

## PILGRIMAGE, POWER, AND TEXT: TRACING THE SIKH LEGACY IN THE DECCAN THROUGH HISTORY AND MEMORY

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### ABSTRACT

*This research paper examines the historical and political significance of Huzur Sahib (Nanded) within the context of Sikh history, with a particular focus on the legacy of Guru Gobind Singh, the Dasam Granth, and the emergence of Sikh sovereignty in the Deccan. Located approximately 280 km from Hyderabad, Nanded, popularly known as Shri Huzur Sahib, is one of the Five Takhts of Sikhism. This paper argues that Huzur Sahib serves not merely as a sacred site but also as a political and symbolic space where competing ideologies of power, faith, and identity were negotiated and redefined.*

*While historians have largely focused on the northern campaigns and the martial legacy of the Khalsa, this paper shifts the lens to southern India, specifically Nanded, as a crucible for shaping Sikh political identity. A significant part of this study focuses on the Dasam Granth, a contested yet revered text associated with Guru Gobind Singh. Among Deccani Sikhs, both the Guru Granth Sahib and the Dasam Granth are venerated side by side, with daily hukamnamas (mukhwak) taken from both scriptures. The study further examines the political participation of Deccani Sikhs in contemporary Maharashtra. Despite being a relatively small community, their continued involvement in social, religious, and political institutions reflects an enduring political consciousness rooted in the legacy of Guru Gobind Singh.*

**Keywords:** *Zafarnama, Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, Sri Dasam Granth Sahib, Shri Guru Granth Sahib, Deccani Sikhs, Huzur Sahib, Banda Singh Bahadur, Nanded, Akal Takht, Sikh-Muslim Relations*

### SRI GURU GOBIND SINGH: A HISTORICAL REAPPRAISAL IN THE CONTEXT OF NANDED (DECCAN)

The city of Nanded in present-day Maharashtra occupies a pivotal place in Sikh historical memory. As the site where Guru Gobind Singh spent his final days and formally invested *Guru Granth Sahib* with eternal Guruship, Nanded is more than a pilgrimage centre; it is a sacred landscape layered with theological, cultural, and political meaning. Over time, particularly in the post-1984 context and the resurgence of Sikh identity politics, Nanded has become central to the re-imagining of Dakhni Sikh

identity, especially through the ritual and symbolic appropriation of *Dasam Granth* verses. Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and final Guru in the lineage of Sikh Gurus, passed away at Nanded (present-day Maharashtra) on the 6th–7th of October, 1708. His death and cremation at this location are well-documented by both contemporary and near-contemporary sources, along with corroborative evidence from later credible authorities. It is unequivocally accepted in Sikh tradition and historical scholarship that Guru Gobind Singh did not appoint a human successor.<sup>1</sup>

Historically, Nanded was governed by the Nanda dynasty (5th–4th centuries BCE) and the Maurya Empire under Ashoka. In 1347 CE, Ala-ud-

Din Bahman Shah founded the Balimani Kingdom, a Muslim state that ruled until the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb annexed Nanded in 1686. The city's Sikh legacy began in 1708 when Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Sikh Guru, arrived and declared it his final resting place. Here, he proclaimed the Guru Granth Sahib as the eternal Guru, cementing its spiritual authority. Takhat Sachkhand Sri Hazur Sahib, built around 1835 with Maharaja Ranjit Singh's endowment, marks the cremation site of Guru Gobind Singh and is adorned with a golden dome and intricate craftsmanship. Local Sikhs have meticulously preserved and managed this sacred site, ensuring its spiritual and administrative sanctity.<sup>2</sup>

Contrary to claims crediting British rule for unifying India, Sikh Gurus profoundly shaped Indian nationalism. Guru Nanak Dev traversed the subcontinent, unifying diverse communities and referring to it as "Hindustan" in his hymns. In 1604, Guru Arjan Dev compiled the *Adi Granth*, a multilingual anthology fostering cultural cohesion. Guru Gobind Singh, born in Patna, operated in the north and chose Nanded for his final days.<sup>3</sup> In 1699, he established the Khalsa, uniting Sikhs from Jagannath Puri (east), Dwarka (west), Lahore (central), Hastinapur (south-central), and Bidar (south), embodying a pan-Indian identity. Instead, he designated the sacred scripture the *Adi Granth* as the eternal Guru of the Sikhs, thus transforming it into the *Guru Granth Sahib*. Unlike mystics who retreat from worldly life, Guru Gobind Singh actively engaged with society. He was born in Patna, Bihar, spent considerable time in Uttar Pradesh on his way to Anandpur Sahib, and lived the majority of his life in Punjab. His spiritualism was not rooted in asceticism or detachment but was directed toward reforming and uplifting society. He proclaimed that his divine mission was to defend righteousness, support the virtuous, and suppress injustice. This required living amidst people, guiding them through example and leadership, and confronting social and political challenges head-on. Guru Gobind Singh combined spirituality with martial prowess. As a son of Guru Tegh Bahadur, who was martyred, he

became a figure of hope for the oppressed and a perceived threat to despotic rulers. To his followers, he was a liberator and a socio-political leader; to imperial authorities, he was a revolutionary, instilling courage among the subjugated. An accomplished scholar and polyglot, Guru Gobind Singh was also a poet of remarkable depth.<sup>4</sup>

He blended intellectual pursuits with martial training, remaining accessible and visible to his disciples. On the battlefield, whether against the Hill Rajas or the Mughal contingent, he stood at the forefront, motivating his followers through direct presence and leadership. During that era, the visual presence (*darshan*) of a leader was vital for morale.<sup>5</sup> One of his most enduring contributions was the establishment of the Khalsa in 1699, a community marked by spiritual discipline, moral integrity, and distinct identity. He gave the Khalsa unique symbols and a code of conduct that distinguished them in society and fostered unity and resilience. There is only one known instance in recorded history when Guru Gobind Singh adopted a disguise, following the Battle of Chamkaur. At that time, he was compelled to evade enemy forces who had broken their promise of safe passage. With the assistance of Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan, two Muslim Pathan brothers from Machhiwara, he wore the robes of a revered Sufi saint, the Pir of Uch, to avoid detection.<sup>6</sup> This act was a tactical necessity, a wartime strategy taken during a period of extreme adversity. It was no compromise of principle but a prudent measure to preserve his life and leadership for the continuation of his mission. Once safe from immediate danger, he discarded the disguise and resumed his leadership role, eventually regrouping his followers and leading them into the Battle of Muktsar. Guru Gobind Singh demonstrated remarkable resilience and stoicism, even in the face of profound personal loss. He dispatched his two elder sons to fight at Chamkaur, where they were martyred. His two younger sons were later executed in cold blood at Sirhind. He received the news with unshaken faith, submitting to divine will without despair. Despite the overwhelming tragedies, his composure and spiritual resolve remained intact.<sup>7</sup>

His famed letter to Emperor Aurangzeb, known as the *Zafarnama* (Epistle of Victory), written from Dina, serves as a powerful expression of moral authority and spiritual integrity. Written in Persian, the letter reflects his dignified tone, sharp critique of tyranny, and unwavering commitment to truth and justice. Following the cessation of hostilities, Guru Gobind Singh returned to literary endeavors.<sup>8</sup> At Talwandi Sabo, now Damdama Sahib in Bathinda district, the Sikhs compiled and revised the Sikh scripture. His final act of spiritual legacy was elevating the Guru Granth Sahib to the status of the eternal Guru, thereby closing the line of human Gurus and ensuring the continuity of Sikh teachings. In essence, Guru Gobind Singh was a visionary who synthesized spiritual wisdom with practical leadership. He embodied the ideal of the *saint-soldier*, offering a model of disciplined engagement with the world devoted to divine service while fully immersed in the struggle for justice and human dignity.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the long-standing hostility and relentless persecution endured under the Mughal regime, Guru Gobind Singh accepted an invitation from Emperor Aurangzeb to meet in person. With a spirit of reconciliation and foresight, he commenced his journey towards the Deccan, where the emperor was stationed at the time. However, before any such meeting could take place, Aurangzeb died on 20 February 1707. The Guru received this news near Baghaur, in present-day Rajasthan. In light of this development, Guru Gobind Singh altered his course and<sup>10</sup> began moving back toward Punjab. While in the vicinity of Delhi, he was approached by emissaries of the emperor's successor, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, who sought his support in the ongoing struggle for succession against his younger brother, Muhammad Azam.

At this crucial juncture, the Guru faced a significant moral and political test. Demonstrating remarkable ethical fortitude, he chose not to be swayed by the bitter experiences inflicted by the prince's predecessors. Rather than yielding to the impulses of vengeance or personal grievance, he upheld his principles as a spiritual guide and

chivalrous leader. In doing so, he allied himself with the legitimate claimant to the Mughal throne and offered military support in the decisive Battle of Jajau in June 1707. Following the victory, Guru Gobind Singh met the newly enthroned emperor, Bahadur Shah I (formerly Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam), at a formal imperial durbar in Agra on 23 July 1707. During this public audience, the emperor formally acknowledged the Guru's assistance in the war of succession and conferred upon him a robe of honour, including a richly adorned cloak (*dhukh-dhukhi*) valued at sixty thousand rupees. The Guru, accompanied by a considerable number of Sikhs, maintained constant communication with his followers in Punjab and other regions.<sup>11</sup>

He regularly dispatched letters informing the Khalsa of his political engagements, plans, and overall mission, reflecting the deep transparency and democratic ethos he maintained with his community. Guru Gobind Singh had often reiterated that the Khalsa represented his form and essence (*Khalsa mero roop hai khas, Khalse men hau karaun nivās*). True to this spirit, he kept no secrets from his followers and consistently elevated their status as co-bearers of his mission. Throughout his life, he refrained from adopting disguises or concealing his identity in normal circumstances. Even as he accompanied Emperor Bahadur Shah on the southern expedition towards the Deccan, the Guru traveled openly with his Sikh entourage and took advantage of the journey to visit and strengthen ties with Sikh congregations (*sangats*) along the route. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī*, Guru Gobind Singh actively engaged with diverse audiences while part of the emperor's moving court.<sup>12</sup> He regularly addressed gatherings comprising various social groups ranging from secular individuals to religious zealots, emphasizing his continued mission to reform, educate, and inspire across sectarian and societal lines. His presence in such assembly's highlights not only his charisma and leadership but also his commitment to dialogue and outreach, even within the politically volatile and religiously pluralistic milieu of Mughal India.

## THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ZAFARNAMAH

The *Zafarnamah*, the celebrated epistle composed by Guru Gobind Singh from Dina, appears to have deeply influenced the conscience of Emperor Aurangzeb. In response, the Mughal sovereign extended a formal invitation to the Guru for an audience. Historical records indicate that the emperor issued directives to Munim Khan, the deputy governor of Lahore, instructing him to extend conciliatory gestures towards the Guru and to make the necessary logistical preparations for his journey to the Deccan. However, by that time, Guru Gobind Singh had already commenced his journey southward on 30 October 1706. While traversing the region near Baghor in present-day Rajasthan, news of Aurangzeb's demise at Ahmadnagar on 20 February 1707 reached him. Consequently, the Guru altered his course and resolved to return to Punjab via Shahjahanabad (modern-day Delhi). During this transitional phase, the Mughal princes were actively vying for succession to the imperial throne.<sup>13</sup>

In this context, Guru Gobind Singh extended strategic support to Prince Mu 'azzam, the eldest and most moderate of Aurangzeb's sons, by dispatching a symbolic detachment of Khalsa warriors. This contingent participated in the pivotal Battle of Jajau on 8 June 1707, where Mu 'azzam emerged victorious, later ascending the throne under the regnal name *Bahadur Shah*. As a gesture of gratitude and political alliance<sup>14</sup>, the new Emperor invited the Guru for a personal meeting, which took place in Agra on 23 July 1707. Shortly afterward, Bahadur Shah embarked on a military expedition against the Kachhwaha Rajputs of Amber (Jaipur) and subsequently moved towards the Deccan to suppress a rebellion led by his youngest brother, Kam Bakhsh. Guru Gobind Singh accompanied the imperial entourage and, during the journey, disseminated the teachings of Guru Nanak<sup>15</sup> to diverse gatherings along the route. The combined forces crossed the River Tapti in June and the Ban Ganga in August, ultimately reaching Nanded,

situated along the Godavari River, by the end of that month.

At Nanded, Guru Gobind Singh opted to remain temporarily while Bahadur Shah proceeded further south. During his stay, the Guru encountered a reclusive ascetic named Madho Das, a *bairāgī* by disposition. Under the Guru's spiritual influence, Madho Das renounced his former path and was initiated into the Khalsa order under the new name *Gurbakhsh Singh*, though he is more popularly remembered as *Banda Singh Bahadur*. Guru Gobind Singh entrusted Banda Singh with five of his arrows, a symbolic endowment of divine mission, and appointed him commander of a select retinue of five trusted Sikhs. He commissioned Banda to return to Punjab and spearhead a resistance campaign against the oppressive provincial administrators.

Meanwhile, Nawab Wazir Khan of Sirhind grew increasingly anxious over the Guru's rising influence and his proximity to the Mughal Emperor. Fearing that this alliance could pose a threat to his authority, the Nawab clandestinely ordered two of his confidants to eliminate Guru Gobind Singh before the growing rapport yielded political consequences unfavorable to him. According to *Guru Kian Sakhian*, the names of the assassins were Jamshed Khan and Wasil Beg. These Pathan agents trailed the Guru in secrecy and ultimately caught up with him in Nanded. *Sri Gur Sobha*, a near-contemporary chronicle penned by Senapati, recounts that one evening, as the Guru reclined in his chamber following the evening *Rahras* prayer, one of the assailants thrust a dagger into his left side, just beneath the heart<sup>16</sup>. The Guru, though gravely wounded, managed to strike down the attacker with his sabre. The other would-be assassin attempted to escape but was slain by the Guru's disciples, who rushed to the scene upon hearing the commotion. Upon receiving intelligence of the attack, Emperor Bahadur Shah promptly dispatched a team of skilled physicians and surgeons to attend to the Guru's injuries.<sup>17</sup>

## SIKH MOBILISATION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE POST-ANANDPUR PHASE

During Guru Gobind Singh's residence at Anandpur Sahib, the question of compensating his followers for their services never arose. Both men and women, held in high esteem within the community, regarded even the most modest household duties as acts of spiritual merit. When conflict was declared, the Guru's disciples voluntarily presented themselves, fully armed and provisioned at their own expense. However, the Guru's relocation from Anandpur to Malwa brought a significant shift. His constant movement made it increasingly difficult for distant followers to maintain contact or offer support. Consequently, he began to rely more heavily on the local Jat peasantry of Malwa. When the need arose to confront the advancing Mughal forces under the Subahdar of Sirhind, the Guru found it necessary for the first time to institute a formal system of paid military service.<sup>18</sup>

At this juncture, the strength of his forces was modest, and due to logistical constraints, payment of salaries became irregular. This resulted in growing discontent and indiscipline among the troops. The situation was only salvaged by the timely arrival of a devout Sikh from the North-Western frontier, who brought a significant quantity of gold and silver currency. With this financial support, order was restored, and the paid soldiers were immediately disbanded. Thereafter, only a dedicated core of volunteers remained, led by Dan Singh, a loyal adherent and resident of a village near Kot Bhai in present-day Ferozepur district.<sup>19</sup> A noteworthy episode of interfaith engagement is the conversion of Syad Wahmi, a widely venerated Muslim fakir from Ajmer, who embraced the Sikh faith and adopted the name Ajmer Singh. His frequent mention in contemporary accounts attests to his close association with the Guru during the Deccan campaign. While conversions of Muslims to Sikhism were not commonplace, they offer compelling evidence of the inclusive and proselytizing nature of

the Sikh tradition, sharply contrasting with the more insular tendencies of Hindu orthodoxy.<sup>20</sup>

Despite prevailing perceptions of state hostility toward Guru Gobind Singh's religious mission, he continued to garner support from prominent landholders and jagirdars in the Malwa region. Among his most ardent allies was Rai Dalla of Talwandi Sabo (modern-day Damdama Sahib), who<sup>21</sup> committed substantial resources to the Guru's cause and emerged as a key political and military supporter. His alliance provoked alarm in the Mughal administration, particularly with Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, who issued several menacing decrees warning Rai Dalla against sheltering an imperial adversary. Rai Dalla remained unmoved by these threats. In a resolute reply, he affirmed that the Guru was his spiritual guide, to whom he was bound by sacred obligation. He firmly refused to participate in any venture designed to undermine the Guru's security. Enraged by this defiance, the Subahdar once again appealed to Emperor Aurangzeb for assistance in suppressing the Guru and the rebellious Jat chieftains aligned with him.

During his stay with Rai Dalla, the Guru was reunited with his wives, Mata Sundari and Mata Sahib Devan, who traveled from Delhi. Disguised in male attire, they had been escorted to the Mughal capital during the chaos that ensued following the confrontation at the banks of the Sirsa River. Until they arrived at Talwandi Sabo, they had received no news about the tragic events that had followed. Upon learning of the martyrdom of the Guru's four sons Ajit Singh, Jujhar Singh, Zorawar Singh, and Fateh Singh and the passing of his revered mother, Mata Gujri, both women collapsed in grief. The Sikh congregation assembled to welcome them was overwhelmed by sorrow. The lamentations of the bereaved mothers deeply moved the entire gathering. Throughout this deeply emotional moment, the Guru remained calm and composed. He offered words of consolation, reminding them that their sons had not perished in vain. Rather, they had achieved immortality through their martyrdom, sacrificing their lives for dharma and the Sikh nation.<sup>22</sup>

The Guru's exceptional memory was later demonstrated in his remarkable feat of reproducing the entire *Adi Granth* from memory. Earlier, he had requested the original manuscript from Baba Dhir Mal, who denied the request with the derisive suggestion that a man so confident in his abilities should be able to recreate it himself. Once freed from the distractions of warfare, Guru Gobind Singh indeed undertook this task and reconstructed the scripture solely from memory, reflecting both his intellectual prowess and spiritual devotion.<sup>23</sup>

When the epistle referred to in Chapter XXI was personally delivered to Emperor Aurangzeb by Bhai Daya Singh (one of the original Panj Pyare), the Mughal sovereign was notably moved by both the dignity of the emissary and the rhetorical power and emotional depth of the letter. Despite being a staunch religious conservative, Aurangzeb could not ignore the stark realities conveyed in the communication. It became evident to him that his provincial officials in Punjab, influenced by the persistent intrigues of the hill rajas, had needlessly antagonized Guru Gobind Singh. Their unwarranted aggression had led to widespread resistance, culminating in considerable bloodshed. In response, Aurangzeb issued firm directives to the Subahs (governors) of Punjab, instructing them to cease all hostilities against the Guru and to allow him to reside wherever he deemed appropriate without interference.<sup>24</sup> When Wazir Khan, the Subahdar of Sirhind, sought additional reinforcements to suppress the Jat peasantry of Malwa who had aligned themselves with the Guru, the emperor severely rebuked him. Aurangzeb demanded a justification for Wazir Khan's decision to support the hill chieftains in their campaign against the Guru and questioned the rationale behind provoking popular dissent against imperial authority, thereby undermining Mughal legitimacy in the region. To make amends for these actions and to initiate direct dialogue, Aurangzeb dispatched a personal emissary to Guru Gobind Singh, inviting him to meet in person. The emperor expressed a desire to atone for the misdeeds carried out under his administration.<sup>25</sup>

Though many of the Guru's followers advised him against placing trust in the aging and duplicitous monarch, Guru Gobind Singh chose to accept the invitation. Demonstrating his characteristic courage and magnanimity, he prepared for the journey. Before his departure, the Guru once again sent his wives, Mata Sundari and Mata Sahib Devan, to Delhi for their safety. With a significantly reduced retinue, he then set out for the Deccan, where Aurangzeb was then stationed, engaged in suppressing local uprisings and managing the volatile affairs of his southern territories.<sup>26</sup>

## SRI GURU GOBIND SINGH AND NANDED (SRI HUZUR SAHIB)

While Guru Gobind Singh was en route to the Deccan, he received intelligence of Emperor Aurangzeb's demise. Undeterred by this news, he continued his journey. The Guru had initially intended to travel through Rajputana to disseminate his spiritual and socio-political teachings in the land known for its martial traditions. However, shortly after entering Rajput territory, a messenger from Prince Mu'azzam Aurangzeb's eldest son arrived, prompting a significant alteration in his travel plans. As was customary following the death of a monarch in the Mughal polity, internecine conflict erupted among the imperial claimants. Prince Azam Shah, with the support of sections of the imperial military, declared himself emperor. Meanwhile, Prince Mu'azzam, who was stationed in Kabul at the time of Aurangzeb's death, also laid claim to the throne and adopted the regnal title, Bahadur Shah. Determined to assert his authority, he commenced a march towards Delhi to confront his rival.<sup>27</sup>

In a strategic move, Prince Mu'azzam dispatched his trusted advisor and minister, Diwan Nand Lal, a devout follower of the Guru, to seek Guru Gobind Singh's support. Given Nand Lal's longstanding association and reverence for the Guru, the mission proved successful. The Guru pledged his assistance and promptly summoned his Sikh followers from across Punjab and the northwestern frontier to assemble at Agra. The mobilized Sikh

contingent, under the leadership of Bhai Daya Singh, joined the prince's forces.<sup>28</sup>

In the ensuing battle between the rival factions, intense combat followed. At a crucial juncture, when Bahadur Shah's troops, outnumbered and faltering, were at risk of defeat, it is said that a well-aimed arrow from the Guru struck down Prince Azam. His death precipitated panic and led to the disintegration of his forces<sup>29</sup>. The following day, at a formal imperial durbar held within the Agra Fort, Bahadur Shah was ceremonially proclaimed the next Mughal emperor. On this occasion, he received nazars (ritual offerings of allegiance) from nobles and dignitaries across the empire. Publicly acknowledging his indebtedness to Guru Gobind Singh, the emperor expressed sincere gratitude and conferred substantial rewards upon the Sikh warriors and their leaders. Before departing for Delhi, Bahadur Shah appointed a court official to remain in close attendance on the Guru, a gesture of esteem and political prudence.<sup>30</sup>

Noted Mughal chronicler Khafi Khan records that during Bahadur Shah's subsequent campaign toward Hyderabad, "the principal Guru of this sect came to join him with two or three hundred horsemen." Although Khafi Khan omits the purpose of the Guru's presence, prevailing Sikh narratives suggest that Bahadur Shah's engagement with Guru Gobind Singh was either a genuine expression of imperial gratitude or a calculated political maneuver to maintain proximity with a formidable leader whose autonomous influence posed a latent threat to imperial authority if left unchecked. Journeying from Agra through Mathura, Vrindavan, and Gokul towns rich in cultural and religious history, the Guru eventually arrived in Delhi and took residence at Moti Bagh. During this period, Bahadur Shah showed consistent deference and hospitality toward him. With Bahadur Shah now firmly entrenched on the throne, Guru Gobind Singh urged him to abandon the coercive policy of religious conversion and to discipline provincial governors whose high-handedness had incited widespread unrest. However, the emperor, still consolidating his rule and facing multiple challenges, hesitated to

implement such reforms. Despite prolonged inaction, he managed to placate the Guru diplomatically.<sup>31</sup>

Once the political situation in Delhi had stabilized, Bahadur Shah proceeded to Rajputana to quell revolts in Jaipur and Marwar. Guru Gobind Singh then chose to separate from the imperial entourage and proceeded to Nanded, a modest township along the banks of the Godavari River. There is no concrete historical evidence indicating that the Guru established direct contact with the Maratha leadership during his stay in the Deccan. It is plausible that his improved relations with the Mughal court inclined him towards a policy of peaceful engagement rather than forming alliances with groups in active rebellion, such as the Marathas. Alternatively, he may have sought to cultivate cordial ties with the Marathas<sup>32</sup> discreetly, keeping future contingencies in mind. Although Guru Gobind Singh did not remain long enough in the Deccan to raise a military force for future campaigns in Punjab, his encounter and spiritual influence on a former ascetic, Madho Das Bairagi, who would later assume the name Banda Singh Bahadur, proved to be of immense<sup>33</sup> historical significance. Banda Singh's transformation into a military commander and his subsequent campaigns in Punjab ultimately outweighed the strategic advantages of any unrealized alliance with either the Rajputs or the Marathas<sup>34</sup>.

## A HISTORICAL APPRAISAL OF RESISTANCE AND MARTYRDOM

Banda Singh Bahadur emerged as a remarkable figure of his era, a visionary blessed with intellectual acumen, spiritual insight, martial prowess, and unwavering religious devotion. Upon learning of Guru Gobind Singh's presence in Nanded, Banda, then known as Madho Das Bairagi, sought his audience. Profoundly moved by the Guru's spiritual aura and ideological clarity, he renounced his previous life, became a devoted disciple, and dedicated himself wholly to the Guru's mission. Entrusted by Guru Gobind Singh with the

monumental task of liberating Punjab from the tyranny of oppressive Mughal officials and dominant feudal and priestly classes, Banda embarked on his northern campaign. Upon reaching the southeastern frontier of Punjab, he issued a formal proclamation under the Guru's authority, urging Sikh adherents across the region to rally under his banner. Notable Sikh nobles from Malwa, such as Mali Singh and Ali Singh Man, deserted their posts under the Mughal Subahdar of Sirhind and joined Banda's cause.<sup>35</sup>

In a remarkably short span, large contingents of Sikhs, emboldened by the memory of recent persecutions, mobilized. Sirhind was captured and reduced to ruins, its fortifications dismantled. Samana, a stronghold notorious for its cruelty toward Sikhs, was seized and plundered. A Mughal convoy transporting substantial revenue was intercepted; its wealth was redistributed among Banda's followers. Subsequent military actions led to the fall of Mustafabad and punitive assaults on villages such as Damla, whose Pathan inhabitants had betrayed the Guru during the Battle of Bhangani.<sup>36</sup>

This wave of resistance instilled fear throughout Islamic Punjab. In retaliation, Wazir Khan of Sirhind, the primary architect of Sikh persecution, mounted a military response. However, his authority had significantly eroded. Defeated in battle, he was captured and executed. His family met similar fates, and his vizier, Sucha Nand, implicated in the execution of the Guru's young<sup>37</sup> sons, was subjected to gruesome punishment. Nevertheless, Banda's ascendancy soon deviated from the Guru's foundational principles. Empowered by successive victories, he began to assert political authority, instituting a sectarian rule that prioritized statecraft over spiritual tenets. His radical divergence from the Guru's directives and the brutality of his methods drew widespread condemnation. As historian Talboys Wheeler recounts, the Sikhs eventually suffered a crushing defeat, and Banda was captured. He was paraded to Delhi alongside 800 captured followers, with 2,000 decapitated heads displayed on spears. The executions that followed were horrifying in scale and cruelty. Sikh prisoners were

executed at a staggering rate of a hundred per day. Banda, displayed in mock regalia with his infant son in an iron cage, was forced to witness the child's execution before succumbing to prolonged torture and martyrdom. Despite the suffering, Banda's defiant spirit remained unbroken, believing himself to be a divine instrument of justice against tyranny and sin. A variant narrative recorded by Bhai Karam Singh, a modern Sikh historian, posits that Banda survived the execution.<sup>38</sup> His wounded body was discovered along the Yamuna's banks and nursed back to health by a hermit. Disguised, Banda relocated to the Chenab region near Babbar village in Jammu, where he lived out his remaining years and established a lineage that persists to this day. Meanwhile, Guru Gobind Singh's final days unfolded in Nanded. In a moment of profound moral instruction, while speaking against religious persecution and emphasising God's love transcending caste, creed, and geography, the Guru was attacked by a fanatic. Though the initial stab wound was stitched and appeared to heal, it reopened fatally when the Guru attempted to draw a mighty bow during an athletic demonstration.<sup>39</sup>

Recognising his imminent end, the Guru summoned his disciples and conferred the eternal Guruship upon the *Guru Granth Sahib*, directing the Sikh community to henceforth treat the scripture as the living embodiment of spiritual authority.<sup>40</sup> He instituted the *Panj Pyare*, a council of five, entrusting them with decisions on worldly matters. He exhorted his followers to live disciplined, ethical lives and face adversity with equanimity. Guru Gobind Singh passed away in 1708 CE (Samvat 1765, Kartik Sudi 5), at the age of forty-two. His cremation took place in Nanded, where the sacred *Gurudwara Hazur Sahib* now stands. This shrine, also known as Abchal Nagar, was historically supported by a jagir granted by the Nizam of Hyderabad largely due to the influence of Maharaja Sir Krishna Prashad, the then Prime Minister and a descendant of Chandu Shah. The opening of railway lines to Nanded has since led to a rise in pilgrim visits, reaffirming its status as one of Sikhism's holiest sites.<sup>41</sup>

## CONTESTED ACCOUNTS OF GURU GOBIND SINGH'S DEMISE: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REFLECTIONS

The circumstances surrounding the death of Guru Gobind Singh remain subject to divergent interpretations and contested narratives across historical sources. Contemporary Mughal chronicler Khafi Khan tersely notes that the Guru "succumbed to dagger wounds inflicted by an unidentified assailant." A later account, found in *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, asserts that the Guru was overwhelmed by profound sorrow following the brutal execution of his sons, ultimately succumbing to grief.<sup>42</sup>

Conversely, most traditional Sikh sources maintain a more mystical interpretation. They reject the notion of physical death altogether, claiming instead that the Guru vanished miraculously upon ascending his funeral pyre.<sup>43</sup> Eyewitnesses allegedly observed him later, mounted on his cherished steed, adorned in warrior attire, thus symbolizing his transcendence and eternal presence. Among the more skeptical narratives is one involving two Pathan youths formerly in the Guru's employ. According to this version, these young men, harboring vengeance over their father's death, whom the Guru had slain in battle, stealthily entered his chambers at night and stabbed him as he slept. A more complex variation suggests that the Guru himself repeatedly provoked these youths by implying that failure to avenge their father's death rendered them dishonorable cowards, thereby inciting them to commit the act. This interpretation, however, is often dismissed by historians as an ill-conceived attribution of suicidal intent to the Guru, inconsistent with his well-documented character and teachings. Another widely cited theory implicates Emperor Bahadur Shah in a covert conspiracy. While publicly maintaining cordial relations with Guru Gobind Singh, the Emperor is believed to have perceived him as a latent political and ideological threat.<sup>44</sup>

According to this account, imperial agents orchestrated the Guru's assassination clandestinely

to eliminate his growing influence without igniting open conflict a strategy that aligns with the repressive and duplicitous tendencies of the later Mughal rulers. Support for this theory arises from Bahadur Shah's military response following the rapid Sikh advances in Punjab, including the fall of Sirhind, Samana, and Mustafabad. Upon receiving intelligence of these defeats, the emperor abruptly ceased his Deccan campaign and personally led an expedition to suppress what he perceived as a rising Sikh rebellion. Given the temporal proximity of Guru Gobind Singh's death and Banda Singh Bahadur's subsequent revolt, the emperor may have presumed that Banda was merely executing the Guru's strategic vision. It is therefore not implausible to surmise that the Guru's assassination was sanctioned, if not directly ordered, by the imperial court. In conclusion, while the precise circumstances of Guru Gobind Singh's demise remain unresolved, the spectrum of interpretations from martyrdom and political assassination to divine transcendence reflects the complex intersection of myth, memory, and imperial politics in early 18th-century northern India.<sup>45</sup>

A thorough understanding of Guru Gobind Singh's final days at Nanded necessitates a classification of the diverse types of historians and chroniclers who have written about his death. These can broadly be divided into three categories: The first category consists of those individuals who were either present at Nanded during the Guru's last days or lived nearby and had direct access to firsthand information.<sup>46</sup> Some among them had known the Guru personally or had engaged with his closest companions. These accounts are marked by their immediacy and empirical authenticity, providing critical insight into the events surrounding the Guru's demise. The second category is comprised of independent, non-Sikh historians, including Hindu, Muslim, and Christian writers who examined the episode from a purely historical and analytical perspective. Only those among them who had studied the entire trajectory of the Sikh tradition,<sup>47</sup> from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh, paid attention to his final instructions and spiritual

message. Their interest often centered around the transformation of Sikhism from a spiritual movement into a socio-political force, especially after the demise of the last Guru. The third group, largely consisting of Sikh hagiographers, tends to approach the subject with devotional reverence and a tendency toward mythologization. Motivated by a desire to elevate the Guru to a stature equal to or surpassing that of other prophetic figures, they often infused their narratives with supernatural and miraculous elements. Drawing from ancient Indic literary traditions, they crafted embellished stories that positioned Guru Gobind Singh's death in metaphysical terms. For instance, tales of the Guru being seen alive in the forest by an ascetic the morning after his cremation appear to be influenced by Christian resurrection motifs, particularly the post-crucifixion appearances of Christ.

Such stories may also represent the collective psychological reluctance of the community to accept that a spiritual luminary like the Guru could pass away like an ordinary mortal. Coming to the historical narrative, there is universal agreement that while residing at Nanded in 1708, Guru Gobind Singh was stabbed by a Pathan, allegedly named Gul Khan. The attacker is believed to have acted either in personal revenge or under political instigation.<sup>48</sup> A Mughal surgeon, dispatched by Emperor Bahadur Shah, was called to treat the wound. Though the Guru initially recovered, the injury reopened fatally when he attempted to draw a stiff Persian bow gifted by a visitor, an act that caused the wound to rupture, ultimately leading to his death. The death of the Guru is confirmed by multiple contemporary Mughal sources, notably the *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla* (Royal Court News) dated October-November 1708 and several entries in the *Bahadur Shah Nama*. On 7 October 1708, Emperor Bahadur Shah crossed the Godavari River to suppress the rebellion of his brother Kam Bakhsh. It was during this time that the news of the Guru's death reached the imperial court, though the emperor remained preoccupied with military mobilization for the subsequent three weeks.<sup>49</sup>

On October 28, the Mughal Emperor issued a robe of honour (khalat) to the son of Jamshed Khan Afghan, a soldier who had died at the hands of the Guru. It is speculated that Jamshed Khan was either the actual assassin, operating under the alias Gul Khan, or his associate, who was killed<sup>50</sup> by Sikh followers while attempting to escape after the attack. There are divergent interpretations of the assassin's identity and motive. Some Sikh accounts claim the killers were two Pathan youths in the Guru's service whose father had been slain in battle by the Guru. Driven by revenge, they allegedly murdered him in his sleep. A more psychological explanation suggests the Guru may have provoked them deliberately, repeatedly taunting them as cowards for not avenging their father's death, an interpretation that controversially frames the Guru's death as a form of incited martyrdom, bordering on voluntary sacrifice.<sup>51</sup>

Other accounts assert that the attack was orchestrated by the Mughal state, with Bahadur Shah's covert approval. While the Emperor outwardly extended gestures of goodwill, he was deeply concerned about the political resurgence of Sikh power, especially following Banda Singh Bahadur's military successes. Fearing that Banda was acting under the Guru's directives, Bahadur Shah may have dispatched state-sponsored assassins to discreetly eliminate a formidable adversary. In sum, while the precise circumstances of Guru Gobind Singh's death remain contested, the consensus among modern historians aligns with the version recorded in Mughal archives: that the Guru succumbed to injuries inflicted by an assailant, and his death marked the end of the lineal Guruship in Sikhism, initiating the Guru Granth Sahib as the eternal Guru.

Upon receiving official notification of Guru Gobind Singh's death, Emperor Bahadur Shah issued a directive on 30 October 1708 (corresponding to 26th Sha'ban, 2nd regnal year Bahadurshahi) to bestow a robe of honour (khil'at-i-imtiaz) upon Ajit Singh, the Guru's adopted son, in recognition of his bereavement. The formal decree read:

***“Hukm shud kih ba-pisar-i-Gobind Rao Nanakpanthi khilat-i-imtiaz-i-pidar bi-dihand” (It was ordered that a robe of distinction be conferred upon the son of Gobind Rao, a follower of Nanak, in mourning for the death of his father).<sup>52</sup>***

Ajit Singh, who had been formally adopted by **Mata Sundari**, the widow of Guru Gobind Singh, was acknowledged as the Guru’s legal heir by the Mughal court. His name appears in multiple, imperial bulletins (*Akhbārāt*), indicating his formal recognition within the Mughal administrative<sup>53</sup> framework. These records include entries dated October 30, 1708, June 1, 1711, and December 30, 1711, and are also cited in contemporary Persian chronicles such as *Chahār Gulshan* and *Makhāz-i-Tārīkh-i-Sikhan* (Vol. I). On 9 Ramazan, 2nd regnal year of Bahadurshahi (November 11, 1708), a crucial issue was brought before the Emperor regarding the movable estate left behind by the deceased Guru. According to conventional Mughal fiscal policy, the property of a deceased figure, particularly one not formally allied to the state, was typically subject to confiscation into the imperial treasury. However, Emperor Bahadur Shah issued a noteworthy exemption, declaring:

***“Hukm shud az in amwāl khazānah-i-bādshāhān mā’mūr na-mi-shawad. Māl darveshānast, mazdhamna-shawad.”***

*(These possessions shall not be added to the imperial treasury. This is the property of saintly persons; it should remain untouched.)*

This rare imperial act not only marked recognition of Guru Gobind Singh’s spiritual stature but also reinforced a broader Mughal policy of appeasement toward influential religious communities in the aftermath of Aurangzeb’s reign. Further evidence of continued imperial patronage is found in a royal decree dated December 30, 1711 (1st Zil Hijjah, Bahadurshahi regnal year 6), wherein the confiscated landholdings of Chak Guru (later part of Amritsar) were formally restored in the name of Ajit

Singh, again acknowledged in state documents as the legitimate son and successor of Guru Gobind Singh.<sup>54</sup>

Moreover, the Nanded court camp during the Guru’s final days was frequented by literary figures and musicians. One such notable figure was Dhadi Nath Mall, who regularly recited heroic ballads (var or dhadi tradition) in the daily congregations of the Sikhs. Among his contributions, the most significant is the composition known as the *Amar Nāmāh* (“Letter of Immortality”). Though attributed to the Guru himself and written in the first person, the ballad was likely penned by Nath Mall and preserved through his lineage, particularly via his descendant, the son of Bhai Fatta, seven generations down.<sup>55</sup> The colophon of the *Amar Nāmāh* states that it was completed in Kartik 1765 Bikrami, which aligns with October 31, 1708, thus placing its composition within three weeks of the Guru’s demise. Its timely production renders it a critical literary and spiritual document, capturing both the existential reflections and ideological affirmations of Guru Gobind Singh, albeit presented in poetic form. Through it, the Guru is depicted not as a fallen political leader, but as a transcendent voice, whose message lives on beyond corporeal death. Muhammad Harisi devotes approximately thirteen pages of his contemporary account to the rise of Sikh power, with a particular focus on the exploits of Banda Singh Bahadur. He notes that Guru Gobind Singh had accompanied Emperor Bahadur Shah during his campaign in the Deccan and met his demise there in 1120 A.H. (1708 CE), assassinated by an Afghan adversary, an old enemy of the Guru. His mortal remains were consigned to flames following traditional Hindu rites. Ajit Singh, widely recognized as the Guru’s adopted son, had secured the goodwill of the Mughal court and continued to remain in close association with the emperor.

The *Sri Gur Sobha*, authored by poet Sainapa, identified as Saina Singh by Bawa Sumer Singh in the *Pothi Gur-bilas ki*, was completed in 1768 Bikrami (1711 CE), within merely three years of Guru Gobind Singh’s passing. Sainapat was a long-standing disciple who had personally served under

the Guru at Anandpur Sahib. His work is widely acknowledged as the earliest reliable biographical account of the Guru, presumably based on firsthand testimony and direct observation. Regarding the widely accepted tradition that the ascetic Madho Das Bairagi was initiated into the Khalsa fold and renamed Banda Singh Bahadur by Guru Gobind Singh at Nanded in September 1708, authoritative confirmation can be found in Ganda Singh's seminal biography *Banda Singh Bahadur* (English edition, 1935).<sup>56</sup>

In *Sri Gur Sobha* (XVIII.34–37), the Guru's death is recorded with unembellished simplicity. A day before his passing, the Guru—responding to an inquiry from his followers declared that he had symbolically transferred his corporeal identity to the Khalsa: “*bakhsh deeo Khalis ko jama*” (XVIII.41). Further, he proclaimed that the Infinite, Timeless Divine Word was the *Satguru*: “*Satguru hamara apar apard Shabad bicharda ajar-jaran*” (XVIII.43). This constituted Guru <sup>57</sup>Gobind Singh's final pronouncement, unequivocally asserting that no individual successor was being appointed as Guru, and that the Khalsa Panth, guided henceforth by the Divine Revelation the *Gurbani* would serve as his enduring temporal and spiritual embodiment.

The *Gur-bilas Chhevin Patshahi* reinforces this doctrinal transition. Composed by poet Sohan, its composition commenced in May 1717 and was finalized on 22 July 1718 (Sawan 22, Sudi 5, 1775 Bikrami), roughly a decade after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh. In its fourth chapter, the treatise meticulously recounts the compilation of the *Adi Granth* by Guru Arjan Dev, while the opening stanzas of the fifth chapter document its formal installation in the sanctum sanctorum of Darbar Sahib, Amritsar. Notably, throughout the text, the author consistently applies the revered epithet *Guru* to the *Granth*, referring to it unequivocally as Guru Granth Sahib, thereby reflecting the contemporary Sikh consensus on the scriptural embodiment of Guruship after the tenth Guru's passing.

## ORDINATION OF THE GURU GRANTH SAHIB AS THE ETERNAL GURU

The sentiments expressed by Koer Singh, a devout Sikh and literary figure of the 18th century, were deeply influenced by the traumatic martyrdom of his spiritual mentor, Bhai Mani Singh, who was brutally executed limb by limb on the orders of Nawab Zakariya Khan, the Mughal Governor of Lahore, in 1734. This episode had a profound impact on Koer Singh's writings, which reflect his disdain for the moral degeneration among the self-proclaimed religious figures of his era. He condemns such impostors, criticising their hypocrisy as they roamed from household to household under the guise of sanctity, all the while harbouring impure thoughts.<sup>58</sup>

He quotes Guru Gobind Singh, instructing the Sikhs to venerate the *Guru Granth Sahib* alone as the supreme spiritual authority, rather than placing their faith in fraudulent *sants* or self-styled holy men of questionable conduct. According to Koer Singh, Guru Gobind Singh reaffirmed that with the culmination of the lineage of ten Gurus,<sup>59</sup> the era of human Guruship had ended. The *Khalsa*,<sup>60</sup> the community of the initiated, was henceforth entrusted to the divine guardianship of the Eternal Sword (*Asi Ketu*), symbolizing divine justice and sovereignty.<sup>61</sup> In his verses, Koer Singh records Guru Gobind Singh's declaration that the sacred scripture, as the *shabad swaroop* (embodiment of the divine Word), would henceforth serve as the living Guru. Those who embraced this eternal Word would attain the stature of an ideal Sikh, pure and sovereign in spirit. He exhorted the community to recognize *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* as the ever-present spiritual embodiment of the Guru and commanded that it be brought before him during his final moments.

As the Guru's physical strength waned, the sacred volume was ceremonially brought to him. Upon its arrival, he rose with solemn dignity, accompanied by his devoted Sikhs, and performed the final act of transference of spiritual authority. Carrying five *paise* (coins) and a coconut, a traditional offering symbolizing reverence, he bowed

before the *Adi Satguru*, circumambulated it with utmost devotion, and proclaimed:

“He who seeks communion with me shall find it through the *Guru Granth Sahib*. There exists no other Guru comparable to this divine text. This is an irrevocable truth. Whosoever delves into its wisdom will be cleansed of their sins, and by living its teachings, one will attain liberation.”<sup>62</sup>

Having completed this spiritual transference, Guru Gobind Singh prepared himself for his final departure. He requested a pyre to be constructed from sandalwood, procured earlier at the cost of five thousand rupees from a *Labana* Sikh trader. He instructed his consort, Mata Sahib Devi, not to perform *sati* (self-immolation), and instead sent her to Delhi, entrusting her to continue guiding the Sikh *panth*. To his grief-stricken disciples, the Guru imparted consolatory wisdom, urging them to embrace the impermanence of human life with faith and fortitude. He assured them that unwavering belief in the *Guru Granth Sahib* would dispel all doubts and fulfill all spiritual aspirations. With profound humility, he bowed before the scripture, made offerings, and listened <sup>63</sup>to devotional hymns sung by the *Rababi* musicians, finally merging his consciousness into the divine Word. The Guru breathed his last shortly before midnight. His mortal remains were consigned to the funeral pyre, which was enclosed in a ceremonial tent. As the flames consumed his body, the gathered Sikhs stood in reverent silence. Tradition narrates that celestial beings descended, sounding conch shells and showering flowers, glorifying the Guru as he ascended to the higher realms amidst divine acclamations. On the fourth day, the ashes of the pyre were ceremonially sifted and purified with diluted milk. Within them, only a single *kirpan* (dagger) was found, symbolizing the Guru's eternal presence through the spirit of the sword and the scripture. The Sikhs were overcome with sorrow until an *Udasi* ascetic arrived and conveyed a vision he claimed to have experienced Guru Gobind Singh,

astride a horse and fully adorned, instructing him to deliver a message to the Sikhs: they were not to grieve, for the Guru had transcended the mortal plane and remained eternally with them through the *Guru Granth Sahib*.<sup>64</sup>

## CONCLUSION

During the 18th century, Nanded was both a strategic outpost in the declining Mughal frontier and a relatively insulated region that allowed for the preservation and reinterpretation of Sikh traditions in a localized context. Guru Gobind Singh's presence in the Deccan, his interactions with Bahadur Shah, and the establishment of *Hazur Sahib* as a spiritual nucleus marked a significant shift in Sikh geography from the Panjab-centric Khalsa to a trans-regional phenomenon. This peripheral movement was reinforced by the Guru's death at Nanded and his declaration of *Guru Granth Sahib* as the eternal Guru, an act both spiritual and institutional. What distinguishes the Dakhni Sikh tradition<sup>65</sup>, especially in Hazur Sahib today, is the continued reverence not only for *Guru Granth Sahib* but also for the *Dasam Granth*. In contrast to mainstream Khalsa orthodoxy centered in Punjab, Hazur Sahib maintains distinct liturgical practices: the inclusion of *Dasam Granth* hymns in *ardās*, ritual sword worship, and reverence for personal relics of the Guru. <sup>66</sup> Verses from the *Dasam Granth*, such as those referencing divine sovereignty (*Asi Ketu*) or the praise of Chandi and martial valor, are recited to construct a warrior-saint image of the Guru that is central to Hazuri Sikh identity. Historians have debated the authenticity, authorship, and ideological implications of the *Dasam Granth*. Scholars such as Inderjit Singh Ghagga have questioned its theological consistency with the *Guru Granth Sahib*, while others like Harjot Oberoi and Robin Rinehart see its deployment as part of a broader cultural politics to reclaim Sikh masculinity and sovereignty, especially in regions like Nanded, where Sikh identity intersects with Maratha, Islamic, and tribal cultural elements. The *Dasam Granth* becomes a source of liturgical strength and cultural differentiation in the south, where Sikhism was historically marginal.<sup>67</sup>

In the 21st century, Nanded is being reshaped through state and religious investments. The renovation of *Hazur Sahib*, the rise of Sikh schools, and pilgrimage tourism have created both opportunities and tensions. The invocation of *Dasam Granth* in contemporary speeches, kirtans, and community mobilization events suggests a selective revivalism, one that draws upon martial verses to assert an autonomous and culturally vibrant Dakhnī Sikh identity. However, this identity is not homogeneous; it contends with caste realities, linguistic hybridities, and local religious practices, including influences from the Udasi and Nirmala traditions. In conclusion, Nanded exemplifies how a sacred geography becomes a cultural laboratory. By fusing textual reverence (of *Guru Granth Sahib*), scriptural assertiveness (via *Dasam Granth*), and historical memory (of the Guru's martyrdom and farewell), Nanded not only preserves the Guru's legacy but actively constructs a distinct Dakhnī Sikh ethos ritually grounded, historically conscious, and dynamically evolving.

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<sup>3</sup> Latif, Syed Muhammad. *History of the Panjab from the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time*. Calcutta, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> Bhai Mani Singh, comp., *Sri Dasam Granth Sahib: Hymns of Guru Gobind Singh*, ed. Bhai Vir Singh (Amritsar: Khalsa Samachar, 2008), originally compiled in 1734.

<sup>5</sup> The rise of the guru is described by Puran Singh in the following words: Guru Gobind Singh is the new *Gita* of India in himself and by himself. He is a modern type of prophet... He kills the tyrant by his sword. He alone had never felt sick or sorry in performance of his duty, nor shy of war or bloodshed, if he had to wade through it in championing the cause of the oppressed... On the saddle he is in unbroken union with *Akal*, the Timeless. He is the

ancient *Brahmjnani* who champions the cause of the poor, fights in open battle, sacrifices his all (Singh, 1981: 303-04).

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Abdu'r Rasul, *Nairang-i Zamana*

*Ahkam-i Alamgiri*

*Akhbarat-i Darbar-i Mu 'alia*

Bhandari, Sujana Rai *Khulasatu't Tawarikh*

Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i Dilkusha*

Ghulam Ali Khan, *Imadu's Sa'adat*

James Skinner, *Tashrihu'l Aqwam*

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