

# THE SWORD AND THE TURBAN: ARMED FORCE IN SIKH THOUGHT

**A. Walter Dorn\*** and **Stephen Gucciardi\*\***

*\*Department of Defence Studies, Royal Military College of Canada and the Canadian Forces College; \*\*Department and Centre for the Study of Religion, University of Toronto*

*This article is part of our series on benchmark figures and traditions in the ethics of war. We wish to highlight how major thinkers or traditions of thought have discussed and handled the thorny ethical issues associated with using armed force. Sikhism is an important, yet little known religious tradition, which at several points has addressed exactly such questions. (Ed.)*

*To understand Sikh attitudes towards the use of armed force, two quite different Sikh sacred texts are carefully examined in this article: the Adi Granth, the most hallowed scripture of the Sikhs, and the Dasam Granth, the controversial scripture of the last human gurū. But scriptural analysis is not sufficient since historical developments within the community have exerted a major influence on Sikh thought. Especially relevant episodes are highlighted: the fight against Mughal rule, the emergence of the Khālsā, the martyrdom of prominent Sikhs, the Sikh reform process, the background role of Jatt culture, and the rise and decline of the Khalistan movement, including the events surrounding the storming of the Golden Temple in Amritsar by Indian forces in 1984. Ironically, though Sikhism is often associated with the use of force, there is little academic literature on this aspect of the religion. This paper seeks to fill a lacuna by examining the sources of Sikh thought on the use of armed force.*

KEY WORDS: *Adi Granth, Dasam Granth, dharamyuddh, Sikhism, just war, martyr, warrior*

## Introduction

From the time Sikhism was introduced to the West in the nineteenth century, the martial aspect of Sikh identity has been a dominant feature in the public perception of the religion. Especially in the eyes of the British, the Sikhs were fierce fighters who put up stiff resistance during the Anglo–Sikh wars (1845–1846, 1848–1849) and then offered loyal support during the Indian Mutiny of 1857. They were deemed a ‘martial race’ (Takhar 2005: 15) and continued to fight with distinction for their colonial ruler during the first and second world wars. Despite their loyalty to the Empire, they also participated in movements for Indian independence, both peacefully and martially, at levels disproportionate to their population number.

The Sikhs fell from Western public view in areas without a diaspora after Indian independence in 1947, but suddenly re-emerged in the 1980s during the events surrounding the movement for an independent Sikh homeland (Khalistan), in particular the armed insurgency inspired by Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the Indian army’s storming of the Golden Temple in 1984. The Sikhs appeared to some members of the public as if they were engaging in the same trend of religious nationalism as found in the 1979 Iranian revolution and the religiously-inspired *mujahideen* resistance in Afghanistan during the 1980s. Furthermore, the distinctly martial public face of the community,

*Journal of Military Ethics, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2011*

ISSN 1502-7570 print/1502-7589 online/11/010052-19

© 2011 Taylor & Francis DOI: 10.1080/15027570.2011.562026

exemplified by the sharp-edged *khaṇḍā* as Sikhism's primary representative symbol, contributed towards this perception.<sup>1</sup> Though the Indian state was ultimately successful in quelling the Punjab insurgency that increased in intensity following the Golden Temple attack, many questions remain unanswered: what gave Bhindranwale's message such resonance? Is a martial position intrinsic to what it means to be a Sikh? What is the lineage of this position, and how do Sikhs justify the use of armed force?

Scripture provides important strands of thought, so the *Adi Granth*, the most hallowed scripture of the Sikhs, and the *Dasam Granth*, the controversial scripture of the last human gurū, need to be reviewed. Possible interpretations of these sacred texts are offered, though it is not our intent to assert that these are the only 'correct' or 'proper' ones; some scholars and practitioners might prefer more literal or militant interpretations. The second section of this essay examines historical events that have impacted the Sikh community and its approach towards the acceptable use of force. Included here is a discussion of Mughal rule, the *Khālsā*, martyrdom, Sikh reform, and Jatt culture. This survey offers an overview of Sikh views on armed force within the context of both scripture and history, which are so intertwined in Sikh thought.

### Adi Granth

Sikhism is one of the world religions in which believers focus around a single scripture as the center of religious life. The *Adi Granth*, roughly translated as the 'first holy book', occupies this position for Sikhs. Treated as the eleventh and final gurū (spiritual teacher) in a line including ten human beings, the *Adi Granth* acts as the guiding light for Sikhs in their search for God and liberation from the cycle of death and rebirth. Like the Bible, the *Adi Granth* is a compendium of the works of a variety of different writers. In addition to the writings of six of the ten human gurūs,<sup>2</sup> one can find the teachings of saints from the Hindu and Islamic faiths (*Bhagats*), a variety of poets (*Bhatts*) and several other figures. Tradition maintains that this inclusive feature reflects the message contained within the scripture itself: egalitarianism in the sphere of spirituality and equal access for all to the divine. The linguistic territory of the holy text shares ground with *Khari Boli*, the predecessor of modern Hindi that historically was used in religious poetry (McLeod 1995: 23). Some refer to the language of the *Adi Granth* as *Gurmukhi*, the name of the script used for writing the *Adi Granth*.

The *Adi Granth* was first compiled under the watch of Gurū Arjun, the fifth *gurū*, in 1604. The tenth and final human gurū, Gobind Singh, transferred both the sanctity and the authority of the gurūship to the *Adi Granth* itself in 1708 (Mann 2001a: 3). He added the hymns of the ninth gurū, Tegh Bahādur, his father, to the holy text. This transformation into its final form was marked by a change in religious terminology. The *Adi Granth* became the Gurū Granth Sāhib<sup>3</sup> – the active leader of the Sikh community. Sikhs therefore treat the book as if it is a human *gurū*, prostrating themselves in front of it and avoiding all actions which may be construed as disrespectful when in its presence. It is to be consulted at the beginning of each day and during a wide variety of ceremonies (Cole 2003: 119). Though Sikhs acknowledge that the religious texts of other traditions may point towards God, the Gurū Granth Sāhib is believed to be the clearest and most accurate regarding the divine (Mann 2001b: 13). It is fundamental to Sikh religious life and is considered the ultimate authority for all theological and ethical questions (ibid.: 4). The extent to which it

deals with practical ethics, particularly the use of armed force, is debatable, though many Sikhs refer to it for this purpose.

The *Adi Granth* is focused around God and salvation. While conduct in this world plays a crucial role in whether or not one finds spiritual fulfillment, virtuous conduct relates more to participation in worship, especially by being constantly mindful of the divine, rather than following strict religious laws which regulate behaviour. General ethical/spiritual themes such as the value of kindness and mindfulness take precedence over specific prescriptions on what is and is not 'holy' (though a section of the Sikh community makes scriptural arguments for the necessity of vegetarianism to avoid killing animals). The relationship between humans and the divine has less to do with the physical than with the mental and spiritual realm, as reflected by the central importance of the *nām*, or name. The *nām* takes on a variety of meanings, much like the Greek term *logos*. It can refer to God, God manifest or 'the word' (Cole 2003: 127). Liberation is attained only through meditation on the *nām*, not blind ritual or other mandatory physical actions. Furthermore, there is no place for any form of soteriological restriction due to worldly factors; no one is barred from salvation due to caste, disability, ethnicity, gender or even religious creed. The focus of the sacred text therefore has little to do with strictly delineated regulations that would govern proper use of armed force.

#### *Violence and the Adi Granth*<sup>4</sup>

Given these scriptural characteristics, it is hardly surprising that the *Adi Granth* contains nothing explicit on issues such as the 'just war' and the appropriate use of armed force. As mentioned, it instead deals with general ethical norms. Consider the following:

(4) . . . Countless impose their will *by force*. Countless cut-throats and ruthless killers. Countless sinners who keep on sinning.

(25) This body is softened with the Word of the Gurū's Bani;<sup>5</sup> you shall find *peace*, doing *seva* (selfless service).

(662) The Qazi tells lies and eats filth; the Brahmin *kills* and then takes cleansing baths.<sup>6</sup>

What emerges in these quotes and throughout the scripture is a general condemnation of ego-centrism, excessive violence and hypocrisy. Instead, one is to focus upon God, serve humanity and strive to attain peace. The writings in the *Adi Granth* of Bhagat Kabir (also spelled 'Kabeer'), author of the final quote above, are often explicit in an aversion of violence, and what emerges leaves room for a theology which is strictly pacifist:

(1103) You *kill* living beings, and call it a righteous action. Tell me, brother, what would you call an unrighteous action? You call yourself the most excellent sage; then who would you call a butcher?

(1128) One who contemplates the essence of reality remains awake and aware. He *kills* his self-conceit, and does *not kill* anyone else.

(1375) Kabeer, they oppress living beings and *kill* them, and call it proper. When the Lord calls for their account, what will their condition be? *Kabeer, it is tyranny to use force*; the Lord shall call you to account. When your account is called for, your face and mouth shall be beaten.

Another Bhagat, Fareed writes in a manner reminiscent to the New Testament exhortation to 'turn the other cheek': '(1378) Fareed, do not turn around and strike those who strike you with their fists. Kiss their feet, and return to your own home'.

Despite this criticism of force in the *Adi Granth*, strict and explicit pacifism is the exception, not the rule. Violent imagery is found throughout the text. Though metaphorical interpretations may be more appropriate, this imagery often appears at first glance to endorse violent behaviour:

(146) When it pleases You [God], we wield the sword, and cut off the heads of our enemies. When it pleases You, we go out to foreign lands; hearing news of home, we come back again. When it pleases You, we are attuned to the Name. . .

(341) The warrior who fights on the battle-field should keep up and press on. He should not yield, and he should not retreat. Blessed is the coming of one who conquers the one and renounces the many.

(1105) The battle-drum beats in the sky of the mind; aim is taken, and the wound is inflicted. The spiritual warriors enter the field of battle; now is the time to fight! He alone is known as a spiritual hero, who fights in defense of religion. He may be cut apart, piece by piece, but he never leaves the field of battle.

(1364) Kabeer, kill only that, which, when killed, shall bring peace. Everyone shall call you good, very good, and no one shall think you are bad.

In each of the above quotes, there is room for multiple interpretations. For example, the term 'battle' may refer not to physical conflict, but to the mental, spiritual struggle and egocentrism. This often seems to be implied through context, particularly when coming after references to meditation on the *nām*. The first quote above which speaks of cutting off the heads of enemies may perhaps be interpreted as reflecting the high level of devotion felt by the devotee towards God as opposed to implying that God would endorse violent action. The final two quotes referenced were from Kabir. If one accepts his position as being strictly pacifistic, then it follows that Kabir is not endorsing any form of violence against living beings. Peaceful interpretation is reinforced by the following:

(87). . . The Gurmukh<sup>7</sup> has conquered his own mind, by applying the Touchstone of the Shabad [scripture]. He *fights with his mind*, he settles with his mind, and he is at peace with his mind.

(579–80) Death would not be called bad, O people, if one knew how to truly die. *Serve your Almighty Lord and Master, and your path in the world hereafter will be easy* . . . The death of brave heroes is blessed, if it is approved by God. They alone are proclaimed as brave warriors in the world hereafter, who receive true honor in the Court of the Lord.

(1237) He [the Lord] is not won over by music, songs or the Vedas. . .<sup>8</sup> *He is not won over by fighting and dying as a warrior in battle*. He is not won over by becoming the dust of the masses. The account is written of the loves of the mind. O Nanak, the Lord is won over only by His Name.

Of primary importance in these quotes is spiritual struggle, not outward fighting and conflict. Scholar Louis Fenech points out that the hymn in the second quote above was sung on occasions of mourning, the message being that 'a person's passing should not be mourned, especially if that person piously meditated on the divine name' (Fenech 1997: 631).

As a dynamic and complex text, the *Adi Granth* leaves room for a variety of interpretations. This has the effect of supporting the Sikh position that the written Gurū can function as the sole resource for those seeking guidance on moral and spiritual matters. Still, the major thrust of the text is one of spiritual, not physical force. There are few, if any, passages that directly discuss war or armed force. By contrast, the *Dasam Granth* makes many more explicit references.

### Dasam Granth

The *Dasam Granth*, named in full the *Dasve Pātsāh dā Granth* (book of the tenth emperor), is a collection of writings traditionally attributed to the tenth Sikh gurū, Gurū Gobind Singh. In the words of scholar W. H. McLeod, 'the *Dasam Granth* as a whole is seldom invoked and little understood' in the Sikh tradition (McLeod 1989: 90). In part, this may be due to language: even though the *Dasam Granth* was mostly written in the Gurmukhi script, only a small amount of material was written in language similar to that used in the *Adi Granth*. The rest is mostly in Braj, the language used in many medieval North Indian writings on the Hindu deity *Kṛṣṇa* or Krishna (McLeod 1995: 68). Tradition states that the tenth Gurū chose to compose many of the works contained within so as to inspire Sikhs to take up arms in defence of their religion and of righteousness.<sup>9</sup> As a result, violent imagery is extremely commonplace, especially with respect to the sword and other weapons. Also present is a variety of mythological tales from the Hindu *purāṇas*,<sup>10</sup> each of which stresses the destructive aspect of God when dealing with those who defy truth and righteousness.

By the time the *Dasam Granth* was completed in the eighteenth century,<sup>11</sup> the Sikh community had already undergone significant change, beginning with the martyrdom of the fifth *gurū*, Gurū Arjun, in 1606. According to tradition, this act of violence by the ruling Mughals forced the next *gurū*, Gurū Hargobind, to reinforce and expand the role of the *Gurū* as leader of the community. He chose to symbolize this by wearing two swords, one symbolizing his spiritual authority, *pīrī*, and the other his temporal authority, *mīrī* (McLeod 1989: 4). He also built the *Akāl Takht* at Amritsar (currently part of the Golden Temple complex) as a center of military planning and poetic recitation of heroic deeds, as described by Kushwant Singh (1999: 63) in his important work, *A History of the Sikhs*.

Gurū Gobind Singh built upon Hargobind's example and made it his goal to ensure that the Sikh community would be able to defend itself. In 1699 he created the *Khālsā*, a sacred order of Sikhs who promise to abide by rules of conduct and defend religion and righteousness whenever necessary. This action explicitly formalized the changes which had occurred in the community. For the *Khālsā* Sikh, being a follower of the *Gurū* extends beyond personal worship into the realm of righteous action on the physical plane of existence. These Sikhs have a role to play in vanquishing those who challenge truth and righteousness, a role endorsed by God himself (see below). The *Dasam Granth* certainly bolsters this approach.

As mentioned, the *Dasam Granth* is a collection of various writings of different genres, many with direct relevance to the proper use of force. The *Jāp Sāhib*, the first text, describes God as the punisher of wrongdoers and upholder of righteousness. The next text, the *Akāl Ustat*, highlights the image of a Goddess of destruction, as does the *Gyān Prabodh*, which also provides a discussion of proper conduct in politics. The battles of the Hindu Goddess *Caṇḍī* are featured in the *Caṇḍī Caritr*, *Caṇḍī Caritr II* and *Caṇḍī dī vār*. Other Hindu deities, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmā* and *Siva*, also have their own sections: *Caubīs Avatār*, *Brahmā*

*Avatār* and *Rudra Avatār*, respectively. Scholar J.S. Grewal argues that these sections on the Hindu Gods and Goddesses serve the purpose of highlighting how force can be used righteously if it is on divine behalf (Grewal 1990: 76).

Another part of the *Dasam Granth*, the *Savaiye* describes both God and the *Khālsā*, and is followed by the *Khālse dī Mehimā*, in which Gurū Gobind Singh praises the *Khālsā* and speaks of it as being at the root of his success. Particularly militant imagery is found in the *Sastar Nām Mālā* where the focus is on God as protector of his followers. The majority of the work is a listing of various weapons, many of which are identified with God. The *Kabayo Bāc Bentī Caupai* deals with God's role in the protection of devotees and is recited by the majority of Sikhs who perform evening prayers. The last section that needs to be highlighted is the *Zafarnāma*, a letter written in Persian to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb by Gurū Gobind Singh. He criticizes the leader for his army's ill conduct and directly endorses the use of violence as a last resort.

The *Caritropakhyāṇ* and the *Hikāyats*, quoted below, have a strong bearing on the current debate about the legitimacy of the *Dasam Granth*, though the two texts are rarely consulted by Sikhs. They may not have religious significance for most believers, but current events have brought them into the consciousness of a section of the Sikh community.

The present article will not take a stance on the historical and scriptural legitimacy of the *Dasam Granth* in the Sikh faith, a frequently-debated issue in the twenty-first century. Regardless, the reader should keep in mind that opinions amongst Sikhs range from complete acceptance to total rejection. While supporters of the text consider it fundamental to Sikh religion and identity, those opposed consider it further proof of the blurred borders between the Sikh and Hindu religions in the eighteenth century, as discussed below. What needs to be explored here is the role it has played in the Sikh community and how it has affected Sikh attitudes regarding war and violence.

It would be faulty to claim that the verses of the *Dasam Granth* have been the primary contributors in developing said attitudes towards armed force. Instead, the work embodies the spirit and goals traditionally attributed to Gurū Gobind Singh, which culminated with the creation of the *Khālsā*. The existence of the *Khālsā* and the image of the *sant sipahi* (saint-soldier), which built up around the tenth *gurū* (McLeod 1989: 55), have been the driving force in the Sikh concept of the *dharamyuddh*, or war of *dharam* (righteousness). Both theologically and in practice, at least amongst the majority of Sikhs, the work as a whole does not equal to the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the literal head of the community (ibid.: 176). That is not to say that the *Dasam Granth* is of no importance — portions are recited during prayer on a daily basis and it does reflect Sikh attitudes towards the use of armed force. Furthermore, its verses have long inspired those looking to scripture for support in times of conflict, including Bhindranwale during his fight for a Sikh homeland.

### *Violence in the Dasam Granth*<sup>12</sup>

Violent imagery pervades the whole of the *Dasam Granth* (2010), reflective of the trying circumstances in which its components were written. In describing God, various qualities and opposing actions are used, including violent ones:

(5, L2 – *Jāp Sāhib*) Salutation to Thee O All-loving Lord! Salutation to Thee O All-destroying Lord!

(36, L12 – *Akāl Ustat*) Somewhere Thou givest inexhaustible gifts to emperors and somewhere Thou deprivest the emperors of their kingdoms.

These extracts and others speak to the theological conception of a deity who is omnipotent and, to an extent, beyond the complete understanding of devotees. The deity is not beyond being partial and impartial to specific groups of human beings, however:

(21, L3 – *Jāp Sāhib*) That Thou Protectest the devotees. That Thou punishest the evil-doers.

(24, L7 – *Jāp Sāhib*) Salutation to Thee O Destroyer of Tyrants Lord! Salutation to Thee O Companion of all Lord!

(339, L9–10 – *Gyān Prabodh*) He is the remover of darkness, the masher of the Pathans of Khorasan, perisher of the egoists and idlers, He is described as the destroyer of people full of vices.

Whom should we worship except the Lord who is the Vanquisher of the Conquerors, giver of the Glory of conquest and who shoots the miraculous arrows from His bow.

(345, L10 – *Gyān Prabodh*) The clique of tyrants is suppressed; such is the glamour of Thy metropolis (world).

God clearly is perceived to be a deity fundamentally concerned with justice. The penultimate extract listed above demonstrates God's political connection to his devotees, as the Pathans (Pashtuns) invaded Punjab in the eighteenth century and came up against strong Sikh resistance.

The extent to which militant qualities are described in the *Dasam Granth* is much greater than in the *Adi Granth*. The poetry of the *Dasam Granth* draws immediate connections between God and weapons, even characterizing the divine with them. Even when not explicitly mentioned, a connection is drawn between divine strength and the power of arms:

(94, L11 – *Bacitra Nāṭak*) I salute the Glorious SWORD with all my heart's affection.

(102, L2 – *Bacitra Nāṭak*) He, who wields the sword in his hand, he is the remover of millions of sins. (L9) The sword appears impressive in his hand, seeing which the sins run away.

(1356, L6–8 – *Shastar Nām Mālā*) O Lord! Protect us by creating Saang, Sarohi, Saif (sword), As, Teer (arrow), tupak (gun), Talwaar (sword), and other weapons and armours causing the destruction of the enemies.

O Lord! Create As, Kirpan (sword), Dharaddhari, Sail, Soof, Jamaadh, Tegh (saber), Teer (saber), Teer (arrow), Talwaar (sword), causing the destruction of armours and enemies.

As, Kripan (sword), Khanda, Khadag (sword), Tupak (gun), Tabar (hatched), Teer (arrow), Saif (sword), Sarohi and Saihathi, all these are our adorable seniors.

Apart from establishing a link between God and weapons, the bulk of the material in the *Dasam Granth* recounts various tales from Hindu mythology, connecting God to well-established myths already present in the cultural framework of India at the time of composition. Included are the ferocious Goddess figures, a variety of *avatāras* (earthly manifestations of the divine) and Yudhiṣṭhira of the Mahābhārata epic:

(14, L5 – *Caritropakhyān*) With you the dread of war increases. The great rulers pray to you and, with the swords and arrows, Annihilate the armies.

Guising as Narsing, the Sphinx, you smashed Harnakash.

195, L6 (*Caṇḍī Caritr*) The mighty goddess manifested herself and in great rage, she engrossed her mind in thoughts of war.

(379, L7–8 – *Gyān Prabodh*) On the other side Yudhishtar was bound by Kshatriya discipline,  
And was performing wonderful and holy Karmas.<sup>13</sup>

441, L1 (*Caubīs Avatār*) All the warriors appeared absorbed in warfare in the battlefield, and Vishnu caused the death and fall of the enemy.

The text's connection between God and militant figures reinforces a powerful societal norm and demonstrates the militant concerns behind the text's composition. The text has much to say about the violent actions of human beings:

(19–20, L47 – *Caritropakhyān*) . . . In the Kal-age<sup>14</sup> one can only depend on the sword, the faculty and self determination.

(125, L6 – *Bacitra Nāṭak*) All the fighters engaged in war against their enemies, ultimately fell as martyrs.

(273, L12–13 – *Caṇḍī Caritr*) With the use of weapons and arms, the winsome armours were being cut;  
And the warriors performed their religious duties in a nice manner.

(18–19, L45–50 – *Hikāyats*) He treads upon the enemy eliminating him in the dust. He remains alert throughout the battle, And uses hands and feet to throw arrows and shoots guns.

To do the justice, he always girds up his [loins], And remains meek in the company of the meek. Neither he depicts any hesitation during the war, Nor he gets scared while facing gigantic enemies.

If there has been such a dauntless person, Who remains prepared for war remaining domesticated,

And his operations are approved by people, He is revered as the saviour king.

The above quotes demonstrate the perception that at least some military action has divine sanction. Not only is martyrdom a glorified reality (as in the second quote above), but fighting in battle is described as a religious duty. The sword is listed alongside 'the faculty' (probably intellectual ability) and self-determination. This implies that force is permissible, but by no means as a first resort. Since God is just, humans are expected to uphold a sense of justice too; the extract from the *Hikāyats* (last of the quote above) describes an ideal king who subscribes to a moral code but is always ready to go to battle, so long as his subjects consent to the operation's legitimacy. Further elaboration can be found in the sections of the *Dasam Granth* written in the first person from the perspective of Gurū Gobind Singh:

(138, L10–14 – *Bacitra Nāṭak*) The Lord asked me to spread Dharma, and vanquish the tyrants and evil-minded persons.

I have taken birth of this purpose, the saints should comprehend this in their minds.

(I have been born) to spread Dharma, and protect saints, and root out tyrants and evil-minded persons.

All the earlier incarnations caused only their names to be remembered.  
They did not strike the tyrants and did not make them follow the path of Dharma.

(148, L3 – *Bacitra Nāṭak*) He aimed and shot the second arrow towards me, the Lord protected me, his arrow only grazed my ear. (L14) I gained victory through the favour of the Eternal Lord.

(1355, L8–9 – *Khālse dī Mehimā*) By the kindness of these Sikhs, I have conquered the wars and also by their kindness, I have bestowed charities; by their kindness the clusters on sins have been destroyed and by their kindness my house is full of wealth and materials;

(1467, L14 – *Kabayo Bāc Bentī Caupai*) O Lord! keep me now under Thy protection; protect my disciples and destroy my enemies;

(1471, L8 – *Zafarnāma*) When all other methods fail, it is proper to hold the sword in hand.

(1477, L6 – *Zafarnāma*) When one man is attacked by lakh,<sup>15</sup> the Generous Lord gives him protection.

Two important dimensions arise from these extracts. Firstly, Gurū Gobind Singh highlights his own unique role as the Gurū who has come to inspire change in the Sikh *panth* (community). He has come to combat injustice and spread *dharmā* ('dharam' in Punjabi), roughly defined as righteous or proper conduct. The gurū states that he has the favour of God and is under God's protection. He appeals to God so that his followers may succeed and his enemies may perish. Secondly, he makes explicit statements about the use of force. The second-last quote, often cited, asserts that force should be a last resort. He decries dishonourable tactics on the battlefield, God himself finding such actions repugnant. The author has forged space not only for the unique position of Gurū Gobind Singh, but for distinct regulations imbued with human and divine backing.

The *Dasam Granth* is therefore quite distinct in its message when compared with the *Adi Granth*. It is worldlier in its coverage, dealing with subjects such as political relationships between human beings and the use of physical weapons. It reflects developments which have continued throughout Sikh history.

## History and Community

Contemporary Sikh notions of armed force and violence have also been strongly shaped by historical developments. Various schools of thought have come, clashed and gone over time. About four centuries after Gurū Nanak (1469–1539) began to preach, the *Singh Sabha* movement achieved an ideological victory over *Sanātan* Sikhs. This early twentieth century development had a significant impact in fostering 'Sikhism' as a static, codified and defined system of beliefs. The status of being an *amritdhari* (initiated) *Khālsa* Sikh became the standard life goal. Martyrdom was widely idealized<sup>16</sup> alongside martial concepts such as the *dharmayuddh*, and Sikh history came to be viewed from a new emboldened perspective. 'Hindu' influences and practices were identified and purged as much as possible.

Interpretation of the *Adi Granth* has, for many, settled on literal readings of the passages containing violent imagery. This is a direct consequence of the modern views of martyrs and the *sant sipāhī* (saint soldier) ideal. The large majority see a clear place for

righteous violence within religious boundaries even if it is not explicitly endorsed in the principal scripture. Historical examples and precedents set by figures using armed force have had a clear impact on the approach many take to their scripture.

### *Background*

In the two centuries between Gurū Gobind Singh's death in 1708 and the success of the reform movement in the early twentieth century, Sikhism lacked a single group which dominated ideologically or defined a prevailing Orthodoxy. According to scholar Harjot Oberoi, the borders of Sikhism became especially blurred during the early nineteenth century, coinciding with the creation of the multiethnic and pluralistic Punjabi state of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839). Political pragmatism meant that *Khālsā* and non-*Khālsā* Sikhs aligned with one another rather than debated theological differences (Oberoi 1994: 81). At the folk level, Punjabis continued to pay reverence to a variety of Hindu and Muslim saints. Nature spirits and various ghosts also played a prominent role in popular religion (ibid.: 201), as did caste-based discrimination (ibid.: 106–7). Many modern Sikhs look back at this period of history as a time of religious degradation and doctrinal laxity.

As an educated Sikh middle class began to grow in Punjab at the time of the British colonial administration, Sikhs began to reflect increasingly on their religion's development. Many were not happy with the course Sikhism had taken since the death of Gurū Gobind Singh. The 'Singh Sabhas' were local organizations comprised of educated Sikhs who worked towards the study of Sikhism and the advancement of Sikh interests. Two of the most notable include the Amritsar and the Lahore Singh Sabhas – the former adhering to the nineteenth century Sikh worldview (*Sanātan Sikhism*, or 'eternal Sikhism'), and the latter engaged in the developing unrest against Hindu, Muslim and popular religious influences. The latter called themselves the *Tat* (true) *Khālsā*.

The ideological tug-of-war between the *Sanātan* Sikhs and the *Tat Khālsā* gradually moved towards the side of the latter. That group was successful for a variety of reasons, notably the re-evaluation and promotion of Sikh history (Fenech 2000: 14). Strong rhetoric emerged surrounding the *Khālsā* and the history of Sikh martyrdom. Those who had died to uphold the Sikh faith were posited as being true, ideal Sikhs who put their lives on the line to uphold religious integrity (ibid.: 1). The martyrdom rhetoric was used to inspire Sikhs to reject 'Hindu' influences which had crept into Sikhism and to emulate the fervour of the warrior Sikhs of the past. The early decades of the twentieth century saw the dominance of the *Tat Khālsā* ideology as other forms of Sikhism fell out of the new sphere of orthodoxy.

Popular Sikh opinion on violence correspondingly underwent a clear shift. With the promotion of the *Khālsā* and the martyr figures as ideals, violence to defend against tyranny (particularly that of the Mughals) was thoroughly endorsed. This viewpoint extends beyond persecution of the Sikhs to humanity on the whole – Sikhs are to be the guardians of righteousness and goodness in this world, though they are to use military force only when absolutely necessary. The traditional account attributing the ninth Gurū Tegh Bahadur's death to his support for Hindu freedom served as the ideal example of the Sikh's role as protector of all humans, not just other Sikhs (Pashaura Singh 2004: 88). One theological concept illustrating this point is that of *Degh* and *Tegh*, the fusion of spiritual living and ethically-informed physical prowess. Scholar Harbans Singh offers an analysis of *tegh* as a symbol of justice and freedom (Singh 1986: 108). Meaning sword, weapon, ray or beam in Persian (ibid., 107), *tegh* represents Gurū Gobind Singh's defiance of the Mughals

in support of justice for all (ibid.: 112). Singh also identifies the sword with true knowledge, it being the means by which one can destroy ignorance (ibid.: 114). The necessity of its fusion with *degh* is of prime importance, also reflected by the aforementioned *sant sipāhī* concept.

*Tat Khālsā* Sikhs were not ‘inventing’ a new tradition *per se*. As devoted members of the Sikh tradition, they were simply laying stress on those dimensions of the large tapestry making up the Sikh identity at the time which they considered to be of crucial and prime importance. As shown, Sikh militancy was not a nineteenth century phenomenon – the Khālsā had been an organization involved in armed resistance against the Mughals and Afghans in the 18th century, and these strains in the Sikh community can be traced back to Gurū Hargobind (1595–1644). The British also recognized the martial qualities of the Khālsā identity in initial encounters with the Sikhs, and extensively recruited them into the military whilst promoting Khālsā initiation (Takhar 2005: 15).

Historical examples of Sikh militant concerns can be found in *rahitnāmā* literature written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These are rough manuals of conduct which often reiterate the violent themes of the *Dasam Granth* and wider Khālsā narrative. *Rahitnāmās* are not considered ‘scripture’, nor do they treat violence and armed force in a way any more systematic than in the *Zafarnāma* of the *Dasam Granth*. This is in stark contrast to their detailed instructions on religious ceremonies, proper preparation of meat and many other topics. The most prominent modern successor of the *rahitnāmās* is the ‘Sikh Reht Maryada’,<sup>17</sup> which details proper modes of worship and how to perform ceremonial functions. No mention is made of the ethics surrounding the use of armed force, and killing is only explicitly mentioned in the condemnation of female infanticide. Thus, the *rahitnāmā* genre of literature omits a detailed discussion of armed force. And its passages hold far less theological importance than the *Adi Granth* and *Dasam Granth*, though it does provide insight into the historical development of the Sikh community.

One prominent scholar of Sikhism suggests that that militancy within the Sikh community was initially connected with Jatt culture, the Jatts always having been an independent and rural ethnic group (McLeod 1976: 12). Though the Jatts make up the majority of the *panth* (community of believers) today, this was not the case in early Sikh history. Jatt cultural traits continue to exert a great deal of influence on the minds of many in Punjab, regardless of religious affiliation. *Izzat*, a shared cultural sense of honour, interacts intensively with religious sentiments. When one Sikh sect leader committed acts deemed religiously offensive, members of the wider community protested vigorously. Lionel Baixas and Charlène Simon attribute this response to *izzat*:

This notion of *izzat*. . . not only implies a number of concerns such as power, reciprocity, protection of one’s social status but also a constant judgment from the other members of the Sikh community. Thus, when Sikh individuals were called by members of their relational networks to join the demonstration in order to defend the Sikh sense of honour, they had no other choice but to get involved, in order to preserve their own social status. In this case, the *izzat* worked all the more as a driving force for the protesters as it was not only a matter of preserving the honour of one’s family but also to restore the honour of the entire Sikh community. (Baixas & Simon 2008: §14)

Balbinder Singh Bhogal challenges the assumptions underlying the above reading of Sikh history, namely the implication that the Sikh community was transformed from a largely pacifistic group at the time of Nanak into a martial one later on. He argues that both

the Gurū Granth Sāhib (*Adi Granth*) and the *Dasam Granth* allow for militant and religious interpretations, the dichotomy between 'love' and violence having roots in Western-biased readings of the Sikh tradition (Bhogal 2007: 107–35).

Whatever the source of militant attitudes within the community, the justified use of force (*dharamyuddh*) emerged as a cornerstone of Sikh identity. This impact extended into the realm of scriptural interpretation. For example, with the increased popularity of the *Khālsā* and Gurū Gobind Singh's martial image, the *Dasam Granth* came under renewed scrutiny. On the one hand, it was said to be the work of the tenth Gurū himself, a man who had taken on a new and powerful role for Sikhs everywhere. Conversely, parts of the works contained within it are clearly laced with rewritings from mythological Hindu literature (Oberoi 1994: 96–7), causing clear friction with those reformists discussed above who reject such influences. The issue is complicated by the fact that some passages of the *Dasam Granth* are recited in daily prayers whilst others have been used historically to rouse the fighting spirit before battle. These factors combined led to the emergence of a plethora of viewpoints regarding which sections of the text can be understood as legitimate. Some accept the *Dasam Granth* in its entirety; some accept only the portions not drawn from Hindu mythological literature; others reject the book altogether. The controversy over the authenticity of the work continues into the modern day. The *Akāl Takht* (the political center of the Sikh community) itself has repeatedly ordered an end to the debate for the good of the community (Mann 2010).

### Militant Interpretation of the Adi Granth

Not only was the *Dasam Granth* re-evaluated but passages from the *Adi Granth* (Gurū Granth Sāhib) were interpreted as applying to outer battle and martyrdom. Consider the following:

(1412) If you desire to play this game of love with Me,  
then step onto My Path with your head in hand.  
When you place your feet on this Path,  
give Me your head, and do not pay any attention to public opinion.

This passage quote is central to those Sikhs who believe it refers to martyrdom (Kirpal Singh 2004: 16). Stepping onto the path with 'head in hand' is taken to signify the necessity for a willingness to go to the extreme of death for religion, if necessary.

(1105) The battle-drum beats in the sky of the mind; aim is taken, and the wound is inflicted.  
The spiritual warriors enter the field of battle; now is the time to fight!  
He alone is known as a spiritual hero, who fights in defense of religion.  
He may be cut apart, piece by piece, but he never leaves the field of battle.

This passage, also discussed above, is commonly used in relation to martyrdom. Though the passage begins with a reference to the mind, the battlefield and the fight are frequently interpreted as physical (Kirpal Singh 2004: 18).

(338) O people, O victims of this Maya, abandon your doubts and dance out in the open.  
What sort of a hero is one who is afraid to face the battle? . . .  
Now that you have taken up the challenge of death, let yourself burn and die, and attain perfection. . .

The possible metaphor for spiritual or mental struggle is used in discussions of martyrdom in 'taking up the challenge of death'.

(579) Death would not be called bad, O people, if one knew how to truly die. The death of brave heroes is blessed, if it is approved by God. They alone are proclaimed as brave warriors in the world hereafter, who receive true honor in the Court of the Lord.

Though Louis Fenech's previously-discussed analysis of the quote above demonstrates that it is to be interpreted as a hymn of mourning, to many it is a blatant endorsement of martyrdom.

### **Martyrdom and Hardship**

The historical martyrs feature prominently in modern Sikhism, acting as inspirational figures and reminders of the armed struggles faced by Sikhs throughout history. Amongst these martyrs are several of the ten Gurūs and their family members, as well as famous heroes from the battlefield. Ordinary Sikhs who are victims of persecution are also included. Those who died for their faith and the hardships which they had endured are acknowledged in the *Ardās*, a Sikh prayer recited at regular intervals. The recognition of martyrdom is not without a political dimension; sections of the community consider as martyrs Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and those associated with the Punjab insurgency in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

The first Sikh martyr is also one of the most important. Gurū Arjan, the fifth Gurū, was brutally killed by the Mughal government for refusing to renounce his religion. Remembrance of his sacrifice is therefore especially important to those who are facing religious persecution or under pressure to renounce aspects of their faith (including, for example, to adopt modern standards of beauty and the pressure to trim body hair). A key feature of martyr examples, like Gurū Arjan, is explicit mention of the painful ways in which they died. Gurū Arjan is said to have been forced to sit on a burning hot plate before hot sand and water were poured over his body. He then died due to the blisters on his body when entering a river to bathe. The ninth Gurū, Tegh Bahadur, also features as an important martyr, as he was publically beheaded for standing up for the religious rights of Kashmiri Hindus. His sacrifice features in Sikh discussions of the religion's open nature and its defence of egalitarianism. His son, Gurū Gobind Singh, is also considered a martyr, assassinated on the order of a regional Mughal leader. His four sons were martyred even before his death; the eldest two were killed in battle against the Mughals whilst the youngest were captured, bricked alive to the shoulders and beheaded for refusing to convert to Islam. Three of the 10 Sikh Gurūs therefore feature as martyrs, as well as four members of the tenth Gurū's family. The profound respect held by Sikhs for their religious leaders ensures that the stories of their martyrdom are particularly resonant, demonstrating the virtue of holding to one's religious convictions and protecting the rights of others who wish to do the same.

Perhaps the most potent example in Sikh history of the importance of life-risking devotion to one's personal faith can be found in the traditional story of the founding of the Khālsā. Gathered at Anandpur Sahib in 1699, Gurū Gobind Singh asked his crowd of followers which of them would be willing to die for their faith. Disappearing into his tent with a man who volunteered, he re-emerged with a blood-soaked sword and asked for a second volunteer. This continued until five men had disappeared into his tent, the

implication to his crowd of followers being that each had died. Finally, they all exited the tent perfectly alive and Gurū Gobind Singh announced the founding of the Khālsā. The men were baptised and said to have adopted the 'Five K's', marks of membership which begin with K in the Punjabi. These are unshorn hair, a small comb, a loose pair of shorts worn under the trousers, a steel bracelet, and a sword (kirpān). The meaning of these symbols is open to interpretation and flexible, though many agree that the kirpān is symbolic of the Sikh's constant vigilance against tyranny and willingness to stand up for the innocent. Many baptized Sikh men consider it their duty to carry the kirpān and the other articles of faith at all times. Sikhs today who are baptised into the Khālsā are done so by the 'Panj Piare', or five beloveds, mimicking those who stood up for their beliefs in 1699.

Warrior-heroes who died fighting tyranny are also treated with reverence by many Sikhs. Banda Singh Bahadur was a military commander who played an important role in leading anti-Mughal resistance, beginning after he met with Gurū Gobind Singh shortly before the Gurū's death. In 1710 he successfully sacked Sirhind, the capital of the Mughals in Punjab, and briefly set up state mechanisms. Captured during further combat with the empire, he was put to death by means of torture, his body parts removed one after the other and his body being cut up into pieces. Another revered hero is Baba Dip Singh, who led a raid against Afghans who had earlier invaded Punjab and destroyed the Golden Temple. Whilst fighting, it is said that Baba Deep Singh was decapitated, picked up his head and continued to fight before collapsing upon reaching the temple. These two figures, amongst many others, inspire Sikhs to maintain the courage and commitment which is demanded of members of the Khālsā.

In addition to the persecution suffered by their Gurūs and warrior ancestors, Sikhs are keenly aware of the hardships endured by the community as a whole throughout history. The 18th century was particularly difficult for the Sikhs as they dealt with both the Mughals and the Afghans. A particularly ruthless governor in the Punjab, Mir Mannu, who served under both, is described as having made a particular effort to target the Sikhs. Men, women and children were all massacred and forced to retreat into the countryside to escape persecution (Bhagat Lakshman Singh 1989: 152–8). Many women were made prisoners and forced workers. In addition to this, tradition maintains that babies were killed, mutilated and made into garlands which were forced around their mothers' necks. Though this period was particularly brutal, there is more immediate emotional investment in the events surrounding the contemporary life and death of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and the Punjab insurgency which ran into the 1990s.

To summarize, Bhindranwale was a preacher who built up a large following in Punjab from the 1970s into the early 1980s by preaching a simple, orthodox version of Sikhism with the brave Khālsā warrior as the ideal. Many Punjabis had grievances with the central Indian government for failing to follow through with promises made to Sikhs and the state, some promises extending back to before the formation of India in 1947. Bhindranwale's movement adopted both religious and political dimensions due to the communal nature of Indian politics. As his followers armed themselves, they took up residence in the Golden Temple complex of Amritsar, also the location of the Akāl Takht. Fearing a complete revolt against the government and the declaration of an independent 'Khalistan', Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the army into the complex to root out the militants and Bhindranwale himself. This military action was codenamed Operation Bluestar.

The attack began on the night of 5 June 1984, soon after the commemoration of Gurū Arjan's martyrdom. For this reason, many visiting pilgrims were killed in the battle between Bhindranwale's followers and the military. By morning, Bhindranwale had been killed, the Akāl Takht critically damaged and hundreds had died,<sup>18</sup> including civilians, militants and members of the military. The outcry by Sikhs around the world was immediate; their most holy shrine had been defiled and partially destroyed and the community felt as if it were under personal attack by the Indian government. Matters were made worse when Indira Gandhi was assassinated on 31 October 1984 by two Sikh bodyguards, followed by rioting and the killing of innocent Sikhs, most notably in Delhi.

The combined shock of these events heavily impacted the Sikhs, made powerfully aware for the first time in recent history that their status as a minority community makes them highly vulnerable. The movement for an independent Khalistan was heavily reinforced by the Indian government's violent actions. Though ideological support came from some members of the world diaspora, violent resistance against the state took place almost exclusively in Punjab itself (the Air India bombing of 1985 being an exception). To combat this insurgency, the government heavily backed the Punjab police force, headed by K. P. S. Gill. Numerous human rights abuses by the police have been documented during this period, including torture, rape and 'false encounters' in which the police executed prisoners after falsely reporting an engagement in armed combat.<sup>19</sup> The severity of this crackdown and growing resentment by Punjabi villagers against violent militants meant that the movement lost its mass appeal by the mid-1990s. The Indian government also engaged in a series of measures aimed at reconciliation. The situation in the twenty-first century is one of mere ideological support of separatism by certain members of the diaspora,<sup>20</sup> but negligible support within India itself. Sikh participation in active militant groups working towards the goal of independence is almost non-existent.

Those who continue to support the movement for Khalistan are vocal in their identification of key members of the movement as martyrs. Bhindranwale himself continues to enjoy a high level of appeal, even amongst some who are not supporters of Khalistan. The assassins of Indira Gandhi are also popular within some circles, many viewing their actions as being justified by the Prime Minister's decision to attack Sikhism's most sacred shrine on a holy day with many civilians present. The 'rhetoric of martyrdom', to quote Louis Fenech, is almost inseparable at times from Sikh politics in its modern context. It has the effect of extending a passionate level of religious legitimacy to those involved in a modern political struggle, such as the Khalistan movement of Bhindranwale and others.

## Conclusion

Sikh stances on war and violence are heavily reverential towards martyrs. The community's self-perception relies on the ideal of Sikhs as self-sacrificing defenders as well as caregivers in the world, two of the concepts around which any theory of Sikh military ethics would revolve. Scriptural interpretation has also come under the influence of martial factors, as demonstrated by the recitation of certain passages in violent contexts. However, support of Bhindranwale's militant actions and the Khalistan movement is by no means universal within the Sikh community, both today and even during the period in which the above events were unfolding. Those who do support these figures legitimize the violent action in

part through use of scripture, but primarily through association with historical martyrs and the rhetoric surrounding the duties of members of the Khālsā. The historical dimension of this justification is crucial, demonstrating that an analysis of scripture is inadequate in explaining Sikh views on violence, as scriptural interpretation has long been coloured by external factors. Historical precedence, especially regarding martyrdom, has had a profound influence on Sikh views of the utility of armed force.

Despite the modern importance of armed force to the Sikhs, with its foundation in both scripture and history, there has been no codified approach to its proper application as *dharmayuddh*, i.e., ethical or righteous war. Surprisingly, the code of behaviour published by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC), the authoritative voice from Amritsar, makes no mention of the justified uses of force. Furthermore, no theological works were found that provide an in-depth discussion, as can be found in the just war writings of Christian figures such as Saint Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and others (see compilation in Reichberg, Syse & Begby 2006). The present authors have attempted to compare just war theory with Sikh perspectives in other work (Dorn et al. 2010a, b) but there is a dearth of such scholarship by Sikh studies scholars and by Sikh writers themselves. One exception is Kanwarjit Singh's work (1989) on the political philosophy of the Sikhs. He postulated eleven 'laws of war' by combining historical precedent with the *Zafarnama* and general moral trends made evident in scripture. Unfortunately, his treatment of these ideas is brief; a detailed investigation remains to be conducted and cannot occur until the Sikh community itself begins to elaborate upon those themes. The Sikhs have a rich tradition with much historical precedence, and important sacred texts on which to build a theory for the justified use of armed force and for military ethics more generally.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This project was funded by the Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC)—Toronto under a Technology Investment Fund project on Adversarial Intent. The authors thank Gurinder Singh Mann of Leicester and Louis Fenech of the University of Northern Iowa for their helpful suggestions, as well as two anonymous referees for the journal.

## NOTES

1. The khaṇḍā symbol contains four weapons; the khaṇḍā broadsword, two kirpān curved blades and a chakkar, or sharp disk. Despite its prominence, the exact origins of the symbol remain unknown.
2. The Gurūs whose writings appear in the *Adi Granth* are: Gurūs Nanak, Angad, Amar Das, Ram Das, Arjan and Tegh Bahādur.
3. 'Sāhib' is a term of respect appended to the end of a male name or appearing independently.
4. Translation of the *Adi Granth* is by Sant Singh Khalsa, a version that is widely used in Sikh *gurdwārās* (temples). Scriptural quotes are prefaced by the 'ang' ('limb' for page) number on which they are found. Emphasis is added here using italics.
5. 'Bani' is transcendental scripture, which includes the compositions of the gurūs, Gurdas and Nand Lal Goya.

6. A 'Qazi' is a judge of Islamic law. A 'Brahmin' is a member of the priestly class within the Hindu caste system. One should note that this is not a criticism of Islam and Hinduism, but of the hypocrisy of religious authorities.
7. The Gurmukh is one whose mind is focused on spirituality and the teachings of the Gurū, as opposed to the Manmukh who is self-centered.
8. The Vedas are the oldest works of Hindu literature, considered by many believers to be the foundational texts of the religion.
9. Introduction (no author), *Glory of Sri Dasam Granth Sahib*.
10. The *purāṇas* are Hindu narrative texts which provide stories about deities and discuss a variety of cosmological, theological and mythical topics.
11. Attribution of authorship to Gurū Gobind Singh necessitates that the text was composed prior to his death in 1708. Scholarship which challenges this assertion suggests that the tone and subject matter of the text points towards an extended period of composition throughout the eighteenth century.
12. Three sources are used for material quoted from the *Dasam Granth*. The first two contain the *Caritropakhyaṇ* and the *Hikāyats* respectively, published in two books by J. S. Bindra (2002a, b). The third is an internet database containing the rest of the *Dasam Granth*, its introduction sourced in the bibliography (*Dasam Granth Sahib*, 2010). References used give the page number followed by the line number.
13. Kshatriya is the warrior class in Hindu culture. 'Karmas' is equivalent with actions or deeds.
14. The 'Kal-age' is the present era.
15. The quantity 'lakh' (written as 1,00,000) is commonly used in Indian English.
16. The following is an excellent textual source which contains the writings of modern Sikhs on martyrdom and associated topics: *Martyrdom in Sikhism*, Ed. Kharak Singh (Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies, 2004).
17. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) in Amritsar provides an online version of the SGPC's Sikh Reht Maryada, accessed 7 December 2010, available at <http://sgpc.net/sikhism/sikh-dharma-manual.asp>.
18. Numbers vary amongst different sources, the Indian government claiming that there were 83 military fatalities and 493 civilian fatalities.
19. For more information, see the Amnesty International report 'India: Break the Cycle of Impunity and Torture in Punjab,' available at: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/ASA20/002/2003>.
20. For example: Ontario Khalsa Darbar, the largest temple in the greater Toronto area, has a banner proclaiming 'Khalistan Zindabad', or 'Long Live Khalistan', hung in its main hall.

## REFERENCES

- Baixas, Lionel & Simon, Charlène (2008) From Protesters to Martyrs: How to Become a 'True' Sikh, *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 2, accessed 7 December 2010, available at <http://samaj.revues.org/index1532.html>.
- Bhogal, Balbinder Singh (2007) Text as Sword: Sikh Religious Violence Taken for Wonder, in: J. R. Hinnells & R. King (Eds), *Religion and Violence in South Asia: Theory and Practice*, pp. 107–135 (New York: Routledge).
- Bindra, Pritpal Singh (2002) *Chritro Pakhyaan – Tales of Male-Female Deception From Sri Dasam Granth*. Vol.1 (Amritsar, India: Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh).

- Bindra, Pritpal Singh (2002) *Tales in Persian (Hikayaats) from Dasam Granth* (Toronto, Ontario: Sikh Social and Educational Society).
- Cole, W. Owen (2003) *Teach Yourself Sikhism* (London, UK: Hodder Education).
- Dasam Granth Sahib* (2010 [18<sup>th</sup> century]) (Surinder Singh Kohli, transl.) (Birmingham: The Sikh National Heritage Trust), 2000, accessed 7 December 2010, available at: [http://www.searchgurbani.com/dasam\\_granth/introduction](http://www.searchgurbani.com/dasam_granth/introduction).
- Dorn, A. Walter, Balkaran, Raj, Feldman, Seth & Gucciardi, Stephen (2010a) "The Justifications for War and Peace in World Religions. Part II: Religions of Indic Origin," *Defence Research Reports*, CR 2010-034, Defence Research and Development Canada, 2010, accessed 23 January 2011, available at: <http://www.walterdorn.org/pub>.
- Dorn, A. Walter (2010b) "The Justifications for War and Peace in World Religions. Part III: Comparison of Scriptures from Seven World Religions," *Defence Research Reports*, CR 2010-036, Defence Research and Development Canada, 2010, accessed 23 January 2011, available at: <http://www.walterdorn.org/pub>.
- Fenech, Louis E. (1997) Martyrdom and the Sikh Tradition, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 117(4), pp. 623–42.
- Fenech, Louis E. (2000) *Martyrdom in the Sikh Tradition* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press).
- Granth Adi*, see *Guru Granth Sahib*; see also endnote 4.
- Grewal, J. S. [Jasjit Singh] (1990) *The Sikhs of the Punjab* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press).
- Guru Granth Sahib* (2010 [1604; 1707]) (Sant Singh Khālsā, trans.), Gurbani Files, accessed 7 December 2010, available at: [http://www.searchgurbani.com/dasam\\_granth/introduction](http://www.searchgurbani.com/dasam_granth/introduction), available in one volume text (pdf) at <http://www.gurbanifiles.org/translations/>.
- Mann, Gurinder Singh (2001a) *The Making of Sikh Scripture* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press).
- Mann, Gurinder Singh (2001b) Canon Formation in Sikh Studies, in: C. Shackle, G. Singh & A. S. Mandair (Eds), *Sikh Religion, Culture and Ethnicity*, pp. 10–24 (Richmond, Canada: Curzon Press).
- Mann, Gurinder Singh (2010) 'Dasam Granth Hukumnamas' Sri Dasam Granth (Updated Jan 2010), accessed 7 December 2010, available at: <http://www.sridasamgranth.com/#/dasam-granth-hukumnamas/4529143581>.
- McLeod, W. H. (1976) *The Evolution of the Sikh Community* (London, UK: Oxford University Press).
- McLeod, W. H. (1989) *The Sikhs – History, Religion and Society* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press).
- McLeod, W. H. (1995) *Historical Dictionary of Sikhism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press).
- McLeod, W. H. (1997) *Sikhism* (London, UK: Penguin Books).
- Oberoi, Harjot (1994) *Construction of Religious Boundaries* (Chicago: Chicago University Press).
- Reichberg, Gregory, Syse, Henrik & Begby, Endre (Eds) (2006) *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing).
- Singh, Bhagat L. (1989) *Sikh Martyrs* (Ludhiana: S. Jiwan Singh).
- Singh, Harbans (1986) *Degh Tegh Fateh: Socio-Economic and Religio-Political Fundamentals of Sikhism* (Chandigarh: Alam Publishing House).
- Singh, Kanwarjit (1989) *Political Philosophy of the Sikh Gurus* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors).
- Singh, Kushwant (1999) *A History of the Sikhs –Volume One: 1469-1839* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press).
- Singh, Kanwarjit (2004) Concept of Martyrdom in Sikhism and Martyrdom of Sahibzadas, in: Kanwarjit Singh (Ed), *Martyrdom in Sikhism*, pp. 16–25 (Chandigarh: Institute of Sikh Studies).

- Singh, Pashaura (2004) Sikh Identity in the Light of History, in: P. Singh & N. G. Barrier (Eds), *Sikhism and History*, pp. 77–110 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press).
- Takhar, Opinderjit K. (2005) *Sikh Identity* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Company).

**A. Walter Dorn** is a professor of defence studies at the Royal Military College of Canada and the Canadian Forces College (CFC). He teaches military officers from Canada and other nations, including India and Pakistan, and serves as the Chair of the Department of Security and International Affairs at the CFC. His research specializes in the evolution of international organization, peacekeeping, just war theory and religious perspectives on the use of force. *Correspondence Address:* Canadian Forces College, 215 Yonge Blvd, Toronto, ON, Canada, M5M 3H9. Email: dorn@rmc.ca

**Stephen Gucciardi** is pursuing an honours bachelor's degree in religious studies, South Asian studies and Italian studies at the University of Toronto. He is currently completing a one-year diploma in the Punjabi language at Punjabi University, Patiala, with the assistance of a Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute student excellence award. *Correspondence Address:* Canadian Forces College, 215 Yonge Blvd, Toronto, ON, Canada, M5M 3H9. Email: stephen.gucciardi@utoronto.ca