The title of the book clearly reveals that Anne Murphy has built the entire thesis on material aspects of Sikh history, with an obvious objective of reducing Sikhism to a set of materials. The intent to understand Sikhs and their religion continues to be largely political. She has cast doubts and created undesirable controversies regarding the well-entrenched religious identity of the Sikhs.

The book, under review in its original form, was produced as a doctoral dissertation. The very theme of the book chosen by Anne Murphy reflects her implicit bias against the Sikhs and Sikhism. Western historiography, which has created new models of history writing based on materialistic interpretation of history, is under a cloud.

One of the primary premises used by Anne is trying to delineate the fact that the formation of the current Sikh physical identity is more of a recent 20th century event rather than continuous one based on the various proofs of the material/ object/ relics as she calls them. Anne has quoted Giorgia Shani based on Harjot Oberoi's questioning the keshdhari identity, using the victimhood theory

Consistent with the higher Sikh studies supercilious academia and Sikh, pseudo-Sikh and non-Sikh literati clique's trend, Anne Murphy, constructs her thesis on apocrypha, mythology, heresy, hearsay fiction, and folklore. In the outlandish recondite jargon, she alludes that Sikh temples are pilgrimage sites, and equates Sikh relics to 'Holy Grail and Khilat'

On one hand Anne quotes Fox by stating that the defined boundaries were being created by the reformers of the Singh Sabha movement yet she backs off by mentioning that the Darbar Sahib existed long before the movement. It seems to be specialty of the McLeodian school to make your point subtly on one hand and then defending your position by claiming the opposite in the same breath so no one notices the sleight of hand. **Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann** is an orthopedic surgeon, practicing in California since 1980. Medical Graduate from Punjab Univ., Post Graduate from PGI Chandigarh and Columbia Uni. New York. Sikh community activist, a scholar and writer on Sikh Academic issues. His articles have appeared in journals, including Nishaan, The Sikh Review, and Abstracts of Sikh Studies, and in several books.

**Dr. Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon** is an expert on Sikh social, political, and religious history and is a Ph.D. recipient from and former professor of history at Punjab University. He has published scores of articles in reputable national and international journals, as well as academic pieces in newspapers including The Tribune), The Indian Express, The Illustrated Weekly Of India, The Washington Times, The Globe and Mail, and The Punjabi Tribune.

**Sardar Kavneet Singh** specializes in M & A from small to mid-size businesses since 1986. currently the Secretary General of the World Sikh Council - America Region. He has published in the Radical Humanist, Indian Skeptic, Global Sikh Studies, in various journals and forums. He compiled and published a landmark book on Sikh Human Rights in 2013. He has contributed chapters in two books to be published in early 2014.

S. Charanjit Singh Bal, A prolific writer on Sikh studies from Burnaby, BC Canada. Author of many books to include English: 'Sikhism, Anti-Sikhism'; 'Target: Sikhism'(Available on Amazon.com)Punjabi:-'Akhouti Granthan De Perdchole'; 'Shabd guru, Samperdai Guru', 'GurúGhantal', Sikhi, AShikhi'. For details on his academic work click on his website http://www.sikhsundesh.net/

**Dr Kashmir Singh** has taught law in different Indian Universities for nearly four decades. He retired as a Professor from Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. He also served as the Dean and Head of the Department of Laws there. He is a life member of the Indian Law Institute, New Delhi and was also an executive member of the Institute. He has been a member of Lok Adalt for about a decade.

# GLOBAL 'SIKHISM' In The Making Of The Third Millennium 7 Т. Т Δ Ghadr - A - New - Spiritual - World - Order - of - Guru Manyo Granth - of the - 'Mowna' Sikh Identity Essentials of Sikhism Gurmukhs Manmukhs Sell Share Materiality Spirituality his-à-his For their Spirit of Chardi-Kala Sikhs Have Been Attacked On Independent Identity Issue Since Guru Nanak Time Another Canadian Ghadr? **Reviews** of The Materiality of the Past-History and Representation in Sikh Tradition'.... By Anne Murphy THE MATERIALITY OF THE PAST Reviews Personally Presented to Dr Anne Murphy With Request For Academic Debate, For As Nanak said:-Don't be angry with us - please tell us: How can we find the Guru's Door? ਰੋਸ ਨ ਕੀਜੈ ਉਤਰ ਦੀਜੈ ਕਿਉ ਪਾਈਐ ਗਰ ਦੁਆਰੇ Manak. SGGS 938 रोसू न कीजै उत्तर दीजै कडि पाईए गुर दुआरो ॥ Ros na kījai utar dījai ki•o pā•ī•ai gur du•āro. Edited by Veteran Colonel Perminder Singh Randhawa ਕੌਮੀ ਕਾਨਫ਼ਰੰਸ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਪਟਿਆਲਾ ਵਿਸ਼ਾ: ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗਰ੍ਹ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਨੈਤਿਕ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਮਿਤੀ : 1●−13 ਦਸੰਬਰ, 2●13 Published By sikhpa seekers Sri Guru Granth Sahib Bhawan, Plot #1, Sector 28A, Madhya Marg, Chandigarh- 160020. India. www.sikhyaseekers.org, seeker@sikhyaseekers.org M:- 9417007140 PH:- 911725030858 ISBN : 81-85815-29-1

# GLOBAL 'Sikhism' In The Making Of The Third Millennium 'Civilization

A Paper for IOSS Seminar 2013

Ghadr - a - New - Spiritual - World - Order - of - the 'Mowna'

'Among all ranks of men there is a – [Ghadr] - a Spirit [of Chardi-Kala] at work, which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas whether of Brahmanism or Mohammedanism, [or Adamism and others, et ell] and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors and to another manifestation of Divine Power and Mercy' which would speedily lead to the recognition of Nanak and Gobind; as the long looked-for Comforters':

Widely spread notions, how erroneous soever they be, in one sense, always deserve attention. as based on some truth or conviction. Thus the Hindus quote an altered or spurious passage of the Bhagavat Gita, describing the successive rulers of India as follows: (1) the Yavvans (Greeks). eight Kings; (2) the Tooshkrs (Turks or Muhammadans, fourteen Kings; (3) the Gurand (the fair, i. e. the English), ten Kings; and the Mowna (or silent, i. e. the disciples of Nanak the seer), eleven Kings. [Captain J. D. Cunningham, in his 'History of the Sikhs', P. 296]

The 'World Government will be according to the 'Hukum' of the 'Eleventh King' Sri Guru Granth Sahib

- The long looked-for Comforters as foreseen in Ecclesiastes. IV. KJV. Bible.
- The Khalsa of the Sikhs is visualized as 'Comforters', for Making of the Third Millennium Civilization
- o Globally Sikh Means Disciple. KHALSA means Pure
- o A Global Village Nation Government, of a Parliament of One World Religion, for Sarbat da Bhalla.
- A call to all global-'Citizens of the Global Village, unite; we have nothing to lose but our Universe'.

#### **GURMUKHS**

#### vis-à-vis MANMUKHS

Anne acknowledges- 'The Materiality of the Past-History and Representation in Sikh Tradition'-Book - 'has grown out of my own experiences of the material life of the past. And all the material financial support to overcome the many debts incurred. A commitment to post colonial critique and engagement with the politics of the present.

Anne Murphy is Assistant Professor and Chair of Punjabi Language, Literature, and Sikh Studies at the University of British Columbia. She offers a material representations of the Sikh past, showing how objects, as well as historical sites, and texts, have played a vital role in the production of the Sikh community as an evolving historical and social formation from the eighteenth century to the present.

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# Foreword

# Veteran Colonel Perminder Singh Randhawa

Ever since the founder, the first Revolutionary/ Ghadri Baba, Nanak launched his Revolution/ Ghadr – lived and 'walked the talk' along the path of '*higher still is truthful living*'<sup>1</sup>, repeated attempts have been and are being made to distort/ misinterpret, and undermine the very foundations of Sikh Faith, its Institutions, and the Sikh Identity!

These appropriate *Reviews* of- '*The Materiality of the Past-History and Representation in Sikh Tradition*' by Anne Murphy, are 'corrections', to the ongoing decaying civilization process foretold by the Buddha that in time to come, there will be a '*Total Extinction of all the Existing Dharma*.

'The Materiality' of Anne Murphy is another 'inadvertent' [?] attempt, part of the decay foretold by the Buddha. Another Materialistic money-spinning nail in the coffin of Dharma!

Another script[?] like Dwight D. Eisenhower's second warning<sup>2</sup> - 'The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist....that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite....' – as another pseudo 'New World Order' in 'Conspiracy Theory'<sup>3</sup>.

It has been foretold that 'Sikhism' in the Making of the Third Millennium'<sup>4</sup>- is its foundation. 'Sikhism' is a global Ghadr/ Revolution, for a New- *Spiritual*- World-Order! Yes, that's right – a New *Spiritual* "World Order": is for '*Truthful Living*' by the Spiritualistic, Enlightened- the 'Gurmukh'; and also is for shunning '*Dishonest Gains*': by the Materialistic- the 'Manmukh'-'*The Materiality' of* Anne Murphy - to mend and be Enlightenedthe 'Gurmukh'!

A new 'Spiritual' 'New World Order', is the 'New 'Spiritual' World Order'.

This is what the *Guru Granth Sahib* has to say- which Professor Arnold Toynbee, in the Foreword<sup>5</sup> to UNESCO publication of 'Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs', writes: 'The Guru Granth Sahib is a part of mankind's spiritual treasure. It is important it should be brought within the direct reach of as many people as possible. In the coming religious debate, Guru Nanak's Sikh religion and its scripture - Guru Granth Sahib – will have something of special value to say to the rest of the world'.

Ever since the Guru 'Panth'<sup>6</sup> of the 'Sikhs' or 'Disciples', later so-called 'Nation'<sup>7</sup>, a 'Sikh' 'Nation'<sup>8</sup>, the foundation was laid for the *World Government* for 'Sarbat da Bhalla'<sup>9</sup> of Guru Manyo Granth of the 'Mowna'!

'Widely spread notions, howsoever, erroneous they be, in one sense, always deserve attention, as based upon some truth or conviction. Thus the Hindus quote an altered or spurious passage of the Bhagavat, describing the successive rulers of India as follows: (1) the Yavvans (Greeks), eight Kings; (2) the Tooshkrs (Turks or Muhammadans), fourteen Kings; (3) the Gurand (the fair, i. e. the English), ten Kings; and the Mowna (or silent, i. e. the disciples of Nanak the seer), eleven Kings'<sup>10</sup>, – the 11<sup>TH</sup> : Guru Granth Sahib!

Inter-connected is the concept of '*Global Citizenship*'<sup>11</sup>: for '*Sikhi*' concepts of the sustainable development by way of conserving the Ecology<sup>12</sup> of the World- planet- Universe/ 'Sarbat da Bhalla', so that the future citizens of this global civilization inherit a world that contributes to their well-being in all possible ways: a sacred vision for the environment (*Air is the Guru, Water the Father, and the Earth is the Great Mother*<sup>13</sup>.

Special emphasis on Sikh environmental ethics and how Gurbani guides us to live in peaceful consonance with nature, conserve it, according to the Sikh beliefs of *'Kirit Karo'*<sup>14</sup>, *Vand Ke Chako*<sup>15</sup>, *Naam Japo*<sup>16</sup>.

Cunningham envisioned this *Ghadr: 'Among all ranks of men* there is a Spirit [of Chardi-Kala] at work, which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas whether of Brahmanism or Mohammedanism,[or Adamism and others] and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors and to another manifestation of Divine Power and Mercy' which would speedily lead to the recognition of Nanak and Gobind; as the long looked-for Comforters': as foreseen in Ecclesiastes. IV. KJV. Bible. The Khalsa of the Sikhs is visualized as 'Comforters'<sup>17</sup>, for Making of the Third Millennium Civilization.<sup>18</sup>

A call to all global 'Citizens<sup>19</sup> of the Global Village <sup>20</sup> unite; we have nothing to lose but our Universe'<sup>21</sup>.

1

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## Third Millennium- Inevitable Global Civilization-Sikhism

By

Veteran Colonel Perminder Singh Randhawa<sup>1</sup> sperminders@gmail.com M 9417007140

Introduction: As Nanak said : ਸੋਈ ਚੰਦ ਚੜਹਿ ਸੇ ਤਾਰੇ ਸੋਈ ਦਿਨੀਅਰ ਤਪਤ ਰਹੈ ॥

ਸਾ ਧਰਤੀ ਸੋ ਪੳਣ ਝਲਾਰੇ ਜਗ ਜੀਅ ਖੇਲੇ ਥਾਵ ਕੈਸੇ ॥

The same moon rises, and the same stars;

the same sun shines in the sky.<sup>2</sup>

The earth is the same, and the same wind blows.

The age in which we dwell affects living beings, but not these places.<sup>3</sup>

Nanak, thus, gave a new *Enlightened*<sup>4</sup> meaning of *kal yug*<sup>5</sup> to the ethnic Historical Punj-aab traditional contemporary Hindu philosophical usage. This is to *daily Awaken* the global citizen, to prepare to meet *anytime* the increasingly adversely differently affected environment, in the Third Millennium, and its inevitable *Globalized Civilization* - of- *Sikhism*.

This necessitates, through this Paper, an urgent call for the '*Citizens*<sup>6</sup> of the Global Village<sup>7</sup> unite; we have nothing to lose but our Universe'<sup>8</sup>, for Sarbat da Bhala<sup>9</sup>/ for the Benefit of the Universe!

This Paper, today visualizes, the ongoing Ghadr<sup>10</sup>/ Revolution, commenced over five hundred years during the *Second* Millennium, by the first *Ghadri* Baba Nanak, is also going to be increasingly differently adversely experienced by one and all.

Including increasingly differently adversely experienced, by both, the *Gurmukh Ghadri*- the Awakened Revolutionist, and the money-spinning greedy *Manmukh Ghadaar*<sup>11</sup>- the traitor, the Un-Awakened Judas, all over the global village during the contemporary *Third* Millennium.

This Paper has quoted mostly from the internet search engines References/ Endnotes for enabling looking up even Thumbnails<sup>12</sup> to enable all discussion to remain on the same page.

*The Gurmukh vis-à-vis the Manmukh:* The Creator, and his Creation, the Universe, including Mother Earth, are always being shared by one and all in the Universe; yet the living beings, especially the human beings, are being increasingly differently *adversely* affected, today, through en-mass *disinformation*, in this high-tech cutting edge environment of technological mass communication.

On the one hand the inevitable spread, of the global *ailaan-i-jung*<sup>13</sup>,

its *Ghadr-di-Gunj*<sup>14</sup>, of the so-called Ghadr/ Revolution, for which Nanak showed the way- the path, of the Game of Love, Spiritualistic, 'Sikhism', Civilization, by the Spiritually rich Gurmukh.

On the other hand, the spread, of the Materially rich pseudo Materialistic 'Sikhism' promoted till date, through en-mass disinformation, by the Manmukh: such as consistently propagated, amongst other perfidious, the Doubting Thomas<sup>15,</sup> and by even an Assistant Professor and Chair of Punjabi Language, Literature and Sikh Studies, [an Unique Alliance<sup>16</sup>] at UBC University of British Columbia, Canada, Anne Murphy<sup>17</sup> and her ilk.

This Gurmukh vis-à-vis the Manmukh is always inevitable, and appears unending.

Until perhaps the Doubting Thomas, and all others such as Anne Murphy and her ilk, are 'Re-born', 'Re-Awakened', an 'Awakened One'; and join in the ongoing Ghadr!

The 'herd-mentality'<sup>18</sup>/ 'bheyrd-chaal', the Common Man<sup>19</sup>/ the *Aam* Aadmi<sup>20</sup>, i. e. people from all walks of life, even the serving soldier, the Veteran, and the *Manmukh Ghadaar* is, is being, and needs to be, educated to be: 'Re-born', 'Re-Awakened', an 'Awakened One'; a *Ghadrite*, and join in the ongoing Global *Ghadr*!

Nanak's Kal-Yug Ghadr vis-à-vis Cunningham's Comforters: Nanak arrived and sounded an ailaan-i-jung, a war-cry, for a movement, Ghadr, a revolution, in this age of Kal Yug, challenging, the so-called Unique Alliance of the rulers/ Kings, their knave courtiers, and prodded the voluntary herd mentality of the ruled Aam Admi/ Common Man- to Awaken! Nanak said:

ਕਲਿ ਕਾਤੀ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਾਸਾਈ ਧਰਮੂ ਪੰਖ ਕਰਿ ਉਡਰਿਆ ॥

ਕੁੜੂ ਅਮਾਵਸ ਸਚੂ ਚੰਦੂਮਾ ਦੀਸੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਹ ਚੜਿਆ ॥

ਹਉ ਭਾਲਿ ਵਿਕੁੰਨੀ ਹੋਈ ॥ ਆਧੇਰੈ ਰਾਹੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥

The Dark Age of Kali Yuga is the knife, and the kings are butchers;

righteousness has sprouted wings and flown away.

In this dark night of falsehood, the moon of Truth is not visible anywhere.

I have searched in vain, and I am so confused; in this darkness, I cannot find the path.<sup>21</sup>

And, Nanak, also showed the unique global *Ghadr*/ revolutionary *Sikhism* path for this age of - Kal Yug:

*Jau tau prem khelan ka chao. Sirr dhar tali gali mori aao.*<sup>22</sup> "If you wish to play the game of love, come my way, with your head on the palm of your hand." <sup>23</sup>

The world over *sikh* means a *seeker* a *disciple*, a *student*, a *messenger*, and the *khalsa* means pure. During the mean colonial Victorian Era, even after the loot and plunder of the Sikh Empire<sup>24</sup>, Captain J D Cunningham, in his History of the Sikhs<sup>25</sup>, still envisioned this *Ghadr*, as: 'Among all

ranks of men there is a Spirit [of Chardi-Kala<sup>26</sup>] at work, which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas whether of Brahmanism or Mohammedanism,[or Adamism and others, et al] and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors and to another manifestation of Divine Power and Mercy' which would speedily lead to the recognition of Nanak and Gobind; as the long looked-for Comforters'<sup>27</sup>.

Captain J D Cunningham, in his History of the Sikh compares the Khalsa to the Bible 'Comforters'- quote: - 'And So I Returned, And Considered All The Oppressions That Are Done Under The Sun: And Behold The Tears Of Such As Were Oppressed, And They Had No Comforter; And On The Side Of Their Oppressors There Was Power; But They Had No Comforter' - Ecclesiastes 4. The Holy Bible: King James Version. 2000.

The *Khalsa* of the *Sikhs* is visualized as the '*Comforters*', as in *The Holy Bible*, for Making of the Third Millennium Global Civilization of Sikhism, by One Global Village Nation Government, with a Council for a Parliament of One World Religion- enshrined in the Guru Granth Sahib, for Sarbat da Bhalla.

*Kal Yug* vis-à-vis the *Third* Millennium: The revelation, over five centuries ago, by the first *Ghadri* Baba, Nanak, inception of a *Way of Life*: for *Truth is Highest- Higher still is Truthful Living* – is for *Sarbat da Bhalla*, for *the Benefit of the Universe*! The *Sikh*<sup>28</sup> Identity, and Spiritual *Sikhism*<sup>29</sup>, is being attacked for its unique *Ghadr*/ revolutionary non-ritualistic way of living life and unique Saint Soldier/ *Sant Sipahi*, *Khalsa Roop*<sup>30</sup> identity.

This Way of Life, enjoyed amongst the Three Pillars of Sikhism, of kirat karo<sup>31</sup> vand ke chakko<sup>32</sup> naam japo<sup>33</sup>, whereby one is able to harness Godly qualities and remove the five thieves<sup>34</sup> is a daily prayer, for Sarbat da Bhalla! It is also a Way of Life, for their daily bread and butter- 'Pagri Sambhal Jatta'<sup>35</sup>, and for their shelter- 'Desh payn dhake, bahar miley doi naa, saada pardesian da desh koi naa,<sup>36</sup> // 'Humiliated back home, no solace abroad, For us aliens no refuge around.'

This discrimination is experienced, even today, in its birthplace, Historic Punj-aab itself, and rest of all India; and wherever Sikhism spread all over the global village. And attack, in all forms and by all means, including genocide, by one and all, *non-Sikh*, who feel this unique *Ghadr/* revolutionary non-ritualistic way of life and unique identity of *Spiritualistic* Sikhism is a *'whistle-blowing' threat*, to their money-spinning *Materialistic religious ritualistic way of life*.

Even in UK, and later in Europe, by the *First European Ghadri Baba*, the so-called child Maharaja, Duleep Singh, a so-called subject of the British Empire, experienced discrimination and forcible conversion into Christianity, till he reverted as an adult Sikh. And discrimination in Canada and in USA as experienced by the early Punjabi Sikh farmers, whom the Canadian and American newspapers called *Hindoos* as in a typical cartoon published in San Francisco Call- 1910, titled '*A New Problem for Uncle Sam*' <sup>37</sup>.

This necessitated creating a *Ghadr Party-Lehar*, for continuing, now from the USA, the on-going global '*Ghadr*'- [War against King-Emperor(s)]<sup>38</sup> all over the global village, initially started five hundred years ago by the first *Ghadri* Baba Nanak.

It is one of the many smothered/ untold wonders of untold history as to how these semi-literature 'rustics'<sup>39</sup>, including serving and exservicemen, gave up their Dollar-Dream, in the Dream-World, all these proverbial '*yes-men*' arose, like a *volcano*, like an earthquake/ tsunami all over the global village!<sup>40</sup>

The very pertinent fact is that  $Sikhism^{41}$ , since its inception, has in the ongoing *Ghadr* for over five centuries of bloody destructive times; withstood the test of *Guru Maniayo Granth*<sup>42</sup>.

As said in the first *Ghadri* Baba Nanak's own words, about the ongoing way of life/ path of *Ghadr- 'Game of Love'*, spoken more than 500 years earlier: 'For on this path, even the first step should mean that You will not hesitate to lay down your life — for righteousness'<sup>43</sup>.

Historical Punj-aab, the cradle of faiths, the cause of, and the cauldron of wars, between them, has been successively ruled by the sword by all the major faiths: Hindu, Buddhist, Islam, Sikhism, and Christianity. This ancient Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) of, was a Bronze Age civilization (3300–1300) BCE; mature period (2600–1900 BCE) extending from what today is northeast Afghanistan to Pakistan and northwest India. Along with Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia it was one of three early civilizations of the Old World, and of the three the most widespread. It flourished in the basins of the Indus River, one of the major rivers of Asia, and the Ghaggar-Hakra River, which once coursed through northwest India and eastern Pakistan.

The Vedic period (or Vedic age) was a period in history during which the Vedas, the oldest scriptures of Hinduism, were composed here. Also the land of the Ramayana, the Mahabharat, and the Bhagavad Gita; Buddhism and Sikhism.

*Kal Yug* or Kali Yuga is in Hindu philosophy<sup>44</sup>. Yuga<sup>45</sup> (???) is the name of an epoch or era within a four age cycle: i. e. Satya Yuga lasts 4800 years, the Treta Yuga 3600 years, Dwapara Yuga 2400 years, and the Kali Yuga 1200 years. The cycles are said to repeat like the seasons, waxing and waning within a greater time-cycle of the creation and destruction of the universe. Like Summer, Spring, Winter and Autumn, each yuga involves stages or gradual changes which the earth and the consciousness of mankind goes through as a whole. A complete yuga cycle from a high Golden Age of enlightenment to a Dark Age and back again is said to be caused by the solar system's motion around another star. Also Hindu religious scriptures such as the Vedas and Pura?as<sup>46</sup> describe a massive range of units of Kala measurements, spanning right from Paramanu (time length of about 17 microseconds) to the Maha-Manvantara (311.04 trillion years).

On the other hand most of humanity appears to agree on the *year* as a suitable measure of time for expressing events in the history of mankind, even though there are different calendars<sup>47</sup>; e. g. the more recent Nanakshahi (Punjabi: ???????, nânakashâhî) calendar <sup>48</sup>, the epoch of this calendar is the birth of the first Sikh Guru, Nanak Dev in 1469 C. E. In contemporary history, a millennium<sup>49</sup>, is a period of time, of one thousand years.

Thus so far as Sikhism is concerned this present stage is just *half of their First Millennium*.

**Nanak's: Daily Signs of the Dark Age of Kali Yuga:** As said, Nanak gave a new meaning to the ethnic Historical Punj-aab traditional contemporary Hindu philosophical usage of *kal yug*<sup>50</sup>, to Awaken the global citizen, to prepare to meet the increasingly *differently affected* environment in context of the contemporary *Third Millennium*, its *inevitable Global* Civilization, of *Sikhism*.

Four centuries earlier Nanak had made Enlightened observations that this Kalyug is also the most difficult for the human race and many atrocities and unfairness will become commonplace in society.

Further that whenever it becomes common for tyrants to be accepted and approved, then Kalyug is here thus:

#### ਹੋਵੈ ਪਰਵਾਣਾ ਕਰਹਿ ਧਿਙਾਣਾ ਕਲਿ ਲੱਖਣ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ ॥

Those who act like tyrants are accepted and approved recognize that this is the sign of the Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||1||Pause||

Nanak also showed a way out:

#### ਜੀਵਨ ਤਲਬ ਨਿਵਾਰਿ ਸੁਆਮੀ

Give up your attachment to life

Most of Nanak's revelations, observations remain true even after five hundred years, confirming that the kalyug is not an *age* but a *day to day, minute to second, fact of life*.

If someone practices Truth, he is frustrated; prosperity does not come to the home of the sincere. If someone chants the Lord's Name, he is scorned. These are the signs of Kali Yuga. [3]

Whoever is in charge, is humiliated. Why should the servant be afraid, when the master is put in chains? He dies at the hands of his servant. ||4|| SGGS Page 1288:

The trouble-maker is called a leader, and the liar is seated with honor. O Nanak, the Gurmukhs know that this is justice in the Dark Age of Kali Yuga. ||1||SGGS Page 145:

*Kali Yuga*, and the *European*, so-called, *Age* of *Enlightenment* or Age of *Treason*[?]. *On the one hand* the world search engines for research, today still yield a List of Revolutions And Rebellions<sup>51</sup>; which were only for local benefit of the few and not for the benefit of the universe- Sarbat da Bhalla! Thus they overlook the global Ghadr/ Spiritual Revolution launched by the first Ghadri Baba Nanak et al, showing, confirming that the European

and Western Civilization 'missed the bus'/ this Ghadr/ 'path' to Enlightenment. On the other hand the so-called Age of Enlightenment (or simply the Enlightenment or Age of Reason)<sup>52</sup> was an Unique Alliance<sup>53</sup> of some so-called Enlightenment philosophers collaborated with Enlightened despots, who were absolute rulers who tried out some of the new governmental ideas in practice. The ideas of the Enlightenment have had a long-term major impact on the culture, politics, and governments of the Western world. A cultural movement of so-called intellectuals beginning in the late 17th- and 18th-century Europe emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition and treason. Its purpose was to reform society using reason, challenge ideas grounded in tradition and faith, and advance knowledge through the scientific method. It promoted scientific thought, skepticism, and intellectual interchange. It opposed superstition and intolerance, with the Catholic Church a favorite target. Developments during this period were to have a profound influence in the shaping of western civilization, as science, art, philosophy and economic development flourished in the Dutch Republic. Some key players in the Dutch Enlightenment were: Denmark's minister Johann Struensee, a social reformer ahead of his time, was publicly executed in 1772. Baruch Spinoza, a philosopher who played a major role in shaping the basis for the Enlightenment; Pierre Bayle, a French philosopher who advocated separation between science and religion; Eise Eisinga, an astronomer who built a planetarium; Lodewijk Meyer, a radical who claimed the Bible was obscure and doubtful; Adriaan Koerbagh, a scholar and critic of religion and conventional morality; and Burchard de Volder, a natural philosopher.

There is little consensus on the precise beginning of the age of Enlightenment; the beginning of the 18th century (1701) or the middle of the 17th century (1650) are often used as an approximate starting point.[19] If taken back to the mid-17th century, the Enlightenment would trace its origins to Descartes' Discourse on Method, published in 1637. Others cite the publication of Isaac Newton's Principia Mathematica in 1687. Jonathan Israel argues, "after 1650, everything, no matter how fundamental or deeply rooted, was questioned in the light of philosophic reason".[20] Israel makes the detailed case that, from 1650 to 1750, Spinoza was "the chief challenger of the fundamentals of revealed religion, received ideas, tradition, morality, and what was everywhere regarded, in absolutist and nonabsolutist states alike, as divinely constituted political authority."[21]

As to its end, most scholars use the last years of the century – often choosing the French Revolution of 1789 or the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars (1804 – 15) as a convenient point in time with which to date the end of the Enlightenment.[22]. Furthermore, the term "Enlightenment" is often used across epochs. For example in their work Dialectic of Enlightenment, Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno see developments of the 20th century as late consequences of the Enlightenment: *Humans are installed* 

as "Master" of a world being freed from its magic; truth is understood as a system; rationality becomes an instrument and an ideology managed by apparatuses; civilisation turns into the barbarism of fascism; civilizing effects of the Enlightenment turn into their opposite; and exactly this they claim - corresponds to the problematic structure of the Enlightenment's way of thinking. Jürgen Habermas, however, disagrees with his teachers' (Adorno and Horkheimer) view of the Enlightenment as a process of decay. He talks about an "incomplete project of modernity" [23] which, in a process of communicative actions, always asks for rational reasons.

The increased consumption of reading materials of all sorts was one of the key features of the "social" Enlightenment. Developments in the Industrial Revolution allowed consumer goods to be produced in greater quantities at lower prices, encouraging the spread of books, pamphlets, newspapers and journals – "media of the transmission of ideas and attitudes". Commercial development likewise increased the demand for information, along with rising populations and increased urbanisation.[87] *Reading underwent serious changes in the 18th century.* 

The most popular category of books was political. This included five copies of D'Holbach's Système social, but around 300 libels and pamphlets. Readers were far more interested in sensationalist stories about criminals and political corruption than they were in political theory itself. The second most popular category, "general works" (those books "that did not have a dominant motif and that contained something to offend almost everyone in authority") likewise betrayed the high demand for generally low-brow subversive literature. "Mostly legal" because even established publishers and book sellers occasionally ran afoul of the law. The Encyclopédie, for example, condemned not only by the King but also by Clement XII, nevertheless found its way into print with the help of the aforementioned Malesherbes and creative use of French censorship law.[97] But many works were sold without running into any legal trouble at all. Borrowing records from libraries in England, Germany and North America indicate that more than 70 percent of books borrowed were novels; that less than 1 percent of the books were of a religious nature supports a general trend of declining religiosity.[98]

**Global Village 'Sikh Nation' vis-à-vis Nations States Concept: As said,** the Creator, and his Creation, the Universe, including Mother Earth, are always being shared by one and all in the Universe; yet the living beings, especially the human beings, are being increasingly differently adversely affected, today, through en-mass disinformation, in this high-tech cutting edge environment of technological mass communication. A call for the 'Citizens of the Global Village<sup>54</sup> unite; we have nothing to lose but our Universe', for *Sarbat da Bhala*/ for the Benefit of the Universe!

The origins and early history of so-called nation, state and nation states are disputed. A major theoretical issue is: "Which came first, the nation or the nation state?" Professor Steven Weber of the University of California, Berkeley, has advanced the hypothesis that the nation-state is an inadvertent byproduct of 15th-century advances in map-making technologies.[5][6] For nationalists, the answer is that the nation existed first, nationalist movements arose to present its legitimate demand for sovereignty, and the nation state met that demand. Some "modernization theories" of nationalism see the national identity largely as a product of government policy to unify and modernize an already existing state. Most theories see the nation state as a 19th-century European phenomenon, facilitated by developments such as mass literacy and the early mass media.

During the so-called European Enlightenment In broad usage, the term Global citizenship has much the same meaning as World citizen. The term also has additional, specialized senses in differing contexts, particularly in education and political philosophy. The term "citizenship" refers to an identity between a person and a city, state or nation and their right to work, live and participate politically in a particular geographic area. When combined with the term "global", it typically defines a person who places their identity with a "global community" above their identity as a citizen of a particular nation or place. The idea is that one's identity transcends geography or political borders and that responsibilities or rights are or can be derived from membership in a broader class: "humanity". This does not mean that such a person denounces or waives their nationality or other, more local identities, but such identities are given "second place" to their membership in a global community. Political, geographic borders become irrelevant and solutions to today's challenges are seen to be beyond the narrow vision of national interests. Proponents of this philosophy often point to Diogenes of Sinope (c. 412 B.C.) as an example, given his reported declaration that "I am a citizen of the world (kosmopolitês)" in response to a question about his place of origin. In general usage, the term may have much the same meaning as World Citizen or Cosmopolitan, but it also has additional, specialized meanings in differing contexts.

Today, the term 'Global Citizenship' can be conferred to the 'Sikhs' of the Global 'Sikh Nation' who daily pray the global Sikh prayer of 'Nanak Naam, Chardi Kala, Teray Bhaney- 'Sarbat da Bhalla' is possibly the only notion of a single common 'authority for the welfare' of all of humanity/ Universe.

The example of the damage to the global Ecology, can be appreciated from an example- a case-study of Historic Punjab itself, one of the most fertile regions on earth, where Sikhism took its roots, and the present State of Punjab in the Indian Union, is the only state/ region with a majority Sikh population. Historic Punjab is the land of the Indus Civilization, the Mahabharat, the Ramayana, the Bhagavat Gita, the Vedas, the Buddha Dharma, and the Guru Granth Sahib:

'The remarkable Vedas works contain not only ritualistic religious ideas, but also facts which science has proved true. Electricity, radium,

electronics, airship, all were known to the seers who founded the Vedas." "Some one thousand years before Aristotle, the Vedic Aryans asserted that the earth was round and circled the sun....Two thousand years before Pythagoras, philosophers in northern India had understood that gravitation held the solar system together, and that therefore the sun, the most massive object, had to be at its center....Twenty- four centuries before Isaac Newton, the Hindu Rig-Veda asserted that gravitation held the universe together..... The Sanskrit speaking Aryans subscribed to the idea of a spherical earth in an era when the Greeks believed in a flat one...The Indians of the fifth century A.D. calculated the age of the earth as 4.3 billion years; scientists in 19th century England were convinced it was 100 million years..."<sup>55</sup>

Despite all its riches, history says that India never invaded any country; except perhaps for ensuring freedom from oppression, like in Tibet by the Sikh Nation<sup>56</sup>, and East Pakistan, by the present Indian Union. On the contrary, India has been repeatedly assaulted and conquered by numerous invaders and has been ruled by "foreigners', first the Barbarous 'Greeks'- Europeans[?], followed by the merciless fanatic 'Muslims' and then again the 'Greedy Christian Colonial Civilization Europeans for over a thousand years. India, before the advent of the British rulers, was a rich and prosperous country, a '*sone ki chidiya*' <sup>57</sup> when the British first appeared on the scene. India was one of the richest countries of the world; indeed, it was her great riches that attracted the global village to her shores for 2,500 years. The British came on the scene and the Colonials looted her and robbed her of her freedom. India was self-ruling and one of the most influential and illustrious nations of the world ..... This wealth was created by the Hindus' vast and varied industries."

Punjab is also ideal for wheat-growing, is called the "Granary of India" or "India's bread-basket"<sup>58</sup>, mainly due to the freedom loving spirit of Chardi-Kala<sup>59</sup> of the Sikhs.

During the mean Victorian Era, and subsequently, there has been an on-going further concerted movement to destroy this natural God given bread-basket, by the so-called 'New World Order in 'Conspiracy Theory'.

Thus in recent years a drop in productivity has been observed mainly due to falling fertility of the soil, believed to be due to excessive use of nonorganic fertilizers and pesticides over the years. Another worry is the rapidly falling water table on which almost 90% of the agriculture depends; alarming drops have been witnessed in recent years, due to the diversion of the river waters into canals. By some estimates, groundwater is falling by a meter or more per year.

During the mean colonial Victorian Era, and subsequently, there has been a concerted movement to deprive the freedom loving, independent owners, Sikh farmers, from their land, and coerce them to seek employment, as employees and earn their livelihood elsewhere. This led to the famous *Ghadr* / revolutionary movements of '*Pagri Sambhal Jatta*', and '*Desh payn dhake, bahar miley doi naa, saada pardesian da desh* 

koi naa!

*Ghadr-Di-Qadr:* Thus, today too, the global village is going through the revolution/ Ghadr: demanding a change, an unrest, a revolt, rebellion, mutiny, war, to be 're-born' or a 'Re-Awakening' / "Awakened One" / a 'Gurmukh', or "the Enlightened One" from the existing increasing damaging 'Manmukh' environment state.

This revolution/ Ghadr: a change, an unrest, a revolt, is always "unpalatable" to all the existing so-called Authorities, who oppose it by every tooth and nail at their disposal, ranging from genocide to removing all record of it from the pages of history- their "His-Story"!.

Hence the question never arises of any "*Ghadr Di Qadr*" by them, a humble acceptance, appreciation, change, from the existing 'status quo' fate; divine foreordainment/ predestination- a *Hukum*!

In 1849. as said, Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham, in his 'History of the Sikhs', had observed the 'Global Gurmukh Citizenship' among the Khalsa, as 'The Comforters': 'Among all ranks of men there is a Spirit at work, which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas whether of Brahmanism or Mohammedanism,[or Adamism and others] and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors and to another manifestation of Divine Power and Mercy'- - - 'which would speedily lead to the recognition of Nanak and Gobind; as the long looked-for Comforters':

And as said, The Comforters as foreseen in Ecclesiastes. KJV. Bible; quote 'So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter.'

'Ghadr' Di 'Qadr': is a humble Acceptance, a humble grateful Appreciation, of The Comforters, the Ghadrites, for a Divine Change for Betterment, of Oneself, and thereto, the Creation- a Hukum! This is possible with special emphasis on Sikh environmental ethics and how Gurbani guides us to live in peaceful consonance with nature, conserve it, according to the Sikh beliefs of 'kirit karo, vand ke chako, naam japo', as guardians, 'Comforters', as visualized, for the making of the Third Millennium Civilization. As said in the Guru Granth Sahib: Hukam Rajaaee Chalanaa Naanak Likhiaa Naal ||1|| O Nanak, it is written that you shall obey the Hukam of His Command, and walk in the Way of His Will. ||1|| Jap Guru Nanak Dev Guru Granth Sahib, aung 1.

Those who joined brotherhood of the Khalsa were required to pledge to the doctrine of *Dharam-Nash*, *Bharam-Nash*, *Karam-Nash*. *Kul-Nash* And *Kirt-Nash*, to disavow consideration of caste, previous religion, superstition, clan, or profession in mutual or community dealings. The *Aam* Aadmithe common man, the global 'Humane' village citizen, of the global village is still struggling to achieve the freedom which they, the American-Punjabi Ghadri Babas, envisioned on Mother Earth, of 'One World Religion', of 'One-Global Village-Nation', for a 'New World Order'! All over the global village, the global citizen- the *Aam-Aadmi*, down the ages, is repeatedly uprising, rebelling, revolting against the egoistic corrupt murderous so-called 'Great' Empire Builders/ 'lawful'/ 'judicial'/ 'religious'/ 'armed' national/ international/ authority. Millions have been murdered, victims of genocide, and millions rendered 'refugees' in their own homes. *Ghadr, or "Gadar"* in English, Punjabi and Urdu was used as the name of the tabloid "*Gadar"* newspaper issued a hundred years ago from Stockton, California, by the 'American-Punjabi-Sikh' *Ghadri Babas*.

This newspaper tabloid "*Gadar*" which carried on its banner-head a quotation, in Guru Nanak's own words, spoken more than 500 years earlier, is also from the Guru Granth Sahib:

Jau tau prem khelan ka chao, sir dhar tali gali meri aao / It marag pair dhareejai, sir deejai kaan na keejai. "If you wish to play the game of love, Come to me with readiness to die in your heart, For on this path, even the first step should mean that You will not hesitate to lay down your life — for righteousness."- Guru Granth Sahib, p. 1412. Today, however, one hundred years after they were imprisoned, brutally tortured, shot and hanged without any defense nor appeal, the *Ghadr-Di-Qadr* is slowly reawakening the memories of the Ghadri Babas acknowledging and recognizing them as heroes who provided and continue to provide the spark for global freedom from oppression all over the global village!

A conference, "The Voyage of the Gadar," was held as part of the celebrations Sept. 30, 2012, at the University of the Pacific, with a large gathering of about 700 attendees showcasing a keen interest in knowing the history of the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, the precursor to the famous Ghadr movement. Three panels of scholars from India, Canada, USA, and United Kingdom covered the various aspects of Ghadr history and noted its absence from curriculums of schools, colleges and universities in India, and all over the global village.

While attending the centennial celebrations of the First Gurdwara of the United States of America in Stockton University Plaza Hotel here, Punjabi University Vice Chancellor Dr. Jaspal Singh announced that Punjabi University will adopt the history of Ghadr in its university curriculum from the next academic session.

It is hoped the Punjabi University Vice Chancellor Dr. Jaspal Singh who announced that Punjabi University will adopt the history of *Ghadr* in its university curriculum from the next academic session, will be able to form an honest *Ghadr-Di-Qadr* curriculum for the global village for the *Aam Aadmi-* the common man, the global village citizens, of the global village is able to achieve the freedom which the Ghadri Babas envisioned for a New World Order for the 'One-global village-nation'!

As part of the centennial celebrations several research papers, books on Ghadr are being published to "educate" the global citizen on Ghadrthe right to freedom from oppression. Like the preverbal story of the blind men trying to grasp/ describe the 'elephant'. Each of these are right in their own dim-wit research! Yet so far as the 'elephant' is concerned, it makes no difference, since Truth is indestructible- and will reappear when ordained, as is happening now in this case the Ghadr centennial celebrations, an ongoing "Ghadr Di Qadr"!

The ideology of the party was strongly secular. In the words of Sohan Singh Bhakna, who later became a major peasant leader of the Punjab: *"We were not Sikhs or Punjabis. Our religion was patriotism"*. The first issue of The Ghadar, was published from San Francisco on November 1, 1913The party had active members in other countries such as Mexico, Japan, China, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, Malaya, Indo-China, and Eastern and Southern Africa. The Ghadri Babas mostly from Punjab had spread all over the global village and started their Ghadr from the Stockton Gurdwara California around the beginning of the First World War. Likewise the *Ghadr-Di-Qadr* commenced almost over a hundred years later from the Stockton Gurdwara California USA is now travelling all over the global village.

From the White House comes President Obama's message congratulating the Sikh community on 100th year of the USA's first Sikh settlement: "Stockton Gurdwara Sahib stands as a testament to the trials and triumphs Sikh-Americans have experienced; serves as a center for civic, political, and social life; and displays the principles of equality, service, interfaith cooperation, and respect that Sikh-Americans share with people across our nation." dedicating it to the memory of Sikh pioneers who left a wonderful legacy for all Americans Heritage".

To the GOPIO, at Kochi, where Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh recognized the Gadar movement as part of India's independence movement at the last Parvasi Bharatiya Divas by saying, "This year, we are celebrating the centenary of the Ghadr Movement, which was a luminous spark of support in distant California for the struggle for independence being waged at home in our country. Apart from commemorating it by the issue of a special postage stamp, we will also upgrade the Ghadr Memorial in San Francisco into a functional museum and library with a sculpture to honor the Ghadri Babas, the heroes of the great movement."

*Need To Globally Network Sikhism vis-à-vis 'Total Global Extinction of the Dharma'*: The global 'Sikh Nation' need to constantly globally network the Sikh Gurbani concepts of the sustainable development by way of conserving the Ecology<sup>60</sup> of the planet, so that the future citizens of this global civilization inherit a world that contributes to their well-being in all possible ways. Special emphasis on Sikh environmental ethics and how Gurbani guides us to live in peaceful consonance with nature, conserve it, according to the Sikh beliefs of 'kirit karo, vand ke chako, naam japo'; as guardians, 'Comforters', as visualized by Captain J. D Cunningham, for the making of the Third Millennium Civilization. 'Sant Sipahi' vis-à-vis Cyberspace'<sup>61</sup>.

Such Gurmukh *Exceptions do Prove The Rule*, to help rethink/ relive/ recall the humane forgotten [?] '*Art of Truthful Living*', as proclaimed by Nanak 'Truth is high but higher still is truthful living. (SGGS p. 62). Action:

There is a *Need To Globally Network a Viable Alternate* in view of **Buddha's forecast that in time to come, there will be** *a 'Total Extinction of the Dharma'*<sup>62</sup>. The Buddha cast serious doubts on the claim that the authors of the Vedas had divine knowledge. There is a need to constantly globally network 'Sikhism' with such likeminded Revolutionary / Ghadr Movements/ organizations, the Wikipedia, Google, global 'Whistle-Blowers', the 'Wiki-Leaks', Green-Peace etc. so as to help the Common Man, the Aam Aadmi, the Manmukh, to become Aware, Awaken, Enlightened, a Gurmukh, so as to be able to live in consonance with nature's naturally created Creation and its Ecology provided by the Creator.

The 'Sikh Nation' needs to network and plan a time-bound strategy to share with the global village Sikhism, as the New 'Spiritual' 'World Order', in the Making of the Third Millennium Civilization. Its concept of an individual, being a saint soldier/ 'Sant Sipahi' identity of the Khalsa, and the concept of 'Miri-Piri' model of governance, based upon Truth And Righteousness, for the working of the Sikh Institutions; for a 'New World Order of the 'Mowna' / silent of Guru Maniayo Granth since Oct. 1708 which ensured that the order of the Khalsa brotherhood always remained an abiding force for Sikh Panth unity.

'Sacred Writings of the Sikhs': There is also an urgent need for UNESCO/ other organizations/ Sikhs all over the global village to get this 'handy' publication of 'Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs', in all languages of the UNESCO / UNO<sup>63</sup>; and in all the languages of the places where ever the Sikhs are residing all over the global village. Translation are in English only. Today increasing communications are activating the evolutionary process of the revolutionary forecast, made in1960, by noted British historian, Arnold Toynbee, in his visionary Foreword<sup>64</sup> to UNESCO publication of 'Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs': "Mankind's religious future may be obscure; yet one thing can be foreseen. The living higher religions are going to influence each other more than ever before, in the days of increasing communications between all parts of the world and branches of human race. In this coming religious debate, the Sikh religion and its scriptures, the Guru Granth, will have something special of value to say to the rest of the world. Although the future of religion is bleak, but yet one hope is there in the form of Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji which teaches us all God's message of love and gives direction to life." And also proves the time is approaching for fulfillment of the The Pipal Tree Prophesy.65

CP1WR: The global 'Sikh Nation' also need to constantly globally network the Aam Aadmi- the Common Man, the Global Village Citizens, of the Global Village, for a CP1WR- 'Council for a Parliament of *One* World Religion' for creating 'One-Global Village-Religion' a Spiritual "World Order" of: '*Hukam Rajaaee Chalanaa Naanak Likhiaa Naa*l ||1||!

Saint Soldier/ 'Sant Sipahi': awareness of all facets and identity of the global Saint Soldier / 'Sant Sipahi' of 'Sikhism', in the making of the Third Millennium Civilization, is being done through few Ghadr / 'revolutionary' global research organizations; such as, among others, the pioneer esteemed 'revolutionary' Institute of Sikh Studies, the 'Gurbani-CD'66 [on-line files] by Dr K. S. Thind, 'Global Sikh Studies'67, 'Sikhya-Seekers', 'Sikhism in Cyberspace'68, and through other [on-line] Revolutionary Ghadr Movements<sup>69</sup>/ organizations, the Wikipedia<sup>70</sup>, Google<sup>71</sup>, global 'Whistle-Blowers'<sup>72</sup>, the 'Wiki-Leaks'<sup>73</sup>, Green-Peace<sup>74</sup> etc. These help the common man, the Aam Aadmi, the Manmukh, to become Aware, Awaken, Enlightened, Such Gurmukh Exceptions do Prove The Rule, to help rethink/ re-live/ recall the humane forgotten [?] 'Art of Truthful Living', as proclaimed in Nanak's Truth is high but higher still is truthful *living.*(5) (SGGS p. 62). There is a need to constantly globally network 'Sikhism' with such likeminded Revolutionary / Ghadr Movements/ organizations, the Wikipedia, Google, global 'Whistle-Blowers', the 'Wiki-Leaks', Green-Peace etc vis-à-vis even Cyberspace' . so as to help the Common Man, the Aam Aadmi, the Manmukh, to become Aware, Awaken, Enlightened, a Gurmukh, so as to be able to live in consonance with nature's naturally created Creation and its Ecology provided by the Creator.

'Miri-Piri': the Common Man, the Aam Aadmi in this kal-yug age are usually, daily, voluntarily 'oppressed' / duped, 'bheyrd-chaal'/ 'herdmentality'75 alternately, non-violent / violent, 'protester' / 'follower', a silent / loud 'witness'; occasional demand a 'Change' from the existing increasingly suffocating stagnating 'status quo' 'bheyrd-chaal'/ 'herdmentality' environment state in all parts of the world and branches of human race. The root cause is solely due to the fact of the widespread 'voluntarily acceptance' of remaining 'oppressed' / duped, 'bheyrd-chaal'/ 'herd-mentality' disparity of oppressive authority, of materialism and spiritualism; of the Manmukhs and Gurmukhs, causing corruption, even in their living Higher Religions<sup>76</sup> through so-called multinational 'profiteering' 'middle-men'/ 'God-men' promoted by the few increasingly dishonest criminally greedy murderous Filthy Rich<sup>77</sup>. Today, an increasingly realization of the relatively 'unnoticed', constantly emerging evolving global 'phenomena', of 'appreciating 'Truth', which is still Sought-For, Accepted, Appreciated, by the common man, the Aam Aadmi, as the Order of the Day. The 'typical' 'Miri-Piri'- 'Ghadr' example of Diogenes of Sinope, who was a Greek philosopher in 412 - 323 BCE. Born in Sinope (Turkey), an Ionian colony on the Black Sea, he moved to Athens to debunk cultural conventions. Diogenes modeled himself on the example of Hercules. He believed that virtue was better revealed in action than in theory. He used his simple lifestyle and behavior to criticize the social values and institutions of what he saw as a corrupt society. He used to stroll about in full daylight with a lamp; when asked what he was doing, he would answer, "I am just looking for an honest man." Diogenes looked for a human being but reputedly found nothing but rascals and scoundrels." He declared himself a cosmopolitan/ a global citizen, demanding a 'Change' from the existing increasingly suffocating stagnating 'status quo' 'bheyrdchaal'/ 'herd-mentality' environment . The global 'Sikh Nation' need to constantly globally network the Aam Aadmi- the Common Man, the Global Village Citizens, of the Global Village, like Diogenes, for creating a 'Ghadr', a Process, by personal example, in Khalsa Roop, for Evolutionary-Revolutionary-Change, freedom from the existing oppression, suffocating, stagnating 'status quo' 'bheyrd-chaal'/ 'herd-mentality' environment state: be a 'Ghadrite', a 'Ghadri Baba'! To be 'Re-born', 'Re-Awakened', an 'Awakened One', in Khalsa Roop, - a global 'Ghadr' di 'Qadr'!

'*Ghadr-Di-Qadr*' by 'Comforters': as a Movement, another global *Ghadr* – of '*Miri-Piri*'- 'Comforters', for freedom from oppressive Government, anywhere all over the global village, for the 'New Spiritual World Order': of 'One-Global Village-Nation'!

Council for a Parliament for creating One World Religion: Ecshrined in the Guru Granth Sahib: The

Council for a Parliament of World's Religion<sup>78</sup> promotes Interreligious discussion, between as many religions as possible. However no action is taken to create a Council for a Parliament for creating One World Religion. Sikhism should and will take the lead to create for a Parliament for creating One World Religion, on the basis of Kabir's 'awwal allah nur upaya, kudrat ke sab bande. ek nur se sab jag upaja, kaun bhale ko mande'<sup>79</sup>.

*Conclusion:*Ever since the founder, the first Revolutionary/ Ghadri Baba, Nanak launched his Revolution/ Ghadr – lived and 'walked the talk' along the path of 'higher still is truthful living, repeated attempts have been and are being made to distort/ misinterpret, and undermine the very foundations of Sikh Faith, its Institutions, and the Sikh Identity! We need to prepare curriculum, for a Syllabus For Global Moral Science/ A Global Syllabus From Nursery To PhD, For Understanding the Guru Granth Sahib – the Granthi - the Khalsa- the Gurmukh– the Khalsa Roop - the Rehat Maryadha – the Lavan – the Miri Piri, et all.

These appropriate *Reviews* of- '*The Materiality of the Past-History* and *Representation in Sikh Tradition*' by Anne Murphy, are timely whistleblower needed 'corrections', to the ongoing decaying civilization process foretold by the Buddha that in time to come, there will be a '*Total Extinction of all the Existing Dharma.* '*The Materiality*' *of* Anne Murphy is another 'inadvertent' [?] typical sly attempt, part of the decay foretold by the Buddha. Another *Materialistic money-spinning* nail in the coffin of Dharma! Another script[?] like Dwight D. Eisenhower's *second warning* - '*The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist....that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite....*' – as another pseudo 'New World Order' in 'Conspiracy Theory'. It has been foretold that 'Sikhism' in the Making of the Third Millennium'- is its foundation. 'Sikhism' is a global Ghadr/ Revolution, for a New-*Spiritual*-World-Order! Yes, that's right – a New *Spiritual* "World Order": is for '*Truthful Living*' by the Spiritualistic, Enlightened- the 'Gurmukh'; and also is for shunning '*Dishonest Gains*': by the Materialistic-the 'Manmukh'- '*The Materiality*' of Anne Murphy - to mend and be Enlightened- the 'Gurmukh'! A new 'Spiritual' 'New World Order', is the 'New 'Spiritual' World Order'. This is what the *Guru Granth Sahib* has to say- which Professor Arnold Toynbee, in the Foreword to UNESCO publication of 'Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs', writes: '*The Guru Granth Sahib* is a part of mankind's spiritual treasure. It is important it should be brought within the direct reach of as many people as possible. In the coming religious debate, Guru Nanak's Sikh religion and its scripture - Guru Granth Sahib – will have something of special value to say to the rest of the world'.

Ever since the Guru 'Panth' of the 'Sikhs' or 'Disciples', later socalled 'Nation', a 'Sikh' 'Nation', the foundation was laid for the *World Government* for 'Sarbat da Bhalla' of Guru Manyo Granth of the 'Mowna'!

'Widely spread notions, howsoever, erroneous they be, in one sense, always deserve attention, as based upon some truth or conviction. Thus the Hindus quote an altered or spurious passage of the Bhagavat, describing the successive rulers of India as follows: (1) the Yavvans (Greeks), eight Kings; (2) the Tooshkrs (Turks or Muhammadans), fourteen Kings; (3) the Gurand (the fair, i. e. the English), ten Kings; and the Mowna (or silent, i. e. the disciples of Nanak the seer), eleven Kings, – the  $11^{TH}$ : Guru Granth Sahib!

Inter-connected is the concept of '*Global Citizenship*: for '*Sikhi*' concepts of the sustainable development by way of conserving the Ecology of the World- planet- Universe/'Sarbat da Bhalla', so that the future citizens of this global civilization inherit a world that contributes to their wellbeing in all possible ways: a sacred vision for the environment (*Air is the Guru, Water the Father, and the Earth is the Great Mother*.

Special emphasis on Sikh environmental ethics and how Gurbani guides us to live in peaceful consonance with nature, conserve it, according to the Sikh beliefs of *'Kirit Karo, Vand Ke Chako, Naam Japo.* 

Cunningham envisioned this *Ghadr: 'Among all ranks of men there is a Spirit [of Chardi-Kala] at work, which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas whether of Brahmanism or Mohammedanism,[or Adamism and others] and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors and to another manifestation of Divine Power and Mercy' which would speedily lead to the recognition of Nanak and Gobind; as the long looked-for Comforters':* as foreseen in Ecclesiastes. IV. KJV. Bible. The *Khalsa* of the Sikhs is visualized as '*Comforters',* for *Making of the Third Millennium Civilization'*, by a Global Village Nation Government of a Parliament of One World Religion, for Sarbat da Bhalla.

A call to all global-

'Citizens of the Global Village, unite; we have nothing to lose but our Universe.

#### REFERENCES

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- 2 SGGS Page 902: http://www.srigranth.org/servlet/gurbani. gurbani? Action=Page&Param=902&english=t&id=38530
- 3 SGGS Page 145: http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Kalyug
- To give spiritual or intellectual insight to: "Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day" (Thomas Jefferson). http://www.thefreedictionary.com/enlightened Enlightenment refers to the "full comprehension of a situation".[web 1] It is commonly used to denote the Age of Enlightenment, [note 1] but is also used in Western cultures in a religious context. It translates several Buddhist terms and concepts, most notablybodhi, [note 2] kensho and satori. Related terms from Asian religions are moksha (liberation) in Hinduism, Kevala Jnana in Jainism and ushta in Zoroastrianism. In Christianity, the word "enlightenment" is rarely used, except to refer to the Age of Enlightenment and its influence on Christianity. Equivalent terms may be revelation, metanoia and conversion. http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Enlightenment\_(spiritual) All this is not to say that intellectual interpretations no longer exist. Jonathan Israel, for example, in Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752 (2006), constructs an argument that is primarily intellectual in scope. Like many historians before him, he sets the Enlightenment within the context of the French Revolution to follow. Israel argues that only an intellectual interpretation can adequately explain the radical break with Ancien Régime society. http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Age\_of\_Enlightenment
- 5 SGGS Page 145: The Dark Age of Kali Yuga is the knife, and the kings are butchers; righteousness has sprouted wings and flown away':
- 6 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citizenship
- 7 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Global\_village
- 8 www.365act.com. 365 Ways to Change the World. Michael Norton. 16 Oct 2006. Page 1.
- 9 Sarbhat dah phalla or Sarbat da bhala is a Punjabi term which means"may everyone be blessed" or "may good come to all". This is a term from an important part of the Sikh prayer called the Ardas. This term forms an important part of Sikh philosophy. The term establishes a new precedence set by the Sikh Gurus -It binds the Sikh to ask for the "well being of everyone in the world". In establishing this concept, the Gurus have set a new standard for the Sikhs – not only should the Sikhs pray for their own well-being but also need to ask for the blessing of "all the peoples of the world".

All Sikhs narrate this prayer called the Ardas (final request/prayer to God) at least twice a day. In the ardas, the Sikhs say:- "Nanak Naam Chardikala, teraa bhanaa Sarbaht dah Phahla" which can be translated as "Nanak asks for 'Naam' (name of God) with which comes well being, happiness and positive spirit and with your blessings, Lord may everyone in the world prosper and be in peace" or

can be broken down as: Nanak, With Naam comes Chardi Kala and with your blessings, may there be peace for all. http://religion.wikia.com/wiki/Sarbat\_da\_bhala

- 10 Ghadar is an Urdu word derived from Arabic which means "revolt" or "rebellion."
- 11 http://hamariweb.com/dictionaries/traitors\_urdu-meanings.aspx; http:// hamariweb.com/dictionaries/perfidious\_urdu-meanings.aspx
- 12 http://www.internetslang.com/THUMBNAIL-meaning-definition.asp; http:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thumbnail
- 13 The Ghadar Party was an organization founded by Punjabi Indians,[1] in the United Statesand Canada with the aim to liberate India from British rule. Key members included lala Har Dayal, Sohan Singh Bhakna, Kartar Singh Sarabha, and Rashbehari Bose.

After the outbreak of World War I, Ghadar party members returned to Punjab to agitate for rebellion alongside the Babbar Akali Movement. In 1915 they conducted revolutionary activities in central Punjab and attempted to organize uprisings, but their attempts were crushed by the British Government.[1] After the conclusion of the war, the party in America split into Communist and Anti-Communist factions. The party was formally dissolved in 1948.[1] http:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghadar\_Party

- 14 Ghadar di Gunj (Punjabi: ???? ?? ????, ÛÏÑ lí •äÌ, translation: *Echoes of Mutiny*) is a compilation of nationalist and socialist literature that was produced in the early stages of theGhadar movement. Published by the Hindustan Ghadar press in the Ghadar weekly from San Francisco in 1913-14, the literature consists of a collection of songs and poems in Gurumukhi and Shahmukhiand covered addressed the political situation in India. Pamphlets titles Ghadar di Goonj andTalwar were also produced at this time for circulation in India. These were deemed sedetionist publications by the British Indian government and banned from publication and circulation in India. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Ghadar\_di\_gunj
- 15 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doubting\_Thomas
- 16 Ike's second warning, hint: it is not the "military-industrial complex" There are only two warnings in that speech for God's sake, if you're going to honor a historical document maybe somebody could at least read it, and maybe for once in almost fifty years remind us of Ike's second warning: "...that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite." Does anything come immediately to mind when you read that? Ike goes on, "...Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity." And, "The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present and is gravely to be regarded." http://wattsupwiththat.com/2009/ 02/21/ikes-second-warning-hint-it-is-not-the-military-industrial-complex/
- 17 Anne Murphy, Assistant Professor and Chair of Punjabi Language, Literature and Sikh Studies at UBC University of British Columbia, Canada constructs her *'The Materiality Of The Past* History and Representation in Sikh Tradition', thesis on Apocrypha, Mythology, Heresy, Hearsay Fiction, and Folklore.
- 18 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herd\_mentality
- 19 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\_Common\_Man

- 21 SGGS Page 145: http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Kalyug
- 22 Sri Guru Granth Sahib, p. 1412. : Jau tau prem khelan ka chao, sir dhar tali gali meri aao / It marag pair dhareejai, sir deejai kaan na keejai. "If you wish to play the game of love, Come to me with readiness to die in your heart, For on this path, even the first step should mean that You will not hesitate to lay down your life — for righteousness
- 23 SGGS. Page. 1412. http://www.gurmat.info/sms/smsarticles/advisorypanel/ gurmukhsinghsewauk/martyrdomtradition.html
- 24 The Sikh Empire was a major power in the Indian subcontinent, that arose under the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who established the empire basing it around the Punjab. The empire existed from 1799, when Ranjit Singh capturedLahore, to 1849 and was forged on the foundations of the Khalsa from a collection of autonomous Sikh misls.[2][3] At its peak in the 19th century, the empire extended from the Khyber Pass in the west to western Tibet in the east, and fromBahawalpur in the south to Kashmir in the north. http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Sikh\_Empire
- 25 Captain J. D. Cunningham, 'History of the Sikhs', p. 296
- 26 Charhdi Kala or Chardi Kala is a concept in Sikhism that refers to a mental state of optimism and joy. Sikhs are ideally expected to be in this positive state of mind as a sign of their contentment with the will of God, even during the times of adversity.[1] The Punjabi word "Chardi Kala" can be translated as "positive attitude"[2] or "ascending energy".[1] It is also described as being in "high spirits" or "positive, buoyant and optimistic" attitude to life and to the future. Chardi Kala is the state of mind in which a person has no negative emotions like fear, jealousy or enmity. Instead the mind is full of positive feelings including joy, satisfaction and self-dignity.[3]
- 27 As foreseen in Ecclesiastes. IV. KJV. Bible.
- 28 A Sikh. Punjabi is a follower of Sikhism, a monotheistic religion that originated in the 15th century in the Punjab region. The term "Sikh" means disciple, student, or (œik?a).[27][28] A Sikh is a disciple/subject of the Guru Granth Sahib, http:/ /en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikh
- 29 Sikhism, or known in Punjabi as Sikhi is a monotheistic religion founded during the 15th century in the Punjab region of theIndian subcontinent, by Guru Nanak[3] and continued to progress through the ten successive Sikh gurus (the last guru being the holy scripture Guru Granth Sahib - The Guru Granth Sahib is a collection of the Sikh Guru's writings that was compiled by the 5th Sikh Guru). It is the fifth-largestorganized religion in the world, with approximately 30 million adherents.[4][5] Punjab, India is the only state in the world with a majority Sikh population. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikhism
- 30 Khalsa which means 'pure' is the name given by Guru Gobind Singh to all Sikhs who have been baptised or initiated by taking Amrit in a ceremony called Amrit Sanchar. The first time that this ceremony took place was on Baisakhi, which fell on 30 March 1699 at Anandpur Sahib in Punjab, India. The Sikhs celebrated the 300th anniversary of the day in 1999 with thousands of religious gatherings all over the world. The word "Khalsa" is derived from Arabic khalis (literally meaning "pure" or "unsullied") and Perso-Arabic khalisah (literally pure; office of revenue department; lands directly under government

management), is used collectively for the community of baptised Sikhs. http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Khalsa

- 31 Kirat Karô is one of the Three pillars of Sikhism, the others being Naam Japo andVa?? chakkô. The term means to earn an honest, pure and dedicated living by exercising one's God-given skills, abilities, talents and hard labour for the benefit and improvement of the individual, their family and society at large. This means to work with determination and focus by the sweat of one's brow and not to be lazy and to waste one's life to time. Meanwhile, Simran and dedication to the work of God, not personal gain, should be one's main motivation. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kirat\_Karo
- 32 Vand Chhako is one of the three main pillars of the teachings ofGuru Nanak Dev, the founder of the Sikh dharm. The other two pillars are Naam Japoand Kirat Karni. It is a technique and method which means share what you have and to consume it together as a community. This could be wealth, food. etc. The term is also used to mean to share ones wealth with others in the community, to give to charity, to distribute in Langar and to generally help others in the community who need help. A Sikh is expected to contribute at least 10% of their wealth/ income to the needy people of the world or to a worthy cause. An alternative spelling and meaning, "Vand Ke Chakna", means to share the fruits of one's labor with others before considering oneself, thus living as an inspiration and a support to the entire community. Guru Ji says on page 299 of Guru Granth Sahib,
- 33 Naam Japna, or Naam Simran refers to the meditation, vocal singing of hymns from the Sri Guru Granth Sahib or contemplating the various Names of God (or qualities of God), especially the chanting of the word Wahe Guru, which means "Wonderful Lord" representing the formless being the creator of all the forms and being omnipresent in all forms.[1] Singing of hymns generally is also referred to as Nâm Jap, sometimes also called Nâm Simran. Singing of hymns with musical accompaniment is generally referred to as Kirtan. While contemplating God's names a devotee is able to get nâm, the divine connection with God. Nâm is able to fulfill all desires and cleanse the mind of its impurities distress.[2] Through Nâm the devotees are able to harness Godly qualities and remove the five thieves.[3] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naam\_Japo
- The five thieves (panjadosh or panj vikar) are, according to Sikhism, the five 34 major weaknesses of the human personality at variance with its spiritual essence. The common evils far exceed five in number, but a group of five came to be identified because of the obstruction they are believed to cause in man's pursuit of the moral and spiritual path. The group of five evils comprises Kam (lust), Krodh (rage), Lobh(greed), Moh (attachment) and Ahankar (ego) in Punjabi; translated into English these words mean lust/ addiction, wrath/rage/anger, materialistic greed, attachment/worldly infatuation and ego/pride respectively. The word "evil" here may be understood to represent the connotation of Punjabi paap (sin), dokh (defect), or kilbikh (defilement). It is the primary aim of the practising Sikh to subdue these five inner evils and render them useless. The actions of one's mind should be above, beyond and without interference from these five inner urges. It's a Sikh's duty to not base their life subject to these five passions of the human heart. To live a life in devotion to the AlmightyWaheguru in positive Spirits (Chardikala) and in His

Mercy (Hukam). To remember God in Naam Simran, engaged in community service (Sewa) and to practise the Five Virtues. By taking these positive steps, the Five Evils are overcome and rendered ineffective. By adopting this daily routine and discipline the person's actions become pure (Nirmal) and rewarding to the soul and the negativity of the person is removed. http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Five\_Thieves

- 35 http://www.cpiml.org/liberation/year\_2007/october/Sardaar\_ajit\_singh.htm
- 36 The Ghadr Movement. Revolutionary Upsurge of 1914-15. By Prof. Malwinder Jit Singh Waraich. "Desh pain dhakke bahar mile dhoi naa, Sada pardesian da des koi naa" // (Humiliated back home, no solace abroad, For us aliens no refuge around.) It is not one of the wonders of history as to how these semiliterature 'rustics', many of them ex-servicemen, the proverbial 'yes-men' rose like a volcano!
- 37 http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/SSEAL/echoes/chapter4/chapter4\_1.html San *Francisco Call*, 13 August 1910.
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- 39 Jagjit Singh, JS Mann, PS Randhawa. Ghadr Party Lehar. ISBN 978-93-5087-026-6
- 40 http://www.sikhpioneers.org/ghadrmovement.html
- 41 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikhism
- 42 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guru\_Maneyo\_Granth
- 43 Sri Guru Granth Sahib, p. 1412. : Jau tau prem khelan ka chao, sir dhar tali gali meri aao / It marag pair dhareejai, sir deejai kaan na keejai. "If you wish to play the game of love, Come to me with readiness to die in your heart, For on this path, even the first step should mean that You will not hesitate to lay down your life — for righteousness
- 44 In his book, The Holy Science, Sri Yukteswar explained that the descending phase of Satya Yuga lasts 4800 years, the Treta Yuga 3600 years, Dwapara Yuga 2400 years, and the Kali Yuga 1200 years. The ascending phase of the Kali Yuga began in September 499 AD. Since September 1699, we have been in the ascending phase of the Dwapara Yuga, according to Sri Yukteswar.[3] In The Holy Science, Sri Yukteswar wrote that the traditional or long count view is based on a misunderstanding. He says that at the end of the last descending Dvapara Yuga (about 700 BC), "Maharaja Yudhisthira, noticing the appearance of the dark Kali Yuga, made over his throne to his grandson [and]...together with all of his wise men...retired to the Himalaya Mountains... Thus there was none in the court...who could understand the principle of correctly accounting the ages of the several Yugas."[3] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuga
- 45 Yuga (Devanâgari: ???) in Hindu philosophy is the name of an epoch or era within a four age cycle. According to Hindu cosmology, life in the universe is created and destroyed once every 4.1 to 8.2 billion years,[1][2] which is one full day (day and night) for Brahma. The lifetime of a Brahma himself may be 311 trillion and 40 billion years.[1] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuga
- 46 According to these texts, the creation and destruction of the universe is a cyclic process, which repeats itself forever. Each cycle starts with the birth and expansion

(lifetime) of the universe equaling 311.04 trillion years, followed by its complete annihilation (which also prevails for the same duration) which is done by Lord Shiv[*citation needed*]. Ancient Hindu units of measurement are still prevalent among the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist communities. They are used as a base for doing certain type of astrological calculations, performing religious rituals, etc. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metrics\_of\_time\_in\_Hinduism

- 47 The Julian calendar was a reform of the Roman calendar introduced by Julius Caesar in 46 BC (708 AUC). It took effect in 45 BC (709 AUC). It was the predominant calendar in most of Europe, and in European settlements in the Americas and elsewhere, until it was superseded by the Gregorian calendar.
- 48 The Nanakshahi calendar is a tropical solar calendar that was adopted by the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee to determine the dates for important Sikh events.[1] It was designed by Pal Singh Purewal to replace the Saka calendar and has been in use since 1998. Since 1998, amongst the critics, no-one has come forward with suggestions of specific changes, other than to suggest that the Sikhs should revert to the Vikrami calendar. The epoch of this calendar is the birth of the firstSikh Guru, Nanak Dev in 1469. New Year's Day falls annually on what is March 14 in the Gregorian Western calendar.[1] The calendar is accepted in about 90% of the gurdwaras throughout the world. There is some controversy about the acceptance of the calendar among certain orthodox sectors of the Sikh world. [2] Some orthodox organizations and factions have not accepted it including many orders dating from the time of the Gurus such as Damdami Taksal, Buddha Dal Nihungs, Takhats etc.

Features of the new calendar: a tropical solar calendar called Nanakshahi after Guru Nanak (founder of Sikhism) year one is the year of Guru Nanak's birth (1469 CE). As an example, 2010 CE is Nanakshahi 541. uses most of the mechanics of the Western calendar year length is same as Western calendar (365 days 5 hours 48 minutes 45 seconds) contains 5 months of 31 days followed by 7 months of 30 days leap year every 4 years in which the last month (Phagun) has an extra day. Approved by Akal Takht in 2003 but later amended http:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nanakshahi\_calendar

- 49 In history, a millennium is a period of time of one thousand years. http:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/3rd\_millennium
- 50 SGGS Page 145: ???? ???? ???? ???? ???? ??????? 'The Dark Age of Kali Yuga is the knife, and the kings are butchers; righteousness has sprouted wings and flown away':
- 51 This is a list of revolutions and rebellions. This is an incomplete list, which may never be able to satisfy particular standards for completeness. You can help by with reliably sourced entries. http://en.wikipedia.org

wiki/List\_of\_revolutions\_and\_rebellions World revolution is the Marxist concept of overthrowing capitalism in all countries through the conscious revolutionary action of the organized working class. These revolutions would not necessarily occur simultaneously, but where local conditions allowed a revolutionary party to successfully replace bourgeois ownership and rule, and install a workers' state based on social ownership of the means of production. In most Marxist schools, such as Trotskyism, the essentially international character of the class struggle and the necessity of global scope are critical elements and a chief explanation of the failure of socialism in one country. The end goal is to achieve world socialism, and later, stateless communism. http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/World\_revolution

- 52 Originating about 1650 to 1700, it was sparked by philosophers Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), John Locke (1632-1704), Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), Voltaire (1694-1778) and physicist Isaac Newton (1643-1727).[3] Ruling princes often endorsed and fostered these figures and even attempted to apply their ideas of government in what was known as enlightened absolutism. The Scientific Revolution is closely tied to the Enlightenment, as its discoveries overturned many traditional concepts and introduced new perspectives on nature and man's place within it. The Enlightenment flourished until about 1790-1800, after which the emphasis on reason gave way to Romanticism's emphasis on emotion, and a Counter-Enlightenment gained force.[4] In France, Enlightenment was based in the salons and culminated in the great Encyclopédie (1751–72) edited by Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and (until 1759) Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783) with contributions by hundreds of leading philosophers (intellectuals) such as Voltaire (1694-1778), Rousseau (1712–1778) [5] and Montesquieu (1689–1755). Some 25,000 copies of the 35 volume set were sold, half of them outside France. The new intellectual forces spread to urban centres across Europe, notably England, Scotland, the German states, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Italy, Austria, and Spain, then jumped the Atlantic into the European colonies, where it influenced Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, among many others, and played a major role in the American Revolution. The political ideals of the Enlightenment influenced the American Declaration of Independence, the United States Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and the Polish-Lithuanian Constitution of May 3, 1791.[6] http:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Age of Enlightenment
- 53 A common reference in Western culture is the notion of "enlightenment experience". This notion can be traced back to William James, who used the term "religious experience" in his book, The Varieties of Religious Experience.[9] Wayne Proudfoot traces the roots of the notion of "religious experience" further back to the German theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), who argued that religion is based on a feeling of the infinite. The notion of "religious experience" was used by Schleiermacher to defend religion against the growing scientific and secular citique.[10]

It was popularised by the Transcendentalists, and exported to Asia via missionaries.[11] Transcendentalism developed as a reaction against 18th Century rationalism, John Locke's philosophy of Sensualism, and the predestinationism of New England Calvinism. It is fundamentally a variety of diverse sources such as Hindu texts like the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita,[12] various religions, and German idealism.[13]

It was adopted by many scholars of religion, of which William James was the most influential.[14][note 4] The notion of "experience" has been criticised.[19][20][21] Robert Sharf points out that "experience" is a typical Western term, which has found its way into Asian religiosity via western influences.[19][note 5] The notion of "experience" introduces a false notion of duality between "experiencer" and "experienced", whereas the essence of kensho is the realisation of the "non-duality" of observer and observed.[23][24] "Pure

experience" does not exist; all experience is mediated by intellectual and cognitive activity.[25][26] The specific teachings and practices of a specific tradition may even determine what "experience" someone has, which means that this "experience" is not the proof of the teaching, but a result of the teaching.[27] A pure consciousness without concepts, reached by "cleaning the doors of perception",[note 6] would be an overwhelming chaos of sensory input without coherence.[28] Nevertheless, the notion of religious experience has gained widespread use in the study of religion,[29] and is extensively researched.[29] According to U. G. Krishnamurti there is no such thing as enlightenment, and "there is nothing to understand". http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlightenment\_(spiritual)

- 54 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Global\_village
- 55 Dick Teresi, "Lost Discoveries' American author .
- 56 The Sino-Sikh War was fought from May 1841 to August 1842 between the Qing Empire and the Sikh forces. Also Alfred P. Rubin, The Sino-Indian Border Disputes, pub by The International and Comparative Law Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 1. (Jan., 1960), pp. 96-125. The Chinese and the Sikhs signed a treaty in September 1842, which stipulated no transgressions or interference in the other country's frontiers that the friendship between will be kept and observed till eternity; for the traffic in shawl, pasham, and tea. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sino-Sikh\_War
- 57 http://sonekichidiya.in/publications/vision/
- 58 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Punjab,\_India
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- 64 Arnold Toynbee. *Foreword to UNESCO's Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*. Orient Longman. New Delhi. p. 7.
- 65 http://www.khalsagarh.org/pipal.htm .
- 66 http://www.gurbanifiles.org/gurbani\_cd.htm
- 67 http://www.globalsikhstudies.net/
- 68 http://www.peacenext.org/profile/PERMINDERSINGHRANDHAWA
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- 70 http://www.wikipedia.org/
- 71 www.google.com
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# THE SIKH IDENTITY

S Daljeet Singh

#### Introductory

In order to understand the sovereignty and independence of the Sikh religion we shall discuss the subject under the following heads:

(1) Spiritual experience and concept of God, (2) Ideology, (3) Class, (4) Scripture, and (5) *Panth* and Its Institutions. Since the subject of Sikh identity is very wide, only a brief reference to the various elements mentioned above, will be made.

# Spiritual Experience and the Concept of God

It is significant that Guru Nanak clearly claims that he has a mission as ordained by God, "O Lalo, I say what the Lord commands me to convey."1 This statement about their prophethood and mission has been made by the other Gurus as well, of course, the mission is the same as proclaimed by Guru Nanak. In describing the spiritual experience, the Gurus have unambiguously asserted the existence of the Fundamental Spiritual Reality, and its ineffability. Yet, they have described profusely the various attributes of God, social, political, ethical, metaphysical, etc. Three things they have repeatedly emphasized, first, that He is Unknowable, second, that He is the Source and Ocean of all values and virtues, and third, that He is All-Love: "Friends ask me; what is the mark of the Lord. He is All-Love; the rest He is ineffable."2 These important characteristics described by the Gurus, stress the dynamic and creative character of God. Seen in the light of the Indian definition of Sat-Chit-Anand, and the characteristics tabulated by Stace<sup>3</sup> and William lames, this definition is clearly different in the sense that whereas the Guru's spiritual experience, the others indicate a sense of tranquility, blissfulness and passivity.

It is not suggested that the Gurus deny the experience of blissfulness, but they highlight the dynamic aspect of that experience. In fact, the significant activities of the lives of the Gurus and the Sikh religion clearly bear the stamp of that spiritual experience. In this respect the Gurus also stress four aspects of their concept of God. First, that apart from being transcendent, He is also immanent; and being immanent, He is Creative and Directive, i.e., He has a Will. The second quality emphasized is that He is the Ruler, Protector and Sovereign (*Rakba*). The third attribute is His being the source of all values and virtues. And the fourth aspect emphasized is His interest in life and the universe. It is these principal attributes of God and the spiritual experience of the Gurus that give a new shape and identity to Sikhism and its life Le., its dynamism and ethical activities.

### Ideology

The chief elements of the Sikh ideology are based on the spiritual experience of the Gurus, as indicated above, and their definition of God. The subject may be dealt with under the following heads :

(a) Reality of World: The Gurus have repeatedly stressed the reality of the world. In fact, the very concept of God being Immanent in the world means the profound importance of the world and life. The Guru says: 'God created the world and permeated it with His Light.<sup>4</sup> Evidently, the universe in which God is immanent and is working with His Light, could neither be unreal, Mitbya or a suffering. So that is an important departure which Sikhism has made from the then existing Indian religions.

(b) Goal: The Gurus have already defined that God has a Will with which He works the world. This being so, Guru Nanak clearly lays down that the goal of life is to work in line with God's Altruistic Will. He rejects the path of ascetic silence and states that the human goal is lo carry out or move according to the Will of God. Guru Nanak puts the question as to how to become a 'sachiara' or True Man, and how to break the wall of falsehood (obstructing our vision)? Then he gives the answer, saying that the goal or the true path is to carry out the Will of God.<sup>5</sup> This is also a very important departure from the goal prescribed in Indian religions, which is generally of merger in Brahman or extinction in the ocean of Nirvana or Brahman. This very important departure from the goal in Indian systems, has great implications. For that reason, while it rejects the path of withdrawal and asceticism, it clearly prescribes a life of dynamic activity in accordance with the Attributive Will of God. It is because of this goal that the entire system of Sikhism is different from the other Indian religious systems, in which monasticism, celibacy, Ahimsa are accepted

institutions. It is this contrast in goals that makes for the Sikh way of life being entirely different from the paths prescribed in other religions. The goal is so different that the Gurus have used the Semitic words '*hukm*' and '*raza*' to express their concept of this ideal.

(c) *Methodology:* The world being real, and the goal being to carry out the attributive Will of God, naturally this leads to a life of altruistic activities for the seeker. The Guru says that it is by our deeds that we are assessed by God.<sup>6</sup> "It is by our deeds that we become away from or near to God."<sup>7</sup> "Good, righteousness, virtues and the giving up of vice are the ways to realize the essence of God."<sup>8</sup> Love, contentment, truth, humility and virtues enable the seed of *Naam* to sprout."<sup>9</sup> "Everything is lower than truth; Higher is truthful living or conduct."<sup>10</sup> In short, in Sikhism, according to the Gurus, it is by one's deeds and this character that one is judged by God.

(d) Gurmukh or the Ideal Man: We have already indicated the goal in Sikhism. Naturally, the ideal man is the one who lives God in life, and always carries out His Altruistic Will. In this regard the Gurus have indicated two concepts, one of *manmukh* and the other of gurmukh. Manmukh is the egoistic man who being unconscious of the universal Will of God, lives and works egoistically. The Gurus have clearly stated that man's problems and maladies, all arise from his egoism and selfish living. Clash, conflicts and wars in life arise, because at the present level of consciousness or our existence, we neither comprehend nor accept the universal character of life and the brotherhood of man. It is this egoistic living that brings us into conflict with other beings. The Gurus do not accept or assume a ny concept of fall, evil or Satan in life. They only state that at the present stage of development man is egoistic and for that matter imperfect. They prescribe the methodology, as mentioned above, of altruistic deeds, that alone can make for his spiritual progress. They clearly lay down a message of hope, right effort and progress; "O man you are superior in God's creatioin; now is your opportunity. You may fulfil or not fulfil your destiny."11 "You have obtained the privilege of human birth; now is your opportunity to meet God."<sup>12</sup> "God created first Himself, then Haumain (sense of individuation), third, Maya. (multifarious beings and entities), and the fourth higher stage is of gurmukh who always lives truthfully."13 This concept of *manmukh* and *gurmukh* is fundamental to the understanding of Sikh theology. The Gurus have emphasized three things. First, that at the present stage of development man is egoistic and all his problems of conflict, clash and suffering are due to his ignorant and egoistic living. But they, on that account, neither curse man nor life, rather they hold out hope for man saying that by living a life of virtuous deeds and accepting the universal character of God they can not only alleviate their suffering, but also make for spiritual progress towards their destiny. The third important thing is that the fourth stage of *gurmukh* is not of a man who merges in dod, but it is of a *gurmukh* who always lives truthfully. Hence the fourth stage of *gurmukh* is of one who continuously carries out the altruistic Will of God. And God being the Protector of the weak, the Destroyer of the evil-doers<sup>14</sup> and the demonical<sup>15</sup>, the Sachiara, or the *gurmukh* always participates fully in life and accepts total social responsibility. His sphere of functioning is as wide as the domain of God and no aspect of life is taboo for him. In short, he accepts all challenges of life, and seeks to solve them altruistically. Therefore, the Gurus prescribed for the *gurmukh* an ideal of *Sant*-*Sipahi*. This concept follows clearly and logically from the spiritual experience of the Gurus, their definition of God and their theology as mentioned above. As God is the Protector of the weak, Just (Adli) and Destroyer of the evil-doer, and this being His Will, acting and directing in the universe, the *gurmukh* as the instrument of God must inevitably follow that spiritual course. Hence this ideal of Sant-Sipahi, while in perfect consonance with the thesis of the Gurus, is entirely different, and in certain respects, diametrically opposed to some of the principal elements of the earlier religious systems. Accordingly, in no manner can the independent character of Guru Nanak's ideology be doubted or confused with any other identity or religious system.

As following from the spiritual experience of the Gurus and their theology, is determined the class or category of Guru Nanak's system. Broadly, we may classify religious systems into four classes. First is the category of Indian systems which are dichotomous in the sense that logically the spiritual path is different from the empirical path. Therefore, in dichotomous systems monasticism, asceticism, Sanyas and withdrawal are prescribed as a part of their religious methodology. The second corollary of these systems or Sanyasa is that involvement in the world is a distraction and virtually a fall. The third corollary is

that celibacy is a virtue and for that matter householder's life is generally discarded and woman is considered to be a temptress. The fourth corollary is that Ahimsa or pacificism is an integral" virtue. It is because of this dichotomy between the spiritual and the empirical lives, we believe, that the highly discriminatory and unfair system of caste, untouchability and pollution has continued to be a part of the Indian empirical life. The second category of systems includes Judaism and Islam, which are whole-life systems, because in these, spiritual life and empirical life are combined. But both these systems have two other features. One, they are both exclusive in their character. Second, in both of them in the later part of their history, monasticism and asceticism have appeared and been accepted. This happens in the form of Essenes, Kabbalists, etc. in the case of Judaism, and various sects of Sufism in the case of Islam. To the third category of systems belongs Christianity, which although it accepts involvement in life, strictly prescribes non-resistance to evil, and pacificism. Probably on this account, in Christianity, which was originally a householder's religion, later appeared monasteries and nunneries. It is for the same reason that later still the institutions of secularism and communism have arisen in the Western life, involving thereby a virtual dichotomy between the religious life and the empirical life.

To the fourth class of religious systems, belongs Sikhism. While like Judaism and Islam, it is a whole-life system, it is free from their other two features, namely, of exclusiveness and of accepting monasticism and withdrawal as a part of their religious system. In Sikhism, on the other hand, both these features have been rejected. Sikhism discards monasticism, asceticism and withdrawal. This rejection was made clear both by Guru Nanak in not allowing Baba Sri Chand to be his successor, and by the subsequent Gurus by excluding Sanyasis and ascetics from the Sikh fold. Obviously, a whole-life system with the concept of *Miri* and *Piri* and the ideal of *Sant-Sipahi*, could not in any manner countenance the presence of recluses and Sanyasis as a part of their flock. For the same reasons, both celibacy and the downgrading of women, were emphatically rejected. Nor could a *Miri-Piri* system accept Ahimsa as a virtue or a part of its religious ethics. Further, the importance of work and sustaining life was clearly recommended, and yogic aloofness condemned. For similar reasons caste ideology was rejected since it militated against the Gurus' basic principle of fairness and brotherhood of man. Lastly, in order to give a clear and visible shape to his new ideology, the Sixth Master created the institution of Akal Takhat at the same place as Harmandir Sahib with separate flags representing Miri and *Piri*. An important feature signifying this combination is that the Sixth Master wore two *kirpans* meaning thereby an integral unity of spiritual and empirical life in the Sikh system. Because Piri was represented by a Kirpan as much as *Miri* was done. It is significant that in Nathism, which was a very old system, quite alive in the Punjab, the Nath had to take vows for remaining celibate, for not doing any work or business, and for strictly observing Ahimsa.<sup>16</sup> Although these recluses did to an extent accept the validity of the caste system and the Hindu gods, Guru Nanak categorically rejected all these features, and organised a whole-life system of householders participating" in all walks of life and remaining socially responsible.

Another important fact which generally goes unnoticed is that the Tenth Master in prescribing the wearing of Kirpan for the Sikhs clearly reminds him of his duty against aggression and tyranny, and warns him against any relapse into a monastic or ascetic system of withdrawal from life. Hence in every respect and in the essentials of its theology, Sikhism belongs to a class of systems quite apart and independent in its ideology. For, Guru Nanak and the succeeding Nine Masters dearly demonstrated in their lives what Sikhism stood for and how it was to be lived in a manner emphatically different from not only the Indian systems but also from the three Semitic systems, current in his times. In fact, dear direction was given to see that features that had appeared in some of the earlier whole-life systems did not creep in Sikhism at some later stage. All this shows how clear were the Sikh Gurus in their vision and about the independence and sovereignty of their system and the mission they were to pursue.

### Scripture

*Guru Granth Sahib*, the Sikh Scripture, is the most emphatic pronouncement about the distinct and independent identity of Sikhism. Apart from being the embodiment of the words or *Shabad* of the Gurus, and for that matter of the commandments of God and the Sikh doctrines, and being final in every respect, it is the living guide of the Sikhs and has been so apothecated by the Tenth Master. The phenomenon of Sikh Scripture is unique in the annals of religious history of man. In the case of every other religion its scripture was compiled decades, and mostly centuries, after the prophet had left the physical scene. In all these cases numerous problems of authenticity, textual accuracy and advertant additions and interpolations, have arisen, thereby creating many controversies, both among the faithful and the scholars. In fact scholarly debate has arisen in Christianity as to whether or not Christ wanted to initiate a new religion or intended only to reform Judaism. But the step taken by the Fifth Master makes its absolutely clear that the Gurus had a new thesis to give, entirely different from the earlier ones, and for that matter, it required a separate and authentic compilation. By this important measure, the Master eliminated all possibilities of attendant controversies that had arisen in the Case of other religions. Secondly, it made it equally explicit that in its message the Scripture was final and complete. And the Tenth Master, while stopping the line of human succession to the Guruship, made it clear what the position of the Guru Granth is in the Sikh religion. The Gurus thus created a tradition that not a word could be altered nor any line added to the *Guru Granth*. The story about Ram Rai, Guru's own son, and other similar incidents make it clear how particular the Gurus were in maintaining and securing the authenticity of the *Bani* (*Shabad*) and how sacred they felt to be its character as the vehicle of Truth.

In this context, one fact is very significant. In the presence of the existing position on the *Guru Granth* neither can there be an alteration in the Sikh thesis, nor can any saint or person, while claiming to be a Sikh, attempt to create any deviation or schism in the Sikh society. It is in this background that one can understand the activities and writings of two writers of long association with a Christian Mission in Punjab, in making unfounded and misleading statements about the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir. The surprising part of such statements, in fact, some misstatements<sup>17</sup>, is that those have been made or repeated without a proper study or examination of the Bir or the authentic literature that existed long before these persons raised unwarranted doubts. And the very fact that some of those statements or the intentions behind making them, is being now denied, shows the fishy nature of such attempts. All we wish to emphasize is the great and unprecedented vision of the Sikh Gurus in authenticating the Sikh Scripture, thereby eliminating for the future the possibility of any such controversy. This shows both the clear identity of the Sikh thesis and the intention of the Gurus to secure its purity for all times to come. The Sikh Gurus were fully aware of numerous scriptures in India and outside, and it is in that background that they took the monumental step of authenticating the *Guru Granth Sahib*. The implications of this step about Sikh identity are indeed profound arid emphatic.

### Panth and Its Institutions

We have already indicated Guru Nanak's system was a whole life or *Miri-Piri* system, and for that matter, it envisaged the creation of a society or *Panth*. For, it was not a salvation religion for the guidance or benefit of a few. In this matter Sikhism is entirely different from the Bhakti religions or the other Indian religions. This intention of Guru Nanak is clear from the very start. For, wherever he went, he created and organised Sikh societies with a place for the regular or periodical socio-religious meetings of his groups. And after the close of his travels, he organised such a centre at Kartarpur. It is clear that his purpose was not of merely giving a new thesis, but he also wanted to organize a society that should live the ideals laid down by him. It is for that purpose that he started the institution of succession, since he knew that although the thesis had been clearly expounded in his Bani, the society he had initiated, had still to be nurtured; motivated and developed. Of course, Guru Nanak had laid down the lines on which his society was to work, and the targets it was to achieve. His being a Miri-Piri system, it was he who had rejected the doctrine of Ahimsa. Apart from that, the institution of *Langar* was also initiated by him; it was something which was wholly revolutionary in his times. For, not only Sbudras, but Muslims also participated and sat at the same platform. In the work and lives of the subsequent Gurus, we can see a clear development and ascent in the organisation of the Sikh Panth. Separate centres of the Sikh societies were created, which were all linked to the central place where the Gurus worked and where periodical meetings of the entire Sikh Sangats were held. Apart from that, the institution of Daswandb was created. It is significant that both the field centres and the place of the Guru dealt with social as well as religious problems of the Sikh society. The primary object of all this was, on the one hand, to knit together the Sikhs as a separate Pantb or People, and, on the other hand, to wean them away from the other religions and cults, which were numerous in the country. The Sixth Master, in pursuance of the instructions of his father, started militarisation of the Sikh society, and raised the institution of the Akal Takhat side by side with the Harmandir Sahib. Almost since the time of the Fifth Master the Sikh society started growing as a parallel sociopolitical organisation. As it was also militarised, the tension between the Sikh society and the state naturally grew, ultimately leading to open clashes. The Seventh Master promised aid to Dara and the event was evidently not forgotten by the Delhi Emperor. Similarly, the organisation of a Millat, a people, by the Ninth Master came to the notice of Emperor Aurangzeb, who offered<sup>18</sup> to give grant to the Guru, if the latter gave up his political and what he felt to be somewhat rebellious activities. The Guru declined the offer. The intentions of the Gurus became clear and open, when finally the Tenth Master formally organised the institution of Sant-Sipabis or the Khalsa with Amrit ceremony. What is very significant is that as an essential component of the Sikh thesis, he prescribed the wearing of Kirpan, which indicated that the Sikhs had neither to abandon or relax in regard to their responsibility of reaction against injustice and oppression, nor had this society to relapse into a group of *Sants* unconcerned with the problems of the empirical life and their responsibility to solve them.

The broad indication of the development of the Sikh society from the time of Guru Nanak to the Tenth Master, makes it clear that from the very start the Gurus were aiming at the creation of a people imbued with the ideals of Sant-Sipahi, based on the Miri-Piri or whole-life doctrine of Guru Nanak. For, Sainapat records that on the Baisakhi day 1699 was revealed the plan, which, till then, was in the mind of the Master.<sup>19</sup> The question is not of what an arm-chair scholar might feel today, but the important Jact is what was the perception of the state during the period from the mid-sixeenth century to the end of the seventeenth century. The martyrdom of the Fifth and the Ninth Masters and the open military clashes between the armies of the state and the Sikhs showed that the Delhi Empire always took the Sikh society to be an unwanted political entity, which had to be curbed and destroyed. Hence the conflict between the Sikhs and the Mughal state and the ultimate triumph of the Sikh society, is not a phenomenon subsequent to the Guru period, but a continuing war of socio-political interests between two societies of which both sides were fully conscious and working for the success of their respective objectives. So far as the Gurus were concerned, we have already stated that they were developing a society or a people inspired with the values of the *Miri-Piri* thesis of Guru Nanak. Hence the identity of the society was unquestioned by the political rulers of the day, and is, for that matter, unquestionable, both in the field of religion and that of social growth. The institution of the *Panth* started by Guru Nanak, the system of succession and the Ten Masters who nurtured and matured the Sikh society, the institution of Langar, brotherhood and equality, coupled with the institution of work and production, can be explained only on the assumption that Guru Nanak had a separate thesis which was calculatedly sought to be implemented. Similarly, the institution of *Daswandh*, the history of martyrdoms and extreme sacrifice by the Gurus themselves, and the institution of Amrit and the Five *Kakars* equally highlight how this society was welded into a people with new motivations and ideals. In fact, this uniqueness is also evident from the failures of some scholars, drawn from pacificist or dichotomous religions to understand the logical unity and integrity of the Sikh thesis. Because according to the logic of their systems the development of the Sikh society from the seventeenth century does not appear to them to be congruous with the doctrines of their pacificist or dichotomous religions. On the other hand, seen in the light of the whole-life thesis of Guru Nanak, the entire history and institutions of the Sikh society appear so natural, logical, necessary, and understandable.

### Conclusion

We have discussed the Sikh identity under the five heads mentioned earlier. The spiritual experience of the Gurus being different from that in the case of other systems, their ideology is equally new and different; since, instead of being dichotomous or pacificist, it is a whole-life system that considers the development of a socio-religious society to be essential. But that society has not in any manner to be exclusive, nor the struggle for justice only for a narrow cause. In fact, its history shows that the approach of the Sikh society has always been universal. For, it was the Sikh society which for the first time brought a sense of equality among the different castes and creeds in India. An equally important fact is that although the Sikhs had a long history of struggle with the Muslim state, they, while in power, never tried to convert Hindus or Muslims to the Sikh faith. In ffict, both the communities flourished because of respectful regard for their faiths. The treatment the Sikh armies gave to their vanquished adversaries or to the civil populations, can bear comparison with the conduct of any army, contemporary or modern.

It is significant that it was Guru Nanak's call for playing the game of love and sacrifice, which the Tenth Master repeated at the time of the Amrit ceremony. For, just as Guru Nanak wanted a total commitment for the cause of the faith, the same total commitment was desired by the Tenth Master in response to which the Five Piyaras offered their heads. And the important fact is that this commitment to the faith was led and sanctified by the Gurus themselves with their own blood. Apart from the five factors mentioned above, the Tenth Master himself emphasized this identity by the introduction of the Nash Doctrine,<sup>20</sup> while administering Amrit to the Five Piyaras. For, he said that break with the earlier religious traditions, with the earlier superstitions, rituals and taboos, with the earlier ancestry or lineage, with the earlier deeds and professions or their immobility, was complete. By this Nash Doctrine the Tenth Master endowed the Sikh society with Five Freedoms or Liberations from all earlier traditions and taboos. What we seek to emphasize is that Sikh identity is not in any manner artificial, it is the one that was clearly created and proclaimed by the Gurus themselves.

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# The Materiality of the Past-History and Representation in Sikh Tradition

Oxford University Press (2012) Author: Anne Murphy

A Review by Jasbir Singh Mann MD, D. Lit, (Honoris Causa), California

The title of the book clearly reveals that Anne Murphy has built the entire thesis on material aspects of Sikh history, with an obvious objective of reducing Sikhism to a set of materials. The origin and foundation of Sikhism has been well documented and subjected to rigorous scrutiny ever since the British invasion of India. The intent to understand Sikhs and their religion continues to be largely political. In the late eighteenth century the British, when started their advance towards Northern India and Punjab, encountered Sikhs not as a religious body but a growing and surmountable political power, as noted in British writings. Westerners do realize that the basic source of Sikh political and religious strength is the Sikh scripture: Guru Granth Sahib. One wonders why an Assistant Professor of Sikh Studies turns a blind eye to the universally acknowledged doctrines of Sikh theology that form the basis of a very sound historical tradition of the Sikhs. The author has distorted, misinterpreted, and undermined the very foundations of Sikh faith and its institutions, with her spurious definition of Sikh identity, based on materials of the Sikh past. She has cast doubts and created undesirable controversies regarding the well-entrenched religious identity of the Sikhs. She has thrown all caution and academic integrity to the winds, when treating subjects like Gurdwaras, Sikh Rahit Maryada, The Granth Sahib, Five Kakaars of the Khalsa, and nature of Sikh identity. Her entire account, apart from being unreasonable, is unauthentic and non-academic. It's not only offensive to Sikh sentiments, but also greatly degrading to the fifth largest religion of the world. She has propounded her thesis, on basis of following assumptions:

1. Nature of Sikh identity has not been wholly static and consistent. It has been inconsistent and has evolved over a period of time.

- 2. In the pre-colonial period, Sikh identity was fluid. It was not clearly defined. Academic work of Deol and Rinehart on Dasam Granth exhibits a New Sikh conception of spiritual and worldly responsibility.
- 3. Religious nature of the Sikh identity was established in the Colonial period, with the advent of the Singh Sabha Movement and under the influence of Colonial framework of knowledge. Gurdwaras created 'territorialized notions of the Sikh Past'.
- 4. It was a result of the Gurdwara Reform Movement that the Sikhs came to realize the historical importance of the Gurdwaras. It was in a territorialized mode that they understood their history and importance.
- 5. As per the requirements of the Gurdwara Reform Act, it was essential for the British Government to provide a clear definition of Sikh identity, in relation to the property rights of the Gurdwaras. It also suited the Sikhs to have their identity defined through the Government legislation.
- 6. In the new 'deterritorialised Diasporic and fluid environment', notions of cultural and religious sovereignty are being replaced by new notions of identity, based on material culture.

With regard to the writer's first assumption, it must be pointed out that a true perspective on Sikh identity can be obtained only in the light of the world-view of the Sikh Gurus, which aimed at harmonizing worldly pursuits with a true religious life. There is clear and undisputable evidence that since the time of the Gurus, Sikh identity has been consistently religious in nature. There has been no question of multiple identities. Sikhism is a revelatory religion, and this claim is made by Guru Nanak himself - "O Lalo, I speak what the Lord commands me to convey". Similarly other Gurus have also spoken in the context. In the Siddh Gosht Guru Nanak says in reply to a question that his mission in life is, with the help of other god-men, to ferry people across the turbulent sea of life. As to the Guru's concept of God, it is recorded: "Friends ask me what is the mark of the Lord, He is All Love; rest He is ineffable". He is also called 'Ocean of Virtues' 'Benevolent', 'Gracious', 'Eyes to the blind', 'Milk to the child', 'Riches to the poor', etc. He is interested in the world. For, "True is He, True is His creation". God created the world and permeated it with His light." "It is the innermost nature of God to help the erring." "God created the world of life and planted Naam in it, making it the place for righteous activity". (GGS: Pages 722, 739, 459, 830, 463, 930, 828 and 468).

Guru Gobind Singh himself directed the Sikhs to follow Guru Granth and no other book nor any human being. Numinous experience is inherent in Frie's Ahndung (longing), Schleiermachar's Feeling, Kant's Things in Themselves (numina) and Kapur Singh's Antithesis of phenomena. It stands for the holy minus its moral factor and without any rational aspect. It is irreducible to any other factor. Numinous consciousness involves shaking fear of repulsion and an element of powerful fascination. It can only be understood by "ideograms" i.e. not through logic, but only symbolically. The core of religious experience is inherent in the awareness of non-moral holiness as a category of value. The numinous experience is the core and base of Sikh religion and its ingredients i.e. religiously sensitive mind in relation to his/her apprehension of himself/herself and universe around him/her. The Ultimate Reality is not comprehensible through the sensory motor perceptions and speculations. Sikhism is a religion of Naam (neumina), which is asserted through 30,000 hymns of Sikh scripture through revealed statements, literary similes and allusions. Naam is God, and God is Naam, and the practice of religion revolves around the Naam. Therefore, Sikh religious thought - identity, cannot be interpreted through any Materials of the past.

Sikh religious system has left a very deep impact on Sikh ethos. The testimony of two English writers, Macauliffe and Cunningham, who knew the Sikhs intimately, cannot be ignored. Referring to the many-sided transformation that the Guru's ideals had wrought in his followers, According to Cunningham "A living spirit possesses the whole Sikh people, and the impress of Gobind has not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but has operated materially and given amplitude to their physical frames". Macauliffe supports Cunningham's view that the Guru's ideology had 'a magical effect' on the depressed and the downtrodden of the Indian society, who had been condemned as outcaste. Macauliffe further stipulates: 'Stimulating precepts of the 10<sup>th</sup> Guru', 'altered what had hitherto been deemed the dregs of humanity into warriors'.

The tremendous driving power of the moral force of the Guru had created a new miracle, in defiance of the time-old prejudices and conservatism of the old Hindu religious system. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the fortunes of the community were at the lowest ebb, it was through an unflinching adherence to the ideals of their Guru that the Sikhs carved their way to success and glory. The concept of Khalsa Akal Purkh ki Fauj (Khalsa is the army of God) and the watchword, and war cry of the Sikhs, Waheguru ji ka Khalsa! Waheguru ji ki Fateh' (Khalsa belongs to the Guru and victory too is of the Guru) had an electrifying effect on their minds. Strength of these ideals had carried the Sikhs through all ordeals. It was on the strength of these ideals that the Sikhs wrested the country's frontiers from the clutches of the Afghans. The Sikhs owe their success in all their enterprises, to the spirit of rectitude and self-sacrifice, of discipline and God-mindedness that the Gurus had instilled into them.

The second assumption that the Sikh identity was not clearly defined in the pre-colonial period is equally baseless as the first one. If the Sikh identity was not clearly defined in the pre-Colonial period, then can Murphy explain the following historical facts?

- 1. History of Guru Period (Sri Chand, Mohan, Prithi, and Ram Rai transgressed Sikh beliefs in early Sikh history and were isolated).
- 2. Martyrdom of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Gurus to uphold religious freedom. Martyrdom of 5<sup>th</sup> Guru Reported by private Letter of Father Jerome Xavier,S.J. dated September 25<sup>th</sup> 1606 from Lahore To the Jesuit provincial Superior Goa.
- 3. Testimony of Moshan Fani (Muslim Chronicle, 1645).
- 4. Execution of Banda and 740 Sikhs in Delhi in 1716. That has been corroborated by two contemporary eyewitnesses, John Surman and Edward Stephenson, in a report to Robert Hedges British Governor at Fort Williams (March 10, 1716).
- 5. First Sikh Ghalughara in 18th century when governor

Yahiya Khan issued proclamation to kill all Sikhs.

- 6. Why were prices on Sikh heads fixed by Mughals?.
- 7. Misal Raj
- 8. History of Maharaha Ranjit Singh period (His government was known as Sarkar-i-Khalsa; he issued coins in the name of the Gurus and all his princes were addressed as Khalsa. He was made to appear at Akal Takhat and was granted Tankhah.).

Additionally she has willfully chosen to neglect the eloquent historical testimony of Cunningham whose unbiased monumental work was produced in the pre-colonial period, without any pressures of the Commonwealth. One is at a loss to understand why, in the face of this clear and indisputable evidence, the author goes on to assert that religious nature of the Sikh identity was promoted by the Singh Sabha leaders in the Colonial period in the light of Colonial frameworks of knowledge. Singh Sabha was not any reformist movement, which made any changes in Sikh doctrines or practice. It was just a revival movement. The author then must answer a basic question: Did the Singh Sabha create and/or compile 'new scripture' or 'new practice'? For a meaningful interpretation of Singh Sabha it is mandatory to study the Sikh movements of the Colonial period in some depth, and that too in the light of the pre-colonial Sikh Movements and Sikh scripture. An impression formed on the basis of British records and centralized Commonwealth thought only is inadequate and misleading. Standard Version of Dasam Granth has academic issues on its authenticity. Evidence shows that the British preferred Bachitar Natak rather than Guru Granth Sahib in Late 18th century because there is no evidence of any translation of Sri Guru Granth sahib by Britishers in late 18<sup>th</sup> century except Bachitar Natak composition. Malcolm obtained a copy of only Guru Granth Sahib from Punjab in 1805. He explicitly uses the translation of Bachiter Natak in his 'Sketch of the Sikhs'. British interest in the Dasam Granth and their efforts to promote it have not come under the focus of scholars so far. It needs serious investigation, which in turn may yield significant data to understand the formation of standard and current Text version of Dasam Granth. Dr. Robin Rinehart herself raises the right question 'Bansalinama (1769) by Chibar Samundra Sagar, Avatar lila, and Mahima Parkash 1776 A.D. (Bidia Sagar) are not clear about the work that later became known as the Dasam Granth and both authors do not prove or disprove anything in particular about the anthology that came to be known as the Dasam Granth?.' According to A.C. Banerjee (1975): "He (Guru Gobind Singh) insisted as the Guru Nanak had insisted, on the worship of one god and non-recognition of different deities and incarnations. This was forgotten and popular fancy pictured him as a worshiper of Devi, or mother goddess. The legend appeared for the first time in Mehma Prakash (Vartak) written in return 1741A.D. and its full form in Bhai Sukha Singh's Gurblas which was completed in 1797 A.D". Additionally Doel's work has lot of misrepresentations. He does not go into any detail on the history and text of various manuscripts as noted in his work. Until authenticity issue of standard version of Dasam Granth is resolved on Sound academic basis any interpretation based on this granth will be considered non-academic. Authenticity of the current standard version of Dasam Granth as corrected & compiled by Sodhak Committee in 1897 needs a thorough history and Gurmat based independent inquiry in light of historical and Textual evidence.

Sri Akal Takhat on June 6<sup>th</sup> 2008 in obedience of Guru Gobind Singh Ji's last command "Accept Granth As Guru. This is my order for the Panth." And passed the Gurmata, which reads: "The current controversy about the Dasam Granth is totally uncalled for. No one has any right to create controversy about the specific writings contained in Dasam Granth that have been recognized and accepted by the Sikh Panth for Sikh Code of Conduct, prescribed recitation in daily prayer and Sikh baptismal(Khandey De Pahul). Be it known to the entire Sikh Panth that Sri Dasam Granth is an integral part of Sikh literature and history but Guru Gobind Singh Ji did not recognize it equal to Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji. Since, he bestowed Guruship only on Sri Guru Granth Sahib, therefore, no other Granth can be installed along with Sri Guru Granth Sahib".

Research is needed on many issues pertaining to Dasam Granth. Critical text of Dasam Granth has not yet been fixed and a committee can make edition/deletions by consulting all the available texts of Dasam Granth now available. There are many issues, which are wide open for debate within the Panth. Sri Akal Takht Sahib and S.G.P.C. are the competent authorities to take the decision on the Sikh Affairs in the larger interest of the Panth. On the issue of Dasam Granth they have already done so by issuing the Gurmata to the Sikh Sangat world over on June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2008, which is posted on the SGPC web. http://sgpc.net/ akaltakhat\_hukum/hukumnamas.asp. Avtar Singh Makkar, President SGPC, has made a statement on Feb 14, 2010 (Ajit Newspaper, Feb 15, 2010), that SGPC will constitute a High-level committee to settle Dasam Granth issue. Jathedar Gurbachan Singh has made a similar statement on March 26th (Ajit Newspaper, March 27, 2010) requesting all concerned to send their opinion based on evidence to Sri Akal Takhat Sahib.

Murphy's third assumption that Gurudwara created 'territorialized notions of the Sikh past' is simply an utter contrary standard of judgment, which cannot be excused in a historian on Sikh chair where one of the objectives in the contract includes "to initiate, maintain and promote instruction and research undergraduate and graduate levels....Sikhism (doctrine, religious practice and philosophy)....."

Guru: means enlightenment from darkness into light, and Dwara or duaar: doorway gateway or portal. The Gurdwara houses the Guru Granth Sahib, the everlasting Guru of the Sikhs. Kirtan and Gurbani singing from Guru Granth Sahib or Katha from Sikh history offers enlightenment. Any person from any religion can come to the Gurdwara to worship by entering the door or gateway of the Guru. Significance of the word Gurdwara is found in its spiritual context as noted in Guru Granth sahib Ji as follows; "Guroo duaarai hoe sojhee paa-e-see || Entering the Guru's Gate, one obtains understanding." SGGS | 730 "Gurduaarai laae bhaavanee eknaa dasavaa duaar dikhaa-i-aa || Entering the Guru's Gate, one is blessed with loving faith, and the Tenth Door is revealed." SGGS | 922" Guroo duaarai aakh sunaa-ae | 7 | Entering the Guru's Door, utterance is heard." ||7||SGGS||930"Gur duaarai har keertan sunee-ai ||Entering the Guru's Gate, the Lord's adoring praise is heard." SGGS | 1075. To reduce the status of Gurdwaras to mere territory and to ignore their spiritual significance is to misconceive the entire issue of Sikhism and its identity. Author's close-mindedness is clearly evident.

Fourth assumption of the author can easily be academically expunged because it is baseless. Because without any meaningful discussion to support her thesis, the author hammers her assertion that as a result of Gurdwara Reform Movement, Sikhs came to realize the importance of Gurdwaras in a 'territorialized mode'. She is at pains to prove and propagate a totally false contention that dominant concerns of the Gurdwara Reform Movement were material concerns over property rights and territory, and not religious reform. She tries to mislead the readers to believe that Gurdwara as territory is more relevant for the Sikhs than as a place of worship. Sikhs find this misinformation as mischievous and highly detrimental to Sikhism. Participants in the Gurdwara Reform Movement were highly motivated Sikhs, infused with religious fervor and a spirit of self-sacrifice for the fulfillment of their mission. The Movement was totally nonviolent in character. Murphy has failed to capture the true spirit of this Movement, which set a brilliant example for the entire country, during a crucial phase of India's struggle for freedom. She has tried to belittle the character and significance of this Movement. As a result of this Movement, the Government had to pass the Sikh Gurdwara Act, which wrested control of Gurdwaras from the hands of corrupt priests, who had started treating the Gurdwaras as their personal properties and were violating the Sikh tradition. With the new legislation, the management of the Gurdwaras came to be vested with the SGPC, an elected body of the Sikhs.

Anne Murphy's fifth assumption betrays such a complete misconception of Sikh history that even a person moderately acquainted with the Sikh past would hardly take her views seriously. It is ludicrous to quote Ruchi Ram Sahini (1863-1948) who described the Gurdwara movement as "the best and most inspiring instance of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings of non-violence in thought, word and deed." Please note Sufferings at Panja sahib, Tarantarn, Nankana Sahib, Jaito da Morcha and Guru ka Bagh were inspired thru 'Sikh concept of sahaj", which rejects any priestly authority and only recognizes Akalpurkh/God as essential for spiritual growth and advancement *"man tun joti sarupu hai apana mulu pachhanu"* (GG, 441). One dons pleasures and pains just as one changes one's garments "sukhu dukhu dui dari kapare pahirahi jai manukh" (GG, 149). This is how concept of Sahaj in gurudwara reform movement epitomized mental equipoise in which all turbulence of emotions was calmed. Sikh power of suffering severely tested by British suppression in allowing control of Gurudwaras to remain in the hands of 'heretics' who had assumed charge of them since the days when Sikhs under pressure of Mughal persecution had been forced to seek safety in

remote hills and deserts. It is noteworthy that ever since the time of Gurus, the Sikhs had maintained their distinctive ethos, institutions and characteristics. It was deep faith in the Guru's ideology that had provided a strong bond of unity and solidarity for them in all their enterprises and struggles, including the Gurdwara Reform Movement. There was absolutely no doubt or dispute about the religious identity of the Sikhs, before the enactment of Sikh Gurdwara Act by the British Government. It is a different matter altogether that a clear definition of Sikh identity had to be officially recorded, as per requirements of Gurdwara Reform Act. Anne Murphy has not clearly perceived the issue of Sikh identity, as she fails to take cognizance of the universally accepted Sikh religious tradition. Perhaps she has compulsive reasons to prove her thesis with the support of her material arguments. She fails to note that the word 'Sikh' denotes a person who adheres to Sikh religion and by virtue of being a Sikh, has a religious identity.

Guru Granth was compiled as New Scripture with New Ideology with New Religious Experience. Vedas and Upanishads are without doubt the scriptures of all Hindu systems. But Sikhism completely denies their authority. The Sikh Gurus were so clear particular about the independent and separate identity of their religious system and complete originality and newness of its character that they took significant steps, which no other religious leader in the world had done. They specifically compiled and authenticated the Sikh Scripture. Secondly, since the time of its compilation in 1604 A.D., it is the complete repository of and the final authority on the Sikh ideology and its doctrines. Since the Gurus called it revealed Bani, it has been regarded as the Shabad, having the sanction of God. The Tenth Master introduced the Nash doctrine additionally, thereby making a complete and final break with all other Indian ideologies. How can Anne Murphy describe a Sikh, in material terms, in the true sense? Having said all this, the Sikhs still have a new version of Sikh identity, based on material culture, super-imposed on them by Anne Murphy. Identity is not a set of materialities. Identity is a mind-set, a matter of faith, a set of values and institutions, a track record, a tradition, a common heritage and historical experience shared with members of a community. Path chosen by the author is not purely academic. She strays into politics and yet claims to steer clear of political controversies. Identity issue has socio-political ramifications and is bound to create controversies.

Author's sixth assertion relates to her self-proclaimed notions of 'de-territorialized diasporic fluid environment' and new idea of identity based on material culture, as distinct form historical credentials and religious identity of the Sikhs. Such rhetorical assertions seem to be a manifestation of the 'elitenexus' in the West, who in the name of modernism and some Western models of belief seek to undermine religious beliefs, scriptures, traditions and institutions of non-Western religious communities. Materialists, who do not believe in the existence of an unseen spiritual reality, make every bid to promote material culture. Anne Murphy comes in the category of materialist scholars who are thoroughly steeped in material culture. In this frame of mind, she looks upon the Sikh Gurdwara in territorial terms and views the Sikh scripture and five religious symbols (the five K's) as material objects, stripped of their religious significance. In her utopian 'deterritorialised vision' of the new global world order, nation-states would dissolve their separate entities and become one unit. In implicit terms, she turns her materialist lens on Khalistani vision of the territorialized nationstate, which she believes is 'a potent force in some diasporic locations.' She means to say that political claims of Khalistanis will have no scope of fulfillment in the new world order, based on a 'deterritorialised vision.' She claims to delink from politics yet her book has clear political undertones and she seems to be writing under a motivated design. One wonders why she has taken upon herself to question the traditional definition and provide a new definition of Sikh identity based solely and wholly on materialties. After all, Sikhs are entitled to their own opinion about their identity. Why should outsiders pass definitive judgment about their identities? They should take due cognizance of the selfdefinition and cultural self-assertion of the Sikhs. Sikhs have a glorious heritage and great past. Anne Murphy has knowingly turned a blind eye to the ideological aspects of Sikh tradition and identity. All that is sacred in Sikhism escapes her attention. Only material things come into her reckoning, which can easily fit into her materialistic and lop-sided interpretation. The result is gross misrepresentation and distortion of Sikh history, heritage and tradition. The issue is very serious, not only from the academic point of view, but also from the angle of communal politics, which has a direct bearing on the day-to-day life of the Sikh community, in terms of its identity. Any effort to confuse the Sikh identity by using the rhetoric of modernism and secularism can have grave ramifications for the Sikhs. Academicians need to be aware and tread their path with more caution.

Sikh colonial history needs to be decolonized now. It all started with the founding fathers of the Asiatic Society Calcutta including Warren Hasting, William Jones, Charles Wilkins, Nathaniel Halhed, H.T. Colebrooke and Wilson who were responsible for the rediscovery of India and her past in late 18<sup>th</sup> century for their political and missionary motive. **'Siyar-ul-mutakherin'**- [History of India from the death of Aurangzeb in 1701 to 1781], in Persian. Immediately translated into English by Anonymous *Translator, NOTA*-MANUS. William Jones annotated first 44 pages. Sikh account is misinterpreted and misrepresented on page 82-86. All British historiographers followed it onwards. Readers are advised to review it for themselves. Click on http:// w w w . p a n j a b d i g i l i b . o r g / w e b u s e r / s e a r c h e s / d i s p l a y P a g e .j s p ? ID = 1714 & p a g e = 7 & C a t e g o r y ID = 1&Searched=Hand+Book+ for+Indian+army+

In a letter of 24.10.1786 to Sir Charles Boughton-Rouse Jones writes of "an excellent impartial modern History of India from Muhammad Shah to the late Revolution at Benares, containing very just Remarks on the Administration of Government and Justice of our Nation. The Author is a venerable old man named Ghulam Husain'. Ghulam Hussain Khan, of Persian origin, had close links with the British, and the Siyar-ul-mutakherin was his chief work."

# Conclusion

One fails to find adequate words to describe the utter contrary accepted standard of Anne Murphy's judgment of Sikh identity and her wildly unreasonable views on Gurdwaras, Gurudwara reform movement, the Granth Sahib and the five religious symbols of the Sikhs. With her lop-sided emphasis on unnecessary details of material objects and sites, she tries to engage, the reader in mind-boggling complexities. There is no substance or sense in her material arguments. She has made a complete mess and misrepresentation of the Sikh past. With her cut and dried materialistic approach, she has ventured upon a very sensitive theme of Sikh identity, which has wide sociopolitical dimensions. Sikhism is a living religion. But Sikhism, as the hymns and lives of the Gurus express and demonstrate clearly, has a world-view of life-affirmation, since in the Sikh ideology there is an inalienable combination between the spiritual life and the empirical life of man which lifts mankind to a higher plane of humanity and accomplishments.

As a minority group, diasporic Sikhs are facing manifold challenges, in the current socio-political milieu. Identity issue has assumed a great significance, from the Sikh perspective. At times, Sikhs have to seek legal redress, in order to assert their right to wear the five religious symbols. Murphy's book fails to provide a correct perspective on Sikh identity and symbols. Such books can project a distorted and negative image of Sikhism, in the contemporary situation and can prove detrimental to the community interests of the Sikhs. Recently, there have been reports of diasporic Sikhs falling victims of hate-crimes. Misrepresentation and misinformation about Sikhs and Sikhism spread by the Western academia have also generated cultural tensions.

In the new century, emerging post-modern trends indicate revival of religion. No doubt world has become materialistic and individualistic. But, religion has its own important place and role to play. In the new global world-order territorialized nation-states would co-exist in peaceful co-ordination and would not dissolve their separate entities, as envisaged by Anne Murphy. It would be a federation of nation-states. New international culture will acknowledge and respect the religio-cultural identities of all races and communities. In Sikhism there is no dichotomy between the spiritual path and the empirical path. Therefore, new international culture has already accepted Sikhism as one of the major religions of the world because whatever is within the domain of God is also within the sphere of operation of the Godman. De-territorialized vision of the new world order is nothing more than a Utopian vision, which can never be realized. It may be possible to realize when man occupies a new territory on Mars or some other planet. Murphy's book has raised so many issues with regard to historiography, research methodology and academic standards in the universities.

PS: For debates on Sikh studies click on http:// www.globalsikhstudies.net/

# The Materiality of the Past-History and Representation in Sikh Tradition

Oxford University Press (2012) Author: Anne Murphy

A Review by Dr Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon Formerly Professor of History, Panjab University, Chandigarh (India)

Recently, the field of Sikh Studies has generated a lot of interest in the West. But most of these studies tend to be influenced by the late W H McLeod who was the most ardent proponent and forerunner of the materialistic school of thought. He introduced and propagated new methodologies, new themes and new models of history writing based on materialistic interpretations of history. He introduced some fundamental changes in history writing and shaped the direction of Sikh Studies in the West from what came to be called, 'a post colonial perspective' on the modern secular lines. Chairs of Sikh Studies in America and Canada also tend to be dominated by McLeodian model of history writing. Anne Murphy, Assistant Professor of Sikh Studies at British Columbia University is on the same bandwagon as McLeod and is adopting the same model for history writing.

Literature produced by scholars, operating from the 'ivory towers' of Western academia have generated a storm of controversy in the academic circles. Unsavoury debates and cultural and intellectual tensions on account of contrasting approaches to historiography have led to a virtual impasse between the Eastern and Western scholars and chaos in the field of history. Western scholars, with their 'one-size-fits-all' explanations and brazen self-congratulatory sophistry attempt to prove the validity of materialistic versions of history and go on to make eloquent claims of self-righteousness, liberalism and objectivity. Scholars, attuned to traditional historiography in the non-Western cultures, are strong dissenters of the new approach. They find this highly irksome in as far as the Western writings encroach on their religion, culture and identity under the cloak of presenting 'new versions' of history, which are based on their lop-sided Western world-view and materialist methodology.

Godless materialism and staunch secularism of the West seem to have invaded the field of Sikh history which is closely intertwined with the Miri-Piri tradition and the firm belief of the Sikhs that 'Akal Purkh operates in history'. Materialistic interpretation of Sikh history is a direct negation of the unique Sikh world-view which is very closely aligned to the wholeness of life and combines the spiritual and the empirical realms of human existence. This world-view operates in the dynamic Sikh history as a motivating force. In the integrated vision of the Sikh Gurus, there is only one indivisible unified Reality that creates, underlines and weaves together the multiplicity of matter. Thoughts, attitudes, emotions and actions that go into the making of the Sikh community and their ethos, traditions and history are all governed by this world-view.

History is not a calculating machine, meant to count only materialities of the past. It unfolds in the mind and the imagination. It must take into account the multifarious responses of a people's culture. A historian must be fully sensitive to the reality of the historical experience of a community's culture in all its diversity and complexity. Culture is a concept that includes a refining and elevating element. As Mathew Arnold put it, culture is, 'each society's reservoir of the best that has been known and thought'. He believed that 'culture palliates, if does not altogether neutralise, the ravages of a modern aggressive, mercantile and brutalizing urban existence.' Culture is a source of identity. Edward W Said, in his famous book, 'Culture and Imperialism' defines culture as a sort of theatre, where various political and ideological causes engage one another.' Religion is woven into the very fabric of Sikh culture, which cannot be explained by applying rigorous codes of materialistic interpretations. Sikh history is much more dynamic than what the materialist thinkers can comprehend with their fragmented vision.

Actors are certainly more important than objects in history. And in Sikh history, actors are very dynamic actors. Sikhs are movers and shapers of history. Material things can be destroyed or disintegrated in a matter of moments. It is the actors who hold the torch of ideas and ideals and leave their 'footprints on the sands of time' and produce history. Carlyle believed that moving force behind history are great men. Ideas and ideals acquire institutional forms. These ideas and ideals can't be grasped by the external observers in a manner and standard set by those who adhere to the so-called scientific materialism and give more priority to visible forms and objects. These observers limit themselves and their writings to the limited domain of the manifested world. Materialist philosophy, with its focus only on visible phenomenon, is mono-dimensional, partial and lop-sided in its approach. This dichotomy in outlooks and world-views has also resulted in stark contrast between the self-representation of their past by the Sikhs, on the one hand, and studies on Sikhism and Sikh history, undertaken by Western scholars, on the other hand. For obvious reasons, the Sikhs resist the redefinition of their identity by Western scholars. The task of reviewing the above mentioned book would have been incomplete without this rather lengthy explanation, as the lay readers don't seem to be aware of the new wave of empiricist historiography, which has swept across the West, leading to a lot of controversy in the academic field.

The book, under review in its original form, was produced as a doctoral dissertation under the guidance of J S Hawley at British Columbia University, where the author Anne Murphy is employed as an Assistant Professor at the Chair of Punjabi Language, Literature and Sikh Studies. Her doctoral research was funded by a Fullbright Hayes dissertation research grant which enabled her to undertake research in India, England and Scotland. The author gave a final shape to the book on the basis of postdoctoral research supported by generous grants provided by several institutions like New Scholar University, University of British Columbia, British Academy, American Philosophical Society and American Institute of Indian Studies.

The focus of the book, on an unusual theme, is on the forms of 'representation of the Sikh past at different moments in the present and in the past'. The book raises issues of historiography and its diverse and sometimes contrasting forms. The starting point of the book is from 1708, the year of demise of Guru Gobind Singh, which is also a date suggested for the first historiographical text written about the Tenth Guru and the Sikh community by the author Sainapati. The book ends with the official recognition, in 1925, of a managing body for the Sikh Gurdwaras, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.).

The author believes that there was no careful recording of

the Sikh history during the first 150 years after the Tenth Guru's demise. She maintains that there was no clear Sikh identity prior to the Colonial era. According to her, it was the British who sensitized the Sikhs about their history and identity and played a crucial role in the modern formation of a Sikh historical sensibility, which gave a clear form to Sikh distinctiveness as compared to pre-Colonial indigenous formations. She refers to 'multiple notions of the community with regard to its past and its sovereignty', articulated at different times, in the pre-Colonial, Colonial and post-Colonial contexts. She argues that in the pre-Colonial period, representation of the past was tied to territory or region, within the Punjab landscape and the articulation of a sovereign space for the community. In the transition from a pre-Colonial to Colonial period, 'a particular territorialized imagination of the Sikh past' was produced that contributed to the living memory of the Gurus and their teachings for the Sikh community. The Sikhs sought authority and control over the interpretation of their past. She believes that all this took place within the Colonial framework of knowledge. The author states that Punjabi and Sikh historiography, at this time, came under the direct influence of British form of historical writing. The central theme in her thesis is that Sikh identity, in its current form, never existed in the pre-Colonial period and that it emerged primarily as a result of encounter with Colonialism. As an outcome of this encounter, Sikhs started making use of theological idiom and territory to express their identity.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter titled 'The forms of Memory and History' is introductory. With her hair-splitting arguments, the author sets out to point out the theoretical framework of the book. She tries to prove that materiality of the past in the form of objects and sites, mostly associated with Gurus, has operated in the formation of the Sikh community through various means. Objects mentioned in the book include weapons, historical paintings, photographs, text and Gurdwara model. In her obsession for materiality, she also includes, in her list, Five K's i.e. *Kes* (hair), *Kangha* (comb), *Kirpan* (sword), *Kara* (steel bracelet) and *Kachha* (undergarment). She makes it clear that approach of the book is entirely different from 'the textually defined narratives that have dominated understanding of the formation of the Sikh community'. Working within the narrow conceptual framework of materialistic parameters, the

author takes no cognizance of the subtle inner reality of creative spirituality, so highly valued by the adherents of the Sikh religious tradition. Is the author trying to establish the supremacy of matter over spirit? Is the outer garb more important than inner essence, in her estimation? Or is she denying the existence of spirit? With her lop-sided approach, she fails to understand the dynamics of Sikh history. Inert matter, materiality or material objects and sites acquire their sanctity due to their association with the Gurus. They don't exist in isolation. Five K's acquire their importance as symbols of the Khalsa, prescribed by the Tenth Guru. Take an example. For the Chirstians, Cross is a sacred symbol, not a material object, due to its association with Jesus Christ. Nothing can be more absurd for the author than to include Five K's in the list of material objects and deny their true significance. She can be compared to a blind person who denies the existence of sun.

In the second chapter titled, 'Sikh materialities', the author seeks to emphasize that objects and buildings manifest the past and act as a bridge between the past and present. They represent the past presence of people as well as events they are associated with. Her list of materialities also includes texts, as physical manifestations of the word of the Guru. She discusses at length the materiality of the Five K's and contends that they are 'symbolically charged and subject to wide interpretation'. She quotes McLeod to say that prior to the advent of Singh Sabha there was no reference to the Five K's nor of their inclusion in the Rahit (Code of discipline for the Khalsa). She concludes the chapter by stating that 'In exploring the nature of representation within object and site, the form of material representation in the Sikh case must be considered in relation to non-religious forms of materialization as well and cannot be relegated to the religious (category) in simplistic terms.' The statement is factually incorrect as the objects and sites mentioned in the book become sacred only in relation to their deep ties with the Guru. She does not elaborate on the nature of non-religious form of materialization in the Sikh case. In a bid to prove her point, she chooses to make a clean sweep of the religiosity associated with so many material objects and sites. So much so that she tries to erode the sanctity of the Sikh scripture. Scripture is not simply a text book or a material object. It is sacred because it contains Guru's inspired and revealed word. It was equated with the Guru himself. 'The holy Word is the Guru and the Guru is the holy Word,<sup>1</sup> said the third Guru Ram Das. 'The Granth is the Lord's dwelling place,'<sup>2</sup> wrote Guru Arjan, who compiled the Bani. The Tenth Guru granted to it the status of Guru. It is a perennial fountain of inspiration and means of self perpetuation for the Sikh community. Arnold Toynbee hailed Granth Sahib as the common spiritual heritage of mankind, as he was impressed with the universal message of unity of God and brotherhood of mankind, given by the Gurus. The Supreme Court of India, after referring to authorities of Sikh religion, in a major landmark judgement, acknowledged the independent sovereign status of the Granth Sahib. Elaborating further, the Court observed that it is not only a sacred book but it is also reckoned as a living Guru and that it cannot be equated with scriptures of Hindus, Christians and Muslims. The Apex Court granted the status of a juristic person to the Guru Granth.

The author is under the mistaken impression that the articulation of Sikh identity began in the Colonial period with the advent of Singh Sabha. It is quite naive for Anne Murphy not to understand the British motive and policies in relation to the Singh Sabha. It is preposterous for her to assume that the Singh Sabha made use of the theological idiom to express the Sikh identity within the Colonial framework of knowledge. She seems to be unaware of the currents and cross-currents underlying the developments that led to birth and growth of Singh Sabha Movement. This was a time when the Sikh-British relations were far from being cordial. On the contrary, the arrival of the British had ruined the political sovereignty of the Sikhs. The British had treacherously annexed their kingdom and were distributing political rights to their rivals who were numerically stronger. The minor Maharaja Dalip Singh was converted to Christianity. The Christian Missions, who worked under the political wings of the British had started their missionary activities in Punjab. Religions imperialism was the first phase of the British Colonial imperialism. In 1873, four Sikh students of Amritsar Mission School were converted to Christianity. To add insult to the uinjury, there was a series of lectures at Amritsar delivered by Sharda Ram Philauri in which he made derogatory references to the Sikh Gurus. Philauri was also sponsored by the British to write a history of the Sikhs

titled Sikhan De Raj Di Vithya – in which he presented a distorted account of the message of the Sikh Gurus. It was under these circumstances that the Singh Sabha assumed the leadership of the Sikh community. Faced by the multi-pronged attack of Christian Missionaries and Arya Samajists, the Singh Sabha undertook to restore Sikhism to its pristine purity. It also aimed at the protection of Sikh religion and Sikh rights. However, it was a tough task for the Singh Sabha to promote the Sikh ideological identity in view of hostile attitude adopted by the British at every step. The Arms Act of 1878 barred the Sikhs from wearing *Kirpan* which is one of the five K's of the Sikh faith. It was after a protracted struggle launched by the Singh Sabha that the Government exempted the Sikhs from the Arms Act and allowed them to possess and wear Kirpan, on June 25, 1914. Anne Murphy has overlooked the overwhelming evidence with regard to the Singh Sabha struggle for the religious rights of the Sikhs, whether it be the right to near Kirpan or right to control their shrines or other institutions. Sikhism had qualified as a distinct religion ever since the time of first Guru Nanak. Pre-Colonial period i.e., the eighteenth century was a period of intense persecution for the Sikhs when prices were fixed on their heads and they were forced to retreat to jungles. But even in this tumultuous period, they were identifiable as 'Nanakpanthis'. Indubhusan Banerjee testifies that the Sikhs in the eighteenth century were far more united in a spirit of brotherhood than at any other time. They passed through the fire of suffering but kept the torch of Sikhism ablaze. Singh Sabha was instrumental in re-asserting the already formed Sikh identity. Their authoritative pronouncement, 'Ham Hindu Nahi' (We are not Hindus) was in direct response to propaganda in some quarters that Sikhs were Hindus. Five K's prescribed for the Khalsa, have come down to the Sikhs from the time of Guru Gobind Singh. These have not been invented by the Singh Sabha. The author's contention that Singh Sabha sought control over the interpretation of Sikh history is baseless. She reflects her own bias when she assumes that Rattan Singh Bhangu's views on Sikh identity and his positive and benign orientation towards the Sikhs, in his 'Panth Parkash', is due to the editing of this work by Bhai Vir Singh. The same is true of her analysis of Bhai Vir Singh's novel 'Sundri' which belongs to the genre of historical fiction. She draws inferences from certain dialogues in this novel, not backed by precise facts. She tears these dialogues out of their context and

<sup>1</sup> ਬਾਣੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੈ ਬਾਣੀ ਵਿਚਿ ਬਾਣੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਸਾਰੇ ∥ Guru Granth Sahib, p. 982.

<sup>2</sup> ਪੋਥੀ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਕਾ ਥਾਨੁ ∥ Guru Granth Sahib

twists them to suit and fit into her own perspective. Construction of history, based on historical fiction, can never be adequate.

In the third and fourth chapters, the author examines the pre-Colonial and early Colonial period literary representations of the past 'to reconstruct how history has been imagined and represented in Sikh terms.' She explores some works which narrate the Sikh past in various modes in relation to the articulation of the Sikhs as a community and in some cases in relation to sovereignty. She is of the opinion that Sikh historical project overall does not position the Sikh community in singular sovereign statist terms but rather makes the community sovereign in multiple and contingent ways, mapped to the land and to objects and sites of history, in an array of ways. This, she believes, is the new way of understanding the Sikh past. The motivated slant of the author is obvious from the way she chooses to select or reject certain evidences and literary representations to serve her arguments. She does not have adequate understanding of Sikh ideology. Her methodological compulsions and predispositions are so fixed that she just turns a blind eye to the obvious statistical evidence of five centuries of glorious Sikh history, which is so deeply intertwined with Sikh religious ethos. She ignores the fact that by compiling the Granth Sahib, Guru Arjan proclaimed the ideological independence of the Sikh society. She makes no reference to the ideology of the Granth Sahib. On the other hand, she chooses to quote from the controversial 'Dasam Granth' whose authenticity has not been established. She also makes cloquent reference to Dr Ernest Trumpp's description of Sikhism, dismissed by Sikhs as biased. She believes that Trumpp 'managed to shift the ground of future discourse of Sikhism under the purview of Western intellectual and religious tradition'. Here it is pertinent to mention that Anne Murphy has deliberately excluded Macauliffe's monumental work on Sikh religion, in 6 volumes, from her analysis. Scholars of varying backgrounds and persuasions, all have attested to the fact that Sikh society, without any ambiguity, was a homogenous society in the pre-Colonial period. There was no question of 'multiple identities' as pointed out by Anne Murphy.

The author deliberately avoids reference to the contemporary authentic evidence of Bhai Gurdas's '*Vars*' and Mohsan Fani's '*Dabistan*' which clearly establish the independent sovereign status of the Sikh identity. She also avoids the clear evidence of "Prem Sumarg" a production of the first quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (near 1716-1718), which contains mention of distinct Sikh practices of birth, marriage and death. Another significant pre-colonial work 'Sketch of the Sikhs' (1810) by John Malcolm has also been excluded by the author, in her discussion on the pre-Colonial period. Malcolm writes, "The character of the Sikhs, or rather Singhs, which is the name by which the followers of Guru Gobind Singh, who are all devoted to arms, are distinguished, is very marked. The Sikh identity is shared by the Sikh merchant, or cultivator of the soil, if he is a Singh, not merely by the soldiers who so conspicuously paraded it. The followers of Guru Gobind Singh or Khalsa Sikhs are clearly distinguished." The author also chooses to overlook the path breaking pre-Colonial work (1849) of J.D. Cunnihgham, who has not only recorded the triumphs and travails of the Sikh community in a brilliant fashion but has also captured the dynamics of Sikh identity, as few authors can. Cunningham wrote Sikh history, without fear or favour in the pre-Colonial period, without any Colonial pressure. In her lame conclusion, Anne Murphy falsely contends that intervention of the British rule left a profound impact on the writing of Sikh history. Sikh religious tradition was not an edifice built on hot air of makebelieve but had sound historical basis for it, going back to the time of Gurus. British rule did not leave much impact either on the Sikh religious tradition or the writing of Sikh history. In fact, the Sikh identity was too powerful to be disturbed or dictated by the Colonial masters.

The theme of fifth chapter relates to the relation of the Sikh community to land and history, with reference to pre-Colonial practices. The author points out that in the pre-Colonial times, Sikh religious sites were managed in the court of the last independent rulers of Punjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors. These practices are then compared with Colonial period discourse and practice. Here it is pertinent to mention that what applied to the control of religious places of the Sikhs, also applied to the control of religious places of other communities. It was the Waqf Act of 1861 which gave the control and management of holy places of the Hindus and Muslims to the communities concerned but in case of the Sikh Gurdwaras, the Act was not applied on political grounds. Proprietory rights of the holy places of the Sikhs were conferred on the corrupt Mahants and Pujaris. The Sikhs had to wage a protracted battle to liberate their Gurdwaras from the clutches of these Mahants and Pujaris.

Chapter six relates to Gurdwaras and their role in creating a 'territorialized vision' of the Sikh past. In other words, the author wants to assert that Gurdwaras shaped the historical consciousness of the community, in terms of territory. She again applies the logic of material arguments to explain the Sikh struggle for reform and governance of Gurdwaras. She argues that Sikh Gurdwara Act (1925) subverted earlier forms of ownership associated with the Gurdwaras and was passed in the light of Colonial notions of past and that it created a territorialized vision of the Sikh past.

This materialistic explanation erodes the spiritual significance of Gurdwaras. A Gurdwara is, first and foremost, an epicentre of Sikh faith. The very name Gurdwara denotes a place of worship. Its significance cannot be reduced to mere territory. It cannot be delinked from faith. An eloquent reference is made to Gurdwaras in the daily Sikh prayer. Gurdwaras are instrumental in shaping the historical consciousness of the Sikh community only because of their link with the Gurus and the Guru Granth. A quote from the Gurbani establishes that 'Guru sanctifies the spot where ever he is associated with.'\* A holy place assumes a holy character because here the spiritual transcends the mundane and acquires a new mystic dimension. Territories and sites come into prominence and assume significance when they get associated with a particular religion. Look at the historical profile of Jerusalem and the Vatican, known for their spiritual significance. It would be absurd to say that these holy places, first and foremost inspire territorial visions in stead of spiritual visions for the followers. For most people, names of territories or sites on which holy places or shrines are built are hardly worthy of serious notice. Only historians probe into official records to trace their origin. Take a few examples. Gurdwara Nankana Sahib has been built on a site called Rai Bhoe ki Talwandi in official records but the site has been sanctified on account of its link with the birth of Guru Nanak. Gurdwara Sach Khand Hazur Sahib is located on a territory known as Nanded on the banks of river Godavari. The territory has assumed significance by virtue of its association with the Tenth Sikh Guru. Very few people know that Gurdwara Anandpur Sahib is located in village Makhowal which has gained importance on account of the historic Gurdwara where Tenth Guru created the Khalsa. Primary historical value of the Gurdwaras is certainly not understood by the Sikhs in territorialized mode. A scholar,

nurtured in the West, misleads the readers by reiterating, again and again, that Sikhs envision their Gurdwaras, in terms of territory or property.

Gurdwaras conjure up for the Sikhs the hollowed memories of their Gurus, saints and martyrs, their hopes and fears, their songs and tales of heroism, their struggles and triumphs. They remind them of their great heritage, eventful history and tradition and of so many legends that have become attached to them through the centuries. They mirror the entire panorama of Sikh history. They are the living monuments of the spiritual yearnings and the socio-political objectives that have shaped the dynamic and vibrant Sikh people and animated them over the years. They are not merely structures of brick and mortar. They are the heart and soul of Sikh faith. They embody the fount of Sikh spirit and power. Their history is the capsuled history of the Sikhs. Darbar Sahib, Amritsar has been the centre of resistance against the tyranny of the rulers. The socio-political struggle of the Sikhs started first with the liberation of Darbar Sahib from the control of the Government – mahant combine and continued there after from its precincts, for the liberation of their motherland. Forces emanating from here have caused not just ripples but great tides in the political ocean of the region. Sikh history, since the time of the Gurus, provides no corroboration for the author's materialistic contention. Powerful Sikh movement for the reform and control of the Gurdwaras cannot be reduced to a territorial dispute. Vital issues of religion, history, tradition, politics and identity were intertwined in this movement. In this chapter, the entire analysis of the Movement presented by the author is not only blasphemous and derogatory to the Sikh religion but also misleading, ambiguous and self-contradictory. In fact, the author fails to judge the dynamics of this movement within the narrow conceptual framework of materialistic parameters. Although she is so ardent to plead her materialist perspective, yet she has to reluctantly concede that 'as a result of the movement, however, these sites (Gurdwaras) changed in their meaning, functioning and relationship with other elements of Sikh life and particularly with the state.'

Chapter seven titled 'Territory and the Definition of Being Sikh' discusses the long-term impact of the Gurdwara Reform Movement of 1920-25. The author believes that as a result of this Movement, sacred sites came to occupy a primary position as historical and as property in the British Raj and came to be tied to a clearly defined notion of being Sikh, that was a direct result of the legislative order, put in place by the British. Gurdwaras, as property, came to belong to the community, the contours of which were defined. The author goes on to explain that in order to fulfil the requirements of Gurdwara Reform Act, it was necessary for the Colonial government to provide strict regulation of history and identity in relation to the definition of property rights. She contends that Sikh interest in history in the Colonial period continued in a territorialized mode, in a new way. She believes that while the Sikhs fought and won the battle over the sites which they deemed as embodiment of the historical, they were relatively silent over the matter of historical objects, which are in the private possession of a few families. The entire structure raised by Anne Murphy has no basis in facts. She turns a blind eye to the prophetic and monumental work of the ten Gurus in creating a new religion and organizing the Sikh society. In fact, she makes a complete black out of the entire Sikh ideology. She also overlooks the long span of persecution, undergone by the Sikhs to maintain their identity. Identities are built by the ideology, motivation, the blood of the martyrs, tradition, suffering and sacrifice and not by the juxtaposition of material facts.

In the last Chapter (eight), Anne Murphy, reiterates the central issue of her thesis that, in the post-Colonial period, focus was on the material representation of the Sikh past. She uses the backdrop of material objects and sites to construct Sikh history. This is in contradistinction to the 'territorialized imagination' of the Sikh community and its past, mentioned earlier in the book. She argues that the entity known as Sikhism is still identifiable with the help of material objects. She believes that the term 'Sikh', no longer, signifies regional, cultural and religious identifications. The author states, "Attention to generally neglected representational practices such as these expressed in material culture provides a unique view of the community's selfimagination in a de-territorialised diasporic and fluid environment." She believes that territorialized understanding of the Sikh past is being replaced by new notions of identity and that notions of cultural and religious sovereignty are losing their ground in a transnationally linked globalised world. Here she entangles herself in a web of self-contradiction when she states that 'Khalistani vision of the territorialized nation-state still holds

a potent force in some diasporic locations.' She concedes that territorially driven colonial frames of knowledge still abide. She raises issues of politics and yet she cautions the readers against the political application of her arguments to the current issues of the Sikhs. In her own ingenious way, she seeks a cover for her utterances and supports David Scott's contention to deny 'a natural or necessary link between past identities and the legitimacy of present political claims.' It is preposterous for the author to assume that in the new globalised world, one single identity will replace all other identities, that nation-states will disappear, that the world will become a single coherent political entity. Samuel P Huntington has rightly observed that in future, 'there will be no universal civilization, but instead a world of different civilizations which will have to co-exist with the others.'

All said and done, some portions of the book seem to have taken the form of a political critique in the contemporary political environment. The author's anti-Sikh bias is very clearly reflected in the following statement, 'This study focuses not on Sikh representations of violence but on representations of the past in broader terms that have accompanied the commemoration of violence in the Sikh past.' 'Commemoration of violence' is an expression which undermines Sikhism and holds negative connotations. Sikhs hold their martyrs in very high esteem. They commemorate the martyrdom of their Gurus, heroes and warriors. They don't commemorate violence. The author seems to have no knowledge of the current socio-political problems faced by the Sikhs. She also fails to understand the Sikh religious ethos, the struggle of the Sikhs against state tyranny, self-sought martyrdoms of their Gurus and eloquent examples of willing sacrifices of their heroes and warriors for the sake of human rights, justice and freedom. Sikh readers of the book would easily decipher the academic arrogance and prejudice of the author in labelling the Sikh community as violent. If there could be a lexicon of academic violence, they would place Anne Murphy's name on the top, as she uses it without restraint.

At a grave juncture in the history of mankind, when spiritual impoverishment and breakdown of positive values have taken their toll on mankind religion and religious identities cannot be wished away. In fact, the new century is marked by the return of God and religion, though it cannot be equated with the return of religious fundamentalism. The so-called modern identity, based on empirical evidence, is paradoxically religious in its true essence. The term 'secular' in its wider context and connotations, also accepts the co-existence of plural religious societies. Conception of sovereignty, vested in territorialized nation states, is as valid today as it was in the past. This time tested conception, along with global inter-connectedness of different cultures, can open up a new dynamics of peaceful pluralisation in the contemporary globalization. In the new pluralistic world order, where religious traditions and identities of all races and minorities would be duly acknowledged, Sikhs can assert their freedom and play a dynamic and creative role in the shaping of new politico-economic realities. New trends are very much in evidence in the new knowledge formations. Anne Murphy needs to revise her notions of modern identity, secularism and deterritionalised nation state in the light of latest trends, testified by contemporary political discourse.

There is a need to comprehend and understand Sikhism and Sikh ethos at a systematic, profound and dispassionate level. Sikhism is unique among the world religions. A dominant note of Sikhism is respect for all creeds. As a religious scripture, Guru Granth Sahib is of immense value, as it places before mankind a very dynamic philosophy of life. It provides great visions of truth and insight into the fundamental meaning and purpose of human life. It stands for a faith which is meant for all humanity, without any distinction of race or creed, and without any limits of time and space. Such is the spirit of universality stressed by the Sikh Gurus.

Guru Nanak, with his emphasis on the unity of God and universal brotherhood, was the heralder of a world society. He propagated universal ethical norms for the redemption of mankind and pointed the way to the solution of the larger problem of international culture. By doing so, he became the precursor and prophet of the coming humanity. Anne Murphy needs to change her entire perspective on Sikhism.

Conclusion

The book is only one of its kind, with its entire focus on materialistic aspects of the Sikh past. The author does not possess the necessary tools to make a comprehensive study of Sikh religion, history and identity. With her lop-sided approach and misplaced emphasis on the domain of the mundane, she fails to sift the trivial and the ephemeral from the important and the long-lasting that go into the formation of a community's status and identity. In fact, this is a malaise that has afflicted all those who label themselves secular, liberal, post-Colonial theorists and subscribe to materialistic school of thought. As a result of this historical method, wide areas of human understanding, especially the religious, the spiritual and the mystical elude their grasp and they get only a partial and distorted view of the truth of any situation.

With her exclusive emphasis on materialties and trivialities, Anne Murphy has tried to reconstruct the Sikh past and provide a new perspective on Sikh identity, on the secular, post-Colonial lines. She tries to erode the sound historical basis of Sikh identity and builds her own structure of concepts and ideas that bear no resemblance to the self-image of the Sikhs and traditional view of their identity. In his famous book 'Clash of Civilizations' Samuel P. Huntington emphasizes that 'the subjective self identification of people' must be taken into account while defining a community. Anne Murphy takes absolutely no cognizance of the self-definition of the Sikhs. Her new perspective implicitly labels the Sikh culture as purely material culture. In her view, all the main components of traditional Sikh identity, the Sikh scripture, Gurdwaras and the Khalsa symbols (Five K's) are all material in their essence and hold no spiritual significance. In other words, the sum and substance of Sikh faith is material. With her materialist representation of the Sikh past, the author ruthlessly dilutes, distorts and confuses the unanimous and long-established Sikh identity. She has provided a very unfair representation of the vibrant Sikhs who released a big dynamic force into the arena of Indian history and stood in the forefront of the country's struggle for freedom. Her whole account is highly detrimental to the Sikhs and Sikhism.

The book written, on an ill-chosen theme, abounds in partial truths, false constructions, unnecessary profusion of material details, gross misrepresentation of facts, very serious omissions, wrong assumptions and lame conclusions. A dispassionate historian must take full cognizance of the sensitivities and the self-definition of a community and tread his or her path with utmost caution, while taking up sensitive issues of religious tradition and identity or burning current issues which involve socio-political life of the community. The book has a strong political flavor and anti-Sikh bias. It is rather astonishing that, so far, the entire Sikh Studies output at the University of British Columbia has been hostile to the Sikhs. A well-balanced perspective on the

Sikhs is the need of the hour.

Here it is pertinent to add that academic onslaughts on the Sikh identity and their religious symbols can have very serious ramifications for the Sikh Community, especially for the diasporic Sikhs who sometimes have to face all odds and fight legal battles to defend their identity and for their right to wear turban or Kirpan as integral part of their religion. Misrepresentation of Sikh identity can also have a direct negative bearing on the credibility and credentials of the Sikhs as a community.

Recently, alarming reports have appeared of some diasporic Sikh having been discriminated against, insulted, attacked and killed on the identity issue. Some Western scholars lack the desired sensibility and academic integrity in so far as they stretch their academic freedom beyond desirable limits and make unscrupulous attacks on other religions. One is forced to think whether it could be a part of some bigger design to deploy strategies in order to denigrate non-Western phenomenon. As Samuel P Huntington says that 'cultural differences between the East and the West are less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones.' From all angles, it is a very dangerous trend which needs to be nipped in the bud, before it gets out of control and cause more damage in the academic and socio-cultural fields. Academicians both in the West and East are expected to play a more worthy, constructive and positive role in promoting the peaceful co-existence of all races and communities, through mutual understanding of each other's point of view.

The very theme of the book chosen by Anne Murphy reflects her implicit bias against the Sikhs and Sikhism. Bias is always irrational and it, invariably, leads to irrational conclusions. Western historiography, which has created new models of history writing based on materialistic interpretation of history, is under a cloud.

### ANNE MURPHY Misconstrues, Misrepresents Sikh Gurus' Mission, Reform Movement

#### A review by S. Charnjit Singh Bal

Consistent with the higher Sikh Studies supercilious academia and Sikh, pseudo-Sikh and non-Sikh literati clique's trend, Anne Murphy, Assistant Professor and Chair of Punjabi Language, Literature and Sikh Studies at UBC University of British Columbia, Canada constructs her 'THE MATERIALITY OF THE PAST History and Representation in Sikh Tradition', thesis on Apocrypha, Mythology, Heresy, Hearsay Fiction, and Folklore.

To support propositions, allusions and inferences, Anne Murphy interjects references from the highly controversial unauthentic sources, hence advertently and inadvertently, promotes burlesque apocrypha, stokes its authorship's perennial controversy; and abets heresy and occult traditions; worship of tombs. In the outlandish recondite jargon, she alludes that Sikh temples are pilgrimage sites, and equates Sikh relics to 'Holy Grail and Khilat' and insinuates that the Sikh Gurus' epistles, and gifts of weapons, objects, robes and Scarves of honour were intended to constitute Sikh community and foster temporal authority; and posits that the post-Guru period Sikh families and leadership not only followed suit, but mobilised such relics, history and historical sites (Sikh temples) to reformulate Sikh community, forge territoriality, statist authority and sovereignty.

That, Anne Murphy subscribes to the school of motley coterie of Sikh, non-Sikh and pseudo-Sikh supercilious academia and literati, is evident from the postulates and inferences from their Sikh Studies dissertations and acknowledgement of the support and help they rendered to her during the course of her higher studies at various locales. My critiques of Sikh Studies dissertations of some of the coterie's members, Hew McLeod, Gurinder Singh Mann, Harjot Oberoi, Pashaura Singh, Louis Fenech, Doris Jakobsh, who feature prominently in Anne Murphy's thesis are published in my book, ' Target Sikhism' available on www.Amazon.com.

Also, Anne Murphy's cynical representation of the late nineteen and early twentieth century Singh Sabha reformers and stalwart Sikhs' heroic struggle and sacrifices to free Sikh temples from corrupt, imperious Mahants' chokehold; and purge Sikhism of cultism, occultism, paganism, in her rhetorical thesis, (henceforth Murphy's thesis) reveals her comradery with the academia and literati clique and conformity to its literary genre, detracting Sikhism. Relevant snippets from Murphy's thesis are critiqued. Excerpts from Anne Murphy's thesis are scribed verbatim. My text is italicised.

#### Heresy, Heterodoxy

'....Sikh steel armour plate ....is said to have featured a verse of the Tenth Guru called "Akal Ustat.... ....its similarity to a set of plates in the collection of royal family of Patiala state....which have been gifted to the family by the Guru himself..." suggests that the Guru commissioned more than one set.' Murphy's thesis, Introduction, P 3,

"Akal` Ustat" is found at the opening of the Dasam Granth, a text attributed to the Tenth Guru.' Ibid, footnote

'The gifts of the Guru are, for instance,....displayed in the small village of Phaphare Bhai Ki....Here these objects-weapons and clothing belonging to Tenth Guru, such as *Katar* or dagger....and pair of shoes—attest to the long relationship of the ...family of village patriarch Bhai Bhilo, and his descents with the Gurus. The Bhais of Bagrian also hold objects that attest to the relationship of their family with the Gurus; they too are descended from the patriarch Rup Chand...The sixth Guru presented a ladle and other gifts to the family in conjunction with a mandate to provide *langar*...The Bhais then came to act as primary religious authorities for princely state of eastern Punjab, who were seen to derive their right to rule from the Guru.' Ibid, p. 11

'Objects and sites constitute this past in the present to take part in a broader historical imaginary (*adjective used as noun dozen times in thesis*), through which the Sikh community is produced through its living relationship.' Ibid, p. 13

As per Sikhism's cardinal doctrine mundane objects; animate or inanimate are mortal, ephemeral and worthless, (see G.G. S. hymn 'koord raja...' p. 468 and couplet jo upjeo...' p. 1429). Anne Murphy's approbatory depiction of Sikh heretics' heterodoxy i.e. collection, reverence, worship and display of relics; weapons, artifacts as status symbols in her thesis evidences her ignorance of Sikh canons.

'As Gurinder Singh Mann has noted, the idea of the Guru as pilgrimage center developed into "the belief that the Guru 'sanctifies' the spot where he sits and Sikhs should aspire 'to rub their forehead with its dust."' Ibid, p. 31

Contrary to Murphy's inference and Mann's misinterpretation of verse, '(jithé jáé Bahé mérä sat-Guru...G. G. S. p. 450)'; verily connotes 'where the true-Guru sojourns the place is hallowed with his sage Word...), "It (Sikhism) prohibits...pilgrimages..." M. A. Macauliffe (1837-1913), 'The Sikh Religion', Vol. 1, Preface, p. xxiii

'The Guru is said to have blessed the mirror — (given to Guru Gobind Singh by the community in Delhi) —, saying that anyone who comes with love... and sits looking into it for three days, reciting Ardas and eating chickpeas (*chole de dãne*), will be cured of facial paralysis...'Ibid, p. 35

'According to the account given by the staff at Bhattha Sahib laborers were working with hot fire in a kiln (*bhattha*) that belonged to Nihang Khan, an Afghan, when the Guru (Gobind Singh) arrived there with his followers. The Guru asked for place to rest, and the workers mockingly told him to rest in the fire. The fire turned cold with the touch of Guru's horse, preserving the signs of the horse's hooves in three separate locations in the hardened clay that now stands at center of the gurdwara.'

'Juun Singh...had a dream to come to this place...He abandoned his house and built a small hut...He started ...digging...the *bhattha* came out of the ground...the site had power, and all wishes requested at the site were fulfilled. Murphy's thesis, pp. 39-40

Anne Murphy's narratives approbating heterodoxy of heretic Sikhs is exactly what Max Arthur Macauliffe describes as burlesque, beguiling accounts,

"On perusing (*reading*) the current lives and accounts of the Gurus I found them over-laden with puerile (*absurd*), heterodox or repulsive details...this work is intended to be an exact presentation of teachings of the Sikh Gurus... as contained in their sacred books, and is by no means (*to*) put forth a portrayal of the debased superstitions and heterodox social customs of Sikhs who have been led astray by external influence." **M. A. Macauliffe,** The Sikh Religion, Vol. 1, pp. xvi-xvii

### **Absurd Translation**

'Guru Gobind Singh, it must be recalled, also wrote in Persian—his famous appeal for justice to the Mughal emperor, the *Zafar Nama*...'Murphy's Thesis, p. 73

The Persian words Zafar, or Jafar means victory; and Nama

means composition, letter. Guru Gobind Singh's masterpiece poetic Persian composition 'Jafar-Nama' articulates sanctimony, duplicity and bigotry of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and his Mughal and Hindu forces' alliance commanders' treachery: and ultimate moral victory of the Guru and Khalsa.

Sikh Gurus' Mission Misconstrued

"Whoever's mother or father dies: They should not shave their heads.

Gobind is our mother and father...." Murphy's Thesis, p. 89

'Here, the radical nature of Guru Gobind Singh's teachings is expounded fully: the Guru is identified as mother and father... (*Jiwan*) Deol relates this injunction to a larger phenomenon, namely the creation of what he calls a metanarrative derived from Dasam Granth in which the aspirations of the Khalsa community to define itself as distinct and sovereign placed within a framework based on Puranic myth, defining *dharam* in a mode that is simultaneously religious and political.' Ibid

'According to this "grand narrative" at the center of Khalsa self-construction lie worship of weapons and the perception of partaking in Guru's mission to establish dharma, a mission that is itself embedded in a wider cosmological cycle of battles against evil that extends back to mythical times.' Ibid

Sikh Studies dubious scholarship of both, Anne Murphy and Jiwan Deol is evident from misinterpretation of Sri Gur Sobha, chapter 5, verse 22 in which Gobind connotes God, not Guru Gobind Singh; and reference to dubious phenomenon, derived from equally dubious source, 'dasam granth',

'Just as the power of the king was articulated alongside other forms of power through the gifts, religious and nonreligious modes of engagements were intermingled in such practices...' Ibid, pp 50

'In the Sikh context, such gifts by the Gurus reflect both politics in relation to state formation and politics of community building...'Ibid, pp 50-1

'This was common way for the Gurus to maintain and strengthen ties among their followers, to establish and demonstrate authority...' ibid, p. 51

The Sikh Gurus' mission, to build a self-esteemed, pluralistic, egalitarian and pious community without political opportunism, is enshrined in Sikh scriptures.

(God) 'I don't desire kingship...G. G. S'. P. 538

(God if you) grant kingship, what is glory; or make (me) to beg; what is lost? Ibid, P. 525

Even, a quatrain in obscure author's composition Bachiter Natak mythology, (astutely or asininely ascribed to Guru Gobind Singh), alludes to Guru's mission,

(*God said*) 'I bless and send you my son to preach religion...' Ch. 6, verse 30

"...Guru had to build a nation of self-respecting men, devoted to God and to their leader, filled with a sense of equality and brotherhood for all, ready to die, nay eager to die, as martyrs for their faith when opportunity allowed, and yet prepared to fight the tyrant with his `own weapons in defence of the weak and to protect the righteous" **Duncan Greenlees**, The Gospel of Guru Granth Sahib, p. xxiii-xxiv

#### **Cynical Polemics**

'A number of twentieth century versions of the *rehit* exist, drawing upon and developing further existing early forms. These represent the effort to...bring them into line with the evolving orthodoxy associated with the Singh Sabha, the reform movement that defined the contours of modern Sikhism....Murphy's Thesis, p. 57

'Competing ideologies arose... as explored at length by Harjot Oberoi, in what he identifies as a conflict between a Tat Khalsa and a "Sanatan Sikh" perspective on Sikh tradition. The latter, he argues, was open to an "enchanted universe" in which multiplicity and hybridity were norm; the former was invested in articulating a bounded definition of being a Sikh that denied commonality, in particular, with Hinduism. Thus, he argues that an "older" paradigm of Sikh faith was displaced by highly uniform Sikh identity to one we know today as modern Sikhism.' Ibid, pp. 128-9

'The... Akali Movement was radicalizing, threatening the disloyalty of the central pieces of the British military puzzle: Punjabi....Sikhs...The other, larger movement that coincided with Gurdwara Movement which pledged to fight British colonial regime through...non-violence. Ruchi Ram Sahni...described the gurdwara movement as "the best and most inspiring instance of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings of non-violence in thought, word and deed...' Ibid, p. 199

'Fundamentally, the (Gurdwara Reform) movement was about

who had the right to control gurdwaras and the lands associated with them...At first, conflict was between, in Fox's words, "different sorts of Sikhs", as the Singh (*Sabha*) reformers as they sought to wrest control of the gurdwaras from *Mahants* and *Sarbrahs*...' Ibid, p. 203

'The rhetoric of the (*Reform*) movement centrally addressed the question of who was...a Sikh, all with reference to the **specter of the past** as source of tradition.' Ibid

'As this organization (*SGPC*) attempted to position itself as the only legitimate authority over gurdwaras—groups organized across Punjab to orchestrate the **forcible takeover of such shrines**. Ibid, p. 209

'...." gurdwara guides", began to appear in print in the end of nineteenth century... and wide array of pamphlets, in general became available.' Ibid, p. 241

'(N. G) Barrier (*Christian crusader in literary garb*) notes that at this time tracts were generally of two types: appeals (*Benti*) or polemical...' Footnote, Ibid

Anne Murphy and her ilk's polemics, cynical inferences, allusions and comments in passages scribed above reflect their cynical mind set.

Records and excerpts from Murphy's thesis thesis and Sikh Studies scholars' objective perspectives and commentaries scribed below relate the deviant Mahants' control of Gurdwaras, Hinduism's predatory and Christian missionaries' proselytizing agendas that prodded the Singh Sabha, Akali reformers' heroic struggle and sacrifices.

They [the Sikhs] allege that their *gurdwaras* and shrines are in deplorable condition. They contend that the *Mahants* and *Pujaris* in charge of most of their *gurdwaras* and shrines are men of bad character, men who misappropriate the funds of these institutions, men who instead of being saintly and thus likely to exert salutary influence on the shrines, are evil minded; vicious, and in fact so low and depraved as to contaminate the simple faithful worshipers of these shrines." Ruchi Ram Sahni, Punjab Legislative Council Debate 1921 Murphy's Thesis, p. 215

"The Sikhs are practically Hindus. When defending the rights of Sahajdhari Sikhs, therefore, Hindus believe that this is our affair as well, embodying as we do the Hindu sects and the various sects that are classed as Sikhs." Rai Bahadur Lala Hari Chand, Punjab Legislative Council Debate 1921, Ibid, p. 211

'...a group of *Mahants* from Hardwar argued that "the term Sikh is too vague and liable to misinterpretation. Sikh at present connotes Hindus who are followers of Guru Nanak forming a vast majority as well as who call themselves Tatkhalsa and non-Hindus."' Ibid, p. 217

"In 1834, the American Ludhiana Mission began its work in Punjab. It...published New Testament in Punjabi It met with little success until 1873 when four Sikh students of Amritsar Mission School declared their intention to be baptised. Such conversions as had occurred previously had been among low caste, mostly illiterate Sikhs." **W. Owen Cole**, Sikhism, p. 148

"No sooner had the Sikhs (*Singh Sabha*) begun to counter the Christian threat than another Hindu challenge developed. In 1877, the Arya Samaj, a Hindu reform movement, became active in Punjab." Ibid

"Arya missionaries...threaten the very existence of Sikh religion, until the Singh Sabha movement struck back through its educational programmes." Ibid, p 149

"It (Hinduism) is like a boa constrictor of the Indian forests. When...enemy appears to worry it, it winds round its opponent, crushes it in its folds, and finally causes it to disappear in its capacious interior. In this way...Hinduism disposed of Budhism ...absorbed religion of Scythian invaders...converted uneducated Islam in India into paganism; ...Hinduism has embraced Sikhism in its folds...And Brahmans... have partially succeeded in persuading the Sikhs to restore to their niches the images of Devi...saints and gods of ancient faith." **M. A. Macauliffe**, 'The Sikh Religion', p. lvii

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## The Materiality of the Past – History and Representation in Sikh Tradition

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#### A Review by Kavneet Singh

Anne Murphy is currently an Assistant Professor and Chair of Punjabi Language, Literature and Sikh Studies at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada who replaced the infamous Harjot Oberoi. This book is Anne's doctoral thesis.

One of the primary premises used by Anne is trying to delineate the fact that the formation of the current Sikh physical identity is more of a recent 20<sup>th</sup> century event rather than continuous one based on the various proofs of the material/object/ relics as she calls them.

Chapter 1 – Introduction: Forms of Memory and History:

This book, which focuses on the changing historical constitution of the community through the life of objects and sacred sites, is meant to augment, not replace, the textually defined narratives that have dominated understandings of the formation of the Sikh community. Indeed, it will be argued that the material and the textual are allied in the Sikh context, and should not be seen in oppositional terms. Attention to material and visual representation therefore may in fact dispel concerns (rather than raise them) regarding such practices, once they are placed in the broader context of cultural memory production and a Sikh historical imperative...... [Page 12]

Anne has clearly indicated what she is trying to achieve through this book but unfortunately it raises those same concerns which she very eloquently claims will not be raised.

In general, Shani argues that the Sikh community provides an example where, "the sovereignty of the territorialized nationstate over the religious community as established in the aftermath of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 can no longer be assumed in our 'global age'," such that ."Sikh diasporicnarratives do not attempt to place territorial limits on the sovereignty of the quam [or nation]...[because] the contemporary phase of globalization has effectively de-territorialized sovereignty....In the end, however, neither are the grievous that animate the Khalistan movement resolved, nor is such a movement necessitated, by an cultural history......[Pages 17 & 18]

Anne has quoted Giorgia Shani to make her point not realizing that Shani's basic premises are seriously flawed as his entire book is based on Harjot Oberoi's premise of questioning the keshdhari identity, using the victimhood theory and finally since the Sikhs are spread across in the diaspora there is no need for a homeland. On one hand Anne does not want the reader to read too much into her research of Sikh religious history, yet very subtly alluding to the objects of reverence as proof of a vague opaqueness in reference to the Sikh identity.

Chapter 2 – Sikh Materialities:

The murti – the devotional image central to much (but not all) Hindu religious practice – represents the most prominent example of visual..... the related religions of South Asia – Janisim, Buddhism, what we now designate with a single term "Hinduism".....[Page 25]

Anne clearly has lumped Jainism and Buddhism into Hinduism, keeping the Sikh Faith out, but in her footnotes on the same page she defines it, as really coming out on their own in the nineteenth century, which questions the continuum of the keshdhari identity making it ambiguous with no clarity and further whether she really thinks the Sikh Faith is independent of Hinduism is the next question.

That presence – the presence of the community that continues – is the one that lives in the present through the narration such objects and places participate in. Thus, each place becomes a stage of the narration of this community: the place of its articulation, its lived and experienced aspect; and each object represents a relationship: a past relationship with the Guru and a continuing relationship of community constituted through the Guru. In this way, the past memory and the past as a continuing presence becomes simultaneous – as Veena Das observed within Khalistani narratives, which collapsed distinctions between past and present and located current conflicts as continuations of the past. The temporal integration that Das highlights therefore relates to a larger imperative within Sikh tradition, tied to the experience of the Word in the continuous present and the narration of the past as history, out o0f memory. [Page 38]

It is interesting to note that Anne has quoted Veena Das to elucidate her point. Das's writings are pretty controversial to begin with, as most of her source material is either Indian government propaganda or from the students of Hew McLeod. Anne's book is about religious material objects/artifacts and how they are used in everyday Sikh religious tradition. Does Anne expect Sikhs to experience the 'Word' in the present without relating it to the past? If that is true; it is akin to stating that all Bible reading Christians are living in the past and present simultaneously because the Bible is 1,600 years old approximately but the believers are reading it in 2013.I am not sure Anne realizes that the Guru Granth Sahib is also a repository of actual history between the late 15<sup>th</sup> and mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.

As this example demonstrates, persons act as a source of authority, in similar terms and in some charismatic authority exists in general terms in Sikh contexts – leaders such as now-deceased Harbhajan Singh Yogi in the United States and Mohinder Singh of the Guru Nanak Nishkam Seva Jatha in Birmingham, England, demonstrate that individual leaders do retain importance within the tradition, even without blood ties to the Gurus.....[Page 52]

Anne has stated part of the facts. Men like Harbhajan and Mohinder have influenced and continue to influence a small subsect of Sikhs, but this entire process is dangerously loaded. The Sikh religious ethos is very straightforward as the Guru Granth Sahib is the 'Guru' and the final authenticated scripture and the Sikh collective, the 'panth' has the power to wield as it deems fit for the betterment and welfare of the Faith. Therefore all 'ba ba black sheep' like the two mentioned by Anne are primarily charlatans in religious garb and there are thousands like them plying their trade in Punjab and across the diaspora. If some ignorant Sikhs are being led by their noses; that does not mean that there is any kind of religious tradition among the Sikhs. This is precisely what is being strongly discouraged albeit by the Sikh Missionary Colleges, right thinking volunteers in Punjab and other tireless volunteers in the diaspora, though with limited success. Whether the Bedis of Una (Himachal Pardesh), or the local village religious charlatan, their basic modus operandi is making money on the emotions of the ignorant and absolutely does not make it, a Sikh tradition.

If so, they may not signify "through historical vicissitudes, the distinctive identity and collective aspirations of the Sikh people." As Neki argues, but also, as he alludes, act as "keepsakes of the tenth Guru who sacrificed all that was his for the Khalsa.".....[Page 63]

On one hand Anne understands and agrees that the "5Ks" are part of the Khalsa identity yet she negates it by making the articles of Faith into 'keepsakes' by quoting J.S.Neki. Looks like a

billion Christians around the globe are only carrying around a tiny little cross around their necks as a 'keepsake' and nothing more!

I have suggested that there is life of the image and the object within Sikh tradition that is not a series of anomalies, nor simply equivalent to Hindu practices. Instead, Sikh materiality exists as part of a larger approach to the memorial, as the material representation of the relationships and authority that constitute the community and its living past. The 5 K's can be seen as the generalized marker of the Guru producing the community in memory of the Guru and on the path or panth (the term used for the community) the Guru explicated......The Babri Masjid was destroyed by Hindu kar-sewaks in 1992 because it was said to have been built on the temple that commemorated the birthplace of Ram....It would be wrong to assume simple equivalence between this case and the Sikh interest in history of the tradition located in place; it would be a mistake to read the long history of marking of the Indian landscape with sacred geography tied to representation of the past as only a modern and communalized concern....[Page 65]

Even though Anne makes it clear that the Sikhs cannot be compared to the Hindus in reference to their memorializing material objects, she still ends up using a Hindu comparison. The issue is simple, namely the objects of the Sikhs are real, whereas the objects/religious-history of the Hindus -pure myth, hence comparing both is ludicrous.

Chapter 3 – Writing the Community: Literary Sources from the Eighteenth Century:

This court, therefore, was not necessarily a fully political one. Deol and Rinehart have argued that the Dasam Granth exhibits a "new Sikh conception of the role of the leader with both spiritual and worldly responsibilities," in the words of Rinehart, and that "the Khalsa notion of Dharam [right conduct] valorizes ideas of rule and political sovereignty in a way that classical definitions and others contemporary to the Khalsa do not," constituting an "unusual if not unique" orientation in the period, according to Deol..... [Page 74]

Firstly the Dasam Granth is a highly questionable piece of literature as there is no conclusive proof that it was written by the Tenth Guru. Secondly other than about 70 pages which find concurrence on the touch stone of the Guru Granth Sahib, the rest absolutely does not. Thirdly evidence suggests that Hindu poets and scribes have written the Bachittar Natak which is its real name and not the Dasam Granth. Fourth there are sections which are pornographic in nature, which makes it further clearer that it cannot be religious "Sikh" literature but very likely "Hindu" literature. Fifth it cannot be simple coincidence that the Bachittar Natak has the same number of pages as the Guru Granth Sahib. The point here is that, it is completely irrelevant which language the "BG" was written in, as it was not written by Sikhs or the Tenth Guru, therefore to deduce so much 'Sikh tradition' out of it is redundant.

Like I have mentioned earlier, the Bachittar Natak is not the writings of the Tenth Guru, secondly all 'gurbilas' literature are highly questionable and inimical to the faith. The Sikh Faith has had Hindus of varying hues trying to destroy the ethos from the very beginning of its history. Hindu writers especially Brahmins and Sikhs with very close blood ties to the upper caste Hindus, firstly were more educated than the general Sikh populace and secondly those same folks with biased caste motivations went on to fabricate literature and posit it onto the Sikhs as real history. As time goes on this becomes Sikh materiality of the past for the Annes of the future to do research on! It is akin to equating 'Grimm's Fairy Tales' with Christian religious tradition and doing serious research on it.

Deol has shown that the central point at issue in this teaching regarding the prohibition of rituals associated with the death of relatives was the avoidance of a Mughal tax on this practice, and as such represented a challenge to Mughal sovereignty. Deol relates this injunction to a larger phenomenon, namely, the creation of what he calls a "metanarrative" derived from the Dasam Granth in which the aspirations of the Khalsa community to define itself as distinct and sovereign were placed within a framework based on puranic myth, defining dharam in a mode that is simultaneously religious and political.....[Page 89]

Anne's reading above is very loaded. The Tenth Guru was not the first to ask his Sikhs to stop and refrain from all mundane ritualistic practices; as this was started from the very first Guru mentioned in the Guru Granth Sahib the Sikh Scripture. The fact that there was a Mughal tax is secondary and not the primary reason for the Guru's injunction. Further the 'metanarrative' Anne is bringing out does not make much sense and the reason being that the Gurus spent around 239 years to groom and inculcate the values they wanted in the Sikhs. The Bachittar Natak aka Dasam Granth only came about fifty years after the passing on of the Tenth Guru. The Khalsa's distinct sovereignty did not require a Bachittar Natak to define itself. If that was the case the question arises, 'what was the interim political literature' which helped guide the Khalsa through the most turbulent part of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century?

McLeod notes that the historical value of the Chaupa Singh Rahitnama is of questionable quality, as is true of Kesar Singh's Bansavalinama, another product of the Chibber clan from later in the eighteenth century. As McLeod notes, the texts are most useful not so much for the history they present, but for their portrayal of their contemporary present.....[Page 99]

Anne has rightly noted that the some of these Rahitnamas are of questionable quality, but the bigger question is McLeod's integrity itself, as he has fabricated information many times over. Anne could have used better sources so that the end result would be more honest and accurate.

In Sainpati, it is the community that constitutes this continuing authority, this continuing presence.....[Page 105

Anne has concluded correctlyas Sainpati's Guru Sobha is a well-respected source of information, but the injunction given by the Tenth Guru is unambiguous and clear in reference to the 'panth' being the continuing authority which takes all important decisions collectively.

Interestingly, as suggested by the rahit citation above, such hukamnamae themselves came to act as relics, and even today are collected and displayed by families, such as Bhai Rupa and with the Dalla family....[Page 108]

No doubt material objects such as swords all the way to written edicts by the Gurus are treated respectfully very similar to treating material objects of a deceased loved one. But does that make 'it' into a religious tradition is highly debatable. The Sikh primarily worship the 'one' formless Creator with and through the Guru Granth Sahib with all else simply being, emotional attachments to 'material objects of past' like a person holds onto a long deceased loved one's memory. That definitely does not make it a religious tradition.

Chapter 4 – Into the Nineteenth Century: History and Sovereignty:

Sainpathi's Guru Sobha, it has been argued, is concerned with the narration of events related to the Guru in world, alongside doctrinal, theological, and prescriptive injunctions – these are tied modes of narration, which focus on the interaction of the Guru in the world with his devotees and the continuing life of the community in history.....Bhai Santoh Singh's Sri Gur Partap Suraj Granth, however, is structured differently. In the Suraj Granth, we see a reorientation of narrative/historical focus – a transition to a full explication of the Guru's community in detail and an articulation of the authority of the Guru in relation to this community, reminiscent of the kinds of narrations available within the Janam-Sakhis....[Pages 113-114]

Sikhs had very little respite from defending themselves from the Mughals in most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century for them to be able to stop, think and write about their situation. In the huge vacuum there were extremely few writers who were grounded in sound Sikh centered theological thought. Most Sikh writers were either from the upperclass and/or with the divergent sects such as Nirmalas, Udasi, etc, and could really not bring about the correct Sikh theology to the forefront.

Harjot Oberoi highlights the role of Narotam in articulating aspects of "Sanatan Sikh" ideology, as represented in general by Nirmala scholars like him....[Page 120-121]

The entire premise of Harjot is wrong so to even quote him is a waste, because as explained earlier, there was a genre of scholars grounded in the Hindu belief system, therefore their writings portray a hybridized Sikhi, when in fact, needs to be discarded. The Sikh collective did not suddenly all become Sanatan Sikhs one day because of a few Nirmala writers. It is the other way around, i.e., the writers tried to influence their own mindset on the public at large, with very limited success.

The introduction to the Suraj Granth, written in 1931, the year of the second printing of the text.....yet history is important, since it describes the Gurus' actions in the world; it achieves a status below the bani (word) and hukam (order) of the Guru....[Page 124]

Anne is correct in her assertion about the lower status of any other literature, but to further clarify, all the 'granths' other than Guru Granth Sahib have varying importance depending on which particular subgroup of Sikhs one is talking to, but the vast Sikh collective, simply revere one Scripture- the Guru Granth Sahib and all else is just literature.

Newspapers flourished in the early twentieth century: of approximately 260 newspapers extant in Punjab in 1905, 17 were in Punjabi in the

Gurmukhi script, while 198 were in Urdu....[Page 127]

The reason for the fewer newspapers was that, the Sikhs were also in much smaller numbers compared to the Muslims and the Hindus among whom they lived. During Maharaja Ranjit Singh's rule the Sikh population in the kingdom was between 13-14%. Secondly most of the Urdu speakers in Punjab actually spoke Punjabi and still do to this day. The Muslims wrote their script in Urdu/Persian even though the spoken language was Punjabi.

The book under examination here, Sundari (1898), was Bhai Vir Singh's first novel and is also known as the first modern Punjabi novel.....Imaginative history is achieved n Sundari in multiple ways.....[Pages 134-135]

Even though Bhai Vir Singh was a well renowned scholar he had weaknesses in his theological thought process. It is the same Bhai Vir Singh who propagated the fact that Guru Gobind Singh actually went to mediate at Hemkund in the Himalayas in his past life. Today, thanks to his fabrication thousands of Sikhs take a pilgrimage to a Gurdwara at Hemkund in the Himalayas.

*The Khalsa is not limited to state sovereignty; it represents a greater ideal....[Page 148]* 

Again Anne is right, but her statement is loaded. There is no question that the Khalsa were meant to be a fraternity of universal brotherhood standing up as one for the welfare of others in need. Yet at the same time the Khalsa were completely sovereign. From the very beginning the Gurus established towns, then forts and actually created physical space within yet outside the prevailing cultural and political domain. This revolutionary concept would not happen if the ultimate goal was not to be sovereign politically; because without temporal power no religion can sustain itself, survive and thrive.

Chapter 5 – A History of Possession:

The debate over who controls a religious site came to be of central importance in the battle for control over Gurdwaras that takes place in the 1920s., the Gurdwara Reform Movement....The statusand management of such religious sites therefore did not exist in separate order from more general policies towards land management and entitlements.....[Page 155]

Nowhere does Anne explain the real reason why the Gurdwara reform Movement had to take place in the 1920s. Except for the Sikhs, there were no separate laws enacted by the British in British (pre) India for any other religious group. The Sikhs were the only ones whose religious institutions were officially hijacked by the British, and Hindu Mahants called 'pujaris' were installed who ran all historic Gurdwaras for nearly 70 years while the Sikhs had no control over their religious institutions or their destiny. The land management and entitlements are a completely separate issue from the more important 'special laws enacted for the Sikhs' based on political chicanery and base stratagem, so as to rein in their fiery spirit emanating from the Gurdwaras. Another case and point is the Central government's role in controlling the SGPC to date which is a continuation of what the British had enacted and left behind.

Chapter 6 - Colonial Governance and Gurdwara Reform:

The statement also notes "the martial characteristics have been kept purposely alive both by Government and the Sikhs themselves", revealing the self-understanding of the colonial administrators as patrons of Sikhism......[Page 190]

Anne quotes V.W.Smith, by clearly alluding that Sikhism was kept alive by the British government which is untrue. The British had to keep a tight leash on a recently conquered formidable foe, and what better way than to co-opt them all into the British-Indian armed forces with a twist. The Khalsas were not willing to change, but reluctantly started to tie their beards. Formally initiated Sikhs were allowed to serve with a caveat that they could not wear the religiously mandated 'kirpan'. So the British used the Sikhs as cannon fodder for their own selfish reasons, but not as noble patrons. It is the Sikhs themselves who tried their best to keep their religious traditions alive but no thanks to the canny British.

One aspect of that administration was the investment in the agricultural developmentin what came to be called 'canal-colonies'- settlements in western Punjab dependent upon new canals built by the colonial administration – which provided not only for agricultural expansion in the region, but also the retrenchment of the political forces that supported the British rule...[Page 195]

It is true that the British developed the canal-colonies, but again for their own benefit to export the commodities to England. Secondly, by giving land to ex-servicemen the British were doing something very normal, which is to continue to keep the allegiance of the Sikhs, not any different than keeping the lords of the various estates satiated, and or keeping the various tribal clans happy earlier, in England. Thirdly, the reason for the Sikhs to side with the British against the sepoys of the "Mutiny of 1857" was simply political. Those same mostly Hindu mutineers were the one the Sikhs had fought as enemies less than a decade earlier and had no love lost for them.

Ruchi Ram Sahini (1863-1948), Punjabi intellectual, witness to the Gurdwara Reform Movement, and member of the Punjabi Legislature Council who participated in the passing of legislation to address gurdwara reform, described the gurdwara movement as "the best and most inspiring instance of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings of non-violence in thought, word and deed," and declared that "Mahatma Gandhi himself could not have expected more faithful followers to carry out his non-violent non-cooperative struggle in the face of the gravest provocation......[Page 199-200]

Firstly, Ruchi Ram Sahini was an upper class Hindu. Secondly, if he helped pass legislation to reform gurdwaras it wasn't any special favor to the Sikhs rather a way forward for Hindus like him to get changes done in the overall existing political system. Thirdly, and most important it was absolutely not the teachings of the infamous M.K.Gandhi that inspired half a million Sikhs to be led by Jathedar Kartar Singh Jabbar, but in fact the teachings of the enlightened Sikh Gurus, to be completely nonviolent in the face of violence. Fourth, it was in fact M.K.Gandhi who copied, stole the idea of spinning cotton (khaddar), boycotting British goods, all started by the great Sikh pacifist Bhai Ram Singh in the late 1900s. Fifth, again it was Jathedar's Kartar Singh Jabbar's peaceful protest, the largest of its kind in Asia which opened Gandhi's eyes and the canny 'bania' not only plagiarized the fantastic idea but made it his own, as though he invented it. Sixth, M.K.Gandhi conducted three major civil disobedience marches and not one was for ending British rule. It was only to undermine the government and promote anarchy (The Gandhi Nobody Knows; Richard Greiner, P83, 1983). Finally, it is unfortunate that Anne quote's Gandhi here, but his whole life was mostly a pack of lies and not the truth. Here is what his own wife Kasturba Gandhi says, "Yes, I know my husband. He (is) always mischief." (Kasturba Gandhi, The Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi, p 109).

The definition of who was a Sikh was already by this time open to serious and contentious debate; the definition (and the act of setting one) had become highly politicized since the second quarter of the nineteenth century, with the founding of the Siri Guru Singh Sabha of Amritsar in 1873, followed by the Lahore Sabha in 1879......[Page 203]

The start of second quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> centurywould be 1825 and the zenith of Maharaja Ranjit Singh rule. This was a time when his court was referred to as the Khalsa Darbar. His army the 'Khalsa Fauj', his courtiers went out of their way to dress like a Sikh, which meant a full beard and a full turban. Rather even the European, including an American Col. Gardner dressed like a Sikh. The Maharaja himself was the most magnanimous king in all of Asia, where people of every Faith were treated as equal and with respect. It is on record, that there was no death penalty carried out during nearly half century of his rule. At no time was there an issue of who a Sikh was when even foreigners knew who and what a Sikh looked like. The country of Punjab and the surrounding kingdoms all knew, except for those who wanted to feign ignorance. Once the Gurdwaras were usurped from the Sikhs immediately after the annexation of Punjab, the slow erosion of Sikh values started, first through proselytization by the British and American missionaries in earnest, then another Gujarati; Dayanand who of all places took advantage of the big hearted Sikhs to evangelize in Punjab to their own detriment. Without any political clout, without any control over their historic gurdwaras, without educational facilities, Sikhs were ripe for the plucking. But, that still did not change the fact that the definition of a Sikh was still clear. The only change that happened was that all the pretenders masquerading as Sikhs during Maharaja's rule reverted back to the Hindu fold. The Rehait Maryada is an extremely important document and a timely one, but that again does not change the previous 200+ years of continuous 'Sikhi'. Anne seems to put the onus on this particular document, as though if this did not exist, defining who is a Sikh, would be nebulous. Now, that is not only ridiculous but stupid.

In 1920, therefore, in response to the criticism of the management of the Golden Temple and the request for independent governance, the Government of India formed a thirty-six person council to manage the site; reformists in turn formed their own committee instead, including those serving on the government council.....[Page 208]

The Darbar Sahib complex contained the Akal Takht, the seat of temporal authority which is unique in religious history. British knew that the spirit of the Sikh emanated from the Darbar Sahib, which included the Harmandar Sahib and the Akal Takht Sahib – the repository of 'miri and piri'. The devious British knew that they had to blunt this, otherwise their own position would be in trouble, therefore the complete control of all major Sikh religious institutions starting from the 1850 till 1919. In the late 1880s a very large Church was built right next to the 'parkarma' edge of the Darbar Sahib complex, which was later removed by the Sikhs. The British tried every dirty trick to dilute the Sikh ethos, and the only reason they never outright rejected the turban and beard was to use the Sikhs as cannon fodder in the armed forces.

The designation of "Sikh" versus "Hindu" was key feature of debate over a bill introduced to the Legislative Council in 1921 as a means to address the conflict, since "identity" as one of the two was fundamental to the issue as construed in the Council: a Hindu could not care for a Gurdwara in question without sacrificing aspects of the "Sikhness" of the site. The exact construal of this definition provided one reason the Akalis rejected this bill: the Akalis demanded that the definition of the Sikh be limited to Khalsa Sikhs, while Sahajdhari (defined as those who do not adhere to all aspects of the Khalsa rahit) Sikhs and Hindus protested the criticism of some mahants, and wanted to maintain aspects of the status quo.....[Page 211]

Anne has touched a raw nerve and the entire McLeodian clique keeps harping on this same issue and time line in Sikh history. Firstly, just because the British were in control and the largest power block happened to be Hindus of Punjab did not mean that the Sikhs did not know who they were exactly! Secondly, Sikhs having no Vatican like authority, especially when their most sacred sites were in the control of British appointed toadies, could not resurrect a religious power base which would not be subservient to the whims of the British-Hindu co-opting juggernaut. Thirdly, the word 'Sahajdhari' is redundant, because it was invented by the Hindus of Punjab after the annexation of the 'Sikh kingdom'. Fourth, this word was shoved down the Sikh public primarily to infiltrate, make themselves the power brokers relating to the basic postulates of the Sikh Faith. This is a most unusual situation in any Faith where a completely different Faith group (Hindus) taking advantage of the precarious politicalreligious situation of the Sikhs tries to dictate its own terms on the other. Fifth, this basically boils down to the 'Rehait Maryada' document. If this same document was written in 1708 would that make 'continuous Sikhi' okay in the eyes of these western scholars? On the flip side let us assume there is no 'Rehait Maryada' document today; does that mean Sikhs are not Sikhs anymore? I see no 'code of conduct' akin to the 'Rehait Maryada' among the over 250 sects of Christianity, so does that fact, deny all those followers their right to being called Christian? This completely unwarranted interference by the Hindus in the internal affairs of the Sikhs started right from the time of Guru Nanak Sahib but got vicious after 1850 when the Sikhs were politically down and out. The Brahmin, Khatri and Vasyas groups of the Hindus realized the economic advantage of being a Sikh and started a novel idea of making their oldest son a Sikh (physically), while the rest of the family continued to remain Hindu. These households preformed all the Hindu rituals, except added one more, by going to the Gurdwara also. This very dichotomous relationship exists among less than 5% of the Sikh population. Imagine a Sikh family who decides that the oldest daughter will be a 'Catholic nun'. The entire family prays and goes to the gurdwara and once in a while the daughter who they have by choice made into a nun goes to the Church, thereby following two paths, however divergent. If that is not extremely odd I wonder what is?

Fox argues that when the Akali activists were protesting and agitating for control over Sikh shrines, they were "in act of defining what was a Sikh shrine; that is, as they carried out their collective action to capture shrines, they were creating the boundaries of their religious tradition.".....I do not mean that such shrines were actually created in the movement: the Darbar Sahib existed long before the Gurdwara Reform Movement, as did many, many other sites whose significance was based on the representation of the past as a formative ground from the community.....[Page 219]

On one hand Anne quotes Fox by stating that the defined boundaries were being created by the reformers of the Singh Sabha movement yet she backs off by mentioning that the Darbar Sahib existed long before the movement. It seems to be specialty of the McLeodian school to make your point subtly on one hand and then defending your position by claiming the opposite in the same breath so no one notices the sleight of hand. Based on Anne's above example, here is an analogy. A family loses their house because a bunch of criminals forcibly take over their home and throw them out. After some time the family is able to take back the house they lived in previously which is legally theirs to start with and kick the illegal squatters out. Does the family in this situation, creating a 'new family boundary' for themselves or have they simply righted a wrong and got back to their old surroundings. I think Anne should understand that her audience is not naïve as she assumes.

Chapter 7 – Territory and the Definition of Being Sikh: Page 224

A list of behavioral requirements was thus insufficient; the designation

of an identity in point (g), was required for a hereditary office holder to be eligible for office. Further restrictions on identity were and have been debated, such as regarding the necessity of being an amritdhari or initiated Sikh versus being a keshdhari or bearer of the long hair prescribed for members of the Khalsa.....[Page 227]

Anne is quoting part of the 'Rahit Maryada" and language from the Punjab Legislative Council Debates. Those that make history, rarely write their history. It is not the Lion but the hunter who writes the tale any way he chooses. I find it abundantly amusing that Anne needs to be reminded that just because the 'hunter' is debating whether the Lion is defined by his mane or not does not make the Lion any different. The Lion always had a mane and will continue to do so regardless of the infighting, changes in season, including the genetic/non-genetic flaws. There are native Intuits in Anne's country whose oral traditions have been pretty much the same for eons, till the white man took over their land. So does that mean unless and until a white man, in this case a white woman puts all their (Intuits) traditions in writing, their entire past is questionable. That line of thinking is really repugnant and mocks common sense.

At the same time, in the final speech of Master Tara Singh – a major political figure in the late colonial period and the first two decades after independence – to the Punjab Legislative Council, he deemphasized "history" as a constituting element in defining a gurdwara. Instead, his argument hinged on property rights and the role of the gurdwara in the Sikh community......[Page229]

Master Tara Singh like his title states; was a village school teacher, a first generation convert to the Sikh Faith, and with very close blood ties to the Hindus. Tara Singh was well-meaning but with a limited vision, and very poor skills in statecraft. In hindsight he realized many of his own shortcomings and follies committed in the heat of the moment. But it was too late as much water had run under the bridge. A man with limited acumen who could not grasp the requirements needed to convey the additional 'historical' perspective to add weightage to the other arguments.

Place came to be conceived as property, and tied to the individuals. Under the 1925 Act, history and identity (who is a Sikh, who uses a site, and how are they proved as a Sikh) came to constitute the argument to revaluating individual ownership of Sikh shrines, and as such scripted a new way of understanding the landscape of Punjab as historically Sikh and under the control Anne keeps bringing up the Sikh identity repeatedly. In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> centurythe Khalsa had a price on their head by the Mughal (Muslim) administration and were nearly decimated to a man. Does that mean the marker of the Sikh identity had to be redefined at that timeline in history? There were no white folks observing the Sikhs; as though without their blessing our history would be different. Sikhs need to change the touchstone and benchmarks created by 'these' (mostly white) western scholars, because they keep trying to stick a square peg into a round hole and this will continue to pose problems.

In parallel and directly related way, history, place, and Sikhness were co-inscribed within the legislation associated with the Sikh Gurdwara Act, and necessitated by the means of representation granted by the British, based as it was on the designation of the individual and bounded religious communities in its representations of the past. The mapping of Punjab as Sikh, represented in the Gurdwara guides and legislated through the Gurdwara Reform Act, was a result......[Page 243]

Anne's statement makes me wonder how such an intelligent researcher misses the fact that it took nearly 100 years for the Sikhs to form a kingdom of their own. From the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century the coalescing had begun and finally at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a Sikh kingdom, which lasted another half a century. The British were not dumb, as it was pretty obvious that, that geographic area was the heartland of the Sikhs. All this predated the Gurdwara Act by nearly 75 years. This is akin to an 'entity' stripping a person's uniform completely but then slowly over a long time allowing the person to put on pieces of the uniform back on again and in the meantime that same 'entity' also now redefines the new uniform knowing fully well what the old uniform they stripped off the person, looked like.

The Sikh example demonstrates a larger phenomenon. The early twentieth century witnessed the transformation of the evidence of history into the evidence of "nation" within the Indian response to colonial historiography.....[Page 248]

I wonder if the Sikh nation was a figment of someone's imagination! Fortunately, a century of really tough trials and tribulations put the Sikhs on a firm footing, which was a culmination and fruition of the seeds planted by the ten Gurus into a Sikh kingdom ruled by Maharaja Ranjit Singh for 50 years. Further there was no such entity as India, but only an amalgamation of several hundred kingdoms put together by the East India Company managed by the British. Therefore Anne portrayal of the 'nation within the Indian response' does not make any sense.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion: Community, Territory, and the Afterlife of the Object: Page 250

Objects provide a wider field of meanings, not as clearly tied to territory, and thus provide an opportunity for the articulation of multiple notions of the sovereign community, alluding to the fundamentally de-territorialized imagination of the Sikh community highlighted by Georgia Shani, who has argued that it "may also be possible to speak of 'new' counter-hegemonic diasporic Sikh identity: an identity made possible by the nationalist project but opposed to its territorializing, reifying imperatives," a project which "implies a rejection of the assimilationist project of the nation-state" in keeping with "the contemporary phase of globalization [which] has effectively deterritorialized sovereignty......[Page 264]

Georgia Shani has written an extremely shallow and immature book earlier, which Anne is quoting here. If the above statement by Anne is true, all these writers are slowly and permanently eroding the political sovereignty of the Sikhs, because they have assumed a position which seems to fit a particular "state's rationale and agenda" and thereby brainwashing the Sikhs into accepting their current situation as a permanent one.

The single theme running through the entire book is that the Sikh identity is being questioned and a shadow of doubt being cast on the Sikh collective f being one homogenous Keshdahari unit. Anne Murphy like most academics of her ilk speak from both sides of their mouth. The book contains a lot of fluff which can be attributed to either ignoring the research through her wellmeaning Sikh friends and instead using much from the McLeodian clique of Sikh Chair holders in Canada and the US. Anne is subtle but very cleverly disguised her premise stating that the Sikh identity is a production of the Singh Sabha, as though for the preceding over two centuries the Khalsa identity was in flux. If that is not caustically patronizing I do not know what is? It seems like the entire McLeodian clique in various shades is out to erode the Sikh ethos, except the methodology is getting cleverer and subtler day by day. The Singh Sabha movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was only a timely 'revival' of all the 'relevant continuous Sikh traditions' which were always very real and was not a new production or the start of something new, as the Annes, Oberois and McLeods of the world continue to tout very vocally.

The period immediately after the devious annexation of the Sikh Kingdom by the British to the rest of the East India Company 'Estate', was one of great shock to all Sikhs. In this unbelievable vacuum, starting with the proselytizing of the kidnapped child king Dalip Singh to setting up Christian missions, churches and other evangelizing activities, the British had a clear plan to curtail the fiery Sikh spirit any which way they could. So much so the British had the belligerence to build a massive church with a spire right next to the parikarma a few yards from the main entrance to the Darbar Sahib and the gospel was preached in the area surrounding the Darbar Sahib. If the British were in love with the Sikhs it is strange why they promoted the German anti-Sikh writer Ernest Trumpp rather than the British writer Max Arthur Maxauliffe who was completely sidelined and ignored. If the British were in love with the Sikhs why on earth did it take Sikh soldiers to peacefully protest in order to reinstate the wearing of the kirpan upon the formal initiation ceremony, since the carrying of the kirpan was banned for nearly seventy years. Seeing the leaderless and extremely weak situation of the Sikhs, Dayanand aka Mool Shankar a Gujarati Brahmin sticks his tentacles into the land of the Sikhs - Panjab. Dayanand a rabid Hindu started not only to proselytize but also denigrate the Sikh Gurus very publicly. Initially even some prominent Sikhs stood up for him, then realizing very quickly his real motives, backed off. With no political power, no organized leadership, no clergy, no organized religious structure, a Faith group becomes easy prey and a soft target for others including the rotten apples within to dilute the faith, like it happened to the Sikh Faith during the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Anne Murphy has tried to highlight 'material items' to be of great religious significance and reverence to the Sikhs in her thesis. In reality the opposite is true. Sikhs simply believe in a Creator, a higher authority, not bowing to any human entity, political or religious but trying to abide by the dictates of the Gurus as in the final scripture, the Guru Granth Sahib. All else is equal to simply emotional ties, just like a wife keeps a deceased husband's clothes to remember and not to worship him. A mundane book with not much of any significance.

# The Materiality of the Past-History and Representation in Sikh Tradition

Oxford University Press(2012) Author: Anne Murphy A Review by Dr Kashmir Singh Formerly Professor of Law, Guru Nanak Dev Universty

#### Amritsar

The book 'The Materiality of the Past- History and Representation in Sikh Tradition' authored by Anne Murphy is quite descriptive encompassing various aspects of Sikh and Punjab history. To justify title of the book, the authoress has labelled the Sikhs, Sikhism and Sikh institutions as the creation of materiality, territoriality etc. and totally ignored the Sikh tenets, ethos, ideology, spirituality and religiosity as comprised in Sri Guru Granth Sahib-the eternal Guru of the Sikhs. Picture of Sikh Gurdwaras and the Movement to liberate them, *Kar Sewa, the* Sikh Gurdwaras Act etc. is painted as an obsession to control and capture property devoid of any pious and righteous cause. Overall tenor, slant and emphasis of the book seem to question the very foundations of Sikhism and to denigrate it. A great number of observations in the book express pre-conceived notions of the authoress.

The authoress follows the McLeodian line to condemn the Singh Sabha Movement of nineteenth century as orthodox and evolving new practices in Sikhism. She ignores the fact that the said Movement was to awaken the Sikhs for removing the distortions contradictory to Sikh Scripture which had infiltrated into Sikhism.

Similarly while analysing another movement, the Sikh Gurdwara Movement; the authoress wrongly presents it as if it was meant to snatch the premises and property of Gurdwaras from the mahants. She does so even after quoting dignified contemporaries and eye witness of the movement like Prof. RR Sahni that it was purported to "rescue the Gurdwaras from the hands of corrupt and debauched mahants." She ignores that thrust of the Movement was to secure the Gurdwaras from the corrupt custodians and also to constitute a central Sikh representative body to look after the Gurdwaras which the British authorities wanted to avoid at all cost. The book dealing with materiality does not take into account the quantum of extra-ordinary heavy price paid by the Sikhs to get the Movement concluded in their favour in which 30,000 Sikhs were imprisoned, 431 were martyred, 2000 were sentenced under criminal law, 54 editors of newspapers punished and lacs of rupees was paid as fine (Narain Singh, Pb. Leg. Council Debates, July 7, 1925). More details of this materiality are provided by Manjit Singh from Montreal (Management of Gurdwaras, Sikh Review, Calcutta, October 2001). He tells Rs. 1.6 millions were recovered from the Sikhs as fine and forfeiture of property during the Gurdwara Reform Movement; this amount would have been Rs. 3.2 billion in 2001 if counted @ 7% compound interest even without adding the cost of inflation.

R G Fox is guoted more than once terming the Movement as "Third Sikh War" but it was S. Sardool Singh Kaveeshar who had coined the epithet of "Third Anglo-Sikh War" for it (M L Ahluwalia, Landmarks in Sikh History (1996) p.322). Then S C Mittal uses the term "Third Sikh War" (Freedom Movement in Punjab (1977) p.179). Prof R R Sahni calls the Movement "Second Mahabharta War". Above-mentioned Sikh sacrifices can be considered as casualties of this War. It may be mentioned that Murphy avoids quoting Fox when he says that the Movement "was one of the largest, longest, strongest and most popular mass protests against the colonial rule in India." The authoress conveniently highlights Fox's statement that initially the movement was a conflict between "two sorts of Sikhs". It is submitted that the Mahants were not any kind of Sikhs but mere usurpers; they were mostly Hindus whose cause was openly propounded by the Hindu members of the Legislative Council. Misuse of Gurdwaras and performing non-Sikh rituals and ceremonies therein was the only reason for the commencement of the movement.

The circuitous arguments and observations of the authoress at page 219 of the book that the "participants in Gurdwara Reform Movement were 'creating' these sites (Gurdwaras) ...... and evolving notions of Sikh identity" and dubbing the movement as reflecting "agrarian territorialism" at page 221 are totally unjustified and misplaced. It seems the authoress is either lying or is ill-informed.

The authoress repeatedly refers to Sikh leader Master Tara Singh's speech on the Sikh Gurdwaras Bill in the Punjab Legislative Council. She is ignorant about the fact that Master Tara Singh has never been a member of the Council. In fact it was S. Tara Singh MLC from Moga who had introduced the Bill in the Council and delivered the speech.

At page 236 of the book, there is mention of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Trusts Act 1924. It may be clarified that no such

legislation has ever been passed by the Punjab Legislature. However an enactment by the name of 'The Charitable and Religious Trusts Act 1920' passed by the Central Legislature is available on the statute book.

The authoress assertsSikh patronisation by the Britishers but she fails to clarify whether they collided in fighting the third war. She avoidsnoting that Act of 1925 was extracted by the Sikhsfrom the hands of unwilling British Government on the basis of their sacrifices.By reading the book one gathers the impression that she is not happy with the Sikh Gurdwaras Act and its provisions. It will be appropriate to quote for her from the speech of Dr. Gokal Chand Narang in the Punjab Legislative Council on July 6, 1925, "I am not aware that in any country any religious community felt so keenly about its holy places and made such sacrifices for their preservation and protection, .......Those who object to the bill for its sweeping character must find solace in the fact that those who have got it have paid and paid very heavily for it." It may be relevant to mention that the authoress wrongly refers to the 'Sikh Gurdwaras Act' as 'Gurdwara Reform Act' time and again. Further, sheis unnecessarily dissatisfied with the definition of 'Sikh' in the Act as believer in ten Gurus and Guru Granth Sahib and having no other religion. It is very much in consonance with the teachings of Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh who told, "We are neither Hindu nor Muslim" and "Sikhs are ordained to regard Guru Granth Sahib as their living Guru".

The authoress also does not relish the description of 'Sikh Gurdwara' in the Act. She considers it inappropriate simply because the debate in the legislature was only about proper management. The argument is totally inappropriate. Was it possible to provide in the Act only for proper management without defining 'Sikh Gurdwara'? It was not possible to leave the question 'whose management' open. The principles of legislation require that basic terms around which a piece of legislation revolves must be defined in the beginning of the enactment. Invariably section 2 of the every Act consists of definitions of terms used in the Act. More than twenty terms including 'Sikh' are defined in section 2 of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act. However, detailed description of 'Sikh Gurdwara' is given in section 16 of the Act.

Anti-Sikh bias is patently evident from the work of the Assistant Professor of Sikh Studies. Minute study of the second half of the book leaves the impression that authoress laments over themahantslosing their case. She is not prepared to accept the well known fact that the mahants were not the proprietors but the custodians of Gurdwaras and the property attached there with.