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HISTORY OF THE SIKH RELIGION

KHAZAN SINGH

ਮਨਿ ਜੀਤੈ ਜਗੁ ਜੀਤੁ ॥

Conquest of Self, is the Conquest of the Universe.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

It may look unprogressive to bring out another reprint of a book which was first published as far back as the later years of the nineteenth century. It is possible that lot of further research might have taken place in this subject during the succeeding years, yet these works maintain their own reference value. The idea behind the present venture is to make available these rare works to most libraries and readers.

The British and other Western scholars rendered great service to this land and their works still have great bearing on the Language, Culture and History of the Punjab. The Languages Department has planned to bring out reprints of the most valuable works, including the present one, for the benefit of most readers, scholars and research workers.

Patiala :
January, 1970.

LAL SINGH,
DIRECTOR,
Languages Department,
Punjab.

PREFACE

The Sikhs are a community who occupy a prominent place among the Indian races and a high rank in the Modern Indian Army on account of their martial instincts, bravery, and loyalty, insomuch so that Sir Lepel Griffin in his "Ranjit Singh" calls them "the sword and shield of our empire in the East." Their religion is so cosmopolitan that it is being claimed by the Hindu, the Muhammadan and the Christian as the outcome of his religion—in fact it is a faith that may well be considered the universal religion—its cardinal doctrines being the Unity of God and the Brotherhood of man. That such a community should possess no literature giving a full, fair, and correct account of the evolution of its life as an Indian race is indeed deplorable. That some works did exist or do exist even now is true, but they are extremely defective and in many ways misleading. Guru Govind Singh, our tenth Guru, wrote a history, but bitter persecution destroyed it during the siege of Anandpur, and what was composed by his disciples and followers afterwards, met a similar fate. In recent times, Sikh writers such as Bhais Santokh Singh, Gian Singh, Giani (to whom I am specially grateful, for the excellent history of the Guru Khalsa which has been my principal guide in writing Part I) and others, have made an effort to supply this want. The importance and fascinating interest of the subject has attracted many non-Sikh writers too, such as Pandit Devi Parashuram, Sayed Muhammad Latif, Messrs Macauliffe, Malcolm, Dr. Trumpp, Sir Lepel Griffin, and General Sir John Gordon. They have all done their best, and laid the Sikhs under obligations for their labours, especially Mr. Macauliffe, who has given to the world such a splendid work on the Sikhs as the result of his life-long study and labours. But with all this, it has still to be said

that a truer, fuller, and more systematic account of the Sikhs, put in a more interesting and readable form, is even yet wanting. To supply this want is a task that may well claim for its accomplishment life-long research, great scholarship, and the love and devotion of a patriot ; but the present writer in putting this work before the public, simply contributes his humble quota towards a great desideratum in his national literature an effort to serve as a stimulus to abler minds to undertake to do the work more thoroughly. The writer has been devoting his leisure hours to this subject for about fourteen years, studying all the literature and collecting and collating all the material available. He has had little time at his disposal. The work is the result of a pure labour of love, and is laid before the indulgent reader with all the shortcomings of which the author is fully conscious. Besides the Introduction, the work consists of two parts, viz., I, Biographical, which deals with the life histories of the ten Sikh Gurus and Banda Bahadur, and the growth of the Sikhs as an Indian nation ; and II, which deals with the religion of the Sikhs in all its evolutionary phases. In the second part hymns from the Granth Sahib or the Scriptures of the Sikhs have been given in Roman character with their translation in English, and in their original script in Appendix B.

In compiling this work I have consulted all available authorities bearing on the subject, among others the books mentioned below.

In this laborious but pleasant task I cannot conclude without mentioning with extreme gratitude the invaluable assistance rendered to me by my friends, and especially by —

- (1) Gyani Sant Singh of Ber Baba Nanak of Sialkot.
- (2) Sardar Sewaram Singh, B.A., LL.B., Vidvan, Pleader, Chief Court, Panjab, Lahore.

- (3) Sardar Chanda Singh, Pleader, Chief Court, Panjab, of Ferozepur.
- (4) Sardar Mahtab Singh, Bar-at-law, Public Prosecutor, of Ferozpur.
- (5) Sardar Ajit Singh, formerly Judge, Chief Court, of Patiala.
- (6) Babu Dogar Singh of Rawalpindi, and other friends.

My special thanks are due to Mr. P. E. Richards, Professor of the Dyal Singh College, Lahore, who has so kindly devoted so much of his valuable time to correcting the proofs.

I have also to apologize to the public for keeping them in suspense for over two years, for the unfortunate delay in completing the work for obvious reasons.

9th April 1914.

Khazan Singh,
Extra Assistant Commissioner.

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35. Aurangzeb by S. L. Poole.
36. Ancient Egypt by George Rawlinson.
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49. The Sikhs by General Sir John Gordon.
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52. The Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh by the Hon'ble W. G. Osborne.
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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

The Universe is in Flux.

It is an admitted fact that the researches of human thought are confined to the power of each individual mind. It will also be admitted that human knowledge is very imperfect and that this imperfection will continue for ever.* Man does not know his own self, his soul and life, and is wandering hither and thither in doubt whether there is a soul or not, and whether that soul is perishable or imperishable. He does not know what machinery is spontaneously working within him, whether he is wide awake or fast asleep. He does not know the constituents of his own body, as if he were sitting in a dark room full of precious gems which he is unable to discern and value. He cannot see and feel thousands of living germs and worms in his stomach and body even though some of them have considerable dimensions. Just as physical light is required to see things in a dark room, so is spiritual light required to see things within us. As physical light is produced by the ignition of physical fire which exists in all material bodies as well as our own self, so is the spiritual light produced by igniting the spiritual fire which pervades our own self and all material and

* Note— The theory of "shooting stars, may be quoted here as an instance well in point. The scientific world has for ages been believing that "shooting stars" are bodies which are fixed in the heaven, but when they get loose they come down to earth emitting a great deal of light. But we, after making observations for about 25 years, have found that this whole theory is wrong, and that these heavenly bodies are nothing but birds which emit light on various occasions like the fire fly, which is but a diminutive representative of theirs on earth. Full particulars of these birds have been published separately and they form a startling object lesson for the scientific world.

immaterial bodies as well as the whole space around us. As skill is required to produce physical fire, in the same way self control is required to produce spiritual fire.

It is beyond question that there are numerous faculties inherent in the human body, and each and every one of them can be developed and perfected by self culture and exercise. Self culture raises a man in the intellectual scale according to the particular faculty cultivated, and its neglect lowers him in that branch. Elevation may be as high as the Divine abode, and degradation may be as low as the infernal regions. As for instance, the cultivated mind proclaimed as early as the primeval ages that there was an untold number of worlds which formed the universe, and there were many accounts of its repeated creations and destructions. However in later ages it was considered as an extravagant and puerile fabrication of the human mind got up simply for the sake of thought and excitement. But the modern scientific and astronomical discoveries are operating to confirm the view that what were considered exaggerations are but inadequate representations of the simple truth.

Everything created is in flux. It is neither stable nor stationary. The globe itself which we inhabit is not stationary. Water, heat, cold and air agencies of production, and at the same time they are very potent agencies of destruction. By their action even the highest mountains moulder and are gradually carried away. The place of the high mountains which we now see, was once occupied by the unfathomable volume of water, which we call the ocean. The stratification of the earth clearly gives us an insight into this mystery. All this is ever going on by a slow, steady and imperceptible process of oceanic rule of accretion and decretion or divulsion. As an example we may refer to the lately formed island, which is thousands of miles in extent, at the mouth of the Ganges. According to the laws of Nature, none of the materials which form the world undergo a fluctuation in their

extent. There is usually some apparent dissolution, which is for a limited period only. The above island has eaten up the ocean, and the ocean in its turn has eaten up the land to make room for the water thrown back by the island. Similar war is ever going on between land and water. There is some apparent diminution in one or the other, but it makes no difference in the sum total.

There is also going on an incessant revolution on the inhabitable earth. The vast uninhabitable jungles which we see to-day, once formed the most thickly-peopled tracts with most magnificently built towers and palaces. By way of example we can refer to the tract lying between the Jhelum and Chenab, from the present town of Jhelum to the place of confluence of these two rivers. About 2,200 years ago, when Alexander the Great visited the Punjab, there were hundreds of well-built cities and towns (to which Alexander himself added many) with a vast number of villages in that tract, where we now hardly find 10 or 15 towns of any size; and these also, as far as we can judge, are of a comparatively recent date. There are only a few thinly populated villages dotted here and there*. Almost all those ancient villages, towns and cities have since disappeared from the surface of the earth; even the records which contained their names, have crumbled to dust, and we have no idea of them, except what we can gather from the debris we come across there.

Where have all these gone? Some were levelled to the ground by Alexander himself some were demolished by the foreign invaders, who followed him, some fell a prey to plagues and famines, some had to be abandoned owing to changes in the course of rivers, and the drying up of certain streams and so on.

This flux is not confined only to the surface of the earth,

*Note— Since writing the above, this jungle has been cleared and irrigated by the Jhelum Canal and now forms one of the most prosperous tracts in India containing a good many well-built towns and thousands of small villages all over it.

but it works under ground as well as in the subterranean channels of water. Sweet wells become saltish, and saltish become sweet, whilst some dry altogether.

Time is working such havoc upon the world that nothing can escape it. It out-wits and over-reaches all sorts of circumspection. A time will come, when whatever we see all vanish away, neglected and forgotten. Generations following will wonder and will only be too glad to find out anything by way of a relic. As an example, we find that about 2,300 years ago when Megasthenes, the Grecian Ambassador visited India, the administration of public affairs was carried on in a very singular manner. There were separate departments to carry out the respective functions of the state. There were officers and sets of officers who respectively superintended the civil and military affairs. Some superintended the rivers, measured the land and inspected the sluices by which water was let out from the main canals into their branches so that every one might have an equal supply of it. Some superintended the construction of roads, and at each *kos* (according to Megasthenes at every 10 stadia) a pillar was set up to show the by-roads and distances. Industrial arts were duly looked after. The entertainment of foreigners, their lodgings, the protection of their persons and property, their safe escort to their country, and the safe return of their property to their relations in case of their death, were duly attended to. The registration of births and deaths was properly carried out. The superintendence of trade and commerce, weights and measures, of commodities sold and manufactured was duly maintained. Theft was of very rare occurrence. Truth and virtue were held in esteem : no special privilege was accorded to the old, unless they possessed superior wisdom. Arrian says, that the inhabitants were good husbandmen and excellent soldiers, and that they lived peaceably, their rulers imposing nothing harsh

or unjust upon them. If we, at this stage of time, attribute all these things to the Hindu period, they will appear to a prejudiced eye, more as things of dream than as realities. But here is the fragmentary evidence brought by foreigners, whilst India, whose fate and personal interest are concerned, cannot say a word on the subject. Why is it so? Because all her records have either been cast into the flames by the merciless and relentless hands of some of her conquerors, or were from fear or otherwise concealed in deep recesses of the earth, and have never since seen the light of day.

As oceanic and fluvial action affects the surface of the earth, so do political changes influence the morals of a people. The old sacred books of Hindus indicate that in ancient times the moral standard in India was considered to the most sublime. For instance, falsehood was practically unknown, and whenever detected was strictly punished by ex-communication of the lair from his brotherhood. This state of affairs seems to have continued up to the advent of the Muhammadan rule in India. Megasthenes, a Greek witness, testifies to the fact about 2,300 years ago. The Arab writers of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries A. D. speak in clear and glowing terms about the high and unblemished character of the Hindus. An Arabian in about 851 A. D. says that the inhabitants of India abstain from licentiousness and from all sorts of vice, and that there is nothing indecent to be seen in the country.

Abul Hussan, a native of Bagdad, who died in 956 A.D. endorses the above remarks and adds that in India a king who drinks wine is not considered fit to govern his people and forfeits the crown.

Abu Abdullah Muhammad, *alais* Al Idris, who was born toward the end of the 11th century A.D. explains that Indians are naturally inclined to justice, never departing from it in their actions. He says that they are famous for their good faith, their honesty

and fidelity to their engagements. Among others characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice, he states that "when a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground to make his debtor to enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave the circle without satisfying his creditor, or obtaining the remission of debt."*

There are many more similar examples which go to establish the fact that the moral standard of the Indians before the advent of the Muhammadan rule was highly perfect; such as no country or clime could ever surpass; but later on it began to lower and loosen, and with the establishment of the Muhammadan rule it fell into such horrible decay that even the very idea of it makes us shudder. Again with the overthrow of that rule, it began to rise, but the progress has been very slow. Most of the people are deceitful, lustful, vicious and untruthful. Honesty and good faith are practically unknown. Exceptions are 1 in 100. The higher a person is in social or public status, the more subdued he is to evil temptations, and the more disposed to dupe and deceive both the public and its ruling power. Modern India thus forms a low, wretched and despicable contrast to ancient India. This is mostly due to the political changes and moral and spiritual degradation of the people. The rulers and moral and spiritual leaders influence the people as the shade of various trees and the light of sun and moon which are in the heavens, affect the crop upon earth. Their laws and tenets are just like sweet or brackish waters with which a land is irrigated, and their respective courts and administrators are the channels through which irrigation is effected. Their executives are gardeners and distributors of waters from the main canal. And the condition of the crops generally is according to

* Elliott's History of India, Vol. I., p. 88.

the irrigation they have received. As sound care and wholesome irrigation are required to raise a bumper crop, similarly a sound government and wholesome spiritual tuition are required to raise the moral standard of a people.

As with the physical, political and moral world, so is the case with the spiritual world. Since the creation of the world there have appeared in the world's arena thousands of religions which after playing their respective parts have retired into the limbo of oblivion. Diverse religions, or rather the believers in them, have always been warring upon each other, just like the animal world. The stronger has always been swallowing or trying to swallow the weaker, as do fishes and the beasts of prey. As far as we can see by inference from the oldest Hindu or foreign records, the present Khalsa religion is practically the renaissance of the oldest religion of the world, with few modifications, if any. And it was the sacred Mission of Guru Nanak to restore the oldest and catholic religion in the world.

Sikh religion if studied with an open mind, offers high ideals of life for man to follow. Truth when crushed to earth shall rise again. The teachings of the Gurus breathe nothing but Truth: the plain, simple and whole Truth. It may be hidden from the superficial observers, but it would, for that very reason, make a search for it all the more interesting. It is a pity that even Sikhs are generally unaware of the worth of their great inheritance. I have, therefore, endeavoured in these pages to collect a few gems taken out of the great treasure houses left by the Gurus for us, in order that others may do the same for the good of the world.

CHAPTER II.

Materials for writing the History.

As is generally the case in writing histories and biographies, especially the first of their kind, it is a very difficult task to glean out facts for the compilation of a work like this. No authentic and reliable data are available. The reasons are that Guru Nanak and his successors were born in a dark age when the Muhammadan power was paramount in India, the religious fanaticism of the ruling race was tremendously high, and the oppression of the Hindu or non-Moslem population was beyond description. In such a period the Guru, who was a mere Faqir, and not a political agitator, must have been passed unnoticed by Muhammadan historians. Again when the Sikh religion assumed a political tendency, its mention by the Muhammadan historian can not be accepted without suspicion. Their writings mostly concern military operations or the struggles of the Khalsa to overthrow the unjust and tyrannical Muhammadan power in India. They are not to be accepted as unbiassed and impartial for various reasons, chief among which are religious bigotry, and the imperial prohibitions against the faithful record of events. Moreover the true history (if it be so called from religious and political points of view) merges into mist and thick darkness never to see the light again, after the time when Aurangzeb, after imprisoning his father, Shah Jahan, the Emperor of Delhi, begins to clear the field of other claimants, his brothers, including the rightful heir to the throne. When death or the dungeon had removed them from the list of candidates, Aurangzeb formally ascended the throne on 26th May 1659 A. D. For about the first ten years of his reign he showed very little of the religious zealot and was busy in strengthening his resources. Nevertheless, in secret he was nursing his zeal for the faith, and he began to display

it when he found himself safe and free to do so. His repressive policy against the Hindus began to operate in 1668 A.D. \$ When his policy began to exceed the bounds of humanity, he appears to have felt it, but instead of putting a stop to it, he, in his usual crooked and hypocritical way, devised to keep it secret from the public, preventing the descent of its details to the succeeding generations. Therefore in about 1669 A.D., he suddenly put a stop to the system of official chronicles, a system in which, since the time of Akbar, all events were minutely recorded by royal history writers. All authors both public and private were strictly forbidden to write any chronicles at all. And whatever accounts have come down to us were recorded in secret or committed to memory and not until long after the death of Aurangzeb, were they reduced to writing. Moreover the accounts we have are not continuous, there being a great many missing links, and the records being of a fragmentary character in various respects. ‡

Khafi Khan refers to persons who secretly wrote abridged accounts of the first few years of Aurangzeb's reign, and admits that merely details of conquests were given, reference to the *misfortunes affecting the Imperial troops being altogether omitted*. He declares that for a long period of the reign of that Emperor, he had no authoritative and reliable record to serve as the basis of his writings. The sources of his information he alleges to be—

- (a) papers in public offices;
- (b) inquiry from truthful persons;
- (c) confidential and old servants of the Emperor;
- (d) the old eunuch; and
- (e) the repository of his own memory in which he laid up materials for thirty or forty years before they were committed to writing !!

\$ Aurangzeab, by S. L. Poole.

‡ See Poole, Elphinstone, and Khafi Khan.

It also appear that Khafi Khan's financial condition was very precarious. He had no money to help him in obtaining information or preserving it when collected. On page 726 of Vol. II, under the head "Personal to the Author," he remarks "But as notices of various occurrences and transactions did not reach the author, and as through distress and the unfriendliness of fortune, he was unable to procure papers for his draft, and as discrepancies in the various statements became greater, if it should appear that in any place the authority differs in any particulars from other histories and writers, who themselves may not be free from partiality, and as variations will appear in the most trustworthy histories," he begs that his stories may be excused. These remarks were made by the author at the time when he was dealing with the events which occurred about 1712 A. D., or soon after the death of Bahadur Shah.

The prohibitive orders in regard to chronicles issued by Aurangzeb were strictly enforced, and they do not appear to have been immediately suspended or withdrawn after his death. When he died wars commenced between the brothers who aspired to the throne, and it took some time before order was restored in the empire. Aurangzeb died in March 1707 A. D., and Guru Gobind Singh died within two years after him. Aurangzeb's successor during that period was too busy in wars internecine or other, to direct his attention to matters like this, and the prohibitory order issued by his father does not appear to have been withdrawn. Khafi Khan's history was produced during the reign of Muhammad Shah, or more than twenty years after the death of Aurangzeb, and there appears to be no record in existence, upon which implicit reliance can be placed in respect of the truth of any event or the time of its occurrence.

Moreover a comparison of various authors who have dealt with the same event independently of each other would, in many cases, clearly prove that no two authors have agreed with regard

to the exact date thereof. They greatly differ in the narration of the same events, and the difference of dates is generally very prominent. Besides this the Muhammadan authors have, as a rule, adopted the lunar calendar, and to find out the exact corresponding solar date, is not an easy matter. Again the assimilation of the Sambat to the Christian era is rather confusing. The author's hold, as a general rule, a difference of 57 years between these two eras, but that is not the case. As the interval between the New Year's day of the respective eras is $3\frac{1}{2}$ months, therefore the difference during that period has to be taken at 56 and not 57 years. I have tried my best to give, as far as possible, the most accurate calculations in this respect.

Khafi Khan is greatly resorted to by Sikh historians as the most accurate and faithful historian, but I cannot eulogize him with these epithets. He may be comparatively so, but not entirely. He was, like others, not free from religious bigotry, as the wording of his chapter on Sikhs shows. He calls them infidels, and the haphazard and off-hand manner in which he deals with the subject, clearly proves that the authority on which he based his history of that nation was nothing but mere hearsay. Therefore his writings should be carefully weighed and tested before they are accepted. Where the bravery of the Khalsa has extorted praise from the Muhammadan writers, we must assume that the historians still under estimate it.

It must also be remembered that each historian has a certain particular aim in view to which he directs his attention, giving to other subjects only a brief side view or hint in the abstract where necessary. If he were to give full details of all occurrences of a continent like India, his task would be unmanageable and difficult to bring to completion in his own lifetime.

Now let us consider what could be expected from the Hindu writers. They were not favourably disposed towards Guru Nanak, because, from his very childhood, he had set himself

to the task of rejecting their absurd rituals, their superstitions, subservience to caste bondage, their polytheism, and image worship. The Hindus, especially the so-called high castes, looked askance at him and termed him vicious, benighted trespasser, and religious offender. However, later on those who realized his worth and position, began to follow him. Some isolated sakhis or stories of certain acts of his were written by different authors and at different times and places. When he arrayed himself in *faqir's* attire he became famous, and grew very popular among all religions and sects of all the regions he visited, and many biographical accounts sprang up. They were rather imperfect and full of anachronisms. Soon after the death of Guru Nanak his successor, Guru Angad, at the dictation of Bhai Bala (who had accompanied Guru Nanak practically throughout his travels) drew up a Janam Sakhi, or biography in Gurmukhi. This appears to have had but a small circulation, since there was no press or printing machine in those days, nor were copyists or readers largely available, as the Gurmukhi characters were not much in vogue then, being only a very recent invention. Later on, the biography was wholly corrupted and the mutilated or corrupted copies were largely circulated and the genuine ones, suppressed. There were causes at work which led to the forming of a conspiracy to falsify the biography with a view to rendering it cloudy and suspicious in order to shake the faith of the Guru's followers. The disciples of Kabir found that the fame of their leader was clouded and shadowed by the honour and glory of Guru Nanak and his successors. Therefore they, in collusion with certain Hindus, falsified the biography and tried to indicate that he was Kabir's disciple and that Kabir was much higher in spiritual elevation than the Guru and had gained personal attendance on the Almighty as his Vazir. Relying on these interpolations, the followers of Kabir have compiled a book which has often misled the foreign and non-Sikh writers who infer that the

Guru was a disciple of Kabir. For instance in his "Religions of India," Mr. E. W. Hopkins remarks on page 511 that the Guru was the nominal founder of the Sikhs, "a body which, as Nanak claimed, was embodying the religion of Kabir himself, of whom he claimed to be a follower." Elphinstone and Hunter shared the same view and described him as a disciple of Kabir. Raja Siva Parsad in Chapter XIII, Part I, of his 'History of Hindustan' says that the Guru was one of the disciples of Kabir. To deceive the public was the object of the mutilators of the biography, and that was largely gained.

After the Kabirpanthis, the successors of Hindal appeared on the stage to play their part. Hindal was a jat who served the third and fourth Gurus, and his services were confined to the kitchen. Once the fourth Guru was much pleased with his sagacious behaviour and blessed him. He thereupon founded his own institution at Jandiala, about 10 miles from Amritsar. His successors, after some time, became very powerful and were endowed with a large jagir from the Imperial Darbar at Delhi. One of them named Bidli Chand became loose in his morals and kept a *Mirasan*† as his mistress. The Sikhs then began to reprove and reproach him for his conduct. He took it ill and infested Guru Nanak's biography with interpolations, making vicious attacks upon his character with a view to covering his own shameful career. He made certain nefarious remarks in order to create an authority according sanction to his own vileness. The original Janam Sakhi chanced to fall into the hands of his followers and it was torn up and thrown into the river.‡ Before this fiendish act was committed, the original was copied, omitting many connecting links. It was rendered suspicious in various wars and was interpolated with many fictitious and infernal stories regarding the character of Guru Nanak and

† A low Muhammadan woman.

‡ See Nanak Parkash and Bahi Gain Singh's history of the Sikhs.

Angad and the advent of Hindal. Guru Nanak was represented as having prophesied the rise of Hindal both in power and sanctity, much higher than himself. After this diabolical act became known the Sikhs hated Hindalis or Hindal's followers, who became fatal enemies of the Khalsa nation, and played a prominent part in concerting with the Governors of Lahore for the extermination of that nation.

We at this stage cannot properly say who the other conspirators were, and owing to the want of reliable evidence we must reserve our thesies in that respect. However one thing is certain, that during the time of the third Guru the so-called high caste Hindus were much disaffected owing to the introduction of novel Sikh institutions which began to supersede the old Hindu rituals including the caste system. The priestly castes were enraged, and it is quite possible that some of the other disaffected Hindus may have joined with them. This conjecture is supported by the fact that spurious copies had gained a large and immediate circulation, suppressing the genuine ones. The fact of the tampering with the genuine copy of Janam Sakhi was brought to the notice of the fifth Guru. He thereupon signed and sealed a genuine copy.‡ That authenticated copy is not procurable now. If it could be found, it would set at rest many points which are now-a-days at issue and are being hotly discussed.

There seems, no doubt, that there were a good many reliable and authenticated works of the Sikh Gurus which, had they existed, would have supplied us with very valuable and adequate materials for our guidance; but unfortunately none of them, so far as our present researches have extended, has come down to us except the holy Granth. The reasons are manifold. There were quarrels in regard to succession, and whenever an outsider

‡MS- of an old mutilated copy of Bhai Mani Singh's Sakhis which has been found in possession of a Singh gentleman in Chenab Colony, in Chank No. 294, on the Gogera branch of the Chenab Canal.

was put in, the descendants of the predecessor became deadly opposed to him, and they, as can naturally be expected, withheld all or most of the records of their ancestor. Again it appears that Guru Gobind Singh had collected and compiled considerable and valuable literature both general and religious. He had employed 52 eminent scholars or literary luminaries for the purpose, and they were well up in Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic. All that literary treasury was stored up in the fort at Anandpur but during the siege of that fort, as explained in a later chapter, almost all of it, along with other heavy baggage and valuables, was thrown into the river in order to avoid its falling into the hands of the enemy. Afterwards when at the request and under the promises and oaths of the Hill Rajas and Imperial officers, the fort was evacuated, the assailants broke their faith and attacked the Guru and his family folk unawares. Then a serious disaster befell them. The river which the Guru had to cross, rose in floods, and the enemy, in overwhelming numbers, closed in pursuit. The Guru had only a handful of men to check the progress of the enemy. It was then that all the baggage was abandoned, the women folk having had a narrow escape. In that disaster whatever there was in the shape of literary or religious works, was all lost. What has come down to us are mere fragments which had gone into circulation before the great and last siege of Anandpur.

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh, the Hindu's generally and the Khalsa specially were subjected to extreme hardship and oppression. The Hill Rajas were already bitterly hostile to the Khalsa and other Hindus, especially those proud of their high caste, resented them and sneered at them, owing to the abolition of the caste system. That system was of extreme concern to the priestly classes, affecting their prestige, their revenue and everything. Thus they tried their best directly or indirectly to injure the new religion. Other Hindus also voluntarily or under the

coercion of the authorities, joined in the extermination of the Khalsa. The Khalsa then had no home except the lonely and distant jungles. They had no provisions to live upon, but the spontaneous wild vegetation and the flesh of wild animals. At times the jungles of their abode were hemmed in and set on fire. They were outlawed and proscribed. High rewards were bestowed for their heads. Refuge and protection afforded to them brought a heavy penalty and utter ruin on the offender. In 1805 A. D. Diwan Lakhpat Rai, a Government servant at Lahore, vowed to exterminate the Khalsa, and being invested by the Viceroy of Lahore with full powers, and absolute authority, at the head of all the available Imperial forces and country levies, he started a campaign of destruction, annihilation and extermination of the Khalsa religion, root and branch. He destroyed everything which he could lay his hands on, life, property, writing or anything else which might have served as relics of that religion. In short, nothing escaped his relentless hands.

It is nothing short of a miracle that the Holy Granth was left intact during such up-heavals both political and religious. In severity the search did not fall short of the edict of the Chinese Emperor issued in 213 B. C. for the destruction of all the old classical books and the sacred books called Shu or Shih. Nay it was more than that. All who professed the Khalsa faith were doomed to a wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter; sex and age were not respected. The Khalsa had no home to keep their property in, and cruel hunters were ever on their scent. In such a state of affairs, the preservation of any record either under or above the surface of the earth was out of the question and an utter impossibility.

We have shown that no records could be preserved during the Muhammadan rule, and now we proceed to consider the few we possess. We have already stated that during the lifetime of

Guru Nanak, the people had begun to reduce to writing his travels in piecemeal and isolated stories. In some cases it appears that the date given to a "Sakhi" (evidence or story) was the date on which it was written. As for instance an old M.S. which has been obtained by us purports to be that of Bhai Bala, but in the body of the book, the 15th Sakhi begins as follows :—

“ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ਸਾਖੀ ਲਿਖਤੇ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ॥ ਸੰਮਤ ਪੰਦ੍ਰਾਂ
ਸੈ ਇਕਾਸੀ ੧੫੮੧ ਅੰਸੂ ਦੁਆਦਸੀ ॥ ਵਾਰ ਛਿਨਛਰ ਪਹਰ ਦਿਨ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਸੀ
ਲਾਹੌਰ ਵਿਚ ॥”

This goes to show, to some extent, that the Sakhi was written in Sambat 1581, or during the lifetime of Guru Nanak. The beginning of the Sakhi is an unusual one and does not occur in any other case. A perusal of that Sakhi shows that it relates to a period when only Mardana was with the Guru, and Bhai Bala was at home. His name is not mentioned therein.

Again the 16th Sakhi also appears to have been separately written. It has only in its beginning. ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ This also omits the name of Bhai Bala, who, it appears was not at the time with the Guru.

These and similar other facts go to establish our theory that even during the lifetime of the Guru the people had written isolated stories which they had heard from Mardana or from others, and they were incorporated in the later Janam Sakhi by Bhai Bala, which was compiled in Sambat 1597, by the compiler himself or by subsequent editors.

It might be assumed that the Gurmukhi characters were not known at the time, but their non-existence could not prohibit the writing of a Janam Sakhi or any piece of a biographical account. There were then many different vernacular characters extant which were quite capable of being used as an instrument of writing. And the hymns of Guru Nanak were preserved and handed down to the following generations very copiously.

It may also be noted that as far as our enquiries go, the Gurmukhi characters were invented by Guru Nanak and during his time the people had begun to learn them. It was only six months after his death, when Guru Angad instituted inquiries regarding a scholar who knew Gurmukhi and Sanskrit as well, that Paira Mokha, the writer of the Janam Sakhi, was traced. He was resident of Sultanpur where Guru Nanak had spent many years in the service of the Nawab of that place. Guru Angad, when he made the inquiry, was at Khadur, and the Janam Sakhi was written at the latter place. And we think that Guru Nanak had formed the Gurmukhi characters in or about his forties.

It also appears that either during the lifetime of the Guru or shortly thereafter, private individuals began to write his biographies in a systematic form by collecting isolated accounts of his life. An author compiled the one which was presented by Mr. Colebrooke† to the East India Company in or about 1815 A.D. The form of its characters shows that it must have been written long ago. That the Janam Sakhi is either the original or a very old copy. The characters are not well formed and fully developed as we have them later on. As stated in the following chapter, this MS. is not a continuous chronicle of the Guru's life, but a mass of isolated and detached Sakhis. It seems to be a compilation, independent of that of Bhai Bala. It has no introduction, nor concluding pages, which might have thrown some light upon its authorship as well as the date and sources of its compilation. I have also been kindly lent an old MS. which is a copy of Mr. Colebrooke's MS. and it shows that the latter had a

† Henry Thomas Colebrooke was born in London on 15th June, 1765. He joined the Court of Directors and became Chairman of the East India Company in 1779 A. D. He came to India in 1783. In 1805, he became President of the Court of Appeal. In 1807, he became President of the Asiatic Society and was promoted to a seat in Council. He left India for home in 1815 and died on 10th March 1837 A. D. He was a brilliant Sanskrit scholar.—Max Muller's Biographical Essays,

long introduction, but unfortunately, this copy also is very incomplete and keeps us in ignorance in regard to the points in reference.

The most complete and trustworthy biography is that written by Paira† Mokha at the dictation of Bhai Bala† who was a companion of Guru Nanak, especially in his travels, excepting the western tour towards Makka and Madina. He was a Sandhu jat of Talwandi and appears to have been engaged by Kalu, the Guru's father, while very young, and he was three years younger than the Guru. It also appears that on very few occasions he was not in the Guru's company and a little trouble, if necessary, would enable us to mark such occasions out. We cannot say that the Janam Sakhi contains the whole and entire account of the Guru's life and his hymns, but we are prepared to assert that it contains a good deal of them.

The dilemma in which we find ourselves at this stage, is that it has become impossible to find the original MS. which was written by Paira Mokha. Even its *facsimile* or faithful copy is difficult to obtain, as stated above. It was compiled during the time of Guru Angad, who succeeded Guru Nanak, superseding his sons who greatly resented it. Again Guru Angad made Amar Das, an outsider, his successor as the third Guru. His sons being excluded became very angry. In order to end their quarrels, which were caused by the presence of his successor at

† A Khatri of Sultanpur in the Kapurthala State where Guru Nanak had lived for many years especially in the service of the Pathan leader there. Subsequently he shifted his residence to Dan Gali in the Kahuta Tahsil of the Rawalpindi District where his grave (Smadhi) still exists. His descendants are now residing in Thoha Khalsa in Tahsil Kahuta.

* Some modern historians hold that there was no such person, and that the name is imaginary with a view to serve the narrator in the fabrication of a biography. A visit to Nankana Sahib (Talwandi), the birth place of Guru Nanak, proves that Bala was a real person and tradition clearly establishes it.

Khadur, Guru Angad sent Amar Das away to Goindwal and it is doubtful whether after the death of that Guru, his sons ever allowed Guru Amar Das to have the original. Again Guru Amar Das appointed his son-in-law, Guru Ram Das, as his successor. These and similar changes appear to have disabled the successive Gurus from acquiring the MS. hymns of their predecessors. For example, at the time of the compilation of the Holy Granth, the fifth Guru had to humbly borrow certain MS. copies which were then in possession of Mohan, the son of Guru Amar Das.

The dissensions caused by the succession of outsiders to the exclusion of the male issue, caused a great difficulty and bar to the currency of the hymns. They began to be tampered with, or were wholly withheld from the public. Besides, as explained above, the jealous Hindalis and Kabirpanthis keenly resenting the fame of the Gurus, maliciously vitiated and infected the original Janam Sakhi. And to give it a dubious character, they changed the real date of its compilation to an earlier one when its compilation under the direction of Guru Angad was impossible, because leaving aside the question of his succession, he had not then embraced Guru Nanak's faith. Another theory is that that biography was really written during the lifetime of Guru Nanak but was enlarged, interpolated, and vitiated afterwards by the enemies of the faith ; but this appears to be incorrect.

Although the mischief makers endeavoured to spoil the biography, they lost sight of the fact that their forgery was surer to promote than to lower the reputation of the Guru. They admitted what they might have denied otherwise and thus they furnish us with a testimony which otherwise would have been considered as an improbable exaggeration, but as it comes from the enemies of the faith it may be received as an indisputable fact. In the heat of the moment the slanderers and detractors failed to realize that spurious coin can always be distinguished from the

genuine one. The style of their composition greatly differs from that of the genuine hymns, and the forged hymns or conversational verses are very hollow and shallow. One who is conversant with the style of Guru Nanak's hymns, could at once detect the forgery. We append a specimen of the spurious interpolation to this introduction, and its real worth can be estimated by its careful study. Its text indicates that when Guru Nanak was on his way to the Divine abode, Dhru told him how he could get into that region (the region inhabited by Dhru) as the path was beset with a great many dangers. Dhru is made to say that none other had passed that way before but "Kabir."

In response, Guru Nanak is made to say that Kabir has already preceded him whereas Uindal, jat, will follow him that way. On this, Dhru accuses Guru Nanak of lying, as none else was destined to follow him, but Guru Nanak assures him that he was foretelling a simple fact. Then Dhru says, that the road further on was quite difficult to traverse and Nanak would be unable to pass through. The Guru replies that he must go, but the forger, not contenting himself with so much, proceeds to say at that stage what the Guru, under the circumstances, cannot reasonably be believed to have said then. Here the forger falls into confusion and loses his self-control. What he aims at is merely the eulogy of Kabir put into the mouth of Guru Nanak. The author loses the equilibrium of his heart and forgets other considerations of propriety which are necessary on such occasions. And the shallowness of style and incoherence of narration are so striking and at so marked variance with the true composition of the Guru, that the fraud proclaims itself at once.

The Janam Sakhis which we now possess are not free from defects. They are all incomplete with many gaps to be filled up, and are either apocryphal or corrupted. The former are not widely circulated, but the latter are in their corrupted form, from which the editors have tried to exclude the interpolations. But a careful study shows that much of the text has yet

to be discarded before it is acceptable.

It may also be noted here that the disputation of Guru Nanak at Makka were not included in the Janam Sakhi which was destroyed by the Hindalis. They form a separate booklet and appear to be altogether reliable. They are written in a language which nobody else can write. A Hindu could not have written them because they denounce the Hindu religion, and a Muhammadan could never have dreamt of such writing, whilst no Sikh has ever been able to produce such a work. It is interspersed with hymns which are to be found in the Holy Granth in their entirety or otherwise. There are also many hymns like those which conveying the same idea but in a slightly different style, are to be found in the Holy Granth. There is strong evidence that this booklet was written before 1604 A. D. when the tobacco plant was introduced into India, *vide* Chapter XXXII. A reference to the list of intoxicating drugs given there in *vide* Chapter XXV, does not contain the name of tobacco. If that booklet had been compiled after the introduction of that plant, it must have also been named. In Guru Gobind Singh's time the practice of smoking was in vogue, and he having condemned it, strictly prohibited its use. A careful persual and consideration of the booklet shows that its author was Guru Nanak himself.

Besides the Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak, we have biographies of sixth and the tenth Gurus. The former professes to be about 190 years old, but the name of the writer is not given in it, and the date of its compilation is doubted by some. The latter was compiled about 110 years ago. There are also some other books, later or earlier, which serve as a useful guide to a historian, but the most prominent of them are Nanak Parkash and Suraj Parkash which were compiled by one Bhai Santokh Singh within the last century. All these works appear to have been written more or less under the influence of the priestly classes. In some cases the authors were entreated to do some-

thing for them so that their revenue might not suffer, or that they might not be entirely repudiated by the Sikhs. They wanted to have the Sikhs as well as the Khalsa in any way, within their hold. In some cases the influence appears to have been direct, and in others indirect. Bhai Santokh Singh appears to have been helped by many able Pandits under the orders of the Raja of Kaithal and that work also, which was compiled with so much care and labour, could not escape suggestions and insinuations of the conservative priestly classes.

Moreover want of imperfection of knowledge gave ample opportunity to the polytheistic and conservative Pandits to mislead the Sikh authors who were half educated. For the Sikhs it was a matter of no little difficulty to gain knowledge during the troubled and stormy days which followed the death of Guru Gobind Singh. They were obliged to put wrong or misleading construction on the hymns of the Gurus.

As explained elsewhere, Guru Gobind Singh used different names for the Lord according to His functions. The compositions and hymns of the Gurus, especially those of the tenth and the last, have a peculiar style and rhyme of their own, to understand which a very deep and extensive knowledge is required. The same word is used in different places in different and variegated senses. For instance, "Kal" means Time, Death, and Almighty. In the biographical writings of the Chobis Avatars, the tenth Guru says :—

•“Kal sabhon ko pekh tamasa,
Anteh kal kart hai nasha,
Ant kart sabh jag ko kaia,
Nam kal tan te jag dala.”

In these verses "Kal" has three different meanings, *i.e.*, (1) God, † (2) Time, and (3) Death. It is explained that as the

* Some would say "Time personified".

† "Kal" is also Creator and Bhavani His power of manifestation, vide Chapter XXI.

Almighty in the end, destroys the whole universe, He is called "Kal."

In the same way "Kali" is goddess, and again Kali is a cannon. Bhagauti is God, Nature, Sword. And a reference to the catalogue and nomenclature of arms. "Shastar Mala" shows how many names one and the same arm has. The name of goddesses are given to arms. It is this mode and style of writing of the tenth Guru which has caused many to misunderstand him that he was a polytheist, and selfish Pandits have had ample opportunity to mislead the Sikhs. Col. Malcolm, the first English author on Sikhism, was led by this and similar writings to believe that Guru Gobind Singh was polytheistic. Other English authors have followed him and adopted the same view. A most able and experienced author like Sir Lepel Griffin, was similarly carried away. Sayad Muhammad Latif could not find means to differ from these authors and some Sikh authors also became confused on the point and being duped by the error, belived and acknowledged what was nothing but a mistake.

As a fact, Guru Gobind Singh was a pure and strict monotheist. He denounced polytheism and idolatry in even stronger and more emphatic terms than his predecessors. He was as peculiar in his denunciations as in his style. In his letter termed Zafarnama, or the letter of victory, addressed to the Emperor Aurangzeb, he terms himself idol-breaker, and styles the Hindu Rajas of the hills idol-worshippers.

Thus it would appear that almost all the compilations are not free from ignorance or foreign influence and contain, from a religious point of view, much that is incorrect, being based on misunderstanding, misrepresentation, misconstruction and favouritism to the conservative classes. We must therefore assay what they say in regard to religious matters. Our touch-stone for such purposes in the Holy Granth, the writings of the tenth Guru and the Vars of Bhai Gurdas. Almost all other writings are impregnated with more or less of religious bias, or with poetical flights

of thought because mostly they are in verse. And their poetical garb must be divested before a fact from them is incorporated in history.

We may add here that of recent works, the history of Guru Khalsa or, as its Urdu version is called Shamsheer Khalsa, is one of the most careful and laborious compilations that have yet been produced on Sikhism. It has comparatively but a few faults, clerical or other, and forms a very useful as well as an indispensable guide for a historian.

The Vars of Bhai Gurdas who served as scribe to the fifth Guru in the compilation of the Holy Granth, form a key to the doctrine of the Sikh Gurus. They throw clear light on the fact that Sikhism was a separate religion both from Hinduism and Muhammadanism, and that the Sikhs followed no Hindu customs. They explain the condition and position of Sikhism up to the time of the sixth Guru, and they appear to be altogether free from any foreign influence.

The books on which we can place implicit reliance are the Holy Granths. There are at present two. One was compiled by the fifth Guru, and the other is a collection of miscellaneous hymns of the tenth Guru, and of translations of Sanskrit books made by various authors under the orders of that Guru. Before we describe the first, we must deal with the latter. The genuine compositions of the tenth Guru which it contains are few in number. The rest are chiefly biographies of the various so-called Avatars or Incarnations of Vishnu, being abstract translations of Sanskrit works. The Guru's personal remarks were attached to the end of each translation in which he indicated that excepting the Lord God he recognized no such Incarnations. A part of the Granth is occupied by an abstract of the Ramayan, over one-quarter contains the abstracts of the Bhagvat, and about two-fifths describes the cunning and wiles of women and admonishes the reader to be on his guard against their tricks. These three subjects occupy nearly two-thirds of the so-called Granth and the remainder

contains the genuine hymns of the tenth Guru, together with other hymns of a miscellaneous character. Some of these last describe the heroic deeds of warlike men and portray in a vivid and sprightly picture the fields of battle in ages gone by, and animate the reader with ideas of military glory, national honour and ascendancy. Thus it is not a Holy Scripture in the true sense of the word, but merely a collection by somebody, of scattered and unconnected fragments which fell into his hands. Some of the tales of women are rather indecent and should be altogether excluded from this volume. However at this stage we have nothing to do with that, but to glean out the true hymns of the tenth Guru, applying to them the test which has been laid down at the end of this chapter.

Thus there is a great paucity and dearth of true, authentic, and orthodox works which could be implicitly accepted by an author for the basis of his work. Any work which says that the Guru's practice contradicted their assertions should not be believed, because the Sikh Gurus were not of the type of men whose doings are ever at variance with their teachings. Therefore the only true test is the Holy Granth which is only one—and whatever corresponds with its teachings must be considered as a fact in truth.

The Holy Granth, popularly termed the Adi Granth, comprises the hymns of the first five Gurus with a few selections from the hymns of different contemporary votaries irrespective of their caste or religion. These were all collected, arranged and formed into a volume called "Guru Granth Sahib" by the fifth Guru. The whole collection after its completion was signed and sealed by him. He forbade his son, the sixth Guru, and his successors to make any addition to it. At the same time, however, he left some space vacant at the end of the different "Rags," directing that it should be filled up by the hymns of that Guru alone who should sacrifice his head for the sake of truth or righteousness—*vide* Chapter IV, V-411, Biography of the 6th

Guru. In accordance with the instructions of the fifth Guru, the hymns of the ninth Guru, who obtained the crown of martyrdom for the sake of truth, were incorporated by the tenth Guru. None of the other Gurus were allowed to contribute to the Granth, whether they composed any hymns or not. Now it remains sealed for ever, no man being authorized to substract or add to it, anything at all. The true spirit of the Sikh religion is apparent from the hymns contained in the Granth and it forms the touch stone to assay any hymns which were composed by any of the first nine Gurus, but were not incorporated therein. The tenth Guru composed many hymns and they have a criterion of their own.

While compiling the Granth Sahib, Guru Arjan got books which contained hymns of his first three predecessors, from Mohan, the son of Guru Amar Das, the third Guru. There appear to have been a good many hymns, especially the hymns of the first Guru, which were not incorporated in the Granth. Either they were not procurable or were purposely left out. The compositions of Guru Nanak appear to have been very extensive. His travels appears to have been throughout the world including the islands. Wherever he went he spoke the language of the people of the region. The hymns also which he recited were generally in the language of the people he addressed ; and, as a rule, whatever he received he explained in plain language to the audience. In many cases the hymns were recorded by the addressee or some other member of the audience. In support of this theory, the biography of the Guru which has been received from the India Office may be referred to. It is clear that the author of the biography based portions of his work upon sources of information not accessible to others, The persons whose writings he used were Saido, jat, and Hassu, lohar (blacksmith). The Guru recited Pran Sangli in Ceylon. It was then reduced to writing and was left there with the instructions that its copy

should be delivered to some one who would go there from Jambu Dip India) to fetch it (*vide* leaf 185 of the biography). Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru, deputed one Pira to bring it, and it was brought accordingly. It contained instructions for the control of the senses and concentration of mind according to the *yoga* system. Guru Arjan considered it to be too difficult and complex for laymen to follow during the Iron Age and did not incorporate it in the Granth, in consequence (Chapter VI, verses 133—148 of the biography of the sixth Guru).

Bhai Gurdas wrote the Holy Granth at the dictation of the fifth Guru. When it was ready, the Guru gave it to Bhai Banno to have it bound at Lahore. He came to Lahore by marches, and on the way had it copied with the help of the Sikhs who accompanied him. In copying, however, he added to the copy some hymns which he found in certain books which were in possession of the Sikhs forming the retinue which was accompanying the Granth. Both the original and its copy were then bound in Lahore and brought before the Guru. When the Guru asked Bhai Banno the cause of his action, he replied that it was "for the good of the public." The Guru then accepted his copy and signed and sealed it with the remark that it was *khara* (brackish). And for the future it was termed Bhai Banno's volume, whereas the other was called Bhai Gurdas's. It was directed by the Guru that the two volumes should never be mixed together and that copies should ever be strictly according to the respective contents of the originals. The volume compiled by Bhai Gurdas was kept at Amritsar and the other was, at his own request, taken by Bhai Banno to his village, Mangat, in Tahsil Phulia of the Gujrat District. (Life of the sixth Guru, Chapter IV, verses 402—8 and 418-9).

As has been shown above, Guru Arjan incorporated in the Granth only a part of the hymns of Guru Nanak. Most of those which were left out, were mere disputations, religious or spiritual, and unnecessary for the purposes of a Granth. In some cases only

a few hymns were chosen out of long discourses, the rest being considered superfluous, as in the case of conversations at Makka and Madina. A careful study of the books borrowed from Mohan referred to above, coupled with other circumstances and writings, shows that the selections were made by Guru Nanak himself and the rest were omitted for various considerations, political or other. Therefore there is a good deal yet which can be appropriately referred to by a historian. Although what is contained in the Granth is quite enough for religious purposes, there is much which can well be utilized by a historian for the purpose of illustration or explanation of facts. However, we must be very cautious and discreet in distinguishing genuine from spurious matter. The criterion to test the genuineness of the hymns which are not in the Holy Granth, is found by determining whether they are—

- (1) purely monotheistic ;
- (2) calm and dispassionate ;
- (3) Extremely rapid, perspicuous, highly majestic, most rigidly impartial, and entirely free from prejudice ;
- (4) handling the extensive generalities in a most concise but clear, precise, and comprehensive manner ;
- (5) indicating universal knowledge, unruffled mind, unwearied patience, and profound respect for the sacredness of truth ;
- (6) showing veins of gold in the most sterile and dry regions of knowledge by very skilful, interesting, sweet, and attractive hymns.

In addition to all these they should contain the name of Nanak, and their general style and purport should tally with the hymns of the Holy Granth. Every historian should thus test all the hymns he comes across in the course of his researches, before he makes any attempt to use or refer to them

CHAPTER III.

Date of Guru Nnnak's Birth.

It has long been a question of grave importance what was the date of the birth of Guru Nanak. Some say it was the full moon day (*puranmashi*) in the month of Katak, Sambat 1526. According to others it was the 1st Baisakh of that year. The difference between the two dates is very considerable, being over six months.

The majority of the Janam Sakhis declare his birth to be Katak, whereas a few, including one by Bhai Mani Singh, hold it to be Baisakh. The author of the Khalsa Raiht Parkash has taken considerable trouble in going into the question, and has on very plausible grounds decided that it was the first day of Baisakh — *vide* pages 64—69, 3rd edition).

I have carefully gone into the question and have consulted such of the authorities as I could lay hands on. (A reference) to the Janam Sakhi by Bhai Bala shows that it was written about six months after the death of Guru Nanak ; the Guru having died on Vadi 10, Assu Sambat 1596, whilst that Janam Sakhi was commenced on Suddi 5 Baisakh, 1597 Sambat. The compilation of the book *prima facie*, took considerable time, some say two months and 17 days. Its preface shows that Har Dyal, the family priest of the Guru, used to tell the people that the Guru was born on the full-moon day of Katak. Har Dayal was the writer of the Guru's horoscope which was procured by Guru Angad. It corroborated the date which was told to the Guru before its production.)

(The biographies spoiled by the Kabirpanthis, and Hindalis also indicate that the birth took place in Katak and that statement is based upon and supported by the same authority.)

(Bhai Gian Singh, who has been owed so much care and labour on his Tawarikh of Guru Khalsa, fixes the birth in Katak, *vide* pages 50-1. He also gives a copy of the horoscope. A refer-

ence thereto clearly proves that the birth took place in Katak and on full-moon day. In column 8 is given "Suraj Budh"—Katak, and opposite to it in column 2 is "Chandarma-Puranmashi or full-moon day.

Nanak Parkash, a splendid work, indicates the same birth-day.

One of the authorities to the contrary is Bhai Mani Singh's declaration that Guru Nanak was born on Suddi 3rd of Baisakh, Sambat 1526, which corresponds with 1st Baisakh 1526. The Bhai does not quote any authority. Properly speaking the Bhai's work is not a biography but a commentary on the Vars of Bhai Gurdas, who lived during the time of the fifth Guru. The date of Guru Nanak's birth occurs in his commentary on the 22nd verse of the 1st Var. He appears to have been misled by the 27th verse of the same Var or some other biographies, as will be explained hereafter. The 27th verse runs, as follows :—

"Ghar ghar andar dharmsal hovai kirtan sada visoa."

"Each house shall contain a dharmsal with perpetual recitals of the laudation of the Lord, like Baisakhi or the Hindu New Year's day." The author of the Khalsa Raihat Parkash (paragraph 68) also appears to have been misled into the belief the *Visoa* here means the first of Baisakh, indicative of the birthday of the Guru. In my opinion that is not the case. It is an adjective qualifying the *Kirtan* and means that the Lord's laudatory hymns shall be perpetually recited in every house as on the happy and joyful New Year's day (1st Baisakh). That is, every day will be equal to New Year's day for the purpose of such recitations. In no case it goes to establish that the 1st of (Baisakh was given by Bhai Gurdas as the Guru's birthday. However, if the author of the biography of the sixth Guru is to be believed (and I have no reason to disbelieve him in this respect), Bhai Mani Singh appears to have subsequently repudiated this date. The biography referred to is based on the authority of Bhai Mani Singh. On his part the Bhai says that Guru Gobind Singh had narrated the life of the

Guru to Bhai Daya Singh (one of the first five beloved or *piaras*) and he had recited it to Bhai Mani Singh, *vide* Chapter I, verse 21. Then Bhai Mani Singh, related it to one Bhagat Singh (Chapter IV, verse 18). And practically a verbatim record of Bhai Mani Singh's recitations forms the basis of the biography in reference ; *see* the author's reasons for its compilation at the end of the book. Verse 385 of Chapter IX clearly shows that Guru Nanak was born on Puranmashi (full-moon night) in Katak. This biography is alleged to have been compiled in Sambat 1773, *i e.*, after Bhai Mani Singh's †Janam Sakhi was written, and during his lifetime, as he gained martyrdom in Sambat 1795. It is quite true that the information of the author is second hand, having descended to him in the fourth place. Verbal records are apt to undergo some sort of change, but facts like the birthday of the Guru are too prominent and interesting to be mistaken. In any case the author informs us that full-moon day of Katak, was recognized by the tenth Guru as the birthday of Guru Nanak.

There are some other biographies which indicate the first of Baisakh as the birthday of the Guru. As I have already explained in a preceding chapter, the authors of the various Janam Sakhis are different. One of these Janam Sakhis is that which has been received from the India Office. It was photographed in 1885 A.D , under the orders of the Punjab Government. The date of the birth given here is Suddi 3rd of Baisakh, or the first day of that month according to the solar Calendar, exactly tallies with that given by Bhai Mani Singh. The author of this book cannot be ascertained as his name is not mentioned in the beginning, and its last pages are missing. It appears to have been written entirely independently of that by Bhai Bala, and before it was compiled or its existence was known abroad. As far as I have been able to go over it, the name of Bhai Bala is entirely omitted, and that of Mardana is not properly mentioned throughout the Guru's travels.

†Apparently this Mani Singh is not Mani Singh the martyr. The point requires further investigation.

It indicates that the Guru went to Makka and other places alone, a fact which is clearly contradicted by Bhai Gurdas. This compilation is merely a collection of some traditions or stories which are mostly hearsay. Some portion relating to the travels in Ceylon appears to have been based on the authority of Saido and Gheho, who are said to have accompanied the Guru there. Again the narration of the travels in Kashmir is founded on the authority of Hassan, lohar (blacksmith) and Shihan, chhimba (cloth-printer). The hymns are said to have been, at the time of recitation, recorded by the persons referred to, but it is not clear how they, along with other particulars, reached the author. This sketch omits a great many links in the chain, and in many places it loses harmony and continuity. It is full of abrupt starts and ends which indicate its patched up condition. It also abounds in anachronisms. For instance, the Guru is shown to have been married long before he went to Sultanpur, and to have got two sons before the incident of the shade of the tree under which the Guru sat in meditation. This incident occurred when the Guru was only 9 years old and he went to Sultanpur at the age of 21. The whole work seems to be an incoherent collection of traditions mostly wrong, and the date of birth recorded is apparently based on hearsay without any authority at all. The probable reason why the story of the 1st Baisakh gained currency seems to be that the people who were not then purged of their Hindu ideas and superstitions except for the giving up of idol worship, took the fancy to fix the birthday in correspondence with New Year's day, which, as is generally known, was then held to be very auspicious. The author of the *Janam Sakhi* we refer to seems to have based his writing on that current idea. It appears that several biographies came into existence independent of each other, or one based upon the other, and some of them contained the wrong date. The time and date of birth given by Bhai Mani Singh practically corresponds with that given in the India Office copy, and he appears to have been misled by that or a similar MS. coupled with the misunderstanding of the

meaning of verse 27 referred to above.

The biography of the Guru written by Paira Mokha at the dictation of Bhai Bala, seems, notwithstanding the flaws and errors, clerical or otherwise, which we find in its present editions, to be the most trustworthy. The date given therein is based on the strongest authority obtainable, and proper inquiry. Moreover the biographies which were spoiled or maliciously mutilated by Kabirpanthis and Hindalis were, as far as I have been able to ascertain, mostly Bhai Bala's and are quite sufficient to establish the true date. In that respect they correspond with the original.

There are also some who think that the Janam Sakhi termed Bhai † Bala's is a mere forgery, and that no such person ever lived or went in company with the Guru. They assign different reasons for their suspicion, and in some cases they support their conjecture by the Vars of Bhai Gurdas. I have studied most of the authorities and have digested them. There seem no reason why such a forgery should have been committed, and the reasons they advance to support their views are inadequate. I could rebut them all, but it seems unnecessary to lengthen this chapter with such a discussion, and conclude it with the prayer that God, the Almighty, may grant the Khalsa nation more energy and enlightenment so that they may be able to prosecute and conduct their researches in a wiser and more methodical way. Our own conclusion is that, we must hold the *Katak Puranmushi* as the birthday of Guru Nanak, unless and until more clear, definite, and unquestionable proof is produced to the contrary.

Since writing the above we have ascertained by an inquiry at Dera Baba Nanak in the Batala Tahsil of the Gurdaspur District, where the descendants of Guru Nanak live to this time, that they have always observed and are still observing the *Katak Puranmashi* as the birthday of Guru Nanak, and that this has

† Bala was a real man as explained in the preceding chapter.

descended to them from the very beginning. This has a considerable force and goes far to support the contention of those who hold that date as the birthday of the Guru.

CHAPTER IV.

The Cause of the Mission of Guru Nanak.

It is an immutable law of Nature, that light and darkness are ever cycling in succession one after the other. The whole universe is, every moment, undergoing some sort of change, visible or invisible, perceptible or imperceptible. And it is ordained that when anything reaches the climax or the utmost height, the reverse action begins to take place. That action is due to two causes. First, that the thing affected has enjoyed its full pre-ordained life ; and, second, the elements which, through certain inherent qualities of a thing, used to sustain and improve it, begin, owing to the deterioration of any or all of them, to work for the reverse. Our premises can be illustrated better by the following examples :—

(a) A man is born. He must live the predestined life, and during that life none can kill him. But when the time of his death arrives none can save him ; those very means, which used to sustain and support him, turning out agencies of, or excuses for, his destruction.

(b) A holy person has founded a religion on true and solid principles. On account of its purity it grows rapidly and becomes prosperous. His successors, however, become corrupt and selfish committing horrible sins and vices. The followers who supported the religion and formed its nucleus fall away, so that eventually it becomes extinct.

(c) A person conquers a country and becomes ruler thereof. He appears just and the people put entire faith and confidence in

him. He becomes prosperous and very powerful which the belief that his Raj (reign) will last for all eternity, there being none to encounter him or to question his power and authority. The conquerors are generally proud and arrogant, and their co-religionists grow intolerant. The innocent people are persecuted with complete impunity. Such power engenders luxurious habits among the rulers. The hardy and stalwart soldiers deteriorate into effeminate and ease-loving dandies, and their nature and character are naturally reflected upon the following generations. The administrative machinery, through the intoxication of authority and luxurious and immoral ways, becomes rusty and loses its vitality. The masses, though tolerant and meek in the beginning, become revengeful and vindictive. The very persons who were in the beginning a support of the sovereign, directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, desire his downfall.

It is true that a country is subject to its ruler and the people as a whole, *prima facie*, are his servants or children and, as in duty bound, they must always be loyal towards him. And if they do not do their duty in this respect, they must be branded with an eternal stigma of disloyalty. At the same time it must be remembered that the functions of a ruler are of the most difficult and intricate nature in the world. It is not that he has merely to get enough to fill up his coffers and then to empty them again by his luxuries and sports : he has a great deal to do. A *faqir* (mendicant) has only to look after his own personal wants, and a householder after the requirements of his own 'family lying within his personal reach, but a monarch has to look after a heterogeneous mass of people lying scattered abroad far beyond his personal reach and observation. He has no personal acquaintance with each and every individual subject of his kingdom, and the vaster a kingdom is, the greater is the gulf of ignorance between the ruler and the ruled. The ruler has, therefore, to rely upon his representatives. If they have no interest in the stability and

the prosperity of the kingdom except the filling up of their own pockets and passing the days of their temporary authority in pomp, pleasure, and personal aggrandizement, his rule suffers. It is not seldom that, for the sake of their interest they sacrifice the cause of the State, not heeding the requirements of propriety, fair dealing, and justice. Their mind loses equilibrium and becomes unsettled, and is ruled by selfish motives producing chaos and anarchy in the affairs of the State. They leave the stage after playing their part, long or short, as the circumstances permit, but the effect of their performance eventually falls on the head of the ruler. Therefore, a ruler has to suffer, not only for his own actions, but for actions of his subordinates and representatives as well. The duties and obligations of a monarch are consequently far more onerous than those attending upon other offices in the world. Further he is a servant or guardian of the country which remunerates him by various taxes on land or otherwise. Though the power of a king is derived directly or indirectly from the people, as a matter of fact he grows more powerful than the people themselves. The country invests him with that power for its own sake, and it is his duty to manage it well and maintain peace and order. It is an admitted fact that in many cases religion and government go side by side, but generally it is the most unwise act on the part of a ruler to mix Church and State together. When both are mixed and combined, especially when the rulers and their subjects maintain different religions, the fanatical element must creep in and the authorities must in their overzeal step out of their bounds. Forced by circumstances, intentionally or unintentionally, religious bigotry getting the better of them, they commit wrongs resulting in oppression. Such oppression amounts to breach of the sacred trust on the part of the ruling power, which leads to reprisals on the part of the subjects. Tyranny on the part of the rulers and discontent on that of the ruled, invariably lead to the disintegration of the civil Govern-

ment of a country. When the die is cast, the oppressor must lose the game. And the Almighty God, who never tolerates unrighteousness, misrule and oppression, becomes wrath and creates, while we are anaware, an agency for the removal of the wrong doer. Innumerable instances demonstrating the above hypothesis are to be found in the history of all the countries of the world. The following few may well be quoted for the perusal of our readers:—

- (a) In the Treta Age when Ravana, the ruler of Ceylon, began to commit certain excesses, thinking, as the tradition goes, that he had become practically immortal and invincible, their being none in Ceylon or its neighbourhood to contest his authority, Rama's exile became the means of his destruction, nay, of the destruction of his family. He was tempted to treacherously abduct Sita, the wife of Rama. Then Rama, who was homeless and troopless and far removed from his native country, was furnished with human and animal troops to bridge over the ocean and destroy the proud, arrogant, and invincible tyrant.
- (b) During the Dvapara Age (Silver Age) Ugra Sena was king of Mathura. His wicked son, Kansa, imprisoned him and usurped his throne, as the Emperor, Aurangzeb, had done in the case of his father, Shah Jahan. He was, as his actions show, a base and heartless tyrant, a monster of iniquity, and a demon of cruelty. The people groaned under his tyranny and oppression. Although he was hated by all, none could say a word against him. On his own part, as is generally the case with thieves and tyrants, Kansa was always afraid and suspicious of all around him. When enquiring about his future, he was told by astrologers that his sister Devaki's eighth son would kill him. Thereon he at once imprisoned Devaki and Vasudeva, her husband. He was going to kill them, when at their humble supplication, the fates moved

him to pity, and he spared their lives on the condition that they should deliver immediately after birth, all their issue, whether male or female. They were thus kept prisoners in his own royal palace under the charge of a strong and vigilant guard. The first seven children born to Devaki were duly made over to the tyrant, who, in order to secure his safety, killed them all. However, a successful attempt was made to save the eighth—Krishna—who, soon after delivery, was exchanged with a female infant born the same night to one Nanda of Gokal—a village close by. When the fame of Krishna attracted Kansa's attention, many plans were devised to murder him, but during the last attempt, when secret arrangements were made to kill him, the tyrant met his fate by his God-sent destroyer. Then Krishna was invited to the throne, but he refused and enthroned the ex-King, the father of the deceased villain. Thus the Almighty saved the people by enforcing his pre-ordained behest which no human device could avert, although well known beforehand to the interested party who was, to all appearance, quite competent to stop its occurrence.

- (c) When the Children of Israel were persecuted in Egypt, the Egyptian King, Pharaoh, ordered all their new born male children to be cast alive into the river (a). However, when Moses was born, he was mysteriously saved and was brought up at the instance of the daughter of the tyrant himself (b). This Moses saved the Hebrews from their afflictions, and Pharaoh, with his men, was closed in by the sea and destroyed when pursuing to capture them (c).
- (d) When Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, Herod the king of that place, wanted to learn about his birth and existence with a view to kill him. His parents fled and took

(a) Exodus I, 22.

(b) Exodus II, 6 et seq.

(c) Exodus XIV, 30.

him to Egypt whence they never returned until the wicked king was dead (d).

- (e) The Qurash of Makka several times attempted to murder the Arabian Prophet, Muhammad, but failed (e).

There are many more examples, but the above-quoted are enough to show that fate cannot be averted. It would also appear that everything in the world can be likened to a building which has a certain lease of life according to the materials used in its construction. The engineer employed in building it, estimating its probable age, arranges beforehand for its repairs and replacements. Similarly, the Celestial Engineer would appear to have arranged for all sorts of constructions, their destruction and replacement. A mysterious and invisible agency is working in the universe; some believe therein and others not. When certain things are prophesied and they happen accordingly, we are at a loss to know how the prophecy was possible. Sometimes we attribute it to chance. The truth is, that holy persons, who are holy in the strict sense of the word, can see by means of Divine illumination, the past, the present, and the future as if all were happening just before their eyes. In like manner, a reference to the Puranic* world shows that centuries before his birth, the predestined advent of Guru Nanak was foretold. The cause of his birth is stated to be that he was pre-ordained to removing ignorance and darkness in the spiritual world and the temporal oppression of the ruling powers.

As regards the oppression practised upon the people of India since the Arabians first began to invade India up to the period when Guru Nanak was born, we give below a brief sketch of what had already happened and what was then happening.

- (a) According to the Chachnama, an Arabian work, when Muhammad Qasim entered Sindh, he put to the sword the

(d) St. Matthew, 2 and 3.

(e) Muir's Life of Muhammad.

* Bhavishat Puran.

nephew of Dahri ; his warriors and principal officers, and other *Infidels* were converted to Islam or annihilated. Hindu temples were demolished, and mosques erected in their stead.

- (b) At fort Rawar, Muhammad Qasim put six thousand fighting men to the sword and shot some with arrows.*
- (c) In 73, Hijra Khalifa Walid wrote to Hajjaj "God says give no quarter to *infidels*, but cut their throats." He also added to that order "this is the command of the great God. You should not be too ready to grant protection, because it will prolong your work."†
- (d) The state of affairs in India can be better judged from the following lines. The energies of the Arabians during the time to which these remarks relate were "solely concentrated upon executing the injunctions of the king of fierce countenance, understanding dark sentences, that they should force belief at the point of the sword, which was emphatically declared to be the key of heaven and hell. Terror and devastation, murder and rapine, accompanied their progress in fulfilment of the prophetic denunciation of Daniel, that this descendant of Ishmael shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practice, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people : and through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand."‡

These remarks relate to the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A. D., when the Muhammadan expeditions were confined practically to Sindh. When the Muhammadan supremacy was practically established in India, the following few specimens of cruelty out of many are noteworthy :

- (1) According to Tajul Muasa, Kutab, Din Aibak, on his

* Elliott's History of India, Vol. I, page 172,

† Elliott's History of India, Vol. I, pages 173-74.

‡ Elliott's Vol. I pages 31—35.

conquest of Meerut, demolished 700 big temples and constructed mosques instead thereof. At the same time he massacred 3,000 persons of the family of Banspal and bathed the idols with their blood.

Again in Koel he put to the sword all the Hindus who refused to embrace Islam. At Kalanjar, after the usual destruction of Hindu temples, he massacred 1,32,000 Hindus. He also sent 50,000 young Hindu, both males and females, to Gazni as captives for slavery.

(2) Tawarikh Ilahi says that Feroz Shah, Khilji, entirely devastated Malwa and some other countries and promulgated an order for slaying 1,000 Hindus daily with a view to bathing with their blood certain idols he had collected in the front of his fort. That order was duly carried out !

(3) What Amir Khusro and Farishta say about the condition of the Hindus during the time of Ala-ud-Din, Khilji, would seem quite incredible. They were subjected to all sorts of excesses and atrocities. No one was allowed to store provisions for a greater period than six months. All luxuries were forbidden to them, and the collection of necessities over and above a certain fixed limit was strictly proscribed. And their handsome children were snatched away from them.

(4) Tawarikh Ilahi shows that Muhammad Tuglak had ever present in front of his door 1,000 corpses which were replaced every 12 hours by a similar number of fresh bodies of slain Hindus. This shows that 2,000 Hindus were daily butchered by him.

(5) When Ala-ud-Din Sikandar built a fort at Delhi, he severed 14,000 heads of notable Hindus and placing them on the walls of the new fort, placed lighted lamps thereon in joy at the completion of his fort. (Tawarikh Ilahi).

(6) When he conquered Nagarkot Kangra, Firoz Shah massacred 13,000 idolaters, and forced 1,000 Brahmins and

Kshatryas to eat beef. (Tawarikh Farishta).

(7) Amir Taimur of Timarlang put to the sword 7,52,000 Hindus, and 29,000 he burnt alive. (Tawarikh Taimuri).

(8) Emperor Taimur massacred 1,00,000 [one lakh] Hindu captives in one day. (Autobiography of Taimur).

The above are only a few specimens out of a multitude. The Hindus were subjected to all sorts of indignities and persecutions, with the details of which we need not prolong our account here. No device or mode of persecution, threat, or inducement was left unresorted to in order to compel them to embrace Islam. When Tuglaks and Lodis reigned, the Hindus were subjected to still more cruel hardships. The bigoted zeal for Islam forbade any trust in Hindu princes or Hindu officers. High posts were filled up with foreign Muhammadan adventurers who had no sympathy with India or Indian interests at heart, and knew only how to extort money or propagate Islam by force (Hunter's brief History of the Indian people).

The result of all the operation and excesses of the Muhammadan rulers was that a country, which was unrivalled in riches and prosperity, was within a few centuries reduced to beggary and desolate jungles. Millions of innocent Hindus were put to the sword in a most merciless and inhuman manner. Unprecedented manhunts were invented. The slaughter of human beings in enclosed circles of large areas, was carried out like the slaughter of beasts and in sporting humour. Great cities like Kanauj were thoroughly bagged (Hunter). The Muhammadan bigotry did its worst for the Hindus. They were cruelly tortured, their temples destroyed, their females brutally wrested from them and necessities of life savagely wrenched away. All these horrors led to famines, chaos, Hindu revolts, and Muhammadan rebellions, which reduced the country to mere anarchy. All righteousness had vanished, and sin and unrighteousness swayed the country. When

speaking of the general state of affairs at the time, Guru Nanak remarked in Var Majh as under :-

1. "Kal Kati raje kasai dharm pankh kar ud ria,
 "Kur amavas sach chandarma disai nahin kain chiara.
 "Hoan bhal vikuni hol adherai rah na na koi,
 "Vich hao main mar dukh roi,
 "Kaho Nanak kin bid gat hoi."

"The Iron Age is a knife and the rulers are butchers (who are slaughtering the innocent people) and righteousness is flying away with its wings.

Unrighteousness is like *amavas*† whereas righteousness is the moon, but the latter under the domination of darkness can nowhere be seen.

I have tried to find the righteous path, but it cannot be found on account of the prevailing darkness.

The people having fallen into egotism, are crying in pain in consequence.

Nanak says "(when such is the case) how can salvation be gained ?"

Sayad Muhammad Latif when speaking of that period says that "the whole non-Muhammadan population was subjected to persecutions by the Muhammadan rulers." And a comprehensive extract relating to the vices of the ruling powers and their Courts as given by that author as well as that given by Guru Nanak himself, has been reproduced in Chapter XXVI of this book.

The internal state of the Hindus themselves was also, at that time, the most deplorable. They had lost most of what was necessary for the healthy existence of a people. Their morals were lowered, nay debased, and their character was gone. The caste

† Conjunction day of the sun and moon when darkness prevails over light.

system was most rigidly enforced. It was extended in such a selfish, inhuman, and intricate manner as was never known or contemplated before the advent of Muhammad Gaznavi (about 1000 A.D.). The principle of inequality was most strictly recognized and established. Every occupation, whether temporary or permanent, became a distinct and separate caste or class, whilst a member of any one of them was debarred from contracting marriage relations outside his caste. Tools of social dissolution were provided and instruments of internal disunion employed. Moral elevation sank down, the martial spirit decayed, and the spiritual standard was lowered. The Budhistic religion vanished, and the Hindu sovereignty was driven away before the foreign invaders of Islam. The worship of the Most High was neglected and that of Nature, elements, stones and idols substituted. The will of the people was confined, limited and fettered in the most dreadful whims and superstitions, the spirit of union was destroyed, physical strength weakened, moral courage lost, and spiritual might had gone. The Hindus had become worse than slaves and idol-worshippers. Reformers like Ramanand, Kabir, Gorakh, Shankara Acharya and others had failed to carry out the desired reform, and the accomplishment of that object was left to Guru Nanak who was born to remove the oppression, to raise the morals of the people, and to direct them to the righteous path.

CHAPTER V

The Success of Guru Nanak's Mission.

It has always been the case that when oppression, mismanagement and chaos take place, or the faith of the people in the Almighty is weakened or shaken, some holy person appears in the shape of a reformer, redeemer, or remover, of that oppression.

Such a person finds his duty imposed upon him by the Almighty. The charge imposed upon Gura Nanak appears to have been the most onerous, difficult, intricate, and complex, which yet he discharged so admirably and wonderfully.

Rama's chief action was the destruction of the wicked Ravna while engaged in the rescue of his own wife Sita. After that he succeeded the throne of his father and discharged his functions as a ruler admirably, in an age when the morals of the people were high and the internal state of the country was peaceful.

The life of the next great reformer, Krishna, presents us with a chequered career. He became ruler and was respected, nay worshipped, throughout the whole of India. Nevertheless, his life was a great mystery, and to a superficial observer it would appear as if it were a contradiction of all moral principles. Through his advice the Pandus trampled upon every sort of moral virtue. They were advised to kill parents preceptors, brahmins, brothers, cousins, males, females, and children. In order to carry this out, they were induced to resort to falsehood and subterfuges which any true reformer would have shunned altogether. It was through his instrumentality that Arjuna was forced to fight the famous battle of Kurakshetra in which the two great families of Kurus and Pandus, with millions of warriors, were annihilated. It was at this juncture that he explained himself to Arjuna in a series of highly metaphysical discourses known as the Gita. Thus he accomplished his great work exterminating the vicious and the wicked. And after all, before he died in obscurity, he joined in a family feud in which all his near and dear relations, including his own sons and grandsons, were destroyed. But for his great sermon, Gita Krishna would have long been ignored and forgotten as an obscure man. (*Krishna's Life by Dutt*).

There have been many more reformers in India, but all

of less note and importance except Budha who will be mentioned later on. It seems unnecessary to refer to them here, and we proceed to describe the most prominent reforms of the West.

The first great reformer was Abraham, to whom the Lord appeared in a vision or otherwise. He preached the unity of God, His worship and certain procedure of sacrifice. His teachings and travels were confined to a comparatively small area, namely, Ur of the Chaldees, Canaan and Egypt.*

The mission of Moses was limited to guiding the children of Israel and helping them out of Egypt.†

Jesus Christ was descended from Abraham in the 42nd generation ‡ The life of Jesus Christ between the 12th and the 30th years of his age is involved in mystery. At the age of 12 he accompanied his parents to Jerusalem where he tarried behind when his parents were gone. But, however, he was sought again, and taken to Nazareth.†† The Gospel is silent as to his whereabouts after that until he appears again on the stage at the River Jordan where he was baptized by John the Baptist. Jesus was then about thirty years of age "being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph." ‡‡The various Gospels are practically silent in regard to this gap of about 18 years. However, an attempt is made to explain this point by Nicolas Notovitch, in his "Unknown Life of Christ." According to him he secretly came to Sindh with certain merchants. Thence he travelled through the Panjab and Rajputtana to Jaggan Nath. He passed about six years in studying the Vedas at Jaggan Nath, Benares, and other places. After he had gained a good deal of knowledge he began to preach in India and thence went to Nepal and the Himalayan Mountains

* Genesis XI, XII. et seq.

† Exodus.

‡ St. Matthew, 1, 17.

††St. Luke 11, 42, 51.

where he spent about six years. And he returned to his country when he had become well versed in and a perfect expositor of the sacred writings. This may or may not be true, but in any case as the Gospel shows he was in Palestine at the age of thirty. His life was obscure and unpretending. He employed himself in healing the sick and preaching the unity and omnipotence of God as he had learnt it in India. His discourses were spoken in parables to fishermen who scarcely understood his words * He lived only a few years to preach and was crucified by the cruel, wicked, and merciless Jews. His preachings were delivered to fishermen, and then in the course of time, his creed was followed and accepted by practically the whole of Europe. Now that religion forms one of the greatest, largest, and most powerful creeds of the world. And the ruling races mostly belong to that religion.

The spread of that religion was beset with many difficulties and it was after the lapse of several centuries that the struggle, which was continued with great vigour and sacrifice, succeeded in establishing the creed of Jesus Christ. However, the time and the people were not so antagonistic to the spread of that religion as they were to the spread of the Sikh faith. The people among whom Jesus was born were broadly separated and distinguished by ritual laws of rigid and exclusive severity. But they had clung steadfastly to the worship of the one true God since their earliest existence. Monotheism was their natural worship and Jesus Christ gave to it a much wider significance which, under the circumstances, required comparatively little effort to secure its acceptance.

The political atmosphere was also much softer than that which marked the period of Guru Nanak. When the supremacy of Rome was established, all the self-governing powers which existed in Europe and its neighbourhood fell in and finally

disappeared. The subjugation of the State involved the downfall of the national religion too. Different nations were impelled by political power, and not by true spiritual attraction, to believe in the Roman creed, and when that political ascendancy was shaken and shattered, the various mythologies, which were blended together, collided with each other and began their work of destruction. Then it was a very opportune time for the doctrine of Jesus Christ, which was received with open arms.

When the Arabian Prophet appeared on the stage, the religion of the great and primeval Moslem Prophet, Abraham, was professed practically by the whole of Arabia. Muhammad declared himself a follower in the footsteps of Abraham whose religion he was destined to maintain, and he really did maintain it with certain modifications. The Arabs acknowledged one Supreme God and they addressed Him in prayer like this : "I dedicate myself to Thy service O God ! Thou hast no companion, except Thy companion on whom Thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his." They worshipped also idols and images as well as stars and planets and honoured them as inferior deities as if they were mediators with God and not *sui juris* (Sale). They were really three great idols, Lat, Ozza and Mannat, being considered as mediator goddesses. Besides this adoration was paid to unshaped stones. It is held that the Ka'ba rites gave rise to the latter practice. There is in the temple at Makka a highly venerated stone which has been held in great esteem since time immemorial. All the pilgrims must kiss the black stone which is imbedded in the eastern corner, and then make seven circuits round the sacred edifice. According to Ibn Ishac the practice of adoring the stones sprang up among the Ishmaelites in their carrying out of reverence for the Ka'ba, a stone from the Ka'ba enclosure, and later on these and similar other stones were deified and worshipped. Muhammad had ample materials for the great change, and worked them with excellent skill. He devised a

machinery with an adaptive energy and became a reformed worshipper of the Ka'ba instead of an idolater of Makka. Idolatry was abolished, the idols were shattered, but the rites of Ka'ba retained, being stripped of all idolatrous tendency. However, there still hangs a mysterious and unmeaning shroud around the monotheism of Islam.

The political problem at the time was not such as the Sikh Gurus had to steer through. There was no organized kingdom or empire in Arabia. Each tribe had a Sheikh, or its popular representative, at its head. The Arabs were sub-divided into innumerable bodies governed by a code of honour and morals of their own. They mostly spoke the same language, but each was independent of the other. They were notorious for restlessness and internecine war, being ever, on trivial causes, ready to separate and assume an attitude of implacable hostility. However, their word of honour, when they had once given it for the protection of any one, was such that they would try to keep and maintain it at any cost. During such a period, Muhammad was born in a Qureshi family having a considerable share in the management of the Ka'ba. When Muhammad began to evolve his prophetic designs and signs the people grew hostile towards him, but the members of his own family having comparatively great power solemnly gave him their protection. Although they did not embrace his creed, they pledged themselves to guard and protect him against any danger. Thus his life was ever safe whatever the feelings of his enemies may have been. So much is enough for our present purposes, and it seems unnecessary to take into account his flight to Madina. Under the circumstances it was quite easy for a religious reformer endowed with the capacity like that of Muhammad to subdue these scattered, isolated, and inter-quarrelling tribes, by drawing them to one and the same centre, and giving them the energy of a new religious life. The extension and propaga-

tion of Islam was divined to lie in the point of the sword, and Muhammadanism had a wonderful effect and mysterious progress. Within one hundred years after the death of Muhammad, the Arabian flag was hoisted in the plains of Sindh.

Now the age during which Guru Nanak and his successors were born, was different from those of the religious founders referred to above. The Guru found a vast and powerful empire to combat. The rulers were the most fanatical zealots that the surface of the earth had ever seen. Massacres of thousands of innocent Hindus were committed in mockery or sport. Hindu *fajirs* were allotted death or dungeon to harangue their sermons in. To shed Hindu blood was considered one of the most meritorious ways of gaining heaven. Persecution against the Hindus was very hot, and the law of the tyrant of the Tasur tribe in Arabia was to some extent being enforced in parts of India when the chastity of a Hindu bride was forcibly spoiled by Muhammadan leaders before she started living with her husband.

The Arabs were warlike and their martial spirit was great, and they were capable of coping with their antagonists. They were often at war amongst themselves with unvaried and unabated vigour and persistence. But the Hindus had utterly lost their martial inheritance and considered themselves mere innocent sparrows as compared with the hawk-like Muhammadans. They had, through continuous practice of oppression become accustomed to ill-treatment and harshness.

Moreover, at the time of Muhammad the Arabs were ruled by but one code of honour and morals, exhibited the same manners, and practically spoke the same language. Their religion was Abrahamic with certain modifications or corruptions which affected nearly the whole peninsula alike. But India was at the time we speak of a heterogeneous mass of people

different in language, debased in morals, ruled by separate and broadly distinguished customs, antagonistic creeds, adverse mythologies, and opposite rituals. Above all the caste bondage, unknown in other countries and which had been observed for ages, presented altogether opposed, wrangling and irreconcilable elements, too strong and indissoluble to be blended together.

Such was the cruel and dark age during which the Sikh Gurus had to work with such rough, corrupt, conflicting and antagonistic materials, the greatest reform ever known in the world. Guru Nanak extended his mission of preaching his gospel, not to India alone, but to regions foreign and distant, and generally through the force of his argument and will power, the stony hearted tyrants were made malleable and softened. The Divine course was never resorted to. Guru Nanak never fell back to have recourse to a Divine vision in order to convince the unbeliever. Unlike certain prophets he never employed the sword, nor were secret or treacherous murders committed in order to win the faith of the people or to gain a triumph over an enemy. Every think was left to the Divine will with the preaching and teaching of good actions. His successors also practically confined their mission to the word of the mouth, except the tenth and the last Guru who taught self defence and resistance and the removal of oppression with the aid of arms. It was through the teaching of Guru Nanak and his successors that no worship was recognized except that of the one God, that mythology was uprooted, idolatry exterminated, morals uplifted, customs and rituals blended together and simplified, and caste-bondage broken. Then finally martial spirit having been infused into a fallen, degraded, and down-trodden race, and their dormant, nay dead energies having been aroused, they reversed the ordinary state of affairs, sparrows fighting the eagles and lambs swallowing up the lions. They

were all drawn, with a general union, to the one common centre with inward communion of thought by the magnetic force of simple and irresistible truth. The doctrine was not based on hypothesis and speculation, but on facts which exist in truth and to which they were eye witnesses. They enlighten us not as to the earth alone, but also as to the whole universe and the Divine abode too. The soundness of the doctrine was so acceptable, bestowing peace of mind and celestial bliss even in this mortal life, that its attraction was too strong to be resisted and notwithstanding all the adverse and contending elements, both foreign and indigenous, the faith developed in a marvellous and admirable manner unprecedented and unknown elsewhere. Wonderful to say a penniless and armyless *faqir* succeeded, through all adverse circumstances and unparalleled and incredible persecutions, in overthrowing a vast, mighty, and first-rate power upon the earth, building upon its ruins—ruins effected by his own followers—a powerful Khalsa ascendancy. And all that for no selfish ends but for the good of the public—*Pro Bono Publico*. Such are the Gurus of the Khalsa whose life, mission, and doctrine we are going to detail in the following page.

Appendix A.

ਧਰੁਹ ਬਾਚਿ—

ਕੋ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਨਚਰ ਆਇਆ । ਖੋਚਰ ਭੂਚਰ ਕਉਨ ਸਹਾਇਆ ॥
 ਰਾਕਸ ਦਾਨੋ ਭੂਤੁ ਪਰੇਤੁ । ਕਿਨੈ ਤਮੈ ਲੰਘਾਇਆ ਸੇਤੁ ॥
 ਬਿਖਮੁ ਥਾਨੁ ਦੂਰਿ ਅਸਥਾਨ । ਕਿਉਂਕਰਿ ਮਾਰ ਗੁਣੀਆ ਪਛਾਨੁ ॥
 ਐਸੀ ਆਗੈ ਹੂਈ ਨ ਹੋਇ । ਬਿਨਾ ਕਬੀਰੁ ਨ ਪਹੁਚਿਆ ਕੋਇ ॥
 ਐਸੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਹੋਈ ਕਬੀਰੁ । ਰਾਮੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਿਉ ਮਿਲੇ ਸਰੀਰੁ ॥੧॥

ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਬਾਚ—

ਏਕ ਟੇਕ ਬਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਚਰੈ । ਖੋਚਰ ਭੂਚਰ ਆਵੈ ਨ ਠੇਡੈ ॥
 ਦਾਨਵਦੇਉ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਭੂਤੁ ਪ੍ਰੇਤੁ । ਪਵਨ ਅਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਏ ਲੰਘੇ ਸੇਤੁ ॥
 ਦਾਟ ਸਹੇਲੀ ਪਹੁਚੇ ਥਾਨੁ । ਨਿਰੰਜਲਿਲਾ ਲਿਖਯਾ ਨਿਰਬਾਨ ॥
 ਆਗੈ ਹੂਈ ਅਬਭੀ ਹੋਇ । ਏਕ ਕਬੀਰਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਇ ॥
 ਤੀਜੈ ਹੋਰ ਹਿਡਾਲ ਜਟੇਟਾ । ਜਾਕੇ ਆਪ ਨਿਰੋਜਨ ਭੇਟਾ ॥
 ਐਸੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੀ ਕਬੀਰੁ । ਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਬਾਧੀ ਧੀਰੁ ॥੨॥

ਧਰੁਹ ਬਾਚਿ—

ਸੁਣ ਨਾਨਕ ਝੂਠ ਕਿਉਂ ਬੋਲਤਾ । ਕੋਈ ਬਿਨਾ ਕਬੀਰੁ ਨ ਜਾਤਾ ॥
 ਨਾਉ ਸਸੂਰ ਤਿਨਾ ਉਨੀ ਸਾਣੁ । ਕਿਉਂ ਝੂਠੀ ਸਾਖਭਰੇਨਿਦਾਨ ॥੩॥

ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਬਾਚ—

ਦੇਖੋਗੇ ਜਬ ਪੈਦੇ ਹੋਇ । ਏਕੁ ਪਲਕ ਮੇਂ ਪਹੁਚੈ ਸੋਇ ॥
 ਬੇਦ ਕਤੇਬ ਕੀ ਕਫੈਨਕਾਣਿ । ਸਤ ਨਾਮ ਤਾਕੇ ਨੀਸਾਣੁ ॥
 ਸੁਣੋ ਧਰੁ ਰਖੀਸ਼ਰ ਭਾਈ । ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਚੀ ਸਾਖ ਜੁਣਾਈ ॥੪॥

ਧਰੁਹੋ ਭਗਤਿ ਬਾਚ—

ਜਾਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਾਹੁਗੇ ਕਿਧਰੁ । ਆਗੈ ਪਿਕਟ ਪ੍ਰਬਤ ਹੈ ਨਿਧਰੁ ॥
 ਦੇਖੈ ਅਬ ਤਮਰੀ ਸਕਤਿ । ਕੋਸੀ ਤੈ ਕੀਨੀ ਹੈ ਭਗਤਿ ॥

ਤਬ ਨਾਨਕ ਪਹੁਚੇ ਦਰਬਾਰ । ਜਹਾਂ ਬੈਠਾ ਤਖਤੁ ਸਚਾ ਕਰਤਾਰ॥
ਪਸ ਖਵਾਸੀ ਕਰੇ ਕਬੀਰੁ । ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ਕੇ ਪਾਸੁ ਵਜੀਰੁ॥

The above extract shows that the whole fiction was made to prove that when Guru Nanak was on his way to the celestial **abode** of the Almighty, he predicted the advent of Hinda! **and** that he found Kabir waiting upon the Lord as his **Wazir**.

Part I

Chapter 1.

GURU NANAK.

Sewa Ram, a Bedi Khatri of Talwandi ⁽¹⁾ a village on the Ravi, in the Sharkpur ⁽²⁾ Tahsil of the Gurjranwala District, had two sons, Mehta Kalu Chand and Lalu. The former became weighman or dharvai, and also acted as accountant of the village, which was at the time held by one Rai Bular, a Bhatti Rajput. Kalu Chand was much respected by the villagers who considered him as their head, and the Rai also had a great regard for him. The Emperor who ruled India then, was Bahlol Lodi, and the Hindus, nay the whole non-Mussalman population, were subjected to the most cruel and merciless persecutions. It was at such a time that Mehta Kalu was blessed with a son on the night of Puranmashi (full-moon night) of Katak, *Sambat* 1526 (about November 1469 A.D.). ⁽³⁾ Early on the following morning Hardiyal, the family priest, was sent for and was requested to draw up his horoscope (Janampatri) and to divine for him some auspicious name. The priest took some time in preparing the horoscope, and then named him Nanak. Kalu objected to this name as being common to both Hindus and Muhammadans.

(1) Also called the Talwandi of Rai Bolar.

(2) Sharkpur Tahsil was formerly in the Lahore District, but has recently been transferred to the Gujranwala District.

(3) See also Chapter III of the Introduction.

The priest rejoined that it was the only name consonant with his astronomical calculations, as Nanak was destined to be respected and worshipped both by the Hindus and Muhammadans as their spiritual leader. On the site of the house in which Guru Nanak was born, now stands the world-famous shrine called Nankana Sahib.

In his childhood Guru Nanak was of reserved habits and would eat but little. He always seemed pensive and thoughtful and would speak of the Lord. Nature had endowed him with a contemplative mind and pious disposition. He would give away in charity whatever he could lay hands on in his father's house. He began to show signs of a religious spirit and sublime soul, and used to discuss Divine knowledge with his playmates.

When he was five years old, Nanak's maternal aunt, Bibi Lakho, came to see her sister, Bibi Tripta, and observing Nanak's indifferent ways, said to her sister 'Thy son is soft headed.' On hearing this Nanak replied "Thine will be much more (four times more) soft headed than myself." Thus he predicted the birth of the well known holy person, Baba Ram Thaman (in whose memory an annual fair is held in the vicinity of Kasur up to this time).

When yet a boy of seven, the Guru was taken to Gopal Pandha to be taught Hindi. The Pandha wrote the Hindi alphabet for him on a wooden tablet. The Guru politely asked him how far his own knowledge extended in that which he was proceeding to teach him. The reply was that he knew mathematics including land surveying. The Guru said that such knowledge could not help him to obtain freedom and salvation in the world to come. The schoolmaster was astounded at his pupil's words and said that he knew all the accounts necessary for shop-keeping, and thinking that Nanak was merely repeating the non-sensical talk of some *faqir*, angrily asked Nanak if he knew any thing which would be helpful to obtain salvation. Then Nanak gently said that he could

tell him something of the sort, and uttered the following hymn in Siri Rag :—

2. Jal moh, ghas mas kar, mat kagad kar sar,
 Bhao qalam kar chit likhari gur puchh likh bichar,
 Likh nam salah likh, likh ant na parawar,
 Baba ch lekha likh jan,
 Jithai lekha mangiai tithai hoe cacha nishan.

“Burn wordly love, grind its ashes into ink (a) and turn the intellect into an excellent paper.

Make the love of God thy pen and thy heart the writer (then) under the instruction of the Guru write and meditate.

Write the Lord's name, pen his praises and write that He has no limit this side or the other.

O Sir ! learn to write this account (and) where accounts are to be rendered this shall serve thee as a true mark.”

This is given as a specimen of what the Guru used to utter in his childhood when he was altogether illiterate and quite of an unripe age. As to such sayings we will quote only a few verses now and then when necessary. In the second part copious hymns shall be given with explanations.

On hearing the hymn (a portion of which has been cited above) the Pandha was struck with wonder and paying homage to the Guru acknowledged his own inferiority and inability to teach him anything at all. He, nevertheless, remonstrated with the young spiritualist saying that he was yet too young to absorb himself in such subjects. To which the Guru politely replied in a triplet “that he was very much

(a) Country ink which is made of lamp-black or certain ashes rubbed well in oil.

afraid of the Lord, that all relations in the world were unreal, the most powerful of mankind being destined to mix with dust". The Pandha was filled with admiration and the Guru was allowed to return home.

Next day the Guru did not go to the Pandha, but began to play with fragments of paper as little children generally do. He collected some papers, covered them with cloth in imitation of a scripture covered with kerchiefs and then began to read like a Pandit. His mother, out of love, asked him what he was reading. The reply was that he was reading the *Sapt Shaloki Gita* or laudation of the Lord, comprised of seven verses. It is a beautiful and sublime hymn in Sanskrit - a language which then had become dead in the country. His parents sat round him and at their request, the meaning of the hymn were explained to them. It means that God is one. He is ever in existence and more subtle than the subtlest. He is Lord of all and is ever radiant. His light exceeding that of millions of suns and moons taken together. The light of the sun fluctuates, whereas His is ever refulgent and unabating.

However, in spite of all this the parents remained under an illusion with regard to the true nature and extent of their son's spiritual power and knowledge. Therefore, the father, next day again took him to the Hindi Teacher, Pandha, who wrote for him alphabets on a patti (a flat wooden board used for beginners to write on). The Guru said that these alphabets praised the Lord and therefore he extemporised hymns in an alphabetical form in Rag Asa. This composition in praise of the Lord is called Patti.† The Pandha then informed Mehta Kalu, that the Guru was above such secular education and he was destined to be a great philosopher and to preach

† A few verses of it relating to the karma principle and the principle on which the universe is maintained will be found in Chapter XXIII.

the divine knowledge,

When about 9 years old his father took the Guru to Pandit Birj Nath to be taught Sanskrit. The Pandit wrote for him "OM"—(The whole, Omnis.) As a rule it is written at the begining of every writing. The Guru asked him the meaning of "OM" but the Pandit declined to answer, adding that Nanak, at that stage, had no business to know the meanings. However, the Guru replied that reading without knowing was merely groping in the dark. A discussion ensued and at the request of the Pandit the Guru recited an explanation of "OM" called "OANKAR" in an alphabetical form. He indicated what the Creator and his manifestations were. We omit the original hymn, although it indicates what a masterly and extensive knowledge the Guru poseessed at that age. For want of space we are compelled to refer our readers to the Holy Granth.

After that for about a month the Guru would seldom stir out of his home, being absorbed in divine contemplation. However he showed great interest and alacrity whenever he heard any one talking of matters divine, but this demeanour on his only son's part made Kalu rather uneasy as he wished him to be well up in secular knowledge. He therefore began to look gloomy and Rai Bular sympathised with him, and after some consideration, advised him to send the boy to Mullah Qutab Din to learn Persian. The Guru attended his school for a few days when a religious disputation arose, and the pupil recited a hymn on the Persian Alphabet praising the Lord and advising the people to remember and adore Him and to practise righteousness, Thereupon the Mullah humbly paid obeisance to his pupil and told his father that he was already well up in every essential knowledge and was destined to lead both Hindus and Muhammadans to the right path.

After that for some time the Guru became wholly absor-

bed in divine contemplation and would not converse with any body. Kalu, therefore, became much pejected and sent for the Mullah to try and make the boy speak. The Mullah tried various means to make him speak but to no purpose. Eventually he entreated him in the name of God, whereupon the Guru uttered a hymn in Fersian in Rag Tilang saying that the world was perishable and man, for his evil deeds, was sure to be severely punished in the world to come

When the Guru was about 9 years of age, the father, according to the prevailins custom, invited Pandits, relations and friends to initiate and invest him with the Brahminical thread. When all the preliminarier had been gone through, he was asked to wear the thread as every orthodox Hindu should do, but he declined to do so contending that it would effect to change in him, because it was of cotton and subject to change, pollution and destruction. At the same time he added that man should wear a sacred thread formed of moral and spiritual epithets so that it should ever prove holy, unchangeable and eternal. For hymus on the subject see Chapter XXV. The Brahmans could not gainsay the philosophical treatment of the matter, and Hardial, the family priest, was so influenced that he passed the remainder of his life in adoring the Almighty.

When Kalu Chand saw that Nanak would not learn in school he asked him to tend his grazing cattle. When the cattle were grazing the grazier became absorbed in contemplation and the cattle damaged crops standing in fields close by. Complaint was made to Rai Bular for the recovery of compensation, but on inspection no clue or mark could be found of the cattle having entered the field, which was intact and as flourishing as ever. In memory of the event there stands

(a) Vide the hymn commencing with "Yak arz guftam pesh-i-to"

a shrine called Klara Sahib (the sacred field).

Some time after that during the month of Baisakh (April—May) when he went to tend the cattle, the Guru lay down under a tree deeply immersed in contemplation. The hot rays of the sun in its course began to fall on his face through a gap in the branches of the tree. Then a large snake shaded his face with its hood. At that time Rai Bular happened to pass that way and was terrified at the sight. He deputed one of his men to drive away the snake. On being disturbed, the Guru, contrary to Rai's expectations and very much to his wonder and admiration, woke up as hale and hearty as ever. A temple stands at the place of the incident.

Later on which the Guru again went out to tend the cattle he centered his mind upon the adoration of the Almighty. As he was long indifferent to what was passing around, the shades of all the trees changed but of that one under which he was sitting. Rai Bular witnessed this also when he happened to pass by. (Here also now exists a shrine).

On many occasion Rai Bular informed Mehta Kalu Chand, that his son was not an ordinary mortal, and ever commended his glory to his notice, but the latter was ever seeking after wordly business in which the Guru practically took no interest at all, but was waiting for the time when he was to start on his glorious, unprecedented world-wide journey. On the other hand the Rai respected, loved and revered the Guru from his very childhood and his belief in him got fresh strength from every new sign of manifestation and ultimately it became so rooted in his mind that he was prepared to help or serve him in any way he could. The Guru too in return had a great regard for him.

When the parents found that Nanak would not concern himself with wordly affairs, they became very sorry and rebuked him for his idleness. The father asked him to look after his

crops in the field. Nanak replied that he was not idle but busy in guarding his own fields. When asked what his fields were, the reply was an allegorical hymn in Rag Sorth:—

3. Man hali, krisani karni, sarm pani, tan khet,
 Nam bij, santokh suhaga, rakh garibi ves,
 Bhao karm kar jamsi se ghar bhagath dekh,
 Baba maya sath na hoe.

In Maya jag mohya virla bujhai koe.

“My body is a field of which the ploughman is the mind, whose cultivation is righteousness, and modesty is water for its irrigation,

I have sown it with the seed of the sacred word (the name of the Lord), contentment is its harrow, and the garb of humility is its hedge”.

“The seed will germinate into a good crop with love and righteousness, and fortunate is the house into which such a crop is brought.

O Sir, Mammon will not accompany us to the next world,

It has infatuated the whole world, but there are few who understand its delusiveness.”

On this his father thought that Nanak did not like agriculture, and proposed shopkeeping. The response was again in an allegorical hymn in which the Guru said ‘my shop is made of time and space; its store consists of “the commodities of truth and self-control; and I am always dealing with my customers, whose dealings with me are very profitable indeed”. The father considered that Nanak did not like sitting all day long in the shop and wanted to travel. Therefore he asked him to trade in horses as a suitable business for him, but again the reply was that his trade was divine knowledge, the profits of which would be a purseful of good deeds with which he was sure to reach the land of the Lord.

Then Kalu Chand told Guru Nanak that if he disliked all other jobs, he might take some service which might divert his attention from melancholy thoughts. The Guru, in a hymn, replied to the following effect : "I am already a servant and am trying to do my duty in the service of my Lord. I carry out His wishes with self-control and the pleasing of Him is the only reward I covet". On hearing this the father kept quiet and retired.

As the period of which we are speaking, the Guru became indifferent alike to the wants of his person and to the cares of the world outside. For days together he would abstain from eating and drinking and remain absorbed in divine contemplation. For days he would conceal himself in the wilderness, studiously avoiding contact with his fellow beings. On several occasions his parents believed him to have been lost in the jungle or devoured by ferocious beasts, but on search he was found deep in contemplation and careless of all that happened around him. The whole family became very uneasy. Some said he had lost his senses and had gone mad. Others began to think that he was possessed of some evil spirit. His father now found himself in a dilemma and told Nanak that he had become the laughing stock of all the people, but nothing could restrain Nanak from following the dictates of his own mind. Presently Kalu was persuaded by his relatives to send for an exorcist to whom Guru Nanak uttered the following hymn in Rag Maru :—

4. "Koi akhe bhutna koi betala.

"Koi akhe rog hai, koi matwala,

"Jaisi jiski budh hai so kare uchara,

"Bhaya diwana shah ka Nanak vechara".

"Some say I am possessed of a demon, others say of a sprite.

"Some say I am affected with a malady and others say I am under intoxication.

"Whatever the people think of me, they say according to their own respective understanding.

"Whereas poor Nanak has gone mad for His Lord". Upon this the exorcist retired declaring that Nanak was not suffering from any evil influence.

Guru Nanak continued in his former condition, with little food and drink, little sleep or rest. His father was obliged to send for a physician. When the physician began to feel his pulse, Guru Nanak withdrew his arm and recited the following hymn in Var Malar :—

5. "Vaid bulaya vaidgi pakr dhandole bahen,

"Bhola vaid na jan i kark kaleje mahen,

"Ja vaid ghar apne hamri ahe na le,

"Ham ratte shaho apne tun kis daru de".

"A physician is sent for to prescribe medicine, he taketh my hand and feels the pulse,

"The ignorant physician knoweth not that the pain lieth in my mind.

"O physician go home, thou canst not diagnose my disease"

"I am imbued with the love of my own Lord; to whom dost thou administer medicine?"

The physician then got blessings of Guru Nanak and retired, telling his parents that he was suffering from no bodily ailment. Nanak continued in that indifferent and apparently idle and gloomy frame of mind. He found pleasure and refreshment in conversation with Faqirs on divine topics. Rai Bular's belief in him became more firm and the poor and sick came to him for help. The Guru helped the poor with

money and cured the sick of their diseases. All these things greatly troubled his parents and his father devised a plan to divert his attention by giving him a training in trade and shop-keeping. When he was 15 years of age, his father gave him Rs. 20 and directed him to purchase some profitable commodity from a neighbouring market town. Bala, a servant of the family, was also sent with him. When they reached Chuhar Kana a village about 20 miles from Talwandi, the Guru met a party of destitute faqirs who were engaged in religious devotion. He thought to feed them was the most profitable bargain he could make. On inquiry he found that they were starving and after consulting Bala he purchased provisions worth all he had. He then fed them and derived a great pleasure from the long divine discourses he held with them. After that he returned homeward. When Bala reminded him of money Guru Nanak replied that his father had directed him to make the most profitable bargain which he had done; because there was no bargain better then to give in the name of God. It is much more profitable than any transaction for worldly profit as its profit will accrue ten fold in this and seventy fold in the world to come.

When Guru Nanak returned home, he thought of his father's temper and consequent treatment. Therefore he sat in the branches of a big *pilun* tree close to his house. Bala informed his father of his son's bargain. The worldly father was infuriated and discovering Nanak, slapped him on the face. However Rai Bular reproached him for his action and appeased his anger by payment to him of his money. Later on the people laughed and joked at Kalu's behaviour and public opinion compelled him to refund the money to the Rai.

The place where Guru Nanak fed the hungry faqirs is called Sacha Sauda (true bargain) and the tree under which he concealed himself is called "Mal Sahib" and exists up to this day.

day with its branches bowed down to the ground all round.

Guru Nanak had an only sister, named Nanaki. She was born in Sambat 1521 (1464. A. D.) and was married in 1532 Sambat (1475 A. D.) to Jai Ram, a Diwan in the service of Nawab Daulat Khan, Lodi, who was a grandee and relation of Sultan Bahlol, the then Emperor of Delhi. The Nawab held an extensive Jagir in Sultanpur near Kapurthala. It is situated on the old Grand Trunk Road between Lahore and Delhi and was a place of importance at that time.

Nanki knew the worth of Guru Nanak and loved and respected him much. On his part Nanak also showed great respect to his sister and was greatly attached to her. When attempts failed to turn his attention to worldly matters, and to induce him to give up his meditative habits, as well as those of giving away in charity whatever he could lay hands on in his father's house, the father thought it advisable to send him to his sister who always used to intercede for him.

In Sambat 1542 (A. D. 1485) his brother-in-law, Jai Ram, took him to the Nawab who put Nanak in charge of his storehouse (Modikhana) which was full of all sorts of provisions. This business was very agreeable to Nanak's disposition. He opened the doors of the storehouse to the poor and needy. All who came to him went away satisfied with food, clothes and money. His charity was given with such a liberal hand that ultimately he was charged with having squandered away all the stores. He was therefore confined pending the settlement of accounts. However, when the Nawab inspected the *Modikhana*, and examined the accounts as well as the balance of provisions in stock, everything was found to be in proper order and the reports made to him were found to be without any foundation. Thereupon new honours were conferred on Guru Nanak. Later on similar charges were again brought against him, but on enquiry they also proved to be entirely groundless. After that the

Nawab would not listen to any complaints made against him and the Guru went on doing his duty until he voluntarily gave it up in Sambat 1556 (1499 A.D.) as will be explained later on. The room in which Guru Nanak was confined under orders of the Nawab is now called "Kothri Sahib."

In Sambat 1544 (1487, A.D.) Guru Nanak was married to Bibi Sulakhni, daughter of one Mul Chand Chona Khatri of Batala in the Gurdaspur District. He had two sons, Sri Chand born on 5th Sawan, Sambat 1551 (1494 A.D.) and Lakhmi Das born on 19th Phagan, Sambat 1553 (1497 A.D.). The former renounced the world and founded a sect of ascetics called Udasis. They wear their hair long, binding it on the head like a turban. They rub ashes on the body, the application of a razor to any part of it being strictly prohibited. Nor do they use short breeches. Lakhmi Das became a man of the world and had 2 sons whose descendants remain to this day.

While at Sultanpur Guru Nanak always used to bathe early in the morning in the Bein river. The plum (or ber) tree under which he used to sit still stands and is called "*Baba ki ber*" and the place where he used to bathe is termed "*Sant Ghat*." One morning when he went to bathe there he concealed himself somewhere. On the report of Nanak's disappearance being made to him, the Nawab tried all means to find him out but in vain. There were different rumours afloat. Some said Nanak had given away the whole storehouse in alms, and it was said that being unable to make up the deficiency he had committed suicide by drowning. Others said something else. However, his sister Nanaki was of a different opinion. She said he must have gone somewhere for divine worship. It is stated that the Guru then went heavenwards and waited upon the Lord in his celestial abode. A good deal of conversation took place with the Lord. The Guru chanted many hymns in praise and laudation of the Lord who enjoined upon him the repetition of the sacred word

“*Vaheguru*” as *Gurmantra* (name of the Lord, to be repeated or muttered) as well as the fundamental doctrine—

“Ekaunkar, sat nam, karta, Purkh, nir bhau, nir vair,

“Akal murat, ajuni, svai, bhang, gar, parsad.”*

“God is but one, His name is true, He is the creator. He is pervading the whole universe, He is without fear, is without enmity, He is an immortal being. He is not subject to birth, he is self-born and self-existent, He is the remover of darkness and is merciful.”

This doctrine the Guru was ordered by the Lord to repeat, adding to it that the Lord was true in the beginning of the universe, may, even before that when there was nothing beside the Lord, that he was truly existing still, and that would continue to exist when all else should cease to exist. It was the mission of the Guru to preach and propagate this doctrine which is the religious formula upon which the whole superstructure of the Sikh religion stands. When the Nawab had lost all hope for him, the Guru, after performing his holy journey, appeared again on the third day and sat in a graveyard on the bank of the river. He did not go back to the *Modikhana*, nor his own home. The Nawab earnestly entreated him to continue in his employ but he flatly refused adding that he had undertaken the service of the Lord. Accounts of the *Modikhana* were then carefully checked and a handsome amount was found due to Nanak. The Guru desired to give it in charity, but when the case of his children was represented, the Nawab gave them one half of it with his concurrence, and the other half was given to the poor and needy.

It was at this time that the Nawab thinking that the Guru forbade idolatry and preached the unity and Fatherhood of God, said to him, that since he had become the servant of the Lord and all religions were alike to him, therefore he might openly embrace the Moslem creed and join him in performing the Friday afternoon

*See also Chapter XXIII.

prayers in the Jam'a Masjid. The Guru agreed and joined accordingly, but when the whole congregation was standing in prayer he stepped back and sat in silence. When the prayers were over, the disappointed Nawab asked him the cause of his behaviour. The reply was that both the Nawab and the prelate (Imam) had lost their concentration of mind which was essential in praying. He told them that when they had put their heads on the earth their mind was running wild and astray, and while their bodies were bowing down in worship their mind was absent. He explained that the Nawab during the service was thinking of purchasing horses from Kandhar while the Imam, going automatically through the bowing process was uneasy that his new born filly, which was not tethered, might fall into a pit which was situated within his own compound. The fact was admitted by the Nawab and the Imam, that their attention was really divided explained by Guru Nanak. The Qazi then commenced a religious discourse and was obliged to acknowledge the Guru's spiritual power. The Nawab then entreated for divine blessings which were granted. The Imam asked for the righteous path and was told to attend the prayers in sincerity and with concentration of mind and to lead his life with noble acts and purity of heart.

Immediately after his return from the heavenly journey the Guru became a public preacher and putting on the garb of a faqir, he openly began to preach his mission and teach righteousness to all classes and religions alike, with no distinction whatever. His preaching had great effect and the people leaving off polytheism, stone and idol worship and the worship of tombs etc. began to follow his simple and pure theism. Religious priest, both Hindus and Muhammadans, whose revenues and prettice began to suffer, resented it greatly). It was at the instance of the Mullahs that the Nawab had persuaded the Guru to join in prayers in the Jam'a Masjid with an ulterior view to his being brought into the Islamic fold. After a short stay at Sultanpur as a faqir and public preacher, Mardana minstrel of Talwandi

(the birth place of the Guru) came and joined the Guru. He had been sent by the Guru's father to learn about his health. Taking him along with himself the Guru at the age of 34 years, started on his mission in Phagan Sambat 1556 (1500 A. D.). Having crossed the Biasa river he halted at Gondwal and foretold the future of the place. (a)

After that, through Fatihabad, he came to the spot where the Amritsar holy tank now is, and predicted the holiness and importance which were reserved for it in after ages. Then he paid a visit to Ram Tirath, and had long religious discourses with different sectarians, and denounced stone and idol worship in various beautiful and excellent hymns. Many began to follow him, giving up idolatry and unrighteous ways. On his way he visited Lahore, and seeing numerous animals slaughtered by the butchers, he observed "Lahaur Shahr, zahr kahr, sawa pahr."

"The city of Lahore has severe calamity upon it $1\frac{1}{4}$ pahr (about 4 hours) daily". (Vide Holy Granth, shalok varan te vadhik). Hearing of the fame of the Guru, thousands of citizens daily attended upon him to hear his divine sermons.

Sayad Ahmad Taqi, who was Murshad or religious guide of Sikandar Lodi, the Emperor of Delhi, and at whose instance the Emperor persecuted many noted Faqirs like Kabir and Namdev, came along with many others to pay a visit to the Guru and had a very long disputation with him. He could not rebut the strong and forcible arguments and the indisputable doctrines of the Guru. He was compelled to submit and, paying homage to the Guru, retired in peace.

The Guru halted at Lahore for some days and then came to Emnabad to pay a visit to one Lalo, a carpenter, and put up at

(a) He referred to the sanctity which was to be attached to the locality during the time of the third Guru when a magnificent shrine with a Baoli (a well with 84 steps) was constructed, for the maintenance of which the Emperor Akbar had assigned 84 villages in Jagir.

the place where the shrine of Rori Sahib now stands. Here he used to prosecute his spiritual meditations on a bed of pebbles, or *rors* from which the shrine derives its name. During his stay there one Bhag Mal, a Hindu official, gave a charitable feast (Brahmbhoj) to which Guru Nanak was also invited, but he did not accept the invitation. The Hindus were already against him on account of his new tenets which greatly affected the high castes and priestly castes especially. When Bhag Mal was informed of the Guru's conduct he used insulting language in respect of the Guru. On hearing this the Guru in a hymn said that the khattris, having abandoned their duty, had begun to live on unlawful earnings. Next day the Guru and Bhai Lalo were sent for by Bhag Mal in his court and he sneeringly asked the Guru the cause of his refusal to accept the invitation. The reply was that honestly earned bread (as that of Lalo) was good whereas Bhag Mal's earnings were dishonest being gained by means of extortion and the bleeding of the people. Honest and dishonest earnings he compared respectively to milk and blood. The Guru was challenged to prove his assertion whereupon a loaf of coarse bread was sent for from the house of Lalo as well as rich food from that of Bhag Mal. The Guru squeezed them in open court, whereupon milk came out of Lalo's loaf, and blood oozed out of Bhag Mal's. The audience were wonder struck, but Bhag Mal was greatly humbled and dropped down his head in shame and the fire of vengeance rose high within him.

During those days the son of the Khan of Emnabad was seriously suffering from illness. He had tried many medicines but in vain. Finding this opportunity Bhog Mal, in order to feed fat his grudge against Guru Nanak, suggested to the Khan to imprison all the Faqirs he could lay hands on, so that he might happen to find some competent one who could instantaneously cure the patient. By this dodge he thought that the Guru was sure to be arrested and would thus undergo immense trouble in jail.

Several faqirs were captured and the Guru was one amongst them. The Guru cured the patient at once, upon which the Khan or Pathan grandee thanked him and apologised for his conduct. The Guru pardoned him. Observing this, Malik Bhago (or Bhag Mal) was left with no alternative but to fall at the feet of the Guru and ask for forgiveness, which was granted by the gracious and merciful Guru. However, considering the behaviour of the Pathan grandees and the general demoralization prevailing among the inhabitants there, the Guru said that retributive justice was to descend upon them when Babar would come from Kabul to chastise them in Sambat 1578. He recited the well known hymn in Rag Tilang † in which, after intimating that his prophecy accorded with the Divine Will, he explained that Babar would bring an army from Kabul, which was formed of the sum total of the sins of the sinful for whose destruction it was destined. In that hymn he informs us that at that time modesty and righteousness had disappeared, unrighteousness was holding its sway, Satan was acting as priest on the occasion of marriage ceremonies. After horrible details he added that the Almighty was sure to mete out justice to the wicked and unrighteous. The destruction of Saidpur ‡ also was at the same time predicted.

During the Guru's sojourn at Emnabad, Mardana took leave of him to visit Talwandi to see his family there. The Guru's parents asked him about their son's whereabouts and welfare. Rai Bular, who was then very infirm on accounts of old age asked him to request the Guru to pay a visit to Talwandi so that he might be able to see him. Bhai Bala who did not accompany the Guru during his past journey, also came along with Mardana to

‡ See the Holy Granth, Rag Tilang Hymn V. This prediction was duly fulfilled—vide chapter VI. The gap in the continuity of the reign of the Mughal family when Humayun was expelled from India by Sher Shah Suri was also then predicted and fulfilled—vide chapter VI.

† Saidpur, was quite close to the present Emnabad and was ruled by the Pathans.

Emnabad. The Rai's message was duly delivered and the Guru, in order to comply with it, started towards Talwandi. On his arrival there, he stayed by the well ⁽¹⁾ of Bhai Bala's father which was at a short distance from the village and the Rai was informed of it. The Guru's relations went there and brought him to the Rai's house, when the relations began to explain how they stood towards him in relationship, in order to persuade him to abandon his mission, he uttered the following hymn in Rag Ram Kali.

4 ‘Khima hamari mata kahiai santokh hamara pita,
 ‘Sat ha-nara ehacha kahiai jis sang manua jita,
 ‘Sun Lalu⁽²⁾ gun aisa ; sagle lok bandhan ke bandhe so
 gun kahiai kaaisa,
 ‘Bhao bhai sang hamare, prem prit so chacha ;
 ‘Dhia hamari dhiraj bani hai, aisa sang hamara ;
 ‘Sant hamari sang saheli, mat hamari cheli ;
 Eh kutamb hamara kahiai, sas hamari kheli ;
 ‘Ek ankar hamara khawand jin eh banat banai ;
 ‘Us ko tiag avar ko lage Nanak so dukh pai.”
 ‘Forgiveness is my mother and contentment my father ;
 ‘Truth is my uncle with which I have controlled my mind ;
 ‘Hear O Lalu, this is meritorious; all the people are
 bound by worldly entanglements and how can their relationship
 be termed a merit;

Love (of the Lord) which is my brother, is my companion, whereas affection is my uncle;

Patience is my daughter, such is my company formed of;

Peace is my constant female companion and intelligence my hand-maid;

Thus his composed my whole family who are my constant associates;

(1) This is now held in great reverence.

(2) *The real uncle of Guru Nanak, being the younger brother of his father.*

The only one God who has created the whole universe,
is my husband;

He, who forsakes Him and seeks another, O Nanak!
shall suffer."

On seeing the Guru, Rai Bular was very much pleased. His vast learning and persuasive eloquence struck him a great deal. The Rai wanted to induce him to remain at Trilwandi by offering him lands, but Nanak was quite indifferent to such an offer and politely refused it. All proposals for trade, shopkeeping and service were rejected. When the Rai asked him to accept assignments of revenue and free land for a public feeding-house, the Guru uttered a hymn in which he explained that the Lord had already provided a general kitchen for his creatures in the whole universe and no other feeding-house was feasible. When the Rai asked him for a blessing to commend him to the Lord so that he might be admitted into the Divine Court, the Guru said that the only thing acceptable to the Lord was to abide by His will. The Guru uttered the following hymn on this occasion in Rag Sarang:—

7. "Ik farmaish akhai je manain sain,
 "Jis te jor na chal i kar jor dhiaian,
 "Aisa sat gur Rai ji kise hath na avai,
 "Sas qar kamavani jo tisko bhavai,
 Hikmat hukam no chal-i koi kar dekhai,
 "Shekh mashaikh, Sidh Sadh, sabh laiai lekhai,
 "Das avtari aya jag hukam chalaya,
 "Ant kal dharti pae kujh hath na aya,
 "Vade vade mahan bali jodhe ar sure,
 "Kaho Nanak sabh dekhye sabh dharti dhure."
 "I recommend to you one thing, that you obey the Lord,
 "Supplicate with folded hands to one whom thou canst
 not force.

"G Rai, no one can find such a true Guru;

“D^o whatever pleases Him, wisdom and command will not do, let any one try and see.

“Sheikhs, Mashaikh, Sidhs, and Sadhs (Hindu and Muhammadan holy persons) shall all be called upon to render accounts.

“He (Nishnu) assumed ten incarnations and ruled the world.

“In the end he became one with dust and gained nothing.

“The greatest powerful, the warriors and heroes,

“Nanak says, have all crumbled into dust.

During his halt at Talwandi, the Guru went to bathe early in the morning, but at that time no well was working. Then he asked, if there was any tank there for the purpose. The reply was in the negative. Afterwards Rai Bular sank a tank there and named it after the name of the Guru. It exists to this day. After his visit to Talwandi the Guru, accompanied by Bhai Bala and Mardana, returned to Emna bad in accordance with his promise to see Bhai Lalo again. After that, while touring through the Darp Ilaka, the Guru reached the villages of Sihoke and Sahoke in the Tialkot district. He heard there that one Hamza Gaus, a Muhammadan Faqir, was performing a Chhilla (forty day's fast) in which he had undertaken to fast and confine himself in a vault, for 40 days offering up prayers, in order to annihilate the town of Sialkot. Therefore the Guru directed his course towards Sialkot. On his arrival there he sat under a *ber* (plum tree) and sent for the Faqir thrice, but he would not even respond to his call. On this the Guru stood upright and looked at the high masonry tower in which the Faqir was confining himself. On the Guru's doing so the tower burst open and through the opening thus made, the rays of the sun fell directly upon the face of the Faqir. On this he was alarmed and immediately ran towards the Guru and apologised for his conduct. The

Guru asked him the cause of his undertaking such a course. He related the whole story thus:—

“On Ganga, Khatri of Sialkot, was childless. He once came to me and obtained my blessing. He promised that if he got any children, he would present the eldest born to me as my disciple. He got three sons, but refused to fulfil his promise which excited my just wrath, and, thinking that the whole town was inhabited by liars like him, I vowed to annihilate it. I therefore shut myself up in the masonry tower to fast for forty days, undertaking not to see the light of day again until the curse was effectually carried into effect.”

The Guru said that it was wrong of him to consider the whole town inhabited by liars and to destroy it as such. But the Faqir persisted in his statement that the whole population was of liars. Thereupon to rebut it, the Guru gave Mardana two pice for purchasing “truth” worth one and falsehood” worth the other. Mardana after some inquiry from the shopkeepers got from one Mul Chand two bits of folded paper and brought them to the Guru. When he unfolded and read them over to the Faqir one contained.

“Jivna jhuth hai”, To live is false, and the other

“Marna such hai”. To die is true.

Then the Guru said to the Faqir that his own self was playing false to him as it was making him do an act which would eventually lead him to hell. And he added that if he wanted to benefit by his faqiri he must subdue and control his own mind. Otherwise it was sure to lead him astray, as he was going to do an evil to the innocent and truth-abiding along with the guilty. Thus rebuked the Faqir admitted his fault and gave up his evil design. At the place where the above conversation took place, now stands a big and well known shrine called “Ber Baba Nanak” or the sacred *Ber* tree of Baba Nanak, and

the said tower is still in existence close by, and is visible from a distance.

The Guru then saw Mul Chand, the shopkeeper, who sold truth and falsehood as mentioned above, praised him for his love of truth and asked him if he would like to keep the Guru's company, to which he consented. Taking him along with himself the Guru went through Pasrur, Gujranwala, and Mattupind to Talwandi, and visited his parents, relations, friends and Rai Bular. After a brief stay there he went to Chhanga Manga and passed some days in a lunge in that neighbourhood. Thence through Kasur he passed to Chunian. Thereafter by way of Malva and Bangar, the Guru arrived at Bhoë, and stayed on the banks of the Saraswati River. There he saw people offering up balls of barley (pinds) to their ancestors, and the pandas (priests) robbing them of their money under various pretexts, telling them that deeds of charity or sins committed there were sure to multiply a hundred fold each day. The Guru preached and explained that the pandas were misleading the people and that everyone was to be judged according to his own actions. He told the priests that if their assertions were true they were raising and accumulating loans by the receipt of offerings which they would never be able to repay without various stages of transmigration for the purpose. Besides he explained to them that they were themselves guilty of falsehood, misrepresentation and misleading the people for which they would have to suffer grievously). He advised them to refrain from all these evil deeds and to live upon honest earnings. At the same time he showed them the righteous path, the true worship of the one Lords, and the hollowness of polytheism and stone worship. None could rebut his persuasive eloquence and all had to accept his arguments.

From Bhoë the Guru went to Kurakshetar. It was the day of an eclipse of the sun and there was an immense gathering of pilgrims there and numerous offerings were made to the priests.

Many religious discussions occurred with different persons, and large congregations attended to hear the sermons of the Guru. He explained that the earth, sun, moons, and stars were all suspended in the air, ever moving and running on their natural courses, and the eclipse was nothing but a natural shadow on the light of the sun and the moon ; and that the custom of making offerings on the occasion was nothing beyond a selfish invention of the priests in order to increase their own revenues to fill their coffers.

Leaving Kurakshetar, the Guru went to Karnal (then a small village. He had a long discourse with Shekh Sharf of Panipat who was there on a visit to Shekh Tatiri) From what he saw of and learnt from the Guru the Shekh got a firm belief in his spiritual power.

In Sambat 1558 (1501, A.D) the Guru came to the Kumbh fair at Hardawar. Considerable people and various sectarians attended his sermons, in which unrighteousness, polytheism, idol and stone worship were altogether condemned, and the hearers embraced his belief in monotheism. The Raja of Gurhwal also attended then, and requested the Guru to pay a visit to his capital, but he declined, saying that he had more important business to do elsewhere. When on his way to Hardawar, the Guru met a party of Vaishnos (a class of sectarians who follow the Vishnu Gode, who were cooking their food in a Chauka a small square enclosed by lines for cooking). Mardana asked for fire, whereupon the sectarians were enraged and prepared to assault him. The reason is that when any but their co-sectarian enters chauka or cooking square they think that all their food as well as water lying therein become impure and unfit for their use. The Guru addressed them the following shalok in Siri Rag

8. "Kubudh dumni, kudaya qasain, par ninda ghat
 "Chuhri mutthi krodh chandal,
 "Kari kadhi kiya thie jan chare baithian nal,
 "Evil mindedness is *dumn*, (a low Muhammadan female of

the dum or minstrel caste), cruelty is a female butcher, backbiting is a sweeper woman within, and anger is an outcaste which ruins the world.

“The drawing of lines around you cannot be of any use when all these four sit with you in your *Chauka*.”

The Guru convinced them that they were contaminating their food with their own impurities. On hearing this the sectarians came to their senses and their eyes were opened. They humbly submitted and asked how these evil companions could be avoided and dissociated from them. Then the Guru composed the following hymn : —

9. “Such sanjam, karni karan, navan naon japehi,
“Nanak agai utam sei je papan pand na dehi”.

“Let control of thy passions be thy purity, the good actions thy lines (cooking square) and constant repetition of the Lord's name thy ablutions, O Nanak ! he shall be the best in the divine court who does not walk in the path of sin.”

On this and similar other teachings and sermons, the sectarians embraced the faith of the Guru, and freed themselves from all superstitious attachments.

From Hardawar the Guru reached Delhi via Najibabad and Anup Shahr. Sikandar Lodi was then the Emperor reigning over India. He was very ferocious, bigoted, unjust and tyrannical towards the Hindus. They were restrained from performing many religious ceremonies and were even forbidden to shave their heads, and on occasions of Hindu pilgrimage Tausak Sikanjri would disclose the harshness, unjust taxation and persecutions to which the Hindus were then subjected. The famous Pandit of Kashi, one Shiva Nand, was buried alive in the ground and mercilessly put to death. His only offence was that he said that both the Hindu and Muhammadan religions were made by God. The well known reformer Kabir, was thrown into the Ganges river. Nam Dev, a Hindu devotee, was thrown before a ferocious and infuri-

ated elephant to be trampled to death. Ram Das, another Hindu votary, was imprisoned. Sadhna, a monotheist, was barbarously butchered. All this oppression was practised for no other offence of theirs than that they refused to embrace Islam and clung to their own belief in the one true God. Besides those named above hundreds more Hindu Faqirs were imprisoned and employed in the jail to grind corn pending their acceptance of Islam. Being informed of the oppression thus practised on the innocent, the Guru had gone there and was like others, caught and employed in the Jail. He uttered the following hymn in Rag Asa.

10. ‘Kolu, charkha, chaki, chak,

“Thal, barole bahut anant,

“Latu, madhanian, angah,

“Pankhi, bhaundian lain na sah,

“Sue char bhavaiai iant’

“Nanak bhaundian ganat na ant”.

“Numberless oil-presses, spinning wheels, hand mills, potter’s wheels.

“Plates * and numerous whirlwinds,

“Tops, churning staves, thrashing frames,

“Birds are ever flying round without taking breath.

“Animals are put on stakes going around.

“O Nanak! tumblers are innumerable and endless”

When the Guru was chanting this hymn all the millstones began to move automatically and the jailer reported the fact to the Emperor. He immediately came to the spot and asked the Guru for pardon Thereon the following was recited :—

11. “Ek nur tai khalaq upai,

“Ap khuda ne bari lai,

“Badshah Raje eh mali palan het banae he,

“Hindu, Turk din sabh kure,

Thal—A plate poised and whirled on the top of a stick.

"Bad bibad kart hain mure,
 "Jamman marn ek sam sabh ko lekha dena jae he,
 "Dui lakh jin khalaq dukhai,
 "Khas Khas lainde vast parai,
 "Ajrail tin phar mare dozakh de vich pae he,
 "Ap khudae niaon nabere,
 "Lahe sazain jaise phere,
 "Isa, Musa, Ram, Muhammad, koe na kise chhudae he,
 "Ethe goel vasa ae,
 "Dunian karn pap kumae,
 "Lekha mange Sirjanhara khas khas de sam bhai he,
 "Pir, Pikambar, Vali, Faqira,
 "Badshah, Kangal, Amira,
 "Amlan utte hon nabere, sach sach tithain he,
 "Par dhan par tia ratte jei,
 "Tham tapae lagaian tei,
 "Tarf tarf bil lae pukaran pap kare jin bhare he.
 "Badshah jo dad na de hai,
 "So dozakh de vich sad hi rai hai,
 "Kare niaon bahisht so pave,
 "Nanak eh gal sare he."

"(The Lord) created mankind from one and the same
 light,

"God himself planted the garden,

"He has made Kings and Rajas as gardeners to look
 after it,

"Hindu and Turk (Muhammadan) religions are all
 false,

"These fools are engaged in useless controversies,

"They are all alike subject to birth, death and the rendering
 of their accounts (on the judgment day).

"Whoever recognizing differentiation oppresse the people,
 (and)

"Gladly seizes the property of others,
 "Gabriel will torment him to death in the hell fire,
 "The Almighty will personally judge there,
 "Awarding punishment according to the individual's actions,
 "Christ, Moses, Rama, nor Muhammad will be able to
 rescue them there.

"They (creatures) come here, into this world, for a short stay
 only,

"And commit sins for the sake of wealth,
 "The Creator will call for accounts even to the extent of a
 poppy seed.

"The Pirs, Prophets, Valis, Faqirs,
 "The King, the beggar, and the rich,
 "Shall all alike be judged there justly according to their
 respective actions.

"Those who enjoy another's wealth and wife,
 "Shall be fasteded to red burning pillars.
 "They who have committed great sins, shall lament in
 agony.

"The King who does not do justice,
 "Shall ever remain in hell.
 "One who does justice will get heavens,
 "Nanak says it is the truth."

The force of the Guru's eloquence was such that the Emperor
 was compelled to apologise for his conduct and repented for
 it. He also offered valuable presents which the Guru declined.
 However, at his suggestion, all the Hindu Faqirs in confinement,
 were set at liberty. Hearing the fame of the Guru many noted
 Hindu and Muhammadan holy persons came and had long religious
 discourses with him at Delhi.* All of them were quite satisfied
 with his ideas and admitted the truth of his preachings.

Leaving Delhi the Guru proceeded to Benares (Kashi)
 passing through Koel, Mathura, Bindraban, Agra, Itawa, Cawnpore,
 Lucknow, Ajudhia, Paryag, Mirzapur, etc. At Benares he

* The Guru stayed then at a place called "Majnu Ka Tila" about
 2 miles to the north of the present town of Delhi or Shah Jahanabad,

halted at the place which is now called "Guru ka bag" (Guru's Garden).

Several Hindu votaries like Namdev, Ravdas, Tilochan, met him there and had divine discourses. When he left Benares for Patna, Kabir, who was absent from Benares during his stay there, met him on the way close to the village of Pusa in Katak S. 1558 (1501 A.D.). The Guru and Kabir ‡ remained together for seven days and then the former went to Patna via Jaunpur, Chapra, Ara, Baksar, etc

During his stay at Patna Mardana asked the Guru how it was that generally human life was compared to a precious ruby (lal), and if it were in fact so why should one waste it in sins. The next day when Mardana fell hungry, the Guru gave him a precious ruby with which to purchase provisions and clothing. He took it to the Bazaar. In the first instance he met a vegetable seller who would give him only one radish in exchange for the ruby whereas

‡ The parentage of Kabir is unknown. On Sudi 15th Jeth Sambat 1455 (1398 A.D.) he was found newly born and wrapped up in a cloth by Niru, a Muhammadan weaver, on the bank of a tank in the village of Julahapur at a distance of about one kos from Benares. Niru brought up the foundling as his own son. In his childhood, in Sambat 1462, Kabir, was sleeping on the bank of the Ganges when he was tickled by the feet of Rama Nand. He began to cry. Thereupon Rama Nand was moved with mercy and touching his head, with love, told him not to weep and to repeat the name of Rama. From that time Kabir took him for his Guru. In 1471 Sambat he was married to Loi, the daughter of Neti, a weaver. In 1481 Sambat a son, named Kamala, was born to her. In Magh Sambat 1540 (1496 A.D.) he was bound hands and feet and thrown into the Ganges under the orders of the Emperor. On Maghar Sudi 11, Sambat 1570 (1518 A. D.) Kabir died at Maghre in the district of Gorakhpur. He was respected by both the Hindus and Muhammadans as their own respective spiritual guide. On his death both of them erected a crematory and tomb which stand to this day. In a shalok (Stanza) Kabir denies his own conception in a womb. He says that he was not born, nor did he dwell in a womb, vide page 122, Vol. VI of Macauliffe's Sikh Religion,

Mardana wanted two. Then he went to a confectioner who would not give more than half a ser of sweetmeats in exchange for the ruby. After that he went to a cloth merchant who offered only two yards of cloth for it. However, when it was taken to the Shroff, a dealer in gold and silver, its price ranged between Rs. 5 and Rs. 100. Mardana, however, did not like to part with it, and seeing the variations in price offered, he considered it advisable to try the jewellers (dealers in gems). They valued it, at thousands and after all, one Salis Rai declared it above valuation and offered Rs. 100 as a present in honour of its majesty. Mardana brought the ruby back along with the present but the Guru returned the latter as he did not deem it proper to accept it. By this example Mardana was assured that human life was a precious and above valuation as the ruby was, and that none but a chosen few could know and appreciate its worth.

The Guru stayed for some days at Patna and made numerous converts there. When he was about to leave, the people asked him for the erection of an institution, but the Guru replied that they should continue to hold their belief firmly in the one God, and the needful would be done by a holy person who would appear in due course of time. By this he predicted the birth at Patna of Guru Gobind Singh, who was the tenth Guru and the last successor of Guru Nanak.

Leaving Patna, the Guru reached Rajgiri at the time of a big fair. There were many sectarians who did not believe in the existence of God. They had long discourses with the Guru, and giving up their atheistic ideas began to worship the Lord God. After that the Guru visited Gaya where the priests, according to Hindu customs, asked him for the offering of a lighted lamp and *pinds*, (balls of barley or of rice and milk). On inquiry the priests told him that the balls were for the food of ancestors and the lamp was to show them the way in the pitch dark path which leads to heaven. The Guru replied that the offering was useless

and of avail to them. When they asked for the right thing the Guru uttered the following hymn in Rag Asa:—

12 Diva mera ek nam dukh vich paya tel’.

“Un chanan oh sokhia chuka jam seon mel’,”

Pind pattal meri kesho kirya such nam kartar,
Aithe othe agai pachhai eho mera adhar,

Ek loki hor chhamchhari Brahman var pind khae,”

“Nanak pind bakhshish ka kabhun nikhutas nathen.

“My lamp is the name alone, and sufferings serve as oil therein.

“That (lamp) has been lighted and the oil (sufferings) ended, thus I have escaped meeting the angle of Death,

“The true name of the Creator are my barley balls (pinds) pattal (dhak leave plates in which pinds are placed) and true obsequies.

“In this world and the next, in the past and the future, that is my support.

Some balls are offered to ancestors, some to the Gods, but it is the priest who rolls and eats them.

“Nanak says the balls of God’s gift are inexhaustible.”

The Guru explained there that all these ceremonials were but nonsense. The true performance through which even ancestors could obtain salvation was righteousness and the repetition of the Lord’s name, whereas the priests were spreading a net for their selfish ends for entrapping and robbing the people of their money. It was brought home to them that these ceremonials were merely a delusion for the people, and a safeguard against the loss of the priestly prestige. The audience, as well as the priests, admitted the force and truth of the sermon and many were converted to the faith of the Guru.

(From Gaya the Guru arrived in Malda in Sambat 1561 (A.D 1504) via Bāj Nath, Bhagalpur, Sahib Ganj, Raj Mahal etc. The Raja of Raj Mahal named Ram Dev, Babu kept him there

for some time and offered him a garden, which up to this day exists and is called "Guru ka Bag" (Guru's Garden.)

After that he travelled through Murshidabad, Krishnagar, Shahzadpur, Sirajganj, Kashganj, Manakganj, Devipur, Dhaka, Dhanpur, Balvakund, Gauripur, Kumakhia Devi, and then entered Asam.) When he reached Dhanpur, Mardana went to the village on business but was enchanted. The women of that place were notorious for witchcraft, but when the Guru came to know about it he dispelled the enchantment and baffled all attempts to renew it. On the other hand it is said that they also were in their turn entangled in difficulty and their evil craft could not disentangle them. Then they all, in a body, came to the Guru and falling at his feet asked for pardon. At that time the Guru, in Siri Rag addressed to them the following hymn:—

13. "Gallin asin changian achari buriah,
"Manon kasudhan kalia bahro chitviah,
"Risan karain tinarian jo sevain dar khariah
"Nal khasmai rattian manain sukh raliah,
"Kallar dian vanjarian jhung mushak mangen,
"Amlan bajhon Nanak kithon khasm milen,".
"In words we are virtuous but in deeds vicious,
"In heart impure and black but outwardly we profess to
be innocent,
"We envy those who serve standing at his gate,
"They love their husbands and enjoy pleasure in their
company,

You buy earth impregnated with saltpetre and ask for
musk into the bargain (Jhunga).*

* It is an old custom which is now becoming extinct that when one goes to some grocer to make certain purchases, after the due quantity is taken some addition is generally asked for by the customer. For instance one purchases Atta and Ghee which is paid for. After that one gets a little salt or spices gratis and this is termed (Jhunga.)

Nanak says, husbands are not obtained without good deeds."

Mardana was enchanted by a woman in order to serve as her paramour, and the Guru refers to the fact and warns them that they would never be able to obtain good husbands without virtuous behaviour. When in all humbleness they asked for pardon it was granted with the remark that they should give up the study and practise of occult arts, which they did and began to lead virtuous life.

When the Guru entered Asam, he visited Ajmeriganj, Karimganj, Silbit, etc. Thence through Kachhar he went to Manipur and Asimphal. After that he visited Lushai in Burmah, where the ruler was a Buddhist. When he heard that the Guru's sermons were very effective and so persuasive that people were beginning to repudiate Buddhism, adopting his monotheistic religion, he was all wrath and with a drawn sword in hand, rushed towards the place where the Guru was in order to kill him. On this the Guru uttered a hymn in the vernacular of the Raja. The translation of that hymn is as follows :—

14. "Jis nun rakhe ap prabh tis koe na sake mar,
 "Nanak dokhi sant ka paunda nark majhar"
 "Whomsoever God protects nobody can kill him,
 Nanak says, one who envies a saint goes to hell."

On hearing this the Raja could not strike the blow, and his mind was instantly changed from the evil design. He humbly asked for forgiveness, which was granted. He was so changed that he himself became a follower of the Guru's faith.

The Guru then continued his journey and visited Agartalla, Lakhimpur, Chandpur, Faridpur, Kasabpur, Damdam, 24 Parganahs, Bengal, Bardwan, Sirampur, Morbhaj, Bleshwar, Mednipur, Dalbhum, KanSHIPur, Kattak, Sakhi Gopal and Jagan Nath. At the last place the Guru sat opposite the famous temple of

Jagan Nath and desired Mardana to play the rebhaek.)

On this many people came there and after a short while asked the Guru to visit the Temple. He complied with their request. It was the Arti time (performance in which the priests stand before the idol, with lighted chandeliers chanting certain laudatory psalms). The whole congregation stood up before the idol, but the Guru remained sitting as he was. After the Arti was over the priests asked him why he remained sitting. The Guru said "You were making false Arti. before an idol, whereas I was witnessing the true Arti of the true Lord. Your delusiveness and wealth cannot please that True one". The priests inquired what was that true Arti. He then recited the following hymn :—

15, "Gaggan main thal rav chand dipak bane tar ka mandal
janak moti,

"Dhup malian lo pavan chavro kare sagal ban rae
phulant joti,

"Kaisi arti hoe bhav khandna teri arti anhata sabad
vajant bheri.

Sahs tav nain nan nain hai tohe ko sahus murat nana
ek tohi,

"Sahans pad bimal nan ek pad gand bin, sahasn tav
gand iv chalat mohu,

"Sabh main jot jot hai soe,

"Tis de chanan sabh main chanan hoe.

"Gur sakhi jot pargat hoe,

"ko tis bhavai so arti hoe,

"Har charn kamal makrand lobhit mano an dino mohe
ahi pia sa,

"Kirpa jal deh Nanak sarang ko hoe jan te tere naen
vasa".

"O Lord the firmament is Thy silver, the sun and moon
are lamps, and the assembly of stars are pearls fixed therein.

"Sandal of the forest is Thy incense, air Thy *chauri* (cow's tail) and all the forests are beautiful flowers for Thee.

"What else can Thy *arti* be, O my Merciful Saviour! in Thy *Arti* numberless organs are playing.

"Thou hast a thousand (a) eyes and yet not one eye.

"Thou hast a thousand farms, yet Thou hast none,

"Thou hast a thousand sacred feet and yet not one foot.

"Thou hast a thousand organs of smell and yet not one organ.

"O Lord ! I have been enamoured of these attributes of Thine.

"The light which is in everything is His.

"It illuminates everything

"Through the Guru's instruction that light becomes manifest.

"What pleases Thee is the real *arti* O Lord !

"My mind is longing for the Lord's lotus feet, as a bee for flowers. I feel thirsty day and night.

"Give the water of Thy kindness to *sarang* (b) Nanak so that he may be absorbed in Thy name, O Lord "

Thus the Guru indicated that the true *Arti* of the Lord consisted in the Nature's manifestation in this universe instead of artificial things and that such *arti* was ever going on. On hearing the hymn and its explanation the priests were wonder struck and the head priests, Raja Krishan Lal, fell at the Guru's feet and paid him homage.

(From that place the Guru directed his course towards Khurad, Sauaragarh, Sabhagpur, Kantak hills, &c.

(a) The word "Sahas" is used here to convey an idea of an unlimited number, though literally it means a thousand:

(b) "Sarang" is a bird known also as "papiha". It is supposed to drink from the drops of rain water only and is therefore always looking for water.

When the Guru was touring in the south of the Bindiachal mountains, no food could be procured for some days. Mardana therefore became angry and leaving the Guru there returned homeward. When he had gone a short distance in the jungle, he was caught by the Bhil and Kirat, aboriginal savages inhabiting those regions. They made him over to one Kauda - a man-eater. Generally he used to put human creatures in an iron pan containing boiling oil and to eat them when roasted. Mardana was handed over to him, and he boiled the oil as usual and was going to put him into it, when the Guru appeared on the scene, and on his appearance the oil cooled down. Seeing the majesty of the Guru, the man-eater stopped from prosecuting his design. Some conversation then passed between the Guru and the man-eater. The latter gave up man-eating for the future and became a true votary of the Lord God. Some hymns on this subject are to be found in the Janam Sakhi. Mardana again accompanied the Guru and was so terrified by this experience that he never dared again to leave the Guru as he had done on several occasions before, especially on account of starvation and scanty food.

The Guru visited Jabalpur, Chittarkut, Rima, Channe, Panna, Bhopal, Sagar, Chanderi, Bhartpur, Dhaulpur, Jind, Kaithal, Malerkotla and came back to Sultanpur in Katak, Sambat 1562 (November 1505 A.D.) and met his sister Nanaki there. The Nawab Daulat Khan paid him a visit. Other friends and followers of the Guru also came to see him and were pleased to hear the accounts of his travels. Mardana then went to Talwandi to see his own family. The Guru's parents and other relations came from Talwandi to Sultanpur to see him there.

Second Tour.

After three month's halt at Sultanpur the Guru, along with his companions Mardana and Bala, started again on a second tour in Phagan S. 1562 (March 1506 A.D.). By way of Jaito, Bathinda, Malva and Bhatner he reached Sarsa in about one year and four

months. At Sarsa he halted for a good many days and had ample occasion to have religious discourses with Khwaja Abdul Shakur, Bahawal Haq, Jalal-ud-din and other well-known Muhammadan Faqirs.

From Sarsa the Guru went to Bikaner where he had a long religious discourse with the Jain mendicants of the Dhundia sect. He explained to them how dirty and filthy in habits they had become. All their dirty habits were detailed in Rag Majh in a long hymn, but we give here only the following verse as specimen :—

16. "Sir khohae pihai malvani jutha mang mang khahin,
 "Phol phadihat mohe lain bharasan pani dekh sangahin".

* * * * *

"They have the hair of their head plucked out, drink filthy water, and beg and eat other's leavings.

They spread out their odour, inhale its smell, and are shy to look at water."

This verse is only a specimen of the life and religious rites of the Jains. They would eat the leavings, and drink dirty and filthy water collected from various houses and after obeying the call of nature they stir their filth so that the worms coming out from the stomach might escape alive from the filth-pile.

From Bikaner the Guru went through Marwar, Jaisalmer, and Jodhpur to Ajmer. When at the shrine of Pir Qutab Din of Ajmer he saw a Deg (large caldron) he observed :—

17. "Bolaih kur patyavaih loe,
 "Lok patine kachhu na hoe,
 "Pakhand kar janam gavae,
 "Jam dar badhe chotan khae,
 "Nanak jin gur pura paya,
 "Sach kamae sach dekhaya".
 "By speaking falsehood they satisfy the people,

"By such satisfaction no good can be gained,

"They waste their life in hypocrisy (and) shall be bound and beaten at the door of the Yama (the angel of death).

"O Nanak, he who has got the perfect Guru, practices righteousness himself and points out righteousness to other."

On hearing this hymn Pirs Alla-ud din and Shamas-ud-din and other dependants of the sprine came to the Guru and asked him the meanings thereof. He explained them adding that the deceased Pir Qutab-ud-din had named the shrine "Dhai din ka jhufra" (2½ days halting place) whereas the magnificence of the building at so much outlay indicated that it was intended to last for ever.

18. "Jinan chalan jania so kion karaihn bithar,

"Chalan sar janani kaj sawarn har,

"Those who know that they are to depart (die) why should they lay such extensive and lasting foundations.

"Those, who do not think of their departure, consider themselves alone competent to accomplish worldly affair."

Citing this hymn in Siri Rag, the Guru added that the late Khwaja could pass his days in a hut of hay and there was no necessity to construct such a magnificent building if he really understood the purport of his assertion. And that as his word did not correspond with his action, the proper conclusion was that his word was intended simply to dupe the people. On this the Pirs and their followers were all wrath upon which the Guru said :—

19. "Nafas shaitan, gussa haram, kach dunia,

"Sach darvesh adal badshahan, fazal faqiran,

"Mazal musafir, gazal kafiran, mihr Piran,

"Sehr kiran, faqiri saburi, na saburi tan makr."

"The lust is devil, wrath is forbidden, world is unreal.

"Truth is for a darvesh, justice for monarchs, and mercy behoves a faqir.

“A traveller must think of his goal. The faithless indulge in amatory songs. Pir must be kind.

“Magic is practised by the low, faqir must be contented and if not contented he is a hypocrite.”

On hearing this and some other similar sermons the Pirs and their disciples were all pacified and asked for pardon for their behaviour.

From Ajmer the Guru proceeded towards Pushkar Raj, Nasirabad, Devgarh, Lodipur, Daranagri, Abu hills, Pattan, Aidar, Ahmad Nagar, Banswara, Jaura, Mahdpur, Ujjain, Indor, Hushangabad, Maharashtar, Narsinghpur, Balaghat, Nagpur Sevni, Raintek, Ankola, Amravati, Basnat, Hangoli, Bonda, Bidder, Baldana, Malapur, Haidrabad, Fatehabad, Rangir, Kelas, Eindank, Golkanda, Ganpur. At the last place he observed that Ganesh (the reputed son of Shiva with an elephant head) was the dominant god there. The people were hanging his pictures on their necks and worshipped him as the creator and almighty. The Guru recited some hymns in which he convinced them of their error. On hearing his sermons they abandoned the Ganesh worship and adopted that of the Creator. Leaving Ganpur the Guru journeyed southwards and through Madras, Arkat, Pondecherry, Sirirangpattan, Tanjaur, Trichnapally, Setbandrameshwar, and Cape Comorin, reached Lanka (Ceylon). The Raja of Ceylon, Shiv Nath, was childless and supplicated the Guru for a blessing for a child. The latter composed the following hymn :—

20. “Sache sahib sab gun, augan sabh asanh,

“Je tis bhavē Nanaka pure as tusan”.

“The true Lord has all merits, and we all demerits,

“Nanak says if it please Him, he will fulfil your desire”.

A few days after the Rani (Queen) also came to the Guru and asked for some *jantar* (amulet) or *Mantar* (charm) through which she could command and subdue her husband. The Guru composed the following hymn :—

21. "Nivan so akhar khivan gun jihva manian mant,
 "Eh trai bhainen vas kar tan vas avi kant".

"Make humility thy amulet, obedience thy enchanted thread and a sweet tongue thy enamouring charm.

"O sister ! if thou couldst possess these three merits, then couldst thou control thy husband".

The Raja was blessed by God with a son and one daughter. One Jhanda Badi (carpenter) was left by the Guru in Ceylon, to preach the unity of God there. He remained there for some years and returned home during the time of Guru Angad. His descendants are now living in the Patiala State.

The Guru spent one year in Ceylon and other Islands and then came back to India and through Malevar, Karnatak, Taravankot, Kochin, Koem Batur, Nilgiri Hills, Kalikat, Maisur Ilaqa, Banglor, Goa, Bombay-Presidency, Dharwar, Rajapur, Panchbatti, Gujrat Ilaqa in Rajputana, Baroda, Bharoch, Surat, Kathiawar, Bay of Kambat, Nimri, Gaigwar Ilaqa, he reached Junargarh, in Sambat 1565 (1508 A.D.). He halted there for 4 months and then went to Girhar Hill and thence through Somnath he came to Sudamanpuri where each and every individual had upon his neck a pendent Shivling or Saligram (stone image) each weighing five seers or over. Observing this the Guru uttered the following hymn :—

22. "Ghar main thakur nadar na avai,
 "Gal mon pahan lai latkavai,
 "Bharmen bhula sakat phirta,
 "Nir birole khap khap marta,
 "Jis pahan ko thakur kahta,
 "Uh pahan lai usko dubta,
 "Gunahgar lun harami,
 "Pahan nav na pargrami,
 "Gur mil Nanak thakur jata,
 "Jal thal mahial puran bidhata."

"O ye, the Lord, who is within your self remains unobserved to you (and) ye hang stones on your necks,

"O ye infidels ! ye wander in ignorance.

"Ye are unnecessarily toiling in churning water (for the sake of butter).

"The very stone ye believe to be your lord,

"Shall drown its votary along with itself.

"O ye sinful and perfidious !

"The stone is not a boat which can carry across a river.

Nanak says the Lord can be observed through the Guru (spiritual guide).

"That Lord is pervading all the waters, lands and heavens.

The effect of the Guru's sermon was that they left off stone worship and began that of the Almighty.

(From Sudamapuri the Guru went to Gomti, Dawarka, Sankhtalai, Kachh, Mundre, Narain Sarovar, Kuteshvar, Amar-kot, Ahamdpur, Khanpur, Bahawalpur, Shershah and Multan. At Multan he sat close to the † river and soon after his arrival there, the Pirs who resided at that place, sent him a brimful cup of milk. He returned it to them with some *batashas* (small hollow lumps of sugar) in it and a flower above it. Mardana urged that a thing like milk should have not been returned but should have been gladly drunk by him. The Guru replied that the Pirs had sent it not for use, but as a token of the fact that the town was already full of Pirs and Faqirs just like the cup, and that there was no room for another religious teacher. The answer sent was that he will mix with them like the *batashas* and would predominate over them like the flower placed upon the milk. Thereafter all the Hindu and Muhammadan Faqirs came to the Guru and their pride and arrogance were

† The river has since changed its course and flows at some distance from the spot where the Guru had halted.

humbled on hearing hymns which were, as usual, extemporised on the spot. All the visitors returned home fully satisfied and the Guru went to the village of Tulamba. There was a cheat named Sajjan, who asked Mardana an account of the Guru's travel. When he heard it he inferred that the Guru must have collected a large amount of offerings which might be in the possession of Mardana. Therefore he inveigled Mardana to his own house, and there bound him hand and feet. Thereafter confining him in a room he began to thrash him. At that very moment the Guru, along with Bala, arrived on the spot and informed the cheat he was liable to punishment for his offence. He fell on his feet and repented. The Guru then indicated the righteous path, which the cheat adopted for the future.

From Multan the Guru came to Talwandi and met his relations and especially his old friend Rai Bular, who had only a few more days to live. He was advised to prepare himself for his final departure, giving up all concern with this world. A short time after, the Guru again started and put up in a jungle on the bank of the Ravi River, where at the earnest request of the people, the village of Kartarpur was founded, and the Guru's whole family, including his sons lived there together for the first time. Houses for the dwelling of the Guru's family and a Dharamsala were also built.

CHAPTER IV.

Third Tour.

For a few years the Guru remained at Kartarpur and then in Sambat 1571 (1514 A. D.) he started on his mission again towards the northern regions. Bhai Bala and Mardana accompanied him as usual. He went to Kalanaur, Sujjanpur, Dasuha, Palampur, Kangra, Mandi, Rawalsar, Chamba, Nadaun, Kahlur,

Ropar, Joharsar (close to Spatu Contonment), Sirmur, Massuri, Uttar Kanshi, Garhwal Ilaqa, Siwalak Hills, Gangotri or the source of the Ganges, Sirinagar, Badrinath, and other distant shrines in the Himalayas, Hemkund, Saptasing, etc. When he reached the farthest shrine on the Himalayas, leaving his companions behind, he proceeded alone to the highest peak of the mountain range. There appeared to him a great effulgence of light which exceeded thousands of suns, moons and lightnings. In humble submission he paid his homage and worshipped the Almighty, who directed him to prosecute and complete his mission. Then he retraced his steps and went southwards and visited Rani Khet, Almora, Kamaun, Nainital and Gorakh Matta which is close to Pili Bhit. Gorakh Matta was an institution of the jogis, the followers of Gorakhnath. The Guru sat there under a pipal tree and began to utter a hymn, to the effect that Yoga, or union with the Lord, could not be obtained through different outward signs, such as the splitting of ears, the wearing of large ear-rings etc. but through fervent meditation, concentration of mind, and separation from wordly things, while at the same time it was necessary to mix with them merely to carry out the wordly affairs. After a long discussion the jogis acknowledged the Guru's superiority and power. Since then the name of the place has been changed from Gorakhmatta to Nanakmatta.*

On leaving that place, when the Guru had proceeded about 30 koses eastwards, a good many jogis came round him in the jungle and demanded something to eat. It is a close jungle thickly studded with ritha trees (soapnut or *Spindus Seponaria*)

*This institution has since been held by the followers of the Guru. Some time after that it was complained to the sixth Guru, Hargobind, that the pipal tree in reference was burnt down by the jogis and they were encroaching upon the locality. The Guru went there, resuscitated the pipal tree by sprinkling water upon it mixed with Kesar, (saffron). The leaves of the tree have still marks of Kesar thrown upon them by the Sixth Guru in memory of the occasion, vide Gurbilas of Sixth Guru.

and there were no fruits to eat. The Guru was sitting under a ritha tree when the disputation took place. He told them to eat the ritha fruit and on tasting it they found it sweet and eatable. Ritha fruit is bitter to taste and unfit and injurious for human consumption. This tree alone is an exception to the whole species and yields sweet and eatable fruit.*

The jogis were astonished to witness the change. The fruit of that tree still continues to be sweet and eatable like dry plums or ber. There stands a shrine in memory of the occurrence and it is called Ritha Sahib. The Ritha fruit is brought by pilgrims as a holy fruit of the shrine.

Thereafter the Guru started to Kot Duar, Gorakhpur, Sitamari, Raniganj, Dhanmari, Shivpur, Brahukad, Dhaulgarh, Khatmandu (visited in Phagan S. 1572 or 1516. A.D) capital of Nepal, Lallatpatti, Tamlang in Sikkim, Bhotan, China, † Tibbat, Askaroda, ‡ Rawanrud and Mansrowar lakes, Tashkand, Yarkand, Ladakh, Gilgit, Askardu, Sirinagar, Amarnath, Majal, Bhanal, Kishtwar, Bhadrwah, Lasach, Pangru, Manmahesh hills, Dalhousi, Kullu, Mankot, Mansar, Baishnodevi, Riasi, Jammun, Bahu's fort, the temple of the Kali goddess, Parmandal, and then through the Kandi and Darp Ilaqas reached Kartarpur in Maghar St. 1573 (1516-A. D.) and met his parents and other relations there.

* Some would attempt to rebut this spiritual power of the Guru asserting that the sweetness must be the effect of an engrafting process. This is quite absurd. The Guru was not then proceeding on a mission of engrafting trees. Moreover, it must be understood that engrafting can be effected on one kind or class of trees only by putting on them the sprouts of another, but there is no other sweet ritha in that neighbourhood which might have been used in engrafting the bitter one.

† This Guru appears to have travelled as far as Singhapur Islands.

‡ Since then there is a Dharmasala at Askaroda named after the name of the Guru.

CHAPTER V.

FOURTH TOUR.

After a halt of about 15 months at Kartarpur the Guru started on his fourth journey on 9th Phagan Sambat 1574 (1518 A.D.) with Mardana. He proceeded through Charkhari, Darp, Wazirabad, Ruhtas, Harnpur, Katas, Chakwal, Narsinghpohar Kalabag, Sangar, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Nagah, Jampur, Hanad, Fazilpur, Miranpur, Rori, Sakhar. Bhakhar, Shikarpur, Rukkan, Larkana, Amarkot, Haidrabad, Karachi Port, Bombay and reached Biddur in Haidrabad Dakhan. After a short stay there he went to Duarka whence he, along with Mardana, instantaneously reached Makka, in Arabia, by means of his spiritual power. He travelled for some time in different parts of Arabia and addressed the people in their own vernacular. Wherever he went to was called Nanak Pir Vali. He remained there for about a year. Many Maulvis and Mullahs met him and had long religious discussions, but none could rebut his arguments. On the night of his arrival at Makka, the Guru slept in a mosque there. In the morning the Guru was found sleeping with his feet towards the sacred shrine. The sweeper of the shrine was angry. He kicked the Guru and addressed him in very high words demanding why he had kept his feet towards the house of God.

The Guru said that he was a traveller and tired. At the same time he requested him that his feet might be removed and pointed in the direction wherein the house of God was considered not to exist. The sweeper took hold of his feet angrily and began to move them towards the opposite direction. The shrine also began to move. As in all other cases, he had conducted himself thus in order to attract the attention of the priests. The news spread abroad and all the Maulvis and Qazis came to the spot and Rukan-ud-din, the chief Qazi, began to

question the Guru, whereupon a disputation ensued. This dialogue had been separately recorded and was translated into Panjabi apparently in Gurmukhi characters by Guru Nanak himself on his return to this country, and is called *Makke Madine di Gosht*. A good many of its hymns, or extracts therefrom, are to be found incorporated in the Holy Granth, and many of them are referred to and translated by us in Part II of this work.

As regards the Guru's visit to Makka, Sayad Muhammad Latif, in his history of the Punjab, says. "He (Guru Nanak) travelled over the whole of India, visited Persia, Kabul and other parts of Asia, and is said even Mecca. A story is related by both Hindus and Muhamadans in connection with Nanak's visit to Mecca. It is said that while at Mecca, Nanak was found sleeping with his feet to the Kaba, before which the Muhamadans prostrate themselves when performing their devotions. The Kazi Rukan-ud-din, who observed this angrily remarked : "Infidel, how dare you dishonour God's house by turning your feet towards it". "Turn them if you can," replied Nanak, in a direction where the house of God is not."

From Makka he went to Madina, and when a rebeck was played by his companion, the Muhammadans objected to it and began to stone the Guru, but those stones stuck to their hands. Thereupon all the assailants apologised for their misbehaviour. The apology was accepted. There was a good deal of discussion at Madina between the Guru and the Qaziz and Maulvis. This also was recorded and later on translated into Gurmukhi.

Leaving Madina, he went to Ajara, Mashhad, and thence to Bagdad in Turkey. The Caliph of Bagdad at the time was a great tyrant and an extreme miser. During his short stay there the Guru became very popular and numerous people began to assemble round him to hear his sermons. Hearing of his fame the Caliph also one day came to him. Seeing him

from a distance, the Guru began to collect broken pieces of earthen pots which were lying scattered on the ground. When the Caliph saw it, he asked the reason of what the Guru was doing. The reply was that the Faqirs required them for use on their devotional bed in the next world, but as it was difficult to procure them there, he proposed to send them ahead. "How could they be sent there" asked the Caliph. "They could be conveyed there" replied the Guru, "just in the same manner as you mean to send your own treasures". The Caliph understood the hint and asked for advice. The Guru then composed "Nasihat Nama" (advice) which we omit here for want of space. When the Caliph heard the admonition he began to disburse large amounts in charity. He was childless and had imprisoned hundreds of innocent Faqir. The Guru said that if he released all of them, God would bless him with a son. Accordingly all Faqirs were released with handsome presents of gold. The Caliph requested the Guru to halt there for some time, which was agreed to. With God's grace the queen became pregnant and in due course of time was the mother of a son. The baby was brought before the Guru with various valuable and handsome presents, including a big silken *choga* (with various Arabic writings on it) which was specially prepared for the Guru. Moreover in memory of the Guru, the Caliph constructed some mosque-shaped temples in Arabia, which as far as we have been able to ascertain, are still maintained at the expense of the State.

The Mantle (*choga*) referred to above is a wonder and is still preserved at Dera Baba Nanak in the District of Gurdaspur in Punjab.

From Bagdad the Guru went to Halb Bokr and thence to Tihra and Asphan in Persia. Thereafter he proceeded to the Russian territory and Turkistan. Then he went to Kokan, Tashkand, Khojand, Bukhara, Samarkand, Takht Suleman,

Mazar, Kabul, Hazara territory, Jalalabad, Basaul, Ali Masjid, Khaibar, Jamrod, Peshawar, and Naushahra. On his return he reached Hassan Abdal, in the Attock District in Bhaddon St. 1577 (1520 A.D.) and sat under a pipal tree at the foot of a hillock and halted there, for some days. There was then a spring of water on the top of the hill occupied by Vali Qandhari a Muhammadan saint. Mardana used to get water from that spring. When the saint learnt that the Gurn was acquiring more reputation than himself, he became jealous and forbade Mardana from taking water from his spring. The latter complained to the Guru, who observed that God would send water down to them.

It so happened that the spring occupied by the Muhammadan saint dried up and by God's will re-appeared at the spot occupied by Guru Nanak. The saint was then all wrath and hurled a big rock from the top of the hill down to the spot where the Guru was sitting. There is visible upto this time a slope from the top to the foot of the hill where the Guru is said to have been at the time. The Guru stopped the rock with his open hand, an impression of which then made upon it is existing even now, surviving the efforts made during the Muhammadan period to erase it. The saint came to the Guru, fell at his feet and asked for pardon, which was instantaneously granted. There now stands a handsome shrine by the spring which is called "Panja Sahib". An annual fair is held here on the 1st Baisakh (11th-12th April) every year. From Panja Sahib the Guru continued his journey through the tract now forming the districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelam, Gujrat and Sialkot, and reached Ennabad in Baisakh Sambat 1578 (1521 A. D.).†

†1520. A. D. Comes according to the Christian rendering of the Hijri era, whereas according to the Sambat era it comes to 1521. A. D. The difference is very small, because it was the first month of the Sambat, whereas there is no small difficulty in making the Hijri, which is lunar year, correspond with the solar year. Generally authors differ in such calculations, and the difference of a few days, would, in the present instance, make a variation of one whole year, Farishta gives the date of Babar's attack on Saidpur as 926 Hijri with no month and English authors have given the year 1520 A. D.

steps from Saidpur. On his way the ruler of Sialkot surrendered himself, but the Pathan grandees of Saidpur (which was close to the present Emnabad) resisted, and the town under Babar's order was put to a wholesale massacre and plunder. According to Farishta the massacre was very extensive and 30,000 (thirty thousands) inhabitants of both sexes were made captive. The Hindu leader also who sided with the Panthas was captured and beheaded. This massacre of Saidpur had been predicted by Guru Nanak at the time of his first tour when he was halting at Emnabad in the house of Lalo, vide pane 70

When the town was plundered, people were forced to carry the booty to the victor's camp. Amongst the carriers were included Guru Nanak and his companion Mardana. Guru Nanak was ordered to carry a burden on his head, while Mardana was made to lead a riderless horse. The Guru asked Mardana to play upon the rebeek, and then uttered a hymn,* Var Majh relating to the vaunted power of the Pathans who were vanquished and beheaded as a body. In that hymn† he explained that the Lord God was all powerful in every respect, and that it lay in his power to compel meat-eaters to eat grass and enable grass-eaters to live upon meat, and in brief that He alone was competent to reverse all the state of affairs, empowering an insignificant (ant-like) person to annihilate a strong and powerful army. At the same time in Rag Asa he explained what desolation was caused by the fighting of the Pathans with Babar.

After all the Guru was admitted by Babar to an interview, and the latter was very much pleased with the conversation which he held with him. The emperor offered very rich and precious presents with Jagirs, but the Guru refused them all, observing

* The hymn begins with "Kahan su khel tabela ghore kahan bheri sahnai".

† Thy hymn begins with "Shihan bazan ohargan kuian inhan khwale ghah".

that the reward of his toils was the inward pleasure derived from the worshipping of the Creator, and that the Lord alone could supply his wants, and that he had nothing to ask of the kings made by Him. Babar himself was a very good Arabic and Persian scholar as well as a poet. He held religious discourse with the Guru, who explained that millions of Muhammad like prophets were waiting upon the threshold of the Lord. While that discourse was going on, the Guru looked towards many thousands of female prisoners and in hymn in Rag Asa' (†) explained the power of the Almighty and the nature of the grand drama by which the very same ladies who were married with so much pomp and show and who used to dress themselves so gaily and nicely, being so happy and gay in their palaces, were subjected to so much pain, neglect and hardship in confinement.

It is said that the Emperor at the request of the Guru released the captive. It is also said that it was at this time that Guru Nanak blessed Babar that his dynasty was to reign over India for so many generations. From Saidpur the Guru came to Kartarpur and remained there for some time, making no distant journey of note. In Katak Sambat 1579 (1522 A.D.) his mother and on 27th Maghs. 1579 (1523 A.D.) his father, Mehta Kalu Chand, died. In Sambat 1583 the Guru travelled through the tract termed Majah and came to Lahore. Then he went to Pakpattan and via Multan, Narpur and Qandhar to Herat. After that he travelled back to the Panjab, and on his way at Kurram, his old companion, Mardana, died. It is stated that Mardana's tomb is still there and his descendants are its guardians and managers.

At that time Babar was proceeding from Kabul to Lahore, but on account of an emergency at home he had to retrace his

(†) The hymn begins with "Jin sir sohin pattian mangi pae sandhur".

In Sambat 1586 (1529. A.D.) Guru Nanak visited the village named Achal in the Pargana of Batala and held long religious disputations with Jogis and Sanyasis who had assembled there on the Shivratri fair. Much of these discourses called *sidh gosht* will be found in the Holy Scripture.

In the month of Chet of that year, Guru Nanak, during the fair called Mahabarni, visited Hardwar. He there saw the people standing in the Ganges with their faces eastwards, and baling out water towards the sun in the belief that it would reach their ancestors in the heavens. The Guru also stood in the river and began to imitate them with his face towards the opposite direction, namely, the west. The priests gathered round him and evidently considered him to be out of his senses. They indignantly asked him the meaning of his insane proceedings, adding that all his labours were in vain, because he could not expect to quench the thirst of the manes by such heretical actions. The reply was that he was irrigating his fields at Kartarpur in the Pargana of Lahore. The priests laughed at it and asked how could fields situated at a distance of so many hundreds of miles be irrigated? The Guru rejoined that the water would as soon reach there as it would their ancestors in the heavens. On this the priests were astonished and after a short discourse were convinced of the absurdity and uselessness of their own proceedings.

The Guru then visited the holy place named Kapal Mochan in Katak Sambat 1587 (1530 A.D.)

Then Guru Nanak came to Chhintanwali afterwards called Mansurpur. There was a gentleman there who gave a charitable feast to which the Brahmans and the poor were invited. The Guru was also one of the guests. Just at the time when the food was ready and the guests were about to eat, the wife of the host gave birth to a child. The Brahmans stopped eating and declared that according to the usual custom of the Hindus, uncleanness had pervaded the whole family owing to the birth, and that the

food had been contaminated and rendered impure and unfit for use. The Guru then explained in Rag. Asa (vide Chapter XXVII) that if uncleanness through births and deaths were to be recognised it would be quite impossible for us to take our daily meals, because the water, the fuel, and each and every grain of corn forming our food, contained the life of a living germ through whose death uncleanness was altogether unavoidable. He, at the same time, explained that uncleanness and impurity were falsehood, the desire of unlawful gains and slandering. The whole assembly including the Brahmans were convinced of the truth, and all partook of the food which was formerly refused by the Brahmans. The Guru after a short journey came back to Kartarpur and passed the remainder of his days there in contemplation and worship of the Lord God. He put off the garb of a Faqir and lived as the head of the family. His residence was a great resort of people of all sects and nationalities from far and near. He exercised great influence over vast numbers, who looked upon him as their spiritual leader. He used to preach openly the universal brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God to people of all denominations and creeds without distinction. It had been once reported to Ibrahim Lodi, the Emperor of Delhi, that he had acquired a great importance which might, in the end, prove serious to the State.* His expenses were on a grand scale, as he had established a public feeding-house where thousands of helpless and poor people were fed daily. Food was constantly distributed throughout the day and night.

He composed an extensive number of hymns. Generally they were all extemporised from time to time either at home or abroad during his travels as necessity arose. Wherever he went, the composition was generally in the vernacular of the people addressed. For instance, when he addressed a Persian scholar or one whose mother tongue was Persian, he spoke in that

*Sayad Muhammad Latif.

language and when in Arabia, he used the Arabian language. He appears to have spent about two years in Arabia, of which one was spent at Makka alone. Lengthy and considerable religious disputations went on with the priests (Imams) both at Makka and Madina. Most of those dialogues were recorded on the spot and were subsequently translated into Persian by one Sayad Muhammad Gaus, a Faqir, who having got it rendered into the Panjabi language in the Katra character, died in Sambat 1598 (1541 A.D.). It was eventually translated into Gurmukhi in 1667 Sambat (1610 A.D.) The old booklet is said to be still in existence and has been seen by Bhai Gian Singh, the author of "Tawarikh Guru Khalsa" vide page 145 of its Part I.

Thus Guru Nanak preached his mission of truth throughout the length and breadth of India and the most distant regions in Asia, and then at the age of 69 years, 10 months and 10 days, making Angad his successor, he breathed his last on Asu Badi 10th Sambat 1596 (1539 A.D.). A dispute arose between Hindus and Muhammadans regarding the disposal of his body, each party claiming the right to perform the funeral obsequies according to the form of their own respective religion. The Hindus wanted to burn it, whereas the Muhammadans maintained that, being a Muhammadan, his remains should be buried according to Moslem rites. The parties would have fallen upon each other with swords drawn, had not some considerate and more thinking men intervened. When the parties approached the body, which was closed in a room pending the decision of the dispute, they, on raising the sheet with which it had been covered, found, to their great astonishment, that it was gone. There were only some flowers beneath it instead of the body. The sheet was divided in equal halves by the contending parties and disposed of according to their respective religious ceremonies, and two tombs were erected by the parties on the spot side by side. The village of Kartarpur was carried away by the river in Sambat 1614 (1557

A. D.), but the tombs are still in existence on the right bank of the river. They are in the same building separated by a partition wall, and the room in which the sheet was buried by Muhammadans is now being used for reading the Holy Granth. Later on, the village of Dera Baba Nanak was founded by the descendants of the Guru on the left bank of the river Ravi within the boundary of Pakhoke. It still stands about 3 miles to the east of Kartarpur.

The soundness and force of the persuasive eloquence of Guru Nanak's preaching may be gathered from the fact that in remote and foreign countries where the people professed different and antagonistic religions, spoke different languages, had different manners and savage and barbarous customs the congregations, even during his short visit, bowed before him in humble submission and adopted his faith, abandoning the old and deep rooted faith of their forefathers. In honour and memory of his visits, Dharmsalas or Temples were built in distant and foreign countries, which exist up to this day, and we have abstained from detailing them for want of space. A careful inquiry in the countries visited by him will disclose facts of much more interest to the reader than any hitherto known to us. He sowed the seed of truth in distant and foreign countries, and it is sure to develop with the development of Sikhism in the future.

Guru Nanak invented the Gurmukhi character by simplifying the more difficult and complex Sanskrit characters, adapting them to the needs of the present time. Beginners can learn them much more easily than any other Alphabet. These characters were largely introduced among the Sikh community during the time of Guru Angad, and, therefore, many have erroneously considered that he was the inventor of them.

The Holy Granth of the Sikhs is in Gurmukhi.

CHAPTER VI.

Guru Angad.

Guru Angad was born on the 11th of Baisakh, Sambat 1561 (1504 A D) at Sarai Matta (now called Sarai Naga) close to Muktsar in the Ferozepore Distriet. He was a Khatri of the Tihun sub-division and his birth name was Laihna. Before he gained apostleship he had two sons Dasu and Datu, and two daughters.

His father was a worshipper of Jawalamukhi, a goddess, and used to visit her temple every year, travelling on foot. He died in Sambat 1583 (1526 A. D). After his death Laihna, his son, followed the faith of his father and regularly paid annual visits to that temple. He heard a good deal about the sanctity of Guru Nanak, and in Sambat 1589 (1532 A. D) when on his way to the temple of goddess, he resolved to pay his respects to Guru Nanak at Kartarpur. When he came close to Kartarpur, he met the Guru who was alone, returning home from the jungle, but, not having seen him before, did not recognise him. Therefore he did not, out of civility and reverence, alight from his pony as he would have done, and passed without paying any attention to the Guru. However, when he waited upon him at home, Laihna was much ashamed of his omission. but did not show any outward expression of it. The Guru, however, accosted him and said "Bhai Laihna, you are a creditor and I am a debtor" (Tain laina hai, assan dena hai). Immediately after his interview, Laihna abandoned his idea of Devi-worship and declared his intention of doing so to the great disappointment of his fellow Durga-worshippers who had accompanied him. The Guru put him to various tests and always found him true and faithful. He proved himself worthy of succeeding to the office of Guru. Therefore in preference to his sons and all other disciples, Guru Nanak, in Maghar Sambat 1954

1537 A. D.) declared him to be his successor, naming him Angad, or a part of his own body. He was seated on the throne (Gaddi) and then the Guru, placing before him 5 pice and a coconut bowed before him and went 4 times round him. He then said that his own spirit had gone into his successor's body, who from that moment should be regarded as Nanak himself; and now it is a common belief among the Sikhs that the spiritual light of Guru Nanak was inherited by each successive Guru. Bhai Budha¹ was asked to tilt² or anoint him. Therefore the whole congregation bowed before Angad as their Guru. Guru Nanak's sons as might naturally be expected, became jealous and much resented the succession. The Guru therefore told Angad to reside at Khadur, where he made himself widely known on account of his fervent devotion to the Almighty. Guru Nanak went over there and stayed with him for some time in order to impart to him the necessary tuition.

In compliance with the orders of Guru Angad, one Piara Mokha,³ Khatri of Sultanpur, drew up in Baisakh Sambat 1597 (1540 A. D.) an account of Guru Nanak's travels at the dictation of Bhai Bala.⁴ This book is called Janam Sakhi or Biography and has, unfortunately, been destroyed by the enemies of Sikhism as explained in Chapter II of the Introduction.

{ (1) Bhai Budha was a Zamindar. While very young he came to Guru Nanak and referring to the cutting of green and unripe crops by force by the troops of Babar; said that he was afraid that like those crops he might be untimely carried away by the angel of death. The Guru then said "O boy thou art old (Budha) not young". Since that time he was named Bhai Budha. Before his death he was ever present when any of the first 5 successors of Guru Nanak were enthroned or installed in the office of Guruship. He died on 14th Maghar, Sambat 1687 (1627 A. D.)

(2) A ceremonial coronation mark on the forehead.

(3) Piara Mohka was a resident of Sultanpur where Guru Nanak had lived for many years in the service of the Nawab there, vide foot note at page 19.

(4) Bhai Bala was a Sindhu Jat of Talwandi.

Guru Angad was strongly attached to Guru Nanak and was his most fervent servant. He closely followed the alignment marked out by his predecessor. He was always true to the principles of his great teacher. He used to earn his livelihood by his own manual labour, by twisting *van* or coarse twine made of *Munj*. He was always busy in contemplation, and maintained an extensive home in which he provided food for persons of all denominations and creeds. He recorded the results of his own devotional observations and tried his utmost to carry out the mission he was charged with. He lived as a Guru for 12 years, 9 months and 6 days and died at Khadur in Chet Sambat 1609 (1553 A. D.)

When in 1540 A. D. the Emperor Humayun, being disastrously defeated by Sher Shah Suri, near Kanauj, came back to the Punjab, he recollected the prophecy of Guru Nanak, and paid a visit to Guru Angad at Khadur. The Guru was then deeply absorbed in contemplation, and took no notice of the Emperor's presence. Thereupon the Emperor grew angry and drawing his sword, was about to slay the Guru when the latter said "O Humayun where was this sword of yours when Sher Shah was fighting you ?". Humayun apologised for what he was going to do and humbly submitted that he had heard from his father that Guru Nanak had predicted their unmolested reign in India to last for 7 generations and that the prophecy now proved to be untrue. The Guru replied that the word of his predecessor was infallible, and referring to Guru Nanak's hymn in which he had said at Saidpur that Mughals shall come in Sambat 1578* (1521 A. D.) and retire in Sambat 1597 (1540 A. D.), explained that after a short interval the Emperor was sure to regain the sovereignty of India.

CHAPTER VII.

Gur Amar Das.

Guru Amar Das was a Khatri of the Bhalla sub-division and was born at Basarke in the Parganah of Amritsar in Sambat 1936 (1479 A. D.) He had two sons, Mohan and Mohri and two daughters, Bibi Sulakhni known as Dani, and Bibi Bhani.

He was a man of humble parentage and supported himself by the hire of a pony which he used for conveying goods from place to place. He was fond of the society of faqirs and was ever in search of a competent spiritual guide. His faith was Vaishnav, and spiritual desire being kindled in him on hearing the recitation of certain hymns of the Guru, he, at the age of 62, came to Khadur and adopted Guru Angad as his spiritual guide. At such a late age he became a fervent and zealous votary and willing server of the Guru. He served him with all his heart and sacrificed his own comfort for the sake of the Guru. He undertook to fetch fresh water for the Guru's morning ablutions every night at about midnight, from the River Biasa, which was about four miles from Khadur. He performed this duty without fail, whatever the season was. After the Guru had bathed he used to go to the jungle to fetch fuel for the kitchen. While performing these and similar other duties he was constantly repeating in his mind the name of the Lord.

His reverence for the Guru was so great that he never turned his back towards him or his house. During his midnight journey to the river he used to walk backwards keeping, on all occasions, his face towards the house of the Guru. Although he did so much, yet he would never make even the least mention of his services nor would he eat anything from the Guru's kitchen, supporting himself by the small and scanty earnings of his trade in grocery. The Guru noticing his fervour and willingness, liked him much, and for the sake of assaying him, he would, at times,

put him to the test.

On a dark tempestuous night, in the midst of rain, thunder and lightning, when Amar Das was returning with water from the river, he accidentally tumbled over by striking against a *karir* peg † close to a weaver's house, and fell into a weaver's loom pit, "*khaddi*", which he managed to get out of without assistance with the pitcher full of water remaining intact on his head. The weaver hearing the noise inferred that some one must have fallen into the pit, and said to his wife "What miserable scoundrel can that be roving about at this time of the night?" "It must be", she replied, "that wretched homeless Amru who serves the Guru for the sake of a loaf of bread." The Guru was already convinced of his disciple's devotion and sincerity, and on hearing what had happened the preceding night, he, on the 1st Magh Sambat 1609, 1533 A.D., in the presence of the whole congregation said "Amru is not homeless, but the home of the homeless, stronghold of the defenceless, shelter of the shelterless, strength of the strengthless, support of the supportless, friend of the friendless, and prop to the world and its faith." He was forthwith declared to be the successor of Guru Angad, who bowed down before him, and then presenting 5 pice and a cocoanut, walked round him four times as was done by Guru Nanak on the appointment of his successor.

After his installation in the office of Guru it was considered advisable that Guru Amar Das should reside at Gondwal where he established his head-quarters on the death of Guru Angad. After the death of Guru Angad, Datu proclaimed himself as Guru at Khadur. But the Sikhs did not recognise him as such. He became jealous of the fame of Guru Amar Das, attack him and kicked him out of the throne at Gondwal. The Guru apologised

† The Guru said afterwards that that peg should turn into a green tree. It became a green tree accordingly and is still preserved in the temple at "Khadur" in the Amritsar District in memory of the occasion.

for the pain his feet had suffered in kicking him and retired to a lonely place where he concealed himself. He was, however, found out with difficulty by the Sikhs who deserted Datu in contempt. The Guru was successful as a teacher. His zeal and activity in preaching, combined with his genial habits affable disposition, secured many converts to the new faith. He was a just and wise Guru, humble and patient. He extensively propagated the mission of Guru Nanak and composed many beautiful hymns which are much liked for their simplicity of diction and purity of thought. He organised and maintained a public kitchen (*langar*) on a very extensive scale. It was open to all creeds and classes. Members of all the four classes, *i.e.*, Brahmans, Khatris, Vaisas and Sudras were, contrary to the old conservative practice, required to take food simultaneously on the same table with no distinction whatever. The whole of the income from offerings was daily spent in this kitchen. None could question whether the food was prepared by a Brahman or a low caste Sikh. He had issued an edict that nobody could go to see him unless he had partaken of the food cooked in the kitchen. When the Raja of Haripur, in the Kangra District, came to the Guru, he was allowed to behold him on the condition that he would do so after he had eaten from his kitchen, which was agreed to.

The old standing Hindu prejudices of all sorts were done away with, and the form of marriage and death ceremonials changed. Visiting the Hindu festivals and pilgrimages as well as the Hindu and Muhammadan shrines was prohibited. All this offended the Brahmans and the so-called high caste Hindus, and they in consequence convened a large assembly through which they complained to the Emperor against the Guru so that the latter might be authoritatively required to stop his propaganda. But they were baffled in their attempt, as on hearing the religious views of the Guru, the Emperor preferred the Sikh religion and refused to interfere with it.

Once the Emperor Akbar, came to pay the Guru a visit. He also partook of the food prepared in the kitchen and was so highly pleased with it that he offered 12 villages in jagir for its maintenance. However, the Guru politely refused the offer explaining that God himself was maintaining it and no exterior aid was needed. But the Emperor persisted on the ground that he considered the Guru's daughter, Bibi Bhani, as his own, and wanted to present those villages to her. Then the Guru, observing his eagerness and the sincerity with which it was being made, accepted the offer.

The Emperor also presented 500 gold *mohars* to the Guru on his visit. The Guru ordered that they should, at once, be distributed to the faqirs and the poor who had assembled on the occasion. The Emperor wondered as it.

On one occasion the Sikhs asked the Guru what were the attributes of a true Sikh. The reply was that as a *sippi* (mother of pearl) on getting a drop of rain becomes satiated and goes down to the bottom to produce a pearl, so should a Sikh, on *Gurmantar* (or the Lord's name to be repeated) being imparted to him, become satiated and contented. He should constantly repeat the name of the Lord, and the world and its wealth should also be considered of that Lord. Alike in prosperity and in distress, no god or goddess, tomb, burning ground, vault or the like should be revered or supplicated, except the one Lord God who should be considered as alone competent to do anything and should ever be implicitly relied and depended upon.

Guru Amar Das built at Gondwal a *baoli*, or large oblong well, the descent to the brink of which is reached by 84 steps with landing places, and covered chambers for travellers to rest in and take refreshment during the heat of the day. It is a common belief among the Sikhs that whoever bathes on these eighty-four steps one by one on the same day, repeating the *Japji* with a true and sincere heart to the last step, shall be saved from the eighty-

four lakhs of transmigratory forms and shall go directly to heaven. Two fairs are held here in the year, one in Baisakh and another in Bhadon to which the Sikhs flock from all directions. The Emperor Akbar had assigned 48 villages for the maintenance of this *baoli*.

Guru Amar Das deputed 22 of his chosen disciples to the different parts of the country in order to preach and discuss with the people, the religion of Guru Nanak. He himself went several times to the Canges and other holy places to preach the doctrine of his predecessors. Having accomplished his part in the great religious drama he, at the age of 95 years 4 months and 1 day, died at Gondwal in Bhadon Sambat 1631 (1574 A.D.) He began to serve Guru Angad at the age of 62; served him for 12 years and reigned as Guru for 22 years. Guru Ram Dass succeeded him as the fourth Guru, as will be explained in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

Guru Ram Dass.

The Guru was a Sodhi Khatri and was born at Chuni Mandi in the town of Lahore in Katak Sambat 1591 (1534 A.D.) He was a very handsome and promising youth with a fair complexion. When he was about 7 years of age his father died. Thereafter the family fell into straitened circumstances. When he reached youth he began to earn his bread by hawking boiled pulse and other eatables. Although so poor he even then used to give away one-fourth of his earnings in charity. In Sambat 1611 he along with numerous pilgrims, went to Gondwal where Guru Amar Das was. There he resumed his profession and began to hawk provisions. One day the Guru was about to depute a Brahman to find out a match for his daughter, Bibi Bhani, when Ram Das passed through the street hawking as usual. At that juncture Lady Amar Das directed the Brahman's attention towards Ram Das with the remark that she wanted a son-in-law very like him. On this the

Guru said "Let the specimen be the real son-in-law." Thereon Ram Das was sent for and betrothed and the marriage took place on 22nd Phagan, Sambat 1610 (1554 A. D.). A separate house was built for him at Gondwal. He had three sons, Prithi Chand, Mahadeo and Guru Arjan Dev.

Guru Amar Das found Ram Das capable and in every respect worthy of the office of Guru and therefore in supercession of his own sons installed him in that office in Bhadon, Sambat 1631 (1374 A.D.). The residence of Guru Ram Das, the village of Ramdaspur (since called Amritsar) was founded in Har Sambat 1629 (1572 A D).

Guru Ram Das was a man of considerable merit, and of a quiet and peaceful disposition. He became famous for his piety, devotion, energy and eloquence. He devoted himself to literary pursuits and expounded his doctrines in beautiful and attractive hymns. He was very liberal minded. It is said that one Lal Chand, a merchant of Lahore, presented him with a precious necklace of pearls. A faqir was standing close by at the time and was asking for alms. The Guru handed the necklace to him.

The Emperor Akbar on his return from Kabul came to pay him a visit and presented 101 gold *Mohars* to the Guru. The latter distributed them to the poor on the spot. The Emperor was highly pleased with his accomplishments, and as a mark of esteem and approbation, offered a Jagir of 12 villages in the Parganah of Jhulbal, but it was politely refused, with the remarks that sure assignments were serve to create evils of all sorts.

At an interview at Lahere he represented to the Emperor Akbar, that the price of food would fall considerable and the *raiyyat* would suffer in consequence. Therefore he begged His Majesty to remit a year's revenue to the poor *haiyat*. The Emperor granted this request and was strongly impressed with the Guru's sympathy for the poor. There is no doubt

that the representation was prompted by purely charitable and unselfish motives and the success which attended it, as can naturally be imagined, greatly increased the popularity of the Guru among the agricultural classes who gathered around him from all directions and considerably contributed to his power and fame. He was termed by the people "Sacha Padshah" or the True King.

Ram Das splendidly restored at Ramdaspur an old tank which he named "*Amritsar*" or the tank of nectar or "*Immortality*". In its centre he built a magnificent temple which he called Harmandar or the temple of Hari, (the Lord pervading the universe). The name of the town he also changed from Ramdaspur to Amritsar, after the name of the tank.

Guru Ram Das played a considerable part in promoting the faith of Guru Nanak. Brotherly love was not only inculcated but infused by him in the Sikhs. In founding the town of Amritsar at the most convenient and fertile centre, he laid deep the foundation of the future greatness of the Sikhs as a nation. They were now enabled to gather at a common place of worship so well situated. The Sikhs who were peaceful in mind and gentle in behaviour, followed yet the simple and pure tenets prescribed by the founder of their faith, and now they learnt to unite together and to foster and engender those feelings of brotherly love which eventually strengthened the national tie and paved the way to the formation of a commonwealth on true patriotic principles

Nominating Arjan Dev, the youngest son, as his successor, Guru Ram Das died at the age of 47 years at Gondwal on 3rd day of the light half on the month of Sawan Sambat 1638 (1581 A.D.). He reigned as Guru 6 years, 11 months and 16 days.

CHAPTER IX

Guru Arjan Dev.

Guru Ram Das, the fourth Guru, had three sons (1) Prithi Chand, who was born on 1st Assu S. 1614 (1557 A. D.), (2) Mahadev, born on 4th Har S. 1617 (1560 A.D.), and (3) Guru Arjan Dev, born on 18th Baisakh S. 1620 (1563 A. D.) The eldest, Prithi Chand passed over for disobedience and speaking a falsehood. The Guru, his father, termed him a *mina*, or a villain, excommunicated him and ordered the Sikhs not to obey him or associate with him. The second son was always engaged in deep meditation, ever shunned society and preferred utter silence. Therefore he was considered unfit to rule as spiritual leader. The youngest, Arjan Dev, was capable in all respects and was therefore installed in the office of Guru, on 21st Baisakh S. 1638 (1581 A.D.), at Amritsar.

As soon as he assumed the dictatorship, Guru Arjan Dev established himself at Amritsar, and making it a great centre which should attract his followers by their worldly longings and spiritual hopes, he undertook a grand reformation. He played the most prominent part in forwarding the faith of the Sikh Gurus. He laid aside the rosary and garb of a faqir and dressed himself in costly attire. He maintained a numerous retinue, fine horses and elephants. He was very energetic and aspiring. The Sikhs were organized into a community and measures were adopted for extending his own spiritual authority. A system of taxation by tithes or one-tenth of net income was devised, and collectors, called *Masands*, with their deputies termed *Mevras*, were appointed for its collection throughout the country. This plan indicated for the Sikhs a regular system of government, which eventually they acquired for themselves. Disciples were also sent out for purposes of trade and to propagate the faith in foreign countries like

Turkistan. Sikhism was extended during this time to Kabul, Kandhar, Sindh, Pothohar, Malwa and practically all over India.

Guru Arjan completed the grand and most sacred tank and temple at Amritsar which were taken in hand by his deceased father. He also constructed many more masonry tanks at Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Kartarpur and other places. Several more magnificent buildings were also constructed and in Baisakh S. 1647 (1590 A. D.) he founded the town of Tarn Tarn in the Amritsar District.

The Amritsar sacred tank was begun in S. 1633 (1576 A.D.) by Guru Ram Dass. The foundation stone of Harmandir was laid on 1st Magh S. 1645 (about the middle of January 1589 A.D.) When Guru Arjan was going to lay down the foundation stone, the famous faqir Mian Mir, who was a great friend of the Guru, happened to go there to see him. Out of respect the Guru asked him to lay the foundation stone, but by an oversight it was wrongly laid and the mason taking it out righted it. The Guru is said to have uttered the prophecy on the occasion, that the temple was destined to fall down and to be rebuilt again. This assertion was fulfilled in S. 1818 (1761 A. D.) when it was blown up with gunpowder by Ahmad Shah Durani. It was rebuilt by the Khalsa, called Budha Dal, and its foundation stone was at the request of that Dal and with the general concurrence of the Khalsa, laid by Sardar Jassa Singh, Ahluwalia, on 11th Baisakh S. 1821 (1764 A. D.).

When the magnificent tank of Tarn Taran was being constructed, kilns were burnt in S. 1653 (1596 A. D.) for its masonry work. The burnt bricks were forcibly taken away by Amir Din, the son of Nawab Nur Din, and used in building his own houses and a Sarai. The Sikhs were very angry and complained to the Guru about it. He pacified them with the remark that they need not be uneasy about it and that a time would come when the

very same bricks would be used for the construction of the tank for which they were baked. In S. 1832 (1775 A.D) those buildings were demolished by the Singhs and the bricks were used in the masonry work of that tank.

Some time after Arjan Dev obtained the Guruship, he began to consider the formation of a religious code and formulas of the laudation of the Lord to be daily repeated by the Sikhs. He endeavoured to raise the followers of the great Nanak in the social scale and to unite and bind them by a common religious tie. He compiled of a holy scripture in S. 1661 (1604 A.D) and named it Granth Sahib, which is held in the greatest veneration, and after the death of the tenth and last Guru, Gobind Singh, upon it was bestowed the dignity of the Sikhs' Spiritual Leader. It is termed "Guru Granth Sahib" (*vide* Chapter II of the Introduction). In this scripture Guru Arjan incorporated most of the hymns of Guru Nanak and almost all the compositions of his three successors. He himself contributed to it very extensively and added the choicest hymns of the reformers of other religions, Hindus, and Muhamadans or even low castes in order to show that the Sikh Gurus recognised no religion except purity of mind, good actions and devotion to the Almighty. Whatever it contains was pure and binding on all orthodox or true believers. It was kept in the holy temple at Amritsar and recited each day to the congregation. Hymns were constantly sung in praise of the Lord by bands of musicians and the incidents of the life of Guru Nanak were repeated with great fervour. The Holy Granth took the place of various Puranic citations which were formerly repeated on the occasion of Hindu marriages and deaths. Thus the Sikhs took a further and firmer step in their social life and standing, which practically emancipated them from the hold of the Brahmans, if any was yet left. The public kitchen (*langar*) which had been established long before the Guru Arjan's predecessors was maintained on a much larger scale than before and congregations from distant countries daily waited upon him.

He always rose very early in the morning and, with the exception of a little rest during the night, he was ever engaged in devotion or working for the Sikhs.

He spent a good deal of his time in travels in the Panjab in preaching his mission. He occasionally visited Lahore. Many Hindu and Muhammadan faqirs used to have religious discourses with him. Once Husain Khan the governor of Lahore, along with many of his officials, came to him and was much pleased by what he saw and heard of him and expressed his desire to render the Guru some service. He was told to construct a *baoli* (a well with steps, which he duly did in S. 1651 (1594 A.D.) It exists up to this day close to the Dabbi Bazar in Lahore and is called Guru Arjan's Baoli.

Prithi Chand, the eldest brother of Guru Arjan, resented the Guru's succession on account of his own supercession. As long as he lived he greatly molested the Guru and tried his best to oust him from the guruship, and brought various law suits against him. He was, however, always unsuccessful. He also made several unsuccessful attempts to take away the life of the young and only son of the Guru, named Hargobind. The Guru on his part was ever agreeable and tried his utmost to effect reconciliation but in vain. After all, tried and ashamed of his baneful attempts against the Guru, he died in Magh S. 1662 (1606 A. D.)

Besides Prithi Chand, the Guru had another enemy in Chandu Lal, a financier (Diwan) of the Emperor Akbar. He wanted a match for his daughter. According to the old Hindu custom, he sent his men to find out one, and they chose Guru Arjan's son, Hargobind. Without giving any intimation of the fact to the Guru, they told the Diwan of their selection. He agreed, but when despatching the *chhohara* (customary dower with presents in cash) he made some disparaging remarks comparing the Guru to a drain and himself to the upper storey. By

this he meant that he was going to give the hand of his daughter to a person who was much lower in social status than himself, The Sikhs communicated these slighting remarks to the Guru with a request that the betrothal should be refused and it was refused accordingly and the betrothal presents returned Therefore Chandu Lal became an enemy of the Guru.

In Assu Sambat 1662 (1605 A.D.) the Emperor Akbar, came to Batala in the present District of Gurdaspur. Chandu Lal then informed him of the compilation of the Holy Granth, adding that the Muhammadan faith and its prophet were slighted and slandered therein. Akbar sent for the Holy Granth, which was accordingly, under escort of some Sikhs, forwarded to Batala. On arrival there it was in the presence of Akbar, opened at random and its reading pleased him much. But the invidious Diwan remarked that the selection of passages was marked out beforehand to serve the occasion. Then another page was turned which delighted the Emperor and his courtiers, including the Qazis. On this the Diwan was greatly ashamed and wickedly told the Emperor that it allowed and lauded idolatry and that for its proper exposition the Reader should be one who was not a Sikh. The scripture was then opened a third time and a Reader was produced by the Diwan himself. All assertions of the Diwan, however, proved to be wrong and the Emperor finding nothing amiss in it, praised it and honoured it with the presentation of 51 gold *Mohars*, and dismissed its escort with robes of state, adding that he would also personally call upon the Guru. A few days after that he paid him a visit and during his interview praised and admired the Holy Scripture much adding that it was destined to much good to the people. He then inspected the *Langer* arrangements and in honour and approbation thereof offered some land grants, which, owing to the earnest request of the Emperor, were accepted by the Guru. At that time the Punjab was suffering from famine and, at the

suggestion of the Guru, the land revenue was remitted and relief was granted to the sufferers by the issue of grain from the Imperial granaries. By this suggestion the Emperor was highly pleased and it contributed a great deal to the increase of the Guru's fame.

A few months after this, the Guru anticipated his future troubles and declared that his only son would succeed him. Shortly after the interview referred to above, Akbar died at Agra in October 1605 A. D. and was succeeded by his favourite son, Salim, under title of Jahangir "Conqueror of the world." Prince Khusro, the eldest son of Jahangir, had for some time past, been on bad terms with his father. On Jahangir's accession the breach became much wider, and in March 1606, the young prince left Agra for Kabul in open rebellion. On his way he visited Tarn Taran where Guru Arjan then was, and repeatedly in humbleness requested pecuniary aid with the promise of repaying it on his arrival at Lahore. The Guru, for various considerations such as previous acquaintance with the Prince, his helping the Guru in peopling certain villages, his relationship with the deceased Emperor and soon, lent him Rs. 5,000 for travelling expenses. The Emperor, who was closely pursuing him, totally defeated him in the vicinity of Lahore and compelled him to fly westwards in the hope of reaching Kabul. The ferryboat in which he was crossing the Chenab by night, ran on a sandbank, and he was arrested by the King's Officers. He remained long in prison and his companions suffered cruel death.

Diwan Chandu Lal was, at this time, according to Sayad Muhammad Latif, Financial Minister at Lahore. Hearing of the money lent by the Guru to Prince Khusro, he proposed to avail himself to the opportunity and complained to the Emperor against the Guru's conduct and insinuated that if the pursuit of the Prince had not been so close, he might have helped him with an army too. Thereupon the Guru was sent for and on

his arrival at Lahore, the Emperor received him with marks of due respect and honour. The very look of the Guru softened and cleared the Emperor's mind of the suspicion which had been roused against him. During the interview Chandu Lal was present and renewed his complaint. Then the Emperor addressed the Guru "Since as a Pir and Faqir, you are alike to all, you should not have rendered any aid to the King's enemy, Khusro." The Guru replied, "I, of course, am successor of Guru Nanak; high and low as well as all religions are equal to me without any distinction at all; and therefore whatever has been paid to the Prince was on account of his humble request and I had no intention to help the King's enemy." On this the Emperor asked the Guru to pay a fine. Thereupon the Guru represented that he was a faqir and whatever he had, had come to him through offerings and it was public property to which only the poor and the faqirs were entitled, and that faqirs were not supposed to pay fines out of it. He added that if His Majesty was in need of any pecuniary help he was quite prepared to render it as in the case of the Prince, but as a fine, he was not prepared to pay a single farthing. The Emperor returned no answer to this and closed the court. The court Jamadar, however, according to the previous order of the Emperor announced the fine of Rs 100,000. The Guru was sent to Kotwali and the Emperor left for Kabul the next morning.

When the Sikhs of Lahore heard of the imposition of the fine, they proposed to pay it by raising subscriptions, but the Guru restrained them from so doing with the remark that it did not behove the faqirs to pay fines and penalties and emphasized these remarks with the declaration that any attempt to the contrary would be punished with excommunication. The proposal was dropped.

When the Guru reached Kotwali, Chandu Lal appeared on the stage and on the pretence of serving the Guru, he stood for

his surety and brought him to his own house. There he insisted upon his accepting the betrothal which had already been refused, with a promise of a very large dowery, but the Guru declared that his words were engraved on stone, and could not be effaced and that even if the whole world were given as dowery the Guru's son would not marry his daughter. Thereon Chandu Lal threatened him with the most cruel treatment. The Guru replied that fate could not be avered, and expressed his willingness to suffer it. Thereafter the Guru was treated with the utmost cruelty and marks of violence were visible on his whole body. The well-known faqir, Mian Mir, heard of it, and visiting Chandu Lal warned him of the injudicious step he was taking. At the same time he told the Guru that he would complain to the Emperor and bring ruin upon his torturer. Thereon some spiritual discussion ensued and Mian Mir, asked why a tyrant and sinner like Chandu Lal should not be annihilated. The Guru replied that as a Saint, toleration was his duty, adding that as distress assays one's friends and wife, war a warrior, and famine charity, so violence, cruelty and dishonour test a Saint. In concluding his remarks the Guru said "O Sir, nobody can do anything except the all powerful Lord, and everything that happens, comes under His orders and like other Saints the Lord is assaying me. Sorrow and happiness are predestined for the body. The soul is separate from it, steel cannot cut her, fire cannot burn her, and water cannot di-solve her. Our maxim is —

"Je sukh den tan tujhe aradhin dukh vich tujhai dhiaian."

O Lord ! If Thou grantest happiness I will repeat Thy name, and in distress too I must invoke Thee."

Hearing this discourse of the Guru inspite of such cruel torture, the visitor was surprised and retired in amazement.

Soon after the departure of Mian Mir, the cruel tormentor laid before the Guru a raw cow-hide with the intimation that next morning he would be enclosed therein. However early in the next morning, before the tyrant could carry out his evil design, the Guru bathed as usual and then after worship of the Almighty, on 22nd Jeth S. 1663 (May 1606 A.D.), he gave up his spirit and in accordance with his instructions, the body was thrown into the river. His tomb (*smadh*) was erected opposite the Fort of Lahore on the spot where he breathed his last.

The death of Guru Arjan gave a new turn to the history of the Sikh nation. It flamed the religious passions of the Sikhs and measures were adopted to pay the cruel tyrant in his own coin, as will appear from the next chapter.

Bhai Gur Das, the celebrated Sikh poet, flourished during the time of Guru Arjan. He was a great scholar and wrote the Granth Sahib at the dictation of the Guru.

CHAPTER IX

Guru Hargobind.

Guru Arjan had only one son, Hargobind. He was born on 21st Har Sambat 1652 (June 1595 A.D.) at Vadali in Amritsar District. He ascended on the 9th Har Sambat 1663 (June 1606 A.D.) at the age of 11 years. At the time of his accession, the *Masands* or Tithe collectors, according to the old custom, presented a *manji* (bedstead), a *seli* (a woollen thread worn by Fapirs), a hat, a religious book and a rosary. The Guru returned them with the remark that he was destined to change the doctrine of the rosary to that of the sword : his mission was to protect the faith of the Lord and the necessary protection could not be afforded without the aid of arms. Therefore he proclaimed his intention of wearing

arms; and he wore two swords, one on each side, right and left, abandoning the *seli*, and *topi* (tokens of a *faqir*) for good. He explained that one sword represented *faqiri* and the other *amiri*, the proper exposition of which expression is yet a mystery. The most probable construction is that he combined the qualities of a warrior and a saint. He became a military leader as well as a spiritual leader. He took delight in hunting and was the first Guru who organised a military system, armed his followers, and prepared them for action in the field. He engaged the services of the brave and drilled them in arms. In a very short time he formed a handsome group of combatants and those Hindus, who had proposed to embrace Islam under coercion of the authorities, began to look to him for comfort and protection,

On 5th Har Sambat 1666 (June 1609 A.D.) Guru Hargobind constructed Akalbunga (the house of God) in front of the Sikh temple at Amritsar. In that temple he began to convene assemblies to preach his gospel. He said that as long as he continued in Harmandir, he should be reckoned as a saint and in Akalbunga he should be looked upon as a King. He dressed himself in costly and princely attire and issued an edict to the Sikhs to present him with arms on their usual visits of pilgrimage.

He became very famous for his charity and spiritual power. The home (*langar*) was maintained on a much larger scale than before and thousands of Hindu and Muhammadan poor were constantly waiting for a food and clothing. Psalms were ever being recited in the temple and the formulas of morning and evening prayers were more rigidly observed. The Guru toured through the country on various occasions preaching the mission of Guru Nanak. He constructed many gardens and established many public institutions. He obtained a lease from the Emperor and founded Hargobindpur on 17th Assu

Sambat 1677 (October 1620 A.D.).

On seeing the prosperity of the Guru, his cousin Mehrwan, the son of his paternal uncle, Priithi Chand, grew very jealous, and conspiring with Chandu Lal, complained to the Emperor Jahangir, that having abandoned the practice of his ancestors, the Guru had buckled on the sword, and organised a regular army, and had begun to dispose judicial cases like the King's law-courts. He also represented that these facts were injurious to the interests of the State and prayed the Emperor to adopt measures to stop them. Chandu Lal reminded the Emperor of the imposition of the fine of Rs. 100,000 on the deceased Guru Arjan and suggested its recovery from his son. The Emperor deputed two Sardars to fetch Guru Hargobind.

On his part also the Guru was seeking an opportunity to have an interview with the Emperor, so that Chandu Lal might be chastised for his cruelty. On the arrival of the Sardars, he at once made necessary arrangements for his household and the Temple at Amritsar, and started on 3rd Jeth Sambat 1673 (May 1616 A.D.) to Delhi with 100 horse and foot. When by convenient marches he reached Delhi, the Emperor received him with due marks of honour and respect and during the interview he was very much pleased by what he saw. He granted Rs. 500 for the *langar* and issued orders for the necessary supply of grain and fodder for horses. At the same time he gave him permission to attend the Court daily. On several occasions the Guru accompanied the Emperor to his sports. The Guru's rising in the estimation of the Emperor grieved his father's enemy, Chandu Lal, who made several unsuccessful attempts to injure him. However on an occasion when the Emperor was attacked with high fever for three successive days, the old snake, Chandu Lal, found opportunity to bite. He bribed the royal astronomer to attempt the removal of the Guru from the royal presence. The astronomer told the Emperor that an evil star (*Sarh satti*) had appeared which fore-

boded evil to His Majesty for 7½ years, unless a pious faqir like the Guru, should repeat holy hymns for 40 days in some suitable place in the south. Then Chandu Lal came in and pretended to praise the Guru much and suggested that the Fort of Gwalior was the most suitable and convenient locality for the purpose. The Emperor was deceived and a message was sent to the Guru accordingly. The latter did not think it proper to enter into a discussion at the time and carried out the royal wishes at once and left for Gwalior with 5 Sikhs. When he had been there for some days, Chandu Lal sought an opportunity to explain the prosperous condition of the Guru and the advisability of levying the fine of Rs. 100,000, and suggested that until the amount was paid in the Guru should be told to remain in the Fort as a State Prisoner. His Majesty agreed and orders were issued accordingly. Some months later, the news of the fact reached Amritsar and the Guru's mother deputed Baba Budha to procure his release on payment of the fine. About 2,000 Sikhs accompanied him. They gathered round the fort and bowed before its walls in worship of the Saint undergoing persecution there. They asked for permission to pay the fine, but the Guru forbade them on pain of curse and excommunication, and it was never paid in

The Guru was ever busy in contemplation and did not care about his imprisonment, but the Sikh Nation was deeply concerned. At the time the famous faqir, Mian Mir, happened to visit Delhi, and obtained an interview with the Emperor. During the conversation the latter stated the troubled nature of his dreams, which the former attributed to the incarceration of the innocent Guru. At the same time he showed the Emperor how Chandu Lal had been cruel and hard upon the deceased Guru Arjan on account of a private grudge and how for that same reason he was bent upon doing mischief to the Guru. He added that for such acts, though the Subordinates were directly responsible, the Rulers were also able to suffer. By these remarks the Emperor was much affected

and ordered the immediate release and return of the Guru to Delhi. On his arrival there precious presents were sent to him, and His Majesty apologised and sought forgiveness for his past treatment of the Guru.

At the Emperor's request the Guru halted for some time at Delhi. His Majesty found in him an excellent sportsman and a talented combatant. He accompanied the imperial camp during His Majesty's tour of Rajputana and raised himself much in the estimation of the Emperor. His Majesty deputed him to subdue Raja Tara Chand of Nalagarh who had continued for a long time in open rebellion and all efforts to subdue him had failed. He was vanquished and brought before the Emperor in Samvat 1675 (1618 A.D.). Owing to this, new honours were conferred upon the Guru, and he was made Honorary Commander of 7 Guns and 1000 horse and foot. He was also invested with the powers of control over and of hearing appeals against the decisions of the authorities in the Panjab. His decisions in judicial cases were received and accepted by the parties with gratification and his tuition in spiritual knowledge and moral courage raised his followers much higher in social and moral standing. His popularity as spiritual leader and temporal judge largely augmented his power and fame. He was termed by the people "Sacha Padshah Sodhi Sultan". (True king, the Sodhi Sultan.)

When the Guru was about to leave Delhi for home, he had a parting interview with the Emperor. The former was wearing a very beautiful and precious *Simrna* (a miniature rosary of 28 beads) of pearls and *Kapurs* (a sort of gems) and His Majesty asked for one of those pearls to serve as a top-head of his royal rosary as a token of the Guru's friendship. He placed it at His Majesty's disposal with the remark that his father had a rosary of 108 pearls much superior to those, and that now it was in possession of his Diwan, Chandu Lal. These remarks reminded the Emperor of the story related by Mian Mir and he asked for its

details, which were duly given. Then the Diwan was immediately sent for, and Guru Arjan's rosary and seal which were in his possession were demanded. The Diwan denied all knowledge thereof, on which his house was searched and both of these articles were found. On this his whole property was confiscated and Chandu Lal, being considered as the murderer of Guru Arjan, was handed over to Guru Hargobind to be dealt with as he deemed proper.

The Diwan was put in charge of the dog-keeper and orders were issued that every Sikh should deal five blows with a shoe on his head every morning. Enduring that treatment he was brought to Amritsar in Magh Sambat 1675 (1618 A. D.). During the next month he accompanied the Guru's camp to Lahore where he was dragged through the streets with irons on his feet. He was so abused and taunted by the public and so oppressed by the sense of his own sins that life hung heavy upon him and eventually on 27th Phagan S. 1675 (March 1619 A. D.) one Gurditta Bharbhunia (grain parcher) ended the Diwan's miserable life by pouring hot sand upon his head as he was passing by his shop. It was a very good moral for the public that one whom the tyrant had employed to supply rot and burning sands for paining the Guru, served similarly to execute and end the life of the tyrant.

In 1677 S. (1620 A. D.) one Bhag Mal, a Sikh, was taking a fine Turkistani horse from Kabul for presentation to the Guru. It was seized at Lahore by the officers of the King and presented to Prince Shahab-ud-din (afterwards Shah Jahan). He was struck with its beauty and ordered its price to be paid and the horse to be sent to the royal stable, notwithstanding the vehement protests of the owner. The fact was reported to the Guru who said that it must eventually come to him. The horse became lame and was made over to Rustam Khan, the Chief Qazi of Lahore. He properly treated

and cured it and then sold it to the Guru. At the time of which we are speaking the Guru was encamping at Muzang in the vicinity of the town of Lahore and halted there for five months. The house of Qazi Rustam Khan was close by. He had one* 'Kaulan' in his harem. She used to hear the hymns which were constantly chanted by bands of musicians in the presence of the Guru. She admired them but the Qazi was greatly offended to know that a Mussalman woman should have any like for the hymns of infidels. He began to maltreat her and contemplated her murder but she contrived to escape and took protection with the Guru. She was treated by him very kindly, and was lodged in a separate building with necessary arrangements for her safety. Eventually the tank named Kulsar was constructed by the Guru in her memory as a true devotee. It is close to the grand and secret reservoir at Amritsar just in front of Baba Atal. It took 7 years in its construction and was completed in Sambat 1684 (1627 A.D.) She died in Sawan S. 1686 (1629 A.D.)

In Sambat 1682 (1625 A.D.) the Guru accompanied the Emperor Jahangir to Kashmir *via* Chaprar, Wazirabad and Mirpur. From Srinagar he went to Tibet and Ladakh. When His Majesty left Kashmir for Kabul, the Guru returned to Amritsar *via* Muzaffarabad, Abbotabad, Hassan Abdol, Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Hafizabap, Talwandi, (Guru Nanak's birth place where he founded the present Nankana Sahib), Minak and other places. The famous Shah Daula and Jahangir faqirs met him at Gujrat,

On his way back from Kabul the Emperor fell ill and died at Bhimbar on the morning of 28th October, 1627 A.D. (S. 1684). He was succeeded by Shah Jahan, his son. During the life time of Jahangir, as could be expected, the power and authority

* There is a question as to who the Kaulan was and we still making inquiries as to this.

of the Guru had engendered jealousy among the king's officials. The faith of Guru Nanak was already disliked by the priestly classes on account of its all equalising tenets. Chandu Lal's relations and Prithi Chand's descendants were all lying in wait for an opportune time to renew their complaints. Rustam Khan, Qazi, was seeking an opportunity to claim the restoration of Kaulan. Many attempts to injure the Guru failed during the lifetime of Jahangir, but when the young and inexperienced Emperor ascended the throne, the malicious attacks were renewed and many complaints poured in. Although, before his ascending the throne, Shah Jahan was a great friend of the Guru and held him in high respect and used to pay him visits during his stay at Lahore, yet on receipt of these multifarious complaints his views changed. Immediately after he became Emperor, the selfish and jealous Muhammadan officials advised him to withdraw the powers with which his father had invested the Guru. The latter did not care a bit for it.

The Guru in Sambat 1684 (1627 A D) was invited by certain hill Rajas to visit their country, but he sent Baba Gurditta, his eldest son to Dun and Hindur. The young prince founded Kiratpur on 13th Maghaa Sambat 1684 (December 1627 A D.)

At about the same time, the Guru was sporting near the village of Gumtala, and Shah Jahan also chanced at the very juncture to be sporting in the vicinity of Kuhala. A hawk belonging to the Emperor joined those belonging to the Guru, who proposed not to part with it. On this various past complaints were brought again to the notice of the Emperor and induced his Majesty to send an armed force with a view to seize the Guru and disperse his followers. Gulam Rasul Khan was deputed from Lahore at the head of 7,000 troops. The Guru encountered him with 1,000 men. On 17th Chet Sambat 1685 (March 1629

A. D.) a severe battle was fought at Vadalo near Amritsar. The King's army was signally defeated and returned to Lahore after sustaining a heavy loss in killed and wounded. Two leaders were killed and the commander was wounded in the engagement. An enormous quantity of stores and magazines fell into the hands of the victor, and this was the first battle in the annals of the Punjab which was fought between the Muhammadans and the Sikhs.

When the news of this discomfiture reached the Emperor, he was inflamed and burned with anger. He immediately despatched Mukhlas Khan, Naib Subadar, at the head of 15,000 men to fight the Guru. The Guru had anticipated this and made necessary arrangements. He had by this time 4,000 combatants under his banner. He added 5 more to the number of guns in his possession by boring holes in wooden logs, which he mounted on the Lohgarh Fort. A pitched battle was fought on 11th Baisakh Sambat 1986 (April 1629 A. D.). The issue was undecided when the fall of night stopped operations. However during the night the Sikhs inflicted a heavy loss on the enemy. Next morning the king's force was on the eve of breaking down when Mukhlas Khan very bravely stormed the fort. Then the town of Amritsar was plundered. When the imperial army was busy with the spoils, the Guru, who was not present during the storming of the fort, was preparing for another encounter. He personally led the combat, both sides lost seriously in killed and wounded, and Mukhlas Khan was killed by the Guru himself. The imperial army suffered a disastrous defeat and returned to Lahore. In order to avoid further and immediate attack by the imperial force, the Guru went to Jhubal. He halted there for a few days and then left for Kartarpur *via* Tarn Taran, Khadur and Gondwal.

When the news of the defeat reached the Emperor, he was extremely enraged and proposed to despatch a large army again,

but Wazir Khan, Governor of Lahore, dissuaded him, explaining how the Guru, who was a mere faqir, had roused the spirits of the people, and how he was fighting with wooden guns. He represented that nothing good would come if he were captured or conquered and the proposal was thus, after the consideration, dropped.

Owing to the somewhat prolonged absence of the Guru from Hargobindpur, one Bhagwana, a relation of the well-known Chandu Lal, had taken wrongful possession of it. When in S. 1686 (1629 A. D.) the Guru went there, Bhagwana refused to deliver its possession. He thought that since the Emperor was not on good terms with the Guru, he would be able to hold the village for ever. He therefore, resisted and fought with the Guru, but was slain in the encounter. Rattan Chand, the son of the deceased, then hastened to Jalandhar and, after consulting with the relations of Chandu Lal and others, who were unfavourably disposed towards the Guru, induced the Governor of Jalandhar, Abdulla Khan, to seize the Guru as a fugitive, and present him before the Emperor. The Guru was stated to have only 200 men with him. Abdulla Khan then marched on Hargobindpur at the head of 5,000 men. The Guru also made necessary preparations and a heavy battle was fought for three days. Both sides sustained serious losses, and the Muhammadan Commander with many high officers fell in the field. Victory remained with the Sikhs, and many trophies of war fell into their hands.

When fate decided against the invader, Bhagwana laid his case before the Viceroy of Lahore. A thorough and sifting inquiry was made into all his allegations and a detailed report was submitted to the emperor at Delhi. On perusal of this report all the suspicions which Shah Jahan had long entertained in regard to the Guru, were effaced from his mind, and thereafter he took no action on any complaint against the Guru.

Things then went on smoothly for about two years until

fresh incidents necessitated the disturbance of the peace. In Sambat 1689 (1632 A.D.) a Sikh house-dealer brought from Kabul two very fine horses for the Guru. The Governor of Lahore forcibly took them for the King and paid for them against the owner's will. He protested against the bargain, but in vain, and intimated the fact to the Guru, who remarked that the Governor had no right to seize horses which were intended for the Guru. One Bidhi Chand volunteered to fetch them for the Guru. In a very curious way he took one animal from the fort of Lahore and presented it to the Guru. At that time the river Ravi was flowing under the fort and the animal being made to swim therein for some distance, no track was left by which it could be traced. Then the same Bidhi Chand appeared as tracker and pretended to find out the stolen animal. After some preliminaries he rode the second horse in day light and in presence of king's officers, jumped into the river just in the same way as he had done before, and then, giving them full particulars of himself and his destination, he challenged them to follow him. All were astonished at it and a detailed report was submitted to the Emperor. He flew into violent anger and deputed Mirza Kamir Beg Khan, a leader of the army, with 22,000 troops to capture the Guru. The latter entrenched himself on the bank of a pond at the village of Lahr, and a serious battle was fought on the 17th Poh, Sambat 1690 (1633 A.D.). it continued for several days and the loss, especially of the King's army, was enormous. It suffered extremely from the difficulties of the march, and the want of provisions had a disastrous effect upon it. It was signally defeated and leaving its commanders slain on the battlefield, it fled to Lahore. The Guru duly respected the dead of the enemy. The Hindus were collected and burnt according to the Hindu custom, and the Mussalmans were duly buried. He took the wounded along with himself and adopted necessary measures to properly dress their wounds and feed them. When their wounds were cured, he sent them to the Emperor with their travelling expenses. On their arrival at

the imperial court they greatly praised the valour, charity and liberality of the Guru. It is said that the loss of the imperial army in this battle amounted to about 16,000 men or 73 per cent. of the total.

After that, the Guru toured through many villages preaching righteousness, and visited Raja Tara Chand's territory. Then he came back to Amritsar in Sambat 1692 (1635 A.D.). For some time there was quiet until the disloyal Painda Khan induced the Emperor to attack the Guru again.

Painda Khan was a Pathan. He was employed by the Guru on Rs. 5 per diem and was mostly liberally treated. He had long been in his service. Once many valuable presents, which were brought for the Guru, were stolen by his son-in-law, Asman Khan. The Guru told him to restrain the young Pathan from committing such acts again, but Painda Khan, who was arrogant and overproud, took no notice of it. On the contrary he went on encouraging Asman Khan. Again a valuable hawk, which chanced to have flown to his house, was seized by him and misappropriated. Similarly he was guilty of many more misdemeanours and denied each and every offence. Many of the stolen articles were then recovered from his house and he was disgracefully dismissed from the service for misbehaviour.

Painda Khan thought that it was he alone through whose powers the Guru was ever victorious in the field of battle. He went to the Governor of Jalandhar for help, which was refused. Then he came to Lahore, and on various pretexts and false assurances, the Emperor furnished him with a powerful army, and in Baisakh Sambat 1693 (1636 A. D.) he marched upon the Guru who, at the time, had about 3,000 men. There was desperate fighting at Amritsar for three days, ending with a miserable and complete defeat of the imperial army. The Guru exhibited many feats of bravery and killed many of the enemy with his own hands. Painda Khan directed his attack upon the

person of the Guru and thrice endeavoured to injure him with his sword, but it was dexterously warded off. He then dismounted from his horse and the Guru, desiring to try a duel with him, followed his example and immediately alighted from his horse and challenged him to shield himself against his blow. The very first blow served him a fatal stroke, and he lay strewn on the earth.

Then the Guru told him "O Painsa Khan, repeat thy Kalmah." He replied "Thy sword serves me as Kalmah, O Lord". The Guru had great pity on him and sat by him. The hot rays of the sun fell upon his face, and the Guru protected him with his shield until he breathed his last.

When the Guru was shading Painsa's face, Asman Khan, the root of all the mischief, rushed towards the Guru. Before he reached him, he saw the Guru's son and shot an arrow at him, but it missed him. The Guru's son replied to him with an arrow which pierced through his forehead and he fell dead.

The Guru and his son had some little conversation when the battle was raging at its height and prayed God to bless the souls of Painsa and Asman Khan when they had just despatched. After this the Guru killed many more with his own hands and the majority of the Commanders tasted their death at his hands. The fight ended with the defeat of the imperial army.

While the fight was going on, a brave soldier rushed on the Guru with sword. The Guru warded off the blow and returned him a fatal stroke exclaiming "You have not knack of using the sword; this is the way to wield it.

The loss of the enemy in dead was estimated at 5,000 men, and that of the Sikhs at 700.

Soon after gaining this victory, the Guru started towards Kiratpur. As soon as the Guru left Amritsar, the scattered army of the enemy rallied again and after sacking Kiratpur

followed him. A severe battle was again fought at Phagwara in Jeth Sambat 1693 (1636 A.D.) and the Imperial force was routed in disaster. Then the Guru continued his march to Kiratpur.

One Almost, an Udasi faqir, who was in charge of Nanak Matta in the district of Naini Tal, complained that Jogis had expelled him from the shrine and burnt down the Pipal tree under which the Guru Nanak had carried on his religious discourses with the followers of Gorakh Nath. Therefore in Katak S. 1693 (1636 A.D.) the Guru started for that place *via* Najibabad, Nagina, Muradabad, Chandosi, Bareilly, and Pili Bhit. Almost was restored to the possession of the shrine and the Pipal tree was resuscitated by sprinkling water mixed with saffron, and the leaves of the tree have, since then, peculiar marks on them. After that the Guru returned to Kiratpur through Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Delhi and Karnal.

Raja Tara Chand of Hindur had some boundary dispute with the Nawab of Ropar upon which a fight ensued in Phagan S. 1698 (1642 A. D.) The Guru joined the Raja, and the Nawab was completely defeated.

During the following month the Guru started for Kurukshetra with an escort of 1,000 sowars. When he came to Baman Majra the Pathans of Ropar, Sangholi, Bahlolpur and Kiri surrounded him with enormous troops. The Guru defended his position very valiantly and admirably until reinforcements were received from Kiratpur when the Pathans were dispersed.

Nothing of importance took place during the next two years. The Guru spent his last days at Kiratpur and breathed his last there on Chet Suddi 5th S. 1701 (March 1645 A. D.) after nominating his grandson Har Rai, as Guru. He died at the age of 48 years, 9 months and 4 days and reigned as Guru 37 years, 10 months and 1 day.

The Sikhs had great love and respect for him and were ever ready to rally round his banner, on the approach of danger, at the shortest notice. His death was considered a national calamity and the author of the *Dabistan Mazahib*, gives as an eye-witness, a very pathetic account of his death and of the cremation of his body. Many of the Sikhs volunteered to burn themselves on his funeral pile. Two of his followers, notwithstanding remonstrances, actually jumped into the burning pyre and expired at the feet of the Guru. Many more including Raja Ram Partap Singh of Jaisalmer, were ready to follow their example but were strictly forbidden by the young Guru Har Rai. Such was the estimation in which the deceased Guru was held by the Sikhs, and it appears to be an unprecedented and unparalleled instance in the religious world. He was respected by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. Between Hargobindpur and Amritsar he had constructed, at convenient stages, *Masjids* and *dairas* for Muhammadan travellers who were also fed there at the expense of the Guru.

CHAPTER XI.

Guru Har Rai

Guru Hargobind had three wives of whom he had five sons. (1) Baba Gurditta born S. 1670 (1613 A. D.), (2) Ani Rai born 26th Magh, S. 1672 (1616 A. D.), (3) Suraj Mal, born 11th Har S. 1672 (1615 A. D.), (4) Atal Rai, born 22nd Katak S. 1676 (1619 A. D.) and (5) Teg Bahadur born on the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh, Sambat 1679 (A. D. 1621). The traditional account of the death of Baba Gurditta and Atal Rai is very curious and interesting. In S. 1695 (1638 A. D.) Baba Gurditta restored to life a cow which had been accidentally killed by a Sikh. When Guru Hargobind heard of it he was very angry and

told him that he had been unable to contain his spiritual power and might within himself, and indicated that his behaviour proved that either the son or the father must live and that both of them could not live at the same time. Thereon the son encompassed his father and went straight to the tomb of one Budhan Shah, a Mohammadan faqir. Close to that tomb he spread a bedding of grass, lay down and gave up his soul. The father was rather glad to hear of it and his funeral obsequies were duly performed and a tomb erected on the very spot where he died in the vicinity of Kiratpur.

As regards Atal Rai it is stated that one day when he was about 9 years old, he was playing with boys of about the same age. He won the game but owing to its getting late in the evening he said that he would play the next morning. The next morning the playmate, who had lost the game, was bitten by a snake and died. When Atal Rai went to his house to call him to come out and play, he found his parents lamenting for him. Atal Rai kicked and called him out as if he were pretending to sleep in order to evade his turn. The boy at once arose and began to play. When he came to know of this, the Guru was very angry and when Atal Rai came to him, he said "Thy act shows as if thou art an equal with and antagonist to the Lord. Thou art vying with and disobeying Him. He causes one to die and thou reanimatest the dead. To work miracles in this way is strictly prohibited and thy conduct in this respect is reprehensible." When thus reprimanded, Baba Atal Rai very submissively and meekly went out and lying down on the ground, spread his sheet over himself and breathed his last† His tomb was erected on the spot at Amritsar. It is close to the holy reservoir on the bank of

† The miracles referred to may not be believed by those who have no faith in such happenings. But we have given the account of them coming down to us both by oral and written tradition and in regard to the feasibility of miracles or supernatural power, the reader is referred to Chapter XXIV, Part II.

Kaular. It is the highest building in the town. At the time when Baba Atal Rai died the locality was a dense jungle.

Har Rai the son of Baba Gurditta (who as stated above, predeceased his father) succeeded Guru Hargobind. He was born on 13th Magh S. 1686 (1630 A.D.) at Kiratpur. He was a quiet and contented man and affable in his habits. He entirely absorbed himself in divine worship, and having no inclination for warfare, preferred a peaceful and retired life.

We give the following example of the belief and teachings of the Sikh Gurus up to the time with which we are dealing. An ambassador from Turkey, while on his way home from Delhi visited the Guru at Amritsar, and asked which of the Prophets and the *Avatars* (incarnations of the Deity) was competent to redeem and save from hell. The Guru said that only an individual's own acts could do so and that the Prophets and incarnations were liable to reap the fruit of their own doings like others. The ambassador was very pleased with the answer.

In Katak S. 1707 (1650 A. D.) Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of the Emperor, Shah Jahan, paid a visit at Kiratpur and offered Jagir and several precious presents but the Guru politely refused to accept the Jagir,

Guru Har Rai travelled in different parts of the country. In 1710 S. he went to Malwa and halted for some time at Dowali in the Pargnah of Bathinda. The ancestors of the Phuls, a subdivision of Jats, resided there as tenants-at-will and the landlords would not even allow them to sink a well. One day Chaudhri Kala brought his nephews, Phul and Sandhi, whose father was, during the time of Guru Hargobind, killed in a battle. Phul, who was then 5 year old, struck with his hands, at the instance of his uncle, his own naked belly like a drum in front of the Guru. When asked why he did so, Kala explained that he was hungry and wanted some thing to eat. The Guru replied that his descendants would lord over the country between Satluj and Jamna. This

prediction was fulfilled shortly afterwards, and the Rajas of Patiala, Jind and Nabha are descended from that very Phul. Having obtained the above reply and returned home, Chaudhri Kala related the whole story to his wife. She rebuked him because it would not benefit him, or his own progeny, and remarked that if Phul's descendants became rulers of the country, it would be better to be lorded over by a Muhammadan than their own *shariks* (agnatees). She advised him to get some blessings in his own favour. He therefore appeared again before the Guru, with his own sons. The Guru said that the lot of Phul's descendants was unalterable whereas Chaudhri's descendants would enjoy free grants of land. Kala's descendants are now Jagirdars and are called *Laud gharie Sardars*.

Guru Har Rai had, as already stated, no taste for war, and as soon as he assumed the Guruship, he discharged all the troops which were maintained by his grandfather, except 2,200 men, who were either foreigners or refugees from the Muhammadan oppression, whom it was considered not advisable to disband. Nevertheless the military spirit of the Sikhs which was fostered during the time of Guru Hargobind did not abate but continued to flourish. Guru Har Rai took particular precautions to avoid any intermeddling with politics, but circumstances were not wanting under which the Sikhs were compelled to exert their power and energy for their own defence. In S, 1713 (1656 A.D.) when from his tour of Malwa and Doaba the Guru was coming back to Gondwil, Muhammad Yarbeg Khan (son of Mukhlis Khan who was killed by Guru Hargobind in battle) who chanced to be on the way with 1,000 men, attacked unawares the baggage and the laides who were following the Guru at some distance. The Guru knew nothing of this attack, but the little escort defended themselves admirably and drove the enemy away with considerable loss. Bhai Garra, whose descendants now rule the Kaithal

State, was the most prominent, and was rewarded by the Guru for his courage and bravery. The Raja of Kahlur became troublesome and was reduced by the Sikhs to submission.

The Emperor, Shah Jahan, like his ancestors, Akbar and Jahangir, lay under the curse of rebellious sons. He suffered from the intrigues and rebellions of his family. When in S. 1714 (August 1657 A.D.) he was seized with a severe sudden illness, his sons began to quarrel for the throne. In June 1658 A.D. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son, was totally defeated at Chانبُل and compelled to fly to Delhi with a handful of followers. The governor of that place closed the fortress against him and he was obliged to march rapidly on Lahore. Aurangzeb sent troops in pursuit of him and they had reached close to him, when he came to the Guru at Gondwal, and implored him to take measures to delay the crossing of the Bias by the pursuers, so that he might gain time to elude the pursuit. The Prince had always maintained a close alliance with the Gurus, and through the effectual assistance of the Guru with his small contingent of 2,200 men and three Guns, the enemy was kept at bay and obliged to return towards Delhi.

After a treacherous conflict with his brothers Aurangzeb deposed his father, making him a State prisoner in the fort of Agra, and proclaimed himself king in S. 1715 (June 1658 A.D.). He cleared the field by disposing of his rivals by death or dungeon, and Dara Shikoh also being betrayed into his hands by the Chief of Jun, was, by a mock tribunal, pronounced to be an apostate and doomed to suffer death. After the establishment of his rule and the strengthening of his hands, the hypocrite Aurangzeb embarked upon his grand but wicked enterprise of religious crusade against the Hindus. In connection with that crusade his Majesty summoned Guru Har Rai to Delhi on a certain pretext but, the Guru foreseeing

his intentions submitted on 7th Baisakh S. 1717 (1660 A.D.) a mild petition to him, representing that he was a mere faqir and that he had no business at the imperial court and hoped that his presence would be excused. Ram Rai, the eldest son of the Guru, took this letter to his Majesty. Aurangzeb was satisfied on the receipt of that letter, and was highly pleased with the conversation he had with Ram Rai whom he kept at his Court for a long period and treated with marked distinction granting Rs. 500 dai'y for his langar (public kitchen). Ram Rai had strict injunctions from his father to be true to his faith and never to swerve from it whatever the circumstances might be. His Majesty used to hear much from him about the Sikh religion and highly revered the Holy Granth. He deemed the faith to be practically on all fours with the tenets of Islam. One day his Majesty came across a sentence in the Sikh Scriptures in Rag Asa, and asked Ram Rai about its meaning. That sentence related to the sufferings of the body of a Mussalman after his death, and Ram Rai thinking that it would offend the Emperor, who was very bigoted, substituted the word 'beiman (faithless)' for "Mussalman" in order to please him. When the report of the fact reached him, the Guru was exasperated with anger and remarked that no mortal could change the sayings of Guru Nanak, and that the mouth which had dared to do so should never be seen by him. He was charged with falsehood and disinherited with a perpetual injunction that no true Sikh should on pain of excommunication from Sikhism, maintain any intercourse with him or his progeny. Ram Rai asked for forgiveness and personally waited upon his father at Kiratpur. Pardon was not granted and the request for an interview was rejected with the order that he should instantaneously leave Kiratpur for any direction he willed. He thereupon, went to Dehra Dun and founded a shrine there, to visit which the Sikhs are strictly forbidden.

At the age of 31 years, 8 months and 22 days, and, after

a reign of 17 years, 6 months and 9 days, Guru Har Rai died at Kiratpur on 9th Katak (Suddi) S. 1718 (1661 A.D.). He nominated his youngest son Har Krishan as Guru.

CHAPTER XII

Guru Har Krishan

Guru Har Rai had two sons. The eldest and heir apparent, Ram Rai, was disinherited, as explained in the preceding Chapter. The second son, Har Krishan, was declared by the Guru to be his successor by the observation of the customary ceremonies, and his apostleship began from 10th Katak S. 1718 (1661 A.D.) at the age of about 5 years. He was born at Kiratpur on 9th Sawan S. 1713 (1656 A.D.)

Though a mere child in years, he possessed high attainments and justified the selection. When the news of his succession reached Ram Rai he was inflamed with jealousy and violently contested the office and filed a regular suit before the Emperor to obtain it. His Majesty issued orders to the Guru to repair to Delhi, and directed Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur to make the necessary arrangements. The Raja deputed his Diwan Pars Ram to escort the Guru with due honour to Delhi. When the Diwan reached Kiratpur the Guru told him that he would of course visit Delhi, but he would not like to see a bigoted tyrant like Aurangzeb. The Sikhs thought that the Guru was sent for by his Majesty to receive the same sort of ill treatment as the Emperor was, at that time, dealing to Hindu faqir with a view to coerce them to embrace Islam. Therefore, thousands of Sikhs, making necessary arrangements for their private expenses, started with the Guru in order to perish in case any ill happened to him. The young Guru left Kiratpur for Delhi in Magh S. 1720 (1664 A.D.) and forbade the Sikhs to proceed with him, and

when they persisted, he, on arrival at Panjokhra in the Ambala District, drew a line on the ground with order that any one who crossed it to the Delhi side against his wishes, was to be held an outcaste. His mother and about 20 Sikhs only were permitted to cross, and they formed his retinue.

On his arrival at Delhi, the Guru put up with Raja Jai Singh. His Majesty received him with greater respect than Ram Rai, because he was the acknowledged and recognized Guru and sent prince Mu'azam to pay him a visit as a mark of distinction. The Prince was highly pleased with what he saw of the Guru and praised him a great deal before his Majesty. The Guru after a short stay at Delhi fell ill and before meeting the Emperor, died of small-pox in Chet S. 1721 (1665 A.D.) at the age of 7 years 8 months and 19 days. He reigned as Guru 3 years, 5 months and 11 days.*

When the young Guru was on his death-bed at Delhi, the Sikhs asked him who should be their spiritual leader after him. He then sent for five pice and a cocoanut (customary presents for the succeeding Guru) and placing them on the ground bowed his head before them, with the remark "Go your Guru is in the village of Bakala," which was situated near Gondwal, on the Beas river. He did not name any one beyond the words "*Baba Bakale hai*" and

* NOTE—Savak Muhammad Latif says that the Guru was, as an object of curiosity, taken to the Emperor's zenana and told to recognize the Empress among a number of ladies who were similarly arrayed. He pointed her out with his finger, and his Majesty being much pleased declared the right of succession to be indisputable.

On the spot where the Guru put up stands a Gurdwara called "Bing'a Sahib". It is situated on the land belonging to the Jaipur State and about 4 miles to the south of the town of Delhi at a short distance from Rakabganj. The Smarth of the Guru is on the right bank of the Jamna River in the village of Kalokri about 4 miles from the Delhi gate of the town of Delhi. It is about half a mile to the east of Barahpulla on the Delhi-Mathura Road.

then made over the pice and the cocoanut to Bhai Gurdit'a, grandson of Biba Budha who officiated at the time of such ceremonies from the time of Guru Nanak to that of Guru Hargobind.

As a specimen of Guru Har Krishan's sagacity it is related that when he reached Delhi, the head queen of Raja Jai Singh asked him to pay her a visit, and in order to test his spiritual power she put on ordinary clothes unbecoming her position with an inward desire that he should, without any invitation, sit in her lap. The chair on which she sat was a poor one as compared with others. Other Rains and females of the royal family were arrayed in rich and superior attire. The Guru passed through the ladies touching them with his stick and sat, without any hesitation, in the lap of the queen. Rich and precious presents were made to the Guru by the ladies.

CHAPTER XIII

Guru Teg Bahadur.

Guru Hargobind, the great-grandfather of Guru Har Krishan, had five sons of whom, Teg Bahadur was the youngest, being born on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh, Sambat 1679 (A. D. 1672) at Amritsar. When Guru Hargobind nominated his grandson, Har Rai, to succeed him, Lady Nanaki, the mother of Teg Bahadur, asked her husband about the fate of her son, expressing some uneasiness about his future. The Guru pacified and consoled her by telling that she should wait until his turn came to ascend the *gaddi*. He entrusted his arms to her with instructions to deliver them to Teg Bahadur on his attaining the age of discretion.

After the death of Guru Hargobind, his descendants were not on good terms with each other on account of the division of

income from offerings. Practically all of them became hostile towards Guru Har Rai. However, Teg Bahadur was very simple, straightforward and open hearted and avoided taking any part in the family quarrels. He was of a contented and peaceful disposition and quite satisfied with what share of income he was getting. His mother, with a view to avoid complications, took him to her own father's house at Bakala. Her father was very wealthy and lodged her in a house which was newly built for the purpose. Teg Bahadur was ever engaged in deep contemplation and divine worship, being altogether indifferent to all around him. He generally preferred solition and would shut himself up to some room absorbed in contemplation.

As Guru Har Krishan had not named his successor, dissensions arose as to the succession. All descendants of Guru Har Gobind including other Sodhis at Bakala set up their respective titles to the apostleship. Thus there became 22 Gurus and each pilgrim was required to make his offerings to all of them. Teg Bahadur was then living in oblivion being secluded in retirement. He kept aloof from the family feud and never set up his title to *Guruship*. However, an incident occurred which decided the dispute for ever. One Makhan Shah, a Labana Sikh of Tanda whose descendants are now living in the Sialkot District, had a ship full of merchandise. It was about to sink in the ocean, when he offered to pay 500 gold mohars to the Guru in case the calamity were averted. The ship was saved and he came to pay his offerings to the Guru, but instead of one he found a multitude of Gurus. He therefore proposed to offer two gold mohars to each of them with the expectation that the one who was the Guru in fact would demand the whole amount. None of them could stand the test and the man was disappointed. He inquired whether there was any one else who had advanced his claim to the office of Guru. The reply was in the negative and the name of Teg Bahadur was then mentioned as an unworthy member of the

Guru's family. Makhan Shah found him concealed in a house and laid two gold mohars before him. Teg Bahadur then said "Hast thou come to test me with these two mohars? and is it seemly that I should be so assayed? Bring in 500 mohars according to the promise and then take them away as if they were from me. I am not in want of money". Then the Guru explained how the sinking ship was saved. Makhan Shah was surprised and gratified to find out the true Guru. He straightway proclaimed that the veritable Guru was found. The collectors (*Masands*) and others at once gathered together and the pice and the cocoanut which were lying in safe custody with Bhai Gurditta since the death of Guru Harkrishan, were laid before him and he was installed in the office of Guru on 8th Baisakh, S. 1721 (April 16th 1664 A. D.). Teg Bahadur declined to take upon himself the onerous duties and serious responsibilities of the office and more than once expressed his desire to continue in seclusion and peace as before. However his mother and the majority of the Sikhs, who has assembled on the occasion, prevailed upon him to accept the succession as Ninth Guru. The arms left by Guru Hargobind were now delivered to him. But he said that he was unworthy to wear his father's sword. When he saw the arms he ordered them to be taken away, observing that it was a mistake if they took him for "Teg Baha lur", the gladiator, and that he aspired to become "Deg Bahadur" or "hero of the cooking pot." By this he meant that he was a cherisher of the poor and supporter of the hungry. The whole congregation hailed these remarks with feelings of intense joy and satisfaction and thenceforward he was looked upon as the defender of the faith and the supporter of their honour.

His relations or the pseudo Guru's were extremely offended at this succession and Dhir Mal, who was in possession of the Sacred Granth, and was confident of his ultimate assumption of the office, was exasperated. He attacked the Guru with his men and

fired a gun at the person of Guru Teg Bahadur, but it missed and fatally wounded a Sikh who was sitting close to him. The Guru at the time had four or five men with him, who all dispersed, and Dhir Mal plundering all that the Guru had, went with his spoils to Kartarpur. But the Sikhs hearing of it were greatly offended at the insult offered to the Guru and in spite of the Guru's remonstrances they pursued Dhir Mal and overtook him on his way. In a sharp contest Dhir Mal was defeated and narrowly escaped with his life. All his baggage, including the Holy Granth, was brought to the Guru, but he returned the scripture explaining to the Sikhs that it was a source of income through offerings and he had no intention to deprive Dhir Mal of it. It may be remarked that it was the original copy of the Granth Sahib, no other copy being made of it then. Beside the copy of Bhai Banno at Mangat in the Gujrat District, no other copy excepting the original Granth Sahib was then extant.

While on his way to Kiratpur, the Guru visited Amritsar in Magh, St. 1721 (about February 1665 A.D.) and reached his destination 9th Jeth, St. 1722 (May 1665 A.D.). He was greatly troubled by his relations, but he wanted to avoid all quarrels and to live in solitude and peace. For that purpose he purchased some land and founded Anandpur on 21st Har. St. 1722 A.D. July 1665) for his own residence. Dhir Mal instigated Ram Rai to renew his pretensions to the *gaddi*, but failed in his attempt. In Maghar, St. 1722 (December 1765 A.D.) the Guru started on a preaching campaign and visited Mathura and Bindraban. Thence he went to Agra, Itawa, Kanpur (Cawnpore), Fatchpur, Allahabad, Mirzapur, Kanshi, and Gaya. At Gaya he met Raja Ram Singh† who was marching on Assam at the head of the Imperial Army. The Raja solicited the Guru to accompany him during the expedition. The latter therefore, leaving his family at Patna,

† As regards the name of the Raja, the Sikh and English authors including Tod differ.

marched towards Assam through Bar, Munger, Bhagalpur, Kahlgaon, Kantnagar, Maqsudabad, Dhaka, Kumakhya Devi and Dholri Bandar on the bank of Brahmaputra. When the Rajas of Assam were defeated, Ram Rai, the Raja of Gauripur, concluded peace through the intercession of the Guru and submitted. There the Guru pointed out a place where Guru Nanak had once been, and raised a high platform called Damdama which exists to this day. The Sacred Cranth opens there and a village is assigned in jagir for its maintenance. Out of the spoils the Imperial Army had gained, large offerings were made to the Guru. These offerings were estimated at seven laks. On his return, the Guru came to Calcutta (then a small village called Kalikat) Baleswar, Mednipur, Kattak, Urisa, Jagan Nath, and reached Patna on 7th Jeth St. 1724 (May 1667 A.D.). After halting a few days and leaving his family at Patna he came back to the Punjab *via* Susram, Jaunpur, Kanshinagar, Ajudhia, Lucknow, Farrukhabad, Muradabad, Meerut, Hardwar and arrived at Anandpur on 22nd Baisakh St. 1726 (May 1669 A.D.).

The Guru spent some years in travels and the propagation of righteousness in the Panjab. It was about this time that Aurangzeb began to display, what he had long been fostering, his repressive policy against the Hindus. The reader will be able to form from the following extract from Sayad Muhammad Latiff's History of the Panjab, some idea of the oppression practised then upon the Hindus.

“He (the Emperor Aurangzeb) discouraged the teaching of the Hindus, burnt to the ground the great pagoda near Delhi, and destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares, and the great temple of Dera Kesu Pai at Mathara, said to have been built by Raja Narsingh Deo, at a cost of thirty-three lakhs of rupees.

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On the site of the ruined temple he built a vast mosque at a great cost. The richly decorated idols of the temples were removed to Agra and placed beneath the steps leading to the mosque of the Nawab Begam. The name Mathura was changed into Islamabad, and was so written in all correspondence and spoken by the people. Aurangzeb had resolved that the belief in one God and the Prophet should be, not the prevailing, but the only religion of the Empire of Hindustan. He issued mandates to the Viceroys and Governors of provinces to destroy pagodas and idols throughout his dominions. About three hundred temples in various parts of Rajputana were destroyed and their idols broken. The Emperor appointed Mullahs, with a party of horse attached to each, to check all ostentatious display of idol-worship, [and sometime afterwards, he forbade fairs on Hindu festivals, and issued a circular to all Governors and men in authority prohibiting the employment of Hindus in the offices of state immediately under them and commanding them to confer all such offices on Mahomedans only. About the year 1690, the Emperor issued an edict prohibiting Hindus from being carried in palanquins or riding on Arab horses. All servants of the State were ordered to embrace the Mahomedan religion, under pain of dismissal, those who refused were deprived of their posts. A large number of jogis, sanniasis and other religious men were driven out of the King's dominions. The Emperor reduced duty on merchandise belonging to Mohamedans to one-half the amount paid by Hindus, and remitted a number of other obnoxious taxes.

“In the 22nd year of his reign, he renewed the “*Jazia* or poll-tax, on Hindus, throughout his dominions”

In Chapter 1 of Part III at page 260, the same author says that “the Emperor had in those days thrown “hundreds of Brahmins into jail, in the hope that, if they “first embraced the religion of the Prophet, the rest of the Hindus would readily follow their example”.

This is a sufficient sketch to indicate the treatment of the Hindus, their disabilities and disadvantages, inducements and coercion to which they were subject, and the indignities inflicted upon them if they refused to embrace Islam. The sketch shows the means of indirect coercion adopted for a wholesale conversion to Muhammadanism but it omits the direct measures taken for the purpose, namely, the conversion or instantaneous death which compelled whole villages or tracts to change their faith for that thrust upon them by force of arms. It was the time when the Hindus were subjected to the most cruel treatment, their females were disgraced, their religious ceremonies stopped, their religious institutions defiled and converted into mosques, their religious devotees banished, imprisoned, tormented or crucified. Thus oppression had no bound and was at its zenith. Therefore the inevitable reaction under the circumstances was awaiting the nearing revolution which was destined to remove the oppression on the Hindus with the removal of the unjust empire.

The oppression practised on the innocent people had deeply affected the Guru and he determined to remedy the evil in any way he could. One day a large congregation was assembled and the people who had come from different and distant places, especially the Brahmins from Kashnir, (where the operation of forcible wholesale conversion of Hindus was started as a tentative measure) explained the oppression and cruelty exercised by the authorities upon the Hindu public. The Guru was very much touched on hearing these details and was in a sorry and pensive

state when Gobind Singh, his son, then about nine years old, chanced to come there. Seeing his father in that condition he asked the cause and insisted upon an explanation. When details were explained to him he asked his father what was the remedy to free the people from that oppression. The father replied that the remedy lay in the sacrificing of some holy person's head. Gobind Singh then stood with folded hands and said - "O Lord, who is holier than thyself who might come forward to save the people? What good will accrue of thy head if it cannot serve to save the oppressed?"

On hearing these remarks from the mouth of a child of nine addressed to his father, the whole congregation was wonder struck, but the father was highly pleased and embraced him. He was gratified to find that he had a worthy son who could fully carry out and accomplish all his designs. The Guru then told the assembly that they need not be afraid of anything as everything would be set right. The Hindus then under his directions, petitioned the Emperor that he should not be hard upon them and that they were ready to embrace Islam if the Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur were converted. The petition suggested that the Emperor should induce him to adopt that religion and if he did so the whole Hindu population of the Punjab would gladly follow his example. On receipt of this petition the Emperor was highly gratified as he thought that the mere conversion of one man would automatically accomplish his wicked design. An official was deputed to escort the Guru to Delhi with the honours due to his position. The Guru then was at Anandpur, and before the Imperial Officer reached him, he gave necessary instructions to Gobind Singh, and started for Agra with ten Sowars on 11th Har, S. 1732 June 1675 A. D.) He halted for some days at Saifabad with his friend Sayad Saif Ali Khan. When the Imperial Officer reached Anandpur he, not finding the Guru there, reported his absence. On receipt of this report, the Emperor, in the intoxication of religious fanaticism, issued a proclamation for the arrest

of the Guru with a reward of Rs Rs. 1,000. On this Sayad Saif Ali Khan and other friends proposed to keep him in concealment and dissuaded him from proceeding towards Delhi. The Guru did not agree to any of these proposals and with a specific view he went to Agra *via* Samana, Kaithal, Mathura and Bindraban. At Agra he put up in a garden, and sending for a shepherd boy who was tending his flock close by, gave him a gold ring set with diamonds to be pledged for rupees two to buy sweets with and gave a valuable shawl he wore, to wrap those sweets in. When asked by one of his Sikhs why the ring was given when he had money with him, the Guru said that he was doing this to carry out the will of God. The boy presented the ring to a confectioner with the request that he might be given sweets worth rupees two and gave the shawl to wrap them in. The confectioner was astonished and suspecting the boy of theft informed the Police. It was thus through that boy that the Guru was traced and taken to the Kotwal who forwarded him to Delhi. The Emperor received him with marks of kindness and treated him very politely and respectfully. Then he tried with all sorts of hopes and promises to persuade the Guru to embrace the religion of the Arabian Prophet, but he would not. His majesty then had many religious disputations with him, but the Guru replied that he must follow the religion of God and not of those who were made by Him. That his was the natural religion, and he was to remain in the form and shape in which God had produced him. Among other things he added that circumcision was a human device and not divine, and that if it had been divine the Almighty must have circumcised man before his birth. He pointed out that circumcision was against God's will and that the act was punishable, as in cases of disobedience to temporal authorities. He also informed him that the Emperor was acting against the will of God as the Emperor was trying to make one religion out of two, whereas God was wishing to make three out of the same. The Guru proved this assertion by igniting a heap of five maunds of pepper.

The heap burned for twenty-four hours and when the ashes were sifted, three paper pods came out whole and intact, upon which the Guru said that the three religions namely, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism were sure to survive like the three paper pods saved in the pile of fire. On hearing this and similar discourses, the Emperor was highly inflamed and told the Guru that his refusal would doom him to an ignominious and cruel death, to suffer which the Guru expressed his complete willingness. He was then subjected to various tortures.

When the tortures practised upon the Guru were intolerable Mati Das, a faithful Sikh, blamed the Guru for too much humility while he was capable of destroying the Mughal Empire. The Guru replied that he was abiding by the will of God and that he was going to sacrifice his head in order to prove that the rulers were false, unjust and incapacitated for further sway, and that after fulfilling the word of Guru Nanak, the sacrifice would end the Muhammadan rule in India.

A short time before the fateful day, the Guru sent a message to his son enjoining upon him to remain at Anandpur, and to grieve not at what was going to happen with a view to put a stop to the domination of oppression. The message was received with calmness by the son and when his mother and grandmother began to grieve he consoled them, adding that "We will destroy the Turks." When he was told not to say so he rejoined that that was the will of the Almighty and was not a matter for concealment.

A few days before his death, the Guru sent a collection of shaloks or hymns, which he had composed during his imprisonment, to his son, and in order to test his capability wrote the following shalok which is numbered; 53 ; —

23. "Bal chhutkeo, bandhan pare, kachchu na hot upae
Kaho Nanak ab ot Har gaj jion hohu sahae"

"My strength is gone, I am confined and have no alternative.

"Says Nanak, God is now my refuge ;
He will help me as He did the elephant."

The son replied by the following *shalok* bearing No. 54 in the hymns of the 9th Guru in the Holy Scripture :—

24. "Bal hoa bandhan chhute sabh kichh hot apae,
Nanak sabh kichh tumrai hath mai tumhi hot Sahai."

"Thou has got the strength ; thine imprisonment is released, and thou hast every resource ;

Nanak, everything is in thy power and it is only thou who canst assist thyself."

On receipt of this reply the Guru was delighted and remarked that he had in Gobind Singh a worthy son who would be able to accomplish his mission. Thereafter he sent for five *paisas* and a cocoanut and placing them in front of him, he meditated on his son, bowed to him and forwarded them to him in token of his succession to the spiritual sway under the rule established by Guru Nanak.

The Emperor continued to try all sorts of hopes, promises and threats, but to no avail. Persecutions of all sorts, an idea of which makes us shudder even at this distant period, were practised. After all Emperor is said to have asked the Guru to work some miracle, if he were a true *faqir* or embrace Islam. The Guru replied that to work miracles amounted to working the judgment of God, and to embrace the religion of Muhammad was to lose faith in God ; and that he therefore preferred death to either. He prepared to meet his sentence of death, which was executed on the 13th Maghar, St. 1732 (A. D. December 1675). He was taken out of his cage and allowed to have his ablutions

*According to the order of Guru Arjan Dev this collection was incorporated in the Holy Granth.

at a neighbouring well † Thereafter he sat under a banyan tree (Bar) and performed his devotions as usual. Then at the hint of the Guru, the executioner, a Sayad, gave him a blow of the sword which severed his head.

As soon as the blow fell upon the Guru, consternation prevailed among those present on the spot, and in midst thereof the head, notwithstanding all precautions to guard it, was adroitly taken possession of by a Sikh who took it immediately to Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur. On hearing the details of the persecutions undergone by Guru Teg Bahadur, the assembly began to weep, but Guru Gobind Singh consoled them and forbade them to weep. He said that there should be no mourning for his father, as he had assumed human birth to preserve the Truth, and that having duly discharged his duty, he had returned to his heavenly home. After consoling the members of his family and other people who had assembled on the occasion, the funeral obsequies were duly performed and the head was cremated on a pyre of sandal wood. Hymns were chanted then by the congregation.

At Delhi, while the head was missing, measures were

†That well and the banyan tree are still extant, close to Kotwali or Police Station in the town of Delhi and on the spot of execution stands the well known shrine of Sisganj. Some time after the execution of the Guru a Masjid was built on the spot, but, afterwards about 1775 A. D. under orders of the Emperor, it was, notwithstanding the general opposition of the Moslem population of the town, demolished by Sardar Baghel Singh of Chhalaundi and the Gurdwara constructed in its stead. After that the Moslems built another Masjid in the Northern side of the Gurdwara in respect of which a civil suit was instituted which was ultimately decided by the Chief Court of the Punjab and the Masjid dismantled about 1865 A. D.

adopted to prevent the removal of the body. Soon after the death of the Guru a dust-storm arose and the Labanas of a village at a distance of about 3 miles from the town of Delhi, who purposely brought their oxen loaded with sacks and carts through the Chandni Chauk, drove them towards the Kotwali and passed by the spot where the Guru's body was. They took up and placed the body in a cart and succeeded in carrying it to their village, notwithstanding the search which was instituted by the Imperial Police to find it out. It was feared, as could naturally be expected, that if the cremation ceremony were openly performed, it was sure to be detected and punished severely. Therefore, in order to escape suspicion, a funeral pyre was erected beneath the roof of a house which also was set on fire along with the pyre. The shrine of Rakabganj* now stands on the spot.

The majority of the authors say that when Aurangzeb insisted upon it, the Guru told him that he was going to work a miracle. He was then brought before the Emperor and all the courtiers were sent for to witness the performance. He said that the duty of man was simply to pray and obey the commands of the Lord, but as His Majesty wanted to witness a miracle, he was going to comply with his orders. He then wrote on a piece of paper and tied it round his neck, declaring that it was

*When the cremation was over, the ashes were put in a *gagar*, a metal basin, and buried on the spot. Some time afterwards the Muhammadans erected a mosque there. In about Sambat 1832 (A.D. 1775) when Sardar Baghel Singh of Chhalaundi made with the permission of the Emperor, a general inquiry about the Sikh shrines in the town of Delhi or its neighbourhood (*vide* Panth Parkash, 2nd Edition, page 680 to 687, the Sikhs claimed the spot as their own, but the Muhammadans contested their title and strongly objected to the dismantling of the mosque. Parties stood with swords drawn and a bloody conflict was to ensue when an end was put to it on the condition that if the *gagar*

charmed† and that the effect of a sharp sword falling upon it, should be tried. The executioner was summoned to test the effect of the charm. When the blow was given, the head of the Guru, to the amazement of the Court, fell into the lap of a Sikh who had arrived from Anandpur to take it there. The paper was then read and it contained the following words:—

“Sir dadam magar sar-i-Khuda na dadam”; meaning, Ξ at containing ashes were found beneath the mosque, the institution should be handed over to the Sikh. Otherwise the Sikhs should rebuild the mosque at their own expense. The assertion of the Sikhs proved to be correct and the Temple of Rakabganj, which is still extant, was constructed on the spot. The Emperor granted a lease and jagir for the maintenance of the shrine. Two *Sanads* dated the 15th day of Muharram-ul-Haram in the 29th year of the reign of Emperor, Shah Alam, (about 1788 A. D.) were granted. One directs that Sardar Baghal Singh be put in possession of land without any hitch for the construction of a Gurdwara and a garden. The other specifies the land : 101 bighas and 5 biswas pukhta—63 28 acres with 3 wells, land revenue free. These *Sanads* in original, are still in possession of the Mahant of the Temple and have been inspected by the author.

It is very interesting to note that when King-Emperor George V visited India in 1911, he proclaimed at his Coronation Darbar, which was held at Delhi on the 12th December of that year, that the Capital of the British Empire in India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, and it so happens that after various schemes for the laying out of new Capital, the Viceregal Lodge is to be built close to the Gurdwara at Rakabganj and the Secretariate buildings at a few yards from the walls of that Gurdwara.

†It was really a charm because it was destined to uproot the Muhammadan rule in India and the cruel tyranny along with it.

he had given his head but not God's secret. When the courtiers saw what had happened, they were struck with horror and surprise. The Emperor was disgusted and ordered the crowd to be dispersed. This cruel execution echoed throughout the empire and served as a fatal stroke to the Muhammadan rule in India. In order to give an impetus to the whole Sikh Nation as a body, such a sacrifice was essential and it inflamed their religious passions and sowed that seed of hatred of the Mussalman power which took deep root, developing into a formidable and invincible enemy, changing inoffensive quietists into fanatic warriors.

Teg Bahadur reigned as Guru for 11 years, 7 months and 5 days and was slain at the age of 54 years and 4 days.

Guru Gobind Singh in Bichitar Natak with reference to his father's execution says:—

25. "Dharm het saka jin kiyu,
 "Sir diya per sirar na diya.
 "He suffered martyrdom for the sake of Truth,
 "He gave his head, but swerved not from his
 determination."

One day the Guru was on the top storey of his prison. The Emperor saw him there and fancied that he was looking at the palace where the Imperial female folks were. Next day he sent for the Guru and charged him with the impropriety of his action. The Guru replied, "On the top storey of my prison I was not looking at thy females, but I was looking in the direction of Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy *pardahs* and annihilate thy Empire†". The Sikhs made it their battle-cry when assaulting Delhi in 1857 under General John Nicholson, and it was thus that the prophecy of the Guru was gloriously fulfilled.

† Macauliffe's Sikh Religion, Vol. II.

CHAPTER XIV.

Guru Gobind Singh.

When Guru Teg Bahadur went to Assam with Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur, he left his family at Patna, a large town of antiquarian interest, in the Province of Behar, and it was there that Guru Gobind Singh, his only son was born on 13th Poh, Sambat 1723 (end of 1666 A. D.) Guru Teg Bahadur, on returning from Assam, halted for a short time with his family, and then came back to the Punjab, leaving them behind at Patna. In Sambat 1729 (1672 A. D.) when he was about 6 years old, Gobind Singh was sent for by his father to Anandpur. He came through Susram, Chhapri, Ara, Jampur, Kanshi or Benares Bisnath, Kalbhairon, Manikruka, Dasasmedh, Barnasangam, Mirzapur, Ajudhia, Lucknow, Chandausi, Khurja, Mathura, Bindraban, Gokal, Hardwar, Laknaur and arrived at Anandpur on the Basant Panchmi in Magh Sambat 1723 (February, March 1673 A. D.

When he was a mere child before his accession, Guru Gobind Singh used to play the commander, whilst his playmates acted as soldiers. His toys were imitation bows, arrows and other arms. He used himself to construct such toys of reeds and similar materials. His favourite games were sham fights, military exercise and manoeuvres. He organised regular troops of boys. For their pay *Kauris* and pice were disbursed and they were feasted with sweetmeats. He also acted as a judge holding regular courts, while his playmates appeared before him as litigants. All that he did, and the manner in which he played his part, was astonishing and wonderful.

When he reached Anandpur, the Sikhs learnt the description and forms of his favourite pastimes and, therefore, among other things, they presented him with toy-arms.

During his childhood, Gobind Singh proved that his disposition was that of a brave combatant, and he evinced all the propensities of a military character. Soon after he reached Anandpur, his father appointed Bajar Singh, Rajput, and others to teach him riding and the military art. Guru Gobind Singh had also a great taste for knowledge. Qazi Pir Muhammad was appointed to teach him Persian and Bhai Gurbakhsh Gurmukhi.

At an early age he began to show signs of a high spirit and noble and sublime aims. When less than 9 years old he suggested to his father to sacrifice his head for the sake of truth and righteousness. And it was at about that age that when the question of *jenue* or the Brahmanical thread was referred to him he declared that the sword was to serve him as the sacred thread, and that his mission was to punish and exterminate the oppressor.

When his father obtained the crown of martyrdom, Gobind Singh, at the age of 9 years, was, with great state, installed in the office of Guru, according to the old and recognised custom, on the fifth day of the first half of Phagan, Sambat 1732 (A D 1676).

As soon as he assumed the dictatorship, he issued an edict that presents of arms and horses would please him. Thus numerous presents of arms and horses began to come in. Brave and courageous combatants, who were in any way oppressed by the Emperor Aurangzeb, began to flock round him and were equipped and drilled with military discipline.

Following the example of Guru Hargobind, Guru Gobind Singh openly and publicly preached, holding daily a regular *darbar* in the Akalbungah at Amritsar. That practice had died out after Guru Hargobind's death, but Gobind Singh resumed it immediately on for succession.

In Sambat 1737 (1680 A.D.) Raja Rattan Rai of Assam came on pilgrimage to Anandpur and in addition to the tithe (one-tenth of income) and other valuable and precious offerings, he presented to the Guru a Panchkalla or a combination of 5 arms,

viz. a lance, a rifle, a club, a dagger and a pistol; (2) a fine and beautiful elephant (with a whitish streak from his forehead to the tail), called Parsadi, and well instructed in serving his master in divers ways; (3) 5 swift and fine hippotamuses and (4) a precious throne from which puppets emerged and played on pressing a spring. The Raja halted at Anandpur for five months and was highly gratified with the divine instruction he received from the young Guru.

In Baisakh Sambat 1738 (1681 A.D.) one Duni Chand of Kabul presented a magnificent tent and the amount of income from offerings began to rise a great deal. With the increase of income, the expenses also increased. The langar was extended to a much larger scale than before and the number of retainers multiplied greatly.

Observing the prosperity and progress of the Guru the hill Rajas were wonder-struck, and Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, in whose territory the Guru was then residing, became jealous and sought some excuse to get certain valuable articles from the Guru. He therefore proposed to borrow (never to return) among other items the elephant called Parsadi. He deputed his Vazir Parmanand, for the purpose, but the Guru replied that it was inadvisable to lend the offerings of the Sikhs. Then the Raja sent one of his relations to renew the demand, but in vain. Being thus foiled in his design the Raja personally came to the Guru, halted with him for a few days and then asked for the loan, but got the same short and curt reply as before. He was greatly offended and left for his capital with a message to the Guru that he should send the articles he wanted after him, in default of which he was liable to expulsion from the Raja's territory. The Guru replied to the messenger that he was still of the same opinion as before and that nobody could command him except the one Creator who was immortal. This reply enraged the Raja who

attacked the Guru in Sambat 1739 (1682 A. D.) but was routed leaving many dead in the field. Then he meditated another attack but was dissuaded by his counsellors on various grounds.

Before further recording the events chronologically, we must acquaint the reader with the marriages of Guru Gobind Singh and the issue he had from them. He had three wives, Ladies Jito, Suddri and Sahib Devi.*

Lady Jito was married on 15th Jeth, St. 1730 (1673 A.D.). She was the daughter of a Sikh of Lahore, but the marriage was celebrated at a village of that name which was newly founded for the purpose and peopled by Guru Teg Bahadur, about 10 miles from Anandpur.

On 1st Baisakh, Sambat 1741 (1684 A.D.) one Ram Saran, Khatri of Lahore, proposed the hand of his daughter, Lady Sundri to Guru Gobind Singh, and the marriage was celebrated on the 7th of the same month. The Guru had no desire for this second marriage but his mother aressed him to enter into this alliance.

Early in Sambat 1757 (1600 A. D.) one Ramu, Khatri of Rohtas, brought his daughter Sahib Devi, to the Guru and offered her hand to him. The Guru declined, but Ramu very humbly and earnestly represented that she was brought up with a view to being given him in marriage, and his refusal would put him to an eternal shame, and she would remain unmarried during her whole life, because, she, having been, from her childhood, dedicated to him, was addressed by every one as Mata ji (mother), and no one would dare to accept her hand. He emphasized his solicitation with the request that the Guru would allow her to serve in his kitchen. The Guru considering all sides of the question coupled with the most humble petition of the applicant, agreed to accept the offer, and the marriage ceremony was solem-

† She is also called Sahib Kaur.

nised on the 18th Baisakh, Sambat 1757.

Guru Gobind Singh had four sons. The eldest, Ajit Singh, by Mata Sundri, born on the fourth day of bright half of Magh, Sambat 1744 (1688 A.D.) Three sons were born to Mata Jito ji as follows:—

1. Zorawar Singh, born on 21st Chet, Sambat 1747 (1691 A. D).

2. Jujhar Singh, born on 6th Maghar, Sambat 1753 (1696 A. D).

3. Fatih Singh, born on 4th Phagan, Sambat 1755 (1699 A. D).

Mata Sahib Devi asked for issue, but she was told that the whole Khalsa nation would be her children and consequently she was termed the mother of Khalsa. On initiation therefore, every Khalsa becomes the progeny of his spiritual parents, Guru Gobind Singh and Mata Sahib Devi.

To resume the continuity of our history, the Guru, on being invited by the Raja, visited the Nahan territory in Jeth, Sambat 1741, and at the request of the Raja founded the village of Paonta on the bank of the Jamna River in Katak Sambat 1741 (1684 A. D).

The Guru went on enlisting and increasing the number of his troops and on 22nd Sawan, Sambat 1742 (1685 A. D) on the recommendation of his friend, Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura, he employed 500 Pathans who had been discharged from the imperial service.

Guru Gobind Singh was a great scholar in Gurmukhi, Sanskrit and Persian. He respected and patronised men of letters. He was fond of letters as of exercises in arms and military tactics. He intelligently grasped knowledge of all sorts, and showed a high ideal and a lofty spirit. Immediately after his succession he declared the creation of a new religion—Khalsa.

He designed to create a warrior-spirit as well as a spirit inclined to education. He undertook to awaken his followers to a new life, and to give to the broad and general institutions of Nanak an aim and precision. At the same time he devised means to give a permanent and eternal footing to his designs. He asked a Pandit, Raghunath, to teach Sanskrit to Sikhs, but he declined on the ground that, being members of low castes, they were debarred from the privilege of such education. The Guru was then offended and prophesied that in the near future those so-called low castes will become teachers of Vedas and Shastras to the Brahman. He despatched in Maghar, Sambat 1742 (1685 A. D.) 5 Sikhs, in the guise of Brahmcharis to Benares to learn Sanskrit in the Sanskrit Academy there. They came back to Anandpur in Sambat 1752 (1695 A. D.) and served as teachers to the Sikhs. Under the directions of the Guru many important Persian and Sanskrit books were translated into *Bhasha*, the vernacular of the country. He had employed 52 poets and scholars for new compositions or translating from foreign languages into *Bhasha*.

As a specimen of the education prevalent among the Sikhs, we may quote the case of a poet named Chandan, who at the end of Sambat 1758 (1702 A. D.), asked the Guru to explain certain intricate and complex verses. The Guru indicated one Dhanna Singh, a grass-cutter, adding that if the Sikhs failed, the Guru himself would expound them. The manner in which the grass-cutter explained and interpreted the verses astonished the arrogant poet and all others who were present at the time. From this our readers can judge how far education was cultivated among the Sikhs under the direction of the Guru himself. It is quite enough to wipe out the erroneous idea entertained by the foolish that ignorant and illiterate men can wield arms better than the educated, as later on we will proceed to illustrate how the educated Guru and his literate followers conducted the warfare and gained the victory over the enemy.

The defeat sustained by Raja Bhim Chand in Sambat 1739 ever after ranked in his bosom and he courted the aid of the other Hill Rajas, such as Goler, Katoch, Jaswal, Kathgarh, Hindus to make a combined effort to defeat and expel the Sikhs from their country. Therefore they all, at the head of a large army attacked Paonta where the Guru then was. At the same time they bribed the band of 500 Pathans employed in Sambat 1742 and, in conspiracy with them, proposed to fall on the Guru's treasury. However, the Guru learnt of the treason, whereupon the Pathans deserted him and joined the invader. At that juncture 500 *Udasis*, who had long been feeding upon the income of the Guru likewise deserted him. The Guru now had hardly 2,500 horse and foot to encounter the enemy, and entrenched himself on the banks of the Jamna at about 6 *koses* from Paonta. Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura, having heard of the disloyalty of the Pathans who he had recommended for enlistment, joined the Guru at the head of 2,000 disciples and his four sons. A heavy battle was fought on 18th Baisakh St. 1744 (April 1687 A. D.) and both sides suffered seriously, but the loss inflicted by the Sikhs was very considerable. When the battle was raging, the Guru mounted two wooden guns on a rising ground which commanded the position of the enemy. Those guns were loaded with stones, and as soon as showers of stones began to rain upon the hill-men, they took to their heels in confusion. The Sikhs pursued them with a heavy slaughter and returned with enormous booty and trophies of war. The Guru gives a vivid account of the fight in the Bachitar Natak and describes how skill and bravery were displayed by the Sikh warriors on that occasion. The services of all those who fought for the Guru were suitably rewarded. The Pir was granted credentials, half of the Guru's turban as a mark of distinction and 5,000 rupees for his men in recognition of their services. The Pir's descendants are honoured and respected by the Sikhs and will ever command that respect as long as Sikhism lasts.

After the fight was over, the Guru halted at Paonta for about four months and then came to Anandpur. On his arrival there he established a workshop in which guns, rifles, and arms of all sorts were manufactured. He also established during the following two years the forts of Anandgarh, Lodgarh, Kesgarh and Fatihgarh to protect himself against the attacks of his hill neighbours. Raja Bhim Chand asked for pardon and concluded peace with the Guru.

At about the same time the Emyeror had deputed his army to collect revenue from the Hill Rajas, because there was then some difficulties in its payment. The Rajas wanted to pay by instalments, whereas the King's Officers wanted the whole. When hard pressed the Rajas solicited aid and got troops from the Guru, upon which the imperial forces were routed and some Rajas who sided with them were killed and wounded. On this the Governor of Lahore despatched his son, Rustam Khan, with 2,000 horse to surprise the Guru at Anandpur, but he took to flight after a nominal fight and suffered much owing to the inclemency of the weather. The discomfiture inflamed the Governor of Lahore and he despatched Ghulam Husain Khan (a tyrannical and hot-tempered leader) at the head of 2,000 horse and foot. Many hill Rajas joined him. Before he came to Anandpur, however, he was obliged to fight with a Hill Raja, who got aid from the Guru and completely defeated the invader. Many leaders, including Ghulam Husain Khan, fell in the field. The Governor of Lahore was exasperated and despatched another army, which also returned unsuccessful. When the case of the Hill Rajas, in connection with the revenue collections, was decided, an army was detailed from Lahore to subdue the Guru. The imperial force drove the Sikhs from Anandpur and plundering the town, encamped at the village of Bhalan, about five *koses* from that town. During the night, the Guru made a smart attack at dispersed the imperial force with heavy loss. Most of their baggage fell into the hands of the

Sikhs. When the news of this disaster reached Lahore, the Governor proposed to send another force to Anandpur but saw fit to abandon that idea.

In S. 1753 the Guru tested the faith of the Brahmins. He gave them a grand feast and sent invitations to distant regions. After a meal he promised to give one rupee to each vegetarian and a good mohar to each meat-eater and drinker of liquor. Then the majority joined the consumers of meat and liquor and only a few were firm in their faith and abstained from them. The Guru was very angry with those who forsook their faith for the gold and dismissed them each with Rs. 5 cash. However he treated the vegetarians with kindness for their firmness, and paid them 25 gold mohars each, keeping them as his guests for many more days.

In addition to their social falling off and moral as well as martial degradation, the Hindus had become polytheistic and idolators, whilst the mountaineers were firm believers in goddesses or *devis*. The priests propounded the faith with mythical stories. The Guru since an early age had meditated the raising of the martial spirit among his followers, the certain of the new order of Khalsa and the formation of the Khalsa Common Wealth, but his ideas met with opposition from the priests who, as heretofore, had no concern with the welfare of their country but with their own selfish ends. Overcome by the strong and irrefutable arguments of the Guru, they suggested the performance of a grand "*Homa*" ceremony for the propitiation of the goddess Durga so that she might appear to bless the creation of the proposed Khalsa sect. At the same time they misled the Sikhs, imposing upon them the fiction that the feats of gallantry performed by Bhim and Arjuna, as described in the Mahabharata, were realities and not myths, as they were due to the auspices of the Durga goddess. The Sikhs were thus decoyed to make offerings and burnt sacrifices to such a goddess that she might bless them with invincible power.

The Guru had no faith in Durga or any goddess but for various reasons agreed to the priests' proposal so that their objections might be removed and they might be convinced absurdity and futility of their whims. The general practice of the Sikh Gurus had been to convince the people of the truth both by precept and example, and the same rule was adopted by Guru Gobind Singh. Pandits were invited to conduct and accomplish the ceremony and Rs 250,000 provided for the necessary expenses. A high hill close to Naini Devi was selected and the recitation of hymns or the "Homa" ceremony begun in Chet. S. 1753 (1697 A. D.). It continued for a full year and ended in Chet. St. 1754 (1698 A. D.). The Pandits went on deluding the Guru and keeping him off with false promises as to the time of the appearance of the goddess to bless, but on the day when the performance was to end and the Devi was represented as coming in sight, the Guru asked the Head Pandit the time of her becoming visible. In order to conceal the truth and his own mendacity, he resorted to a dodge. He represented to the Guru that as soon as she manifested herself she would, for her propitiation, require the sacrifice of some holy person, and hinted at the eldest son of the Guru. The Pandit thought that the Guru would now give up the idea of seeing the Devi, but the Guru understanding the trick, said that the Head Pandit was the most holy person, and, in his opinion, a fit and worthy victim for such sacrifice. The Pandit could not refuse openly, and on the pretence of bathing as preparatory to such a sacrifice, skulked away never to return. The other Pandits were afraid that it might fall to their lot to serve as victim and secretly cleared off. When they had thus gone away, the Guru stood with a naked double-edged sword in his hand and put at once all the "Homa" materials, such as *ghi*, sesamum and other things oily or otherwise which were yet in store for consumption, in the great fire pit. As their quantity was great, they produced a bonfire and set the locality ablaze. He then declared to the congregation that

the glittering sword (‡) he had in his hand, was the symbol of *Devi* or the power which was destined to destroy and annihilate the oppressor and the wrong-doer. At the same time he proved that there was no *Devi*, who, could appear in sight to bless.

After the "Homa" performance was over, a grand feast was arranged, to which all the Brahmans and others were invited except one Kesho, Brahman, who was omitted by an oversight. However, he was invited afterwards when the Sikhs had partaken of the food. He was so offended that he refused to eat; and he declared the food to have become contaminated and impure. The Guru wrote a letter to him which contained the following *Svaiya* :—

26. Judh jite inhi ke parsad inhi ke parsad sudan kare,
Agh, ogh tare inhi ke parsad inhi ki kirpa sabh dham
bhare,

Inhi ke parsad subidya lai inhi ki kirpa sab satr mare,
Inhi ki kirpa ke saje ham hain, nahin mo so garib karor
pare,

Sev kari inhi ki bhavat our kl sev suhat na ji ko,
Dan dayo inhi ko bhalo ar an ko dan na lagat niko,
Age phalai inhi ko dio jag main jas aur dio sab phiko,
Mo graih main tan te man te sir lo dhan hai sabhi inhi
ko.

"I have won the battles through their (the Sikhs') favour,
and through their favour I have given alms.

Thousands of troubles have been removed through their
favour and through their favour again my house is replenished.

Through their favour I have acquired knowledge, through
their kindness all my enemies have been killed.

Through their favour exalted I am, otherwise there are
millions of ordinary men like myself.

‡ A reference to the nomenclature of arms "Shasatr Nam Mala," clearly proves what he meant by it.

To serve them pleases me, no other service delights me

To give them a gift is well, a gift to others seems not well.

Charity to them will be fruitful in the next world while it brings honour in this world All charity to others pleases me not.

“Whatever is in my house, from my body and mind to my head, is their property.”

At the same time he informed the priests that they must treat the Sikhs with kindness and that for the future, the latter were liberated from their hold. The carrier of this letter, Bhai Nand Lal, explained to Kesho and other Brahmans that the Guru's was the principle of the common brotherhood of man. He was going to raise the Sikhs to one and the same high caste, Khalsa. Thus their pride was humbled, and they partook of the food which they had already declared to have become impure.

Soon after this feast was over, Guru Gobind Singh retired from the busy life and lived in seclusion, entirely giving himself up to contemplation and worship of the Almighty. The masses began to talk of him differently then, saying that his mind had suffered by the appearance of the “*devi*,” or the like.

In Chet Sambat 1755 (1699 A. D.) he issued an edict for the Sikhs of all the religions to assemble. On the first day of the month of Baisakh, Sambat 1756 (A. D. 1690), he held a grand *darbar*, and in the manner explained in chapter XXVIII, he chose five faithful (Sikhs) volunteers, whom he baptised with the *khanda Pahaul* a form of initiation) and proclaimed them to be Singhs.* After that he got himself initiated by those Singhs and named himself Gobind Singh instead of Gobind Rai as heretofore. By so doing he became their disciple and brought the initiator and the initiatee on to the same level. The Sikhs thus initiated were termed Singhs

* Literally ‘Singh’ means ‘lion’.

and formed the rudiment of the grand order of the Khalsa Common Wealth. The faith was propagated with wonderful rapidity and its further details will be found in the Chapter referred to above.

Shortly after the new faith, Khalsa, was created, one Umrao Singh killed a lion while hunting. Its skin, by order of the Guru, was sewn on the back of a donkey. The animal was then set loose and no cultivator could drive him out of his fields, being afraid that it was a lion. As long as he continued silent, no body dared to approach him. When he brayed, his worth was known, upon which his immediate expulsion was sure and certain. By this example the Guru explained that a "Singh" was equivalent to a lion, and that the Singhs would continue to be strong, awful and invincible like a lion as long as they conformed to and observed the commandments, keeping themselves aloof from their caste prejudice as well as from their timid and idolatrous Hindu neighbours. He inculcated this principle of separation through this example, because the laxity of maxims which were impressed upon their minds, was sure to overshadow them and degrade them to the same low and contemptible level from which they were raised. This example is said to have worked a great deal on the mind of the congregation.

The *Masands*, or tithe-collectors, and their deputies had become very obnoxious to the people. They persecuted and treated the Sikhs harshly when on their tours for the collection of taxes. Moreover, they began to embazzle the presents intended for the Guru. Several complaints were received against their doings, but at the time of which we are speaking, their intolerable practices were represented to the Guru in the form of a play. He thoroughly understood the object of the play and dissolved the institution with the excommunication of the deputies. Those, who, on inquiry, were found guilty of cruel treatment, were thrown into the dungeon or killed by being thrown into boiling oil, or

otherwise suitably punished. The Guru handsomely rewarded the mimics who had acted the drama with so much skill and courage. The office of tax gatherers was abolished, and the Sikhs were required to bring to the Guru whatever they conveniently could at times of their pilgrimage.

There occurred some petty disputes between the Sikhs and the hill men about the supply of grass and fuel. The Rajas undertook the supply of these things but failed, and therefore the Sikhs were again constrained to go to the forest for that purpose. Thereupon in Assu St. 1757 (1700 A.D.) the Rajas Bhim Chand and Alam Chard, with the help of the Rajas of Kahlur and Hindur, attacked the Sikhs in the forest, but were completely routed. Similarly they made several unsuccessful attempts on the Sikhs while collecting grass and fuel in the jungle. Then Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur convened a conference of the neighbouring Rajas and held a council of war against the Guru. The Rajas of Kahlur, Hindur, Sirmor, Jaswal, Katoch, Kangra, Guler, Daraul, Parauli, Dadwal, Sirinagar, Kathgarh and other States agreed to fight the Sikhs. They marched with their combined forces 20,000 strong upon Anandpur and besieged it in Maghar St. 1757, (1700 A.D.) The Guru defended himself with 8,000 men. The siege continued for two months during which the invaders sustained a heavy loss at the hands of the Sikhs. Being tired of it they tried to open the gate of the fort by storm. For that purpose they prepared a well trained elephant with *tayas* (iron plates for baking bread) fastened on his head for protection, and a sword in his trunk for rending the gate asunder. He was intoxicated with liquor as is usually the case with these brutes. One Bichitar Singh, who was deputed to encounter the animal, pierced the elephant's forehead, driving his lance deep into it, and the animal hurried back to his masters shrieking in horrible dismay and confusion. The keeper was thrown down and killed and the animal began to slaughter the besiegers with the very sword which

was intended for use on the gate. The whole camp of the enemy presented a strange and wonderful sight. At that juncture the Sikhs made a violent sortie and dispersed the enemy.

This defeat brought the Hill Rajas to their senses, and they negotiated for peace. Among other conditions, the Guru was required to dispense with the service of his Singh combatants to a large extent, but the Guru replied that the Singhs were a part of his body and it was as impossible for him to dispense with them as it was for a bird to dispense with its wings. This reply enraged the Rajas and they attacked him again furiously. At first some of the outposts of the Singhs were beaten back, but were afterwards retaken with the infliction of heavy loss on the enemy. The issue was, however, uncertain and the Rajas found it next to impossible to hold their position against the Singhs and secretly applied to the Governor of Sarhind for help. The latter, with the sanction of the Emperor, despatched 2,000 troops under Yakub Khan and Ali Mardan for their help.

After the despatch of their application to Sarhind, the Rajas resorted to a stratagem. Under the protection of a dark night, they erected, in front of the fort, a cow made of flour indicating that they were his cow and wanted his protection. At the same time they intimated that they had no desire to fight any more and solicited the Guru to leave the fort for 10 days in order to cover their shame, so that they might retire to their respective territories. The Guru perceived their trick, but at the earnest solicitations of his mother and some of his followers, he left for Kiratpur, leaving his family behind in the fort with a proper garrison. Kiratpur is a few miles from Anandpur and on the arrival of troops there, the Guru retired in seclusion for deep meditation, abstaining from all sorts of speech for 5 days. The Sikhs named this place "Nirmohgarh", or the fortress of disaffection.

When the Hill Rajas found that the Guru was encamping in the open and off his guard, they broke their faith and furiously

attacked him. The Singhs under the command of Ajit Singh, Guru Gobind Singh's eldest son, offered unexpectedly a heavy resistance and stormed their guns. The assailants then lost heart and were about to fly when the arrival of the imperial army raised their spirits and they resumed the fight with doubled violence and impetuosity. Both the King's Commanders fell in the field and the fall of the night closed the bloody drama.

When the fight was going on, Guru Gobind Singh went to Basauli (at about 9 koses from Anandpur) for a pleasure trip at the invitation of the Raja of that place. After his departure, Prince Ajit Singh deemed it prudent to strengthen the garrison at Anandpur and therefore evacuated Kiratpur. The enemy rejoiced at it and apparently counted this opportunity as their complete success and withdrew in triumph to their respective capitals, the imperialists coming back to Sarhind after recovering their war expenses from the Rajas.

After a short stay at Basauli and its neighbourhood the Guru came back to Anandpur and in the beginning of 1758 Sambat (1701 A. D.) Raja Bhim Chand, who had been acting as ring-leader in the past wars, concluded peace. A little after that the Guru visited Rawalsar, by way of Kundlu, Bilaspur and Suket. A big fair was held at Rawalsar and Sikhs flocked from distant regions. When the Guru was holding his *diwan*, a Rajput Sikh presented him with a fine double-barrelled gun. As soon as the present was made, it was loaded, and the Guru exclaimed that he was going to fire and would like somebody to present his own person for a target. No sooner was the demand made than several persons ran forward to be shot and struggled for precedence in obtaining the crown of martyrdom, but the gun was fired into the air. On witnessing this, the spectators, including the Hill Rajas, were drowned in amazement and wondered at the readiness with which the Sikhs desired to sacrifice their lives at the command of their Guru.

From Rawalsar the Guru came back to Anandpur *via* Nadaum and Jawala Mukhi.

In Sambat 1759 (1702 A.D.) the Guru visited Kurakchhetar, Jotisar, Pahoe, Kare, Sayana, Chamkaur, and some other villages, and then came back to Anandpur. Before the Guru came to Chamkaur, Said Beg and Alif Khan, being on their way to Lahore, were encamping there with 2,000 troops. They were instigated by some of the Hill Rajas and the Pathan grantees of Ropar to fall upon the Guru unawares. The camp of the Guru was surprised in consequence, but the enemy was beaten back with heavy losses.

As this surprise warfare was chiefly the result of the wickedness of the Hill Rajas, the Guru proposed to chastise the mischief-makers. The Rajas were greatly terrified and submitted a joint petition to the Emperor Aurangzeb for help and protection. In that petition they wrote much against the Guru and tried, as is generally the case with antagonists, to excite and inflame the Emperor to take serious steps. Aurangzeb then despatched Amir Khan, Nazabat Khan, Haibat Khan, Said Khan, Ramzan Khan and Dina Beg Khan from Delhi, and issued stringent orders to the Governor of Sarhind to capture the Guru.

When the news reached Anandpur that this large army was marching against the Guru, Sikhs from distant countries quickly flocked under his banner. The Singh Sardars moved to the front and the Muhammadan Sardars Memun Khan and Saida Beg, who were in the service of the Guru, accompanied them with alacrity. The war began on the 17th Phagan Sambat 1759 (February 1703 A.D.) and the fighting was violent and impetuous. Saida Beg was killed fighting with Raja Hari Chand of Goler. Dina Beg Khan was wounded. Amir Khan and Haibat Khan were killed. Azim Khan and Painsa Khan, Moslem leaders, met their fate at the hands of the Guru. One of the commanders of the King's army Said Khan, had already

heard a great deal about the war capacity of the Sikhs and the personal bravery of the Guru. Now he was astonished to witness the valour and the daring spirit of the Singhs, and the personal bravery and resoluteness of the Guru, as well as the military skill and tact which were displayed by him on the occasion. When the fight was raging at the height, Said Khan thought of the Guru and desired, within his mind, to try his art of war with him. And his surprise may be well imagined when, at the same instant, he found the Guru standing before him with a challenge to advance to try his luck. He asked the Guru how it was possible for him to steer through the enemy without danger to his life. The Guru replied "I have neither friend, nor foe. The whole is *Nur* (illumination) of the Lord God and the fighting is a mere play." At the same time he uttered the following verse;—

27 "Hindu, Turk, bad men pach

In te Nath nirale bache."

"The Hindus and Turks are engaged in absurdity. But the Naths (faqirs meaning himself) are keeping aloof from them."

Hearing these words from a smiling face with a celestial voice, Said Khad was so influenced and affected that he threw down his arms, fell at the Guru's feet and retired to the jungle to devote in seclusion, the remainder of his life to the true devotion of the Lord. The army around was astonished to witness the courage of the Guru and the wonders he was performing. They pursued him, but he passed through them with the velocity of thunder. The fighting on that day closed with the retreat of the Singhs and the entry of the enemy into the town of Anandpur. When the town was plundered, the enemy retired to a place about 5 miles from the town and there, during the night, they were surprised by the Singhs. In a ferocious attack the Guru inflicted a severe loss and routed that enemy, driving them towards Ropar.

A large quantity of baggage, stores and ammunition fell into the hands of the Guru.

When the news of this disaster reached Sarhind, the the Governor of that place, shortly after the defeat, came at the head of a large army and collecting all the Hill Rajas of that neighbourhood, laid siege to Anandpur again. The garrison then consisted of about 8,000 combatants, who had to encounter overwhelming numbers of the enemy. The sorties conducted by the garrison during the night were very injurious, and the besiegers sustained a heavy loss. When the enemy was thus worried and tired, the Guru, at the head of 4,000 men, issued from the fort and inflicted such severe chastisement that the enemy was on the eve of losing the field when the fall of night closed the scene.

Next day the enemy made a frantic and desperate attack on the fort with overwhelming numbers, employing their guns to effect a breach in its walls. All plans failed to carry it out and a blockade was resorted to.

As an instance of the spirit infused and fostered by Sikh Gurus, we may refer our readers to the case of one Sewa Singh, who was employed by the Guru to supply water to the combatants in the field of battle. He supplied water to all without any distinction between friend and foe and the matter was complained of to the Guru. Sewa Singh was called upon to explain his conduct. He said that both the besiegers and the besieged appeared to him the manifestation of the same divine light and he could make no distinction between them. With this explanation the Guru was highly pleased and ordered him to continue his practice.

During the continuance of the siege the Guru was once sitting on a high ground. Observing this the enemy began to fire on him. The Guru then began to shoot arrows and killed

several Sardars add gunners. He directed an arrow towards the Governor who was encamped about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond the guns and far beyond the reach of an arrow. The Governor marvelled at the distance travelled by the arrow, and attributed it to the miraculous power possessed by the Guru. At that very moment the Guru shot another arrow with a chit attached to it saying that it was discharged by bodily practice and exercise and not by supernatural power. The latter arrow struck one of the four pedestals of the Governor's bedstead and much bewildered him. He shifted his camp to a safer site.

When the war had been going on for some months and the loss of the besiegers including the Rajas and Sardars in killed and wounded went up very high, the Governor was puzzled and did not know what to do. The tale talk of the enemy wonder at the initiating *Anrit* which was converting inferior animals into courageous and invincible lions. The position of the enemy became very critical and they gave up all hopes of success. In that hopelessness the Governor submitted a long and detailed report to the Emperor and solicited reinforcements. Imperial orders were thereon issued to the Governors of Lahore, Kashmir and Peshawar to endeavour their utmost to kill or capture the Guru. These authorities collected all their movable forces and summoned all the Nawabs, Grandees, Jagirdars and others within their respective provinces, to join them with all their soldiers. The Hill Rajas were ordered to bring to the field the whole of their armis. Thus it is said that the whole strength of the enemy numbered about one million, whereas the Guru was defending his position with ten thousand only. The ratio of the defenders to the assailants was 1 to 100. Seeing the magnitude of the assailants certain Singhs and the mother of the Guru advised him to evacuate the fort, but the Guru replied that he must fight in the field as became a warrior. On 22nd Jeth Sambat 1761 (May 1704 A.D.) the combined forces attacked

the fort but failed to carry it. The blockade was continued for many months more and the blockaders tired of it. At the same time the provisions in the fort began to be exhausted. The enemy made several proposals for the evacuation of the fort and the Singhs also tried their best to persuade the Guru to leave it for Malwa, but he did not accept any proposal. When all these negotiations failed, the enemy made a desperate attack from all four sides on the fort, but were compelled to retire with a heavy loss. Similar attacks were repeated and repulsed with considerable losses and eventually the enemy had to content himself with the prolonging of the blockade. After 5 months the provisions of the garrison were altogether exhausted and the combatants were compelled to live upon the bark and leaves of trees, and a handful of raw and unparched gram served daily. In spite of all this they continued to fight with undiminished bravery.

For want of provisions the position of the garrison became untenable. The Guru then threw all his spare arms, including guns, treasure, ‡ utensils, books and other heavy baggage, into the Satluj River which was flowing beneath the fort. Most of the animals died of hunger and others were starving to death. All of them that could move, were despatched towards Dun and Kahlur.

All affairs inside the fort were supervised by the Guru and he personally attended each and every entrenchment. The bravery of the Singhs was still unabated, but hunger was now telling very

‡ When the Guru was throwing gold mohars into the river, his mother pleaded that it was preferable to distribute them to the Singhs. The Guru replied that Sikhs should earn their own livelihood and it was incumbent upon them to subsist by honest means, feeding the poor out of their lawful income; whereas those mohars were the product of the income brought by offerings, which was tantamount to poison with a few exceptions. As his mother would not administer poison to her sons, so would he refrain from serving poison to his sons, the Khalsa.

hard upon them. On the other hand the besiegers were extremely tired. All provisions in the country around were drained off and the future supply of fodder and provisions on such a grand scale, became a very serious question and unsolvable problem. Therefore a letter was sent to the Guru with solemn and sacred oaths, in the name of the cow from the Hindus and of the Quran on behalf of the Moslems, undertaking that if the Guru evacuated the fort he would be alone to go to any place he pleased. But he would not place any reliance upon these oaths and explained to the Khalsa the hardships they were to suffer on believing the enemy. However his followers, through the intervention of his mother, tried their best to persuade him and he consented to test the enemy's good faith. Therefore in reply to that letter he asked for transport animals to convey his luggage. On this he was supplied with draught bullocks. They were duly loaded and despatched during the night. But when the convey had gone a little distance from the fort the enemy attacked and plundered it. They had broken their faith and their shame and humiliation can be well imagined when, instead of valuables, they found trash, such as old shoes, broken pieces of earthen pots, cowdung, litter and old rags with which the bags had been filled in order to test their faith. On this the garrison fought again for two days and then being humbled and overpowered by hunger they urged upon the Guru to leave the fort, but they were told to wait a few days more, when the Guru expected that the siege would be raised for want of provisions. However, the Sikhs were prepared to desert the Guru, who insisted upon their staying a little longer or executing a deed of release that for the future they were not to call themselves the followers of the Guru, because of their inability to suffer with him. Some of them drew up a deed of discharge as desired by the Guru and forsook him. The forces of the Guru dwindled away either by falling in the field, or by desertion or otherwise, because the fight had, with a few

months' interval in the beginning, been going on for one year and nine months, of which close blockade had been maintained for about six months.

As soon as desertion was begun in the fort, the besiegers submitted an apology for the conduct of certain soldiers who had fallen upon the convoy of the garrison, and they affirmed that they were still bound by their former oaths to abstain from any injury to the Guru. At the same time an autograph letter came from the Emperor to the Guru swearing on the Quran that he would not harm him and that he was at liberty to go to him or anywhere else he pleased. The envoy and the Imperial Officers used various means to assure him of their good intentions and sincere declarations bearing the Quran as a witness. All the Hindu Rajas submitted a joint letter with an image of a cow made of flour requesting evacuation of the fort and promising free, safe and unmolested passage through their camp. Circumstances obliged the Guru to evacuate the fort. On the 15th Maghar Sambat 1761 (December A. D. 1704) he despatched the ladies, baggage and books under an escort of 200 men with certain Sardars towards the Raja of Sirmaur. Thereafter, the Guru taking along with him the letters promising safe passage through the invading army and the deed of release executed by the deserters, left the fort with his two elder sons and the remainder of the garrison about 4000 strong. The enemy heard of the Guru's departure and at once marched in pursuit. The ladies who had preceded the Guru were detained owing to the flooded condition of the River Sarsa, and the Guru was obliged to wait until the river subsided. He was quite unaware of the perfidy of the enemy and when he learnt of it, he adroitly managed to retard the progress of the enemy for a long time. but the prolonged flood and the arrival of overwhelming numbers of the enemy brought a complete disaster to the Guru's camp. Many of the Singhs were killed either in the encounter or while

endeavouring to send the ladies, children and baggage across the river. Only a few survived this catastrophe. The wives of the Guru were taken in disguise to Delhi. His mother, with his two younger sons, Zorawar Singh and Fath Singh, was taken to Kheri by Ganga, Brahman, a servant of the Guru. The Guru with his two eldest sons, Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh, and 125 Singhs, crossed the river and came towards Ropar, fighting with the enemy who was closing upon him. The Guru reached Chamkaur at sunset, with his two sons and the forty surviving Singhs. He got into a house, which he instantly converted into a small mud fortress. It was immediately surrounded by the enemy. Fighting began early next morning, namely 17th Maghar Sambat 1761 (December 1704 A.D.). Properly speaking it was not a fight between odds but a wonder-staggering humanity. Fortly brave men suffering from hunger, fatigue, disaster and inclemency of the weather keeping at bay several lacs of the enemy. The garrison opened fire and managed the action in a manner unparalleled and unprecedented in valour and bravery in the annals of humankind. The showering of bullets and arrows was such that the enemy dared not to approach them, nor did they venture to storm the humble fortress. Under protection of the firing of the garrison, Singhs rushed out singly or in insignificant squads to check the advance of the enemy, and the wonders they performed drowned the assailants in amazement, and they behaved more like innocent spectators than implacable enemies. The sight was ravishing and extorted praise from the fanatic and perfidious enemy. The Singhs with drawn swords in the right and shields in the left hand entered into the lines of the enemy with the astounding velocity of thunder, and the overawing intrepidity of lions. Whithersoever they went, the enemy was driven like a flock of sheep before a fearful tiger, and before the Singhs gained martyrdom many enemies were cut as under by their hard and sharp steel. When

they were no more, another squad followed their example. Thus the day passed till in the afternoon Prince Ajit Singh, the eldest son of the Guru, aged 17 years, stood with folded hands, and bowing down before his father, asked for his permission to sally out and to combat the enemy. On hearing this voluntary declaration from his son, the Guru was extremely glad, praised him much as a true warrior entitled to martyrdom, and patting him on the back exclaimed :

“O dutiful son, it is the *dharma* of a warrior to meet death undauntedly in the face and never to leave the field in disgrace or retire from it. Thus perpetual fame is gained here below and eternal salvation there above.”

On this the son took formal leave and bade his father farewell. At the same time Sahib Singh and Mohkam Singh, *Piaras*, or of the chosen five, obtained the Guru's permission to accompany him. The Guru sat on a rising ground to witness the bravery and valorous deeds of his son and his beloved comrades. The Imperial Commanders also hearing of the arrival of the Prince, occupied high positions to witness the spectacle. The Prince and his companions roared like lions and the whole field echoed with a loud and repeated cry of “Sat Sri Akal”, “Sat Sri Akal”. True is the Gracious Immortal, True in the Gracious Immortal. They dashed into the enemy with such courage, celerity and frightful slaughter, like a fearful tiger among the flock of sheep, that numerous antagonists were cut asunder. The air resounded with praises and commendations extracted from the enemy. Shouts of Bravo ! Well-done ! were heard on all sides. Any wound they got but excited their energy to greater action, until at last, they, in their turn tasted the nectar of eternal life in the heavens. When Ajit Singh was thus crowned, his younger brother Zorawar Singh, aged fourteen, petitioned the father to follow the example set by his brother. The Guru then was extremely happy and sang to the glory of Lord. Then washing his son's face, he turbaned him with his own hands and equipped

him with a shield and scimitar. The father kissed him for the last time and addressed him "O beloved son, for the sake of Truth (dharma) it behoves thee to slay the enemy with thy own hand and then gain the crown of martyrdom" Shortly before he rushed forth, the young Prince felt thirsty and demanded water to quench his thirst, but the Guru forbade him to drink adding, "My darling, thou needest taste no water now. There is plenty of it with thy brother. Go and make haste." Then the young prince issued out of the fortress with three other Singhs who had obtained permission of their Guru. They pounced upon the enemy like a hungry lion upon his prey, and slaughtering many leaders of note fell, in their turn, martyrs in the field. This touching scene paralysed the enemy who were thus kept at bay till sun set. As soon as the two Princes had been sacrificed the Guru thanked the Lord with due solemnity that he had been able to keep his trust (meaning the two princes) so well and had been able so gloriously to devote and sacrifice them for the sake of righteousness.

When the darkness of night began to overshadow the light of the day, the Guru had only 8 survivors left with him. The enemy learnt that the garrison consisted of a few men only and attacked with overwhelming force, but the shower of bullets and arrows convinced the assailants that the number of defenders was yet too large for storm to be attempted. The attack was repeated and pushed on until darkness prevented its further prosecution. The enemy retreated with serious loss, losing many able commanders and encamped out of the garrison's range and surrounded the fortress with a view to storm it the next morning.

When the prevalence of darkness granted respite, the garrison began to consider their own plans. The Guru having entrusted the Guruship to five Singhs, exchanged his apparee with one Sant Singh, who was most like him in appearance. Then he

posted four Singhs on the corners of the fortress, with orders to beat the drum and continue firing and shooting arrows throughout the night. Giving these instructions he left the fortress with three Singhs and steered through the camp of enemy shouting loudly that "the Guru of the Sikhs was running away." This echoed throughout the camp whilst the garrison was busy carrying out the instructions of Guru in regard to drumming and showering death upon the enemy. The cry of flight, combined with the action of the garrison, put the enemy into confusion, which afforded the Guru an opportunity to get a long way off. The darkness was thick, and his comrades, during the turmoil, missed the Guru who travelled on foot the whole night. At day-break at Kheri he met with two cow-herds Alf and Gamun, who recognised him and began to raise a hue and cry. He tried to silence them but when they would not be silenced he killed them with his sword. Finding it difficult and dangerous to travel further he slept in a jungle under a "Jand" tree where the shrine of "Jand Sahib" now stands. He rose in the afternoon and took shelter in a thick jungle under the grove of Ber trees. The shrine of "Jhar Sahib," now stands there in memory of occasion. At nightfall he started again towards Malwa, and reaching Machhiwara he lay down to rest in a garden. A shrine called "Charan Kanwal" was erected there and exists to this day. That garden belonged to Gani Khan and Nabi Khan, Rohela Pathans, who were dealers in horses. They had on occasions struck bargains with the Guru, and respected him as their best customer. Early the next morning they came to their garden for a walk and finding the Guru there in such a condition, placed their services at his command. At that very time missing comrades of the Guru joined him disguised as Muhammadans.

Before proceeding further let us acquaint our readers with what happened at Chamkaur after the Guru had left it. The garrison acted precisely as the Guru instructed them, and early

the next morning the fortress was stormed by the enemy, The garrison continued fighting to the last. Sant Singh's body was taken for that of the Guru and its head was severed and sent to Aurangzeb, and all idea of pursuing him given up.

At Machhiwara the Guru halted for a day and then, at the suggestion of the Pathans Gani Khan and Nabi Khan, arrayed himself in black like a Muhammadan Pir (spiritual leader) and marched towards Malwa. The Singhs and the two Pathans were also dressed like the followers of a Pir. The Guru threw his kair loose behind his head like the Mohammadan Pirs of Multan, sat on a charpai (bedstead) and was carried by the Singhs and Pathans on their shoulders. One of them waved over the Guru's head a bundle of peacock-plumes in the fashion of Moslem Pirs. To all queries on the way the Pathans replied he was a Pir of Uch (a well-known locality near Multan). When passing through the camp of the enemy at the village of Lal the disguise was suspected and they were stopped. The Commander required the Guru and his followers to dine with him, as a test that they were really Moslems, and also demanded reliable evidence for the Guru's identification as a Pir. The Pathans pleaded that the Pir was fasting in divine worship, and obtained his exemption from dinner, whilst the Singhs actually partook of the Moslem food. With the help and intervention of Qazi Pir Muhammad of Salohwala, Sayad Inayat Ali of Nurpur and Sayad Hassan Ali of Mothu Majra, the whole difficulty was surmounted and the Guru reached Rampur Katani safely. There he was supplied with arms. Then through Karoch he reached the village of Alimgir, whence the Pathans were permitted to return home with due honours. Thus the Guru was safe, and when they heard of his safety, his followers began to flock round him again. The Pathans and other Moslems who had helped the Guru were granted credentials for which they and their descendants

are and ever will be honoured and respected by the Sikh community

Here we pause for a moment to witness the fate of the Guru's mother and two children Jujhar Singh and Fatih Singh, aged eight and six years respectively. After the Sarsa River disaster, one Ganga Ram, an old Bramman cook of the Guru, took them to his own house at Kheri. Finding opportunity he stole the money and jewels which they had in the room with them. The Guru's mother who was asleep when the theft was committed, reproached him for his behaviour. Then the traitor turned them out of his house, pre-arranging with the police authorities for their arrest. They were taken to Wazir Khan, the Governor of Sarhind, who asked them to embrace Islam. From promises and persuasion he resorted to various threats of torture and cruel death. The infants' courageous reply was ever in the negative. As to putting his threats into execution the Governor was restrained by Sher Muhammad Khan, Nawab of Malerkotla. The Nawab remonstrated with the Governor that innocent infants should not be treated so cruelly, but one Diwan Sucha Nand, a Hindu Official, represented them as the progeny of a snake, and persuaded him to punish them like enemies. The Governor, therefore, doomed the infant Princes to be built up alive in a wall. Questions of conversion were put to them at intervals as building progressed, and their denial was confirmed at every stage until they were built over with lime and mortar and on 13th Poh St. 1761 (1704 A. D) vanished from mortal vision for ever. This example shows us how religious tuition hardens and stiffens even infant and unfledged minds to brave torture and death. When she heard of this cruelty, the Guru's mother died of grief. The traitor Brahman was duly punished for his treacherous deed. His property, for the sake of the Guru's wealth, was confiscated under the orders of the Governor.

To resume the continuity of our narration, the Guru came to Siloani *via* Jodh and Mori. He there heard the account of his mother and infants' death and received it with the utmost resignation and fortitude. The congregation burst into tears, but the Guru consoled and pacified them, exclaiming that those who die for *dharma* and righteousness are ever alive and immortal. He added that so cruel a death for infants was forbidden by every religion, and then praising the magnanimity and good heartedness of the Nawab of Malerkotla, he blessed him. The Moslem rule was then cursed. It was also declared that the town of Sarhind should for the cruelty committed there, suffer seriously, that it would be utterly ruined and demolished by the Singh and its bricks would be scattered *

From Siloani the Guru visited Dina *via* Lamma, Jatpur, Chakar, Takhtpur, Madhe, Dhaul and Kangar. At Dina there exists a shrine named Lohgarh on the spot up to this time. At Dina the pilgrims began to wait upon the Guru and regular troops were organised as at Anandpur. The Guru composed a peon in the Persian language and submitted it to the Emperor Aurangzeb, who was then personally engaged in subduing the Marhattas in the Dakhan. The letter was signed, sealed and delivered to Bhai Daya Singh one of the five chosen. It was named *Zafarnama* (letter of victory) and grievances were set forth in it. The chief complaint was that the Emperor and his Officers had bound themselves with an oath calling the Quran in witness, but they broke it perfidiously and tried to persecute him. The Emperor was reproved for such conduct and suggestion was made for punishing the perfidious offenders. The Emperor was desired to abstain from shedding innocent blood as he himself was wound to render his account to the Lord. He should not consider himself free because of the death of the four Princes

* The hole of this prediction was duly fulfilled. For details see the next Chapter.

of the Guru as the real and formidable enemy (Guru) was still alive. The Emperor is praised with regard to his ability, the vastness of his empire and influence, but the Guru did not consider him orthodox or true in his religion, because he was fighting against an iconoclast on behalf of the idolaters—the Hill Rajas. The Lord God was praised both in the beginning, middle and end of the letter, and Aurangzeb is informed that if he relies upon his empire, wealth and army, the Guru relies upon the Almighty. It is also added that when the Almighty supports anybody, the enemy cannot injure him in any way, not even to the extent of a hair, and that the Almighty is such that he can enable a single man to kill a million.

After the despatch of his letter, the Guru visited Bhadaur, Jalal, Diyalpur, Bhaṭṭa, Bandar, Bargari Bahbal, and Dad. When he arrived at Pind Patto, news was received that Wazir Khan, the Governor of Sarhind, was marching against him with 7,000 men. He prepared to meet him, but proposed to give battle in the jungle of Khidrana. In that jungle there was a pond which had an ample water supply for the Guru, but there was no water elsewhere, within a radius of about 15 miles. Therefore it was resolved to occupy that pond. When the Guru was proceeding in that direction those Singhs of Majha (about 800 in number who had deserted him at Anandpur executing a deed of release) rejoined him and requested to be allowed to conclude peace. The Guru commanded them to keep quiet and told them that they were at liberty to return home. They all returned with the exception of forty who determined to sacrifice themselves for the Guru. Just at the same time and before the Guru had entrenched himself at Khidrana, the King's army overtook him. Those forty Sikhs undertook to retard the progress of the enemy in order to afford him time for entrenchments. They scattered and hung all their clothes on the bushes and dispersing in the jungle opened fire when the enemy neared them. Their clothes were taken as tents of the

Guru's camp and the enemy began to fire at them. The enemy was thus detained for a long time when Wazir Khan learnt that it was a fictitious and delusive camp with a handful of combatants. Then he stormed the position, the Singhs fighting to the last man. In the meantime the Guru had strengthened his position on a raising ground close to the pond and fought with the imperialists- on 21st Baisakh Sambat 1762 (1705 May). The Guru, while the fight was raging, harangued his combatants inciting them to action and encouraged them to renewed exertions, bravery and fidelity. The imperialists sustained heavy loss and were completely defeated. The Guru personally attended the wounded and then burnt all the dead. To the dead he gave the title of *Muktas* "or emancipated, and named the pond "Muk tsar" or the tank of emancipation. A handsome temple is still extant on the spot and the pond has been converted into a big masonry tank. A petty town has also come into existence after the name of the tank and forms one of the Tahsils of the present District of Firozpur (Ferozepur) in the Panjab. A great fair is held there every year on the 1st of Magh in commemoration of the event.

It is stated that when the Guru was attending the wounded, after the fight was over, Mahan Singh, one of the forty Singhs referred to above, was lying on the ground fatally wounded. The Guru gave him water to drink and asked him what blessings he wanted. He requested that the deed of release, which was executed by the deserters at Anandpur, might be cancelled and destroyed and that they might be taken back into the fold. The Guru said that he should ask something for himself but the request was thrice repeated. The Guru was highly pleased with the noble aim of Mahan Singh, and taking the deed out of his pocket he destroyed it in his presence and issued an edict that the deserter's excommunication was cancelled and they were re-united.

The Guru then continued his tour of the country. An

anecdote is told of the tests he employed to ascertain whether the Singhs were bold and strong enough in their belief. On one occasion he put on certain forbidden clothing for which the Singhs asked him to pay a penalty of 125 rupees. It was duly paid and sweetmeats (*karah parshad*) worth that sum were distributed.

On 17th Katik Sambat 1762 (1705 A. D.) the Guru came to Talwandi Saboki and halted there for nine months and nine days. The original Granth Sahib was with Dhir Mal as explained in the preceeding Chapter. The Guru asked him to send it to him for the incorporation of hymns composed by Guru Teg Bahadur in accordance with the directions of Guru Arjan, vide Chapter II of Introduction. He refused to lend it and tauntingly remarked that if the Guru possessed spiritual power, he must produce a copy without reference to the original. There was no other copy then extant, and the Guru is said to have produced a copy with one word's difference from the original.

It was to this village that the ladies came from Delhi and joined the Guru.

One Dalla, a grandee, at this place, told the Guru that he would have helped the Guru in the war at Anandpur, if he had been informed of it. In order to test his men, the Guru loaded a gun and told him to bring one of them so that he could try it upon him. Nobody would come forward to give up his life and all dispersed in different directions. The Guru thereon saw two Ranghreta Singhs and called them for the purpose. They instantly ran with their half-bound turbans and vied with each other to form the first mark of the experiment. Dalla was astonished and was told by the Guru that he could never rely upon the help of men who loved and preferred their life to the Guru's commands.

During his halt at Talwandi the Guru received a reply to the letter (Zafarnama) he had submitted to the Emperor. The Emperor was apparently much pleased with the contents of the

letter, and the appearance and dress of Bhai Daya Singh, its messenger. Dresses of honour were bestowed on the Bhai and he was dismissed with a letter and valuable presents for the Guru. Aurangzeb deprecated the action of Wazir Khan, Governor of Sarhind, and regretted that all had happened without his knowledge. He apologised and asked for pardon for the past and requested the Guru to repair to him, so that necessary reparation could be made for the losses sustained by him.

The Governor of Sarhind was severely censured and was directed that for the future, he should let the Guru alone to travel in the country where he pleased.

On receipt of the Emperor's letter, the Guru sent his family to Delhi on 23rd Sawan Sambat 1763 (August 1706 A.D.) and left Subokj Talwandi for the Dakhan to visit Aurangzeb in order to get the wrong-doers, cheats and oppressors punished. The Guru thought that if Aurangzeb would not receive him kindly, or in case he played the hypocrite and double-dealer, the opportunity would be utilised for overthrowing the Empire in combination with the Marhattas who were then waging war with him. He resolved to propagate Khalsaism in southern India. The Guru went on preaching his gospel through various towns and villages. It is stated that the majority of the Singhs were unwilling to go to the Dakhan and dwindled away within a short journey. While at Talwandi, Dalla, the Chief, professed to serve him much, but declined to accompany him to the Dakhan and went away one morning secretly. When he was informed of it, the Guru said.

28 "Na Dalla na Malla hamun sath Alla;

Jahan ap jaun tahan ap khalla;

Sisang bal evai mujhai jan palai;

Kabhi dur hota na nirkhio niralai;

"Neither Dalla nor Malla accompanies me but Alla,

Wherever I go there He is present.

He ever protects me like a child,

I have never seen him separated or at a distance from me."

On his way he visited Nahur in Bikaner territory, Suheva, Madhsinghana, Jaipur territory, Pushkar, Ajmer and Naraina. He also visited the shrine of Dadu and there saluted with an arrow's end in order to test the faith of the Singhs. The Singhs, on his return to camp, asked him to pay a penalty of Rs. 500 for saluting the tomb. The penalty was gladly paid. Sweetmeats (Karah parshad) worth that sum were prepared and distributed. At that time the Guru remarked that if the Singhs continued so strict in their principles, they would be invincible, and any laxity therein would degrade and weaken them.

The Guru continued his journey through Lali, Ghamrat, Kulayat and other towns. When he arrived at Baghour in the territory of Udepur, the Raja also was there and detained the Guru as his guest for a considerable period, and the news of Aurangzeb's death on 21st February 1707 (A.D.) reached him there.

When Aurangzeb became seriously ill, his eldest son Muazam, who was Viceroy of Kabul, marched towards Dehli and the tidings of his father's demise reached him on the way. He at once assumed the crown and ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah. Prince Azam, his younger brother, who was near his father at the time of his death, proclaimed himself emperor in defiance of his father's will. Bahadur Shah, collecting his army in the Panjab, marched from Lahore to Agra, and wrote to the Guru for help. The Guru therefore went to Agra and took part in the battle which was fought there on 31st May 1707 (1764 Sambat) for the throne of Dehli. Prince Azam was killed in June 1707. According to Khafi Khan, "an arrow struck him in the forehead and ended his existence." It is said that that arrow was sub-

sequently identified as belonging to the Guru. Soon after his battle the formal ceremony of enthronement was gone through. After that his Majesty paid a visit to the Guru, presenting him with 1,100 gold Mohars.

Shortly after that the Emperor came to Delhi and the Guru accompanied him. One day when the Emperor and the Guru were boating in the Jamna River, the former recounted how he lay under obligations to the Guru and asked him what services he could render him. The Guru demanded that the Governor of Sarhind, Wazir Khan, with his Diwan Sucha Nand, and 15 Rajas and others who had been oppressors and cheats, might be made over to him, like Chaudu Lal to be dealt with as he deemed fit. The Emperor asked him to wait for some years until his government was fully established. At the same time he desired the Guru to choose some country for his residence as compensation for the loss he had sustained at Anandpur. As for the Singhs he offered Jagirs. The Guru then in an angry tone exclaimed:—

“There is no need for me to wait so long, and I require no compensation for my losses at Anandpur, because you have no means with which to compensate for them. As regards my Singhs, they will be powerful enough to choose and get hold of the country for their own Jagirs. One* of my disciples will be able immediately to chastise those very persons I have just named.” Hearing these words His Majesty was surprised and kept quiet. Next day he sent to the Guru five lakhs in cash and presents for distribution among the Singhs. This was reluctantly accepted and distributed among the Singhs. Along with that present His Majesty had sent also jewelry and utensils worth Rs. 1,00,000 for Mata Sundri, and issued orders for the daily supply of provisions for the *langer*.

After a short stay at Dehli the Emperor set out for Dakhan and the Guru accompanied him. He travelled through Mathura, Brindaban, Bhartpur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, and on arrival at Ujjain

* Probably this referred to the deputation of Banda Bahadur, vide Chapter XV.

held a grand Imperial Darbar. Rajas of Rajputana attended it. His Majesty praised and lauded the Guru in that Darbar for his piety as well as for his bravery and the services rendered by him. It is stated that at Ujjain, while out hunting, the Emperor desired a lion to be killed with the sword. Many failed in the attempt, but one Roshan Singh, deputed by the Guru succeeded in killing the beast. On the same day His Majesty fixed a mark for arrow shooting at some considerable distance. All failed to hit it, the arrows of many failing even to reach it, but the Guru's first arrow carried it about a hundred yards further on. The proficiency of the Guru's skill astonished His Majesty and all others present there.

When they reached Burhanpur, the Guru stopped there on the Tapti River, where the Emperor went towards Ahmadnagar *via* Gulbarga. After a short stay at Burhanpur the Guru travelling through Sevan, Chhapra, Nagpur, Balapur, Akola, Bonera, Amravati, Basmat, Hangoli reached Nader in the beginning of 1708 A. D. He met there with Baba Banda, a Bairagi, who became his disciple. Banda was then despatched by the Guru to the Panjab to punish the aggressors and oppressors in the Panjab, as will be explained in the next Chapter. The scenery at Nader was fascinating, and the Guru encamped on a beautiful plain on the banks of the Godavari River. He had about 50 Singhs with him.

The Emperor, who had separated from the Guru at Burhanpur, had gone to Haidrabad to subdue his brother, Prince Kam Bakhsh, who was marching from Bijapur with his army. The Prince gave battle in the neighbourhood of Haidrabad, and mortally wounded. After that his Majesty proceeded towards Ahmadnagar, subduing which, he went in the middle of 1708 (A.D.) to Golkanda *via* Nader and paid a visit to the Guru.

Baba Banda† by that time had punished Smana, Sadhaura, Damla and Chhatbanur. He had also conquered Sarhind and most harshly dealt with those who were in any way concerned in burying alive the two infant Princes. His Majesty explained these

† There is some variance in the opinion as to the time when Banda Bahadur met Guru Gobind Singh and as to the exact date when the former set out on his punitive mission. Some say that he left Nader during the life-time of the Guru and others contradict it. The author of *Sudaj Parkash* informs us that Banda was despatched by the Guru himself. Bhai Gian Singh in his "History of Guru Khalsa" supports him. Bhai Karm Singh, the author of "Banda Bahadur" gives a contrary account,

We have carefully studied these and the most other authorities. A close study of Bhai Gian Singh's history shows that notwithstanding certain errors, it is an elaborate and trustworthy history. Such errors are unavoidable and even the most careful Muhammadan and European authors, as the comparison of their works with each other shows, are liable to commit them. In order to enlighten our readers we examine the point in detail.

According to Taylor, the Emperor Aurangzeb died on the 13th February 1707. Khafi Khan puts it on 28th Zilqa'da 1118 A. H. corresponding with 21st February, 1707 A. D. as computed by Sir Elliott.

Sayad Muhammad Latif says that the Guru "set out to visit Aurangzeb, but on his way, he heard of His Majesty's death." The Guru had left for Dakhan where Aurangzeb then was, before Aurangzeb's death and after the battle at Muktsar which occurred in May 1706. Bhai Gian Singh fixes the date of the Guru's departure in August, 1706 A. D. On his way he visited various places and was entertained or invited by several Rajput Rajas whose acquaintance he wanted to cultivate. He must, therefore, have occupied a longer time on the journey

facts to the Guru and requested him to prevent Banda from prosecuting his punitive campaign any further and from committing those ravages and atrocities in the Punjab which are seriously condemned by Mussalmán authors. The Guru however,

than an ordinary wayfarer, and Aurangzeb died while the Guru was at Udepur on his way.

On the death of Aurangzeb dissension arose among his sons about the succession and every claimant wanted to enlist the services of any whom he considered of any use in his the crown. Fakhader Shah at the time was about 66 years of age and was not ignorant of the Guru's military worth. On his arrival at Lahore he had tried his best to collect as many troops as possible, in order to march on Agra and it is quite reasonable and natural to consider that he must have asked the Guru to join him in the field. Taylor v. the date of that battle as 31st May 1707. Khafi Khan says, as calculated by Sir Ellicott, 10th June 1707. After that for some months, there was no fighting and his Majesty appears to have spent some time at Delhi and it is quite safe to presume that the Guru must have accompanied him, as his family was there, as is proved by the existence of a temple on the spot where Mata Sundri used to live at a short distance to the south of the Turlnari Gate of the town of Delhi. (Both the Mata Sundri and Mata Sahib Devan died at Delhi and their Smadhs are still extant on the right bank of the Jamna River, at about 4 miles from the Delhi Gate of the town of Delhi, and about half a mile to the east of Barapulla on the Delhi-Mathura Road, in the village of Kilekri where the smadh of the eighth Guru is). And the association with the name of Guru Gobind Singh of the Gurdwaras.

1. at Moti ka Bag, alias Moshli ka Bag, at about 6 miles from Delhi, close to the Delhi-Gurgaon road via Basant and.

replied that it was not unjust to pay the oppressor in kind. On hearing this the Emperor kept quiet and after a short stay went on his way

One Painsa Khan was killed in an action by Guru Hargobind, and his son Saundhe Khan, fell at the hands of

2. at the east-northern corner of the tomb of Humayun, proves, beyond question, the fact of Guru's visit to Delhi after the battle of Agra was over.

After paying a visit to Delhi, His Majesty went to Agra, and from there he proceeded to Dakhan, in order to meet his brother Kam Bakhsh, who was marching against him. Taylor fixes the date of departure on 5th October 1707 and the fighting with Kam Bakhsh near Haidrabad on 15th February 1708. Khafi Khan does not give the precise date of the fighting but he informs us that Prince Kam Bakhsh, at the end of Shawwal 1119 A. H. was within two or three march of Haidrabad and the fighting took place soon after that. According to comparative statement of Hijra and Christian Calendars of that time which I have prepared, the last day of the above month corresponded with 29th January, 1708. The Guru had separated from His Majesty at Burhanpur and therefore it is quite safe to assume that the Guru had reached Nader sometime about February 1708. And on his return, after about five months, His Majesty visited the Guru at Nader and complained of the conduct of Banda Bhadadur who had conquered Sarhind about June 1708. According to Elphinstone the Emperor had received the intelligence of the capture of Sarhind by the Sikhs, before he reached the Rajput country. And Khafi Khan says that he got this news at Ujjain and then he visited the Rajput country on his way to the Panjab. Details as to the movements of the Guru and his relations with the Emperor were omitted by Muhammadan authors, as can naturally be expected, as not of sufficient importance to their history. They have never tried to study the

Guru Gobind Singh. Saundhe Khan left a widow and two sons, minors. The widow presented those minors before the Guru and prayed for their maintenance. He took compassion, enlisted them and trained them well in military art. When they attained maturity their Muhammadan neighbours began to taunt and

Guru closely or learn much about him, but they are compelled to make mention of Dakhan owing to the political commotion caused by Banda and the Sikhs in the Panjab.

Sikh authors say that the Guru had heard much about Banda before he reached Nader, and it was immediately after his arrival there that he met Banda. And it was soon after their acquaintance that Banda was properly instructed in all respects and sent to the Panjab. He did not take long in arriving at his destination, Sarhind.

It is at the beginning of 1120 A.H. (commencing with April 1708 A.D.) that Khafi Khan introduces us to Banda and informs us that his progress was very rapid. He says that "he (Banda) began to plunder in the Panjab and the country about Sarhind and in the course of three or four months he gathered round him four or five thousand pony-riders and seven or eight thousand motley footmen. His numbers daily increased and much plunder fell into his hands, until he had eighteen or nineteen thousand men under arms, and carried on a predatory and cruel warfare. He fought with two or three *jajirdars* who went out to punish him, defeated them and killed them. In many villages which he plundered he appointed Thanadars and Tahsildars to collect the reveaue of the neighbourhood for him, and matters came to such a pass with three or four thousand infidels who were leagued with him that he wrote orders to the Imperial Officials and the Managers of the Jagirdas, calling upon them to submit to him, and to relinquish their posts. (Elliott's History of India). After this follows the account of Wazir Khan, Faujdar of Sarhind.

sneer at them for serving the assasination of their ancestors. The Guru is said to have once said to them that the blood of his ancestors should be revenged by a true warrior, had they were prevailed upon by their Muhammandan friends to revenge their ancestral blood. Different authors have given different accounts of the fatal attack on the person of the Guru, but the established one is that these sons of Saundhe Khan were prevailed upon by their Muhammadan friends to kill the Guru. On 4th Bhadon

This indicates that how Banda was working. Khafi Khan's account of the Sikhs and of Banda's mission before he mentions his visitation in the Panjab (which is not in detail) is altogether wrong and misleading. In any case we are informed that Banda was, in the beginning of 1120 A.H., in the Panjab. Khafi Khan does not give dates but it appears that 1120 A.H. corresponded with 27th April, 1708 to 16th April 1709. Guru Gobind Singh died at the end of October 1708. And as we have stated Banda had become a disciple of the Guru, early in 1708. We have no reason to assume that Banda's deputation was proposed by the Guru, who was so prompt and determined in all his actions, for such a long period. Considering all the sides of the question I am of opinion that Bhai Gian Singh's account of Banda is, excepting for a few clerical mistakes, correct.

There is no doubt that Muhammadan authors also conflict in many points as for instance with regard to the death of Prince Azam. Some say that he was slain by a soldier getting up into his howdah, others say he was shot down by a musket-ball or pierced through with many arrows, whereas Khafi Khan, in support of Sikh authors, says he was struck with an arrow in the forehead. Again Khafi Khan puts the date of Emperor Bahadur Shah's death as 18th February 1711, A. D., Tazkara-i-Chaugatai 1712, A. D. Taylor fixes it 16th February 1712, A. D. whereas Sayad Muhammed Latif says it was 19th February 1712 A. D.

Sambat 1765 (the middle of August 1708 A. D.) when the Guru was alone asleep in his tent, one of the brothers secretly entered the tent and stabbed him in the belly. The Guru at once arose and slew the stabber, whose brother was, at the time of this fiendish act, keeping the watch at the entrance to the tent and took to his heels, but was caught and cut to pieces by the Singhs. The Emperor, who was at Golkanda, having heard of this infernal attack upon the Guru, sent his own physician to dress the wound. He also sent many precious presents, including bows and arrows of great strength. The wound soon healed but the Guru seeing that his end was nearing despatched Mata Sahib Devi who had accompanied him there, to Dehli. She was given his belt, arms and a picture which was prepared by an Italian under orders of the Emperor. Although the wound had healed to all appearance, it was not thoroughly cured, nor would the physician permit his patient to take strong exercise, yet the Guru bent with all his force one of the strongest bows sent by the Emperor. On this the stitches of his wound gave way and it opened again. The Guru then refused to have it sewn and dressed again, and prepared to leave the world for ever. He chose for his pyre a site which resembled a sort of platform and the Moslems claimed it as a tomb of one of their ancestors. The grandee of the place came to the spot. The Guru claimed it as his own and stated that it belonged to him, and he used to perform divine worship there during his past birth. He pointed out that the platform was not a tomb or grave nor

Thus discrepancies are inevitable and if we follow the Muhammadan authors alone, Guru Gobind Singh was at Nader early in 1708 A. D. or about ten months before his death. This afforded an ample opportunity for contracting Banda's acquaintance in contradiction to authors making different statements. In any case the Guru reached Nader between October 1707 and February 1708, A. D., or thereabout.

did it contain any bones or ashes, but it was an ordinary platform over an old cellar which contained certain articles belonging to himself. The Moslems and their Nawab agreed to the place being dug up on condition that if the articles referred to were found the Guru was the undisputed master of it. Thus the dispute ended in favour of the Guru. On that site a big pyre was raised and a considerable area was enclosed within cloth walls (Kanats). At the same time a ground feast was given, and then the Guru imparted necessary instructions to his followers and explained that whatever was going to happen was in accordance with the orders of the Almighty. He impressed upon the Singhs that he was quite satisfied with what he intended to do and nobody should bewail and lament him whoever did so would suffer for it. He ordered them to chant hymns and repeat the laudation of the Lord for forty days after his death. He declared that the appointed ten had completed their mission, and added "I entrust my Khalsa to the bosom of the everlasting Divine", and that for the future the spiritual guide of his followers was the Holy Scripture, "Granth Sahib". He appointed it as his successor after going through the customary ceremonies and making the usual presents to it. He explained that whoever wished to behold the Guru he must bow before it and open it with a sincere heart, and he should have an interview with the Guru; and It should serve as a true guide and impartial divine teacher under all circumstances whatever. He then uttered the following hymn :—

‘‘Agya bhai Akal ki tabai chalayo panth ;
Sabh Sikhian ko hukm hai Guru Manyo Granth’’

“Under the permission of the Immortal Being the Panth (Khalsa religion) was started.

“All the Sikhs are enjoined to recognize the Granth as their Guru.”

After imparting these and other instructions, and bathing as usual, the Guru dressed and arrayed himself, wearing all the arms he used to carry in the field, and then in the forty-second year of his life, on suddi 5th of Katak, Sambat 1765 (end of October 1708 A.D.) he entered* the enclosure alone, shutting the door behind him. He forbade entry to the enclosure after him and ordered that the pile, after it was burnt down, should not be opened, nor should a tomb be erected upon the site, emphasising his orders with a curse. He also directed that *kirya* obsequies (like those of the Hindus) should not be performed; none in fact except the recital of the Guru Granth Sahib and utter reliance upon the Almighty. After the Guru entered the enclosure, God knows what happened. Shortly after his entry the pile was ablaze, The Sikhs assembled from all quarters and a loud cry of "Sat Sri Akal," True is the God, the never dying," vibrated through the air. Music was played and devotional songs were chanted. The national calamity was felt throughout the country.

It is said that contrary to the Guru's instructions, the pile of ashes was stirred on the fourth day and no trace of bones or weapons was found there with the exception of a miniature sword, "*kard*".

* Some give a different account, and it requires still a thorough investigation to find out the reality.

CHAPTER XV.

Banda Bahadur.

Banda was born at Rajaury, in the Kashmir territory on Suddi 13th Katak Sambat 1727 (October 1670 A. D.) His birth name was Lachhman. He was the son of Ramdev, a Rajput. In his childhood he was very fond of arms and sport. Once he shot down a doe, who in her agony of death, produced two young ones, which also died immediately. This pitiable scene seriously affected his feelings, and sport becoming distasteful to him, he retired from the world. He became disciple of one Janki Parshad, a Bairagi ascetic who resided at Rajaury. In Sambat 1743 (1686 A. D.) he accompanied Janki Parshad to attend the Baisakhi fair at Ram Thamman in the neighbourhood of Qasur, and became there, under the name of Narain Das, *alias* Lachhman Bala, the disciple of one Ram Das, Bairagi. After that he went on pilgrimages to different places until he was enamoured by the scenery of Nasak, and, put up at Panchbatti for contemplation and the performance of divine worship. He there formed acquaint'ance and cultivated friendship with one Angar Nath, a Jogi. During the last days of that Jogi, he served him and, as a recompense for his services, the Jogi is said to have given him, in Sambat 1748 (1691 A. D.) a book containing various arts, especially the occult sciences. After the death of the Jogi, he travelled southwards and put up at Nader on the banks of the Godavri and constructed a beautiful little garden. He changed his name from Narain Das to Madho Das, and became widely known and greatly respected in that neighbourhood.

While at Burhanpur (the place where the Guru separated from His Majesty, the Emperor Bahadur Shah, *vide* the preceding Chapter) Guru Gobind Singh heard much about Madho Das and desired to see him. On arrival at Nader the Guru went to his

house, but he was then away. The Guru sat on his talismanic *palang* (bedstead) and ordered the Singhs to slaughter goats with a view to excite Madho Das, because he was, then a strict vegetarian. On hearing the details of the outrageous visit of this personage, Madho Das was inflamed and immediately returning home tried his magical art on the Guru and his followers. But it was all in vain and then understanding and fearing the might of the Guru, he came and stood before him with folded hands.*

The following dialogue took place between the Guru and Madho Das:—

Guru “Who are you ?

Madho Dass - “I am your humble servant (Banda)”.

Guru—“Are you a true *banda*, or *banda* merely by the empty words of the mouth ?

Madho Das— “Truly in body, as well as in mind”.

Guru—“A *banda* must serve his master.”

Madho Das—“I am quite prepared to serve you in any way”.

Thus Madho Das was thenceforward named Banda. The Guru found in him a very useful, competent and reliable person, and explained to him the various tricks, cheats and oppressions committed by the Hill Rajas and the Imperial Muhammadan commanders. These details made a deep and indelible impression on Banda's mind and Banda was soon after that deputed to bring all the oppressors to book. He was given all the necessary instructions and a plan of his operations in the Panjab.

The Guru then granted his own sword to Banda, but it was instantaneously usurped by the Singhs with the remark that they were undergoing and experiencing so much for that

As regards the date of this meeting see footnote at page 203 et seq.

very sword that they would not allow anybody else to have and use it. On this the Guru was very pleased and exclaimed that the Khalsa had grown up quite competent to wield the sword and conduct the field operations independently. Thereafter he gave Banda five arrows and various other weapons to wear, and at the same time he conferred upon him the title of "Banda Bahadur". In regard to religion, although, Banda became his disciple the Guru did not deem it advisable to initiate him with *pahaul*, and while imparting to him his spiritual power, he strictly enjoined upon him to observe the following rules, the disregard of which was destined to lead him to misery, ignominy and wretchedness. Otherwise he was to continue invincible : -

1. He should not marry, nor indulge in sexual intercourse.
2. He should ever be truthful, never resorting to falsehood.
3. He should not start a new religion of his own
4. He should never use a cushion in a Sikh Temple.
5. He should not allow himself to be called Guru.
6. He should always live in brotherly love and peace with the Singhs, never arrogating his might in their presence.

Twenty-five Singhs were told off to accompany him, and he directed his course towards the Panjab. At the same time the Guru issued edicts to the Singhs in the Panjab, to join him for the prosecution of the *grand undertaking* with which he was entrusted. He came to the Panjab in rapid marches and, as soon as his arrival was known, thousands began to gather round his banner in small detachments. He began to attack and plunder the Muhammadan villages. At Bahuna, near Kaithal, he plundered the Imperial Treasury (consisting of the revenue collections of Malwan which was on its way to Delhi. After that he fell upon Samana, an

ancient and wealthy town, and ravaged it, with a thorough massacre of the Moslem population, without any regard to age or sex. The families of Siyad Jalal-ud-Din, the executioner of Guru Teg Bahadur, and of those leaders and grandees who had deceived Guru Gobind Singh by treacherously inducing him to evacuate the fort of Anandpur, were ferreted out and exterminated. Banda halted there for about a week and then marched upon Sarhind. On his way he plundered Sanaur, Ghuram, Thaska, Shahabad and Kunjpura, the residence of Wazir Khan, Governor of Sarhind. Damla to which the 500 Pathans‡ who turned traitors to Guru Gobind Singh in Baisakh Sambat 1744 (April 1687 A.D.) belonged, also tasted its fate in the same way. Sadhaura, also fell and Muhammadans were cruelly and mercilessly dealt with. Then Chhitbanur had to suffer for its sins.

At about the same time 2,000 Singhs were coming from Majha to join Banda, but Wazir Khan, Governor of Sarhind, having heard of it tried to intercept them. Nawab Sher Muhammad Khan of Malerkotla and Dilawar Khan, Faujdar, were deputed with 5 guns and 5 000 horse for the purpose. They also collected many more levies in the neighbourhood. A heavy battle was fought and ended in complete disaster to the Moslem army, leaving their guns, arms, and all ammunition in the hands of the Singhs, who joined Banda immediately, notwithstanding a great many more obstructions on their way.

Since Wazir Khan had heard how the districts in his charge were subjected to rapine and plunder, he had been collecting troops and warlike equipment. Four or five Faujdars (Commanders and *Zamindars*) of note joined him. Declaring a holy war against Banda he collected numerous combatants who were eager to obtain martyrdom, and personally marched with a large army. A sanguinary battle was fought at Vadali and Nanheri near Sirhind. Great bravery was displayed on both sides but

‡Vide Chapter XIV.

especially by the Singhs. They advanced sword in hand against the elephants, and brought two of them down. The imperial army was hardly able to endure the repeated attacks of the Singhs, notwithstanding the superiority of the former in numbers and guns. While the battle was raging a strong storm set in and with that the Singhs rushed at the enemy with drawn swords in their hand and put them to flight. "Money and baggage, horses and elephants, fell" says Khafi Khan "into the hands of the infidels (Singhs) and not a man of the army of Islam escaped with more than his life and the clothes he stood in. Horsemen and footmen in great numbers fell under the swords of the infidels, who pursued them as far as Sarhind." During that confusion Wazir Khan fell from his horse and was taken alive. The Singhs made their entry into the town of Sarhind on Vadi 14th Jeth, Samvat 1765 (June 1708 A.D.)

Sarhind then was an opulent town. Wealthy merchants, bankers, tradesmen and gentlemen of every class resided there. Learned and religious men lived there in great numbers. The entry of Banda was so sudden and sharp that no one found the opportunity of saving his life, wealth or family. They were all seized with panic. Banda began to deal out the most vindictive punishment on Muhammadan population. The city was set on fire. Moslems were slaughtered indiscriminately without regard to age or sex. Every Muhammadan, who fell in their hands, was butchered, bayoneted, strangled, hanged, shot down, backed to pieces or burnt alive. Heaps of the dead were visible in streets and bazars. Plunder and carnage continued for three days together. On the fourth day peace was restored, and the inhabitants, who was scattered and concealed in the jungles, were permitted to return home. Diwan Sucha Nand, who had been instrumental in the murder of the two infant sons of the Guru Gobind Singh, was caught along with his family. *All his near and dear relations*

were murdered in his presence. Then he walked with a thread in his nose through the Bazars, after which he met his miserable, disgraceful and ignominious death.

Wazir Khan had his turn then. The whole of his family met a wretched death in his presence. He himself was tortured and then burnt alive. His house along with that of his Diwan, demolished and ploughed over. Each and every individual who had in any way, direct or indirect, helped in the cruel and tortured death of the infants, was ferreted out and treated according to his merits. The bricks of the town were, as far as possible, thrown into the river in accordance with the prophecy of Guru Gobind Singh. The practice still continues and the bricks of the town, which was ruined by Banda and afterwards by Singhs, have since practically disappeared. Even the brick bats there were excavated and used on the Railway Line.

The work of executing the offenders was continued for 8 days. The mosques were polluted and burnt down. Mullahs, Maulvis, and Hafizes were subjected to various indignities and cruel tortures. The whole Muhammadan world began to echo with the doings of Banda and they felt no hesitation in kissing his feet and paid him unreserved homage. The Province of Sarhind was occupied. Baj Singh was appointed its Governor with Mali Singh as Diwan. All other necessary arrangements were made for its proper administration and the collection of revenue in all the subordinate districts. Its annual revenue then was Rs. 52,00,000 and this victory induced thousands to embrace Khalsaism.

At about this time it was complained that the followers of Ram Rai at Pail had maltreated one Bulaka Singh for repeating the hymns of the tenth Guru. Banda went there and chastised the offenders. Then appointing the complainant as Thanadar of that town, he proceeded towards Malerkotla, but the Nawab submitted and paid a tribute of Rs. 10,000. Rai Kot also presented Rs. 5,000 with some horses. Banda occupied the fort of Mukh-

lasgarh situate in the hills about 25 miles from Sadhaura, and named it Lohgarh. He fortified and provided it with immense stores of war and then retired into the Joharsar hills for devine worship in seclusion. The Sikhs had now occupied Panipat, Tiravri, and Malwa.

When accounts of the devastation caused by Banda reached His Majesty, 5,000 horse were despatched under Faujdars like Yarbeg Khan and Shah Inayat Ullah. The Governor of Lahore was directed to send reinforcements. The Singhs fought at Tiravri, Sarhind and Kharar but were defeated. The third battle was fought at Burail, and when the fight was going on Banda chanced to come out of the hills and joined the Singhs. When the Imperialists heard of his arrival they lost heart and the Singhs on the other hand, plucked up their courage and fought with great vehemence, routing the enemy in disaster. Many nobles fell to the sword. The Singhs pursued the enemy for ten *koses* and in Baisakh, Sambat 1766 (1709 A. D.) took possession of Sarhind again. The Banda destroyed the Ranghars of Marind Baganwala, who had caught and taken the infant sons of Guru Gobind Singh from Kheri to Sarhind. Thereafter he marched against Saharanpur. The Governor of that place, Ali Muhammad Khan, collected a large number of combatants for a religious war, but when he heard of Banda's advance, he was terror struck and fled along with his relations towards Delhi. The inhabitants offered a bold resistance to the invaders for three days and then gave way. Plunder and carnage were carried out as elsewhere. A whole Sayad family at Behut who were notorious in cow killing was slain. Only one member survived who was then absent from the village.

The Nawabs of Najibabad and Jalalabad were asked to submit or to try their luck with the sword. An ultimatum was given them for two months. The former paid homage and the latter prepared to flight. *Plundering Ambta and Nanauta on his way, Bana beleiged Jalalabad.* A severe battle went on for many

days, but victory remained uncertain. There was great slaughter on both sides. Banda applied ladders to the walls of the fort in order to get over it. Hundreds lost their lives in the attempt. The siege was conducted with great bravery and interpidity, but as the town was on high ground and water was plentiful Banda considered it advisable to raise the siege.

Leaving Jalalabad, the Singhs went off to reduce Sultanpur and the Parganahs of Jalandhar Doab. They wrote to Shams Khan, *faujdar*, to submit but he encountered them with a large army accompanied by over a hundred thousand *zemindars*, gentlemen of every tribe, peasants and mechanics, as the war was declared to be a holy war against the infidels. The Singhs, numbering about 70 or 80 thousand horse and foot, took the fort of Rahon, and after a heavy battle with Shams Khan, they were, owing to the superiority of the enemy in number, obliged to return to Rahon. They evacuated that fort also, but re-occupied it immediately, driving the Moslem garrison away.

Karnal and Panipat had been recovered by the Imperial Officers, but Banda took them again and the *faujdar* there fled after a nominal fight.

At this time the Emperor directed Akhgar Khan, Turani, to march against Banda with 12,000 horse from Delhi. Another army was also collected and they gave battle near Ladva in Jeth, Sambat 1766 (June 1709 A.D.) The Singhs were defeated there and again at Shahbad. Akhgar Khan occupied Sarhind and sent an army in pursuit of the Singhs who had retired to the hills.

When the Singhs dispersed the Moslems resumed their oppression upon the Hindus with greater severity. Singhs were especially persecuted, nay tortured to death. The garri-on at Lohgarh informed Banda Bahadur of the reverses the Singhs had sustained, and in Bhadon Sambat 1766 (August 1709 A.D.) he sharply came out of the hills and advanced upon Sarhind. Wazir

Khan,* Governor of that place, fought near Ropar but after a sharp and short skirmish fled towards Dehli Banda Bahadur regained all the country which had formerly been in possession of the Singhs.

For about 8 or 9 months, from the neighbourhood of Dehli to the environs of Lahore, all the towns and places of note were pillaged and ransacked by the Singhs. Muhammadans in countless numbers were slain, the whole country was wasted, and mosques and tombs were erased. When all these details reached him, the Emperor was on his way back from Dukhan to Dehli, and he sent Muhammad Amin Khan with a strong force against the Singhs. He instructed him to destroy *thanas* (military posts) established by Banda and to re-establish the Imperial posts and to restore the impoverished condition of the people. Banda met him with over forty thousand horse and foot and on 5th December, 1709 (Maghar, Sambat 1766) a sanguinary battle was fought near Shahabad in which the Imperial force, being completely defeated, retired towards Karnal. On the fifth day, the broken army was reinforced by the arrival of fresh troops from Lahore and Rajputana and another encounter took place at Runba and Sikri. After heavy bloodshed on both sides the Singhs gave way. A third fight took place at Ladva. When the battle was at its height a heavy rain came on and continued for about a week owing to which the royal force suffered extremely; their supplies also were consumed. Thousands of soldiers, especially the Dakhnies, who were unaccustomed to the cold of those parts, fell ill and died. The stench arising from the dead animals became intolerable. The men attributed this to the witchcraft and sorcery of Banda. Therefore the imperialists left the field. Several *fauj-dars* and officers of repute were killed.

On this His Majesty deputed Prince Rafi-ul-shan with

* This was another Wazir Khan, the one who tortured to death the infants of Guru Govind Singh was put to death as already stated.

several famous *fauj-dars* to chastise the Singhs again. A heavy battle was fought at Saharanpur-Buria which resulted in the entire defeat of Banda. Most of the Singhs entered the hills and Banda got into the Lohgarh fortrees. The enemy pursued and beseiged him. The seige was continued for a long time and provisions as well as ammunion began to run short. The garrison inflicted a heavy loss on the imperial force by nocturnal attacks and frequent sallies. It is stated that one day, Banda with drawn sword in hand, at the head of a squadron, rushed into the enemy's entrenchments and effected an immense slaughter. Heaps of the dead were seen all round and the terror-stricken enemy felt as if the angel of death were mowing down the Moslem field. A panic en-ued in the enemy's camp and they were obliged to retreat several *koses* back. There the Prince was reinforced by other troops from the neighbourhood and the whole army was called upon to take oath on the Quran to die in the field. The attack was renewed with a still greater impetuosity and continued for many days. The garrison was left with nothing to eat or to prosecute the defence. Then Banda exchanged his dress with one Bhagu, a tobacco-seller in the royal army, who resembled him and contrived to escape to the hills, giving necessary instructions to Bhagu and others left with him. Next day the imperial force stormed the fortress after a slight struggle. Bhagu was taken for Banda, and great rejoicings followed the capture. The Emperar bestowed many presents on those who took the news to him. Mun'im Khan, Khan Khanan, an old and faithful servant of the Crown, expected great honours of this success, but fate was against him. When the deception was discovered it drew the wrath of His Majesty upon that officer. He pined with vexation, contracted a variety of diseases, which neither Greek nor European physicians could cure, and died. Great efforts were made to pursue and catch Banda but in vain. The Raja of Sirmor was charged with having allowed him to pass through his

territory and was sent as a State Prisoner to Dehli. When the imperial army, after a fruitless struggle withdrew, Banda came out of the hills and took possession of Sirhind and its dependencies. The Emperor, in Assu Sambat 1768 (October 1711 A. D.)† came in person to capture Banda, but, as soon as his advance was heard of Banda retired to the hills. A large army was again detailed to pursue and arrest him but in vain. When Banda entered into the hills and the royal army was in pursuit, he came to Pathankot and killed Shams Khan and Bazin Khan in an encounter, and ravaged distant countries.

The Emperor, at about this time, was informed that it was deemed great sin in this sect to shave the hair of the head or bearded. Therefore a proclamation was issued requiring the Hindus in general to shave off their beards. Many submitted to this disgrace, but some men of name and petition committed suicide to save the honour of their beards. Beside this it was ordered that all Singhs should be indiscriminately put to the sword wherever they could be found. Thousands of innocent Hindus were assassinated on suspicion of their associating with Singhs.

After detailing a royal force to pursue and capture Banda the Emperor came to Lahore and owing to the rebellion of the Singhs in the Panjab, he deemed it necessary to remove his capital from Delhi to Lahore, and soon after his arrival there he died in Phagan Sambat 1768 (16th February, 1712 A. D.). He left no will and the usual struggle for sovereignty at once ensued among his four sons. Availing himself of that opportunity Banda came out of the hills again and re-occupied Sarhind. Anarchy and confusion prevailed and the Singhs, descending to the plains bordering on the Indus, again united and gathered under the banner of their leader.

† Some authors place the date of the Emperor's advance on Banda in person, a little earlier but this date seems more reliable.

In Sambat 1770 (1713 A. D.) Banda challenged the Rajas of Nahan, Nalagarh, Bilaspur and other hill rajas to fight or to submit. They found themselves unable to encounter him and he accepted their allegiance. At the same time the Muhammadan Jagirdars of Ropar, Basi, Kiri, Bahlolpur, and others in that neighbourhood paid him homage. After that he crossed the Satluj at Machhiwara and entered the Jalandhar Doab. Amin Khan, Faujdar, met him there, but after a short skirmish submitted. The Governor of Jalandur also submitted and paid a handsome *razrana*, giving up one-half of his territory. Thereafter Banda came to Amritsar and attended the Baisakhi fair on 1st Baisakh Sambat 1771 (April 1714 A. D.) He then convened a royal *darbar* and arrayed himself in royal dress with an aigrette or plum on his head. This pomp and show impressed upon the people that the Mohammadan rule was waning and about to be replaced by the Khalsa ascendancy. Thus the people, in batches of thousands, were induced to embrace the faith.

On leaving Amritsar, Banda punished the Ranghats at Sathiala and Butala and then took Gurdaspur and Pathankot. After that he attacked Butala in the Gurdapur District. The two Sayads, Muhammad Fazl, Gilani, and Shekh ul-Ahad, were the Muhammadan leaders there. The former on the approach of the Singhs fled to Sultanpur in the Jalandur Doab and the latter prepared for defence. He was killed after a bold stand and his followers dispersed after a great slaughter. The gates were forced open and the town was set on fire and given to pillage and indiscriminate massacre, beginning with the Muhalla of Qazis which was the most wealthy in the town.

During that year Banda repaired and fortified the old fort of Gurdaspur and collected immense military stores there. At the same time he invited the hill rajas in the neighbourhood of Kangra to fight or to submit. They replied in a taunting letter and prepared to encounter him. But they could not stand the

brunt of the Singhs' attack and submitted.

When Bahadur Shah died, his son Jahandar Shah succeeded him as Emperor. His reign was brief and of too effeminate a character to do anything against Banda. At the end of December 1712, the Emperor was confined and his nephew Farrukhsiar, son of Prince Azim-ul-Shan ascended the throne on 1st January 1713 and commenced his reign of terror. He determined on the extirpation of the Singhs. Abdul Samad Khan, surnamed Diler Jang, a Turani nobleman, Governor of Kashmir, came in 1715 (A.D.) from Kashmir at the head of a large army, and was joined by Muhammad Amin Khan, who was sent by the Emperor with a large number of chosen troops from the eastern districts. The Singhs fighting with Abdul Samad on the one side and Muhammad Amin Khan on the other, rallied at Sarhind. They fought very boldly for about two months, but owing to the absence of their leader, they were compelled to take shelter in the fort at Lohgarh. The enemy besieged it. When the fight was going on, Banda came out of his hill fortresses. His arrival greatly raised the spirits of the garrison and struck the enemy with terror, because his mere presence served the royalists as a bugbear. The garrison sallied out and Banda made a simultaneous attack. The enemy was routed and pursued for a considerable distance with a great slaughter. The country lying between Lahore and the banks of Jamna, came into the possession of the Singhs.

After the battle, Banda came to the fort of Gurdaspur. In Har, Sambat 1773 (July 1716 A.D.) Zabardast Khan, Governor of Kashmir, and Aslam Khan, Governor of Lahore, attacked him with a numerous army but were repulsed with heavy loss.

During the same year the Pathans of Qasur, Shams-ud-din and Tahir Khan fought with Singhs near Jalandhar and were

completely routed.

At about the same time when the Pathans of Qasur were fighting with the Singhs, Wazir Khan, Governor of Jammu, along with his brother Shams-ud-din Khan *Faujdar*, marched against the Singhs and drove them out of Sarhind. Banda encountered them near Rahon and compelled them to retire.

Thus fighting and a struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed had long been going on. No stone was left unturned on the part of the imperialists to persecute and destroy the Singhs, whilst the Singhs retaliated with rigid severity. Injuries and indignities were inflicted on Muhammadans, and the destruction of mosques and tombs was looked upon by them as a righteous and meritorious act. The mere name of Banda was quite sufficient to strike terror into the mind of the Muhammadans. Their army was shattered by repeated and harassing campaigns, the country was turning into a mere waste caused by the constant influx and retreat as well as the marauding expeditions of the Singhs. The Emperor was tired of the reports and complaints which reached him daily of the ever increasing distress of his dominions. When all other expedients failed, he devised a plan to utilise the influence of the Matas Sundri and Sahib Devi widows of the deceased Guru Gobind Singh who were then residing at Delhi. His Majesty asked them to induce Banda to abandon his predatory profession, on which he and his followers should be granted Jagirs. Banda replied that no faith could be put in the Emperor; that he wanted to allure them by the offer of *Jagirs* to their men to their ultimate annihilation. On receipt of this reply the Emperor imprisoned the ladies with the idea that Singhs would come to terms in order to save the honour of the ladies. Thereupon the ladies sent a painful letter to Banda asking him to submit. He replied that they must endure everything because the submission of the Khalsa to a tyrant, would mean the

frustration of the Guru Gobind Singh's mission. The ladies requested him to submit to the authority of his majesty on pain of excommunication. Banda's reply to this was also in the negative with the remarks, that he was merely a Bairagi Fapir and had neither friend nor foe ; that he was not a follower of Guru Gobind Singh and therefore could not be an outcast ; and that he was merely carrying out the orders of Guru Gobind Singh in regard to the campaign of vengeance for the destruction of the tyrant, and the protection of the Khalsa. Upon this Banda was charged with disobedience and disregard of Guru Gobind Singh's commandments and edicts were issued for his excommunication on the following grounds.

1. That he had married, breaking the celibacy which was enjoined upon him.
2. The contrary to Guru Gobind Singh's mandate, he had started his own religion
3. That he had substituted *Charan pahal* for *Khanda pahal*
4. That he had invented *Fatih daras* (victory to faith) instead of *Fatih Vaheguru ji ki* (victory to the Lord).
5. That Singhs were called *Bandai* (*Banda's*) instead of Guru's.
6. That he attired himself in royal dress, which was against the Guru's orders.
7. That he called himself the eleventh Guru of the Singhs, and
8. That he displayed pride and arrogance and meant to rule over the Singhs instead of considering himself their brother and equal.

This edict was sealed with the curse that owing to disregard of these commandments Banda was sure to die in imprisonment. On receipt of this edict, the true Singhs (or Tat Khalsa) separated themselves from Banda, who leaving them at Amritsar, went to Gurdaspur.

The Singhs were thus divided between themselves and became antagonistic to each other.

The news of this division pleased and gratified the Emperor. He proposed to enlist their services on his own side and sent a long letter with precious presents offering a Jagir of Rs. 51,000 for the old and aged Singhs and invited the young ones for imperial service on a handsome salary. The offer was accepted and 500 Singhs entered the government service at Lahore. The rate of pay fixed was Rs. 15 per mensem for the foot and Rs. 30 per mensem for the mounted soldier. The Sardars were to get Rs. 5 daily each. For the maintenance of the rest Rs. 5,000 per mensem and the Parganah of Jhabal was granted in Jagir. The treaty of peace contained the following terms for guidance of the parties:—

1. That the Khalsa would not attack any territory under the Mugal Empire;
2. That they were precluded from helping Banda;
3. That if any foreign enemy attacked the Panjab, it was incumbent upon the Tat Khalsa to help the Government;
4. That the money and Jagir allotted to the Khalsa were never to be varied;
5. That no Hindu in the Panjab should, in future, be forced to embrace Islam;
6. That the Hindus were, for the future, to be at liberty to perform their religious ceremonies in any way they liked;
7. That the Hindus of the Panjab were, in future, to pay no extra tax in excess of Muhammadans;

8. That any Singh undertaking agriculture would be required only to pay revenue at half-rates;
9. That the slaughter of cattle in Panjab was to cease for ever;
10. That in future no Muhammadan was at liberty to forcibly deflower any Hindu woman.

Thus the separation of the two factions was completed and all efforts and contrivances of Banda failed to effect a reconciliation. Banda's position was greatly affected and he had left only about 14,000 combatants with him. However the courageous Banda did not lose heart and continued to perform his mission of destruction and devastation, pillage and plunder, slaughter and carnage. He subdued Kalanaur, and carried his predatory expeditions through Gujranwala, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Shahpur, Jhelam, Rawalpindi, and Attak, and then, he came back to Gurdaspur. Shortly after that he attacked Lahore and encamped close to the Sha' lamar gardens. He thought that, though the Tat Khalsa had separated, they would never confront him in the field, as at Kalanaur they had, referring to the terms of their treaty, declined to fight against him. He therefore felt confident of reducing Lahore. The Viceroy of Lahore, Sayad Islam Khan, put the city in a state of defence. Cannons were mounted on the ramparts and all other means possible for its fortification were adopted. He also solicited the aid of the whole Muhammadan population, impressing upon them that their lives, religion and honour were at stake. The appeal was readily answered and all the leading Muhammadans of the time along with many Hindus, joined the Viceroy. A desperate fight ensued. Thousands fell on both sides, especially the defenders. The imperial army gave way and retired to the City. Next day they assembled again but were defeated with immense slaughter and the town must have fallen into the hands of Banda but for the Tat Khalsa who were prevailed upon by the Go-

vernor, Islam Khan, to appear in the field Banda did not think it advisable to fight with the Singhs and therefore retraced his steps towards Batala. A short time after that Banda tried his best to induce the Singhs to reconciliation explaining to them the deception of the Muhammadans as well as the destruction which was awaiting them on account of their division. The reply of the Singhs was that the only means leading to such reconciliation were the initiation of Banda with the *khanda pahaul* and his conforming to all the principles of Khalsaism. Therefore Banda had to content himself with his fate and kept quiet. When the Emperor found that the Singhs had been separated into two antagonistic sections he sent a strong force of 20,000 troops from Delhi and ordered Samad Khad, Viceroy of Lahore and Zabar-dast Khan, Governor of Kashmir, to collect all available forces to capture Banda.

Shaikh Muhammad Daem, Faujdar of Ambala, was defeated by the Bandai Sikhs, and he fled in dismay to Lahore. The combined royal armies of the Delhi, Lahore and Kashmir encountered about 20,000 followers of Banda at Naina Kot. The latter owing to their great inferiority in numbers gave way and scattered in different directions but 7,000 of them joined Banda at Gurdaspur. The royal army followed them and besieged the fort. War continued for four months with no result. Khafi Khan in regard to this battle says that "the infidels fought so fiercely that the army of Islam was nearly overpowered; and they over and over again showed the greatest daring". After all, blockade was resorted to and for a long time all communication was entirely cut off. The garrison inflicted a heavy loss on the besiegers. According to Khafi Khan "the infidels on several occasions showed the greatest boldness and daring; and made nocturnal attacks upon the imperial forces. The siege lasted a long time. And the enemy exhibited great courage and daring. They frequently made sallies into the trenches and killed many of the besiegers." Provisions and

military stores were all exhausted and the garrison began to starve. Banda might have effected his escape if he had attempted to sally out, but he waited to be helped and reinforced by the Tat Khalsa, but in vain. He thought that though they had separated from him, yet, at such a juncture, they would make a common cause of it, and falling upon them from outside they would destroy the enemy. However the Tat Khalsa were too widely separated to join with him again. He wasted a long time in that false hope until the defenders were emaciated with hunger and were hardly able to stand on their feet. Many deserted him on account of hunger, and at that time. Abdul Samad Khan hoisted a flag with a proclamation promising unconditional pardon and free rations to any of the besieged who came out and surrendered. Many therefore came tottering to the spot and surrendered themselves. They were given food for a short time and were then coldly massacred. Abdul Samad had three or four thousand of them put to the sword, and he filled that extensive plain with blood as if it had been a dish. Their heads were stuffed with hay and stuck upon spears. Khafi Khan says this number belonged to the companions of Banda who were, along with him given quarter; but that is wrong, because Banda never asked for quarter. It appears that when several Bandai Sikhs who were dying of hunger, were attracted by the proclamation to Abdul Samad's banner, Abdul Samad learnt from them the secret of the garrison and then, perfidiously and treacherously put them to the sword. If we follow Khafi Khan, the same breach of faith is established. According to other historians Banda never asked for quarter, and when he was reduced to extremities and life was despaired of, he sallied out with all of his half-dead companions and poured *havoc on the enemy*. It is said that many of his followers while working ravage were overpowered by mere hunger and unconsciously fell down upon the ground. Many died of exhaustion and others fell senseless into the hands of the enemy. The valour

and daring they exhibited and the slaughter they committed extorted praise from the enemy. It is said that when Banda was alone and surrounded by the enemy, they formed a circle around him with a radius of about two paces. None dared to catch hold of him. He pressed in different directions like a lion in a flock of sheep and the enemy fell shaking and trembling on the ground, being afraid of the formidableness of his appearance. And it was after 49 combatants of the circle had fallen under his sword that he was taken to Poh Sambat 1772 (January 1716 A D)

Banda with one of his infant sons, and about 1,000 Singhs and about 2,000 stuffed heads stuck upon spears reached Delhi in chains *via* Lahore under charge of Zakarya Khan, son of Abdul Samad Khan. At Dehli the prisoners were subjected to the greatest ignominy in various ways. One hundred of them were daily beheaded in a public place called Chandani Chauk. They met their doom with the utmost indifference; nay they contested for priority of martyrdom. Many stories are told of them and Khafi Khan as an eye-witness relates the following.

“When the executions were going on, the mother of one of the prisoners, a young man just arrived at manhood, having obtained some influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the Emperor and Sayad Abdullah Khan. She represented that her son had suffered imprisonment and hardship at the hands of the sect. His property was plundered, and he was made prisoner. While in captivity he was, without any fault of his own, introduced into the sect, and now stood innocent among those sentenced to death. Farrukhsiar commiserated this artful woman, and *mercifully sent an officer with orders to release the youth. That cunning woman arrived with the order*

of release just as the executioner was standing with his bloody sword upheld over the young man's head. She showed the order for his release. The youth then broke out into complaints, saying. "My mother tells a falsehood. I with heart and soul join my fellow believers in devotion to the Guru; send me quickly after my companions."

Banda's execution was left for the last day. He was dragged from his cage like a wild beast and in mockery dressed in a magnificent princely robe. The heads of his followers were paraded on pikes around him. Without the least hesitation he killed his son with his own hands in compliance with the imperial orders. After that he was brought before a mock tribunal for judgment. When the executioner was standing with a drawn sword behind him, the Emperor asked him what made of death he preferred. His stern reply was that the Emperor was doomed to die in the same way as he would be and therefore he would leave it for his Majesty to choose for himself. This answer inflamed the emperor and he ordered that his flesh should be torn piece-meal with red hot pincers and that the process should be continued from day to day until he died. He suffered this with the utmost indifference. He was calm and above pain. Najam-ud-daula witnessed this scene for two days and then in wonder and admiration at his behaviour, asked him the cause of his coolness and insensibility to pain. Banda replied that it was the result of his divine knowledge and the assumption of true warrior-ship; that the faculty sensible of pleasure and pain was the mind, which he had thoroughly under this control; and that his realself, which was his soul, was quite distinct and separate from both the body *and mind and was also above feeling*. The Wazir then asked him why he, being *faqir* and a man of *unquestionable knowledge and abilities* had committed such outrageous offences that he had burnt the Muhammadans alive; that he had dug out and burnt the

bones of the dead; that he had slaughtered the Moslems without any regard to age and sex; that he never mounted his horse unless he had beheaded several Muhammadans, and that being merely a *faqir* he had distinguished between Hindus and Muhammadans. Banda replied that nothing happened without the orders of the Almighty. When the oppression of the Mussalmans upon the Hindus passed all bounds, the Great Avenger, as in all similar cases, raised an executioner for the punishment of their sins and to recompense the tyrant for his works. Thereon he was asked why, being in possession of so much divine knowledge and miraculous power, he was suffering in Muhammadan confinement. His reply was, that it was due to his own fault, because he had exceeded the powers given him by his great Guru Gobind Singh. Otherwise he was invincible. Then he was asked if he really possessed miraculous power, why did he not escape the hardship he was undergoing? Banda answered that he was competent to do so but that he was bound to suffer for his transgression of the Guru's orders, and that if he escaped punishment now, he would be compelled to take another birth for that purpose. Therefore it was incumbent upon him to suffer the recompence of his actions in the present life.

It is said that at the close of this conversation the Wazir interceded with the Emperor who ordered that Banda should be released provided he embraced Is'am. On receipt of this order Banda refused to carry it out and vehemently abused the Muhammadan religion. The Emperor was enraged and ordered the executioners to drag him to death tying him behind an elephant.* When he was considered to have died, his body, in the evening, was thrown on the banks of the Jamuna, as a prey for crows and wild beasts. However it is said that he managed through a certain mental process to outlive the torture and resuscitated himself.

* Different stories are told about the mode of his death but this seems to be the most reliable. However we are still making further investigation as to this and his resuscitation.

It is also stated that afterwards he was asked by certain Singhs to resume their leadership but owing to the gulf which had greatly widened between his own followers and members of Tat Khalsa, as well as other circumstancees, he declined to accede to their wishes. He retired to the Jammu territory and settled his family close to Bhabbar on the bank of the Chenab, in the Riasi Parganah of the Jammu State. Passing the remainder of his life as a peaceful ascetic, he died in Jeth Sambat 1798 (1741 A D.). His tomb now stands there, and some villages are attached for its maintenance.

Baba Banda had three wives of whom there were three sons, but only one of them survived him. His descendants are still alive and are in charge of his shrine

Banda Bahadur had an undaunted and bold spirit. He was not selected by Guru Gobind Singh as his successor, but as an avenging agent for chastising the tyrant and shaking the foundations of a tyrannical Government. Although maliciously and in cold-blooded atrocities he poured out the muhammadan blood, especially where tyranny, oppression or revenge were concerned, yet he was not indifferent to overtures of peace and abstinence from blood-shed, with the exception of Sarhind and a few other instances. He usually invited the chief, he intended to attack, to submit. It was only in those cases where submission was declined, that he, as naturally and reasonably could be expected, resorted, to the sword. There is not even a single instance suggested by Muhammadan or other writers of his being charged with perfidy or breach of promise. On the other hand, there are many instances, acknowledged by Moslem authors, when treachery and breach of faith were the rule of Imperial Officers and commanders. Moreover the Muhammadan masses were cruel and oppressive towards their Hindu neighbours. Under the circumstances if Banda worked havoc and ravage upon Muhammadans and wielded the sword of revenge against them as

a God-sent scourge, we cannot accuse him of cruelty and monstrosity as our Muhammadan brethren have done. The Muhammadans were suffering a just retribution of heaven at his hands and they were being taught that that was the way in which, in spite of sovereign power, the Almighty was sure to visit punishment upon the cruel and monstrous enemy of mankind acting in the name of religion.

At the same time it is quite true that Banda had exceeded the authority given him by the Guru, Gobind Singh, and he had transgressed and disregarded his commandments. He substituted for the form of social and religious salutation a form of his own; he changed the form and procedure of *Pahaul* initiation; tried to call himself the Eleventh Guru; and endeavoured to force his innovations upon the orthodox Singhs. He might have continued an invincible leader and a thorough and complete wrecker of the Mugal Empire, but for these transgressions and innovations which left him but a forlorn adventurer. He forfeited all sympathy of the true Singhs and, as he confessed, suffered, in his turn, a just punishment for the violation of his sacred promise to the Guru.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Tat Khalsa.

As soon as the Tat (True or orthodox) Khalsa separated themselves from Banda they were granted Jagir or handsome allowances for their maintenance as described in the preceding chapter. Some of them were employed in imperial service and some took to cultivation. However when Banda was dragged to death as has already been stated in the last Chapter the Muhammadan Officers directed their attention towards the persecution and extermination of the Tatv Khalsa. They created excuses to find fault with them as the basis for their action. The Jagir was confiscated and the promised salaries reduced to one-half of the

sanctioned rates. Thereon the majority resigned the service and found other means of earning subsistence. Some went to Rajputana in search of employment. When the Khalsa army thus scattered, the Governor of Lahore found a suitable opportunity to further weaken them by persecution. A proclamation was issued calling upon all persons to put in their claims for the property they had lost during the time of Banda. Numerous claims were preferred against Singhs and mock decrees were passed against them. Their property was seized and auctioned for nominal prices in payment of the decree. When their property could not liquidate the decree, debtor was thrown into a dungeon for the balance. Where the complainant charged a Singh with murder, the accused was to choose between death or conversion to Islam.

Immediately after the issue of the above proclamation, drastic and sweeping measures were adopted for the extermination of the Singhs. We think we cannot do better than reproduce what Sayad Muhammad Latif says.

“Abdul Samad Khan, having humiliated the Sikhs and caused the destruction of their leader Banda, now took vigorous steps to destroy their power and to extirpate the race. A royal edict was issued to put all who professed the religion of Nanak to the sword, and a money reward was offered for the head of every Sikh. The irritated Muhammadans gave them no quarter, and wherever a Sikh was found he was butchered unmercifully. In order to give full effect to the royal mandate Muhammadans and Hindus were strictly enjoined to clip their hair short. The Hindus were ordered to shave their heads, and any Hindu found with long beard or hair was immediately slain. These extreme measures of resentment and persecution spread terror and consternation through-

out the whole Sikh nation. Those who remained of them fled to the mountains to the north-east of the Punjab or concealed themselves in remote jungles. Many who could not abandon their homes changed their external appearance, had their beard and moustaches clipped, and gave up their outward form of worship.

Considering how the Singhs of that time were inflexibly firm in their faith, we cannot believe the correctness of the last sentence of the above quotation. However, it clearly indicates what treatment was dealt out to the Khalsa. When the news of this oppression reached the Singhs in Rajputana, they obtained permission of their employers to return to the Punjab. They fixed Malwa as their rendezvous and about 6,000 Singhs gathered there. They rushed like hungry lions upon the flock of sheep. They traversed the country from end to end, inflicted severe punishment on those who had preferred claims against Singhs or had in any way contributed towards their persecution. The property of the Singhs taken by Muhammadans in execution of decrees, was restored to the real owners. Jails were forced open and the Singhs released from confinement and those who were forcibly converted to Islam were re-united by the administration of the *pahaul* ceremony. The forms and modes in which the Singhs were persecuted were tried upon the Muhammadans with doubled and trebled harshness. Thus Muhammadans were humbled and made to kiss the dust. After the dethroning and imprisonment of Farrukhsiar, the two king-maker Sayad brothers, Abdullahi and Husain Ali, went on devising the aggrandisement of their own power and during the brief lives of the Emperor's successors anarchy and mismanagement prevailed in the Empire. The Viceroys and Governors, as is natural under the circumstances, were busy in considering their own future. The Governor of Lahore was especially engaged in chastising the Pathans of

Qasur and could not spare time to attend to the incursions of the Singhs. They pillaged the Muhammadan villages and dispensed retributive justice upon them with impunity. They performed pilgrimages to Amritsar fearlessly. They had forfeited this privilege some years ago, but now in Sambat 1782 (1725 A.D.) they proclaimed their intention of holding the Diwali fair. Bhai Mani Singh, who was a devoted follower of Guru Gobind Singh, and, since his death, was in service of his widow at Delhi, was deputed with 6 others to serve the Temple at Amritsar. The offerings of the fair amounted to Rs. 13,000 with a large quantity of grains. The Bandai Sikhs, at the time, were numerically more powerful than the orthodox Singhs and claimed the income as their preferential right. The Governor of Lahore had not, at the time, considered it advisable to interfere with the gathering, but devised a plan to widen the gulf between the two factions. He had deputed some well known and influential Hindu Chaudhris of Lahore to further his designs, and they instigated the parties to action. When the quarrel arose, the parties went from words to blows, but the opportune intervention of Bhai Mani Singh stopped them. He suggested that the income was the property of the Guru's widows and the claim to the possession of the temple could be settled by having recourse to the common usage among the Singhs. The chits were prepared. One contained "*Vaheguru ji ki fatih*" (Victory to the Lord) which was the formula of the Singh, and the other contained "*Dars ki Fatih*" (Victory to the faith) an innovation of Banda. A child was to drown them both below the surface of the water of the sacred tank of Amritsar at the place called "*Har ki pauri*" and the party whose chit came out over the surface was entitled to hold charge of the temple. The decision, thus arrived at, was in favour of the Singhs, and the majority of the Bandai Sikhs, who had but a shallow faith in the innovation introduced by Banda, embraced the faith of Guru Gobind

Singh and were initiated with *Khanda Pahaul*. The income from offerings which was the cause of the quarrel, was remitted to the Ladies at Delhi, keeping a part of it for the maintenance of the temple.

In Magh 1782 Sambat (1726 A.D.) the Governor of Lahore set a large army to hunt down all the Singhs in the Punjab. Several severe fights took place and the Singhs were compelled to give way before the overwhelming number of the imperial force. They took shelter in the hills or distant jungles and organising themselves in small groups continued their depredatory incursions on the Muhammadans and succeeded in laying waste numerous villages which did not, for many years, recover from the effect of their ravages. Thus the remedy devised by the Governor proved worse than the malady.

In Phagan Sambat 1782 (1726 A. D.) one Tara Singh of Dalvan, Parganah Patti in the Qasur Tehsil, was attacked by Mirza Jafar Beg, Faujdar, at the head of 500 Sowars. Tara Singh defended himself with 125 men and routed the Mirza with great slaughter. The Mirza was wounded. On this the Governor of Lahore despatched, two months later, Moman Khan faujdar, with 4,000 horse in Baisakh Sambat 1783 (April 1726 A. D.) Tara Singh encountered him with about 250 Singhs and was killed after performing wonderful feats of bravery and valour. Several other Singhs were killed. But the death showered upon the enemy was incredibly high. Moman Khan and several other leaders of note were killed. Their elephants were severely wounded with arrows and swords and after all panic ensued and the imperial force retired to Kambo Mari in disaster. The Singhs did not allow the invading army to carry off their dead until they had dispersed the next day, after performing funeral ceremonies of their own dead in the field.

Notwithstanding the fact that the imperial army was on its rounds to effect their extirpation the Singhs in Poh Sambat

1783 (January 1727 A. D.) plundered the royal treasury which was on its way from the Chawinda Tahsil to Lahore. They also at about the same time seized another treasury which was being conveyed from Qasur to Lahore. There were many more instances in which the Singhs displayed their undauntedness of spirit and an exemplary valour as well as contempt of the royal authority. The rebellion began to increase and the peasants could not carry on their agriculture pursuits properly. Whole tracts became desolate and the collection of government revenue became a question of no small difficulty. The former proclamation of the Singhs was renewed. Rewards were offered in Maghar Sambat 1784 (December 1727 A. D.) on the following scale.

Rs. 5 per Singh for help in effecting his capture.

Rs. 10 per Singh captured and presented before the authorities.

Rs. 20 per head of a singh severed from the trunk.

Several other high rewards and *jagirs* were offered for services in connection with the uprooting of the Khalsa. These offers turned all the Hindu and Muhammadan population into fatal enemies of the Singhs, who were compelled to bid farewell to their homes.

During such anarchy and convulsive state of affairs, the royal demand could neither be collected as usual nor transmitted to the imperial excheques at Delhi for three years together. In Sambat 1786 (1729 A. D.) an imperial order was issued to the Governor of Lahore to remit without further delay, all the arrears due to Delhi, and he was to pay a penalty of Rs. 5,000 per diem in default. Haibat Khan and Abdulla Khan Rohelas were, at the head of 2,000 Rohela soldiers, told off from Delhi to carry out the royal mandate. The Governor of Lahore was then in a great dilemma. He issued stringent orders for the collection of revenue, and the

revenue payers were dealt with great harshness but in vain. Their crops had been destroyed by the Singhs for several years past and their chattels plundered. They parted with what little they had and their male and female children were sold for about Rs. 10 each. But still the revenue collected formed an insignificant fraction of the total sum due. The Governor despatched under a strong escort whatever he could collect, with a little more he could manage, and conspiring with the Rohela Sardars he made show of a sum much larger than the real amount. At the same time he secretly put the Singhs on the scent of their prey in order to escape his own ignominy and to excite the Emperor to action against the Singhs. The Singhs attacked and plundered the Treasury at Sarai Nur-ud-din near Tarn Taran. On receipt of these accounts at Delhi with a lengthy and detailed report of the Governor of Lahore, his Imperial Majesty, in Sambat 1787 (1730 A.D.) sent a strong force of 20,000 under *faujdar*s like Safdar Khan and Jafar Khan. The Governors of Lahore and Jalandhar were directed to join all their forces with the Delhi army.

It is stated that the Governor of Lahore was now very much afraid. He thought that, notwithstanding all his strenuous efforts, the Singhs had escaped destruction, and that if the Delhi army succeeded in their extinction, he would be disgraced for ever. To all appearances, therefore, he co-operated with the Delhi army but surreptitiously encouraged the Singhs. All the combined forces could do nothing, but suffered a heavy loss at the hands of the Singhs who began to encounter and worry the imperial forces in the vicinity of Sarhind. The imperialists came to Lahore in a shattered condition. The Delhi army was convinced of the futility of the campaign, but, at the same time, the Governor of Lahore thought of his own future troubles on account of the success gained by the Singhs over the imperial army. He therefore proposed to utilize the Delhi force for their destruction

and to gain credit for his own capability as well. The whole army was formed into various divisions and employed in different directions. The jungles affording shelter to the Singhs were blockaded and set on fire. The Singhs were either killed or scattered in foreign countries and the Panjab, for the time being, was thoroughly evacuated and abandoned by the Singhs even to a man.

Next year when the imperialists went back to Dehli the Singhs came out of their abodes and began to infest the Panjab. They wreaked their vengeance upon the Muhammadans with a still greater ferocity and the country began to echo with their hard and harsh behaviour. All leading zamindars, artisans and menials simultaneously approached the Governor of Lahore with their bitter complaint and expressed their readiness for a holy war. Their request was granted and a strong army under Bakhshi Inayat Ulla marched against the Singhs. The people of the Province of all descriptions and classes flocked under the sacerdotal standard and were supplied with arms and military stores from the royal magazine

About 25,000 Singhs collected in the Chhamb (lake) of Kanuwan which was surrounded by a dense jungle. The enemy invested and blockaded it. The besieged lived on spontaneous vegetation or wild animals, and at times committed heavy slaughter among the besiegers by sharp sorties. This continued for about a month, when the jungle was set on fire to compel the Singhs to leave it. At that time the besieged formed into various groups and then steered through the enemy with a thunderlike speed bestowing a heavy slaughter on the besiegers. After that they continued nocturnal attacks which greatly diminished the numbers of the enemy who thought it prudent to retire with a show of triumph on routing a small detachment near Bharthgarh. On their way back to Lahore, proud of their success, they halted for some days at Bhilowal, about 20 miles from Lahore, and began

st and carouse. On an early morning in Assu Sambat (October 1731 A. D.) the Singhs, after a long march, sed the camp and butchered the enemy as if they were k of sheep marked out for sacrifice. They all fled in ent directions leaving many Muhammadans and Hindus of ind repute dead in the camp. The Singhs became masters : camp, and retreated to the jungles of Sandal Bar with an use capture of baggage and war materials

On the occurrence of this catastrophe, the Governor of re became hopeless, and confessed that the progress of the a could, in no way, be checked. He submitted in Sambat 1789 : A. D.) a long report to the emperor, Muhammad Shah, ig out all the grounds for and against the rebellion of the is, and clearly indicated that their subjugation or annihi- n was a prblem of no small difficulty and next to impossible, they had grown foreign to submission and that the killing ne was sure to cause a multiplication like the shoots of a p. He concluded with the remark that if their predatory pation continued unchecked, they could be anticipated to ck Dehli, when it would be extremely difficult to repulse n. Therefore he suggested that they shou'd be reconciled and ified as was done by his ancestor, Farrukhsiar. On receipt this report the Emperor ordered the *bhands* (Mimics) to ibit a play in regard to the Singhs, so that he might be e to know something of their manners and character. When play was going on, all the spectators were filled with amazement and the Emperor declared that they were really sed by the Almighty from among the birds to swallow up : eagles. Then he proposed an annual jagir of Rs. 100,000 l sent a title of Nawab, with a precious robe of state for : Singhs on the condition that they should cease their preda- ry occupation. The Governor of Lahore sent the imperial andate to the Singhs at Amritsar in Baisakh Sambat 1709

(April 1733 A. D.) through Sabeg Singh. When they were holding their diwan, Sabeg Singh placed the robe of honour along with the royal orders before their leaders. They refused to accept anything granted by the Emperor, with the remark that they were not going to give up the independent empire promised them by their Guru, by submitting to the Mugal Empire. A messenger politely argued with them that the present offer was accepted by them as betrothal presents of the Emperor's daughter (meaning the Indian empire) and impressed upon them the inadvisability of their return. Then voices of acceptance were heard from the assembly, but no one would accept the offer for himself, and it was, contemptuously thrown from one to another as if it were a ball hit by polo-players. Thereon Sabeg Singh submitted that if none of the leaders was disposed to receive it, it might be given to some one of their servants. Kapur Singh of Faizullapur, who was then working the hand-pankha in the diwan, and all unanimously dressed him with the imperial robe and proclaimed him Nawab. From that time they abandoned their former abode and took up their permanent residence at Amritsar. The Perganahs of Dipalpur, Kanganwal and Jhabal in the Punjab managed to live upon their income. Next year Sawan Sambat 1791 (August 1734 A. D.) a slight quarrel arose between the Singhs and the elders. Owing to their growth, they considered it difficult for the whole number to live together and subsist upon the income of the Jagir. It was voted that the Singhs should be divided into two Taru Dal (young army) and Budha Dal (veteran army). The former was divided into five groups or Jathas as under:

1. *Shahids* (martyrs) the leaders of which were Bhai Singh, Natha Singh, Gurbaksh Singh, and others like.
2. Amritsaris headed by Prem Singh and Dhillon Khattris of Amritsar.

3. Dallewalias led by Dasaunda Singh, Gil, Fatih Singh of Bhagtu, Karam Singh and Dyal Singh Khattris of Dallewala.
4. Baba Kahn Singh's, headed by Bawa Kahn Singh, Miri Singh, Bhalla, Hari Singh, Dhillon, Bagh Singh, Ahluwalia of Hallowal.
5. Ramdasias, whose leaders were Bir Singh, Jiwan Singh, Madan Singh, Amar Singh and other Ramdasias or Mazhabi Singhs.

The Budha Dal contained many old Sardars like Nawab Kapur Singh, Jassa Singh, and Thiraj Singh

The Budha Dal chiefly stuck to Amritsar, but many of both Dals took to cultivation, and the remaining members of the Taru Dal finding the Jagir income insufficient for their maintenance, travelled towards Rajputana in search of employment or other means of livelihood. Thus the Khalsa army was scattered and the garrison, at their headquarters, Amritsar, was extremely weakened. The Governor of Lahore found it a very favourable time to break faith and destroy the sect. He began to manufacture excuses, especially on the ground that the Singhs, who had emigrated towards Rajputana, had plundered certain villages with a view to collect supplies, on their way. The Governor intimated to the Nawab his intention of confiscating the Jagir, and offered the Singhs government service or agriculture. In the latter case he offered them remission of land revenue. But the Nawab very wisely understood the bait laid for them, and replied in plain words that Singhs were not prepared to enter into the imperials service, and that the forfeiture of Jagir was sure to rouse them again to their old and forgone occupation with serious results. But the Governor did not care about the answer, and considering their weakened state, issued orders for the confiscation of the Jagir in Sambat 1792 (1735 A. D.). Thus a new era was opened for the Singhs. They burned with rage at the

breach of the Muhammadan faith and carried fire and sword throughout the country. Thereon the Governor was obliged to despatch 10,000 horse and foot under Mukhlas Khan, his own nephew, and Diwan Lakhpat Rai. At the same time he renewed the proclamation of rewards for the capture and life of Singhs, which had, for the past few years, been suspended.

As has already been stated, the Taru Dal, at the time was in the direction of Rajputana, whereas only those members of the Budha Dal were at Amritsar who had not returned home for agriculture. As the Hindus and Muhammadans, who had worked against the Singhs, on the issue of the previous proclamations, were subsequently ferreted out and chastised by the Singhs, therefore now they did not dare to go against them, but the imperial army harassed the Budha Dal for about four months. Many fights took place, but the most important occurred in Maghar Sambat 1793, (December 1736 A. D.) near Chuhnian in which both sides lost great deal, especially the royal army, which lost its leader Mukhlas Khan and many others of name and note. After that all the imperialists were tired of the pursuit and returned to Lahore.

When the Taru Dal got news of the persecution practised upon the Budha Dal, they hastened back to join them and crossing the Satluj, they plundered the country of the Manj Rajputs which contained several rich and wealthy villages like Nakodar, Bilga, Nur Mahl, Dusanjha Momari and so forth. After that they ravaged some wealthy Parganahs like Dhak, Danna and Kaandhi and directed their course towards Amritsar.

The Budha Dal went to Barnala and thence returned to Amritsar carrying on pillage and plunder through Malerkotla, Pail, Sarhind, Majha and Doaba. When they reached Basarke, in the vicinity of Amritsar, they were encountered by 7,000 men under Lakhpat Rai, who was deputed by the Governor of Lahore to restrain them from entering the sacred town. A heavy battle

ensued and resulted in the retreat of the Budha Dal who pursued by the imperial army up to the village of Khan. However, when the imperial force was returning towards Lahore they were surprised by the Taru Dal and routed with a tremendous slaughter. Many imperial leaders fell to the sword, and the Singhs came into possession of immense military stores. After the two Dals joined together and roamed like lions through the Parganahs of Gurdaspur, Kalanaur, Pasrur, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Kunjah, Aligarh &c.

On reference, the Governor of Lahore was, at this time, advised by the Maulvis, Qazis and astronomers that the means of checking the progress of the Singhs, were to prevent them from bathing and drinking the water of life in the tank at Amritsar. Kazi Ahdul Rahman and Muhammad were, at the head of 2,000 horse and foot, sent to Amritsar to guard the holy reservoir and prevent the Singhs from approaching it. Notwithstanding all the precautions, the Singhs continued to bathe in it in disguise, and there are recorded many instances of gallantry in which detection and pursuit were defied.

Bhai Mani Singh was a commentator, and had been in service of Guru Gobind Singh. As has already been said, he was deputed by the widows of the Guru to manage the tank at Amritsar. He was sent for the Governor at Lahore, who asked to embrace Islam or suffer the torture of being broken in pieces alive. He preferred the latter, and in Magh Sar (December 1738 A.D.) all the joints of his body were being cut, beginning with the joints of his forefingers. The Bhai, notwithstanding this suffering very quietly and calmly, chanting holy hymns to the last. The spectators were shocked at this cruelty. Many of them even are said to have applauded his valour and nobility, and most of them wept bitterly.

When they heard of it they were exasperated with the fire

The Qazi Abdul Razaq who had captured the Bhai, was leath, and his whole family living at Aligarh was destroyed. me of the town was changed to Akalgarh (*i e* the fortress : Lord). The Qazi who had pronounned judgment the Bhai, was captured at Mazang, near Lahore and to pieces. His family was annihilated and his property ed.

Individual courage and bravery have left many instances ord. One of them relates to the sacred temple at Amritsar. Massa, a Ranghar, began to defile and poluite the temple cusing and conmitting detauchery there. Two Singhs who hen at Bikaner in Rajputana volunteered to murder him. arrived at Anritsar at noon, when the Ranghar grandee was sing a dance in the Harmaider. The Singhs effected their and slaying the grandee, the dancing girl and nany others, arried Massa's head to their leader at Bikaner.

This and similar instances created a great turmoil in the ry. and the Governor of Lahore issued stringent orders for discriminate murder of the Singhs. The Hindu Chaudhais illage Lambardars were bound, under heavy penalties, to see no member of the Khalsa was harboured anywhere. No was left unturred to search and find out their children and en, and all who fell into their hands were unmercelfully put ie sword. And it is stated that no Sirgh was left alive in the ia tract except a few pregnant women who concealed them- s in the hills or distant and dense jurgles. The mere idea e oppression practised then on the innocent, nakes us shudder is remote period.

At the time of which we are now speaking, Nadir Shah, King of Persia, invaded India in November 1738 A. D. and possession of Lahore, which he left for Delhi in Poh 1795 bat (29th December 1738 A. D.) He proceeded towards ii, and defeating the Emperor at Karnal in February 1739

A D he entered Delhi in March and subjected in to general massacre and plunder for some days. After a halt there for 58 days he returned to Kabul which he reached on 20th November 1739 His invasion had caused a general commotion and the province was thrown into great confusion. As soon as he crossed the Indus in November he commanded his army to ravage and devastate the country, using freely both fire and sword everywhere. The consentrnation and desolation thus caused soon spread ever the whole of the Panjab, nay the whole of India. The whole country became terror stricken and the brutalities committed by him became the table talk of all circles.

The inhabitants of the Punjab were conveying their property to the hills for concealment and protection. Finding this unrest, the Singhs availed themselves of it. They came out of their distant and hidden abodes and began to infest the country, wreaking their vengeance upon those who had in any way directly or indirectly, helped in their own or their relations' persecution or destruction. No Muhammadan village on their way escaped devastation. Muhammadans were plundered and put to the sword. They openly visited the holy tank at Amritsar and held councils there. Their numbers daily increased. In addition to those returning from the hills, numerous others joined their standard for the sake of rapine and pluder. Singh horsemen were seen riding at full gallop towards the sacred shrine at Amritsar, the pilgrimage to which had been forbidden during the several years past, and they used to perform it in secret or in disguise. They enjoyed such impunity that it much troubled. Nawab Zakaria Khan, *alias* Khan Bahadur, the Governor of Lahore. He was now in great perplexity, and sent a message to Nawab Kapur Singh for help and to make a common enemy of a foreign invader, Nadir Shah, but the reply was not favourable to him.

When on his return from Delhi, Nadir Shah passed through the Punjab, the Singhs in small parties molested his army very

much. A great deal of the spoil he was taking from Dehli, was plundered by the Singhs between Kurakhehetra and the Indus. The rear of his army, which was laden with booty, was greatly injured and despoiled. He despatched several detachments after the Singhs with no success. He was very much annoyed and on arrival at Lahore was displeased with the Governor, and angrily asked him what sort of people the Singhs were, and enquired about their country, residence and strongholds in order to destroy them. The Governor's reply was that their home was the jungle, their dwelling house, the back of their horses and then giving prominent points of their religion, their manner and mode of living he explained what measures had been adopted to annihilate the sect. Nadir Shah wondered at it, and is said to have remarked, that if the details given were true, the Singhs were invincible and ineradicable and were sure to gain ascendancy in the country.

When Nadir Shah had gone away, the Governor of Lahore asked the Singhs for one-half of what they had plundered from the spoils of Nadir Shah. The reply of the stern Singhs was that he wanted to get a piece of meat out of the jaws of a lion, which was impossible. Thereupon their persecution commenced again and thousands were mercilessly slain. A proclamation was issued for a general massacre of all the Singhs, wherever they could be found. The persecution and extermination were violently carried on. It was at the same time that one Bhai Taru Singh, a zamindar of Pula in the Parganah of Amritsar, obtained the crown of martyrdom. He was offered his life on condition of renouncing his faith and embracing Islam. He declined, and the hairs of his scalp were scratched out by a cobbler's saddle (*ranbi*) and he breathed his last on 23rd Assu Sambat 1803 (October 1746 A. D.).

There are many more similar instances of oppression and we abstain from entering into their details because they would

lengthen our work.

Nadir Shah was, on 8th June 1747, assassinated at Fatahbad, in Persia. Ahmad Shah Abdali was crowned king of Kandhar in 1747 A. D. He had changed the name of his tribe from Abdali to Durrani, by which name it has ever since been known. Having reduced Kabul and Peshawar in 1747 A. D. he rapidly crossed the Indus and laid the Punjab under contribution the same year. The Durrani then advanced to Dehli in March 1748 A. D. and gave battle to the Imperial army which had advanced to encounter him near Sarhind. He made use there of Indian rockets which he had carried from the arsenal at Lahore. The Afgans were ignorant of their use and worked them in such a way that they caused the greatest injury among their own people. During the confusion the imperial troops dashed to the attack and routed the invaders disastrously, who hurried back and recrossed the Indus in confusion and dismay.

During this turmoil the Singhs swarmed into the Punjab and harassed the Durrani's rear. They renewed their campaign of vengeance throughout the province against both the Hindus and Muhammadans who had recently acted as informers or abettors in the capture and slaughter of their relations.

On the Bai-akhi fair in 1748 (A. D.) Sambat 1805, some parties of Sikhs visited the shrine called Rori Sahib at Ennabad in the Gujranwala District. Jaspat Rai, Khatri, resident of that place and brother of Diwan Lakhpai Rai, the prime minister of Governor of Lahore, and lately been acting very cruelly against the Singhs. When he heard of their arrival at the shrine, he menaced the Singhs and fell upon them with his men. He was killed in the contest, and the town, especially his house, was ransacked by the Singhs. When the news of this reached Lahore, Lakhaat Rai vowed to exterminate the Singhs, declaring that a Khatri was their founder, and a Khatri would also become their extinguisher. The Viceroy sent a large force against them under

Lakhpat Rai. He is in the first instance, traced out and despatched all the Singhs to a man in the town of Lahore. At the same time he proclaimed that all writings, bearing on the Sikh religion, should be discovered and destroyed. The sacred reservoir at Amritsar was filled up with earth. A proclamation for a general massacre of the whole race and sect of Singhs was issued, "Death was" says Sayad Muhammad Latif, "to be the punishment of all persons who invoked the name of Guru Govind and a reward was offered for the heads of Sikhs. Thousands were put to the death daily and their heads brought before the Subadar of Lahore for the rewards." To the imperial force he added contributions from the Jagirdars, Zamindars and other leading members of all classes and professions. Thus the whole army numbered several lakhs, whereas the whole strength of the Singhs formed an infinitesimal part of such a number. There were at the time about 15,000 Singhs in the Chhambh (lake) of Kahnawan which contained a vast and dense jungle. Lakhpat Rai invested and blockaded them, cutting off all their communication with the country abroad. The blockade continued for three months and the Singhs had no provisions but the wild vegetation and wild animals. They inflicted a heavy loss on the besiegers by their daring night attacks, but when their ammunition and other war materials were exhausted, they after a council of war, rushed upon the enemy with swords drawn and cut through the enemy towards the hills. On arriving at Pathankot, they found that the hill-passes were all blocked by the Hill Rajas under orders of the Governor of Lahore, so that the Singhs might not be able to enter the hills. They found themselves in great difficulty. They had had no food for many days, thirst was overpowering them, and the heat of a June day was scorching them. Their front and a flank were occupied by the hill rajas. The other flank was occupied by the river Bias which was in flood, and their rear was pressed by the

the enemy. Some Singhs thrust their horses into the river, but failed to cross it. Thereon Nawab Kapur Singh and Sardar Jassa Singh encouraged them to try a hand to hand fight. The whole army of the Singhs rushed with such vehemence and velocity that the enemy fell into confusion and thousands were butchered. Harbhaj Rai, nephew of Lakhpat Rai, Nahar Khan, Karm Bakhsh and many other *faujdar*s and men of note and repute fell to the sword. The Singhs encamped at a place about 10 miles from the scene of blood shed which was termed "Chhota Ghallu Ghara "

The enemy had severely suffered from fatigue, and the loss sustained in killed and wounded was telling very hard upon them. At the same time they knew full well how the Singhs had suffered and considered them to have fled away, never to be seen again. However at about midnight they were surprised, and before they could prepare to encounter, the sword of the Singhs had despatched and sucked the blood of many thousands of the enemy and then, with a large quantity of stores of war and horses, the victors eluded all pursuit and directed their course towards Malwa.

It will be interesting for our readers to note here, that subsequently this very Lakhpat Rai became Governor of Lahore, but was ultimately imprisoned and handed over to the Singhs to be chastised as they thought fit.

After the end of Lakhpat Rai's campaign, the Singhs recovered from the effects of the war, and their wounds healed in about four months. They again became troublesome in the Panjab and increased much in their numbers. They built a fort in the vicinity of Amritsar, called Ramgarh. It was fully stored with provisions and war materials. The confederacies of the Singhs at the time were seen roving and ravaging the country in all directions and devastating even the suburbs of Lahore. Mir Mannu, who was then Governor of Lahore, stationed detachments of troops in different parts of the country for chastising the Singhs. The Hill Rajas got strict orders to seize and send the Singhs in

irons to Lahore. "These orders were obeyed," says Muhammad Latif, "and hundreds of Sikhs were brought daily to Lahore and butchered at Nakhas or Shahidganj, outside the Delhi Gate in sight of multitudes of spectators. The young Mannu became an irreconcilable foe of the Sikhs, and was determined to extirpate the nation." The sent a strong force to storm Ramgarh. The siege was continued for about two months, and before the fort could be reduced Ahmad Shah visited the Panjab again and his invasion became a matter of all absorbing interest. Therefore Mir Mannu concluded peace with the Sikhs.

The Durrani King of Kabul now returned at the head of a considerable army and began to ravage and devastate the country. The Governor of Lahore repeatedly asked the distracted Court at Delhi for reinforcements, with no success. He found himself unable to encounter the invader and prudently arranged for terms of peace, upon which the Durrani Shah went back to Kandhar.

The Emperor praised Mir Mannu for his success in averting the storm, but it raised a great many enemies against him in the Court of Delhi. The courtiers contrived to throw him into disfavour and appointed one Shah Nawaz Khan as Governor of Multan. Mir Mannu keenly felt this disgrace and despatch his Diwan (prime minister) Kauri Mal to oust him from Multan. Kauri Mal courted the help of the Sikhs and attacked Multan and after a siege of months succeeded in occupying it. In recognition of this service the Viceroy of Lahore, Mir Mannu, conferred on Kauri Mal the title of Raja, and made him Governor of Multan. Kauri Mal gratefully acknowledged the service of the Sikhs and paid them Rs. 11,000 for cleaning the sacred tank at Amritsar which had been filled up under the orders of Lakpat Rai. The tank was cleared and filled with well-water. At the same time Mir Mannu, on the recommendation of Kauri Mal, released the two Praganahs of Chulni and Jhabal in favour of the Sikhs.

When Mir Mannu found his power increased, he baffled the authority of the Dehli Emperor and withdrew from the allegiance of the Abdali. Therefore the king of the Kabul marched upon the Punjab and Mir Mannu after boldly defending himself for a long time, submitted in April 1753, and was reinstated as his viceroy of the Panjab.

The war, which had been going on with strangers in the heart of the province for about two years, had necessarily weakened the administration, and the Singhs extended their depredations in all directions and ravaged the country a great deal. For some time they confined their incursions within certain bounds at the request of Kaura Mal, but since he died they had resumed their old raiding propensities. Mir Mannu was annoyed, and he was excited by the enemies of the Singhs, to persecute them. The army he sent against them was completely routed. Thereupon he marched upon them in person. Thousands were mercilessly put to the sword without regard to age or sex. That campaign of annihilation came to an end with the death of Mir Mannu through a fall from his horse in 1755 A.D. and his army was routed by the Singhs.

On his death, his widow Murad Begum, proclaimed her son of about 3 years old as Viceroy under her own guardianship. The Emperor of Delhi and the king of Kabul ratified her action. Shortly after the child died of smallpox, and she proclaimed herself as Viceroy of the Punjab. The Courts of Dehli and Kabul confirmed her as such. Later on she was treacherously seized and carried to Delhi as a state prisoner, and no sooner did Abdali hear of it than he came to the Panjab in Sambat 1813 (1756 A.D.) On his arrival Adina Beg, who was placed by the Dehli Court in Charge of the province, fled and sought protection under the Hill Rajas. The Abdali halted at Lahore for about a month in order to chastise the Singhs, but without doing anything in that respect he hastened towards Delhi, which city he entered without opposition. He halted there for about two months and then taking as much as he could extract from that town, he plundered Balabgarh

Mathra and Agra. After committing a great many atrocities he returned to Kandhar in 1757 A.D. The Punjab and Sindh were annexed to Kabul and Prince Taimur Shah, the son of Abdali, was appointed Vicegerent.

While on his way back to Lahore from Delhi, the Singhs plundered the baggage of the king of Kabul and molested him much. He was much exasperated, and threatened to punish them, but as his presence in Turkistan was urgently needed, he ordered the Prince to chastise them.

Adina Beg Khan, who had on arrival of the Abdali at Lahore, fled towards the hills, now appeared on the scene, and establishing himself in the Jalandhar Doab, began to enlist Singhs in his service. Taimur Shah had, to some extent, succeeded in dispersing the armed bands of the Singhs, but now they began to gather in multitudes. Taimur Shah, finding that Adina Beg was withdrawing from his allegiance, sent a strong force to oust him from the Jalandhar Doab. He collected his Singh troops and encountered the Lahore army. The latter were signally defeated and returned to Lahore.

Shortly after, a large army was again sent to subdue Adina Beg, but hearing of it he fled to the hills. Then the young prince directed his attention towards the Singhs. Their fort, Ramgarh, at Amritsar, was stormed and razed to the ground. The holy reservoir there was filled up, and places of worship were defiled. When the Khalsa wandering in the country heard of these outrages they hastened to their central place and furiously ravaged the whole country round Lahore. The Pathans came out against them, and succeeded in dispersing them in the first instance, but afterwards they were worsted in a great many engagements. "In a desperate engagement" says Muhammad Latif, "which took place between the Pathans and the Sikhs the latter fired a volley, every bullet of which took effect. A great number of Pathans fell, and the rest fled. The Sikhs kept up the

fire with great vigour." The Pathans had an incredibly high mortality and were completely routed. This was the first decisive victory on record achieved by the Singhs over the Pathans.

There were many more battles and skirmishes between the authorities and Singhs, but for want of space we notice only one. Considering Kartarpur as a sacred place of the Singhs Nasir Ali Khan, *Faujdar* attacked it with a large army. Sodhi Badbhag Singh the chief of that place, being unable to resist fled towards the hills. The Muhammadans then committed atrocious excesses upon the Hiddus who were compelled to embrace Islam. The holy place of the Singhs were defiled with the blood of kine. When the Singhs heard of it, they inflicted a signal defeat upon Nasir Ali Khan and retaliated upon the Muhammadans with great vigour. Mosques were levelled to the ground or contaminated with the blood of swine, and Pathan Mugal and Sayad women were initiated with the *khanda pahaul* and taken in marriage by the Singhs.

In Chet Sambat 1813 (March 1757 A. D.) Adina Beg recovered possession of the Jalandhar Doab with the help of the Singhs. In remuneration of those services he paid them Rs. 20,000 with Rs 5,000 for *Karah Parshad* (sweetmeat). Besides he gave them ample ammunition. It was at the same time that Sodhi Balbhag Singh, was restored to his estate at Kartarpur with a Jagh granted by Adina Beg.

The Singh had at this time practically taken possession of Lahore after a hard fight, and Adina Beg apparently suspected their faith and invited the Marhattas to take possession of the Panjab on certain conditions. They besieged Sarhind which was occupied by the Durani General Abdul Samad Khan. The Marhattas were joined by the Singhs in the service of Adina Beg and others whom the desire of plunder attracted thither. They showed great gallantry and it was they who in the first instance,

at a great personal sacrifice, jumped over the walls of the fort, and putting the garrison to the sword opened the gate for the entry of the Marhattas. The town was subjected by the Singhs to general pillage. The Marhattas became jealous of the Singhs and claimed the whole spoil as their own. Before any quarrel took place, the Singhs made off with their prize and the Marhattas, having witnessed their gallantry, did not like to challenge their action.

After the fall of Sarhind the Marhattas easily became masters of the whole Punjab and Durrani retired across the Indus, leaving their property and treasures in the hands of the invaders. Adina Beg was installed in the office of the Viceroy of the Punjab, but he died at the end of 1758 A. D. During his time he went on amusing the Singhs and they were kept in check. On his death they renewed their depredations and began to overrun the country and subjected the Muhammadans to the greatest hardships and severities.

Early in 1759 A. D. they gained a complete and decisive victory over Bishambar Mal, the minister of Adina Beg, at Urmal Tanda as he had threatened them with extermination and had also taken and sent some Singhs as prisoners to Lahore. The minister was killed and the Singhs, for the first time, took possession and became independent masters of tracts called Majha and Doaba. The Khalsa had by this time been separated into different *mis's* or confederacies and the dominions now conquered were divided among the various Chiefs as follows:—

The Ramgarhias took the Parganahs bordering on the Bias, namely, Hargobindpur, Batala and Mukerian.

The Ghanias were allotted the Parganahs of Ajnala, Sohian, Nag, Gurda-pur, Dehra, Baba Nanak, Kalanaur, Pathankot and Sujapur.

The Bhangis were given the Parganahs of Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Gujrat, Wazirabad, Sialkot and Chiniot.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia got the Pargana's of Nur Mahl, Talvandi, Phagwara, Kane Dhillon, and Hariana

The Nakai Sardars got the Pargana's of Chunian, Bahrwal, Khem Karn, Khudian, &c.

The Singhpurias had to their share the Pargana's, of Jalandhar, Haibatpur, Patti &c.

The Dallewalias were given possession of the Pargana's of Nakodar, Talban, Budala, Rahon, Phillaur, &c.

The Karoris became masters of the Pargana's of Nawan Shahr, Rurka, Bassian, Pindorian, Hushiarpur, Bhunga, Kathgarh.

The Sikharlakias mastered the Pargana's of Gujranwala, Kunjah, &c.

When the news of the successes of the Singhs and of the Marhattas as well as of the expulsion of the Prince and his general from the Panjab reached him, Ahmad Shah Abdali, at the head of a large army, marched towards the Panjab and crossed the Indus in the winter of 1759 A.D. The Marhattas evacuated the Panjab with serious loss and fell back upon Delhi. Abdali entered Lahore in September 1759 A.D. On his arrival, the Singhs retired to the hills or other places of security without encountering him. Abdali proceeded towards Delhi. The Marhattas collected a large army at Panipat and on 7th January 1761, sustained a severe discomfiture in which the destruction of their power was so complete that they never recovered from its effects.

After this decisive victory over the Marhattas, Ahmad Shah returned to the Panjab. On his march he was greatly troubled by the Singhs attacking his baggage. He had brought about 22,000 captives, Hindu males and females. When they were crossing the Biasa river, Sardar Jassa Singh, Ahluwalia, with some other Sardars fell upon them, routed their guards, and releasing the

capitives sent them to their homes. He was therefore termed 'Bandichhor' or 'The Liberator'.

During the absence of Ahmad Shah at Panipat the Panjab swarmed with the Singhs and they took possession of their respective dependencies.

The Governor of Lahore had been called by the Abdali to Panipat and there was no one to oppose the Singhs in the Panjab. They gathered round the outskirts of Lahore and surrounded the town on all sides. The Lieutenant-Governor (Naib-Subadar) Amir Muhammad Khan, shut himself up in the City and the Singhs withdrew on his paying them Rs 30 000 for *karah parshad* (an auspicious mixture of *ghi*, refined sugar and flour in equal quantities).

On his return from Panipat Ahmad Shah could not take any steps to chastise the Singhs or manage the affairs of the Panjab, but returned to Kabul in the spring of 1761 A. D. and was greatly harassed by the Singhs on his way up to Jhelam.

The Singhs extended their depredations into the heart of Rajputana with varying success and the provinces of Sarhind and Panjab from Attak to the banks of the Jamna were subjected to severe pillage and plunder. They re-occupied their own former possessions and killed Hassan Ali Khan, Faujdar, at Kalanaur, in a desperate fight. He used to coerce Hindus to conversion and in retaliation of that oppression, they converted to Khalsaism many women of the Sayad sect of Muhammadans and gave them in marriage to Singhs.

In order to chastise the Singhs for their audacity Ahmad Shah, Abdali, despatched in the beginning of 1862 A. D. his general Nur-ud-din Khan, with 7,000 horse. The Governor of Lahore was directed to render him all possible assistance. Before the Kabuli general could joint with the Lahore Lahore army, he was encountered by Sardar Charat Singh and

other Sardars on the left bank of the Chenab. He was thoroughly beaten and compelled to seek refuge in the fort of Sialkot. He was hotly pursued and fled to Jammu.

Shortly after this, the Durrani Governor of Lahore marched with all his forces to reduce a fortress at Gujranwala which was built by Sardar Charat Singh in 1760 A.D. The Singhs gathered from all quarters and made a common cause of it. The fortress was be-iged for about a fortnight and all communications were cut. The Afgan camp was surprised one night and the Governor fled to Lahore, leaving four guns and an immense quantity of war materials for the Singhs.

After the discomfiture of his general Nur-ud-din, the Abduli sent his general Jahan Khan at the head of a strong body of troops. The Singhs went to Malwa, or retired to fortresses or retreats in the jungles. The general encamping at Amritsar began to fill up the holy tank and profane the sacred temple. These sacrileges excited the Singhs and incited them to attack the enemy. Shahid Dip Singh, and Shahid Natha Singh, with some others marched against him. He gave them battle at Gahalwar about 7 miles from Amritsar. The Singhs bound themselves with a vow to die or conquer, but never to retire. The enemy were vanquished and pursued with great slaughter to the town of Amritsar, which they were compelled to evacuate after great bloodshed.

A fortnight after that Jahan Khan, at the head of a large and fresh army from Lahore, again marched upon Amritsar, but was in a sanguinary battle repulsed with a heavy loss and pursued up to the walls of Lahore. The Singhs cleared the sacred tank and repaired and fortified Ramgarh. War materials were collected and stored in the fort. The Singhs were now gaining a firm footing and an established power. They left off much of their depredatory and raiding habits and began to watch keenly the interests and safety of the Hindus. Whenever Hindus were oppressed or tyrannised over by any Muhammadan, they lodged their comp-

lants before the Singhs at Amritsar. Redress was speedily granted and the oppressor severely chastised with forfeiture of life and property. The Pathans of Qasur suffered punishment for their excesses upon the Hindus. There are many instances to prove that the Singhs at the period had assumed an arbitrary importance and were regarded by Muhammadan leaders and petty chiefs with awe and horror. The Muhammadans let their Hindu neighbours alone to live a peaceful life, ceasing the heart-rending atrocities upon them.

In October 1761 A. D. Sardar Jassa Singh, Ramgarhia, attacked and occupied Lahore, driving the Durrani general out of it. The Governor shut himself up in the fort. At about the same time Sarhind was attacked and a good deal of its territory was taken by the Singhs.

About that period Jandiala, at about 10 miles from Amritsar was attacked. The Mahant of the shrine of Hindal was a deadly enemy of the Singhs. Although the founder of the institution, Hindal, was a servant and follower of the Sikh Gurus. Bidhi Chand his successor became hostile to Singhs and spoiled the biography of Guru Nanak in order to cover his own shameful career and weakness. Akil Das, the head of the shrine, acted horribly against the Singhs at the time. He had been very instrumental in the destruction of hundreds of innocent Singhs, and now, professing his submission to the Durrani king, was very active in plotting against the interests of the Singhs. For these services to the Lahore Government he was granted a considerable dominion with an annual revenue of about two Lakhs. The Singhs besieged his fortress and he defended it boldly. The siege was continued for two months and the Mahant had written to several neighbouring governors for help. At the same time he sent a long complaint to Ahmad Shah, Abdali, at Kabul.

When this and other reports relating to the disastrous condition of the Punjab reached him, the Abdali at the head of a

large army came by forced marches and crossed the Indus in November 1762 A. D. When he reached Lahore the fort at Jandiala was still under siege, but as soon as the Singhs heard of his arrival, they broke up their camp and fled towards Sarhind in order to assist others who were engaged in the war with the Governor of that province. Sarhind must have been taken by the Singhs but for the opportune arrival of the Abdali.

On his arrival at Lahore the Abdali issued orders to the Mussalman Jagirdars and Chiefs of Baroch, Malerkotla and other Military Stations to join the Governor of Sarhind, with their respective contingents. At the same time he despatched a small detachment in order to, beguile the Singhs, as they were sure to disperse on the sight of a large army. Therefore they were engaged in manoeuvres and slight skirmishes and convinced that the Abdali had abandoned the idea of prosecuting the war in person. Shah completed all his plans for surprising the Singhs, and sallying forth with the utmost precaution secrecy and rapidity fell upon them when they were encamped in the vicinity of Raipur and Gujarwal. The Singhs then mustered 30,000 strong, whereas the combined forces of the Durrani King, including the contingents of Native Chiefs, numbered about 200,000. When the Singhs were apprised of it, it was too late to disperse and they hastened to the conflict. Of course they knew the absurdity of combating with such odds, but now they had to manage their retreat towards Malwa. Therefore they collected all their baggage and despatched it in that direction under a suitable escort. They themselves covered the rear in a sort of semi circle. The enemy had invested them all round, and the praiseworthy manner in which they defended themselves, covering their retreat, can better be imagined than described. Their advances and retirements before a regular and well-disciplined army extorted praise from the enemy. Sardars Jassa Singh, Ahluwalia, and Charat Singh at the head of 400 Singhs thrice appeared before the Shah and

challenged him to fight. In the afternoon they, with their baggage, arrived at Hathur, all along repulsing the enemy with great slaughter. At Hathur they occupied a tank full of water and the enemy failed to dislodge them from that position. The Afgan army began to suffer for want of water, and the heat of an April day with dusty storms disquieted them. The Abdali thought it prudent to retire, because in addition to the above disadvantages, he was well aware of the danger attending the pursuit of the Singhs. The Abdali separated the heads of the dead from their trunks and brought them to Lahore where, in front of the Dehli Gate, he raised them into a big tower. It is estimated that the Abdali lost in dead about 17,000 and the Singhs 13,000.† This battle is characterised by the Singh as "Vada Ghallu Ghara" or "The Grand Sanguinary Visitation."

After this battle Ahmad Shah, Abdali, visited Amritsar and committed monstrous ravages and atrocities upon the Singhs. The sacred tank was, according to Muhammad Latif polluted with the blood and the entrails of cows and bullocks. Numerous pyramids were made of the heads of those who had suffered decapitation.' The holy temple of Harmandar was blown up with gunpowder. It is stated that the gunpowder used was much more than the quantity required, and when it exploded, the bricks of the building were blown for miles away. It is also stated that by the fall of these bricks many persons were wounded and the Shah's nose was hurt. That would subsequently turned into a cancer and gave him an excruciating pain until he died of it in June 1773 A. D. in the fiftieth year of his age.

Many other sacred edifices were defiled and polluted under the orders of the Shah, and he created grounds upon which the Singhs, in their turn, were to enforce the law of retaliation upon

† This number is variously stated by different authors between 12,000 and 20,000. The latter figure is not, as Sir Lepel Griffin remarks, without exaggeration.

Moslems and to justify their cruel enormities.

When Ahmad Shah after making necessary arrangements returned to Kabul, the Muhammadans again began to oppress the Hindus. The Singhs could not tolerate it. They concentrated their forces at Amriesar and surprised and plundered Qasur, a Pathan Settlement. Malerkotla was captured and sacked. Several other Muhammadan Chiefs, who had been instrumental in persecuting the Singhs or Hindus were severally chastised. Sarhind was again invested and Zen Khan, the Afgan Governor of that province, completely defeated and killed on 13 Jeth Sambat 1820 (June 1763 A.D.) Then the whole country between the Satluj and Jamna was occupied and partitioned by Singhs without opposition. The town of Sarhind† was plundered, and its buildings blown out. It was utterly desolated and the orders of the great Guru Govind Singh, were carried out to the letter. The inhabitants migrated to other towns like Amritsar, Ludhiana, Lahore, Patiala, &c. The remains of the town with its fort were sold for Rs. 25,000 to Raja Ala Singh, the Chief of Patiala. The Majha, Doaba and Darp were also, at the same time, occupied by the Singhs. Their power became supreme in the Panjab, and the Governor of Lahore was left no authority beyond the walls of the city.

It was then heard that the beef butchers of Lahore had slaughtered a great many cows. The Singhs, out of the regard they had for this sacred animal, demanded of the Governor of Lahore, the surrender of all the beef butchers of the town. The Governor was nonplussed. He did not think it advisable to resist the demand of the Singh power, and, at the same time, he was afraid of the displeasure of the Abdali, his master. He therefore compromised the matter by chopping off the ears and noses of some of the butchers and expelling them out of the town.

† This is the town cursed by Guru Govind Singh for the death of his innocent two infants and mother

When the intelligence of the Khalsa ascendancy reached Ahmad Shah, Abdali, he marched at the head of a large army and entered Lahore in January 1764. On account of the punishment meted out to the beef-butchers he reduced the Governor of Lahore to Naib Subadar (Lieutenant Governor). The Abdali was much moved and distressed to see through desolation and disorder all around him, but could do nothing. The Singhs had moved far beyond his reach, and were busy in ravaging distant countries and bringing the Muhammadans to their sense of divine justice. He despatched his troops in every direction, but in vain. However, they committed every barbarous enormity that their religious and savage instincts could suggest, on the relations of the Singh Chiefs, and took possession of their independencies owing to their absence across the Jamna river, whither they had gone to Mirpur, Deban, Muzaffarnagar, Nagina, Najibabad, Anupshahr, &c. From these places they acquired a large amount of booty and returned after an absence from their dominions of about four months. When the Singh forces returned, the Abdali had gone back to Kabul, leaving his general, Jahan Khan, at the head of 10,000 Kazalbashes for the chastisement of the Singhs.

The Singhs assigned one-tenth of their spoils, which amounted to about Rs. 300,000 (three lakhs), for the rebuilding of the sacred temple and tank at Amritsar, and appointed one Des Raj as trustee of that donation. Thereafter they took immediate and effective steps to recover their possessions. The Afgan general was vigorously attacked and besieged in the fort of Sialkot. After 15 days he was obliged to evacuate it and fly towards Rohtas. The Singhs pursued him and took possession of the country westwards upto Sarai Kala.

Kabli Mal, with the help of the Singhs, imprisoned Dawar Khan, who had been appointed by the Abdali King as Governor, of Lahore, and proclaimed his own vice-gerency.

When all these matters were brought to the notice of the Abdali, he again in 1765 A. D. came to the Punjab, but hearing of his arrival the Singh Chiefs retired to their distant and secure haunts. Ahamad Shah imprisoned Kabli Mal, and reinstated Dawar Khan in his office of Governor of Lahore, but, on the representation of the public, he confirmed Kabli Mal as his Governor. As long as the Shah was moving about the country, the Singhs kept themselves out of his reach, but as soon as he turned his back, they burst forth with accumulated impetuosity. They at once regained their territories, and taking Lahore divided it among themselves. Kabli Mal, the Governor of Lahore, fled towards Jammu and sought protection of Ranjit Deo, the raja of that place. His property was plundered. His family was imprisoned, that subsequently released on payment of a ransom of Rs. 25,000.

For about two years the Singhs tranquilly enjoyed their supremacy in the Punjab. They introduced a regular form of government and considered themselves secure and invincible. At that time Raja Jawahir Mal of Bhartpur was attacking Najib Khan, the prime minister at Dehli, and he asked the help of the Singh Chieftains, on payment of three lakhs of rupees. The call was responded to with alacrity and about 30,000 Singhs went to his help. The parties after some fighting, concluded peace and the Singhs taking their stipulated sum, toured through different territories. While they were absent from the Punjab, Ahmad Shah Abdali on hearing the accounts of the Punjab, marched out in the beginning of 1767 A. D. with a large army. The few Singhs, who were in the Punjab, retired as usual to the hills or jungles. The Shah proceeded towards Dehli, but cholera broke out in his camp and his further advance being deemed unnecessary, he retired from the neighbourhood of Ambala. He then visited Sarhind and was grieved to see the desolate condition into which it had been reduced by the Singhs. He desired to lease that province to the Pathans of Malerkotla and the Chief of Rai Kot,

but they were too much afraid of the Singhs to accept the farm. Therefore the province was leased to the Raja of Patiala. The Raja was granted the title of "Raja-i-Rajgan Mahind ar Bahadur." At the same time he was permitted to strike coinage in his own name. On the recommendation of the Raja, the Shah was pleased to release all the male and female prisoners of war, about 20,000 in number, which he was taking to Kabul. The Raja gave them out of his own treasury necessary expenses for the journey to their respective homes.

Through the Raja of Patiala the Shah offered handsome Jagirs to the Singh Chiefs, on condition of their leading a peaceful life. They declined to accept them with the remark that the offer was cut of the question, since they were not prepared to accept of him even the Kingdom, which they must acquire by dint of their arms, as directed by their great Guru. The Raja was laid under religious penalty for his submission to the Abdali.

As soon as the Shah left Sarhind, the Singhs came round and began to harass him. His baggage train was cut off and camp followers plundered. Several fights took place and thousand of Afgans fell to the sword. At this time the native Muhammadan Chiefs abstained, as far as possible, from rendering him any help, because they knew full well that the Singh power was now supreme, and as soon as the Punjab was evacuated by the Shah, they were sure to fall upon any one rendering him help. Therefore none but the Mahant of Jandiala sent troops to his help, and it was mostly due to the fresh reinforcements of 18,000 troops under his uncle Sarbuland Khan, and of 12,000 Pathans under Prince Taimur shah, from Kashmir, that the Shah was successful in effecting his retreat. He crossed the Ravi in great perplexity and about 8,000 Durrani were drowned in the river. Here the Shah had planned a sanguinary attack upon the Singhs and they fled towards Kalanaur, leaving a good deal of their baggage in the hands of the Afgans. The Shah now

considered that they would not dare to pursue him again. But he was mistaken. He crossed the Chenab in peace, but when he was crossing the Jhelam, the Singhs surprised him and inflicted a serious loss upon his army. It was with enormous difficulty that he could cross the river. In spite of all precautions his artillery and a considerable quantity of baggage were drowned in the river and a large number of Hindu prisoners that he was carrying to Kabul were released by the Singhs. The Abdali extricated himself with great difficulty and was glad to hurry towards Kabul, leaving his general Sarbuland Khan, with, 10,000 men in the fort of Rohtas.

On 17 Magh Sambat 1823 (February 1767 A. D.) the Bhangi Sardars regained Lahore and its forte. The fort of Rohtas was reduced, and the Durrani general escaped to Kabul, and the Singh Chiefs became undisturbed and complete masters of the country lying between the Indus and Jamna rivers.

In Sambat 1826 (1769 A. D.) the Abdali sent Prince Taimur Shah, at the head of a large army to chastise the Singhs. On his arrival the Singhs either fought with small detachments and were defeated, or ran without any battle. The reason was that they were then in newly acquired possessions, and had no time to assemble together to encounter the Kabul army. When they found opportunity to hold a council of war, the Afgan troops were repulsed with heavy loss and compelled to fall back upon their centre at Lahore. When the Prince, on his way back to Kabul, crossed the Chenab, the Singhs attacked him from all around. Many battles were fought and the Prince was tired and perplexed. He deemed it prudent to hurry away across the Jhelam, leaving behind two guns, considerable heavy baggage and numerous animals which fell into the hands of the Singhs. The Singhs again occupied their respective territories, including Multan.

In Sambat 1827 (1770 A D.) Prince Taimur waged war in Sindh and came to Multan. He found that it was beyond his power to restore order in the Panjab or to check the Progress of the Singhs (Khalsa) by force of arms. He therefore returned to Kabul.

In Chet Sambat 1831 (March 1774 A D.), Zaman Shah, the King of Kabul and the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, invaded the Punjab, but he stopped at Peshawar and sent his general Mir Ahmad with an army of 100,000 strong to Lahore. About 50,000 Singhs encountered him in the neighbourhood of Gujrat. A desperate fight ensued. The Singhs were seen with drawn swords galloping in the lines of the enemy, and heaps of the dead were visible between Gujrat and the Jhelam a distance of over thirty miles. About 30,000 Singhs fell in the field and the Afgans were completely routed with an immense slaughter in Har Sambat 1832 (July 1775 A D.). The Sikhs pursued their enemy to attack.

Next year Zaman Shah again came to Punjab at the head of a very large army. He defeated the Singhs in a pitched battle near Shekhupura, but afterwards he sustained a heavy loss both in men and baggage and was glad to extricate himself from the clutches of the Khalsa. He invaded the Panjab several times again but he never gained a footing, and the Khalsa became complete and undisputed master of the whole Panjab.

I think we have sufficiently detailed the succession as well as the cruel and unscrupulous enforcement of a horrible chain of persecutions and repeated attempts of a bigoted and tyrannical sovereign power, for the same the miraculous development of the Khalsa and their ultimate ascendancy to supreme power over the very same country in which they were detested and suffered so much during half a century. It was within sixty-six years from the death of their illustrious Guru Gobind singh

CHAPTER XVII.

The Misl or Singh Confederacies.

In the preceding Chapter it has been shown that in Sambat 1791 (1734 A. D.) the Singhs or the Khalsa army was divided into two divisions -the Young Army and the Veteran Army. Afterwards they developed into Misl (meaning alike or equal, serried files, or placed in order like a file of records), more popularly known as Confederacies. When Ahmad Shah Abdali, left the Panjab in 1764 A. D., his Governor of Lahore, Kabli Mal, was ejected with no difficulty, and the whole country, which had by that time been acquired by the Singhs, was partitioned among themselves. The Chiefs assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed their own supremacy and the prevalence of their faith. They struck a coin bearing the following inscription :—

“Deg va Teg Va Fatih nusrat be drang,

“Yaft az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh”

“Guru Gobind Singh had received from Nanak†

Deg, Teg and Fatih unfailing victory.”

When they became masters of practically the whole country, their possession was not disturbed for about two years by any invasion from the west. During that interval the chiefs employed themselves in demarcating their respective possessions and their mutual relations to each other. There is no doubt that according to their religious system every Singh was free and equal to every other in all respects, forming a substantive member of the society, but, as can naturally be imagined, they were unequal in their means as well as their inherent abilities. Therefore it was quite apparent that all of them could not be leaders. Besides the organization of associations for military operations would have

† For literal meanings of Deg and Teg see beginning of Chapter XXVII. The whole of the first verse means the earth, its sovereignty and sure and certain victory.

that through the perseverance and constant struggle of a handful of men, a powerful empire was shaken to its foundations and was restored by their own supremacy. Our readers will now be able to form a clear idea as to what the Singhs had had to suffer and with what fortitude they had borne it. At the same time they will be convinced of the existence of retributive justice, when they portray before themselves the hardships which the Muhammadans had, in their turn, to suffer from time to time at the hands of the Khalsa. In the following chapter we propose to lay before our readers a sketch of the Khalsa confederacies which were formed during the period, the history of which we have just closed.

It will be interesting to note here the different denominations under which the various parts of the Panjab are known. They are referred to in this book, and therefore it is necessary that the reader should be acquainted with their situation. The tract of country named Malwa is situated to the north of the river Satluj and stretches towards Dehli and Bikaner. It is distinct from the Malwa of Dakhan - a rich country north of the Narbada of which Indore is the centre.

The country between the Satluj and the Bias is called Duaba, generally termed Jalandhar Doab.

The Majha is the name of the portion between the Bias and the Ravi called the Bari Doab.

The Darp signifies the country between the Ravi and the Chenab rivers.

The Dhanigheb is the tract beyond the Jhelam and is practically confined to the north-west portion of the present Jhe'am District with the adjoining territory of the newly formed Attak District.

The Pothohar as popularly known stretches from the confines of the Jhelam District northwards with its centre at Rawalpindi.

been quite impossible if all had been masters, and none had been servants, if all had been directors and none to be directed.

Separate independent groups were thus formed, called *Misl* or Confederacy, under a Chief or *Sardar*. Each Chief was bound to aid the other against a common enemy for the protection of their religion and country. In all cases where united action was necessary some person was appointed by common consent as their head and they agreed to be guided by his directions. All state affairs were carried out by "Gurmattas"† (resolutions of a Cabinet-council,) and the resolutions passed were strictly adhered to. Every member of a Confederacy was at liberty to abandon the profession of arms or to transfer his services from one Chief to another, or to establish own party or league. Thus the whole system resolved itself into a theocratic feudalism or "The Khalsa Common Wealth." All booty was equally divided among the Chiefs and they, deducting their own share, distributed it among their own leaders of bands. These leaders again subdivided their portions among their subordinates according to a certain recognized custom.

These *Misls*, in popular estimation at the time when practically the whole of the Panjab was wrested away by the Singhs and severed from the allegiance of the King of Kabul, were twelve in number and a brief account of their birth, existence and final dissolution or preservation is given below :—

1.—The Bhangi Misl

The founder of this *Misl* was *Sardar Hari Singh*, son of *Bhoma Singh*, a *Dhillon Jat* of *Hung*, in the *Parganah* of *Badhni*

† The Guru has laid down that where five orthodox Singhs assemble, the Guru must be considered as present among themselves, it is enjoined that all affairs, whether pertaining to the state or religion, must be considered in such an assembly. The resolution passed by such an assembly is called "Gurmatta."

in Malwa. He joined the Khalsa army and was initiated with *Pahaul* in Sambat 1782 (1725 A. D.) and as he was addicted to the use of bhang (hemp) and also served it to others on a large scale, he was called bhangis (slave of bhang) and his followers were called *Bhangis*. He was a valiant combatant with a daring spirit, and rose to great power. He organised, and became Chief of a *Misl* which was named after his nickname, Both in numerical strength and acquisition of territorial possession this *Misl* was the strongest. Its fighting strength was about 15,000 men who were distributed over various parts of the country. He had several Sardars of note under him. He fixed his headquarters in the Amritsar District and in Sambat 1803 (1746 A. D.) he founded a very beautiful *katra* (street) in the city of Amritsar, which is known after his name. He began to acquire territorial possessions in Sambat 1812 (1755 A. D.) and they were extended from the neighbourhood of Amritsar to Attak, Jhag, Multan, Dera Ismail Khan and Saharanpur. His dominion was assessed at an estimated annual income of Rs. 1,50,00,000. He was killed in action while fighting for the Raja of Patiala Sambat 1827 (1770 A. D.).

He left five sons of whom Sardar Jhanda Singh, the eldest succeeded him as Chief of the *Misl* and it became very prosperous under him. In Sambat 1831 (1774 A. D.) he attacked Jammu and made Ranjit Deo, the Rajput Raja of that place, his tributary on payment of an annual Nazrana of Rs. 1,00,000. He captured along with others the famous large gun called Zamzama from the Nawab of Sarai. It is now kept in front of the Museum at Lahore and serves as an object of great historical interest to the curious visitors. Sardar Jhanda Singh was shot dead in 1831 Sambat (1774 A. D.) by a Mazhabi Singh who was bribed to do so by Jai Singh the Kanhya Chief. Sardar Ganda Singh, his brother, succeeded him, but was shot in a battle at Pathankot in Sambat 1839 (1782 A. D.) and his brother Charat Singh was

appointed as leader of the *Misl*. Next year he also fell in an action and his youngest brother, Desu Singh, was elected as Chief. He also was killed in a battle in Sambat 1846 (1789 A. D.), and his son Karm Singh became Chief, but he in his turn fell a martyr in Sambat 1849 (1792 A. D.). His younger brother, Gulab Singh, got the chiefship, but he was a great drunkard and his dominion began to dwindle away and eventually merged into the sovereign power of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1860 Sambat (1803 A. D.).

The family of the founder of this *Misl*, now enjoys a muafi of about Rs. 200 per annum, and owns land, about 2000 bighas, at Panjwar in the Amritsar District.

2. Ramgarhia Misl.

This *Misl* took its name from the fort of Ramgarh at Amritsar. At its height its territory fetched an annual revenue of forty lakhs, and it could put 8,000 fighting men into the field. Sardar Jassa Singh, a carpenter of the village of Said Beg in the Lahore District, was the most distinguished Captain of its leaders.

Hardas Singh, the grandfather of Sardar Jassa Singh, served Guru Gobind Singh. After the Guru's death, he and his son Bhagwan Singh accompanied Banda Baladur in wars against the Muhammadanas. Hardas Singh was killed in an action in 1772 Sambat (1715 A. D.) at Bijwara. In Sambat 1776 (1719 A. D.) when the Singhs ceased hostilities on the Emperor granting them a Jagir, Sardar Bhagwan Singh and his four sons, along with 500 other Singhs, enlisted in the imperial service at Lahore. Sardar Bhagwan Singh and his son Jassa Singh were held in high respect by the Governor of Lahore. Bhagwan Singh was given the office of a leader of 100 sawars. In Sambat 1797 (1740 A. D.) when Nadir Shah invaded India, Sardar Jassa Singh saved the life of the Governor of Lahore, Zakaria Khan, Khan Bakadur, at the

risk of his own life upon which he was promoted to the office of a Sardar and was granted five villages in Jagir as a reward for his gallantry. When Adina Beg Khan, entered into hostilities with Ahmad Shah Abdali, Jassa Singh was so conspicuous in his bravery that Adina Beg made him commander of his own troops. However, when hard pressed by the Afghans, Adina Beg fled in 1757 A. D. towards the hills, Jassa Singh joined the Singhs at Ramgarh in fighting against the Pathans and was distinguished for his boldness. He was greatly respected by the Singhs and the fort of Ramgarh was granted him as a mark of distinction. Thenceforward he was called Ramgarhia and his *Misl* and followers also were given that appellation.

Sardar Jassa Singh played a very conspicuous part during the various invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali and was very famous for his fighting and long expeditions. In 1759 A. D. he besieged and conquered Dinanagar, Batala, Kalanaur, Sri Hargovindpur, Kadian, Ghumman and many other towns in the Districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur. He established his head-quarters at Sri Hargobindpur and within the next few years became master of almost the whole country between the Satluj and the Biasa towards the hills, and some of the hill rajas became his tributaries.

The two Jassa Singhs, i.e. the Ramgarhia and Ahluwalia, were not generally on good terms. Once the Ahluwalia Chief was passing near Gurdaspur on his way to Achal, a place of pilgrimage near Batala Khushhal Singh, Mali Singh and Tara Singh, brothers of the Ramgarhia Chief, attacked him while he was unaware. His troops were dispersed and himself taken prisoner, but when he was taken before the Ramgarhia Chief he, under certain circumstances, thought it prudent to release him with rich gifts. This insult to the Ahluwalia Chief inflamed the whole Khalsa Nation by whom the Ahluwalia was held in high esteem. Therefore in 1834 Sambat (1777 A. D.) Sardar Jassa Singh, Ahluwalia, and several other Chiefs combined, and

attacked the Ramgarhia Chief in 1778 A. D. The Ragarhia was compelled to fly from his country towards Malwa. During his exile he travelled in distant countries and plundered towns like Agra and Mathura. Several Rajas like that of Bhartpur and Dhaulpur paid him tribute. He also ravaged the country up to the walls of Dehli, and on one occasion he penetrated into the heart of that town and plundered the Mugal quarter. From the fort he seized a considerable royal property with 4 guns, vast military stores, and a beautiful large slab of variegated coloured stone, which, up to this day, is preserved in the Bunga of Ramgarhias at Amritsar.

On his return, the Nawab of Mirat agreed to pay him Rs. 10,000 a year on condition of his leaving his territory unmolested. Hissar was plundered to punish the Governor and to restore to their father two Brahman girls taken away by him by force. With the aid of Mahan Singh, the Chief of the Sukarchaki Misl, he was restored to his possession in Sambat 1843 (1786 A. D.) and died in 1850 Sambat (1793 A. D.).

He left two sons, Jodh Singh and Bir Singh. The former succeeded as Chief of the Misl. He was valiant like his father and commanded vast influence. His cousin encroached upon the Parganah of Kadian, assessed at Rs. 800,000 a year, but he was so noble that he took no notice of it. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, considering him one of the most powerful Chiefs, courted his friendship, and an oath of alliance was taken at the Golden Temple at Amritsar between the Chiefs, in the presence of the Holy Granth Sahib. The alliance bond was called the "saffron bond." After that he was very useful to the Maharaja, and in token of his service he was granted Jagir in Sambat 1866 (1809 A. D.) and again in Sambat 1860 (1811 A. D.) a revenue of about Rs. 37,000. Sardar Jodh Singh died in Sambat 1871 (1814 A. D.). Thereupon internecine quarrels ensued in the family, which ended in the treacherous imprisonment of Jodh

Singh's sons and brother, and the annexation of their territory by the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, allowing them an annual Jagir of Rs. 35,000, which was subsequently increased to Rs. 90,000. Jodh Singh's son served the Maharaja as a Military commander in the expedition against Kashmir. On his death his son, Sardar Mangal Singh, served as commander of 4,000 troops and distinguished himself in various ways. On the annexation of the Punjab he rendered conspicuous service to the British Government, and was rewarded with a Jagir of Rs. 9,000 of which Rs. 3,600 was to continue in perpetuity. In 1862 he was appointed manager of the Golden Temple at Amritsar and he performed his duties with tact and ability. The same year he was appointed Honorary Magistrate of the City of Amritsar and in 1876 he was made Companion of the Star of India. The family still commands considerable respect in the Punjab.

3.—*The Kanhya Misl.*

The founder of this Misl was Sardar Jai Singh, a Sandhu Jat, of Mauza Kana, 15 miles east of Lahore. At its best, it could put into the field 8,000 combatants, and its possessions were assessed at Rs. 40,00,000 per annum. It bore its name after the name of the Sardar's village or his own comparison to Kahn or Kanhya (Krishna) on account of his personal appearance and activity. His father and grand-father served the Guru Gobind Singh. On the death of the Guru they joined Banda Bahadur during the time he dispensed retributive justice to the Muhammadans.

Jai Singh joined the Khalsa with several of his relations and rendered conspicuous service to the Khalsa Common Wealth. On the fall of Sarhind and Jalandhar in 1820 Sambat (1763 A. D.) he took possession of several Parganahs such as Hajipur, Datarpur, Mukerian, and extended his territory in 1823 Sambat (1766 A. D.) to Pathankot, Dinanagar, Sujampur, Gurdaspur &c.

His power was much strengthened when his gallant son Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, who was born in Sambar 1817 (1760 A. D.), attained his maturity. The dominion was extended still further and some of the hill rajas paid tribute.

In Sambat 1835 (1778 A. D.) when Sardar Jassa Singh, Ramgarhia was ousted, his territory was occupied by Sardar Jai Singh, on which the Misl became most powerful, but the premature death of Gurbakhsh Singh in Sambat 1842 (1765 A. D.) greatly affected its strength. Sardar Jai Singh died at the great age of 81 in 1850 Sambat (1793 A. D.) His grand-daughter Bibi Mahtab Kaur (Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh deceased's daughter) was, during his lifetime in 1785 A. D. married to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Sardar Jai Singh left behind two sons who were unfit to assume the chiefship of the Misl. Therefore Sada Kaur, the mother of Mahtab Kaur, a widow of great ability and interpidity, assumed command of the confederacy and managed the territory well. She fought with the Ramgarhias for a considerable period and took several of their Parganahs like Batala, Kalanur, &c. She was conspicuous in her bravery on several occasions when fighting for her son-in-law, Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In Sambat 1857 (1800 A. D.) she made over the whole of her territory to her grandsons (the sons of her daughter Mahtab Kaur) Maharaja Kharak Singh and Tara Singh. She kept for her maintenance only the fort of Atalgarh with the Parganah of Nurpur, but later on in Sambat 1861 (1804 A. D.) they were also forfeited to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and she was deceitfully sent for to Lahore and imprisoned there. She died as a state-prisoner in 1880 Sambat (1823 A. D.) in misery as will be detailed further on. The sons of Jai Singh passed their life in the Maharaja's service and were granted no land assignments. The descendants of Jai Singh's brother, Gingha Singh, had a jagir of Rs. 600, but that

comes from the Maharaja on account of their own services and has no concern with the ascendancy of Sardar Jai Singh.

.. -*The Nakai Misl.*

The principal leader of this *Misl* was Sardar Hira Singh, son of Hem Raj, a Sandhu Jat of Mauza Bharwal in the Chunian Tehsil of the Lahore District. He was born in Sambat 1763 (1706 A. D.) and initiated into the Khalsa by Bhai Mani Singh in 1788 Sambat (1731 A. D.). Soon after his initiation he took to plundering and raiding. Many leaders of note joined his banner. He opened and maintained a langar which was a great attraction for the people. His village was situated in the country called Jakka lying between Lahore and Gogera in the direction of Multan. He was, therefore, called Nakai and the *misl* was named accordingly. In Sambat 1818 (1761 A. D.) this *misl* occupied the Parganahs of Chunian, Dipalpur, Bharwal, Khudian, &c., and at its zenith its revenue amounted to Rs. 450,000 and it could muster about 7,000 strong at the time of war.

In Sambat 1826 (1769 A. D.) Sardar Hira Singh attacked Pakpattan and was killed in the battle, and his army dispersed. His son Dal Singh, was a minor, and his cousin, Nahar Singh, came head of the *misl*, but he died of phthisis in Sambat 1829 (1772 A. D.) and was succeeded by his younger brother Ram Singh.

Ram Singh became a powerful Chief. He increased the strength of the *misl* by the enlistment of 2,000 more combatants. He added to his territory the Parganahs of Kot Kamalia, Kharwal, Kharl, Sahiwal, Fatihpur, and parts of Pakpattan and Dipalpur. He died in Sambat 1839 (1782 A. D.) and his son, Swan Singh, assumed the command of the *misl*. The territory after his time began to decrease and after some short sessions during the time of the last Chief Sardar Khan Singh, it was annexed by the Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Sambat 1864.

(1807 A. D.) who gave the Chief a Jagir of Rs. 15 000 in Parganah Bharowal, and the Parganah of Nankot to Khazan Singh, his uncle. The family is now in the enjoyment of a handsome Jagir and also a good deal of landed property.

5.—*The Dallewalia Misl.*

The founder of this *misl* was one Golaba, a Khatri, of Dalla in the Parganah of Sultanpur, near Dera Baba Nanak. He was a shopkeeper, but in Sambat 1793 (1736 A. D.) leaving his profession, he embraced Khalsaism and was initiated with *pahul* by Nawab Kapur Singh. He was named Gulab Singh and then engaged in raiding and in a short time entertained a good following. He was so famed for his gallantry that he was called "Rathaur" or valiant and became head of his *misl*, which took its name from his village. He made long and distant raiding expeditions and took a prominent part in plundering and injuring the army of Ahmad Shah Abdali, but died in Sambat 1816 (1759 A.D.) when fighting with the chief of Kalinaur. His sons had predeceased him, and therefore his chief associate, Gurdial Singh, succeeded him. But he also fell in action the next year and Sardar Tara Singh, a Jat nicknamed Gaiba (surpriser) from the ingenious manner in which he once surprised and plundered Chandpur after a long, secret and forced march of about 38 miles in a day, was elected Chief of the *misl*. Sardar Tara Singh joined the Bhangi *misl* in reducing Qasur and acquired spoils worth several lakhs of Rupees. In Sambat 1818 (1761 A.D) he took possession of the Parganahs of Nakodar, Balban, Bundiala, &c., and two years later he occupied Lodhar, Ropar, Kheri, Thanesar, &c., and made Rahon his capital. His whole territory was worth about Rs. 5,00,000 a year and he could take the field at the head of about 7,000 men.

When Maharaj Ranjit Singh acquired power he thrice tried

in Sambat 1859 (1802 A.D.) to reduce him, but failed. The Sardar had four sons, of whom Jhanda Singh was given the Parganah of Nakodar, Dasaundha Singh the Dakhni Parganah, and Gujar Singh the Parganah of Ghumgrana. The youngest he kept along with himself. When Sardar Tara Singh died in Sambat 1864 (1807 A. D.) the Maharaja fraudulently approached his widow on the pretence of condoling with her on her bereavement, and treacherously besieged her fort. She held her own and gallantly defended the fort and she would have succeeded in repulsing the assailant if he had not heavily bribed her men to open the gates of the fort to him. Thereupon the valiant widow, Rattan Kaur was obliged to fly towards Banger. The Maharaja left 9 villages in Jagir for the maintenance of the widow and her four sons, annexing the whole of the rest to his own dominions. In Sambat 1877 (1820 A. D.) Bedi Bikrma Singh usurped seven villages in possession of the sons of Tara Singh. When complaint was made to the Maharaja he took no action. In Sambat 1879 (1822 A. D.) when the widow died, the remaining two villages which she had in Jagir were resumed by the Maharaja. In Sambat 1881 (1824 A. D.) Dasaundha Singh, died childless and the descendants of Jhanda Singh still enjoy a Jagir of about Rs. 800 in Baloki, and own some land there, but the possessions of all the others were resumed by the Maharaja

6.—*The Karora Singhia Misl.*

The originator of this *Misl* was Sardar Sham Singh, a Jat of Narli. He was killed in a battle in Sambat 1797 (1740 A. D.) and was succeeded by Sardar Karam Singh, a Khatri of Panjgarh. He was killed in an action against the Durrani in Sambat 1802 (1745 A. D.) at Amritsar, when Sardar Karora Singh, a Zamindar of Barki, was elected as Chief of the Misl which took its name after him. Sardar Baghel Singh of Jhubelwala was his chief

associate, and noted for his bravery. He contributed greatly to the power of the *Misl*, which, at its zenith had an annual revenue of ninety lakhs and could muster for the field 12,000 strong.

In Sambat 1795 Sardar Karora Singh, with his relations, was forcibly converted to Islam by the Governor of Lahore, but after six months he rejoined the Khalsa and was re-initiated with *pahul*. In Sambat 1816 (1759 A.D.) he took possession of the Parganahs of Sium, Hariana, &c, in the Hushiarpur District. He made distant raiding expeditions and his booty was an immense wealth. In Sambat 1818 (1761 A.D.) he fell in a fight at Tirawri, and Sardar Baghel Singh became head of the *Misl*.

In Sambat 1820 (1763 A.D.) he occupied Khurdin, Kanauri, Chhilaundi, Jamitgarh, &c, worth Rs. 2,00,000 and made Chhilaundi in the Karnal District and Hariana in the Hushiarpur District his capitals. In Sambat 1835 (1778 A.D.) he went up into the heart of India and plundered Ghaziabad, Koel, Bareilly, Chandosi, Hathras, Agra, &c.

Once Dehli was, in Sambat 1824 (1767 A.D.) in conjunction with the other *Misls*, conquered by Sardar Baghel Singh but, as the chiefs could not unanimously agree as to who among them should ascend the throne, all returned with a considerable booty, but Sardar Baghel Singh, at the request of the Emperor, halted for some time and constructed the various Sikh shrines there. He was very prominent in fighting with the Durranis and on several other occasions. He died childless in Sambat 1859 (1802 A.D.) and Sardar Jodh Singh, Kalsia, was recognized as head of the *Misl*. On his death his dominion partly remained in possession of his two widows and was partly occupied by the Maharaja of Lahore, and the *Misl* thus collapsed. Again in Sambat 1863 (1807 A.D.) the Maharaja encroached upon the widow's possession and gave the Parganah of Khurdin, worth Rs. 1,00,000 to Sardar Jodh Singh, Kalsia, and the Parganah of Bahlolpur to Birbhan,

his Kardar. However, later on a part of the territory made over to Sardar Jodh Singh was restored by the British Government to the widow who originally accupied it. The territory which remained in possession of the widow ultimately lapsed to the British Government.

The Kalsia State

Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, Sandhu Jat of the village of Kalsia, in Tahsil Qasur of the Lahore District, along with some of his relations, embraced the Khalsa faith and was initiated with the *pahul* ceremony by Bhai Mani Singh, in Sambat 1782 (1625 A D). He was very brave and formed a close friendship with Sardar Karm Singh, head of the Misl. When Karora Singh succeeded Sardar Karm Singh as chief of the Misl, Sarder Gurbakhsh Singh became his turban-friend and an ally of the Misl. He contributed greatly to the welfare of the *Misl* by many distinguished services, and in a short time he enlisted many troops, and in Sambat 1816 (1759 A D.) occupied the Parganah of Babeli, worth about Rs. 1,00,000 a year. In Sambat 1820 (1763 A. D) he took Chhachhrauli, yielding Rs. 2,00,000 annual revenue. On his death in Sambat 1831 (1774 A.D.) his son Sardar Jodh Singh succeeded him. He was a man of great valour and capacity and extended his territory. When in Sambat 1859 (1782 A.D.) Sardar Baghel Singh, the leader of the Karora Singh *misl* died childless, Sardar Jodh Singh was acknowledged as chief of that *Misl*. He did a great deal for the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, by whom he was rewarded with the grant of handsome jagirs bringing up his whole annual income to Rs. 5,00,000. In Sambat 1874 (1817 A. D.) while fighting at Multan for the great Maharaja of the Panjab, he was wounded, and died shortly after his return to his native village Kalsia. On his death his eldest son, Sardar Sobha Singh, succeeded him as Chief of the *Misl*, but one-fourth of the

whole estate remained in possession of his younger brother Sardar Hari Singh, as granted by Sardar Jodh Singh himself.

The whole estate of Sardar Sobha Singh lay on both sides of the Satluj River and therefore when a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Maharaja Ranjit Singh fixing that river as boundry between the two sovereign powers, the Sardar deemed it advisable to give up his possessions on the Lahore side, cutting off his connection with the Lahore Darbar. The Maharaja sent for him several times, but he did not attend and therefore his territory on the Lahore sides was forfeited to the Crown. At the time of the treaty in 1809 A. D. the State was worth of Rs. 2,50,000 a year, as compared with its present income of about Rs. 2,00,000 per annum.

During the war between the British Government and the Singhs, Sardar Sobha Singh rendered the former a valuable service. Again during the time of mutiny both he and his son Sardar Lahna Singh did good service, and the latter was granted in March 1862, a sanad conferring the right of adoption

The Chief of Kalsia takes precedence over all Cis-Satluj Chiefs, except Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Malerkotla and Faridkot and is entitled to be received by His Excellency the Viceroy.

7. — The Singhpuria Misl.

When the Singhs started on their mission for the removal of the oppression which was so cruelly exercised by the Muhammadan rulers on the Hindus, Sardar Dalip Singh, a Virk Jat of Faizullapur in the Amritsar District, joined the Khalsa and distinguished himself for his bravery and undaunted spirit. He was killed in action in Sambat 1772 (1715 A. D.) and his son Nawab Kapur Singh succeeded him as leader. He was very sagacious, considerate, good hearted, gallant, trustworthily, a well wisher of

the Khalsa, and a true devotee. He was most respected, and practically the head of the Khasla in almost all religious and political affairs. He was ever ready to be in the front, and had received in various battles, 43 wounds on his body. He propagated the religion a great deal. Whole villages were converted by him, and initiation with *pahul* through his hands was considered a great merit. Raja Ala Singh of Patiala along with his relations and many Sardars, took the *pahul* from the hands of the Nawab at Thikriwala, where he constructed a large well in commemoration of the event. A brief account of his deeds and of his acquiring the title of Nawab has already been given in Chapter XVI. Properly speaking it was he who paved the way for the Khalsa Nation as an independent and ruling power.

The misl took its name from Faizullapur, the village of Nawab Kapur Singh, but when that village fell into the hands of Singhs, its name was changed to Singhpura, with a corresponding change in the name of the misl. The numerical strength of the *misl* was not great, being about 2,500 combatants, but it was the fiercest and the most dreaded of all on account of its bravery and desperate fighting spirit.

The Nawab, who was childless, took possession in Sambat 1816 (1759 A.D.) of the Parganahs of Julandhar, Lamra, and Kapurthala, and made over the first two to his nephew, Sardar Khushhal Singh, and the last to his disciple, Sardar Jassa Singh, Ahluwalia. He died at Amritsar, in Assu Sambat 1817 (1760 A.D.) and a little before his death he declared that the heir of his property was his nephew, named above, and bestowed his honours and the leadership of the Khalsa on the Ahluwalia Sardar. On his death-bed he hailed the Ahluwalia as the future leader of the Khalsa commonwealth, and his successor to the honour and supremacy he had enjoyed over the whole Khalsa community in all matters religious and political.

Sardar Khushhal Singh equalled his uncle in wisdom and

bravery and extended his conquests to both sides of the Satluj, and included Jalandhar, Nurpur, Bahrampur, Bhartgarh, and Patti. He died on 23rd Chet S. 1852 (1796 A. D.) in the fort of Lamra, when his eldest son Budh Singh became leader of the Misl.

Sardar Budh Singh extended his territory and helped the Maharaja Ranjit Singh in several campaigns and was much respected in the Lahore Darbar. He fell out with the Maharaja chiefly on account of his own absence and failure to send his contingent during the Kashmir expedition, and of colouring his beard, which is against the tenets of the Khalsa religion. After he discovered the royal displeasure, he never came to Lahore although he was many times invited to attend. He sought protection of the British Government, and the Maharaja confiscated the whole of his territory, worth Rs 3 00,000 a year, which lay on the right side of the Satluj River, which was the common boundary recognized between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar by the treaty of 1809 A. D. He was so much grieved at this forfeiture that he died in Sawan S. 1873 (1816 A.D.) leaving behind seven sons. On his death, his territory was worth Rs. 150,000 per annum and was divided among his sons. His descendants still enjoy their territory with Manauli and Ghanauli their head quarters, and it is the estate which had fallen under British protection when the treaty of 1809 A. D. was drawn up.

8.—*The Nishananwali Misl*

The founders of this Misl were Sardars Sangat Singh and Dasaundha Singh, Dhaul Muchhia†, Jats of Singhanwala in the Firozpur District. They were initiated with *pahul* by Bhai Mani Singh, and joined the Khalsa Army. They were joined by their relations, Jai Singh, Koer Singh and Man Singh. These five

† Nicknamed on account of his grey moustaches.

acted as standard-bearers and were termed Nishananwale, and were allotted a handsome share of booty. By lapse of time they became masters of an immense wealth, and enlisting an army established their own Misl under the name of Nishannawali. They could put to the front about 12,000 troops. Sardar Dasaundha Singh was recognized as head of the misl, and when in 1820 Sambat (1763 A.D.) he took possession of the country in the neighbourhood of Ambala, he fixed his capital at that town. In Sambat 1822 (1765 A.D.) he was killed while fighting against the Nawab of Mirat, and was succeeded by his brother and chief associate, Sardar Sangat Singh. He died in Sambat 1831 (1774 A.D.) at Singhanwala and Mohar Singh, his son, was elected as head of the Misl. The Misl occupied Ambala, Lidran, Shahabad, Amlot and other districts, but in Sambat 1864 (1807 A.D.) it became extinct, as it was driven out by the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and its territory annexed to the Panjab. When the line of demarcation was fixed under the treaty of 1809 A.D. between the British Government and the Maharaja, Shahabad was continued in the possession of a subordinate chief. The parganah of Ambala was restored to a widow and lapsed to the British on her death in Sambat 1887 (1830 A.D.). The descendants of Sardar Mohar Singh now enjoy a petty jagir in Singhanwala.

9.— *The Misl of Shahids.*

This Misl originated from Shahid (martyr) Dip Singh, a Jat of Pohu in the Amritsar Parganah. He was one of those who had served Guru Gobind Singh and accompanied Banda Bahadur during his holy war against the Muhammadan oppression. He had many associates of great repute and renown, like Gurbakhsh Singh, Sudha Singh, Prem Singh, Dargah Singh, Easant Singh &c. They were all called Shahids and the Misl was named accordingly. Properly speaking it was a religious rather than a military body.

The Khalsa was the true embodiment of the Church militant and in those days, priests and laymen fought alike. The most prominent member of the *misl* was Shahid Sudha Singh who was killed fighting against the Governor of Jalandhar. When his head was struck off "he is reported," says Sir Lepel Griffin, "to have ridden some distance and killed several of the enemy before he fell from his horse." This *misl* generally fought to render assistance to others rather than on its own account.

Shahid Dip Singh took possession of the Ilāqa of Sialkot in 1816 Sambat (1759 A. D.) and made it over to his disciples, Shahids Dival Singh and Natha Singh, who ultimately assigned it for the maintenance of the "Ber Baba Nanak" shrine at Sialkot.

When in Sambat 1818 (1761 A. D.) the Muhammadans re-occupied Amritsar and began to fill up the sacred tank there with earth, Shahid Dip Singh, attacked them at the head of a handful of troops, and succeeded in compelling the Durrani to evacuate after great slaughter. The Shahid fell a true martyr in that action. He was succeeded by Shahid Sudha Singh as leader of the *misl*. He was killed the next year and Shahid Karm Singh, was elected head of the confederacy. In Sambat 1820 (1763 A.D.) he occupied Shahzadpur, Majri and Kesri, worth Rs. 1,00,000 a year, and extended his territory farther after that. In Sambat 1835 (1778 A. D.) the Nawab of Ranian assigned him 12 villages in Jagir for the maintenance of his shrine, on the condition that the Singhs should abstain from raiding his territory.

Shahid Karam Singh died in Sambat 1851 (1794 A. D.) and was succeeded by Shahid Gulab Singh, his son, who was without his father's qualifications, and therefore a good deal of his territory slipped from his hands. He was the first Singh who went to the British resident at Delhi in January 1804 A. D. and expressed his desire for British protection. The family rendered

valuable service to the British Government during the Mutiny of 1857. Jivan Singn, the grandson of Gulab Singh, was married to the daughter of Mahinder Singh of Patiala in Sambat 1941 (1884 A. D.) which greatly contributed to the honour and income of the Chief. His state now is worth about Rs. 50,000 a year.

10.—*The Ahluwalia Misl.*

For a detailed account of this as well as the misl of Phulkian, "The Rajas of the Punjab" by Sir Lepel Griffin and other histories should be consulted. Here we propose to give a brief sketch of the rise to ascendancy of this *misl* as far as is compatible with the scope of our work.

The real founder of the *misl* was Sardar Bagh Singh, Kalal, of Hallo-Sadho. He was initiated with *pahaul* by Bhai Mani Singh in Sambat in 1771 (1714 A. D.) and soon after that became leader of a considerable body of troops. He was killed in an action at Hariana in Sambat 1788 (1731 A. D.) and as he was childless, Sardar Jassa Singh, his nephew (sister's son) who was then about 13 years of age, was elected as head of the *misl*. He rose to great power, enlisted 7,000 horse and occupied territory worth about Rs. 40,00,000 a year as will be explained hereafter. He was resident of Ahlu, a village in the Lahore District, and was therefore called Ahluwalia and the *misl* also was termed after the name of the village.

Sardar Jas-a Singh was born in Sambat 1775 (1718 A. D.) and his father died in Sambat 1779 (1722 A. D.) Soon after, the orphan was taken by his mother to Mata Sundri, the widow of Guru Gobind Singh, at Delhi. That lady loved Jassa Singh much and treated him as if he were her own son. In Sambat 1785 (1728 A. D.) Sardar Bagh Singh went to Dehli and urged his sister and Jassa Singh's return to the Panjab. At his departure, Mata Sundri blessed him and granted Jassa Singh a sword and

shield, a bow and a quiver, a silver mace, and a dress of honour. She predicted his greatness, saying that he and his descendants would have mace bearers to attend them. On his return from Delhi, Sardar Bagh Singh, encamped close to the camp of Nawab Kapur Singh, in the vicinity of Kartarpur. The Nawab was much pleased with the handsomeness of Sardar Jassa Singh, and finding in him a well behaved, intelligent and promising youth, he initiated him with the *pahul* and kept him as his own disciple and adopted son, because he was childless. A short time after that the Nawab told Jassa Singh that he was destined to be a "Badshah" (King). Thereafter he was greatly raised in the estimation of the Khalsa and was called "Badshahi" and was much respected by the Singhs. When Sardar Bagh Singh was killed, Sardar Jassa Singh, though 13 years old, was able to conduct the business of a Misl, and the Nawab, with the general consent of all concerned, appointed him leader in place of his deceased uncle.

At the time of his succession Mata Sundri sent him a dress of honour from Delhi. He acquired a great reputation, because he proved to be a brave and gallant warrior, an able and competent leader. He was renowned for his political talents, religious zeal and lofty aspirations, and he rose to be one of the most powerful federal Chiefs of the Panjab. When Nawab Kapur Singh died, all the command, spiritual and political that he had, devolved upon Sardar Jassa Singh, and he was regarded by the Singhs as their religious leader. He was greatly respected as the most saintly and orthodox Singh leader. It was considered meritorious to get initiated by him and many leading Sardars took their *pahul* from him. Maharaja Amar Singh of Patiala also received his Singh baptism from him. He was the most successful general and it was he alone, before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who considerably contributed towards the consolidation of the Singh power. Although he had no acknowledged command

of the Singh forces, whenever any combination of the confederacies took place against a common enemy, the nominal command of the whole rested with Sardar Jassa Singh. All the confederacies, during his time, were independent and hostile to each other, but they often combined to attack or encounter a common enemy. The influence of the Sardar can be estimated from the fact that in spite of the comparative inferiority of the *misl* in numerical strength, he was allowed the privilege of the lording over the whole Khalsa army.

In Sambat 1824 (1767 A D) the confederacies in a combined attack conquered Dehli, and getting into the fort they seated Jassa Singh on the throne. The majority were of opinion that he should become Emperor, but Sardar Jassa Singh, Ramgarhia and his allies were against it because of an old standing enmity. Upon this two factions were formed and they stood with drawn swords in hand, but the Ahluwalia was too noble to divide the Khalsa thus, and quietly left Dehli in order to end the dispute. None therefore occupied the throne which was left vacant for the old Mughal Emperor.

Sardar Jassa Singh distinguished himself in many battles and performed feats of great valour, bravery and intrepidity, as has already been mentioned in Chapter XVI. In religious matters also he took a leading part. To the rebuilding of the sacred Temple at Amritsar he contributed greatly.

In Sambat 1797 (1740 A D) when Nadir Shah was on his way back from Dehli, he inflicted a serious loss on him and seized a good deal of his baggage and treasure.

In Sambat 1804 (1747 A D) he took the leading part in killing Jaspat Rai and plundering Emnabad. Next year Diwan Lakhpat Rai, who was despatched by the Governor of Lahore for the extermination of the Singhs, was seriously shattered, which was mostly due to the exertions of this Chief. He attacked and

killed the Governor of Amritsar and took a large part of that district. In 1749 A.D. he was of great assistance to Diwan Kaura Mal, in defeating and killing Shah Nawaz Khan, the Governor of Multan.

In Sambat 1814 (1757 A. D.) Sardar Jassa Singh was defeated by Adina Beg Khan, the Governor of Jalandhar with the help of Sardar Jassa Singh, Ramgarhia. A few years later this defection was terribly revenged, and the Ramgarhia Chief was compelled to fly from his country, and was ousted from his territory for many years which he passed in exile.

In 1753 A. D. Aziz Khan, the commander of the Lahore forces, was defeated by him. In 1755 A. D. Adina Beg Khan was compelled to cede to him the parganah of Fatihabad on the Bias, which he made his capital. In 1761 A. D. while Ahmad Shah Durrani was engaged in his campaign against the Marhattas, Sardar Jassa Singh occupied a good deal of country in which he built fortified bosts. Within the next few years he seized an extensive territory. In 1777 A. D. he took the town of Kapurthalla and established his head-quarters there. He died at Amritsar in 1783 A. D. at the age of 65. He was present in almost all battles of any importance which took place during his lifetime. He always took a leading part and had received 32 wounds on the front of his body. He was an enterprising and a liberal patriot. Once he rescued 2,000 women whom Ahmad Shah was taking to Kabul to serve as slave girls. He liberally provided them with money and sent them all to their respective homes under a proper escort. This act of patriotism greatly increased his estimation and made him greatly popular among all classes of the people.

Sardar Jassa Singh had no male issue, and Sardar Bhag Singh, his secore cousin, then in his thirty-sixth year was elected Chief of the Misl. He made some additions to his territory and died in Sambat 1858 (1801 A.D.). Sardar Fatih Singh, his only son, succeeded him. In 1859 Sambat (1802 A. D.) the Maharaja Ranjit

Singh visited him at Fatihabad for condolence on the death of his father, and formed an alliance, both offensive and defensive. They came to Amritsar, and exchanging their turbans as a token of brotherhood, swore on the Holy Granth the continuance of their friendship and the sharing of all their new territorial acquisitions equally between themselves.

In 1805, the Marhatta Chief, Jaswant Rao Holkar, was seriously defeated by Lord Lake. He came to the Panjab in order to obtain help from the Singh Chieftains. At the end of that year the British Government concluded peace with him and entered, on 1st January, 1806, into a treaty of friendship with Sardar Fatih Singh and Maharaja Ranjit Singh by which these Chiefs were required to remove the Marhatta Chief with his army to the distance of thirty kos from Amritsar and never thereafter to hold any connection or friendship with him. The British Government on its part promised these Chieftains peaceful possession of their territories as long as their conduct continued friendly towards itself. Sardar Faith Singh acted in the management of this treaty both on his own behalf and the behalf of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Sardar Fatih Singh increased his territory a little and after he formed his alliance with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he proved a very valuable friend to him and contributed much towards the extension, establishment and management of his kingdom. On various occasions he played the part of a brave general in the field and a competent and talented statesman at Lahore, whenever the Maharaja went to the battle-field leaving him behind in charge of the Capital.

Mr. Metcalfe, the English Commissioner, visited Lahore in September 1808 A. D. and in his letter, dated 8th November, 1808, to the Government of India, he explained his estimate of Sardar Fatih Singh's character and position. The following

extract from that letter will be read with interest by our readers:—

“Sardar Fatih Singh of Ahlu has been supposed to be particularly attached to the Raja (referring to Maharaja Ranjit Singh), but he is in reality particularly discontented with him. Ranjit Singh and Fatih Singh entered into alliance in early life, and to this alliance the former is principally indebted for his extraordinary rise. The quiet character of Fatih Singh, who was the equal, if not the superior, in rank and power of Ranjit Singh has yielded to the bold commanding spirit of the other, and he has been the ladder by which Ranjit Singh has mounted to greatness. He now finds himself not the companion and friend of an equal, as formerly, but the nominal favourite of a master. The outward show of intimacy and friendship is preserved, but there is no confidence. He is not of the Raja's councils, nor is he entrusted with his secrets, but marches with a considerable force in the train of Ranjit Singh, without knowing whither or for what purpose. Fatih Singh, in rank, and consideration, in military force and territorial possessions, is the first of the Chiefs of Ranjit Singh's army. He possesses the country east of the Satluj from Jagraon to that river, the country generally between the Satluj and the Bias, and the country to the west of the Bias as far as Amritsar. He has a very fair reputation, and is looked up to by the disaffected as the fit person to be put at the head of a confederacy to throw off the yoke; but he is evidently not a revolutionist.”

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh rose by power and began to absorb some of the other Singh confederacies, the Singh Chieftains generally became very suspicious of him and wanted to

overthrow his power. They wanted a directing head, and they found Sardar Fatih Singh alone fit to become that head. It was their earnest desire that he should assume the command, but he was ever true and faithful to the covenant of alliance he had entered into. In the majority of Ranjit Singh's campaigns he served him with his contingent. He fought in various battles and was present at the last famous siege of Multan, in 1881 A. D. when the Maharaja became master of the whole province. The avaricious Maharaja appears to have been not only slow and evasive in carrying out the terms of friendship in regard to sharing the new territorial possessions, he also coveted the possessions of his faithful ally and true and sincere friend who had rendered him so much valuable service. By that time a treaty had been drawn up in 1809 A. D. between the British Government and the Maharaja, as two sovereign powers, and the River Satluj was fixed as their common boundary. Neither of these two powers could cross that river. In December, 1825 A. D. the Maharaja sent two battalions under Faqir Aziz-ud-din and Anand Ram, *Pindhri*, to Bist Jalandhar to seize Sardar Fatih Singh's possessions. The Sardar was alarmed and fled along with his whole family across the Satluj. He attempted to procure from the British Government some guarantee for the security of his territory lying on the Lahore side of the Satluj. That Government could not, of course, under the terms of the treaty, interfere. It is said that at that very time the disaffected Singh Chiefs again offered their services to fight against the Maharaja, but Sardar Fatih Singh considered it below his dignity to fight against one with whom he had sworn eternal friendship.

On Sardar Fatih Singh's flight, Lahore army occupied his Trans-Satluj territory and expelled his garrisons. However, it appears that the Maharaja afterwards was sorry for his rashness,

and expressed his desire for a reconciliation, and gave assurance for the security of the Sardar's person and property, and he was ultimately reinstated in his possessions with some exceptions.

Sardar Fatih Singh died on October, 1837 and his son, Nehal Singh, succeeded him. He had several opportunities of showing his goodwill towards the British Government and rendered important service on various occasions. After the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh in September, 1843 A. D. and the proclamation of Dalip Singh as his successor, Sardar Nehal Singh might have "become the foremost man in the Panjab", says Sir Lepel Griffin, "and he might have obtained the leadership in the Panjab, which might have been his had he come forward to head the Khalsa", but he did not come to Lahore, nor did he care to interfere in the affairs of the Darbar there.

During the time of Raja Nehal Singh and since the Sikh war of 1845 A. D. there have been some modifications in the area and income of the State, and it would be beyond our scope to go into all those accounts. Suffice it to say that in 1854 A. D. its actual annual revenue was stated to be Rs. 5,77,763 and it now flourishes under the British protection as one of the most loyal, sincere and faithful dependencies. Its area is 630 square miles with an annual revenue of Rs. 25,00,000 including about Rs. 13 lakhs from the Oudh estates which have been granted by the British Government in recognition of the services rendered by the State.

11 - *The Phulkia Misl.*

The founders of the Patiala, Nabha and Jind States are descended from a common ancestor, Chaudhri Phul, a Sidhu Jat, whose descent is claimed from Jesal, a Bhatti Rajput, and founder of the city of Jesalmer in Rajputana. Phul was the second son of

Rup Chand, by a Jat woman, and was born in 1619 A. D. in Mauza Bedowali. Phul's great-great grandfather, Chaudhri Pakho, was blessed by Guru Hargobind, the sixth Guru, for a prosperous progeny. The village of Mehraj was, by the advice of Guru Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru, founded by Mohan, the grandfather of Phul. Mohan's great grandfather was Mehraj, and the village was named after him. The Guru (Har Rai) again toured in that country and Phul, during his childhood, was blessed, and the prophecy (*vide Ch XI*) was fulfilled. He founded a village about five miles from Mehraj, and named it Phul. The office of Chaudhri had long been held by his family, and in his turn, Phul was confirmed therein by a royal *farman*. He became a powerful Sardar and the father of six sons, one of whom died childless, and the rest became ancestors of the Chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Nabha States, and the Sardars of Badrukhan, Laudgarhia, Malaudh, Jiandan and Bhadaur. Phul died in 1652 A. D. and Tiloka, the eldest son, succeeded him as Chaudhri. The families of Nabha and Jind descended from him. Rama or Ram Chand, the second son, got the Sardari, and became ancestor of the Patiala family. About the year 1680 A.D. these two brothers, Tiloka and Rama, founded the village of Rupa after the name of their grandfather, Rup Chand, and it is up to present jointly held by their descendants.

Before giving an account of the Nabha and Jind houses, we proceed to deal with the family of Patiala. Sardar Rama or Ram Chand, in course of time, grew very powerful, and overran the neighbouring countries, and formed a considerable following. He founded the village of Rampura and took up his residence there. He was killed in 1714 A. D. by his nephews Biru and Ugarsen—in avenging the death of their father, Chain Singh, whom, Rama, on account of a quarrel, had caused to be murdered. He left six sons Dunna, Sobha, Ala Singh, Bakhta, Ladha and Budha Singh, but the third son who was born

in 1695 A.D. was abler and stronger than his brothers and became Chief of his father's confederacy. He founded the Patiala kingdom. His first act was to avenge the death of his father. Soon after that he established a Thana or police station in Sangirah. In 1718 A.D. he rebuilt Barnala which had fallen into ruins, and made it his capital. In 1731 A.D. he captured and destroyed Nima. On this Rai Kalla of Kot collected a large army, and assisted by Nawab Sayad Asad Ali Khan, the Imperial general of the Jalandhar Doab and many other chiefs, attacked Barnala. The Imperial general was slain and the enemy was routed with great slaughter. Many were taken prisoners and the greater part of the enemy's baggage fell into the hands of Raja Ala Singh. This success tended greatly to increase his power and strengthen his position. His neighbours began to fear him and Singhs began to gather under his banner. He accompanied the Governor of Sarhind on several expeditions. He conquered many villages and also built new ones. The Emperor of Delhi, hearing of his progress and fame, asked him by a *royal farman* for help in the management of Sarhind, with the promise of the title of Raja. In 1749 A.D. he built the fort of Bhawanigarh and in 1752 A.D. conquered the district of Sanawar, also known as *Chaurasi* (eighty-four), from the number of villages it contains including Patiala, now capital of the territory. Within the next five years he added much to his territory and in 1757 consolidated his power by defeating the Bhattis, Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Hassan Khan, who were assisted by Nawab Nasir Khan, the Mogal Governor of Hissar.

In 1762 A.D. Ahmad Shah Ab'ali, invaded Barnala. The Singhs made a common cause and the Phulkia Chiefs with the Ahluwalia *misl* under Sardar Jassa Singh, and other confederacies gave battle with their combined forces and sustained a heavy loss. Sardar Ala Singh was taken prisoner and the Abdali victor, who was willing to conciliate the Singhs, released him on payment of

Rs. 4,00,000. When in March 1762 A.D. the Chief was released, the Shah embraced him and gave him a dress of honour, with the title of Raja. At the same time he was recognized as an independent monarch. Immediately after this the Raja moved his capital from Barnala to Patiala and laid the foundation of the masonry fort there. When the Durrani king returned to Kabul, the Singhs conquered Sarhind and made it over to Raja Ala Singh. Next year *i.e.* 1763 A.D. that king again came to Sarhind and confirmed the Raja in his tenure of Sarhind on payment of an annual *nazrana* of three and a half lakhs of rupees. The Raja died of fever on the 22nd of August 1765 A.D. He was succeeded by his grandson Amar Singh who was born in 1747 A.D. During his invasion of India in 1767 A.D. Ahmad Shah Abdali honoured him with the title of Raja-i-Rajgan Bahadur, and he was permitted to strike his own coin.

Amar Singh then, in memory of the occasion, spent a lakh of rupees in ransoming the captives who were being taken to Kabul, and gained for himself the popular title of "Bandi Chhor" or "Releaser of captives."

The Raja attacked the Afgans of Malerkotla whose Chief was killed in the battle. He conquered Mani Majra, Kot Kapura, Saifabad, Fatihabad, Sarsa, and Rania. The fort of Bathinda was taken in 1771 A.D. He also took possession of Hansi, Hissar and Rohtak, but these were subsequently surrendered to the Delhi empire in a compromise arrived at with the Imperial Government. There had been more fightings, and in February 1781 A.D. Raja Amar Singh died of dropsy at the age of 35. It was a very lamentable accident because the Raja was a wise and gallant statesman, and if he had lived longer, he might have welded the Cis-Satluj States into one Kingdom and then independence might have been established on a permanent footing. For many years after his death, the reins of government were held rather by women than by any able and strong directing head like himself or his illus-

trious father. It was a great misfortune indeed that he died before he had consolidated his conquests, and his successors could find none carrying to help or follow them in the field. To the contrary there were many powerful Singh Chiefs who envied the Patiala house for the rapid glory it had attained, and strove to undermine and destroy it. The power and influence which had been gained with so much labour by the deceased Raja Amar Singh and his father began, in the absence of an able successor, to diminish day by day, and the protection of the British Government was implored with a view to preserving its independence.

Raja Amar Singh was succeeded by his son Sahib Singh, a child of six years of age, and soon after he ascended the throne, rebellion broke out in all quarters. For many years it was the women alone who possessed wisdom, energy and courage in that family. At times they personally led the force in the field and displayed undaunted spirit, and extraordinary bravery. There were great difficulties in managing the State, and much of the territory which had been seized by the neighbouring Chiefs was recovered. Leaving aside the internal rebellions, there were foreign invasions which had to be repulsed. Internecine quarrels were many and court intrigues numerous. The minority of the Chief was long, and the Diwan Nanun Mal, Prime Minister, was too honest to be successful. As is generally the case with an honest man in power, he was assailed by parasites and slaves who hate such a character, which is a perpetual menace and reproach to themselves. Raja Sahib Singh's ears were poisoned against him, and while he was yet fourteen years old, he became much disaffected. The Diwan had done a great and valuable service to the state, and had shown himself to be not only brave but far-seeing and anxious for the good of the State, but was ill rewarded. Intrigues compelled him to leave the State. The selfish ministers wanted the young Raja to confine his attention to pleasures, nautches, hunting, and elephant fights, so that the

State affairs might be entirely left to their care and management, with a view to aggrandising themselves. Thus the confusion was great and obstacles in the way of proper administration many. The British protection was granted in April 1809, when a treaty of peace and eternal friendship was drawn up between the British Government and the Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The mismanagement in the State became so gross that the sovereign power was compelled to interfere. Although by the proclamation of 3rd May 1809 the Chiefs reserved the right of perfect liberty in their internal affairs, at the request of the great Chiefs of the Phulkian house and owing to the disorder and anarchy in the State, the British Government interfered, and order and peace were restored. The arrangements made worked well, although not without great trouble and difficulty, until Raja Sahib Singh suddenly fell ill, and died on the 26th March 1813 A. D. He was succeeded by Karm Singh, the heir-apparent. He rendered valuable aid to the British Government in the campaign against the Gorkhas, who had for years been encroaching on British territory. At the close of the war, he was granted by the British Government sixteen parganahs of Wahili, Keonthal Baghat &c., Karam Singh died on the 23rd December 1848 A. D. and his son Nirandar Singh, then twenty-three years of age, succeeded him. He rendered valuable service to the British Government during the war with the Singhs in 1845 A. D. and his services were duly recognized by the grant of a *Sanad*. During the Mutiny of 1857-58 the Maharaja of Patiala showed greater loyalty and rendered more conspicuous service to the British Government than any other Prince in India. He was splendidly rewarded for these services. Among other things he was granted the Narnaul division of the Jhajjar territory worth Rs. 2,00,000 a year on condition of "good behaviour and service, military and political, at any time of general danger or disturbance".

The State has rendered several other services to the British

sovereign power, and there have been more internal affairs which lie beyond the scope of this history. Maharaja Narinder Singh died on 13th November 1862. He was succeeded by his son, Mahindar Singh, and the State is now being ruled by his grandson. The State enjoys the perpetual protection of the British Government and its revenue from all sources for the financial year 1868-69 was Rs. 42,78,928-3 3 and that for 1892 was Rs. 56,13,771. Now its area is 5,412 square miles with annual revenue of Rs. 82,65,101.

Jind State.

The history of the houses of Patiala and Jind upto Phul, is the same as has already been recorded in regard to Patiala. Chaudhri Tiloka, the eldest son of Phul, had two sons, Gurdit Singh and Sukhchain Singh. The elder was the founder of the Nabha family and from the younger have descended the Chiefs of Jind, Budrukhan and Baz dpur. Chaudhri Tiloka succeeded his father as Chaudhri, but he did not extend his share of the ancestral property. His second son Sukhchain Singh founded several new villages, one of which was called Sukhchainwala after his name. He had three sons, Alam Singh, Gajpat Singh and Bulaki Singh. The eldest was a brave soldier and after the conquest of Sarhind in 1763 A. D. took possession of a considerable tract of country, but he died childless in 1764 A. D. by a fall from his horse. The youngest brother became the ancestor of Dialpuria Sardars and died in 1785 A. D. Gajpat Singh, the second son, was born about 1738 A. D. He married in 1754 A.D. one of the widows of this brother Alam Singh and succeeded to his estate. His daughter Bibi Rajkaur, was married to Sardar Mahan Singh Sukarchakia and became the mother of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore.

In 1763 A. D. when the Governor of Sarhind was defeated,

Raja Gajpat Singh occupied a large tract of country, including the districts of Jind and Safedon, extending to Panipat and Karnal. Although he had seized the country by force of arms, he acknowledged the sovereign power of the Delhi Emperor and continued to pay revenue. Ultimately in 1772 A. D. by a royal farman he was created a Raja and acknowledged as an independent power, with authority to coin money in his own capital. Next year Rahimdad Khan, the Governor of Hansi, with the help of other Chiefs, attacked Jind but was killed, and his troops routed. The victor then seized the country upto Hansi. After that he occupied the districts of Gohana. He died in 1786 A.D. His territory was divided between his two surviving sons Bhag Singh and Bhup Singh. Bhag Singh took Jind and Safedon with the title of Raja, whilst the other was given the estate of Badrukhan. In 1786 A.D. the Raja got the districts of Gohana and Khar in Jagir by the Emperor of Delhi. In 1803 A. D. he sought alliance with the British Government. He died in 1819 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Fatih Singh. The state is worth more than Rs. 7,00,000 a year and is under the perpetual protection of the British Government. It has rendered considerable services to the sovereign power on different occasions of danger and disturbance. And it has been magnificently rewarded by the British Government by the grant of territorial possessions of great value. Now its area is 1,259 square miles and annual revenue Rs. 13,00,000.

The Nabha Family.

The ancestor of this family was Chaudhri Tiloka whose account has been given in the histories of Patiala and Jind. When Tiloka died in 1687 A. D. his estate was divided between his two sons Gurditta (subsequently Gurdit Singh) and Sukhchain. The history of the latter is connected with the Jind

State, and Sardar Gurdit Singh became the founder of this State. On the estate that fell to his lot, he founded the village of Dhanaula, and some time after that the town of Sangrur, which, for some time, remained the head-quarters of the Nabha State, till it was taken by the Raja of Jind. Sardar Gurdit Singh considerably extended his possessions by taking the neighbouring country. These brothers were always on bad terms and their disputes often ended in bloodshed.

Sardar Gurdit Singh died in 1754 A.D. and Hamir Singh, his grandson succeeded him, as his only son Suratyia Singh predeceased his father, having two sons Hamir Singh and Kapur Singh. The latter founded Kapurgarh and added to his estate the villages of Pakho and Bindiala, but died childless, and his estate reverted to Hamir Singh.

Sardar Hamir Singh was a very brave, energetic and enterprising Chief, and largely extended his possessions. In 1775 A.D. he founded the town of Nabha. Four years after that he occupied Bhadsan, and in 1763 A.D. when Sarhind was conquered by the Singhs he took Amloh, and in 1776 he conquered Rori. He established his own mint, which indicates his complete independence.

Gajpat Singh, the Raja of Jind, (who was his uncle, being third in descent from Tiloka) on some frivolous pretext invaded Nabha in 1774 A.D. and treacherously making him prisoner, wrested away the town of Sangur, which has never been restored to its original owner. During his imprisonment, his Rani, Deso, recovered most of the territory which was thus seized by Raja Gajpat Singh.

Raja Hamir Singh died in 1783 A.D. and his son Raja Jaswant Singh who was then only eight years of age, succeeded him. His step-mother, Mai Deso, a woman of great courage and resolution and who had a great capacity for work, was appointed

his Regent to carry on the affairs of the State during his minority. She died in 1790 A.D. and Raja Gajpat Singh, having died a year earlier the relation of the two States Jind and Nabha—became more friendly. The Raja obtained protection of the sovereign power, the British Government, in 1809 A.D. along with the other States. In 1810 A.D. the Emperor of Delhi conferred upon the Raja the title of “Barar Bans Sarmour Malwindra Bahadur.” He died on 22nd May, 1840 A.D. and was succeeded by his only surviving son Devindar Singh, then 18 years of age. The deceased Raja was a faithful ally of the British Government and rendered valuable services on various occasions. Raja Devindar Singh did not promise well, and failed to become a successful ruler and sincere ally of the sovereign power. As the result of an inquiry instituted into his conduct, he was deposed and deported in December, 1855, with a pension of Rs. 50,000. Some of his territory was confiscated, of which a part was retained by the British Government in lieu of the contingent service and the remainder divided equally between the Maharaja of Patiala and the Raja of Faridkot as a reward for their services to the British Government.

On the deposition of Raja Davindar Singh, his eldest son Raja Bharpur Singh was placed on the throne. As he was then merely a boy of seven, Rani Chand Kaur, his step-grandmother, was appointed guardian, and she was aided by three of the most respectable officers of the Nabha State. The young Raja rendered conspicuous services during the Mutiny and was rewarded, among several concessions, with the perpetual grant of territory worth about Rs. 30,000 a year, and the divisions of Bawal and Kanti, in the confiscated Jhajjar territory, worth Rs. 1,06,000 per annum. Raja Bharpur Singh died sonless in September 1863 A.D. and his younger brother Raja Bhagwan Singh ascended the throne. He also died childless in 1871 A.D. and his collateral, Raja Hira Singh, succeeded him.

The State is now flourishing under the excellent management of the present Raja who is an able statesmen. Its annual revenue from all sources in 1870 A. D. was about Rs. 7,00,000, but owing to the various improvements since effected, it has now nearly doubled. The present Raja is one of the most sincere and faithful allies of the British Government and has rendered many excellent services.

The present area of the State is 923 square miles with an annual revenue of Rs. 15,42,906.

12.—*The Sukarchakia Misl.*

The founder of this Misl was Sardar Budha Singh, a Sahnsi Jat. He claimed his descent from the famous Raja Salbahan, a Bhatti Rajput, who flourished about 1900 years ago. It is alleged that some time after his death, the Raja's descendants lost a good deal of their territory, and while they were in the confusion of a defeat, one of the Ranis, who was pregnant, took shelter in a hut belonging to the Sahnsis, a thievish and degraded tribe. She gave birth to a son who was named "Sahnsra Bhat" but he was nicknamed Sahnsi. Raja Kritu is said to have been his son, who having founded Sahnsra in 1516 A. D. named it after his father and made it his capital, The village, however, became known by the name of Raja Sansi. His descendants, through the versatility of fortune, are said to have lost their territory, and Bhag Mal, in 1678 A. D., was a mere Chaudhri when God blessed him with a son whom he named Budha. Subsequently he was initiated into the Khalsa religion and named Budha Singh.

The early history of the family, as can naturally be imagined, is obscure and enveloped in darkness. There are various tales, some mythical and some fabricated, both in favour of or against the ancient glory of this family, but the truth is that nothing certain is known beyond Chaudhri Bhag Mal, and what-

ever comes to us is a fiction of interested or hostile persons. There is no doubt that at some sort of association with the Sansis, whether real or imaginary, which resulted in their misnomer.

Chaudhri Bhag Mal and his father were orthodox Sikhs and followers of Guru Hargobind. Budha Singh got *pahul* from the hands of Guru Gobind Singh and served him along with his relations during the battles at Anandpur. Afterwards he joined the mission of Banda Bahadur and distinguished himself by his courage and sagacity. Later still he became a bold, enterprising and successful robber. He had a piebald mare, called Desi, who, for her swiftness, was as famous as her master. During the time of Nawab Khan Bahadur, owing to the active persecution against the Singh religion, he felt himself unsafe at Raja Sanhsi and shifted his residence to Sukarchak. He rebuilt it and the confederacy was named after it. He had received some forty seven wounds on his body by various arms, and was killed while fighting the Afghans in 1736 A.D. near Majitha.

He had two sons, Chanda Singh and Naudh Singh, who were equal to their father in all respects and carried on marauding expeditions with their father. Naudh Singh was killed along with his father, leaving one son Charat Singh who was born in 1723 A.D. He was then about 7 and remained under the guardianship of his uncle Sardar Chanda Singh, who became the ancestor of the Sandhanwalia Chiefs.

Sardar Charat Singh became a very powerful Chief and took command of the *misl* at the age of about 16. Within a few years he increased his followers to 150 armed horsemen and seized possession of Gujranwala with all the villages in its neighbourhood, including Kachi sarai, where he established his head-quarters.

In 1754 A.D. he built there a mud fort and provisioned it with munitions of war. Shortly after that he attacked Emnabad,

killed the Mugal Faujdar, plundered the city and carried away considerable spoils and military stores from the arsenal. In 1758 A. D. with the help of other Sardars he attacked and took possession of Sialkot; the Muhammadan Governor there, after hard fighting fled towards Jammu. In 1760 A. D. Ubed Khan, the Afghan Governor of Lahore, at the head of 20,000 troops with 12 guns, besieged his head-quarters. The Sardar defended the place for about a month and was then assisted by Sardar Jassa Singh, Ahluwalia, and the Bhangi confederacy, on whose arrival the invading army was completely routed with great slaughter. Its Chiefs narrowly escaped with their lives and left all their guns and other munitions of war in the hands of the victors. This victory contributed largely to the power and fame of the Sardar, and shortly after it he expelled the Afghan Governor of Wazirabad and took possession of it. Within the next few years he seized Rohtas, Chakwal, Pind Dadan Khan, Pothohar, Sarai Kala and other considerable tracts of country, which in all were worth about Rs. 3,00,000 a year. In 1766 A. D. he was engaged in an action which had ensued between the Singh Chiefs in the neighbourhood of Zafarwal on their way to Jammu. Sardar Charat Singh was killed by the bursting of his matchlock. Mahan Singh, his eldest son, then about 12 years old, succeeded him under the guardianship of his mother Desan, who was assisted by Sardar Jai Singh, the Chief of the Kanhya *misl*. In 1774 A. D. he was married to Bibi Raj Kaur, the daughter of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind.

In 1780 A. D. Sardar Mahan Singh conquered Rasulnagar and Alipur and in commemoration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's birth, which took place on the occasion of this victory, changed their names respectively to Ramnagar and Akalgarh. Sardar Mahan Singh was a brave, enterprising and prudent warrior. He extended his territory a good deal and at the age of 27 died in April, 1792. He was succeeded by his son, Ranjit Singh, as

head of the Sukarchakya Misl. Ranjit Singh's life forms a distinct era of its own in the annals of the Khalsa, and the following Chapter is devoted to it.

CHAPTER XVIII

Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was born in November, 1780 A. D. His mother was Bibi Raj Kaur, the daughter of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind. From his childhood he used to accompany his father in the field. In 1790 A. D. he was present when his father was beseiging the fort of Manchar held by Gulam Muhammad, a Chattah Chief, whose uncle, Hashmat Khan, climbing the elephant on which the would-be-lion of the Panjab was sitting, was going to kill him, but was cut down by one of the attendants. A little before his death, Sardar Mahan Singh had invested the fort of Sohdra occupied by Sardar Sahib Singh, the Bhangi Chief, but he fell seriously ill. He was therefore carried to Gujranwala, and the young Maharaja was left in charge of the force in the field. Then several Sardars like Jassa Singh, Ramgarhia, Karm Singh, Dula, and Jodh Singh Bhangi, came to the assistance of Sahib Singh. On hearing this the seige was raised and the Maharaja encountered the reinforcing armies near Kot Maharaj. After sharp but severe fighting these Sardars were routed and the Maharaja returned in triumph to Gujranwala.

Three days after his return from Sohdra, Sardar Mahan Singh died and his son Ranjit Singh became the head of his family. As he was then about ten years old his mother was appointed regent and was assisted by Diwan Lakhpat Rai, a Khatri of Naushahra, who was the Minister of the late Sardar.

Sardarni Sada Kaur, the young Chief's mother-in-law, was an able, brave and courageous woman, and helped so much in the conduct of the affairs of his State, that she was considered the ladder by which the Maharaja had risen to his zenith. After the death of her father-in-law, Sardar Jai Singh, she assumed the command of the Kanhya Misl to the exclusion of her deceased husband's two younger surviving brothers. She employed her extraordinary genius and military force in the aggrandizement of her son-in-law. Soon after he attained his manhood, the Maharaja contrived to free himself from the authority of his manager and female guardians. Diwan Lakhpat Rai was despatched on a dangerous expedition upon which he was killed. The Maharaja killed his mother, according to some accounts with his own hands. The mother-in-law, Sada Kaur, was treacherously imprisoned and died wretchedly in a dungeon at Lahore.

About this time the Durrani King, Shah Zaman, grandson of the Abdali, Ahmad Shah, was making frequent invasions into the Panjab with a view to regaining what had been lost. He twice occupied Lahore without opposition, but, owing to the troubled state of his Afgan dominions, he could not stay to make necessary and permanent arrangements. The Singhs resorted to their old successful tactics of avoiding a pitched battle and harassing his rear guard and plundering his baggage. The Maharaja generally took this opportunity of crossing the Satluj and plundering the country through which he passed. He also took a prominent part in molesting the rear of the Durrani King on his retirement.

When in 1798 A. D. the Durrani came to the Panjab he passed several months in pursuing and punishing the Singhs with no result. When he left Lahore for Kabul, Ranjit Singh helped in collecting provisions for his camp at Gujranwala and in order to win his favour, dissuaded other Singh Chiefs from harassing him on his retirement. While crossing the Chenab the Afgan King

lost 12 guns in the flood and asked Ranjit Singh to send them to him, with the promise of granting him the title of Raja and the city and district Lahore. The young Chief succeeded in extricating 8 guns. He sent them to Peshawar and got, in return, what he had been promised by their master. Lahore at this time was governed by three Bhangi Sardars, and Ranjit Singh now got it from the Durrani King. He was invited by the citizens of Lahore to occupy the town, as they were desirous of getting rid of the revolting excesses of the ruling Sardars. Therefore he marched upon Lahore and took possession of it in July, 1799 A. D. with little opposition, as he was secretly let into the town by the citizens.

In a very short time he gained much strength, and his power became predominant among most of the confederacies whose leaders contracted alliance. Many Sardars became jealous of him. One Hashmat Khan, a Chief of the Chatta tribe, lay in ambush, and when Ranjit Singh was on his way back from a hunting excursion, approached him and treacherously dealt him a blow with his sword. It missed him but struck the saddle. Ranjit Singh at once drew his sword and severed the assailant's head from the trunk.

In 1797 A. D. the Maharaja joined his mother-in-law, Sada Kaur, and attacked Miani, the head-quarters of the Ramgarhia Chief, with a view to punishing him for his encroachments on the widow's possessions. The siege continued for a long time, when the Ramgarhia was reduced to great straits, and he might have surrendered had not the sudden rise of the Bias river compelled the invaders to raise the siege with a heavy loss of camp furniture, and men and animals, which were carried away by the water in flood.

The rise of Ranjit Singh, with the legally acquired title of Raja, and the capture of Lahore, made him an object of envy and hatred among most of the Singh Chiefs and other neighbouring

Sardars who supposed him their common enemy. A coalition was formed against him, and many Sardars, the most prominent of whom were Jassa Singh, Ramgarhia, Sahib Singh and Gulab Singh, Bhangi, Nizam-ud-din Khan of Qasur, at the head of a large army marched upon Lahore. Ranjit Singh collected as many of his troops from Lahore as he could and with the contingent of Sardarni Sada Kaur he met the combined forces at Bhasin, about 10 koses from Lahore. The hostile forces encamped opposite each other and carried on skirmishes for some months, until Gulab Singh, Bhangi, nominal head of the field force, drank hard and was, one morning, found dead. Upon his death, the allied forces dispersed and many hostile Sardars, perceiving his ascending star, came under Ranjit Singh's banner and contracted alliances. Ranjit Singh returned to Lahore in triumph, and the citizens received him with marks of great honour and respect and offered him valuable presents.

About that time he aided Sardarni Sada Kaur, his mother-in-law, and inflicted a signal defeat upon the Ramgarhia Chief near Butala. He seized Mirowal, Narowal, Jassarwal, and got a present of Rs. 20,000 and an elephant from the Raja of Jammu. At the same time he reduced to submission other places. At that time Yusaf Ali Khan, agent of the British Government, arrived at Lahore with a friendly letter and presents from that government. He was received by the Maharaja with due honours, and dismissed with an exchange of valuable presents for the British Government.

On 1st Baisakh Sambat 1858 (April 1801) Ranjit Singh convened a grand Darbar at Lahore to which all the Chiefs and leading men of his dominions were invited. He then formally assumed the title of Maharaja, or Raja of Rajas. He opened a mint and struck his own coins bearing the inscription :—

“Deg va teg va faith va nusrat bedrang,
Yaft az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh.”†

The reverse contained the name of the Maharaja, the date and place of coining. After going through the ceremonies of opening the mint, Rs. 1,100 were struck the *same day given away* in charity. At the same time he occupied himself in appointing various functionaries for the proper carrying out of the civil administration of the country. He appointed *Kazis*, *Muftis* and Physicians, as well as the police agency, on a permanent footing. Orders were issued giving protection to all subjects and they were promised to be sheltered from all outside aggression and internal disorder. Thus peace and order was restored to the country which had been the arena of famine, anarchy and chaos for centuries past.

Immediately after these administrative arrangements he commenced the task of reducing his refractory neighbours. The Bhangi Chief of Gujrat, the Pathans of Qasur, after hard fighting submitted. Sardar Dal Singh of Akalgath was treacherously confined and compelled to submit. Shortly after his death, his family were treacherously and perfidiously arrested and their territory confiscated.

In 1802 A. D. the Maharaja exchanged at Amritsar his turban with Sardar Fatih Singh, Ahluwalia, as a sign of sincere love and brotherhood and swore on the Holy Sikh Scripture eternal friendship.

Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra encroached upon the territory of Sardarni Sada Kaur, He was repulsed and the Maharaja took a portion of his territory and made it over to his mother-in-law,

After that the Maharaja, along with Sardar Fatih Singh, Ahluwalia, subdued Daska, and other tracts of country without

† For meanings see Chapter XXVII.

much resistance, and made rapid progress in extending his territory. Multan was made to submit, and in December 1802 A. D., the remnants of the Bhangi Misl at Amritsar were vanquished and their territory confiscated. In the beginning of 1803 A. D. he attacked Jhang and obliged the Sial Chief to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 60 000. The Chief of Uch paid him a heavy sum and the Baloch Chiefs of Sahiwal and Garh Maharaja paid their quota as a token of submission.

In 1804 A. D. the Maharaja undertook the reorganization and distribution of military commands to various Sardars, one of whom was Hari Singh, Nalwa, who had risen from a menial attendant to the command of 900 troops, with the title of "Bhai Sahib" because of his being the Maharaja's foster brother. This Hari Singh became a very powerful leader and cut a very prominent figure among the military leaders.

At the same time the subordinate Singh Chiefs and the hill rajas were required to produce, during the time of war, their respective contingents amounting to 29 000 in all.

Early in 1805 A. D. he entered into treaties with the Muhammadan Chiefs about the Chenab and Jhelam Rivers. Jaswant Rao, Hulkar, the fugitive Marhatta Chief, came to Lahore. He was routed and pursued by the British General Lake. He sued the Maharaja for help for the restoration of his territory. Help was refused, but the Maharaja interceded and negotiated for peace. He sent his representative to the British camp on 19th December 1805, and on the conclusion of negotiations a treaty was drawn up on 11th January 1806 A. D. between the British Government and the fugitive Marhatta. At the same time a friendly treaty was entered into between the British Government and the Maharaja by which the latter was required to break all his connections with the Marhatta Chief as has already been detailed. In July, 1806 A. D. he along with Sardar Fatih Singh Ahluwalia, and other chiefs, crossed the Satluj and

exacted tribute from the Singh states and seized Ludhiana from the widows of Rai Ilias Khan. He proceeded as far as Ambala and then went towards the Kangra Hills. At this time Amar Singh, Thapa, Commander of the Nepal army having reduced some petty hill rajas, laid siege to Kangra. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra, was aided by the Maharaja and the Gurkhas were obliged to raise the siege.

In 1807 A.D. Qasur was annexed and the rebellious Pathan Chief Kutb-ud-din Khan was, on surrender, granted a tract of land in Jagir.

In April, 1808 A. D. the British Government sent presents to the Maharaja with a view to strengthening their relations of friendship with the Lahore Darbar. The agent was honourably received and on his departure, a valuable robe of state was bestowed upon him and precious presents for the British Government. Afterwards the British Government considered it necessary to enter into a defensive alliance with the Maharaja, and despatched Mr (afterwards Lord) C T. Metcalfe, who was received by the Maharaja with due honours and respect at Qasur on 11th September, 1808. Negotiations went on for a considerable period and at last a treaty was concluded at Amritsar on 25th April, 1809 which was ratified by the Governor General in Council, Lord Minto, on 30th May, 1809. By the terms of that treaty, the common boundary between the two sovereign powers was fixed—the Satluj—and the Maharaja agreed not to attempt any conquest or to occupy territory south of that river, and withdrew all claims of sovereignty over the Singhs inhabiting that territory.

In the middle of 1809, the Maharaja seized territory belonging to the Kanhya *misl*. In August of the same year, he stormed the fort of Kangra and compelled the Nepal Commander Amar Singh, Thapa, who had again been investing that fort to raise

the siege and retire. Desa Singh, Majithia was appointed as Commander of the fort, and Governor of the Hill States of Kangra, Chamba, Nurpur, Kotla, Shahpur, Jasrota, Basoli, Mankot, Jaswan, Siba, Goler, Kahlur, Mandi, Suket, Kulu and Datarpur. Thereafter the Maharaja seized Hariana from the widow of Baghel Singh, and treacherously confined Bhup Singh, Chief of the Faizullapur Confederacy, and confiscated his dominions. Gujrat was occupied and Jammu conquered the same year.

After this the Marharaja was engaged in reducing to complete subjection the various Singh and Muhammadan Chiefs in the plains, and the hill rajas of Bhimbar, Rajauri and other places.

In 1811 A. D. Shah Zaman, the King of Kabul, who was dethroned and blinded by his Vazir, came to Lahore. Later on Shah Shuja, his successor, fled from Kabul and came to the Maharaja. They were received with due respect and treated kindly and were allotted handsome allowances for their maintenance. Shah Shuja surrendered the famous diamond Koh-i-nur to the Maharaja and got a Jagir of Rs. 50,000 for his maintenance. Later on he conspired with the Governor of Kashmir for an attack upon Lahore, and eventually escaped to the hills.

At the end of 1812 A. D. Fatih Khan, the Vazir of Kabul, attacked and occupied Kashmir. Diwan Mohkam Chand, the renowned General of the Maharaja, accompanied him but the Vazir on some pretext, did not give the Maharaja his share of the spoils. This breach of faith ended in a battle on 13th July, 1813, near Attak, in which the Vazir, with his brother, Dost Muhammad Khan, was routed.

At the end of 1814 A. D. Abdul Nabi Khan, the Vakil of the British Government, brought friendly letters and was received,

and dismissed with due honours and respect.

In March, 1817 A. D. a grand Darbar was held to which all Rajas and Chiefs were invited. Prince Kharak Singh, was then installed and enthroned as heir-apparent to the Lahore throne

After that the Maharaja gained various other victories, and at the end of 1818 A. D. occupied Peshwar. In the middle of 1819 A. D. Kashmir was added to Lahore. After that Dera Gazi Khan was taken, and in 1821 Dera Ismail Khan surrendered. It would appear that by this time the power of the Maharaja had become consolidated and absolute throughout the whole Panjab proper, from the Satluj to the Indus. Peshawar and Hazara also were added to his dominions.

Muhammad Azim Khan, the Amir of Kabul, attacked Peshwar which he reached on the 27th January, 1824. Prince Sher Singh was sent to meet him, and he was followed by Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and others. A religious war was proclaimed, which attracted numerous tribesmen to the banner of the invader. The Maharaja also went to the front at the head of 15,000 horse. In order to delay his progress the boatmen concealed their boats and therefore he forded the Indus on the 13th March, 1824. The incident of his fording this rapid, stony-bedded and extremely deep river is unprecedented in history and is still remembered by the people as a miracle. It is said that as soon as the Maharaja, in spite of many dissuasions, plunged his horse into the river, the water subsided as low as knee-deep as long as he remained in it, and immediately rose again when he got out of it and carried away several hundreds of those who were still lingering behind in the bed. He is said to have stood in the river for a considerable period and witnessed his troops passing through it. The Afghans were completely defeated and routed in confusion with enormous slaughter, and the Maharaja entered the City of Peshawar

on 17th March, 1824, and returned to Lahore in April, following.

In December, 1825 Sardar Fatih Singh, Ahluwalia became suspicious of the intentions of his turban brother, the Maharaja, and went to the British Government for protection. The Maharaja took possession of his territories on the north of the Satluj, but immediately reconciliation was effected, and all his possessions, with a few exceptions, were restored to him.

In the beginning of 1827 A. D. a Muhammadan fanatic, named Sayad Ahmad, of Bareilly in Upper India, pretended to be a religious reformer, and having migrated to the Yusafzai hills, induced the tribesmen to wage a religious war against the Singhs. He went on infesting the Peshawar valley and its neighbourhood until he was captured and slain by Prince Sher Singh in May 1831 A. D.

Sardar Hari Singh, Nalwa, remained at Peshawar as Commander-in-Chief, and in 1836 A. D. he built a fort at Jamrod to command the entrance of the Khaibar Pass. The Amir of Kabul was offended at this and despatched 7000 horse, 2000 matchlock-men and 18 guns under his five sons. They were joined by about 20,000 tribesmen, and at the end of April 1837 A.D. attacked the fort of Jamrod, which was then unprovisioned and garrisoned by only 800 Singhs. The garrison boldly defended the fort for six days, when they were reinforced with troops from Peshawar. The Afghans were routed with immense slaughter by the gallant General Hari Singh, Nalwa, and he inflicted on them a heavy loss during the pursuit. That General, however, was fatally wounded in the pursuit and it was an irreparable loss to the Lahore Government. His undaunted courage and invincible spirit had made him known throughout the Maharaja's realm. The Afghans were very much afraid of him and his very name was enough to throw them into confusion and disorder. His name Haria is up to this time repeated by mothers in Peshawar and its

neighbourhood to frighten and silence their sons.

On the death of that brave General, the Afgans laid siege to Jamrod and large force hurried from Lahore, on whose arrival at Peshawar, the Afgans raised the siege and withdrew to Jalalabad without risking battle

The Maharaja had, for some time, been suffering from paralysis, and all medicines failing to procure a cure, he died on the 27th June 1839 A. D. A little before he breathed his last he gave twenty-five lakhs of rupees in alms to the poor and to various shrines of Singhs. He also proposed, on his death bed, to give the world-wide known, the biggest diamond in the world, the Koh-i-nur, in alms, but he was thwarted in his designs.

The Maharaja Ranjit Singh had risen from an ordinary Chief of the Sukarchakia *Misl* into a mighty sovereign power, and in a few years he had conquered the whole of the Panjab, Kashmir and Jammu, and most of the neighbouring hill rajas were made tributary to him. Although his political career presents us with many woeful tales of a vile craft and treachery which brought about the sudden collapse of his kingdom, he honourably observed all his engagements with the British paramount power after the treaty of April 1809 A.D. was drawn up until his death in 1839 A.D. Presents were several times exchanged between the two sovereign powers and there was also an exchange of visits between the Maharaja and the British Viceroy. His stature was short and he was disfigured by small pox, but he was a model soldier, strong, spare, pain-taking, courageous, enduring, and an excellent horse-man. He was altogether illiterate, but a capable and competent statesman, with a natural genius of command and diplomacy, and a complete ascendancy over his Court and subordinate Chiefs. He was greedy and avaricious, but at the same time, he was exceedingly generous in appreciating and rewarding good service and in granting large estates or revenue assignments to his favourites.

CHAPTER XIX.

Successors of Ranjit Singh.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his eldest and legitimate son, Kharak Singh, who ascended the throne and was acknowledged Maharaja of the Punjab. He was of a weak intellect, an imbecile sovereign and an incompetent statesman. He was much addicted to the use of opium and played the part of a puppet in the hands of one Chet Singh, a worthless and sycophantic creature. As is generally the case with such rascals he began to form plots, and fell himself into one of those pits he was preparing for others. On 8th October 1839 A. D. he was killed in the royal palace, in the presence of his royal master, the Maharaja, who was permitted to abdicate and retire to his princely abode. Prince Nau Nihal Singh, his only son assumed the reins of government. Kharak Singh died on the 5th November 1840 A.D. and the Prince was crushed by the fall of a huge mass of masonry while he was getting through the archway of the northern gate of the Hazuri Bag. He was returning home after performing the last rites on the pyre of his father. The cause of this fall is still a mystery, some say it was accidental, and others maintain it to have been the result of a plot. Kharak Singh died in his thirty-eighth year, and his son was killed while only twenty. Nau Nihal Singh promised to be an able and vigorous ruler, and "had his life been spared and had not English policy partly forestalled him, he would have found" says Cunningham "an ample field for his ambition in Sindh, in Afghanistan, and beyond the Hindoo Koosh, and he might, perhaps, at last have boasted that the inroads of Melmood and of Tymoor had been fully avenged by the aroused peasants of India."

After this sad tragedy was enacted, two factions were formed, one desiring the Maharani Chand Kaur, mother of the

deceased Prince Nau Nihal Singh, to ascend the throne and the other favouring the ascendancy of Sher Singh, reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. However the Maharani succeeded as regent for the expected offspring of Nau Nihal Singh, deceased. She was assisted by a State Council of four Sardars.

The Lahore Darbar became then an arena of intrigues and plots. The Dogra element though called Singh, were really not Singhs being without the *pahul* initiation. They were the chief actors in those intrigues and counter intrigues which, according to historians, practically began with the rise of Chet Singh into the royal favour and ended with the destruction and annihilation of the Khalsa ascendancy. As a result of these machinations Sher Singh besieged Lahore with a large army of 70,000 men and fighting went on for several days. A compromise was effected by which Sher Singh, on 18th January 1841 A.D., was seated on the throne of Lahore and the Maharani was granted a Jagir of nine lakhs adjoining the Jammu hills and Raja Gulab Singh was appointed its manager. The Raja on the pretext of safe custody carried away to Jammu all the money and valuables belonging to the Maharani. Soon after the ascension of Sher Singh, the pay of the soldiery was permanently raised, but still for various reasons it became discontented and suspicious. It became turbulent and difficult to control until the threat of British intervention restored order.

Maharaja Sher Singh, with all his faults and vices became a good civil administrator, but the intrigues of his court became too high to subside. Raja Dhian Singh, his Minister, had his own selfish ends in view; his brother Raja Gulab Singh's beau ideal was his own aggrandisement at any cost. The Sandhanwalia Sardars wanted their own supremacy and acted their part in such a way that the Vazir and his master became unconscious murderers of each other. These Sardars insinuated themselves into the confidence of both the Maharaja and Raja Dhian Singh and cunn-

ingly obtained death warrants for each from the other, and dealt a simultaneous blow upon both of them while each was anticipating the assassination of the other. The Maharaja was put off his guard and on the morning of the 15th September, 1843 A. D. Ajit Singh, one of the Sandhawalia Sardars, pretended to offer him a choice carbine and shot him dead. Lahna Singh, Sandhanwalia, remorselessly and in cold blood, at the same time, assassinated the heir-apparent, Prince Partab Singh, a lad of twelve, who was engaged in prayers and the distribution of alms. Now it was the Vazir's turn to taste his fate. He was enticed away from his body guard and was shot dead.

The assassins now tried to despatch the deceased Raja Dhian Singh's son Hira Singh and his brother Raja Suchet Singh. They failed in their attempt and proclaimed Dalip Singh, the youngest son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was four years old, as sovereign, with Sardar Ajit Singh as his Vazir. When Hira Singh heard of the triple murder of his father, his sovereign and the heir-apparent, he prevailed upon the army by promises to avenge the murders. About 40,000 troops were collected in a very short time and the fort of Lahore, wherein the murders had shut themselves up, was invested in the evening. A heavy bombardment was commenced and maintained till nine o'clock on the following morning, when a breach was effected through which the soldiery entered the fort and the garrison was put to the sword. Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia escaped from the fort, but was pursued, and his head was cut off and brought to Raja Hira Singh. Sardar Lahna Singh concealed himself in a subterranean drain but was found, and his head was immediately severed from the trunk. The fort was plundered by the victors and, as soon as Raja Hira Singh came in complete possession of it, he paid his homage to the young Maharaja Dalip Singh, and then arrested and despatched in cold blood all those who were in any way concerned in the triple murder. Attar Singh, Sandhanwalia who was hurrying up to the aid of the Sandhanwalia assassins, learning their assassins, learn-

ing their fate, precipitately fled and eventually sought protection in the British territory to the south of the Satluj. It is stated that on this occasion all Sandhanwalias were punished with death, forfeiture of property, or banishment, except Sardar Shamsheer Singh, who was an avowed and known enemy of the other Sandhanwalias.

When all these blood avenging operations were over, Dalip Singh was proclaimed Maharaja and his succession was acknowledged on all hands. Raja Hira Singh became his Vazir, but although he was well educated in the politics of the time, yet he was too young and inexperienced to serve in the ruffled state of affairs, and as a consequence he fell under the influence of a crafty and fanatic Brahman, named Jalla. He kept on amusing the Vazir with myths and false prophecies to the prejudice of the State affairs. Raja Suchet Singh, the younger brother of Raja Gulab Singh, became jealous of the young Vazir his nephew, and aspired to his office. He therefore enlisted the support of the young Maharaja's mother, Rani Jindan. Raja Gulab Singh, who had for some time past, managed to keep aloof in the Jammu hills, was sent for by the young Vazir, but he failed to bring about reconciliation between his relations, and therefore he prudently withdrew to Jammu with his brother, Raja Suchet Singh.

At about the same time the young Vazir suspected Sardars Kashmira Singh and Pashawra Singh reputed sons of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh. They held Sialkot and Gujranwala respectively as patrimony from their father. Now the Vazir was bent upon their destruction. He considered them among the claimants to the throne and his own position insecure in consequence. Excuses were not wanting, and the Princes were eventually compelled to give up their possessions. This action of the Vazir was greatly resented by the army, and he became a suspected character. The Khalsa army refused to fight against

the Princes, and the Vazir became virtually a prisoner of the army, until the safety of their persons and property was assured. When he was released it was upon the express condition of the exclusion of the obnoxious Jalla Pandit from all state affairs, and of the release from confinement of Sardar Jawahir Singh, maternal uncle of the young Maharaja. Jawahar Singh was a rival to Raja Hira Singh, being an aspirant to the office of Vazir.

The anarchy and disorder in the court of Lahore had put the whole country into confusion and commotion, and no revenue could be collected. Large arrears became due and the royal treasury was emptied by payment of enhanced salaries or the plunder of court officials. Among the heavy defaulters were Fatih Khan, Tiwana Chief, who was suspected of being privy to the assassination of the Maharaja Sher Singh. He fled to Dera Ismail Khan and became rebellious. Large sums were due from Rajas Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh who resented the earnest demand for payment. The conduct of Raja Hira Singh towards the Princes Kashmir Singh and Pashawra Singh, the accumulation of arrears, the pressure used for their recovery and other causes greatly lowered him in the public estimation, created enemies and caused disaffection among the Khalsa troops. Raja Suchet Singh who, though absent from Lahore, was ever busy in supplanting Hira Singh, watched this opportunity with great interest, and came to Lahore for his destruction, but, after, a brave stand, he was killed along with a handful of his devoted followers.

At this junction Sardar Avtar Singh, Sandhanwalia, who had escaped after the assassination of the Maharaja, claimed the office of Vazir as of right and enlisting the support of Bawa Bir Singh, a holy man, marched upon Lahore. Princes Kashmir Singh and Pashawra Singh, joined him. The Khalsa troops, under the orders of Raja Hira Singh, encountered them. The Sardar, the Bawa and Prince Kashmir Singh were killed and their army dispersed. Prince Pashawra Singh then came to Lahore and

his lands and jagirs were restored to him

When the field was thus cleared of his enemies, Raja Hira Singh felt himself in perfect security and with that feeling his arrogance and haughtiness of temper increased. The insults he poured upon the gentry became intolerable. His bosom friend and idol, the hated Pandit Julla, assumed a demeanour which became much more offensive than that of the Vazir himself. He became so daring that he openly threatened and abused the mother of the Maharaja. The whole Khalsa army was offended and meditated upon their annihilation. Hira Singh, perceiving that his end was nearing, fled towards Jammu taking along with him his favourite god, the Pandit, his treasure and all valuables. They were overtaken on their way by the Khalsa army and cut to pieces on 21st December 1844. Their heads were brought to Lahore and subjected to the greatest indignities. With the annihilation of Raja Hira Singh and his band the Jammu element became practically extinct in the Lahore Darbar and Sardar Jawahir Singh, the maternal uncle of the infant Maharaja, became Vazir. He was associated with Raja Lal Singh a Brahman. As Raja Gulab Singh had been seriously in arrears, an army was sent to Jammu and demand was made to pay a fine of three crores of rupees and restoration of all the property belonging to the deceased Rajas Sachet Singh and Hira Singh. In April 1845 A.D. he found himself unable to meet the attack. By distribution of money and other means, therefore, he succeeded in averting the calamity of a war and the plunder of Jammu and contrived to come under military surveillance to Lahore. On his arrival at Lahore, the mother of the Maharaja was satisfied with all the accounts he rendered of himself, and he was appointed Vazir taking charge of his office on the 14th May 1845 A.D. The Brahman, Lal Singh, who was destined to play a notoriously destructive part against the Khalsa Common Wealth; was at the same time granted the title of Raja.

Sardar Jawahir Singh, the maternal uncle of the Maharaja, was yet informally holding the post of Vazir, and resented his own supersession. Raja Gulab Singh, therefore, considered it advisable to vacate the post in favour of that Sardar and agreeing to pay a fine of Rs 68,00,000 and giving up almost all that the Lahore Darbar demanded of him, shorn of much real power and income, at the end of August 1845, he prudently withdrew to Jammu.

Complications again rose in connection with the Prince Pashawra Singh, in regard to which Raja Gulab Singh is blamed for having caused a rupture in the Lahore Darbar. On the one hand the Prince was promised aid and persuaded to claim the throne, and on the other Jawahir Singh was excited to get rid of him in any way. The real design was to remove Jawahir Singh and he was sure to meet certain death at the hands of the Khalsa army on opening hostilities with the Prince or injuring his person or property. The Prince revolted and occupied the fort of Attak and was subsequently secretly and treacherously put to death by Fatih Khan, Tiwana, a personal friend of Jawahir Singh. Through his exertions, the Tiwana had again found favour with the Lahore Darbar, after his rebellion. He was granted Jagir of Rs. 50,000 as a price for the head of the Prince, and on hearing this the soldiery were exasperated against Jawahir Singh and he was doomed to death as a traitor. On the 21st September 1845 while humbly craving pardon and life, he was attacked and killed by the troops. The queen-mother tried to avenge the death of his brother upon the soldiery and the chief guilt of conspiracy was fixed on the Dogra element.

The fatal office of Vazir was offered to some high functionaries, but they refused to accept it. Raja Lal Singh expressed his willingness to accept but the army disapproved of his appointment. The Rani, therefore, personally conducted the affairs of the state for some time. She was assisted by Diwan Dina Nath,

Accountant, Bhagat Ram, Paymaster, and the well-known Faqir brothers Nur-ud-din and Aziz-ud-Din. The army had confidence in their integrity and talents and the arrangement appears to have met with general approval. The Rani, however, was helped by Raja Lal Singh as her Vazir, although the appointment was not recognized by the public, and his evil councils were contrived for the destruction of the army, which seemed to him an unwieldy engine and too strong a machine to control. The attention of the leaders was diverted to war with the British paramount power in India. With a view to excite the army to action, myths were fabricated and false reports and rumours circulated that the British were meditating an attack upon the Punjab. By misleading the army Raja Lal Singh, early in November 1845, got the appointment of Vazir, and Raja Teja Singh, who was a Brahman of the Mirat District, was appointed Commande-in-Chief. When such characters became both military and administrative heads of the Khalsa Common Wealth, its ruin and destruction were inevitable. The internal commotion had hardly subsided before these traitors assumed authority to lead the army to its fatal dispersion and destruction. Various reasons were contrived for waging a war against the English and it was declared on the 17th November 1845. The ill-fated army began to move ill provisioned, with no treasure and empty munition boxes. On 11th December it began to cross the common boundary fixed by the treaty of 1809 A. D. and took up a position near Firozpur in the British territory on the 14th of that month.

The British Government had anticipated all this and defensive works had long been in progress. They encountered the Khalsa army at Mudki on the 18th December. While the fight was fiercely raging, the traitor Lal Singh, according to his treacherous designs formed beforehand, suddenly abandoned the field with his men with a view to setting an example to the whole army for a general flight. At the same time cries of defeat and

“Run away” were raised in order to induce the soldiery to fly. The conduct of Raja Teja Singh was equally condemnable. He also after making feints precipitately fled and succeeded on the 22nd December in bringing about the final defeat and dispersion of his army. In order to accomplish their treason fully, the traitor administrative heads had suspended the long prevailing system of *panchayats* or army councils so that the leaders might not in any way suspect the treason. It is undesirable that we should go into all the painful details of the treason, suffice it to say that the petty leaders fought as bravely as they could and their valour will be known and appreciated as long as history exists. The headless, misdirected, and doped Khalsa army fought with unprecedented valour and bravery and met its pre-arranged and treacherous fate.

The scattered troops rallied again and marched on Ludhiana. On 21st January 1846 a sharp skirmish took place at Baddowal in which the Singhs became victorious, and the shameless traitors Lal Singh, and Teja Singh “shrank within themselves with fear”, and Raja Gulab Singh “who had been spontaneously hailed as minister and leader, began to think that the Khalsa was really formidable to one greater far than himself”. On 27th January Raja Gulab Singh was appointed minister in place of Lal Singh and he came to Lahore. Rani Jind Kaur directed her conspirators to thoroughly complete the work of destruction of the army, failing which she and the traitors were sure to get their deserved reward of ignoble death. On 28th January a fierce battle was fought at Aliwal, and a traitorous defeat and dispersion was again managed through non-Khalsas and indifferent forces whilst the leaderless and forlorn Khalsa petty leaders perished fighting with a resolution worthy of their name. The dispersed Khalsa troops were again rallied and arrangements for their complete and final destruction were made. The supply of treasure, food, and all the munitions of war had in the first

instance been slow and passive, but later on it was denied and the soldiery were required to make their own arrangements. The supply of gunpowder was not only stopped, but in order to complete the fraud, bags of *sarson* (a species of mustard, *sinapis dichotoma*) were supplied. The fight commenced again at Sabraon on the 10th February and the Khalsa troops hardly contested the ground and, when the general conflict began, the fraud was discovered. The cannons stopped firing. Even the gunners had to engage in a hand to hand fight and hardly contested every inch of ground. Seeing this stubborn spirit of the Khalsa, the traitors again came on the stage to play their part. When his co-operation was extremely wanted "the traitor Teja Singh, indeed, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assault and during his retreat sank a boat in the middle of the bridge over the river with a view to render impossible the re-crossing of the Khalsa army on their defeat, which, under the circumstances, was sure and certain. Sardar Sham Singh of Atari, the faithful friend of the Khalsa and true devotee of the Guru, had in the beginning dissuaded the Khalsa from hazardous war against a formidable power like the English, and when it was once undertaken he vowed to conquer or die. On the last day, he attired himself in white, and gallantly rallied the shattered ranks again and again and, amid showers of balls, galloped his horse from end to end of the field encouraging and exciting his troops to action, until he drank the cup of martyrdom along with the brave. The fate of the Khalsa was sealed. They had no head and most of them perished either in the field or in their attempts to ford the swollen river.

The victors crossed the Satluj and on 12th February occupied the fort of Qasur without opposition. The Governor-General joined the camp of the Commander-in-Chief there on the 15th. The British Government, of course, was compelled to

engage in an unprovoked war, but expressed its intention not to occupy the Punjab, but to evacuate it on payment of full indemnity for the aggression on the British possession against the terms of the treaty of 1809. It was announced that the British would evacuate the Panjab when satisfactory arrangements had been made for the future government of Lahore, so that similar hostile movements might not recur on the British frontier. The people, especially the inhabitants of cities like Lahore, were greatly afraid of being plundered as had usually been the case on the arrival of a victor, but they were fully assured that unless hostilities were renewed by the Lahore Durbar or the Khalsa army, the person and property of every individual was perfectly safe and secure, and the announcement was faithfully acted up to.

The British Government demanded the territory between the Satluj and Bias Rivers, with one and a half crore of rupees or one and a half million sterling as indemnity for war expenses. On 15th February a deputation, consisting of Raja Gulab Singh, Diwan Dina Nath, Faqir Nur-ud-din and Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, the Barakzai Chief, waited upon the Governor-General at Qasur and asked for British clemency. Terms of peace were settled and the necessary document was drawn up by which the British Government got what they wanted. The young Maharaja came to Laliani and personally tendered his submission on the 18th. His Excellency the Governor-General arrived at Lahore on the 20th February and garrisoned the fort with English regiments as a sign of divine justice that the most unruly, wanton and vaunting army was crushed within the short period of sixty days. The new treaty between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar was signed on the 8th March 1846 and ratified by His Excellency the following day. As the full amount of indemnity could not be procured from the Lahore treasury, the hill country between the Bias and the Indus was given to the British Government as the equivalent of one crore. As Raja Gulab Singh

was considered to have rendered useful service to the Lahore Government, especially in concluding the peace, he was recognised as independent sovereign of the hill territories referred to, with some qualifications, on payment of the stipulated sum of one crore of rupees or one million of pounds sterling. On 15th March 1846 he was formally invested with the title of Maharaja.

It appears that at the conclusion of the war, the traitor and enemy of the Khalsa Common Wealth, Raja Lal Singh, was elated with the success of all his treason. He had attempted the ruin of the Khalsa Common Wealth simply for his own aggrandisement and succeeded at the close of the treaty, in attaining the much coveted office of minister, so that the little that was, through the clemency and mercy of the British Government saved, might be lost for ever.

Raja Teja Singh presumed that he would get some reward for his treason but he appears to have been chided by the British Government for his behaviour.

Rani Jindan, the mother of the young Maharaja, was recognized as Regent of the State. Her minister and other traitorous Chiefs fully understood that their position was difficult to maintain. Although the army was reduced the apprehension of their own treason rendered them timid like thieves. Of course, if Raja Gulab Singh had assumed the ministry, the case might have been different, but as it was English help was quite indispensable. Therefore a treaty was drawn up on 11th March 1846 by which a British Officer was left at Lahore till the end of December 1846 for the safety of the minister and his associate Chiefs. As every traitor is bound to have his award, Lal Singh was involved in the resistance made by Shaikh Imam-ud-din, in making over possession of Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh. The Raja was tried on 3rd and 4th December, 1846, and banished to Benaris on a pension. Afterwards a Council of Regency was formed and the

British protection was solicited until 4th September 1854 when the minority of the Maharaja Dalip Singh was to end. It was granted accordingly and a new treaty was drawn up on 16th December 1846.

In 1848, Diwan Mul Raj, the Governor of Multan, revolted and after a long contest he was compelled to surrender on 22nd January 1849. He was tried by a Court Martial and was imprisoned for life.

In the meantime Rani Jindan concerned herself in various intrigues and began to infest the court. At last she was banished to Benaris, as her presence in the Panjab was found to be quite injurious to the interests of the Lahore Government.

After the punishment awarded to Diwan Mul Raj, there was another rebellion of the Singhs. Several battles were fought, but the most memorable of them was at Chilianwala in the Gujrat District which cost several thousands of lives. The last of them was fought at Gujrat. A son of Dost Muhammad Khan, the Amir of Kabul, had joined the rebels with 3,000 Afghans. After all the British were victorious and the rebels were utterly humbled on 21st February 1849.

When these rebellions and disturbances came to an end, the British Government deemed it desirable both for their own security and the interests of the people, to annex the Panjab to the British Empire, and by a Proclamation, dated 29th March 1849, the territory of the Lahore Darbar was forfeited to the British Government. A pension of five lakhs of rupees per annum was conferred on the young Maharaja Dalip Singh and the whole of the state property was confiscated. The county, which for centuries past, had been the theatre of war, blood-shed and carnage, religious intolerance and martial anarchy, got the assurance that "the British Government shall leave to all the people whether Mussalmans, or Hindus or Sikhs, the free exercise of their own religion, but it will, not permit any man to interfere with others in the

observance of such forms and customs as their respective religions may either enjoin or permit." With this proclamation ended the sovereignty of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Conclusion of part I.

In concluding this historical part of our work we deem it proper to ask our readers to reflect and portray before their mental eyes the whole period of 380 years, from the birth of Guru Nanak to the advent of the English in 1849 A.D. What oppressions were practised upon Hindus in general and upon the Khalsa nation in particular, and how the great drama between the oppressor and the oppressed, the ruler and the ruled, was enacted, can well be pictured from the brief sketch we have given. During the time of a tyrannical Government, political turmoil, religious persecutions, social degradation and spiritual degeneracy, Guru Nanak was born to bring about a grand, noble and sublime reform and to remove the oppression. How spirit was infused into a fallen and degraded people, how their morals were raised, how faith was made firm and unswerving are the topics which form the subject of the next part; but the part to which we are just going to bid farewell, has led us through both the ascetic and martial careers of the Gurus, and a lengthy succession of bloody dramas in which an immense quantity of innocent blood was shed by the tyrant. At the same time, as far as possible, we have tried to show how retributive justice was dealt to the oppressor, and how and with what sacrifice through a long and bloody struggle of about a century, a vast and mighty Empire was wrecked, shattered and finally overthrown by a devoted and oppressed few. Leaving all this aside, the carnage and destruction of life between the period of the advent of Banda Bahadur into the Panjab, and the establishment of the Empire of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, present a horrible scene. How anarchy and martial disorder prevailed, intrigues and counter-intrigues ruled, treason swayed and the

when the

A Maharaja, was no more, have a history of their own. They remind us how all the players appear on the stage of this grand and never-ending earthly theatre, and after playing their parts and leaving their names good or bad, to be remembered with applause or curse by the generations following, retire behind the curtain to reflect upon and receive reward or punishment from the Master of the great theatre. How order was restored, good, benign and constitutional Government established, religious toleration, and general peace proclaimed, and freedom from anxiety reigned on the annexation of the Panjab by the British Government, are matters which we leave for the reader to draw conclusions from for himself, and we proceed to deal with the matter, which has been the real object of our present undertaking.

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