph of the **Akalis** and the end of the **Gurdwara Reform Movement**. A list of the major **gurdwaras** of the **Punjab** was appended to the act, and a committee elected by **Sikhs** was given the right to manage them, giving it considerable powers of patronage. According to a later amendment **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs** could be enrolled as electors. The act's definition of a Sikh, however, was particularly important as it lent considerable support to the view, advocated by the **Tat Khalsa**, that a Sikh was one who had "no other religion." A later amendment made this even clearer, specifying that all persons elected to the committee had to be either **Amrit-dhari** or **Kes-dhari Sikhs**. They were also required to certify that they did not take alcoholic drinks, a restriction that still applies in theory. To this committee the Akalis transferred the name of their own **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee**, and since then it has been supreme in Sikh affairs. *See also* DELHI SIKH GURDWARA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE.

**SIKHI.** The wider **Sikh** faith as opposed to the **Khalsa** belief of Singhi.

**SIKHISM.** There are conflicting definitions attached to the word "**Sikh**" and it is consequently impossible to define "Sikhism" to the

satisfaction of everyone. It may mean the wider body of all who embrace the teachings of **Nanak** and revere the **Adi Granth**; it may be confined to the **Khalsa**; or it may be located somewhere between the two. Usually the term assumes the **Tat Khalsa** meaning that centers firmly on the Khalsa. There is also a problem when one contrasts the normative Sikhism of the intellectual elite with the operative beliefs and customs of the vast majority of the **Panth**. In describing Sikhism one should be clearly aware that it is normally the former that is placed under scrutiny. Most Sikhs prefer the word **Gurmat** (the teachings of the **Guru**) to Sikhism. *See also* IDENTITY.

**SIKHISM, SEPARATE FAITH.** Although **Nanak** was born a Hindu and an overwhelming majority of early **Sikhs** were from Hindu backgrounds, the way of **nām simaraṅ** was open to anyone of any faith, specifically Muslim as well as Hindu. All that was required was the **Sant** belief in the inward nature of faith, devoid of any outward symbols and practices. The third **Guru, Amar Das**, introduced a rudimentary discipline to hold the community of his followers together. At a later date the establishment of the **Khalsa** by the tenth Guru, **Gobind Singh**, required those who joined it to observe outward symbols that proclaimed their identity. This led to the conviction that the Sikhs (at least the Sikhs of the Khalsa) were distinctively different, and eventually there developed the conviction that they were a completely separate community. This conviction owed much to the success of the **Tat Khalsa** in propagating their distinctive view of the Sikh faith.

**SIKH KANYA MAHAVIDYALA.** A school founded in Firozpur by **Takht Singh** in 1890 and taken over by the local **Singh Sabha** in 1892 as a school for girls. Female education was at that time a novelty, but the school soon became a model for other **Sikh** schools run by the **Tat Khalsa**. The objective was to train each girl to read and write **Gurmukhi**, to be knowledgeable about the Sikh past, and to perform all household duties. She should be respectful and obedient to her husband and bring up her children in accordance with the **Tat Khalsa** conception of the Sikh faith.

**SIKKHAN DI BHAGAT-MALA.** *See* BHAGAT-RATANAVALI.

**SIKH RAHIT MARAYADA.** The title of the definitive statement of the **Khalsa Rahit**, first issued in 1950. The unsatisfactory state of the extant **rahit-namas** was first faced by **Singh Sabha** reformers at the end of the 19th century, and slow progress was made amid the political activities that engaged the **Panth**. Finally, a committee was appointed in 1931 with Principal **Teja Singh** as convener, and by 1932 a draft was complete. Further obstructions occurred, and it was not until 1950 that the work appeared as a small booklet. (Teja Singh did, however, include an English translation of most of the **Rahit** as a chapter in his *Sikhism: Its Ideals and Institutions*, 1938.) *Sikh Rahit Marayādā* has stood the test of time since 1950. The work is divided into two parts: personal discipline and panthic discipline. The first part covers such topics as behavior in a **gurdwara** and reading of the **Guru Granth Sahib**. It also details the order to be followed in the rituals for **birth** and **naming, marriage, and death**. The second section largely comprises the order for **Khalsa initiation**. An English translation is available.

**SINGH.** “Lion.” All male **Amrit-dharis** must add Singh to their first name. The custom is also followed by most **Kes-dharis** and those with a **Khalsa** background, and is thus borne by a large majority of male **Sikhs**. The word is also used in a general sense to designate **Khalsa Sikhs**. See also AMRIT SANSKAR; IDENTITY; KAUR; NAMING CEREMONY.

**SINGHALADIP.** Sri Lanka; the land where Raja **Shivnabh** was believed to rule.

**SINGH SABHA MOVEMENT.** The first Singh Sabha was founded in 1873 to restore the credibility of the **Sikhs** following **Kuka** disturbances and also to stem what seemed to be clear signs of decay in the **Panth**. After the annexation of the **Punjab** in 1849, the **Panth** appeared to be declining rapidly, and there were numerous forecasts of its demise. In actual fact the condition of the **Panth** was little changed, but educated **Sikhs** were learning to see it in a distinctively Western mode. The readiness of many **Sikhs** to indiscriminately adopt Hindu lifestyles was one cause of increasing dismay. Christian missions also seemed to be a threat, and in 1873 the

decision of four pupils of the **Amritsar** Mission School to accept Christian baptism prompted the foundation of the Singh Sabha (Singh Society) in that city. Another branch was formed in **Lahore** in 1879, and others followed in areas populated by Sikhs, all supporting a general reformist policy with strong emphasis on the recovery of distinctive Sikh values. This policy was applied through literature, education, religious assemblies, preaching, and public controversy.

Two distinct trends soon emerged, with what have been termed the **Sanatan Sikhs** prominent in **Amritsar** and the **Tat Khalsa** dominant in Lahore. A split appeared between the two, with each supported by satellites of smaller sabhas. The need for reform was seen as comparatively little by Amritsar, much greater by Lahore. A third group, much more radical than the other two, emerged in the village of **Bhasaur**. Although a fragile unity between Amritsar and Lahore was achieved in 1902 by the formation of a joint body, the **Chief Khalsa Divan**, this organization proved much too cautious for the Tat Khalsa. The Tat Khalsa progressively assumed complete dominance in Sikh affairs, introducing newly fashioned rituals, stressing **Khalsa** forms, and reinterpreting Sikh history. In 1920 it issued in the **Akali** movement. This Tat Khalsa dominance has continued through the 20th century. Whenever general reference is made to the Singh Sabha nowadays, it is usually the Tat Khalsa that is meant.

**SINGHI.** The faith or spirit of the **Khalsa**. *See also* SIKHI.

**SINGHPURIA MISL.** A small **misl**, also known as the **Faizulapuria misl**, with territories on either side of the Satluj River. This misl was associated with Nawab **Kapur Singh** and must therefore have been taking shape before the Afghan invasions of **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, which began in 1747. Later in the 18th century it gave way to stronger misl neighbors.

**SIR-GUM.** An initiated **Sikh** who cuts his hair.

**SIRI CHAND (trad. 1494–1629).** One of two sons of **Nanak**, believed to have opposed his father's appointment of **Angad** as second **Guru**. He lived a celibate life and is traditionally regarded as the founder of

the **Udasi panth**. The title **Baba** is usually attached to his name. *See also* GURU-VANS; LAKHMI DAS.

**SIROPA.** *See* SAROPA.

**SIS GANJ.** “The place [where the **Guru**’s] head [was struck off].” The large **gurdwara** in Chandni Chauk, **Delhi**, which marks the spot where **Guru Tegh Bahadur** was beheaded on orders from the Emperor **Aurangzeb** in 1675.

**SMOKING.** *See* HOOKAH; TOBACCO.

**SOBRAON.** The final, definitive battle of the first **Sikh** war, fought in February 1846.

**SODAR RAHARAS.** *Sodar* comes from *so dar*, the words that begin the first of the relevant five hymns recorded in the liturgical section at the beginning of the **Adi Granth** (pp. 8–10); *raharās*, “straight path,” now bears the meaning “supplicatory prayer.” These hymns, together with the following four known as the **so purakh** group (pp. 10–12), are sung by devout **Sikhs** every day at sundown. The nine hymns are repeated under their appropriate **rags** later in the **Adi Granth**. To them are added the **Benatī chaupaī**, **Savayyā**, and *Do-harā* from the **Dasam Granth**, the first five and the last stanzas of the **Anand**, and the **Mundavaṇī** and **Shalok** by **Guru Arjan**. *See also* SOHILA.

**SODHI.** The subcaste of the **Khatris** to which **Ram Das** and all subsequent **Gurus** belonged. Membership in this subcaste conferred honor on all who belonged to it. Two important lineages were the Sodhis of **Kartarpur** and those of **Anandpur**. The former, descended from **Dhir Mal**, have in their possession the copy of the **Adi Granth** said to have been dictated by **Guru Arjan** to **Bhai Gurdas**. *See also* CHHOTE MEL; GURU-VANS; SURAJ MAL.

**SOHAGAN.** A deserving wife who is cherished by her husband. Used as a metaphor for the loving believer who wins approval from **God**.



**SOHAN KAVI.** Pseudonym of the anonymous author of **Gur-bilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī**, the heroic story of **Guru Hargobind**. It is said to be an 18th century work but actually originates in the early or mid 19th century. *See also* DEVI WORSHIP; GUR-BILAS.

**SOHILA or KIRTAN SOHILA.** The five hymns that are sung or chanted by devout **Sikhs** prior to retiring at night. The hymns are recorded at the end of the liturgical portion of the **Adi Granth** (pp. 12–13), and again under their appropriate **raags**. The order is also sung at the conclusion of a Sikh cremation. *See also* SODAR RAHARAS.

**SOURCES.** Prior to the 19th century sources for the study of **Sikh** history and religion are comparatively few. For the teachings of the first five **Gurus** and the ninth Guru there is the incomparable **Adi Granth**, aided by the works of Bhai **Gurdas**. The **janam-sakhis** are important, though considerable care is required with them as they serve as sources for later periods than that of **Nanak**. The **Dabistān-i-Mazāhib** also provides an interesting account of the time of **Guru Hargobind**. For the later Gurus and for the founding of the **Khalsa** the sources are both sparser and more difficult to use. During the 18th century there are the **Dasam Granth**, the early **rahit-namas**, and the early **gur-bilas** literature. These mainly focus on **Guru Gobind Singh** and the **Khalsa**, yet they present the historian with considerable problems and relatively little attention has been devoted to their critical analysis. One such problem is language, many of the 18th century sources being written in **Braj**. Another is dating. Several sources (particularly the **rahit-namas**) are much later than their purported dates.

During the 19th and particularly the 20th centuries the sources become much more plentiful. For the reign of **Ranjit Singh** Persian sources now add much information. Europeans were also in the **Punjab**, and their observations are of increasing value. After the appearance of the **Singh Sabha** movement in 1873 there was a considerable interest in Sikh history and religion, and some important scholars (such as **Vir Singh** and **Kahn Singh Nabha**) emerged within the **Panth**. Two basic problems confront the researcher with regard to sources. The first is that piety frequently leads to some sources being

exalted while others are ignored. The second arises from the continuing influence of the Singh Sabha. Most scholars are Singh Sabha products. Their approach to Sikh history and religion shaped by the philosophy of the **Tat Khalsa**. This influence continues today, with the result that a critical treatment of Sikh history and religion must expect to encounter strenuous opposition.

**SPORT. Sikhs** occupy a major position in Indian sport, particularly those involving physical strength. In addition to Indian sports such as kabaddi they have figured prominently in international hockey, cricket, wrestling, and athletics.

**STEINBACH.** An Austrian mercenary who served in the army of **Ranjit Singh**, the Punjab army following his death, and finally under **Gulab Singh**. In 1845 he published *The Punjaub*, a scissors-and-paste book with many mistakes. His intention was that the book should assist in persuading the British to take over the **Punjab**.

**SUBA.** A province or state of an empire or federation. The **Mughal** empire was divided into sūbās.

**SUCHANAND.** A Hindu who was a member of the retinue of **Vazir Khan** of **Sirhind**. When **Zoravar Singh** and **Fateh Singh**, two of the children of **Guru Gobind Singh**, fell into Vazir Khan's hands, Suchanand urged that they should be executed. This advice was accepted, and the two children were bricked up alive. In 1710 **Banda** wrought terrible vengeance on Sirhind and on Suchanand. **Sikhs** sometimes refer to him as Jhuthanand, *jhūthā* meaning "false" whereas *suchā* means "true" or "faithful." See also SAHIB-ZADE.

**SUCHET SINGH.** Third of the **Dogra Rajput** brothers who served **Ranjit Singh**. He was killed in battle in 1844 for opposing his nephew **Hira Singh**. See also DOGRA FAMILY.

**SUFI.** A member of one of the mystical Sufi orders of Islam. See also PIR.

**SUICIDE.** No official guidance is given on the subject of suicide, though it meets with disapproval from Sikhs as life is believed to be

the gift of **God**. Suicide must be distinguished from the willing death of the martyr (**shahīd**), which is certainly accepted.

**SUKHASAN**. The procedure whereby in **gurdwaras** the **Guru Granth Sahib** is closed at night, wrapped in rumalas, and transported respectfully to a place of rest. *See also* PARKASH KARNA.

**SUKHMANI SAHIB**. A lengthy poem by **Guru Arjan** included in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 262–96). The title can mean either “The Pearl of Peace” or “Peace of Mind.” A work of supreme lyricism, it extols the beauty of the divine **Name** and repeatedly declares its crucial importance in the individual’s quest for liberation. It is immensely popular among Hindus as well as Sikhs.

**SUKKHA SINGH (1766–1838)**. Author of **Gur-bilās Dasvīn Pātshāhī**, the heroic story of **Guru Gobind Singh**, completed in 1797. Sukkha Singh shows considerable sympathy with the **Udasis**. His is the earliest **Sikh** work to give 1699 as the date of the founding of the **Khalsa**. The language tends strongly toward **Gurmukhi Braj**. *See also* DEVI WORSHIP; GUR-BILAS.

**SULAKHANI**. Wife of **Guru Nanak**. She was a Chona **Khatri** from Pakhoke, near Batala, and is commonly referred to as Mata Choni. *See also* WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**SULHI KHAN**. A Muslim friend of **Prithi Chand**, leader of the **Minas**. At Prithi Chand’s instigation he attacked **Guru Arjan** but was killed when his horse fell into a brick kiln.

**SULTANPUR (SULTANPUR LODHI)**. A town in southern **Doaba** near the confluence of the Satluj and Beas Rivers. **Guru Nanak**, as a young man, was employed here by **Daulat Khan Lodi**. It was evidently here that he experienced the call to go out and preach the doctrine of the divine **Name**.

**SUNDAR**. Author of a work of six stanzas entitled *Sadu*, composed in memory of his grandfather **Guru Amar Das** and acknowledging **Ram Das** as the successor. It is included in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 923–24).

**SUNDARI (d. 1747).** The second of the three wives of **Guru Gobind Singh**, married in 1684; the mother of Ajit Singh. Sundari is credited with adding soluble sweets to the water used in the first **amrit san-skār** ceremony. Following the death of her husband she disagreed with **Banda** on three key questions: abandoning the blue clothing of the **Khalsa** for red, insisting that his followers be vegetarians, and introducing a new **Khalsa** slogan (Fateh darshan). As such she emerged as the leader of the early **Tat Khalsa** as opposed to the **Bandai Sikhs**. Ultimately she won all three disputes, yet very little is known about her until her death at an advanced age in 1747. *See also* SAHIB-ZADE; WIVES OF THE GURUS.

**SUNDER SINGH MAJITHIA (1872–1941).** Active in the **Singh Sabha** and **Chief Khalsa Divan**. The first secretary of the latter. He proved too moderate for many in the **Panth** and saw Chief Khalsa Divan overtaken by the more radical **Akali** movement.

**SUPERSTITIONS.** The **Tat Khalsa** reformers strongly opposed what they regarded as the superstitious practices of many Hindus and wrote prohibitions into **Sikh Rahit Marayāda**. **Gurmat**, it states, requires **Sikhs** “to reject **caste** distinctions and untouchability, magical amulets, mantras, and spells; auspicious omens, days, times, planets and astrological signs; the ritual feeding of **Brahmans** to sanctify or propitiate the dead; oblation for the dead, the superstitious waving of lights; [traditional] obsequies; fire sacrifices; ritual feasting or libations; sacred tufts of hair or ritual shaving; fasting for particular phases of the moon; frontal marks, sacred threads and sanctified rosaries; worshipping at tombs, temples or cenotaphs; **idol worship**; and all other such superstitions.”

**SURAJ MAL (b. 1617).** The son of **Guru Hargobind** and his third wife, **Mahadevi**. The line descending from **Suraj Mal** came to be known as the *vaḍḍe mel* (greater relationship) and formed the **Sodhi** family of **Anandpur**. *See also* CHHOTE MEL.

**SURDAS.** The blind **bhagat**. Two works of his appear in the **Adi Granth**.

**SURNAMES.** These are a comparatively recent introduction to **Sikh** society, the result of a Western-style administration that required each

person to be identified in terms of his or her father's name. For strict members of the **Khalsa** there should be no name following the given name of the individual apart from **Singh** for men and **Kaur** for women. Many feel, however, that this does not differentiate people sufficiently, and third names have commonly been added by Sikh men. Usually this is their **caste** or (much more frequently) subcaste name (**Ahluvalia, Arora, Bedi, Grewal, Siddhu, etc.**). Sometimes it is the name of the village or area with which they are associated (Jhabal, Kairon, Longowal, etc.). For others it is a poetic name that has been deliberately chosen (Musafir, Rahi, etc.). During the 20th century whatever name has been selected by a male has increasingly come to be regarded as the family surname. Outside India those men who adhere to Singh as a last name normally use it as a surname, with the result that their wives and unmarried daughters also adopt Singh.

**SVARAG.** "Heaven." The concept of svarag or **baikunth** has different meanings for different **Sikhs**. For the **Gurus** recorded in the **Adi Granth** it referred to escape from **transmigration** to the perfect serenity that climaxed the discipline of **nām simaran**, in the experience of **sahaj**. As such it was a condition, not a place, and those who are well acquainted with the **Adi Granth** assimilate this meaning. The **Adi Granth** also specifies the congregation of believers (the **sadh sangat**) as the location of svarag, and this would be the meaning attached to by most devout Sikhs. Influenced by the Muslim concept, however, many Sikhs evidently conceive it indistinctly as a place of ease and plenty to which the individual soul travels after death. To "go to one's heavenly abode" is an expression frequently used when a person dies.

**SWORD.** The sword (together with steel in general) has been a powerful symbol for the **Khalsa**, at least since the time of **Guru Gobind Singh**. The **Guru** commanded the **Khalsa** to bear arms as a religious duty, and for them the sword became the chief weapon in the battles of the 18th century. Today it figures prominently in the **khaṇḍā** and plays a central role in **amrit sanskār**. See also **ARMY, ARMED FORCES; BHAGAUTI; SARAB LOH**.

**SYMBOLS.** Like all the great religions, **Sikhism** is particularly rich in symbols, both intangible and visible. The primary symbol is **Akal Pu-**

**rakh** or **Vahiguru**, and **Sikhs** will normally affirm that their faith is, like Christianity and Islam, strictly monotheistic. The mystical “voice” of **Akal Purakh** is the **Guru**, appearing in human form as the 10 historic Gurus and embodied thereafter in the sacred scripture that becomes the **Guru Granth Sahib**. Each of the Gurus taught the supremely important **nām**, communicated through the **shabad**. The 10th Guru constituted the **Khalsa**. Sikhs who choose to enter the Khalsa do so by the ceremony of **khaṇḍe dī pāhul** at which they receive **amrit** and are required to wear the **Five Ks**. Other important visible symbols are the **gurdwara**, signifying sacred ground; the **nishān sāhib**, which denotes the presence of a gurdwara; and **kaṛāh prasād**, which marks a visit to a gurdwara or presence for a devotional occasion.

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**3HO MOVEMENT.** *See* SIKH DHARMA OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

**TAKHAT (TAKHT).** “Throne.” A center of **Sikh** worldly authority as opposed to the spiritual authority of the **gurdwara**. There are five **takhats**. **Akal Takhat** in **Amritsar** is paramount, and from it decisions of the whole **Panth** (or what is represented as the whole Panth) are made. The others are **Kesgarh Sahib** at **Anandpur**, **Harimandir Sahib** in **Patna**, **Hazur Sahib** in **Nander**, and **Damdama Sahib** in southern Punjab. These four are all located at sites associated with **Guru Gobind Singh**, and the first three have been recognized as takhats for an indeterminate period. The status of Damdama was in doubt until it was definitively declared a takhat in 1966. The origins of the role and primacy of **Akal Takhat** seem evident, its preeminence due to the practice of the **Sarbat Khalsa** meeting before it during the later 18th century.

**TAKHT SINGH (1860–1933).** A prominent **Tat Khalsa** leader of the **Malwa** region. Founder of the **Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala**, a girls school in **Firozpur**. Because of the difficulties he encountered he was termed a **zinda shahid**.

**TAKSAL.** “Mint.” A group or school seeking to impart a particular version of **Gurmat**. The most famous is the **Damdami Taksal**.

**TALVANDI RAI BHOI.** *See* NANKANA SAHIB.

**TALVANDI SABO** *See* DAMDAMA SAHIB.

**TANAKHAH.** A penance or fine imposed by a **sangat** on any member of the **Khalsa** who violates the **Rahit**. The person so convicted is known as a **tanakhahia**. The two words evidently acquired their present meaning during the early 18th century. *Tanakhāh* means “salary.” In an attempt to shore up their crumbling authority in the **Punjab**, the **Mughals** made grants of money to some of those who assisted them, and the Khalsa viewed such a person as a hireling. From here the word shifted to mean a **Sikh** guilty of an offense against the **Rahit**, and the offense came to be called a *tanakhāh*. The **rahit-namas** commonly have lengthy lists of *tanakhāhs* that merit discipline, frequently serious.

**TANAKHAHIA.** A **Sikh** who is convicted of a **tanakhah**.

**TANAKHAH-NAMA.** An early and particularly popular **rahit-nama** attributed to **Nand Lal**, though it cannot have been written by him. The name was originally **Nasihāt-nāmā**, but *Tanakhāh-nāmā* mistakenly came to be attached to it. This is the oldest of the extant **rahit-namas**, a manuscript having been discovered bearing the date S.1775 (1718–1719 C.E.). Quotations from the *Tanakhāh-nāmā* are used today in certain ritual contexts. *See also* PRASHAN-UTTAR; SAKHI RAHIT KI

**TARA SINGH (1885–1967).** A **Sikh** political leader, invariably known as Master Tara Singh because he spent his early years as a teacher. Born into a Hindu **Khatri** family, Tara Singh formally became a Sikh at the age of seventeen. He participated in the **Akali** movement of the early 1920s, earning for himself a position of leadership in the **Akali Dal**. He maintained this position throughout the remainder of British rule, leading the Sikhs in the events prior to **Partition** in 1947. After independence he worked vigorously for **Punjabi Suba** (a **Punjabi**-language state), launching several **morchās** (campaigns) in support of it. Before it was attained in 1966 he was finally overthrown within the Akali Dal by **Sant Fateh Singh**. His political career had spanned

more than four decades, and for most of the period his power was unchallenged. Through it all, he maintained the ideal that for Sikhs there can be no separation of politics and religion, that to be true to their faith Sikhs must necessarily fight political battles. *See also* POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICS.

**TARA SINGH NAROTAM (1822–1891).** A distinguished **Nirmala** scholar. His books included a defense of the **Sanatan** position, a description of 508 major **gurdwaras**, and a learned etymological dictionary of the **Adi Granth**.

**TARA SINGH OF VAN (d. 1725).** Killed by **Mughal** forces during the disturbed times of **Abdus Samad Khan** and **Zakariya Khan** and since regarded as a **Sikh** martyr.

**TARKHAN.** Carpenter; the carpenter **caste**; a member of the carpenter caste.

**TARUNA DAL.** The “young army.” When the **Sikhs** were regrouping their scattered military strength in the 1730s, a decision was evidently reached to divide the **Dal Khalsa** into two. Men under 40 should fight in the **Taruna** (or **Tarun Dal**), and the rest should be organized as the **Buddha Dal** (older men’s army).

**TARU SINGH (d. 1743).** For sheltering fugitive **Sikhs**, he was executed by **Zakariya Khan** by having his scalp scraped. He is regarded as a martyr by Sikhs.

**TAT KHALSA.** “Pure **Khalsa**.” Originally the name given to a section of the **Panth** that opposed the **Sikh** leader **Banda** in the early 18th century. Since the late 19th century, however, the name describes the radical group within the **Singh Sabha** that pressed to have its exclusivist interpretation of the Sikh faith accepted by the **Panth**. Within the **Singh Sabha** it was opposed by the conservative **Sanatan Sikhs**, who believed that **Sikhism** was merely one of the many varieties of Hindu tradition. The **Tat Khalsa** vigorously contested this, maintaining that Sikhism was an entirely separate religion. Eventually it gained ascendancy over the **Sanatan Sikhs**, and ever since the early



20th century its interpretation has been accepted as orthodox. Prominent members of the Tat Khalsa included **Gurmukh Singh, Dit Singh, Vir Singh, Kahn Singh Nabha,** and **Jodh Singh.** *See also* CHIEF KHALSA DIVAN.

**TAZKIRA.** A hagiographic anecdote concerning a **Sufi pir.**

**TEGH BAHADUR (1621–1675),** Ninth **Guru.** One of the sons of the sixth **Guru Hargobind,** born of his second wife, **Nanaki.** Tradition regards him as a retiring person, a view that receives support from works of his added later to the **Adi Granth.** In 1632 he married **Gujari** but had no children for 34 years. At the death of **Hargobind** in 1644, he moved to his mother's village of **Bakala,** near **Amritsar,** where he is said to have been chiefly occupied with meditation. Tradition records that he became the ninth **Guru** when his predecessor, the child **Har Krishan,** uttered the words "**Baba Bakale**" (the Baba [who is] in Bakala) just before his death in 1664. The hagiographic story of **Makhan Shah** relates how his identity was recognized from among the others who descended on Bakala, hoping to become the next **Guru.**

For some months he remained in Bakala but encountered opposition from his nephew **Dhir Mal** in neighboring **Kartarpur** and from another relative, the **Mina** leader Harji, in Amritsar. Leaving the plains, he shifted to **Kiratpur** at the edge of the **Shivalik Hills,** but there his presence was unwelcome to his half brother **Suraj Mal.** He moved to the neighboring village of **Makhoval,** crossing from the territory of the chief of Hindur into that of Kahlur. There a new center called Chak Nanaki (later **Anandpur**) was developed. In 1665 he departed on an extended journey to the east of India, where in **Patna** his only son, Gobind Rai (later **Gobind Singh**), was born in December 1666. The surviving **hukam-namas,** which he sent to the various **Khatri Sikh sangats** along the way, show that he was received with great enthusiasm. Returning to Chak Nanaki, he spent time touring the plains, visiting **Sikhs** who had remained faithful to him. This was the period when rival **Gurus** exercised considerable influence, and there was marked hostility from other contenders to the title. In 1675 he was arrested by the **Mughals** and beheaded in **Delhi.** *See also* MUGHAL RELATIONS.

**TEGH BAHADUR'S EXECUTION.** In 1675 **Guru Tegh Bahadur** was arrested in circumstances that are disputed. According to Muslim sources he was taken as a brigand. **Sikh** sources, however, vigorously resist this claim. The dominant Sikh view attributes it to the **Guru's** intercession on behalf of a group of Kashmiri **Brahmans** threatened with conversion to Islam. A minority interpretation maintains that the reason was a request put to the **Mughal** authorities by one of the Guru's rivals, **Dhir Mal**. Later in the same year, having refused the choice of Islam, he was beheaded in **Delhi**. **Gurdwara Sis Ganj** on Chandni Chauk now marks the site of his execution. *See also* JAITA; RAKAB-GANJ.

**TEJ SINGH.** Appointed commander of the **Punjab** army in 1845 by **Jindan** with the intention that he would assist in destroying the power of the popular leaders of the Punjab army. With **Lal Singh** he secretly contacted the approaching British and aided them significantly in the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1845–1846.

**TEJA SINGH BHASAUR (1867–1933).** A **Jat**, commonly known as Babu Teja Singh or Teja Singh Overseer. He was drawn into the **Singh Sabha** and the **Chief Khalsa Divan**, becoming one of the most controversial of modern Sikh leaders. In 1893 he founded a branch of the Singh Sabha in his village of Bhasaur (Patiala state) and from 1907 developed it as the **Panch Khalsa Divan**. His efforts to change certain Sikh doctrines, rituals, and the **Rahit** involved him in strenuous disputes. Brahmanical customs and **caste** were rejected, and members of other faiths were converted to his rigorous version of **Sikhism**. In 1928 he was banished from the **Panth** by order of **Akal Takhat** for the changes that he had introduced. *See also* BHASAUR SINGH SABHA.

**TEJA SINGH, PROFESSOR (1894–1958).** An eminent product of the **Singh Sabha**, important in education and writing. He was by far the most active member of the panel that anonymously produced **Shabadārath**, a four-volume text and commentary on the **Adi Granth**. In the 1930s he was the convener of the committee that considered the **Rahit** for the **SGPC** and personally wrote much of the text of **Sikh Rahit Marayādā**.

**TEJA SINGH SAMUNDARI (1881–1926).** A prominent **Akali** leader at the time of the **Rakab-ganj** affair and during the early 1920s. Teja Singh Samundari was a **Jat**.

**TEJA SINGH SAMUNDARI HALL.** The offices of the **Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee** situated adjacent to **Hari-mandir Sahib** in Amritsar.

**TEJA SINGH, SANT (1867–1965).** Sant Teja Singh was originally known as Niranjan Singh Mehta. After an early life of spurning religious obligation he was converted, together with his family, and took his new name. He also promised thereafter to be the disciple of **Sant Attar Singh Mastuana**. Well educated in the **Punjab**, he was instructed to care for the **Sikhs** living overseas. Much of his life was spent serving the Sikhs of England, the West Coast of the United States, and particularly British Columbia. While there he attended the Universities of London, Cambridge, Columbia, and Harvard. He also held several appointments in colleges and universities in India.

**TEN SAVAYYAS.** A portion of **Akāl Ustati**, appointed as a part of the early morning order for **nit-nem**. In the **Dasam Granth** the verses are preceded by the heading *tav-prasād savayye*, literally “By your grace savayyās” or “Invocatory Quatrains.” They are sometimes known by this name.

**THAG.** Strictly, a member of the cult of ritual murderers who strangled and robbed in the name of the goddess Kali, but used for any highwayman or violent robber. According to the **janam-sakhis**, **Nanak** converted a *thag* called Sajjan. The English word “thug” is a borrowing from *thag*.

**THAKUR SINGH SANDHANVALIA (1837–1887).** A member of an important family and the first president of the **Singh Sabha**. The **Sandhanvalias** had been extremely powerful in the **Sikh** kingdom prior to its annexation in 1849 but were stripped of much of their influence by the annexing British. Thakur Singh did not let this stand in the way of a notable career. A supporter of **Sanatan** views, he vigorously managed the affairs of the **Amritsar Singh Sabha** for 10

years. In 1885 he persuaded his cousin the ex-Maharaja **Dalip Singh** to renounce Christianity and to seek the **Punjab** throne once again. He escaped from the British to the French territory of Pondichery and there conducted the affairs of **Dalip Singh** until his death in 1887.

**TIKKE DI VAR.** A paean written in praise of the first two **Gurus**, with three supplementary verses concerning the third, fourth, and fifth **Gurus**. The authors were **Rai Balvand** and **Satta the Dum**. The work is included in the **Adi Granth** (pp. 966–68).

**TIRATH.** A Hindu pilgrimage center. **Nanak** taught that the only tīrath is within a committed person. The idea of visiting pilgrimage centers proved too strong to be eliminated, but for **Sikhs** the places were to be locations associated with one of the **Gurus**. *See also* AMAR DAS; GURDWARA; PILGRIMAGE.

**TOBACCO.** Using tobacco is one of the four **kurahits** that **Amritdhari Sikhs** must swear at initiation to avoid. They should also promise not to associate with **Sikhs** who smoke. The word that is used in the earliest **rahit-nama** is *bikhiā*, “poison,” which in the **Adi Granth** means anything that befuddles the mind. This may include alcohol, drugs, or actual poison. In later **Punjabi** usage, *bikhiā* increasingly meant tobacco that had recently been brought from Europe (where it had arrived from America) by Muslims and was smoked by them in **hookahs**.

It is difficult to determine precisely when it acquired the specific meaning of tobacco. At the founding of the **Khalsa**, *bikhiā* was proscribed for all who took initiation. A likely reason for the ban is that **hookah** smoking was widespread among the Muslims who were the **Khalsa**’s enemies, and **Guru Gobind Singh** was determined that his followers should avoid practices associated with them. This also explains the **Khalsa** ban on consuming meat killed in the Muslim fashion (*kuṭṭhā*). An alternative possibility is that **hookahs** would be too cumbersome for the fighting **Khalsa** to carry with them.

**TRADITION.** In **Sikh** history and religion, tradition plays an immensely important part. In this *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism* the word “tradition” is used to mean anything that is handed down from

the past and is implicitly believed but lacks adequate historical credentials. The **janam-sakhis**, for example, are widely believed, but because most parts of them lack historical proof those parts must be labeled traditional. The terms “tradition” and “traditional” appear frequently in this *Dictionary*. Wherever either is used the material it describes cannot be proved historically. It must have a considerable measure of doubt attached to it, and often it is clearly impossible.

**TRANSCENDENCE.** According to **Sikh** doctrine, **Akal Purakh** is both immanent and transcendent. *See also* IMMANENCE.

**TRANSMIGRATION.** The term *āvāgavan*, or “coming and going,” signifies transmigration. The traditional figure for transmigration is 84 lakhs (8,400,000) of existences, the character of each birth being determined by the sum total of deeds in past existences. These births would not necessarily be human birth, but birth as a person would be regarded as a great privilege. It was, however, a wearisome round. The **Gurus** taught transmigration as the fate of the person who does not live according to the principles of **Gurmat**. A life of faithful **nām simaran** and worthy deeds enables a person to merge his or her **ātmā** in the supreme **Paramātmā**, thus terminating the round of death and rebirth for that person. *See also* DEATH.

**TREHAN.** The **Khatri** subcaste to which **Guru Angad** belonged.

**TRIA CHARITRA.** “The deeds of women.” The correct name is **Charitro-pākhyān**, or **Pākhyān Charitra**.

**TRILOCHAN.** Said to have been a Vaishya from Sholapur area in Maharashtra and a contemporary of **Namdev**. Five works by him are included in the **Adi Granth**.

**TRIPATA (TRIPTA).** Wife of **Kalu** and mother of **Guru Nanak**.

**TRUMPP, ERNEST (1828–1885).** Ernest Trumpp was a German philologist and missionary who was twice in India (in Sindh and Peshawar) working on languages before ill health compelled him to return to Europe. There he taught Indian languages at Tübingen. In

1869 he was asked to translate the **Sikh** sacred scriptures by the India Office in London. After spending 15 months in the **Punjab**, he concluded that the **Adi Granth** was not worth translating in full (the same few ideas, he thought, being endlessly repeated) and the **Dasam Granth** not worth translating at all. Eventually a translation of approximately one-third of the **Adi Granth** was published in 1877, together with translations of **Purātan** and **Bālā janam-sakhis**, the lives of the later **Gurus**, and an account of their teachings. The translations were dull and stilted. The introductory portion of the **Adi Granth** was sometimes perceptive, but this portion was expressed in terms that were highly insulting to the Sikhs and caused great offense, which is still felt today. In the course of his research Trumpp had, however, discovered the first known manuscript of the **Purātan janam-sakhi** tradition in the India Office Library in London. Some Sikhs persuaded Aitcheson, the lieutenant governor of the Punjab, to have it sent to **Lahore** for inspection, where it was copied by a zincographic process. This is the copy variously known as the Colebrooke or Vilait-vali manuscript.

**TURBAN.** The turban is mandatory for all male **Kesh-dhari Sikhs** except small boys who wear a **patka**. **Sikh Rahit Marayādā** makes it optional for women, but in practice very few women wear it except for those who regard it as compulsory for both sexes. These include members of the **Akhand Kirtani Jatha** (where women wear it in the form of a **keskī**) and of the American **Sikh Dharma** movement. It also included female members of the **Bhasaur Singh Sabha**. Many **Sikhs** display particular identities by the color or shape of their turban. Members of the **Akali Dal** wear a distinctive dark blue. White is usually associated with old men, but has been adopted by members of the **Congress** Party. Supporters of **Khalistan** commonly adopt saffron. **Bhapa Sikhs** often wear “beaked” turbans with the crest pointing forward. Patterned turbans frequently indicate that the wearer is from a Southeast Asian country. A turban with the peak off center signifies East Africa. A **Namdhari** always wears one of white homespun cloth, tied horizontally across the forehead. Some punctilious Sikhs also wear them tied this way on the grounds that it accords with older tradition. Other Sikhs wear a band or a **keskī**. underneath the turban with a portion exposed where

the two sides meet as a vertex. In Western countries the turban has sometimes been proscribed for police, military, or other uniforms, but the Sikhs have usually won the right to have the ban lifted. In the United Kingdom they have been exempted from wearing a helmet when motorcycling or wearing a hard hat on building sites.

**TURK.** This is a very difficult word to understand or define in the Indian context. Sometimes it means a member of the Turkish ethnic group, but more often it means this plus a Muslim. At other times it means just a Muslim, frequently with hostile overtones. The meaning must be carefully extracted from the context in which it is used. The feminine is Turkani.

**TUZUK-I-JAHANGIRI.** The memoirs of the Emperor **Jahangir**.

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**UDASI.** Detachment, sadness. (1) Used by the **Purātan janam-sakhis** for **Nanak's** journeys and (2) for a follower of the way attributed to **Siri Chand**, the son of Nanak. The latter meaning designates a group who regard themselves as **Sikhs**, differing from the **Khalsa** by their celibacy, asceticism, and refusal to acknowledge such practices as keeping their hair uncut. In actual fact, they were very like ascetic **Sahaj-dharis**. Never uniform in terms of organization or doctrine, the Udasis numbered more than a dozen orders by the end of Sikh rule in 1849. By this time they had more than 250 **akharas**, or centers. Each center claimed connection with a traditional **dhuān** or **bakhshīsh**. They were respected by the early **Panth**, particularly as **Gurditta** (the son of **Guru Hargobind**) evidently favored them. During the 18th century they were not targeted by the rulers as were the orthodox **Khalsa**, with the result that many **gurdwaras** evidently passed into their care. Certainly the **mahants** of the late 19th and early 20th centuries frequently claimed an Udasi descent, though their lifestyle was by this time very different from that of the traditional Udasis. **Khalsa Sikhs** became increasingly uneasy about their control of **gurdwaras**. The crucial turning point in relations with the **Khalsa** came in 1921 when the mahant of **Nankana Sahib**, who had declared himself to be

an Udasi, arranged the massacre of a large group of **Akalis**. *See also* ANAND GHAN; DHUAN; GURDWARA REFORM MOVEMENT.

**UDHAM SINGH.** Sir Michael O’Dwyer, governor of Punjab, was held by some to be responsible for the killings at **Jallianwala Bagh**. One of these was Udhham Singh, who vowed that he would kill O’Dwyer in revenge. He traveled to London and in 1940 shot and killed his victim. Immediately he was arrested, tried, and hanged.

**UNIONIST PARTY.** The party that dominated **Punjab** politics from 1920 until 1936, so-called because it comprised Muslim, **Sikh**, and Hindu members. The largest group consisted of the Muslims led by Fazl-i-Husain and later Sikandar Hayat Khan. Sikh members came from the **Chief Khalsa Divan** or were independents. The **Akalis** and the **Congress** Party opposed them. From 1937 until **Partition** the Unionists maintained some strength, but the Sikh component ebbed away with increasing influence passing to Master **Tara Singh**.

**UNITED KINGDOM SIKHS.** When **Dalip Singh**, the dispossessed son of **Ranjit Singh**, was moved from India to England in 1854 he was probably the first **Punjabi** to settle in the United Kingdom. Later he was to become the focus of much Sikh attention, together with his Norfolk estate of Elveden. No significant movement of **migration** then took place and it was not until the 1920s that members of the **Bhatra caste** began to appear in England, supporting themselves by astrological predictions and peddling clothes and foodstuffs out of suitcases. It was only after World War II that the United Kingdom favored **Sikhs** (as well as West Indians) to do the unpleasant jobs that the English were not prepared to do. The Sikhs settled in places that centered on these tasks—Gravesend, Southall, the Midlands, Glasgow, and Leeds and Bradford in Yorkshire. Most of these immigrants were **Jats**, many of them having mortgaged land in order to raise money for fares. A third caste group was the **Ramgarhias**. A few had migrated earlier, but the main influx occurred in the 1970s, Sikhs and other Indians having been evicted from East Africa. These three castes maintain essentially separate existences in England, strictly observing marriage ties and commonly worshiping in separate **gurdwaras**. The census for 2001 revealed that the number of Sikhs in the United Kingdom was 336,000, or 0.6 percent of the total



population. This figure was considerably lower what had been expected. Many have moved to other parts of the United Kingdom. The first generation worked largely in manual trades, but the second generation has taken advantage of a British education and transferred increasingly to the professions.

**UNITED STATES SIKHS.** Early in the 20th century a few **Sikhs** who had migrated to British Columbia moved down the West Coast of the United States to Washington, Oregon, and California, where they earned better wages doing a variety of jobs. In addition to lumber these included the railways and as gangs of mobile farm workers. Very few women were numbered in this group, the overwhelming majority being men. In 1915 a **gurdwara** was established in Stockton. Soon they aroused the hostility of white workers, who viewed them as unwelcome competition. Hardayal, a revolutionary, persuaded many of them to join the **Ghadr movement**, and a large proportion of Sikhs returned to the **Punjab** to fight against the British. The few who remained, living in the Imperial Valley and including many illegal immigrants who had crossed from Mexico, were unable to buy land. They married Mexican wives (in spite of having wives back in the Punjab), spoke Spanish, and raised children they had baptized as Christians. Names such as Jesus **Singh** and Mary **Kaur** began to appear. In the 1950s, however, official policy changed and many of those who had remained in the United States sent for relatives. Sikhs began to spread over the country, though a significant number still clustered around Yuba City, where a large-scale crop of cling peaches had been developed. During the 1990s the Sikh population grew to 180,000 and is still growing. *See also* MIGRATION.

**UPDESHAK.** “Preacher.” A person appointed by **Singh Sabhas** as an itinerant preacher.

– V –

**VADDA GHALLUGHARA.** The “great carnage.” An occasion in 1762 when the Afghan army of **Ahmad Shah Abdali** caught up with a large body of **Sikhs** near **Malerkotla**, including many women and children,

and killed large numbers of them. Estimates of the dead vary between 5,000 and 30,000. *See also* CHHOTA GHALLUGHARA.

**VAHIGURU.** The term **vāh gurū** first appears in the **janam-sakhis**, where it means “Praise to the **Guru**” and is used to signal the conclusion of a **sakhi**. At this early stage it was also an appropriate expression repeated as **nām japan**. The two words eventually coalesced to form one of the characteristic names of **God**, and for **Sikhs** it is the most popular of all such names today. The term occurs at only two places in the **Adi Granth**, both of them in panegyrics to the **Guru** by the bards. *See also* AKAL PURAKH; GENDER OF GOD; HARI; RAM.

**VAHIGURU JI KA KHALSA, VAHIGURU JI KI FATEH.** “Hail to the **Guru**’s **Khalsa**! Hail the **Guru**’s victory!” The greeting of the **Khalsa**, normally given only to other **Sikhs**. It may all be uttered by one person, or only the first half, with the second part being the response. **Sikhs** commonly use it as a greeting to the whole **sangat** when they enter a **gurdwara**. It is also uttered as an invocation before speaking in a **gurdwara** or to any gathering of **Sikhs**. *See also* SALUTATIONS; SAT SRI AKAL.

**VAHIRIA, AVATAR SINGH.** *See* AVATAR SINGH VAHIRIA.

**VAISHANAVA.** A believer in **bhakti** addressed to Vishnu.

**VAJIB-U’L-ARAZ.** Ten answers purportedly given by **Guru Gobind Singh** to some **Sahaj-dhari Sikhs** along the lines of a **rahit-nama**. It is not authentic.

**VAK LAINA.** *See* HUKAM LAINA.

**VAL GUNDAN.** *See* BAL GUNDAN.

**VANI.** *See* BANI.

**VAR.** Normally the word *vār* applies to lengthy poems such as those composed by **Bhai Gurdas**. In the **Adi Granth**, however, it designates a series of stanzas (**pauri**), each of which is preceded by a number of

couplets or subordinate stanzas called **shaloks**. With one exception, the vars are all composite structures embodying selections from the work of the **Gurus** whose works are included in the *Adi Granth*. The *paurīs* of any particular var are all by one Guru, but the shaloks can be by any of the Gurus with a few by **bhagats**. The most famous is **Nanak's Āsā kī Vār**, which has acquired a liturgical function and is sung in **gurdwaras** in the early morning.

**VARAN BHAI GURDAS.** The 40 Punjabi vārs (lengthy poems) of Bhai **Gurdas**. Because of their content and the significance of their author they are traditionally regarded as “the key to the **Guru Granth Sahib**.” Some of them relate events from his own time and from the lives of the **Gurus**. Others are doctrinal, helping to explain what the Gurus actually taught. A 41st vār is attached to the collection, written by an 18th century **Gurdas**. *See also* GURDAS II.

**VARNA.** “Color.” The four groups into which castes are conventionally organized as a hierarchy (**Brahman**, Kshatriya, Vaisha, and Shudra).

**VAZIR KHAN.** The **Mughal** subadar (governor) of **Sirhind**, who in 1704 attacked **Guru Gobind Singh** in **Anandpur** and later executed the **Guru's** two younger sons. An agent of his may have been responsible for the assassination of the **Guru** in 1708. *See also* SAHIB-ZADE.

**VEGETARIANISM.** Opinions within the **Panth** differ strongly over vegetarianism, some arguing that passages from the **Adi Granth** can be interpreted as upholding it and others asserting that the **Gurus** granted freedom from it to their **Sikhs**. The latter add that Indian tradition, not Sikh teaching, is the source. Goat and chicken are freely consumed in **Punjab** villages, and provision in the **Rahit** for **jhaṭkā** meat certainly implies that the **Khalsa** at least is free to choose. Segments of the **Panth** are, however, strongly opposed to eating meat, and in the **langar** only vegetarian food is served. *See also* ALCOHOL.

**VENTURA, JEAN BAPTISTE.** Jean Baptiste Ventura, a former officer of Bonaparte, was employed by **Ranjit Singh** and, with other Europeans, developed the **Punjab** army into a formidable fighting force on the Western model.

**VIKRAMI.** *See* SAMMAT DATING.

**VIR SINGH ( 1872–1957).** An **Arora** of **Amritsar** and a leading intellectual of the **Singh Sabha** movement. He was the author of novels, poems, hagiography, religious history, religious biography, pamphlets, newspaper articles, and tracts, all of them bearing strong testimony to his faith. Social reform and the question of **Sikh** identity also received prominent attention. **Vir Singh** was an adherent of the **Tat Khalsa**, doing much to formulate and propagate its ideal of **Sikhism**. His father, **Charan Singh**, began the **Punjabi** newspaper *Khālsā Samāchār* in 1899, and as its editor Vir Singh maintained a high standard of Punjabi prose and religious discussion. He also promoted the **Khalsa** Tract Society, using its numerous publications to further his concern for the Sikh faith. Vir Singh still commands considerable respect for his many literary productions.

– W –

**WAZIR KHAN.** *See* VAZIR KHAN.

**WIVES OF THE GURUS.** Little is known about the wives of the **Gurus**. This slight information is characteristic of the wives of all the **Gurus**. Their names and origins are known but beyond this such limited information as exists depends largely on tradition. Even tradition does not always help us. Most of the **janam-sakhis**, for example, omit the name of **Guru Nanak**'s wife. In the case of the wife of **Guru Har Rai**, the actual name is not even known. It is Kot Kalyani, Krishan Kaur, or Sulakhani. This shortage of information is particularly vexing in the case of **Sundari**. Following the death of her husband, **Guru Gobind Singh**, she disagreed with **Banda** and emerged as the leader of the **Tat Khalsa** as opposed to the **Bandai Sikhs**. Ultimately she won all three disputes, yet very little is known about her until her death at an advanced age in 1747. This shortage of information is in fact characteristic of all **Sikh** women. Mai **Bhago** figures prominently, but others are very rare. This is not surprising. Western historiography shows the same weakness.

**WOMAN.** *See* GENDER; PATRIARCHY.

**WORD.** *See* SHABAD (SABAD).

**WORSHIP.** **Sikh** worship consists largely of **kirtan**, normally to the accompaniment of three musicians (two with hand-pumped harmoniums and one with small drums). In formal worship **kathā** is sometimes included. The order of worship concludes with **Ardas** and the distribution of **karah prasad**. The **Adi Granth** is always present. Worship is normally followed by a meal in the **langar**. *See also* GURDWARA PROCEDURE.

– Y –

**YAM.** The god of the dead who determines the fate after death of each individual. *See also* DHARAM-RAJ.

**YOGI BHAJAN (b. 1929).** The name by which Harbhajan Singh Puri, founder of the **Sikh Dharma** movement, is always known.

**YUGA.** The cycles through which the world must pass are divided into *yugas* or eons. There are four such *yuga*, each divided into a number of “years of the gods” with 360 ordinary human years corresponding to one “year of the gods.” (1) The **Satiyug** or **Katiyug** is 4,800 “years of the gods” in length. During the Satiyug there is perfect piety, morality, strength, stature, longevity, and happiness. (2) In the Tretayug (3,600 “years of the gods”) there is a decline by one-quarter in all the features of the Satiyug. (3) In the Dvaparyug (2,400 “years of the gods”) there is further decline. (4) In the **Kaliyug** (1,200 “years of the gods”) the cycle reaches its nadir. People are evil with only one-fourth of righteousness remaining.

– Z –

**ZAFAR-NAMA.** The “Letter of Victory.” Attributed to **Guru Gobind Singh** and addressed to the **Mughal** Emperor **Aurangzeb**. The letter, which is in Persian verse, was composed after the **Guru**’s withdrawal from **Anandpur**. After detailing infamous deeds by the Mughals, it

declares that **God** is just and that justice requires the **sword** to be drawn when order is threatened. The *Zafar-nāmā* is now in the **Dasam Granth**, although its inclusion was only fixed toward the end of the 19th century. **Sikhs** generally regard it as unquestionably authentic, which may be correct but is certainly not established. The lengthy period of transmission may well have produced changes both in language and content. *See also* FATEH-NAMA.

**ZAIL SINGH (b. 1916).** Congress chief minister of the **Punjab**, 1972–1977, home minister in the government of India, 1980–1882, and president of India from 1982. He was president when the Indian army invaded the **Golden Temple** complex in 1984 and for this reason has never been forgiven by many of his fellow **Sikhs**. *See also* HISTORY, RECENT.

**ZAKARIYA KHAN (d. 1745).** The son of **Abdus Samad Khan** and **Mughal** governor of **Lahore** from 1726 until his death. He was also governor of **Multan** from 1737. Zakariya Khan endeavored to confirm his hereditary title to these Mughal provinces and was pragmatic in his loyalties, siding with the Afghan **Ahmad Shah Abdali** if it was to his advantage. His policy with regard to **Khalsa Sikhs** varied, but at times was fiercely oppressive. This has been represented in subsequent **Sikh** accounts as a determination to exterminate them.

**ZAT (JATI).** Caste; endogamous caste grouping.

**ZINDA SHAHID.** “Living martyr,” a title informally conferred by the **Panth** on individuals who faced fierce opposition (but not actual death) in their attempts to achieve objectives on its behalf. The title is rarely given. Two who earned it were **Takht Singh** of Firozpur and Baba **Kharak Singh**.



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### ABBREVIATIONS

APH	Asia Publishing House
CKD	Chief Khalsa Divan
CRRID	Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DGPC	Delhi Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
DSGMC	Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee
GGSF	Guru Gobind Singh Foundation
GNDU	Guru Nanak Dev University
GNF	Guru Nanak Foundation
GPC	Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
IIAS	Indian Institute of Advanced Study

IOL	India Office Library
LDP	Languages Department, Punjab
NBO	National Book Organisation
NBS	National Book Shop
NBSM	Niraguna Balik Satsang Mandal
NPH	National Publishing House
OUP	Oxford University Press
PWCIS	Punjab Writers Cooperative Industrial Society
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee
SGTBCT	Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Charitable Trust
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
UBSPD	UBS Publishers' Distributors Ltd.
VVRI	Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute

## INTRODUCTION

A substantial majority of the works listed below may be termed “traditional”—anything that is handed down from the past and is implicitly believed but lacks adequate historical credentials. The janam-sakhis, for example, are widely believed, but because most parts of them lack historical proof those parts must be labeled traditional. The terms “tradition” and “traditional” appear frequently in this dictionary and refer to material that cannot be proved historically. It must have a considerable measure of doubt attached to it, and often it is clearly impossible.

It is therefore important to select books that have historical proof behind them and are not traditional. As an overview of the entire range of Sikh history, J. S. Grewal's Cambridge history, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, answers this need. Other works by the same author also belong to this category. Khushwant Singh's two-volume *A History of the Sikhs* also qualifies.

For works dealing with the Adi Granth and Sikh doctrine, those of Pashaura Singh and Gurinder Singh Mann are the best, both of them sound in their approach and easy to read. Pashaura Singh's volume about the Adi Granth is entitled *The Guru Granth Sahib*, and Gurinder Singh Mann's is called *The Making of Sikh Scripture*. Both have additional works and these too can be recommended.

A particularly important book that deals with the struggle between the Sanatan Sikhs and the Tat Khalsa inside the Singh Sabha movement is Harjot Oberoi's important volume, *The Construction of Religious*

*Boundaries*. It is most unfortunate the Sikh studies have lost the contribution which Harjot Oberoi was able to give.

An important work dealing with the history of women in the Sikh community is Doris Jakobsh's *Relocating Gender in Sikh History*.

My own works would presumably fall in this description of historical works as opposed to traditional. The most suitable is unfortunately out of print, *Sikhism* (Penguin, 1997). A useful alternative is *Who Is a Sikh?*

Other writers whose works can be recommended are N. G. Barrier, Owen Cole, Balwant Singh Dhillon, Louis E. Fenech, Dipankar Gupta, Mark Juergensmeyer, Rajiv A. Kapur, Anshu Malhotra, Rajit Mazumdar, Harish Puri, Christopher Shackle, Mohinder Singh, and Nikky Singh.

This bibliography is selective; it comprises only books that are in English (apart from one section entitled "Principal Sources for Sikhism in Punjabi"). It is selective because of space limitations. I focused on books published in English during the past fifty years, but those published earlier have been included if they are (for whatever reason) important. The reader is referred to other published bibliographies for books that have been omitted, together with articles relating to Sikhism. The best one to consult is Rajwant Singh, *The Sikhs: Their Literature on Culture, History, Philosophy, Politics, Religion, and Traditions* (Delhi: Indian Bibliographies Bureau, 1990). For Punjabi books the most appropriate work is *Pañjābī Pustak Kosh* (Patiala: LDP, 1971). Ganda Singh has published two separate volumes, *A Select Bibliography of the Sikhs and Sikhism* (Amritsar: SGPC, 1965) and *A Bibliography of the Punjab* (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1966). Both volumes usefully cover books in all the principal languages. *The Sikhs and Their Literature* (Delhi: Manohar, 1970), by N. Gerald Barrier, is also very useful.

One question was how lengthy a work needed to be for inclusion. Partly for this reason and partly as a guide to potential readers, where a work has less than fifty pages the number of pages has been indicated.

Another question was how to alphabetize authors' names. In Rajwant Singh's bibliography (and in the vast majority of other works published in India), where an author's last name is Singh (e.g., Fauja Singh) or Kaur (e.g., Madanjit Kaur), he or she is included according to first name. For the two examples given, the names would be listed under *F* and *M*. Only if the individual used a third name (e.g., Surindar Singh Kohli) would that name be used as a surname and included as such in the bibliography (e.g., Kohli, Surindar Singh).

This contrasts with the Western method, which is to record in alphabetical order the last name, classifying Fauja Singh under *S* and Madanjit Kaur under *K*. The problem would not be solved by adopting this so-called Western method, for many books published in the West use the standard Indian method. This is the case with all bibliographies in books by the present author published by the Clarendon Press in Oxford or Columbia University Press in New York. It is a method generally preferred by Indian readers, and for that reason it is frequently adopted in Western countries.

Reluctantly, however, the decision was finally taken to use the standard Western form. Many users of this bibliography will want to consult particular works in Western libraries where the Western method of classification is invariably used. Being quite unused to the Indian style, they would be baffled by it. Those accustomed to the Indian method will regrettably have to make the necessary adjustment when seeking a book by a Singh or a Kaur.

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- <http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/sikhism/index.html>. A very good website giving an overview of the development of the Sikh tradition in a chart format, from St. Martin's College in Lancaster, United Kingdom.
- <http://www.religioustolerance.org/sikhism.htm>. From the Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance in Canada, with an unbiased introduction to issues facing Sikhs in Canada.
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- <http://www.sikh-heritage.co.uk/page1.htm>. An excellent site featuring Sikh art, heritage, and various Sikh sects.
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