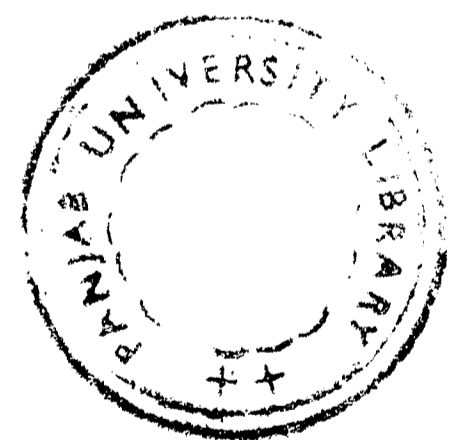


GURU NANAK'S PHILOSOPHY OF POLITICS

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the contents of the thesis entitled, "GURU NANAK'S PHILOSOPHY OF POLITICS" constitute an original research work of MS. GURDIP KAUR carried out under my supervision and that the work has not been submitted for the award of any other degree anywhere.

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C O N T E N T S

Introduction	I-XI
<u>CHAPTER I</u>	1-34
Guru Nanak and His Contemporary Politico-social Conditions	
<u>CHAPTER II</u>	35-104
Guru Nanak's Concept of State	
<u>CHAPTER III</u>	105-173
Guru Nanak's Concept of Economy	
<u>CHAPTER IV</u>	174-222
Guru Nanak's Concept of Justice	
<u>CHAPTER V</u>	223-277
Guru Nanak's Concept of Man	
<u>CHAPTER VI</u>	278-332
Guru Nanak's Concept of Human Rights	
<u>CHAPTER VII</u>	333-356
Guru Nanak's Ethics of War	
<u>CHAPTER VIII</u>	357-384
State and Religion Relationship of Guru Nanak's Vision	
<u>CHAPTER IX</u>	385-407
Relevance of Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Politics	
Original Verses	408-461
Bibliography	462-470

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Politics is one of the most vital aspects of human life. The word 'Politics' means the "science and art of government."¹ No society viz. association of human beings can function properly unless it is bound in some order i.e. some system and this system is introduced by politics for government of the society. Even the whole universe is bound in Hukam viz. the Cosmic Order which may be termed as the Sole Lord's Government which implies His own Politics.* If God Himself employs Politics to govern His own Kingdom that is the Universe, how can the human beings dispense with it? Rather Politics is not only indispensable but essential for human society.

Though many attempts have been made by various scholars to study the different aspects of Sikh Polity, but most of the works generally begin with the period of Guru Hargobind i.e. 1596 A.D. to 1644 A.D. Therein the Sikh Polity has been regarded as the outcome of the Sixth

1. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology, edited by T.F.Hoad, p. 360

*. Politics in itself is not something abhorable or a dirty game; it is its abuse that makes it so.

Guru's policy put forth by him by putting on two Swords - one of Miri (Temporal Power) and the other of Piri (Spiritual Power) on the occasion of his anointment. But no attempt has so far been made by any scholar to study exclusively the Philosophy of Politics as propounded by Guru Nanak, the Founder of Sikh Religion. In fact, the political principles put forth by Guru Nanak were, later on, picked up by Guru Hargobind.

A thorough and careful perusal of Guru Nanak's hymns shows that he had a clear understanding of the politico-social milieu in which he lived and he consciously and boldly reacted to the politics of oppression and tyranny by whatsoever quarters it was exercised. But what is more important is that he not only exhibited awareness of the problems faced by his contemporary society at the hands of the misrulers, but also propounded, though not systematically, a novel Philosophy of Politics based on ethics. In stead of simply criticising and condemning the then prevalent corrupt political set-up, he adopted a positive and constructive approach by envisaging a new type

of political system in which there would be no scope of oppression and tyranny, no chance of encroachment of the human rights of people.

Guru Nanak vociferously condemned the Lodhi rulers for missing their duty of defending their subjects against Babar's invasion of India. But at the same time, he showed no hesitation to condemn Babar and his hordes who observed no ethics during warfare and who did not lose any opportunity to dishonour the victimised innocent armless civilian populace of India. Moreover, Guru Nanak did not spare even the people of India for their moral and political degeneration which dissuaded them from raising their voice against tyranny. In fact, Guru Nanak suggested that both the ruler and the people must observe some sort of ethics of politics and codes of conduct.

In the words of A.C. Banerjee, Guru Nanak "was primarily a religious teacher; he did not directly aim at political regeneration of the people. But unlike other religious teachers of medieval India he had a deep awareness of the political problems - maladministration and

insecurity - which affected the daily life of the common people in his times. This was natural for a religious teacher whose view of spiritual life centred round the ordinary householder and eschewed asceticism. Moreover, he had a deep sympathy for human suffering, and whenever suffering arose from man-made causes his reaction found expression in poetry. He condemned the lapses and corruption of rulers and officials alike. His condemnation of Lodhi administration reached the peak of bitterness in connection with Ibrahim Lodhi's failure to defend his subjects against the invasions of Babar. In the quartet of poems known as Babar-Vani we have poetry which is true to life in its most tragic aspect. But he confined himself to the moral and religious aspects of the issue in stead of prescribing a political solution. He did not ask the people in general - not even his own disciples - to rise against the corrupt and weak Lodhi regime or to resist the new regime established by the invader. He thought of God as the great destroyer of demons (asur sanghar), and he felt sure that under His Hukam righteousness would ultimately prevail."¹

1. A.C. Banerjee, The Khalsa Raj, pp.1-2

A.C. Banerjee further writes, "The remarks of the Gurus are really confined to the invocation of Divine intervention against unjust rulers. This approach was confined to the moral plane; it did not urge human action or enunciate a political theory of resistance....If Guru Nanak really desired to lay down a doctrine of resistance, he would surely have spoken directly and offered clear guidance to his followers".¹

But A.C. Banerjee's perspective on Guru Nanak's approach to the political problems faced by his contemporary society is not wholly acceptable for the simple reason that if Guru Nanak's approach was confined only to the invocation of Divine intervention, what was the need of his condemning the rulers as well as the subjects for not performing their respective duties? He would have simply attributed the whole tragedy to the Divine Will and finished his task. It is also not correct to say that Guru Nanak did not aim at political regeneration of the people and that he would have spoken directly and offered clear guidance

1. A.C. Banerjee, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

to his followers for resistance to the unjust rulers. Here it is necessary to remember that the political degeneration among the people of Guru Nanak's times was the result of their centuries-long slumber and sloth; therefore, the political regeneration could not be infused in them overnight; rather it was necessary to gradually prepare them for resistance to tyranny by arousing political awakening and consciousness among them. And Guru Nanak surely did it by making a profuse use of the forceful and sharp-edged literary weapon of 'Satire' in his poetic compositions. Herein, he gave a clear message to the people to resist tyranny and oppression of the rulers. Further, it is not correct to observe that Guru Nanak has not given any political solution to the problems of society. Guru Nanak has definitely given a solution to the political problems of society by envisaging a new type of political system which would automatically establish a righteous rule; but the need is to make an intensive study of his verses and analyse his thoughts to comprehend and formulate his Philosophy of Politics which is the outcome of his religion with a new notion.

Gordon observes that Guru Nanak rose out of the dust as a great preacher with a great theme which he boldly proclaimed, waking up the people to a higher notion of religion.¹

According to Gurbax Singh, Guru Nanak infused in the people the will to do and the soul to dare. No doubt, the Mughals struck at the weak and declining Lodhi Rule, but the old rulers would have met the same fate even if the Mughals had not appeared on the scene. Under the dead weight of their own sins and incompetence, aggravated by the ever increasing external pressure exerted on them by the new forces roused to a high pitch by the message of Guru Nanak, they would have succumbed to extinction.²

The verses of Guru Nanak, which reflect his response to contemporary politics, suggest his serious concern with politics of his time. Although response of Guru Nanak to his political milieu does not form an orderly pattern, and the verses which reflect his response to contemporary

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1. Gordon, Sir John, J.H., The Sikhs, p.23
 2. Gurbax Singh, The Role of Guru Nanak in History, the article published in Guru Nanak : His Life, Time and Teachings edited by Gurmukh Nihal Singh, p. 202.

politics form only a very small portion of his compositions, yet, in qualitative terms, these verses are significant.¹ In fact, the verses of Guru Nanak need a comprehensive and analytical study.

The present work is an attempt to study and comprehend the Philosophy of Politics as emerges from Guru Nanak's verses. An attempt has been made to concentrate on the verses of Guru Nanak himself, however, at a few places, the verses of other Gurus, the Varan of Bhai Gurdas and the writings of other writers have been quoted for the purpose of proper understanding of the subject.

A brief plan of the thesis is given below. It has been divided into the following nine chapters :-

1. Guru Nanak and His Contemporary Politico-social Conditions.
2. Guru Nanak's Concept of State.
3. Guru Nanak's Concept of Economy
4. Guru Nanak's Concept of Justice
5. Guru Nanak's Concept of Man
6. Guru Nanak's Concept of Human Rights

1. J.S. Grewal, Guru Nanak in History, pp. 165-66.

7. Guru Nanak's Ethics of War
8. State and Religion Relationship of Guru Nanak's Vision.
9. Relevance of Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Politics.

While quoting from the Adi Granth, I have depended mainly on the English renderings of the verses by Prof. Gurbachan Singh Talib, Dr. Gopal Singh, S. Manmohan Singh and Dr. Darshan Singh. At a few places, I have used the English Translation from the works of other writers like S. Khushwant Singh, S. Fauja Singh, S. Bhagat Singh Hira, S. Taran Singh and Dr. Trilochan Singh. I express my sincere thanks to all these learned scholars and other writers whom I have quoted in my work without their consent.

I am grateful to Sant Baba Tirath Singh Ji, 'Sewapanthi' and Sant Bhai Kahan Singh Ji, 'Sewapanthi' with whose blessings I could take up and complete this work. I owe a great deal to my parents - Sardarni Kartar Kaur and Late S. Ranjodh Singh who have always encouraged me for pursuit of studies.

I am constrained to express my sincere thanks to S. Bhagat Singh Ji Hira, an eminent

Sikh Theologian, to whom I expressed my wish to do the research work. He, on my request, took me to his younger brother S. Jagjit Singh Ji, the former Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. At the latter's advice we met Dr. Darshan Singh Ji who was very kind to accept me as his student. I express my sincere thanks to S. Jagjit Singh Ji for directing me to meet Dr. Darshan Singh Ji, an outstanding scholar in the realm of Gurbani.

I have no words to express my profound gratitude to Dr. Darshan Singh Ji, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Guru Nanak Sikh Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh for his able guidance and sincere help which he rendered, even at the cost of his precious time, in the completion of my research project. I am immensely impressed by his sublime scholarship and originality of approach to the study of Gurbani.

I am thankful to the authorities of the various repositories of books who allowed me to consult the books required by me for completion of my research work.

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I am also grateful to all my near and dear ones who provided me books, helped me in selection and location of books, looked after my necessities, did typing work of my thesis or helped me in any way during the course of completion of the present work. I pray to Waheguru to bless all of the above-mentioned dear ones with happiness and prosperity in their life.

Above all, I am thankful to Waheguru who, by His Grace, got this work completed by me.

I sincerely and unconditionally apologise for any mistake I may have committed unconsciously while quoting or interpreting the holy hymns from the Adi Granth.

Gurdip Kaur

(Gurdip Kaur)

Chapter-I

Guru Nanak and His Contemporary
Politico-social Conditions

Guru Nanak, though primarily a spiritual mentor, was, indeed, a thinker par excellence. There is much misconception among people about him that he was merely a religious thinker and that he had nothing to do with the political affairs of the people around him. True, he was neither a statesman nor a politician. He kept himself aloof from active participation in politics. He never coveted any political authority or power for himself. His state of mind can be well expressed in the following words of the fifth Guru :-

I seek no dominion for me, nor Deliverance,

for I crave for nothing but the Love of Thy Lotus-Feet.¹

But it does not mean that he had no political thought. It is not necessary for a political thinker that he should also be a statesman or politician. The biographies of the great Greek political thinkers like Plato² and Aristotle³ show that they never became statesmen, yet their political ideas still carry weight. Guru Nanak was, indeed, a great, liberal and enlightened thinker who attached due importance to all the positive

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1. Guru Arjan Dev, Adi Granth, P.534
 2. Michael B.Foster, Masters of Political Thought, vol.I,pp. 28-35.
 3. Ibid.,pp. 120-23.

aspects of human life. How could, then, the political affairs, a vital aspect of human life, pass by him unnoticed and how could he show apathy and callousness to the contemporary politics? Rather he had an acute awareness of political instability and turmoil of his times and reacted to it in very poignant terms. In fact, his reactions to the contemporary political conditions have become the fountain-head of his Philosophy of Politics.

According to the American College Dictionary, "Philosophy is the study or science of the truths or principles underlying all knowledge of being or reality."¹ It is concerned not only with facts but also with values. It tries to understand reality not only of what actually is but also what it actually ought to be. If philosophy is a search for truth, Political Philosophy is a search for good political order.² Leo Strauss holds that "If men make it their explicit goal to acquire knowledge of the good life and the good society, political philosophy emerges."³ According to Alan Gewirth, political philosophy is concerned with the moral evaluation of political power."⁴ According to Arnold Brecht, "Political Philosophy examines not what is but what ought to be done or to be approved."⁵ It is in the above-mentioned sense that the observations

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1. American College Dictionary, quoted in R.M. Bhagat, Politicant Thought : Plato To Marx, p.15
 2. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p.15
 3. Leo Strauss, quoted by R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p.21
 4. Alan Gewirth, quoted by R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p.21
 5. Arnold Brecht, quoted by R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p.22

made by Guru Nanak regarding his contemporary political conditions, bring forth his Philosophy of Politics.

Though Guru Nanak does not advance and argue his political thought logically and systematically in a typical political philosopher's fashion; and whatever reflection is made, is made by him in his devotional hymns; whatever political thought is formed, is through the interpretation of his inspired and panegyric poetic compositions into temporal meanings; it is not correct to say that Guru Nanak, a Faqir as he is known to be, devotes himself entirely and solely to spiritual matters and he has no interest in political affairs. Notwithstanding the spiritual and pacific note of his psalms, there is an under-current of a forceful and dynamic approach to political and social thinking. His verses, though predominantly religious in tone, are not entirely apolitical in subject-matter. Rather these are marvellously thought-provoking in the sphere of politics. According to J.S. Grewal, "Guru Nanak was primarily a social and religious thinker, but it is also suggested that even if he did not systematically probe into the affairs of the state it is possible to form an idea of his reaction to political authority."¹

"Every political thinker worth the name, howsoever secluded, must represent, in his writings and personality,

1. J.S. Grewal, Guru Nanak In History, p. 146

the contemporary problems simply because he cannot rid himself of them. The issues and the controversies of his times are bound to find a reflection in his political reflection. The physical, intellectual, social, political and economic environment leaves an indelible impression on the mind of the political thinker."¹ That is why Laski says repeatedly that "No theory of state is ever intelligible save in the context of its time."² Guru Nanak is such a political thinker in whose compositions, not only the contemporary political developments and turmoil but also his prompt reaction to them finds a reflection in abundance. In fact, his philosophy of politics can be studied only with reference to his contemporary political set-up.

Therefore, to understand Guru Nanak's philosophy of politics aright, it is necessary to first discern the milieu in which he lived, what influenced his thinking and how he reacted to the milieu. "In the absence of reliable records of Guru Nanak's life, travels and encounters with people, all we have left to us is the Guru's own writings from which to decipher what influenced his thinking and his reactions to the milieu in which he lived. We can however presume that he must have breathed his share of the religious, social and political atmosphere of the time

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 359

2. Laski, quoted by R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p.359

and places in which he lived.¹ Thus a clear understanding of the political, social and religious conditions prevailing immediately before and during Guru Nanak's times is essential for a proper understanding of his philosophy of politics.

Guru Nanak's life spanned the period from 1469 A.D. to 1539 A.D. He was born in the fifteenth century at Rai Bhoi Ki Talwandi, a town near Lahore, situated in the plains of the Punjab (now known after him as Nankana Sahib and forming a part of West Pakistan). The scholars often divide human history into three periods - ancient, medieval and modern. According to this division, the fifteenth century marks the advent of the modern era. In fact, the fifteenth century witnessed the transitional phase of the world (especially Western) from the medieval into the modern age and many political upheavals. "In a sense, therefore, Guru Nanak was one of the torch-bearers of the so-called modern age, though in the case of India, the medieval age continued right up to the eighteenth century. In Europe, the spirit of 'new learning' started spreading with the rise of Italian Renaissance during the fifteenth century. The authority of science began asserting itself and the authority of the Church showed signs of the loosening of its hold. The transition from the rule of feudal aristocracy to an industrial democratic State

1. Khushwant Singh, Hymns of Guru Nanak, p.19

was gradually taking place there. The adventures of Vasco-da-Gama and Columbus, 'who enlarged the world' and the influence of Copernicus, who 'enlarged the heavens, contributed their share in laying the foundations of a new era in the Western World."¹

The notion that the earth was round like a ball and rotated round the sun, and the immensity of the size of the universe suggested by Copernicus undermined the medieval conception of the structure of the universe. The Mediterranean ceased to be the centre of the world; the theatre of the world events shifted to the Atlantic.² Thus "a new universe opened at the end of the fifteenth century before the staggered gaze of men already eager to explore, intoxicated with the intellectual stimulants they had received from their study of antiquity."³

The life-span of Guru Nanak (1469 to 1539) was an epoch-making period during which a number of significant historical events took place both in the East and the West. "It was a period of the emergence of leaders in the regions of politics, religion and science. Lorenzo the Magnificent came to power in the 'most civilized city' of Florence in the year of Guru Nanak's birth, that is, A.D. 1469. Machiavelli, a Florentine

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1. Wazir Singh, Humanism of Guru Nanak, p.1
 2. J.P. Suda, History of Political Thought-Ancient and Medieval, p.3.
 3. Doyle, History of Political Thought, quoted in J.P. Suda, Ibid., p.3.

and noted political commentator, was also born in 1469. Erasmus and Thomas More, Copernicus and Martin Luther, Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci were some of the other outstanding contemporaries of the Guru. The scene in India presented a confused picture, with the Lodi Dynasty facing downfall and Babar, the ruler of Samarqand, crossing into India and capturing the throne of Delhi. It was during the life of Guru Nanak that the Moghul Empire was established in India."¹

Before the birth of Guru Nanak in the second half of the fifteenth century, several Muslim dynasties had reigned India. "The armed might of the Hindus had been broken by Qutb-Ud-Din Aibak, the first king of the Slave dynasty in 1193 in the battle of Narain. Several efforts were made to exterminate Hinduism."² "Tens of thousands of temples were destroyed and millions of Hindus butchered,"³ "There was great religious intolerance on the part of the conquerors and the vanquished people suffered heavily. There were forcible conversions. Those Hindus who did not accept them, had to live under the pressure of severe taxes and were subjected to Muslim Laws."⁴

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1. Wazir Singh, op.cit., pp. 1-2.
 2. Surinder Singh Kohli, Philosophy of Guru Nanak, p.14
 3. Lt. General Sir George Macmann, Afghanistan, quoted in Surinder Singh Kohli, Ibid., p.14
 4. Surinder Singh Kohli, op.cit., p.14.

Syed Mohammad Latif writes, "Great jealousy and hatred existed in those times between the Hindus and the Mohammdans, and the whole non-Musalman population was subjected to persecution by the Mohammadan rulers."¹

According to Prof. Arnold Toynbee, "Their (of Hinduism and Islam) principal meeting ground has been in India, where Islam has impinged on Hinduism violently. On the whole, the story of the relations between these two great religions on Indian ground has been an unhappy tale of mutual misunderstanding and hostility."²

When Guru Nanak appeared on the scene in 1469 A.D., Delhi kingdom was being reigned by Bahlol-Lodhi (1451-89) who had overthrown the tottering Sayyad dynasty and founded the Lodhi dynasty.³ According to V.D. Mahajan, the Lodhi Territory "included the Punjab, the Doab, Jaunpur, Oudh, a part of Bihar, Tirhut and the country between the Sutlej and Bundhelkhand."⁴ Bahlol Lodhi was a clever, tactful and sagacious ruler

1. Syed Mohammad Latif, History of the Punjab, quoted in G.S. Deol, Social and Political Philosophy of Guru Nanak Dev and Guru Gobind Singh, p.1.
2. Prof. Arnold Toynbee, The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs, p.10, quoted in Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, A Life-Sketch of Guru Nanak, the article published in Guru-Nanak-His Life, Time and Teachings edited by Gurmukh Nihal Singh, p.29.
3. Surinder Singh Kohli, op.cit., P.15.
4. V.D. Mahajan, India Since 1526, quoted in Surinder Singh Kohli, op.cit., p.15.

who through his ingenious policy kept the Afghan nobles friendly to himself. "In his social meetings he never sat on a throne and would not allow his nobles to stand; and even during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself on a carpet."¹ His son and successor Sikandar Lodhi (1489-1517), though benevolent and just to his own co-religionists,² was a prosecutor of the Hindus. According to M.A. Macauliffe, under him "the state once more assumed a theocratic character and officially imposed Islam upon the Hindus."³ Firishta says that "Sikandar was firmly attached to the Mohammadan religion, and made it a point of destroying all Hindu temples."⁴ Praising him Abdulla, the author of Tarikh-i-Daudi, writes; "He was so zealous a Musalman that he utterly destroyed diverse places of the infidels, and left not a vestige remaining of them. He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathura, the mines of heathenism and turned their principal places of worship into caravan sarais and colleges. Their stone images were given to butchers for using as weights for weighing meat and all the Hindus were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards and performing their

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1. N.K. Sinha and A.C. Banerjee, History of India, quoted in Surinder Singh Kohli, op.cit., P.15
 2. Indubhushan Banerjee, Evolution of the Khalsa, vol. 1, p.30.
 3. M.A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, vol.1.,p.170.
 4. Briggs, History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, vol.II, p. 586, quoted in Indubhushan Banerjee, op.cit., p. 31

ablutions. He thus put an end to all idolatrous rites of the infidels there; and, no Hindu, if he wished to have his head or beard shaved, could get a barber to do it. Every city thus conformed as he desired to the custom of Islam."¹ It is said about him, "Wherever he went, Hindu temples were destroyed and mosques erected on their site... He was a bigot, and his zeal is shown in treatment of Hindus and Hindu shrines."² He executed a Brahman, Budhan, for the sole offence of saying that "the religions of both the Moslems and Hindus, if acted on with sincerity, were equally acceptable to God."³ After Sikandar Lodhi, Ibrahim Lodhi (1517-26) accessed to the throne. But he was a tactless and weak ruler. According to Erskine, the Lodi possessions, though extensive, had no very strong principle of cohesion.⁴ "The monarchy was a congeries of nearly independent principalities, jagirs and provinces, each ruled by a hereditary chief, or by a Zamindar or delegate from Delhi; and the inhabitants looked more to their immediate governors, who had

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1. Elliot and Dowson : Abdulla's Tarikh-e-Daudi, 1872, vol.IV,p.447, quoted in Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, A Life-Sketch of Guru Nanak published in Guru Nanak:His Life, Time and Teachings, edited by Gurmukh Nihal Singh, P. 29
 2. J.C. Powell-Price, A History of India, quoted in Surinder Singh Kohli, op.cit., pp. 15-16.
 3. Briggs, op.cit.,p.586, quoted in A.C. Banerjee, Guru Nanak And the Problems of His Age, the seminar paper published in Perspectives On Guru Nanak,ed.by Harbans Singh, P. 465
 4. Erskine, quoted in Indubhushan Banerjee, op.cit., P.23.

absolute power in the province, and in whose hands, consequently, lay their happiness and misery, than to a distant and little known sovereign."¹ Ibrahim's arrogant and overbearing temper alienated the Afghan nobles and he made himself an object of almost universal distrust. Daulat Khan Lodhi, the Governor of the Punjab, started intriguing with Babar. He invited Babar to invade India and occupy the throne of Delhi,² It was in the field of Panipat that Babar defeated and slain Ibrahim. Thus, after triumph, he laid the foundation of Moghal Empire in India.

According to A.C. Banerjee, "The political uncertainties during the reign of Ibrahim Lodhi and early years of the Mughal regime had their repercussions on the life of the people, and, of these, Guru Nanak was not merely a casual witness,"³ "Although Guru Nanak kept himself aloof from active politics, he did not, at least in his mature years, ignore the political trends which affected the people's lives. Indeed, he was fully alive to the disastrous impact of political

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1. Erskine, History of India under Babar and Humanyun, vol.1, p. 406, quoted in Indubhushan Banerjee, op.cit., p. 23.
 2. Indubhushan Banerjee, op.cit., pp. 34-35.
 3. A.C. Banerjee, Guru Nanak And The Problems of His Age, the seminar paper, published in Perspectives On Guru Nanak, edited by Harbans Singh, P. 466.

turmoil and inhospitable atmosphere on society and religion. This was quite natural in view of the fact that he was not an ascetic in the traditional Indian sense. He lived the life of a householder...."¹ "Had the founder of Sikhism been an ascetic of the traditional Indian type, he would have ignored these political developments and noticed in them nothing but the manifestation of inscrutable Divine will."²

In fact, Guru Nanak had a first-hand knowledge of the miserable plight of the people under the Lodhi rulers and of the treatment meted out by the ruling class and their functionaries to their subjects. In his hymns, Guru Nanak gave vent to his response and reaction to the contemporary political set-up in direct as well as implicit form. "For direct evidence on the Guru's reaction to the political turmoil which he witnessed in the Punjab on his return from his travels, his own compositions should be studied. The four well-known verses collectively known as Babar-Vani (Asa 39, Asa Ashtapadi 11, Asa Ashtapadi 12, and Tilang 5) claim

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1. A.C. Banerjee, Guru Nanak And The Problems of His Age, the seminar paper, published in Perspectives on Guru Nanak, edited by Harbans Singh, P. 465.
 2. Anil Chandra Banerjee, Background of Guru Nanak's Teachings, the article published in Guru Nanak (A Government of India Publication), p. 48.

one's attention."¹ Guru Nanak makes umpteen allusions to the contemporary political situation and wretched state of affairs. This may be inferred from the metaphorical use of the political terminology in vogue at his times. "The number of passages often quoted by writers in illustration of Guru Nanak's political concerns is not more than ten. But there are other verses which have a bearing on the subject and the number of such verses is by no means small. Altogether, they suggested Guru Nanak's familiarity with contemporary politics and bureaucratic set up. This may be inferred from the occurrence, in these verses, of such phrases as sultan, patshah, shah-i-alam, takht, taj, hukm, amr, pathani-aml, wazir, divan, naib, lashkar, umera, khan, maluk, shiqdar, gazi, chaudhari, muqaddam, railiyat, for instance. Also there are references to the court and palaces, royal conopy, elephants, armour, cavalry, trumpets, treasury, coins, mint, salary (wajh), taxes and even to revenue-free land."² Besides this, Guru Nanak, conceiving God as the King and the universe as His kingdom or State, puts forth his concept of an Ideal State. At some places, he uses the image of a 'state' for human body, that of a 'ruler' for human mind and that of the 'Panches' for

1. A.C. Banerjee, op.cit., pp. 466-67.

2. J.S. Grewal, op.cit., p. 147.

the five senses, and, thus, evolves the conceptual structure of the State. Therefore, it is from the metaphorical usage of the political phraseology interspersed profusely in his verses that his political ideas can be inferred.

While condemning some unrighteous policy or misrule of his contemporary rulers Guru Nanak attributes it to the general term 'rulers' in stead of assigning it to any particular ruler with the exception of Babar.

The age of Guru Nanak was an age of political chaos, oppression, tyranny and corruption. Guru Nanak gives expression to his anguish over the age in these words :-

The Kaliage is a Knife, kings are butchers;
Religion (Righteousness and Justice) has taken wings
and fled.¹

Corruption and bribery were rampant in the contemporary judicial system due to the weak regime and low ebb of morality of the administrative machinery. Guru Nanak exposes them in the following verses:-

In this age none at sight of suffering takes pity
No one from receiving graft restrains himself.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 145

Rulers administer justice as is their palm greased.
None by invoking the name of God is persuaded.¹

There was virtually no justice during the age. Kazis who were the very custodians of justice and responsible for administering justice and expounding the Law, had become corrupt. It indicates that there was the height of political *degeneration*. Guru Nanak expresses his indignation in the following words :-

Becoming a judge a Kazi sits to administer justice,
He tells the rosary and mutters God's Name;
Taking bribe he usurps the right to justice
(and does injustice)

If someone asks him, then he misquotes and
reads out some aphorism.²

The rulers and their officials remissed in the proper discharge of their duties and performance of their function with the result that the people suffered great hardship. In one of his hymns, Guru Nanak describes the state of affairs as under :-

Greed and evil are king and counsellor;
falsehood their officer.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 350

2. Ibid., P. 951.

Lust the officer who is called for advice,
All three hold conclave to chalk out plans.¹

They not only neglected their duties but also oppressed and harassed their subjects. Guru Nanak makes a scathing attack on the tyranny of the rulers and their officials in the following verse :-

The kings are tigers; their officials are dogs,
They disturb the people caring not a fig for their
convenience.

The officials cause wounds as if with their claws,
The blood and the bile left behind are swallowed
up by the dogs.²

During the times of Guru Nanak, the most shocking and horrible event that occurred was Babar's invasion on India which brought untold cruelties and barbarities in its wake. Babar's soldiers not only plundered the innocent people of India but also committed excesses and atrocities on them. The people who had little to do with war or politics, were slain and degraded. Numberless women both Muslim and Hindu were raped and molested. The heart-rending spectacle of massacre, arson, rape and plunder, on an unprecedented scale, struck terror all around. The people were too

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 468

2. Ibid., P. 1288

terrorised and demoralised to raise a protest. "In 1520 A.D. Babar crossed river Chenab and occupied Sialkot without much resistance. Then he marched on Sayyidpur (Eminabad) which was taken by assault and put to the sword."¹

Guru Nanak was deeply moved by the oppression and suffering caused by Babar's invasion. The havoc and devastation wrought by Babar's armies and the consequent deplorable plight of the Indians found a wrathful and indignant expression in Guru Nanak's verses known as Babar-Vani. Addressing Lalo, he says :-

Friend Lalo! as descends to me the Lord's word,

I express it.

Babar with the wedding party of sin from Kabul

rushed down,

And forcibly demanded surrender of, Indian womanhood.

Then went modesty and righteousness, into hiding.

And falsehood was strutting about in glory.

Set aside were Kazis and Brahmins, and

Satan went about solemnizing marriages.

Muslim women reciting the Koran, in their

affliction called on Khuda.

1. The Babar-nama, I, 429, quoted in J.S. Grewal, op.cit., p. 6.

Other women of lower castes and of the

Hindus in this suffering too

include in your account.

Saith Nanak : Divine Beloved! sung are paeans

of blood,

And sprinkled is blood for saffron.¹

The vividness and depth of feeling with which Guru Nanak describes the agony and destruction caused by Babar's invasion testifies his direct, personal experience of the same. He delineates a vivid and graphic picture of the cruel drama enacted before his very eyes and describes how Babar's soldiers assaulted the innocent women. He writes :-

The heads elegantly coiffured,

with vermilion decked and painted

Now with scissors are shorn,

dust upto their necks rises.

...

Now are halters thrown round their necks,

Their pearl-strings broken.

Wealth and beauty turn enemies of

such as had enjoyment of them.

The conqueror commanded his minions

to lead them out in dishonour.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 722

2. Ibid., p. 417.

While making a scathing attack on Babar and his army of sinners, Guru Nanak does not spare Lodhi rulers who always wallowed in luxury and revelry, and cared not a fig for the welfare of their subjects. Moreover, they were callous to the affairs of the state in general. Their weakness and sloth brought Babar on the scene. The Guru holds ^{them} responsible for the tragic happenings of Babar's invasion and the subsequent establishment of his regime. He does not negate the operation of the Divine Will in the chastisement of the Lodhi rulers which is the inescapable consequence of unrighteousness and moral depravity. He says :-

The Lord, should it please Him, exalts;

should it please Him, chastizement sends.

Should man contemplate God beforehand,

Chastizement then may be escaped.

Rulers in levity and frivolity lost their senses.

Babar's command has gone abroad, that

even princes now without a crust go about.¹

The (Lodhi) rulers were so irresponsive to the situation that Guru Nanak cannot help upbraiding them

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 417

(Lodhi rulers) vigorously in the following composition :-

These dogs that despoiled the jewels and wasted them,
Now in their death none shall remember them.¹

The political turmoil proved very detrimental to the Indian culture. The alien rulers started imposing their own culture and language on the subjugated populace. The Hindu culture began to acquire the Islamic tinge with the advent of the Muslim rule because of the pressure exercised by the ruling class. The Muslim rulers even mulcted the Hindu gods and shrines. Besides this, the people imitated the culture of the elite in order to please them. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Now that the turn of the Sheikhs has come,
the Primal Lord is called Allah:
And the (Hindu) gods and temples have been taxed:
such is the current way :
The ablution pot, the prayer, the prayer-mat,
the call to prayer, have all assumed
the Muslim garb:
even God is now robed in blue
(like the Muslim did):
And men have changed their tongue and
the Muslim way of greetings prevails.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 360

2. Ibid., P. 1191.

And:-

In Kali-Yuga appeared Atharva-Veda,

when God was given the name Allah.

In this age people wear blue and is

established the rule of Turks and Pathans .¹

Apart from this, the socio-religious set-up had also degenerated to a great extent. Stern four-caste or four-varnas system in the Hindu community and four-fold sect system in the Muslim society, exploitation of the poor and down-trodden by the rich, elaborate and ostentatious ritualism, pitiable plight of women, child marriage, practice of Sati, Purdah system, dependence of women on male members of their family, hypocrisy, avarice and bribery were the common-place ills of the society of the times of Guru Nanak.

The age of Guru Nanak was an age of ignorance and strife. Bhai Gurdas, a contemporary of Guru Nanak and a noted commentator on Sikhism, says :-

"The Hindus had their four castes, the Mohammadans their four mazhabs. The Hindus had their Ganges and Benaras, the Mohammadans their Mecca and Kaaba; the Hindus their frontal marks, the Mohammadans

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 470

their sunnat. Although Ram and Rahim were one and same, people pursued different paths. Forgetting the Veds, the people were misled by mammon and became enmeshed in worldly desires. Truth stood apart while the Brahman and the Maulana quarrelled.¹

Guru Nanak had an acute awareness of the situation around him and satirised the whole set-up in his compositions. To quote him :-

You tax cows and Brahmins, yet plaster your
kitchen with cowdung-

Cowdung shall not get you liberation.

Dhoti, the paste-mark and the rosary you adopt.

Yet the sustenance you receive from those

you call 'unclean'

In your home the Hindu service you perform,

But outside read books of Muslims,

And adopt their ways.²

Those who gorge on human beings perform namaz,

Those weilding the butcher's knife

wear the sacred thread around their neck.³

Guru Nanak "was greatly irked by the Brahmins' relentless advocacy of a rigid caste-system, and their

1. Bhai Gurdas, Var, 1: 21, quoted by Indubhushan Banerjee, op.cit., pp. 49-50.
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 471
3. Ibid.

exploitation of, and oppression against the low-caste people who were dubbed by them as achhut (untouchables, sometimes even unapproachables). How strongly he felt on the matter may be gauged from the following lines of his¹:-

These Brahmins put the paste-mark on their foreheads,
And assume the the dhoti with end stuck up;
Yet holding the knife, the world they butcher.
Wearing blue the rulers' approval they seek;
With money derived from Mlechhas the Puranas they
worship.

Goats slaughtered over the unapproved
Muslims' texts they eat
Yet in their kitchen with cow-dung the
line they draw,
Over which sit these hypocrites.
Crying, foul not our kitchen, foul it not!
Lest our food be made impure.²

Guru Nanak brings out the hollowness of the relation between man and woman due to the latter's economic dependence on the former in the following words:-

Woman and man are bound by ties solely of lucre-
Whether he stay at home or wander abroad.³

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1. Fauja Singh, Guru Nanak And The Social Problem, the seminar paper published in Perspectives On Guru Nanak, op.cit., p. 142
 2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, pp-471-472
 3. Ibid., p. 951

Woman was condemned and humiliated in the society of Guru Nanak's times. According to Dr. Trilochan Singh, "...one is shocked at the language used to condemn women by the Yogis. She was considered to be a curse to society, born from evil and living in lust to misguide and destroy all that is best in society."¹ Guru Nanak questions :-

Why revile her of whom are born great
ones of the earth?²

Commenting on the general character and conduct of the contemporary people, Guru Nanak says :-

In the Kali age men have become greedy and,
dog-like, they usurp another's due.
They utter what is false, and care not for Righteousness.
In life, they are Honoured not, and after death,
too, Evil is their repute.³

And:-

Women have become submissive,
While men have become tyrants;
And Self-culture and Self-control and,
Piety all have abandoned,
and they eat what is forbidden.

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1. Dr. Trilochan Singh, Sikhism And Yoga, the seminar paper published in Perspectives on Guru Nanak, edited by Harbans Singh, p. 302.
 2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 473
 3. Ibid., p. 1242.

Men have lost all sense of shame and
 lost whatever Honour they had.¹

And:-

Men study scriptures, but realize not the
 true way of life -
 Not realizing the Name, into delusion fallen;
 Receiving bribes false witness they give,
 with noose of foul
 thinking closing round the neck.²

And:-

Saith Nanak : Men are human in shape and name-
 Their doings dog-like : at the door waiting to
 carry out commands.³

And:-

The subjects, bereft of understanding, are
 carcasses full of straw.
 The learned dance, play on instruments,
 And in historic poses, deck themselves.
 Shouting aloud, tales of past heroes, fights and
 contentions they sing.
 Foolish scholars, whose philosophy consists mainly .
 in contentions,

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, PP. 1242-43
 2. Ibid., P. 1032
 3. Ibid., P. 350.

To garnering of wealth are attached.
 The religious-minded, practising charity who
 seek the Door of liberation as reward,
 Wasted is their endeavour,
 Those known as celibates knowing not the right device,
 Discard house and home.
 Each considers himself perfect; none is
 willing to make a modest claim.¹

According to Guru Nanak, all is in vain
 without respect and honour. He writes :-

If the weight of honour be put into the
 hind scale, then, alone,
 O Nanak, the man appears properly weighed.²

The people devoid of sense of duty, awareness,
 righteousness and sense of respect dare not counter
 an alien aggression. Guru Nanak's disgust over the
 attitude and way of life of the people of his times
 is clearly discernible in his compositions. He says :-

He whom the Creator Himself destroys;
 him, He first deprives of virtue.³

It means that the people to be dishonoured
 are first rendered characterless.

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 469
 2. Ibid., p. 469
 3. Ibid., p. 417.

Even religion could not escape the grip of moral degeneration. Guru Nanak comments on the practices of the people of various faiths in the following compositions :-

Khattris their true function have
discarded, and to the Muhammadan tongues taken:
The whole world to same caste of
wrong-doers is reduced-
Gone is the state of Dharma.¹

And :-

None follows teachings of scriptures-
Each his own interest worship.²

And:-

The Hindus absorb through their ears the turks'
texts;
By carrying tales they get people robbed.
Rare is the Hindu that keeps ritually pure his kitchen,
Yet at heart is pure.³

And:-

Some claiming to be charitable, give away charity
out of earnings of sin;
Their priestly mentors come to their homes to
impart instructions.⁴

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 663
 2. Ibid., P. 951
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

The practice of renunciation of the world was gnawing at the roots of the society. Under the garb of asceticism, men fled from their social responsibilities. Guru Nanak comments :-

Some that their families have deserted
are turned Yogis with ashes in matted hair-
Their children wailing around them.
Such have attained not Yoga, and lost the way of
good life :

Why have they thus got into ignominy?

Saith Nanak : Such is the way of Kali-Yuga;

Those that teach speak from knowledge based in egoism.¹

The Muslim, the Hindu, the Yogi-neither of them was conversant with the real spirit of religion. They adopted such ways as proved ruinous to humanity. Guru Nanak says :-

The Muslim judge utters falsehood and eats filth;

The Brahmin guilty of slaughter of humanity,

makes show of pious bathing;

The Yogi, blind of insight, knows not the true praxis,

The devices of all three ruin mankind.²

In the words of Indubhushan Banerjee, "at the time of Guru Nanak's advent, religion there was none. The

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 951

2. Ibid., p. 662

spirit of both Hinduism and Islam was hidden beneath a mass of formalities and extraneous observances. Tyranny reigned supreme, the tyranny of might, the tyranny of forms, and the tyranny of names...social and political inequalities reigned rampant and there was strife, eternal strife, everywhere. All aspects of life, social, religious and political, presented the same spectacle...."¹

According to G.C. Narang, "The springs of true religion had been choked up by weeds of unmeaning ceremonial, debasing superstitions, selfishness of the priests and indifference of the people. Form had supplanted the reality, and the highly spiritual character of Hinduism had been buried under ostentatious paraphernalia of sects. The centuries of invasion, foreign misrule and persecution had produced the greatest depression, and the spiritual subjection and stagnation had aggravated the demoralisation to an enormous degree."²

Guru Nanak diagnosed the whole situation with his profound insight and found that the root-cause of the social and political evils lay in the tendencies of escapism and pessimism which had penetrated deep

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1. Indubhushan Banerjee, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 50-51.
 2. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Transformation of Sikhism, 5th Edition, P. 20.

into the lives of the people, due to the prolonged disastrous impact of the ascetic cults and Yogis. In the words of Trilochan Singh, "The anti-social and anti-human influence of Yoga undermined the cultural and political foundations of India so much that their extreme pessimism and unworldliness made the people politically weak, and indifferent to their collective responsibility and they became an easy prey to a handful of invaders."¹

Guru Nanak's religion advises man not to flee from the evils of society he comes across but to face them boldly and endeavour to eradicate them.

Guru Nanak revealed the true spirit of religion to humankind. He, himself a householder, advocated through precept and practice that it is possible to attain spiritual bliss while enjoying worldly comforts provided that one does not become oblivious of the Lord. He says :-

By contemplation of holy truth is the self illumined.
Thereby even in attachment to pleasures of the world
one unattached remains.

Such is the holy Preceptor's great miracle,
That even living with progeny and wife
man the supreme state attains.²

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1. Trilochan Singh, op.cit., PP. 301-2.
 2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 661

The fore-going discussion shows that sensitivity to the milieu was not alien to Guru Nanak. That is why he promptly responded to the political as well as social situation of his times. There were many ills in the society and many a foul-play in the political set-up of that period. Guru Nanak neither lived up in the clouds tight-lipped with his eyes closed and ears clogged nor did he stand by as a silent observer of the happenings around him. Rather he lived like a genius who living right on the solid ground "sees more things than ordinary men, goes deeper into the meaning of things and events he experiences and presents a more comprehensive and unified vision."¹ He being an enlightened man, perceived and discerned with all sensitivity the mist of the religious, social and political atmosphere in which he lived and which he responded and reacted to so boldly and poignantly as nobody else had ever done before him since the times of Anangpal,² the last Hindu king of Northern India, who was overthrown by Mehmood of Ghazni in 1021 A.D. "Namadev was thrown into prison by Sultan Mohammed-bin-Tughlak. Even after suffering untold tortures and humiliation he did not write a single

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1. John B.Chethimattam, The Secular Religion of Guru Nanak, the seminar paper published in Perspectives On Guru Nanak, op.cit., P. 136
 2. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, op.cit., P. 19.

sentence of protest against the political tyranny of the times. Kabir suffered under Sikander Lodhi but he did not say a word about the ruthless rule of this Emperor. Guru Nanak was the first to denounce fearlessly the cruelty and despotism of the rulers, and the tyranny of their misrule."¹ In the words of Sir Gokul Chand Narang, "After centuries of subjection, Nanak was the first among the Hindus to raise his voice against tyranny and oppression."² He also comments, "...The sword which carved the Khalsa's way to glory was, undoubtedly, forged by Govind, but the steel had been provided by Nanak, who had obtained it, as it were, by smelting the Hindu ore and burning out the dross of indifference and the hypocrisy and pharisaism of the priests."³ J.D. Cunningham observes, "... It was reserved for Nanak to perceive the true principles of the reform and to lay those foundations which enabled his successor Gobind to fire the minds of his countrymen with a new nationality, and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes."⁴

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1. Dr. Trilochan Singh, Guru Nanak's Religion : A Comparative Study of Religions, the article published in Guru Nanak : His life, Time and Teachings, op.cit., pp. 106-7.
 2. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, op.cit., p. 25
 3. Ibid., p.1.
 4. J.D. Cunningham, A History of Sikhs, p. 34

Guru Nanak, in fact, infused the demoralised and dispirited people with a new spirit of life and awakened political consciousness among them so that they could be prepared to resist the tyrannical and oppressive rule. He not only urged them to resist the cruelties of despotic rulers but also to restructure the political order in such a way so as to make it conducive for dignified human life.

In the words of Dr. Darshan Singh, "Guru Nanak was convinced that unless people are made aware to their impending miseries, there can be no meaningful resistance to the political order. Therefore, he reminded them of their spiritual, cultural and political devaluation. He inspired them to awake and abandon the attitude of a defeated nation. He reminded them of their inner strength. In many ways, he tried to create a sort of hatredness and feeling of aversion towards the prevalent cruel and tyrannical system. He not only awakened them but also presented before them an alternative model of government, which if implemented would leave no chance for infringement of the people's rights, liberty and their choice of religion and language."¹

1. Dr. Darshan Singh, Japu Ji Sahib : Text, Context and Concerns, p. 40.

Guru Nanak, undoubtedly a thoroughly religious leader, after a careful analysis of the given situation, comes to the conclusion that the prevailing conditions were far from being satisfactory and that the contemporary life was in dire need of change. It is his conviction that unless a change is brought about in the political system, the life in general cannot be liberated from the canker of slavery and that the eradication of this evil is the pre-condition for the development of growing society. That is why he vehemently articulates his indignation over the nefarious politics of the contemporary rulers and its defiling and degenerating impact on the society around him. He exposes the foul political practices aiming at their purgation. He wants the corrupt politics to be replaced by a fair one, and favours reconstruction of political order so as to make it a righteous one. He suggests an alternative political system — not an authority - oriented by a service-oriented one — in which the people could live not only happily and prosperously but also worthily, respectably and honourably, and in which there would be left no chance for assault on their dignity and obstruction in the path of their spiritual exaltation.

Chapter - II

Guru Nanak's Concept of State

Political thought is primarily concerned with speculation about State, its nature, its structure, its purpose and its functions. Dr. Garner says that political science "begins and ends with the state."¹ But what is the State? Aristotle defines the state as "a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self-sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honourable life."²

According to Dr. Garner, "State as a concept of political science and public law, is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so, of external control and possessing an organised government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience."³

State is a "political organisation of society, or the body politic, or more narrowly, the institutions

1. Dr. Garner, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, p. 132
2. Aristotle, quoted in B.K. Gokhale, Political Science: Theory and Government Machinery, part-I, p. 72
3. Dr. Garner, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, p. 135

of government. The state is a form of human association distinguished from other social groups by its purpose, the establishment of order and security; its methods, the laws and their jurisdiction or geographical boundaries; and finally by its sovereignty. The state consists most broadly, of the agreement of the individuals on the means whereby disputes are settled in the form of laws."¹

An examination of the definitions of state quoted above brings out its four essential constituent elements or basic requirements viz. (1) Population, (2) Territory, (3) Government, (4) Sovereignty.

Guru Nanak's concept of State can be inferred from his concept of God's State i.e. the whole universe. It puts forth the Ideal State which is governed in such a way that the people live in prosperity and happiness.

Guru Nanak conceiving God as the Sovereign King of the State i.e. the universe, envisages the Ideal State in the following words :-

Thou art the Creator and the Cause :

The Self-dependent King, whose subjects are ever

in Bliss.²

1. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Editor-in-Chief Philip W. Goetz, vol.11, p. 222
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1190

An analysis of Guru Nanak's composition quoted above brings forth all the four constituent elements of the state. The words 'Thou art the Creator and the Cause (Tu Ape Karta Karanjog) imply the whole creation of God that inhabit His State viz. the whole universe which implies the territory of His State that is the whole universe itself. The words 'The Self-dependent King (Nihkewal Rajan) imply the King i.e. government and sovereignty of the King of the State, and the words 'whose subjects are ever in bliss (Sukhi Log) imply population of the State and their happy and prosperous condition.

Now, in order to understand and comprehend Guru Nanak's concept of the Ideal State it is imperative to study all the four constituent elements of the State one by one in the context of various concepts he puts forth in his verses.

1. Territory :-

As far as territory of the State is concerned, Guru Nanak makes no comment on its specific size. It may spread over the whole of the globe as it is or it may be demarcated by dividing the globe into various small states for convenience of organisation and administration, but the political system is to be the same in each state.

2. Population viz. Sangat :-

Guru Nanak gives the concept of Sangat which implies population of the Ideal State of his vision, its nature and character. He employs the terms Sat-Sangat, Sadh-Sangat, Sant-Sabha, Sadh-Sabha while propounding the concept of Sangat in his verses. According to him, Sangat viz. Sat-Sangat is the congregation in which the participants always speak of, eulogize and practise the Lord's attributes. He writes :-

Sat Sangat is the congregation where
the Lord's attributes are ever spoken of.
Nanak, by eulogizing the True Lord.

One comes to realise the Lord's Truth.¹

The Sangat is the congregation, company, body, association or society in which persons belonging to any religion, faith, caste, colour, creed or sex are free to participate. No discrimination on grounds of birth or status etc. is exercised. The following words of Guru Nanak stand surety to it :-

Brahmas and Indras, Gopis and Krishna
Shiva and the Supreme Yogis - all attempt
His greatness to utter.

...

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1280

Scholars (Pandits), Seers (Rakhisars), alongwith
 their scriptures, in all ages, and
 The charming damsels of the heavens, earth and
 netherlands - all are singing Thy
 praise.¹

The only expectation made of a participant is that he or she must participate in the Sangat wholeheartedly dedicating himself/herself to the service of his/her fellow-beings. Guru Nanak emphasises the desirability and essentiality of an act of service for a human being in the following words :-

All created beings are Thine own, without service
 no one's life is fruitful.²

Here, it is necessary to know what Service (Sewa) is in the thought of Guru Nanak.

Service (Sewa):-

Service (Sewa) is a way of human behaviour which has been accepted and emphasised by Guru Nanak as the best act an individual can ever cherish to perform. There are references in Guru Nanak's verses that only that person who dedicates himself to the acts

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, pp.5-6.

2. Ibid., p. 354

of service is worthy of being a human being. Service also signifies the religiosity of a person. No meditation can match an act of service. All other methods of attaining spiritual exaltation are insufficient unless they are fused with an act of self-abnegating service. To quote Guru Nanak :-

About wandering mendicants, heroes, celibates,
 anchorites -

By the Master, perfectly - endowed has this been
 determined,

Without service noway is attained fulfilment -
 Service is the purest of actions.¹

According to Guru Nanak, only that person who serves the Lord, obtains honour in His Court. To quote him :-

He who created the beings and has put them to tasks -
 Unto Him I am a sacrifice.

Perform His Service, gather profit and thus
 thou obtain honour in God's Court.²

Here the question arises as to how God can be served as He has no form of His own. True, God Himself is formless and has no physical appearance; but He manifests Himself in the whole creation. A man who realises this truth sees only God pervading

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p-992

2. Ibid., p. 438

all the beings. Guru Nanak avers :-

The entire revealed Word, all realization, all
expression of holiness,

All visible forms Thy body.

Thyself art Thou the voluptuary tasting all
and absorbing their fragrance :

No other is there to mention, mother mine :

The Lord is one and sole -

One and sole, brother.¹

Further:-

Within everyone is the Soul, and the Soul is
He, who pervades all.²

When a man perceives the permeance of the
Creator in the whole creation, he regards every eye
as God's eye, every body as God's body, every foot
as God's foot, every nose as God's nose and is
fascinated by His play. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Thousand Thy eyes, Thy shapes,

Yet no eyes dost Thou wear nor shape.

Thousand Thy lotus-feet; of thousand waves Thy
wafted fragrance,

Yet invisible, wonderfully captivating Thy essence.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 350

2. Ibid., p. 1273

3. Ibid., p. 663

Having attained to such a state of realisation, a man finds every being representing God and he makes the service of the beings of the world his object. Guru Nanak says :-

One obtains happiness by performing service,
All the world continues coming and going.
By service in this world,
Shall you get a place at the Portal Divine.¹

In his compositions, Guru Nanak puts forth three ways of performing service - (1) with body, (2) by involving mind and (3) through financial donations. Guru Nanak describes his own experience of rendering of all the three types of service as under :-

Placing before God my body, mind and wealth,
says Nanak, I have partaken of the supreme
elixir of the Lord.²

Guru Nanak ordains every individual to voluntarily contribute a considerable portion of his earnings to the Common Fund of the State/Society which has to be used for individual as well as collective cause. Only such donation is fruitful. To quote Guru

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, pp. 25-26.
2. Ibid., p. 1343

Nanak :-

Saith Nanak : In the hereafter is received award
for what man from his own earnings offers.¹

It is the duty of every individual to
contribute his share in the form of service done
through above mentioned three means simultaneously.

But Service as recommended by Guru Nanak
is not an isolated act of giving something in alms.
It is much more. It is a style of life adopting
which one ever gives. In fact, it is all dedication -
giving oneself. It means if situation demands
every individual has to be ever ready to submit
his total being to the cause of the suffering humanity.
He must be prepared to lay down even his life in
service of the needy.

Every member of the congregation (Sangat)
treats an opportunity of service as a boon and he is
so motivated that he finds dignity in excelling his
fellow members in this act. Moreover, the members
of the Sangat not only aspire and endeavour to, but
spontaneously imbibe the attributes of God through
practising the precept of service of the Lord because

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 472

according to Guru Nanak :-

As is the one whom he serves,
so does he himself become.¹

As far as the criterion by which Sat-Sangat can be judged, is concerned, Guru Nanak writes about it in the following words :-

What qualities has holy company ?

Such it is wherein the Sole Name of the Lord is
expounded,

By the sole Name Divine is known the Ordinance,
Of which the Preceptor, realization has granted.²

And :-

Acceptable become the persons who are imbued with
the Lord,
In their association supreme wealth is attained.³

It leads to the conclusion that all other gatherings where Sole God's Name is not remembered and discussed and where only arguments and quarrels take place, are mere crowds and not the Sangat.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, pp. 223
2. Ibid., 72
3. Ibid., 353.

According to Guru Nanak :-

One may indulge in a million feats of cleverness,
 And with millions make alliances :
 Without holy company comes not fulfilment;
 Without the Name goes not torment of suffering.¹

The Sangat is an association of the people seeking the Truth and attuned to God. They lead their lives in accordance with the Guru's Word or dictates and they dedicate themselves to the service of God through the service of His beings viz. humankind. The people- the members of the Sangat - always make endeavours for their collective uplift in all the domains of life - spiritual, social, political and economic etc. The Sangat is the supreme body which is all-powerful.

According to Prof. Harbans Singh, "Sangat, originally from Sanskrit sangati, meaning union, association or company, is the word used for Sikhs gathered for prayer or religious ceremony. It had a social implication as well; it united the Sikhs in a particular locality or region into a brotherhood or fraternity. A member of the sangat i.e. every Sikh, was known as bhai, literally brother, signifying one of holy living. The sangat brought together men not only in spiritual pursuit but also

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 20

in worldly affairs, forging community of purpose as well as of action based on mutual equality and brotherhood. Though sangats were spread over widely separated localities, they formed a single entity owing loyalty to the word of Guru Nanak. Sangats were thus the Sikh community in formation."¹

"In these sangats the disciples mixed together without consideration of caste or status.... The Sikh sangat was thus the melting-pot for the high and the low, the twice-born and the untouchable. It was a new fraternity emerging as the participants' response of discipleship to the Guru."²

"In a narrow sense a Satsang is merely a holy congregation, where the seekers come together for spiritual advancement. But in a broad sense it connotes an ideal society whose members live entirely according to the dictates of the Guru. Such a society was named as "Sant Sabha" by Guru Nanak (see Sidh Goshta) and 'The Khalsa' by Guru Gobind Singh."³

Guru Nanak's concept of the Sangat denotes the kind of people inhabiting the State of his vision.

1. Prof. Harbans Singh, Sikhism : The Beginnings (1469-1708), the Article, published in The Spokesman Weekly, 31st Annual Number 1982, edited by Ghanisham Singh, p.21.
2. Ibid.
3. Dr. Surinder Singh Kohli, Social, Economic and Political Ethics in Sikhism, the Article published in The Spokesman Weekly, op.cit., 31st Annual Number, 1982, p. 31.

3. Sovereignty :-

In Guru Nanak's philosophy, the ultimate Sovereignty rests with God Himself. He says :-

He alone is the Lord, immutable, holy -
Eternal His greatness.

...

He acts as is His pleasure -

Command Him none may !

Saith Nanak : He is the King of kings -

abiding by His will is best.¹

Guru Nanak also holds that God pervades all beings. He writes :-

In all art Thou pervasive.²

And :-

By the First learn : Sole and immaculate

is the Supreme Being-

...

By questing after Him, in each being we

behold Him.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 6.

2. Ibid., p. 72

3. Ibid., pp. 838-39.

Since God, the True Sovereign, pervades all beings, an individual is a sovereign as well. But an individual is a member of the Sangat also wherein he/she is equal, in status, with others and has equal rights for participation in all the proceedings of the Sangat irrespective of his/her caste, colour, creed or sex. An individual is, thus, an individual as well as a unit of the Sangat. He/She enjoys the double status of this type.

But it is only in the Sat-Sangat, Sadh-Sangat or Sangat that God's permeance in all beings can be perceived by one. Guru Nanak avers :-

In holy company is found the Lord,
by devotion to Him through the Master's guidance.¹

It is evident from the foregoing verse of Guru Nanak that the immanence of God in each being can be perceived only in the congregation of exalted beings. Therefore, the sovereignty resting with God is verily vested by Him in the Sangat - the assembly of the exalted people and in the broader sense, the people as a whole living according to the dictates of the Guru. In this way, the people viz. the Sangat represent God and they, speaking in political terms, possess sovereignty in the State.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 22

Thus, Guru Nanak's concept of Sovereignty has similarity with that of Popular Sovereignty. The doctrine of popular sovereignty implies that the supreme power in the state rests with the people. It is they alone who decide as to how the administrative machinery of a country has to be worked. This theory was put forward by the anti-monarchical writers as a counter-blast to the despotic power claimed by the monarchs at that time. Writers like Marsiglio of Padua, William of Ockam, George Buchanan, Thomas Barclay, Francis Hotman Boucher, Saurez, Bellarmin, Althusius and others attacked the exercise of unlimited powers by the kings and advocated assumption and exercise of that power by the people as a whole. Rousseau also advocated the sovereignty of the people. He took pains to show that sovereignty rests with the general will, which is the will common to all the people. His view was that the people were the repository of all the powers in the state, and the government was merely a servant who carried out the will of the state.¹

However, there is a glaring difference between Guru Nanak's concept of Sovereignty and the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty available before him. It is that

1. V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p. 282

the former has its origin in the spiritual character of the Sangat viz. the people which is missing in the latter.

Moreover, God's permeance in each being makes each individual equal to another. There is no distinction on the basis of one's caste, colour, creed, sex, race, birth or status etc. Since all beings are equal, therefore, everyone is individually sovereign according to Guru Nanak's concept of sovereignty. Thus sovereignty rests with all the people and there is no occasion for its transfer to anybody in this system.

It is also necessary to point out here that in this concept of dual sovereignty, the individual sovereignty is not in conflict with the collective sovereignty. The former does not make one ego-inflated or defiant to the collective sovereignty; rather it is seasoned with humility and compassion for others through service to one's fellow-beings and it makes him/her a dignified and honourable being. Thus the individual sovereignty identifies itself with the collective sovereignty. In fact, each individual is the ruler as well as the ruled one.

In the words of Dr. Darshan Singh, "It is for the first time in the history of mankind that an individual

is given so much recognition and importance. An individual is a ruler as well as ruled one. Each individual is thus a sovereign as well. It is in this context that later on the concept of King in every saddle came into being."¹

Constitution:-

It is also essential for every state to have a constitution. According to Aristotle, "Constitution is the way of life the state has chosen for itself."² In the opinion of Woolsey, a constitution is "the collection of principles according to which the powers of the government, rights of the governed and the relations between the two are adjusted."³ According to Jellinek, a state without a constitution is not a state but a regime of anarchy.⁴ Therefore, a Constitution is indispensable for government of a state.

God, the Supreme King, rules over His state i.e. the Universe, the Divine Kingdom according to His own Constitution which is His *Law*, the Divine Law or the Law of Nature. It is His Will which

1. Dr. Darshan Singh, Japu Ji Sahib : Text, Context and Concerns, p. 43
2. Aristotle, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p.485
3. Woolsey, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p.485
4. Jellinek, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p.486

maintains His Hukam in the whole universe. Guru Nanak says :-

In all worlds is operative God's sole Ordinance.¹

Since the Sangat are the representative of God in the Ideal State of Guru Nanak's vision, they are to give the constitution of the State in the form of Gurmatas viz. general counsel and resolution in accordance with the Guru's Word in the presence of the Guru viz. Guru Granth Sahib. However, it can be drafted by a constitution-committee comprising the unanimously selected representatives of the Sangat for their convenience, but it must be approved by the Sangat through Jaikaaras viz. verbal approval by the Sangat before its promulgation. Guru Nanak says as under :-

Do such deeds as are approved in the holy company.²

Government :-

The nature of the State depends on the form of its government or the type of its political system. W.W. Willoughby observes that the states "are all alike each and all being distinguished by the same sovereign

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 223, The word Hukam generally used for Cosmic Order, here, implies the *Law* of God i.e. the Law of Nature also.
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1141

attributes."¹ To quote Gilchrist, "Strictly speaking all states are the same. The students must bear this in mind - the form of state is really the form of government."²

Guru Nanak, while singing the nobility of human body, uses the image of a state for it. He says :-

Human body is a state which is the sublime
dwelling-place of the unique Immaculate Lord.
There dwell the five pre-eminent ones viz. the
five senses and above them the unique
Immaculate Lord has established His seat.³

It is from this image of the state (used for body) that the conceptual structure of the state of Guru Nanak's vision can be inferred. The term Nagari, herein, stands for the State which is the best dwelling-place of God Himself. Since the Sangat viz. the people are pervaded by God, they represent God on the earth, therefore, the State is the dwelling-place of the Sangat viz. the people. There also dwell the Panches - the pre-eminent persons who are accepted by God, in other words accepted by the Sangat

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1. W.W. Willoughby, quoted by V.D. Mahajan in Political Theory, p. 451
 2. Gilchrist, quoted by V.D. Mahajan in Political Theory, p. 451
 3. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1039

viz. the people. Moreover, the existence of the Panches - the Accepted Five - testifies the existence of the Sangat. viz. the People in the Nagari viz. the State. And there is the Ekankar Niralam - the Lord who sits on the seat viz. the Throne. The words Ekankar Niralam, here, connote the import of the ruler of the State.

In this way, a three-rung structure of the Ideal State of Guru Nanak's vision or the form of its government or the type of its political system evolves from the fore-going discussion of Guru Nanak's composition. This is the paradigm of the model state or government put forth by Guru Nanak. In this system, the first rung is the Sangat viz. the people. The second rung is the Panches (the Five Accepted Ones or the Five Beloved Ones viz. Panj Pyaras) and the third rung is the Ruler.

Panches viz. Panch Parvan (The Five Accepted Ones) :-

Guru Nanak puts forth the concept of Panches viz. Panch Parvan^{*} (The Five Accepted Ones or the Five Beloved Ones viz. Panj Pyaras) in his compositions. The Panches (Panj Pyaras) are the select persons attuned to God and accepted by Him. They always contemplate on the Sole Supreme Being and they grace

* Hereafter the term 'Panch Parvan' will be generally denoted through the word 'Panches' in the thesis.

the Portal of the Lord, the King. Guru Nanak presents them as :-

The Elect of God are those approved of Him;
 Pre-eminent among men are they,
 At God's Portal are they honoured.
 And in splendour shine at His royal Door.
 By meditation on God do they find illumination.¹

Herein the Panches (Panj Pyaras) have been shown as occupying the pre-eminent position in the Divine Kingdom, the image used by Guru Nanak for the Universe. They are God-oriented and the Select of God Himself.

Guru Nanak also avers :-

In Gurmat (Sikh Thought) the Panches (Five Beloved Ones) are the sons of Guru.²

Thus it is evident that the institution of the Five Beloved^{ones} (Panj Pyaras) was conceived by Guru Nanak. Since then it has been continually directing the destiny of the Sikhs. Even during the period of

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 3
2. Ibid., p. 1041

the succeeding Gurus, this institution of the five pre-eminents¹ efficiently and effectively held the reins of the Panth. But its position was elevated to the acme when Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth Master, after baptising the Panj Pyaras (the Five Beloved Ones) with Amrit (Nectar i.e. the immortalising beverage or the eternalising libation), bowed before them and beseeched them to baptise him, too, in the same way. This act of the Tenth Master exhibits as to how significant the institution of the Five Beloved Ones in Gurmat (Sikhism) is, how much reverence the collective will of the Sangat (the Khalsa) is held in and how the positions of Guru and disciple exchange themselves and become one and the same at a time. Such an example is not found elsewhere in the history of humankind where the Guru himself descends to the level of the disciple (Aape Gur Chela), and the

1. (i) Names of the Five Beloved Ones at the times of Guru Arjan Dev Ji : Bhai Bidhi Chand Ji, Bhai Jethha Ji, Bhai Lahang Ji, Bhai Pirana Ji, Bhai Pera Ji.
- (ii) Names of the Five Beloved Ones at the time of Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji : Dewan Mati Das Ji, Bhai Gurditta Ji, Bhai Dayala Ji, Bhai Udho Ji, Bhai Jaita Ji.
- (iii) Names of the Five Beloved Ones who were baptised by the Tenth Master, Guru Gobind Singh Ji : Bhai Daya Singh Ji, Bhai Dharam Singh Ji, Bhai Himmat Singh Ji, Bhai Mohkam Singh Ji, Bhai Sahib Singh Ji.

Please see Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, Mahan Kosh, P. 791.

disciple ascends to the status of the Guru (guide). Thus the institution of Panj Pyaras was not new at the time of Guru Gobind Singh. It is a part of the basic structure of Sikhism since the day of its inception by Guru Nanak.

In the State of Guru Nanak's vision the Panches (Panj Pyaras) are the middle-rung leaders. The Panches are to be selected by the Sangat¹ unanimously from amongst themselves on the ground of their merit only. As the Panches are the Select of God, and the Sangat are the representative of God on the earth, therefore, only the Sangats of various constituencies are entitled to select the Panches. Of course, they are selected by the Sangat, but once they are selected and are in office, their unanimous advice or counsel will be acceptable to and binding on all. But their position is not permanent; their tenure in their office is subject to their adherence to the norms of capability and performance of their duty. Moreover, every individual in the capacity of a constituent member of the Sangat can aspire to be one of the Panches, but he will have to prove himself equal to the responsibility this high office expects of him.

1. The Sangat came to be known as the Khalsa during the times of Guru Gobind Singh.

In the political system envisaged by Guru Nanak, the role of the Panches is that of a link between the Sangat and the Ruler. They are to act as a cabinet of counsellors or advisers as well as guides. They are to advise the Ruler on all the issues of the state and to guide the Sangat on these issues so that there may be a proper co-ordination between the Ruler and the Sangat and the government functions smoothly. Their functions are those of the Executive as well as the Judiciary. In the Executive, they are to act as the Council of Ministers i.e. the Chief consultants and helpers of the Ruler with regard to proper implementation of the policies of the State which are, however, to be designed and framed by the Sangat or by a Committee-comprising their (Sangat's) representatives-with the approval of the Sangat, for the service and general welfare of the people and with no other end. The concept of the Panches is, indeed, the concept of collective leadership. Besides this, under this system, every department will comprise Panches (Panj Pyaras) with one nominal head. The Panches will act as the chief decision-makers while the head will simply be the signing authority. Moreover, the Panches will take all decisions unanimously.

The Panches' power is not limited to the political matters only. They have the authority to guide and keep a constant vigilance on the functioning of every institution i.e. religious, social, political and economic etc.

In the Ideal State of Guru Nanak's vision, it is the Sangat who reigns supreme. In it, no individual is given absolute power in any matter so that despotism or tyranny does not creep into it. Therefore, the concept of the Panches or Collective Leadership becomes the pre-requisite of the Ideal State. The Panches can effectively restrain the Ruler from the use of high-handedness of any sort in governing the State. Guru Nanak makes it clear in his pithy statement given under :-

The ruler retains his office due to his good
qualities,
And till he discharges his duties with the
advice and in the fear of the Panches.¹

In this way, the temporal ruler does not possess absolute power. Unlike God, the King of the Universe, the temporal ruler is bound to have the

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 992

counsel of the Panches while performing his duties.

In the Lord's Court, the Panches occupy the most prominent position. Guru Nanak says :-

All creatures on their actions are judged

In God's Court, just and true.

At His court are seated in celestial beauty the

saints, Elect of God.

Who through His glance of grace are marked

with His approval.¹

Similarly, the Panches - the Select of the Sangat, the representative of God on the earth - are approved and authorised to occupy the most prominent place in the Judiciary of the Ideal State. They will act as the Jury. They will judge any matter that arises before them as antagonistic to the Law of the State and pass the verdict on the same collectively and unanimously. The verdict may be announced by the Judge or the Ruler but the decision-makers are the Panches. No individual is allowed or authorised to act as a sole judge in order to avoid even the smallest degree of subjectivity in the judgment as it can be tantamount to injustice. The Panches or the Jury will

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.7

make the judgment only in accordance with the Law of the State. They will be impartial while making the judgment and deliver justice to all.

The Panches are also to guide and lead the Sangat - the people. They are supposed to steer the people clear of any vicissitude or problem. They are to show the right path to the Sangat. They are to give proper guidance and true leadership to the Sangat on the issues of the State. While they are to discharge such a responsibility, they must themselves be illumined, enlightened and awakened. It means that the Panches must be selected by the Sangat only on the merit of their virtues. Such a person must not be selected as a Panch who is himself ignorant because he will not be able to give proper guidance to the people and help them find the true path. Guru Nanak says :-

Being ignorant, if one shows the Path, he misleads
the whole company, says Nanak,
He will be punished in the Lord's Court;
such will be the fate of this Guide.¹

Only those persons are fit to be selected as Panches who contemplate on the Naam of the Lord.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 140

They by doing so find illumination with which they can guide the Sangat aright. Guru Nanak says :-

By meditation of God do they find illumination.¹

In other words, only the devotees of God are fit to be selected as Panches because they are free from fear of others and can lead the Sangat to their destination by dispensing truth to them. Guru Nanak says :-

Lord! thy devotees in each age are holy.

As with tongues delight - suffused Divine
 laudation they sing.

Expressing Divine laudation, suffering and
 penury they cast off,

From fear of others free.

Ever awake, never are they found asleep.

By dispensing truth to the whole assembly
 liberation they bring.²

Further, only such persons deserve to be selected as Panches who always cherish love of God in their hearts. They express their love of God through love of humankind and out of their love of humankind they render self-abnegating service to

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 3

2. Ibid., p. 1025



humankind. Guru Nanak exhorts such persons to be ever-ready for self-sacrifice. He says :-

If you seek to Play (the game) of love,
Then enter upon My Path with your head upon
your palm.

But, once you set your foot on My Way,
Then find not a way out, and lay down thy head.¹

The Ruler :-

Guru Nanak's concept of the Ruler is to be inferred from his concept of the King of the Divine Kingdom, i.e. God but with the difference that while God, the King, is the Master of all beings, the Ruler of the Ideal State is to act as the Representative and Servant of the People who, in turn, represent God on the earth. According to Guru Nanak, there is but one King in the whole universe and He is the Lord Himself. He says :-

By R. Know : Truly beauteous is the Lord Himself.
None other than He is the King.²

And:-

Saith Nanak : He is the true King needing not
anybody's counsel.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1412
2. Ibid., p. 936
3. Ibid., p. 17

But it should not lead to the conclusion that the role of the Ruler in the Ideal State is negatable; rather the Ruler in the Ideal State plays an important role, but his qualities and duties are to be inferred from Guru Nanak's concept of the King of the Divine Kingdom and his compositions commenting on his contemporary rulers and political set-up. Moreover, the Ruler of the Ideal State will act in consultation with the Panches.

Here it is necessary to look into the necessity of a Ruler in the State. As is evident from the image of the Divine kingdom that it is the King viz. God who governs the whole universe according to His own Law which keeps every thing in order - the cosmic order viz. Hukam, similarly the necessity of a Ruler in the State is indispensable. Since sovereignty in the State of Guru Nanak's vision rests with the Sangat, they are, indeed, the virtual ruler as well as the ruled. But it is not feasible for the Sangat as a whole to govern the State themselves, therefore, the need for the ruler emerges. However, there is a great difference in the position of God, the King of the Divine kingdom who is the Master of all beings, the self-supporting King of the universe,

and the ruler in the Ideal State who is to act as the Servant of the Sangat viz. the people and who is to derive his powers from the Sangat to rule over the State on behalf of the Sangat. He owes his authority to God/the Sangat/the individual, therefore, he is to act according to the general will or collective consent of the Sangat i.e. the People as a whole.

In the political system of Guru Nanak's vision, the Ruler will be selected or appointed by the Sangat from among themselves not by majority but by consensus on the basis of the merit of the person. The Sangat, in Guru Nanak's concept of the State, is the only competent authority to select the Ruler. The selection of the ruler will not be on the basis of his birth rights, dynasty rights or divine rights etc., but it will exclusively be a choice based on the merit of his virtues or qualities. His position is not permanent; he rules till his merits equal his office. He forfeits his right to retain his authority as soon as he loses the confidence of the people. He is neither the owner nor the master; he is only a custodian and a servant who is given powers by the Sangat to function as a particular functionary. On the

authority conferred by the Sangat on him, he may appoint his Council of Ministers from among the Panches unanimously selected by the Sangat of various constituencies. This position will also be assigned to a person purely on his merit and no other consideration will ever influence the procedure of appointment. In fact, in this political system, the procedure of appointing any functionary shall be by consensus and not by majority, depending on the merit of the person. Every functionary will carry with him an authority delegated by the Sangat viz. the people unanimously for discharge of a specific duty.

The ruler is to govern the State only in accordance with the constitution given by the Sangat and in consultation with the Panches selected by the Sangat unanimously, and help in establishment of the rule of the Law. But at the same time, sovereignty remains with the Sangat; it is not transferred to anybody, not even to the ruler. In fact, the ruler is not a sovereign but only a ruler authorised by the Sangat to rule till he deserves it. He governs the State only till the mandate of the Sangat is in his favour. Thus, Guru Nanak reverses the concept of

sovereignty prevalent at his times when the monarchs were the sovereign and the people were their subjects. But the ruler in the political system conceived by Guru Nanak carries with him an authority delegated by an individual as well as the Sangat unanimously for performance of a specific duty. He, indeed, rules on behalf of the Sangat viz. the people. In this system, the Sangat as well as an individual holds the real power. Everyone participates in every opinion and decision-making body not only freely but also effectively.

While expounding his concept of ruler in his compositions Guru Nanak uses different terms like Raja, Sultan, Patshah, Badshah, etc. for the general term of the Ruler-the Premier or Head of a State.

According to Guru Nanak only a capable person deserves to be a ruler. He says :-

Such occupy the throne as for it are fit;
 These are such as by the Master's guidance the
 five evils annul, and turn God's humble servants,
 Realizing the Lord existing since primal time ever-
 present, who never shall not be -
 And who illusion and doubt have lifted.¹

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1039

The above words of Guru Nanak clearly indicate that he does not deem each and everyone fit to be a ruler. As the ruler occupies a pivotal position in society as well as state, he is supposed to possess the ability demanded of his high office. Though every individual as a constituent member of the Sangat can aspire to be the ruler, but he must possess the capability required for this high office and he must come up to expectations of the Sangat—the appointing authority i.e. the Electorate.

Keeping the afore-mentioned Ideal State in mind, Guru Nanak prescribes certain qualifications for a person to be selected as a ruler.

Since in the State of Gurux Nanak's vision, the ruler will function as the servant of the Sangat i.e. the people, therefore, only such a person who is the Master's servant is worthy of becoming the ruler as he is enlightened and exalted by Truth. Guru Nanak says :-

The Master's servants are beloved of the holy
Preceptor,
By contemplation of the holy word seated on
Thrones.

The essence they realize and of the inner mystery
 have enlightenment -
 In holy company by truth exalted.¹

According to Guru Nanak, only such a person who has realised the Truth is qualified to be a ruler. He must have subdued the five evils viz. lust, anger, greed, attachment and ego. Only such a person can become a selfless and self-abnegating ruler. Only a soul attuned to the True Word can truly understand the meaning of 'Parenthood of God and fraternity of man'. In order to attain to this state of mind he has to renounce worldly passions. A person engrossed in the mundane infirmities is by no means fit to become a ruler. On the other hand, the person who has overcome his weaknesses comes out triumphant in all spheres. Moreover, he will function treating himself as a servant to the Master and hence servant to the people as God dwells in the people, and not as a master of the people. He must take it for granted that he has to answer for his weaknesses to the Master and hence to the people. Guru Nanak puts his thought in the following words :-

As greed, avarice and evil from their mind they
 cast out.

As fealty in the sovereign's name they proclaim,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1026.

Never are they discomfited.

Should one reputed to be the sovereign's servant,

Returns impertinent answers to his face,

Shall forfeit pay and never an exalted position

occupy.¹

Only such a person will be selected as the ruler who is a flawless personality with a trans-personal outlook and who has transcended all the base passions of greed, illusion and sin etc. Indeed, he must have conquered his mind. Guru Nanak says :-

Conquering thus thyself, mayest thou be lord
of the world.²

Further, he must be manned and armoured with the virtues of truth, contentment, chastity, charity and self-restraint. Guru Nanak regarding the body as fortress and mind as its king, puts forth these traits in the following verse :-

In the strong fortress of the body with beauteous doors,

abides the mind king with his special assistants.

Whoever is engrossed in falsehood and avarice,

he obtains not an abode in the Lord-Home,

Through greed and sin one regrets,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 936

2. Ibid., p. 6

If the mortal seeks the Lord's protection, then in
 this body village of King come and abide
 the powerful truth, contentment, chastity,
 charity and self-control.

Nanak through the Guru's word one easily
 meets with Lord, the Life of the World and honour.¹

Moreover, he must have bedecked his
 character with fearlessness and dauntlessness.
 As God is fearless so he must also be fearless
 not in order to equal Him; but to imbibe this
 Godly quality in himself. Only then he can be able
 to discharge his duties and obligations sincerely
 and impartially. This he can do by meditating on
 the Naam through the Guru. Guru Nanak writes
 conceiving mind to be a king :-

This mind is the King and the hero of battles,
 By meditating on the Name, through the Guru this
 soul becomes fearless.

Overpowering and arresting the five evil passions
 are holding ego in its grip,
 the soul confines them in one place.²

From the above stanza it is also evident that
 the person to be selected as a ruler is to be such a hero

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1037

2. Ibid., p. 415

and warrior who has overpowered and arrested the five evil passions and has full control over them.

The person to be selected as a ruler is also to be rich in the qualities of intelligence, rationality, maturity of thought, sagacity and foresight so that he may be capable of discharging his responsibilities and duties properly. He must be adequately knowledgeable to distinguish between good and evil, right and wrong. A ruler lacking in these qualities is always prone to the error of doing favour to the anti-social elements in the state. He is unable to keep his integrity to the state intact and save the interests of the state. Consequently, stability of the State is put to danger. Guru Nanak has expressed this thought conceiving human body as a state and mind as its immature king. He says :-

The king (mind) is immature, he loves the wicked,
and the state (human body) is unstable.¹ /

Further, only such a person as develops godly qualities in himself deserves to be a ruler. He can do so by loving devotion to God, the Divine King. Thus he realises God and becomes God-like. Since God Himself is the King of the whole universe,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1171

only a person who is God-like is the most suitable one to be the ruler of the Ideal State. Guru Nanak says :-

One that by loving devotion the
 Divine King contemplates,
 In the battle against evil with his ego
 suppressed puts up a fight -
 Night and day abiding dyed in love of God,
 Reputed in the three worlds, over the Four Ages.
 Whoever the Lord realizes, is like unto Him-
 Pure in the extreme, his life fruitful.¹

Only such a person as have the above-mentioned qualities and virtues can be a realised soul and qualify for becoming the ruler. Such a person is called a Gurmukh (God-oriented). Guru Nanak describing the traits of a Gurmukh says :-

The God-directed about the teachings of Shastras,
 Simiritis and Vedas are enlightened.
 The God-directed of the Lord, pervasive in each
 being have realization.
 The God-directed all rancour and enmity efface.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 931

2. Ibid., p. 942

And:-

The God-oriented alone recognises the doings
 wherein lie Truth, Contentment, Compassion
 and Righteousness.¹

The afore-quoted verses of Guru Nanak make it clear that only a Gurmukh is blessed with the qualities which are required by one to be the ruler of the State of Guru Nanak's vision. Since a Gurmukh's qualifications are similar to that of a ruler, therefore, only a Gurmukh qualifies to be a ruler.

Only a Gurmukh-ruler can dedicate himself to the service and welfare of the people for he, being unattached, is not self-centred, but is transpersonal in his outlook. This quality of the ruler can be inferred from the following words of Guru Nanak wherein he conceiving God as the King of the universe addresses Him as under :-

Thou the Sole Supreme Being, unattached, Divine,
 monarch,
 Thyself dost Thou bring to fulfilment objectives of
 Thy devotees.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 351
2. Ibid., p. 1039

Plato says, "until kings are Philosophers or philosophers are kings, cities will never cease from ill - no, nor the human race; nor will our ideal polity ever come into being."¹ Similarly, Guru Nanak's verses seem to articulate : Until Gurmukhs are rulers or rulers are Gurmukhs, states will never cease from ill-no, nor the human race; nor will our Ideal State ever come into being. Confucius also holds the opinion that the people should be governed through moral excellence. He says, "He who governs by his excellence may be compared to the pole-star, which abides in its place, while all the stars bow towards it.... If you govern the people by laws and keep them in order by penalties, they will avoid penalties, but if you govern them through moral excellence, they will retain their sense of shame and also live upto this standard."²

Functions of the State :-

According to Aristotle, "The state comes into being for the sake of mere life; it continues

1. Plato : Republic, Book V quoted by Dr. Trilochan Singh in his article, 'Guru Nanak's Religion : A Comparative Study of Religions' published in Guru Nanak; His life, Time and Teachings, edited by Gurmukh Nihal Singh, p. 108
2. Confucius : Analects, Book.II,1,3., quoted in Dr. Trilochan Singh, op.cit., p. 108

to exist for the sake of the good life."¹ John Locke says that the purpose of the state is the 'commongood' or the 'good of mankind.'²

Guru Nanak's very concept of State indicates that the objective of the State of his vision is service of the people with a view to the attainment of their material welfare and spiritual exaltation. He says :-

The Self-dependent King - whose subjects are ever
in Bliss.³

The very objective of the State of Guru Nanak's vision determines its nature and makes it a 'Service-State'. Guru Nanak while viewing state as a Service-State involves the idea of political system. The Service-State of his vision as a political system is not merely a static legal institution having population, definite territory, government and sovereignty; rather it is an active system operating in service of the people and it has certain functions to perform. The functions of

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1. Aristotle, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p. 607.
 2. John Locke, quoted in B.K. Gokhale, op.cit., part-I, p. 336
 3. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1190

the State are performed by it through its government, therefore, the functions of the State, in turn, become the duties of the government of the State. So the functions of the State and the duties of the government become synonyms.

Guru Nanak, while assigning certain functions to the State or enjoining various duties on the government, has employed the then prevalent terms of political phraseology like Rajan, Raja, Sultan, Khan, Patshah, Kazi, Muqaddam, Mehta, Adali etc. to denote the general terms which are known as the State and the Government in the modern political terminology.

1. Internal and External Security of the People :-

The first and foremost function of the State is to provide internal and external security to the people. It is the duty of the government to maintain law and order and ensure peace in the State and to give full defence to the people from foreign invasions. According to Guru Nanak, under the rule of the Lord neither enemy nor suffering can harm human beings. To quote him :-

Everlasting be Thy rule!

Everlasting Thy rule-may it ever abide!

Such alone serve Thee as in God-given
enlightenment are absorbed.

Such from foes and suffering are to tally immune;
Sin approaches them not.¹

Similarly it is obligatory for the government to grant full protection to people against foe and sufferings of all sorts-internal as well as external. If some aggressive forces kill the armless and innocent people, their protector i.e. the government is accountable for it. Guru Nanak puts forth it in his peculiar metaphorical vein in the following words :-

Should a powerful foe molest one equally powerful,
Little would the mind be grieved,
But when a ferocious tiger falls upon a herd of
Kine,
Then must the Master be called to account.²

Guru Nanak vociferously condemns the rulers of his times who failed to discharge their duty of protecting their subjects from the atrocities inflicted by the army of the foreign invader, Babar, on them. He makes a scathing attack on such non-performing

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 567
2. Ibid., 360

rulers:-

These dogs that despoiled the jewels and wasted them,
Now in their death none shall remember them.¹

The word 'jewels' here implies the people
and resources of India.

Guru Nanak comments on the negligent rulers
as under :-

Rulers in levity and frivolity lost their senses.
Babar's command has gone abroad, that even princes
now without a crust go about.²

These comments of Guru Nanak on his contemporary
rulers are an indication of the stress that he lays on
the Internal and External Security of the people as one
of the most significant functions of the State.

2. Fulfilment of the People's Essential Needs :-

An important function of the State is to
look after the well-being of the people. It is the
duty of the government to ensure fulfilment of their
essential needs such as livelihood.

According to Guru Nanak, the King, God is
ever-bounteous and He provides sustenance to all His

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 360

2. Ibid., p. 417

beings. To quote him :-

Eternally he doles out gifts;
 Those receiving them at last can receive no more.
 Infinitely the creation receives from Him sustenance.¹

Similarly, the government is to make a proper arrangement for fulfilling the people's essential needs. It is to evolve such an economic system in which every individual is free to work, every individual gets employment and every individual works and fulfils his essential needs out of his earnings through productive work.

In the opinion of Guru Nanak, only such government is true and can rule successfully which takes proper care of the bare necessities of all the people. To quote him :-

Only His is the true government
 who nourishes the people day and night.²

Under such a government all the people are ever blissful as they have no scarcity of anything to cater to their essential needs. Guru

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 2

2. Ibid., p. 1331

Nanak eulogises such government :-

The fire in every home is Thy army and
righteousness exercises cheiftainship.¹

The Self-dependent king, whose subjects are
ever in Bliss.²

Thus it is quite clear that it is the function of the State or the duty of the Government to arrange for the fulfilment of the essential needs of its people.

3. Check On Concentration of Wealth :-

It is obligatory for the government not to let wealth concentrate in a few hands as this tendency leads to economic disparities in society. Especially in the modern times when there is a wide gap between the 'overfed' and the 'underfed', it is the duty of the government not only to reduce but to engulf this gap and bring both closer to each other. To achieve this goal it is essential for everybody, may he be the ruler himself, to shed his inclination for amassing wealth, Guru Nanak's condemnation of such rulers and other individuals who fill their own coffers to amass

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1190

2. Ibid.

wealth for themselves, is indicative of the necessity of elimination of this tendency in the society. To quote him :-

Amassing wealth, the Kings become proud.
The loved wealth goes not with the mortal.¹

Guru Nanak denounces the economic imperialism of the capitalists and the moneyed classes. According to him, accumulation of wealth is possible only by the acts of injustice and high-handedness. He says :-

For wealth are vast multitudes dishonoured;
Many for this strayed;
This without evil-doing comes not,
in death it accompanies not man.²

According to Guru Nanak, God, the Lord of the Universe is the real Owner and He distributes the wealth as He pleases. To quote him :-

This world is Thine. Thou art the Lord of Universe,
In a moment Thou establishest and disestablishest.
Thou distributest wealth as Thou pleasest.³

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1342
 2. Ibid., p. 417
 3. Ibid.

Since God is the real Owner and Giver of the wealth, all the people, including the Ruler and the Panches are only the custodians of the wealth. They have no right to consume it for their personal use beyond the limit of satisfaction of their essential needs.

In the State of Guru Nanak's vision, the government is supposed to evolve and maintain an economic system in which concentration of wealth in a few hands finds no chance of occurrence; rather it automatically remains under check. This system is discussed in detail in the Chapter III, entitled Guru Nanak's Concept of Economy.

4. Protection of the People from Exploitation :-

It becomes the duty of government of the state to protect the people from exploitation as the poor and the down-trodden often fall a victim to the common tendency of the rich and the powerful to exploit others at an opportune time. Guru Nanak calls his contemporary rulers who in stead of protecting their subjects from exploitation, themselves exploited their subjects, the blood-sucking kings and ferocious tigers, and their courtiers who tyrannised and tortured the poor subjects, the dogs.

When such rulers would be called for settlement of accounts, they would be dishonoured and insulted for their deeds of exploitation. The following words of Guru Nanak makes a scathing attack on the conduct of such rulers :-

The kings are tigers; their courtiers are dogs,
They disturb the people caring not a fig for their
convenience.

The kings' officials tear the docile subjects with
their claws,
And, like curs, lick up their blood and bile.¹

He further says :-

But, hark, where men are to be Judged
(at the Lord's Court),
Their noses will be chopped off, for God will
trust them not.²

Exploiting of others and the grabbing propensities of the powerful are utterly condemned by Guru Nanak. He says :-

Saith Nanak : To grab what is another's is evil,
A pig's flesh to the Muslim and cow's flesh to
the Hindu.

....

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1288
2. Ibid.

Forbidden meat by addition of condiments turns
not lawful.¹

He also advances the argument that if any clothe is defiled with blood then how a person who sucks the blood of human beings through exploitation can be without stain. How can he be pure-minded? He writes :-

If blood sticks to the clothes, the clothes
become impure;

How can the minds of those be pure who suck
the blood of human beings.²

The above discussion shows that in the State of Guru Nanak's vision, the government authorities, the officials and functionaries cannot exploit anyone but they will do the reverse of it i.e. will protect the people against exploitation of any sort. Thus, the system of Guru Nanak's vision will be totally free from exploitation.

5. Public Service :-

The State of Guru Nanak's vision is supposed to perform public service directed towards the material,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 141
2. Ibid., p. 140

mental and moral welfare of the people with the purpose of making their lives full, happy and comfortable by removing the obstacles like disease, ignorance and poverty etc., and making the conditions of human life conducive to the realisation of spiritual exaltation of the people.

The following words of Guru Nanak make it clear that the State of his vision, based on his concept of the Divine Kingdom, fulfils the functions of the people, and thus performs public service :-

Thou the Sole Supreme Being, unattached, Divine
monarch.

Thyself dost Thou bring to fulfilment objectives
of Thy devotees.¹

The word 'monarch (Raja)', here, denotes the government of the State of Guru Nanak's vision who is to perform the functions of the State.

Moreover, the service of the people is performed by the State through its government not for any gain or profit but for the sake of service aiming at the happiness of the people.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1039

The State is to render public service according to the needs of the times. However, in modern times, the important public services are the means of communication and transport, water supply, electricity etc. Public health is also to be looked after by the State. Hospitals and dispensaries are to be set up in which the treatment free of cost is open to everybody without any distinction of the rich and the poor, the high or the low etc. Educational institutions are also to be run by the State. In those institutions free education is to be given to the people without discrimination of any sort. Guru Nanak's following words are suggestive of the need of education for the people. He says :-

The subjects bereft of understanding are carcasses
full of straw.¹

The people are also to be given security against sickness, old age infirmity, accident and disability etc. and other calamities.

The ensurance of security to the people will make the conditions of their lives conducive to the realisation of their spiritual exaltation - the real purpose of their life.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 469

6. Deliverance of Justice :-

Deliverance of Justice to all the people is one of the major functions of the State. Regarding human body as a city and mind as its king, Guru Nanak brings forth the functions of the State or the duty of the government - the mind - to do justice under all circumstances. He writes :-

In the city of the body the mind is king,
And his five sources of knowledge abide therein
thought - absorbed.

The King settled on his throne the holy word
contemplates
And praiseworthy justice maintains.¹

The word 'city' in the above quotation denotes the 'state'.

According to Guru Nanak, the Government is required to govern the people with justice. He says :-

A ruler can purify his mind only by administering
Justice...²

Guru Nanak conceives God, the King of the Universe, as a Justice-dispenser. He says :-

By His Might has He, the Dispenser of Justice,
established His Throne.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 907
2. Ibid., p. 1240
3. Ibid., p. 580

And:-

He by His Might creates the creation,
He Himself, the King of the universe,
administers justice.¹

Only a truthful i.e. just government
can ensure its stability and is remembered even
after the expiry of its term. Guru Nanak says :-

The rule of the truthful King is known in many
ages to come.²

The government forfeits its right to
retain its authority as soon as it allows corruption
to creep into its administration. The corruption
that prevailed in the judicial system of Guru
Nanak's age, was gnawing at the very roots of
society. It became the butt of his vehement
condemnation and ridicule. He comments :-

The Kaliage is a Knife, the kings are butchers;
Religion (Righteousness and Justice) has taken
wings and fled.³

And:-

In this age none at sight of suffering takes pity,
No one from receiving graft restrains himself.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1170
2. Ibid., p. 142
3. Ibid., p. 145

Rulers administer justice as is their palm greased.
None by invoking the name of God is persuaded.¹

The corruption in this department was practised even in the name of God or holy scriptures. The Kazis (priests of Islam) often accepted bribe and delivered injustice in return thereof. At the instance of objection raised by any person they used to quote the verses from the holy scriptures and interpreted them in such a way as suited their own selfish interests. Guru Nanak satirises the unjust practice of the so-called justice in very strong terms in the following verse :-

Becoming a judge a Kazi sits to administer justice.
He tells the rosary and mutters God's name;
Taking bribe he usurps the right to justice
(and does injustice)
If someone asks him, then he quotes and reads out
some aphorism.²

It can be inferred from the above discussion that in the State of Guru Nanak's vision the government authorities, judges and other officials will be such

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 350
2. Ibid. p. 954

persons as have risen above corrupt practices and ensure deliverance of justice to all the people. They will not let corruption creep into the judicial system of the state, rather the judicial system of the state will be such in which there remains no opportunity for corruption to prevail.

7. Safeguard of the People's Human Rights :-

The government will guarantee the people their personal liberty and other human rights. It will protect the honour of the people because death is better than a life of dishonour. Guru Nanak says :-

In one lives and loses honour;
All that he eats is unrightful.¹

The Government authorities will not impose their own religion, culture and thoughts upon the people; rather they will ensure liberty of conscience to the people. It can be inferred from Guru Nanak's verses full of poignant criticism of such Kings who, during his times, imposed their culture and faith on their subjects. The Muslim rulers mulcted the Hindu temples and their religious rites and practices. Guru Nanak makes a scathing attack on their policy of

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 142

suppression of other's faith even though he himself does not believe in the faith, rites and practices of the Hindus. He simply raises his voice against the forcible suppression of anyone's feelings. He condemns such tax in these words :-

Ah! tax is levied on the temples of gods
Such a practice has come into vogue.¹

Guru Nanak not only criticises such rulers as tried to impose their faith and culture on their subjects but also vehemently condemns such people who adopted the culture and faith of the ruling class under pressure and duress. He condemns the Hindus for wearing the blue (Islamic) attire and reading Islamic scriptures curbing their own conscience. He writes in Asa di Var :-

Wearing blue the rulers' approval They seek;
With money derived from m̄lechhas the Puranas
they worship.²

Though Guru Nanak is not against learning of any language, yet he condemns the adoption of the language of the aliens under pressure. He criticises

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1191
2. Ibid., p. 472

the Hindus of his times for adopting the Islamic language in stead of their own language. To quote him :-

In every house all the persons say 'Mian'
(Islamic language),
Your language has become different, O man (Hindu).¹

All these comments of Guru Nanak are indicative of the duty of the government to protect the people's human rights.

Guru Nanak's condemnation of his age as the dark age when "true men speak the truth and suffer for it; when penitent cannot perform penance; when he who repeats God's name meets obloquy"² is suggestive of the function of the State to make conditions of human life conducive to the execution of religious exercises and attainment of spiritual exaltation by human beings. The State will do so by guaranteeing non-violation of the people's human rights.

8. Promotion of Fraternity of Human Beings :-

The state is not a mere aggregate or sum-total of human beings; it is their unity.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1191
2. Ibid., p. 902., quoted by Khushwant Singh in Hymns of Guru Nanak, p. 24

It will be the function of the State of Guru Nanak's vision or the duty of its government to maintain this unity and to make it everlasting through promotion of the sense of Fraternity among human beings. The State will do so by recognising equal dignity of all individuals, by guaranteeing equal freedom and rights to all, and by rendering service to all equally without any discrimination.

The people of the State may comprise persons of diverse races, religions, creeds, sects, castes and cultures etc., but all of them are to be treated alike as all of them are but forms of the One, the Lord Himself. Guru Nanak says :-

Himself He assumes numerous guises -

Thus expresses the humble Nanak the vision.¹

Since the Light of one Creator pervades all beings howsoever diverse they may be, the sense of Brotherhood of Man is the natural outcome of this all-pervasiveness of God in His creation and

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 350

it cements the ties of unity in diversity. Guru Nanak avers :-

One God moves concealed in all diversity of
creation,
though no one form resembles another.¹

Bhai Jodh Singh writes in his book 'Some Studies in Sikhism', "Brotherhood of Man is the necessary outcome of God-head."²

Guru Nanak's concept of human brotherhood, indeed, implies universal fraternity of human beings and it transcends the boundaries of countries or states also. Guru Nanak conveys the message of universal fraternity of human beings in the following verse :-

All creatures are noble, none low,
One sole Maker has all vessels fashioned;
In all three worlds is manifest the same Light.³

Guru Nanak's concept of universal fraternity of human beings finds expression in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of 1948 in these words, "All

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 596, quoted by Dr. Harnam Singh Shan in Five Hundred Thoughts of Guru Nanak, p. 273
2. Bhai Jodh Singh, Some Studies in Sikhism, p.14
3. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 62

human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."¹

Such a feeling of universal fraternity will pave a way for, what is called in political phraseology, 'peaceful co-existence' on the international level. Guru Nanak, the protagonist of peace and compassion, decries the invasion by one state on another through his condemnation of Babar's aggression on India and vivid depiction of the ghastly scene of carnage and heart-rending soldiers on the innocent people of India which have already been discussed in the first chapter.

Responsibilities and Duties of the People :-

While Guru Nanak has prescribed various qualifications of a ruler and assigned indispensable functions to the State or enjoined various duties on the government, he also expects the Sangat viz. the people or the citizens of the State to assume certain responsibilities and discharge their duties with all sincerity and integrity.

1. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of 1948, quoted by V.D. Mahajan, in Political Theory, p. 406

The Sangat will have to be very cautious and careful in the selection of the Panches as well as the Ruler. What Guru Nanak says in the spiritual terms is fully applicable in the political terms also. He says about the selection of a guide :-

The disciples, who have an ignorant Guide; cannot secure a position of respect.¹

Herein, the word 'disciples' denotes the 'people' and the word 'Guide' denotes the leader in the political terms.

Guru Nanak condemns conferment of authority (spiritual) on the undeserving persons in poignant terms :-

They who confer authority on those who deserve not, are fools, and they, who accept it, are shameless. How can a mouse, dragging winnowing - basket tied with a string to his waist behind him, enter a hole? Both will be destroyed: the consecrators and the consecrated.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 58
2. Ibid., p. 1285, quoted in Fauja Singh, Guru Nanak And The Social Problem, the seminar paper published in Perspectives On Guru Nanak, edited by Harbans Singh, p. 147.

It can be inferred from the above composition of Guru Nanak that the selection of an undeserving person as the Ruler or a Panch by the Sangat will definitely prove fatal to all of them.

The responsibility of the Electorate is quite evident from the fore-going discussion.

Revenue is essential for the existence and functioning of the State and meeting the expenses on public services. For the purpose of raising the revenue it becomes indispensable for the people to contribute to the State Exchequer. Contribution to the State Exchequer is, indeed, their responsibility which they are expected to execute voluntarily and with pleasure not only for maintaining and sustaining the State but also for their solidarity with the government. Guru Nanak says :-

The ruler puts forth the requirement of the State
Exchequer,

The people contribute to it with pleasure-

Thus is ensured their solidarity with the State.¹

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 143

But the revenue contributed by the people is never to be misappropriated by the government.

The people will always bear in mind that the Government is their own and none else's. They will also pay due regard and appreciation to the government for its right decisions. It will enable the government to function effectively and discharge its duties efficiently. If the people pay full regard to such a government which looks after them well and works for their welfare then they have not to worry at all in any matter. It will also ensure their free access to the government to apprise it of their grievances if any. Guru Nanak says :-

They deem God, the True King, as their own,

No obstacles stop them at the door of His palace.¹

The people are not to live in terror of the government. In fact, there is no place for despotism or tyranny in Guru Nanak's concept of the State. It is also opposed to the Theory of Divine Rights of Kings according to which the King was ordained by God to rule over the people. In the State of Guru Nanak's vision, the government cannot

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 57

act arbitrarily or ride rough-shod over the people's wishes. It has to be responsive and responsible to the people and respect their wishes. The ruler shall act as the servant of the people and serve in public interest. If he misbehaves and acts contrary to the wishes and interests of the people, he will be pulled up by the people. He has to remember always that the people are the final source of authority and the real power rests not with him but with the people as he is to rule in accordance with their wishes. The following composition of Guru Nanak refers to the real authority of the common and even unprivileged people :-

A worm He may exalt to position of a ruler and,
He may reduce an army to ashes.¹

According to Guru Nanak, a great responsibility falls on the shoulders of the people to ensure proper, efficient and effective functioning of the government in the interest of the people. They should take direct and vital interest in politics. They have to be intelligent, educated, enlightened, well-informed, public-spirited, sober and level-headed. They must be fully aware

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 144

of their obligations and rights. They should have the will and ability to exercise power. Commenting on the contemporary political set-up, Guru Nanak condemns the unenlightened people steeped in obscurantism who lived in fear of the despotic rulers. He calls them mere corpses stuffed with chaff :-

Greed and evil are King and counsellor;
falsehood their officer.

Lust the officer who is called for advice -
all three hold conclave to chalk out plans.
The subjects bereft of understanding are
carcasses full of straw.¹

Guru Nanak goes even to the extent of saying that if the people obey the orders of a corrupt and oppressive ruler who fails to deliver justice or who takes bribe for delivering justice, it is the fault more of the people than that of the ruler. Such people have been compared to a dog who obeys the just or unjust orders of his master only for a piece of bread. Guru Nanak says :-

Rulers administer justice as is their palm greased.
None by invoking the Name of God is persuaded.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, pp. 468-69.

Saith Nanak : Men are human in shape and name -
 Their doings dog-like : at the door waiting to
 carry out commands.¹

The above compositions of Guru Nanak make it clear that the people are supposed to be fully conscious of their obligations and rights and they are to be justice-loving. They are expected to resist tyranny and raise a strong voice against 'unjust rule'. It is the people^{who} are to give mandate for or against the government.

The Sangat viz. the people have full authority to replace any functionary of the Government - the ruler as well as the five beloved ones. Therefore, the tenure of all functionaries is subject to their maintenance of capability and performance. In case of a functionary proving to be a non-performer, a sub-performer or an ill-performer, the Sangat ^{is} authorised to recall and replace him with a better substitute.

The form of government of Guru Nanak's vision, thus, implies a government of the Sangat

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 350

for the Sangat and by the Sangat. It is, in fact, a 'Sangatocracy'.

Commenting on the Sikh concept of 'the duties of a ruler' P.K. Chaudhary says that it corresponds with the ancient Hindu concept of Raja Dharma.¹

But Guru Nanak's concept of the State differs from the ancient Raja Dharma in so far as it enjoins on every individual (Sikh) to strongly oppose an 'unjust rule' in order to secure justice for the people. Referring to this aspect of Sikh Polity, Kapur Singh says, "The interest of Sikh in society and politics, however, is direct and vital. *His is*, what Schubart calls, the Heroic culture-mentality, which views the world as under-developed and chaotic, and which he must improve by his organisational effort. Such a heroic man, the Singh, does not accept the world as it is, but he fights against it to change it ..."²

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1. P.K. Chaudhury, Political Concepts in Ancient India, (Delhi : S. Chand & Company Ltd., 1977), p. 142
 2. Kapur Singh, Prasharprasna or The Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh, 1959. p. 124

The fore-going discussion shows that the State of Guru Nanak's vision is, indeed, a Service-State in the real sense of the word. In it, not only the Government viz. the Ruler and the Panches but also the people viz. the Sangat will assume their respective responsibilities and discharge their duties with sincerity and integrity always keeping the larger interests of the individual as well as the people as a whole in view. Therefore, the political system as envisaged by Guru Nanak will automatically evolve itself into a 'righteous rule'.

Chapter - III

Guru Nanak's Concept of Economy

According to the Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, 'Economy' means "the administration of the material resources of an individual, community, or country : an organised system."¹ In the light of these meanings of the word 'Economy', the Economy of a State can be defined as an organised system of administration of the material resources of the State. Some universities of the world have termed the discipline of studies in Economics as 'Political Economy' which, according to the Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, is "the science of the production, distribution and consumption of wealth."² And 'wealth' implies "Prosperity, well-being."³

In the words of A.J. Brown, "An Economy is a system by which people get their living and satisfy their wants."⁴ According to Richard and Giovanna Stone, "An economic system is one in which

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1. Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, p. 410
 2. Ibid , p. 1036
 3. Ibid., p. 1542
 4. A.J. Brown, quoted in H.C. Sharma and others, Introductory Economic Theory and Elementary Statistics, Edition 1991, P. 76.

goods and services are produced with the ultimate object of satisfying human wants."¹

The Ancient Indian Philosophy has attached due importance to Artha and has regarded it as one of the four goals of human life - Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Moksha. These four ends' of human life are commonly known as Purushartha, that is, 'objects worthy of effort by men'. The very term dharma in Hinduism is defined as "the whole duty of man in relation to the fourfold purposes of life (dharma, artha, kāma and moksha)...."² It implies that a man is required to lead a moral and ethical life, to earn money to meet personal and social needs, to enjoy sensual pleasures, and lastly to attain freedom from the continuous cycle of births and deaths. The word Artha literally means 'money'. But, in fact, it comprises the whole range of the tangible (rather material in the wider sense) objects that may be acquired and enjoyed during one's worldly life. In the Arthsāstra of Kautilya, the term artha is defined as 'the sustenance of mankind'.³ The word artha thus connotes the attainment

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1. Richard and Giovanna Stone, National Income and Expenditure, p. 31
 2. S. Radhakrishnan, Religion and Society, (London George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956), p. 102
 3. John M. Koller, Oriental Philosophies, (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp. 41-42.

of riches and worldly prosperity, advantage, profit, wealth...."¹ In other words, it indicates the most important material base upon which the whole super-structure of human society stands. Thus it bundles together the following meanings : (i) 'the object of human pursuit'; (ii) 'the means of this pursuit'; and (iii) 'the needs and desires suggesting this pursuit'.²

Kautilya's Arthśāstra stresses the values of artha and regards it as the sole determinant of the values of dharma and kāma. This signifies that the material life is the basis of temporal as well as spiritual enjoyment.³ The Mahabharata, too, declares that wealth greatly influences dharma and all religious and charitable activities, and a person who has no wealth loses his merit here and hereafter.⁴ It also condemns poverty and calls it a 'sin'.⁵

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1. Heinrich Zimmer, Philosophies of India, Edited by Joseph Campbell, (New York: Bollingen Foundation Inc. 1951), Bollingen Series XXVI - Pantheon Books, p. 41
 2. Ibid.
 3. Pandurang Vaman Kane, History of Dharmasastra, (Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1941), Vol.II, Part-I, p. 8
 4. John M. Koller, op.cit., p. 42
 5. Ibid., p. 42

Dr. Radhakrishnan sees the perfection of human life in the co-existence of both material and spiritual progress and remarks "We must work for better conditions for the material and spiritual development of human beings, for civilization is material and spiritual progress for both the individual and society. The aim is lok-samgraha, in the words of the Bhagvad-Gita".¹

Sir Aurobindo advocates a rational synthesis between the objective or 'existential' values and spiritual or 'axiological' values which, according to him, can be attained through philosophical thinking.²

Early Hindu Philosophy considers the household pursuits to be a big impediment in the pursuit of the release of the 'spirit' (soul) from the bondage of births and deaths. So it strongly advises the abandonment of these pursuits. Commenting on the reason behind this negation of interest in worldliness, Dr. Radhakrishnan writes,

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1. S. Radhakrishnan (Ed.): The Brahma Sutra - The Philosophy of Spiritual Life, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), p. 157
 2. S.K. Maitra, The Meeting of the East and the West in Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy, (Pondicherry : Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1956), p. 61

"It is said that for the Hindu all true existence is non-material, unchangeable and eternal and, therefore, the material, changeable, temporal existence is false. So it is said that the good of the man consists not in transforming the world which is a vale of woe but in transcending it. It is not his aim to change the world but turn away from it."¹

According to Sir Charles Eliot, "Hindu religions are unpractical only in so far that they decline to subordinate themselves to human life. It is assumed that the religious man who is striving towards a goal beyond this world is ready to sacrifice the world without regret and in India the assumption is justified unsurprisingly often."²

In the words of Kapur Singh, "Such religions, as the Buddhism, Jainism, monastic Christianity and higher forms of Hinduism, not to mention the mystic Islam of Sufism, have neither any desire nor any hope for the improvement of this phenomenal world. A man of this way of life, therefore, does not try to change the society and the world,

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1. S. Radhakrishnan, The Brahma Sutra, op.cit., p. 156
 2. Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism (London : Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961), vol.1,p. 47.

and social change and politics are, therefore, irrelevant to him. He is alike indifferent to culture and civilization as such, which both are the products of social intercourse and political organisation."¹

A religion which does not take into account the social and economic problems of human beings and encourages persons to shut their eyes to the hard realities of life shall definitely lose its hold on the masses and meet with failure. Man is considered to be social by nature and he is mainly concerned with worldly life which largely consists of social and economic problems and their solution. In the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, those persons have been treated as "less than human who remain isolated from society, since they neither prove useful to society, nor do they benefit from the social experience of others."² According to C.E.M. Joad, "Full human stature... can only be reached

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1. Kapur Singh, Prasharprasna or The Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh, 1959, pp. 123-24.
 2. C.E.M. Joad, Philosophy For Our Times, pp. 308-9.

in a society where intercourse with his fellows develops a man's social and moral self."¹

Hence it becomes imperative on the part of religion to take into account the worldly problems of mankind and to find out their solution. In the words of John B. Chethimattam, "If religion is for man, it has to embrace the whole man and cannot ignore his material needs. Religion has its obligations not upon the clouds but in the midst of everyday life. A truly religious man has to live in the midst of the common people ministering to their needs and facing their problems."²

"Sikh thought takes a keen interest in life, which vitally affects the spiritual and moral life of man. Man has much to do with his present life and the problems in hand, and he cannot be easily persuaded to bargain his worldly life for the anticipated life in heaven."³

1. C.E.M. Joad, Philosophy For Our Times, p. 309
2. John B. Chethimattam, The Secular Religion of Guru Nanak, the Seminar Paper published in Perspectives on Guru Nanak, edited by Harbans Singh, p. 140.
3. Duncan Greenless, The Gospel of Guru Granth Sahib, 1952, p. XVIII.

Guru Nanak's faith discards the negative attitude of the ancient faiths which kept themselves aloof and unconcerned about the phenomenal realities, and had the least interest in the betterment of society. He has reinterpreted and reshaped the old Hindu concept of Maya, which had given surge to a negative approach amongst the people towards temporal values, in accordance with the hard realities of human life. According to Dr. Niharranjan Ray, "Guru Nanak's genius lay in the fact that he tore himself away from this atmosphere of negation and declared himself positively in favour of worldly life of acceptance of the duties and obligations of the human individual to the temporal and the material, and, at the same time, of equal acceptance of the duties and obligations of religious discipline and spiritual quest for the ultimate. After long centuries, he gave back to the people of India the idea and ideal of Balanced Life."¹

According to Dr. Trilochan Singh, "...While Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism lament the misery of the body, and which St. Francis calls brother

1. Niharranjan Ray, The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Society, 1970, p. 88

donkey, the Sikh Gurus sing the nobility of the body. The Jain monk in particular feels ashamed that his soul has been housed in this repulsive physical structure of flesh, blood and bones, of nine spertures, each of which ceaselessly secretes filthy substances."¹ But unlike the Jain monk, Guru Nanak eulogises human body. He regards it as the temple of the Lord. To quote him :-

The body is the mansion, temple. and home of
the Lord,
within which has He enshrined,
Infinite Light.²

Needless to stress the significance of food and other material requisities for keeping the body and soul together. So much so that the existence of human life is inconceivable in the absence of the material provisions. While God Himself is conscious of the needs of all living organisms and is the Provider of the all how can the material needs of human being be considered dispensable? Guru Nanak says :-

Creating the beings, He Himself provides them
sustenance....³

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1. Dr. Trilochan Singh, Theological Concepts of Sikhism, the article published in Sikhism - Guru Nanak Quincentenary Celebration Series, 1969, p.59
 2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1256
 3. Ibid., p. 1042

Guru Nanak not only clearly admits the significance of food and other basic requirements of life viz. clothing and shelter, but goes to the extent of sharply criticising those human beings (ascetics) who detest food and abjure other basic needs and treat these as impediments in the path of spiritual development and resort to various ways for their forced abandonment. To quote Guru Nanak :-

By abjuring food, only his own pleasure he
forfeits,

...

By abjuring clothing, day and night is he full
of wrath.¹

By restraints of hatha does the body decline,
By fasts and austerities is the mind left
hardened.²

Guru Nanak does not negate the proper care and maintenance of human body and fulfilment of bodily needs which is clear from his condemnation

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 467

2. Ibid., p. 905

of giving up of food and clothes by the ascetics of his times.

According to Paul Brunton "... the body ought to be in healthy condition if the mind is to receive the illumination correctly and without hindrance."¹

Guru Nanak stresses the need not only of food but of sufficient quantity of food of superior quality. He is not for consuming rough food of inferior quality. He makes a scathing attack on those who take coarse food :-

By consuming filthy substances, on himself he
brings ignominy -
Purblind stupid fool, his respect has he
forfeited.²

Guru Nanak not only affirms the fundamental and necessary value of material pursuits and fulfilment of material needs, but regards them as pure or pious. He says :-

Food and drink that the Lord to creation has granted,
is all pure.³

1. Paul Brunton, The Spiritual Crisis of Man, (London : Rider & Company, 1967), p. 206
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 467
3. Ibid., p. 472

And:-

Food, water, fire, salt and the fifth, ghee -
All are considered holy beings.¹

Prof. Puran Singh highlighting the
intrinsic significance of the material values
says :-

"Wealth, material prosperity, or symbolically
in one word Bread, is thus a reality not only
to be reckoned with but to be respected and
honoured...."²

The modern science of Nutrition condemns
'mal-nutritive' as well as insufficient under-
nutritive food and underlines the importance of
'balanced-diet'-taking into account its quantitative
and qualitative aspects.³

Man should eat to live and not live to eat.
The risk of an exclusive involvement in material
betterment has to be guarded against. In the opinion

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 473
 2. Puran Singh, The Spirit Born People, p. 30
 3. Food For Life - Food For Thought, By the
Oceana Library on the United Nations, Inc.,
1962, p. 19

of Guru Nanak :-

Cursed is the life that is led
only to eat and swell the belly.¹

Guru Nanak goes to the extent of forbidding such eating and wearing as lead to discomfort and anguish in the end. There is no restriction on food, drinks or dresses of any kind. The only criterion of ascertaining their suitability is that eating, drinking and dressing should not torment the body and pollute the mind. Guru Nanak says :-

Friend! to taste of other than these is to ruin
bliss -

Such gormandizing as produces torment to the
body,
And fills with foul thinking the mind.²

Friend! all other wear ruins bliss -
The wear that to the limbs is torment,
And with foul thinking fill; the mind.³

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 790
 2. Ibid., p. 16
 3. Ibid.

Guru Nanak has stressed the need of the material prosperity and happiness of the people of the State. Conceiving God as the Supreme King, he puts forward his vision of the Ideal State in these words :-

Thou art the Creator and the Cause :
The Self-dependent king, whose subjects are
ever in Bliss.¹

At another place, Guru Nanak comments :-

These dogs that despoiled the jewels and wasted
them,
Now in their death none shall remember them.²

Herein the word 'jewels', 'the precious things' is indicative of the resources of India which are the fountain - head of the material and economic prosperity of its people.

Material prosperity has been regarded as an essential object of human life. The development of a sound spiritual character can have firm footing only in a sound material society. A materially wretched society may not be able to stand both on the phenomenal and spiritual ground. In other words, materially starved persons are

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1190

2. Ibid., p. 360

liable to fall victims to the selfish ends of rich people and have to sacrifice noble principles and ideals in order to satisfy their material needs. The history of the Mughal period bears testimony to the above fact as to how economically and politically strong Mughal rulers often used the tool of 'economic benefit' in order to convert the poor amongst the Hindus to the faith of Islam.¹ Therefore, it is binding on the State to ensure and look after the material well-being of its people properly and not to let them come down to a state of poverty where they can be forced to live at the mercy of the wealthy persons. Poverty becomes a curse upon humanity when it causes starvation, diseases and even deaths. So it becomes the duty of the State to establish and maintain a sound economic order to avoid such a sorry state of affairs. According to Dr. Radhakrishnan, "economic insecurity and individual freedom do not go together."²

Economy is a pillar of the structure of the State. A sound Economy performs the function

1. Anil Chandra Banerjee, Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh, (New Delhi, Rajesh Publications, 1978), p. 173.
2. S. Radhakrishnan, Eastern Religions and Western Thought (Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 353

of the back-bone in the body State. It is on the type of Economy that the prosperity of the people of a State depends. Without a sound Economy the structure of the State would crumble down to the earth; it would no longer be able to maintain its sovereignty and would be liable to be at the mercy of some alien force for sustenance. Therefore, economic security is an essential pre-condition of the State. A constant economic advancement is imperative in a State that ensures provision of material comforts and imparting of necessary skills. All serious and thoughtful leaders of men have acknowledged the importance of economic gratification of man as a necessary condition for progress in other domains of life. But the objective of economic security and material prosperity of the people can be realised only if the state has a sound economy.

The Economy as conceived by Guru Nanak is a Service-Economy. Guru Nanak's basic concept of Service has already been discussed in the chapter No. II, entitled Guru Nanak's Concept of State. Service is the be-all and end-all of this economy. No doubt, development takes place in this economy but with the objective of meeting the essential

needs of all the people. Within the frame-work of this economy, every individual serves himself as well as his fellow-beings by engaging in some productive work to fulfil his essential needs and save some quantity/amount of the fruit of his productive work for sharing it with others. In it, every individual is a producer as well as a consumer at the same time. It aims at not only satisfying minimum levels of material needs of the people such as consumption of food, provision of clothing and shelter but also making their lives comfortable. Keeping the comfort of the people in view, in modern times, their access can be extended to such essential public utility services such as pure drinking water, sanitation, public transport and communication, health and education etc. Consequently the index of progress in this economy has to be in terms of production of goods and services of this kind.

This economy has a 'Service-cum-Everybody's Accessibility to Everything Available' approach. This approach has the objective of ensuring parity in the purchasing power of all the people so that everyone irrespective of his/her status or any other

consideration, may be in a position to purchase whatever is available in the State. At the same time, this approach emphasises a pattern of development that encompasses the objectives such as composition of national products tilted in favour of essential needs of life; a labour-intensive process of production in the sphere of consumer goods employing local resources and turning out goods and services demanded by the people and thus giving rise to the self-sufficient small local units in the State. This approach also implies a redistribution that is directed to the eradication of poverty, a public expenditure that offers services to the people with the sole purpose of serving them. In brief, this approach is meant to achieve the objective of rendering service to the people through which poverty, unemployment and economic disparities that not only mar the economic growth of society but cause economic injustice in society, will automatically vanish.

The following words of Guru Nanak are the kernel of his concept of economy;-

Ghaal Khaai kichh hathon dei
Nanak rah pachhaneh sei.¹

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1245

These words translated in English are as under :-

He alone, O Nanak, Knows the Way,
Who earns with the sweat of his brow and then
shares with the others.

The word Ghaal covers the production aspect, Khaai, the consumption aspect, and Kichh Hathon Dei, the distribution aspect of the economy. The consumption aspect has already been discussed on the fore-going pages of this chapter. Now, the remaining aspects of the Economy will be discussed. For proper understanding of the same, the modern economic terms will be employed in the study of the Production and Distribution aspects of the Economy.

Production :- In order to cater to the requirements of consumption it is necessary that production of goods and services in sufficient quantity should take place. In economic terms, "Production means creation of utility",¹ says Prof. Ely. In the words of Adam Smith, "Creation or addition of economic utility or value is known as production."²

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1. Prof. Ely, quoted by Gopal Singh, Joginder Singh in Fundamentals of Economics And Statistics, p.93
 2. Adam Smith, quoted in Fundamentals of Economics And Statistics, op.cit., p. 93

The word Ghaal employed by Guru Nanak in his fundamental economic doctrine means to engage oneself in a productive work. Here, it is necessary to know what a 'productive work' is. Early economists regarded only work in the extractive industries e.g. agriculture, fishing and mining etc. as productive. "In his 'Wealth of Nations' in 1776 Adam Smith added manufacturing but he was specific in excluding workers who merely rendered services."¹

But this is not logical. A productive work is, in fact, a work, manual or mental, that is done with the objective of satisfying human wants. Therefore, the persons who render services are also productive. "The soldier, actor and footballer are all satisfying wants. Similarly, in a factory, the clerk who calculates the wages is just as productive as the man who makes the nuts and bolts. All are helping to produce, the final product, a good satisfying wants."²

Besides, wants "can take different forms. Most people like a newspaper to read at the breakfast time; thus the boy who makes it from the

1. J. Harvey, E.S. Srinivasin, C. Selvaraj, Mastering Economics (Indian adaptation), p. 55
2. Ibid.

shop to the customer's house is productive. Most people, too, prefer to buy their vegetables weekly : thus the farmer or merchant who stores them through the winter is satisfying the wants of consumers and is similarly productive. Utility is created by changing not only the form of our scarce resources but also their place and time."¹

The infrastructure of the Economy of Guru Nanak's vision is founded on the productive work (manual or mental) of each and every individual, understandably who is adult and physically and mentally sound, living in the State. In it, every individual - a man or a woman, a rich or a pauper, a master or a servant, a ruler or a ruled - has been enjoined upon to earn his/her livelihood with the sweat of his/her brow. Everyone is supposed to make his/her due contribution to the production of the State. None is exempted from productive work. No body is permitted to depend upon the earnings of others for his livelihood or sustenance for if a person depends upon the earnings of others for his livelihood or sustenance, he gives nothing to the society but takes everything from it required to cater to his needs, and this practice leads to the

1. J. Harvey, E.S. Srinivasin, C. Selvaraj, op.cit., p. 55

operational imbalance or unevenness in the proportion of production and consumption in the economic order of the State. Therefore, the input of one's productive work is the essential pre-requisite of the output of one's sustenance or livelihood.

In this way, the word Ghaal which is generally called Kirat, is the anti-thesis of the unproductive, uncreative, useless or worthless practices and activities like renunciation of the active worldly life, habitual begging, stealing, bribe-taking, undue profiteering, black-marketing and adulteration etc. There is no place for idlers in Guru Nanak's economic order of the State. The idlers become parasites on the output of the State. They consume the produces of the State without contributing to its production. They instead of giving a fillip and impetus to the growth and development of the economy give a set-back to it due to their non-productivity accompanied by consumption of the produces of others. That is why Guru Nanak's concept of economy has no room for the practice of renunciation of active worldly life and asceticism which imply the life of passivity, and is based on the life of a householder

which implies the life of activity, engaged in productive work.

Guru Nanak attaches no piety to such Yogis as indulge in begging. They lack spiritual knowledge and are not fit for becoming guru. They wear glass-rings in their ears only to fill their bellies. They are like a poor mullah who accepts offerings at his own home as if it were a mosque in itself. Guru Nanak makes it crystal clear that the so-called guru going out for begging deserves no reverence. He says :-

If one sings the Lord's Praise, bereft of Wisdom,
Or converts his homestead into a mosque to satisfy
his hunger,
Or being workless, gets his ears torn (to pass for
a Yogi),
Or becomes a mendicant and loses caste with the
world,
And though proclaimed as a guru, begs from door to
door,
Never, O men, should one fall at the feet of such
a one.¹

1, Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1245

And:-

The world for the beggar shows contempt-no
respect to beggars is shown.¹

Yogi! settle in poise; thus shall malady of
dualism flee:
Begging from door to door don't you feel
shame.²

Similarly, the life of a person who
indulges in an unproductive activity like
stealing is of no avail :-

Whatever by foul means (stealing) I have got,
has pleased me greatly.
In this world have I got no renoun :
in the next no prop -
This life gone waste.³

Factors of Production :-

According to the economic classification
of factors of production, these are four in kind -
(1) Land, (2) Labour, (3) Capital, (4) Enterprise.

1. Land :-

Land refers to the resources provided by

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 878
 2. Ibid., p. 903
 3. Ibid., p. 155

nature e.g. space, sunshine, rain and minerals etc. which are fixed in their supply.¹ Guru Nanak says :-

The earth, the vessel full of resources has
been endowed by God but once,
It depends on the efforts of man how much he
takes out it.²

Ricardo, a classical economist of the early nineteenth century, referred to land in the economists sense - as the resources provided by nature - and as such its total supply was fixed.³

It is, therefore, obligatory for human beings to make an optimum use of land for production.

2. Labour :-

Labour refers to the effort, physical and mental, made by human beings in production. It is this human element which distinguishes it from other factors, for it gives rise to under-employment and mobility of labour.⁴

1. J. Harvey, E.S. Srinivasin, C. Selvaraj, op.cit.p. 84
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1190
3. J. Harvey, E.S. Srinivasin, C. Selvaraj, op.cit., p. 144
4. Ibid., p. 84

The main features of Guru Nanak's concept of economy with regard to labour are as under :-

- (a) Dignity of Labour
- (b) Freedom of Choice of Work
- (c) Fixation of Minimum Wages
- (d) Strict Prohibition of Exploitation

(a) Dignity of Labour :-

In the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, labour is looked upon as dignified productive activity. A person engaged in whatever occupation, vocation or profession he may be, is not 'high' or 'low':-

Saith Nanak : None is high or low.¹

The dignity attached to labour in this system will automatically ascertain the sufficient supply of labour. However, the demand for skilled and specialised labour can be fulfilled by making proper arrangements for free training to the labour at the government level.

(b) Freedom of Choice of Work :-

In this economy, every individual has full freedom of choice of work. In the ancient Hinduism,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.7

all types of occupations, vocations and professions to earn livelihood were not open to all; they were adopted strictly on the basis of Varna-system or caste-system which forced persons to choose jobs according to their castes and not according to their ability.

"As caste determines occupations not only at birth but throughout the life of the individual, it is impossible for a person to give up his traditional occupation and move on to new occupation. The caste system, therefore, hindered the mobility of labour between occupations and at one time even between places."¹

"The caste system was evolved to protect the Hindu society from decay but with the passage of time, the system became hereditary in stead of remaining functional and thus inhibited social and economic growth. It became extremely rigid resulting in the rise of vested interests. Lack of flexibility and quality was responsible for most of the defects of the system."²

1. Ruddar Dutt, K.P.M. Sundharam, Indian Economy (1976), p. 122
2. Ibid.

With rapid increase in the size of population, one class could not meet the demands of the rest of the classes resulting in deterioration of the economic condition of the whole society. This major economic problem was to be got rid of by opening all the avenues of work to all the individuals of the State.

In Guru Nanak's economic system, there is no demarcation and specific assigning of work for anybody. Anyone (man or woman) can take to any occupation, vocation or profession according to his/her aptitude and ability. No occupation, vocation or profession has been kept reserved or restricted for any particular individual or section of the society. This freedom of choice of work in the economy of Guru Nanak's vision will automatically solve the problem of mobility of labour from one occupation to another and from one place to another.

According to Guru Nanak's thought, nobody is to be restrained from engaging in any occupation because of his caste. Besides, no occupation determines one's caste; rather it is one's deeds that determine his caste. Guru Nanak says :-

For, as are one's deeds, so is one's caste.¹

(c) Fixation of Minimum Wages :-

Minimum wages of the workers are to be fixed by the Government in commensuration with their requirement for a good standard of living. Moreover, the standard of living in terms of essential needs will be the same for each and everybody irrespective of one's occupation or any other consideration. Equal wages for equal work irrespective of one's sex will also be ensured.

(d) Strict Prohibition of Exploitation :-

Underpayment or non-payment of wages in time or the absence of good working conditions is sheer exploitation of the workers by the firm or the employer, the possibility of which is often there in the private sector. Guru Nanak using the image of a labourer for a man comments that he is robbed by the same agent viz. Maya for whom he works :-

Man to make gain in the world has arrived;

But turned labourer to Maya, is robbed.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1330

2. Ibid., p. 931

The economy of Guru Nanak's vision outrightly restrains the employer from exploiting his employees. Exploitation has been considered a blood-sucking action on the part of the exploiter which corrupts his mind. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Should cloth be reckoned impure if blood-
stained,

How may mind of such be deemed pure as blood
of mankind suck?¹

Thus the economy of Guru Nanak's vision is an exploitation-free economy.

3. Capital :-

Capital, as a factor of production, consists of producer goods and stocks of consumer goods not yet in the hands of the consumer. While consumer goods directly satisfy consumer's wants, e.g. loaves, bicycles, T.V. sets, producer goods are only wanted for making consumer goods, e.g. buildings, machines, raw materials.²

In the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, the producer is entitled to keep and employ capital but only in accordance with the requirement

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 140

2. J. Harvey, E.S. Srinivasin, C. Salvaraj, op.cit., p. 84

of his establishment. It recognises the indispensability of capital for carrying out any productive activity which is suggested by the references to the capital of various occupations found in Guru Nanak's compositions e.g. furnace bellows, anvil, tools etc. for smithy;¹ plough (indirectly referred to through reference to the ploughman) and levelling - plank for farming²; shop, stock of commodities and store-house for trade,³ scissors (made of iron), needle and thread for tailoring;⁴ fishing-net and bait for fishing.⁵

As far as stock of consumer goods is concerned, to keep it for distribution among the consumers on demand and at due profit only is admissible, but holding it for the purpose of black-marketing or undue profiteering is dispensed with.

Indispensability of capital for economic activity is also evident from the following composition of Guru Nanak :-

A merchant without capital only looks vacantly
in all directions.⁶

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.8
2. Ibid., p. 595
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 955
5. Ibid., p. 23
6. Ibid., p. 56

4. Enterprise :-

Enterprise is the acceptance of the risks of uncertainty in production - risks which cannot be insured against. They arise because the firm spends in advance on raw materials, labour and machines, and the extent to which such costs are covered depends on the demand for the product when it is sold. Tastes may have changed or a rival may be marketing the good at a lower price than anticipated.¹

The reward for uncertainty-bearing is profit unless it is negative, loss. Whoever accepts such a risk is a true entrepreneur - the farmer working on his own account, the person who buys ordinary shares in a company, or the citizen of a state who ultimately has to bear any losses made by a national industry.²

Due profit for enterprise is also upheld in the economy of Guru Nanak's vision provided that he shares his profit with his fellow-beings after satisfying his basic needs. The following composition

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1. J. Harvey, E.S. Srinivasin, C. Selvaraj, op. cit., p. 84
 2. Ibid., pp. 84-85

of Guru Nanak refers to due profit :-

And thus the profitable bargain enjoy.¹

The economy of Guru Nanak's vision attaches due importance to all the types of industry. But before discussing it in detail it is necessary, here, to know the meaning of industry.

Industry :- Production takes place only when industry functions. Industry denotes a systematic economic activity. Economic activity implies "the category of human activities which is related to the production and exchange of wealth. In economics, we call these economic activities. All of them involve working to earn a livelihood and are usually called occupations."²

Industry is "a group of productive enterprises or organisations that produce or supply goods, services, or sources of income. In economics industries are customarily classified as primary, secondary and tertiary ..."³

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 595
 2. Y.K. Bhushan, Fundamentals of Business Organisation And Management, part One, pp. 3-4.
 3. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia : Ready Reference, vol.6, p. 306.

Primary Industry :-

"This sector of a nation's economy includes agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, quarrying and the extraction of minerals. It may be divided into two categories : genetic industry, including the production of raw materials that may be increased by human intervention in the production process; and extractive industry, including the production of exhaustible raw materials that cannot be augmented through cultivation."¹

In the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, agriculture pre-dominates the section of primary industry. Keeping in view the objective of the economy, the agricultural entrepreneurs viz. farmers are supposed to produce plenty of foodgrains, oil-seeds, sugarcane, cotton and fodder etc. to meet the people's essential needs.

The quantity and quality of crop and harvest yields depend on the quality of seeds.

To quote Guru Nanak :-

As you sow; so shall you reap.²

1. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, op.cit.,
p. 306
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 730

In order to increase the harvest yields in the agricultural sector, the government has the obligation of fulfilling the farmers' requirements like quality seeds, fertilizers, irrigation facilities, machinery and the like facilities at reasonable rates so that every farmer may afford to purchase or benefit the same and contribute to the increase of the agricultural production of the State.

Since the area of cultivable land is limited and the population goes on multiplying, to put in the words of Malthus, 'in a geometric progression',¹ therefore, it is necessary to take measures for soil conservation to meet the essential needs of the increasing population. Preservation of forests and afforestation, contour bunding, regulation of land use etc. are to be adopted as preventive measures against soil erosion. Crop-rotation is also to be implemented to maintain the fertility of the soil. Besides, reclamation of water-logged, saline and alk^{al}ine lands and of ravine lands is another soil conservation measure which if taken will add some area to the cultivable land. The reclaimed land may be distributed among

1. Malthus, quoted by J. Harvey, E.S.

Srinivasin, C. Selvaraj, op.cit., p. 15

the landless agricultural labour.

In the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, agriculture is to be made a service-oriented industry and not a profit-earning one. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Make the mind the ploughman, thy exalted actions
cultivator's vocation.

Sow the seed of devotion, make contentment the
levelling-plank,

And humility the fence.¹

Though, in the above composition, Guru Nanak is imparting ethical instruction to the human beings in the terminology of farming, but it can also be inferred from this composition that the vocation of farming and exalted actions have been co-related herein, which implies that farming is to be made the index of exalted actions of the farmer. The essence of exalted actions, according to Guru Nanak, is service. To quote him :-

None ever obtains fruit without service,
Service is the most exalted action.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 595

2. Ibid., p. 992

In this economy, the farmer is contented to engage in the occupation of agriculture for rendering service to mankind.

Since service to humankind is the objective of agriculture, therefore, the farmers are to produce only such commodities as are useful in sustaining the people's lives and not such ones as harm them. They are not to produce crops like tobacco, opium-poppy and hemp (narcotic) etc. which are hazardous to human health and even life. It is a dear deal - as is being done at present, especially in India - to attain a high standard of living for a few people at the cost of human health and life in any corner of the world by growing the above - mentioned crops and marketing these for earning profit or foreign exchange. However, in order to avert the consequences of stopping production of such crops, a mass-scale arrangement for treatment of the drug-addicts to deaddict them is the obligation of the government. Besides, such crops as have medicinal utility may be produced by the government under strict supervision and only in as much quantity as is required for the life-saving purpose.

The other primary industries can also be adopted according to the need of the people of the state.

Secondary Industry :- "This is also called manufacturing industry, in economics, referring to the sector of a nation's economy that includes the processing of raw-materials supplied by primary industries into consumer goods, or production goods that other secondary industries transform into products, components of products, or capital goods used to manufacture consumer and non-consumer goods. Secondary industry also includes such industries as hydroelectric, geothermal, solar, wind and other electrical power generation that require generators or other specialized equipment to convert raw energy into electricity; and it also includes the construction industry."¹

In the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, the secondary industry also occupies an important place which is indicated by the references Guru Nanak makes to such industry e.g. smithy, tailoring,

1. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, op.cit.,
p. 306

pottery etc. in his compositions. To quote him:-

Should brass, gold or iron be broken,
The smith in fire fuses it together.¹

Then cut by the scissors, by the tailor torn,
With needle and thread is it stitched.²

Guru Nanak goes to the extent of conceiving even God Himself as a Manufacturer viz. Artisan or Potter who fashions all the vessels viz. beings. It means that manufacturing plays a very significant role in the whole scheme of the Universe. This opinion of Guru Nanak determines the significance attached to the manufacturing industry in the economy of his vision. To quote Guru Nanak :-

The One (Potter) has fashioned all the vessels.³

Keeping in view the objective of the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, the production in the sector of manufacturing industry is to be directed to make human life comfortable. Priority is to be given to the manufacturing of such goods as are useful for agriculture e.g. tractors, pumping

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 143
2. Ibid., p. 955
3. Ibid., p. 62

sets, harvesters, thrashers etc. These things not only help in increasing the agricultural production but also make the agricultural work easier. Stress is also to be laid on the manufacturing of the goods like kitchen appliances, textile machinery, sewing machines etc. which make the conversion of agricultural produce into final products i.e. consumer goods more convenient, quicker and more neat.

The manufacturing techniques adopted by this sector of industry must always be such as do not generate unemployment, poverty or give rise to corruption or exploitation of any sort. These techniques must not be such as, in any way, degenerate the cultural values of the people.

The manufacturing industry is to be service-oriented. The goods are to be manufactured at a reasonably low cost so that the people may easily afford to purchase them. Its objective is not to be money-chasing or profit-maximising but service to humankind. If the objective of 'service to humankind' is ever kept in view, profits will automatically follow. However, the economy of Guru Nanak's vision upholds earning of 'due profit' only

which is essential and sufficient for the entrepreneur's own sustenance and the subsistence of his enterprise. It is suggested by the following words of Guru Nanak :-

In dealing in false commodities is incurred
loss.

Whoever by the Master's teachings makes
commerce to the Lord is pleasing :
His capital, and commodity safe, Yama's noose
is removed from him.¹

This view of Guru Nanak has been supported by many thinkers and great businessmen of the world. Urwick says, "Earning of profits cannot be the objective of a business any more than eating is the objective of living."²

Similarly Henry Ford declared in his autobiography that "mere money-chasing is not business."³ "He built his business on the basis of service and set out to manufacture cars which

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1032
2. Urwick, quoted by Y.K. Bhushan in Fundamentals of Business Organisation Management, Part One, p. 15
3. Henry Ford, quoted by Y.K. Bhushan, op.cit., p. 15

would be within the means even of low-income groups and which, therefore, would serve the general mass of people. He declared that business consists in manufacturing those goods which the community wants, at a price which the community can pay. The same kind of missionary zeal marked the efforts of the Indian pioneer in industry, Jamsetji Nausherwanji Tata. Thus, a truly great business can be built up only if the objective of service to the community is constantly kept in view. If this is done, profits will come automatically..."¹ However, it cannot be denied that it is absolutely necessary for the business enterprise to earn at least the profit sufficient to cover the risks of economic activity - "the profit required to enable it to stay in business and to maintain intact the wealth - producing capacity of its resources,"² as Peter F. Drucker puts it.

Tertiary Industry :- "This is also called service industry and includes the sector of a nation's economy embracing industries that provide services or intangible gains or generate

1. Y.K. Bhushan, op.cit., p. 15
2. Peter F. Drucker, quoted by Y.K. Bhushan, op.cit., p. 15

wealth but that produce no tangible goods. In free market and mixed economies this sector generally has a mix of private and government enterprise."¹

As far as the tertiary industry is concerned, it also finds place in the economy of Guru Nanak's vision. The references made by him to trade, trader, salesman, employee and soldier etc. in his compositions, though in spiritual sense, indicate the necessity of this sector of industry in the economy. "Trade refers to the sale, transfer or exchange of goods."² Guru Nanak, regarding the body as a city, puts forth the concept of trade as under :-

In the body city there are shops fortresses
and a cabin wherein is the merchandise of
the True Name to trade in.³

And :-

Within the fortress are balconies and bazars.⁴

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1. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, op.cit., p. 306
 2. Y.K. Bhushan, op.cit., p. 10
 3. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 57
 4. Ibid., p. 1033

It can be inferred from the above-quoted compositions that bazaars, shops and commodities of good quality etc. are the pre-requisites of trade.

In this economy, Banking facility is to be provided by the State to facilitate trade. The banks will conduct commercial and financial transactions. But the institution of interest will be dispensed with. The practice of making money only with the help of money has no place in this economy. The banking facility which is essential for trade, has been referred to, though in its old form viz. *Shahukara*, in the following words :-

They are the bankers and the true traders, whom the True Guru has imparted understanding.¹

Trade as conceived by Guru Nanak, is based on the concept of 'business morality'. It is to be carried on by the trader considering himself a servant of the people. His function is to remove the hindrances of place and time between the goods/services and the consumer. Though due

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1021

profit as reward of the efforts put in by him in trade is not to be dispensed with as it is essential for his existence in the market; but he is not to run after maximisation of his profit. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Trade with the traders (in true merchandise)
and take profit with pleasure.¹

The trade is to be based on the principles of truth and virtue. The trader is to do the trade not only for profit-making but for the welfare of the people. It can be inferred from the following composition of Guru Nanak :-

In this body shop, this mind is a merchant,
who through poise deals in truth.²

The trader is also to be fair in his dealings with all the concerned. Unfairness in dealings has no place in the economy of Guru Nanak's vision. To quote him :-

By unfair dealings the mind and body are rendered
corrupt.³

The trader, in the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, weighs the commodity with standard weights.

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1021
 2. Ibid., p. 942
 3. Ibid., p. 23

He never underweighs it by giving a fillip to the handle of the balance. Guru Nanak conceiving God as a Merchant, puts forth the concept of fair trade :-

Within the body fortress are the cities and shops and the business is transacted there. The Merchant, My God, weighs His wares with the sterling weights.¹

In this economy, the persons engaged in professional services serve the community by discharging their duties with dedication. To quote Guru Nanak :-

With devoted heart render service :
make faith in the holy vocation.²

The persons engaged in defence services of the state render best services to the state and are never defeated in the battlefield while defending their people. However, they are entitled to the pay for their services so that they may be able to fulfil their essential needs, but they shed their selfish motives and greed.

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1036
 2. Ibid., p. 596

Their real award lies in their selfless service to the people. Guru Nanak, conceiving human souls as God's soldiers, says :-

The Lord's soldiers take care of their homes,
Their pay is fixed before their very advent into
this world.

They perform the service of their Supreme Lord
and obtain the profit.

From their mind they forsake and forget
covetousness, avarice and evil.

In their body fortress they proclaim the victory
of their Monarch and return not vanquished
ever.¹

In the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, the inter-dependence of all the three types of industry is well-recognised. That is why a proper and amicable co-ordination is established among them. In it, the farmer is contented to produce the life-sustaining commodities; the industrialist produces the goods at reasonable cost for the convenience of the people in purchasing them; the trader deals fairly; the officials serve the community with dedication.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 936

The functions of all of them are directed to the service of the people and their due returns automatically follow. They always adhere to the ideal of Kirat-Kamaai.

Distribution :- The Distribution aspect of this Economy covers the system of ownership and contribution. The 'ownership', here, means the ownership of Natural Resources and that of the Units of Production. The 'Contribution' stands mainly for the contribution to the Public Fund which, from the economic point of view, stands for the collection of the Public Fund.

Ownership of Natural Resources :-

As far as ownership of the whole wealth of natural resources is concerned, Guru Nanak holds that the real owner of it is God Himself who distributes it among His beings as He pleases.

To quote Guru Nanak :-

This world is Thine. Thou art the Lord of Universe,
In a moment Thou establishest and dis-establishest.
Thou distributest wealth as Thou pleasest.¹

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 417

Guru Nanak, in these words, puts forth a paradigm on which a system of ownership can be evolved in which the Sangat—the representative of God on the earth - is the custodian of the whole wealth of natural resources of the state. It is the Sangat¹ who will be authorised to distribute the natural resources among the individuals for the purpose of production or any other use. For example, land, which is the major factor of production will be distributed by the Sangat, through its representative body consisting of members selected through consensus, among the local units of the Sangat, however, keeping with it the area of land required for the public utility services and other public sector projects. Each local unit of the Sangat will distribute the land at its disposal among the individuals - the private sector entrepreneurs - for farming, running a factory or any other use. The distribution will be free of cost, rent or revenue etc. However, the receiver of a piece of land will not be the owner of it but only a user of it. It will remain

1. The Sangat as a whole i.e. the Congregation of all the people, later on, came to be known as Sarbat Khalsa.

with the entrepreneur only till he uses it for the purpose for which he has got it. ~~for~~ As soon as he or all his children switch over to some other occupation, he will have to return it to the local unit of the Sangat who will give it to some other person opting for the same occupation for which the land is earmarked. Since the entrepreneur puts in his productive labour and employs his capital for the production work, and he, being the entrepreneur, takes the risk of uncertainty, therefore, he will be legitimately entitled to use the produce for the satisfaction of his essential needs. However, he must spare a considerable quantity of the produce for contributing it to the State Exchequer voluntarily.

In the sector of secondary and tertiary industry, whenever the entrepreneur is to dispose of his establishment, he will have to do the same through the local unit of the Sangat who is to take care that he (the seller) does not charge any price from the buyer for the piece of land ^{on} which

the establishment is established because he (the seller) himself received the land free of cost.

This system will be applicable to the other natural resources also.

While fixing the price of the produce of the primary, secondary or tertiary industry the cost of land or other natural resources as a factor of production will not be taken into consideration as these are used by the respective entrepreneurs free of cost. However, the cost of the other three factors of production viz. labour, capital and enterprise will count in fixation of price of the produce.

If this system is to be implemented properly, the private owners (possessors) of land and other natural resources, if any, have to give up their possession and hand these over to the Sangat who will re-distribute these among the individuals keeping their need in view.

The Sangat will manage the re-distribution of land and other natural resources. It will not only distribute it but also ensure that the piece of land or the share of natural resources reaches

the proper hands and that the same is not intercepted by anybody else. For the purpose of making the system successfully workable the distribution may be renewed periodically, so to say, every year by the local units of the Sangat and a proper record thereof may be maintained by them.

Ownership of Units of Production :-

Ownership :- Now the question arises as to who should own the units of production. But before looking into the ownership of plants or establishments in the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, it is imperative to understand what a plant or establishment is and what a firm means.

Plant or Establishment :- "Any place where goods are produced or distributed or service provided is a Plant or an Establishment. It includes the machinery and equipment as well as the workers employed for the production of goods and the supply of services. The establishment may be a shop, a warehouse, a farm or a factory, a transport depot or an office and so on. Sometimes one establishment carries out all processes of manufacture or distribution - as, for example, the woollen mill which turns out raw wool into finished cloth ready

for the tailor, or the department store which buys direct from the manufacturer and sells to the customer. Thus, in the ordinary usage a plant means a factory, a mill, a shop, an establishment."¹

Firm :- "Establishments are controlled and directed by firms. A firm is essentially a unit of ownership and of control and administration. The firm usually owns land on which the plant or establishment is situated, the building, the capital equipment which it employs, and the raw materials it uses. In simple words, a firm is a unit which owns, controls and manages the plant or plants. Sometimes a firm may own only one plant so that the plant and firm are identical. A firm may, on the other hand, own several plants. If the one or more establishments engaged in different processes in the chain of production are owned by one firm, production is said to be organised vertically. If they are owned by different firms, any one of which may have a number of establishments, all concerned with the same stage of production, then production is said to be organised horizontally."²

1. M.C. Shukla, Business Organisation And Management, p. 95

2. M.C. Shukla, op.cit., p. 95

Under the political system as envisaged by Guru Nanak, every individual is sovereign, as God, the real Sovereign, pervades each and every being. Moreover, everyone has been engaged in some occupation by the Creator. To quote Guru Nanak :-

He who has created the universe has to everyone assigned certain occupation.¹

It indicates that an individual is entitled to own a plant to carry on his occupation according to his capacity and capability - his real personal property - entrusted by God in him. It is suggestive of the pre-dominance of the private sector in the economic system structured on the paradigm put forth by Guru Nanak though public sector is not to be altogether dispensed with.

However, in the private sector, an entrepreneur will be permitted to own only one plant so that the problem of the glaring gulf between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' has no scope for sprouting in this system, and economic levelling of the society is ensured. However, more

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1022

than one persons can also own one enterprise. The owner of a private plant may employ as many persons as required for its proper functioning, but he will also be obliged to put in his own share of productive work i.e. labour (manual or mental) and not allowed to invest money in his plant and then sit idle and consume the produces or earnings to satisfy his needs. He would act as a trustee of God's wealth in the form of the owner of the private plant. The relationship between the employer and his employees will be that of equal brethren in stead of that of a master and servants. The owner will ensure good working conditions for the employees. The employees will also work with dedication and conscientiousness. They will also actively participate in the organisation of the plant to make its working better and more efficient, and useful for the society. The owner may also expand and develop his plant to any extent provided that he voluntarily contributes his surplus earning or profit to the State Exchequer.

Public Sector :- In this economy, the plants catering to public utilities and services like health, education, defence, transportation and communication etc. come within the purview of public sector. As far as manufacturing or extractive plants are concerned,

the public sector is to extend its control only in those areas where there is the apprehension of monopoly which often exploits the consumers by having too much power over the happiness and destinies of fellowmen; or the large-scale industry which requires huge capital and in which no private entrepreneur is ready to initiate even with the financial assistance from the government.

The public sector enterprises will be, as is evident, owned by the Sangat, in other words, the State as a trustee of the wealth of God. The government of the State will finance the public sector enterprises out of the State Exchequer. Each public sector enterprise will run under the stewardship of a trust comprising unanimously selected representatives, preferably knowledgeable persons having the necessary talent, of the people. The efficiency and effectiveness of the concern depends to a considerable extent upon the quality of the trustees - the policy-makers and directors - in terms of their skill, calibre, outlook, initiative and autonomy. They are to lay down the broad policy for the guidance of the management of the public sector undertakings and entrust the day-to-day administration to a qualified manager who will be accountable to the trustees.

The trust will monitor the functioning of the public sector enterprise and ensure the proper and optimum utilisation of the finance invested by the State so as to avert its defalcation or misappropriation of any sort by anybody. The public sector enterprises will operate with the objective of service to the people in stead of profit-earning. It will also employ such techniques as generate adequate opportunities of employment by opening more and more avenues of work for the people.

State Exchequer or Public Finance :-

In this economic system, the cardinal principle of 'Kichh Hathon Dei' i.e. 'voluntarily share the earnings with the fellow-beings' underlies the ways of collection of Public Finance. 'Daswandh' and public donations in stead of direct and indirect taxes are the sources of the State Exchequer.

Daswandh :- 'Daswandh' literally means one-tenth part of one's income contributed voluntarily for charitable purposes. The word 'Tithe' in English also means to pay one-tenth part of something as voluntary contribution. Referring

to the word 'Tithe', the Encyclopaedia Biblica says, "the oldest use of the word seems to have been secular designating a tax or tribute of vassal people, or from his own countrymen."¹ The Encyclopaedia further adds, "The 'tenth' doubtless, originally roughly expressed the proportion exacted... but frequently the notion of tax 'tithe' might be used in cases where the rate was different..."²

But among the Sikhs 'Daswandh' is the voluntary offering of one-tenth of one's income for public welfare. It is the ordained duty of every earning Sikh to regularly spare one-tenth of his income and utilise it for the general public at large, particularly the needy ones. By practising this precept both the giver and the receiver benefit. It is the conviction of the Sikhs that a Sikh who sets aside one-tenth of his income regularly for the purpose of service to humankind, is blessed by the Guru and endowed with prosperity and contentment. Since the State in the political system as conceived by Guru Nanak is the Service-State, therefore, the

1. Encyclopaedia Biblica, vol.IV, p. 5102

2., Ibid., pp. 5102-3.

Daswandh is to be voluntarily contributed to the State Exchequer.

Besides, Guru Nanak's principle 'Kichh Hathon Dei' does not limit the amount of voluntary contribution or donation only to the one-tenth of one's income, but it requires the whole of surplus income to be donated for charitable purposes. Every earning hand is enjoined upon to consume his produces or income only upto the 'sufficiency limit' i.e. sufficient for satisfaction of his essential needs and he must spare a considerable amount of his earnings/income. The income spared by him viz. the income in excess of the sufficiency limit is his surplus income. This surplus income is not to be accumulated as it spoils one's mind and that is why it may be termed as the 'spoiling limit' of income. To quote Guru Nanak :-

In hoarding wealth comes evil-thinking.

And pleasure and pain at our doorstep keep
standing.¹

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 222

Moreover, wealth does not accompany anyone; rather it belongs to none. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Friend: worldly wealth accompanies us not.¹

And:-

The man amasses and hoards riches and gives
to none.

The fool thinks that all is his own.

Golden Ceylon and gold palaces remained not
with Ravana.

The riches belong to none.²

This surplus or spoiling limit of income is to be donated by everyone with the sense of service to humankind. It is to be contributed to the State Exchequer and Langar. Every donor is to feel contented by bearing it in mind that whatever he has given, belongs to God. Guru Nanak says :-

The charity-giver when giving away charity
should feel content.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 595
2. Ibid., p. 155
3. Ibid., p. 466

Saith Nanak : In the hereafter is received
 reward for what man from his own earnings
 offers.¹

The economic system envisaged by Guru Nanak will guarantee security against crises of all sorts, and in such a system everyone will joyfully assume the responsibility of sparing a considerable portion of his earnings for contributing the same to the State Exchequer and Langar voluntarily. In this system, there will be no need of levies or forcible exaction from the people for raising public finance.

Utilisation of the State Exchequer :-

In the light of the objective of the economy of Guru Nanak's vision, the State Exchequer is to be utilised by the government for meeting the expenditure on the following items :-

1. Provision of free education and health facilities to all the people irrespective of their race, colour, creed, sex or status etc.
2. Provision of Internal and External Security, and the Public Utility Services like

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 472

- Transport and Communication to the people as the times need.
3. Financing the Public Sector Industry and advancing interest-free loans to the Private Sector Entrepreneurs and to the individuals for their personal needs.
 4. Provision of Security against all kinds of crises like disabledness, disease, old age infirmity, unemployment etc. to each and everyone.
 5. Any other provision of Public Service according to the need of the people.

Langar:-

The institution of Langar, too, has the object of 'material well-being' of the people in its purview as it provides free food to the needy and the poor. Some scholars hold that the tradition of Langar was founded during the period of the third Guru Amar Das. But this opinion is not correct since various instances are available in the Sikh history which show that the system of Langar had been started by Guru Nanak at Sultanpur (though on a smaller scale) and was developed into

a large institution during the last days at Kartarpur. He took keen interest in the service of humanity and adopted farming as a direct help to the 'community kitchen', that is Langar. Throughout the period of his agricultural occupation, he used to supply his entire produce of foodgrains to the Langar.¹ He aimed at making food freely available to all without any distinction as he could not see anybody starve. Prof. Puran Singh aptly calls Guru Nanak's institution of Langar as the 'Temple of Bread'. To quote him, "The very first Temple made by Guru Nanak, therefore, was the Temple of Bread or Guru's Langar. In one common Temple of Bread, the Bread of God was made free to the children of man. Let none be hungry where the spirit of God prevails."²

The institution of Langar which assumed the form of Pangat during the third Guru - Guru Amar Dass, serves a bi-fold purpose. Whereas it provides free food to the poor, the disabled and the destitute out of the voluntary contributions *made*

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1. Max Arthur Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, (Delhi : S. Chand & Co. Ltd. , 1978), vol. II, p. 9.
 2. Puran Singh, op.cit., p. 127

by the people from their earnings for the service of the needy, it also serves as an effective equaliser of all the people of society. All persons irrespective of their caste, colour, creed, sex or status have to sit on the ground in a row called Pangat and share the food of the same type in this system. It also tends towards establishment of parity among all the people in their accessibility to the provisions of food which is the very first basic need of life. In the system of Pangat, all the people are treated alike. It is an illustrious and pragmatic paradigm of Equality and Fraternity of all human beings without any discrimination. In this system, everybody has the right to contribute to, to cook, to serve and to eat the food and to cleanse the utensils used by the Sangat to take meals. Commenting on this institution Dr. G.S. Mansukhani writes, "The free kitchen serves a number of purposes. On the one hand, it is an example of equality of men because all the people have ^{to} sit on one and the same platform, eat the same type of meal...."¹ Moreover,

1. G.S. Mansukhani, The Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak, the article published in Gurdwara Gazette, April, 1970 quoted by Dr. G.S. Deol in Social And Political Philosophy of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, p. 60.

the institution of Langar is run voluntarily by the Sangat. Therefore, it infuses the individuals with the sense of responsibility making voluntary contribution to the social and economic welfare of the people. In this system, the individuals perform the acts of service i.e. cooking and serving of the food and washing of utensils etc. with their own hands; and this practice promotes the dignity of labour.

According to Dr. A.C. Banerjee "The system (Langar) represented two important points in Guru Nanak's teachings; the denunciation of asceticism and the importance of dān, the charitable sharing of money or goods.... Apart from the religious aspect, both these points strengthened the trends towards the development of a new social structure, what we call the dignity of labour was promoted and the individual's responsibility for contributing to social welfare was emphasised."¹

Planning :- While planning for the State, the government will always keep the primary objective of 'service to the people' in mind. Development

1. Anil Chandra Banerjee, op.cit., p. 210

will be emphasised not for the sake of development but for the sake of fulfilment of the essential needs of the people. The planning will be a service-oriented one and growth of income will not be its aim; however, the growth of income will automatically take place as a by-product of the economic activity directed at the realisation of the objective of 'service to the people'.

In the state of Guru Nanak's vision, material prosperity is, no doubt, essential for the general well-being of the society; but it is not the determinant of happy life for man - and hence of the society. Ethical and spiritual considerations are more important than materialistic enrichment. Guru Nanak says :-

Man may eat, wear and enjoy life

But without love and devotion to the Lord,

he wastes his life and dies in ignominy.¹

Thus, Guru Nanak, while supporting the need of material prosperity, attaches primary importance to spirituality in human life as it imbues one with ethical values. Moreover, unlike Kautilya, he does not regard material prosperity

1: Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1027

as the determinant of the values of dharma. Rather, in his opinion, it is the ethical principles of religion that influence material life. Material advancement finds its justification when it furthers the economic, social and political interests of society. In other words, it is to be directed to the establishment of a healthy social system based on economic, social and political justice to all the people. Commenting on this point, Major Earnes says, "The pursuit of a maximum aggregate wealth should be subordinated to the pursuit of a healthy social system. In other words, general well-being is more dependent on a healthy social system than a great aggregate riches."¹

Economic justice is the fundamental principle on which the economic order in the state of Guru Nanak's vision rests. According to Guru Nanak, the moral dictates of religion are indispensable for the maintenance of this economic order. He suggests that it is through arousing the sense of truth, contentment and voluntary sharing of one's surplus income with others that

1. Major Earnes, Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics, p. 623

the economic equilibrium is maintained in the society and the ideal of exploitation - free society can be realised. Dr. Radhakrishnan does not advocate the solution of mankind's problems by strengthening the material values; rather, he lays stress on raising the ethical and moral standards of humility, which is brought about only through religion.¹ "Woodrow Willson has also rightly remarked, "Our civilization cannot survive materially unless it be redeemed spiritually."²

The foregoing discussion categorically reveals that Guru Nanak envisages a type of Economy based on viable economic values coupled with ethical values. It upholds productive work as involving dignity and disallows all sorts of unproductive activities like begging and stealing etc. under all circumstances. It indicates that even ~~poverty~~ should be overcome through reliance on God, the Supreme Provider, and productive work.

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1. S. Radhakrishnan, Eastern Religion and Western Thought, p. 80
 2. Woodrow Wilson quoted by Trilochan Singh in his article Guru Nanak and the Present World Crisis published in The Sikh Review, January, 1958.

There is no place for unearned or ill-earned money in it. Such an economic approach infuses the entrepreneur with dynamism, that is why the Sikhs have proved themselves very good entrepreneurs. In it every individual is required to engage in some productive work not only for the material well-being of himself or herself and his or her family but also for the material welfare of his or her fellow-beings or, in other words, the society and humankind as a whole. The principle of 'Kichh Hathhon Dei' or sharing of one's honestly earned income with others allows one to make only a judicious use of one's earnings and restrains one from lavishly spending one's earnings for one's ownself. It also averts concentration of wealth in a few hands which is the root-cause of all economic ills.

Chapter IV

Guru Nanak's Concept of Justice

Justice is the basis on which the edifice of political system is erected. The term 'Justice' suggests the quality of being just or right or reasonable; it is contrary to what is unjust or wrong or unreasonable. Justness, righteousness and reasonableness are primarily moral attributes, therefore, justice is basically an ethical concept which embodies an ideal. It symbolises perfection and is reflected in absolute truth. 'Justice', in ordinary terms, means fairness, impartiality or adherence to truth etc. It implies conformity with truth, fact, reason, correctness and righteousness. Many a time justice and righteousness are regarded and employed as synonyms i.e. the terms meaning one and the same thing.

The Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion

brings out the derivation of the word 'Justice' from the Latin word 'Jus' ("right" or "Law")¹. Saint Augustine while explaining one of the dialogues of Cicero, an ancient Roman orator, throws light on the

1. W.L. Rease, Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion, p.274

origin of the word 'justice'. He considers 'Juris' to have been derived from 'Jus' which he interprets as meaning justice -"righteousness" or "justice".¹

Various thinkers have propounded different theories, from time to time, to define and describe 'justice'. A brief study of various perspectives on 'justice' will be quite relevant and useful to comprehend the term.

The Eastern Perspective:-

The Eastern perspective on 'justice' views it in terms of righteousness. It is found right from the Rig Veda in the expression of the term Rta. 'Rta' initially and primarily means cosmic order. It denotes order of the moral law also. According to Radhakrishnan, "Rta originally meant the established route of the world, of the sun, moon and stars, morning and evening day and night. Gradually it became the part of morality to be followed by man and the law of righteousness observed even by gods".²

In Rig Veda, the god Varuna, the great guardian of morality, is also the guardian of Rta. "The Law of which varuna is the custodian is called Rta. Rta literally means the course of things. It stands for the

1. Mulford Q. Sibley, Political Ideas And Ideologies, p.191
2. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, P.79

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law in general and immanence of justice."¹In Rig Veda there is also a prayer to god Indra "to lead us to right path, the path of Rta".²

In Indian Philosophy, the idea of justice or righteousness is expressed through the term Dharma which has multi-dimensional meaning; and denotes 'duty' also. In the opinion of Dr. Radhakrishnan, "The conception of dharma is a development of the idea of Rta which stands for the cosmic and moral order and expresses, 'the reasonableness and law abidingness of nature' and includes law and convention, etiquette and moral principles. There is a continuity from the Vedic Rta to the Upanisadic and later dharma, and this continuity is facilitated by the notion of satya".³

According to Vaisesika-sutra, "dharma is the consummation of the process of spiritual development which is at once the condition of all goodness and the good."⁴

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1. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol.I p.78.
 2. Rig Veda, X, 1330,6, quoted in S, Radhakrishnan, op.cit. P.80.
 3. Aloysius Michael, Radhakrishnan on Hindu Moral Life and Action, p.130
 4. Balbir Singh, The Philosophy of Truth, p.132; "Yato bhyudya rihsreyasa siddhih sa dharmah" vs.I.1.2.

The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics holds, "Neither the more formal philosophy nor the doctrine of faith succeeds in providing more satisfactory doctrine of righteousness than the Gita."¹

The Gita exhorts man that his dharma is to discharge his duties without the desire for reward, Lord Krishna says to Arjuna :-

"Thy business is with action only, never with its fruits, so let not fruit of action be thy motive, nor be thou to inaction attached."²

According to the Gita, "justice lies in svadharma doing one's own duty. If on the contrary, we allow ourselves to be subjected by the mechanical determination of pradharna - doing others' duty, that, in the eyes of the Gita, is a sin".³

The Upanisadic view regards meditation as the higher path which leads one to the realisation of eternal righteousness. So the Upanisads denounce the ritualistic ethics -especially the sacrificial cult. "The Brhadaranyaka Upanisad asserts that he who worships a divinity other than the self is to be treated as no

1. James Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, p.806.

2. Annie Besant and Bhagwan Das, The Bhagwad Gita, pp.44-5.

3. Ibid , XVIII 47,p.317.

other than a domestic animal of gods".¹ In Chandogya Upanisad, there is a severe condemnation of sacrificial act.²

According to the Chandogya Upanisad, those whose conduct has here been good, will quickly attain a good birth (literally womb), the birth of a Brahmin, the birth of a Kshatriya, or the birth of a Vaisya. But those whose conduct here has been evil, will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog, the birth of a hog, or the birth of a Candala.³

Manu holds that justice is in performing duties assigned separately to four classes by God. Brahmans are to study and teach the Veda, give and accept alms; the Kshatriyas to protect the people, to give alms, to study the Veda, to offer sacrifices; the Vaisya to do the trade and to lend money, to give alms, to offer sacrifices and to study the Veda; the Sudra to serve meekly ever these (other) three classes.⁴

It will not be out of place to mention here that in the ancient Indian judicial system based on the Hindu Law, there was no equality before law. Different punishment was imposed upon the criminals of different castes for the similar crime. "When deciding upon

1. Balbir Singh, Hindu Ethics I.IV.10, pp.68 and 100

2. Ibid., I. XII.5. pp.68 and 100

3. S. Radhakrishnan, The Principal Upanisada,
V.10.8, p.433

4. The Laws of Manu, 1. 87-91 (Translated by Buhlerg):
Muller, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV P.24

punishment, the judge was to take into consideration the nature of the crime, the motive of the accused, his age and status in society. In ancient India punishments often differed with the caste of the accused; lighter punishments were recommended to Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. In early times the wergeld for the murder of a Brahmana was a thousand cows, for that of Kshatriya 500 cows, for that of a Vaisya 100 cows and for that of a Sudra only ten cows. In later times fines often varied with caste of the offenders. This is no doubt a regrettable feature of our jurisprudence. Our jurists recognised that the sin of a Brahmana would be a hundredfold that of a Sudra for the same offence. His punishment should then have been more severe instead of being lighter".¹

The Islamic justice is also devoid of equality before law, In Islam, man and woman are not equal before law viz. Shariah. Herein, "Husbands have the right of polygamy and may be validly married at the same time to a maximum of four wives."² Moreover, "the husband alone has the power unilaterally to terminate the marriage by repudiation (talaq) of his wife. Talaq is an extrajudicial process; a husband repudiates his wife

1. A.S. Altekar, State And Government In Ancient India, pp. 256-57.

2. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 22. Macropaedia: Knowledge in Depth, 1986, p.33

at will and his motive in doing so is not subject to scrutiny by the court or any other official body"¹. Further in the sphere of witness, too, the disparity between man and woman is clearly evident. "In certain cases, however, the testimony of women was acceptable (Two women being required in place of one man)..."²

Asha , in Zoroastrianism, is equivalent to Rta of the Rig Veda. It is the principle of righteousness. In this faith, God Himself is righteous. So one can realise Him through righteousness. "It (righteousness) makes us one with Him. He who seeks Truth and righteousness seeks God; he who finds these finds the whole universe is in his hand. 'Through Righteousness God Himself advanced the furthest' - Vasna 57:4"³ In the Zend Avesta , Asha (Righteousness) is eulogised very much because by means of it one can attain Him:-

"....and accompanied by Asha Vahista (who is Righteousness the Best), and the most beautiful !. And may we see thee, and may we, approaching, come around about thee, and attain to entire companionship with Thee !. And we sacrifice to the Righteous Order, the best, the most beautiful, the bounteous Immortal!"⁴

1. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 22, Macropaedia : Knowledge in Depth, 1986, p.33

2. Ibid p.34

3. Duncan Greenless, The Gospel of Zarathushtra, pp.43-44.

4. Vasna IV:12, The Zend Avesta (Part III), ed. Max Muller, Sacred Books of the East, vol.XXXI, p. 312

A seeker of justice obtains a place near God (Ahura Mazda) on account of his good actions. "The man of Asha who has lived for Ahura Mazda will have a seat near him in heaven,". " He belongs to Ormazd, if he helps them by good thoughts, words and deeds.." ¹

The Western Perspective:-

To comprehend the Western perspective on 'justice' it is essential to study the Greek thought as it has been the fountain-head of various political theories in the West. Historical evolution of the concept of justice initiates right from Homer, a Greek thinker. He has given his opinion of ethics of justice, as well as administration of justice. "'Just' and 'God-fearing' are comprehensive categories of all virtue or righteousness for the Homeric Odysseus". ²

The Pythagoreans viewed justice as a square number, a number multiplied into itself. They equated it with harmony or proportion. A number is square if its parts are equal. Likewise, a state is just if it is composed of equal parts and justice is the continuation of that equality. There was to be no aggressor or loser. ³

1, Max Muller, op.cit., Vol. XXIV, p.1

2. James Hastings, op.cit., p.801

3. V.C. Mahajan, Political Theory, p.402

For Socrates "...it is love and order and sobriety and justice that holds together gods and men and the whole world, which is therefore a cosmos-an order, not a licentious disorder".¹ Socrates' concept of justice is strikingly similar to that of Rta of Hinduism .

Plato is the first thinker who has discussed the concept of justice elaborately. Plato's justice is social in nature. In the Republic, he "regards justice in its subjective aspect as entire righteousness, the harmony, unity and right functioning in division of labour of all 'parts' of faculties of the soul."²

Plato's assumption was that there was no justice prevailing at his times. He refuted the contemporary theories of justice. First was Polemarchus' theory which viewed justice as giving every man his due and doing good to one's friends and evil to enemies.³ Plato refuted it on the ground that it is not easy to discern and recognise true friends and enemies. Secondly, it is not morally good to mete out evil to anyone, may he be an enemy. And thirdly, the theory is based on individualistic rather than broader or social terms.

1. James Hastings, op.cit., p.802

2. Ibid

3. R.M. Bhagat, Political Thought: Plato to Marx p.22

The second theory of justice prevalent at Plato's times was the Sophists' theory or Thrasymachus' Theory. According to it, justice weighed more in the interest of the stronger or mightier. Therefore, it preferred injustice to justice.¹ But Plato refuted this theory also on the ground of individualism. He stressed the need for a commonly agreed concept of justice in the interest of the whole society in general.

According to Glaucon's theory, justice was regarded as the 'child of fear'.² But Plato perceived that justice was not something external as described in all the theories in vogue at that time. Plato was of the opinion that "Justice is rooted in the human mind. it is intrinsically, a virtue".³

According to Plato, "Justice is the bond which holds the society together, a harmonious union of individuals, each of whom has found his life-work in accordance with his natural fitness and his training".⁴ Therefore, his conception of social justice is that each person should do his appointed work in contentment. And that is the true principle of social life and sense of duty .

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit, p.23

2. Ibid, p.24

3. Ibid., p.16

4. Ibid., p.18

One of the fundamental theories of Plato is based on the three-fold division of human mind into Reason, Spirit and Appetite on the basis of which three classes of society are inferred i.e. the Rulers, the Soldiers and the Farmers. According to Plato, the persons belonging to the three categories should discharge their assigned duties and live in contentment. Proper education to all the three classes of mind also occupies a prominent place in the concept of justice as propounded by Plato .

"Plato considered justice as one of the four cardinal Greek virtues. The other three virtues were wisdom, courage and temperance or self-control. The last three virtues were found in the three classes in the state. The ruling class ruled by its wisdom, the soldiers fought with courage and the producing class produced with self-control. Justice resided in the mind of every citizen. A man was just if he fulfilled the duties of his station and did not meddle with the duties of the station of another person. Justice in the individual means that reason, spirit and appetite were kept within their proper limit".¹

Aristotle describes two types of justice :

(1) Complete Justice and (2) Particular Justice.

Complete Justice is like moral virtues. He explains this in his book entitled Ethics that it is such "as exists among people who are associated in common life with a view to self-sufficiency and enjoy freedom and

1. V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p.402

equality."¹ But according to him, it is possible only when people are law-abiding. Particular justice consists "in the distribution of honour or wealth or any other things which are divided among the members of the Koinonia."²

The Epicureans did not believe in any intrinsic virtues or values except happiness. Their view was that "there never was an absolute justice but only a convention made in mutual intercourse, in whatever region, from time to time, providing against the infliction or suffering of harm."³

The great Roman thinker Cicero, born in 106 B.C. found that the state was doing injustice to the people as the rulers were deviating from the universal law. To him justice meant "conformity of particular laws to universal law."⁴

The Roman lawyers' concept of positive law as conforming to higher law was a part of perfect justice and right. According to the Digest, "Justice is a fixed and abiding disposition to give to every man his right. The precepts of the law are as follows : to live honourably, to injure to none and to give to every man his own. Jurisprudence is a knowledge of things human and divine, the science of the just and unjust."⁵ The lawyer was not

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 156

2. Ibid.

3. V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p. 402

4. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p.190

5.8 V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., pp. 402-3

a pretender but the priest of justice, the practitioner of a true philosophy .

St. Augustine holds that "Justice is conformity to order".¹ But if it is taken in respect of duties and obligations then it cannot be an absolute justice. In case of conflict one cannot be just to all . According to St. Augustine, absolute justice "is possible only in a universal society which is under the kingship of God and is regulated by Universal order prescribed by the Will of God for all men".² St. Augustine is of the view that this will of God is applicable to the individual as well as to the state.

David Hume ridicules the concept of natural justice and liberty. He replaces these concepts by the principle of utility.³

Bentham declares that the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the measure of right and wrong. The basis of the state is to be found in the satisfaction of human needs in stead of social contract or in universal law of justice.⁴

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1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit.,p.202
 2. Ibid.
 3. V.D. Mahajan, op.cit.,p.403
 4. Ibid .

To Herbert Spencer justice means that "every man shall be free to do what he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man".¹

According to the Bible, justice is obedience to the Lord's commandments.²

In the opinion of Karl Marx, there will be justice for the working classes only when the means of production were collectivised and the exploiters were expropriated.³

For Carlyle, "Justice" like reason, is the basis of law. In his words "Law then in all its forms is the expression of reason, but it is also in the judgement of St. Thomas, the expression of Justice".⁴

St. Thomas, like Aristotle, defines justice as the fixed and perpetual will to give to every one his own right.⁵

In the opinion of Ernest Barker, the term justice is derived from the Latin word Jus which implies the idea of joining or fitting the idea of bond or tie. To quote Barker, "Primarily, the joining or fitting implied in this root idea is that between man and man in an organised system of human relations. But, we may also conceive of the just or justice as connected with and

1. V.D. Mahajan, Recent Political Thought, p.171

2. Bible (New Testament), Mathew, 5:19.

3. V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, op.cit., p.403

4. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory, Vol.V, p.41

5. R.M. Bhagat, Op.cit., p.292

expressed in, a joining or fitting between value and value in a general sum and synthesis of values."¹ The three different values identified by Barker as necessary for an organised system of human relations are liberty, equality and fraternity. According to Barker, "The claims of liberty have to be adjusted to those of equality; and the claims of both have also to be adjusted to those of cooperation. From this point of view the function of justice may be said to be that of adjusting, joining or fitting the different political values. Justice is the reconciler and the synthesis of political values; it is their union in an adjusted and integrated whole."²

Guru Nanak's views on Justice are interspersed here and there in his spiritual instructions to human beings in general and rulers and judges in particular. In his verses, he has denoted justice through the words like Sach, Dharma, Niyai, Niav, Niau, Adal, Adali, Musfi, Kazi, Mullah, Takhat, Darbar, Deeban etc.

Though the words Sach and Dharma convey other

1. Ernest Barker, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p. 403.
2. Ibid.

imports at various places but these have been employed in the sense of 'justice' also. For example, Sach has been used for Truth and Ultimate Reality and Dharma for Religion, faith, honesty, duty etc., but these words do convey the sense of justice also. Moreover, Guru Nanak's scathing attack and vociferous commentary on the judicial system prevalent at his times also go a long way in formulating his concept of justice.

Here, an attempt will be made to comprehend Guru Nanak's ideas on justice and interpret them with the help of the modern tools of study in order to understand and formulate his concept of Justice in terms of legal justice, Political Justice, Social Justice and Economic Justice. But his concept of Justice can be inferred from his concept of Divine Justice. Therefore, it is imperative to study his concept of Divine Justice first in order to understand and formulate his concept of Justice.

Divine Justice :-

The **D**ivine Justice is the Justice of God delivered in accordance with Divine Law which is given by God Himself .

Justice is one of the excellent attributes of God Himself. This is indicated in the Mul Mantra , the fundamental creed of the Guru's thought wherein justice is referred to as Sat^e . Herein the word Sat refers to ethical truth (Sach)¹ , and this ethical truth implies justice. In his verses, Guru Nanak refers to God as Sacha Sahib which means the True Lord i.e. the Just Lord. He says :-

True is the Lord, true His Justice;
On true judgment based will be the
Divine verdict.¹

And :-

He is the only Presence: Truth is His Name
And before Him only Truth is adjudged True.²

The final vision of Justice rests with God alone for it is only His court which is eternal; all others- the human courts-are subject to coming and going. To quote Guru Nanak:-

Thou alone has the eternal court,
All others are subject to coming and going.³

*. The word Sat also refers to the eternal existence of God, who is beyond the limits of time and space, and to creation which is a relative truth .

1. Jagjit Singh Saluja, Mul Mantra, pp.72-76

2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.723

3. Ibid, p.1188

Divine Law:-

Since Divine Justice is dispensed in accordance with Divine Law, therefore, before studying the various aspects of Guru Nanak's concept of Divine Justice, it is necessary to know what Divine Law is. The Divine Law is ^{the plan of} the Will (Raza) of God. The Will of God is the very Ideation or the very Reason of God. It is the plan of the Divine Will viz. the Divine Reason in God's creation which keeps it in order i.e. the Cosmic Order (Hukam). The Cosmic Order is the substantial revelation or manifestation of the Divine Will viz. the Divine Law. For Guru Nanak, the Divine Law, the Eternal Law or the Law of Nature is one and the same thing. He terms the Law of Nature as Dharma also, and regards it as the off-spring of God's Mercy, and holds that contentment keeps the whole system of the universe in order. To quote him :-

Religion is the Bull* who shoulders
the earth and it is son of compassion.

Contentment is the thread which binds
it (the universe) together.¹

God Himself is the Giver of the Divine Law which governs the whole universe and maintains the Cosmic Order.

* The word 'bull' here refers to the mythological bull which is believed to be carrying the earth on its horns.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.3

Divine Justice in accordance with Divine Law:-

The Divine Justice implies dispensation of recompense of one's actions on the basis of their fair judgment in accordance with the Divine Law. In the Divine court, everyone is judged by one's actions and the true are distinguished from the false by the Five Accepted Ones. Guru Nanak says:-

Everyone is judged by one's actions .

He is true and His court is true.

In His court, the accepted five sit

in their grandeur

They (five) are blessed with His insignia(flag).

True and false are judged by them.

Saith Nanak: Those who repeat (His Name)
are discerned.¹

Therein, one is approved or rejected on the basis of the merit or demerit of one's actions. Guru Nanak says:-

Virtues and evils are judged by the
presence of Dharma

One is judged by One's own actions,
one may be near or far.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.7

2. Ibid, p.8

But the merit of one's actions is judged in accordance with the Divine Law. Guru Nanak makes it clear in the following verses:-

To all of them He, the Lord, applies
 His own Law (the Divine Law)
 but His Pen writes as are their deeds,
 True is the Lord, True His Name,
 True His congregation and true His court.¹

Also:-

The True Lord judges the truth
 in accordance with His own Law.²

The Divine Law is marked by the Absolute Truth of God Himself, and it is by the standard of His Absolute Truth that the truth i.e. the justness of one's actions is judged. Only truth is adjudged as truth and the false are picked up and put aside. Guru Nanak says:-

Therein, (in the Lord's court) truth (of one's actions)
 is adjudged as truth by the standard of His
 Absolute Truth
 and the false are chosen and put aside.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.1241

2. Ibid, p. 1023

3. Ibid P. 463

Equality Before Divine Law :-

In Guru Nanak's Concept of Divine Justice, all beings are equal before Divine Law, as the sole Divine Law is applicable to all . To quote Guru Nanak:-

The Sole Divine Law (God's Will) is applicable to all, and all are kept in the Cosmic Order.¹

In the Lord's Court, there is neither high nor low, nor rich nor poor, nor king nor subjects. His justice is true to the core of the word. He does not favour anybody on the basis of his wisdom, caste, status, riches or any other consideration.

Guru Nanak says :-

A thousand million feats of intellect bring
not emancipation.²

And:-

Saith Nanak: Anyone claiming such power for himself,
Will in the Hereafter not be covered with glory.³

Nobody enjoys any privilege before the Divine Law. One's caste also carries no power in the Lord's court. The latter bestows no honour on anybody because of his caste. It is only one's truthful living i.e. the living above caste-considerations, that matters in the divine judgment. Guru Nanak says :-

Of little worth is caste in the hereafter
Judgment by truthful living shall be.⁴

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.1188
 2. Ibid., p.1
 3. Ibid., p,5
 4. Ibid.,p.142

And:-

Hereafter caste and power matter not,
 hereafter only those are respected,
 Whose honour is of account to the Lord,
 only such are good.¹

The Divine Court does not confer any favours
 on a person on account of his holding high status or
 riches. To quote Guru Nanak:-

Whoever arrogates himself to greatness,
 Testing all pleasures to satiety,
 In the eyes of the Lord is only a worm
 picking a grain.²

And:-

Kings, nobles, the poor- none shall last.³

Also:-

Rulers, subjects, nobles- none shall last.⁴

Similarly, the Divine Justice does not make
 any discrimination on the basis of one's faith. According
 to Guru Nanak, nobody can attain liberation without
 having good deeds to his credit. To quote Guru Nanak:

One realizing God in this life shall there
 too have realization,
 All other dispute of Hindu and Muslim is false,
 All at the Divine Portal shall undergo reckoning;
 None without good deeds liberation shall find⁵

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.469.
 2. Ibid., P.360
 3. Ibid., P.931
 4. Ibid., P. 141
 5. Ibid, P. 952

In the view of Guru Nanak every one has to render the account and bear the consequences of his own deeds. To quote him :-

Of his deeds each has to render the
reckoning himself.¹

And :-

Recompense for evil and good deeds
he himself must obtain.²

Impartiality:-

Moreover, Divine Justice is partial to none while dispensing recompense of one's deeds. God is not inimical to anybody. Therefore, one need not apprehend any discrimination in His court. Guru Nanak says:-

Himself the Judiciar Lord, sits on the throne
(as thē Law Giver),
Everyone's doubt, discrimination and fear-all are gone.

...

He is inimical to none.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 473

2. Ibid., P.471

3. Ibid., P. 1022

The Divine judgment is always marked with objectivity. There is no place for pleading or partiality in it. Recommendations or favours of any sort, in no way, influence it. Guru Nanak says :-

The Egocentric has to render the Account, and
he is punished for his Misdeeds.

But the Account of the God-man is settled
with Honour, and Him the God

Blesses with the Treasure of His Praise.

There no one hears our wailings, nor

anyone can meddle in God's Affairs.¹

In other words, the Divine judgment is based on 'absolute fairness' which means that it ultimately upholds the cause of the righteous - those imbued with His Naam, and punishes the wicked for the purpose of their chastisement. Guru Nanak observes that God, after creating the creatures, installed the righteous Judge (Dharamaraj) to enlist and record their deeds on the basis of which there is true judgment only and nothing else. Due reward is bestowed on the righteous and severe punishment is inflicted on the false i.e. the evil-doers or criminals. To quote Guru Nanak :-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1281

Saith Nanak: as beings He created, to record
 their deeds Dharma He set up.
 There truth alone is determined ;
 All that with leprosy of falsehood are
 infected, are cast aside .
 The false find no place there ; with
 faces blackened to hell are they sent.
 Those that to Thy Name are attached,
 win through ;
 The fraudulent lose ;
 Dharma to record deeds is set up.¹

Moreover, there is no scope of injustice in
 the Lord's court. Guru Nanak says :-

Not by falsehood is found entry to the holy Divine
 Court:

By falsehood is forfeited title to entry to the
 Divine Mansion.²

Punishment to the Criminals:-

A person who commits an act of injustice i.e.
 an evil deed, is a criminal and guilty of the breach
 of the Divine Law. Therefore, he is punished by the
 Lord's Court . According to Guru Nanak, all are judged
 by the sole court and the evil-doers are severely
 punished. To quote him :-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.463

2. Ibid., P.146

In the hereafter as are all gathered,
 One sole court shall judge all, one
 pen record decree .

As is reckoning called at the Portal,
 Shall evil-doers be crushed like
 sesame grains yielding oil.¹

Moreover, Divine Justice is all-embracing ;
 it spares none, not even the ruler or the king. If
 the ruler is found guilty of dictating terms and
 issuing commands at his will and non-administration
 of justice to the people, he has to undergo punishment
 at the Lord's court and he will have to march naked
 to the hell. Guru Nanak says :-

In this world one may have issued
 commands to others at will ;
 Yet in the end a narrow path he
 must tread .

As naked to hell he marches, horrible
 is his appearance
 Evil-doing ultimately to repentance leads.²

1. Guru Nanak. Adi Granth, P. 473

2. Ibid., p. 471

Mercy-Forgiveness:-

In Guru Nanak's Concept of Divine Justice, there is also a provision of forgiveness out of mercy. Though the Lord's Court judges all beings by the standard of His Absolute Truth, His Justice is always seasoned with mercy. It punishes the evil-doers according to His own plan and in His own time. It punishes the evil-doers but with the intention of their chastisement and not vindication. Man is supposed to reform himself and thus attain redemption. Guru Nanak says :-

Many are afflicted with suffering and penury:

Bountiful Lord ! this too must be borne as Thy gift.¹

The suffering and penury afflicted on a human being are 'gifts' in the sense that they are a blessing in disguise as they are intended for chastisement of the evil-doer so that he may reform himself. There is a scope of deliverance for the evil-doer also in case the evil-doer duly atones for his sin and reforms himself; and if God is pleased with his reformed self. But nobody can intercede in the grant of deliverance to him by God. Guru Nanak says :-

Deliverance from bondage comes, please God,

None in this can intercede.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p.5

2. Ibid .

One may get release from bondage if one realises God's Truth i.e. His Justice. But it is through God's will that one is granted deliverance. Guru Nanak says:-

Some there are who're Chained by the neck by God.
But they are Released from Bondage if they Realise
the (God's) Truth .

Yea, he alone is True through whom we

receive what's Writ in our Lot .

And it is through His will that one is Delivered,
and it is when one goes (before God)
that one knows.¹

Moreover, God is gracious. He, while dispensing justice, may forgive a sinner i.e. an evil-doer out of mercy. Guru Nanak says :-

Himself He is *gracious*,

Himself He forgives out of mercy,

Himself He bestows honour (on His beings).²

Forgiveness is the innate nature of God. It is by His Grace that even those human beings who commit errors or sins, are forgiven by Him. It is so because He is so gracious that He cannot see the human beings - His own creation - reeling under sufferings. He, by

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1287

2. Ibid., P.1022

His Grace, exalts them from their wretched condition .
 Guru Nanak's view about God's Forgiveness is clearly
 expressed by the fifth Guru. He writes that if His own
 devotee commits some error or sin unwittingly and
 unconsciously, God, out of mercy instructs him and
 admonishes him for his error, but ultimately forgives
 him and directs him to the right path. To quote him:-

As by the habit the child a million
 errors commits,
 The father admonishing, snubbing it,
 still to his neck clasps it:
 So forgiving past sins, the Lord for
 the future guides His devotee.¹

Guru Nanak also believes that the move towards
 liberation initiates from God Himself, So much so that
 even man's inclination towards good actions is directed
 by God's grace. He writes:-

Should the Lord be compassionate and gracious
 Man He inspires to the tasks approved of Him alone,²
 Further:-
 In the Lord's consciousness is all creation held;
 Within His gaze movement of all He directs.
 Himself guiding actions, Himself exaltation
 He directs.³

1. Guru Arjan Dev, Adi Granth, P.624
 2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 471
 3. Ibid, P.472

Thus it is quite clear that Mercy and Grace occupy a prominent place in the Divine Justice. The Divine Justice is not vindictive but reformatory and redemptive. Since God's is the final vision of justice, therefore, human justice is to be based on the concept of Divine Justice .

Legal Justice :-

On the paradigm of Divine Justice as put forth by Guru Nanak a system of Legal Justice can be evolved which will have the salient features as mentioned below:-

1. Abiding of Human Law will be essential. A person who commits a breach of Law will be considered a defaulter of committing an illegal act and hence he will deserve punishment .
2. One and the same Law will be applicable to all the individuals inhabiting the State irrespective of their sex, birth, colour, creed, race or status etc. All of them will be equal before Law and there will be no privileged class or person who may be considered above the Law.
3. Justice will be delivered strictly in accordance with the Law applicable in the State.
4. The judgment of cases will be absolutely impartial. The system will be such that there will be no scope of favour, discrimination or injustice. Only the action of the criminal will bring about the corresponding result in the judgment.

5. Suitable punishment will be given to the criminals. But similar punishment will be meted out to the criminals for similar offences .
6. Legal Justice will also have the provision of amnesty.

Amnesty:-

In the Divine Justice, it is God Himself who grants forgiveness to anybody out of Mercy. So in Guru Nanak's concept of human justice, the right to grant pardon or amnesty to the persons deserving or suffering punishment rests with the Sangat alone as it is the Sangat who represents God on the earth. Moreover, the person seeking apology and mercy must be sincere and genuine. He must really repent over misdeeds and make up his mind resolutely never to repeat the same. But a person who commits the same error or misdeed repeatedly and seeks mercy, does not deserve pardon or amnesty from the Sangat .

Law:-

Since Legal Justice is delivered in the light of law, therefore, it is imperative to know what Law is. According to the Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary the word 'Law' means "a rule of action established by authority; statute: the rules of a community or state".¹

1. Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, P.746

Various thinkers have defined Law in different ways. Vinogradoff defines law as "set of rules imposed and enforced by a society with regard to the distribution and exercise of power over persons and things".²

According to Keeton, "A law is a rule of conduct, administered by those organs of a political society which it has ordained for that purpose and imposed in the first instance at the will of the dominating political authority in that society in pursuance of the conception of justice which is held by that dominating political authority or by those to whom it has committed the task of making such rules".²

Erksine says, "Law is the command of sovereign, containing a common rule of life for its subjects and - obliging them to obedience."³

Blackstone says, "Law in its most general and comprehensive sense signifies a rule of action and is applied indiscriminately to all kinds of action whether animate or inanimate, rational or irrational. Thus we say, the laws of gravitation, of optics or mechanics, as well as the laws of nature and of nations."⁴

1. Vinogradoff, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, P.746

2. Keeton, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., P.410

3. Erksine, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, Op.cit.P.410

4. Blackstone, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, Op.cit., P 410

Green defines law as "the system of rights and obligations which the state enforces".¹

Salmond defines law as "the body of principles recognised and applied by the state in the administration of justice".²

For Guru Nanak, the Divine Law sets the standards for Human Law to be followed by human beings in the domain of Legal justice. The Human Law is the law imposed by human authority which in the light of Guru Nanak's Concept of Justice is the Sangat. Ultimately, the Human Law derives its value from the principles of the Divine Law i.e. the Natural Law .

Some other thinkers also think on the lines given by Guru Nanak. According to Foster, "Human Law is the system of rules for the regulation of men's conduct worked out by human reason from the principles of Natural Law".³

Maxey defines Human Law as a "rational out-growth of Natural law".⁴

1. Green, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., P.410

2. Salmond, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., P.410

3. Michael B. Foster, Masters of Political Thought, Vol.I, Plato to Machiavelli, P.225

4. Maxey, Political Philosophers, P.178, quoted in R.M. Bhagat, Political thought, P.290

In the opinion of Sabine, Human Law is a "Corollary of Natural Law".¹

Carlyle observes, "Laws which are contrary to the Natural Law are unjust and have no force."²

Human Law is required to have both validity and value. Legal justice is two dimensional - (1) justice according to law and (2) Law according to justice. In the first case, the validity of the law is not questioned or challenged and the focus is on the principle of deliverance of justice strictly according to the law in force. In the second case, the substance of law itself is examined to ensure that it conforms to the requirements of justice.³ Human Law will be most efficacious and effective if it conforms to the principle of justice. Legal justice consists not only in an efficient application and administration of human law but it also demands that human law itself must be in accordance with human values based on ethics, and it (the human law) must follow the standards set by the Divine Law .

Since the validity and value of Divine Law are determined by God Himself, therefore, the validity and value of Human Law are to be examined by the Sangat-the representatives of God on the earth.

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1. Sabine, A History of Political Theory, P.255, quoted in R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., P.290
 2. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory, Vol.V, P.43, quoted in R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., P.290
 3. V.D.Mahajan, op.cit., P.405

Law -framing:-

Legal justice is related to the process of law-framing and the judicial system of the state. It demands rationality and justness of law and deliverance of impartial justice to everyone according to law under the existing judicial system. The object of law is the well-being of all the people and hence law must be equal for all in principle as well as application.

Since God frames the Divine Law, therefore, in the state of Guru Nanak's vision, the Sangat, the representatives of God on the earth- is the only competent authority to frame law collectively through consensus or to get it framed by their unanimously selected representatives, or to decide whether a particular law, if framed by their representatives, is rational and just or not. They are also to unanimously approve of the law framed by their representatives before its application, and administration of justice in accordance with the same.

1. V.D. Mahajan, op.cit.P. 405

Judiciary:-

Every unit of the Judiciary in the Judicial system of Guru Nanak's vision, will comprise Five Accepted Ones viz. Panches and one judge each. The judge will act in accordance with judgment made by the unanimously selected Panches. In other words, the Panches viz. the Five Accepted Ones will act as Jury. In order to avoid even an iota of subjectivity in justice or any occurrence of injustice, they will make judgments and pass verdicts thereon unanimously. No single person will be authorised to act as a sole judge in any case. However, the proceedings of the case may be taken and the decree passed by the Jury may be signed and announced by the judge appointed by the ruler in consultation with the Panches .

The selection of Panches viz. the Five Accepted Ones and their role as Jury in the Judiciary of the Political system of Guru Nanak's vision has already been discussed in the Chapter II entitled Guru Nanak's Concept of State.

Guru Nanak's ruthless ridicule of the rulers and judges of his times who accepted bribes and altered their judicial verdicts, and the persons who gave false witness in return of graft, bears testimony to his outright rejection of the then prevalent judicial system. To quote Guru Nanak:-

In this age none at sight of suffering takes pity.
 No one from receiving graft restrains himself.
 Rulers administer justice as is their palm greased.
 Saith Nanak ! Men are human in shape and name -
 Their doings dog-like : at the door waiting to
 carry out commands.¹

The Kazi sits in the seat of justice,
 Tells the rosary and mumbles God's Name -
 Yet he takes bribes and fouls justice .
 Should any question him, he trots out some citation.²

Receiving bribes false witness they give,
 with noose of foul thinking closing
 round the neck.³

Guru Nanak's concept of Justice is suggestive of holding of the People's Courts or the Lok-Adalats viz. the Sangats (congregations) for making judgment of the actions of those who are under trial. As the people know the reality, there is no need of any witness or argumentation or pleading for or against any case. It is to be judged by the Panches viz. the Jury impartially in accordance with the law of the state, the verdict thereon

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.350

2: Ibid., P.951

3. Ibid., P.1032

is to be passed, then and there, by them unanimously keeping the public opinion in view and the decree is to be announced by the Judge on the spot. Moreover, the implementation of the judgment will be ensured so that the person who has been deprived of his due is actually returned the same or the compensation thereof. In this way, it will serve the real purpose of justice. At the same time, such a judicial system will be simple, time-saving and less expensive. Above all, under this system, deliverance of justice to the people will be ensured.

Political Justice:-

Political Justice is defined in terms of political rights and equality of all in the state. In his book Political Justice, Kirchheimer describes political justice as "the search for an ideal in which all members will communicate and interact with the body politic to assume its highest perfection".¹ Political justice implies a full guarantee of the liberty of thought and expression, particularly the right to criticise the government and its policies.²

1. Kirchheimer, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., P.406

2. V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., p.406

In the political system of Guru Nanak's vision, Political justice implies political equality for all individuals. It guarantees equal political rights to every individual living in the state. In Guru Nanak's view, the ultimate power rests with God Himself who is the Sovereign of the whole universe, and God pervades all the beings. Guru Nanak says:-

In all art Thou pervasive.¹

According to Guru Nanak's concept of Justice, God's pervasiveness in all human beings determines their right to equal participation in political affairs and power which is the pre-requisite of the prevalence of political justice in the state .

In Guru Nanak's concept of State, the ultimate source of political power in the state is the Sangat i.e. the people as they represent God on the earth. In this system, every individual as a member of the Sangat is free to participate in every decision-making body. Every individual has equal rights to express his opinion about any political matter. Moreover, every individual, as a member of the Sangat, howsoever insignificant he may be, can aspire to be the ruler, a Panch or a

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.72

functionary in the government of the State, but it is the Sangat alone who can actually make him so, just as God, if He so wills, may raise some insignificant man to the position of a ruler. Guru Nanak writes:-

A worm (an insignificant man) He may
exalt to the position of a ruler...¹

Moreover, an insignificant man who is never oblivious of God's supremacy, in other words, the Sangat's supremacy, is deserving for high offices more than a man of high status not recognising the supremacy of God/Sangat. It is indicated in the following words of Guru Nanak:-

Great Kings, of ocean-like empires,
Possessing immense wealth -
Measure not to the merit of an ant
Whose mind on God is ever fixed.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.144

2. Ibid., P. 5

Political justice of Guru Nanak's vision demands that the political power must be based on the collective will of the Sangat i.e. the people, and the ruler must give due regard to the public opinion. But the people are also supposed to be politically conscious and fearless. If anyone among the very custodians of justice - the ruler, the judge or any other functionary of the state - stops caring for the public opinion or violates the principles of justice, the people are required to raise their voice against him and it is their duty to set him right or recall him from his office. Guru Nanak's condemnation of such people who were gripped in the fright of the ruler and his functionaries is, indeed a clarion call to the people to resist political injustice meted out to them. To quote him :-

The subjects, bereft of understanding,
are carcasses full of straw.¹

Social Justice:-

Social justice is associated with social equality and social rights. It implies availability of equal opportunities for the development of personality to all the people. Moreover, social justice is the outcome of political justice and it can prevail only in a politically just society .

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.469

Social justice of Guru Nanak's vision is based on universal liberty, equality and fraternity, It implies justice to all. Guru Nanak's social justice is based on Divine Justice and it refutes caste-system outrightly and unequivocally. It recognises no restrictions based on birth. According to Guru Nanak, all men, irrespective of their position in the caste-hierarchy are equal in society. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Know each being to be repository of Divine Light -
 Ask not for anyone's caste .'
 In the Hereafter are castes not considered.¹

And:-

Caste and dynastic pride are condemnable notions;
 The One Master shelters all existence.
 Anyone arrogating superiority to himself shall
 be disillusioned.

Saith Nanak : Superiority shall be determined by God,
 crediting such a one with honour.²

Also:-

All creatures are noble, none low,
 One sole maker has all vessels fashioned;
 In all three worlds is manifest the same light.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.439

2. Ibid., P. 83

3. Ibid., P. 62

The Social Justice of Guru Nanak's mission is for meting out the same treatment to women as is meted out to men. Guru Nanak does not perceive any distinction between man and woman. According to him, God Himself is pervasive in the male as well as the female. To quote him:-

Himself is He male and female.¹

Guru Nanak's social justice demands abolition of the institution of prostitution or trade of flesh and mergence of the women, who have been involved in it, in the mainstream of normal, social life. His advice to the Apachharas of Singhladeep who danced in his presence to lure him with their bewitching beauty and voluptuous stances, reveals his condemnation of the exploitation of women for the satisfaction of man's lust. He considers the trade of flesh sheer injustice against the womenfolk. He exhorts them, in a suggestive way, to come out of the trap of this exploitation and lead a normal life dedicated to the service of the Lord i.e. to the service of humankind. To quote him :-

Go O' princesses, my daughters,

And contemplate the True in ambrosial hours

of the early dawn.

Render service, to the beloved Lord, based on love.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1020

And through the Guru's word annihilate,
 All thirst of the sexual pleasures.
 My heart has already been bewitched by the enchanter.
 My Lord I have cognized Thee,
 Through the Guru's word,
 Take pity on me .
 Nanak, longs to stand at the door of the Lord,
 contented with His Name.¹

Guru Nanak's social justice implies equal treatment to be meted out to man and woman in all respects. In the male-dominated society, it is only woman who always suffers at the hands of man and man-made laws. When a man commits an immoral act i.e. adultery with a woman, it is always she on whom the blame of commission of adultery is squarely laid for which she is meted out a severe punishment even like stoning to death in some parts of the world. But the man who commits the immoral act with her, is always exonerated from blame of adultery, and he is never punished by society for it. So much so that he is often not punished even for commission of molestation or rape of woman ; *rather man is* regarded by the society as an ever-chaste horse who is above any charge of immorality. How lop-sided and discriminatory is the so-called 'social justice' How

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1187, quoted in Bhagat Singh Hira, Indian Religious Thought and Sikhism, P.178

ridiculous it is to judge two 'human beings' of different sexes by the different standards of justice. But in Guru Nanak's concept of social justice, there are no double standards for judging man and woman for the *similar* offence. But to him, the commission of adultery by a man is an unpardonable act. According to him, the Divine Justice does not spare the adulterers; rather it metes out a severe punishment to them. Guru Nanak says:-

Thieves, adulterers and gamblers are pressed
like oil seeds in the oil-press.¹

It suggests that it is the man who rapes a woman, and he is the real criminal and that he must be given as severe a punishment as to a murderer, for rape of a woman is, indeed, the murder of humanity. Guru Nanak's concept of social justice emphasises the need of creation of such social conditions as shall bring about equilibrium in the society for it is the imbalance in the society which is responsible for giving rise to crimes and hence social injustice.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1288

Economic Justice :-

Economic justice implies total absence of economic exploitation in society. There can be no economic justice till the people are divided as the rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited. In other words, economic justice can be secured only in an exploitation - free economic system based on economic parity of the people in which essential needs of all the people are fulfilled .

The practice of bribe in vogue at the times of Guru Nanak was tantamount to economic injustice to the people with meagre means. They were unable to afford bribe out of their scanty and stringent financial sources, therefore, they were deprived of their right to justice. In fact, the practice of bribe is, in itself the product of economic disparities among the people. In Guru Nanak's concept of justice, there is no place for this canker.

Guru Nanak unveils another form of economic injustice meted out to the people of his times. The kings not only took bribes for dispensing justice to the people, but they along with their courtiers and servants oppressed and tortured their innocent subjects in order to exact from them the huge amount of taxes which

they might or might not afford to pay. The oppressors squeezed their meagre means. Thus depriving them of their right to fulfil their essential needs, they (the oppressors) sucked their blood. Guru Nanak gives a metaphorical description of economic injustice of this kind in the following verse:-

The kings are tigers and their courtiers are dogs
They disturb the people caring not a fig for their
convenience.

The Kings' officials tear the docile subjects
with their claws,
And, like curs, lick up their blood and bile.¹

But in Guru Nanak's concept of justice, the rulers are responsible for deliverance of justice to the people. Guru Nanak says :-

A ruler can purify his mind
only by administering Justice.²

In the tax-free economic system of the state of his vision, the ruler is supposed to serve the people in stead of torturing them, otherwise the Divine Justice will chastise him. He believes that those who, in stead of delivering justice, tyrannise the poor people will be severely punished by the Lord:-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1288

2. Ibid., P.1240

But, hark, where men are to be judged (at the
Lord's Court).

Their noses will be chopped off, for God will
Trust them not.¹

Usurpation of others' right or due and exploitation of the poor by the rich, and of the weaker by the stronger are the root-causes of the ill of economic injustice in the society. Guru Nanak makes a scathing attack on such practices. He says:-

Saith Nanak: To grab what is another's is a sin,
As pork to the Muslim and beef to the Hindu.²

In this way, even to have an eye on what belongs to the other, is a sin or economic injustice. Guru Nanak further says that even the Preceptor stands surety to those alone who do not usurp other's due :-

The Preceptor for his follower shall intercede,
Only when the latter has eaten not carrion,
Not by mere chatter does one attain paradise;
By truthful acting comes forgiveness.³

From the above compositions of Guru Nanak it can be inferred that his concept of justice is free from

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1288
 2. Ibid., P. 141
 3. Ibid., P. 141

such practices as are tantamount to economic injustice. He is for economic justice to all in the state.

In the view of Guru Nanak, economic justice implies fulfilment of essential needs of all and levelling of the economic aspect of society. However, this ideal of economic justice can be achieved by implementation of his precept on which the economy of his vision is based. It is :-

He alone, O Nanak, Knows the Way,
Who earns with the sweat of his brow
and then shares it with the others.¹

According to it, everyone has to do some productive work to earn his livelihood honestly. He has full right to fulfilment of his essential needs out of his honestly earned income, but he must spare a considerable amount according to his capacity and he must contribute this surplus voluntarily to the exchequer of the State. The practice of this precept will not only do away with the tax-system but it will automatically lead to the eradication of economic disparities among the people and, hence, everybody will enjoy economic justice.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1245

Chapter - VGuru Nanak's Concept of Man

Homo Sapiens is the acme of God's Creation and the central figure in the whole of the universe. Man^{*} is at the helm of worldly affairs. Every thought whether spiritual or temporal regards man as the 'supreme creature' of the universe and gives due recognition to human life. So much so that any religion, any philosophy is so closely related and associated with man that it cannot, at all, exist independent of him ; the Philosophy of Politics is no exception to it .

The word 'Politics' means the "science and art of government."¹ The Philosophy of Politics or Political Thought concentrates on speculation about the nature, purpose, functions etc. of the state. But it would be wrong to restrict its scope to the problems of state and government only; it is essential to extend it to the study of man. Since man lies at the centre of all social sciences, therefore, a discussion about his nature, his place in the universe, and his relation to his fellow-being viz. society must be the pre-supposition of all reflections about the state and its government.

According to Phyllis Doyle, "three main subjects constitute the pith of political thought. The nature and functions of man; his relation to the rest of the universe

* The word 'Man', in this chapter, denotes 'Human Being.'

1. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Ethymology
edited by T.F. Hoad, P.360

which involves a consideration of the meaning of life as a whole; emerging from the interaction of these to the problem of the relation of man to his fellowmen. The latter is the main concern of political theory in its narrowest sense and involves a discussion on the nature, purpose and functions of the state.¹

Amid immensity of creation man is unique. He alone possesses a self as well as consciousness. He is endowed with the unique gift of intelligence. "Man has capacity to master not only the forces of nature but also the living beings through his intellect. In the absence of the sentient and intellectual capacity, no illusion or assertion of any sort of reality is possible. Thus man stands at the highest pedestal of the cosmos; he is last step of the staircase of the universe."²In the opinion of Willard F. Libby, "It seems likely that man has unique mental and spiritual qualifications."³The author concludes : "Man's intelligence, self-respect, sense of responsibility and sense of destiny are the qualities which will carry us forward. He must enjoy his role as King of the universe for all this to come true."⁴

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1. Phyllis Doyle, quoted in R.M. Bhagat, Political Thought; Plato to Marx, P.1
 2. Lajwanti Lahori, The Concept of Man in Sikhism, P.58
 3. Willard F. Libby, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (reprinted: Times of India, 19 Dec.1965) quoted in Wazir Singh, Humanism of Guru Nanak, P.69
 4. Ibid.

Since times immemorial man has been endeavouring to know and understand himself. Various schools of thought have propounded different philosophies on man. From where has he come; what was the purpose behind his creation; what has he to do and why, where has he to go after death, and many other similar questions pose a challenge to the thinkers and philosophers. Different schools of thought have tried to answer such queries in their own way. Guru Nanak has also put forth his concept of man in his peculiar way .

Guru Nanak's concept of man is based on his spiritual and intuitive knowledge woven in the very texture of his hymns. According to Guru Nanak's religious thought, the chief goal of man is to win respect and honour in the Court of People as well as God. Guru Nanak's whole thought revolves round this goal of human life and the question as to how to realise this goal. To understand Guru Nanak's concept of man aright, it is necessary to first understand his cosmogony and cosmology.

Guru Nanak's Cosmogony and Cosmology:-

When the Sidhas posed the question to Guru Nanak about the origin of the cosmos:-

How may the origin of the cosmos be described ?¹

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 940

Guru Nanak replied :-

The origin of the cosmos is wonder profound.¹

Though Guru Nanak regards the origin of the cosmos as a matter of wonder only and he does not propound any systematic theory of the cosmic creation yet his verses contained in the Adi Granth make repeated references to the creation of the cosmos and the order prevailing in the whole universe. In fact, these verses form the very pattern of Guru Nanak's Cosmogony and Cosmology, the features of which can be discerned by a close scrutiny of the text of his hymns.

In the Mul Mantra (Fundamental Creed), Guru Nanak describes Brahm as the Creator (Karta). The Mul Mantra reads as under :-

He is the Sole Supreme Being ; of eternal
 manifestation;
 Creator, Immanent Reality; Without Fear;
 Without Rancour ; Timeless Form; Unincarnated;
 Self-Existent ; Realized by grace of the holy
 Preceptor.²

As He creates so He is the Cause of the origin of the universe or creation .

According to Guru Nanak, God is not only the Cause but the Sole Cause of the whole Creation.

He postulates:-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth ,P.940

2. Ibid., P.1

From the One has arisen all creation.¹

Guru Nanak regards God as the Efficient as well Material Cause of Creation. He affirms that the Cause of Creation is in the hands of the Creator alone:-

He, the Lord is Omnipotent, "so has Nanak Realised.

The cause is only in the Creator's control who

Keeps all creative Power to Himself".²

Guru Nanak outrightly rejects the idea of any other creator besides God. He says:-

Reality Himself He made by the act of joining.

Breaking the Egg He joined and unjoined it.

Earth and Heaven His seats He made.

Night and day with fear and love He invested.

He who created, also watches over them.

None other than He is Creator.³

The universe is the outcome of the ineffable Divine Order (Hukam). Guru Nanak writes:-

By Divine Order are all forms manifested;

Inexpressible is the Divine Order.⁴

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.223

2. Ibid., P.1353

3. Ibid., P.839

4. Ibid., P.1

God's one Utterance gave rise to all the sources of life. According to Guru Nanak:-

All the endless expanse of creation arose out of
 one Note,
 Giving rise to millions of streams.¹

'Streams' here implies all the the sources from which creation has multiplied.

In fact, God's very Ideation is His Word, His Note, His Utterance, His Will or the Divine Order(Hukam).

At another place also, Guru Nanak observes that it is from the Word of the Lord that all forms have been created. To quote him:-

One end is the earth, another water
 In a Chamber of four doors is Thy seat.
 One sole being in all the worlds is pervasive-
 In Thy Word lies the mint wherewith issue all
created forms.²

The secret concerning the state of being before creation poses a great challenge to human intellect. According to Guru Nanak, before the creation of the Universe, the Lord abided in Himself. For countless years nothing was visible as everything abided unmanifested in the Wondrous Word within the Lord Himself. The Lord Himself was trance-absorbed in the void.

1. . . . Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.3

2. Ibid., P. 596

To quote Guru Nanak:-

The Absolute Lord then abided in Himself.¹
 When there was neither the earth, nor the sky
 then the
 Absolute Lord's Light permeated all the three worlds,
 Yea, all distinctions, all forms, then abided in
 one Wondrous Word.²

And:-

Within the infinite Order
 For crores of years, there was utter darkness.
 Neither there was earth nor sky.
 Neither there was day nor night.
 Only (He) was existent, trance-absorbed in the Void.³

The Lord created the universe when He willed.
 He manifested five elements, various species of creation,
 day and night etc. from the attributeless void, and He
 sustained the expanse of the whole universe without
 any external support. Guru Nanak syas:-

As it pleased Him, the world He created ;
 Without a supporting power the expanse He sustained.⁴

And:-

From the unattributed void were created earth
 and sky,

....

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, PP.940

2. Ibid., P. 945-46

3. Ibid., P. 1035

4. Ibid., p. 1036

From the attributeless void arose species of
creation and forms of utterance -

....

From the attributeless void were created the Pair
of night and day,

...

The five elements from the attributeless void
were manifested.

Wherefrom is the body compounded and man in
action engages.¹

According to Guru Nanak, God's Will viz. Divine Law governs the whole universe. This Divine Law maintains the Cosmic Order (Hukam) which is operative everywhere in the universe. Guru Nanak says :-

In all worlds is operative God's sole Order.²

Here it is necessary to clarify that the word 'Humak' (Divine Order) used by Guru Nanak in his hymns means neither the king's order to his subjects nor God's order to His beings. It means a system which operates in the perfect manner to sustain the universal set-up. It is, thus, the Cosmic Order. Guru Nanak speaks of the crores of solar systems like the one the human beings are living in. Each organ of this universe is functioning in a well co-ordinated perfect system. Even

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, PP.1037-38

2. Ibid., P.223 (Here Hukam also implies the Divine Law or Ordinance which maintains the Cosmic Order (Hukam)).

the slightest particle is not outside the system operating in the universe. This objectively operating perfect system given by God to the total universal set-up has been termed as Hukam in Guru Nanak's verses.

God is not only the Creator ; He is also the Sustainer and the Destroyer of all the myriads of world and underworlds. Guru Nanak writes:-

Myriads are, the worlds and underworlds ;
 yea, endless and countless are these,
 And all, O God, are Created and Supported by Thee;
 Thou Createst and Destroyest .
 The eighty-four lakhs of species on the earth
 too issued from Thee.¹

Another mystery relates to the hour of creation. According to Guru Nanak, it is known to none else but God (the Creator) Himself as to when the genesis took place. To quote Guru Nanak :-

What the hour and occasion,
 What the date and day.
 What the season and month -
 When Creation began ?
 Had Brahmins found the answer,
 In their scriptures would they have recorded it;

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1283

Nor have the Kazis from Koranic record.

The Yogi knows not the date and day,

season or month ;

The creator who made the universe,

alone knows the answer.¹

The immensity of creation is quite puzzling. The Cosmic expanse, according to Guru Nanak, is too large to measure, its objects are innumerable. He writes :-

Endless the forms created by Him-

Invisible their limit.

Many yearn His extent to know

Yet it ever eludes them .

None knows His limit -

The more it is expressed, the farther it beggars
description .

....

To Him alone is His extent known.²

Now the question arises what initiated the existence of the universe and how the universe came into existence. According to Guru Nanak, it is the Word of the Lord Himself that initiated the existence of the universe. In the Sidh-Gosthi, a Sidha posed a question

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.4

2. Ibid., P.5

to Guru Nanak :-

What is the origin of existence?¹

Guru Nanak replied :-

The Word is the origin of existence.²

In the opinion of Guru Nanak, the Word originated from the True Lord and from the Word water came into existence and from the water the universe (creation) came into existence. To quote him:-

From the True Lord came the Word,
 from the Word came water,
 With water **are** the three worlds created,
 And Divine Light in all beings is pervasive.³

It is clarified here that the words Pavan and Shabad as used by Guru Nanak in his verses, are synonymous at *some* places. For instance, in the Salok at the end of Japuji Sahib, Guru Nanak regards Pavan as Guru⁴, and in the Sidh-Goshti, he regards Shabad as his Guru⁵. But nowhere in his verses, Guru Nanak has acknowledged and accepted two Gurus. Therefore, Pavan and Shabad cannot be two different entities. Hence,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.942

2. Ibid., P.943

3. Ibid., P.19

4. Ibid., P.8

5. Ibid., P.943

Pavan and Shabad are one and the same thing, and Pavan is **synonymous** with Shabad. In other words, the word Pavan or Pavna used in the above-quoted verses denotes Shabad viz. Word. It is the Word of the Lord viz Shabad which has been regarded by Guru Nanak as the beginning of the universe.

It is only by His Will that all species of creation breathe and live. Guru Nanak avers :-

All He does as pleases Him:

Eighty-four lakhs species of creation, all by
His will breathe and live.¹

The whole creation is true and real as it is created by the True One, the Ultimate Reality. It is transitory only in its appearance. Guru Nanak says:-

True are Thy worlds, True Thy universes ;

True Thy regions, True the forms Thou Createst.

True are Thy Doings, True all Thy Thoughts.

....

O Thou True King, True, is all Thy Play,

Nanak: they who **dwell** on Thy Truth, are also True.

For all that is born to die is false and **vain**.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1034

2. Ibid., P.463

And:-

Since Thou art True, everything (created by Thee)
is also true.¹

Moreover, the creation of God is a reality for God, the Ultimate Reality is immanent in it. Guru Nanak says :-

His own self He Himself expanded, and manifested
He Himself the Name ;
Secondly Himself created He the expanse of the
universe ;
And abiding in it He beholds it delightfully.²

The words like False (Koor), Dream (Sapna) etc. used by the Guru for the 'world' often create a doubt in one's mind about the reality of the creation. It is made clear here that the 'world' for which the above words have been used, is not the Creation of God but it is the world, the narrow world created due to one's Hummai (ego). It becomes quite clear from the following question and answer between the Sidha and Guru Nanak:-

The Sidha asked:-

How does the world come into existence ?³

The Guru replied :-

The world comes into existence through a
sense of Ego.⁴

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 145
2. Ibid., P 463
3. Ibid., P. 946.
4. Ibid.,

What is the purpose behind the creation ?
 This question is still another mystery about which
 Guru Nanak says that it is known to Himself alone.
 He writes :-

P of P know :

The Supreme Lord is King :

To view His might has he raised this show.

All this He views and its meaning realizes ;

all to Him is known,

And within and without is he operative.¹

Even then Guru Nanak believes that the purpose
 of the creation of the world is the evolution of the human
 soul. It means that the individual soul could evolve
 and exalt upto the Ultimate Reality, the Supreme Soul
 so that nothing but Brahma and His Love could abide
 in his mind. To quote Guru Nanak :-

For the sake of Saints, the Lord has installed
 the three worlds.

He who comprehends his own self comes to know
 the reality.

Who, within his mind, enshrines the truth, and
 hearty Divine Love;

Prays Nanak, I am a servant of His.²

Moreover, God has created the earth and made
 it the theatre whereon human beings are supposed to
 practise righteousness. Guru Nanak writes:-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.433

2. Ibid., P.224

The earth has He created and made it the
 theatre of righteousness.¹

Guru Nanak means to say that God has created the Universe with a view to enable individuals to acquire the status of 'saints' through evolution, that is through their spiritual exaltation by practising righteousness and dwelling on the Word of Guru. The saint stands for a God-oriented man who bears the True Lord and His Love in his heart, and practises righteousness. Guru Nanak says :-

The True One the earth for making the
 God-oriented has created,
 Within it the rest of creation and dissolution
 is only a play.

He who is dyed in the True Word, full of joy of it,
 Attached to truth, with honour departs to his
true home.²

This shows that the earth has been created for transformation of ordinary human beings into 'saints', the God-oriented, the perfect men through evolution of their soul by putting them into the cycle of births and deaths

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1033
 2. Ibid., P.941

so that the True Preceptor finds them fit to be imbued with the Word. Guru Nanak says :-

After the self over multiple birth has wandered
Has the True Preceptor his teaching imparted.¹

It is only through the Word that one's soul can exalt. To quote Guru Nanak :-

The True Preceptor the spurious into genuine coins,
By the holy Word converts, exalts.²

Using the image of Tourney for the world Guru Nanak describes how the blessed ones, the God-oriented joyfully participate in the Game of life on the earth arranged by the Lord Himself and come out victorious by toppling the Egocentrics. To quote Guru Nanak :-

The Lord Himself Created the Tourney :Himself He
brings the Spectators to watch the Bout;
And there is a riot of Noise all around, but the
Blessed ones are in Joy .
For, they Floor the Egocentrics, the Foolish ones,
who build on Illusions .
Nay, the God Himself Stages, this play:Himself
He Wrestles Himself He Defeats.³

1. Guru Nanak. Adi Granth, P. 465

2. Ibid., P.143

3. Ibid., P.1280

Thus the world is a necessary, perpetual and dependent entity which is a rational and reflected truth and an individual, taking it as real, has to lead a righteous life, to recognise his self and to realise the Name through contemplation on the Word of the True Preceptor to attain to perfection.

Man's Place in the Universe :-

As the whole universe is but a manifestation of God Himself so is man who is a part of it. Though man is a tiny entity as compared to the limitless universe; but he occupies a prominent place in it.

According to Guru Nanak, in the whole universe, the earth - the planet wherein the living beings exist - occupies the most significant place. God has created countless things forming the universe and amongst them, the earth has been established as the place for human beings to practise righteousness. Guru Nanak says :-

God created nights, seasons, lunar days,
week, days, wind, water, fire and netherlands.
In the midst of these He established the earth
as a place for practice of righteousness.¹

On the earth God created variegated beings, which have been given various names and which are countless in number. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Therein (on the earth) He created beings of various kinds
and colours.
Various and countless are their names.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 7
2. Ibid.

Among all the beings living on the earth, the human being occupies the most prominent place. So much so that Guru Nanak, in his compositions refers to human birth as a precious one and hard to attain. It indicates that human life is significant and out of eighty four lakhs of species created by God on earth the human being is superior to the other species. Guru Nanak says:-

This life, precious as a jewel, for a cowrie-shall
is forfeited.¹

Further :-

With the human birth hard to attain, are the
God-oriented blessed.²

God has endowed man with mental faculties and consciousness which the other species lack. The following words of Guru Nanak bring forth his presumption about the presence of these faculties in human being :-

In that sphere are fashioned Absorption, Wisdom,
Enlightenment of Mind
Forged therein is the vision of gods and mystics.³

According to Guru Nanak, God has enthroned Mind in human body as a King who directs and governs all the activities of man. He says :-

-
1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.156
 2. Ibid., P.751
 3. Ibid., P.8

In the citadel town of the body rules the self
 (mind) as King ,
 Served by the officers of sources of action and
 his personal servants,
 the sources of enlightenment.¹

At another place, Guru Nanak says that mind is a 'trader' in the 'shop' of the body wherein it carries on the trade of truth. It means that mind has the power to sift good from evil and truth from untruth. Guru Nanak writes :-

This body is a shop, the mind-therein the trader-
 Spontaneously therein carrying on commerce of
 truth.²

Even the human body itself has been eulogised and regarded as the abode of the Lord Himself. Guru Nanak says :-

The body is the mansion, temple and home of the Lord,
 within which has He enshrined Infinite Light.³

The theory of genesis of Creation as expounded by Guru Nanak traces the origin of man to the Divine essence of the Universe. He avers :-

-
1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1037
 2. Ibid., P. 942
 3. Ibid., P.1256

From the unattributed void were created air and water,
Raising creation, in citadel of the body is He
situated as monarch .

Sire : in fire and water lies your light ;
in your state of void was lodged your might.¹

Guru Nanak stresses the need of Self-cognition
and exhorts man to know and recognise his origin. He says:-

Thou egotist devoid of merit,
know thy essence,²

At the same time, man must not forget his end.

Guru Nanak says :-

Life in death terminates
In this world all by death are consumed.³

The above discussion shows that man, though
appearing to be nothing as compared to the vastness
of the whole universe, yet occupies the most prominent
place among the beings living on the earth, and the
earth, as a theatre of righteousness, has a significant
place in the universe. Hence, man has a prominent
place in the universe.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth., p.1037

2. Ibid., P.63

3. Ibid., P.15

Composition of Man :-

The biological composition of human being, according to Guru Nanak, emerges from the mingling of mother's ovum with father's sperm. To quote him :-

As mother's blood with father's sperm mingles,
is shaped the wondrous figure of man.¹

No doubt, the incarnation of human being springs from the union of mother's ovum and father's sperm, but it becomes viable with the required degree of temperature and is alive till the breath remains in it. Guru Nanak puts it as under :-

This body emerging from blood and sperm
owes its viability to fire in it .

Its duration on breath depends - recorded

is this truth on each forehead.²

The word 'fire', here, implies the minimum degree of temperature (generally speaking 98.4° Fahrenheit) required for maintenance of metabolism of human body .

Here it is necessary to point out that some learned scholars have interpreted the words 'agni paas pirāan' as 'will one day be made over to the fire.'³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth.P.1022

2. Ibid., P.63

3. Gopal Singh, Sri Guru Granth Sahib, English Version, P.59

But this interpretation cannot be accepted. Since, in the verse under reference, Guru Nanak is talking in the context of origin of man, therefore, the question of making over the body to fire after death (end) does not arise here. With this meaning the spirit of the verse becomes paradoxical. Most probably, Guru Nanak wants to convey the sense that human body owes its viability i.e. existence to the required degree of temperature the source of which is fire - one of the five elements which are the creation of God Himself and from which human body is created. There is every possibility that he has used the word 'agni' in the sense of fire, the source of temperature and 'piraan' in the sense of viability or existence. Hence, the words under reference have been interpreted as per translation given above i.e. 'owes its viability to fire in it.'

Guru Nanak further says that the human body is created from the blend of five elements:-

By compounding the five elements is this body created.¹

These five elements are, according to Guru Nanak, air, water, fire, earth and sky :-

The subtle attributes of the five elements -

Water, fire, air, earth and the sky -

within their core abides
(the God-conscious being).²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth , P.1039

2. Ibid., P.1031

But body alone does not make a man ; mind is also in it, which governs all the actions of human being. Guru Nanak says :-

In the city of the body the mind is King ,
And his five sources of knowledge abide
therein thought-absorbed.¹

The peculiar characteristic of human mind is that it is ever restless and unstable like mercury and human being always dances to the tunes of his intellect. Guru Nanak writes :-

The air, the water and the fire unite to create
thy body ,
Which plays (to the tune of)thy ever restless intellect.²

Man does not mean the body and the mind, either. The question arises then what makes the man ? Guru Nanak poses the question: what dies at the time of death ? Is it man who actually dies ? To quote him :-

The body is the dust and the wind speaks therein,
Consider, O, wiseman, who it is that has died.
It is the inner-understanding, strife and ego which
have died .
He, who is the Seer, dies not .

.....

I have not died, rather my calamitous ignorance
is dead.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.907

2. Ibid., P.152

He who is everywhere contained, dies not.¹

It is evident from the above composition of Guru Nanak that at more subtle level, man is composed of three things - body, mind and soul (self). The body is made up of various gross elements, mind is subtle and soul is the essence due to which both body and mind are functioning .

Indeed, soul is the motivating force in the body. Till soul remains in the body, the later and the mind function, when it departs form the body, the bodily flame extinguishes and the body and the mind cease to function.

Now the question arises : what is Soul ? The Soul is the emanation from the True One Himself. Guru Nanak says :-

The mind in his body abides ;

in the mind abides the True One.²

The Soul and the Supreme Soul are one and the same; both are marked by eternity and immortality. There is, in essence, no distinction between the two . The Soul is to the Supreme Soul what the ray is to the Sun or what the light is to its source, Guru Nanak says:-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 152

2. Ibid., P.686

Within the self is lodged the Divine Power,
That is the eternal Creator .
The self too is beyond death and destruction.¹

"Soul. God and soul, in essence, are one and the same. Both are immortal, eternal, changeless and beginningless ...The body is a complex of various gross elements and is able to function only as long as the soul is present inside. It is the body that changes, decays and turns on the wheel of birth and death."²

Man's Growth and Behavioural Changes:-

Guru Nanak divides the physical growth of a man during his life-span in nine parts in the following words which are self-explanatory :-

Uptill the age of ten is man called child,
At twenty is he in full bloom of youth ;
At thirty is he at the peak in manly beauty ;
At forty is he filled with manhood to maturity ;
At fifty his steps begin to falter ;
At sixty comes old age .
At seventy , of senses is he bereft ;

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1026

2. J.J. Karma, Guru Nanak And His Message, the article published in Perspectives on Guru Nanak, edited by Harbans Singh, P.315

At eighty to do anything is he powerless .
 At ninety is he confined to bed to relax,
 And has no power his bodily functions to perform.¹

With man's physical growth, his behaviour also changes. Guru Nanak gives an objective description of the behavioural changes taking place with his growth in the following verse :-

In the first stage is man involved
 In attachment to mother's breast, brimful of milk.
 In the second acquires he awareness of mother
 and father .
 In the third, of relatives as brothers, sister-in-
 law, sister,
 In the fourth arises in him the play of love.
 In the fifth is the attracted to delicacies to
 eat and drink .
 In the sixth by lust overpowered,
 Is he oblivious of all discrimination.
 In the seventh stage, garnering wealth,
 settles he in a home .
 In the eighth stage, in choleric temper,
 his bodily powers he ruins.
 In the ninth, hair gone gray, uneasy he breathes,
 In the tenth burnt in fire, to ashes he turns.
 Thereafter, his companions, wailing depart.
 Flown is the swan of life; wanders on its

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.138

path in the hereafter .

Thus comes man ; then goes ; even his name vanishes.¹

Nature of Man :-

Guru Nanak has put forth various perspectives on the Nature of Man, but here its aspect concerned only with the philosophy of politics will be discussed.

Man is essentially good in substance for within him is the **L**ight of the Lord Himself. Guru Nanak says :-

Within us is the sublime Light of God,
the Life of the World.²

Not only this, God has endowed man with likeness to Himself, that is why there is no distinction between God and Soul. To quote Guru Nanak :-

The soul is the Lord and the Lord
is the soul.³

The Supreme Soul viz. God from whom has emanated the self or soul of man possesses all excellent attributes which are countless in number. In fact, He is the treasury of excellences. To quote Guru Nanak :-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, PP. 137-38

2. Ibid., P.1031

3. Ibid., P. 1030

O Nanak ! sing praises of the Lord who is
the treasury of excellences.¹

Moreover, the Lord is all goodness, purity
and perfection. Guru Nanak says :-

That Primal Lord is blotless and immaculate.²

Since human soul is endowed with God's
Light, therefore, it has all the attributes of God
qualitatively. It indicates that man is initially good.
But he does not remain so when he is distracted and
led astray by Haumai and Maya.

Haumai :

The term Haumai consisting of two words Hau
and Mai , means ' I am'. It conveys the sense of 'I-
am-ness' or self-conceit .

Haumai is an instinct which is so powerful that
it influences each and every action of man throughout
the course of his existence which may span myriads of
births and lives. It serves as the initial force or
motive in all his actions.³ Guru Nanak has put forth
his view of Haumai most comprehensively in the
following verse :-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.2

2. Ibid., P. 1034

3. Taran Singh, Guru Nanak's Conception of Humai (Ego),
the article published in Teachings of Guru Nanak
edited by Taran Singh, P.36

In ego man comes, in ego he goes,

In ego he is born, in ego he dies.

In ego he gives, in ego he receives,

In ego he earns, in ego he loses.

In ego he is true or false,

In ego he has considerations of sin and virtue.

In ego he descends to hell or rises to heaven,

In ego he laughs, in ego he weeps.

In ego he begrimes, in ego he washes himself,

In ego he is misled into the considerations of

castes and kinds .

In ego he is foolish, in ego he is wise,

And loses all sense of salvation and liberation,

In ego he is absorbed in Maya (illusion), in ego

he is overtaken by delusion .

In ego are men born as creatures .

Man can see the Gate, if he understands his ego,

Without realization, all talk of ego that

entangles a man .

Nanak, under the Supreme Will our record is made,

As One sees the one, we perceive the other.¹

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 466, quoted in Taran Singh, *Op., cit.*, P. 35

The above-quoted verse of Guru Nanak makes it clear that whatever man does - giving or receiving, earning or losing, being true or false, distinguishing between sin and virtue, feeling pleasure or sorrow, becoming polluted or pure, indulging in caste-considerations, being foolish or wise etc.-he does in ego. It is in ego that he comes into the world and departs from it. In ego he is led to delusion and he becomes oblivious of his duty of seeking liberation. He can find the Gate to Liberation only by understanding his ego .

It is due to their Haumai that the kings (rulers) are ambitious of annexing more and more territory to their dominion for making it larger and larger. That is why they make many expeditions i.e. they wage many wars. Guru Nanak says :-

In ego kings make many expeditions
(wage many wars).

In ego are they destroyed and in
transmigration involved.¹

It is Haumai that causes man's transmigration from life to life. This Haumai is a snare that enmeshes man so tightly. It becomes fetters due to which man is whirled about in the cycle of births again and again.

Guru Nanak says :-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 226

One in bonds of egoism caught must in
transmigration be whirled about.¹

And :-

Whoever in involvement in egoism and avarice dies,
Ever and again dies and takes birth.²

This Haumai travels with the soul of man from birth to birth. As an avalanche, while rolling down a hill, carries along the soil and straw etc. that come its way and cling to it, similarly, man's soul, transmigrating from birth to birth, carries along the adjuncts of the deeds performed in ego during his previous birth, in the form of Kirat. Man bound by his Kirat, commits sins in this birth. Guru Nanak says:-

Bound by their deeds (of previous birth) sins
they commit.³

Generally, the soul remains latent in man ; it is not perceived by ordinary senses as it is often veiled by Haumai. The individual overwhelmed by Haumai is inclined to impulses and worldly desires. He, being ego-centric (Manmukh), is spiritually blind. He does not recognise his origin and becomes self-conceited and self-assertive. Guru Nanak says:-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 227

2. Ibid., P. 1009

3. Ibid., P.1029

Such their origin not realizing ,
With their non-existent merits are conceited.¹

A man engrossed in Haumai sees everywhere only the projection of his own mind. Haumai is the condition of mind due to which man remains ignorant of the reality - the true purpose of his life. Guru Nanak writes :-

By pride and egoism is not attained the Truth.²

God abides within man, but due to Haumai the latter is unable to experience the presence of the former. Hence the true and initial impress of God on man **diminishes**. It is only when man banishes Haumai that he realises God. Guru Nanak says :-

With egoism art Thou not experienced,
Where Thou art, is not egoism.³

Haumai fills man with the sense of individuality, a complex of superiority over others and generates a feeling in him that he is born to command and rule over others. This idea finds a **clear** expression in the words of Taran Singh. To quote him :-

"Ego is the basis of individuality which at once separates one from the totality of life or cosmic and social life. This separation gives the idea of preservation of the self which leads to struggle for existence."⁴

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 468

2. Ibid., P. 226

3. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1092

4. Taran Singh., Op., cit., P. 36

"The idea of struggle for existence makes the egoist self-seeking, conceited, self-assertive, selfish and proud. As he secures his interests and himself, he develops a complex of superiority. He begins to feel proud of his caste, birth, country, creed, colour sex, prowess, learning, culture, conduct, rituals etc. Thus, he begins to feel that he is born to rule while others are there to serve his will and carry out his order. They are just the means to preserve and watch his interests."¹

Maya :-

The second enticement misleading man is Maya. Guru Nanak's compositions present Maya from various points of view. But as far as the study of the Nature of Man is concerned, the three points of view are prominent.

First, the term Maya as used by Guru Nanak, in his hymns has the import of material possession, wealth or riches. Man's passion for Maya makes his nature possessive, sensuous and egoistic. His craze for Maya makes him subservient to avarice. Guru Nanak Says:-

Beings maddened by Maya by falsehood are drugged.

Lost in subservience to greed and avarice,

Now and in the hereafter would they be in regret.²

1. Taran Singh, Op.cit., PP.36-37

2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.930

This Maya (riches or wealth) is such as not only invariably involves the sin of exploitation of the weak and poor but also consumes its possessor. Moreover, it does not stand by him for ever especially after his death. Guru Nanak writes:-

For wealth are vast multitudes dishonoured ;
 Many for this are strayed ;
 This without evil-doing comes not,
 in death it accompanies not man.¹

And:-

Gathering the world's riches, the kings
 become egotistical
 But their loved riches keep not their
 company in Yond.²

Also :-

Beings in hankering after worldly wealth
 are exhausted,
 Yet with no one it lasts.
 As the self half-heartedly departs,
 Wealth gets forsaken.³

Secondly, the word Maya or Moh-Maya employed by Guru Nanak in his compositions conveys the sense of the lures of the worldly life in general. It (Moh-Maya) ensnares man in infatuation with the worldly relations and degenerates his nature. Guru Nanak says:-

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth., P.417
 2. Ebid., P.1342
 3. Ibid., P.935

Maya-attachment is all Yama-snare ;
 The egoist in it bound is impure, of
 evil repute and horrifying aspect.¹

And :-

Love of the progeny, wife and the world,
 Is vast expanse of Maya-attachment ;²

Man's attachment with the worldly pleasures
 prevents him from rising above his individuality as
 it makes him self-assertive. Guru Nanak says :-

To be engaged in the strife of Maya,
 led by Evil instincts, is a vain struggle,
 But the Unwise One asserts his Ego and
 knows not the True Deed,
 The Egocentric is strayed into desiring
 by Maya and so whatever he utters is a
 mere waste ;
 Yea vain is the ablution of the Sinner,
 and the embellishment of the Way(of works).³

Thus man bewitched by Maya is unable to find
 the path of righteousness and enters into the labyrinth
 of false and useless deeds. Moreover, when man comes
 into contact with Maya, he becomes oblivious of the
 presence of the Light of God Himself put within him
 by God. Guru Nanak writes:-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 222

2. Ibid., P. 1029

3. Ibid., P.1343

By union of mother and father is this body acquired.
In that has the Creator His decree recorded :
 Recorded therein is His grace, light and exaltation.
 But in conjunction with Maya have we lost our senses.¹

The third aspect of Maya is that the whole universe or the phenomenal world or Qudrat (Nature) itself appears to be Maya. But it is only due to man's ignorance that it seems so. In fact, the Nature, the creation of God Himself is real, but it seems to be Maya due to man's failure to view or perceive God's immanence in it. Guru Nanak says :-

Friend ! all manifestation appears to be Maya
 due to delusion -

To the purblind who perceives not immanence
 of God in it.

Such a one can perceive neither this reality
 (the creation)
 nor the Reality Ultimate.²

In fact, it is due to man's Haumai that the world seems to be Maya-Chhaya to him. Guru Nanak says:-

In ego it is Maya; in ego it is Chhaya.³

The fore-going discussion shows that the purity of man's nature is polluted by Haumai and Maya due to which

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.989

2. Ibid., P.15

3. Ibid., P.466

he is illusioned and beguiled and he becomes a Manmukh (Egocentric). The egocentric becomes a thoughtless brute as he is spiritually blind. Guru Nanak says :-

The egoist is blind, a thoughtless brute.
Man to make gain in the world has arrived ;
But turned labourer to Maya, is robbed.¹

In order to regain the purity of his nature man has to become a Gurmukh (God-oriented one). A Gurmukh is an anti-thesis of a Manmukh. Guru Nanak delineates his (Gurmukh's) traits as under :-

The God-directed subduing egoism make
conquest of the mind,
The God-directed in heart cherish holy truth,
The God-directed make conquest of the world,
And destroy and tear apart Yama, agent of death,
The God-directed at the holy Portal are not repulsed.
Whoever by the holy Preceptor is granted
union with the Supreme Being,
Of the Divine mystery has awareness.
Saith Nanak: The God-directed by the holy Word have
Divine realization.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 931

2. Ibid., P.946

But how can a Hanmukh be transformed into a Gurmukh ? For this he has to purify his mind and recognise his true self. In order to purify his mind man has to banish Haunai from it and rid it from the shackles of Maya. One can do so by hearing and abiding by the Guru's Word. Guru Nanak says :-

By discarding egoism does the mind become a recluse;
Albiet the mind by desire and daulity is gripped.

And :-

Burn egoism, acquisitiveness and avarice,
And by the holy Word renounce impurity of mind.²

Further :-

Meeting with the Guru one's intellect
becomes Sublime.
And the mind becomes Immaculate, and one is
rid of one's Ego.

It is also with the help of the true Preceptor that man can realise his true self. Such a person as contemplates his self, is attuned to the Supreme Self, and he becomes God-like. Guru Nanak writes:-

Man realizes his self, as to the holy preceptor
he attains .

Whose has shattered desire

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 415
 2. Ibid., P. 843.
 3. Ibid., P. 1188

Has broken the pot of daulity and impulse,
 And from Maya-snare keeps detached -
 States Nanak in humility : To such a one
 am I a slave.¹

And :-

Those contemplating the self to the Supreme
 Self are attuned.²

Also :-

By contemplating itself, the self becomes God-like.³

When man reaches this stage, he regains his original form and nature. He is completely attuned to God. His nature becomes like that of God. Though he does not become God, he certainly becomes God-like. Guru Nanak calls such a man a Gurmukh (God - Oriented One).

This shows that self-volition of man is possible, Darshan Singh observes, "In the poetry of Guru Nanak, there are frequent references depicting self-volition. There is no doubt that in the universal order, an individual is nothing. He has to move, feel and act in accordance with the universal order. He cannot change the universal order merely to see that it suits him. Good or bad deeds

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth., P.840

2. Ibid., P. 421

3. Ibid., P. 415

are because of this Order. But along with it, every man is endowed with a conscience, capacity to think and act. He has the power to develop a highly ethical and religious conduct. According to Guru Nanak, such a conduct with spiritual basis, produces eternal happiness. But this power is limited and is also dependent upon his grace."¹

Free Will :-

Man is not born free for he is bound by his Kirat from his very birth. Moreover, during his present birth also he falls a victim to the instinct of Haumai and the lure of Maya due to which he gets himself tethered more tightly to the chains. Guru Nanak says :-

Creatures bound in bonds arise and are destroyed,
Round their necks, nooses of egoism and Maya :
Whoever by the Master's guidance to the
Name Divine is not devoted,
In bonds towards Yama's demense is haled.²

But it does not lead to the conclusion that man is tied to these bonds for ever and that he can never be free. The above-quoted verse of Guru Nanak itself makes it clear that there is every chance and hope for everyone to get liberation from the bonds; but he can do so only through reflection of the Divine

1. Darshan Singh, The Religion of Guru Nanak, pp.84-85
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1041

Name by the Master's guidance. Moreover, the grace of God is also essential for attainment of liberation by man. Guru Nanak avers:-

By good deeds one gets human incarnation,
but by God's Grace he gets liberation.¹

This verse also indicates that man has got the human birth as an opportunity for becoming free or attaining liberation. A man is worth being human only if he does not succumb to his past deeds viz. Karma ; rather he snaps all bondage of sins and seeks redemption from his own Karma. He is supposed to attain deliverance during the span of his human birth that, too, positively i.e. by following the path of Truth and Righteousness. "Man was not born free. He is born to be free. Those who lack spiritual consciousness are helpless victims of their low cravings and they drift away from truth.² He who performs adhyatam Karmas (spiritual activities) of devotion day and night, will be blessed by illumination. The eternal Light of God will blaze up in his being.³

Now the question arises whether man has got free will or freedom of choice of action. Man has been endowed with mind which is the source of consciousness of good and evil. Guru Nanak lays pragmatic stress on the **divine** factor of human mind determining the goodness and evil of human actions,

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 2
 2. Dr. Trilochan Singh, Guru Nanak's Religion: A Comparative Study of Religions, The article Published in Guru Nanak: His Life, Time and Teachings, edited by Gurmukh Nihal Singh, P.104,.
 3. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.1039, quoted in Ibid., PP.104-5

and this factor is the **autonomous** power of choice which is perpetually present and operative in man's mind. Man's very capacity to choose between good and evil grants him freedom of choice of action. He has free will to exercise but remaining within the Cosmic Order. In fact, it is man's mind that **directs** man's actions and determines their nature. Guru Nanak says:-

Our thinking acts on the mind's prompting:

The mind evil and good determines.¹

"This **autonomous** power of choice is the divinity in man, according to Sikhism, and is the core around which the whole human personality is constructed. It is this central core of the human personality which is at the heart of the individual consciousness and it is, therefore², "the source of all human misery, as well as the panacea of all his ills."³

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.832
 2. Kapur Singh, The Essentials of Sikhism, the article published in Dr. Gopal Singh, Sri Guru Granth Sahib (English Version) First Impression, 1960, Vol II, P.XII
 3. Guru Angad Dev, Adi Granth, P.466, quoted in Kapur Singh, op., cit., P.XII.

Moreover, Guru Nanak's assertion that man will gather only the deserts of his own deeds and Guru Nanak's exhortation to man to refrain from committing evil deeds, and to imbibe merits and shed demerits form the very basis of his assumption of free human will i.e. man's freedom of choice of action. Guru Nanak says :-

Such shall be the reward as the deed performed.¹

Further :-

Why endeavour in the way of evil

As therefrom is received evil retribution.²

And :-

Discarding evils to attain merits you rush

In doing evil lies regret,

By not realizing distinction between pure and impure,

In the mire shalt thou be sunk.³

But it does not mean that man has an absolute freedom to do whatever he likes to do. Rather he can exercise his free will only within the Cosmic Order. As soon as he tries to transgress the Cosmic Order, the Divine Law interferes and stops the working of his free will. In other words, man has to attune his free will to God's Will. According to Dr. Gopal Singh, "Man can never have a total free will, it is impossible

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.468

2. Ibid., P. 474

3. Ibid., P.598

and absurd. However here before us we see man in pain and sin, and though being constantly warned by God within them, they choose Him not and go their own peculiar ways led by the Writ of habit (Kirat) which is part of their sub-conscious mind. There is, thus, an element of choice within them, all the time to exercise their will, however limited that freedom is, as is obvious to anyone with a little sense of his own psyche."¹

Man and Society :-

Man and society are so closely related to each other that both are inseparable. Man is, by nature, a social being. According to Aristotle, "The individual when isolated, is not self-sufficing; and therefore he is like a part in relation to the whole. But he who is unable to live in society, or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or a god : he is no part of a state. A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature..."¹

Society is defined as a "collection of individuals held together by certain enduring relationship in pursuance of common ends."² Indeed, each individual

1. Michael B. Foster, Masters of Political Thought, Volume 1, Plato to Machiavelli, P.126.

2. V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, P. 142

is an essential constituent of society. One can become its useful constituent by shedding one's selfish interests for the sake of the general well-being of the society as a whole. Generally speaking "Society is a very large group of men and women, in which there are relatively smaller groups. Society is a term which designates the whole network of many types of relationships. Within the large social framework, we find family, class, caste, club, trade union, school, church, fine arts circle, chamber of commerce, political party and many other groups.¹

But the concept of Society viz Sikh Society as propounded by Guru Nanak has some peculiar features. In the general tenor of his thought, 'Sangat', Sat-sangat or Sachiar Sabha connotes the Sikh Society. The concept of Sangat has already been discussed in chapter II.

The members of this society are supposed not to cling to the man-made prejudices regarding the high and the low and not to be guiled by impostors.

1. B.K. Gokhale, Political Science: theory and government machinery, P.71

In this society, there is no place for any considerations of caste, colour, creed, sex, faith, birth or status etc. All individuals male as well as female are considered to be the repository of the Lord's Light and are treated alike. The structure of this society rests on the principles of fraternity and equality put forth by Guru Nanak in the following verses which are self-explanatory :-

All creatures are noble, none low,
 One sole Maker has all vessels fashioned ;
 In all three worlds is manifest the same Light.¹
 Himself is He male and female.²
 Understand people by their light, ask not their
 caste.

In the presence of God no one is differentiated
 by caste.³

Ask not about the birth and lineage of a person.
 Treat people in terms of their true home.
 Man becomes high or low by his deeds, not by birth.⁴

The members of this society are expected always to stand by the so-called lowliest of the lowly, the down-trodden, the underprivileged ; and to endeavour for the latter's uplift for raising them to their own level. Doing away with the degrading prejudice of untouchability Guru Nanak says :-

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 62.
 2. Ibid., P. 1020
 3. Ibid ,P. 349, quoted in Dr. Trilochan Singh,op.cit.,P.105.
 4. Ibid., P. 1330 quoted in Dr. Trilochan Singh,op.cit., p-105.

The lowliest among the lowly
 Nanak stands by their side ;
 He envies not the great of the world.

Lord: Thy grace falls on the land where the
 Poor are cherished.¹

This society is, indeed, a society which is
 casteless, classless, rather distinctionless.

Moreover, each and every member of this
 society is supposed to be its useful constituent.
 Therefore, he is required to lead a householder's
 life, earn his livelihood by doing some productive work
 and give in charity a considerable portion of his
 earnings for the help of the needy* ; and not to
 become a parasite on the society by adopting the
 life of an ascetic ^{under} the pretext of seeking spiritual
 exaltation. Guru Nanak says :-

Should induce himself to good charitable deeds
 Such householder is pure as Ganga Water.²

At the same time, he is not to be puffed up
 with the feeling of arrogance of a giver. The charity
 is not to be made with the view of seeking a thousandfold
 reward for it and praise from the world, but with the
 feeling of contentment. Guru Nanak says :-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.15

* This point has already been discussed in detail
 in chapter III.

2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 952

The charitable when giving away charity

should feel content :

A thousandfold reward for their benefactors

they seek

And acclaim from the world.¹

In this society, every individual serves others and is served by them as well. In fact, the reciprocity of Service (Sewa) is the principle underlying the relationship between Man and Society of Guru Nanak's vision. The Concept of 'Service' has already been discussed in Chapter II. The most conspicuous characteristic of the Service rendered by the members of this society is that they render it always bearing in mind that :-

God is the Sole Giver of all beings,

lest I should forget Him ever,²

Thus, they feel contented and serve the society or humankind in the broader sense. They practise righteousness by doing good and meditate on the Truth alone. Guru Nanak Says :-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.466

2. Ibid., P. 2

Those who have attained contentment,
 alone have rendered service ;
 On holy Truth alone have they meditated.
 Towards evil have they never taken a step ;
 By doing good, righteousness they practise.¹

Service, in the society, has another aspect also. It is the proper discharge of One's duties assigned to him by society. Guru Nanak's Dharma, the Law of Nature, is synonymous with the social order in its temporal import. It demands of every man to perform his duties well that go along with his station in society. Every individual is expected to uphold the social order comprising the family, the occupation, the religious institutions, the state and other social institutions. Every man or woman is required to adopt a certain specific pattern of behaviour for maintenance of social order. In fact, a society is the integrated system of roles of its members. By playing his own role well, a man or woman enables others to play their roles befittingly. By doing so the individuals concertedly build up and maintain the ordered pattern of their society. For an individual this specific pattern of behaviour implies contentment. A man while performing his own duties well does not allow his

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.466-7

ambitions to transgress his own role¹; rather he is contented with the proper performance of his own role in society.

From the political point of view, the members of the society can be divided into four categories role-wise- (1) Rulers (2) Judges (3) Leaders (4) The Ruled .

The Rulers, in this society, are enjoined upon to serve it by administering justice and looking after the people well so that they live in prosperity and happiness. The Judges are expected to serve the society by making impartial judgment, the Leaders by guiding the people **with their own** enlightenment, and the people or the Ruled by being enlightened and aware of their rights and duties, and resisting injustice of all sorts. All of them are required to fulfil their dharma by performing their respective duties well.

The Ideal and its Attainment :-

The ideal, a man should aspire to attain to, has been termed by Guru Nanak as a Sachiara. A Sachiara is one who is a person of righteous conduct. He exalts himself spiritually by purifying his mind and becomes God - like i.e. one with God. He gets honour in the people's as well as God's Court - the final goal of

1: Sohan Singh, Ethical Aspects of Guru Nanak's Thought, the article published in Teachings of Guru Nanak, edited by Taran Singh PP.99-100 .

human life. But how to be a Sachara ? Guru ^{Nanak} poses this problem in the very first stanza of Japu Ji. He writes :-

How, then to become a Sachara ,
 and how to demolish the wall of illusion ?
 By recognising the Cosmic Order
 and being in tune with the Divine Will
 This, too, Nanak has written at the
 same place.¹

A person who recognises the Cosmic Order, sheds his ego and abides by the Divine Will. Guru Nanak says :-

All by the Ordinance are governed, None exempt
 Saith Nanak: Should man realize the might of
 the Ordinance,
 His ego he most certainly would disclaim.²

Now the question arises as to how one can recognise the Cosmic Order. According to Guru Nanak, it is only by following the Guru's Word i.e. by following the instruction of the Guru that one can recognise the Cosmic Order. To quote him :-

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1. Guru Nanak Adi Granth, P. 1
 2. Ibid.

By Guru's Word recognise the Cosmic Order.¹

When a person recognises the Cosmic Order, he attunes his free will to the Divine Will. Spontaneous observance of ethics is the way of life of a Sachiara and he is a person of truthful actions. Guru Nanak stresses the need of observance of ethics in human life and attaches utmost importance to truthful conduct. To quote him :-

Truth is higher than everything else,
but higher still is truthful conduct.²

Purity of mind is the most conspicuous characteristic of a Sachiara. Purity becomes a part and parcel of his life and it is reflected in each and every action done by him. The purity of mind can be obtained by man through reflection on the Lord's Name. Guru Nanak says :-

If mind is polluted, purify it
with reflection on the Naam.³

It suggests that man should always remember the Supreme Being, he should dedicate himself to Naam-Simran (remembrance of God's Naam). But this Naam-Simran does not mean a parrot-like chanting of God's Name. It is something very different, something much more. It means that it is not only the devotee's tongue,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.223

2. Ibid., P. 62

3. Ibid., P.4

the organ of speech in human body, that utters the Name of the Lord, but each and every pore in his body performs the function of the tongue and spontaneously utters the Lord's Name with the inhalation and exhalation of each breath. Naam-Simran is an incessant process of remembrance of the Lord's Name, so much so that each and every activity of the human being dedicated to Naam-Simran, is charged with it. It is, indeed, complete absorption in the Naam. Guru Nanak suggests it in the following words :-

Were man's one tongue to become a
hundred thousand,

And even twenty times that;

Were each such tongue to utter the Lord's
Name Supreme a hundred thousand
times each instant -

Such be the stairs of devotion

Ascending to make union with Him.¹

Naam-Simran is the dignified path treading which one becomes one with God i.e. becomes God-like and gets honour.

But for true devotion to the Lord's Name, cultivation of noble equalities is essential. According to Guru Nanak :

Without cultivation ^{of} noble qualities no

true devotion can be ² !

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.7

2. Ibid., P.4

The cultivation of noble qualities, here, implies performance of good deeds i.e. performance of Service (Sewa) to the Lord through service to humankind.

Guru Nanak also attaches due importance to the role of good company in the life of man. According to him, by keeping company with the best one can become the best. Good company does not allow the process of development operative within man to tend to regression ; it ever keeps him alive to the situation. It helps him shed demerits and imbibe good qualities. To quote Guru Nanak :-

In noble company is man ennobled ;
Striving for merit, his demerits he washes off:
Without service to the Master
comes not poise.¹

It is with this view in mind that Guru Nanak has stressed the need of Sat-Sangat for uplift of man in general .

Guru Nanak exhorts man to dwell on the Sole Lord's Name so that he may go to his heavenly abode with honour. It suggests that the final goal of human life is to win honour and respect in the People's as well as God's Court. To quote Guru Nanak :-

O man, Dwell on the name of thy only God,
That thou goest back to thy Home with
Honour and glory.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth., P. 414
2. Ibid., P.1254

According to Guru Nanak, only those are truly exalted who are honoured in the Divine Writ. To quote him :-

Brother ! Those who in the Divine Writ are
honoured are truly perfect-
Perfect, with perfection of wisdom, truly exalted.¹

It suggests that it is essential for a man to keep his dignity and honour intact throughout the span of his life. Life without honour is not worth-living. Guru Nanak says :-

If one lives and loses dignity,
Whatever he eats is unrightful.²

When one comes to know the way of living righteously and honourably one becomes a Sachiara . Such a person neither does injustice nor does he bear it. He transcends his ego, sheds all his selfish interests and thinks in the larger interests of humankind. He is ever prepared even to lay down his life for the cause of upholding righteousness and saving the dignity of human beings. He is a true hero and the dying of such a person is approved by the Lord Himself and he obtains honour in the people's as well as Lord's Court. Guru Nanak avers :-

Holy is the death of heroic man, whose dying is
Divinely approved .

Such alone may be called heroes as at the
Divine Portal obtain true honour.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1012

2. Ibid., P. 142

3. Ibid., Pp. 579-580

Chapter -VI

Guru Nanak's Concept of Human Rights

The rights a state maintains are the index of its nature. Every state is supposed to guarantee a certain number of rights to its people to enable them to live a full life. Human rights are essential for the attainment by every individual of his full intellectual, moral and spiritual status. The word 'human' means "belonging or pertaining to or of the nature of man or mankind."¹ The word 'right' denotes a "just and fair claim to anything whatever power privilege etc. that belongs to a person by law, nature or tradition; also that to which one has a just claim."²

In the words of Laski, "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can be his best self."³

Hobhouse says that rights are "what we may expect from others and others from us and all genuine rights are conditions of social welfare. Thus, the rights **any** one may claim are partly those which are essential to every man in order to be a rational human person, and partly those which are necessary for the

1. Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, New Edition, 1972, p. 635
2. Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary.
3. Laski, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, p. 316

fulfilment of the function that society expects from him. They are conditioned by, correlative to his social responsibilities."¹ Bosanquet says, "We have a right to the means that are necessary to the development of our lives in the direction of the highest good of the community of which we are a part."²

During the times before the emergence of State, the head of the family - the eldest male member - who was called Patriarch, enjoyed absolute rights over his family. According to Homer, "It was his authority to give law to his children and to his wives."³ Thus, he ruled over his children and wives. All the members of family living under him were obliged to surrender their individuality in return for the security granted by him to them. So there arose no question of individual's rights.

Gradually the area of authority of one person over other individuals expanded. Mighty persons started enslaving the physically or mentally weaker persons. This practice gave rise to the slavery system.

1. Hobhouse, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit., P.316
2. Bosanquet, quoted in V.D. Mahajan, op.cit.p. 316
3. Homer, Odyssey, IX, p. 114, quoted in T.S. Batra, Human Rights : A Critique, p. 8

"If there was one institution which was really common to all people of antiquity, it was slavery",¹ writes H.F. Jolowicz.

With the emergence of state, the absolute authority passed on to the head of the state or the king. He became the master of the people whom he treated as his subjects. He kept the sources of income and power in his own hands and the masses were his mere tenants having no rights. In the states in which the Kings were weak, the power slipped from the hands of the kings and went into those of the feudal barons. It resulted in deterioration of the common man's condition. He was never granted any right or liberty, and had to fulfil the wishes of his master whosoever he may be.

But it does not mean that individual had no wish for any rights. Impelled by his inmate nature he always longed for liberty and equality. Many philosophers and spiritual leaders all over the world, from time to time, brought consciousness among the people about their rights. Many of them who struggled

1. H.F. Jolowicz, Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law, p. 105, quoted in T.S. Batra, op.cit., p. 11.

for the rights, had to bear punishment as a consequence of the so-called offence. These thoughtful men spoke of 'rights' which men had in common and which were inherent rights in the sense that they were based on man's 'rational and social nature'. They called these rights natural rights. Natural rights these were because they could not be taken away by any man whosoever he may be since they were the rules of life created by Nature itself. Here, a brief study of various perspectives on rights will be helpful in comprehending the scope of human rights.

The Western Perspective :-

In the Western political thought, Protagoras, a Sophist thinker, first of all, spoke of 'man as the measure of all things', and Hippias of the 'equality of all men'. To Socrates, such life was not worth-living as was examined.

For Plato justice was a right of the citizens of the ideal state. "Thus the construction of the ideal state culminates as it was planned, in the conception of Justice. "Justice is the bond which holds a society together, a harmonious union of individuals, each of whom has found his life-work in accordance with his natural

fitness and his training."¹ It is the state who is to provide the citizens with justice the right of every individual. He attaches even more importance to the education of the King as a right of the citizens. For him, "Law does not and cannot give everybody his due. Law has no meaning other than to give the least bungling rule that will fit an average case; but a Philosopher's wisdom gives to everybody what he deserves. Hence it is always expedient to have the government of a Philosopher-King."²

According to Aristotle, it is the obligation of the state to protect the natural rights of man. For him, complete justice is such "as exists among people who are associated in common life with a view to self-sufficiency and enjoy freedom and equality."³ He also regarded owning of private property as a natural right. In his opinion, "property is essential for the existence and proper functioning of the household. Man needs food to satisfy hunger, a house to live in, and garments to protect himself against the rigours of climate. The household which is a condition of good moral life cannot function well without a certain amount of necessaries of life."⁴

1. R.M. Bhagat, Political Thought : Plato to Marx, p.18
2. Ibid., p. 51
3. Ibid., p. 156
4. Ibid., p. 109

One of the basic tenets of Stoicism founded by Zeno and later on developed by Cicero, Seneca and Marcus Aurelius upholds equality of all human beings. "According to the Law of Nature, all human beings are equal despite the differences in languages, nationalities and races. All can lead universally one kind of life i.e. a life according to Reason. The civil laws of various states cannot separate them, rather they should conform themselves to the Law of Nature. The Stoics, therefore, drew the conclusion that men should stop living as citizens of various states, under different conceptions of justice and law. Rather they should live as citizens of one world under one Law of Nature. It is for this that the Stoics propounded the concepts of universal brotherhood and cosmopolitanism. As members of one great family, all men are brothers and equals and have equal rights."¹

The Stoic philosophy exerted great influence on Roman thinkers like Cicero and Seneca. Cicero spoke of cosmopolitanism, universal brotherhood of man and world citizenship. He talked of equality of man. "Man is the only living creature endowed with the faculty

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 109.

of reason. Hence all men are equal at least in the possession of reason. According to Cicero so far as the capacity of discriminating between right and wrong is concerned all men are equal."¹ Seneca, another Roman thinker, also upheld the right to equality of man. According to him, equal treatment should be meted out to all men-slaves as well as free men.

The central theme of the subject introduced by Saint Augustine in the City of God² is whether there can be a *populus* without justice. In De Republica, Cicero's dialogue, it is written - "a people is a multitude of men or an assembly associated together by a common acknowledgement of right (*juris*) and by a community of interest."³ Augustine then proceeds to interpret this Ciceronian statement, "*Juris*" derived from '*Jus*', means '*justitia*' - "righteousness" or "justice". And he is at pains to show that he believes Cicero meant '*Vera justitia*' - true righteousness or justice. If legal right must be based on '*justitia*' and '*justitia*' is, in fact, '*vera justitia*', then one vital aspect of '*vera justitia*' is surely the recognition

1. R.M. Bhagat, *op.cit.*, pp. 188-89.
2. Trooltisch, Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, I, 1.
3. Mulford Q. Sibley, Political Ideas and Ideologies, pp. 190-91.

which man must accord to the one true God."¹ The kingdoms where rights and justice are taken away, are great robberies, so thought St. Augustine.

Saint Thomas Aquinas' concept of Justice is based on proportionate Equality.² He also acknowledged the right of "the people to sit in judgment upon the laws of their state."³

In the opinion of Thomas Hobbes, the individual "was a creature of passions and moved more by instincts than reason, all his activities were centred on two focal points that is the self-presentation and the pursuit of felicity. Hence in the state of nature individuals definitely had the right of life, liberty also to some extent property also."⁴

John Locke, one of the greatest individualists in the history of political thought, preached that "the earth and all the institutions thereof were made for the individual and not the individual for them. What now is known as individualism, is in reality, the product of Locke's writings. Hobbes was also an individualist, but he was also authoritarian and an absolutist, who would compromise his individualism

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1. Mulford Q. Sibley, op.cit., p. 191.
 2. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., pp. 292-93.
 3. Ibid., p. 293
 4. Ibid., (Hobbes), p. 54

for the sake of discipline or order in the state. The only precious thing for him was the life of the individuals for which he would allow his individuals the right to resist the state even. After all, man would require his liberty, property and other facilities like laws, impartial judges etc. in order to lead a good life. Locke's individualism is ~~not~~ uncompromising in the sense that he would not part with the rights of the individuals at any cost."¹

Gradually the situation began to change materially. This change inundated the world with novel ideas in every domain of human life. The people in England resented the authoritarian activities of the King Henry II. He had no alternative but to sign Magna Carta in 1215 A.D., which is known to be the first land-mark in the history of human rights. Magna Carta set a new trend. With its implementation nobody was to be denied the right to justice. Now no free man could be captured or imprisoned or outlawed or exiled or in any way destroyed except by the lawful judgment of the King's peers only. Then in 1628 A.D., the petition of Rights was introduced.

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., Part-II,
pp. 117-18.

After that, from time to time, the theories on human rights propounded by various political thinkers exerted their influence on the political situation in the world. With the efforts of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke the Bill of Rights was brought in 1689 A.D. King James II fled, and William and Mary signed the Bill which granted many rights to the Parliament, a house of representatives elected by the people of England. With J.J. Rousseau came the French Revolution in 1789 A.D. and the French Declaration of the Rights of man was introduced in the same year. More rights such as right to resist oppression, freedom of the press and other civil and political rights were accorded in 1793 A.D.

The Indian Perspective :-

The approach of the ancient Indian political thinkers to the problem of human rights was quite different from that of the one adopted by the Western political thinkers. The former generally enjoined certain duties on the state and seldom described the rights of the citizens. It is from the duties of the state that the rights of the citizens can be inferred. "We are quite in the dark about the details of the political life in the Vedic period. At that time popular assemblies (samities) existed and controlled the King's activity. It is quite possible that not all the inhabitants

had the right to become the members of the samiti; only it may have constituted a privileged class corresponding to the aristocratic order."¹ Since the Brahmins were the privileged class, equality of all individuals before law did not exist in ancient India.

Both Mahābhārata and Digghanikāya "aver that for a long time after the creation of Society, there prevailed a golden age of harmony and happiness, when people led happy and peaceful lives on account of their innate virtuous disposition, though there existed no government to see that the laws of nature were respected and followed."²

About the times of Mauryan rule, "Megasthenes leaves no doubt that peace, prosperity and contentment prevailed throughout the empire."³ Ashoka worked for recognition of the sanctity of life and the elevation of his subjects. His policy of non-violence constrained him to enforce law for the sanctity and security of not only human beings but all living creatures. Thus the people were granted many rights by the Hindu rulers.

1. A.S. Altekar, State And Government In Ancient India, p. 65
2. A.S. Altekar, op,cit., p. 26
3. R.C. Majumdar, The History And Culture Of The Indian People, vol.two, p. 67

But the advent of the Muslim rule in India made the life of the Hindus miserable. The Delhi Sultanate deprived them of many rights particularly the right to freedom of religion and culture. A tax known as Jazia was imposed on the people belonging to the Hindu religion. So much so that "if the revenue collector spits into a Hindu's mouth, the Hindu must open his mouth to receive it without hesitation."¹ Even the social rights of the Hindus were withdrawn. They were forced to lead the lives of slaves. Many a time they were massacred and their temples were razed. The condition of the Hindus became more critical and pitiable after the invasions of Chengiz Khan and Timur. Forcible conversions of Hindus into Islam were exercised.

Among the Hindus none dared resist the oppression wielded on them. Guru Nanak was the first Indian to raise his voice against the atrocities of the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate and those of the Mughals. He strongly advocated some human rights for human beings.

In the State of Guru Nanak's vision, all human beings have human rights simply due to the

1. R.C. Majumdar , op.cit., Vol. Six, p. 25

very fact of their being human. The state does not grant these rights; but it ensures the non-violation of these rights either by the ruler or from any other quarter.

1. Right to Work and Fulfilment of Essential Needs:-

The state, in ancient India, was obliged to promote Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. The domain of Artha implied the people's right to have employment and the things of basic needs. "The state, however, was to secure not only the moral but also the material well being of its citizens. The kingdom of King Parikshit, idealised in the Atharvaveda (XX.127), flowed with milk and honey. All round welfare of the public was clearly regarded as the Chief aim of the state during the Vedic and Upanisadic ages, i.e. down to C. 600 B.C."¹

Guru Nanak stresses the people's right to work when he says that the Creator of the universe has Himself assigned some work to every being. It implies that God has endowed everyone with the ability of doing some kind of work. To quote Guru Nanak :-

He Himself has created the whole universe,

He who created the universe, has to

everyone assigned certain occupation.²

1. A.S. Altekar, op.cit., p. 48
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1022.

Moreover, Guru Nanak enjoins upon everyone to engage in some productive work to earn his/her livelihood and share the fruits of his/her work with his/her fellow-beings. To quote him:-

He alone, O Nanak, knows the way,
Who earns with the sweat of his brow and then
shares it with the other.¹

It also brings forth the emphasis laid by Guru Nanak on the individual's right to work as one will engage in work only if one has the right to work. It also implies that one has the right to fulfil one's essential needs.

According to Guru Nanak, God who creates the beings, Himself provides them with sustenance:-

Creating the beings, He Himself provides them
sustenance.....²

It also clearly indicates the individual's right to satisfy his essential needs.

It was centuries after Guru Nanak that a Western political thinker, Harold J. Laski, observed, "every citizen has a right to work. That does not mean that he has a right to any particular kind of work.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1245

2. Ibid., P. 1042.

The right to work merely means the right to be occupied in producing a share of those goods and commodities which are useful for society. If a citizen is not given the right to work he is virtually denied the right to express his personality."¹

Further, a "citizen has also the right to adequate wages. The right does not mean that every individual has the right to equal wages. Such a proposition is impracticable. What this right means is that all those (who) work be given sufficient wages to maintain themselves. Nobody would like the idea of dying from starvation when he is giving his very best to society."²

It was Guru Nanak who initiated the advocacy for every human being's right to work and fulfil his essential needs. Ultimately, the right to work and the right to basic needs were included in the U.N.'s Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, under the Article 23 and the Article 25. The article 23 reads, "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment."³

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1. V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, p. 877
 2. Ibid.
 3. U.N.'s Declaration of Human Rights, Article 23,
quoted in T.S. Batra, op.cit., p. 251.

The Article 25 of the Declaration reads :

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care..."¹

2. Right to Freedom:-

Guru Nanak forcefully advocates for the individual's right to freedom. This right includes certain freedoms which are very essential for the development of an individual. These freedoms are described as under :-

(a) Freedom of Religion:-

It provides that every individual is entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practise and propagate religion or faith of his own choice. Every religious denomination or any section thereof has the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes; to manage its own affairs in matters of religion. No person can be compelled to pay tax for promotion of any particular religion.

1. U.N.'s Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25, quoted in T.S. Batra, op.cit., p. 252.

No person practising any religion or faith can be forced to convert into any other faith or religion.

Many Western political thinkers have advocated the right to freedom of religion. But this was not true in the case of Plato, a great supporter of justice in his ideal state. In his older age he expressed the idea about religion in his book The Laws that in "sub-ideal state religion is subject to the regulation and supervision of the state as Education is. Plato forbids the private religious exercises."¹

"The Christians emphasised that spiritual side of man was beyond the scope of the state."²

In the opinion of St. Augustine, "The individuals need the security and order which it provides in order to be free from disturbance and molestation in the performance of their religious duties."³

In the opening of a chapter of his Discourses, Machiavelli says : "Princes and Republics who wish to maintain themselves free from corruption must above all things preserve the purity of all religious observances

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 72

2. Ibid., p. 194

3. Ibid., P. 204.

and treat them with proper reverence, for there is no greater indication of the ruin of a country than to see religion condemned."¹

Guru Nanak's advocacy for this right of human beings is quite evident from his condemnation of the rulers of his times who deprived the people, especially the Hindus, of this right to practise their religion according to their own faith and way. He severely criticised the rulers' policy of mulcting the Hindu temples and their religious rites. To him, it is the violation of the people's right to practise religion of their own choice. To quote him :-

And the (Hindu) temples and gods have
been taxed
such is the current way.²

It was much later that Bodin "propounded religious toleration as a matter of policy because during his time an acute civil war was going on in France. He believed that the state should allow all types of religious sects to flourish in the territory of the state and must not impose any religion of its own on the population."³

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1. Michael B. Foster, Masters of Political Thought, Vol. I, Plato to Machiavelli, P. 269.
 2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1191
 3. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 426.

In view of Thomas Hobbes, the individuals have complete liberty in the sphere of the intellect and conscience and the private faith and belief. "Laviathan, wrote Hobbes, "cannot oblige men to believe... thought is free." Wayper says "he is an opponent of all authority in philosophy, belief, opinion."¹

"Locke is in fact the first of English thinkers the basis of whose argument is secular. State will not interfere with anybody's soul..."²

Harold J. Laski, a British thinker, referred to three aspects of liberty - private, political and economic. "Private liberty means the opportunity to exercise freedom of choice in those areas of life where the results of my effort mainly affect me. . Such a thing is religion and the state should not interfere in it."³

The right to freedom of religion advocated by Guru Nanak much earlier was included by the United Nations Organisation in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, after the second World War, under the Article 18 which reads :

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1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 426
 2. Ibid., pp. 114-15
 3. V.D. Mahajan, Recent Political Thought, p. 558

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."¹

Now many countries have included this right in their constitutions. The articles 25-28² of the Indian constitution grant this right to the people of India.

(b) Freedom of Culture :-

It implies that any section of people having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same; and the rulers or officials will, in no way, impose their own language or culture on the people of the state. Man will be free to follow the culture of his choice and to speak the language he likes. The state will make no interference in the sphere of culture and language. The condemnation of the rulers of his times by Guru Nanak

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1. T.S. Batra, Human Rights : A Critique, pp. 250-51.
 2. Government of India, ^{The} Constitution of India, pp. 11-12.

for treating the Hindu culture and their language viz. Sanskrit with contempt, and imposing their (the rulers') own culture and language on the people determines the stress Guru Nanak has laid on the people's freedom of culture and language. He also criticises the Hindus for shedding their own culture and language under the duress of the ruling class (Muslims) and switching over to the culture and language of the ruling class to please them. Guru Nanak says :-

Now that the turn of the Sheikhs has come,

the Primal Lord is called Allah:

And the (Hindu) gods and temples have been taxed:

such is the current way:

The ablution pot, the prayer, the prayer mat,

the call to prayer, have all assumed the,

Muslim garb : even God is now robed in blue

(like the Mughals did).

And men have changed their tongue and

the Muslim way of greetings prevails.¹

And:-

Who (Hindu) Decked himself in (the Muslim) blue

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1191

and assumed the attributes of turk and Pathan.

...

They seek approval of the Muslim rulers
by wearing blue.¹

In this way, Guru Nanak strongly advocated for the people's cultural rights which were granted by the United National Organisation much later in the Article 2, 16 and 22 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declared on December 10, 1948. The Article 22 *grants* "... social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality."²

The Constitution of India also guarantees cultural rights to all the citizens of India under the article 29 which reads : "Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script, or culture of its own shall have the rights to conserve the same."³

In the Conference of Religion and Peace held in Kyoto (Japan) in October, 1970, it was declared: "Members of this Conference urge religions to use all

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1. Guru Nanak, *Adi Granth*, PP. 470-2.
 2. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, quoted in T.S. Batra, *op.cit.*, p. 251.
 3. Government of India, ^{The} Constitution of India.

their moral weight in bringing about an end to cultural discrimination which deprives the common patrimony of humanity of the cultural riches acquired so slowly and so laboriously."¹

(C) Freedom of Assembly :-

It implies the people's freedom to assemble and hold meetings to discuss their grievances and to find out the ways to get their redressal. The people have the right to hold the public meetings without any interference from any quarters of the authority in the State.

Guru Nanak's very concept of the Sangat (congregation) means his advocacy for the people's freedom to hold assembly. The concept of Sangat has already been discussed in Chapter No. II entitled Guru Nanak's Concept of State.

After Guru Nanak, Harold J. Laski upheld this right of the people. In his opinion, "Every individual must be guaranteed freedom of association and public meeting. Experience shows that the denial of these rights leads to the creation of secret societies aiming at the destruction of the state."²

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1. Homer A. Jack, Religion for Peace, Proceedings of the Kyoto Conference on Religion and Peace, p. 181
 2. V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, p. 877

The people's right to assembly first advocated by Guru Nanak was granted by the Constitution of India to the citizens of India.¹

(d) Freedom of Speech:-

It implies that everybody has freedom of expression without fear of any sort from the authorities. In modern times it also includes the freedom of the Press and Electronic Media.

Guru Nanak enjoins upon man to listen to something and to say something during the span of his life. To quote him :-

As long as we are in this world,
Nanak, we should hear some what
and speak some what of the Lord.²

It indicates that Guru Nanak advocates that the people have the freedom of speech as they would speak only if they are free to speak. Euripides says about freedom of speech :-

"This is true liberty, when free-born men
Having to advise the people, may speak free."³

1. Government of India, The Constitution of India.
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 661
3. V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, P. 321

According to Harold J. Laski, "Every individual must be guaranteed his freedom of speech. Its necessity arises from the fact that man must give expression to his inner self. If that right is denied, man will stop growing. The exercise of this right will enable him to ventilate his grievances and organise public opinion in its support."¹

Milton says, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely, according to conscience above all liberties."²

This freedom first advocated by Guru Nanak has been granted in the Constitution of India.³

(e) Freedom of Choice of Occupation :-

It implies that every individual is free to practise any occupation of his choice irrespective of his/her caste, colour, creed, sex or descent.

The people's freedom of choice of work has already been discussed in Chapter No. III entitled Guru Nanak's Concept of Economy.

The U.N. Declaration of Human Rights has granted this right, first advocated by Guru Nanak,

1. V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, p. 877
2. Ibid., p. 322
3. Government of India, The Constitution of India.

to the people under the Article 25¹ already quoted under the sub-title, Right to Work and Essential Needs, in this chapter .

This right has also been given to the people of India in the Constitution of India.²

3. Right to Equality :-

This right implies equality of all the individuals of the state. No discrimination will be made against anybody on account of his/her religion, caste, colour, creed, race, sex or descent etc.

In India, since the Vedic period the Hindu society has been divided into four Varnas or castes - Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. "The English word 'caste' is derived from the Portuguese and the Spanish word 'caste' which means race."³ "It has been used since the middle of the 15th century to denote different classes into which Hindus are divided. Varna or colour and Jati or race are the two commonest words in Indian languages which are interchangeably used to denote 'caste'."⁴

1. T.S. Batra, op.cit., pp. 251-52.
2. Government of India, The Constitution of India.
3. Homo Hierarchieus, Dummont; p.21, quoted in V. Thomas Samuel, One Caste One Religion One God, pp. 74-75.
4. V. Thomas Samuel, op.cit., p. 75.

John Murray, on the authority of the Rig Veda, writes : When they divided the Purusa, into how many parts did they arrange him? What was his mouth? What his two arms? What are his thighs and feet called? The Brahmin was his mouth, his two arms were made in rajanya (warrior), his two thighs the Vaisya (trader and agriculturist), from his feet the Sudra (servile class) was born.¹

Chandogya Upanisad regards man's present caste as pre-determined. *It holds ^{that} man's Karmas* determine his destiny : "Those whose conduct here has been good, will quickly attain a good birth (literally womb), the birth of a Brahmin, the birth of a Ksatriya or the birth of a Vaisya. But those whose conduct here has been evil, will quickly attain an evil birth of a dog, the birth of a hog or the birth of a Candala."²

The Laws of Manu hold the divine origin of the caste : "But in order to protect this universe He, the most resplendent one, assigned separate (duties and) occupation to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet. To Brahmins he assigned teaching and studying (the Vedas),

1. Rig Veda 10:90: 11,12, quoted in S. Radhakrishnan, A Source Book In Indian Philosophy, p. 19.
2. Chandogya Upanisad, v.10.8, quoted in S. Radhakrishnan, The Principal Upanisads, p. 433.

sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms). The Kshatriyas he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Vedas), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures; the Vaisya to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Vedas), to trade, to lend money and to cultivate land. One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the Sudra to serve meekly ever these (other) three castes."¹

Manu gives the duty of teaching the Vedas to Brahmana alone.² For him Brahmana is the lord of all castes.³ Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana.⁴

The divine origin of the caste system is also supported in the Bhagavad Gita : 'The four castes were emanated by Me, by different distribution of qualities and action; know Me to be the author of them, though the actionless and inexhaustible."⁵

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1. The Laws of Manu 1.87-91, translated by Buhlerg : Max Muller (ed.), Sacred Books Of the East, vol.XXV, p.24.
 2. The Laws of Manu, opcit.,X.1, p. 401
 3. Ibid., X.3, p. 402
 4. Ibid., I.99, p.26
 5. Bhagavad Gita, 4.13, translated by Annie Besant and Bhagwan Das, p. 81

The outright rejection of the caste-system by Guru Nanak makes it crystal clear how vociferously he advocates the right to equality for all human beings. According to him, all are the creation of the Sole Lord. None is high or low, good or bad by birth. It is the deeds of man that make him so. He is not for division of labour on the basis of caste-system. Everybody is free to do any job of his/her choice provided that he/she has the ability and competence to do it. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Caste and dynastic pride are condemnable notions;
The One Master shelters all existence.¹

Commenting on the futility of the caste-system Guru Nanak says that in the Lord's Court, no consideration is given to one's caste. To quote him :-

Know each being to be repository of Divine
Light-

Ask not for anyone's caste!

In the Hereafter are castes not considered.²

Further :-

The God does not mind our caste or birth,
so one must find the House of Truth;

1. „ Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 83

2. Ibid., p. 349

For, as one's deeds, so is one's caste.¹

According to Guru Nanak, they are the truly low-caste persons who do not remember God. He says :-

Those forgetting the Lord are the truly low-caste.

Saith Nanak : Those without the Name are indeed
low-born.²

Moreover, nobody is a Brahmin or a Kshatriya by birth. Anyone observing the required discipline is a true Brahmin or a true Kshatriya.

To quote Guru Nanak :-

He alone is a Brahmin who knows Brahma, yea, the God,
And practises Austerity and Contemplation on Self-
control,

and does (the Right) Deeds,

And keeps the Religion of Contentment and Culture.

And earns Emancipation, breaking the Bond (of Desire).

Yea such a Brahmin is worthy of being worshipped.

He alone is a Khatri who is a Hero in Deed,

And dedicates his body to Compassion and Charity,

And knowing the right Far, Sows the Seed of Beneficence,

Then such a Khatri is Approved of the Lord's Court.³

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1330
 2. Ibid., p. 10
 3. Ibid., p. 1411

The fore-going discussion shows that all human beings are equal; and no discrimination is to be made on the basis of caste or birth. Everybody has the right to equality with others.

Guru Nanak, first of all, most forcefully advocated for all the human beings' right to equality, and this right was granted by the U.N. Charter of Declaration of Human Rights under the Article 2 which reads : Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without *the* distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language. ¹

The Constitution of India has also granted the right to equality to all the Indians.²

4. Right to Education :-

Education is essential for bringing about awareness among the human beings and everybody has the right to get education.

Plato laid great emphasis on the need of education. He suggested spiritual method of education to attain justice. According to him, "to make the society harmonious and to bring about unity in the State,

1. T.S. Batra, op.cit., p. 248.

2. Government of India, The Constitution of India

proper education is essential. Education reforms the wrong ways of living by altering the whole outlook of life. It is 'an attempt to cure a mental malady by mental medicines' (Barker). Rousseau is perhaps hitting the right mark when he says that 'Republic' (of Plato) is hardly a political work at all, but is the finest treatise on education that ever was written."¹

Aristotle also regards the state mainly as an educational institution. The main function of the Ideal state of Aristotle is ethical. It aims at inculcating moral values in man. That state is the best state which enables everyone to lead a good and happy life. And good and happy life, for Aristotle, is moral life.² According to Antiphon, the Sophist, "First of all things, I place education."³

As regards the aims and ideals of the state Chandogya Upanisad writes that "Religion was to be promoted, morality was to be encouraged and education was to be patronised."⁴

In ancient India, only the upper three castes, viz. the Brahmin, the Kshatriya and the Vaisya had

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., pp. 27-28.
2. Ibid., p. 134
3. V.D. Mahajan, Political Thought, p. 322
4. Chandogya Upanisad, v. 11.5, quoted in A.S. Altekar, op.cit., p. 48

the right to get education. The right to teach was granted to the Brahmin only while the Kshatriya and the Vaisya could get education, but they had no right to impart to others. The Sudras, the lowest-caste people had no right even to get education. The Laws of Manu read:, "Let the three twice-born castes (varna), discharging their (prescribed) duties, study (the veda); but among them the Brahmana (alone) shall teach it, not the other two; there is an established rule."¹

Guru Nanak emphasises the need of education among the people so that they become conscious and aware of their rights and duties. He believes that it was due to lack of education among the people of his times that they meekly tolerated the oppression wielded by the rulers on them and dared not to resist it. Describing the situation Guru Nanak comments :-

The subjects are blind and without knowledge,
they are just like carcasses full of straw.²

It shows that Guru Nanak lays stress on the people's right to education.

After Guru Nanak, many Western political thinkers emphasised the need of education for the

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1. The Laws or Manu X.I, Max Muller (ed.), op.cit., vol.XXV, p. 401.
 2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 469

human beings and their right to education. In the opinion of James Mill, "all men were by nature equal and the differences among them were due mainly to education. Education was the best employment of all the means which can be made use of by man for rendering the human mind to the greatest possible degree, the cause of human happiness.¹ J.S. Mill considered education so essential that he laid a lot of emphasis on the educational qualifications of the voters.²

Harold J. Laski observes, "Every citizen has the right to education. It is education which makes a man a good citizen. Every citizen is authorised to demand elementary education and it is only when this much has been guaranteed to every individual that provision should be made for higher education for a few individuals."³

According to Bertrand Russell, "education is an attempt to touch the evil at its source and to reform the wrong methods of life by altering the whole outlook of life. This, and not violent revolution, or paper legislation is the way out of economic greed and international brutality."⁴

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1. V.D. Mahajan, Recent Political Thought, p.25
 2. Sukhbir Singh, A History of Political Thought, Vol.2, pp. 382-83.
 3. V.D. Mahajan, Recent Political Thought, p.877
 4. Sukhbir Singh, A History of Political Thought, pp. 382-83.

The right to education to the individual, first stressed by Guru Nanak, has been granted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of U.N.O. under the Article 26 which reads: (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children."¹

This right has also been granted to the Indians in the Constitution of India under the Article 29 and 30.²

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1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26, quoted in T.S. Batra, op.cit., p. 252
 2. " Government of India, The Constitution of India

5. Right to Justice :-

Various political thinkers and philosophers of the Western thought have propounded their theories on the Right to Justice from time to time. In Plato's Ideal State, Justice is the end.¹ Saint Thomas Aquinas defines "Justice as the fixed and perpetual will to give to every one his own rights."²

It was one of the fundamental aims of the state, in ancient India, to promote dharma³ or justice. The Vedic literature observes that peace, order, security and justice were regarded as fundamental aims of the state. The king or the head of the state was to be like god Varuna, the upholder of the law and order (dhritavrata); he was to punish the wicked and help the virtuous."⁴

The people's right to justice must be recognised and its non-violation ensured by the state. It is suggested by Guru Nanak through his criticism of the Kazi who acts as the judge but accepting bribe gives judgment in favour of the bribing person. Thus he deprives the people of their right to get justice.

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 27

2. Ibid., pp. 264-65.

3. Mahabharata, XII. 29.112 : Suvarna, XIII, 50.63, quoted in N.Q. Pankaj, State And Religion In Ancient India, pp. 11 and 213.

4. A.S. Altekar, op.cit., pp. 47-48

To quote Guru Nanak :-

Kazi sits as a judge

He tells rosary and mutters God's Name,

Taking bribe he usurps the right to justice

(and does injustice)

If anyone asks for it, he misquotes and reads
out some aphorism.¹

God Himself is Just. He has created the
universe, His throne, to deliver justice to the beings.
Guru Nanak says :-

Thou hast created the Throne to Adjudicate truly.²

The Judiciar Lord Himself sits on the Throne,

Doubt, discrimination and fear-all are gone.³

Thus God Himself has given all human beings
the right to justice which must be protected by the
government.

Some Western political thinkers who came
after Guru Nanak, also thought about the people's
right to justice almost on the lines given by him.
Among them, John Locke observes that justice lies in

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 951
2. Ibid., p. 580
3. Ibid., p. 1022

not depriving "an individual of his right of preservation of life, health, liberty and possession, his right of equality and the right to enforce the law of nature to safeguard his rights as well as the rights of his neighbour."¹

Edmund Burke holds, "Men have a right to justice between their fellows..."²

In the opinion of Harold J. Laski, "Every citizen has the right to be provided with those judicial safeguards which can guarantee liberty to him. This means that justice should be administered without fear or favour. It must not be harsher upon the poor than upon the rich. The officers of the Government should not be given any privileged position."³

6. Same Rights For Women :-

It implies that woman has the same rights as man has. There is no scope of any discrimination against women because of their sex. They are fully at par with men.

The position of woman in Indian society during early Vedic period, was good excepting the

1. R.M. Bhagat, part.II, pp. 93-94

2. Ibid., p. 196

3. V.D. Mahajan, Political Theory, p. 877

stray incidents of unwelcoming the female child. But it was not a general practice and the sacred writings were against it. "Some thinkers have even pointed out that a talented and well behaved daughter may be better than a son (Sam. Nik : II, 2,6)." In cultured circles such a daughter was regarded as the pride of the family.¹ Women were given proper education to make them properly trained so that they could be successful in their married life. The Atharvaveda observes that a maiden can succeed in her marriage only if she has been properly trained during the period of studentship (brahmacharya).²

Moreover, "In pre-historic times lady-poets themselves were composing hymns, some of which were destined to be included even in the Vedic Samhitas. According to the orthodox tradition as recorded in the Sarvanu - Karmanika, there are as many as twenty women among the 'seer' or authors of the Rigveda. Some of these may have been mythical personages; but internal evidence shows that Lopamudra, Visvavara, Sikata Nivavari and Ghosha, the authors of the Rigveda 1.179, V.28, VIII. 91.IX.81.11-20, and X. 39 and 40 respectively, were women in flesh and blood, who once lived in Hindu society."³

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1. Kumarasambhava, VI, 63, quoted in A.S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p.4
 2. Ibid., XI,5,18, quoted in A.S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p.10
 3. Kumarasambhava, XI,5,8, quoted in A.S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p10,

During the early Vedic period, even widow marriage was in vogue. "Atharvaveda refers to a woman marrying second time. It lays down a ritual to secure the union of the new couple in heaven."¹ Custom of Sati did not exist at that time.

It was only afterwards that the position of woman started deteriorating. She was deprived of the right to practise religion. "By the laws of Brahmanas the woman, the sudra and the people of lower classes are deprived of the right to perform fire sacrifice; they can perform other ceremonies without mantras."²

She was so humiliated that she was considered no better than a dog. "Even in the later Vedic period the Stapatha Brahamana warns that while teaching 'pravarjya' the teacher should not look at the woman, the sudra, the dog and the blackbird, because they are untruth."³ Manu also prescribes like this.⁴

In Ramayana, Arya Khand XIII - 56, it is written, "There is none whom a woman sincerely loves. She, for serving her purpose, does not hesistate to

1. Atharvaveda, IX, 5, 27-8, quoted in A.S. Altekar, op.cit., p. 150
2. Brahma Purana, p. 572, quoted in R.S. Sharma, Light On Early Indian Society And Economy, p. 31
3. Stapatha Brahamana, XIV, 1.1.31, quoted in R.S. Sharma, op.cit., p.30
4. The Laws of Manu, XI, 224, Max Muller, op.cit., p. 476.

kill even her husband, children or brothers."¹

Woman was considered to be vice-incarnate. A passage in Mahabharata says : "A man with a hundred tongues would not be able to describe completely the vice and defects of women."²

Even the Buddha said to his disciple Ananda : "Women are soon angered, Ananda, women are full of passion, Ananda; women are envious, Ananda...."³

Manu forbids man from eating the leavings of a woman or a sudra who are forbidden flesh. In case anyone did not follow the rule he was required to eat barley for seven days as a punishment.⁴ Woman was subjugated and treated at par with slave. According to Manu, she has no right to property : "A wife, a son, and a slave, these three are declared to have no property; the wealth which they earn is (acquired) for him to whom they belong."⁵

1. Ramayana, Arya Khand XIII-56, quoted by Bhagwant Swarup Goel in his letter to Editor, published in The Tribune, dated 8.9.1991.
2. Mahabharata, quoted by Bhagwant Swarup Goel, op.cit.
3. Sullivaga, X-1-6, quoted by Bhagwant Swarup Goel, op.cit.
4. The Laws of Manu, XI, 153, Max Muller, op.cit., vol.XXV, p. 461
5. Manu, VIII, p. 416, quoted in Max Muller, op.cit., p. 326.

Again, according to Manu, a woman should never be given independence. "Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects her in youth, and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence."¹ It was also prescribed for her that she must always worship her husband like a god.

With the passage of time, she came to be treated as property that needs protection; and the duty of her protection was enjoined upon the King. In Markandeya Purana, "a prince boasts that he never coveted other men's wives or wealth or anything belonging to them."² Agni Purana, a work of about eleventh century A.D., holds that "woman and animal can be kept as pledge, and interest on them is the seventieth part of their original value. Very probably this is monthly interest."³

So much so that she was reduced to the status of a low-caste and she came to be treated at par with Sudra. According to Agni Purana, "one who commits the murder of a woman shall be required to perform the same

1. The Laws of Manu, XI, 3, Max Muller, op.cit., p. 328.
2. Markandeya Purana, 13.13, quoted in R.S. Sharma, Light on Early Indian Society and Economy, p.23
3. Agni Purana, 253.63-64, quoted in R.S. Sharma, op.cit., p.26.

kind of penance as is prescribed for the murder of a Sudra."¹

"In Gupta and post-Gupta times women and sudras were conceded the right to acquire the knowledge of the Puranas. But even in subsequent times it was not permissible to study the Veda near the woman and sudra."²

The evil of Sati took hold of society. The widows were burnt alive along with the pyre of their husbands, even forcibly against their wishes. According to Angiras "Only course which religion has prescribed for a widow is that of Sati."³ Another evil in vogue was Purdah system for women which was very popular especially among the Muslim populace.

The Quran also keeps women at a lower level than men. It states, "Men are a degree above them (the women)"⁴ (XXVIII. 228). "Men are protectors of their women."⁵ (4, VI, 34).

1. Agni Purana, 173.13, quoted in R.S. Sharma, op.cit., p.26
2. Brahma Purana, p. 572, quoted in R.S. Sharma, op.cit., p.31
3. A.S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p. 126
4. The Quran, XXVIII. 228, quoted by Bhagwant Swarup God, op.cit.
5. Ibid., 4.Vi, 34, quoted by Bhagwant Swarup Goel, op.cit.

In Ancient Rome also, the condition of woman was not better. According to the Roman Law, "the children, the wife, and the slave of a Roman head of a house (patorfamilias) were equally subject to his unrestricted power (virtus necisque potestas) and equally outside the jurisdiction of the state."¹

In Christianity, as W.E.H. Lecky writes in the 'History of European Morals', "Woman was represented as the door of hell, as the mother of all human ills. She should be ashamed at the very thought that she is a woman. She should live in continual penance, on account of the curses she has brought upon the world."² For the "sin" of making Adam eat the forbidden fruit God passed his sentence on woman : "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception : in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."³ (Old Testament, Genesis 3:16).

Guru Nanak strongly advocates that women must enjoy the same rights as men enjoy. Guru Nanak unequivocally condemns the low status given to women at his times. He says that it is the woman

1. William A. Hunter, Introduction to Roman Law, (London, 1934), p.24, quoted in R.S. Sharma, op.cit., p.32.
2. W.E.H. Lecky, History of European Morals, quoted by Bhagwant Swarup Goel, op.cit.
3. Old Testament, Genesis, 3:16, quoted by Bhagwan Swarup Goel, op.cit.

who gives birth to men, even the Kings and other great men. Without her man's existence is not possible. Thus he elocutes a strong plea in favour of woman in the following words :-

It is woman who conceives and gives birth.
 To woman is man engaged, and woman he marries,
 With woman is man's companionship.
 From woman progeny takes place.
 Should woman die, is another sought;
 Due to woman are made relationships
 Why revile her of whom are born great ones of the earth?
 From woman is born woman, no human being without woman
 is born,
 Saith Nanak : the True Eternal alone with woman can
 dispense.¹

Guru Nanak denounces the idea of considering a woman impure during the period of her menstrual cycle. He attaches no impurity to it as it is a natural cycle. He attaches impurity not to the natural bodily functions but to the bad qualities and bad habits like that of telling lies. He says :-

As occurs the woman's menses again and again,
 So abides falsehood in the liar's mouth
 That ever brings ignominy to him.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 473

2. Ibid., p. 472

He condemns also the idea of attaching impurity to the delivery of a child and the period after it. There was a system to keep the mother separate from the rest of the family for a specific period after the child-birth. She was disallowed to touch anything lest it should become impure. The people called this impurity Sutak. Guru Nanak vehemently criticised this evil practice. He tells that everywhere pro-creation is taking place. Even the cow-dung cakes and wood used as fuel for cooking food are not free from it as the insects are procreating in them, then therein, too, must be impurity. Similarly, water and all other things human beings drink, eat or use otherwise, have life which is multiplying every moment, hence these things also must have impurity. According to Guru Nanak, actual impurity lies in evil thoughts of mind. He says :-

Should sutak impurity be believed in, then know,
Such impurity occurs everywhere,
Inside cowdung and wood are found worms.
No single grain of cereals is without life in it.
The first of living things is water, whereby is
each object sustained.
How may sutak impurity be believed when even in

the Kitchen it is occurring?

Saith Nanak : The sutak impurity goes not thus-
Enlightenment alone washes it off.¹

Further Guru Nanak comments on the actual
impurity in the following words :-

The Mind's sutak is avarice, the tongue's falsehood;
The eye's sutak coveting others' womenfolk's beauty
and others' wealth.
The ear's sutak is listening to slander.²

In this way, Guru Nanak does not find any logic
in the idea of sutak, and discards it only as an illusion
of mind. He writes :-

All belief in sutak is illusion, that induces in man
worship of other than God.

Birth and death by Divine Ordinance occurs;

By the Divine Will beings come and go.

Food and drink that the Lord to creation has granted,
is all pure,

Saith Nanak : Those that by the Master's guidance
have realization,

By sutak are not affected.³

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 472

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp. 472-73

Moreover, in the opinion of Guru Nanak, woman is same in substance, origin and attributes as is man. Both have each other's element in themselves. To quote him :-

In the male is the female element
in the female the male...¹

Therefore, the question of any disparity between man and woman does not arise.

According to Hindu Philosophy, a female devotee even of the stature of Meera Bai can never attain emancipation in her present life in the capacity of a woman; she has to take another birth as a man in the world to endeavour to attain emancipation. "Some ancient scriptures denounced woman as unworthy of religious exercises. Woman was regarded as evil and unclean."² In Islam a woman is not entitled to sit in the same row with men in Masjid to render namaz.

But Guru Nanak's view is totally different. He tells in a suggestive way that a woman is equally entitled to engage in contemplation of God's Naam for her spiritual exaltation and attainment of emancipation in her present life itself. According to him, just as water washes and cleans the male as well

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 879

2. Prof. Gobind Singh Mansukhani, The Quintessence Of Sikhism, p. 228

as female body covered with dust, without any discrimination, similarly, God's Naam purifies the impurities of human mind may it be of a man or a woman, He says :-

If the hands, feet and body - male as well as
female (Tan Deh),
are covered with dust, they can be washed
with water which cleans them equally.

...

If the mind (of a man as well as a woman)
is polluted, it is purified by contemplation
of God's Naam.¹

The words Tan and Deh used in the original composition, belong, in their sound-form, to the male and female gender respectively, hence they are suggestive of the male and female body respectively.

The right of woman to go to Gurdwaras and participate in the proceedings of the Sangat freely and effectively is a testimony to Guru Nanak's advocacy of her equal right in the spiritual domain. There are several examples in Sikh History to show that Guru Nanak's advocacy for women's equal rights

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 4

cast its impact on the life-style of women. They worked and co-operated with men, sometimes with greater vigour than men. Mata Khivi, the second Guru's wife, took active part in maintenance of the Langar i.e. Community Kitchen. The names of Bibi Bhani, Mata Gujri and Mata Sundri are also worth-mentioning for their considerable contribution to the cause of humanity. Not only this, women, whenever the need arose, did not hesitate to take up arms like their male counterparts. The examples of Mai Bhago (who fought valiantly at Khidrana, now Muktsar, at the time of Guru Gobind Singh) and Rani Sahib Kaur bear testimony to this fact.

The advocacy for the same rights to women as to men was initiated by Guru Nanak; but it was centuries after him that the U.N.O.'s Declaration of Human Rights declared under its article 2 that all human beings are entitled to the rights listed in the charter without the distinction of race, colour, sex and language etc.¹

Similar provisions have been made in the Constitution of India also.

7. Right to Resistance :-

It implies that the people have the right to resistance of the authority of the oppressive and

1. T.S. Batra, op.cit., p. 248

tyrannical rulers or of the ruler who fails to serve the people. They are supposed not to bear with him under any circumstances.

In ancient India, it was a tradition with people to resist the tyrannical ruler and his functionaries. There is an ample evidence to support the argument that subjects were advised to resist the tyrants or to leave his territory and shift to better governed Kingdoms. "King Krshnadevaraya of Vijayanagar warns his officers that they should not allow subjects to migrate under such circumstances, but should try to remove their grievances."¹

It was probably hoped that the prospective loss of the revenue might bring the King to his senses. In extreme cases the subjects could even replace the King.²

Mahabharata recognises subjects' right to tyrannicide if there was no other remedy left to them.³ Thus sovereignty ultimately rested with people. It was sort of constitutional right the

1. Sukranitisara, IV.1.3, quoted A.S. Altekar, op.cit., p. 101
2. Ibid., II. 274-5, quoted in A.S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 101.
3. Ibid., XIII.86.35-6, quoted in A.S. Altekar, op.cit., p. 101

scriptures had given them.

Guru Nanak's condemnation of the oppression and brutalities exercised by the rulers of his times on their subjects testifies his advocacy for the people's right to resist the oppressive and tyrant ruler. He himself confronted the ruler dauntlessly and irrepressibly. He comments :-

The kings are tigers; their officials are dogs,
They disturb the people without caring for their
convenience.

The officials cause wounds as if with their claws,
The blood and the flesh left behind are swallowed
up by the dogs (the servants).¹

He, very courageously raised voice against the injustice being done by his contemporary rulers. To quote him :-

The Kaliage is a knife, Kings are butchers;
Justice has taken wings and fled.
This is the dark night of evil;
The moon of truth is nowhere visible, nor risen.²

Guru Nanak did not spare the subjects also. In the opinion of Guru Nanak it was the fault of the

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 1288

2. Ibid., p. 145

people to obey the orders of the tyrannical rulers without discriminating between the right or wrong.

He comments :-

Greed and evil are King and counsellor;
falsehood their officer.

Lust the officer who is called for advice,
All three hold conclave to chalk out plans,
The subjects, bereft of understanding, are
carcases full of straw.¹

He criticises such men as obey the orders, just or unjust like dogs for the sake of a morsel of bread. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Saith Nanak : Men are human in shape and name -
Their doings dog-like : at the door waiting to
carry out commands.²

Thus Guru Nanak condemns non-resistance to the misrule and oppression of the rulers. It implies that he strongly advocates the people's right to resist authority if misused. The people must be aware of their right and prepared for the proper use of it whenever the need arises. In a way, Guru Nanak considers

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 469
2. Ibid., p. 350

it a duty in stead of a right of the people to resist tyranny.

A Western Political thinker, Saint Thomas Aquinas, also regarded it as a duty in stead of a right of the people to resist the tyrant ruler. "If he becomes tyrant and pursues his personal interests it becomes the duty of the subjects to resist. It is for this reason that the resistance of tyranny is not only a right but a duty."¹

In the opinion of Thomas Hobbes, the sovereign must get absolute powers. But as man has entered into contract with the state and surrendered certain rights for the sake of protection of his life, and if life itself is endangered by the sovereign then the people have the right to resist and change him. "... every man has the right to disobey if his sovereign commands him to kill, wound, or maim himself; or not to resist those that assault him; or any other thing, without which he cannot live..."²

1. Sabine, A History of Political Thought, p. 256, quoted in R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 35
2. Hobbes, Leviathan, Part II, Chapter 21, p. 204, quoted in R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 51.

A great defender of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England, John Locke, was of the conviction that the people must resist oppression. "The true remedy of force without authority is to oppose force to it."¹

T.H. Green is of the view that when the laws of the state are tyrannical and the state fails to promote the common good, "resistance under these circumstances is not merely a right but it becomes a duty."²

But the political system of Guru Nanak's vision is suggestive of total absence of violation of the people's human rights by the ruler. In case, the ruler violates any human right of any human being, it is imperative for the Sangat i.e. the people to resist him, to recall and replace him according to the need of the situation. But if even the new incumbent (ruler) starts violating the human rights, the political system itself must be changed and replaced by some healthier one congenial for full enjoyment of the human rights by the people of the state.

1. R.M. Bhagat, op.cit., p. 116
2. T.H. Green, Principles of Political Obligations, p. 140, quoted in Sukhbir Singh, op.cit., p. 139.

Chapter-VII

Guru Nanak's Ethics of War

Peaceful co-existence among different communities and states of the world is the ideal state of affairs on the earth. But if some dispute arises between different states or parties, it must be settled by one way or the other. The best and amicable way of settling such a dispute is, beyond doubt, tēte-ā-tēte talk between the disputant states or parties. However, war is also recognised as one of the modes of settling disputes among the belligerent states or parties. But it is to be used only in the last resort, that, too, following the Ethics of War.

The term 'Ethics', according to the Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, means 'rules of behaviour.'¹ In the words of T.J. Lawrence, "War is a contest carried on by public force between states, or between and communities having with regard to the contest the rights of states."² According to the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, "The term 'war' is popularly applied to any conflict between nations, communities, or other large social groups in which

1. Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, p. 448
2. T.J. Lawrence, The Principles of International Law, p. 331, quoted in James Hastings (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Religion And Ethics, vol.12.

violence is used for the settlement of a quarrel."¹

According to The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, war is "a state of usually open and declared armed hostile conflict between political units, such as states or nations or between rival political factions of the same state or nation."² The term 'Ethics of War' stands for the Code of Conduct to be observed by the warring parties or states during warfare.

The 'Ethics of War' is not an altogether novel concept. It existed in ancient times also. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Identifiable features of the present law can be traced back to ancient times in diverse parts of the world. As a rule, however, the mitigating features of law represented only an ideal, and wars between kindered people or like civilizations."³

In India, the Mahabharata holds that disarmed person and one who has surrendered should not be attacked but simply arrested. There should not be any general massacre. Women of the invaded area must not be attacked and the area should not be plundered.⁴

1. James Hastings (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Religion And Ethics, vol.12, p. 675.
2. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol.12, Micropaedia : Ready Reference, 1986, p. 490
3. Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol.19, p. 538
4. The Mahabharata, Santi Parva, Section XC VI, translated by K.M. Ganguli, p. 228.

In Santi Parva, Bhisma exhorts Yudhishtira not to subjugate any territory by unfair means : "A king should never desire to subjugate the earth by unrightful means, even if such subjugation would make him the sovereign of the whole earth. Which king is there that would rejoice after obtaining victory by unfair means? A victory stained by unrighteousness is uncertain and never leads to heaven."¹

Manu put forth the ethics of war as under:-

- I. Not to use concealed weapons, arrows smeared with poison or the points of which are blazing with fire.
- II. Anybody who had surrendered or fled was not to be killed.
- III. Disarmed or sleeping persons were not to be harmed.
- IV. Wounded were not to be attacked.²

In ancient Greece, there existed a religious association known as Amphictyonic Council whose function was to act as an arbiter for settling the disputes amongst the states to avoid war and in case of war to mitigate its horrors by suggesting ways and means for it,

1. The Mahabharata, Santi Parva, Section XC VI, translated by K.M. Ganguli, p. 228
2. G. Buhler, The Laws of Manu, VII, 90-93, ed. by Max Muller.

violation of which was forbidden. Peace at any cost was preferred. "The chief elements of the code were the rights of the alien, the sacred immunity of the herald, pious treatment of the slain (whose corpses might not be mutilated and should not be left unburied), and merciful treatment of prisoners. Unconditional surrender, if voluntary, carried with it a right to mercy; conditional surrender, if confirmed by an oath, was to be respected; and a captive had a title to be liberated (though it was doubtful if the captor was compelled to accept it) on payment of a fixed sum."¹

A firm measure taken in this direction, in human history, was the Fetial Law passed by Rome. Under this law it was made obligatory that a demand for satisfaction from the enemy be made before waging war. The prisoners of war were to be meted out compassionate treatment.

Despite the various measures taken to regulate the warfare the brutalities of war did not lessen. The reason for such a situation was rare observance of the ethics of war by the warring parties. Even in the war of Mahabharata, one finds some instances of sheer violation of the ethics of

1. A.H.J. Greenidge, A Handbook of Greek Constitutional History, London, 1896 pp. 16-18, quoted in James Hastings, *op.cit.*, p. 684.

war. It is found in the human history, with a few exceptions, that the armies often plundered the invaded areas. Moreover, no distinction was made between civilian and military population, religious or non-religious places etc.

The brutalities of war can be seen everywhere in the history of mankind. In India, the havoc wrought by Emperor Ashoka's conquest of Kalinga - the first major event of his reign - is unforgettable. In the words of Romila Thaper, - "The 13th Rock Edict states clearly that this event took place in the ninth year of Asoka's reign, i.e. 260 B.C. The tone of this edict, in which he mentions his regret and remorse at the suffering in Kalinga, is not the regret of a man moved by a passing emotion, but the meaningful contribution of a man who was consciously aware of the sorrow he had caused."¹ The inscription of the 13th Edict reads : "The country of Kalinga was conquered when king Priyadarsin, Beloved of the gods, had been anointed eight years. One hundred and fifty thousand were therefrom captured, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times as many died. Thereafter, now when the country of Kalinga has been acquired..."².

1. Romila Thaper, Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, pp. 35-36.
2. XIII Rock Edict of Asoka quoted in D.R. Bhandarkar, Asoka, pp. 290-91

In the opinion of D.R. Bhandarkar, "These are the figures for Kalinga only, and do not include the casualties in the King's army. We thus have to note that even in such a small province as Kalinga, as many as 1,00,000 were killed on the battle field, many times as many died as the result of burning and sacking, and, what is more, no less than 1,50,000 were seized as slaves. Surely these are appalling figures for a tiny district like Kalinga, and indicate the extreme horrors of war in that ancient period when the weapons of destruction were not so diabolical and deadly as now."¹

Though after the battle of Kalinga, Ashoka fought no battle, but war could not be effaced from the scene of human history. The disaster and miseries inflicted by the invasions of Mahmood of Ghazni, Mohammad Ghauri, Timur, Chengiz Khan, Ahmad Shah Abdali and others still horrify the Indian people.

Not only in India but in other parts of the world also, the brutalities often accompanied war. In the Egyptian tradition, the battle of Megiddo is quoted as an example. In this battle, general massacre

1. D.R. Bhandarkar, op.cit., pp. 20-21.

was ordered by the king and the invaded area was ransacked.¹

According to Ahmose, "The monuments of Asyria and Babylonia as well as the records of the Hebrews bear witness to the barbarity of the Asyrians and certain of the slain were often mutilated and rebel captives were imputed and subjected to the most horrible tortures. Those who escaped, were chained and enslaved."²

Thus the people had to suffer the brutalities of war due to lack of laws of war and non-observance of ethics of war by the fighting armies.

"War in ancient times knew few restraints, and slavery or death awaited those who were defeated. By the late Middle Ages, a substantial body of law, influenced by religious concepts and chivalry as well as by rationalist and humanist sentiment, had evolved. For example, Christians captured by other Christians were not to be enslaved. Medieval law applied primarily to gentlemen-soldiers, however, and civilans and soldiers of lower rank were likely to suffer grievously."³

1. Ahmose, Megiddo, fought by Thutmoses III in Asia Minor, 15th Century B.C., quoted in P. Bandyopadhey, International Law and Custom in Ancient India, p.107
2. Ibid.
3. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol.12, Macropaedia : Ready Reference, 1986, p.490.

In the opinion of Guru Nanak, it is essential for the warring parties to observe Ethics of War. However, the general tenor of his hymns is that of love and compassion for humankind which tend to establish peace and harmony among different communities and states of the world. He is an antagonist of war due to the destruction it causes. He is so agitated to see the sufferings of the people in the wake of Babar's invasion on India that he cannot help calling even God, the Almighty Himself, for an answer in the following words :-

Having conquered Khurasan Babar has terrified
Hindustan.

The Creator takes not the blame on Himself and
has sent the Mughal as Death's Myrmidon.
So much beating was inflicted that people shrieked.
Didst thou, O God, feel not compassion? ¹

Herein, he seems to be invoking the Lord of the Universe for mercy and abolition of such a horrible thing like war from the world.

Thus, Guru Nanak is for a war-free world. But if ever war has to be fought, it is to be fought in the last resort for protection of people's honour, for alleviation of their suffering, for restoration of

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 360

righteousness, for establishment of peace and harmony and for the welfare of the whole humankind and not for any personal gain or selfish motive. His view is best expressed in the Zafarnama by Guru Gobind Singh in the following couplet :-

Chu kar az hamah hilate dar guzasht
halal ast burdan ba shamshir dast.¹

'When all avenues have been explored, all means tried, it is rightful to draw the sword out of the scabbard and wield it with your hands.'² This principle was further elaborated in a directive to the Khalsa in 'Prem Sumarg': 'He (the Khasla) must always put on sword. He should behave like a gentleman, but when he finds a tyrant incorrigible and when it is the question of righteousness or when the king has abandoned the path of justice, he may make use of the sword according to the contingency of the situation but always as the last resort.'³

Moreover, whenever war has to be fought, Ethics of war must be invariably observed by the states or parties involved in war. Guru Nanak stresses the need

1. Guru Gobind Singh, the Zafarnama, Verse 22, ed. in Lal Singh, Chonvi Bani Dasam Granth, p.484
2. Khushwant Singh, History of the Sikhs, vol.1, p.78.
3. Quoted in Fauja Singh, Some Aspects of State and Society under Ranjit Singh, p.26.

of the Ethics of War i.e. the code of conduct or rules and regulations to be followed by the fighting armies during warfare. His ethics of war can be inferred from his verses wherein he points to the rules of war in an indirect manner while condemning the unrightful ways of the invader, Babar, and his army. He, in this way, puts forth a few rules of conduct for the warring parties and armies.

Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh had also to fight many wars, but they fought these wars against tyranny and oppression, to defend the human rights of the people and to restore righteousness. They themselves observed the ethics of war during warfare and made it obligatory for the Sikhs to observe it as well.

1. Not to wage War for Territorial Gain :-

A cursory glance at the human history makes it clear that so far the wars have often been waged and fought for the selfish motive of the ruler i.e. territorial gain. Guru Nanak thinks that kings, for the satisfaction of their ego, cherish to subjugate more and more people and to be the sovereigns of the whole world. That is why they wage wars and make invasions on other states, especially the weaker ones,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 226

for the purpose of annexing them to their own dominion. It can be inferred from the following words of Guru Nanak :-

Kings, being egoistic, make many expeditions
(wage many wars).¹

The very comment of Guru Nanak is suggestive of his condemnation of the idea of invading any other state for territorial gain. Aggression by one state upon another is, thus, to be considered a political crime on the part of the aggressive state.

2. Not to attack the Weak or the Unarmed:-

If need be, war is to be fought for the cause of righteousness and not for exercising oppression on the innocent populace of any state. Guru Nanak indicates the rule of war that the weak or unarmed persons, who are not fit or prepared for fighting, must not be attacked. He comments that the killing by a mighty person of another equally mighty person may be tolerable, but the killing of the weak and unarmed persons by a mighty belligerent person is an utterly condemnable act. To quote Guru Nanak :-

If a mighty man smites another equally mighty man,
then the mind feels no agony.

If a powerful tiger pouncing on a herd,
kills it, then its Master should be answerable.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 226

2. Ibid., 360.

These words also suggest that if at all a mighty person has to fight with a weak person for settling some dispute between them, the former, at first, must let the latter become as mighty as he himself is or the former must shed his might and come down to the level of the latter, only then the former is entitled to fight with the latter. In other words, only a fight between the two equals is justified. Moreover, since war is to be fought only for upholding the principle of righteousness, therefore, victory or defeat hardly matters with the righteous party.

This rule of war was strictly followed by Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh during warfare. Not even a single instance of attacking any weak or unarmed person can be found in the battles fought by Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh. Guru Hargobind, in the last battle, was attacked by Painde Khan, but the former managed to evade the attack. When the Guru attacked Painde Khan, the latter's horse was killed. Observing the ethics of war, Guru Hargobind also alighted his horse to fight on foot at an equal level with Painde Khan. Depicting the situation, Kavi Sohan writes in Gurbilas Patshahi-6 as under :-

The Guru aimed and gave a smite with
the left hand. Painde Khan fell on the

ground and started crying. The Guru alighted the horse and stood on feet and challenged him.¹

The Sikhs also followed the principle of not attacking the weak, unarmed, the coward or the fugitive. In Jang-Nāmā, Nur Mohammed writes :-

"In no case would they (the Sikhs) slay a coward nor would they put any obstacle in the way of a fugitive."²

3. No Massacre of General Public :-

The invaders, in ancient times, mercilessly shed the blood of general public during warfare. The history is replete with the instances of the massacre of innocent people by the Muslim invaders of India. In 712 A.D. Mohammad Bin Qasim attacked Sind and killed a large number of Hindus. According to Twarikh-e-Sind,³ he killed 16000 Hindus in the siege of Hiraon fort only. According to one estimate, Timur alone killed 77000 Brahmins and 29000 women including infants and aged.⁴ Bhai Gurdas, depicting the situation before the birth of Guru Nanak, writes that the Muslim invaders

1. Kavi Sohan, Gurbilas-6, Adhiyae 20, Verse 574-75.
2. Nur Mohammed, Jang Nāmā, pp.156-59, quoted in Khushwant Singh, A History of The Sikhs, Volume-I: 1469-1839, P. 160.
3. Ishar Singh Nara, Sri Krishna Bhagwan Te Kalgidhar p.11.
4. Ibid., p.12

and rulers killed innocent people and sin prevailed all around :-

They massacre the faultless and the helpless,
Sin is prevailing all around on the earth.¹

Guru Nanak's words 'So much beating was inflicted that the people shrieked'² imply the massacre of the innocent people committed by the ferocious hordes of Babar during his invasion of India. Guru Nanak's invocation of God for mercy is also suggestive of the rule of war that there should be no massacre of the general public during the warfare since war is to be fought only for the cause of righteousness and not for unleashing violence on innocent people. Therefore, the peaceful life of the innocent people who do not fight on the battle-field, must not be disturbed even during warfare.

4. Not to plunder the invaded area :-

During the wars fought in the history of mankind the invaders often ransacked the invaded area and took the booty along with them which were usually distributed among those who took them. They plundered the private property even of the civilians.

1. Bhai Gurdas, Varan, 1:20.

2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 360

Babar's army made no exception to this evil practice. His soldiers also plundered the people's property. The following words of Guru Nanak indirectly refer to the destruction or ransack committed by Babar's army :-

Where are those sports, stables and horses?

Where are the drums and bugles?

Where are those sword-belts and chariots?

Where are those scarlet Uniforms?

Where are those mirrored finger-rings and

beautiful faces?

They are no longer seen here.¹

It is quite understandable that, as Guru Nanak, herein, is commenting in the context of Babar's invasion of India, the things mentioned above had either been destroyed or looted by the army of Babar. Guru Nanak, through these words, also suggests that the warring army should not plunder the invaded area. He is not for fighting a war for personal gain in form of property or anything else.

In the Bachitra Natak, Guru Gobind Singh condemns Hussaini, the commander of Lahore's army,

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 417

for his act of looting the peaceful citizens' property in the Doon area :-

He looted the Doon and none could challenge him. He distributed the booty amongst his army men and thus he did this heinous act.¹

The Nawab of Lahore, after the defeat in the battle of Nandaun, sent troops to defeat Guru Gobind Singh but faced defeat once again from the latter. The defeated royal army took to heels, but on their way back, they plundered a village, Barwa, out of frustration only. Guru Gobind Singh condemned this act of the defeated army. The Guru commented that the royal army failed to defeat him and out of sheer frustration looted Barwa as a grocer cannot eat meat but to quench his taste he satisfies himself by eating a dish of stones. He says :-

When he could not be successful here he ravaged Barwa. As a grocer, to satisfy his hunger for meat eats a dish of stones.²

1. Guru Gobind Singh, the Bachitra Natak, 10:10, Sri Dasam Guru Granth Sahib Ji, Vol.I, P.65, published by Bhai Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh.
2. Guru Gobind Singh, The Bachitra Natak, 11:3, Sri Dasam Guru Granth Sahib Ji, Vol.1, P.65, published by Bhai Chatar Singh Jiwan Singh.

Even after Guru Gobind Singh the Sikhs never plundered the private property of the people during warfare. Nur Mohammed, the author of Jang Nāmā, who was no friend of the Sikhs, writes :-

"They do not plunder the wealth and ornaments of a woman, be she a well-to-do lady or a maid-servant."¹ Thus, the Sikhs used to follow a stern moral code during warfare.

5. Not to damage Places of Worship :-

The history of India is full of instances of razing of the places of worship by the alien invaders. Babar's army also damaged indiscriminately the places of worship of Hindus as well as of Muslims. Guru Nanak refers to the gruesome event in the following words :-

Millions of spell-binders tried to stop the Lord
Babar,
 When report of his invasion went abroad,
 Hindu temples and Muslim sacred spots went up in
flames,
 And princes cut to pieces with dust were mingled.
 No Mughal by such spells was struck blind;
 None by their spells was affected.²

1. Nur Mohammed, Jang Nāmā, pp. 156-59, quoted in Khushwant Singh, A History of The Sikhs, Vol.1: 1469-1839, p. 160.
2. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, pp. 417-18.

These words of Guru Nanak are suggestive of such a rule of war as does not permit attack on the places of worship in the war-area. It is no use restraining the invaders from committing the damage of the places of worship through spells etc. The religious places are the places of worship of God who is all-pervasive and above any conflict, therefore, such places belong to all and hence these places must not be damaged even during warfare.

6. Not to molest Women :-

History shows that the womenfolk have always been the worst victims of the giant of war. Their honour has always been at stake during warfare. Many women have been molested and raped by the savage army men not observing the ethics of war during the wars fought so far. Sometimes they have been forced to enter into fake wed-locks with the army men and this phenomenon gave rise to the concept of the 'war-baby'. Babar's army also treated the women of India in the same way. Describing the situation Guru Nanak expresses his agony in the following verse :-

Friend Lalo! as descends to me the Lord's word,

I express it.

Babar with the wedding-party of sin from Kabul

rushed down,

And forcibly demanded surrender of Indian womanhood.
 Then went modesty and righteousness into hiding,
 And falsehood was strutting about in glory.
 Set aside were Kazis and Brahmins, and
 Satan went about solemnizing (Sic. solemnising)
 marriages.

Muslim women, reciting the Koran, in their affliction
 called on Khuda.

Other women of lower castes and of the Hindus in
this suffering too include in your account.

Saith Nanak: Divine Beloved! sung are paeans of blood,
 And sprinkled is blood for saffron.¹

At another place, Guru Nanak vividly depicts
 the pitiable plight of the women who fell victims to
 molestation at the hands of the invading army during
 Babar's carnage in Punjab in 1521 A.D. He writes :-

The heads elegantly coiffured, with vermilion
 decked and painted,
 Now with scissors are shorn, dust into their necks
 rises.

These females formerly in mansions abided;
 now are they not allowed near them.

....

When they were wed, their bridegrooms by their side
 in glory sat.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 722

Riding ivory-decked palanquins they arrived;
 Over them was water waved, with fans dazzlingly
 shining.

With each movement were they gifted lakhs.
 Munching coconut pulp and dates, in decked couches
 they rested.

Now are halters thrown round their necks,
 their pearl-strings broken.

Wealth and beauty turn enemies of such as had
 enjoyment of them.

The conqueror^e commanded his minions to lead them
 out in dishonour.¹

The above verses of Guru Nanak indicate that Guru Nanak considers women's molestation by the warring armymen an act of unrighteousness and cruelty. It is sheer violation of the ethics of war. Guru Nanak exhorts the menfolk not to cast a lustful glance at the woman who does not belong to them. He says :-

Abandon thou another's woman, another's wealth,
 avarice, the poisonous sin of self-conceit,
 evil inclinations, Other's slander and the
 pariahs of lust and wrath.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 417

2. Ibid., p.1255

Thus, Guru Nanak suggests that it should be the rule of war that no armyman can molest or rape any woman even during warfare.

This rule of war was ever followed by the Sikhs in the battles fought by them under the command of Guru Gobind Singh. The Sikhs never misbehaved with women during war-times. According to Kavi Santokh Singh, once some Sikhs asked Guru Gobind Singh why should not they capture the Muslim women in retaliation while the Muslim soldiers had forcibly carried away the Hindu women along with booty. But the Guru forbade them saying that they have to be persons of higher character and higher values of life. The Kavi puts it in these words in the Gur Partap Suraj Granth:-

The Sikhs told the Guru that the Muslim
soldiers raped the Hindu women.

Why should not the Sikhs take revenge?

Why does the Sikh code forbid it?

The Guru replied, "I wish to exalt the Panth, the Sikh community, to much higher planes and not to let it degrade. That is why I forbid you to commit sins."¹

1. Kavi Santokh Singh, Sri Gur Partap Suraj Granth, Rut 6, Ansu 20, verse 18-19.

Following this high principle of life, the Sikhs saved many women's honour during the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali and Durrani. The invaders used to capture and carry with them a large number of women along with other things. But the Sikhs always got those innocent women freed and returned them to their guardians honourably. Not only this, they also kept intact the honour of the Muslim (enemy's) women who came their way, and respectfully restored them to their parents. Even Nur Mohammed who is full of vile abuse of the Sikhs, is constrained to pay them a tribute as men of character in his *Jang Nāmā*. He writes, " There is no adultery among these dogs (the Sikhs), nor are they mischievous people given to thieving. Whether a woman is young or old, they call her a buriyā and ask her to get out of the way. The word buriyā in the Indian language means 'an old lady'. There is no thief at all among these dogs, nor is there any house-breaker born among these miscreants. They do not make friends with adulterers and house-breakers, though their behaviour on the whole is not commendable."¹

1. Nur Mohammed, *Jang Nāmā*, pp. 156-159, quoted in Khushwant Singh, *op.cit.*, p.160.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many conventions have been held on warfare. A close perusal of these conventions shows that the Ethics of War to be observed by the belligerent parties or states as suggested by Guru Nanak proved to be the precursor of these conventions. The most important among these conventions are the Declaration of Paris of 1856, the Geneva Convention of 1864, the Declaration of St. Peterburg of 1864, the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the Geneva Protocol of 1925, the Submarine Rulers Protocol of 1936 and the four Geneva Red Cross Conventions of 1949.

It will not be out of place to mention here that Bhai Kanhaiya, an ardent devotee of Guru Gobind Singh, was assigned the duty of serving water to the soldiers irrespective of their allegiance on the battlefield of Anandpur Sahib during the battle between Wazir Khan and Guru Gobind Singh in October, 1702. A few Sikhs lodged a complaint with the Guru against Bhai Kanhaiya for serving water to the foes. When the Guru called for his explanation for this act, Bhai Kanhaiya very humbly replied that he, while serving water, saw none else - friend or foe - but God in all. The Guru was extremely pleased with his absolutely impartial service to humanity, and offered him a small box of

ointment for dressing the injured of both the armies. In this way, Bhai Kanhaiya's act of serving humankind without any discrimination between friend or foe even on the battlefield, became the precursor of the Geneva Convention of 1864 which granted privileges to the International Red Cross Society founded by Henri Dunant, for tending the sick and wounded in war.

Some of the significant laws of war passed by the Conventions mentioned above are : not to kill the civilians; to give humane treatment to the prisoners of war; not to sink the merchant ships without securing the safety of the crew; not to use poisonous gases; to accord due regard to women; free treatment of the wounded, not to make vehicle and aircrafts, engaged in evacuation of the sick and injured, the target of attack.

"The laws of war are based on the assumption that war should be a disciplined political act undertaken to achieve particular political ends and not just an indiscriminate unleashing of violence on others."¹

1. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol.12, Macropaedia : Ready Reference, p. 490.

Chapter-VIII

State and Religion

Relationship of Guru Nanak's Vision

Relationship between State and Religion has always been a matter of much controversy since the inception of the institution of State. Even at present there are some people who vehemently argue that the realms of activity of State and Religion are entirely different and the both have nothing to do with each other's functions. At the same time, there are those who consider State and Religion to be closely related to each other and argue that both are inseparable.

The word 'Religion' is derived from the Latin word religare which means to tie back.¹ According to W.L. Rease, religion refers to an institution with a recognised body of communicants who gather regularly for worship and accept a set of doctrines offering some means of relating the individual to what is taken to be ultimate nature of reality.²

Here, a brief study of the various perspectives on the relationship between State and Religion will be helpful in understanding the changes that took place in this relationship from time to time.

1. Webster's Third New Encyclopaedic Dictionary.
2. W.L. Rease, Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion
P.48

Western Perspective :-

In the Western Political Thought, the relationship between State and Religion varies with the different political thinkers.

In the scheme of the state of Plato's vision, "Religion, like education, is subjected to the rules and regulations of the state. Plato forbids private religious exercise. Religious rites will be performed only in public temples and that too by authorised priests. He also suggests that a creed of religion must be created by the state. This makes the Platonic state a theocratic state, which is contrary to the principles of secularism. He proposes penalty for the disbelief-ness of religion and even imprisonment and death to the atheist."¹

Aristotle regards it as an essential function of the state to take proper care of religion. For the proper maintenance of the life of state, "...fifthly, or rather first, there must be a care of religion, which is commonly called worship..."²

It is noteworthy that before the advent of Christianity, no distinction was made between the religious duties and the duties to the state. "In the classical polities of Greece and Rome duties to God were not distinguished from duties to the state, for the

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1. Sukhbir Singh, History of Political Thought, Volume One, P. 136.
 2. Aristotle, Politics, Book VII, Chapter 8, P. 273 quoted in Sukhbir Singh, op., cit., P. 206

gods were the gods of the state. Similarly for the Jews of the Old Testament, Jehovah was the God of Israel, and it was impossible to distinguish the service of Jehovah from the service of Israel."¹

"Christianity introduced into medieval politics a new concept of spiritual power independent of, and even superior to, political authority. But when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire in the 4th century, and the only permitted faith in the 5th, it led to the rapid development of the theory determining the relations between the Church and the state."²

According to Prof. Dunning, "The starting point in all medieval theorizing on politics was the dogma of the two powers."³ This dogma of the two powers, popularly known as Gelasian theory of Parallelism or the theory of 'Two Swords' * goes back to the command of Christ in the Gospels: 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.'⁴ It informs the teaching of St. Paul

1. Michael B. Foster, Masters of Political Thought, Volume I, Plato to Machiavelli, P.232

2. Sukhbir Singh, op.,cit.,PP. 280-81.

3. W.A. Dunning, Political Theories: Ancient and Medieval, P. 165, quoted in Sukhbir Singh, Op.,cit., P. 281

4. Mathew, XXII, 21, quoted in Michael B.Foster, Masters of Political Thought, Vol.I:Plato to Machiavelli P.231

* Pater says to Christ in the Gospel: "Lo, here are two swords" (Luke XXII,38), and the two swords were regarded in the Middle Ages as the symbol of the-two powers." Quoted in Michael B.Foster,op.cit,P.235

and St. Peter in their epistles. "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers : for there is no power but of God ; and the powers that be are ordained of God."¹"Fear God, Honour the King."² Thus, the "New Testament holds that government was a divine institution obedience to which was at once a political necessity and a religious obligation."³"It is the principle of Augustine's doctrine that the Christian on his pilgrimage in the world makes use of the peace of the "earthly city".⁴ "It was, indeed, the modus vivendi of the early church in the Roman world that its members hold themselves bound to pay absolute obedience to the civil magistrate, save only when he sought to control their worship and religious belief."⁵

"They (i.e. the civil authorities) shrink from interference with religious matters, and recognize that these do not fall within the measure of their authority, which has been allotted to them for the judgment of human things, nor also for the controlling of divine things ...But, after the coming of Christ (who was Himself both the true king and the true priest), no emperor thereafter has assumed the title of priest, and no priest has seized

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1. Rom, XIII,I, quoted in Michael B.Foster, op.cit.P.231
 2. I Peter II, 17., quoted in Michael B.Foster, op.cit., P.231
 3. R. Pandey, Political Thought:Plato to Machiavelli,p.305
 4. Michael B.Foster, op.cit.,P.231.
 5. Ibid .

a regal throne For Christ, being mindful of human frailty, provided by a grand dispensation for the salvation of his people. He separated the kingly duties and powers from the priestly, according to the different functions and dignity proper to each, wishing that his people should be preserved by a saving humility, and not again ensnared by human pride¹", observed Pope Gelasius.

According to John of Salisbury, "The prince is a minister of the priestly power, and one who exercises that side of the sacred offices which seems unworthy of the hands of the priesthood. As the original and true owner of the temporal sword, the Church has the right to depose the prince if he violates the law of God and disregards the precepts of the Church, for he who can lawfully bestow can lawfully take away."²

"St. Augustine had already described the Church as the visible sign of the City of God, whose business was the regulation of heavenly life. The saving of souls was regarded more important than the regulation of mere physical life which was a concern of the state. St. Ambrose of Milan had said that "the glory of princes was to the glory of bishops as the brightness of lead to the brightness of gold".³

1. Tractus, IV, II; quoted in Michael B. Foster, op.cit., pp. 231-32

2. Sukhbir Singh, Op.cit., P.287

3. Ibid., p. 284

St. Thomas Aquinas regards governing as steering of a ship. While expounding the relation between the state and Church, he compares the function of the temporal ruler with that of the ship's carpenter, whose task is to keep the ship in repair while on voyage. The task of the Church is like that of the pilot, who has to steer the ship to the goal of its voyage. According to him, the state is not independent of the Church, and is subordinate to it in so far as their spheres of authority overlap.¹

Marsilio of Padua, a staunch secularist, holds that the Church is definitely and clearly subordinate to the authority of the state. He treats the clergy like an ordinary citizen. As ordinary citizen he cannot claim exemption from secular laws. According to Marsilio, the task of civil government was the maintenance of peace. The Chief disturber of the peace of Christendom was the bishop of Rome 'called Pope'. But his power rests on no divine sanction, it has been created by man, and by man it may be and should be destroyed, and until it is destroyed, there can be no true peace. The clergy has no coercive authority of any kind, divine or human, temporal or spiritual.²

1. Michael B. Foster, op.cit., P.259

2. Sukhbir Singh, op.cit., PP 342-43

Machiavelli, the Western contemporary of Guru Nanak, does not recognise the distinction between the Human Law and the Divine Law. He denies any claim by the Church not merely to superiority but to independence of the state.

But this does not mean that Machiavelli despises religion. He writes, in the title of a chapter in his Discourses, the "importance of giving religion a prominent influence in a state, and how Italy was ruined because she failed in this respect through the conduct of the Church of Rome".¹ Similarly, he writes at the opening of the same chapter, "Princes and Republics who wish to maintain themselves free from corruption must above all things preserve the purity of all religious observances and treat them with proper reverence; for there is no greater indication of the ruin of a country than to see religion contemned."²

"Machiavelli's theory is not hostile to religion. Religion, he thinks, is necessary for the health and prosperity of a state.... This is to attribute to religion an important place within the state; but a place within the state, not above it or beside it.

1. Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius, Book I, Chapter XII, quoted in Michael B. Foster, op.cit., P.269.

2. Ibid.,

Machiavelli prizes religion as instrumental to the ends of the state, and the Church as an organ of the state. That is to say, he values religion in its pagan form, but rejects the Christian principle¹. However, Machiavelli makes a systematic attempt to dissociate politics from ethics. According to him, "the keeping of faith is praiseworthy, but for the sake of maintaining political power, deceit and hypocrisy are indispensable."²

Luther preached the divine origin of authority and the doctrine of passive obedience which strengthened the hands of national monarchies in many parts of the world.³

According to Calvin, the State is⁴ based on two fundamental ideas, viz., the sovereignty of God and the Fall of Man. To him men are evil, nine out of ten being damned. Secular Government is, therefore, necessary to preserve order.... Both the Christian Church and the Christian State, in his view, are created by God Since the authority of the

1. Michael B. Foster, Op.cit. PP.269-70

2. The Prince, C.18, quoted in Sukhbir Singh, op.cit., P. 376

3. Sukhbir Singh, op.cit., P.387

Church is spiritual, it should include no element of secular concern, And the authority of the State is temporal, its jurisdiction, therefore, should be confined to the physical and external existence of man. But the two are equally sacrosanct."¹

But Calvin was willing to obey the secular authority as long as it obeyed the theocracy, but where the government was hostile, Calvinism developed an authority.² The Geneva system which grew up under Calvin's influence was Church-state because it was "Theocratic in principle and aristocratic in operation."³

The secular authority, however, benefitted such theories. So much so that James I, holds that the wickedness of a King can never make subjects that are ordained to be judged by him, to become his judges.⁴

The above discussion shows that in the Western World, religion was ultimately subjected to the authority of the state.

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1. Sukhbir Singh, op.,cit., P.393
 2. Ibid., P. 393
 3. Ibid., P.383
 4. A.S. Altekar, op.,cit.,P.94

Indian Perspective :-

The concept of religion in the sense in which it is available in the Western world did not exist in ancient India . "The Sanskrit word dharma is usually rendered into English as 'religion'. But the two words are not exactly the same in meaning. The essence of religion is creed, of dharma, religion." Thus dharma is wider in its signification than religion as it includes the ideas of virtue, piety, duty and law.²

The ancient Indian conception of dharma "centred on a code of life adapted to the caste and station of each man by which the whole gamut of his duties - moral, social, and religious - was determined. Each caste had its own dharma but dharma was also the moral order and truth, and satya, transcending the gods and preserved by them."³

In ancient India, the term dharma connoted the varnasrama dharma which was regarded as the divinely ordained social order. It was based on the Sacred Law which prescribed the ethics which varied with each varna.

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1. P.N. Banerjee, Public Administration in Ancient India, PP. 193-200 quoted in N.Q Pankaj, State And Religion In Ancient India, P.187
 2. N.Q. Pankaj, op., cit., P.187
 3. Ibid., P.70

Dharma was regarded as the essence of ideal kingship. Ancient authors advocated righteous administration by the king. Only a righteous king could ensure a righteous and prosperous people while an evil king meant the reverse. The political righteousness was stressed in the ancient Indian polity. But the Brahmana canonists conceive that the king's righteousness is relative in the sense that he is primarily governed by the distinctive laws of his order which are sufficiently elastic in their composition to permit incorporation of rules and principles from the Arthashastra.¹

In ancient India, the promotion of dharma was regarded as one of the foremost aims of the state. The king was expected to encourage piety and virtue and to grant aid to religious institutions of various sects. According to the Vedic Literature, the "king or the head of the state was to be like god Varuna, the upholder of the law and order (dhritavrata); he was to punish the wicked and help the virtuous. Religion was to be promoted, morality was to be patronised."²

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1. N.Q Pankaj, op.cit., PP. 71-186
 2. Chandogya Upanishad, V II.5, quoted in A.S. Altekar, State And Government In Ancient India pp.47-48

In the early Vedic times, no sharp demarcation of distinction was made between the religious and political activities of the people. "The king had purohita who was not merely the priest of the royal household but a public functionary who shared with the king the responsibility for the safety of the state."¹ "It was his duty to pray or sacrifice in the assembly house for the victory of the king."²

"The connection of state with dharma in the Brahmanic period was of a peculiar kind. The religious rites and ceremonies and the ethical rules of conduct were settled and declared by the Brahmanas, matters with which the state did not interfere. But it was the duty of the king and his officials to enforce on the people the observance of their respective duties".³ The king was thus the protector of the religion. Moreover, the king had to act according to the instruction of Purohita, the royal priest, who had now become an institution by himself, and through him the injunctions of religion.⁴

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1. Aitareya Brahmana, VIII,10, quoted in N.Q.Pankaj, Op.cit., p.188
 2. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (Eds.). The Vedic Age p. 431, quoted in N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., P.188
 3. Apastamba, II.X.27,18; Vasistha XIX,8, quoted in N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., P.189
 4. N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., P.189

Now the question arises to what extent the ancient Indian state was theocratic. "A theocracy may arise when a King usurps the functions of the Church, as was the case with the Khalifas, or when the head of the Church becomes the King as is the case with the Dalai Lama of Tibet and the Pope of the Vatican Kingdom. Or, the king may be a mere agent or instrument of the church, as was the case for some time in Europe during the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. The Pope and the bishops at this time claimed the right to punish the King, if he was not ruling according to the will of God".¹

"Gautama-Dharmasutra (C.500 B.C.) claims that the royal authority does not touch the priest² and reminds the king that he can prosper only if supported by the latter. If he does not employ a qualified Brahmana priest, says the Aitareya Brahmana,³ gods will not at all accept his oblations. At the time of the coronation, the King three times bows before the Brahmana; he thereby accepts his subordinate position, and as long as he does so, he will prosper.⁴ Priests

1. A.S. Altekar, op.,cit.,P.51

2. Gautama Dharmasutra, I.II. quoted in A.S. Altekar, op.,cit., P.51-52

3. Aitareya Brāhmana, VII,5,24 quoted in A.S,Altekar op.,cit. P.52

4. Ibid., III.9, quoted,in A.S. Altekar, op.cit.,P.52

like Vasishtha exercised profound influence on the royal court. Rituals were also devised to ensure the subordination of the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas to the Brahmanas.¹ In the Rigveda there is a clear passage to show that a King, who honoured his chaplain properly, could secure an easy mastery over his subjects and a smashing defeat over his enemies".² These evidences show that down to the end of the Brahmana period (C. 1000 B.C.) the priests tried to extend their sway over the monarch and through him over the state though they could never succeed in having full control over the monarch. Dr. U.N. Ghoshal refers to the "striking fact that this class (the Brahmanas) throughout our history failed to assert (except in theory and in legend) its claim to control kings and emperors".³

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1. Pañchavimsa Brāhmana, XI, II.I., quoted in A.S. Altekar, op.cit., P.52
 2. Rigveda, IV., 50-7-9, quoted in A.S. Altekar, Op., cit., P.52
 3. Dr. U.N. Ghoshal,, A History of Indian Political Ideas, P.7

The mixture of politics and religion was not a deliberate and exclusive feature of ancient Indian polity. The mingling of religious ideas with political thoughts in the ancient Indian polity helped the governments to be stable in every sense in the conditions of the time. No sharp distinction seems to have been made between religion and state or government as everything was viewed through religious glasses. The religious orientation was very pronounced in the ancient Indian polity. The conception of dharma in relation to the state indicated that the latter was ultimately tied up with the final goal of existence.¹

In the Mauryan period, religion came to be used for securing the stability of the state. "The most important development in the administrative methods of the Mauryan state was the skilful use of religion for serving political ends. A master of the science and craft of politics, Kautilya gave a place of honour to the orthodox religious system. Basically he supported the Brahmanical social order and opposed heretical sects."²

1. N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., pp.186-87

2. Ibid., P.191

"The patronage and regulations of temples was simply another area of state administration. However, the Arthashastra did undermine the theoretical basis of the promotion of religion by the state. The religious measures of the Mauryan state were intended to strengthen royal power, though the tradition of Vedas is accepted and the king is charged with the preservation of custom and religion".¹

"Strikingly enough, Kautilya makes deliberate use of religion in deceiving masses and securing their loyalty to the state. He recommends the exploitation of religion for political ends. He always thinks in terms of the state and values asceticism primarily for its usefulness in espionage and intelligence activities".²

The non-Brahmanical literature points to some significant changes in the relationship between state and religion. The Buddha was primarily occupied with social and religious problems of his times. Whenever

1. Arthashastra, quoted in N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., p.191

2. N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., pp., 191-92

necessary, he made a positive approach to give to religious institutions some moral temper. A close study of the Buddhist literature makes it clear that the heterodox ideology was not only fighting against the Brahmanical religious practices but was also contesting the neo-political ideals and unrestrained military life of the monarchs which was destructive of the traditional social system. The Buddha attempted to strike out a rapprochement between religious ideals and political power, which ultimately proved to be a bold and positive contribution to Indian polity.¹

Dharma, in the conception of the Buddhist canonists, signifies especially the principle of righteousness. The Buddhist dharma in its relation to the king involves the application of the universal ethics of Buddhism to the State administration, this principle being even extended, to the concept of the World-ruler.²

1. N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., pp.202-3

2. U.N. Ghoshal, A History of Indian Political Ideas, P. 73.

"The Buddhist conception of dharma did not accept its theological and metaphysical aspects as absolute truths and the highest reality. It concentrated on its operation in the laws of nature and the mutual relations and conduct of men. The Buddhist ideas aimed at laws applicable to the whole mankind and thus paved the way for an unlimited imperialism",¹ "In the eyes of the Buddhist canonists the standard of ethics is absolute in the sense that the same moral law governs the conduct of the laxity, whether king or commoner."²

Asoka who was a ruler of rare imagination, sought to merge dharma and politics together to all possible extent, bringing dharma within state control. He departed from the orthodox tradition of recognising the Vedic polity and orthodox social and religious laws. He introduced his own dharma in the state and the empire, which incorporates the essence of Buddhism. His dharma based on ethics, non-violence, and antivedic policy of abolishing sacrifices and class - privileges on account of his adherence to Buddhism was

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1. The Book of Gradual Sayings, I.pp. 94-95, quoted in N.O. Pankaj, op.cit.,p.70
 2. Jātaka, (Fausboll's ed.), I. 260, quoted in N.O. Pankaj, op.cit.,P.71

diametrically opposed to the spirit of Kautilya who upholds positivism in politics, but duly recognises the varna system, the sacrificial cult, and the claims of the upper classes.¹

"After the Mauryas the state, for a short while, developed a partisan character in contemporary religious matters. Some of the rulers showed partisan spirit either as followers of Brahmanism or Buddhism in the foundation and execution of state policies and strove to promote the ideals of their own religions. The tradition of royal patronage had its origin with Asoka extended in later ages also. It was mainly the age of Brahmanic revival".² In the post-Mauryan period, religion began to be used to strengthen the power and the position of the king and it became an ally of the state. In turn it pleaded for its own protection.³

"With the rise of the Guptas the alliance between religion and state was firmly established. But by proclaiming a policy of religious tolerance to all, the period manifested its progressive and

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1. N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., p.195
 2. Ibid., P. 196
 3. Ibid., pp.196-7

secular nature. The secular tone of the state was not a negative policy, rather it was a policy that the state adopted to secure that social good which it had realized under the Mauryans, the realisation of which was incompatible with religious partisanship and persecution. The adoption of this policy involved royal control over religion in a negative manner ."¹

The fore-going discussion shows that in India also, the supremacy of the state was established and religion was relegated to the secondary position.

The rule of the Muslims in India is often designated as Muslim Theocracy. A Theocratic state is based on the assumption that unity of religion is, more or less, necessary in order to maintain order and harmony in society and unity among the citizens of the State. In a theocratic state, every subject is forced to embrace the faith followed by his ruler. Thus, conformity by all to one faith is stressed with all staunchness. It is presumed that the theocracy is the rule of God according to His commandments revealed through His messengers, and that the ruler is the agent of God on the earth and he is answerable to God alone for the performance of his duties. Moreover, "a theocratic state is based

1. N.Q. Pankaj, op.cit., P.197

on the presumption that the rulers are answerable, not for the welfare of the bodies of their subjects, but for the salvation of their souls, and that the end of all political endeavour is not in this world but the next".¹

The Muslim rulers were informed and guided by the doctrines of the political Islam as expounded by the Mujaddid.² They, impelled by their fanatic fancies and whims regarded their own faith viz. Islam as the best on the earth and looked at the other faiths with contempt. Their rule was not the rule of God but that of fanaticism. They employed their coercive authority to spread their own faith by forcible conversion of the people of other faiths into their own faith. The people in India who conformed to their own faiths had to lead terrible life under the reign of the Muslim rulers. They were relegated to the position of slaves and tax was levied on their gods and temples. So much so that the whole paraphernalia of worship was put under the Muslim garb and the Supreme being was given

1. Kapur Singh, The Essentials of Sikhism, the article published in Dr. Gopal Singh, Sri Guru Granth Sahib (English Version), First Impression, 1960, P. XVI

2. Ibid., P. XV.

the name 'Allah'. Guru Nanak comments on his contemporary conditions under the Muslim Theocracy in the following words :-

In Kali-Yuga appeared Atharva-Veda,
when God was given the name Allah,
In this age people wear blue and is established
the rule of Turks and Pathans.¹

Further :-

Now that the turn of the Sheikhs has come,
the Primal Lord is called Allah :
And the (Hindu) gods and temples have been
taxed : such is the current way :
The ablution pot, the prayer, the prayer -
mat, the call to prayer,
have all assumed the Muslim garb:
even God is now robed in blue
(like the Muslim did):
And men have changed their tongue and
the Muslim way of greetings prevails.²

It is evident from the above-quoted verses that the people especially those who believed in the faiths other than that of the ruler or the ruling class, enjoyed no religious and cultural freedom in the Muslim State.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 470

2. Ibid., p. 1191

Guru Nanak while commenting on the political situation of his times, observes that there is no religion, in the real sense of the word, seen anywhere in the state ; the rulers who are supposed to ensure the security of the subjects have themselves become butchers and strike terror among the people. To quote him :-

The Kaliage is a knife, kings are butchers ;
 Religion (Righteousness and Justice) has taken
 wings and fled.¹

Guru Nanak's Perspective :-

In order to understand Guru Nanak's perspective on the relationship between State and Religion aright it is necessary to know what Guru Nanak means by Religion. Religion, to Guru Nanak, is no 'ism' or institution ;it is Ethics. To put it in terse terms, Ethics is Religion, in Guru Nanak's view. The Ethics, as advocated by Guru Nanak is such a code of conduct as exalts man to a trans-personal plane and makes him a man of righteousness, contentment, service, mercy and truth. He is, no more, an ego-centric, he no more cherishes the selfish interests; rather he dedicates his life to the service of humankind. He rises above all parochial considerations and thinks and works for the welfare and uplift of humankind as a whole seeing only God in each and every being.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 145

Religion (Dharma), according to Guru Nanak, is the off-spring of Mercy (Daya) which is the sublime ethical virtue. To quote him :-

The Bull of Dharma is son of Mercy
Contentment holds the creation together.¹

Truthful living is the essence of his religion. The importance Guru Nanak's thought attaches to truthful living is evident from the following words:-

Truth is higher than everything else ;
but higher still is truthful living.²

The religiosity of a person is determined in terms of the truthfulness of his actions i.e. the observance of ethical principles of religion by him in all the spheres of life- social, political and economic. The truthful living viz. the righteous living of all the individuals ensures order and harmony in the society.

As far as the relationship between State and Religion is concerned, Guru Nanak is not in favour of claim of any formalised faith by the State as its own religious faith. The State of his vision is not the so-called Theocratic State. He regards the assumptions of the theocratic state

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1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth ,P. 3
 2. Ibid., P. 62

as unwarranted. He does not feel the necessity of conformity to the faith of the ruler by all the citizens of the state for establishment of order and harmony in the state. On the contrary, he believes that there is a fundamental unity in the ethics of all true religions of the world though they appear to be diverse. It is this fundamental unity of ethics of the apparently diverse religions that the order and harmony of the state will be a corollary .

The general tenor of Guru Nanak's thought shows that he does not uphold the Divine Rights of Kings according to which the rulers are directly answerable to God alone and the laws made by the kings are considered to be the laws of God Himself and the king is regarded as an incarnation of divinity. In the political system of Guru Nanak's vision, the ruler will have no divine rights; rather the right to govern the State will be bestowed upon him by the Sangat viz. the people who, however, are the representatives of God on the earth. The laws in the State of his vision will not be made by the ruler himself but by the Sangat. Only such laws as framed by the Sangat will be considered to be the laws given by God. The ruler will not be regarded as the incarnation of divinity; rather he will also be one

among the Sangat. No doubt, God pervades in all the individuals and the ruler, being an individual, will not deserve any special honour because of his status as a ruler.

But it does not mean that the State of Guru Nanak's vision is a Secular State or a non-religious State. To him State and Religion are inseparable. In his state, politics and ethics must go side by side. In it, political power will not be used for upholding, protecting, promoting and spreading any particular faith. However, the spirit of religion will be promoted. In the political system envisaged by Guru Nanak, the ethical principles of religion will reign supreme. This system is such in which every individual may be the Ruler, a Panch or only a citizen of the State, cannot do without observance of religion viz. ethical principles. In this system, the Ruler can retain his office only if he is responsive to the aspirations of the people and has an awful respect for the advice of the Panches - the Five Accepted Ones, the representatives of the Sangat. To quote Guru Nanak :-

The ruler retains his office due to his good qualities,
And till he discharges his duties with the
advice and in the fear of the Panches¹

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.992

For the ruler of the State of Guru Nanak's vision, Religion is not only essential but it is indispensable. Guru Nanak prescribes the way in which the ruler can practise his religion. According to Guru Nanak, he can do so by governing the State with justice. In other words, administration of justice is the very religion of the ruler. To quote him :-

A ruler can purify his mind
by administering justice.¹

The Religious principles viz. the ethical principles are, in fact, the guiding principles which will guide the Ruler, the Panches and the Sangat of the State of Guru Nanak's vision to discharge their respective duties in the best possible way and lead their lives worthily and honourably. Moreover, in the State of Guru Nanak's vision, worship of God will be essential, but to 'worship', here, does not mean worship in the formal sense practised by the people of different faiths or sects in different ways. It simply means 'remembrance of God' by one and all i.e. never to forget God who is the sole Giver to all the beings. It is well expressed by Guru Nanak in the following words :-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P. 1240.

God is the sole Giver to all,
lest I should forget Him ever.¹

Thus Guru Nanak frees the State from the yoke of formalised faiths or institutionalised religions; but at the same time, he considers it essential that Religion must prevail in the State. Guru Nanak's State, in stead of being a Theocratic or Secular State is, in fact, a Sangatocratic Service State in which no institutionalised religion or sect will be the religion or sect of the state. The sole religion of the State will be the service to its people, Moreover, its people will not only have full freedom of following any faith and practising the religious activities according to their own choice, but they must always remember the Sole God. Thus Guru Nanak regards State and Religion inseparable and he envisages a pragmatic relationship between the two.

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.2

Chapter - IXRelevance of Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Politics

In the modern times, the excessively materialistic approach of the people combined with the nations' race for raising the remote-controlled ruinous weapons causing quick annihilation has given surge to an altogether new kind of Philosophy of Politics in the world. Besides, race-consciousness, too, has attributed new trends in the people's political thought. Today the ethics-oriented Politics has been replaced by the politics of power, politics of blocism, politics of racism and casteism, politics of class-struggle, politics of sectarianism, politics of violence, politics of oppression, politics of opportunism, and politics of diplomacy etc. So much so that it has been reduced merely to a dirty game of foul players. The danger of nuclear warfare and star-war is always hovering over the head of humankind. The nations engrossed in piling up the destructive weapons, perhaps, do not understand as to who would be the conqueror in a war in the absence of survivors. The war-crimes have also become a menace to the peaceful co-existence of human beings. Undeclared wars, bombardment

of civil areas, violation of ceasefire-declarations and other agreements are the common occurrences in many parts of the world. Thus, the laws of war are often violated.

Besides, the ever-widening gulf between the 'over-fed' and the 'underfed' is the most grave problem of the day. At present, there prevail various points of view which advocate high material standards for human society, and they measure the happiness of man in terms of the availability of material comforts. The chief among these are the Capitalistic and Communistic view-points. The Capitalistic view-point is wholly for materialistic advancement. It attaches excessive importance to the maximisation of profit and emphasises the acquisition of private property and accumulation of wealth. In fact, Capitalism has caused commercialisation of the society. The consequence is the more widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. Moreover, the growth of Capitalism has also engulfed some of the socialist countries. It is giving rise to neo-colonialism and capitalistic imperialism in which the economically developed countries are tending to dominate the developing and the underdeveloped countries. In brief, the Fish-policy is in its full swing at present.

The advocates of Communistic view-point regard communism as superior to Capitalism as the former ensures adequate material welfare of humankind and, at the same time, it lays special emphasis on equality of human beings through making fair distribution of economic means among them.

Further in most of the states, even the democratic ones, of the world, the political conditions are not very encouraging. The politics of power has yielded place to the rat-race among the political leaders for ensuring the safety and stability of their own throne (chair) by hook or by crook. The Ethics of Politics is not only flouted every moment, but it has been assigned new meanings by the demoniac politicians to serve their selfish motives. It has now become only a synonym of diabolical cunning tactics of the politicians used by them to divert the people's attention from the crucial matters of the state and to fulfil their (politicians') own ambitions. The service of the people, the fulfilment of their needs and ensuring their security etc. as functions

of the state have been replaced by the long reheotrical orations delivered by the leaders before elections and the fake promises made by them to the people for their welfare, need not say, the promises are made never to be kept. Moreover, religion has been severed from politics on the plea of saving the secular nature of the state. Even the human rights of the people are encroached upon from one quarter or the other, and under one pretext or the other. The people's right to justice is also not taken care of. The judicial system, especially in India, based on Law-courts and pleadings by lawyers for their respective clients makes the process of justice not only complex but also time-consuming and expensive which is out of the reach of the common man. Moreover, the mal-practices of corruption, bribery and false witness etc. reign rampant in it. Thus, it fails the very purpose of Law which is to deliver justice to the people. No doubt, Law exists in the state, but it is often purchased by a few well-offs in the society. The Law is never applied in its true spirit; rather it is interpreted by the lawyers in such a way as may benefit their own respective clients. Thus the course of justice is

often altered by means of money, by force of argumentation, and on the basis of false witnesses. Under this system, the culprits often go scot-free and innocents are punished who, after suffering punishment for no fault of theirs, may become hardened criminals to take revenge on the society and hence a menace to it. The present judicial system has thus dehumanised the process of justice. Moreover, the Law-Courts' stress is always only on giving a judgment or passing a verdict, but judgment or verdict in itself is not necessarily justice. The end of justice is to ensure that whoever has been deprived of his due, is actually returned the same or the compensation thereof, and the culprit or the criminal is deservedly punished. In other words, the implementation of the judgment is never ensured by the present Judicial System.

The major cause of the present state of affairs in the world is that the people all over the world are not only oblivious of the political thought propounded by the religious mentors of the world, but they have never made serious efforts to discover and comprehend the same. Rather they have ignored the religious thinkers labelling them

as spiritual persons only whose realm of activity is spirituality alone and who do not have and who cannot have anything to do with politics or political thought. But this is the biggest blunder the humankind has ever committed and that is why it is paying the price for it in form of various sufferings which the various political set-ups have caused and are causing to it. In fact, it is the dire need of the hour to infer and understand the Philosophy of Politics as propounded by the great religious persons to endeavour to alleviate the sufferings of mankind through its proper implementation.

Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Politics teaches man to develop a trans-personal outlook and to transcend the boundaries of races and nations. Doing away with Jingoism it can greatly help solve the grave problems of the present day world. Guru Nanak perceives the whole universe as a single unit created by the Sole God. All creation is the manifestation of One God and He pervades in all. This monistic concept of God

and the cosmopolitan outlook of Guru Nanak's thought renders universality to it. To quote him :-

Amongst all there is light, that light art Thou.
By His light, the light shines within all the souls.¹

Guru Nanak's Philosophy does away with the politics of casteism and racism as it outrightly rejects all types of divisions of human beings on the basis of different races and castes in the field of social as well as political aspects of life. It vociferously denounces the pride of the so-called higher caste or superior race. Guru Nanak says :-

Caste and dynastic pride are condemnable
notions :

The One Master shelters all existence.

Anyone arrogating superiority to himself

shall be disillusioned.

Saith Nanak: Superiority shall be determined by God.

Crediting such a one with honour.²

According to Guru Nanak, all human beings are the forms of the Light of the Sole Lord though none resembles the other in appearance. To quote him:-

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.13

2. Ibid., P.83

Whosoever I see, I find Thy Light,
 Of what sort is Thy Form ?
 Thou art one but walkest manifest in diverse forms.
 In Thine creation none resembles the other.¹

Thus Guru Nanak's Philosophy gives a hard
 blow to the politics of sectarianism.

Since all human beings are but the forms
 manifesting the Sole Lord, thus, all of them are
 brothers to one another. The sense of Universal
 Brotherhood of human beings is suggestive of
 establishment and maintenance of such a political
 order in the world wherein all of them can live in
 peaceful-co-existence. It also indicates the war-
 free world and prevalence of mutual understanding
 and toleration among the inhabitants of the
 different parts of the world. Guru Nanak observes :-

Where-so-ever I see, there, I find the True Lord.
 But without understanding Him, the false world
 quarrels.²

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, P.596

2. Ibid., P.224

But if even then war is necessary for settling some dispute between the two parties or states, Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Politics lays emphasis on observance of ethics of war during warfare under all circumstances as the war is to be fought only as a last resort and that, too, for upholding the cause of righteousness. With sincere implementation of such a system of mutual understanding and observance of the ethics of war, the horror and crimes of war will become the things of the past.

As far as the economic and social problems caused by the Capitalistic set-up of society are concerned, the protagonists of Communism regard it as the sole solution to them. A distinction is generally made between Communism as a 'political philosophy' and Communism as an 'economic system'; but in its common sense, ^{Communism} conveys the import of a political philosophy coupled with the economic system of socialism wherein private ownership of the means of production, and hence 'private profit' are totally rejected. Communism is diametrically opposed to Capitalism in its ideals. It advocates the employment of the means of production only for the common welfare of mankind and under no circumstances

for maximisation of profits so as to serve the selfish interests of a few affluent persons of the society resulting in a high degree of economic disparity and other social evils. Karl Marx advocates the case of working classes in order to get them their due economic reward and, at the same time, the formation of a classless society. He also argues that the lure of private property breeds selfishness in man, and increases the gulf between ^{the} rich and the poor. According to him so long as man's attachment to private property exists, he can never think of the welfare of others. In his opinion, the abolition of the right to ownership of private property will automatically eliminate the class distinction in society .

F.W. Coker, in his book 'Recent Political Thought', writing about the ideas of Karl Marx, observes, "the doctrine that wage-workers in fields, factories and mines are the real producers of wealth, most of which is unjustly taken away from them by employers, traders and other non-producers; and they proposed collectivist schemes- a state

monopoly of the services of marketing and banking, a currency system based on time unit of labour, voluntary co-operative societies-in order either to ensure an exchange of goods on the basis of the quantities of labour employed in producing them or to secure generally an equitable distribution of wealth among those who create it".¹

Communism aims at the abolition of State for it regards the State as the repressive instrument of the dominant class in society. C.L. Wayper writes, "The class which exercises ownership of the means of production will dominate the rest when, for instance, the most important factor in the forces of production is agricultural, land owners will be the ruling class. The dominant class alone has freedom, and to preserve this must act the part of oppressors. They, therefore, create an executive and repressive instruments by the use of which they hope to maintain their position and which is called state."²

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1. F.W. Coker, Recent Political Thought, pp.17-18, quoted in Sukhbir Singh, A History of Political Thought, Vol.2, p.214.
 2. C.L.Wayper, Political Thought, p.206, quoted in Sukhbir Singh., op., cit., P.227

Communism conceives such a pattern of society in which there would be no class and in which the maxim "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" would be implemented. As pointed out by Marx, there are two stages in the evolution of Communism - (1) the 'Transitional stage' which is the revolutionary stage wherein, the working class, by dint of armed revolution, will acquire control over the State, (2) 'Communism' which is the stage of a classless society wherein, the 'State' would automatically be non-existent.

Communism is a system in which human life is totally divested of spirituality. According to Marx, religion plays the role of protecting the selfish interests of the capitalist class and pacifying the working class with the doctrine of 'fate' and that is why he condemns it. It is in this context that Lenin called religion 'the opium of the people'. Marx asserts that material abundance is the only factor that affects all walks of human life. In the preface to the book 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy', he writes, "The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It

is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness".¹

But the recent developments in the countries like Russia have shown that Marxian Communism though with the high ideals of fair distribution of economic means and adequate material welfare for mankind, has not been successful in realising its objectives. It is mainly because Marxian Communism lays all the emphasis on materialistic life while neglecting the moral, ethical and spiritual aspects of human life altogether. In other words, it tells that except material welfare, there is no other consideration in the life of man. No doubt, material aspect of life largely affects the social, political and economic life processes, but it is doubtful that it determines even the intellectual, ethical and spiritual aspects of man. At the same time, it cannot be taken for granted that economic well-being must always make a man swerve from the path of morality. Nevertheless, spiritual and moral values in the true sense

1. Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, PP. 20-21

of the term can be cultivated without taking the economic factors into consideration.

Secondly, the Marxian Communism does not give any real basis for man to sacrifice his own pleasure for the happiness of others. Rather it does not pay any regard to the will of the individual and he is deprived of the right to private property. Moreover, he is forced to work for the welfare of society. He is not entitled to use the produce of his own hard labour even for the fulfilment of his own essential needs according to his own choice. He is not given an opportunity to experience the feeling of contentment by voluntarily contributing his savings to the Common Fund of the State for the welfare of the whole society. This practice gives a set-back to the initiative of the individual to work with dedication as he starts feeling that he has been dehumanised and he is nothing more than a cog in the machine of the society. His very existence seems meaningless to him. It results into decrease in production which causes poverty in the society. Thus the objective even of material advancement of the

society cannot be realised through the implementation of the doctrines of Communism.

However, the real solution to the economic problems of the world lies in the Economy of Guru Nanak's vision. In it, God is the real Owner of the Wealth of the World and the Sangat - the representative of God on the earth - is the custodian of the Wealth. The Sangat is entitled to distribute the Natural Resources among the individuals - only for making use of them for productive work or any other purpose and not for possessing them. However, the individual is entitled to own only one unit of production. Moreover, the doctrine of Ghaal Khaai makes it imperative for each individual to engage in some productive work to earn his livelihood. He is fully entitled to use his own earnings upto the sufficiency limit i.e. for satisfaction of his essential needs, but he must spare a considerable portion of his/her earnings to contribute it voluntarily to the Public Fund i.e. the State Exchequer as well as to the Langar, the Community Kitchen. The State Exchequer will be used for the well-being of the society as a whole. In such an economic system,

there will be no scope of concentration of wealth in a few hands and the gap between the rich and poor will automatically vanish. The doctrine of 'Kichh Hathon Dei' will provide the individual with an opportunity to experience the sublime feeling of contentment while contributing his/her surplus income for the collective welfare and uplift of the society as a whole i.e. sharing his/her earning with others voluntarily, in other words, giving away something with his/her own hands keeping in mind that whatever he/she is giving away belongs to God Himself. According to Guru Nanak :-

"While giving away something in donation, one should feel contentment."¹

The ethical principle of contentment plays a vital role in human life. It arouses in one's mind the sense of concern and care for his fellow-beings and inspires him to serve humankind whole-heartedly. Service (Sewa) is not only the end of the State of Guru Nanak's vision, it is essential for each and every individual to serve his fellow-beings. Guru Nanak gives the real basis for it when he says that only those who serve

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 466

in the world, find a place in the Divine Portal and to find a place in the Divine Portal is a matter of honour for the human beings. To quote Guru Nanak :-

Only those who serve in the world,
find a place in the Divine Portal.¹

And :-

Those who serve, get Honour (in the Divine and
the People's Court).²

Thus, it is through service to the humanity that one achieves the chief goal of human life i.e. to win respect and honour in the People's as well as Divine Court. In this way, the Economy of Guru Nanak's vision, while upholding the need of material growth, attaches more importance to the ethical and spiritual principles for the maintenance of equilibrium in the economic set-up of the society. This Economy grants the individual the right to use his own earnings for his own well-being upto the sufficiency limit. This approach of the Economy, in stead of marring the initiative among

1. Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, p. 26

2. Ibid., p.2.

the individuals to work with dedication, will infuse them with dynamism which helps the entrepreneurs as well as workers to work more vigorously to attain maximum increase in production. Hence, the material advancement of the society will automatically follow. Thus the viable economic values coupled with the ethical principles of religion on which the Economy of Guru Nanak's vision is based are the only pragmatic solution to the economic problems of the world at all times. This economy will be exploitation-free and all the people will enjoy economic justice.

While criticising the Marxian Communism, C.E.M. Joad also thinks almost on the similar lines. In his opinion, "It is the ethical fallacy of thinking happiness the supreme good that is responsible for the democratic fallacies that all men are equal, and that it is the State's business to make these equals happy; it is the psychological fallacy that the pocket is the rudder that steers human nature that is responsible for the Marxist fallacy that economic circumstances and forces determine the movements of history and the beliefs of men's minds. The Marxist or realist interpretation of history is, indeed,

the result of misplaced application to life of the habit of abstraction and rationalisation which we have seen to be one of the characteristics of scientific method. If we must talk in terms of determination, let us realize that in the long run the spiritual determines the material. In other words, it is man's sense of values, his principles of morality, and his insights into the nature of right and wrong, which determines the events of history and political structure of society.¹

While making a careful perusal of the text of Guru Nanak's verses repeatedly during the course my studies for my research work, I have come across certain points interspersed in it which call not only for an intensive and analytical study to comprehend and formulate Guru Nanak's Economic Thought exclusively but also for its comparative study with the other economic thoughts available at present. No comprehensive work in this aspect of Guru Nanak's thought is available so far.

1. C.E.M. Joad, Guide to the Philosophy of Morals And Politics, p. 618

Besides this, the inter-faith dialogue in Guru Nanak's Bani is also an interesting subject for research as no attempt has so far been made in this field.

The chronic disease of political degeneration in the states can be cured only by replacing the prevalent political set-up with the political system envisaged by Guru Nanak. Till the political leaders are candidates for elections of the people's representatives and they vie with one another with the aim of grabbing power, they beg votes from the people, they wear the masks of the servants of the people but actually they are no less than the pretentious players of the foul game of prevalent politics, the malady will go on becoming more and more deep-rooted and the people will be the real sufferers. The solution lies only in the implementation of the political system of Guru Nanak's vision in which the form of government will be Sangatocracy i.e. the government of the Sangat, for the Sangat and by the Sangat. Nobody will contest elections for the offices of the Ruler and the Panches in this system; on the contrary, it is the Sangat who will select the

Ruler and the Panches through consensus only on the basis of the person's merits and no other consideration. There will be no selfish motive behind the political power of such a ruler and the panches, therefore, they will use it in the larger interests of the people, serve them whole-heartedly and obtain the objective of the Service-State of Guru Nanak's vision. Moreover, they will be allowed to retain their respective offices only till they prove equal to the expectations of the Sangat and perform their duties properly. As soon as anyone of them fails in the performance of his duties, he will forfeit his right to retain his office. The Sangat will be authorised to recall and replace such a one and even change the whole political system if the former one does not work well. The Service State of Guru Nanak's vision, in its approach, is different from the modern welfare-state also. In the Welfare-state, the individual is given excessive liberty, permissiveness and insurance of his security with the purpose of making him obliged and loyal to the state; but in the State of Guru Nanak's vision, the individual will be served and

his security ensured with the sole objective of service to the people and not with any selfish motive of the state.

In democracy, the election of the people's representatives is made by the majority, and it often tends to degenerate into dictatorship of the majority over the minority in the state. Moreover, ultimately only one man emerges as a virtual dictator under the garb of a democratic leader in the democratic set-up. Since under the political system of Guru Nanak's vision viz. Sangatocracy the selection of the Ruler and the Panches will be made by the Sangat through consensus, and the most insignificant one will be equal to the most significant one, therefore, it will be free also from the defects of democracy.

Under the political system of Guru Nanak's vision, there will be no encroachment on the human rights of the individual; rather non-violation of these rights will be ensured by the state. The women will practically enjoy the same rights as the men. Religion viz. ethical principles will play the role of a guide in this system; the politics will be fully ethics-oriented and hence clean. Further, the judicial system of Guru Nanak's vision with its People's Courts, the Panches as the Jury and the judge

only as the signing authority will be potential enough to do away with all the malpractices of the present-day judicial system. It will serve the real end of Justice i.e. to get one's due of which he has been deprived, restored to him under all circumstance.

The fore-going discussion shows that Guru Nanak's Philosophy of Politics though propounded by him centuries ago in his poetic compositions, has all relevance in the modern times as well. If implemented properly, the political system of his vision will bring about a peaceful revolution in the political scene of the globe. Under this system, all the people irrespective of their caste, colour, creed, birth, status and sex etc. will enjoy Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in the real sense of the term.

Original Verses

Chapter I

Verse	Reference No:	Page No:
1	2	3
<p>ਰਾਜ ਨ ਚਾਹੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨ ਚਾਹੈ ਮਨ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ ਚਰਨ ਕਮਲਾਰੈ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 534)</p>	1	1
<p>ਕਲਿ ਕਾਤੀ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਾਸ਼ਾਈ ਧਰਮੁ ਪੰਖ ਕਰਿ ਉਡਰਿਆ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 145)</p>	1	14
<p>ਦਰਸਨਿ ਦੇਖਿਐ ਦਇਆ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਲਏ ਦਿਤੇ ਵਿਣੁ ਰਹੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਰਾਜਾ ਨਿਆਉ ਕਰੈ ਹਥਿ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਨ ਮਾਨੈ ਕੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 350)</p>	1	15
<p>ਕਾਜੀ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਬਰੈ ਨਿਆਇ ॥ ਫੇਰੇ ਤਸਬੀ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ ॥ ਵਢੀ ਨੈ ਕੇ ਕੁ ਗਵਾਏ॥ ਜੇ ਕੇ ਪੁਛੈ ਤਾ ਪੜਿ ਸੁਣਾਏ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ ! 951)</p>	2	15
<p>ਲਬੁ ਪਾਪੁ ਦੁਇ ਰਾਜਾ ਮਹਤਾ ਕੂੜੁ ਹੋਆ ਸਿਕਦਾਰੁ ॥ ਕਾਮੁ ਨੇਬੁ ਸਦਿ ਪੁਛੀਐ ਬਹਿ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੈ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 468)</p>	1	16
<p>ਰਾਜੇ ਸੀਹ ਮੁਕਦਮ ਕੁਤੇ॥ ਜਾਇ ਜਗਾਇਨਿ ਬੈਠੇ ਸੁਤੇ॥ ਚਾਕਰ ਨਹਦਾ ਪਾਇਨਿ ਘਾਉ॥ ਰਤੁ ਪਿਤੁ ਕੁਤਿਹੁ ਚਟਿ ਜਹੁ ਜਿਥੇ ਜੀਆ ਹੋਸੀ ਸਾਰ ॥ ਲਕੀ ਵਢੀ ਨਾਇਤਬਾਰ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1288)</p>	2	16

1	2	3
.....		
ਜੈਸੀ ਮੈ ਆਵੈ ਖਸਮ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਤੈਸੜਾ ਕਰੀ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਠੇ ॥	1	18
ਪਾਪ ਕੀ ਜੰਝ ਨੈ ਕਾਬਲਹੁ ਧਾਇਆ ਜੋਰੀ ਮੰਗੈ ਦਾਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਠੇ ॥		
ਸਰਮੁ ਧਰਮੁ ਦੁਇ ਛਪਿ ਖਲੋਏ ਕੂੜੁ ਫਿਰੈ ਪਰਧਾਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਠੇ ॥		
ਕਾਜੀਆ ਬਾਮਣਾ ਕੀ ਗਲ ਥਕੀ ਅਸ਼ਾਦੁ ਪੜੇ ਸੈਤਾਨੁ ਵੇ ਲਾਠੇ ॥		
ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨੀਆ ਪੜਹਿ ਕਤੇਬਾ ਕਸਟ ਮਹਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਵੇ ਲਾਠੇ ॥		
ਜਾਤਿ ਸਨਾਤੀ ਹੋਰ ਹਿਦਵਾਣੀਆ ਏਹਿ ਭੀ ਲੇਖੈ ਲਾਇ ਵੇ ਲਾਠੇ ॥		
ਖੂਨ ਕੇ ਸੋਹਿਲੈ ਗਾਵੀਅਹਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਰਤੁ ਕਾ ਕੁੰਗੁ ਪਾਇ ਵੇ ਲਾਠੇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 722)		
ਜਿਨ ਸਿਰਿ ਸੋਹਨਿ ਪਟੀਆ ਮਾਗੀ ਪਾਇ ਸਿਖੁਰ ॥	2	18
ਸੈ ਸਿਰ ਕਾਤੀ ਮੁੰਨੀਅਨਿ ਗਲ ਵਿਚ ਆਵੈ ਧੁੜਿ ॥		
.....		
ਤਿਨ ਗਲਿ ਸਿਲਕਾ ਪਾਈਆ ਤੁਟਨਿ ਮੋਤ ਸਰੀਆ ॥		
ਧਨੁ ਜੋਬਨੁ ਦੁਇ ਵੈਰੀ ਹੋਏ ਜਿਨੀ ਰਖੇ ਰੰਗੁ ਲਾਇ ॥		
ਦੁਤਾ ਨੇ ਫੁਰਮਾਇਆ ਨੈ ਚਲੇ ਪਤਿ ਗਵਾਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417)		
ਜੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਦੇ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਜੇ ਭਾਵੈ ਦੇਇ ਸਜਾਇ ॥	1	19
ਅੰਗੇ ਦੇ ਜੇ ਚੇਤੀਐ ਤਾ ਕਾਇਤੁ ਮਿਲੈ ਸਜਾਇ ॥		
ਸਾਹਾ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਗਵਾਈਆ ਰੰਗਿ ਤਮਾਸੈ ਚਾਇ ॥		
ਬਾਬਰ ਵਾਣੀ ਫਿਰ ਗਈ ਕੁਇਰ ਨ ਰੋਟੀ ਖਾਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417)		
ਰਤਨ ਵਿਗਾੜਿ ਵਿਗੋਏ ਕੁਤੀ ਮੁਇਆ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਕਾਈ ॥	1	20
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 360)		
ਆਦਿ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਉ ਅਲਹੁ ਕਹੀਐ ਸੇਖਾ ਆਈ ਵਾਰੀ ॥	2	20
ਦੇਵਲ ਦੇਵਤਿਆ ਕਰੁ ਨਾਗਾ ਐਸੀ ਕਿਰਤਿ ਚਾਲੀ ॥		
ਕੂਜਾ ਬੰਗ ਨਿਵਾਜ ਮੁਸਲਾ ਨੀਲ ਰੂਪ ਬਨਵਾਰੀ ॥		
ਘਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਮੀਆ ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਬੋਲੀ ਅਵਰ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1191)		

1	1	2
.....		
ਕਠਿ ਮਹਿ ਜੈਦੁ ਅਥਰਬਣੁ ਹੁਆ ਨਾਉ ਖੁਦਾਈ ਅਲਹੁ ਭਇਆ ॥	1	21
ਨੀਲ ਬਸਤੁ ਨੈ ਕਪੜੇ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਪਠਾਈ ਅਲੁ ਕੀਆ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 470)		
ਚਾਰਿ ਵਰਨਿ ਚਾਰਿ ਮਜਹਿਬਾ ਜਗਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣੇ ।	1	22
ਖੁਦੀ ਬਖੀਲਿ ਤਿਕੰਬਰੀ ਖਿਚੋਤਾਣਿ ਕਰੇਨਿ ਧਿਕਾਣੇ।		
ਗੰਗ ਬਠਾਰਸਿ ਹਿੰਦੂਆ ਮਕਾ ਕਾਬਾ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣੇ ।		
ਸੁੰਨਤ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣ ਦੀ ਤਿਲਕ ਜੰਵੁ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਲੋਭਾਣੇ ।		
ਰਾਮ ਰਹੀਮ ਕਗਾਇਦੇ ਇਕ ਨਾਮੁ ਦੁਇ ਰਾਹਿ ਭੁਲਾਣੇ ।		
ਬੇਦ ਕਤੇਬ ਭੁਲਾਇ ਕੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲਚ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਸੈਤਾਣੇ ॥		
ਸਚੁ ਕਿਨਾਰੇ ਰਹਿ ਗਿਆ ਖਹਿ ਮਰਦੇ ਬਾਮਾਣਿ ਮਉਲਾਣੇ।		
ਸਿਰੇ ਨ ਮਿਟੇ ਆਵਣਿ ਜਾਣ।21।		
(ਵਾਰਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਸੰਪਾਦਕ ਗੁਰਸ਼ਰਨ ਕੌਰ ਜੱਗੀ, ਬ.6869)		
ਗਉ ਬਿਰਾਹਮਣ ਕਉ ਕਰੁ ਨਾਵਹੁ ਗੋਬਰਿ ਤਰਣੁ ਨ ਜਾਈ ॥	2	22
ਧੋਤੀ ਟਿਕਾ ਤੈ ਜਪ ਮਾਲੀ ਧਾਨੁ ਮਲੈਛਾ ਖਾਈ ॥		
ਅੰਤਰਿ ਪੂਜਾ ਪੜਹਿ ਕਤੇਬਾ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਤੁਰਕਾ ਭਾਈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 471)		
ਮਾਣਸ ਖਾਣੇ ਕਰਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਜਜ।ਛੁਰੀ ਵਗਾਇਨਿ ਤਿਨਿ ਗਲਿ ਤਾ ॥	3	22
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 471)		
ਮਥੈ ਟਿਕਾ ਤੇੜਿ ਧੋਤੀ ਕਖਾਈ ॥ ਹਥ ਛੁਰੀ ਜਗਤ ਕਾਸਾਈ ॥	2	23
ਨੀਲ ਵਸਤੁ ਪਹਿਰਿ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ॥ਮਲੈਛ ਧਾਨੁ ਨੈ ਪੂਜਹਿ ਪੁਰਾਣੁ॥		
ਅਠਾਖਿਆ ਕਾ ਕੁਠਾ ਬਕਰਾ ਖਾਣਾ ॥ਚਉਕੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਿਸੈ ਨ ਜਾਣਾ ॥		
ਦੇ ਕੇ ਚਉਕਾ ਕਛੀ ਕਾਰ। ਉਪਰਿ ਆਇ ਬੈਠੇ ਕੁੜਿਆਰ		
ਮਤੁ ਭਿਟੈ ਵੇ ਮਤੁ ਭਿਟੈ। ਇਹ ਅੰਨ ਅਸਾਡਾ ਫਿਟੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 471-72)		
ਇਸਤਰੀ ਪੁਰਖੇ ਖਟਿਐ ਭਾਉ ॥ਭਾਵੈ ਆਵਉ ਭਾਵੈ ਜਾਉ॥	3	23
ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 951		

1	2	3
.....		
ਸੋ ਚਿਉ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਿਤੁ ਜੀਮਹਿ ਰਾਜਾਨ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 473)	2	24
ਕਲਿ ਹੋਈ ਕੁਤੇ ਮੁਹੀ ਖਾਜੁ ਹੋਆ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ॥ ਕੂੜੁ ਬੋਲਿ ਬੋਲਿ ਭਉਕਣਾ ਚੁਕਾ ਧਰਮੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥ ਜਿਨ ਜੀਵੰਦਿਆ ਪਤਿ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੁਇਆ ਮੰਦੀ ਸੋਇ । (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1242)	3	24
ਰੰਨਾ ਹੋਈਆ ਬੋਧੀਆ ਪੁਰਸ ਹੋਏ ਸਈਆਦ । ਸੀਲੁ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਸੁਚ ਭੰਨੀ ਖਾਣਾ ਖਾਜੁ ਅਗਾਜੁ ॥ ਸਰਮੁ ਗਇਆ ਘਰਿ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਤਿ ਉਠਿ ਚਲੀ ਨਾਲਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1242-43)	1	25
ਪੜਹਿ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਪਰੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਨਾ ॥ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਬੁਝਹਿ ਭਰਮਿ ਭੁਲਾਨਾ ॥ ਠੈ ਕੇ ਵਢੀ ਦੇਨਿ ਉਗਾਹੀ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਕਾ ਗਲ ਫਾਹਾ ਹੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1032)	2	25
ਮਾਣਸ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਕਰਣੀ ਕੁਤਾ ਦਰਿ ਫੁਰਮਾਨੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 350)	3	25
ਅੰਧੀ ਰਯਤਿ ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਹੂਣੀ ਭਾਹਿ ਭਰੈ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ॥ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਨਚਹਿ ਵਾਜੇ ਵਾਵਹਿ ਰੂਪ ਕਰਹਿ ਸੀਗਾਰੁ ॥ ਉਦੇ ਕੁਕਹਿ ਵਾਦਾ ਗਾਵਹਿ ਜੋਧਾ ਕਾ ਵੀਚਾਰ ॥ ਮੁਰਖ ਪੰਡਿਤ ਹਿਕਮਤਿ ਹੁਜਤਿ ਸੇਜੈ ਕਰਹਿ ਪਿਆਰੁ ॥ ਧਰਮੀ ਧਰਮੁ ਕਰਹਿ ਗਾਵਾਵਹਿ ਮੰਗਹਿ ਮੋਖ ਦੁਆਰੁ ॥ ਜਤੀ ਸਦਾਵਹਿ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਨ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਛੁਡਿ ਬਹਹਿ ਘਰ ਬਾਰੁ ॥ ਸਭੁ ਕੇ ਪੂਰਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੋਵੈ ਘਟਿ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਆਖੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 469)	1	26
ਪਤਿ ਪਰਵਾਣਾ ਪਿਛੇ ਪਾਈਐ ਤਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਤੋਲਿਆ ਜਾਪੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 469)	2	26
ਜਿਸਨੋ ਆਪਿ ਖੁਆਏ ਕਰਤਾ ਖੁਸਿ ਨਏ ਚੀਗਿਆਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417)	3	26

1	2	3
.....		
ਖੜੀਆ ਤਾ ਧਰਮੁ ਛੋਡਿਆ ਮਲੇਛ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਗਹੀ ॥ ਸਿਸਾਟ ਸਭ । ਏਕ ਵਰਨ ਹੋਈ ਧਰਮ ਕੀ ਗਾਤ ਰਹੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 663)	1	27
ਸਾਸਤ ਬੇਦੁ ਨ ਮਾਨੈ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਆਪੇ ਆਪੇ ਪੂਜਾ ਹੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 951)	2	27
ਤੁਰਕ ਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਕਾਨ ਠਰੈ ਸਮਾਹ ॥ ਲੋਕ ਮੁਹਾਵਾਹ ਚਾੜੀ ਖਾਹ ॥ ਚਉਕਾ ਦੇ ਕੈ ਸੁਚਾ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਐਸਾ ਠਰੈਦੁ ਵੇਖਹੁ ਕੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 951)	3	27
ਸਤੀ ਪਾਪੁ ਕਾਰ ਸਤੁ ਕਮਾਹ ॥ ਗੁਰਦੀਖਿਆ ਘਾਰ ਦੇਵਣ ਜਾਹਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 951)	4	27
ਜੋਗੀ ਗਰਹੀ ਜਟਾ ਬਭੁਤਾ ॥ ਆਗੈ ਪਾਛੈ ਰੋਵਾਹ ਪੂਤ ॥ ਜੋਗੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ ਜੁਗਾਤ ਗਵਾਈ ॥ ਠਕੁ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਸਿਸਾਰ ਛਾਈ ਪਾਈ ॥ ਠਾਠਕ ਕਾਲ ਕਾ ਏਹੁ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ॥ ਆਪੇ ਆਖਣੁ ਆਪੇ ਜਾਣੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 951)	1	28
ਕਾਦੀ ਕੂੜੁ ਬੋਲ ਮਨੁ ਖਾਇ ॥ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ ਠਾਵੈ ਜੀਆ ਘਾਇ ॥ ਜੋਗੀ ਜੁਗਾਤ ਨ ਜਾਣੈ ਅੰਧੁ ॥ ਤੀਨੇ ਯਜਾੜੇ ਕਾ ਬੰਧੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 662)	2	28
ਸਾਚ ਸਿਮਰਿਐ ਹੋਵੈ ਪਰਗਾਸੁ ॥ ਤਾਤੇ ਬਿਖਿਆ ਮਾਹ ਰਹੈ ਉਦਾਸੁ ॥ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਐਸੀ ਵਾਡਿਆਈ ॥ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਕਲ੍ਹ ਵਿਚੇ ਗਤਿ ਪਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 661)	2	30

Original VersesChapter II

Verse	Reference No:	Page No:
.....		
1	2	3
.....		
ਤੂ ਆਪੇ ਕਰਤਾ ਕਰਣਜੋਗੁ ਨਿਹਕੇਵਲੁ ਰਾਜਨ ਸੁਖੀ ਲੋਗੁ ॥ (ਆਦ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1190)	2	36
ਸਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਮੇਲਾਪੁ ਜਿਥੈ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਸਦਾ ਵਖਾਣੀਐ ॥ (ਆਦ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1280)	1	38
ਆਖਹਿ ਬਰਮੇ ਆਖਹਿ ਇੰਦ ॥ ਆਖਹਿ ਗੋਪੀ ਤੇ ਗੋਵਿੰਦ ॥ ਆਖਹਿ ਈਸਰ ਆਖਹਿ ਸਿਧ ॥ ...	1	39
ਗਾਵਨਿ ਪੰਡਿਤ ਪੜਨਿ ਰਖੀਸਰ ਜੁਗਜੁਗ ਵੇਦਾ ਨਾਲੇ ॥ ਫਾਵਹਿ ਮੋਹਣੀਆ ਮਨੁ ਮੋਹਨਿ ਸੁਰਗਾ ਮਛ ਪਇਆਲੇ ॥ (ਆਦ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 5-6)		
ਜੇਤੇ ਜੀਅ ਤੇਤੇ ਸਾਭ ਤੇਰੇ ਵਿਣੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਫਲੁ ਕਿਸੈ ਨਾਹੀ । (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 354)	2	39
ਸੰਗਮ ਜੋਧ ਜਤੀ ਸੰਨਿਆਸੀ ਗੁਰਿ ਪੁਰੇ ਈਚਾਰੀ ॥ ਇਨੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਫਲੁ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਪਾਵਸਿ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਣੀ ਸਾਰੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 992)	1	40
ਜਿਨ ਜਗਤੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ ਧੰਧੈ ਲਾਇਆ ਤਿਸੈ ਵਿਦੁ ਕੁਰਬਾਣੁ ਜੀਉ ॥ ਤਾਕੀ ਸੇਵ ਕਰੀਜੈ ਲਾਹਾ ਲੀਜੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਗਹ ਪਾਈਐ ਆਣੁ ਜੀਉ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 438)	2	40

1	2	3
.....		
ਜੇਤਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਧੁਨਿ ਤੇਤੀ ਜੇ ਤਾ ਰੂਪੁ ਕਾਦਿਆ ਤੇਰੀ ॥	1	41
ਤੂ ਆਪੇ ਰਸਨਾ ਆਪੇ ਬਸਨਾ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਦੂਜਾ ਕਹਉ ਮਾਹੀ ॥		
ਸਾਹਿਬ ਮੇਰਾ ਏਕੈ ਹੈ ਭਾਈ ਏਕੈ ਹੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 350)		
ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਜੀਉ ਜੀਉ ਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਈ ॥ 2 (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1273)	2	41
ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਨੈਨ ਨਨ ਨੈਨ ਹੈ ਤੋਹਿਕਉ ਸਹਸ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਨਾ ਏਕ ਤੇਰੀ ॥ 3 ਸਹਸ ਪਦ ਬਿਮਲ ਨਨ ਏਕ ਪਦ ਗੰਧ ਬਿਨੁ ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਗੰਧ ਇਵ ਚਲਤ ਮੋਹੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 663)	3	41
ਸੁਖ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੇਵ ਕਮਾਣੀਆ , ਸਭ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣੀਆ ॥ ਵਿਚਿ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਸੇਵ ਕਮਾਈਐ ਤਾ ਦਰਗਹ ਬੇਸਟੁ ਪਾਈਐ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 25-26)	1	42
ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਹਰਿ ਆਗੈ ਰਾਖਿਆ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹੈ ਮਹਾ ਰਸੁ ਚਾਖਿਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1343)	2	42
ਨਾਨਕ ਅੰਗੈ ਸੋ ਮਿਲੈ ਜਿ ਖਟੇ ਘਾਲੇ ਦੇਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)	1	43
ਜੈਸਾ ਸੋ ਸੇਵੇ ਤੈਸਾ ਸੋ ਹੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 223)	1	44

1	2	3
.....		
ਸਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੈਸੀ ਜਾਣੀਐ । ਜਿਥੇ ਏਕੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਖਾਣੀਐ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 72)	2	44
ਜੇ ਹਰਿ ਰਾਤੇ ਸੇ ਜਨ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ॥ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਪਰਮ ਨਿਧਾਨੁ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 353)	3	44
ਲਖ ਸਿਆਣਪ ਜੇ ਕਰੀ ਲਖ ਸਿਉ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਮਿਲਾਪੁ ॥ ਬਿਨੁ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸਾਧੁ ਨ ਧ੍ਰਾਪੀਆ ਬਿਨੁ ਨਾਵੈ ਦੁਖ ਸੰਤਾਪੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 20)	1	45
ਸੋਈ ਸੋਈ ਸਦਾ ਸਚੁ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸਾਰਾ ਸਾਰੀ ਨਾਈ ॥	1	47
.....		
ਜੇ ਤਿਸ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਸੀ ਕੁਕਮੁ ਨ ਕਰਣਾ ਜਾਈ ॥ ਸੋ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੁ ਸਾਹਾ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਰਕਟੁ ਰਜਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 6)		
ਤੂੰ ਸਭਨਾ ਮਾਹਿ ਸਮਾਇਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 72)	2	47
ਏਕਸ ਏਕੰਕਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਾਨਾ ॥	3	47
.....		
ਖੋਜਤ ਖੋਜਤ ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਦੇਖਿਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 838-39)		
ਮਿਲਿ ਸਤਸੰਗਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਪਾਈਐ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਿਵ ਨਾਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 22)	1	48
ਏਕੋ ਕੁਕਮ ਵਰਤੈ ਸਭ ਲੋਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 223)	1	52
ਸੰਤ ਸਭਾ ਜੈ ਕਾਰੁ ਕਰਿ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਉ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1411)	2	52

1	2	3
.....		
ਦੇਹੀ ਨਗਰੀ ਉਤਮ ਬਾਨਾ ॥ ਪੰਚ ਲੋਕ ਵਸਹਿ ਪਰਧਾਨਾ ॥ ਉਪਰਿ ਏਕਕਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਾਲਮੁ ਸੁੰਨ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਲਗਾਇਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1039)	3	53
ਪੰਚ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ਪੰਚ ਪਰਧਾਨ ॥ ਪੰਚੇ ਪਾਹਿ ਦਰਗਹਿ ਮਾਨੁ ॥ ਪੰਚੇ ਸੋਹਹਿ ਦਰਿ ਰਾਜਾਨੁ ॥ ਪੰਚਾ ਕਾ ਗੁਰ ਏ ਕੁ ਧਿਆਨੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 3)	1	55
ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਪੰ ਚ ਸਖੈ ਗੁਰਭਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1041)	2	55
ਰਾਜਾ ਤਖਤਿ ਟਿਕੈ ਗੁਣੀ ਭੈ ਪੰਚਾਇਣ ਰਤੂ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 992)	1	59
ਕਰਮੀ ਕਰਮੀ ਹੋਇ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ ॥ ਸਚਾ ਆਪਿ ਸਚਾ ਦਰਬਾਰੁ ॥ ਤਿਥੈ ਸੋਹਨਿ ਪੰਚ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ॥ ਨਦਰੀ ਕਰਮਿ ਪਵੈ ਜੀਸਾਣੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 7)	1	60
ਨਾਨਕ ਅੰਧਾ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਦਸੈ ਰਾਹੈ ਸਭਸੁ ਮੁਹਾਏ ਸਾਥੈ ॥ ਅਸੈ ਗਇਆ ਮੁਹੈ ਮੁਰਿ ਪਾਹਿ ਸੁ ਐਸਾ ਆਗੂ ਜਾਪੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 149)	1	61
ਪੰਚਾ ਕਾ ਗੁਰ ਏਕੁ ਧਿਆਨੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 3)	1	62
ਜੁਗ ਜੁਗ ਸੀਤ ਭਲੇ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਤੇਹੇ ॥ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵਹਿ ਰਸਨ ਰਸੇਹੇ ॥ ਉਸਤਤਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਪਰਹਰਿ ਦੁਖੁ ਦਾਲਦੁ ਜਿਨ ਨਾਨੀ ਚਿੰਤ ਪਰਾਈ ਹੈ ॥ ਓਇ ਜਾਗਤ ਰਹਹਿ ਨ ਸੂਤੇ ਦੀਸਹਿ ॥ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕੂਲ ਤਾਰਹਿ ਸਾਰੁ ਪਰੀਸਰਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1025)	2	62
ਜਉ ਤਉ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਖੇਲਣ ਕਾ ਚਾਉ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਰਿ ਤਲੀ ਗਲੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਉ ॥ ਇਤੁ ਮਾਰਗਿ ਪੈਰੁ ਧਰੀਜੈ ॥ ਸਿਰੁ ਦੀਜੈ ਕਾਣਿ ਨ ਕੀਜੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1412)	1	63

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ੜਾੜੈ ਰੂੜਾ ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਸੋਈ ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਇਨੁ ਰਾਜਾ ਅਵਰ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥	2	63
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 936)		
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਚਾ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੁ ਪੂਛਿਨ ਕਰੈ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥	3	63
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 17)		
ਤਖਤਿ ਬਰੈ ਤਖਤੈ ਕੀ ਲਾਇਕ ॥ ਪੰਚ ਸਮਾਇ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਪਾਇਕ ॥	1	67
ਆਦਿ ਜੁਗਾਦੀ ਹੈ ਭੀ ਹੋਸੀ ਸਹਸਾ ਭਰਮੁ ਚੁਕਾਇਆ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1039)		
ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਸੇਵਕ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪਿਆਰੇ ॥ ਓਇ ਏਸਹਿ ਤਖਤਿ ਸੁ ਸਬਦ ਵੀਚਾਰੇ ॥	1	69
ਤਤੁ ਲਹਹਿ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਗਤਿ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਸਤ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਸਾਚੁ ਵਡਾਈ ਹੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1026)		
ਲਬੁ ਲੋਭੁ ਬੁਰਿਆਈਆ ਛੋਡੈ ਮਨਹੁ ਵਿਸਾਰਿ ॥	1	70
ਗੜਿ ਦੇਹੀ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕੀ ਕਢੇ ਨ ਆਵਹਿ ਹਾਰਿ ॥		
ਚਾਕਰੁ ਕਹੀਐ ਖਸਮ ਕਾ ਸਉਰੇ ਉਤਰ ਦੇਇ ॥		
ਵਜਹੁ ਗਵਾਏ ਆਪਣਾ ਤਖਤਿ ਨ ਏਸਹਿ ਸੇਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 936)		
ਮਨਿ ਜੀਤੈ ਜਗੁ ਜੀਤੁ ॥	2	70
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 6)		
ਕਾਇਆ ਕੋਟੁ ਗੜੈ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਜਾ ॥ ਲੇਖ ਖਵਾਸ ਭਲਾ ਦਰਵਾਜਾ ॥	1	71
ਮਿਥਿਆ ਲੋਭੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਘਰਿ ਵਾਸਾ ਲਬਿ ਪਾਪਿ ਪਛੁਤਾਇਦਾ ॥		
ਸਤੁ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਲਗਰ ਮਹਿ ਕਾਰੀ ॥ ਜਤੁ ਸਤੁ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਸਰਣਿ ਮੁਰਾਰੀ ॥		
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਹਜਿ ਮਿਲੈ ਜਗਜੀਵਨੁ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੀ ਪਤਿ ਪਾਇਦਾ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1037)		
ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁ ਰਾਜਾ ਸੂਰ ਸੰਗਾਮਿ ॥ ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਨਾਮਿ ॥	2	71
ਮਾਰੈ ਪੰਚ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਵਸਿ ਕੀਏ ॥ ਚਉਮੈ ਗੁਾਸਿ ਇਕਤੁ ਥਾਇ ਕੀਏ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1037)		

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ਰਾਜਾ ਬਾਲਕੁ ਕਗਰੀ ਕਾਚੀ ਦੁਸਟਾ ਠਾਲ ਪਿਆਰੇ ॥	1	72
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1171)		
ਰਾਜਨ ਰਾਮ ਰਵੈ ਹਿਤਕਾਰਿ ॥ ਰਣ ਮਹ ਲੁਝੈ ਮਨੁਆ ਮਾਰਿ ॥	1	73
ਰਾਤਿ ਦਿਨੇਤਿ ਰਹੈ ਰੰ ਗਿ ਰਾਤਾ ॥ ਤੀਨਿ ਭਵਨ ਜੁਗ ਚਾਰੇ ਜਾਤਾ ॥		
ਨਿਨਿ ਜਾਤਾ ਸੋ ਤਿਸ ਹੀ ਜੇ ਰਾ ॥ ਅਤਿ ਨਿਰਮਾਇਨ ਸੀਝਸਿ ਦੇਹਾ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 931)		
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਾੜੁ ਸਮ੍ਰਿਤਿ ਏਦ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਵੈ ਘਟ ਘਟਿ ਭੇਦ ॥	2	73
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਵੈਰ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਗਵਾਵੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 942)		
ਜਿਤੁ ਕਾਰਜਿ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਦਇਆ ਧਰਮ ਹੈ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਬੁਝੈ ਕੋਈ ॥	1	74
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 351)		
ਤੂ ਏਕੰਕਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਾਨਮੁ ਰਾਜਾ ॥	2	74
ਤੂ ਆਪਿ ਸਵਾਰਹਿ ਜਨ ਕੇ ਕਾਜਾ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1039)		
ਨਿਹਕੇਵਲੁ ਰਾਜਨ ਸੁਖੀ ਲੋਗੁ ॥	3	76
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1190)		
ਰਾਜੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਕਬਹੁ ਨ ਜਾਵੈ ॥	1	78
ਰਾਜੇ ਤੇ ਤੇਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਨਿਹਚਲੁ ਏਹੁ ਕਬਹੁ ਨ ਜਾਵਏ ॥		
ਚਾਕਰੁ ਤੇ ਤੇਰਾ ਸੋਇ ਹੋਵੈ ਜੋਇ ਸਹਜਿ ਸਮਾਵਏ ॥		
ਦੁਸਮੁਠੁ ਤ ਦੁਖ ਨ ਲਗੈ ਮੂਲੇ ਪਾਪੁ ਨੈੜਿ ਨ ਆਵਏ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 567)		
ਜੇ ਸਕਤਾ ਸਕਤੇ ਕਉ ਮਾਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਮਨ ਰੋਸੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥	2	78
ਸਕਤਾ ਸੀਹੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਪੈ ਵਗੈ ਖਸਮੈ ਸਾ ਪੁਰਸਾਈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 360)		

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ਰਤਨ ਵਿਗਾੜਿ ਵਿਗੋਏ ਕੁਤੀ ਮੁਇਆ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਕਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 360)	1	79
ਸਾਹਾ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਗਵਾਈਆ ਰੰਗਿ ਤਮਾਸੇ ਚਾਇ ॥ ਬਾਬਰਵਾਣੀ ਫਿਰਿ ਗਈ ਕੁਇਰ ਨ ਰੋਟੀ ਖਾਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417)	2	79
ਦੇਦਾ ਦੇ ਲੈਦਾ ਬਕਿ ਪਾਹਿ ॥ ਜੁਗਾ ਜੁਗੀਤਰਿ ਖਾਹੀ ਖਾਹਿ ॥ ਹੁਕਮੀ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਚਲਾਇ ਰਾਹੁ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਵਿਗਸੈ ਵੈਪਰਵਾਹੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 2)	1	80
ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਜੀਆ ਦੇਖਿ ਸਮਾਲੇ ਤਿਸ ਹੀ ਕੀ ਸਰਕਾਰਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1331)	2	80
ਘਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਲਸਕਰੁ ਪਾਵਕੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਧਰਮੁ ਕਰੇ ਸਿਕਦਾਰੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1190)	1	81
ਨਿਹਕੇਵਲੁ ਰਾਜਨ ਸੁਖੀ ਲੋਗੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1190)	2	81
ਮਾਇਆ ਸੀਚਿ ਰਾਜੇ ਅਹੰਕਾਰੀ ॥ ਮਾਇਆ ਸਾਬ ਨ ਚਲੈ ਪਿਆਰੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1342)	1	82
ਇਸ ਜਰ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਘਣੀ ਵਿਗੁਤੀ ਇਨਿ ਜਰ ਘਣੀ ਖੁਆਈ ॥ ਪਾਪਾ ਬਾਟਹੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਮਾਇਆ ਸਾਬਿ ਨ ਜਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417)	2	82
ਇਹ ਜਗੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਤੂ ਗੋਸਾਈ ॥ ਏਕ ਘੜੀ ਮਹਿ ਬਾਪਿ ਉਬਾਪੇ ਜਰ ਵੰਡਿ ਦੇਵੈ ਭਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417)	3	82

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ਰਾਜੇ ਸੀਹ ਮੁਕਦਮ ਕੁੰਤੇ ॥	1	84
ਜਾਇ ਜਗਾਇਨਿ ਬੈਠੇ ਸੁਤੇ ॥		
ਚਾਕਰ ਨਹਦਾ ਪਾਇਨਿ ਘਾਉ ॥		
ਰਤੁ ਪਿਤੁ ਕੁਤਿਹੋ ਚਟਿ ਜਹੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1288)		
ਜਿਥੇ ਜੀਆ ਹੋਸੀ ਸਾਰ ॥	2	84
ਨਕੀ ਵਢੀ ਨਾਇਤਬਾਰ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1288)		
ਹੁਕ ਪਰਾਇਆ ਨਾਨਕਾ ਉਸੁ ਸੁਅਰ ਉਸੁ ਗਾਇ ॥	1	85
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ਮਾਰਣ ਪਾਹਿ ਹਰਾਮ ਮਹਿ ਹੋਇ ਹਲਾਲੁ ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 141)		
ਜੇ ਰਤੁ ਲਗੈ ਕਪੜੈ ਜਾਮਾ ਹੋਇ ਪਲੀਤੁ ॥	2	85
ਜੇ ਰਤੁ ਪੀਵਹਿ ਮਾਣਸਾ ਤਿਨ ਕਿਉ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਚੀਤੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1039)		
ਤੂ ਏਕੰਕਾਰ ਨਿਰਾਲਮ ਰਾਜਾ ॥	1	86
ਤੂ ਆਪਿ ਸਵਾਰਹਿ ਜਨ ਕੇ ਕਾਜਾ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1039)		
ਐਧੀ ਰਯਤਿ ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਹੁਣੀ ਭਾਰੇ ਭਰੇ ਮੁਰਦਾਰ ॥	1	87
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 469)		
ਕਾਇਆ ਲਗਾਰੀ ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁ ਰਾਜਾ ਪੰਚ ਵਸਹਿ ਵੀਚਾਰੀ ॥	1	88
ਸਬਦਿ ਰਵੈ ਆਸਣਿ ਘਰਿ ਰਾਜਾ ਅਦਲੁ ਕਰੈ ਗੁਣਕਾਰੀ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 907)		
ਰਾਜੇ ਚੁਲੀ ਨਿਆਵ ਕੀ ॥	2	88
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1240)		

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ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਤਖਤ ਰਚਾਇਆ ਸਚਿ ਲਿਖੋੜਣਹਾਰੋ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 580)	3	88
ਆਪੇ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਕਰੇ ਸਾਜਿ ॥ ਸਚੁ ਆਪਿ ਲਿਖੋੜੇ ਰਾਜੁ ਰਾਜਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1170)	1	89
ਸਚੇ ਕੀ ਸਿਰਕਾਰ ਜੁਗੁ ਜੁਗੁ ਜਾਣੀਐ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 142)	2	89
ਕਲਿ ਕਾਤੀ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਾਸਾਈ ਧਰਮੁ ਪੰਖ ਕਰਿ ਉਡਰਿਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 145)	3	89
ਦਰਸਨਿ ਦੇਖਿਐ ਦਿਆ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਲਏ ਦਿਤੇ ਵਿਣੁ ਰਹੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਰਾਜਾ ਨਿਆਉ ਕਰੇ ਹਥਿ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਦਾਇਨ ਮਾਨੈ ਕੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 350)	1	90
ਕਾਜੀ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਬਹੈ ਨਿਆਇ ॥ ਫੇਰੇ ਤਸਈ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ ॥ ਵਢੀ ਨੈ ਕੇ ਕੁ ਗਵਾਏ ॥ ਜੇ ਕੇ ਪੁਛੇ ਤਾ ਪੜਿ ਸੁਣਾਏ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 954)	2	90
ਜੇ ਜੀਵੈ ਪਤਿ ਲਬੀ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਸਭ ਹਰਾਮ ਜੇਡਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਖਾਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 142)	1	91
ਦੇਵਲ ਦੇਵਤਿਆ ਕਰੁ ਨਾਗਾ ਐਸੀ ਕਿਰਤਿ ਚਾਲੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1191)	1	92
ਨੀਲ ਵਸਤੁ ਪਹਿਰਿ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ॥ ਮਲੇਛ ਧਾਨੁ ਨੇ ਪੂਜਹਿ ਪੁਰਾਣੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)	2	92
ਘਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਮੀਆ ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਏਲੀ ਅਵਰ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1191)	1	93

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ਜੇ ਕੇ ਸਦੁ ਕਰੇ ਜੋ ਛੀਜੈ ਤਪ ਘਰਿ ਕੁਠੁ ਨ ਰੋਈ ॥	2	93
ਜੇ ਕੇ ਨਾਉ ਲਏ ਬਦਨਾਵੀ ਕਲਿ ਕੇ ਲਖਣ ਏਈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 902)		
ਆਪੇ ਰੂਪ ਕਰੇ ਬਹੁ ਭਾਤੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਬਪੁਕਾ ਏਵ ਕਰੈ ॥	1	94
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 902)		
ਇਕਤੁ ਰੂਪਿ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਪਰਛੰਨਾ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਕਿਸ ਹੀ ਜੇਹਾ ॥	1	95
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 596)		
ਸਭੁ ਕੇ ਉਚਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਨੀਚੁ ਨ ਦੀਸੈ ਕੋਇ ॥	3	95
ਇਕਨੈ ਭਾਂਡੇ ਸਾਜਿਐ ਇਕ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਤਿਹੁ ਲੋਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 62)		
ਗੁਰੂ ਜਿਨਾ ਕਾ ਐਧੁਲਾ ਚੇਲੇ ਨਾਹੀ ਠਾਉ ॥	1	97
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 58)		
ਕੁਲਹਾ ਦੇਦੇ ਬਾਵਲੇ ਨੈਦੇ ਵਡੇ ਨਿਕਲ ॥	2	97
ਚੁਹਾ ਖਡ ਨ ਮਾਵਈ ਤਿਕਲਿ ਏਨੇ ਛ ॥		
ਦੇਨਿ ਦੁਆਈ ਸੇ ਮਰਹਿ ਜਿਨਿ ਕਉ ਦੇਨਿ ਸਿ ਜਾਹਿ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1285)		
ਰਾਜਾ ਮੰਗੀ ਦਿਤੈ ਗੰਢੁ ਪਾਇ ॥	1	98
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 143)		
ਰਾਜਨੁ ਜਾਣਹਿ ਆਪਣਾ ਦਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਠਾਕਿ ਨ ਰੋਇ ॥	1	99
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 57)		
ਕੀੜਾ ਬਾਪਿ ਦੇਇ ਪਾਤਿਆਹੀ ਲਸਕਰ ਕਰੇ ਸੁਆ ॥	1	100
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 144)		
ਲਬੁ ਪਾਪੁ ਦੁਇ ਰਾਜਾ ਮਕਟਾ ਕੂਕੁ ਹੋਆ ਸਿਕਦਾਰੁ ॥	1	101
ਕਾਮੁ ਨੈਠੁ ਸਦਿ ਪੁਛੀਐ ਬਹਿ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੇ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥		
ਅੰਧੀ ਰਸਤਿ ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਹੁਟੀ ਭਾਰਿ ਭਰੇ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 468-69)		
ਰਾਜਾ ਨਿਆਉ ਕਰੇ ਹਥਿ ਰੋਇ ॥ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਨ ਮਾਠੈ ਰੋਇ ॥	1	102
ਮਾਣਸ ਸੂਰਤਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਕਰਈ ਕੁਠਾ ਦਰਿ ਫੁਰਮਾਨੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 350)		

Original VersesChapter - III

Verse	Reference No.	Page No.
1	2	3
ਕਾਇਆ ਮਹਲੁ ਮੰਦਰੁ ਘਰੁ ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਖੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਅਪਾਰ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1256)	2	113
ਜੀਅ ਉਪਾਇ ਰਿਜਕੁ ਦੇ ਆਪੇ ਸਿਰਿ ਸਿਰਿ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਚਲਾਇਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1042)	3	113
ਅੰਨੁ ਨ ਖਾਇਆ ਸਾਦੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ॥	1	114
ਵਸਕੁ ਨ ਪਹਿਰੈ ਅਹਿਨਿਸਿ ਕਹਰੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 467)		
ਹਨੁ ਲਿਕਾਰੁ ਕਰਿ ਕਾਇਆ ਛੀਜੈ ॥ ਵਰਤੁ ਤਪਨੁ ਕਰਿ ਮਨਿ ਨਹੀ ਭੀਜੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 905)	2	114
ਅਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਖਾਈ ਸਿਰਿ ਛਾਈ ਪਾਈ ॥ ਮੂਰਖਿ ਅੰਧੈ ਪਤਿ ਗਵਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 467)	2	115
ਖਾਣਾ ਪੀਣਾ ਪਵਿਕੁ ਹੈ ਦਿਤੋਨੁ ਰਿਜਕੁ ਸੰਬਾਰਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)	3	115
ਅੰਨੁ ਦੇਵਤਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਦੇਵਤਾ ਬੈਸੰਤਰੁ ਦੇਵਤਾ ॥ ਲੂਣੁ ਪੰਜਵਾ ਪਾਇਆ ਘਿਰਤੁ ॥ ਤਾ ਰੋਆ ਪਾਕੁ ਪਵਿਤੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 473)	1	116
ਫਿਟੁ ਇਵੇਹਾ ਜੀਵਿਆ ਜਿਤੁ ਖਾਇ ਵਧਾਇਆ ਪੇਟੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 790)	1	117

..... 1 2 3
ਬਾਬਾ ਹੋਰੁ ਖਾਣਾ ਖੁਸੀ ਖੁਆਰੁ ॥		
ਜਿਤੁ ਖਾਏ ਤਨੁ ਪੀੜੀਐ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਚਲਾਹਿ ਵਿਕਾਰ ॥	2	117
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 16)		
ਬਾਬਾ ਹੋਰੁ ਪੈਨਣੁ ਖੁਸੀ ਖੁਆਰੁ ॥	3	117
ਜਿਤੁ ਪੇਏ ਤਨੁ ਪੀੜੀਐ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਚਲਾਹਿ ਵਿਕਾਰ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 16)		
ਤੂ ਆਪੇ ਕਰਤਾ ਕਰਣ ਜੋਗੁ ॥ ਨਿਰ ਕੇਵਲੁ ਗਾਜਨ ਸੁਖੀ ਲੋਗੁ ॥	1	118
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1190)		
ਬਤਟ ਵਿਗਾੜਿ ਵਿਗੋਏ ਕੁਤੀ ਮੁਸਿਆ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਕਾਈ ॥	2	118
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 360)		
ਘਾਲਿ ਖਾਇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਥੁ ਦੇਹਿ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਹੁ ਪਛਾਣਹਿ ਸੇਇ ॥	1	122
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1245)		
ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਹੁਣਾ ਗਾਵੈ ਗੀਤ ॥ ਭੁਖੇ ਮੁਲਾ ਘਰੇ ਮਸੀਤ ॥	1	127
ਮਖਟੁ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਕੰਨ ਪੜਾਇ ॥ ਫਕਰੁ ਕਰੇ ਹੋਰੁ ਜਾਤਿ ਗਵਾਇ ॥		
ਗੁਰੁ ਪੀਰੁ ਸਦਾਏ ਮੰਗਣ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਤਾ ਕੈ ਮੂਲਿ ਨ ਲਾਗੀਐ ਪਾਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1245)		
ਲੋਕ ਧਿਕਾਰੁ ਕਰੈ ਮੰਗਤ ਜਨ ਮਾਗਤ ਮਾਨੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ ।	1	128
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 878)		
ਜੋਗੀ ਬੈਸਿ ਰਹਹੁ ਦੁਇਯਾ ਦੁਖ ਭਾਗੈ ॥	2	128)
ਘਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਮਾਗਤ ਨਾਜ ਨ ਨਾਗੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 903)		
ਕਰਿ ਚੋਰੀ ਜਾ ਮੈ ਕਿਛੁ ਲੀਆ ਤਾ ਮਨਿ ਭਲਾ ਭਾਇਆ ॥	3	128
ਕਲਤਿ ਨ ਸੋਭਾ ਪਲਤਿ ਨ ਵੋਈ ਅਹਿਲਾ ਜਨਮੁ ਗਵਾਇਆ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 155)		

1	2	
.....		
ਧਰਤੀ ਦੇਗ ਮਿਲੈ ਇਕ ਵੇਰਾ ਭਾਗੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਭੰਡਾਰੀ ॥	2	129
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1190)		
ਨਾਨਕ ਉਤਮੁ ਨੀਚੁ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥	1	130
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 7)		
ਜਾ ਜਾਤਿ ਸਾ ਪਤਿ ਹੈ ਜੇਹੇ ਕਰਮ ਕਾਇ ॥	1	133
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1330)		
ਨਾਹੇ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਆਇਆ ਜਗਿ ॥	2	133
ਹੋਇ ਮਜੁਰ ਗਇਆ ਕਾਇ ਠਗਿ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 931)		
ਜੇ ਰਤੁ ਲਕੈ ਕਪੜੇ ਜਾਮਾ ਹੋਇ ਪਲੀਤੁ ॥	1	134
ਜੇ ਰਤੁ ਪੀਵਹਿ ਮਾਣਸਾ ਤਿਨ ਕਿਉ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਚੀਤੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 140)		
ਜਤੁ ਪਹਾਰਾ ਧੀਰਜੁ ਸੁਨਿਆਰੁ ॥		
ਅਹਰਣਿ ਮਤਿ ਵੇਦੁ ਹਥੀਆਰੁ ॥	1	135
ਭੱਣ ਖਲਾ ਅਮਲਿ ਤਪ ਤਾਉ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰਨਾ 8)		
ਮਨ ਹਾਲੀ ਕਿਰਸਾਣੀ ਕਰਣੀ ਸਰਮੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਤਨੁ ਖੇਤੁ ॥	2	135
ਨਾਮੁ ਬੀਜੁ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਸੁਯਾਗਾ ਹਖੁ ਗਰੀਬੀ ਵੇਸੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 595)		
ਹਾਣੁ ਹਣੁ ਕਰਿ ਆਰਜਾ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਿ ਵਧੁ ॥	3	135
ਸੁਰਤਿ ਸੋਚ ਕਰਿ ਭਾਡਸਾਨ ਤਿਸ ਵਿਚਿ ਤਿਸ ਨੇ ਰਖੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 595)		
ਲੋਹਾ ਵਢੈ ਦਰਜੀ ਪਾੜੈ। ਸੁਈ ਧਾਗਾ ਸੀਵੈ ॥	4	135
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 955)		
ਆਪੇ ਮਾਛੀ ਮਛੁਲੀ ਆਪੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਜਲੁ ॥	5	135
ਆਪੇ ਜਾਲ ਮਫਕੜਾ ਆਪੇ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਲਾਲੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 23)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਵਿਣੁ ਰਾਸੀ ਵਾਪਾਰੀਆ ਤਕੇ ਕੁੰਡਾ ਚਾਰਿ ॥	6	135
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 56)		
ਵਣਜਾਰਿਆ ਸਿਉ ਵਣਜ ਕਰਿ ਨੈ ਨਾਹਾ ਮਨ ਹਸੁ ॥	1	137
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 595)		
ਜੈਸਾ ਬੀਜੈ ਸੁ ਲੁਟੈ ॥	2	138
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 730)		
ਮਨ ਹਾਲੀ ਕਿਰਸਾਣੀ ਕਰਣੀ ਸਰਮੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਤਨੁ ਖੇਤੁ ॥	1	140
ਨਾਮੁ ਬੀਜੁ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਸੁਹਾਗਾ ਰਖੁ ਗਰੀਬੀ ਵੇਸੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 595)		
ਬਿਨੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਫਲੁ ਕਬਹੁ ਨ ਪਾਵਸਿ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਣੀ ਸਾਰੀ ॥	2	140
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 992)		
ਕੈਹਾ ਕੰਚਨੁ ਤੁਟੈ ਸਾਰੁ ॥ ਅਠਨੀ ਗੰਢੁ ਪਾਏ ਲੋਗਾਰੁ ॥	1	143
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 143)		
ਲੋਹਾ ਵਢੈ ਦਰਜੀ ਪਾੜੈ ਸੂਈ ਧਾਗਾ ਸੀਵੈ ॥	2	143
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, ਪੰ. 955)		
ਇਕਨੇ ਭਾਂਡੈ ਸਾਜਿਐ॥	3	143
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 62)		
ਕਾਢੀ ਸਉਦੀ ਤੇਟਾ ਆਵੈ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਵਣਜ ਕਰੇ ਪੁਭੁ ਭਾਵੈ ॥	1	145
ਪੂੰਜੀ ਸਾਬਤੁ ਰਾਸਿ ਸਲਾਮਤਿ ਚੁਕਾ ਜਮ ਕਾ ਫਾਹਾ ਹੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1032)		
ਹਾਟੁ ਪਟਣ ਗੜ ਕੋਠੜੀ ਸਚੁ ਸਉਦਾ ਵਾਪਾਰ ॥	3	147
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 57)		
ਅੰਦਰਿ ਕੋਟ ਛੇ ਹਟ ਨਾਨੈ ॥ ਆਪੇ ਲੇਵੈ ਵਸਤ ਸਮਾਨੈ ॥	4	147
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1033)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਸੇਈ ਸਾਹ ਸਚੇ ਵਾਪਾਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਬੁਝ ਟੁਝਾਈ ਹੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1021)	1	148
ਵਣਜਾਰਿਆ ਸਿਉ ਵਣਜ ਕਰ ਨੈ ਲਾਹਾ ਮਨ ਹਸੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 595)	1	149
ਤਨ ਹਟੜੀ ਇਹ ਮਨੁ ਵਣਜਾਰਾ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਕਜੈ।ਸਚੁ ਵਾਪਾਰਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 942)	2	149
ਖੋਟੈ ਵਣਜਿ ਵਣਜਿਐ ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਖੋਟਾ ਹੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 23)	3	149
ਗੜ ਮਹਿ ਹਾਟ ਪਟਣ ਵਾਪਾਰਾ ॥ ਪੂਰੇ ਤੋਲਿ ਤੋਲੈ ਵਣਜਾਰਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1036)	1	150
ਨਾਇ ਚਿਤ ਕਰਿ ਚਾਕਰੀ ਮੰਨਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਿ ਕ੍ਰਮੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 596)	2	150
ਨਸਕਰੀਆ ਘਰ ਸੰਮਲੈ ਆਏ ਵਜਹੁ ਲਿਖਾਇ ॥ ਕਾਰ ਕਮਾਵਹਿ ਸਿਰਿ ਧਣੀ ਨਾਹਾ ਪਨੈ ਪਾਇ ॥ ਲਬੁ ਲੋਭੁ ਬੁਰਿਆਈਆ ਛੋਡੈ ਮਨਹੁ ਵਿਸਾਇ ॥ ਗੜਿ ਦੇਹੀ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਕੀ ਕਦੇ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਰਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 936)	1	151
ਇਹ ਜਗ ਤੇਰਾ ਤੂ ਗੋਸਾਈ ॥ ਏਕ ਘੜੀ ਮਹਿ ਥਾਪਿ ਉਥਾਪੇ ਜਰ ਵੰਡਿ ਦੇਵੈ ਭਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 417)	1	152

1	2	3
.....		
ਆਪਿ ਉਪਾਇਆ ਜਗਤੁ ਸਬਾਇਆ ॥	1	158
ਜਿਨਿ ਸਿਰਿਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਧੰਧੈ ਲਾਇਆ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1022)		
ਸੰਪੁ ਉ ਸੰਚੀ ਭਏ ਵਿਕਾਰ ॥ ਕਰਖ ਸੋਕ ਉਭੈ ਦਰਵਾਰਿ ॥	1	163
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 222)		
ਬਾਬਾ ਮਾਇਆ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥	1	164)
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 595)		
ਸੰਚੇ ਸੰਚਿ ਨ ਦੇਈ ਰਿਸ ਹੀ ਅੰਧੁ ਜਾਣੈ ਸਭ ਮੇਰੀ ॥	2	164
ਸੋਇਨ ਠੰਕਾ ਸੋਇਨ ਮਾੜੀ ਸੰਧੈ ਰਿਸੈ ਨ ਕੇਰੀ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ (ਪੰ. 155)		
ਸਤੀਆ ਮਨਿ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਉਪਜੈ ਦੇਣੈ ਕੇ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ ॥	3	164
ਦੇ ਕੇ ਮੰਗਹਿ ਸਗਲਾ ਗੁਣਾ ਸੋਭ ਕਰੇ ਸੰਸਾਰ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 466)		
ਠਾਨਕ ਅਸੀ ਸੋ ਮਿਠੈ ਜਿ ਖਟੇ ਘਾਣੈ ਦੇਇ ॥	1	165
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)		
ਖਾਜੈ ਪੈਝੈ ਰਲੀ ਕਰੀਜੈ ॥	1	170
ਇਨੁ ਅਭ ਭਗਤੀ ਬਾਦਿ ਮਰੀਜੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1027)		

Original VersesChapter -IV

Verse	Reference No:	Page No:
.....		
1	2	3
.....		
ਸਚਾ ਸੁ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸਚੁ ਕਪਾਵਸੁ ਸਚੜਾ ਨਿਆਉ ਕਰੇਗੁ ਮਸੇਲਾ ॥	1	190
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 723)		
ਏਕਾ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਸਾਚਾ ਨਾਉ ॥ ਤਿਥੈ ਨਿਝੜੇ ਸਾਚੁ ਨਿਆਉ ॥	2	190
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1188)		
ਤੂ ਸਚਾ ਦੀਬਾਣੁ ਹੋਰਿ ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣਿਆ ॥	3	190
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 150)		
ਹੋਲ ਧਰਮੁ ਦਇਆ ਕਾ ਪੂਤ ॥	1	191
ਸੰਤੋਖ ਥਾਪਿ ਰਖਿਆ ਜਿਨਿ ਸੂਤਿ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 3)		
ਕਰਮੀ ਕਰਮੀ ਹੋਇ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ ॥ ਸਚਾ ਆਪਿ ਸਚਾ ਦਰਬਾਰੁ ॥	1	192
ਤਿਥੈ ਸੋਹਨਿ ਪੰਚ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ॥ ਨਦਰੀ ਕਰਮਿ ਪਵੈ ਨਿਸਾਣੁ ॥		
ਕਚ ਪਕਾਈ ਉਥੇ ਪਾਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਗਇਆ ਜਾਪੇ ਜਾਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 7)		
ਚੰਗਿਆਈਆ ਬੁਰਿਆਈਆ ਵਾਚੈ ਧਰਮੁ ਕਦੂਰਿ ॥	2	192
ਕਰਮੀ ਆਪੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਕੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਕੇ ਦੂਰਿ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, ਪੰ. 8)		
ਹੁਕਮਿ ਚਲਾਏ ਆਪਣੇ ਕਰਮੀ ਵਰੈ ਕਲਾਮ ॥	1	193
ਨਾਨਕ ਸਚਾ ਸਚਿ ਨਾਦਿ ਸਚੁ ਸਭਾ ਦੀਬਾਣੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1241)		
ਸਾਚਾ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਸਚੁ ਪਰਖੇ ਸਾਚੈ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਚਲਾਈ ਹੈ ॥	2	193
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1023)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਓਥੇ ਸਚੇ ਗੀ ਸਚ ਨਿਕੜੇ ਚੁਣ ਵਖ ਕਢੇ ਜਜਮਾਲਿਆ ॥	3	193
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 463)		
ਸਭ ਹੁਕਮੇ ਵਰਤੈ ਹੁਕਮਿ ਸਮਾਇ ॥	1	194
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1188)		
ਸਹਸ ਸਿਆਣਪਾ ਲਖ ਹੋਹਿ ਤਾ ਇਕ ਨ ਚਨੇ ਨਾਲਿ ॥	2	194
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1)		
ਨਾਨਕ ਜੇ ਕੇ ਆਪੇ ਜਾਣੈ ਅਗੈ ਗਇਆ ਨ ਸੋਰੈ ॥	3	194
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 5)		
ਜਾਤੀ ਦੈ ਕਿਆ ਹਥਿ ਸਚੁ ਪਰਖੀਐ ॥	4	194
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 142)		
ਅਗੈ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਜੋਰੁ ਹੈ ਅਗੈ ਜੀਉਨਵੈ ॥	1	195
ਜਿਨ ਕੀ ਲੇਖੈ ਪਤਿ ਪਵੈ ਚੀ ਸੇਈ ਕੇਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 469)		
ਜੇ ਕੇ ਨਾਉ ਧਰਾਏ ਵਡਾ ਸਾਦ ਕਰੇ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਣੈ ॥	2	195
ਖਸਮੈ ਨਦਰੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਆਵੈ ਜੇਤੇ ਚੀ ਦਾਣੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 360)		
ਰਾਜੇ ਰਾਇ ਰੰਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਣਾ ਆਇ ਜਾਇ ਜੁਗ ਚਾਰੈ ॥	3	195
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 931)		
ਰਾਜੇ ਰਯਤਿ ਸਿਕਦਾਰ ਕੇਇ ਨ ਰਹਸੀਓ ॥	4	195
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 141)		
ਏਥੈ ਜਾਣੈ ਸੇ ਜਾਇ ਸਿਵਏ ॥ ਹੋਰੁ ਫਕੜੁ ਰਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣੈ ॥	5	195
ਸਭਨਾ ਕਾ ਦਰਿ ਲੇਖਾ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਕਰਣੀ ਬਾਝੁ ਤਰੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 952)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਕੀਤਾ ਆਪੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਲੇਖਾ ਸੰਢੀਐ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 473)	1	196
ਮੰਦਾ ਚੰਗਾ ਆਪਣਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਪਾਵਣਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 471)	2	196
ਤਖਤਿ ਬਰੈ ਅਦਲੀ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਆਪੇ ਭਰਮੁ ਭੋਦੁਦਠ ਭਉ ਜਾਈ ਹੈ ॥	3	196
.....		
ਨ ਕਿਸੈ ਕੋ ਬੈਰਾਈ ਹੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1022)		
ਮਨਮੁਖ ਅਸੀਂ ਲੇਖਾ ਮੰਗੀਐ ਬਹੁਤੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਪਾਰ ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪਤਿ ਸਿਉ ਲੇਖਾ ਨਿਠੈ ਬਖਸੈ ਸਿਫਤਿ ਭੰਡਾਰ ॥ ਓਥੈ ਹੁਬੁ ਨ ਅਪੜੈ ਕੂਕ ਨ ਸੁਟੀਐ ਪੁਕਾਰੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1281)	1	197
ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀਅ ਉਪਾਇ ਕੈ ਲਿਖਿ ਅ ਨਾਵੈ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਹਾਲਿਆ ॥ ਉਥੈ ਸਚੈ ਹੀ ਸਚਿ ਨਿਠੈ ਚੁਣਿ ਵਖਿ ਕਠੈ ਜਨਮਾਲਿਆ ॥ ਥਾਉਬਨ ਪਾਇਨਿ ਕੂੜਿਆਰ ਮੁਹ ਕਾਨੈ ਦੇਜਕਿ ਚਾਲਿਆ ॥ ਤੇਰੈ ਨਾਇ ਰਤੇ ਸੈ ਜਿਣਿ ਗਏ ਹਾਰ ਗਏ ਸਿ ਘਾਣ ਵਾਲਿਆ ॥ ਸਿਖਿ ਨਾਵੈ ਧਰਮੁ ਬਹਾਲਿਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 463)	1	198
ਸਚੈ ਦੈ ਦੀਬਾਣਿ ਕੂੜਿ ਨ ਜਾਈਐ ਝੁਠੇ ਝੁਠ ਵਖਾਣਿ ਸੁ ਮਰਲੁ ਪੁਆਈਐ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 146)	2	198
ਦੀਬਾਣੁ ਏਕੋ ਕਲਮ ਏਕਾ ਹਮਾ ਤੁਮਾ ਮੇਲੁ ॥ ਦਰਿ ਨਏ ਲੇਖਾ ਪੀੜਿ ਛੁਟੇ ਨਾਨਕਾ ਜਿਉ ਤੇਲੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 473)	1	199

1	2	3
.....		
ਹੁਕਮ ਕੀਏ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਵਦੈ ਰਾਹਿ ਭੀੜੈ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਜਾਵਣਾ ॥	2	199
ਨੰਗਾ ਦੋਜਕਿ ਚਾਲਿਆ ਤਾ ਦਿਸੈ ਖਰਾ ਡਰਾਵਣਾ ॥		
ਕਰਿ ਅਉਗਣ ਪਛੋਤਾਵਣਾ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 471)		
ਕੋਤਿਆ ਦੁਖ ਭੂਖ ਸਦਾ ਮਾਰ ॥ ਏਹਿ ਭੀ ਦਾਤਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਦਾਤਾਰ ॥	1	200
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ.5)		
ਬੰਦਿ ਖਲਾਸੀ ਭਾਣੈ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਹੋਰੁ ਆਖਿ ਨ ਸਕੈ ਕੋਇ ॥	2	200
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 5)		
ਇਕਨਾ ਗਲੀ ਜੰਜੀਰ ਈਦਿ ਰਣਾਣੀਐ ॥	1	201
ਵਧੇ ਫੁਟਹਿ ਸਚਿ ਸਚੁ ਪਛਾਣੀਐ ॥		
ਲਿਖਿਆ ਪਲੈ ਪਾਇ ਸੋ ਸਚੁ ਜਾਣੀਐ ॥		
ਕੁਠੀ ਹੋਇ ਨਿਬੇੜੁ ਗਇਆ ਜਾਣੀਐ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1287)		
ਆਪੇ ਨਿਰਰਿ ਦਇਆ ਪਤਿ ਦਾਤਾ॥	2	201
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1022)		
ਜੈਸਾ ਬਾਲਕੁ ਭਾਇ ਸੁਭਾਈ ਲਖ ਅਪਰਾਧ ਕਮਾਵੈ ॥	1	202
ਕਰਿ ਉਪਦੇਸੁ ਝੜਕੈ ਬਹੁ ਭਾਤੀ ਬਹੁੜਿ ਪਿਤਾ ਗਲਿ ਨਾਵੈ		
ਪਿਛਲੈ ਅਉਗੁਣ ਬਖੁਸਿ ਲਏ ਪੂਰੁ ਆਰੈ ਮਾਰਕਿ ਪਾਵੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 624)		
ਸਾਰਿਣ ਰੋਇ ਦਇਆਲ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰੇ ਤਾ ਸ਼ਾਈ ਕਾਰ ਕਰਾਇਸੀ ॥ 2		202
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 471)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਦਿੱਖੈ ਅੰਜਾਰਿ ਸਭ ਕੇ ਵੈਖਿ ਨਦਰੀ ਹੋਰਿ ਚਲਾਇ ਦਾ ॥ ਆਪੇ ਦੇ ਵਡਿਆਈਆ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕਰਾ ਕਰਾਇਦਾ ॥ ਵਡਹੁ ਵਡਾ ਵਡ ਮੋਦਨੀ ਸਿਰੇ ਸਿਰਿ ਧੰਧੇ ਲਾਇਆ ॥	3	202
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)		
ਦਰਸਨਿ ਦੇਖਿਐ ਦਇਆ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਲਏ ਦਿਤੇ ਵਿਣੁ ਰੇ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥	1	210
ਰਾਜਾ ਨਿਆਉ ਕਰੇ ਹਥਿ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਨ ਮਾਨੇ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਮਾਣਸ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮੁ ॥ ਕਰਣੀ ਕੁਤਾ ਦਰਿ ਫੁਰਮਾਨੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 350)		
ਕਾਜੀ ਹੋਇ ਕੇ ਖਰੈ ਨਿਆਇ ॥ ਫੇਰੇ ਲਸਬੀ ਕਰੇ ਖੁਦਾਇ ॥ ਵਢੀ ਨੈ ਕੇ ਹਰੁ ਗਵਾਲੇ ॥ ਜੇ ਕੇ ਪੁਛੇ ਤਾ ਪੜਿ ਸੁਣਾਏ ॥	2	210
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 951)		
ਨੈ ਕੇ ਵਢੀ ਦੇਨਿ ਉਗਾਹੀ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਕਾ ਗਲਿ ਫਾਹਾ ਹੈ ॥	3	210
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1032)		
ਤੂੰ ਸਭਨਾ ਮਾਰਿ ਸਮਾਇਆ ॥	1	212
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 72)		
ਕੀੜਾ ਬਾਪਿ ਦੇਇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀ ॥	1	213
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 144)		
ਸਮੁੰਦ ਸਾਹ ਸੁਲਤਾਨ ਗਿਰਹਾ ਸੇਤੀ ਮਾਲੁ ਧਲੁ ॥ ਕੀੜੀ ਤੁਲਿ ਨ ਹੋਵਨੀ ਜੇ ਤਿਸੁ ਮਨਹੁ ਨ ਵੀਸਰਹਿ ॥	2	213
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 5)		
ਅੰਧੀ ਰਯਤਿ ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਹੁਣੀ ਚਾਹਿ ਭਰੇ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ॥	1	214
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 469)		
ਜਾਣਹੁ ਜੋਤਿ ਨ ਪੁਛਹੁ ਜਾਣੀ ਅਯੈ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਹੈ ॥	1	215
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 439)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਫਕੜੇ ਜਾਤੀ ਫਕੜੇ ਨਾਉ ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਇਕਾ ਛਾਉ ॥ ਆਪਹੁ ਜੇ ਕੇ ਭਨਾ ਕਠਾਏ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਤਾਪਹੁ ਜਾਪੈ ਜਾ ਪਤਿ ਲੇਖੈ ਪਾਏ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 83)	2	215
ਸਭ ਕੇ ਉਚਾ ਆਖੀ ਆਹਿ ਨੀਚੁ ਨ ਦੀਸੈ ਕੇਇ ॥ ਇਕਨੈ ਭਾਂਡੈ ਸਾਜੀਐ ਇਕ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਤਿਹੁ ਲੇਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 62)	3	215
ਆਪੇ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਨਾਰੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ., 1020)	1	216
ਗਾਛਹੁ ਪ੍ਰੜੀ ਰਾਜ ਕੁਆਰਿ ॥ ਨਾਮੁ ਭਟਹੁ ਸਚੁ ਦੋਤੁ ਸਵਾਰਿ ॥ ਪਿਉ ਸੇਵਹੁ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਆਧਾਰਿ ॥ ਗੁਰ ਸਬਦੀ ਬਿਖੁ ਤਿਆਸ ਨਿਵਾਰਿ ॥ ਮੋਹਨਿ ਮੋਹਿ ਨੀਆ ਮਨੁ ਮੋਹਿ ॥ ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਸਬਦਿ ਪਛਾਨਾ ਤੇਹਿ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਠਾਢੇ ਚਾਹਹਿ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਦੁਆਰਿ ॥ ਤੇਰੇ ਨਾਮ ਸੰਤੋਖੇ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਧਾਰਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1187)	1	217
ਚੋਰ ਜਾਹ ਜੁਆਰ ਪੀੜੈ ਘਾਟੀਐ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1288)	1	218
ਰਾਜੇ ਸੀਹ ਮੁਕਦਮ ਕੁਤੇ ॥ ਜਾਇ ਜਗਾਇਨਿ ਬੈਠੇ ਸੁਤੇ ॥ ਚਾਕਰ ਨਹਦਾ ਪਾਇਨਿ ਘਾਉ ॥ ਰਤੁ ਪਿਤੁ ਕੁਤਿਹੋ ਚਟਿ ਜਹੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1288)	1	220
ਰਾਜੇ ਚੁਲੀ ਨਿਆਵ ਕੀ ...। (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1240)	2	220
ਜਿਥੇ ਜੀਆ ਹੋਸੀ ਸਾਰ ॥ ਨਕੀ ਵਢੀ ਨਾਇ ਤਬਾਰ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 1288)	1	221

1	2	3
.....		
ਕਰੁ ਪਰਾਇਆ ਨਾਨਕ ਉਸੁ ਸੁਆਹ ਉਸ ਗਾਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 141)	2	221
ਗੁਰੁ ਪੀਰੁ ਹਾਮਾ ਤਾ ਤਰੇ ਜਾ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ਨ ਖਾਇ ॥ ਗਲੀ ਭਿਸਤਿ ਨ ਜਾਈਐ ਛੁਟੈ ਸਚੁ ਕਮਾਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 141)	3	221
ਘਾਨਿ ਖਾਇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਥਹੁ ਚੈਹਿ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਹੁ ਪਛਾਣਹਿ ਸੇਦਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1245)	1	222

Original VersesChapter-V

Verse	Reference No:	Page No:
1	2	3
ਆਦਿ ਕਉ ਕਵਨੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ਕਥੀਅਨੇ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 940)	1	225
ਆਦਿ ਕਉ ਇਸਮਾਦੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ਕਥੀਅਨੇ . . . (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, ਪੰ. 940)	1	226
ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, ਪੰ. 1)	2	226
ਏਕਸੁ ਤੇ ਸਭ ਓਪਤਿ ਕੋਈ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 223)	1	227
ਕਰਣ ਕਾਰਣ ਸਮਰਥੁ ਹੈ ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਬੀਚਾਰਿ ॥ ਕਾਰਣੁ ਕਰਤੇ ਵਸਿ ਹੈ ਜਿਨਿ ਕਲਿ ਰਪੀ ਧਾਰਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1353)	2	227
ਆਪੇ ਸਚੁ ਕੀਆ ਕਰ ਜੋੜਿ ॥ ਅੰਗੁ ਫੋੜਿ ਜੋੜਿ ਵਿਛੋੜਿ ॥ ਧਰਤਿ ਅਕਾਸੁ ਕੀਏ ਏਸਣ ਕਉ ਥਾਉ ॥ ਰਾਤਿ ਚਿਨ੍ਤੁ ਕੀਏ ਭਉ ਭਾਉ ॥ ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਏ ਕਰਿ ਵੇਖਣਾਰਾ ॥ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਦੂਜਾ ਸਿਰਜਣਾਰਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1065)	3	227
ਕੁਕਮ ਕੋਵਨਿ ਆਕਾਰੁ ਕੁਕਮੁ ਨ ਕਹਿਆ ਜਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, ਪੰ. 1)	4	227

1	2	3
.....		
ਕੀੜਾ ਪਾਸਾਉ ਏਕੋ ਕਵਾਉ॥ ਤਿਸਤੇ ਕੋਏ ਲਖ ਦਰੀਆਉ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ.3)	1	228
ਪੁੜੁਧਰਤੀ ਪੁੜੁ ਪਾਣ ਆਸਣੁ ਚਾਰਿ ਕੁੰਟ ਚਉਬਾਰਾ॥ ਸਗਲ ਭਵਣ ਕੀ ਮੁਰਤਿ ਏਕਾ ਮੁਖਿ ਤੇਰੈ ਟਕਸਾਲਾ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 596)	2	228
ਸੁੰਨ ਨਿਰੰਤਰਿ ਵਾਸੁ ਲੀਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 940)	1	229
ਗਉਨ ਗਗਨੁ ਜਬ ਕੁਠਹਿ ਨ ਹੋ ਤਉ ਕੁਠਵਣ ਜੋਤਿ ਆਪੇ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰਿ ॥ ਵਰਨੁ ਭੇਖੁ ਅਸਰੁਪੁ ਸੋ ਏਕੋ ਏਕੋ ਸਬਦੁ ਵਿਛਾਣੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 945-46)	2	229
ਅਰਬਦ ਨਰਣਦ ਹੁੰਧੁਕਾਰਾ॥ਧਰਣਿ ਨ ਗਗਨਾ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਅਪਾਰਾ ॥ ਨ ਚਿਨੁ ਰੈਣਿ ਚੰਦੁ ਨ ਸੂਰਜੁ ਸੁੰਨ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਲਗਾਇਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1035)	3	229
ਜਾ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਣਾ ਤਾ ਜਗਤੁ ਉਪਾਇਆ ॥ ਬਾਝੁ ਕਲਾ ਅਡਾਣੁ ਰਹਾਇਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ.1036)	4	229
ਸੁੰਨਹੁ ਧਰਤਿ ਅਕਾਸੁ ਉਪਾਏ ॥ ਸੁੰਨਹੁ ਬਾਣੀ ਸੁੰਨਹੁ ਬਾਣੀ ॥ ਸੁੰਨਹੁ ਰਾਤਿ ਚਿਨਮੁ ਦੁਇ ਕੀਏ॥ ਪੰਚ ਤਤੁ ਸੁੰਨਹੁ ਪਰਗਾਸਾ ॥ ਦੇਹ ਸੰਜੋਗੀ ਕਰਮ ਅਭਿਆਸਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1037-38)	1	230

1	2	3
.....		
ਏਕੋ ਹੁਕਮ ਵਰਤੈ ਸਭ ਲੋਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ : 223)	2	230
ਖੰਡ ਪਤਾਲ ਅਸੰਖ ਮੈ ਗਣਤ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥ ਤੂ ਕਰਤਾ ਗੋਵਿੰਦੁ ਤੁਧੁ ਬਿਰਜੀ ਤੁਧੈ ਗੋਈ ॥ ਲਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀਹਿ ਮੇਦਨੀ ਤੁਝ ਹੀ ਤੇ ਹੋਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 1283)	1	231
ਕਵਣੁ ਸੁ ਵੇਲਾ ਵਖਤੁ ਕਵਣੁ ਕਵਣੁ ਬਿਥਿ ਕਵਣੁ ਵਾਰੁ ॥ ਕਵਣਿ ਸਿਰਤੀ ਮਾਹੁ ਕਵਣੁ ਜਿਤੁ ਹੋਆ ਆਕਾਰੁ ॥ ਵੇਲ ਨ ਪਾਹੀਆ ਪੰਡਤੀ ਜਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਲੇਖੁ ਪੁਰਾਣੁ ॥ ਵਖਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਇਓ ਕਾਦੀਆ ਜਿ ਲਿਖਨਿ ਲੇਖੁ ਕੁਰਾਣੁ ॥ ਬਿਥਿ ਵਾਰੁ ਨ ਜੋਗੀ ਜਾਣੈ ਰੁਤਿ ਮਾਹੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥ ਜਾ ਕਰਤਾ ਸਿਰਤੀ ਕਾਉ ਸਾਜੇ ਆਪੇ ਜਾਣੈ ਸੋਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 4)	1	232
ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਜਾਪੈ ਕੀਤਾ ਆਕਾਰੁ ॥ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਜਾਪੈ ਪਾਰਾ ਵਾਰੁ ॥ ਅੰਤੁ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਕੋਠੈ ਬਿਨਸਾਹਿ ॥ ਤਾ ਕੇ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਏ ਜਾਹਿ ॥ ਏਹੁ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਜਾਣੈ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਕਰੀਐ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਜੇਵਡੁ ਆਪਿ ਜਾਣੈ ਆਪਿ ਆਪਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 5)	2	232

1	2	3
.....		
ਕਾਣੇ ਪੁਲੇ	1	233
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 942)		
ਪਵਨ ਅਰਭੁ	2	233
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 943)		
ਸਾਚੇ ਤੇ ਪਵਨਾ ਭਇਆ ਪਵਨੇ ਤੇ ਜਲੁ ਹੋਇ ॥	3	233
ਜਲ ਤੇ ਤ੍ਰਿਭਵਣੁ ਸਾਜਿਆ ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਮੋਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 19)		
ਪਵਣੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਪਿੰਤਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਧਰਤਿ ਮਾਤੁ॥	4	233
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 8)		
ਸਬਦੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਧੁਨਿ ਚੇਲਾ ॥	5	233
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 943)		
ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਕਰੇ ਸੁ ਆਪਣ ਭਾਣੇ ॥	1	234
ਲਖ ਚਉਰਾਸੀਹ ਜੀਅ ਉਪਾਏ ਭਾਣੇ ਸਾਹ ਨਵਾਇਦਾ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1034)		
ਸਚੇ ਤੇਰੇ ਖੰਡ ਸਚੇ ਬ੍ਰਹਮੰਡ ॥	2	234
ਸਚੇ ਤੇਰੇ ਲੋਅ ਸਚੇ ਆਕਾਰ ॥		
ਸਚੇ ਤੇਰੇ ਕਰਣੇ ਸਰਬ ਬੀਚਾਰ ॥		
...		
ਸਚੀ ਤੇਰੀ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਸਚੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ॥		
ਠਾਠਕ ਸਚੁ ਧਿਆਇਨਿ ਸਚੁ ॥		
ਜੋ ਮਰਿ ਜੀਮੇ ਸੁ ਕਚੁ ਲਿਕਚੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 463)		
ਜਾ ਤੂੰ ਸਚਾ ਤਾ ਸਭੁ ਕੇ ਸਚਾ ॥	1	235
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 145)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਆਪੀਨੈ ਆਪੁ ਸਾਜਿਓ ਆਪੀਨੈ ਰਚਿਓ ਨਾਉ ॥	2	235
ਦੁਯੀ ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਸਾਜੀਐ ਕਰਿ ਆਸਟੁ ਡਿਠੇ ਚਾਉ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 463)		
ਕਿਤੁ ਕਿਤੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਜੁਗੁ ਉਪਾਜੈ	3	235
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 946)		
ਹਉਮੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਜਗੁ ਉਪਾਜੈ॥	4	235
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 946)		
ਪਯੈ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੁ ਪਰਮੇਸਰੁ ਵੇਖਣ ਕਉ ਪਰਪੰਚ ਕੀਆ ॥	1	236
ਦੇਖੇ ਬੁਝੈ ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਜਾਣੈ ਅੰਤਰਿ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਰਵਿ ਰਹਿਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 433)		
ਸੰਤ ਹੇਤਿ ਪ੍ਰਭਿ ਤ੍ਰਿਭਵਣ ਧਾਰੇ ॥	2	236
ਆਤਮੁ ਚੀਨੈ ਸੁ ਤਤੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 224)		
ਧਰਤ ਉਪਾਇ ਧਰੀ ਧਰਮਸਾਨਾ ॥	1	237
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1033)		
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਧਰਤੀ ਸਾਚੈ ਸਾਜੀ ॥	2	237
ਤਿਸ ਮਹਿ ਉਪਤਿ ਖਪਤਿ ਸੁ ਬਾਜੀ ॥		
ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਰਯੇ ਰੰਗੁ ਲਾਇ ॥		
ਸਾਚਿ ਰਤਉ ਪਤਿ ਸਿਉ ਘਰਿ ਜਾਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 941)		
ਏਹੁ ਜੀਉ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਜਨਮ ਭਰੰਮਿਆ ਤਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਸਬਦੁ ਸੁਣਾਇਆ ॥	1	238
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 465)		

1	2	
.....		
ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਖੇਟਿਹੁ ਖਰੇ ਕਰੇ ਸਬਦਿ ਸਵਾਰਠਗਾਰੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 143)	2	238
ਆਪੇ ਛਿੜਿ ਪਵਾਇ ਮਲਾਖਾਣਾ ਰਚਿਆ ॥ ਨਥੈ ਭੜਬੁ ਪਾਇ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਮਚਿਆ ਮਨਮੁਖਿ ਮਾਰੇ ਪਛਾੜਿ ਮੂਰਖ ਕਚਿਆ ॥ ਆਪਿ ਭੜੈ ਮਾਰੇ ਆਪਿ ਆਪਿ ਕਾਰਜੁ ਰਚਿਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1280)	3	238
ਰਾਤੀ ਰੁਤੀ ਬਿਤੀ ਵਾਰ ॥ ਪਵਣ ਪਾਣੀ ਆਨੀ ਪਾਤਾਲ ॥ ਤਿਸੁ ਵਿਚਿ ਧਰਤੀ ਥਾਪਿ ਰਖੀ ਧਰਮਸਾਲ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 7)	1	239
ਤਿਸੁ ਵਿਚਿ ਜੀਅ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਕੇ ਰੰਗ ॥ ਤਿਨ ਕੇ ਨਾਮ ਅਠੇ ਕ ਅਨੰਤ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 7)	2	239
ਹੀਰੇ ਜੈਸਾ ਜਨਮੁ ਹੈ ਕੁੰਡੀ ਬਦਲੇ ਜਾਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 156)	1	240
ਮਾਣਸ ਜਨਮੁ ਦੁਨੰਭੁ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਪਾਇਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 751)	2	240
ਤਿਥੈ ਘੜੀਐ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਮਤਿ ਮਨਿ ਏਧਿ ॥ ਤਿਥੈ ਘੜੀਐ ਸੁਰਾ ਸਿਧਾ ਕੀ ਸੁਧਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 8)	3	240
ਕਾਇਆ ਕੇਟੁ ਗੜੈ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਜਾ ॥ ਨੇਬ ਖਵਾਸ ਭਨਾ ਚਰਵਾਜਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1037)	1	241
ਤਨੁ ਹਟੜੀ ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁ ਵਲਜਾਰਾ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਕੈ ਸਚੁ ਵਾਪਾਰਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 942)	2	241

1	2	3
.....		
ਕਾਇਆ ਮਹਲੁ ਮੰਦਰੁ ਘਰੁ ਰਹਿ ਕਾ ਤਿਸ ਮਹਿ ਰਾਖੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਅਪਾਰ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1256)	3	241
ਪਉਣੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਸੁੰਨੈ ਤੇ ਸਾਜੇ ॥ ਸਿਸਟਿ ਉਪਾਇ ਕਾਇਆ ਗੜ ਰਾਜੇ ॥ ਅਗਨਿ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੀਉ ਜੋਤਿ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ਸੁੰਨੈ ਕਲਾ ਰਹਾਇਦਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1037)	1	242
ਸਾਕਤ ਨਿਰਗੁਣਿਆਰਿਆ ਆਪਣਾ ਮੁਲੁ ਪਛਾਣੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 63)	2	242
ਜੀਵਨ ਮਰਣਾ ਜਾਇ ਕੈ ਏਥੈ ਖਾਜੈ ਕਾਲਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 15)	3	242
ਮਾਕੀ ਰਕਤੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਇੰਦੁ ਧਾਰੀ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਸੂਰਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਆਪਾਰਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1022)	1	243
ਰਕਤੁ ਇੰਦੁ ਕਾ ਇਹ ਤਨੈ ਅਗਨੀ ਪਾਸਿ ਪਿਰਾਣੁ ॥ ਪਵਣੈ ਕੈ ਵਸਿ ਦੇਹੁਰੀ ਪਸਤਕਿ ਸਚਿ ਨੀਸਾਣੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 63)	2	243
ਪੰਚ ਤਤੁ ਮਿਲਿ ਇਹੁ ਤਨੁ ਕੀਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1039)	1	244
ਅਪੁ ਤੇਜੁ ਵਾਇ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੀ ਆਕਾਸਾ ॥ ਤਿਨ ਮਹਿ ਪੰ ਚ ਤਤੁ ਘਰਿ ਵਾਸਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1031)	2	244

1	2	3
.....		
ਨਾਇਆ ਨਗਰੀ ਇਹੁ ਮਨੁ ਰਾਜਾ ਪੰਚ ਵਸਹਿ ਵੀਚਾਰੀ ॥	1	245
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 907)		
ਪਉਣੈ ਪਾਣੀ ਅਗਨੀ ਕਾ ਮੇਲੁ ॥	2	245
ਚੰਚਲ ਚਪਲ ਬੁਧਿ ਕਾ ਖੇਲੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 152)		
ਦੇਹੀ ਮਾਟੀ ਬੋਲੈ ਪਉਣੁ ॥	1	246
ਬੁਝ ਰੇ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਮੁਆ ਹੈ ਕਉਣੁ ॥		
ਮੁਈ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਬਾਦੁ ਅੰਕਾਰੁ ॥		
ਓਹ ਨ ਮੁਆ ਜੋ ਦੇਖਣਗਾਰੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ . 152)		
ਤਨ ਮਹਿ ਮਨੁਆ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਸਾਰਾ ॥	2	246
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 686)		
ਦੇਹੀ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਨਿਵਾਸੀ ॥	2	247
ਆਪੇ ਕਰਤਾ ਹੈ ਅਣਿਨਾਸੀ ॥		
ਨਾ ਜੀਉ ਮਰੈ ਨ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਜਾਈ ...॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1026)		
ਦਸ ਬਾਲਤਣਿ ਬੀਸ ਰਵਣਿ ਤੀਸਾ ਕਾ ਸੁੰਦਰੁ ਕਹਾਵੈ ॥	1	248
ਚਾਲੀਸੀ ਪੁਰੁ ਰੋਇ ਪਚਾਸੀ ਯੁ ਖਿਸੈ ਸਠੀ ਕੇ ਬੋਢੇਪਾ ਆਵੈ ॥		
ਸਤਰਿ ਕਾ ਮਤਿ ਹੀਣੁ ਅਸੀਾ ਕਾ ਵਿਉਹਾਰੁ ਨ ਪਾਵੈ ॥		
ਠਵੈ ਕਾ ਸਿਹ ਜਾਸਣੀ ਮੁਲਿ ਨ ਜਾਣੈ ਆਪ ਬਲੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 138)		

1	2	3
.....
ਪਹਿਲੈ ਪਿਆਰਿ ਲਗਾ ਬਣ ਦੁਇ ॥	1	249
ਦੂਜੇ ਮਾਇ ਬਾਪ ਕੀ ਗੁਇ ॥		
ਤੀਜੇ ਭਯਾ ਭਾਭੀ ਬੇਬ ॥		
ਚਉਥੇ ਪਿਆਰਿ ਉਪੰਨੀ ਖੇਡ ॥		
ਪੰਜਵੇ ਖਾਣ ਪੀਅਣ ਕੀ ਧਾਤੁ ॥		
ਛਿਵੇ ਕਾਮੁ ਨ ਪੁਛੈ ਜਾਤਿ ॥		
ਸਤਵੇ ਸੰਜਿ ਕੀਆ ਘਰ ਵਾਸ ॥		
ਅਠਵੇ ਕੋਧ ਹੋਆ ਤਨ ਨਾਸ ॥		
ਨਾਵੇ ਯੁਲੇ ਉਭੇ ਸਾਹ ॥		
ਦਸਵੇ ਦਧਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੁਆਹ ॥		
ਗਏ ਸਿਗੀਤ ਪੁਕਾਰੀ ਸਾਹ ॥ ਉਡਿਆ ਹੰਸੁ ਦਸਾਏ ਰਾਹ ॥		
ਆਇਆ ਗਇਆ ਮੁਇਆ ਨਾਉ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 137-38)		
ਨਾਨਕ ਗਾਵੀਐ ਗੁਣੀ ਨਿਧਾਨ ॥	1	250
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 2)		
ਆਦਿ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੁ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਸੋਈ ॥	2	250
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1034)		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਆਇਆ ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਗਇਆ	1	251
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਜੰਮਿਆ ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਮੁਆ ॥		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਦਿਤਾ ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਲਇਆ ॥		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਸਚਿਆਰੁ ਕੁਕਿਆਰੁ ॥		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਪਾਪੁ ਪੁੰਨ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ ॥		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਨਰਕਿ ਸੁਰਗਿ ਅਵਤਾਰੁ ॥		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਹਸੇ ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਰੋਵੈ ॥		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਭਰੀਐ ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਧੋਵੈ ॥		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਜਾਤੀ ਜਿਨਸੀ ਖੋਵੈ ॥		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਮੁਰਖੁ ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਸਿਆਣਾ ॥		
ਹਉ ਆਐ ਕਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਜੰਤ ਉਪਾਇਆ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 466)		

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ਹਉਮੈ ਕਰਿ ਰਾਜੇ ਬਹੁ ਧਾਵਹਿ ॥	1	252
ਹਉਮੈ ਖਪਹਿ ਜਨਮਿ ਘਰ ਆਵਹਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 226)		
ਹਉਮੈ ਬੰਧਨ ਬੰਧਿ ਭਵਾਵੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 227)	1	253
ਹਉਮੈ ਮੇਰਾ ਮਰੀ ਮਰੁ ਮਰਿ ਜੰਮੈ ਵਾਰੋਵਾਰ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 1009)	2	253
ਕਿਰਤ ਕੇ ਬਾਸੈ ਪਾਪ ਕਮਾਵਹਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 1029)		
ਇਕਿ ਮੂਨੁ ਨ ਬੁਝਨਿ ਆਪਣਾ ਅਣਹੋਦਾ ਆਪੁ ਗਣਾਇਦੈ ॥	1	254
(ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 468)		
ਹਉ ਹਉ ਕਰਤ ਨਹੀ ਸਚੁ ਪਾਈਐ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 226)	2	254
ਹਉਮੈ ਕਰੀ ਤਾ ਤੂ ਨਾਹੀ ਤੂ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਹਉ ਨਾਹਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 1092)	1	255
ਮਾਇਆ ਕੇ ਦੇਵਾਨੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਣੀ ਝੁਠਿ ਕਰੁਰੀ ਪਾਈ ਨਭਿ ਨੈਭਿ ਮੁਹਤਾਜਿ ਵਿਗੁਮੇ ਇਸ ਤਾਬ ਫਿਰਿ ਪਛੁਤਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 930)	2	255
ਇਸ ਜਰ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਘਣੀ ਵਿਮੁਤੀ ਇਨਿ ਜਰ ਘਣੀ ਖੁਆਈ ॥	1	256
ਪਾਪਾ ਬਾਝਹੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਮੁਇਆ ਸਾਥਿ ਨ ਜਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ ਪੰ. 417)		

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ਮਾਇਆ ਸੀਚਿ ਰਾਜੇ ਅੰਕਾਰੀ ॥	2	256
ਮਾਇਆ ਸਾਬ ਨ ਚਲੈ ਪਿਆਰੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1342)		
ਮਾਇਆ ਮਾਇਆ ਕਰਿ ਮੁਏ ਮਾਇਆ ਕਿਸੈ ਨ ਸਾਥਿ ॥	3	256
ਹੰਸੁ ਚਨੇ ਉਠਿ ਡੁਤਏ ਮਾਇਆ ਪੂਲੀ ਆਥਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 935)		
ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹ ਸਰਬ ਜੰਜਾਲਾ ॥	1	257
ਮਨਮੁਖ ਕੁਚੀਲ ਕੁਛਿਤ ਬਿਕਰਾਲਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 222)		
ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਕਲ੍ਹੁ ਜਗਿ ਹੇਤੁ ਪਿਆਰਾ ॥	2	257
ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹੁ ਪਸਰਿਆ ਪਾਸਾਰਾ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1029)		
ਮਾਇਆ ਧੰਧਾ ਧਾਵਣੀ ਦੁਰਮਦਿ ਕਾਰ ਬਿਕਾਰ ॥	3	257
ਮੂਰਖੁ ਆਪ ਗਣਾਇਦਾ ਬੁਝਿ ਨ ਸਕੈ ਕਾਰ ॥ ਮਨਸਾ ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹਣੀ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਬੋਲ ਖੁਆਰ ॥ ਮਜਨੁ ਝੂਠਾ ਚੰਡਾਨ ਕਾ ਫੋਕਟ ਚਾਰ ਸੀਗਾਰ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1343)		
ਮਿਠਿ ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਿੰਡੁ ਕਮਾਇਆ	1	258
ਤਿਨਿ ਕਰਤੈ ਲੇਖੁ ਲਿਖਾਇਆ ॥ ਲਿਖੁ ਦਾਤਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥ ਮਿਠਿ ਮਾਇਆ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਗਵਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 989)		

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ਬਾਬਾ ਮਾਇਆ ਕਚਨਾ ਧੋਹੁ ॥	2	258
ਅੰਧੇ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰਿਆ ਨ ਤਿਸੁ ਏਹ ਨ ਓਹ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 15)		
ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਮਾਇਆ ਹਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਛਾਇਆ ॥	3	258
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 466)		
ਮਨਮੁਖ ਅੰਧਾ ਮੁਗਧੁ ਗਵਾਰ ॥	1	259
ਲਾਹੈ ਕਾਰਣਿ ਆਇਆ ਜਗਿ ॥		
ਹਇ ਮਜੁਰ ਮਇਆ ਠਗਾਇ ਠਗਿ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 931)		
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਮਨੁ ਜੀਤਾ ਹਉਮੈ ਮਾਰਿ ॥	2	259
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਾਰਿ ਰਖਿਆ ਉਰਧਾਰਿ ॥		
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਜਗੁ ਜੀਤਾ ਜਮਕਾਲੁ ਮਾਰਿ ਵਿਦਾਰਿ ॥		
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਦਰਗਹ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਹਾਰਿ ॥		
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਮੇਲਿ ਮਿਲਾਇ ਸੁ ਜਾਣੈ ॥		
ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਬਦਿ ਪਛਾਣੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 946)		
ਮਨ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ ਹਉਮੈ ਤਿਆਗੀ ॥	1	260
ਅਦਿ ਅਦਿ ਮਨਸਾ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਲਾਗੀ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 415)		
ਹਉਮੈ ਮਮਤਾ ਲੋਭੁ ਜਾਲਹੁ ਸਬਦਿ ਮੇਲੁ ਚੁਕਾਈਐ ॥	2	260
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 843)		
ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿਐ ਮਤਿ ਉਤਮ ਹੋਇ ॥		
ਮਨੁ ਨਿਰਮਲੁ ਹਉਮੈ ਕਣੈ ਹੋਇ ॥	3	260
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1188)		

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ਆਪੁ ਪਛਾਣੈ ਜਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਵੈ ॥	1	261
ਜਹ ਆਸਾ ਤਹ ਬਿਨਸਿ ਬਿਨਾਸਾ ॥		
ਫੂਟੇ ਖਪਰੁ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਮਨਸਾ ॥		
ਮਮਤਾ ਜਾਲ ਤੇ ਰਹੈ ਉਦਾਸਾ ॥		
ਪ੍ਰਦਵਤਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਹਤ ਤਾ ਕੇ ਦਾਸਾ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 840)		
ਜਿਨੀ ਆਤਮੁ ਚੀਨਿਆ ਪਰਮਾਤਮੁ ਸੋਈ ॥	2	261
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 421)		
ਆਦਮੁ ਚਿਨਿ ਭਏ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੀ ॥	3	261
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 415)		
ਉਪਜਹਿ ਬਿਨਸਹਿ ਬੰਧਨ ਏਧੇ ॥	2	262
ਹਉਮੈ ਮਾਇਆ ਕੇ ਗਲਿ ਫੈਧੇ ॥		
ਜਿਸ ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮੁ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਮਤਿ		
ਮੁਰਮਤਿ ਜੋ ਜਮਪੁਰਿ ਬੰਧਿ ਚਲਾਇਆ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1041)		
ਕਰਮੀ ਆਵੈ ਕਪੜਾ ਨਦਰੀ ਮੋਖੁ ਦੁਆਰੁ ॥	1	263
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 2)		
ਅਧਿਆਤਮ ਕਰਮ ਕਰੈ ਦਿਨ ਰਾਤੀ ॥	3	253
ਨਿਰਮਲ ਜੋਤਿ ਨਿਰਤਰਿ ਜਾਤੀ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1039)		
ਮਨ ਕਾ ਕਹਿਆ ਮਨਸਾ ਕਰੈ ॥	1	264
ਇਹ ਮਨੁ ਪੁੰਨ ਪਾਪੁ ਉਚਰੈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 832)		

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ਹਉਮੈ ਦੀਰਘ ਰੋਗੁ ਹੈ ਦਾਰੂ ਭੀ ਇਸ ਮਾਰਿ ॥	3	264
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 466)		
ਫਲੁ ਤੇਵੇਹੇ ਪਾਈਐ ਜੇਵੇਹੀ ਕਾਰ ਕਮਾਈਐ ॥	1	265
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 468)		
ਜਿਤੁ ਕੀਤਾ ਪਾਈਐ ਆਪਣਾ ਸਾ	2	265
ਘਾਣ ਬੁਰੀ ਕਿਉ ਘਾਲੀਐ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ 474)		
ਅਵਗੁਣ ਛੇਡਿ ਗੁਣਾ ਕਉ ਧਾਵਹੁ	3	265
ਕਰਿ ਅਵਗੁਣ ਪਛੁਤਾਈ ਜਾਉ ॥		
ਸਰ ਅਪਸਰ ਕੀ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਜਾਣਹਿ		
ਫਿਰਿ ਫਿਰਿ ਕੀਚ ਬੁਝਾਹੀ ਜੀਉ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 598)		
ਸਭੁ ਕੇ ਉਚਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਨੀਚੁ ਨ ਦੀਸੈ ਕਾਇ ॥	1	268
ਇਕਨੈ ਭਾਂਡੇ ਸਾਜਿਐ ਇਕੁ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਤਿਹੁ ਲੋਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 62)		
ਆਪੇ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਨਾਰੀ ॥	2	268
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1020)		
ਜਾਣਹੁ ਜੋਤਿ ਨ ਪੁਛਹੁ ਜਾਤੀ ਅਗੈ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਹੇ ॥	3	268
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 349)		
ਜਾਤਿ ਜਨਮੁ ਨਹੁ ਪੁਛੀਐ ਸਚ ਘਰੁ ਕੇਹੁ ਬਛਾਇ ॥	4	268
ਸਾ ਜਾਤਿ ਸਾ ਪਤਿ ਹੈ ਜੇਹੇ ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1330)		
ਨੀਚਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਨੀਚ ਜਾਤਿ ਨੀਚੀ ਹੁ ਅਤਿ ਨੀਚੁ ॥	1	269
ਨਾਨਕੁ ਤਿਨ ਕੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਸਾਥਿ ਵਡਿਆ ਸਿਉ ਕਿਆ ਰੀਸ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 15)		

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ਪੰਨ ਦਾਨੁ ਕਾ ਕਰੇ ਸਰੀਰੁ ॥	2	269
ਸੋ ਗਿਰਹੀ ਗੰਗਾ ਕਾ ਨੀਬੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 952)		
ਸਤੀਆ ਮਨਿ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਉਪਜੈ ਦੇਣੈ ਕੇ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ ॥	1	270
ਦੇ ਦੇ ਮੰਗਹਿ ਸਹਸਾ ਗੁਣਾ ਸੋਭ ਕਰੇ ਸੰਸਾਰੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 466)		
ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਕਾ ਇਕੁ ਦਾਤਾ ਸੋ ਮੈ	2	270
ਵਿਸਰਿ ਨ ਜਾਈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 2)		
ਸੇਵ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੰਤੋਖੀਈ ਜਿਨੀ ਸਚੇ ਸਚੁ ਧਿਆਇਆ ॥	1	271
ਉਠੀ ਮੰਦੇ ਪੈਰੁ ਨ ਰਖਿਓ ਕਰਿ ਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਧਰਮੁ ਕਮਾਇਆ ॥		
ਓਠੀ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਤੋੜੇ ਬੰਧਨਾ ਅੰਨੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਬੋੜਾ ਖਾਇਆ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 466-67)		
ਕਿਵ ਸਚਿਆਰਾ ਹੋਈਐ ਕਿਵ ਕੂੜੈ ਤੁਟੈ ਪਾਲਿ ॥	1	273
ਹੁਕਮਿ ਰਜਾਈ ਚਲਣਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਨਾਲਿ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1)		
ਹੁਕਮੈ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸਭੁ ਕੋ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਖੁਲਾ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥	2	273
ਨਾਨਕ ਹੁਕਮੈ ਜੇ ਬੁਝੈ ਤ ਰਉਮੈ ਕਹੈ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1)		
ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸਬਦਿ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਪਛਾਣੁ ॥	1	274
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 223)		

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ਸਜਹੁ ਜਿਨੈ ਸਹੁ ਨੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਆਚਾਰੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 62)	2	274
ਭਰੀਐ ਮਤਿ ਪਾਪਾ ਕੈ ਸੀਗਿ ॥ ਓਹੁ ਧੋਹੈ ਨਾਵੈ ਕੈ ਰੰਗਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 4)	3	274
ਇਕਦੂ ਜੀਭੈ ਲਖ ਹੋਹਿ ਲਖ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਲਖ ਵੀਸ ॥ ਲਖੁ ਲਖੁ ਗੋੜਾ ਆਖੀਅਹਿ ਏਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਗਦੀਸ ॥ ਏਤੁ ਰਾਹਿ ਪਤਿ ਪਵੜੀਆ ਚੜੀਐ ਹੋਇ ਇਕੀਸ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 7)	1	275
ਵਿਣੁ ਗੁਣ ਕੀਤੇ ਭਗਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 4)	2	275
ਉਤਮ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਉਤਮੁ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ ਗੁਣ ਕਉ ਧਾਵੈ ਅਵਗਣ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ ਬਿਨ ਗੁਰ ਸੇਵੈ ਸਹਜੁ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 414)	1	276
ਪ੍ਰਾਣੀ ਏਕੋ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਿਆਵਹੁ ॥ ਅਪਨੀ ਪਤਿ ਸੇਤੀ ਘਰਿ ਜਾਵਹੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1254)	2	276
ਜਿਨ ਕੀ ਲੇਖੈ ਪਤਿ ਪਵੈ ਸੇ ਪੁਰੈ ਭਾਈ ॥ ਪੁਰੈ ਪੁਰੀ ਮਤਿ ਹੈ ਸਚੀ ਵਡਿਆਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1012)	1	277
ਜੇ ਜੀਵੈ ਪਤਿ ਲਥੀ ਜਾਇ ॥ ਸਭੁ ਹਰਮੁ ਜੇਤਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਖਾਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 142)	2	277
ਮਰਣੁ ਮੁਲਸਾ ਸੂਰਿਆ ਹਕੁ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ ਮਰਨਿ ਪਰਵਾਣੇ ॥ ਸੂਰੇ ਸੇਈ ਆਗੈ ਆਖੀਅਹਿ ਦਰਗਹ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਸਾਰੀ ਮਾਣੇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 579-80)	3	277

Original VersesChapter VI

Verse	Reference No:	Page No:
1	2	3
ਆਪਿ ਉਪਾਇਆ ਜਗਤੁ ਸਬਾਇਆ ॥ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਿਰਿਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਧੰਧੈ ਲਾਇਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1022)	2	290
ਘਾਲਿ ਖਾਇ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਬਹੁ ਦੇਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਰਾਹੁ ਪਛਾਣਹਿ ਸੇਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1245)	1	291
ਜੀਅ ਉਪਾਇ ਰਿਜਕੁ ਦੇ ਆਧੇ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1042)	2	291
ਦੇਵਲ ਦੇਵਤਿਆ ਕਰੁ ਨਾਗਾ ਐਸੀ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਚਾਲੀ ॥ 1 (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1191)	1	295
ਆਦਿ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਉ ਅਲਹੁ ਕਹੀਐ ਸੇਖਾ ਆਈ ਘਰੀ ॥ 1 ਦੇਵਲ ਦੇਵਤਿਆ ਕਰੁ ਨਾਗਾ ਐਸੀ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਚਾਲੀ ॥ ਕੂਜਾ ਬਾਗ ਨਿਵਾਜ ਮੁਸਲਾ ਨੀਲ ਰੂਪ ਬਨਵਾਰੀ ॥ ਘਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਮੀਆ ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਬੋਲੀ ਅਵਰ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1191)	1	298
ਨੀਲ ਬਸਤੁ ਨੈ ਕਪੜੇ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਪਠਾਣੀ ਅਮਲੁ ਕੀਆ ॥ 1	1	299
ਨੀਲ ਬਸਤੁ ਪਹਿਰਿ ਰੋਵਹਿ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 470-72)		

1	2	3
ਜਣ ਲਗ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਰਹੀਐ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਿਛੁ ਸੁਣੀਐ ਕਿਛੁ ਕਹੀਐ ॥	2	301
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 661)		
ਫਕੜ ਜਾਤੀ ਫਕੜ ਨਾਉ ਸਭਨਾ ਬਿਕਾ ਛਾਵੁ ॥	1	306
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 349)		
ਜਾਤਿ ਜਨਮ ਨਹ ਪੁਛੀਐ ਸਚ ਘਰੁ ਨੇਹੁ ਬਤਾਇ ॥	1	307
ਸਾ ਜਾਤਿ ਸਾ ਪਤਿ ਹੈ ਜੇ ਰੇ ਕਰਮ ਕਾਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1330)		
ਖਸਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰਹਿ ਤੇ ਕਾਜਾਤਿ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਵੈ ਬਾਝੁ ਸਨਾਤਿ ॥	2	307
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 10)		
ਸੋ ਬਹਮਣੁ ਜੋ ਬਿੰਦੈ ਬਹਮੁ ॥	3	307
ਜਪੁ ਤਪੁ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਕਮਾਵੈ ਕਰਮੁ ॥		
ਸੀਲ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਨਾ ਰਖੈ ਧਰਮੁ ॥		
ਬੰਧਨ ਤੇਰੈ ਹੋਵੈ ਮੁਕਤੁ ॥		
ਸੋਈ ਬਹਮਣੁ ਪੂਜਣ ਜੁਗਤੁ ॥		
ਖੜੀ ਸੋ ਜੁ ਕਰਮਾ ਕਾ ਸੂਰੁ ॥		
ਪੁੰਨ ਦਾਨ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ਸਰੀਰੁ ॥		
ਖੇਤੁ ਪਛਾਣੈ ਬੀਜੈ ਦਾਨੁ ॥		
ਸੋ ਖੜੀ ਦਰਗਹ ਪਰਵਾਣੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1141)		
ਅੰਧੀ ਰਸਤਿ ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਹੁਣੀ ਭਾਰਿ ਭਰੇ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ॥	2	310
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 469)		
ਕਾਜੀ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਬਰੈ ਨਿਆਇ ॥ ਫੇਰੇ ਤਮਾਬੀ ਕਰੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ ॥	1	314
ਵਢੀ ਨੈ ਕੇ ਕੁ ਗਵਾਏ ॥ ਜੇ ਕੇ ਪੁਛੇ ਤਾ ਪਤਿ ਸੁਣਾਏ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 951)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਕੁਦਰਤਿ ਤਖਤੁ ਰਚਾਇਆ ਸਚਿ ਨਿਏੜਣਹਾਰੇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 580)	2	314
ਤਖਤਿ ਬਰੈ ਅਲੀ ਪੁਭੁ ਆਪੇ ਭਰਮੁ ਭੇਦੁ ਭੁਝਿ ਜਾਈ ਹੈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1022)	3	314
ਭੰਡਿ ਜੰਮੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਨਿੰਮੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਮਗੁਣੁ ਵੀਆਹੁ ॥ ਭੰਡੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਭੰਡੁ ਚਲੈ ਰਾਹੁ ॥ ਭੰਡੁ ਮੁਆ ਭੰਡੁ ਭਾਲੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਬੰਧਾਨੁ ॥ ਸੋ ਕਿਉਂ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਿਤੁ ਜੰਮਹਿ ਰਾਜਾਨ ॥ ਭੰਡੁ ਹੀ ਭੰਡੁ ਉਪਜੈ ਭੰਡੈ ਬਾਝੁ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਭੰਡੈ ਬਾਹਰਾ ਏਕੋ ਸਚਾ ਸੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 473)	1	322
ਜਿਉ ਜੋਰੁ ਸਿਰਨਾਵਣੀ ਆਵੈ ਵਾਰੇ ਵਾਰ ॥ ਜੂਠੇ ਜੂਠਾ ਮੁਖਿ ਵਸੈ ਨਿਤ ਨਿਤ ਹੋਇ ਖੁਆਰੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)	2	322
ਜੇਕਰਿ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਮੰਨੀਐ ਸਭ ਤੈ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਹੋਇ ॥ ਜੇਤੇ ਦਾਣੈ ਅੰਨ ਕੇ ਜੀਆ ਬਾਝੁ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਪਕਿਲਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੀਉ ਹੈ ਜਿਤ ਹਰਿਆ ਸਭੁ ਕੋਇ ॥ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਰਖੀਐ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਪਵੈ ਗੋਇ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਏਵ ਨ ਉਤਰੈ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਉਤਾਰੇ ਧੋਇ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)	1	324
ਮਨ ਕਾ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਲੋਭੁ ਹੈ ਜਿਹਵਾ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਕੁੜੁ ॥ ਅਖੀ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਵੇਖਣਾ ਪਰ ਤਿਆ ਪਰਧਨ ਰੁਪੁ ॥ ਕੰਨੀ ਸੂਤਕੁ ਕੰਨਿ ਪੈ ਨਾਇਤਬਾਰੀ ਖਾਹਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)	2	324

1	2	3
.....		
ਸਭੁ ਸੁਕਰੁ ਭਰਮੁ ਹੈ ਦੂਜੇ ਲਗੈ ਜਾਇ ॥	3	324
ਜੀਮਣੁ ਮਰਣਾ ਕੁਕਮੁ ਹੈ ਭਾਣੈ ਆਵੈ ਜਾਇ ॥		
ਖਾਣਾ ਪੀਣਾ ਪਵਿੜੁ ਹੈ ਦਿਠੇਨੁ ਰਿਜਕੁ ਈਸਾਹਿ ॥		
ਨਾਲਕੁ ਜਿਨੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਬੁਝਿਆ ਤਿਨਾ ਸੁਕਰੁ ਨਾਹਿ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 472)		
ਪੁਰਖ ਮਹਿ ਨਾਰਿ ਨਾਰਿ ਮਹਿ ਪੁਰਖਾ॥	1	325
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 878)		
ਭਰੀਐ ਹਥੁ ਪੈਰੁ ਤਨੁ ਦੇਹ ॥ ਪਾਣੀ ਧੋਏ ਉਰਸੁ ਖੇਹ ॥	1	326
.....		
ਭਰੀਐ ਮਤਿ ਪਾਪਾ ਕੈ ਸੰਗ ॥ ਉਹੁ ਧੋਏ ਨਾਵੈ ਕੈ ਰੀਗ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 4)		
ਰਾਜੇ ਸੀਹ ਮੁਕਦਮ ਕੁਠੇ ॥ ਜਾਇ ਜਗਾਇਨਿ ਬੈਠੇ ਸੁਠੇ ॥	1	329
ਚਾਕਰ ਨਹ ਦਾ ਪਾਦਿਨਿ ਘਾਉ ॥ ਰਤੁ ਪਿਤੁ ਕੁਤਿ ਹੋ ਚਟਿ ਜਹੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1288)		
ਕਲਿ ਕਾਤੀ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਾਸਾਈ ਧਰਮੁ ਪੰਥ ਕਰਿ ਉਡਰਿਆ ॥	2	329
ਕੂੜੁ ਅਮਾਵਸ ਸਚੁ ਚੰਦ੍ਰਮਾ ਦੀਸੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਹ ਚੜਿਆ ।		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 145)		
ਲਬੁ ਪਾਪੁ ਦੁਇ ਰਾਜਾ ਮਰਤਾ ਕੁੜੁ ਹੋਆ ਸਿਕਦਾਰੁ ॥	1	330
ਕਾਮੁ ਲੇਬੁ ਸਚਿ ਪੁਛੀਐ ਬਹਿ ਬਹਿ ਕਰੇ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥		
ਐਧੀ ਐਧੀ ਰਯਤਿ ਗਿਆਨ ਵਿਹੁਣੀ ਭਾਹਿ ਭਰੇ ਮੁਰਦਾਰੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 469)		
ਮਾਣਸ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ ॥	2	330
ਕਰਣੀ ਕੁਤਾ ਦਰਿ ਫੁਹਾਨੁ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 350)		

Original VersesChapter -VII

Verse	Reference No:	Page No:
.....		
ਖੁਰਾਸਾਨ ਖਸਮਾਨਾ ਕੀਆ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨੁ ਡਰਾਇਆ ॥ 1	1	340
ਆਪੈ ਦੇਸੁ ਨ ਦੇਈ ਕਰਤਾ ਜਮੁ ਕਰਿ ਮੁਗਲੁ ਚੜਾਇਆ ॥ ਏਤੀ ਮਾਰ ਪਈ ਕੁਰਲਾਣੈ ਤੈ ਕੀ ਦਰਦੁ ਨ ਆਇਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 360)		
ਚੁ ਕਾਰ ਕਜ ਹਮਰ ਵੀਲੈ ਦਰ ਗੁਜ਼ਸ਼ਤ ॥ ਹਲਾਲ ਆਤ ਬੁਰਦਨ ਬਸ਼ਮਸ਼ੀਰ ਦਸ਼ਤ ॥ (ਜ਼ਫਰਨਾਮਾ ਪੰ. 22)	1	341
ਹਉਮੈ ਕਰਿ ਰਾਜੈ ਬਹੁ ਯਾਵਹਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 226)	1	343
ਜੇ ਸਕਤਾ ਸਕਤੇ ਕਉ ਮਾਰੇ ਤਾ ਮਨ ਰੋਸੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ ॥ ਸਕਤਾ ਸੀਹੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਪੈ ਵਰੈ ਖਸਮੈ ਸਾ ਪੁਰਸਾਈ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 360)	2	343
ਬਾਏ ਹਾਥ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਹਨੀ ਚੋਟੁ ਮੰਹਿ ਕਰ ਭਾਨ ॥ ਪੈਦੇ ਖਾਂ ਭੂ ਪਰ ਗਿਰਾ ਉਠ ਕਰ ਬੈਠ ਕਰਾਲ ॥ ਛੋਡ ਅਸ ਗੁਰੂ ਭੂ ਪੈ ਆਏ ॥ ਭੈਦੈ ਪੁਤ ਅਸ ਬੈਠ ਅਲਾਏ ॥ (ਗੁਰ ਇਲਾਸ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ 6ਵੀਂ, ਪੰਨਾ 574-75, ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਭਾਗ ਪੰਜਾਬ, ਹਿੰਦੀ ਅਨੁਵਾਦ ਪੰ. 754)	1	345
ਮਾਰਨ ਗਉ ਗਰੀਬ ਨੇ ਧਰਤੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਾਪ ਇਬਾਰਾ ॥ (ਵਾਰਾਂ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ, 1:20)	1	346

1	2	3
.....		
ਕਰਾ ਸੁ ਖੇਲ ਲਾਨਾ ਯੋੜੋ ਕਰਾ ਭੈਰੀ ਸਰਨਾਈ ॥	1	347
ਕਰਾ ਸੁ ਤੇਗਬੰਦ ਗਾਡੇਰੜਿ ਕਰਾ ਸੁ ਨਾਲ ਕਵਾਈ ॥		
ਕਰਾ ਸੁ ਆਰਸੀਆ ਮੁਕਬੰਦੇ ਐਥੇ ਚਿਸਹਿ ਨਾਈ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417)		
ਪੁਨਰਿ ਦੁਨਿ ਦੇ ਲੁਟਿ ਨੀਨੇ ਸੁਧਾਰੀ ॥	1	348
ਕੋਈ ਸਾਮੁਰੇ ਹੈ ਸਕਿਥੋ ਨ ਗਵਾਰੀ ॥		
ਲੀਯੋ ਛੀਨ ਅੰਨੰ ਦਲੰ ਬਾਦਿ ਦੀਯੀ ॥		
ਮਹਾਂ ਮੁੜਿਯੈ ਕੁਤਸੰਤੁ ਕਾਜ ਕੀਯੈ ॥		
(ਬਚਿੜ ਨਾਟਕ ਪੰ. 11:3)		
ਤਣ ਬਲ ਕੀਰਾ ਨ ਪਰ ਸਕੈ ਬਰਵਾ ਹਨਾ ਰਿਸਾਇ ॥	2	349
ਸਾਲਿਨ ਰਸ ਜਿਮ ਬਾਨੀਯੋ ਰੋਰਨ ਖਾਤ ਬਨਾਇ ॥		
(ਬਚਿੜ ਨਾਟਕ 10:10)		
ਕੋਈ ਹੂ ਪੀਰ ਵਰਜਿ ਰਹਾਏ ਜਾ ਮੀਰੁ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਧਾਇਆ ॥	2	349
ਥਾਨ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਜਲੈ ਬਿਜ ਮੰਦਰ ਮੁਛਿ ਮੁਛਿ ਕੁ ਟਿਰ ਰੁਲਾਇਆ ॥		
ਕੋਈ ਮੁਗਲ ਨ ਹੋਆ ਅੰਧਾ ਕਿਨੈ ਨ ਪਰਚਾ ਨਾਇਆ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417-18)		
ਜੈਸੀ ਮੈਂ ਆਪਵੈ ਖਸਮ ਕੀ ਬਾਣੀ ਤੈਸੜਾ ਕਹੀ ਗਿਆਨੁ ਵੈ ਲਾਲੋ ॥	1	351
ਪਾਪ ਕੀ ਜੰਵ ਨੈ ਕਾਬਲਹੁ ਧਾਇਆ ਜੋਗ ਮੰਗੈ ਦਾਨੁ ਵੈ ਲਾਲੋ ॥		
ਸਰਮੁ ਧਰਮੁ ਦੁਇ ਛਪਿ ਖਲੋਏ ਰੂੜ, ਫਿਰੈ ਪਰਧਾਨੁ ਵੈ ਲਾਲੋ ॥		
ਕਾਜੀਆ ਬਾਮਣਾ ਕੀ ਗਲ ਥਕੀ ਅਗਦੁ ਪੜੇ ਸੈਤਾਨੁ ਵੈ ਲਾਲੋ ॥		
ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨੀਆ ਪਤਹਿ ਕਤੇਬਾ ਕਸਟ ਮਹਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਵੈ ਲਾਲੋ ॥		
ਜਾਤਿ ਸਨਾਤੀ ਹੋਰਿ ਰਿਦਵਾਣੀਆ ਏਹਿ ਡੀ ਲੇਖੈ ਨਾਇ ਵੈ ਲਾਲੋ ॥		
ਖੂਨ ਕੇ ਸੋਚਿਲੇ ਗਾਵੀਅਹਿ ਨਾਲਕ ਰਤੁ ਕਾ ਭੰਗੁ ਪਾਇ ਵੈ ਲਾਲੋ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 722)		

1	2	3
.....		
ਜਿਨ ਸਿਰਿ ਸੋਹਨਿ ਪਟੀਆ ਮਾਗੀ ਪਾਇ ਸੰਧੂਰੁ ॥	1	352
ਸੇ ਸਿਰ ਕਾਤੀ ਮੁੰਨੀਅਨਿ ਗਲ ਵਿਚਿ ਆਵੈ ਧੁੜਿ ॥		
ਮਹਲਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਹੋਦੀਆ ਹੁਣਿ ਬਹੁਣਿ ਨ ਮਿਲਨਿ ਕਦੁਰਿ ॥		

.....

ਜਦਹੁ ਸੀਆ ਵੀਆਹੀਆ ਨਾੜੇ ਸੋਹਨਿ ਪਾਸਿ ॥
 ਹੀਡੋਲੀ ਚੜਿ ਆਏਆ ਦੰਦ ਖੰਡ ਕੀਤੇ ਰਾਸਿ ॥
 ਉਪਰਹੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਵਾਰੀਐ ਝਲੇ ਝਿਮਕਨਿ ਪਾਸਿ ॥
 ਇਕ ਲਖੁ ਲਹਨਿ ਬਹਿਠੀਆ ਲਖੁ ਲਹਨਿ ਖੜੀਆ ॥
 ਗਰੀ ਛੁਹਾਰੇ ਖਾਦੀਆ ਯਾਟਨਿ ਸੇਜੜੀਆ ॥
 ਤਿਨ ਗਲਿ ਸਿਲਕਾ ਪਾਈਆ ਤੁਟਨਿ ਮੋਤਸਰੀਆ ॥
 ਧਨੁ ਜੋਬਨੁ ਦੁਇ ਵੈਰੀ ਹੋਏ ਜਿਨੀ ਰਖੇ ਰੰਗੁ ਨਾਇ ॥
 ਦੂਤਾ ਨੇ ਫੁਰਮਾਇਆ ਨੈ ਚਲੇ ਪਤਿ ਗਵਾਇ ॥

(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 417)

ਪਰਦਾਰਾ ਪਰ ਧਨੁ ਪਰ ਲੋਭਾ ਕੁੰਮੇ ਇਖੇ ਇਕਾਰ ॥	2	352
ਦੁਸਟ ਭਾਉ ਤਜਿ ਨਿੰਦ ਪਰਾਈ ਕਾਮੁ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੁ ਚੰਡਾਰ ॥		

(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1255)

ਪੁਨ ਸਿੰਘਨ ਬੁਝੇ ਗੁਨਖਾਨੀ ॥	1	353
ਬਿੰਦ ਤੁਰਕ ਭੋਰੀਂ ਰਿੰਦਵਾਲੀ ॥		
ਸਿਖ ਬਦਲਾ ਨੈ ਭਲਾ ਜਨਾਏ ॥		
ਕਯੋ ਗੁਰ ਸ਼ਾਸਤ੍ਰ ਬਰਜ ਹਟਾਏ ॥18॥		
ਸੁਨਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਏਲੇ ਤਿਆ ਏਰੇ ॥		
ਹਮ ਨੈ ਜਾਨੈ ਪੰਥ ਉਚੇਰੇ ॥		
ਨਹੀਂ ਅਯੋਗਿਤਿ ਇਖੇ ਪੁਚਾਵੈ ॥		
ਸਾਂਤੇ ਕਲਮਲ ਕਰਨ ਹਟਾਵੈ ॥19॥		

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਤਾਪ ਸੂਰਜ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ, ਕੁਤ, 6, ਅੰਸੂ 20, ਛੰਤ 18-19
 ਪੰਨਾ 5797)

Original Verses

Chapter-VIII

Verse	Reference No:	Page No:
1	2	3
ਕਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਏਹੁ ਅਥਵਾਣੁ ਹੁਆ ਨਾਉ ਖੁਦਾਈ ਅਲਹੁ ਭਇਆ ॥ ਨੀਲ ਬਸਤੁ ਠੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਪਠਾਣੀ ਅਮਲੁ ਕੀਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 470)	1	378
ਆਦਿ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਉ ਅਲਹੁ ਕਹੀਐ ਸੇਖਾ ਆਈ ਵਾਰੀ ॥ ਦੇਵਲ ਦੇਵਤਿਆ ਕਰੁ ਨਾਗਾ ਐਸੀ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਚਾਲੀ ॥ ਕੂਜਾ ਬਾਂਗ ਨਿਵਾਜ ਮੁਸਲਾ ਨੀਲ ਰੂਪ ਬਨਵਾਰੀ ॥ ਘਰਿ ਘਰਿ ਮੀਆ ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਅ ਬੋਲੀ ਅਵਰ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 1191)	2	378
ਕਲਿ ਕਾਤੀ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਾਸਾਈ ਧਰਮੁ ਪੰਖ ਕਰਿ ਉਡਰਿਆ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 145)	1	379
ਧੋਲੁ ਧਰਮੁ ਦਇਆ ਕਾ ਪੁਤ ॥ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਬਾਹਿ ਰਖਿਆ ਜਿਨਿ ਸੂਤਿ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 3)	2	379
ਸਚਹੁ ਓਰੈ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਉਪਰਿ ਸਚੁ ਆਚਾਰੁ ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ: 62)	2	380

1	2	3
.....		
ਰਾਜਾ ਤਖਤਿ ਟਿਕੈ ਗੁਣੀ ਭੈ ਪੰਚਾਇਣਿ ਰਤੁ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 992)	1	382
ਰਾਜੇ ਚੁਲੀ ਨਿਆਵ ਕੀ। (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1240)	1	383
ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਕਾ ਇਕੁ ਦਾਤਾ ਸੋ ਮੈ ਵਿਸਰਿ ਨ ਜਾਈ॥ (ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 1)	1	384

Original VersesChapter IX

1	2	3
ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਹੈ ਸੋਇ ॥	1	391
ਤਿਸ ਦੈ ਚਾਨਣਿ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਚਾਣੁ ਹੋਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 13)		
ਫਕੜ ਜਾਤੀ ਫਕੜ ਨਾਉ ॥	2	391
ਸਭਨਾ ਜੀਆ ਇਕਾ ਛਾਉ ॥		
ਆਪ ਹੁ ਜੇ ਕੋ ਭਨਾ ਕਹਾਏ ॥		
ਨਾਨਕ ਤਾਪਰੁ ਜਾਪੈ ਜਾ ਪਤਿ ਲੇਖੈ ਪਾਇ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 83)		
ਜਹ ਜਹ ਦੇਖਾ ਤਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ਤੇਰਾ ਰੂਪ ਕਿਨੇਹਾ ॥	1	392
ਇਕ ਤੁ ਰੂਪਿ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਪਰਛੰਨਾ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਕਿਸਰੀ ਜੇਹਾ ॥	1	392
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 596)		
ਜਾ ਜਾ ਦੇਖਉ ਤਹ ਤਹ ਸਾਰਾ ॥	2	392
ਬਿਨੁ ਬੁਝੈ ਲਗਾਰਤ ਜਗੁ ਕਾਰਾ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 224)		
ਸਤੀਆ ਮਨਿ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਉਪਜੈ ਦੇਣੈ ਕੈ ਵੀਚਾਰਿ ॥	1	400
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 466)		
ਵਿਚਿ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਸੇਵ ਕਾਈਐ ॥	1	401
ਤਾ ਦਰਗਹ ਏਸਟੁ ਪਾਈਐ ॥		
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 26)		
ਜਿਨਿ ਸੇਵਿਆ ਤਿਨਿ ਪਾਇਆ ਮਾਨੁ ॥	2	401
(ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੰ. 2)		

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