

DASAM GRANTH: TRACING ITS HISTORICAL GENESIS, HISTORICITY, AND ROLE IN THE TRANSITION OF SIKH HISTORY

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The origins of the text now recognized as the Dasam Granth are shrouded in uncertainty and debate, with extensive literature in Punjabi, Hindi, and English addressing various aspects, from authorship disputes to specific content analyses. The discourse has expanded into cyberspace, evident in the plethora of online resources, including websites, blogs, forums, and recorded conferences, generating significant discussion and differing viewpoints. Despite the voluminous literature, pinpointing the timeline and circumstances surrounding the compilation of the Dasam Granth remains challenging. Eighteenth-century sources provide glimpses into Guru Gobind Singh's literary activities, patronage of court poets, and poetic compilations. However, the reliability of these sources, often criticized for potential biases, particularly deemed "Hindu" or "Brahmanical," is a subject of contention among Sikh scholars. Some early-eighteenth-century works discussing Guru Gobind Singh's life, such as Sainapati's *Sri Gur Sobha* (1711) and Kuir Singh's *Gurbilas Patshahi Das* (1751), do not reference any texts that would later be associated with the Dasam Granth.¹

A pivotal eighteenth-century source contributing detailed yet disputed information about the Dasam Granth is Kesar Singh Chhibbar's *Bansavalinama* (1769). This work, chronicling the ten Gurus and post-Guru Gobind Singh events, is often cited by proponents asserting that Guru Gobind Singh authored the entire Dasam Granth. However, criticism has been directed at Chhibbar's Brahman perspective and his somewhat erratic chronological approach. Despite these challenges, *Bansavalinama* remains a significant source in the ongoing discourse surrounding the Dasam Granth's compilation. In his account of Guru Gobind Singh's life, Chhibbar mentions various granths associated with the Guru.

According to *Bansavalinama*, Guru Gobind Singh is said to have completed his own granth in 1698. Another granth, called the *Samundra Sagar*, prepared by the Guru, was supposedly lost in a river around 1701, with some pages later recovered by Sikhs. Chhibbar also refers to a "small granth" containing the *Avatar lila*, which was partially lost in a battle but later reconstructed by Bhai Mani Singh. Despite these references, it remains unclear if these granths specifically correspond to what later became known as the Dasam Granth.²

The Dasam Granth's *Bachitra Natak* section includes compositions on avatars, but they are not titled *Avatar Lila*, adding ambiguity to Chhibbar's references. Sarup Das Bhalla's *Mahima Prakash* states that Guru Gobind Singh engaged pandits to compile knowledge from Vedas, Puranas, and Shastras into Gurmukhi script, resulting in a text called *Bidia Sagar* or "Ocean of Knowledge." However, this does not definitively prove or disprove the specifics of the Dasam Granth's authorship.³

The *Mahima Prakash* mentions works like "Twenty-four Avatars" and "Four Hundred Four Calitras," and while it doesn't conclusively clarify the Dasam Granth's composition, it introduces the possibility that the Guru endorsed these compilations for study. Thus, both *Bansavalinama* and *Mahima Prakash* contribute to the discourse surrounding the Dasam Granth's origins without offering definitive answers.⁴ Chhibbar's statements about Bhai Mani Singh have led to the Sikh tradition attributing the compilation of the Dasam Granth to him, aided by Bhai Shihan Singh and Guru Gobind Singh's widow, Mata Sundari. Proponents of Guru Gobind Singh's sole authorship often reference a letter allegedly written by Bhai Mani Singh in 1716,

mentioning the Krishna Avatar, 303 Charitras, and Shastra-nam-mala.⁵

However, the letter's origin is still being determined, with Jaggi's analysis suggesting inconsistencies in handwriting and style, questioning its authenticity. Bhai Santokh Singh's Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granth⁶ and Giani Gian Singh's Panth⁷ Prakash offer insights into Guru Gobind Singh's poetic activities but need to conclusively address the Dasam Granth's compilation. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh presents an intriguing account, stating that Bhai Mani Singh complied with Mata Sundari's wishes and created a volume named Dasven Pātshāh kā Granth, combining teachings and Sanskrit translations. Disputes arose after Bhai Mani Singh's death, leading to a unique resolution involving a Sikh named Mahtab Singh and an unrelated event. While this story emerges relatively late, it reflects early concerns about the Dasam Granth's content and its challenging status as "holy" or otherwise.⁸

Examining surviving manuscripts becomes crucial in understanding the Dasam Granth's authorship and origins. Rattan Singh Jaggi's research, particularly his 1966 work, Dasam Granth dā Kartritav,⁹ stands out. Jaggi identified and studied the earliest manuscripts, such as the Bhai Mani Singh Väli Bir and others, concluding that available manuscripts were either copies or relatively recent, dating back to the early 1800s. Notably, two manuscripts purportedly contained pages in Guru Gobind Singh's handwriting, a claim contested by Jaggi. Jaggi, in his 1959 examination of the Bhai Mani Singh Väli Bir, found discrepancies in the manuscript's date, suggesting it to be around 250 years old, roughly from 1740, and not the original compilation by Bhai Mani Singh. His analysis of early manuscripts revealed variations in composition order, division, verse count, invocation lines, and poet name mentions, leading him to question Guru Gobind Singh's authorship. The phrase "Sri Mukhvāk Pātshāhi Dasa" in some compositions, considered proof by some Sikh commentators, did not uniformly appear in the manuscripts, and Jaggi emphasized that its presence did not definitively establish

authorship. Jaggi's extensive work on Dasam Granth manuscripts concluded that the evidence alone was insufficient to resolve authorship questions.¹⁰

The use of pen names within the text has been cited for and against Guru Gobind Singh as the author, but like manuscript evidence, it lacks conclusive proof. References from the eighteenth century and later regarding Guru Gobind Singh's works and the role of Bhai Mani Singh¹¹ provide inconsistent information about compiled texts and their recovery after the Guru's death. While some sources mention no granths, others refer to various "big" and "small" granths, compositions similar to Dasam Granth, and lost works like Vidia, Bidia, or Samundra Sagar. The exact form and status of the Dasam Granth during the eighteenth century remain unclear. J. S. Grewal acknowledges¹² the existence of a granth associated with Guru Gobind Singh in Chhibbar's Bansavalinama¹³ but emphasizes the need to understand its compilation purpose. Grewal, while doubting Guru Gobind Singh's authorship of the entire Dasam Granth, acknowledges the popularity of specific compositions among Sikhs during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the nineteenth century, numerous Dasam Granth manuscripts circulated, often paired with the Adi Granth, with both texts sometimes housed together in gurdwaras. However, Sikh authors emphasize the higher status of the Adi Granth, even when coexisting with the Dasam Granth.

In the early 19th century, Western accounts, such as Malcolm's in 1812, highlighted the significance of the Dasam Granth among Sikhs, revered nearly as much as the Adi Granth. The text played a role in Sikh councils, and British control in 1849 led to increased scrutiny of religious identity. Concerns about Sikhism's perceived stagnation prompted the Singh Sabha movement in the 1870s.¹⁴ The Dasam Granth, with its focus on Hindu mythology, became a topic of interest and was removed from some gurdwaras under the Singh Sabhas' influence. The Singh Sabha movement led to the study of Dasam Granth manuscripts, resulting in

the Sodhak Committee's report in 1897, which asserted Guru Gobind Singh as the sole author.¹⁵

The subsequent production of printed editions in 1902 intensified debates on authorship. Jaggi's 1960s research identified two main factions: those believing Guru Gobind Singh authored the entire Dasam Granth and those proposing the involvement of court poets. A third perspective emerged, suggesting Guru Gobind Singh composed only a small part. Different scholars presented varying views on specific compositions. Western scholars mostly favored partial authorship by Guru Gobind Singh, while debates continued among Sikh authors throughout the 20th century. The Dasam Granth's use in liturgy and specific Sikh rituals contrasts with ongoing debates about its authorship and status.¹⁶ In the 21st century, the debate persists, and the internet has become a platform for wider discussions. Efforts by Hindu organizations to emphasize commonality with Sikhism through translations of Puranic portions of the Dasam Granth sparked controversy but were eventually retracted in acknowledgment of Sikhism's distinct identity. The debate surrounding the Dasam Granth's status extends beyond India to Sikh communities worldwide. Gurbaksh Singh Kala Afghana, a Canadian Sikh, has contended that Guru Gobind Singh did not compose the entire Dasam Granth and has called for a reform of many Sikh practices.¹⁷ Various Sikh Internet discussion groups have actively promoted and discussed Kala Afghana's publications, notably his extensive work titled "From the Customs of Brahmins to the True Path."¹⁸

In April 2000, the Institute of Sikh Studies in Chandigarh passed a resolution asserting that, apart from the well-known bani of the Guru included in it, scholars from Sakat, Vaishnav, and Brahmanical traditions primarily composed the Dasam Granth. The resolution argued that this was done with a malevolent intent to mislead Sikhs and derail Sikhism. It emphasized that, aside from the Guru's writings, the Dasam Granth holds no relevance to Sikh thought or doctrine. Subsequent publications from this organization have further elaborated on this argument. The intense and vocal debate about

the Dasam Granth has, at times, prompted official actions from Sikh leaders. In May and August 2000, the jathedar of the Akal Takhat, Joginder Singh Vedanti, issued directives to Sikh scholars, instructing them not to publicly comment on the text. In October 2000, Vedanti ordered Kala Afghana to halt the sale, publication, and dissemination of his works until given permission to do so.¹⁹

He also announced plans to form a committee to investigate the matter and issue a definitive statement on the text's authenticity and its place within Sikhism. However, it appears that this committee was only recently established, according to a statement by SGPC president Avtar Makkar in June 2008. In November 2006, the Akal Takhat called on Sikh intellectuals to respond to individuals promoting misleading views about the Dasam Granth. One critic had offered a reward to anyone proving that Guru Gobind Singh was not the author. To address this call for a response, the Sri Dasam Granth Sahib International Seminar Series took place in February 2008 in Sacramento, California, with speakers supporting the view that the entire Dasam Granth is the work of Guru Gobind Singh. In June 2008, Akal Takht leaders requested that members of the Sikh community refrain from further fueling the controversy. The debates about the Dasam Granth remain intense and unresolved, primarily revolving around the question of authorship. Advocates of each position, whether Guru Gobind Singh wrote all, some, or virtually none of it, express their views passionately.

It is evident that, for many Sikhs, their understanding of the text's status (as a "holy book" or otherwise) is a crucial component of their personal comprehension of Sikhism, its scriptures, and how they should practice their faith. The ongoing official requests for Sikhs to avoid stirring up the debate highlight the challenging nature of reaching a resolution. While the Dasam Granth itself and references to it in early Sikh sources may not definitively address the challenging questions about authorship and authenticity that persist within the Sikh panth, there is much to learn about how the

text relates to other forms of Indian literature. I will now delve into that topic.²⁰

Early Sikh scholars in the twentieth century attributed it to Guru Gobind Singh, while some writers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries linked certain works to the court poets of Guru Gobind Singh. Since the late nineteenth century, many scholars, both Sikh and Western, have contested the idea that the entire Dasam Granth is Guru Gobind Singh's work. The issue has become sensitive, and the SGPC discourages public discussion on it. C.H. Loehlin, writing after D.P. Ashta, identified specific compositions in the Dasam Granth considered the Guru's own, such as Jap, Akal Ustat, Bachittar Natak, Chandi Charitar I and II, Var Bhagauti Ki, Gian Prabodh, Hazare Shabad, Savayye, and the Zafarnama. Loehlin noted that these authentic compositions cover only about 168 pages out of the 1428 in the Dasam Granth. The Dasam Granth, compiled by Bhai Mani Singh in 1734, became influential, complementing the Adi Granth by emphasizing the martial aspect of Sikh identity. Loehlin provided brief descriptions of the Dasam Granth's books, highlighting the Jap as Guru Gobind Singh's creation, emphasizing meditation on a formless God. The Akal Ustat covers various subjects, including a pantheistic section deemed inconsistent with the Guru's style. The Bachittar Natak,²¹ considered authentic, presents an autobiographical account shaping the ideal warrior-saint image, embodying a dual mission of forcefully combating evil-doers and peacefully spreading the true faith through proclamation.²²

Three versions of the Chandi or Durga narrative, suggest that the first two were possibly translated into Braj by bards, while Guru Gobind Singh personally wrote Var Sri Bhagauti Ji in Punjabi. All three versions are likely allegorical representations of the ongoing struggle between good and evil. Notably, Chandi Charitar I concludes with renowned lines outlining the warrior-saint's purpose: an unwavering commitment to virtuous deeds, confronting adversaries with determination, and a readiness to face death in battle. The opening lines of Var Sri Bhagauti Ji, now part of the Sikh

prayer (ardas), set the tone. However, the Gian Prabodh contains elements seemingly inconsistent with Guru Gobind Singh's genuine teachings. The attribution of translating the Chaubis Avtar to Guru Gobind Singh is challenging due to the Hindu cultural and mythological influences of the contributors. Guru Gobind Singh, as expressed at the end of the Ram Avtar, disagreed with the doctrines of the Qur'an, Puranas, Smritis, Shastras, and Vedas. The Hazare Shabad, an authentic composition, may be part of a larger collection. Thirty-three Savayye includes notable stanzas praising the Khalsa, showcasing the Guru's deep connection with the community.²³

The Shastar Nam Mala presents fanciful names for weapons and riddles, making it implausible that the Guru engaged in such laborious and often trivial compilation. The Charitaro Pakhian, a significant part of the Dasam Granth, comprises 404 tales. Among them, 78 highlight the valor, devotion, or intelligence of women, 269 depict their cunning and lack of scruples, and 26 narrate instances of male deceit. The remainder includes moral and folk tales, concluding with the prayer (Benati Chaupai) seeking protection for Sikhs and the destruction of their enemies. The Hikayat largely represents Persian versions of the Charitaro Pakhian.²⁴

The Zafarnama, penned by Guru Gobind Singh, reproaches Aurangzeb for violating his Qur'anic oath, highlighting the treachery during the Battle of Anandpur where promised safe conduct was betrayed, resulting in an attack on the Guru's baggage train. Despite the emperor's subsequent order for a meeting, Guru Gobind Singh, en route to the South, missed the encounter as Aurangzeb passed away.²⁵ W.H. McLeod views the Dasam Granth as a supplementary scripture with diverse material drawing from Puranas and oral traditions. Categorizing its contents, McLeod identifies autobiographical works like Bachittar Natak and Zafarnama, militant piety expressions including Jap, Akal Ustat, Gian Prabodh, and Shabad Hazare, miscellaneous pieces like Savayye and Shastar Nam Mala,²⁶ and legends such as Chandi Charitar, Chandi

di Var, Chaubis Avtar, and Tria Charitar. McLeod underscores the historical importance of the Dasam Granth in Sikh Panth evolution, especially reflecting the influence of the Shakti cult on Jat culture²⁷.

Contrary to D.P. Ashta's assertion, Gurtej Singh rejects the idea that Dasam Granth heavily reflects Hindu influence on Guru Gobind Singh's life. Ashta's assumption of Guru Gobind Singh composing all works in the Dasam Granth is deemed inaccurate. Gurtej Singh argues that Ashta overlooks the diversity within Hinduism during the seventeenth century. Jaggi, in the controversy about Dasam Granth's authorship, dismisses a letter attributed to Bhai Mani Singh as a later forgery and notes material differences in examined manuscripts, suggesting compilation after Guru Gobind Singh's time without a common theme.²⁸

The compilers of the Dasam Granth did not ascribe any sacredness to the compilation, and pages claimed to be inscribed by Guru Gobind Singh are often found to be materially inaccurate. Giani Gian Singh suggests that Charhat Singh, son of Sukha Singh, forged these pages. Jaggi convincingly demonstrates a stark ideological difference between the authentic compositions of Guru Gobind Singh and the rest of the volume. Daljeet Singh notes that early Sikh writers make no reference to the Dasam Granth, and the first mention of Guru Gobind Singh's writings comes from Kesar Singh Chhibber's *Bansavalinama*. Chhibber's account, however, lacks clarity on Dasam Granth's creation and raises questions about its reliability. Bhai Santokh Singh's repetition of the Bhai Mani Singh story is called into question, with the letter attributed to Bhai Mani Singh on the collection of *Charitaro Pakhian*²⁹ proven to be fake. Jaggi's examination of four Dasam Granth manuscripts reveals discrepancies, suggesting a non-Sikh origin.³⁰

Concerns about the Dasam Granth's authenticity stem from its inconsistency with the Guru Granth Sahib's doctrines. Outside scholars asserting Guru Gobind Singh's authorship argue that he aligned the Panth with Hinduism, drawing inspiration from Puranic and Shakti influences to confront the Mughals. However, this claim is

contested, as belief in Puranic incarnations and Shakti did not necessarily inspire resistance against the Mughals. Jagjit Singh, like Daljeet Singh, concludes that there is no historical basis linking the present form of Dasam Granth to Guru Gobind Singh or any known material.³¹ The assertion that Dasam Granth is on par with the Adi Granth, including Guruship status, lacks justification. The Dasam Granth, according to Kesar Singh Chhibber, is viewed as a younger brother of the Adi Granth, implying it was not treated as 'Guru.' McLeod highlights the influence of the Dasam Granth on Sikh religious life, particularly the goddess, but this aspect remains inadequately studied. Some Sikh scholars challenge this notion, emphasizing the exclusive supremacy of Akal Purkh and the doctrines of Guru Panth and Guru Granth in Sikh writings. Gurinder Singh Mann's historical account traces three separate compilations related to the Dasam Granth, none of which could be attributed to Guru Gobind Singh. The combination of these works occurred at a later stage, with the title evolving into Dasam Granth in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Mann's account, however, overlooks the crucial stage of incorporating Guru Gobind Singh's genuine works into the compilation.³²

Recent scholarship has brought forth a new perspective on the Dasam Granth by examining certain works through the lens of gender relations. Nikki-Guninder Kaur Singh emphasizes Durga as Guru Gobind Singh's favored literary subject among Hindu deities. Despite the controversial nature of the texts, Nikki Singh contends that Guru Gobind Singh recalls Durga as a mythic figure rather than invoking her as a goddess, challenging the assertion that he professed devotion to her. According to Nikki Singh, Guru Gobind Singh's choice of Durga signifies an unambiguous acknowledgment of women's power. The Guru portrays Durga as a model of moral and martial prowess for both genders, suggesting that by engaging with the myth of Durga, society could be invigorated, and ethical principles upheld. Durga, as depicted in the Dasam Granth, becomes a symbol inspiring positive action, overcoming

weaknesses, challenging political authorities, and fostering a more just and egalitarian society.³³

The mythical Durga is exalted in Guru Gobind Singh's works, emphasizing her independent and powerful nature. The narratives, though martial in tone, intricately blend the heroic and romantic elements, employing dynamic language to inspire bravery and instill confidence in the Sikh community. In connecting Durga with the term "bhagauti," Guru Gobind Singh symbolically attributes a feminine identity to the sword, representing the annihilation of negative forces and a crusade against evil.

The glorification of the sword aims to secure divine justice and assert the right to freedom. The supplication at the end of Chandi Charitar emphasizes standing for the right cause and being ready to fight until the end. Doris R. Jakobsh critiques Nikki Singh's hypothesis, highlighting the difficulty in distinguishing between literary license and veneration. Jakobsh suggests that drawing an unrealistically rigid line between recognizing³⁴ Durga's literary merit and actual homage misses an opportunity to explore the integration of the feminine into early Sikh society. Jakobsh also notes the harsh prohibition of killing female babies in the Rahit, indicating an established gender hierarchy that contributed to a 'theology of difference.' Jakobsh supports her gender analysis with evidence from the Charitaro Pakhian, suggesting that narratives about the wives of women were essential for constructing gender during Guru Gobind Singh's time. The Charitaro Pakhian, whether authored by Guru Gobind Singh or not, played a crucial role in shaping gender perceptions in the post-Guru period. The early twentieth-century tendency to attribute it to someone else reflects its serious consideration by Sikh men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁵

Further, Jakobsh points to The Chaupa Singh Rahit-Nama as the earliest rahitnama, indicating that women were excluded from the 'regular' discipline outlined for the Khalsa. This evidence highlights the association of impurity with women in the post-Guru period, suggesting a transformation in gender constructs within Sikhism.

In summary, recent scholarship explores the Dasam Granth's gender dimensions, particularly in the portrayal of Durga and narratives about women in the Charitaro Pakhian. These analyses provide insights into the evolving constructs of gender within the Sikh tradition during and after Guru Gobind Singh's time.³⁶

The emergence of the Khalsa institution in Sikhism led to a distinct polarization of genders. A Gursikhni was expected to view her husband as her lord, while trust in women was discouraged among Gursikhs. This gender divide is evident in the injunction against true Sikhs wearing red, associated with women's clothing. Doris R. Jakobsh argues that the militarization of the Khalsa contributed to the polarization of gender, emphasizing the 'true' manliness of the warrior-saint and marginalizing women. The Dasam Granth features Durga as God's creation, akin to Ram and Krishna, with a role focused on fighting for good against evil. Nikky-Guninder Kaur Singh highlights the emancipatory implications of Durga's myth for both genders, but the impact on gender relations remains unclear. Jakobsh's 'theology of difference' hypothesis oversimplifies gender issues in the Khalsa. Contradictory statements within Rahitnamas, such as The Chaupa Singh Rahit-Nama and Prem Sumarag, reveal varied perspectives on administering baptism to women. Gurinder Singh Mann acknowledges Singh and Jakobsh's analyses but does not attribute the texts to Guru Gobind Singh. Mann contends that their arguments lack comprehensive consideration of other parts of the Dasam Granth, emphasizing the need for proper contextualization to understand Sikh beliefs, practices, and community history accurately during that period.³⁷

CONCLUSION

Despite several disagreements, certain compositions in history, regardless of controversies, leave a significant impact on contemporary society. In reality, until the 18th century, the Dasam Granth was not a part of any disputes because its compositions indicated inclusivity, equality, and

brotherhood in society. In the context of the historical significance of the Dasam Granth, it reveals a better understanding between society and the people, continuously promoting the Sikh community and its principles. The Khalsa Raj, which existed during the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, played a crucial role in advancing Sikh philosophy through its existence, and the sacred scriptures, including the Sri Guru Granth Sahib, held a vital position. However, the importance of the Dasam Granth cannot be overlooked.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Grewal's edited volume *The Khalsa: Sikh and Non-Sikh Perspectives* (2004) is a useful introduction, with articles examining accounts of the establishment of the Khalsa by Sainapat, Koer Singh, Chhibbar, Santokh Singh, Cunningham, Latif, Khazan Singh, Archer, Banerjee, and Teja Singh and Ganda Singh. See also part 2 of Grewal 1996, 39-72; Deol 2001a; Kaur 2000.
2. Many accounts of Guru Gobind Singh's life, for example, rely on Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion* (1909) and its account of the Guru. Macauliffe, however, did not provide complete citation of all his sources. For a discussion of Macauliffe's work and the sources upon which he relied, see Grewal 1998, 43-53.
3. For a brief treatment of this Shakta tradition, see Goswamy 1997.
4. For a more detailed discussion of the political climate in the Punjab region at the time of Guru Gobind Singh's birth, see Grewal and Bal (1967, 1-18) and appendix A, "Contemporary Hill Chiefs" (174-176) for a listing of the rulers in the region during Guru Gobind Singh's life.
5. Gurinder Singh Mann, *The Making of Sikh Scripture*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 69-74.
6. Cunningham (1990, 76-77) concluded that Guru Gobind Singh had completed the Apni Katha portion of the Dasam Granth at Damdama in around 1705.
7. Pashaura Singh, *The Guru Granth Sahib: Canon, Meaning and Authority*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 203-6.
8. Cunningham (1990, 66), for example, described it as "an extant and authentic composition" of the Guru.
9. For more detailed summaries of these compositions, see Ashta 1959, 35-168, "Brief Critical Study of the Works in the Dasam Granth."
10. For further discussion of the doctrine of panth and granth, see Grewal 1998, 186-193; Deol 2001a, 27-28.
11. C.H. Loehlin, *The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and The Khalsa Brotherhood*, Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1971, pp. 7, 9-10, 18, 57.
12. Grewal (1998, 262-265) summarizes one version of this argument as made by Daljeet Singh.
13. Kesar Singh Chhibbar's *Bansavalinama* (10:1) places the Guru's birth earlier (Sammatt 1718, i.e., 1661), as do many early Western accounts. Eg., Malcolm (1981, 34) wrote, "Guru Govind is stated, by a Sikh author of respectability, Bhai Guru Das Bhale, to have been fourteen years of age when his father was put to death." Thus with Guru Tegh Bahadur's death in 1675, the birth date becomes 1661 or 1662. Other early Western accounts such as Joseph Cunningham's 1849 *History of the Sikhs* (1990, 63) similarly place Guru Gobind Singh's birth earlier, Cunningham wrote that Guru Gobind Singh "was in his fifteenth year" at the time of his father's death. See also Gordon 2000, 35 Grewal and Bal 1967, 192 n. 1.

14. See, e.g., Bansavalinama 10:6-11 (125). According to Malcolm (1981, 144-145), Guru Gobind Singh was "brought up in the religion of Nanac," but "he appears from having been educated among the Hindu priests of Mathura, to have been deeply tainted with their superstitious belief." Some relatively late sources report that Guru Gobind Singh sent five Sikhs to Benares to collect all the traditional learning available and bring it back to the Guru's court.
15. *Ibid* Bansavalinama 10:6-11 (125). According to Malcolm (1981, 144-145)
16. Disturbances in the Punjab have also adversely affected ongoing research into the text: Jaggi (1966, 24) noted that he was unable to locate certain journal articles regarding the Dasam Granth because the journal files were lost at the time of partition.
17. Along similar lines, a 2004 article about Gurbaksh Singh Kala Afghana compared his efforts to reform Sikhism to those of the Protestant Reformation led by Martin Luther. See Puneet Singh Lamba, "Gurbaksh Singh Kala Afghana: An Adi Granth Purist" http://www.sikhtimes.com/bios_0710043.html (accessed July 24, 2007).
18. *Ibid* An Adi Granth Purist" http://www.sikhtimes.com/bios_0710043.html (accessed July 24, 2007).
19. *Ibid* An Adi Granth Purist" http://www.sikhtimes.com/bios_0710043.html (accessed July 24, 2007).
20. For a detailed discussion of the meters used in the Dasam Granth, see Lochlin and Jaggi 1995, 517-531.
21. Ashta (1959, 38) reported that verses 211-230 in Akal Ustat are "an exact translation in twenty Tribhangis of the 30 Tribhangis in Bhagwati Padya Pushpanjali Stotra by Pt. Ram Krishen." See also Jaggi 1966, 82-83, 166-167. 24. For further discussion of the contents and ordering of the Bachitra Natak Granth, see Jaggi 1965, 272-273. Jaggi (1965, 1966) includes CC 1 as part of the Bachitra Natak Granth. In Jaggi and Jaggi's five-volume edition of the Dasam Granth from 1999, however, the designation does not occur at the close of the composition.
22. Personal interview, Bhai Kirpal Singh, Gobind Sadan, New Delhi, December 2007
23. As with many other Dasam Granth compositions, English translations of this shabad vary; here are four different translations for comparison: From http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Shabad_Hazare (translator not named):
24. Similarly, when the Publications Bureau of Punjabi University published Bhai Randhir Singh's Shabdarath Dasam Granth Sahib in 1995, it chose to omit Charitropakhian and Hikaitan. See Bhai Randhir Singh 1995, Taran Singh's "Introduction [Bhūmika]," v. For English translations of selected charitras, see Lochlin 1971, 48-51, 86-87, 93-94-
25. For an example of such criticisms, see Daljeet Singh 1997. 44. Jaggi (1966, 29-30) believes that this may have been the date of the completion of the avatar portions of the text, but that it cannot refer to the entire Dasam Granth because the date of Guru Gobind Singh's letter to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, the Zafarnama, is 1763 V., or approximately 1706 C.E.
26. Gurtej Singh, 'Two Views on Dasam Granth', in Fundamental Issues in Sikh Studies, ed. Kharak Singh, Gobind Singh Mansukhani and Jasbir Singh Mann, Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 1992,

27. Most translators have followed Bhai Randhir Singh's (1995, vol. 1, 92) translation of kalā as shakti.
28. For a brief account of Bhai Mani Singh's life, see Gurmukh Singh 1997a.
29. Deol (20013, 31; 43 n. 15) describes a Charitropakhian manuscript that was apparently intended to be kept in a quiver. See also Jaggi 1966, 133, for a description of a Charitropakhian manuscript.
30. For the chapter addressing those who consider Guru Gobind Singh the author of the entire text, see Jaggi 1966, 27-81, "Pūrab Pakkh"; for the chapter on those who consider him the author of only selected sections, see Jaggi 1988, 82-90, "Uttar Pakkh."
31. Daljeet Singh, 'Dasam Granth: Its History', Abstracts of Sikh Studies, Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies (July 1994), pp. 81-4.
32. Gurinder Singh Mann, 'Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times', Journal of Punjab Studies, 15: 1-2 (Spring-Fall 2008), pp. 248-9, 275 n. 131
33. Nikki-Guninder Kaur Singh, The Feminine Principle in the Sikh Vision of the Transcendent, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 121-2.
34. Jaggi cited the following reasons for doubting the authenticity of the manuscript as Bhai Mani Singh's work: the manuscript is not all in the same handwriting, there are errors in the composition Var Durga Ki (Jaggi 1966, 93) which suggest that the copyist was not a Punjabi speaker, which seems highly unlikely for Bhai Mani Singh, Giani Gian Singh's 1880 Panth Prakash Jaggi 1966, 305-306) states that the version of the Dasam Granth compiled by Bhai Mani Singh had only the Dasam Granth, but the Bhai Mani Singh Vāli Bir begins with the Adi Granth (while Bhai Kānh Singh Nābhā's 1930 Mahan Kosh states that this manuscript included both the Adi Granth and the Dasam Granth, this does not necessarily prove that the manuscript is actually the work of Bhai Mani Singh).
35. Doris R. Jakobsh, Relocating Gender in Sikh History: Transformation, Meaning and Identity, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 15-16
36. Ibid, pp.15-17
37. Gurinder Singh Mann, 'Sources for the Study of Guru Gobind Singh's Life and Times', pp. 250, 276 n. 136.