Hukamnamas
OF
GURU TEGH BAHADUR
A HISTORICAL STUDY

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FOREWORD

Hukamnamas of the Sikh Gurus, a significant source of the Sikh history, have not received much scholarly attention. Scholars like Ganda Singh, Shamsher Singh Ashok and Fauja Singh have edited the hukamnamas collected by Bhai Randhir Singh and have tried to analyse them historically. They have succeeded in underlining their importance but their studies are of preliminary nature. Hence, there is a much scope in the field.

It is a matter of great pride that Dr. Sabinderjit Singh Sagar, Professor, Department of Guru Nanak Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar has taken up the challenge and has studied the hukamnamas attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur. He has employed scientific approach to ascertain the genuineness of these documents and has taken great pain in arranging them and in determining their mutual relations in spite of the fact that these documents are not dated. The evidence drawn from the study is discussed in a broader perspective taking into consideration the bani of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The work tries to underline the organizational acumen of a religious leader like Guru Tegh Bahadur in the period of crisis.

Facsimiles of hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur, their text and translation into English will be welcomed by all the scholars interested in the Sikh Studies. The index of names of persons contained in these hukamnamas will prove to be useful key for their studies.

I wish the work would prove to be a significant contribution in the field of Sikh history.

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Vice-Chancellor
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The present venture into the study of hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur is purely academic. During my association with a project "An Illustrated Biography of Guru Tegh Bahadur", launched by the Department of Guru Nanak Studies, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar as a member of a pilot survey team, I happened to come across a number of hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur, both authentic and unauthentic, at various places in Punjab and outside the state. These hukamnamas fascinated me greatly. But I realised that their authenticity had not been paid much scholarly attention. In this connection, I made a humble attempt in the form of a research paper entitled, "The Study of Hukamnamas associated with Guru Tegh Bahadur" which was presented at the 23rd Session of Punjab History Conference at Patiala in 1989. After a gap of over seven years, I revived my plan of research on hukamnamas on the motivation of my colleagues and wrote a few papers on the themes of the arrangement of hukamnamas in a chronological order, analysis of the study of hukamnamas and the significance of the evidence provided by the documents. All the papers appeared in the Journal of Sikh Studies from time to time. The present work is the culmination of my academic pursuits. It underlines the significance of the source which provides an idea into the organizational aspect of the Sikh Panth. It is worth noting that the insights provided by the bani of Guru Tegh Bahadur is very useful to understand the significance of the evidence found in the hukamnamas. Resultantly, it helps in reconstructing the life and deeds of the ninth Guru.

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INTRODUCTION

_Hukamnama_ is an important source of the Sikh history. Most scholars consider it a valuable source of evidence on the life and works of the Gurus. It throws light on the organization of the Sikh congregations and also provides invaluable insights on a number of issues related to the Sikh _Panth_. The present work aims at studying critically the _hukamnamas_ of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Evaluation of studies undertaken by scholars on the subject would determine the justification and scope of the study.

The history of the scholarly interest in _hukamnamas_ is not very old. It started in the second decade of the twentieth century by G.B. Singh a dedicated scholar of Punjabi language and the Sikh religion. In 1915-16, he wrote two articles in 'Decca Review' giving translated versions of a few _hukamnamas_ including the one of Guru Tegh Bahadur. He had come across these documents during his research visits to Decca Sangat. His comments on the _hukamnamas_ were critical and underlined the significance of the documents for the reconstruction of the Sikh activities in the eastern part of the country.

Sikh history and its sources drew much attention of the scholars at the end of third decade of the present century. The Phulwari, a Punjabi magazine was the rallying forum of the scholars. Karam Singh Historian, in one of his articles on sources of Sikh history pointed out that there was an urgent need to collect this valuable source preserved in certain families and institutions. However, his wish to reproduce the important _hukamnamas_ consulted by him could not be fulfilled because of his sudden demise. An urgent need of the collection of _hukamnamas_ was also emphasised by Gyani Hira Singh Dard. In his article entitled _Hukamname Ate Ahadname_ (_hukamnamas_ and treaties) a photograph of a _hukamnama_ of Guru Gobind
Singh written to the *Sangat* of Macchiwara and two treaties between Lahore Darbar and the East India Company were reproduced alongwith its text in *Gurmukhi*. However, the rising interest in Sikh history did not yield much result as far as the collection of *hukamnamas* was concerned.

An organised endeavour, in this connection, was made in late sixties. The Sikh History Research Board, Amritsar under the aiges of Dr. Ganda Singh deputed Bhai Randhir Singh, Research Scholar to collect the *hukamnamas* and other historical documents. He visited places connected with the history of Sikh *Panth* and collected either the *hukamnamas* or procured their photographs.

Ganda Singh edited his book on *hukamnamas* in the year 1969 under the title *Hukamname*. In the same year, the Sikh History Research Board, Amritsar brought out an edited work on *hukamnamas* under the title *Nishan Te Hukamname* edited by Shamsher Singh Ashok. Both the scholars utilised the same collection which was preserved with the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar. These works contain facsimiles of *hukamnamas* and *nishans* of Guru Hargobind, Guru Har Rai, Guru Harkrishan, Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh. Other letters contained in the works are by Baba Gurditta, Mata Gujari, Mata Sundari, Mata Sahib Devi and Banda Bahadur. Edicts issued by various religious authorities like *Takhats* and the *Khalsa* are also included.

As far as the *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur are concerned, both the scholars are not unanimous in their choice. Ganda Singh's book contains twenty three *hukamnamas*, out of which one *hukamnama* (G-38) is wrongly attributed to the tenth Guru. However, Shamsher Singh Ashok's book contains thirty *hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. It has eight additional *hukamnamas*, whereas one *hukamnama* (G-24) which is available in Ganda Singh's work has been left out. Hence, the total number of *hukamnamas* contained in both the works are thirty one.
Ganda Singh's approach appears to be cursory. Attribution of a hukamnama to a Guru is not based on any firm ground as it is apparent in the case of a hukamnama of Guru Tegh Bahadur attributed to Guru Gobind Singh. Lack of critical approach does not allow the scholar to provide any explanation for the hukamnamas found in two unidentical hands attributed to the ninth Guru. Unlike Ganda Singh, Shamsher Singh Ashok is aware of the hukamnama of the ninth Guru wrongly attributed to Guru Gobind. However, he wrongly attributed hukamnama (A-29). Its hand does not appear to be identical with other hukamnamas of the Guru. Moreover, it was addressed to Bhai Dyal Das. He does not provide any explanation for the exclusion of one of Guru Tegh Bahadur's hukamnamas (G-24) addressed to the Sangat of Patna, asking the congregation to send a few items to Nawab Saif Khan as gifts. The work is significant in being a rare hukamnama (A-20E) written by a scribe containing an endorsement. The endorsement is in the hand of Guru Tegh Bahadur as the scribe mentions that it is being written on the instructions of the Guru. The endorsement only serves to authenticate the document. Hence, it could serve as a basic document in order to determine the authenticity of other hukamnamas as well. Other additional hukamnamas are also valuable in more than one way.

After a decade another work on hukamnamas appeared on the occasion of the tercentenary of Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom. The work is entitled Hukamnamas: Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Sahib edited by Fauja Singh who claims to have taken up the subject more seriously by utilising the newly discovered Bhatt Vahis. An attempt to arrange the hukamnamas in some sort of chronological order also appears to have been made.

Fauja Singh reproduced only those hukamnamas that Ganda Singh had attributed to the ninth Guru except one hukamnama (G-24) without providing any plausible explanation for its exclusion. He repeated the mistake committed by Shamsher Singh Ashok by not including one of Guru Tegh Bahadur's hukamnamas (G-24) containing reference to Saif
Khan. His dependence on Ganda Singh's work did not allow him to include additional *hukamnamas* that were available in Ashok's work. He even failed to realise the significance of *hukamnama* (A-20E) for the study of *hukamnamas*.

The significance of Fauja Singh's work appears to be in his attempt to provide these *hukamnamas* a chronological order in spite of the fact that these documents are undated. In this regard, he claimed to have utilised other contemporary source like *Bhatt Vahis*. But the problem with the source lies in its unreliability. For example, the date of birth of child Gobind according to the *Bhatt Vahis* is *Poh Sudi 7, Sambat 1718 Bk* which corresponds to December 18, 1661 A.D. whereas the conventional date is December 22, 1666 A.D. According to the *Bhatt Vahis* the birth of tenth Guru took place prior to the pontificate of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The scholar seems to have been aware of this problem as he places the *hukamnamas* connected with the congregations of Patna, Benaras, Mirzapur and Monghyr in the period 1667-68. However, he does not appear to have paid much attention to the internal evidence of *hukamnamas*. He has no inkling of the crisis that appeared after the Guru's pontificate as is suggested by the text of a few *hukamnamas* in an indirect manner. Even the compositions of Guru Tegh Bahadur are not utilised by the scholar in order to interpret the *hukamnamas*.

In fact the above works are aimed at introducing the source both to the scholars of Sikh history and the Sikhs at large. Their approach incorporates devotional overtone as well. No scholar has attempted to verify the authenticity of the documents. Collection of *hukamnamas* and their attribution to the Gurus are not based on any sound logical ground. Similarly, handwriting and style of writing are not accorded much attention. Ascriptions (*mangal*) and endorsements of various kinds found in the *hukamnamas* are not interpreted critically. Thus, they failed to realise the significance of these features as they could play a decisive role in the study of the source.
INTRODUCTION

Both the scholars were aware of the historical values of the source, but their approach to the source was dichotomic. Ganda Singh was of the opinion that only two or three hukamnamas has direct reference to historical events. The 'things demanded' by the Guru, in the hukamnamas was considered to be a basis for exploration of history. Fauja Singh also divided the evidence as "definite" and "not definite". The dichotomic approach inclined the scholars to rely on the material information only. Apparently they were not bothered about the intricate nature of the documents. Consequently, either the demand for more historical source material was emphasised or the historical crisis of the period was blamed for lack of source material. Fauja Singh remarks that precious historical material was destroyed during the turbulent period of eighteenth century.

Lack of critical approach is also evident from the fact that the scholars did not use the word "hukamnamas" precisely. A hukamnama is, in fact, a letter of command or instruction written by the Sikh Gurus to Sikh Sangats or prominent Sikhs. Guru Tegh Bahadur called his letter a hukamnama (A-31; G-15). But the hukamnamas collected in these works do not belong only to this category. Not only letters issued by the prominent Sikhs on behalf of the Guru and by the members of Guru family but also the ones issued by Banda, Mata Sundari and Mata Sahib Devi after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh are there. Even the edicts issued on behalf of the Khalsa and also by the Takhats are categorised as hukamnamas.

A critical study of the literature on hukamnamas provides us insights to deal with the source. Humble attempt like the present one approaches hukamnamas in two ways. Firstly, the available hukamnamas are studied critically to ensure their authenticity. An attempt is made to determine the authorship of the hukamnamas which do not have endorsements in the identical hand. In the study, a few hukamnamas are discussed for the first time in order to ensure the touchstone of genuineness. All the hukamnamas found authentic, are arranged in a sequence on the basis of internal evidence. An
effort has been made to determine their mutual relationship. The entire structure of relationships is placed in chronological order to understand and appreciate the evidence in a proper perspective.

Secondly, insights drawn from the exercise are helpful in the understanding of the evidence. Every evidence is a tiny part of a complex web of historical reality, not to be interpreted in isolation. Besides, the evidence of *hukamnamas* has been studied in the light of Guru Tegh Bahadur's own compositions. It is my firm belief that it is not yet sufficient to understand the past in a holistic manner as the historical reality is far more complex and requires further scholarly attempts in the field.
GENUINENESS OF THE HUKAMNAMAS

A cursory look at thirty one hukamnamas attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur reveals that they are not in one hand suggesting their disputed authorship and a need to ascertain the genuineness of Guru Tegh Bahadur's hukamnamas. Fortunately, there is a hukamnama (A-20) in the book Nishan Te Hukamname that helps us in this respect. It is written in two hands, out of which the main text seems to have been written by a scribe. It states that the hukamnama has been written on the instructions of 'Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Jeo' to the Sangat of Jagdeo under Bhai Ugar Sain. On the upper part of the hukamnama, almost the same content is repeated by a different hand in vertical. The hand of endorsement is taken to be that of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Twenty hukamnamas out of thirty one are not written by the scribe and are endorsed by the issuing authority. These are written entirely in one hand similar to that of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The remaining ten hukamnamas are written by the scribe and contain endorsements in a different hand.

In order to underline the authenticity of the basic hukamnama, it is essential to compare it with three hukamnamas whose internal evidences suggest that they are written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. The first hukamnama (A-31; G-15) is written from Monghyr where the Guru had stayed for a brief period. Two hukamnamas (A-35; G-21) and (A-34; G-23) contain Guru Tegh Bahadur's response on receiving the news of Gobind's birth at Patna and the looking after the child by Patna Sangat. All these hukamnamas are not written by scribe and endorsed by the Guru. On the other hand, they are entirely written in one hand. On comparing it with the basic hukamnama, it becomes clear that they share the characteristics of hand and style. The hukamnama starts with the ascription (mangal) 'gur sat' or 'guru
sati'. In place of the vowel sign 'a' (') the drop is used. Besides, the structure of some other vowel signs like 'ai' ('') and 'o' ('') are also peculiar. The peculiarity of hand is prominent in a number of letters especially in the formation of a loop like figure. The characteristic of hand not only underlines their unitary character but also helps us to exclude other hukamnamas attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur. On the basis of hand, only twenty one out of thirty one hukamnamas are considered to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. As stated above except basic hukamnama, all others are entirely written by the Guru.

I

The remaining ten hukamnamas are not written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. Other distinct characteristics of these hukamnamas are the use of expression nihal hogu. Six out of ten contain the expression. Two out of the remaining four are not complete and one is undecipherable. Not a single hukamnama written by Guru Tegh Bahadur contains the expression. These hukamnamas are classified into five groups:

I One hukamnama (A-37; G-9)
II One hukamnama (A-48)
III Six hukamnamas (A-23; G-8); (A-24; G-25); (A-25; G-26); (A-27; G-27); (A-28; G-29) and (A-26)
IV One hukamnama (A-22; G-30)
V One hukamnama (A-29)

Like the hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the hukamnama of the first group contains ascription gur sati at the start but its hand differs considerably. It is addressed to Bhai Javehari Mal of Benaras Sangat and is entirely in one hand. Not only the hand is different, the spelling, too, of names of persons mentioned in the hukamnama are not same as in the hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur addressed to Benaras Sangat. In the hukamnama, Bhai Javehari Mal and Kalyan Das
are spelt as Javehari Malu (जावेहरी मलू) and Kalyani Dasu or Kalyan Das (कल्याणी दासु/कल्याण दास). These names are spelt Javehar or Javehari Malu (जावेहर/ जावेहरी मलू) and Kalyan Dasu (कल्याण दासु) in Guru Tegh Bahadur's hukamnamas. So there is a little doubt that the hukamnama does not belong to Guru Tegh Bahadur.

Six hukamnamas contain the expression nihal hogu. Two hukamnamas of group III contain the expression in the endorsement, besides the main body. They are (A-23; G-8) and (A-27; G-27). The expression is also found in the hukamnamas of Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh, besides the hukamnamas of Mata Sundari. In many of the hukamnamas of Guru Gobind Singh, the expression occurs more than once. In one hukamnama (A-67; G-36) the expression comes both in the main body as well as in the endorsement. All these hukamnamas can be placed in two categories. The hukamnamas of the first category contain ascription of guru rakhaiga (गुरु रक्हैगा) at the start of endorsement. But the hukamnamas containing the ascription guru `sati or sat guru fall into second category. The second category includes hukamnamas of Ist, IInd and Vth groups, group IIIrd and IVth come under first category. The expression guru rakhaiga is found also in almost all the hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh. But it is not used as an ascription. There is one distinct feature. The hukamnamas having the ascription guru rakhaiga in the endorsement, do not contain it in the main body. Only one hukamnama drafted by the scribe and endorsed by Guru Tegh Bahadur himself contains a similar expression guru tusadi rakhaiga both in the body and in the endorsement. Hence, it appears that the hukamnamas containing the expression guru rakhaiga as an ascription are significantly different from the hukamnamas of second category and suggest a specific meaning.

Almost all the hukamnamas of group III contain the expression guru rakhaiga in the endorsement and 'Sri Guru Jeo' is the opening line of the letter. This is not in consonance
with the opening words of hukamnama (A-20°) by the scribe. It suggests that the endorsement are not made by the Guru but by someone else on his behalf. Because of this, hukamnamas containing ascription guru sati or sat guru are written by Guru Tegh Bahadur and those containing the expression Sri Guru Jeo are written on behalf of the Guru. A look into the hukamnamas of Guru Hargobind and his son Bhai Gurditta supports our contention. A hukamnama of Guru Hargobind starts with the ascription guru sati (also sati guru in another) whereas the hukamnama by Gurditta opens with guru rakhaiga. The change of ascription indicates the change of person as an issuing authority. The first is written by the Guru and the second on behalf of the Guru. Similarly, the hukamnamas written by Mata Sundari after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh have sarbat Khalsa guru rakhaiga in the endorsement by her own hand. Hence, there is no doubt that six hukamnamas of group III and one of group IV are written on behalf of the Guru.

From the discussion, it is evident that the hukamnama of group I is written by the Guru. It contains the expression nihalu hoe. But the expression is at the end of the hukamnama. It is also known that the expression does not occur in the other hukamnamas by Guru Tegh Bahadur. On the contrary, two hukamnamas of Guru Gobind Singh bear the expression at the end. One is addressed to Bhai Ram Rai and Dai Lado and is pasted on the 40th folio of a manuscript copy of Guru Granth, preserved at Maini Sangat Gurdwara, Patna City. Another is addressed to Bhai Gurdas of Patna Sangat. The handwritings of these hukamnamas have similarity with the hukamnama under discussion. The only difference is that of ascription. The ascription in Guru Gobind Singh's hukamnamas is Ek Onkar sat guru whereas this hukamnama starts with guru sati. But a perusal of Guru Gobind Singh's hukamnamas reveals that there are two ascription used in them. The first is Ek Onkar sat guru and the second is Ek Onkar guru sati. Hence, the difference of ascription no more remains a significant factor of distinction.
There is a significant fact that helps us to know the authorship of the *hukamnama* (A-37; G-9). It contains an expression *khasmana karna*. It is also found in the *hukamnama* of Hargobind. Three of Guru Gobind Singh's *hukamnamas* also bear it. These include one of Guru Gobind Singh's two *hukamnamas* mentioned above. But not a single *hukamnama* of Guru Tegh Bahadur contains the word *khasmana*. Even the *hukamnamas* written on behalf of the Guru are without it. It leads us to believe that the *hukamnama* of group I is of Guru Gobind Singh. Similarly, the *hukamnama* of group II has some similarity of hand with that of the first group. Though the *hukamnama* is not complete and appears to have been written on the cover of the *hukamnama* yet it contains ascription of *Ek Onkar sati guru* which is generally found in the *hukamnamas* of Guru Gobind Singh. But for want of tangible evidence, it could not be attributed to Guru Gobind Singh with certainty.

As discussed above, all the six *hukamnamas* are written on behalf of the Guru. But the question arises on behalf of which Gurus these are written? All are addressed to Bhai Batha of Pattan Sangat. Besides, there are more *hukamnamas* addressed to Pattan Sangat. They include one *hukamnama* of Guru Harkrishan, a few written by Guru Gobind Singh and one of Mata Sahib Devi. The *hukamnama* of Guru Harkrishan contains the name of prominent Sikhs i.e. Bhai Ani Rai, Bhai Jasu, Bhai Ranga and Bhai Nihchal. It also contains the name of Bhai Batha. In the *hukamnama* the receipt of the offerings sent to the Guru through Bhai Batha is acknowledged, suggesting relatively lower status of Bhai Batha in Pattan Sangat as his duty was that of a messenger. On the other hand, Guru Gobind Singh's *hukamnamas* are not addressed to any Sikh. As the six *hukamnamas* are addressed to Bhai Batha, its authorship could not be attributed to Guru Gobind Singh. Hence these *hukamnamas* must have been written after Guru Harkrishan. It could be safely presumed that these were written during the time of Guru Tegh Bahadur on his behalf, because the handwriting of the scribe of these *hukamnamas* are quite
identical with that of the basic *hukamnama*.

The *hukamnama* of the fourth group is addressed to Bhai Malla and Bhai Bagha of a *Sangat* whose name is not mentioned. The main text is written by the scribe and endorsed on the upper part very briefly. Both the scribe and the endorser do not seem to be the same as in the six *hukamnamas*. Both use 's' and 'r' jointly as *sr* (ਸਰ); the scribe while writing *srabat* (ਸਰਬਤ) and endorser while writing *sra/rar* (ਸਰ/ਰਾਰ). As the endorsement starts with the ascription *guru rakhaiga* in the same manner as are found in the six *hukamnamas* and their hand has a striking similarity, it is placed in group III.

The *hukamnama* (A-29) of the last group could not be deciphered completely because of illegibility of hand. There is no use of vowel signs. Whatever little could be deciphered, helps us to know that the *hukamnama* is addressed to Bhai Dyal Das and Sati Das. It is entirely written in one hand with the ascription *Ek Onkar gur sat* at the start, suggesting that the *hukamnama* is written by the Guru. A comparison of the *hukamnama* with other *hukamnamas* addressed to Patna *Sangat* clearly suggests that its attribution to Guru Tegh Bahadur is not adequate.

On the basis of the study, it is concluded that out of 31 *hukamnamas*, twenty one are written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. Seven are written during the times of Guru Tegh Bahadur on his behalf. Two out of remaining three are written by Guru Gobind Singh. However, the authorship of remaining one could not be ascertained.

II

The framework provided by the study helps us to look into the genuineness of other *hukamnamas* attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur. Besides twenty eight *hukamnamas* mentioned above there are a few *hukamnamas* that are claimed to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. Among them, three are available at a Gurdwara Bhai Banno at Kanpur where the popular *Khari Bir* of Bhai Banno is kept. One of them, addressed
to Bhai Ugar Sain and Bhai Lal Chand is included in the work *Nishan Te Hukamname* at no. 20F. Shamsher Singh Ashok has attributed it to Guru Tegh Bahadur. It is one of the twenty eight *hukamnamas* discussed above. The second *hukamnama* also addressed to Ugar Sain and included in the work mentioned above is said to have been written by Guru Hargobind. But Ashok is doubtful about the authorship of the *hukamnama*. He is of the opinion that the *hukamnama* seems to have been penned by someone among the Guru family. As the opening line of the endorsement (*guru tusadi rakhaiga*) suggests that it is written by someone on behalf of the Guru. Lack of similarity of hand with genuine *hukamnamas* does not seem to uphold the claim that it was written by Guru Tegh Bahadur. The third *hukamnama* is also addressed to Bhai Ugar Sain and others and similar to second as far the handwriting is concerned.\(^\text{12}\)

A photocopy of a partially burnt *hukamnama* was in the possession of the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar. Names of a few Sikhs that survived in the letter suggest that it was addressed to Patna *Sangat*. A minute study of letters leaves no doubt about the authorship; it was penned by Guru Tegh Bahadur.

There are two *hukamnamas*, attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur, whose original text is not extant. Scholars who consulted them, cited only their translation or transliteration in English. In the article 'Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal', G. B. Singh has given the translation of a *hukamnama* claimed to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur\(^\text{13}\). It is addressed to Bhaits Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Nathormal and Saddrimal. It is stated to have been written by the scribe and is endorsed by the Guru. The scholar failed to decipher the whole text of the *hukamnama*.

The *hukamnama* has also drawn the attention of Dr. Ved Prakash. In his book *The Sikhs in Bihar*, it is stated that "The latter is undated and the time suggested by the writer of the article does not appear to be in accordance with facts because, as already shown..., the Guru did not pay another visit to Patna
on his way homeward from Decca. So, if ever this latter was from Patna, it must have been done so before the Guru's departure for the east."\textsuperscript{14} But the author does not go into the question of the genuineness of the hukamnama. However Dr. Prakash's treatment suggests a sense of indecision in accepting the hukamnama as authentic. Hence there is a need to discuss the hukamnama on the basis of information supplied by G. B. Singh.

The scholar states that "A mere perusal (of the hukamnama) will make it at once clear that the original letter in each case is by the Guru himself and that the second version by his secretary or scribe, who does not merely copy out the letters again, but naturally introduced such phrases as 'This is the order of Guru' or by the order of the Guru, etc..."\textsuperscript{15} Writing about the hukamnama, the scholar says "This letter is in a different handwriting and the script used in the key is the same, as in the three original letters (three hukamnamas of Guru Gobind Singh) discussed above, with only some vowel marks omitted."\textsuperscript{16} His inability 'to completely decipher the fourth duplicate letter, notwithstanding the key', is because of peculiarity of hand in which 'vowel-marks are not used at all and the headline of most characters is also omitted; the characters also appear to be different.'\textsuperscript{17} The sceptic view of a prominent scholar of Gurmukhi script suggests obliquely that the said hukamnama was not written by Guru Tegh Bahadur himself. However, the ascriptions of the hukamnama helps us in this connection. The first ascription by the scribe is "I Aumkar Satguru" (੧ਅੰਕਰ ਸਤਗੁਰੂ) and the endorsement contains the second ascription "May God Protect You" (ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਵਧੀਤਸ਼ਾਨ'). These ascriptions suggest that the hukamnama was written on behalf of the Guru. But the translation of the endorsement on the hukamnama creates some confusion as it states that "I want one chira and one aswari..." suggesting that the endorsement was made by the Guru himself. If the endorsement is attributed to the Guru than the ascription must have been guru sati (ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤੀ) as is the case of hukamnama addressed to Bhai Ugar Sain (A-208).
In fact, the *hukamnama* is written on behalf of Guru Tegh Bahadur the confusion appears to be due to inappropriate translation. The scholar also admits that he could not decipher the content of the endorsement completely. In this regard, it is significant to note that no *hukamnama* of Guru Tegh Bahadur refers to the Guru in first person. The endorsement of all the *hukamnamas*, both written by the Guru or on his behalf contain expression *hazur* (उन्नत) for the Guru. Similarly the expression *guru rakhaiga* (बुद्ध लेधगा) has wrongly been translated as "May God Protect You". For example, the expression *sarbat Sangat guru rakhaiga* contained in the *hukamnama* of Guru Gobind Singh (G-40) has been translated as "may God protect the whole congregation."18

Hence, there is a little doubt that the *hukamnama* is written on behalf of the Guru Tegh Bahadur. In this connection it is significant to note that the name of two Sikhs Bhai Bhagmal and Chhabildas mentioned in the *hukamnamas* are also referred to in *hukamnamas* of Patna *Sangat*. Moreover, a *hukamnama* addressed to Benaras *Sangat* states that the Guru's horse named Sridhar was ill at Benaras and the present *hukamnama* demands a new horse (भमर्वती) from a *Sangat* at Decca. Both the facts appear to be interrelated. However, in the absence of original *hukamnama* it is placed separately.

Another *hukamnama*, attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur, is reproduced in Roman letters by T.P. Russell Stracey in the work *The History of the Muhiyals*.19 The text of *hukamnama* appears to have been written on the instruction of Guru Tegh Bahadur to Bhai Lakhya, Sahib and Lada. The reproduced *hukamnama* appears to be incomplete. Besides, absence of endorsement, the *hukamnama* does not contain any specific instruction. Even the reproduction of *hukamnama* suggests that some portions of the text is missing. For example, after the initial two lines the text only contains two expressions *Sangat de manorath guru pure karega* and *Sangat di seva da vela hai* in two indented lines suggesting that some part of the text is missing because of inability to decipher the text.
The hukamnama starts with the ascription 'Ek-Onkar' and like early hukamnama (A-208) addressed to Bhai Ugar Sain contains Guru Tegh Bahadur's name by the scribe. Even some of the expressions in the hukamnama bear a striking similarity with the other hukamnmas of Guru Tegh Bahadur. All these characteristics suggest that the hukamnama is undoubtedly a genuine one, but is not fully reproduced.

During my survey, I came across six more hukamnmas claimed to have been associated with Guru Tegh Bahadur. Five of them are preserved in a Gurdwara at Hasanpur-Kabulpur in Patiala district. The sixth one is in Gurdwara Dukh Niwaran at Patiala.

One of the hukamnama is on copper plate and is stated to have been issued by the Bengal Darbar. It also contains the name of Fateh Chand Mewra. Another hukamnama, containing the reference to Fateh Chand is stated to have been issued by Kashi Darbar. In the third hukamnama the name of Fateh Chand does figure and Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom is narrated in future tense. However, it contains the date of 3rd Maghar, 1732 Bk two days prior to the event. Out of remaining two hukamnmas, one forbids the Sikhs to observe certains kurehats and the other contains much later date i.e. 1858 Bk or AD 1801. Karam Singh Historian appears to have consulted the hukamnmas. However, he failed to understand its spurious character and mistakenly underlined their historical values. All these hukamnmas are not genuine as far the hand and style are concerned.

The sixth hukamnama, kept in Gurdwara Dukh Niwaran at Patiala, is written by Bhagar Ram Jhior. It contains the ascription Ek Ankar ji sahai (१ अंकार जी सहाई) which is not found in any of the Guru's hukamnmas. The date 1748 Bk in the hukamnama is changed to 1728 Bk by skillfully making certain changes. Even the script appears to be of recent time. For the reasons one cannot accept its claim to be genuine.

Out of twelve hukamnmas discussed in this section, only
three hukamnamas appear to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur genuinely or on his behalf. These are: partially burnt hukamnama and two hukamnamas reporduced in English translation and in transliteration. However, these are categorised separately.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Herein the references to the hukamnamas are given in abbreviated form in which 'A' stands for Shamsher Singh Ashok's book Nishan Te Hukamname and 'G' stands for Ganda Singh's work Hukamname. Thirty one hukamnamas are:


4. The hukamnamas of Guru Hargobind are: 1. (A-5; G-2), and 2. (A-9; G-3) and that of Guru Gobind Singh's are 1. (G-35) and 2. (A-64; G-39). For hukamnamas of Mata Sundari, see 1. (A-95; G-68); 2. (A-100; G-73) and 3. (A-102; G-79).

5. See (A-5; G-2); (A-9; G-3) and (A-10; G-4).

6. See (A-86; G-70).

7. See (A-64; G-39) and (A-67; G-41).

8. See (A-5; G-2).

9. See (A-83), (A-84; G-54), (A-85; G-56).

10. See (A-15; G-6).

11. See (A-78; G-50); (A-79; G-52).

12. Though it has not been included in any work, yet it could not not be claimed to have been written by Guru Tegh Bahadur.


16. Ibid., p. 89.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 90.
20. Ibid., p. 26; 'Sri Guru Teg Bahadur Ji enjoins'.
21. These expressions are: 'Sarab Sangat Guru tusadi rakhega', 'Sangat de manorath Guru pure karega', 'Sangat de seva da vela hai' and 'un guran da poot hai', 'tere ooper khushi hai' and 'guru Sangat de bohari karega'.
22. "This expression (from the Mundir of the Sikhs, p. 48: "Tum Bhagat (the God) may bless and give us grace, so that we may live."
23. These expressions are: 'Sarab Sangat Guru tusadi rakhega', 'Sangat de manorath Guru pure karega', 'Sangat de seva da vela hai', 'un guran da poot hai', 'tere ooper khushi hai' and 'guru Sangat de bohari karega'.
24. "This expression (from the Mundir of the Sikhs, p. 48: "Tum Bhagat (the God) may bless and give us grace, so that we may live."
25. These expressions are: 'Sarab Sangat Guru tusadi rakhega', 'Sangat de manorath Guru pure karega', 'Sangat de seva da vela hai', 'un guran da poot hai', 'tere ooper khushi hai' and 'guru Sangat de bohari karega'.
26. "This expression (from the Mundir of the Sikhs, p. 48: "Tum Bhagat (the God) may bless and give us grace, so that we may live."
27. These expressions are: 'Sarab Sangat Guru tusadi rakhega', 'Sangat de manorath Guru pure karega', 'Sangat de seva da vela hai', 'un guran da poot hai', 'tere ooper khushi hai' and 'guru Sangat de bohari karega'.
ARRANGEMENT OF HUKAMNAMAS

Twenty eight hukamnamas in all are associated with Guru Tegh Bahadur. Twenty one of them are written by the Guru himself and the remaining on his behalf. Besides three more hukamnamas are considered to be genuine. To arrange them in a sequence is essential to determine their value and significance. But this task is not easy. The hukamnamas are not dated. However, an effort would be made to arrange these hukamnamas in a chronological sequence as well as to determine their mutual relationship.

I

Out of twenty eight hukamnamas, twenty one written by the Guru himself, are addressed to four Sangats namely Ramdas Jagdeo, Benaras, Mirzapur and Patna. Except the first, all other Sangats are out of Punjab. The remaining seven hukamnamas, written on Guru's behalf, are addressed to two Sangats. The first Sangat is Pattan or Pak Pattan and the place of second Sangat is not mentioned. However, the content of hukamnamas addressed to the second Sangat appears to suggest that it was situated in the vicinity of Bakala¹. However, three additional hukamnamas would be discussed separately. The hukamnamas would be arranged in a chronological sequence. Only then their mutual relationship, if any, can be looked into. It would help us to have an overview of the whole gamut of relations of these hukamnamas.

Ramdas Jagdeo Sangat

There are three hukamnamas addressed to the Sangat of Ramdas Jagdeo in the Majha region of the Punjab. One of them (A-20E) seems to suggest the crisis that arose after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The fact has found expression in a suggestive manner. It also reflects the state of
instability as a number of claimants of Guruship seems to have been exerting their influences on Sikh Sangats. While acknowledging the services of Bhai Ugar Sain, a Masand, Guru Tegh Bahadur had expected more support in the hour of crisis. The second hukamnama (A-20R) contains instruction to Bhai Ugar Sain for bringing a pair of oxen. It suggests a brief absence of Guru Tegh Bahadur from Bakala. The third hukamnama (A-21; G-38) is, in fact, an acknowledgement of the second. Bhai Ugar Sain is appreciated for obeying the Guru even in his absence. Though there is a gap of some time between the first and the other two yet these hukamnamas are earliest of all to give the impression that these had been written immediately after the pontification. The sequence of these hukamnamas is as follow:

1. (A-20 E)
2. (A-20 R)
3. (A-21; G-38)

**Patna Sangat**

Most of the eight hukamnamas addressed to Patna Sangat give the names of a number of Sikhs alongwith their Masands. A look into the sequence of the prominent Sikhs suggests that except Bhai Dedmal, the sequence of the prominent Sikhs remain almost unchanged. The place of Bhai Dedmal undergoes a change. He comes at eleventh place in one hukamnama (A-30; G-22). In five hukamnamas i.e. (A-31; G-15); (A-35; G-21); (A-34; G-23); (A-33; G-17) and (A-32; G-13) he is number eight. He occupies the seventh place in hukamnama (G-24). His position undergoes a change in the eighth hukamnama (A-36; G-12) when his name figures at number four. The change of position appears to be an index of mobility, upward or downward, and as such helps in placing the hukamnamas in sequence.

The following four groups of hukamnamas are:

I. One hukamnama (A-30; G-22)
II. Five hukamnamas (A-31; G-15); (A-35; G-21); (A-34; G-23); (A-33; G-17) and (A-32; G-13).

III. One hukamnama (G-24)

IV. One hukamnama (A-36; G-12)

Before looking into the sequence of hukamnamas of the second group, it is essential to see whether the criterion of change of position indicates upward mobility or otherwise.

On comparing hukamnamas of the last two groups with five hukamnamas of the second an impression of a gap of time is given. The hukamnamas of the second group indicate Guru Tegh Bahadur's travel to the east of Patna, his stay at Monghyr and other places, birth of child Gobind at Patna during his travel. On the other hand the two hukamnamas of group III and IV seem to indicate the last phase of Guru's journey in haste to reach Delhi. In hukamnama (G-24) Patna Sangat was instructed to send a few articles as gifts to Saiffuddin at Delhi and in (A-36; G-12) Patna Sangat was asked to rush to meet him during his sojourn on his way to Delhi. The Guru seems to have been pressed for little time. There are two hukamnamas of the second group that contain definite historical facts. The first hukamnama (A-35; G-21) refers to the birth of child Gobind at Patna. In the second (A-34; G-23) Patna Sangat is blessed for looking after the child. Bachittra Natak testifies that the child was born when the Guru family came to Patna from the Punjab. These hukamnamas are earlier than the ones of group III and IV. The sequence of hukamnamas addressed to Patna Sangat represents the rise of Bhai Dedmal's status, as his place moves from 11, 8, 7 and 4.

The remaining cluster of five hukamnamas in group II, may be arranged with the help of internal evidences. In one hukamnama (A-31; G-15), written from Monghyr, (in Bihar state), the advice of Bhai Dyal Das has been sought so that Shahzadpur Sangat could be written to send for the dera. He is also asked to bring all the Masands of Patna Suba for a darshan. A hukamnama (A-40; G-16), addressed to Benaras
Sangat, indicates Guru's stay at Monghyr. Both the hukamnamas belong to the same period. The hukamnama (A-31; G-15) can be placed at the beginning.

One hukamnama (A-33; G-17) asks Bhai Dyal Das to bring Sikh Sangat to have Guru's darshan. It also states that the Guru's departure from Manghyr is fixed in the sixth month of lunar year (Assu). As Bhai Dyal Das is asked to come quickly, it is evident that the hukamnama (A-33; G-17) is written after the hukamnama (A-31; G-15).

Of the remaining three hukamnamas two are inter-related. They have a reference to child Gobind. Hukamnama (A-35; G-21) mentions the birth of child Gobind; (A-34; G-23) has Guru's blessing to Patna Sangat for looking after the child in a befitting manner. The last hukamnama (A-32; G-13) has an obvious relationship with the former hukamnama (A-34; G-23). Patna Sangat has been blessed in the former for rendering service to child Gobind. It also inquires if the tents have come from some Raja, whose name does not figure. But in the last hukamnama, the Guru asks the Patna Sangat to put up his family in an appropriate and big haveli (mansion). These facts place it at the end of the cluster. So, the sequence of the five hukamnamas is:

1. (A-31; G-15)
2. (A-33; G-17)
3. (A-35; G-21)
4. (A-34; G-23)
5. (A-32; G-13)

**Mirzapur Sangat**

Only one hukamnama (A-47; G-20) written to Mirzapur Sangat is available. The Sangat along with the Sangat of Benaras Suba is under the Masands of Patna. The Sangat is advised to send the offerings to Bhai Dyal Das.

**Benaras Sangat**

Unlike Patna Sangat, the hukamnamas to Benaras Sangat
are difficult to put in a proper sequence. The sequence of names, as in the *hukamnamas* of Patna *Sangat*, are not constant. A number of them are in more than one *hukamnama*. A close scrutiny suggests that not all of these *hukamnamas* are written to Benaras *Sangat*. Three of them are written to the Benaras *Suba*. Hence these *hukamnamas* should be discussed separately before ascertaining their mutual relationship.

Of the nine *hukamnamas*, three written to Benaras *Suba* are (A-40; G-16), (A-43; G-11) and (A-46). The first *hukamnama* has Bhai Bhoti Seth at the second place after Bhai Javehari Mal. In the second *hukamnama*, he occupies fourth place. The third does not contain his name. Presuming that the mobility of status of Bhai Bhoti is upward, three *hukamnamas* can be placed in the following order:

1. (A-43; G-11)
2. (A-40; G-16)
3. (A-46)

The reason of placing the *hukamnama* (A-46) at the end will be discussed below.

The rest of the six *hukamnamas* addressed to Benaras *Sangat* need a separate arrangement. One (A-38; G-10) has Bhai Jawehari Mal only. The *hukamnama* constitutes group I.

The other five *hukamnamas* can be placed in two groups. The first group consists of four *hukamnamas* i.e., (A-39; G-11), (A-41; G-19), (A-45) and (A-44; G-18). The second group has only one *hukamnama* of Benaras *Suba* to form a group. Last *hukamnama* (A-42) does not contain the name of Bhai Bhoti and as such is placed in the end. Hence, the six *hukamnamas* can be placed in the following groups:

I. One *hukamnama* (A-38; G-10)

II. Four *hukamnamas* (A-39; G-11) (A-41; G-19), (A-45), (A-44; G-18)

III. One *hukamnama* (A-42)
In order to decide the relative positions of these groups vis-a-vis the *hukamnamas* of Benaras *Suba*, the status of certain Sikhs in the *hukamnamas* are significant. The *hukamnama* of last group (A-42) appears to be related to the *hukamnama* (A-46) of Benaras *Suba* as both do not contain the name of Bhai Bhoti. It is also corroborated by the fact that Bhai Babu/Babu Rai's name falls at fourth place in both the *hukamnamas*. Also, the *hukamnama* (A-42) has a direct and obvious relationship with the *hukamnama* (A-45) of the group II. At the end of the group *hukamnama* (A-45), addressed to the *Suba* of Benaras, can be placed. So the sequence of last three *hukamnamas* would be as under:

(A-45) 7
(A-42) 8
(A-46) Benaras *Suba* 9

Out of the remaining four, three *hukamnamas* of group II and *hukamnama* (A-40; G-16) addressed to Benaras *Suba* contain Bhai Kalyan Mal's name at fifth place before *hukamnama* (A-45) of group II as it contains Bhai Kalyan Mal's name at fourth place.

Another *hukamnama* (A-41; G-19) of group II can be placed at sixth position in the sequence as the name of Bhai Bhoti comes at third place whereas in the *hukamnama* (A-45), it comes at second place.

However, this *hukamnama* (A-41; G-19) of group II can be placed after *hukamnama* (A-43; G-14) addressed to Benaras *Suba* as the status of Bhai Bhoti undergoes a rise. Hence that sequence of last seven out of ten *hukamnamas* would be as under:

(A-43; G-14) Benaras *Suba* 3
(A-44; G-18) 4
(A-41; G-19) 5
(A-40; G-16) Benaras *Suba* 6
(A-45) 7
One hukamnama (A-38; G-10) out of remaining two hukamnamas contain the name of Bhai Javehri Mal only. However, its content helps us to determine its relative position. In the hukamnama, the Sangat of Benaras has been advised to attend to Sridhar, the horse, and to send it to Patna when it is fully restored. It appears to have been written just after reaching Patna from Benaras and as such it can be placed at the first place. The remaining hukamnama (A-39; G-11) is from group II. Hukamnamas (A-39; G-11) and (A-43; G-14) indicate the elevation of status of Bhai Bhoti. In the former hukamnama (A-39; G-11) Bhai Bhoti is at sixth place and in the latter (A-43; G-14), his name figures at fourth position. Hence, the first hukamnama appears to have been written before the second one. Three hukamnamas can be arranged as under:

(A-38; G-10) 1
(A-39; G-11) 2
(A-43; G-14) Benaras Suba 3

The sequence of all the hukamnamas of Benaras Sangat is as follow:

1. (A-38; G-10)
2. (A-39; G-11)
3. (A-43; G-14) Benaras Suba
4. (A-44; G-18)
5. (A-41; G-19)
6. (A-40; G-16) Benaras Suba
7. (A-45)
8. (A-42)
9. (A-46) Benaras Suba

Pattan Sangat

There are seven hukamnamas, written on the instructions
of Guru Tegh Bahadur and were endorsed on his behalf. Out of them six hukamnamas are written to the Sangat of Pattan and one to a Sangat presumably in the Majha region whose name has not been stated. These six hukamnamas are addressed to Bhai Batha. He is said to be the beloved Sikh or son of the Guru. Almost all the hukamnamas contain the instruction to bring the Sangat of Pattan for darshan. The Sangat has been asked to obey Bhai Batha. In order to determine the sequence of these hukamnamas, the content provides some help. In the hukamnama (A-28; G-29) both the scribe and the endorser underlines the fact that it is the time for the Sikhs to render their services. The other four hukamnamas do not speak of this fact. But the emphasis on the Sikhs to obey Bhai Batha indicates that the crisis of Guruship has not been fully resolved.

Hence the hukamnama (A-28; G-29) can be placed earlier succeeded by the other five hukamnamas. All these hukamnamas seem to have been written in the earlier period of the pontification of the Guru. This fact can be obliquely corroborated as Bhai Batha was the person who is mentioned to have gone to Guru Harkrishan to hand over the offerings. The prominent Masands and Sikhs at that time was Bhai Ani Rai, Bhai Jasu, Bhai Ranga, Bhai Hajoort and Bhal Nehchal. But after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur the status of Bhai Batha appears to have undergone a change. The five hukamnamas could not be arranged in a sequence for lack of internal evidence. However, they seem to have been written during a short period of time immediately after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

I (A-28; G-29)
II (A-23; G-8)
(A-24; G-25)
(A-25; G-26)
(A-26)
(A-27; G-27)
A Sangat in Majha region

As discussed above one of the hukamnama (A-22; G-30) is addressed to Bhai Malla and Bhai Bagha, but it does not contain the name of the Sangat. The hukamnama contains the name of village Dhardev, Jamalpur and Bakala. All the places are in the vicinity of Bakala.

Three Additional hukamnamas

The hukamnama addressed to Bhai Lakhya and others is one of the earliest hukamnamas like the hukamnama (A-20E) addressed to Bhai Ugar Sain because it also has the name of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The other two hukamnamas contain only the expression 'Sri Guru Jeo'. The hukamnama addressed to Bhai Lakhya is incomplete and does not specify the purpose. However, the Muhiyals believe that "the purpose of this edict was to exhort in befitting terms Bhai Lakhya to join the service of the Guru." Bhai Lakhya had died before this call could reach him. Dewan Mati Das and his son presented themselves before the Guru and received charge of the finances.6 Bansawalinama states that after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur, Dargah Mal offered the services of Mati Das and Sati Das to the Guru.7 From the hukamnamas of Guru Gobind Singh in the possession of Chhibar family it is learnt that Bhai Lakhya belonged to Kariyala Sangat.8 The hukamnama not only underlines the contest, its magnitude for the pontification but also Guru Tegh Bahadur had to look for loyal Sikhs.

There is a partially burnt hukamnama addressed to Patna Sangat. It suggests that many hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur have not survived. It finds support from ensuing discussion of mutual relationship of the hukamnamas of Patna and Benaras Sangat. The remarkable point of the hukamnama is that it has three additional new names to the sixteen of the earlier collections. The hukamnama appears to belong to the hypothetical construction in the ensuing section.

The third hukamnama reproduced by G.B. Singh is written on behalf of Guru Tegh Bahadur to Bhaïs Bhag Mal, Chhabil
Das, Saddhri Mal and Nathor Mal. It is stated to have been written from Patna to a Sangat at Decca. As. suggested elsewhere, the hukamnama appears to have been written sometimes between his arrival at and short absence from Patna. Ved Prakash also believes that "if ever this letter was written from Patna, it must have been done so before the Guru's departure for the east." The hukamnama indicates Guru's connection with the Sangats of eastern India. Consequently, Guru's visit to Decca can not be ruled out.

II

The hukamnamas written to Patna and Benaras Sangats are mutually related. It is because all these hukamnamas belong to the same period. The hukamnama (A-40; G-16) of the Benaras Suba and hukamnama (A-31; G-15) have obvious connection because they are written from Monghyr as the content of both the hukamnamas suggests. On the basis of this connection, the sequence of hukamnamas belonging to both the Sangats can be conjecturally placed as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benaras</th>
<th>Patna</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (A-38; G-10)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>II (A-39; G-11)</td>
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<td>(A-43; G-14)</td>
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<td>(A-44; G-18)</td>
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<td>(A-41; G-19)</td>
<td>(A-30; G-22)</td>
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<td>(A-40; G-16)</td>
<td>(A-31; G-15)</td>
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<td>(A-45)</td>
<td>(A-33; G-17)</td>
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<td>(A-42)</td>
<td>(A-35; G-21)</td>
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<td>(A-46)</td>
<td>(A-34; G-23)</td>
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<td>(A-32; G-13)</td>
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<td>III -</td>
<td>(G-24)</td>
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<td>(A-36; G-12)</td>
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The hukamnamas written both to Benaras and Patna
Sangats can be placed in three hypothetical sections. The first section contains only one hukamnama (A-38; G-10) written from Patna and addressed to Benaras Sangat. It is an archival evidence of Guru's visit to Patna. The last two hukamnamas in the list i.e. (G-24) and (A-36; G-12) can be placed in the third section because these were written on his return journey from eastern India to Delhi. These hukamnamas suggest that Guru Tegh Bahadur did not go to Patna where his family was residing. In contrast to the hukamnama of the first section, the hukamnamas of the third section belong to Patna Sangat. The remaining hukamnamas are addressed to both the Sangats. These hukamnamas appear to have been written by the Guru during his itinerary to eastern India. This categorisation of hukamnamas suggests an obvious gap of time. It also suggests that the hukamnamas, though a few in number yet cover a long period of time. The sequential placing of the hukamnamas of both the Sangats indicates gaps suggesting that numerous hukamnamas have not reached us.

III

The arrangement of hukamnamas in a sequence is meaningful only if it is viewed in its entirety in order to see the period covered by them. The hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur are not dated; it is essential to ascertain their period. Internal evidence come to our rescue in this regard. It would help us to understand their evidence in a better perspective.

On the basis of internal evidence, the hukamnamas can be classified into four broad categories. The first category of hukamnamas are directed to be written by Guru Tegh Bahadur himself. They belong to the period just after the Guru's pontification. The hukamnamas are addressed to Sangat Ramdas Jagdeo. The situation was not normal. The rival claims to Guruship led to hostility in the Sikh Sangats. In hukamnamas there appears to be an effort to handle the situation by persuasion. In one hukamnama (A-208) Bhai Ugar Sain is stated to be the leading Masand. Ramdas Gurditta, Bhai Guriya
and Bhai Kalyan Das are summoned. It is hoped that the wise and loyal Masand would respond favourably.

Six hukamnamas written to Pattan Sangat on behalf of the Guru belong to second category. One more hukamnama (A-22; G-30) belongs to this category. It is written to a Sangat in the vicinity of Bakala. These hukamnamas written by a scribe and were endorsed by someone on behalf of the Guru. Except these seven hukamnamas, all the other hukamnamas are written entirely by the Guru in his own hand. These hukamnamas are twenty two in number. It is obvious that Guru Tegh Bahadur used to write the letters himself. The letters written on his behalf indicate his absence from Bakala. When the hukamnamas were written, Guru Tegh Bahadur's absence was not to be long as the Masands are asked to bring Sikh congregations for Guru's darshan on the occasion of Diwali festival. Opposition of the Guru has not fully subsided. Bhai Batha is still stated to be the son of the Guru and his words are the orders of the Guru. The Sikh Sangat is advised to be faithful.

About six hukamnamas of the second category, Dr. Fauja Singh has a different assumption. He is of the opinion that these hukamnamas "which are addressed to the congregation of Pattan and its chief functionary, Bhai Batha, in all probability belong to the years 1671 to 1675", or the last phase of Guru Tegh Bahadur's life.

His assumption is based on the fact that "from middle of 1673 to the end of 1674, the Guru was away in the Malwa and Bangar Desh, busy meeting his devoted people and delivering to them his message of courage and hope." The scholar's assumption is based on the Bhatt Vahis. According to Bhatt Vahis Guru Tegh Bahadur was away in the Malwa and Bangar Desh. As the hukamnamas also suggest the Guru's absence from Bakala, it is assumed that these hukamnamas were written during this period. However, the internal evidence is not taken care of. In fact the hukamnamas appear to underline the office of Masand. The Sikhs are advised to be obedient. These also suggest that the Sangat of Pattan is Khalsa or directly under
the supervision of the Guru. As the latter _hukamnamas_ do not emphasise this point, it is obvious that these were written during the crisis of Guruship.

The third set of nineteen _hukamnamas_ are written during the eastern intineray of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Seventeen out of them pertain to third category. These _hukamnamas_ belong to Patna, Benaras and Mirzapur _Sangats_. As their sequence and mutual relationship suggest, these cover a long period of time.

There are two _hukamnamas_ (G-24) and (A-36; G-12) that can be placed in the last category. As discussed above the _hukamnamas_ belong to last period when Guru Tegh Bahadur had to rush to Delhi without meeting his family. Even the passage of time between the third and last categories of _hukamnamas_ is quite long.

Thus last two categories of _hukamnamas_ become all the more significant in further research about Guru Tegh Bahadur's activities in the eastern India. According to Dr. Fauja Singh all the _hukamnamas_ were written to Patna, Benaras and Mizapur _Sangats_ during a period of one year i.e. from 1667-1668. But the above study does not support this conclusion. On the contrary, the period of Guru Tegh Bahadur's stay and organizational activities seems to be pretty long.

**NOTES AND REFERENCES**

1. See _hukamnama_ (A-22; G-30).
2. "...सिस्टर वे हमें बी देख तै..."
3. Two of the _hukamnamas_, i.e. (A-30; G-22) and (A-35; G-21) contain names of more than sixty Sikhs.
5. "पूरे गुरु याद विकल सिष्टी ली आतिशा थे कटी"


11. See *hukamnamas* (A-20; G-27).

12. "बहादुर तेरी तलवार तेरी गला यो तेरी हांसी जी मे पहुंची अनुरक्षण तेज़ा ..." (A-27; G-27)


EVIDENCE OF HUKAMNAMAS

Hukamnamas are significant source of history. They throw light on the life and activities of the Gurus, on the institution of Sikh Sangat and the socio-religious life of the Sikhs. They also contain implicitly a few references to historical incidents. A historical insight from information helps us to reinterpret the existing evidence in a new perspective to give a better understanding on a few key issues.

As discussed above hukamnamas cover almost entire period of Guru Tegh Bahadur's pontificate and are classified into three periods. First period starts just after the pontification of Guru Tegh Bahadur in the year 1664. The eastern itinerary of the Guru constitutes the second period. Last period, represented only by two hukamnamas, marks the end of Guru Tegh Bahadur's activities in the east. Guru Tegh Bahadur arrived Delhi in 1670. The execution of the Guru took place in 1675. So the evidence of hukamnamas refers almost to the entire period of Guru's pontificate.

The major issue in the life of Guru Tegh Bahadur was to shoulder the responsibilities of Guruship. Gurmukhi sources are unanimous that Guru Harkrishan, the eighth Guru, passed away at Delhi without mentioning the name of his successor. His last words were 'Baba Bakala' indicating that the true successor of the Guru was at Baba Bakala. The Sikh tradition also entrusts on Makhan Shah, a trader, the responsibility of declaring Guru Tegh Bahadur, the true Guru out of twenty two claimants. In this connection, the evidence provided by hukamnamas is clear and firm.

Out of the early hukamnamas, six are written on the instructions of Guru Tegh Bahadur to Bhai Batha, the Masand of Pattan Sangat. There is also a hukamnama whose text
suggests that it was written on the instruction of Guru Harkrishan to Bhai Ani Rai, Bhai Jasu, Bhai Ranga, Bhai Hazuri and Bhai Nehchal, the Masands and prominent Sikhs of Pattan Sangat. It contains the name of Bhai Batha, a Sikh who conveys personally the offering of the Sangat to the Guru. As both the hukamnamas have the name of Bhai Batha, their connection cannot be denied. The significant fact to be noted in these hukamnamas is their common scribe (or calligraphist). The fact underlines the institutional character of hukamnama, and points out that after the demise of Guru Harkrishan, his office continued to work under Guru Tegh Bahadur. The hukamnama clearly underlines the legitimacy of Guru Tegh Bahadur's pontification. Another hukamnama by the same scribe opens with the name of Guru Tegh Bahadur like "This is Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur's commandment to Bhai Ugar Sain." Another hukamnama addressed to Bhai Lakhya and others mentions Guru Tegh Bahadur. However, the remaining hukamnamas contain the word 'Guru' only.

Hukamnamas help us in understanding how Guru Tegh Bahadur asserted his authority as a Guru. During the crisis within the Sikh Panth, Guru Tegh Bahadur elevated Bhai Batha to the status of Masand of Pattan Sangat. Bhai Batha was messenger at the time of Guru Harkrishan, whereas Bhai Ani Rai, Bhai Jasu, Bhai Ranga, Bhai Hazuri and Bhai Nehchal were Masands and prominent Sikhs. These Sikhs do not figure again in the hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Absence of their names and the elevation of Bhai Batha's status indicate the crisis in the Sikh Sangat that was sorted out by the Guru. Equally early hukamnamas suggest that Guru Tegh Bahadur organised Sikh Sangat with the help of loyal Sikhs and Masands. The crisis was two-fold. On the one hand, some Masands were not loyal to the Guru on the other, a number of Sikhs were in a state of confusion in the face of violent propaganda by the claimants. Besides, appointing new Masands, the Guru also won over a few prominent Sikhs.

In this connection hukamnama (A-20) provides
significant evidence. While writing to Bhai Ugar Sain, the *Masand* of Ramdas, Guru Tegh Bahadur summons Bhai Gurditta, Bhai Guriya and Bhai Kalyan Das. As soon as they come, it is further stated, the entire fact would be known. Obviously, it indicates Guru's personal effort to handle the situation. Loyal *Masands* were also taken into confidence. A few Sikhs did not appear to be satisfied with the arrangement. In the case of Bhai Batha, the Guru tried to strengthen his authority by calling Bhai Batha his son. In a *hukamnama* Sikhs are also blessed to be his sons. The Sikh *Sangat* is asked to obey Bhai Batha's injunctions. Most of the *hukamnamas* underline the authority of the *Masand*. They not only suggest that the inner dissension of Sikh *Panth* as a result of the crisis of Guruship was of great magnitude but also conveys that the crisis did not subside immediately in spite of Guru's best efforts.

The evidence of *hukamnamas* are all the more insightful if they are interpreted in the light of evidences provided by the writings of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The major features of Guru's *bani* is its 'extreme simplicity' with repeated references to a few mythological stories and the elemental vision of man. Mythological story appeals to a person of average intellect. The repeated references to a select number of mythological stories not only corroborates the above mentioned fact but also suggests that sizable number of Guru's Sikhs were newly initiated. The neo-Sikhs were unsophisticated and were not fully aware of the intricacies of the idiom of Sikh doctrine. The simplicity and elemental vision of the composition are adequate to bring home the elementary spiritual mysteries to the unsophisticated newly initiated. *Hukamnamas* written to Patna and Benaras *Sangats* significantly support the insights of the *bani*. They contain names of sufficient number of local Sikhs. Guru Tegh Bahadur maintained close contact with them by paying them visits a number of times.

*Hukamnamas* of Patna and Benaras *Sangats* emphasise much on 'means of livelihood' (वेतनाद्व) whereas it is stressed less in the earlier *hukamnamas* to various *Sangats* in the Punjab.
Another significant point is that these hukamnamas are in Guru's own hand. Two hukamnamas addressed to Patna Sangat contain names of more than sixty Sikhs. There is an apparent shift of the Guru's approach in these hukamnamas. Unlike earlier hukamnamas written to various Sangats in Punjab, these are not only addressed to a Masand and a few prominent Sikhs but are addressed to a large number of local Sikhs. Guru Tegh Bahadur is not only dealing with the Sangats of various areas as a unit, but also with individual Sikhs, however humble they may be. Interestingly the Sikhs of Patna congregation also include the name of an elderly Sikh lady, Bebe Peri Bai. The relation of individual with the unit and also with the entire fabric of the Sikh Panth is significant. In this connection, the organization of Sangats of the region as reflected in these hukamnamas needs a fresh look.

A hukamnama of Guru Hargobind is addressed to more than one Sangat i.e. Sangat of Patna, Alamganj, Sherpur, Bane and Monghyr. Another hukamnama is addressed to all the Sangats of eastern region. It is obvious that a number of Sangats in the region formed a cluster. However, they are lacking in any organizational arrangement. The succeeding Gurus appear to be concerned more about each Sangat. During the pontificate of Guru Tegh Bahadur a well-organized hierarchy of Sangats came into being. All the Sangats in a region were under the regional authority of a Masand. The region was divided into Subas. The Masand was incharge of a Suba. Similarly, a Suba was constituted of Sangats of various towns. In eastern region, there were two Subas i.e. Suba of Benaras and Suba of Patna. The Sangats of Benaras city and Mirzapur were under Benaras Suba, the Sangats of Patna city and Monghyr, under Patna Suba. Bhai Javehar Mal was incharge of Benaras Suba. Similarly, Bhai Dayal Das Masand of Patna Sangat was incharge of Patna Suba. Both the Subas of eastern region were under Bhai Dyal Das. One hukamnama (A-41; G-19) written to the Sangat of Benaras opens with the name of Bhai Dayal Das, the chief Masand of eastern region, followed
by Javehari Mal and others. The hierarchy of power reflected in the *hukamnamas* culminates in the authority of the Guru. The hierarchy is asserted time and again. In *hukamnama* (A-39; G-11), the *Sangat* of Benaras is instructed to entrust their offerings to Bhai Javehari. It is the duty of Bhai Javehari to send it to Bhai Dayal Das who then transfers it to the Guru. Guru Tegh Bahadur also maintained personal relation with various *Sangats* by regularly visiting them and by patronizing *Masands* with robes of honour. In a *hukamnama* (A-31; G-12) Guru requisitioned two scores of turbans of Bihar apparently in order to honour the *Masands* and the prominent Sikhs. Bhai Dyal Das was presented with a robe of honour (*siropao*) in recognition of the services rendered by him. The Sikhs were summoned to have Guru's *darshan* on special occasions. The names of a large number of Sikhs in the *hukamnamas* suggest that they were in personal contact with the Guru.

The emerging organizational set up of Sikh *Sangats* helps us to understand the changes that were taking place in the Sikh *Panth*. In the earlier *hukamnamas*, a *Masand* and a few prominent Sikhs are the addressees. Their loyalties are lauded. There was no network of relations between different Sikh congregations. They did not seem to have an organization and well-marked hierarchy. But the *hukamnamas* related to the congregations of eastern region present a clear picture. Not the loyalty of a good number of local Sikhs is sought, the Sikhs are organised in a definite hierarchy. Even the advice of the *Sangat* was ought and honoured on number of occasions.

The evidence of *hukamnamas* suggests that Guru Tegh Bahadur did not come to Bihar for a short period of time. From one of his *hukamnamas* which was written sometime after coming to Bihar, the Guru expresses his concern about the accommodation for his family. The Guru writes Bhai Dayal Das "lodge our family in a nice and large *haveli.*" In the *hukamnama* the Guru mentions that he is going with the Raja (Raja Ram Singh) leaving his family at Patna. The Guru's prolonged stay in the eastern region of India is also seen in
other two hukamnamas. Hukamnamas (A-32; G-13) and (A-36; G-12) refer to the Raja. The two are meant for two separate groups indicating a gap of time. The first hukamnama is written in 1666 as it refers to the birth of child Gobind. The second hukamnama belongs to the section of hukamnamas that represent last period of Guru's presence in the east. In the hukamnama, the Guru informs the Patna congregation that he was accompanying the Raja to Delhi. The Guru did not return to Patna. He reached Delhi in 1670. It is obvious that the Guru remained in the eastern part of India for a considerable period of time. Hukamnamas give an idea of the Guru's activities. A reference to the Raja in the hukamnamas and a passage of time in between them suggest the possibilities of two journeys further east. The Gurmukhi sources, though vague and intricate, help us in this connection. Though they describe the Guru's eastern travel as one, yet they are divided on the point of return journey. According to Gurbailas tradition Guru Tegh Bahadur went to Delhi alongwith the Raja without meeting his family. But Sarup Das Bhalla and Bhai Santokh Singh state that the Guru visited his family before going to Delhi. It finds further support from the hukamnama addressed to a Sangat at Decca. On both the occasions he was accompanying the Raja. Hence there emerges a much more detailed picture of Guru's activities in the eastern India.

A number of hukamnamas speak of things demanded by the Guru from the congregation. In a hukamnama (A-34; G-23), addressed to the congregation of Patna, Guru Tegh Bahadur asks for tents of different varieties. Five crates of vassals produced at Minapore containing albele, long-necked pitchers, goblets of superior quality in the hukamnama (G-24). Other things wanted by the Guru: One hundred yards of unbleached cloth (coarse); six pieces of coarse homespun cotton cloth (kharve reje): ten seer of tanawa and ten seer of nawar; two scores of turbans of Bihar. It is further mentioned that the turban should cost Rs. 40 a score. Dr. Ved Parkash is of the opinion that "the people had possession of, or were dealing in the various
goods, that were requisitioned from them" as most of the Sikhs were associated with trade. Things figured in the documents also suggest the specialised manufactures of places in Bihar. The scholar is of the opinion that not only the Guru had a deep knowledge of the specialised products of different place in Bihar, but also of their prices at the time.\(^{19}\) This leads us to conclude that Guru Tegh Bahadur's stay in the east during which the *hukamnamas* were written was quite long.

In the long period of his stay the Guru organised the Sikh *Sangats* in a planned manner. In a *hukamnama* (A-35; G-21) the Guru is stated to have sent a robe of honour (*siropao*) to Bhai Dyal Das in recognition to his services. The Guru wanted two scores of turbans to honour the *Masands* and the prominent Sikhs. There is an economic dimension as well. A turban costs two rupees which is quite expensive if it is compared with the price of gold. From one of Guru Gobind Singh's *hukamnama*, we come to know that the price of one and a quarter tola of gold was nineteen and a quarter rupees.\(^{19}\) Presentation of turban of such a high price to the *Masand* and the prominent Sikhs not only suggests their prominent status but also suggests that some Sikhs in the congregation were prosperous.

Guru Tegh Bahadur had a warm and cordial relations with Nawab Saif Khan.\(^{20}\) One of the *hukamnama* contains instruction to Patna *Sangat* to send a few items to Delhi as these are meant to be presented to the Nawab. These things are specialised domestic products of the region. The *hukamnama* mentions Kalyane Di Dharamshala where these items were to be dispatched.

The Sikh congregation was closely connected with social life of the community. On every religious and social occasions in the Sikh family the offering to the congregation was mandatory. In one of the *hukamnamas*, Guru Tegh Bahadur asked Bhai Dyal Das to send money received for performing the engagement of Dharma.\(^{21}\) The major source of income of the congregation was contribution of the Sikhs. It was mandatory
for a Sikh to contribute to the Sangat a part of the earning. The
mandatory offering was known as kar or karbar. Gifts and
presents (bhet), and the donation made on fulfillment of desire
(mannat) were other means. In the hukamnama (A-44; G-18),
the Guru instructed Bhai Dyal Das to send the amount collected
from all these means. There is no reference to the precise amount
of offering. In a hukamnama (A-41; G-19) to the Sangats of
Benaras the Guru said to have received an amount of rupees
one hundred and sixty six.

The Guru undertook hectic activities to organise Sikh
congregations in the eastern region of India. His missionary
acumen, organisational zeal and farsightedness are remarkable.
His missionary activities coupled with his cordial relations with
Raja Ram Singh and Saif Khan need to be seen in a broader
perspective.

The compositions of the ninth Guru have a simplicity of
expression. There is a sense of indifference to worldly affairs
and a growing feeling of unreliability of human relations.
However close they may be wife, friends and others seek but
their own comfort. The poetry embodies an elemental vision
of man which speaks of crisis of the Sikh Panth. The
predominance of the image of death and the helplessness of
man alludes to a future. At a later period eventuality of
martyrdom is suggested in the compositions.

That the elemental vision of the compositions is significant.
"Guru Tegh Bahadur's elemental vision is the foundation of his
religious sensibility, thought and ideology. This very vision
gave him clarity in grasping the political situation of the
Panth". But the grasp of political situation by the Guru and
his organisational activities to meet the challenge should not
be under-estimated. The elemental vision underlies a sense of
determinism and a tone of pessimism. But a careful study of
the compositions suggests a resolute theological message with
an implicit faith in the future. The Guru says, "One should only
worry over what is unusual. The worldly life, in fact, is
EVIDENCE OF HUKAMNAMAS

evanescent."24 For him, the fundamental religious concerns are move significant. Those who contemplate on nam are eternal.25

Thus, the hukamnamas of Guru Tegh Bahadur open a new vista of his organisational genius and foresight. The Guru set up a network of relations between different Sikh Sangats under his authority. The Sangats of eastern region not only served the Panth under Guru Tegh Bahadur but also became the backbone of the Panth which is evident from the hukamnamas of Guru Gobind Singh.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

3. These hukamnamas are (A-28; G-29), (A-24; G-25), (A-23; G-8), (A-25; G-26) and (A-26).
7. See hukamnamas (A-30; G-22) and (A-32; G-13).
8. See hukamnama No. 2 in Ganda Singh, Hukamname.
9. See hukamnama No. 2, Ibid.
10. The hukamnama (A-15; G-6) is written by Guru Harkrishan to an individual Sangat (Pattan Sangat).
11. For Benaras Suba, see hukamnamas (A-47; G-20), (A-43; G-14), (A-44; G-18) and (A-46). Monghyr Sangat appears to be under Patna Suba, see hukamnamas (A-31; G-15) and (A-40; G-16).
12. "ਕਹਤੀ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲ ਤਗਮ,ਕਹਤੀ ਜਿਮ ਤਗੀ, ਕਹਤੀ ਸ੍ਰੀਵੇਤਿਕੀ, ਕਹਤੀ ਬਿਖਾਰਾ ਤਗਮ, ਕਹਤੀ ਕੇਰੀ..." (A-41; G-19)
13. "ਲੋਕੇਨ ਦੇਖ ਲੇ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਕਹਤੀ ਸ੍ਰੀਵੇਤਿਕੀ ਦੇ ਦੇਖੀ ਸ੍ਰੀਵੇਤਿਕੀ ਕਹਤੀ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲ ਤਗਮ ਤਹੂਂ ਤਹੂਂ ਸ੍ਰੀਵੇਤਿਕੀ ..." (A-31; G-15)
15. "...ਅਹਿਮਕਰੀ ਕਹਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਸੀ ਦੇ ਕਹੇ ਦੇ ਕੇਸੇ ਦੇ ਸ੍ਰਿੱਖਾਵਾ ਕਹੇ ਦੇ ਸ੍ਰਿੱਖਾਵਾ ਵਿਚਦੀ ਤਹੂਂ ਤਹੂਂ ਸ੍ਰੀਵੇਤਿਕੀ ਦੇ ਕਹੇ ਤਹੂਂ ਤਹੂਂ ਸ੍ਰੀਵੇਤਿਕੀ..." (A-31; G-15)
16. "ਕੈਦੀ ਅਬੜਲ ਉਚੇਲੀ ਦੇਖੀ ਨਿਮ ਗੇ ਕੇਵੇਲੇ ਦੇਖੀ ਕੇਦਾਰ..." (A-32; G-13)
17. Raja Ram Singh Kachhwaha was the son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber.
Kachhwaha family is said to have cordial relations with the Gurus. Guru
Harkrishan is believed to have stayed with the family on his visit to Delhi. The
Kachhwaha family was also visited by Guru Tegh Bahadur on a number of
occasions. Raja Ram Singh was appointed Mansabdar of the rank of 3000 zat
in the year 1658-59. As a result of Shivaji's escape from Mughal prison Raja
Ram Singh was held responsible because the surveillance of Shivaji was under
his supervision. Raja Ram Singh was removed from Mansabdari and was sent
on Assam expedition. Guru Tegh Bahadur accompanied him. At that time the
Mughal State was hostile to the Sikh Guru. The task of keeping an eye on the
movements of Guru Tegh Bahadur was given to Raja Ram Singh.
Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*.


20. Salf Khan was a Mansabdar of 4000 rank in the service of the Mughal State. He
was the son of Nawab Tarblyat Khan. His full name was Salfuddin Muhammad.
A scholar and a poet, he wrote a book on music entitled "Rag Darpan". He
remained Subedar of Allahabad (1631, 1669, 1680), Agra (1656), Kashmir
(1665), Deccan (?) and Bihar (1675). He founded Salfabad a fort named after
him which is now known as Bahadurgarh (near Patiala).
Surroundings*.

21. See *hukamnama* (G-24).

22. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 633:


24. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 1428:

25. *Ibid*, p. 1429:
FACSIMILES OF *HUKAMNAMAS* AND THEIR TEXT
श्री गुरु देव जी का घरस्थ निदेष्ट है कि भक्ति शैव ने इस सूत्र दिया है कि यदि किसी भक्ति ने भगवान वर्धमान की उपेक्षा की तो उसे उसे अपने भक्ति की उपेक्षा करना है।

(1)

(मिष्ठ तैलबेलम कविताकृत, अभिभवत)

(A-204)
गुजर मंडि

भलाम विवाद में वफ़ादी नव विदं गलवद मंडि

गुजर तैयार वर वर रे वे तेज तुवन्नव वबिहा

घर डूबअनेम वे मतवाड़ मंडाड़ रे वे सीद(ली)

हे भजा नी गम आइट महा नी गुवह रवे(वो)

गुजर वा गुवह वरं भेंट मंडाड़ मंडाड़ ली घणुती रे(वो)

(मंडाड़) ली में ली देख रे मंडाड़ वर वर उमर(म)

(सिंह तैलकन्न गवित्री, अभिनवत)

(A-20भ)
48 HUKAMNAMAS OF GURU TEGH BAHADUR: A HISTORICAL STUDY

(3)
(3)

(ਸੀ; ਅਭਿਵੱਦਣ)

(ਅ-21; ਗ-38)
50 HUKAMNAMAS OF GURU TEGH BHAI ADUR: A HISTORICAL STUDY

(4)
(4)
(कपड़ी उन्न, कपड़ी वेला मरवछद मंगाव घटने ली)

... नहीं बहुत नीटी ही आपनाहै ती कपड़ी घटा मारवछद मंगाव घटने ली बहुत मंगाव ली घाटाली बढ़ै बढ़ उनवांदा बढ़ै।

मल भलनच पुके रेते कपड़ी घटा तुर मी बहुत नीटी हे बहुत अतिरिक्त मरवछद मंगाव घटने ली है ते तवाल आदर्श त्विरिह।

बहुत बहुत रुपये तवाल आदर्श मे विलुप्त रेते निश्चय पुके तवाल ली में रेते में रेते ते निश्चय लेते देखूँ देखूँ मंगाव लै तिन्दु बढ़ै ती मी बहुत नीटी हे बहुत वापस हे मरवछद ले मरव चौं देखूँ वही रेते।

(सिद्ध वेदेवालम लविक्षेत्री, अभियुक्त)

(A-28; G-29)
(5)

(A-23; G-8)

FACSIMILES OF HUKAMMAS AND THEIR TEXT
HUKAMNAMAS OF GURU TEGH BALADUR : A HISTORICAL STUDY

(6)
पहिले राहुल

मैं गुरू सीखी से आजिमा है बड़ी घटन सच्चाई संग्राम व गुरू संग्राम दी धारूढ़ी करते हैं संवाद देने गुरू करते हैं निम्न अनुभव संग्राम हैं वे

उत्तमता आदर्श ने मिन्दु बड़ी घटन तत्काल उत्तमता आदर्शे में निरंतर वेगा गुरू विन्दु के मद द्वे सभी लाभ करते हैं बड़ी घटन

मैं गुरू सीखी से बुझ तै आदर्शे में सच्चाई संग्राम भूता गुरू संग्राम दी निरंतर रिच्च वर्गात निर्जुल वेगाते

(सिंह ठाकुर, अमृतसर)

(A-24; G-25)
(7)

गुड़ु उपेना अजरी बल भल भल
मंगल द्वारसिध अरुणा
मे आधुन मे रिश्वत प्रेम
अजरी बल मी गुड़ु नी वा पुड़
उ नु अथे मे मंगल मंतर

(सिन्ध बैंडवैवम लरिक्ट्रे, अभिनिबन)
(A-25; G-26)
FACSIMILES OF HUKAMNAMAS AND THEIR TEXT

(8)

श्री बुधु मीठि की अगिन्त तै घटी घटना स्मृति मंगाभि
धर्म दी घुड़ मंगाभि की मनुष्यी कलेखा मंगाभि अ बृह (भाष)

... ... ...

(सिंह जैत्यालम लाखियंगी, भारत रतन)

(A-26)
हुकमनमैस और गुरु तेघ बहादुर: इतिहासिक अध्ययन

(9)
(9)

हरि मंडलकार
मृि गुड़ु नीँहि ती अग्निभा तै जानी घरा मंडल मंगाइि
गुड़ु मंगाइि ती गुड़ु
बलैगा मंगाइि तै गुड़ु वनमान बलैगा मंगाइि भद्रतेलच
भूवे जेहो जान्हि घरा उमा
स्वामि आदेश तै मिहु जान्हि घड़े रति स्वामि
आदेश गुड़ु रिम ते
मंगाइि वर्मी बलैगा जान्हि घड़ा मृि गुड़ु नीँहि तै गुड़ु तै
आदेश मंगाइि मंगाइि
मृि गुड़ु नीँहि तै पुष्कन बलैगे मंगाइि गुड़ु मंगाइि ती
विलिए रिमिद बलवानि
बलैगा गुड़ु मंगाइि तै मंगाइि मंगाइि घड़ट सी मंगाइि
मंगाइि निरङ्क जेसी
मृि गुड़ु नीँहि ती उमे हुँचि धूमीि तै गुड़ु मंगाइि तै गृह
बलैगा स्वामि आदेश

(मिह वैरैलम लंटिवी, आमिसा)
(A-27; G-27)
FACSIMILES OF HUKAMNAMAS AND THEIR TEXT

(10)

(a)

(b)

(11)

(A-22; G-30)
(11)

गुर मंड

ढाँची घर छछट गढ़ी वरिष्ठत गढ़ी छड़व तैन
ढाँची शैक्ष मंडडि मंडडि भित्ताबूँ दी
गुर कर्माण अर्थगर्भ वनि वे मंडडि गढ़ी
विश्वास राम भग्न डेढ़ राधा वनवि
पहुँचली मंडडि वा तुम्हारा रेखा भिड़े चार
सीढ़ी घी मे पहुँची

(तुम्हारा घरी मंडडि, धर्म)

(A-47; G-20)
(12)
(12)

गुढू मण्डित

राष्ट्रीय संहारी मंडित मंगाड़ गुढू कवेशा

मिलीयत की मंगाड़ में हान लटकी आक्षेप

मिलीयत के तेंद्र मिलीयत मंड में हेमा चोंदः(1)

वेशेक उ प्रत्ये महुचैति तेंद्र

मंगाड़ का हटा वेंकुः

(गुढूभावना खत्ता मंगाड़, घमगम)

(1-38; G-10)
(13)
गुर मंड 
बाघी नरेशवती बाघी विलक्षण राम बाघी नरेशवती 
बाघी राम नरेशवती 
बाघी विलक्षण राम बेटी नएं बाघी बाघी दागी 
दिखलती राम भागवत रामवंद्र राम जीवा मंद मंद मंद 
जीवा राम शुभ भागवत मंगाड़ शत्रुभाग दी 
शुभ भवेश भवेश भवेश भवेश भवेश मंगाड़ शत्रुभाग दी 
शुभ भवेश भवेश भवेश भवेश भवेश मंगाड़ शत्रुभाग दी 
(शुभभवेश भवेश मंगाड़ शत्रुभाग) 
(A-39; G-11)
(14)

गुरु मद

कपड़े लेते भल अतीत कपड़े वितरण राम कपड़े
सत्कत्व डेडी मे दाटी विचित्र भल कपड़ी भवाके
कपड़े गण्म वर्गी कपड़ी कपड़ी भवाकल भवी कपड़ी से
लखिया राम कपड़ी भवाकल कपड़ी भवानी कपड़ी भल मिश्र
वनुं मान कपड़े बाल विसम कपड़ी दुनामल कपड़ी भली
लभ सत्कत्व मंडल वर्गभा वे मूंबे की गुरु
मंडल वे भवालभ नृत्य बलेया दिले बाल कपड़ी विश्राम
राम भान डेडी की मद वनरंति पारसी कपड़ी विश्राम

(सुकुमारल वही मंडलिए, वर्गभा)
(A-43; G-14)
(15)

(गुरज मंड)
ब्रह्म स्वरूप राम ब्रह्म विवक्त राम ब्रह्म विवक्त
अतु ब्रह्म ब्रह्म वें ब्रह्म वें ब्रह्म ब्रह्म विवक्त
भगवन् जान ब्रह्म विवक्त भगवन् जान ब्रह्म विवक्त

(सौन्दर्यम् चक्षु भावावर, घराँक) (A-44; G-18)
(16)

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਕੱਟੀ ਰੀਚਾਲ ਸਾਮ ਕੱਟੀ ਲਭਤਾ ਕੱਟੀ ਵਿਨਮਿਤ ਸਾਮ

ਕੱਟੀ ਝੀਟੀ ਲਭਤਾ ਸਾਮ ਕੱਟੀ

ਮੀਟ ਮੇਟ ਲਖਵਾਂ ਕੱਟੀ ਵਧੁਵਾਂਟੀ ਕੱਟੀ ਵਿਨਮਿਤ ਸਾਮ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ

ਧਰਾਧਮ ਤੇ ਸ਼ੁ਷ਤ ਸ਼ੁ਷ਤ

ਸਤਭਾ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਭਿੱਨਲ ਗੁਰ ਬੁੱਧ ਵੱਲੇ ਵਚੇਤਾ ਵਚ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਤੇ ਮੇਟ ਸ਼ਰਿ

ਵਿਨਮਿਤ ਲਖਵਾਂ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ

ਲੇ ਕੱਟੀ ਰੀਚਾਲ ਸਾਮ ਧੰਨੀ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਵ੃ਤ ਆਦਾ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਤੇ ਧੰਨੀ

ਕੱਟੀ ਅਦਾ ਹੋ ਕੇਟ ਸਾਮ

ਸਾਮ ਕੱਟੀ ਰੀਚਾਲ ਸਾਮ ਦੇ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ ਲੇ ਮੇਟ ਦੇ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ ਵਾ ਵਿਸਵ

ਵਚੇਤਾ ਭਿੱਨਲ ਘੁੱਘੁੱਘ ਵਚੇਤਾ

(ਗੁਰੂਪ੍ਰਾਚ ਕੱਟੀ ਮੇਟਵਾਂ, ਧਰਾਧਮ)

(A-41; G-19)
(17)
79

(18)

(शुभकाल घड़ी मंगाड़, घड़नम्)
(A-45)
(19)
(19)

गुरु माँद

इसके नहीं भल इसके विचार सभी इसके विचार
सम इसके यथोत्सव इसके विचार सभी भगवान इसके
सम विचार भल भल नींदी मंडिलें मंडिलें वर्तमान की
गुरु उथेगा इसके विचार सम भास वात वैसी वही
मंड उन्नति भयनी मंडिलें वी बयनी वैसी आते लान
वे लेट्ला इसके विचार सम लाने मंडिलें गुरु
वा जल्ल भवि मंडिलें मंडिलें वे भैलेगा गुरु पुजे लेगा

(गुरुमांद वा मंडिलें, वर्तमान)

(A-42)
HUKAMNAMAS OF GURU TEGH BAHADUR: A HISTORICAL STUDY

(20)
(20)

गुरु मुहूर्त
ब्रह्म त्रांग भल ब्रह्म भरस्त्रु ब्रह्म विद्यपितु ब्रह्म
हर सुदर्शन सुदर्शन भर संधि संधि डरू
सम संधि सैलभे सम संधि इंटेल भल सर्वदा सर्वदा यथा-
तम देव मुखे दी गृह ज्ञेणां ततु गृह तथा सत्ता सत्ता मैदुः
निष्ठ संधि सैलभेम वीड़ि है विश्‌चल ब्रह्म विश्‌चल लगे हें टेटी तत्तात्र गंगि
वर्गी वर्गी लगता लगता ब्रह्म ब्रह्मान (A-46)
(21)

(21)

(21)
(22)

(ਨੀਚੇ ਨਿਵੇਦਤ ਮਿਠੀ)

ਮੋਹਾਣਾ ਸੇਵਾ ਲਈ ਸੰਗਰਹੀ ਨਵਾਮੀ ਕਾਲਮੁੱਖ ਕਾਰਗੀ ਭਵਾਲਵਾਦ ਮੈਸੂਰਪੇਟ ਕਰਤੀ ਨੈਤ ਭਲੂ ਕਰਤੀ

ਕੇਵਲ ਮੋਹਾਣਾ ਤੈਲਰੋਗ ਦਾ ਰਮ ਅਪਣੇ ਸਮ ਵਿਘਨੀ ਕਰਤੀ ਮੁਲਕਰ ਕਾਰਗੀ ਪਹਿਲੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਰਮ ਕਰਤੀ

ਰਮ ਕਾਰਗੀ ਮੇਵਾਰ ਦਾ ਰਮ ਦੇਖੇ ਪੇਂਦਿਆਂ ਸੂਚਿਅਤ ਸੰਨਾਵਿੰਦ ਮਿਖਾ ਦੇ ਮਹੇਂਦਰ ਗੁਰੁ ਪੁਹਨਗਾ ਕਾਰਗੀ

ਨੀ ਮਾਂ ਮੁਹੋਣ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਨਾ ਲੀਡੀ ਦੇ ਸੰਨਾਵਿੰਦ ਲੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਲੀ ਬੋਲਦੀ ਹੈ

ਕਾਰਗੀ ਨੀ ਪ੍ਰਤਕ ਨੁਸਾਤ ਮੁਖਾਂ (ਮੋਹਾਣਾ ਮਾਦਾਂ, ਮਹਾਂ ਮਾਦਾਂ)

(ਨਿਵੇਸ਼ਣ ਸੰਨਾਵਿੰਦ, ਮਹੇਂਦਰ ਸੰਨਾਵਿੰਦ) (A-31; G-15)
88 HUKAMNAMAS OF GURU TEGH BAHADUR : A HISTORICAL STUDY

(23)
(३३ उत्तराधिकार, १७)
HUKAMNAMAS OF GURU TEGH BAHADUR: A HISTORICAL STUDY

(24)
(24)

शृंग मंडित

छाती सिहाला संघ राम भज्जाण क्षण देखतीं छाती सेवक संघ छाती वैमुख
छाती भविष्यांत छाती मुख, चंद्र
छाती नेत्र मल छाती देखल छाती न्यूतियां छाती तीत सिहाल
छाती भिजुत चंद्र...

राम छाती जीवितपुर रामे राम छाती महँम राम छाती
स्मृतियां छाती मतलीपण...

अंगुलक्षण छाती नेत्र मुख छाती उज्वलम छाती द्वीपलाम छाती
वाचात राम छाती...

छाती मवकरं छाती अविनियम छाती वज्जाणः
छाती न्यूतियां छाती मतलीपण छाती...

छाती समालि छाती संगांि राम छाती जीवितसं छाती सम्प्रदेशुं छाती
वाच धूप छाती...

म छाती सज्जाण क्षण द्वीपलाम छाती तुप्पु छाती लल मल छाती
आद्वातम छाती...

मूदेत चंद्र छाती द्वीपमुळ गृहालिपि
छाती त्रावं भिनयस्तः...

पाल हेतु व्यावधि सम्प्रदेशुं मल्ल भज्जाण वेतमुख धीर तंत्र धारमभ...
भिनय मैत मल्ल नवटिपुर संगाि राम छाती भविष्य रामीरां वेदन...

महामा वनमुख हदंक्षेत्र बेदे पेशी छाती तीतसं वल्लभ...

(मूळ तुलिपान संग्रह, पटला संधिनौ)
(A-35; G-21)
(25)
(25)

(फुल विवरण देखें)
गुरु मंत्र

(26)

(अन्तिम शारीरिक मानव, उत्तर स्वरूप)

(अ-3; ग-13)
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ਨਵਾਂ ਮਾਤਾ

ਚੱਟੀ ਦਾਨਕਾਲ ਰਾਮ ਚੱਟੀ ਮਕਾਨ ਦੀਟਾ ਰਾਮ ਚੱਟੀ ਮਕਾਨਾਲ

ਸਰਜ਼ਾਲ ਯੋਗਜ਼ਾਲ ਗਰੁੱਤ ਚਲੇਣਾ

ਪਵਾਲ ਰੀਟੀ ਰਾਮ ਵੇ ਚੱਟ ਦੀਟਾ ਰੀਟੀ ਗਹਿ ਰਨੇ ਸੀ ਵੇ ਚੱਟ ਰੀਟੀ ਸਾਤ ਰੀਟੀ ਦੇ ਰਨਾਨੇ ਦੰਸਤਾ

ਗੱਡੇ ਹੇ ਨੂਬ ਰੀਟੀ ਹੇ ਕਰ ਰੇਤ ਕਾਲ ਦੇ ਕਾਰ ਮਿਹਾਣਾ ਸਾਹ ਰਨਾਨੇ

ਪਾਮ ਆਦਿ ਪਤਤਰ

ਸੰਤਤ ਤੂੰ ਤੀਮ ਕਾਲ ਵੇ ਹਰ ਪੁਰਾਣ ਮੇ ਆਦਿ ਪਤਤਰ ਚਲੇ ਪਰਦੀ

ਪੈਛੀ ਹੇ ਚੱਟੀ ਰੀਟੀ

(ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਤਿਸ਼ਚਰ ਮਰਾਦੇ, ਪੀਠ ਮਰਾਦੇ)

(A-36; G-12)
THREE ADDITIONAL *HUKAMNAMAS*

(29)

ब्रह्म धर्म (ताप)  
उ ब्रह्म  
गुरुदेव भगवान

विमल राम  
आतिमा(र)  
मंडल राम ब्रह्म  
अभिमान वे संह राम (पुत्र)  
राम मंडल भक्तम  
विकटो नाम  
विजय भूषण, विजय विजय  
विजय भवाननाथ

(सिद्ध चैतन्य जीतिव्रत, अभिनव)
I. Aumkar Satguru

This letter is written to the revered and respected, "Bhais Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Saddhral and Nathormal. The Shriguruji has ordered that one chira and the one aswari khasgi be sent for his personal use. It should be white, very white. Should be sent early. The Guru will bless you, protect you and fulfill all your desires." The original letter so far as I have been able to decipher reads:

"May God Protect You"

Bhais Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Nathormal and Saddrimal. "I want one chira and one aswari... Send. Bless be the congregation."*
(31)

Ak-Onkar Satguru

Siri Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji enjoins- Bhai Lakhya, Sahib, Lada, Sart (Sarabat) Sangat gur thadi (tuhadi) rakhega,
Sangat de manorath guru pure karega
Sangat di seva da vela hai
Bhai Lakhya tun guran da poot hai,
tere oopar khushi hai, Guru Sangat de bohari karega,
Ak rupee mewra ko dena.*

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
HUKAMNAMAS
1.

(Endorsement in Guru Tegh Bahadur's handwriting)

In the name of True Guru

Bhai Ugar Sain, the Guru shall protect the entire congregation. Ramdas Jagdeo is your home and the Guru's as well. You are the Guru's son and the leader of all the Masands. The responsibility of the place is entrusted to you. A messenger is dispatched to call for Ramdas Gurditta, Bhai Guria, Bhai Kalyan Das. As soon as they assemble we shall communicate you the real situation. You have served us much and placing our confidence much more in you, we shall keep sending our man from Murari. Presently everything depends on you.

(In scribe's handwriting)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur orders that Bhai Ugar Sain along with the entire congregation has the protection of the Guru. The desires of the congregation shall be fulfilled. Ramdas Jagdeo is your home and the Guru's as well. You are the son of the Guru and the leader of all the Masands. The responsibility of the place lies with you. The messengers are sent to call for Ramdas Gurditta, Bhai Guria, Bhai Kalyan Das. As soon as they assemble, we shall write you the real situation. Ramdas Ji, you have served us much and our confidence in you is more. The Guru shall protect you. It is the Guru's pleasure.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)

Note: There are no stops in the original. Thus an element of arbitrariness creeps in the translations. At times it is difficult to decide how to render the text. For example, in hukamnama 13, it could Maharaj Dalpat Das or two persons in Maharaj and Dalpat Das. Similarly, a phrase connects itself with what goes before and after.
2.

(Entire hukamnama is in the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Ramdas Ugar Sain, Bhai Lal Chand and the entire congregation shall be protected. Bring the offerings, an embroidered dress and six oxen to present to Mata Ji on the occasion of Diwali along with the entire congregation. Take Mata Ji's command to be the command of the Guru. The congregation shall be blessed. It is the time for the congregation to do service to the Guru. The congregation shall desirously contribute their offerings to Ramdas. The congregation shall flourish. Ramdas Jagdeo is the home of the Guru. We are greatly pleased with Ramdas Ji.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
3.

(In the Guru's handwriting)

In the name of the True Guru

Ramdas Ugar Sain, Bhai Lal Chand. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation. Ramdas Ji, the offerings, the dress and the oxen presented to Mata Ji, have reached the Guru. You have the blessing of the Guru. Your home is that of the Guru's. The Guru is deeply pleased. It is the time for the congregation to perform services for the Guru.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
4. (Bhai Tara, Bhai Koka and the entire congregation of Pattan)

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru blesses the congregation. Their desires shall be fulfilled. The entire congregation of Pattan is enjoined to come to our presence. A Sikh who accompanies Bhai Batha shall be blessed. Now is the time for the Sikhs to perform services for the Guru...

(In the hand of the scribe)

In the name of the One Supreme Being, the True Guru.

Shri Guru Jeo enjoins on Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru shall bless the congregation. The Guru blesses the livelihood of the congregation. Their desires shall be fulfilled. Bhai Batha, you are Shri Guru Jeo's son. Come to our presence alongwith the congregation. A Sikh who accompanies Bhai Batha shall be blessed. Now is the time for the Sikhs, the beloved sons, to render services. As the congregation desires its sustenance will increase. The Guru is pleased. The Guru shall bless the congregation with happiness. Such is the pleasure of the Guru.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
5.
(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru's blessing is on the congregation. The Guru shall help the congregation with livelihood. All their desires shall be fulfilled. The entire congregation should come on Diwali for Guru's darshan. The Sikhs who come shall be blessed. The congregation of Pattan is directly under the Guru (Khalsa). The Guru blesses it with happiness. Bhai Batha is the son of the Guru. The entire congregation should obey him. The Guru protects.

(In scribe's handwriting)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

It is the Guru's commandment to Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru blesses the congregation. The Guru shall bless them with livelihood. All their desires shall be fulfilled. The entire congregation should come on Diwali for sight of the Guru. A Sikh who comes shall be blessed. The congregation of Pattan is directly under the Guru (Khalsa). The Guru shall bless the congregation with happiness. Bhai Batha is a son of the Guru. The congregation should obey him. It is our pleasure.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
6.

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect Bhai Batha. The entire congregation shall be blessed. Bhai Batha, you are the Guru's son. Come to the Guru's presence along with the entire congregation. The congregation is enjoined to obey Bhai Batha.

(In the scribe's hand)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

This is the Guru's commandment to Bhai Batha and the entire congregation. The Guru shall succour the congregation. The Guru shall bless the congregation with livelihood. Their desires shall be fulfilled. Bhai Batha, you are our Sikh. Come to our presence along with the congregation. A Sikh accompanying Bhai Batha to our *darshan*, shall be blessed. The Guru shall confer success on his enterprises. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. The congregation should obey his instructions. The Guru sanctifies the labours of the congregation and make them prosper.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
7.

(Endorsement)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

The Guru shall protect. Bhai Batha is asked to bring the entire congregation to have the Guru's sight. Those who come shall be blessed with happiness. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. All are advised to follow his instructions.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
8.

(Endorsement)

Bhai Batha is asked to come to have the Guru's sight along with the entire congregation. Those who come shall be blessed. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. All are advised to obey his instructions. The Guru shall make profitable.

(In scribe's handwriting)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Sri Guru Jeo enjoins Bhai Batha and the entire congregation of Pattan. The Guru blesses the congregation and helps the congregation prosper ...

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
9.

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect Bhai Batha. Let the entire congregation come to the Guru's sight. Those who come shall be blessed. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. The congregation should obey him. The Guru's blessings are on the entire congregation of Pattan.

(In scribe's handwriting)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

The Guru's commandment is addressed to Bhai Batha and the entire congregation. The Guru shall succour the congregation. The livelihood of the congregation is blessed. All their desires shall be fulfilled. Bhai Batha should come to have the Guru's sight. A Sikh who accompanies him shall be blessed with the success of his enterprises. Bhai Batha is the Guru's son. The entire congregation should obey his instructions as if these are from the Guru. The Guru shall help the livelihood of the congregation. They shall be blessed with happiness. The congregation of Pattan shall be flourish. You have Guru's pleasure. The Guru shall bless the congregation with prosperity. Fail not to come to the Guru's darshan.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
10.

(Endorsement)

The Guru shall protect you. Let not the mule of the Guru's stable lost. It is time for your offerings.

(In the scribe's handwriting)

In the name of the One Supreme Being, the True Guru

The Guru enjoins Bhai Malla and Bhai Bagha. The entire congregation shall be succoured. All their desires shall be fulfilled. Bhai Bagha and Bhai Malla to note. A mule and two oxen from the stable of the Guru have been lifted at Jamalpur by cattle-lifters of the village Dharde. As is known to you, the mule is with Darde men in Bakala. The oxen have already recovered from the lifters. It is time for your offerings. You are instructed to get back the mule. The Guru shall bless the congregation with prosperity. It is the time for you to send the offerings. The Guru is greatly pleased with you.

(Preserved in Naushehra Pannuan in Amritsar District)
11.

(In the Guru's own handwriting)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Bal Chand, Bhai Harkrishan, Bhai Chatarbhuj, Bhai Lalu. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation of Mirzapur. Send your collection of offerings through Bhai Dyal Das. It shall reach the Guru. The congregation shall flourish. The offerings previously made have been received.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
12.
(In the Guru's handwriting)

In the name of True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation. All are advised to look after well Sridhar, the horse. Let Sridhar be provided with provisions. On its recovery, it should be sent to Patna. The congregation is blessed.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
13.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Jat Mal, Bhai Rama Yadav, grass-cutter, Bhai Kalyan Das, Bhoti Seth, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhikhari Das, Maharaja, Dalpat Das, Hira Man, Durga Das, Ganga Ram, Raghu Nath, Mahanand. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation of Benaras. Let the congregation feelingly entrust its offerings to Bhai Javehari. He shall convey to Bhai Dyal Das. It shall reach the Guru. The congregation is blessed. It is the time of rendering services to the Guru.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
14.
(In the Guru's hand)

The One Supreme Being

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari Mal Masand, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Jat Mal, Bhoti Seth, Bhai Kalyan Mal, Bhai Maha Nand, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhai Maharaj, Bhai Bhikhari, Dalpat Das, Bhai Rama Nand, Bhai Manji, Bhai Man Singh, Phagu Shah, Bhai Bal Kishan, Bhai Chhut Mal, Bhai Mani Ram and the entire congregation of Benaras and the province of Benaras. The Guru shall fulfil the desires of the members of the congregation. The offerings sent through Bhai Dyal Das has been received by the Guru. Bhai Dyal 'Das' instruction be obeyed by the congregation as if they were the Guru's command. A Sikh having a cowrie, dedicated to the Guru, shall hand it over to Bhai Dyal Das. The Guru blesses the congregation with incremental livelihood.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
15.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari Das, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Kalyan Mal, Bhai Bhoti, Bhai Seth, Babu Rai, Bhai Bhikhari, Maharaj, Rama, Balkishan, Man Singh, Chhut Mal, Nand Roop and the entire congregation of Benaras and the surrounding region. The Guru shall protect you. Meditate on Guru's name. It shall bless your lives. Offerings worth eighty rupee have been received. The congregation should make over their offerings to Bhai Dyal Das. They will reach the Guru. The congregation will prosper. Now is the time to serve the Guru.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
16.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Javehari, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Bhoti, Kalyan Das, Bhai Sibhu Seth, Dalpat, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhai Bhikhari Das. Let the entire congregation of Benaras repeat Guru's name. It shall make a success of their births. The Guru shall fulfill the desires of the entire congregation. The offering of one hundred and sixty-six rupee from the congregation, sent through Bhai Dyal Das, has been received by the Guru. The congregation is blessed. In future all the offerings, presents and mannat be devotedly sent through Bhai Dyal Das. The congregation will prosper. The Guru shall fulfil the desires of the congregationists.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
17.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari Mal, Bhai Bhoti Seth, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Jat Mal, Bhai Kalyan Mal, Bhai Babu Mani, Bhikhari, Man Singh, Maharaj, Rama Jado Ghasi, Koka, Mana, Balkishan, Sukh Deo, Phagu Shah, Chhut Man, Roop Narain. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation of Benaras Suba. It will prosper. The congregation is instructed to hand over their offerings to Bhai Dyal Das. These shall reach the Guru. The congregation is blessed. We are camping at Monghyr. The desires of a Sikh who comes to have Guru's sight shall be fulfilled.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
18.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Bhai Javehar Mal, Bhai Bhoti, Bhai Shibhu Seth, Kalyan Mal, Puran Mal, Bhikhari Das, Babu Rai, Mani Jado, Hiraman Das, Maharaj, Durga Das, Manni, Koka, Deo. The Guru shall protect the entire congregation of Benaras. Repeat Guru's name. Your births will fulfil their purpose. The congregation is blessed. The offerings sent through Bhai Dyal Das have reached us. The Guru shall fulfil the desires of the congregationists. The Sangat should keep on obeying the instructions of Bhai Dyal Das. The Sikhs will do well.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
19.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

In the name of True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Javehari Mal, Bhai Kalyan Das, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhai Bhikhari, Bhai Maharaj, Bhai Ram Bigah Mal, Mun Jeo and the entire congregation of Benaras. The Guru shall protect. The offerings sent through Bhai Dyal Das have reached the Guru. Long to make offerings in future. Let the congregation consider Bhai Dyal Das' instructions as the command of the Guru. All their desires shall be fulfilled.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
20.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Bhai Javahar Mal, Bhai Sadanand, Bhai Kirpala, Bhai Babu, Bhai Bhikhari, Bhai Maharaj, Bhai Man Singh, Bhai Phaggu Shah, Bhai Jairam Das, Bhai Chhattek Mal and the entire congregation of the Suba of Benaras. The Guru shall protect. You repeat the Guru's name. Your lives are blessed. All those Sikhs who repeat Waheguru shall be blessed with prosperity. Their offerings to Bhai Dayal Das shall reach the Guru to bear fruit. The Guru shall look to the welfare of the congregation.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Bari Sangat, Benaras)
In the name of the True Guru


(Preserved in the Gurdwara-Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)
22.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Sobha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Nand Kuar, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Bans, Bhai Murli, Bhai Pritam Das, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Mohan Das, Bebe Peri Bai and the entire congregation. The Guru shall fulfill the desires of his Sikhs. I have encamped at Monghyr. It is time for the congregation to serve. Brother, inform the Masands of your province from beyond to come for the sight of the Guru along with their congregations. Sikhs shall be blessed with prosperity for the visit. It is a time for the congregation to serve. Let the congregation obey the instructions of Bhai Dyal Das as if they are from the Guru. The Guru shall add to the livelihood of the congregation. Brother, we wish to write to Sahzadpur for tents for our camp. As you suggest we shall send a communication to the congregation. Send two score of turbans of Bihar, the ones at forty rupees a score. Livelihood of the congregation will increase.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)
23.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Subha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Mohan Das, Bhai Nand Kuar, Bhai Pritam Das, Bhai Ghanshyam, Jag Man, Murli Dhar, Bhai Bansi, Bhai Singha, Sada Nand, Kawal Nain, Ram Rai, Lal Man, Chhabil Das, Bal Gobind, Amlia, Pheru, Kirpal, Sangat Das, Baijnath, Jhabar Singh, Bhagwan, Gujar Mal, Peri Bai, Ram Chand, Dina Nath, Pran Nath, Jagdeo, Bhoj Raj, Dalpat Das, Bhara, Darya, Chinta, Bindraban, Pran Nath, Mehar Chand, Hira Nand, Pran Nath and the entire congregation. The Guru shall fulfil your desires. The departure is fixed in the month of Assu (Asuj). Send articles worth seventy rupees for our camp immediately on receipt of the letter as these are urgently required. The camp is to leave. Brother, come along soon to have the Guru's sight alongwith the entire congregation. The Guru shall bless the livelihood of the congregation. Patna is the home of the Guru.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir, Patna City)
24.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Subha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Nand Kuar, Bhai Din Dyal, Bhai Mehar Chand...Nath, Bhai Hira Nand, Ragho Das, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Bansidhar, Bhai Murlidhar...Bhai Mohan Das, Bhai Nain Sukh, Bhai Harkesh, Bhai Chhabil Das, Bhai Bhagwan Das, Bhai...Bhai Sada Nand, Bhai Ghanshyam, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Murlidhar, Bhai...Bhai Singha, Bhai Sangat Das, Bhai Baijnath, Bhai Sukh Deo, Bhai Jhabar Singh, Bhai..., Bhai Jagman, Bhai Chhabil Das, Bhai Roopan, Bhai Lal Man, Bhai Anant Das, Bhai..., Supher Chand, Bhai Nain Sukh, Gulal Chand, Bal Gobind, Bhai Bhagta, Bindraban..., Pala, Pheru, Bansidhar, Sukh Deo, Machhi, Suja Ram, Chain Sukh, Hira Nand, Paras Ram..., Mitter Sain, Gaj Man, Jagdeo, Dalpat Das, Bhai Muluk Dasia, Chetan..., Lacchua, Raghnath, Fateh Chand, Bebe Peri Bai, Dina Nath, Pran Nath... and the entire congregation of Patna. The Sikhs who have chosen God shall have their desires fulfilled. The expense incurred by the congregation on the jubilation at Gobind Das' birth has changed into a blessing in the Guru's court. The money has earned blessing of the Guru. The offerings sent earlier also earned the Guru's blessings. Whosoever serves the Guru in future shall increase. A robe of honour has been sent. Patna is Guru's home. The congregation is blessed.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)
25.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Sobha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Pran Nath, Bhai Hira Nath, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Pran Nath, Bhai Hira Nath, Bhai Sobha Chand, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Pehlad Das, Bhai Murli, Bhai Mohan Das, Bhai Bhagwan Das, Bhai Harji Mal, Bhai Sada Nand, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Nand Lal, Bhai Bal Gobind, Bhai Jag Man, Sangat Das, Bhai Balj Nath, Bhai Jhabar Singh, Amalia, Kirpal, Pheru, Bhai Bindraban, Bhai Lal Man, Chhabila, Nain Sukh, Bhai Mula, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Chetan Jado, Bebe Peri Bai, Bhara, Maluka, Lachua, Bhai Pran Nath and the entire congregation of Patna. The Guru shall protect you. Repeat Guru's name to make success of your lives. The congregation will do well. The Sikhs, devoting themselves to God will have their desires fulfilled. Patna is the home of the Guru. The congregation shall be succoured. The congregation serves Gobind Das. Your service is blessed in the court of the Guru. It will add to the welfare of the congregation. Send the camp equipment, if it has been received from Bhai Raja from beyond. Send one fine canopy, three screens and equipment for privy to the main chamber. Send three screens and one enclosure for the kitchen. Send also a tent of five yards measure, chamber equipment, screens and other equipment through Bhai Mulu Mehra. The congregation shall be blessed. Patna is the Guru's own home.

(Preserved in the Gurdwara Hari Mandir, Patna City).
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mihar Chand, Bhai Sobh Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Ded Mal, Bhai Pehlad, Bhai Bansi, Bhai Murlidhar, Bhai Ragho Das, Bhai Dina Nath, Mohan Das, Bhai Pritam Das, Bhai Nand Kuar, Bhai Mihar Chand, Bhai Pran Nath, Bhai Murlidhar, Bhai Singh, Bhai Sada Nand, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Lal Man, Bhai Chhabil Das, Bhai Lal Man, Bhai Bal Gobind, Bhai Amliya, Bhai Kirpal, Bhai Baj Nath, Bhai Sangat Das, Bhai Jhabar Singh, Bebe Peri Bai, Bhai Ram Chand, Bhai Bhagwan Das, Gujar Mal, Bhai Jagdeo, Bhai Bhoj Rai, Bhai Dalpat Das, Bhara, Darya, Chinta, Bindraban, Pran Nath and the entire congregation of the province of Patna. The Guru shall protect you. Those of the Sikhs who have repeated Waheguru (God), will have their desires fulfilled through the Guru. We have travelled to the beyond along with the Raja and have left our family in Patna. The Sikhs who have repeated Waheguru, should do service. A paisa given to the Guru, shall be rewarded with a mohar of blessing. Now is the time for the congregation to serve the Guru. A Sikh who serves shall his livelihood be blessed. It is time to serve the Guru. Lodge our family in a fine, large mansion. The Guru shall bless the livelihood of the congregation. It is the time to serve the Guru.

(Preserved in the Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)
27.
(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of the True Guru

Bhai Dyai Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari, Chain Sukh, Mehar Chand, Subha Chand, Bhai Ded Man, Bhai Jeth Mal, and the entire congregation. The Guru shall protect you. Despatch five baskets of vessels of Minapore... Albele, Surahi (long necked pitcher), bowls (pyale) of superior quality to the Dharamsala of Bhai Kalyana at Delhi through bearers. They are to be gifted to Nawab Saif Khan. Send vessels of superior quality. The congregation shall be blessed. Send six pieces of coarse homespun cotton cloth (kharve reje), hundred yards of unbleached cloth (kora), ten seers of tanawa (a slender rope attached to support the tent) and ten seers of nawar (tape used for stringing cots). Send the money to be collected at the engagement ceremony of Dharma.

(Preserved in the Hari Mandir Sahib, Patna City)
28.

(In the Guru's hand)

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Addressed to Bhai Dyal Das, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Darbari and Bhai Ded Mal. The Guru shall bless the entire congregation. I set out four days ago. The Raja marched seven days ago. I have been halting in order to meet you. Travel day and night, and reach us at the earliest. Take a fast mount, and reach here within twenty four hours. Delay not a moment. I am waiting for you. Come very fast. The Guru blesses the congregation.

(Preserved in the Hari Mandir Sahib Patna City)
ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF HUKAMNAMAS

29.

Bhai Pran (Nath)
   Bhai
   Gujar Mal
   Kishan Das
   Ghansya(m)
   Chhabil Das, Bhai
   Amlia, Keso, Kir (pala)
   ... Pala, Goverdhan Das
   Bhag Mal, Maluka
   Hirdey Ram
   Baba, Mula, Bugha, Roora
   Bara, Pran Nath.

(Preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar)
30.

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

This letter is written to the revered and respected, "Bhais Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Saddhrimal and Nathormal. The Shriguruji has ordered that one chira and the one aswari khasgi be sent for his personal use. It should be white, very white. Should be sent early. The Guru will bless you, protect you and fulfill all your desires." The original letter so far as I have been able to decipher reads:

"May God Protect You"

Bhajs Bhagmal, Chhabildas, Nathormal and Saddrimal. "I want one chira and one aswari... Send. Bless be the congregation."*

In the name of One Supreme Being, the True Guru

Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Ji enjoins—Bhai Lakhya, Sahib, Lada alongwith the entire congregation shall be protected.
... The desires of the congregation shall be fulfilled...
... It is the time for the congregation to do service...
... Bhai Lakhya, you are the Guru's son...
... The Guru is deeply pleased with you...
... Pay one rupee to the messenger...

UNAUTHENTIC HUKAMNAMAS
३ नवम्बर

अध्यात्मिक संस्कृति, जो आत्मोन्मादित्य नाम से जाना जाता है, एक प्रमुख और महत्वपूर्ण विषय है। इसलिए, इसे सर्वथा समझने के लिए उचित विश्लेषण की आवश्यकता होती है।

इस विषय को समझने के लिए, नीचे दिया गया उदाहरण का ध्यान दिने योग्य है।

उदाहरण: जब एक व्यक्ति अपनी आत्मा को निर्देशित करता है, तो उसे आत्मोन्मादित्य कहा जाता है। इस विषय के महत्व को समझने के लिए, जरूरतमुद्दता के द्वारा नीचे दिया गया उदाहरण का ध्यान दिने योग्य है।
HUKAMNAMAS OF GURU TEGH BAHADUR: A HISTORICAL STUDY
GLOSSARY

albele (अल्बेले) - Caskets.
alüfä (अल्फा) - Provisions.
ander dā derā (अंदर दी दरा) - Inner Chamber.
Assu no kooch (असु ने कुछ) - Departure is fixed in the month of Assu, the sixth month of lunar year (September/October).
aswāri (अस्वारी) - Conveyance (as a horse, elephant, camel, carriage, cart etc.).
aswāri khāsagi (अस्वारी खासगी) - A good stead.
bāhuri (बाहुरी) - To respond to help/protect/defend someone, to bless someone.
balad (बलद) - ox, oxen.
Bāngar Desh (बांगर देश) - Barren land with low rainfall; the area including Kaithal and Jind districts of Haryana State.
barkati (बारकति) - Blessing, good fortune, prosperity.
Bhatt Vahi (बैट वाही) - Family account maintained by bard families.
bhet (बेट) - Gift or donation, voluntary offering, presentation etc.
chhāwani (चहावनी) - A camp, stay, halt.
chirā (चीरा) - Turban, head gear.
chortiā (चोरटिया) - A thief, a pilfer, a lifter.
darsan (दर्शन) - Sight, appearance, visit, visit to a sacred shrine and authority.
dere ke kheme (देरे वे खेमे) - Tents for camp.
dharamsālā (धर्मसाला) - A place of worship, house of God, an inn for pilgrims and travellers.

Dīwāli (दीवाली) - Festival of lights celebrated by Hindus and Sikhs in the lunar month of Katak. (October/November).

Ek Onkar (ੵਕੋਨਾਰ) - One Supreme Being.

girad nivāhi (ਗਿਰਦ ਨਵਾਹੀ) - In the vicinity, surrounding region.

Gobind (ਗੋਬਿੰਦ) - An epithet of God; Guru Gobind Singh.

Gurmukhi (ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ) - The script used for writing Punjabi language.

Guru Granth (ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ) - The Sacred Scripture of the Sikhs.

Hakikati (ਹਾਕਿਕਤੀ) - Real situation, reality, matter of fact.

haveli (ਹਵੇਲੀ) - A mansion, a big house, villa.

hazuri (ਹਾਜੂਰੀ) - In the presence, in the presence of a superior authority; your Honour, before the Guru.

hukam (ਹੁਕਾਮ) - An order, a command, rule, law, direction.

janam saorey (ਜਨਮ ਸਾੜੀ ਐਲਾਨ) - Bless their lives.

judāwal (ਜੂਠਾਵਲ) - An embroidered dress, ornamental robe.

kabilā (ਕਿਬਾਲ) - Family, clan.

kahār (ਕਹਾਰ) - A bearer of palanquin or bearer.

kalandari rasioi (ਕਲਾਂਦਰੀ ਰਾਸੀਆਈ) - An enclosure for kitchen.

kamm rāsi karaigā (ਕੰਮ ਰਾਸੀ ਕਰਾਈਗਾ) - Shall confer success or prosperity in economic enterprise.

kanāt (ਕਨਾਤ) - A screen.

kār (ਕਾਰ) - Mandatory offerings.

kaut (ਕੌਤ) - A cowrie, the lowest unit of money exchange.

khachar (ਖਾਚਾਰ) - A mule.

Khālsā (ਖਾਲਸਾ) - The Sikh order, brotherhood created on the Baisakhi day of 1699 by Guru Gobind Singh.

khālsā (ਖਾਲਸਾ) - Directly under the Guru.
khārī Bir (ਖਾਰੀ ਬੀਜ) - A manuscript of *Adi Granth* claimed to have been copied by Bhai Banno from the original *Granth* edited by Guru Arjun Dev.

kharwā (ਖ਼ਰਵਾ) - Coarse, rough cloth.
kharwe reje (ਖ਼ਰਵੇ ਰੇਜ਼ਲੀ) - Coarse, homespun cotton cloth.
khasmānā (ਖਾਸਮਾਨਾ) - To treat in a befitting manner, to make one satisfied.
kirati vich barkati (ਕੀ ਰਾਤੀ ਵੀਚ ਬਰਕਾਤੀ) - Sanctify the labours, help the livelihood.
kooch (ਖੂਚ) - Departure.
korā (ਕੋਰਾ) - Unbleached cloth.
koriān paggā (ਕੋਰੀਆਂ ਪੱਕਅ) - Score of turban.
kosā dauran wālā (ਕੋਸਾ ਦਾਰਣਵਾਲਾ) - A fast mount.
kurehat (ਕੁਰੇਹਟ) - Prohibition; anathema.
kurmāi (ਕੁਰਮਾਈ) - Engagement, betrothal.
lochoge (ਲੋਧੁੜੇ) - Will desire, will wish.
madār (ਮਾਦਨ) - Responsibility.
Maghar (ਐਮਧਾਰ) - The ninth month of a lunar year; it starts from middle of November to the middle of December.
Mājhā (ਐਮਾਜ਼ਾ) - The area of Central Punjab lying between the Beas and Ravi rivers.
Mālwā (ਐਮਾਲਵਾ) - The plains tract extending south and south-east of the Sutlej; it includes Faridkot, Ferozepore, Ludhiana and Patiala districts.
mangal (ਐਮਾਗਾਲ) - Ascription, invocation.
mannat (ਐਮਨਾਟ) - Donation made on fulfilment of one's desire.
manorath poore honge (ਐਮਾਨਰਾਥ ਪੁਰੇ ਹੋਏ) - Desires shall be fulfilled.
Mewrā (ਐਮਵਰਾ) - A messenger; a class of messengers.
mohar (ਐਮਵਾਰ) - A gold coin.
mujrā (मुज्रा) - To be presented to.
mukām (मुक्ख) - Stay, camp, halt.
nām (नाम) - The Divine Name.
nawār (नावर) - A kind of large cotton webbing used in making tents; tape used for stringing bed.
nihāl hoe (निहाल हौ) - To be blessed with happiness.
Poh (पोह) - The tenth month of a lunar year (from the middle of December to the middle of January).
pyālā (पियाला) - A bowl.
Ramdās (रामदास) - A respectable Sikh, a Masand, representative of the Guru.
rāsi (रासि) - Capital, property, possessions, stock in trade.
rāwati (रावटी) - Tent.
rijak (रिजक) - Food, provision, materials for food, sustenance.
rujgār (रुजगार) - Employment, service, business, mean of livelihood.
rujgār vich barkati (रुजगार विच बरकति) - Blessed with increased livelihood, prosperity.
sādhī (सैद्ध) - A virtuous person, holy man.
Sangat (संगट) - A gathering, assembly, congregation.
sarabat (सराबत) - Entire, whole.
sarkār (सरकार) - A king, government, head of civil administration; here it refers to the Guru especially.
sehatkhānā (सेहतखाना) - An equipment for privy.
sewā (सेवा) - Service.
sirpāo (सिरपा) - A robe of honour.
sitāb (सिताब) - Quickly, immediately.
sūbā (सूबा) - A province.
suhelā (सुहेला) - A canopy.
surāhi (सुराही) - A long necked pitcher.
Takhat (ਉਭਾਤ) - Throne; the Sikh centre of temporal authority.
tanāwā (ਗੰਧਰਾ) - A slender rope attached to support the tent.
tolā (ਤੌਲਾ) - A unit of weight equal to 11.664 gms.
vādha karegā (ਰੱਘ ਵਾਡਿਆ) - Shall be blessed with prosperity.
Wāhegurū (ਵਾਹੀਗੁਰੂ) - The wonderful Lord; God Almighty.
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MENTIONED IN THE HUKAMNAMAS

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**A Sangat in Majha Region**

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2. Malla (Bhai) - 10

**Pattan Sangat**

1. Batha (Bhai) - 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9

**Ramdas Jagdeo Sangat**

1. Gurditta (Ramdas) - 1
2. Guria (Bhai) - 1
3. Kalyan Das (Bhai) - 1
4. Lal Chand (Bhai) - 2, 3
5. Ugar Sain (Bhai, Ramdas) - 1, 2, 3
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