THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA
OF SIKHISM
THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF SIKHISM

Volume III
M—R

HARBANS SINGH
Editor-in-Chief

PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA
To the memory of my wife
KAILASH KAUR
PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME

The making of an Encyclopaedia will anywhere be a most demanding task. It will be to say the least a wholly time-consuming exercise. It will imply frequently rigorous planning over long stretches of time, verification of details and facts. Fortunately, at hand was a scholar of rare powers of composition and determination. He brought to this work unimagined qualities of faith and dedication. In the result we have these sturdily-built volumes of the Encyclopaedia of Sikhism. Volumes I and II have been very enthusiastically received both by the general reader and cognescente. Encouraged naturally by the success of the work, we are floating the third volume in a single year. The volume covers "M" to "R".

The end of the journey is now clearly in sight. I must thank scholars who have lent their expertise to this work. It was with the object of encapsulating authentic and comprehensive interpretation about Sikhism that the Punjabi University took up the task of launching upon this task.

We have indeed reached a point well-worth celebration. It was by no means an easy task and we had not stepped into it in a hurry. The Encyclopaedias are not easily got up. They require a precise and clear-cut scheme of work. They demand a well-articulated, meticulously worked out and sensitively-modulated style of writing.

There has been a kind of methodlessness in our scheme of work. Yet, this proved our surest method. We blundered page after page into what we really intended to achieve. By our sureness of touch we were able to achieve our desired goal.

It has been my privilege to collect and acknowledge the events of a period which is as yet not too distant from us. The Muse has not completely deserted us. Or gone out of sight.

I take this opportunity to thank the learned scholars who have contributed their expertise to the volume. I commend at the same time the initiative taken by the Head, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, and his colleagues.

The twentieth century has been a period dotted all along with exciting situations. One will need to go all out to keep abreast of the current situation. One will need to recapture the past—to conserve the past. Hence the need for Encyclopaedias and other reference works.

Punjabi University
Patiala
13 April 1997

JOGINDER SINGH PUAR
Vice-Chancellor
PREFACE

“Encyclopaedias do not grow on trees,” I had read somewhere as I was browsing among materials in the library. My object was to delve deeper into the mystique of the genre preparatory to drawing up my own plan of work on an Encyclopaedia of Sikhism I had been assigned to by the Syndicate of the Punjabi University. But I was not daunted by the dictum. I let it pass up. However, the admonishment it contained was not entirely lost upon me. I knew it would by no means be an easy task. It would be hard, arduous labour all the way up, demanding unceasing search and toil. I was not totally unaware of it, nor unprepared for it.

The Sikh Encyclopaedia was the brainchild of Professor Kirpal Singh Narang who was then the vice-chancellor of the Punjabi University. He had worked overtime to draw up for the University an elaborate programme in honour of the 300th anniversary of the birth of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru or prophet-mentor of the Sikhs, which came off in 1966-67. The celebrations bequeathed to Paiala two permanent monuments; one, Guru Gobind Singh Bhavan, an intriguing, modern-looking structure, planted as if it were in the heart of the University campus and, second, a department of Religion, embracing the study of five world traditions — Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Sikhism, with the sixth, Jainism, diving in from the side a little later. Prior to putting down his plans on paper the vice-chancellor had taken a special trip out to Harvard University to seek the advice of the famous Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Director, Center for the Study of World Religions. The department at Paiala was going to be the first academic set-up of its kind in India where Religion in the academe had been considered a highly combustible substance and where everyone seemed to have a hush-hush attitude towards it. Professor Kirpal Singh Narang, with the weight of his argument and with a dash of prescience, had his way. He linked up the academic programme with the Guru Gobind Singh celebrations and made it look generally as acceptable as the latter. When working out the courses of study and syllabi for the various traditions it soon became obvious that Sikhism among them was the least well-served by existing literary and historical materials. The suggestion emerged that the creation of a comprehensive reference work would be the first thing to do. The vice-chancellor promptly spelt out the title — the Encyclopaedia of Sikhism — and simultaneously nominated the chairman of the Guru Gobind Singh Department of Religious Studies to take charge of the matter.

How simplistic were the notions I had been nurturing in my mind began soon to dawn upon me. Also readily began to show up the shortcomings in the scheme I had devised. I had planned that, since it would not be practicable to collect under one roof specialists in different fields, most of the articles of the Encyclopaedia would be written by "outside" experts and that we would have a small editorial unit at the University to shepherd the
PREFACE

manuscripts, fact-check them, and revise them to ensure some kind of a literary discipline and symmetry. It seems I was not above exaggerating my own editorial experience and capacities. Three or four of the scholars whose names were on the top of my list were too busy and were chary of putting anything additional on their plate. They declined our invitations. This in fact turned out to be the principal pitfall. The number of contributors we could call upon fell dismally short of our needs. Scholars with experience of research in Sikh studies and of specialized writing were few and far between. Our choice was thus severely limited. In some cases our invitations for articles got accumulated in a few pairs of hands and our files were soon bursting at the seams with copies of reminders we had had to send out chasing after our contributors. We had to wait for long periods of time before securing manuscripts from them.

Still we had no choice except to adhere to the plan we had originally prepared. Then we had no precedents to go by. On Sikh doctrine no concisely argued work existed. Even historical fact was far from well sifted. To this may be added the paucity of reliable and firm documentation. Authorities of whatever vintage hopelessly contradicted one another. This, despite the fact that most of the Sikh enterprise had occurred within the full view of history! It seems the focus has been woefully warped at some point. Efforts at rectification have remained tentative. It is not easy to restate and repack the entire range of information and knowledge of a people. An attempt has been made here precisely to define the ideas and terms of Sikhism. The writing is intended to be simple and tight, shunning the purple and the loose alike. The aim throughout has been clarity and precision.

Bypassing Amritsar, religious headquarters of Sikhism, as well as Anandpur Sāhib, the birthplace of the Khālsā, Paṭialā became the focus of the world-wide Gurū Gobind Sīṅgh celebrations in 1966-67. It is not on record if any other anniversary on the Sikh calendar had been observed with similar zeal and eclat. M.A. Macauliffe (1841-1913), British historian of the Sikhs, did draw their attention to the 200th birth anniversary of the Khālsā, due in 1899, but the event did not draw much popular attention. However, the tercentenary of Gurū Gobind Sīṅgh’s birth, 67 years later, was an event celebrated round the globe with unprecedented fervour. Festive and academic programmes to mark the occasion were set up in many parts of the world. The largest share of the responsibility was claimed by Paṭialā where Gurū Gobind Sīṅgh Foundation was formed to direct and guide the celebrations.

The chief minister of the Punjab, Rām Kishan, called, on 8 August 1965, a convention representative of the religious, literary and lay elements in the life of the country. This gathering was the precursor of the permanent body called the Gurū Gobind Sīṅgh Foundation. Mahārājā Yādavinder Sīṅgh (1913-1974) of Paṭialā was chosen to be the president of the Foundation and a sum of Rs 12 lakhs was set apart for the celebrations by the State government in its annual budget which amount was, happily through an oversight, most unusual for a financial set-up anywhere in the world, repeated in the following year’s budget. The Foundation was thus born with a “silver spoon” in its mouth.

The next meeting of the Foundation took place in the chandelired hall of the palace of the Mahārājā of Paṭialā, with a large portrait of Mahārājā Ālā Sīṅgh, 18th century Sikh hero and founder of the Paṭialā dynasty, overlooking the assembly from one side and the Hungarian painter August Schoefft’s famous canvas depicting Mahārājā Ranjit Sīṅgh’s court with a replica in gold of the Amritsar Golden Temple underneath it, from the other.
PREFACE

Past and present thus converged at the time of that small Sikh assembly on 30 November 1965, refracting history into the current moment. Chandīgarh, the State capital, was named the headquarters of the Foundation with Gīānī Zail Śingh as the general secretary. One of the several committees appointed was charged with planning and bringing out literature appropriate to the occasion. From the offices of the Foundation soon began to flow a steady stream of literature comprising a commemoration volume, illustrated books for young readers, annotated editions of Guru Gobind Śingh’s works, and a biography of Guru Gobind Śingh in English which was simultaneously translated into all major Indian languages such as Saṅskṛit, Hindi, Punjabi, Beṅgāli, Assamese, Maḥāḷī, Gujārāti, Oṛiya, Śindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Malayālam, Kannaḍa, Kashmirī and Maithilī.

In this spontaneous enthusiasm for anniversary celebration is reflected the Sikhs’ response to the historical memory of the Gurus and to the important events of their history. Visible here is also their deep commitment to their faith, their joyous and urgent participation in their historical tradition, their cohesion and their love of the spectacular.

The burgeoning of interest in the study of Sikhism brought to light the grave paucity of materials on Sikhism, highlighting at the same time the need for serious academic research and study. The present publication aims at supplying the gap. The purpose of the undertaking was to prepare in English and Punjabi a general reference work about Sikh religion. The work was to be comprehensive in scope and was to cover topics such as Sikh theology, philosophy, history, ethics, literature, art, ceremonies, customs, personalities, shrines, sects, etc. The details of the scheme were worked out under the aegis of an advisory committee consisting of leading scholars of the day — Dr Bhājī Jodh Śingh, Dr Gaṇḍā Śingh, Professor Gurbachan Siṅgh Tālib, Dr Faujā Śingh, Dr Tāran Śingh and Professor Gulwant Śingh. The staff originally provided consisted of the Editor (Professor Harbān Śingh), two Assistant Editors (Dr Harkirat Śingh and Professor Harminder Śingh Kohli; the former was on his retirement replaced by Dr Jodh Śingh), two Senior Research Fellows (Sardār Śingh Bhatīa and G.S. Nayar), one Research Associate (Dharam Śingh), two Research Assistants (Gurnek Śingh and Major Gurmukh Śingh), and Research Scholar (Gīānī Gurcharan Śingh). Some initial exploration was made by Himat Siṅgh.

The first task was to compile a list of subject-titles to be included in the Encyclopaedia. To this end, the staff, in the first instance, rummaged through libraries — on the campus, the University Library, Bhai Mohan Siṅgh Vaid collection and Bhai Kāhn Siṅgh collection, and off the campus, the Motībāgh Palace library, and the State Archives, and compiled a list of likely topics. A list of nearly 4,000 titles thus emerged. At the same time a roster of likely authors was prepared. This comprised lists in Punjabi and in English. Those who did not write in English were free to write in Punjabi. We had their work translated into English.

Having to work on a long-term project has its own hazards. I passed through several health crises. At one point, I was incapacitated following an eye-surgery, but was, thanks to the skill and devoted care of the surgeon, Dr Robert M. Johnston, Leeburg, U.S.A., rescued from a hopeless situation recovering the full use of the eye. In 1989 I was felled by a stroke which led to serious physical decrepity but, fortunately, left my mental faculties generally intact. This was all the Guru’s own mercy and I was able to continue my work on the Encyclopaedia. A tragedy hit me on the eve of the release of this volume. My beloved wife, Kailāṇī Kaur, who had waited for a long time for the consummation of
my life's work and who had nursed me most lovingly throughout this period, passed away suddenly on 12 November 1992, leaving me utterly forlorn and shaken.

I must record here my gratitude to the Punjabi University for providing me with the necessary facilities and help. Successive vice-chancellors after Professor Kirpal Singh Narang, namely, Mrs Inderjit Kaur Sandhu, Dr Amrik Singh, Dr S.S. Johl, Dr Bhagat Singh and Dr H.K. Manmohan Singh nursed the project with all their heart, and treated me personally with much courtesy and affection. Dr H.K. Manmohan Singh has especially been alive to its scholarly needs and I am very happy that the first volume is being issued during his time. The first thing the newly arrived Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Dr J.S. Puur, did upon stepping on the campus was graciously to call upon the ailing editor-in-chief. On that occasion and subsequently he had many a positive word to say about the Encyclopaedia project. I need scarcely say how delighted I am to see the Encyclopaedia in print. I trust it will fulfils the hopes with which it was launched and help fertilize Sikh learning. I feel especially gratified fulfilling the promise I made to the academic fraternity several years ago. To my colleagues I render my heart-felt, affectionate thanks for the solid manner in which they stood by me, through thick and thin. Dr Hazara Singh, Head, Publication Bureau, who has earned wide acclaim for himself in this part of the country by his contribution to the art of printing, had reserved his special love for this publication. I must thank him for the attention and care he gave it. I must not omit the name of Santosh Kumar, my P.A., who very cheerfully gave this work many of his Sundays and holidays especially after I had been struck down and spent many a long hour when taking down notes trying to come to terms with my speech somewhat lisped by the malady. I thank him and all the rest of my colleagues for bearing with me so sportingly.

A-1, Punjabi University
Patiala
12 December 1992

HARBANS SINGH
Editor-in-Chief
TRANSCRIPTION/PRONUNCIATION KEY FOR NON-ENGLISH WORDS/PHRASES

Certain names and terms have been used in the text in their original Punjabi form. In order to facilitate their correct pronunciation, the following key has been used while transcribing the original into the Roman script:

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<th>Punjabi phonemes (Gurmukhi script)</th>
<th>Hindi/Sanskrit phonemes (Devanāgari script)</th>
<th>Urdu/Persian Arabic phonemes (Persian script)</th>
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## TRANSCRIPTION/PRONUNCIATION KEY

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<th>Punjabi phonemes (Gurmukhi script)</th>
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Note: Following by vowel symbol: jīn, gi, gy (5)
TRANSCRIPTION/PRONUNCIATION KEY

Nasalization
(i) ñ preceding न, ठ, ढ, प, घ, छ, ज, झ, ञ, श
(ii) ñ preceding ठ, ढ, त, थ
(iii) n preceding ठ, ढ, त, थ
(iv) n preceding ठ, ढ, प, थ
(v) m preceding ठ, ढ, प, थ

(1) Normally ch represents the sound च or च and chh has been used for the heavier phoneme छ or छ, but in exceptional cases while transliterating Sanskrit terms or texts, c and ch have been used for the two sounds, respectively.

(2) Normally v has been used to represent Punjabi व or Hindi व and w to represent ओ of Persian script in words of Persio-Arabic origin such as kotwāl, fatwā, etc. There are, however, exceptions, as in the case of divān (religious assembly or congregation) and divān (title or institutional designation), or Goidvāl (place name in India) and Gujrañvālā or Peshāwar (place names in Pakistan). W has also been used in certain personal names where the individuals concerned are known to have used it when spelling their own names. For instance, Balvant Singh, Jiwāharlāl, Tiwānā, etc.

(3) In spelling some place names, ठ has been used for ठ to follow prevalent usage, e.g. Nanded and Jīnàdā. There may be found some other instances where current usage has been preserved, as in Scindia, Gwalior, Lucknow or Phagwārā.

(4) Use of र and s has been made sparingly in Sanskrit names and texts only. At other places ri and sh has been used to transliterate र and श, respectively. Examples are (Lord) Kṛṣṇa and (Guru Har) Krishan.

(5) ji for ज is used only in spelling मन (jiyan) and its derivatives in Sanskrit or classical context. Elsewhere gy or gi has been used as in Gyan or, more often, Giyan.

USE OF ITALICS AND DIACRITICS

All non-English words, phrases and texts are printed in italics with diacritical marks as indicated in the transcription key. There is, however, an exception. Under ‘Bibliography’ diacritics are used only where works cited are in Indian languages or in Persian. In the case of works in English or other European languages, diacritics have not been used even for the names of the authors though they be Indian. Italics and diacritics have also not been used in names of countries and of languages.

DATES

Dates are generally given in the Christian era. Where, however, Bikrami or Hijri dates are cited in the original sources, they have also been made use of along with corresponding Christian era dates.

ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<td>AD</td>
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<td>BC</td>
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CONTRIBUTORS

I.C. Ian Copland
I.J.K. Ian J. Kerr
Iq.S. Iqbal Singh
J.B.S. Jaghr Bahadur Singh
J.C.B.W. John C.B. Webster
J.K. Jitinder Kaur
J.M.L. J.M. Lafont
J.P. Jeffrey Perrill
J.P.S.U. J.P.S. Uberoi
J.Pg. Joyce Pettigrew
J.R.G. Jati Ram Gupta
J.S.A. Jagjit Singh Anand
J.S.G. J.S. Grewal
J.S.J. Jaswant Singh Jas
J.S.K. J.S. Khurana
J.S.N. Jaswant Singh Neki
J.S.S. Jit Singh Sital
Jb.S.A. Jaspur Singh Ahluwalia
Jd.S. Jodh Singh
Jg.S. Jagjit Singh
Jg.S.R. Jagjit Singh, Ropar
Jn.S. Janak Singh

K.A.N. K.A. Nizami
K.C.G. K.C. Gulati
K.J.S. K. Jagjit Singh
K.K.B. Krushna Kumari Bansal
K.L.S. Krishan Lal Sharmal
K.L.T. K.L. Tutija
K.M. Kamlesh Mohan
K.R.S. K.R. Srinivasa Iyenger
K.S. Khushwant Singh
K.S.D. Kuldip Singh Dhirl
K.S.Dd. Karnail Singh Doad
K.S.Dl. Kartar Singh Duggal
K.S.K. K.S. Kang
K.S.M. K.S. Malhi
K.S.S. Kernial Singh Sandhu
K.S.T. K.S. Thapar
K.S.V. Kulwant Singh Virk
K.S.Tl. K.S. Talwara
K.T.L. K.T. Lalwani
K.W.J. Kenneth W. Jones
Kn.S. Kishan Singh
Kt.S. Kirpal Singh
Kt.S. Kartar Singh

L.C. Lachman Chellaram
L.M.J. L.M. Joshi

M.A.S. Maharaja Amarinder Singh of Patiala
M.G.S. Major Gurmukh Singh (Retd.)
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CONTRIBUTORS

Madanjit Kaur
Mark Juergensmeyer
Marie Joy Curtiss
Murray J. Leaf
M.L. Åhlüwälla
Moti Lal Jotwani
Mulk Raj Anand
Mohinder Singh
M.S. Ahluwalia
Mohinder Singh Gill
Man Singh Nirankari
Mubarak Singh
Mohammad Aslam
Mrigendra Singh
Milkha Singh
Mannohan Sehgal
Maheep Singh
Mehtab Singh
Mehervan Singh, Singapore
Maharaja Yadavinder Singh

Noel Q. King
Nirvair Singh Arshi
Naunihal Singh Giani
N.S. Sohli
Niranjan Singh Sathi
Niranjan Singh
Nripinder Singh
Narah Singh
Nazir Singh

Penderal Moon
P.M. Wylam
P. Machwe
Piar Singh
Pratap Singh Giani
Pritam Singh Gill
Parkash Singh Jammu
Piara Singh Padam
Piara Singh Sambhi
Pritam Singh Saeer
Parduman Singh
Partap Singh Gill
Parkash Singh

Rachhpal Kaur
Raja Ram
Ranbir Singh
R.S. Dutta
Rattan Singh Jaggi
Rajinder Singh, Qaumi Ektah
Ram Singh Tomar
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MACAULIFFE, MAX ARTHUR (1841-1913), English translator of the Sikh Scriptures and historian of Sikhism, was born on 10 September 1841 at Newcastle West, County Limerick, Ireland. He was educated at Newcastle School, Limerick, and at Springfield College and Queen’s College, Galway. He received a broad humanistic education that allowed him to read the Greek and Latin classics in the original. He could also read French and Italian. In 1862, he was appointed to the Indian Civil Service and was assigned to the Punjab. He arrived in the Punjab in February 1864. After eighteen years of service, he was appointed a Deputy Commissioner in 1882. Two years later, he became a Divisional Judge. Throughout his life Macauliffe maintained a personal reserve that made him reluctant to speak of himself or his own aspirations and struggles save in a few scattered places in his writings. His career in the Indian Civil Service has received no special historical note. Although his deep understanding and sympathy for the people of the Punjab and their religious traditions doubtless made him an able and just civil servant, it also brought him into conflict with his fellow Englishmen in India.

The focus of his life is in his work as a translator and interpreter of Sikhism to the English-speaking world. His interest in Sikhism was sparked by attending a Diwālī celebration in Amritsar shortly after arriving in the Punjab. In order to understand ceremonies and the importance of the Golden Temple, he undertook a study of Sikhism and especially of the hymns of the Gurūs. He found himself deeply engaged by what he studied because, in his words, “the sublimity of their style and the high standard of ethics which they inculcated were unmatched.”

His studies of Sikhism first appeared in the Calcutta Review in articles published between 1875 and 1881. It became increasingly evident to Macauliffe that the massive work of translating the Gurū Granth Sāhib and writing a definitive history of Sikhism could not be combined with his responsibilities as a full-time civil servant. When, in 1893, the Khālsa Diwan offered him financial assistance to carry on his work, he retired from the Indian Civil Service. However, long before his retirement, he had established deep and continuing contact with leading Sikh scholars and had mastered the necessary linguistic tools. He studied a number of Indian and related languages in order to master the linguistic complexities of the Gurū Granth Sāhib; among these he mentions Saṅskrit, Prākrit, Arabic, Persian, Turki, Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī and Punjabi in its various dialects.

While in India, Macauliffe made his home at Amritsar on Cantonment Road. He also lived in Nābhā, where he was assisted in his work by Bhāi Kāhn Singh whose services were made available by Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh of Nābhā. Macauliffe spent time in Mussoorie and Dehrā Dūn as well. His extensive works of translation and historical research were brought together in his magnum opus, The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred
Macauliffe, Max Arthur

Writings and Authors in 1909. In order to make this work ready for the press, he returned to England with Bhai Kahn Singh. The work was published in six volumes by the Clarendon Press in Oxford. After this Macauliffe contributed the articles on Sikhism to the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica and continued to interpret Sikhism to both popular and scholarly audiences by lectures and articles. He died on 15 March 1913 in his London home, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington. He was attended to the end of his life by a Punjabi servant, called Muhammad, who reported that Macauliffe recited the Japu(ji), the Sikh morning prayer, shortly before he died.

The antagonism of Anglo-Indian officialdom towards Macauliffe grew, particularly after his retirement. This was a major factor in denying him the official government patronage he needed to support his work. It is estimated that he spent two lakhs of rupees out of his personal funds for the work of preparing The Sikh Religion. Financial assistance came from a number of Indians, including H.H. Sir Hirâ Singh, Mâlvendar Bahadur, the Râjâ of Nâbhâ; H.H. Sir Râjînder Singh, the Mahârâjâ of Paêjâla; H.H. Râjâ Raëbir Singh, Râjâ of Jind; the Tîkkâ Sâhib of Nâbhâ; Sardâr Ranjit Singh of Chhachhrauli and H.H. the Gâekwâr, of Bârodâ. Leading scholars and statesmen recommended The Sikh Religion for the patronage of the Indian government. In addition, a special committee of learned Sikhs, called together by Col. Jawâlâ Singh, Superintendent of the Golden Temple, carefully examined Macauliffe's translations of the hymns of the Gurû Granth Sâhib and commended them as accurate and faithful to the Sikh religion. The Punjab Government recommended a grant of Rs 15,000 as advance payment for copies of the translation. Some in the government, following the lead of Sir Mackworth Young, opposed the grant on the grounds of government's religious neutrality. Finally, Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, ordered the sum reduced to Rs 5,000. Macauliffe felt slighted by the insignificance of the grant and declined it.

The coolness of the British government towards Macauliffe's work ultimately influenced even some Sikhs. In 1911, the Sikh Educational Conference in Râwalpiândî rejected a resolution commending his work. However, after his death, a resolution of condolence was passed by this group. The Sikhs of Râwalpiândî established a Macauliffe Memorial Society and tried to raise money for a library. Their efforts brought only Rs 3,245. This money was to be used for a Macauliffe Medal to be awarded by the University of the Paêjâb in Lahore. Because the competition was limited to Sikhs, the University rejected the offer. Finally, the fund went to the Khâlsâ College in Amritsar where a medal is awarded each year for the best essay on an historical topic. However, this meagre outcome is an inadequate measure of the high esteem in which Macauliffe is held by the Sikh community.

Macauliffe undertook his work of translating the Gurû Granth Sâhib and writing the history of Sikhism with a sense of urgency. He believed that the moral and religious purity of original Sikhism was in danger of being lost. The Punjabi language was going through extensive change that was rapidly rendering the language of the original hymns unintelligible to many people. The older gînîs, the professional interpreters of the Scriptures, were dying out and not being replaced by younger men able to keep the voice of tradition alive. Educated Sikhs were losing not only the linguistic skills, but also the religious motivation to understand their own traditions. Sikhism was threatened, in Macauliffe's estimation, by religious syncretism that drained it of its unique moral and spiritual power. He believed that by rendering a competent translation and history Sikhism could be preserved not only
for the historian, but also as a creative religious force. No adequate dictionary existed, at that time, of the language of the Guru Granth Sāhib, although the foundations for one had been laid in the work of Paṇḍit Tārā Siṅgh Narotam. Macauliffe wanted to catch the living tradition as the guide through the linguistic complexities of the Scriptures before it was lost. The availability of the Guru Granth Sāhib to modern understanding is in no small part due to his work.

Macauliffe’s work built upon over a century of modern Indological studies by western scholars. The footnotes of his writings reveal his discerning use of such earlier students of Sikhism as Henry Colebrooke, John Malcolm and Joseph Davey Cunningham. He utilized the linguistic and historical studies of Horace Hayman Wilson, Monier Williams, and Friedrich Max Müller. But in all his work, Macauliffe had the linguistic skills to come to independent judgements rather than simply to repeat others’ research. No matter how important modern Indological studies were, Macauliffe realized that by themselves they could mislead if not related to the learning of the religious community being studied. This realization came to Macauliffe early in his work on Sikhism when he sought help from the translation of the Guru Granth Sāhib and some of the Janam Sākhīs made by Ernest Trumpp.

Trumpp, a German missionary linguist, had been retained by the India Office to translate the Sikh Scriptures. His work, which appeared in 1877, was widely repudiated by the Sikh community as inaccurate and misleading. In part, this repudiation stemmed from Trumpp’s slanders of the Sikh tradition. But the problem with Trumpp’s translation, as Macauliffe and later Max Müller and other scholars realized, was basically linguistic. Trumpp disregarded the traditional interpretations. Instead, he read the Punjabi of the Scriptures in the light of its relation to Sanskrit. This tended to obscure the complex interplay of languages and dialects that characterize the sacred writings of the Sikhs. Trumpp’s translation was further impaired because its English was awkward. Macauliffe’s basic decision was to seek a fresh approach to the language of the Scriptures through the assistance of professional interpreters of the Sikh community.

Macauliffe’s approach was fraught with great difficulties. He had to retain a number of Gīānīs. The chief one was Bhai Kāhn Siṅgh of Nābhā along with Bhaiās Nihāl Siṅgh and Sant Siṅgh of Siālkōṭ; Bhaiās Dīt Siṅgh, Gurmukh Siṅgh, Rājindar Siṅgh and Nihāl Siṅgh of Lahore; Bhaiās Sardūl Siṅgh Gīāṇī, Prem Siṅgh, Fateh Siṅgh and Darbārā Siṅgh of Amritsar; Bhai Sant Siṅgh of Kapūrthālā; Bhai Bhagvān Siṅgh of Pātiālā and Bhai Dasaundhā Siṅgh of Fīrozpur. While Macauliffe took care to find pious and learned men for the work, he found their opinions often widely at odds with one another. At times, he felt himself driven to vexation. He had to make difficult decisions among various translations and often placed second and third interpretations in footnotes when differences were irresolvable. Yet even after his work had been widely acclaimed by the Sikh community, he realized that there were other gīānīs who could call the whole thing into question. “I have met so-called gīānīs who could perform tours de force with their sacred work, and give different interpretations of almost every line of it.” Finally he was guided by how an interpretation was related to its context and whether it was harmonious with the whole of Sikh doctrine.

The work of translation was not ended with consultations with the gīānīs. They communicated with Macauliffe in various Punjabi dialects. The task of rendering their interpretation into English still remained. Yet even in this, he sought the counsel of the Sikh community. After completing a part of his translation, he would circulate it in proof-
sheets to Sikh scholars for correction. From 1901 to 1903, his proofs were read by Bhai Kahn Singh, Diwan Lilâ Râm, Bhai Shañkar Dayâl, Bhai Hazârâ Singh, Bhai Sardûl Singh, Bhai Ditt Singh, Bhai Bhagvän Singh and others. As the work of translation neared completion, Macauliffe faced the question of how to present it to the English-speaking world.

To print the translation of the Gurû Granth Sâhib in its original order would make it difficult to understand for those who were unfamiliar with its historical setting. Also some of Macauliffe's older, orthodox Sikh friends feared that the Scripture would not be shown the reverence due it when placed in the hands of those unfamiliar with Sikh piety. Macauliffe found a happy alternative that dealt with both these problems in the final form of *The Sikh Religion*. He interspersed the history of the Gurûs with passages of Scripture. The unfolding life of the Gurûs and the Sikh community became the context for understanding the Scriptures. Vol. I deals with Gurû Nanak and the originating events of the Sikh religion. Vol. II deals with Gurû Angad, Gurû Amar Dâs and Gurû Râm Dâs. Vol. III is given over to Gurû Arjan, while Vol. IV tells of Gurû Hargobind, Gurû Har Râî, Gurû Har Krishan and Gurû Tegh Bahâdur. Vol. V is devoted to Gurû Gobind Singh. Vol. VI departs from this chronological order to present the earlier Bhagats (Bhaktas) whose hymns help make up the Gurû Granth Sâhib.

Macauliffe undertook his work with the realization that Sikhism was virtually an unknown religion. The measure of his success is that this is no longer true. *The Sikh Religion* placed before the world a comprehensive picture of Sikhism and its Scriptures. Macauliffe not only gathered together but went beyond what had been done before. His work made possible the modern scholarship that has followed. He correctly identified the linguistic context within which the Gurû Granth Sâhib was formed. Later scholars have gone beyond him and corrected his work at points as knowledge of the ancient language has increased.

The literary style of his translations has been much debated. Macauliffe wrote in a simple, direct style. He did this not only in the interest of clarity but also because he believed it reflected more accurately the style of the hymns themselves. They were not high-blown literary creations built on classical models but expressions of a piety for the common man. The complexities of the problems of translation have yet to be finally solved. Until a work of equal comprehensiveness integrates the results of more recent scholarship, Macauliffe's translation will remain a basic witness to the meaning of the Gurû Granth Sâhib.

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D.G.D.
Adinatha himself. He in turn was the guru of Gorakhnath, the founder of the Nath cult. The Janam Sakhis mention Machhindarnatha as having met Guru Nanak and conversed with him. The reference may be to a contemporary adherent of his school of yogis. The name does not occur in Guru Nanak’s Sidh Goshti, but another of his hymns in Raga Rāmkali is addressed to a yogi, there mentioned as Machhindra. The Guru says that true yoga meant not austerities but overcoming the Five Evils; that the true avadhīta, i.e. renouncer or recluse, is [not one who renounces the world but] one who remains absorbed in contemplation; and that such a one begs for [not alms but] devotion, rejoices in the invaluable gift of contentment, and fixes his mind on the True Name (GG, 877).

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GURDWARA CHARAN KAVAL SĀHIB marks the site of the garden where Guru Gobind Singh stopped first and where Bhai Mān Singh, Bhai Dayā Singh and Bhai Dharam Singh found him asleep after an arduous journey through the thorny forest. The central building of this shrine has a square hall on the ground floor with a square sanctum in the centre where Guru Granth Sāhib is seated. The domed pavilion over the sanctum on the second floor contains a large portrait of Guru Gobind Singh in a sleeping posture. There are also decorative domed pavilions on this floor, square at the corners and rectangular at mid-points of the walls. A rectangular sarovar, west of the Gurdwara, was constructed during the 1970’s. It receives its water supply from an old well believed to be the same as watered the garden at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Gurdwāra is controlled by the Shiromani Gurdwāra Parbandhak Committee through a local committee which also manages Gurdwāra Chubārā Sāhib inside the town. A big fair is held in the third week of December every year to commemorate Guru Gobind Singh’s stay in Māchhīvārā.

GURDWARA CHUBĀRĀ SĀHIB is inside the town on the site where the house of Gulabā Masand once stood. Chubārā means a room on the first floor. It was in a first-floor room in Gulāba’s house that Guru Gobind Singh had put up. The present building comprises a square hall with the sanctum in the centre. The hall is in a square walled compound. For administration, the shrine is affiliated to Gurdwāra Charan Kaval.

GURDWARA UCHCH DĀ PĪR. Guru Gobind Singh had left Māchhīvārā disguised as a Muslim divine, carried in a palanquin and declared by Ghanī Khān and Nābi Khān to be the Pīr of Uchch, an old seat of Muslim saints in southwest Punjab. Gurdwāra Uchch dā Pīr was established after 1947 in the private house
formerl y belonging to the descendants of Ghānī Khān and Nābī Khān. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in a small rectangular room. A double-storeyed cell in this house is also being maintained in memory of Gurū Gobind Singh. It is believed that he stayed here for a short while after shifting from Gulābā’s house.

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MACKE SON, FREDERICK (1807-1853), son of William and Harriet Mackeson, was born on 28 September 1807, and educated at the King’s School, Canterbury, and in France. In 1825, he joined the Bengal Native Infantry. In 1831, and for several years afterwards, his regiment was stationed at Ludhīnā. In 1832, he was appointed assistant political agent at Ludhīnā and in that capacity accompanied Claude Martin Wade on a Mission to Lahore and Bahāwalpur in connection with the Indus navigation scheme. From 1835 to 1838, he was agent for the navigation of the Indus and the Sutlej, first at Bahāwalpur and then at Mīthānkoṭ. He efficiently served British political interests in the name of commercial enterprise, keeping a vigilant watch over the Sikhs with a view to checking them from extending their influence towards Shikārpur and Sindh. He also played an important role in the negotiations between Sir William Macnaghten and Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh which resulted in the Tripartite treaty. In 1838, he proceeded to Peshāwar with the concurrence of the Lahore Darbār to win over the people of the Khaibar region, to the side of Shāh Shuŷā‘. He hobnobbed both with the Sikhs and the Afghāns soliciting help for the Khaibar operations. He remained at Peshāwar till 1842.

During the first Anglo-Sikh war Mackeson was with Sir Harry Smith’s division in the field and was present at ‘Alīvāl. In March 1846, he was appointed superintendent of the cis-Sutlej territory. In the second Anglo-Sikh war he was with Hugh Gough as Governor-General’s agent. From 1851 to 1853, he served as commissioner at Peshāwar, where he was assassinated by a local guardsman on 10 September 1853.

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MACNAGHTEN, SIR WILLIAM HAY (1793-1841), born in August 1793, was the son of Sir Francis Macnaghten. He was educated at Charterhouse and joined the service of the East India Company in 1809. He studied Hindustānī, Persian and other Asiatic languages. His diplomatic career began towards the close of 1830, when he accompanied Lord William Bentinck as secretary on his tour through the upper and western provinces of India. He was also present at the Governor-General’s meeting with Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh at Ropār in October 1831. Returning to Calcutta, he was appointed to take charge of the secret and political departments and held that post for four years. In 1838, he headed a mission to the Sikh capital which led to the signing, on 26 June 1838, of the Tripartite treaty.

Macnaghten’s mission to Lahore was undertaken in view of the growing Russian influence in Persia and Afghanistan and the supposed threat to the British possessions in India. Auckland’s government had decided to subvert the power of Amīr Dost Muhammad Khān and to restore ex-king
MACNAGHTEN, SIR WILLIAM HAY

Shāh Shuja' to the throne at Kābul with the help of Sikh arms and British money. Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh was agreeable to Macnaghten’s proposals, but laid down certain conditions. Among other things, he demanded a perpetual tribute or subsidy of 2,00,000 rupees to be paid annually by Afghanistan to the Sikhs, a compensation for forgoing claims on Shikarpur and Sindh, and the cession of the district of Jalālābād and its dependencies to him. All the demands of the Mahārājā except the cession of Jalālābād were agreed to by Macnaghten.

After the restoration of Shāh Shuja’ in 1839 in which the Sikh forces did not take part in any military operations beyond the Khaibar, Sir William was appointed the British minister and envoy to Kābul. Amidst mounting disagreements between the Sikhs and the English, particularly on the Sikh-Afghan borders and the two frontier territories of Swāt and Buner, Macnaghten made wild accusations against the Sikh Darbar. He demanded the recall of the Sikh governor of Peshāwar, General Avitabile, who, he alleged, was coercing the Khaibarīs and extending Sikh influence beyond their borders. He complained that the Peshāwar Bārakzai tributaries of the Sikh government were giving asylum to the Gilzaic chiefs, the rebel Afghan subjects. Macnaghten finally contended that after the death of Ranjit Siṅgh, the Tripartite treaty had lapsed and proposed that the Sikhs restore to the Afghāns their former territories on the Indus, including Peshāwar.

On 23 December 1841, Sir William Macnaghten was lured by the Afghāns into a conference and assassinated by Prince Akbar Khan, the deposed Amir’s son.

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MADAN NĀTH, head of a band of Kanphaṭā yogīs, called on Gurū Gobind Siṅgh as he was visiting Thānesar in 1702. As says Bhāī Santokh Siṅgh, Sīr Gur Pratāp Suraj Granth, the yogī was surprised to see Gurū Gobind Siṅgh in a warrior’s dress and gave expression to his misgiving. Gurū Gobind Siṅgh explained that he had formed the Khālsā and given them this form in face of the religious intolerance of the ruling class, the Mughals.

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MADAN SIṄGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1705), one of the martyrs of Chamkaur (7 December 1705), was, according to local tradition popular in and around Bhagāṇā in Fatehgarh Sāhib district of the Punjab, the son of Bhāī Dīlā, a weaver of that village. Bhāī Dīlā had received instruction from Gurū Tegh Bahādur at Chakk Nānaki (Anandpur Sāhib) and had also served the Gurū when the latter had travelled through the territory. His two sons, Madan and Kāṭhā (or Koṭhā, according to some sources), later went to Anandpur to be in the service of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. They received the vows of the Khālsā in 1699 and became Madan Siṅgh and Kāṭhā (Koṭhā) Siṅgh. Madan Siṅgh, who served in the Gurū’s stables, is also said to have been a poet of some merit. The two brothers trained as soldiers, too. They were among the forty-odd warriors who, after the evacuation of Anandpur and crossing of the rivulet Sarsā in spate, could reach Chamkaur in the company of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh even as the hostile force was in hot pursuit. As Gurū Gobind Siṅgh hastily took shelter in a fortified house...
at Chamkaur and deployed his meagre force for its defence, Madan Singh and Kotha Singh were posted to guard the entrance gate. The small fortress was soon surrounded by the Mughal host who at daybreak the following morning (7 December 1705) opened their attack with an assault on the gate. The two brothers defended it by firing from inside it as long as their ammunition lasted, and then with the Gurū’s permission sallied forth, swords in hand, and died fighting just outside the gate. The memorial shrine later established to mark it is now called Shahid Burj, lit. martyrs’ tower. The tower also commemorates, among other martyrs, Bhai Jivan Singh Ranghreta, who had fallen earlier on the bank of the Sarsā.

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MADDOKE, village 16 km southeast of Mong (30°-48'N, 75°-10'E), in Mong district, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Gurū Sar, dedicated to Gurū Hargobind who, according to local tradition, visited this place twice, once on his way back from Nānak Matā to Darauli and again after the battle of Mehrāj. It is said that Mādho Dās, an Udāsi recluse and a devotee of the Sikh Gurūs, lived here in a thatched hut and that Gurū Hargobind stayed with him on both occasions. A memorial platform built on the spot was replaced during the nineteenth century by a one-room gurdwārā by Suhel Singh, a retired thānedār, who belonged to the neighbouring village of Chūhar Chakk. He also had a tank dug near by and with the earth excavated built a raised platform around the small room. In 1926, the tank was developed into a regular sarovar with paved rows of steps. The following year, the Sikhs of a Sappers and Miners army unit installed the 32-metre tall flagmast. A spacious divān hall supported on 16 cylindrical pillars was added in the 1970’s. The Guru Granth Sāhib is seated on a square platform in the middle on the far side of this hall. Above the sanctum are three storeys of square pavilions capped by a lotus dome.

The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, but is managed by priests from the Bhīnḍrāṅvālā school. A 3-day annual fair is held on 16,17 and 18 Sāvan (July-August) in commemoration of Gurū Hargobind’s visit. The first such fair was held in 1926 on the completion of the sarovar. Prior to that the major festival of the year was Māghi, the first of the Bikrami month of Māghi (mid-January).
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MADDU, BHĀĪ, a carpenter by trade, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Guru Arjan. According to Bhāī Santokh Singh, Śrī Gur Partāp Śūraj Granth, Bhāī Maddu lived up to the time of Guru Hargobind and remained in attendance on him. He revelled in serving in the Guru kā Langar and split firewood for use in it. At his death, Guru Hargobind led the obsequies.

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MADHEH (Mahādeoke in Survey of India maps), village three kilometre south of Nihalsinghvala (30°35'N, 75°16'E) in Moga district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine named Gurdwārā Pākā Sāhib Pāṭshāhi Davān after Guru Gobind Singh, who stayed here briefly during his journey from Takhtapurā to Dinā in December 1705. According to local tradition, the Guru was treated here by a Muhammadan surgeon for a purulent growth (pākā, in Punjabi) on one of his fingers. Hence the name of the Gurdwārā, situated one kilometre southeast of the village. The old building raised on the site in 1930 by an Udāsi priest, Roṣūd Rām, was replaced by a new one in 1973. Standing within a one-acre walled compound, it comprises a mosaic-floored, high ceilinged assembly hall, with the sanctum at the far end. The Gurū kā Langar is on the left of the hall as one enters the compound. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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MADHO, son of Ballū, was according to Bhāī Vahī Multānī Sindhi, a devoted Sikh of the time of Guru Hargobind. He fought valiantly in the battle of Kartārpur (28 April 1635) and fell a martyr.

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MĀDHO, BHĀĪ, a Soḍhī Khatri, was a learned Sikh of the time of Guru Arjan. The Guru assigned him to the valley of Kashmir to preach Guru Nanak’s word. The Brāhmaṇs of Kashmir, as says Bhāī Manī Singh, Sihkhān dī Bhagat Mālā, objected to his use of Punjabi in his sermons instead of Sanskrit. Bhāī Mādho said, “What is important in an utterance is not its medium but its content. Second, our Guru teaches humility.” Bhāī Mādho travelled extensively in the valley and established dharamsālas where Sikhs assembled morning and evening to recite the Guru’s hymns.

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MĀDHO SĪNHĀNĀ is a village 15 km south of Sīrśā in Haryānā. Gurū Gobind Singh after leaving Sīrśā towards the South made his first halt here. As the village was totally populated by Muslims, no memorial shrine existed until a lone Nihāṅg Sīṅgh established a gurdwārā during the 1970’s along the road leading to Ellenābād.
MADHUSUḌAN, PANDIT (d. 1863), eminent Sanskrit scholar, astronomer and astrologer, was son of Pāṇḍit Brij Rāj, rājpurohit, or royal priest, of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. Mahārājā Ranjit Singh appointed him the dispenser of royal charities in the Dharamārth department. Pāṇḍit Madhusūḍan also officiated at the bi-monthly tulāḍāns of the Mahārājā which took place on the Sāṅkrānti and Amavāsyā days, and supervised the distribution of charities. He commanded much respect at the Sikh Darbār. He held jagār of the annual value of 10,000 rupees. Pāṇḍit Madhusūḍan died at Lahore in 1863.

MADHUSUḌAN, PANDIT


M.G.S.

MAGHAR SINGH, SANT (1890-1924), Sikh divine who attracted a local following, came of a Bhullar Jāṭ family of Rāmgarh village, near Jagraon, in Ludhiana district of the Punjab. His grandfather had died fighting against the British in the battle of 'Alīvāl (28 January 1846) during the first Anglo-Sikh war. Maghār Singh was born on 13 December 1890 to Sōbha Singh and Nand Kaur, a simple peasant couple with a religious bent of mind. He himself grew up a devoted Sikh of pious habits under the influence of Sant Atar Singh of Mastūṇā. He was tall and sturdily built and enlisted, on 2 January 1911, in the British Indian army as a field gunner, seeing action in France during World War I. After the war was over, he had himself released on 24 November 1919 and returned to his native Rāmgarh where he established a gurdwārā and began to preach against the current social evils, recalling to his audiences the simple teachings of the Gurus. With his kirtāṅ jathā or choir who sang Sikh hymns, he travelled round the Mālvā region spreading the Gurus's word. In the Akālī agitation in the early twenties Sant Magghar Singh espoused the cause of the reformers and joined hands with Sant Gianī Sundar Singh of Bhīndar Kalān in launching a campaign into a one-room gurdwārā. It collapsed in what is still remembered as the flood of ikāśī or eightyone, meaning 1981 Bk corresponding to AD 1924 and could not be reconstructed for a long time, although Nishān Sāhib or the Sikh flag was maintained and the people brought their sick for a dip in the pond believing in the curative powers of its water. An assembly hall has been built recently with a square sanctum in the middle of it. A Nihāṅg Singh manages the Gurdwārā. Large gatherings take place on Amavāsyā, the last day of the dark half of the lunar month, when devotees flock in large numbers from the surrounding villages and towns.

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MADŪ, BHĀĪ, a carpenter. His name has been included by Bhāi Gurdās in his Vārāṇ, XI. 18. The name occurs in the roster of prominent Sikhs of the time of Gūrū Hargobind.

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MAGHAR SĀḤIB, GURDWĀRĀ, named after an old village, Magar, in Paṭīāḷā district, is dedicated to Gūrū Tegh Bahādur who, according to local tradition, stayed here awhile near what used to be a small pond. A small shrine established here was later developed into a one-room gurdwārā. It collapsed in what is still remembered as the flood of ikāśī or eightyone, meaning 1981 Bk corresponding to AD 1924 and could not be reconstructed for a long time, although Nishān Sāhib or the Sikh flag was maintained and the people brought their sick for a dip in the pond believing in the curative powers of its water. An assembly hall has been built recently with a square sanctum in the middle of it. A Nihāṅg Singh manages the Gurdwārā. Large gatherings take place on Amavāsyā, the last day of the dark half of the lunar month, when devotees flock in large numbers from the surrounding villages and towns.

M.G.S.

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M.G.S.
for the liberation of the historical shrines at
Muktsar and Hehrān.

Sant Magghar Singh died at village
Dherkā in Ludhiana district on 4 December
1924. According to his own wish, his body
was cremated the following day near
Gurdwārā Ṭāhliānā Sāhib at Rāikoṭ which he
had raised in his lifetime.

MĀGHĪ, Makara Saṅkrāṇti, the first day of
the month of Māgh when, according to
the Zodiac, the sun enters the house of
Capricorn. It is observed in India as a winter
solstice festival. The eve of Māghī is the com-
mon Indian festival of Lohṛī when bonfires
are lit in Hindu homes to greet the birth of
sons in the families and alms are distributed.
In the morning, people go out for an early-
hour dip in nearby tanks. For Sikhs, Māghī
means primarily the festival at Muktsar, a
district town of the Punjab, in commemo-
ration of the heroic fight of the Chālī Makte,
lit. the Forty Liberated Ones, who laid down
their lives warding off an attack by an impe-
rial army marching in pursuit of Gurū Gobind
Singh. The action took place near a pool of
water, Khidrāṇe di Ḍhāb, on 29 December
1705 which corresponded to the last day of
the solar month of Poh of the Bikramī year
1762 (although some chroniclers ascribe a later date i.e.Vaisākh 21, 1762 Bk to it). The
bodies were cremated the following day, the
first of Māgh (hence the name of the festi-
val), which now falls usually on the 13th of
January.

Following the custom of the Sikhs to
observe their anniversaries of happy and trag-
ic events alike, Māghī is celebrated with end-
to-end recital of the Gurū Granth Sāhib and
religious divāns in almost all gurdwārās. The
largest assembly, however, takes place at
Muktsar in the form of a big fair during
which pilgrims take a dip in the sacred sarovar
and visit several shrines connected with the
historic battle. A mahallā or big march of
pilgrims from the main shrine to Gurdwārā
Ṭībbī Sāhib, sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh,
marks the conclusion of the three-day celebra-
tion.

S.S.V.B.

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MĀGH SĪNH, BHĀI (d. 1924), one of the
martyrs of Jaito morchā, was the son of Bhāi
Shām Sīnh and Māi Dharmō, farmers of
the village of Ļande in Mogā taksīl (sub-divi-
sion) of the present Mogā district. In his
eyouth Māgh Sīnh had enlisted in the
army and had served in the Peshāwar sector
of the North-West Frontier Province for a
few years. He had been admitted to the rites
of the Khālsā initiation during his army ser-
vice, and had also learnt to read and write
Punjabi before he left the army to resume
his ancestral occupation, agriculture. He was
about forty years old when the Jaito morchā
(agitation) was launched by the Akālīs with
the twin objects of the restoration of Mahārājā
Ripudaman Sīnh of Nābhā, who had earlier
been forced to abdicate by the British, and
to protest against the violation of the sanctity
of Gurdwārā Gaṅgīs at Jaito by the state
police. When the first shahīdī jathā, martyrs’
column, on its way from Śrī Akāl Takht
Amritsar to Jaito camped at Roḍe, Bhāi Māgh
Sīnh joined it, and fell to a shot by police
on 21 February 1924.

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G.S.G.

MAHĀDEV, BĀBĀ (1560-1605), the second
son of Gurū Rām Dās (1534-81) and Mātī
Bhānī, was born on 1 June 1560 at Goindvāl,
in present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab.
As he grew up, he displayed little interest in worldly affairs and remained occupied in meditation. According to Bhai Gurdas, Varan, XXV. 33, he, for a time, turned against Guru Arjan at the instigation of his elder brother, Prithi Chand.

Baba Mahadev died at Goindval on 4 Bhadoi 1662 Bk/3 August 1605.

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MAHÄ DEVÍ, MÁTÁ (d. 1645), also called Mátá Marváhi after her ancestral caste-name, was the daughter of Bhai Dvára (also known as Dayá Rám) and Mái Bhágán of the village of Maṇḍiála on the right bank of the Rávi, 20 km southwest of Lahore. She was married to Gurú Hargobind at her village on 7 July 1615. She gave birth to a son, Súraj Mall, on 10 June 1617. Mátá Marváhi died at Kíratpur in 1645.

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MAHĀNAND, BHĀI, was a prominent Sikh of the time of Guru Rām Dās. Once, accompanied by Bhāi Bidhī Chand, he waited on the Guru and said, "True Master, we have in suffering wandered from birth to birth. How will this circuit be ever broken?" "Know thyself," said Guru Rām Dās. Mahānand sought further enlightenment. Guru Rām Dās, as says Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, said: “Meet in the sāṅgat and listen to holy discourse and kīrtan. True knowledge will thou thus obtain.” Mahānand and Bidhī Chand took the Guru’s precept and attained spiritual enlightenment. “Exalted Person is Mahānand,” says Bhāi Gurdas in his Vārān, XI. 17.

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MAHĀN SINGH (d. 1790), son of Charhat Singh of Sukkarchakkiā misl, was young in years when his father died. During his minority, his mother, Māi Desān, carried on the administration, with the help of her brothers. As soon as he came of age, Mahān Singh embarked upon a career of conquest. He took the fort of Rohtās back from Nūr ud-Dīn Bāmezaī. Aided by Jai Singh Kanhaiyā, he advanced upon Rasūlnagar. The powerful Chaṭṭhā chief, Pir Muhammad, offered him stiff resistance, but was at last overcome. The town was occupied and renamed Rāmnagar.

As Mahān Singh returned from his victorious campaign, he received the news of a son having been born to him on 13 November 1780. He named his son Raṇjit Singh, Victor in War, and celebrated the event with great rejoicing. Continuing his campaign of conquest, Mahān Singh took Pīṇḍī Bhaṭṭiān, Sāhivāl, Isā Khe and Jhang. He then seized Koṭī Lohārān, in the neighbourhood of Sālkoṭ. In 1782, he, like his father, got involved in the affairs of Jammū. Taking advantage of the internecine feud between the Jammū brothers, he plundered the town, collecting a huge booty, which he refused to share with his partners, the Kanhaiyās. Mahān Singh won over Jassā Singh Rāmgarhī to his side, and both of them challenged the Kanhaiyās near Bāṭālā. In the battle that followed, Jai Singh’s only son, Gurbakhsh Singh, was killed, and the Kanhaiyās suffered a defeat. Later, Sadā Kaur, widow of Gurbakhsh Singh, betrothed her daughter, Mahitāb Kaur, to Mahān Singh’s only son, Raṇjit Singh.

Mahān Singh’s next target was the Bhaṅgī misl. He picked a quarrel with his brother-in-law, Sāhib Singh Bhaṅgī, after the death of his father, Gujjar Singh Bhaṅgī. Sāhib Singh shut himself up in the fort of Sodhra, which was invested by the Sukkarchakkiā chief. During the protracted siege, Mahān Singh fell seriously ill with dysentery, and was forced to retire. He died in April 1790.

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MAHĀN SINGH (d. 1844), son of Dātā Rām, came to Lahore from Jammū at a very early age
to seek his fortune in the Sikh capital. Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh, who was struck by his skill and courage on a hunting expedition when Mahān Siṅgh unassisted had killed a leopard with his sword, gave him an appointment in the army under Hari Siṅgh Nalvā. Young Mahān Siṅgh fought in several campaigns with gallantry, and at the last siege of Multān in 1818 was twice wounded. He also served in Kashmir and Peshāwar. He was in charge of the Fort of Jamrūd as Qilādār in April 1837 when the Afghan army attacked it in force. He held out bravely against enormous odds until Hari Siṅgh himself arrived from Peshāwar to fight the memorable battle in which he fell.

Even after the death of his patron, Mahān Siṅgh continued to enjoy the favour of the Maharaja who, in 1839, gave him a jāgīrwartu of Rs 37,000 of which Rs 12,000 was personal and Rs 25,000 for the service of 100 sovārs. He retained this estate throughout the reigns of Mahārājās Khārāk Siṅgh and Sher Siṅgh.

Mahān Siṅgh was murdered by his own men in 1844. His descendants live at Mirpur, in Jammū territory.

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S.S.B.

MAHĀN SIṆGH, BHĀI (d. 1705), one of the martyrs of Muktsar, collectively called Chālī Makte, the Forty Liberated Ones. He, in addition to Māi (Mother) Bhāgo, was the only one among the wounded who had some life still left in him. As the Gurū went across to visit the site of the battle, he asked to know his dying wish. Mahān Siṅgh humbly requested for the cancellation of the deed of renunciation he and some of his companions had signed before leaving Anandpur. The Gurū immediately granted the request and tore up the piece of paper that was still in his possession. Mahān Siṅgh died in peace with his head in the Gurū’s lap.

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M.G.S.

MAHANT, originally the superior of a maṭh or any other similar religious establishment. In the Punjab of early Sikhism, its characteristic usage referred to the leaders of Nath derās. The term acquired a distinctive Sikh application during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, period during which many Sikh gurdwārās passed into the hands of hereditary controllers. These men, who became virtual owners of their gurdwārās, were known as mahants. Many of them were not initiated Sikhs and as a class they incurred considerable odium as self-seekers who exploited popular devotion for personal gain. They became the prime target of the Gurdwārā Reform movement during the early decades of the twentieth century and were eventually expropriated by the Sikh Gurdwārās Act of 1925. As a result of the misdemeanours of the mahants, the term was sullied beyond redemption in Sikh eyes. The word is still used to designate the superiors of Udāsi akhārās, but its expulsion from orthodox Sikh usage seems plainly to be permanent.

W.H.M.

MAHĀRĀJĀ RANJĪṬ SIṆĢH JĪBAN VRĪṬTĀNTA, by Brahmamohan Mallick, is a monograph in Bengāli on the life of Mahārājā Ranjīṭ Siṅgh (1780-1839). Published in 1862, within a quarter of a century of the Mahārājā’s death, it is one of the earliest biographies of the Mahārājā written in any language. The book is divided into eight chapters, the first one dealing with the social and political mi-
lieu in which Guru Nānak (1469-1539), founder of the Sikh faith, preached his message, and second with the ancestry and birth of Ranjit Singh. His early military exploits form the subject matter of the third chapter, bringing the story of the career of the Maharājā up to the Anglo-Sikh treaty of 1809. Chapters IV to VI record his further conquests. Conquests of the late 1820's together with Burns' visit to Lahore form the central theme of the seventh chapter. The monograph concludes with an estimate of the Maharājā as an able administrator and nation-builder.

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H.B.

MAHĀRĀJ SINGH, BHĀI (d. 1856), a saintly person turned revolutionary who led an anti-British movement in the Punjab after the first Anglo-Sikh war, was born Nihāl Singh at the village of Rabbon, in Ludhiāna district. He had a religious bent of mind and came under the influence of Bhāi Bīr Singh of Nauraṅgābād. After the latter’s death in 1844, he succeeded him as head of the Nauraṅgābād āṣā and was held in high esteem by a vast following, including most of the Sikh chiefs and courtiers. Maharāj Singh’s revolutionary career started with the Premā conspiracy case involving him in a plot to murder the British resident, Henry Lawrence, and other pro-British officers of the Lahore Darbār. Maharāj Singh, whose movements were restricted to Nauraṅgābād by the British, went underground. The government confiscated his property at Amritsar and announced a reward for his arrest. Bhāi Maharāj Singh intensified his activities against the British when he came to know that Diwān Mūl Rāj had in April 1848 raised a standard of revolt against them at Multān. He left for Multān with 400 horsemen to join hands with Mūl Rāj. But soon differences arose between the two leaders, and Maharāj Singh left Multān for Hazārā in June 1848 to seek Chātar Singh Atārīvālā’s assistance in his plans to dislodge the British. In November 1848, he joined Rājā Sher Singh’s forces at Rāmnagar and was seen in the battlefield riding his black mare and exhorting the Sikh soldiers to lay down their lives for the sake of their country. Thereafter he took part in the battles of Cheliāṅvā and Gujrat, but, when Rājā Sher Singh surrendered to the British at Rāwalpīndī on 14 March 1849, he resolved to carry on the fight single-handed. He escaped to Jammū and made Dev Bāṭālā his secret headquarters. In December 1849, he went to Hoshiārpur and visited the Sikh regiments to enlist their support. Bhāi Maharāj Singh, who carried on his head a price of 10,000 rupees was arrested on 28 December 1849 at Adampur. “The Guru is no ordinary man,” wrote Dr Vansittart, the Jalandhar deputy commissioner, who had arrested him. “He is to the natives what Jesus is to the most zealous of Christians. His miracles were seen by tens of thousands and are more implicitly believed than those worked by the ancient prophets.” Vansittart was so greatly impressed by Bhāi Maharāj Singh’s personality that he recommended special treatment to be accorded him, but the government did not wish to take any risks and deported him to Singapore where, after several years of solitary confinement, he died on 5 July 1856. He had gone blind before the end came.

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MAHARĪ CHAND, one of the five brave sons of Bibi Viro, daughter of Guru Hargobind, Nānak VI, who, along with his brothers, took part in the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī (18 September 1688). In his poetical work Bachitra Nāṭak, Guru Gobind Singh reserves a verse for Māharī Chand, who, “flying into a rage becomes the very image of terror and disposes of many a towering hero.”

MAHER, JOHN, was a Eurasian musician who served as a drum-major in Mahārājā Ranjit Singh’s army.

MAHESHA, BHĀI, or Bhai Mahēṣa, a rich and influential Dhīr Khatrī of Sultānpur Lodhī, in present-day Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab, once waited upon Guru Amar Dās and begged to be initiated a Sikh. The Guru, says Sarūp Dās Bhallā, Mahimā Prakāśh, pointed out to him that to be a true Sikh he would have to forsake his love of the riches. “For”, added Gurū Amar Dās, “if the riches forsake you, you may be laughed at for being poorly rewarded for your change of faith.” Mahēṣhā was firm in his resolve and received the rites of initiation at the Gurū’s hands. It so happened that Bhai Mahēṣhā did suffer heavy losses and became a poor man, ridiculed by others as the Gurū had predicted. But he did not waver in his faith. After some time he regained his former position. He retained the equanimity of his mind in both circumstances, in adversity as well as in affluence. Gurū Amar Dās was pleased at his steadfastness and he bestowed on him the headship of a maṇī or preaching district.

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MAHIMA, BHĀI, Khaẖirā Jaṭ of Khaẖūr in Amritsar district, was a devoted Sikh contemporary of Gurū Angād. According to Bhāi Bāḷevālī Janaṁ Sākhī, the Gurū once stayed with him in his house. When the Gurū desired someone to be sent for to transcribe in Gurmukhi characters Gurū Nānak’s horoscope written in Devanāgari, Bhai Mahima proceeded to Sultānpur Lodhī and brought Bhai Paiṛā Mokhā who knew both Devanāgari and Gurmukhi.

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MAHIMA PRAKĀŚH, by Sarūp Dās Bhallā, is a versified account, in Gurmukhī script, of the lives of the ten Gurūs, completed according to inner evidence, in 1833 Bk/AD 1776. Three copies of the manuscript are still extant: one (No. 176) in the Languages Department, Punjab, Patiālā, the second (No. 792/M) in the Punjab State Archives, Patiālā, and third (No. 3200) in the Khālsā College Library, Amritsar. A fourth copy of the manuscript existed in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, until it perished in
1984. The work has since been published (1970) in two volumes by the Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala. The first volume (pp. 348) contains sixty-five sākhīs relating to the life of Guru Nānak, whereas the second volume (pp. 900) comprises another 172 sākhīs of which sixteen deal with the life of Guru Arjan, thirty-two are about Guru Amar Das, eight about Guru Rām Dās, twenty-two each about Guru Har Rai, four about Guru Har Krishan, nineteen about Guru Tegh Bahadur, and Guru Gobind Singh, 43. With respect to Guru Nānak the work follows in the main the older janam sākhīs such as the Purātan. For example, like the Purātan Janam Sākhī, it places the birth of Guru Nānak in the month of Baisakh and like the Purātan, it does not mention the name of Bhai Bālā. The structure of the work is episodic. Each sākhī is independent in itself and has its own motif. Some of the stories are didactical, some interpret gurbani in the style of Miharbān Janam Sākhī, while some others deal with historical events.

Mahimā Prakash Vārtak, is the earliest known work dealing with the lives of all the ten Gurūs. Its influence is traceable in at least two other accounts, both written in the 18th century —Sevā Dās Udāsi’s Parchīān (1741) and Sarūp Dās Bhallā’s Mahimā Prakash (1776). Some of their stories are apparently drawn from this source.

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MAHIMĀ PRAKĀŚH

MAHIMĀ PRAKĀŚH, known as Mahimā Prakash Vārtak (prose) to distinguish it from another work, in verse, bearing the same title, Sarūp Dās Bhallā’s Mahimā Prakash, is an unpublished manuscript containing anecdotes from the lives of the Gurūs. The manuscript, copies of which are now available in the Khaṣā College at Amritsar, Languages Department of Punjab at Patiala and Bhai Vir Singh’s collection at Dehrā Dān, was first discovered by Akālī Kaur Singh (1886-1953). None of the manuscripts bears the name of its author, nor the date of its compilation, though it is commonly believed to be the work of Bāvā Kripāl Dās (or Siṅgh) Bhallā written in 1798 BK/AD 1741.

Mahimā Prakash Vārtak contains in all 164 sākhīs or anecdotes dealing with the Gurūs as follows: Gurū Nānak, 20; Gurū Arjan, 10;
MAHIMĀSḤĀHĪĀS, followers of Mohar Singh (AD 1758-1815), a holy Sikh who earned the honoured nickname of Mahimā Shāh for his constant muttering of a phrase (‘infinite is Thy praise’) in God’s mahimā or adoration. Mahimā Shāh claimed spiritual descent from Bhal Dayā Singh, one of the Panj Piare or Five Beloved who had offered their heads at the call of Guru Gobind Singh at the time of inauguration of the Khalsa in 1699. Bhal Dayā Singh was succeeded by Sant Gurbakhsh Singh who was the mentor of Mahimā Shāh. This was a line of preachers of the Sikh faith, an offshoot of the scholarly Nirmala sect.

Mohar Singh was born in 1758 to Bhal Gurbakhsh Singh and Blbl Rasma at the village of Salānā, in the territory of the Nābhā rulers. He received his early education at the hands of his father, a granthi to the Nābhā family. He received the rites of initiation at the hands of Sant Gurbakhsh Singh whom he served devotedly for many years. Taking leave of his mentor, he proceeded on a long pilgrimage and returned to settle at Lopon, near Mogā. There he established his own derā or seat to disseminate Sikh religion and philosophy. A smādh (mausoleum) and a darbār (assembly hall) were got constructed in his memory by his disciple and successor, Bābā Bir Singh.

Besides, Lopon, where Mahimā Shāh spent his last years, another Mahimāshāhī centre was set up at the village of Uggo, in Sangrur district, by Bābā Hakūmat Singh. To these centres were affiliated Mahimāshāhī derāsat places such as at Buggar, Sakraudi, Panj Garāin, Phūlevāl, Khaṇḍe-Vadhāni, Rakbā, Ṭībā, Bilāspur and Mūle Chakk owing allegiance to either Lopon or Uggo centre. These centres still attract local Sikh populations. The priests in these derās normally retain their Nirmalā garb, but members of the sect generally are not differentiated either by dress or fundamental tenets from the main body of Sikhs. They recognize no religious literature besides the Sikh Scripture.

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MAHINGĀ SĪNΓH, BHĀI (d. 1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was born in a potter’s family of Lahuke in Amritsar district. He along with his parents, Bhai Jhaṇḍā Singh and Māi Bhāgo, migrated to Chakk No. 75 Lahuke in Lyallpur district when that area was colonized during the 1890’s. He knew Urdu and Punjabi; he also learnt some Mahājānī (a script used traditionally by commercial classes) and became a postman. Later, he set up himself as a commission agent. In company with his friend Bhai Narain Singh, a pious Sikh, he had himself registered as a volunteer in the Gurdwārā Reform movement. A week before the Nankāṇā happening, he donated his house to the village gurdwārā and joined the jathā of Bhai Išar Singh Dhārovālī. All in the jathā were killed as they were trying to enter Gurdwārā Janam Asthān the following morning on 20 February 1921.

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MAHITĀB DEVĪ (d. 1839), known as Rāṇī Kaṭoĉhān or Rāṇī Gaddan, was daughter of Rājā Saṅsār Chand Kaṭoĉh of Kaṅgrā. She was married to Mahārājā Ranjit Singh in 1829 and had great influence over him. At Lahore she introduced the art of Phulkārī embroidery, arranged marriages of orphan girls and established a school of hill music and dance. She had also a fine collection of hill miniatures and her palace was a treasure of art. She ended her life by immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her husband on 28 June 1839. Before the pyre was lit, she took the Maharaja’s head into her lap and extracted promises from all the sardārs to be loyal to Khārak Singh, the successor Mahārājā.

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MAHITĀB KAUR (d. 1813), the first wife of Maharājā Ranjit Singh, was the daughter of Gurbakhsh Singh Kanhaiyā and Saddā Kaur. Saddā Kaur persuaded her father-in-law, Jai Singh Kanhaiyā, after her husband had been killed in a show of arms with Mahān Singh Sukkarchakīa, to betroth her daughter to the son of the Sukkarchakīa chief. The marriage took place in 1796 with great eclat, but Ranjit Singh failed to win the affection of Mahitāb Kaur for she could not forget the fact that her father had been killed by the father of her husband. She lived mostly with her mother at Batālā. This estrangement was complete after Ranjit Singh took Rāj Kaur in marriage. Mahitāb Kaur gave birth to three sons—Īshar Singh who died in infancy and the twins, Sher Siṅgh and Tārā Siṅgh. She died in 1813.

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MAHITĀB SİNGH, MAHANT (1811-1871), founder Sri Mahant (head) of Sri Nirmal Paiachaiti Akhārā, at Paṭijālā, was born in 1811 in a Jaṭṭ Siṅgh family of the village of Lehāl Kaḷaṇ, now in Saṅgrūr district in the Punjab. He learnt to read Punjabi in his village and gained fluency in reciting the Guru Granth Sāhib. Losing both his parents within an year when he was scarcely sixteen, Mahitāb Singh left home to visit places of pilgrimage. As he reached Vārāṇasi, he was taken up with the idea of learning Sanskrit. He remained there for nearly 14 years studying philosophy, logic and grammar. He then resumed his travels and, visiting Paṭnā and Nânded, came to Haridvār where he became a disciple of Sant Dharam Siṅgh, of Rishikesh, engaging himself in the study of gurbāṇi or the Sikh sacred writ. He served the saṅgat with humility and sat in solitary
meditation. His learning and dedication were commonly acknowledged and when Nirmalā Sikhs decided to establish their own central school, Śrī Nirmal Pañchāiti Akhārā, separate from the Udāsis, he was, at an open convention of the sect at Haridvār in 1855, by one voice elected Śrī Mahant, i.e. principal abbot or head, in the presence of the Gurus Granth Sāhib. In 1856, the Nirmalā gathering at Gaya, in Bihār, was attended by several of the Sikh chiefs, including Mahārājā Narindar Singh of Paṭialā, Rājā Sarūp Singh of Jīnd and Sardār Lāhīṅā Singh of Kalsīā. At the invitation of Mahārājā Narindar Singh, Mahant Mahitāb Singh visited Paṭialā where he was received ceremonially by the ruler himself. Similar welcome awaited him at Nābhā and Saṅgrūr. He went around preaching the word of Gūr Nānak and administering the rites of Khaḷsā amrit to large numbers. As the ruling chiefs of Paṭialā, Nābhā and Jīnd jointly offered to provide a permanent seat for the Pañchāiti Akhārā at Paṭialā, Mahant Mahitāb Singh was again invited to visit the city. Chanārthaliān dī Havelī, a large walled house, was placed at the disposal of the Nirmal Akhārā. Formal inauguration took place as the akhand pāth, continuous unbroken reading the Gurus Granth Sāhib, begun as part of the ceremony, concluded on 7 August 1862. The Sikh rulers of Paṭialā, Nābhā and Jīnd made endowments in cash and land for the maintenance of the Akhārā, also called Dharam Dhujā (lit. standard or flag of dharma). Mahitāb Singh became its first Śrī Mahant. He also held control of the āṭrā at Kankhal, Haridvār, which remained the principal centre of the Nirmalā sect.

Mahant Mahitāb Singh died at Kankhal on 12 April 1871.

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MAHITĀB SINGH MAJĪTHIĀ (1811-1865), General in the Sikh army, son of Amar Singh Majīthiā (junior). Mahitāb Singh started his career as a sūbahdār in the irregular Sikh cavalry of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. In 1831, he was promoted Colonel and posted as commandant of Sikh troops stationed at Amritsar. He served in the Peshāwar campaign in 1834, and, in 1839, in the campaign against the Afridis and other trans-Indus tribes. In 1841, Mahārājā Sher Singh made him a General and gave him command of the Sikh troops stationed at Peshāwar. After the assassination of Mahārājā Sher Singh and Dhiān Singh in September 1843, he returned to Lahore and helped Hīrā Singh against the Sandhāṅvāliā sardārs and was amply rewarded. But when Hīrā Singh and his favourite Jallā fled Lahore, his troops accompanied those of Sardār Shām Singh Aṭārivālā and Misr Lāl Singh, who went in pursuit of them in December 1844, and put them to death.

In 1844, General Mahitāb Singh commanded four battalions of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and a topkhanā, light artillery. Under the regency of Mahārāṇī Jīnd Kaur, he was nominated (December 1844) a member of the Khāḷsā Supreme Council, along with General Mevā Singh Majīthiā. In March 1845, General Mahitāb Singh proceeded with his troops to Bhimbar, where the chief, Rājā Faiz Talāb Khān, had joined Prince Pashaurā Singh who had risen in revolt. General Mahitāb Singh defeated the Bhimbar chief, and soon afterwards Pashaurā Singh capitulated to his troops at Sīālkot.

Mahitāb Singh fought in the first Anglo-Sikh war against the British. But in the
second, he and his brother Mit Singh fought on the side of the British against Raja Sher Singh. He was confirmed in his jagir and he resided at the village of Majitha up to the time of his death in 1865. He owned houses at Lahore as well as at Amritsar. It was at Amritsar that he was, in 1862, created an honorary magistrate.

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MAHRO, village 7 km southeast of Mogā (30°-48'N, 75°-10'E) in Mogā district, has a historical shrine, Gurudwārā Gurū Sar, in memory of Gurū Hargobind who, according to the local tradition, stopped here on 18 Sāvan 1674 Bk/17 July 1617 on his way from Kāonke and Maddoke to Dārauli. The Gurudwārā stands on the bank of a pond to the north of the village. It is a new building, a small square domed room, raised in 1931, replacing the old shrine. Additions in the form of a hall with some ancillary buildings were made in 1962. A pavilion has since been constructed for larger assemblies. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is now placed not in the older building but in the hall, on a masonry platform. The Gurudwārā is managed by the Shiromani Gudwārā Parbandhak Committee through a village committee. Special divāns and community meals are held on every amāvasya—the last day of the dark half of the lunar month.

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MĀĪ, BHAĪ, son of Bhāi Khānū who, according to Bhāi Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 15, received instruction at the hands of Gurū Aṅgad.

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MĀĪ, BHAĪ, a Lamb Khatrī of Suhand, identified as Sirhind by Bhāi Kāhn Singh, Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh, was a devotee of Gurū Hargobind. He regularly participated in the saṅgat and sang the holy hymns. According to Bhāi Mani Singh, Sikhīā di Bhagat Mālā, he once asked the Gurū, “There are some who perform kīrtan as a means to earn their living while there are others who earn their living through hard labour, share their victuals with others and also attend the holy assembly and recite hymns to please the Gurū. Pray enlighten us regarding their respective merit.” Gurū Hargobind replied, “All who sing God’s praise are blest, but those who do so without desire for reward attain Divine Bliss.”

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B.S.

MĀĪ DĀS, a Vaiṣṇavite sādhū of the village of Nārī, now in Amritsar district of the Punjab, embraced Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Amar Dās. As a wandering sādhū, he once visited Goindvāl and desired to meet the Gurū, but since he was unable to comply with his injunction to partake of food in Gurū kā Laṅgar setting aside his caste scruple, he departed without seeing him. He, as says Sarūp Dās Bhallā, Mahimā Prakāsh, had a vision while out on a pilgrimage to Dvārakā directing him to return to Goindvāl. He has-
MAILAGAR SINGH or Maliagar Singh, one of the Sikhs who rallied round Guru Gobind Singh during his travels in the Malvā region after the battle of Chamkaur (7 December 1705), earned the Guru’s appreciation for his spirit of contentment. According to Malvā Des Rātan di Sakhī Pothi, as Guru Gobind Singh arrived at Saravān, the villagers took the Sikhs out in batches to their houses for meals. One very poor man, not to be left behind in serving a fellow Sikh, invited Mailagar Singh although he had little to offer except some dried pilu (fruit of van tree Quercus incana) soaked in water. As Sikhs reassembled and as the Guru asked them how they had been entertained, they described in turn the rich viands they had been treated to. When Guru Gobind Singh learnt about what delicacy had been offered him, he praised Mailagar Singh’s spirit of humility and contentment. According to Santokh Singh, Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, the Guru spoke:

A Sikh who has the means but entertains not the visitor,  
Blameworthy is he.  
He who expects a feast from a destitute Sikh is not without fault, either.

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MĀI-POTRE, meaning grandsons of an old woman, is the name given to a group of families residing in Goidvāl. These families were the descendants of a goldsmith couple blessed by Guru Amar Dās. It is said that the couple, advancing in years, had no offspring. Despaired of the gift of a child, they engaged themselves in acts of charity and commenced the digging of a well and the construction of a temple. Guru Amar Dās praised their piety. He gave them his blessing and assisted them personally in the tasks they had undertaken. As tradition goes, the couple had two sons born to them. They were very fond of them and the mother especially loved to carry them around on her arms. But the difference of age between the mother and the sons was so great that people usually called them her grandsons, māi-potre. The name has stuck to the line issuing from them.

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MĀĪSAR KHĀNĀ, an old village 10 km west
of Maur Kalân (30°-4’N, 75°-14’E) in the Baţhinḍā district of the Punjab, is sacred to Guru Tegh Bahādur, who, during his travels in these parts, made a brief halt here by the side of a small pool, called Māisar. To mark the spot where the Gurū had alighted from his horse, Sikhs raised a platform over which a Gurdwārā was later constructed. The present Gurdwārā Sāhib Pātshāhī Nauviņ, built in the 1970’s still preserves the old platform in the basement. Over it stands the sanctum within a square hall, with a verandah on three sides. The building is topped by a pinnacled lotus dome. The old pool is still there. It was subsequently called Tittarsar in the belief that the Gurū had granted liberation to a tittar, partridge, here. But now a separate Gurdwārā Tittarsar has come up 2 km to the southeast of the village. It is dedicated to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh.

Gurdwārā Sāhib Pātshāhī Nauviņ, as the shrine inside the village is called, owns 12 acres of land and is administered by a local committee under the auspices of the Shīromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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MĀJHĀ

MĀJHĀ, from mañjhā, i.e. middle, is the traditional name given to the central region of the Punjab covering the upper part of the Bāri Doāb lying between the rivers Beās and Rāvi (whence the name Bāri) and comprising the present Gurdāspur and Amritsar districts of India and Lahore district of Pakistan, although it is not uncommon to include the Pakistan districts of Siālkot, Gujānwālā and Sheikhpūrā forming part of the upper Rachnā Doāb also in the Mājhā area. Strictly speaking, though, the north-eastern half of Rachnā Doāb is traditionally called Daṛap, and the southwestern half forms part of the Sāndal Bār. Even the south-western half of Lahore district has a separate name, Nakkā. Taken as a whole, Mājhā forms a rough parallelogram with the rivers Beās and Sutlej forming the base and bounded by the Śivālikś in the east, the River Chenāb in the north, and roughly the line of 73°-30’East longitude in the west. It has a continental sub-humid climate and winter monsoons in addition to summer monsoons. Being an alluvial plain with sub-soil water and water table favourable for irrigation, Mājhā in the past has been the most productive and densely populated region of the Punjab; but, for the same reasons, it has also been the most alluring for foreign invaders who ravaged it time and again for many centuries. It was perhaps this frequent alternation of affluence and adversity that made the people of the region hardy and fearless, yet tolerant and god-fearing, qualities that made Mājhā the bedrock of Punjabi culture and history.

Mājhā is also the birthplace and early home of Sikhism. The first six Gurūs, with the exception of the second, were born and brought up here. Even the second Gurū, Gurū Arīgad, who was born in a village in the Mālvā, made Khāḍūr Sāhib in Mājhā his permanent seat. In Sikh times political and religious authority was centred in Lahore and Amritsar, both in Mājhā. Of the seven towns founded by the Gurūs, four (Goindvāl, Amritsar, Tārn Tārān and Sri Hargobindpur) lie in Mājhā which is dotted with scores of historical shrines, including those now in Pakistan, connected with the lives of the Gurūs. Four of the five Tāruṇā Dal misls established themselves in this region while the fifth, Āhlavālī, occupied a major part of the neighbouring Doāb.

However, in the context of the present Punjab where bulk of the Sikh population is concentrated, Mājhā comprises only two of the 17 districts, Amritsar and Gurdāspur, of the state. With a richly productive soil and
watered by the upper Bāri Doāb canal and thousands of wells and tube-wells, the two Mājḥā districts produce a variety of crops, principal among them being rice, wheat and maize. Although in density of population these districts rank after Jalandhar and Ludhiana, over 21 per cent of the total population of Punjab lives here according to the 1991 census. Most of the population is rural, with agriculture as the main occupation. Amritsar with a population of over seven lacs, retains its position as the major commercial city of Punjab. Only two other towns (Pathankot, a military station, and Baṭālā, an industrial centre) have a population of a little over 100,000 each. The remaining towns (only 18 against 113 in the rest of the Punjab), including the district town of Gurdāspur, have all population below 100,000 each. The literacy percentage (53.5 for Gurdāspur and 47.3 for Amritsar district), however, compares well with the average (49.2 per cent) for the whole of Punjab. The premier educational institution of the region is Gurū Nānak Dev University located at Amritsar. The area is industrially backward. Besides Baṭālā, a centre of light and medium industry, Goindvāl is now being developed as a major industrial complex. A major hinderance in the further economic growth of Mājḥā, however, has been, besides its being a border region, its internal disturbed condition during the early 1980’s.

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M.J.LAS RĀI, RĀJĀ, a Brāhmaṇ native of Lopoke in Amritsar district of the Punjab and a diwān or revenue minister at the court of Emperor Bahādur Shāh I (1707-12), was a devotee of Gurū Gobind Singh whom he frequently visited during journey to the Deccan in 1708. The Gurū while stopping at Nāndeḍ was stabbed by an Afghan agent of the faujdār of Sirhind, and, as his wound was well on the way to recovery, a Sikh brought a present of two heavy bows. According to Kuir Singh, Gurbilās Paṭshāhi 10, the Gurū proceeded at once to string the bows and test them when Majlas Rāi, who was then present in the saṅgat stood up and humbly warned him, “Listen, O cherisher of the poor! Your wound is still raw and might open up again if you strain yourself.” The Gurū at first paid heed to the Rājā’s counsel and dropped the bows, but after some time he picked them both together and bent them with such force that they were both broken. Majlas Rāi’s worst fears came out to be true; stitches of the Gurū’s wound snapped and it bled profusely. Majlas Rāi hastened to the imperial camp and sent the same physician as had earlier treated the Gurū, but it was of no avail. Gurū Gobind Singh calmly sent for the Granth Sahib and formally installed it as the successor-Gurū in perpetuity. He passed away the following day, 7 October 1708.

In 1710, Rājā Majlas Rāi accompanied the emperor back to Delhi where he regularly attended upon Gurū Gobind Singh’s widows, Mātā Sundarī and Mātā Sāhib Devān. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Baṅsāvalināmā, records that when it was proposed to appoint a day for a regular religious mēla or festival for the Sikhs, Rājā Majlas Rāi was one of the prominent Sikhs consulted by Mātā Sāhib Devān. It was decided to hold the mēla annually on the occasion of Divālī at Amritsar as times were not favourable for large Sikh gatherings at the imperial capital.

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P.S.P.
MAKKHAṆ SHĀH, son of Nāik Dāse Shāh, was a wealthy trader of the Lubanā clan. He hailed from the village of Tāndā, in present day Muzaffarābād district of Jammū and Kashmir. He was a devout Sikh and had received Gurū Har Rāi in his home during the latter’s visit to Kashmir in 1660. Once a vessel carrying his wares went aground, and he vowed that if he reached the nearest port safely he would make to the Gurū an offering of 500 gold mohars. His boat came through the crisis, and he travelled to Bakālā where, as Gurū Har Krishan had just before his death pronounced, his successor would appear. As he arrived there on the day of Diwālī festival, 9 October 1664, he was baffled to discover twenty-two different claimants to the holy office having established their seats. He visited them all by turns, greeting each with an offering of two gold mohars. He learnt from a young boy that there lived in town a holy man mostly absorbed within himself. Makkhaṇ Shāh made straight for the house pointed out to him and saw Gurū Tegh Bahādur sitting in a secluded room rapt in reflection. He bowed and placed before him the customary two gold mohars. Gurū Tegh Bahādur gave him his blessing and said that his offering was considerably short of the promised five hundred. Makkhaṇ Shāh’s heart leapt for joy to hear these words and he forthwith made good the difference. He was so delighted, says Bhāi Santokh Singh, that the bands of his cloak sundered. His face blossomed like the flower opening up at the sight of the sun. This was like a beggar striking upon a treasure.” He ran upstairs and began shouting from the rooftop, “Gurū lādho re, Gurū lādho re (I have found the Gurū, I have found the Gurū).”

Makkhaṇ Shāh’s announcement dispirited the pretenders, but Dhīr Mall, a nephew of the Gurū, fortified in his claim by the possession of the Ādi Granth, or original recension of the holy book, was still envious. His masand Shihān, ransacked Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s house, but the Gurū did not complain. Makkhaṇ Shāh retaliated by plundering Dhīr Mall, but the Gurū had everything returned to him, including the Granth Sāhib when he learnt what Makkhaṇ Shāh had done. He restored to Dhīr Mall goods pillaged by his men from his own house. As says Bhāi Santokh Singh, Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, Gurū Tegh Bahādur counselled Makkhaṇ Shāh and other Sikhs: “Forgiveness is the austerity most meritorious; forgiveness is the best of charities. Forgiveness is equivalent to all the pilgrimages and ablutions. In forgiveness lies liberation. No other virtue parallels forgiveness. Forgiveness thou must learn.”

One day Makkhaṇ Shāh expressed his wish to visit Amritsar to perform ablutions in the holy pool, and felt thrilled when the Gurū offered to travel with him. As they reached Amritsar on Maghar Pūranmāsī 1721 Bk/22 November 1664, the custodians of the Harimandar barred their entry. He asked for permission to enter by force, but the Gurū forbade him to do so. Makkhaṇ Shāh remained in Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s train as he travelled through the Punjab and arrived with him at Kiratpur where he took leave of him.

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A.C.B.

MAKKHAṆ SINGH, BHĀI (d. 1863) was a granthi or officiant of the Darbār Sāhib at Amritsar. When the British entered Lahore
after the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1846, some of them, while visiting the holy shrine, would desecrate the precincts by entering with shoes on and otherwise annoy the devotees by their overbearing manner. The British also started killing cows for beef. Bhai Makkhan Singh led the popular protest, and it was as a result of his efforts that Sir Henry Lawrence, the British Resident, issued the following proclamation:

The priests of Amritsar having complained of annoyances, this is to make known to all concerned that, by order of the Governor-General, British subjects are forbidden to enter the Temple (called the Darbar) or its precincts, at Amritsar, or, indeed any Temple, with their shoes on. Kine are not to be killed at Amritsar nor are the Seikhs to be molested, or, in any way to be interfered with. Shoes are to be taken off at the Bhoonga at the corner of the Tank and no person is to walk around the Tank with his shoes on.

H.M. Lawrence
Resident
Lahore
March 24th 1847

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MÅLDÅ (25°-7'N, 88°-11'E), a district town of West Bengal situated on the banks of the River Mahanandā, is sacred to both Gurū Nānak and Gurū Tegh Bahādur, who visited it in the course of their travels through the eastern region. A Sikh shrine once existed here in Sārbāri area of Old Måldå, but with the development of new Måldå town across the river, Old Måldå declined in importance and population, and all that was left of the Sikh shrine was a site with an old well and two platforms, one dedicated to the First Gurū and the second to the Ninth Gurū. Native Sikhs from the neighbouring Purνē (now Kaṭiḥār) district of Bihār used to assemble here once in an year to celebrate the birthday of Gurū Nānak. In the mid-1970's efforts were initiated to reconstruct the gurdwārā.

The shrine is now called Sri Prayāg Sahib, Sārbāri, Old Måldå, though an old marble slab, acquired from Bihāri Sikhs and kept in Gurdwārā Singh Sahbā, describes it as Gurdwārā Nimā Sarāi, Sri Gurū Tegh
MALIA, BHAI

Bahadur, Old Malda.

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MALIA, BHAI, along with Bhai Saharu, accepted the Sikh faith at the hands of Guru Amar Das. Both were tailors by profession and belonged to the village of Dalha, in present-day Kapurthala district of the Punjab. According to Bhai Man Singh, Sikhán dí Bhagat Mala, as Guru Amar Das once arrived at Dalha and the Sikhs came out in small groups to offer obeisance, he gave them advice appropriate to their calling. To Malià and Saharu he said, “Mend the torn garments of the Sikhs and wash them if they be soiled. By serving them thus, you will be cleansing them and earning the pleasure of the Guru.”

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MALÍ SINGH (d. 1716), resident of the village of Salaudi near Sirhind, was in the service of Nawab Wazir Khan, the Mughal faujdar. Following his brother Ali Singh, he left his service and joined Bandá Singh Bahadur’s army. Mali Singh took part in several of Bandá Singh’s campaigns and was executed in Delhi in June 1716 along with Bandá Singh and his men captured in the siege of Gurdas Naṅgal.

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MALLĀ, village 13 km east of Jaito (30°26′N, 74°53′E) in Faridkot district of the Punjab, is sacred to Guru Hargobind, whose daughter Bibi Viro was married to Bhai Sādhū, an inhabitant of this village. According to local tradition, Guru Hargobind himself passed through the village during his travels in the Málvā country in 1631-34, staying here for three days. Bhaṭṭ chronicle, Guru kián Sákhiān, records that Guru Tegh Bahadur, after his return from the eastern provinces in 1670, also came here to see his sister, Bibi Viro. Folk memory, however, has not preserved this latter visit. The historical shrine, a flat-roofed hall, formerly known as Chauntrā Sāhib, has been renamed Gurdwārā Chheviṅ Pāṭhāhī Guru Hargobind Sāhib by Nihangs of the Tarun Dal who manage it. Besides the daily Sikh services, special gatherings take place on Baisākhī (mid-April) marking the birthday of the Khalsā.

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MALLÁN, village 15 km southwest of Jaito (30°26′N, 74°53′E) in Faridkot district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Rāmsar Pāṭhāhī X, one km north of the village where Guru Gobind Singh is said to have stopped for a short while traveling towards Khidrānā, now Muktsar, in December 1705. The Gurdwārā, a flat-roofed hall inside a walled compound entered
through a steel gate, is maintained by the village *sangat*.

Mallan rose to prominence during the Akali agitation at Jaito, 1923-25. The Sikh bands comprising 25 volunteers each which set out daily from Muktsar, resolved to reach Gurdwara Gangsar at Jaito to resume the *akhanda path* or continuous recitation of the Guru Granth Sahib interrupted by Nabha state authorities, made an overnight halt in this village.

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MALLAN BHAĪ, a native of Dallā, in present-day Kapūrthala district of the Punjab, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He waited on the Gurū as he once visited his village. The Gurū, says Bhai Mani Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, advised him to serve holy men. Bhai Mallan became known for his piety and humility.

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MALUKA, village in Bathinda district of the Punjab, 18 km east of Jaito (30°-26'N, 74°-58'E), is sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh who stopped here briefly travelling in the country in December 1705. Gurdwārā Taruānā Sāhib Pāṭshāhī X is situated one kilometre east of the village marking the site where the Gurū is said to have camped. According to *Malva Des Raṭān dī Sākhī Pothī*, a sādhū of the Divānā order of mendicants came very early in the morning to meet the Gurū, and, despite protestation by the Sikh on duty that the Gurū was then sitting in meditation and was not to be disturbed, he tried to force his entry into the tent. The Divānā sādhū who had received a sword thrust as the Sikh tried to stop him, humbly requested at daybreak for a glimpse of the Gurū. Gurū Gobind Singh, says the *Sākhī Pothī*, had him ushered in and blessed him before he succumbed to the injury he had sustained. The present building of the Gurdwārā constructed in 1952, comprises a hall, with a square sanctum at the far end and a verandah on three sides. The Gurdwārā is administered by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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MALUK DAS was a long-lived Vaiśṇava saint who spanned the reigns of the Mughal em­perors from Akbar to Aurangzib. He was widely venerated and counted among his admir­ers and followers, Muslims as well as Hindus. He lived at Kaṛā, on the right bank of the River Gaṅgā, in Allāhābād district of Uttar Pradesh. Guri Tegh Bahādur met him in 1666 while travelling to the eastern districts. Maliik Dās had heard about Guri Nanak and the spiritual line issuing from him. He was now surprised to see his ninth successor in princely attire and accompanied by armed disciples who hunted animals. But his doubts disappeared when Guri Tegh Bahādur explained to him that holiness of the heart had no essential connection with vegetarianism, nor was the pursuit of arms a hindrance to spiritual uplift. Maliik Dās was convinced. He said to himself, “Though the Gurū is clad as a prince, his mind is fixed in divine knowl­edge. He is the ocean of qualities. How can an ignorant one like me praise him? Sinner am I from birth. His sanctity I did not comprehend.” Saying these words he fell at the Gurū’s feet and served him with humility.

A Sikh saṅgat was established at Kaṛā. A gurdwārā was also built but no traces of it are left now. The samādh of Maliik Dās still exists and is visited by Hindu and Muslim devotees.

MALVĀ, not to be mixed with a tract of this name in Central India, is one of the three main divisions of the present Punjab state of India, the other two being Mājhā and Doābā. It is in the shape of a rough parallel­lelogram lying between 29°-30' and 31°-10' North latitudes and 73°-50' and 76°-50' East longitudes, bounded by the River Sutlej in the north, Haryāṇā in the east and the south, Rājasthān in the southwest corner, and by Bāhāwalpur state of Pakistan in the west. Malvā comprises eleven of the seventeen administrative districts of the Punjab, viz., Firozpur, Farīdkot, Mogā, Muktsar, Bāṭhiṇḍā, Ṣāṅgrūr, Mānsā, Ludhiṇā, Paṭiālā, Fatehgarh Sāhib and Ropār excluding its Nūrpur Bedi tahsil or sub-division which falls across the Sutlej and geograph­ically lies in the Doāb region. G.A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part I, who based his demarcation on the spoken dialect Malvai, would exclude the present Paṭiālā, Fatahegarh Sāhib and Ropār districts and part of Ludhiṇā district from Malvā because of a different dialect, Povāḍī, spoken there. But because of demographical changes consequent upon partition of the country (1947) and subsequent allocation of a major part of Povāḍī-speaking area to the newly created state of Haryāṇā (1966), it is not inappropriate to call the entire cis­Sutlej tract of the present Punjab as Malvā.

Malvā is a dialectical variation of the Sanskrit word Mallava which was the name of an ancient tribe (Malloi of the Greek accounts) who challenged, though unsuccessfully, the might of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC and might have later migrated to the south of the Sutlej, giving the name Malvā, the land of the Mallavas, to their new homeland.
MĀLVĀ

With an area of 32,808 square km and a population of 11,817,142 (1991 census), Mālvā is the largest region of the present Punjab. It has 65.1 per cent of the total area and 58.5 per cent of the total population—360.1 per square km against 401 per square km for the entire state. The density of population district-wise varies vastly between Ludhiana (629) and Firozpur (272). Till the latter part of the nineteenth century, Mālvā, leaving aside a narrow strip along the Sutlej, was an arid semi-desert covered with slow-growing trees such as van (Quercus incana) and janā (Prosopis spicigera) and thorny bushes like karīr (Capparis aphylla) and malhā berī, a kind of jujube. Although by and large a plain country, the region, especially its southern and southwestern parts, had become undulated with mounds of sand blown in from Rajasthān by south-westerly winds. Cultivation was almost entirely dependent upon rain which was erratic and usually scanty. Introduction of canal irrigation with the renovation of Sirhind canal initiated a change which, strengthened by later developments, especially the harnessing of water resources and the availability of cheap hydro-electricity, culminated in intensive agriculture of the 1960's and the following decades, and transformed the face of Mālvā and helped make Punjab the granary of India. The hardy farmers of the region including those brought here in the aftermath of the partition of the country in 1947 have converted the former forest and sandy mounds into neatly marked lush green farmlands. Major crops grown are wheat, paddy, cotton and oil seeds, sugarcane, cultivation picking up rapidly since the beginning of the 1980's. This coupled with the growth of small and medium-scale industry, though at a slower pace, has brought in prosperity which in turn is resulting in a perceptible change for the better in education and cultural fields, although literacy rate (45.6 per cent) still lags behind the state average (49.2 per cent). As in the case of density of population, there is vast variation also in district-wise literacy rate which ranges between 57.2 per cent for Ludhiana (highest in the state) and 32.8 per cent for Saṅgrūr. Yet, of the three universities in the state, two are located in Mālvā—Punjab Agricultural University at Ludhiana and Punjab University at Patiala, besides an autonomous college of engineering and technology at Patiala. Similarly, of the four medical colleges in the whole of Punjab three are located in the Mālvā region. In the industrial field, Mālvā, with its two huge thermal plants, one each at Bathinda and Ropar, and industrial complexes at Ludhiana, Rājpurā, Sāhibzādā Ajit Singh Nagar (Mohāli) and Maṇḍī Gobindgarh, is far ahead of the other two regions. According to 1991 census figures, of the ten Punjab towns having a population of over 100,000 each, five lie in Mālvā. Ludhiana (1,012,062, persons) is the most populous city in the state.

Mālvā's part in the history of the Sikhs dates back to the time of Gurū Nānak, whose peregrinations also covered this ancient land. Gurū Āṅgad's birthplace, Sarāi Nāṅgā, lies in the Mālvā. Gurū Hargobind, Gurū Har Rāi, Gurū Tegh Bahādur and Gurū Gobind Singh travelled extensively through this area. Many eminent Sikhs such as Bhāi Bhagatū, Bhāi Bahilo and Bhāi Manī Singh came from Mālvā. The years following the death in 1708 of Gurū Gobind Singh were the most turbulent period of the history of the Sikhs when the Mughal governors of the Punjab and later the Afghān invaders had let loose a reign of terror and religious persecution against the Sikhs. The jungles of Mālvā, with their comparative inaccessibility on account of shortage of water and other scarcities impeding large-scale operations, provided the warring Sikh bands from across the Sutlej with a natural sanctuary. Some local Sikh sardārs, descendants of Bhāi Phūl blessed by Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Har Rāi and collectively known as Phūlkiān misl, carved
out territories over which they ruled as independent or semi-independent chiefs. This is how the former Sikh states of Patiala, Nambha, Jind, Faridkot, Kalsia, Kaithal and Ladva came into existence. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh rose to power north of the Sutlej and started amalgamating other misl territories to his own dominions, the states south of the Sutlej known as cis-Sutlej states, sought protection under the British, whose suzerainty they accepted. They became tributaries of the British empire while the districts of Ludhiana and Ferozpur came under the latter’s direct rule. Of these Sikh states, Kaithal passed to the British dominions on the death, without a male heir, of its last ruler, Bhai Udai Singh, in 1845, and U了解一下 was annexed as a punishment to its ruler, Sardar Ajit Singh, for his open support to Sikh government of Lahore during the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46). The remaining five Punjab Sikh states and the Muslim state of Malerkotla continued to exist till after the independence of India, 1947. In May 1948, they in combination with Kapurthala in the Doaba region and the submountainous Hindu state of Nalagarh formed themselves into what was called the Patiala and East Punjab States Union, PEPSU for short. In 1956 PEPSU was amalgamated with the Punjab, which was further split into Haryana and the Punjabi-speaking state of the Punjab on 1 November 1966.

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MAN or mana, from Skt. manas (mind or psyche), is one of the major operational concepts in Indian thought involved in the process of apprehending facts and reacting to situations and stimuli, as also the cause of bandh (bondage/attachment). ‘Mind’ is the nearest English rendering of ‘man’, though the two are not perfectly synonymous. Where as ‘mind’ is a comprehensive term subsuming all mental functions, man has a narrower connotation in that its functions mainly relate to (i) the indriis (sense organs and motor organs) and (ii) emotions, such as sukh (pleasure) and dukh (pain), hit (good) and ahit (bad), grief and anger.

Numerous terms have, almost interchangeably, been used in gurbani for man. These include chit (seat of consciousness), hirda, hia or hirar (lit. the heart), jia or jio (lit. life principle), and mati (intellect). Chit seems to have a wider connotation embracing consciousness, awareness, perception, cognition, memory and thinking. Hirda and its synonyms denote, in particular, the emotive states of the mind. jia or jio, as in sahasai jiu malinu hai, doubt pollutes the mind (GG,919), is symbolic of man. Mati (intellect, counsel) though considered distinct from man, as in tiithai gharaii surti mati mani budh (GG,8), at times seems to denote man itself, as in mati vichi ratajavahar manik (GG,2). As a specific term, man refers to its initial contact with vish (object), i.e. perception. In a given kriya (act or process), man is called smruti at the level of recall, buddh(i) at the level of deliberation and decision, and driht in the moderation of the act or resoluteness.

Two divergent views are found in the Indian philosophical thought regarding the nature of man (manas). One view considers it to be an evolute of the five elements (paichbhuta), whereas the other holds it to be non-paichbhuta (non-material). Both these views find expression in gurbani. The assertion ihu manu paich tatu te janamai—this mind has evolved from the five material elements (GG,415), alludes to its material origins. What it signifies, in reality, is that man comes
into being only when pure consciousness or ātmā comes in contact with the material body. On the other hand, statements such as man tiṣṭā joti sarīp hai — O man, you are of the nature of light, i.e. consciousness (GG,441), proclaim it to be non-paṅchabhūtik. However, in essence, a statement of this nature only signifies that man does not come into being unless the material body is inhabited by conscious ātmā, which is the real kartā (doer) and bhogtā (experiencer). These two positions are only apparently antithetical. Man, in fact, is the joint product of sentient ātmā and the insentient body. It has also been looked upon as the yoking principle between ātmā and sarīr (physical body).

Outward pursuit is the usual occupation of man. Through the five sense organs (giān indris) it receives impressions from the external world, and through the agency of the five organs of action (karma indris) it operates upon it. Thus, it is at once the perceiver of the environment as well as the inspirer and director of man's conscious activity. Impelled by its material source, the mind or man serves the ends of the physical body, protecting and nurturing it, and devising for its relishes (ras sarīr ke) and enjoyments (bhog). Yet, it is not entirely material in its make-up. It is able to discriminate between good (hit) and bad (ahit) and so become its own critic. That is why man has been called karma (the doer) as well as dharma (the valuer) — iku manu karma, iku manu dharma (GG,415).

In its outward material pursuits, it is less conscious (giātā) and more ignorant (agīānī); less sentient (chetan) and more stupid (mūrī); less discriminative (bibēkī) and more stolid (jaṛ), and prone to be misled by illusion or sense of individuation (māyā). Over-brimming with egoism (haumai), it runs outwards to annex to itself things and relations in greedy pursuits. Shuffling continually between hopes (āsā) and desires (manasā), it is fickle and scattered. Tossed about by doubt (saṁśā) and delusion (bharam), it is restless (ashānt). Agitated by anxious concerns (chintā), it lives in continual fear and anxiety. Bounced by craving (rāg) and aversion (duesh), it is inconstant and capricious. At times, it rises to the heavens; at times it sinks to the Hades: kabahū jīrā ṛbhi charatu hai kabahū jāi païāle (GG,876). The infinite series of mental activities (bīrtīs) spell its protean nature. Its counsel (manmat) is generally base and demeaning. Heeding it, one becomes a self-willed, self-opinionated and ego-centred individual (mammuk).

If, however, under the gurū's instruction (gurmat), this mind, man, were to withdraw from its outward pursuit and become at home with itself, it will overcome all the disturbances caused by the external world, and it will merge with the mighty deep of the ātmā lying within it. It is thus that it discovers itself as pure consciousness, aware of nothing but its own self. It is only then that all ignorance is shed from man and it stands illumined by its own inner light. All conditioning disappears; all the fetters fall off. Man becomes conversant with its own renascent resplendence. Guru Rām Dās likens the mind in its purity to the innocent baby residing in the township of the body (GG,1191).

Such withdrawal from without, this return home occurring at the gurū's bidding, makes one a God-centered or Guru-oriented (gurmukh) individual. Virtuous deeds performed under the direction of the spiritual mentor enable him to realize the true essence of the self.

Evidently, a basic conflict inheres in man—that between its outward inclinations and its inward retreat and immersion in its own self. The former tendency is amorously passionate, furiously aggressive, covetously possessive, blindly infatuative, and proudly egoistic (characterized by the five base emotions, viz. lust, anger, greed, attachment and egotism). The feverishness of this pursuit causes the man to remain in continual turbulence and suffering in the kārmic whirl of birth and death.
The path of deliverance as revealed by the Guru is for the man to abandon its outward pursuits and immerse itself in blissful contemplation. “Quell the noise and experience beauty.” The goal of all spiritual discipline is to attain this sublime quietude, controlling the mind’s distractions. This is the state of the emancipated individual, the gurmukh or the ḵivan-mukta, who freely moves between the realm of duty in the worldly life and realm of devotion to the spirit eternal. He is the one in tune with the Infinite.

The ideal state of the mind (man) is that which leads to the dissolution of man, the death of man. But who would slay man? Man itself, says the Guru, Nānak, man hi kau manu-marśi (GG,1089). And this is the greatest ever victory, equalling victory over the whole world: mani jītai jagū jītu (GG,6) —conquering the man (mind) amounts to conquering the world.

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MĀNAK CHAND, BHĀI, received initiation at the hands of Guru Rām Dās. He followed the path of selfless service and attained liberation and spiritual bliss. See Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI. 17.

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MĀNAK CHAND JĪVARĀ, a Pathariā Khatri of the village of Vairovāl, now in Amritsar district of the Punjab, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Guru Amar Dās. He lovingly contributed the labour of his hands to digging the Bāoli, or open well with steps going down to water level, at Goindvāl. In the course of digging, Sikhs came across a stratum of hard rock. As the last layer was in the end pierced, water suddenly gushed forth drowning Mānak Chand who had struck the final blow. There was great commotion among the Sikhs standing around the well. They seized Mānak Chand’s body as the water subsided, and carried it to Guru Amar Dās. Everyone except the Guru took him for dead. Mānak Chand did survive and the Guru blessed him calling him Jīvarā, the living one. He was made head of a maṇī or head of a religious seat. His descendants living in Vairovāl are still called Jīvarās.

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MĀNAK TABRĀ, a village about 3 km north of Rāipur Rāṇī in Narāṅgār sub-division of Ambālā district, is sacred to Guru Gobind Singh, who visited it as he was travelling from Pāṇḍa to Anandpur in 1688. It was here that the Rāṇī of Rāipur came to see him. Gurdwārā Dasvīn Pāṭshāhī, one kilometre south of the village on the right bank of the river Ṭāṅgrī, marks the site where the Guru had encamped. It is a double-storeyed domed building with a verandah all around it. A separate complex contains the Guru kā Langar and rooms for
MANA SINGH MÂN

pilgrims. Special divāns are held on the first of each Bikrami month and to mark important anniversaries on the Sikh calendar.

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MĀNA SINGH MĀN (d. 1807), son of Sarjā Singh Mān, a minor misldār and a feudatory sardār of Mahān Singh Sukkarchakkiā who held jāgīrs in Piṇḍoīrī Kālān and Piṇḍoīrī Khurd.

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MĀNH CHAND, son of Khan Chand, resident of Kābul in Afghanistan, became a devotee of Gurū Nānak. According to Bālā Janam Sākhi, once Gurū Nānak accompanied by Bhāi Bālā went to Kābul especially to meet Mān Chand whom he sent for through a local Paṭhān. Mān Chand, who had not heard about the Gurū before, however, received instruction and not only became a follower himself, but also began to preach the Gurū's teaching in the region.

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MĀNDĪ, a district town in Himāchal Pradesh, was formerly the capital of the princely state of that name. Gurū Gobind Singh once visited it on the invitation of its ruler, Rājā Siddh Sen. The Gurū set up his camp outside the town. The ladies were escorted to the Rājā's palace. The shrine raised on the site of the Gurū's camp is called Gurdwārā Pādāl Sāhib.

Its present building was constructed in 1926 by Dīnā Nāth, chief secretary of the former Maṇḍī state. The site inside the palace honours the visit of the ladies.

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MĀNGĀ, BHĀI, a musician by profession was among Gurū Nānak's leading disciples. He has been described by Bhāi Gurdās, Vārīṇī, XI, 13, as a lover of gurbāṇī or the Gurū's word.

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MĀNGĀ, 40 km southwest of Lahore along the Lahore-Multan highway, had a historic gurdwārā, Chhota Nānākā, commemorating Gurū Nānak's visit. Gurū Hargobind, Nānāk VI, also halted here on his way back from Kashmir in 1620. Served by Nirmālā priests for generations, the shrine came under the management of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee during the Gurdwārā Reform movement, 1920-25. It had to be abandoned at the time of the partition of the Punjab in 1947.

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MĀNGĀ, BHĀI, a musician by profession was among Gurū Nānak's leading disciples. He has been described by Bhāi Gurdās, Vārīṇī, XI, 13, as a lover of gurbāṇī or the Gurū's word.
MAṆGAṆ, or MAṆGAṆ ṚĀI, one of Gurū Gobind Singh’s “fifty-two poets”, was a native of Paśrūr, in present-day Śiālkoṭ district of Pakistan. Maṅgal composed poetry in Hindi, Punjabi and Dogri. His major surviving work is a translation of “Śalya Parva” of the Mahābhārata in Hindi verse which he completed at Anandpur on Chetvadi 13, 1753 Bk/10 March 1697. In the concluding stanzas, he waxes eloquent about the rich bounties Gurū Gobind Singh bestowed upon the poets. “The Śalya Parva”, says the poet, “has been rendered into bhākhā (Hindi) during the reign of Gurū Gobind (Singh), money in millions and billions he distributes to meet the needs of the poets.” In some of his Punjabi and Hindi kāḥītis, too, he sings praises of the Gurū’s largesse and of the blissful life at Anandpur. A manuscript of “Śalya Parva” by Maṅgal is preserved in the private collection of the Mahārājā of Paṭialā. A copy of it, said to be in the personal library of the Mahārājā of Vārāṇasi, has the name of the poet as Maṅgal Rāi.

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MAṆGAṆ SINGH (d. 1864), manager of Prince Khāṛak Singh’s estates in Sikh times, came of a Sandhū family of the village of Sirāṅvālī, in Śiālkoṭ district, which traced its ancestry to one Husain who founded, at the beginning of sixteenth century, Hasanvālā, a village in Gujranwālā district. Maṅgal Singh’s grandfather Dargāh, who was the first in the family to adopt the Sikh faith, migrated from Sirāṅvālī to Gurdāspur owing to straitened circumstances to which he had been reduced, and joined Jaimal Singh Kanhaiyā as a horseman. His son Lāl Singh, the father of Maṅgal Singh, succeeded him and was promoted to command 100 horse.

Maṅgal Singh’s sister Išhār Kaur was married to Prince Khāṛak Singh in 1815 at Amritsar. This brought the brother favours from the court. A jāgīr of the value of Rs 5,000 was conferred upon Maṅgal Singh and he was given charge of the Chūṁān tract in Lahore district. Khāṛak Singh was so pleased with his management that he entrusted him in 1820 with the charge of all his affairs, civil and military, and gave him an enhanced jāgīr of Rs 19,000 with the title of Sardār. Maṅgal Singh also secured the possession of his old family village of Sirāṅvālī, which was then held by Shām Singh Āṭārīvālā. He retained the favour of his master, though the management of princely estates was in 1834 transferred to Chet Singh Bājvā. Mahārājā Sher Singh resumed most of Maṅgal Singh’s original estates but granted him new ones of the value of over a lakh of rupees which he retained until 1846, when Rājā Lāl Singh seized them leaving him a much reduced jāgīr. Maṅgal Singh was appointed Adālatī or judicial officer of the Rachānā Doāb by the British Resident, Major Lawrence.

Maṅgal Singh died in June 1864.

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MAṆGAṆ SINGH, a Risāldar in the erstwhile princely state of Paṭīlā, was born in 1842, the son of jāgīrdār Hirā Singh. He was arrested in 1872 for his alleged involvement in the attack by the Kūkās on the butchers of Mālerkotlā, and was imprisoned at Allāhābād.

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M.L.A.
MAŃGAL SİNGH KİRPAN BAHADFUR, BHAI (1895-1921), one of the Nankañā Sāhib martyrs was born in 1895, the son of Bhai Ratta and Māi Hukmi in the village of Uddoke, in Gurdaspur district. He lost both of his parents while yet a small child, and grew up in very adverse circumstances until, around 1908, he attracted the notice of Jathedar Lachhmaṇ Sīgh Dhārovālī during a religious divān for his melodious singing of the Sikh holy songs. The Jathedar, who had lately lost his infant son with no hope of another offspring, took the orphan under his own care, brought him home and treated him as his own son. Young Maṅgal Sīgh learnt reading and writing and helped his benefactor with farming. In 1913, he received the rites of Khālsā initiation at the Central Mājha Khālsā Diwān. In 1915, he enlisted in the army but was court-marshalled two years later because he would not obey his commanding officer’s order to part with his kirpān. He was sentenced to one year’s imprisonment and dismissed from service, but, in view of an ongoing agitation among the Sikhs for freedom to wear or carry kirpān, his sentence was reduced to six months which he spent in Sialkot jail. On his release he was taken out by the sangat in a procession to Gurdwara Bābe di Ber in Sialkot where he was acclaimed for his courageous stand in defence of his religious faith. The Pañch Khālsā Diwān Bhasaur honoured him with the title of Kirpān Bahādur and a pension of Rs 7 per month.

Bhai Maṅgal Sīgh remained a faithful son to his godfather, Jathedar Lachhmaṇ Sīgh. He helped him organize the political conference at Dhārovālī on 1 to 3 October 1920 and participated in the liberation of Gurdwārā Kharā Saudā at Chūharkānā on 30 December 1920. He joined his column for the liberation of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, at Nankañā Sāhib, never to come back alive.

See NANKĀNĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

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G.S.G.

MAŃGAL SİNGH RĂMGARHĪ (1800-1879), manager of the Goden Temple at Amritsar for 17 years from 1862 till his death in 1879, was the son of Divān Sīgh Rămgarhiā, a nephew of the famous Sardār Jassā Sīgh Rămgarhiā. During his younger days, Maṅgal Sīgh remained in attendance on Mahārājā Ranjit Sīgh who gave him jāgīrs in several villages. After his father’s death, Maṅgal Sīgh was sent to Peshāwar in command of four hundred foot and one hundred and ten sowārs of the old Rămgarhiā clan. There he served under Tej Sīgh and Hari Sīgh Nalvā and fought in the battle of Jamrud in April 1837. In 1839, he was recalled and sent to the hill country between the Beās and the Sutlej, and during the absence of Lāhinā Sīgh Majīthiā in Peshāwar, he was placed in charge of the hill forts. During the reign of Mahārājā Sher Sīgh, he was chiefly employed under Lāhinā Sīgh in Suket, Māndī and Kulū. He was one of the commanders sent to chastise Fateh Khān of Mīṭhā Tīvānā in 1844. On the retirement of Jodh Sīgh Mān in 1862, Maṅgal Sīgh was appointed manager of the Golden Temple. In the same year, he was appointed an honorary magistrate of the city of Amritsar. In 1876, the Prince of Wales conferred upon him the Companionship of the Star of India. Maṅgal Sīgh died at Amritsar in February 1879.

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J.R.G.
MANGAL SINGH, SARDAR (1892-1987), journalist, politician and parliamentarian, long had the epithet 'Akali' attached to his name for his prominence in Akali affairs. He was born on 6 June 1892 at the village of Gill, near Ludhiana, the son of Zaildar Kapur Singh, who had been granted by the British two squares (20 hectares) of land in 1898 in Chakk No. 208 in the newly developed canal colony of Lyallpur, to where the family eventually migrated. After passing the matriculation examination in 1911, Mangal Singh joined the Khalsa College at Amritsar. As the First World War broke out in 1914, he left off studies and enlisted in the signals section of the University Officers Training Corps. For his war service which took him to Mesopotamia (present Iraq) and later Europe, he was awarded the honorary pass degree of Bachelor of Arts and was nominated a tahsildar, a coveted position for beginners in the revenue department. He was still under training when he quit to join the Punjabi daily Akali, floated from Lahore in May 1920 by two Akali leaders, Master Sundar Singh and Harchand Singh to espouse the cause of Gurdwara reform. Mangal Singh suffered prosecution for his anti-government writings and was sentenced to jail. By the time he was released, the Shiromani Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) had been declared unlawful bodies and all leading Akalis taken into custody. Mangal Singh was chosen president of the ad hoc SGPC and in this capacity he took part in the deliberations and negotiations which ultimately led to the passing of the Sikh Gurdwara Act, 1925. Mangal Singh presided over the first meeting of the Gurdwara Central Board constituted under the Act held on 4 September 1926, and acted as pro-tem president of the meeting held on 2 October 1926 at which BABA Kharak Singh was elected president and Master Tara Singh vice-president. Mangal Singh himself was elected a member of the executive.

Mangal Singh represented the Sikhs on the Motilal Nehru Committee (1928) which drew up a draft constitution for India, commonly known as the Nehru Committee Report. He put forward the view that the Sikhs were in favour of joint electorates but, if the Muslims were conceded separate electoral rights, one-third seats in the Punjab legislature and five per cent at the centre should be reserved for the Sikhs. The Committee, while recommending the abolition of separate electorates, agreed to reservation of seats for Muslims in some provinces and for non-Muslims in the North-West Frontier Province, but no protection was provided for Sikhs as a minority, which was the cause of much of resentment among them. For ten years, 1935-45, Mangal Singh remained a member of Central Legislative Assembly as a nominee of the Indian National Congress. He was re-elected in 1945 as a candidate of the Shiromani Akali Dal and served as a member of its planning committee when the Central Assembly converted into the Constituent Assembly of India. During his years in the Central Assembly, Mangal Singh enjoyed much prestige as a spokesman of the Sikhs. He withdrew himself from active politics in 1960 for reasons of health.

Mangal Singh died at Chandigarh on 16 June 1987.

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MAŅĢĪŅĀ, SĒTĦ, a rich businessman of Muzāṅg in Lahore, was, according to Bhāī Māni Singh, Sīkhaṇḍ di Brhağat Mālā, a contemporary of Gūrū Arjan. He was one of the first residents of Muzāṅg who, along with
their families, accepted the Sikh teaching. See Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI. 25.

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MĀNGLĀN, a slave-girl in the service of Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur who gained considerable influence in state affairs during the latter’s regency (1844-46). She was born about 1816 in a village near Kangrā. Her father Pīrū, a water-bearer, lived in extremely narrow circumstances. She was sold at the age of ten in 1825 for a paltry sum of Rs 25 to a Dum or minstrel, who brought her up as a courtesan. When she was about fourteen years old, she was purchased by one Jassā, who brought her to Lahore. She soon deserted him and came to live with a palace servant, who introduced her to Rāṇī Jind Kaur. She worked in her household and soon won her complete confidence. To fortify her position further, she developed intimacy with the Rāṇī’s brother, Jawāhar Singh. She became Rāṇī Jind Kaur’s most trusted confidante and secured control of the toshākhānā as well as of the royal seal. She dabbled in politics and accepted gifts from courtiers and others. She lost her influence after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, when she was compulsorily retired from the court, and instructed by the Political Agent at Lahore to proceed on a pilgrimage. Mānglān accordingly went to live at Haridvār. Her jagirs, worth about seven lakhs, were confiscated in 1847.

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MANI MAJRA is an old town, 2 km east of Chandigarh (30°-44’N, 76°-47’E). After the death of Bābā Rām Rāi at Dehrā Dūn in 1687, one of his wives, Mātā Rāj Kaur, settled in Mani Majra. The following year, Guru Gobind Singh returning from Paonta Sahib to Anandpur Sahib, came here on Maghar vadi 10, 1745 Bk/November 1688, to call on her. What is now known as Gurdwāra Mānjī Sahib was the residence of Mātā Rāj Kaur, expanded later by the members of the Rām Rāā sect who were maintaining it until the Shiromāṇi Gurdwāra Parbandhak Committee took it over.

Mātā Rāj Kaur was a pious lady credited with spiritual powers. It is said that, once during the rains, a rafter in the roof of her house gave way. She requested one Bāhr Mall, a wealthy man of the village, to provide timber of suitable length, but he refused. Gharibā, a poor peasant, at once felled a tree and brought the log to support the roof. Mātā Rāj Kaur said that he would be a rājā. It so happened that whereas Bāhr Mall’s fortunes declined, Gharibā prospered. He lived to be an old man and, after the fall of Sirhind to the Sikhs in 1764, he became master of

Hoshiarpur, 1960

J.S.K.

MĀNIK, BHĀI, of village Maddar in present-day Sheikhpūrā district of Pakistan, received initiation as a Sikh at the hands of Gurū Amar Dās. When Gurū Har gobind visited this village on his way back from Kashmir in 1620, Mānik served him with devotion and narrated to him the story of Bhāi Kidārā, whom Gurū Arjan had favoured with the gift of a walking stick. See KIDĀRĀ, BHĀI

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T.S.
Mani Majra and 48 other villages. His son and successor, Gopal Singh, was given the title of Raja by the British government.

Gurdwara Manji Sahib is in the interior of the town, near the fort. The sanctum, where the Guru Granth Sahib is now seated has a lotus dome on top with a pavilion in front. A narrow lane leads to the samadhi of Mata Rajo Kaur near by.

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M.G.S.

MANI RĀM, BHAI (1644-1734), from a devoted Sikh family of Pramar Jatts, was, according to Seva Singh, Shahīd Bilās (Bhai Manī Singh), the third of the twelve sons of Naīk Māi Dās and his wife, Madharī Bāī, of 'Alipur village in Muzaffargarh district. His grandfather, Ballū, had laid down his life fighting for Guru Hargobind (1595-1644), in the battle of Amritsar in 1634. Born on 10 March 1644, Manī Rām was brought by his father to Guru Har Rai (1630-61) at Kīratpur in 1657. He stayed there for two years, receiving instruction in Sikh lore. In 1659, he returned to his native 'Alipur to get married to Sito Devī, daughter of Lakkhi Rāī of Khāīpur Sādāt, Muzaffargarh district, a trader and caravan owner who later, in 1675, had the honour of cremating the body of Guru Tegh Bahādur.

Sometime after his marriage, Manī Rām, along with his two brothers, Jēthā and Dayālā, returned to Kīratpur and humbly devoted himself to serving in the Gurū kā Langar. On the passing away of Gurū Har Rāī, he continued to attend on his successor, Gurū Har Krishna, till the latter’s death on 30 March 1664. Thereafter, he stayed put in 'Alipur, visiting Kīratpur and Anandpur between whiles to pay his homage to Gurū Tegh Bahādur and Gurū Gobind Singh. When, on 30 March 1699, Gurū Gobind Singh inaugurated the Khālsā, Manī Rām was there with five of his sons whom he presented to the Gurū for initiation. The five, Bachittar Singh, Ude Singh, Anik Singh, Ajab Singh and Ajaib Singh, remained with the Gurū and took part in all the battles fought thereafter until each one of them attained martyrdom in clashes that immediately followed the evacuation of Anandpur in early December 1705.

Bhai Manī Rām lived to see another two of his sons and several grandchildren lay down their lives on different occasions in the cause of their faith. He himself died on 24 June 1734.

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M.G.S.

MANI SINGH, BHAI (d. 1737), scholar and martyr, came, according to Kesar Singh Chhibbar, his contemporary, of a Kamboj family, and according to some later chroniclers, following Gian Gian Singh, Panth Prakāsh, of a Dullān family of Kamboj village (now extinct), near Sunām (30°7'N, 75°48'E), in Saṅgrāur district of the Punjab. Manī Singh is said to have been brought in the early years of his birth to the presence of Gurū Tegh Bahādur at Anandpur. He was approximately of the same age as the Gurū’s own son, Gobind Singh. Both grew up together—Gobind Rāi [Dās] and Manī Rām were the names they went by in those pre-Khālsā days. Manī Singh remained in his company even after he had ascended the religious seat as Gurū. Manī Singh accompanied the Gurū to the seclusion of Paṅtṛā where Gurū Gobind Singh spent some three years exclusively given to literary work.
Mani Singh had also developed a taste in letters. He transcribed for distribution the holy volumes and shorter anthologies of hymns and sabdas. When on 30 March 1699 Guru Gobind Singh inaugurated the Khalsa, Bhai Mani Singh was among those who took the vows. Soon thereafter he was sent by the Guru to Amritsar to take charge of the Harimandar which had been without a custodian since the death in 1696 of Sothi Harji. Mani Singh happened to be in Anandpur again when following the last of a series of battles against the Hindu hill rajas and the Mughal troops at Anandpur, the Guru evacuated the town on the night of 5-6 December 1705. He escorted Guru Gobind Singh's wives, Mata Sundari and Mata Sakhib Devan to Delhi. In 1706 he rejoined Guru Gobind Singh at Talvand Sobo (Damdamâ Sâhib) where he prepared under his guidance the final recension of Sikh Scripture, the Guru Granth Sâhib. Some time after the Guru's departure for the South, Bhai Mani Singh resumed his duties at Amritsar. According to Ratan Singh Bhangu, Prach'in Panth Prakash, he carried out his duties at Amritsar under the authority of Mâtâ Sundarî, who was at Delhi.

"Residing in the Akal Buñgâ," says Ratan Singh Bhañgû, "he strengthened the sinews of Sikhs' religious faith and corrected such of them as had faltered or erred. He sowed the seed and planted gurmat among all irrespective of caste, through discourse and anecdote." He also went around the countryside preaching. For example, a letter, still preserved, written by him to Mâtâ Sundarî on 20 April 1711 shows him to be engaged in his religious and administrative duties at Amritsar; but three years later in 1714-15, he was, according to Gurbilas Chhevin Paišhâhi at Nânaksar in Bâgânvâlâ village in Jhaṅg district giving discourses on the life of Guru Hargobind.

As dissensions broke out in the Sikh Panth after the capture and martyrdom of Bandâ Siñgh Bhañdûr, Bhai Mani Singh used his influence to bring about peace between the warring groups —the Banda Sikhs and the Tat Khalsa. During the repression let loose on the Sikhs by the Mughal governors of the Punjab, Abd us-Samad Khan and his son and successor, Zakariyâ Khan, the traditional festivals Divâlî and Baisâkhi had hardly been held in peace. In 1737, Bhai Mani Singh sought Zakariyâ Khan's permission to hold the Divâlî festival at Amritsar. It was granted on the condition that a poll tax amounting to five thousand rupees (ten thousand according to Ratan Singh Bhañgû) would be paid to government. This was simply a ruse, because, on the other hand, the governor sent a strong force under Diwan Lakhpât Râi to annihilate the Sikhs collected for the festival. Mani Singh got wind of the governor's plan and forbade the Sikhs, scattered in different forests and desert regions, to assemble at Amritsar. Consequently no tax could be collected and paid. Bhai Mani Singh was prosecuted for not paying the stipulated sum. After a summary trial he was asked either to embrace Islam or face death. He chose the latter and was executed with his body mangled bone by bone. On the site of his martyrdom in Lahore stood, until the partition, Gurdwârâ Shahid Gañj. Another memorial gurdwârâ has been raised in recent decades at the ruined site of Kambovâl near Laungovâl, believed to be his birthplace.

Bhai Mani Singh's achievement in the literary sphere is his compilation of the Dasam Granth, the Tenth Master's Book, containing compositions generally believed to be Guru Gobind Singh's. To his name are attributed two other works in prose: Giân Ratnavalî, an account in traditional style of the life of Gurû Nânak, and Bhagat Ratnavalî, better known as Sikhañ dî Bhagat Mâlî, which is an illustrative commentary, in anecdotal style, on Bhai Gurdâs' Vâr XI. The author of Gurbilâs
Chheviī Pātshāhī also claims that his work is based upon discourses given by Bhāī Manī Singh.

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**MANĪ SĪNGH JANAM SĀKHĪ**, also known as *GYĀN RATNĀVALĪ* and traditionally attributed to Bhāī Manī Singh, a famous Sikh of the early eighteenth century martyred by the Mughal governor of Lahore, Zakariyā Khān, in 1737, is a collection of 225 anecdotes related to the life of Gurū Nānak and some exegetical and theological discourses. Two manuscripts held by Khālsa College, Amritsar, are dated 1891 Bk/AD1834, and 1895 Bk/AD 1838, respectively, and of the three others in a private collection at Patīlā two are also dated 1883 Bk/AD 1826, and 1927 Bk/AD 1870, and although the third and the oldest one bears the date 1778 Bk/AD 1721, it is evident from its contents and the modern style of its language that its actual date must be much later. According to S.S. Ashok, *Paṅjābī Hatha-Likhatān di Sūchī*, four other undated manuscripts, two of them complete and two incomplete, also existed but they were probably destroyed during the army’s invasion of the Darbār Sāhib complex in 1984. Of the three lithographed editions, the first was published by Charāṅgh Dīn and Sarāṅ Dīn of Lahore in 1891, the second by Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, in 1892, and the third by Gulāb Singh and Sons, Lahore, in 1908. It is an abridged text of the 1892 lithographed edition that appears in Dr Kirpāl Singh (ed) *Janam Sākhī Parampara* (1969).

Some modern scholars dispute the authorship of the work or at least suspect some interpolations to have occurred later, although a prologue providing the following explanation for its original composition is found attached to all extant copies of the manuscript:

Some Sikhs once approached Manī Singh with a problem. The schismatic Mīnās were, they reported, corrupting the received account of the life and teachings of Gurū Nānak. It was evidently becoming impossible to distinguish authentic fact from malicious interpolation and for this reason they desired that he, as an acknowledged authority, should undertake to separate the two. Manī Singh, in reply, referred them to Bhāī Gurdās’ *Vār* as a reliable record of the Gurū’s life. This record, they responded, was a very brief one. Something more was necessary and their request was for an extended commentary on Bhāī Gurdās’ *Vār* as his basic text and to supplement it with narratives he had heard from the followers of Gurū Gobind Singh. The result was his Janam Sākhī, the *Gyān Ratnāvalī*.

There is no evident reason to mistrust this explanation although its accuracy cannot be definitively proved. That the work appears to be originally based on Bhāī Gurdās’ *vār-1* is evidenced by stanzas from this *Vār* quoted in the *janam sākhī*, most of them followed by a brief paraphrase, although other anecdotes also separate the stanzaic passages. These latter may have been taken from other sources by Bhāī Manī Singh himself who must have been conversant with
several janam sakhis that already existed during his time. Still some interpolations cannot be ruled out.

The language of Mani Singh Janam Sakh is simple and easy to follow, but it is not uniform. Mostly, it is Punjabi, but it changes to Sadh Bhakh when some philosophical point is being discussed. On the whole, it is nearer to the modern idiom; some of the grammatical forms, particularly case forms, freely occurring in Puratan or even in Bala tradition have disappeared by this time.

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W.H.M.

MAÑJH, BHĀI, a well-to-do Rājpūt of Doāb country, converted a Sikh and earned repute for his piety, selfless service and complete surrender to the Gurū’s will. His real name was Tiratha and Mañjh was his clan name. He had been a follower of Sultan Sakhi Sarwar, a Muslim saint, until he once visited Gurū Arjan. He did not wish to leave the Gurū’s presence and begged to be initiated a Sikh. He was told that to be a Sikh he would have to break away from his old beliefs and that he might thereby lose caste with his own people. Bhāi Mañjh was determined. He went home and closed the alcove reserved for the worship of Sakhi Sarwar. For this he was ostracized by his kinsmen and thrown out of the village. Bhāi Mañjh returned to Gurū Arjan and received initiation. He was assigned to collecting fuel for Gurū kā Langar. Bhāi Mañjh performed his allotted task with complete dedication. One evening, as says Sarûp Dās Bhallâ, Mahimā Prakâsh, he was returning with a load of firewood on his head when, blinded by a severe dust storm, he fell into a shallow well. He kept standing in the water the whole night holding his load on his head to save it from getting wet. As the report reached Gurū Arjan the next morning, he came accompanied by some of his Sikhs and rescued him. He embraced Bhāi Mañjh and spoke: “The Gurū loveth Mañjh as Mañjh loveth the Gurū. Mañjh is the vessel for men to ferry them across the ocean of existence.” Bhāi Mañjh was appointed to preach Sikh faith in his district. He established himself in the village of Kaṅg, 18 km west of Hoshiārpur, where Gurū Arjan is said to have visited him in 1595. A shrine, Gurdwārā Bābā Mañjh, at Kaṅg still commemorates him. People from the surrounding villages collect there on the first of each Bikramī month, and an annual fair is held on the first of Māgh (mid-January).

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MAÑJĪ, derived from the Sanskrit mañcha and mañchakā meaning a stage, platform, raised seat, dais, throne, beadstead, or a couch, has a special connotation in Sikh tradition. Ordinarily, a mañjī, in Punjabi, means a cot, especially of the simple, stringed variety. Social manner in India requires that when more than one person are seated on the same cot, the one senior in age or superior in relationship should occupy the upper portion of it. But when someone commanding high social or spiritual status is present, he alone occupies the mañjī, while the others squat on the ground in front of or around it. When Gurū Amar Dās, the third Gurū, appointed some leading Sikhs
to cater for the needs of Sikh sangats in different parts of the country, the districts or dioceses came to be known as manjís, from the manjis or high seats on which the incumbants sat when preaching the Guru's word. According to Sikh chroniclers, Guru Amar Dās established 22 manjís. The persons appointed came to be called masands, a word derived from the Persian masnad, also meaning, like the Sanskrit mańchakā, a throne or a couch. These manjís and masands played a significant role in knitting the Sikhs into a community. Guru Gobind Singh abolished the institution of masands and, implicitly, of manjís, establishing a direct relationship with Khalsa, without any intermediaries.

The Gurus themselves travelled widely and frequently to visit their devotees, individually or collectively organized in sangats or holy fellowships. The Sikhs, naturally, had the Guru seated on a cot while they sat on the ground to listen to his sermon. After the Guru's departure the Sikhs treated the places where the Guru had sat or stayed as sacred. Usually a platform was constructed on the spot, where they would assemble on festival occasions to pay reverence to the memory of the holy visit. Such a platform was reverentially called manjí sāhib. Later, as Sikhs came through a period of prolonged persecution and acquired power in the Punjab, small shrines were raised over these platforms and the Guru Granth Sahib installed. Each such shrine or Gurdwārā was also called a manjí sāhib. It usually consisted of a small, domed building, square or octagonal in shape, with or without circumambulatory passage. Even those constructed on a grandiose scale and liberally endowed with land and cash grants by Sikh rulers continued to be similarly designated. This name is generally followed by a reference to the Guru whose visit the shrine commemorates —like (Gurdwārā) Mañjī Sāhib Pāṭshāhī Pahili —shrine in honour of the first Guru, i.e. Guru Nānak, and so on.

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M.G.S.

MANMĀD (20°10'N, 74°28'E), is a small town in the Nāsik district of Mahārāṣṭra. It is a railway junction on the Central Railway, 260 km northeast of Bombay to which it is also connected by road, via Chandor and Deolāī. Pilgrims from the north coming to visit the Sikh shrines at Nāndeś change trains here. Gurdwārā Guptsar Sāhib was built at Manmād by Sant Bābā Nidhān Singh in 1931, primarily for the pilgrims visiting Nāndeś. Tradition has grown over the years connecting the site with story of two Marāṭhā chiefs, Bālā Rāo and Rustam Rāo, of Jinvādā near Bidar, whose release from Sātārā is said to have been secured miraculously by Guru Gobind Singh during the latter's stay at Nāndeś.

The Gurdwārā compound is entered through a simple double-storeyed gateway. To the left of the courtyard is the large divān hall, with a platform for the Guru Granth Sāhib in the eastern part of it. The three-storeyed building has a central dome on top and smaller decorative domes at the corners. The walls of the hall are lined with white marble slabs with grey streaks up to mid-height. The walls further up are inlaid with multi-coloured glass pieces and reflecting mirrors arranged in geometrical patterns. The roof of the hall is made up of glazed tiles in different shades and the floor is paved with marble. Religious services are held morning and evening and the langar is open almost all day and night. Pilgrims visit in large numbers at the time of Dussehrā and Holā Mahallā festivals.
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MANMAT PRAHAR LARI (lit., a series to overcome heresy) comprises tracts written by Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid of Tarn Taran between 1903 and 1908, denouncing un-Sikh customs and rituals to which the Sikhs had succumbed. This had been one of the primary objectives of the Singh Sabha reform and a most forceful exponent of it was Giani Ditt Singh, a prolific writer and editor of the *Khalsa Akhbar.* With his death in 1901, a vacuum occurred in the reformers' crusade against ignorance and superstition among the Sikh masses. Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid entered the arena in 1903 and attempted to fill this gap. The series that flowed from his pen consisted of six books. The first four were published by Khalsa Agency, Lahore, and the last two by the author himself.

*Sharad Prabodh,* the first in the series, was published in 1903, with a reprint brought out in 1905. The booklet aims to bring to the readers true understanding of *sharad,* ritual feeding of the *Brahma,* as homage to one's departed ancestors. Bhai Mohan Singh presents the custom as unworthy of a Sikh. *Gurmat Anusar Mritak Sanaskar de Labh* commends the simple Sikh custom of cremation amid, and followed by, recitation of *gurbani,* *kirtan* and *ardas* or prayer for the departed soul. The third in the series, entitled *Biradh Vivah, Durdas Natak* is a play, published in 1904, depicting the plight of young innocent girls given away in marriage by greedy parents to those advanced in years. There was at the time much misleading criticism of Sikhism by Arya Samaj. The *Gurmat Gauravata* dilates on the dignity of the Anand form of marriage, mustering quotations from the Sikh texts and stressing its importance for the Panth. The last in the series, *Gurmat Viroth Bijnash,* published in June 1908, was in reply to a tract, *Anand Vivah par Vichar,* brought out earlier by Durga Press, Nabh, attacking the Anand marriage.

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MAN MOHAN SINGH (1906-1942), the first Sikh aviator and the first Indian to fly solo from England to India, was born at Rawalpindi, now in Pakistan, in September 1906, the son of Dr Makkhan Singh, a recipient of the Kaisar-i-Hind medal from the government for his distinguished public service as a medical practitioner. Man Mohan Singh was educated at Denny's High School and at Gordon College, both in Rawalpindi. In 1923, he went to England to train as a civil engineer, receiving his B.Sc degree four years later at the University of Bristol. In England he also completed a two-year course in flying and aeronautical engineering for which he had been given a scholarship by the Government of India. Competing for the prize of £500 (or 500 pounds) the Aga Khan (1887-1957), leader of the Isma'ili sect of Muslims, had announced for an Indian accomplishing a solo flight between England and India, Man Mohan Singh made two attempts during January-February 1930 which proved abortive. His first flight was on 24 January 1930 when he took off from Croydon near London in a single-engined light aircraft, reaching Rome on 30 January. From Rome he flew to Naples, but was thereafter forced to land in thick fog on a mountain road in southern Italy. His machine was badly damaged and he himself suffered injury on the left eye. His second attempt too had to be abandoned midway. Another competitor, R.N. Chawla, taking off from Karachi on 3 March 1930, succeeded in reaching England
in 17 days, but he was not considered eligible for the prize, for he had carried with him a companion, A.M. Engineer, another flier. This gave Man Mohan Singh his third chance. He took off from Croydon on 8 April 1930 and reached Karachi, but not within the stipulated period of one month, losing time owing to a forced landing he had to make in a swamp at Saint Rambert, near Marseilles (southern France). The Aga Khan prize went to A.M. Engineer, who taking off from England on 25 April 1930 reached Karachi on 11 May. Another competitor for the Aga Khan prize on this occasion was J.R.D. Tata, who later became famous as an industrialist. Man Mohan Singh missed the prize, but he was the first Sikh to complete a solo flight from England to India. Appreciating his spirit of enterprise, Maharajah Bhupinder Singh, ruler of Patiala state, compensated him for the lost prize and gave him employment as his personal pilot. In 1933-34, Man Mohan Singh accomplished another solo journey in a light aircraft, again the first by an Indian, from England to South Africa.

At the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Man Mohan Singh joined the Indian Air Force Volunteer Reserve as a pilot officer. He was selected leader of an Indian Air Force batch of officers sent to England for training and active duty. He was later promoted flying officer and deputed for operations in the Philippines and Indonesia and given the command of a Catalina aircraft. Man Mohan Singh was killed in action in West Australia on 3 March 1942.

Man Mohan Singh was a man of strong character and determination. While in England he was known to have a cold shower in the morning and not to eat anything before reciting the Sikh prayer of Japuji.

In the history of Indian aviation, Man Mohan Singh will always be remembered as a pioneer. He was passionately devoted to flying. He never married, but was fond of children, and loved to give them joy-rides in the aircraft. According to contemporary news reports, he, while in Africa, gave free lifts to more than 20,000 persons in Kenya in the first quarter of 1936. For an example of his extraordinary concentration and stamina, it is quoted that he once took his aircraft up into the air and landed it 150 times in a single day.

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MANMUKH, the ego-guided person, as opposed to gurmukh who is Guru-guided. The gurmukh-manmukh bipolarity represents the personality typology employed in the Sikh sacred literature. Basically it opposes and contrasts theocentric and egocentric personality types. The word manmukh is compounded of man (mind, lower self) and mukh (face): thus one who has his face towards his own mind or ego is egocentric. "The gurmukh keeps his face towards the Guru for guidance while the manmukh turns away from him—gurmukhi sanmukhu manmukhi vemukhia" (GG, 131). Thus is a manmukh characterized in another verse: "This is of the nature of a manmukh that he cherishes not (the Lord’s) Name and reflects not on (His) Word" (GG, 59). While the gurmukh ever lives in the presence of God, the manmukh remains oblivious of Him. "The manmukh depends upon his own intelligence and calculations (not realizing that) whatever happens is by God’s Will—manmukhi gañat gañat vañat vañat karalā karalā karalā kañat vikarā vikarā" (GG,60). His own calculations put him into karmic bondage, for he becomes a slave to his own impulses. Anger and avarice, lust and delusion, arrogance and passion tighten their grip on him. He obeys his own impulses refusing to reckon any law outside of himself. He never cares to listen to the word of the Guru or the advice of the holy. “He is lost in the wilderness
of his own delusions and passions — *manmukhī bharami bhavai bebāni*” (GG, 941). Forgetting the Giver, that is God, he chases material goods all the time. The longer he remains under the sway of his baser self (*man*), the farther he drifts from God’s grace. The *manmukh* is compared to a stone which, even if kept in water for long, remains unsoaked at heart: “*manmukh patharu saīlu hai dhrigu jīvanu phīkā. jai mahi ketā rākhīai abh antarī sūkā*” (GG, 419). He allows his senses to be ruled by his passions: his egoity stands between him and the Lord.

Guru Nanak applied the term *manmukh* to those persons who were ego-ridden materialistic, and hypocritical. They pose to be religious, but are in reality proud and evil-minded. His successor-Gurus, besides the above typology, applied the term to persons who calumniated the Gurū, opposed his teachings and doctrines and kept away from the *sangat* (fellowship of the holy). Bhāi Gurdās had the Gurūs’ calumniators in mind when he discussed on *manmukhī* in his *Vārs*. After the institution of the Khālsā, those *kesādhārī* who did not receive *pāhuī* were, in a sense, considered to be *manmukhī* like those who took *pāhuī* but then did not abide by stipulated conduct. Apart from this latter-day usage, the term in its original conceptual signification refers to one who believes in duality (*dvaitbhāva*) and who led by his self-will refuses the Gurū’s guidance and wantonly indulges his impulses. He loves the gifts but forgets the Giver.

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**MANOHAR DĀS, BHĀI**

**MANNA SINGH MAJITHIĀ** (d. 1802), a minor commander and *jāgīrīdār* in Sikh times. He served the Sukkarchakkiā family under Charhat Singh and Mahān Singh in various expeditions. From Mahān Singh, he received a *jāgīr* in Jehlum district. He took part in the early campaigns of Mahārajā Ranjit Singh and was killed in action at Chiniot in 1802.

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B.J.H.

**MANOHAR DĀS,** a nineteenth-century saint of Saṅgat Sāhib Ke sect of the Udasī Sikhs, usually stayed at Kankhal, near Haridvār, where he collaborated with some other sādhūs under the leadership of Santokh Dās to establish a separate Udāsī body called Srī Gur Nayā Akhārā Udāsīn, popularly known as Udāsīn dā Chhotā Akhārā. Manohar Dās won especially the respect of the rulers of the Phūlkīān states of Paṭīlā, Nābhā and Jind. Mahārajā Karam Singh of Paṭīlā (1798-1845) once made to him a donation of 1,00,000 rupees which sum he spent on constructing a bridge over a turbulent seasonal stream on the outskirts of the town and raising buildings for the Chhoṭā Akhārā at Kankhal. He established two Udāsī *derās* or monasteries, one at Paṭīlā, in the vicinity of Qilā Mubārak, and the other at Paṭī, in Amritsar district. Manohar Dās also earned wide esteem for his humanitarian service as a practitioner of Ayurvedic medicine.

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up by Guru Arjan himself. As he grew up, he started performing *kirtan* at Gurdwārā Chāubārā Sāhib and Gurdwārā Bāoli Sāhib at Goindvāl. Guru Hargobind was at Kiratpur when news reached him of the death of Manohar Das at Goindvāl. The Guru was much grieved and observed formal mourning. Bhai Kamalā, a Kashmiri Sikh in the Guru’s retinue, spoke of the virtuous character and devotion of Bhai Manohar Das.

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MANSĀ DEVĪ, MĀTĀ (d. 1569), wife of Guru Amar Dās (1479-1574), was the daughter of Bhai Dev Chand, a Bahil Khatri of Sankhatā, a small town in Sirkot district (now in Pakistan). Her marriage to (Guru) Amar Dās took place on 11 Māgh 1559 Bk/ 8 January 1503, but the couple remained childless until a girl, Dānī, was born to them in 1530 followed by three more children, Bhānī (1535), Mohan (1536) and Mohri (1539). Mātā Mansā Devī died at Goindvāl in 1569.

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MĀN SINGH, BHĀI (d. 1708), a warrior in Guru Gobind Singh’s retinue, was, according to Sevā Singh, *Shahid Bilās Bhai Mānī Singh*, the son of Māi Dās of ‘Alipur in Muzaffargaṛh district (now in Pakistan) and a brother of Bhāi Mānī Rām whose five sons were among the first few to be initiated at the time of the inauguration of the Khālsā on 30 March 1699. Mān Singh took part in the battles of Anandpur both as an ensign and a fighting soldier. He also fought at Chamkaur and was one of the three Sikhs who survived that critically unequal battle and came out with Guru Gobind Singh unscathed. Mān Singh constantly attended upon the Guru thereafter until his death in a chance skirmish with Mughal troops near Chittōr during the Guru’s march to the Deccan along with Emperor Bahādur Shāh. A minor dispute between the foraging parties of the two camps had developed into a fierce encounter. Guru Gobind Singh sent Mān Singh to the scene to intervene and settle the issue, but a chance bullet hit him and proved fatal. The exact place and date of the incident are not known. While Giani Gjā Singh, editor of *Shahīd Bilās* quoting Bhatt Vahis, places the event in Chittōr in Rājasthān (3 April 1708), Kavi Sainapati, a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh, in his *Sri Gur Sobhā* records that the skirmish took place near the River Narbadā (Narmadā), which was crossed a few weeks after the date mentioned in the former work. The Nihāṅg Sikhs trace the origin of their order from Bhāi Mān Singh.

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MĀN SINGH, JUSTICE (1887-1949), known as Bhāi Mān Singh up to his thirties, was born in 1887 at Ambālā, now in Haryāṇā, the youngest of the three sons of Nand Singh who had fought against the British in the second Anglo-Sikh war (1849) and had then
worked under them as superintendent of excise. Mân Singh, who became an orphan at a very young age, attended successively Mission High School and A.S. High School in his native town and later joined the Khâlsâ College at Amritsar. While at school he had founded an association of Sikh youth, Khâlsâ Bhujhangî Dal, and now in Amritsar he took a leading part in setting up Khâlsâ Youngmen Association and was the editor of its journal from 1905 to 1909. He was still reading for his B.A. final, when he was nominated a member of the Chief Khâlsâ Diwân. After his graduation he joined the Law College at Lahore and, on completing his Bachelor’s course, returned to Ambâlā to start his legal practice. He was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly from the East Punjab Sikh Constituency in 1921.

In 1922, Mân Singh shifted to Lahore and practised as a lawyer at the Punjab Chief Court. He was vice-president of the Chief Khâlsâ Diwân from 1923 to 1925 and secretary of the reception committee of the Sikh Educational Conference session held at Lahore in 1926. He was legal adviser to the Shiromâni Gurdwârâ Parbandhak Committee from 1926 to 1929. From 1930 to 1932, he worked as an officiating judge of the High Court in Paṭîlālā state. In 1935, he was appointed a judge of the Sikh Gurdwârâs Tribunal and president of the Sikh Gurdwârâs Judicial Commission. He worked in that capacity up to 1943 when he was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee in the princely state of Farîdkoṭ. The Judicial Committee heard appeals arising from the judgements of the Farîdkoṭ High Court. Mân Singh retained this position until the formation of Paṭîlālâ and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) in 1948. In November 1948, he was appointed an officiating judge of the newly established High Court of PEPSU.

Besides his legal work, Mân Singh translated into Punjabi verse two Sanskrit classics Vikramorvâsî by Kâlidâsa and Vairâgya Sâtaka by Bharthrihari. He also contributed articles regularly to several of the Sikh magazines and newspapers. Among the tracts he wrote in Punjabi was Science to Āstiktā which became popular reading. His translation of Khyân’s Rûba’iät remained unfinished.

Mân Singh died at Paṭîlālâ on 7 January 1949.

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Khâlsâ Samâchâr, 13 January 1949

MÂN SINGH, RISĂLDÂR MAJOR (d. 1892), son of Devâ Singh of Râriâlâ, in Gujrâniwâlâ district, now in Pakistan, was a soldier in Maharâjâ Ranjit Singh’s army. He was attached to Râjâ Suchet Singh’s force. He took part in the capture of Pesnâwar (1834) and then entered Râjâ Hîrâ Singh’s brigade as a cavalry adjutant. He fought against the British in the first Anglo-Sikh war at Mudki, Ferozeshâh and Sabhrâo. After the hostilities ceased, he was stationed at Lahore in command of a troop of fifty horse. In 1848, he was sent to Amritsar. After the second Anglo-Sikh war his troop was disbanded and he retired on a pension. In 1852, he joined the police under Col. R. Lawrence, and remained in the force until 1857. At the outbreak of the uprising of 1857, he was despatched to Delhi to join Major Hodson with three troops of cavalry—one raised by Nawâb Imâm ud-Dîn Khân, the second by Râjâ Tej Singh and the third by himself. This force, first known as Montgomery Sâhib kâ Risâlâ, became the nucleus of the famous Hodson’s Horse. Mân Singh served throughout the siege of Delhi. Shortly afterwards he was sent with Colonel Showers’ column into the Riwârî district and, returning to Delhi about the end of October, was despatched to Lahore by Major Hodson to raise five hundred recruits. In March 1858, Mân Singh reached Lucknow to capture the city just a day after his commandant, Major
Hodson, was killed. Mān Siṅgh fought throughout the hot weather campaign of 1858, and was honourably mentioned in dispatches for his gallantry in the battle of Nawābganj on 18 June when he was severely wounded and his horse was covered with sword-cuts. He received for his bravery shown on this occasion the Order of Merit. He served throughout the Oudh campaign of 1858-59, and was present at most of the important actions. At Nandgañj where he captured three guns, he was severely wounded. The government rewarded his services by granting him jiigirs in Oudh and in the Punjab.

Retiring from service in 1877, Mān Siṅgh lived at Amritsar. He was made an honorary magistrate in 1879, and in the same year was appointed manager of the Golden Temple. He was a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, a Provincial Darbārī and a member of the Municipal Committee of Amritsar.

Mān Siṅgh died in 1892.

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MANSUKH was, according to Purātan Janam Sākhī, a merchant of Lahore who, learning about Gurū Nānak from one of his customers Bhāī Bhagīrath, travelled with him to Sultānpur. There he remained in attendance on the Gurū for three years and learnt, as says the Janam Sākhī, to recite bānī, the sacred hymns. He is also said to have reduced some of these to writing as well. Returning to Lahore, he set up a saṅgat or fellowship of disciples there. Later he travelled with his merchandise to Sinhaldvīpa (Ceylon) where his piety attracted the notice of Rājā Shivanābh, who became a devotee of Gurū Nānak when the latter visited Ceylon during his southern udāsī.

MANSUṆṆAṆ, now commonly called Chhiṇṭāṅvāḷā because of its once-famous chintz-printing industry, is a historical old village, 14 km west of Nābhā (30°-22'N, 76°-9'E) in Paţialā district. Gurū Nānak once visited the place and put up with a follower, Chandan Dās, a Jārā Khatrī. A shrine was later established in the room on the first floor (chaubārā) where the Gurū had stayed. Although the building later collapsed, the shrine continued to be called and is still known as Gurḍwārā Chaubārā Sāhib. It is situated in a half-acre compound still called Jārīāṅvāḷī Havelī, or the mansion of the Jārās. The Gurḍwārā has been reconstructed in recent decades but the old compound walls and a number of rooms along it still stand. Only the ground floor of the central building has been completed. It is a 16-metre square hall with a 6-metre square sanctum in the middle. It is managed by a village committee.
hall and a verandah on three sides of it, with a vaulted roof, were added later. An imposing new double-storeyed building as the gateway to the gurdwārā has been recently constructed. The gurdwārā is managed by a village committee.

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*M.G.S.*

**MARĀṬHĀ-SIKH RELATIONS** spanning a period of half a century from 1758 to 1806 alternated between friendly co-operation and mistrust born out of rivalry of political and military ambition. Although Shivāji (1627-80), the founder of Marāṭhā power, and Gurū Gobind Śingh (1666-1708), the creator of the Khālsā, both rose against the tyrannical rule of Aurangzīb, and although the Sikhs’ real crusade in the Punjab took its birth on the banks of the River Godāvari in Maharāshtra, the two forces did not come in direct contact with each other until the Marāṭhās, in a bid to fill the power vacuum caused by the fall of the Mughal empire, expanded their influence as far as Delhi. By this time, while the Marāṭhās had reached the zenith of their power, the Sikhs, caught in the pincer grip of Mughal and Afghān persecutors, were still struggling for survival.

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī during his fourth invasion (November 1756-April 1757) had occupied the Punjab. He appointed his young son, Tāimūr, his viceroy at Lahore with his trusted general, Jahān Khān as his deputy. Ādinā Beg, reinstated as faujdār of the Jalandhar Doāb, on being harassed by Tāimūr and Jahān Khān, sought the help of the Sikhs. With their help he was about to defeat the Lahore force sent against him in December 1757. But not sure about the Sikh strength that would be available against a heavier force sent led by Jahān Khān or Ahmad Shāh Durrānī himself, he also invited in January 1758, Raghunāth Rāo, who was stationed at Delhi at the head of a large Marāṭhā army, to invade the Punjab, offering him 1,00,000 rupees for each day’s march and 50,000 rupees for each halt. On 8 March 1758, Raghunāth Rāo arrived near Sirhind where Ādinā Beg and his Sikh allies joined him. Sirhind was besieged. On 21 March the town fell and was sacked thoroughly. The Sikh-Marāṭhā coalition was soon strained over the distribution of spoils. Sikhs, owing to their initiative and knowledge of the local geography, took the lion’s share; the Marāṭhās demanded a share proportionate to the number of troops. The situation was saved by Ādinā Beg who brought about peace between the two. To avoid any further clash during their march together, it was agreed that Sikhs would remain two marches ahead of the Marāṭhās. The combined Sikh-Marāṭhā army occupied Lahore on 20 April 1758, the Afghān prince and his deputy having fled northward the previous day. Raghunāth Rāo appointed Ādinā Beg governor of Lahore and leaving two small garrisons at Attock and Multān returned to Delhi. In November 1759, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, invading India for the fifth time, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marāṭhās in the third battle of Pānípat in January 1761.

The next contact of the Sikhs with the Marāṭhās was in January-February 1765 when they both fought on the side of Jawāhar Śingh of Bharatpur, against Najib ud-Daulā, the Ruhilā chief who had killed the Jāt ruler’s father, Sūraj Mall, in a battle at Delhi in December 1763. Jawāhar Śingh hired the services of both the Sikhs and the Marāṭhās to avenge himself on Najib. The Sikhs, 15,000 strong, under Sardār Jassā Śingh Āhlūvālīā defeated the Ruhilās in a battle fought on the northern outskirts of Delhi on 4 February 1765, but Jawāhar Śingh did not succeed in his venture owing to the faithlessness of the Marāṭhā commander, Malhar Rāo, who along with some
treacherous Jāt officers arrived at a secret understanding with Najīb ud-Daulā forcing the Bharatpur ruler to accept peace. Jawāhar Siṅgh had another score to settle with the Marāṭhās, too. They had supported his brother, Nāhar Siṅgh, in his claim to the throne of his father. He now took nearly eight thousand Sikhs into his pay to make another assault. He defeated them in a battle fought near Dholpur on 13-14 March 1766 and occupied Dholpur, formerly held by Nāhar Siṅgh as an appanage. Jawāhar Siṅgh with his Sikh troops then went to the help of the Jāt prince of Gohad against the Marāṭhās. Together they raided Marāṭhā territory in central India.

Jawahar Siṅgh was assassinated in June 1768 and his brother, Ratan Siṅgh, who succeeded him, was similarly done away the following year. A civil war broke out between their half-brothers, Naval Siṅgh and Ranjit Siṅgh. The Sikhs sided with Ranjit Siṅgh while Naval Siṅgh invited the Marāṭhās and the Ruhilās to assist him. A fierce battle took place on 24 February 1770, in which the Marāṭhā cavalry was severely mauled. Naval Siṅgh however carried the day and the Sikhs had to retire to the Punjab.

Although the Sikhs were now masters of Punjab, Marāṭhās had re-emerged as the strongest power in India. Mahādji Scindia, chief of Gwālior, occupied Delhi in January 1771 and the nominal Mughal emperor, Shāh ʿĀlam II, who had been living under British protection at Allāhābād, returned to the imperial capital early in January 1772 as the Marāṭhās’ protege. Mahādji was appointed Vakil-i-Mutlaq or Regent Plenipotentiary of the Mughal Empire in November 1784. His principal duty was to restore peace and order in the country and to supply the Emperor with sufficient funds which largely came as revenue from the crown-lands. The Sikhs, free from the danger of foreign invasions after the death of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in April 1772, had been plundering the crown-lands north of Delhi and in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb, and revenues from these lands had almost completely ceased to come to Delhi. Even the imperial city was no longer secure against their raids. Mahādji Scindia tried to win over the Sikhs by diplomacy. He despatched several agents, one after the other, to open parleys with the Sikhs; on the other hand, he won over Begam Samruk to his side making over several parganahs to her in jāgīr. A treaty of “unity of interests and of friendship” with the Sikhs was concluded on 9 May 1785 according to which the Sikhs agreed to forgo rākhi in the Gaṅg Doāb and other crown-lands in exchange for jāgīrs worth one million rupees a year granted to different sardārs. To meet any external danger or internal disturbance both powers were to help each other. The Sikhs also agreed not to cause any injury to the territories of the British East India Company and the Nawāb of Oudh. The treaty, however, did not endure beyond a month and the Sikhs entered the Gaṅg Doāb in June 1785 to collect rākhi.

In December 1785, Khushāl Siṅgh Siṅghpurī occupied Chhat and Banūr which belonged to Rājā Sāhib Siṅgh of Paṭilālā, who soliciting help from the Marāṭhās, regained the territory. In January 1786, in the struggle for sucession among the sons of Rājā Gajpat Siṅgh of Jind, Bhūp Siṅgh sought the Marāṭhās’ help against his brother, Bhāg Siṅgh, in lieu of which he surrendered Safidon to them.

In April 1789, Mahādji Scindia deputed two of his generals, Rāne Khān and Ālī Bahādur, to negotiate alliance with the Sikhs, Sardār Baghel Siṅgh KarosSinghī and Diwan Nānū Mall of Paṭilālā. The latter, however, doubted their intentions and called reinforcements from beyond the Sutlej. 12,000 Sikhs immediately responded to their call. Nānū Mall, however, presented himself before the Marāṭhā generals and bought peace by offering 4,00,000 rupees as annual tribute and another 2,00,000 rupees as expenses of their army. Rāne Khān pressed on towards Paṭilālā.
An inconclusive skirmish took place with the Sikhs on 15 April 1789 at Bhunerheri, 16 km southeast of Patiala. A settlement was at last arrived at according to which Baghel Singh was granted a large jagir on the condition that he would keep the Sikh chiefs from assailing the Marathas; the cis-Sutlej states acknowledged the supremacy of Mahadjl Scindia; and several Sardars were granted jagirs or confirmed in their estates in the Gaṅga Doab against their undertaking not to allow other Sikhs to attack the Doab. This pact, too, was shortlived and the Sikhs resumed, from March 1790 onwards, their depredations without check or hindrance. Only once, in February 1794, the Marathas with the support of Begam Samrii's well-disciplined artillery regiment could frustrate their attempt to seize Saharanpur.

Mahadjl Scindia died on 12 February 1794 and was succeeded by Daulat Rao Scindia. In September 1795, one of his generals, Nānā Rāo came to realize tribute due from the Sikh chiefs, but was beaten back. George Thomas, an Irish adventurer in the Marathas' pay was then given charge of the northern region. He kept fighting the Sardars on both sides of the Yamunā and was often successful because of his artillery, an arm the Sikhs did not then possess. In April 1798, George Thomas gave up Marathā service and settled down at Jhajjar and Hansī as an independent chief. He expanded his power and carried out frequent raids on the territories of the cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs, who in 1801 sought help from Perron, a French general in the service of Scindīs and commander of the northern division of the Marathā army. He readily agreed, but as the combined Sikh-Marathā troops forced George Thomas to surrender by the end of the year, the Sikh chiefs began to resent the heavy exactions imposed upon them by Perron. The short spell of Marathā supremacy, however, was broken by the emergence of the British as the dominating power in India. Daulat Rāo Scindīa after his defeat at Lāsvārī on 1 November 1803, ceded to the British the districts of Delhi, Ágrā, Gurgāon, Rohtak and Hisar. The British also occupied the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab.

The last Sikh-Marathā contact took place in 1805 when Jasvant Rāo Holkar, Marathā chief of Indore, defeated and pursued by the British General, Lord Lake, entered the Punjab and sought help from Mahārajā Ranjīt Siṅgh. The Mahārajā, after consultation with his principal Sardars at Amritsar in what is remembered as the last meeting of the Sarbatt Khalsā, only offered to mediate between Holkar and the British. As a result of the parleys that followed, two treaties were signed. The first treaty signed on 1 January 1806 by Lord Lake and Sardar Fateh Siṅgh Āhlūvālī representing the British Governor-General and Mahārajā Ranjīt Siṅgh respectively, stipulated Holkar’s exit from the Punjab; according to the second, between the British and Jasvant Rāo Holkar, signed on 11 January 1806, the latter gave up his rights north of the River Chambal while the former undertook not to interfere with his territories south of that river.

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H.R.G.

**MARDĀNĀ, BHĀI (1459-1534)**, Gurū Nānak’s long-time Muslim companion throughout his extensive journeys across the country and abroad, was born the son of a Mirāsī (a caste of hereditary minstrels and genealogists) couple, Badrā and Lakkho, of
Talvañdī Rāi Bhoe, now Nankāṇā Sāhib, in Sheikhūpurā district of Pakistan. Gurū Nānak and Mardānā grew up in the same village. The Miharbiin Janam Sākhī describes the latter, who was ten years senior in age, as the Guru’s companion since his childhood days and as one who sang to him songs from Kabīr, Trilochan, Ravidās, Dhannā and Beñī. According to Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, Práchin Panth Prakāśh, Gurū Nānak as a small boy gave Mardānā a string instrument improvised from reeds to play on while he sang the hymns.

As Gurū Nānak was employed to take charge of the granaries and stores of the Nawāb of Sultanpur Lodhi, the stories of his generosity and hospitality spread far and wide. Mardānā, already a married man and father of two sons and a daughter, wanted to visit Sultanpur and seek his bounty. Meanwhile, he was charged by Gurū Nānak’s father Mahitā Kallu, to go to Sultanpur and bring news of the welfare of his son. Mardānā went to Sultanpur, never to part company with Gurū Nānak again. His occupation was playing the rābāb or rebeck as Gurū Nānak recited God’s glory.

When Gurū Nānak prepared to go forth into the world to preach his message, he invited Mardānā to accompany him. Mardānā hesitated, for he did not wish to leave his family until his daughter had been married off and for this he did not have sufficient means. One of Gurū Nānak’s disciples, Bhāī Bhagīrath, bought the needed provisions and Mardānā was able to give away his daughter in marriage. He was then ready to accompany Gurū Nānak on his travels.

To relieve the rigour of the journeys, the biographers describe several humorous situations in which Mardānā involved himself by his amiable faux pas. Weak in respect to fleshly wants, he became panicky when prospects of getting the next meal seemed less than certain. He was not easily convinced when Gurū Nānak told him to be patient and have trust in something turning up, and wished always to be prepared beforehand with the rations. As the Purātan Janam Sākhī narrates, Gurū Nānak and Mardānā had not come out very far from Sultanpur when the latter complained that he felt hungry and needed something to eat immediately. The Gurū pointed to the village they had passed and said that, if he went there, he would be well entertained by Khāṭris of the Uppal caste who lived in that village. Mardānā turned his footsteps in that direction and, arriving in the village, he found everyone more than hospitable. He was fed sumptuously and given ample alms. As he saw him return loaded with a bundle, Gurū Nānak, says the Janam Sākhī, rolled on the ground laughing. Mardānā realized the oddity of what he had done and did not know how to get rid of what he had collected. He threw the bundle when the Gurū pointed out to him that those articles would be more of a burden to him.

The janam sākhīs also contain many anecdotes picturing Mardānā in despair out of agonizing hunger or petrifying fear and Gurū Nānak or Nature coming to succour him somewhat miraculously. Once the two were passing through a remote wilderness when suddenly a violent storm overtook them. So severe was the tempest that the trees of the jungle began to fly about. Mardānā, trembling with fear, thus spoke to the Guru, “True sovereign, thou hast brought me to my death in this forest. I shall not here get a shroud nor a grave.” Then fire broke out. Smoke was all over and the blaze on all four sides. Mardānā covered up his face and laid himself down on the ground saying, “Farewell, life.” Then came water. Thick clouds gathered and poured water in torrents. “Raise thy head, Mardānā,” spoke the Gurū, “and take thy rebeck.” Mardānā
tuned the strings and Guru Nānak sang: “If the fear of God is in the heart, all other fear is dispelled...”

According to Purātan Janam Sākhī, Mardānā and his Master were taken prisoner by the Mughals at Saidpur. The Gurū was given a load to carry on his head and Mardānā to lead a horse holding its rein. Mīr Khān, the Mughal commander, saw that the Gurū’s bundle was floating a cubit above his head and Mardānā’s horse was following him without the reins. He reported the miracle to Sultan Bābar, who remarked, “Had there been such faqirs here, the town should not have been struck.” Mīr Khān asked him to see for himself.

In 1534, at Kartāpur, Mardānā, fell ill. He grew weak and hope of recovery was lost. Born of a Muslim family, he had attached himself to Guru Nanak. The Gurū asked him how he wished his body to be disposed of. Mardānā replied that by the Gurū’s instruction he had overcome his pride of the body. What remained of him after death, he said, be disposed of as the Gurū wished. Then the Gurū said. “Shall I make thee a tomb to render thee famous in the world?” “When the Gurū is releasing me from the bodily sepulchre, why should he entomb me in stone?” answered Mardānā. The Gurū asked him to fix his mind on the Creator. The following morning, at a watch before day, Mardānā passed away. The Gurū consigned his body to the River Rāvi, and caused hymns sung and karāḥprasād, the sacrament, distributed among the Sikhs. He consoled Mardānā’s son Shāhzādā, and other members of his family and asked them not to weep for him who had returned to his heavenly home.

Mardānā was a poet of some merit. One of his slokas appears in Gurū Granth Sāhib in Bihāgaye ki Vār along with two others of Gurū Nānak’s addressed to Mardānā. He is convinced that an evil body may be cleansed of sin in saṅgat (GG, 553).

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MARDON, 15 km south of Ambālā city (30°-23’N, 76°-47’E), claims a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Mardon Sāhib Pāthshāhī 9 aṭe 10. It is situated on the right bank of the river Ṭāṅgrī. Gurū Tegh Bahādur passed through this village during one of his preaching tours across the region, and Gurū Gobind Siṅgh visited it during his sojourn at Lakhnaur in 1670-71.

Gurdwārā buildings stand in the middle of an enclosure covering over an acre of land. The main shrine dedicated to the memory of Gurū Tegh Bahādur consists of a large flat-roofed hall, with the sanctum containing the Gurū Granth Sāhib in a smaller room within the hall. A separate low-domed small room commemorates the visit of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. A local committee, under the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, manages the shrines. A monthly fair takes place on amāvasyā.

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MARTINDALE, an Anglo-Indian who is mentioned by Alexander Gardner in his Ranjit Singh
and His White Officers as being in the infantry service of the Sikhs. He was the son of General Martindale, an officer who figured prominently in the Gurkha war of 1814, his mother being Indian. Prior to joining the Sikh service, Martindale had served in the Skinner's Horse.

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MARTYRDOM or voluntarily laying down of one's life for one's faith or principles, considered a noble death in any society, is especially prized in Sikhism which has a long and continuous tradition of such adherence to religious belief and sacrifice for it. Etymologically, "martyr" is derived from the Greek *martys* meaning "witness." Significantly, the Punjabi word for martyrdom, *shahādat*, borrowed from Arabic, also means testimony or affirmation. Thus, a *shahīd* or martyr is one who by his supreme sacrifice for his faith bears witness to its truth, and to his own unswerving allegiance to it. In a world in which bigots and tyrants have often tried to impose their will on others aiming to deflect them from the path held by them to be the right one, the situation for the enactment of the high tragedy of martyrdom has been constantly recurring. Martyrs have ever since the dawn of history been providing inspiration, sustenance, strength and a self-regenerative force to their respective faiths and sense of honour and pride to their followers.

A martyr is generally defined as one who chooses to suffer death rather than renounce his or her faith. Physical death according to Christian thought is not essential to martyrdom. According to Saint Jerome (AD c. 340-420), "it is not only the shedding of blood that is accounted as a confession. The spotless service of a devout mind is itself a daily martyrdom." Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225?-74), scholastic philosopher and theologian, too, considers that on the physical plane "martyrdom consists in the right endurance of suffering unjustly inflicted." In Islam all believers who die fighting against the infidels are believed to have attained martyrdom. In the Sikh conception of the term, however, a deliberate choice to suffer death for the sake of religious belief is crucial to martyrdom. Heroism and martyrdom both involve exemplary courage, but the courage in a martyr is more deep-rooted, more moral than physical, and is born out of spiritual conviction rather than love of worldly gain or glory.

In the ancient world the records of tyranny and the idealistic resistance to it have generally been incomplete or mixed up with much mythological matter. The result of this has been that the clear picture of the episodes of martyrdom, the relevant factors in the situation, the ideals cherished and the full emotional significance of the sacrifice have been brought out only in historical times when fairly reliable and detailed accounts of the act have been recorded by sympathetic and imaginative witnesses. Given such witnesses, what would ordinarily be viewed as mere incidents of death and brutality take on the character of the upholding of cherished ideals to death in the eye of a power held to be divine whose higher purposes are fulfilled through the tragic conflict represented in the act of self-immolation involved in martyrdom.

In the Muslim tradition the parallel term for martyr is *shahīd* which, again, signifies witness. Both in classical Greek and Arabic the formulation of these parallel terms, each of which is built round the same image, would indicate the history of the moral and spiritual struggle of races and tribes sharing common cultural traditions in the lands inhabited by the races known as the Semitic. While the Greek writers' mind would be deeply influenced by the sufferings of the Jewish people at the hands of Egyptians, Babylonians
and such others, and, later, the story of Jesus' sacrifice, the Muslims had, besides, their own celebrated martyrs among the Prophet's followers and descendants, led by his grandson, Imām Husain. It is from the Muslim tradition that the term shahīd came into India and, like so much else from the Muslim cultural background, got acclimatized in the social milieu of the Sikh people in a manner as to acquire a new and extended significance among them because of the peculiar turns the history of the Sikh people took since quite an early period in the growth of their Church. All the classical elements of the phenomenon of martyrdom have been present in the religious history of the Sikh people in a remarkable degree. It is doubtful if before the Sikhs' use of this term in India, any other non-Muslim people had adopted it. After the currency which this term got at the hands of the Sikhs, it became common coin in referring to the sacrifices of all those who fell while serving their faith, or in the patriotic struggle against British rule in their country.

Sikhism began in early sixteenth century as a religious brotherhood open to all, irrespective of caste, colour or race. The Sikhs did not come of a single ethnic stock, yet a spirit of sacrifice and readiness to stand up to tyranny and injustice emerged as their common racial trait. During the eighteenth century when the ruling powers and foreign invaders launched a ruthless campaign against them, they matched the situation with courage and fortitude and with unparalleled deeds of heroism and sacrifice. To die for their faith and for their Gurus had become their ruling impulse. As says the Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh, “Sikhs had a fondness for death. To court death they had now found the opportunity. Their lives they held not dear. They did not feel the pain if their bodies were slashed... To martyrdom are we wedded. We turn not our backs upon it, sang the Sikhs.”

To quote again the Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh, “Once Nādir asked Zakariyā Khān, ‘Tell me who these raiders are. They who plunder my highways. I shall reduce their country to ashes.’ The Nawāb answered, ‘Their country is nowhere marked. They get their sleep not in villages. They know not the taste of salt or ghee. We torment them, yet they flourish. Long summer days they pass without water. In winter they get no fire to warm themselves. They do not have access to ground corn to eat. They run to fight. One battles like a hundred. Death they fear not. Devoutly they cherish to die for their faith. We have become tired of killing them, but they are far from finished.’ Nādir further queried: ‘Whose followers are they? Who is their prophet? Or, are they sprung without any spiritual direction?’ ‘To Guru Nānak they owe their origin,’ said Zakariyā Khān.”

Just to prove to the world that the Sikhs had not been annihilated or vanquished, one Bota Singh stood in the most important highway in the Punjab, club in hand, levying a tax on all passersby. Finding that everybody was tamely submitting to this demand, he sent a letter to the governor of Lahore himself. The latter despatched a body of soldiers to overpower him. Bota Singh, along with his companion, Garjā Siṅgh, fell fighting valiantly. This happened in 1739.

There were innumerable other instances of such pure and defiant heroism and martyrdom. Thus does the Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh narrate the story of Bhai Tārū Siṅgh: “Once the governor of Lahore asked his men, ‘From where do the Sikhs obtain their nourishment? I have debarred them from all occupations. They realize no taxes. They do not farm, nor are they allowed to do business or join public employment. I have stopped all offerings to their sacred places. No provisions or supplies are accessible to them. Why do they not die of sheer starvation? My troops bar their way. They search for them and they kill them where they see them. I have burnt down entire villages with Sikh populations. I
have destroyed their remotest kin. I have ferreted them out of the holes and slaughtered them. The Mughals are hawks; the Sikhs are like quail. Vast numbers of them have been ensnared and killed. No one can live without food. I know not how the Sikhs survive without it."

"Harbhagat Niranjan, who was a sworn foe of the Sikhs, answered, 'There are Sikhs in this world who would not eat until they have fed their brethren. They may themselves go without clothes and food, but cannot bear their comrades' distress. They will pass the cold season by fireside and send them their own clothes. Some will sweat to grind corn and have it sent to them. They will do the roughest chores to earn a small wage for their sake. They migrate to distant places to eke out money for their brothers in exile.'"

"The Nawab shook his head in despair, 'They are unyielding people indeed. Their annihilation is beyond our power, God alone will destroy them.' Harbhagat Niranjan spoke again, 'In the village of Puhl, in Majha, lives one Taru Singh. He tills his land and pays the revenue to the official. He eats but little and sends what he saves to his brothers in the jungles. He has his mother and sister who both toil and grind to make a living. They eat sparingly and they wear the coarsest homespun. Whatever they save, they pass on to the Sikhs. Besides the Sikhs, they own none other. They recite the hymns of their Gurus. Death they do not dread. They visit not the Gaigah or the Yamuna. They bathe in the tank constructed by their own Guru.'

An officer was immediately sent with soldiers to apprehend Taru Singh. Taru Singh was captured and brought to Lahore. He was thrown into jail where he was given many tortures. But, says the Prachin Panth Prakash, "as the Turks tormented Taru Singh, ruddier became his cheeks with joy. As he was starved of food and drink, contentment reigned on his face. He was happy in the Guru's will."

Eventually, Taru Singh was presented before the Nawab who spoke: "If you become a Musalmân, then alone will I remit your life."

"How do I fear for my life? Why must I become a Musalmân? Do not Musalmâns die? Why should I abandon my faith? May my faith endure until my last hair—until my last breath," said Taru Singh. The Nawab tried to tempt him with offers of lands and wealth. When he found Taru Singh inflexible, he decided to have his scalp scraped off his head. The barbers came with sharp lancets and slowly ripped Bhai Taru Singh's skull. He rejoiced that the hair of his head, sacred for a Sikh, was still intact. Bhai Taru Singh's martyrdom took place on 1 July 1745.

Facing persecution of the fiercest character, the Sikhs took from the Muslim tradition the very term shahid to designate such of their brethren as had earned the honour so to be described. So great was the impact on the Sikh mind of the mass martyrdom undergone by the noblest and the best among them that one of their twelve misls or federating clans came to be known as Misl Shahidân (the Clan of the Martyrs). This misl was so named because of the celebrated leader, Baba Dip Singh Shahid, who fell a martyr in 1757 defending the holy Harimandar at Amritsar. Since those times the term shahid has become in a special way a part of the Sikh vocabulary to signify fidelity to one's faith in a manner in which no other non-Muslim group in India or elsewhere has adopted it. Prior to this period in the eighteenth century, the term must already have gained wide currency among the Sikhs. Since then and after, it has been applied to all those who wore the crown of martyrdom within the faith, from Gurû Arjan and Gurû Tegh Bahâdur and those who suffered death along with him to the hundreds of thousands who in the course of the eighteenth century and after met their end while defending the faith.
To recall the sacrifices of the martyrs throughout the course of Sikh history is a part of the Sikh tradition while offering ardiś or the daily supplicatory prayer morning and evening and, as a matter of fact, at all times, Shahīds are in this context mentioned along with the faithful followers (murīds) of the holy Gurūs. The details of the persecution suffered by them are recalled on these occasions, such as being sawn alive, boiled to death, broken on the wheel, having themselves flayed alive and suffering such other tortures. The sacrifices of the women who, under the Mughal governors of Lahore were martyred, who had to grind loads of corn in captivity and who had their infants killed before their eyes, are recalled too. Among the supreme martyrs mentioned are Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s four sons (sāhibzāde). The phenomenon of martyrdom and the term shahīd are thus an integral part of the Sikh tradition.

To mention some post-eighteenth century portions of Sikh history, the term shahīd is applied for example to the Kūkā (Nāmdhāri) crusaders hanged or blown away from guns at Mālerkotlā in 1872. It is applied to those who braved British bullets in the Komagata Maru episode of 1914-15, while asserting their right to live as equal citizens along with the whites in the British empire. Their objectives were, as is well known, revolutionary. This was the first time that the term shahīd was applied to those engaged in a political struggle. Not long after, all who died while attempting to free Nankāṅā Sāhib, birthplace of Gurū Nānak, from the corrupt hereditary priests in the general struggle for the reformation of the management of the Sikh shrines were designated as shahīds. Since then the term has been in very wide vogue, and has overstepped its earlier religious associations to cover all who made the supreme sacrifice in pursuit of some socially approved ideal.

In Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, clearly expressed injunctions to the true devotee are found not to shrink from making the supreme sacrifice in a holy cause. Gurū Nānak, in the text known as Alāhniā (Dirges) expressing with deep compassion thoughts on death, makes a transition into moral idealism when he declares:

Men! revile not Death:
Death is not an evil, should one know how truly to die.

The death of heroic men is holy,
Should they lay down their lives for a righteous cause. (GG, 579)

This is truly a call to mankind not to shirk from sacrificing life in pursuit of a worthy cause. Gurū Nānak in another context offers, through the symbolism of sport, the same exhortation:

Shouldst thou be eager to join the game of love,
Enter my street with thy head placed on thy palm:
Stepping on to this path,
Sacrifice thy head without demur. (GG, 1412)

Kabir, whose compositions are preserved in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, portrays thus the spirit of heroism:

The sky-resounding kettle-drum is sounded:
The heart is pierced with the passion for righteousness.
The hero, entering the field,
Fights on without flinching;
Know that man to be a true hero who fights in defence of the defenceless;
Hacked limb by limb, he still flees not the field. (GG, 1105)

Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, in a prayer addressed to the Lord, seeks the boon of laying down life on the field of battle, fighting to defend righteousness:

Lord! grant me this boon:
May I never turn my back on the right
path;
May I never turn my back in fear when face to face with the foe;
May I ever direct my mind to chanting Thy praises;
And when the end arrives,
May I fall fighting squarely on the field of battle (Chandī Charitra, 231)
Another text glorifying the spirit of martyrdom occurs at the close of the epic “Krishnāvatār” in the Dasam Granth:
Blessed be he whose tongue lauds God, and who in his mind contemplates holy war.
This perishable frame shall not last;
Let man through sacrifice sail in the ship of glory
And thereby swim across the ocean of the world.
His body the home of spiritual poise
His mind aglow like a lamp lit;
With the broom of God-realization
Should he sweep away the dust-heap of cowardice.
The twin supreme martyrdoms in the Sikh tradition are Gurū Arjan’s (1606) and Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s (1675). Few details of Gurū Arjan’s sacrifice have been preserved for us, except the general account of the tortures inflicted on him, such as putting him in a cauldron of boiled water and pouring parched sand over his body. The brief account in Jāhāṅgīr’s Tuzak (Memoirs) leaves no doubt as to the torture (yāsā) and execution (siyāsā) he underwent. The Gurū was offered the choice between accepting Islam and death. He spurned the alternative of turning a renegade to his own spiritual convictions, and chose the alternative of a painful death inflicted in the traditions of the code of Chingez Khān. For a glimpse of the Gurū’s spiritual state, besides the account in Sri Gur Pratāp Suraj Granth of Bhai Santokh Singh, we have the noble stanza in Bhai Gurdā’s Vārān. Santokh Singh’s account sets down Gurū Arjan as listening to holy music by a minstrel who came seeking him near the place of his martyrdom at Lahore. Transcending the pain and suffering, the Gurū rendered his life to God in perfect peace of the spirit. The stanza by Bhai Gurdā opening the line, rahide Gurū dāriāu vichī mīn kulīn hetu nīrbaṇī, is cryptic and symbolic, yet invaluable as depicting the state of Gurū Arjan’s soul. An English rendering is given below:
As creatures of water are one with the waves of the river.
So was the Gurū immersed in the River that is the Lord;
As merges the moth at sight into the flame.
So was the Gurū’s light merged into Light Divine.
In the extremest hours of suffering nothing entered his mind except the Divine Lord.
Like the deer who hears no sound but the hunter’s drum,
Like the bee wrapped inside the lotus,
Passed he the night of this life as in a casket of joy;
Never did he forget to utter the Lord’s Word
Even as the Chātrik fails never to utter his cry;
To a man of God joy is the fruit of devotion
And meditation in holy company.
May I be a sacrifice unto the holy Gurū Arjan! (Vārān, XXIV. 23)
In respect of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, the accounts, though still far from full, are more detailed than about Gurū Arjan. Details of Aurāṅgūzib’s religious policy of the suppression of non-Muslims have come down through several sources, thus placing Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s sacrifice in the centre as the defence primarily of the right of the Hindu population to the practice of their faith. The accounts of the Gurū’s arrest on two different occasions only confirm the popular view that he was looked upon by the Mughal court
as one whose teaching strengthened among the people the resolve to face hardships and death rather than renounce their faith under coercion. Guru Tegh Bahadur thus defended dharma, which is righteousness, under a regime which had taken to the path of oppression and tyranny. He stood for those values and decenties which the soul of India has evolved and cherished for millennia, and which are some of the noblest ideals held by humanity. His sacrifice, therefore, was for a cause than which none could be higher.

Besides the accounts of the Guru's arrests, his journeys in the Punjab, Haryana and areas to the east, the invaluable testimony of Bachitra Natak, the autobiographical fragment by Guru Gobind Singh, is there to depict the spirit and essence of this sacrifice. By the side of this scriptural testimony, all speculations of historians and all research based on partial and prejudiced sources loses its value. This testimony, eloquent though terse, embodies within a few lines a whole heroic epic. It may be reproduced here in an English rendering:

The Lord protected the sacred mark on their forehead and the holy thread around the neck.

And in Kali-yuga performed a mighty deed.

To defend those who were in the right he spared himself no sacrifice;

He gave away his head, but uttered not a groan.

In order to uphold the truth he enacted this great deed;

He sacrificed his life, but did not resile from his ideal.

He spurned the exhibition of theatrical acts of miracle-mongering,

Such as would shame devotees of God.

Breaking the frame of his body on the head of the monarch of Delhi, he departed for realm celestial;

None ever performed a noble deed like Tegh Bahadur's.

At Tegh Bahadur's departure the world was plunged in grief:

The world below wailed,

But the heaven above sang songs of glory.

Into the last acts both of Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahadur may be seen the culmination of lives whose every moment had been a living martyrdom, to live for God and mankind, to serve and to spread the light of truth. To the martyr his sacrifice is an act of God to be accepted in the spirit of the fullest resignation. Should God design his life for fulfilment in the way of living out his days in action, he follows that in the spirit of perfect poise. Should it please Him to send him pain and death, that is no less willingly accepted. It is by such aptitude that the martyr's life stirs great changes in societies and nations. His example becomes the source of inspiration for others to mould their own lives on a similar model.

While the essence of the teaching of Sikhism in relation to life-experience is transcendence of suffering through perfect resignation, this spirit is expressed in greater detail with a deeper power to touch the mind in Gurū Arjan's bani or sacred Word. As one contemplates his teaching, one feels as though his spirit, in its prophetic moments, felt the suffering that was, through the inscrutable working of the Divine Law, to be his portion. And in his sacred Word is an expression of the spirit that lays pain and suffering aside, and as in the poem of Bhāī Gurdās mentioned earlier, despite suffering "his life was passed as in a casket of joy." Says Gurū Arjan:

Under the protection of the Lord not a single breath of hot air shall touch me;

I am begirt by the miraculous protective Arc of Rama.

Suffering fails to penetrate to me. (GG,819)

Whatsoever be Thy will, Lord, is sweet to me;

All I crave is the wealth of Thy Name. (GG, 394)
The same spirit pervades Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s teaching. One out of a number of instances may be given here, of the expression of the spirit of resignation, spiritual poise and merging of the spirit into the Divine Reality:

One who by suffering is unperturbed;
Not swayed by pleasure, attachment or fear,
Holds gold and dust alike;
Is free from gratification at praise or pain at censure;
Is above avarice, attachment and conceit;
Is untouched by pleasure and pain;
Holds praise and dispraise alike;
Has renounced lure of the world and covetousness;
And frees himself from all desire,
Abjures lust and wrath—
In the mind of such a one does the Creator dwell.
By grace of the Lord alone does man learn this way of life.
Saith Nānak: Such a one is merged into the Lord,
As water into water. (GG, 633-34)

The martyr must meet his end in perfect poise and in a spirit shunning all intent to hit back. His utter non-violence arises not from the helplessness of one subdued by puissant tyranny, but by that spiritual state wherein all rancour, all bitterness and thought of revenge have been cast out from the mind. The martyr is in the hands of God alone; from God comes his trial and to God alone he addresses his thoughts in his last moments. Without such a stance, his death would fail to attain to the noble state of martyrdom. Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s last thoughts were only of the great task of guiding humanity along the path of righteousness. To the continuance of his great mission he addressed his thoughts, like his grandfather, Gurū Arjan, about three quarters of a century before him. The martyrdom of each of these two great souls led to far-reaching historic consequences in transforming the character of the Sikh Church from mere congregationalism to that of a crusade.

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MĀRŪ VĀR MAHALLĀ III, by Gurū Amar Dās, Nānak III, in the musical measure Mārū is a poetical composition in the style of a vār included in the Gurū Granth Sahib. There are totally twenty-two such vārs in the Gurū Granth Sahib in various musical moulds. A vār is essentially a folk form of poetry. It is a song of chivalry, a heroic tale of battle, sacrifice, love or romance. In the Gurū Granth Sahib, these poems have been adapted to spiritual themes, but built around the basic motif of conflict. Here the conflict is between good and evil, between the powers of benevolence and grace on the one hand and obscurity and obliquity on the other. The Mārū vār comprises twenty-two paurīs, all of the composition of Gurū Amar Dās. The ślokas, generally two-line preludes to the stanzas, however, are of varied authorship. These were added to the text by Gurū Arjan at the time of the compilation of the Holy Text. Of a total of forty-seven ślokas, twenty-three are from the pen of Gurū Amar Dās, the author of the vār, eighteen of the ślokas are of the composition of Gurū Nānak, one of Gurū Arjan, three of Gurū Rām Dās and two of Gurū Arjan's.

The central theme of the Vār is the conquering of ego leading up to the realization of Truth. The hero of the ballad is a warrior defined in terms of his moral valour and
referred to by the Guru as gurmukh. Appropriation of nam, the Divine Name, has been declared to be the best means for the warrior to realize his ideal, and the Guru, the spiritual preceptor, is his guide. Such warriors (gurmukhs) are highly praised (8) as against manmukhs, i.e. those who fight, their egos untamed, and who proclaim their victories in a spirit of vanity. They are strongly denounced in the poem (9).

In the metaphor of trade, the Vār declares that as the seeker comes close to realization, he accumulates divine attributes. He acquires the discipline of nam-simran. He feels and realizes the divine presence in everything, in everybody. When he arrives in the Divine court, these favours are showered upon him in ample measure. Having received the ‘merchandise’ in abundance, he is in a position to share it with others. Such a person, qualifies for the epithet of gurmukh. He himself is gurmukh, i.e. one looking Guruward, and cherishes in his heart God’s name and leads others to do so as well. He ‘deals in’ Truth, in God Himself. The Guru helps him on this path. Apart from the positive factors there are some negative ones too and they hinder man’s spiritual progress. Among them could be counted falsehood, ego, duality, formalism which impede man’s progress.

Early in his spiritual journey, the seeker will pass through the realm dominated by his deeds. This is the realm of law. It is only the good deeds, the righteous karma, which will earn him divine grace. The justice of God is always true. He accepts in His treasury only the genuine coin: what is counterfeit will be rejected (18).

Popularly, the idea of heavenly justice is linked closely to death. Common people envisage divine judgement to operate after death. On the other hand, men are exhort­ed equally strongly to remember death as they are urged to remember God. The fear of death is terrifying only for those who are caught up in duality (12). The fear of God terminates the fear of death. The Guru is a perfect oarsman who successfully rows the boat of the devotee through the ocean of the world to the house of God saving it from the tidal waves which threaten it (2). However, the fear of God is only the other side of His love. The spiritual aspirant fears God only as long as he is unable to purify his man of all duality, egoity, but he experiences the love of God once he overcomes these. The seeker experiences Divine fear and love successively. The Divine love has been portrayed in the image of love between man and woman. Just as a faithful and virtuous woman presents herself to her husband and enjoys the bliss of conjugal union, the spiritual seeker, first, endeavours to make himself virtuous and worthy of the love, and then seeks unity with Him (1-2.6).

The ultimate union with the Supreme Lord, which is the highest stage of spiritual advancement, is attended with intense bliss or anand. The seeker submits to the Divine Will, but this submission is not passive, rather it implies the identification of the individual will with the Divine Will. The Vār lays stress on the cultivation of moral values and denounces the futility of formalism and ritualism. The poem contains a strong denunciation of mendicants and ascetics. The Guru eulogizes those who are constantly absorbed in His name (4). Unto them he is a permanent sacrifice (6).

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MĀRŪ VĀR, Gurū Arjan’s composition in the Mārū musical measure in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Traditionally, Mārū which gives the Vār its title is elegiac verse and is commonly sung in the afternoon. This measure
has a martial undertone as well. The singing of Mārū ṛāga with devotion annuls the five evils, says Guru Arjan.

The Mārū Vār comprises twenty-three paurīs, or stanzas, each of eight lines, with a running rhyme. Each paurī is preceded by three ṣlokas or couplets, all of which are also the composition of Guru Arjan. For ṣlokas Guru Arjan has in fact used the word dakhn̄e, a form especially popular in south-western Punjab, the dialect of which region here predominates. However, all the ṣlokas, or dakhn̄e, are not in this Multānī dialect: those prefixed to paurīs 10, 16, 17, 22, 23 are in central Punjabi whereas those added to paurī 20 are a mixture of both.

The themes of devotion, a spiritual vision of Reality and the operation of the moral law predominate the poem. In the ṣlokas, in general, the theme is devotion rendered in the idiom of conjugal love. Other strains such as emphasis on the immanence of the Divine Being, exhortation to men to disengage themselves from the illusory show of māyā, praise of the Gurū, joy in God’s will also occur, though the main emphasis is on devotion to and love of the Divine Being.

God is the sole creator of this universe. He alone is omnipresent, all-pervasive and infinite. Everything else in this world is finite and subject to decay and death. The grace of the Gurū and constant meditation on the Name of the Lord help man realize the Absolute. The seeker after Truth must be pure in thought as well as in deed. He must uphold the moral principle and have abiding faith in God. God is imaged as Almighty and man is adjured to seek His help and grace. Fearlessness results from fearing God. There is exhortation for man to practise nām, dān, ismān (devotion, charity, and chastity).

More specifically, stanzas 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, and 16-22, comprise thematically four parts of the composition. The first part describes this world, along with māyā, as the creation of God who is all-pervading. Man forgets his Creator and remains engrossed in haumai, i.e. egoity. The only way to attain the Ultimate is to discard haumai and surrender oneself to the Gurū. The second part compares this world with an arena where various evils resulting from man’s ego are denuding him of his spirituality. He alone can escape who with the grace of God takes shelter in the Gurū’s Word. In the third part, there is a rejection of religious garbs and rituals which are termed futile; in the fourth is presented a glimpse of worthy living which consists in constant remembrance of God’s Name.

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MASSE KHĀN RAŃGHAR (d. 1740), a Rańghar Rājpūt landlord converted to Islam, belonged to the village of Mānḍiāli, 8 km south of Amritsar. He was appointed kotwāl of Amritsar by Zakariyā Khān, the Mughal governor of Lahore (1726-45), after the death of Qāžī ‘Abdur-Rahmān who had met his end at the hands of the Sikhs. Masse Khān’s specific charge was not to allow Sikhs to visit the Harimandar or have a dip in the tank around it. He stationed himself in the Harimandar, the sanctum sanctorum in the middle of the sarovar, the sacred pool. There he caroused and indulged in revelry with women of ill repute. Most of the fighting bands of Sikhs had already been driven out by Zakariyā Khān’s drastically harsh measures to seek refuge in hills and deserts outside the central Punjab, and Masā had a free rein until the news of the sacrilege reached the jathā or band of Sardār Shāhān Singh camping in Jaipur, in Rājāsthān. Matāb Singh, one of the jathā, vowed to avenge the desecration of the holy Harimandar and, accompanied by another brave warrior, Sukkhā Singh, he forthwith left for Amritsar. The two, finding all ap-
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proaches to the city strongly guarded, took recourse to a stratagem. Disguised as revenue officials come to deposit their tax collections, they entered the Harimandar, cut off Massā’s head, and made good their escape before the Mughal soldiers knew what had happened. This occurred on 11 August 1740.

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MASANDS were, in early Sikhism, local community leaders who looked after the saṅgats in their diocese and linked them to their spiritual mentor, the Gurū. They led Sikhs, preached the word of the Gurū and transmitted to him their offerings, escorting occasionally batches of them to his presence. The first such masands were appointed by Gurū Arjan. The word masand is from Persian masnad, meaning a throne or a cushion to recline. As appropriated into the Sikh tradition, it further advanced the concept of maṇī (cot) on which the preachers sat, reclining against a cushion, as they expounded to the people Gurū Nānak’s gospel. This maṇī system had been introduced by the Third Gurū, Gurū Amar Dās (1479-1579). The new nomenclature arose from the Sikh custom of designating the Gurū as sācheh pāṭshāh, the True King, in contradistinction to the temporal king. The functionaries, who acted on behalf of the Gurū in spreading the Sikh teaching as also in collecting for him tithes and offerings from the followers, came to be known as masands in imitation of masnad-i-‘āli, an imperial title for ranked nobles.

The masand structure helped in the expansion of Sikh faith and in knitting together centres established in far-flung places. The beginnings of such centres went back to the time of Gurū Nānak who had travelled extensively preaching his message, his disciples setting up in different places dharamsālās wherein to meet together in saṅgat or holy-fellowship to recite his hymns. To activate the saṅgats in different parts, Gurū Amar Dās had established twenty-two maṇīs with several local groups affiliated to each. Gurū Arjan further consolidated the system by appointing masands who were invested with greater authority and with more varied religious and social functions. Masands were chosen for their piety and devotion. Besides preaching the Sikh tenets in their areas, they visited the Gurū at least once every year. They were accompanied on such occasions by groups of Sikhs, from amongst those under their guidance. They carried with them offerings from the disciples for the langar, or community kitchen, the digging of tanks and for other philanthropic works. To help them with their preaching work, masands had their own deputies known as melis. The masands who enjoyed the status of the Gurū’s own representatives served to spread the Sikh faith and consolidate the ecclesiastical structure. But as time passed, they became neglectful of their religious office and took to personal aggrandizement. Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708), the last of the Gurūs, had to charge them with corruption and oppression. Those found guilty were punished. Gurū Gobind Singh abolished the institution of masands. He, as sang the poet Bhai Gurdās II, converted the saṅgat into Khālsā, i.e. directly his own, eliminating the intermediary masands.

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MATĀBAR SINGH, a Gurkha general who in 1838 was deputed by the court of Nepal to Lahore to seek an alliance against the British. When Matābar Singh reached Ludhiana, he was detained by the British agent. However, on a representation made by the Maharājā's government he was permitted to proceed to Lahore. The mission appears to have failed and the Rājā of Nepal confiscated Matābar Singh's property worth several lakhs. The Rājā made up his differences with the British government, and Matābār Singh returned to Nepal in January 1843 and was appointed prime minister. In May 1845, he fell in an attack by an assassin.

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MATĀB SINGH or Mahtāb Singh (d. 1745), eighteenth-century Sikh warrior and martyr, was born the son of Harā Singh, a Jatt Sikh of Bhaṅgu clan of the village of Mīránḵot, 8 km north of Amritsar. He grew up amidst the most ruthless persecution Sikhs suffered under the later Mughals, and like many another spirited youth joined one of the several small guerilla bands into which they had organized themselves after the capture and execution, in 1716, of Bandā Singh Bahādur. Nādir Shāh's invasion, while it violently shook the already crumbling edifice of the Mughal empire, so emboldened the Sikhs that they attacked and robbed even the invader's rear on his way back. Zakariyā Khan, the governor of the Punjab from 1726 to 1745, further intensified his campaign against the Sikhs, forcing them to seek safety in hills and deserts beyond the central Punjab. Matāb Singh, entrusting his family to the care of a village elder, Nathā, a Khairā Jatt, went, according to his grandson, Ratan Singh Bhaṅgu, the author of Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh, to Jaipur in Rājāsthān, where he took up employment under the local ruler. It was at Jaipur that he learnt how Masse Khān Rāṅghar, the new kotwāl of Amritsar, had occupied the holy Harimandar and converted it into a pleasure-house. Resolved to avenge the sacrilege, Matāb Singh left forthwith for Amritsar, accompanied by another bold warrior, Sukkha Singh of Māri Kambo. They disguised themselves as tax-collectors carrying on their backs bags seemingly filled with money. "It was a scorching noon of the month of Bhādōṅ," narrates Ratan Singh Bhaṅgu. "A strong wind raised a lot of dust, giving the two an excuse to cover their faces. Massā [inside the sacred sanctuary] was enjoying music appropriate to the rainy season. The guards were either resting under shelters or listening to the songs of the dancing-girls. The two [Matāb Singh and Sukkha Singh] got their God-given chance. They hid their horses and spears outside the main entrance, one at either side, concealed their swords under their armpits, and advanced as if some soldiers were come with their collection of tax. Walking smartly, they reached where the myḍāṅg [Indian double-sided drum] was being played. One of them immediately drew his sword and severed Massā's head like a gourd is plucked off the plant, while the other removed the ornaments from the body. There arose an instant tumult, but the two rode away on their horses and vanished into the forest." This happened on 11 August 1740.

Matāb Singh's ancestral village, Mīránḵot, was raided by a strong military contingent under Faujdar Nūrdīn. Nathā, the village elder, and his son, nephew and two servants were killed while attempting to escape with their ward, Rāi Singh, the young son of Matāb Singh. Rāi Singh was also grievously wounded and was left for dead. But of Matāb Singh there was no trace, until five years later,
on receiving the news of the arrest of Bhāi Tāru Singh, he surrendered himself voluntarily to die by his side. Harshest torments were reserved for both. Bhāi Tāru Singh had his scalp scraped with lancets and Matāb Singh was broken on the wheel in the Nakhās square in Lahore.

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MATHO MURĀRĪ, joint name of a couple Matho and her husband, Murārī, both blessed by Gūrū Amar Dās. Murārī's real name was Premā. He was a native of the village of Khāi, now in Lahore district of West Punjab (Pakistan). Orphaned in early childhood and afflicted by leprosy, Premā had to beg to make a living. Once, having heard about the compassionate nature and spiritual eminence of Gūrū Amar Dās, he made his way to Goindvāl and reached the Gūrū's door. The Sikhs gave him food from Gūrū kā Langar, but would not allow him, a leper, to go in and see the Gūrū. Yet the Gūrū had Premā brought to him and took him under his care. He nursed him back to health. Premā was now an attractive-looking young man, and the Gūrū renamed him Murārī. Bhāi Siṅgh, an Uppal Khatri, gave, at the Gūrū's suggestion but without the knowledge of his own wife, his daughter, Matho, in marriage to Murārī. When the girl's mother learnt about it, she came complaining to the Gūrū that her daughter had been married to a nameless person whose parents and caste were not known. Gūrū Amar Dās, in the words of Sarūp Dās Bhallā, Mahimā Prakāsh, replied: "Murārī, to whom your daughter has been married, is my son and Sikh. They shall be jointly known as Matho Murārī, your daughter's name preceding that of her husband." The mother was reconciled. The Gūrū blessed the couple and appointed them to head a maṇī around Murārī's native Khāi.

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MATHRĀ DĀS, BHĀI, of Āgrā, was a pious Sikh of the time of Gūrū Arjan. Although a poor labourer, the door of his humble house was always open for visiting Sikhs. The Gūrū, records Bhāi Manī Siṅgh, Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā, was much impressed by his readiness to serve others in spite of his meagre means.

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MATHRĀ SIṅGH, son of Bhāi Dīāl Dās, was according to Sarūp Siṅgh Kaushish, Gūrū kūān Sākhān, a warrior in the retinue of Gūrū Gobind Siṅgh. He fought valiantly in the battle of Nirmohgarh against the combined armies of the hill chiefs on 7 October 1700 and fell a martyr.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


MATHRĀ SIṅGH, DOCTOR (1883-1917), patriot and revolutionary, was born the son of Harī Siṅgh, a Kohli Khatri, and Bhāg Sudhī, at Dhujiāl in Pakistan. He attended the village primary school and passed his Matriculation examination from the Khālsā High School at Chakvāl. In 1901, he joined a pharmaceutical firm at Rawalpīṇḍī, Messrs Jagat Siṅgh and Brothers, and in 1906 shifted to Nowshērā cantonment as a partner in another firm of chemists, H.D. Thākar Dās and Company. He mar-
ried in 1908 and had a daughter, but both his wife and the little child died in 1913. Mathrä Singh decided to leave the country and seek his fortune in Canada. The newly adopted immigration regulations having become more stringent, he stopped at Shanghai where he set up temporarily a chemist’s shop. Soon afterwards, he succeeded in entering California, but was deported as an illegal immigrant. Back in the Punjab, Mathrä Singh learnt about the Komagata Maru sailing from Hong Kong with Indian immigrants direct to Canada, thus fulfilling the legal requirement for entry into that country. He left home again, but failed to catch up with the departing vessel. He now settled down in medical practice in Hong Kong. Reports of the treatment meted out to passengers of the Komagata Maru at Vancouver made Mathrä Singh a rebel and he established contact with the leaders of Ghadr movement in the United States. He helped in distributing copies of the Ghadr and started working on the Indian soldiers in Hong Kong. After the outbreak of World War I in July 1914, Mathrä Singh, following the party directive, came back to the Punjab where he was made a member of the central committee and was entrusted with the task of manufacturing bombs. Doctor Mathrä Singh and Harnam Singh of Kahütā, who had been deputed to incite the soldiers and tribesmen in the North-West Frontier Province to rebellion, escaped to Afghanistan, where they were interned. They were soon released on the intervention of Maulawi Barkat Ullah, another Indian revolutionary who as prime minister in the Indian government-in-exile had some influence with Amir Habiburah, the ruler of Afghanistan.

Mathrä Singh was appointed a minister plenipotentiary and Harnam Singh a secretary in the government-in-exile set up by Indian revolutionaries under Rāja Mahendra Pratāp. In his capacity as a minister plenipotentiary, Mathrä Singh made secret trips to Iran, Russia and Germany. On his way back from Russia from one such visit, he was arrested at Tashkent on 2 November 1916, and brought to India via Iran. He was tried in the third supplementary Lahore conspiracy case and sentenced to death. He was hanged secretly on 27 March 1917. Even his dead body was not handed over to his family, and the cremation was performed within the premises of the Lahore Central Jail.

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MATHURĀ (27°-28'N, 77°-40'E), an ancient city on the right bank of the River Yamunā, 150 km south-southeast of Delhi, possesses three Sikh shrines commemorating the visits of Gurū Nānak and Gurū Tegh Bahādur.

GURDWĀRĀ GAŪ GHĀṬ is a small shrine on the river-bank controlled by the Udāsīs. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in a small room. It is believed that at the time of their visits Gurū Nānak and Gurū Tegh Bahādur, while here, used this spot for their daily ablutions.

GURDWĀRĀ GURŪ NĀNAK BAĞĪCHĪ, dedicated to Gurū Nānak, is situated on the right bank of the Yamunā, outside the old town. It is said that when Gurū Nānak visited the spot, he was told that the place was unsuitable for a halt, for the river water at that time of year was muddy and the well water in the area brackish. But, as water was drawn from the nearest well it was found to be sweet. Gurū Nānak established a pīāū (drinking-water stand) there and himself served fresh water to the pilgrims to the town. He is believed to have stayed here for three
months. A childless couple, Mohan and his wife Sītā Bāī, served him, and were blessed with a son. There is a belief still prevalent in the locality that if a person observed a chālīśā here, i.e. prayed at the shrine regularly for forty days, his heart’s desire would be fulfilled.

The shrine was established and preserved by Udāsī sādhūs but in the 1950’s, the managing committee of Gurdwārā Gūrū Tegh Bahādur took charge of it. In 1975, it was handed over for further development to Sant Sādhū Singh Mauni of Gūrū kā Tāl, Sīkandrā (Āgrā).

GURDWĀRĀ GūRū TEGH BahāDUR ŚRI GURū SĪNGH SĀBḤĀ is the main gurdwārā of Mathurā. The site is referred to in older accounts as Kaṅs Tīlā, i.e., Mound of Kaṅs. Gūrū Tegh Bahādur, on his way from Delhi to the eastern provinces in 1665, stayed here for three days. A small platform in a modest hut existed here as a memorial to the Guru’s visit. It was maintained by Udāsī sādhūs until the early nineteen forties when Sikh residents in Mathurā acquired the site. A new double-storeyed building was constructed, with the Sikh troops of Mathurā garrison contributing liberally in money and labour. More buildings have been added since, and at present the Gurdwāra is a compact block of numerous double-storeyed rooms around a paved courtyard. The rectangular divān hall, with verandahs in front and rear, is on the first floor approached by a wide staircase covered with white marble slabs. Gūrū Tegh Bahādur Ādārsh Vidyālāya, with classes from Montessori to the eighth standard is also housed on the premises. A museum containing pictures depicting scenes from Sikh history was set up in one of the rooms during August 1977. The Gurdwārā, registered as Śri Gurū Siṅgh Sābhā, is managed by a local committee.

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MATHURĀ and his father Bhikkhā were among the Bhaṭṭ or Brāhmaṇ bards who attended upon the Gurūs and who composed panegyrics in their honour. Some of their hymns were included by Gūrū Arjan (1563-1606) in Sikh scripture, the Gūrū Granth Sāhib. Mathurā’s fourteen verses are seven each in praise of Gūrū Rām Dās and Gūrū Arjan. Their prosodic form is savāiyyā. Bhaṭṭ Mathurā was also trained in martial skills during the time of Gūrū Hargobind (1595-1644). He fell a martyr in the battle of Amritsar which, according to Bhaṭṭ Vaiḥ Multānī Siṅḍhī, took place on 14 April 1634.

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MATĪ DĀS, BHĀĪ (d. 1675), the martyr, was the son of Bhāī Hirā Mal, also called Hirānand, a Chhibbar Brāhmaṇ of Kāriālā, now in Pakistan. His grandfather, Bhāī Parāgā, had embraced the Sikh faith in the time of Gūrū Hargobind and had taken part in battles with the Mughal forces. His uncle Dārgāh Mall served Gūrū Har Rāi and Gūrū Har Krishan as Diwān or manager of the household. Matī Dās and his brother, Sāṭī Dās, assisted Dārgāh Mall in his work during Gūrū Tegh Bahādur’s time. The former was himself appointed Diwān along with Dārgāh Mall who was by then considerably advanced in years. Diwān Matī Dās accompanied Gūrū
MATTAN

Tegh Bahadur during his travels in the eastern parts in 1665-70. He was among those who were seized, along with Guru Tegh Bahadur at Dhamtān in 1665 and then released from Delhi at the intervention of Kaṅvar Rām Śingh, of Āmber. In 1675, when the Guru set out from Anandpur for Delhi, Matī Dās accompanied him. He was arrested with him under imperial orders and taken to Delhi. Upon his refusal to forsake his faith, he was tortured to death. He was, on 11 November 1675, sawn into two, from head downwards.

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MAṬṬAN, an old town 4 km east of Anantnāg (33°-44’N, 75°-13’E) in Kashmir, is sacred to Guru Nānak, who visited the valley during his journey to the north at the beginning of the sixteenth century. According to the Purātan Janam Śākhi, he held a long discourse with a learned Brāhmaṇ, Brahm Dās, who turned a disciple. As local tradition holds, this discourse was held at Matṭan under a chinār tree (Palatanus orientalis) which still stands in the precincts of the shrine established to commemorate the Guru’s visit and now known as Gurdwārā Nānakṣar Pāṭshāhī Pahilī. The present building of the shrine raised during the 1890’s replacing the older one constructed by Sardār Hari Singh Nalvā of Sikh times, comprises a rectangular hall, with the sanc‐ tum at the far end. A separate room to the north of the central building serves as Gurū kā Laṅgar. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Jammū and Kashmir Gurdwārā Prabandhak Board and is managed through its district unit. An old hand-written bīr or copy of the Guru Granth Sahib containing 732 folios is preserved in the Gurdwārā.

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MĀṬTU BHĀI KE, village in Gujranwālā district of Pakistan, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who briefly halted here travelling back from Kashmir in 1620. He exhorted the people to follow the path shown by Gurū Nānak, and preached especially against the use of tobacco. The shrine commemorating the Guru’s visit was called Khārā Sāhib or Gurdwārā Chhevin Pāṭshāhī. It was affiliated to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee until 1947 when it had to be abandoned in the wake of migrations caused by the partition of the Punjab.

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MAU, village 10 km west of Phillaur (31°-1’N, 75°-47’E) in the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Arjan, who was married here to (Mātā) Ghāṅgā Devi, daughter of a local resident, Krishan Chand, on 22 Hār 1646 Bk/19 June 1589. Gurdwārā Pāṭshāhī V, popularly known as Gurdwārā Mau Sāhib, raised in honour of Gurū Arjan, is located 1/2 km northwest of the village. The sanc‐ tum within the hall where
the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated has below it an underground room, called Bhorā Sāhib. The building is topped by a lotus dome, with a gold-plated pinnacle and an umbrella shaped finial. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. A three-day religious fair from 21 to 23 Hār (first week of July) commemorates the anniversary of Gurū Arjan’s marriage.

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MAUR, also called Dhilvān Maur to distinguish it from Maur Kalān in Bāhīṇḍā district of the Punjab, is a village 30 km from Barnālā (30°-22’N, 75°-32’E), via Tapā. In a thicket about 2 km northeast of Maur, there used to be a pond, called Dulami kī Dhāb, where, according to local tradition, Gurū Tegh Bahādur used to come often for his afternoon ride from Dhilvān. A shrine was established later near this pond which came to be called Dulamsar. The shrine, now called Gurdwārā Sāhib Dulamsar Pāṭhāhī IX, is built on a low mound. The domed sanctum is decorated with floral designs painted on the walls and on the cupola. A couple of rooms across a small courtyard provide accommodation for the staff. There is on the mound an old narrow well, known as Siṅghān-vāli Khūhī. The Gurdwārā has about five acres of land donated to it and is managed by Nihangs of the Buḍḍhā Dal.

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MAUR KALĀN (30°-4’N, 75°-14’E), 35 km southeast of Bāhīṇḍā in the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Sīr Gurū Tegh Bahādur Darbār Sāhib, situated on the northern outskirts of the old village, now a part of the town. Gurū Tegh Bahādur came here from Bhīkhī and Khūlā. As he looked around for a resting-place, he saw a large jand tree (Prosopis spicigera) in the middle of an unoccupied enclosure. This he considered an appropriate spot and asked for the gate to be opened. The headman of the village warned him: “Honoured Master, the place is haunted. No man, horse, buffalo or cow takes shelter under that tree but dies.” The Gurū said, “The demon will disappear.” But the villagers persisted. “Only two days ago,” they said, “a boy died under that tree. He was killed by the evil spirit.” The Gurū spoke again: “We shall drive away the demon.” He lodged under that very tree. According to local tradition, Gurū Tegh Bahādur stayed here for several days. No harm came to him or to his Sikhs. The people believed in the Gurū and served him with diligence. After the Gurū had left, they continued to treat the site with reverence and constructed a memorial. A gurdwārā was established by a Nihang during the nineteenth century. The rulers of Patiālā, of whose dominions Maur Kalān formed a part, endowed it with 100 acres of land and the possession passed to a line of mahants. As the Gurdwārā reform movement got under way, a committee formed by the villagers of that area took over the shrine on 14 Maghar 1980 Bk/28 November 1923. But the administration broke down after a few years and, in 1937, the Gurdwārā was handed over to a mahant, Varyām Siṅgh, whose successors still control it. A double-storeyed domed
sanctum by the side of the old shrine was constructed in 1968 and a flat-roofed divān hall, with a basement, in 1977. Besides the daily services, all major Sikh anniversaries are observed with special divāns. The Gurū kā Lāṅgar, on the first floor of the mahants’ house, is open throughout the day.

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MĀYĀ, written and pronounced in Punjabi as māiā. As a philosophic category in the Indian tradition, māyā is interpreted variously as a veil or curtain concealing reality; the phenomenal world as it appears over against things-in-themselves; the grand illusion or the cosmic principle of illusion. Māyā is assumed to stand between man and reality, producing error and illusion in the human mind, and creating difficulties in the individual’s progress to a state of knowledge and bliss.

The Advaitic conception of māyā endows it with unique and matchless powers. It is conceived as parallel to Brahm, for both are treated as beginningless (anādī) and beyond adequate expression in human terms. The world of names and forms is a product of māyā, which is indicative of its powers of creating illusion and of concealing reality. Only for a spiritually advanced individual māyā ceases to be, and Brahma alone remains. Māyā continues to exist for the rest of mankind as an objective entity.

Sikhism does not subscribe to this extreme objectification of māyā in the Vedāntic theory. The Gurūs do not assign to it the character of a metaphysical category in the framework of their scriptural compositions. Of course, the figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, as also of māyā, frequently find place in gurbānī (utterance of the Gurūs) indicative of a link with the tradition of Indian thought; but these figures stand only for the powers of the Divine. Brahmā, for instance, is not to be taken in the literal sense of a creator with absolute authority. Likewise, māyā as an independent creative power would be out of place with the spirit of gurbānī. The only agency that governs the process of nature is nature itself as a manifestation of *hukam*, the Divine Ordinance. Gurū Nānāk describes such a world as an empty shadow misleading the world (GG, 932). It is an ephemeral world falsely viewed as eternal in itself. It is like the fire of a single straw, a cloud’s shadow becoming flood water (GG, 717).

Emphasis on the ephemerality and non-permanence of the cosmic order is, however, only one interpretation of the Gurūs’ conception of māyā and the world. Māyā is that of which the essence is time; it has come into being at the will of the Divine, and must disappear when He so ordains. In other words, māyā or phenomenal Nature is neither, beginningless nor self-sufficient. It rests in the Creator, whose creation it is. But at the same time, it is also the embodied manifestation of the Eternal Spirit. Transient it may be, but it is not unreal. This world is the abode of God; the True and Eternal one resides in it (GG, 463).

In modern times, māyā has been interpreted in several ways, departing from the exclusive meaning assigned to it by the orthodox Indian view, viz. grand illusion, giving māyā an ontological status while denying reality to it. Dr Rādhākrishnan is known to have distinguished phenomenality and unreality, a view that comes quite close to the Sikh view. The world is phenomenal but not unreal; it is not real either. In Rādhākrishnan, who seeks to unite, Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja taking their positions
as complementary, at least six meanings of the term māyā, other than ‘grand illusion’, have been discerned. These are: inexpressibility of māyā, as the relation between the Absolute and the world, not fully comprehensible to the human mind; creative activity of God, or his power of self-becoming (māyā-śaktī); duality of all things in the world-process, a mixture of spirit and nature; primal matter (prakriti), that is, the Absolute with māyā; concealment: God is enveloped in the cloak of māyā; and lastly, one-sided dependence, that is of the world on the Absolute.

In gurbani, māyā is also equated with wealth (material goods) as also with the sense of attachment to worldly possessions. Most often, the term denotes delusion, since under the spell of māyā, the mind is not able to distinguish truth from falsehood, the ever-lasting from the ephemeral, the essence from mere appearance. In a word, māyā in Sikhism connotes avidyā, that is ignorance. This is the subjective dimension of māyā, as opposed to the Advaitic approach that not only emphasizes the objective aspect, but leads to an emphatic objectification in its treatment of the concept. The Sikh system acknowledges the existence of māyā, and lays stress on the lessening of its spell on the human mind, so that with the liberated psychic faculties, one may attain to the state of spiritual enlightenment—a state wholly exempt from the trance of māyā, a state of being liberated from its web and being one with the Absolute.

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MAYYĀ, BHĀI, a Khullar Khatri, is mentioned among the prominent Sikhs of the time of Gurū Rām Dās. According to Bhāi Mani Singh, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā, Bhāi Mayyā along with Bhāi Jāpā and Bhāi Nayyā, both of the Khullar clan, and Bhāi Tulsā, a Vohrā Khatri, once waited upon Gurū Rām Dās and humbly spoke, “Tell us, True Lord, how to practise udāsi, how to be non-attached while still being in the world.” Gurū Rām Dās said, “Occupy yourself with gurbani, even as you occupy yourself with the affairs of the world. As you read the Gurūs’ hymns or as you listen to the Gurūs’ hymns being recited, keep your attention on their meaning. Keep reciting Vāhigurū even as you work with your hands. By the Divine Name is haumai or selfhood overcome. The Divine Name is the boat that will ferry you across this worldly ocean.” Bhāi Mayyā and others, says Bhāi Mani Singh, followed the Gurū’s precept and attained liberation.

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MAYYĀ SINGH, a Sainī Sikh of Naushahra in Amritsar district of the Punjab and a horseman of the Sikh army, fought in the battle of Rāmnagar on 22 November 1848, and joined thereafter the volunteer corps of Bhāi Māhārāj Singh (d. 1856), leader of the popular revolt against the British. He participated in the battles of Sa’dullāpur and Gujrāt. After the defeat of the Sikh forces, Mayyā Singh was in Bhai Māhārāj Singh’s train at Deev Bāṭālā in Jammū and at Sūjovāl, near Bāṭālā. From the latter place he was sent to Lahore on a mission, and thus escaped arrest when Māhārāj Singh and his
companions were captured on the night of 28-29 December 1849. He, however, fell into the hands of the British soon afterwards.

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**MAYĀ SINGH, BHĀI** (1862-1928), spelt as Maya Singh in contemporary English writings, was a leading figure in the Singh Sabha awakening. He was born in 1862. Little is known about his early life, except that after his school years he joined the railways at Lahore as a clerk. There he came in contact with Bhai Jawahir Singh under whose influence he joined the Arya Samaj. At the same time, he started attending divāns under the auspices of Sri Gurū Singh Sabha, established in Lahore in 1879. After the estrangement of the Sikhs from the Arya Samaj in 1888, he, along with Bhai Jawahir Singh and Giani Ditt Singh, threw himself whole-heartedly into the Singh Sabha movement. He remained associated with the Khālsā Diwān, Lahore, and was its staunchest supporter during the days of intense rivalry which developed between it and the Khālsā Diwan, Amritsar. Even his marriage, in 1889, to the daughter of Giani Parduman Singh of the noted Giani family of Amritsar did not affect his loyalty to the Lahore Diwān. In 1892, he was elected its joint secretary.

Bhai Mayā Singh was known for his executive talent. Bhagat Lakhman Singh, a contemporary describes him as a "frail, thin man, and not ungainly in appearance with heaps of brains," and as "a man of high character [who] had a great organising power and, what is more, a gift of the gab to a remarkable degree." He was a good speaker, wielded a facile pen in both Urdu and Punjabi and had a considerable knowledge of English. As he became more deeply involved in Singh Sabha work, he gave up service with the railways and set up a book store, Punjab Book Depot. He was appointed editor of the Khālsā Gazette, a weekly newspaper in Urdu, which started publication in 1885, but resigned his position on 10 December 1886. In 1884, the Punjab Government decided to have a comprehensive Punjabi-English dictionary prepared. Mayā Singh was entrusted with the project.

He laboured at it for ten years and the work saw the light of day in 1895 under the title *The Punjabi Dictionary*. On 1 May that year Khālsā Press was restarted and Mayā Singh became its manager. On 5 January 1899, Bhagat Lakhman Singh floated the first Sikh English newspaper, *The Khālsā*, and Mayā Singh was asked to lend his name to it as editor and publisher. After the death of Giani Ditt Singh, Mayā Singh took up the editorship of the Khālsā Akhbar, which he continued to publish until, consequent upon the decline of Khālsā Diwan, Lahore, owing to the death one after another of its leaders—Sir Attar Singh (d. 10 June 1896), Bhai Gurmukh Singh (d. 24 September 1898) and Giani Ditt Singh (d. 6 September 1901), the paper withered and finally folded up in 1905. Besides his newspaper writing, Bhai Mayā Singh has left two publications — *Mazāmin Khālsā Dharam Par*, a collection of essays in Urdu on Sikh religion published in 1889, and *Kalgīdhār Prakāsh*, a tract in Punjabi on Gurū Gobind Singh published in 1904. Bhai Mayā Singh had also served as a member of the Khālsā College Establishment Committee set up in 1890 as well as of the Khālsā College Council formed in 1892. After the closure of the Khālsā Akhbar, he fell into oblivion. He opened a shop for the sale of Indian drugs in Lahore, where he died on 8 March 1928.

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MAZHABI SIKHS, commonly pronounced as Mazhabi Sikhs, is the name given to Sikh converts from the Chührā community, among the lowest in the Hindu caste order. Chühras in medieval Punjab, corresponding to Bhangis of the Hindi-speaking regions, were the village menials who received customary payment in kind at harvest time for such services as sweeping and scavenging. They lived in separate quarters, sequestered from the main village population, and were allowed neither instruction nor entry into places of worship. They were the “untouchable” class, for a mere touch by anyone of them “polluted” members of the upper castes. With the advent of Islam, some of them sought amelioration of their social status in conversion gaining the title of mihtar, Persian for chief, but the bulk still remained in the Hindu fold. The teachings of Guru Nānak and his nine spiritual successors, with their rejection of distinctions based upon caste or birth and their emphasis on equality of all human beings, had a special appeal for them. Those of them who joined the new faith gained admittance along with others to saṅgat, religious congregation, and ṭaṅgat, commensality. They received the high-sounding designation of Raṅghreṭā, reminiscent of Raṅghars, Rājpūt converts to Islam. A special honour was earned for the community by Bhai Jaita, a Raṅghreṭā Sikh when he boldly lifted the severed head of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, martyred in the Chândnī Chowk in Delhi on 11 November 1675, and brought it to Kiratpur, covering a distance of 300-odd km in five days. Gurū Gobind Śingh, coming out of Anandpur to receive him at Kiratpur, embraced him warmly, and exalted his whole tribe by conferring on it the blessing: “Raṅghreṭe Gurū ke beṭe,” Raṅghreṭās are the Gurū’s own sons.}

Upon the creation of the Khālsā in 1699, Bhai Jaita took the rites of the double-edged sword and was renamed Jīvan Śingh. Several others of his caste also took ḳhande ḳi pāhul and joined the order of the Khālsā.

The new spirit infused by ḳhande ḳi pāhul added to the native tenacity and hardness of the Raṅghreṭās as a class and during the troubled eighteenth century, they suffered and fought valiantly hand in hand with other Sikhs. Bhai Botā Śingh, who with nothing but a heavy club in his hand dared the Mughal might and proclaiming the sovereignty of the Khālsā started levying toll on the main Punjab highway, had a Raṅghreṭā Sikh, Garjā Śingh, as his sole comrade-in-arms. Attacked by a punitive contingent sent by the governor of Lahore, the two stood back-to-back fighting until their last breath. This was in 1739. Earlier, in 1735, when Nawāb Kapūr Śingh, the chosen leader of the Dal Khālsā, as the guerrilla force of the Sikhs was called, reorganized the Dal into five jathās or fighting bands, one of them consisted exclusively of the Raṅghreṭā Sikhs. According to Ratan Śingh Bhaṅgū, Prāchīṇ Panth Prakāśh, Bir Śingh, the leader of this jathā, commanded 1300 horse.

With the virtual establishment of their sovereignty in the plains of the central Punjab, as the Sikhs slowly reverted to their traditional village life, with farming as their main occupation, the Raṅghreṭā Sikhs resumed their old role of scavenging and field labour, but they were no longer the outcasts they had been. They wore unshorn hair and abstained from tobacco and halal meat, i.e. flesh of animals slaughtered in the Muhammadan way. They were endearingly called Mazhabi Sikhs (lit. Sikhs steadfast in their religious faith), the term Raṅghreṭā gradually falling into disuse.

During the reign of Mahārajā Ranjit Śingh, Mazhabi Sikhs were freely enlisted in the Khālsā army, especially in the infantry, and were generally deployed for duty on the
MAZHABI SIKHS

northwestern frontier. Demobilization followed the annexation in 1849 of the Sikh country to the British dominions. Many of the Mazhabi soldiers, no longer content with their former station as village menials, resorted to highway robbery, theft and dacoity so that the British government declared them to be a criminal tribe. About 1851, Mahārājā Gulāb Śīṅgh of Jāmmū and Kāshmir raised a corps of Mazhabi Sikhs. The British recruited them for a coolie corps meant for road construction. In 1857, they were also enlisted, 1200 of them, to form the 23rd, 32nd and 34th Pioneer Regiments. Their extraordinary bravery and endurance earned them a high reputation as soldiers. They were no longer considered a criminal tribe and formed a significant component of the regular Indian army. In 1911, there were 1,626 Mazhabi Sikhs out of a total strength of 10,866 Sikhs in the Indian army. Thus 17 per cent of the Sikh soldiers were Mazhabis. Mazhabi Sikhs were also employed on canal-digging and road-construction projects in the new canal colonies in West Punjab, to which a large number of them had migrated for permanent settlement as farm hands and agricultural tenants. A number of them, mostly retired soldiers, were even allotted lands in the lower Chenāb colony. This brought them a better economic and social status as a class. In the Chenāb colony (Lyallpur and Gujrānwālā districts), Mazhabi Sikhs were officially declared to be an agricultural caste and in the census reports they were reckoned separately from Chūhrā Sikhs, i.e. those who had not received the Khālsā baptism. The Śīṅgh Śabhā, launched in 1873 with the object of reforming Sikh practice and ceremonial, preached against caste distinctions and brought further prestige to Mazhabi Sikhs. Many more now opted for the rites of initiation. The population of the Mazhabi Sikhs increased from 8,961 in 1901 to 21,691 in 1911 and 169,247 in 1931. During the Second World War (1939-45), Mazhabi Sikhs along with Ramdāśi (Chamār) Sikhs recruited to the newly raised Mazhabi and Ramdāśi battalions, later redesignated as the Sikh Light Infantry. Their pioneer regiments had already been amalgamated in the Bombay Engineers Group.

Mazhabi Sikhs, as an integral part of the Sikh community, took an active part in the Gurdwārā Reform movement and the freedom struggle. After Independence, when the Constitution of India was being framed, the Shiromānī Ākālī Dal, in order to obtain for the Sikh backward classes benefits and privileges being provided for similar sections of the Hindus, insisted and secured the inclusion of Mazhabi Sikhs (along with Ramdāśi, Kābirpanthi and Sikligar Sikhs) among the scheduled classes. Although this was not consistent with the basic Sikh doctrine of castelessness, Mazhabī and other backward Sikhs have benefited from the concessions statutorily provided to them in the field of education, employment and political representation.

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MAZHAR 'ALĪ, an artillery officer in Sikh times who commanded the horse battery of Mahārājā Ranjīt Śīṅgh’s Topkhānā-i-Khās. For a time, he served under General Ghaus Khān with command of a battery of 10 light guns. He took part in the Attock operations in 1813 under the command of Diwān Muhkam Chand. The Mahārājā often called upon him to display on ceremonial occasions the skill and effectiveness of his artillery. He is described in contemporary chronicles as a skilful gunner who served his royal master with devotion and loyalty.
MEDINĪ PRAKĀŚH, ruler from 1684 to 1704 of Sirmūr, a state situated along the river Yamunā in the Kayārdā Dūn valley of the Śivālik hills, was one among the hill chiefs who did not support Rājā Bhīm Chand of Kahlūr in his designs against Gurū Gobind Singh. In April 1685, he invited the Gurū to spend some time with him at Nāhan which had a cool climate and abounded in game. The Gurū accepted the invitation and travelled to Nāhan. As he reached the vicinity of the town (14 April 1685), Rājā Medinī Prakāśh came out to receive him and took him to his palace and looked after him and his Sikhs in a most hospitable manner. Gurū Gobind Singh lived in the Nāhan territory for about three years and got a fort built at Pāornā. The years spent at Pāornā were the most creative and significant in the Gurū’s career. While in the Sirmūr territory, Gurū Gobind Singh had also to fight a battle at Bhaṅgānī on 8 September 1688 (15 April 1688 according to some sources) against Rājā Bhīm Chand and his allies. Though victorious in battle, Gurū Gobind Singh left Pāornā for Anandpur soon afterwards. Rājā Medinī Prakāśh, who did not join the hill chiefs in their battle against Gurū Gobind Singh, incurred the displeasure of both the princes and the Mughal government. He died issueless in 1704.

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MEGH RĀJ (d. 1864), the third son of Misr Divān Chand, starting as a clerk in Gobindgaṛh Fort at Amritsar under Mahārājā Rāṇjit Simgh, became head of the treasury at Amritsar in 1816. He held this position until the Mahārājā’s death in 1839 soon after which Prince Nau Nihāl Simgh and Rājā Hirā Simgh visited Amritsar to have his accounts checked. The accounts revealed no embezzlement, yet Megh Rāj and his brother Rūp Lāl were taken into custody, and a fine of 5,00,000 rupees was imposed on them. They remained in captivity until Hirā Simgh’s assassination on 21 December 1844.

At the end of the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1846, Megh Rāj was appointed treasurer of the Lahore Darbār and, after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, treasurer of the Lahore Division. This post he held till his death on 1 August 1864. Megh Rāj was honoured with the title of Rāj Bahādur by the British and made an honorary magistrate in 1862.

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MEHAR SIṄH NIRMLĀ, a Sandhū Jaṭṭ belonging to the Nishānānvāli misl, became famous by display of bravery and courage in the latter half of the eighteenth century. He was one of the persons who figured in the partition of Sirhind territory after the town was captured by Sikhs in 1764. He took possession of the parganah of Shāhābād and Ismā’īlābād, in Karnāl district.

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MEHRĀ, BHĀI, a hillman, was a devotee of Guru Arjan. The name also figures in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 23

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MEHRAJ, also spoken as Mahiraj or Marhaj, is a village 6 km northwest of Rāmpūrā Phul (30°16'N, 75°14'E) in Bathindā district founded in 1627 by Bhāi Mohan (d. 1630), a Jāt of the Siddhū clan, with the blessings and help of Guru Hargobind. According to Sikh tradition, Mohan with his tribe wanted to settle down in this area but the Bhullars, the local dominating tribe, resisted. Mohan sought Guru Hargobind’s blessing and succeeded in founding a village which he called Mehrāj after the name of his great-grandfather. The Bhullars tried to dislodge him, but were driven away with Guru Hargobind’s help. In the battle Guru Hargobind had to fight here against an imperial force led by Lallā Beg on 16 December 1634, he took up position around a pool of water about 3 km south of Mehraj. Sikhs, though vastly outnumbered, defeated the attacking force. Lallā Beg and several of his officers and men were killed. Guru Hargobind had them buried according to Muslim rites while he had the Sikhs fallen in action cremated. A tower subsequently raised indicates the sites where cremation and burial took place.

GURDWĀRĀ CHHOṬA GURŪSAR TAMBŪ SĀHIB, one kilometre southwest of the village, marks the site where Guru Hargobind had his tent (tambū, in Punjabi) set up at the time of his first visit to this place. It is a modest-looking shrine built on a low mound and managed by the village saṅgat.

GURDWĀRĀ GURŪSAR MEHRĀJ marks the site of Guru Hargobind’s camp during the battle of Mehrāj. According to Gur Bilās Chhevīn Pāṭshāhī, Guru Hargobind had himself named this place Gurūsar and declared it a place of pilgrimage, appointing a Ravidāsi Sikh to look after it. The old building constructed by Maharajā Hīrā Singh of Nābhā (1843-1911) was replaced during the 1980’s by the successors of Sant Gurmukh Singh Sevāvāle. The new building, inside a walled compound, comprises a high-ceilinged assembly hall, with the sanctum in the middle marked off by massive square columns and wide arches. Above the sanctum is a domed pavilion lined with glazed tiles and topped by a gold-plated pinnacle and an umbrella-shaped finial with a khānqā at the apex. Domed kiosks adorn the hall corners. The Gurdwārā, endowed with 250 acres of land, is affiliated to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. People from the surrounding villages throng for a dip in the holy sarovar on every Monday.

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MEHTĀB SĪNGH, SARDĀR BAHĀDUR (1879-1938), lawyer and legislator who became closely associated with the Gurdwārā Reform movement, was born in 1879 at the village of Haḍālī, in Shāhpur district, now in Pakistan, to Hazūr Singh and Karam Kaur. His father died when he was barely four years old. Mehtāb Singh had his early education at the village school and passed the Entrance examination from Central Model School,
Lahore, in 1895. The same year, he proceeded to England where he studied law for three years, returning to India in 1898 as a barrister-at-law. He started legal practice at Shāhpur. In 1910, he was appointed government pleader at Firozpur and, subsequently, transferred to Lahore. He was honoured by the government with the titles successively of Sardār Sāhib (1915) and Sardār Bahādur (1918). In 1920, he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council and became its vice-president. He, however, resigned this office as well as his membership of the Council on 11 November 1921, as a protest against government taking away keys of the Golden Temple toshākhānā or treasury and plunged into the Gurdwārā Reform movement. Mehtāb Singh was made vice-president of the Shiromāṇi Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. On 26 November 1921, he was arrested at Ajnālā in an Akāli divan on the charge of making a seditious speech and sentenced to 6 months’ imprisonment, with a fine of Rs 1,000. In the absence of Sardār Kharāk Singh in jail, Mehtāb Singh acted as president of the Shiromāṇi Committee. He was again arrested in the Gurū kā Bāgh morchā on 14 September 1922. He remained in custody until 14 March 1923. On 12 October 1923, the Shiromāṇi Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and the Shiromāṇi Akāli Dal were declared by the government unlawful organizations, and principal Akāli leaders including Mehtāb Singh were put under arrest. Mehtāb Singh was one of the first batch of 20 Akāli leaders released following their endorsement of a statement drafted by an Akāli leader and read in the court on 25 January 1926, renouncing any further direct action and offering to implement the provisions of the Gurdwārās Act under which Sikh shrines were proposed to be made over to a representative board of the Sikhs. Some other Akāli leaders refused to give such an assurance and stayed behind in jail. Although Mehtāb Singh was aligned with one of the two groups—Bābā Kharāk Singh’s as against Master Tārā Singh’s, his counsel continued to be sought in Sikh affairs generally. He participated in the All-Parties Sikh Conference at Amritsar on 29 January 1928 convened to determine the attitude of the Sikhs towards the Simon Commission sent to India by the British government. The Conference resolved to boycott the Commission. Mehtāb Singh was one of the seven delegates to All-Parties Conference at Delhi on 24 February 1928. At the All-Parties Convention at Calcutta on 28-29 December 1928, he strongly challenged Mr M.A. Jinnāh’s claim to 56 per cent representation for the Muslims in the Punjab and 33 per cent at the Centre. He was president of the committee for the notified Sikh gurdwārās at Nankānā Sāhib from 1933 to 1936.

Mehtāb Singh died of a heart attack on 23 May 1938 while arguing a case in the High Court at Lahore.

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MELĀ SĪNH, SANT (1784-1854), holy saint and preacher of the Sikh faith, was born in 1784 at Koṭchhāri, a village in Bāgh tahsil of the present Pūchh district of Jammū and Kashmir. He was only eleven years of age when his father, Bhai Makkhan Singh, a pious Sikh convert from a Brāhmaṇ family, died. Soon after, his elder brother, Fateh Singh left on a pilgrimage to Nānded, sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh, and never returned home. He made Amritsar his permanent abode, dedicating himself to a life of prayer.

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and service. Young Mela Singh was much affected by his brother's example. He had a melodious voice and sang devotional songs on his dotārā, a simple double-string instrument, as he grazed cattle in the bush around his village. His recitation attracted the notice of Sant Rochā Singh, an elderly saint much revered in those parts, who once happened to pass by. The holy man entered the village and asked Mela Singh's mother to entrust her son to him. He took over the young boy as a disciple of his and brought him up under his personal care. He was so deeply impressed by his pious devotion that, before his death in 1803, he nominated Mela Singh, then scarcely 20 years of age, to be his successor.

Sant Mela Singh set up his derā, along with a gurdwārā and Gurū kā Laṅgar, at a place 5 km to the east of Pūchh, and named it Santpurā Nagālī after nagāl plant that grew in abundance in that tract close to the Dūrāṅgali rivulet. The derā was endowed by Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh, who visited it during his Kashmir campaigns in 1814 and 1819. Gulāb Siṅgh, the Doğrā ruler, also assigned to it the revenue of several surrounding villages. While Nagālī, reverently called Nagālī Sāhib, was his principal seat, Sant Mela Siṅgh frequently went out preaching across different parts of Pūchh, Hazārā, Kashmir valley and the Punjab. He initiated many into the Sikh faith, established gurdwārās and instructed people in the pious and upright way of life. He also had admirers among Hindus and Muslims whom he enjoined truly to adhere to the tenets of their own faiths.

Sant Mela Siṅgh died on 5 November 1854, Sant Mannā Siṅgh succeeding him in the holy seat at Nagālī.

MELĪ, lit. attached or companion, appears in the Sikh Scripture in different connotations — usually as a verb form, past indefinite of melanā (to attach, join, bring together), in the feminine form (GG, 54, 63, 90, 243, 379, 389, 584 et al.); as an adjective meaning loving, attached (GG, 4243); and as a noun meaning associate, friend (GG, 392). In Zulfiqār Ardistānī, Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, the term melī has been used as a title for a class of preachers among the seventeenth-century Sikhs. Preaching districts or maṇjis had been set up during the time of Gurū Amar Dās (1552-74). The chiefs, designated masands, functioned as the Gurūs' local representatives. They preached the Gurūs' word in saṅgats or fellowships of the holy, performed the rites of initiation, collected tithes and offerings meant for the Gurū and ran the laṅgar (community kitchen). In some of the larger districts, the masands, the Gurūs' representatives, appointed their own assistants. These assistants were known as melis. According to Zulfiqār Ardistānī, as the masands formed a link between the Gurū and the laity, the melis formed a link between the masands and the Sikhs living in their respective districts.

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METCALFE, SIR CHARLES THEOPHILUS (1785-1846), diplomat and provisional Governor-General of India, son of Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, a director of the East India Company, was born in Calcutta, on 30 January 1785. He started his career as a writer in the service of the East India Company. He was appointed agent successively to generals Lake, Smith, and Dowdeswell. In 1808, Lord Minto sent him as an envoy to the court of Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh. Charles Metcalfe was then 23, and, as an assistant to the Resident at Delhi, was well versed in Sikh affairs. Seldom perhaps, in
Anglo-Indian diplomatic annals, was a delicate task entrusted to one so young in years. Metcalfe's mission to Lahore was meant to engage Mahārājā Ranjit Singh in a defensive alliance against the supposed French invasion of India. Metcalfe's correspondence reveals that the Sikh Mahārājā was little impressed by the so-called French menace. He, nevertheless, wished to take advantage of the negotiations to exhibit his resistance to British intrusion into the cis-Sutlej Sikh territory. He was willing to cooperate with the British, but demanded that he should first be acknowledged as the head of the Sikh nation. The recession late in 1808 of the French threat, such as there was, altered the situation materially. Instead of pursuing a defensive alliance with Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, the British mission made a political arrangement with the cis-Sutlej chiefs. The negotiations supported by the advance of a British detachment under Major-General Ochterlony to Ludhiana, ultimately ended in the treaty of Amritsar (25 April 1809), which brought the Sikhs and the British government into a friendly alliance. By the Treaty, the Company advanced its political frontier to the River Sutlej. On his side, the Sikh Mahārājā, having made alliance with the neighbourly power on his southern border, was now free to turn his energies to expanding his influence in the north and northwest of his dominions.

Metcalfe had been Resident of Delhi from 1811-20 and of Hyderābād from 1820-27. In 1827, he became a member of the Supreme Council, and in March 1835 he was appointed Governor of Āgrā. He provisionally succeeded Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General of India (1835). From 1839-42, he was Governor of Jamaica and from 1843-45 Governor-General of Canada. In 1845, he was created Baron Metcalfe. He died on 5 September 1846.

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METUI, a Russian soldier of fortune, described to be a captain in one of the regiments of the Sikh army in 1841 on a monthly salary of Rs 300. According to one account, he had married a Kashmiri woman and had a daughter by her and was a resident in the walled city of Lahore.

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MEVĀ SĪNH (d. 1915), a simple but religious-minded peasant who was a reciter of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, came from the village of Lopoke, in Amritsar district. He migrated to Canada where he was an associate of Bhai Bāg Singh Bikhivīṇḍ and Balvant Singh Khurdpur, two prominent leaders of Indian immigrants in Canada. In the Punjabi community, Mevā Singh had heard stories of the hostility towards them of a Canadian immigration official by the name of William Hopkinson. No further proof of his malice was required after his
Mevä Singh Majithiā, an artillery commander in the Sikh army, whose regiment, according to the Lahore diarist Sohan Lāl Sūrī, was called Topkhānā-i-Mevä Singh, consisting of 10 light and 10 field guns and 1,014 men. In December 1844, Mevä Singh was nominated a member of the council constituted by Maharāṇī Jind Kaur to run the administration of the Punjab. He commanded the Lahore Darbār force despatched to Jammū in February 1845 for the chastisement of Rājā Gulāb Singh. Of all the Majithiā sardars connected with the Sikh court, Mevā Singh was the only one who took the part of the Ḍogrās. It was through his intervention and that of Sardār Chatar Singh Atārivalā that milder terms were given to Rājā Gulāb Singh, whose forces were routed by Ranjodh Singh Majithiā at Akhnūr in March 1845. Mevā Singh pleaded with skill and vigour before the Khalsa Council for the restoration of Gulāb Singh’s power and territories. Sikh or British records have little to tell of Mevā Singh after 1845.

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MEVIUS, also recorded as Frank Ernest Mevins, was a Prussian who came to the Punjab in March 1827 and was employed in the Sikh army in the rank of a colonel. According to the Khalsa Darbār records, Mevius had to sign a pledge that he would, “during his period of service abstain from eating beef, smoking or shaving, would never quit the service without formal permission from the Maharājā and would engage to fight any nation with whom the Maharājā declared war, even should it be his own.” These were the usual conditions under which foreigners were admitted into Sikh service. Once Mevius used a whip against a Sikh soldier. This caused a revolt in his command and he was compelled to take refuge in the Maharājā’s tent. Ranjīt Singh saved his life, but refused to retain him in his service. He was given his discharge in 1830.

stoo and informer, Belā Singh, had shot dead Bhai Bhāg Singh while he was reciting the Guru Granth Sāhib in the Gurdwārā. The immigration authority’s complicity in the murders — the second Punjabi killed by Belā Singh on that occasion was Batan Singh — was established on Belā Singh’s own admission. Mevā Singh vowed to avenge the murders. He started practising pistol-shooting and he smuggled the weapon into the supreme court where the appeal in Belā Singh’s case was being heard. There in front of the judges, Mevā Singh shot Hopkinson. He was tried for murder and was sentenced to death. In jail, he spent his time reciting gurūnī and ascended the gallows singing Guru Tegh Bahadur’s line: hari jasu re manā gāī lai jo sangī hai tero (Sing, O my heart, sing God’s praise; He alone is thy supporter). There was an akhāṅ pāth recited in his memory in the Vancouver Gurdwārā. Daily ḍivāns were held thereafter for a whole week.

The Pacific Khalsa Diwān of Stockton, California, circulated his portrait with these words printed beneath it: “Bhai Mewā Singh, martyr. Hanged January 11, 1915, 7.45 a.m.”

The day of Bhai Mevā Singh’s martyrdom is observed every year in the Stockton Gurdwārā.

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MİAŃ KHIIMA, Mahārājā Duleep Singh’s favourite Muhammadan attendant who had served him since his childhood. He came with the Mahārājā to Fatehgarh after the latter was dethroned and exiled from Lahore by the British in 1849. At Fatehgarh he was replaced by Bhajan Lal, an English-educated young Brāhmāṇ of Farrukhābād.

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MİAŃ MİR, HAZRAT (1550-1635), well-known Sūfi saint of the Qādiriyyah order, was a contemporary of Gurū Arjan (1563-1606) and Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644). His real name was Shaikh Mir Muhammad. He was born the son of Qāżī Sayandanah (Sāīn Dattā to some chroniclers) bin Qāżī Qalandar Fāruqī in 957 AH/AD 1550 at Sāhvan (also called Sevastān) in the present Dādū district of Sindh in Pakistan. The family claimed descent from Hazrat Umar Farūq, the second Caliph successor to Prophet Muhammad.

Mir Muhammad’s father died when he was a young boy and he grew up under the care of his mother, Bibi Fātimah, daughter of Qāżī Qazan, who put him under Shaikh Khizr Sevastānī for study of Qādirī Silsilā (School) of Sūfi thought. Under the guidance of his renowned teacher, he traversed various ‘stations’ and ‘stages’ of the mystic Sūfi path in rapid succession and completed his studies at a comparatively young age of 25. He then shifted to Lahore where he joined the school of Maulānā Sa‘ad Ullah and subsequently of Maulānā Ni‘mat Ullah and Muftī Abdus-Salām to study traditional and rational philosophies. He remained steadfast in his devotional prayers and spent most of his spare time in meditation in gardens and forests outside the city. He soon became known as a distinguished ‘Alim (scholar) much sought after by seekers of religious instruction. But Shaikh Mir Muhammad demurred at the publicity he was receiving and liked solitariness and was very selective in making disciples. Perhaps for this reason he left Lahore and went to stay at Sirhind, but the climate at the latter place did not suit him and he returned after a year to Lahore where he stayed for most of his remaining life revered by kings and commoners alike.

Emperor Jahāngir in his Tuzuk (autobiography) praises his piety and selflessness. Prince Dārā Shukoh was one of his devout murīds (disciples). The Sikh tradition is inclined to count several years of mutual friendship between Hazrat Miān Mir and Gurū Arjan, though their actual spans of life will not support this. The latter is said to have had the foundation-stone of the Harimandar in the midst of the sacred pool of Amritsar laid by the former in 1588. Miān Mir could not save Gurū Arjan from the bigotry of Jahāngir which resulted in the Guru’s martyrdom in 1606, (probably the Emperor had not met the Shaikh by then), but he was instrumental in securing the release of Gurū Hargobind from Gwalior Fort where he had been detained under Jahāngir’s orders.

Hazrat Miān Mir died at Lahore on 7 Rabi’ ul-Awwal 1045 AH/11 August 1635. His mausoleum in Ḥāshimpūra outside the old city lends his name, Miān Mir, to the whole locality.

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MIAN MITTHĀ, a Muslim holyman living in a village which came to be called Koṭlā Miān Mitthā in the present Sālākot district of Pakistan Punjab, met Guru Nanak as the latter was passing through his village. The two held a discourse. According to Puriītan Jānīn Sākhī, Miān Mitthā observed that only two names are supreme and venerable, the first that of God and the second that of the Prophet, to which Guru Nanak replied, "The first name is that of God, so many prophets are at His Gate." To Mitthā's two further questions, "How can a lamp burn without oil? (meaning thereby how light of God is possible without the intermediary Prophet)" and "How shall man obtain a seat in God's court?" Guru Nānak replied by singing a hymn in Sīrī measure to the accompaniment of Mardāna’s rebeck. It said:

Act according to holy books,
Put the wick of God's fear into thy body;
Ignite it with true understanding;
Thus shall thy lamp burn without oil.
Make such a light and you shall find the Lord.

The next two stanzas answered Miān Mitthā’s second question:

When the body is attuned to God’s Word
And service is performed,
Happiness is ensured;
(Otherwise) the world merely comes and goes.
While in the world, perform sevā (service),
Thus will you find a seat in God’s court.

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MĪHĀN, BHĀI, founder of the Mīhānshāhī or Mīhānsāhibī sect of Udāsī sādhūs, was a Sikh contemporary of the eighth, ninth and the tenth Gurūs. His real name was Rāmdev. His father, Nand Lāl Sohnā, had been a disciple of two Muslim devotees of Gurū Hargobind, Khwāja and Jānī, and later remained in attendance upon Gurū Hargobind, Gurū Har Rāi and Gurū Har Krishan. Sohnā, i.e. handsome, was the epithet bestowed upon him by Gurū Hargobind for his very striking features and physique. Nand Lāl introduced his eldest son, Rāmdev, to the service of Gurū Har Krishan in 1663. Rāmdev took upon himself the duty of carrying water for Gurū kā Langar and of sprinkling water upon the ground where the holy assembly took place morning and evening. When Gurū Tegh Bahādur set out on his travels through the Mālvā country in 1665, Bhāi Rāmdev was in his retinue performing his usual chore. At every halt he would inundate the dusty ground with his sprinkling as if by rain, mīnh in Punjabi. According to Sarūp Dās Bhallā, Mahimā Prakāshī, Gurū Tegh Bahādur, pleased at his devotion and diligence, nicknamed him Mīhān, bringer of rain. The name stuck and Rāmdev came to be known as Bhāi Mīhān. Gurū Tegh Bahādur at Dhamtān during the same journey bestowed upon him a drum and banner as symbols of sovereignty (in matters spiritual, in this case), released him from personal attendance and bade him preach on his own. This was one of the six bakhshishes or bestowals on the Udāsīs made at different times. Bhāi Mīhān preached mainly in northern India. He also once waited upon Gurū Gobind Singh and received blessing from him. His followers established many deraś or preaching centres, the better known among them being Dera Magni Rām
at Paţīlā and Sādhū Belā, near Sakkhar, now in Pakistan, established by the most prominent of his successors, Bankhanḍī (d. 1863). Bhāi Mīhāṅ himself died at Sohīān, a village in Nārōval tahsil (sub-division) of Sālkoṭ district, now in Pakistan.

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MĪHĀṅ SĪNGH (d. 1841), Sikh governor of Kashmir from 1834 to 1841. He had taken part in numerous military operations under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and his successors. As governor of Kashmir, he ordered a free assessment of the land in the province. He also had his Tārikh-i-Kashmir, which was also a document of much historical and economic importance, compiled. Soon after Mahārājā Sher Singh's accession, two battalions of the Sikh army in Kashmir revolted and on 17 April 1841 assassinated Mīhāṅ Singh at his residence in Srinagar.

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MĪHĂŃ SĪNGH (d. 1870), son of Rām Śīṅgh, a Kāhōlī Jaṭṭ of the village of Bhāgōvālā, near Baṭāḷā, in Gurdāspur district, served under the Majīthīā chiefs and received jāgīrs from them. He was a minor when his father died in 1809 while serving in the force of Desā Śīṅgh Majīthīā. Mīhāṅ Śīṅgh, on becoming able to bear arms, was placed by Desā Śīṅgh Majīthīā under his son Lāhīṅ Śīṅgh. He obtained an assignment of rupees 2,200 per annum from the tribute of Māṅḍī, Kulū, Suket, Kāngra, Bilāspur and Nadaun on Lāhīṅ Śīṅgh's appointment as governor of the hill districts. Mīhāṅ Śīṅgh was confirmed in his estate after the death in 1832 of Desā Śīṅgh Majīthīā and was appointed thānedār at Amritsar. He died in 1870.

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MIHARBĀN, (1581-1640), the popular name of Manohar Dās, who was the grandson of Gūrū Rām Dās, fourth in spiritual descent from Gūrū Nānak, and son of Prithi Chand, the elder brother of Gūrū Arjan, Nānak V. Born on 9 January 1581, Miharbān spent his early years in the company of his uncle, Gūrū Arjan, and imbibed from him scholarly inclination as well as literary taste. He was a man of ascetic temperament. To wean him from his solitary ways, his parents got him married in 1595. He had three sons—Karan Mall or Krishan Mall, Chaturbhuj and Harji. In 1618, his father, Prithi Chand, who had set up his own rival seat protesting against the installation of his younger brother, Arjan, as the Gūrū of the Sikhs, nominated him his successor. This was a difficult position for Miharbān, but by his knowledge of the sacred lore and his ability to compose religious verse, he attracted some following. He went out preaching and spent several years in the hill district around Kāṅgrā. Then he came to the Mālvā and sojourned in the area for about five years. He passed the last years of his life at Muhammadpur, in the Kasūr sub-division of Lahore district, now in Pakistan, which he had made his headquarters and where he died on 18 January 1640.

MIHARBĀN wrote in Punjabi prose a janam
sākhī or life-story of Gurū Nānak entitled *Pothi Sachkhaṇḍ*. The biographical detail is scanty and the main purpose of the author seems to be to provide interpretations of some of Gurū Nānak’s hymns in a framework of *gaṇts* or discourses. On the *Japu*, the opening *bāṇī* of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the book contains a full-scale commentary. This may well be the first recorded exposition of the *Japu*. Among the other works attributed to Miharbān are *Sukhmani Sahānsarnāmā, Vār Pirān Kī, Gosṭ Kabīr Jio Kī*, and *Gosṭāṅ Bhagīn Kīān*.

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Kr.S.

*Miharbān Janam Sākhī* takes its name from Soḍhī Miharbān, nephew of Gurū Arjan and leader of the schismatic Mīnā sect. Miharbān’s father, Prithī Chand, was the eldest son of Gurū Rām Dās and as such had greatly resented being passed over as his father’s successor in favour of a younger brother. He set himself as a rival to the Gurū. He and his followers who supported his claims were stigmatized as Mīnās or hypocrites and outcastes. Succeeding his father as leader of this sect in 1619, Miharbān guided it until his death in 1640. Later, the sect declined into insignificance. A belief, however, survived that Miharbān had composed a *Janam Sākhī* of Gurū Nānak. Until well into the twentieth century, no copy of this *Janam Sākhī* had come to light. The prologue to the highly respected *Gyān Ratanāvalī* specifically declared that the Mīnās had corrupted the authentic record of Gurū Nānak’s life and teachings. The lost *Miharbān Janam Sākhī* had accordingly been branded spurious and heretical, and but for the *Gyān Ratanāvalī* reference it would probably have been forgotten completely.

In 1940, however, a Miharbān manuscript was discovered at Damdama Sāhib and subsequently acquired by Khālāsā College, Amritsar. Upon examination this substantial manuscript turned out to contain only the first half of the complete *Miharbān Janam Sākhī*. According to the colophon, the complete work comprised six volumes (*pothis*). The manuscript itself consisted of the first three volumes, *Pothi Sachkhaṇḍ, Pothi Harijī*, and *Pothi Chaturbhuj*, respectively. The three missing sections were entitled *Keso Rāi Pothi, Abhai Pad Pothi*, and *Prem Pad Pothī*. In 1961, the Khālāsā College acquired a second and much smaller Miharbān manuscript which provided a text for folios missing from the Damdama manuscript. It is, however, limited to a portion of *Pothi Sachkhaṇḍ*, and thus provides no material from the three missing volumes. The only portion to survive from this latter half of the *Miharbān Janam Sākhī* is its account of the death of Gurū Nānak. This has been incorporated in a recension of the *Bālā Janam Sākhī* tradition.

From the extant volumes of the *Miharbān Janam Sākhī*, three important conclusions may be drawn. The first of these is that the work can scarcely be described as heretical. Objections grounded in orthodox doctrine may certainly be raised at a few points, but the same can be said of all *Janam Sākhīs*. Unlike the early *Janam Sākhīs* of the *Bālā* tradition, the *Miharbān* product implies no denigration of the mission of Gurū Nānak, demonstrating instead a serious concern to propagate his teachings. *Pothi Harijī* does contain the spurious story of Gurū Nānak’s marriage to a Rāngṛa woman, but it occurs within a narrative section which has plainly been interpolated.

The Mīnās were unquestionably guilty of positive schism and it is possible that at some stage they may have attempted to corrupt orthodox texts in the interests of their own pretensions. But the extant *Miharbān Janam Sākhī* scarcely falls within this category.
The second conclusion to be drawn from the two available manuscripts is that the text we now possess is a late and extensively augmented one. The Damdama manuscript is dated 1885 Bk/AD 1828 and plainly it is to the early nineteenth century that its text belongs. If in fact Sodhi Miharban did deliver discourses to his followers, there can be little hope of isolating his authentic contribution from the mass of material recorded in the extant text.

The third conclusion indicated by the extant text is that, strictly speaking, the so-called Miharban Janam Sakhī is not really a Janam Sakhī. The first volume, Pothi Sachkhand does use a Janam Sakhī narrative as a convenient framework, but the burden of emphasis is firmly placed on the extensive exegetical discourses which the Miharban tradition so characteristically sets within this pattern. In the two remaining volumes (and presumably in their three missing successors), the narrative element disappears almost completely, except for a few interpolations. Whenever a setting is provided for a discourse, it is normally sketched in the briefest of terms. The emphasis on scriptural quotation and exegesis, already dominant in the first volume, thus becomes overwhelming in those which follow.

It is accordingly as a work of exegesis that the Miharban Janam Sakhī must be primarily understood, a quality which clearly distinguishes it from the standard narrative Janam Sakhīs. The same Miharban tradition produced other exegetical works (notably Gośṭān Sṛī Miharban ji Diān) and it is within this category that its so-called Janam Sakhīs properly belong. This is signified not merely by the actual content of the Miharban Janam Sakhīs, but also by the structure within which it incorporates that content. In place of the anecdotal form (Sakhī) of the narrative Janam Sakhīs, it uses a distinctive variety of discourse (gośṭ).

The typical gośṭ of the Miharban tradition comprises three elements. First, there is a brief narrative setting which brings Gurū Nānak into converse with some interlocutor, or with God. Second, there appears a series of extracts from the works of Gurū Nānak. Third, interspersed between these scriptural quotations and providing the bulk of most discourses, there are explanations of the passages quoted. Normally these exegetical sections are introduced with the standard formula; tīs kā paramārath (“Its sublime meaning”). Many discourses are limited to a single hymn, with individual stanzas quoted and expounded separately, usually with an introductory query provided for each by the interlocutor. Others treat a theme more extensively by citing in turn a series of relevant hymns.

There were only two Miharban Janam Sakhī manuscripts known to be extant. The text of the principal manuscript, supplemented where necessary by the later discovery, has been published by the Khalsā College, Amritsar, under the title, Janam Sakhīs Sṛī Gurū Nānak Devī (2 volumes, Amritsar, 1962 and 1969).

The language of this Janam Sakhī is Sādh Bhashā with a mixture of Punjabi vocabulary. Theological terminology of Indian traditions is freely and judiciously employed. Typical preacher style makes the discourses a bit too monotonous.

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MIHRA, BHĀI, a resident of Bakālā, now called Bābā Bakalā in Amritsar district of the Punjab, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Hargobind. According to Gurbilās Chheviit Piśṭhāhī, he built a new house and took a vow not to live in it until the Gurū had
MIHTAR SIKHS

P. S.

MIHTAR SIKHS, like Mazhabi Sikhs, their Punjabi counterpart, belong to the so-called scheduled castes. Mihtar, a Persian term, meaning elder, chief, or governor, is the name given to the members of the community of scavengers which stands at the lowest rung of Indian society. Scattered in different villages and towns, Mihtar Sikhs are largely concentrated in Vidarbha region of Mahārāṣṭra. As their folk songs in Mārvārī and Rājasthānī dialects indicate, the Mihtars’ original home was probably Rājasthān. They have many customs and practices pointing to Sikh influence. For example, many of the Mihtar males use, like Sikhs, suffix ‘Singh’ after their names. The female names however mostly end with ‘Bāi’ though in the case of the few who have been initiated as Sikhs, ‘Kaur’ replaces ‘Bāi.’ Many of the men keep their hair untrimmed and wear turbans. Children receive at birth pāhul or Sikh initiation, usually at the hands of Udāsī sādhūs. At the time of marriage, water for the ritual bathing of the bride and bridegroom and earth for plastering veḍū or venue for the ceremonies are brought from some place of worship, preferably from a gurdwārā. Mihtar Sikhs, wherever concentrated in sufficient numbers, have their exclusive gurdwārās too. For four or five days prior to the marriage, the prospective couple carry a weapon each which they must not part with at any time until the marriage ceremony is over. Child marriage among the Mihtars is rare; gotra exogamy is observed and widow remarriage is permitted. They have faith in Gurū Nānak, Kābir and Rāmānand, but Hindu deities such as Gaṇeśa, Śaṅkara and Santoshi Mātā are also worshipped in some homes. The marriage is solemnized through the Hindu ritual of going round a fire. Also on the death of their father, the sons undergo muṇḍan or tonsure rites.

Traditionally treated as untouchables even by the high-caste Sikhs, efforts are now afoot jointly by the Gurdwārā Board of Takht Sachkhaṇḍ Sri Hazūr Sāhib, and the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee for their social and economic uplift as well as for their religious education.

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MILKHĀ SĪNH THEHPURĪĀ (d. 1804), a powerful Sikh chief during the latter half of the eighteenth century, who, abandoning his native place, Kāleke, near Kasūr, founded the village of Thehpur in Lahore district and took possession of a number of villages in its vicinity and in Gujrat and Gujranwālā districts. Not content with these possessions, he marched northward and seized Rāwālpīṇḍī, then an insignificant place inhabited by Rāwāl mendicants. Milkhā Singh fixed his headquarters there, building new houses and fortifying the town. Rāwālpīṇḍī, being on the
highway into India, was a vulnerable possession exposed to attacks of Afghan invaders, but Milkha Singh held his own. He conquered a tract around Rawalpindi worth several lakhs of rupees a year and had won the esteem of the warlike tribes of Hazarā. He had adopted the cognomen of Thehpuriā from the village he had founded, but in the north he was known as Milkha Singh Piñḍīvālā. Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, whom Milkha Singh had joined in his early expeditions, called him Bābāji, i.e. the revered grandfather.

Milkha Singh died in 1804. Jivan Singh, his only son, who succeeded to his father’s estates, fought in the Mahārājā’s Kashmir campaign in 1814, and died the next year. The force which Milkha Singh and Jivan Singh had maintained was transferred to the service of the Sikh State and placed under Sardār Atar Singh Sandhānvalīā, bearing the name of Ėrā Piñḍīvālā.

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MĪNA, meaning hypocritical, secretive, mean-natured, deceitful, is an epithet applied in the Sikh tradition to Prithi Chand (1558-1618), the eldest son of Gurū Rām Dās, and such of his descendants as had not joined the main body of the Sikhs. There is also a community confined mainly to Alvar, Jaipur and Jodhpur districts of Rājasthān and Nārnaul and Gurgāoṅ districts of Haryāṇā which is known by this name and which is generally given to the profession of thieving. Prithi Chand, despite his high caste, had the epithet of Mīnā attached to his name because of his envious nature. He was ambitious of securing for himself the office of Gurū which, being the eldest son of his father, he claimed as his natural right. When Gurū Rām Dās named his youngest son, Arjan Dev, to be his spir-
MINTO, SIR GILBERT ELLIOT (1751-1814), Governor-General of India (1807-12), son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, third baronet of Minto, was born on 23 April 1751. He was called to the bar at the Lincoln’s Inn in 1774 and in 1806 served as president of the Board of Control. Lord Minto’s arrival in India in July 1807 marked the termination of the policy of non-interference in the trans-Jamunā region followed successively by Wellesley, Cornwallis and Barlow. The general principles of Lumsden’s minute of 13 January 1805, which limited the Company’s frontier to the right bank of the Jamunā and strict avoidance of any political interference with the Sikhs were unacceptable to him. He realized that Maharājā Ranjīt Siṅgh’s incursions into Mālvā and Sirhind in 1806-07 had alarmed the cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs, and that refusal to afford protection to the sardārs of Pātiālā, Nābhā, Jind, Kaithal and others against him had shaken their confidence in the good faith of the British government. The Maharājā’s designs upon the states between the Jamunā and the Sutlej, he wrote to the Secret Committee, was justification enough for the British to establish their authority in the region. The British policy of non-interference had, he argued, encouraged Ranjīt Siṅgh to claim paramountcy over the whole Sikh country. Yet for political reasons, the Government of India hesitated to act. Alarming reports of French intrigues in Persia and a possible invasion by her of India had been reaching Calcutta from Bushire and Tehran, and, to counteract the supposed threat, the Government of India was seriously considering sending embassies to Lahore and Kabul. In June 1808, Lord Minto decided to send Charles Metcalfe to woo the cis-Sutlej chiefs and to engage Maharājā Ranjīt Siṅgh in a defensive alliance against the supposed French threat. Ranjīt Siṅgh’s third Mālvā campaign and the recession of the supposed French threat in October 1808 led Lord Minto to take to more direct tactics. The Anglo-Sikh treaty of 1809 which advanced the British frontier from the Jamunā to the Sutlej, prevented the union of the Mājhā and Mālvā Sikhs under a single ruler. It, however, left Ranjīt Siṅgh free to consolidate his territories and carry his arms to the north and northwest.

Lord Minto, who returned to England in May 1814, died shortly thereafter on 21 June 1814 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

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MĪRĪ-PĪRĪ, compound of two words, both of Perso-Arabic origin, adapted into the Sikh tradition to connote the close relationship within it between the temporal and the spiritual. The term represents for the Sikhs a basic principle which has influenced their religious and political thought and governed their societal structure and behaviour. The word mīrī, derived from Persian mīr, itself a contraction of the Arabic amīr (lit. commander, governor, lord, prince), signifies temporal power, and pīrī, from Persian pīr (lit. old man, saint, spiritual guide, head of a religious order) stands for spiritual authority. The origin of the concept of mīrī-pīrī is usually associated with Guru Hargobind (1595-1644) who, unlike his five predecessors, adopted a princely style right from the time of his installation in 1606 as the sixth Guru or prophet-mentor of the Sikhs, when as part of the investiture he wore on his person two swords, one representing mīrī or political command of the community and the other...
piṅ, its spiritual headship. For this reason, he is known as mīrī piṅ dā mālik, master of piety as well as of power. This correlation between the spiritual and the mundane had in fact been conceptualized in the teachings of the founder of the faith, Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) himself. God is posited by Gurū Nānak as the Ultimate Reality. He is the creator, the ultimate ground of all that exists. The man of Gurū Nānak being the creation of God, partakes of His Own Light. How does man fulfill himself in this world—which, again, is posited as a reality? Not by withdrawal or renunciation, but, as says Gurū Nānak in a hymn in the measure Rāmkali, by “batting in the open field with one’s mind perfectly in control and with one’s heart poised in love all the time” (GG, 931). Participation was made the rule. Thus worldly structures—the family, the social and economic systems—were brought within the religious domain. Along with the transcendental vision, concern with existential reality was part of Gurū Nānak’s intuition. His sacred verse reveals an acute awareness of the ills and errors of contemporary society. Equally telling was his opposition to oppressive State structures. He frankly censured the high-handedness of the kings and the injustices and inequalities which permeated the system. The community that grew from Gurū Nānak’s message had a distinct social entity and, under the succeeding Gurūs, it became consolidated into a distinct political entity with features not dissimilar to those of a political state: for instance, its geographical division into maṇjis or dioceses each under a masand or the Gurū’s representative, new towns founded and developed both as religious and commercial centres, and an independent revenue administration for collection of tithes. The Gurū began to be addressed by the devotees as sāchā pātsāh (true king). Bards Balvanḍ and Sattā, contemporaries of Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), sing in their hymn preserved in the Gurū Granth Sāhib the praise of Gurū Nānak in kingly terminology. “He constructed the castle of truth on firm foundation, established his kingdom and had the (royal) umbrella unfurled over Lahinā’s (Gurū Aṅgad’s) head” (GG, 966). The execution in 1606, of Gurū Arjan, Nānak V, under the orders of Emperor Jahāṅgīr, marked the Mughal authority’s response to a growing religious order asserting the principles of freedom of conscience and human justice. The event led to Gurū Arjan’s young successor Gurū Hargobind, Nānak VI, formally to adopt the emblems of authority. In front of the holy Harimandar he constructed the Akāl Takht, throne (takht) of the Timeless One (akāl). Here he went through the investiture ceremony for which he put on a warrior’s accoutrement with two swords symbolizing assumption of the spiritual office as well as the control of secular affairs for the conduct of which he specifically used this new seat. He also raised an armed force and asked his followers to bring him presents of horses and weapons. This was a practical measure undertaken for the defence of the nascent community’s right of freedom of faith and worship against the discriminatory religious policy of the State. To go by the tradition preserved in Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā ascribed to Bhai Mani Singh and in Gurbilās Chhevān Pāṭshāhī, Gurū Arjan himself had encouraged the military training of his son, Hargobind, and other Sikhs. By founding the Akāl Takht and introducing soldierly style, Gurū Hargobind institutionalized the concept of Mirī and Pirī. His successors continued to function as temporal as well as spiritual heads of the community although there were no open clashes with the State power as had occurred during his time. Gurū Har Rāi, Nānak VII, tried to help the liberal prince Dārā Shukoh against his fanatic younger brother, Auranzīb. To checkmate Emperor Auranzīb’s policies of religious monolithism, Gurū Tegh Bahādur toured extensively in
The countryside exhorting the populace to shed fear and stand up boldly to face oppression. He himself set an example by choosing to give away his life to uphold human freedom and dignity.

The blending of Miri and Piri was consummated by Guru Gobind Singh in the creation of the Khalsa Panth, a republican setup, sovereign both religiously and politically. Ending personal guruship before he died, he bestowed the stewardship of the community on the Khalsa functioning under the guidance of the Divine Word, Guru Granth Sahib, in perpetuity. The popular slogan, "The Khalsa shall (ultimately) rule and none shall defy," is attributed to him; so are the aphorisms, "Without state power dharma cannot flourish (and) without dharma all (social fabric) gets crushed and trampled upon;" and "No one gifts away power to another; whosoever gets it gets it by his own strength."

Combination of Miri and Piri does not envisage a theocratic system of government. Among the Sikhs, there is no priestly hierarchy. Secondly, as is evidenced by the Khalsa rule in practice, first briefly under Bande Singh Bahadur and later under the Sikh misls and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the form of government established was religiously neutral. Religion representing Piri did provide moral guidance to the State representing Miri, and the State provided protection and support equally to the followers of different faiths. Along with the liberation of the individual soul, the Sikh faith seeks the betterment of the human state as a whole by upholding the values of freedom of belief and freedom from the oppressive authority, of man over man. Religious faith is the keeper of human conscience and the moral arbiter for guiding and regulating the exercise of political authority which must defend and ensure freedom of thought, expression and worship. This juxtaposition of the moral and secular obligations of man is the central point of the Sikh doctrine of Miri-Piri.
MIR KHAN, an officer in the army of the Mughal emperor Bābar, was entrusted with supervising the prisoners held at Saidpur (Eminābād) during Bābar’s invasion of 1520. According to Purātan Janam Sākhī, Guru Nānak and Mardanā too were among the prisoners. Both were made to perform forced labour, Guru Nānak as a coolie and Mardanā as a horse attendant. Mir Khan, when he came to watch the prisoners, was startled to observe that the Guru’s load remained suspended a full cubit above his head and that the horse followed Mardanā without a halter. This information he conveyed to Bābar, who declared, “Had I known there were such faqīrs here, I should not have destroyed the town.” He accompanied Mir Khan to where the prisoners were working and observed that a handmill which had been given Guru Nānak turned without any assistance.

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MIRZA BEG, a Mughal official who, in 1696, accompanied Prince Mu'azzam (later Emperor Bahādur Shāh of Delhi), sent by Emperor Aurāngzīb to settle affairs in the Punjab. The Prince stationed himself in Lahore and sent Mirzā Beg towards the Šīvālīk hills. Mirzā Beg brought the hill rājās to submission. He, however, became an admirer of Guru Gobind Singh whom he came to know through Bhāi Nand Lāl, who was a devoted Sikh and who had come to the Punjab as a member of Prince Mu'azzam’s entourage. According to Bachitra Nāṭak, Mirzā Beg punished those who had deserted the Guru, whereas those who continued to stay with the Guru escaped harm.

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MIRZĀPUR (25°10'N, 82°35'E), in Uttar Pradesh on the right bank of the River Gāṅgā was visited by Guru Nānak, in the course of his travels across the country. When Guru Tegh Bahādur passed through the town in 1666 on his way from Allāhābād to Vārānasi, he met here a Sikh sāṅgat. Separate shrines dedicated to the two Gurus are said to have existed once, but there are no traces of them left now. However, an old gurdwārā, named Shri Nirmal Sāṅgat, stands near Nārāyān Ghat. It is a modest-looking building, with the Guru Granth Sāhib placed on a marble platform in a small room. The shrine is managed by Nirmalā priests.

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MIRZĀ SĪNGH (d. 1787), was son of Chūhār Sīṅgh, a Shergil Jaṭā. One of his ancestors, Chaudhari Sarvānī, had founded the village of Nausherā, also known as Rāīpur Sarvānī, during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahan and was permitted to hold it rent free as remuneration for collecting the revenue of the neighbouring districts. For generations, the family held the office of chaudharīat paying the revenue into the government treasury until Mirzā Sīṅgh, about 1752, joined the Kanhaiyā misl under Sardārs Jai Sīṅgh and Haqiqaṭ Sīṅgh, and received from them
several villages as his share of the conquered territory. Mirzā Singh died in 1787, and Haqīqat Singh’s son, Jaimal Singh, resumed the major portion of his estates.

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MISLDĀRĪ or MISALDĀRĪ, a system of political relationship as well as of land tenure which came into being with the rise of Sikh power in the eighteenth-century Punjab. The Sikh warriors who, since the execution of Bandā Singh Bahādur in 1716, had lived precariously as small guerilla bands, had by the middle of the century grouped themselves into eleven main divisions and started acquiring territory as misls. This was the origin of the Sikh misls which established their sway in the Punjab. Under the misldārī system of land tenure which now prevailed, the chief or sardār of each misl could allot land to a member of his own misl, or even to an outsider, not as a grant or jāgīr, but as a share of the territory in the conquest of which the latter was an equal partner. Sometimes the subordinate misldārs or commanders occupied territory on their own, but continued to accept the sardār of the misl as their chief. The misldārs were independent in the management of their respective territories. They could alienate it to a member of the parent misl, but not to an outsider. Their relationship with the sardār of the parent misl remained that of subordinates, but only for the purpose of the offence and defence against outsiders. Again, occupation of territory only entitled them to a share in the produce. The misldārs, like the jāgīrdārs, could not interfere with the traditional proprietary or occupancy rights of the tillers of the land.

Misl in the meaning of a file or record (maintained according to some, at Akāl Takht, under the commander of the entire Sikh army, the Dal Khālsā) pertaining to a Sardār’s fighting force and territorial acquisi-
sitions has been mentioned by Sita Räm Kohli. J.D. Cunningham had taken note of this connotation of the word, too. He also traces the etymology of the word to maslahat which, according to Steingass' dictionary, means “a front-garrison, a border fortification; armed (men), warlike (people), guards, guardians.”

The term misl was first used by Saināpati, a Punjabi poet contemporary with Guru Gobind Singh. In his Śrī Guru Sobha, Saināpati uses the word misl primarily in the sense of a group or troop or sub-unit of armed warriors or soldiers. The use of the term misl occurs in the account of the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī between Gurū Gobind Singh and the hill rājās in AD 1688. Saināpati writes that the horsemen of Gurū Gobind Singh assembled under their banners at the beat of war-drum. In the battlefield morchās were set up at various places which were allotted to misls (groups). Saināpati again uses the word misl in reference to the last days of Gurū Gobind Singh at Nánded. He says that the people came there in misls (groups).

The misl system is sometimes said to have originated with Gurū Gobind Singh, who had conferred the sovereignty of the land on the Khālsā. The Sikhs literally claimed it as a boon granted them by the Gurū; and in this manner it is claimed to have received divine sanction. But in order to understand the genesis and evolution of the misl system in a historical perspective, we must go back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. From Nánded in the Deccan, Gurū Gobind Singh had deputed Bandā Singh Bahādur to the Punjab with a group of five prominent Sikhs and a bodyguard of 25 Sikh soldiers. As he arrived in the Punjab, men of grit and daring began to rally round his banner. Within two months, 4,000-5,000 horsemen and 7,000-8,000 foot had volunteered to join him. In the course of one year 30,000-40,000 troops were under him. In May 1710 the entire province of Sirhind, between the Sutlej and the Yamunā and, between the Śīvālik hills and Pāṇipat, worth 52,00,000 rupees annually fell into the hands of the Sikhs. But the Sikh power did not last long. The leader, Bandā Singh Bahādur, was captured in December 1715 and executed six months later in June 1716. With the execution of Bandā Singh, the Sikhs were deprived of a unified command. Hunted out of their homes, the Sikhs scattered in small jathās or groups to find refuge in distant hills, forests and deserts, but they were far from vanquished. Armed with whatever weapons they could lay their hands upon and living off the land, these highly mobile guerilla bands or jathās remained active during the worst of times. It was not unusual for the jathās to join together when the situation so demanded. Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh, records an early instance of the warrior bands of the Bārī Doāb (land between the Rivers Beās and Rāvī) being organized into four tummans or squadrons of 200 each, with a specified area of operation and provision for mutual assistance in time of need. Moreover, it was customary for most jathās to congregate at Amritsar to celebrate Baisakhi and Divali. Diwan Darbārā Singh (d. 1734), an elderly Sikh, acted on such occasions as the common chief. In 1733, Khān Bahādur Zakariyā Khān, the Mughal governor of Lahore, having failed to suppress the Sikhs by force, planned to come to terms with them and offered them a jāgīr or fief worth one lakh rupees a year and the title of “Nawāb” to their leader. Additionally, unhindered access to and residence at Amritsar was promised them. The Sikhs accepted the offer and chose Kapūr Singh from among themselves to be invested with the title of Nawāb. Sikh soldiers grouped themselves around their leaders most of whom were stationed at Amritsar.

In consideration of administrative convenience, Nawāb Kapūr Singh divided the entire body of troops into two camps, called
Buddhā Dal (the elder group) and Taruṇā Dal (the younger group), respectively. Taruṇā Dal was further divided into five _jathās_, each with its own flag and drum. The compact with the government ended in 1735 and, under pressure of renewed persecution, the Khālsā was again forced to split into smaller groups. Almost every village in the Majhā or midlands embracing the districts of Lahore and Amritsar produced a _sārdār_ who attracted soldiers to join him and form a _derāh_ or _jathā_ or _misl_ of his own.

Nādir Shāh’s invasion in 1739 gave a severe blow to the crumbling Mughal empire, and this gave the Sikhs a chance to consolidate themselves. At their meeting on the occasion of Divālī following the death, on 1 July 1745, of Zakariyā Khān, they gathered at Amritsar, passed a _gurmati_ or resolution and reorganized themselves into 25 groups, each consisting of 100 horse. The old division into the Buddhā Dal and Taruṇā Dal was maintained, but the new _derāhs_ generally belonged to the latter. The _derāhs_ spread quickly. By March 1748 there were 65 groups operating in different parts of the Punjab. They carried out their operations generally independent of one another, though they still acknowledged the pre-eminent position of Nawāb Kapūr Singh. By this time, a new claimant to power had appeared on the scene. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī had launched his first invasion of India and occupied Lahore on 12 January 1748. Roving bands of the Sikhs issued forth from their hideous, harassed the Afghān forces, and on the return of the Shāh to Afghanistan, swarmed round Amritsar and engaged in skirmishes with the Lahore forces.

On the day of Baisākhi, 29 March 1748, the Sikhs gathered at Amritsar to celebrate the festival. A Sarbatt Khālsā (a general assembly of the Sikhs) was convened which decided to offer organized resistance to Mughal oppression, and the entire fighting force of the Khālsā was unified into a single body called the Dal Khālsā, under the supreme command of Sārdār Jassā Singh Ahlūvālī. The 65 bands were grouped into 11 _misls_ or divisions each under its own _sārdār_ or chief having a separate name and banner as follows: (1) Ahlūvālī _misl_ under Jassā Singh Ahlūvālī, (2) Singhpuri _misl_ (also called Fāizulpuri _misl_ under Nawāb Kapūr Singh, (3) Karor singhī _misl_ under Karor Singh, (4) Nishānānvalī _misl_ under Dasauṇḍhā Singh, (5) Shahīd _misl_ under Dip Singh, (6) Dāllevālī _misl_ under Gulāb Singh, (7) Sukkarchakki _misl_ under Charhat Singh, (8) Bhaṅgi _misl_ under Hari Singh, (9) Kanhaiyā _misl_ under Jai Singh, (10) Nakai _misl_ under Hirā Singh, and (11) Rāmgarhiyā _misl_ under Jassā Singh Rāmgarhiyā. The first six _misls_ were under Buddhā Dal and the latter five under Taruṇā Dal. Jassā Singh Ahlūvālī was chosen to be in joint command of the entire Dal Khālsā, while Nawāb Kapūr Singh continued to be acknowledged as the supreme commander. Phūlkiyā under Bābā Ālā Singh of Patiālā was the twelfth _misl_, but it was not part of the Dal Khālsā command.

The Dal Khālsā was a kind of loose confederacy, without any regular constitution. Every chief maintained his independent character. All _amritdhārī_ Sikhs were eligible for membership of the Dal Khālsā which was mainly a cavalry force. Anyone who was an active horseman and proficient in the use of arms could join any one of the eleven _misls_ or independencies having the option to change membership whenever desired. The _misls_ were subject to the control of the Sarbatt Khālsā, the bi-annual assembly of the Panth at Amritsar. The frequent use made of the Sarbatt Khālsā converted it into a central forum of the _panth_. It had to elect leader of the Dal Khālsā, and to lay down its political goal and plans of its military strategy. It had also to set out plans for strengthening the Khālsā faith and body politic, besides adjudicating disputes about property and succession. The Akāl Takht was the symbol of the unity of the Dal Khālsā which was in a
way the Sikh state in making. The Dal Khālsā with its total estimated strength of 70,000 essentially consisted of cavalry; artillery and infantry elements were almost non-existent.

The Dal Khālsā established its authority over most of the Punjab region in a short time. As early as 1749, the Mughal governor of the Punjab solicited its help in the suppression of a rebellion in Multān. In early 1758, the Dal Khālsā, in collaboration with the Marāthās, occupied Sirhind and Lahore. Within three months of the Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā, the Great Massacre of 5 February 1762, the Dal Khālsā rose to defeat Ahmad Shāh’s governor at Sirhind in April-May 1762 and the Shāh himself at Amritsar in October the same year. Sirhind and its adjoining territories were occupied permanently in January 1764. The Khālsā thenceforward not only had the Punjab in their possession, but also carried their victories right up to Delhi and beyond the Yamunā into the heart of the Gangetic plain.

With the conquest of Sirhind in January 1764 had begun the final phase of the emergence of the Dal Khālsā into a confederacy of sovereign political principalities or misls in the Punjab. The misls now occupied well-defined territories over which their sardārs ruled independently while maintaining their former links as units of the Dal Khālsā. The misls of the Buḍḍhā Dal spread themselves out broadly as follows: Āhlūvālī in the neighbourhood of Kapūrthālā, in the Jalandhar Doāb, with some villages in the Mājhā such as Sarhāli, Jāndīlā, Būndālā, Vairoval and Fatehābād; Singhpurī in parts of Jalandhar Doāb and Chhat-Baṇūr-Bharatgarh areas south of the Sutlej; Karoṛsiṅghī in a long strip south of the Sutlej extending from Samrālā in the west to Jagādhari in the east; Nishānāṅvālī in area Sāṅnevāl, Dorāhā, Māchhīvārā-Amlool with pockets around Zirā and Ambālā; Shahid in area Shahzādpur-Kesari in present-day Ambālā district, and territory around Raṇīā and Talvaṇḍī Sābo; and Dāllēvālī in parganahs of Dharamkot and Tihārā to the south of the River Sutlej and Lohiān and Shāhikot to the north of it. Of these Āhlūvālī survived as the princely house of Kapūrthālā and a branch of Karoṛsiṅghī as Kalsī. Others divided into several small chiefdoms were either taken over by Mahārājā Raṇjit Siṅgh and the British East India Company or absorbed into the Phūlkiān states of Paṭiālā, Nābhā and Jīnd.

From among the Taruṇā Dal misls only one sardār of the Bhaṅgi family, Rāi Siṅgh, had participated in the partition of Sirhind territory. He occupied 204 villages around Būṛā and Jagādhari. The remaining sardārs of the Taruṇā Dal had their eyes fixed on the northern Doābs of the Punjab. The Bhaṅgis controlled a major part of the city of Lahore and extended their hegemony over Multān and subsequently occupied Jhaṅg, Khusbā and Chiniōt in the west and Siālkot and Gujrāt in the east. Kanhaiyā misl ruled over the area comprising a major part of the present Gurdāspur district and Mukerīān tahsil of Hoshiārpur district, while the Nakāis held sway over the country south of Lahore, between the Rāvi and Sutlej. The territory of the Rāmgarhiās lay on both sides of the River Beās and included villages around Miānī and Urmūṛ Taṇḍā in Jalandhar Doāb. They also held sway over the hill states of Chambā, Nūrpūr, Jasvān and Harīpur. In 1776, they were defeated by the combined forces of Kanhaiyās and Rājā Saṁsār Chand Kāthor of Kāṅgrā and their territory annexed by the victors. The Sukkarchakkiās under Chaṛḥat Siṅgh established themselves around Gurjāṅwālā which they made their headquarters and extended their territory up to Rohtās beyond the River Jehlum. Chaṛḥat Siṅgh’s grandson, Mahārājā Raṇjit Siṅgh, became the ruler of the entire Punjab from the Sutlej to the Khaibar, subduing the intervening misls.

The misl as a means of organizing Sikh
life during that transitional period was crucial. The *misl* was important from about 1760 to the establishment of the Sikh kingdom under Ranjit Singh in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Basically the internal affairs of each *misl* were administered by the *misl* itself.

Cunningham’s definition of the *misl* organization as “a theocratic confederate feudalism” is only partially correct. Devotion to Guru Gobind Singh’s ideals of faith and community was a paramount requirement, but no priestly interference or domination was allowed. Rather, the whole community was itself standing in covenant with God through the Gurus and the scriptures. The Akālis were in charge of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, but they did not infringe the sovereignty of the *misl*. By displaying a rare spirit or magnanimity towards the erstwhile persecutors of their faith, by supporting the cause of the poor, the helpless and the innocent and by preserving social and economic equality in their ranks the Sikh *misl* made Sikh religion popular with the young and daring men in the villages.

The *misl* chief exercised full authority within his domain. His rule was benign, based on the good will of all classes of people. Each village, a sort of a small republic, administered its affairs through a *pañchāyat* which was generally a council of five elders representing the collective will of the people. The village headman exercised general superintendence over all the affairs of the village on behalf of the *pañchāyat*, as well as on behalf of the government. The village *paṭvārī* was responsible for maintaining record of the lands and registered every document connected with it. The village watchman was the most vigilant character. He kept an eye on suspicious characters and provided aid to the police. He was the repository of village information and gossip.

Above the village’s *pañchāyat* there was the court of the *misl* chief. He administered justice according to local customs and traditions derived mainly from the holy scriptures of the Sikhs, Hindus or the Muslims. Evidence, common sense and secret personal investigation in disguise weighed heavily in the investigation of crime. Trackers were freely employed in cases of theft and murder. The army took the main responsibility for checking crime.

Both parties had to pay for justice, the convict with *chatī* or *jurmānā* or fine, and the guiltless had to shell out *shukrānā* (thanksgiving). Fines were imposed not according to the gravity of the crime, but in accordance with the financial position of the culprit. The *pañchāyats* tried to maintain equity and justice in the village. Their decisions, were not backed by any physical force. Social pressure was the strongest sanction; defiance by any member of the community could lead to his being excommunicated.

The *misl* soldier owned his own horse and musket; his loyalty lay with one or the other powerful chief who could lead him to conquest and glory. As a rule, the Sikh soldier was a horseman. He hated to serve as infantryman, and to be away from the field on any excuse. He was equipped with both offensive and defensive weapons; priming horns, ammunition pouches, two blankets, a grain bag and halters. On the march the blankets were put beneath the saddle. Both artillery and infantry were practically unknown to the *misl*. Their armies were unencumbered by heavy ordnance, and possessed amazing speed and manoeuvrability. With their scanty accoutrement, they could cover from 100 to 200 kilometres daily for days on end and could encamp or decamp in a few minutes. The *misl* soldier was adept in predatory warfare which could earn him a share in the booty, for he received no salary. As the *misl* settled down to their permanent possessions, some minor leaders also acquired territory as part of their share of conquests. Holders of such possessions were called...
Generally, Sikhs offered themselves for recruitment and they were enlisted irrespective of their caste or creed. Enlistment was voluntary. Prospective recruits could opt for a *misl* of their choice and had the freedom to transfer their allegiance to any other. The soldier received no organized training in drill, discipline or military tactics; this deficiency was made up by his religious fervour and single-minded devotion to the cause of the confederacy. The *misl* troops were organized into smaller groups based generally on kinship or territorial affinity. Their methods of war were unconventional. They seldom fought pitched battles, but adopted hit-and-run tactics. George Thomas, who fought them frequently, observes: “The Seiks are armed with a spear, matchlock and scymetar... mounting their horses, ride forth towards the enemy with whom they engage in a continued skirmish advancing and retreating until man and horse become equally fatigued.”

The overall military strength of the Sikh *misl*s is variously estimated. According to one estimate, the Dal Khālsā could muster about 70,000 horse as under: the Bhaṅgīs 10,000 horse, the Āhlūvāliā 3,000, the Rāmgarhīs 3,000, the Kanhaiyās 3,000, the Dallevāliās 7,500, the Nishānāṅvāliās 12,000, the Shahīds 2,000, the Nakaīs 2,000, the Sukarchakkiās 2,500, the Karoṁsīnghiā 12,000, the Singhpurīā 8,000, and the Phūlkiās 5,000. George Forster who visited the Punjab in 1783, reckoned the military strength of the *misl*s at over 2,00,000 horse. James Browne in 1783 estimated the strength of the cis-Sutlej Sikh *misl*s at 18,225 horse and 6,075 foot—total 24,300 and total strength of the Sikh armies at 2,48,000 which estimate may be exaggerated.

The main source of the income of the *misl*s in the initial stages was plunder, augmented later by ṛakhī imposts. Ṛakhī, lit. protection, was, like the *chauth* of the Marāṭhās, a levy of a portion, usually one-fifth of the revenue assessment of a territory, as a fee for the guarantee of peace and protection. Ṛakhī continued to be collected from territories in the Gangetic Doāb and the country between Delhi and Pāṇiṇāpat right up to 1803 when the British East India Company established its power in the region. But as the *sardārs* settled down as sovereign rulers in their domains, land revenue became the major source. As a rule, the Sikh *sardārs* followed the *batāi* system. One-fifth of the gross produce was deducted before the division for expenses of cultivation. Out of the remaining four-fifths, the *sardār*’s share varied from one-half to one-quarter. The general proportion was 55% cultivator’s share, 7.5% proprietor’s share and 37.5% government share. The revenue was commonly realized in kind, except for cattle fodder, vegetables, and fruit which were chargeable in cash or kind per *bighā*. Producers of a few crops such as cotton, sugarcane, poppy and indigo were required to pay revenue in cash. The Khālsā or crown-lands remained under the direct control of the misl chiefs. According to James Browne, a contemporary East India Company employee, the *misl* chiefs collected a very moderate rent, and that mostly in kind. Their soldiery never molested the husbandman; the chief never levied the whole of his share; and in the country, perhaps, never was a cultivator treated with more indulgence. The chief also did not interfere with old and hereditary land-tenures. The rules of *haq shuJā* did not permit land to be sold to an outsider. New fields, or residential sites could be broken out of waste land as such land was available in plenty.

Duties on traders and merchants also brought some revenue. The Sikh chiefs gave full protection to traders passing through their territories. George Forster, who travelled to northern India in 1783, observed that extensive and valuable commerce was maintained in their territories which was extended to distant quarters of India,
particularly to the provinces of Bengāl and Bihār, where many Sikh merchants of opulence at that time resided. Exports to the country west of the Attock consisted of sugar, rice, indigo and white cloth, the imports being swords, horses, fruit, lead and spices. Imports from Kashmir consisted of shawls, saffron and fruit against the export of wheat, rice, salt and spices. With the inhabitants of the hills were exchanged cloth, matchlocks and horses for iron and other commodities. From the Deccan, the principal imports were sulphur, indigo, salt, lead, iron and spices, exports being horses, camels, sugar, rice, white cloth, matchlocks, swords, bows and arrows.

Following are the mīls which comprised the Sikh Punjab at the close of the eighteenth century, prior to the rise of Ranjīt Singh:

ĀHLŪVĀLĪĀ MISL, one of the twelve mīls or Sikh chiefships which had gained power in the Punjab during the latter half of the eighteenth century, derived its name from the village of Āhlū, in Lahore district, founded by a Kalāl or distiller of wine, named Sadāo. One of his descendants, Badar Singh, married the sister of Bāgh Singh Hallovalīā, who had received the rites of the Khālsā at the hands of Nawāb Kapūr Singh and who had come to acquire considerable means and influence. To Badar Singh was born a son named Jassā Singh, who founded the mīl of the Āhlūvālīās, a remnant of which lasted until recent years in the form of the princely state of Kapūrthālā. Jassā Singh who became famous in history as Jassā Singh Āhlūvālīā was a prominent leader of the Sikhs during the eventful years of the eighteenth century. A right-hand man of Nawāb Kapūr Singh, he took a leading part in the Sikh struggle against the Mughal governors of the Punjab, Zakariyā Khān, Yāhiyā Khān and Mir Mannū. When on the Baisākhi day of 1748, a general assembly of the Sikhs convened at Amritsār resolved to consolidate the sixty-five roving Sikh jathās, i.e. bands, into one command called Dal Khālsā, Jassā Singh was chosen to take charge of it. Jassā Singh started seizing villages and towns in the Punjab, thrown into confusion with the passing away of Mir Mannū in November 1753, and established the system of rākhī or protection. The Dal Khālsā under him routed in April 1754 an Afgān force from Lahore which had laid siege to Amritsār. In March 1758, Jassā Singh led Sikhs in their march upon Sirhind and occupied it jointly with the Marāthās who were their allies in the campaign. A month later Sikhs under him entered Lahore. Although Ahmad Shāh Durrānī re-established his influence in the winter of 1759, defeated the Marāthās at Pāṇīpāt in 1761 and inflicted a severe loss upon the Sikhs in February 1762, Jassā Singh led the Sikhs to conquer Sirhind in 1764. In 1777, he defeated Rāi Ibrāhim, the Bhaṭṭī chief, and took from him the present town of Kapūrthālā, converting it into the capital of the Āhlūvālīās. As for his possessions, he held Koṭīsā Khān, Jagrāōn, Īśrū, and Fatehgarh, to the south of River Sutlēj, and Bharog in Ambālā district; in the Jalandhar Doāb, Kapūrthālā, Sultānpur Lodhī and the surrounding villages. The zamīndārs of Phagwārā, Urmūr Tanḍā and Yāhiyāpur paid him tribute. In the Bārī Doāb, he had Janḍīlā, Sāṭhīlā, Būṇḍālā, Jalālābād, Vairovāl, Sarhālī, Fatehabād, Jalālpur, Goindvāl, Tarn Tāran and Khaḍūr; in the Rachnā Doāb, Zafarvāl.

Jassā Singh died in 1783. He had no son and was succeeded by his second cousin, Bhāg Singh, who died in 1801. Bhāg Singh’s son, Fateh Singh (d. 1837), was an influential ally of Ranjīt Singh who exchanged turbans with him reiterating friendliness between the two families. In 1846, after the first Anglo-Sikh war, Kapūrthālā came under British protection. The descendants of Fateh Singh ruled the Kapūrthālā state for more than a century until it merged with the Paṭīlāl and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) in 1948.
after the British withdrew from India.

**Bhaṅgī Misl**, one of the twelve misls or eighteenth-century Sikh principalities acquired its name from the addiction of its members to a drug called bhaṅgor hemp. The founder of the jathā, i.e. band of warriors, that later acquired the dimensions of a misl was Chhajjā Singh of Panjvār village, near Amritsar who had converted to Sikhism. He was succeeded by Bhūmā Śiṅgh, a Dhillon Jatt of the village of Hūṅ, near Badhni in present-day Moga district, who won a name for himself in skirmishes with Nādir Shāh’s troops in 1739. On Bhūmā Śiṅgh’s death in 1746, his nephew and adopted son, Harī Śiṅgh, assumed the leadership of the misl. At the formation of the Dal Kūlāla in 1748, Hari Śiṅgh was acknowledged head of the Bhaṅgī misl as well as leader of the Tarunā Dal. He vastly increased the power and influence of the Bhaṅgī misl which began to be ranked as the strongest among its peers. He created an army of 20,000 dashing youths, captured Paṅjvār in the Tarn Tārān parganah and established his headquarters first at Sohal and then at Gilvāli, both in Amritsar district. Hari Śiṅgh kept up guerrilla warfare against the invading hosts of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. In 1763, he along with the Kanhaiyās and the Sukkarchakkiās at Jammū whither he had marched to settle a standing succession issue. He was succeeded by his brother Gaṅḍā Śiṅgh who, dying of illness at the time of a battle with the Kanhaiyās at Dinānagar, was in turn succeeded by his minor son, Desā Śiṅgh, under whose weak leadership began the decline of the dynasty. Several Bhaṅgī sardārs set themselves up as independent chiefs within their territories. Desā Śiṅgh was killed in action against Mahān Śiṅgh Sukkarchakkiā in 1782. A leading Bhaṅgī sardār now was Gurbakhsh Śiṅgh Roranvala who had fought hand in hand with Hari Śiṅgh Bhaṅgī in several of his battles. After his death, his adopted son, Lāhīnā Śiṅgh, and Gujjar Śiṅgh, son of his daughter, divided his estates. In 1765, they had joined hands with Sobhā Śiṅgh Kanhaiyā and occupied Lahore. The city was partitioned among the three sardārs who, though temporarily driven out in 1767 by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, had continued in authority. In January 1797 Ahmad Shāh’s grandson, Shāh Zamān, led out an expedition and seized the city. But soon after the departure of the Durrānī Shāh for Kābul, Lāhīnā Śiṅgh and Sobhā Śiṅgh (Gujjar Śiṅgh had died in 1791), returned and re-established their rule. The same year, 1797, Lāhīnā Śiṅgh died and was succeeded by his son Chet Śiṅgh and about the same time, Sobhā Śiṅgh died and was succeeded by his
son Mohar Singh. But the new rulers failed to establish their authority. People groaned under oppressive taxes and extortions and local Muhammadan Chaudharis and mercantile Khatri made a common cause and invited Ranjit Singh and Sadā Kaur to come and occupy the city. On 7 July 1799, Ranjit Singh arrived with 5,000 troops at the Shalāmār Gardens. The Bhangī sardārs left the town hastily and Ranjit Singh became master of the capital of the Punjab, laying the foundation of Sikh monarchy.

Reverting to the main branch of the Bhangī misl, Desā Singh, son of Gaṇḍā Singh, was succeeded by his minor son Gulab Singh, who administered the misl through his cousin Karam Singh. Gulab Singh enlarged the city of Amritsar where he resided, and, on attaining years of discretion, overran the whole Paṭhān colony of Kasūr, which he subdued, the Paṭhān chiefs of Kasūr, Nizām ud-Din and Qub ud-Din Khān, brothers, entering the service of the conqueror. In 1794, however, the brothers, with the aid of their Afgān countrymen, recovered Kasūr. Gulab Singh died in 1800 and was succeeded by his son, Gurdit Singh, a 10-year old boy who conducted the affairs of the misl through his mother and guardian, Māi Sukkhan. Mahārājā Ranjit Singh who after having taken possession of Lahore in 1799 was launched on a career of rapid conquest had his eyes on Amritsar where Bhangīs still held their sway. On the excuse of taking from them the famous Zamzama gun, he marched with a strong force in 1802, Gurdit Singh, along with his mother, Māi Sukkhan, fleeing without resistance. The last Bhangī chief to fall was Sāhib Singh of Gujrāt who was dismissed with a grant of a few villages. By 1810 all Bhangī territories — Lahore, Amritsar, Siālkoṭ, Chinioṭ, Jhaṅg, Bherā, Rāwalpindi, Hasan Abdāl, Gujrāt — had merged with the kingdom of Ranjit Singh. The descendants of Bhangī sardārs are today concentrated mainly in the Amritsar district of the Punjab.
The Dallevalīā misl under Tārā Singh and his collaterals and associates held a major portion of the upper Jalandhar Doāb, and the northern portions of Ambālā and Ludhīānā, with some portions of Firozpur. Tārā Singh’s cousin Dharam Singh captured Lohīān and a cluster of villages in the centre of which he founded the village of Dharamsinghvala where he set up his permanent headquarters. Other members of the misl seized Tihara, on the left bank of the Sutlej. Sauṇḍhā Singh from among them captured Khannā in Ludhīānā district; Hari Singh took Ropar, Siālābā, Avānkot, Sisvān and Kurālī. He also occupied the forts of Khizrābād and Nūrpur. Buddh Singh of Gaṛh Shānkār captured Takhtgarh. Desū Singh of the misl occupied Mustafābād, Arnauli, Siddhūvāl, Bāṅgār, Āmlū and Kullār Kharīāl. In 1760, he established his headquarters at Kaithal. Divān Singh of the same clan captured Sikandrā, Akālgār and Barārā. Sāhib Singh and Gurdit Singh, two Sānsī brothers, seized Lādvā and Indrī. Bhaṅgā Singh became master of Thānesar and Bhāṅg Singh and Buddh Singh took Pehovā. Tārā Singh Ghaibā however remained the central figure of the misl. He became a close friend and associate of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh and took part in his early Mālvā campaigns. After his death in 1807 at the age of 90, Dallevalīā territories were annexed by Ranjit Singh.

KANHAIYĀ MISL was founded by Jai Singh, a Sandhū Jatt of the village of Kāhnā, 21 km southwest of Lahore on the road to Firozpur. He had an humble origin, his father Khushhāl (Singh) eking out his livelihood by selling hay at Lahore. Jai Singh received the vows of the Khālsā at the hands of Nawāb Kapūr Singh and joined the derah or jathā of Amar Singh Kīngrā. It is commonly believed that the name of the misl, Kanhaiyā, was derived from the name of Jai Singh’s village, Kāhnā, although another explanation connects it with the Sardār’s own handsome appearance which earned him the epithet (Kāh) Kanhaiyā, an endearing title used for Lord Kṛṣṇa. The Kanhaiyā misl under Jai Singh became the dominant power in the Punjab. He seized a part of Rāṅkī comprising the district of Gurdāspur and upper portions of Amritsar. He first made his wife’s village, Sohīān, in Amritsar district, his headquarters from where he shifted to Bāṭālā and thence to Mukerīān. His territories lay on both sides of the Rivers Beās and Rāvī. Jai Singh extended his territory up to Parol, about 70 km southeast of Jammū, and the hill chiefs of Kāṅgrā, Nūrpur, Dātānpur and Sībā became his tributaries. In 1778, he with the help of Mahāṅ Singh Sukkarchakkīā and Jessā Singh Ahlīvaliā, drove away Jassā Singh Rāmgarhiā to the desert region of Hāṅsī and Hissār. In 1781 Jai Singh and his associate Haqīqat Singh led an expedition to Jammū and received a sum of 3,00,000 rupees as tribute from its new ruler, Brij Rāj Dev. On Jai Singh’s death in 1793 at the age of 81, control of the Kanhaiyā clan passed into the hands of his daughter-in-law Sadā Kaur, his son Gurbakhsh Singh having predeceased him. Sadā Kaur whose daughter Mahitab Kaur was married to Rāj Singh was mainly instrumental in the Sukkarchakkīā chief’s rise to political power in the Punjab. In 1799, she helped Ranjit Singh occupy Lahore defeating the Bhaṅgī chiefs, Mohar Singh, Sāhib Singh and Chet Singh. Supported by Sadā Kaur, Ranjit Singh made further acquisitions and assumed the title of Mahārājā in April 1801. In the campaigns of Amritsar, Chiniot, Kasūr and Kāṅgrā as well as against the turbulent Paṭhāṅs of Hazārā and Aṭtock, Sadā Kaur led the armies side by side with Ranjit Singh. The entente however did not last long and the two began to drift apart. The marriage of Sadā Kaur’s daughter to Ranjit Singh did not prove a happy one. The differences came into the open.
when Sadā Kaur started secret negotiations with the British through Sir Charles Metcalfe and Sir David Ochterlony to secure herself the status of an independent chief. Raṇjit Siṅgh started making inroads into the Kanhaiyā territory and confiscated their wealth lying at Aṭalgarh (Mukerian). Baṭalā was made over as a jāgīr to his son Sher Siṅgh, while the rest of Sadā Kaur’s estates were placed under the governorship of Desa Siṅgh Majīthīā. Sadā Kaur died in confinement in 1832.

The leader of another section of the Kanhaiyā misl was Haqqīqat Siṅgh, son of Baghel Siṅgh, a Siddhū Jaṭṭ, hailing from the village of Julkā, near Kāhnā, the birthplace of Jai Siṅgh. A friend and associate of Jai Siṅgh in many of his campaigns of conquest, Haqqīqat Siṅgh was also his rival. Emerging an independent chief, he occupied Kalānaur, as Kānhgarh, Adālāgārgh, Paṭhānkoṭ and several other villages. In 1760, Haqqīqat Siṅgh destroyed Chūrīānvālā and founded another village instead naming it Saṅgatpurā and constructed a fort at Fatehgarh. Haqqīqat Siṅgh died in 1782 and his only son Jaimal Siṅgh, then a minor, succeeded to his estates. Haqqīqat Siṅgh’s granddaughter, Chand Kaur, was married to Prince Kharak Siṅgh, eldest son of Mahārājā Raṇjit Siṅgh. Jaimal Siṅgh died in 1812, leaving no son. Raṇjit Siṅgh seized his wealth stored up in the fort of Fatehgarh, allowing the revenue of the district as subsistence allowance to his widow. All the remaining Kanhaiyā territories were conferred on Prince Kharak Siṅgh.

KARORSĪNGHĪĀ MISL was named after Karorā Siṅgh, a Virk Jaṭṭ of Barkī in Lahore district. The founder of the jathā or band of warriors that subsequently acquired the size and power of a misl, was Shīām Siṅgh of Nārli who had battled with the invading forces of Nādir Shāh in 1739. He was succeeded by Karam Siṅgh, an Uppal Khāṭrī of the village of Paijgarh in Gurdāspur district. Karam Siṅgh fell fighting against Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in January 1748 and was succeeded by Karorā Siṅgh. Karorā Siṅgh confined his activities to the tract lying south of the Kāṅgārā hills in Hoshiārpur district, and had seized several important towns such as Hoshiārpur, Hariānā and Shām Chaurāsī before he died in 1761. Baghel Siṅgh who succeeded Karorā Siṅgh as leader of the Karorsīnsīghīās is celebrated in Sikh history as the conqueror of Mughal Delhi. A Dhālivāl Jaṭṭ, Baghel Siṅgh arose from the village of Jhabāl, in Amritsar district, to become a formidable force in the cis-Sutlej region. According to Syād Muhammad Latīf, he had under him 12,000 fighting men. Soon after the Sikh conquest of Sirhind in January 1764, he extended his arms towards Karnāl, occupying a number of villages including Chhalaul which he later made his headquarters. In February 1764, Sikhs in a body of 40,000 under the command of Baghel Siṅgh and other leading warriors crossed the Yamunā and captured Sahāranpur. They overran the territory of Najīb ud-Daulah, the Ruhillā chief, realizing from him a tribute of eleven lakh of rupees. In April 1775, Baghel Siṅgh with two other sardārs, Rāi Siṅgh Bhangī and Tārā Siṅgh Ghaiābā, crossed the Yamunā to overrun the country then ruled by Zābitā Khān, son and successor of Najīb ud-Daulah. Zābitā Khān in desperation offered Baghel Siṅgh large sums of money and proposed an alliance jointly to plunder the crown-lands. The combined forces of Sikhs and Ruhilās looted villages around the present site of New Delhi. In March 1776, they defeated the imperial forces near Muzaffarnagar. The whole of the Yamunā-Gangetic Doāb was now at their mercy. When in April 1781, Mirzā Shafi, a close relative of the Mughal prime minister, captured the Sikh military post at Indrī, 10 km south of Lādvā, Baghel Siṅgh retaliated by attacking Khalīl Beg Khān of Shāhābād who surrendered with 300 horse,
800 foot and two pieces of cannon. When on 11 March 1783, Sikhs entered the Red Fort in Delhi and occupied the Diwan-i-Ám, the Mughal emperor, Sháh Álam II, made a settlement with them agreeing to allow Baghel Singh to raise gurdwáras on Sikh historical sites and realize six ánnás in a rupee (37.5%) of all the octroi duties in the capital. Baghel Singh stayed in Sabzí Manáth, with 4,000 troops, and took charge of Chándí Chowk. He located seven sites sacred to the Sikhs and had shrines raised thereon within the space of eight months from April to November 1783.

Another Karórsínghí scion, Ráí Singh, son of Matáb Singh who had killed the notorious Masse Kháń Rańghar, seized a number of villages in Samrálá tãhsíl of Ludhiana district after the Sikh conquest of Sirhind in 1764. Gurbakhsh Singh, a Sandhú Jatt of the village of Kalsí in Kásír tãhsíl of Lahore district, who was a prominent companion of Baghel Singh, shared the exploits and conquests of the Karórsínghií sardár and occupied parganahs of Chhachhrauli, Síálbá, etc. Karam Singh and Díáí Singh, also from Kalsí, took possession of the Biláspur parganah, now in Jagádhari tãhsíl of Ambía district, and the parganah of Dharamkoṭ in Firozpur district, respectively. Dulchá Singh, another member of the misl, took possession of Radaúr and Dãmlá in Kárnáí district. In October 1774 “Duljá Singh Bahádúr,” along with five other Sikh chiefs, was requested by the Mughal emperor to enter imperial service at the head of 1,000 horse and 500 foot, but he declined the offer.

The last of the prominent Karórsínghií leaders was Jodh Singh (1751-1818), son of Gurbakhsh Singh of Kalsí. Jodh Singh made considerable additions to his otherwise small inheritance. In 1807, he joined Maharájá Rańjit Singh in the attack on Naraíngarh in Ambála district and later fought for him in many a battle in the Punjab. The Maharájá granted him the tracts of Garhdiwálá in Hoshiárpur district, and Chárik in Firozpur district as rewards for his services. Jodh Singh died in the battle of Multán in 1818, and his son, Sobhá, Singh, who succeeded him ruled over Kalsí state for 40 years until his death in 1758. Sobhá Singh’s son, Lahiñá Singh, who died in 1869, was followed in the chiefship by his son, Bishan Singh (d. 1883) and grandsons Jagjít Singh (d. 1886) and Ranjít Singh (d. 1908). The chief figure in Kalsí during the twentieth century was Rájá Ravi Sher Singh (1902-1947) who succeeded his father, Ranjít Singh, on the gaddí in 1908. The Kalsí state acceded to the Indian Union on the lapse of British paramountcy in August 1947 and joined the Pañáltá and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) in 1948.

Nákáí mislí was founded by Hirá Singh, a Sandhú Jatt of the village of Bahirvál in Chúñíán tãhsíl of Lahore district. His village fell in the country called Nakka which lay southwest of Lahore between the rivers Rávi and Sutljej. It was through this region that the highway from Lahore to Multán, Balúchistán and Sindh passed imparting to it the name Nakka (nakká, in Punjabi, signifying a kind of gateway). Hirá Singh had taken to arms while still very young. As the Sikhs sacked Kasír in 1763 and conquered Sirhind in 1764, Hirá Singh occupied Bahirvál, Chúñíán, Dípálpur, Jambar, Jethúpúr, Kaṅganvál and Khudián establishing his headquarters at Chúñíán. In 1767, he led out an expedition to Pákpaṭán, but was killed in the action that took place. His son Dal Singh being a minor, he was succeeded by his nephew Náhar Singh who had but a tenure of nine months falling in a battle at Kót Kamálí in 1768. His younger brother Rań Singh, who succeeded him, considerably increased the power and influence of the Nakás. The territory under his control was worth nine lakhs of rupees per annum and comprised Chúñíán, part of Kasír, Sharakpur, Gugerá and, at one time,
Kot Kamalii. Rani Singh had a force of 2,000 horsemen, with camel swivels and a few guns. His headquarters were at Bahirval in Lahore district. Rani Singh died in 1781 and was succeeded by his eldest son Bhagvan Singh, whose sister, Raj Kaur, was married to Maharaj Ranjit Singh. Bhagvan Singh was succeeded by his younger brother, Gian Singh, who died in 1807 leaving a son, Kahn Singh. Ranjit Singh granted Kahn Singh a jagir of 15,000 rupees per annum and seized all the possessions of the family.

NISHANANVALI MISL, owed its origin to Dasaundha Singh whose jatha were the standard-bearers of the Dal Khalsa. Hence the name of the jatha or misl—Nishanannvali, nishan in Punjabi meaning a flag or standard. The misl was originally based in Amritsar where it guarded the Holy Harimandar and also served as a reserve force of the Dal. Dasaundha Singh, son of Chaudhari Sahlb Rai, was a Gill Jatt belonging to the village of Mansur in Firozpur district, who, after the conquest of Sirhind by Sikhs in January 1764, took possession of Singhanvala, again in Firozpur district, Sahrheval, Sarai Lashkari Khan, Amloh, Dorah, Zirā, and Ambālā, establishing his headquarters at the last-named station. On his death in 1767, Dasaundha Singh was succeeded to the headship of the misl by his younger brother Sangat Singh who made over charge of AmbaHi to his cousins, Lal Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh, and himself retired to Singhanvala. On Sangat Singh’s death in 1774, Lal Singh’s three sons — Mohar Singh, Kapur Singh, and Anup Singh — drove out Gurbakhsh Singh from Ambālā dividing the Nishanannvali territories among themselves. Mohar Singh soon became an influential figure among the cis-Sutlej chiefs. On 9 May 1785, he and Dulcha Singh made treaties of friendship with Mahādjī Scindia, the all-powerful Marāṭhā deputy of the Mughal empire, and both of them received robes of honour and cash awards from him. Among other leaders of the misl, Naudh Singh, who was severely wounded in the battle of Sirhind (January 1764), took possession of Kheri close to Sirhind, Sudhā Singh Bājvā seized Māchhivārā east of Ludhianā, while Rāi Singh secured 16 villages southwest of Khanni. Jai Singh, another member of the misl, captured 27 villages in Kharaṇ. Karam Singh acquired the pargawns of Shāhābād and Ismā’īlābād in the present Kurukshetra district. Sāvan Singh, a cousin of Dasaundhā Singh and Sangat Singh, appropriated to himself several villages around Saunthī, near Amloh.

The military strength of the Nishanannvali misl had risen to 12,000 horse under Sangat Singh. Its territories included Ambālā, Shāhābād, Saunthī, Kheri, Morīndā, Amloh, Khanni, Dorah, Sahrneval, Māchhivārā and Zirā. Ambālā was last ruled by Dayā Kaur, widow of Gurbakhsh Singh who had died in 1786. Upon Dayā Kaur’s death in 1823, her estates and property lapsed to the British government.

PHULKIĀN MISL. An eighteenth-century Sikh ruling clan, which arose in the region south of the River Sutlej and was counted the twelfth misl though it did not form part of the Dal Khalsā like the eleven others. It traced its origin to Phūl (d. 1652), a Siddhū Jatt of the village of Mehraj, now in Bañhindā district of the Punjab, who had met Gurū Har Rāi, Nānak VII, during his travels in the Mālvā area and received his blessing. From amongst his seven sons Tilok Singh (Tilokā), the eldest, was the ancestor of the princely states of Nābhā and Jind, and Rām Singh (Rāmā), next to him, forefather of the rulers of Pañjalā. Rām Singh and Tilok Singh were devoted disciples of Gurū Gobind Singh, who had called upon them by a hukamnamā for a detachment of cavalry and had blessed their house as his own — terī ghar merā asai. They had helped Bandā Singh Bahādur with men and money in his early exploits. Bābā Alā
Singh, the third son of Ram Singh, was a brave soldier and an astute politician who laid the foundation of the Phulkian fortunes by carving out the principality of Païjalā. During his early career, he was engaged in warfare with the Bhatjis and the Afghans. By 1732, he had conquered a vast territory around Barnālā which served as his headquarters. In the forties and fifties during the Durrāni-Mughal clashes in the Punjab, Ālā Singh extended his hold over a number of villages in the sarkār of Sirhind and occupied important towns such as Sunām, Samānā, Sanaur and Ṭohānā. In 1753, he started building a fort about 100 km east of Barnālā around which grew the present city of Païjalā (paṭṭī = ward; ālā, of Ālā Singh) and which became his capital in 1763. Bābā Ālā Singh died in August 1765 and was succeeded by his grandson, Amar Singh, who received the title of Raja-i-Rajgan from the Durrāni king, Ahmad Shāh. He formed a number of alliances and fought a wide variety of opponents and acquired further territory including Bāthīndā, Mānsā, Koṭ Kapūrā, Saifābād and Piṅjaur. Under him Païjalā became the most powerful state between the Yamūna and the Sutlej. Mahārājā Amar Singh was succeeded in 1782 by his seven-year-old son, Sāhib Singh, who like other cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs accepted British protection in 1809.

Rājā Sāhib Singh died in 1813. After him Païjalā state was ruled successively by Mahārājā Karam Singh (1813-45), Mahārājā Narinder Singh (1845-62), Mahārājā Mohinder Singh (1862-76), Mahārājā Rājinder Singh (1876-1900) and Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh (1900-38). Mahārājā Sir Yadavinder Singh, the last ruler, signed the instrument of accession to independent India in 1947, and the state was merged into what became Païjalā and East Punjab States Union in 1948.

Hamir Singh, a descendant of Bābā Phūl through his eldest son Tilok Singh, laid foundation of what lasted into present times as Nābhā state. He founded the town of Nābhā in 1755. In 1764 he joined Bābā Ālā Singh and the Dal Khālsā in the conquest of Sirhind and received the parganah of Amloh as his share of the spoils. He then declared his independence and exercised the right of coining money. On his death in December 1783, Hamir Singh was succeeded by his eight-year-old son Jasvant Singh, who conducted protracted campaigns first against Jind and then against Païjalā to regain disputed territory for his state. With the help of General Perron of the Marāṭhā service, he succeeded in checking the advance of the Irish adventurer, George Thomas. Jasvant Singh joined hands with the other cis-Sutlej princes in the 1809 treaty with the British under which they came under the protection of the East India Company.

After the death of Rājā Jasvant Singh in 1840, Nābhā state was successively ruled by Rājā Devinder Singh (1840-46), Rājā Bharpūr Singh (1847-63), Rājā Bhagvan Singh (1864-71), Mahārājā Hīrā Singh (1871-1911), and Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh (1911-23). Ripudaman Singh who was deposed in 1923 was succeeded by his son Pratāp Singh who after Independence signed the instrument of succession to the Union of India in 1947.

Gajpat Singh (1738-89), the middle son of Sukhchain Singh (d. 1751), was the founder of the third of the Phulkian states — Jind. Sukhchain Singh was the younger brother of Gurdit Singh from whom originated the ruling family of Nābhā. In 1764, Gajpat Singh joined the Dal Khālsā under Jassā Singh Aḥlūvāliā and took part in the conquest of Sirhind. He seized the districts of Jind and Safoṇ and overran Pānīpat and Karnāl. In 1766, he made Jind his capital. Unlike other Sikh chiefs, he continued to acknowledge the Mughal authority in Delhi. Gajpat Singh was in constant war with the Nābhā chief having seized his territories...
Amloh, Bhādson and Saṅgrūr in 1774. His daughter, Rāj Kaur, married to Mahān Śīṅgh of the Sukkarchakkīā misl, became the mother of Mahārājā Ranjīt Śīṅgh. Gajpat Śīṅgh died in 1789 and was succeeded by his elder son Bhāg Śīṅgh (1768-1818), the younger, Kānvar Bhūp Śīṅgh, taking the estate of Baḍrūkẖān. Bhāg Śīṅgh was responsible for checking the advance of George Thomas towards the Sikh territories and later on of General Perron of the Marāṭhā service. Rājā Bhāg Śīṅgh died in 1819 and was succeeded by his son, Fateh Śīṅgh. His successor coming to the gaddī in 1822 died childless in 1834. Then followed a protracted debate among the British government and the Phiṅkīān chiefs and jiṅgīrdārs over whether the state should escheat to the British or a successor with the best claim be located. After rejecting the claims of Nābha and Paṭīālā, the British decided in 1837 in favour of Sarūp Śīṅgh (1812-64) of Bazīdpur and declared that he would inherit Jīnd and Saṅdīn, which had been acquired by Rājā Gajpat Śīṅgh whose descendant he claimed to be. The remainder of Jīnd territories which had been received as grants from Ranjīt Śīṅgh were to be divided between the British and Ranjīt Śīṅgh, the former taking all estates granted before the treaty of 1809 and the latter resuming the grants made afterwards. It was through this decision that the British obtained Ludhīānā. The next rulers in succession were Rājā Raghbir Śīṅgh (1864-87), and Raja Raṅbīr Śīṅgh (1887-1948). Rājā Raṅbīr Śīṅgh died on 1 April 1948, and was succeeded by his son Rāj bīr Śīṅgh, during whose time Jīnd state joined the Paṭīālā and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU).

Rāmgarhīā misl took its name from Rām Raṅṇī, an enclosure of unbaked bricks raised in Amritsar during the time of Jassā Śīṅgh for the protection of Sikhs in the troubled days of the eighteenth century. The fortress was later reinforced by Sikhs and made into a fort called Rāmgarh. Jassā Śīṅgh became famous in Sikh history as Jassā Śīṅgh Rāmgarhīā. He gained reputation as a soldier of daring and skill. He along with his brothers Jai Śīṅgh, Khushāl Śīṅgh and Mālī Śīṅgh took up service under Ādīnā Bēg, āvajdār of the Jalandhar Doāb, which he quit when the Sikhs taunted him with betrayal of the Panth. To begin with, Jassā Śīṅgh joined hands with Jai Śīṅgh of the Kanhaiyā misl and within a short time they seized large slices of territory in four out of the five Doābs. Among their acquisitions was the fertile tract called Rāṅrā to the north of Amritsar embracing the district of Gurdāspur. Within a decade Jassā Śīṅgh became one of the leading figures of the Dal Khālsā. In 1770, he led plundering expeditions into the hills. The local rājās sought safety in submission and Jassā Śīṅgh collected a tribute of 2,00,000 rupees from the Kānghā hill states. Jassā Śīṅgh Rāmgarhīā, along with other Sikh sardārs, fought many pitched battles against Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, the Afghan invader. As the Afghan threat receded, Sikh sardārs began fighting among themselves. The Rāmgarhīā-Kanhaiyā cleavage over their adjoining territories in the district of Gurdāspur and Hoshiārpur widened. In the battle of Dinānagar in 1775, Jassā Śīṅgh Rāmgarhīā joined the Bhaṅgī sardārs against the forces of the Kanhāiūs and the Sukkarchakkīās. Soon a rift appeared between Jassā Śīṅgh Rāmgarhīā and Jassā Śīṅgh Āhlūvāliū as the latter wrested the town of Zahūrā, which fell within Rāmgarhīā territory, and conferred it upon Baghel Śīṅgh Kāroṅsīṅghīā. Jai Śīṅgh Kanhaiyā sought the help of Jassā Śīṅgh Āhlūvāliū and the Rāmgarhīā Sardār had to flee the Punjab.

Driven out of the Punjab, Jassā Śīṅgh became a soldier of fortune. He took possession of Hissār and raised a large body of irregular horse, his depredations extending to the gates of Delhi and its suburbs, and into the Gangetic Doāb. Once he penetrated
into Delhi itself, and carried off four guns from the Mughal arsenal. The Nawab of Meerut agreed to pay him 10,000 rupees an year on his agreeing to leave his district unmolested. Soon a body of 30,000 horse and foot under him and Karam Singh Shahid crossed into Saharanpur district, ravaging it at will. On the death of Jassa Singh Ahluvalia in 1783, Jassa Singh Ranggarhi returned to the Punjab and recovered his lost possessions. He allied himself with the Sukkarchakias, and their combined forces broke the power of the Kanhaiyas.

At the height of its power, Ranggarhi misl's territories in the Bari Doab included Batala, Kalanaur, Dinanagar, Sri Hargobindpur, Shahpur Kanedi, Gurdaspur, Qadian, Ghumman, Mattevai, and in the Jalandhar Doab, Urmut Tando, Sarhi, Miapi, Garhdival and Zahura. In the hills Kangra, Nurbur, Manedi and Chambal paid tribute to Jassa Singh.

Jassa Singh died in April 1803 at the ripe age of 80, leaving two sons, Jodh Singh and Vir Singh, the former of whom succeeded him. Jodh Singh was a deeply religious person. He built the Ranggarhi Buanga on the premises of the Harimandar at Amritsar and supplied blocks of perforated marble that served as parapets on both sides of the causeway leading to the sanctuary. Jodh Singh's possessions were encroached upon by his more active cousin, Divan Singh, son of Tara Singh. In 1808, Ranjit Singh took possession of the territories of the Ranggarhi misl. The same year he captured the fortress of Ranghar, destroying all the Ranggarhi citadels. Adequate pensions were provided for Divan Singh and Jodh Singh, the leaders of the once powerful Ranggarhi misl which had like many others collapsed under pressure of the new rising power in the Punjab.

Shahid Misl owed its origin to Baba Dip Singh Shahid (1682-1757) belonging to the village of Pahuvinj in Amritsar district. Dip Singh had received the vows of the Khalsa at the hands of Guru Gobind Singh. He rejoined in 1706 Guru Gobind Singh, then at Talvantri Sabo, 28 km southeast of Bathinda and, after the latter's departure for the South, stayed on there to look after the sacred shrine, Damdam Sahu. He had four copies of the Guru Granth Sahu made from the recension prepared earlier by Bhai Mani Singh under the supervision of Guru Gobind Singh during their stay at Damdam Sahu. In 1733, when the Mughal governor of Lahore made peace with the Sikhs offering them nawabship and a jagir, Dip Singh, now reverently called Baba, i.e. the elder, joined Nawab Kapur Singh, who had been invested with the title of Nawab, and received command of one of the five jathas that constituted the newly formed Taruna Dal. These jathas were redesignated misls in 1748 and the jatha headed by Dip Singh came to be known as Shahid misl after he met with the death of a martyr (shahid, in Punjabi). The misls, the number increasing to twelve, soon established their hegemony over different regions in the Punjab.

The Shahid misl was mostly made up of Nihangs, a class of warriors which owed its origin to Baba Fateh Singh, son of Guru Gobind Singh. They wore blue, with heavy bangles of steel upon their wrists and quoits around their heads. The Shahids had their sphere of influence south of the River Sutlej. The Shahids under Dip Singh had their headquarters at Talvantri Saho. They also held control of the Harimandar at Amritsar. In 1757 Jahhan Khan, Ahmad Shah Durrani's commander-in-chief and deputy to his son, Taimur Shahr, the governor of the Punjab, invested the town, razed the Sikh fortress of Ram Rauji and desecrated the shrine filling up the sacred pool. The Shahids led by Gurbaksh Singh had defended the holy premises valiantly, but failed to stem the onslaught. As the news reached Dip Singh at Talvantri Saho, he set out with his jatha to-
wards the Holy City. Many Sikhs joined him on the way so that when he arrived at Tarn Tāran he had at his command a force of 5,000 men. Jahān Khān’s troops lay in wait for them near Gohlāvar village 8 km ahead. They barred their way and a fierce action took place. Dip Singh was mortally wounded near Rāmsar, yet such was the firmness of his resolve to reach the holy precincts that he carried on the battle until he fell dead in the close vicinity of the Harimandar. This was on 11 November 1757.

After Dip Singh’s death, the leadership of the misl passed on to Karam Singh, a Sandhū Jāt belonging to the village of Marāhkā in Sheikhpurā district, now in Pakistan. In January 1764, at the conquest of the Sirhind province by the Sikhs, he seized a number of villages in the parganas of Kesārī and Shāhzhādpur in Ambālā district yielding about a lakh of rupees annually. Karam Singh made Shāhzhādpur his headquarters though he lived for most of the time at Tālvāndī Sābo (Damdām Sāhib). In 1773, he overran a large tract of land belonging to Zābitā Khān Ruhilā in the upper Gangetic Doāb. He captured a number of villages in Sahāranpur district. After Karam Singh’s death in 1784, his elder son, Gulāb Singh, succeeded to the headship of the misl. On Gulāb Singh’s death in 1844, his son Shiv Kīrpāl Singh succeeded to the family estate, the misl having become extinct in 1809 after the cis-Sutlej Sikh states had accepted British protection.

Singhpūrā (or Faizullāpurā) misl was founded by Kapūr Singh, a Virk Jāt of the village of Kāleke, now in Sheikhpurā district of Pakistan Punjab. The misl got its name from Faizullāpur, a village in Amritsar district which Kapūr Singh had wrested from its Muslim chief, Faizullā Khān, and, conquering the country around, given it the name of Singhpūrā. Kapūr Singh was eleven years old at the time of Gurū Gobind Singh’s passing away. His physical courage and warlike spirit were valuable qualities in those days of high adventure. He soon gained a position of eminence among Sikhs then engaged in a desperate struggle against the Mughal rulers. When in 1733 Zakariyā Khān, the Mughal governor of Lahore, decided to make peace with the Sikhs, he offered them a jāgīr and title of Nawāb for their leader. The Khālsā chose with one voice Kapūr Singh to receive the title. Nawāb Kapūr Singh now proceeded to restructuring the Sikh fighting force. The whole body of the Khālsā was formed into two sections, the Buddhā Dal, army of the veterans, and the Tarūrī Dal, army of the young. The entente with the Mughals did not last long and, before the harvest of 1735, Zakariyā Khān sent a force and occupied the jāgīr. Nawāb Kapūr Singh and his band were driven away towards the Mālvā by Lakhpat Rāī, the Hindu minister at the Mughal court at Lahore. During his sojourn in the Mālvā, Nawāb Kapūr Singh conquered the territory of Sunām and made it over to Ālā Singh of Pāṭīlā. He also attacked Sirhind and defeated the Mughal governor. Returning to Amritsar, he successfully routed, in 1736, the force led by Lakhpat Rāī, killing two important faujdārs, Jamāl Khān and Tātār Khān, in the battle. With 2,000 followers Nawāb Kapūr Singh entered, in disguise, the city of Lahore with a view to capturing the governor, Zakariyā Khān. Driven back, Nawāb Kapūr Singh proceeded towards Delhi, the imperial capital. He overran Farīdābād, Balabhgarh and Gurgāon and laid contributions on Jhajjar, Dojānā and Pāṭūrdī. In 1748 at the time of the organization of the Dal Khālsā, a confederation of various misls, Nawāb Kapūr Singh handed over leadership of the Sikhs to Jassā Singh Āhūvālīa and himself continued to guide the destinies of the newly formed Singhpūrā house or misl. On his death in 1753, charge of the misl came...
into the hands of his nephew Khushhāl Singh who made further territorial acquisitions. Capturing Jalandhar in 1759, he made it his capital, and seized the parganahs of Haibatpur and Paṭṭī from the Paṭhān chief of Kasār. At the time of the conquest of Sirhind by Sikhs in January 1764, he got Bharatgarh, Machhali, Ghanauli, Manauli and several other villages as his share of the booty. Khushhāl Singh and Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭīlā took from the Nawāb of Rāikōṭ 23 villages around Chhat and Banūr which remained under their joint control for several years. The Singhpurīa territory yielded annually two lakhs in the Bārī Doāb, one lakh in the Jalandhar Doāb and one and a half lakh in the Sirhind province.

Khushhāl Singh died in 1795 and was succeeded by his son Buddh Singh. But like other sardārs, Buddh Singh also succumbed to the rising power of Ranjīt Singh who occupied his Bārī Doāb and Jalandhar Doāb territories. He was forced to shift to his estates below the River Sutlej, with Manauli as his new headquarters. Buddh Singh died in 1816 leaving behind seven sons. The cis-Sutlej remnants of the Singhpurīa misl were eventually annexed by the British.

SUKKARCHAKKIĀ MISL, named after the village of Sukkarchakk in Gujranwālā district, now in Pakistan, to which its founders belonged, became ultimately the most important of the twelve eighteenth-century Sikh ruling clans. Desū, a Jāṭh cultivator of that village, is said to have been administered the rites of initiation by Gurū Gobind Singh. He received the name of Budhā Singh. Budhā Singh laid the foundation of the Sukkarchakkiā fortunes. His feats of endurance and daring in those days of adventure and plunder made him a legendary figure. Along with him his piebald mare, Desān, became famous too. Together they traversed the plains of the Punjab and swam its broad rivers in flood many times and, being inseparable, came to be known jointly as Desān Budhā Singh. When Budhā Singh died in 1718, there were scars of forty wounds by spear, sword and matchlock counted upon his body. He left his sons a few villages they could call their own and many others in the neighbourhood which paid them a fixed sum as protection tax. Budhā Singh’s son, Naudh Singh, fortified Sukkarchakk and raised a jathā or body of men acquiring the name of Sukkarchakkiās. The Sukkarchakkiās joined forces with other misls and engaged in skirmishes with Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. As the Afghāns retreated, they took possession of parts of the land between the Rāvī and the Jhelum. Naudh Singh was killed in a battle in 1752. Charhat Singh, who was eldest of Naudh Singh’s four sons, moved his headquarters from Sukkarchakk to Gujranwālā and erected battlements round the town. The Afghān governor of Lahore came to apprehend Charhat Singh but was repulsed by the Sardār and forced to retreat, leaving behind his guns and stocks of grain. Charhat Singh extended his domains by capturing the towns of Wazirābād, Eminābād and Rohtās, but as Ahmad Shāh Durrānī again came down from Afghānistan, he fled to the jungles. The Durrānī pillaged his estates and had the fortifications of Gujranwālā demolished. Charhat Singh more than settled his account with the Afghāns by chasing them on their return march and plundering their baggage trains. He rebuilt the battlements round Gujranwālā and reoccupied the neighbouring country. His last foray was into Jammū in 1770 where most of the wealthy families of the Punjab had sought shelter against Afghān depredations. The Bhāṅgis disputed his right to plunder Jammū and in one of the skirmishes Charhat Singh fell mortally wounded by the bursting of his own matchlock.
Charñat Singh's young son, Mahān Singh, inherited his father's spirit and ambition. He married a daughter of Gajpat Singh, the chief of Jīnd, thereby strengthening his own position among the mīsīl sardārs. Within the walled town of Gujrānwālā he built a fortress which he named Gāṛhī Mahān Singh. He increased the number of his horsemen to 6,000 and launched upon a career of conquest and expansion of territory. He captured Rasulnagar from a Muslim tribe, the Chanhas, and took Bhatīānpur, Sahīval, Isakhel and Jhang. In 1782, he proceeded to Jammu whose Dogrā ruler fled leaving the rich city to the mercy of his men. With the loot of Jammu, Mahān Singh rose from a position of comparative obscurity to that of being one of the leaders of the mīsīl order.

Mahān Singh died in 1790. At his death, his 10-year-old son, Ranjit Singh, became the head of the Sukkarchakkī house. Young Ranjit Singh had inherited from his forefathers a sizeable estate in northwestern Punjab, a band of intrepid horse and matchlockmen, and an ambition that knew no bounds. In due course, he liquidated the mīsīl north of the Sutlej and became the powerful sovereign of the Punjab.

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MIT SĪNΓH PAḌḤĀṆĪĀ (d. 1814), soldier, commander and jāgīrdār under Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. He was the son of Sukhā Singh Paḍḥāṇīā, and entered the service of the Sukkarchakkī mīsīl under Mahān Singh, who assigned to him a jāgīr worth Rs 12,000 annually. In 1804, in Ranjit Singh's reign, he had command of 500 horse. He took part in Ranjit Singh's occupation of Lahore (1799) and distinguished himself in the Kastūr (1807) and Kashmīr (1814) expeditions. He was killed in action during the retreat of the Sikh forces from Kashmir in 1814. Ranjit Singh assigned to his son, Javālā Singh, additional estates worth Rs 1,25,000 in Haripur-Guler, in Kāṅgrā district.

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MOH, from Sanskrit root mūh meaning “to become stupefied, to be bewildered or per-
plexed, to err, to be mistaken,” stands in ancient texts for perplexity or confusion as also for the cause of confusion, that is, avidyā or ajñāna (ignorance or illusion). In another context, it stands for “the snare of worldly illusion, infatuation.” Its function is twofold: it bedims the discernment of truth, prevents the discernment of reality, and it creates an error of judgement or leads to wrong knowledge (mithyā jñāna). Men believe in an eternal reality of their own existence or ego; they see truth in what is false and seek happiness in what begets suffering. In Punjabi moh generally means love of and attachment to worldly things and relations. In Sikh Scripture, the term frequently occurs coupled with māyā (māitā) as māyā-moh interpreted both as infatuation for or clinging to the illusory world of the senses and as illusion of worldly love and attachment. Sikh interpretation of māyā, however, differs from that of classical advaita philosophy, which considers the phenomenal world unreal and therefore an illusion caused by human ignorance. In Sikhism, the visible world is a manifestation of God Himself and is therefore real; yet it is not satya or true in the sense of being immutable and eternal. This world of mass, form and movement woven into the warp and woof of time and space is God’s play created at His pleasure and is as such real and sacred; but it represents only one transient aspect and not the Ultimate Reality. Māyā is not an illusion in the sense of a mirage, a factual nullity; it is a delusion which represents transient as permanent and a part as the whole. Moh for māyā, i.e. for this transient world of the senses, hinders the soul’s search for its ultimate goal and is, therefore, one of the Five Evils. It is related, on the one hand, to kām (desire, love) and lobh (possessiveness, covetousness) and, on the other, to ahaṅkār (sense of I, my and mine). That is how moh has been referred to as a net, māiajāl (GG, 266). Gurū Nānak advises shedding of moh as it is the source of all evil and a cause for repeated births and deaths. (GG, 356).

The antidote to moh is non-attachment. This is not easy, for the Gurūs preach active participation in life rather than renunciation and escapism. Ultimately, of course, all depends on nādar or God’s grace. Says Gurū Nānak “nadari kare tā ehu mohu jāi—by (His) grace alone will this moh be cancelled” (GG, 356). The right remedy is the understanding (gīan) that the mundane world, its relations and affairs, demanding one’s participation and involvement are transient. Non-attachment thus is not non-action, but an attitude to action characterized by Gurū Nānak as that of a bājīgar, participant in a sport. The world, says Gurū Nānak in a hymn in Mārū measure, “is like a seasonal pastureland where one passeth but a few days... I ke the bājīgar one plays one’s part here and departs” (GG, 1023). An image in gurbīnj describing the ideal life is that of the lotus which, although living in water, keeps its head above it without allowing itself to be submerged.

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MOHAN, BĀBĀ (b. 1536), the elder son of Gurū Amar Dās, was born to Mātā Mansā Devī at Bāsarke Gillān, near Amritsar, in 1536. He was of a taciturn disposition and most of the time kept to his room in Goindvāl absorbed in study and contemplation. He had in his possession manuscript collections of the Gurūs’ hymns inherited from his father. When Gurū Arjan (1563-1606) undertook the compilation of the (Gurū) Granth Sāhib, he sent Bhāī Gurdās and then Bhāī Budhā to borrow these from him, but Bābā Mohan refused each time to part with them. Finally, Gurū Arjan himself went to Goindvāl. He sat in the street below Bābā Mohan’s attic sere-
nading him on his tambūrā, a string instrument. Mohan was disarmed to hear the hymn and came downstairs with the pothīs (books) which he made over to the Guru. These volumes are still extant and are known as Goindvāl Pothīs. Gurdwārā Chubārā Bābā Mohan Ji in Goindvāl perpetuates Bābā Mohan’s memory. Among the relics preserved in the Chubārā Sāhib complex is the palanquin in which the pothīs were carried to Amritsar and then brought back to Goindvāl.

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MOHAN, BHĀI, a resident of Dhākā, embraced Sikh faith during the time of Gūrū Arjan. He received from the Gūrū the two-fold precept of remembering the Divine Name and remembering death. The name figures in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI. 23.

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MOHAN, BHĀI, a Mahitā Khatri of the village of Ḍallā, in present-day Kapūrthālā district of the Punjab, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gūrū Amr Ḍās. His name occurs in Bhāi Mani Singh’s Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā. See, also, Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI. 16.

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MOHAN, BHĀI, a resident of Ḍhākā, in the Gāñj locality of Lahore. He was especially known for his honesty, and, according to Bhāi Mani Singh, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā, his favourite maxim was: “Even a penny out of the devotees’ offerings appropriated for one’s own use is like devouring a house-fly, which would not only make one throw up the food eaten, but also leave the body exhausted.” He had the privilege of visiting Amritsar often and receiving instruction directly from the Gūrū. See, also, Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI. 22.

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nature and state of one’s mind.” See Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI. 31.

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MOHAN SīNH, GENERAL (1909-1989), famous for his part in the Indian National Army for the liberation of India from British rule, in which he held the rank of a general, was born the only son of Tarā Sīṅgh and Hukam Kaur, a peasant couple of Ugoke village, near Siālkot (now in Pakistan). His father died two months before his birth and his mother shifted to her parents’ home in Bādiānā in the same district, where Mohan Sīṅgh was born and brought up. As he passed his high school, he joined the 14th Punjab Regiment of the Indian army in 1927. After the completion of his recruits’ training at Fīrozpur, Mohan Sīṅgh was posted to the 2nd Battalion of the Regiment, then serving in the North-West Frontier Province. He was selected as a potential officer in 1931, and after six months’ training in Kitchner College, Nowgong (Madhya Pradesh), and another two and a half years in Indian Military Academy, Dehrā Dūn, he received his commission in 1934, and was posted for a year to a British unit, the 2nd Border Regiment, and then to 1st Battalion of his former 14th Punjab Regiment, which at that time happened to be at Jhelum. World War II broke out in 1939. Mohan Sīṅgh had been promoted Captain when his battalion was earmarked for operational service in the Far East. The battalion was still carrying out intensive training at Secunderābād when he married, in December 1940, Jasvant Kaur, sister of a brother officer. He left for Malaya with his unit on 4 March 1941.

Japan entered the War with her surprise attack on the American air base at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, on 7 December 1941 and overran the entire South East Asia within a few weeks. The British force in the northern part of the Malaya Peninsula including Captain Mohan Sīṅgh’s battalion, 1/14 Punjab Regiment, was fleeing towards the south. Mohan Sīṅgh with some of his men was a straggler in search of the main body of his troops. An Indian troop, headed by Gāṇi Prītam Sīṅgh, had on 4 December 1941 entered into an agreement of collaboration with a Japanese officer, Major Fujiwara, head of field intelligence section in the region. Captain Mohan Sīṅgh contacted this group near Alorstar and surrendered around the middle of December 1941. All Indian prisoners of war and stragglers were placed under his charge and he was asked to restore order in the town.

Kuala Lumpur fell on 11 January 1942 with 3,500 Indian prisoners of war, and Singapore on 15 February with 85,000 British troops, of whom 45,000 were Indians. Mohan Sīṅgh asked for volunteers who would form the Āzād Hind Fauj (Free India Army) to fight for liberating India from the British rule. A large number of men, mostly Sikhs, came forward to join what came to be termed as the Āzād Hind Fauj (National Army of independent India). The new set-up came into being on 1 September 1942 by which time the strength of volunteers had reached 40,000. Mohan Sīṅgh, now designated a general, was to command it. Already in a conference held at Bangkok during 15-23 June 1942, the Indian Independence League under the leadership of Rāsh Behārī Bose, Indian revolutionary who had escaped to Japan in June 1915 and who had been living there ever since, had been inaugurated. Through one of the 35 resolutions passed by the conference, Mohan Sīṅgh was appointed commander-in-chief of the “Army of Liberation for India,” i.e. the Indian National
Army. General Mohan Singh was soon disenchanted regarding the intentions of the Japanese who, it appeared, wanted to use Indian National Army only as a pawn and who were deliberately withholding recognition and public proclamation about its entity as an independent liberation army. On 29 December 1942, General Mohan Singh was removed from his command and taken into custody by the Japanese military police. It was only after the arrival of another Indian leader of great political standing, Subhás Chandra Bose, from Germany to the Far-Eastern front in June 1943 that the Indian National Army was revived and Mohan Singh reinstated to his former command with Subhás as the supreme commander in his capacity as president of the Provisional Government of Ázánd Hind.

The Indian National Army participated in the Japanese offensive on the Indo-Burma front in 1944 and gave a good account of itself. But the British forces withstood the offensive and in fact launched a counter-attack during the winter of 1944–45. The Japanese as well as the Indian National Army, retreated fast, and the war ended with Japan’s surrender on 14 August 1945. Even before that during May–June 1945, most officers and men of the Ázánd Hind Fauj (I.N.A.), numbering about 20,000, including General Mohan Singh, had been made prisoners by the British and brought back to India. They were all set free during 1945. General Mohan Singh and his comrades of the Indian National Army were everywhere acclaimed for their patriotism. Mohan Singh’s dream of liberation was realized with India’s Independence on 15 August 1947, but this was accompanied by the partition of the country into India and Pakistan. Mohan Singh had to leave his hearth and home in what then became Pakistan and came to India a homeless refugee. He was allotted some land in the village of Jugiānā, near Ludhianā, where he settled permanently. He entered politics and joined the Indian National Congress. After a stint as a legislator in the Punjab, he was elected to Rājya Sabha, the upper house of Indian Parliament, for two terms. In and out of Parliament he strove for the recognition of the members of his Ázând Hind Fauj as freedom fighters in the cause of the nation’s liberation.

General Mohan Singh died at Jugiānā on 26 December 1989.

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MOHAN SIÑGH NÄGOKE, JATHEDÄR (1898-1969), Akālī politician and Jathedar of the Akāl Takht from 1935 to 1948, was born at the village of Nāgoke, in Amritsar district, on 25 December 1989. His father, Tahil Singh, was a farmer of modest means, one of whose ancestors had been a soldier in General Ventura’s regiment in the time of Maharājā Rājīt Siṅgh. Mohan Siṅgh had his early schooling in his village and later joined Khālsā Collegiate School at Amritsar from where he passed his matriculation examination in 1918. He took up service as a clerk in the office of the deputy commissioner of Amritsar, but the Jallianwlā Bāgh massacre proved a turning-point in his career. He registered his protest by coming to the office the following morning in a black turban, with a kirpān slung across his shoulder. This was objected to by his superiors, but he preferred to leave government service to giving up his black turban and kirpān. He joined the first jathā of Akālī volunteers marching in February 1924 to Jaito, in the princely state of Nabha. In the firing upon the Akālis at
Jaito, on 21 February 1924, Mohan Singh had his thigh torn with a bullet shot. He was picked up and brought back to Amritsar, but as soon as his wound was healed, he again volunteered to go to Jaito. On his insistence he was included in the fourth jathā which was put under arrest as it reached the town. Mohan Singh remained in jail from 18 April 1924 to 27 July 1925. In 1926, he was appointed a superintendent in the office of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee at Amritsar. He rose to be Mit (assistant) Jathedar of the Akāl Takht in 1931, becoming a full Jathedar four years later. He held this office until 1948. As Jathedar of the Akāl Takht, he led the third jathā comprising 25 volunteers which started on foot on 10 January 1936 from Amritsar in connection with the morchā or campaign for securing Sikhs the right to carry the kirpān as their religious symbol, and was arrested on 17 January 1936. From 1944-48, he was president of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. As president of the Shiromāṇī Committee, Jathedar Mohan Singh gave special attention to bringing symmetry to the Golden Temple surroundings. To this end, old private houses were acquired and demolished along with some of those owned by the Shiromāṇī Committee. New construction was undertaken according to a set design. In this process the parikramā or passage around the Golden Temple was considerably widened setting off the central shrine and bringing an open view to it.

Upon the partition of the Punjab in 1947, Jathedar Mohan Singh was nominated a member of the board set up by the Punjab government for the rehabilitation of displaced persons. In 1952, he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly as a nominee of the Indian National Congress. From 1958-63, he served as a member of the Punjab Subordinate Services Selection Board. He was again elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1967.

Jathedar Mohan Singh Nāgoke died on 2 March 1969 in Amritsar after a prolonged illness.

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MOHAN SINGH, SARDĀR BAHĀDUR (1897-1961), aesthete, philanthropist and privy counsellor, was born on 6 June 1897 at Rāwalpindī in a family of note founded by Sādhū Singh (d. 1798), who under Sārūr Milkha Singh Thehpuriā, founder of present town of Rāwalpindī (now in Pakistan), was entrusted with the duty of providing rations for the Sikh troops. Sādhū Singh’s son, Buḍḍhā Singh (d. 1841), was a revenue official during the Sikh rule and was awarded a share in the octroi collections, later computed into the grant of village Misriot in Rāwalpindī tahsil. Buḍḍhā Singh’s son and great-grandfather of Sardār Bahādur Mohan Singh, Nand Singh (d. 1871), increased his estate to several villages held in jāgīr, besides cash assignments, but at annexation of the Punjab to the British empire in 1849 he was deprived of all except Misriot for his anti-British role during the second Anglo-Sikh war. Subsequently, for his co-operation with the new regime, especially during the 1857 mutiny, he was granted another village, Mauzā Khattrān. Nand Singh was also made a provincial darbāri or courtier. His son, Sujān Singh (d. 1901) was awarded the title of Sardār in 1888 and of Rāi Bahādur in the followig year.

Mohan Singh was the younger of the two sons of Sardār Hardit Singh (d. 1904), the elder being Sohan Singh. He had lost his mother when he was only a few months old
and his father died when he was seven years. The estate was placed under a court of wards. Mohan Singh received his schooling at the Khālsā Collegiate School, Amritsar (1905-07), before he joined the Aitchison College, Lahore, from where he passed out in 1917 as the year's best all-round student. He completed his university education at Government College, Lahore, in 1919. He had been married on 3 May 1916, to Lajvanti, daughter of Diwan Bahadur Piṇḍī Dās Sabharvāl, a noted lawyer of his time. He had been admitted to the rites of the Khālsā, on 26 November 1916, at the hands of the renowned Sant Atoll' Singh of Mastuānā. He became a member of the Chief Khālsā Diwan in October 1914, and was its honorary joint secretary, 1922 to 1925.

Sardār Mohan Singh stepped into politics in September 1930 when he was elected unopposed to the Punjab Legislative Council. He was member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, London, in 1935-40; member of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province Public Service Commission in 1943-47 and chairman of the Public Service Commission of the Patialā and East Punjab States Union in 1948-56. In recognition of his public service, he was awarded the title of Sardār Bahādur in 1931 and was appointed Companion of the Indian Empire (C.I.E.) in 1941.

Sardār Bahādur Mohan Singh was associated in various capacities with several social and welfare organizations such as Red Cross Society, the Boy Scouts and Temperance League. He was on the boards of directors of numerous joint stock companies and was chairman of some of them. In 1941, he established a plywood factory at Lahore, the first of its kind in Northern India. His deeper interest, however, lay in Sikh religion. He had translated the Jāpu and Āsā ki Vār into English while still a student. He was a staunch advocate of women's education and encouraged the establishment of girls schools. He was president of the managing committees of Khālsā High Schools at Rāwalpindi, Murree and Kallar. He was chairman of the reception committee for the 18th Sikh Educational Conference held at Rāwalpindi in 1927 and presided over the 19th Conference held at Montgomery in April 1928. He became a member of the Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1930. He was widely admired and revered among Sikh savants of the day such as Bhāi Vir Siṅgh, Sant Sāṅgat Siṅgh of Kamāliā, Paṇḍit Gurdit Siṅgh, Sant Nischal Siṅgh and Bhāi Kānh Siṅgh of Nābhā.

The partition of the country in 1947 forced Sardār Bahādur Mohan Siṅgh to migrate to Delhi leaving behind all of his urban property. This included his precious library and collection of antiques gathered over the years from all over the globe. He died suddenly but peacefully at Rishikesh on 27 December 1961.

Gbcḥ.S.

MOHAN SIṄGH TŪR, JATHEDĀR (1915-1979), eminent Akālī politician, was born at village Tūr in Tarn Tārān tahsil of Amrītsar in 1915, the son of Jagat Siṅgh, an Akālī activist of the Akālī Lahir (Gurdwārā Reform movement) of the early 1920's and a member of the first Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee elected under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925. Mohan Siṅgh, too, as he grew up, joined the Shiromānī Akālī Dal and slowly ascending the ladder became a member of Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in December 1954. He went to jail during the Punjabi Sūbā morchā (agitation) of 1955 and was again elected a member of the Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in January 1960. In the internal conflict in the Shiromānī Akālī Dal leadership Jathēdār Mohan Siṅgh Tūr sided with Sant Fatch Siṅgh against Master Tārā Siṅgh. In the general elections in 1962 he, while yet in
jail, was put up as an Akālī candidate for the Punjab Legislative Assembly from the Tarn Tāran constituency against the Congress stalwart and chief minister Partāp Singh Kairon. The sitting chief minister won the seat by a bare margin of 34 votes, which outcome was cavilled at by opposition parties. Mohan Singh emerged from this election as one of the front rank jathedārs (leaders) of the Sant Akālī Dal. He was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1967 and again during the mid-term elections of 1969. After the death of Sant Fateh Singh in 1972, Jathedār Mohan Singh Tuṛ was elected president of the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal. In this capacity he successfully conducted the agitation against Haryāṇā government’s unlawful pressure on Sikh landholders settled in that state. A second landmark was the peaceful agitation against the countrywide state of emergency declared by the Central Government headed by Prime Minister Indirā Gāndhi. In March 1977, Jathedār Tuṛ was elected to the Lok Sabhā, the lower house of Parliament.


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MOHAN SINGH VAID, BHĀI (1881-1936), apothecary, writer, collector of books and social reformer, was born at Tarn Tāran on Phāgun sudi 7, 1937 Bk/7 March 1881, the youngest of the four sons of Bhāi Jaimāl Singh (1849-1919), who too was a vaid (practitioner of Āyurveda or Indian system of medicine) of long standing. Mohan Singh had no regular schooling after his preliminary education in the Gurmukhi Vidyālā at Tarn Tāran. He, however, studied books on Sikh religion and history at home and learnt Āyurveda from his father and, later, from Sant Īshār Singh and Paṇḍit Jai Diāl. Early in his life he came under the influence of Singh Sabhā enlightenment and founded in 1894 the Khālsā Vidyārthī Sabhā, lit. Sikh Students’ Association. In April 1905, he established the Khālsā Bhujhaṅgī Sabhā, Sikh Youngmen’s Association, which was affiliated to the Chief Khālsā Diwān in 1908 and ultimately merged with the Singh Sabhā, Tarn Tāran, in 1915. Bhāi Mohan Singh was a member of the committee set up by Khālsā Diwān Mājāh to open an institution for training workers to preach religious and social reform among the Sikhs, and when, as a result of the committee’s recommendations, Khālsā Prachārak Vidyālā came into existence at Tarn Tāran in November 1906, he was appointed its secretary. In December 1907, the Chief Khālsā Diwān set up the Sikh Handbill Committee to bring out leaflets to propagate Sikh principles. Bhāi Mohan Singh Vaid, who had already floated a monthly magazine Dūkh Nivāran (January 1907) and had been a subeditor of the Khālsā since February 1905, was entrusted with the writing of the handbills. He brought out 43 handbills during 1908-11 in hundreds of thousands copies in Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu on a variety of topics such as evils of drinking, gambling, ill-matched marriages, caste system and untouchability. He was also an active member of the Temperance Society, and became a municipal commissioner in his home town in 1910 which position he held throughout his life. A member of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee since 1921, he was arrested on 7 January 1924 after the committee had been outlawed by government on 12 October 1923. He served a two-year term in Mīānwālī jail from where he was released on 20 November 1925. He was again elected a member of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1930 as well as in 1933.

Bhāi Mohan Singh was one of the pioneers
MOHAR SINGH (d. 1785), a prominent leader of the Nishānānvalī chieftaincy, was the eldest of the three sons of Lāl Singh. He added Ambālā and Zīrā to the territories he had inherited and soon became an influential figure among the cis-Sutlej chiefs. In September 1779, he at Thānesar waited upon 'Abdul Ahel Kāhān who was then leading an expedition against Paṭīlālā, and received from him a khīl'at of five pieces, a sarpech, and a sword. In 1785, Mahādji Scindia, regent of the Mughal empire, decided to win over the Sikhs by a treaty of friendship, and sent Amājī Inglī to start negotiations. The Sikhs deputed Mohar Singh and Dulchā Singh, of the Karorśinghīa mīsī, as their representatives, first to meet Amājī Inglī and then Mahādji Scindia, at Mathurā. As a result of these par­leys a treaty was signed by Mohar Singh and Dulchā Singh with Mahādji Scindia on 9 May 1785. At the time of departure they were given robes of honour, necklaces of pearls and horses.

Mohar Singh died at Ambālā in 1785 in a feud with Gurhakhś Singh of Moriṅḍā and his two widows retired to their estate at Zīrā in Firozpur district.

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S.S.B.

MOHAR SINGH (d. 1832), son of Gauhar Singh, a powerful Sikh sardār during the second half of the eighteenth century whose memory is perpetuated in the name of the village of Mārī Gauhar Singhvālā. Mohar Singh, with his brother, Dal Singh, held a jāgīr during Mahārājā Ranjit Singh’s reign subject to one hundred horse. He served in the Kashmir campaign in which he was wounded. He distinguished himself at the crucial battle of Tēri fought near the Kābul River in March 1823, after which he was placed in command of 500 cavalry. He was engaged under Gener-
al Ventura in 1831 to seize the territory of the Bahāwalpur chief north of the Sutlej. Mohar Singh died in 1832. Half of his estates in Sialkot, Dinanagar and Kasur were continued to his son, Ishvar Singh, who served at Kulū, Suket, Hazārā and Feshāwar at which last-named place he died in 1843 of a fever.

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MOHĪ, village in Ludhianā district, 9 km from Jodhān (30°48'N, 75°48'E) along the Gurū Gobind Siṅgh Mārg, has a shrine called Gurdwārā Pāthshāhī Dasvīṅ, dedicated to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. Gurū Gobind Siṅgh passed through this village on his way from Ālamgir and Jodhān to Hehrān at the end of 1705. It is said that Gurū Gobind Siṅgh halted here to have a tight-fitting ring removed from his finger by the village goldsmith. The present building of the Gurdwārā, constructed in 1936, is a square room with a verandah on all four sides. A wide dome covers the entire room. A 33-metre square walled bathing tank near by is called Sarovar Gurū Sar. The shrine itself is affiliated to Gurdwārā Sāhib at Hehrān and is managed by a local committee under the over-all charge of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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MOHRĀ, a Brāhmaṇ of Wazīrābād in Gujrāṅwālā district (now in Pakistan Punjab), was the brother of Premā involved in the Premā conspiracy case. Both brothers had earlier served under the Dogrā rājā, Gulāb Siṅgh. After the arrest of his brother in May 1847, Mohrā joined Bhāi Mahārāj Siṅgh, a Sikh revolutionary leading a resistance movement against the British. He was with him in Jammū and again joined him at Sūjovāl, near Mahārājā was fairly well educated and enlightened. He received good all-round education and was the first one in the line to learn English. He sponsored several works of public utility. A project he helped with a handsome contribution of 1,15,00,000 rupees was the construction of the Sirhind canal. The canal which was opened in 1882 irrigated large areas of Paṭiālā, Nābā and Jind as well as those of Ludhiānā and Fīrozpur districts in the British territory. Mahārājā Mohinder Siṅgh made a donation of seventy thousand rupees to the University College at Lahore, paid a lakh of rupees for the relief of the famine-stricken people of Bengal, and founded in 1875 the Mohindrā College at Paṭiālā for the promotion of higher education in the state. This college, the oldest in the northwestern region of India and initially affiliated to Calcutta University, imparted education without charging any fees right up to the postgraduate stage and attracted students from distant parts of the country.

Mahārājā Mohinder Siṅgh died at Paṭiālā on 12 April 1876.

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MOHINDER SIṅGH, MAHĀRĀJĀ (1852-1876), was born at Paṭiālā on 16 September 1852, the son of Mahārājā Narinder Siṅgh. He ascended the Paṭiālā throne on 29 January 1862 at the age of ten. The young
Baṭālā. It was at his suggestion that a plan was made to rescue Mahārājā Duleep Śiṅgh from British hands.

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MOHRĪ, BĀBĀ (b. 1539), the younger son of Gurū Amar Dās, Nānak III, was born in 1539 to Mātā Mansā Devī at Bāsarke Gillān, in Amritsar district of the Punjab. Unlike his elder brother, Mohan, who lived a retired life, Mohri was of a more active temperament and spent most of his time looking after the Gurū’s household. He accepted without demur the nomination of his brother-in-law, Bhāī Jeṭhā, to be his father’s spiritual successor as Gurū Rām Dās. According to Sarūp Dās Bhallā, Mahimā Prakāśh, Bābā Mohri also rejoiced at the nomination of Arjan as the next Gurū in preference to the latter’s older brothers, Prithi Chand and Mahādev.

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MOŃGHYR, pronounced Muṅgher (25°-22'N, 86°-30'E), a district town in Bihār, 170 km east of Patnā Mehalābād, has an historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur, who stayed here during his tour of the eastern districts in 1666. It is called Gurdwārā Pakkī Sāṅgat and is located in Bāzār area close to the old fort. The old building, seriously damaged in the 1934 earthquake, was reconstructed in 1934-35. It is a flat-roofed rectangular room, with a verandah in the front, in which the Gurū Granth Sāhib is kept. A bedstead and a pillow, said to have been used by Gurū Tegh Bahādur, are also displayed in this room as sacred relics. The shrine is maintained by Brāhmaṇ priests.

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MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS AND THE SIKHS. The first time the elective principle was introduced to choose representatives for legislative bodies in India was with the introduction of the scheme known as Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. By then the Muslims had succeeded in persuading Lord Minto, Governor-General of India, that since they were in a minority, proper representation should be ensured them by reserving for them seats which they alone could contest and for which they alone could vote, with weightage given them to offset the Hindu preponderance in numbers. The Chief Khālsā Diwan, speaking on behalf of the Sikhs, asked for similar concessions for them. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab supported the diwān and wrote to the Governor-General that “In the Punjab the Sikh community is of the greatest importance and it should be considered whether any and what measures are necessary to ensure its adequate representation.” But no notice was taken of the Chief Khālsā Diwan’s representation nor of the Lieutenant-Governor’s recommendation. Under this scheme, Muslims were conceded separate representation as also weightage in provinces in which they were in a minority as well as at the centre but these concessions were denied to Hindus.
and Sikhs in the Punjab.

In 1917 when Edwin Samuel Montagu succeeded Sir Austin Chamberlain as the Secretary of State for India, the introduction of responsible government in India was declared to be the goal of British policy. Montagu visited India soon after. He and the Governor-General, Lord Chelmsford, prepared a report which, published in July 1918, conceded the principle that what had been given to the Muslims could not in any fairness be denied to the Sikhs. They wrote: "The Sikhs in the Punjab are a distinct and important people; they supply a gallant and valuable element to the Indian army; but they are everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown that they virtually go unrepresented. To the Sikhs, therefore, and to them alone, we propose to extend the system already adopted in the case of Muhammadans..."

To consider the report, the Chief Khalsã Diwan convened a representative conclave of the Sikhs at Amritsar on 18 September 1918. In the memorandum which was prepared on their behalf, government was urged to carry out the assurance given them. The Punjab Legislative Council debated the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals in its joint committee. To baulk the Sikhs, the Muslim leader, Sir Fazl-i-Husain, moved a resolution that the Muslim proportion in the Punjab Legislative Council be based on the Lucknow Pact. The Sikh representative, Sardar Gajjan Singh of Ludhiana, proposed that the words "subject to the just claims of the Sikhs" be added to the resolution. The amendment was opposed by both Muslim and Hindu members, and was lost when put to vote.

The publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford report was followed by the appointment of Franchise Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Southborough, to go into the matter of the composition of the new legislatures. It had three Indian members, but none of them was a Sikh. When the Sikhs protested, Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia was taken as a co-opted member for the Punjab, but their demand for one-third of the total number of non-official seats held by Indians in the Punjab, 7 out of 67 non-official seats in the Assembly of India and 4 seats in the Council of States for the Sikh community remained largely unfulfilled. The Franchise Committee recommended 15 per cent Council seats for the Sikhs. In Bihar and Orissa where they formed no more than 10 per cent of the total population, the Muslims were given 25 per cent seats by the Franchise Committee. In the Punjab where they constituted 12 per cent of the population and were otherwise an important factor in the life of the province, Sikhs' share was fixed at a bare 15 per cent.

To get this invidious distinction rectified, the Sikhs made representations to the government. The Chief Khalsã Diwan made a last effort to influence the British government to revise its decision. A deputation consisting of Sardar Sewaram Singh, Sardar Shivdev Singh Uberoi, Sardar Sohan Singh of Rawalpindi and Sardar Ujjal Singh was sent to England in 1920 to place the Sikhs' case before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms, but nothing availed. The only satisfaction the delegation could derive was the knowledge that the Committee had on its own initiative increased the Sikh representation in the Punjab by two.

Montagu-Chelmsford reforms had already passed through the legislative procedure in the form of Government of India Bill, 1919. After being considered by a joint select committee of the two Houses of the British Parliament, it was passed by the House of Commons on 5 December and by the House of Lords on 18 December 1919. It received Royal assent on 23 December 1919. The first elections under the new Act took place in November 1920 and the new re-
forms came into operation on the first day of the year 1921.

Under the new constitution, the Punjab Legislative Council with a total membership of 93 had 18 Sikh members including 3 nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor. In the Central Assembly of 145 members, 3 were Sikhs; and there was a solitary Sikh, Sardar Jogendra Singh, in the 60-member Council of States. Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, a nominated member of the Punjab legislature, was appointed Revenue Minister.

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MORĂN, a Muhammadan dancing girl of Lahore whom Mahārājā Ranjīt Śingh is said to have married in 1802. She was a woman of uncommon beauty and attracted the Mahārājā’s notice at a nautch party set up to mark the birth of his son and heir, Kharak Singh. Ranjit Singh remained under her spell for a number of years and some say that he even had coins, gold as well as silver, struck in her name during 1803-09. They are known as Ārsīvāli Mohar or Morānshāhī coins. Though her name does not appear on the coins, Morān is meant to be represented on the one side by the tail of a peacock which bird is called mor in Punjabi. Ranjit Śingh’s infatuation with Morān has been commented upon by several foreign visitors. It was resented by Sikhs and, as the story goes, the Mahārājā was summoned to Amritsar by the Jathedār of Sṛi Akāl Takht to explain his conduct, and sentenced to be flogged publicly. Ranjit Singh willingly offered to undergo the punishment, but was let off on payment of a fine of Rs 1,25,000. He sent Morān away to Paṭhānkoṭ in August 1811. Later her sister, Mamūlān, had a mosque raised in her memory in Pāpāṛ Maṇḍī, near Mati Chowk, Lahore. It came to be known as Maṣjīd-i-Morān

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MORCHĀ, in Persian mūrchah or mūrchal meaning entrenchments, fortification or battle-front, has, apart from its usage in military strategy, entered Indian political vocabulary via the Gurdwārā Reform or Akālī movement of the early 1920’s. In that prolonged agitation for the liberation of Sikh historical shrines from the control of a corrupt priestly order, the Akālīs, as the reformers were then known, came into clash with the British rulers and mounted peaceful resistance fronts to assert their rights. These assuming the form of mass mobilization, meetings and marches to force the matter at issue, were styled morchās. The movement broke out into several such campaigns. Among them were Chābīān dā Morchā for the recovery of the keys of the toshākhānā (treasury) of Sṛi Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar, which had been seized by the British deputy commissioner; Gurū kā Bāgh Morchā to assert Sikhs’ right over the lands attached to the local Gurdwārā; Jaito dā Morchā to win freedom of worship and of peaceful assembly’s right to manage its historical shrines. These heroic episodes involving courage and suffering made the term morchā popular. It was appropriated by political parties who began to use it for
their own agitations. For example, an agitation in 1938 against cut in canal water supply to peasants was called kisan morcha or Harsa Chhind morcha, and agitations launched by protagonists of Hindi and another by patvāris (village level revenue officials) during the chief ministership of Partap Singh Kairon in early 1960’s were known as Hindi morcha and Patvāri morcha, respectively. More recently political groups have started using the term as synonym of political front or grouping. Examples are Jan Morcha, a splinter group of Janata Dal, and Lok Hit Morcha, a party formed by some ministers and legislators of Haryana expelled from the ruling Janata Dal in 1989. A duly recognized independent political party is named Jharkhind Mukti Morcha.

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MORCHĀ CHĀBIĀN, campaign for the recovery of the keys of the Golden Temple treasury, marks a dramatic episode in the Sikhs’ agitation in the early 1920’s for reforming the management of their places of worship. The Golden Temple at Amritsar, which had a government-nominated sarbrah or controller to manage it since 1849, came under Akali control in October 1920. The Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee nominated the old sarbrah, Sundar Singh Ramgarhiā, member of the Committee appointed to administer the affairs of the Golden Temple. The sarbrah functioned under the directions of the Committee, but, since he still retained possession of the keys of the toshakhānā or treasury of the Golden Temple, the Akali reformers felt that official control, however nominal, still remained. On 20 October 1921, Shiromani Committee resolved to ask Sundar Singh to hand over the keys to its president, but before the decision was implemented, news reached the deputy commissioner of Amritsar who forestalled the Akalis. On 7 November 1921, Amar Nath, extra assistant commissioner, raided the house of Sundar Singh Ramgarhiā with a police party and took away the keys. On 11 November, the government appointed Captain Bahādur Singh to replace Sundar Singh. The Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee refused to recognize the new sarbrah. On 12 November 1921 a protest meeting was convened in Bāgh Akaliān at Amritsar which was addressed by Bābā Kharak Singh and other Akali leaders. Akali meetings took place at Gujranwālā, Gujjar Khān and other places. Captain Bahādur Singh resigned, but government remained adamant. Dān Singh of Vachhoā and Jaswant Singh of Jhabal, two prominent Akalis, were arrested at a dīvān at Ajnālā on 26 November 1921. The Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, then in session at the Akāl Takht at Amritsar, adjourned its meeting and soon over 50 of its members reached Ajnālā to continue the dīvān. The district authority declared the dīvān to be an “illegal assembly” and arrested all the prominent Akalis, including Bābā Kharak Singh, Sardār Bahādur Mehtāb Singh and Master Sundar Singh Lyallpurī. The Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee on 27 November condemned the official action and called upon Sikhs to observe 4 December as a protest day. Sikhs were further asked not to join any function in honour of the Prince of Wales, who was likely to visit India early in 1922. Arrests continued to be made and Master Tārā Singh and Amar Singh Jhabāl were among those held. Failing to control Sikh protest and foreseeing how it might affect Sikh soldiers and the peasantry, the government announced on 3 January 1922 its decision to return the keys to the
MORIŇĎA (30°-47'N, 76°-29'E), also called Bagānvālā, an old village in Ropar-district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Shahidgaṇj. On 7 December 1705, as Gūrū Gobind Siṅgh along with his two elder sons and a handful of disciples, was locked in an unequal battle with the besieging hordes at Chamkaur, his aged mother, Mātā Gujari, and the two younger sons, betrayed by their domestic servant, Gaṅgū, were taken into custody at Kheri (now Saheri) and brought to Morinďа by Jānī Khān and Mānī Khān, the Raṅghār headmen. They were despatched the next day to Sirhind where they were bricked alive in a wall and then executed on 13 Poh 1762 Bk/ 12 December 1705 (27 December now according to new calendar). The place where they were interned at Morinďa is now marked by Gurdwārā Shahid Gaṇj.

At the end of 1763, the Dal Khālsā, before advancing on Sirhind, attacked and destroyed Morinďa. Jānī Khān and Mānī Khān and their entire male progeny were killed.

The Gurdwārā, in the western part of the town, is said to have been built by Rājā Bhūp Siṅgh of Ropar, who also donated a plot of garden-land to it. The present buildings are in a walled compound entered through a double-storeyed gateway. The dīvān hall, with a square sanctum in the middle, stands on a raised base. Buildings for the lāṅgar and for residential accommodation are in a separate enclosure. The Gurdwārā is administered by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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MOTĀ SIṄĢ, BHĀI (1902-1921), one of the Nankāṅa Sāhib martyrs, was the son of Bhāi Hari Siṅģh and Māi Thākari, Rāmdāsiṅa Sikhs, weavers by profession, originally of Bassi village in Hoshiārpur district, who had migrated for better living to Chakk No. 18 Bahorū in Sheikhpurā district (now in Pakistan). Motā Siṅģh was born on 15 Poh 1959 Bk/ 28 December 1902 in his mother’s village Thāndhevālā in Firozpūr district. As he grew up, he
learnt enough Gurmukhi to be able to read the Sikh granth fluently. He took the Khālsā pahul and inspired his parents to have the Gurū Granth Sāhib in their own home where members of the Khālsā Barādārī (an association of Sikhs belonging to the so-called lower castes) began to assemble to listen to gurbāṇī recited and explained by him. He was drawn into the Gurdwārā Reform movement and had himself registered as an Akālī volunteer. On 19 February 1921, he was all dressed up and ready to go to bring home his bride when the call was received for the liberation of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān. He joined the Dhārovālī group in the same dress and fell a martyr the following morning in the reckless shooting in the compound of the Gurdwārā Janam Asthān.

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G.S.G.

MOTA SINGH, MASTER (1888-1960), patriot and revolutionary, was born the son of Gopāl Singh on 28 February 1888 at Patārā, a village 7 km east of Jalandhar. His grandfather, Sāhib Singh, was a soldier in the Sikh army and had fought against the British. After passing the matriculation examination, Mota Singh trained as a junior anglo-vernacular teacher and served in different schools in Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur districts. He also passed Giani (Honours in Punjabi) and Munshi Fāzil (Honours in Persian) examinations of the University of the Pañjāb and took his B.A. in English at the same University. He was headmaster of the Sant Singh Sukhālī Sāhib Middle School at Amritsar in 1914-15 and later taught at Khālsā High School, at DAMDAMĀ Sāhib; at Akāl College, at Mastūnā; and at Khālsā Kuārī College, at Bhasaur. He also associated himself with the educational work of the Central Mājhā Khālsā Diwān and helped set up several Khālsā schools for boys and girls.

Master Motā Singh plunged into politics during the anti-Rowlatt Bills agitation of 1918-19. His first major public speech before a huge gathering at Shāhi Masjid, Lahore, on 11 April 1919 offended the British authority and he was imprisoned under the Martial Law regulations. In the jails those days Sikh prisoners were not permitted to wear turbans as enjoined by their religious faith. Master Motā Singh went on a hunger strike to assert his right to wear a turban. He was released from jail in December 1919, on the eve of the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress, which he attended. He joined the Akālī movement for the liberation of Sikh holy places from the control of a corrupt and effete priestly order, but did not approve of its policy of nonviolence. The incident at Tarn Taran on 26 January 1921, when an Akālī jathā was treacherously attacked by the priests, seriously injuring 17 of the reformists of whom two later died, and the massacre of Sikhs at Nankāṇā Sāhib on 20 February 1921 finally drove him to radicalism.

At the time of the Sikh Educational Conference at Hoshiārpur from 19 to 21 March 1921, he and Kishan Singh Barīṅg along with a few others held a separate secret meeting and made up plans to liquidate those responsible for the Nankāṇā Sāhib tragedy. Their first attempt aborted and the men assigned to the task were arrested on 23 May 1921. Warrants were also issued for the arrest of Master Motā Singh who went underground. For full one year he played hide-and-seek with police. He would suddenly appear at a Sikh dīvān or religious gathering, deliver a fiery speech against the British government in full view of police, and then, to their utter discomfiture, disappear. During this period he guided and assisted Kishan Singh in organizing the radical group of Babar Akālīs, and made a trip
to Kābul where he met Indian revolutionaries who had close contacts with the Bolsheviks of Russia. Arrested at last on 15 June 1922, he was sentenced to imprisonment for seven years which he spent in different jails in India and Burma.

Released on 23 June 1929, he was rearrested on 23 July 1929 for his anti-British speeches delivered at Tārān and Jalandhar, and was awarded, on 16 September 1929, a long sentence in jail. He was, however, released in July 1931, as a result of the compact between the British Viceroy Irwin and Mahātmā Gāndhī whereby political prisoners were released and the passive resistance campaign was called off. But Motā Siṅgh returned to jail soon after on a two-and-half-year sentence for a speech he made at the Naujawan Bhārat Sabha conference at Jhaṅg on 25 November 1931. On 11 July 1938, he earned two years’ imprisonment, with a fine of Rs 150 (or another six months in jail in default) for speeches made at Āṛaraūli Kālān and Manko, both in Jalandhar district. Master Motā Siṅgh went to jail again during the Quit India Movement, 1942-45, launched by Mahātma Gāndhī. He served throughout the second Anglo-Sikh war. On the annexation of the Punjab, he was appointed adjutant of the 7th Police Battalion, which he assisted to raise and organize. In September 1857, he succeeded Col. Subhān Khān, commanding the 1st Punjab Police Battalion, stationed at Lahore. His regiment guarded jails, treasuries and civil offices, and preserved peace in the city of Lahore. He was honoured with the Star of British India, and the title of Sardār Bahādur, and granted 600 acres of waste land in Lahore district and a life pension of Rs 3,000 per annum.

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MOTĪ RĀM, DĪWĀN (1770-1837), was the only son of Diwān Muhkam Chand, one of Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh’s most trusted army generals. Motī Rām officiated as the governor of the Jalandhar Doāb during the absence of his father on military expeditions. After the death of his father in 1814, he was confirmed as governor of the Jalandhar Doāb. In 1818, Motī Rām participated in the successful Multān campaign. He became the first governor of Kashmir when in 1819
the territory was conquered and annexed to the Sikh kingdom, but he became so heart-broken after the death of his son, Rām Diāl, killed in the battle of Hazārā in 1820, that he resigned his post and retired to Banārās to live the life of a recluse. However, the Mahārājā recalled him after an year and sent him again to Kashmir as governor which post he held up to 1826. He returned to Lahore and was assigned to protocol duties. He accompanied the Sikh mission to wait on Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of India, when he came to Shimlā for the first time in 1827. In 1831 also he was a member of the mission sent from Lahore to meet Lord William Bentinck.

In December 1831, Mahārājā Rānjīt Siṅgh granted to Diwān Motī Rām in jāgīr Kuñjāh, his ancestral home-town, and several villages around it worth over three lakh rupees annually. Court machinations led Diwān Motī Rām in 1832 to take leave of his royal master and to proceed to Banārās where he died in February 1837.

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MUHKAM CHAND, DĪWĀN (1750-1814), a renowned Sikh army general of the early years of Mahārājā Rānjīt Siṅgh's reign, was born around AD 1750. Son of a small shopkeeper, Baisākhī Mall Khatri, of Kuñjāh, a village in Gujrat district, now in Pakistan, he trained as an accountant and served as a munshi under the chiefs of different misl sardārs, rising to the position of a diwān or minister under the Bhaṅgīs and the Aṭārīvālās. In 1806, he took up service under Mahārājā Rānjīt Siṅgh as military and financial adviser and remained until his death in 1814 the de facto commander-in-chief of his army. He had a major role in organizing the Sikh army on a regular basis and in the early territorial conquests of the young Mahārājā. His expedition into cis-Sutlej territory in 1806 brought Zirā,
Muktsar, Koṭ Kapūrā and Dharamkoṭ, totaling 102 villages, under the sway of the Sikhs. The same year in July he captured the estates of the two widows of Ilyās Khān of Raikot, comprising 311 villages and towns such as Ludhiana, Jagṛāoṅ, Baddovāl and Tālvāndī. In September 1807, he seized Naraingarh and Morni, and in March 1808 Badhī and Patto, in the present Mogā district. Soon thereafter he overran the Faizulāpurī territory and added Jalandhar and Phillaur to the possessions of the Mahārājā. He was one of the principal advisers of the Mahārājā at the time of negotiations with the British envoy, Charles T. Metcalfe, which led to the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar (1809).

In 1810, Muhkam Chand took part in the battle of Multān; the following year he was campaigning in the Himalayan foothills, subduing the states of Bhimber, Rājaurī and Akhnūr. In 1812, he reduced Manḍī and Kulū. In the Kashmir expedition, he was able to secure release from the custody of the Afgān governor of Shāh Shujā’, the deposed king of Kābul, and bring him to Lahore. In 1813, when Fateh Khān, the Kābul wāzīr besieged the fortress of Attock, Muhkam Chand inflicted a crushing defeat on the Afgāns at Haidrū.

Dīwān Muhkam Chand died at Phillaur on 29 October 1814, and was deeply mourned by the Mahārājā and his court. He was Raṅjīt Siṅgh’s most trusted general and he received from him land jāṅda in Morni, Faridkoṭ, Sāhnīvāl, Ambālā, and the Jalandhar Doāb, worth over seven lakh of rupees annually. As well as being a good soldier, he was an able administrator and his management especially of the Jalandhar Doāb brought him much popular acclaim.

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MUḤKAM SIṄGH, BHĀĪ (1663-1705), born Muhkam Chand, one of the Paṇj Piāre or the Five Beloved of honoured memory in the Sikh tradition, was the son of Tirath Chand, a cloth-printer of Dvārakā in Gujarāt. About the year 1685, he came to Anandpur, then the seat of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. He practised the manly arts and took part in Sikhs’ battles with the surrounding hill chiefs and imperial troops. He was one of the five who offered their heads in response to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s call on the Baisakhi day of 1699 and earned the appellation of Paṇj Piāre. Initiated into the order of the Khālsā, Muhkam Chand received the common surname of Siṅgh and became Muhkam Siṅgh. Muhkam Siṅgh died in the battle of Chamkaur on 7 December 1705.

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MUĪṆ UL-MULK (d. 1753), shortened to Mir Mannū, was the Mughal governor of the Punjab from April 1748 until his death in November 1753. He took over charge of the province after he had defeated the Afgān invader, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, in the battle fought at Manūpur, near Sirhind on 11 March 1748. In this battle his father, Wazir Qamar ud-Din, prime minister to the Mughal emperor of Delhi, was killed. As governor of the Punjab, Mir Mannū proved
a worse foe of the Sikhs than even his pre­
decessors Abd us-Samad Khān (1713-26),
Zakariyā Khān (1726-45) and Yāhiyā Khān
(1745-47), and continued the witch hunt
with much greater severity. According to
Syad Muhammad Latif, the Muslim author
of the History of the Panjab, his first act was
to storm the fortress of Rām Raunī, in
Amritisar, where 500 Sikhs had taken
shelter. He then stationed detachments of
troops in all parts with any Sikh inhabit­
ants to apprehend them and shave their
heads and beards. This drove the Sikhs to
seek refuge in the mountains and jungles.
Mannū issued orders to the hill chiefs to
seize Sikhs and send them in irons to
Lahore. Hundreds of Sikhs were thus
brought daily to Lahore and executed at
Nakhās, the horse-market, present site of
Gurdwārā Shahidgaṅj, outside of the Delhi
Gate, within sight of crowds of spectators.
However, under the influence of his Hindu
minister, Kaurā Mall, who was a sympathiz­
er of the Sikhs, but more because of the
threat of another invasion by Ahmad Shāh
Durrānī, Mannū was led temporarily to halt
his campaign against the Sikhs and make
peace with them by granting them a jāgīr
of twelve villages from the areas of Paṭī and
Jhabāl yielding an annual revenue of
about a lakh and a quarter rupees. As
Ahmad Shāh Durrānī entered the Punjab
in December 1748, Mir Mannū, receiving
no help from Delhi, agreed to make over
to the invader all territory west of the Indus
and the revenue of Chār Mahāl or the four
districts of Siālkot, Auraṅgābād, Gujrat and
Pasrūr, assessed at 14 lakhs a year.
In 1750, Shāh Nawāz Khān was appoint­
ed to the independent charge of the prov­
ince of Multān by the Delhi rulers much to
the chagrin of Mir Mannū, whose authority
was thus severely curtailed. He despatched
Kaurā Mall to Multān with an army includ­
ing some forces of Adinā Beg Khān and
newly recruited contingents of Sikhs under
the command of Jassā Singh Āhlūvalīā.
Kaurā Mall defeated the Multān army, cut
off the fallen Shāh Nawāz’s head and sent
it as a trophy to Mir Mannū. A grateful
Mannū bestowed upon him the title of
Mahārajā Bahādur and made him gover­
nor of Multān. The Diwān who believed
that he owed his success mainly to the Sikh
soldiers, rewarded them generously.
By the autumn of 1751 the Punjab was
riple with rumours of another Afgān
invasion. Mir Mannū had failed to pay the
revenue of the four districts ceded to the
Durrānī and, in the middle of November,
advance units of Afgān army ceded to Gen­
eral Jahān Khān crossed the Indus; Ahmad
Shāh followed closely behind. Mir Mannū
summoned Kaurā Mall from Multān and
Adinā Beg Khān from Jalandhar and made
preparations to join battle. In December
1751, he crossed the Rāvi to check the
Afgāns. Instead of joining Jahān Khān,
Ahmad Shāh made a detour, and closed in
on Lahore from the northeast. Mannū
quickly retraced his steps and entrenched
himself outside the city walls. Hostilities
between the two armies opened on 5 March
1752. Kaurā Mall fell on the second day of
the battle while Adinā Beg quietly disap­
peared from the field, Mir Mannū fought
as long as he could, and then laid down
arms. The Afgāns extracted an indemnity
of thirty lakh of rupees in cash from
Mannū. By the terms of the treaty, ratified
by the Mughal emperor on 13 April 1752,
Lahore and Multān were ceded to Ahmad
Shāh Durrānī.
The death of Kaurā Mall snapped the
only link between Mir Mannū and the Sikh
sardārs. They had taken advantage of the
conflict between the Afgāns and the
Mughals to spread out in the Bāri Doāb,
Jalandhār Doāb and across the Sutlej as far
as Jind, Thānesar and beyond coming with­
in 50 miles of Delhi. Mannū discovering
how Sikhs had occupied large parts of his
territory, now resumed his policy of repression. Prices were once again laid on their heads and strict orders were passed against giving refuge to them anywhere. Skirmishes between Sikh bands and Mannū's roving columns took place in different parts of the province. Mannū's musketeers combed the villages for Sikhs. The able-bodied from among them were killed fighting; the non-combatants including women and children were brought in chains to Lahore and slaughtered in the horse-market. The fighting and reprisals went on until the death of Mannū on 4 November 1753 of an accidental fall from his horse. With Mannū's death ended yet another attempt to quash the rising power of the Khālsā. A Punjabi doggerel which became current among Sikhs in those days sums up how light they made of the atrocity Mannū heaped upon them.

Mannū is our sickle,
We the fodder for him to mow,
The more he cuts, the more we grow.

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MUKANDĀ, BHĀĪ, a talented musician, was initiated into Sikhism by Gurū Arjan. He daily recited kirtan at the morning and evening divāns attended by the Gurū himself. His name has been included by Bhāī Gurdās in his Vārāñ, XI. 18

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MUKANDĀ, BHĀĪ, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. Once he, accompanied by Bhāī Mūlā Berī and Bhāī Tīrath and Bhāī Nīhālū, a goldsmith, waited upon Gurū Arjan. They asked a question: “O True King, how is it that while exposition of the Śabda, or sacred hymns, by some Sikhs mellows the heart and is readily absorbed by the mind, sermons delivered by others have no effect at all?” The Gurū, according to Bhāī Manī Singh, Sikhān āi Bhagat Mālā, said: “Only he who has himself assimilated the śabda can quench the seekers’ thirst. Keep, therefore, company only with those who are not only wise but also act upon the Gurū’s word. Good company puts right what is bad. Remember the chandăn tree (Santalum album), which not only imparts fragrance to nearby trees but even cools down the poison of serpents that coil around it.” See, also, Bhāī Gurdās, Vārāñ, XI. 25.

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MUKARRAMPUR, locally called Makāroṇpur, is 14 km from Sirhind (30°37'N, 76°23'E). The village has five different historical shrines.

GURDWĀRĀ PĀṬSHĀḤĪ CHHEVĪN, NAUMĪ ĀTE DASVĪN is the principal Sikh shrine of Mukarrampur. The site is sacred to three of the Gurūs. According to local tradition Gurū Tegh Bahādur was here on the full-moon day of Hār 1732 BK which corresponds to 28
June 1675. Guru Gobind Singh is also believed to have stayed here for two days when, as a child, he was being escorted from Patna to Anandpur. Guru Hargobind, too, is said to have visited the village in the course of a journey through this part of the countryside.

The present building was constructed during the 1940’s. Standing on a high plinth, it comprises a square hall, with a domed sanctum in the centre and a veranda around it. The Gurudwara is managed by the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee through a local committee which looks after other shrines in the village as well. Special divāns take place on every full-moon day. The major festival of the year is held on the full-moon day in the month of Hār.

GURDWĀRĀ SĀHĪB PĀTSHĀHĪ 9 is situated inside the village. It is said that, while Guru Tegh Bahādur was staying under a ber tree outside the village, a couple, Māi Māri and her husband Rūp Chand, supplicated him to visit their humble dwelling. The Gurū granted their wish. This Gurudwara marks the site of the couple’s house. The present building, constructed in 1975, has a domed square sanctum, within a rectangular hall.

GURDWĀRĀ PAHĪLĪ PĀTSHĀHĪ, a mound called Isarkhel Theh, about one kilometre from the village, marks the site where Gurū Nānak is said to have once stayed. The present building constructed in the early 1970’s, within a walled compound, has a square hall, with the sanctum in the middle of it.

BUṆGĀ SĀHĪB and SHAḤĪD GAṆJ. Both these shrines, inside the village, are connected with Bandā Singh Bahādur’s attack on Sirhind in 1710. The main battle was fought at Chappar Chiṛī, near present-day Chandigarh, but, as the Sikhs pressed on towards Sirhind, the retreating imperial troops put up some resistance at Mukarrampur. The Mughal force was defeated, but several Sikhs fell in the action. A memorial was raised in their honour inside the village. This has since been replaced by the present Shahīd GaṆj, a small domed square room in which the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated.

The Buṅgā Sāhib, on the outskirts of the village, is of recent construction and is dedicated to Bābā Bandā Singh Bahādur. It consists of a single domed square room, in which the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated on a low platform.

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MUKHLISGARH FORT on the lower slopes of the Śivālak foothills in Sadhaurā parganah of Sirhind sarkār was established by Mukhlis Khān, a minor chief during the reign of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1628-58). Bandā Singh Bahādur (1670-1716), after the conquest of Saḏhaurā and Sirhind in 1710 which made him the virtual master of the territories between the Yamunā and the Sutlej as also of the sub-mountainous tract up to Gurdāspur and Paṭhāṅkoṭ made Mukhlisgarh his headquarters renaming the fort Loṅgar (lit. Steel Fort). When emperor Bahādur Shāh heard about the exploits of Bandā Singh, he commanded the governors of Delhi and Oudh to quell the Sikh rising, and himself hastened north to supervise the operation. A massive Mughal force of sixteen thousand horse and foot laid a siege around Mukhlisgarh which continued for several months. For want of provisions, the Sikhs were reduced to rigorous straits. On the night of 10 December 1710, Bandā Singh in a desperate bid to escape hacked his way through the imperial cordon and escaped towards the higher reaches of the Śivāliks.
MUKTI or Mukti and its synonym mokh (Sanskrit moksha, Pali mo(k)kha) are derived from the root much (to let go, release) and seem to be identical in primary meaning with the English words deliverance, liberation, release, freedom and emancipation.

Although sometimes translated as 'salvation', mukti is different from the Christian salvation. The latter is a composite concept embodying redemption and reconciliation. Redemption is 'the change in man's relation to God by the removal of guilt and sin' (R. Hazelton, 'Salvation' in a Handbook of Christian Theology edited by M. Halverson and A. Cohen, London: Collins Fontana Books); guilt and sin, however, are not basic to the concept of mukti.

Mukti has two aspects—a negative and a positive one. On the negative side, it stands for having got 'loose from' or 'rid of'. That essentially implies a bonded state from which man must be freed—be it ignorance (ajnan), nescience (maya), mortality (kal), suffering (dukkha), passion (kama), desire (trishna), attachment (moha), superstition (bhrama), physical body (sharira) or the wheel of life and death (avagavan). All these spell only a perilous existence for man.

Mukti, however, is not to be construed as escapism. It is not that man is removed to a safe quarter in existence where no perils overtake him. He, rather, discovers within himself an unexpected power to withstand and not be shaken by any threat or danger. The security and integrity experienced are spiritual and ultimate; neither ephemeral nor circumstantial.

On the positive side, mukti signifies the fullest and truest realization of the self. The saved life is a fully human self, open and unhindered. It embodies the realization that there is no other than the self. Separation and ego-consciousness stand decimated. Everlasting peace of the eternal and infinite self transcend the make-believe world of weal and woe, good and evil, gaiety and sorrow, wisdom and folly.

The basic concept underlying mukti is that human life is in bondage on account of its own works (karma). All the schools of Indian philosophy, with the lone exception of Carvaka, conceive of an emancipated soul which, after exhausting the effects of all karmas, attains the liberated state. However, what exactly is conceived as bondage, and what as liberation varies from school to school.

The Nyaya-Vaisesika school views it as freedom from bondage to the senses and sensuous life of pleasure and pain.

The Sankhya view characterizes mukti as the cessation of the three types of pain (adhyatmika, adhibhutika, and adhidaivika). The Purusa (self) is able to attain such a state only by transcending the adjuncts of Prakti (material nature). Happiness and misery are the handicraft of the gujas (qualities). The liberated soul having transcended the gujas goes beyond pleasure and pain.

The yogic school prescribes dhyana (meditation) and samadhi (the state of pure, contentless consciousness) as means to liberation—the emptied consciousness shining with its own radiance.

In Vedanta, mukti stands for the removal of duality (dvaita) and the merger of the self (jivaatman) with the Absolute (Brahman). The self then becomes resplendent as existent, intelligent and blissful (sat, cit, and ananda).

Nirvana is the name for mukti in the Buddhist vocabulary, the two being considered mutually comparable in the same Thought category (Majjhima 304). Nirvana literally means extinction, and implies the extinction of 'the five'—viz, rupa (form), sajnna
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(name), saṃskāra (impression), vijnāna (knowledge) and vedanā (pleasure-pain).

According to Bhakti schools, muktī is attained through upāsana (worship) and consists in finding an abode in the spiritual realm of the upāsya (worshipped deity).

The above bird’s-eye view of muktī as conceived by different schools of Indian philosophy serves as the essential background for the Sikh concept. In the first place, the variegated terminology employed by the various schools—including such terms as mokṣa, nirvāṇa, paramgati, brahmajñāna, nirbhau pad, shūnya (Punjabi sunn), nirguna avasthā, etc—has been indistinctively employed in the Sikh scripture. That possibly signifies that these various terms, though differing somewhat in conceptual detail one from the other, are held to be essentially identical by Sikh thought. Alternately, the Sikh view of muktī is essentially an eclectic one. That they can lend themselves to an eclectic treatment also testifies to their conceptual proximity and the Sikh concern with its catholicity.

In the second place, the Sikh thought seems to place accent on the positive aspect of muktī—thus departing from those schools that lay primary emphasis on its negative aspects. As an example of the latter, one may take the concept of mokṣa in the Bhagavadgītā which is described as emancipation from evil (vii, 20), from karma (iv, 28), from lust and anger (v, 26), from decay and death (vii, 29), from the body (v, 23), from the illusion of opposites (XV, 5) and so on. A predominantly negative view, according to Sikh thought, cannot be the highest objective of life. Therefore

Those who know (jñāṇī) desire not vaikunṭha (heaven),

They reject even muktī as of little import. (GG, 328) and again,

I crave not for a kingdom, nor even for muktī;

What I long for is the lotus feet (of the Lord). (GG, 534)

In these quotations muktī as a negative concept is rejected.

The Sikh view holds that God, in His own pleasure, has Himself created both: the state of bondage (bandhan) and the state of freedom (muktī). “The free (mukta) and the bonded (bandha) alike are your creation” (GG, 796).

In point of fact, man is born free, but as he grows up, the ways of the world grow upon him. That is how from his nascent free state (sahaj) he slinks down step by step into the conditioned existence of worldly pursuit (dhāt). In order to re-emerge from it and to reattain the original state of sahaj he must pursue the path of īv (devotion). Muktī, in fact, is a by-product of the practice of īv, not its highest objective which is nothing short of God-experience itself, and subsequently remaining immersed in it for ever.

The path of īv has its own distinctive discipline which therefore is a prerequisite for muktī. This discipline includes good actions as the first requisite (binu kartūti muktī nā pāīai—GG, 201). Other requisites are: the giving up of egoism (muktī duārā sōī pāē ji vichon āpu gavāī, GG, 1276); associating with God-men (muktī pāīai sādh saṅgati, GG, 675); dwelling upon the Gurū’s word (muktī mahā sukh gur sabadu bichārī, GG, 942), and accepting it mentally (mannai pāvahi mokhu duār. GG, 3); and ever remembering the Lord (mukte ramaṇ gorbindah, GG, 1360). It is imperative for attaining muktī that one should be ‘dead to oneself’. An egoist, be he clever or dumb, never can attain muktī (hau vichi mūraṇku hau vichi siānā mokh mukati kī sār na jānā, GG, 466). One can attain freedom by serving him alone who is free himself (mukte seve muktā hovai. GG, 116). The Gurū can remove all fetters and render one free (bandhan kāī mukati guri kīnā, GG, 804). However, none can attain muktī without Divine Grace (soī muktī jā kau kīrpa hoe, GG, 1261).
The Sikh concept of mukti is essentially that of jivan mukti, the one attainable in one's lifetime itself. Further, Sikhism rejects the idea of considering renunciation as the vesture of a jivan mukta. Contrast with it, for example, the Jain view according to which "The liberated persons...have to lead a mendicant's life, for, otherwise, they cannot keep themselves free from karma" (G.N. Joshi: Atman and Moksa. Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1965, p. 260).

Jivan mukti itself brings one to the brink of videha mukti (incorporeal emancipation), which is freedom not from the present body but from any corporeal state hereafter. It spells for the mukta a final cessation of the woes and woes of the cycle of birth-death-birth (janam-maran). This ultimate mukti is a continuation of jivan mukti, going on after the shedding away of the corporeal frame to the final absorption into the One Absolute—the blending of light with Light (jot jot samānā).

The Sikh mukti is positive concept in two important ways. First it stands for the realization of the ultimate Reality, a real enlightenment (jñāna). The mukta is not just free from this or that, he is the master of sense and self, fearless (nirbhai) and devoid of rancour (nirvair), upright yet humble, treating all creatures as if they were he himself, wanting nothing, clinging to nothing.

He rises from the life of do's and don'ts to that of perfection—a state of at-one-ment with the All-self. Secondly, the mukta is not just a friend for all, he even strives for their freedom as well. He no longer lives for himself. He lives for others.

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J.S.N.

MUKTSAR (30°-29'N, 74°-31'E), a district town in the Punjab, commemorating the martyrdom of Forty Muktās, i.e. the Liberated Ones, is a famous pilgrimage centre for the Sikhs. The sacred pool which lends its name to the town was formerly known as KhidraQ.a Jhab, a natural depression which fed by rain water, used to be the only reservoir for miles around. When Gurū Gobind Singh, with only three other survivors of the battle of Chamkaur (7, December 1705), set out towards the Mālvā country, he was pursued by a strong Mughal force. The Gurū retired deeper into the desert, many Sikhs, mostly warriors of the Brār clan, rallying round him. Chaudhri Kapūrā, who owned a fortress in the area, provided a guide for Gurū Gobind Siṅgh to be escorted further west to the safety of Khidrānā. Here a small party of Sikhs from the Mājhā, country between the Rivers Beās and Rāvi, had hardly presented themselves to atone for the desertion by some of them at Anandpur, when the pursuing column drew close, too. While Gurū Gobind Siṅgh and his Mālvā Sikhs moved to occupy a vantage point, a sandy mound (tibbi, in Punjabi), 1.5 km away, the Mājhā Sikhs, only 40 in number led by a courageous lady, Māi Bhāgo, took their positions in a thicket of van trees (Quercus incana) and karir bushes (Capparis aphylla) near the Dhab itself. They spread their sheets over the
bushes to give them the semblance of tents. As the Mughal vanguard, on noticing the "encampment," stopped at a distance, the Sikhs fired their muskets in a volley and charged to engage the confused enemy in a hand-to-hand fight. In the grim action that followed, they fought ferociously and fell to the last man, but not before forcing the host to retreat. Guru Gobind Singh, who had been showering arrows in support from the tibbi, came down to the battlefield. Blessing by turns his Sikhs who had valiantly laid down their lives, he saw one Bhai Mahan Singh who, though gravely wounded, was still alive. The Guru praised the gallantry of the Mājhā contingent and promised Mahan Singh any boon he might ask of him. The only request the dying Sikh made was for the cancellation of the deed of renunciation he and some of his companions had signed at Anandpur. The Guru granted the request and blessed Mahan Singh who now died in peace. Mai Bhago, however, survived and attended upon the Guru ever after. The forty dead were declared by Guru Gobind Singh Forty Muktas or the Forty Saved Ones, whence the pool of Khidrā came to be named Muktsar. Besides the 100-metre square sacred pool, five gurdwāras commemorate the events of 29 December 1705, the day on which, according to the Bhatt Vahis, the historic battle was fought. The local tradition, however, favours the 21 Baisakh 1762 Bk/18 April 1705 date. The sites were marked out by an eighteen-century Nirmalā saint, Bhai Langar Singh, resident of Harike Kalān, 18 km east of Muktsar, who also appointed the first the month of Māgh as the memorial day for the martyrs.

GURDWARĀ TAMBĪ SĀHIB, near the southeastern corner of the sarovar, marks the spot where the muktās took position behind trees and shrubs which they camouflaged to look like tents (tambū, in Punjabi). The present building, which replaced the old one built at the initiative of Maharājā Mohinder Singh of Paṭialā (1852-76), was constructed through kār-sevā during the 1980's. It comprises a high-ceilinged domed hall, with a gallery at mid-height and the sanctum in the centre.

GURDWARĀ SHAḤĪḌGAṈṬ SĀḤĪB, also called Angīṭhā (lit. pyre) Sāhib, about 50 metres west of the sarovar, marking the spot where the bodies of the martyrs were cremated by Guru Gobind Singh, was first built in 1870 by Rājā Wazīr Singh of Farīdkoṭ (1828-72). The new building, a rectangular domed hall, was reconstructed through kār-sevā during the 1980's.

SRI DARĪ BĀR SĀḤĪB, the principal shrine at Muktsar, is on the western bank of the sarovar and was the earliest to be established by the first few Sikh families who had settled here around 1743. Additions to the building were carried out by Bhai Desū Singh and Bhai Lāl Singh, chiefs of Kaithāl, and later by Sardār Hari Singh Nalvā (1791-1837), one of Maharājā Ranjīt Singh’s army generals. During the 1930’s Sant Gurmukh Singh Kārsēvāvale and Sant Sādhū Singh renovated the building. They marble-panelled its walls, added decorative domes on top and paved the floor in and around it with marble. This edifice was, however, pulled down by his followers for reconstruction during the 1980’s. A high tower and flagpost close to the Darbār Sāhib were raised by Maharājā Hīrā Singh of Nābhā (1843-1911) during the 1880’s. An old van tree believed to have existed since before the battle of Muktsar still stands between the Divān Asthān and the Nishān Sāhib.

GURDWARĀ TIBĪ SĀḤĪB, marking the sandy mound from where Guru Gobind Singh had showered arrows on the enemy during the battle, was first established as a modest structure during the eighteenth century, and reconstructed in 1843 by Soḍhi Mān Singh.
of Mānsinghvalā. The present building, which came up during the 1950's under the supervision of Bābā Baghel Singh, a follower of Sant Gurmukh Singh, is a square hall with the sanctum in the centre. Above the sanctum is a square pavilion topped by a lotus dome and decorative marble kiosks at corners. The entire wall surface including the dome is lined with white marble. The floor in and around the hall is also marble-topped.

GURDWARA RAKĀBSAR SĀHIB, 200 metre east of Gurdwārā Tībbī Sāhib, was also constructed by Bābā Baghel Singh during the 1950's. According to local tradition, as Guru Gobind Singh came down from the tībbī and was going to mount his horse, the stirrup (rakāb, in Punjabi) snapped. Hence the name of the shrine.

The control of Sri Darbār Sāhib and other shrines in Muktsar, initially in the hands of hereditary mahants or priests, passed to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in February 1923. The major annual celebration is on the Māghī day (mid-January) when vast numbers of devotees throng the premises from all over for ablutions in the holy pool and to attend religious divāns.

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See, also, Bhai Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 20.

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See, also, Bhai Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 19.

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MÚLÁ, BHÁI, a devoted Sikh of the time of Guru Arjan. Bhái Gurdás, in one of his stanzas, calls him a mahápurakh, a high-souled one.

See, Bhái Gurdás, Vārāṇ, XI. 20.

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See, also, Bhái Gurdás, Vārāṇ, XI. 25

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MÚLÁ, BHÁI, known as Múlā Kapāhī (kapāh, in Punjabi meaning cotton) owing to his being in the cotton trade, was a resident of Sultānpur Lodhī, now in Kapūrthlā district of the Punjab. He embraced Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Amar Dās, and lived up to the time of Gurū Arjan, whom he once visited in company with the Sultānpur saṅgat. Bhái Gurdás describes him, in one of his Vārāṇ (XI.21), as a devotee of the Guru’s word.

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MÚLÁ KĪR, a Khatri of Kīr sub-caste men- tioned among Gurū Nānak’s devoted Sikhs by Bhái Gurdás, Vārāṇ, XI. 13. As Múlā one day appeared before the Gurū to seek instruction, he was told to resort to the sabda, work honestly for his living and serve the Sikhs. He practised devoutly the precepts laid down by the Gurū. He extended open hospitality to anyone who came to his door seeking food or shelter. Once, records Bhái Mani Singh, Sikkhān dī Bhagat Mālā, there came to his house a man who had learnt much of the sacred word by heart but whose deeds were not in conformity with what he professed. Múlā treated him hospitably and offered him a bed for the night. During the night, as the hosts slept, the guest removed the box containing the jewellery of Múlā’s wife. Much before dawn he awoke his host and asked for the key of the gate to go out and resume his journey. As the guest moved hastily towards the exit, the box fell down from under his arm. Múlā picked it up and put it into the hands of his guest and bade him goodbye. When in the morning Múlā’s wife discovered the loss, he told her that a burgler had broken into the house at night and stolen the ornaments. He explained the guest’s absence by saying that he had left early in the morning lest anyone should blame him. Then he had new jewellery made for his wife. Múlā did not wish it to be known that anyone calling himself a Sikh had committed a theft. The Gurū was pleased when he heard this. As Múlā next went to see him, he said, “Thou hast shown esteem for the honour of the faith. The Gurū shall save thy honour.”

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Gn.S.

MÚLÁ SĪNGH, BHÁI (1880-1921), one of the Nankānā Sāhib martyrs, was the son of
Bhāi Jivan Singh and Māi Gulab Kaur of Valla village, in Amritsar district. He learnt Gurmukhī during his childhood and was also married young, but remained childless. He then went abroad to Singapore where he served in the 67th Battalion for 16 years. Retiring as a havildār (sergeant) on a pension of Rs 10 per month, he came back to India, and settled at Chakk No. 10 Thothiān, in Sheikhpurā district (now in Pakistan).

During the First Great War (1914-18), the government was finding it difficult to get enough Sikh recruits needed to reinforce its expanded army, and even resorted to undeclared conscription. Bhāi Mūlā Singh went around the villages and supplied 25 recruits in the hope of getting a land grant as a reward from the government, but was disappointed. This and the imposition of martial law instead in the Punjab led to a change of loyalties on his part and he joined the ranks of the Akālī reformers. He was one of the Akālī jathā led by Bhāi Lachhmaṅ Singh Dhārovaṅā and massacred at Nankānā Sāhib by the hired assassins of Mahant Naranjī Dās on 20 February 1921.

See NANKĀNĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

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MŪL CHAND, son of Raghupat Rāi Nijjhar. As the Guru’s nominee resident of Khem Karan in the present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab, he was in attendance upon Guru Gobind Singh. According to Sarūp Singh Kaushish, Guru kiān Sākhiān, he fought valiantly in the battle of Nadaun (20 March 1691) and fell a martyr.

MŪL MANTRA. This is the title commonly given to the opening lines of the Guru Granth Sāhib, Sikh scripture, or to these lines when they or a portion of them are repeated at the beginning of each new rāga section as contained in the Holy text. This is the primary or fundamental formula of the Sikh faith. Transliterated into Roman script it would read: (i) oṅkār satīnām kartā purakhu nirbhau nirvairu akāl mūrati ajunī
The English paraphrase, given the inherent inadequacies of the genre translation, would read, “God is one; call Him Eternal truth; He is the Supreme creator; He knows no fear and is at enmity with none. His being is Timeless and Formless; He is autogenous, attainable through the grace of the Guru.” Its placing at the beginning of the Sikh Scripture and its use, in its entirety or in part, at a number of places in the text, especially at the opening of new rāga sections indicates the importance in the Sikh tradition of the vision that the Mūl Mantra summons. The Mūl Mantra is spoken on all occasions to invoke divine aid, to bless or to sanctify. In usage, the Mūl Mantra corresponds to the numerous Hindu formulae such as Gāyatrī Mantra, Om Shivāy Namah, Śrī Ganeshāya Namah, or Namo Bhagvate Vāsudevaḥ. Similarly, it corresponds to the Islamic Bismillāh-ar-Rahmān-ar-Rahīm, or the Kalimā, Lā illā, īl Allāh Muhammad-ur-Rasūl Allāh, the Buddhist Om Mani Padme Hum or Buddham Sharnam Gachchhāmi and similar formulas or invocations in other religious traditions. It is enunciated at the beginning before a new venture in life is undertaken. It is also repeated to fortify the soul against despondency or lower tendencies.

In the sequence in which these epithets are placed, this unique piece brings forth the inner dynamics of the Sikh way of life along with its theology, philosophy, culture, sociology, ethics and aesthetics. It differs fundamentally from the ‘secret’ mantras of certain other traditions. Unlike the latter it is communicated to any seeker who sincerely wishes to meditate on it, to live by faith in it. It is used openly and is taught not in a secret session between the initiator and neophyte but in the presence of the assembly.

Besides the Mūl Mantra, there are in the Sikh Scripture other mantras or (śabdas) to render worship, express faith or invoke divine blessings, but the repetition of Mūl Mantra at numerous places establishes its fundamental and supreme importance. It is repeated with due reverence by a person being admitted to the Khālsā brotherhood and is thus also a formula of initiation.

The term Mūl Mantra itself receives early mention in the writings of Sikhism. A hymn of Gurū Nānak in praise of meditation on God, “mūl mantru hari nāmu rasāinu, devotion to God’s Name, the basic creed of all, is the elixir of immortality (GG, 1040). The Sikh poet and savant Bhāī Gurdās says: "sati nām kartā purakh mūl mantra simran parvānai. “(Let the devotees put faith in Mūl Mantra which enunciates sati nām kartā purakh) and Māntra mūl satiguru bachan ik man hoe arādhai koi (Rare is the devotee who meditates on the Mūl Mantra, the holy Gurū’s Word).

Mūl Mantra is, in the first place, the unequivocal and firm assertion of the vision of eternity and immutability of God who is the Creator of the Universe. The quality of eternity is emphasized by representing God as timeless, unborn and self-existent, and by dissociating him from fear and rancour. Emphasis is also placed on devotion and on seeking, in all humility, the Divine grace without which realization is not possible.

_Ik Oṅkār_ is composed of two parts: the numeral Ik, or one, stands for the sole Formless Reality: signifying His existence as well as His oneness, and _Oṅkār (Oṃkār)_ is expressive of Absoluteness of God and is synonymous with Brahm. The root-word of _Oṃkār_ is of course _Oṃ_ which occurs in Indian philosophical literature to express the concept of the Supreme Being and is held to be the holiest of all. In Sikh sacred writings, however, _om_ as extended into _Oṃkār_ (written and pronounced as ‘Oṃkār’) is adopted. In Gurū Nānak’s composition _Oṃkār_ is said to be the essence as well as the creator of the three worlds.

_Satiñām:_ Eternal Truth. It is an amplification of _Ik Oṅkār_ and is, in a sense, its attribute. It implies the immutable character of the Absolute who is beyond categories of
the qualitative common names based on His actions. His real name is Sati which denotes a homogenous indestructible power, that is truth which was in the beginning, truth which is in the middle and truth which will be in the end.

*Kartā Purakhu:* Creator. Guru Nanak, contrary to the Advaitic and Sāṅkhya concept of *puruṣa,* affirms his belief in God being the Creator and His followers full of activity. *Purakhu* in the Mūl Mantra also implies the pervasive reality, leading to the belief in the immanence of God as against the transcendentalism of Islam and Advait Vedanta.

*Nirbhau:* Fearless. *Nirvairu:* Without enmity. Since Oaṅkār is the Supreme Being and all else His own creation, He is not under fear of anyone or anything. Fear always arises from the sense of ‘otherness’ or duality. God is free from such maladies. Similarly, He has rancour towards none, again in contrast to the deities of Puranic and epic Hindu literature. Since God is the only One Supreme Being, He cannot be inimical towards anyone.

*Akāl Mūrati:* Timeless and Formless. Though Akāl means eternal, the juxtaposition of these words usually results in their being treated similarly in translation. Sikhism teaches that God is nirguna, i.e. beyond qualities: when he is called *saguna,* it is as ‘word’ that he becomes manifest, not in a physical form. These two words reiterate God as eternal by further defining the concept—the eternal transcends strictures of time and form.

*Ajūnī:* unborn. *Saibhaṅ:* self-existent. *Saibhaṅ* is a popular form of the Upaniṣadic *suvam bhū,* implying self-willed existence. Here it seems to qualify the first term which in turn is a denial of the Hindu concept of *avatār.* God is not only unborn, He manifests Himself purely and only as a result of His own will. This autonomy is a necessary prerequisite of the concept contained in the next and final part of the *mantra.* *Ajūnī* and *saibhaṅ* are two facets of one vision and imply that the Creator is not born of any of the known physical processes of procreation, but that His Being is eternal and inhering in His own volition to be. *Ajūnī* appears to be analogous to the Qur’ānic affirmation in Sūr Ikhlās (*Lā Yaū’d wa lā yulād* - He neither is born of any, nor is any born of Him). Despite this similarity, there is a clear distinction with regard to the context and the significance of these affirmations. *Ajūnī* has the force of repudiating the incarnation doctrine, personalized as Guru. Grace is the final arbiter. By His favour all matters come to requiem. Through His grace the individual becomes worthy of His favour. The Guru shows the way by which God’s approval is won.

The Mūl Mantra shows the way in which Sikhism relates the transcendence and immanence of God. In Sikh teaching with its emphasis on bhakti, God is seen as immanent in all existence. He is ‘qualified’ with certain attributes to which the individual human self can offer devotion and love. In the Mūl Mantra it is unmistakably the transcendent aspect that gets emphasis. God as revealed in this creed is the indivisible Absolute, Timeless and Uncreated. This transcendent-immanent aspect of God, neither element of which can be omitted from the full enunciation of the Sikh creed, sets it apart from the general trend of belief in Indian religious devotion; this divine presence does not shed its character of abstractness, to be realized in the soul and not viewed as an object of sense-perception, even though it is invested with supreme beauty and loveliness to inspire and receive devotion. Like Allah in Islam, Ik Oṅkār in Sikhism is transcendent yet a presence.

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MULOVAL, a village 11 km west of Dhuri (30°-22'N, 75°-53'E) in Saingur district of the Punjab, is sacred to Guru Tegh Bahadur, who visited it in the course of one of his journeys through the Malva. According to Sikh chronicles, the Guru coming from Raj Majra stopped near the village well and asked for water. The villagers said that the water being brackish the well had fallen into disuse and offered to bring water from another place some distance away. Guru Tegh Bahadur had the well uncovered and declared the water to be sweet. The well so sweetened is still in existence. The Guru persuaded the villagers to sink nine more wells. He encamped in a thicket about 200 metres west of the village, where the people thronged to seek his blessing. But the village headman, Gondá, a worshipper of Sakhi Sarwar, declined the benediction. He left the Guru’s presence, but when he reached home and told his wife what had happened, she chided him for his lack of gratitude to the Guru who had blessed the entire village. Gondá recanted. He came back to the Guru and humbly solicited him for pardon. The Guru gave him his blessing.

On the site where Guru Tegh Bahadur had stopped, Gurdwara Patshahi Naumi was constructed in 1825 by Mahārājā Karam Singh (1798-1845) of Paṭialā, who also made a land grant for its maintenance. Construction work on a new building commenced in 1944. The central hall, with the sanctum on the original site, was completed in the 1960’s. The Guru Granth Sāhib is seated in the centre on domed platform of white marble with a gold-plated pinnacle mounted by an umbrella-like gold finial. There are decorative domed pavilions at the corners of the hall. The 80-metre square sarovar is outside the compound to the north of it.

The Gurdwārā, though affiliated to the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, is still managed by Mahant Ranjit Singh, a follower of Sant Atar Singh of Mastūnā. It has 45 acres of land attached to it. In addition to daily services, the Gurdwārā runs classes for training young people in Sikh music and in the art of expounding the sacred texts. A three-day festival is held on 14, 15 and 16 Poh (28-30 December) every year following a tradition of recent origin that Guru Gobind Singh had also visited the village on 15 Poh 1761 BK/14 December 1705.

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MUL RĀJ, DĪWĀN, governor of Hazārā during Sikh times, was connected through family ties with Misr Beli Rām, an influential courtier. During the prime ministership of Rājā Hirā Singh (1843-44) when Misr Beli Rām was imprisoned, Dīwān Mūl Rāj too was suspected of disloyalty towards the State. He was placed under the supervision of Rājā Gulāb Singh and was asked to render accounts. Hirā Singh was himself replaced by Jawāhar Singh as prime minister. During the latter’s time, Dīwān Mūl Rāj rendered much help in the restoration of order among the rebellious tribes of the frontier said to have been instigated by Rājā Gulāb Singh, but was shortly afterwards replaced by Chatar Singh Aṭārīvālā as governor of Hazārā. At the end of the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46), he was appointed nāzim or administrator of Pīṇḍ Dādan Khān, with the revenues of certain salt districts farmed out to him. In 1847, however, the inspection of his accounts revealed certain irregularities and he was relieved of his charge and asked to make good 4,00,000 rupees outstanding against
him. Failing to pay up the sum he was arrested and was, along with his two brothers, detained in the Fort of Gobindgarh at Amritsar.

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MŪL RĀJ, DĪWĀN (1814-1851), son of Diwan Sāvan Mall, the governor of Multān, served as the kārdār of Shuja’ābād and Jhaṅg during the lifetime of his father. He succeeded his father to the governorship of Multān after the latter’s death on 29 September 1844. The sūbah of Multān then included the territories of Jhaṅg and the Derājāt, and he had to pay to government annually a sum of 23,00,000 rupees. Rājā Hīrā Singh, gaining power at the court, imposed a heavy nazrānā, or succession fee, of about 30 lakhs of rupees on Mūl Rāj, which he was unable to pay. But Mūl Rāj’s real troubles began when Lāl Siṅgh became the prime minister in November 1845. He arbitrarily revised the terms of Mūl Rāj’s appointment by reducing his territories and enhancing annual payments, demanded the statement of accounts for the preceding 10 years and ordered that appeals against the decision of the governor of Multān would be heard by the Lahore Darbār. To overawe Mūl Rāj, a force was despatched to Multān. Mūl Rāj chafed under the stringent terms imposed and appealed to the British Resident at Lahore, Henry Lawrence, at whose intercession a new settlement was effected in October 1846. Mūl Rāj promptly paid up the arrears, but one-third of his territory had been taken away from him and the revenue payable annually enhanced. Further, the Darbār introduced export and import duties in territories administered by him. He also felt offended by the Darbār’s decision to hear appeals against his judicial decisions. In December 1847, he tendered his resignation which was accepted, effective from March 1848, by Sir Frederick Currie, the new British Resident at Lahore. When on 19 April 1848, Kāhn Siṅgh Mān, the governor-designate, accompanied by two British officers, P.A. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, took charge from Mūl Rāj, his troops revolted, killed the two British officers and held Mūl Rāj a prisoner. But Mūl Rāj became the symbol of Sikhs’ discontent and they rallied round him to strike against the British.

The incidents at Multān led to the second Anglo-Sikh war at the conclusion of which Mūl Rāj was tried by a court of inquiry and sentenced to death. The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, however, commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. Mūl Rāj was first detained at Lahore and then, in January 1850, taken to Calcutta where he fell seriously ill. He died on 11 August 1851 near Buxar on his way to Banāras.

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H.R.G.

MŪL SIṅGH GARMULĀ, BHĀI (1846-1945), religious preacher and reformist, was the son of Jodh Siṅgh, a well-to-do Virk Jaṭṭ of the village of Garmulā Virkāṇi in Gujrāṅwālā
(later in Sheikhupurā) district of the Punjab, now in Pakistan. He learnt Punjabi and Sikh religious texts and history at home and in the village gurdwārā, and also became well-versed in Urdu and Persian with the help of the local maulāwī or Muslim teacher, who being a physician also taught him hikmat or the Yūnāni system of medicine. Mūl Śīṅgh had a sharp memory and studious habits, and soon started giving sermons at Sikh gatherings. Although he attached himself primarily to Nāṅkānā Sahib, he travelled throughout the Punjab districts preaching the Śīṅgh Sabhā creed of reformation of Sikh custom and practice. He also espoused the shuddhi movement aimed at proselytizing members of other faiths and of the so-called low classes admitting them as members of the Khālsā brotherhood. Endowed with a good singing voice and equipped with a vast store of knowledge, historical as well as scriptural, Bhai Mūl Śīṅgh was one of the most popular Sikh preachers of his time. His sermons were laced with quotations from gurbānī, the Qur’ān, Bhai Gurdās, Diwān-i-Coyâ, Shaikh Sa’ādī and Firdausī.

Bhai Mūl Śīṅgh was also a versifier of some merit. Four of his works published in his lifetime are extant: Tibb-i-Mūl, a treatise on Unānī system of medicine; Upkār Khālsā, the story of 16,000 Hindu girls taken prisoner by Afghan invaders and rescued and restored to their homes by the Dal Khālsā; Gurū Garīb Nivāj, a brief history of the Sikhs and denunciation of superstitious rites; and Khālsā Chandan Brichh explaining the anand kāraj ceremony in the context of the marriage of Bibī Sāhib Kaur, daughter of Bhai Subeg Śīṅgh Shahid of Jambar, to a Sikh young man of Garmulā Virkān. The last-mentioned book, published in 1935 gives in the introduction nine other titles “ready for press” and four more “in preparation”. It is doubtful if any of these 13 works was ever published.

Bhai Mūl Śīṅgh retired from active life after 1935. He died peacefully at this village home in 1945.

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Mūl Śīṅgh, Mahant (d. 1982), who commuted freely between the main body of the Sikhs and their Nirmalā sect, held high positions in both. As a member of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, he played an important role in Sikh religious affairs, though his affiliation to the Nirmalā order was unambiguous.

Born around AD 1885 at Goindvāl in the family of Tārā Chand, a Marāṇa Khatri, Mūl Śīṅgh spent the first four years of his childhood at Goindvāl. Thereafter he was taken to Bāthi-Qa where he completed his preliminary education returning to Goindvāl to study under Svāmī Bhagat Śīṅgh of Pīndī Ghēb. Mūl Śīṅgh familiarized himself with the Sikh texts. He then travelled to Amritsar where he formally accepted the discipleship of Sant Rām Śīṅgh of Buṅgā Nirmalāṇ, the oldest among the Nirmalā ārās or monasteries in the city.

Mūl Śīṅgh, learned in religious lore and of a charitable disposition, was appointed mahant of the Nirmalā Buṅgā on 21 March 1921 as successor to his teacher, Mahant Rām Śīṅgh. This was the time when the Akālī movement for the reformation of the Sikh religious administration was at its peak. Mūl Śīṅgh plunged into the agitation. He courted arrest, along with several other Nirmalā sans, at Gurū Kā Bāgh. He served as a member of Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee for 13 years. His chief responsibility in Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee was conducting of akhand pāths. He also acted as the Jathēdār, i.e. head, of the Langar Committee. He was appointed Head Granthī or
MUL SINGH, RAI

chief officiant of the Golden Temple which office he retained for fifteen years in an honorary capacity. In his own sect also Mahant MUL Singh occupied a position of honour. He also held offices in the Nirmal Pañchhāyaṭī Akhārā, Kankhal, and in the Nirmal Mahān Maṇḍal.

Mahant MUL Singh died on 11 June 1982.

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G.B.S.

MUL SINGH, RAI, a Khatri Sikh of Gujrānwālā district, was a trusted servant of Rājā Tej Singh, commander-in-chief of the Khālsā army during the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46). Tej Singh died in 1862 leaving behind a large estate and a minor son, (later Rājā) Harbans Singh. The British government appointed MUL Singh as steward of the Raja’s estate. MUL Singh was able to increase the revenues of the estate and to pay off the substantial costs associated with the marriage of his ward, Harbans Singh. The Government of the Punjab praised MUL Singh for his efforts and rewarded him with a khill’at of Rs1,000. He was an honorary magistrate of Lahore city and Honorary Assistant Commissioner in Gujrānwālā district. He was charter member of the Senate of Pañjāb University and an advocate of Oriental learning through his membership in the Anjuman-i-Pañjāb.

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I.J.K.

MULTĀN (30°-12’N, 71°-31’E), ancient city which had been a prominent centre of Muslim piety, was where according to Bhai Gurdās, Varāṇī I. 44-45, Gurū Nānak met with some local Sūfī saints. Travelling from Kartārpur, on the River Rāvi, Gurū Nānak first went to Achal Baṭālā and thence to Multān. As the Gurū arrived at Multān, the pīrs of Multān brought to him a bowl overflowing to the brim with milk. By this gesture they meant to say that the place was already full of religious teachers. Gurū Nānak laid upon the milk-bowl a jasmine petal indicating thereby that he would still find room for himself without displacing anyone. And the Gurū, says Bhai Gurdās, mingled there as do the waters of the Ganges and the sea. The Mīharbān Janam Sākhī, a work contemporaneous with that of Bhai Gurdās, says that many inhabitants of Multān turned out to listen to Gurū Nānak, among them Shaikh Bahāuddīn Makhdūm, a descendant of the famous Muslim saint Bahāuddīn Zakarīā (b. 1171 AD).

Multān being a predominantly Muslim city, no Sikh shrine commemorating Gurū Nānak’s visit was established there, although according to Tārā Singh Narotam, Śrī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī, a memorial did exist in the house of one of the pīrs. It was served by Muslim mujāwirs or officiants.

The city was the capital of a province under the Mughals. It was ceded to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in 1752. The Bhaṅgī clan of the Sikhs conquered it in December 1772, but lost it to Taimūr Shāh, son and successor of Ahmad Shāh, early in 1780. Later in 1818, it became part of the kingdom of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. In 1848, the Sikh governor of Multān, Dīwān MUL Rāj, revolted against the British which led to the second Anglo-Sikh war, 1848-49.
MULTĀNĀ SĪNGH, KAṆVAR (1819-1846), son of Ranjit Sīngh, was born in 1819 to Ratan Kaur whom the Maharaja had married in 1811 after the conquest of Gujrat. He was given a small jāgīr in Amritsar district. He was married to Chand Kaur from whom he had three sons, Kishan Sīngh, Kesrā Sīngh and Arjan Sīngh. He died in 1846.

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MUMTĀZ, according to Sarūp Sīngh Kaushish, Gurū kīān Sākhiān, was the daughter of Nihāng Khān, Muslim chief of Koṭlā Nihāng Khān near Ropar. She served the Sikh warrior Bhāī Bachittar Sīngh who, severely wounded in a skirmish after the evacuation of Anandpur in December 1705, had been brought to her father’s house. To throw the pursuers off the scent, Nihāng Khān told them that the wounded person in the house was his son-in-law. Even Mumtāz declared Bhāī Bachittar Sīngh to be her husband. The latter, though well looked after by his hosts, did not survive and succumbed to his injuries.

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MŪṆAṆ KALĀṆ, village 3 km north of Urmar (31°-41’N, 75°-38’E) in Hoshiārpur district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine in memory of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), who visited here once during a hunting expedition. He alighted under a shisham tree (Dalbergia sissoo, tālī in Punjabi), about 250 metres north of the village. The shrine later established came to be known as Gurdwārā Ṭālāī Sāhib Pāṭshāhī Chhevīn. A shisham tree and an old well in the Gurdwārā

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MūṆaṆ (29°-49’N, 75°-53’E), an old village lying between the River Ghaggar and the Pāṭrān-Jākhāl link road, in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine, called Gurdwārā Akālgarh Pāṭshāhī IX. The name Akālgarh derives from the Akālgarh Fort constructed at Mūṇaṅk by Mahārājā Amrī Sīṅgh of Patiālā (1748-82). The village itself was renamed Akālgarh by him. Gurū Tegh Bahādur halted here briefly while on his way to Makorā and Dhamtān. A Mājī Sāhib established here later was served by a line of mahants. The present building, a square hall, with the square domed sanctuary and decorative domes at the hall corners, was constructed in 1953 by a Sikh aristocrat, Harchand Sīṅgh Jeji. The possession of the Gurdwārā passed to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Pārbandhāk Committee in 1971, but about 15 acres of land, granted originally by the rulers of Patiālā, remains with the erstwhile priests.

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MūṆaṆ KALĀṆ, an old village lying between the River Ghaggar and the Pāṭrān-Jākhāl link road, in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine, called Gurdwārā Akālgarh Pāṭshāhī IX. The name Akālgarh derives from the Akālgarh Fort constructed at Mūṇaṅk by Mahārājā Amrī Sīṅgh of Patiālā (1748-82). The village itself was renamed Akālgarh by him. Gurū Tegh Bahādur halted here briefly while on his way to Makorā and Dhamtān. A Mājī Sāhib established here later was served by a line of mahants. The present building, a square hall, with the square domed sanctuary and decorative domes at the hall corners, was constructed in 1953 by a Sikh aristocrat, Harchand Sīṅgh Jeji. The possession of the Gurdwārā passed to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Pārbandhāk Committee in 1971, but about 15 acres of land, granted originally by the rulers of Patiālā, remains with the erstwhile priests.

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compounds are believed to have existed since the time of Guru Hargobind’s visit. The present buildings came up gradually. To the two small rooms built in 1914, a larger hall was added in 1940. In 1978 the local sangat handed over the management of the Gurdwara to Bābā Nihāl Singh Hariān Velānvale, a leader of Tarūnā Dal of Nihangs. Under his supervision the present mosaic-floored divān hall, with the sanctum at the far end, was completed in 1984.

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**MUNDĀVANI** (lit. a seal or riddle), the concluding hymn of the Guru Granth Sāhib composed by Gūrū Arjan as an epilogue to the Scripture which he had himself compiled and the first copy of which was transcribed under his guidance. The hymn comprises two parts; in the first part, the Scripture is metaphorically referred to as a salver containing three articles, truth, contentment and contemplation. Then the fourth of the viands is mentioned — the nectar Name which sustains all. He who, says the Gūrū, partakes of this fare is saved. This is something not to be renounced; one must forever bear this in mind. Thus will one swim across the worldly-ocean. One then beholds the entire universe as the manifestation of the Supreme Being. The second part, comprising two couplets, is by way of thanksgivings. The Gūrū, rendering gratitude, recites the paen: “Thou made me worthy of this task, Lord. I know not the limit of Thy favour. Meritless am I — without merit. That was thy own mercy….” Mundāvanī is an integral part of the scriptural text and is always recited at the end of any full-reading of the Holy Book. It is also recited as part of the Rahrāsī, the daily evening prayer of the Sikhs.

Exegetes have interpreted the word “mundāvanī” variously. Some take it to mean a riddle in which sense it is still used in the Pohtohāri dialect of Punjabi. They quote in support of their view this line from Guru Amar Dās, Nānak III: “eh mundāvānī satigurū pāi gurṣikhā ladhī bhālī, the Gūrū has posed this mundāvānī, i.e. riddle, and the Sikhs have unravelled it” (GG, 645). By mentioning in the opening line of the hymn Mundāvanī the articles which comprise the divine fare, Gūrū Arjan, they argue, was inviting the Sikhs to explore through the sacred text their true meaning. More commonly, the term mundāvānī as used by Gūrū Arjan is understood to be the equivalent of a seal or stamp. The Gūrū wrote Mundāvānī as a conclusion to the Guru Granth Sāhib, thus affixing his seal to the holy writ. The seal was in token of the authentication of the text; it was also perhaps meant to preclude any apocryphal additions.

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**MUNIARPUR**

MUNIARPUR, a small village inKurukshetra district of Haryānā, 13 km east of Thānesar (29°58’N, 76°50’E) is sacred to the memory of Gūrū Tegh Bahādur who stayed here for a night while on his way from Kurukshetra to Duḍḍhī and Bani Badarpur. A low platfrom was erected on the site where the Gūrū had encamped outside the village. It was replaced by a modern Gurdwārā constructed in 1959-60 by Sikhs of the surrounding villages, there being few Sikh families in Munīarpur itself. Located inside a walled compound, the Gurdwārā has a small divān hall with a sanctum on which the Gūrū Granth Sāhib is seated in a glass-panelled pālakī. The shrine is managed by a local committee. Devotees from the neighbouring villages gather on amāvasyā, the last day of
the dark half of the month, when kirtan and community meals take place.

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MUNSHASINGH DUKHI (1890-1971), poet and revolutionary, was born the son of Subedar Nihal Singh on 1 July 1890 at Jandiala, in Jalandhar district of the Punjab. He had little formal education, but had acquired a good working knowledge of English, Urdu, Bengali, and Hindi. In 1908, he migrated to the U.S.A. and settled down in San Francisco. While in the States, he became a member of the Ghadr party. On the outbreak of the First World War, he returned to India like many others of his compatriots to make an armed revolt, but was arrested upon arrival in the country. He was tried in second Lahore supplementary conspiracy case and was awarded life imprisonment with forfeiture of property. He served his term of imprisonment in jails at Hazaribagh, Lahore, Campbellpore and Multan and was released in 1920 under royal clemency.

Munsha Singh Dukhi was also a poet and journalist. He edited the prestigious Punjabi magazine devoted to poetry, called the Kavi, which he published from Calcutta. In 1950, he started from Bombay a monthly journal, the Jivan. He himself published more than a dozen collections of verse. Among his prose works the biography of Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid is well known.

Munsha Singh died at Phagwara on 26 January 1971.

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MUNTAKHAB UL-LUBAB, lit. selected (records) of the wise and pure, is a history of India written in Persian with an Arabic title by Muhammad Hashim or Hashim 'Ali Khān, better known as Khāfi Khān. Completed in 1722, the work was edited and printed by Maulawi Kabir ud-Din in Calcutta sometime during 1768-74. Extensive extracts translated into English are included in H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, vol. VII, as also in William Erskine, History of India under Babar and Humayun.

The author was the son of Khwājā Mir, also historian, who had held a high station under Prince Murād, younger brother of Aurāngzib, and who continued service under the latter after the murder of his master. Muhammad Hāshim, as he came of age, was put on various civil and military assignments by Emperor Aurāngzib (1658-1707). He continued to serve until the reign of Farrukh-Siyar (1716-19) and was later a diwān or minister under Nawāb Chin Qilīch Khān Nizām ul-Mulk, the founder of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The family is believed to have originally immigrated from Khwāf, a country town near Nishāpur in Khurāsān, whence Hāshim adopted his title Khāfi (or more correctly Khwāfī) Khān.

The contents of Muntakhab ul-Lubāb may be divided into three parts: the first deals with local dynasties up to the Lodhis; the second comprises a brief chronicle of the house of Taimūr the Lame (d. 1405) up to Emperor Akbar including the Sūr interlude; and the third and the most important part of the work covers almost a century and a quarter following the death of Akbar in 1605. The author claims that the account of the last 53 years (1669-1722) was based on his personal observations or on the verbal testimony of people who had been witnesses to the events.

The book is a valuable contemporary source of information about the period of
Guru Gobind Singh and Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur. Upon Khāfi Khan’s evidence, Aurangzib had ordered that the Guru’s deputies, i.e. masands, be removed and the Sikh temples razed to the ground; when Emperor Bahādur Shāh (1707-12) marched towards the Deccan, Guru Gobind Singh accompanied him with two or three hundred horsemen bearing spears; the death of the Guru was caused by a dagger-stab. About Bandā Siṅgh, Khāfi Khan uses very harsh and abusive language, but admits that the government forces were unable to stand the onslaughts of the Sikhs in several parts of the Punjab. He also alludes to Bandā Siṅgh’s practice of writing to Mughal faujdārs to surrender before actually attacking them, to a code of conduct strictly followed by Sikh warriors, and to a proper, though short-lived, civil administration set up by Bandā Siṅgh in territories he had conquered. His contumelious tone notwithstanding, Khāfi Khan pays tribute to the Sikhs’ determination and daring, especially during their nocturnal attacks on the imperial forces and their deadly sallies when besieged. He has also recorded the heroic story of a young Sikh captive who refused to be spared the fate his comrades had met with despite the fact that his mother had obtained a royal decree for his release.

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MURĀRĪ, BHĀI, an Anand Khatri, who accepted Sikhism at the hands of Guru Arjan. The Guru taught him to practise nām, i.e. repeat the Divine Name, and to serve others. The name figures in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 27.

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MURRAY, Dr, a British physician attached to 4th Native Infantry, who was in 1836 sent from Ludhiana to Lahore by the British for Maharājā Ranjit Siṅgh’s treatment after he had suffered a stroke of paralysis. During his 8 months’ stay in Lahore, Murray found it difficult to persuade the Maharājā to accept his treatment. Nevertheless, his despatches from Lahore to the Ludhiana Political Agency provide interesting information about the Maharājā, his government and his nobles. Murray comments especially upon the
splendour of Ranjit Singh’s court, his fondness for his French officers, his regular inspection of troops, and the entertainment provided by his Zenana Corps. He is full of praise for the Sikh army. During their conversations, Ranjit Singh made numerous enquiries from Dr Murray about the Barrackpur mutiny, the composition of a British European regiment, and the siege of Bharatpur. In spite of his fondness for long discourses, the Maharaja, notices Murray, did not so much as mention an incident of insubordination which had occurred in a Sikh army camp near Lahore during his visit. He learnt about it from his servants, and felt surprised at his royal host’s reserve in matters of State. Even when ill, the Maharaja, observes Murray, invariably took an airing or went out for a ride. He held court wherever he happened to be. Everything, however trivial, was brought to his notice, and he issued orders promptly on all matters.

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B.J.H.

MUZAN, BHÅI, son of Bhåi Samman of Shåhbåzpur, in the present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab, was, like his father, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurå Arjan. The Gurå Granth Såhib contains a composition entitled _Chaubole_ by Gurå Arjan in which several couplets are addressed to Mûsan. These couplets stress the importance of loving devotion as a means of spiritual fulfilment.

The anecdote in the _Sikhån di Bhagat Målå_ describes the death of Bhåi Samman’s son by marauders’ bullet but does not mention Mûsan by name.

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MUZAÅN, now part of Lahore in Pakistan, was, during the seventeenth century, a village about 2.5 km south of the old city. Gurå Hargobind (1595-1644) stopped here for some time during his visit to Lahore. Gurdwårå Chhevin Påtshåhå, later built here to commemorate the Gurå’s visit, was affiliated to the Shiromåñi Gurdwårå Parbandhak Committee. On 12 August 1947, it suffered a mob attack in which several Sikhs attempting to defend it were killed. The shrine was abandoned in the aftermath of the partition of India.

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M.G.S.
NĀBHĀ, in Paṭīlā district, 15 km south of Chaṇḍīgarh (30°-44′N, 76°-46′E), has a historical gurdwārā dedicated to Gurū Teqṭ Bahadur and Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. The shrine, called Gurdwārā Sīs Asthān Pāṭshāhī IX at Pūjā Asthān Pāṭshāhī X or simply, Gurdwārā Nābhā Sāhib, is situated 200 metres south of the habitation. During the seventeenth century Nābhā did not exist and the area was covered by a dense forest. In November 1675, Bhai Jaitā, carrying the severed head of Gurū Teqṭ Bahadur from Delhi to Anandpur spent a night here in the solitary hut of an old Muslim recluse, Dargāhī Shāh, who on hearing an account of the tragic happenings from the former, kept watch over Bhai Jaitā’s sacred charge, enabling him to take a few hours’ undisturbed sleep. As Bhai Jaitā prepared to depart the next morning, Dargāhī Shāh asked him to convey to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh how anxious he was to see him and yet how disappointed he felt at his inability to travel to Anandpur owing to his old age. Thirteen years later, Gurū Gobind Siṅgh travelling back from Paḥiṇa to Anandpur in November 1688 alighted at the faqir’s hut one evening, thus granting him his heart’s wish.

A small mud platform marked this site until a gurdwārā was constructed and endowed by Mahārājā Karam Siṅgh (1798-1845) of Paṭīlā. The shrine, as built by the Mahārājā, was a square sanctum, with a covered circumambulatory passage. An assembly hall and some ancillary buildings were added in 1956. The Gurdwārā is now managed by a local committee, under the auspices of the Shiromāṇi Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Special divāns are held on the first of every Bikrami month. An annual festival takes place on 21-22 Assū, corresponding to 6-7 or 7-8 October, in the local belief that it was on one of these dates, and not in November, that Gurū Gobind Siṅgh visited the place in 1688.

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NĀBHĀ (30°-22′N, 76°-9′E), a sub-divisional town of Paṭīlā district, was the capital of a princely state until it ceded to the Union of India and formed part of the Paṭīlā and East Punjab States Union in 1948. The town was founded by Rājā Hamīr Siṅgh (d. 1783) in 1755. Although his grandfather, Chaudhri Gurdī Shāh (d. 1754), the founder of the Nabha House, had already shifted his headquarters here from his ancestral village, Baḍrūkhān, the place was simply called “Chaudhari dā Ghar", lit. the chieftain’s house. The town developed slowly along with the territorial fortunes of the state under its successive rulers, Rājā Jasvant Siṅgh (1775-1840), Rājā Devinder Siṅgh (1822-1865), Rājā Bharpūr Siṅgh (1840-1863), Rājā Bhagvān Siṅgh (1842-1871), Mahārājā Sir Hīrā Siṅgh (1843-1911), Mahārājā Ripudaman Siṅgh (b. 1883, deposed 1923) and Mahārājā Pratāp
There are two gurdwaras of historical importance in Nābhā.

GURDWĀRĀ SIROPĀO SĀHIB is located in a tower in the western part of the Fort. It holds a number of relics coming down from the days of the Gurus.
1. Gurū Gobind Singh’s hukammānā issued in 1706 to the brothers, Tilok Singh (ancestor of the rulers of Nābhā and Jīnd states) and Rām Singh (ancestor of the Patiala rulers). The original is preserved in Burj Bābā Alā Singh at Patiala.
2. A turban, a comb with some hair stuck in it, a kirpān 3.5-inch long, and a hukammānā. These articles were given by Gurū Gobind Singh to Pir Buddhu Shāh at Pāonțā after the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī. Rājā Bharpur Singh of Nābhā acquired these from the Pir’s descendants.
3. A whip and a sword believed to have once belonged to Gurū Hargobind.
4. Three swords, a dagger, two studs of a shield, a tip of an arrow and a manuscript of 300 folios, all commemorating Gurū Gobind Singh.

GURDWĀRĀ BĀBĀ AJĀPĀL SĪNH, popularly known as Ghoriāṅvalā Gurdwārā, is outside the Lahaurī Gate. It commemorates a Sikh divine who is said to have settled here in a forest at the beginning of the eighteenth century. During his stay here he seems to have won repute for his sanctity. He trained many in the soldierly arts as well. A few articles are still preserved in the Gurdwārā as mementos of the holy saint.

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NAṆĀLA, village 22 km north of Kapūırlhalā (31°-22'N, 75°-22'E) along the Kapūırlhalā-Bholath road, is sacred to Guru Hargobind (1595-1644), who, according to local tradition, visited here more than once. Gurdwārā Chhevin Patshahi marking the site where he stayed is a six-storeyed building with the assembly hall at the ground level. Gurū kā Lāṅgar and residential rooms are to the north of the main complex. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. Besides the daily services, special divāns take place to celebrate major anniversaries on the Sikh calendar.

NAṆĀRA (Arabic nazar: glance, favourable regard, favour), implying Divine grace, is a concept central to Sikh religious tradition affirming its faith in a Transcendental Being responsive to human prayer and appeal for forgiveness and mercy. It reiterates at the same time a belief in the sovereignty of Divine Will (razā) overriding the law of karma.
which itself is a constituent of hukam, the all-pervading and all-regulating Divine Law. From His Will flows grace which as the divine initiative leads the seeker to his ultimate destiny. It is postulated as the critical determinant in this process. In their holy utterances recorded in the Guru Granth Sahib, the Gurūs have repeatedly stressed how indispensable is God’s grace in one’s spiritual quest and how in devotion and contemplation it be constantly solicited. Some other terms used to express the concept of nadar are prasād (graciousness, favour, mediation), kirpā (kṛpā: tenderness, favour, clemency), kirpā kaṭākh (kṛpā kaṭākṣa: glance or nod of grace), and deyā or tāras (pity, mercy, compassion) drawn from Indian tradition. Others, drawn from Islamic tradition, particularly of Sūfi orientation, are karam (bounty, favour, grace), bakhshish or bakhshtsh (gift, grant, beneficence) and mihar (love, favour, mercy).

Nadar implies a cosmic order wherein a law superior to the law of karma, i.e. ordained system of retribution, operates. In systems like the Sāṅkhya and Pūrvā Mimāṁsā and in creeds like Buddhism wherein karma is held supreme in determining and shaping destiny, the concept of nadar will have little relevance. It is in the atheistic creeds, particularly those with attachment to devotionalism and with sensitiveness to cosmic mysteries that it takes priority as a principle overriding retribution. Within the traditional Indian religious thought, the concept of grace finds its strongest expression in the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita (identity in difference) formulated by Rāmānuja. In Islamic tradition which describes Allah employing epithets such as rahmān and rahīm (merciful), karim (beneficent, gracious), ghafir (forgiving, clement), sattār (concealer of sins) and rauf (benign), karam and fazaļ are the words used for grace. In Christianity, too, the concept of grace is firmly established. But even in these creeds grace is not uncaused or an arbitrary favour, but is the result of good actions, devotion and complete surrender and submission of the self to the Universal Self. Yet the phenomenon is not unknown that of the many who tread the path of good actions and devotion and strive to grasp the Ultimate Truth, only a few in fact lay hold on it. As says Gurū Nānak: tere darsan kau ketū bilalāī, virlā ko chhānasi gur sabaāī milāī—many there be who long for Thy vision; but few encounter and perceive the Gurū’s Word (GG, 1188).

In the Sikh system the doctrine of nadar is juxtaposed to that of karma. Karma is certainly important in that it will determine a favourable or unfavourable birth. At times the theory seems to receive support in the Sikh scriptures that those who in their previous existences have lived lives of relative merit acquire thereby a faculty of perception which enables them to recognize the Gurū. But the total order of creation visualized in Sikhism, besides according a necessary place to karma as far as the initial perception of the Word is concerned, specifies mercy or grace as the ultimate arbiter. It is finally through nadar that the initial desire for liberation is roused as well as opportunity to lay hold on the means of liberation is obtained. In a significant line in the Japu, Gurū Nānak contrasts the two, karma and nadar. karamā āvai kaṟaṇa ŋadāɾ mokẖu duārū—karma determines the nature of our birth, but grace alone reveals the door to liberation (GG, 2). Nadar is the basic and primal factor even in prompting the human self (jīvātman) to devotion. Says Gurū Arjan: jā kau kirpā kaɾahu prabh tā kau lāvahu sev—whomsoever Thou favourest, O Lord, him Thou putest in the path of devotion (GG, 814). And, again, it is through God’s grace that the seeker reaches his goal: gur parsāḏī hari pāi ko bharami bhulāhī—through Divine grace is union with God attained, let no one linger in doubt about this (GG, 986).

Just why Akāl-Purakh should show mercy or grace in this manner is a matter which
must remain a mystery. Mankind's understanding of the Divine Order will not provide an explanation for the fact that the prerequisite perception is awakened in some, whereas others remain bereft of it. There is a point beyond which the human understanding cannot proceed, and the giving or withholding of such perception is an issue which lies beyond that point. Akāl-Purakh confers this awareness of nam, sabda and hukam, through His sovereign Will (razā) and Grace (nadar), freely and openly bestowed, yet not upon all seekers. The ability to find the True Gurū, to hear to the Gurū's voice (sabda) and to respond to it comes to some by Akāl-Purakh's gift of mercy. Were He to withhold it, there is nothing a man can do. Without this gift of initial perception, without a divine stirring, the Gurū will not be heeded and the divine Name remains unrecognized. There is, however, no cause for fatalism and despair. Sovereignty of the Divine Will notwithstanding, Guru Nanak points to the path to divine favour. One is to be content in His Will and to cleanse the mind with a view to deserving and receiving His Grace, if and when bestowed. Resorting to the imagery of curd-making for which the vessel must be thoroughly washed, the Gurū affirms at the opening of Rāga Suhi: bhāṇḍā dhol baisi dhiyā devahau tau dūdhai kau jāvahu—wash the vessel, purify it with incense, only then proceed to receive the milk (GG, 728). Another helpful way is that of sukrit (right action) which has a lasting effect. Says Gurū Nānak: "Listen, listen to our advice, O my mind, it is the right action that will last; and there may not be another chance" (GG, 154-55). At another place, he says: "Everyone desires, but whether one will be fortunate enough to achieve depends upon karam" (GG, 157). The use of the term karam raises a kind of ambiguity. Karam as spelt and pronounced in Punjabi may mean either the Sanskrit karma (action) or its resultant karam of Punjabi meaning fate or destiny, or it may mean the Persian karam (grace, favour). In any case, the doctrine in Sikhism is that nadar is most likely to descend on one who engages in good actions. Another way to earn grace is ardās, prayer and supplication in extreme humility, self-abnegation and self-surrender to Divine Will. Such humility of spirit is the basis on which the spiritual and ethical life pleasing to God may be built, and grace obtained. In a nutshell, Divine favour (nadar) prompting the self to prayer and devotion may possibly be won through humble supplication and through cultivation of virtue and right action.

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NADĀ SĀHIB, Gurdwārā Pāthshāhi Dasvīn, situated at the end of a narrow spur of soft sandy rocks of the Śivalīk foothills, on the left bank of the river Ghaggar, about 10 km east of Chaṇḍīgarh (30°-44’N, 76°-46’E), commemorates the visit of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, who halted here while travelling from Pāoī to Anandpur after the battle of Bhaṅgānī in 1688. One Nādū Shāh Lubāṇā of the adjoining village served him and his followers with food and milk. The place remained obscure until one Bhāī Moṭhā Siṅgh, who belonged to a village near by, discovered the sacred spot and raised a platform to perpetuate the memory of the Gurū’s visit. Nothing more is known of the devout Moṭhā Siṅgh nor of the date of the establishment of the Maṅji Sāhib, except that the shrine was under the Dharmarth Board of Paṭialā and East Punjab States Union in 1948 and was taken over by the
Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee after the merger of the state with the Punjab in 1956. Since then several new buildings have been constructed. The original Manji Sahib has been replaced by a double-storeyed domed structure, with a large rectangular meeting hall adjacent to it. A spacious brick-paved courtyard separates these buildings from the complex comprising the Guru ka Langar and rooms for pilgrims. The holy flag flies atop a 105-feet high staff on one side of the courtyard, near the site of the old shrine. The full moon day every month is celebrated as a festive occasion attended by a large number of people from the surrounding villages and towns. Religious gatherings and community meals take place. The management is now entrusted to a local committee which also administers Gurdwara Manji Sahib at Pinjore.

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NADAUN, BATTLE OF, fought on 20 March 1691 between an imperial expeditionary force aided by Rājā Kirpāl Chand of Kāṅgrā and Rājā Dyal of Bijhārval in the Śivālik hills on the one hand and several other neighbouring chieftains who enjoyed the support of Gurū Gobind Singh on the other. The hill barons taking advantage of Emperor Aurangzib’s preoccupation with Marāṭha insurgency in the South had neglected to pay their annual tributes into the imperial treasury. Early in 1691 orders were issued to Hīfzullah Khān alias Miān Khān, Governor of Jammū, to realize the arrears. Miān Khān despatched a punitive force under Alīf Khān. Two of the chieftains, Rājā Kirpāl Chand and Rājā Dyal, submitted without opposition and in fact became Alīf Khān’s allies. Rājā Bim Chand of Kahlūr (Bilāspur), who rallied the rest of the rulers to make resistance, solicited Gurū Gobind Singh for help. The Gurū came to his assistance with a body of his chosen Sikhs. The two armies met at Nadaun on the left bank of the River Bēās, 32 km southeast of Kāṅgrā and 12 km from the temple town of Javālāmukhī. Gurū Gobind Singh described in his autobiographical poem, Bachitra Nāṭak, the action that took place. As the enemy, he says, advanced with Dyal and Kirpāl in the van, a fierce battle commenced. It however did not take long to decide the issue. “The Almighty God hastened the end of the fight and the opposing host was pushed back into the river... Alīf Khān fled in utter disarray leaving his camp to take care of itself...” Gurdwārā Pāṭshāhī Dasvīī on the west bank of the River Bēās commemorates the battle. The sanctum, a 6-metre square room with doors on four sides, has a dome with a brass pinnacle. The Gurū Granth Sahib is seated on a raised platform. The present building was got constructed by Rāi Bahādur Baisākhī Singh in 1929. The Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, which took over control of the shrine in 1935, now administers it through a local committee.

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NAGAHĪĀ, BHĀĪ (d. 1709), was, according to Bhaṭṭ Vahi sources, the eldest of the seven...
sons of Lakkhi Rāi and a grandson of Godhū Barhtīa Kanāvat of the Jádō (Yādav) clan. Nagāhīā helped his father Lakkhi Rāi remove the headless trunk of Gurū Tegh Bahādur from the site of execution and cremate it in their own house. Bhatt Kesho, recording the obsequies performed in the year 1675 at Rāisīnā, now part of New Delhi, says: "Pārān Dei Grambini is twice blessed for she had given birth to a son like Nagāhīā... who managed to take away from Chāndnī Chowk the dead body of Sri Gurū Tegh Bahādur, with the help of his father Lakkhi Rāi, thereby earning for himself and his father eternal fame and glory." Nagāhīā laid down his life in April 1709 in the vicinity of Gurū Chakk (Amritsar) fighting against Hari Sahā, the chief of Paṭṭī, who had led out an expedition against the Sikhs.

NAGAURĪ, BHĀI, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He lived at the village of Dāllā, in present-day Kapūrthala district of the Punjab, and received initiation into the Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Amar Dās. The name occurs in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāh, XI. 16.

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NAGĂHĂ, village 16 km east of Sunăm (30°-7’N, 75°-48’E) in the Punjab, was, according to local tradition, visited by Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Tegh Bahādur. A modest shrine built of baked bricks honoured the memory of the latter, but it is no longer in existence. The one dedicated to Gurū Hargobind, however, survives. It is called Gurdwărā Akāl Buṅgā Pāṭshāhī Chhevin, and is situated at the southern end of the village. Its main hall, constructed in the 1960’s, contains within it the domed sanctum marking the site of the original shrine. Gurū Kā Lāṅgar is still housed in the old rooms behind the hall. The Gurdwărā is looked after by Nihāṅgs of the Buḍḍhā Dal.

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NAGĂULI (LAŃGROLĬ in Bhāi Kāhn Singh, Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh), a
village 20 km from Únā along the Únā-Pañjávar road in Himáchal Pradesh, is sac
ted to Gurú Gobind Singh, who came here following the chase from Sařiri in 1691. A shrine called Gurdwārā Damdamā Pāṭshāhī Dasvīn on a small hillock to the west of the village marks the spot where the Gurū halted for rest. The shrine was earlier known as Gurū kī Vāṛī. The management is in the hands of the local sāṅgat.

Gn. S.

NĀHAN (30° - 33′N, 77° - 17′E), situated on top of a ridge in the upper reaches of Mārkaṇḍā River, in Sirmūr district of Himāchal Pradesh, and formerly the capital of the princely state of Sirmūr, has a historical gurdwārā dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh. Gurū Gobind Singh visited Nahan in 1685 on the invitation of the ruler of the state, Rājā Medini Prakāsh. The Rājā offered him land on the bank of the Yamunā to build for himself a permanent abode. This led to the foundation of Pāonṭā Sāhib, where Gurū Gobind Singh stayed for the next three years.

A Maṇji Sāhib was established where the Gurū had stayed at Nahan. It has since been replaced by a handsome, though small, shrine known as Gurdwārā Gurū Gobind Singh Sāhib Pāṭshāhī 10. The new building, completed in 1954, has a square dīvān hall, with a marble canopied throne for the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The lotus dome above the hall surrounded by decorative cupolas, is covered with marble slabs and carries a golden pinnacle. A committee of local sāṅgat manages the shrine.

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NĀHAR SĪNH (d. 1866), son of Surjan Sīṅgh, joined Mahārājā Raṇjit Sīṅgh’s service in 1803. He accompanied him on his Piṇḍī Bhaṭṭīān campaign, and later took part in the expedition against the Bhāṅgis and in the attack on the fort of Kallar, which was defended by Jodh Sīṅgh Aṭārīvālā. In 1804, he went in action with the Mahārājā against Rājā Sānsār Chand Kaṭoch, who had tried to occupy a portion of the Jalandhar Doāb, and defeated him near Hoshiārpur. Thereafter he joined the expedition against Hāfiz Ahmad Khān of Jhang resulting in the imprisonment of that chief. He served in the first unsuccessful campaign of Multān and then in both the Kashmir expeditions under Diwān Rām Diāl in the ďerā of Prince Kharāk Sīṅgh. He received a jāgīr of rupees fourteen thousand at Sāmbā in the Jammū region. He fought in the battle of Terī in 1823 and served under the command of Harī Sīṅgh Nalvā, and participated in the fighting against the Māzāris of Mīṭhankōṭ in 1835-36 under Prince Kharāk Sīṅgh. Nāhar Sīṅgh was treat-
ed with great consideration and favour by Prime Minister Jawāhar Sīṅgh. He received an elephant as a present and, on being ap-
pointed commander of the Mūlrājā regiment, he was deputed against the insurgents who had ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Gujrát and had looted the shrine of Ker Sāhib, a place of sanctity

NĀHAR SĪNH (1666-1708) to defend Lohgarh Fort during one of the battles of Anandpur. Both of them displayed uncommon initiative and daring against the besieging host. They were rewarded by the Gurū who, according to Kuir Sīṅgh, Gurbilās Pāṭshāhī 10, bestowed on them robes of honour and gold bracelets.

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NAHAR SINGH MĀN

for the Sikhs. During the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46) Nāhar Singh had served under Ranjodh Singh Majīṭhīā.
Nāhar Singh died in 1866.

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S.S.B.

NĀHAR SINGH MĀN (d. 1806) was born the son of Sarjā Singh Mān (d. 1763) of Mughal Chakk in Gujranwālā district, now in Pakistan. Like his brothers, Pahār Singh Mān and Jai Singh Mān, he entered the service of Mahān Singh Sukkarchaṅkā and participated in his military campaigns. He took part in the early campaigns of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. In 1802, when after the conquest of Amritsar, Ranjit Singh marched on Akālgārh, then ruled by Dal Singh, Nāhar Singh was given command of a troop of horse.

Nāhar Singh died at an early age in 1806.

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B.J.H.

NAIṆĀ SINGH, AKĀĻĪ, eighteenth-century Nihāṅg warrior esteemed as much for his piety as for his valour. His special title to fame rests on the fact that he was the guardian of the celebrated Akālī Phūḷā Singh (1761-1823) whom he trained in the martial arts. Little is known about his early life except that his original name was Naraṅ Singh and that he received khaṇḍe dī pāhul or the rites of the Khālsā at the hands of Jathedar Darbārā Singh (d. 1794), leader of the Sikh fighting forces prior to Nawāb Kapūr Singh. Naiṇā Singh was a junior leader in the Shahid misl, with headquarters at Damdamā Sāhib, Talaṅḍī Sābo, in present-day Bāthindā district. He was a friend of Bhai Ḣīṣār Singh of Nishānāṅvālī misl, father of Akālī Phūḷā Singh. Ḣīṣār Singh was mortally wounded in an action in which the Shahid sardārs had also participated. As he lay dying, he entrusted his two infant sons to the care of Naiṇā Singh, who took the family to Damdamā Sāhib and gave great attention to bringing up the children. Phūḷā Singh, the elder of the two, grew up into a firebrand Nihāṅg who later distinguished himself as jathedar of the Akāl Takht at Amritsar and as commander of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh’s crack Akālī brigade. Akālī Naiṇā Singh is also credited with introducing the tall pyramidal turban common among the Nihāṅgs to this day, and is said to have been an adept in kirtan, the Sikh devotional music. In a gurdwārā at Bharpūrgarh, a village near Amloī in Patiālā district, are displayed a few garments and the wooden frame of a musical instrument believed to have once belonged to Akālī Naiṇā Singh who had retired to this village in his later life.

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NAKĀI MISL. See MISLS

NAJĀBAT KHĀN (d. 1688), a Pathān belonging to Kunjpūrā, who joined the service of Gurū Gobind Singh at Pāoṇṭā Sāhib. He however deserted the Gurū on the eve of the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī (1688) and joined hands with the hill rājās. During the battle he came face to face with Saṅgo Shāh, one of Gurū Gobind Singh’s cousins. Both fell fighting in the duel that followed.

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NALUCHHĪ, a village three kilometres west of Muzaffarābād in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, had a *gurdwārā* commemorating Guru Hargobind who had visited the village during his visit to Kashmir in 1620. Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh had made out to it a land grant worth Rs 3,000 annually. Baisākhī was observed as a religious festival in the *gurdwārā* until its evacuation in the wake of invasion by Pakistan-supported tribal raiders in October 1947.

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NĀM (lit. name), a collection of sounds possessing the capacity to signify a person, place, thing or idea, is a key term in Sikh theology, embodying a concept of central importance. It subsumes within it the revelation of God's being, the only fit object of contemplation for the individual, the standard to which his life must conform, and the essential means of purification and liberation.

*Nām* translates easily and accurately into the English word 'Name', but this does not provide an actual understanding of its full import as a conceptual category in Sikhism. Even as commonly understood, a name is not a mere label. It expresses something of the nature of whatever it designates, or at least points towards that nature. As used in the compositions of the Gurus, the word *nām* is a summary expression for the whole nature of Akal-Purakh (God). Anything which may be affirmed concerning Akal-Purakh is an aspect of *nām*. Because He is all-powerful, it follows that omnipotence is part of *nām*. Because He knows all things, omniscience is similarly a feature of *nām*. The many and varied qualities which may be attributed to Akal-Purakh—His timelessness, His transcen-

dence and immanence, even His manifestation in the form of the created world of time and space—are all to be regarded as aspects of *nām*. And because Akal-Purakh is infinite, so too is His Name.

This stress upon *nām* as an expression of the inherent nature of Akal-Purakh should not imply that it is essentially passive. In the Sikh belief, it is crucial that individuals should understand its active role. *Nām* is the bringer of liberation. The means to release from the circuit of birth and death are enunciated by the Gurū, and the message thus communicated by him enjoins all people to bring their lives into harmony with the divine Name. By means of regular devotion, coupled with strict virtues, each person can develop a pattern of living which accords with the nature of Akal-Purakh as expressed in his Name. By bringing one's being and personality into ever-closer conformity with the being of Akal-Purakh as affirmed by the Name one shall obtain liberation from the cycle of transmigration. The task is not an easy one, but persistently pursued it leads to the ultimate harmony. For some people this condition of perfect peace can be attained while they are yet living this life.

The person who wishes to appropriate the benefits conferred by a discernment of the divine Name must undergo the discipline of *nām simaran*, remembrance, i.e. constant awareness of the Name. The act of *simaran* (*smarana*) is on the one hand related to the act of *surati* (*sruti*), hearing or listening to the Word (*nām, šabda*), and on the other to the function of *smriti*, i.e. consciousness which means retention in one's awareness of what has been heard. The notion of *nām simaran* is thus similar to that of *śurati-šabda*. At one level this involves the practice of *nām japana* or repeating the Name, a long-established convention whereby merit is acquired by devoutly repeating the sacred word. This helps the devotee to internalize the meaning of the word he may be uttering.
and in this sense the practice is explicitly enjoined in the Sikh faith. Further, the discipline must be practised in a corporate sense with devotees gathering as a fellowship (satsaṅg) to sing hymns of praise (kīrtan). A third level which is also required of the loyal disciple is meditation. Akāl-Purakh, as expressed in the Name, is to be remembered not merely in the repeating of auspicious words or the singing of inspired hymns but also in deep contemplation of the divine mystery of the Name. All three practices constitute legitimate and necessary forms of nām simaran; and all serve progressively to reveal the divine Name to the person who earnestly seeks it. As Guru Ram Das, Nanak IV, says in Sarangki Vār, “Name incorruptible is beyond our comprehending. At the same time, it is our constant companion and pervades all creation. The true Gurū discloses it unto us and lets us perceive it in our hearts. It is through God’s grace that we meet with such a Gurū” (GG, 1242). According to Gurū Arjan, God’s Name is the key to emancipation (mukti) and the means of attaining it (jugāti); God’s Name is the fulfilment (tripatī) and enjoyment (bhugatī). He who repeats God’s Name suffers no setback. God’s Name is the devotee’s distinction. Repeating God’s Name the devotee wins honour (GG, 264-65).

In Sikhism, nām is an ontological category, a term denoting the Divine presence, a proper name for the Reality, an epithet of the Truth which does not exist apart from or in addition to the Truth, but is Truth by itself. Nām thus means Akāl-Purakh, the Creator who is beyond time. The word is sometimes used in compounds such as sati-nām and hari-nām, the Name of God. Occasionally, it is also used as a prefix as in nām-nidhān (the treasure of nām) and nām-ras (sap or essence of nām). In Sikh usage, nām is not mere name, but the Ultimate Reality itself. Nām is that Omnipresent Existence which manifests itself in the form of creation and is the source and sustenance of all beings and things (GG, 284). In other words, nām is the manifest form of the Transcendent Spirit, unknowable otherwise to the human mind. Nām is the source of creation and like God is all-pervasive. At the same time, nām is coextensive with creation; there is no space where nām is not — jetā kītā ketā nāu vinu nāvai nāhī ko thau: all that Thou hast created is Thy Name, i.e. manifestation; there is no place where Thy Name does not pervade (GG, 4). This manifestation of nām is orderly; its operation conforms to a fixed plan. From this point of view nām is identifiable with hukam, the divine Ordinance, and is closely connected with divine Will (rāzā) and divine Grace (prasād), which are further aspects of the divine Ordinance (hukam). Nām reflects the immanence of the Transcendent One in creation, which does not exist apart from His conscious Will.

The word nām is normally discussed in association with the terms shabad (Skt. śabda) and gurū, and it is also closely linked to the word hukam. In many instances nām and shabad are used interchangeably; in other cases, however, they can be separated. “From shabad has originated nām” (GG, 644), which implies that the Truth as mediated by the Gurū is the shabad (Word), whereas Truth as received by the believer is nām. The Gurū is the ‘voice’ (bānī) of Akāl-Purakh speaking the ‘Word’ (shabad) which communicates the truth of the Name (nām). He who cognizes shabad shelters nām in his heart. Bhāi Gurdās, in his Vārān, I.37, says that Gurū-Nānak set in motion the wheel of sati-nām or the vision of Holy Reality. Here nām refers to the doctrine or teaching of Gurū Nānak. This doctrine is traced by Gurū Nānak to his preceptor who is none other than God. “In whose heart is embedded the Name of the Lord is the true preceptor” (GG, 287). He it is who illumines the mind of the devotee with the nām. The mysteries of nām are indeed manifold; at several places in Gurū Granth Sāhib it is called nidhān or the treasure-house
of riches (GG, 29,522); without it everyone is poor (GG, 1232). It is called the light, joti (jyoti) which dispels all darkness (GG, 264).

In Sikhism, the concept of nam represents a whole religious way, a discipline leading to God-realization. But one cannot cognize nam without divine Grace. Words commonly used in this context are nadar, dayā, prasād, kṛpā, etc., variously translated as ‘grace’ or ‘mercy’. Deluded by his haumai (egocentricity), man remains blind to the nam which lies all around him, and by the act of grace will be put in the path to realizing it. By the favour of Akal-Purakh he meets the holy Guru who makes him aware of nam. The person who pursues and glorifies nam and, in obedience to the Guru, lives a life which conforms to it, will eventually achieve the blissful serenity of union with the Divine.

“The actual obligations of a life of obedience find expression in the regular, disciplined practice of the various forms of nam-simaran, individually as well as in saṅgam, and in acts of approved piety. Faithful cultivation of nam lifts the disciple to that sublime condition known as mystic experience by far transcending the power of expression. It is this experience which frees him forever from the cycle of transmigration and confers on him the gift of eternal bliss.

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L.M.J.

NĀMDEV (1270-1350), saint of Mahārāṣṭra who composed poetry of fervent devotion in Marāṭhī as well as in Hindī. His Hindī verse and his extended visit to the Punjab carried his fame far beyond the borders of Mahārāṣṭra. Sixty-one of his hymns in fact came to be included in Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. These hymns or sabdas share the common characteristic of lauding the One Supreme God distinct from his earlier verse which carries traces of idolatry and saguṇa bhakti. In the course of his spiritual quest, Nāmdev had, from being a worshipper of the Divine in the concrete form, become a devotee of the attributeless (nirguṇa) Absolute.

According to the generally accepted version of the current traditions, Nāmdev was born in AD 1270 to Dāmāsheṭi, a low-caste tailor, and his wife, Gonābāi, in the village of Narasi-Vāmaṇi, in Satārā district of Mahārāṣṭra. Janābāī, the family’s maidservant and a bhakta and poetess in her own right, records the tradition that Nāmdev was born to Gonābāi as a result of her worship of Vīṭhala in Paṇḍharapur. Nāmdev was married before he was eleven years of age to Rājābāi, daughter of Govindasheṭi Sadāvarte. He had four sons and one daughter. Under the influence of saint Jñānadeva, Nāmdev was converted to the path of bhakti. Vīṭhala of Paṇḍharapur was now the object of his devotion and he spent much of his time in worship and kirtan, chanting mostly verses of his own composition. In the company of Jñānadeva and other saints, he roamed about the country and later came to the Punjab where he is said to have lived for more than twenty years at Ghumān, in Gurdāspur district, where a temple in the form of samādhī still preserves his memory. This temple was constructed by Sardār Jassā Singh Rāmgarhī and the tank by its side was got repaired by Rāṇī Sadā Kaur, mother-in-law of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. In his early fifties, Nāmdev settled down at Paṇḍharapur where he gathered around himself a group of devotees. His abhaṅgas or devotional lyrics became very popular, and people thronged to listen to his kirtan. Nāmdev’s songs have been collected in Nāmdevācī Gāthā which also includes the long autobiographical poem Tirathavāli.
Tradition ascribes more than two thousand hymns to him, but the actual number does not seem to exceed one hundred and fifty, counting those preserved in the Guru Granth Sahib. Nāmdev died in AD 1350—according to one tradition at Paṇḍharpur and according to the other at Ghuman, in the Punjab.

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NĀM JĀPAṆĀ, KIRĀT KĀRNĪ, VĀṆḌ CHHAKAṆĀ, i.e. ever to repeat God’s name, to be ready to engage in the labour of one’s hands and to be willing to share with others what one has gathered may be said to be the triple principle underlyiSing Sikh ethics and way of life. This swiftly enunciated three-way formula meant conjointly to form a single edict affirms that a Sikh should ideally be a man of a sensitive spiritual and moral conscience, always ready to put his hand to the wheel and never shying away from his duty. Actions of a morally oriented individual are directed not solely towards achieving his own welfare, but towards ensuring the good of society as a whole. By linking nām jāpaṆā to the other two precepts, Sikhism declares that the basis of wholesome living is God-centredness, compulsions and obligations of physical existence notwithstanding. At the same time, striving for spiritual well-being of the self alone with dependence on others for subsistence is not a worthy ideal, nor is it correct to give free rein to one’s acquisitive nature without regard to the needs of others. For a Sikh the ideal life is that of a householder who, with the name and fear of God (and of God alone) always in his heart, earns his livelihood by honest labour and shares his victuals with the needy. In Sikhism, the way of the hermit or recluse is not approved.

Nām jāpaṆā or nām simaran, literally means to recite and repeat the name of God. God’s names are myriad, but the one accepted among Sikhs is Vāhīgurū or Vāhīgurū, which is the gūrmantra, Gurū-given formula, they receive at the time of receiving the rites of initiation. In practice nām jāpaṆā takes two forms. One is participation in worship in the saṅgat, i.e. believers gathered together to express or seek unity with God through singing and hearing His praises. The other way is that of private meditation, with or without the help of a rosary. The two methods are not exclusive of each other; they are complementary and a Sikh is expected to use both. Attendance at saṅgat is as important as contemplation in solitude. “Repetition of God’s name erases doubt and delusion,” says Gurū Arjan (GG, 814), and “expunging grief, pain and fear, it produces happiness everlasting” (GG, 456). But mechanical repetition of Name is not enough. One has to realize the Divine as a reality and be in harmony with Him. As Gurū Amār Dās, Nānak III, has pointed out: “Everyone repeats ‘Rām, Rām’, but merely uttering ‘Rām’ from one’s lips will not suffice; it is only when by the Gurū’s grace Rām abides in the heart that one gathers fruit” (GG, 491); and again: “Everyone has ‘Hari, Hari’ on his lips, but very few have Him in the heart; they in whose heart the Lord abides, O Nānak, achieve mokh/mukti or liberation” (GG, 565). Nām simaran, if it is to lead to union with God, depends on three things. The first is knowledge of the true nature of God as both nirguṇa (ineffable, abstract principle) and saṃguṇa (manifest, with attributes, knowable).
This comes through a correct understanding of the Guru’s word. Knowledge must be accompanied by faith in the compassionate nature of God and in the guiding ability of the Guru. Finally, nām simaran itself is a Divine gift depending on nādar or God’s grace. To refer to the Sukhmani, “He on whom God through His favour bestows understanding, 0 Nanak, receives (the gift of) Hari-simaran” (GG, 263).

Kirat karnī or to work to gain one’s livelihood, besides signifying preference for grhastha or normal householder’s life, has a moral value. Kirat, in Punjabi, is not any work; it means labour of the hands, it means ghalor hard, honest work and honest calling. Says Guru Arjan: “Kirat kamāvan sarab phal raviā hari nirati—remembering God with devotion and earning one’s living with honest labour is fruitful ever” (GG, 816). Kirat karnī is necessarily based on dharma or righteousness, and excludes exploitation of others. Bhāi Gurdās (d. 1636) insists on dharam dī kirat (Vārānī, I, 3; VI, 12; XI, II). Gurū Nānak himself condemned exploitation in very strong terms. He says: “If a garment is stained with blood, it is considered to have been polluted. How can then they who suck the blood of men be reckoned to have a pure mind?” (GG, 140). At another place he says: “To appropriate what by right is another’s is like eating hog for one (a Muslim) and cow for the other (a Hindu)” (GG, 141). The story in the Janam Sākhis about how Gurū Nānak preferred to eat the coarsest, but hard-earned, fare in the home of a poor carpenter to rich viands at the banquet of a wealthy nobleman itself underscores the value of honest labour. Kirat is central to the Sikh concept of sevā or self-abnegating deeds of service. In sevā no task is considered inferior or degrading; in fact the humbler the task the more honourable it is for the Sikh engaged in sevā. No calling is considered low or mean in Sikhism, which totally rejects the caste system.

Vand chhakānā is perhaps best rendered into English as “sharing with others what one eats or earns.” Gurū Nānak observes, “Do not put faith in one who styles himself a spiritual teacher but goes about begging. He alone, 0 Nānak, knows the way who lives by the labour of his hands and shares his earnings with others” (GG, 1245). These principles constitute the basis of the Sikh institutions of Gurū kā Lāṅgar (community kitchen) and dasvandh (tithes), setting apart of the obligatory one-tenth of one’s earnings for communal purposes. The central concern of the Sikh as a householder, viz. kirat karnī, is on the one hand associated with and conditioned by nām japānī (says Kabir in one of his verses included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib: “Let your body be engaged in work, but your mind must always be focussed upon God”), on the other, kirat, sanctified by nām, must fulfil the mandatory injunction of vand chhakānā to the exclusion of both exploitation and hoarding. Life regulated by the triple principle of meditation, work and social responsibility is, according to Sikhism, the means for an individual to fully realize his potentialities and to contribute towards the continuation and progress of society.

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NAMKARAN, naming or name-choosing, is in Sikh tradition the ceremony whereby a child first receives his or her name. The ceremony involves both the selection of the name and its public application to the child within the social context of the Sikh community. This is the first of the three Sikh life cycle rituals, the other two being marriage and funeral observances. The time of the naming...
ceremony is left to the judgement of the parents, though Bhāi Kāhn Singh, Gurushab Ratanākār Mahān Kosh, says it should be within forty days of birth which limitation however is not strictly adhered to in actual practice. The ceremony itself is simple. At the time chosen, the parents bring the child to the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. This may be after the usual daily service in a gurdwārā. If chosen to be more elaborate, the ceremony may take place at the conclusion of a completed reading, akhanda path accomplished within forty-eight hours of uninterrupted recitation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib in the gurdwārā or at home. The ministering granthī or any other revered Sikh will mix amrit, stirring it with a kirpān and reciting the first five stanzas from the Japu. Ardās is then said. The ceremony underscores the idea that the name received by the child has the sanction of the Gurū and the community, that it has essentially been bestowed upon the recipient by them. The names chosen are generally characterized by the aroma of Sikh teaching and history and not unoften are taken out of the Sikh Scripture. They may signify qualities such as devotion, humility and heroism. Among names indicative of the Sikh spiritual ideals and pious aspirations, a few of the common ones are: Harbhajan Singh, Harnām Singh, Harcharan Singh, Gurcharan Singh, Gurdīl Singh, Hardīl Singh, Joginder Singh, Sant Singh. Representing names of the Divine are Rām Singh, Kishan (Krṣna) Singh, Bishan (Viṣṇu) Singh, Bhagvān Singh, Gobind Singh, Indar Singh, Naraīn Singh; those representing moral and spiritual qualities Santokh Singh, Prem Singh, Dharam Singh, Gīān Singh, Satnām Singh, Parkāsh Singh, Gurdās Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Simrat Singh, Satbīr Singh, Satpāl Singh. Some of the Sikh names expressive of heroism are: Khaṛak Singh, Jodh Singh, Ajit Singh, Raṇjīt Singh, Jujhār Singh, Faujā Singh, Bahādur Singh, Vir Singh. Some draw on history and legend and on the objects of nature and, thus, we have Dārā Singh, Sikandar Singh, Rustam Singh, Totā Singh, Bāj Singh, Sher Singh, Kikkar Singh, Pahārā Singh, Gāngā Singh. Months contribute some names: Chet Singh, Basākhā Singh, Maghar Singh, Sāvan Singh, along with Basant Singh as do cities and towns: Lahaurā Singh, Pashaurā Singh, Kashmīrā Singh, Multānā Singh, Ajmer Singh and Kābul Singh.

Mention in the name of one’s caste or surname is disapproved, though this prohibition is not strictly followed. A person bearing a distinctive name as individual may be referred to by his caste or domicile name or by some other attribute. Thus some leading Sikhs have been known as Āhlūvāliā, Rāmgārhiā, Dhillōn, Grevāl, Siddhū, Sandhāvāliā (caste/goṭra names), as Nāgoke, Kairōn, Jālālūsmān, Majhail, Bādal, Tāuṛā, Rārevālā, Talvāndi (domicile) or Kirpān Bahādur (appellation), Sher-i-Punjab (after a newspaper). Sometimes nicknames have become surnames, e.g. Ainaki, one who wears āinak (spectacles), Dhiḍḍal with a paunch, Lammā extraordinary tall, and so on.

In the choice of names a process of evolution has been at work, generally from simpler to the more elaborate ones. The current popularity of compound and sophisticated names is owed to the increased emphasis on Sikh identity; also perhaps to greater concern for euphony and grandeur. Most modern names are composed of two or more words combined to sound like one word, signifying generally heroism, self-sacrifice, devotion to the Gurū or the principles the Gurū inculcated. The patterns into which Sikh names usually fall would make an interesting language study as also a study of the ideals cherished. In choosing names among the Sikhs, both fancy and eclecticism play their part. Names from the Perso-Arabic Muslim background such as Shamsher Singh, Shāhbag Singh, Bakhṭāvar Singh, Shāhbāz Singh, Sardār Singh, Zorāwar Singh, Fateh Singh, Iqībāl Singh, Hukam Singh, and Hākim Singh. Among those suggestive of European
background may be counted Aṅgrez Singh, Major Singh, Karnail Singh and Jarnail Singh.

As compared with males, there is less variety in female names, which often adhere to objects of aesthetic experience or moral qualities. Examples: Resham Kaur, Gulab Kaur, Suraiq Kaur, Satvant Kaur, Sumittar Kaur, Sundar Kaur, Sushil Kaur, and Mahtāb Kaur. These have their counterparts among male names as well.

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M.J.L.

NĀNAK, by Kshitīgh Chakravarty, is a versified biography of Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) in Bengali. The author, a lawyer by profession, was of a devout temperament. He was attracted to the teaching of Gurū Nānak whom he hails as an harbinger of the bhakti movement, spreading the gospel of love and devotion among the people of the Indian subcontinent. The book was published in 1916. As for his sources, the poet refers solely to Annie Basant’s *Children of the Motherland*, but it seems he was not wholly unaware of some of the writings on Sikhs published in the Bhāratī and other contemporary Bengali journals.

The poem begins with Gurū Nānak’s birth at Talvāndī, and recounts his early schooling in the village pāṭhālā, his encounter with the qādī and other episodes of his early life. There is also a detailed description of the travels of the Gurū, beginning with his visit to Haridvār, down to Rāmeswaram in the far south, via Vārānasi and Puri. However, there is little chronological sequence in the poet’s account of these journeys, nor does it coincide with the generally accepted route recorded in the janam sākhī literature. With the exception of the journey to Mecca, the poet makes no mention of the Gurū’s visit to any other place outside of India. He rounds off his account with the Gurū’s return from Mecca and finally settling down at Kartārpur on the right bank of the River Rāvi.

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H.B.

NĀNAK CHAND (d. 1831), the eldest son of Hoshnāk Rāi and a brother of Diwān Sāvan Mall, governor of Multān in Sikh times, entered the service of Dal Siṅgh of Akālgārh in 1788. He served that chief until his death in 1804 when the estate of Akālgārh, which was held as a dependency of the Sukkarchakkiā family, fell by escheat into the hands of Rājīt Siṅgh. Nānak Chand then left his native town and entered the force of Diwān Muhkam Chand under whom he served in positions of considerable trust. He was employed on collecting the revenues of Multān and Kashmir. He died in 1831 and his grandson, Rām Chand, succeeded to this appointment. Rām Chand was made chamberlain receiving the charge of the Maharājā’s private seal. He built large tanks at Nankāṇā, the birthplace of Gurū Nānak, and founded a Sanskrit school at Amritsar.

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S.S.S.

NĀNAK, GURŪ (Srī Gurū Nānak Dev), founder of Sikh religion and the first of a succession of ten Gurūs or prophet-teachers and disseminator of the divine intima-
tions vouchsafed to him and who became the source of a powerful current of spiritual and social renewal and regeneration, was born on Baisākhā sudi 3, 1526 Bk/15 April 1469. This is what modern research has tended to establish although by custom his birth-day is celebrated world-wide on the full-moon day in the month of Kārtik, October-November. Guru Nānak was born at Rāi Bhoi Kī Talvāndī, now called Nankāpā Sāhib, 65 km southwest of Lahore in Pakistan. His father, Kaliān Chand, more commonly known as Mahītā Kālū, belonged to the Bedī clan of Kshatriya Hindus. He was a paṭavāri, i.e. village accountant, in the service of Rāi Bulār, the local Muslim chief, and also had a few acres of his own on which he raised cattle. According to the Janam Sākhīs, traditional accounts of Guru Nānak’s life, the birth of the child was attended by prodigies and prophecies of his coming greatness. The village priest, Hardyal, was sent for to cast his horoscope. The paṇḍit spoke very auspicious words about the child. He prophesied that he would not only be an adorer of God, but lead many others to Him. Two themes run prominently in the stories of his childhood and youth.

Nānak was a precocious child who at the age of five asked questions about the purpose of life, and who, when sent to a paṇḍit to learn the alphabet, surprised his teacher by composing an acrostic poem with a deeply philosophical and mystic import. On the other hand, he is pictured as a dreamy child often indifferent to his studies and inattentive to everyday duties. His loving parents and sister were delighted to learn about his brilliance, but concerned by his laxness in the tasks of daily life. He let the cattle entrusted to his care wander into a farmer’s field and trample his crop. Money given him for business was distributed to the poor or to wandering ascetics. Starting in childhood and throughout his life there are reports of Guru Nānak’s seeking the company of Hindu and Muslim holy men. From an early age he was in continuing dialogue with the religious traditions and teachers of his time. He did not settle for the routine observance of rituals and rules.

The family grew anxious that Nānak was emotionally or physically ill. Kālū summoned Hardās, the physician, who examined the seemingly obdurate youth. The physician concluded that he had no need of healing, but was set for the healing of many. An invitation came from his sister Nānaki and her husband Jai Rām for him to stay with them in Sultānpūr. Despite the sorrow of Mother Triptā at the departure of her son, there was hope that this new setting would energize Guru Nānak to practical life. Nānak gained employment as the keeper of the modikhānā, government storehouse, in Sultānpūr, from Nawāb Daulat Khān Lodhī. He fulfilled his duties and won the admiration of everyone for his diligence. He gathered a group of disciples for the worship of the one God and meditation on the divine Name. A Muslim minstrel, Mardānā, companion of his childhood days, joined him at Sultānpūr, where they organized the singing of hymns, the sharing of a common meal, and urging people to a life of simplicity and righteousness.

One day Guru Nānak failed to appear for work following his early morning ablutions in the River Beīn which flowed past the town of Sultānpūr. He had been missing for three days and nights, and it was feared that he had drowned. Rapt contemplation of God had brought him to an intimate communion with the Divine. He seemed to have received a call to go forth into the wider world to preach the vision vouchsafed to him. The Purātan Janam Sākhī describes this mystical experience in terms of a direct encounter with the Divine; also, Bhai Gurdās who says, Vārāṇ, I. 24, that Guru Nānak was invested with his commission in Sach Khaṇḍ, the Abode of the Eternal One.

The first words Guru Nānak uttered on reappearance were: “There is no Hindu, there
NANAK, GURU

is no Musalmān.” He announced to the world the good news of life lived in communion with the one God who is beyond the religious divisions created by humankind. He was now thirty years of age. He was already married to Sulakhanī, daughter of Mūl Chand Chonā of Baṭālā (Bhādon sūdī 7, 1544 Bk/24 September 1487) and was the father of two sons, Sri Chand (b. 1494) and Lakhmi Dās (b. 1497). Leaving his family behind and taking Mardānā with him as his sole companion, he left Sultānpur for twenty years of travelling.

It is difficult to establish an exact itinerary of Guru Nānak’s travels. Customarily they are grouped into four lengthy journeys (udāśis) to the east, south, north, and west. At the end of each, he returned to the Punjab. While his travels took him also to many obscure hamlets, Guru Nānak travelled as well to the centres of religious pilgrimage. His dialogue with pandīts, sādhūs, and yogīs of every sect, as with mullās, pīrs, and qādīs, was not that of an uncommitted seeker, but that of a teacher. As the Janam Sakhīs report, Guru Nānak possessed uncanny powers which he used to challenge the religious leaders of his time. In word and deed he proclaimed a new vision of the one God whose power goes beyond the names and forms used by humankind. He visited the places of pilgrimage at Kurukshetra, Mathurā, Haridvār, Banaras, Gayā, as well as those in Bengal, Assam and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). He visited the Sūfī establishments at Pāk Paṭṭan and Multān and shrine sites along the west coast of India.

He travelled beyond India in the west to Mecca, Medina, and Baghdad. There are accounts of still further travels to the east, to Tibet and China. There are legends of travel to mythical places such as Mount Sumeru, and discourses with teachers who had died in previous centuries. The common feature of the udāśi stories is their witness to the integrity of Guru Nānak’s vision of God.

wins over his opponents not simply by magical power or intellectual acumen, but by moral persuasion and the power of loving devotion. He was not a sectarian reformer attached to one community of faith or part of the world. He was preacher of the divine Reality transcending all particularities of race or clan. In the times of travel, he continued to have revealed to him religious verse that eventually entered the Adi Granth. As he returned to the Punjab, he was ready to settle into the last twenty years of his life, a time of teaching, devotion and the establishment of a community. However, he and Mardānā were caught in the turmoil of the rising Mughal power at the sack of Saidpur in 1520. They were taken prisoner by Bābar but soon released after disclosure of the Guru’s spiritual powers.

Guru Nānak’s years of travelling ended around 1521 with the establishment of Kartārpur. A wealthy follower had donated land on the right bank of the River Rāvi for the village which became the centre of the newly forming Sikh community (panth). He had continued contacts with Nāth Yogīs and other spiritual teachers and engaged in debate with them. However, this was primarily a time of consolidation in which his religious verse was reduced to writing and the patterns of worship of the community established. Morning prayers commenced before sun-up with the singing of hymns, followed by a day of work that ended with hymns and prayers each evening. This discipline was extended to other communities as copies of his hymns became available to them. Each centre in turn had a leader to instruct newcomers. Guru Nānak had not established a vast organization. Instead, he had developed a simple spiritual and moral discipline that had the capacity for reproducing itself. In this discipline and spirituality he established the dynamic that was to determine the future of Sikhism.

Bhāī Gurdās, poet and a near-contempo-
characterizes in a picturesque stanza the role of Guru Nanak as a teacher:

As Guru Nanak made his appearance in the world,
There was light everywhere,
As when the sun rises
The stars vanish and darkness retreats,
Or as when the lion roars
The deer flee in panic.
Wherever the Guru set his foot,
That spot became sanctified.
Spots once sacred to the Siddhas
Do celebrate Nanak now.
Every home is turned into a dharamsālā
And every day into a festival of praise to the Divine.
By manifesting the Eternal Name,
The Guru redeemed all the four corners
and all the nine realms of the earth.
God’s own witness had appeared in the Kali age.

(Vārāṇ, I. 27)

This appraisal of Guru Nanak and his work was recorded about sixty years after his death. Its basic notions, however, must have been in formation for some time before they found such reverberating expression. The writer was both a poet and a scholar. Apart from his capacity for imaginative recreation, he could formulate intellectually. He interpreted and conceptualized aspects of the developing faith in a manner both original and authentic. He was a close associate and disciple of Guru Arjan and wrote in his time —Guru Arjan who in direct spiritual descent was Nānak himself, Nānak V. Yet the memory of Guru Nānak and his teaching remained powerfully effective and this Bhai Gurdās captured eloquently in his verse.

Manifest in the imagery of the lines quoted is the apprehension of the Guru as a redeemer. His appearance in the world was an act of providence. The truth he enunciated dispelled ignorance and sin. He wandered abroad preaching. Places of worship were set up where he visited. Faith was restored to the householder. His home became his temple where he practised prayer and adoration. The Guru’s message was meant for all mankind. The purpose of his coming in the Kali age, the least pious of the classical time-cycles, was to demonstrate the way of God. This sense of the transcendental and universal character of Guru Nānak’s prophecy dominated Bhai Gurdās’ insight. It was present among the Guru’s immediate followers. This is how the writers of Janam Sakhis had understood him and this is what they attempted to convey in their own style mixing myth, legend and history together. This style was the way of men of that time to say that they had encountered a charismatic being whose presence and words had revolutionized their world. The order of nature was reversed and so were the lives of many men. The crushed fields grew thick with grain, the murderous criminal turned a saint, the boiling cauldron was cooled. The very fact that myth and miracle were used becomes in this sense a historical datum. This evidence is relevant to understanding Guru Nānak and finding the true measure of his genius.

In addition to the poetical testimony of Bhai Gurdās, the stories transmitted by the Janam Sakhīs and the living tradition which goes back half a millennium, there is the Guru’s own word preserved in the Guru Granth Sāhib. Running through this entire body of verse is one clear note of witness to the will and being of God. To this theme he was wholly committed. From this commitment arose his unbounded love, his deep compassion and active concern for the welfare of man. His compositions are devoted to musings upon the Creator and His attributes, to singing His greatness, to depicting his own lyrical realization of Him and to identifying the prevalent inequalities and injustices which he regarded as wrongs against His order. In all this he speaks as a witness to revelation. He has seen or heard something of God to which he calls the attention of men. “As the
Lord sendeth His word so do I deliver it," reads one of his verses. Another, "Nānak proclaimeth the truth of the Eternal" or, "I communicated only the command from above." Again, "I spoke only what Thou made me to speak." It is clear that Guru Nānak believed himself to be performing a divinely appointed commission. All that follows for him—his travels, his disciples, his discourses with the Sūfis and the Siddhas, the learned and the law-givers, his teaching of the mighty and the humble, his redeeming of the sick and the sinful, his perception of the tragic and the comic in the situations he encountered, his founding of Kartārpur, his laying down the rules of fraternal living, his creation of the laṅgar and the holy fellowship (saṅgat), his song and his poetry—spring from this awareness.

Bhai Gurdas portrays the advent of the redeemer in the setting of a corrupted society. "The Merciful Master," he says, "heard the wail of the earth and sent down Guru Nānak." How does he portray the scene into which the Guru came: "There prevailed much ill will in the world. Men had become split into four castes. They measured their lives into four separate āshramas, or stages. The sannyāsīs had their own ten denominations, the yogīs their twelve different paths. So were the Jains divided into sects, continually in mutual conflict. The Brāhmaṇs set the Vedas, Shāstras and Purāṇas one against another. The expounders of the six schools of philosophy created many discords and gave rise to much dissimulation. The people paid court to spells and incantations, to alchemy and thaumaturgy. From one God they had made many, and carved countless well wrought and not-so-well wrought forms in stone and wood. All were lost in superstitiousness."

"As there were castes among the Hindus, so there were sects among the Muslims. Useless conflicts prevailed among them. The Gaṅges and Benares were sacred to the Hindus and Mecca and Kaabā to the Muslims. For Hindus religion meant the holy cord and the forehead mark, for Muslims circumcision. Rām and Rahim were the same One God; yet two divergent courses were drawn from Him. The Hindus neglected the teachings of their books, Muslims those of their scripture. Both had succumbed to worldly temptation. The Brāhmaṇs and the Mullās squabbled endlessly and the truth was passed by. None ever gained liberation thus."

Bhai Gurdas' description stresses the point that religious life at the time of Guru Nānak had become concerned with mere externals. Form took precedence. Outward observance was established as an end in itself. The reality of faith was lost in the superstition which dominated men's lives. Discords made in the name of religion disrupted and devitalized society. For the common man, be he Hindu or Muslim, faith was centred in external authority and was expressed in conventional ceremony and ritual. For the Hindu community religious authority rested in the Brāhmaṇs as a class. What was required of the common man was the performance of practices laid down for his caste. To this he gave unquestioned obedience. For the Muslim, faith was anchored in the authority of the 'ulemā who interpreted for him his duty. This dominance of religion by authoritarian, ritualistic and morally indifferent formalism was a phenomenon then common to both East and West. Also common to both was the beginning of a criticism of it and a search for an inner, personal faith. Just as Western Christendom was being awakened to new vitality by the preaching of Martin Luther and John Calvin, in India an impulse for reconstruction issued from the teaching of Guru Nānak. There is no historical link between the great leaders of the age of reform in these mutually remote areas of the world, yet illuminating parallels are seen in the way the two movements originated and in the motives that inspired them. There
was a common criticism of superstition and idolatry, of false teaching and ritual. Faith was declared by reformers in East and West as man’s personal relationship to God. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were what the philosopher Karl Jaspers would characterize as an “Axial Era” in human history. It was a time in which the human spirit felt stirred to find anew the authentic in religion. In this age of turning, Guru Nānak was to light the way into the future for the religions of India.

Just as important as his attestation of the eternal verities was Guru Nānak’s role in reformation. Earlier Hindu Bhaktas and Muslim Sūfis had proclaimed the ideal of purity of devotion as well as of conduct and indicated the way to religious reconciliation and regeneration. But it was Guru Nānak who created the means for realizing in a practical way the potential of these developments. In his intuition spiritual and temporal claims were wrought into a single focus and he presented an integrated and substantive view of human destiny. He questioned more effectively the current assumptions and values and, in the mode he had established, life seemed to swing from its old ways into new. To quote Joseph Davey Cunningham, an early historian of Sikhism:

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Hindu mind was no longer stagnant or retrogressive; it had been leavened with Muhammadanism, and changed and quickened for a new development. Ramanand and Gorakh had preached religious equality, and Chaitan had repeated that faith levelled caste. Kabir had denounced images, and appealed to the people in their own tongue, and Vallabh had taught that effectual devotion was compatible with the ordinary duties of the world. But these good and able men appear to have been so impressed with the nothingness of this life, that they deemed the amelioration of man’s social condition to be unworthy of a thought. They aimed chiefly at emancipation from priestcraft, or from the grossness of idolatry and polytheism. They formed pious associations of contented Quīṣṭists, or they gave themselves up to the contemplation of futurity in the hope of approaching bliss, rather than calling upon their fellow creatures to throw aside every social as well as religious trammel, and to arise a new people freed from the debasing corruption of ages. They perfected forms of dissent rather than planted the germs of nations, and their sects remain to this day as they left them. It was reserved for Nānak to perceive the true principle of reform; and to lay those broad foundations which enabled his successor Gobind to fire the minds of his countrymen with a new nationality, and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes.

One conspicuous mark of Guru Nānak’s teaching was its spirit of affirmation. It took the world as real and embraced man’s life in its various aspects. Withdrawal was considered the negation of faith. Contrary to the prevailing notion of piety, the emphasis was not on turning away from reality but on a willing, even joyous, acceptance of it. In one of his hymns Guru Nānak said:

Real are your realms and real your universes.
Real are your worlds and real the created forms.
Real are your acts and real your purposes.
Real is your fiat and real your court.
Real is your order and real your word.
Real is your mercy and real your mark of grace.
Millions call upon you as True Reality.
Real is the energy you have created.
Real is your name and real your praise.
Real is your Nature, Eternal Sovereign.

(GG, 463)

Gurū Nānak thus proclaimed the world to be the creation of God, reflecting the divine being and divine purpose. By placing a positive value on the natural order, he brought worldly structures—the family, the social and economic systems—within the orbit of religious concern. Human life was considered an opportunity for an individual to develop personally by practising piety and by devoting himself to the service of his fellowmen thereby improving man's condition as a whole. "The body," said Gurū Nānak, "is the palace, the temple, the house of God: into it He has put His eternal light." The life of faith was not to lead men away from this world. The true man of faith did not retreat from the world, but battled in open field,

with his mind perfectly in control
and with his heart poised in love,
all the time.

(GG, 931)

From this attitude of acceptance and affirmation was derived a keen concern for the actual life-situation of the day. Gurū Nānak displayed a highly developed awareness in treating of it. His compositions sketch a sensitive picture of the prevalent confusion and crisis. For this social criticism alone his work would be of remarkable relevance and significance. From the high-handedness of the kings to the injustices and inequalities which permeated the system, nothing was outside the scope of his contemplation. He frankly censured the State and held it responsible for many of the sins of the society in his time. He uncovered the moral decay that had set in under despotic rule. He showed how cant, hypocrisy and superstition passed under the name of religion, how people began aping the dress and language of their masters and how life in general was being drained of healthful and constructive impulses. For him the Brähmans and Mullās whose piety had been reduced to an effete, soulless routine, unjust qādis and other state functionaries, empty customs and ritualism and institutions such as caste were the symbols of contemporary decadence and these became the subjects of his sarcasm. He disapproved of idolatry, polytheism and the attendant sacerdotalism and there was powerful exposure made in his hymns of the superstitions of the Hindu and the Muslim alike and of the formalism which dominated their religious practices. The invasion of the country by Bābar's armies roused his concern. He was appalled by the pusillanimity shown by the rulers of India in meeting the challenge. The sabdas he uttered on this theme are unexcelled for their power of expression and moral keenness. His poetry has important social meaning. Nowhere else in contemporary literature are the issues in the medieval Indian situation comprehended with such clarity or presented in tones of greater urgency.

Of the times in general Gurū Nānak said:

The times are like a drawn knife, the kings like butchers,
And righteousness hath fled on wings.
The dark night of falsehood prevaleth,
The moon of truth is nowhere visible.

(GG, 1460)

And again:

Sin is the king and greed the minister,
and falsehood their chief agent.
Lust is their constant counsellor.
The people are ignorant
and supinely render fealty.
Priests dance and play music,
make all kinds of masquerade,
And shriek and scream while singing balladry.
Fools pass for the learned, sophistry for wisdom,
And everyone seeks nothing but pelf.
Those who do good acts forfeit the merit,
by asking for deliverance as reward.
Some call themselves men of continence,
But they know not the way and in ignorance abandon their homes
(GG, 468-69)

*** ***
Some perform the Hindu worship at home,
But they read the Qurān in public
And observe the code of the ruling Turks.
Oh! Give up the pretence, friends!!
They who eat men say regularly their namāz.
They who wear the sacred thread
use knives to cut men’s throats.
And they call priests to their homes
to perform the rites of worship.
(GG, 471)

*** ***
Modesty and honour are nowhere in sight,
Nānak, falsehood prevails everywhere.
They who put the sacred marks on their foreheads
And girt their waists with loincloth,
Become butchers for the world with knives in their hands.
To win the favour of the rulers they clad themselves in blue.
(GG, 722)

This sense of discontent with what he saw emerges through several of the Guru’s sabdas. It found expression repeatedly in his references to cruel and unjust monarchs, fawning, corrupt ministers and officials, pharisaical priests and leaders of religious sects. Neither did he condone the ascetics who disowned the world and in their despondent outlook became a burden to the community. He spoke often with humour more than anger. Yet his purpose was always clear. He had deep sympathy for the common mass of people and had a strong feeling of kinship with them. He said, “Lowly among the lowliest am I, the lowliest of all. I am with them and to them I belong. I envy not the mighty.”

Further on he proclaimed that “where the poor are owned there will God’s grace be manifested.” Any imposition on the people hurt him and excited his compassion. He protested against oppression of every kind.
An open tragedy like the one that struck Saidpur was sure to move him profoundly. Yet there were in his response to it certain individual elements. He made the woes of the inhabitants of the unfortunate town his own and experienced in his heart the agony and sorrow of the moment. From this deep feeling issued poetry intensely human, vivid and meaningful, instinct with an artistic awareness of ironic fate. The pathetic imagery however was informed by a perceptive conscience. The incident was not treated as an isolated one, but placed in the larger social and historical perspective. Decline in moral standards must lead to chaos. A corrupt political system has in it the germs of its dissolution. Lure of power divides men and violence unresisted tends to flourish. It could not be wished away by magic or sorcery. The Guru reiterates his faith in the Almighty and His justice. But so acute was his realization of the distress of the people that he could not resist making the complaint, “When there was such suffering, such killing, such shrieking in pain, did you not feel pity, O God? Creator, you are the same for all” (GG, 360)
The people for him were the Indian people as a whole, Hindus and Muslims, the high-caste and the low-caste, soldiers and civilians, men and women.

In spite of some of the conciliatory trends, the Hindu-Muslim polarity was a persistent factor in the Indian life. Guru Nānak had clearly seen beyond this and declared early in his career, “There is no Hindu and there is no Musalman.” All his teaching and work had been a substantiation of this statement. In his discerning appraisal of the total Indian situation in his time and in the practical way in which he addressed himself to some of the deeply rooted problems and short-
comings and to reshaping the social mores and bringing into play new elements, Guru Nānak transcended the rather limited framework of other contemporary advocates of reform belonging mainly to the mystic orders in Hinduism and Islam.

Emphasis on equality and ethical conduct took precedence in Guru Nānak’s scheme of reform. The society in which he lived was torn with divisions. There were antagonistic religious communities each with its own sects and castes. There were classes condemned to perpetual subservience. No common point of appeal to the people as a whole existed. Guru Nānak began by saying that one, Eternal and Infinite God was the creator of all things. All His creatures were equal before Him and to make distinctions among them was sinful. The designations of Hindu and Musalman meant nothing to him. He pointed the way for people to look across these: “There is no Hindu and there is no Musalman.” All men were God’s own creation. “Two ways are made out. But is not one God the master of all, Hindus and Muslims?” “False,” he said, “is caste, and false the titled fame. One Supreme Lord sustains all.” “Know men by their worth. Do not ask their caste. There is no caste in the next world.” “Neither caste nor position will be recognized hereafter. They alone will be pronounced good whose merit is reckoned worthy of honour.” “Neither caste nor birth will be enquired... As you act so will be your caste and your status.”

Guru Nānak was acutely conscious of the position of inferiority assigned to women. He had many bold and sympathetic words to say for them. Among his followers they were given full equality with men. In one of his ṣabdās, he said:

Of woman are we born, of woman conceived,
To woman engaged, to woman married.
Woman we befriend, by woman is the civilization continued.

When woman dies, woman is sought for.
It is by woman that order is maintained.
Then why call her evil from whom are great men born?
From woman is woman born,
And without woman none should exist.
The eternal Lord is the only one, O Nānak,
Who depends not on woman.

The last couplet proclaims the Guru’s belief, repeatedly expressed in his hymns, that God is self-created and above the cycle of life and death.

Guru Nānak discounted the houseless state and insisted that liberation was won in the world itself — “amid its laughter and sport, fineries and foods.” He firmly supported marriage and family. In the home alone could man fully realize his destiny. How should he conduct himself in the world? A symbolism frequently used is that of the lotus flower which remains in the pond untouched by its impurities. Living thus “in the midst of wife and children one would,” said the Guru, “gain liberation.” “By a life of service in this world alone will one become entitled to a seat in the next.” “There can be no love of God without service.”

Service, devotion and love were accounted as of real importance. “He who cherishes a sight of His gate, cares neither for liberation nor for heaven,” said the Guru. Practical virtue was made an essential ingredient of piety. “Truth is higher than everything else, but higher than truth is true living.” For this life true and worthy there are no substitutes. “Outward forms”, formulas, incantations, image-worship, esoteric observances, charities and pilgrimages do not avail. The giving of alms out of ill-gotten gains was commented upon thus: “If a thief robs a house and out of his booty gives away alms for the sake of his forefathers... they will be regarded as thieves and the go-between will have his hands chopped off. For that is
Justice" (GG, 472). So were renunciation, austerities and penances rejected. "Some worship stones, some go to visit places of pilgrimage and some take their abode in forests. They roam and they falter. How can one become pure until the mind is rid of contamination? He is honoured who achieves the truth." But "truth is not achieved by mere performance of prescribed acts." "Bathing in sacred pools will not help if one has not shed one's ego." "Nor will the sacred mark on the brow or the janeu profit." "Useless is worship without faith, restraints without truth and the sacred thread without self-control. You may wash and bathe and run the mark of your caste across your forehead. Yet purity will not be attained without pure conduct."

These were the words addressed to the Brahman. To the Muhammadan the Guru said, "It is not easy to be called a Musalmān. If there were one, let him be so known. He should first take to his heart the tenets of his faith and purge himself of all pride. He will be a Muslim who pursues the path shown by the founder of the creed, who extinguishes anxiety about life and death, who accepts the will of God as supreme, who has faith in the Creator and surrenders himself to the Almighty. When he has established his goodwill for all, O Nānak, will he be called a Musalmān" (GG, 141). And to the yogi, "Religion lies not in the patched garment, nor in his staff, nor in besmearing the body with ashes. Religion lies not in suspending large rings from split ears, nor in shaving the head, nor in the blowing of horns. To live uncontaminated amid worldly temptations is to find the secret of religion. Religion lies not in empty words. He who regards all men as equal is truly religious. Religion lies not in wandering outside to tombs and places of cremation, nor in postures of contemplation. Religion lies not in roaming abroad, nor in bathing at places of pilgrimage. To live uncontaminated amid worldly temptations is to find the secret of religion" (GG, 730). Thus spoke Guru Nānak to the Vaishnavite and the Shaivite, the tāntrist and the penitent, the sannātā and the dervish, the Bhakta and the Sūfī, the Panḍit and the Mullāh, the Jain and the Siddha. Through them he was speaking not only to the contemporary situation but to men of every age. His purpose was not to criticize any sect or order, but to call the attention of the people to the persistent fallacies which distorted the essential integrity of humanity. All the time he was asking them to press beyond rituals to recover the basis and motivation for truthful, moral action. He believed that "no one ever reached paradise by subscribing to mere forms. One secured release only by practising the truth."

Gurū Nānak stressed the futility of charms, spells and the many superstitious observances then widely current. Just as he was concerned to establish the true value of faith and the purity of religious practice, he sought to free the people's minds from the pervading sense of fear. He had spoken of the oppression by authority, political as well as ecclesiastical, and of social inequity. He also perceived the harmful effects of mental enslavement and wished to see the people outgrow their inertia and credulousness. He asked them to rid themselves of the influence of the sadhus and the faquirs. "Show no reverence," he said, "to those who call themselves gurūs and pirs but go about begging for alms. They alone who live by their own labour and share the fruit with the others have found the right path" (GG, 1245). He denounced belief in magic and mantras and the irrational notions of defilement by touch and impurity said to attach to occasions such as childbirth. Men were all equal and there was, according to him, no question of one born in a certain class being polluted by the touch of him born in another. He said:

If you believe in pollution at birth, there is pollution everywhere.
There are creatures in cow-dung considered sacred by Hindus, and in wood.
There is life in each grain of corn.
Water, the source of life and sap for all things, has life within it.
Then how can one escape pollution?
Pollution pollutes only the ignorant.
The pollution of the mind is greed,
the pollution of the tongue lying.
The pollution of the eyes is to look with covetousness upon another's wealth,
upon another's wife and upon the beauty of another's woman.
The pollution of the ears is to listen to slander.
The pollution in which the people commonly believe is all superstition.
Birth and death are by divine will, by divine will men come and go.
What is given to us to eat and drink is pure.
They who have arrived upon the truth remain untouched by pollution.

(GG, 472)

Like birth, death was by God's will and, as such, not to be dreaded. "Death," said Guru Nanak, "was the privilege of the brave" (579-80). Such language was unique in an age dominated by timidity and apprehensiveness. Death was not to be regarded as the unspeakable dread that crippled every moment of life, but as the portal by which men entered a new realm of God's wisdom and love. Many sabādas can be quoted from his compositions similar in tenor to some of the mythical poetry of that time, though in such hymns also the unique quality of his imaginative and aesthetic intuition will be easily distinguishable. But there are many more, singular in style and character. In understanding and analyzing the true nature of the Gurū's legacy the departures he registered have to be especially noted. Reference has been made to the ringing note of protest in his utterances and his social consciousness —characteristics in which he was distinctly in advance of his times. But he did not confine himself to decrying the evils of a decadent age. He not only recognized the prevailing woes and shortcomings, but also proceeded to set in motion a current of practical reform. If he said that all men are equal, he established the Gurū kā Langar emphasizing in the common meal true fellowship and equality. To the saṅgats, or holy associations, which sprang up in the wake of his preaching, men and women were admitted without distinctions of caste and creed. To recall people from their indolence, resignation and masochistic self-depreciation, he taught them to put their trust in One Formless God, and make this faith the basis of a chaste and courageous living. Sevā, or the spirit of active love and service, was presented as the highest ideal. The seeker was expected to live in the world, engage himself in normal activity, never forswearing his moral obligation, and to become an active agent in promoting the social ends of the community. Kirat karnī, vaṇḍ chhakanā te nām japnā, i.e., to earn one's living by honest labour, to share with others the fruit of one's exertion and to pursue the discipline of nām summed up the instruction of Gurū Nānak. It became the operative principle in the life of the community that grew around him.

All of Gurū Nānak's teaching is set forth in verse. His genius was best expressed in the poetical attitude. No other way would have been adequate to the range and depth of his mood —his fervent longing for the Infinite, his joy and wonder at the beauty and vastness of His creation, his tender love for his fellowmen, his moral speculation and his concern at the suppression and exaction to which the people in his day were subject. His compositions reveal an abounding imagination and a subtle aesthetic sensitivity. The language in which his hymns were composed was Punjabi —the common tongue of the people among whom he was born. This choice itself was significant. For the first time Punjabi was used extensively and consistently for literary expression of this order. The fact was illustrative of the process of resurgence which
the regional languages all over India were then undergoing. The results for Punjabi were dramatic. From a spoken tongue it turned in Guru Nānak's hands into a subtle medium of self-revelation. The creative energy it acquired from him informed its subsequent growth and continues to be a vital influence to this day.

Guru Nānak treated the language with delicacy and innovation. The core of his vocabulary was the speech of the common man in the Punjab of his day. To this he brought fresh elements from his power of vivid imagery and from his vigorous observation and extensive experience of travel and contact with a variety of people. He freely drew upon the terminology of the Upanishads accessible to him through the Sant tradition, of the Yogis, Siddhas and Sūfis. When he was addressing his words to a Muslim, he tended to depend more on Persian and Arabic. There are sābdas by him in Apabhraṃśa and at least two in which Sanskrit predominates. Yet in the main body of his verse ingredients from diverse sources blend together and the impression is given of aptness and harmony. The most characteristic quality of his poetry is the eloquence of its symbolism and the down-to-earth, sinewy presence of its Punjabi vocabulary. Guru Nānak's figures were taken from all different aspects of life in the Punjab — farming, the trades and the crafts, the ceremonial observed by various faiths and sects, conjugal life, hunting, music, dancing, games such as chess and chaupar and the amusements of rope-dancers, acrobats, and mimics. He revealed a close familiarity with peasants, artisans, diverse characters in contemporary religious life, figures of Pūrānic mythology, birds and animals, flowers and trees, the state regalia, gradations of bureaucratic rank, bridal toilet, articles of luxury, and so on. In the imagery drawn from farming Guru Nānak enunciates how truth might be reaped, “Make body the field, the mind the ploughman, honest labour the irrigating water. Sow the seed of the Lord’s Name. Let contentment be the leveller and humility the fence. With deeds of love the seed will fertilize” (GG, 595). And again, “If good actions be your farm and if you sow it with the seed of Divine Word and water it daily with truth, you would be a good farmer and reap the crop of faith. Then will you know the reality of Heaven and Hell.” God has been called the farmer par excellence. Guru Nānak designated himself as His bailiff. The world is to the Creator what clay-pots are to the potter. The four-fold division of the time-cycle has been compared to four sides of the chaupar—board, creatures to chessmen. “The dice is cast by the Creator Himself. Beaten is his chessman who does not gain favour in the Lord’s court. He never wins the board.” A man devoid of God’s remembrance is compared to a wall with sand inside it and a mind without peace to the forest-deer skipping out stealthily to nibble at young sprout. The fisherman’s net ensnaring unsuspecting fish is the metaphor used to describe death. The guilty man who dissembles and bends low to show his humbleness is likened to a hunter who bows down to take aim at the deer.

The ravages caused by foreign invasions turned into telling imagic features in Guru Nānak’s apprehension and supplied some of the symbolism of his poetry. Describing how man is overwhelmed by the five enemies, i.e. lust, anger, greed, attachment and ego, he wrote, “They are five whereas I am alone. How shall I defend my house and property against them? ... The citadel (body) was demolished, the temple inside was plundered and the lone woman (soul) was captured.” In this simile are mirrored the scenes of destruction the country had witnessed repeatedly. Humorous observation was not foreign to Guru Nānak’s insight. This was in fact more in character with his genial and robust temperament. “Of little worth,” reads a couplet, “is the cow without milk, the bird without wings, the vegetation without water,
the king without salaam who is acknowledged by nobody" (GG, 354). Then, "He who imbibes not the Name will regret his coming into the world like a crow flying to a deserted house." Similarly, he who imbibes no virtue wastes away his life. "He looks in all four directions bewildered like a trader without merchandise." To quote another verse, "What is cold to a stone or home-life to a eunuch?" (GG, 143)

The underlying singleness of theme which inspired Guru Nanak's verse led to some inevitable repetition. But it was rescued from plain uniformity by the variety of his language and imagery and by the variety and range of its metre. His creative impulse held its sublime level through extensive stretches of composition. No prosaic moralizing was permitted to stifle the ardour of his inspiration. In addition, there was variation in mood — from mystical and lyrical to philosophical and critical, from devotional and contemplative to aesthetic and sensuous. This was accompanied by an awareness of his role of poetic revelation. More than once in his compositions he referred to himself with the designation of poet. He revelled in this office. He was happiest singing the infiniteness of God and of the creation flowing from Him. He sang of the Divine both in His impersonal and personal aspects — as devoid of all attributes, formless and ineffable, standing over against the whole realm of becoming, and as Creator who makes himself known by his Word and acts in human lives through His grace. His yearning for Him, rendered often in the allegory of conjugal love, and his descriptions of nature have provided the Punjabi language with some of its literary masterpieces. This poetry contains one of the most intimate and magnificent expressions of faith in the Transcendent. It is a seriously given testament about God's existence and a sterling statement of a deeply experienced vision of Him. Yet underlying this is a spirit of utter humility and the consciousness that Reality was beyond limit and ultimately unknowable. In the Japu Guru Nānak said:

There is no limit to the praises of Him that are being sung, no end to the ways in which He is described.
There is no limit to what He does for us, and no end to what He gives.
There is no limit to what He sees, and no limit to what He hears.
None can divine the limit of His purposes,
None can know the limit of what He has brought into being, and of the nature and size of all that exists.
Many yearn to discover His limit,
But His limit cannot be fixed.
None know the limit.
The more we say the greater He seems to become.
Great is the Lord, high His seat,
And higher than the highest His Name.
He that would know how high He is must first be as high as He is.
How great He is He alone knows.
What is given us is by His bounty and grace alone.

(GG, 5)

The natural beauty and sincerity of Guru Nānak's song had a convincing power. This became an important element in his way of teaching. Another influential factor was music of which he made extensive use. Above all was the attraction of his own person. He lived among men with graciousness and humility. Few could resist his intensely human and sympathetic manner. The fame of his holy life was widely spread and drew towards him men from all sects and strata. He had an especially charming and spontaneous way with the crowds. He mixed with them freely and showed great presence of mind and courage in dealing with them. He could improvise gestures humorous and dramatic to provoke their observation and interest. Thus he won his audiences instantly. The
teaching was indirect and incidental, never direct or by didactic discourse. A common method was the recitation of hymns of his own composition, accompanied by Mardānā on the rebeck. The power of his words and his self-effaced, deeply absorbed personality touched the hearts of men. His own pure example and the earnestness of his moral precepts awakened their conscience. For many this meant complete transformation of their lives. 

Guru Nanak discountenanced miracles as a means of spreading his message. He declared that these supernatural or miraculous powers did not belong to the spiritual way of life: they "were extraneous matters altogether."

His teaching was addressed to all men. For this, or for any other purpose, he recognized no differences of caste, race or religion. He treated all sects and communities alike. He spoke to Hindus and Muslims, Siddhas and Sūfis in the same tone. He attacked sterile ceremonial forms, but never any religious faith. In his spirit of tolerance and consideration towards the faiths of other men, Guru Nanak showed a remarkably modern sensibility. His conception of reform in religion was liberal. It was broader than that of a Bhaktī teacher or a cultic reformer. He broke new ground in contemplating not only the removal of certain abuses, but, ultimately, the unity of religion. In calling upon Hindus to become better Hindus and upon Muslims to become better Muslims he was pointing towards a new religious culture.

It would, however, be wrong to picture him as undertaking a kind of syncretistic union between Hinduism and Islam. He was not striving to achieve a judicious mixture of elements from each that would be acceptable to all. His intention was more radical. He was seeking a new religious alternative beyond what was to be found in conventional Hindu or Islamic belief. This could be arrived at by penetrating more deeply into the basic core of ethical and spiritual truth in all the great religious traditions. It is the external and conventional shell of religion that divides men. Its essence unites. Guru Nanak visualizes a humanity enriched by a moral faith large enough to embrace all, in which mankind is free of religious antagonisms because men’s hearts and minds are grounded on the Real. The inner coherence and uniqueness of Guru Nanak’s teachings fulfil rather than deny those of other traditions and teachers.

Since Guru Nanak’s message is conveyed in poetical form, it does not have the coherence of a reasoned or systematic treatise. His genius was artistic rather than cerebral. Yet his poetry represents a striking intellectual discipline. His teachings emerge from his exalted hymns as an organic whole and any apparent contradictions disappear if they are studied together. In these influences can be traced reflections of earlier traditions. All great religions of the world had their precursors. Gautama and early Buddhism were preceded by the intellectual critics of Brahmanic orthodoxy and exponents of severe yogic asceticism. Jesus and primitive Christianity show the influence of Hebrew prophets, Essene sectarians and Rabbinic teachers. Similarly, Guru Nanak was the product of his times and of the heritage that had come to him. But his originality, like that of the other great teachers, lies in his reassertion of the eternal truths and in what he made of his inheritance and what he created out of the matrix of his own personality.

To assure the community of his disciples a continuing witness to his teachings, Guru Nanak appointed a successor. The succession of teachers and leaders was not to be dynastic, and thus he bypassed his own sons. A disciple was chosen and was made by the Guru an equal with himself. He transmitted to him not only his responsibilities but, as the poets declared, his light as well. Guru Nanak saw his successor in his own image and paid him the reverence due to the Guru.
when he proclaimed his succession. This procedure was repeated successively over eight generations. The Sikh community thus has ten spiritual guides succeeding one another, who are regarded with equal adoration and honour. They were conscious witnesses to the presence of Guru Nanak guiding the community that had developed under his care.

There is interesting contemporary testimony to the pervasive influence of Guru Nanak among his followers as mediated through the other Gurus. Sattā and Balvand, the minstrels who recited the holy hymns for the Second Guru, Aṅgad, thus sang in an ode which is preserved in the Guru Granth Sahib. “Guru Nanak invested Lahirā with the mark of Guruship... He, i.e. Guru Aṅgad, had the same light, the same method; it is the Master who had changed his bodily frame.” About the Third and Fourth Gurus, Amar Dās and Rām Dās, they said, “The wise being, Guru Nanak, descended in the form of Amar Dās.... The sect was astonished to see Nānak’s canopy over Amar Dās’ head. Guru Amar Dās obtained the same throne, and the same court.... Hail, hail, Guru Rām Dās! God who created you has decorated you.... You are Nānak; you are Lahirā; you are Amar Dās” (GG, 966-68).

Bhai Gurdās, in one of his stanzas, said, “In his lifetime Nānak installed Lahirā and conferred on him the regalia of Guruship. Guru Nānak turned himself into Aṅgad by transferring his light to him.... Aṅgad had the same mark, the same umbrella over his head and was seated on the same true throne as Guru Nānak. The seal from Guru Nānak’s hand passed on to Guru Aṅgad and thus was his sovereignty proclaimed... Lahirā obtained the gift from Nānak and to the house of Amar Dās it must descend.” And, then, on to Rām Dās, Arjan and Hargobind. “Arjan,” says Bhai Gurdās, “transformed himself into Hargobind and chiselled his own image upon him” (Vārān, I. 45-48).

This awareness of the personality of Guru Nānak acting amidst them through the successor-Gurus was so permeant among the Sikhs that Mobid Zulfiqar Ardastānī writing a century after him in his Persian work Dabistān-i-Mazāhib said, “The Sikhs say that when Nānak left his body, he absorbed himself in Guru Aṅgad who was his most devoted disciple, and that Guru Aṅgad was Nānak himself. After that, at the time of his death, Guru Aṅgad entered into the body of Amar Dās. He in the same manner occupied a place in the body of Rām Dās, and Rām Dās in the same way got united with Arjan... They say that whoever does not acknowledge Guru Arjan to be the very self of Bābā Nānak becomes a non-believer.”

Guru Gobind Siṅgh, last of the Gurus, himself wrote in his poetical autobiography called Bachitra Nāṭak, “Nānak assumed the body of Aṅgad... Afterwards Nānak was called Amar Dās, as one lamp is lit from another... The holy Nānak was revered as Aṅgad. Aṅgad was recognized as Amar Dās. And Amar Dās became Rām Dās... When Rām Dās was blended with the Divine, he gave the Guruship to Arjan. Arjan appointed Hargobind in his place and Hargobind gave his seat to Har Rāi. Har Krishan, his son, then became Guru. After him came Tegh Bahādur.”

This oneness, this unity of the Gurus came home to the Sikhs through their belief in the presence of Guru Nānak in them. For the Gurus themselves this presence was a constant reality, an inspiration and the norm in the exercise of their spiritual office. They wrote religious verse in the name of the First Guru. All their hymns in the Guru Granth Sahib bear the nom-de-plume of Nānak. Thus we have the compositions of Nānak I, Nānak II, Nānak III, and so on. They have a remarkable correspondence of tone and concept: in both utterance and deed later Gurus, Nānaks themselves as the followers believe, were acting out the inspiration mediated to them from Guru Nānak.
The development of Sikh thought and life may be understood as the outcome of the interaction of the original impulse imparted by Guru Nanak and the exigencies of contemporary social environment. Challenges arose; new situations demanded and elicited new answers. Points of transfiguration were reached and worked out. Yet it is possible to discern in this process a basic harmony and continuity attributable primarily to the ever-present Nanak legend.

Each of the successor-Gurus contributed towards the evolution of the creed and civil organization in accordance with the spirit of the teaching inherited from Guru Nanak and the existing historical factors. The Fifth Guru, Arjan, for instance, gave the Sikhs their holy book, the Granth Sahib, and their holy centre, the Harimandar, now the Golden Temple of Amritsar. In the Book which he compiled he included the hymns of his predecessors and his own and of some of the saints, both Hindu and Muslim. Among the latter were Ramanand, Kabir, Namdev and the Sufi mystic Shaikh Farid. To the growing intolerance of the ruling authority Guru Arjan responded by resignedly accepting martyrdom with extreme torture; his successor by sanctioning the use of arms.

History from henceforward took a more decisive turn in a series of events now well known. In the midst of warfare and great suffering a firm hold was maintained on the insights which had been the guiding principles since the time of Guru Nanak. The struggle which Guru Gobind Singh had to endure was held to be God's way of fulfilling Guru Nanak's mission. Guru Gobind Singh's own verse, no different from Guru Nanak's in its transcendental quality, bears witness to the certainty of this conviction. In practice a strictly ethical and moral discipline was evolved and adhered to. No differentiation was made between the Hindu and the Muslim. Several staunch followers of Islam did, in fact, align themselves with the Guru against the imperial armies. Pir Buddhū Shāh, a Muslim leader of considerable religious influence, took part in battle on his side along with his sons and disciples. A joint, harmonious Hindu-Muslim being was as much a reality in Guru Gobind Singh's vision as in Guru Nanak's.

How was the eternal Reality conceived by Guru Nanak? While involved in human affairs, God is not subject to the unstable and corruptible world of which human beings are part. Hence there can be no avatārs that incarnate God, nor can God be present in an idol. At the heart of what Guru Nanak taught is the affirmation of God as Formless, Nirānkār. God is ineffable, beyond time, beyond human perception and thought. Yet God is not the great cosmic negation. Each one of these affirmations—the formlessness of God, the ineffability of God—expresses the divine freedom to exist beyond fear and enmity, beyond karma and caste, beyond death and hatred. God is nirguṇa—without attributes, absolute, unmanifest—and sāguṇa—with attributes, conditioned, manifest. God has an inscrutable Will (hukam) comprehended by no one, and a power beyond all human might. Yet this hukam is the divine order which structures the world and shapes human destiny.

God is not eternal silence, but comes to expression through the divine Word, Sabda, which is the vehicle of revelation. The Word is the means by which men and women know God and the way to liberation. As the believer meditates on the Word, bondage to the world, to fear and to injustice is overcome. The Word has the power of freeing mankind from the radical self-centredness, haumai, that leads to the endless cycle of reincarnation. The Word as the divine self-manifestation is the most immediate and direct expression of God, and as such is truth. The divine truth given by the Word provides the enlightenment needed to overcome human entrapment in maya, that false estimate of the world's importance that blinds human
beings to God.

The divine šabdā is the word of the Gurū. It is the Gurupadesh, the word imparted to human beings by the divinely given spiritual preceptor. While there is evidence of God in nature and history, human beings are blind to this truth unless enlightened by the Gurū. Gurū Nānak redefines the meaning of the term “guru”. In the bhaktī or devotional traditions of Hinduism the guru is needed to lead believers along the pathway to liberation. The guru is the object of devotion through whom the voice of God is heard, and in whom the being of God could be experienced. Gurū Nānak, too, repeatedly affirms the necessity of the guru, yet he repudiates any notion of the guru’s being an avatār. The guru is an essential link in the divine self-disclosure, but he remains a human link. The guru is to be honoured for the truth that comes through him. In worship Sikhs acknowledge “the grace of the Gurū.” But it is finally God who is the Satgurū, the true spiritual preceptor.

A guru ordinarily stands in a succession of spiritual teachers and validates his mission by tracing the line of teachers of which he is a part. But Gurū Nānak is without a guru who validates his revelations, because for him God is the Gurū. The satgurū, the true teacher, is the inner voice of God made known by mystical devotion in the depths of the human soul. The guru brings the Word of God, the voice of God, and the truth of God. Divine truth has been disclosed through Gurū Nānak; this divine revelation may now centre in Scripture and community, as Sikhs later recognized that the spirit of the Gurū had gone into the Adi Granth Sahib and the Khālsā.

To be associated with the transitory and evil ways of the world is to be bound by Yama, the god of death, and to be destined for unending rebirths. To be linked with the divine Name is to grow in likeness to God until union with the divine brings release into bliss. Human nature is determined by that to which human beings are related. This basic human nature Gurū Nānak calls man, often translated “mind”, “heart” or “soul”. The man is the indestructible part of a human being. It is the abode of God in the self. But in the unregenerate, the manmukh, the man is not fixed on God. It is, under the control of haumai, self-centred and egotistical, and has become attached to the world. The man is victim of māyā, the misunderstanding of the world which gives it a false vision of ultimate reality. Release from this bondage to self and world is made possible by God’s grace revealed through the Gurū and a spiritual discipline, sādhanā, capable of relating human beings to God. This spiritual discipline is not a new set of rituals, ceremonial laws or ascetic austerities. Gurū Nānak repudiated Brahmanical ritualism and Islamic legalism as pathways to release. The pathway is that of an interior religion of love for God opened by nām simaran, devoted repetition of the divine Name. The discipline of nām simaran or nām japana is devotion to the divine Name and its constant repetition. The nām is not the host of words by which people speak of God. The nām is more than Hari, Śiva, Rām or Allah, although these names may help in remembering God. The nām is the sum of all that God is and has revealed. The divine Name discloses the reality of God and the pathway to union with Him.

To repeat the divine Name is not a magical formula to be chanted mechanically. It is the way in which the man, the inner self, fastens on God so that finally human reality is ingrafted into the divine. To repeat the Name is to remember God, who as Satgurū is in the human heart. As God’s Name is sung in worship, it stirs up this deeper remembrance of truth, sach. Acts of justice and mercy spring from the recollection of the Name because the divine being transforms human being. In Gurū Nānak’s description of the
pathway to liberation, there is a call for the redirection of the will by each person who would walk in it. But to all who follow this pathway of recollection of nam comes the experience of viśmād, the incredible awe and wonder of knowing the greatness of God. While there may be moments of sudden insight for the believer, Guru Nanak teaches a pathway of gradual growth towards union with God. He speaks of five khand, or stages of ascent, leading to the ultimate sakākhand, union with God and freedom from transmigration.

The spiritual pathway revealed to Guru Nanak leads to union with God. It is not the lonely pathway of the ascetic who retreats to forest or cave. It combines meditation on the divine Name with the fulfilling of the responsibilities of everyday life. The meditation transforms the very quality of everyday life. As the believer conforms more fully to the life of God, he or she is freed to live by God's ways in the world. As God lives beyond the constraints of caste, so God calls human beings to live the same way themselves. Guru Nanak took practical steps to break with caste by starting free community kitchens, gurū kaḷaṅgar, in all the centres where his followers gathered. There, irrespective of caste, people were invited to eat together. The common meal expresses the common standing all people have before God. It establishes the basis for a new community, a community based on obedience to the divine Will. Settling at Kartārpur Guru Nanak came back to community and family life, where he affirmed the way in which devotion to God and the fulfilment of the duties of the householder belong together. To reach eternal bliss does not mean retreat from everyday life. It is to find God who is both transcendent and immanent in the midst of the ordinary.

The life of Guru Nanak merges outward into the ongoing life of the Panth, the community of the faithful. The religious framework within which Sikhism interprets the continuing experience of Guru Nanak is its understanding of the term gurū. The gurū is both a particular human person and the gurū is God himself. The power of being a gurū transcends any particular time or person because it is an aspect of God. The faithful community is related to Guru Nanak by more than memory. The voice of God that spoke through him spoke through other Gurus and continues to speak through the Guru Granth Sāhib. The experience of the continuing presence of Guru Nanak in the community is most real. The power of the Guru to bring humankind into a new relationship with God is not proved by unusual happenings in his life, but by the contemporary experience of his power. The charismatic experience of the interpretation of time in which the Guru comes to his people has been institutionalized in the form of Holy Scripture and holy community. His Sikhs continue to experience the presence of Guru Nanak guiding them along that pathway to union with God he so powerfully revealed.

Guru Nanak was not an impersonal oracle of revelation whose precepts expressed an abstract truth. He was the embodiment of this truth. His actions interpreted his words, and his words his actions. Guru Nanak is a present spiritual reality, not merely a figure of the past to be recalled by historical reconstruction. The story of his life is central to the Sikh religion and is to be made known by careful historical analysis and in the fervent meditation of the faithful. Both historical scholarship and devotion bear witness to Guru Nanak.

Having installed the most deserving of his disciples, Bhāī Lahīlā, whom he renamed Aṅgad, his successor to Guruship, Guru Nanak cast off his mortal frame on Assū vadi 10, 1596 Bk/7 September 1539.

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**NANAKIĀNA SĀHIB, GURDWĀRĀ**

NANAKIĀNA SĀHIB, GURDWĀRA, near the village of Maṅgvāl, 4 km east of Saṅgrūr (30°-14'N, 75°-50'E) in the Punjab, is sacred to Guru Nānak and Guru Hargobind. When Guru Nānak came here in the early sixteenth century, the village of Maṅgvāl was, according to local tradition, closer to the site of the present Gurdwārā which stands near a deep pond. It was on the bank of this pond that the Guru had preached to the villagers. A century later, as Guru Hargobind visited the village in 1616, he reminded the inhabitants to maintain the sanctity of the pool consecrated by Guru Nānak and not to pollute its water with village waste. He also had a platform constructed in honour of Guru Nānak. The villagers obeyed him and removed to the present site from where they would come to make obeisance at Thārā Sāhib, or the sacred platform, and to have a dip in the holy pool.

The present building, a fortresslike havelī, was, according to a copper plate preserved in the Gurdwārā, constructed in 1886 by Rājā Raghbir Singh (1833-87) of Jind. Entered through a massive wooden gate, it consists of several courtyards. In the central courtyard is a marble-floored domed structure called Maṇji Sāhib Patshahi. It has a platform, reverently covered with a piece of cloth, representing the Thārā Sāhib established by Guru Hargobind. Behind the Maṇji Sāhib, in a separate compound, is the assembly hall where the Guru Granth Sāhib is seated in the middle. Preserved as a sacred relic, is a peculiar weapon here called *gurz-i-tabar* with 1724 inscribed on it in Persian numerals. It is a steel rod with a hilt like that of a sword but the point having five tongue-like blunt blades projecting sideways. A Persian couplet inscribed on it means: “Gurz-i-tabar in the hands of Gobind Singh strikes the enemy’s head.” An engraved figure shows Guru Gobind Singh on horseback.

In another compound behind the dīvān hall, there is an old *karīr* tree which has grown through the roof of the building. It is believed that it dates back to the time of the Guru. Yet another compound houses the Guru kā Laṅgar. The old pond has been lined and converted into a sarovar. Though outside the Gurdwārā wall, access to it is from inside the premises through two separate doors for men and women.

Gurdwārā Nānakīāna Sāhib owns 140 acres of land and is administered directly by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Besides daily prayers and dīvāns, important days on the Sikh calendar are observed with special religious programmes,
Baisākhī taking precedence among them.

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NĀNAKĪ (d. 1856), daughter of Shām Siṅgh Aṭārīvālā, was married in March 1837 to Prince Nau Nihāl Siṅgh, son of Prince Khaṛak Siṅgh and grandson of Māhārājā Rāṇjīt Siṅgh. To the marriage, the most ostentatious of oriental marriages, were invited the Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Province, and other British dignitaries. Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, alone was able to come. A very colourful account of the wedding is preserved in the book *Five Years in India* written by Henry Edward Fane, aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief. The Rāṇī became a widow in 1840. She died in November 1856.

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NĀNAKĪ, BEBE, or Bībī Nānakī (1464-1518), elder sister of Gurū Nānak and the daughter of Kaliṅ Chand (Bābā Kālū) and Mātā Triptā, was born in 1464 in her mother’s home at the village of Chāhal, now in Lahore district of Pakistan Punjab. Five years older than her brother, she was the first to recognize his spiritual eminence and to become his devotee. She was married in 1475 to Jai Rām, an official at the court of Nawāb Daulat Khān Lodhī at Sultānpur. Herself childless, Bebe Nānakī adored her brother, Nānak, and felt herself blessed when he came to join the Nawāb’s service and put up with her at Sultānpur. She arranged his marrigae, and

she loved his sons, Sṛi Chand and Lakhmī Dās, as her own. Gurū Nānak reciprocated her affection and, after he had quit the Nawāb’s service to go out to preach his message, he did not fail to visit Sultānpur and meet his sister between whiles. Once as he visited her in 1518, Bebe Nānakī, seeing her end near, detained him a short while. As she had wished, she departed this life in the presence of her brother-Gurū. Three days later, her husband, Jai Rām, also expired. Gurū Nānak himself performed their obsequies.

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NĀNAKĪ, MĀṬĀ (d. 1678), mother of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, was born to Hari Chand and Hardei, a well-to-do Khatri couple of Bakālā, in the present district of Amritsar. She was married to Gurū Hargobind in April 1613. Tegh Bahādur, the youngest of the five sons of Gurū Hargobind, was born to her on 1 April 1621. It is said that the Gurū on seeing the newborn babe predicted auspiciously: “Of my five sons, he shall take the office of Guru.” The fond mother rejoiced at the prophecy, but, although Tegh Bahādur grew up into a healthy youth and even exhibited military prowess in the battle of Karṭārpur, he seemed to take little interest in worldly affairs. He remained always saturated in the remembrance of God and spoke but little. This raised misgivings in Māṭā Nānakī’s heart
about her son succeeding his father on the throne of Guru Nānak. Besides, her husband had lately started bestowing special favours upon his grandson, Har Rāi. However, when she unburdened her heart to Guru Hargobind, he simply repeated his prophecy and advised her to rejoice in God’s Will.

Guru Hargobind passed away on 3 March 1644. Mātā Nānaki, obeying her husband’s command, removed to Bakālā along with her son and daughter-in-law. Twenty years later, the prophecy was fulfilled and her son was anointed Guru on 11 August 1664. The family moved back to the Śivālik foothills where Guru Tegh Bahādur founded, on 19 June 1665, a new habitation which he named, after his mother, Chakk Nānaki. Soon after this, however, the Guru set out on a long journey, through the Mālvā region and what is now Uttar Pradesh, to the eastern parts visiting old sāngats. Mātā Nānaki accompanied him.

Guru Tegh Bahādur had been married since his early youth but had been without offspring. Mātā Nānaki had longed to see a grandson, and none was happier than her when Gobind Rāi was born on 22 December 1666 at Paṭnā. But as the family returned to the Punjab in 1670, the shadows of a gathering gloom were already appearing in the distant horizon. Guru Tegh Bahādur’s increasing concern at the bigoted policies of the Delhi ruler gave rise to forebodings also in the mother’s heart. Her worst fears proved true when, on 16 November 1675, she saw the severed head of her martyred son brought to Chakk Nānaki. The grief-stricken mother was consoled by her grandson, Guru Gobind Singh. Mātā Nānaki, reassured by the quiet dignity of the young Guru, lived on for another few years. She died in 1678.

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NĀNAK MATA in Pilibhit district of Uttar Pradesh is sacred to Guru Nānak and Guru Hargobind. In old times, it was the home of the Siddha yogis. It was named Gorakh Mata after their principal teacher Gorakhnāth. During his encounter with yogis, Guru Nānak had expatiated on the value of the householder’s way, and an Udāsī Sikh, Almast by name, had set up a missionary seat on that spot. The place was visited by Sixth Guru, Guru Hargobind, as well. In modern times, one of the local Nawābs, made a liberal land grant to the shrine. The present Gurdwārā is managed by a committee of prominent local Sikhs. It has a magnificent four-storey domed building in a huge compound with ancillary buildings for staff and pilgrims. A sarovar, Nānak Sāgar, has been formed by damming the adjoining stream Deohā.

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NĀNAKPANTHI, lit. the follower of the panth or way of Guru Nānak. The term Nānakpanthi was perhaps used for the first time for Sikhs in Mobid Zulfiqār Ardistānī’s Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, a seventeenth-century work on comparative religion, which has a chapter entitled Nānak Panthiān describing the Sikhs, their Gurūs and their beliefs. It has also been used by some eighteenth and nineteenth-
century writers in a more restricted sense to indicate that special group among the Sikhs which follows the teachings of Gurū Nānak and his successors but does not strictly adhere to the injunctions of Gurū Gobind Singh, especially about keeping the hair unshorn. Other appellations used for this sect are Nānakshāhī and Sahijdhārī. Sometimes even Kabīrpanthīs are also referred to as Nanakpanthīs. Persian chronicles such as Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī and Imād-us-Sādat mention two divisions of the “followers of Nānakshāhī,” the Khālsah or those who do not trim their hair and the Khulāsah or those who trim their hair. Another early-nineteenth-century writer, Francis Buchanan (1762-1829), a doctor in the service of the East India Company and once a surgeon to Lord Wellesley, also mentions these two groups in Bihār and other places and characterizes the former as those “who are of the church militant” and took the title of Singh, and the latter as those “who confine themselves entirely to [things] spiritual” and “are commonly called Sikhs.” H.A. Rose, author of A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, also divides the Sikhs into these two categories—the Nānakpanthīs and the Singhīs or Khālsā. The 1891 Census Report of the Punjab defines Nānakpanthīs as Sikhs who are not Singhīs, who follow the teachings of the earlier Gurūs, but not the “ceremonial and social observances” inculcated by Gurū Gobind Singh. Among the various sections and groups mentioned in the Census Report of the Punjab (1891) under the common designation Nānakpanthīs are the Udāsīs, the Gulābdāsīs and the Suthrāshāhīs, besides a number of other smaller groups.

The Nānakpanthīs revere Gurū Nānak, and have faith in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, and are scattered in small numbers throughout India, especially in states such as Assam, Bihār, Tripurā, West Bengal, Rājasthān, Mahārāshṭra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Himāchal Pradesh, Delhi and Haryānā. They were either converted by Udāsī preachers or they happened to settle in the respective areas migrating from the Punjab. At places Udāsīs themselves came to be called Nānakpanthīs. But in the Punjab, Haryānā, Delhi and parts of Uttar Pradesh, the common designation used is Sahijdhārī. Rohtak has the maximum concentration of them and there are several Sahijdhārī seats there, the most prominent being Gurdwārā Gurdarshan Singh which is a branch of the former seat at Jhaṅg-Maghīānā (now in Pakistan). The head of the Bandāī dērā in Jammu and Kashmir also lives there and there are in the area many Bandāīs, mostly Sahijdhārī, claiming to be the followers of the eighteenth-century Sikh hero and martyr, Bandā Singh Bahādur. There are some Bandāī villages in Hissār district, too. A large number of refugees from Multān who resettled in Haryānā after the partition of India in 1947 are mostly Sahijdhārīs or Nānakpanthīs.

Chāṅg brotherhood, also known as Ghirat or Bāhārī, in the Nūrpur, Bajīnāth and Chambā areas of Himāchal Pradesh are all Nānakpanthīs, about 10 per cent of them being the Khālsā Sikhs. The potters in the Kāṅgrā hills are also mostly Nānakpanthīs. Some villages in this area such as Maṅguvāl, Paṅjīrāl, Javāṅvāl and Baḍānī Tīkā are predominantly Nānakpanthī villages. At Baḍānī Tīkā live the descendants of Bhāī Gōlā, an attendant of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The largest centre of Nānakpanthīs in Uttar Pradesh is Nānak Matā, in Pilibhit district, which is a pilgrim centre for Nānakpanthīs of Naiṅūtāl, Pilibhit, Gorakhpur and other neighbouring districts. A Sikh mission at Hāpur, established by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhāk Committee, preaches Sikh tenets among Nānakpanthīs in these parts. The vanjārās in the Roorkee tahsīl of Sahāranpur district (U.P.), in about 150 villages in Khardokh district and in about forty village in Bhīkhan Gānv area, Indore region,
Barvani area, Gwalior district and Burhanpur district are counted among the Nanakpanthis. In Rajasthan the Nanakpanthi Vaajjaras have their principal centre at Kishangarh where the Delhi Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee runs a preaching centre. At one time the Udasis, who had 360 gaddis or seats in Bihar, had converted half of the local population to the Nanakpanthi faith. The work began with a saññâsî, Devagiri, of Bodh Gaya, who had along with 3150 of his disciples embraced Sikhism at the hands of Guru Har Rai (1630-1661). He was renamed Bhagat Bhagvan and granted a bakhshish or preaching seat—the fourth Udasi Bakhshish—and appointed to head Sikhs in Bihar. Patna, SarsaRâm and Lakshmipur, near Kâlâ Golâ railway station on the Assam line, have remnants of Nanakpanthi population. The ruling family of the erstwhile Pûrniâ state has also been Nanakpanthi and still has a gurdwara in their palace. Nanakpanthis of Sindh (now in Pakistan) are scattered all over the states of Mahârâshtra, Gujarât and Râjâstâh. There are some Nanakpanthis in Assam (a village near Dhûbri has descendants of Sikh migrants from Tarn Taran in the Punjab); Badgolâ, about seventy miles from Shillong, has some Sikh families; so have the villages of Chhappar, Lânkâ Station and Lâmdâg, Tripurâ and West Bengal. The Nanakpanthis in Tripurâ, who comprise about 150 families, are said to be the descendants of the seventy Sikh soldiers brought here by Râjâ Ratan Râi from the Punjab when he went to visit Gurû Gobind Singh at Anandpur with presents, including the famous Prasâdi elephant.

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NÂNAK PRAKÂSH, by Bhâi Mahendranâã Bhose, is a biography of Gurû Nânak in the Bengali language. The author was a follower of Keshabchandra Sen, and the followers of Sen used the word Bhâi or Rev. Bhâi for one another to convey a sense of close kinship and brotherhood. He had lived in the Punjab in 1871 in connection with his missionary work, and had learnt Punjabi and acquainted himself with Sikh literature. He planned to write a life-sketch of Gurû Nânak and began serializing his account in the Bengali journal Dharmaatva (July 1883). Interrupting the series, he started work on a book Nânak Prakash, the first part of which was published in 1885 and the second in 1893.

The Náñak Prañas is based mainly on Bâlâ Janam Sakhî, though the author was not unfamiliar with other versions of the Sakhî literature. He had access to sources available in English as well. Of Trumpp’s work on the Gurû Granth Sâhib, published in 1877, he was sharply critical. The first part of Bose’s book covers the Gurû’s life up to the eve of his preliminary udâsîs or preaching tours; the second embraces all of his four major udâsîs and his life at Kartarpur. According to the author, Gurû Nânak preached what constituted the essence of Hinduism and Islam. Harmony was the keynote of his message. The book concludes with a brief account of the development of the Sikh community till
1708, the year Guru Gobind Singh, the last in the line of the ten spiritual teachers of the Sikhs, passed away. This portion is very sketchy and suffers from several chronological inaccuracies.

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NĀNAK SŪRAJO DE JANAM SĀKHĪ, by Gaṇeshā Śingh Bedi, is an account in verse of the life of Guru Nānak, founder of the Sikh faith. The metaphor of the rising sun (sūrajode=sūrya/sūraj meaning sun and udaya/ude meaning rising) in the title has been used for Guru Nānak whose birth as says Bhai Gurdās heralded daylight dispelling the darkness of night. The work, running into 560 pages in printed form, was completed in 1906 Bk/AD 1849 at Jammū and first published at the Raghunāth Press, Jammū, under the patronage of Raja Hari Chand and reprinted in 1952 Bk/AD 1895 at the Chashmāi-Nūr Press, Amritsar. It was also published in Devanāgri script, in 1956 Bk/AD 1899 (Bhārat Jivan Press, Kāshī), under the patronage of Rājā Bijai Chand of Bilāspur. The book is divided into two parts—first part comprising sixty-five sākhīs (anecdotes) and the second fifty-eight. The prologue alludes to the prophecy in the Skanda Purāṇa concerning the appearance of Guru Nānak in the kāliyug (the dark age) as an incarnation of God. Almost all the details of Guru Nānak’s life given in the Sūrajode coincide with those in the Bālā Janam Sākhī which is in prose. A few sākhīs included in this book, but which do not occur in the Bālā text have been borrowed from Giān Ratnāvalī and Bhai Santokh Singh’s Nānak Prakāsh. The language of the work is Sādh Bhākhā, but the script is Gurmukhi. Verses of Guru Nānak are frequently quoted in the text. Several different metres such as kabīrī, dohirī, nishānī and chaupāī have been employed by the poet. The style is dramatic as every now and then the writer uses the phrase: “Thus spake Bālā Sandhū.” Bālā Sandhū, supposed to have been a life-long companion of Guru Nānak, was meant to be narrating these sākhīs in the presence of Gurū Aṅgad while Bhai Pairā Mokhā was recording them.

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NĀNAK VIJAI, more properly known as Sri Gurū Nānak Vijai, in manuscript, is a narration in verse of the events of Gurū Nānak’s life. During his journeys across the country and outside, Gurū Nānak met a variety of people whom he won over by his gentle and persuasive manner. This explains the title of the work Nānak Vijai, which literally means “Victory of Nānak.” The author, Sant Ren, originally from Kashmir, had settled down in the Punjab towards the end of his life. He was born in AD 1741 at Srinagar in a Gaur Brāhmaṇ family. He was the only son of his parents—father, Panḍit Hari Vallabh, and mother, Sāvitri Devī. From his very early years, Sant Ren was indifferent to worldly affairs and had a passion for travel and for the company of holy men. He left home in his youth and started upon his wandering career. During his journey through the Punjab, he came in contact with Bābā Sāhib Dās, who was much respected and revered Udāsi sādhūs...
NANAK VJAI of his times. Sant Reṇ came in the Udāsī fold under the influence of Bābā Sāhib Dās from whom he received instruction in the Sikh faith. He visited especially the places of religious pilgrimage with a view to having an opportunity to discourse with saints, ṛṣis and sannyāsīs. He visited far-off parts of the country like Mahārāṣṭra and modern Madhya Pradesh, in the south, Sindh and Balūchistān in the west, Nepāl and Kedārnāth in the north. He himself established many maths and monasteries. The most important of these was the Deṛā Gujrāṅwālā, which had a jāgīr assigned to it by Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh. The Bālāpur Piṭh, one of the schools set up by him in the distant Akolā district, in Mahārāṣṭra, is still in existence. He took a leading part in the establishment of Sarab Udāsin Pañcchālīi Akhārā, with the help of Sant Pritam Dās Niṁrāṇ. During his last years, Sant Reṇ settled at the village of Bhūdān, near Mālerkotlā, in the Punjab, where he died on Phagāṇ sudi 12, 1928 Bk/AD 1872 at the ripe old age of 130. His samādhī, built by a woman devotee, stands till today. Sant Reṇ was a versatile poet. He has left five books including the voluminous Nānak Vjai. The other four are: Man Prabodh, Anbhāi Amrit Sāgar, Udāsī Bodh and Śrī Gurū Nānak Bodh. Of these four, the first two have been published in a single volume by Śrī Sant Reṇ Ashram, Bhūdān.

The manuscript Nānak Vjai is a huge volume of 1860 leaves 7-3/4" X 12". Each page contains 24 lines with 18 to 20 words per line. The book is divided into 20 sections called khandas and 324 adhyāyas (chapters). The original manuscript, in Gurmukhī characters, is in the author’s own hand. Later four copies were prepared from it for the four important centres of his devotees. The work is a detailed biography of Gurū Nānak. The author has made full use of the available sources, including the Janam Sākhīs and Bhāī Santokh Siṅgh’s Śrī Gurū Nānak Prakāsh. The events are narrated from the point of view of a devotee, and pious legend and mythology are freely intermixed with history. On the doctrinal side, Nānak Vjai presents Gurū Nānak’s teachings in the framework of Vedāntic philosophy. But the author’s devotion to the Gurū and his faith in his bēṇī are undisputed. The poet has used in his work various metres from the Indian poetic tradition such as kabitt kundālī, doḥā and chaupāi. In addition to these, he has employed some folk tunes and has invented some new metres of his own as well. He has made considerable use of the figures of speech, mainly similes and metaphors. The language of Nānak Vjai is Western Hindi, more polished and scholarly than Śādh Bhākhā of the saint poets of earlier times. Yet it is not as pure as modern literary Hindi. It is, in fact, a mixture of Braj Bhāṣā idiom and grammar and of vocabulary from different languages, mainly Punjabi.

The exact date of the completion of Nānak Vjai is not known, though according to the author’s own statement, he started writing when he had reached the age of hundred. The writing was not done at any one fixed place. The author wrote as he travelled, depositing the sheets into a maff (earthen pitcher) carried on a country-cart.

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NANDĀ, BHĀI, a Sangherī Jatt, received the rites of initiation at the hands of Gurū Arjan. He trained as a warrior in the time of Gurū Hargobind, and was killed in the battle of Lohgāṛh, Amritsar, in 1629. According to Bhāī Santokh Siṅgh, Śrī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, Bhāī Nandā’s sword broke in the thick of action. Barehanded,
he pounced upon the Mughal commander, Mirzā Beg, and pulled him down from his horse. He grappled with him in an unarmed combat, and fell under fire.

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T.S.

NANDĀ VIṬṬHAR, BHĀI, and Bhai Svāmī Dās Vachher, were businessmen of Thanesar, in present-day Haryāṇā state. They were known for their honesty and had earned the appellation of ikk-sukhni, single-worded or unswerving in quotation, for they sold their ware at fixed rates and never over-quoted their prices. They never bargained. They once visited Guru Arjan to receive instruction from him. The Guru blessed them for their truthfulness. They followed the Guru’s precept, tells Bhai Santokh Singh, Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, and attained to parampad, the highest stage of spiritual fulfilment.

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NAND, BHĀI, also called in Sikh chronicles Bhai Nandā or Nandū, was a Sūdānā Brāhmaṇ of the village of Đallā, now in Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab. His name figures in Bhai Manī Singh, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā. He was among those who waited upon Gurū Amar Dās when he visited Đallā, and received initiation at his hands. See, also, Bhai Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI. 16.

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NAND CHAND, of the village of Ďarauli Bhāi, who had been a playmate of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, served as a masand or officiant and later as the Gurū’s diwān, looking after his accounts and stores. His grandfather, Umar Shāh, was a masand during the time of Gurū Arjan. Nand Chand is said to have had prepared under his supervision the famous drum, Ranjit Nagārā. Tradition also goes that he was deputed by Gurū Gobind Siṅgh to go to Srinagar (Garhvat) with wedding presents worth one and a quarter lakh of rupees for Rājā Fateh Shāh’s daughter. The presents were refused by Rājā Fateh Shāh on the instigation of Rājā Bhim Chand. When Nand Chand was returning home, Rājā Bhim Chand’s men tried to intercept and forcibly seize the gifts, but Nand Chand foiled the attempt and reached Pāonṭā Sāhib safely. In the battle of Bhāngāṇī in 1688, he fought valiantly. Gurū Gobind Siṅgh recalls his feats in his Bachitra Nāṭak: “Nand Chand rushed into the fray in a rage, wielding his spear and brandishing his sword. As the sword broke, he drew out his dagger and with great determination saved the honour of the Soḍhī race.”

According to Bhai Santokh Siṅgh, Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, Nand Chand in the end faltered in his devotion. It is said that an Udāsī sādhū brought a newly calligraphed copy of the holy Granth Sāhib to Anandpur to be signed by Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. Nand Chand retained that copy with him and refused to return it to the Udāsī, who made a complaint to the Gurū. The diwān, feeling ashamed, escaped from Anandpur and took asylum with Dhir Mall at Kartarpur who, taking him for a spy, had him murdered. The copy of the Granth Sāhib which Nand Chand is said to have carried with him is preserved at Ďarauli Bhāi, his ancestral village.
NÁNDEQ (19°-10'N, 77°-20'E), one of the important centres of Sikh pilgrimage situated on the left bank of the River Godavari, is a district town in Maharashtra. It is a railway station on the Manmad-Kachiguda section of the South Central Railway, and is also connected by road with other major towns of the region. The Sikhs generally refer to it as Hazur Sahib or Abichal Nagar. Both these names apply, in fact, to the principal shrine, but are extended in common usage to refer to the town itself. Hazur Sahib is a title of reverence, meaning Exalted Presence; Abichal Nagar: Abichal = Immortal, Everlasting and Nagar = Town or City. The town ranks as one of the takhts, i.e. a seat of religious authority and legislation for the Sikhs.

Nánded, which was visited both by Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, claims several Sikh shrines of historical importance.

TAKHT SACHKHAND SRI HAZÛR ABCHALNAGAR SÀHIB. At the time of Emperor Bahadur Shâh’s march towards the south via Râjputâna, Guru Gobind Singh accompanied him with his own disciples and followers. Crossing the Tâpti in mid-June and Bân Gaâgâ on 13 August, the two camps arrived at Nánded towards the end of August 1708. Bahadur Shâh, after a brief halt, crossed the Godâvari and proceeded on to Golkondâ, but the Gurû stayed behind at Nánded. Here he converted a Vaishnavite Bairâgî recluse, Mâdhoo Dâs, also known as Lachhman Dev, who after initiation into the Khâlsâ fold, received the name of Bandâ Singh. To Nánded came from the Punjab two Pañhâns, on the trail of Gurû Gobind Singh. They had been hired by Wazir Khân of Sirhind, who felt threatened by the conciliatory negotiations going on between the Emperor and Gurû Gobind Singh. These Pañhâns, the name of one of them is recorded as Jamshaid Khân, dissembling as interested listeners, started attending the evening divan or service. Finding the Gurû alone in his tent one day, they fell on him inflicting a stab wound. Before the blow could be repeated, the Gurû despatched one of the Pañhâns with his own sabre. His companion fell under the swords of the Sikhs who had meanwhile rushed in. Gurû Gobind Singh’s wound healed, but it broke out again as he was stretching a powerful bow. Bestowing the succession on the Granth Sàhib and thus ending the line of personal Gurûs, Gurû Gobind Singh passed away on 7 October 1708.

Gurû Gobind Singh had desired one of his Sikhs, Santokh Singh, who supervised the community kitchen, to remain in Nánded and continue running the Gurû kâ Langar. A number of other Sikhs also decided to stay back. They built a small shrine in memory of Gurû Gobind Singh and installed the Gurû Granth Sàhib in it.

Around 1823, Râjâ Chandû Lâl, Diwân of Hyderâbâd state, had the management of the shrine made over to the Udâsîs. He also secured for the shrine an endowment of about 525 acres of land. In 1832, Mahârâjâ Ranjit Singh built on the site a two-storeyed gurdwârâ, with a golden dome. During this time, Sikh artisans and workmen came to Nánded in large numbers, and many of them settled here permanently. Additionally, the Nîzâm enlisted a troop of Sikhs in his army. With this influx of Sikh population, the Udâsî influence receded. Sikhs assumed the responsibility for religious services in the shrine at Nánded,
whereas the administration was taken over by the Nizām’s government. The control of the main shrine and other gurdwārās at Nāndeq was transferred to a 17-member Gurdwārā Board, with a 5-member Managing Committee constituted under the Nāndeq Sikh Gurdwārās Act passed on 20 September 1956 by Hyderabad state legislature.

A chakra (quoit), a broad sword, a steel bow, a steel arrow, a gurz (heavy club with a large spherical knob), a small gilded kirpān and five gilded swords are on display in the sanctum of Takht Sachkhand as Gurū Gobind Singh’s relics.

GURDWĀRĀ HĪRĀ GHĀṬ SĀHĪB is on top of the left bank of the River Godāvari about 9 km northeast of Nāndeq town. This is the spot where Gurū Gobind Singh first set up camp on arrival at Nāndeq. As the tradition goes, one day Emperor Bahādur Shāh who came to call on him presented him with a hirā, or diamond. The Gurū cast it into the river. Bahādur Shāh felt offended. He thought that being a faqīr the Gurū did not know the value of the stone. The Gurū invited the Emperor to look into the water. The latter did so and was astonished to see heaps of diamonds lying at the bottom of the river. Cleansed of his pride, he bowed at the Gurū’s feet. On that site stands Gurdwārā Hīrā Ghāṭ.

GURDWĀRĀ MĀṬĀ SĀHĪB, also on the riverbank, is half a kilometre southeast of Gurdwārā Hīrā Ghāṭ. It marks the place where tents were pitched for Māṭā Sāhib Devān, Gurū Gobind Singh’s wife, who had accompanied him during his journey to the South. While the Gurū stayed at Hīrā Ghāṭ, the laṅgar which was supervised by Māṭā Sāhib Devān was established here. Subsequently the laṅgar was looked after by Bābā Nidhān Singh. The laṅgar continues to this day and is run by the Nihangs under the overall control of Gurdwārā Board Takht Sachkhand. The building in which is installed the Gurū Granth Sāhib was constructed in 1976-77. Other buildings are older. Among them is the anghīthā, memorial on the cremation spot, in memory of Bābā Mit Singh Nihang who died here on 2 Kattak 2001 Bk/17 October 1944.

GURDWĀRĀ SHIKĀR GHĀṬ SĀHĪB is situated on top of a hillock, about 300 metres from the left bank of the River Godāvari. Gurū Gobind Singh used this site as a starting point for his hunting (shikār) excursions. A legend has grown up that the Gurū emancipated here the soul of one Bhai Mūlā who had been under an anathema since the time of Gurū Nānak that he would continue in the cycle of birth and death until released by the Tenth Nānak. This was accomplished when Gurū Gobind Singh killed a hare at the place marked by Gurdwārā Shikār Ghāṭ.

The old shrine on this spot was rebuilt in 1971 by Sant Bābā Jīvan Singh and Bābā Dalip Singh who also constructed the approach road as well as the bridge over the River Godāvari. The building, a simple, but elegant, monument, is at one end of a huge walled compound which also encloses a bathing tank. The square-shaped gurdwārā is mounted over by a lotus dome with decorative domed pavilions at the corners and small solid domelets on all four sides. The whole exterior, including the domes, is lined with white marble slabs. The hall, where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated on a canopied throne of white marble, has a marble floor, with walls panelled with marble slabs and a ceiling of pure-white glazed tiles. The shrine is managed by the Gurdwārā Board Takht Sachkhand.

GURDWĀRĀ NAGĪNĀ GHĀṬ SĀHĪB is on the left bank of Godāvari to the southwest of Takht Sachkhand. The legend connected with this shrine bears close similarity to that of Gurdwārā Hīrā Ghāṭ. Here, it is said, Gurū Gobind Singh flung into the river a jewel
presented by a Vānjārā Sikh, proud of his rich offering. As the Gurū asked him to look into the water the merchant saw, to his amazement, heaps of glittering jewels, far superior in excellence to the one he had offered.

The present building of the gurdwārā was constructed by Gulab Singh Sethi of New Delhi. It was completed on 13 April 1968. The main hall has a canopied throne of white marble where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is installed. The shrine is administered by the Gurdwārā Board Takht Sachkhand.

GURDWĀRĀ BĀBĀ BANDĀ BAHĀDUR GHĀT SĀHIB marks the site of the hermitry of Mādho Dās Bairāgī, renamed Bandā Singh after he had received the Khālsā rites. Gurū Gobind Singh reached the place on 3 September 1708. Mādho Dās was not then present. He sat on the Bairāgī’s cot and asked the Sikhs to kill some of his goats for food. Mādho Dās was furious at this profanation of his monastery and burnt with the desire to chastise the strange visitor for his temerity. But no sooner had he set his eyes on the Gurū than all his anger was gone; so was his sorcerous will of which he was greatly proud. He fell at the Gurū’s feet and submitted: “Myself I give unto you; I am your bandā (slave).” Bandā Singh was admitted to the vows and insignia of the Khālsā and sent on 5 October 1708 to the Punjab by Gurū Gobind Singh, accompanied by a few chosen Sikhs.

The Gurdwārā Bandā Ghāt, as it is commonly known, is a single flat-roofed room with a seat for the Gurū Granth Sāhib. It is controlled by the Gurdwārā Board Takht Sachkhand.

GURDWĀRĀ MĀL ĖKRĪ SĀHIB is to the north-east of Takht Sachkhand. The place derives its name from an old mound known previously as Chakri Māl or Māl Tīllā. According to local tradition, Gurū Nānak, while journeying in the South, visited the spot and discoursed here with a Muslim faqir, Lakkar Shāh, who lived on this mound. Gurū Gobind Singh is believed to have unearthed an old treasure hidden in the mound and distributed part of it to his soldiers at Gurdwārā Saṅgat Sāhib burying the remainder again here.

The Sikhs established on the site a Maṅji Sāhib. The present gurdwārā, built after a judicial decision upholding the Sikhs’ claim to the land given on 7 December 1929, consists of a single flat-roofed room with an all-around verandah, inside a fenced compound. In the centre of the room is installed the Gurū Granth Sāhib, attended by a granthi provided by Takht Sachkhand. Not far from the gurdwārā is the grave of Faqir Lakkar Shāh.

GURDWĀRĀ SAṅGAT SĀHIB, probably named after a Sikh saṅgat which existed at Nāndeḥ prior to the visit of Gurū Gobind Singh, is near the riverbank towards the eastern end of the old town. It is said that the treasure unearthed at Māl Ėkri was brought here and distributed by the Gurū, not in counted number of coins but in shieldfuls.

The gurdwārā is an old flat-roofed room with a low dome. Some old weapons are displayed on a platform in the centre of the room. They include a shield believed to be the one with which the treasure was distributed. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is installed in the narrow space between the central platform and the wall.

BUNGI MĀI BHĀGO JĪ marks the site of Māi Bhāgo’s residence. It is a large room within the compound of Gurdwārā Takht Sachkhand Sri Hazūr Sāhib, to the east of the central shrine. Besides the Gurū Granth Sāhib, some old weapons, including large-sized muskets and a mortar, and a palanquin are on display in the room.

ANGITHĀ BHAĪ DAYĀ SĪNH ĀTE DHARAM SĪNH-
Bhāī Dayā Singh and Bhāī Dharam Singh
were two of the Pañj Piare. They survived the action at Chamkaur and came out of the fortress with Guru Gobind Singh. From Dīnā, they were sent to deliver the Guru’s letter, Zafarmānah, to Emperor Aurangzib. They rejoined the Guru as he was travelling to the South and reached Nāndeḍ where they later died.

The aṅgītha, or place of cremation, is marked by a small room within the compound of Takht Sachkhand, behind Bunga Māi Bhāgo. Some old weapons are displayed on a platform in the centre of the room.

Gurdwārā Laṅgar Sāhib or Gurdwārā Bābā Nidhān Sīṅgh, not an old historical shrine, has gained prominence as a major gurdwārā in recent years. It was established by Sant Bābā Nidhān Sīṅgh during the 1920’s primarily to provide food and shelter for pilgrims coming to Nāndeḍ from distant parts. He collected donations mainly from the Sikh units of the Indian army.

The original building, a square shaped room, now forms part of a hall in which the Guru Granth Sāhib is installed. The new complex comprises a large hall, flanked by two floors of rooms for pilgrims, and the Guru kā Laṅgar. The gurdwārā, not under the Gurdwārā Board, is managed by successors of Bābā Nidhān Sīṅgh. The recital of gurbāńī and kirtan takes place morning and evening, and Guru kā Laṅgar is open round-the-clock.

Gurdwārā Nānak Sar is a new gurdwārā located in the land owned by Gurdwārā Laṅgar Sāhib, about 10 km from Nāndeḍ, across the River Godāvarī. Legend, which has grown in recent years, connects the site with Guru Nānak’s visit on his way from Nāndeḍ to Bidar. The gurdwārā is a newly built rectangular room, in which the Guru Granth Sāhib is installed, served by a granthī provided by Gurdwārā Laṅgar Sāhib. Close to the gurdwārā, a bathing tank has been constructed in a depression where existed a well before the present gurdwārā was built.

Some local, i.e. Dakkhī, Sikhs have constructed another gurdwārā, named Gurdwārā Nānakpuri about 100 metres from Nānak Sar. As to the sanctity of the spot, both invoke the story of Guru Nānak’s visit.

Gurdwārā Ratangārī Sāhib is another new gurdwārā built alongside of a farmhouse, on a site belonging to Gurdwārā Laṅgar Sāhib. The legend connected with it mentions that Guru Gobind Sīṅgh met here a person, Seth Uttam Sresṛtha, three days after he had been cremated at the site of Takht Sachkhand. The gurdwārā is a flat-roofed hall with a porch, constructed on a high plinth. The Guru Granth Sāhib is installed in the hall. The Gurdwārā Laṅgar Sāhib provides an attendant, who also looks after the farm.

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M.G.S.

NAND GOPĀL, son of Kanhaiyā Lāl, joined the service of the Sikh government as a munshī (clerk) in 1840. His grandfather and father had also served under Maharājā Ranjit Sīṅgh. NAND GOPAL worked as kotwāl under the British, then tathsīldār and afterwards as Inspector of Police in 1861. Later on he worked as Ist class Deputy Inspector of Police at Delhi.

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NAND LAL, BHAI (c. 1633-1713), poet famous in the Sikh tradition and favourite disciple of Guru Gobind Singh. His poetry, all in Persian except for Joti Bigas, which is in Punjabi, forms part of the approved Sikh canon and can be recited along with scriptural verse at Sikh religious divans. Nand Lal adopted the pen-name of "Goy" , though at places he has also subscribed himself as "Lal", the word being the last part of his name. He was a scholar, learned in the traditional disciplines of the time, and his image in Sikh history is that of a man loved and venerated. He is stated to have been born in 1633. By caste he was a Khatri, a class distinguished in Mughal times, like the Kayasthas, for proficiency in Persian, which at that time was the language of official business. His father, Munshi Chhajju Mall, who was an official in the secretariat of Prince Dara Shukoh, Shah Jahans eldest son, accompanied him on an expedition to Ghazni in 1639 and was assigned to an army unit stationed there at the end of the operation. He summoned his family from India to join him in Ghazni where his son Nand Lal spent his childhood and early youth.

His father dying in 1652, Nand Lal was left to struggle in life for himself. Some minor post was offered to him in Ghazni, but he decided to return to India. Multan was the ancestral family seat and it was here that Nand Lal settled amid a number of Hindu families like his own that had seen service under the Mughals. That quarter of the town had come to be known as Agha Mohalla, in association with the resident Hindu officials who were known as Aghas, an honorific employed for Hindus who had acquired the trappings of Muslim culture.

In Multan the Subadar, Wasaf Khan, who had known his father well, offered the talented youth the post of munshi or secretary. By dint of his ability and hard work, Nand Lal soon rose to be the principal secretary (MIR Munshi). He was also posted to administrative appointments and is stated to have become deputy governor of the province. Nand Lal continued in the service of the Mughal State, securing eventually an appointment on the personal staff of Prince Muazzam, Auranjzibs eldest son. When he relinquished service cannot be determined exactly. The surmise that he was dismissed by Auranjzib owing to his father Chhajju Mall having being a favourite of Dara is falsified by the fact that he continued long in service under Prince Muazzam. The story that he stood in fear of being forcibly converted to Islam also does not seem credible, for a number of non-Muslims continued to serve under Auranjzib and forcible conversion did not affect the court or the official class. Auranjzib in any case left Delhi in 1680 to campaign in the Deccan, never to return to the capital. The most likely reason why Nand Lal left Delhi and came to the shelter of Guru Gobind Singh was to seek peace during his advancing years. With his mystical cast of thought he was naturally led to Anandpur where Guru Gobind Singh was inculcating faith in One Supreme God, called by him Akal-Purakh, and arousing the downtrodden Hindus to seek a life of self-respect and dignity. As a protector of dharma, Guru Gobind Singh was known far and wide, being the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur, who had become a martyr to freedom of conscience when Auranjzibs persecution of non-Muslims was at its height.

According to Gurum Jan Sakhian, Nand Lal arrived in Anandpur on the Baisakhi day of 1739 Bk/29 March 1682 and received Gurum Gobind Singh's blessing. He spent his days with the Gurum in mystical contemplation and composing poetry in which his spiritual experience is the pre-eminent element. He is said to have kept a good langar or free kitchen at Anandpur which was commended by the Gurum as a model for others to follow.
His poetry in Persian, of this period, has passed into the Sikh religious tradition and is held in great reverence. Besides Nand Lāl, a number of other poets kept Gurū Gobind Singh company. These others wrote mostly in Brajī Hindi, which was acquiring the status of a classical medium. Nand Lāl appears to have been Gurū Gobind Singh’s sole Persian poet.

Nand Lāl’s name as the favourite disciple of Gurū Gobind Singh has passed into the Sikh tradition and his devotion is commended as an ideal to be followed. A Rahitnāmā or code of Sikh conduct is ascribed to him, besides another called Tankhāhnāmā, or a manual of penalties for infringement of the religious discipline. Doubt has been expressed as to whether these two are of Nand Lāl’s composition. Both are in the usual Braj idiom current in Sikh religious literature. In each Nand Lāl is represented as being the seeker eliciting information from the Gurū as to the right doctrine and the right conduct for a Sikh. The Rahitnāmā, as the text shows, was composed in Samvat 1752 Bk corresponding to 1695 of the Christian era, while the Tankhāhnāmā was composed after the formation of the Khālsā Panth. Therein occur some of the famous affirmations attributed to Gurū Gobind Singh, as to one Sikh hero combating one and a quarter lakhs and the hope that the Khālsā shall one day hold sway. Not much in detail is known about Bhāī Nand Lāl’s life with the Gurū at Anandpur. After the Gurū evacuated Anandpur in the winter of 1705, Bhāī Nand Lāl went to his original home at Multān where he occupied himself with preaching the Gurū’s word and teaching Arabic and Persian. For the latter purpose he opened a regular school which was in existence until the occupation of the Punjab by the British in 1849. Among his writings may be mentioned Zindaṅī Nāmāh, Gaṅī Nāmāh, Joti Bigās, Rahitnāmā, Tankhāhnāmā, Dastūrul-

Inshā, Az r-Afāz, Diwan-i-Goyā and the Rubāīyāt.

Nand Lāl died in Multān in AD 1713.

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NANDPUR, commonly referred to as NANDPUR, Kalaur because of its proximity to the village by the name of Kalaur, is 9 km from Bassi Pathanan (30° 42’ N, 76° 25’ E) in Fatehgarh Sāhib district. The historical shrine at NANDPUR, Gurduārā Sāhib Pātshāhī Nauvīn, commemorates the visit of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The present building constructed over the old Maṅji Sāhib, was completed in 1957. It appears that NANDPUR village sank down sometime after the construction of the Maṅji Sāhib. In the first quarter of the present century when Bhāī Kāṅh Singh compiled his Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahāṅ Kosh, the Gurduārā “stood on a low patch which was subject to flooding during the rains.” The sinking of the village is also evidenced by an ancient gateway of which only the arch is now above the ground level.

The present Gurduārā stands on a high plinth. The old Maṅji Sāhib, however, is preserved as basement below the sanctum. Above the basement, in the hall, is installed the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The whole complex is in a walled compound entered through an imposing double-storeyed gateway decorated with pilasters and stucco-work. Sri Gurū Tegh Bahādur Library has been built recently opposite the Gurduārā gate. It was inaugurated on 3 July 1978. The Gurduārā is managed by
NAND RĀM, one of the poets who kept Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) company, was the son of a well-known Sūfī poet, Vali Rām. He had been in the service of Dārā Shukoh, who, having lost the struggle for succession to his father’s throne, was executed by his brother, Emperor Aurangzib, in 1659. When he came under the patronage of Gurū Gobind Singh is not known. Two of his poems, *Nand Pachisi* and *Karkha Gurū Gobind Singh Kā*, both in Gurmukhi script, have survived. The former describing Kaliyuga, the contemporary Age of Darkness, was written in 1687 and the latter, an ode on the life of Gurū Gobind Singh, sometime after the battle of Chamkaur (1705).

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NAND SINGH, of Rai kā Burj, a village in Amritsar district, was a soldier in the 23rd Cavalry, with headquarters at Mīānīrīr cantonment, Lahore. He was one of the *sowārs* who came in contact with the Ghadr leaders and who raised their hands in meetings to indicate that they would take part in the uprising against the British. According to the plan, the *sowārs* were to bring arms to a meeting of the Ghadr leaders at Jhār Sāhib on 6 November 1914.

On 19 February 1915, word was received that a part of the regiment was to be sent to the war front and the depot moved to a new cantonment. On 13 May 1915, as the baggage was being loaded, a box fell and a bomb exploded. The explosion gave the officials the clue to the plan of the *sowārs* to join the Ghadr revolution. This led to the detention of eighteen men, all belonging to the troops of Dafedar Lachman Singh, of Amritsar, and Dafedar Vadhavā Siṅgh, of Rūrīvālā. They were court-martialled at Dagshai, in Shimlā hills, and ordered to be shot. Later, the sentences of six, Nand Siṅgh among them, were commuted to transportation for life, with forfeiture of property. The other five were Bishan Siṅgh, Bishan Siṅgh No. 2, Naṭṭha Siṅgh and Kehar Siṅgh, all of Ḍhotiāṅ (Amritsar) and Charan Siṅgh, of Ḍhanḍ Kasel (Amritsar). They were sent to the Cellular Jail at Port Blair, Andamans, to serve their sentences. Nand Siṅgh died there as a result of the torture which was commonly the lot of...
the prisoners. He was 26 when he was sent to prison.

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NAND SINGH (1895-1926), a Babar revolutionary, was born in 1895 at the village of Ghurial, in Jalandhar district. He lost his father, Ganga Singh, in his early childhood and was brought up by an elder brother. He was married at the age of fifteen and worked as a carpenter in his own village until he left for Basra, in Iraq, in search of a better living. While he was in Basra, he was deeply moved by events in the Punjab such as the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and the Nankana Sahib massacre. Resolved to dedicate himself to the cause of Gurdwara reform, he returned to India and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for participating in Guru ka Bagh agitation. The atrocity perpetrated on peaceful Akali volunteers had embittered his heart and he decided to renounce non-violence in favour of violence. He joined the radical Babar Akali Jatha and encompassed the murder, on 17 April 1923, of Sūbadār Gendā Siṅgh of his own village. The Sūbadār had incurred the displeasure of the Babar Akalīs by acting as an informer against the group and against the Akalīs of the area. Nand Singh was arrested five days after the murder. He was awarded death sentence and was hanged, with Kishan Singh Gargajj, leader of the Babar Akali movement, on 27 February 1926.

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NAND SINGH, BHĀI (1888-1921), one of the Nankana Sahib martyrs, was born on 15 Sāvan 1945 Bk/29 July 1888, the son of Bhāi Bhagvān Siṅgh and Māi Nihāl Kaur of Thothiān village in Amritsar district. He learnt Urdu at school. After the death of his father in 1902, he as the eldest male member of the family had to engage in farming until his three younger brothers grew up to undertake the responsibility. He then joined the army, trained as a unit signaller and served during the First Great War (1914-18). On his release from service, he got up a small chorus to sing the holy hymns. He attended the Dhārovāli political conference on 1-3 October 1920 and became a reform activist. He now toured the villages singing ballads of old Sikh martyrs, and preaching the programme of Akali reform. He joined Bhāi Lachman Siṅgh Dhārovāli’s jatha which was massacred by the hired assassins of Mahant Narain Dās of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān on 20 February 1921.

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NAND SINGH, SANT (1872-1943), a saintly personage who attracted a considerable following during his lifetime, was born the son of Jai Siṅgh, an artisan by profession, and Sadā Kaur in 1872 in the village of Sherpur Kalān in Ludhiana district of the Punjab. As a young boy, he was trained in the family craft and then moved to Lahirā Khānā, in Bahīndā district of the Punjab, to join a seminary run by Sant Vadhāvā Siṅgh from whom he learnt to read Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Under the influence of a Sikh mystic, Bābā Harnām Siṅgh of Bhucho
Kalan, he was drawn to meditation and practised the discipline for twelve years at various places such as Hazūr Sāhib (Nāndeś), Lahirā Khānā, Harappā and Bhīrī. Rewarded with insight, he took to preaching Guru Nanak’s word and travelled extensively across the country. He established preaching centres called Ṭhāths at Nānaksar Kaleraṇ, Jhaṅg Maghiānā, Bhīrī, Harappā, Montgomery, Jhoriaṇ and in a village, Paudā, near Dehrā Dūn. In his favourite sermons, he stressed the value of kīrtan, i.e. singing of the holy hymns, and simaran, i.e. repetition of the Divine Name.

Sant Nand Singh died at the village of Kaleraṇ on 30 August 1943 and his remains were consigned to the River Sutlej at Siḍhviṇ Pattan. He is best remembered today for Nānaksar Kaleraṇ shrine which was his principal centre.

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NANHERĪ, village on the bank of the River Ghaggar, in Paṭiālā district, about 10 km southwest of Ambalā City (30° -23’N, 76° -47’E), has a shrine called Gurdwārā Pāṭhshāḥī IX ate X, commemorating the visits of Gūrū Tegh Bahādur and Gūrū Gobind Singh. Gūrū Tegh Bahādur is said to have stayed in this village for several days with the local masand, Bhāī Ghogā, while on his way to the eastern parts in 1665, and Gūrū Gobind Singh came here as a child from Lakhnaur in 1670 at the request of Bhāī Ghogā. The present building, right on the embankment protecting the village from the vagaries of the seasonal river, comprises an assembly hall with a square sanctum inside it. The Gurdwārā is maintained by the village saṅgat.

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NANKĀṆĀ SĀḤĪB (31° -28’N, 73° -35’E), named after Gūrū Nānak (1469-1539), who was born here on Baisakh sudi 3, 1526 BK/15 April 1469, is a sub-divisional town in Sheikhpūrā district in Pakistan. Its old name was Talvāṇḍī Rai Bhow Ki or Talvāṇḍī of Rai Bhow, a Muslim Rājpūṭ of Bhaṭṭī clan and retainer of the Delhi rulers of early fifteenth century. His descendant, Rai Bulār, the chief of Talvāṇḍī, was contemporary of Gūrū Nānak. The first 15 or 16 years of Gūrū Nānak’s life were spent at Talvāṇḍī. Later, he shifted to Sultānpūr Lodhī, in present-day Kapūrhālā district of the Punjab, where his sister Bibi Nānaki lived. From there he set out on his long preaching odysseys, visiting his parents at Talvāṇḍī only now and then, his last visit to his native place being in 1510. Several shrines in the town, raised long after his death, mark places where he was born, where he played with other children, where he studied and where he tended cattle.

GURDWĀRĀ JANAM ASTHĀṆ, commemorating the birthplace of Gūrū Nānak is the premier shrine at Nankāṇā Sāḥīb. A room first built here by his son, Bābā Lakhmī Dās (1497-1555), more probably by his grandson, Bābā Dharam Chand (1523-1618), was known as Kālū kā Koṭhā, lit. house of (Mahītā) Kālū, father of Gūrū Nānak. Later it came to be known as NānakāyaṆ, lit. Home of (Gūrū) Nānak. Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh (1780-1839), at the instance of Akālī Phūḷā Singh and Bābā Sāhib Singh Bedī, constructed the present building, a domed square sanctum with a pavilion in front standing on a spacious, raised platform, and made an endowment of about 20,000 acres of land for the maintenance of Gūrū kā Laṅgār. The management remained with Udāṣi priests until
the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee took it over after the gruesome events of 20 February 1921. With the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 and the migration of Sikh population from Pakistan, the management of all Sikh gurdwara in the newly created State, including those at Nankana Sahib, passed to the Waqf Board. The Government of Pakistan later allowed 15 Sikhs to stay in Nankana Sahib to perform the daily services in the shrines. In 1968 the number was reduced to 5. Now only a granthi or scripture-reader and a few Sindhi Sikhs stay at Gurdwara Janam Asthan. Batches of pilgrims from India are occasionally allowed to visit with special permission from the Pakistan Government.

GURDWARA PAṬṬI SĀHIB, within town, marks the place where stood Gurū Nānak’s school. The child Nānak, a quick learner, soon became proficient in Hindi, Persian, arithmetic and accounting. The Gurdwara is a small square room with a fluted lotus dome above it and ornate masonry work on the exterior. It is also called Gurdwara Maulawi Paṭṭi.

GURDWARA BĀL LILĀ, about 300 metres southeast of Gurdwara Janam Asthan, marks the field where Gurū Nānak used to play in the company of other children. Gurū Hargobind during his visit to the town is said to have marked the site. Diwān Kaura Mall, a Hindu noble (d. 1752), after his victory over Multān with the assistance of the Sikhs in 1748, built this Gurdwara and brick-lined two sides of the nearby tank originally got dug by Rāi Bulār. Mahārājā Ranjit Singh had the building renovated and the tank enlarged and properly lined. Of the land donated by him, about 3,000 acres were allotted to Gurdwara Bāl Līlā. After the 1921 tragedy at Gurdwara Janam Asthan, the custodian mahants of this shrine voluntarily handed it over to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee in exchange for suitable maintenance allowance for their families. The Gurdwara was reconstructed during the 1930’s and 1940’s under the supervision of Sant Gurmukh Singh Sevāvāle (1849-1947). The new building on the bank of the adjoining sarovar is a multi-storeyed domed edifice.

GURDWARA KIĀRĀ SĀHIB, about two kilometres to the east of Gurdwara Bāl Līlā, commemorates an event connected with the early years of Gurū Nānak. While tending his father’s herd of cattle, it was common for him to let the animals roam freely while he himself sat engrossed in meditation. Once a peasant complained to Rāi Bulār that Nānak’s cattle had damaged the crop in his field, but when the field was inspected, no damage was discovered. The people considered it a miracle and that particular field came to be reverently called Kiārā (lit. field or plot) Sāhīb. A shrine was raised here which was reconstructed by Sant Gurmukh Singh Sevāvāle during the decade preceding the partition of 1947. The new building comprises a square, domed sanctum and a circumambulatory verandah built on a raised plinth.

GURDWARA MAĻ JĪ SĀHIB stands one-and-a-half kilometre east of Gurdwara Janam Asthan. Janam Sākhīs record an anecdote stating how Gurū Nānak was one day sleeping on the ground under a māl tree, also called van (Quercus incana) and how in the afternoon as Rāi Bulār and his men were passing by they noticed that while all shadows had lengthened and shifted eastward, the shade of that particular tree stood still over the sleeping Nānak. The Bālā Janam Sākhī has a slightly different version saying that as the shadow of the tree shifted, a cobra was seen spreading its hood over Gurū Nānak’s face protecting it from the sun. Rāi Bulār, impressed by the miracle became a devotee. The Gurdwara on this site was first built by Diwān Kaura Mall and renovated during the time of Mahārājā
NANKANA SÀHIB MASSACRE

Ranjit Singh.

GURDWÄRA TAMBU SÀHIB, about 300 metres east of Gurdwàra Janam Asthán, was raised by a NiÃ£¡ñg Sikh about the middle of the nineteenth century. It stands near a huge van tree spreading its branches like a tent (tambû, in Punjabi). Tradition recounts how Mahît Kàlû once gave his son, Guru Nànak, some money for buying merchandise from Chûhârkànà, a nearby market town. Guru Nànak, however, spent the money feeding a group of hungry sàdhûs. Coming back empty-handed and apprehensive of his father's wrath, he is said to have hid himself under the tent-like tree by the side of which now stands Gurdwàra Tambû Sàhib.

GURDWÀRA CHHIATI PÀTSHÀHI, about 200 metres east of Gurdwàra Janam Asthán, is dedicated to Guru Hargobind (Nânak VI) who visited Nankanà Sàhib in 1620-21. This, too, was built and managed by NiÃ£¡ñg Sikhs and came under the control of the Shiromàñi Gurdwàra Parbandhak Committee in 1921.

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NANKÀÑA SÀHIB MASSACRE refers to the grim episode during the Gurdwàra Reform movement in which a peaceful batch of reformist Sikhs was subjected to a murderous assault on 20 February 1921 in the holy shrine at Nankanà Sàhib, the birthplace of Guru Nànak. This shrine along with six others in the town had been under the control of Udàsí priests ever since the time the Sikhs were driven by Mughal oppression to seek safety in remote hills and deserts. In Sikh times these gurdwàrâs were richly endowed by the State. The priests not only treated ecclesiastical assets as their private properties but had also introduced practices and ceremonial which had no sanction in Sikhism. Their own character was not free from the taints of licentiousness and luxury. The puritan reaction engendered by the preachings of the Singh Sabhà movement during the last quarter of the nineteenth century led the community to revolt against the retrogression and maladministration of their places of worship. The protest became louder in the opening decades of the twentieth century and culminated in the Gurdwàra Reform or Akâlí movement of 1920-26.

Of the Udàsí clergy, Mahant Narain Dâs, the high priest of Gurdwàra Janam Asthán at Nankanà Sàhib, was the richest and the most wayward. His stewardship of the shrine had started many a scandal. Sikhs' petitions to the government for the removal of the Mahant had gone unheeded. Matters came to a head when, in 1918, two cases of molestation of women pilgrims were reported. Early in October 1920, a large Sikh gathering held at the village of Dhàrovâli, in the present Sheikhpura district, recorded strong protest. Almost simultaneously a Sikh shrine, Gurdwàra Bâbe di Ber, at Siâlkot, was liberated from priestly control and taken over by the Sikhs on 5 October 1920, which marked the beginning of the Gurdwàra Reform movement. The Harimandar and the Akâlí Takht were occupied on 12 October 1920. Narain Dâs, instead of showing repentence or conciliation, started recruiting a private army and laying in arms. On the morning of 20 February 1921, as a jathâ of 150 Sikhs entered the sacred precincts, his men fell upon it. The Sikhs were chanting the sacred hymns when the attack started. Bullets were mercilessly rained on them from the roof of an adjoining building. Their leader, Bhâi
Lachhmañ Singh, the staunch reformist, a tall and handsome Sikh from Dhārovali, was struck down sitting in attendance of the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

Outside the main gate, Naraiñ Dās, pistol in hand and his face muffled up, pranced up and down on horseback directing the operations and all the time shouting, "Let not a single long-haired Sikh go out alive." Bhāi Dalip Singh, a much-respected Sikh who was well known to him, came to intercede with him to stop the bloody carnage. But he killed him on the spot with a shot from his pistol. Six other Sikhs coming from outside were butchered and thrown into a potter’s kiln. Firewood and kerosene oil were brought out and a fire lighted. All the dead and injured were piled up on it to be consumed by the flames. Bhāi Lachhmañ Singh was fastened to a tree near by and burnt alive. The total number of Sikhs killed has been variously estimated between 82 and 156.

News of the Nankānā Sāhib massacre shocked the country. Sir Edward Maclagan, Governor of the Punjab, visited the site on 22 February. Mahātmā Gāndhi, along with Muslim leaders Shaukat 'Alī and Muhammad 'Alī, came on 3 March. Princess Bamba Duleep Singh (1869-1957), daughter of Mahārājā Duleep Singh, came accompanied by Sir Jogendra Singh (1877-1946), to offer her homage to the memory of the martyrs.

Narañ Dās and some of his hirelings were arrested and the possession of the shrine was made over by government to a committee of seven Sikhs headed by Sardār Harbañ Singh of Atārī, vice-president of the Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

February 23 was fixed for the cremation rites. Charred, mutilated bodies were collected and torn limbs and pieces of flesh picked from wherever they lay in the bloodstained chambers. A huge funeral pyre was erected. Bhāi Jodh Sīnh, in a measured oration, advised the Sikhs to remain cool and patient and endure the calamity with the fortitude with which their ancestors had faced similar situations. The Sikhs, he said, had cleansed by their blood the holy precincts so long exposed to the impious influence of a corrupt regime.

A criminal case against Mahant Naraiñ Dās and his men started on 5 April 1921 which was observed by the Sikhs as the Martyrs' Day. The Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee appealed to the Sikhs to wear black turbans in memory to the martyrs until the next birth anniversary of Gurū Nānak coming off on 15 November 1921 (black turban thenceforth became the insignia of the Akālis). The sessions court, announcing its judgement on 12 October 1921, sentenced Naraiñ Dās and seven others to death and eight to transportation for life. Sixteen Paṭhān mercenaries were awarded seven years’ rigorous imprisonment each. The rest were acquitted. The High Court delivering on 3 March 1922 its judgement on Naraiñ Dās’s appeal, reduced his sentence to life imprisonment. Three of his men were awarded capital punishment and two were given life terms; all others were let off.

The Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee instituted a fund to provide relief to the families of the martyrs. It also established the Sikh Missionary Society, which opened the Shahid Sikh Missionary College at Amritsar as a permanent memorial to the martyrs (shahīd, in Punjabi) of Nankānā Sāhib.

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NĀNO, BHĀI


R.R.

NĀNO, BHĀI, an Ohri Khatri, was a devoted Sikh of Guru Arjan’s time. He once visited Amritsar and had the privilege of receiving instruction from the Guru himself. The Guru, as says Bhai Mani Singh, *Sikhīit di Bhagat Mālā*, explained to him the importance of the Harimandar as a seat of veneration for the Sikhs.

See, also, Bhai Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 23

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T.S.

NĀNO LAṬKAN, BHĀI, a Bindrāo Khatri, was initiated a Sikh by Guru Arjan. The Guru instructed him in the virtue of humility. Bhai Nāno lived up to the time of Guru Hargobind and, according to Bhai Santokh Singh, *Sīr Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, came to be known as a skilled archer. He was killed in the battle of Ruhelā in 1629.

See, Bhai Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 27

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M.G.S.

NĀNO BAIRĀGĪ or Nānū Bairāgi, one of the many poets who enjoyed the patronage of Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708), belonged to Wazirābād, in present-day Gujranwālā district of Pakistan. He lived for a time at Lahore and then went to Kiratpur where he received the rites of a disciple at the hands of Guru Tegh Bahādur. After the Guru was martyred in Delhi, he remained with Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur. Being indifferent to worldly ties, he came to be known as a vairāgī or recluse. He is said to have inspired Bhai Kanhaiyā, founder of the Sevāpanthi sect, to accept the Sikh faith. His surviving compositions, devotional songs in different classical measures and in chaste Punjabi, are popular among Sevāpanthi sādhūs.

NĀNŪ, a Paṇḍit of Kurukshetra proud of his learning, came to Guru Nānak, then visiting the town, to engage him in a religious debate. But according to Bhai Santokh Singh, *Sīr Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, in the presence of the Guru, he learnt to be humble. He took instruction from him and became a devotee.

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P.S.P.

NĀNŪ, BHĀI, a Sikh contemporary of Guru Tegh Bahādur and Guru Gobind Singh, was, according to Bhaṭṭ Vaihī Multānī Sindhi, the son of Bāghā, a Chhimbā (linen-printer) resident of Mohallā (ward) Dilvālī Sikkhān in the city of Delhi. According to Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Bainsāvalīmāmā Dasān Pāṭshāhīān Kā*, it was Bhai Nānū who re-
claimed the severed head of Gurū Tegh Bahādur from Chāndāni Chowk, the site of the Gurū’s execution in November 1675, and, accompanied by Bhāi Jaitā, a Raṅghreṭā Sikh, also of Delhi, carried it to Anandpur, where Gurū Gobind Siṅgh cremated it with due honour. Bhāi Nānū who later took the rites of the Khālsā and became Nānū Siṅgh, was, according to Bhaṭṭ sources, killed in the battle of Chamkaur on 7 December 1705. His two sons, Gharbārā Siṅgh and Darbārā Siṅgh, were also in the retinue of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. Gharbārā Siṅgh laid down his life fighting in the battle of Agamghār Fort, near Anandpur, on 31 August 1700.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NĀNŪ MALL (d. 1791), minister and army general in Paṭiālā state, was born at Sunām, in Saṅgrūr district. He came of a mercantile Aggarvāl family and became known as a highly capable administrator and a brave general. He acquired proficiency in classical languages—Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, and served in a civil capacity under Bābā Ālā Siṅgh, founder of the Paṭiālā dynasty. It was at the court of his successor, Mahārājā Amar Siṅgh, (1748-82), that Nānū Mall rose to be the Diwān of the state. In 1778, he was deputed by the Mahārājā to assist Rājā Gajpat Siṅgh of Jind against Rahīm Khān of Hāṃsī, who had attacked his territory. Rahīm Khān was slain in the battle that ensued and the Diwān obtained much booty in horses, elephants and arms. He then proceeded to occupy important places such as Hāṃsī, Hisār, Rohtak, Tosham, Meham and Gohānā, all in present-day Haryānā state.

When, on Rājā Amar Siṅgh’s death in 1782, Sāhib Siṅgh ascended the throne of Paṭiālā, he was only eight. Owing to the Mahārājā’s minority, the affairs of the state fell into disorder. Rānī Hukmā, grandmother of the minor Mahārājā, had Nānū Mall appointed as madār-ul-mahām or the prime minister of the state. Rāmji Dās Sayyāḥ, the author of the Tarīḵ-i-Sunām compares Diwān Nānū Mall with Bairam Khān, the tutor of Akbar the Great, who administered the kingdom during the latter’s minority. Diwān Nānū Mall put down a large number of revolts against the state and established peace and order. But with the death of Rānī Hukmā, who was his staunchest supporter, began his downfall. He had incurred the hostility of other members of the royal family and of the courtiers by his arrogant manner. He was eventually dismissed from service, along with his sons and relatives. When he failed to regain his position, he revolted and, with the help of Nawāb ‘Atā Ullāh of Mālerkotlā, led an attack against the state forces, but was defeated.

Nānū Mall died at Mālerkotlā on 21 November 1791.

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NĀNŪ SIṅGH, priest of Gurḍwārā Śrī Hazūr Sāhib, Nāndeḍ (Hyderābād), who served as an intermediary between Thākūr Siṅgh Sandhāṅvāliā, prime minister to Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh in his emigré government at Pondicherry and his associates in the Punjab. Correspondence and messages to and from those working for the restoration of the Mahārājā to the throne of the Punjab passed through Nāndeḍ, Nānū Siṅgh being the principal agent.
NARAIN DAS, BHAI

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NARAIN DAS, BHAI, a prominent Sikh of the time of Guru Angad, listed in Mani Singh, Sikh dī Bhagat Mālā. See, also, Bhāi Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 15.

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NARAIN DAS, BHAI, a Jukā Khatri of the village of Dāllā in present-day Kapūrthālā district of the Punjab, was the grandson of Bhāi Pāro, much reputed in Sikh piety. Narain Dās was present when Guru Arjan declined, on the advice of the sangat, Chandu Shāh’s offer of his daughter’s hand for his son Hargobind. He immediately stood up and entreated that his daughter Damodari be accepted as a match for the Guru’s son. Guru Arjan received the proposal with favour. The marriage according to Gurbilās Chheviṅ Pāṭshāhī took place on 9 Māgh 1661 Bk/7 January 1605.

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NARAIN SINGH, a well-to-do Aroṅā Sikh businessman of the village of Bahirāmpurā, near Dinānagar, in Gurdāspur district, helped Bhāi Mahārāj Singh (d. 1856) financially on several occasions. He had facility in reciting hymns from the Gurū Granth Sāhib and was widely travelled. He was summoned by Mahārāj Singh to Rāwalpindī before the battles of Cheliāṅvālā and Gujrat, and was assigned to procuring grain for the Khālsā army. After the battles, Bhāi Mahārāj Singh had moved to Jammū region and thence to Sūjovāl, near Bāṭālā. At the latter place a plan was made to abduct the young Mahārājā Duleep Singh before the British removed him from the Punjab. Narain Singh provided finance for the party entrusted with the execution of the plan (which, however, leaked prematurely and failed). He also financed the trip of Mahārāj Singh’s emissaries to Bhāi Kishan Singh and Bhāi Nihāl Singh in the North-West Frontier Province. Later at Kandolā, in Jalandhār district, he helped Bhāi Mahārāj Singh with funds to carry on with his campaign.

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NARAIN SINGH, BHĀI (d. 1921), of Chakk No. 55 Būrj in Lyallpur district, was originally from Navāṅ Virāṅhī in Amritsār district and had settled here as a colonizer after the opening of Lower Chēnāb Canal Colony during the 1890’s. He had learnt some Gurmukhi in the Gurdwārā of his old village and also knew Urdu. He set apart a room in his own house where Gurū Granth Sāhib was seated and a divān held regularly for morning and evening prayers led by himself. Later, he constructed another hall where marriage parties coming to the village could stay. He had himself registered with Bhāi Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī as an Akālī volunteer, and was one of the jathā which was killed to a man on 20 February 1921.
NARAIṆ SINGH, BHĀĪ (1875-1921), who fell a victim in the violence at Nankānā Sahib in 1921, was the son of Bhāī Jawāhar Singh and Mātā Chandī of village Lahuke, in Amritsar district. In 1890, he received the rites of Khālsā initiation at the hands of Bābā Savāiī Singh of Hotī-Mardān. In 1894, the family moved to Chakk No. 75 Lahuke in Lyallpur district. During the First Great War (1914-18), Narāiṇ Singh enlisted and served in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) for about three years. Returning to India, he joined the ranks of the Akālī reformers. On 20 February 1921 he was one of the Jathā led by Bhāī Iśar Singh Jathēdār which reached Nankānā Sahib too late to join the main Dhārovalī jathā and enter Gurdwārā Janam Asthān. Many of them, however, tried to enter from the southern gate and got killed there; Bhāī Narāiṇ Singh was one of them.

The Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee settled upon his widow a pension of Rs 80 and discharged the debts of the family.

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NARĀIṆ SINGH, BHĀĪ (1891-1921), one of the Nankānā Sahib martyrs. He was a brother of Bhāī Pañjābī Singh who also sacrificed his life in the campaign for purging the holy shrines. Both brothers were among the volunteers who constituted the reformers’ squad which was massacred to a man in the Gurdwārā compound on the morning of 20 February 1921.

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Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, Shahīdī jīvan. Nankana Sahib, 1938

NARĀLI, village in Gujjarbhān subdivision of the Rāwalpindi district in Pakistan, had a historical Sikh shrine, Gurdwārā Patshāhi VI, commemorating the visit of Guru Hargobind who briefly halted here during his journey towards Kashmir in 1619. The Guru’s purpose was to meet in this village an old Sikh, Bhāī Harbāns, popularly known as Harbaṇs Tāpā, i.e. Harbāns the Ascetic. The Gurdwārā, which had within its compound Harbaṇs’ samādh or tomb, had to be abandoned as a sequel to the partition of the Punjab in 1947 causing a two-way migration of population.

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NĀRĀYANĀ, well-known centre, Dādū Dvārā, of the Dādūpanthī sect of sādhūs founded by saint Dādū (1544-1603) of the Bhaktī movement, half a kilometre from Nārāṇā railway station and 71 km from Ajmer (26°27’N, 74°42’E). Guru Gobind Singh visited this Dādū Dvārā in the course of his travels through Rājasthān in 1706. He was received by Mahant Jāit Rām, then head of the cloister. The Guru saluted the samādh of Dādū with his arrow to which the Sikhs took exception. They said that this was contrary to his own teaching which forbade the Sikhs to bow before idols, graves and samādhs. The Guru explained that he had done it intentionally in order to test whether his Sikhs were vigilant enough to ensure strict observance of Sikh rules of conduct by all, high and low. The Sikhs imposed a fine on the Guru for this breach of religious discipline which the Guru readily paid. A platform called Thārā Sahib was later constructed around the group of three banyan trees consecrated by the Guru’s brief sojourn
under them. It is a marble-topped stone structure just outside the entrance to the Dadupanthi temple.

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NARENDRA ŚIṄGH SANDHĀṆVĀLIĀ (b. 1868), third son of Thākur Śiṅgh SandhāṆvāliā who was prime minister of Mahārājā Duleep Śiṅgh's emigre government in Pondicherry. Born in 1868, he was 18 years old when he accompanied his father to that French territory to the south of Madras. Narendra Śiṅgh was betrothed to the daughter of Rao Umrao Śiṅgh of Kuṭesar, near Meerut. In August 1887, Thākur Śiṅgh died at Pondicherry, but Narendra Śiṅgh and his brothers were not allowed to return to British India until 1890. Narendra Śiṅgh, after his return from Pondicherry, lived at Meerut with his father-in-law, and was later adopted by Kaṅvar Dharam Śiṅgh of Dāḍrī.

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NARINDER ŚIṄGH, MAHĀRĀJĀ (1824-1862), born at Paṭialā on 26 November 1824, succeeded his father, Mahārājā Karam Śiṅgh, to the Paṭialā throne on 18 January 1846. Narinder Śiṅgh aided the British with supplies and carriage during the first Anglo-Sikh war and was rewarded with additional estates, especially from Nābhā territory. After the annexation of the Sikh State of Lahore to the British dominions in March 1849, the Paṭialā ruler was generally acknowledged as a spokesman for the Sikh community. Mahārājā Narinder Śiṅgh cemented his alliance with the British by his ready support of guns, carriage, loans and troops during the uprising of 1857. Once again he was rewarded with estates and with new titles and honours. He received the grant of Nārnaul division of the Jhajjar territory valued at 2,00,000 rupees. He was invested with the Order of the Star of India on 6 November 1861 and, in 1862, he was made a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

Mahārājā Narinder Śiṅgh was a great builder and also a patron of art and literature. He set up in 1861 a seat in Paṭialā for Nirmalā Sikhs known as Dharam Dhujā. He also raised a gurdwārā outside of Motībāgh Palace commemorating Guru Tegh Bahādur's visit.

Narinder Śiṅgh died at Paṭialā on 13 November 1862 after a short illness and was succeeded by his ten-year-old son, Mohinder Śiṅgh.

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NĀRLĪ, village barely one kilometre from the Indo-Pakistan border in Amritsar district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Maṅji Sāhib which commemorates one of the maṅjis or preaching centres established by Guru Amar Dās (1479-1574). The first preacher appointed here by the Guru was Bhāī Māī Dās, a Vaiṣṇavite recluse converted to Sikhism. The present building con-
structed by the local saṅgat during the 1950's comprises a domed sanctum within a small divān hall. An old well and an old cot (maṇījī, in Punjabi) are believed to have existed here since the time of Guru Amar Dās. The shrine is administered by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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**NASĪHAT NĀMAH**, lit. epistle of admonishment, is an apocryphal composition in verse attributed to Guru Nānak and is said to have been addressed by the Gūrū to king Croesus (Kāruṇī in Sikh chronicles). The King is advised to do good deeds when God has bestowed riches upon him. Money spent in a good cause is money well spent. Money belongs to him who spends it. Everything in this world is transient and none should feel proud of his possessions which are bound to perish. True God alone shall abide forever. Kāruṇī could be a very rich man so named after the historical Croesus, king of Lydia, 560-546 BC, known for his fabulous wealth.

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**NATHĀNĀ SĀHIB**, Gurdwārā near the village of Jaṇḍ Magholi in Paṭialā district, is dedicated, according to Gurushabad Ratnakar Mahān Kosh, to Gūrū Tegh Bahādūr, but is now called Gurdwārā Nathānā Sāhib Pāṭshāhī Tisāri. According to current tradition, Guru Amar Dās stayed here 22 times during his annual pilgrimage journeys before he had met Gūrū Arīgād and become his Sikh. The present building of the Gurdwārā comprises a divān hall with the sanctum in the middle of it. Above the sanctum is a square room topped by a lotus dome and a gilded pinnacle with an umbrella-shaped finial. Two rows of rooms on one side constitute the Gurū kā Laṅgar and a residential block for pilgrims; on the other side is the 50-metre square...
NATTHĀ, BHĀI

sarovar. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. Special gatherings take place on the first of every Bikramī month and a fair is held to mark the Lohṛī festival during mid-January.

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M.G.S.

NATTHĀ, BHĀI, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He was one of those who went to the Gurū to report that spurious hymns were being composed by Prīthī Mall under the pseudonym Nānāk for inclusion in the holy corpus. Bhāi Natthā's name is included in the roster of the Gurū's devotees in Bhāi Manī Siṅgh, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā.

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Manī Siṅgh, Bhāi, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā. Amritsar, 1955

T.S.

NATTHĀ, BHĀI, Muslim bard who, in company with Bhāi 'Abdulla, sang heroic poetry at Sikh divāns in the time of Gurū Hargobind.

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B.S.

NATTHĀ, BHĀI, a successor of the Udāsī saint Almast, was, during the time of Gurū Har Rāi, in Bengal to preach the message of Gurū Nānāk. He made Dhrākā his headquarters and preached mostly in what now comprises Bangla Desh. At Dhrākā he built a gurdwārā now called Gurdwārā Saṅgat Ṭolā. He also dug a well of which some remains still exist. He possessed a kind heart, but was short-tempered and had a rough tongue. When Gurū Tegh Bahādur visited Dhrākā during the late 1660's, some Sikhs complained to him of Bhāi Natthā's abusive nature. “This brother Natthā keeps calling us names. He does not spare even masands, exalted by the Gurū himself. He quarrels with everyone and keeps amity with none. He speaks foully.” The Gurū sent for Natthā and said, “Natthā brother, everyone here has a complaint against you. You abuse everybody. You take not their counsel. And you speak out what comes to your tongue.” “They are fools sans all sense,” answered the inveterate Bhāi Natthā. “I have never abused anyone.” The Gurū laughed and told the Sikhs: “Mind not what he says. He has no malice in him. His words are harsh but his heart is pure. He is dyed in God's love. Do not be upset by what he says. Try to be pure-hearted like him.”

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A.C.B.

NATTHĀ SIṆGH, BHĀI (d. 1924), son of Bhāi Dhannā Singh Randhāvā of Mogā, was one of the martyrs who fell in the firing at Jaito. He had studied up to the sixth class and was engaged in farming. As the Gurdwārā Reform movement got underway in the early 1920’s, he took the Khālsā pāhul and became an Akāli activist. For a time he was secretary of the Akāli Jathā of Mogā tahśīl. When the first shahīdī jathā, column of volunteers for martyrdom, was passing through Mogā on its way to Jaito, Nathā Singh accompanied it. As the jathā was fired upon on its approach to Jaito on 21 February 1924, he received a bullet wound in his leg, and was admitted to the station hospital at Firozpur cantonment.
in a critical condition.
He died on 30 March 1924.

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NAITTĪ, MĀṬĀ (d. 1664), also referred to in chronicles as Ananti, Nihālo and Māṭā Bassī, was the wife of Bābā Gurdittā (1613-38), the eldest son of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644). She was the daughter of Bhai Raina and Sukhdevī, a Khatri Sikh couple of Bātālā, in present-day Gurdaspur district of the Punjab. Her marriage to Bābā Gurdittā took place on 17 April 1624. Two sons, Dhīr Mal and (Gurū) Har Rāi, were born to her on 11 January 1627 and 18 January 1630 respectively. After the death of Gurū Hargobind and the departure of Māṭā Nānākī for Bakālā in 1644, Māṭā Natti was the head of the Gurū’s household during the times of Gurū Har Rāi and Gurū Har Krishan. She died at Kiratpur on 29 September 1664.

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NAUDH SINGH (d. 1752), son of Buḍḍhā Singh, was great-grandfather of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. He was a brave and daring man who applied his energies to expanding the family’s fortunes. He fortified the village of Sukkachakk in 1730, and in the same year married the daughter of a rich landlord, Gulāb Singh of Majīthā. He gained territory and, impressed by the example of his personal bravery, many an adventurous youth rallied round his arms. Eventually, he, along with his band of followers, joined the Faizullāpurī misl and won the admiration of his chief, Nawāb Kapūr Siṅgh, by his bold exploits. He was among the Sikhs who pursued Ahmad Shāh Durrānī out of India in 1749, and he died in 1752 as a result of the injuries sustained in battle.

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NAUJAVĀṆ BHĀRAT SABHĀ, association of the Indian youth, was established at a convention held on 11-13 April 1928 at JallāṈāḷā Bāgh in Amritsar at the instance of the management of the radical journal Kirtī, including men like Sohan Siṅgh Josh and Bhāg Siṅgh Canādī. Like the Kirtī Kīsān Sabhā it aimed at creating a youth wing of peasants and workers with a view to ushering in revolution in the country and overthrowing British imperial rule. Another organization with the same name already existed in Lahore involving mainly the colleagues of the city.
The Sabhā had been active between March 1926 and April 1927, but this was a secret network not known to many outside of Punjab capital.

The first conference of the Naujavan Bhārat Sabhā took place in Amritsar in 1928 coinciding with the political conference of the Punjab Congress Committee. It was presided over by Kedārnāth Sehgal. The conference set up a sub-committee, consisting of Sohan Singh Josh (Chairman), Rām Chander, M.A. Majid, Ehsān Ilāhi, Professor Chhabildās, Gopāl Singh Qaumī and Hari Śingh. The second conference of the Sabhā was held on 22–24 February 1929 in Lahore under the presidency of Sohan Singh Josh. The resolutions adopted censured, in the severest terms, the government for making indiscriminate arrests of the youth following the murder of J.P. Saunders, Deputy Superintendent of Police on 17 December 1928, sought the repeal of the Arms Act and applauded the Ghadr heroes. On the last day of the conference, a portrait of one of the Ghadr leaders, Kartār Śingh Sarābhā, was formally unveiled and his supreme sacrifice in the cause of the nation’s freedom eulogized. After a period of suppression by government, the Gandhī–Irwin pact (1931) which was to lead to the abandonment by the Indian National Congress of the civil disobedience movement without securing the release of the youth involved was concluded. The hanging of Bhagat Śingh, Rājgurū and Sukhdev on 23 March 1931 on charges of murdering J.P. Saunders earned the Sabhā another short lease. The Naujavan Bhārat Sabhā and the Kirtī Kisān Sabhā held a joint session on 29 March in Karāchī and led out a procession castigating especially Mahātmā Gāndhī for what they described as his betrayal of the youth. The Sabhā was declared unlawful by government on 10 September 1934 under section 16(I) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, after which it practically ceased to exist.

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NAULAKKHĀ, a village about 20 km north of Paṭialā (30° -20’N, 76° -26’E), has a gurdwārā dedicated to the memory of Gurū Tegh Bahādur who visited the site during one of his journeys across the Mālvā region. The shrine was managed for a long time by a line of mahants from whom the village Sikh community secured possession of it during the days of the Gurdwārā Reform movement of the 1920’s. The old building was replaced by a new one in 1991 Bk/AD 1934. This present building is constructed around a domed sanctum. The Gurū kā Langar is close by. The shrine is managed by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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NAUNIDH, Bhaṇḍārī Khatri of Āgrā, waited upon Gurū Gobind Śingh during his visit to the city in AD 1707. According to Bhāi Santokh Śingh, Śri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, he enquired about the reason for prescribing unshorn hair for the Sikhs. The Gurū explained that keeping long hair was no innovation because this had been an old tradition. “But the times have changed,” argued Naunidh. The Gurū said,”What times have changed? Aren’t they the same sun, the same moon, the same water, air, fire
and earth as have ever been? The fault lies in us. We have become too lazy and readily resort to such excuses."

Naunidh went away chastened.

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Nau Nihāl Singh, Kanvar (1821-1840), son of Mahārājā Khaṛak Singh, was born on 23 February 1821. According to the official Lahore diarist, Sohān Lāl Sūri, great rejoicing took place at his birth and a Persian chronogram—A bouquet of wisdom’s garden—was coined recording the year of his birth. Nau Nihāl Singh was the favourite grandson of Mahārājā Raṇjit Singh, who bestowed much personal attention on his upbringing and training. In March 1837, he was married to the daughter of Shām Singh Atārivālā. The occasion was marked by a display of extraordinary splendour and lavishness. The Mahārājā began entrusting Nau Nihāl Singh with the command of military expeditions while he was still very young. He was barely 13 when he participated in the Peshāwar campaign of 1834. He was then appointed to administer the country in the Attock region. The same year, the province of Peshāwar was farmed out to him for an annual payment of Rs 12,00,000. In 1835, he suppressed a revolt in the Derājāt and Tōṅk. In 1836, he accompanied his father, Kanvar Khaṛak Singh, to the borders of Sindh to confront the Tālpurian amīrs. Nau Nihāl Singh took part in the operations of the Khaibar when, in April 1839, he commanded a Sikh army which proceeded to Peshāwar to assist Colonel Wade’s contingent on its march through the Punjab to Kābul across the Khaibar Pass.

Nau Nihāl Singh was at Peshāwar when Raṇjit Singh died on 27 June 1839. He arrived at Lahore on 17 September and became involved in court politics. The faction led by the Ḏoğrās—Diṅān Singh, Gūlāb Singh and Suchet Singh—gained influence over him. This faction resented the growing influence of Chet Singh. The Wazīr incited the young prince to urge his father to dismiss his favourite which the Mahārājā refused to do. A conspiracy was then hatched by Rājā Diṅān Singh to finish off Chet Singh. On the morning of 9 October 1839, the Ḏoğrā trinity, accompanied by Kanvar Nau Nihāl Singh, forced their entry into the royal apartments. Diṅān Singh plunged a dagger into the heart of Chet Singh in the presence of their royal master. Mahārājā Khaṛak Singh was thereafter reduced to a mere shadow. He was virtually placed in confinement by the Ḏoğrās. Kanvar Nau Nihāl Singh took into his hands the reins of government. In March 1840, Mahārājā Khaṛak Singh fell ill. Contemporary chroniclers indicate that he had been administered poison under Diṅān Singh’s orders. He died on 5 November 1840. The same day, as Kanvar Nau Nihāl Singh was returning after the funeral rites, the northern gate of the Hazūrī Bāgh was brought down upon his head. He had suffered only minor injuries, but he was quickly taken into the Fort in a pālkī which had been kept ready in advance. Inside the Fort, the prince’s head was crushed with stones by Diṅān Singh’s men. With his death which occurred on 8 November “glory departed from the Punjab, and brightness no longer reflected on the royal presence,” bemoans a contemporary Persian chronicler.

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NAURAĞABĀD, village 7 km southeast of Tarn Tāran (31°-27'N, 74°-56'E) along the Tarn Tāran—Goindvāl road, came into prominence when during the 1840's the Gurdwārā established here by Bābā Ār Śingh (1768-1844), reputed for his sanctity, started attracting devotees and pilgrims in hundreds every day. During the crisis that followed the assassination of Maharājā Sher Śingh on 15 September 1843, and the entrenchment in power of Hira Śingh and his mentor, Paṇḍit Jallā, Bābā Ār Śingh’s āṭā or seat at Naurāṅgābād, became a rallying point for protesting soldiers and political fugitives, including such personages as Prince Pashaurā Śingh, Prince Kashmirā Śingh and Sardār Ātār Śingh Sandhānvālīā. Bābā Ār Śingh having refused to surrender the Princes and the Sardār, Hira Śingh ordered a military attack on the āṭā. The holy man advised the inmates not to resort to arms against the attackers who were their own brothers-in-faith. Despite this Hira Śingh’s artillery blasted the āṭā on 27 Baisākh 1902 Bk/7 May 1844 killing several hundred men, including Sardār Ātār Śingh, Prince Kashmirā Śingh and the aged Bābā Ār Śingh. The Bābā’s samādhi or memorial shrine and the Gurdwārā, renovated in 1960, still attracts visitors. An annual fair is held on 27 Baisākh.

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NĀṆ SEKHĀR, a Sekhā Khatri, who had turned a mendicant, received Gurū Arjan’s teaching and became his Sikh. His name is included in the roster of the Gurū’s devotees in Bhai Mani Śingh, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā.

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NAVALĀ, BHĀĪ, and his brother, Bhai Nihālā, Sabharvāl Khatri of Paṇā, were devoted Sikhs respected widely for their truthful and hospitable nature. Once they called on Gurū Hargobind and besought instruction. According to Bhai Mani Śingh, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā, Gurū Hargobind taught them always to remember God and serve others with humility.

Bhai Navalā and Bhai Nihālā were popular expounders of the sacred hymns as well as trained soldiers. They served in Gurū Hargobind’s retinue. As records Bhai Santokh Śingh, Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, Navalā, in command of a platoon during the battle of Amritsar, was assigned to the task of evacuating the Gurū’s family to Goindvāl via Jhabāl. Nihālā died in action the following day.

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NAYYĀ, BHĀĪ, a Khullar Khatri, was a prominent Sikh of the time of Gurū Rām Dās. Bhāī Gurdās describes him, in his Vārāṇ, XI. 17, as “Nayyā Khullar, beloved of the Gurū himself.”

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NEHRU COMMITTEE REPORT AND THE SIKHS. Constitutional reforms introduced under the Government of India Act, 1919, did not satisfy the Indian public opinion which continued to press for a fully responsible government in India. The Act itself contained a provision that after ten years a statutory commission would be appointed to review its working. A commission consisting of seven members of British Parliament, with Sir John Simon as chairman, was constituted in November 1927 to survey the political situation in India. Opinion in India was critical, especially because the country had been afforded no representation on the Commission. The Indian National Congress as well as the Sikhs resolved to boycott it. The Congress also proposed to work out a scheme of responsible government on behalf of the people. This it did in response to a challenge thrown by Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Lords on 7 July 1925: "Let them produce a constitution which carries behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India."

The Congress convened an All-Parties Conference which at its meeting at Bombay, on 19 May 1928, appointed a committee of ten members headed by Pandit Motilal Nehru to draw up a political formula which would be acceptable to different elements in the national life. Mangal Singh, general secretary of the Central Sikh League, represented the Sikhs on the committee. The recommendations of this committee, adopted as resolutions at the next All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow from 28 to 31 August 1928, came to be known as the Nehru Committee Report. In order to arrive at an agreed solution of the most vexed question, namely communal representation, the committee sought, in an informal meeting, the advice of other prominent leaders of public opinion.

The Nehru Report envisaged dominion status for India with a bi-cameral legislature at the centre and single-chamber legislatures at the provincial level. A federal system with a strong centre at the apex was the basic principle of the proposed constitutional structure. As regards franchise, the Report provided for adult suffrage and joint electorate, with reservation of seats for Muslim and non-Muslim minorities. However, Punjab and Bengal did not figure in the reservation scheme. There was thus no specific provision made for the Sikhs.

The Sikhs had consistently opposed reservation of electoral seats on the basis of religion. Yet they had all along considered themselves a distinct community entitled to special consideration because of their status in the Punjab. Now, when reservations were an accepted principle, they claimed thirty per cent representation for themselves and thirty per cent for the Hindus to prevent Punjab from falling under Muslim hegemony statutorily guaranteed. Sikh leaders attending the Lucknow Conference took strong exception to the proposals made in the Nehru Committee Report, and Master Târâ Singh and Giani Sher Singh had their dissent recorded. Baba Kharak Singh, president of Shiromani Gurdwârâ Parbandhak Committee as well as of the Central Sikh League, also rejected the Report mainly on two counts. Delivering his presidential address extempore at the annual session of the Central Sikh League at Gujranwâla on 22 October 1928, he said that the Report had sinned against the self-respect and dignity of India by limiting the national objective to Dominion Status. This meant that the people would have to fight twice—first to win Dominion Status and then Swarâj or self-rule. The second point of his criticism was that the Report had laid
the foundation of communalism by accepting separate electorates.

To press the Sikh viewpoint, almost all the important Sikh leaders, thirty in number, mustered at the last meeting of the All-Parties Conference at Calcutta on 22 December 1928. Their efforts, however, were of no avail and the Sikhs were obliged to dissociate themselves from the proceedings of the Convention. In fact, Motilal Nehru, during his presidential address at the annual session of the Congress at Calcutta on 29 December 1928, dubbed the "dissentients" as only "a few communalists." The Sikhs expressed their resentment by boycotting the next annual session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore in December 1929. A call was given for a parallel Sikh conference at the time of the Congress meeting. The Sikh meeting was a spectacular success. Bābā Kharak Śingh, in his presidential address, reiterated the Sikhs' determination not to let any single community establish its political sway in the Punjab. The Congress leaders at last realized that the Sikh view deserved accommodation. The Congress simply dropped the Nehru Committee Report. A resolution passed at its Lahore session read: "In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal question... But as the Sikhs in particular and the Muslims and other minorities in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, Muslims and other minorities, that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned." The Nehru Committee Report thus got a formal burial. This was, however, of no practical consequence to the Sikhs. The Communal Award of 1932, which was accepted by the Congress Party with some changes regarding the depressed classes, gave a 51 per cent statutory majority to Muslims in the Punjab. The Sikh view that either there should be no reservation or, in case this was inescapable, no community should have an absolute majority in the Punjab was never accepted, the Congress resolution of 1929 notwithstanding.

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NESTĀ, village 2 km south of Ātārī in Amritsar district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644) who stayed here for a while during his journey from Lahore to Amritsar. According to local tradition, at the villagers' complaint that the water of their well was brackish, the Gurū had them dig another well close to it. The water of this well was sweet (miṭṭhā, in Punjabi). Both these wells still exist side by side. The shrine established here came to be called Miṭṭhāsār. Gurdwārā Miṭṭhāsār Chheviṅ Pāṭshāhī, as it is now named, is situated north of the village close to the approach road from Ātārī. Its present building, constructed in 1930 in a half-acre walled compound, comprises a modest-sized hall with a domed sanctum inside it. The Gurdwārā is managed by a village Committee under the auspices of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak committee.

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NICHOLSON, JOHN (1821-1857), political assistant at Firozpur (1844-45), was born in Dublin on 11 December 1821, the son of Dr Alexander Nicholson. He obtained cadetship in Bengal Infantry in 1839 and in December the same year was posted to the 27th Native Infantry at Firozpur. In 1844, he became political assistant at Firozpur in which capacity he was found indulging in intrigues against the Sikh State and Lord Hardinge felt inclined to remove him from the frontier. After the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46), Nicholson became assistant to Sir Henry Lawrence, resident at Lahore, who sent him in 1846 to effect the settlement of the Sind Sagar Doab. In 1848, he was deputed to Hazarâ to conduct an inquiry into the revolt by Chatar Singh Atarâvi.

Captain Nicholson took part in the second Anglo-Sikh war at Râmnagar and Cheliânvâlã. On the annexation of the Punjab he was appointed deputy commissioner under the Board of Control of which Sir Henry Lawrence was president. He continued to serve in the Punjab till 1857. In the 1857 uprising, Nicholson (now brigadier-general) commanded the movable column in the Punjab. He was nicknamed Nichol Singh by the Sikhs. Later he was moved to Delhi to reinforce General Wilson and, in the assault on Delhi on 14 September 1857, he was mortally wounded. He died on 29 September 1857. A memorial was raised in his memory in Nicholson Park, near Kashmiri Gate, in Delhi.

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NIDHÂ, family priest of Gurû Nânak’s brother-in-law, Jai Râm, resident of Sultânpur, became a follower of the Gurû and won eminence for his humility and devotion.

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NIDHÂN SÎNGH, a Vâraich Jaṭ of Paṭṭi in present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab, was, according to Sarûp Singh Kaushish, Gurû kiân Sâkhîân, the husband of the celebrated Sikh heroine, Mâi Bhâgô. He was one of the warriors who fell fighting in the battle of Muktsar fought on 29 December 1705 and who were blessed by Gurû Gobind Singh as mukte, the Liberated Ones.

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NIDHÂN SÎNGH (d. 1850) or Nidhan Singh Hâthû, i.e. Nidhan Singh the Inflexible, son of Jassâ Singh, was a bold warrior in Sikh times who, inheriting Dâskâ in Siâkoṭ district from his father, had acquired considerable territory. The surrounding chiefs, Mahân Singh Sukkarchakkîâ of Gujránwâlã, Sâhib Singh Bhangî of Gujřât, Pañjâb Singh of Siâkoṭ and Jodh Singh of Wazirâbâd became jealous of him. In 1797, when Shâh Zamân invaded the Punjab, Nidhan Singh met the Kâbul monarch on the banks of the Chenâb, and was warmly received and confirmed in all of his estates. Soon after this Ranjît Singh, rising to power, summoned Nidhân Singh and offered him appointment on his personal staff, but the high-spirited chief declined. It was not until 1810 that he, with 250 horse-
men, consented to accompany the Mahārājā on his Multān expedition. At the close of the campaign, Nidhān Singh returned to his headquarters at Đaska contrary to the orders of the Mahārājā, who, determined to punish him, laid siege to the fort of Đaska, bringing against it the famous Bhangi gun. After a month's siege Nidhān Singh was forced to surrender. On promise of protection given him by the Mahārājā, he came into the latter's camp where, in violation of the promise, he was arrested and put in irons. Nidhān Singh fled to Kashmir and took up service with the Afghan ruler, 'Atā Muhammad Khān. He was, however, soon recalled and a great portion of his estate was restored to him subject to the service of 100 horsemen. Nidhān Singh received jāġirs in Đerā Ismā'īl Khān and Ḥazārā. In 1824, he was placed under the orders of Prince Khaṛak Śiṅgh and in 1827 transferred to the Ghorcharhās in which force he remained till his retirement in 1845.

Nidhān Singh died in 1850.

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NIDHĀN ŚIṄGH CHUGHĪ (1855-1936), a prominent Ghadr leader, was the son of Sundar Singh of the village of Chughī, in Mogā district. A militant revolutionary, he was cited by the British as “an extremely dangerous criminal and one of the worst and most important of the [Ghadr] conspirators.” In 1882, Nidhān Singh left home for Shanghai where he worked as a watchman and served as treasurer of the local Gurdwārā. He married a Chinese woman from whom he had one son. He lived in Shanghai for many years and then migrated to the United States of America. Shortly after his arrival in the United States, the Ghadr Party was formed by Indian patriots. Nidhān Singh joined the Party and was elected a member of its executive committee. In April 1914, he was elected president of the then newly established Khālsā Diwan Society, Stockton, California. On the outbreak of World War I, he, like other Ghadr leaders, returned to India to make an armed rebellion against the British. He left San Francisco on board the S.S. Korea on 29 August 1914. He disembarked at Nagasaki in Japan and went on to Shanghai to raise funds for the Ghadr Party. Money which had been collected for the Komagata Maru passengers, who were not allowed to land in Shanghai, was transferred to Nidhān Singh. With this money and with six automatic pistols and 600 rounds of ammunition Nidhān Singh left Shanghai aboard the S.S. Mashima Maru. This ship and the Tosa Maru, both carrying Ghadr volunteers, arrived in Penang in Malaysia approximately the same time and were detained by the British. Nidhān Singh spent the time trying to seduce the troops and getting arms but without much success. He was a member of the delegation which called on the Governor of Penang, who allowed the ships to proceed.

Nidhān Singh reached Ludhiana on 7 November 1914. He was almost immediately assigned to making preparations for an armed uprising in the district. He played a key role in setting up factories for making bombs at Jhābevāl and Lohaṭbaḍī. Nidhān Singh made a plan to raid the regimental magazine at Firozpur Cantonment on 30 November 1914, but it did not materialize. He was arrested disguised as a wandering mendicant at the village of Kamālpurā, along with Rūr Singh of Chūhar Chakk on 29 April 1915. Tried in the first Lahore conspiracy case, Nidhān Singh was awarded death sentence which was later commuted to transportation for life.

A deeply religious person and a staunch believer in the Sikh faith, Nidhān Singh was one of the Panj Piare who laid the foundation of the Harimandar at Panjā Sāhib on 14
October 1932. He was president of Gurdwārā Lohgarh (Dīnā), and of Gurdwārā Singh Sabhā, Mogā, for some time.

He died on 6 December 1936 at Mogā.

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G.S.D.

NIDHĀN SĪNHG PAṆṇJHATTHĀ (d. 1839), soldier, minor commander and jāgirdār under Mahārājā Ranjīt Sīṅgh. He acquired the epithet Paṇṇjhatthā, the “five-handed,” for his gallantry in the battle of Terī hill (1823). He single-handed made five Paṭḥāns prisoners and captured their weapons. This act of valour earned him the title of Paṇṇjhatthā. In every battle, Nidhan Sīṅgh was among the first to advance and the last to retreat, and his body was covered all over with the marks of his courage. His great-grandfather, Dulcha Sīṅgh, had been in the service of Rājā Ranjīt Deo of Jammū, and his grandfather, Rām Dat Sīṅgh, is said to have served the Sukkarchakki family under Mahāṅ Sīṅgh. Rām Sīṅgh, Nidhan Singh’s father, joined the service of Mahārājā Ranjīt Sīṅgh in 1798, and took part in the occupation of Lahore by Ranjīt Sīṅgh in 1799. Nidhan Sīṅgh himself joined as a sowār in the Sikh irregular horse. He distinguished himself in the battle of Jahāṅgirā (1823), under General Hari Sīṅgh Naḷvā and Prince Sher Sīṅgh. The Afgāṅhān force, defeated in the battle, retreated towards Terī hills, west of Aṭṭock. Muhammad ‘Azīm Kān, the Amir of Afgānistan, reinforcing it marched upon Nowshērā. A strong detachment of Sikh troops under Nidhan Sīṅgh Paṇṇjhatthā and Mahāṅ Sīṅgh Akālī was posted behind the Terī hills, but it suffered a reverse in the fierce action which followed. Phūḷā Sīṅgh Akālī, who made a headlong charge, was killed. Nidhan Singh valiantly held out, rallying his troops till the Gorkhā and Najīb battalions kept in reserve by the Mahārājā came to his rescue and routed the Afgāṅhāns.

Nidhan Singh was a member of the Sikh goodwill mission which called on Lord William Bentinck in Shimlā in 1831. In 1834, he joined Kaṅvar Nau Nīṅhāl Sīṅgh, Sardār Hari Sīṅgh Naḷvā, General Ventura and General Court in their expedition to Peshawār. Peshawār was occupied by the Sikhs and Nidhan Singh’s troops were stationed there under the command of Sardār Hari Sīṅgh Naḷvā. Nidhan Singh also took part in the battle of Jamrūd in 1837. He died in May 1839.

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B.J.H.

NIDHĀN SĪṆHG, SANT (1882-1947), holy man popularly known as Hazūr Sāhībvaḷe, was born the son of Bhai Uttam Sīṅgh of the village of Nidālōṇ in Hoshiārpur district of the Punjāb. He received religious instruction at the hands of Sant Divān Sīṅgh, popular in the area for his holiness. He left his home at the age of 20 and enlisted in the 5th Probyn’s Horse, a cavalry regiment of the Indian army, at Jhāṅsī. But he resigned within a year and set out on pilgrimage to Takljīt Sachkhand Sṛī Hazūr Sāhīb, Nāṅḍeṣ, where he took up his permanent abode and found his calling in work in Gurū kā Lāṅgār. He began by fetching
water from the बाथ, storing it in large earth­
en pitchers and serving it to visiting
pilgrims. He eventually raised a गुर्दवारा
to serve लांगार or meals to the pilgrims or:
which account the complex came to be
known as Gurdwārā Lāṅgār Sāhib. To col­
lect funds for the Lāṅgār, he went out on
preaching tours, army units being his spe­
cial constituency. As his popularity and his
resources grew, Sant Nīdhān Sīṅgh took up
construction of other गुर्दवारास. The best
known among them is the one at Manmād
where pilgrims from the north have usually
to wait for long hours for changing trains
to Nāndeṭ. It is known as Gurdwārā
cGuptsar. Three of the other Gurdwārās built
at his instance are Gurdwārā Nānakpurī and
Gurdwārā Ratangāṛh, near Nāndeṭ, and
Gurdwārā Sāhib at Bhūsāval. At his initia­
tive were raised Gurdwārā Tatt Khālsā at
Karāći and Gurdwārā Sāhib at Kāhūṭā,
both now outside of India.

Sant Nīdhān Sīṅgh died at Nāndeṭ on 4
August 1947.

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N.S.A.

NĪHĀLĀ, BHĀĪ, a Sabharvāl Khatrī of Paṭnā,
was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū
Hargobind. He was, besides being an elo­
quent expounder of गुरबानी, a brave soldier.
He had fallen fighting in the battle of
Amritsar in 1629. The name occurs in Bhai
Gurdās, Vārāṅ, XI. 31

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T.S.

NΗΗĀLΗ, BHĀĪ, one of the writers serving
Gurū Gobind Sīṅgh (1666-1708). He copied
manuscripts including a large portion of
Charitropakhāyān. The Anandpur manuscript
of the Dasam Granth carries his name on the
margin of folio 244 as "lekhak (scribe)Nīhalā."

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P.S.P.

NΗΗΑL SΙΝGΗ, of Naushārā near Tār in Amritsar district of the Punjab, was
among the close associates of the Sikh rev­
olutionary, Bhaii Mahārāj Sīṅgh (d. 1856),
who assigned him to many a secret mission
such as procuring weapons from Charhāt
Sīṅgh, an ex-kārdār, and helping Bhai Ṭek
Chand of Amritsar who had been charged
with distributing "turbans" on his (Mahārāj
Sīṅgh’s) behalf among volunteers and
zamīndārs who offered to join his standard.
He also went incognito to Lahore and
Wazīrābād for collecting information about
the strength of British forces at those
cantonments. Nīhal Sīṅgh was arrested
along with Bhai Mahārāj Sīṅgh on the night
of 28-29 December 1849, but was released
soon after. According to his statement, 2,000
men had volunteered to join the rebellion
in the Doābā.

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M.L.A.

NΗΗAL SΙΝGΗ, a kahār or water-carrier of
Maihmān Kahrān, in Amritsar district, who
went to Bombay in 1886 to receive the de­
posed Mahārājā Duleep Sīṅgh scheduled to
be returning to India from England, and to
take up service with him. He, like several
others, had to return for the Mahārājā was
refused permission by the British to come
to India and was detained midway at Aden.

Nīhal Sīṅgh was accompanied by two
more of his co-villagers, Isar Singh and Amir Singh.

NIHĀL SIŅGH ĀHLŪVĀLĪĀ (d. 1852), son of Fateh Singh Āhlūvālīā, succeeded to the Āhlūvālīā chieftaincy on the death, in 1836, of his father. In his youth he was a favourite of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh and was the recipient of the towns of Nūr Mahal and Kalāl Mājrā and other occasional bounties. Upon succession, however, he was subjected to a fee of 1,000,000 rupees. His younger brother, Amar Singh, who lived in Lahore, conspired to usurp the gaddī and was encouraged in his ambition by the Mahārājā as well as by his minister, Dhiān Singh. Nihāl Singh had some respite after the death of Amar Singh in a boat accident in the Ravi. In the first Anglo-Sikh war, his sympathies lay with the Khāḷśā Darbār. In spite of treaty obligations with the British, he afforded them little assistance. On the contrary, the Āhlūvālīā troops fought on the side of the Sikhs both at Baddōvāl and Ālivāl. He was penalized by the British by the confiscation of his territories south of the Sutlej, yielding an annual revenue of 5, 65, 000 rupees. Nihāl Singh died on 13 September 1852.

NIHĀL SIŅGH ĀHLŪVĀLĪĀ

NIHĀL SIŅGH ĀHLŪVĀLĪĀ, an apothecary who with Thākur Singh Sandhāṅvālīā visited the deposed Mahārājā Duleep Singh in England in 1884, was the son of Musaddā Singh Arorā of the village of Chāṭīvīṇḍ, in Amritsar district.

NIHĀL SIŅGH ATĀRĪVĀLĀ

He had known Thākur Singh, who campaigned ceaselessly for the restoration of Duleep Singh to the throne of the Punjab, from the time he had spent in his ancestral village, Rājā Sāṃsi. Nihāl Singh stayed in England for six months as the Mahārājā’s guest. In 1886, he travelled to Bombay to receive the exiled sovereign who was meant to be returning to India. But the Mahārājā was detained midway and not allowed to reach the Indian shore.

NIHĀL SIŅGH ATĀRĪVĀLĀ (d. 1817), soldier and courtier in the time of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, was born the son of Gauhār Singh Aṭārīvālā. The Aṭārīvālās were Siddhū Jaṭṭs, settled at Tibbā, a mound midway between Lahore and Amritsar, where Gauhār Singh built a house which because of its imposing façade came to be called an aṭārī, in Punjabi a house with a high elevation. This was the origin of the name of the family and of the village that grew around the house. Gauhār Singh (d. 1763) joined in those days of high adventure the jathā of Sardār Gurbakhsh Singh Rorāṅvālā and in 1737 took under his rākhī or protection a number of villages around Aṭārī. Later he joined the Bhaṅgī misl under Gujjar Singh and acquired a military command and a jāḡīr. His son, Nihāl Singh served under Sāhib Singh Bhaṅgī and took part in the campaign against the Afgāṅs. He won special distinction fighting in 1798 against Ahmad Khān Shahāṅchībāshī, one of the generals of Zamān Shāh Durrānī. With the Bhaṅgīs, he confronted Ranjit Singh at Bhasin in 1800, but later took up service under him. From 1801 to 1817, he participated in most of the Mahārājā’s military expeditions, including those of Kashmir and
Multān. In 1803, he was assigned to a jāgīr worth 50,000 rupees annually at Sukkho in Pothohār and in 1807 he was put in charge of Kasūr after the defeat and expulsion of its Pāthān ruler, Qutb ud-Din. He accompanied Mahārajā Ranjit Singh in the first two of his campaigns across the Sutlej in 1806-07.

Nihāl Singh was known for his loyalty and devotion to the person of Mahārajā Ranjit Singh. The family tradition recounts how he sacrificed his life for the sake of the Maharajā. When in 1817, Ranjit Singh fell seriously ill and the remedies applied by royal physicians had proved of little avail, Nihāl Singh walked round his bed praying that his ailment be transferred to him. He retired to At-ārī where he languished and died soon afterwards. Ranjit Singh had meanwhile recovered from his illness.

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G.S.

Nihāl Singh was expelled from membership of the Singh Sabhā.

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K.S.T.

NIHĀL SĪNGH DAMDAMIĀN, 19th-century Nirmalā saint, a native of Mimsā village of the former princely state of Paṭialā, received initiation and religious education at the hands of Mahant Dunniā Singh, of Uchchā Buṅgā, a Nirmalā sanctuary at Damdama Sāhib, Talvaṇḍī Sābo, in present-day Bāṅhīndā district, and became head of the Buṅgā after the latter's death. He was respected for his humility and unassuming nature and for the zeal with which he served in the Gurū kā Langar and the loving care with which he looked after the cattle in the shed. In 1860, he with a band of youthful devotees, went to Derā Bābā Rām Rāi in Dehra Dūn and, felling one of the tallest trees in the pine forest of its extensive estate, brought it to Talvaṇḍī Sābo carrying it on their heads all the way to Paṭialā and thence on bullock carts arranged by Maharajā Narinder Singh of Paṭialā to Damdama Sāhib where it was put up as the religious flagmast. Reaching Damdama Sāhib, Nihāl Singh humbly stood at the entrance where the saṅgat had deposited their shoes and would not enter the Takhū Sāhib until he had obtained pardon by paying penalty for having violated the Sikh code of conduct forbidding any dealings with the followers of Bābā Rām Rāi. This enhanced his reputation, and when Dharam Dhujā Akhārā, the famous Nirmalā seat, was established at Papalā in 1862, Nihāl Singh was one of the four mahants appointed to assist the head of the institution in its administration. Mahant Nihāl Singh had established Buṅgā Damdamiān at Muktsar which became a centre for several derās or seminaries which also he helped to set up in the region for impart-
NIHĀL SINGH KAIROŃ (1863-1928), a pioneer of women’s education in the Punjab, was born on 22 December 1863 at Kairon, a village in Amritsar district. His father, Gulāb Singh, a deeply religious person, had three sons, Nihāl Singh being the youngest of them. Nihāl Singh had no formal schooling, and travelled with his brother, Tarlok Singh, to Malaya (Malaysia) while still very young. He joined the Royal Artillery at Hong Kong, but soon secured his release and returned to his village in the Punjab to work for community welfare and reform. He lectured at Singh Sabha divāns. He founded a boys’ school in his village and took a leading part in establishing a Sikh society called Mājhā Khālsā Diwān. The first meeting of the Diwān, held on 17-19 February 1905 at Tarn Tāran, was largely attended by people from all parts of the Punjab. A concrete outcome of this conclave was a girls’ school established at Kairon. The girls school was a novelty in the area and the founder, Nihāl Singh, encountered considerable opposition, but he persisted with his plans and in May 1913 laid the cornerstone of a boarding house for girls as well. Accompanied by Bābā Dayāl Singh and a group of students from his school, Nihāl Singh visited Malaya, Hong Kong and Shanghai to raise funds for the school and the hostel attached to it. Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh, ruler of the princely state of Paṭialā, performed, on 14 March 1916, the opening ceremony of the hostel which celebrating the name of a member of the Paṭialā family was called Mātā Sāhib Kaur Bhujhaṅgan Ashram. Nihāl Singh also instituted at the school an annual women’s conference which became an active agent of social reform.

Bhai Nihāl Singh died on 20 November 1928. One of his sons, Partāp Singh Kairoṅ, took active part in India’s struggle for freedom, and won renown as a political leader.
words have been transcribed in their original Sanskrit form, e.g. the original *sati* has been changed to *satya*, *purakhu* has been changed to *purusa*. There are some plain errors as well, e.g. *gurū i k deh būjāhī* has been written as *gurū i k deh būjāhī* (stanza VI of the *Japu*). At places, lines from the original text are missing. The commentary is coloured by Paṇḍit Nihal Singh’s background in Advaita. He is by faith a Sikh, but his interpretation of the *Japu* has an emphatic Vedantic bias. In the inaugural passages, Nihal Singh invokes the Hindu deities and incarnations such as Śrī Gaṇeśa, Sarasvati and Śrī Kṛṣṇa. One Sobha Singh Indraprasthī translated the *Japu Niibandh Gūḍhīrthadīpakā Tīkā*, an incomplete manuscript copy of which is preserved in a private collection at Amritsar.

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NIHĀL SĪNGH, SANT, a Nirmalā scholar, was a pupil of the renowned Sikh saint, Bābā Khudā Singh. His seat was at Gobind Mandir or Gobind Kuṭiā, in Chūnā Maṇḍī, in Lahore. His expertness in expounding the Sikh sacred texts brought to his gīrā (cloister) large audiences as well as flocks of pupils whom he trained in the art of exegetics. He wrote poetry in Braj Bhāṣā, and is known to have left three works, namely *Ākāl Nāṭak*, *Nirmal Prabhākār* and *Sikkhi Prabhākār*. Of these the last two were got published in a single volume, in 1902, by Sant Gandhārā Singh, under the title *Nirmal Prabhākār ate Sikkhi Prabhākār*. In the short preface he added to it, the publisher stated that Sant Nihāl Singh had written some more books, the manuscripts of which had till then remained untraceable. In the second chapter, described as introductory, Gandhārā Singh recorded that Nihāl Singh had composed poetry of various types and that he passed away in 1957 Bk (AD 1900). Then follow verses in praise not clear where the composition of Gandhārā Singh ends and where that of Sant Nihāl Singh begins. In later verses, however, the name of Nihāl Singh or Kesri Nihāl occurs fairly frequently. The poet describes the earlier period as an age full of wickedness. Then he sings the glory of the age of the Gurūs. He pays homage to their exalted spiritual status, and reprimands those who do not believe in their teachings.

*Nirmal Prabhākār*, which is the pūrabārdha or the first half, is meant for those who want to acquaint themselves with the Sikh way of life. The author pays rich tributes to the Śinghs, i.e. Sikhs who have received the rites of the Khālsā. The Nirmalā Śinghs are presented as those blessed with knowledge and understanding. The entire section is in verse, employing a variety of metres such as *dohrā, kabitt, chaupai, chhapai,* and *bhujang-prayāt*.

*Sikkhi Prabhākār* (Pp. 175 to 338) is the uttarārdha or the second half of the book. It extols the Bedi dynasty, and pays homage to Gurū Gobind Singh, the Tenth Master. Then follow verses in glorification of the Gurū Granth Sāhib and the Gurū Panth. The poet enumerates the qualities of an ideal Sikh. A true Sikh, according to him, leads a life of piety, does wrong to no one, remains ever in harmony with the Will of God, is upright in thought, speech and action, is tender-hearted but is ready to always resist injustice and oppression confronting them like a steel pillar, is a believer in the universal brotherhood of man, and shuns all ill will. He is the beloved of Akāl, the Timeless One, and, being ever attached to Akāl, remains detached from earthly pursuits and is humility incarnate. He has quoted from history examples of
Sikhs who had preferred to be cut to pieces rather than resile from their faith. There is also a reference to ardās, the Sikh supplication, which brings to the devotees peace and strength. The daily routine of a Sikh, a brief outline of the lives of all the ten Sikh Gurus, Sikh rites and rituals, the Sikh dress, etc., are some of the other topics touched upon in the work. The volume ends with a chaupai in which the poet states that there are many sects (bhekh) of the Panth Khālsā, but he names only two, viz. the Nirmalās and the Nihangs. The final lines constitute an invocation to the Timeless One.

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NIHAL SINGH SOÐHĪ (d. 1859), son of Megh Singh, entered Maharājā Ranjit Singh’s army in 1819, and was, five years later, made commandant of 100 horsemen in the Chāryārī corps. He fought for Maharājā Sher Singh during the siege of Lahore in January 1841. Under Sher Singh’s successor, Nihāl Singh was sent in command of 1,000 horse to administer the area of Dhannj which was in a state of insurrection. He shot the leader of the insurgents dead and by his vigour and severity soon reduced the country to submission. After Rājā Hirā Singh’s death, Nihāl Singh was sent to Shāhpur district to keep the tribes of the bār in order and in 1847, after the first Anglo-Sikh war, he was made an adālatī or judge. A few months later he was transferred to Jalandhar in the same capacity. After the annexation of the Punjab by the British, Nihāl Singh was assigned to civil duties. He restored order in the region between Jehlum and Attock.

Nihāl Singh died in 1859.

NIHAL SINGH THĀKUR (1808-1895), Sikh theologian and musician, was born at Amritsar on 7 Phagun 1864 Bk/17 February 1808 to Bhāī Mahal Singh and Mātā Basī. Bhāī Mahal Singh lived in the village of Sayyid-ki-Sarāī in Gujārkhan taksīl of Rawalpīndī district, now in Pakistan, and had come to Amritsar only as a pilgrim, but settled here for good after the birth of Nihāl Singh. The family could scarcely make both ends meet, and Nihāl Singh, then a small boy, had to work in order to augment their meagre income. At the age of ten, he entered the derā, or seminary, of Thākur Dayāl Singh, a Sikh luminary, as a pupil. There he was admitted to the rites of the Khālsā. During the next fifteen years, he studied Sikh scriptures, grammar, poetics, history and Sanskrit literature. Being the most prominent of the pupils of Thākur Dayāl Singh, Nihāl Singh also came to be distinguished by the epithet ‘Thākur’ or ‘master.’

Thākur Nihāl Singh had the gift of a sweet voice, and he learnt vocal and instrumental music from Bhāī Gurmukh Singh Poṭhoḥārī, a noted musician of his time, and accompanied him at tablā, or Indian-drum-pair, during kirtan, or singing of hymns, over a long period of time, in the Harimandar at Amritsar. He also learnt and practised the Ayurvedic system of medicine.

Around 1870 Thākur Nihāl Singh set out on a pilgrimage to various Hindu and Sikh holy places, where he preached the Sikh faith through kirtan and discourse. His longest stay during this period was at Takht Sachkhand Sri Hazūr Sāhib, Abchalnagar, at Nāndeś, where he sojourned for nine months. He also stayed for a considerable time, in 1872, at Gurdwārā Charan Pādūkā at Nizāmābād in Uttar Pradesh. There he prepared, at the instance of Mahant Sādho Singh,
an exegesis of the Jāp Sāhib. It was given the sonorous and alliterative title of Chakradhar Charitra Chāru Chandrikā. Another work he wrote there was entitled Chintāmani.

On his return from the pilgrimage, Thākur Nihāl Siṅgh stayed at Sukkho, a village in Rawalpīndī district. In 1874 he moved to Thohā Khālsā, where he established a dera called Dukh Bhaṅjanī. He continued his kirtan recitals and missionary work till the end. Sant Atar Siṅgh is said to have frequently attended these recitals at Thohā Khālsā. Bābā Khem Siṅgh Bedi once took him on a preaching tour of his estates. In 1895, he was on a similar visit to Harīpur in Hazārā district, when he died suddenly on Jēṭh vadi 14, 1952 Bk/22 May 1895.

Gr.S.

NIHĀLŪ, BHĀI, a Dhīr Khatri, was initiated a Sikh at the hands of Gūrū Arjan. The Gūrū instructed him to be firm in his faith and repeat the Name. The name occurs in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI. 18.

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NIHĀLŪ, BHĀI, a goldsmith of Lahore, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gūrū Arjan. His name is included in the roster of the Gūrū’s disciples in Bhāi Manī Siṅgh, Sīkhnān di Bhagat Mālā. His name figures in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI.25, as well.

NIHĀLŪ, BHĀI, who hailed from the hill region, was a devoted Sikh of Gūrū Arjan’s time. He was known for his hospitality towards visitors and travellers. He once visited Amritsar and had the privilege of receiving instruction at the hands of the Gūrū himself. The name occurs in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI.23.

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NIHĀLŪ BHALLĀ, BHĀI, a resident of Sultanpur Lodhi, who embraced Sikhism during the time of Gūrū Amar Dās. He once visited Amritsar with the saṅgat of Sultanpur to receive instruction from Gūrū Arjan. The name figures in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, XI.21.

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NIHĀLŪ CHADDHĀ, BHĀI, a pious Sikh who lived in Āgrā. Once he, accompa-
nied by Bhāi Saktū Mahitā, visited Amritsar to pay obeisance to Guru Arjan. According to Bhāi Mani Singh, Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā, they sought instruction saying, “Some believe that liberation is not possible without virtuous actions; there are others who assert that all action is merely temporal and that spiritual knowledge or insight, gīān (jñāna), alone is the means of attaining liberation. Which path should we follow?” Guru Arjan said, “Divine Name is the link between the temporal being and the Ultimate Reality. Good deeds, selflessly performed, along with concentration on the Name, purify the Self and lead to self-realization. Gīān, without the Name, is incomplete. It finds consummation only in absorption in the True Name. You should, therefore, constantly recite the Name, i.e. Vahiguru.” Bhāi Nihālu and Bhāi Saktū practised nām and attained to parampad, the state of spiritual bliss.

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NIḤANGS or Nihaṅg Siṅghs, originally known as Akālīs or Akālí Nihangs, are endearingly designated the Guru’s Knights or the Guru’s beloved, for the military ambience they still carry about them and the heroic style they continue to cultivate. They constitute a distinctive order among the Sikhs and are readily recognized by their dark blue loose apparel and their ample, peaked turbans festooned with quoits, insignia of the Khālsā and rosaries, all made of steel. They are always armed, and are usually seen mounted heavily laden with weapons such as swords, daggers, spears, rifles, shot-guns and pistols.

Etymologically, the term Nihaṅg is traced back to Persian nihaṅg (alligator, sword) or to Sanskrit nähasankā (fearless, carefree). In the former sense, it seems to refer to the reckless courage members of the order displayed in battle. The word could also be a modified form of nisaṅg often used in the Sikh scriptures to mean nirlep (unsmeared, sinless, not attached to anything). In Guru Gobind Singh’s Vār Śrī Bhagautī jī, 47, it is used for swordsmen warriors of the vanguard. Whatever its origin, the term signifies the characteristic qualities of the clan—their freedom from fear of danger or death, readiness for action and non-attachment to worldly possessions.

There are three different accounts current about the origin of the Nihangs. One of these recalls an amusing prank by Guru Gobind Singh’s infant son, Fateh Siṅgh (1699-1705), who once appeared in the Guru’s presence dressed in a blue chōlā (loose shirt hanging skirt-like below the knees), fastened at the waist with a linen girdle, and a large blue turban with a dūmālā (piece of cloth forming a plume). The Guru was pleased to see his son so arrayed and remarked that that was a dress fit for Akālīs, the soldiers of God. This, according to some, was how a band of warriors sworn to this regalia arose. Another view is that Guru Gobind Siṅgh after his escape from Chamkaur donned blue dress as a disguise which, upon reaching the village of Dhilvānī, near Koṭ Kapūrā, in December 1705, he discarded and burnt. Mān Siṅgh, his attendant, saved a piece of the blue garment and stuck it on top of his turban. This, it is said, led to the vogue among some to take to blue and wear a dūmālā on the head following the style of Mān Siṅgh. According to yet another version, the adoption of peaked turban and dūmālā is traced to Nainā Siṅgh Akālī, one of the leaders of Nishāṇānvāli (lit. standard-bearing) misl which provided ensigns to the Dal Khālsā, the eighteenth-century confederated Sikh army. Nainā Siṅgh introduced a tightly-tied tall turban with a dūmālā signifying the flag so that the ensign would be
conspicuous even when his standard is broken or destroyed. The style, it is surmised, gained currency and those who adopted it were ranked as Akāli Nihangs.

As Sikh misls or chiefships which had in the latter half of the eighteenth century established their sway in the Punjab succumbed in course of time to mutual rivalries and to self-aggrandizement, the Akāli or Nihang bands (they were affiliates mainly of the Nishānānvālī and Shahid divisions) kept themselves aloof from the race for power or property. This self-discipline and the privilege they had gained of convening at the Akāl Takht general assemblies of the Khālsā, brought them importance far out of proportion to their numbers or political authority. In the time of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), who established a sovereign State superseding the scattered principalities, the Akāli Nihangs maintained their independent existence. By their puritan standards and disregard of material advantage, they had acquired a rare moral prestige. Their leader Akāli Phūlā Singh Nihang, then custodian of the Akāl Takht, was the voice of the religious and moral conscience of the State and at times he censured and chastised the Sovereign himself. The shrewd Mahārājā valued their qualities of valour and persuaded them (they would not become salaried servants of anyone) to join a special wing of his army. Nihang troops under Jathēdār Sādhū Singh and Akāli Phūlā Singh performed a crucial role in some of the arduous military campaigns of the Mahārājā, such as those of Kasūr (1807), Multān (1818), Kashmir (1819) and Nowshērā (1823).

Decline in the influence of Nihangs set in with the death of Ranjit Singh. During the Sikh rule, Nihangs had been openly antagonistic towards the European officers of the State and towards the occasional embassies sent out to the Punjab by the British East India Company. The Britishers, as they came into power in the Punjab, dealt with them harshly. The process of suppression had in fact started even before the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. In 1848 a Nihang leader, Gaṅgā Singh, who refused to vacate one of the minarets adjoining the Golden Temple, was arrested along with his men, and taken to Lahore. Gaṅgā Singh and two of his close companions were sentenced to death and the rest were imprisoned for seven years.

The Nihangs are today divided into several groups, each with its own chhāonī (cantonment), but are loosely organized into two dals (forces)—Buddhā Dal and Tarunā Dal, names initially given the two sections into which the Khālsā army was divided in 1733. The Buddhā Dal, calling itself Chhānāvēn Kari Chaldā Vair (960-million-strong column ever on the move), has its headquarters at Talvāndī Sābō, in Bāthīnā district, while the principal chhāonī of the Tarunā Dal Nihangs is at Bābā Bakalā, in Amrītsar district. Anandpur Sāhib, the birthplace of the Khālsā, remains the main centre of Nihang gatherings. They assemble there in their thousands in March every year to celebrate Holā Mahāllā, a Sikh festival introduced by Gūrū Gobind Singh. On that occasion, they hold tournaments of military skills, including mock battles. The most spectacular part of the Holā Mahāllā at Anandpur is the magnificent procession of Nihangs on horses and elephants and on foot in their typical costumes carrying a variety of traditional and modern weapons and demonstrating their skill in using them.

Apart from their distinguishable mode of dress, the Nihangs try to preserve the form and content of the Khālsā practice established by Gūrū Gobind Singh and strictly observed by the early Akāls of the eighteenth century. Rising early, a Nihang recites nītānim (daily prayers) which includes bānis from Gūrū Granth Sāhib, the Dasam Granth and the Sarab Loh Granth. He then joins the saṅgat in the gurdwārā where kīrtan (hymn-singing)
NIHAṅGS and kathā (discourse) take place. He tends his horse and performs other acts of sevā or self-abnegating service to which he may be assigned by his jathedār or leader. These may include working in the Gurū kā ḳañgār or community kitchen and foraging for the camp’s cattle and horses. Nihangs are strict teetotallers, and will not stand smoking in their presence even by non-Sikhs. Yet they are fond of sukkhā, a potion of Indian hemp thoroughly crushed with heavy wooden pestle in a mortar, and do not object to opium-eating. Sukkhā to them is deg (the kettle or sacrament) or sukhnīdhān (treasure of comfort). Mostly non-vegetarians, they would not buy meat from the market but must slaughter the animals themselves. Faithful to the sarab-loh (all-steel) symbolism propounded by Gurū Gobind Singh, all accoutrements of Nihangs, Nihang’s weapons, utensils, trappings, even rosaries, must be of steel. Besides the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the Nihangs accord a high place to the Dasam Granth in their religious ministration. They reserve special veneration for the Sarab Loh Granth, which depicts in primordial symbols the eternal fight between good and evil—in this instance between Sarab Loh, All-Steel incarnation of God, and Brijnād, the king of demons. Likewise, they are attached to Gurū Gobind Singh’s poem Chaṇḍī di Vār, describing the titanic contest between the gods led by the goddess Durgā and the demons, and they daily recite it with deep fervour to recreate for themselves that martial tempo.

The Nihang today lives in his own world of past memory, not divorced from fancy. Besides his traditional investiture, his tall pyramidal turban, the ensemble of weapons he carries on his person and his lanky horse, what helps him to sustain him in his isolated domain is the magniloquent patois he has acquired. This vocabulary, coined in the hard days when he suffered fierce persecution at the hands of the Mughal rulers, indicates how light he made of adversity. He still dreams of armies, and he thinks in lakhs. If he is alone he will say, “A lakh and a quarter (1, 25, 000) Khālsā are present.” You ask him how he is, he will reply, “The army is well.” You enquire from where he is coming. He will say, “The ‘army’ have been marching from Muktsar.” If he is eating parched gram, he will say he was eating almonds. For him hunger is intoxication, a miserable pony an Arab and Iraqi steed, begging would be raising revenue and dying would be proceeding on an expedition. Expressing his disdain for worldly goods, he would call money husks, an elephant a buffalo-calf, and sugar, a rare luxury for men in exile, ashes. He will add the word singh as an affix to all substantives and sometimes to other elements of speech as well, and he will transpose all feminine nouns into the masculine gender.

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NIHAṅG BOLE, grandiloquent patois peculiar to the Nihangs, a chivalrous order among the Sikhs. It comprises euphemisms and jargon symbolic of high-spirited confidence and courage. Another term for this language of defiance and optimism is Gargajj Bole, lit. thunderous utterances. Nihang is interpreted, among other connotations such as sword, charger, alligator, pure, etc., as one without fear of death. Up to the days of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh the Nihangs often served as “death squads” who carried out their military tasks that defied the common tactics of the regular army. Their distinctive garb—blue robes and elaborate weaponry they wore on
their persons— is said to have originated with Gurū Gobind Singh’s youngest son Fateh Singh, who once appeared before his father so dressed. To match their martial accoutrement and character, the Nihangs developed a special vocabulary of their own by adopting hilarious euphemisms and humorous parallels to words and expressions in common use. Thus they made light of hardships, especially in the days of persecution. A single Nihang would announce himself as an army of a lakh and a quarter. Adversities would be described in a language of challenge and bravado, and articles of worldly comfort and glory belittled to the point of ridicule. Death was called an expedition of the Khālsā into the next world. One with empty stomach would call himself maddened with prosperity. Taking a meal of parched gram of necessity a Nihang would describe himself as eating almonds. Even now onions for Nihangs are silver pieces, rupees on the other hand mere pebbles, and a club the repository of wisdom. In their separate camps and also in their converse with the common people, the Nihangs use such euphemistic or derogative terms for things of common use or for act of daily occurrence which create humour or conceal, in a quixotic manner, the material limitations of the speaker. A large number of these have gone out of use and some even out of common memory. An illustrative list of Nihang bole is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning in common language</th>
<th>Euphemism for</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>airāvat</td>
<td>legendary elephant</td>
<td>he-buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akālān</td>
<td>container of wisdom</td>
<td>a stick; a baton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ākārīhann</td>
<td>that which shatters</td>
<td>disease; especially fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akāshpari</td>
<td>fairy of heaven</td>
<td>goat</td>
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<td>amrītā</td>
<td>name of sweetmeat</td>
<td>broth of gram</td>
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<tr>
<td>angīthā</td>
<td>fireplace</td>
<td>funeral pyre</td>
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<tr>
<td>aṅjani</td>
<td>antimony powder</td>
<td>night</td>
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<tr>
<td>athakk</td>
<td>timeless</td>
<td>emaciated pony</td>
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<tr>
<td>athakk savāri</td>
<td>timeless mount</td>
<td>a pair of shoes or slippers</td>
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<tr>
<td>badām</td>
<td>almonds</td>
<td>gram, parched gram</td>
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<tr>
<td>basantkaur</td>
<td>woman’s name</td>
<td>maize</td>
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<td>baterā</td>
<td>quail</td>
<td>brinjal</td>
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<tr>
<td>bhoinsūr</td>
<td>soil pig</td>
<td>turnip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhūtani</td>
<td>female spirit; witch</td>
<td>duststorm; train</td>
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<tr>
<td>brahmā ras</td>
<td>drink of the gods</td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
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<tr>
<td>bindī</td>
<td>sweets</td>
<td>boiled gram</td>
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<td>chalākā</td>
<td>clever man</td>
<td>thick needle</td>
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<tr>
<td>chalākan</td>
<td>clever woman</td>
<td>spud; hoe</td>
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<td>chāndani-</td>
<td>dish of cooked rice</td>
<td>parched millet</td>
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<tr>
<td>pulāo</td>
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<tr>
<td>charandāsī</td>
<td>maidservant; attached</td>
<td>shoes</td>
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<tr>
<td>charhāī karnā</td>
<td>to the master’s feet</td>
<td>to die</td>
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<td>to invade; to set out on an expedition</td>
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<td>chhauṇī</td>
<td>cantonment</td>
<td>the camp of Nihangs</td>
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<td>chhillār</td>
<td>bark; husk</td>
<td>rupee; coin</td>
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<tr>
<td>chimāni begum</td>
<td>humorous name for woman</td>
<td>opium</td>
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<td>chūbāre charhīā</td>
<td>one on the upper storey</td>
<td>deaf</td>
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<td>chūnā</td>
<td>lime</td>
<td>flour</td>
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<td>dharamrāj dī dhi</td>
<td>daughter of the mythical Dharam Rāj,</td>
<td>sleep justice</td>
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<td>dharamrāj dā</td>
<td>Dharam Rāj’s son</td>
<td>fever</td>
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<tr>
<td>puttar</td>
<td>the fort of dust</td>
<td>woman’s heavy skirt</td>
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<td>dhūrkoṭ</td>
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<td>trousers black coloured club</td>
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<td>duṇgārā</td>
<td>fork</td>
<td>liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fateh kumait</td>
<td>winning bay horse</td>
<td>melon</td>
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<tr>
<td>gangā jal</td>
<td>water of the Ganges</td>
<td>carrot</td>
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<td>gobindā</td>
<td>man’s name</td>
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<td>Hindi-English Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>karn honā</td>
<td>to become a deer</td>
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<td>harni</td>
<td>doe</td>
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<td>hukam sat</td>
<td>true order</td>
<td></td>
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<td>tāčhi</td>
<td>cardamom</td>
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<td>indrāni</td>
<td>Indra's consort</td>
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<tr>
<td>irāqi</td>
<td>thoroughbred from Iraq</td>
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<td>jagat jūth</td>
<td>universal pollution</td>
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<td>jahāz</td>
<td>ship</td>
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<td>jor-meli</td>
<td>match-maker</td>
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<td>kalgā</td>
<td>plume</td>
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<td>kanūngo</td>
<td>a revenue official</td>
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<td>kastūrā</td>
<td>musk-deer</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaṭā</td>
<td>young buffalo-calf</td>
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<td>kāzī</td>
<td>interpreter of Islamic law</td>
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<td>kesar</td>
<td>saffron</td>
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<td>khoṇ</td>
<td>sugar</td>
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<tr>
<td>khoṭa chunghaṇā</td>
<td>sucking a she-ass</td>
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<td>kotal</td>
<td>horse of good breed</td>
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<td>kūch</td>
<td>march</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuhī</td>
<td>a bird of prey</td>
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<tr>
<td>lāchidānā</td>
<td>cardamom seeds</td>
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<tr>
<td>lakhetarā</td>
<td>one with a hundred eyes</td>
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<td>mahāṇ prasād</td>
<td>supreme dish</td>
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<td>māmalā lainā</td>
<td>to collect land revenue</td>
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<td>mast, mastānā</td>
<td>in easy, easy</td>
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<td>nākhān</td>
<td>pears</td>
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<td>nihakalāṇk</td>
<td>without blemish</td>
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<td>pāṇj isanā</td>
<td>five times bath</td>
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<td>fifth</td>
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<td>pari</td>
<td>fairy</td>
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<td>paun turang</td>
<td>flying horse</td>
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<td>paun parkīsh</td>
<td>lighter of wind</td>
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<td>phirni</td>
<td>circulator</td>
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<td>raṣji</td>
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<td>rāṃbaṅg</td>
<td>garden of Rāma</td>
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<td>Rāma of battle</td>
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<td>rāmlaṇḍā</td>
<td>sweet balls of Rāma</td>
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<td>resham</td>
<td>silk</td>
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<td>rōr</td>
<td>gravel</td>
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<td>ṛūpkaur</td>
<td>beautiful; woman's name</td>
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<td>silvery drink</td>
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<td>sabāz pulāo</td>
<td>green dish of rice</td>
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<td>sadā gulāb</td>
<td>perennial rose</td>
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<td>safājaṅ</td>
<td>cleanser in battle</td>
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<td>samundar</td>
<td>sea; ocean</td>
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<td>sarab rās</td>
<td>manifold flavour</td>
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<td>saugi</td>
<td>dried grapes</td>
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<td>sahari deg</td>
<td>martyr's cooking-vessel</td>
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<td>esh jahān</td>
<td>king of the world</td>
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<td>shish mahal</td>
<td>glass palace</td>
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<td>sirkhi</td>
<td>woman; bringer of comfort</td>
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<td>sirhindā</td>
<td>woman with untied hair</td>
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<td>sodhanā</td>
<td>to apply correction</td>
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<td>treasure-house of comfort</td>
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<td>tarpuli</td>
<td>juicy dish of rice</td>
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<td>beautiful; pitcher in which milk is boiled</td>
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NIHANG KHÂN, Muslim chief of Kotlā Nihang Khân, near Ropar, in the Punjab, was a devotee of Guru Gobind Singh. According to Sarūp Siṅgh Kaushish, Guru ķiān Sākhiān, he with his wife and sons attended Baisākhi festivity at Anandpur in 1694 and rendered homage to the Guru. At his request, Guru Gobind Singh visited him in his village a month later on the occasion of the betrothal of his son and blessed the family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NIJĀTULLAH ŞÂH, SAYYID, British news-writer at the Sikh capital of Lahore. Press lists of old records refer to his news-diaries which give an account of the political state of affairs in the kingdom. He reports the events at Peshāwar, the withdrawal of the British garrison at Jalālābād, and the return of the British army from Kābul in 1842.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
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NĪLĀ GHORĀ, lit. blue horse, was a dark-coloured stallion favourite of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. The Gurū’s fondness for him passed into legend and he is remembered to this day as nīle ghore vālā, the Rider of the Blue Horse.

NĪRĀṆJANĪE, also called Handāliē, was an heretic cult founded by Handāl (1573-1646) of Janḍiālā in Amritsar district, a former follower of Sultān Sakhī Sarwar, who became a Sikh in the time of Gurū Āmar Dās. He served in the Gurū kā Ĺaṅgār. Pleased with his devotion, the Gurū appointed him a preacher in his native Janḍiālā and the surrounding area. People admired him for his simple ways. Handāl attracted many followers. But as time passed, he grew very vain and appropriated unto himself the status of Gurū and started calling himself Niraṅjanīa, i.e. one who had overcome his illusion. This is the name by which his entire sect came to be known. His village Janḍiālā came to be redesignated as Janḍiālā Gurū. His son, Bidhī Chand, went a step further and rewrote Gurū Nānak’s Janam Sākhi (biography) in which he not only exalted his father at Gurū Nānak’s expense, but added several heretical anecdotes. Niraṅjanīās thus drifted apart from the Sikh mainstream. After Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s time when the Sikhs were subjected to severe persecution, the Niraṅjanie sided with the State and spied on the Sikhs hiding in forests or lying low in their villages. The most notorious among them was one of Handāl’s linear descendants, Haribhagat, who was instrumental in the arrest and murder of scores of Sikhs including the reverend Bhāi Tārū Siṅgh of the village of Pūhlā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
NIRANJAN SINGH, PROFESSOR (1892-1979), educationist and writer, was born in 1892, the youngest of the five sons of Bhāi Gopī Chand and Māi Mūlān Devi, a Sahijdhāri Sikh couple of the village of Harial in Gujjarhān tahsil, Rawalpindi district (now in Pakistan). His father died in 1901 and his brothers, Gaṅgā Singh and the one who became famous as Master Tārā Singh, took charge of him and supported him through school. After his primary classes in the village school, Niranjan Singh came to Amritsar where he matriculated at the Khālsā Collegiate School and passed his M.Sc. (chemistry) from the Khālsā College in 1916. He won a scholarship and was sent by the university to Agricultural College, Lyallpur, for research. In December 1917 he joined Forman Christian College, Lahore, as a lecturer in chemistry, but shifted to Khālsā College, Amritsar, in April 1918. At the call of Mahātmā Gāndhi for non-cooperation with government, Niranjan Singh cast off his western clothes and started wearing ḫādi (fabric of home-spun cotton) which remained his dress throughout the rest of his life. He also took part in the Gurdwārā Reform movement for which he suffered jail in 1924 in the Jaito campaign.

During the first assembly elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, held in January 1937, Niranjan Singh and a few other professors of the college worked in support of the candidates of the Akālī-Congress coalition against the candidates of the Chief Khālsā Diwān, to which the college officially belonged, including its principal spokesman, Sir Sundar Singh Majithiā. Sir Sundar Singh carried his seat, and became a member of the Punjab Government which was formed at the end of the elections. Five of the college faculty were dismissed from service on 10 August 1937. Niranjan Singh was among them. They, with the help of some of the leading Akālīs set up a new college at Lahore—the Sikh National College. Niranjan Singh became its Principal and remained at the helm of affairs until the partition of India in 1947.

Niranjan Singh then joined the newly established Pañjāb University with its headquarters at Solan, and was deputed to run honours classes in chemistry on behalf of the University in Delhi. In 1949 he came to Hoshiārpur as head of the chemistry department at the University College there. In September 1950, he was appointed principal of the Camp College in Delhi from which post he resigned in June 1955. Thereafter he decided to serve in honorary capacity. He worked for a term as principal of Gurū Tegh Bahādur Khālsā College in Delhi. In June 1958 he established a new college at Fatehgarh Sāhib in memory of the mother of Gurū Gobind Singh, Mātā Gujārī. He raised funds, supervised construction of the buildings, and set up laboratories.

In January 1961, he took over as principal at Khālsā College, Bombay. The college needed a great deal of attention which Niranjan Singh was able to provide.

In spite of his training as a scientist, Niranjan Singh retained his interest in literature. He published three novels (Prem Karāt, Nauṉ Jug and Nauṉ Samāj) and a collection of short stories entitled Nauṉ Kaṇṭān. After his final farewell to teaching, he settled down to writing full-time. His published works, all in Punjabi, are Shakar Rog dī Kahāṇī (Apṇī Zabānī), Jīvan Yātra Master Tārā Siṅgh (1968), Jīvan Vikās (1970), Jīvan Jugat (1971) and Dharam ate Sāiṁs dā jor (1976).

Niranjan Singh died in Delhi on 8
NIRANJAN SINGH, SANT

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M.G.S.

NIRANJAN SINGH, SANT (1922-1994). Fair-complexioned, and blue-eyed, Giani Sant Niranjjan Singh was nurtured on several branches of learning, old and new. He was especially interested in vedānta and nyāya. He was also well-read in Pañini. All his life he remained immersed in Sikh letters.

He began with lessons in the holy Guru Granth Sāhib which he read with extraordinary diligence with his teacher Bābā Gopal Singh who was the Head Granthi at Gurdwārā at Sūlīsar. Niranjjan Singh was born the son of Iśar Singh at Sūlīsar in Mānsā district of the Punjab on 25 December 1922.

The family traced their origin to the Mānn Jāts of Kāhloī Koṭī. Niranjjan Singh was married to Tarlochan Kaur of Bhagtuānī village. She was related to the ruling house of Nābha. Sporting a small white muslin turban upon a large head he proved an assiduous learner. He spent most of his man-hours daily studying the intricacies of the Punjabi lexicon and Hindu śāstras. He gained a fair mastery of several of the esoteric texts. He proved a quick learner. He was lucky in his choice of teachers. He was barely four when he was escorted by his mother to the presence of Sant Atar Singh of Mastuānā. The meeting with Sant Atar Singh left on him a permanent imprint. By the time he was seven years of age he was reciting the Guru Granth Sāhib fluently. He studied the text with minute care for seven years at the Mastuānā Bunga. After serving a period of apprenticeship under Mahant Tapiā Singh of Dhamtān Sāhib he moved to Paṭialā where he finally made his home.

In Paṭialā, he took up residence at Gurdwārā Sāhib, now known as Samādhān Sardār Sir Devā Sīṅgh. The shrine honours the memory of a former prime minister of Paṭialā state.

He came to Paṭialā full of zeal for learning and teaching. Gurdwārā Sāhib Dūkhnīvārān, in Paṭialā, became his point of permanent halt. He stayed put in Paṭialā for the rest of his life and had ample opportunities of realizing his life’s dreams. Here he received an open-hearted welcome from all quarters. His reputation for piety had already preceded him. Expositions of the holy writ he presented at the morning assembly at the Gurdwārā won him an ever-expanding circle of admirers and devotees. In acknowledgement of his lasting contribution to Sikh learning through the medium of kathā, exposition of the holy writ, the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee conferred on him the honorific ‘Shiromāṇī Kathākār’. This title he carried with him to many a Sikh conference and gathering.

With the opening of the Punjabi University at Paṭialā, his lectures acquired a decisive scholarly edge. He presented learned lectures before University audiences.

At Gurdwārā Dūkhnīvārān Sāhib his series had gained further popularity. These evening engagements brought him much fame. Vast numbers of devotees came to listen to his discourses. He gave successively expositions of texts of the Holy Gurū Granth Sāhib and the Dasam Granth and of the inimitable Sṛi Sūraj Prakāsh. This was his most solid contribution to Sikh learning. Unending streams of visitors, men and women, filled the holy corridors day after day. Sant Niranjjan Singh’s kathā, i.e. his expositions of the holy writ, became extremely popular. The extensive galleries of Gurdwārā Dūkhnīvārān Sāhib were overflowing with devotees. The audiences daily grew in numbers till they reached an almost uncontrollable figure.

Gurū Nānak Āshram, in Paṭialā, spread over a vast acreage, where he eventually set-
tled down, was his permanent gift to the city. He passed on his mantle to his grandson, Mohinder Partap Singh. His daughter, Harindar Kaur, preserves the family's musical talent.

Sant Niraṅjan Singh proved a tireless traveller. He undertook several trips around the globe spreading his message of global harmony and love. More memorable among them were his trips to Malaysia, Japan, Singapore, Germany, Canada and America.

Sant Niraṅjan Singh had a prolonged bout of illness following a traffic accident. He died at Rājindra Hospital, Paṭialā, on the Buddha Purnima, 25 May 1994.

R.S.

NIRAŅKĀRĪS, a sect of the Sikhs born of a reform movement which arose in northwest Punjab in the middle of the nineteenth century aiming to restore the purity of Sikh belief and custom. Its founder, Bābā Dayāl (1783-1855), was a contemporary of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. A man of humble origin, he cavilled at the shortcomings of the mighty and assailed the rites and observances which had perverted the Sikh way of life. His main target was the worship of images against which he preached vigorously. He re-emphasized the Sikh belief in Niraṅkār—the Formless One. From this the movement he started came to be known as the Niraṅkārī movement. What a crucial development this movement was in Sikh life will be borne out by this excerpt from the annual report of the Ludhiana Christian Mission for 1853:

Sometime in the summer we heard of a movement... which from the representations we received seemed to indicate a state of mind favourable to the reception of Truth. It was deemed expedient to visit them, to ascertain the true nature of the movement and, if possible, to give it proper direction. On investigation, however, it was found that the whole movement was the result of the efforts of an individual to establish a new panth (religious sect) of which he should be the instructor.... They professedly reject idolatry, and all reverence and respect for whatever is held sacred by Sikhs or Hindus, except Nanak and his Granth.... They are called Niraṅkarīs from their belief in God as a spirit without bodily form. The next great fundamental principle of their religion is that salvation is to be obtained by meditation on God. They regard Nanak as their saviour, inasmuch as he taught them the way of salvation. Of their peculiar practices only two things are learned. First, they assemble every morning for worship, which consists of bowing the head to the ground before the Granth, making offerings and in hearing the Granth read by one of their numbers, and explained also if their leader be present. Secondly, they do not burn their dead, because that would assimilate them to the Hindus; nor bury them, because that would make them too much like Christians and Musalmans, but throw them into the river.

In its emphasis on the primacy of the Gurū Granth Sāhib in the Sikh system and on self-identity, the Niraṅkārī movement foreshadowed the principal concerns of the Singh Sabha reformation.

Bābā Dayāl’s influence was confined to the northwestern districts of the Punjab, and he founded in 1851 at Rāwalpīṇḍī the Niraṅkārī Darbār. Bābā Dayāl was succeeded by his eldest son, Bābā Darbārī Singh, who led the Niraṅkārīs from 1855 to 1870. The most important work of Bābā Darbārī Singh was to issue a hukamnāmā in which he explained, with profuse quotations from the Gurū Granth Sāhib, how the Sikhs were to order their ceremonial life at the time of birth, engagement, marriage, death and during the regular worship of God. He continued to propagate his father’s teachings, prohibiting idolatrous worship, the use of alco-
hol and extravagant expenditure on weddings. He introduced in the Rawalpindi area the anand form of marriage rite. Anand, an austerely simple and inexpensive ceremony, became a cardinal point with leaders of subsequent Sikh reformation movements.

The number of Niraṅkāris steadily increased. From a reported sixty-one in 1853, their number grew to around five hundred in 1861; by the time of the death in 1909 of Darbārā Singh's brother and successor, Bābā Sāhib Rattā, they were a few thousand. Their organization was based upon a hereditary gurū and his appointees called bīredārs who were to watch over Niraṅkāris living in towns and villages outside Rawalpindi. What seems to have held the Niraṅkāris together as the Singh Sabhās gained influence towards the end of the century was their gurūs, their distinctive ceremonies, and their annual gathering at the Darbār in Rawalpindi held to celebrate the death anniversary of Bābā Dayāl. They had no special initiation ceremony to separate them from non-Niraṅkāris. They were Sikhs, some kesādhorī and some sahijdhori, but, because of their rites and ceremonies, they were called by the 1881 Census Commissioner, "the Purists of the Sikh religion," and that is probably how they saw themselves.

The fourth Niraṅkāri leader was Bābā Gurdit Singh, the son of Sāhib Rattā. During his time, January 1909 to April 1947, there were two developments of note. The first was the creation of a succession of Niraṅkāri organizations—the Niraṅkāri Bālak Jathā (1922), the Niraṅkāri Bhujhangī Sevak Jathā (1923), and especially the Niraṅkāri Youngmen's Association (1929)—which represented at least a modification of, if not a departure from, the traditional Niraṅkāri pattern of organization. With these new organizations came new visions of what the Niraṅkāris ought to be doing beyond the purely religious. The result was a degree of internal tension between what might be termed the traditionalists and the modernists in the Niraṅkāri fold. The second development was closely related to the first; the new organizations began to collect, record and publish, in a series of tracts, accounts of incidents in the lives of the first three teachers. These appear in the form of sākhīs which provide the basis of what has been a somewhat idealized and very gurū-centred account of Niraṅkāri history. Other tracts were devoted to discussing important issues of theology and conduct.

The partition of the Punjab in 1947 created a serious crisis for the Niraṅkāris, the majority of whom lived in and around Rawalpindi. The Darbār had to be shifted to India and only in 1958 was it permanently established in Chandigarh. Equally important, but far more difficult, was the location and gathering together of the Niraṅkāris who were now scattered all over north India. This work of rebuilding was undertaken by Sāhib Harā Singh, the fifth Niraṅkāri teacher. Today the Niraṅkāris are led by Bābā Gurbakhsī Singh, the eldest son of Sāhib Harā Singh. They number about 1200 families scattered from Srinagar to Bombay to Calcutta. They are drawn largely from the Khatri, Arora, Bhātiā and goldsmith communities and include significant proportions of both kesādhori and sahijdhori. They have a large new darbār hall located in Chandigarh where they now gather for their annual functions. They continue to maintain their traditional patterns of organization with only slight modifications. The office of bīredār seems to be passing out of existence, but prominent local Niraṅkāris perform the functions traditionally carried out by bīredārs. Thus the difference would seem to be that local initiative is replacing appointment by the teacher.

A Sikh visiting the Niraṅkāri Darbār would find that in most respects it resembles any other gurduwārā. The architecture is different, as all of the Darbār's doors face in one direction: the setting of worship is the
same. The Guru Granth Sāhib occupies the central place and the teacher sits either behind it when reading from it or beneath it to one side when he is not. The ardās differs in two respects; it invokes God as Niraṅkār and not as Bhagaut and it mentions the former Niraṅkāri teachers after Guru Gobind Singh. In the saṅgat, and in all Niraṅkāri affairs, sahi̱jdhāris enjoy equal status with kesādhāris. The teacher's role is that of interpreter of the Guru Granth Sāhib which is authoritative for all Niraṅkāris; he is not an object of veneration and makes no claim to be one. The Niraṅkāris have always considered themselves to be Sikhs and not a separate sect. The label, “Niraṅkāri Sikhs” is perhaps the most appropriate one for them as they are Sikhs and yet distinctive as Sikhs. These Niraṅkāris should not, however, be mixed up with “Sant Niraṅkāris” for the latter have nothing in common with the Niraṅkāri sect of the Sikhs, except for the name. They are not even a schism split from it, although the founder, Būṭa Singh, was once a member of the Niraṅkāri Darbār at Rāwalpīṇḍī. Upon being asked to sever his connection with the Darbār for some misdemeanour, he raised a group of his own. He was succeeded by Avtār Singh, who after partition migrated to Delhi and set up a centre there. Over the years he recruited a considerable following from among the Sikhs, Hindus and others. The present leader, Hardev Singh, is his grandson.

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NIRMALĀ, derived from Sanskrit nirmala meaning spotless, unsullied, pure, bright, etc., is the name of a sect of Sikhs primarily engaged in religious study and preaching. The members of the sect are called Nirmalā Sikhs or simply Nirmalās. The sect arose during the time of Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708), though some, on the authority of a line in the first vār of Bhāī Gurdās (d. 1636), claim, like the Udāsīs, Guru Nānak (1469-1539) himself to be the founder. Guru Gobind Singh wanted his followers not only to train in soldierly arts but also to cultivate letters. Especially during his stay at Pāoṇṭā, on the bank of the River Yamunā, from 1685 to 1688, he had engaged a number of scholars to translate Sanskrit classics into current Braj or Punjabi, in order to bring them within easy reach of the less educated laity. Guru Gobind Singh once asked one of these scholars, Paṇḍit Raghnath, to teach Sikhs Sanskrit. The latter politely excused himself on the plea that Sanskrit was deva bhāṣā, language of the gods, and could not be taught to Śūdras, i.e. members of the low castes. To even this caste bias Guru Gobind Singh sent five of his Sikhs, namely Karam Singh, Vir Singh, Gandā Singh, Saiṇa Singh and Rām Singh, dressed as upper-class students, to Vărāṇaṣi, the centre of Hindu learning. These Sikhs worked diligently for several years and returned to Anandpur as accomplished scholars of classical Indian theology and philosophy. In view of their piety and their sophisticated manner, they and their students came to be known as Nirmalās, and were later recognized as a separate sect. After the evacuation of Anandpur in 1705, the Nirmalā preachers went to different places outside the Punjab, particularly to Haridvār, Allāhābād and Vărāṇaṣi where they established centres of learning that exist to this day—Kankhal, near Haridvār, Pakkī Saṅgat at Allāhābād, and Chetan Maṭh and Chhoṭi Saṅgat at Vărāṇaṣi. When, during the second half of the eighteenth century, the Sikhs established their sway over the Punjab, some of the Nirmalā saints came back here and founded at different places centres which were...
NIRMALĀ

liberally endowed by Sikh chiefs.

It was customary for Nirmalā scholars to attend, along with their disciples, religious fairs at prominent pilgrimage centres such as Haridvār, Allāhābād and Gaya, where they, like other sādhūs, took out shāhīs or processions and held philosophical debates with scholars of other religious denominations as a part of their preaching activity. Sometimes these scholastic exercises led to bitter rivalry and even physical confrontation. During the Haridvār Kumbh in 1855, a general meeting of the Nirmalās held in their principal dera at Kankhal took the first concrete step towards setting up a central body by electing Mahitāb Singh of Rishikesh, reputed scholar of the sect, as their Sri Mahant or principal priest.

Mahitāb Singh attracted attention of the rulers of Patialā, Nabhā and Jind with whose help a panchāiti ākāhā was established at Patialā in 1861. Its formal inauguration took place on 7 August 1862. The headquarters of the sect, however, remained at Kankhal. The sect comprises several sampradāyas or sub-sects each with its own dera and its own following.

The Nirmalās believe in the Ten Gurūs and Gurū Granth Sāhib. Taking the baptism of the Khālsā is not compulsory nor common among them. As a distinguishing mark of the sect they don at least one of the garment in ochre colour. They generally practise celibacy and are devoted to scriptural and philosophical study, but by tradition they are inclined towards classical Hindu philosophy especially Vedānta. Their contribution towards the preaching of Sikh doctrine and production of philosophical literature in Sanskrit, Braj, Hindi and Punjabi is considerable. Some of the important works that contributed to Sikh learning in general and the elucidation and regeneration of Sikh principles in particular are as follows: Sangam Sār Chandrikā by Paṇḍit Saddā Singh of Chetan Maṭh, Vārānāsi, is commentary on a Sanskrit work on Advait philosophy, Advait Siddhi; Paṇḍit Tārā Singh Narotam (1822-91) wrote several books of which Gurmat Nirṇaya Sāger (1877) and Guru Girīrath Kosh in two volumes (1889) deal with philosophy of Sikh religion. His Sri Guru Tirath Sāngrah is a pioneer work on historical Sikh shrines in and outside India. Another famous Nirmalā scholar Paṇḍit Sādhū Singh wrote Shri Mukh Vākya Sidhānt Jyoṭi and Gurū Sikhyā Prabhākar (1893). Giani Gian Singh (1822-1921) is known for his contribution to Sikh history. His Panth Prakhāš in verse appeared in 1880 and Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā in prose in 1891.

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NIRMAL PAŃCHAṬITĪ AKHĀRĀ is a seminary of the Nirmalā sect of the Sikhs established in 1862 at Patialā. Ākāhā, lit. arena, signifies a monastery or seminary with facilities for board, lodging and education of sādhūs of a particular sect or cult. Sannyāsī and Bairāgī sādhūs had their respective akhārās, also known as derās at many prominent pilgrimage centres. Udāsī Sikhs, too, had established their Pańchaṭī Akhārā in 1779, with headquarters at Prayāg (Allāhābād) and branches at Kāshi and Kankhal. Individual Nirmalā saints had their derās scattered all over Punjab, cis-Sutlej princely states and other parts of the country, but they had no central seat or authority. It was in 1807 that some leading members of the sect first mooted the idea of a panchāiti akhārā of their own, but the proposal had been in contemplation for nearly half a century before it materialized. During the Kumbha fair at Haridvār in 1855, a general meeting of the
sect unanimously elected Bhai Mahitāb Singh (1812-71) their Sri Mahant or principal priest. Mahitāb Singh enjoyed the esteem of the rulers of the Phulkian states of Paṭialā, Nabhā and Jīnd. In 1861, the three chiefs, Mahārājā Narinder Singh of Paṭialā, Rājā Bharpūr Singh of Nabhā and Rājā Sarūp Singh of Jīnd, established the Nirmalā akhārā at Paṭialā, where a large house, Chanārthaliān di Havelī, was placed at its disposal. Formal inauguration took place on 7 August 1862. An elaborate constitution called Dastūr ul-'Amal was drawn up. It was duly approved by the rulers of the three states, who also made cash and land grants for the maintenance of the Akhārā. In the text of the constitution the institution is also referred to as Dharam Dhuja Akhārā Guru Gobind Singh Ji. The Dastūr ul-'Amal lays down the strength of the permanent staff. It also requires that all income from whatever sources shall be credited to the accounts of the Akhārā and that no priest shall keep any part of the offerings and donations for his own use; assistance given in cash or kind to the needy must be properly recorded; proper accounts must be kept and inspected by the Sri Mahant at least once a year; new entrants to the seminary shall be made to swear by the Guru Granth Sāhib that they offer all their belongings to the institution and that they would always abide by the rules and discipline of the Akhārā. The inmates must wear one of their garments in the traditional ochre colour and they must remain celibate. The three state governments by mutual consultation could remove any priest guilty of infringement of the provisions of the Dastūr ul-'Amal.

Mahitāb Singh on his death in 1871 was succeeded as Sri Mahant by Paṇḍit Rām Singh Kuberīā who remained in office until his death in 1896. During his stewardship Nirmal Paṇcchāitī Akhārā expanded considerably. He acquired three large houses at Kankhal near Haridvār in Uttar Pradesh which became headquarters of the Nirmalā sect. Besides Kankhal, Haridvār, Paṭialā and Allāhābād, the Akhārā today has branches in the form of preaching centres at Ujjain, Triyambak (Nāsik), Kurukshetra, Paṭnā and some other places.

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NIRMOMGARH SĀHIB, GURDWĀRĀ, situated on top of a low hill 4 km south of Kiratpur (91°-11′N, 76°-35′E), is dedicated to Guru Gobind Singh. In August 1700, Anandpur, which was then the seat of Guru Gobind Singh, was attacked by a combined force of several of the surrounding hill chiefs. For four days, their troops assaulted successively the four fortresses built around the main citadel, Anandgarh, but they found all of them impregnable. Finally, they laid a siege to Anandgarh in the hope of starving the Sikhs into surrender, but without effect. They then resorted to a ruse. They offered peace to Guru Gobind Singh upon solemn oaths, only if he would leave Anandpur temporarily to enable them to lift the siege with honour. The Guru agreed and on 2 October 1700 retired to a camp set up on the hills around the village of Hardo Namoh. The hilltop where he had established himself came to be known as Namohgarh or Nirmohgarh. The hill rājās did not keep their word, and again surrounded the Sikhs. The latter repulsed their attacks which, according to the Bhaṭṭ Vahīs, took place on 7, 12, and 13 October 1700. On 14 October, Guru Gobind Singh and his Sikhs broke the cordon and crossed the Sutlej into Basohli, a
small friendly state.

It is said that, during the siege of Nirmohgarh, the hill chiefs succeeded in requisitioning the services of some imperial troops, including a cannoneer. Just at the opening of the next engagement, the cannoneer fired a shot aimed at Guru Gobind Singh, who was sitting on the top of Nirmohgarh hill. The Guru, however, remained unhurt, although an attendant, Bhai Ram Singh, was killed. The Guru instantly picked his bow and arrow and pierced the cannoneer dead. The site now has a memorial in the shape of small single-room gurdwara. The gurdwara is managed by the Nihangs.

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M.G.S.

NISHĀNĀNVĀLĪ MISL. See MISLS

NISHĀN SĀHIB is the name for the tall Sikh flag which marks all gurdwārās and other religious premises of the Sikhs. Nishān is a Persian word with multiple meanings, one of these being a flag or standard. Sāhib, an Arabic word with the applied meaning of lord or master, is here used as an honorific. Thus Nishān Sāhib in the Sikh tradition means the holy flag or exalted ensign. A synonymous term is Jhandā Sāhib (jhandā also meaning a flag or banner). The Sikh pennant, made out of saffron-coloured, occasionally out of blue-coloured, mainly in the case of Nihangs, cloth is triangular in shape, normally each of the two equal sides being double of the shorter one. The pennant is stitched to the mast sheath at the top which is also of the same cloth. On it is commonly printed or embroidered the Sikh emblem, comprising a khandā (two-edged sword) and chakra (an edged circular weapon, a disc or quoit) and two kirpāns which cross each other at the handles, with the blades flanking the chakra. Sometimes the flag would have inscribed on it Ik Onkār, term in the Mūl Mantra signifying the Supreme Reality. The flagstaff has a steel khandā fixed on the top of it. No size is laid down for the Nishān Sāhib. The two flags standing adjacent to each other betwixt the Harimandar and the Akāl Takht at Amritsar are approximately 40 metres high. Nishān Sāhib is hoisted either in the compound of a gurdwārā or on the top of the building itself. Sometimes there are two flags in a gurdwārā, one in the premises and the other atop the edifice.

Outside of gurdwārās, the Nishān Sāhib is seen carried at the head of Sikh processions. In such public marches which generally take place on religious occasions, five Sikhs, designated as Pañj Piare, carry one each of the five Nishān Sāhibs in front of the palanquin in which the holy Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated. Sikh public congregations as often as not open with the flag-hoisting ceremony at which Nishān Sāhib is unfurled by an eminent member of the Panth. Earlier in the time of Gurū Gobind Singh and during the eighteenth century, the Sikh armies, when on the march or in the battlefield, had the Sikh standard carried in front by nishānhīs (standard-bearers). One of the Sikh misls, which in addition to being a fighting formation in its own right, perhaps provided nishānhīs to other misls, was for this reason named Nishānānvālī misl. In their ardās, routine supplicatory prayer, Sikhs daily, and in fact every time they pray individually or collectively, recall nishānān dhāmān di kāmā, the grandeur of their flags and holy places, and supplicate: chaukīān, jhang)e, bung-e jug jug aṭal (may our choirs, standards and citadels flourish forever).

The origin of the Nishān Sāhib is traced to the time of Gurū Hargobind who hoist-
ed a flag over the Akal Takht (or Akal Buṅgā) at Amritsar as it was erected in 1606. The flag, the first of its kind in Sikh tradition was called Akāl Dhujā (the immortal flag) or Satgurūkā Nīshān (standard of the true Gurū). The flag on the top of the Harimandar was first installed by Sardār Jhāṇḍā Śingh of the Bhangī clan in 1771. In 1783, Udāsī Mahants Santokh Dās and Pritam Dās brought from Dehra Rām Rāi (Dehrā Dūn) a tall sāl tree in one piece and using it as the flagpost raised a Nīshān Śahi in front of a būnga (a hospice or resting place) next to the Akal Takht, whence this būnga acquired the name Jhāṇḍā Buṅgā. In 1820, Sardār Desā Śingh Majlithlā whom Mahārājā Ranjīt Śingh had entrusted with the management of Darbār Śahi, replaced the wooden flagpost with a steel one covered with gilded copper sheets. Later, a similar flagpost was also presented by the Mahārājā himself, but this was not erected till 1841 when the one installed by the Majīthīā sardār was damaged in a storm. Then the damaged flagpost was also got repaired and erected by Desā Śingh’s son, Lahīn Śingh Majīthīā, and two Nīshān Śahibs of equal height have been flying in front of Jhāṇḍā Buṅgā since then. Both these flagposts were of solid iron. After it had been decided to widen the Ṛparikrama (circumambulatory terrace around the sarover), the two Nīshān Śahibs were pulled out and refixed a few metres away from the former site in 1923. In 1962, the Shiromāṇi Gurduwāṛī Parbandhak Committee replaced them with new ones of steel pipes similarly sheathed with gilded copper sheets so that electric cables leading to the lights on top could pass through them.

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NISHCHAL ŚINGH, PANDIT SANT (1882-1978), widely respected holy man, preacher of Sikhism and head of the Sevāpanthī sect of the Sikhs (1950-78), was born on 18 April 1882, the son of Bhāi Amīr Śingh and Māi Piār Kaur, a pious couple of Mīṭthā Tiwāṅā in Shāhpur (Sargodhā) district of Pakistan Punjab. Nishchal Śingh lost his father at the age of five and was brought up under the care of his eldest brother, Mahītāb Śingh. Mahītāb Śingh, himself a devoted Sevāpanthī saint, led Nishchal Śingh to take to the same path. He sent him to Vārāṇasi for higher learning. Nishchal Śingh, having attained proficiency in Sanskrit studies at Vārāṇasi, spent another seven years at Haridvār studying traditional Indian philosophy. He was particularly attracted to Vedānt which he found somewhat akin to Sikh thought. His wide knowledge of Sanskrit literature and philosophy earned him the sobriquet of pandit. He returned to Mīṭthā Tiwāṅā after completing his education in 1914, and vowed to dedicate his life to the propagation of gurmat (Sikhism), spread of education and to humanitarian service. Mīṭthā Tiwāṅā was the centre of his activities in the beginning. Here with the help and guidance of his brother, Mahītāb Śingh, was founded the Gurū Nānak High School, in 1914. In 1925, he shifted to Māndi Bahāuddīn, a sub-divi­sional town in Jehlum district, and started teaching and preaching in Santpurā Dērā, a Sevāpanthī seminary, 3 km outside the town. From here he also went out on long preaching tours to places as far apart as Mirpur in Jammū and Kashmir and Dērā Ismā’īl Khān in North-West Frontier Province. In 1930-31, he undertook a six-month long journey travelling leisurely and visiting Sikh shrines on the way to preach the word of Gurū Nānak
at important towns in the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Mahārāṣṭra. The tour terminated at Nāndeś in what was then the princely state of Hyderābād. He undertook similar tours, by train, in 1940, 1965 and 1973.

The buildings of Śrī Takhi Harimandar at Paṭnā Sāhib had suffered serious damage during an earthquake in 1934, necessitating reconstruction and renovation. The supervision of this work was entrusted to Sant Nishchal Siṅgh. He was at Paṭnā Sāhib in 1947 when the partition of the country and the unprecedented carnage and mass migration of population took place. Šerā Santpurā at Manḍi Bahāuddin had its share of the consequent disruption and disaster. Sant Nishchal Siṅgh’s brother Sant Mahitāb Siṅgh, a dedicated, luminous soul and lifelong bachelor like himself, died along with about 700 others who had sought refuge in the premises, fighting against a horde of Muslim fanatics who had attacked them. Sant Nishchal Siṅgh re-established Šerā Santpurā in 1952 at Yamunānagar, now a well-known industrial town in Haryāṇā. The kār-sevā at Paṭnā Sāhib completed by 1957, he made Yamunānagar his permanent residence although his preaching tours continued almost till the end which came on 23 August 1978.

Besides administering the Khālsā pāhul to thousands of seekers, Paṇḍit Sant Nishchal Siṅgh’s most memorable contribution was in the field of education. He established several schools and colleges, outside the Punjab, which besides general education provided for the teaching of the Punjabi language and Sikh religion. In addition to separate secondary schools and colleges for boys and girls, other educational institutions founded by him included Gurū Gobind Siṅgh College, Paṭnā Sāhib, Khālsā School, Gauhātī (Assam), Khālsā School, Rānchī (Bihār), and Khālsā School Gurdwārā Bāṛi Śaṅgat, Calcutta (West Bengal).

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M.G.S.

NITNEM (nit: daily; nem: practice, rule or regimen) is the name given to the set prayers which every Sikh is commanded to say daily, alone or in company. These prayers or texts are five in number—for early morning Gurū Nānak’s Jāpu and Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s Jāpu and Savāyye, for the evening at sunset Sodaru Rahrāsi and for night before retiring Kirtan Sohīlā. The ideal Gurū Nānak, founder of the faith, put forth before his followers was to “rise early in the morning, remember the True Name and meditate upon His greatness” (GG, 2). According to Gurū Rām Dās, Nānak IV, “He who wishes to be called a Sikh of the True Gurū must rise early in the morning and repeat God’s Name. He should bathe in the pool and dwell upon the Lord through the Gurū’s word” (GG, 305). Recitation by Sikhs of three of the bāṇīs in the morning, evening and late evening must have become established practice before the time of Gurū Arjan who when compiling the (Gurū) Granth Sāhib in 1604 placed them in that order at the beginning of the Holy Writ. Bhāī Gurdās (d. 1636) records in his Vārāṇ that, at Kartāpurā where Gurū Nānak had settled after his travels, it was a daily practice to recite Jāpu early in the morning and Rahrāsi and Ārati (Sohīlā) in the evening (1.38). The compositions of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, last of the Gurūs, were added to the regimen later.

The directions regarding nitnem set down in Sikh Rahit Maryādā published by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, statutorily elected representative body of the Sikhs, say: “A Sikh should rise early, bathe and meditate on the Timeless One repeating the name Vāhīgūrū.” He should recite the nitnem which includes the
following bāṇīs: Jāpu, Jāpu and the ten (prescribed) Savaiyye in the morning, Sodaru Rahrāsi in the evening and Sohilī at bedtime.” It further stipulates that ardās or supplicatory prayer should necessarily follow the recitation of the bāṇīs at three times during the day.

The Jāpu goes back to the very origin of Sikhism. According to Miharbān Janam Sākhī, its paurīs or stanzas composed by Gurū Nānak on different occasions were arranged in a single order by Gurū Aṅgad under the former’s instructions. The Jāpu is preceded by Mūl Mantra and concludes with a sloka. The Mūl Mantra is the root doctrinal statement of Sikh faith comparable to Nicene Creed in Christianity, Kalimā-i-Shahdādat in Islam, the Shema in Judaism or Gāyatri Mantra in Hinduism. It is to be noted, however, that the term Jāpu, even where it includes the section specifically termed mantra, as such has no magical connotation as in the case of the Sanskrit mantram. It may have the same effect in evoking the power of the utterance of basic or primordial sound, but it does not in itself signify any magical effect. The Mūl Mantra in full or in an abbreviated form is repeated at the beginning of all major bāṇīs or sections of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Similarly, the concluding sloka of the Jāpu is usually recited to signal the end of a ritual service.

Most Sikhs know the Japuji Sāhib, as Jāpu is reverently called, by heart and recite it as a set morning prayer. The second item in the morning prayer is the Jāpu or Jāpu Sāhib, a composition of the Tenth Master, Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708). Different from the Jāpu in rhythm and vocabularly, it renders a magnificent paean of adoration to the Divine. The third morning text is Das (Ten) Savaiyye, culled from a longer composition by Gurū Gobind Sīṅgh, Akāl Ustati (lit. Praise to the Timeless). Besides these three morning prayers, there can be additions according to the usage of the place, the occasion and the desire of the individual or the saṅgat. For example, the whole of Anandu (Sāhib) or the first five and the final stanza of it may be added; some Sikhs would also recite Shabad Hazāre, while others would recite the Sukhmani Sāhib; Nihangs would include Vār Sī Bhagautī Jī Kī, popularly called Chandī di Vār in the morning order. Āsā kī Vār is usually sung by musicians at gurdwārās in the morning. Some read it at their homes in addition to the daily regimen.

Sodaru Rahrāsi, the evening prayer comparable to Vespers or Evensong, is recited soon after sunset. The title Sodaru is taken from the first word of the first hymn of the text. Rahrāsi variously means prayer, supplication, usage and greetings. It is also interpreted as an adaptation of the Persian term rāḥ-i-rāst (the right path). The order begins with nine sabdas which also stand together in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, immediately after the Jāpu. They are followed by three compositions by Gurū Gobind Singh—Benāṭī Chaupāī taken from the final tale (404) of Charitropākhyan, and a savaiyya and a sloka from Rāma Avtār and by the first five and the last stanzas of the Anandu (Sāhib), and Mundāvaṇī.

Sohilī, or Kirtan Sohilī as it is generally called, is the late-evening prayer recited before going to bed. It takes its name from the word Sohilī in the second line of its first hymn, viz. titu gharī gāvahu sohilī sīvahī hu sirjāhiro (In that state sing His praises and meditate upon Him). Sohilī is literally a paean or song of praise and kirtan means devotional singing. Kirtan Sohilī occurs at the beginning of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, immediately following Sodaru Rahrāsi, and includes five hymns—three by Gurū Nānak and one each by Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan. The middle hymn is connected with Gurū Nānak’s visit to the Jagannāth temple at Purī, in Orissa. In the evening, the priests there were performing āratī, the
ritual worship by swinging in front of the idol a salver studded with lighted lamps. Guru Nanak through this hymn explained to them the futility of the ritual, as already the spheres, the sun, the moon and the stars are revolving in God’s worship, with fire serving as incense and wind as a whisk, and so on. The final verse of Kirtan Sohila beginning with karau benni suñahu mere mita sant ’ahal kī bèlā—Listen my friend, I beg you, this life is the occasion to serve the holy ones— is a call to one to devote oneself to good deeds of service and devotion. The last line of this hymn is a supplication to God for fulfilling the only wish of the devotee which is to be “the dust of the (feet of the) holy ones.” On this note and on the assurance that if one devotes one’s life to God and service with humility one will suffer transmigration no more, ends the Kirtan Sohila.

Each service is concluded with ardās, a prayer or petition invariably used by Sikhs to conclude any devotional meeting or ceremony.

When Nitnem is performed in the presence of Guru Granth Sāhib, ardās is followed by hukam or vāk (lit. order or utterance), that is, reading of a hymn from the Holy Book opened at random, and, if it is in saṅgat, prashād or consecrated food is distributed.

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NIZĀMĀBĀD
Nizāmābād, a small town in Āzamgarh district of Uttar Pradesh, was visited both by Guru Nanak and Guru Tegh Bahādur. According to local tradition, the former stayed here for 21 days. Guru Tegh Bahādur came to Nizāmābād in 1670 while travelling back to the Punjab from the eastern parts. A shrine looked after by Udāsi sadhus existed here until Bābā Kripā Dayāl Siṅgh Bhallā of Goinḍvāl came and established a gurdvārā, which is called Gurdwārā Charan Pādūkā Pātshahi 1 te 9. He was followed by his son, Śādha Siṅgh, and his grandson Siṅgha, a noted poet and later mahānī of Takht Harimandar Sāhib, Pāṭnā. Later, the management of the Gurdwārā was assumed by Śrī Guru Siṅgh Sāhā, Āzamgarh. Renovation of the buildings was taken up by Sant Śādhū Siṅgh Mauni in 1976-77. An important relic preserved here is a pair of wooden sandals belonging to Guru Tegh Bahādur. For security reasons it has been entrusted to the custody of a prominent businessman of Āzamgarh, and is brought to the Gurdwārā for display on special occasions. In the Gurdwārā are preserved fourteen old handwritten volumes of the Guru Granth Sāhib and six of the Dasam Granth. Some of them go back to the eighteenth century.

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NIVALĀ, BHĀĪ
Nivalā, Bhāīī, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjān. He once waited on the Gurū who taught him to practise nām, and serve the saṅgat.
NIZĀM UD-DĪN (d. 1802), the Pathān chief of Kasūr and a tributary of the Bhaṅgī sardārs, overthrew his allegiance to the Sikhs and submitted to Shāh Zāmān, the king of Afghanistan, when the latter invaded India in January 1797. Nizām ud-Dīn took possession of the forts evacuated by the Sikhs. During Shāh Zāmān’s next invasion in November 1798, he presented a nazār to him and entreated that he be appointed governor of the Punjab for a tribute of 5, 00, 000 rupees annually which proposition was not acceptable to the Shāh. On the retirement of Shāh Zāmān in 1799, Nizām ud-Dīn tried in vain to persuade the Muslim citizens of Lahore to accept him as their ruler, but they rejected the proposal and invited Rāljīt Singḥ instead to take possession of the city. In 1800 Nizām ud-Dīn joined hands with the Bhaṅgīs. They jointly challenged Rāljīt Singḥ at Bhasīn, near Lahore, but were repulsed. Soon thereafter Rāljīt Singḥ sent an expedition against Nizām ud-Dīn under Fateh Singḥ Kāliānvalā, who laid siege to the town of Kasīr. In the florid Persian of the court diarist Sohan Lāl Sūrī: “Like a moth, Nizām ud-Dīn fell upon the lamp of the glory of the armies, burnt his wings and having failed to carry on the open battle, became besieged.” Nizām ud-Dīn sued for peace, paid a heavy indemnity and agreed to become a tributary of Rāljīt Singḥ. In 1802, he was assassinated by his own brother-in-law.

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NOHAR (29°-12’N, 74°-45’E) in Gaṅgānagar district of Rājasthān, was visited by Gūrū Gobind Singḥ during his journey towards the South in 1706. He encamped near Chhip Talāī, a pond southeast of the town. The local inhabitants, mostly followers of Jain and Vaiṣṇava faiths, viewed the armed band of the Gūrū’s disciples with trepidation. The accidental trampling of a pigeon inside the town by a Sikh gave rise to much commotion. However, the Gūrū’s arrival at the scene pacified the people who were deeply impressed by his holy manner. The incident had occurred near the house of a barber family who later constructed a platform at the spot. There were no Sikhs in the town and no gurdwārā was established until the site was acquired by some Sikh settlers in 1908. More Sikh families arrived after 1947. A gurdwārā has since been raised. It is known as Gurdwārā Kabūṭar Sāhib.

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NŪRSHĀH, was, according to the Janam Sākhī tradition, the queen of sorceresses of Kaurū or Kāmrūp, one of the districts of Assam, then known as the land of magic and witchcraft. Gūrū Nānak along with his companion Mārdānā visited this region during his first preaching odyssey. The Purātaṇ Janam Sākhī relates the story of how Bhai Mārdānā was bewitched by an enchantress. Troubled by pangs of hunger, he once begged leave of the Gūrū to go into a nearby town to procure some food. “Do go if you have to,” said the Gūrū. “But beware! This is the country of Kaurū and here women rule.” As Mārdānā was passing through a street, a woman standing at the door of her house called him inside. No
sooner did he step across the threshold than a spell was cast upon him and he was made to bleat like a ram. The Gurū set out in search of him and entered the house where he had been kept in captivity. The sorceress tried her skill on him as did several of her associates. Finally came Nurshāh, the leader of the magicians, who applied all the arts she had mastered. Finding herself powerless, she, as says the Janam Sākhī, threw her scarf round her neck in penitence, and made obeisance before the Gurū, along with her slaves. The Gurū taught them to attach themselves to the Name of God.

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NūR UD-DĪN, FAQĪR (d. 1852), third son of Ghulām Mohy ud-Dīn and the youngest brother of Faqīr 'Azīz ud-Dīn, was one of the prominent Muslim courtiers serving the Sikh sovereign Mahārājā Raṇjīt Singh and his successors. In 1801, when Raṇjīt Singh assumed the title of Mahārājā, Nūr ud-Dīn was appointed hakīm or physician to the court and put in charge of dispensaries in the city of Lahore. He also performed protocol duties on behalf of the State. Foreign travellers such as Moorcraft, Jacquemont, Burnes, Wolff, Hugel and Fane, whom he received on behalf of the Mahārājā or whom he otherwise met on State occasions, have paid tributes to his outstanding abilities. Hugel, for instance, described him as “an upright yet versatile courtier, who has acquired the respect of the natives and the strangers.” Nūr ud-Dīn was indeed a versatile man who was entrusted by Mahārājā Raṇjīt Singh with diverse responsibilities such as the administration of the capital, superintendence of artillery stores, and commissariat arrangements for visiting dignitaries. He was at times also assigned to important administrative responsibilities outside the capital. In June 1810, he took Wazīrābād and was soon after appointed governor of Gujrāt. In the beginning of 1817, he was sent to settle the Rāmgarhīā territories seized by Raṇjīt Singh towards the end of 1816. In 1827, he went to Kapūrthālā on a mission to restore normal relations after a temporary estrangement between Raṇjīt Singh and the local chief, Fateh Singh Āhlūvāliā.

Even after the death of Mahārājā Raṇjīt Singh, Faqīr Nūr ud-Dīn retained his position of eminence at the court. At the conclusion of the first Anglo-Sikh war, he was one of the signatories, on behalf of the State, to the Treaty of Lahore, 9 March 1846, and to the Articles of Agreement, 11 March 1846. He was appointed a member of the Council of Regency formed, under the treaty of 16 December 1846, to conduct the administration of the country during the minority of Mahārājā Duleep Singh. The Council ceased to exist with the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions on 29 March 1849. Nūr ud-Dīn’s jāgīrs of the annual value of Rs 20,885 were confirmed to him by the British. Nūr ud-Dīn died at Lahore on 26 March 1852. He was survived by four sons: from his first wife, Zahūr ud-Dīn (1824-1893), who was for a time tutor to Mahārājā Duleep Singh, and Hafīz ud-Dīn (1835-1899), and from the second, Shamas ud-Dīn (1825-1872) and Qamar ud-Dīn (1826-1910), who travelled with his father as escort to Mahārāṇī Jīnd Kaur when she was exiled to Banāras. Like his brother 'Azīz ud-Dīn, Nūr ud-Dīn was a man of learning. He was also a poet and left a collection of verse
entitled Diwan-i-Munawwar.

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F.S.A.
OaNkâru is a composition of Guru Nanak’s in the measure Râmkañ in the Guru Granth Sâhib. The full title of the bâñi is Râmkañ Mahalâ 1 Dakhanî Oaňkâru. The title is explained differently by different scholars. According to one tradition, dakhanî is the adjective for the noun Oaňkâru which is the actual name of the bâñi. It is called dakhanî because it was addressed to the priest of the Oaňkâr temple in the dakhanî (South), on an island in the river Narmadâ, in Madhya Pradesh. According to another tradition, the designation of the bâñi is Oaňkâru and the term dakhanî goes with Râmkañ, as Dakhanî is a form of the Râmkañ râga. Many other instances of the titles written on similar lines are quoted in support of this view, as, for instance, Gauri Mahalâ 1 Dakhanî and Vaďaňâs Mahalâ 1 Dakhanî. In these bâñîs, dakhanî stands for the râgañi or the measure of music.

Oaňkâru is composed in the form of an acrostic, each stanza beginning with one of the letters of the script meant for writing Sanskrit. Some of the sounds of Sanskrit do not exist in the language used by Guru Nanak. In such cases, prevalent equivalent sounds are used to represent the letters of the old script. For example, ‘j’ is used for ‘y’ and ‘b’ for ‘v’.

Oaňkâru opens with verses in praise of God who is remembered as the creator of all that exists, of time with all its different cycles, and of the entire universe.

Then follows the verse of rahau (pause) indicating the central theme of the bâñi: O Pânđe, why are you involved in the writing of such idle hieroglyphics. Write the name of God alone.

Hereafter begins the acrostic form. The emphasis is on ethical and spiritual teaching. Men whose deeds fall short of their professions have been called moving corpses, i.e. corpses which only breathe. They are dead, spiritually. But even those so degraded have a chance of saving themselves if only they would make a total surrender to the will of God. If such a person devotes himself to Nâm, his mind would be cleansed of worldly temptations and cravings. The grace of the Gurû will be a decisive factor in this process of spiritual regeneration. Temptation is the cause of suffering and sinfulness. Only those guided by the Gurû’s wisdom overcome it. No rituals can be of any help, nor any intellectual or scholarly accomplishment. Renunciation of the world and ascetic practices are of little avail. The real Pânđit or wise man is he who follows the path shown by the Gurû and remains united with God while performing his worldly duty.

The language of the composition is a mixture of Hindavi and Punjabi. Words of Perso-Arabic origin are rarer here than in some of Guru Nanak’s other poems. The grammatical patterns are closer to those of Apabhrañsa. The style is simple without any conscious attempt at poetic ornamentation. Yet certain artistic features are noteworthy. Striking specimens of the use of simile and metaphor as well as of alliteration are not infrequent. The poem has contributed to
Punjabi many crisp maxims and aphorisms. For instance:

*gun vichāre giāṇī soī*—he who imbibes merit is the real knower, Giāṇī (GG, 991)

*kāmu krodha kāī kau gālai*—lust and anger consume the body (GG, 932); and

*lekhu na mitāī he sakhi jo līkhiā kartāī*—the destiny the Creator has written for you will not be erased, my friend (GG, 937).

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S.R.B.

**OCHTERLONY, SIR DAVID** (1758-1825), soldier and diplomat, son of David Ochterlony, was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on 12 February 1758. In 1777, he joined the service of the East India Company as a cadet. He served under Lord Lake in the battle of Delhi and was appointed British resident in 1803 at the court of Shāh 'Ālam, emperor of Hindustān. In 1808, he was the garrison commander at Allāhābād when he was ordered to advance to the Sutlej with a detachment to meet the Sikh troops in the cis-Sutlej region. From 1809-14 he was agent to the Governor-General at the Ludhīānā Political Agency. As Resident at Delhi, he implemented the broad principles of Lord Wellesley's earlier policy towards Mahārājā Ranjit Śīṅgh and the cis-Sutlej Sikhs, which aimed at establishing friendly relations with them and weaning them from Marājha influence. He remained active during the Sikh disturbances in the region (1804-05) and recommended to his government to take the Sikh chiefs under its protection.

In 1809, Ochterlony compiled his well-known *Report on the Sikh Country* which furnished a first-hand statement on the power, revenue and military resources of the cis-Sutlej Sikhs. It referred to the conquests and grants of Ranjit Śīṅgh during his three Mālvā campaigns and to the ways and means to curtail Ranjit Śīṅgh's influence in the cis-Sutlej region. The *Report* enunciated the broad principles of paramountcy and protection offered to protected chiefs.

Ochterlony possessed considerable experience of Sikh affairs. But he often overestimated his authority, and failed to establish with the Sikh government the amicability enjoined upon by the treaty of Amritsar. His despatches from Ludhīānā exhibited an unreasonable obsession on his part with what he called Ranjit Śīṅgh's schemes of expansion.

Ochterlony was promoted colonel in January 1812 and in June 1814 he was made major-general. He served in the Nepal war (1814-16) and the Piṇḍārī war (1817-18). In 1818, he was appointed Resident in Rājpūtānā. In 1825, he resigned owing to differences with Lord Amherst on the Bharatpur succession issue. He died on 15 July 1825.

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B.J.H.

**OFFER OF SIKH STATE RECALLED BY MAHĀRĀJĀ YĀDAVINDER ŚĪṅGH.** It was raining heavily and my garden was enveloped in mist. We were having the first real monsoon downpour of the season. The beautiful dahlias, some of them 10 inches or more in diameter, were sadly drooping. The glad-ioli were not looking too happy, either. This was all too much for them. As a gardener, I felt the grief of the flowers which I had taken so much trouble to raise so that they could...
add colour and beauty to the naturally beautiful surroundings and brighten up life, for we live in times which are colourless and drab far away from the softness of nature. I turned to deal with the quite formidable pile of letters on my desk. In one of these I had been asked to write something on the various discussions I was a party to with the leaders of the political parties of India and the then Government of India, on behalf of the Indian States, during the period when negotiations were going on in Delhi for transfer of power and for the establishment of our Independence. According to the writer of this letter, many of the events connected with the Indian States and the Sikhs may never see the light of day.

One could say a great deal about what took place during those days. How everyone was going about contacting every other person thinking that he was the only one who knew the correct answer and the solution. That was the popular mental make-up. There was excitement that India would be free; yet there were long-drawn faces of people who thought that freedom would affect them vitally and they would lose what they possessed. On the other hand, there was a feeling of helplessness in the minds of some who knew that a change was coming and that they could not do much to continue with their old mode of life.

Of the part of India which was going to be very vitally affected were the Indian States. One of the questions in regard to the transfer of power was the inter-relationship between what was then called British India and the Indian States. Foreign affairs, defence and communications were all that the States were called upon to accede to when the transfer of power took place. This led to certain beliefs that the Indian States would exist as semi-independent units. The British Parliament later, in a way, confirmed it by an Act releasing the Indian States from the treaties which bound them to the British Crown; the question of the new relationship was to be thought of later.

It was interesting that during those days the idea of a Rajasthan representing a confederation of Indian States was also actively in the minds of some people. This meant that India would have been further divided, and there were also endeavours, so far as I could make out, on the part of our then rulers tactfully to try and get the scheme through. Many advisers and those who had a great deal to do with Indian States developed an idea which in the circumstances then prevailing and in retrospect could be called reactionary. The Federal Act of 1935 had envisaged the federation of Indian States with the British Indian provinces, but it had been wrecked on the ground that the Indian States could not take a final decision about the matter unless they knew what the final picture of emerging India was going to be.

One school in the Chamber of Princes now took up the same attitude and wanted to repeat the same performance. I remember one occasion when at a very crucial stage I found myself alone, with the exception of some of the more prominent ministers, who were also in the negotiating committee set up by the Chamber of Princes. The position that I took up was that so far as the option to be exercised by the Indian States was concerned, the picture was already complete. The support of these ministers gave me hope of preventing a breakdown of the negotiations. We pulled through. The "completed picture" theory was chiefly sponsored by His Highness the Nawâb Sâhib of Bhopâl, the then Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

The Political Department did not at all approve of my attitude. It is a long story how I came to be disliked, in a way, by some of the Political Department officials. In those days I had very little contact with the leaders of nationalist India. Placed as I was in the position of Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber of
Princes, I had made up my mind to do something and go ahead in support of our national aspirations whether the others joined me or not.

Things developed and attitudes changed in a dramatic way. Hoping to sweep the Chamber of Princes, the Chancellor resigned and I became Chancellor. The late Mahārājā Sārdūl Siṅghji of Bīkāner, a very good friend of mine and a very loyal supporter, was to be tackled first. I telephoned to him at his house in New Delhi at about 8.30 in the morning and was told that His Highness was having his bath. Bath or no bath I had to contact him immediately as practically a "parting-of-ways" talk was to take place between the Political Adviser, Sir Conrad Corfield, and myself at 10.30 that morning. I arrived at Bīkāner House, barged through the rooms and doors (the servants and His Highness' staff must have thought me crazy) and knocked at the door of the personal apartment of His Highness. The door was opened and the attendant informed me that His Highness would be out in half an hour's time.

No, that was impossible. I took the liberty of walking past him to the bathroom door, and of knocking again. "Kauñ Hai?" asked His Highness. "It's me Dādā." "What the so-and-so are you doing here?" I was asked. "Something very urgent; put on a gown and please come out or else I shall come in," was my reply. I was called in. He was having a shave. I started off immediately and said "I want you to join me and set to work in getting as many of the States as possible to opt for India. Pakistan is being carved out, as you know, and we do not want a Rājasthān as envisaged by some. It would be suicidal for the country."

We discussed all the details and the modus operandi. His Highness completely supported me. Sardār K.M. Pannikar was then the prime minister in Bīkāner and Sardār Hardit Siṅgh Malik in Paṭīlā, and they were most helpful. We all worked as a team and the Chamber of Princes eventually adopted my point of view. One obstacle was thus over which was threatening India's aspirations towards Independence, as had been done once 12 or 13 years previously.

I had been reported upon by some, whose names I would not like to mention, to the Political Department as one thoroughly undesirable from their point of view and one who was anti-British. Anyhow, this did not worry me. My only object then was to get a majority in favour of my viewpoint, which fortunately, I was successful in obtaining. Later, complete confidence was expressed by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes and those gathered at and attending the General Conference. We proceeded rapidly from then onwards.

After this event I had been asked by Lord Mountbatten, who was then the Viceroy, to have dinner with him. He said he would also get Mr Jinnāh and Mr Liāqat 'Ali to talk over matters. The dinner was to be private. Lord Mountbatten very kindly sent me his aeroplane to Ambālā. I was up in Chail then. I motored down. We got into the plane, and just as we were trying to fly out, one of the wheels came off. We had an excellent pilot, and he just pulled up in time; otherwise, we would have gone headlong into a deep ditch at the end of the runway. That would not at all have been comfortable. Anyhow, we got out.

I was then told that it would take a couple of hours for a new wheel to be flown in from Delhi. My driver had taken my car away, but the Air Force very kindly assisted me by giving me a car to get to Delhi. For once the railway crossing on the Delhi road from Ambālā proved helpful, for my own car had been held up there. I jumped into my car and motored down as fast as I could, reaching Viceregal House only 15 minutes late. Mr Jinnāh was there and so were Liāqat 'Ali and Begum Liāqat 'Ali. Everyone was rather surprised at my comparatively punctual
arrival. Lord Mountbatten had been informed of the mishap and they were planning to have dinner and keep some for me.

We had a drink and went in to dine. The talk started, and offers were made by Mr Jinnah for practically everything under the sun if I would agree to his plan. There were two aspects. One was based on the idea of a Rajasthan and the other one for a separate Sikh State— Punjab minus one or two districts in the south. I had prolonged talks with Master Tārā Singh, Giānī Kartār Singh and other Sikh leaders and all the negotiations on behalf of the Sikhs were within my knowledge. Indeed, in some ways I had quite a deal to do with them. I told Mr Jinnah that I could not accept either of his two proposals, and told him a lot of what was in my mind. Liāqat 'Ali and Begum Liāqat 'Ali were most charming to me and went out of their way to offer, on behalf of the Muslim League, everything conceivable. I was to be the Head of this new Sikh State. The Sikhs would have their own army and so on.

All these things sounded most attractive, but I could not accept them as being practical, and neither could I, in the mood that I was in, change my convictions. The talks lasted till well past midnight. Lord Mountbatten was a patient listener, only occasionally putting in a word or two. He eventually said that perhaps Mr Jinnah and I could meet again soon at some convenient date.

Two days later, I was asked by Mr Jinnah to have tea with him. I accepted and went and had tea at his residence in New Delhi. He was living in a house in Aurangzeb road. Miss Jinnah, his sister, was present and she gave us some very excellent tea. After about half an hour Mr Liāqat 'Ali entered, and discussions began again very much on the same lines as those we had had two nights earlier. We again parted unchanged in our own points of view. My going to Mr Jinnah eventually became known to a number of people in Delhi and the Sikhs thought it was all wrong and that Mr Jinnah should now come and see me. This, I thought, was rather odd. But sentiments were quite high those days, so I invited Mr Jinnah to have tea with me at the Imperial Hotel, where I was staying.

Delhi is a place where news travels fast, and quite a large crowd of Sikhs gathered outside the Hotel. I was a bit worried when I heard of this gathering. So I asked a few friends to talk to them and to request them that there should be no slogans and that they should be polite to the leader of the Muslim League. The answer was that they only wanted to see Mr Jinnah coming to have tea with me. Mr Jinnah arrived punctually at 4.30 p.m. and the Sikhs gave a loud “Sat Sri Akāl.” I met him at the steps and we walked into the hotel, the crowd quietly disappeared. Everyone was apparently happy. At tea there was no further progress in our talks, although as before we covered a lot of ground. So we parted; I was next to meet Mr Jinnah some months later at a social gathering. After that he became Governor-General, and we never met again.

When I became Chancellor, I discovered that I was minus my Secretary, Mr Maqbool Mahmūd. He had gone down to Trivandrum, ostensibly to meet C.P. Ramāśwāmy Iyer who, although a very good friend of mine, viewed matters quite differently. I telephoned and tried to get Maqbool back with some important documents which he had in his possession. He made excuses, and, I believe, later on he went to Bhopāl. I was not sorry. I relieved him of his post as Secretary to the Chancellor.

How peculiar it is that my late father and His late Highness Mahārājā Gaṅgā Singh of Bīkānēr and a few others had brought the Chamber of Princes into being in 1917. Exactly 30 years later, I had to wind it up, and in the process hand over what always belonged to Indian India to a real Indian India, with the willing consent of all of the patriotic rulers in the hope that India will
live united for ever.

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With the passing away of Lt-General Mahārājā Sir Yādavindīr Singh of Paṭīlā, the last symbol of Sikh sovereignty had vanished, as it were, a whole era of history stood annulled. A towering representative of what used to be the princely India, Mahārājā Yādavindīr Singh who combined the aura and manner of a bygone age with the values and aspirations of a fast-changing world had departed. Few Indian rulers had been brought up in greater splendour than he; fewer adjusted themselves with equal dignity to the ambience of free and socialistic India. He was uncommonly handsome person and most gentlemanly in manner. 6'4" tall, with his imposing turban and commanding bearing, he must have caused traffic jams in many of the world capitals. He was a great traveller. His multifarious genius would take a whole book fully to illustrate it. There were so many different sides to it—his administration, his statesmanship, diplomacy, politics, agriculture, horticulture, sport and painting. He acted with courage and far-sightedness at the time of transfer of power to India, and provided timely leadership to his brother-princes. His talents were freely utilized in Independent India and he served the country in many different capacities after ceasing to reign in Paṭīlā. He led Indian delegations to the Food and Agriculture Organization meetings and served as the country’s representative at UNO and UNESCO. He was President of the Indian Council of Sports and was Indian Ambassador, first, at Rome and, then, at the Hague. To the Indian Army, to farmers and to the Sikhs the world over Mahārājā Yādavindīr Singh was a source of continuing inspiration. For Sikhs, especially, his personality was an inestimable boon. He was a role model for then-

Between the Government of India and the Sikhs he was a kind of bridge and assumed on several occasions the delicate task of resolving situations of tension. For instance, from his hands Sant Fateh Singh, the Akālī leader, drank the glass of juice to break his fast unto death undertaken to press home to the Government the Sikhs’ demand for a Punjabi-speaking state. Mahārājā Yādavindīr Singh was chairman of the Commission appointed by the Punjab Government preparatory to the establishment of the Punjabi University at Paṭīlā. As President both of Gurū Nānak Foundation and Gurū Gobind Singh Foundation, he led Sikh celebrations for the 500th birth anniversary of Gurū Nānak and the 300th birth anniversary of Gurū Gobind Singh. He was proud of his Sikh inheritance and valued more than anything else Gurū Gobind Singh’s pronouncements of blessing for the Paṭīlā family: “Your house is mine own.”

The world will scarcely see again a man of Mahārājā Yādavindīr Singh’s stature, personal charm and propriety of manner. For, where and when will occur the same peculiar mixture of circumstances—that milieu of martial heritage, refinements of courtly culture, rigour of personal discipline cultivated under an alert and sagacious father such as Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh was, natural gifts of intelligence and judgement and an enthralling personal presence, and Punjabi joie de vivre and good sense? The Mahārājā had friends and admirers the world over. To many the sudden and untimely death of this gentle and gifted prince of the blood came as a personal shock.

At the Hague, the Mahārājā was working on a book of memoirs which, unfortunately, was left unfinished. He gave
several sittings, speaking into a tape-recorder and answering questions put by a Dutch writer. From the tape, a script was made. A few fragments from that unpublished manuscript are being reproduced here.

Speaks the Maharājā:

We Sikhs do not recognize caste. Yet, if I must mention mine. I come of the Sidhū sub-caste of the Jātīs. Our word for sub-caste is got or gotra. We are possibly the largest number among Sikhs—must be about a million; maybe, even more—I am not sure. But I must first describe to you the origin of Sikhism which is my religion. We came into existence in 1469 when our First Master, Guru Nānak, came on to this earth. In Guru Nānak’s simple, but dynamic teaching a new world religion took its birth—the religion of Sikhs. The word “Sikh” derives from the Sanskrit shishya, a learner or disciple. Guru Nānak preached the message of unity of God and brotherhood of man. He rejected caste and image-worship. He expressed himself against formalism and superstition.

It is Guru Gobind Singh who gave the finishing touch to the work started by Guru Nānak. He created the martial order of the Khālsā. He gave us this form—unshorn hair and beard. But this was one continuous teaching, one ministry from Guru Nānak to the tenth Guru. If Guru Gobind Singh made us warriors, he was no less emphatic in impressing the principles of compassion, charity and faith.

That is how Sikh religion began in the hands of Guru Nānak; how it turned into a nation in the hands of Guru Gobind Singh and during more-than-a-half-century of fierce persecution after his death eventually succeeded establishing political sovereignty in the Punjab.

Now our Guru is Guru Granth Sahīb. When our Guru Dasmesh Pādshāh, our Tenth Master, died, he said, “I am going.” He died in Nāndeś in Hyderābād (now in Mahārāṣṭra) and he knew, of course, that he was going to die having been stabbed by a Pāthān. Then he passed the Gurūship to the Holy Word as enshrined in the Guru Granth Sahīb. The Guru Granth Sahīb was compiled by Guru Arjan, the Fifth Guru. It was finalized by the Tenth Guru at Damdamā Sāhib which was in Paṭialā State. Guru Rām Dās, the Fourth Guru, had the holy tank dug at Amritsar. His successor Guru Arjan invited the Muslim Sūfi, Miān Mīr, to lay the foundation of Harimandar, the Golden Temple of modern times.

Why? Because of the liberal tradition which is at the very root of Sikhism. Even our Scripture, the Guru Granth Sahīb, contains hymns written by Muslim saints such as Shaikh Farīd and Hindu bhaktas such as Nāmdev. Their words, as recorded in our Book, are as sacred to the Sikhs as the words of the Gurūs.

Close to Anandpur is Kiratpur. Kiratpur is also sacred to the Sikhs. The town was founded by Guru Hargobind, the Sixth Guru. This was in the seventeenth century. The Guru lived here for several years. Now the Sikhs carry to Kiratpur the ashes of their dead collected on the third day of cremation. There they are thrown into the river Sutlej flowing close by. We have a 10-day mourning. During this period the whole of the Guru Granth Sahīb is read through from beginning to end. This is, as you might know, a large volume—1430 pages. An akhand pāth or continuous reading is completed within 48 hours. In this uninterrupted reading a relay of granthis, or readers, take their turns on it. As the custom prescribes, there must not be a moment’s gap in the reading nor a word missed or mispronounced.

During the days of mourning, friends and relations come to condole. The head of the bereaved family receives them. All sit on the ground on durries or carpets, covered with white sheets. When my father died, I and my brothers sat and received mourners. My wife received the ladies.

On the 10th day is held the prayer-ser-
vice in front of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Sacred hymns are recited and the concluding portions of the Gurū Granth Sāhib read out. The blessing of Akāl purakh, the Timeless One, is sought for the departed soul. To revert to your old question about what happens after death. Sikhism believes in transmigration. One is reborn according to one’s deeds. But this cycle of birth and death can be annulled if one would understand God’s Will; if one would identify oneself with it; if one would secure the Gurū’s grace.

Gurū Gobind Siṅgh used to write letters to Sikh communities or their readers in different parts of the country. My ancestors received one such letter. It is written in old Punjabi characters. It is signed by Gurū Gobind Siṅgh with the point of his arrow. That letter had come down to me—the Gurū’s Hukamnāmā which is preserved with all the reverence due to it.

Q. “Hukamnāmā” is a Persian word.
Ans. Yes, it means an order. Gurū Gobind Siṅgh had written to my ancestors that they should come prepared. We have a sentiment in my family and a tradition. When a lady direct in my family is expecting, we get and put Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s sword under her pillow. The child born is meant to start off his life on earth with the blessings of the Gurū. These are sentiments. We carry on with them. When I was born it must have happened that way; when my sons were born, when my daughters were born, it did happen like that. The Gurū’s sword under her pillow—this gives a sort of sustenance to the woman; tremendous sustenance, if you believe in it, if you believe in this power. Even on the birth of my grandchildren in direct line, it was like that. On both occasions we placed the sacred sword under my daughter-in-law’s head.

Q. Your daughter’s children?
Ans. No; it does not go to the daughter. Daughters, when married, are governed by the customs and traditions of their own families. These customs, these practices have their sentimental value. These are matters of faith.

Baisākhi, the first day of the Indian month of Baisākh. In that year of 1699, Baisākhi fell on March 30. The Sikhs take Baisākhi, as the New Year and the birthday of the Khālsā. We exchange greeting cards on that occasion—a typical western custom. My battalions, the Sikh battalions in the Indian Army, always send me greeting cards on Baisākhi.

Q. I must really say that Sikhs are the most outstanding people in India, and there is no comparison between the others and the Sikhs.

We are the least polluted religion. Older a religion farther it is from its source. Sikhism is a young religion that way—youngest, in fact, of the major religions of the world. Pollution is, of course, coming in. But how much? It is, as I said, a young religion; the latest religion, now 500 years old, it has its distinctive history which gives the Sikhs some of their peculiar characteristics.

Sikh women enjoy complete equality with men. Literacy among Sikh women is perhaps the highest in Indian communities. They are progressively going into the professions, especially medicine and teaching—even law. Sikh women can lead and conduct prayers and services in the Gurdwārās. In soldierly families, as husbands are out fighting, women hold the fort in their absence. They look after the household, the children and the farms. History tells of many brave Sikh women who fought in battles. My great-great-great-grand aunt actually led our armies to defend Paṭialā. She was Bibī Sāhib Kaur. She was the sister of Mahārājā Sāhib Siṅgh. She fought the Marāṭhās who had come up north and wanted to conquer the Punjab. When the Sikh troops discovered that their Mahārānī was herself fighting by their side, they threw everything into the action and repulsed the Marāṭhās. That was the first reverse the advancing Marāṭhās suffered. It happened just
outside Paṭialā, very near my own farm—Bahādurghār—which is about 5 miles from the walls of Paṭialā.

The English and the French first came as traders, so did the Portuguese. Also the Dutch. It is from Sūrat where the Dutch started off.

We were up north. The English took time reaching the Punjab. They came conquering the country by bits and parts. Eventually they set up their military cantonment at Ludhiaṅā, on the left bank of the Sutlej. Mahārājā Ranjit Śiṅgh then ruled the Punjab across the river. My great-great-great-grandfather, Mahārājā Sāhib Śiṅgh ruled in Paṭialā.

The foundation of Sikh sovereignty in the Punjab was laid by Bandā Śiṅgh. He received the rites of the Khāḷsā at the hands of Gurū Gobind Śiṅgh before the latter died. Accompanied by a few of the Sikhs, Bandā Śiṅgh came to the Punjab. He started conquering territory. He sacked Sirhind where two minor sons of Gurū Gobind Śiṅgh had been bricked up alive in masonry under the order of the Mughal governor. Bandā Śiṅgh showed Sikhs the way to power. He himself was captured and executed in Delhi with great torture. After him the Sikhs rose wherever they could in the Punjab. That is the time when four nations were contending for power. They were the Mughals, the Afghāns, the Marāthās and the Sikhs. The Sikhs triumphed in the Punjab. They also suffered much persecution. But they ultimately succeeded in establishing their sway. Twelve Sikh Sardārs ruled the Punjab, each in his own area. These were the twelve misls or chiefships. One of the important misls was the Phūlkīṅā—i.e. my ancestors.

After Ranjit Śiṅgh, the Lahore State began to decline. The English machinations came into full play. Sikh started fighting Sikh. That must happen. As we say, when the Sikhs have none to fight they must fight among themselves. Thanks to the Lord, Mother Jitoji—Gurū Gobind Śiṅgh’s wife—had mixed sweet pāīṣhās with amrit being churned with a steel khandā. Otherwise, I do not know what the Sikhs would have done to themselves.

The British, however, recognized the Sikhs’ spirit of courage and gallantry. Some kind of a mutual respect developed. The Sikhs took enthusiastically to western education introduced by the British. Likewise, they fully utilized the new facilities for farming created by the British. The latter had laid out a network of canals in the Punjab. This brought new prosperity to the province—and to the Sikhs. The Sikhs became one of the most progressive communities in India. They also became politically very alive. They were in the forefront in India’s fight for freedom. The first swadeshi (native) movement in the country was started by the Sikhs—by the Kūkā sect, to be more precise. Swadeshi was a word made very meaningful by Gāndhiji. It meant use of indigenous things, things made in India, and boycott of foreign things, things made in England. Before Gāndhiji, Kūkās had done the same thing. They did not use mill-made cloth imported from England. They wore homespun khaddar instead. They shunned English lawcourts, English schools, and so on. They would not make use of the post offices set up by the British. They had their own relay system to carry mail from one place to another. The Sikhs organized a ghadr (rebellion) group in San Francisco in 1913. Bābā Sohan Śiṅgh, a Sikh peasant from Bhaknā, in Amritsar district, was the president. Then Aṅkālī and Bābar Aṅkālīs spearheaded campaigns against the British. Sikhs were the backbone of the Indian National Congress in the Punjab. The Indian National Army founded by General Mohan Śiṅgh during World War II was mostly Sikh.

Q. If the British had been defeated, you would have treated them fairly.

Ans. True, that would be in character with Sikh tradition—Indian tradition, if you
go, for instance, to Paṭialā, right on the Firozpur side, you will see plenty of these monuments. Somebody's monument is there, somebody's here; then there are a couple of monuments of the war. If you go over the bridge on the right hand side you will see Ferozeshāh; and then you go 4 or 5 miles on the left, Mudki and other places, all marked.

Communal rioting started in Hazārā district of North-West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan) and it gradually came down to Rawalpindi-Jehlum, to Lahore, to Amritsar and eventually to Paṭialā. I passed through all that.

Q. What was the reason?
Ans. It was not the hatred between the Sikhs and the Muslims or between the Hindus and the Muslims. They had traditionally lived in comfort and peace, especially in Paṭialā. It was a different story when the politicians took over—politicians of the communal brand. The Muslim League, determined on creating a separate country for Muslims, started it. And the trouble spread all over. Thousands upon thousands were butchered—Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. When I heard of the mass killing of Hindus and Sikhs in Muslim dominated north-west districts, I said over the radio that the people thus threatened were welcome to Paṭialā. I made the announcement myself. I had said that I would look after them. They poured in an endless stream. Soon we had over 800,000 refugees in camps in the city of Paṭialā and its suburbs.

Q. How long did they stay there?
Ans. There was such a clamour among Hindus and Sikhs of the North-West to reach Paṭialā—to escape horror and torture. They came in swarms. They came jampacked in trains, huddled on train-roof, standing on footboards, clutching at the handlebars. They had lost everything they possessed. Some arrived forcibly shaven; some without their wives, their daughters—a human tragedy on an unimaginable scale. The word “refugee” suddenly acquired such reality—such poignancy. They had lost everything; they felt relieved to reach Paṭialā—at least safety. Each day we received 10-15-20 thousand people. How they were fed, I don’t know. We did our best as a Government—as individuals. For me, it was my personal concern, my personal responsibility. We did all we could to feed these vast columns of uprooted humanity, to give people work to do, to rehabilitate them.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


M.Y.S.

OMS (d. 1828), a Spaniard, also known as Amise, Mūsā Sāhib, Ums and Hommus, served in Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh’s army. As a young man, he had enlisted in Napoleon’s artillery. After France’s defeat in 1815, he set out on his travels and reached Persia where he obtained employment declaring himself to be a Frenchman. He left Persia in 1824, reaching Lahore in 1826. He took up service under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh on a salary of Rs 1,200 per month and was given command of two battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry. His force was stationed in the quadrangles of Jahānghīr’s tomb in Shāhdārā, near Lahore. In 1828, his troops took part in the Kāṅgrā expedition. He returned to Lahore in August the same year. In September, he died of cholera and was buried with full military honours within the precincts of Jahānghīr’s tomb.
OŃKĀR, generally written down as Oaṅkār in Sikh Scriptural writings, is derived from the Upaniṣadic word Oaṅkāra (om+kāra) originally signifying pronouncing or rendering into writing the syllable Om. Known as synonym of Om it has been used in the Vedic literature and, in particular in its religio-philosophical texts known as the Upaniṣads, as a holy vocable of mystical significance and as the most sacred of the names of Brahman, the Supreme Self or the one entity which fills all space and time and which is the source of the whole universe including the gods themselves.

The word om, the most hallowed name of Brahman, is derived, according to the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa (I. 24), from āp ‘to pervade’ or from av ‘to protect’. This monosyllable is said to command the highest spiritual efficacy for the realization of the Supreme Spirit. Considering Brahmā (a) to be inhalation, Viṣṇu (u) to be suspension, Rudra (m) to be exhalation, the prāñāyām is also indicated as obtainable by concentration on Om.

The three sounds (AUM) have been described as symbolizing the material, the subtle and the causal world respectively (Mān. Up., 8.11). This interpretation envisages the comprehension of the entities of matter (prakṛiti), spirit (jīva or ātman) and God (Brahma) within the concept of Om or Oaṅkāra. The three sounds have also been identified with three quarters of Brahman representing, in their respective order, His waking, dreaming and sleeping states, His fourth quarter, all pervading Oaṅkār, having been described as transcending all conventional dealings and the phenomenal world (Mān. Up., 9.12). Amidst the kṣara or perishable objects of the phenomenal world, He is ekāksara, the Sole Imperishable One (Atharvaveda, V. 28. 8; BG VIII, 13).

According to the Upaniṣadic seers, the word Om, known as Pranava also, serves as an aid or a medium to the meditation on, and the realization of, the Supreme Spirit (P.Up. V. 5; Śv Up. I. 13-14; Kaṭha Up. I. 2.17). The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (II. 2.3.4) metaphorically describes Pranava or the Oaṅkāra as the great bow which helps the arrow in the form of soul, sharpened with meditation, reach the target, that is, the Imperishable Brahman. According to the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad (I. 13), the Universal Spirit is realized through Oaṅkāra just as the form of fire is realized through the fuel. Identifying Oaṅkāra, the name or the signifier, with Brahman, the object signified, the seers imply that meditation on Oaṅkār means meditation on Brahman. The Muṇḍūkya Upaniṣad accepts syllable Om as “all that is past, present or future, and whatever is beyond the three periods of time is also verily Om.”

The pantheistic concept of Brahman as the Supreme Self, one and impersonal in character, and often identified with Om or Oaṅkāra, continued to hold good along with the growth of the polytheistic concept of the personal gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the two concepts acting and reacting and complementing each other in the long history of the religio-philosophical tradition of India.

Gurū Nānak, in order to emphasize the strict monotheism of the creed he was preaching and to discountenance any possibility of the kind of polytheism prevalent in India reasserting itself, added the numeral 1 (one, pronounced as ek in most Indian languages), the formula for the Supreme Being thus emerging from his revelation as Ek Oaṅkār. To this numeral one (ek or ik) a mystical significance attaches in the Sikh creed. Besides being the opening sentence-phrase of the Mūl Mantra, standing at the head of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, Ek Oaṅkār emphasizes
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the Nirguna (the unattributed) character of Brahman, the Supreme Being. Ek or ik in this formula is called bij-mantra or the seed formula, out of which has grown the entire fabric of Sikh creed, which totally discountenances any polytheistic or even what is known as the henotheistic concept. This Ek is the very image of the Supreme Being, the Divine Essence (suddha svarupa), accepted in Guru Granth Sahib. Bhai Gurdas, the great savant and poet, thus expresses the relationship of Ek with Oankar: “The creator first manifested the One; and after, set by its side the ‘ura’ ‘Oailkar’ (Varan, III.15). For ‘O’ the original is ‘ura’, the first neuter vowel-letter of the Gurmukhi alphabet, representing according to its diacritical mark ‘O’ or ‘U’.

From the above it will be indicated that the numeral Ek with Oankar is all-important emphasizing the attributelessness, soleness and transcendence of Brahman, also known in Sikh theology as Pärbrāhma ‘transcendent Brahman’. Among the names of the Supreme Being primarily belongs Ek Oankar, which is repeated in Mūl Mantra by the initiates to Sikhism, when taking amrit.

A distinction exists philosophically between Ek Oankar and Oankar. Ek Oankar being the unattributed, transcendent aspect of the Supreme Being, Oankar is the attributed (sagun, sargun) aspect, the Creator, to whom devotion and worship may be offered. In the Sikh creed the Supreme Being is both ‘attributed’ and ‘unattributed’, no distinction being made between His two aspects—attributed aspect not represented by any deities or such other beings. The combination in Him of both aspects is emphasized in Sukhmani (GG, 287, 290). In numerous places in Gurbāṇī the combination in the Supreme Being of transcendence and immanence, the unattributed and the creative (attributed) aspect, is emphasized through various images and similies. Mahā Kavi Santokh Singh, in his Tīka Garab Gaṅjani affirms that Oaṅkār, the creative aspect of the Supreme Being is Brahma associated with māyā. In the hymn Rāmkali Dakhnī Oaṅkār, at the very outset, the Creator is saluted as Oaṅkār. Guru Amar Dās in Māru Solake (18), affirms: “Oaṅkār sabh sristi upāi”— Oaṅkār created the universe. Bhai Gurdas (Varān, XXXVII. 1) represents Oaṅkār as the Creator. He further endorses that by becoming and uniting Śiva and Śakti, the creation is brought about by Oaṅkār. Ik Oaṅkār is likened to the sun which shines in sole splendour, while the manifest universe is likened to the numberless stars. In Varān, 26. 2, the melody of the word rising from Ek Oaṅkār is said to have created the Oaṅkār (with attributed form). In Varān, 29.19, Bhai Gurdas recounts three stages of the Supreme Reality. They are: Niranḵār, Ekaṅkār and Oaṅkār. Niranḵār being the Suṅn Samādhi (seedless trance) stage, Ekaṅkār and Oaṅkār may be considered as grosser stages of the Nirankār Brahman, in and through which He creates the cosmos. This elucidation by Bhai Gurdas is consistent with Guru Nānak’s thought in Vār Āsā where he expounds: “āpiṇai (Niranḵār) āpu sājiu (Ekaṅkār) āpiṇai rachio nāu (Oaṅkār) dūū qudaratir sājīai (creation from Oaṅkār) kari āsanu ḍītho chau (all pervading Niranḵār creative as Oaṅkār).” It may be further noted that all the three aspects of Aphur Brahman, i.e. Niranḵār, Ekaṅkār and Oaṅkār, have been delineated as creators by saying “Oaṅkār sabh sristi upāi” (GG, 1061), “Niranḵār ākāru upāiā” (GG, 1065) and “Ekaṅkāru eku ṃsārā ēkai āpar āpārā” (GG, 821). In Varān, 18.12, also Oaṅkār is presented by Bhai Gurdas as the Creator. To contrast with Oaṅkār, terms Niranḵār (the formless) and Nirādhār (the absolute) are used. In Sukhmani (GG, 276, 284), after creation is dissolved, the Supreme Being remains Sole Absolute (Ekaṅkār, Ik Oaṅkār). Guru Gobind Singh also, in Akāl Ustati, salutes the Absolute by saying: ‘prano odī ekaṅkārā’ (I bow to the Primal Absolute).

The signification attaching to Ik Oaṅkār
must have become clear, which while using the syllable Oṅkār from Upaniṣadic literature has given to it a meaning and conceptual content different from what it bears in those texts.

This concept of Ik Oṅkār (the Sole Oṅkār), also written down as Ekāṅkār (GG, pp. 153, 276, 608, 736, 838 etc.) represented by the holy syllables (I) in the Granth Sāhib, is the basic tenet of the Sikh religion and its theology. This symbol precedes the Mūl Mantra or the basic formula of the Sikh theology, prefixed to the Jāpu and all the musical measures in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The Mūl Mantra enunciates in succinct form, the concept of Ek Oṅkār, who is the Sole Supreme Self, the Truth Eternal, the Creator of all and Self-existent. While defining Him, the Mūl Mantra, uses some negative terms also. Thus He is described as Nirbhau—without fear; Nirvair—without rancour; Akāl-Mūrati—form eternal; Ajūni—not subject to the cycle of birth and death.

This concept of Oṅkār has been expounded in elaborate and inspiringly sublime form in the Gurū Granth Sāhib which time and again has put a special emphasis, in view of the socially as well as the spiritually disintegrating thought necessitated by the prevailing circumstances, on the oneness of the Supreme Being. It is only with reference to His infinite creation or the multiplicity of the beings, both animate and inanimate, created by Him that He has been described as anek (not one, i.e. many) and saguṇa in the Gurū Granth Sāhib; otherwise, primarily, He has been conceived and described as nirgūṇa. Nirgūṇa Aphur Brahmān in Sikhism being Sāphur, without changing His transcendent character and stimulating His creative divine power, Oṅkār, which hitherto was latent and unmanifest, creates the cosmos by assuming the role of the Kartā-Purakh. He is not that Nirāṅkāra becomes sākār in any gross sense; he rather, in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, is explained as a creative divine power. In Indian philosophical and theological thought where av is considered as the root of Om, the emphasis is laid upon its protective aspect, whereas in Sikh Scripture its creative divine power has been taken into account.

Of the other terms considered equal to Oṅkār or Brahmān, the term sat and its cognates satya and sāch being the basic need of a spiritually as well as socially well-knit society, get a preferential treatment by the Gurūs in the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

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D.K.G.

ORIGIN OF THE SIKH POWER IN THE PUNJAB AND POLITICAL LIFE OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH, with an Account of the Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs, was compiled by Henry Thoby Prinsep (1793-1878), a civil servant of the British East India Company, who later rose to be a member of the Legislative Council of India (1858-74). The book was published at Calcutta in 1834. A reprint was issued by the Languages Department, Punjab, in 1970.

Prinsep commences his account with Yāhiyā Khān’s viceroyalty of Lahore (1745-48) and carries his account down to the Ropar meeting between Mahārājā Ranjit Singh and the British Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, in October 1831, and the British treaties with the Amirs of Sindh in April...
1832. The last chapter contains observations on the character and policy of Ranjit Singh, his revenues, the strength of his army, etc. Also added to this little volume of 150 pages, is a 20-page appendix taken from a report on Manners and Customs of the Sikhs prepared by Captain W. Murray for Lord William Bentinck.

In the compilation of this book, Prinsep largely depends upon the accounts of Captain Murray and Captain Wade and on Khushwaqt Rai's Persian work, Twärīkh-i-Sikkhān. He chooses his facts and events with care and shows great insight into the motives of the British as well as into the character, policy and personality of Ranjit Singh. For instance, he clearly discerns the political objectives behind the seemingly commercial treaties of the British with the Amirs of Sindh. This is what he had to say on the future of the Sikh State: "Thus the whole power and authority centres in the single individual, whom fortune and his own abilities have placed at the head of affairs; and, upon his being removed from the scene, unless there be another to fill his place, with equal energy, and command over the attachment and affections of his dependents, which, it is be feared [sic], is not the character of Kharak Singh, everything must necessarily fall into confusion."

On the whole, the book presents a fair account of the Sikhs, and is a useful source for the history of the period it deals with.

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S.K.B.

OᵀḤĪĀN, a village 6 km north of Bāṭālā (31°49'N, 75°12'E) in Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Arjan, who halted here during his journey to Bārāth to see Bābā Sri Chand. The Gurdwārā commemorating his visit comprises a small domed octagonal Manjī Sāhib, with a verandah in front and several ancillary rooms within a walled compound. The water of an old eight-cornered well outside the compound is believed by the devotees to possess medicinal properties for curing certain diseases. The Gurdwārā owns 93 acres of land and is affiliated to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Gatherings take place on Sunday and on amāvasyā (last day of the dark half of the month). A special day on the annual calendar is the anniversary of the martyrdom of Gurū Arjan. A sarovar has recently been dug, across the approach road, by the followers of Sant Gurmukh Singh.

M.G.S.
PADARATH, BHĀI, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Rām Dās. Once accompanied by Bhāi Tārū and Bhāi Bhārū, he went to visit Gurū Rām Dās. He and his companions felt deeply moved to hear kirtan being recited in the Gurū's presence. "O refuge of the poor," they prayed, "it is bliss to listen to such heavenly music. But we householders have duties towards our families and can have such chances but rarely. What shall become of our souls?" Gurū Rām Dās said, "Have faith in God. He is the sustainer of all." According to Bhai Manī Singh, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā, Bhāi Padārath and his companions entrusted their household responsibilities to their sons, and themselves remained in attendance upon the Gurū, rejoicing in the service of the saṅgat and in listening to kirtan and kathā or holy discourse.

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PAHARE, usually pronounced pahire, is the title shared by four of the Sikh hymns—two by Gurū Nānak and one each by Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan—recorded consecutively in the Siri Rāg portion of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The term pahare is the plural of pahar, meaning a guard or watch, and is cognate, etymologically and semantically, with Sanskrit prahar which is a unit of time in the Indian system of calculation. Eight pahars make a day and night, a pahar thus equalling three hours. In the poems entitled Pahare, the span of human life is compared to night and is divided into four stages, each stage being called pahar corresponding to four pahars of night. Man is called a trader (vattjīrī) and is addressed in the vocative form as vanjāriā mitrā (O, friend trader). Each composition consists of four to five stanzas, and each stanza begins on the vocative note. For instance, the first stanza of Gurū Nānak’s composition begins with: "pahalai
Through the example of a vanjārā starting out on his travels to sell his goods profitably, the purpose of human life and the frailties to which man is subject are set forth in these compositions. As the vanjārā must make his deals wisely and ensure that his means are honest, the human soul should traverse the journey of life always mindful of the Creator, union with Whom is its ultimate purpose. This is the true bargain for the trader (the human soul). But the trader generally stumbles at each stage, called pahar of the night, and comes to harm.

The first stage of human life begins when man is conceived in the womb of the mother. In the womb he constantly remembers God and prays for release from his travail. The second stage begins at birth. That is the time when he is unconscious of the purpose for which he has come into the world; he loses contact with the Creator and becomes increasingly entangled in the earthly temptations. The third stage is that of youth, when he indulges in sex and begins accumulating material goods. He loses all restraint, and is totally oblivious of the purpose of life. The fourth stage is that of old age of despondence and dejection, finally ending with death. Thus the vanjārā finishes his journey losing all that he possessed and throwing away a precious chance of regaining proximity to the Creator. It is repeatedly emphasized that mukti, i.e. release from the circuit of birth and death, can be obtained only by remembering God and by repeating His Name. This is the real aim of this journey of life which the vanjārā (man) tends to forget as soon as he sets out on it.

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April 1846 and grant of territory seized from Nabha besides the restoration of the ancestral estate of Koḍ Kapūrā. He died in April 1849 in his fiftieth year, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, Wazir Singh, then twenty-one years of age.

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PĀHUL or amrit sanaskār, the name given in the Sikh tradition to the ceremony of initiation. The word pāhul or pahul is a derivative from a substantive, pahu—meaning an agent which brightens, accelerates or sharpens the potentialities of a given object. In the history of the Sikh faith, the initiation ceremony has passed through two distinct phases. From the time of Gūrū Nānak (1469-1539), the founder, up to 1699, charanāmrit or pagpāhul was the custom. Charanāmrit and pagpāhul meant initiation by water touched by the Master’s toe—the charan and pag both being equivalents of the word ‘foot’. In early Sikhism, the neophytes sipped water poured over the Guru’s toe to be initiated into the fold. Where the Guru was not present, masands or local sangat leaders officiated. A reference to initiation by charanāmrit occurs in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṇ, I.23, born 12 years after the passing away of Gūrū Nānak. The practice continued until 1699 when, at the time of the inauguration of the Khalsā, Gūrū Gobind Singh introduced khaṇḍe dī pāhul, i.e. pāhul by khaṇḍā, the double-edged steel sword. This was done at Anandpur at the time of Baisakhī festival on 30 March 1699, in a soul-stirring drama. At the morning assembly of the Sikhs drawn from all four corners of India, Gūrū Gobind Singh, sword in hand, proclaimed, “My sword wants today a head. Let any one of my Sikhs come forward. Isn’t there a Sikh of mine who would be prepared to sacrifice his life for his Gūrū?” To five similar calls successively made, five Sikhs offered their heads one after the other. They were Dayā Singh, Mohkam Singh, Sāhib Singh, Dharam Singh and Himmat Singh. Gūrū Gobind Singh proceeded to hold the ceremony of initiation to mark their rebirth as new men. Filling an iron bowl with clean water, he kept stirring it with a two-edged sword while reciting over it five of the sacred texts, bāņīs—Jāpū, Jāp, Savaiyye, Chaupai and Anand (stanzas 1-5, and 40). The Guru’s wife, Mātā Jiitoji (according to some, Mātā Sāhib Devān), poured into the vessel sugar crystals, mingling sweetness with the alchemy of iron. The five Sikhs sat on the ground around the bowl reverently as the holy water was being churned to the recitation of the sacred verses. With the recitation of the five bāņīs completed, khaṇḍe dī pāhul or amrit, the Nectar of Immortality, was ready for administration. Gūrū Gobind Singh gave the five Sikhs five palmsful each of it to drink. The disciple sat bār-āsan, i.e. in the posture of a warrior with his left knee raised and the right knee touching the ground. Every time the Guru poured the nectar into his palms to drink, he called out aloud, “Bol Vāhigurū jī kā Khalsā Vāhigurū jī kī Fateh (Utter, Hail the Khalsā who to the Lord belongs; the Lord to whom belongs victory).” The Sikh repeated the blessed utterance. After the five life-giving draughts had been thus administered, the Guru sprinkled the holy liquid into his face gazing intently into his eyes. He then anointed his hair with the nectar. In the same manner, Gūrū Gobind Singh initiated the other four one by one. At the end, all five of them were given the steel bowl to quaff from it turn by turn the remaining elixir in token of their new fraternal comradeship. Then, following the Guru, they repeated Vāhigurū five times as gurmantra and five times recited the Mūl Mantra. They were given the common sur-
name of Singh, (meaning lion) and enjoined to regard themselves as the Khalsa, i.e. the Gurdū’s own. They were told that their rebirth into this brotherhood meant the annihilation of their family ties (kul nās), of the occupations which had formerly determined their place in society (krit nās), of their earlier beliefs and creeds and of the ritual they observed. Their worship was to be addressed to none but Akāl, the Timeless One. They were ever to keep the five emblems of the Khalsa—kesa or long hair and beard; kanghā, a comb tucked into the kesa to keep it tidy in contrast to the recluses who kept it matted in token of their having renounced the world; kāṛā, a steel bracelet to be worn round the wrist of the right hand; kachchhī, short breeches; and kirpān, a sword. In the rahit or code of conduct promulgated for the Sikhs on that day were the four prohibitions, i.e. the cutting or trimming of hair, fornication or adultery, halāl meat or flesh of animal slaughtered with the Muslim ritual, and tobacco.

The five were designated by Gurdū Gobind Singh as Paṇj Piāre, the five beloved of the Gurdū. He now besought them to initiate him into their brotherhood, and asked them to prepare khande di pāhul. The Paṇj Piāre churned the holy water following the Gurdū’s example and administered to him the vows they had received from him. Even his name changed to (Gurdū) Gobind Singh. Many Sikhs then volunteered to undergo initiation.

The five who took the next turn were Rām Singh, Devā Singh, Ṭahāl Singh, Īshār Singh and Fateh Singh. They were called by the Gurdū Paṇj Mukte, the Five Liberated Ones. According to the Gurdū kīān Sākhīān, in the next row stood Manī Rām, Bachittar Dās, Ude Rāi, Anik Dās, Ajab Dās, Ajabchand, Chaupat Rāi, Diwān Dharam Chand, Alam Chand Nachnā and Sāhib Rām Koer, followed by Rāi Chand Multānī, Gurbakhsh Rāi, Gurbakhshish Rāi, Paṇḍit Kirpā Rām Datt of Mattān, Subeg Chand, Gurmukh Dās, Sanmukh Dās, Amrīk Chand, Purohit Dayā Rām, Barnā, Ghanī Dās, Lāl Chand Peshaurīā, Rūp Chand, Soḍhī Dip Chand, Nand Chand, Nānū Rām of Dilvālī, and Hazārī, Bhaṇḍārī and Darbārī of Sirhind.

Khande di pāhul thus supplanted charanāmrit. Since then initiation has been by amrit or holy water prepared in the manner laid down by Gurdū Gobind Singh. For the novitiates the same ceremony will be repeated. Paṇj Piāre chosen at any place for their piety and reputation will officiate, in the presence of the Gurdū Granth Sāhib attended by a Granthī. Among the Paṇj Piāre could be women too, as there could be among the novitiates. No particular age is prescribed for initiation. It could take place any time the novitiate is able to appreciate the significance of the ceremony and is prepared to abide by the discipline it imposed. A patī, an apostate or lapsed Sikh guilty of committing a kurahit, i.e. violation of any of the prohibitions laid down by Gurdū Gobind Singh, will have to go through the same ceremony to have himself reinitiated and readmitted into the Khalsa fold. Khalsa rahit or discipline flowing from khande di pāhul has been sought to be codified in Rahitnāmās, manuals of conduct. Some of these are attributed to Gurdū Gobind Singh’s contemporaries such as Bhāi Dayā Singh, Bhāi Chaupā Singh and Bhāi Nand Lāl.

Directions with regard to the conduct of the amrit ceremony as issued by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in its publication Sikh Rahit Maryādā are as follows:

a) The initiation ceremony may be conducted in any quiet and convenient place. In addition to the Gurdū Granth Sāhib, presence of six Sikhs is necessary: one granthī to read from the Gurdū Granth Sāhib and five to administer the rites.

b) Both receiving initiation and those administering it should bathe and wash their hair prior to the ceremony.
c) Any Sikh who is mentally and physically "whole" (man or woman) may administer the rites of initiation provided that he himself had received the rites and continues to wear the five K's, i.e. Sikh symbols each beginning with the Gurmukhi letter "ਸ".

d) Any man or woman of whatever nationality, race or social standing, who is prepared to accept the rules governing the Khālsā community, is eligible to receive initiation.

e) No minimum or maximum age limit is stipulated for those receiving initiation.

f) Those undergoing initiation should have the five K's (unshorn hair, comb, shorts, sword, steel bangle). No jewellery or distinctive marks associated with other faiths may be worn. The head must be covered.

g) Anyone seeking readmission after having resiled from his previous pledges may be awarded a penalty by the five administering initiation before being readmitted.

h) During the ceremony, one of the five Piāre ("five loved ones"—representing the first five Sikhs), stands and explains the main rules and obligations of the Khālsā Panth. These are to love and pray to one God, to read, study and live according to the Sikh teachings, and to help and serve humanity at large.

Those receiving initiation are then asked if they are willing to abide by these rules. If they indicate their assent, one of the five says a prayer for the commencement of the preparation of the Amrit (Nectar) and a lesson or passage from the Gurū Granth Sāhib randomly opened is read.

Clean water and sugar or other soluble sweet is placed in the bowl which must be of steel. The five now position themselves around the bowl in the bir āsan position (kneeling on the right knee with the weight of the body on the right foot, and the left knee raised). Having so positioned themselves they commence to recite the following:

The Japī Sāhib, Jāp Sāhib, Ten Svaiyyās (Saravāg sudh vāle), Benī Chaunpāi (from Hamrī karo āth dai rachchā to dushī dokh te leho bachāī) and the first five verses and the last verse of Anandu Sāhib.

Anyone who is reciting these prayers should place his left hand on the edge of the bowl and stir the nectar with a short sword held in the right hand. The others participating in the ceremony should place both hands on the edge of the bowl and concentrate and meditate on the nectar.

After the completion of these prayers, one of the five says the ardās, after which the nectar is served. Only those who have sat through the whole ceremony may be served.

The Nectar is received by those being initiated whilst sitting in the bir āsan position (previously described) with the hands cupped, right on left, to receive the nectar.

This is received five times in the cupped hands; each time after receiving the nectar, the person being initiated says "Vāhigūrū ji kā Khālsā, Sri Vāhigurū ji ki Fateh." This salutation is repeated each time the nectar is sprinkled on the eyes (5 times) and hair (5 times). The remainder of the nectar is then shared by those receiving initiation, all drinking from the same bowl.

After this, all those taking part in the ceremony recite the Mūl Mantra in unison:

There is one God; His name is truth,
The all-pervading Creator,
Without fear, without hatred;
Immortal, unborn, self-existent.

One of the five then details the rules and obligations applying to the initiates.

"From now on your existence as ordinary individuals has ceased, and you are members of the Khālsā brotherhood. Your religious father is Gurū Gobind Śīṅgh (the tenth and last Gurū, founder of the Khālsā brotherhood) and Śāhib Kaur your mother. Your
spiritual birthplace is Kesgarh Sahib (birthplace of the Khalsā) and your home Anandpur Sahib (the place where Guru Gobind Singh inaugurated the Khalsā). Your common spiritual parentage makes you all brothers and you should all forsake your previous name (surname) and previous local and religious loyalties. You are to pray to God and God alone, through the scriptures and teachings of the ten Gurus. You should learn the Gurmukhī script if you do not know it already and read daily the Japji, Jāp, Das Svaīyye, Sodaru Rahārl and Sōhilā, and should hear or read the Gurū Granth Sahib. You must keep the five K's and are forbidden to:

i) smoke tobacco or take drugs

ii) eat meat killed by ritual slaughter (i.e. according to Muslim or Jewish rites)

iii) commit adultery

iv) cut your hair

Anyone who contravenes any of these rules has broken his amrit vows. He must go through the ceremony afresh after a suitable penance if the contravention has been deliberate.

Members of the Khalsā must be always ready to work for the community and should donate one tenth of their income for the furtherance of religious or social work.

j) The newly initiated Sikhs are told not to associate with:

i) the followers of Prithi Chand, Dhīr Mall, Rām Rāi or other breakaway groups

ii) those who actively oppose Sikhism

iii) those who practise infanticide

iv) those who take alcohol, tobacco or drugs

v) those who wed their children for monetary considerations

vi) those who perform any rite or ceremony not sanctioned in Sikhism

vii) apostate Sikhs who do not adhere to the five K's.

k) Ardās is then said and followed by the reading of the ħukam. Finally, any of those present with a name that was not chosen using the Gurū Granth Sahib, are asked to choose a new name in the customary manner.

The ceremony is then concluded with distribution of karāḥ prasād, which, to emphasize the new brotherhood, is eaten by those newly initiated from a common plate.

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PĀIL, village (now in ruins) near Gaṅgūval, 5 km north of Anandpur along Anandpur-Gurū kā Lahore road, has a shrine commemorating Gurū Hargobind’s visit in 1635. Here one of his favourite stallions, Jān Bhai, wounded in the battle of Kartārpur, finally collapsed and died. The Gurdwārā established during the 20th century is wrongly named Gurdwārā Suhelā Ghorā after another horse which, according to Gurbilās Chhevin Pāṭshāhī and Sri Gur Pratāp Šuraj Granth, had been killed in an earlier battle at Mehraj. The two horses, Jān Bhai and Suhelā (originally Dilbāgh and Gulbāgh, respectively), were being brought by a devotee from Afghanistan for Gurū Hargobind, when they were snatched on the way by the governor of Lahore. Bhai Bidhi Chand, a devoted Sikh, had recovered them one by one through strategem and brought them to Gurū Hargobind. There are now two gurdwārās at what used to be the village of Pāil.

GURDWĀRĀ SUHELĀ GHOŘĀ comprises a small room constructed in 1965, with a slightly
bigger one added in 1982.

GURDWARĀ KHŪH SĀHĪB, about 200 metres to the east of Gurdwārā Suhelā Sāhib, is close to an old well (khūh, in Punjabi) got sunk by Gurū Hargobind. The Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, which administers both the Gurdwārās, got the present building, a single square room, constructed in 1984.

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PĀINDĀ KHĀN (d. 1635), spelt Painde Khān in Sikh chronicles, was the son of Fateh Khān, an Afgān resident of the village of Ālimpur, 7 km northeast of Kartārpur in the present Jalandhar district of the Punjab. His parents died while he was still very young, and he was brought up by his maternal uncle, Ismā’īl Khān, of Vaḍḍā Mīr, near Kartārpur. According to Gurbilās Chheūṛī Pāṭshāhī, Ismā’īl Khān, along with his 16-year old nephew and some other Pathāns of his village, once accompanied a Sikh saṅgat proceeding to Amritsar on the occasion of Diwali to see Gurū Hargobind. The Gurū, pleased with the manly demeanour of Pāindā Khān, engaged him to be trained as a soldier. Pāindā Khān grew up into a brave, hefty warrior and showed his mettle fighting against the imperial troops at Amritsar (1629). Gurū Hargobind always treated him with special consideration. While at Kartārpur, he had Pāindā Khān married to an Afgān girl from Chhota Mīr, and asked him to stay there with his bride. During his visits to Kartārpur, the Gurū would take him out for the chase, and shower him with praise and gifts. Pāindā Khān was in Gurū Hargobind’s train during his visit to Daraulī Bhāī in 1631. After the death of Mātā Dāmodārī there in November that year, he was told to escort the family back to Kartārpur, while the Gurū himself set out on a journey across the Mālvā tract to meet the saṅgats. As the Gurū arrived at Kartārpur after the battle of Mehrāj in December 1634, Pāindā Khān presented himself and, to quote Bhāī Santokh Siṅgh, Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, spoke boastfully: “Had I been there I would not have let the Gurū go forward and expose himself to danger, nor would have Bhāī Jethā died.” About this time Pāindā Khān married his daughter to Āsmān Khān, an Afgān youth of the village of Chhota Mīr itself. On the occasion of the next Baisākhī, 29 March 1635, Sikhs from far and near came with presents to pay homage to the Gurū. Chitra Sain, a rich merchant, presented a beautiful horse, a white hawk, a costly dress and a khanda or dual-edged sword. Gurū Hargobind gave the hawk to Bābā Gurdīttā, his eldest son, and bestowed the horse, the dress and the sword upon Pāindā Khān. As the latter went home, elated at having been so honoured by the Gurū, his son-in-law, Āsmān Khān, claimed the gifts which Pāindā Khān reluctantly passed on to him. Āsmān Khān, donning the dress and sword, went out hunting the following day riding the horse. Bābā Gurdīttā, with his newly-acquired white hawk, also happened to be sporting in the same area. The hawk fell into the hands of Āsmān Khān, who took it home. Pāindā Khān who turned up without wearing the dress gifted to him, denied before the Gurū that the gifts had changed hands or that the hawk was in the possession of his son-in-law. Gurū Hargobind sent a Sikh, Bhāī Bidhī Chand, to Chhota Mīr, and the gifts along with the hawk were recovered from Āsmān Khān. Chagrined at the exposure of his perjury, Pāindā Khān openly turned against his patron. With the help of the faujdār of Jalandhar, he attacked the Gurū but was worsted in the battle which, according to
PAINTÍS AKKHARÍ, lit., a poem based on pāṁtīs or thirty-five letters, is a composition in the form of an acrostic utilizing for successive verses the thirty-five characters of the Gurmukhi alphabet. The poem is sometimes attributed to Guru Nānak but mistakenly, for it is not included in the Guru Granth Sāhib. Had it been Guru Nānak's work it would have formed part of the holy corpus. It seems to have been composed by a Vedāntin sādhū, apparently after 1604, the date by which the compilation of the Guru Granth Sāhib had been completed. No historical account concerning the preparation of the Holy Book refers to Paintīs Akkharī having reached the hands of the compiler, Guru Arjan, the Fifth Guru. The Nasihat Nāmā and Prāṇ Saṅgāṭi or the manuscripts of the sīṭh saints such as Pilū, Shāh Husain, Kāhnā and Chhajju which did reach him were rejected. Guru Nānak's own poem in this style, called Paṭṭī, is incorporated in the Guru Granth Sāhib, wherein the letters are pronounced in Gurmukhi style as sassā, hāḥā, kakkā, etc., and not in the Devanāgri style as sā, hā, kā, etc., as happens in the Paintīs Akkharī. Philosophically and religiously also the two poems have nothing in common.

The verses in Paintīs Akkharī are arranged in the order of the Gurmukhi letters as they occur in the alphabet. The poem has seven stanzas, each with six to nine lines. The Name Nānak occurs once at the end of the composition. Stylistically, it is marked by simple versification nowhere reaching the sublimity of Guru Nānak's poetry. Its contents relate to monistic metaphysics, i.e. the concept of monism, of supremacy of knowledge obtained through the true Guru and the experience of bliss in the realization of 'That I am.' It preaches the complete identity of Īśvara and jīva, of a saint and a thief; and does not accept duality in any form. As for Brahm, Paintīs Akkharī says that He is present everywhere. He is the essence of the spirit, a non-doer and immortal. The One, indivisi-
PAIŘÁ, BHĀĪ, a devoted Sikh of the time of Guru Arjan. The Guru, as says Bhai Mani Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, instructed him in the virtues of honest labour and charity. Bhai Paiřā gave away all he possessed and lived a very simple and pious life. Also see Bhai Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 18.

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T.S.

PAIŘĀ, BHĀĪ, a Kohli Khatri, was a highly learned and devoted Sikh. According to Bhai Mani Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, Guru Arjan sent him to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in search of a manuscript, *Prān Sāṅgalī*, which, as the tradition goes, had been left there by Guru Nanak. Bhai Paiřā brought the manuscript but it was discarded by Guru Arjan as apocryphal. The account Bhai Paiřā gave of his travels was recorded by Bhai Banno, another scholarly Sikh of the time. Under the title *Haqiqat Rāh Muqām Rāje Shivanabh Kī*, this account was appended to a copy of the Holy Book Bhai Banno had transcribed. The name occurs in Bhai Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 28.

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T.S.

PAIŘĀ, BHĀĪ (d. 1634), a Chandālīā Baṇjārā, took initiation at the hands of Guru Arjan. Bhai Paiřā served with diligence and devotion at the time of the digging of the sacred pool at Amritsar. He was one of the five Sikhs who accompanied Guru Arjan...
during his last journey to Lahore. According to Gurbilās Chheviṁ Pāṭshāhī, he displayed soldierly skills in the time of Guru Hargobind and had command of 100 horsemen. Bhai Pairā was in Guru Hargobind’s train when he visited Kashmir in 1620. He fell fighting in the battle of Amritsar fought, according to the Bhaṭṭ Vaiṁ, in 1634.

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PAĪRĀ CHHAJJAL, BHĀI, and Bhai Kandū Saṅghar became Sikhs and waited on Guru Arjan for instruction. The Guru, says Bhai Manī Singh, Sikhāṁ di Bhagat Mālā, advised them to rise early, take a dip in the holy pool, contemplate on the sabda revealed by Guru Nānak and serve others. Bhai Pairā and Bhai Kandū followed the Guru’s precept and lived pious lives.

See also Bhai Gurdās, Vārāṁ, XI. 22.

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Mani Singh, Bhai, Sikhāṁ di Bhagat Mālā. Amritsar, 1955

PAKHAR, BHĀI, a carpenter of Bushehar, who, along with his son Jhanḍā, as says the Bāḷā Janam Sāṅhī, received instruction at the hands of Guru Nānak at the time of his visit to their town, and became a devotee.

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PAKKHOKE RANDHĀVE, a village in the east of Deẖā Bābā Nānak (32°-2’N, 75°-2’E) in Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, is the place where Guru Nānak’s wife and children stayed with his father-in-law during the Guru’s absence on udāśis or preaching journeys. The village has a historical shrine dedicated to Bābā Śri Chand, the Guru’s elder son, who, after the passing away of his father, stayed here for some time before settling down at Bārat. Known as Tāhī Sāhib Bābā Śri Chand, it is a small domed room, with a statue of Bābā Śri Chand in a sitting posture installed inside it, near an old shisham or tahī tree. The shrine is managed privately.
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M.G.S.

PĀK NĀMAH, also known as Makke Madine di Gosti, is an apocryphal writing attributed to Gurū Nānak. It exhorts the reader to subdue passions through observance of the Islamic code of conduct and by inculcating the virtues of faith, hard work, mercy, truth and self-control.

T.S.

PĀKPATAN, a tahsil town in Sāhiwāl (Montgomery) district of Pakistan, is known for the tomb of the famous Sūfi saint Shaikh Farīd ud-Dīn Shakargaij (1173-1266). Gurū Nānak visited Pākpatan during his travels through that part of the country. At the time of that visit he fell into a discourse with his successor, Farīd II, at a place which is now marked by Gurdwārā Nānaksar, about six kilometres to the west of the town, commemorating the Gurū’s visit. Gurū Nānak’s birth anniversary continued to be marked as a religious fair here until the partition of the country in 1947.

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M.G.S.

PAL SINGH ‘ĀRIF, SANT (1873-1958), mystic and poet, was born on Maghar sudā 15, 1930 Bk/4 December 1873, the son of Gurūdīnt Singh Sandhū and Sāhib Kaur of the village of Paddhari, now in Amritsar district of the Punjab. He learnt to read and write Punjabi from the village granthi and Urdu from a Muslim. He developed a taste for folk poetry and started composing verse of his own quite early in his youth. Pāl Singh was also fond of the company of holy men, Hindu, Sikh and Muslim. At the age of 20, he was married to Nihāl Kaur, daughter of Chandā Singh, of the village of Sānghnā, in his own district. A year later, he enlisted in British-Burmese army, and migrated to Burma. There he trained as a regimental signaller in the 3rd Burmese Battalion and lived for the most part at Mandalay. In due time, he was pro-
moted a corporal. During his stay in Burma he turned to mysticism under the influence of one Havildar Hākim Siṅgh who for his piety was known among his comrades as a gīānī or 'ārif, i.e. one possessing spiritual insight. Because of his close association with Hākim Siṅgh, he too came to be called a sant or 'ārif. When he came back to India after retirement and settled down at his native Paddhāri, he attracted many disciples from different places in North India and founded almost a separate sect of 'Āris. He and his followers were Sikhs by faith but their style and expression had Sūfī overtones. A prolific writer, Sant Pāl Siṅgh 'Ārif was the author of over three dozen works, mostly in verse, on themes varying from esoteric folklore to didactic and religious. They were published from time to time right from the year 1896 in the form of separate books as well as in Punjabi newspapers and magazines. In 1949 he published a collection of all his poems in a 1250-page volume entitled 'Ārif Prakāśh.

Sant Pāl Siṅgh 'Ārif passed away at Paddhāri on 5 Hār 2015 Bk/19 June 1958. His followers gather at the memorial shrine outside the village on 5 Hār every year to observe his death anniversary.

S.S.A.

PAMMŪ, BHĀĪ, a Purī Khatri, was a devoted Sikh contemporary of Gurū Hargobind. He won repute as a soldier in battles that took place during the Gurū’ s time. His name occurs in Bhāī Manī Siṅgh, Sikhāṅ dī Bhagat Mālā.

Also see Bhāī Gurdās, Vārāṅ, XI. 29.

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PAŃCHAMĪ, lit. the fifth day of either phase (vādi or sudī) of the moon. Pańchamī of the sudī, i.e. the brighter, phase is considered an auspicious day in the Hindu tradition, with some ritualistic observances attached to it. In the three Sikh hymns entitled Thīūṅ/Thītī devoted to the lunar days of the month, the point commonly made in verses on Pańchamī is that the people are too engrossed in the worldly pursuits to take to remembrance of the Divine which alone can bring real joy and bliss. Gurū Nānak says that people are mad about the world and the creation made up of the five elements, and fail to understand the Incomprehensible Unattached Being. Gurū Arjan has affirmed that those saints are really great who understand the reality of the five elements and, thus, get rid of the five lusts. Men are exhorted in all the three compositions to observe Pańchamī not by performing any rituals but by living unattached in the material world and by being devoted to the Name. By custom, however, Pańchamī, particularly of the bright phase, is observed in some of the gurdwārās when special divāns take place. Devotees forgather from distant places to offer homage and make ablutions in the holy tanks. The Basant Pańchamī (fifth day of the bright phase of the moon in the month of Māgh) falling in late January or early February is marked by special celebrations, especially at the historical Gurdwārā at Chhehartā, about three miles from Amritsar, and at Gurdwārā Dūkh Nivāran Sāhib, in Patialā. On that day women generally dressed in yellow garments and men wearing yellow-coloured turbans join the festival. In Lahore, a largely-attended fair used to be held until the partition of 1947 at the Samādhi of Haqīqat Rāi, the martyr, who was executed on the Basant Pańchamī day in AD 1734.

T.S.

PANDHER, village 25 km south of Barnālā (30°-22’N, 75°-32’E) in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine commem-
orating the visit of Guru Tegh Bahadur. It is said that as Guru Tegh Bahadur arrived here late in the afternoon and asked for a site for his camp, one of the villagers pointed in jest to the potter’s house saying, “That is the place where travellers stay.” The Guru’s followers remarked, “These are thick-headed people.” The Guru immediately turned his horse and proceeded towards ‘Ali Sher village. Khumari, the headman of Pandher, said, “This is a very proud man.” Later, when they learnt who he was, they repented their impudence. The village elders followed the Guru to ‘Ali Sher to ask for forgiveness. They collected a few lumps of gur, or jaggery, and some money which they carried as an offering. On the way they met a person who was returning after a visit to the Guru. They asked him what offering would the Guru expect to grant them a reprieve for their misdemeanour. “None,” replied the stranger. “The Guru is compassionate and overlooks the faults of others.” The elders of Pandher thereupon distributed the offering among themselves and went to the Guru empty-handed. The Guru received them unmindful of their past conduct and instructed them in the path of virtuous living.

The remorseful residents of Pandher constructed a memorial on the spot where the Guru had briefly halted. It was developed into a gurdwara, called Gurdwara Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Sahib during the Sikh rule when Pandher became a part of Nabh state. The rulers of Nabh made an endowment in land for its maintenance. A line of mahants served it until after 1956 when it was taken over by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. The Gurdwara comprises a rectangular hall, with the Guru Granth Sahib seated on a canopied platform at one end of it. Besides daily worship, special divans take place on full-moon days and on major religious anniversaries on the Sikh calendar. The Gurdwara owns 50 acres of land.

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PAṅGAT, from Sanskrit pankti (lit. a row, line, series, or a group, assembly, company), stands in Sikh terminology for commensality or sitting together on the ground in a row to partake of food from a common kitchen regardless of caste, creed, sex, age or social status. Paṅgat is thus a synonym for Guru kā Laṅgar, an institution of fundamental importance in Sikhism. It is customary for diners in the Guru kā Laṅgar to sit side by side in a paṅgat or row when food is served to them by sevādārs or volunteers. The institution of Guru kā Laṅgar itself thereby came to be referred to as paṅgat. Another reason for the popularity of the term probably is its alliterative and sonorous affinity to saṅgat or holy congregation, another basic institution of the Sikhs. As, later in Sikh history, deg (lit. kettle) came to stand for Guru kā Laṅgar because it rhymed with tegh (lit. sword), so did paṅgat for rhyming with saṅgat. The earliest use of paṅgat in Sikh literature appears in Bhāi Gurdās (d. 1636), poet and exegete, in his Vārān, XVII. 12, where it matches saṅgat to produce resonant effect: “hāns vanī nihchal māṭī saṅgatī paṅgatī sāthu baṇandā”—firm believers of the tribe of swans (i.e. the Sikhs) made appropriate company in saṅgat and paṅgat—in saṅgat they pray together, in paṅgat they eat together. Guru Amar Dās (1479-1574) attached particular importance to paṅgat. He expected every visitor to partake of food in it before seeing him. This gave rise to the popular saying: pahile paṅgat pāchte saṅgat—eating together must take precedence over meeting together.

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PAṆJĀṆĪ PRACHĀRṆĪ SABHĀ, society for the promotion of Punjabi language, established in 1882 under the aegis of the Lahore Singh Sabha. In pursuance of the policy set forth in the famous Wood's Dispatch of 1853 (a letter from Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control of the East India Company) high schools in some district and tahsil towns and primary schools in some villages were opened in the Punjab and a system of grants-in-aid for privately-run schools was introduced. The medium of instruction in village schools opened by the British was Urdu, and the syllabi were drawn up on secular basis. This meant a setback to indigenous education in Punjabi, traditionally carried out in gurdwārās, deraś and dharamsālās. As G.W. Leitner, History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab, 1883, states on the basis of a survey of some districts carried out by Bhāī Gurmukh Singh, “...it is clear that by the establishment of Government village and town schools and the procedure adopted by them, a death blow has been dealt to the indigenous Gurmukhī [Punjabi] and Nāgarī [Hindi] schools. A solicitude for obtaining employment for their children induced the parents of many pupils attending the indigenous schools to withdraw them from those institutions of combined religious and secular education and to send them to the purely secular schools established by Government... He [Bhai Gurmukh Singh] further shews that the disparity between the number of the Gurmukhī-knowing people of the old school and that of the same class in the present time is out of all proportion, the former being many times more than the latter.”

Under the new regime, Punjabi received little official patronage. The Ajumān-i-PaṆjābī, a literary association formed in 1865, had a Punjabi section for which Lālā Bihārī Lāl Puri, Rāi Mūl Siṅgh and Bhāī Harbhagat Siṅgh translated a few English books into Punjabi. In 1873, some leading Sikhs of the day set up in Amritsar a society called Śrī Gurū Siṅgh Sabhā. Its primary aims were the reform and propagation of the Sikh faith and the promotion of Punjabi language. Bhāī Gurmukh Siṅgh (1849-98), then a student at the Government College at Lahore, left off his studies to work for the new movement. He was instrumental in having Punjabi included, in 1877, in the curriculum at the Oriental College, Lahore, where he himself was appointed the first lecturer to teach the language. The Śrī Śingh Sabhā, Lahore, established in 1879 with Bhāī Gurmukh Siṅgh as its secretary, set up the PaṆjābī Prachārṇī Sabhā in 1882 with the object of popularizing and promoting Punjabi. It had Sardār Attar Siṅgh of Bhadaur as its patron and Rāo Nīhal Siṅgh as its president. Prominent among the members were Bhāī Gurmukh Siṅgh, Soḍhī Hukam Siṅgh, Lālā Nānak Bakhsh, Bhāī Ratan Siṅgh and Bhāī Āyā Siṅgh. A highlight of the Sabhā’s short career was the presentation in May 1882 of a memorandum signed by 50,000 persons supporting Punjabi to the Hunter Commission, appointed to assess the working of the educational system introduced in response to Wood’s Dispatch, and to suggest measures for its improvement. The memorandum of the PaṆjābī Prachārṇī Sabhā contained two main demands: (1) that Punjabi should be the official language for all government business in the Punjab, and (2) that it should be introduced as medium of instruction in government and government-aided schools. The Sabhā lapsed upon the establishment in 1886 of the Khālsā Dīwān Lahore whose educational branch under
Lālā Bihārī Lāl assumed its duties and functions.

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S.S.Am.

PAṆJĀB KAUR (d. 1741) was the wife of Bābā Rām Rāi, who after being disowned by his father, Gurū Har Rāi, for his heresy had settled in Dehrā Dūn. Rām Rāi died on 4 September 1687. Paṇjāb Kaur believed that her husband had not died a natural death and that he had only been in *samādhī* or trance when he was malevolently cremated by his *masands* or ministers disregarding her protest and entreaties. She sent a letter to Gurū Gobind Singh, then at Pāṇjāl, not far from Dehrā Dūn, reiterating her complaint. Gurū Gobind Singh visited Dehrā Dūn to chastise the *masands* against whom cavil had been raised and to install Paṇjāb Kaur as successor to her husband’s *gaddī*, i.e. seat or office. Paṇjāb Kaur died in Dehrā Dūn on Baisākh *sudi* 4, 1798 BK/10 April 1741.

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**PANJAB ON THE EVE OF FIRST SIKH WAR**, edited by Hari Rām Gupta, comprises abstracts of letters written daily by British intelligencers mainly from Lahore during the period 30 December 1843 to 31 October 1844. These newsletters constitute an important primary source on the period they pertain to. Mahārājā Duleep Singh, then a minor, sat on the throne of the Punjab, with Hīrā Singḥ as his Wazīr. The reports provide information about the power Hīrā Singḥ exercised, the activities of his adviser, Paṇḍit Jallā, external policies of the Lahore kingdom and the state of the Sikh army. They also refer to some of the important events of the time— for instance, the defection and death of Rājā Suchet Singḥ, the death of Atar Singḥ Sandhāṅvāliā, General Gulāb Singḥ and Bhāi Bīr Singḥ of Naurāṅgābād, the revolt of Fateh Khān Tīwānā and the insurrections in Hazārā and Muzaffarābād. Another event highlighted in these documents is Hīrā Singḥ’s conflict with Rājā Gulāb Singḥ which led to the despatch of a Sikh army against the latter, then in Jammū, towards the end of 1844.

A close study of these newsletters reveals how forces of disruption were gaining the upper hand in the Sikh State. Troops marching from Lahore under Mīān Lābh Singḥ to Paṭṭī and Sur singňhvālā attacked the holy *derā* at Naurāṅgābād. Among those killed were Prince Kashmīrā Singḥ, Atar Singḥ Sandhāṅvāliā and Bābā Bīr Singḥ, widely revered in Sikh piety. The papers also describe how the army *panchayats* had begun criticizing Hīrā Singḥ for his subservience to Paṇḍit Jallā, how they required him to deposit the revenue of his estates into the Khālsā treasury, how they demanded the surrender of Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn, the tyrannical *nāzīm* of the Jalandhar Dōāb, and of Lāl Singḥ, charging him with scheming for the destruction of Ranjit Singḥ’s dynasty. Hīrā Singḥ tried to win their support by promising them enhanced pay and by distribution of cash awards, gold medals and bracelets. He assured them that he would be a loyal servant of the Khālsā and would be guided by their advice, but he could not rid himself of the influence of Paṇḍit Jallā. The letters bring out how Paṇḍit Jallā had alienated the Sikh chiefs by his insolent manner. Successive enhancements of the pay of the soldiery had considerably raised military expenditure and...
Pañḍit Jallā sought to replenish the fast-dwindling exchequer by escheats, fines and extortions. This made him further unpopular. The reports also provide interesting sidelights on the social and economic conditions in the Punjab. Sati was practised by certain sections of society. As for prices, wheat-flour sold in Lahore in September 1844 at 14 seers a rupee, gram 20 seers, and ghee one-and-a-half seer.

B.J.H.

PAṆṆĀB RĪVĀSTĪ PRAṆĀ MĀṇDĀL (rīvāstī=of the princely states; prajā=subjects, people; māṇḍāl=society, party), an organization of the people of the Punjab princely states established in 1928 to work for securing to them civil liberties and political rights. In what was then known as British India, the Indian National Congress had been the spokesman of its people and it had, through constant protest and agitation, wrested from the government certain appurtenances of popular authority. Administrative and constitutional reforms of considerable significance had, for instance, been introduced in the Punjab as in other parts of British India, and a number of socio-religious reform movements had brought about much awakening among the people. The struggle for freedom in the Punjab had taken the form of a vigorous agitation against the severely repressive Rowlatt Acts which had culminated in the Jallāṅvālā Bāgh massacre (13 April 1919), followed by the Gurdwārā Reform movement for the liberation of the Sikh shrines from the control of the corrupt priests supported by the British government, and the violent activities of the Babar Akālis. The people in the neighbouring Indian states were by comparison wholly voiceless under the arbitrary and despotic reign of the princely rulers. The subjects of the states enjoyed no freedom of speech or expression and there were no popular institutions such as legislative councils and assemblies. The rulers squandered the revenue on personal luxury. To remedy the situation a public platform emerged with the formation of the Punjab Rīvāstī Prajā Māṇḍāl. An year earlier, on 17 September 1927, All-India States People’s Conference had been founded to fight for the rights of the people of the 600-odd states in the country.

The initiative for the establishment of the Punjab Rīvāstī Prajā Māṇḍāl came from the Akāli workers belonging to the Punjab states. They had been freshly affranchised by their participation in the long-drawn struggle for the reformation of the management of Sikh places of worship in which they had suffered imprisonment and bodily injury. The formation of the Punjab Rīvāstī Prajā Māṇḍāl was formally announced at a public conference called by such workers at Mānsā, in Paṭialā state, one of the larger princely enclaves, on 17 July 1928. Sevā Singh Thikrīvālā, of Paṭialā state, an Akāli leader still in jail, was elected president, and Bhagvān Singh Lauṅgovālā, also an Akāli, general secretary. In the constitution adopted soon afterwards the Prajā Māṇḍāl membership was thrown open to all adult inhabitants of the Punjab states without distinctions of caste, class or religion. A general council of 200 members was to be elected every two years by its members. The council was to elect an executive committee of 15 members. The scope of the Prajā Māṇḍāl’s activities was extended to include all princely states in the Punjab, Kashmir and Shimlā-hill regions. The central organization, the Punjab Rīvāstī Prajā Māṇḍāl, itself affiliated to the All-India States People’s Conference, was to co-ordinate and direct the activities of the local units. The main objectives of the Prajā Māṇḍāl were the protection of the rights and liberties of the people, the setting up of representative institutions in the states and the amelioration of the condition of the peasants.

The rulers of the princely states were intolerant of any criticism of or opposition
to their administration. Moreover, they enjoyed the full protection and support of the British government. The launching of a popular movement against them was thus not an easy task. At first the activities of the Praja Manḍal remained confined to four of the Sikh states of Paṭialā, Nābha, Jīнд and Faridkōt, in particular against Mahārājā Bhūpinder Siṅgh of Paṭialā. The Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal resolved to hold a series of meetings in the Paṭialā state to secure the release of Sevā Siṅgh Ŭhirālā. Khaṛak Siṅgh, the charismatic Akālī leader, undertook a tour of the state. He strongly denounced the administration of Mahārājā Bhūpinder Siṅgh. The state authority adopted stern measures to counteract the agitation and arrested a large number of Akālī workers. At this time Master Tārā Siṅgh, another Akālī leader of note, opened a relentless campaign against the Paṭialā ruler. The Praja Manḍal intensified its own agitation. Faced with this twofold challenge, the Mahārājā relented and made a conciliatory gesture, ordering the release of Sevā Siṅgh Ŭhirālā along with other Akālī prisoners. After his release, Sevā Siṅgh threw himself zealously into the Praja Manḍal movement. On 27 December 1929, the first regular session of the Punjab Riyāstä Praja Manḍal was convened at Lahore. It adopted a resolution strongly condemning the maladministration of Mahārājā Bhūpinder Siṅgh. So far Paṭialā had been the main focus; the activities of the Praja Manḍal now extended to other states as well. It started a morchā in Jīнд state to protest against the enhancement of land revenue and against begār (forced free labour). In Mālerkōṭā a document entitled Mālerkōṭā Indictment was prepared faulting the ruler as well as the state administration. In Kapūrthālā state, the Praja Manḍal demanded the abolition of oppressive taxes and the establishment of responsible government. In the spring of 1929, a memorandum, Indictment of Paṭialā, was addressed to the Viceroy of India enumerating instances of misrule in Paṭialā and of the misconduct of its ruler. The All-India States People’s Conference conducted an enquiry and found the Mahārājā guilty of most of the charges. In November 1930, Mahārājā Bhūpinder Siṅgh, as chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, was nominated as the sole representative of the princes of India at the first Round Table Conference in London. The Praja Manḍal stepped up its campaign against him and, at a conference held at Lūdhiāṇā on 11 October 1930, Sevā Siṅgh Ŭhirālā castigated him for his misrule and demanded his deposition. Sevā Siṅgh was arrested and sentenced to ten years’ rigorous imprisonment, but was released after a few months. In July 1931, the third annual conference of the Punjab Riyāstä Praja Manḍal took place at Shīmlā. Its main demand was the deposition of Mahārājā Bhūpinder Siṅgh. During 1932-33, the Praja Manḍal brought out a second memorandum against Paṭialā and staged demonstrations in its support at Amritsar and Delhi. Meanwhile, to counteract the Praja Manḍal the Paṭialā government issued the Hīdāyat (instruction) of 1988 Bk (1931), which banned all political activity in the state. Under the provisions of the Hīdāyat, Sevā Siṅgh was rearrested in January 1933, and sentenced to six years’ imprisonment. He resorted to hunger-strike in protest against the harsh treatment meted out to him. In solitary confinement in the Paṭialā jail, he died on 20 January 1935.

The death of Sevā Siṅgh Ŭhirālā marked the end of an important phase in the history of the Punjab Riyāstä Praja Manḍal. After him the movement against the princely states lost much of its thrust. Early in 1936, the Paṭialā government signed an agreement with the Akālī leader, Master Tārā Siṅgh, resulting in the release of all Akālī prisoners. The withdrawal of the Akālīs considerably weakened the Praja Manḍal. Several of its leaders, including Bhagvāṅ Siṅgh Lauṅgovālā and Jagīr Siṅgh Jogā, came un-
der Marxian influence. With the Akāli Dal playing a minimal role in the Sikh states and dissensions erupting between the ruralite Communists and the urbanite Congress group within the Prajā Manḍal itself, the movement further waned. However, in 1945, the Communists having been expelled from the Indian National Congress, the all-India State People’s Conference instituted a regional council for the Punjab states, with Brish Bhān as chairman and Harbans Lāl as general secretary. The leadership of the Prajā Manḍal in the Punjab states thus passed into the hands of the urban Hindus. The struggle for constitutional and administrative reforms in the princely states continued. Several of the states witnessed popular agitations, Farīdḵot the severest of them in 1946. Jawāharlāl Nehru’s visit on 27 May 1946 marked the culmination of the agitation. A local leader who spearheaded the movement was Gīāṇī Zāil Siṅgh, India’s future President.

With the formation soon after Independence of PEPSU, a union of Paṭīlā, Nābhā, Jind, Mālerkotlā, Faridkot, Kapūrthalā, Nāḷāgarh and Kalsiā states on 15 July 1948, the princely regimes ended and the Punjab Riyāstī Prajā Manḍal lapsed. It was replaced by the PEPSU Pradesh Congress.

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PAŅJĀB SIĞH, BHĀI (1871-1921), one of the Nankānā Sāhib martyrs, was the son of Bhāi Pahū Siṅgh and Māi Bhān Kaur of Nizāmpur village, in Amritsar district. The family migrated to Nizāmpur Devā Siṅghvālā in Sheikhpūrā district (now in Pakistan). Bhāi Paņjāb Siṅgh had a younger brother, Naraṅ Siṅgh by name. Both were hardworking husbandmen, deeply religious. On 19 February 1921, Naraṅ Siṅgh had left home to join the corps of volunteers to have the holy shrines at Nankānā Sāhib liberated. When Paņjāb Siṅgh learnt this he ran after him to offer himself as a volunteer. Both brothers fell martyrs in the indiscriminate firing which greeted them upon arrival at Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, Sri Nankānā Sāhib, on the morning of 20 February 1921.

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PAŃJĀB ŚINGH NALVĀ (d. 1854), son of the famous Sikh general, Harī Singh Nalvā, served in the army under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and his successors. He received a sum of Rs 5,400 towards his patrimony after the death of his father. He also served under Mahārājā Khārak Śingh, and later under the British who allowed his jagîr to be continued. Pañjāb Śingh died in 1854.

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PAŃJĀB ŚINGH, RISĀLḌĀR MAJOR (d. 1869), soldier in the Sikh army and, upon the occupation of the Punjab in 1849, in the army of the British, was the grandson of Jodh Śingh (d. 1837), a jagîrdâr or feudatory of Mahārājā Ranjīt Śingh, and the grandfather of Sardâr Sir Jogendra Śingh (1877-1946), who became famous as a writer and statesman. He was born the son of Gurmukh Śingh at Rasūlpur, in present-day Amritsar district, in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Pañjāb Śingh joined the ghorchâyâs or irregular cavalry of Mahārājā Ranjīt Śingh in 1834. After the annexation of the Punjab to British dominions and the consequent dissolution of the Sikh army, he was enlisted, on 4 May 1849, in the newly raised 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and promoted Nâib Risâlḍâr on 1 June 1849 and Risâlḍâr on 21 January 1857. He took part in British operations in 1857 for the relief of Delhi, Lucknow and several other places. He was decorated with the 2nd class Order of British India and the title of “Bahadoor” on 7 June 1858 and promoted Risâlḍâr Major. In January 1859, he was appointed commandant of the 5th Regiment of the Mounted Police, Oudh (now eastern Uttar Pradesh). Early in 1861, he was invited to join, on transfer from the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, the Central India Horse, a cavalry corps responsible for law and order in that part of the country. He joined the 2nd Regiment of the Central India Horse as Risâlḍâr Major on 15 February 1861. On 15 February 1869, he was awarded the 1st class Order of British India, with the title of “Sîrdâr Bahādūr”. He also received, as a reward for his services during the 1857 uprising, a grant of land worth about 4,000 rupees per annum in the Kherī district of Oudh. In the Punjab he was given an estate of 700 acres in Rakkh Sukkarchakk, Amritsar district, against an annual payment of 584 rupees.

Pañjāb Śingh died at Rasūlpur in December 1869.

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PAŃJĀ ŚAHĪB, GURDWĀRĀ, at Hasan Abdāl (33° 48'N, 72° 44'E) in Attock (or Campbellore) district of Pakistan Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Nānak, who briefly stopped here on his way back to the Punjab from his western udâsī or journey which took him as far West as Mecca and Baghdād. According to tradition popularized by Bhâi Santokh Śingh, Śrī Gurū Nānak Prakhās, Gurū Nānak and his Muslim companion of long travels, Mardānā, halted at the foot of a hill. On the top of the hill lived a Muslim recluse known in those parts as Wali Kandhārī. Feeling fatigued and thirsty and seeing no water in the vicinity, Mardānā climbed up to the Wali’s hut and begged him for water to quench his thirst. Questioned as to who he was and what had brought him to that place, Mardānā said that he was professionally a musician and
had come in the train of a great saint, Bābā Nānak. Wali Kandhārī refused to give him water and quipped instead that if his master was so accomplished a saint, he should not let his follower go thirsty. Mardānā walked back disappointed and told the Guru what the Wali had said. Gurū Nānak asked Mardānā to go once again and supplicate the Wali with humility. Mardānā obeyed, but returned only to report the failure of his mission. Gurū Nānak thereupon touched the hillside with the tip of the stick he was holding. Instantly, water spouted forth from that point and Mardānā drank his fill. But simultaneously Wali Kandhārī’s reservoir on top of the hill began to ebb and soon dried up. The Wali, blind with rage, rolled down a big boulder towards the travellers. Guru Nānak gently raised his arm and the rocky mass, as goes the tradition, stopped in its downward career as it came in touch with his palm, (pañjā, in Punjabi). The impression of his palm was left on the stone which is still shown the visitors to the place, now famous as Pañjā Sāhib, the Holy Palm.

A gurdwārā was built at the site during the reign of Mahārājā Raṇjit Singh to which he made a handsome land endowment and which he visited more than once during his lifetime. Gurdwārā Pañjā Sāhib, as it came to be called, was administered by a line of mahants until Jathedār Kartār Singh Jhabbar, at the head of a 25-strong jathā or band of Akāli reformers, occupied it on behalf of the Shiromanī gurdwārā parbandhak committee on 17-18 November 1920. The Gurdwārā gained further prominence during 1922 when the local saṅgat led by Bhāī Pratāp Singh, treasurer of Śrī Pañjā Sāhib Gurdwārā Managing Committee, sought to halt a train carrying prisoners of the Gurū kā Bāgh agitation to Attōck jail in order to serve meals to them. As the railway authorities refused to make an unscheduled wayside halt, several Sikhs, with Bhāī Pratāp Singh and Karam Siṅgh (a pilgrim from Anandpur Sāhib) at their head, squatted on the railway track. The train, finding its warning whistles ineffective, screeched to a halt but not before crushing Bhāī Pratāp Siṅgh and Karam Siṅgh to death and wounding five others. This tragedy which took place on 30 October 1922 attracted streams of pilgrims, and funds began collecting for raising a larger building. Construction of the new sarovar or sacred pool began on 14 October 1932 with ceremonies presided over by Tikā (later Mahārājā) Yadavinder Siṅgh of the princely state of Pañjālā, which event is commemorated in a slab-inscription. On the same day, the cornerstone of the new building of Śrī Harimandar Sāhib in the middle of the sarovar was laid by Pañj Piāre, the Five Elect, Bhāī Raṇdhīr Siṅgh, Bābā Vasākhā Siṅgh, Bābā Nidhān Siṅgh, Professor Bhāī Jodh Siṅgh and Sant Budh Siṅgh. Besides the daily services, largely-attended religious assemblies were held in October to commemorate the martyrs of the 1922 tragedy and in April to celebrate Baisākhi until the place had to be abandoned at the time of mass migrations caused by Partition in 1947. However, Gurdwārā Pañjā Sāhib is one of the few Sikh shrines in Pakistan which pilgrims from India may still visit in groups on special occasions with the prior permission of the Government of Pakistan.

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M.G.S.
Panj Granthi, a pothi or small book containing five chosen texts, from the Guru Granth Sahib. The word 'panj' means 'five' and 'granthi' is the diminutive form from 'granth' (holy book). The Guru Granth Sahib is a large volume and can be enthroned and opened for recitation only in the prescribed ritualistic manner in gurdwaras or in a room especially set apart in a private house for this purpose. To facilitate private recitation or study of selected bani, small anthologies began to be prepared. The origin of the guṭkā (lit. a casket of gems; a breviary) is traced to the time of Guru Ram Das. A guṭkā comprising the text of the Japū in Guru Ram Das' own hand is still preserved in a descendant family at Kartārpur, in Jalandhar district of the Punjab. A guṭkā as a rule contained one bani, mostly Japū, but later it took the form of the Panj Granthi incorporating five of the bānis.

The Panj Granthi, as it first appeared, included the Japū by Guru Nanak; So Daru and So Purakhru, collectively known as Rahrāsi and containing verses by Guru Nanak and by Guru Rām Dās, Sohilā verses by Guru Nanak, Guru Rām Dās and Guru Arjan. Also, sometimes Āsā kī Vār by Guru Nanak, and Anandu by Guru Amar Dās. As the number of professional copyists multiplied, guṭkās and panj granthīs began to have enlarged texts. In course of time, Panj Granthi, as a title, became a misnomer, for the anthology no longer remained confined to the initial five bānis. The name did survive, though more in the symbolic sense. A current Panj Granthi gathered by Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1957) comprises ten bānis—Japū, Jāpu, Shabad Hajāre, Rahrāsi, Sohilā, Sidh Gosti, Anandu, Bavan Akharī, Sukhmanī and Āsā kī Vār. Japū, Jāpu, Rahrāsi, Sohilā and Anandu are usually the five daily prayers of the Sikhs. The devout also include in their daily regimen Shabad Hajāre and Sukhmanī in the morning. Āsā kī Vār is sung in the gurdwārās in the early hours of the morning. For its constituent texts, Panj Granthi continues exclusively to draw upon the Guru Granth Sahib, whereas the guṭkās now include bānis from the Guru Granth Sahib as well as from the Dasam Granth.

T.S.

Panj Mukte, lit. five (panj) liberated ones (mukte), is how a batch of five Sikhs, who according to Bhai Dayā Singh's Rahītnāmā, were the first after the Panj Piāre to receive the rites of Khālsā initiation at the hands of Guru Gobind Singh on the historic Baisākhī day of AD 1699. They were Rām Singh, Fateh Singh, Devā Singh, Tāhil Singh and Īsār Singh. According to Bhai Chaupā Singh, the Rahītnāmā Hazūrī, usually ascribed to him, was originally drafted by the muktās. No other details of these five are available except that an old manuscript of Bhai Prahilād Singh's Rahītnāmā is said to contain a note associating Rām Singh and Devā Singh with the village of Bughianā, in Lahore district, Tāhil Singh and Īsār Singh with Dall-Vān, in present-day Amritsar district and Fateh Singh with Khurdpur Māṅgaṭ, perhaps the same as Guru Māṅgaṭ in Lahore district. The name of Rām Singh also occurs among the twenty-five mukte mentioned in Kuir Singh, Gurbilās Pāṭshāhī 10. According to Sarūp Singh Kaushish, Guru kīān Sākhīān, a Bhaṭṭ source, Devā Singh and Īsār Singh fell martyrs in the battle of Chamkaur on 7 December 1705.

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M.G.S.

Panjokharā, a village about 10 km from Ambālā city (30°-23'N, 76°-47'E), is sacred to Guru Har Krishan. Gurdwārā Sri Guru Har Krishan Sahib Ji, about 150 metres east of the village and commonly called Gurdwārā Panjokharā Sahib, commemorates
his stay here in early 1664. Summoned by Emperor Aurangzib, the Guru had left Kiratpur for Delhi on Basant Pañchami (the fifth day of the light half of the lunar month of Māgh) of Samvat 1720 Bikrami, corresponding to 22 January 1664. A large number of Sikhs accompanied the Guru and many more joined them on the way. They all wished to travel with him to Delhi. As they reached Pañjokharā on the third day, Guru Har Krishan raised with his own hands a small flag on a sandy mound and asked his Sikhs not to follow him beyond the line of the flag. The Sikhs obeyed and stayed back with a heavy heart.

A learned but self-conceited Brāhmaṇ of Pañjokharā, Lāl Chand alias Lālji Paṇḍit, came to see the Guru and spoke with derision: “It is said that you sit on the gaddi of Guru Nanak. But what do you know of the old religious books?” Chhajju, the illiterate, dark-skinned village water-carrier, happened to pass by at that moment. Guru Har Krishan had him called in. As Chhajju came, the Guru asked him to explain to the Paṇḍit the gist of the Bhagavad-gitā. The illiterate villager astonished everyone by his cogent commentary on the sacred book. Lālji was humbled and he fell at the Master’s feet.

A small memorial was established to mark the site where the Guru had stayed. It was later replaced by a gurdwārā. The present sanctum is a square double-storeyed domed structure with circumambulation galleries at both floors. The sacred pool within an enclosure, is on the left of the main building, and the complex containing Gurū kā Langar and rooms for pilgrims is on the right side of it. The large refectory adjoining the Langar was added in 1977. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. A large number of devotees from Ambālā and the neighbouring villages attend Sunday morning ḍivāns and partake of the community meal. An annual fair is held on Māgh sudī 7, 8, and 9 (January-February) to mark the days on which Guru Har Krishan was in Pañjokharā during his visit in 1664.

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PAÑJ PIÅRE (lit. the five beloved), name given to the five Sikhs, Bhai Dayā Singh, Bhai Dharam Singh, Bhai Himmat Singh, Bhai Muhkam Singh and Bhai Sahib Singh, who were so designated by Guru Gobind Singh at the historic ḍivān at Anandpur Sāhib on 30 March 1699 and who formed the nucleus of the Khālsā as the first batch to receive at his hands khaṇḍe dī pāhul, i.e. rites of the two-edged sword.

In Sikh theology, as in the Indian classical tradition generally, pañj or pañch, the numeral five, has a special significance. Gurū Nānak in Japū refers to five khaṇḍs, i.e. stages or steps in spiritual development, and calls a spiritually awakened person a pañch. The ancient Indian socio-political institution pañchāyat meant a council of five elders. Something like an inner council of five existed even in the time of the earlier Gurūs: five Sikhs accompanied Gurū Arjan on his last journey to Lahore; the five were each given 100 armed Sikhs to command by his successor, Gurū Hargobind; Gurū Tegh Bahādur, set out on his journey to Delhi to court execution attended by five Sikhs.

Until the Baisākhi of AD 1699, Sikh initiation ceremony, charan pāhul, comprised the administering of charanāmrit or charanodak to the novitiate. As Bhāī Gurdās, Vārāṇī, I.23, records, this was the practice Gurū Nānak introduced for the Sikhs. At the ceremony the novitiate quaffed water poured over the
foot of the Guru and vowed to follow the religious and moral injunctions as well as the code of communal conduct laid down. Later, masands or local leaders, specially authorized by the Gurus, also administered charan pahul. According to Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Bainsavalinama, a modification was introduced in the time of Guru Hargobind when water, poured over the toe of the right foot of each of the five chosen Sikhs assembled in a dharamsāl, was received in a bowl and administered to the seekers after ardās or supplicatory prayer.

Guru Gobind Singh, who had abolished the institution of masands replaced charan pahul with khande dī pahul. He summoned a special assembly in the Kesgarh Fort at Anandpur on the Baisakhī day of 1756 Bk/30 March 1699. After the morning devotions and kirtan, he suddenly stood up, drawn sword in hand, and, to quote Bhai Santokh Singh, Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, spoke: “The entire saṅgat is very dear to me; but is there a devoted Sikh who will give his head to me here and now? A need has arisen at this moment which calls for a head.” A hush fell over the assembly. Dayā Rām, a native of Lahore, arose and offered himself. He walked behind the Guru to a tent near by. Guru Gobind Singh returned with his sword dripping blood and demanded another head. This time Dharun Dils, a Jat from Hastinapur, emerged from the audience and followed the Guru. Guru Gobind Singh gave three more calls. Muhkam Chand, a cloth-printer from Dwarkākā, Himmat, a water-bearer from Jagannāth, and Sāhib Chand, a barber from Bidar, stood up one after another and advanced to offer their heads.

Guru Gobind Singh emerged from the tent “hand in hand with the five,” says Kuir Singh, Gurbilās Pāṭshahi 10. The disciples wore saffron-coloured raiment topped over with neatly tied turbans of the same colour. Guru Gobind Singh, similarly dressed, introduced his chosen Sikhs to the audience as Panj Piāre, the five devoted spirits beloved of the Guru. He then proceeded to perform the ceremony. Filling an iron bowl with clean water, he kept churning it with a khandā, i.e. double-edged sword, while reciting over it the sacred verses. Guru Gobind Singh’s wife Mātā Jitōji, brought sugar crystals which were put into the vessel at the Guru’s bidding. Sweetness was thus mingled with the alchemy of iron. Amrit, the Nectar of Immortality, was now ready and Guru Gobind Singh gave the five Sikhs each five palmsful of it to drink. At the end, all five of them quaffed from the steel bowl the remaining elixir binding themselves in new fraternal ties. Their rebirth into this brotherhood meant the cancellation of their previous family ties, of the occupations which had hitherto determined their place in society, of their beliefs and creeds and of the rituals they had so far observed.

The five Sikhs—three of them the so-called low-castes, a Kṣṭriya and a Jāt—formed the nucleus of the self-abnegating, martial and casteless fellowship of the Khālsa Guru Gobind Singh had brought into being. They were given the surname of Singh, meaning lion, and were ever to wear the five emblems of the Khālsa—kes or unshorn hair and beard; kāṅghā, a comb in the kes to keep it tidy as against the recluses who kept it matted in token of their having renounced the world; karā, a steel bracelet; kachchh, short breeches worn by soldiers; and kirpān, a sword. They were enjoined to succour the helpless and fight the oppressor, to have faith in One God and to consider all human beings equal, irrespective of caste and creed.

The episode of sis-bhet, i.e. offering of the heads, was recorded by Bhai Kuir Singh in his Gurbilās Pāṭshahi 10 (1751) followed by Bhai Sukhā Singh, Bhai Santokh Singh, and others. Earlier chronicles such as the Sri Gur Sobhā, and the Bainsavalināmā do not narrate it in such detail. Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh, simply says that “five Sikhs were selected one each from
five different castes.” From what is known about the lives of those five Sikhs, each of them had received instruction at the hands of Guru Gobind Singh, was a devoted disciple and had been in residence at Anandpur long enough to have been affected by its ambience of faith and sacrifice. It was a coincidence that they belonged to different castes and to different parts of India.

Khaṇḍe dī Pāhul, introduced by Guru Gobind Singh on 30 March 1699, became the established form of initiation for Sikhs for all time to come; so also the institution of the Paṇj Piare. In fact, Guru Gobind Singh had himself initiated by the Paṇj Piare as he had initiated them. Since then this has been the custom. Paṇj Piare, any five initiated Sikhs reputed to be strictly following the rahi, or Sikh discipline, are chosen to administer to the initiates amrit, i.e. Khaṇḍe dī Pāhul. Paṇj Piare are similarly chosen to perform other important ceremonies such as laying the cornerstone of a gurdwārā building or inaugurating kār-sevā, i.e. cleansing by voluntary labour of a sacred tank, or leading a religious procession, and to decide issues confronting a local saṅgat or community as a whole. At crucial moments of history, Paṇj Piare have collectively acted as supreme authority, representing the Gurū-Panth. During the battle of Chamkaur, it was the last five surviving Sikhs who, constituting themselves into the Council of Five, Paṇj Piare, commanded Gurū Gobind Singh to leave the fortress and save himself to reassemble the Sikhs. Gurū Gobind Singh had abolished the masand system and before he passed away, he also ended the line of living gurūs. In the institution of Paṇj Piare, he had created the nucleus of a casteless and democratic continuing society.

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PAṆṆ SAṆ SĀKḤĪ, a collection of five hundred anecdotes (paṇj = five; saṆ = hundred; sākẖī = anecdote), attributed to Bhāi Rām Kuir (1672-1761), a descendant of Bhāi Buḍḍhā, renamed Bhāi Gurbakhsh Singh as he received the rites of the Khālsā at the hands of Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708). It is said that during his long association with the Gurū, Rām Kuir had heard from his lips many anecdotes concerning the lives of the Gurūs which he used to narrate to Sikhs after his return to his village, Ramdās, in Amritsar district, after Anandpur had been evacuated in 1705. Bhāi Sāhib Singh is said to have reduced these sākẖīs to writing. Later, they were split into five parts, each comprising one hundred stories whence the title “Sau Sākẖī” or A Hundred Stories gained currency. These five sections were distributed among Bhāi Sāhib Singh, the scribe, Kābulī Mall, Multānī Sūrā, Ratīā, and Sūrat Singh of Āgrā. Giān Giān Singh, author of the Panth Prakāsh, is said to have seen two manuscripts of this work—one with a mahant (priest) of Nainē dā Kōṭ and another with Shiv Rām Khatri of Āgrā. Bhāi Kāhn Singh of Nabhā also seems to have had access to a manuscript copy. None of these manuscripts, much less an authentic printed version, is however available today. The authors of the Gurbilās and Śrī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth seem to have drawn upon these anecdotes which are more legendary than historical in character.


S.S.A.
PANOPLY. To have established precise standards of regal usage and hospitality was remarkable for one born to a small worldly inheritance. Ranjit Singh's patrimony did not amount to more than a few villages precariously held in those turbulent days, and his authority scarcely coincided with any recognizable or settled geographical demarcation. He carved out sovereignty for himself in his own lifetime after a protracted and bitter struggle, but the tradition of noble pomp and splendour he set up was unmatched by royalties of much older origin. There could be no better example of his love of magnificence and eclat than the wedding of his grandson, Nau Nihal Singh, which was one of the most lavish celebrations in the history of the country. Ranjit Singh had nearly half a million people assembled to claim charity on the occasion and gave away in a single day a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees.

Nau Nihal Singh was at that time sixteen years old. He had already shown his ability as a soldier, having taken part in several warlike campaigns. It was during one such campaign that Shām Singh Atārivālā, a leading Sikh sardār, pledged the hand of his daughter to him.

Ranjit Singh sent invitations to the British Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane, his old friend, Sir Charles Metcalfe, then Governor of Agra, and the chiefs of a number of Indian states. The rulers of Patiala, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Naraingarh, Nābhā, Jīnd, Mālerkoṭlā, Kalsā, Maṇḍi and Sukeṭ responded to the invitation. Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, with Lady Fane and staff, attended on behalf of the Governor-General.

As Sir Henry crossed the Sutlej at Harīke on 3 March 1837, he was met by Sher Singh. The guests were impressed by the host's good nature and quiet and gentlemanly manner. The young prince at once made friends with Sir Henry Fane, who came to see him in his tent on the following day. He had with him an artist, who, standing in front of the two chiefs, made a likeness of Sir Henry. The guests admired the furnishings of Sher Singh's camp, especially his dressing room which was filled with perfumes from France and other European luxuries of toilet.

The Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by Sher Singh and his train, left for Amritsar. Three kilometres from the city, they were met by Kharak Singh, father of the bridegroom. Sir Henry Fane was presented with a ziāfat (entertainment) of five thousand rupees. He entered the city under a salute of guns fired from the Fort of Gobindgarh. Upon reaching his camp, he fired a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of the Sikh ruler. Then he came to visit the Mahārājā who was staying in his garden-house, the Rām Bāgh. Ranjit Singh wore a green turban and had a row of pearls round his neck. The canopy under which he sat was made of beautiful Kashmiri shawls, inlaid with silver. It had silver poles to support it. The dresses and jewels of the Mahārājā's court were of the richest quality. Hirā Singh, son of Dhiān Singh, looked one mass of jewels. Ranjit Singh received Sir Henry with his usual geniality. Some of the many questions he asked him were about the size of the East India Company's army, the number of battles he had been in and the way the English cast their guns.

In the evening was held the ceremony of presenting offerings to the bridegroom. Sir Henry presented eleven thousand rupees, Dhiān Singh one lakh and twenty-five thousand and Gulāb Singh, Suchet Singh and Misr Rūp Lāl fifty-one thousand each. Other
chiefs and guests made offerings according to their rank and position. The presents altogether were valued at fifty lakhs of rupees.

The wedding party started for the bride’s place on elephants richly equipped and decorated. Passing through the streets of the city, the procession reached the Harimandar where blessings were sought for the bridegroom. The Maharaja put the bridal crown of the rarest pearls, hung on gold thread, on the forehead of Nau Nihal Singh.

The party formed a gorgeous procession composed of silk-clad men, mounted upon stately elephants. Unique was the splendour and bustle of the occasion. Hundreds of thousands of spectators, who had come from all parts of the country, lined up on both sides of the road from Amritsar to Atari, the bride’s village. All around, there were crowds of men cheering the wedding party. Ranjit Singh had ordered bags, each containing coins worth two thousand rupees, to be placed at the disposal of the guests. The money was being showered on the spectators. Ranjit Singh, the members of the royal family and the more prominent guests cast handfuls of gold mohurs instead of silver coins. At the head of the cavalcade was a moving throne, decked out in handsome style, on which music and dancing continued all the way.

Sham Singh Atarivala, the host, had made equally elaborate arrangements for the reception of the guests. The passage to his mansion was spread with velvet and brocade. The guns and fireworks were let off as the party arrived. The Maharaja was received with an offering of one hundred and one gold mohurs and five horses, Kharak Singh with fifty-one mohurs and a horse and the other princes with eleven mohurs and a horse each. The guests were then conducted to the top floor of Sham Singh’s castle. The bridegroom sat between the Maharaja and the British Commander-in-Chief, under a canopy embroidered with silver and gold. Ranjit Singh wore on his arm the celebrated Koh-i-Nur.

After nine o’clock began the religious ceremony. The air became thick with the holy chants and with felicitations for the Maharaja from all sides. A display of fireworks was subsequently held in the centre of the large enclosure where camps had been laid out for the Maharaja and Sir Henry Fane and other guests. The entertainment and gaiety went on far into the night.

The next day, Ranjit Singh surpassed himself for bounty. The multitude of poor people who had gathered for alms and other spectators were assembled into a space of about eight kilometres in circumference, surrounded by soldiers. No one was allowed to emerge except at the eighty exits where officers were stationed to distribute money. Each one was given butki, worth five rupees. As a person received his butki, he was sent out of the circle and not allowed to enter again. A sum of twenty lakhs of rupees was distributed in this manner.

The Maharaja and the guests witnessed the sports which comprised wrestling bouts, elephant-fighting and contests in lancing and swordsmanship. In the afternoon the bride’s dowry was displayed. It consisted of eleven elephants, 101 horses, 101 cows, 101 buffaloes, 101 camels, all fully caparisoned, hundreds of gold and silver utensils, five hundred pairs of shawls, ornaments, jewels and silk and brocade dresses worth lakhs of rupees. Sham Singh also gave presents to the Maharaja and the guests.

After two days of feasting and merriment, the party left for Lahore. The festival of Holi being near, the Maharaja would not let his guests depart immediately. In the evening, he wanted to give a banquet in the Shalamar Gardens, but, since the water required for the fountains had not yet come from the Ravi sufficiently far down the canal, the entertainment was postponed until the following evening.

The Shalamar Gardens were brilliantly illuminated with rows of small earthen lamps,
placed at regular intervals on the building and down the sides of the walls and tanks. At every ten or twelve yards were placed coloured lamps. The fountains playing in the light of these lamps produced a charming effect. The English ladies were allowed to see the fireworks and a special tent was erected for them on the top of a house. The Maharaja looked after the guests' comfort personally. The festive eve was prolonged to the small hours of the morning.

On the third day, Ranjit Singh visited Sir Henry in the camp. While passing through the troops which had been drawn up in his honour, he stopped to see the King's 16th Lancers. He had met these troops at Ropar at the time of William Bentinck's visit.

Ranjit Singh turned the formal occasion into a pleasant function by his natural and easy manner and by his well-informed questions and conversations. He asked the Commander-in-Chief if the Russian interest was doing the English much harm in Persia and whether Persia could give Russia any useful aid in the event of their advancing towards India. Sir Henry took him into another camp and showed him the presents he had brought for him. Among these were an elephant, eight horses, a double-barrelled gun and a brace of pistols. The Commander-in-Chief apologized that the presents had been collected in a hurry as he had not had sufficient warning of the visit.

Sir Henry saw a review of Ranjit Singh's troops on the bank of the River Ravi. They were all very well turned out and armed in the European fashion. The Commander-in-Chief praised their skill and discipline. Ranjit Singh was present at a similar review of the Commander-in-Chief's escort.

One day the guests were invited to see the court jewels. Ranjit Singh's toshakhana contained a vast variety of stones, armlets, bangles and necklaces, each of excelling cost. The Koh-i-Nur, of course, was the centre of attraction. Then the guests went to a grand entertainment given by Ranjit Singh in honour of the English ladies. The ladies were also taken inside to meet the Maharaja's wives. The senior Maharani, with her entourage, received them, Mrs Ventura and Mrs Allard acting as interpreters.

As the festival of Holi for which the guests had been detained arrived, the Maharaja invited them all to his camp. They were provided with baskets full of red powder balls, large bowls of yellow saffron and gold squirts. As soon as the guests were seated, the Maharaja poured colour on Sir Henry's bald head, while Dhan Singh rubbed him all over with red powder. This was a signal for general colour splashing and ball throwing. The worst sufferer in the rejoicing was the Afghan ambassador who had come from Kandahar.

After a fortnight's stay in Lahore, Sir Henry asked leave to depart. A farewell darbar was held and presents were brought forth for him and his party. Ranjit Singh shook each of the guests by the hand and wished him goodbye. Prince Sher Singh came as far as the Sutlej to see off the guests. On the bank of the river, Sir Henry held a darbar in his honour and presented him with a buggy and horse.

In honour of Nau Nihal Singh's wedding, Ranjit Singh started an Order of Merit which was known as Kaukab-i-Iqbal-i-Punjab, Star of the Prosperity of the Punjab. The Order had three grades, each having its own medal. The medals bore the effigy of Ranjit Singh on one side and had silk ribands of gold and scarlet colour. They were in the shape of a star and were meant to be worn round the neck. The first-grade medal was ornamented with one diamond. It was meant for the members of the royal family and those chiefs who had shown exceptional devotion to the person of the Maharaja and his family. The second-grade medal with a diamond and an emerald set in it, was bestowed on royal courtiers and sardars. The third contained a single emerald and was open to the civil and
military officers who had rendered some special service to the State.

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PANTH, from Sanskrit *patha, pathin, or patham*, means literally a way, passage or path and, figuratively, a way of life, religious creed or cult. In Sikh terminology, the word *panth* stands for the Sikh faith as well as for the Sikh people as a whole. It represents the invisible mystic body comprising all those who profess Sikhism as their faith and encompassing lesser bodies, religious as well as political, claiming to represent the whole of the Sikh population or any section of it. *Panth* for the Sikhs is the supreme earthly body having full claim on their allegiance. It transcends any of its components and functional agencies.

The use of the term *panth* as a system of religious belief and practice, synonymous with *marga* or religious path, is quite old. Several medieval cults used it as a suffix to the names of their preceptors, such as Gorkhpanth and Kabirpanth, their followers being called Gorkhpanthis and Kabirpanthis. Even the Sikhs were earlier known as Nanakpanthis. In the Guru Granth Sahib, *panth* is used both in its literal as well as in its figurative sense. In the former sense it frequently occurs in poetical images of a love-lorn soul with her gaze fixed on the path (*panth*) longing for the Divine Lover, God, or the Guru who would unite her with the Supreme Being. In the latter sense it is often combined with an adjective or noun as in *mukti panth*, path to liberation, *uttam panth*, the superior path, *nirmal panth*, unstained, pure path, *dharam panth*, religious creed and *hari kā panth*, way to God. Bhaṭṭ Kirat, a bard whose verses were entered by Guru Arjan in the Guru Granth Sahib, identifies *gur-sanāgat*, holy assembly of the Sikhs as *uttam panth* (GG, 1406). Guru Nānak, too, had used *gurmukhi panth*, religion of the Gurū-wards for those (the *sanāgat*) singing God’s praises (GG, 360). Bhāī Gurdās (d. 1636) uses *panth* for the entire body of Sikhs when he, eulogizing Guru Nānak, records: “He vanquished the party of the Siddhas with his discourse and created his own separate *panth*” (Vārāṇ, 1.45).

*Panth* thus emerged as a comprehensive concept standing for the totality of the Sikh system. It represented both *jot* (spirit) and *jugat* (means or institutions) of the Sikhs. With their religious doctrines canonized in the Scripture, Gurū Granth Sāhib, their separate identifiable institutions like *sanāgat* and *pāṅgāt* and their holy places like Goidvāl and Amritsar, Sikhs had by the beginning of the seventeenth century become a distinct entity. The execution of Guru Arjan in 1606 led to Gurū Hargobind, Nānak VI, introducing the doctrine of *mīrī* and *pīrī* (worldly and spiritual leadership) combined in the person of the Gurū. This doctrine meant the fusion of *bhakti* (religious devotion) and *sakti* (power). Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, the author of *Prāchīn Panth Prākāsh*, writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, expounds it thus: “The Panth contains in itself the power of the Gurū; the *panth* comprises devoted and disciplined worshippers of God.”

A further dimension to the concept of Panth was brought about by Gurū Gobind Siṅgh (1666-1708). He introduced the initiation by the double-edged sword and, to repeat a line from an old verse, transformed the *sanāgat* into Khālsā. The Panth was now identified with the Gurū himself. “The Khālsā is my special image,” he said, “I abide in the Khālsā. Khālsā is my life and soul.” The Panth, now called Khālsā Panth, was the Gurū Panth. Gurū Gobind Siṅgh at his death declared the Granth Sāhib as Gurū everlasting for the Sikhs. The line of living Gurūs came to an end and the Gurū Panth became its own leader under the guidance of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The term Panth became more
popular possibly for its assonance with Granth.

The achievements of the Sikhs under Bandā Singh Bahādur and Dal Khālsā, the federated army of the Sikh misls, during the eighteenth century gave an expanded meaning and import to the term panth. Panth and Khālsā came to be used synonymously for the community as a whole as Gurū Panth or Gurū Khālsā and were even compounded as Khālsā Panth, Panth Khālsā or Gurū Khālsā Panth. Sikh Army Pañchāyats of the early 1840’s issued orders under the seal of Khālsā Panth Jīo. Some Punjabi poet-chroniclers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used the same or similar terminology. Giani Gian Singh (1822-1921) calls his Panth Prakhāsh a history of the Gurū Khālsā. Thus Panth which ideologically stands for a mārga representing the whole system of precept and practice laid down by the Gurūs, signifies, on the institutional plane, the corporate body of the Sikh community. In the latter sense it identifies itself with the Gurū Khālsā and claims sovereign authority over the affairs of the community.

In the earlier period of the emergence of Sikhs as a political force, the militant Khālsā under the leadership of Bandā Singh Bahādur and the Dal Khālsā represented the interests of the Sarbatt Khālsā or Panth. With the establishment of Sikh power under Misl leaders and later under Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, the function of guarding the interests of the Panth passed on to the Sikh State which, however, left the matters of religious and theological nature in the hands of local priesthood without a central body vested with controlling or supervisory powers. The British period following the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 maintained the status quo, but gradually a new representative organization sprang up in the form of Khālsā Diwāns of Lahore and Amritsar, and later the Chief Khālsā Diwan which, soon after its birth in 1902, replaced them. The functional mechanism of the Panth underwent a big change with the establishment of the Shiromānī Akālī Dal in 1920. The latter, as a political party of the Sikhs, has since the middle of the 1920’s dominated Sikh affairs, both religious and secular.

Yet the Panth, according to Sikh belief, is a permanent reality, higher than any of its functional agencies which must justify their validity by serving the interest of the Panth as a whole or be replaced by the Gurū Khālsā Panth assembling as Sarbatt Khālsā, the supreme repository of ultimate powers of mīrī and piāī, i.e. secular and religious authority.

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PANTHIC PRATINIDHI BOARD was a panel set up by Sikhs at a representative convention presided by Mohan Singh Nāgoke, Jathedār Akāl Takht, held at Tejā Singh Samundri Hall, Amritsar, on 9-10 June 1946 to protest against the constitutional proposals announced by the British Cabinet Mission. The Labour Government which had taken office in Britain in consequence of national election in the summer of 1945 displacing the Conservative leader, Winston Churchill, had promised an “early realization of full self-government in India.” It sent out a special mission consisting of three Cabinet ministers, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr A.V. Alexander, to negotiate with Indian leaders and settle the basis for an interim government and of a constitution-making body of the country. Talks with
various Indian parties dragged on for three months, but no arrangement acceptable to all of them could be evolved. The Mission thereupon worked out a plan of its own which was made public on 16 May 1946. Retaining the semblance of a Central structure, the substance of the Muslim claim for autonomy was conceded. Three separate zones were proposed, two of which were to consist of Muslim majority provinces. Each provincial group was to have its own constituent assembly to draw up its constitution. A transitional government wholly Indian in composition, except for the Governor-General, was to be set up immediately at Delhi.

The Cabinet Mission proposals contained hardly anything for the Sikhs beyond a rather solicitous reference to them. They were recognized as an important minority like the Muslims and as one of the three main Indian parties, yet they were not accorded the communal veto such as the Muslims had in determining the future constitution, nor were they guaranteed any protection against the Muslim-majority rule in the Punjab. In the Constituent Assembly of Group B to which Punjab had been assigned, they were to have four seats, against 9 Hindus and 23 Muslims. The scheme was subjected to bitter censure at a widely representative Sikh assembly at Amritsar on June 9 and 10. Over a thousand Sikhs drawn from various organizations and sects attended the meeting. Among them were Akālis, Congress Sikhs, Nirmalās, Nāmdhāris, Nihangs and Sikh youth leaders. The main resolution moved on the second day by Sardār Ujjal Siṅgh and seconded by Giani Kartār Siṅgh rejected the Cabinet Mission’s proposals and declared that “no constitution will be acceptable to Sikhs which does not meet their just demands and is settled without their consent.” Another resolution created an Action Committee, the Panthic Pratinidhi Board (lit. Board representative of the Panth), to decide on what measures might be adopted to meet the challenge facing the Sikhs. Colonel Niraṅjan Siṅgh Gill, of the Indian National Army, was named president. Members: Master Tārā Siṅgh, Sardār Baldev Siṅgh (then Development Minister in the Punjab Government), Bhāi Jodh Siṅgh, Jathērā Ūdumpa Siṅgh Nāgoke, Sarmukh Siṅgh Chamak, President of the Rāmgārhiā Federation, Sant Nidhān Siṅgh 'Ālam of Nāmdhāri Darbār, Giani Kartār Siṅgh, Bāwā Harkishan Siṅgh, Principal of the Khālsā College at Gujānwalā, Bābū Lābh Siṅgh, President Shiromani Akālī Dal, Giani Gurmukh Siṅgh Musāfīr, Member Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Basant Siṅgh of Mogā, Colonel Raghbir Siṅgh, and one representative each of Chief Khālsā Diwān, Nirmalā Sikhs and the Nihangs. Among members later added were Ujjal Siṅgh, Darshan Siṅgh Phērūmān, Ajīt Siṅgh Sarhādī, and Jathērā Prītām Siṅgh Gojρān.

On 13 June 1946, Sardār Paṭelu invited Colonel Niraṅjan Siṅgh Gill, along with Bhāi Jodh Siṅgh, Jathērā Ūdumpa Siṅgh Nāgoke and Ishar Siṅgh Majhail to Delhi seeking to have the rejection of the Cabinet Delegation Scheme rescinded. In the meantime, the Viceroy announced the British government’s intention to have an Interim government consisting of six Congressmen, five Muslim Leaguers, one Pārsī, one Sikh and one Christian as its members at the Centre. The Panthic Pratinidhi Board, however, confirmed the Panthic Convention stand at its meeting held on 22 June 1946 in the following words:

“This meeting of the board after giving careful and anxious consideration to the invitation extended to the Hon’ble Sardār Baldev Siṅgh by His Excellency the Viceroys to join the Interim Government as a representative of the Sikh community unanimously resolves... that in view of the decision of the Panthic gathering on June 9 and 10 held at Amritsar rejecting the Cabinet Mission’s proposals as being unjust and gravely detrimental to the interests of the Sikhs and in
view of the fact that participation in the Interim Government involves acceptance of these very proposals, the Panthic Board cannot advise any Sikh to serve on the Interim Government on the present basis..."

Heavy pressure was brought by the Congress leaders on the Sikhs to accept the long-term proposals of the Cabinet Mission, but the Panthic Board at its meeting on 10 July 1946 reaffirmed boycott of the Constituent Assembly and directed the Sikhs not to take part in it. On 9 August 1946, Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill was invited to the Congress Working Committee meeting held at Wardha at which it was resolved to accept the Interim Government scheme with certain minor changes and to appeal to the Sikhs to reconsider their decision about not joining the Constituent Assembly, assuring them of full support in having their legitimate grievances redressed. On 14 August 1946, the Panthic Board lifted the embargo on Sikhs joining the Constituent Assembly. The resolution adopted ran:

"Though grave apprehensions of the Sikh community concerning their future under the Cabinet Mission's Scheme continue to exist yet the appeal and assurance of the Indian National Congress carry weight with the Board. In the circumstances, after careful consideration, the Board is of the view that the situation calls for an earnest effort to give the Constituent Assembly method a fair trial to secure for the Sikhs similar safeguards in the Union as are promised for the two major communities in the long-term proposal... The Board, therefore, advises the Sikhs to return their representatives to the Constituent Assembly and those Sikh representatives will raise the question of safeguards in the preliminary meetings of the Constituent Assembly and the Board expects all the parties in the Constituent Assembly to support the Sikh demand."

The Board thereafter lost ground. The resignation of its president, Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill, on 8 September 1946 and withdrawal of some members on 4 November 1946 signalled its dissolution.

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PĀOṬA SĀHIB (30°-25'N, 77°-35'E), a town on the right bank of the River Yamunā in Sirmur district of Himāchal Pradesh, was founded by Gurū Gobind Singh in November 1685. The land was an offering from Rājā Medini Prakash of Nāhan. Gurū Gobind Singh stayed here for about three years. This was a period filled with literary creation. In the calm of Pāoṭā, Gurū Gobind Singh composed poetry of spiritual as well as of martial tenor, and the fifty-two poets and writers he kept in his employ produced a vast treasure of literature by their compositions and by the translations they had made from ancient Indian classics. It was during his stay at Pāoṭā that the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī took place. At Pāoṭā was born Gurū Gobind Singh's eldest son, Ajīt Siṅgh.

Before leaving Pāoṭā for Anandpur in 1688, Gurū Gobind Singh entrusted the care of the fortified havelī and the sanctum within it to one Bhāī Bishan Siṅgh. The shrine, Gurḍwārā Śrī Pāoṭā Sāhīb, was reconstructed in 1823 by Bābā Kapūr Siṅgh with funds provided by Sāhīb Siṅgh Sandhāṅvalī. In course of time, the shrine, with about 120 acres of land attached to it, came into the hands of hereditary mahants who treated it as their personal property. In 1964 a band of Nihangs forced their entry into the shrine and started a continuing recital of the Gurū Granth Sāhīb. The mahants sought the intervention of the Himāchal Pradesh Government. After a protracted dispute the
management of the Gurdwārā was entrusted, in 1970, to an eleven-member committee including ten life members and the president of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, as ex-officio chairman.

The present building complex spreads over an area of over 3 acres. The main Gurdwārā Śrī Pāonṭā Sāhib in the centre consists of a square domed room within a vast rectangular hall. The inner room contains old weapons among which a double-edged sword, a scimitar and a matchlock are believed to have been the Guru’s personal weapons once. Other shrines include Talab Asthān where pay used to be disbursed; Kāvī Darbār Asthān where literary works were recited and discussed; and Dastār Asthān where after the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī robes of honour were given to the warriors. Some relics were bestowed also on Pīr Buddhū Shāh of Sadhaurā for his devoted service and sacrifice during the battle. Another shrine is a memorial to Rishi Kālpī whom the Guru had brought from his hermitage in the Himalayas to stay awhile at Pāonṭā. From the backyard, Gobiṅḍ Ghāṭ leads down to the waters of the Yamunā. Administrative offices are under the portal on either flank of which is a row of rooms for pilgrims on the inner side and a line of shops facing outwards. Guru Kā Lāṅgar is in the western part of the compound.

Besides the daily programme of gurbāṇī recital and kīrtan, larger assemblies take place on full-moon days. An annual fair is held on Holā Mahallā.

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PĀPA (Sanskrit and Pāli pāpa, Prākrit pava). The word stands for one of the basic concepts of the Indian religious tradition. This concept relates to what is considered religiously and morally evil, an act of body, mind, or speech opposed to what is considered religiously and morally good. In the long religious history of India the doctrine of pāpa was developed and elaborated in great detail and in many different ways by different systems of faith and morality. No single definition can adequately express its connotations. For example, in both Brahmanism and Sikhism it is customary to translate the word pāpa as ‘sin’. But ‘evil’ could equally well convey the sense. There are some other shades of meaning, which, however, have not found a place in the relevant contexts.

Any deed of commission or omission which is opposed to Dharma, God’s will, religious practice, and moral rules expressed or laid down in the sacred texts, may be included within the range of pāpa. The word thus means any act irreligious, immoral, bad, wicked, vicious and depraved. Some of the semantic cognates of pāpa are pātaka (sin); apunya (unholy); akushala (bad); ashubha, (inauspicious); kilbiṣa, kilbykh (evil); dosha (defilement), duṣkṛta (crime) and apavitra (impure).

The etymology of pāpa is obscure. The word pātaka is derived from the root pata, to fall, physically or in the moral sense. Sin is what causes a fall from the religious, moral and spiritual position, the nature of which may vary from tradition to tradition. Violation of, or opposition to, a prescribed religious or moral law causes not only fall but also bondage. Therefore, it is said, that which binds or fetters (pāsayati) and causes downfall (pātayati) is called pāpa or sin. This seems to be the best soteriological definition of pāpa in the context of India’s religious experience which has placed supreme value on spiritual release (mokṣa). It is obvious that the idea of pāpa is associated on the one-
hand with the relation of man with man here and now, and on the other with man’s transcendent quest. All that leads us away from the ultimate Reality constitutes pāpa.

The primitive people conceived of sin or evil as a pollution which was derived from contagion and could be removed by physical means. The Rgveda and the Atharvaveda reveal traces of this external view of sin. Consciousness of morally evil things and of spiritual liberation emerged towards the middle Vedic epoch, especially from the thought of ascetic sages known as munis and śramaṇas. It is likely that the notion of pāpa as something morally evil originated among the pre-Vedic non-Āryan Indians. However, the word pāpa and some of its cognates, such as agha, durita, and duskrita occur in the Rgveda. The usual meaning of these words during this age was ‘guilt’, ‘evil’, or ‘sin’. The Rgveda also mentions seven limits by trespassing even one of which a man may come to suffering. The text does not specify these limits which, however, are listed in the Nirukta in the following order: theft, violating the bed of the guru, murder of a brahman, causing abortion, drinking wine, continual practice of wickedness, and bearing false witness.

It is in the ascetic philosophies of liberation, chiefly represented by Jainism and Buddhism, that we find, for the first time, a clear and detailed treatment of the doctrine of pāpa—its sources, nature, consequences and means of eradication.

To Pārshvanātha (circa 750 BC) is attributed the tenet of fourfold restraint (chaturyāma) against transgressing the precepts of truth, inoffensiveness, stealing, and attachment to earthly possessions. Violation of any of these precepts constituted pāpa. To this list Mahāvīra added incontinence as the fifth sin. The Śrīvakṣānta lays down the general principles for all seekers of liberation to keep their souls away from evils. The Āvaśyakasūtra gives a list of eighteen kinds of sin including killing, lying, stealing, sex-play, earthly possessions, anger, pride, illusion, greed, passion, hatred, etc.

The standard Buddhist decalogue has the following sinful pathways: killing living beings, stealing, sexual impurity, lying, slandering, speaking harshly, chattering frivolously, covetous thought, hostile thoughts, and false views. Two technical Pāli terms, peculiar to Buddhism, are abhiśāna (deadly crime) and ānautariya-kamma (an action bearing immediate retribution.)

The Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra divides sins into two categories: those that cause loss of caste (pataniya) and those that cause impurity (āsukhikara). In the first category are included theft of gold, drinking of wine, incest, etc., while the second category includes cohabitation by an Āryan woman with a śūdra, eating meat of forbidden animal, e.g., a dog. The Dharmasūtras considered voyage by sea as a sin leading to loss of caste. In the Bhagavad-gītā, Arjuna argues that there is sin in fighting with friends and evil in destroying one’s family. Kṛṣṇa in reply introduces the tenet of the indestructibility of the self and argues that by not carrying on righteous war Arjuna will lose his own kartavya (duty) and incur sin.

The notion of sin as a moral and religious evil predominates throughout the Sikh texts. Besides this, Sikhism also developed the notion of pāpa from the standpoint of theistic devotionalism. Forgetfulness of God is the greatest sin in Sikhism: “Those who turn away from the holy Master are renegades and evil; bound to their desires they ever suffer and avail not themselves of the chance (to get away from the path of sin)” (GG, 233). Sikhism does not attach significance to Brāhmanical and other rituals and hence their non-observance does not constitute sin. Similarly, failure to live up to the norms of varṇa or āśrama does not form the basis for sinfulness as Sikhism does not believe in these social distinctions. In other words, emphasis is laid not upon the sinfu-
ness based on violation of rules of domestic ritual and of performance of caste duties, but upon the violation of the norms of piety and moral conduct.

The Sikh Scripture being a poetic composition, contains devotional hymns with moral teachings scattered throughout. The concept of sin or evil is not expressed either in a set text or by a particular word or phrase; the term pāpa is employed here because it has high frequency in common usage, and it is the most comprehensive term to cover various aspects of the concept of religious and moral evil.

Many other terms which could be accepted as synonyms or near-synonyms of pāpa occur in the Guru Granth Sāhib. Some of these are; mail (impurity), avagun (vice), burāi (evil) kilbikh (sin), agh (fault), apavit (unholy), duratu (misdeed), etc.

Among the sources of sin mentioned are the four rivers of vice and the three maladies. These four rivers are hans, het, lobh, kop (violence, attachment, avarice and wrath). The three maladies are ādhi, viādhi, upādhi, which are maladies of mind and body.

The Sikh catalogue of vices contains, among others, the following: lust, anger, avarice, attachment to the world, pride, stealing, tyranny over others, injustice, slander, lying, cheating, self-praise, coveting others’ wealth, and jealousy. A single term which comprehends the sinful tendency or nature is manmukh. It is opposed to another well-known term gurmukh. Scholars have usually translated the former as ‘egocentric and self-willed’ or ‘self-oriented’, and the latter as ‘God-ward turning’. This is a technical religious term with theological implications and we must emphasize its value from the soteriological rather than from the literal standpoint. A manmukh is a sinner not only because he makes his own laws and follows them wilfully, but chiefly because his will is opposed to God’s will (hukam) and he disobeys divine commandments taught by the Gurū.

Delusion (moha), avarice (lobha) and hatred (dvesha) are the three roots of evil recognized in the Buddhist tradition. This view is shared by all the Indian religions. Vaishnavite Vedānta teaches that lust (kāma), anger (krodha), and avarice (lobha) constitute the three-fold gate to hell, to the ruin of the self. Actions inspired by passion (leśyas) and instincts (sañjñās) of food, sex-play, fear, and of possession are declared to be the mainsprings of sins in the Jaina tradition. The Dharmasastras state that a person incurs sin by neglecting the daily ceremonies of oblation to the fire (agnihotra), rites of purification, worship, and by doing what is prohibited, such as drinking wine, and by not restraining the senses. The Kaushitaki-Brāhmaṇopanisad teaches the doctrine that God makes that man perform good deeds whom He wishes to raise to higher worlds than these, and He makes that man do bad deeds whom He wishes to drag down. This doctrine is accepted in the Brahma-sūtra, and Śaṅkara in his commentary on this sūtra argues that the Lord does so in accordance with the past deeds of that person. Sikhism traces the origin of everything in the world to the Creator. The origin of sin thus is a divine mystery.

Poison (evil) and amrīta (good) were created by God Himself; He produced these two fruits on the tree of the world (GG, 1172). Illusion (māyā) and attachment were created by God; He Himself produced delusion (GG, 67).

In another text are mentioned together God’s law (hukam) and man’s actions: Man’s activity determines his destiny by operation of the law:

His law He operates, though the Divine pen writes according to the deeds of beings (GG, 1241). On the destructive nature of pāpa in man’s life, a number of texts from the Guru Granth Sāhib may be cited. Some of these are given below: Bābar in his invasion
of India (1521) is stated by Guru Nanak to have descended on India with the wedding party of sin, and to have “forcibly demanded the hand of the Indian womanhood” (GG, 722). This sin, of course, was rape and rapine by the aggressor. In relation to Bābar’s invasion also, contemplating the degeneration of the Indian ruling classes, given to accumulating lucre which now the invader snatched from them, he reflects: “Without sin is lucre not accumulated and with man it goes not at death” (GG, 417). Reflecting on the nature of the inevitable retribution for sin, Guru Arjan affirms: “You are engaged in sin, none shall be your friend (that is, when retribution comes)” (GG, 546). Says Guru Nānak: “Sinners like stones are sunk; by the Master’s teaching will they be saved” (GG, 163).

Guru Nānak compares man’s state to the bird’s (GG, 934): “Those that pick up the essence of truth, suffer not. Those that rush for picking up excessive grain, have their wings broken and their feet caught in snares. Their sins bring them to torment.” Says Guru Nānak in Parbhāṭi measure (GG, 1329): “Whoever keeps in bondage his evil propensities, to him am I a sacrifice. One that discriminates not between evil and good, is verily straying about.”

Haumai (egoism), according to Sikh thought, is the root cause of all evil impulses. Haumai is a type of spiritual blindness. Under its influence man becomes so much engrossed in the material world and the material self that he is unable to distinguish between the physical body and the real self, the ātman. Being cut off from the real and pure self, he is now guided by the baser impulses of the material body which lead him from one evil to another. The more one gets enchanted by the allurement of carnal cravings, the thicker becomes the wall of haumai, till the light of ātman is completely shut off and man becomes a plaything for the cravings of the flesh.

The external view of sin recognized external means of its destruction. Thus some Vedic texts and most of the dharmaśāstras and purāṇas prescribe rituals of purification and ways of expiation. Offering oblation, performing sacrifices, bathing at holy places in holy waters, giving gifts to Brāhmans and undergoing physical penances, are some of the means of destroying sin. Sikhism does not pay so much attention to this category of expiation (prāyaśchittā) of sins. Its expiatory emphasis is on prayer, contemplation (simran, smarana) and doing good to others. Engagement in beneficent actions, service (sevā), is the best means of escaping sin and expiating for it. In this connection also is mentioned the tripartite formula of nām, dān, ishnān (contemplation of God, charity to others and the holy path). These are the cardinal duties and they ward off sin and its consequences.

The Bhagavad-gītā strikes a new note in declaring that all sins are destroyed through loving devotion (bhakti) to God and through His favour (prasāda). In addition to these, this text declares true knowledge (jñāna) as the greatest purifier. Purity of mind and body, performance of actions with an attitude of non-attachment to their results are also counted as ways of going beyond sins and bondage.

Great value is attached to Divine favour (prasād, nadar, mihar or kirpā) in Sikhism. God is the supreme purifier. He purifies even the most sinful beings through His compassion and grace. God’s favour is attainable either through undivided love and faith, or through a true teacher (gurū), as Guru Amar Dās declares: “Utter the name of God, and contemplate in your mind, (then you will realize) that the impurity (of sins) is washed off through His grace” (GG, 230); and again: “Through the Gurū’s grace egoism is cast out, through his grace impurity (of sin) will not touch you” (GG, 230). God’s grace however is secured by do-
ing good deeds, by keeping company with the holy (sādhu-saṅgat) and by ceaseless devotion to the Lord. The Guru Granth Sahib repeats several times the statement that “suniai dukh pāp kā nāsu—by listening (to holy teaching) are suffering and sin destroyed.” The very name of God is auspicious and strikes away heaps of sin. “Like a tiny spark of fire that burns the entire bundle of firewood, God’s holy Name purifies the body and destroys defilement in a moment.” The very sight of the preceptor (Guru) is the door to deliverance. Defilements are not got rid of without guidance of the teacher. It is by enshrining the Lotus Feet (of the Lord) in one’s heart that one can wash off the sins of many an existence. Company of the holy (sat-saṅgat), rendering service to them (sant-ṭhāl; sādḥ-sevā), realization of God (brahma-gīān), practice of virtue, service of the teacher (guru-sevā) and sense-control are also recognized as efficient means of eradicating sin.

According to the Christian doctrine, man suffers from the original sin of transgression committed by Adam. He can be saved only by surrendering himself to Jesus Christ. This idea is foreign to Indian thought. While the Guru’s grace is essential, man must work out his own liberation through prayer and good deeds. The idea of an intercessor common to the Semitic faiths is foreign to Sikhism. In Sikhism the Guru inspires devotion, but for release the devotee-seeker (Sikh, jīgīāsū) must depend on his own endeavour, from which there is no escape.

According to the teachings of Sikhism, thoughts, words or deeds based on egoity take one away from God. Haumai is annulled by nām, contemplation of God’s Name, and nām is realized by grace of the Guru. When nām comes to abide in the mind, man is cleansed of all sins. When the mind is polluted by filth of sin, it can be washed clean by devotion to nām (Jāpu, 20).

Numerous texts can be cited to show that kām (lust), krodh (wrath), ahaṅkār (pride), etc., have to be eradicated or subdued before nām can abide in one’s heart. Man must shed lust, anger, falsehood, slander, greed for riches and the ego; again, one must get rid of the lust for woman, and worldly attachment; only then can one attain access to God even while living in this world of illusions. He must cleanse his mind of pride, of attachment to wife and children and of desire; only then, saith Nānak, shall the holy Lord abide in man’s heart, and he can, through the Word, get merged in His Name (GG, 141).

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PARAMĀRTHA, a combination of param, i.e. the highest or the supreme, and artha, i.e. meaning or objective or purpose, is, in literature, the title generally applied to a work of exposition of a scriptural text. Unlike ōkā which deals with the text in an elaborate and comprehensive way, the paramārtha, in contradistinction, refers only to the inner or central meaning of the text.

In Sikh exegetical literature, the paramārtha tradition goes back to the Janam Sākhsī, the first-ever written accounts of Guru Nānak’s life, which also contain elaborations and expositions of some of his compositions. The mode became an inte-
gral part of the hagiographical works of Soḍhī Manohar Dās Miharbān (1581-1640), Pothī Sach Khaṇḍ and other writings of the family (Pothī Harij, and Pothī Chaturbhuj). It was presumed that the true meaning of the Gurū’s hymns could be explained or understood only by placing them in the contexts in which they had been or could have been uttered. Thus a possible situation or setting befitting a hymn was conceived and in reference to it the paramārtha or meaning of the Gurū’s words explained. The better-known paramārthas that have come down from this school are those of Japū, Pāṭī, Oavīhār, Siddhā Goṣṭi and Bārā Māhā. Paramārtha in Sikh letters gave place to fikā, annotation and commentary which gained vogue in the nineteenth century.

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PĀRĀS BHĀG is an adaptation into Sādhī Bhākhā, in Gurmukhi script, of Abu Hamīd Muhammad al-Ġhazzālī’s Kimāʾ i-Saʿādat, an abridged edition in Urdu of his Iḥyāʾ ul-ʿUlūm, in Arabic. The work was first published in 1876. Several of the manuscript copies prior to that date are still in circulation. An edition in Devanāgarī script was brought out in 1929. The question as to who adapted the work into Bhākhā and when has not been fully resolved. According to one tradition, the version in Gurmukhi characters was prepared towards the close of the seventeenth century at Anandpur by Sayyid Badr ud-Dīn of Saḍhaurā at the instance of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh (1666-1708). According to another, it was translated a little before the middle of the eighteenth century by a Sevāpānṭhi saint—either Bhai Āddān Shāh or Bhai Gāṛū. The book is held in great veneration by Sevāpānṭhi Sikhs who recite it up to this day in their derās or monasteries. The work originally written in the eleventh century was meant for the edification of the Muslims laying down for them moral and social injunctions. These stipulations represent a mixture of Islamic, Sūfī and Vedāntic principles and thus have a wide appeal. The main stress is on loving devotion to God and on right conduct.

D.S.

PARAS RĀM, BHĀĪ, a Brāhmaṇ physician, was a Sikh contemporary of Gurū Hargobind. See BANVĀLĪ, BHĀĪ

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PARCHĪ (plural parchīān), Punjabiized form of the Sanskrit noun parichaya which means introduction, evidence or an anecdote bearing witness to the miraculous powers of a prophet or seer. The term was applied to the form of Punjabi writing developed in the seventeenth century to present the life-stories of the Gurūs, saints and bhaktas. Even mythical characters such as Dhṛū and Prabhād were not beyond the purview of the genre. The word parchī is sometimes used synonymously with sākhī, but there is a shade of distinction between the two. Whereas sākhī is a popular coinage denoting the account of an event from the life of a saint or prophet, parchī essentially refers to the form. The first Parchī that has come down to us relates to Bābā Handāl (AD 1573-1648), founder of the Niraṇjanī sect, written in verse by his son, Bidhī Chand. This is an idealized, much exaggerated account of the life of Handāl. The next work in this genre is Parchīān Pāṭshāhī Das written sometime in the first quarter of the eighteenth century by Sevā Dās, an Udāsī sādhū. Although the main focus of the work, which
is in prose, is on the Tenth Master, Guru Gobind Singh, it embraces the lives of the nine preceding Gurus as well. From the same order came Parchi Bhāi Kanhaiya Ji, Parchi Bhāi Sevā Rām, Parchi Mahā Sundar Sachār Kī, Parchi Raibā Ji Kī, and Parchiān Bhāi Addān Shāh. Each of these works contains episodes relating to the life of the saint it is dedicated to. Events chosen are calculated not so much to delineate the career of the saint as to bring out the spiritual and benevolent nature of the saint. From the Udāsi school comes Parchiān Sevā Dās, an eighteenth-century work which contains fifty sākhīs or stories from the lives of the Ten Gurus.

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PARCHIĀN PĀTSHĀI 10 is an anonymous and so far unpublished work, comprising 50 parchīs or stories from the life of Guru Gobind Singh (MS. held at the Khālsā College, Amritsar, under MS. No. 2300E). Of the 45 folios, 14 describe in brief the lives of the first nine Gurus; the rest are devoted to Guru Gobind Singh. Special mention is made of the Zafarnāmah at which point the Guru’s major battles against the hill chiefs and the Mughal government are alluded to. The abolition of the institution of masands is ascribed to the corruption that had overtaken it. Guru Gobind Singh’s friendship with Bahādur Shāh, son of Emperor Aūraṅgīzēb, is justified on the ground that he (Bahādur Shāh) was a great lover of saints and had served them with devotion in his previous life. The circumstances of the death of the Guru are described in some detail. His orders for Sikhs to venerate the Āḍī Granth as Guru after him and to read bāṇī daily are said to have been explained to a Sikh named Prahlād Singh. A great part of Rāhitnāmā Prahlād Singh is reproduced in the text in 31 stanzas in a mixed form of poetry and prose.

PARCHIĀN SEVĀ DĀS, variously titled as Sākhīān Sevā Dās Udāsī, Mahālān Dasān kīān Sākhīān, Sākhīān Dasān Pātshāhīān Kīān or Parchiān Pātshāhī 10, is an eighteenth-century collection of 50 sākhīs or anecdotes from the lives of the Ten Gurus. Only one sākhī each relates to the first eight Gurus; four are connected with the Ninth, Guru Tegh Bahādur, and the remaining 38 narrate incidents from the life of Guru Gobind Singh. Nothing is known about the author, Sevā Dās, except that he, according to the colophon, belonged to the Udāsi sect, which categorically distinguishes him from Sevā Rām, the Sevāpantī writer. Several extant manuscripts of this work attest to its popularity. The Bhāshā Vibhāg, Punjab, first published it in 1961, and a second edition was brought out in 1978. The work is hagiographical rather than historical in nature, although several episodes agree with similar accounts in other sources such as the Gurbilāsas and Bhai Santokh Singh’s Śrī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth. The language is old Punjabi. The sākhīs are narrative in style, but didactic in purpose. Almost all of them convey some tenet or the other of Sikhism. For example, the 4th sākhī, in which Guru Rām Dās, answering Bābā Śrī Chand’s question, says that he had grown a long beard in order to wipe with it the feet of holy men like him, teaches humility. In several of the sākhīs, Guru Gobind Singh reiterates how offerings made to the Guru or his masands are not to be treated as personal property, but are held in trust for the Sikhs as a whole.

S.S.Am.
PARCHI BHAI KANHAIYA

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PARCHI BHĀI KANHAIYA, i.e. parchī (from Sanskrit prichaya or introduction here used in the sense of a life or biography) of Bhai Kanhaiya, a Sikh of the time of Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708) and founder of the Sevāpanthī sect. Written in Bhākhā sometimes between 1728 and 1740 when its author Bhai Sahaj Rām happened to be staying with Bhai Addan Shāh, another leading Sevāpanthī saint, the work was edited by Bhai Hirā Singh Mahant and published in 1966 by the Sevāpanthī-Addan Shāhī Sabhā, Patialā. The book comprises in all twenty sākhīs, i.e. stories or anecdotes, relating to the life of Bhai Kanhaiya. The book lays more stress on the spiritual aspect of the saint's personality than on biographical detail. Only such incidents and happenings from his life are related as highlight his spiritual attainments and philanthropic activities. Following generally the style of the Janam Sakhīs of Gūrū Nānak, the book is perhaps the first one conceived as a biography of a Sikh saint.

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PARCHI BHĀI SEVĀ RĀM is a biographical sketch, in Punjabi verse, of Bhai Sevā Rām who led the Sevāpanthī sect after the death of its founder Bhai Kanhaiya, a disciple of Gūrū Gobind Singh (1666-1708). Written by Bhai Sahaj Rām, himself a renowned Sevāpanthī saint, the book was edited by Bhai Hirā Singh and published by the Sevāpanthī-Addan Shāhī Sabhā, Patialā. Although the manuscripts of the work extant today bear no date, the work is surmised to have been written towards the close of the eighteenth century. Bhai Sevā Rām, a disciple and close associate of Bhai Kanhaiya, preached the Sikh way of life in distant parts of the country. His life is described in the book in the idiom of myth and miracle. But more than highlighting the deeds of the saint the work concerns itself with elucidating the Sikh tenets. This further blurs the biographical detail.

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PARCHI MANSŪR JĪ KĪ is a versified account, in an episode mould, of the life of Mansūr, the famous Sūfī saint. The authorship of the work is not known for certain, though it is generally attributed to Bhai Sahaj Rām, a Sevāpanthī saint. A manuscript copy of this still-unpublished work is held at the Central Public Library, Patialā, under MS. No. 2916 (ff. 441-50). The work is in Sādh Bhaṣā, Punjabi vocabulary predominating, and has dohirā-chaupai as the meters. Mansūr was born in Persia where he spent the first 18 years of his life and where he received his early education. Then occurred his meeting in Baghḍād with Junaid, another well-known Sūfī who initiated him into the Divine mystery. His preaching tours of India and China are followed by the account of his death by stoning for his slogan of analhaq “I am God” which was considered to be a blasphemous statement. Only those incidents have been chosen from Mansūr’s life which reflect his spiritual eminence. The author has discussed in this work the concepts of God, self, jīva, māya, etc. Realization of God is put forth as the principal aim of human life and meditation on His name as the means to it.

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Gm.S.
PARDAH SYSTEM, the custom in certain societies of excluding women from men, is of ancient origin. Pardah is a Persian word meaning veil, curtain or screen. Pardah system involves the covering of the bodies or at least faces by grown-up women from the gaze of males other than the closest kin, and their confinement to separate apartments in the interior of their homes variously called haram, zenānā, antahpur or avarodha. In its most rigid form the pardah system prevails in some of the Muslim societies, but the custom of the seclusion of women from men existed long before the advent of Islam. There is reference to it in the Old Testament and the practice was in vogue amongst the Chaldeans of Ur. In ancient Greece, Athenian women could not mix freely with male guests or friends of their husbands at home, and their movements outside the home were restricted. Islam only confirmed the custom with religious sanction and strictness. Theoretically a Muslim woman must wear a burqa', a tentlike garment covering the body from head to foot with only an emmeshed opening in front of the eyes, whenever stepping out of her house. Even within the house she must veil her face from all men except her father, her brother, and her husband. Among the Hindus of ancient India, pardah was at first confined to the women of some royal households as a symbol of prestige and superiority. The practice eventually passed on, in parts of the country, to aristocratic families, but pardah was not universally accepted as a social institution and was not adopted by the common people. The widespread use of pardah in north India came in the wake of Muslim conquest. Certain classes of Hindus, notably the Rājpūts, adopted it partly as a status symbol in imitation of the new ruling class and partly to protect the modesty of their women from the waywardness of the conquerers. Hindu women, however, did not adopt burqa'; they only covered their faces and busts with their head cloth.

The Gurūs discouraged discrimination between men and women. As they raised their voice against the custom of satī, burning alive of widows along with the dead bodies of their husbands, they deprecated pardah and advocated equal participation of men and women in saṅgat or religious assembly and in other spheres of life. In an anecdote preserved in Sarūp Dās Bhallā, Mahimā Prakāśh, Gurū Amar Dās (1479-1574) asked the pardah-observing wives of a Rājpūt hill-chief to come to saṅgat unveiled if they wanted to see him. Despite the disapproval of pardah by the Gurūs, some classes of Sikhs—rulers and aristocrats as well as Jatās of rural Punjab continued to practise it. The Singh Sabhā movement and the spread of modern education, however, led to the gradual elimination of the custom. The pardah system is well on its way to disappearance even amongst the Sikhs of the rural areas.

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PARDHĀN KAUR (1718-1792), Paṭialā princess, better known as Bibi Pardhān, was the daughter of Bābā Ālā Śīṅgh, founder of the family. She was born in 1718 at Bhadaur, in present-day Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab. She was married to Mohar Śīṅgh Randhāvā, of the village of Ramdās in Amritsar district.
Her only son, Rūp Singh, died young, and her husband also met with a premature end. These tragedies led Bibi Pardhan, to retire to her parental home at Barnālā where she spent her time in prayer and meditation. The motto in her personal seal read "nām jape sēi pardhān"—he alone who spends his time repeating God’s Name is the ranked one. Bābā Ālā Singh gave her a jāgīr and appointed Bhai Nikkā Singh, a disciple of Bābā Lāṅgar Singh, who started the Māgī fair at Muktsar in memory of the Forty Martyrs, to teach her Punjabi and Sanskrit. For the residence of Bhai Nikkā Singh, Bibi Pardhan had a dharamśālā built at Barnālā which is now famous as Dērā Bābā Gāndhār Singh. She had four more dharamśālās built, one each at Mālērkōṭā, Jagraon, Rāikōt and Pātiālā. She is said to have written a commentary of Yoga Vaśīṣṭha, a Sanskrit work, into Bhāshā, i.e. earlier Hindi. She also started a school for religious instruction and a free lāṅgar.

Pardhan Kaur died at Sekhā in 1792 where a samādh honours her memory.

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S.S.B.

PARDUMAN SINGH GIĀΝĪ, BHĀĪ (d. 1877), principal granthī or priest and manager of Śrī Darbār Sāḥib at Amritsar, was the eldest of the four sons of Bhāī Gurmukh Singh Giāṇī (d. 1843), a man of learning and an influential courtier in Sikh times. He was the grandson of the celebrated scholar, Bhāī Sant Singh Giāṇī, who had himself been the custodian of Śrī Darbār Sāḥib. Besides his inclination to letters which he had inherited, Parduman Singh started taking interest in princely pastimes such as playing chess and dice. He was barely 13 when he joined service under the Sikh sovereign. The family fell a prey to courtly intrigue after the death in 1843 of Mahārājā Sher Singh. Hīrā Singh Doṅgrā, who had gained power during the reign of the minor Mahārājā Duleep Singh, had Bhāī Gurmukh Singh seized and had him assassinated, along with his two brothers. Parduman Singh and his surviving brother Arjan Singh were taken into custody, placed in chains and treated with the greatest severity. Both eventually managed to escape to Ludhiānā where they sought asylum with the British. Hīrā Singh was killed in December 1844 and Sardār Jawāhar Singh, regent to the young Mahārājā Duleep Singh reinstated him as the manager of Śrī Darbār Sāḥib and his estates. A portion of the jāgīr amounting to 5,488 rupees and the family house, Burj Giāṇīāṅ, at Amritsar, were also restored to him. Bhāī Parduman Singh was especially entrusted with the development and beautification of the Harimandar Sāḥib and its surroundings. After the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the British government appointed him superintendent of Śrī Darbār Sāḥib and jāgīrs worth 4,000 rupees per annum released in perpetuity for the maintenance of the shrines. He accompanied Sardār Lahiṇā Singh Majīṭhīā to Vārāṇasī in 1853, but returned to Amritsar after the latter’s death the following year. He was a member of the committee that drew up Dastūr ul-’Amal, i.e. administrative rules, for the Darbār Sāḥib in 1859. He was also a member of the Board of Honorary Magistrates of Amritsar.

Bhāī Parduman Singh died at Amritsar on 20 November 1877.

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PARIVĀR VICHHŪRA, GURDWĀRĀ, Amritsar, 1983

PARIVĀR VICHHŪRA, GURDWĀRĀ, situated on the north bank of the rivulet Sarsā, about 12 km north of Ropar (30°-58'N, 76°-31'E) in the Punjab, signifies the tragic happenings that followed the evacuation of Anandpur by Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. ‘Parivār Vichhūra’ literally means ‘dispersal of the family’. When after the evacuation of Anandpur during the night of 5-6 December 1705, Gurū Gobind Siṅgh arrived at this place with the enemy host in hot pursuit, he found Sarsā in spate. A minor seasonal tributary of the Sutlej, Sarsā, being close to the Śivalik foothills, is subject to sudden flooding during the rains. Gurū Gobind Siṅgh decided to split the column into two. While a part of the force was to engage the enemy, the others were to get across the river as best they could. The Gurū, along with his four sons, the ladies of the household and about 150 followers, reached the other bank of the angry stream, but several others and the entire baggage train were washed away in the flood. Meanwhile, the rearguard kept the host in check. Many died; the survivors, sure of the Gurū’s safety, made good their escape in different directions.

Though safe across the river, Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s family could no longer keep together. He himself with his two elder sons and 40 Sikhs went towards Chamkaur; his two wives, escorted by a few Sikhs, reached Delhi, while his aged mother and two younger sons were escorted by a servant, Gaṅgū by name, to his village near Morinḍā where he betrayed them.

Gurdwārā Parivār Vichhūra Sāhib Pāṭshāhī 10 is an elegant four-storeyed building on top of a high pyramidal base riveted all around with stones, about 300 metres away from the Sarsā bank. It was completed in the 1970’s. The room where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated is about 15 metres above the ground level. This room, on the second storey, has a mosaic floor and its walls and ceiling are profusely painted in multi-coloured designs. There is a domed pavilion above it, with decorative cupolas at the corners. There are two rows of rooms at ground level near by for Gurūka Ḍīlangar and for residential purposes. Human bones, karās and weapons, said to have been discovered at the site during the excavation for foundation-laying, have been preserved for display in the Gurdwārā.

Sant Ajit Siṅgh of Niholkā who supervised the construction of the Gurdwārā continues to manage the administration. An annual fair is held on 1 Poh (mid-December).

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PARMĀNAND, a Mahārāṣṭrīan saint-poet, one of whose hymns is included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Born probably in 1483, he is believed to have resided at Bārṣī, situated to the north of Paṇḍharpur, in present-day Sholāpur district of Mahārāṣṭra. Parmānand was a devotee of Viṣṇu and used in his songs the nom de plume Sārṇg, the name of a bird ever thirsty for the raindrop. He always longed for God whom he worshipped in the Vaiṣṇavite manifestation of Kṛṣṇa. He used to make, it is said, seven hundred genuflexions daily to God on his uncovered, often bleeding, knees. He believed for a long time that God could be
worshipped as an image only, but later he had the realization that the nirguna Supreme, God unmanifest, could also be loved and prayed to. Parmānand’s one hymn incorporated in the Guru Granth Sāhib (p. 1253) subscribes to this view. In this hymn, he disapproves of the ritualistic reading and hearing of the sacred books if that has not disposed one to the service of fellow beings. He commends sincere devotion which could be imbied from the company of holy saints. Lust, wrath, avarice, slander have to be expunged for they render all seva, i.e. service, fruitless.

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T.S.

PARTĀP KAUR, RĀNĪ (d. 1857), daughter of Jagat Śīṅgh of Koṭ Kapūrā, now in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab, was married to Kaṅvar Sher Śīṅgh, son of Mahārājā Ranjit Śīṅgh, in 1825. She died on 23 August 1857, leaving an adopted son, Thākar Śīṅgh, aged 14 years. Thākar Śīṅgh was the son of her cousin, Gajjā Śīṅgh. She had adopted him in 1847 and, on her death, he was granted a pension of Rs 1,800 per annum by the British.

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PARTĀP ŚĪṅGH, son of Kāhn Śīṅgh, was admitted into the service of the Sikh government of Lahore by his maternal uncle, General Mihān Śīṅgh, governor of Kashmir. His first appointment was as commandant under his own father on a salary of Rs 400. After the death of General Mihān Śīṅgh’s brother, Gurmukh Śīṅgh, he held a command on rupees 800 which in 1836 was increased to Rs 1,800 and which included an estate situated in Lahore district. Partāp Śīṅgh served as commandant of Mahārājā Duleep Śīṅgh’s guard in 1849. His service jāgīr was resumed by the British after the annexation of the Punjab, but he was granted a life pension of Rs 600.

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G.S.N.
PARTĀP SINGH (d. 1844), son of Buddh Singh Randhāvā, rose to be a colonel in the army of Maharājā Ranjit Singh. His grandfather, Sāhib Singh, who was the first in the family to have been initiated a Sikh about 1770, joined Jai Singh, leader of the Kanhaiyā misl, and brought under his possession some thirty villages surrounding Kathū Naṅgal, in Amritsar district. He was survived by his two sons, Jit Singh and Buddh Singh. Partāp Singh’s father, Buddh Singh, tendered allegiance to Ral).jit Singh and served in his army, participating in campaigns in Hazara, in the Yusafzai country and in Kashmir. Partāp Singh was given an assignment in the Ghorcharhā Kalān Regiment and was later appointed adjutant in the Pahūvinḍiā Regiment. In 1840, he was promoted to the rank of commandant. In 1842, he was made a colonel and was granted a jāgīr worth Rs 1,000.

Partāp Singh died heirless in 1844.

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Griffin, Lepel, The Punjab Chiefs. Lahore, 1890

PARTĀP SINGH, coming from the village of Shankar in the district of Jalandhar, had won repute for his regularity of habit and strong sense of discipline. He had been a Viceroy commissioned officer (Jamādār) in the Punjab army. He had been able to spend his early years at school. He seemed well to understand the value of the three R’s and had sent up one of his sons to the university. That was Swaran Singh who received his Master’s degree in Physics at the University of the Punjab. He had a fabulous career as a minister in Jawāharlal Nehru’s government after Independence.

Partāp Singh assumed public office in 1933 as president of the Shiromāṇī Committee for the management of the Sikh shrines after his retirement from the army. He succeeded Gopāl Singh Qaumī, B.A., who after a single day in office had resigned. Before quitting, he quipped, "My party commanded me yesterday to take over as president and I did accept its word. Today they have asked me to relinquish the office which I am doing without any hesitation."

Jamādār Partāp Singh solidly established himself as president/vice-president of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā parbandhak Committee during 1933-46. He had many likeable qualities and he proved a firm and popular administrator. His unquestioned integrity continued to be his strong asset. By his suavity of manner and his expertness in dealing with men and affairs he won wide appreciation. He was especially respected for his personal rectitude. He completed his second term in office enjoying the fullest confidence of his colleagues and he held the reins of administration tightly in his hands. It was through his firm leadership that he made the Gurdwārā legislation truly applicable and viable.

Before he entered upon the office of President of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Jamādār Partāp Singh had also been a member of the Punjab Legislative Council. This was during 1923-24.

PARTĀP SINGH, GIĀṆĪ (1855-1920), Sikh schoolman and calligraphist, was born in 1855, the son of Bhai Bhāg Singh Giāṇī of Lahore. As a young boy, Partāp Singh learnt Punjabi, Urdu and Sanskrit and studied Sikh Scriptures. In 1884, he accompanied Ṭhākur Singh Sandhāṅvīlā to England to read the Guru Granth Sāhib to the deposed Sikh ruler of the Punjab, Maharājā Duleep Singh. Partāp Singh remained in England for six months. On return to India, he worked as a granthī, scripture-reader, at Gurdwārā Kaulsars in Amritsar. When Maharājā Duleep Singh was due to come back to India, Partāp Singh accompanied Ṭhākur Singh and his sons to Delhi with the intention of going to
PARTĀP SINGH, GIĀNĪ

Bombay to receive the Mahārājā. On hearing the news of Duleep Siṅgh’s detention at Aden, Partāp Siṅgh returned to Amritsar while Thākur Siṅgh proceeded to Pondicherry. At Amritsar, Partāp Siṅgh worked secretly for Thākur Siṅgh distributing his pro-Duleep Siṅgh letters among his confidants and friends. Towards the close of 1887, he was arrested at Amdtsar and sent to Lahore jail. He escaped from prison and, turning a sādhū, travelled to different parts of the country in the company of holy men. During one such journey he happened to meet Max Arthur Macauliffe, then engaged in translating the Sikh Scripture into English. Macauliffe was impressed by his learning and wished that he would assist him in his work. Partāp Siṅgh, who had introduced himself under the assumed name of Bāvā Iśar Dās, revealed thereupon his identity to him. Macauliffe interceded with the government on his behalf and had the warrants of his arrest withdrawn in January 1889.

Partāp Siṅgh settled down in a house near Bābā Āṭal, in Amritsar, and for several years performed kathā expounding the Holy Writ in front of the Akāl Buṅgā. A fine calligraphist, Partāp Siṅgh transcribed volumes of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the most famous of them being the one still preserved in the Golden Temple. This copy, completed in 1908, is written in very bold Gurumukhi characters on large-sized 25" X 23" sheets of Kashmiri paper and is installed on the first floor of the Golden Temple where it is used for the recital of akhand pāths or unbroken readings of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The entire volume, 1527 leaves, i.e. 3054 pages, with double borders in red, blue and yellow, is written in Giānī Partāp Siṅgh’s hand and is known as Vaṭḍe Bābā Ji (large-sized Holy Volume). The name of the scribe is mentioned at the end of the text, on a separate sheet. Volumes of the Holy Books transcribed by Giānī Partāp Siṅgh are also preserved at Bābā Āṭal and Takẖt Srī Hazūr Sāhib, Nānḵed. About 1901, Partāp Singh joined the Aitchison (Chiefs) College, Lahore, as granthī and instructor. According to Panjābī Bhain, August 1916 issue, he was the first secretary of the Amritsar Siṅgh Sabha. He was also editor of the earliest published Sikh newspaper Akāl Prakāsh, which made its first appearance on 21 Hār, 407 Nānakshāhī AD 1876. He is also said to have translated into Punjabi Major Evans Bell’s book, The Annexation of the Punjab and Maharaja Duleep Siṅgh.

Partāp Siṅgh died at Lahore on 20 July 1920.

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PARTĀP SIṄGH KAIROṆ (1901-1965), political leader of wide influence and chief minister of the Punjab from 1956 to 1964, was born on 1 October 1901 in the village of Kairoṅ, in Amritsar district of the Punjab, in a farming family of modest means. His father Nihāl Siṅgh, who had been active in the Siṅgh Sabhā movement, was a pioneer of women’s education and had founded in his village a Sikh school for girls. When still a student of the Khālsā College at Amritsar, Partāp Siṅgh left home for the United States of America. There he had to earn his own way by working on farms and in factories. He eventually took a Master’s degree in political science at the University of Michigan. He simultaneously concerned himself with the problems of Indian freedom and worked with groups determined to advance independence, if necessary by revolutionary activity.

Partāp Siṅgh was deeply influenced by the American way of life. Mile upon mile of oranges, grapes and peaches he saw in Cali-
fornia planted in his mind the vision of a fruit-laden Punjab. He believed that affluence on farms was within reach of the Punjabi villager only if he had an independent and vital government. Partap Singh evolved a pragmatic, determined approach to political, economic and social issues. Returning to India in 1929, Partap Singh started from Amritsar a weekly paper in English, The New Era, the first issue appearing on 13 April 1931. But he soon entered active politics and closed down the paper. He joined the Shiromani Akali Dal, party of Sikh activists. He was also a member of the Indian National Congress, the main all-India party associated with the independence movement. As a Congress worker he was jailed in 1932 for five years for participating in the Civil Disobedience movement. In 1937, he entered the Punjab Legislative Assembly as an Akali nominee, defeating the Congress candidate, Bābā Gurdit Singh of Sarhāl. He was general secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee from 1941 to 1946, a period of acute crisis in the freedom struggle. He went to jail again in the 1942 Quit India movement. He was president of the Punjab Congress from 1950-52; a member of the Central (All-India) Working Committee from 1946-59, and was elected to the Constituent Assembly in 1946.

With the achievement of Indian independence in 1947, the Congress chose Partap Singh to turn his faith and influence to the construction of the new Punjab. He held office in the elected state government continuously from 1947 to 1949 and from 1952 to 1964. First as development minister and then as chief minister, Partap Singh Kairon led the Punjab in all-round progress and change. Much of his work in the government was concerned with vital details, the removal of hurdles, the creation of opportunities, and the psychology and will for work, and the belief in change. Several of his programmes carried the mark of his individuality. He was associated with relief and rehabilitation, following the mass movement in 1947 of millions of refugees from Pakistan. Over three million people were in a brief period re-established in the Punjab in new homes and often in new avocations. Partap Singh took up the consolidation of land holdings, which was made compulsory by law, and by completing the operation at high speed laid the base on which was founded the spurt in production on farms in the 1960’s. He belonged to, and was of, the Punjab village which ensured for him strong mass backing. He experimented, worked, tried everything that was new and possible. He became the tornado round which the new and the old clashed in contradiction and friction, and yet merged briefly and decisively in action, He certainly changed the administrative structure and methods of decision-making inherited from the British system.

In 1964, following the report of the commission of enquiry which had exonerated him of the bulk of the allegations made against him by his political adversaries, Partap Singh Kairon resigned his position as chief minister of the Punjab. On 6 February 1965, he was assassinated as his car coming from Delhi was waylaid near the village of Rasol on the main highway from Delhi to Amritsar.

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PARTAP SINGH, KAṈVAR (1831-1843), born in 1831 to Prem Kaur, second wife of Maharājā Sher Singh, to whom he had been married in 1822, after the death of his first wife. He grew up to be a handsome boy, with extremely graceful manners. He had gained good command of Persian by the time he
PARTĀPU, BHĀI

was seven years old. His precociousness was noticed by everyone who met him. He was a great favourite of the French officers at the Sikh court. His father doted on him and could not bear to be parted from him even for a short while. Several foreign visitors to the court have left written accounts of how they were impressed by his engaging manners and intelligence. His marksmanship and knowledge of all sorts of contrivances for making bullets amazed everyone in the camp of Lord Auckland when the governor-general visited Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in 1838. But the life of the promising young man was tragically cut short in his twelfth year. Both he and his father fell victims to intrigue. Mahārājā Sher Singh was assassinated in the Shalāmār Bāgh by Ajīt Singh Sandhānvālīā on 15 September 1843. The shots that killed Sher Singh were a signal for Lāhīnā Singh Sandhānvālīā to pounce upon his son, Partāp Singh, then being weighed in a garden near by against grain and silver to be given away in charity. Lāhīnā Singh seized the young prince by the hair and cut him to pieces.

PARTITION OF THE PUNJAB

1947 was the result of the overwhelming support the Muslim demand for the creation of Pakistan, an independent and sovereign Muslim State, had gathered in India. When the word Pakistan was first mentioned, the idea had been laughed out of court, even by the Muslims themselves. But within the next half a decade, it had annexed almost the total support of the Muslim population. During the discussions in England that preceded the passing of the Government of India Act 1935, Pakistan had been mentioned, but no one had taken it as a serious proposition. By the end of 1938, however, Pakistan was being seriously canvassed in Muslim League circles, and in March 1940, under M.A. Jinnah's leadership, the League passed at Lahore the famous Pakistan Resolution, demanding the partition of India and the formation of the Muslim majority zones of the northwest and northeast into independent sovereign States.

This uncompromising demand for Pakistan and the partition of India aroused intense opposition throughout the whole country, not least among the Sikhs. Just as the Muslims were unwilling to submit to a permanent Hindu majority in a united India, so the Sikhs viewed with alarm the prospect of becoming a permanent minority in a Muslim State, which would be their fate if the whole of the Punjab was included in Pakistan. But the Sikh leaders were in a dilemma; for any...
division of the Punjab so as to exclude from Pakistan the predominantly non-Muslim areas would also divide the Sikhs.

In an endeavour to break the deadlock that arose between Congress and the League over the Pakistan issue Mr Rājagopalāchārī in 1944 persuaded Mahātmā Gāndhī to offer to Mr Jinnāh a Pakistan consisting of those contiguous areas in the northwest and northeast of India in which Muslims were in a majority. This offer meant the exclusion from Pakistan of practically the whole of Assam and nearly half of Bengal and of the Punjab, both of which would have to be partitioned. Mr Jinnāh rejected it as “a shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan,” and adhered inflexibly to his demand for a sovereign Pakistan of six provinces.

By this time he and the League had gained greatly in strength. Ever since the passing of the Pakistan Resolution, he had been methodically working to marshal all Muslims under his leadership, and to crush other leaders who were unwilling to bow to his dictation and were lukewarm in their support of the demand for Pakistan. In Bengal, Fazl-ul-Huq was displaced as premier in 1943 by a more staunch Muslim Leaguer; and in the Punjab Sir Khizar Hayāt Khān Ťwānā, who on Sir Sikandar’s death had succeeded him as Premier, was expelled from the League in 1944. His Muslim followers had now to choose between loyalty to him and the Unionist Party he led and loyalty to Mr Jinnāh and the League. Though Sir Khizar retained the support of most Muslim members of the provincial assembly and continued as Premier, he was weakened, for a rift opened in the ranks of his Muslim followers.

Fresh elections held at the end of World War II in the cold weather of 1945-46 confirmed that Mr Jinnāh had secured the backing of almost all Muslims in India. The League won every Muslim seat in the Central Legislative Assembly and the majority of those in provincial assemblies. Its most striking success was in the Punjab where Sir Khizar’s Muslim Unionists were reduced to a handful of seven and all the remaining seventy-nine Muslim seats had gone to the League. With the support of Congress Hindus and Akāli Sikhs, Sir Khizar was able to form a government and continue as Premier, but it was virtually the end of the once powerful Unionist Party that under his leadership might have stood as a bulwark against the demand for Pakistan and the resulting partition of the Punjab.

To the Muslim masses Pakistan had been little more than a vague utopia, but after the League’s electoral successes the demand for it had to be squarely faced. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, proposed to the Labour Government in England that if Mr Jinnāh persisted in the demand for a completely sovereign Pakistan, he should be told that all he could get would be a truncated Pakistan, shorn of Assam, West Bengal, including Calcutta, and about half of the Punjab. The Viceroy believed that when plainly confronted with this prospect, Mr Jinnāh might be prepared to settle for the best terms he could get for the Muslims within a united India. This was in effect the course adopted when in March 1946 a Cabinet Mission came out to India to try to solve the constitutional problem. It was made clear to Mr Jinnāh that he would have to forgo either part of the territory or some measure of the sovereignty that he demanded for Pakistan. If he insisted on full sovereignty, he could only have a reduced Pakistan of contiguous Muslim-majority areas. The alternative was for him to accept an all-India Union limited to defence, foreign affairs and communications within which the full Pakistan provinces that he claimed could be formed into sub-federations with wide powers. Mr Jinnāh rejected, as he had done previously, a truncated Pakistan, and the Mission themselves remarked that, involving as it would a radical partition of the Punjab
and Bengal, it "would be contrary to the wishes of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these provinces" and "would of necessity divide the Sikhs," leaving substantial bodies of them on both sides of the border. The other alternative Mr Jinnah grudgingly consented to consider, and the Mission, having vainly tried to bring him and the Congress leaders to agreement on its principles, themselves elaborated it, putting forward a scheme for a three-tier constitution: Provinces, groups of Provinces and a minimal Union, and suggesting procedure for framing a constitution on this basis. A Constituent Assembly, elected by the Provincial legislatures, would divide up into three sections, one representing the six Hindi majority provinces and the two others the provinces in the northwest and northeast of India claimed for Pakistan. These sections, meeting separately, would draw up constitutions for the provinces included in them and decide whether a Group should be formed and with what subjects. All the sections would then meet as a whole to frame the Union constitution.

The Sikhs were represented before the Cabinet Mission by Master Tārā Singh, Giāni Kartā Singh, Harnām Singh, a lawyer from Lahore, and later by Baldev Singh, then development minister in the Punjab Government. The Sikh delegation was united in its opposition to Pakistan. The delegates marshalled all the arguments they could to impress upon the Cabinet Mission of the utter impossibility of the Sikhs either living in a Muslim State or having territory inhabited by them handed over to the Muslims. The Sikh spokesman, Master Tārā Singh, said that he was for a united India; but if Pakistan was conceded, he was for a separate Sikh State with the right to federate either with India or Pakistan. Giāni Kartā Singh elaborated the latter alternative as a "province of their [Sikhs] own where they would be in a dominant, or almost dominant position;" this province would comprise the whole of Jalandhar and Lahore divisions, together with Ambālā, Hissār, Karnāl and Shīmlā districts of the Ambālā division, and the districts of Montgomery and Lyallpur. Baldev Singh defined the Sikh State in somewhat the same terms as consisting of "the Punjab excluding Multān and Rāwalpindi divisions, with an approximate boundary along the Chenāb, an area comprising the Ambālā division, the Jalandhar division and the Lahore division."

The Central Akālī Dal representing nationalist opinion and led by Bābā Khaṛak Singh presented through its working president, Amar Singh, a separate memorandum to the Cabinet Mission on behalf of their party. It drew attention to the faulty compilation of census figures which made the Muslims a majority community in the Punjab. It opposed the partition of the Punjab and reiterated the demands that had been made by the Chief Khālsā Diwān many times since the introduction of democratic institutions, viz. 33% representation in the Punjab, 5% in the Centre and one Sikh member in the Central Cabinet. In addition, it demanded an 8% representation in the Constituent Assembly (as recommended by the Sapri Committee); a permanent 14% Sikh quota in the defence services; Sikh representation in U.P., Sindh, Bihār, Bengal and Bombay and an increase in Sikh representation in the North-West Frontier Province. The Central Akālī Dal supported joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities and the setting up of special tribunals for the protection of minorities.

Mr Jinnah and the Council of the Muslim League and the Congress Working Committee both reluctantly accepted the Mission's scheme. The Sikhs, though saved by this scheme from division, rejected it. They resented their inclusion, without any safeguards, in an overwhelmingly Muslim group of provinces, and declined at first to elect representatives to the Constituent Assembly.
The Congress Committee's acceptance of the scheme was, however, ambiguous, for they said that they adhered to their interpretation of its provisions regarding the sections and the grouping of provinces, although this interpretation had been declared by the Mission to be erroneous. Furthermore, there was failure to reach agreement on the formation of an Interim Government, and the proposals ultimately put forward by the Viceroy and the Mission were rejected by the Congress because, in deference to Mr Jinnah, no Congress Muslim had been included. However, the Mission, anxious to show that something had been achieved, announced that constitution-making could now proceed with the consent of the two major parties. It seemed that the division of India had been averted and that there was no longer any need to consider the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. But the Congress and the Muslim League interpreted the proposals differently, especially on the question of the grouping of provinces. The All India Congress Committee on 6 July 1946 called to ratify acceptance of the Mission's Scheme and again at a Press conference four days later, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed reservations as regards the grouping of provinces, which was for the League the real attraction of the Mission's plan. On 29 July at a meeting in Bombay, the Council of the League withdrew their previous acceptance of the Mission's proposals and authorized its Working Committee to prepare a programme of 'direct action' for the achievement of Pakistan. This resolution proved decisive; all attempts over the next few months to persuade the League to rescind it and to work the Cabinet Mission plan were unavailing. Nothing less than a sovereign Pakistan would now satisfy them.

The immediate sequel to the Resolution was the outbreak on 16 August of communal rioting in Calcutta on an unprecedented scale, known as the Great Calcutta Killing. The casualties were estimated at 5,000 dead and 15,000 injured. This was followed in October by Muslim assaults on Hindus in East Bengal and these in turn provoked Hindu assaults on Muslims in Bihar. Shortly before the Calcutta killing Lord Wavell had invited Nehru to form an Interim Government, and this took office at the beginning of September, but without the inclusion of any League members, as Mr Jinnah declined Nehru's invitation to collaborate. Lord Wavell, however, in the hope of easing the communal tensions himself opened negotiations with Mr Jinnah and at the end of October, five League nominees joined the Interim Government on the understanding that the League would rescind their Bombay Resolution withdrawing acceptance of the Cabinet Mission scheme and take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly that was about to be summoned.

With the League's entry into the Government communal outbreaks were for the time being halted; but no progress was made in the solution of the constitutional problem as Mr Jinnah declined to call a meeting of the League Council to reconsider the Bombay Resolution on the ground that the Congress had not accepted unequivocally the Mission's scheme and were bent on misinterpreting its provisions in regard to grouping. At the beginning of December, in the hope of resolving the differences, the leaders of both parties, along with a Sikh representative, Sardar Baldev Singh, were invited to London for discussions. The main point now at issue was whether under the Mission's scheme the voting in the sections regarding provincial constitutions and the formation of Groups should be by provinces, as the Congress contended (which would almost certainly preclude the formation of Groups), or by simple majority vote, as the League claimed and as the Mission had intended. At the end of inconclusive discussions, the British government issued a statement uphold-
The All-India Congress Committee agreed to accept this interpretation, adding only the qualification that there must be no compulsion for a province and that the rights of the Sikhs should not be jeopardized. But Mr Jinnah was in no mood to accept any qualifications. On 31 January 1947 the Working Committee of the League declined to recommend to the League Council reconsideration of its Bombay Resolution and called on the British government to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, which had met in December without the League representatives, and to declare that the Cabinet Mission plan had failed.

The British government now took a bold step that Lord Wavell had long been urging on them, and on 20 February fixed a date for the transfer of power to Indian hands. It was to be not later than June 1948. At the same time they announced that Lord Mountbatten was to replace Lord Wavell as Viceroy. No reason for the change was given, but the fact was that they had lost confidence in Lord Wavell's ability to handle Indian politicians. The instruction they gave the new Viceroy was to do all in his power to persuade the Indian parties to work for a unitary government on the basis of the Cabinet Mission plan, but, if by 1 October he found that this was impossible, to report what steps he thought should be taken for handing over power by June 1948. The Cabinet Mission plan was, however, now totally unacceptable to Mr Jinnah and the League who had decided that they must have nothing less than a sovereign independent Pakistan however small it might be. So, as Lord Mountbatten soon realized, the best hope of reaching agreement now lay in the adoption of a plan for a truncated Pakistan involving the partition of Bengal and the Punjab and the division of the Sikhs, that Mr Jinnah had previously rejected and that the Cabinet Mission had condemned. Although all parties disliked this unsatisfactory solution, it was one to which they could all be reconciled. The Congress had always said that they would not contemplate compelling the people of any part of the country to remain in a united India against their will, and the Congress leaders were now ready to allow Mr Jinnah to take those Muslim-majority areas which, on a population basis, he could indisputably claim. Mr Jinnah and the League had reluctantly come to understand that if they insisted on a sovereign Pakistan, then they would have to be content with a truncated Pakistan, for this was all they could get by agreement and they were not in a position to take more by force. Even the Sikhs, who would suffer most from a partition of the Punjab, as this would divide them and leave about two million of them on the Pakistan side of the line, were prepared to accept it rather than that the whole community should be engulfed in Pakistan agreed to the partition. They were influenced by recent experience. Early in March in outbreak of communal rioting in the Punjab, Sikhs in villages and small towns in the predominantly Muslim districts of Rawalpindi and Attock had been savagely attacked by Muslim mobs and felt compelled to fly for their lives. This foretaste of Pakistan convinced many of them that so far as possible they should not come under Muslim rule.

Lord Mountbatten speedily coaxed the principal parties into acquiescence in the partition of the land and drew up a plan for giving effect to it. He announced this plan on 3 June; Mr Nehru, Mr Jinnah and, for the Sikhs, Sardar Baldev Singh intimated their consent to it; and the next day Lord Mountbatten told a Press conference that it would be carried out and power transferred to two Dominion Governments by 15 August. This gave little time for the completion of all the work entailed by the division of the country and the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. But Lord Mountbatten was impressed
by the need to act quickly.

It was a feature of the Plan that the partition of Bengal and the Punjab should be shown to be in accordance with the popular will as expressed by the provincial legislatures. In the Punjab the Legislative Assembly had first to meet as a whole and vote on whether the undivided province should join India or Pakistan. Thereafter it had to meet again in two parts one representing the Muslim-majority districts and the other more or less eastern half of the province, and vote separately on whether the province should be partitioned. If either part voted for partition, then partition would follow. The two parts would also vote on whether the areas that they represented should join India or Pakistan. A Muslim majority in the Assembly as a whole secured a vote in favour of joining Pakistan, but a non-Muslim majority in the eastern part dominated mainly by the Sikhs voted for partition and for that part joining India by 50 votes to 22.

Partition necessitated a division of the assets and liabilities of the Provincial government. At the centre, for the division of the much larger assets and liabilities of the Government of India, a Partition Council was set up consisting of two Congress and two League members of the Interim Government, aided by a Steering Committee of two officials and several expert committees of officials, and with an Arbitral Tribunal in the background. In the Punjab there was no ministry from which members of a Partition Council could be drawn, as after Sir Khizar's resignation, the Governor had assumed charge of the administration under section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935. But on the analogy of what was being done at the centre a Partition Committee of two Muslims, a Hindu and a Sikh was formed and with the aid of officials this worked fairly smoothly. A few disputed matters were referred for decision to the Partition Council at the Centre.

The Plan provided for Boundary Commissions to be set up to demarcate the actual lines of division in the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. Both Commissions were composed of four High Court judges, two nominated by the Congress and two by the League under the chairmanship of an English barrister, Sir Cyril Radcliffe. Their terms of reference were to demarcate the boundaries on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, and in doing so to take into account also other factors. The reference to other factors was inserted to satisfy the Sikhs who had been given to understand that, in drawing the line of division, population would not be taken up to be the sole criterion. The Commissions began work in July and submitted their reports on 13 August. The division of opinion among the judges on the Commissions particularly in regard to the weight to be given to 'other factors' was so wide that the ultimate awards were those of Sir Cyril alone. The members of the Central Partition Council had publicly pledged themselves on 22 July to accept and enforce the Commission's awards, but an attempt to get a similar pledge signed by the members of the Punjab Partition Committee came to nothing owing to serious difference of opinion among its members.

Throughout May, June and July communal strife persisted in the Punjab. In Lahore and Amritsar there were numerous cases of arson, stabbing and bomb-throwing; in the Gurgaon district villages were raided and burnt by the rival communities; and as 15 August approached, the situation further deteriorated. A secret intelligence report indicated that the Sikh leader, Master Tara Singh, was engaged in plots for the sabotage of certain canal headworks and for bomb outrages, including the assassination of Mr Jinnah. His arrest and that of other Sikh leaders was mooted, but was turned down on the unanimous advice of the Punjab Gover-
nor and the Governors-designate of East and West Punjab that such arrests would only make matters worse. The imposition of martial law was also considered, but was opposed by the Governor and the senior military commanders who said that they had not enough military officers to enforce it and were convinced that its inevitable failure would only aggravate the disorder.

In anticipation of trouble on a wider scale, as soon as the boundary line was announced, a special force, known as the Punjab Boundary Force and consisting of over 50,000 Indian troops of mixed units not yet divided up community-wise, was formed early in August to maintain control in twelve districts of central Punjab where the greatest disturbances were apprehended. It was to be responsible to the Joint Defence Council, an overall Indo-Pakistan authority set up for the period of transition. As 15 August approached, inter-communal rioting started in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar. After 15 August the attacks by both sides on the minority community developed into an orgy of mass killing which soon spread from the central Punjab to the outlying districts and beyond. The disorder and the slaughter far exceeded anything that had been expected and was quite beyond the control of the Boundary Force. The twelve districts assigned to it had populations 14.5 million distributed in nearly 18,000 towns and villages over an area of 37,500 square miles. This enormous area of disturbance was more than the Boundary Force, at first much below full strength, could effectively cover, especially as heavy monsoon rains impeded its movement. It was without any proper intelligence system; it could look for little help from the civil administration which virtually had broken down, while the mainly Muslim Punjab police were, in West Punjab, almost entirely partisan and in East Punjab deserted or were afraid to act. The Boundary Force could, therefore, do little more than slightly check the general slaughter and prevent a complete holocaust in Lahore and Amritsar. It was much criticized, some of the troops composing it succumbed to communal loyalties, and on 31 August it was broken up, two new Dominion Governments taking over the forces located on each side of the boundary line and assuming complete responsibility. This change and appeals for peace by leaders did not effect much improvement. The mass killings were brought to an end by mass migrations in opposite directions.

Migrations from East to West Punjab and vice versa had begun before 15 August, but were frowned upon by the authorities, and as late as 6 August the Partition Council at Delhi was still aiming at stopping the exodus and encouraging the return of those who had already left. After 15 August the rioting in both halves of the Punjab set going a vast movement of mass migration which nobody had foreseen and nobody could arrest and which in three months emptied East Punjab of all Muslims and West Punjab of all Hindus and Sikhs. Joint appeals by political leaders for an end to violence had little effect, and the refugees, moving by road and rail, were constantly exposed to attack by members of the opposite community. The two new Dominion and Provincial Governments, unable to restore peace or check the migrations, soon found that their main tasks were to afford protection to the outgoing refugees, herding them into camps where they could be safeguarded and then providing escorts for their onward journey, and to make arrangements for the reception and resettlement of refugees coming in from the opposite direction. The great majority of the refugees moved by road and for several weeks huge columns of them, sometimes as much as 50 miles in length, with their goods and chattels piled on bullock carts or carried on head, could be seen slowly making their way across the Punjab in opposite directions.

The magnitude of these massacres and
migrations is without known historical parallel in any part of the globe. Estimates of the casualties range from 200,000 to 1,000,000; the former is probably nearest the truth. Estimates of numbers of persons who migrated are more reliable. Roughly three and a half million Hindus and Sikhs migrated from West Punjab to India and five million Muslims from East Punjab to Pakistan. The Muslims lost rather more lives than the Hindus and Sikhs, but considerably less property. This is illustrated by the fact that the Hindus and Sikhs had to abandon 6.2 million acres of land in West Punjab, the Muslims only 3.96 million acres in East Punjab. The resettlement of refugees in India was carried out efficiently and fairly quickly but cuts had to be made in their claims to immoveable property owing to the paucity of assets left by the Muslims. Resettlement in Pakistan dragged on for many years and was not concluded till after the military regime took over in October 1958.

After recovering from the shock and dislocation of Partition, both halves of the Punjab made considerable economic progress, both agriculturally and industrially, though probably not greater than would have been achieved, if the province had remained undivided. The quickest and most remarkable recovery was that of the Sikhs in East Punjab. As a community the Sikhs had suffered most from the Partition, since such a large proportion of their total population was affected. But many of the Sikhs who migrated from the colony districts of West Punjab were exceedingly good cultivators and to some extent they recouped their losses by developing with exceptional energy and enterprise the diminished holdings allotted to them in East Punjab.

The migrations enabled the Sikh community to keep together despite the Partition, and although the sufferings at the time were intense, on a long view, the Partition was not without benefit to the Sikh community, for with the hiving off the non-Punjabi speaking districts of East Punjab to form a new state of Haryāṇā, the Sikhs are consolidated in a single compact state, known simply as Punjab, in which they enjoy a predominating influence.

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PARYĀI, Sanskrit पर्यायम्, meaning a synonym or convertible term, is used in Sikh literature spelt variously as priyāi, priyā and prayāya. It was a popular title for glossaries explaining terms and difficult words used in Guru Granth Sāhib which were the fore-runners of full-scale translations or exegeses of the Scripture. The earliest and the best-known are the two volumes by Bhāi Chandā Singh, a scholar of the Giānī school of theology which traces its origin from Guru Gobind Singh through Bhāi Manī Singh Shahid. His Priyāi Fārsī Padoṇ Ke is a glossary of Persian words which appear in the Guru Granth Sāhib, while Priyāi Śrī Guru Granth Sāhib Ji Ādi covers all the difficult words and phrases. The latter manuscript bears the date 1905 Bk corresponding to AD 1848. The two manuscripts appeared in print in 1887-88. Priyāi Fārsī Padoṇ Ke was printed at Amar Press, Amritsar, and Priyā
Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji Adi at Chashmā-i-Nūr Press, Amritsar. A second edition of the latter volume was brought out by Messrs Hari Singh Gurdit Singh, Amritsar, in 1908. Another well-known work in this genre is by Sādhū Sute Prakāṣh, an Udāsi scholar. His Prayāī Adī Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji De was published in two parts, at Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar, in 1898. Two other publications, though not named paryāī, fall in the same category. They are Sri Guru Granth Kosh published by the Khāṣā Tract Society in 1899 and Guru Bāṇī Parkāsh by Sodhī Tejā Singh, published from Lahore in 1932. While the former has words arranged in the alphabetical order, the sequence in the latter follows the numerical order of the pages of the Guru Granth Sāhib. Another work in this category, Dasam Pāṭshāhī Jī ke Granth Sāhib Jī ke Sampradāī Prayāī by Balkhīshī Singh also published at Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar, in 1903, is a glossary of difficult words of the Dasam Granth which contains the compositions of Gurū Gobind Singh.

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Paryāī Ādi Sri Guru Granth Sāhib Ji De is a lexicon of the Guru Granth Sāhib prepared by Sant Sute Prakāṣh. The year of its completion as recorded in the colophon is 429 Nanakshahi (AD 1898). The work comprises 1440 pages of which 110 are devoted to a commentary on the Japu Ji. It is stated by the author in the introduction that the Japu(Ji) was composed by Gurū Nānak at the Sumer mountain, and that its different stanzas were meant as replies to various questions put to him by the Siddhas there. The author has explicated the text of the Japu(Ji) in the question-answer style, posing questions on behalf of the Siddhas and explaining stanzas of the Japu(Ji) as Gurū Nānak's answers to them.

After this detailed exposition of the Japu(Ji), the work assumes the style of a lexicon, though not exactly in the format of a modern dictionary or glossary. The order is not alphabetical. The lexical unit, that is, a word or phrase is picked from the text as it reads on. It is followed by two zeroes in the form of a colon signifying the beginning of the explication of the entry. The meaning given is that of a single term at places; at others of a phrase or even of a complete verse, though the lexical entry recorded is mostly a single word or a couple of words. Mythological, historical and legendary stories are introduced to explain the background or meaning of a hymn or of a whole composition. The lexical units required to be explained are not arranged in columns, as is done in a dictionary; rather they are written in continuous lines. Only the colon-like zeroes provide a hint that a new entry has begun. A full stop comes only after all the lexical units of a hymn have been explained. The serial number of the hymn as given in the Guru Granth Sāhib is appended here, followed by a full stop, after which the heading of the next hymn, śloka, paurī, aṣṭapadī, etc., is mentioned. There is no paragraphing, nor are the pages of the Guru Granth Sāhib mentioned. Upon the conclusion of Sri Rāga, the name of the Rāga to which the hymns belong as well as their authorship are indicated on the top of each page.

In the latter portion of the work the connotations become more concise; in most cases only simple meanings of the word or phrase are provided. The system of punctuation also improves, though no other mark except the
traditional full stop, in the form of two vertical strokes, is employed. Multiple meanings of the verses of the bāṇī abound. One particular verse of the japu(jī) has been explained in fifteen different ways. This was in keeping with the traditional style of expounding religious texts. The author is well acquainted with Hindu mythology and leans heavily on it in his exposition of Sikh terms and thought. His language is Sādh Bahšā. Entries from three additional compositions which are not included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib are appended at the end. These are: Haqiqat Rāh Mukām Sivanabh Rāje Kī, Bāī Ātas and Ratan Mālā.

The manuscript was published at Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar, in two parts in 1898.

As.

PASHAURĀ SĪNHG, KAṆVAR (1821-1845), son of Mahārājā Rāṇjīt Siṅgh, was born in 1821 to Rāṇī Dayā Kaur. He emerged from obscurity to claim the kingdom of the Punjab after the assassination of Mahārājā Sher Siṅgh. After his escape from Bābā Bīr Siṅgh’s camp, where his brother Kashmirā Siṅgh was killed, he reached Lahore to make up with Rājā Hīrā Siṅgh. It was the most opportune time for him to be in the capital, for relations between Hīrā Siṅgh and his uncle Gulāb Siṅgh had then become strained on the question of the disposal of Rājā Suchet Siṅgh’s treasure. Both of them vied with one another for his favour. But the Ḍoṅrās soon made up their mutual differences, and Pashaurā Siṅgh was left in the lurch. After wandering over the Punjab for a few weeks, he crossed the Sutlej and arrived at the British camp in the middle of December 1844 to seek help against the Ḍoṅrās. Finding the British unresponsive, he returned to Lahore soon after Hīrā Siṅgh had been removed from the scene. As he appeared in the Darbār on 1 January 1845, there was much goodwill exhibited for him. A cry went up among the soldiers that he should be made the Mahārājā in place of Duleep Siṅgh. This put Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur, mother of Duleep Siṅgh, on her guard. Pashaurā Siṅgh was received with honour in the court, and was offered presents of jewels, elephants and horses. He was promised an increase in his jāgīr, if he left Lahore immediately. Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur also asked Bhāi Gurbakhsīr Siṅgh, with whom the prince was staying, to prevail upon him to retire to his estates. She, in the end, won over the army, who ordered Pashaurā Siṅgh to go back to his jāgīr. On his appointment as Wazir on 15 May 1845, Jawāhar Siṅgh, brother of Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur, sent a force against him. Pashaurā Siṅgh capitulated before the Lahore artillery, but was allowed by the troops to escape.

After remaining in the wilderness for some time, he took the fort of Attock in July 1845, with just a handful of Paṭhān followers. With money that the fort yielded to him, he raised fresh levies and declared himself to be the ruler of the Punjab. He tried to secure help from the chiefs, from Jehlum to Khaibar, and even opened negotiations with Dost Muhammad. Jawāhar Siṅgh ordered Chatar Siṅgh Aṯārivalā and Fateh Khān Tiwānā to proceed against him. They besieged Attock and reduced the prince to such straits that he agreed to surrender and place himself at the disposal of Chatar Siṅgh on the promise of a safe conduct to Lahore and the retention of Sialkot. Having secured these assurances, he surrendered the fort on 30 August 1845 and proceeded to Lahore with the troops. Jawāhar Siṅgh had meanwhile sent instructions to the effect that Pashaurā Siṅgh be got rid of forthwith. The prince was sequestered from his personal bodyguard on 11 September 1845, and secretly taken back by Fateh Khān Tiwānā to Attock where he was strangled to death.

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PATANG, BHAI, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Guru Arjan. A hymn in the Guru Granth Sahib entitled Chaubole is commonly ascribed to Bhai Patang.

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T.S.

**PĀTH, from the Sanskrit pātha which means reading or recitation, is, in the religious context, reading or recitation of the holy texts. In Sikhism, it implies daily repetition of scriptural texts from the Guru Granth Sahib. Reading of certain bānis is part of a Sikh’s nīt nēm or daily religious regimen. Pāth of these prescribed texts is performed from a handy collection, called guṭhā (missal or breviary) or from memory. Three of the bānis, Guru Nānak’s Jāpu and Guru Gobind Singh’s jāpu and Savaiye—constitute the Sikhs mandatory morning pāth or devotions, and two—Rahṛisī and Kirtan Sohilā—evening pāth. Individuals add certain other texts as well such as Shabad Hajāre, Anandu and Sukhmani. The pāth is also performed individually and more particularly in saṅgat from the Guru Granth Sahib itself. The Holy Volume is ceremonially installed under coverlets on a decorated seat resting on a raised platform, with a canopy above, and is opened by the pāthī or reader who sits reverentially behind. Usually, another man stands in attendance, waving the fly-whisk over the Holy Book. The pāthī should have bathed and be dressed in clean clothes. Besides the reading of one single hymn to obtain vāk or hukamnāmā (lesson or command for the day) or of some passages, three forms of complete pāth of the Guru Granth Sahib are current: akhaṇḍ (unbroken recitation completed in forty-eight hours), saptāhik (completed in a week) and sādhāran or sahib (taken in slow parts with no time-limit for completion). A rarest variety is aṭī akhaṇḍ pāth, hardly ever practised, in which a single participant reads within the prescribed 48 hours the entire text. Another variety is the sāmpat pāth. No time-limit is specified for it. Different schools and different groups or pāthīs have their own schedules. But the commonest factor in this variety of pāth is that a whole sābdā or a portion of it from the holy text will be set apart for repetition after every full stanza or apportioned section of it has been recited. Time-limit will thus be variable, depending upon the length of the verse or verses chosen for repetition. The hymn or portions of it chosen for repeated recitation will be governed by the occasion or purpose of the pāth. At certain places even the Mūl Mantra is repeated with the chosen line or lines. The relay of pāthīs in this instance will naturally be larger than in the case of a normal akhaṇḍ pāth.

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T.S.

**PATIALA (30°-20′N, 76°-26′E), a district town of the Punjab, was formerly the capital of a princely Sikh state until it lapsed in 1948. Though only the fourth largest town of the Punjab with a modest population, 268,521 (1991), Patiala boasts a well-marked cultural tradition. Historically, the city is not very old. It was founded only in 1752 by Bābā Ālā Singh (1691-1765), the founder of the Phūkīān house of Patiala. The site was the ruined mound, Paṭānvālā Theh, of an earlier habitation, from which the name ‘Patiala’ is said to be derived. Ālā Singh had begun to rule only over 30 villages around Barnālā but
had become, by the middle of the eighteenth century, undisputed master of considerable territory to the east of that town. In 1753 he forced the Khokhar chief of the parganah of Sanaur to cede to him the chaurāsī, a group of 84 villages including the Patānvāla Theh. Ālā Siṅgh at first made a kachchī gorhī (mud fortress) near the present Fort at the site, later known as Sodhīān dī Garhī, the fortress of the Soqhi clan. The foundation of the Fort, the present Qilā Mubārak, was laid in 1763, when Ālā Siṅgh also shifted his principal seat here. The place then became known as Paṭiālā.

Bābā Ālā Siṅgh died in 1765 and was succeeded by his grandson, Amar Siṅgh, who received the title of Rājā-i-Rajgan from Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. Paṭiālā made steady progress under Rājā Amar Siṅgh and his successors. Rājā Karam Siṅgh (ruled 1813-45) reconstructed the Saifābād Fort, already conquered by Rājā Amar Siṅgh and renamed it Bahādurgarh after Gurū Tegh Bahādur, who had visited here a century earlier. The next ruler, Rājā Narinder Siṅgh (ruled 1845-62) made the greatest contribution towards the development of Paṭiālā town. He built Motībāgh Palace, designed on the pattern of Shālāmār of Lahore with terraces, fountains, canals and the Shish Mahal (lit. glass palace). Its foundation was laid in 1847 and it was completed at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. He also built the famous Nīrmāl centre, Dharam Dhujā, also called Nirmal Paṅchāṭī Akhāṛā, and the samādh of Bābā Ālā Siṅgh. The ten gates and ramparts of the city were also built by him. The name of Mahārājā Mohinder Siṅgh who ruled the state from 1862 to 1876 is celebrated by Mohindrā College established in 1870. Mahārājā Rājinder Siṅgh (ruled 1876-1900) raised the Bārādārī Palace and Garden as his residence. His successor, Mahārājā Bhūpinder Siṅgh (1891-1938), however, shifted back to Motībāgh Palace. The last ruling prince, Mahārājā Yādavinder Siṅgh built the New Motībāgh Palace near the old one, and also added many other buildings such as the Yādavindrā Stadium, State Bank of Paṭiālā, the Army Headquarters, the Soldiers' Club and the Gymkhāna Club. Paṭiālā also has a flying club.

Two historical shrines commemorate the visit of the holy Gurū, Gurū Tegh Bahādur, Nānak IX:

GURDWĀRĀ DŪKH NIVĀRAN SĀHIB is situated in what used to be the village of Lehal, now part of Paṭiālā city. According to local tradition, supported by an old hand-written document preserved in the Gurdwārā, one Bhāg Rām, a jhīvar of Lehal, waited upon Gurū Tegh Bahādur during his sojourn at Saifābād (now Bahādurgarh), and made the request that he might be pleased to visit and bless his village so that its inhabitants could be rid of a serious and mysterious sickness which had been their bane for a long time. The Gurū visited Lehal on Māgh sūdi 5, 1728 Bk/24 January 1672 and stayed under a banyan tree by the side of a pond. The sickness in the village subsided. The site where Gurū Tegh Bahādur had sat came to be known as Dūkh Nivāran, literally meaning eradicator of suffering. Devotees have faith in the healing qualities of water in the sarovar attached to the shrine known as Gurdwārā Dūkh Nivāran Sāhib.

Rājā Amar Siṅgh of Paṭiālā (1748-82) had a garden laid out on the site as a memorial which he entrusted to Nihāṅg Sikhs. Records of a court case in 1870 mention a Gurū’s garden and a Nihāṅgs’ well being in existence here. In 1920, during a survey for the proposed construction of Sirhind-Paṭiālā-Jākhel railway line, it appeared that the banyan tree under which had sat Gurū Tegh Bahādur would have to be removed. But men charged with felling it refused to touch it. Ultimately, Mahārājā Bhūpinder Siṅgh ordered cancellation of the entire project. No gurdwārā building had, however, been raised. It was only in 1930 that a committee was
formed to collect funds and commence construction. The Gurdwārā when completed passed under the administrative control of the Paṭialā state government. It was later transferred to the Dharam Arth Board of the Paṭialā and East Punjab States Union and eventually to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

The building complex sprawls over several acres. The two-storeyed gateway has a collapsible iron gate and black-and-white marble floor. On the left of the pathway leading to the principal building is a small marble shrine marking the site where Gurū Tegh Bahādur had sat under the banyan tree. The central two-storeyed building, with a domed pavilion on top, is on a raised base having an octagonal domed chamber at each corner. The pinnacled lotus dome on top has a round sun-window on each side with a curved coping, projected horizontally at the ends. There are decorative domed pavilions at the corners and lotus blossoms-in-leaf in the middle on top of the walls. The interior is paved with marble slabs in white and grey against black and white of the outer platform. The walls and pillars are also panelled with white marble slabs. The ceiling is decorated with stucco work in floral design. The Guru Granth Sāhib is seated under a square canopy at the far end. The 75-metre square sarovar, since considerably extended, is on the right and Gurū kā Laṅgar on the left as one enters. The Gurdwārā is administered by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. A big gathering is held on the fifth day of the light half of each lunar month. The festival of the year is Basant Paṅchmī which marks the day of Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s visit.

GURDWARA MOTĪBAGH is situated near the Old Motibāgh Palace, former residence of the rulers of Paṭialā. According to Sikh tradition, Gurū Tegh Bahādur, during his journey to Delhi for his supreme sacrifice, stayed here awhile, in 1675. It was then jungle country and no memorial was raised until Mahārājā Narinder Siṅgh of Paṭialā (1823-62), who had already built the Motibāgh Palace, constructed this Gurdwārā in 1852. The building stands on a high plinth and is approached by a flight of marble-topped steps leading to a porch on top of the base. The sanctum is a square room with a verandah around it. It has four doors, one on each side, but three of them are closed with screens of perforated red-stone slabs. The one open door has a white marble frame and wooden leaves covered with beautifully carved brass sheets. The interior walls and the ceiling are richly decorated with filigree work and inset multi-coloured glass pieces. On the first floor is a square room with a pinnacled lotus dome on top. For administration, the shrine is affiliated to Gurdwārā Dūkh Nivāran Sāhib. Special religious gatherings and Gurū kā Laṅgar mark the anniversaries of the birth and martyrdom day of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. On the latter occasion, a largely attended procession is led out from here. Marching through the city streets, it ends at Gurdwārā Dūkh Nivāran Sāhib. Extensive renovations have been carried out recently.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century writers such as Kesho Dās and Bhagvān Siṅgh Banūri were attracted to Paṭialā where they applied themselves to preparing a history of the House of Paṭialā, composed ballads celebrating contemporary events and wrote books on the lives and philosophy of the Gurūs.

The renowned historian, Bhāi Santokh Siṅgh, too, had come to settle at Paṭialā in 1823, though Bhāi Udai Siṅgh of Kaithal “borrowed” his services from Rājā Karam Siṅgh. One Bhāi Nihāl wrote the story of the lives and exploits of the House of Phūl. The famous Nirmālā scholar Paṇḍit Tārā Siṅgh Narotam, who, besides writing several books on religious philosophy, compiled a catalogue of historical Sikh shrines, enjoyed the re-
specifies and patronage of the Patiala rulers. Giani Gian Singh wrote his book on Sikh history while in residence at Gurdwara Motibagh here. Maharajah Bhupinder Singh established a regular historical research department under Sardar Karam Singh. He also made Punjabi the court language in his state. Bhai Kahn Singh’s voluminous Gurushabad Ratanakar Mahan Kosh (an encyclopaedia of Sikh literature) was published by the Patiala Darbar in 1930. At Partition some celebrated Sikh scholars and savants such as Bābā Prem Singh Hoti and Sant Saīgat Singh of Kamāliā chose to come to Patiala and make it their permanent home. Also settled here was Dr Gaṇḍā Singh. He was Director of Archives in Patiala government. Much of Professor Sāhib Singh’s scholarly work was accomplished here, too.

Consequent upon the partition of the country in 1947, the Government of India’s share of the Punjab Civil Secretariat Record Office, Lahore, became part of the East Punjab’s Archives. These together with the records of PEPSU are now housed in Bārādāri Palace and Reference Section of the Central Public Library at Patiala. They constitute a mine of information regarding Khālsā Darbār, Lahore, Mughal Sūbah of Delhi and Divisional administration of Ambālā, Hisār and Old Delhi. It contains records of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union which formed Part B state of the Union of India in 1948 until its amalgamation with the Punjab in 1956.

Among the educational establishments in Patiala may be counted the Punjabi University and Thāpar Institute of Engineering and Technology, besides several degree and post-degree colleges including medical colleges of different systems of medicine and a college for women. Mohindrā College, established in 1870, was for long the only University college west of Calcutta. Patiala was also the only city between Delhi and Lahore where the first printing press, Munshi Nawal Kishore Printing Press, was established during the 1870’s. Patiala’s contribution to the promotion of Punjabi language is noteworthy. Patiala took the lead in adopting Punjabi as the official language. This meant an immense boost for Punjabi language and literature. The first Punjabi typewriter was also manufactured under the patronage provided by Patiala state.

With the establishment of the National Institute of Sports at Patiala the town could legitimately claim to have become the sports capital of India. But its contribution to sports in the past, too, has been noteworthy. Patiala even among the Indian princely states was a leading centre of sports in the country. Patiala rulers were famous for their love of sports. Among the traditional Indian sports wrestling used to be the most popular. The Patiala court patronized many who distinguished themselves in this field. Most famous of them was Ghulām Muḥammad, popularly known as Gāmān Pahalvān, who for many years held titles of Rustam-i-Hind (champion wrestler of India) and even Rustam-i-Zamān (world champion). Later, Gāmān’s younger brother, Imām Bakhs, also joined the Patiala state and won many laurels. Another Patiala wrestler was Kesar Singh who also won the title of Rustam-i-Hind and won a bronze medal in Olympic Games in 1952, the first ever and till 1996 the only individual Olympic medal won by an Indian. Bakhsīsh Singh of Patiala also represented India in wrestling in the Melbourne Olympics of 1956.

It was during the reign of Maharajā Rājinder Singh that Patiala started its great tradition in modern sports, particularly cricket. He invited some professional cricketers from Britain to Patiala to coach young Indians in the game. Maharajah Bhupinder Singh and his son Yadavinder Singh themselves were keen cricketers. The young prince led an Indian team to England when he was barely 19. He captained an Indian XI in 1935. He became president of the Indian Olympic As-
association in 1939 and continued in that office till 1960, when he was succeeded in that office by his younger brother, Raja Bhialendra Singh. A young Patiala army officer, Dalip Singh, who later became a brigadier in the Indian army, was the first Indian athlete to represent India in olympic games. That was in Paris in 1924. Maharaja Yadvinder Singh had the Yadvindra Stadium constructed in 1941. This was the first cinder track stadium in India. Another more modern stadium came up in the Punjabi University campus during the early 1970's.

Polo was introduced in Patiala by Maharaja Rajinder Singh in 1890. Soon, Patiala became internationally known for excellence in this sport. Patiala produced many famous players of whom General Chand Singh was the most renowned. He distinguished himself in India as well as abroad. In 1909 he won championships in England and France. Spain specially invited him to play for their team. The Patiala team won the Ratlam Cup in 1923. It went to England the following year where it won the famous Coronation Cup.

Patiala state also made itself famous in music. A school of music known as Patiala gharānā became very popular. Although times have changed, it still holds sway in this part of the world. After the disintegration of the Mughal court in Delhi in the wake of the 1857 uprising, many old artists had to seek employment elsewhere. Among those who were attracted to the court of Maharaja Narinder Singh of Patiala, who was a great lover of classical music, was the famous musician of the Mughal court, Ustad Tan-Ras Khan "Qawāl Bachchā". His pupils at Patiala included Bhai Kallu Rababi of the Anandpur Rababi family, 'Ali Bakhsh and Fateh 'Ali. The most famous singer of this gharānā was Goki Bāi, who flourished during the reign of Maharaja Rajinder Singh (1876-1900). Ustad 'Ali Bakhsh's son, Bāre Ghulām 'Ali Khān, continued the tradition of the Patiala gharānā even after the decline of the Patiala court following the upheaval of 1947. Other well-known performers of Patiala gharānā were Ustād Munawwar Khān Sārangī Niwāz and his two sons, Chānd Khān and Ramzān Khān of Delhi. The famous performers of kirtan, the Sikh devotional music, Bhai Chānd and Bhai Lāl also belonged to Patiala. One of the Patiala princes, Kanvar Mrigendra Singh, was himself a noted musician. According to him "it will be no exaggeration to say that today the whole of the West Pakistan classical music is mainly based on Patiala gharānā."

The cultural pattern introduced by Patiala state carried its own flavour. This culture was not confined to the elite of the court but also percolated to the common people. The average Patialvi developed, like the Lakhnavis, greater consciousness of his personal bearing than any other people in the region. For example, the Patialā Sikhs have a particular style of rolling their beards and tying their turbans. Things have changed after the migrations of 1947, but the cultural stamp of Patiala remains intact. A migrant to Pakistan, Fazl-i-Hamid, Deputy Director, Bureau of Reconstruction, Government of Pakistan, in his letter dated Lahore, 30 January 1965, provides interesting testimony. He writes: "In the Patiala State over the centuries, we Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus had lived happily together and developed traditions, cultural outlook and a way of life of our own which had the unmistakable stamp of Patiala... The Patiala tradition was based on tolerance, fellow-feeling, gentlemanliness and catholicity. I hope we Patialvis will dedicate ourselves to the ideals of peace and humanity wherever we happen to be."

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PAṬIALĀ AND EAST PUNJAB STATES UNION, popularly known as PEPSU, formed on 5 May 1948 by merging together of eight East Punjab princely states of Paṭialā, Jind, Nābhā, Kapūrthala, Faridkot, Kalsiā, Mālerkoṭā and Nālāgāṛh, was formally inaugurated on 15 July 1948 by Sardār Vallabhbhai Paṭel, Deputy Prime Minister of India. The government of the Union started functioning on 20 August 1948 when Mahārājā Yādavinder Siṅgh of Paṭialā took over as Rājpramukh or governor. The process of consolidation of the Princely states brought to completion by Sardār Paṭel had its origin in the integration schemes drawn up by the political department under the British during the War days. But after Independence events took a more drastic turn. Administrative integration envisaged by the British paved the way for political consolidation by the Indian Government of about six hundred odd princely states into bigger and more viable political units, and PEPSU was one of them. The Union was divided into eight districts of Paṭialā, Barnālā, Bāṭbihā, Fatehgaṛh Sāhib, Sāngrūr, Kapūrthala, Mohindergaṛh and Kohistān. The first five districts were contiguous to one another and lay mainly in the Mālvā tract south of the Sudej, while Kapūrthala was located to the north of the river; Mohindergaṛh was in the southeast on the Rājasthān border, and Kohistān was to the northeast near Himāchal Pradesh. Having a population of 8,493,685 according to the 1951 census, PEPSU was the smallest in that category of the seven Part B States which were former princely states or unions of them, but with an area of 10,119 square miles, it was slightly larger in extent than the smallest Part B state of Trāvancore-Cochin. Its population was spread over 64 towns and 5,708 villages and was divided in the ratio of nineteen per cent urban population (665,510) to eighty-one per cent rural population (2,828,175). PEPSU had a density of 347 per square mile which was higher than that of the East Punjab at 338 and the overall Indian average of 296.

Of the eight princely states constituting the Union, the Rājpūt state of Nālāgāṛh was the oldest which was founded around AD 1100. The Muslim state of Mālerkoṭā came into existence about the middle of the fifteenth century, its rulers being the scions of Shervānī tribe of the Afghāns. The Sikh states of Paṭialā, Jind, Nābhā, Kapūrthala, Faridkot and Kalsiā took birth in the middle of the eighteenth century when Ahmad Shāh Durrānī’s repeated invasions had weakened the Mughal authority. The Sikhs then had the opportunity of extending their influence and assuming power as successors to Muslim rule in northern India. However, different in their origin, size and early history, all these states had come under the protection of the British over a period of time.

Originally it was contemplated to constitute a union of the Punjab states leaving out Paṭialā which was considered large enough to stay as a separate unit, but without it the new state would not have been administratively viable. From the point of view of territorial integrity, administrative efficiency and development of agricultural and other resources, the formation of the union inclusive of Paṭialā was essential. Mahārājā Yādavinder Siṅgh of Paṭialā volunteered to work for the formation of a common union. When the covenant forming the Union was signed, he was named Rājpramukh, the equivalent of governor, for life while Mahārājā Jagatjit Siṅgh of Kapūrthala was made...
Uparājpramukh or deputy governor for life. Patiala city was chosen to be the capital of the Union and Patiala was the only state specifically included in the name of the new Union.

After the Union had been established, the formation of a cabinet to run the administration proved to be a problem that was never adequately solved. The major claimants to power were the Punjab Riyāsūti Prājā Manḍal (soon to be the PEPSU Pradesh Congress), the Akālī Dal championing Sikh interests and the Lok Sevak Sabhā organized by Colonel Raghbir Siṅgh, a former police inspector-general and revenue minister in Patiala state. An attempt to form a coalition ministry of four Congress, two Lok Sevak Sabhā and two Akālī members with a neutral Sikh as premier failed to secure the necessary agreement from the various components. Eventually a caretaker government was installed on 20 August 1948 under Sardār Giān Siṅgh Rārewālā, a former Patiala official and maternal uncle of Mahārājā Yaḍavinder Siṅgh. Negotiations to form a representative ministry for PEPSU continued throughout 1948. Giān Siṅgh Rārewālā was sworn in as chief minister on 13 January 1949, with colleagues from the Lok Sevak Sabhā and Prājā Manḍal. The new ministry, however, did not last long and was replaced by another caretaker government with Giān Siṅgh Rārewālā again as chief minister and Mr Bhide, of the Indian Civil Service, as minister. The first general elections were scheduled for 1952 and the Prājā Manḍal had in the meanwhile been transformed into PEPSU Pradesh Congress. Colonel Raghbir Siṅgh and his Lok Sevak Sabhā merged with it and he, as a Congressman, became chief minister on 23 May 1951 with old Prājā Manḍal leader, Brish Bhān, as deputy chief minister. In the 1952 elections, the Congress won 26 out of 60 seats, with 29.22% of the votes while the Akālīs took 19 out of 41 seats contested with 23.45% of the votes, the communists, smaller parties, and independents dividing the remaining seats. The PEPSU legislative Assembly met for the first time on 16 April 1952 and with it the state embarked on its parliamentary career. The Congress government formed with the aid of independents however lasted only one day and was replaced on 21 April 1952 by a United Front ministry of Akālīs and independents led by Giān Siṅgh Rārewālā. This United Front ministry fell in March 1953, giving place to President’s rule. In the 1954 mid-term poll the Congress carried the majority, and Colonel Raghbir Siṅgh once again became chief minister. Upon the death of Raghbir Siṅgh in 1955, Brish Bhān took over as chief minister.

On 1 November 1956, PEPSU ceased to be a separate entity as it was merged with the larger state of the Punjab which came into being as a result of the Partition of 1947 and recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission set up by the Government of India in 1953. The new Punjab again came to be subdivided on linguistic basis ten years later with the state of Haryānā carved out of it, in addition to Kāṅgrā district and some areas of Hoshiārpur district transferred to Himāchal Pradesh. PEPSU has been largely subsumed into the post-1966 Punjab and constitutes a major portion of its territory. Patiala city is no longer a capital, but it has remained an important educational and cultural centre. Some PEPSU political leaders continued to be prominent in post-1956 Punjab politics. They included Giān Siṅgh Rārewālā, who served as a minister in Partāp Siṅgh Kairōn’s ministry from 1956 to 1962, and Mahārājā Yaḍavinder Siṅgh, who made a brief foray into electoral politics by winning a seat in the Punjab Legislative Assembly as an independent candidate in the 1967 elections. His son, Captain Amarinder Siṅgh, is also a political leader of note. The most conspicuous figure, however, was Giāni Zail Siṅgh (1916-94) of Faridkoṭ, who acted as the President of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee for
a number of years before becoming chief minister of the Punjab (1972-77). In 1980 he became Home Minister of India; in 1982 he was elected President of India.

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B.R.

PATIT, an adjective formed from patan meaning fall, decline or degradation, with its roots in Sanskrit pat which means, variously, “to fall, sink, descend; to fall in the moral sense; to lose caste, rank or position,” usually denotes one who is morally fallen, wicked, degraded or outcaste. It is slightly different from the English word ‘apostate’, which usually stands for one who abandons his religion for another—voluntarily or under compulsion. A patit is one who commits a religious misdemeanour or transgression, yet does not forsake his professed faith. He may seek redemption and may be readmitted to the communion after due penitence.

In the sacred literature of the Sikhs as well as of the Hindus, the word is normally used in the general sense of fallen or sinner as opposed to pure or virtuous. It often appears in composite terms such as patit-pāvan and patit-udhāran (purifier or redeemer of the sinner) used as attributes of God and Gurū. Its use as a technical term in Sikh theology appears to have come into vogue after the creation of the Khālsā and the appearance of various codes of conduct prescribed for the Sikhs in the form of rahitnāmās during the eighteenth century. Even the rahitnāmās describe transgressor of the code of conduct as tankhāhīā (one liable to penalty) and not patit. Bhai Santokh Singh (1787-1843) the poet-historian, appears to be the first to use patit in the sense in which it is now understood among the Sikhs. In rit 3, ānsū 51 of his magnum opus, Śrī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, the poet relates a story, based on an anecdote from an earlier work, Gur Ratan Māl (Sau Sākhī), of a Sikh lady shaken in her faith under the influence of a Muslim woman, who is subsequently reclaimed. She is described as saying: Bhākhsh lehu ham tumari sharanī; patitin pāvanatā bidhi barnī (we seek refuge with you [O Guru:]. pardon us and tell us the way to purify patits). The Singh Sabhā movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century had reclamation of the patit Sikhs as one of its major objectives. Shuddhi Sabhā, an offshoot of the Singh Sabhā, established in 1893, had as its sole purpose the reconversion of apostates, and reclamation of patits. By a patit was meant a Hindu or Sikh, man or woman, who had abandoned his/her traditional religious faith under Muslim or Christian influence. Also, an initiated Sikh who committed a major kurahit or breach of religious discipline, became a patit, while for minor breaches of the Sikh code, one only became a tankhāhīā or one liable to penalty or punishment whose misdemeanour could be condoned by saṅgat or holy fellowship after an apology, repentantly and humbly tendered, and/or a punishment, usually in the form of tankhā (fine) and/or sevā (voluntary service) and extra recitation daily of one or more routine prayers. Sikh Rahit Maryādā approved by Shiromāṇ Gurdwārā Parbandhā Committee in 1954 after prolonged deliberations, retains the above rules without specifically defining the term patit. Its legal definition as inserted in the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, through the amending Act XI of 1944 runs as below:

“Patit means a person who being a Kesdhārī Sikh trims or shaves his beard or keshas or who after taking amrit commits any one or more of the four kurahits.”

Delhi Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1971, contains
a similar definition except a reference to keshādhārī because unlike Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, it defines only keshādhārīs, and not sahajdhārīs, as Sikhs. It states:

"Patit" means a Sikh who trims or shaves his beard or hair (keshas) or who after taking amrit commits any one or more of the four kurahits.

According to old rahitnāmās, as well as the Sikh Rahit Maryādā, the four (major) kurahits are (a) trimming or shaving of hair, (2) eating kuṭhā or halāl meat, i.e. flesh of bird or animal slaughtered in the Muslim’s way; (3) sexual contact with a woman or man other than one’s own wife or husband; and (4) the use of tobacco in any form.

Being a patit entails several religious, social and even legal disabilities. For example, besides being a religious offence punishable by saṅgat, being a patit is a social stigma; a patit cannot have his ardās said at any of the five takhts; and a patit cannot be elected to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. The Sikh Rahit Maryādā advises Sikhs not to associate generally with patits. Especially, co-dining with a patit would make a Sikh tankhāhī. A patit who fails to appear before the saṅgat when summoned, or who refuses to accept its verdict could invite punishment leading to his excommunication from Sikh society. The power of excommunication however vests only in the Akāl Takht at Amritsar, the highest seat of religious authority, and is exercised in exceptional cases involving eminent persons and panthīc honour. Of course, the sanction behind such punishments and disabilities is purely religious, moral and social pressure, except in cases falling under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act.

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PAṬNĀ (25° -37'N, 85°-10'E), ancient Pāṭaliputra, now capital of Bihār state, is one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage for Sikhs. It is the birthplace of their Tenth Gurū, Gurū Gobind Singh, and one of their seats of high religious authority. For this reason it is designated a takht, i.e. throne. It is called Paṭnā Sāhib, with sāhib suffixed to the name as a title of dignity and honour. The old Paṭnā city railway station has now been officially renamed Paṭnā Sāhib. Several historical shrines are located in the city.

GURDWĀRĀ PAHILĀ BAṬĀ GAṬI GAṬH, or simply Gurdwārā Gāti Gaṯ, is in the 'Ālamgaṇj area of the old city, close to the new bridge over the River Gaṅgā. Gurū Nānak, during his visit to Paṭnā in the first decade of the sixteenth century, stayed at this place, then the residence of a pious man, Jaitā by name and a confectioner by trade. Jaitā became a Sikh and converted his house into a place of holy assembly which came to be known as Baṭā Saṅgat or Gāti Gaṯ Saṅgat. According to tradition, it was from here that Gurū Nānak had sent Mardāṇa to the city with a jewel for evaluation as a result of which Sālas Rāi, the jeweller, also became a Sikh and escorted the Gurū to his home. When Gurū Tegh Bahādur arrived in Paṭnā with his family and a retinue of Sikhs in 1666, he also stayed here at Baṭā Saṅgat first but later shifted to Chhoṭī Saṅgat in the house that had once belonged to Sālas Rāi. In the Gāti Gaṯ Gurdwārā two old relics are displayed: Mardāṇa’s rebeck and Māṭā Gujari’s grindstone.

TAKHT ŚRI HARIMANDAR SĀḤĪB is the principal shrine in Paṭnā. The place was originally the
residence of Sālas Rāi, the jeweller. Gurū Nānak is said to have stayed and preached here for about three months. A religious centre known as Chhoṭi Saṅgat, the smaller assembly as distinguished from Baṛī (larger) Saṅgat at Gāi Ghāt, grew up here. It was headed by Bhāī Adhrakā, an employee of Sālas Rāi. When in 1666 Gurū Tegh Bahādur came to Paṭnā, Adhrakā’s descendants, who were the priests of Chhoṭi Saṅgat, escorted the Gurū and his party to this place in a procession from the Baṛī Saṅgat. The Gurū, leaving his family at Chhoṭi Saṅgat in the care of his brother-in-law, Kirpāl Chand, proceeded further east. Here Gurū Gobind Singh was born on 22 December 1666. The house where Gurū Gobind Singh spent his early childhood, according to a foreigner, Charles Wilkins, who visited it in 1781, “forms a square of about forty feet, raised from the ground about six to eight steps. The hall is in the centre, divided from four other apartments by wooden arches upon pillars of the same materials, all neatly carved. The room is rather longer than it is broad.” This building, originally raised in 1665 by Rājā Fateh Chand Mainī, gave place to one constructed by Maharājā Ranjit Singh in 1839. Further extensions were carried out in 1887 jointly by the Sikh rulers of Paṭṭālā, Jind and Farīdkot states. The central building sustained serious damage in the earthquake that rocked Bihār in 1934. The present building, the Takht Harimandar Sāhib today, was constructed under the supervision of Sant Nishchal Singh and Sant Kartār Singh and completed in 1957. It is a magnificent five-storeyed edifice with a ribbed lotus dome on top of the sanctum and smaller domes at the corners. These corner domes have gold pinnacles while the central one carries an umbrella-shaped finial. The inner sanctum, representing the room where Gurū Gobind Singh was born, has a circumambulatory passage around it and a huge hall in front. Its ceiling is lined with reflecting glass and its front arch is covered with gold plates, having embossed floral motifs to match the designs on the marble in the interior. There are three canopied seats in the sanctum. The central one facing the hall has the Gurū Granth Sāhib placed on it. Of the other two seats, one is occupied by the Gurū Granth Sāhib and the other by the Dasam Granth. Several relics belonging to Gurū Tegh Bahādur and Gurū Gobind Singh such as wooden sandals, an old gown, several weapons as well as their hukamnāmās are preserved at the Takht Sāhib.

The administration of Takht Harimandar Sāhib was for a long time in the hands of a line of mahants. On the death of the last of them in 1930, the management was handed over to a committee of five, with Bābā Kartār Singh Bedi as Sarbarāh Kār, under the general supervision of the District Judge of Paṭnā. Bābā Kartār Singh was removed in 1954 on the grounds of maladministration. A new constitution was framed in 1956 after consultations with various Sikh societies and a new committee took over the control. The committee consists of 15 elected and nominated members, representing the Sikhs of Paṭnā city, Bihār and Calcutta, and nominees of bodies such as the Shiromaṇi Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and the Chief Khālsā Diwan. Three members are the nominees of the District Judge of Paṭnā.

GURDWRĀ BĀL LĪLĀ MAIṆĪ SAṄGAT, situated in a lane from across Takht Harimandar Sāhib, is located in what used to be the house of Rājā Fateh Chand Mainī, a prominent citizen of Paṭnā. Fateh Chand and his wife were devoted followers of the Sikh faith. They were without a child, and had longed and prayed for a son. One day as the lady sat absorbed in prayer with her usual wish in her heart, child Gobind Rāi [that was the name by which Gurū Gobind Singh was then known] came along, followed by his playmates, sat in her lap and lisped, “Mother, give us something
to eat.” This was a miracle for her. She felt as if her prayer had been answered and she had really been blessed with a son. Joyfully she fetched the only eatables readily available in the house—boiled salted gram. Fateh Chand Maini was no less delighted. The couple converted their house into a sangat which came to be known as Maini Saṅgat. To this day, the prasād at this Gurdwārā consists of boiled salted gram especially distributed to children in the morning. The Gurdwārā is served by Nirmalā priests. The building has been extended in recent years, but the old porch supported on pillars and arches of carved wood has been preserved. On the entrance door are carved the Mūl Mantra and the date Sambat 1725 Assī vadi 10, corresponding to 28 August 1668. Among the relics displayed in this Gurdwārā is a pair of shoes of embroidered velvet believed to have been Guru Gobind Singh’s. There is also a karaundā tree in the compound supposed to have sprung from a twig planted by him. The Gurdwārā has a volume of the Guru Granth Sāhib in which the Mūl Mantra is written in the old calligraphic style of the hukammānas. It is believed that this is in Guru Gobind Singh’s own hand.

GURDWĀRĀ GURŪ KĀ BĀGH is on the eastern edge of the old city, about 3 km from Takht Harimandar Sāhib. When Guru Tegh Bahādur returned from Assam, he alighted on this site which was then a garden owned by Nawāb Rahim Bakhsh and Nawāb Karim Baksh. It is said that the trees in the garden had withered and almost dried up, but no sooner had the Gurū entered than they blossomed forth. The Nawāb offered the garden to the Gurū. On hearing of the Gurū’s return, the whole saṅgat of Paṭnā along with child Gobind Rāi, came out to pay him homage. Guru Tegh Bahādur was pleased to see the saṅgat and his young son. This meeting took place on Baisākh sūdī 7, 1727 Bk/17 April 1670. A small shrine was built later near an imli tree under which the Gurū had sat. Only a dried stump of that tree now remains. The old shrine was demolished to give place to a new building the construction for which was taken up by the Takht Sāhib Committee in 1971-72.

GURDWĀRĀ SRĪ GURŪ GOBIND SINGH GHĀṬ is a small shrine over that Ghāṭ-gate, close to Takht Harimandar Sāhib. The Gaṅgā, which has since receded further north, used to flow past this ghāṭ, or landing place. Guru Gobind Singh as a child often turned out here with his playmates. Tradition preserves many stories of these childhood days. Shiv Datt, a pious Brāhmaṇ, used to meditate daily in the morning on the riverbank. His one wish was to see his deity in flesh. One morning he did see Lord Rāma in person. He was delighted at the vision. The next moment he found himself gazing at child Gobind Rāi standing in front and smiling graciously at him. He instantly felt as if the child was the deity he had been longing to see. Shiv Datt treated Gobind Rāi so ever after. A small cave-like shrine, with idols and icons believed to have belonged to Pandit Shiv Datt himself, still stands opposite to Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Gobind Singh Ghāṭ. The Gurdwārā is administered by Takht Harimandar Sāhib.

GURDWĀRĀ HĀNDĪ SĀHIB at Dānāpur, about 20 km west of Takht Harimandar Sāhib, is also sacred to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. When, summoned by Guru Tegh Bahādur, his family left Paṭnā for the Punjab, Dānāpur was their camp at the end of the first day’s journey. An old lady, named by chroniclers variously as Jannā or Pardhāni, had offered to provide the evening meal to the party. She had cooked khichdi, a dish of rice and lentils in a hāndi, a small earthen kettle, but she saw that a large body of Paṭnā saṅgat had followed to see off young Gobind Rāi. She had neither the means nor the time to cook more food. But she had her faith. She prayed to
the Guru and started serving food to the *sangat*.

It is said that the whole party was fed, but *khichri* in the *haṇḍī* was not exhausted. A *sangat* was established in the lady’s house which came to be called *Haṇḍī Vālī Saṅgat*. It was looked after for a long time by Udāsi priests until the *Tāhkt* Harimandar Sāhib took it over and reconstructed it. The Gurdwārā, on the bank of a seasonal stream called *Son*, consists of a small hall, with a verandah on three sides and a small brick-paved compound in front.

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**PAṬṬI**, lit. a wooden tablet on which children learn to write the alphabet, is the name given to two hymns, in the Guru Granth Sāhib, composed in the form of an acrostic, employing letters of the Gurmukhī alphabet. *Paṭṭī* by Guru Nānak titled *Rāgū Āsā Mahalā* I *Paṭṭī Likhī* comprises thirty-five stanzas, each stanza introduced with a letter of the Gurmukhī alphabet. From stanza nine to thirty-three, the order followed is exactly that of the alphabet current today; elsewhere there are deviations. What was the order prevalent in Guru Nānak’s time is, however, uncertain. The main themes touched upon in this composition are the unicity of the Godhead, human ego and *karma*, the law of causality. God is one. He is the Creator of all that exists. Egocentricity is the cause of man’s nescience, of his isolation from the Divine Essence. He who frees himself from ego realizes his true self; he alone can be called a learned one or *paṇḍit* (4). God is all-pervasive. He pervades all the places and dwells in the minds of all (13). Whereas God, who is the Primal Lord, is true and eternal (2), all other beings, though His own creation, are physically transient. Since life is transient, it must not be wasted away and one must seek ever the Lord’s protection (14). God is all-powerful, and He began his play by making the four ages or time cycles His dice-board and all beings His draughtsmen. He is the Primal Giver, and one must always remember Him and be absorbed in His Name (34). Comfort pervades the hearts of those who remain attached to His feet (15). Man will get peace by serving Him. Serving Him means serving one’s fellow beings, for He is in them all (16). If man does not remember and serve God but remains lost in duality, it is the consequence of his own deeds. As one sows so does one reap. Those engaged in singing laudation of the Divine escape the bonds of transmigration. It is through His grace alone that one is so persuaded.

*Paṭṭī* by Guru Amar Dās follows Guru Nānak’s in the Guru Granth Sāhib. It comprises eighteen stanzas, besides a couplet titled *rahāu* or pause. Some of the stanzas begin with Gurmukhi letters and some with vowels as well as with compounds from Sanskrit. At the beginning are vowel-forms of ayo and an, the latter expressing nasal sound. Then intervene the consonants *k, kh*, and the nasal *n*, followed by *rīr* and *lāl*, representing letters of Vedic Sanskrit *ṛ*, *ṛ* and *ṛ*. Next come the *rahāu* or pause lines summing up the central idea: “O my mind, what is the use of such calculations as thou hast learnt! The debt that thou owest is still on thy head” (*GG*, 434).

The composition, presenting the teachings of Sikh faith in terms of the *karmic* theory, revolves around three key words—jiwa, paṇḍit and Guru. The individual being, jiwa, is advised always to remember the Creator for He alone can save him from Yama, the god of death (2). The tragedy of man, however, is that he remains oblivious of Him and
thus wastes his opportunity continuing in the circuit of birth, death and rebirth (4). The learned Paṇḍit who teaches the young student how to write on patti, the wooden tablet, is adjured to instruct him not only in the knowledge of the world, for that binds him as well as his pupil (5). Such a Paṇḍit is prey to greed (6), ego (7), lust and anger (8). Man engrossed in māyā remains caught in the cycle of transmigration, but the realization of God through the grace of the Gūrū helps him attain liberation (11). It is man’s forgetfulness of God that keeps him tied to the chain of transmigration (12). However, if man submits himself to the Gūrū, he is exonerated of all his past sins (15) and ultimately gets liberated (18).

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PATTIDĀRĪ, lit. co-sharing or shareholding, was, like misldārī, a system of land tenure during the Sikh period. The basic principle was traceable to the time-honoured institution of joint family and inheritance of property in equal shares by descendants (male only) whenever a division took place, the rule of primogeniture being practically unknown in India as far as the common people were concerned. Patti in Punjabi means a share as well as partnership and pattidār is a shareholder, co-sharer or partner. The system emerged in the initial stages of Sikh rule in the Punjab. As Henry T. Prinsep records in his The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1834), “When the Misals acquired their territorial possessions, it became the first duty of the chiefs to partition out the lands, towns, and villages among those who considered themselves as having made the conquest, shamil, or in common.” A village allotted by the sardār or chief of a misl to a “sarkarda or leader of the smallest party of horse that fought under the standard of the Misal” was held jointly by the allottee’s family or was further divided according to common law of inheritance. Or, sometimes, a single village would be allotted to more than one person or family, in which case that land would be divided into proportionate shares called pattīs or tarafs, lit. side or direction, each sharer owning a taraf. The residential area of the village would also be earmarked into wards usually on clan basis, which even now are called pattīs in Punjabi. More often than not, the entire village land was not so divided and a portion was kept as shāmlāt or village common managed by the pañchāyat or council of village elders. Land held on pattidāri tenure was heritable, but could not be alienated by sale though it could be mortgaged. Division and redivision of a pattidāri holding gradually reduced the holders to the status of subsistence jāgīrdārs and, their tenure being permanent and hereditary, they were ultimately absorbed into the general category of peasant-proprietors.

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PATTO HĪRĀSĪNGH, village 5 km west of Nihalsinghvālā (30°35’N, 75°16’E) in present-day Moga district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine sacred jointly to Gurū Nānak (1469-1539), Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644) and Gurū Gobind Siṅgh (1666-1708). Each of them visited the village, Patto for short, during their journeys through this part of the country. Gurdwārā Gurūsār, as the shrine is named, is situated on the eastern outskirts of the village. Constructed in 1919-
20, it stands on a high plinth in a walled compound, comprising an assembly hall with the sanctum in the middle. Gurū kā Langar is on the west of the hall and the sarovar on the east. The Gurdwārā is administered by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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**PAUŘIĀN GURU GOBIND SINGH KIĀN** is a poetic composition in Punjabi, in praise of Gurū Gobind Singh, with a brief description of the battle of Bhaṅgānī (1688). Pauṛī is the name given to each stanza of a vār (ballad), pauṛīān being the plural form. The text totally consists of eight stanzas. It is jointly composed by Mīr Mushkī and Mīr Chhabīlā, two dhādis or bards in attendance on Gurū Gobind Singh. Both of them are said to be descendants of Mīr 'Abdullā and Mīr Natthā, famous dhādis of Gurū Hargobind’s time.

The first pauṛī is in praise of Gurū Gobind Singh. The poets present the Guru as an incarnation of God. The second pauṛī gives details of Gurū Gobind Singh’s preparations for the battle of Bhaṅgānī, with rather fanciful elaboration. The remaining stanzas depict the scene of battle and the heroic part played by the Gurū who eventually comes out victorious.

The first five stanzas, in the form of pauṛīs, are in old Punjabi. The last three are in literary Braj Bhāṣā. It appears that the former pauṛīs are by Mīr Chhabīlā, whose name appears in the last line of the third pauṛī, and the Braj portion may be by Mīr Mushkī whose name appears in one of the later stanzas.

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needs of the pilgrims. The Sikh chiefs of Kaithal constructed a *gurdwārā*, but it fell into a state of neglect after the principality was annexed to the British dominions in 1843. Reconstruction of the *gurdwārā* was undertaken by Sant Jivan Singh in 1950. The present building has a main hall, covered with marble slabs, with a central pavilion for the Guru Granth Sāhib. The central pavilion has a massive lotus dome above it. A spacious rectangular pavilion to the north of the central building serves as a *divān* hall for larger assemblies on festivals and other special occasions. The shrine is controlled by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee who have entrusted management for the present to the successors of Bābā Jīvan Singh.

MĀṆJĪ SĀHĪB, situated on the bank of the holy rivulet Sarasvati, is another historical *gurdwārā* at Pehovā close to Gurdwārā Bāoli Sāhib. The place is sacred to Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Hargobind, Gurū Har Rāi, Gurū Tegh Bahādur and Gurū Gobind Sīgh whose visits the shrine commemorates. To mark the site a Māṇji Sāhib was constructed by the Sikh rulers of Kaithal in the eighteenth century. It was replaced by a larger *gurdwārā* in recent years. The present building consists of two marble covered halls, one above the other. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the high-ceiling hall on the first floor. For management the shrine is affiliated to Gurdwārā Bāoli Sāhib.

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PERRON, PIERRE CUILLIER (1755-1834), French adventurer and soldier of fortune who became Daulat Rāo Scindia’s general-in-chief and all-powerful deputy in northern India. Perron endeavoured to extend Marāṭhā influence up to the River Sutlej. When in 1800 the British emissary, Misr Yūsaf ‘Ali Khān, came on a mission to the court of Ranjit Sīgh, Perron did not wish an *entente* to take place between him and the English and wrote to him as well as to the Mālvā chiefs not to trust them and drive their agent out of their territory. For a short period, the shadow of Perron loomed large over the Sikh area below the Sutlej. In 1801, the Sikh chiefs of Paṭialā, Nābhā, Jind, Kaithal, Lādvā and Thānesar, harassed by the depredations of the French adventurer George Thomas, solicited his aid. Perron readily agreed and a Marāṭhā force, 12,000 strong, under Louis Bourquien quickly expelled George Thomas from their territories. But Perron started treating the Mālvā Sikh chiefs as dependants of the Scindia and subjected them to severe exactions. Contemporary British opinion that Perron could have easily reduced the Sikhs and become master of the Punjab was a mere conjecture. So were the reports of a military alliance between Ranjit Sīgh and Perron signed at Karnāl. Though some evidence of Perron’s overtures to Ranjit Sīgh is available, yet it is established that the latter shrewdly refused to enter into a pact with the Marāṭhās, then on the verge of a war with the English. In 1803, Perron lost favour with Daulat Rāo Scindia. Fearful of Marāṭhā vengeance and certain of the overthrow of Marāṭhā power in their impending clash with the English, he fled across into British territory. He reached Europe in 1805, and lived in retirement in France till his death in 1834.

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PHAGGO, BHĀĪ, affectionately called Chāchā (Uncle) Phaggo in his day, was the head of the Sikh saṅgat at Sāsārām in Bihār. He had built a new house but had not occupied it in his simple faith that the Guru would come and bless it before he moves in. He had built a high portico and had wished that the Master should ride into the premises without having to dismount his horse. His wish was fulfilled when Guru Tegh Bahādur, in 1666, arrived at Sāsārām and rode straight into Bhāī Phaggo’s new house. Phaggo who happened to be present at the time was spellbound. According to Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth. “He stood like a column without uttering a word. His eyes were not tired of watching the Guru.” The Guru spoke, narrates the author, “Phaggo! you took a hard pledge. Didn’t it occur to you how far I was and how much distance I had to cover?.... You announced to the saṅgat that you would receive me here in your new house. Here am I as you wished.” Phaggo was overwhelmed with joy. At last he made a deep obeisance to the Guru, took the dust off his shoes and touched his forehead with it. “Lord of the three worlds” he spoke ecstatically, “knower of the hearts of all, how have you come to this beggar’s house?” He held the stirrup for the Guru to alight and escorted him to the seat he had laid out for him. The Guru stayed there for several days and blessed Bhāī Phaggo for his deep devotion and faith. A shrine established on this site is to this day called Chāchā Phaggo Mall dā Gurdwārā.

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PHAGGÜVĀLĀ, village 19 km east of Saṅgrūr (30°-14’N, 75°-50’E) in the Punjab, has a historical shrine dedicated to Guru Tegh Bahādur, who halted here during one of his travels through the Mālvā country. Gurdwārā Pāṭshāhī Naumī, to the south of the village, marks the site where the Guru had stayed. Phagguvālā village did not exist at the time of the Guru’s visit. According to local tradition, Guru Tegh Bahādur, who coming from Bhāvanīgārh (30°-14’N, 76°-3’E), 3 km to the east, was travelling westward, was served here by a Brāhmaṇ working in the fields, who, after the Guru’s departure, built a platform which came to be worshipped as a sacred shrine. Later, a small gurdwārā was established in a mud hut where an annual religious fair was held to celebrate the festival of Basant Paṅchami. The present building was constructed on the old site in the 1960’s. It consists of a semi-octagonal sanctum with a square hall in front of it. The sanctum has a domed octagonal room above it. Besides the Gurdwārā, the walled compound has within it rooms for pilgrims, Guru kā Langar, and a sarovar. The Gurdwārā owns 14 acres of land and is affiliated to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Special gatherings take place on the fifth day of the light half of each lunar month and on important anniversaries on the Sikh calendar.

An Akālī politician who belonged to this village made himself famous as Ḡāṅgīr Singh Phagguvālīā (1899-1974) for his steadfast work for his party.

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PHAGWĀRĀ (31°-14’N, 75°-46’E), an industrial town along the Sher Shāh Sūrī Mārg
PHAGWĀRĀ

(Grand Trunk Road) in Kapūrthala district of the Punjab, is sacred to Guru Hargobind, who passed through here on his way to Kiratpur after the battle of Kartārpur (AD 1635). Two historical gurdwārās within the limits of the town commemorate the Guru’s visit.

GURDWWĀRĀ CHHEVIN PĀTSHĀHĪ is located in the interior of the town. The old building now forms a basement under a newly constructed high-ceilinged divān hall, with a square sanctum at the far end. Above the sanctum there are three storeys of rooms topped by a lotus dome. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is also seated in the basement, in one of the cubicles which marks the site of the old gurdwārā. A room across the compound is reserved for akhand pāths, or uninterrupted recitals of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The shrine is managed by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. One of the important annual festivals is the birth anniversary of Gurū Hargobind which comes off in the month of June.

GURDWWĀRĀ SRI Sukhchainānā SĀHIB, 3 km to the east of the town, is dedicated to Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Har Rāi. Gurū Har Rāi also stayed on this site during one of his journeys between Kiratpur and Kartārpur. The present building (cornerstone laid on 15 July 1950) is a spacious hall, with the sanctum at the far end. There is a domed square pavilion over the sanctum above the hall roof. The Gurū kā Laṅgar, a row of residential rooms, an educational wing, which houses the local Khālsā College, and a sarovar in the vicinity, complete the complex. The shrine is administered by the same committee as manages the Gurdwārā Chhevin Pātshāhī. Gatherings which take on new moon days attract large numbers of devotees. The major annual festival is Baisākhī which is observed as the birthday of the Khālsā.

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PHALLEVĀL, village in Ludhianā district about 3 km south of Gujjārvāl, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Chhevin, commemorating the visit of Gurū Hargobind during his tour of the Mālvā in 1631. One Chaudhārī Kanhaiyā is said to have served the Gurū with devotion and presented to him a horse, a bow and a quiver with 360 arrows. The Gurū in turn blessed him with a turban and a dagger. The shrine established here was for a long time under Udāsi priests, who surrendered its control to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee only after a lengthy civil suit. The old dera now comprises the Gurū kā Laṅgar and rooms for the staff, and provides accommodation for the local Government Girls School. A new gurdwārā has been constructed on an adjacent site with a spacious, well-ventilated rectangular hall. The prakāsh asthān within the hall has a higher ceiling topped by a lotus dome with silver-plated ornamental pinnacle. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

PHARĀLĀ, village 11 km northeast of Phagwārā (31°-14’N, 75°-46’E), but falling in Jalandhar district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Har Rāi (1630-1661), who halted here briefly during his journey from Kartārpur to Kiratpur. Gurdwārā Gurū Har Rāi Sāhib, in the northeastern part of the village, is an old building comprising a square sanctum with a covered passage around it and a domed room above it. A quadrangular hall was added to the complex in the 1940’s. The Gurdwārā is
affiliated to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

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PHARVĀHĪ, a village 5 km southeast of Barnālā (30°-22'N, 75°-32'E) in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, has a historical gurdwārā dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur who, according to local tradition, arrived here from Kaṭṭū in 1665 and stayed overnight. It is said that when the saṅgat requested the Gurū to leave someone behind to instruct them in the way of true worship, he replied that from the village itself would arise such a dedicated spirit. The people believe that the person alluded to was Bhāi Sobhā Singh who first established, in 1750, a gurdwārā on the site consecrated by Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s stay, and who served it for 60 years. His disciple and successor was Bābā Thamman Singh. Widely known for his piety, he was extremely outspoken. Once in his eccentricity he not only prophesied the extinction of Sikh states at the hands of the Russians but also held illuminations to celebrate the “occasion.” When the news reached Mahārājā Karam Singh, the ruler of Paṭīlā in whose territory Pharvāhī then lay, he had Thamman Singh’s tongue slashed and banished him from his territory. However, the dera named after him at Pharvāhī still exists.

Gurdwārā Sāhib Pātshāhi Naumi, at the northern edge of the village, continued to be maintained by the village saṅgat. The original building constructed by Bhāi Sobhā Singh had a hall with a square sanctum added to it. In recent years the Maṇji Sāhib has been replaced by a low-ceiling hall. The Gurdwārā has 28 acres of land and is administered by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

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PHATTE NAṆGAL, village near Dhārivāl (31°-57'N, 75°-19'E) in Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine Gurdwārā Burj Sāhib, marking the spot where Gurū Arjan, returning from a visit to Bābā Śrī Chand at Bāraṭh, stayed near what used to be a pond. The devotees, who flocked to see the Gurū, constructed, after his departure, a tower (burj, in Punjabi) of earthwork; hence the name of the shrine Gurdwārā Burj Sāhib. The old tower was replaced by a small gurdwārā built of burnt bricks during the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the initiative of one Bhāi Mahtāb Singh Aulakh, who looked after it for several years and was followed by a line of mahants until 1926, when the administration passed to the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. The old pond was lined and pavements constructed. A dīvān hall, now housing the Khālsā High School, was added in 1945 and the central building, a square hall with a double-storied domed sanctum in the middle, was completed in 1962-63.

The Gurdwārā owns about 40 acres of land and is managed by the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Largely attended gatherings take place on the last day of dark half of the month (amāvasyā) especially those falling during the lunar months of Chet and Bhādoṅ. A day especially marked is the anniversary of the martyrdom of Gurū Arjan which falls in May-June.
PHÉRÛ, BHÄI

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PHÉRÛ, BHÄI (1640-1706), an Udåsi Sikh preacher, was born the son of Bhäi Bhinnä Uppal of Amb Måri in pargana Miën kî Maur in Lahore district (now in Pakistan). His original name was Saṅgat. As he grew up, he adopted peddling as a profession and earned the nickname of Phérû, (lit.peripatetic). Journeying out with his wares once, he met Bhäi Bhagatû, a devout Sikh who led him to the presence of Gurû Har Râi (1630-61) at Kiråtpur. Bhäi Phérû turned a disciple and stayed on to devote himself to serving in Gurû kâ Langar, the community kitchen. Gurû Har Râi bestowed on him special blessing (bakhshish in Udåsi Sikh parlance) and appointed him to preach and run Gurû kâ Langar in his native Nakkâ region. The centre established by him near Miën kî Maur itself came to be called Bhäi Phérû after him. When shortly before the creation of the Khâlsâ, Gurû Gobind Singh (1666-1708) summoned all masands to Anandpur in order to enquire into their conduct, Bhäi Phérû also presented himself. The Gurû, pleased with his spirit of service and humility, bestowed on him the epithets of SachchI DärhI (beard unsullied) and Saṅgat Sâhib (honoured by the assembly) and half of his own turban, which Phérû wrapped around his monk’s cap. He was exempted from joining the ranks of the Khâlsâ and he returned to his monastery at Miën kî Maur (Bhâi Phérû) where a new order of Udåsi sâdhüs known as Saṅgat Sâhib Ke came to flourish.

Bhâi Phérû died in 1706.

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PHÉRÛ MALL, BĂBĂ (d. 1526), father of Gurû Arigad, was the third son of Bhäi Gåhnû Mall, a Trehan Khatri of Maṅgovâl village in the present Gujràt district of Pakistan. He was born in his ancestral village, but was brought up in the family of his mother’s parents, who lived at Matte di Sarâi, a village now known as Sarâi Nâñgâ, 16 km northeast of Muktsar, in the Punjab. He gained proficiency in Persian and, as he grew up, he was employed as an accountant by the local landlord, Chaudhari Takht Mall. He was married in the same village (the bride’s name has been recorded differently by chroniclers as Sabhrâi, Râmo and Dayâ Kaur). A son, Lahirî (Gurû Angad), was born to the couple on 31 March 1504. In 1519, Phérû Mall had differences with his employer and quit service. In the following year, during one of Båbab’s incursions into the plains of India, Matte di Sarâi suffered pillage at the hands of the invaders. Phérû Mall, along with his family left the village and, after a brief stay at HarîKe, shifted to Khãdûr, now known as Khãdûr Sâhib. Here Mâi Sabhrâi, the sister of his former employer and a devotee of Gurû Nânâk, treated him as her own brother and helped him to get settled.

Pherû Mall died at Khâdûr in 1526.

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PHIRIÄ, BHÄI, also referred to as Phirä and Pherä, a Kaṭârâ Khatri of Mirpur in Jammû

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and Kashmir, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Guru Amar Dass. The Guru appointed him to a mañjhī to preach Sikhism in his native country. Bhai Phirna had a melodious voice and simple expression and thought-provoking exposition. Many became adherents of the Sikh faith and dharamsāls were established at several places in and around Mirpur.

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**PHIRNA, BHĀI**, a Khahira Jaṭ, named, along with Bhai Jodh, among Guru Nānak's Sikhs in Bhai Gurdās, *Vāraṇ, XI*. Both Bhai Phirna and Bhai Jodh had received instruction at the hands of Guru Nānak. Together they had presented themselves before the Guru and prayed that they be endowed with faith. The Guru said, “Ye should learn humility to achieve truth. Serve with thy hands brother-Sikhs as best ye can. Be an early riser, wash and sit in remembrance of God. Know God as thy master and thyself as His manservants. Join holy assembly and with love listen to the Guru’s word. Ye should practise in thy lives the word ye hear.” Thus, says Bhai Māni Singh, *Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā*, Phirna Khahira and Jodh attained what they had desired.

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**PHIL (1627-1689)**, ancestor of the Phulkian dynasty, was born in 1629, the second son of Bhai Rūp Chand and Māi Ambi. His father was killed fighting against the Bhaṭṭis, Rājpūt converts to Islam, who were their old enemies and who had control over the Mālv region. On the death of Phul's father his uncle, Kālā, became his guardian. The family shifted to the village of Mehraj, founded by Kālā's father, Mohan, in 1627 with the blessing of Guru Hargobind. As Guru Hargobind was staying at Gurūsar, the site of the battle of Mehraj (16 December 1634), Kālā, accompanied by his young nephews, Sandhī and Phul, went to pay homage. In the Guru's presence, young Phul started scratching his belly to indicate that he was hungry. As the legend goes, Guru Hargobind gave his blessing saying, “He will have means not only to overcome his own hunger, but also to satisfy the hunger of many others. His horses
shall drink water from the river Sutlej and the Yamunā." Phul begot seven children. Three sons, Tilok Singh, Rām Siṅgh and Raṅghū, and one daughter, Rāmi or Rām Kaur, were born to his first wife, Bāli, the daughter of a zamindār of Dīlīvān, in Nābha territory. From Tilok Singh descended the ruling families of Nābha and Jind and from Rām Siṅgh, the house of Pāṭiālā. To Phul’s second wife, Rajjī, were born three sons, Channū, Jhauḷū and Takht Mall. The descendants of Channū and Takht Mall held jagirs in the village of Gumaṅī.

Phul received from Rāi Bakhtīār or Kaṅgār, lease of Karīmābād Theh and raised on the site a village which he called Phul. He gained considerable influence in the area, and defeated Hyāt Khān Bhaṭṭī of Bhaṭṭner in a battle fought near what is now Muktsar. Phul began to be recognized as a daring and powerful local chief. He attacked the chief of Jagraṅān, and held him captive after a brief skirmish. He was summoned to Sirhind where he was imprisoned under the orders of the Mughal faujdar. Phul was released by Phok Ḍūrānī, an associate of the Mughal emperor. He then joined the jathā of Bābā Aṅīr Siṅgh and took part in many an expedition. After the death of Bābā Aṅīr Siṅgh, he was elected leader of the jathā.

In the midst of soldierly occupation, Phulā Siṅgh showed concern about the manner in which the Sikh shrines were being administered, and denounced some of the prevalent usage. In 1800, Phulā Siṅgh, along with members of his jathā, moved to Amritsar. When in January 1802, Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh, attacked Amritsar to wrest control of the city from the Bhangīs, Phulā Siṅgh mediated between the clashing groups and averted bloodshed. He took charge of the holy shrines there and began levying charges on the sardars and officials of the Sikh court for their maintenance. As provost of the Takht Akāl Bunga, he once imposed punishment on Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh for infraction of the Sikh code.

Phulā Siṅgh’s Akālis distrusted the foreigners, Afghāns as well as Feringhees. In 1809, they were involved in an attack on the Muhammadan escort of Charles Metcalfe, the British envoy to the court of Ranjīt Siṅgh. The same year, Lieut F.S. White, a British officer, who was proceeding through the Sikh country with 80 troopers to survey the cis-Sutlej region on the authority of the Phulkīān chiefs, was challenged by Akālī Phulā Siṅgh’s jathā at Pattokī. Timely intervention by the Nābha chief saved the life of Lieut White.

Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh appointed Phulā Siṅgh commander of the Akālī troops in his
service. These troops, not fully subservient to the Maharājā's authority, were the most daring of his soldiers. In February 1807, Akālī Phūlā Singh and his jathā fought valiantly at Kasūr and helped the Lahore forces subjugate the Paṭhān governor, Qutb ud-Dīn Khān. As a reward, the Maharājā gave Phūlā Singh's force regular barracks at Amritsar which later developed into the headquarters of the Nihang sect and became known as Akāliān dī Chhauṇī or the Akālī Cantonment.

In 1816, when Ranjit Singh's armies made their sixth attack upon Multān, Phūlā Singh led a storming party of his Akāli zealots. The Akālis fought with reckless courage and took the Fort in the final assault they launched in 1818. Phūlā Singh and his band of Akālis also participated in the Peshāwar (1818) and Kashmir (1819) campaigns. In January 1823, Amīr Muhammad 'Azīm Khān marched from Kābul with a strong host bent upon occupying Peshāwar and chastising the Sikhs. A Sikh army under Prince Kharaṅ Singh rapidly moved northwards and converged on Naushehrā, midway between Attock and Peshāwar. In the fierce action fought at Naushehrā, the Akāli contingent, 1500 strong, made a desperate charge and was soon in the thick of the battle. Suddenly, Phūlā Singh's horse was struck by a bullet and died. Phūlā Singh was also hurt, but he shifted on to an elephant and pressed forward. The Afghān militia made him their main target and he fell under a heavy shower of bullets. Although Phūlā Singh and most of his men had been killed, the battle was won and the Afghāns had to flee Naushehrā.

Akāli Phūlā Singh had met with a hero's death on 14 March 1823. He was cremated at Pirsiābāq, 6 km east of Naushehrā, with full military honours. A samādhi was built on the site and the Maharājā attached to it a jāgīr for its maintenance. Another monument in Akāli Phūlā Singh's honour stands at Amritsar in the form of Burj Bābā Phūlā Singh.

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**PHŪLĀ SINGH AKĀLĪ**

PHŪL SHĀH (1574-1663), Udāsī Sikh preacher, was born the son of Bhai Jai Dev and Māī Subhadrā, Khatri of Srinagar (Kashmir), on 14 February 1574. Under the influence of his elder brother, Bhai Goind, another well-known Udāsī Sikh and head of one of the four dīnuāns or branches of the Udāsī sect, Phūl Shāh also embraced the Sikh faith at Amritsar on 20 March 1604. He donned the ochre robes of the Udāsī at Kīratpur on 21 January 1637 and was ordained head of a dīnuān by Bābā Gurdīṭā, the head of the sect, on 12 September the same year. He preached in the Punjab for some time and then made an extensive tour of holy places throughout India. Returning to the Punjab on 17 January 1651, he settled down at Bahādūrpur, now virtually part of Hoshiarpur town, where he established an Udāsī centre. He died there on 17 May 1663. The followers of his dīnuān later preached Sikhism in central India where they established an Udāsī centre at Chikhlī, now in Buldānā district of Mahārāṣṭra.

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**PHUMMAN SINGH, BHĀI**

PHUMMAN SINGH, BHĀI (1906-1924), one of the Jaito martyrs, was born the son of Bhai Hamīr Siṅg and Māī Tābī, farmers of the vil-
lage of Vándar, 22 km southwest of Bâghâ Purâñâ in Mogâ district. He grew up into a strongly-built handsome young man, with an affable manner. He had no schooling and started farming the family’s lands while still very young. He was deeply influenced by the Sikh movement for the reform of Gurdwârâ management and eagerly sat through the rites of Khâlsâ initiation. The first martyr's column which left Amritsar to take part in the Jaito campaign on 9 February 1924 reached its last halting place, Bargâî, a village bordering the princely state of Nâbâha of which Jaito then formed a part, on 20 February. Phummañ Singh walked the 5 km to Bargâî to meet the jathâ. He along with his companions came again the following morning. They had not gone very far when the Nâbâha authority opened fire upon them. Phummañ Singh received a bullet in his chest and died on the spot.

PHUMMÂÑ SÎNGH, BHÀI, famous as a râgî or musician reciting Sikh hymns, was born in a Jatî Sikh family of Daudhar in present-day Mogâ district of the Punjab in the sixties of the nineteenth century. He learnt to read Scripture and recite kirtan at the Dera or seminary established at Daudhar in 1859 by Sant Suddh Singh. Having acquired notable proficiency in vocal as well as instrumental music, he went to Amritsar where, accompanied at the tablâ or pair of drums by Bhái Harsâ Singh of Saṭhîlâ village in Amritsar district, he performed kirtan at Sri Darbâr Sâhib (the Golden Temple) for some time. After short stints in the courts of the rulers of Paṭîlâ and Nâbhâ, Phummañ Singh went in 1885 to Hyderâbâd where he served as a musician at the Nizâm's court but, having been nurtured in the Sikh religious tradition, he did not feel at home in that environment and soon moved to Nânded where he first joined the jathâ or choir of Râgî Gulâb Singh who performed kirtan at Takht Sachkhanâḍ Sri Hazûr Sâhib, and then himself became the head musician. Bhái Harsâ Singh, who had joined him at Amritsar, continued to be his companion at tablâ. Bhái Phummañ Singh was well versed in several instruments, especially tâús, dîrmbá, kânûn, sitâr and harmonium. He was skilled in many râgas or classical measures of Indian music, but his favourites were Darbârî, Kânârâ and Mâlkauns. Nizâm 'Usmân 'Ali of Hyderâbâd was his great admirer and, whenever he passed through Nânded, he would halt at the railway station to listen to his kirtan.

Phái Phummañ Singh was married sometime after his arrival at Nânded, but he died issueless in 1928.

G.S.G.

PHUNHE, plural of phunhâ, a word derived from the Sanskrit punha meaning ‘again’, is the name of a poetic metre in which a particular term or phrase occurs repeatedly in each cchand or may be in each verse of a poem; in the Gurû Granth Sâhib it is the title of a composition comprising twenty-three quatrains, following the Gâthâ verses. The term repeated in Gurû Arjan’s Phunhe is harihán which is also said to be another name of the phunhâ poetic measure. According to a tradition, Harihân was also the name of Gurû Arjan’s sister-in-law (wife’s sister). These verses were, it is said, addressed by the Gurû to her as she wanted, in compliance with a Punjabi custom, to hear some verses from the bridegroom (Gurû Arjan) at the time of his marriage. Modern exegetes interpret the term to signify he hari (O Hari, i.e. O God).

Phunhe is a poem of deep devotion of the longing of the ‘woman’ for the ‘spouse’ who is of unparalleled beauty. Utterly incapable are her lips of uttering His praise (1). She has tried all the sixteen embellishments known to women, but without Him all are vain (3). She dedicates her life and all its embellishments to Him and hopes to receive Him on the couch of her heart (2).
She craves for the Lord’s Name like a chātrik longing for the svāntī-drop (11). She failed to capture Him in her dream and now she seeks His footprints (13). When the yearning is so great, God intervenes. His saints succour the seeker and lead him to the Divine Being beholding whom all sorrows depart. In his hands lie all the miraculous powers, all the nine treasures and all joys of the earth (7). The saint is the healer who rides man of all his maladies, sins and sorrows (23). The saints themselves partake of the ambrosia of God’s Name and they impart this priceless gift to others (22). The places visited by such saints and devotees become blessed (18). To end the cycle of transmigration and to realize the Supreme Being, the devotees constantly meditate on the Name (6). The reference to the newly constructed town of Rāmdāspur (present-day city of Amritsar) and the holy tank there proclaims, by implication, that a holy dip in the ambrosial water of the Divine Name purifies the seeker of all sloth and sin and brings to him the Divine vision (10).

PIṅgalvārā. A unique institution of its kind in the Punjab enlisting a wide variety of humanitarian work is the creation of a single, dedicated individual, Bhagat Pūran Singh. Born into a Hindu family of modest means in 1904, Pūran Singh was led in his early youth for self-discovery by a vision of the Holy Grail. Attending a religious divān, as a small boy, he had witnessed scenes of a fabulous charisma at the Fatehgarh Sāhib annual festival. He had been enthralled to see the bejewelled and resplendent Sikh Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh, ruler of the princely state of Paṭialā, and his team of equally tall, stalwart and upstanding A.D.Cs. The young boy, then shaven, could not take away his eyes from that bewitching scene. Reaching home he told his aged mother that he must become a Sikh sporting a big colourful turban and long uncut hair.

Piṅgalvārā, literally, an abode or asylum for cripples (pingale, in Punjabi), houses several hundred inmates suffering from all kinds of diseases. There are among them deserted women and abandoned children, admitted without consideration of caste or creed. Another building close by accommodates about 100 patients including some mentally sick or retarded youth. Next are the premises reserved for patients of tuberculosis and other infectious and contagious diseases. Officially run by a registered body, All-India Piṅgalvārā Society, the Piṅgalvārā owes its existence to a highly compassionate and philanthropic genius. All inmates, whatever the condition or stage of their disease or disability, were tended personally by Bhagat Pūran Singh with extraordinary loving care. He truly lived for his patients. They were his family. He was willing to do the humblest chores for them. Without flinching he would suck into his open mouth their bleeding wounds and will...
be willing to receive their secretions on his palm. He thought nothing of changing or washing their soiled clothes. A more self-abnegating individual did not live in this world.

Bhagat Pūran Singh was born in the village of Rājeval in Ludhianā district of the Punjab. He took a vow of celibacy and went to Lahore where he engaged himself in sevā at Gurdwārā Derā Sāhib, sacred to the fifth Gurū of the Sikhs, Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), who too had established a lepers' home during his time. Following the partition of India in August 1947, Pūran Singh came to Amritsar, and established a social service camp. In July 1952, he shifted to a building allotted by the Rehabilitation Department of the Punjab Government. By this time Pūran Singh and his Piṅgalvārā had become widely known and public donations started flowing in. On 6 March 1967, Piṅgalvārā received formal recognition as the All-India Piṅgalvārā Society was registered with the Registrar, Cooperative Societies, Punjab.

The state government and the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee also started giving financial assistance. Voluntary donations from private individuals as well as from civic bodies and charitable institutions multiplied. Paid fund collectors began to be employed to collect donations in small coins from sundry sources such as rail and bus passengers.

Piṅgalvārā set up its own printing press which churned out materials for use by its workers. All these measures helped to muster funds to meet the ever-increasing expenditure as a result of rising costs and expanding activities of the institution. From an expenditure of barely 100,000 rupees a year, it rose to over 21,00,000 rupees for the year 1976-77. There were more than 400 patients, permanently disabled persons and destitute women and children, staying at the Piṅgalvārā in 1978. They were given free meals and clothing by the institution and free medical aid through local hospitals.

Bhagat Pūran Singh died on 5 August 1992, mourned by a vast multitude of admirers and inmates of the Piṅgalvārā which he had reared so lovingly and with such single-minded zeal.

M.G.S.

Piṅjaur, famous for its historic Mughal gardens, is a small town, 18 km northeast of Chandīgarh (30°-44' N, 76°-47' E). Gurdwārā Pahīlī Patshāhi Manjī Sāhib, close to the ancient remains of Dhārā Maṇḍap, about 75 metres from the Yadavindra Gardens, commemorates the visit of Gurū Nānak who arrived here from Kālkā on 15 Assū 1574 Bk/13 September 1517 in the course of his travels through these parts. Here he discoursed with yogis assembled at Dhārā Maṇḍap and impressed upon them the futility of self-torture and renunciation as a means to liberation. Only a small manjī sāhib or platform existed on the spot until Mahārājā Karam Singh of Paṭīlā (1798-1845) had the present gurdwārā constructed, Piṅjaur having become part of Paṭīlā state in 1778, during the rule of Rājā Amar Singh. The Gurdwārā is situated on a raised plinth, with a small courtyard in front. The central double-storeyed structure, where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is installed, is topped by a four-cornered low dome and is surrounded by a circumambulatory verandah. An annual fair is held on Baisākhī suddī 3 (April) to celebrate the birth anniversary of Gurū Nānak. The management is in the hands of the local committee of Gurdwārā Nāḍā Sāhib, under the overall control of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

The gardens formerly known as Piṅjaur Gardens or Mughal Gardens acquired the new name from the late Mahārājā Yadavindra Siṅgh of Paṭīlā, who died suddenly on 17 June 1974 and in whose territory Piṅjaur lay during his days of authority.
PIPĀ, one of whose hymns is incorporated in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, was a prince who renounced his throne in search of spiritual solace. He was born at Gagarāun, in present-day Jhālāwār district of Rājasthān, about AD 1425. He was a devotee of the goddess Bhavānī whose idol was enshrined in a temple within the premises of his palace. The goddess, it is said, once told him in a dream to visit Kāshī (Varanasi) and receive initiation from Rāmānand. Pipā went to Kāshī, but Rāmānand refused to see him in his gaudy robes. Pipā cast off his royal apparel and put on a mendicant’s garment. He returned home after initiation and began to live like an ascetic. At his invitation Rāmānand visited Gagarāun, and the rājā lent his shoulder to the palanquin carrying him in a procession. Pipā now finally decided to give up his throne and retire to a life of seclusion and meditation. He went to Dwārkā (Gujarat) where Lord Kṛṣṇa, after the Mahābhārata war, had spent the last years of his life. All the twelve wives of Pipā insisted on accompanying him, but he took along only one, named Sītā, who was of a pious temperament. He selected a cave for his residence from where he daily walked through a tunnel to the temple of Kṛṣṇa on the sea coast. The temple is still a popular place of pilgrimage, and a fair is held there annually in Pipā’s memory. After what he thought was a personal encounter with the Lord, he gave up idol-worship. He and his companion-wife started living in a jungle. After a period of penance, he set out roaming about the country to serve the common people. He, along with his wife, sang hymns and prayers of his own composition and collected money to be distributed among the poor. He fed the mendicants and treated them as God’s chosen ones. From an idol-worshipper (saguṇa bhakta) Pipā became a worshipper of the Formless One (nirguna devotee). As he says in his hymn in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the body itself is the Supreme Being’s temple (kāiau deval). One need not make stone images of Him and burn incense or light candles in front of them.

Two collections of Pipā’s sayings are known to exist, namely Shri Pipā ji Bāṇī and Sarab Guṇakā, both in manuscript form. Pipā Maṭh, a monastery in Dwārkā, honours his memory.

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PIRĀGĀ, BHĀI, or Parāg Dās as he is named in the Bhaṭṭ Vahīs, was the son of Gotam, a Chhibbar Brāhman of village Kāriālā now in Jhelum district of Pakistan. Bhāi Pirāgā embraced Sikh faith in the time of Gurū Arjan. In the time of Gurū Hargobind, he distinguished himself as a soldier and fought in the battles of Ruhelā and Amritsar. According to the Bhaṭṭ Vahīs, Bhāi Matī Dās and Bhāi Sātī Dās, who remained in attendance upon Gurū Tegh Bahādur and who were martyred with him at Delhi in 1675, were the
grandsons of Bhai Parāg Dās.

PIRĀNĀ, (PİRĀNĀ) BHĀI, a resident of Chakk Ramdās, now in Gujānwlā district of Pakistan Punjab, was a worshipper of Sultān Sakhi Sarwar. As he once visited Amritsar, he had himself initiated a Sikh. According to Bhai Santokh Singh, Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, the first duty he was assigned to by Guru Arjan was to tend fire and clean utensils in the Guru kā Langar. He served with great dedication in the Langar. With equal fervour and diligence, he laboured at the site of the sacred pool, then being excavated under the supervision of the Gurū. Bhai Pirānā was privileged to join Hargobind’s wedding party in 1605. In 1606, he accompanied Gurū Arjan on what turned out to be his last journey to Lahore. After Gurū Arjan’s martyrdom, Bhai Pirānā continued to serve Gurū Hargobind and commanded, under him, a squadron of 100 horsemen. He remained in attendance on the Gurū during his internment in the Gwālior Fort. According to Gurbilās Chheviṅ Pāṭshāhi, Bhai Pirānā fell fighting in the battle of Amritsar. A shrine commemorating his martyrdom still exists in the holy city.

PIR MUHAMMAD KHĀN, one of the Bārakzai brothers who came into control of Peshāwar which became a tributary to Mahārājā Ranjit Singh in 1823. Dost Muhammad Khān who had established himself in power at Kābul bitterly felt the loss of Peshāwar. Pir Muhammad along with his brother, Sultān Muhammad, reached Lahore in March 1837 where he was well received by the Mahārājā. On 7 May 1837, Pir Muhammad and his brother Sultān Muhammad were sent to Peshāwar with Prince Khaṛāk Singh. In March 1839, Pir Muhammad offered to help Shāh Shujā’ who was supported by Ranjit Singh against Dost Muhammad Khān. In 1844, a jāgīr worth 40,000 rupees in Peshāwar was conferred on Pir Muhammad Khān who remained a steadfast ally of the Sikh sovereign.

PIRTHĪ MALL, a surgeon of Burhānpur, figures in the roster of prominent Sikhs of Gurū Hargobind’s time in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 30.
He kept in touch with Thakur Singh when the latter had taken asylum in Pondicherry, a French Protectorate near Madras, and mounted a campaign for the restoration of Maharaja Duleep Singh to the throne of the Punjab seized by the British. In March 1887, Pohlo Mall was arrested and detained in Allahabad Fort for his anti-British activities. There were no specific charges preferred and no trial held. Pohlo Mall was released in June 1889 under the orders of the Governor-General.

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K.S.T.

POOLOCK, SIR GEORGE (1786-1872), baronet, field marshal, son of David Pollock, was born on 4 June 1786. In 1803, he entered the East India Company artillery. He took part in the campaign against Jasvant Rāo Holkar, 1804-05, and served in Nepal, 1814, and in the first Burmese war, 1824-26. In January 1842, he was appointed commander to the “Army of Retribution” which marched through the Punjab to reconquer Afghanistan after the Kabul massacre of November 1841. He marched with his force towards Peshawar under unfavourable circumstances. There was alarm in the Khaibar and Frederick Mackeson was besieged in 'Ali Masjid by the tribals till the Sikh force came to his relief. When, on 5 February 1842, Pollock arrived at Peshawar, he was faced with a serious situation. George Russell Clerk’s constant pleadings at the Sikh court at Lahore for help had received a positive response from Maharājā Sher Singh. Moreover, Lord Ellenborough’s offer of Jalalābād to the Sikhs on its evacuation by the British had necessitated the despatch of a large Sikh force to Peshawar — 16 battalions, 2 brigades and several regiments, 25,000 men in all. Pollock, who had 3 brigades under his command reached Jalālābād on 16 April. The Sikhs kept the Pass open as far as 'Ali Masjid. Pollock had instructions to hand over Jalālābād to the Sikhs on the retirement of the British army. However, Maharājā Sher Singh felt reluctant to accept it without active British help.

Pollock returned to England in 1846 and, in 1854, became senior government director of the East India Company. In 1870, he was promoted field marshal and, in 1872, created a baronet “of the Khyber Pass.” He died on 6 October 1872 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

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B.J.H.

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE is an English rendering, in several volumes, of selections from the Persian records of the Peshwā Daftar, a collection of British official records of the Resident’s transactions concerning the cis-Sutlej region. Prior to the establishment of the Delhi Residency (1803) and the Ludhiaṇā Agency (1809), the British Resident with the Scindia at Fatehgarh was responsible for all such political transactions. The correspondence contains information, sometimes trivial, even conjectural, about the Sikhs before and after 1800. Mr Collins, who was the British Resident with the Scindia those days, drew the attention of the Governor-General of India to the fact that the Sukkarchakki chief (Ranjit Singh) had received a khill’at from Kabul and that Sikh-Afghan coalition against the British was in the offing (12 September 1797, No. 21A). However, Maharājā Ranjīt Singh’s communication to the Governor-General stating that the Afghan ruler was
desirous of reconciliation with the British and that he was as inimical to the Sikh State as he was to the British State proves that Collins’ report was unreliable. There is detailed information about Wellesley’s mission to the Mālvā and Mājhā Sikh chiefs under Mīr Yūsuf 'Ali Khān. Collins furnished the British emissary with letters of introduction to Rānjīt Śingh and other principal Sikh chiefs (24 June 1800, No. 7). Yūsuf 'Ali Khān was entrusted with the task of weaning away the Sikhs from the Afghāns and impressing upon Rānjīt Śingh and the Mālvā Sardārs the superiority of the British arms and the fact that, if they permitted the Afghāns to enter Hindūstān, the Sikh country would be utterly ruined (24 June 1800, No. 17B-Enclosures). Very interesting details of the reception of the British mission at the Court of Rānjīt Śingh are furnished.

B.J.H.

POPULATION of the Sikhs, small as compared to other major religious communities of India, is chiefly concentrated in the Punjab, India, although being fond of travel, Sikhs are found in nearly all corners of the globe. The community is 500 years old, but the data regarding its spread geographically and numerically in the early period of its history are scarce. There is, however, evidence to show that the founder, Guru Nānak, travelled extensively in India and abroad and that there were sangats or fellowships of disciples, established at several places in the wake of his visits. To link these sangats to the Gurus, local leaders called masands were appointed by his successors in the spiritual line. On the testimony of a contemporary Persian source, Maubid Zulfiqār Ardistānī, Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, “During the time of each Mahal, i.e. Guru, the Sikhs increased till in the reign of Guru Arjan Mall they had become so numerous that there were not many cities in the inhabited countries where some Sikhs were not to be found.” Emperor Jahāṅgīr himself provides indication of the growing number of Sikhs in his otherwise hostile comment in his autobiography Tuzuk-i-Jahāṅgīr: “So many of the simple-minded Hindus, nay, many foolish Muslims too had been fascinated by the Gurus’ ways and teaching....” Bhāī Gurdās, Vārān, XI, describing the more eminent Sikhs of the early Sikhism gives in some instances the names of their places of residence as well. Among the places mentioned in respect of the Sikhs of the period of Guru Arjan’s successor, Gurū Hargobind (1606-44), are Āgrā, Gwālior, Ujjain, Burhānpur, Lucknow, Prayāq, Paṭnā, Rājmahal, and Dḥākā. Sikh population increased steadily during the rest of the seventeenth century as is evidenced by the hukammānās or letters of Gurū Tegh Bahādūr (1621-75) issued to sangats in far-flung places such as Paṭan (Farīd), in western Punjab, and Mīrzāpur, Bānāras and Paṭnā towards the east, and by Gurū Gobind Śingh (1666-1708) to those in Bhāī Rūpā and Māchhivārā in the Mālvā tract of the Punjab, Naushehrah in Mājhā, Dāsuḥā in Doābā, Khārā, in western Punjab, Dḥau in Rājasthān and Dḥākā, Chittagong and Sylhet in eastern India. Sikhs customarily kept visiting Anandpur, which under Gurū Gobind Śingh had become the central seat of the Sikh faith, in especially large numbers on festivals like Baisakhi. On the historic Baisakhī day of 30 March 1699, which witnessed the birth of the Khālsā, according to the Mughal newswriter’s report (referred to in Ghulām Muḥaiyuddīn, Tarikh-i-Pānjaḥī) 20,000 were administered the rites of the Khālsā. Subsequently, letters were, as says Kuir Śingh, Gubilāṣ Pāṭshāhī 10, pp. 140-51, issued to the sangats of Kābul, Kandāhār, Herāt, Īrān, Ghaznī, Bokhārā, Peshwāvar, Dherā Ghāzī Khān, Dherā Ismā’īl Khān, Mūltān, Shikārpūr, Jhaṅg Siyāl, Talumbhā, Kashmir, Bharatgarh, Jaipur, Bikāner, Kāshī, Purī, Paṭnā, Dḥākā, etc., to come to Anandpur for initiation. For the next sixty years, Sikhs suffered persecution and suppression. On 10 December 1710 Mughal emperor had issued a general decree for “the
worshippers of Nānak (i.e. Sikhs) to be killed wherever found. "During the governorship of Khān Bahādur Zakariyā Khān (1726-45) in the Punjab, special prizes were announced for the beheading of Sikhs and for information leading to the arrest of any of them. Another governor of the Punjab, Mu‘īn-ul-Mulk (1748-53), nicknamed Mir Mannū by the Sikhs, enforced Zakariyā Khān’s policy with such rigour that his name passed into contemporary folklore. The Sikhs called him their “sickle”, and they sang, “Mannū is our sickle; but the more it mows, the more we multiply.” Sikhs suffered huge losses in numbers in the two ghallūghārās or holocausts of 1746 and 1762. In spite of these setbacks and relentless State repression, Sikhs did not lose their spirit of resilience, nor did they allow their numbers to dwindle hopelessly. Impelled by their example of daring in face of such heavy odds, fresh recruits were in fact always ready to join their ranks. Even after the disastrous massacre of 1762 in which Ahmad Shāh Durrānī had imagined he had scourged the entire race, the Sikhs recouped their military strength, attacking Sirhind within four months of the disastrous event and then challenging, in Amritsar, the Afghān invader. The Sikh fighting force during this period of severe trial retained its essential striking strength and was able ultimately to carry its arms to distant parts. The establishment of Sikh rule under the mīls or independencies over territories extending from the Yamunā in the east to the Indus in the west must have led to considerable accessions to Sikh population. Under Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh (1780-1839), who further extended the boundaries of Sikh power consolidating it into a sovereign State, the process must have been further accelerated. It must be stated, though, that forced conversions were unknown in Sikh times and history does not record a single such instance. No census was taken during those days and no exact or near-exact figures can be computed from any sources of information available today, but a general estimate has come down the generations that Sikh population in what then constituted Ranjit Siṅgh’s Punjab was around ten million. But with the fall of the Sikh kingdom in 1849, there set in a rapid decline in the numerical strength of the community. As the Punjab Administration Report for the year 1851-52 issued by the British noted:

The Sikh faith and ecclesiastical polity is rapidly going where the Sikh political ascendancy has already gone. Of the two elements in the old Khalsa, namely, the followers of Nanuck, the first prophet, and the followers of Guru Govind Siṅgh, the second great religious leader, the former will hold their ground, and the latter will lose it. The Sikhs of Nanuck, a comparatively small body of peaceful habits and old family, will perhaps cling to the faith of their fathers; but the Sikhs of Govind who are of more recent origin, who are more specially styled the Siṅghs or “lions”, and who embraced the faith as being the religion of warfare and conquest, no longer regard the Khalsa now that the prestige has departed from it.

These men joined in thousands, and they now desert in equal numbers. They rejoin the ranks of Hinduism whence they originally came, and they bring up their children as Hindus....
This circumstance strongly corroborates what is commonly believed, namely that the Sikh tribe is losing numbers rapidly. Modern Sikhism was little more than a political association (formed exclusively from among Hindus), which men would join or quit according to the circumstances of the day... Now that the Sikh commonwealth is broken up, people cease to be initiated into Sikhism and revert to Hinduism. Such is the undoubted explanation of a statistical fact, which might otherwise appear to be hardly credible.

Besides large-scale reversion into the Hindu fold, Christian proselytization, with overt government aid and encouragement, was also making inroads, especially among the backward classes. In the enumeration made in the Punjab including the cis-Sutlej princely states in 1868, Sikhs numbered only 1,141,848. In the first regular census of 1881, the Sikh figure stood at 1,853,426. Thereafter, the decennial censuses reflected a steady increase in Sikh population. This upward trend was largely the result of the Singh Sabha reform movement launched in 1873. The figures are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Increase per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1,853,426</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1,907,883</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2,195,339</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3,014,466</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>3,238,803</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Census Report, 1921, offers this comment:

"The reason for the rapid growth of Sikhism in the last twenty years undoubtedly lies in the development among them of a strong communal feeling, their realisation of themselves as a separate political community from Hindus and the conversion to Sikhism of many of the depressed classes, who formerly swelled the ranks of the Hindus..."

The Report also alluded to the problem about identifying a Sikh:

"...Two of the fundamental rules required of a Sikh are that he should wear hair and refrain from smoking, and these two distinguishing features were prescribed at the census of 1891 as a definite criterion for the recognition of a Sikh where there was doubt. They were, however, abandoned in 1911 as being unsatisfactory: it was then laid down that the statement of the person enumerated should be accepted and this rule has been retained at the present 1921 census."

This revision in criterion resulted in a larger number of Sikhs being registered as kesādhārīs as against sahajdāhārīs. The proportion of sahajdāhārīs to kesādhārīs in the Punjab which was .47 in 1891 and .70 in 1901, fell to .22 in 1911 and .08 in 1921.

It may be noted that the modest rate of increase in the 1921 census reflects only the general trend attributable to the world-wide influenza epidemic which broke out soon after World War I (1914-18). The population of India as a whole had shown a decrease of 0.31 per cent for the decade 1911-21. The upward pace in Sikh statistics was resumed after 1921 as is evident from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Increase per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>4,306,442</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>5,691,447</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>6,219,134</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>7,845,915</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>10,378,797</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>13,070,000</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>17,178,080</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, again, the comparatively low rate during the decade 1941-51 was owed to a very exceptional circumstance — the partition of the Punjab in 1947 when a large
number of Sikhs perished in the riots that preceded the events and those that followed it. These losses notwithstanding, the Sikhs were demographically consolidated in the East (Indian) Punjab in consequence of migrations from West (Pakistan) Punjab. Barely 13.22 per cent of the population of pre-Partition Punjab (1941 census), they were now 38.5 per cent of the combined population of the East Punjab and PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union). In 1956, PEPSU was amalgamated with East Punjab to form a single state — the Punjab. The formation of a Punjabi-speaking Punjab in 1966 by separating some territories to form the new state of Haryāṇā and the Union territory of Chandīgarh, and transferring some others to Himāchal Pradesh, the percentage of the Sikhs in the new state rose to 60.22 in the census of 1971, to 60.75 in 1981 and 62.95 in the 1991 census. The increase in numbers was reflected not only in a higher percentage in the Punjab, but also in India as a whole. The proportion of Sikh population to that of India which was 1.47 per cent in 1941, rose to 1.72 in 1951, 1.78 in 1961, 1.89 in 1971 and 1.90 in 1981.

The bulk of the Sikh population of India (77.9%) lives in the Punjab. Major Sikh concentrations outside Punjab are in Haryāṇā, Uttar Pradesh, Rājasthān and Delhi, in that order. Within the Punjab, the Sikhs, by and large an agricultural community, are mostly settled in villages. They are in a minority in all cities and towns. For example, in Chandīgarh, the capital of the Punjab, Sikhs formed only 25.45 per cent of the population in 1971, further reduced to 21.11 per cent in 1981, and 20.29 per cent in 1991.

No definite figures are available for Sikhs settled, permanently or temporarily, outside India. On a rough estimate, the number could be over a million, mostly concentrated in United Kingdom (300,000 to 600,000), United States of America (100,000 to 150,000) and in Canada (130,000 to 250,000). As a result of the preachings of an Indian Sikh enthusiast, Harbhajan Singh Puri, popularly known as Yogi Bhajan, several thousand North American whites have also embraced Sikhism.

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M.G.S.

POTHĪ, popular Punjabi form of the Sanskrit pustaka (book), derived from the root pust (to bind) via the Pāli pothaka and Prakrit puttha. Besides Punjabi, the word pothī meaning a book is current in Maithili, Bhojpuri and Marāthī languages as well. Among the Sikhs, however, pothī signifies a sacred book, especially one containing gurbāñī or scriptural texts and of a moderate size, generally larger than a gu/ka but smaller than the Ādi Granth, although the word is used even for the latter in the index of the original recension prepared by Guru Arjan and preserved at Kartarpur, near Jalandhar. In Puratan Janam Sākhī, the earliest-known life story of Gurū Nānak, the book of hymns which he gave to his successor, Gurū Aṅgad, is called pothī. Gurū Arjan, Nānak V, probably alluding to the Ādi Granth pronounces pothī to be “the abode of God” for it contains “complete knowledge of God” (GG, 1226). At several places in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, pothī refers to sacred books of the Hindus as distinguished from those of the Muslims for which the words used are kateb and Qur’ān.

B.B.S.N.
They are also known as Goindvälväliän pothis for the reason that they were transcribed in Goindvälv, the seat of the Third Guru, and remained there until the earlier half of the 20th century, except for a brief period of time when they were in the custody of Guru Arjan in Amritsar. Still another title is Sahanișar Räm väliän Pothiän, recalling the name of the writer, Sahanișar Räm, son of Mohan and grandson of Guru Amar Dās.

Two of the pothis are still extant, both in the possession of the descendants of Guru Amar Dās. One of them is preserved at Paṭialā and is the property of Bāvā Bhagat Singh Bhallā (since shifted to Piñjaur, near Chandīgarh), who first took it from Goindvälv to Mardān in 1940 and brought it to Paṭialā to which town he migrated after the partition of the Punjab (1947). This pothi is on view for darshan in his house on the morning of the full-moon day each month. People gather to offer obeisance and after hymnsinging, hukam, i.e. a sabda, is read out from the pothi by one of the family members as the Guru’s command (hukam) or lesson for the day. Use of the pothi for scrutiny or scholarly study is not permissible. Of the other Goindvälv pothi, now at the village of Dārrapur near Urmūr in Hoshiārpur district of the Punjab, a photo-copy was obtained by the Punjabi University and is preserved in its Library. This pothi in the order of writing in fact precedes the Paṭialā manuscript. Preceding both in point of time is the pothi mentioned in the Purātan Janam Sākhī as having been bequeathed by Guru Nānak to his successor, Guru Aṅgad, which is sometimes, though with insufficient authority, identified as Guru Harshāhāi vāli Pothis, now believed to be lost for good.

The Bābā Mohan pothis were in preparation for two years. The work, commenced in September 1570, was completed on 10 Bhādoṅ 1629 BK/9 August 1572, but additions perhaps continued to be made even later. The size of both the pothis is the same, i.e. 13” x 9.5”. This is inclusive of the 2-inch margin which runs all around the page and is marked by five lines, two very thin on either side and one somewhat thicker in the middle. Each page, with but rare exceptions, has 13 lines. The first page of the first pothi and the first two pages of the second have illuminations in highly decorative designs. The two manuscripts make up 300 + 224 folios, or 1,048 pages. At various places in both, pages are left blank, presumably to provide room for any hymn or hymns that might subsequently be located. The script used is Gurmukhi of an initial stage. The formation of some of its letters show their kinship with Sārdā and Tākari. For instance, letters /h/, /l/, /a/, /th/, /n/ have close resemblance with their counterparts in those scripts. Folios 167 and 227 of the first pothi are written in a different hand in an unfamiliar laṅgā script which has no vowel signs nor any diacritical sign for the nasal sound /n/.

A note recorded in the margin of folio 216 of the second pothi alludes to the origin of Gurmukhi characters in these words: Guru Aṅgad gurmukhi akhar banī bābe de age sabad bheṭ kitā (Guru Aṅgad coined Gurmukhi letters and presented to the Bābā). The text facing this note is Guru Nānak’s hymn beginning with puran param joti paramesar prītam prān hamāre, in Rāg Sāraṅg.

The sabdas included in these manuscripts fall within fourteen different rāgas. Compositions in the first pothi (Dārāpurvāli also called Ahiyāpurvāli, correctly spelt Yāhiyāpurvāli) occur under rāgas Sūhi, Prabhātī, Dhanāsari, Basant, Tīlaṅg, Gūjāri, Bhairo, Mārū, Kedārā, Vaḍhaṅs, Bīlāval, Malār and Āsā, and those in the second under Rāmkali, Soraṅthī, Sāraṅg and Malār. The order of rāgas and of the sabdas and padās, however, does not correspond with that adopted in the Ādi Granth. There are variations in the text also; sometimes whole lines and padās differ. Guru Nānak’s hymn, kaun tarājī kavaṇu tulā, which occurs in measure
POTHI ASAVARIAN

Sūhī in the Gurū Granth Sāhib appears in the Dārāpur potthi in Parbhāti Lalat. In the text, kauñ is written as kavan, tulā as tolā and mere lāl jīo tera ant na jānā as tera bābā antu na jānā. At places, in the potthīs, two different versions of the same hymn appear side by side. Certain hymns are jointly credited to Kabir and Namdev. For example, basant bāñī Kabir Name kī and bhairaǔ Kabir Nāmdev bhagat. Two hymns show both Kabir and Nāmdev to be the disciples of Gurū Nānak. Their headings run: bhairaǔ Kabir Nāmā bhagat bābe jīke, and Kedaṟā Kabir Nāmā bābe pātsāh de bhagat (folios 263 and 292, respectively, of vol.I) The potthīs begin with the invocation: Ik onkār satīguru parsād sachu nām kartāru nirbhau nirīnkāru akāl mūrti ajūni saṁbho. This is different from the form in which Gurū Arjan recorded the prelude to the Japū in the Gurū Granth Sāhib: Ik onkār satīnāmu kartā purakhu nirbhau nirvairu akāl mūrti ajūni saṁbhaṅ gurparsādi.

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POTHI ASAVARIAN, potthi, i.e. book, comprising discourses of some of the saints of the Sevāpanthī sect. Since the sermons are interspersed with hymns composed by saints who used to sing them at their saṅgats in Asāvari rāga or musical measure, the book is called Potthi Asāvariān. The language of the book is Punjabi, with a fair mixture of Braj and Sādh Bhākhā. The book was compiled by Bhāi Sahaj Rām, a Sevāpanthī saint, between 1791-1811 when he happened to be staying with the head of the sect, Bhāi Aḍḍān Shāh, in company with some 250 other saints.

It was first published in 1912 by Bhāi Amar Singh and later reprinted in 1955 and 1967 by the Sevāpanthī-Aḍḍān Shāhī Sabhā, Paṭiālā. The main stress in these discourses is on the purity of thought and conduct and on the contemplation of the Divine Name which alone leads to liberation.

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POTHI SACH KHĀND, by Soḍhī Miharbān (also written as Miharvān), is the first of the six potthīs or volumes which are said to have comprised the first detailed janam sākhī or biography of Gurū Nānak. Soḍhī Miharbān (1581-1640) was the son of Bābā Prithi Chand and grandson of Gurū Rām Dās, Nānak IV. Of the six potthīs he is believed to have written only three are extant today. They are Potthī Sach Khānd, Potthī Harijī and Chaturbhuj Potthī. Potthī Sach Khānd is available in manuscript form, both individually and bound together with the other two potthīs. Gurū Nānak Dev University, Amritsar, has a manuscript copy of Potthī Sach Khānd (accession No 83; undated) and another of all the three potthīs bound together (accession No 954). The Sikh History Research Department of the Khālsā College, Amritsar, also has a manuscript copy (accession No 927) of the three potthīs bound together. Another manuscript copy existed in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, which got lost in the cataclysmic events of 1984. The manuscript at the Khālsā College, Amritsar, is a copy made in 1885 Bk/AD 1828 from another manuscript bearing 1837 Bk/AD 1780 as its date, whereas the one at Gurū Nānak Dev University, Amritsar (accession No 954) is a copy dated 1837 Bk/AD 1780. The first manuscript of these potthīs came to light when Khālsā College, Amritsar, acquired it. The manuscript was then edited and published (1962) in two volumes under the title

P.S.
Janam Sakhī Śri Gūrū Nānak Dev Ji, with a lengthy introduction bringing out its literary, historical, linguistic and exegetical significance.

The colophon at the end of the Khālsā College manuscript states that the six pothīs together comprised 575 goṣṭis. The Pothī Sach Khand, which originally had 167 goṣṭis, has here a total of 153: the fact of the loss of goṣṭis was noted by the copyist as well. Maybe, they had been lost by the time the manuscript reached him. The colophon does not give any date of composition of the first copy of Pothī Sach Khand, though this information is available about the other two volumes, Pothī Hariji and Chaturbhuj Pothī, which, according to the copyist were completed in 1707 Bk./AD 1650 and Bk 1708/AD 1651, respectively. Evidently, Pothī Sach Khand which comprises as much matter as the other two put together, might have taken two to three years to complete. According to Hariji, Goṣṭ Śri Satgurū Miharbān ji kī, the goṣṭis pertaining to all the Gurūs and Bhaktas, were composed during the lifetime of Miharbān. The copyist seems to suggest that the basic or original copy of these pothīs was prepared at Muhammadīpur at the behest of Hariji and Chaturbhuj and that the whole corpus comprised discourses given by Miharbān and put to pen by one Keshodās Brāhmaṇ (vachani sī guru miharvan de likhāi ji likhī bhāī kesodas brāhmaṇu sevaku guru dā... gulām chatur bhoj kā... guru de hukam nāli pothī sodhī).

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POTHOHĀR, a distinct lingual and cultural region in northwest Punjab (now in Pakistan), comprising a part of the Rawalpindi district, including the entire Gujjar Khān tahrīl (subdivision) barring the hilly tract in the east along the River Jehlum, southeastern part of Rawalpindi tahrīl and Kallar circle of Kahūtā tahrīl. It is a slightly raised plain sloping south and southwestward. This probably gives it the name Potthohār, a derivative of Hindi pāthār lit. plateau. It is a rough plain interspersed with numerous streams and ravines which turn into turbulent torrents during the rainy season. The main river of Potthohār is Soān, commonly pronounced Suān, which is a tributary of the Indus and which figures extensively in the folklore of the region. Another notable stream is Kānshi which ultimately joins the Jehlum.

Some archaeological finds from the Soān basin believed to be dating back to the first and second interglacial age suggest that Potthohār was one of the earliest homes of mankind in this part of the world. In any case, the region can boast of the most ancient culture in India. It must have been the first halting place for the waves of Aryans who entered India from the northwest. When the Greeks invaded India in 326 BC, they found Takṣaśīla or Taxila at the northwestern edge of Potthohār “the great and flourishing city.” Taxilā continued to be an important seat of learning and centre of Graeco-Buddhist art for many centuries. The relics of Buddhism in Potthohār are not confined to Taxilā alone. Hasan Abdāl, Mānikiālā and many other places are intimately connected with Buddhist tradition and culture. The local dialect, Potthohāri, spoken even in areas beyond the boundaries of Potthohār proper still preserves many Sanskrit and Prākrit verb forms and inflections. A popular legend points to the conquest of the region by Rājā Rasālū, son of King Salvān, ruler of Siālkot. From the point where the tradition of antiquity gives place to more authentic historical records, Gakkhar, a Muhammadān tribe, comes into prominence. The Gakkharhs ruled over Potthohār more or less independent of
the sovereign powers at Delhi and Ágrá until they were overcome by Sardár Gujjar Siṅgh, a powerful Sikh chief of the Bhaṅgī family, in 1765. His deputy, Milkha Siṅgh, set up his headquarters at Rāwalpiṇḍī, then only a small village. Maharājā Rāṇjit Siṅgh annexed Poṭhoṅhār in 1810, and in 1849 along with other Sikh territories, the district passed under British rule.

Poṭhoṅhār was predominantly Muslim. Siṅhīs, according to 1901 census, were hardly 5 per cent of the population while Hindus were about 10 per cent. The two non-Muslim communities, mostly Khaṭris and Aroṅgās, were closely knit together and hardly distinguishable from each other in religious belief and social customs except that the Siṅhīs, under the influence of their spiritual head, Bābā Khem Siṅgh Bedi of Kallar, one of the leaders of the Siṅgh Sabhā movement, generally took the vows of the Khālsā and kept their hair and beard untrimmed. A large percentage of Hindu Khaṭris and Aroṅgās were Sahijdhārī Siṅhīs. The influence was also strengthened in the area by the Niraṅkārī Darbār spearheading a reformist movement located at Rāwalpiṇḍī and by the proximity of Paṅja Sāhib, the famous Sikh shrine sacred to Gurū Nānak. Sikhism received further fillip from the preachings of holy men such as Sant Atar Siṅgh and Bhai Thān Siṅgh. Being businessmen by profession, Poṭhoṅhārī Siṅhīs were better off economically and better educated than members of the majority Muslim community, and were quick to take to western education introduced by the British. Bābā Khem Siṅgh Bedi was pioneer in the field of women’s education and he opened 20 schools for girls throughout Poṭhoṅhār. Several Khālsā schools for boys also came up which provided special facilities for teaching Punjabi in Gurmukhī script. Poṭhoṅhār has produced a large number of Sikh scholars and writers. Among them may be counted Bhai Jodh Siṅgh and Professor Tejā Siṅgh, distinguished theologians, Nānak Siṅgh and Kartār Siṅgh Duggal, both novelists of standing, Dr Mohan Siṅgh Diwānā, the critic and Mohan Siṅgh, the poet. The towering political leader, Master Tārā Siṅgh, was a Poṭhoṅhārī. So were Giani Gurmukh Siṅgh Musāfīr and Giani Hirā Siṅgh Dard.

The Siṅhīs of Poṭhoṅhār were a flourishing section of the community and leaders in a variety of fields. On the eve of the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the entire region was engulfed in fierce communal frenzy. Widespread loot, arson and massacre were the order of the day. Many fled to find refuge in eastern part of the Punjab, especially in the Sikh state of Paṅjālā. The orgy intensified after the partition in August 1947, resulting in mass migration of Hindus and Sikhs to the Indian side. Poṭhoṅhārī Siṅhīs resettled mostly in towns and cities throughout India particularly in Delhi, Punjab, Haryāṅā and Uttar Pradesh, where they still retain their distinctive identity and avocations.

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K.S.DI.
ders had made Lord William Bentinck realize that not only the extension of Sikh power in the region had to be curbed but a closer union had to be forged with the countries along the whole course of the Indus.

No intimation of the real object of Pottinger's mission was, however, given to anyone. At the Ropar meeting in October 1831, Lord William Bentinck had given only evasive answers to the Maharaja's insistence on a positive assurance of non-interference in his projected conquest of Sindh. In 1836, Lord Auckland deputed Henry Pottinger to the Amirs, to negotiate an offensive and defensive alliance with them without giving them protection against the Sikhs. Pottinger's manoeuvrings in Sindh yielded results. The Amirs were forced to conclude a treaty with Pottinger on 20 April 1838. British diplomacy in Sindh had permanently thwarted Ranjit Singh's designs on that country. Pottinger, who remained political agent in Sindh from 1836-40, was created in 1840 a baronet in recognition of his services. In 1843, he was appointed the first British governor of Hong Kong. He returned to England the following year and was made a privy councillor. From 1846-47, he was governor of the Cape of Good Hope and in 1847 was sent to India again, this time as governor of Madras.

Pottinger died at Malta in 1856.

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*B. J. H.*

**PRĀCHĪN PANTH PRAKĀŚH**, by Ratan Singh Bhangū, a chronicle in homely Punjabi verse relating to the history of the Sikhs from the time of the founder, Gurū Nānak (AD 1469-1539), to the establishment in the eighteenth century of principalities in the Punjab under Misl sardāṛs. The work, which was completed in 1998 Bk/AD 1841 in the *buṅgā* of Shām Singh near the Golden Temple at Amritsar, is owed to the Britishers’ curiosity about the Sikhs and about their emergence as a political power. Captain Murray, then stationed on the Anglo-Sikh frontier at Ludhianā, had been charged with preparing a history of the Sikhs. He sought the help of a Persian scholar, Maulawi Būṭe Shāh. Ratan Singh volunteered his own services as well to undo, as he says, the bias that might crop up in the narration of a Muslim. He verbally traced for Murray the origin of the faith of the Sikhs and their rise to sovereignty in the Punjab. What he narrated to Captain Murray during the day, Ratan Singh reduced to writing by night. For this recital and for the account that he finally composed in Amritsar, Ratan Singh drew upon available Sikh sources such as Janam Sakhīs and Gurbilāses and on the oral tradition that had come down to him from his parents and grandparents: the famous Sikh martyr, Matāb Singh of Mirāŋkoṭ, was his paternal grandfather, and Shām Singh of Karorāṅgīhīā mīst, his maternal grandfather. The latter material he utilized in his account of the career of Bandā Singh Bahādur and of the troubled times following his execution. This in fact is the most significant part of the work. The details and sequence of events here provided have been generally accepted in later Sikh historiography. The earlier period has been dealt with sketchily. The descripton of Gurū Nānak’s life is relatively more detailed, but with the miraculous element predominating as in the Janam Sakhīs. The succeeding seven Gurūs have been barely mentioned, except Gurū Hargobind whose battles against the Mughal forces are briefly touched upon. In his account of Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s martyrdom, Ratan Singh follows Gurū Gobind Singh’s *Bachitra Nāṭak*. He attributes the fall of the Mughal empire to the Emperor’s sinful act of beheading the Gurū. From among the events from Gurū Gobind Singh’s life, the
manifestation of the Khālsā on the Baisākhi day of AD 1699, abolishing the masand system, the intrigues of the hill chiefs, and the siege of the Anandpur Fort, Gurū Gobind Singh’s escape from the mud fort of Chamkaur, his southward journey and meeting at Nānde with Bandā Singh Bahādur whom he charged to come to the Punjab to ransom righteousness are described in considerable detail.

Then follows the account of Bandā Singh’s entry into the Punjab with a few of the Sikhs who were in the Gurū’s train at Nānde (among names mentioned are those of Binod Singh and Kāhn Singh, Dayā Singh and Auṇin Singh and Bāj Singh Bal of Mārpur), the rallying of Sikhs from Mālvā and Mājhā to his standard (the poet makes no secret of his partiality towards the latter), the occupation of Samānā and Sirhind, and inroads into the Jalandhar Doāb. The Sikhs had established their power right up to Pāṭī, near Lahore. Sovereignty, sang the poet, had been promised the Sikhs by the Gurū himself. Bandā Singh’s own victories were ascribed by Ratan Singh to the occult powers Gurū Gobind Singh had bestowed upon him. His final defeat was attributed to his resiling from the teachings of the Gurū. The split of the Panth into two rival camps — Tatt Sār Khālsā (both tatt and sār meaning the essence) and Bandai Khālsā — is described in dramatic detail. The account of the fierce persecution which overtakes Sikhs after the death of Bandā Singh reaches its climax in the martyrdom of Bhāi Manī Singh which, according to Ratan Singh, takes place in 1738. The narrative henceforward loses its continuity and becomes more episodic in character. Among the events described are the chastisement of Māsā Khān Ranghār who had desecrated the Harimandar, the martyrdoms of Botā Singh, Subeg Singh, Tārū Singh and Mahitāb Singh, Chhotā Ghallūghārā (the minor carnage), Vāḍā Ghallūghārā (the major carnage), the third assault of the Sikhs on Sirhind in which Zāin Khān, the governor, was killed, and the Sikhs’ foray into the country around Delhi. In simple verse, the poet captures the spirit of the Sikhs in those difficult times: “Sikhs had a fondness for death. To court death they had now found an opportunity. Their lives they held not dear. They did not feel the pain if their bodies were slashed. They took to arms vowed to death.”

The Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh was for the first time published in 1914. Bhāi Vir Singh, famed scholar and poet, came across an old manuscript which he edited and had printed at the Wazir-i-Hind Press at Amritsar in that year. Bhāi Vir Singh added the word “Prāchīn” (old or older) to the title of the book to distinguish it from the more recent Panth Prakāsh by Giānī Giān Singh. Another edition of the work, as annotated by Jīt Singh Sītal, was published by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1984.

S.S.S.

PRAHILĀD RĀI, one of the foremost scholars who enjoyed the patronage of Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708), translated into Punjabi prose 50 Upaniṣads. He launched upon this work in 1689 at the instance of Gurū Gobind Singh and based it upon Dārā Shukoh’s Persian translation of the classics, Sirr-i-Akbar. However, the philosophical terminology used by him shows that he was also well conversant with the original Sanskrit texts. A manuscript of this work entitled Upanishad Aṭhārvāṇ Bhākhā is preserved in Motībāgh Palace Library at Patīlā. Verses composed by Prahilād Rāi in Hindi and Punjabi lie scattered in miscellaneous old manuscripts.

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P.S.P

PRĀN SĀNGLĪ, lit. the chain of breath or vital air, is a collection of compositions, at-
tributed to Guru Nanak but in reality apocryphal, dealing with yogic practices, particularly prāṇīyāma or control of vital air. The original Prāṇ Saṅgli, was, in all probability, a small composition, though the now available recension, edited by Sant Sampūran Singh and published in 1898 in the Devanāgrī script, in three volumes by Bhāi Mohān Siṅgh Vaid, Tarn Taran, runs into more than 700 pages and contains as many as 80 chapter which, with the exception of the first few, are not closely related or co-ordinated. Each of these chapters is presented as an exposition by Guru Nanak of a question raised by Rājā Shivnabh of Sānglādīp (Sri Lanka) where Prāṇ Saṅgli is said to have been composed. Tradition goes that Guru Arjan, when compiling the Guru Granth Sāhib, despatched Bhāi Paiṛā Mokhā, a learned Sikh, to Sānglādīp to bring a copy of the manuscript of Prāṇ Saṅgli believed to be in the possession of the descendants of Rājā Shivnabh. The copy he brought was scrutinized by Guru Arjan and adjudged spurious. Thus, on page one of the original Kartāṛpurī Bīţī of the Guru Granth Sāhib the title Prāṇ Saṅgli has been inscribed in Arabic characters, but nothing else. The rest of the page remains blank. In spite of the text having been rejected by Guru Arjan some people continued to treat Prāṇ Saṅgli as an approved text. Over the generations it grew in size through the addition of more spurious compositions.

Probably the original Prāṇ Saṅgli consisted of the first ten chapters which comprise the first volume of the published version. The first six of these ten chapters explain the evolution of the universe, myriads of earths and skies, the elements, man with all his internal organism, etc., from the state of the unmanifest termed as suṁṅ (śunya, literally meaning void or nothingness and in yogic theology representing the Primal Being). The next three chapters explain the intricacies, forms and ideals of yoga, through dialogues between Gorakhnāth and Guru Nānak — Gorakhnāth posing questions and Guru Nānak providing answers. The tenth chapter asserts that the Unmanifest, Real Being also remained in contemplation and concentration on the Vāk-Vāk (wonderful). There was the Transcendent Being who remained in perfect concentration and equilibrium for myriads of aeons, all alone, without any creation of any form or name. This was the state of unmani. This state gave place to the onkār state. As Brahmān willed to multiply, there emerged the three guṇas (qualities of prakṛti), five elements, four Vedas, six Śastras, six Vedāṅgas, etc.

Of the remaining 70 chapters in the following two volumes, around twenty-four are by and large an interpretation of yoga. These chapters, complete in themselves, are devoted exclusively to the exposition of yoga in its own terminology, and also in the bhakti terminology of Guru Nānak, emphasizing the importance of guru, his sabda and the ethical and spiritual regeneration through meditation on the Name.

These yogic texts repeat and elaborate what has been said in Volume I and claim to explain the ideal of yoga according to Guru Nānak’s views. Chapters XI and XII in this section deal with Udās Bairāg and Yog Bairāg. The latter gives details of the mind as it transcends itself to reach the Realm of Truth by practising yogā. The composition Suṁṅ te Utpāti or Creation out of the Void (Ch. XIV) describes the process of the formation of the body in the womb. From here onward, the theme takes a new course emphasizing how forgetfulness of the Lord ensues after birth and how liberation lies in the remembrance of the Name alone. Chapters XV to XVII stress the need of guru and meditation on the Name. The Ratanmālās (Chs. XIX and XX) advert to the qualities of an ideal bairāgī who, following the teaching of the guru, transcends the three guṇas, fights against desires with the sword of jñāna (knowledge), bathes at the sixty-eight tīrthas of the body and medi-
mates on the Name by churning the curd of *sahaj* in the milk-pot of the body. He is the one who lights the path leading to the tenth door (*dasam dvār*) with effort as the lamp, discrimination as the oil, concentration as the wick and *sahaj* as the matchstick. The *Yog Garbhāvalī Chhutkārā* (Ch. XXVII) and the *Prakṛiti Vistār* (Ch. XXXI) are elaborations of Chs. IV–VI. The *Kriyāsār Jog* (Ch. XXIX) stresses how vital the Guru’s grace is to controlling the senses. The *Kathā Agam Mahal Kī* (Ch. XXXII) emphasizes the role of the guru in helping one to apprehend the Supreme Being. The *Anbhau Pragās* (Ch. XXXIII) counts the 84 *āsanas* (postures) of the yogīs. As the name indicates, the *Aṣṭāṅg Yoga* (Ch. XXXIV) speaks of the eight stages of the yogic discipline. The *Kalaptmālā* deals with the preparation of medicines from herbs, plants and metals for various maladies. All this apocryphal literature seems to have grown up in imitation of Guru Nanak’s *Sidha Gosti* and a large number of hymns about the theme of yoga as incorporated under *Raga Ramkali* in *the Guru Granth Sahib.* Applying *Sidha Gosti* as the touchstone, these compositions in the *Prāṇ Saṅglī* are easily proved apocryphal, for they do not have Guru Nanak’s compact expression, his intensely theistic devotion or bhakti and his clear verdict in favour of the household and a piously-lived worldly life.

Apart from yoga, the *Prāṇ Saṅglī* has compositions addressed to Hindu saints. Among them is a *Gostī*, i.e. a dialogue, with Rāmānand and Kabīr (Ch. XIII) which stresses devotional bhakti by referring to the example of some early Hindu saints such as Shuk, Nārada, Dhrū, Prahlād, Nāmdev, Trilochan and Kabīr. The chapter on *Nirjog Bhakti* (Ch. XXI) refers to the Śākta (materialist) who remains involved in evil and sin, but who can by concentrating on the *sabda* of the guru win honour in the court of the Lord. *Sach Khanḍ kī Jugī* (Ch. XXII) says that the guru’s *sabda* can change dross into gold, a sinner into a saint. The *Sahānisaranāmā* (Ch. XXIV) enlists the different names of the Lord and *Das Avtārān di Vārtā* (Ch. XXVIII) tells of the ten ancient incarnations of Viṣṇu. *Dakkhanī Oaṅkār* (Ch. XXXV) is Guru Nānāk’s own composition as incorporated in the Guru Granth Sāhib. The *Bhogal Purān* (Ch. LIX), a prose work, gives, according to mythological astrology and astronomy, details about the creation, universes and myriados upon myriados of earths, skies, stars, etc., — all supported on the back of a tortoise of unimaginable magnitude. The *Pindī Daīv Asur Saṅgrām* (Ch. LXXII) is the description of a battle between the good and evil tendencies of man. The *Gīān Sur Udaya* (Ch. LXXV) has for its theme the time, its concept and measures. The *Jugāvalī* (Ch. LXXIX) recounts the Hindu theories about the yugas (aeons), or time cycles and measurements.

The third category of apocryphal literature, written in Persianized Punjabi and addressed to the Muslim divines and kings, is contained in chapters LXXVII and LXXVIII. Chapter LXXVII comprises *Tilaṅg kī Vār Mahallā I* which follows the general pattern of the vārs included in the Guru Granth Sāhib but is suffused with Islamic thought and terminology. Opening with the line *thān thanantarī mihāvān sachu khāliq subhānā,* a description of the creation or ḍurāt follows. All rāgas and rāginīs are shown singing the praises of Khudā. Says another line: *duniyā upari āyā bhejiyā āpi Allah* (man comes into this world having been sent by Allah). The vār is followed by another composition, entitled *Rāga Rāmkālī Mahallā I,* partially composed on the pattern of Guru Nānāk’s *Sodarū.* The hymn states how millions of Muḥammads, Rāmas, Gorakhs, etc. are singing His praises in the grand court of Allah and how everything moves under His command only. Other compositions in this category include: *Nasihat Nāmah* or an epistle of admonitions; *Hāzār Nāmah* or a discourse on the importance of being alert; *Pāk Nāmah* or an address on pure living and *Karnī Nāmah*
or an address on the importance of good conduct.

T.S.

PRARTHANĀTĪTA DĀN, poem in Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore on the Sikh martyr Bhāi Tārū Singh. Written on 2 Agrahāyaṇ, 1906 BS/18-19 November 1899 and included in Kathā, a collection of Tagore's poems published in October-November 1899, the poem refers to Bhāi Tārū Singh’s arrest along with some other Sikhs “who had surrendered after a stiff resistance making the battleground of Shahidgaṇḍ ċrimson red,” and who were presented before the Nawāb for execution. The Nawāb [Zakariyā Khān, the Mughal governor of the Punjab] said that he would be happy to excuse Tārū Singh. Tārū Singh asked the Nawāb why he was showing this indulgence especially towards him. Expressing his appreciation of Bhāi Tārū Singh’s qualities as a warrior, the Nawāb said that he bore him no ill will, adding that he would spare his life, but would expect him to cut off his benī (long hair tied into a knot and kept under his turban). Bhāi Tārū Singh spoke with a touch of sarcasm that he was impressed by the Nawāb’s kindliness, but would rather sacrifice his head with the benī intact. Upon this the Nawāb ordered his head execution. Notable for its terse style, the poem makes the point how important for Sikhs are their religious symbols, especially kesa, their long, unshorn hair.

H.B.

PRASĀDĪ HĀTHĪ, an elephant trained to perform several unusual feats, was among the presents brought to Gurū Gobind Singh by an Assamese chief, Ratan Rāi. According to Sikh chronicles, Ratan Rāi’s father, Rām Rāi had served Gurū Tegh Bahādur during his travels across Assam in the mid-1660s and received his blessing. Ratan Rāi, as he grew up, learnt that after the death of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, his son, Gobind Rāi, sat on his spiritual seat. He travelled up-country and came to Anandpur to make obeisance to the Gurū, bringing with him as presents a young and trained elephant, five horses of rare breed and a five-in-one weapon. According to Bhāi Santokh Singh, Gur Pratāp Sūrāj Granth, ritul, anśū 23, the Gurū gave the name Prasādī to the elephant. Prasādī was a beautiful little beast with a round white mark on his head and white streaks on its trunk and back. He soon learnt to salute the Gurū, wash his feet, put a saffron mark on his forehead, wave a whisk over him, collect and bring back arrows shot by him, and walk before him at night holding a torch high with his trunk. Prasādī soon became famous in the hill territory and instantly excited the envy of Bhīm Chand, the Rājā of Kahlūr, as he once saw it while on a visit to the Gurū. Failing to acquire the animal by strategem, he resorted to force and led out an armed contingent to attack Anandpur, but was repulsed.

According to Sukhā Singh, Gurbilās Dasūn Patshāhī, Prasādī was reduced to a skeleton owing to lack of food during the prolonged siege of Anandpur (1705), and Gurū Gobind Singh had him killed to save him the torture.

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M.G.S.

PRATĀP SINGH, BHĀI (1899-1922), one of the two martyrs in the Paṅjā Sāhib (Hasan Abdal) episode, was born on 26 March 1899 to Bhāi Safūp Singh and Prem Kaur at Akālgarh, in Gujranwālā district, now in Pakistan. His father was a goldsmith by profession. He received his instruction at the village school, and worked as a teacher for some time at Maṇḍī Bhalvāl in Sargodhā dis-
PRATAP SINGH, BHAII

trict before moving to Karachï to serve as a clerk in a firm of commission agents. At the instance of his elder brother, Tārā Śingh, he became a clerk in the army and served in Multān and Rāwalpiṇḍī cantonments. Moved by the Nankānā Sāhib incident (20 February 1921), Pratāp Śingh resigned his army service resolved to dedicate his life to the Panth. He joined the managing committee of Gurdwārā Paṇjā Sāhib, brought under the community’s control since November 1920, as a treasurer. He had married, on 11 October 1918, Harnām Kaur, daughter of Kapūr Śingh of Lohūnvala, a village near Gujranwālā.

On 29 October 1922, Pratāp Śingh sat with Bhāī Kārām Śingh, also an employee of the Paṇjā Sāhib Gurdwārā Committee, and several others in the railway track to stop, risking their lives, the train carrying Sikh volunteers held in the Guru kā Bāgh agitation with a view to serving to them a meal prepared by the saṅgat. The special train was to run through Hasan Abdāl railway station at about 10 a.m. without making a halt. The squatters did stop the train, but not before it had run over the two volunteers and hit several of their companions. The rest of saṅgat rushed forward to rescue them. Pratāp Śingh and Kārām Śingh, though grievously hurt, were still conscious and told them to leave them alone and first serve meals to the jathā. This was done and the train moved on. The injured were brought to the Gurdwārā and given medical aid. Bhāī Pratāp Śingh and Bhāī Kārām Śingh, however, succumbed to their injuries the next day. Their dead bodies were carried to Rāwalpiṇḍī on 1 November 1922 and cremated on the bank of rivulet Rei. Until the partition of 1947, a threeday fair used to be held at Gurdwārā Paṇjā Sāhib at the end of October every year in memory of the two martyrs.

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PRATAP SINGH, GIANI (1904-1984), preacher, journalist and author, was the son of Bhāī Makkhan Śingh and Māī Mathūrā Devī of the village of Nārā in Rāwalpiṇḍī district of the Punjab (now in Pakistan). Born on 3 January 1904, he learnt Gurmukhi and scripture-reading at home and passed his middle school examination from the village school in 1918. He read with deep interest literature brought out under the influence of the Śingh Sāhbā movement and joined the Khālsa Upadeshak (Missionary) College, Gujranwālā, from where he passed, in 1922, the Giani examination of the Paṇjāb University, Lāhore. In 1923, he was engaged by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee as a preacher. Soon afterwards he was arrested for making a seditious speech and sentenced to one and a half year’s imprisonment. Giani Pratāp Śingh served as assistant jathēdār of Srī Akāl Takht, Amritsar, from 1938-48 and jathēdār of Takht Srī Kesgarh Sāhib, Anandpur, from 1948-52. He was then appointed jathēdār of Srī Akāl Takht, Amritsar, from which position he retired in 1955.

In 1956, Giani Pratāp Śingh floated a monthly journal, the Gīm Amrīt, which he himself edited and published until December 1981 when it was made over to Dr Mān Śingh of the Niraṅkārī Darbār. He also wrote over two dozen books and tracts on religious and historical themes. Some of his better-known works are Gurmat Laikčār (1944), Iṭiḥāsāk Laikčār (two volumes, 1945), Saṅsār dā Dhārmik Iṭiḥās (1948), Akālī Lahīr dā Iṭiḥās (1951), Naqītī Niraṅkārī (1967), Kūkā Gūrūdom (1972), Amritsar Sīfī dā Ghar (1977) and Akālī Lahīr de Mahān Netā (1976). The Languages Department of the Punjab Government honoured Giani Pratāp Śingh in 1981 for his
PRATĀP SĪNGH, MAHĀRĀJĀ (1919-1995). Tall and handsome, His Highness Maharājā Sir Pratāp Sīngh, Mālvendra Bahādur, was the ruler of the princely state of Nābhā. The state ceased to be in 1948 when a new and larger political unit called Paṭīlā and East Punjab States Union, short PEPSU, came into existence. This new union comprised all of the Sikh states of the Punjab—Paṭīlā, Nābhā, Jind, Kapūrthala, Farīdkoṭ and Kalsī, and two others.

Pratāp Sīngh was born on 21 September 1919, the son of Maharājā Ripudaman Sīngh. He began his education in Mussoorie, close to Dehra Dūn, the family’s favourite Dehra Dūn. But on this occasion there was no food waiting for them. Nor any servants. The Maharājā had virtually come this time as a prisoner.

This was the beginning of the Maharājā’s exile and separation from the family which were formalized when he was taken further south, to Kodaikanal, with a solitary servant, for permanent detention. The arrest was made under Regulation III, 1818, which provision had also been invoked in the case of the last Mughal king of India, Bahādur Shāh. The Maharājā was deprived of his titles and he lived in a small cottage guarded by ten constables. The state of Nābhā was placed under minority administration with the young son of Ripudaman Sīngh, Pratāp Sīngh, as the Maharājā.

Pratāp Sīngh was the eldest of the three sons of the exiled Maharājā Ripudaman Sīngh. ‘Ripudaman Sīngh’ was a name which had become a legend for political radicalism and for the spirit of defiance it echoed. Even as a member of the Imperial Council to which he had been nominated in the early years of the century, when he was still heir apparent, he used to sit with the opposition and felt more at home in the company of Congress luminaries such as Motilāl Nehru, Pt Madan Mohan Mālaviya and Jinnāh. For his avant-garde leanings, he lost his throne. On attaining majority Pratāp Sīngh was crowned the Maharājā of Nābhā.

In the early hours of 22 September 1919, the Nābhā guns had boomed announcing to the public the birth of the heir apparent from the second Mahārāṇī, Mahārāṇī
Sarojani Devi, who was then in Mussoorie along with her husband. The delivery case was attended by Dr Edith Brown of Ludhiana Medical College. Maharajā Pratap Singh assumed full ruling powers in 1938. In 1943, he was married to Princess Urmila Devi, daughter of the Maharajā of Dholpur. The wedding was a glittering occasion. It was attended among others by the Sikh savant Bhai Sahib Arjan Singh of Bagarían and other members of the lately constituted Punjabi Sabha, such as Ajaib Chitrakār, Professor Sādhū Singh Dard, Sūfī Fakir Mohd, Professor Hardyāl Singh and Dr Deīvinder Singh Vidyārthi.

As Maharajā Pratap Singh occupied the throne of Nabha, there was much ado among his Sikh subjects in the state and outside and among Sikhs generally that he had deprived himself of his Sikh symbols, keśas and beard. The Maharajā remained defiant and refused to succumb to any public pressure. The matter was eventually taken up by the British prime minister of Nabha, Mr Wakefield. The Maharajā’s resistance melted when the prime minister said that he would support him as the matter came to be discussed with the Viceroy. Touched by this remark of the prime minister and assured of his sympathetic and understanding attitude, he decided to regrow his long hair. To this end, the Maharajā and his prime minister Edward Wakefield proceeded on a tour to a remote corner of the state territory, Bawal. There the Maharajā took the opportunity of redeeming his word and he returned to Nabha a full-grown Sikh. He could now mix with the people almost unnoticed in his new accoutrements. The Maharajā settled down to state business without any extensive notice being taken of his newly-grown beard.

In the changed post-War situation and in view of the new challenges arising, Nabha, along with other princely states, lapsed as an autonomous unit and merged into the larger political complex styled PEPSU, Patiala and East Punjab States Union.

The Maharajā, born the son of a rebel, did raise a protest at the manner in which he had been divested of his state and of his ruling powers. He was prominent among the small group of protesting royalty, bearing the name Syndicate.

Pratap Singh was fond of manly sport and was given to chase. Another of his hobbies was car racing. There were many shiny and resplendent models in his garages.

In spite of the strong powers of determination he had inherited, he was a very soft and gentle person. He could never imagine himself disparaging a human being. He never spoke a harsh word to anyone. He did keep up the style and manner of royalty, but personally he was the least demanding of men. He paid special attention to matters sartorial.

Nabha lost its entity as well as its authority on 5 May 1948. Nabha territory lapsed with some of the Maharajā’s personal privileges and titles remaining intact for the time being.

Maharajā Pratap Singh died in Delhi on 24 July 1995. The cremation took place the following day at the Royal cemetery in Nabha.

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fruit thereof (cf. BG II. 42-43; IX.20); (iii) the path of knowledge leading to the realization of the Supreme Spirit and the sense of detachment to the mundane pleasures resulting in total renunciation of worldly objects and actions; (iv) the path of action following attainment of knowledge with a sense of detachment to the result of the action performed. The first two of these paths are considered to lead a man to hell and heaven respectively, while the last two are described as resulting in the emancipation of the spirit from the bonds of birth and death, and as such are termed as niṣṭhās, the paths leading to the final beatitude (cf. BG III.3; V.2; XIII.24).

It is with reference to these last two paths that two distinct lines of thought have been pursued in the Indian religio-philosophical tradition. These lines of thought, evidently opposed to each other, have been named respectively as nivṛtti-mārga, the path of renunciation or inactivity, and pravṛtti-mārga, the path of activity or of taking an active part in worldly life (cf. BG XVI. 7; XVIII. 30; MB XII. 40. 69-70, 72-72; 217. 2-3; 241. 6; XIV. 43-25).

The Rigvedic religion advocated the philosophy of optimism which was based on the way of living actively. Subsequently, however, there arose, in the period of the Brāhmaṇa texts, a system of complicated rituals, observance of which assured one of the attainment of heaven hereafter. This ritualism was reacted upon by the Upaniṣadic philosophy of the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit on the one hand and the Jain and the Buddhist view of detached life on the other hand. Both these reactions put a stress on the life of renunciation born of the realization of the true nature of the world. Whereas the former of these streams believed in the existence of the Spirit pervading the universe, the latter denied it or at least observed silence on this point. The path advocated by these philosophers, later joined by the Sāńkhya theorists, became known as nivṛtti-mārga which stood for abstaining from all kinds of action, which only resulted in bondage of the spirit and as such was not conducive to its liberation that was attainable only through knowledge. It is on account of the emphasis put in this system on knowledge that this path is also termed as jñāna-yoga, (BG III.3) the path of knowledge, or the sāńkhya-yoga (BGIII. 3; V. 5 etc.). Most of the Upaniṣads glorify this path and recommend its pursuance in life. However, there are exceptions, too. For instance the Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad, which forms a part of the Yajurveda-sāńghiti of the Mādhyandina school, enjoins that “one should aspire to live for hundred years whilst performing one’s duties in life, for this kind of performance of action does not bind a man to the worldly fetters” (verse 2). This Upaniṣadic text further says, “those who engage themselves in the culture of action only enter into the dark regions, and still darker regions await those who are engaged in the culture of knowledge only (verse 9; c. Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad IV. 4.10). He, however, who pursues both action and knowledge side by side transcends the cycle of repeated births and attains immortality or eternal bliss” (verse 11; also c. Chhāndogya Upaniṣad VIII. 15.1).

Barring these sporadic references, the Upaniṣadic prescription favours on the whole retirement from active life and pursuit of knowledge at the last stage of life, for according to it, knowledge alone can lead to the final liberation of soul (cf. Mundaka Upaniṣad I.2.11; Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad III. 8; Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad III.5.1; IV.4. 22; also Manu-smṛti VI. 95-96; MB XII. 241.7, 11-13; XIV. 46.39; 47.11). This theory of nivṛtti was later elaborated and reinforced by the Vedānta school of Indian philosophy and, in particular, by its erudite interpreter, Śaṅkara (AD 788-820). Śaṅkara, who wrote his commentary on the prasthaṇa-trayī, i.e., the Upaniṣads, the Brahma-sūtras and the
Bhagavadgītā, interpreted the last work of the trio in a way as to give the impression that it stood for the path of renunciation born of knowledge instead of action rooted in knowledge.

All evidences, including the circumstantial one, obtainable from the Bhagavadgītā, however, point to the unmistakable proclivity of this most important religio-philosophical text of the Hindus to pravṛtti-mārga or the path of active life, which has also been termed as karma-yoga (BG III.3, 7; V.2; XIII.24) or simply as yoga (BG II.50; IV.42; V.1, 5; VI.17 etc.). The aim of the great sermon that Lord Kṛṣṇa gave to Arjuna was to activise him — a dejected soul inclined to make an escape from the realities of the situation he was faced with in the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. Starting from the premise that none can remain without action even for a moment, for everyone is helplessly driven to it by nature-born qualities (cf. BG II. 5; also cp. III.8; XVIII.11), Lord Kṛṣṇa puts forth his own example and also quotes instances of Janaka and others who pursued the path of active life, even after attainment of knowledge, so as to maintain the world order (BG III. 20-24; cp. IV.15 also), and sets out to enunciate his doctrine of karma-yoga. This doctrine ordains that “your right is to action only, and never to the result thereof; let not the result of the action be your motive, nor should you drift to inaction” (BG II.47). Lord Kṛṣṇa exhorts Arjuna to perform action, abiding in yoga and abandoning attachment with an even mind in the face both of success and failure, for it is even-mindedness which is called yoga (BG II.48). According to him, “He who acts, offering all actions to God and shaking off attachment, remains untouched by sin as the lotus leaf by water (BGV.10) ... One engaged in action with a sense of detachment to the result thereof attains bliss and one who works with a selfish motive, being attached to the fruit of actions through desire, gets tied down” (v.12). The Bhagavadgītā, of course, recognizes the path of renunciation also as leading to emancipation, but its predilection is unmistakably for the yoga of action (cf. v.2), for it declares that one who, controlling the sense-organs by the mind and remaining unattached, pursues the path of action through those organs is superior to one who outwardly restrains the sense-organs and mentally dwells on them; the latter, a man of deluded intellect, is rather a hypocrite (III. 6-7). As stated above, the karma-yoga of the Bhagavadgītā is founded on the solid rock of knowledge and does in no way stand in opposition to it. Lord Kṛṣṇa, extolling knowledge, says, “All actions, without exception, culminate in knowledge... As the blazing fire reduces fuel to ashes, even so the fire of knowledge reduces all actions to ashes. There is nothing on earth equal in purity to knowledge...” (IV.33 cd, 37, 38ab). He says that “those who, possessed of knowledge (evenmindedness), renounce the fruit of actions are freed from the shackles of birth and attain blissful supreme state” (II. 51). He further says, “one who has renounced the bonds of karman (i.e. the fruit of all actions) in accordance with the spirit of karma-yoga and whose doubts have been dispelled by knowledge and, again, who is self-possessed is not tied down by actions” (IV. 41; also cf. Manu-smṛti VI. 74), and, significantly enough, exhorts Arjuna to cut asunder, through the sword of knowledge, his doubt (with regard to his duty) born of ignorance, and to establish himself in karma-yoga (in the form of evenmindedness) and stand up to the performance of his duty (IV.42). This doctrine of karma-yoga gets a balanced support in the work of Manu who states that amongst the Brāhmaṇas those endowed with erudition are the best; amongst the latter, those of resolute mind are the best; amongst the latter, again, those engaged in action are the best; and amongst the latter the best are those who have realized the supreme knowledge (cf. I.97; also cf. XII. 89; Hārīta-smṛti...
VII. 9-11). The entire Yoga-vasistha has been written to elaborate and to bring into sharp focus this view of life.

This doctrine of karma-yoga or the pravrtti-marga, which forms the keynote of the teachings of the Bhagavadgita, is in perfect consonance with the main tenor of the great epic, the Mahabharata, of which it constitutes a part. This great epic frequently expresses itself in favour of karma-yoga (cf. XII. 217. 2-3; 235. 30; 269. 10-11; 320. 38-40; 347. 83; XIV. 506), with of course a few exceptions where it tends to advocate the philosophy of renunciation (cf. XII. 178. 11; 241. 7, 11-13; XIV. 46. 99; 47. 11). It is pertinent to note that this epic, following the socio-religious scheme laid down in the Dharmaśāstras (cf. Manu-smṛti, III. 77), exalts the second of the four stages of life, that is, that of a householder (grhastha), as the final concourse of all of them, viz., brahmacharya, grhastha, vānaprastha and saṅyāsa (cf. XII. 269. 6). Elsewhere (XII. 295. 39) it asserts after Manu (VI. 90) that as all rivers, both great and small, find a resting place in the ocean, even so men of all orders or stages find protection with the householder. Other works of classical Sanskrit literature join it in its glorification of this āśrama. This fact emphasizes the supernal claims of the family life and underlines the greatness of the pravṛtti-marga as the path which, apart from maintaining the world order and sustaining the social life, leads to final beatitude. Even when the ascetic stage (saṅyāsa āśrama) was recommended in the Dharmaśāstras and the religio-philosophical works, it was emphasized that one should take to the monastic way of life only after discharging one’s obligations towards one’s family and society (cf. Manu-smṛti VI. 37; MB V. 37. 39; XII. 277. 6; Bhagavatapurāṇa VI. 5. 35ff).

It was only after Śaṅkara that asceticism or the monastic way of religious life gained popularity and became, in the medieval period, one of the leading trends in the religious life of India. When Gurū Nānak appeared on the scene, this trend tended to dominate the socio-religious structure of the country. Fully convinced with the negative impact it made on the socio-religious life of the people, the Gurū denounced this path of renunciation and made a strong plea for taking to family life even in case of those who aspired for living a spiritual life aiming at liberation from bonds of birth and death. He impressed upon the people that “there can be no worship without good actions.” Good actions benefit the performer and at the same time contribute to social welfare. “Those who eat the fruit of their earning and bestow a pan from it”, he said, “recognize the true way.” At the end of his travels, Gurū Nānak settled at Kartarpur “putting aside all garments of renunciation and found time to attend to agriculture.”

When asked by Jogi Bhaṅgarnāth why he, a holy man, led a family life, he replied, “You have become an anchorite after abandoning the family life and yet you go to beg to the houses of family men. When you do nothing here, what can you obtain hereafter?”

Gurū Nānak rejected asceticism not only in theory but also in practice, and those who succeeded him to the seat of the Gurū followed him in this respect as in other matters.

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PREMĀ, BHĀI, a Khatrī of Talvaṇḍī, now called Talvaṇḍī Chaudhariān, in Kapūrthala district of the Punjab, was a devout Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He was lame in the leg, yet he daily walked, on crutches, to Goindvāl, 8 km from his village across the River Beās, with a pitcher of curds for Gurū ka Langar. Once the village chāudhārī, i.e. headman, snatched in jest his crutches and said, “Thou takest curds every day to thy Gurū, but he hath not cured thy leg so far. Why dost thou torture thyself journeying back and forth thus?” Premā replied, “The True Gurū of mine is competent and compassionate; I rejoice in his will.” The chāudhārī returned the crutches to Premā but after a great deal of teasing, thus delay-
ing him on the way. At Goindvāl, says Sarūp Dās Bhallā, Mahimā Prakāsh, Gurū Amar Dās was waiting and would not eat until Premā, the devotee, had reached with his daily offering. As Bhāi Premā arrived and the Gurū asked him what had happened to keep him so long, Premā narrated his encounter with the chāudhārī of his village. Gurū Amar Dās asked him to visit Shāh Husain, a Muslim recluse living on the bank of Beās. Shāh Husain, continues the Mahimā Prakāś, miraculously removed the deformity. He attributed this to the favour of Gurū Amar Dās, and refused to take any credit for himself.

Bhāi Premā came back overwhelmed with gratitude and fell at the Gurū’s feet. The Gurū appointed him to head a maṇjī, or preaching district.

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PREM AMBODH POTHĪ, lit. book of knowledge about loving devotion, attributed to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, but not included in the Dasam Granth, comprises of the life-stories in verse of some of the famous bhaktas or devotees. Written in AD 1693, the book has, besides the introductory chapter, sixteen sections, each devoted to a bhākta. In the first part of the book are described the lives of eleven bhaktas belonging to the period from 10th to 16th centuries: Kabīr, Dhannā, Trilochan, Nāmdev, Jaidev, Ravidās, Mīrān Bāī, Karamān Bāī, Pipā, Saṅ and Sadhnā. Bhaktas of earlier periods — Prahlād, Dhrū, Śukdev and Bālmīkī — are dealt with in the second part. The language of the Pothī is a mixture of Hindi and Punjabi and the verse measures commonly used are Dohirā and Chaupai. The book is unpublished and among the known extant manuscripts with slight variation in titles are in the Central Public Library at Paṭīlā, and
the Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala.

S.S.A.

PREMÄ PLOT, a conspiracy allegedly engineered by Mahârâni Jind Kaur with the help of some Sikh sardârs to assassinate Sir Henry Lawrence, the first British Resident at Lahore, and the Sikh commander-in-chief, Tej Singh, and to topple the British control of the Punjab. One of the factors responsible for the general unrest was the treaty of Bharovâl (December 1846) by which Mahârâni Jind Kaur had been deprived of all authority and the Resident had been invested with unrestricted powers. The Mahârâni, who was opposed to the British assuming any concessions beyond stationing a few of their regiments at Lahore, chafed at the new treaty which conferred on them the right to remain in the Punjab up to the time Mahârajâ Duleep Singh attained the age of majority and which made them the virtual rulers. Premâ, a Brâhman desperado, who had been a soldier in Gulâb Singh’s service, came to Lahore in February 1847 and set up a secret campaign against the British and started associating himself with the officers and sepoys of the Sikh army. He met Bûtâ Singh, diwân to Mahârâni Jind Kaur, in the Lahore Fort in the presence of Bhai Budh Singh. Later, he visited Amritsar and received the approbation of Bhai Mahârajâ Singh, who was widely revered for his piety and who at the time of the second Anglo-Sikh war raised the standard of revolt against the British. The Bhâi, it is said, bestowed upon Premâ a sword, a turban and a shawl, as a mark of his blessing. Amongst other covert helpers were Atar Singh Kâliânvâlâ, Sher Singh Atârivâlâ, Ranjodh Singh and Miân Jawâhar Singh, a nephew of Râjâ Gulâb Singh.

The prime motive of the plan was to restore the power of Mahârâni Jind Kaur as the Regent of the minor Mahârajâ Duleep Singh and terminate British control by assassinating the Resident and his subservient council of ministers. Premâ’s nephew, Nîhâl Chand, accompanied by nine others carrying swords and shields, entered the Shâlâmâr Gardens on 12 February 1847 with a view to finishing off Sir Henry Lawrence and Sardâr Tej Singh, who were then attending a fete. The band was playing and everyone was lost in merriment. But the plotters’ hearts misgave them and they stealthily slunk away. The British authorities arrested eleven persons. After a trial in which twenty-five witnesses were examined, Premâ and three others were sentenced to life imprisonment and deported out of the Punjab; four persons received imprisonment from 3 to 7 years and three were let off.

John Lawrence, who conducted the enquiry, found the evidence in the case ‘worthless’ without any proof of the Mahârâni’s complicity. But he held that “there were grounds for suspecting her of being cognizant of the intrigue if not its instigator.”

A sequel to the Premâ plot was the unjustified removal of the Mahârâni from the capital of the Sikhs. The Resident’s council, chary of expelling her from the Punjab, decided to send her to Sheikhâpurâ, 40 km away from Lahore. Her allowance was reduced from Rs 1,50,000 to Rs 48,000 annually.

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PREM KAUR, RÂNĪ, daughter of Hari Singh, a Varaich Jatt of the village of Ladhevala, in Gujranwala district of the Punjab, was mar-
ried in 1822 to Prince Sher Singh, son of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. In 1831, she gave birth to Partap Singh, who was brutally murdered by Lahiqa Singh Sandhanvalia, near Shālāmar Bāgh in Lahore in September 1843. Rāṇi Prem Kaur survived her husband and was granted an annual pension of Rs 7,200 by the British.

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PREM SINGH (d. 1824), son of Pañjāb Singh, a Randhāvā Jaṭṭ belonging to the village of Khunḍā in Gurdaspur district, was a soldier in Mahārājā Ranjit Singh’s army. He took part in several of the Mahārājā’s campaigns of conquest including those of Multān (1818) and Kashmir (1819). He was drowned in the Indus on 2 November 1824 while attempting to ford the river with the Mahārājā’s army in pursuit of the tribal rebels of Gaṇḍhgarh who had attacked Hari Singh Nalvā.

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PREM SINGH, commandant in the Sikh forces demobilized after the first Anglo-Sikh war, joined Bhai Mahārāj Singh (d. 1856) in a bid to raise the standard of revolt against the British. After Sikhs’ defeat in the second Anglo-Sikh war early in 1849, he along with Mahārāj Singh escaped to Jammū from where they shifted to Sūhīvāl, near Baṭālā, sometime in July/August 1849. Here it was planned to get Mahārāj Duleep Singh released from the British who, it was rumoured, were soon going to take him out of the Punjab. Prem Singh was one of a group of 20 men chosen to carry out the plan, which however aborted. Prem Singh along with most of his compan-ions was arrested.

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PREM SINGH HOTI, BĀBĀ (1882-1954), historian and biographer, was born on 2 November 1882 at Hoti, near Mardān, in North-West Frontier Province, now part of Pakistan. His father Gaṇḍā Singh, a man of means, traced his ancestry back to Bhallā family of Goindvāl, in Amritsar district, to which noted Sikh savant Bhai Gurdā belonged. One of his ancestors, Bābā Kāhn Singh, had moved to the western frontier during the reign of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, who had granted jāgirs to his soldiers in that turbulent Pathān territory. When this northwestern region was finally annexed by the British in 1849, the jāgir which Bābā Prem Singh’s father had inherited from his forefathers was confiscated. But Sar Buland Khān, the Muslim Nawāb of Hoti, gave him lands within his own territory. The family continued to enjoy the patronage of the Nawābs of Hoti until it migrated to Paṭiālā in 1948.

Prem Singh was reared on Sikh teaching and folklore. As a young boy, he was especially fascinated by stories of Sikh valour and heroism. A meeting with Bhai Vir Singh, Sikh poet and scholar, at the first Sikh Educational Conference convened at Gujranwālā on 18-19 April 1908 proved crucial in determining the calling of his life. After the conference, he took Bhai Vir Singh to visit his homeland — the beautiful country of the trigger-happy Yūsafzāi and Bārakzāi Pāṭhāns, and showed him round important historical places commemorating Sikh heroes. Bhai Vir Singh prompted him to write biographies of Sikh heroes who had fallen fighting for the glory of the Khālsā. Prem Singh took to the task with a rare zeal and biographies flowed from his pen pro-
lifically, establishing this genre firmly in Punjabi writing and creating a new interest in Sikh history. The series began with a biography of Akālī Phūlā Singh (1914), followed by those of Maharājā Ranjit Singh (1918), Kānvar Nau Nihāl Singh (1927), Sardār Harī Singh Nalvā (1937), Maharājā Sher Singh (1951) and Nawāb Kapūr Singh (1952). His Khālsā Rāj de Usrayye “Builders of the Khālsā Rāj” (Vol. I in 1942 and Vol. II in 1944), and Khālsā Rāj de Badesi Kārnīde “Foreign employees of the Sikh Kingdom” (1945) were collections of shorter biographies. His lives of Bhai Gurdās, Bhai Sukhā Singh and Maharājā Duleep Singh remained unfinished. In 1952, he was honoured by the Punjabi Department of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union Government for his monumental work for the advancement of Punjabi letters.

Bābā Prem Singh died at Patialā on 10 January 1954.

Sd.S.

PREM SUMĀRAG, lit. the true way to love (prem=love; su=good or true; mārag=path) is an anonymous work in old Punjabi evoking a model of Sikh way of life and of Sikh society. Written probably in the eighteenth century, it is a kind of rāhitnāmā attempting to prescribe norms of behaviour, religious as well as social, private as well as public, for members of the Khalsā Panth. It also provides a comprehensive model of Sikh polity with details concerning civil and military administration. Although known to earlier Sikh scholars, it was published for the first time in 1953 by the Sikh History Society, Amritsar, edited with an elaborate introduction by Bhai Randhīr Singh, who accidentally in 1940 came by a partly mutilated manuscript, which he revised with the help of another manuscript preserved in the Punjab Public Library, Lahore. A second edition was brought out by New Book Company, Jalandhar, in 1965.

The work is divided into ten dhīaōs (chapters) and each dhīaō is sub-divided into several bachans (utterances or topics). Chapter I opens with what may be called a prologue. It is in the form of an artistic device recalling the beginning of Gurū Gobind Singh’s Bachitra Nāṭak where God addresses the Gurū on the purpose for which he was being sent into the world of the mortals. That was to expunge evil and promote virtue. Following this mode, the author of Prem Sumārag invests the code of conduct he is enunciating with divine sanction and intimates how important it was for the Sikhs to abide by it to realize the object for which the Khalsā was created by Gurū Gobind Singh.

The daily routine prescribed for a Sikh consists in getting up early in the morning, taking a bath, reciting japu and jāp five times in the morning, japu and jāp at noon, sodar, japu, and jāp in the evening and readings from the Bachitra Nāṭak and Kirtan Sohīlā before going to bed. The stress is on constant remembrance of God, on honest work, mutual help and love. A Sikh must shun flirtation and adultery, greed, anger, theft, egocentricity, speaking ill of others, falsehood and even truth that harms others. He must always keep the arms by his side, work for his living, be hospitable, address fellow Sikhs as ‘Singh ji,’ and resign himself, in all situations, to the Will of the Almighty. The book also lays down the method of Khalsā initiation and principles of social behaviour (3); rituals to be observed at child-birth (4); rules regarding the selection of life-partners, the age for marriage, permitting a widow to remarry (5); the kind of food a Sikh should partake of and the kind, especially intoxicants, that he must avoid, laying special emphasis on cleanliness (6); the dress and ornaments a Sikh should wear, the occupations he should pursue and those he must forbear from (7). Truth telling is prized most. He who perjures his oath shall “into the dark pit of hell be cast.” He who renders false witness
sins. Even kings cannot claim exemption from these moral norms.

Chapter VII describes death rites. The seventh bachan of this chapter says: “Do not cry; do not lament, do not abjure sleeping on beds; accept (His) hukam as true and be resigned. Do not attend the funeral of a masand or of the followers of masands; do not mix with them or with those Sikhs who observe tonsure. Feel not so restrained in respect of others, be they Hindū or Musalmān....”

Chapter VIII contains the author’s views regarding Sikh polity. According to him, the ideal form of Sikh state is monarchy. Power was to be vested not in the Panth as a whole, but in a single ruler assisted by a sagacious minister. There were to be other pious and learned advisory councillors. The King, however, enjoyed absolute authority, without any check or restraint except for the voice of his own conscience. The foremost duty of the ruler was in fact to safeguard his own authority and to be always prepared to smother any challenge to it. The whole scheme of administration was drawn up on the model of medieval feudalism with its mansabdārī and jāgirdārī systems. The king, however, was personally to supervise the administration of justice. He must be accessible to all his subjects, and his decisions must be impartial and independent of any considerations of belief or religion. At the same time, he was to remember that he owed special responsibility to the Khālsā Panth. Gurmukhī (Punjabi) was to be the official language of the State and all Sikh children were to be given instruction in the Khālsā rahit or code of conduct. For the author the ideal Sikh State is an absolute, but benevolent, monarchy which points to the possibility of the work having been written after Maharājā Ranjīt Singh had occupied Lahore in 1799. The oldest MS. of Prem Sumārag so far discovered is dated 1801.

Chapter IX deals with miscellaneous matters such as rules of inheritance and distribution of property, debts and interest rate, slaves, animals, gardens and agricultural land. The last chapter may be regarded as an epilogue. It propounds the realization of sahaj jog (state of equipoise and contentment) as the ideal of human life. The path of sahaj is the most easy and at the same time the most difficult one. The seeker of sahaj must equip himself with dayā (compassion), sevā (service), bhāo (love) and bhagati (fervent devotion to God). In sum, complete submission to God’s Will and indifference to both pain and pleasure was the essence of the “way of love.”

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PRICE, JAMES, an Englishman who deserting the British camp at Ludhiana in early 1809, came to Lahore and joined Maharājā Ranjīt Singh’s army on a salary of Rs 300 per month. He served under Diwān Muhkam Chand. The British demanded his extradition which was denied. However, he did not stay in service long and was given his discharge.

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PRĪKHIĀ PRAKARĀṆ (prīkhiā = test; prakarāṆ = part or fragment) by Paṇḍīt Tārā Singh Narotam is a small tract, bound with
the author's more famous Gurumāt Nirṣaya Sāgar, endeavouring to establish the authenticity or otherwise of the authorship of the various Sikh texts including the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the Dasam Granth, Prāṇ Sanīgī, Janam Sākhī Bhāi Bālā, Prem Sumāraṇ, Makke di Goṣṭī, Vārāṇ by Bhāi Gurḍās, hukamnāmās, etc. He analyses the texts of these volumes and determines the authorship of each on the basis of internal evidence. A text which has either the signature or stamp of the Gurus or came into vogue in their time is considered authentic. The entire Guru Granth Sāhib as well as the Dasam Granth is authentic, but Nasīḥat Nāmah, attributed to Gurū Nānak, and Prem Sumāraṇ to Gurū Gobind Singh are pronounced apocryphal works. Similarly, Tārā Singh declares that Sarab Loh, Paintīs Achhāri, Mukti Mārg, Chhakka, Sākhī Gurbakhsh Sinh are not the works of Gurū Gobind Singh.

R.S.J.

PRĪTAM DĀS, MAHANT (1752-1831), an Udāsi saint, was born in 1752, according to some sources in 1722, in a Sārvat Brāhmaṇ family of Hoshiārpūr district of the Punjab. His original name was Karam Chand. His early education was limited to preliminary Urdu. He left his home at the age of 11, and started travelling from place to place in the company of itinerant sādhūs until he was formally initiated as a disciple of an Udāsi saint, Saṅgat Dās, who renamed him Prītam Dās. Soon after his initiation, Prītam Dās set out on a pilgrimage of holy places in North India and Nepal. Later, he became a disciple of Mahātmā Bankhaṇḍī (1763-1863), the well-known scholar and preacher of the Mihāṅshāhi sub-sect of Udāsi Sikhs. Bankhaṇḍī gave him the title of nirbān, i.e. one who had overcome his desires and passions, and set him on his career as a wandering monk. During his travels in the South, Prītam Dās met Nānak Chand, an uncle of Diwān Chandū Lāl of Hyderābād, and se-

cured from him a donation of 7,00,000 rupees to establish a central seat for the Udāsīs. This materialized in the form of the Pāncchāyati Akhārā set up at Allāhābād in 1779. In 1781, Prītam Dās founded a monastery called Nīrbān Akhārā at Amritsār, popularly known as Saṅgalvālā Akhārā because of a heavy iron chain (saṅgal, in Punjabi) which hung at its gate. Between 1781 and 1784, Mahant Prītam Dās, in collaboration with Mahant Santokh Dās of the monastery now known as Brāhm Būtā and with the help of local Sikh Sardārs, dug a water channel, haṅstī, off the Shāhī Nahar (the predecessor of the present Upper Bārī Doāb canal) ensuring perennial supply of water to the sarovars or holy tanks in Amritsār. During the Kumbh fair at Haridvār in 1819, the Udāsīs were attacked by a group of Bairāgīs who resented the former marching out in a ceremonial procession with Sikh Scripture, the Guru Granth Sāhib, amidst it. Mahant Prītam Dās enlisted the help of some Sikh chiefs who were attending the fair and got the Bairāgīs suitably punished.

Mahant Prītam Dās died at Amritsār in 1831.

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PRĪTAM SINGH GOJRĀN, JATHEDĀR (1896-1976), born into a simple rural family, rose, without advantages of education and worldly means, to the position of president of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal, to be distinguished from the Riyāstī Akālī Dal (representing only Sikhs living in the princely states of the Punjab), by his solid qualities of character. He was born Dalīp Singh in 1896, the only son of Kīshan Singh Dālīvāl and Partāp Kaur of village Gojrān in present-day Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab. His fa-
ther died when he was still very young and his mother remarried. Pritam Singh grew up as a neglected child and in January 1915 enlisted in the army. Contrary to the common ways of Punjabi youth, Pritam Singh vowed, when still in the army, totally to abstain from the use of alcohol and flesh. After his release in 1920 from the army, his interest in religion became more pronounced. He in fact started studying the Sikh texts under royal tutors of Patiala attached to Gurdwara Moti Bagh. This was the time when he was drawn towards politics as well. He joined the Akālī party which was the dominant political force among the Sikhs. He went through the rites of the Khālsā initiation in 1921 and received the new name of Pritam Singh. He became a member of the Gurū Hargobind Jathā, a Sikh group active in the Sikh religious reform.

For participating in the Jaito agitation Pritam Singh was jailed in 1923. In 1926, he took part in the agitation launched against the ruler of Patiala for the release of the Akālī activist Sevā Singh Thikrivalā. He betrayed active interest in promoting the tour of the Akālī supremo, Bābā Kharak Singh, in 1928 who was persona non grata with the ruler of Patiala state.

He was very unhappy when the Akālī Dal patched up its differences with Maharājā Bhūpinder Singh of Patiala. He denounced the agreement between Patiala ruler and the Akālī leader, Master Tārā Singh, branding it as a sell-out.

Turning away from the Praja Maṇḍal which had come to be dominated by communists and the urban elite, Pritam Singh reverted to Akālī politics and focussed his energies on strengthening the Riyāstī Akālī Dal of which he had been the Jathedar (president) since its very inception. He supported the Baldev Singh-Sikandar Pact made in 1942 between the Akālī Dal and the Muslim dominated Unionist Party of the Punjab and the Azād Punjab demand raised by Master Tārā Singh in 1943. In 1944, he was elected president of the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal, the mainstream political party of the Sikhs. At the fifth All-India Akālī Conference held at Lahore on 14 October 1944, Jathedar Gojrán raised the demand for a sovereign Sikh State in case the Muslim League demand for a separate Muslim State was accepted. When after independence, the Akālīs decided to join the Congress party (March 1948), Pritam Singh stood by the side of Master Tārā Singh opposing this move. Jathedar Pritam Singh Gojrán launched in 1946 a strong and widespread agitation against the excesses and misuse of Jind. In 1954, he was elected a member of Patiala and East Punjab States Union Assembly in the mid-term poll.

Wroth at the half-hearted implementation of the Regional Formula devised as a compromise between the Akālīs in the Punjab and the Congress party, Jathedar Gojrán resurrected the demand for a Sikh State at a press conference in Jalandhar on 12 June 1958. He was an active supporter of the Punjabi Sūbā agitation, but dismayed at the intra-party wranglings between the Akālī leaders, Master Tārā Singh and Sant Fateh Singh, he withdrew himself from active politics in 1965 and retired to his native village of Gojrán. Having lived the simple life of a recluse all these years he had raised no family nor did he own any property. The village Pañchāyat (council) assigned to him a small portion of the shāmlāt (common land) for his residence and subsistence. In character with his saintly life, he willed the property to the village Pañchāyat.

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Rampura Phul, 1971

S.S.G.

PRITHÄ, BHÄI, and Bhäi Kheḍä, both Soinī Khatrīs, who figure in Bhāi Gurdās’ list of the leading Sikhs of Gurū Nānak (Vārān, XI. 13), first met the Gurū at Kartarpur. As they arrived, Gurū Nānak, says Bhāi Manī Singh, Ṣikhān ċī Bhagat Mālā, was speaking with his disciples. Prithā and his companion sat down and listened attentively. At the end, the Gurū enquired of them the purpose of their visit. Bhāi Prithā said, “Pray, grant us the gift of contentment so that we need to seek nothing whatsoever. Refuge at thy feet is all we ask for.” The Gurū spoke, “Seek refuge in saṅgat, fellowship of the holy. The body is material (hence, impermanent); it is the sabad (the Word) that is everlasting. So is union with sabad. Simultaneously, do not neglect to apply yourself diligently to earning your living and to sharing your victuals with the needy.” Bhāi Prithā and Bhāi Kheḍā took the precept and, as says Bhāi Gurdās, led a life of sukh-sahaj, i.e. peace and equipoise.

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Gn.S.

PRITHI CHAND, BĀBĀ (1558-1618), the eldest son of Gurū Rām Dās (1534-81), and Mātā Bhānī, was born in 1558 at Goindvāl, in present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab. He was by nature ambitious and haughty. Gurū Rām Dās chose his youngest son Arjan (1563-1606) as his successor to the spiritual seat. This excited the jealousy of Prithi Chand who endeavoured to harm Gurū Arjan in every possible way. His attitude became even more hostile as the latter had a son born to him in 1595. His conspiracies to get the infant poisoned having failed, Prithi Chand retired to Hehar, village his wife came from. There he set himself up as guru and established a separate sect. He also spread his influence in the Mālav region where he founded a village named Koṭhā Gurū, now in Baṭhīṅḍā district. He misled the Sikhs by composing bāṇī in the name of Gurū Nānak. He also induced Sulhī Khān, a Mughal commander, to lead a force against Gurū Arjan. Sulhī Khān, however, met with an unholy end and was accidentally burnt alive in a brick kiln before he could attack the Gurū. Prithi Chand became desperate and joined the detractors of the Sikh faith who frequently carried complaints against the Gurū to the Mughal officials at Lahore and even to Prince Salim, the heir apparent to the Delhi throne. It was Prince Salim who, after accession to the throne as Emperor Jāhāṅgīr, had Gurū Arjan executed in 1606. The Sikhs derisively called Prithi Chand and his followers miṅās (lit. hypocrites).

Prithi Chand died at Hehar in April 1618.

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P.S.P

PRITHI CHAND DADHVĀL (d.1696) was one of the hill chieftains who sided with Bhim Chand, the ruler of Kahlūr, in the battle of Nadauṇ fought on 20 March 1691 against Alīf Khān, the deputy of Miāṅ Khān, governor of Jammū. Gurū Gobind Singh helped Bhim Chand and his allies in this battle, which they won. In 1696, Dilāwar Khān, Mughal chief, sent an expedition under his commander Husain Khān to chastise
the hill chiefs. Husain Khan overran the Daḍhvāl territory, subjugated a part of Kangra, won over the ruler of Kahlur and invested Guler, whose ruler Rāj Singh (Rājā Gopāl of the Bachitra Nāṭak) sought Gurū Gobind Singh’s help to ward off the Mughal invasion. Husain waged war against the Gurū’s force and his hill allies. In the battle, fought at Guīer, Husain was slain in action. So was Rājā Prithi Chand who had been fighting on the side of Rājā Rāj Singh.

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PRITHĪ MALL, a Sahgal Khatri, counted by Bhai Gurdas, Vārāṇ, XI. 13, among the leading Sikhs of the time of Gurū Nānak. As he, accompanied by Rāmā Dīḍi, first presented himself before Gurū Nānak, he, as says Bhai Manī Singh, Sikhān di Bhagat Mālā, begged to be taught the way to union with the Divine. The Gurū said that the foremost tapa (tapas) was the practice of nām, i.e. repetition of God’s Name. Prithī Mall and his companion, continues the Bhagat Mālā, truly assimilated the Gurū’s word, and attained liberation through saṅgat (holy fellowship), servā (self-abnegating deeds of service) and simran (remembrance of God’s Name).

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PROCLAMATION(1849), declaring that the kingdom of the Punjab had ceased to be and that all the territories of Mahārājā Duleep Singh had become part of the British dominions in India, was issued on 29 March 1849 by Governor-General Lord Dalhousie. Earlier in the day a darbār was held in the palace inside the Fort at Lahore by Henry M. Elliot, the foreign secretary, under the orders of the Governor-General. It was attended by the minor Mahārājā Duleep Singh, seated for the last time on the throne of his father, Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, surrounded by the British troops and his helpless sardārs. Amidst deep silence, the proclamation was read out aloud in English, Persian and Hindustāni. In the equally deep silence which followed, a paper was handed over by Rājā Tej Singh to the Mahārājā containing the conditions on which he and his chiefs might assure themselves of generous treatment at the hands of
their conquerors. The young Duleep Singh affixed his signatures to the document which deprived him of his crown and kingdom. Immediately after the document granting terms to Maharajá Duleep Singh had been signed, Elliot read out in the darbār the Proclamation issued by Lord Dalhousie to justify his policy and action. It was a most artful statement which, inter alia, said that whereas the British had faithfully kept their word and had scrupulously observed every obligation under the treaties made with the Sikhs, the latter had, on their part, grossly and faithfully violated the agreements. The claim of Lord Dalhousie and his accusations against the Sikh government were not sustainable factually. There was severe criticism in both India and England of his action. Even the British resident at Lahore, Sir Henry Lawrence, described the annexation of the Punjab and the deposition of young Maharaja Duleep Singh as unjust and impolitic. John Sullivan, a member of the Madras Council commenting on the whole transaction in his Are We Bound by Our Treaties, said:

This is perhaps the first instance on record in which a guardian has visited his own misdeeds upon his ward. The British Government was the self-constituted guardian of the Rajah (Maharaja Duleep Singh), and the regent of his kingdom: a rebellion was provoked by the agents of the guardian; it was acknowledged by the guardian to be a rebellion against the government of his ward, and the guardian punished that Ward by confiscating his dominions and his diamonds.

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PUĀT, is an old village in Ludhiana district, 8 km east of Māchhivārā (30°55′N, 76°12′E). Guru Gobind Singh passed through this village after quitting Chamlkaur on the night of 7 December 1705, but there was no Sikh shrine constructed here. It was only after the migrations of 1947 that the villagers established a gurduwārā in one of the rooms of a residential house belonging to a Muslim emigrant. The Guru Granth Sahib is seated in this room and a Sikh pennant flies over it.

M.G.S.

PUNJAB, now divided into two parts apportioned one each to India and Pakistan, is geographically and historically one compact region comprising the plains of the Indus river basin. The name Punjāb, a compound of two Persian words, pañj (five) and āb (water), literally signifies 'the land of five rivers', the major tributaries of the River Indus. Historically, the Punjab as the name of the region first finds mention in the writings of the Muslim traveller, Ibn Batūtā, who visited India during the 14th century. It was, however, not until the latter half of the 16th century that the term came into wider currency. The ancients called it Sapt Sindhu or Sapt Sindhava, lit. (the land of) seven rivers. These seven rivers were: Sindhu (Indus or Sindh); Vitasta (Jhelum pronounced Jihlam); Asikní, Chandrabhāgā (Chenāb, pronounced Chanāb); Puruṣū, Irāvati (Rāvī); VIPāsā (Beās, pronounced Biās); Studra (Sutlej pronounced Satluj); and Sarasvati (now a seasonal stream losing itself in Rājasthān desert).

It was also called Pañchnād, lit. (the country of) five rivers, in later Sanskrit literature. Haft Hindu, a Persian version of the former name, also appears in Zend Avesta, the famous religious book of ancient Iran. Centuries later, the Greeks called it Penta Potamia, the Greek version of Pañchnad. Later, some other names such as Madra Deś, Vāhika Deś and Țakka Deș came into vogue depending upon which of these tribes was dominant at
the time. Ultimately, however, the Persian nomenclature, Pañjāb (spelt Punjab in English) proved lasting and has come down to the present time. This literal geographical definition has, however, had little relevance to historical Punjab over the centuries. Both under the Sikhs and the British it covered a far larger territory—the entire Indus basin and the watershed between the Indus and the Gangetic plains. Jammu and Kashmir were sliced off to form a separate princely state in 1849, the trans-Indus region was separated in 1901 to form the North-West Frontier Province, Delhi conclave was created in 1911; and in 1947, the remaining British province of Punjab was partitioned into West Punjab and East Punjab. The former with an area of 158,347 square km and population 18,288,015 (1951) went to Pakistan and the latter with an area of 95,687 square km and population 12,641,205 (1951) remained with India. In 1956, Paṭialā and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), a 'B' class state comprising eight princely states, was amalgamated with the Punjab, but 10 years later, on 1 November 1966, a further vivisection took away the southern and southeastern districts to create the new state of Haryāṇā, while the hill district of Kāṅgrā and Unā tahsīl of Hoshiārpur district were joined with Himāchal Pradesh, formerly a 'C' class state comprising the princely hill states, to make it a full-fledged state or governor's province. Another segment, Chañḍīgarḥ, became a Union Territory administered by the Central government through a Chief Commissioner.

The pre-Partition Punjab, drained by the Indus and its five tributaries, could be divided into four natural regions, viz. the eastern mountainous region, the central plain, northwestern semiarid areas separated from the central plain by the Salt Range and semidesert of southern Punjab. Another natural division, that of the Punjab plain, is into five doābs (land between two rivers) — Sindh-Śāgar Doāb between Indus and Jhelum; Chajj between Jhelum and Chenāb; Rachnā between Chenāb and Rāvī; Bārī between Rāvī and Beās; Bist Jalandhar or simply Jalandhar Doāb; and the cis-Sutlej tract. The present Punjab (India) is limited to the upper Bārī (Mājhā) and Jalandhar Doāb (Doābā), and part of the cis-Sutlej tract (Mālvā). Thanks to irrigation facilities developed after independence, Mālvā is no longer a semidesert. The soil all over the plain is alluvial and highly productive, rain moderate (50-60 cm) mainly from summer monsoons, and the climate presents extremes of both heat and cold.

Historically, on the basis of archaeological finds from excavations conducted in the Soān Valley in the Sindh-Śāgar Doāb estimated to be dating back to the first and the second inter-glacial periods, Punjab may be the earliest habitation of man in this part of the world. Evidence of the highly developed Indus civilization is clearly available from several excavation sites in Bārī Doāb and along the Sutlej basin. The Aryans, a pastoral people, who entered India between 2500 BC and 1500 BC in successive waves, first settled here. It was in the Sapt Sindhu that the first Vedic hymns were composed and sung. In what is called the post-Vedic period, Punjab witnessed the rise of a number of small independent states, some monarchical, others oligarchies and republics known as gaṇas or mahājanapadas. In the 6th century BC, Punjab attracted the attention of the Achaemenian rulers of Persia. The conquest did not extend beyond a narrow strip along the Indus, yet the contact did result in the Punjab being exposed to influences from the West. Alexander's invasion in 326 BC was stemmed by the stiff resistance offered by states of the region and he was made to retreat from the bank of the Beās. The Mauryan empire established soon after ended the short-lived Greek occupation of the Punjab, but the cultural effects of the invasion far outweighed its political consequences. The Mauryan emperors maintained diplomatic contacts
with Greek successors of Alexander, and Hellenic influence contributed considerably to the growth and efflorescence of the Gandhāra school of art and architecture now best represented by the finds at the ruins of Takṣaśilā (Taxilā) near Rawalpindi (now in Pakistan). On the other hand, the reign of Emperor Asoka (268-232 BC) saw Buddhism at the peak of its glory in India, and Takṣaśilā, like Nālandā in the eastern parts, became a great seat of learning which continued to flourish for several centuries.

The Mauryan empire declined after the death of Asoka. The result was that in the second century BC the Bactrian Greeks established their rule in Puṣkalāvatī (Peshawar), Taxilā and Sākala (Siālkoṭ). They were succeeded by Kuśāns but, soon after the death of their only notable king, Kanishka, in c. 162, the local mahājanapadas of the Punjab reasserted their independence. The Gupta empire which was at the peak of its power during the 4th century AD uprooted the tribal republics of the Mālavas, Yaudheyaś and Arjunāyaṇas in the Sutlej-Yamunā watershed and Madras in the upper Doabs, but independent states continued to exist in the rest of the Punjab till the Hūṇa invasions in the later half of the 5th century. Punjab passed through a terrible crisis during the Hūṇa rule. A barbarian people, the Hūṇas destroyed Taxilā and several other flourishing towns; Buddhist centres were the special targets of their depredation.

The decline of the Hūṇas towards the middle of the 6th century paved the way for the rise of the Takkīs in the north of Sutlej and the Vardhanas of Thānesar in the south. The Takkī ascendancy endured longer than the Vardhana sway which registered a rapid decline after King Harṣa’s death in 647. The power vacuum in the Punjab during the 8th century led to a prolonged struggle between the Utpalas of Kashmir and Gūrjar-Pratihārs of Kanauj. Ultimately a new power known as the Hindūshāhīs established itself in the Punjab by the middle of the 9th century and dominated the entire region northwest of the Yamunā including parts of Afghanistan for over a century, after which they were overcome by the Muslim rulers of Ghazni of whom Mahmūd of Ghazni is the most famous.

Mahmūd’s repeated invasions between 1001 and 1026 were essentially plundering raids with no attempt at permanent conquest, but he did annex the Punjab down to the Sutlej to Afghanistan. Thus Muslim rule in Punjab was established 172 years earlier than its advent in the rest of the country in the closing years of the 12th century when Shahāb ud-Dīn Ghaurī occupied almost the whole of North India. From then onwards Punjab became part of the Delhi Sultanate one after another by several dynasties of Turks and Afghāns until Bābar, the Mughal ruler originally of Farghānā in Central Asia and then of Kābul, defeated the last Lodhī Sultān, Ibrāhīm, in 1526, and soon became the master of North India. The Mughal rule over the Punjab continued uninterrupted for about two centuries except a 15-year interval following the defeat of Humāyūn at the hands of Sher Shāh Sūrī in 1540. The most significant development of this period was the rise of the Sikhs as a new religious community and their transformation into the Khālsā, a strong political force destined to step into the power gap in the Punjab created by the rapid decline of the Mughal empire in the first half of the 18th century. The Sikhs, organized into a loose confederacy of mīls or independent principalities spread over the vast plains between the Yamunā and the Indus, were firmly established in power by 1765 having defeated both the Mughals and the Afghāns in a long-drawn war of attrition. Half a century later, Mahārājā Ranjīt Sīṅgh, leader of one of the Sikh mīls and already master of Lahore since 1799, had established his supremacy and started on a series of conquests which unified under him the entire country north of the Sutlej and marked by
international boundaries of pre-Partition India. Forty years of Ranjit Singh's rule from 1799 to 1839 gave the Punjab peace, stability and prosperity the like of which it had not known for a whole century prior to his rise. However, the State so painstakingly built by him survived for not more than a decade after his death. It was annexed to the British dominions in 1849.

The impact of British rule produced far-reaching changes in all spheres of Punjab's life, socio-religious as well as economic and administrative. Comprehensive land surveys were carried out and proper records of land holdings prepared. A network of canals, newly dug, brought vast barren tracts of land under cultivation. With the spread of modern state-regulated education, a scientific outlook and new ideas of rationalism, humanism, liberty and democracy leavened the outlook of the people. Socio-religious reform movements sprang up in all communities. These, however, while bringing in fresh awakening and enlightenment among the masses, intensified communal feelings which, under communal representation introduced by the British while introducing democratic constitutional reforms, resulted in a growing hiatus between Muslim majority on the one hand, and Hindus and Sikhs on the other. The result was bifurcation of the Punjab on communal basis and the consequent blood bath and mass migrations of 1947. Practically no Hindu or Sikh remained in Pakistan part of the Punjab while most Muslims of the Indian Punjab went over to Pakistan. But with the fear of Muslim domination gone, Hindus and Sikhs of the Indian Punjab soon fell out over the question of language. The latter wanted Punjabi to be the official language as well as medium of instruction and examination in Punjab, while the former wanted Hindi to be given this status. They even denied during the decennial census that Punjabi was their mother tongue, thus stalling for several years the declaration of Punjab as a linguistic state. The result was a further division of Punjab and the limitation of the present Punjab to a few Sikh majority districts.

Traditionally considered by the Sikhs as their homeland, the Punjab today is among the smaller states of the Indian Union. With an area of 50,362 square km, Punjab in 1991 recorded a population of 20,281,969, which was 2.4% of India's total population, and density of 403 per square km. Community-wise it has 62.95% Sikhs, 34.46% Hindus, 1.18% Muslims and 1.11% Christians. Sex-ratio in Punjab, traditionally unfavourable, improved marginally during 1981-91 and was 882 at the time of 1991 census, though it is still lower than the national average of 929. One of the main reasons for male predominance appears to be large-scale migration of male labour into the State. While there has been a gradual decline in the death rate, the birth rate has remained unchanged for a long time. Based on sample registration, birth rate in 1991 was 27.7 per thousand and death rate 7.8. Traditionally rural, like the rest of India, urbanization in Punjab has been gradually increasing. In 1971, 23.73% of the State's population lived in towns and cities. In 1991, this percentage was 29.55 against the national average of 25.73. Of the 120 urban localities in the State, however, only 10 are class I cities, i.e. those with a population exceeding 1,00,000. The State having no mineral resources of its own has virtually no large-scale industry but is well advanced in small- and medium-scale industries, mostly agro-based and consumer goods units. At the end of 1993-94, the number of small industrial units was 1,84,875 and that of medium- and large-scale units 440. Together they provided employment to 9,51,226 workers, of which 79.4% were in the small-scale sector. One reason of the State's industrial backwardness is poor allocation to it of public sector enterprises which is governed by the Union government. During the first six 5-year plans (1951-85), Punjab's share in public
sector outlay has been close to 2.0% and has not significantly changed since then. The overall growth rate in terms of Gross State Income during 1993-94 at 1980-81 prices was 4.94% per annum as against 4.3% per annum for the country as a whole.

Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of Punjab's economy. The progress made by its agricultural sector has attracted international notice. The overall rate of growth of agriculture between 1949-50 and 1992-93 was of the order of 2.71% per annum which is the highest in the country. The index of agricultural production shows that there was nearly elevenfold increase in the index of food grains during the period 1960-61 to 1994-95. Much of it is accounted for by the exceptionally high rate of growth in wheat and rice. Its per hectare yield of wheat was 4,011 kg in 1993-94 and that of rice 3,507 kg. The net area sown in 1994-95 was 83% of the total reporting area, the highest in the country. There is a corresponding dearth of forest resources. Only 4.17% of the total reporting area is covered by forests which is far below the national average of 22.3% (1991-92). Cropping pattern in the State has undergone substantial change since the adoption of new technology in the mid-1960's. Wheat and rice are by far the major crops although cotton, oilseeds, maize, millets, barley, pulses, fruit and vegetables are also grown. Together, the output of food grains in the State reached a record level of 2,15,75,000 tons in 1993-94 which is more than 17.34% of the total output in the country. In 1994-95, Punjab contributed 61.0% of the total wheat and 44.0% of total rice procured for the country's central pool. Dairying and poultry farming are also popular as subsidiary occupations in the farm sector.

Irrigation, the key variable which determines the use of other modern inputs and mechanical means of farming, is the key to Punjab's progress in the agricultural field. The area irrigated reached a level of 93% of the net area sown during 1993-94. Wells, tube wells and pumping sets supplied water to 61% of the irrigated area and canals to the remaining 39%. The consumption of chemical fertilizers in the Punjab was 305.81 kg per hectare during 1994-95 which was more than four times the national average of 73.88 kg per hectare. The use of high-yielding varieties of seeds covers almost the entire sown area. The Punjab Agricultural University at Ludhiana has played a leading role in developing new varieties of high-yielding crops and in popularizing modern methods of agriculture.

Another factor in Punjab's high productivity is the nature and size of landholdings. Most of the landholdings are family-operated. The average size of owned landholdings was only 5.06 acres in 1971-72 and has further declined because of land ceiling and the law of inheritance. The average size of operational landholdings, 10.01 acres in 1971-72, has also somewhat declined in spite of capital intensive technology being increasingly adopted by the farming community. About 20% of tractors in the country are concentrated in the Punjab. On an average, in 1994-95, there was one tractor for every 11.46 hectares and one tube well for every 4.89 hectares of net area sown. Of the 6,343.9 million kwh consumption of electricity in 1994-95, agriculture accounted for 39.97%, industry for 36.59%, and domestic, commercial and public lighting for the remaining 23.44%. Per capita consumption of electricity in the State (689.43 kwh in 1993-94) was the highest in the country. Communications, especially road communications, are also well developed. A network of roads links all villages, towns and cities with marketing centres, industrial towns, district and state headquarters, and with main national highways. By March 1995, the State had 93.0 km of roads per 100 square km, of which 83.9% were black-topped. In March 1995, the State had 17,69,755 vehicles which included 13,45,064 passenger-carrying and
67,675 goods-carrying, but excluded 3,54,378 tractors used in the farm sector both for carrying goods and passengers.

Punjab is slightly ahead of the average national standards in education. It has a primary school in every village, a middle school within a radius of 2 km and a high school within a radius of 2.6 km. At the end of 1994, there were 17,344 educational institutions in the State. These included 3 universities, 2 multi-faculty, viz. Punjabi University at Patiala and Gurū Nānak Dev University at Amritsar (besides of course the Pañjāb University at Chandīgarh to which some colleges of Punjab alone are affiliated), and one Agricultural University at Ludhiana; 28 professional colleges, 177 arts, science, commerce and home science colleges; and 2,973 high and higher secondary schools besides a number of institutes for technical training. According to 1991 census, the rate of literacy in Punjab was 58.51% (65.66 for males and 50.41 for females) against the national average of 52.11%.

Punjab is also on top of other states in the matter of general standard of living of the common man. In 1993-94, per capita income in Punjab was Rs 12,724 against Rs 6,929 for the country as a whole. Among all the States of the Union, Punjab ranked second next only to Delhi which in 1993-94 had per capita income Rs 14,714. This is an index of the industrious and enterprising nature of the Punjabis. Besides being foremost in the adoption of modern techniques in agriculture, a large number of them have migrated to foreign lands in search of better prospects; and the invisible imports from that source have played not an insignificant part in the general prosperity of the State. According to estimates included in the sixth 5-year plan (1981-85), the incidence of unemployment in the State was only 4.53% against 8.35% for the country as a whole. As a result of inadequate growth of industry, unemployment among the educated is far greater than among the labour force. In fact there is a shortage of unskilled and farm labour especially during sowing and harvesting seasons which is made good only by large-scale import of migratory labour from other states, particularly from Uttar Pradesh and Bihār. This is in spite of the fact that one major avenue of employment, i.e., recruitment to the armed forces, has been gradually narrowed during recent decades, thereby causing unemployment both for the educated and the uneducated Punjabis, particularly the Sikhs.

A remarkable feature of modernization process in the Punjab is the high degree of rural-urban economic integration that it has brought about. Universal electrification of villages, linking of villages to main roads, development of an extensive network of markets for agricultural produce and inputs, easier access to educational and medical facilities, and growing streams and counter-streams of rural-urban migrants are the main contributory factors.

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H.K.M.S.

PUNJAB, A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, THE, translated and edited by H.L.O. Garrett, and first published in 1935 by the Punjab Government Record Office, Lahore, is a compendium of two travelogues. The first part comprises the portion of Victor Jacquemont's Journal which deals with his travels through the Punjab and Kashmir. Jacquemont's description of the condition and administration of the cis-Sutlej area after the Anglo-Sikh treaty of 1809 is particularly interesting. So is his account of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court, and comments on the character and personal habits of the Maharaja who is described as a thin little man with an attractive face, in spite of having lost an eye from smallpox, a lively hunter and lover of horses. He specially praises Ranjit Singh for his powers of conversation and for his shrewd judgement. He writes: "Ranjit Singh is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have seen, but his curiosity makes up for the apathy of his whole nation. He asked me a hundred thousand questions about India, the English, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the other one, hell and paradise, the soul, God, the devil, and a thousand things besides." Avarice was, according to Jacquemont, the ruling passion of the Maharaja's life and he had amassed a treasure worth 8,00,00,000 rupees. His government had no fixed rules; he ruled as he willed. He was more or less a sceptic. The Maharaja visited Amritsar twice a year to bathe in the sacred pool and made pilgrimages to the tombs of celebrated Muslim saints as well. Speaking of the economic condition of the people, Jacquemont observes that the territory of the Sikhs was the most fertile and better cultivated than anywhere else in India. A man could subsist on one pice a day, a labourer's wage was 4-5 pice a day; an infantryman received a salary of 5-6 rupees a month. Jacquemont describes Ludhiana as a city with a flourishing trade with India and Afghanistan. Rich merchants and bankers with business connections abroad live in the town which then had a total population of 20,000. Amritsar, the largest city in the Punjab, was rich and affluent, its population being a mixture of races and religions. Jacquemont characterized the Sikh rule in Kashmir as chaotic and rapacious. He furnishes some details about the trade between Kashmir and Tibet. For instance, in 1834, Kashmir imported 60,000 seers of raw wool, 7,000-8,000 pounds of tea, gold and silver, musk, dried fruit against export of grain.

The second part of the book relates to the travels of Prince Alexis Soltykoff which are ten years later in date than Jacquemont's. The Prince, who belonged to a distinguished Russian family, was primarily an artist and his journey through India was one long search for 'colour'. Among other places, he visited Delhi, Shimla and Lahore. According to the editor of the book, his account of the Sikh kingdom "compares very curiously with that of Jacquemont." However, many changes had occurred since Jacquemont's visit. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was dead; the reigning monarch — Sher Singh — of whose court much detail has been given is described as a "something uneasy figure, very much afraid of George Russell Clerk, the British Agent."

B.J.H.

PUNJAB BOUNDARY COMMISSION was one of the two high-powered panels set up under Governor-General Lord Mountbatten's partition plan of 3 June 1947 (the other one being the Bengal Boundary Commission) to divide the Punjab between India and Pakistan, the two new states that were being carved out. The almost universal support of Muslim masses to the Muslim League at the elections
held during the winter of 1945-46 had reinforced the League's demand for an independent Pakistan, comprising the six provinces of Bengal and Assam in the east and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan in the northwest. Widespread communal riots following the Direct Action resolution adopted by the Muslim League on 27 July 1946 convinced the Indian National Congress that a division of the country on communal lines was unavoidable. However, the "provinces" claimed by the Muslim League had large non-Muslim enclaves. In the event, Lord Mountbatten's plan provided for the exclusion from Pakistan of Assam (except Sylhet district where a referendum was to be the final arbiter) and the division of Punjab and Bengal. The exact dividing lines were to be drawn by the boundary commissions, both headed by Sir Cyril (later Lord) Radcliffe, a noted British jurist. The Punjab Boundary Commission was set up on 30 June 1947 and was asked to give its award by 15 August. Its terms of reference were defined thus: "The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of the Muslims and the non-Muslims. In doing so it will take into account other factors." Its other members were Punjab High Court Judges, Justice Din Muhammad and Justice Muhammad Munir, both nominees of the Muslim League, and Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan and Justice TejSingh (nominees of the Indian National Congress). Since the Commission as constituted could scarcely be expected to produce a unanimous verdict, an amendment was made in the Indian Independence Bill signifying that "In section 4 the expression 'award' means in relation to the Boundary Commission the decision of the Chairman of the Commission, contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the Commission's proceedings." The award subsequently given, therefore, came to be called the Radcliffe Award.

The 3rd June Plan also suggested a notional division of the Punjab as "only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature..." According to this notional division, Rawalpindi, Multan and Lahore divisions, minus Amritsar district, were provisionally assigned to Pakistan while Amritsar and Jalandhar divisions, plus Amritsar district, were to be treated as parts of Indian Punjab.

The Punjab Boundary Commission, at its first meeting held on 14 July 1947 under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe, invited all interested parties to submit their memoranda by 18 July. It held its public sessions at Lahore from 21 to 31 July under the chairmanship of the seniormost member, Justice Din Muhammad, Sir Cyril having decided to attend the meetings of the Bengal Boundary Commission first. Mohammad Zafar Ullah Khan appeared before it to plead the case of the Muslim League, while Chamanlal Setalvad and Harnam Singh represented the Congress and the Shiromani Akali Dal, respectively. Apart from arguments on legal niceties such as interpretation of the terms "demarcate," "ascertain," "contiguous majority" and "other factors," the protagonists of Pakistan based their case upon community-wise population which was the main operative principle in the partition of the country, whereas the Indian side laid stress upon "other factors" which included economic considerations such as property, land revenue paid, contribution towards the development of canal colonies in western Punjab, rational distribution of river waters and the integrated rail and road systems as well as cultural and emotional factors such as number of educational institutions belonging to a particular community, the location of sacred shrines and the attachment for religious and historical reasons of a community to given area.

After 31 July, the Commission retired to Shimla where Sir Cyril also rejoined it. As
expected, the four members failed to evolve a consensus and each of them prepared his own individual report. Justice Mahājan was the first to submit his report on 3 August 1947. According to him, “The frontier line will take the course of Basantar River as leaving the tract of Shakargarh Tehsil on the West side. This line should join the River Ravi at the confluence of the Basantar River with the River Ravi below Narowal. From there it should follow the course of the Ravi up to Shahdara. From Shahdara it should proceed via Sheikhupura to Nankana Sahib, include that town in East Punjab and then it should join the Deg Nala up to its confluence with the River Ravi near Syedwala. From there the course of the Ravi should be followed till Channu and then should adopt the border of the Montgomery District with the Multan District and join the River Sutlej above the Islam Headworks.”

Justice Tejā Singh’s report, submitted on 4 August 1947, suggested the boundary line “along the River Chenab where it enters the Punjab going right up to Khanki and from there turn to the right bank of the Lower Chenab Canal up to the Nauwana, then follow the bank of Rakh Branch to a place where it enters the Lyallpur District, go along the present boundary line between the districts of Sheikhupura and Lyallpur right up to the point where Deg Nala joins the river Ravi...” Thereafter it followed the line suggested by Justice Mahājan.

Justice Dīn Muhammad and Justice Mohammad Munīr submitted their reports on 5 and 6 August, respectively. They did not suggest any specific line but both strongly supported the boundary line suggested by the Muslim League, which roughly ran from Mādhopur Headworks, near Paṭhānkoṭ, following the crest of the Śivaliks to Ropar, then turning west along the River Sutlej up to Ludhīnā and follow the Ludhīnā-Firozpur-Fāziklā railway line extended to the boundary of Bahāwalpur state.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe’s Award, submitted to the Governor-General on 12 August 1947, was announced on 16 August. Under the Award, 13 districts comprising the whole of Ambālā and Jalandhar divisions, Amritsar district, three tahsils (Paṭhānkoṭ, Gurdāspur, and Baṭālā) of Gurdāspur district and a part of Kasīr tahsil (four police circles, roughly the Paṭṭī sub-tahsils) of Lahore district were allocated to East (India) Punjab, and the rest went to West (Pakistan) Punjab.

The Radcliffe Award failed to satisfy any of the political parties. The Muslim League was sore because it was not given the Muslim majority tahsils of Gurdāspur and Baṭālā in Gurdāspur district and Fāziklā, Firozpur and Zirā tahsils in Firozpur district. Hindus and Sikhs were unhappy because a large part of their population and vast properties were left in Pakistan. The Sikhs were the worst hit. The frontier drawn between India and Pakistan split them vertically into two halves. Those residing in the canal colonies of Montgomery, Multān, Lyallpur and Shāhpur (Sargodhā) suddenly found themselves cut off from their ancestral homes. With a bare 13 per cent population in the undivided Punjab, the Sikhs left in Pakistan were further reduced to a still smaller minority, helpless in case of mass violence which eventually forced them to migrate en masse to the Indian side of the border.

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The newsletters relate some minor incidents which reveal how relations between the Sikhs and the British had become strained during the first Anglo-Afghan war. They give information about Col. Wade's march to Peshawar with Shāhzādā Taimūr, Shāh Shuja's eldest son, at the head of an auxiliary force and the disturbed state of affairs in that region. There is also interesting information regarding the prevalent prices of foodgrains in Kashmir and Ğera Ismā'īl Khān in 1839. In Kashmiri currency of which 15 rupees were equivalent to 100 Nānakshāhī rupees, the rice sold at 48 seers per rupee, wheat 60 seers and barley 90 seers. However, at Multān, during the same period, wheat was priced at 8 seers a rupee and at Ğera Ismā'īl Khān the maximum rate was 21 seers a rupee.

The activities of Kānvar Nau Nihāl Singh are reported by the news-writers. In March 1839, he was sent to Peshawar to see Col. Wade's force across the Khaibar Pass in fulfilment of the Tripartite treaty. Upon the death of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh he issued a parwānā seeking deferment of the ceremony for this father's installation until his arrival in the capital. He hastens to Lahore and makes all the sarāsān sign a document, confirming him as Mahārājā Kharak Singh's successor and his own mukhtār. He is offered a jāgīr worth 15,00,000 rupees per annum in the north-west, but he insists that the whole of the Doābā territory or Multān should be assigned to him. Kānvar Nau Nihāl Singh objected to the growing power of Kharak Singh's favourite, Chet Singh, and desired his dismissal.

The Akhbārs also furnish stray information on the various parts of the kingdom—Peshawar, Kashmir, the Ğeraşāt and the tributary hill states. Intelligence from hills refers to the insurgency of Mīān Ratan Chand in 1840, and measures taken by Lahṇā Singh Majithiā to quell the revolt. The warlike activities of Wazīr Zorāwar Singh, the Ğorā
deputy in Iskardu in June 1840, are reported in Kashmir News. The names are mentioned of some of the feringhee officers in the service of Lahore government—Ventura, Court, Avitabile, Steinbach, Cortlandt and others. Avitabile’s rule at Peshawar was firm, but harsh. “General Avitabile had thrown down a sepoy from a rock and had another sepoy stoned to death.” Court was honoured with the rank of General in October 1839. Allard was a commander of Sikh artillery at Peshawar, while Cortlandt was a battalion commander there. Martin Honigberger was promised a jagir for curing Maharajah Ranjit Singh. Ventura conducted a successful expedition against the raja of Mandi in 1840. He issued a general order prohibiting the sale of hill children and women into slavery. In recognition of his services, the administration of the hill tract of Suket and Kulü was entrusted to him. Other matters of interest to which these newletters refer are: the description of Sikh flag, the Sikh dák couriers; punishments for various crimes, the Lahore arsenal, and the existence of a State Library under Munshi Khushwaqt Rai at Lahore.

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PUNJAUB, THE, which according to its subtitle, is a brief account of the country of the Sikhs, its extent, history, commerce, productions, government, manufactures, laws, religion, etc., was written by Lieut-Colonel Henry Steinbach, a European officer in the Khālsā army, and was first published by Smith, Edder, & Co., Cornhill, London, in 1845. It was reprinted by the Languages Department, Punjab, in 1970. The author was an eye-witness, during his seven-year stay among the Sikhs (1838-45), to the cataclysmic events which overtook the Punjab following the death of Ranjit Singh. After a sketchy note on the topography of the Punjab and its principal towns and a very brief survey of the rise of the Sikh power, Steinbach straightway proceeds to describing the death and funeral of Ranjit Singh and the subsequent intrigues and murders up to the elimination of Hirā Singh and Panḍīt Jallā and the installation of Jawāhar Singh as the minister. He concludes his narration of events with: “the general opinion of the best informed authorities, namely, the European officers lately in the Lahore service, is that tranquility never can be permanently established in the Punjab until under the firm rule of the British government, whose interference, it is fully anticipated, will, ere long, become unavoidable.” This seems to be the leitmotif of Steinbach’s work. He stresses the desirability of annexing Punjab to the British dominions and pleads for decisive action to this end. The book also contains a general survey of the climate, produce, commerce, industry of the Punjab and costumes, manners, customs and religious beliefs of its people. Equally interesting is the author’s detailed description of the government and army of the Punjab and the Sikh court. An appendix, apparently added by the publishers, traces briefly the history of the British connection with Ranjit Singh from 1805 up to the Tripartite treaty of 1838. In several instances, Steinbach shows both his ignorance of and antipathy towards the people about whom he is writing. As examples of the former he reads the history of the Guru period in terms of a continuing communal clash among Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and describes Harimandar as ‘a temple of Vishnu, one of the Sikh deities’. However, despite the subjectivity and bias of Steinbach, this short book of 140 pages is a useful contemporary source on a period that witnessed a great turmoil leading finally to
the extinction of the Sikh State.

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S.K.B.

PUNJAB CHIEFS, THE, by Sir Lepel H. Griffin, contains historical and biographical notices of the principal chiefs and families of note in the Punjab, with detailed pedigree tables, first published at Lahore in 1865, revised edition (2 vols.) by Charles Francis Massy published at Lahore in 1890, and revised pedigree tables published at Lahore in 1899. The book may be regarded as the forerunner of Griffin's later works on the subject such as Rajas of the Punjab, Law of Inheritance to Chiefship as observed by the Sikhs before the Annexation of the Punjab (Lahore, 1869), Sikhism and the Sikhs (Great Religions of the World: New York, 1901), and Maharaja Ranjit Singh (Asiatic Quarterly, London). The author, a high-ranking civilian in the Punjab after it was occupied by the British in 1849, undertook the task of recording the history of the "fallen nobility" of the Punjab and determining their status under the British. In compiling this work, Griffin made use of the history-sheets sent by the chiefs; records of the old Sikh government, of British agencies of Delhi and Ludhiana (1809-45), and of Lahore (1846-49), and of the Punjab Government (1849-65); personal interviews with the living chiefs and their family priests and bards; and of all major historical accounts, travelogues and memoirs relating to the Punjab written in English, Persian and Urdu.

The book as published in 1865 dealt with the chiefs and their families in districts between the rivers Beas and Indus, then forming the Lahore and Rawalpindi division, recording their genealogies and furnishing details about the roles they played in the political history of the Punjab from the closing decades of the eighteenth century to the establishment of the Sikh monarchy under Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, in the Anglo-Sikh wars and at the time of the annexation of the Punjab. The book took into account mainly chiefs and families enjoying rank, wealth or influence at the time of annexation. The second edition of the book (2 vols.) brought out by Charles Francis Massy in 1890 extends the scope of the work, including in it the North-West Frontier, most of the Himalayan states and a large part of the southeastern Punjab, filling in gaps left by Griffin and making revisions to bring the work up to date. Some of the chiefs who had been reduced to insignificance were omitted and others who had risen to importance included.

The next edition, brought out in 1909 by H.D. Craik, embraced additionally the leading families of Delhi, Jalandhar, Peshāwar and Derailm division as well as of some of the princely states. As the North-West Frontier was constituted into a separate province in 1901, the area was omitted from Craik's survey. The fourth edition, revised and updated till July 1930 by G.L. Choprā, was published in 1940. An Urdu translation of the book was made by Bhagvan Dās and published under the title Tārikh-i-Raśā-i-Paṇjāb.

B.J.H.

Punjabi is the language of the Punjab. Spoken slightly differently in two parts of the Punjab after the State was politically split into two, East Punjab and West Punjab (or Pakistan Punjab), on 15 August 1947. But the Punjabi-speaking population is not confined to the political boundaries of the two Punjabs. In India Punjabi is also spoken in vast areas of Haryāṇā, Himāchal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and the Gaṅgānagar district of Rājasthān. In Pakistan too there are Punjabi-speaking areas beyond the West-
ern Punjab; they are in North Western Frontier Province, Sindh and some territories of Jammu and Poonch under Pakistan’s occupation at present.

Dr George A. Grierson, author of the monumental, *Linguistic Survey of India*, accepts Western Punjabi the language of Western Punjab as an independent language; but all speakers of Eastern and Western Punjabi have always treated Western Punjabi as a dialect of Punjabi. Even on the basis of linguistic analysis it cannot be established that it is a language different from Punjabi. The label Lahndā, given it by Grierson, is also incorrect; it is Lahndi, or more properly, Laihndi.

Punjabi has three dialects with a number of sub-dialects in each of these. Eastern Punjabi, the language of Indian Punjab, has four sub-dialects, viz. Mājhī, Malvai, Doābī and Puādhī. Western Punjabi or Lahndī contains Multānī, Shāhpuri-Jhaṅgī, Poṭhohārī and Hindko as sub-dialects. The third dialect, Pahāri or Doğrī, also has four sub-dialects Kāṅgṛī, Bhattiālī, Jammuālī (the language of Jammu region) an Poonchī. The Doğrī-speaking people are striving to get government recognition claiming that their language is different from Punjabi. But each region is claiming a separate entity of its own language: language of Jammu with the label Dogri, and that of Himāchal Pradesh, naming it Himāchali, Pahāri-Mājhī. The language of Mājhā region, consisting of Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts of the Indian Punjab, and the Lahore district of the Pakistani Punjab, is accepted to be the standard form of Punjabi both in India and Pakistan.

Punjabi is one of the New Indo-Āryan languages. Indo-Āryan is a branch of Indo-European family. It has passed through several phases of development, which, for the sake of convenience, are divided into three main stages: old Indo-Āryan (OIA), Middle Indo-Āryan (MIA) and New Indo-Āryan (NIA). The period of OIA is accepted to be from 1500 BC to 500 BC. The earliest form of OIA is called ‘Vedic’, that is, the language in which the Vedas were composed. Its next phase is Sanskrit, which ceased to be the spoken language of the masses by the sixth century BC, but extensive literature was produced in Sanskrit up to eleventh and twelfth centuries. The MIA has three phases of development. Pāli is the representative of the first phase. It is believed that it was the spoken language in the north-western parts of India from about 500 BC to the beginning of the Christian era. The various languages which were current in the second phase of the MIA are given a common label Prākrit; their period extends from the beginning of the Christian era to around AD 500. In the third phase again all languages have a common label Apabhraṃśa. It is from these Apabhraṃśas that Punjabi and New-Indo-Āryan languages developed around the eleventh century AD.

Before analysing the linguistic characteristics of Punjabi it would be desirable to discuss the process of development through which Punjabi has attained its present form. The earliest form of the Indo-Āryan language, the OIA, was structurally much different from NIA or Punjabi. Vedic had 52 phonemes, 13 vowels and 39 consonants. In Sanskrit some of these phonemes disappeared and some others were articulated in a changed form. On grammatical side OIA was a highly synthetic language. It employed suffixes and prefixes to perform the function for which independent words are used in NIA. Suffixes, called vibhaktis, were employed where Punjabi, Hindi, etc., are using postpositions. Again, the verbal forms of the OIA were also of synthetic nature. The auxiliary verb did not exist, its function was performed by affixes. There were three genders—masculine, feminine and neuter; three numbers—singular, dual and plural; and eight cases. The nouns and adjectives in OIA changed their form according to number, gender and case, and as such the grammatical forms of a
noun or adjective could run into hundreds. In addition to these devices, OIA made extensive use of sandhi and samās (compounding). The result of all these processes was that morphological forms were much complicated, but syntactic structure was simpler than it is in the NIA. Since the grammatical status of a noun (whether it was subject, object, etc.) was determined from its form; its position in a sentence did not have much significance.

Pāli is considerably different from OIA on phonological level. Against 52 phonemes of Vedic, Pāli had only 46–10 vowels and 36 consonants. Out of the 13 vowels of Vedic 4 were diphthongs in Pāli. All vowels are simple, none has a diphthongal character. Of the three fricatives /Ś/, /Ś/ and /Ś/ of OIA, Pāli retains only /Ś/. The grammatical structure of Pāli is not much different from OIA. The language is still synthetic. Three genders are present, there are only two numbers—the dual number has disappeared. There are only six vibhaktis (case-endings) in place of eight that existed in OIA.

Next, in the sequence of development, come the Prākrits. Scholars have varied opinions about the number of Prākrits. The specimens available to the modern scholars prove that there were at least four major Prākrits—Shaursenī, Mahārāṣṭrī, Mahādhī and Ardhamāgadhī. Paishāchi is sometimes counted as a fifth Prākrit. On the phonological side, Prākrits are not much different from Pāli. The fricatives /Ś/ and /Ś/ do not exist in Prākrits. The semi-vowel /y/ has changed to /j/ in some Prākrits, particularly in Shaursenī, which was spoken in the northwestern India, and is, like Pāli, the ancestor of Punjabi. Consonant clusters, which abound in OIA, go on progressively decreasing in MIA. Prākrits are less synthetic than Vedic, Sanskrit and even Pāli. Words, which have functions akin to those of postpositions, are used in certain constructions. Now there are only four case-endings mostly in use. Most of the nouns and adjectives, in masculine, singular form, end in—o, and therefore Prākrits are called ‘o-ending languages’.

The number of Apabhrāṇas remains undecided. Different sources count from three to about thirty Apabhrāṇas. There is no clue available to ascertain as to which of the Apabhrāṇas is the source of Punjabi. None of the Apabhrāṇas which have extant specimens, can be associated with Punjabi. The Apabhrāṇas are more analytical than even the Prākrits. Some postpositions are in use now. The auxiliary verb has also appeared in a few verbal forms. Only three case-endings are in common use. The compounded form of verbs is quite common. Still the language is much more synthetic than the NIA. In Apabhrāṇas most nouns end in—u, in masculine, singular form; on the basis of this characteristic the Apabhrāṇas are sometimes called ‘u-ending languages.’ There are some variations in phonological pattern as well. The phoneme /n/ has a very high frequency. The number of voiced, aspirated consonants has considerably increased and aspirated forms of /n, ɳ, m, l, r/ are found in most Apabhrāṇas.

This is the brief survey of the history of the development of Indo-Aryan languages from its earliest form to the New Indo-Aryan. Punjabi is one of the NIA languages, the others being Sindhi, Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi, Rājasthāni, Gujrātī, Marāthi, Oriyā, Bihārī, Bengālī, Assamese and Pahārī.

Punjabi, along with other NIA languages, is believed to have originated in the eleventh century. It is not logically or linguistically correct to accept that all NIA languages originated at the same time, or they developed at the same pace. Languages do not change their form in a few years, or in a few decades; it takes centuries for a language to adopt a recognizably different structure. When we say that Punjabi originated in the eleventh century, it simply means that by this time the language had acquired most char-
acteristics of modern Punjabi but it certainly was not exactly akin to the present-day language. Punjabi has passed through different stages or phases of development during these nine centuries. For the sake of convenience we can divide the course of development into the following four phases:

First phase up to AD 1400
Second phase 1400 to 1700
Third phase 1700 to 1850
Fourth phase 1850 onwards

The only specimens of the first phase that have reached our hands are in the form of the poetic compositions of Sufi saint Shaikh Farid (1175-1265), which are preserved in Sikh Scripture, the Guru Granth Sahib. The linguistic structure of the verses of Shaikh Farid is not different from the language of Guru Nanak and his successors contained in the same holy book. The language of Farid linguistically belongs to the second phase, and true specimens of the first phase are not available.

The poetry of Guru Nanak (1469-1539), Guru Angad (1504-1552), Guru Amar Das (1479-1574), Guru Ramb Das (1534-1581), Guru Arjan (1563-1606), and some other saint poets found in the Guru Granth Sahib belongs to the second phase. The poetry of Sikh scholar and poet Bhāī Gurdās, Sūfī saint Shāh Husain and Damodar who versified the love story of Hir and Rānjhā, also belongs to the same period. Some prose was also written in this period. But these compositions have not reached us in true, original form. Therefore, we shall consider the Punjabi poetry of the first five Sikh Gurūs only for the purpose of a linguistic analysis of this phase. This period is rightly called ‘Guru-period’.

Punjabi of this period is much more analytical as compared to Sanskrit, Pāli, etc. Still it retains some synthetic features. Some of the case-endings are quite common, particularly the suffixes of instrumental, locative and ablative cases. The auxiliary verb is almost non-existent, and the verbal forms are of synthetic nature. All the postpositions of modern Punjabi, with the lone exception of ne, are in use, though some of these are slightly different from their modern form. Thus synthetic and analytic devices (suffixes and postpositions) are used side by side. On the phonological level too the Punjabi of this period has some variation from the modern Punjabi. Fricatives /ʃ/ (⁄sh/) and /z/ do not exist in the Punjabi of this period. Vowel (/au/) has a very low frequency; on the contrary (/ai/) has much higher frequency. Again, nasalization was not so frequent as it is today. The plural forms of masculine and feminine nouns end in nasalized vowels in modern Punjabi, most of these have only oral vowel at the end in the language of the Gurū-period. Most masculine nouns have the ending ‘a’ in singular form, and most feminine, singular nouns end in ‘i’. But the Apabhraṅsha u-ending nouns are also very common. All masculine nouns which end in a consonant in singular form in modern Punjabi retained the Apabhraṅsha ‘u’ at the end in old Punjabi of first and second phases. Short vowels do not occur in word-final position now, but in the Punjabi of Gurū-period final short vowel was a common feature.

The Punjabi of the third phase is almost as analytical as the modern language. Some of the case-suffixes do exist, as they exist today, but in most cases the postposition of modern Punjabi, including nai (modern ne) is in use. The forms of nouns, pronouns and adjectives are almost the same as they are today. Short vowels in word-final position are disappearing. Nasalization is increasing and plural form of the nouns and adjectives ends in a nasalized vowel in most cases. /ʃ/ (⁄sh/) and /z/ are still non-existent. The frequency of vowel /au/ has considerably increased. The most significant aspect of the Punjabi of this period is the emergence of tone which has vastly changed the phonological structure of the language. The period of
emergence of tone cannot be ascertained with any reasonable precision. Certain orthographic symbols in the Guru Granth suggest that some form of tone did exist in the Guru-period. At the same time it seems certain that the tone had not the same frequency and the same characteristics as in modern Punjabi, otherwise the orthographic pattern of the Gurmukhi script would have been quite different.

Like the two earlier phases this was also primarily a period of poetry. Very few prose works were produced. The poetic language of this phase lacks the sophistication and dignity of the language of Gurbani (poetry of the Gurus). Prose writings are wanting in controlled expression and literary discipline. However the language of prose is simple and has a poetic flow.

The fourth phase, which continues till today, is different from the earlier stages in many ways. It begins with the establishment of British sovereignty in Punjab. A large number of schools were started, which enabled common people to get education. The advent of the printing press and the start of newspapers and journals made a drastic change in the language awareness of the Punjabis. As the number of readers increased, more and more books were written and printed. The teaching of English was responsible for initiating a new era of linguistic innovation. A large number of vocables of Perso-Arabic origin were borrowed by Punjabi during the period of Muslim domination, but phonological and grammatical structure of Punjabi remained unaffected by these borrowings. Loan words were assimilated by Punjabi, but foreign sounds were not accepted. Punjabi retained its original character in spite of heavy borrowings. During British rule, however, foreign sounds were also accepted at least by the educated people. Many words were borrowed from English. Written Punjabi underwent a complete change. The punctuation marks were introduced for the first time; the full stop was the only punctuation mark used in earlier writings. Another significant innovation was writing of separate word-units, instead of the line-unit which was the common mode of writing in earlier works. Paragraph forming was yet another device which Punjabi acquired from English. Punjabi writers copied the English style of framing lengthy complex sentences. In addition to borrowing of vocables from other languages, new words were coined and new shades of meanings were given to the existing words. The words were selected with discretion and linguistic craftsmanship was exercised in the construction of sentences.

It was for the first time in the history of Punjabi that planned development of the language was undertaken; in the earlier phases it was only natural development.

Spoken Punjabi could not remain unaffected. The educated Punjabis tried to pronounce loan words in their original form, and this resulted in the borrowing of foreign sounds. /sh/ and (z) were the first to be adopted. Perso-Arabic /f/ and even /kh/ / gh/ were also pronounced by some Punjabis. Nasalization and tone increased considerably and are still increasing. A fairly large number of English words found place even in the language of non-literate Punjabis. On the phonological level, tone is a significant phoneme of Punjabi, which distinguishes it from other NIA languages. No major Indian language, except Punjabi, has tone as a distinctive sound. The tone has affected the entire phonological structure of Punjabi. Tone has replaced the voiced aspirates /gh, jh, dh, dh, bh, /h/ in specific situations, and these voiced aspirates have very limited occurrence in the standard Punjabi today. Tone is still increasing and in many cases non-distinctive tone is also articulated these days. Similarly nasalization is also increasing, and vowels are nasalized, in some cases, where nasalization is not required according to grammar.
For instance /āīān/ (these women came) is pronounced as /āinēān/ by all Punjabis although grammatically only the final /ān/ should be nasalized. The fricatives /sh/ and /z/ are now pronounced almost by all speakers; the frequency of /ʃ/ is increasing, and on the contrary Arabic /kh/ and /gh/ are disappearing from the speech of the new generation. Very few consonant clusters can be heard in the language spoken by the masses. The short vowels are not articulated in word-final position.

Grammatically Punjabi is, on the whole, an analytical language, though it still retains some of the synthetic characteristics. Suffixes of instrumental, ablative and locative cases are used with some nouns. In addition to these, vocative forms of all human nouns can be formed with the help of suffixes, and there are separate suffixes according to number and gender. There are two numbers, singular and plural, and two genders, masculine and feminine. Every noun in Punjabi is assigned to one of the two genders. The verb agrees with the subject according to gender and number, and in a few cases according to person and number. But if the verbal form contains the past participle of a transitive verb, the verb agrees with the object. The tense is mostly decided by the auxiliary verb, which comes after the main verb. There are very few verbal forms in which the auxiliary verb does not occur. Compounding of verbal forms is a common feature. The verbal form baithā hoiā sī (was sitting) contain past participle of two verbs in addition to the auxiliary sī (was); they are baith (sit), and ho (be). In some cases three verbs are compounded in a verbal form. Punjabi employs postpositions in place of the prepositions of English. For word-formation Punjabi mostly uses suffixes; prefixes are very few, and all have adjectival function. Again, more than one prefix does not occur in any word, whereas there can be three or even four suffixes in some words. Punjabi makes extensive use of reduplication which can be of varied forms. The same word can be repeated as in hauī-hauī (slowly), two synonyms can come together as kālā-sīāh (jet-black), two antonyms may form a compound nikkā-mojā (of ordinary nature); rhyming words may form a pair—nerē-tere (around). Punjabi has five degrees of proximity against two in English, Hindi, Urdu, etc. For English 'this' Punjabi has three words expressing proximity on quite different basis. They are —āh, (which is nearer to the first person and away from the second person), hāh (which is closer to the second person, but away from the first person), and eh (close to both). For English 'that' Punjabi has auh (away from both, but within sight) and oh farthest in time and space, not within sight.

Since Punjabi is mainly an analytical language, word-order in a sentence plays a significant role. The general order of a Punjabi sentence is subject-object-verb, when the sentence has transitive verb, but the other words occur in the same order. The adjective precedes the noun it qualifies; with a pronoun the adjective is used normally in a predicative form only. In rare cases when an adjective qualifies a pronoun in an attributive form, it comes after the pronoun, as in he oh vichārā (poor thing). The adverb also occurs before the verb it qualifies. The interrogative words, in normal construction, come immediately after the subject of the sentence—oh kadoṅ āīā sī (when did he come?) The shifting of the position of the interrogative element results in change in the sense of the sentence — kadoṅ āīā sī oh, oh āīā kadoṅ sī have a connotation different from the earlier sentence. The auxiliary verb comes after the main verb. If the verbal form is compound of two or more verbs, the auxiliary will occur after all components of the compound. Interrogative sentences are formed with the help of interrogative words, and there is no other change in the order of the sentence as in: munda āīā sī (the boy had come), munda
kion aïā sī (why did the boy come?), munđā kadoñ aïā sī (when did the boy come?) A change in the general order of the sentences changes the connotation—kartār kitāb pārh rihā hai (Kartār is reading a book) is a general statement. If the question is who is reading the book?, the answer will be — kartār pārh rihā hai kitāb; and if the question is — what is Kartār doing?, the answer would be kitāb pārh rihā hai kartār.

Punjabi is very rich in the vocabulary concerning the culture of ancient and medieval ages. It has most extensive kinship vocabulary. Most Indo-Āryan languages have separate words for uncle and aunt relations of different levels; for instance there are separate words for father's brother, mother's brother, husband of father's sister, husband of mother's sister, etc. Punjabi has the widest range in kinship vocabulary. In addition to separate names for relations like father's sister, mother's sister, brother's wife, wife's sister, etc, Punjabi has words for father of father-in-law, brother of father-in-law, father of mother-in-law, brother of mother-in-law, and also for the wives of all these male relations. The Lahndī dialect of Punjabi has separate names even for cousin category of kinship. Patrēru is the son of father's brother, and pītreū is daughter of father's brother. Similarly there are independent names of sons and daughters of mother's brother, mother's sister, father's sister. There is wide range of names of natural objects and their parts. A minute division of time is made and each division is given a name. The example of division of space has already been given while explaining the degree of proximity. There are three separate pronouns for English 'he' - eh (he, who is close by), auh (he, who is bit away but is within sight), oh (he, who is far away, may not be within sight). But there is no distinction of gender in the pronouns in Punjabi and the same pronouns are used for 'he', 'she' and 'it'. There is a vast vocabulary concerning agriculture—the names of agriculural implements and their parts, crops and their stems, leaves, fruits, and words for agricultural processes. In Lahndī, for example, there are five separate words for a drain - paggun, khalsā; nālī, kassī, wahā. Again, Punjabi has a rich treasure of vocabulary pertaining to theology, mysticism and ethics.

Because of political reasons, Punjabi could not develop, through natural process, the vocabulary concerning the scientific and technological subjects of modern civilization. The result was that when it was called upon to perform the duties of medium of instruction up to university level, and to act as the language of administration and polity, it found itself inadequately equipped for these responsibilities. Extensive borrowings were made to make up the deficiency. But that could not be enough, hence new terms were coined, existing words were given new connotation; new forms of old words were acquired through acceptable, and quite often, unacceptable grammatical process. The result of all these efforts was that Punjabi was forced to own many words, grammatical forms, idioms, and even phonemes which could not fit into the linguistic structure of this language. This situation still exists and the process of making old experiments still continues.

The oldest specimens of Punjabi literature are preserved in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. In addition to these are poetic compositions of some saints, some vārs (war ballads) and some qissās (narrative poetry). The same genres continued to be the main vehicles of literary expression during the seventeenth century. But, after the compilation of the Sikh scripture there is very little Punjabi poetry composed by the Sikhs. There are some poetical works, mostly dealing with Sikh history written by Sikh scholars, but Punjabi poetry of that century mainly came from the pens of Muslim poets. After the death of Gurū Gobind Singh the Sikhs had to pass through a period of persecution and oppres-
mission for about seven decades; and later when they established their empire, they were throughout engaged in warfare. They had, as such, no time to devote to literary pursuits. This situation continued till the end of the Sikh rule in AD 1849. The Sikh literature produced during this period is mostly by the Nirmalās or the Udāsis. These two sects had close links with the Hindu tradition, and were itinerant recluses who roamed through whole of northern India, preaching the message of the Sikh Gurūs. They had, as such, to use a language which could be understood in any part of northern India. This language which is now labelled Sādhu Bhāshā, was adopted by these Sikh writers. They used Sādhu Bhāshā but wrote always in Gurmukhī script, which was originated by the Second Gurū, Gurū Aṅgad, and had throughout remained specially associated with Sikhs and Sikhism. The Muslim Punjabi poets wrote their poetry in Persian script. Thus, Punjab, which was enriched by the sublime poetry of the Sikh Gurūs, remained neglected by Sikh scholars almost till the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It was under the influence and guidance of the Śiṅgh Sabhā (founded in 1873) that the Sikhs declared Punjabi as their language and Gurmukhī its script.

The Punjab was divided into two parts, the eastern part, remaining in India and the western going to Pakistan in 1947. The Sikhs who had en masse migrated to the Indian Punjab, wanted that Punjabi should be declared the official language of Punjab which demand was not accepted by government. The whole of India was divided into unilingual states, but not the Punjab. The Sikhs had to resort to a long-drawn struggle to have their claim accepted. Punjabi is now prospering, and non-Sikhs including a fairly large number of Hindus are amongst the leading scholars and writers of Punjabi.

After Independence Urdu was declared the official language of Pakistan. The Punjabis of Pakistan after some time realized that they had made an error in discarding their mother tongue, Punjabi. They made concentrated efforts to get recognition for Punjabi at least as the State language. Some facilities for teaching in schools and colleges were granted. Punjabi is being taught up to M.A. level at the Pañjāb University. The Department of Punjabi at Pañjāb University, Lahore, is the publisher of a literary magazine. Magazines have also come up through private enterprise. Poetry and prose have splurged. But government support for Punjabi is meagre. Punjabi, in Pakistan, has not acquired the prestige and influence which belongs to it as a major language in the country.

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Punjabi Sūbā Movement, a long-drawn political agitation launched by the Sikhs demanding the creation of Punjabi Sūbā or Punjabi-speaking state in the Punjab. At Independence it was commonly recognized that the Indian states then comprising the country did not have any rational or scientific basis. They were more the result of the exigencies of British conquest. To have some of these demographic imbalances corrected and inconvenient bulges expunged with a view to drawing up clean-cut boundaries a commis-
sion was set up by Government of India in 1948. The commission had its jurisdiction limited to the southern states such as Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala, and Maharashtra. Northern India, it seems, was deliberately kept out of the purview of the commission especially to prevent problems like those of Punjab and, specifically, issues pertaining to Sikhs cropping up. But these problems could not be swept under the carpet for long, and had to be faced for the sake of honest politics and for the sake of the democratic functioning of polity and society. Another States Reorganization Commission was appointed in 1953.

The Commission tried to foreclose the possibility of the demand for Punjab state being resurrected by resorting to one obviously weak argument. The formation of linguistic provinces, it was said, was sure to give rise to a demand for the separation of other linguistic groups elsewhere and such claims had already been advanced by Sikhs, Jats and others.

The Commission recommended the integration of Patiala and East Punjab States Union and Himachal Pradesh with the Punjab. This was entirely unacceptable to the mainstream Sikh political set-up, the Shiromani Akali Dal. The Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, took the opportunity to exhibit Sikh unity and resolution on this point. He summoned a representative congress of the Sikhs at Amritsar on 16 October 1955. Nearly 1,300 of the invitees attended. With one voice, they rejected the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission and severely castigated it for treating the Sikh claims with such undisguised bias. The convention authorized Master Tara Singh to devise ways and means to bring home to the Government of India Sikhs’ sense of injury. His first move — a conciliatory one — was to call upon Prime Minister Nehru. The ground for such a meeting had already been prepared by the former Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh. Baldev Singh, who had shunned meeting the Prime Minister since he had been dropped from his cabinet and who in fact stayed away even from social get-togethers at which he was likely to be present, was persuaded by Giani Kartar Singh and others to act as a mediator between the Akalis and the government. He showed Jawaharlal Nehru the correspondence which had passed between Sikhs and the Muslim League leaders prior to the transfer of power, and reminded him how the former had rejected the League overtures and thrown in their lot with India.

Conciliatory intercession brought Jawaharlal Nehru and the Sikh leaders round the conference table. In these parleys, the Prime Minister was assisted by two of his senior cabinet colleagues, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. The Sikhs were represented by Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, Sardar Hukam Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh and Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala. A sixth colleague of theirs, Bawah Harkishan Singh, did not participate in the negotiations, but joined their own private discussions afterwards. All of them put up in Sardar Hukam Singh’s house in Delhi, and, before leaving for the first day’s meetings, they vowed in the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib that they would act by mutual counsel and that none of them would meet singly any member of the government. The members also apportioned among themselves the topics they would take up for discussion. Master Tara Singh was to say a few opening words and was not to speak again. Bhai Jodh Singh was to explicate the language problem in the Punjab, and Giani Kartar Singh and Sardar Hukam Singh were to meet the political points. The first meeting took place on 24 October 1955, the second a month later — on 23 November.

This second meeting was preceded by Prime Minister Nehru’s lunch for Master Tara Singh. At the end of the meeting, the Press
asked Master Tārā Singh if he had obtained the Punjabi Subā. “I have not at least lost it,” he quipped. The parleys were interrupted at the end of December as a general session of the Indian National Congress was announced to be held in Amritsar on 11-12 February 1956.

In an impromptu, but dramatic gesture, the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal gave notice of a parallel conference of its own. As subsequent events proved, this turned out to be efficient strategy. The Sikhs’ meeting was massive in size. The entire Punjab countryside seemed to have burst upon the city of Amritsar. The Akālī cavalcade preceding the deliberations was a magnificent spectacle of Sikh solidarity—an endless column of marching humanity fired with one single passion, with one single will. It completely dwarfed the Congress convention. The Indian leaders watched from across the road the mammoth turnout of the Sikh populace. They could not have been but struck by its perfect orderliness and its sense of purpose.

Beckoning the processionists on and ever urging them to a quicker pace to be on time was Gīañi Kartār Singh, proudly standing in a jeep, his broken arm in a sling and his eyes alight with an unmistakable glint of triumph. He had but lately returned to the Akālī fold to strengthen the hands of Master Tārā Singh.

Most graphic is the account of this Sikh march in Michael Brecher’s biography of Jawāharlal Nehru:

On a bright, cool north Indian winter morning the contending groups massed their forces in a show of strength, especially for the benefit of the Congress High Command which was camped close by. First came the Sikhs in the most impressive— and peaceful—demonstration I have ever seen. Hour after hour and mile after mile they marched, eight abreast, down the main streets of Amritsar, a hallowed name in Indian nationalism because of the shootings of 1919. Old and young, men and women, they came in an endless stream, most with an expression of determination and sadness in their eyes, many still remembering the ghastly days of 1947 when their homeland was cut in two and hundreds of thousands fled before the Muslims, and when thousands of their co-religionists died or were maimed. What strength there was in appearance of the older men who, with their flowing beards, looked like the Hebrew prophets of old. Many carried their traditional sword, the kirān, and many wore blue turbans, symbol of militancy. (The dyers in the city did a handsome business that week.) They had come from the villages and towns of the Punjab and from far-off places as well. Almost without exception they marched in orderly file, portraying their unity of purpose. At intervals came the resounding cry, “Punjabi Suba Zindabad” (“Long live a Punjabi State”) and “Master Tārā Singh Zindabad,” with intermittent music to enliven the proceedings. On they came, for five hours. Few who watched them could doubt their genuine fear of being swallowed up in the vice-like embrace of rabid Hinduism. By conservative estimate they numbered over 100,000. To this observer it seemed more like double that figure.

The Sikhs had put forth their strongest argument in support of Punjabi Subā. The dialogue between the Akālī leaders and the government was resumed. What began to irk the former was the monotonous style the meetings had acquired. The Sikh leaders did all the speaking and the government representatives only listened. Panḍit Pant, who was meant to be the chief government spokesman never uttered a word from his lips. The Sikh delegation felt frustrated and decided to cease from participating. News appeared in the press on the morning of 26 February 1956 that the negotiations had broken down.
The report was accompanied with the announcement that the Sikh leaders were leaving Delhi. But Joginder Singh, a Sikh member of Parliament from Uttar Pradesh, who sat in the meetings as an observer, tried to bring them round to re-joining the talks.

The negotiators were at length able to devise a scheme to break the impasse. It was at best a compromise solution. Without demarcating a Punjabi Sūbā, the state was to be split into two regions—Punjabi and Hindi. Each zone was to have its own regional committee consisting of its own share of the Punjabi legislators, with powers to deliberate on all subjects except law and order, finance and taxation. This Regional Formula, as the plan came to be designated, was put to the vote at a general meeting of the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal at Amritsar on 11 March 1956. There were critical voices raised. The angriest was that of Amar Singh Ambalavī, who had his dissent formally recorded. Gurmit Singh did not go that far, but opposed the proposal. In the same lobby was another youth leader, Karnail Singh Doaḍ, who was then a member of the Working Committee of the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal. A stickler for constitutional propriety, he privately raised with some of the sponsors the cavil that the Formula could not be discussed in that meeting without having been put up first to the Working Committee. The objection went unheeded by the leaders who were committed to seeing the Formula through. Especially persuasive at the meeting were Giani Kartār Singh, Bhāi Jodh Singh and Sardār Ajit Singh Sarhādi. Giani Kartār Singh conceded that what had been offered by government was not the Punjabi Sūbā of their conception. Yet he commended acceptance of it as a shagan or promise for Punjabi Sūbā.

The motion was carried, but one man who was left somewhat puzzled was Master Tārā Singh. He was not sure if they had acted prudently. Once again the Akālīs were permitted to join the Congress. Once again Master Tārā Singh questioned in his heart of hearts the wisdom of so enfeebling the Akālī Dal. His instinct inclined him to oppose the half-measure that had emerged from government-Akālī detente. But he did not want to overrule his colleagues. He, nevertheless, continued to feel sceptical. He himself did not join the Congress, although most of his front-rank colleagues did. On 30 September 1956, the Akālī Dal renounced politics. It was proposed to hold a rally a few weeks later and present two lakhs of Akālī members to the Congress. Master Tārā Singh’s unease was not lessened.

The 1957 general elections gave him the opportunity to end his mental dichotomy. The Congress had assigned the Akālī entrants twenty-two nominations for the Punjab Assembly and three for Parliament. This share struck Master Tārā Singh as grossly inadequate and he abrogated the settlement with the Congress so far as he was personally concerned. In his individual capacity he put up his own candidates against Congress nominees. None of the twenty-three fielded by him won, but he had underwritten the point once again that Sikhs must be the masters of their political fortune. He was left alone as he had been in 1948 when all the senior Akālī leaders had joined the Congress. This was the situation in which he found himself now in 1957. His one advantage now, as in the past, was his control of the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal. He started on the course of recovery by reactivating it politically.

The supporters of Hindi assailed the Regional Formula as being harmful to their interests. Under the aegis of the Hindi Rakshā Samiti, they launched a fierce agitation to have it annulled. The new Congress government which had taken office in the Punjab on 3 April 1957, with the mighty Partāp Singh Kairōn as Chief Minister and former Akālīs, Giani Kartār Singh and Giani Singh Ṛārewālā, as two members of his cabinet, dealt with the Hindi protest firmly. But it could do little to assuage the Sikhs’ sentiment hurt by the
Hindi Rakṣha Samiti’s acts of animosity against them. During the course of the Hindi movement, several Sikh places of worship had been desecrated.

Language frontiers had become communal frontiers. For Master Tārā Singh, Punjabi Sūbā was the only antidote to the rising Hindi fanaticism. On 14 June 1958, he resurrected the demand for it, repudiating the Regional Formula which had anyhow been the subject of his criticism and sarcasm. Though accepted under the pressure of circumstances, the Regional Formula was no trustworthy solution of the Punjab problem. The Sikh masses were scarcely enthused by it. Essentially, it was a tentative arrangement and, as it soon became apparent, neither the government nor any of the political parties was keen to give it an earnest trial. Master Tārā Singh called a meeting of the general body of the Shiromāni Akāli Dal at Patīlā on 14 February 1959. 299 out of 377 members attended. The convention resolved by one voice to restore the political character of the Dal.

The Regional Formula, never seriously put into effect by government and never seriously accepted by the Sikhs, left one permanent monument in the shape of the Punjabi University. The idea of such a university had taken birth in the new intellectual and cultural milieu created by national independence. Educators and public men in the Punjab had vaguely spoken of a university for the development and promotion of the language of the state. But none could define exactly the scope and design of such a university. The first concrete formulation came from the Punjabi Sāhit Akademi, which at its annual conference in Delhi, in 1956, adopted a resolution demanding that a university with Punjabi as the medium of instruction be set up in the Punjab.

Most crucial, though generally covert, was the part of Giāṇī Kartār Singh, who was one of the architects of the Regional Formula. He was then a minister in Partāp Siṅgh Kairōn’s government. One of his close associates, Sardār Rām Dyāl Siṅgh, proposed in the Punjabi Regional Committee a resolution for Punjabi being adopted as the exclusive medium of instruction in schools in the Punjab zone. Certain sections felt perturbed and pressed Giāṇī Kartār Singh to have the motion withdrawn. Giāṇī Kartār Singh agreed on the condition that the leader of the House, Paṇḍit Mohan Lāl, make an announcement for the establishment of a university in the name of Punjabi. Mohan Lāl held hurried consultations with the Chief Minister, who under the provisions of the Formula, did not sit in either of the regional committees. In seeking his concurrence, he said that Giāṇī Kartār Singh had told him that the establishment of such a university was provided for in the Regional Formula. No one had the time to go into the details. Partāp Siṅgh gave his approval and Mohan Lāl declared on the floor of the House that the government would initiate measures to bring into being a Punjabi University.

Later, as the Regional Formula was scanned to locate the pertinent provision, it was discovered that none existed. Confronted on this point, Giāṇī Kartār Singh told the Chief Minister that the development of Punjabi language was an important aspect of the policy on which the Regional Formula was based. How would, he asked the Chief Minister, the language develop if such a university was not set up? What chances would the language have to develop itself, if it did not have a university to support it, said Giāṇī Kartār Singh without batting an eyelid. The humour of the situation was not lost on Partāp Siṅgh Kairōn. In any case, he was himself a protagonist of Punjabi. His own cultural perceptions and affiliations were derived from the Siṅgh Sabhā enlightenment in which his father, Nihāl Siṅgh, had been a prominent figure. In private conversation and in public speech, he used to refer proudly to his Siṅgh Sabhā upbringing. Although his
regime as Chief Minister was marked by severe repression of the Akālis, he gave the Sikhs a dominant position in the administration of the Punjab, and took the ruling Congress party into rural Punjab, tilting the leadership structure decisively in their favour. With the characteristic resoluteness, Partāp Singh now went ahead with his plans for the establishment of the university.

Soon afterwards he and his cabinet colleagues happened to be in Patialā for the bhog ceremonies for the mother of Mahārājā Yadavinder Singh. There the Chief Minister requested the Mahārājā to accept the chairmanship of Punjabi University Commission the state government had decided to appoint. The Mahārājā agreed. Among other members of the Commission nominated were Bhai Jodh Singh, Hukam Singh, Ujjal Singh, Malik Hardit Singh, Dr A.C. Joshi, Dr Anūp Singh, Dr P.S. Gill, Hardwārī Lāl and Professor Harbaṇ Singh. The Commission submitted its report to government in 1961 and, during the same year, legislation was passed. In 1962, the University opened in one of the old Patialā palaces.

The Punjab Government, under Partāp Singh Kairoṅ, was as inflexible in front of the supporters of Punjabi as it had been in front of the supporters of Hindi. In the affairs of the former, it intervened more directly via Giāni Kartār Singh who was now a minister in the Kairoṅ government. Master Tārā Singh was outmanoeuvred in the annual elections to the office of president of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee on 16 November 1958, and defeated by 77 votes to 74. The victor was a young man, Prem Singh Lālpurā, barely in his thirties. Master Tārā Singh reacted by giving the signal for a Punjabi Sūbā conference to be convened in Chandīgarh. At the conference, he disclosed his intention of launching a mass movement on a vast scale. In preparation, a silent procession was to be taken out in Delhi on 15 March 1959. The government acted swiftly and took him into custody. The Delhi march did take place, with Sikhs participating from all over the country. The procession, led by Master Tārā Singh’s portrait displayed on a vehicle, ended in a religious divān at Gurdwārā Rikābgāñj. Within less than a week, Master Tārā Singh was released from gaol.

The 1960 elections to the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee turned out to be another trial of strength between the Congress and the Akālis. Congress Sikhs, led by Partāp Singh Kairoṅ and Giāṇi Kartār Singh, strove hard to defeat Master Tārā Singh and his nominees. Giāṇi Kartār Singh resigned from the ministry to apply all his energies to electioneering. With the overt help of the state government, he sponsored a society called Sādh Saṅgat Board to contest the elections. But the results went overwhelmingly in favour of the Shiromāṇī Akāl Dal. The Dal took 136 seats, contrasting with Sādh Saṅgat Board’s four. All the Akāli members assembled at the Akāl Takht on 24 January 1960, to bind themselves solemnly to achieve Punjabi Sūbā.

The Akāl Dal carried its campaign a step further by calling upon former Akāli members to withdraw from the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Only five out of 24 members resigned at the behest of the Akāl Dal. Undismayed, Master Tārā Singh summoned a broad-based Punjabi Sūbā convention in Amritsar on 22 May 1960, to which members of Swatantra and Prajā Socialist parties were also invited. The conference was presided over by Paṇḍit Sundar Lāl, and Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, once a staunch Congressman, opened the proceedings. The main resolution was moved by Sardār Gurnāṁ Singh, calling upon government “not to delay any more the inevitable formation” of a Punjabi-speaking state, especially when language-based states had been carved out in other parts of the country.

Close on the heels of the Amritsar con-
vention, came Master Tārā Singh’s proclamation to start upon a march on 29 May 1960, which was the day of Gūrū Arjun’s martyrdom, through the Punjab countryside and reach Delhi to join a Sikh procession in the capital on 12 June 1960. On the way, he was to visit important Sikh gurdwārās and make speeches to rally support for Punjabi Sūbā. This announcement led him into gaol once again. He was picked up by police from his home in Amritsar on the night of 24-25 May and taken to Dharamsālā gaol. The government came down upon the Akālīs with a heavy hand. Large-scale arrests were made throughout the Punjab. A reign of terror ensued. The Sikhs once again exhibited their usual fondness for gaol-going. Columns of volunteers started courting arrest at Amritsar and Delhi. The main centre of mobilization was the Golden Temple. The evening dīvāns at Maṅjī Sāhib attracted vast audiences. Akālī leaders made stirring speeches asserting the Sikhs’ right to self-determination. In the absence of Master Tārā Singh, Sant Fateh Singh, a man devoted to religion who had but lately been initiated into politics, directed the movement from inside the Golden Temple precincts. He was assisted by a devoted band of young men from the Sikh Students’ Federation such as Satbir Singh, Bharpūr Singh and Bhān Singh. Satbir Singh was a favourite speaker at the Maṅjī Sāhib dīvāns. By his eloquent narration of deeds of heroism and martyrdom from Sikh history, he maintained mass fervour at a high pitch.

Sant Fateh Singh proved to be the man marked out for politics. He took to his new role with sovereign facility and stuck to it with a rare tenacity of will. He gave evidence of shrewd practical judgement, uncommon for one reared as a religious recluse. He held the strings of the agitation firmly in his hands and ran it with the finesse of a seasoned leader of men. By his circumspection in speech, he introduced a new convincing note into the agitation. He presented the demand for Punjabi Sūbā as based on linguistic considerations alone, bringing it in line with the country’s declared goals of democracy and secularism. Besides the Sikh masses, he won many from other communities over to his viewpoint. For him, the size of the new state or the proportion of Hindu and Sikh population in it was not of primary relevance. What mattered was the creation of a unit comprising Punjabi-speaking areas, with Punjabi as the official language. Sant Fateh Singh handled the media with the skill and aplomb of a born statesman. He never faltered in the consistency of his argument, nor did he ever lose his equanimity or run into a faux pas. Talking once to the Press at Amritsar during the course of the morchā, he said, “We do not seek a Sikh-majority area. We are not concerned about percentages. We want the Punjabi Sūbā to comprise an area where Punjabi language is spoken, regardless of the fact whether the Sikhs are in a majority or minority.” This was the burden of his speech and statement, always.

The state government resorted to rigorous measures to put down the agitation. A scare was created throughout the Punjab, but the supply of volunteers continued unabated and the morchā went from strength to strength. Thousands of Sikhs had lodged themselves in gaols, and the number kept multiplying. On its side, the government showed little sign of relenting. It seemed an unending contest, when Sant Fateh Singh, in a conclusive bid, put his own life at stake. On 29 October, he wrote a letter to Prime Minister Nehru saying that, if the Sikhs’ democratic and constitutional demand for a Punjabi-speaking state was not accepted, he would end his life fasting. He sought to impress upon him the Sikhs’ sense of grievance and to tell him how repressive and vengeful the Punjab Government had been. Jawāharlāl Nehru refused to intervene, and Sant Fateh Singh unhesitatingly took up his cross.

The fast began on 18 December 1960.
Before entering his ascetical hut in the Golden Temple premises, Sant Fateh Singh had the ardās said at Akāl Takht by the Jathedar praying God to give him strength to carry his resolve through, and made obeisance at the Harimandir receiving what was meant to be his last portion of ḱarāḥ ḱrasād. He also addressed a mammoth gathering of the Sikhs, adjuring them to remain peaceful in any event. “Every particle of the country is ours and any damage to it is damage to ourselves,” he told them. A roster was announced of ten Sikhs who had offered to continue the chain in case Sant Fateh Singh’s fast ended in a fatality.

Suddenly a grimness hung over the country. The air was filled with foreboding. There was universal applause for the purity of Sant Fateh Singh’s motive and no one questioned the steadfastness of his resolution. Yet everybody prayed that the worst might somehow be averted. This was Sant Fateh Singh’s finest hour. But immolation by fasting was a novelty in Sikh tradition. In this strategy lay the germ of many an internal conflict and of the eclipse of many a reputation.

Indian leaders of diverse opinion tried to intervene and persuade Sant Fateh Singh to abandon the fast. But he would not withdraw from his self-imposed ordeal until the justice of his point had been admitted. The concern daily grew in the entire nation and there was anxiety everywhere to save his life. Prime Minister Nehru, in a speech in Chandīgarh on 20 December 1960, conceded that Punjabi was the dominant language of the Punjab and that it must be promoted in every way. The same assurance was repeated in a speech at Rājpurā later in the day. This and an even more conciliatory speech given by him in Delhi on 31 December, making a personal appeal to Sant Fateh Singh to end his fast, were judged by the latter as falling short of his stipulation. So the stalemate continued.

Chief Minister Partāp Siṅgh Kairōn made a bold gesture and set Master Tārā Siṅgh free on 4 January 1961. This was done on the advice of Bhai Jodh Siṅgh, his old teacher of college days, with whom he often took counsel in moments of crisis. Immediately after his release from gaol in Dharamsālā, Master Tārā Siṅgh called on Sant Fateh Singh, considerably weakened from his trial. He next wanted to meet Prime Minister Nehru, who was then in Bhāvnagar attending the annual session of the Congress. Not wishing to lose any time, he flew from Delhi in a specially chartered plane to Bhāvnagar. He was accompanied by Harbāns Siṅgh Gujrāl, Lachhman Siṅgh Gill, Hargurnād Siṅgh, Harcharan Siṅgh of Bāthīndā, and Seth Rām Nāth, one Punjabi Hindu of consequence who openly espoused the cause for a Punjabi-speaking state. The group held mutual consultations while in flight and reduced their minimum demand to writing. Master Tārā Siṅgh had a two-hour meeting with the Prime Minister on 7 January 1961, but without securing anything worth reporting to Sant Fateh Singh. On 8 January 1961, Jawāharlal added a postscript to what he had told Master Tārā Siṅgh. He announced that it is not out of any discrimination against Punjab or distrust of the Sikhs that the process of forming linguistic states must stop here. “Punjab state,” he went on, “is broadly speaking a Punjabi Šuṅb with Punjabi as the dominant language.” He expressed his anxiety about Sant Fateh Singh’s health and wished to see his ordeal ended.

Master Tārā Siṅgh, who had returned to Delhi, felt reassured by this elaboration and forthwith had a call made to Amritsar. He assured Sant Fateh Singh that the obligations of his vow had been fulfilled and asked him to terminate his fast. To Master Tārā Siṅgh’s appeal was added the weight of a motion adopted by the Working Committee of the Akālī Dal and the command of the Paṁj Piāre or the Five Elect who, speaking for the entire Khālsā, told Sant Fateh Singh
that they were satisfied that his pledge had been complied with and that he must forthwith end his fast. On the morning of 9 January 1961, Fateh Singh took his first sips of nourishment in twenty-two days—a glass of juice from the hands of Bhai Chet Singh, one of the Golden Temple priests. This marked the end of the seven-month-long morcha in which, according to official figures, 30,000 went to gaol and, according to Akālī reckoning, 57,129.

Political negotiations ensued between government and the Akālis. Sant Fateh Singh had three meetings with Prime Minister Nehru—one on 8 February 1961, the next on 1 March 1961, and the last on 12 May 1961. The meetings were friendly, but yielded no definite results. Offering to extend to the Punjabi language all the protection it needed, the Prime Minister was not willing to slice off Punjabi-speaking areas of the Punjab into a separate state. The Sikhs were far from pacified. To press home the Punjabi Suba issue another fast had to be staged—this time by Master Tara Singh. His trial began on 15 August 1961, after a solemn prayer in front of the Akal Takht. The Punjab again was in a commotion. The crisis deepened as days went by. Mediators arose to try and settle the issue. Notable among them were Maharajā Yadavinder Singh of Patialā and Malik Hardit Singh. They kept in touch with Prime Minister Nehru and Home Minister Lal Bahādur Shāstrī on the one hand and with the Akāli leaders on the other. Eventually Master Tārā Singh was persuaded to end his fast on the 48th day (1 October 1961). The glass of lemon juice, mixed with honey, was given him by the Mahārājā of Patialā and Sant Fateh Singh.

In pursuance of the settlement made, the Prime Minister appointed a commission to go into the question of Sikh grievances. The Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal cavilled at its composition and refused to put up its case before it. But the commission carried on with its work in spite of Akālī Dal’s non-cooperation. It gave its report on 9 February 1962, rejecting suggestions of any discrimination against the Sikhs. Demand for a Punjabi-speaking state was, according to the commission, a camouflage for the demand for a Sikh state.

Among the Sikhs, criticism was brewing against Master Tārā Singh himself. His termination of his fast without achieving the target aimed at had made him liable to public accountability as never before. The accusation was commonly levelled that he had perjured the pledge solemnized at Akal Takht. The Sikhs were not willing to condone what amounted to violation of a religious vow and what seemed to cast a slur on their proud tradition. The responsibility for having Sant Fateh Singh’s fast similarly ended was also laid at Master Tārā Singh’s door. Five Sikhs eminent in the religious hierarchy—Jathedar Achchhar Singh of the Akal Takht, Jathedar Sharam Singh of Sri Kesgarh Sahib, Giani Bhūpinder Singh, Head Granthi of the Harimandar Sahib, Bhai Kartār Singh and Bhai Chet Singh—were named as Pañj Piāre on 24 November 1961, to judge if the oath sworn by Master Tārā Singh had been complied with.

They made a close investigation of the circumstances leading to the abandonment of the fast and pronounced Master Tārā Singh guilty of having gone back on his plighted word and of having blemished thereby the Sikh tradition of religious steadfastness and sacrifice.

Master Tārā Singh was laid under expiation to have an aṅkand pāth of the Gurū Granth Sāhib recited at the Akal Takht, to say for one month an extra pāth of the Japu every day in addition to his normal niṭnem or prescribed regimen of five daily prayers, to offer karah prasād of the value of Rs 125 and to clean the shoes of the sangat and the dishes in the Gurū kā Langar for five days. As Jathedar Achchhar Singh and Giani Bhūpinder Singh explained on behalf of the
religious jury, they had no comments to make on Sant Fateh Singh’s fast which, they said, had been given up with the consent of Master Tārā Singh and under the orders of the Working Committee of the Akālī Dal, Panj Piāre and the saṅgat in general. He was, nevertheless, held guilty, along with other eight members of the Working Committee, for acquiescing in Master Tārā Singh’s breaking his fast. Sant Fateh Singh was to recite for one month an additional path of the Japu and wash dishes in Gurū kā Laṅgar for five days. Other members of the Working Committee got away with a lighter penance. They were to broom the Golden Temple precincts and clean dishes in Gurū ka Laṅgar for two days.

The verdict was announced on 29 November 1961, and the sanctions imposed were dutifully complied with. Master Tārā Singh’s pictures scrubbing dishes in the Gurū kā Laṅgar and cleaning the shoes of the saṅgat were widely circulated. These acts of humility and expiation evoked spontaneous popular admiration, but Master Tārā Singh could not climb up the ladder again. Sant Fateh Singh had emerged as a serious rival. The story of Sikh affairs henceforward is the story of the gradual eclipse of Master Tārā Singh and steady ascendance of Sant Fateh Singh. Already the former’s authority had been challenged, with the charge flung at him that he was responsible for having the Sant’s pledge falsified. On 11 January 1961—two days after Sant Fateh Singh had broken his fast—Master Tārā Singh was booed by the audience at a divān at Maṇji Sāhib and not allowed to make a speech. At the Māghi divān at Muktsar on 13 January 1961, the entire festival crowd stood up in protest, forcing him to break off abruptly. Jathēdār Jīvan Singh Umrānaṅgal, a member of the Akālī Dal Working Committee, notified Master Tārā Singh on 15 November 1961 to vacate presidencia of the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal as well as that of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. He counted ten charges against him and declared that, if he did not resign by 20 November, he would sit afasting. Jīvan Singh began his fast on 21 November in front of the offices of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. But a patchwork settlement was arrived at two days later. Umrānaṅgal gave up his fast and the suspension orders against him and others were withdrawn.

Jīvan Singh Umrānaṅgal and Lachhman Singh Gill, both supporters of Sant Fateh Singh, continued their criticism of Master Tārā Singh. They rejected the party elections held under his presidency as fraudulent. Master Tārā Singh suspended them for indiscipline on 4 July 1962, and summoned on 16 July a meeting of the Working Committee of the Akālī Dal which ratified these expulsions. Sant Fateh Singh issued a public statement the followig day challenging the decision. He fixed 22 July for a general convention of the Sikhs at Gurdwārā Mushkiānā, near Mullānpur in Ludhianā district. The assembly, attended among others by 78 of the 155 members of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and 8 of the 19 Akālī members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, led to the birth of a parallel Akālī Dal.

Master Tārā Singh summoned on 18 August 1962, the general body of the original Akālī Dal. Lachhman Singh Gill notified a meeting of the rival Akālī Dal for the same day. The latter, comprising 200 delegates of the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal, 72 circle jathēdārs and 9 members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, met in front of the Akāl Takht. Sant Fateh Singh was formally elected president. Capturing the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee was the dissidents’ next objective. A no-confidence motion was brought forth on 2 October 1962 against the sitting president, Kirpāl Singh Chakkshevālā, which was carried by 76 votes to 72. Sant Channaṅ Singh, a right-hand man
of Sant Fateh Singh, was elected the new president.

The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee was now in the hands of Sant Fateh Singh. He also controlled the dominant section of the Shiromani Akali Dal which had split into two. The two Dals kept up a running feud. Punjabi Sūbā remained the principal plank for both, but their energies were consumed more in mutual recrimination. A truce was called as the country faced a Chinese attack in 1962. The leaders of the two groups sat together in a meeting at Motibagh Palace, Patiala, on 24 December 1962, to plan how to have the Sikhs contribute their maximum to the war effort. Maharajā Yadavinder Singh was nominated Mahā Jathedar of the Panth to mobilize the community. Chief Minister Partap Singh Kairon had already launched a large-scale campaign to rally the Punjab. He had raised a voluntary corps which consisted mainly of rural Sikhs.

The two Akali Dals resumed their militant postures as soon as the hostilities ceased. The fortunes of the Master Akali Dal were visibly on the decline. The leaders of the Master Akali Dal annexed 90 seats, conceding only 45 to Master Tārā Singh. Among those who lost were two of the latter’s leading candidates, Kartār Singh Divānā and Kanvarānī Jagdish Kaur of Faridkot. After a while, Master Tārā Singh stepped aside, withdrawing himself from active politics to leave the field open for Sant Fateh Singh. He took to the hills and quarantined himself in a small village, Salogara, spending his time in prayer and contemplation.

A development which helped to focus attention afresh on the Sikhs’ political objective was the Nalvā Conference. Named after the famous general of Sikh times, Hari Singh Nalvā, it was convened at Ludhiana on 4 July 1965. The main Conference resolution, drawn up by Sirdār Kapur Singh, eminent Sikh scholar and intellectual, was moved by Sardār Gurnām Singh, then leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and seconded by Giani Bhūpinder Singh, president of the Master Tārā Singh Akali Dal. The resolution ran as follows:

This Conference in commemoration of General Hari Singh Nalvā of historical fame reminds all concerned that the Sikh people are makers of history and are conscious of their political destiny in a free India.

2. This Conference recalls that the Sikh people agreed to merge in a common Indian nationality on the explicit understanding of being accorded a constitutional status of co-sharers in the Indian sovereignty along with the majority community, which solemn understanding now stands cynically repudiated by the present rulers of India. Further, the Sikh people have been systematically reduced to a sub-political status in their homeland, the Punjab, and to an insignificant position in their motherland, India. The Sikhs are in a position to establish before an impartial international tribunal, uninfluenced by the present Indian rulers, that the law, the judicial process, and the executive actions of the State of India are consistently heavily weighted against the Sikhs and are administered with unbandaged eyes against Sikh citizens.

3. This Conference, therefore, resolves, after careful thought, that there is left no alternative for the Sikhs in the interest of self-preservation but to frame their political demand for securing a self-determined political status within the Republic of Union of India.

This demand for a self-determined political status for the Sikhs was more radical than the demand for a Punjabi Sūbā. It had the immediate effect of breaking the still-
ness which brooded over the political scene and of stimulating the process of history.

On 24 July 1965, Master Tārā Śingh ended his six-month-old self-exile and announced his re-entry into politics. He first made a trip to Pakistan to pay homage at Nankānā Sāhib and perform there the concluding ceremonies for a recitation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib he had completed during his retirement. On 2 August 1965, he addressed a press conference in Delhi, demanding for the Sikhs “place in the sun of free India.” He applauded the Nalvā Conference resolution and pledged his support to it.

But the initiative was again seized by Sant Fateh Śingh with the announcement on 16 August 1965, that, to clinch the Punjabi Sūbā issue, he would sit afasting from 10 September 1965, and, in case the Government of India did not melt, he would burn himself up on 25 September. The venue fixed for immolation was the top roof of the Akāl Takht; time, 4.30 p.m. Following upon the heels of this declaration came the war between Pakistan and India. In that moment of crisis, everyone wished that Sant Fateh Śingh would revoke his decision.

Sant ChannaŚingh, president of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Gurcharan Śingh Ṭauhrā and Harcharan Śingh Huḍjārā returned to Delhi on 8 September 1965 to take counsel with the leaders of government and others. A high-level meeting took place in the Speaker’s chamber in Parliament House attended among others by Mahārājā Yādavinder Śingh of Paṭiālā, Yashwant Rāo Chavan, Defence Minister, Jaisukhāl Hāthī, Minister of State for Home Affairs, Sirdār Kapūr Śingh, Member of Parliament, Dr Anūp Śingh, Member of Parliament, Sardār Būṭā Śingh, Member of Parliament, and Sardār Dhannā Śingh Gulshan. They were all anxious that the tragedy be somehow averted and unanimously sent a message to Sant Fateh Śingh requesting him to defer the fast. Some of them, notably the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā, added the assurance that they would be on his side if the government continued to circumvent his demand after normalcy was restored.

Sant ChannaŚingh returned to Amritsar with his colleagues by the night train and conveyed to Sant Fateh Śingh on the morning of 9 September the message they had brought. Sant Fateh Śingh accepted the advice and made a public statement postponing the fast. Simultaneously, he appealed to his countrymen, especially Sikhs, to muster all their resources to resist the onslaught from across the frontier.

In the border districts, the Sikh population rose to a man to meet the crisis. It stood solidly behind the combatants and assisted them in many different ways. It provided guides to the newly inducted troops, offered free labour and vehicles, country carts, tractors and trucks to transport war supplies to the forwardmost trenches. Instead of evacuating in panic to safer places, Sikhs right up to the frontier stuck fearlessly to their homes, plying their ploughs and tending their cattle. Along the main approach routes to the front, they set up booths serving refreshments to the soldiers. Their most spectacular feat was the way they swooped down upon the parachutists dropped by Pakistanis behind the Indian lines. On seeing the parachutes open up in the skies the villagers rushed out gleefully with whatever they had in their hands—lāṭhīs, axes or swords, and seized the bewildered paratroopers before they knew where they were. A few were beaten to death on the spot and the rest were handed over to the army. A South Indian pilot belonging to the Air Force, who had made an emergency leap from his crashing aircraft, had a hard time explaining to his rugged, but prompt, captors that he was an Indian national and not a Pakistani spy.

Besides a vast number of Sikh troops fighting all along the border from Kutch to Bāltistān and Ladākh, almost all senior com-
manders in the Punjab sector were Sikhs. Lieut-General Harbaksh Singh, with his chief of staff, Major-General Joginder Singh, commanded the entire Western zone and was, as such, the principal architect of India’s victory. Involved with planning at the army headquarters was another Sikh officer, Major-General Narinder Singh. Lieut-General Joginder Singh Dhillon, a brilliant tactician, with his Brigadier General Staff, Brigadier Parkash Singh Greval, and artillery commandar, Brigadier S.S. Kalhâ, commanded the corps operating in the Punjab and parts of Rajasthan. Major-General Niranjan Prasad was replaced mid-battle by Major-General Mohinder Singh, a tough and shrewd soldier, as division commander in the Amritsar sector, the other division commander, in the Khem Karan sector, being Major-General Gurbaksh Singh. The two divisions not only secured their first objective, the Ichogil Canal, but at certain points advanced even farther, holding Lahore within artillery range. North of the Ravi, Major-General Râjinder Singh ‘Sparrow’, commanding an armoured division, recorded a marvellous feat in the history of tank warfare by a lightning putsch towards Siâlkot-Nâroâvâl, his Centurions humbling Pakistan’s prestigious American-gifted Pattons and Chaffees. The Khem Karan sector, too, was turned into what came to be known as the graveyard of the Pakistani Patton tanks. South of the Sutlej, Brigadier Bant Singh, commanding an independent brigade group defended stoutly an extensive border covering the entire Firozpur and Gangânagar districts. Both at Hussainiwâla and Fâzilkhâ, Sikh battalion commanders held fast to their positions despite intensely heavy shelling by Pakistan artillery. The Indian Air Force, under the command of Sikh Air Chief Marshal, Arjan Singh, made devastating strikes and surprised military experts the world over by decisively outpacing a far superior, i.e. better-equipped, force. Indian Moths had routed Pakistani Hawks.

Within 21 days, Pakistan was brought to heel. The ceasefire came about on September 22. Legendary stories were already in circulation about the patriotic fervour and bravery Sikhs had displayed during the war. Clearly, their moment of fulfilment had arrived. On 6 September 1965, the Union Home Minister, Gulzâri Lâl Nandâ, had made a statement in the Lok Sabhâ saying that “the whole question of formation of Punjabi-speaking state could be examined afresh with an open mind.” On September 23, recalling his statement of September 6, he announced in the Lok Sabhâ: “The Government have now decided to set up a committee of the Cabinet to pursue this matter further. The committee will consist of Shrimati Indirâ Gândhî, Shri Y.B. Chavân and Shri Mahâvîr Tyâgi.” Addressing the Speaker, the Home Minister said: “Sir, I would request you and the Chairman, Râjya Sabhâ, to set up for the same purpose a Parliamentary Committee of members of both Houses of Parliament presided over by you.” Continuing his speech, he expressed the hope that “the efforts of this Cabinet Committee and of the Parliamentary Committee will lead to a satisfactory settlement of the question.” The Congress party also took up the issue in earnest. On 16 November 1965, the Punjab Congress Committee debated it for long hours, with Giani Zail Singh, General Mohan Singh, and Narain Singh Shâhbâzpurî lending it their full support.

The Home Minister sent a list of nominees from Râjya Sabhâ to the Chairman and a list of nominees from Lok Sabhâ to the Speaker, Hukam Singh. The Chairman forwarded his list to the Speaker. The latter, however, did not accept the Lok Sabhâ list given him by the Home Minister, and made five changes in it at his own discretion. The twenty-two-member committee announced by Sardâr Hukam Singh represented all sections of the House. Among them
were Hiren Mukherjee (Communist), Surendra Nath Dwivedi (Socialist), Atal Behari Vajpayee (Jana Sangh), Mahārajā Karnā Singh Bikāner (Independent), Dhannā Singh Gulshan (Akālī Dal), Bānsī Lāl (Congress), Sādiq Ali (Congress), Amar Nath Vidyālaṅkār (Congress), Surjit Singh Majithiā (Congress) and Dayā Bhāī Paṭel (Swatantra). The first meeting of the committee was held in the committee room of Parliament House to lay down its procedure of work.

1 October 1965 to 5 November 1965 was the period fixed for receiving memoranda from various parties and individuals. From 26 November to 25 December, the committee held preliminary discussions. On 10 January 1966, Lachhman Singh Gill, general secretary of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, and Rawel Singh, a member of its executive, met the committee and presented the case for a Punjabi-speaking state. On 27 January, Gīnāī Kartār Singh and Harcharan Singh Brāṛ appeared before the committee on behalf of the Congress group in the Punjab legislature. Both argued in favour of Punjabi Sūbā. There were nearly 2,200 memoranda submitted to the committee favouring the Punjabi Sūbā and 903 opposing it.

Hukam Siṅgh was able to secure from his committee so diversely constituted a unanimous vote in favour of the creation of Punjabi Sūbā. This was nothing short of a miracle. The Indian Home Minister, Gulzārī Lāl Nandā, was dismayed. Soon after the nomination of the Parliamentary Committee he had borne complaints to Prime Minister Lāl Bahādur Shāstrī alleging that the Speaker was actively working for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state. The Parliamentary Committee’s report was handed in on 15 March 1966. On 9 March 1966, the Congress Working Committee had already adopted a motion recommending to the Govern-
Punn carrying simultaneously ethical, spiritual and philosophical connotations. As an ethical concept it implies voluntary obedience to the moral rules of conduct which have the sanction of a system of reward and punishment. As a spiritual attitude, it is the inclination of the self towards a virtuous and ascetic living. As a metaphysical concept, it implies purity, holiness and goodness. Conceived as a value, punn is the subtle result of righteous actions which influence not only the doer's present life, but also his eschatological state.

The word punn (Prākrit punna, Pāli punna, Sanskrit punya) is derived from the root pu, meaning 'to purify' or 'to make clear.' Punn is that action which purifies the self (ātman) or the stream of life. The consequence of a pure action is pleasant and purifying not only for the doer but also for others. Any action which brings about desirable results, such as peace, prosperity, and happiness, that which is good in the beginning, good in the middle and good in the end is indeed punn. In the sacred literature and lexicons of India we find this word used as a synonym of ānātha, kuśala, sukṛta, dharma, pāvana and śreyas. Translated into English these words mean 'virtue', 'auspicious', 'good', 'noble deed', 'righteousness', 'pure' and 'preferable'. The term punn will perhaps best translate as right-doing — a meritorious action.

The word punya occurs in the Rgveda, though not in its later religious sense. The Atharvaveda mentions 'pure worlds' (punyāṁsa lokān) while the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to 'religious works' (punya-karma) such as horse-sacrifice performed by the Pārskiṇīs. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad attributes birth in higher state as the human to good conduct (rāmaṇīyācharaṇāḥ) and birth as a boar or a candāla to bad conduct (kapuyācharaṇāḥ). The Bhādaranyaka Upaniṣad states that a person becomes pious (punya) by pious deeds (punyena karmaṇāḥ). The early Upaniṣads also mention austerity (tapas) as a virtue. Study of the Vedas, sacrifice, almsgiving, and fasting are meritorious, but they are inferior to the knowledge of the Absolute (Brahman).

It is in the early Buddhist sources that the doctrine of merit is set down for the first time as an essential element in religious culture. Here a clear distinction is made between virtues or good qualities and their merit. Thus it is stated in the Dīghanikāya that "merit (punya) grows by the cultivation of good qualities (kuśala-dharma)." The "foundations of meritorious deeds" (punya-kriyā-vastu) are discussed minutely in the Buddhist texts. The three virtuous practices that contribute to merit are liberality (dāna), good conduct (śīla) and meditation (dhyāna). Merit is often represented as the foundation and condition of birth in good states (sugati) and in heaven (svarga). Librality, self-denial, self-restraint, truthful speech, austerity, continence, study of the doctrine, renunciation, friendliness, loving kindness, impartiality, serene joy, knowledge, right views, pure intension, forbearance and meditational achievements are some of the qualities contributing to merit. The Buddha is honoured as the embodiment of the supreme perfection of all meritorious virtues. Those bereft of merit are compared to the wood in the cremation ground. Absence of greed, of delusion, and of hatred is auspicious (śubha) and leads to good states (sugati) and happiness (sukha). Punya is often compared to nectar, the antidote to living in hell and death. Human beings are purified not by birth or wealth, but by good deeds, knowledge, righteousness, and moral conduct. Śīla or pure conduct is the basis of the entire religious life. The Emperor Aśoka taught that one can obtain infinite merit (anantam punyam) by the gift of righteousness (dharmadāna).

The Jaina attitude towards merit (punya) deserves special notice. Human beings have three dispositions (bhāva): good (śubha), bad
(aśubha) and pure (suddha). The first is the cause of religious merit (puṇya), the second of sinfulness (a puṇya) and the third of liberation (nivṛtti). The sage (yogin), leaving both good and bad, establishes himself in the pure disposition. In the Jaina theory karma, whether meritorious or unmeritorious, results in bondage. For those who desire ultimate release (mokṣa), even puṇya is an obstacle; a shackles, whether of iron or of gold, is a shackles which binds. The argument is that the doer will have to remain in transmigration (sāṁsāra) in order to enjoy the fruition of his good works even if he be born in heavenly states. Unlike the religions of West Asian origin, the religions of Indian origin do not consider life in heaven as the highest goal.

Mokṣa being too high an ideal for the commonality of people, birth in good states of existence (yoni), whether in the divine or the human world (loka), is the generally cherished ideal. Merit (puṇya) is the sure means of getting into these existences. Hence, compassion, renunciation, fasting, penance, sense-control and almsgiving are recommended to the laity. Some Jaina texts distinguish between two types of merit; one founded on the ‘right view’ (samyagdhyātt) and the other founded on the ‘false view’ (mithyādhyātt); the former leads to liberation.

The Mahābhārata, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas describe in detail the means of producing merits and the rewards they lead to. Going on pilgrimage to holy places (tīrthas), bathing in sacred rivers (snāna) and keeping various vows (vrata) and fasts (upavāsas), are not the only ways of earning merit. Great emphasis is laid on the cultivation of moral qualities. According to these texts one obtains the full reward of pilgrimage and holy bath only when one is compassionate towards all beings and is pure and keeps one’s senses under control. Truthfulness, austerity, charity, celibacy, contentment, forbearance, sweet speech, and straightforwardness are the real tīrthas that purify a being and beget merit. The Bhagavadgītā lays down that one should perform one’s assigned duty (sva-dharma) in order to obtain excellent rewards. Among other things, death in battle is declared to be meritorious and resulting in birth in the heaven. An enlightened sage, sthila-prajña, however, is described as being untouched by good (śubha) and evil (aśubha) things.

The belief that merits travel with the self wherever reborn is common to all the religions of Indian origin. Spiritual merit is the only companion of a being in the next world (paraloka). Therefore, one should accumulate spiritual merits.

It will be incorrect to assume, however, that merits are accumulated only for the enjoyment of rewards in a future life. Some people may earn merits by doing good works with a view to gaining a good reputation and glory in this very life. Some people may perform meritorious deeds for destroying their sins, while a few might be inspired to pursue merits out of love and reverence for piety or with a view to growing in holiness. An important reason behind the accumulation of merits may be the desire to get and possess enormous supernatural powers. This is especially true of numerous figures of India’s legendary and mythical past. The name of such, as a king like Harischandra, a brāhmaṇa seer like Viśvamitra, or an ascetic sage like Kapilamuni, represent a whole series of beings, either mythical, semi-historical or wholly imaginary, whose supernatural exploits occupy hundreds of pages of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Like the practice of yoga, merits were stored for secular purposes also — victory in war, immunity from disease or curse, control over the forces of nature, such as rain and storm, and so on.

Certain faiths have paid little heed to this doctrine of merits. Among them may be counted the Bhaktimārga of India and the Sufism of Persia. Although faith and love are the dominant notes of the sects of
Bhakti tradition of India, it will be wrong to say that they overlooked virtues like ethical excellence, compassion, and liberality. In the teachings of Kabir and Tulsidas, who are among the greatest name in the Bhakti tradition, the value of good works, of altruistic ethics, has never been lost sight of.

How shall we define punn in Sikhism of which bhakti or devotion constitutes such an important factor? All those deeds of body, mind and speech which conduce to constant mindfulness of the Divine Reality are meritorious from the standpoint of Sikhism. The ideal person, in Sikh vocabulary, gurmukh, is the embodiment of moral and spiritual virtues. He lives, moves and has his being in the Timeless Being. In verse after verse in the Guru Granth Sahib he is eulogized for this moral excellence and blameless behaviour towards his fellow-beings.

The God-inspired person (gurmukh) is not only a devotee or ‘a sharer in Divine Glory’ (bhagat). As stated in the Siddha-Cośti (stanzas 35-42), the gurmukh is engaged in meditation, in dispensing charities and purifying himself with the holy bath. He is enlightened and endeavours, like Rama, in the way of God fighting against evil forces. He has the true discrimination and his transmigration is annulled. In devotion to the holy Lord, his egoism is consumed; by such devotion he is exalted. The Guru Granth Sahib refers to meritorious work as punn, sukṛt, guṇ, bhaḷi-kār and nām-simran (‘merit’, ‘pious action’, ‘virtue’, ‘good deed’, and ‘the mindfulness of God’) in different contexts. The message of the Teachers of the Sikh tradition is that faith in and love of the one Divine Reality must go along with morally good works of the body, mind and speech. “Without doing good no bhakti can be” (Japu, 21).

The foremost work of merit (punn) is, of course, constant awareness of God. This is the root of all the other merits; without this other good works are of little avail.

A person gets little honour through pilgrimage, austerity, mercy and liberal gifts; it is the hearing, accepting and meditating (on the Divine Essence) which is the real bathing in the innermost sanctum.

Holy bathing, austerities, compassion, charity — are all approved if these bring even a grain of true merit.

True merit lies in absorbing holy teaching, faith and devotion —

That will be the holy purifying bath of the Soul.

And without devotion to God, No liberation can be (GG, 260).

The fact is that the gurmukh or God-inspired person is described as ‘undefiled’ (nirmaḷu), ‘pure’ (sūcā), ‘self-controlled’ (saṇjāmi), ‘self-investigator’ (pārakhū), ‘contented’ (santokhī), possessed of the knowledge of sacred texts (śāṣṭar-simiriti-ved), one who has forsaken hatred (vair) and opposition (virodhi), one who has eradicated all reckoning of complaint, hostility, and revenge (ṣagāli gaṇat miṭāvai) against others, and as one who is rejoicing in the fervour of Divine Name (rāmnāṁ rangi rātā).

The doctrine of grace has a place of special significance in Sikh thought. The compassionate attitude or favourable disposition of God (nadar, kirpi, prasad, mihar) is essential even for doing meritorious works, or for avoiding evil:

Through the Guru’s grace alone may one become pure and clean (GG, 158).

Virtuous conduct and even devotion to God is obtained through His favour:

Whosoever He elects to his favour becomes exalted. Through the Guru’s grace God’s Name abides in his heart (GG, 159).

One of the highest virtues, according to Guru Nanak, is to have complete control over one’s mana (mind) — “one who has conquered his mind, has conquered the world” (GG, 6). The sum total of such scriptural affirmations is that it is through God’s
favour or direction that one becomes virtuous, that merit is accumulated through Divine grace. However this does not mean that in Sikhism there is no room for the exercise of free will in the practice of virtuous life.

It has, rather, been repeatedly emphasized in gurbani that human life is the chance provided to man for acquiring that which is the sole aim of all creatures, that is, communion with the Creator.

This emphasis on Divine favour (nadar, prasād), however, does not amount to predestinarianism and fatalism. In the Sikh Scripture the emphasis on ethical and moral teachings is very pronounced, making it clear beyond doubt that every individual is responsible for his actions, good or bad; and that he will get the reward accordingly:

Deeds good and bad will be weighed in the presence of the Law-maker; some will be judged to be close, others far apart. According to their actions will they be assigned their ranks (GG, 8).

Divine grace is not bestowed upon unworthy persons; one has to be virtuous to deserve favour of the Lord, though grace is essential to acquire purity, or to accumulate punn. But it comes to the lot of those alone who seek it and make themselves worthy of it.

The crucial question is raised in the Scripture: “In the face of both sin and virtue as our witnesses, what prayer can avail us” (GG, 351)? Prayer bears fruit only when it is accompanied by good life. “Doing good deeds (sukrt) and remembering God one will not step out in the direction of hell” (GG, 461). It is the meekest and the humblest, those who rejoice in the dust of the feet of the sages (jan-dhūri), that obtain the Supreme state (paramgati).

We read in the Guru Granth Sāhib: “Salute, with joined palms, that brings great merit; prostrate before them, and you will thereby accumulate much merit” (GG, 13).

The Sikh list of merits includes virtues such as mindfulness of God, spirit of detachment (bairagī), truthfulness, contentment, doing good deeds, restraint of the senses, righteous conduct, patience, faith, compassion, humility, fear of sin, chastity, scriptural study, liberality, knowledge, understanding, and desire for ultimate release (mokhu), etc.

But the greatest virtue is the destruction of haumai (self-centredness or egoity). “A man may do millions of virtuous deeds, but if he feels proud of his meritorious acts, all his efforts go waste. He many practise numerous austerities, but if he falls a prey to conceit, he will continue in the circle of rebirth in a good or bad state” (GG, 278). Haumai (egoity), thus, annihilates all punn or merit, and according to Sikhism, one cannot be virtuous unless one discards one’s haumai.

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L.M.J.

PŪRANMĀŚĪ, in Sanskrit pūrṇimā, is the day of the full moon, the last day of the moon’s bright phases. The day has sanctity in the Indian tradition and several ceremo-
nial observances such as ritual bathing, fasting and giving away of charity are associated with it. In the Sikh system, no special significance attaches to the day. Sikh Scripture contains three compositions, all titled Thill or Thitin devoted to the lunar days. The one by Guru Nānak recounts day of the waning moon and thus makes no mention of Purānimā. In those by Guru Arjan and Kabir, the word is used metaphorically. By the fullness the moon attains that day, Kabir is reminded of the Supreme Being who fills and pervades the objects of His creation. Guru Arjan says that those whom God through His grace perfects (makes full) are not entangled by desire and become attached to Him who is perfect, complete and full. In Sikh belief, days spent in rememberance of the Perfect One are alone regarded auspicious. However, by custom Puranmāshi has come to be observed in Sikh places of worship with special gatherings and services. A marked feature is ablutions by pilgrims in sarovars, the holy tanks.

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T.S.

PŪRAN SĪNH, PROFESSOR (1881-1931), poet and scientist, was born on 17 February 1881 at Salhaḍā (Abūṭābād) in a Khatri family (father: Kartār Śiṅgh; mother: Parmā Devī). His father worked in the revenue department at Salhaḍā, though their ancestral home was in the village of Ḍerā Khālsā in Rāwalpindī district. A strikingly handsome young man, Pūran Śiṅgh passed the high school examination in 1897 from Rāwalpindī and his Intermediate examination from the D.A.V. College, Lahore, in 1899. He was still reading for his B.A. when he got a scholarship to study abroad. In April 1900 he proceeded to Japan to specialize in industrial chemistry. He learnt Japanese and German before entering Tokyo University on 28 September 1900. One of his favourite extramural activities at the University was making public lectures, which were usually critical of British rule in India. He expatiated on this theme in a novel that he wrote. He published for some time an English monthly, the Thundering Dawn, which also mainly addressed itself to the theme of British repression in India. Pūran Śiṅgh completed his education in Japan in September 1903, and returned to India. Before he left for India, he had met the Indian mystic Svāmī Rām Tīrath who had made a deep impression on his mind. Under his influence, Pūran Śiṅgh had shaved and taken the vows of a saṅnyāśī. His mother travelled to Calcutta to bring him home. But he declined. Ultimately he was persuaded to visit his home to see his ailing sister. He ultimately returned to the householder’s way. On 4 March 1904 he got married to Māyā Devī.

Four crucial events—his Japanese experience, his encounter with the American poet Walt Whitman, his discipleship of Svāmī Rām Tīrath, and his meeting with the Sikh savant Bhāī Vir Śiṅgh—left permanent marks on his impressionable mind. As a student in Japan, he had imbibed the ethos and aesthetics of a beautiful people. He had been wholly charmed by their ritual and ceremony, industry and integrity. The openness of their nature and the holiness of their heart’s responses made him forever a worshipper of life’s largeness and generosities. He was greatly influenced by the romantic aestheticism of Okakura Kakuzo, Japanese artist and scholar. Walt Whitman, the American poet, had left a deep impress on his poetics and practice as on his world view. It was in Japan that he came under the spell of Rām Tīrath, who regarded Pūran Śiṅgh as an echo or image of his own self. The power of this spell was so strong that Pūran Śiṅgh turned a monk. Although he eventually graduated to Sikhism,
this was much too profound an experience to be entirely washed out of his consciousness: he subsumed it in the dialectics of his Guru’s creed. The meeting with Bhai Vir Singh in 1912 at Siālkoṭ proved the final turn of a spinning soul in search of certitude: it was after this meeting that he regained his lost faith in Sikhism. Perhaps he had strayed to return with greater vigour and conviction; his bursting creative energy had now found its focus and metier.

Pūran Singh commuted between science and literature with ease. His achievements in both fields are equally significant. He spent a great deal of his time on his scientific experiments and gave his time freely to visitors, monks and revolutionaries, who thronged his hospitable home from different parts. He was a lover of nature and beauty, and wrote beautiful and tender poetry both in English and Punjabi. Among his famous works in English are The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel (1921), Unstrung Beads (1923), The Spirit of Oriental Poetry (1926); in Punjabi, Khulhe Maidān, Khulhe Ghurpj (1923), Khulhe Lekh (1929), and Khulhe Asmānī Rāng (1927).

Pūran Singh started the distillation of essential oils in Lahore in collaboration with Ishar Dās and Rāi Bahādur Shiv Nāth. He prepared thymol, and fennel and lemon oils. Owing to deceitful dealings on the part of his collaborators, he threw up the business and, in a fit of temper, demolished the kilns and migrated to Dehra Dūn where he stayed for some time with Jyoli Sariip, a disciple of Swāmī Rām Tirath. He was soon back in Lahore to take up in December 1904 the principalship of the Victoria Diamond Jubilee Hindu Technical Institute. It was at this time that he restarted his monthly Thundering Dawn from Lahore. His contacts with revolutionaries, Har Dayāl and Khudādād, also go back to these days. He resigned the Principalship in November 1906 to establish at Dehārā Dūn a factory for soap-making but soon sold it off to a minister of Tīhrī to join in April 1907 as a Forest chemist at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dūn, from where he sought retirement in 1918. He had stints in the princely states of Paṭilālā and Gwālīor. At Gwālīor (1919-23) he turned the scorching desert into a fragrant oasis of roshā grass and eucalyptus, interspersed with fruit trees. He gave up his appointment at Gwālīor to join Sir Sundar Singh Majithiā’s sugar factory at Surayā (1923-24) where he discovered a special method for purifying sugar without mixing it with charred bones. In 1926, he moved over to Chakk 73/19, near Nankānā Sāhib, where he got a plot of land on lease from the Punjab Government to grow roshā grass on a commercial scale. In 1928, his plantation suffered a heavy loss owing to floods. Yet he rejoiced that he had been able to salvage the manuscripts of his books. He took his losses in a philosophical spirit and wrote a poem expressing relief at the devastation of his property which had rid him of many of his worries. In 1930, he fell ill with tuberculosis and had to leave his farm for Dehra Dūn where he died on 31 March 1931.

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Pūrātaṇ Jānam Sākhi is considered to be the oldest extant Jānam Sākhi. The term ‘Pūrātaṇ,’ is used to designate an early Jānam Sākhi tradition, rediscovered in 1872 after more than a century of oblivion. By the mid-eighteenth century the Bālā Jānam Sākhi tradition had won general acceptance as the authentic record of the life of Guru Nānak largely displacing other important collections. In the popular estimation it still retains this reputation, but, as the nineteenth century wore on, educated opinion became increasingly dissatisfied with its apparent
exaggerations. The discovery of a different and apparently more rational tradition was accordingly greeted with considerable interest and delight. The newly discovered tradition was called by Max Arthur Macauliffe "the most ancient biography of Bābā Nānak" and has ever since provided the Bālā tradition with its strongest competitor. Although the Bālā narrative retains a greater popular appeal, the Purātan version has won an overwhelming victory amongst educated readers. Since its rediscovery, no sophisticated biographer of Gurū Nānak has overlooked its claims and most have accepted it as a sufficient basis for reconstructing the story of his life.

Two important Purātan manuscripts came to light within the space of twelve years. The first of these had been acquired with other works from the H.T. Colebrooke collection which had been presented to the library of East India House, probably in 1815 or 1816. It lay unrecognized in London until 1872 when it was loaned, as one of several manuscripts in Gurmukhi, to Ernest Trumpp, the German missionary commissioned by the Punjab Government to prepare an English translation of the Sikh scriptures. Although Janam Sākhīs were not a part of Trumpp's commission, he gave his new discovery considerable prominence in the preface to his The Ḍi Granth.

Trumpp's description of the manuscript provoked much interest in the Punjab and, in 1883, a group of Sikhs from Amritsar petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Charles Aitchison, to have it brought to India for inspection. Aitchison agreed and, having perceived the measure of interest aroused by the manuscript, he arranged to have it photographically reproduced. A limited edition, known as the photozincograph facsimile, was issued in 1885. Meanwhile, the Lahore Singh Sabhā had in 1884 produced a lithographed version of the text.

To distinguish it from other Janam Sākhīs of the Purātan tradition, this manuscript is now known either as the Colebrooke Janam Sākhī or as the Valāītvālī Janam Sākhī. It bears no date. A cryptic reference in one of the sākhīs may be interpreted as a reference to 1635, but the evidence it offers is altogether too tenuous to support even a tentative conclusion. Various periods have been suggested by various scholars. Some of them suggested that it was written in the first half of the eighteenth century. A recent publication gives 1588 as the year of its completion. Its language and grammatical constructions show that this Janam Sākhī must have been written around the time of the compilation of the Adi Granth Sāhib. Now that we have a manuscript of Bālā Janam Sākhī bearing the date 1658, it could safely be accepted that Purātan Janam Sākhī is a writing of the sixteenth century, because its language is much older than that of Bālā.

While the examining of the Colebrooke manuscript was in progress, a second Purātan manuscript was discovered in the town of Ḥāfizābād by Gumukh Singh of Oriental College, Lahore. Gumukh Singh loaned his find to Macauliffe who, having divided its unbroken lines into separate words, published the text privately in 1885. The version is variously known as the Ḥāfizābād Janam Sākhī or as the Macaulifēvalī Janam Sākhī.

These two manuscripts, the Colebrooke and the Ḥāfizābād, remain amongst the most important of the Purātan tradition. The only other extant manuscript which warrants inclusion in this select group is the one preserved at the Languages Department, Paṭialā (No 194). Although each differs significantly from the others, the areas of agreement are much more extensive than the variants and all three clearly belong to a common tradition. Behind all the Janam Sākhīs of the Purātan tradition, there can be detected an early cluster of sākhīs from which all are variously descended. This cluster underwent separate development (presumably in differ-
ent geographical areas), producing two distinct versions of the tradition. LDP (Languages Department, Punjab) 194 represents an intermediate stage in one line of development; and the Colebrooke manuscript stands at the climax of the other. The Hāfizābād manuscript, latest of the three in terms of development, draws the two lines together in a generally consistent reunion.

The primitive cluster from which all Purātan Janam Sākhīs are descended was probably the earliest of all coherent collections of individual sākhīs. No evidence exists to suggest that this comparatively small selection was ever recorded. Apparently, it assumed a rudimentary chronology while still circulating orally. Emphasis at this stage was laid on stories of Guru Nānak's childhood and early manhood, with comparatively little attention devoted to the period of his travels.

During the period of separate development, however, the tradition expanded vigorously, particularly within the subsidiary tradition which eventually produced the Colebrooke Janam Sākhī. Most of the additional anecdotes incorporated during this stage concerned the travels of Guru Nānak and it was evidently the Colebrooke subsidiary which ordered these into the distinctive Purātan itinerary. This involves four separate journeys to the east, south, north, and west, respectively.

The other subsidiary tradition seems to have been much less prolific. It does, however, possess a particular importance in that traditions which borrow extensively from early Purātan sources all seem to have utilized this second subsidiary. Obvious links in the Ādi Sākhīān, the B40 Janam Sākhī, and the Miharbān tradition must evidently be explained in these terms. The reunion of the two subsidiarics took place when the Hāfizābād compiler, using a manuscript of the Colebrooke subsidiary as his principal source, added to it anecdotes and discourses drawn from the other subsidiary tradition.

Purātan manuscripts are much rarer than those of the Bālā tradition, a feature easily explained by the length by period of Purātan eclipse. Shamsher Singh Ashok in his Punjabi Ḥaṭṭī Līkhatān di Suchī, Parts I and II, lists only three in the Punjab (one of them incomplete). Although at least three others are known to exist within the state and others may yet be found, it seems most unlikely that the total will ever exceed ten including the famous Colebrooke manuscript in London. The Hāfizābād manuscript is no longer extant. It was apparently destroyed during an ownership dispute which developed in 1923.

The published versions have already been noted. These are the lithographed and photocopy editions of the Colebrooke manuscript (1884-1885) and Macauliffe's lithograph edition of the Hāfizābād manuscript (1885). Perhaps the most influential of all has been a conflation of the two manuscripts prepared by Bhāi Vir Singh and published under the title Purātan Janam Sākhī (Amritsar, 1926). In the second edition (1931), Bhāi Vir Singh added material drawn from a manuscript held by Khālsā College, Amritsar. The text of an expanded Purātan manuscript in the possession of Sevā Singh Sevak has been published by its owner under the title Prāchīn Janam Sākhī (Jalandhar, 1969). A work compiled by Shamsher Singh Ashok, Purātan Janam Sākhī Śrī Guru Nānak Dev Ji Ki (Amritsar, 1969), uses a Purātan manuscript as its foundation, but interpolates much material drawn from two non-Purātan manuscripts.

The language of this Janam Sākhī invites special attention. It is Lahndi or Western Punjabi. Its grammatical pattern is akin to the language of the Guru Granth Sāhib. Many of the case inflexions which are frequently used in Guru Granth Sāhib, but have disappeared in the modern language, are present in the language of this Janam Sākhī. Suffix ‘u’ which is the marker of masculine, singular, nominative case or accusative case, and
suffix -i', a marker of case of agent of locative case, are two important suffixes commonly employed in the Sikh scripture as well as in Purātan Janam Sākhī, but are no longer in use in modern Punjabi. The use of suffix -i or -ai in adverbial forms and suffix -i with the first element of the compound verbs are other characteristics of the old language freely employed in Purātan Janam Sākhī. Yet another conspicuous characteristic of the language of the Purātan Janam Sākhī is the much lower frequency of nasalization as compared to modern Punjabi. In this case too Purātan Janam Sākhī is in line with the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

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PURO, BHĀI, a native of Dallā, a village in present-day Kapūrthālā district of the Punjab, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He was among those who waited upon the Gurū when he visited Dallā and received initiation at his hands. His name figures in Bhai Gurdās, Vārān, XI.16.

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PURO, BHĀI, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Rām Dās. Bhāi Pūro accompanied by Bhai Mānak and Bhāi Bishan Dās, once came to visit the Gurū. They sought instruction as to how they might save themselves and their families. Gurū Rām Dās, as says Bhai Manī Singh, spoke, “Learn to serve others and entertain Sikhs who come unto you, and induce your sons and daughters to do so, too. As you serve His men, so will He save your souls.” Bhāi Pūro and his com-
companions acted upon the Gurū’s words and became known as devoted Sikhs.

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PUSHKAR, a famous Hindu centre of pilgrimage, 13 km from Ajmer (26°-27'N, 74°-42'E) in Rājasthān is also sacred to the Sikhs for the gurdwārās dedicated to the First and Tenth Gurūs. Gurdwārā Gurū Singh Sabhā, situated in the eastern part of Pushkar is dedicated to the first Gurū and is also known locally as Gurū Nānak Dharamsālā. It is a double storeyed flat-roof building consisting of a central room, surrounded by a verandah. There is no Sikh population at Pushkar. The gurdwārā is managed by Sri Gurū Singh Sabhā, Ajmer, through a granthī who is a Bānjāra Sikh.

The site dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh, who visited Pushkar in 1706 is Gobind Ghāṭ. A stone slab bearing the name Gobind Ghāṭ in Gurmukhi, Devanāgarī, Persian and Roman characters still exists at the base of a small cupola said to have been constructed during the brief Marāṭhā rule over this region after the fall of the Mughals. The Gurū Granth Sāhib was recited daily by Nīrmaḷā priests in a room over the entrance gate of the Ghāṭ. As the building subsequently changed hands, regular recitation of the Granth Sāhib at the Ghāṭ stopped. But an old hand-written copy of the Gurū Granth Sāhib is still kept by a Brāhmaṇ priest who dons a turban and claims to be a direct descendant of Purohit Chetan Dās who had served Gurū Gobind Singh at the time of his visit. The priest still possesses a hukamnāmā written on bhoj patra believed to have been written by the Gurū himself. It bears the date Kartik sudī 15 Samvat 1762 Bk corresponding to AD 1705. He also has a hukamnāmā issued in the name of five gurdwārās at Amritsar including Sri Akāl Takht Sāhib bearing the date 24 Assū, Nānak Shāhī sammat 429 (AD 1898).

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Qila Gujjar Singh, a residential area within the limits of Lahore, was designated a "fort" when in April 1765 the city was parcelled out among the three Bhangi Sardars, Gujjar Singh, Lahiśa Singh and Sobha Singh. The area outside the walled city of Lahore, about five square miles, towards the Shālāmār side, fell to the share of Sardar Gujjar Singh. An entrance gateway was constructed by the Sardar to demarcate his "kingdom". Since then the area has been known as Qila (Fort) Gujjar Singh. However, in spite of being ruled by the Bhangi Sardar independently, the enclave remained part of the city of Lahore. The British built in this area the railway station and the police lines.

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Qudrat (spelled qudratī in gurbāṇī), a term adopted by Guru Nanak from the Arabic and given a philosophical signification and connotation which, to some extent but with different shades of sense, had till then been conveyed by the millennia-old Indian words prakritī and māyā. Qudrat, in Arabic, literally means power, might. In the Turkish language, the word came to mean power, strength, omnipotence of God, as also Creation. The same term, in Persian, denotes power, potency, authority of God, the Creation, Universe, Nature. In Arabic, the term qudrat connotes "that which is under the power and authority of" its Master, God, who, in the Qurān, has been given the attributes of al-qādir, al-qādir (both standing for "mighty") and al-khāliq, Creator. Guru Nanak has employed the term qudrat to include both these Qurānic attributes of God, al-qādir and al-khāliq.

Guru Nanak employed the term qudrat to denote the idea of Divine might. There was presumably also the need to find a parallel for prakritī which in Indian thought was postulated as co-eternal with Puruṣa. Moreover, in Guru Nanak’s vocabulary, parallels from Perso-Arabic sources are freely used as these were current among the common mass of people. This was also in keeping with his spirit of tolerance. Many examples such as sāhib, pīr, mīr and khasam can be cited. Guru Nanak’s religious system, based on the One absolute Puruṣa as the matrix of the world, did not accept the dualism of puruṣa and prakritī of Sāṅkhya Kārikā which, broadly speaking, corresponds to the concepts of subject and object, or duality of mind and matter or life and nature. In his philosophical system, the world has a Creator, and Nature being what is created has no absolute basis independent of and apart from the Kartā Puruṣa. Nature as such is merely an extension of or an emanation from Puruṣa. Neither the Vedic Puruṣa nor the Puruṣa of Sāṅkhya is the Creator or Controller of the world. In Guru Nanak’s system, He is both the Creator and the Controller. Qudrat is the
created object, the Creator's might. Here qudrat stands for the material phenomena as well as for power, might, strength, wonder-working omnipotence, the authority of God. In Gurū Nānak's view, the potentiality and faculty of recreation as well as the varied forms and phenomena of the world are qudrat or māyā. The term māyā has been rendered as illusion, unreality, deception, material entanglements, etc. It is held to imply, so far as creation is concerned, the phantasmagoria or hallucination of appearances. In Indian philosophy, māyā signifies the process by which unity becomes multiplicity and homogeneity heterogeneity, in the unfolding of the cosmos. It is' the answer to the enigma of the multiplicity of forms, in which the world appears to us. God instantly creates uncountable forms through His power of qudrat—"anik rūp khin māhi qudrati dhārada" (GG, 519).

In the compositions of Gurū Nānak, as also of his successors in the holy office of Gurūship, qudrat stands for what is meant in general by this term in India, Divine might. It had in that context a philosophical signification, but because of the term becoming common current coin, its philosophical reference was not called to mind, as also in the parallel case of māyā. In a few contexts, Gurū Nānak also used it in the extended sense of creation, of whatever is manifested by the operation of Divine might. In Vār Āśā in the line—bālihāri qudrati vasiā terā antu na jāī lākhia (GG, 469)—qudrat obviously implies what the Divine might has created, in what it is pervasive. In Mājh ki Vār, line "āpe qudrati sāji kai āpe kare bichāru" (GG, 143), again qudrat is creation, phenomena, the manifest world. Apart from a few such contexts, qudrat generally in gurbāṇī stands for Divine might. That is also the sense in which the generality of people in India use it. That only indicates that the Gurū had adopted a term from common everyday usage that was familiar, and used it, without necessarily any thought of preferring it over māyā on any philosophical grounds. As a matter of fact, the world of reference, the context and background of the two terms are distinct. Māyā has always a clear or implied ethico-philosophical meaning in gurbāṇī. Wherever it stands for phenomena, qudrat is used as a neutral term, free from any pejorative suggestion. Hence the two terms cannot be studied as parallel beyond a certain point.

Gurū Nānak says that for millions and trillions of aeons there was utter darkness and only the Infinite One, in its unmanifest form existed, (GG, 1035). However, then the unmanifest Real One, who is self-existent, created qudrat—āpinai āpu sājio āpinai rachio nāu, diū qudrati sājio kari āsanu diṭho chau (GG, 463). However, qudrat is intrinsically one with its Creator because the latter is manifest in it, though the two cannot be termed identical or co-eternal.

Gurū Nānak also holds that qudrat, as power and might, acts as the regulator of the working of all the entities and forces of Nature. Fear or bhay controls all forces of Nature such as winds, waters, fires, the earth, clouds, sun, moon, the firmament, as also the siddhas, the buddhas and yogis or heroes and brave warriors and ordinary people (GG, 461).

In the Gurū Granth Sāhib, creation has been accepted as real, true, mighty, sublime, wonderful and law-abiding, yet there is no tendency towards animation, personification or deification of the forces and manifestations of Nature, as has been the case with the Vedic deities or in Greek mythology. Nature worship, in any form, is non-existent in the Sikh faith. In that stanza of unsurpassed beauty and conception, in the Sodar, all forces of Nature such as water, wind, and fire, all gods such as Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, such objects as the seas and mountains are shown as praising the Lord and working in unison, according to His will. However, it is not unoften that
some instruction or inspiration has been drawn from certain relationships, existing or supposed to be existing, in nature and cosmos. But this tends towards poetic imagery and not towards philosophy or theology.

No proofs have been set out in the Guru Granth Sahib for the existence of God, which has been accepted self-evidently; but sometimes, cosmic reality and nature have been cited as proofs of the existence of the Supreme Consciousness working behind phenomena. The ḥalā, play, pasārā, expansion, rachanā, creation of qudrat, have come out of the sunn (Ṣūnya), the vacuum which is filled with Divine Reality (GG, 1037).

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QUTB UD-DIN (d. 1832), younger brother of Nizām ud-Dīn, the Afghān chief of Kasūr, succeeded to the gaddī of Kasūr on the latter’s death in 1802. He began fortifying Kasūr in an endeavour to overthrow the authority of Ranjīt Singh whose tributary he was. Ranjīt Singh led an expedition against him in 1807. A battle was fought on 10 February and the Afghāns were forced to take shelter inside the Fort. The siege lasted a month before the Fort fell. The Sikh force entered the Fort, Qutb ud-Dīn was captured and Kasūr was annexed to the Sikh kingdom. Qutb ud-Dīn was allowed to retain Māmdūt, across the Sutlej, as a jagīr on payment of a nominal tribute. In the joint Sikh-Afghān expedition against Kashmīr, Qutb ud-Dīn accompanied the Sikh force. In 1831, Nizām ud-Dīn’s son, Fateh Khān, revolted against his uncle, Qutb ud-Dīn, who was severely wounded in the clash that took place. He fled to Amritsar where he died in 1832.

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QUTB UD-DIN (d. 1832), a Muslim priest. According to Bhāi Manī Singh Janam Sākhi, he kept a maktab or elementary Muslim school in the village of Talvaṇḍī Rāi Bho, the birthplace of Gurū Nānak. As a young boy Gurū Nānak was sent to his school to learn Persian and Arabic. He gained proficiency in both in a short time and astonished the teacher by his native endowment. As Mihārbaṇ Janam Sākhi records: “The Maulawī would often say, ‘Praise be to the Lord of the worlds! Such easy facility with the Persian language... he grasps instantly what he hears once...’” While at school Gurū Nānak, says Manī Singh Janam Sākhi, composed a spiri-tually inspired acrostic employing the Persian characters from Alif on. The text, available in apocryphal fragments, does not occur in the Guru Granth Sāhib.
RADCLIFFE AWARD, under which the dividing line between the West (Pakistan) Punjab and the East (Indian) Punjab was drawn, is so called after the name of the Chairman of the Punjab Boundary Commission, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, an eminent British jurist especially invited to fix the boundaries between the newly created States, India and Pakistan. The Commission was also charged with the delimiting of the boundaries of the provinces of Bengal and Punjab.

British Prime Minister speaking in Parliament on the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as the new Viceroy and Governor-General of India, had announced: “His Majesty’s Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948... His Majesty’s Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.”

The statement gave a definite momentum to the march of history, and Lord Mountbatten immediately on taking over in India on 24 March 1947, set feverishly to working out the transfer procedure. It was said that “unlike his predecessors, he had demanded, and had been given, a free hand in settling the Indian question without reference to the Home Government.” Though his brief was to work for a unitary India, a quick survey of the Indian scene convinced him first that partition was inevitable, and, secondly, that partitioning of the country required also partitioning of those provinces where the two communities were evenly balanced. The question of the Punjab was further complicated because the Sikhs there complained, and justifiably so, that “the Muslim League seeks to deny to them in the Punjab the position which it claims in the rest of India.” The difficulty was that the Sikhs were so few and so dispersed that they could not claim majority in any clearly defined territory.

The partition plan prepared by Lord Mountbatten and announced by him on 3 June 1947 provided for partition of Punjab and Bengal even if the legislators of the minority groups there decided against joining the new constituent assembly (i.e., of Pakistan). In that event, boundary commissions were to be set up to delimit the split parts. In the case of the Punjab, a “notional partition” based on districtwise demographic description was also given according to which Pakistan was to have, tentatively, the entire Rawalpindi and Multan divisions and Lahore division minus Amritsar district. Ambala and Jalandhar divisions plus Amritsar district were to remain with India.

As expected the province had to be partitioned and the Punjab Boundary Commission was constituted on 30 June 1947. Its
members were four High Court Judges—two Muslim, one Hindu and one Sikh. Sir Cyril Radcliffe was named the chairman. The Commission was handed the following terms of reference:

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account “other factors.”

The Commission was desired to arrive at a decision as soon as possible, before the 15th of August. The “other factors” were not explicitly defined, but they were understood to refer to certain claims of the Sikhs based on revenue paid, military services, development of virgin lands, religious places, etc.

The public sittings of the Punjab Boundary Commission took place at Lahore from 21 to 31 July 1947. As Sir Cyril Radcliffe stated in his report: “In view of the fact that I was acting also as Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, whose proceedings were taking place simultaneously with the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission, I did not attend the public sittings in person, but made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and of all material submitted for our consideration.”

After the close of the public sittings, the Commission adjourned to Shimlā where the Chairman also joined and held discussions in the hope of being able to present “an agreed decision as to the demarcation of the boundaries.” But the divergence of opinion among the members was too wide for that. Each member submitted a separate and a different report. While Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan wanted to include the entire Lahore and Montgomery districts plus Sheikhpurā and Nankānā Sāhib in East Punjab, and Justice Tejā Singh wanted the boundary to lie along the River Chenāb, the Muslim members Justices Dīn Muhammad and Muhammad Munir claimed the entire Doābā and parts of Ludhiana and Firozpur districts for West Punjab. In the last meeting of the Commission held in Services Club, Shimlā, Sir Cyril Radcliffe said: “Gentlemen, you have disagreed and, therefore, the duty falls on me to give the award which I will do later on.” In para 6 of the Award, Sir Cyril wrote “... In these circumstances, my colleagues, at the close of our discussions, assented to the conclusion, that I must proceed to give my own decision.”

Thus the final decision, dated 12 August 1947, was literally the Radcliffe’s and not the Punjab Boundary Commission’s Award, although it was legally the latter. The Award addressed to His Excellency the Governor-General opens as under:

I have the honour to present the decision and award of the Punjab Boundary Commission which, by virtue of Section 4 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, is represented by my decision as Chairman of that Commission.

The demarcation of the boundary line was described in detail in the schedule which formed Annexure A to the Award. The line was also drawn on a map attached to the Award as Annexure B. Following is a brief summary of the detailed description of the boundary given in Annexure A to the Award:

The boundary line commences on the north at the point where the west branch of the Basantar river enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir. It follows the western boundary of Paţhānkoţ taksīl to the point where Paţhānkoţ, Shakargaṛh and Gurdāspur taksīls meet. Thence it follows the boundary between Shakargaṛh and Gurdāspur taksīls, between Batālā and Nārovāl taksīls, between Ajnālā and Nārovāl taksīls, and between Ajnālā and Shāhdārā taksīls to the point on the River Rāvī where the districts of Lahore and Amritsar meet. There the boundary turns southwards
and follows the line dividing Lahore and Amritsar districts up to the point where tahsil of Lahore, Kasur and Tarn Taran meet. From here the boundary-line was so drawn that four police station circles of tahsil Kasur in the Lahore district were given to the East Punjab in order "to mitigate the consequences of the severence" of the irrigation system of the Upper Bārī Doāb Canal. From the point where the tahsil boundaries of Kasur and Firozpur meet, the boundary turns again and follows the dividing line between the districts of Lahore and Firozpur and further down between the districts of Montgomery and Firozpur up to the point where this boundary meets the border of Bahawalpur state.

In effect Gurdaspur district less Shakargarh tahsil, the entire Amritsar district plus four thanās of Kasur tahsil of Lahore district and the entire Firozpur district remained with India. While Mādhopur headworks remained with India, the headworks at Sulemānki were expressly allotted to Pakistan and a joint control was suggested for Husaināīwālā headworks from where Dipalpur Canal serving Pakistan area takes off.

The Radcliffe Award pleased no one except, perhaps, Lord Mountbatten, who must have heaved a sigh of relief at having reached the end of his labours. He had already, on 22 July 1947, "taken assurances from the representatives of India and Pakistan that they would accept the Award of the Commission whatever it might be." Sir Cyril Radcliffe had himself foreseen the possibility of the criticism of his Award. "I am conscious", he wrote, "that there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it, as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen... I am conscious, too, that the Award cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side."

The Sikhs lamented the consignment of almost half of their community into bondage, the loss of their holy places and their lands in the canal colonies which they had made habitable and fertile with their sweat and blood. Their other grievance was that the "other factors" mentioned in the terms of reference of the Commission had proved to be only a sop to inveigle them to accept the plan. Lord Mountbatten had been aware of their predicament but had pleaded his helplessness. In a press conference on 4 June 1947, the day following that of the announcement of his plan for partition, he had said, "I found that it was mainly at the request of the Sikh community that the Congress had put forward the resolution on the partition of the Punjab. I was not aware of all the details, and, when I sent for the map and studied the distribution of the Sikh population, I was astounded to find that the plan which they had produced divided this community into two almost equal parts. I have spent a great deal of time seeing whether there was any solution which would keep the Sikh community more together. I am not a miracle worker and I have not found that solution."

This dissatisfaction and the deluge of communal hatred let loose since the Pakistan Resolution of the Muslim League in 1940 resulted in uprooting of humanity on both sides of the Radcliffe Line at a scale unparalleled in world history.

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RĀDHĀ KISHAN, PAṆḌIT (d. 1875), son of
Paṇḍit Madhusūdan, was appointed in 1824 by Mahārājā Ranjit Singh to take charge of the education of Hirā Singh Dogrā, who studied both Sanskrit and Persian. Later, he was appointed tutor to the minor Mahārājā Duleep Singh. He also performed the duties of rājpurohit and served as an almoner.

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RAGHĪR SĪNGH DUGAL (1897-1957), a medical practitioner and leader of the Sikh community in Burma, was born in 1897, the son of Sobhā Sīngh, at the village of Sayyid Kasrān, in Rāwalpīndī district, now in Pakistan. He had his early education at his village and in Rāwalpīndī, and in 1911 accompanied his elder brother to Rangoon where he qualified as a physician. Along with his medical practice, Raghbir Sīngh took a great deal of interest in social work and became president of the Sikh temple at Rangoon and secretary of the Sikh Educational Committee of Burma. In December 1927, he was elected president of the Khālsā Diwān, Burma. He had been a councillor of the Rangoon Municipal Corporation for a number of years and in 1932 became mayor of Rangoon—the first Indian to be elected to the office. Dr Dugal also brought out a medical journal from Rangoon. He was a fellow of the Rangoon University as well as a member of the Burma Medical Council. He was honoured with the title of Sardār Bahādur by the Government of India for his services in the cause of eradication of tuberculosis and leprosy. During World War II when Burma was invaded by the Japanese, Dr Dugal was coopted a member of the executive council of the emigre government set up at Shimlā in India. Dr Dugal was the author of Essentials of Sikhism, Philosophy of Guru Nanak and Divine Baba.

He died on 20 January 1957 at New Delhi while on a visit to India.

RAGHĪR SĪNGH, RĀJĀ (1884-1887), son of Rājā Sarūp Sīngh, ascended the throne of Jind on 31 March 1864 after the death of his father. He was an able and enlightened ruler, indefatigable in his efforts to promote the prosperity of his people. He built the town of Sāṅgrūr on the model of the Rājpūt city of Jaipur. He helped the British with men and money during the second Afghān war (1878-80) and was rewarded with the title of Rājā-i-Rājgan in perpetuity.

Rājā Raghbir Sīngh died in 1887, and was succeeded by his grandson, Rābhīr Sīngh, as his only son, Balbīr Sīngh, had predeceased him.

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RAGHUPAT RĀI NIJJHAR, a rich landlord of Khem Karan in present-day Amritsar district, was a devout Sikh. He called on Gurū Tegh Bahādur at Goindvāl in 1664, and requested that he be pleased to visit his native Khem Karan. Gurū Tegh Bahādur accepted the invitation and came to Khem Karan where Raghupat Rāi served him with devotion. The Gurū imparted instruction to many who came from the surrounding villages to see him. Gurḍwārā Gurūsār Sāhib now marks the site where he had encamped. Raghupat Rāi presented a pedigree mare to the Gurū as a farewell offering. His son, Amar Sīngh, subsequently received the rites of the Khālsā and joined the force of Bandā Sīngh Bahādur. He was a leader of the Bandaī faction during...
the early 1720’s.

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RAGMALA, lit. a rosary of rāgas or musical measures, is the title of a composition of twelve verses, running into sixty lines, appended to the Guru Granth Sāhib after the Mundāvanī, i.e. the epilogue, as a table or index of rāgas.

In the course of the evolution of Indian music, many systems came into effect, prominent among them being the Śaiva Mata, said to have been imparted by Lord Śiva, who is accepted as the innovator of music; the Kālīnātha Mata, also called the Kṛṣṇa Mata, which has its predominance in Braj and Punjab and is said to have been introduced by Kālīnātha, a revered āchārya of music; the Bharata Mata which has its vogue in Western India and was propounded by Bharata Muni; the Hanūmāna Mata; the Siddha Sārsut Mata; and the Rāgāraṇava Mata. A large number of rāgmalās pertaining to these and other systems that developed are, with some variations, traceable in such well-known works on Indian musicology as Gobind Saṅgīt Sār, Qānūn Mausīki, Budh Parkās Darpaṇ, Saṅgīt Binod and Rāga Dīpakā. With the exception of the Sārsut Mata which subscribes to seven chief rāgas, all other systems acknowledge six chief rāgas, thirty (in some cases thirty-six also) “wives” or rāginīs and forty-eight “sons” or sub-rāgas, each rāga having eight “sons.” Thus each system includes eighty-four measures which itself is a mystic number in the Indian tradition, symbolizing such entities as the 84 siddhas or the 84,00,000 yonis or species of life. Though the details concerning the names of “wives” and “sons” differ in each rāgmalā, the chief systems, broadly speaking, have only two sets; one including Śiri, Basant, Bhairav, Paṅcham, Megh and Nāṭ Nārāyana, as in the Śaiva and Kālīnātha systems; and the other including Bhairav, Mālkauṅs, Hiṅdol, Dīpak, Śiri and Megh as in Bharata and Hanūmāna systems. In some systems, the rāgas have, besides “wives” and “sons”, “daughters” and “daughters-in-law” as well. The chief rāgas are śuddha, i.e. complete and perfect, while the “wives” and “sons” are saṅkīrṇa, i.e. mixed, incomplete and adulterated. Each of the six principal rāgas relates itself by its nature to a corresponding season.

The rāgmalā appended to the Guru Granth Sāhib is not much different from the others, and, by itself, does not set up a new system. This rāgmalā is nearest to the Hanūmāna Mata, but the arrangement of rāgas in the Guru Granth Sāhib is nearer to the Śaiva Mata and the Kālīnātha Mata which give primacy to Śiri Rāga. The only system wherein occur all the rāgas and rāginīs employed in the Guru Granth Sāhib is Bharata Mata. In the Guru Granth Sāhib no distinction has been made between rāgas and rāginīs and all the measures employed have been given the status of rāgas, each one of them recognized in its own right and not as “wife” or “son” to another rāga. In practice over a long stretch of time, gurmat saṅgīt, i.e. Sikh music, has evolved its own style and conventions which make it a system distinct from other Indian systems.

There being no indication in the caption, the authorship of Rāgmalā has been the subject of controversy; more so the point whether it should form part of the recitation of the Holy Text in its entirety. The composition is not integral to the theme of the Guru Granth Sāhib, and it has little musicological or instructional significance. Yet it is entered in the original volume of the Holy Book prepared by Guru Arjan and preserved to this day in descendant family at Kartārpur. By consensus, Rāgmalā is taken to be part of the Sacred Text and with rare exceptions, notably at Śri Akāl Takht, it is
included in all full-scale recitations of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The Rahit Maryādā, manual of Sikh practices, issued under the authority of the Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, recommends that the reading of the Holy Book be concluded with Mundāvani or Rāgmālā, depending upon local practice, but in no case should the Holy Volume be calligraphed or printed excluding this text.

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RAHĪRĀ and Kup, two villages, 4 km apart from each other and jointly known in Sikh history as Kup-Rahīrā, in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, were the scene of a fierce battle between the Sikhs and the combined forces of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and his vassals in Sirhind and Maierkoṭlā. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, who, after his victory over the Marāṭhās in the third battle of Pānīpat in January 1761, considered himself master of north India, was peeved at his supremacy when, during his return march in April 1761, the Sikhs attacked his baggage train and liberated several hundreds of women whom the invader had made captive and who were being carried to Afghanistan. A 12,000-strong punitive expedition sent by him against the Sikhs in August 1761 was forced to surrender, its commander having ignominiously deserted and escaped under cover of darkness. Next month the Sikhs defeated Obaid Khān, the governor of Lahore, and, forcing him to take refuge in the citadel, became the virtual masters of the town. Ahmad Shāh, furious at the repeated reverses, came out at the head of a huge army determined to scourge the Sikhs out of existence. The latter, following their usual tactics, disappeared from the scene. They, however, decided to escort their families to the safety of Lakhī Jungle, a desert deep in the heart of the Mālvā region, and be free to deal with the Durrānī. They crossed the Sutlej along with their women folk and children and the aged and the infirm. Ahmad Shāh, marching from Lahore on the morning of 3 February 1762 crossed the Sutlej the following day. He sent orders to Zain Khān, his faujdār at Sirhind, and Bhikhan Khān, the chief of Mālerkoṭlā, to foreclose the Sikhs, as he himself rushed to attack them from the rear. On the morning of 5 February 1762, the Sikhs found themselves trapped around the villages of Rahīrā and Kup. The combatants among them hastily re-formed to make a protective ring around the rest of the column and continued their movement, fighting back at the same time against heavy odds. This desperate fight continued throughout the day, and ended at sunset, both sides utterly exhausted, near the villages Kutbā and Bāhmanī, some 25 km to the west of Kup-Rahīrā. The Sikhs lost between twenty and twenty-five thousand men, women and children, the heaviest casualties suffered by them on a single day. The action, therefore, came to be known as Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā, or the major holocaust, to be distinguished from the Chhoṭā or smaller Ghallūghārā suffered by them in 1746 around the Kāhnūvān marshes in Gurdāspur district.

Kup and Rahīrā being Muslim villages in the Muslim state of Mālerkoṭlā, no monument was raised to commemorate the battle so doggedly fought by the Dal Khālsā. In recent years, however, Nihangs of the Būdhdhā Dal have constructed two gurdwārās near Rahīrā, both sharing the name Gurdwārā Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā Sāhib. The one near the railway station, itself named Ghallūghārā Rahīrā, consists of a square flat-roofed hall
and a row of six small rooms. The other, nearer to the village and by the side of an old sandy mound, comprises a row of three rooms, the middle room serving as the sanctum.

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RAHIT DARPAṆ, lit. a mirror or code of conduct, is one of the thirty-seven rahitnāmās written by various authors and collected by Bhagvān Singh under the title Bar Bimal Bibekbārdhī, popularly known as Bibekbārdhī. Rahit DarpaṆ, written in Punjabi verse, is the work of Bhagvān Singh himself, which he completed on Phāgun sudi 7, 1957 Bk/Feb­ruary 1901. The manuscript, which was till recently available with one Natthā Singh of Paṭiālā, runs into 134 pages, each page being of 8¼” x 13¼” size. Written in blue ink, the manuscript includes the salutation Śrī Vāhīgurū ji ki Fateh (Victory be to God) and also bears the inscription satnām salgurū prasād instead of the usual form ik onkār salgur prasād. Unlike most of the other rahitnāmās, this rahitnāmā cannot be accepted as an authentic exposition of the Sikh tenets and the Sikh way of life. It is known for the author’s obvious bias for popularizing rituals and beliefs unacceptable and, sometimes, contrary to the Sikh tenets.

RAHIT MARYĀDĀ, traditions and rules which govern the distinctive Sikh way of life and determine Sikh belief and practice. Rahit, from the Punjabi verb rahīnā (to live, to re-
ration of privilege as also of the intent to be prepared steadfastly to uphold the ideals the Gurū had demarcated.

Belief in One Infinite Timeless and Formless Creator God is fundamental to a Sikh’s religious creed. His worship is addressed to Him to the exclusion of any incarnations of the divine, the gods and goddesses, idols and images. His devotional practice consists in rising early and reciting his morning prayers after bathing, joining the saṅgat or holy fellowship in gurdwārā, listening to the Guru’s word, and meditating upon God’s Name. Gurū for the Sikh is Gurū Nānak and his nine spiritual successors and, then, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the Holy Book ordained Gurū by Gurū Gobind Singh, Nānak X. A Sikh believes in the oneness of the Ten Gurūs—all of one light, all in spirit though different in body. He bows in all circumstances to God’s Will (hukam) and has faith in His compassion (dayā) and grace (nadar). He treats his birth as a hukam, being a gift from God and a rare opportunity for his moral and spiritual evolution. Active participation in life as a householder is, therefore, preferred to asceticism. Yet one must live in the world like the lotus which emerges from the mud pure and spotless. Rahitnāmās as well as the religious texts adjure one specifically to be truthful, honest and humble and not to steal, gamble, cheat or slander. Special emphasis is laid on virtuous sexual behaviour. A Sikh male is to treat all women other than his spouse as mothers, sisters and daughters. A Sikh female is similarly required to be chaste and morally blameless. Sikhs do not smoke and are not to consume drugs and intoxicants.

A Sikh regards all human beings as equal. The Gurūs enjoined him to recognize all mankind as one. They rejected the caste system. “False,” said Gurū Nānak, “is caste, and false the titled fame. One Supreme Lord sustaineth all” (GG, 83). The Sikh institutions of saṅgat (fellowship) and paṅgat (commensality) invalidate distinctions based on birth or social position. Women among the Sikhs enjoy equal status with men. The Gurūs disapproved of the practice of saṭī (burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband’s body prevalent among the Hindus). The rahitnāmās expressly lay down injunctions against those who practise female infanticide. A practical and positive step towards the realization of universal brotherhood is the Sikh emphasis on sevā (disinterested service) which extends from labour of the hands in Gurū kā Lāṅgar or community kitchen to hospitality and charity and to readiness to making any sacrifice to help the oppressed and relieve their distress. The essentials of Sikh message can be summed up from three perspectives: loving involvement with God’s revelation through nām, i.e. remembrance or repetition of His Name, straining for the achievement of basic needs, and holding as common possession the fruits of one’s labour—partaking of them only upon having dealt with the needs especially of the indigent. In Sikh system, these norms are represented by the three principles: nām japnā, kirāt karnī and vanḍ chhaknā.

Sikh rahit as based on the teachings of the Gurūs and rahitnāmās became lax during the comparative ease and prosperity of Sikh rule in the Punjab. Leaders of the reformatory movements such as Nirāṅkārī, Nāmdhartī and Singh Sahbā during the latter half of the nineteenth century sought to restore the purity of belief and living a pattern in consonance with Sikh tenets. New codes and manuals appeared, especially under the auspices of the Singh Sahbā. Fundamentalist in approach was Khālsā Rahit Prakāsh adopted at an open meeting by Paṅch Khālsā Diwān at Damdama Sāhib on 13 April 1905, and later released by Bābū Tejā Singh. At the other extreme, making many a concession to Brahmanical practice, was Avtār Singh Vahiriā’s Khālsā Dharma Shāstra: Saṅskār Bhaṅg, issued in 1894, but later
enlarged into *Khālsā Religious National Law*, and published in 1914. In between lay the Chief Khālsā Diwān’s *Gurmat Prakāsh: Bhāg Sanskār*, first issued in 1915. More widely accepted and authoritative codes were prepared under the aegis of the Shiromāṇi Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, originally established on 15 November 1920 to take over management of Sikh shrines and recognized as a statutory body representing the entire Sikh community under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925. On 15 March 1927, it appointed a 28-member Rahu-rīt (i.e. rahit maryādā) sub-committee “to prepare a draft rahu-rīt in the light of rahitnāmās and other Sikh texts and in consultation with leading Sikh scholars.” Later, the task was entrusted to Professor Tejā Singh, of Khālsā College, Amritsar, who prepared a draft which was published in the April 1931 issue of the *Gurdwārā Gazette*, the official organ of the Shiromāṇi Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, for eliciting public opinion. The Rahu-rīt sub-committee considered the draft as well as the comments received from various quarters at its meetings held at Sri Akāl Takht on 4-5 October 1931, 3 January 1932 and 31 January 1932. The final version, after being referred to Sarb Hind (i.e. All-India) Sikh Mission Board and further amended by Dhārmik Salāhkhār (i.e. Religious Advisory) Committee received final approval by the Shiromāṇi Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee on 3 February 1945. It was then published under the title *Sikh Rahit Maryādā*. The manual defines a Sikh as “a person who has faith in the One Timeless Being, the Ten Gurūs (from Sṛī Gurū Nānak Dev to Sṛī Gurū Gobind Sīṅgh), Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib, their bāṇī (i.e. sacred hymns) and teachings, and in the amrit of the Tenth Master, and who does not follow any other religion.” The Sikh rahit is divided into *shakhśni* (individual) and *panthic* (communal). The former is further dealt with under nām-bāṇī dā abhyās (religious practice), gurmat dī rahiṇī (living according to the Gurus’ instructions) and sevā (service). Detailed instructions are given about the *nitnem* or daily prayers, the form of ardās or supplicatory prayer, and how to act in the saṅgat and in the gurdwārā. Instructions regarding the time-bound and open-ended reading of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, karāh prasad (sacred food or sacrament) and kathā, i.e. discourse on the Scripture as well as rules of social and moral conduct and ceremonies such as those concerning birth, marriage and death are also given in this section. The section on *panthic rahiṇī* includes sub-sections on Gurū Panth (the Sikh community or the Khālsā); initiation ceremony of the Khālsā; procedure for gurmatā or formal resolution adopted in the presence of the Gurū; and, finally, authority of the Akāl Takht to hear and decide on appeals against the decisions of local saṅgats.

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S.P.K.

**RAHITNĀME**, plural of rahitnāmā (rahit = conduct, stipulated conduct or way of life; nāme = letters, writings, manuals) is a term used in Punjabi in reference to a *genre* of writings specifying approved way of life for a Sikh. These writings, enunciating conduct and behaviour in accordance with the principles of the Sikh religion contain instructions regarding personal and social behaviour, applicable especially to those who have been admitted to the Khālsā brotherhood through ceremonies by the double-
edged sword. Sikhism laid as much stress on correct personal conduct as on the purity of mind. Guru Nanak for whom truth is synonymous with God recognizes the sovereignty of conduct (GG, 62). "His conduct will alone be pure who cherishes Him in his heart," says Guru Nanak in another of his hymns (GG, 831). And "rahit, i.e. conduct moulded in accordance with sabda, is the truest conduct" (GG, 56). Ra hit as right thinking and right action is also distinguished from rai hit as outward formal appearance by Guru Arjan, Nanak V: "(The misguided one) acts differently from the rai hit he proclaims; he pretends love (for God) without devotion in his heart; (but) the Omniscient Lord knows all and is not beguiled by external form" (GG, 169). Besides these general statements, more specific instructions for the moral guidance of a believer are found scattered throughout the Sikh scriptures.

The literature containing the rai hit can broadly be divided into three categories—the textual source which includes Sikh scriptures, other approved Sikh canon, and hukamnāmās; the traditional Sikh history including janam sākhīs, gurbilāses and Guru Gobind Singh’s own announcement not to have a personal successor and to pass on the gurūship jointly and permanently to the granth (the Guru Granth Sāhib) and the panth (Khālsā Brotherhood). The textual sources with such precepts as can be extrapolated from them are accepted as general constituents of the Sikh rai hit. Among the sources of traditional Sikh history, the most important are the utterances traced directly to the Gurus, especially Guru Gobind Singh who laid down, at the time of the inauguration of the Khalsā in 1699, rules of conduct and introduced regulations to confer upon his followers a distinctive identity. However, these sources do not, strictly speaking, belong to the genre known as rai hitnāmās. Bhāi Nand Lāl and some other Sikhs contemporary or near-contemporary with Guru Gobind Singh compiled the first rai hitnāmās. The chief Khālsā Diwān’s Gurmāl Prākāsh Bhūg Sanskār (Amritsar, 1915), Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee’s Sikh Ra hit Maryādā (Amritsar, 1950) and the English translation Ra hit Maryādā: A Guide to the Sikh Way of Life (London, 1971) are the modern versions of rai hitnāmās.

The authorship and dates of composition of some of the latter-day rai hitnāmās are not above dispute: interpolations are not ruled out, either. Most of these works are ascribed to Sikhs closely connected with Guru Gobind Singh; they are in some instances described as dictated or authenticated by the Gurus himself. However, these claims or that they belong to the 17th or early 18th century do not stand strict scrutiny.

Three of Bhāi Nand Lāl’s works fall in the category of rai hitnāmās. Ra hitnāmā Bhāi Nand Lāl, in Sadhūkaṛi verse, is in the form of a dialogue between the poet and Guru Gobind Singh during which the latter expounds the rules of conduct laid down for a gursikh or true follower of the faith. The penultimate verse (22) of the Ra hitnāmā indicates that this dialogue took place at Anandpur on 5 December 1695, i.e. before the creation of the Khalsā. That explains the absence from it of any reference to panj-kakārī rai hit, i.e. the five-symbol discipline of the Khalsā. In the text every Sikh is enjoined to rise early in the morning, take his bath and, having recited Jaṭpu and Jāp, to go to see the Gurus among the saṅgat and to listen attentively to the holy word being expounded. He should attend the evening service comprising Rahāsī, Kīrtan (or Kīrtan Sohilā) and discourse. In answer to Nand Lāl’s request to elaborate the phrase “Guru’s darshan”, i.e. a sight of the Gurus, the latter explains that the Gurus has three aspects, first nirguṇa (without attributes or transcendent), the second sarguṇa (with attributes or qualities) and gur sabda, (the Gurus in form of sabda). The first (Vāhigurū) is beyond sensory percep-
tion, but Guru in the second form can be seen manifested in the entire creation or more concretely in (Guru) Granth Sahib, the Sikh Scripture. "Whoever wishes to see me," said Guru Gobind Singh, "should see Granthji and should listen attentively to and reflect upon the Guru's word contained in it." His third form, explained the Guru, is his Sikh. "A Gursikh who having totally banished his ego dedicates himself whole-heartedly to service and observes these rules truly represents me."

In format, language and style, Bhai Nand Lal's Tankhahnama, his second work, follows the same model as his Rahitname, but in content it deals directly with rules and injunctions, especially those breach of which attracts a religious penalty, tankhah in Sikh terminology: Punishment prescribed in this Tankhahnama is neither corporeal nor pecuniary, but consists in Guru's displeasure or imprecation. Who becomes liable to tankhah? He who ignores nam, dan and isnana (glorification of God's name, charity, holy bath); who joins not regularly the satsang or holy fellowship; who allows his mind to wander while sitting among the company of the holy; who expresses hatred for a poor member of the community; who does not bow to the sabda; who is selfish and greedy while distributing karah prasad or the holy communion; who puts on the rulers' Turkish turban; who touches a sword with the toe; who distributes karah prasad or langar without being in full regalia; who dons red apparel; who uses tobacco-snuff; who looks lasciviously upon the womenfolk; who is easily enraged; who gives a daughter or sister in marriage for money; who wears not the sword; who deprives a helpless person of his money or belongings; who pays not the dasvandh or tithe; who bastes in cold water; who eats supper without reciting the Rahihi; who goes to sleep at night without reciting the Kirtan Sohil; who stands not by his word; who combs not his hair twice daily; who ties not his turban afresh every day; who brushes not the teeth regularly; who slanders others; who eats flesh of an animal slaughtered slowly in the Muslim way; who sings compositions other than those of the Gurus; who attends performances by dancing girls; who goes to his work without a prayer to the Guru; who breaks his fast without making an offering to the Guru; who commits adultery; who gives not alms to the deserving; who indulges in abuse; who gambles; who hears without protest calumny against the Guru; who earns his livelihood by cheating others; who eats without uttering the word Vahiguru; who visits a prostitute; who moves about with head uncovered; who heeds not the Guru's word; and so on.

Although Tankhahnama refers to the Khalsa as an established order of devoutly religious warriors, it makes no reference to its five symbols or to the taboos. Besides religious and moral practices of a general nature, it alludes to rules of personal and social etiquette, even of personal hygiene. The last verse of Tankhahnama, which the Sikhs usually recite in unison after ardas, contains the well-familiar litany, Raj karegii khalsa....

Sakh i Rahit Ki, also ascribed to Bhai Nand Lal, is a summary in Punjabi prose of a dialogue between Bhai Nand Lal and Guru Gobind Singh. The Guru adjures his Khalsa to bow only before the Guru's word and shun Brahmanical beliefs, rites and rituals. Use of tobacco and trimming or shaving of hair are prohibited. So are adultery, thieving, backbiting and slander. Positive injunctions include early rising, daily ablutions, reciting nitnem, honest work, love of sabda and hospitality.

Rahitnma Bhai Prahilad Singh is a short poem comprising 38 couplets. It is anachronistically dated at Abchalnagar (NandeQ) in 1695 when Guru Gobind Singh was still in Anandpur. Prahilad Singh, Prahilad Rai before his initiation as a Singh, was a scholarly Brhman who at the instance
of Guru Gobind Singh rendered into bhākhā vernacular 50 Upaniṣads which Prince Dārā Shukoh had got translated into Persian. His Rahitnāmā forbids a Sikh to wear a cap or a jāneu, the sacred thread of the caste Hindus. It forbids association with masands, with the heretic sect called Mīnās, with those who shave their heads or with those who practise female infanticide. Use of snuff is also forbidden. The Sikhs must shun idolatry and the worship of graves. They must have faith only in God, the Guru Granth Sahib, and the Guru-Khalsā.

Rahitnāmā Bhāi Daī Dayā Singh presents in prose, to begin with, the rules of conduct as coming from the lips of Guru Gobind Singh himself; in this case the author is the first among the Piāres. The reference in it to Muktsar and Abchalnagar, injunction against the learning of Persian and Sanskrit and the mythical origin of the ceremony of amrīt create doubts about its authorship. Besides the usual injunctions regarding the recitation of nitnem, the five symbols of the Khalsā, the K’s, nām simaran, etc., and those prohibiting idolatry and Brāhmaṇical practices, the distinctive features of this Rahitnāmā are: the description of how amrīt is prepared and administered; proclamation that Khalsā is the incarnation of God; the names of the five Muktās; prescription of fine and corporeal punishment for certain religious offences, and procedure for the redemption of offenders; recognition of Granth-Panth as Guru; inclusion of Dhirmallīās and Rām Rāīās among the fallen sects to be boycotted socially; and minutiae with regard to some minor prescriptions and prohibitions.

Rahitnāmā Hazūrī, also called Rahitnāmā Bhāi Chaupā Singh, is the most elaborate statement of rules of conduct for the Sikhs. Its authorship is traditionally ascribed to Bhāi Chaupā Singh Chhibbar, who had been in attendance upon Guru Gobind Singh since his (the Guru’s) childhood. Kesar Singh Chhibbar describes briefly in his

Baṅsāvalīnāmā how Guru Gobind Singh decided to have the rules of Khalsā conduct codified and recorded, and how the Guru responded, shortly before the siege of Anandpur and its evacuation, to the requests from his Sikhs by commanding Chaupā Singh to write a rahitnāmā. When Chaupā Singh humbly professed insufficient competence for so weighty a responsibility, he was reassured by the promise that the Guru himself would inspire and direct his words. Dutifully, he recorded a rahitnāmā a copy of which written in the hand of Sital Singh Bahrūpiā was taken to the Guru for his imprimatur. A second copy was then prepared by a Sūd Sikh and this too was certified by the Guru. The work was, according to internal evidence, authenticated by Guru Gobind Singh on 7 Jēth 1757 Bk/5 May 1700. The Guru ordered, it further states, that more copies of it should be got similarly attested and no additions to it were to be made. The concluding portion of this Rahitnāmā containing dates 1759 Bk and 1763 Bk (AD 1702 and 1706) is apparently an addition by Chaupe Singh or by interpolaters later. The extant text of the Rahitnāmā seems to be a composite work drawn from at least three different sources. It begins as a formal rahitnāmā presenting a regular series of injunctions, but then switches over to a narrative sequence. It subsequently returns to its formal presentation of the rahit abandoning it again for another extended narrative sequence.

Of the 1800 injunctions contained in the Rahitnāmā the main ones are: A Sikh should regularly say his nitnem, and be always alert in attending to his duty and earn his living by the labour of his hands; he should have no dealing with mīnās, masands, rāmrāīās, the shaven ones, and with those who practise female infanticide; he should not drink liquor; he should never be parted from the five, viz. kachchh (shorts), kes (hair), kirpān (sword), bāṇī and saṅγat; he should not use nor deal in tobacco and should not give his
daughter in marriage to one who smokes; he should regularly set aside dasvandh or tithe, and he should not trade in pothis or manuscript copies of gurbani. A special feature of Rahitnāmā Hazūrī is a section devoted to Sikh women. Some of the stipulations: they should not bathe naked; should ensure personal hygiene and cleanliness while cooking or serving; should not abuse a male; should cover their heads while in sangat; should learn to read (Guru) Granth Sāhib but must not read it in public; they should not be baptized; should shun unclean songs and jokes; should be religious, modest and chaste; and so on.

The Rahitnāmā contains a classic catalogue of Sikh characteristics and virtues. In a free English rendering: Sikh faith is his who honours his kes and preserves them to his very last breath; who recites the sabda; who finds his fulfilment in doing his duty; who reflects on the Guru's teaching; who is armed with the weapon of chastity; whose word is truth; who accepts the preordained law; who rejoices in feeding others; who believes in the sovereignty of the sword; who worships the Timeless One; who adores the weapons; who has a reputation for charity; who earns repute by his readiness to serve others; who commands the sweetness of speech; who is true to his salt; who is modest in his appearance; whose grihastha is with his gentle wife of good breeding; who lives always in the Lord's presence; who adores his family; who obeys the command of the Guru; who lives by the teachings of the Guru Granth Sāhib; who rejoices in the rites of the Khalsa; who remains awake singing the Lord's praise; who dutifully washes his kes; who abjures wrong-doing; who is alert in his conduct; who is disciplined in his speech; whose rahit is truly in his heart rather than merely external; who holds his belief discerningly; who owns the Guru; who loves his fellow Sikhs; who serves his father and mother; who recites bānī from memory; who has his mind in control; who attains authority though in service; who has love in his heart; who shares with others what he has; who annihilates his sins; whose dealings are marked by propriety; whose addiction is prasad, i.e. karah prasad (the Sikh sacrament); who is ready for a square fight; who acknowledges the power of the Word; who contributes to the advancement of dharma; who is desirous always of contemplating on His Name.

However, the extant texts of the Rahitnāmā are adulterated and contain injunctions which are in conflict with approved Sikh teaching. It grants, for example, a position of privilege to the Brāhmaṇ and orders a contemptuous ostracizing of the Muslims. The presence of strong Purānic element and the influence of the Devi cult are some of the other possible corruptions in the extant texts.

Rahitnāmā Bhāi Desā Sīṅgh is admittedly a late-18th-century work. It is in the form of a long poem of 146 couplets and short four-line stanzās. The poet states that he had lived in Buṅgā Marālivālā at Amritsar where Sardār Jassā Sīṅgh (Āhlūvāliā) has also lived for a long time. From there, in old age, he visited Paṭnā. During his travels after that, he once in a dream was ordered by Guru Gobind Sīṅgh to write down a code of conduct for the Sikhs. Bhāi Desā Sīṅgh lays particular stress on the following points: a Sikh must receive the rites of the Khalsa by ceremony of the double-edged sword; should devote himself to bānī and refrain from backbiting and slander; should use vāhigurūjī ki fateh as the form of salutation and greeting, should recite regularly ordered texts; should treat all women other than his wife as daughters or mothers; must maintain the five symbols of the Sikhs; must not flee the battlefield; should make pilgrimage to the Sikh holy places; should serve only the Khalsa or should engage in
agriculture, trade or industry, but should not seek employment with the Turks nor indulge in theft or robbery; should be an listener at recitals of Guru Granth Sahib and at religious discourses: must not use tobacco and other intoxicants nor kusṭhā (flesh of animal slaughtered in the Muslim fashion); should eat jhatkā (flesh of animal killed in the Sikh manner with a single blow), if at all; must learn reading and writing the Gurmukhī script; must beware of the five sins, viz. adultery, gambling, lying, stealing and liquor; should not criticize other religious faiths; should not live on offerings made at gurdwārās; even a Sikh minister should spend out of the offerings sparingly for his personal use and spend the major part for deg or Guru ka LaIigar and on maintenance of the gurdwārā. According to Desā Singh, maintenance of unshorn hair (kes) is obligatory for a Sikh. A common form of living is important, but equally important is raḥīt or stipulated moral living. He says, “raḥīt su kesan ko ati bhūkhan/ raḥīt binā sir kes bī dūkhān (raḥīt is ornament for the hair; without raḥīt the hair of the head too is a fake (verses 82-83). The poet then proceeds to set down instructions regarding the preparation and serving of laṅgar or community meal (90-123).

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RAHRASI is the name given to the main evening prayer of the Sikhs. The word itself implies supplication, though some traditionalist scholars have interpreted it as rāh-i-rāst which, in Persian, means the straight path, the path of faith and devotion as against that of mere ritual practices or yogic austerities. The title ‘Rahrāsi’ however does not occur anywhere in the Gurū Granth Sāhib itself, nor is the text, as it is recited today, recorded as a single whole. Besides its two major constituents, So Daru and So Purakhu, it has three further sections—the Chaupai from among Gurū Gobind Singh’s compositions in the Dasam Granth, Anandu (only the first five stanzas and the last from among Gurū Amar Dās’ and the Mundāvānī from among Gurū Arjan’s. The total text is a case of ‘editing’ by tradition. The Rahrāsi in its current form has evolved in the course of a period of time. The earliest text was but So Daru which, as says Bhāī Gurdās (Vārān, 1.38), used to be recited in the evening assemblies in Gurū Nānāk’s day. Gurū Arjan supplemented it with So Purakhu hymns and the two were recorded by him jointly in the Gurū Granth Sāhib after the Japu. The complete text, with three more sections subsequently added, has come down the generations through guṭkās or breviaries, but with minor variations as regards the number of hymns or of the stanzas thereof included. The text as it appears in the guṭkās issued by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee is the accepted form today. The title ‘Rahrāsi’ comes from the hymn of Gurū Rām Dās included under So Daru wherein the word occurs once in the line: gurmati nāmi merā prān sakhu hari kīrātī hamārī rahrāsi (The name Divī is my life’s companion; laudation of the Lord my supplication).

Rahrāsi is included in nitnem, Sikhs’ daily regimen of five prayers. It is recited in the evening in gurdwārās and may be preceded or succeeded by kīrītan, i.e. holy singing. Those who are unable to join the evening assembly may say it individually at home or wherever they should be at that hour.

In the hymns entitled So Daru, that is, the Divine Portal, is portrayed the cosmic hall in which dwells the Supreme Being, the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the
the universe. *Rāga*, that is harmony, reigns here. Every element or being, however great and powerful, is here perfectly attuned to the Will of the Supreme Lord and works in complete unison with it. All the powers symbolized by wind, water, fire, the celestial judge, the invisible scribes of good and evil deeds, Īśvara (Śiva), Brahmā, the goddess, Indra, *devās* or gods, *siddhas*, *sādhus*, virtuous beings, *pandīts*, fairies, the ‘jewels’ churned out of the ocean, holy places of pilgrimage, the four *khāṇīs* or sources of life, the planets and parts of the universe, the blissful *bhaktas* and myriads of other entities, sing praises of the Lord and give complete obedience to His Will. *So Daru* is by Gurū Nānak; so is the hymn following. This hymn proclaims how great, how beyond utterance, how beyond compute is the Supreme One. The third hymn, also by Gurū Nānak, says that the Supreme Being is intrinsically great for He neither dies nor experiences sorrow. Remembering Him one lives; forgetting Him one dies. In the fourth hymn, Gurū Rām Dās asks for the favour of Name enlightenment. Gurū Arjan next says that he with *satsaṅgat*, holy company, mingles liberated.

*So Purakhū* (That Being) by Gurū Rām Dās praises the Supreme Being who is transcendent as well as immanent, infinite, all-pervading, residing in every heart, above fear, beyond measure, eternal, creator and sustainer. His Will reigns supreme. Those who remember Him are freed from fear, are liberated. They truly are the sincere devotees who find approval with Him, not those who merely perform formal acts of worship. Those who on Him meditate, into Him are merged. The next hymn, also by Gurū Rām Dās, lays stress on the unicity of the Ultimate Reality that is God. All creatures have their being in the Creator. His Will is supreme. It is the *gurmukh* (the devoted) who find the jewel of the Name; the *manmukh* (the self-willed) forfeit that precious object.

Gurū Nānak in the following hymn seeks shelter with those who forever remember the Lord. In the concluding hymn in this section, Gurū Arjan reminds men that in this human birth they have the opportunity to unite with Govind, the Lord. They must, to this end, meet in *saṅgat*, holy fellowship and repeat the Name.

In the *Chaupai*, Gurū Gobind Singh invokes the Timeless Being who cherishes his saints and cancels the sorrows and faults of those who pronounce his Name. *Anand*, in the *Rahrāsi* comprising six stanzas from Gurū Amar Dās’ *bānī* of this name with which conclude all Sikh services, expresses joy and bliss in God achieved through *saĥay*, that is the path of serene prayer and meditation. *Mundāvanī* (the seal, finale), concluding the *Rahrāsi*, is Gurū Arjan’s brief composition which forms the epilogue to the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Here Gurū Arjan presents the Sacred Volume as an amalgam of the spiritual values of truth, equipoise and contemplation. He also renders gratitude to God almighty for bringing to fulfilment the task of compiling the Holy Granth he had undertaken.

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**RĀI BULĀR**, a Muhammadan noble of the Bhaṭṭi clan, was during the latter half of the fifteenth century the chief of Talvanḍī Rāi Bhoī, the village where Gurū Nānak was born in 1469. Rāi Bulār had great affection for young Gurū Nānak and held him in high esteem. According to Janam Sākhī accounts, Rāi Bulār perceived the Divine in Gurū Nānak and became a devotee. Once young Nānak was arraigned before him for having allowed the cattle herd he was tending to damage a farmer’s crop. The Rāi sent for Bābā Kālū, the Gurū’s father, and directed
him to compensate the farmer for the damage. But footmen sent to estimate the loss reported that they had seen no damage whatsoever. Rai Bulār was as much surprised as the complainant himself, who insisted that he had seen with his own eyes the whole crop ruined and the buffaloes sitting amidst it after they had heartily gorged themselves on it. On another occasion, Gurū Nānak, while out with his herd, lay down to rest under a tree in the summer afternoon and fell asleep. After a while, Rai Bulār along with his servants happened to pass by. He was surprised to see a strange phenomenon. The shadows of other trees had travelled round with the sun, but not of the tree under which Nānak slept. Returning to the town, the Rai called Father Kālū and said to him, “Your son is a great man. He is the honour of my town. Kālū, thou hast become exalted and I too am exalted in whose town such a one has been born.”

Gurū Nānak reciprocated the honour and affection extended to him by Rai Bulār and never failed in between his long travels to visit him, who always felt blessed to see him. Even when he lay dying in 1515 circa, the Gurū was by his bedside.

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RAIKOT (30° 39’N, 75° 37’E), a municipal town in Ludhiana district, is sacred to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. He came here on the invitation of Rai Kalhā, the local Muslim chief, and encamped under a shisham or tāhli tree at the site of Gurdwārā Tāhlīānā Siṅhīb, 1.5 km to the west of the town. According to local tradition, it was here that Gurū Gobind Siṅgh heard the news of the martyrdom at Sirhind of his two younger sons brought by Rai Kalhā’s messenger.

The older building of the Gurdwārā, a square domed room with a verandah around it constructed in the 1920’s, is still used as the prakhāś asthān. Its floor is paved with glazed tiles and the lotus dome above it is topped with an ornamental golden pinnacle and an umbrella-like finial. To this, a rectangular divān hall and a verandah on three sides were added later. A small rectangular sarovar is next to the divān hall on the right as one enters. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. The most important annual event is a three-day fair held on 19, 20 and 21 Poh (first week of January) to commemorate Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s visit.

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RAIĻĪ, a small village 12 km from Sirhind (30° 37’N, 76° 23’E) in Fatehgarh Sāhib district, claims a historical shrine dedicated to the Ninth Gurū. Before 1947 Railī was predominantly a Muslim village, with only a few Kamboj Sikh families. These Sikhs maintained a platform as a memorial to Gurū Tegh Bahādur’s visit. The present Gurdwārā was built in the early 1950’s. It has a square hall with a low platform in the middle as the sanctum. The Gurdwārā is managed by a village committee in which members of the old Kamboj families take a leading role.
RAILON, village 9 km to the southeast of Bassi Paṭhānān (30° -42'N, 76° -25'E) in Fatehgarh Sāhib district, was, according to local tradition, visited by Guru Tegh Bahadur at the request of its inhabitants. A shrine was established here and it continued to be looked after by Udāsi sādhīs until the control passed to the Sikhs of the village. They built a new complex which is now known as Gurdwārā Nāvin Pāṭhāhī. It comprises a square hall with a verandah in front. The sanctum replacing the old Maṇjī Sāhib is in the centre of the hall and has a low dome over it. The Gurdwārā is managed by the village committee.

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RAIPUR, a large village on the left bank of the River Ṭāṅgri, 42 km from Chaṇḍīgarh (30° -44'N, 76° -47'E), was formerly a small hill principality. At the time of the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī in 1688, it was ruled by the widow of Rao Fateh Singh. She was a follower of the Gurū and had not joined the other hill chiefs in their battle against him. After the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī, Gurū Gobind Singh left Pāoṇjā Sāhib for Anandpur. As he was on the way, encamped at Māṇak Ṭābrā, across the Ṭāṅgri, the Rāṇī went there to see him and to invite him for a meal in her own fortress. The Gurū accepted the invitation and was served with devotion and reverence. Upon the Rāṇī’s prayer, he blessed her son’s line to continue with dignity, and made him the gift of a sword and shield. The town thereafter came to be known as Rāṇī kā Rāipur or Rāipur Raṇī. A small shrine known as Gurdwārā Dasvin Pāṭhāhī still exists inside the fortress commemorating Gurū Gobind Singh’s visit as the Rāṇī’s guest. It consists of a platform inside a small room under the intertwined pīpal and nīm trees close to the main entrance to the old fortress, with a separate room for the Gurū Granth Sāhib. A lady especially employed by the Rāo’s family looks after the shrine.

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RAI SINGH was one of the Chālī Mukte, the Forty Liberated Ones, who fell fighting for Gurū Gobind Singh in the battle of Muktsar.
RAI SINGH

(29 December 1705). According to Bhāṭṭ Vahi Multāṇī Sindhi, Rāi Singh was the son of Māi Dās, a Vanjārā Rājpūt, of 'Alipur, in Multān district.

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S.S.B.

RAI SINGH, son of Lakhmīr Singh of Amritsar and a leader of the Bhaṅgī family, captured, together with his brother Mālgh Singh, 204 villages around Būrīā after the sack of Sirhind by the Sikhs in January 1764. Eighty-four of these villages including Jagādhārī and Dīālgārh fell to the share of Rāi Singh. Jagādhārī had been completely ruined by Nādīr Shāh. Rāi Singh invited traders and artisans to settle there and they turned it into a flourishing town. Rāi Singh also controlled Haridvār and received considerable income from the city at the time of fairs and festivals. The state of Gārhvāl was tributary to him as well.

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S.S.B.

RAJANĪ, BĪBĪ, was, according to a tradition recorded by Gīānī Gīān Singh, Panth Prakāsh, the youngest of the five daughters of Dūni Chand, a 16th-century Kaurā Khatri and a rich landlord and revenue collector of Paṭī, an old town 44 km southwest of Amritsar. Once, during a conversation, while the four elder daughters expressed their indebtedness to their father alone for the comforts and luxury they enjoyed, Rajani differed from them saying that, though their father was no doubt kind to them, the source of all bounty was God, the sustainer of entire existence. Dūni Chand, a vainglorious man, was annoyed at the views of the child whom he rebuked for what he considered her ungratefulness. In order to teach her a lesson, he married her to Vikram Datt, a poor leper of Paṭī itself. Rajani, unshaken in her faith in God, served her husband with devotion. Carrying her helpless husband in a basket on her head, she lived on the proceeds of her own labour and alms given by compassionate householders. One day she happened to visit the site where Gurū Rām Dās (1534-
RAJA RAM (d. 1644), a Rājput Sikh of the time of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), was so deeply attached to the Gurū that, according to Maubid Zulfiqār Ardastānī, Dabistān-i-Mazāhib, he immolated himself on his funeral pyre. “Placing his [Guru Hargobind’s] body on firewood, as they,” says Zulfiqār Ardastānī, a contemporary chronicler who had met the Gurū at Kiratpur only a few months earlier, “set it alight and as the flames rose high, a Rājput named Rāja Rām, who was his servant, flung himself into the fire. He walked a few paces on the fire till he conveyed himself to the feet of the Gurū. He placed his face on the soles of his [Gurū’s] feet and did not move till he gave away his life... After that a large number [of people] wanted to jump in. (But) Gurū Har Rāi forbade them to do so.”

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RAJAS OF THE PUNJAB, by Sir Lepel H. Griffin, first published in 1870 and reprinted in 1970 by the Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, contains accounts of the principal Sikh princely states in the Punjab and of their political relations with the paramount power. The author admits that the title of the work is open to objection because of the omission from it of some of the important chiefs of the Punjab such as those of Kashmir and Bahāwalpur. The work is based mainly on the official records and papers of Delhi, Ambāla and Ludhiana political agencies as well as on the despatches of Malcolm, Ochterlony, Macalfe, Murray, Wade, Macnaghten and Prinsep, and official correspondence emanating from Fort William, Calcutta, with regard to the relations of the British government with the protected states. The book is divided into eight chapters, each dealing with an individual Sikh state. The book opens with the history of the Patialā state, the largest in the Mālvā region. Its founder, Ālā Singh (1691-1765) became as a result of his conquests “the most distinguished” among the Sikh chiefs of his day in
that region. He allied himself with the Dal Khālsā to take possession of the Sirhind sub-division. He made Paṭīlā his capital in 1752. In 1761 he was invested by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī with the title of Rājā. Griffin considers him a “gallant and at the same time prudent” leader of men who “laid strongly the foundations of the most important of the cis-Sutlej states.” His successor Amar Siṅgh (1748-1782) was the strong man of Paṭīlā, Griffin being of the view that had he lived longer or had he been succeeded by a ruler as capable as he was, “the cis-Sutlej states might have been welded into one kingdom and their independence might have been preserved, both against the Lahore monarchy on the one hand and the British Government on the other.” A notable feature in the history of the family was the emergence of women of extraordinary courage and political wisdom at periods of crisis. One of them was Rāṇī Rājinḍer Kaur, grand-daughter of Alā Siṅgh, whom Griffin describes as “one of the most remarkable women of her age, possessing all the virtues which men pretend as their own.” In 1785 she marched on Paṭīlā from Phagwārā where she had been and reinstated Nānū Mall as Diwān. She formed a coalition of the leading Sikh Sārdārs against Dhārā Rāo, the Marāṭhā invader. In 1790 when the Marāṭhā force commanded by Rāne Khān Dādāji and ‘Ali Bahādur Peshwā knocked at the gates of Paṭīlā, she made a journey to Mathurā to settle the matter with Mahārājā Scindīa, vice-regent of the Mughal empire. Sāhib Kaur, daughter of Rājā Amar Siṅgh, was another prominent name in the Paṭīlā annals. In 1791, she became the chief minister of Paṭīlā at the young age of eighteen. In 1795, when the cis-Sutlej region was invaded by Nānū Rāo Marāṭhā, she, gathering round her the forces of Jind, Kalsīa, Thānescar and Bhadaur in addition to those of Paṭīlā, defeated him at Mardānpur on the banks of the River Ghaggar near Ambālā. Rāṇī Ās Kaur, the wife of Rājā Sāhib Siṅgh of Paṭīlā, was a woman of great ability and her wise administration of the Paṭīlā state during her husband’s reign and during the minority of her son, won the admiration of the neighbouring states, and was warmly praised by the British Government.

Rājā Hamīr Siṅgh, the builder of Nābhā state, and his wife, Desū, have received tribute from the author. He calls Hamīr Siṅgh “a brave and energetic chief,” and has all praise for Desū who fought bravely against Gajpat Siṅgh of Jind who had taken her husband prisoner by treachery and attacked Sangrū. Griffin agrees with Sir David Ochterlony’s assessment of Jassvant Siṅgh, son of Hamīr Siṅgh, whom he called “one of the principal Sārdārs under our protection, and by far superior in manner, management, and understanding to any of them I have yet seen.” He also refers to the continuous hostility between the states of Nābhā and Paṭīlā.

Gajpat Siṅgh, the founder of the Jind State, was on friendly terms with Paṭīlā, but an enemy of Nābhā. His daughter, Rāj Kaur, was the mother of Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh. The chiefs of Bhadaur, who trace their ancestry to Chaudharii Dunna, also belonged to the Phulkīān stock. The most famous chief of Bhadaur was Gauhar Siṅgh. The village bards used to sing ballads in praise of his martial skill, his victories and his charity to the poor.

Jassā Siṅgh Ālūvālī, the founder of the Kāpurthalā state, was the leader of the Dal Khālsā and had fought many battles against the Mughals and the Durrānīs. His grandson, Fatch Siṅgh, gave full support to Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh in war as well as in diplomacy. He was the architect of the Tripartite treaty of 1805 between the British, Ranjit Siṅgh and Jassvant Rāo Holkar.

The ancestors of the rulers of Faridkoṭ had their seat initially at Koṭ Kapūrā. Hamīr Siṅgh made Faridkoṭ his headquarters. Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh’s general, Muhkam Chand, seized Faridkoṭ, but it was restored.
to the family after the Anglo-Sikh treaty of 1809.

Maṇḍi, one of the Kangra hill states, first became tributary to Mahārajā Ranjit Singh, but later on accepted British paramountcy.

The minor Phulkian families of Badrukhān, Diālpurā, Jiūndān, Koṭ Dunnā, Lauḍghariā, Malaud and Rāmpurīa are touched upon in passing.

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RĀJ BAŃSO (d. 1835), daughter of Rājā Sansār Chand of Kangra and sister of Rāni Mahīṭa Devi, was married to Mahārajā Ranjit Singh in 1829. Said to be the most beautiful of the Mahārajā’s wives, she was a patron of hill music. Rāj Bańso committed suicide in 1835 over a typical palace trifle. Ranjit Singh performed the cremation ceremonies with his own hands.

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RĀJ DEVĪ, RĀNĪ (d. 1839), daughter of Miān Padam Singh, a Rājpūt, was married to Mahārajā Ranjit Singh. She immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband on 28 June 1839.

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RĀJGAḤR, formerly known as Burj Mānāṅvālā, is a village 32 km northwest of Barnālā (30°22’N, 75°32’E) claiming a historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh who made a brief halt here travelling from Dīnā in December 1705. The shrine, Gurdwārā Pāṭshāḥī Dasvīn, on the southwestern corner of the village, is a domed sanctum, with a 25-metre square sarovar adjacent to it. The Gurdwārā is administered by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Besides the daily services, special gatherings take place on the first of every Bikrami month. The first of Māgh (mid-January) is marked by a largely-attended religious fair.

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M.G.S.

RĀJINDAR KAUR, BĪBĪ (1739-1791) or Rājindān, Paṭīlār princess known for her valorous qualities, was the granddaughter of Bābā Ālā Singh. The only child of her father, Bhūmiā Singh, who had died when she was barely four, she was brought up by her grandfather, and, in 1751, married to Chaudhari Tilok Chand, of Phagwārā. Har husband died at a young age and the charge of the family estate, consisting of over two hundred villages, fell to her. When Bābā Ālā Singh was arrested in 1765 by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī for having fallen into arrears with the tribute and was being taken to Lahore, Rājindar Kaur went to her grandfather and offered to pay the money to secure his release. But the latter declined the offer saying that it was not proper to accept money from a daughter of the family. In 1778, Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭīlā, who was Rājindar Kaur’s first cousin, was defeated by Hari Singh of Siālbā. Rājindar Kaur came to his rescue with three thousand soldiers marching through the territories of the chiefs who had fought on the side of Hari Singh. During the reign of the minor Rājā Sāhib Singh, Rājindar Kaur was again in Paṭīlā to defend the town against Marāṭhā onslaughts. At the head of a strong force, she marched as far as Mathurā where peace parleys were opened with the Marāṭhās.

Bībī Rājindar Kaur died in 1791 at Paṭīlā.
after a short illness. She was cremated in the royal cemetery known as Shahī Samādhān.

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RAJINDER KAUR, DR (1931-1989), journalist and politician, was born at Amritsar on 10 February 1931, the daughter of the famous Akālī leader, Master Tārā Singh. She was educated at Khālsā College, Amritsar, Pañjāb University, Chandīgarh, and Camp College, New Delhi, and attained the degrees of M.A. (Philosophy), B.T. (Bachelor of Teaching) and Ph.D. (Philosophy). Her doctoral thesis was on “The Sikh Concept of the Godhead.” She taught at Khālsā College, Amritsar, for one year during 1958-59, but left teaching to enter journalism and politics. She edited for three years the Punjabi daily Parbhāt published simultaneously from Jalandhar and Delhi, and the monthly Sant Sipāhī from Amritsar. She was president of the Istri Akālī Dal, women’s wing of the Shiromani Akālī Dal, and was also active in the fields of education and social welfare. She was a member of the New Delhi Municipal Committee for two years from 1977 to 1979 during which period she chaired its social welfare subcommittee. She had also been a member of the Delhi Sikh Gurdwārā Management Committee since 1975, and was a co-opted founder-member of the Sikh Education Society (Punjab) which ran Khālsā colleges at Qādiān, Baṅgā, Chandīgarh and Saṭhīālā. She also served for two years as a member of the Court of the Delhi University. She was a member of the National Committee on Women and the Advisory Committee of the Amritsar Municipal Corporation. In April 1978, Dr Rajinder Kaur was elected to the Rājya Sabhā, the upper house of Indian Parliament. In 1980, she participated in a seminar for Religion and Philosophy held at Wembley Conference Centre, London, and in 1982 she attended World Conference of Religious Workers on Disarmament in Moscow.

Dr Rajinder Kaur fell at Bathinda to the bullets of unidentified assassins on 5 February 1989.

M.G.S.

RAJINDER SINGH (1932-1995), or Qaumi Ektā (both had become synonymous), was born on 9 October 1932 at Māndi Bahāūddīn. Qaumi Ektā and its editor Sardār Rajinder Singh were two reflections of one single reality. One could not be dissected from the other. Nor was it possible to analyse or evaluate them separately. Both had become part of one indivisible reality. If one was mentioned in a particular context the other name got repeated inevitably in the next. At a very young age Rajinder Singh had made his name, widely known. In Punjabi letters and journalism, none dared interrupt him in his march forward. Nor did he own to any difficulty or obstacle.

The niche Rajinder Singh had carved out for himself in Punjabi journalism at an unbelievably young age was indeed unprecedented. Gurbakhsh Singh of the Preet Lajī had imparted to Punjabi writing a fresh flavour. He was the originator of a new style. With him were born many a new construction and idiom. Likewise, Rajinder Singh was the monarch of many styles. Whatever came to his pen he recorded fearlessly and unhesitatingly. There was much newness and originality in it. On Punjabi he bestowed a completely new style of political writing. He bottled into it the bitterness of neem leaves; also, the sweetness of elixir. This unexpected mixture of moods conferred upon Punjabi writing a new power and energy. Cheek by
jowl with his soft words lay his sword-cuts. The many splendidly stroked strokes which came to Punjabi via Rājinder Singh's pen had a feather-like quality mixed with his lethal thrusts. The language received from no other writer this manner of variety. He made the maximum use of his literary powers and drew the last ounce of energy from these. He did not have the slightest difficulty in switching over from one mood to the other. This elasticity and freshness of colour were Rājinder Singh's permanent assets.

Rājinder Singh had been an avid reader of newspapers from the very outset. He was still a school-going youth when he diligently went through all the Punjabi and Urdu newspapers that came to his small town of Manḍi Bahāūddīn. Then came partition of the country. Rājinder Singh developed an entirely new interest. That was in meeting and befriending important personalities of the day. He was soon able to make friends with India's prime minister, Jawāharlāl Nehru. He was a pastmaster in cultivating men in high places. He was very knowledgeable about local politics and he was a fetching conversationalist. He never went to meet anyone without rehearsing his words. He never failed to win the trust of others. Jawāharlāl Nehru became especially enamoured of him. Like him he was able to win the implicit trust of Partap Singh Kairōnī, Giānī Gurmukh Singh Musāʿfir and Giānī Kartār Singh. All of them admired his sharpness of mind and gave him their fullest confidence. With some of them he talked almost on equal terms. He could cut jokes with them. He felt inferior talking to no one. His confidence in himself was amazing. In the company of Jawāharlāl Nehru he felt on very easy terms and this relationship continued through at least three generations. After Jawāharlāl Nehru it was his daughter, Indirā Gāndhi, and then his grandson, Rājiv. Once he was coming to Paṭiālā but was summoned by Rājiv before he reached Paṭiālā. In his characteristically informal manner he said to Rājiv that he was looking so handsome that day that had he been a girl he would have abducted her to a place beyond the reach of everyone. He was very fearless and outspoken. Fear he did not know.

He could be on similarly familiar terms with his other friends. Among them could be counted Harinder Singh of Rājā Sānsi, Harcharan Singh Ajnālā, Narain Singh Shāhbāzpuri, Mubārak Singh and Iqbal Singh Sandhānvālīā. Their endless barrage of witticisms was always a source of great delight for the listeners. But never was a single harsh or uncivil word uttered by anyone.

Rājinder Singh broke into journalism when he was a mere boy in his teens. He had no literary experience. Nor any familiarity with the technique. Yet, he launched forth undaunted. He had one or two issues of the paper written by proxy. But he was not happy with what he saw. Then he went ahead on his own. The results were dramatic. The first issue that came out proved a tremendous hit. The layout and presentation were most attractive. The writing was punchy. The editor and the paper became famous overnight. The weekly became the talk of the town. There was but one question, one and only one question on the lips of the readers; "Have you seen the Qāumī Ektā of this week?" "Did you read this week's Qāumī Ektā?" This was the query on all lips.

In those days the paper was a weekly publication. Turning the weekly paper into a monthly was a major decision for the editor to make. He discussed the question with several of his friends. He took his friends to the choicest hotels. He was a very good host and loved to entertain friends. As a monthly paper the Qāumī Ektā established its credentials still more firmly. Its special numbers were got up with taste. They won wide renown. Several of the well-known writers had made a custom of keeping them on their files. Numbers such as those on Sikh
Maharajas and Sikh Music were expertly made up. They will count as most significant contributions to Punjabi letters. Likewise, Rājinder Singh's special number brought out in memory of Sardār Partāp Singh Kairon was a historic issue. Whatever Rājinder Singh touched with his pen, turned into gold. He gave it a new form and new look. He established the tone of Punjabi idiom and imparted to it a new form and polish.

Rājinder Singh died in Delhi on 1 September 1995.

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RĀJINDER SĪNGH, MAHĀRĀJĀ (1872-1900), son of Mahārājā Mohinder Singh, was born at Paṭialā on 25 May 1872. After the death of his father, he ascended the throne of Paṭialā on 6 January 1877. During his regency the Sirhind canal was completed, and a broad-guage railway line from Rājpūra to Batīnhā was constructed (completed in 1889). The Paṭialā state helped the British with a force, 1,100 strong, during the Afghan war of 1879.

Mahārājā Rājinder Singh took a keen interest in the promotion of sports, especially polo and cricket. He died on 8 November 1900 in the prime of his life.

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RĀJ KAREGĀ KHĀLSĀ, lit. "the Khālsā shall rule," a phrase expressive of the will of the Sikh people to sovereignty, is part of the anthem which follows the litany or arḍās recited at the end of every religious service of the Sikhs. While the arḍās is said by an officiant or any Sikh leading the saṅgat standing and facing Gurū Granth Śāhib, the anthem is recited aloud in unison by everyone present, with responses from the assembly. Rendered into English the anthem comprising doharās or couplets reads:

1. Verily by the order-of God the Immortal was the Panth promulgated. It is incumbent upon all the Sikhs to regard the Granth as their Gurū.

2. Regard the Granth as the Gurū, the manifest body of the Gurūs. Those who desire to be united with God may find Him in the Śabda, the holy Word.

3. The Khālsā shall rule and none will remain defiant; all such shall come into the fold after wandering in humiliation. All who take refuge (in the Panth) shall be protected.

Some more couplets follow signifying the ultimate victory of the Panth and praise of God and the Gurū. While the first two couplets appear in Giani Gian Singh, Panth Prakāśh (1878), as srīmukhas, i.e. the Gurū's own utterance, the third is found at the end of Bhai Nand Lāl's Tankhāhnāmā, a catalogue of prohibitions laid down for initiated Sikhs. The remaining couplets have no authentic source and might well be later additions by the devout.

The ideas embodied in the three couplets cited relate to two basic themes, the Panth and the Granth, a restatement of the earlier doctrine of mirī-pīrī or the symbiosis of the mundane and the spiritual, of religion and politics. The statement that the Khālsā Panth was created under God’s own command is substantiated by Gurū Gobind Singh’s autobiographical Bachitra Nāṭak in which he states that God sent him into this world to uphold dharma and to uproot evil. And the Gurū’s parting order to the Sikhs to treat the Holy Book as their manifest Gurū confirms the earlier belief that the Gurū’s utterances represent the Gurū. Śabda is
The third couplet, ṛaj karegā Khālsā āqi rahe nā koe, khuār hoe sab milaiinge bache saran jo hoe, appearing at the end of Tankhāhnāmā, lit. code laying down penalties for faltering Sikhs, is the Guru’s blessing as well as the expression of his vision of the destiny of the Khālsā (Panth). It is this blessing and this vision which carried the Panth, under the Granth, triumphantly through the cataclysmic half century that followed the departure of the founder of the Khālsā.

The idea that the Khālsā was destined to rule may be expected to appear spontaneously after the institution of the Khālsā. The Sikh doctrine that religious worship and social commitment are interrelated and that political participation and power are complementary to Sikhs’ religious activity, makes the aspiration to political power as a fulcrum for social change and upliftment quite legitimate. Saināpāti, a poet contemporary of Gurū Gobind Singh, closes his Śri Gur Soḥā declaring: “The Gurū, king of kings, shall establish righteousness upon earth through the Khālsā.” The author of Prem Ṣumārāg, who attributes his work to Gurū Gobind Singh, writing in mid-eighteenth century, prophesies the establishment of the rule of the Khālsā. Kuir Singh and Sarūp Dās Bhalla, also in the eighteenth century, project the idea that sovereign rule had been potentially bestowed upon the Khālsā by Gurū Gobind Singh. Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, writing in 1841, espouses the same theory.

The idea of protection in the second line of the couplet is a logical concomitant of the idea of divine sanction guaranteeing authority to the Khālsā. Khālsā being God’s own (Vāhīgurū jī kā Khālsā), its victories (and achievements) also belong to God (Vāhīgurū jī kī Fateh). And God for the Sikhs is the Compassionate Preserver. He gives protection to those who seek it. Says the Gurū Granth Sāhib, jo sārānī āvāi tisu kāntī lāvai ihu bīrutu suāmī sandā (GG, 544). Bache saran jo hoi is, therefore, essential to ṛaj karegā Khālsā. That the Khālsā acted upon this edict is evidenced by the brief Khālsā rule under Bandā Singh Bahādur ensuring peace and security for all subjects regardless of their class or creed. Even the enemy chronicler, Qāzi Nūr Muhammad, in spite of his obvious hatred for the Sikhs, writes in his Jaṅgānāmā, lit. war notes (1677): “nakushtand nāmārā hechgāh, farārāndah rā ham na girand rā—never do they (the Sikh warriors) kill the weak, nor do they chase those who flee the field.” The Khālsā ṛaj as it came to be established under Bandā Singh was liberal and free from religious fanaticism and social discrimination. The ideas enshrined in the Sikh anthem and crystallized in the liberation of the Land of the Five Rivers from the Mughal and Afghan rule, acquired a new momentum and sanctity. The continued recitation of the ṛaj karegā Khālsā anthem as part of litany at least twice a day has been for the Sikhs a constant source of inspiration and strength in their religious, social and political life in the past and shall always act as continuous stimulus for the future.

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Rāj KAUR, daughter of Rājā Gajpat Singh of Jīnd, was the mother of Maharājā Ranjīt Singh. As she came from the Mālvā region, she was affectionately known as Māi Malvāṅ. When her husband Mahān Singh died, their son Ranjīt Singh was too young to assume control of the estate. Māi Rāj Kaur took over
authority and administered the affairs of the Sukkarchakkiā family with the help of her husband’s minister, Lakhpat Rai. When Ranjit Singh came of age, he did away with her control and took power into his own hands. This proved a great shock to her, and she gradually pined away to her end.

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RĀJ KAUR (d. 1838), also known as Dātār Kaur or more popularly Māi Nakain, was the second wife of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. She was the daughter of Raṇjit Singh Nakai, and was married to the Mahārājā in 1798. Though Raṇjit Singh married several other women, Māi Nakain remained his favourite. She was the mother of the heir apparent, Kharak Singh, when he was sent out on an expedition to Multān in 1818.

Rāj Kaur died on 20 June 1838.

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RĀJ MAHAL (25° -2’N, 87° -47’E), a small town on the right bank of the River Gaṅgā, in Santhāl Parganā district of Bihār, was visited by Gurū Tegh Bahādur in the course of his journey through the eastern districts in 1666. According to Sikh chronicles, Rāj Mahal had been visited by Gurū Nānak early in the sixteenth century. A Nānakpanthi saṅgat had come into existence here. Bhāi Bhānū, a prominent Sikh of the time of Gurū Hargobind, belonged to Rāj Mahal. At present, however, there are no Sikh inhabitants. An Udāsi monastery, called Gurdwārā Udāsīn, still exists, but the Gurū Granth Sāhib is not installed in the building, nor is the Sikh worship practised.

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RĀJOĀNĀ, village in Lūdhiana district, on Gurū Gobind Siṅgh Mārg, 10 km north of Rā ksi town (30° -39’N, 75° -37’E), has a shrine, Gurdwārā Maṇji Sāhib, commemorating the visit of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh in 1705. It is said that as Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, accompanied by Mahant Kirpāl Dās, was proceeding from Hehrān to Kamālpur, he was stopped here and served with a drink of milk by one Māi Bhaṭṭī. He was pleased at the old lady’s devotion and invited her to ask for a boon. Māi Bhaṭṭī wished only for further opportunities to serve him. She requested him to be seated on a cot and allow himself to be carried thus by her sons to the next place of halt. The Gurū granted her request. The cot was carried to Kamālpur on the shoulders of the three sons of Māi Bhaṭṭī, one at each corner, Mahant Kirpāl Dās putting his shoulder to the fourth corner.

A memorial was established in the village probably by Māi Bhaṭṭī herself. The present building of the Gurdwārā is, however, of modern construction. In consists of a rectangular hall with a verandah in front, and a domed room in which the Gurū Granth Sāhib rests for the night.

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M.G.S.
RAJO MAJRÄ, a village 6 km west of Dhūrī (30° 22'N, 75° 53'E) in Sangrūr district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine. Gurdwārā Nauvīj) Patshāhī, commemorating the visit of Guru Tegh Bahādur, situated about 200 metres east of the village, comprises a Maiāj Sahib constructed by Maharājā Karam Śingh (1798-1845) of Patiahi, with a hall later raised by Sant Atar Śingh (1866-1927) of Mastūnānā. The old well sunk during the time of the Maharājā is still in use. A sarovar and a new hall, with a square sanctum in the middle, have been added recently. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee but, for the present, the control has been passed on the followers of the late Sant Gurmukh Śingh for further development of the complex.

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RAJPŪT-SIKH RELATIONS. During his preaching tours, Gurū Nānak (1469-1539), founder of the Sikh faith, is believed to have visited Pushkar and Kulāyat, two important Hindu pilgrimage centres in Rājputānā (now Rajasthān), the land of the Rājpūt. While under detention in Gwālīor Fort, Gurū Hargobind came in contact with some Rājpūt chiefs similarly held in custody there, and was instrumental in their eventual release from captivity. Mirzā Rājā Jai Śingh of Āmber (1605-67), his queen, and his son, Rājā Rām Śingh, were devotees of the Gurūs. Gurū Har Krishan (1656-64) and Gurū Tegh Bahādur (1621-75) stayed in their palace in Rāisīnā, a Delhi suburb. According to some accounts Gurū Tegh Bahādur, during his journey towards the eastern provinces, was arrested near Delhi, but was soon released through the intervention of the Āmber prince. The Gurū later accompanied Rājā Rām Śingh, at the latter’s request, during the Assam expedition. Gurū Gobind Śingh (1666-1708) travelled widely across Rājputānā in 1706-08. When Mātā Sundārī (d. 1747) moved from Delhi to Mathurā, the then Rājā of Jaipur, Savāi Jai Śingh, provided her with suitable residence and maintenance. Earlier during Bahādur Shāh’s expedition against Bandā Śingh Bahādur in 1710-11, while princes of Mevār and Kishangarh joined the imperial camp at the royal summons, Maharājā Ajit Śingh of Jodhpur and Rājā Savāi Jai Śingh of Jaipur, despite the emperor’s pressing orders, marched leisurely and came to the Punjab ten months after Bahādur Shāh’s campaign was over.

During the period after Bandā Śingh, Sikh jathās or sub-units of the Dal Khālsā, adopting guerilla tactics against the Mughal and Afghan regimes, took refuge on several occasions in the desert of Rājputānā. We have it on the authority of Ratan Śingh Bhaṅgū, Prāchin Panth Prakāsh, that Bhāī Mahitāb Śingh Mirāṅkoṭīā and Bhāī Sukkha Śingh of Māṅī Kambo went to Jaipur and joined the service of its ruler. Bhaṅgū also records a Sikh force assisting the ruler of Bīkānēr in his attack on Jaisalmer. According to Gianj Gian Śingh, Shamsīr Khālsā, the jathā of Būḍhā Śingh and Shāṁ Śingh of Nārli had at one time been in the service of Bīkānēr.

In December 1765, Rājā Jawāhar Śingh of Bharatpur was at war with Rājā Māḍho Śingh of Jaipur. He hired 25,000 Sikhs under Sardār Jassā Śingh Āhlūvālīā while Māḍho Śingh invited the Marāṭhās for help. The Marāṭhās had also been engaged by Jawāhar Śingh’s step brother, Naval Śingh, who was in possession of Dholpur. Jawāhar Śingh decided first to deal with Naval Śingh. He, therefore, made his peace with Māḍho Śingh and dismissed the Sikhs after paying them their subsidy. In December 1767 Māḍho Śingh attacked Jawāhar Śingh. The latter engaged
10,000 Sikhs to fight for him, but was defeated on 29 February 1768. He hired another Sikh force making a total of 20,000 at 7,00,000 rupees per month. He advanced again to meet Mādhō Singh, but the latter retired without giving a fight. The Sikhs and Rājpūts seem to have had no mutual contact of any kind thereafter.

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H.R.G.

RĀKHĪ SYSTEM, the arrangement whereby the Dal Khālsā during the mid-decades of the eighteenth century established their sway over territories not under their direct occupation. Rākhī, lit. ‘protection’ or ‘vigilance,’ referred to the cess levied by the Dal Khālsā upon villages which sought their protection against aggression or molestation in those disturbed times. The establishment of Dal Khālsā in 1748 coincided with the first of a series of invasions by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī which further weakened the already crumbling administration of the Mughals. The result was an utter chaos and the populace was at the mercy of the roving bands of plunderers of various descriptions. Sikhs were then the only organized people who also followed high moral standards, but they were not yet in a position to establish their direct authority. They introduced a plan offering protection of the Dal Khālsā to a village or a group of villages on payment of rākhī or protection money. The rate varied from one-eighth to one-half, but usually it was one-fifth of the government revenue payable in two instalments corresponding to the two main harvests. The system gained currency, villages singly and in clusters opting for it. This ensured peace for the people and brought regular revenue to the Dal Khālsā without antagonizing the local population. In the Punjab the system lasted until 1764-65 after which the Sikh misls began occupying territories over which they established their regular rule under what is known as the misldārī system. But rākhī continued to be collected from territories in the Gangetic Doāb and the country between Delhi and Pānīpat fight up to 1803 when the British East India Company established its power in that region.

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H.R.G.

RALĪĀ RĀM (d. 1864), eldest son of Misr Chhajjū Mall, was appointed by Maharājā Ranjīt Siṅgh as administrator of Amritsar in 1811. Raliā Rām displayed great energy and resourcefulness in securing peace and putting an end to thefts and highway robberies. In 1812 he was entrusted with charge of the customs department of the State. Raliā Rām introduced uniform rates for articles of import and export and kept a strict watch over the accounts. The measures he adopted to end corruption and bribery earned him the hostility of many courtiers who poisoned the ears of the Maharājā against him. In 1833, Raliā Rām was appointed keeper of records.
In 1841, he discovered a sulphur mine in Rawalpindi district for which Maharaja Sher Singh granted him a jāgīr worth 11,000 rupees at Jalaqila. He was created a Diwan in 1847, and in 1851 the British conferred upon him as well as upon his son, Sāhib Diāl, the title of Rājā.

Rāliā Rām died in April 1864.

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RALLĀ, village 14 km north of Mānsā (29°59'N, 75°23'E) in Bațiṅḍā district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gūrū Tegh Bahādur, who visited it during his travels across southeastern Punjab. The shrine established to commemorate the visit was for a long time controlled by anchorites of the Nath cult. It was only after 1947 that the local Sikh saṅgat assumed possession and converted it into a gurdwārā named Gurdwārā Sāhib Pāṭshāhī IX. The present building, completed on 7 September 1953, consists of a flat-roofed hall, with a verandah on three sides and a few ancillary rooms across a brick-paved compound. The shrine is administered by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhāk Committee.

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RĀMĀ, BHĀI, a pious Sikh who received initiation at the hands of Gūrū Arjan. The Gūrū taught him to learn to repeat the word Vāhīgurū and to love all men. Bhāi Rāmā’s name is included in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṅ, XI. 19.

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RĀMĀ, BĀBĀ, maternal grandfather of Gūrū Nānak, was a resident of village Chāḥal, near Lahore. He was married to Mātā Bhīrāī. The couple had a son, Krishnā, and a daughter, Triptā. The latter was married to Mahītā Kālū of Talvāṇḍī Rāi Bhoē, where Gūrū Nānak, founder of the Sikh faith, was born to her.

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RĀMĀ, BHĀI, of Jhānjhi caste of goldsmiths who belonged to Shāhadrā near Lahore, was a pious Sikh of the time of Gūrū Arjan. His name is included in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārāṅ, XI. 24

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RĀMĀ, BĀBĀ, maternal grandfather of Gūrū Nānak, was a resident of village Chāḥal, near Lahore. He was married to Mātā Bhīrāī. The couple had a son, Krishnā, and a daughter, Triptā. The latter was married to Mahītā Kālū of Talvāṇḍī Rāi Bhoē, where Gūrū Nānak, founder of the Sikh faith, was born to her.

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Gn.S.
RAMANANDA (1300-1410?), promoter of Vaiṣṇav Bhakti in North India and founder of the Bairagi sect of anchorites, was born at Prayāga (Allahābād) in a Kanyakubja Brāhmaṇ family. He studied in Kāśi (Banaras), the ancient seat of learning, and it was here that he became a disciple of Rāghavānanda, the fourth āchārya (teacher, preacher, head of a sect) in the line of Rāmanuja, the founder of Vaishālav Bhakti. He was, however, more liberal than his guru with regard to the caste system in general and untouchability in particular. He initiated a separate sect of his own, the Rāmāvat or Rāmānandī Sampradāya, with Lord Rāma and Sītā as its Supreme Deity instead of Chaturbhuj Nārāyaṇa and Laksāṃī worshipped by followers of Śrī Sampradāya. Rāmānanda established himself as a teacher at Kāśi, where to this day Pañchgaṅgā Ghāt is associated with his name. From there his disciples, the Rāmānandī Bairāgis, spread his message of Rāma-worship all over the country, but mostly in the central Gangetic plain. It is perhaps his liberal views regarding caste distinctions that has led to a well-established tradition that a number of low-caste saints, such as the weaver Kabīr, leather worker Ravidās, the barber Sain and the Jāt peasant Dhannā were his disciples, chronological impossibilities notwithstanding.

Many works in Sanskrit and Hindi are ascribed to Rāmānanda by his followers, but modern scholars accept only two, Vaiṣṇavamatabja Bhāskar and Rāmārchanā Paddhālī as authentic. Two Hindi pādas (hymns) attributed to him are found in the Sarbāṅgī compiled by Rajjab. One of them which duplicates his single hymn included in Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, points to his nearness to the Sant tradition of nirguna-bhakti (worship of the Transcendent One). In this hymn (GG, 1195) idol-worship is clearly rejected; the supreme Deity, Brahmāṇ, is conceived as all-pervading, revealed to the mind only through the sabda of the True Gurū, whereas Vedas and Purāṇas avail nothing.

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RAMA TĪRTHA, SVĀMĪ (1873-1906), who, after Svāmī Vivekananda, by whose personality he was deeply influenced, created a powerful influence with his quiet spirituality, was born on 22 October 1873 at Murālivālā, a small village 5 km south of Gujārwālā, now in Pakistan. He came of a family of Gosvāmi Brāhmaṇs who had originally migrated from Swāt in the North-West Frontier Province to Gujārwālā. His father, Hirānand, was a man of very modest means. The childhood of Svāmī Rāma Tīrtha, whose original name was Tīrath Rām, was spent in poverty. His mother died when he was barely one year old. He and his sister, older than him by one year, were brought up by his father's sister. At two he was betrothed, and at eleven married. Struggling against difficult circumstances, he passed the Matriculation (then called Entrance) examination conducted by the Pañjāb University, Lahore. He wished to continue his studies and join a college at Lahore, but his father insisted that he take up a job under the government which in those days was easy to obtain and fairly lucrative. But Tīrath Rām's urge for learning led him to Lahore, against the wishes of his father. He entered the Forman Christian College, run by an American mission. He was awarded a studentship of eight rupees per month by the municipal committee of Gujārwālā. The college confectioner was so much taken up with his deeply religious nature and sobriety of character that he offered
him free meals daily at his home. Tirath Râm passed his Intermediate examination and won a scholarship which enabled him to continue at the college to study for the Bachelor’s degree. For his M.A. in mathematics, he went over to Government College, Lahore, from where he received the degree in 1895. He returned to his old college as a lecturer. His second appointment was at Oriental College, Lahore. But his real avocation lay elsewhere. His spiritual quest led him to break away from all worldly concerns. Taking his leave of the family, he proceeded to live in Uttara Khaṇḍa region, in the higher Himalayas, close to the source of the holy Gaṅgā. Early in his life he had come under the influence of Bhagat Dhannā Mall; finally the model for him was Svāmi Vivekānanda. At Rishikesh, on the Gaṅgā, he distributed among the sādhūs whatever he had with him and sat down on the bank of the river, determined to attain self-realization or to put an end to his life. In a mood of self-enlightenment, he uttered these words: “Blessed am I: I have embraced that Beloved. Is it joy? Or is it death in joy?... Desires are dead. As I look out, each leaf, each flower, welcomes me with ‘Thou art that.’”

He returned from the mountains to Lahore and resumed teaching mathematics, but his inner spiritual urge was far from dimmed. The birth of a second son at this time, instead of binding him closer to the world, had the contrary effect of sundering whatever bonds tied him to it. He again retired to the Himalayas and sat long hours meditating on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Early in 1901, a few days before Vivekānanda’s death, he resolved to take the vows of a sannyāsī or monk. He was, by now, already living in a state of complete renunciation and was at heart a true sannyāsī; only the formal ritual remained to be performed. Shaven clean, he entered the Gaṅgā, entrusted his sacred thread to the holy river, chanted the sacred syllable Om for some time, and put on the sannyāsī’s ochre robe. As he emerged from the river, he sat on the bank, in silence, for hours. Tirath Râm now became Rāma Tirtha, to signify that he had turned the course of his life backwards, from pravṛtti towards nivṛtti, from the outer world to the inner. He began to live all alone in the forest, not meeting even his companions except at fixed hours.

Once as Svāmi Rāma Tirtha was staying at Tehri in the Himalayas, the ruler of the territory called on him to seek spiritual guidance. He was so deeply impressed by the Svāmi’s company that he arranged for him to travel to Japan to represent Hinduism at an interreligious conference. In Japan he met another dynamic personality, Pūran Singh, the famous Sikh mystic and poet of Punjabi. The spell that Rāma Tirtha cast on Pūran Singh is described by the latter in his own words: “I was much too vibratory to have any patience for listening to him. I would run to and fro. I would go out of his room aimlessly and come back aimlessly. I neither could stay with him for long, nor could stay away from him... I loved him, I liked him and if I were a girl, I would have given him anything to win him.”

In 1902, Rāma Tirtha travelled to the United States of America where he spent about two years preaching Vedānta, Indian spirituality. He used to cut wood in the forests of Shasta mountain in return for the hospitality of his hosts, Dr and Mrs Albert Hiller. While in America, he tried to create contacts for some students to come out of India and study in this country. The lectures he delivered in the United States fill three volumes of about 500 pages each. His lectures were aimed at bringing home to men their essential oneness with the Eternal. He also extolled the principle of work, sure in his belief that hard work brought one the real joy of life. He held all religions in equal respect and showed special appreciation of Sikhism, Islam and Christianity.

On the day of Divālī, 17 October 1906,
when Svāmī Rāma Tirtha was only 33, he gave up his body to the Ganga. That it was not a case of accidental death by drowning is borne out by his address to death, discovered on his writing-table a few days after his passing away: “O Death! Certainly, blow up this one body. I have enough bodies to use... I can roam as a divine minstrel, in the guise of hilly streams and mountain brooks. I can dance in the waves of the sea. I came down from yonder hills, raised the dead, awakened the sleeping, unveiled the fair faces of some and wiped the tears of a few weeping ones... I touched this, touched that, and off I am...”

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RĀM CHAND, DĪWĀN (1819-1888), son of Ratan Chand and grandson of Nānak Chand, the brother of Diwān Sāvan Mall, Governor of Multān under Ranjit Siṅgh, was only twelve when he succeeded, in 1831, his grandfather as revenue collector of Multān and Kashmir. Soon Mahārājā Ranjit Siṅgh appointed him chancellor, giving him charge of his private seal. After the death of the Mahārājā, Rām Chand quit service and began to live at his native town Akālgarh, in Gujranwālā district. He was held in high esteem for his generosity and honesty. He contributed liberally towards the construction of holy tanks at Nankānā Sāhib, the birthplace of Gurū Nānak. At Lahore he set up a free dispensary for the poor. A Sanskrit school was also opened by him at Amritsar, besides a sadāvari or poorhouse at Vārāṇasi where he spent the last four years of his life.

Rām Chand died in 1888.

RĀM CHANDRA, PROFESSOR, born into a Kayastha family in 1821 at Pānīpat. Professor Rām Chandra became a distinguished teacher of mathematics. He joined the English school at Delhi in 1833 and earned a merit scholarship. At the age of 11, he was lured into marrying a girl who was completely dumb and deaf. Himself in frail health, he took out retirement from the English school which he had joined as a teacher. On 11 March 1852, he took baptism and converted a Christian. In 1866 he was appointed tutor to the Sikh Mahārājā Rājinder Siṅgh of the princely state of Paṭiālā. During his tenure, plans for the setting up of Mohindrá College for the teaching of European science were formulated and the college, then affiliated to Calcutta University, was started. Rām Chandra returned to Calcutta to resume publication of his scientific works, but was recalled to Paṭiālā during the time of Mahārājā Rājinder Siṅgh. His contribution towards Urdu journalism and promotion of English education was acknowledged by the state with a grant of khil[l]at and jāgīr.

Rām Chandra died in Delhi on 11 August 1880 following an attack of paralysis.

RĀMDĀS, BĀVĀ, a nineteenth-century Punjabi poet, was born at the village of Harganān, in Fatehgarh Sāhib district of the Punjab. He belonged to the Divānā sect, a mendicant order established during the seventeenth century by Hāriā and Bālā, two Jāt disciples of Soḍhī Miharbān, the son of Gurū Arjan’s elder brother, Prithi Chand. The Divānās later became a sub-sect of the Udāsīs. They have their main centre at Pirkoṭ, in Baṭhiṅḍā district and another at Paṭiālā which was founded by Bāvā Rām Dās...
and is now known as Bāvā Rām Dās Ji Kā Ḍerā. Rām Dās was patronized by Mahārājā Narinder Singh of Paṭiālā (1846-62). As a poet he wrote on a wide range of subjects—social, political, ethical and spiritual. His language is a mixture of Braj, Hindi and Punjabi, commonly known as Sādh Bhākhā and his script is Gurmukhī. Of his eleven poetical works only two were published in lithographed editions from Lahore during the early 1890’s and another one in Devanāgrī transliteration from Lucknow in 1875. The rest in manuscript form are preserved in different libraries—Central Public Library, Motībāgh Palace Library, Bhāsā Vibhāg Library and the Punjab State Archives, all at Paṭiālā, and in the Khālsā College Library at Amritsar. Birād Pratāp, written in 1803, deals with mythological and ethical themes. Sār Rāmāyān (1808) is the poet’s version of the epic in an abridged form. Gaṇ Prastār Prakāṣh (1818) is a treatise on Indian prosody. Rājnītī Bāvā Rām Dās Ji Di, is a statement of the ethico-political views of the author in dohā and Kuṇḍalī metre forms. It was written in 1825. Bānī Bāvā Rām Dās Ji Di (1826) mainly focuses on the theme of Guru’s grace and the disciple’s selfless service. Droṇatī Charitra (1842) is a brief narration in verse of the Mahābhārata story of Draupadi’s disgrace and her rescue through the intervention of Kṛṣṇa. Kedār Panth Prakāṣh (1853) is a versified travelogue describing Mahārājā Narinder Singh’s pilgrimage to Kedārnāth and Badrīnāth, in the Himalayan tract of Uttar Pradesh. Ath Sār Vaiśhīṣṭ Savaiyyā (1855) is a series of 108 stanzas in savaiyyā metre glorifying God and His saints, and proclaiming the virtues of a temperate moral living. Bārāmāhā Bāvā Rām Dās Ji Kā (1859) is a poem in the popular mode of bārāmāhā (lit. twelve months), in which poets deal with a usually romantic theme in a kind of acrostic, the stanzas beginning successively with the names of the months of the year. Rām Dās’ poem depicts a devotee’s craving for the Lord. The dates of the remaining two works, Yatrā Rikhīkesh Di and Ath Chhatīś Varṇī Tathā Chhandāvalī are not known. The former in Kuṇḍalī metre discusses various practices which enable a devotee to reach his goal and the latter is a type of acrostic, each stanza commencing with the successive letters of the alphabet. The theme is the spiritual way leading to true knowledge. The poet begins his works with the Mūl Mantra recorded in its abbreviated form.

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RĀMDĀS, BHĀI, a Bhanḍārī Khatri, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Guru Arjan. His name figures in Bhai Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 19.

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RĀM DĀS, GURŪ (1534-1581), is the fourth Guru or spiritual mentor of the Sikhs in the line of Guru Nānak, Guru Aṅgad and Guru Amar Dās. "Rām Dās" translates as servant or slave of God (rām = God + dās = slave). Blessed by Guru Amar Dās with the light of Nānak and appointed Guru in 1574, Guru Rām Dās carried the spiritual authority of the Sikh community for seven years, until his death in 1581. He constructed the nectar pool which surrounds Harimandar, the Golden Temple of modern day, and founded Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs, around it.

Gurū Rām Dās was simply called Jeṭhā (which means firstborn) at his birth on 24
September 1534 in Chūnā Maṇḍi in Lahore (now in Pakistan). His father was Hari Dās, a shopkeeper, and his mother was Anūp Devi, also known as Dayā Kaur. They belonged to the Sojhi family, part of the Khatri caste. At seven he lost both his parents and was cared for by his grandmother in her village Bāsarke, the ancestral village also of Gūrū Amar Dās. He was an only child. To earn his meagre keep, Jeṭhā sold cooked beans in the marketplace, yet, as people said, he often gave away his food to hungry people.

At twelve, Jeṭhā travelled to Khaḍur with some people and thence to Goindvāl, a new habitation founded by (Gūrū) Amar Dās the same year under the orders of Gūrū Aṅgad (1504-52), and chose to reside at Goindvāl permanently. Gūrū Amar Dās, who succeeded to the spiritual seat of Gūrū Nānak after the death of Gūrū Aṅgad in March 1552, and his wife, Māma Devi, recognized Jeṭhā’s upright character and steadfast service and gave their daughter, Bībī Bhādi, in marriage to him on 18 February 1554. The couple chose to stay in Goindvāl to be near Gūrū Amar Dās rather than return to Lahore and follow the traditional practice of residing in the native city of the husband. They had three sons, Prithī Chand (1558), Mahādev (1560), and Arjan Dev (1563). Bhai Jeṭhā continued to serve the Gūrū with devotion and humility. Already called by his proper name Rām Dās, he distinguished himself by his intelligent understanding of the articles of Sikh faith and by constantly attending to the needs of the saṅgat as well as of the Gūrū, thus endearing himself to both. Once Gūrū Amar Dās dispatched him to Lahore to meet with the Mughal emperor Akbar in order to answer objections that Brāhmaṇs had made in the royal court against running a free kitchen by Gūrū Amar Dās abandoning the traditional religious and social customs and ignoring distinctions of the four castes. Rām Dās’ simple statement that all are equal in the eyes of God pleased Akbar who dismissed the accusations.

Before Gūrū Amar Dās died on 1 September 1574, he had chosen Rām Dās as his successor to carry on the light of Nānak as Gūrū. Verses in the Gūrū Granth Sāhib (Sad, by Sundar Dās, great-grandson of Gūrū Amar Dās (GG, 923-24), record how all the Sikhs, sons, relations and companions fell at the feet of Rām Dās in acknowledgement of his elevation to Gūrū.

Before Rām Dās became Gūrū, Gūrū Amar Dās had instructed him to establish a new town and to construct a pool as the central point. A site was selected 40 km northwest of Goindvāl. There are differing accounts of how the land was acquired. One version, reported in the Amritsar District Gazetteer, states that land, 500 bighās in area, was purchased from the landowners of Tūng for 700 Akbari rupees. Another version says that Emperor Akbar offered the land to Gūrū Amar Dās who refused; so the gift was made to Bībī Bhāni who, in turn, donated it to the growing Sikh community. The town was first called Gūrū kā Chakk (the Gūrū’s village), then Rāmdāspur (the city of Rām Dās) and finally Amritsar (lit. pool of nectar; amrit = nectar + sar = pool). Merchants and artisans were invited from distant places to come and settle here. The town grew into a centre of commerce and even more significantly into one of pilgrimage attraction. Gūrū Arjan, Nānak V (1563-1606), described Rāmdāspur in a hymn in the Gūrū Granth Sāhib as a city par excellence “I have seen all places, but I have seen none other like this...” (GG, 1362).

In order to finance the construction of the tank and to provide for the laṅgar or free kitchen, Gūrū Rām Dās organized a network of Sikhs to collect offerings. Called masands, these Sikhs travelled to other cities to carry the Gūrū’s message. Best remembered from among them is Bhai Gurdās, who was despatched by Gūrū Rām Dās to teach in Āgrā. Gūrū Amar Dās had established maṇīs or preaching centres in different parts of the
country to knit together the distant communities. The system introduced by Guru Râm Dâs further helped to consolidate the Sikh faith.

Guru Râm Dâs is pictured as having a long beard. According to tradition preserved in old Sikh chronicles, once Bâbâ Sri Chand (1494-1629), the elder son of Guru Nânak who established the ascetic Udâsî sect, came to visit him and remarked in banter that he (the Guru) had grown a long beard. “Yes,” replied Guru Râm Dâs, “I have grown a long beard so that I may wipe with it the feet of saintly men like you.” Bâbâ Sri Chand recalled his father, Guru Nânak, and he told all present that Guru Râm Dâs was deservingly sitting in his father’s true place.

Sahârî Mall, Guru Râm Dâs’ first cousin, came from Lahore in 1580 to invite the Guru to his son’s wedding. Unable to travel himself because of the work then in progress on the holy tank in Amritsar, Guru Râm Dâs asked each of his three sons to go and represent him. Prithî Chand asked to be excused, as did Mahâdev; only Arjan Dev, out of pure devotion to the Guru, his father, agreed to attend. In addition, Guru Râm Dâs asked Arjan Dev to stay on in Lahore in order to minister to the Sikhs living there until recalled. After some time, Arjan Dev began to feel the pain of separation; so he wrote a poem to his father expressing his longing to return to the Guru’s court. Prithî Chand intercepted the letter and concealed it. He did the same with a second letter. A third letter, however, reached Guru Râm Dâs directly, whereupon Prithî Chand’s deception was discovered because the letter had been marked number 3. Arjan Dev was summoned back to Amritsar where he composed a fourth stanza of the poem in joyful praise of the Guru. Moved by the spiritual idiom of this poem, Guru Râm Dâs decided to bestow the light of Guru Nânak upon Arjan Dev, who became the Fifth Guru.

Shortly thereafter, Guru Râm Dâs retired to Goindvâl where he died on 2 Assu 1638/1 September 1581. A gurdwârā named Guriâ Asthán Guru Râm Dâs in Goindvâl stands upon the site where he was installed Guru. In Chûnâ Maṇḍî in Lahore, Gurdwârā Janam Asthán marks his birthplace. Guru Râm Dâs di Nagrî (the City of Guru Râm Dâs), the name of Amritsar in pious terminology, will remain a living monument to the memory of Guru Râm Dâs.

Guru Râm Dâs was a poet of high merit. The Guru Granth Sâhib contains 638 hymns in 30 different râgas or musical measures, composed by him on social and spiritual themes. His poetry, divinely inspired, speaks of God’s name and praise in rhymed verse. The most often quoted composition of Guru Râm Dâs is an instruction for the daily practice of a Sikh—rising before dawn, bathing, and meditating on God with the coming of the light:

One who considers himself to be a disciple of the Guru should rise before the coming of the light and contemplate the Divine name. During the early hours of the morning he should rise and bathe, cleansing his soul in a tank of nectar, while he repeats the Name the Guru has spoken to him. By this procedure he truly washes away the sins of his soul. Then with the arrival of the dawn he should sing the hymns of praise taught him by the Guru. He should hold the Name in his heart all through the busy hours of the day. The one who repeats the Name with each breath is a most dear disciple of the Guru. The disciple who has received the gift of the Lord’s Name truly wins the favour of the supreme Lord. I seek the very dust under the feet of such a one who repeats the Name and inspires others to do so (GG, 305).

In this passage, Guru Râm Dâs defines a Sikh by what a Sikh does, rather than by what he is by birth, status or belief.

The best-known among his compositions
is Ėvān, comprising four 4-line stanzas, used as a wedding hymn which is sung at the Sikh marriage ceremony, known as anand kārāj, the recitation of each stanza preceding and accompanying successively the four circumambulations (lāvān, in Punjabi) around the Guru Granth Sāhib performed by the couple being married.

The poetry of Guru Rām Dās expresses both the profound humility and the joyful exaltation of a person meeting God. His words speak sweetly to the inner voice of the listener:

Inside, I thirst for God. The Gurū’s word enters my heart like an arrow. Only I can know the pain of my heart. Who else can feel my sorrow? Oh God, the Gurū fascinates me. I am in wonder and ecstasy seeing the Gurū. I wander abroad, searching, because I am intent on seeing Him. I surrender my body and soul to the Gurū who has shown me the pathway to God. If anyone comes with a call from the Lord, the sound is sweet to my mind, heart, and soul. I cut off my head and put it at the feet of the one who has met God and can make me meet Him, too (GG, 835-36).

His poems are rich with feeling of devotion; he speaks of being a slave, worthy only of the dust from the feet of those who are conscious of God. His words express a deep longing for union with the Lord. He writes that if he were slandered and driven away, still he would meditate on the One who can carry his soul safely home. The Gurū reveals God’s Name and elevates the human being to the highest state of peaceful poise and majestic dominion. The Gurū is the word of God, and the word of God is the Gurū—herein lies the essence of nectar. In meditating on the sacred Name of God, the mortal becomes one with God. There is no greater pleasure than to speak the Name of God. This comes from the blessing of the Gurū.

The endearing sound of God’s name is reflected in the language of Gurū Rām Dās; his poems have a soft, mellifluous sound:

The Name of God fills my heart with joy. My great fortune is to meditate on God’s name. The miracle of God’s name is attained through the perfect Gurū, but only a rare soul walks in the light of the Gurū’s wisdom. I have tied the provision of God’s name to my garment. It is the companion of my breath and always comes with me. The perfect Gurū puts the never-ending wealth of God in my lap. God is my friend, my beloved, my king. Let some one come and take me to meet God, the life of my breath. I cannot live without seeing my beloved. My soul flows out in tears. The Gurū helped me as a child and is my friend. Oh my mother, I cannot live without it. Oh God, my soul, have mercy and unite me with the Gurū. Nānak has the wealth of God in the sachet of his soul (GG, 94).

In the act of reciting Gurū Rām Dās’ poems the reader speaks the name of God many times over—matching the message of the poetry.

Gurū Rām Dās is full of praise for the saints who remember God’s name in their hearts, but he is equally direct in his criticism of those who have forgotten God and gone astray in illusion and pride.

O man! The poison of pride is killing you, blinding you to God. Your body, the colour of gold, has been scarred and discoloured by selfishness. Illusions of grandeur turn black, but the ego-maniac is attached to them. Humble Nānak is saved by the Gurū, because the Gurū’s song releases him from ego (GG, 776).

The spiritual sovereignty of Gurū Rām Dās is attested by Bhāts or musical poets who composed songs of praise in the court of Gurū Arjān. The inclusion of these compositions in the Guru Granth Sāhib confirms their authenticity and standing in the Sikh tradition. They portray the stature of Gurū
Rām Dās, as he was viewed by his contemporaries. These eulogies occur towards the end of the Holy Book in section of poems called Savaiyyās.

Guru Rām Dās was invested with the regal dignity of rāj jog (king of yoga), writes the bard named Nal (GG, 1398). Guru Rām Dās was given the glory of God’s Name by the true Guru who established the permanent throne of Guru Rām Dās, says Dās the bard (GG, 1404). The powerful Guru placed his hand on the head of Guru Rām Dās and he was blessed with God’s truth (GG, 1400). Guru Rām Dās received the fruit of his service to God by being blessed with the enduring treasure of God’s Name (GG, 1401). Kirat, the minstrel, prays to be under his protection (GG, 1406). Perhaps, the greatest tribute is sung by the bards Balvāṇḍ and Sattā who composed an ode of praise singing, “You are Nānak, and Lahiṇā (Aṅgad), you are Amar Dās, too. The miracle is complete, the Creator adores you. Blessed, blessed is Guru Rām Dās” (GG, 968).

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Rāmdāśiā Sikhs is how Sikh converts from the community working professionally in leather are usually referred to as a class. The term Ramdāśiās is an adaptation from Ravidāśiās, as some Chamar castes came to be called. They owed their affiliation to the famous saint, Ravidās, a pioneer of Vaishnava revival. In Uttar Pradesh, Ramdāśiās are also called Ravidāśiās. Ravidās, being an unfamiliar name in the Punjab, became here Ramdās or Rām Dās, which is the name which also belongs to the the Fourth Guru of the Sikhs.

Chamar (from Sanskrit charmkāra, worker in leather) is a functional caste of skinners, tanners, curriers and shoe-makers. Chamārs as “untouchables” lay at the lowest level of the Hindu social order only slightly higher than the Chūhrās or scavengers by virtue of their being craftsmen. “Chūhrā-Chamar” was till recently a common pejorative conjoint referring to the two castes. The teachings of the Gurūs with their rejection of the caste system and emphasis on ethnic equality of all human beings naturally appealed to them. Of special significance for them was the canonization of the bāṇī or hymns of Bhagat Ravidās in the Sikh Scripture by Guru Arjan (1563-1606). Consequently, many Chamārs converted to Sikhism and they were as a class given the respectable name of Ramdāśiā Sikhs. Later, when industrialization and opening up of new avenues of employment facilitated occupational mobility, many Chamārs including Ramdāśiā Sikhs took to weaving, considered to be a cleaner and more honourable occupation than tanning and shoe-making. It also brought them better bargaining power through its semi-bartering and semi-money trading economic roles. Conversion of Hindu Chamārs to Sikhism accelerated towards the end of the nineteenth century. This was due to the rise of the Singh Sabha movement launched in 1873 for the restoration and propagation of Sikh teachings, including the removal of
Ramdasi Sikhs, unlike Mazhabi Sikhs, were generally a docile community. During World War II, however, the British enrolled them in the Indian army. They along with Mazhabi Sikhs formed the Mazhabi and Ramdasi Sikh Regiment, later redesignated as Sikh Light Infantry. Recruitment to other service corps was also opened for them. After Independence, at the insistence of the Shiromani Akali Dal, a political party of the Sikhs, Ramdasi Sikhs (along with Mazhabi, Kabirpanthi and Sikligar Sikhs) were included among the scheduled castes who were granted special rights and privileges guaranteed under the Indian Constitution for some depressed classes. Ramdasis now form an integral part of the Sikh community, with additional concessions statutorily provided to them in education, employment and political representation.
RAM DIÁL, DÍWÁN (1798-1820), a general in the Sikh army, was the eldest son of Diwán Motú Rám. He is said to have become a divisional commander at the age of 16. In 1814, during the second expedition of Kashmir, he had independent command of a force of 30,000 men, besides charge of commissariat. Rám Diál took part in several other military expeditions. He was sent out against the Yúsafzais in Hazārā, and he fought in Multán under Mısr Dívān Chand in 1818 when the town was finally taken by the Sikhs.

In 1819, Rám Diál was appointed governor of Attock and Hazārā where the Yúsafzais had again risen in revolt. In 1820, he led an expedition against the turbulent tribes of Hazārā and the surrounding areas gathered in large numbers at Gandgaṟ. But the mass of Afgān tribes proved too formidable a force. Rám Diál was obliged to retreat, but was ambushed on the way and killed. The Mahārājā felt deeply grieved at the death of the veteran soldier.

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RÁM DIÁL, RÁI (d. 1863), newswriter and vākil of the Sikh kingdom at Firozpur, was the son of Rāi Anand śīṅgh, after whose death he was sent to Ludhiānā as vākil in 1827. Shortly thereafter he was recalled to Lahore and, in 1832, was sent to Anandpur Sāhib to settle the dispute among the Soḍhīs, who ruled the town on behalf of the Lahore Darbār. Rám Diál remained there for five years and was, on his return to Lahore in 1837, honoured with a jāgīr in Ludhiānā district. Later, he was appointed the Darbār’s vākil at Firozpur. His despatches from Firozpur deal with events such as the meeting between Lord Auckland and Mahārājā Ranjit śīṅgh in December 1838, the military pageant of Lord Ellenborough in 1842, the return of General Pollock’s army at Firozpur after the successful Kābul campaign, and the discovery of Rājā Suchet śīṅgh’s treasure of 1,500,000 rupees at Firozpur on the eve of the first Anglo-Sikh war.

Rāi Rám Diál died at Lahore in 1863, survived by two sons, Rāi Ghasīṭā Mall and Rāi Bāsheshār śīṅgh. The latter, who was a municipal commissioner at Baṭālā, died in 1889.

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RÁMEĀṆĀ, village 10 km west of Jaito (30°26'N, 74°53'E) in Farīdkot district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gūrū Gobind śīṅgh, who visited here in December 1705 on his way to Khidrānā, now Muktsar. As the Gūrū reached the village, he, according to Māhā Dēsh Rāṭan dī Sākkī Pothī, saw a man plucking dele, raw berries of karīr tree (*Capparis aphylla*) commonly used for making pickles, and took a few of them from him. Tasting one and finding it bitter, he told the man to throw away what he had collected. The man reluctantly threw down a few of the berries. He cast off some more at the Gūrū’s bidding and some still more as he repeated his words again, pleading each time that he must save a few for his children. “I wanted him to throw away famine and poverty, but he keeps clutching at these,” remarked Gūrū Gobind śīṅgh as he rode on.

Gurdwārā Sāhib Pāṭshāhī X at RāmeāṆā
at the southwestern edge of the village commemorates Guru Gobind Singh’s visit. The Guru Granth Sāhib is seated on the first floor of a double-storey building. In front of the main building is a small sarovar. The Gurdwārā is endowed with 22 acres of land and is administered by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

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RĀMGAṆHĪĀ MISL. See MISLS

RĀMKALĪ KĪ VĀR, also known as Tikke di Vār, lit. Coronation Ode, is the joint composition of the bards Balvāṇḍ and Sattā. In the caption given it by Guru Arjan in the Guru Granth Sāhib, the former is particularized as a Rāi, or panegyrist, and the latter as a Ḍūm, or minstrel, both words being interchangeable here. The Vār comprises eight paugīs or stanzas, of unequal length, varying from seven to twenty-one lines with no slokas added. The talented bards and versifiers from such clans earned their livelihood by singing eulogies of their patrons, landed aristocrats, especially of their heroic deeds performed in combats, feuds, and battles in an exalted, epic style and form. Balvāṇḍ and Sattā, related to each other, however, performed kirtan in the time of Guru Arjan who could scarcely pay them a more befitting compliment than immortalizing their names and poetic skill by including their Vār in the Guru Granth Sāhib.

As it appears, these bards were in their moment of inspiration taken with the idea of paying homage to the Gurūs, conceiving them as kings, kings of the House of Nānak, imaginatively and retrospectively at their installation. They sang a coronation song to commemorate the ceremony, anointing each of the four successors of Guru Nānak as Gurū-king. Gurū Nānak is described as having been installed as Gurū Parmeshar by Pārbrāhm Parmeshar. Going by the indications in this composition, the first three stanzas were composed by Balvāṇḍ, the next three by Sattā and the remaining two were added by them jointly later, though they preferred to remain anonymous. Each of them conceptualizes the House of Nānak as instituted by the Supreme Being Himself. This was entirely a new ministry that had been launched by the Supreme Being. Here, both joti, spiritual light, jugati, method of practical living, had been combined. The House of Nānak was blessed with the true royalty that depends for its greatness not on mundane glory and power, but on holiness to save and guide humanity. These minstrels have brought out not only the celestial grandeur marking the coronation of the Gurūs but have also given expression to one of the fundamental Sikh convictions, namely the identity in spirit of all the Gurūs, whose line of descent is not of the flesh but of the Word communicated from one to the other. Also in this Vār are glimpses of historical value, such as the institution of lāṁgar by the Gurūs, who won the veneration of men by the purity of their teaching and of their lives. They also initiated traditions which constitute the basis of Sikh corporate living to this day. The bards have described the coronation in the figures of crown and sceptre. Balvāṇḍ proclaims that Nānak founded the royal dynasty (Nānaki rāju chalāiā); he, then, unfolded the royal canopy over the head of Lahiṅā, Gurū Angad, (Lahiṅe dhariōnu chhatu sīrī). The canopy is then unfolded over the head of Lahiṅā.
Lahiṇā was proclaimed king; he occupied the throne, takhatu; he was the sachchā pātishāh, true king. Sattā, similarly speaks of the canopy spread out over the head of Lahiṇā, i.e. Aṅgad. Both Sattā and Balvaṇḍ allude to the spiritual and regal dignity of the House of Gurū Nānak; Balvaṇḍ declares that all the Gurūs shared the same light and the same path and method—joti ohā jugati sāi. Sattā says they share the same tikkā, mark, the same throne, and the same court. Both Sattā and Balvaṇḍ jointly refer in stanza VIII to Gurū Arjan’s coming to the throne.

The conception of the spiritual ministry of Nānak was articulated for the first time by these minstrels, and it at once caught at imagination of the Sikh people. Bhāi Gurdās spoke of Gurū Nānak in almost identical terms. The two bards, for the first time spoke of joti, spirituality, and jugati, ideals of conduct, as combined in the vision of Nānak. This Vār, for the first time, proclaimed the nature of the law of succession in the House of Nānak. The succession was spiritual and not dynastic. The law lays down that succession is not hereditary. It is the noblest of the disciples who had completely surrendered himself to the Gurū and identified himself with his will who would carry the mantle.

Balvaṇḍ opens his first pawṛī or stanza by referring to the justice or decree of the Creator which none can challenge. He alludes to the Gurū’s bowing before his disciple to install him as Gurū in his own place, transferring his joti, spiritual light to him. Sattā refers to the same law of succession as “reversing the flow of the Gaṅgā”—implying the departing Gurū’s offering obeisance to his own disciple-successor making him the repository of the holy Word. In the spiritual sequence both of them refer to Gurū Nānak as the grandfather, Aṅgad as the son of Nānak and Amar Dās as the grandson of Nānak.

This Vār, distinctively again, describes and interprets the ideals and institutions of the Sikh tradition. Balvaṇḍ declares that Gurū Nānak set up the strong fortress of his spirituality solely on the bedrock of truth; Gurū Aṅgad carried forward his teaching wielding his spiritual sword. Sattā, again referring to Gurū Nānak, says that he churned out the fourteen gems of Divine virtues; referring to Gurū Amar Dās, he says that he bestrode the steed of poise, had chastity for his saddle, truth for his bow and praise of the Lord for arrow. The Vār refers to the institution of Laṅgar, community kitchen. Balvaṇḍ refers to the part played by Mātā Khivi, Gurū Aṅgad’s wife, in organizing the laṅgar, and to kẖir gẖiẖī, rice cooked richly in milk and ghee, freely distributed therein. Sattā refers to the new seat at Khāḍūr established by Gurū Aṅgad, for the propagation of the spiritual teachings of Gurū Nānak. He also refers to the many centres set up by Gurū Amar Dās throughout the length and breadth of the country for this purpose.

Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan have been praised as souls completely identified with the Supreme Being, for they had transcend­ed all human limitations. They were one in spirit—Nānak, Aṅgad and Amar Dās, though different in body. Rāmkali kī Vār expounds the Sikh mystical doctrine of spiritual succession through the Sabda (holy Word) and carries intimations of the nascent faith’s social concerns and ideals.

The Rāis and Ḍūms, the bard clans, were Muslim by faith. Their descendants, remaining within the Islamic fold, served as min­strels and choristers in Sikh holy places, including the Harimandar at Amritsar. Balvaṇḍ and Sattā were Muslim rabābis at the Gurū’s court and their vocabulary contains words current in their own tradition, especially in Sufi circles. Ars, sarūr, nūr, etc., have a peculiarly Muslim flavour. The texture of the language and inflexions are peculiarly Punjabi and in themselves have historical importance as evidence of the style current in such poetry in those times. Pregnant phrases and expressions from
Rāmkālī kī Vār have become current in the Sikh tradition. For instance, *sil alaṇī* (rock tasteless), in referring to attempt something involving great personal sacrifice; or *putrī kaulu na pālio... dili khotai āki phirani*, referring to the irreverent attitude of Guru Nānak’s sons to their holy father. The lines in stanza II, *hovai sifati khasamm ī nīru arasahu kurasahu jhaśai, tudhu diṭhe sache pātiśā malu janaṁ janaṁ ī kaṭṣai*, constitute the customary prelude to the opening for recitation of the Guru Granth Sāhib. In style, purity of diction and quotability this Vār may be compared with the Vārs of Bhai Gurdas, a contemporary and possibly the spiritual guide of these minstrels.

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T.S.

RĀMKALĪ SADU, by Sundar, is an “elegy” (*sadd*, in Punjabi) included in the Guru Granth Sāhib in Rāga Rāmkali, eighteenth of the thirty-one musical measures used in Sikh Scripture. *Sadd* is a form of folk poetry prevalent in rural Punjab. Literally the term means an invocation call, hark or cry. Originally, it was used to denote songs addressed by lover to beloved expressing his heart’s anguish. With the passage of time, it turned into a dirge sung in love and adoration of the dead. Sundar, a great-grandson of Guru Amar Dās, Nanak III, recaptures in this six-stanza verse the advice the Guru gave to his followers and members of his family just before he passed away. Guru Amar Dās tells them not to weep and wail for him, nor to perform the customary mourning rites. Since death is an opportunity for the individual soul to get united with the Supreme Soul, it is not a moment for lament. The poem opens with an invocatory line wherein God is called the Beneficent Lord of this universe and one who cares for His devotees in all the three worlds. If one follows the Gurū’s word, duality ends and one gives oneself to the contemplation of the Name of the Supreme Being alone. It was this gift of *nām-simran* which Guru Amar Dās received from his predecessors, Guru Nānak and Guru Angad and which helped him achieve the Supreme status. When the call of death came, Guru Amar Dās was absorbed in the meditation of His Name. The imperishable, immovable and immeasurable Lord could be realized only through *nām-simran* (1). The second stanza summarizes the Gurū’s injunctions to his followers to face the sombre moment of his death with calm serenity. One is adjured to rejoice in the Lord’s Will. It is only the Name that will help man in his journey to the next world, not the traditional funeral rituals meant to guide the soul hereafter. The next two stanzas, written in the first person, constitute the Gurū’s last advice to his followers and relations. Since the “death summons from God cannot be returned uncomplied” (3), none should feel sad or weep at the time of his death: rather, the moment should be taken as an opportunity for the soul to become united with the Lord (4). In the concluding two stanzas, Sundar sums up the advice given by the Gurū calling upon his Sikhs to chant the holy hymns instead of resorting to the customary rituals (5). The Sadū concludes with Guru Amar Dās bidding his son Mohri and all the Sikhs to pay obeisance to Guru Ram Dās whom he had anointed his successor “by placing himself into him” (6).

The Sadū is commonly recited at the conclusion of a reading of the Guru Granth Sāhib as part of the obsequies.

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K.S.D.

RĀM KUNVĀR, BHĀI (1672-1761), also referred to as Rām Kaur in some Sikh chronicles, was a prominent Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh’s time. He was a direct descendant of Bābā Būḍhā, blessed by Guru Nānak himself. He was only three years old when his father, Bhai Gurditta, died in Delhi in 1675, following the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahādur. In conformity with the long-established custom, he as the scion of Bābā Būḍhā’s celebrated house, put the saffron mark on the forehead of the nine-year old Gobind Rāi anointing him Guru. He was married to Rāj Devī of the village of Bhaknā in Amritsar district. He was at Paonta at the time of the birth of Guru Gobind Singh’s eldest son Ajiū Singh, who was given the name by him. He also fought in the battle of Nadaun in 1691.

Rām Kunvār grew up to be a learned man, a musician of merit and an accomplished expounder of the sacred texts. Spending most of his time in the company of Guru Gobind Singh, he through his intelligent questions imbibed a vast knowledge of the history of the preceding Gurūs and of the tenets of the Sikh faith. When the Khālsā was manifested by Gurū Gobind Singh on the Baisākhī day of 1699, Rām Kunvār received the rites of initiation and was renamed Gurbakhsh Singh.

Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh, formerly Rām Kunvār, survived Gurū Gobind Singh for over half a century. During this period he, first at his ancestral village, Ḫanḍā Ramdās, and later at Naiṇe dā Koṭ, preached the Sikh faith and made many converts. It is said that when Nādir Shāh plundered the village of Ramdās, he was arrested along with his 500 companions, but was released as his captors recognized his miraculous powers. He narrated anecdotes from the lives of the Gurūs to one Sāhib Singh, who later compiled them into a book, Ratan Māl, commonly known as Sau Sākhī. Bhai Santokh Singh utilized these anecdotes in his monumental Śrī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth.

Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh died at Naiṇe dā Koṭ (now in Pakistan) on 21 Sāvan 1818 Bk/2 August 1761.

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M.G.S.

RĀMPUR village about 3 km from Dorāhā (30°42'N, 76°1'E) in Ludhiana district, has a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Rāṛu Sāhib. Gurū Gobind Singh, while travelling from Māchhīvārā into the interior of Mālvā country, is believed to have stayed here briefly under a rṛū (Mimosa leucophloea) tree. Hence the name of the Gurdwārā. The present building complex, constructed under the supervision of Sant Bhagvān Singh (d. 1975), comprises a large hall in the centre, and rows of rooms for pilgrims around it on three sides. The fourth side has a spacious paved courtyard. The sanctum is at the western end of the hall. Above the hall there is a large lotus dome over the sanctum, with smaller domes at the corners. All domes have gilded pinnacles. The Gurdwārā is administered by sant successors of Bābā Bhagvān Singh.

M.G.S.

RĀMPURĀ KALĀN, a village in Lahore district of Pakistan hardly 1.5 km from the Indo-Pakistan border, had a historical Gurdwārā commemorating the visit of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), who once halted
here during one of his journeys between Amritsar and Lahore. The shrine which had been looked after by a line of Udāsī priests came under the control of the Shiromāni Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee during the Gurdwārā Reform movement of the 1920's, but had to be abandoned at the time of mass migrations caused by the partition of the Punjab in 1947.

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RĀM RĀI (1646-1687), the elder son of Guru Har Rāi, Nānak VII, was born to Mātā Sulakhanī at Kirātpur on 11 March 1646. Brought up under the loving care of his parents amid an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity that reigned over Kirātpur, their resort in the Sivalikī, Rām Rāi grew up into a robust young man, well versed in the sacred lore and in the use of arms.

During the war of succession fought among the sons of Emperor Shāh Jahan, Prince Dārā Shukoh, defeated in battle and hotly pursued by the victor, Auranţgīzīb, met Gurū Har Rāi at Goindvāl in the last week of June 1658 and sought consolation in his blessing. Reports of the meeting between the Gurū and the fugitive prince were carried to Auranţgīzīb who, after he had established himself securely on the throne, summoned Gurū Har Rāi to meet him. The latter wondered why he had been called to Delhi. To quote Bhāi Santokh Singh, Śrī Gur Pratāp Surāj Granth, he said, “I rule over no territory, I owe the king no taxes, nor do I want anything from him. Of what avail will this meeting be?” He, therefore, deputed Rām Rāi to represent him, giving him the exhortation: “Answer squarely and without fear any questions the Emperor may ask. Exhibit no hesitation. Read the Granth attentively as you make halts on the way. The Gurū will protect you wherever you might be.” Accompanied by Diwān Dargāh Mall and some other Sikhs, Rām Rāi left Kirātpur for Delhi on 30 March 1661.

Rām Rāi made a very favourable impression on the Emperor by virtue of the many miracles he displayed, but he overreached himself when, to please the Emperor, he deliberately misread one of the verses from the (Gurū) Granth Sāhib and substituted the word beimān, i.e. faithless, or evil, for Musalmān. The original hymn appearing in Gurū Nānak, Āsā kī Vār, read, “The clay from a Musalmān’s grave is kneaded into the potter’s lump. It is shaped into vessels and bricks and then burns in the kiln....” The hymn reflects on the essentially conditioned state of man against the mystery and absoluteness of Divine power and on the futility of dividing humanity by rites of cremation or burial (practised by Hindus and Muslims, respectively). Auranţgīzīb and his Muslim advisers, however, equated the burning of a Muslim’s remains to eternal damnation of his soul. Hence their objection to the hymn. Bābā Rām Rāi’s misquotation satisfied the Emperor but displeased the Sikhs who sent a report to Gurū Har Rāi. The Gurū anathematized Rām Rāi for the sacrilege he had committed in altering what was unalterable and debarred him from his presence. Gurū Har Rāi, before his death on 6 October 1661, chose his younger son, Har Krishan, to be his spiritual successor instead of Rām Rāi.

Rām Rāi continued to enjoy imperial patronage. He was granted a jāgīr in the Garhval plateau to which he shifted from Delhi establishing a derā or missionary centre in the dūn (valley), wherefrom the place came to be known as Dehra Dūn. He preached the gospel of Gurū Nānak, but the Sikhs by and large shunned him and his followers, collectively dubbed as Rāmrāīās. Rāmrāīās still form a dissident sect of the Udāsī Sikhs. Rām Rāi met Gurū
Gobind Singh during the latter’s stay at Paonta (1685-88). He died at his ndera on 4 September 1687.

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Râmrâiâs, originally a splinter sect of the Sikhs, now comprise an independent group more akin to the Udâsîs. The sect owes its origin to Bâbâ Râm Râi, whose name it bears. Râm Râi, who was the elder son of Gurû Har Râi (1630-61), the seventh Gurû, and who had been anathematized for deliberately misreading in the court of Emperor Aurângzib a line from one of Gurû Nanak’s hymns in order to avoid his displeasure, had shifted to a sub-Himalayan dûn (valley) where he established his ndera or abode in a jâgîr or fief granted to him by the feudatory chief of Garhval under the orders of the Mughal court. The followers of Bâbâ Râm Râi came to be known as Râmrâiâs. Bâbâ Râm Râi, shortly before his death in 1687, had met Gurû Gobind Singh, Nânak X, who was then staying at Paonta, not far from Dehra Dûn, while the latter visited Dehra Dûn soon after to install Pañjâb Kaur, Râm Râi’s widow, as his successor. However, Râmrâiâs remained outside the pale of the Khâlsâ the Gurû had initiated.

After the death of Pañjâb Kaur in 1741, the leadership and control of the Râmrâiâ sect passed to Udâsî sâdhûs who, besides the Gurû Granth Sâhib, paid obeisance to Bâbâ Sri Chand and treated Bâbâ Râm Râi as successor to the first seven Sikh Gurûs. Up to the time of the Akâli agitation in the early 1920’s, Darbâr Sâhib or Jhanâdâ Sâhib, the principal Râmrâiâ shrine at Dehra Dûn, had Gurû Granth Sâhib installed in it, although images of Bâbâ Sri Chand as well as of some Hindu deities were also worshipped. Thereafter, apprehensive of losing to the Akâlis the shrine and the vast estate attached to it, the sajadânâshins, as the custodians were styled, discontinued the display of Gurû Granth Sâhib, thus converting the place into a non-Sikh shrine. At present Râmrâiâs, estimated roughly to be a hundred thousand strong, have little in common with the Sikhs except in gur-mantra, Vâhigurû, and the institution of langar or community kitchen at Darbâr Sâhib, Dehra Dûn. Their worship comprises ârâf of Bâbâ Sri Chand and recitation and kathâ of Bhâgavata Purâna and of other Hindu texts.

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Râm Râi, Bhâi, as several hukamnâmâs from Gurû Tegh Bahâdur (1621-75) addressed to the saṅgat at Pañnâ declare, was a prominent Sikh of that town. In these letters, his name invariably appears at the top, next only to that of Bhâi Diâl Dâs. Another hukamnâmâ preserved in Gurdwârâ Mainî Saṅgat, Pañnâ, and believed to have been issued by Gurû Gobind Singh, is addressed primarily to Bhâi Râm Râi. Râm Râi was a good fluent writer as is evidenced by a copy of the Gurû Granth Sâhib written in his hand which is preserved at Takht Harimandar Sâhib, Pañnâ. In the colophon, the scribe describes himself as “Râm Râi, Sikh faqîr, son of Uttam Chand goldsmith, and an humble slave of the saṅgat.”
RAM RAUNI, later known as Rāmgarh Fort, was a small mud-fortress built in April 1748 near Rāmsar, in Amritsar, to provide shelter to scattered Sikh jathās, in Mughal Punjab. Sikh sardārs, along with their bands, assembled at Amritsar on the Baisākhī day of 1748 and set to building a rauṇī or enclosure. According to Ratan Singh Bhangū, Prachīn Panth Prakāš, the Sikhs themselves were the masons and carpenters. The structure consisted of an enclosure of mud-walls, with rudimentary watch towers, and a hastily constructed moat around it. The fortress, named after Guru Ram Das, the founder of the city of Amritsar, became a rallying point for the Sikh bands against the recurrent onslaughts of the Mughal satraps of Lahore and the Jalandhar Doab. When the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar to celebrate the Divālī festival of 1748, Muʿīn ul-Mulk (Mir Mannū), the severest of the Mughal governors, led out a force against them. He also summoned from Jalandhar Ādīnā Beg who blockaded Rām Raunī where nearly 500 Sikhs had taken shelter, the rest hiding themselves in the bushes near Rāmsar. The siege continued for three months, from October to December, and, reduced to extreme straits, Sikhs wrote to Jassā Siṅgh Rāmgarhīā, then known as Jassā Siṅgh Ṭhokā (carpenter) who was in the service of Ādīnā Beg, to come to their rescue. Jassā Siṅgh, responding to the appeal of his Sikh brethren, left Ādīnā Beg to join them. The siege was ultimately lifted at the intervention of Diwān Kaurā Mall, Mir Mannū’s minister, who had his sympathies with the Sikhs.

After the death of Mir Mannū in 1753, the Sikhs rebuilt the fortress. Jassā Siṅgh Rāmgarhīā took a leading part in fortifying it. Renamed Rāmgarh, it became the base of Sikhs’ future operations. In 1758, when Ādīnā Beg became the governor of the Punjab under the Marāṭhās, he let loose a reign of terror in an effort to exterminate the Sikhs. Rāmgarh was invested by his deputy, Mir ’Azīz Bakhshī. The Sikhs were led by warriors such as Jassā Siṅgh Rāmgarhīā, Nand Siṅgh Sāṅghnīā and Jai Siṅgh Kanhaiyā, but they were severely outnumbered. They put up a brave fight, but had to evacuate the fortress in the end. However, not long afterwards, they reassembled at Amritsar. Rāmgarh was repaired and regarrisoned, and continued to serve as a bulwark for the defence of the holy city of the Sikhs. The Rāmgarhīā misl derived its name from the fortress which its leader, Jassā Siṅgh, had redesigned.

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it in the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī (1688), near Pāonṭā.

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RĀM SĪNGH (1639-1714), Rām Chand before receiving the Sikh rites, was an ancestor of the ruling house of Paṯlā. The second son of Chaudhari Phul, he was married to Sāhbi, daughter of one Nānū Bhullar, who gave birth to six sons—Dunnā, Sāhbā, Āḷā Singh, Bakhtā, Būḍhā and Laddhā. Rām Singh was a daring and ambitious man and made some territorial acquisitions. The town of Rāmpurā he founded near Bāṭhiṅḍā celebrates his name to this day. Rām Singh was a devoted disciple of Gurū Gobind Singh’s and had the honour of receiving from him a hukamnamā in 1696, still preserved in the family, directing him and his brother, Tiḷok Singh, to repair to his presence with their contingent of horsemen. He took at the Gurū’s hands amrit at Damdamā Sāhib (Taḷvānḍī Sābo) in 1706, thus entering the fold of the Khālsā. He, along with his brother, assisted Bandā Singh Bahādūr with a force of men as the latter came to the Punjab in 1709 to chastise the Mughal faujdar of Sirhind.

Rām Singh was, in consequence of a family feud, killed in 1714 at Koḷā by his nephews Bīrū and Ugar Singh.

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RĀM SĪNGH (d. 1716), a Bal Jaṭṭ of the village of Mirpur Paṭṭī in Amritsar district of the Punjab, was the younger brother of Bāj Singh, who was appointed governor of the town of Sirhind after it was occupied by Bandā Singh Bahādūr in May 1710. Rām Singh had received the rites of the Khālsā at the hands of Gurū Gobind Singh, and was one of the five Sikhs who had accompanied Bandā Singh from Nāndeś to the Punjab in 1709. He took part in various campaigns launched by Bandā Singh. In May 1710, he was appointed administrator of Thānesar. He fought battles against Fīroz Khān Mevāī at Amin, Tarāōṛī, Thānesar and Shāhābād. He was taken prisoner in the siege of Gurdās-Nāṅgal and sent to Delhi where he was executed along with Bandā Singh and his other companions in June 1716.

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G.S.D.

RĀM SĪNGH (d. 1836), son of Bhagat Singh, descended from the Īṣapur branch of the Randhāvā family founded by his grandfather Dasaundhā Singh. Dasaundhā Singh, on receiving the Sikh initiatory rites in 1730, entered the service of Ádinā Beg and remained with him for several years before joining the Bhāṅgī clan. Rām Singh took up service under Mahārājā Raṇjīt Singh about the year 1804. In recognition of his services in different campaigns, he was granted jāgīrs in 1818 to the value of five lakh of rupees, subject to the service of seven hundred horse and two thousand infantry. In 1822, Rām Singh was placed under Prince Khaṛāk Singh and two years later he was shifted to Rājā Suchet Singh’s division.

Rām Singh died in 1836.

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RĀM SĪNGH (1744-1839), son of a Khatri belonging to Hasanvālā in Gujranwālā district, was taken into the household of Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkiā at a very young age. When he grew up, he rode in the chief's troops. He considered Mahan Singh, son of Charbat Singh, his putreli (godson), whom he had initiated into the Sikh faith. Mahan Singh during his short life, treated Rām Singh with great respect and gave him large jagirs. Rām Singh was a fine soldier, and along with his four sons served in Maharajā Ranjit Singh's campaigns of Multān, Kashmir, Mankera, Peshāwar and Bannū. He lived to the close of Maharajā Ranjit Singh's reign, and thus, having served grandfather, father and son faithfully and loyally, died in 1839 at the age of 95.

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RĀM SĪNGH (d. 1839), the eldest son of Jamādār Khushāl Singh, chamberlain to the Sikh monarch, Maharajā Ranjit Singh. His father took great pains to bring him up according to the manner of the Sikh court. Tutors were carefully chosen to teach him Arabic and Persian. Besides gaining proficiency in both languages, Rām Singh, grew up to be a good soldier. He joined the army and, by 1837, had reached the rank of brigadier-general. His career in the army was cut short by his untimely death in 1839.

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RĀM SĪNH, a holy man maintaining a dharamsālā at Zahūrā, near Ṭāndā, in Hoshiārpur district, assisted Bhāi Maharāj Singh, the leader of the anti-British rebellion of 1848-49, not only by lodging him and his followers in his dharamsālā but also introducing him to several influential men of the area. After the rebels' arrest towards the close of 1849, Rām Singh too was detained at Lahore. He was later set free and permitted to proceed on pilgrimage to holy places, but his dharamsālā at Zahūrā was razed by the government by way of punishment.

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RĀM SĪNH, BĀBĀ (1816-1885), leader of the Nāmdhāris or Kūkā movement in the Punjab, was born on 3 February 1816, in the village of Bhaiānī Arāīān, in Ludhianā district. Rām Singh was the eldest among the four children of Jassā Singh and his wife, Sadā Kaur. Rām Singh was married at the tender age of 7, such child marriages being common in the Punjab in those days. His wife, whose name was Jassān, bore him two daughters, Nand Kaur and Dayā Kaur. In the village, he learnt to read the Gurū Granth Sāhib. At the age of 20, he joined the Sikh army under Maharajā Ranjit Singh and was assigned to Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh's regiment.

In 1841, the regiment moved to Peshāwar, where he met Bābā Bālak Singh (1799-1862), a saintly person preaching a simple way of life in keeping with the teachings of the Gurūs. After the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46), Rām Singh resigned his army service and returned to Bhaiānī. He became a sharecropper, started a grocery shop and worked for a short time in 1855–56 as a building contractor at Firozpur. At the same time, he continued to disseminate the message of his mentor, Bābā Bālak Singh. On Baisākhī day, 14 April 1857, he laid down the code of conduct for his followers. The Nāmdhāris or
Kūkās as they were called (from kūk, Punjabi for a shriek or shout for, while chanting the sacred hymns, they worked themselves up to such ecstatic frenzy that they would begin dancing and shouting) were enjoined to abstain from eating meat, drinking and worshipping of tombs or samādhs and to lead simple and chaste lives. An elaborate agency for missionary work was set up. The name of the head in the district—sūbā, meaning governor—had a significant, though remote, political implication. There were altogether twenty-two such sūbās, besides two jathedārs or group leaders for each tahsil and a granthī, Scripture-reader or priest, for each village. Bābā Rām Singh remained antagonistic to the rule of the British and his prediction about its early recession was implicitly believed by his followers. The boycott of British goods, government schools, government service, law courts and of the postal service, and the exhortation to wear only home-spun cloth (khaddar) he propagated anticipated in 1860's a major thrust of the nationalist movement in the country.

A spirit of fanatical national fervour and religious zeal marked the growing Kūkā order of which the personality of Bābā Rām Singh was the focal point. The prospect was not looked upon with equanimity by government, who after the incidents of 1857, had become extra watchful. When in 1863, Bābā Rām Singh wanted to go to Amritsar for Baisākhi celebrations to which he had invited his followers from all over the Punjab, the civil authorities became alarmed and permission for Kūkās to assemble for a religious fair was given only reluctantly. But two months later, when Rām Singh announced a meeting to be held at Khoṭe, a village in Fīrozpur district, prohibitory orders were issued banning all Kūkā meetings. The Kūkā organization was subjected to strict secret vigilance. It was bruited about that Bābā Rām Singh was raising an army to fight the English. Bhaiṇī and Hazro were kept under constant watch, and under the orders of the Punjāb government, Bābā Rām Singh was detained in his village.

Early in 1867, Bābā Rām Singh’s request to be allowed to visit Muktsar on the sacred day of Māghī was refused by government. His alternative request was for permission to hold a fair in his own village on the occasion of Holī but the civil authority insisted on restricting the number of those who might visit Bhaiṇī on that day. Meanwhile, Bābā Rām Singh decided to celebrate the festival at Anandpur Sāhib where Sikhs gathered for this purpose from all over the Punjāb. The Lieut-Governor gave him the permission, but police and civil officers were appointed to watch over the movement of the pilgrims. Bābā Rām Singh set out in great state. He was accompanied by twenty-one of his sūbās on horseback and by more than two thousand of his followers on foot, with a large number of drums and banners. The visit went off peacefully, and the government were led to shedding much of their suspicion. All restrictions on Bābā Rām Singh’s freedom were withdrawn, but the truce did not last long. The followers of Bābā Rām Singh, who had a deep sentiment of reverence for the cow, had strongly resented the opening of beef shops in the sacred city of Amritsar. On the night of 14 June 1871, some of them attacked the butchers, killing four and injuring another three. A similar incident took place at Rāikoṭ, in Ludhīānā district, where three persons were killed. When the government took action against the Kūkās, they became defiant. The government charged them with sedition and the Commissioner of Ambālā Division recommended severe official measures against them including the deportation of their leader, Bābā Rām Singh.

Towards the end of 1871, the Punjāb Government placed a ban on the Kūkās assembling for any festival or fair outside of Bhaiṇī. Bābā Rām Singh, who was refused permission to go to Muktsar for the Māghī
fair, issued messages to his followers to come to Bhaini for celebrating the festival. Kukās were in a state of great excitement, and the atmosphere at Bhaini was tense. The storm that had been gathering burst. On the morning of 15 January 1872 Kukās numbering more than a hundred reached Mālerkoṭḷā and suddenly made an attack upon the treasury. In the fracas that followed eight policemen including an officer lost their lives. Sixty-eight of the Kukās were captured who were blown off the guns on the afternoon of 17 January without any trial.

Baba Ram Singh was exiled from the Punjab along with ten of his sūbās and taken to Allāhābād. From Allāhābād he was taken to Rangoon where he was detained under the Bengal Act of 1818. He lived in the same place where the last Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar, had been kept, similarly charged.

For fourteen weary years, Baba Ram Singh suffered confinement. His deep faith in the Almighty and the undiminished devotion of his followers sustained him in that solitary state. Every now and then some bold spirits, braving many a hazard, succeeded in circumventing the guards and seeing their leader, even though for a short while. A regular system of correspondence was maintained in this manner. Many of Baba Ram Singh’s letters have been preserved and a representative selection was published by Dr Gaṇḍā Sinhī a few years before his death. The latter reveal Baba Ram Singh’s undying faith, his strength of character and his love for his followers.

Baba Ram Singh passed away on 29 November 1885, but many of his followers did not believe it. Long after it, they continued to hope that he would one day come to the Punjab and free India from the shackles of the English.

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RĀM SINGH BEDI, BABA (d. 1797), a Nihāṅg warrior, was the son of Bhai Faqir Chand, of the village of Koṭlā Faqir Chand, in Sālkōṭ district, now in Pakistan. The family claimed direct descent from Gurū Nānak. Rām Sinhī took khāṇḍē dī pāhul or vows by the double-edged sword, thus entering the fold of the Khālsā. Tall and hefty of build and trained in the martial art as well as in sacred learning, and always carrying on his person a quintet of weapons, he became a legendary hero in the region.

At the end of November 1796, Shāh Zāmān, grandson of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, invaded India at the head of a host of 30,000 men—his third incursion into the country. The Sikh chiefs, following their time-tested strategy of avoiding pitched battles against numerically superior forces, retired towards Amritsar allowing the Shāh to advance unopposed to Lahore, which he entered on 3 January 1797. Soon after, however, the news of the rebellion in Herāt by his brother, Prince Mahmūd, compelled him to go back, leaving a force of 12,000 under his general, Ahmad Khān Bārākzai, better known as Shahrānch Khān, to keep the Punjab under occupation. The Sikh sardārs resorted to their usual tactics and kept preying upon the retreating Afghān columns right into the territory across the River Jehlum. Rām Sinhī, at the head of a small band of irregulars, took part in these operations. Shahrānch Khān, planning to surprise the returning Sikhs, advanced from Lahore, intercepted some of the troops under the young Sukkarchakka chief, Ranjit Sinhī, at Rāmnagar and besieged them. The Sikhs fighting back desperately forced Shahrānch Khān to raise the siege and retire towards Gujrat. Rām Sinhī and his band of warriors overtook his column on the way. In the
skirmish that ensued Bābā Rām Siṅgh Bedi fell fighting near the village of Paṛopī, where a memorial was later raised in his honour. Shahānchī Khān was also killed soon after in the main battle that took place a few kilometres east of Gujṛāt.

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**K.S.D.**

RĀM SIṄGH, BHĀĪ, a descendant of Bhāī Bhagatū, was a devout Sikh. He served Gūrū Gobind Siṅgh (1666-1708) with devotion when the latter visited his village Chakk Bhāī in Baṭhīṅḍā district of the Punjab during his travels through these parts in 1706. He again presented himself at Damdamā Sāhib, originally Talvaṇḍī Sābo, to do obeisance on the eve of the Gūrū’s departure for the South.

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**P.S.P.**

RĀM SIṄGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1846), son of Bhāī Harbhaj and a grandson of Bhāī Vasti Rām, occupied a position of honour at the court of Mahārājā Rānjit Siṅgh. A good scholar of Sanskrit and Persian, he was a trusted counsellor of the Mahārājā, who consulted him on all important matters of State. He enjoyed the unique privilege of sitting on a chair in the presence of the Mahārājā and his tent was fixed next to that of his master whenever he accompanied him on a military campaign. He sometimes acted as an interpreter at the Mahārājā’s meetings with his foreign visitors. He also acted as royal physician as he was adept in the use of indigenous herbs. Respected as a religious head, Bhāī Rām Siṅgh placed the tilak on the forehead of Mahārājā Khaṛak Siṅgh when he ascended the throne of Lahore after the death of Mahārājā Rānjit Siṅgh. During the ascendancy of Prince Nau Nihāl Siṅgh, who had received pākul or Sikh initiatory rites at his hands, he rose in prominence and he was appointed to officiate as prime minister for a brief period in place of Dhīān Siṅgh who had proceeded on leave. Nau Nihāl Siṅgh bestowed upon him the famous Rām Bāgh garden in Amritsar.

After the death of Mahārājā Khaṛak Siṅgh and Prince Nau Nihāl Siṅgh in November 1840, Rām Siṅgh supported the claim of Rāṇī Chand Kaur to the throne. Sher Siṅgh who eventually won the crown was not favourably disposed towards him initially, but soon acknowledged his pre-eminence. According to the court historian, Sōhan Lāl Sūrī, the new Mahārājā visited Bhāī Rām Siṅgh who gave him his blessing by offering eleven pieces of cloth as robes of honour, along with sweets. Sher Siṅgh treated Bhāī Rām Siṅgh with respect and allowed him the privilege of a seat in the darbār as before. After the murder of Mahārājā Sher Siṅgh in September 1843, when Hīrā Siṅgh Dogrā became prime minister, Bhāī Rām Siṅgh again suffered a set-back, but recovered his position as Hīrā Siṅgh disappeared from the scene. Mahārāṇī Jīnd Kaur turned more to him than to anybody else for advice during the period she held the reins of power.

Bhāī Rām Siṅgh played a key role in the negotiations that followed the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46) and was one of the signatories to the treaties dated 9 and 11 March 1846 between the British government and the State of Lahore. He was a member of the Council of Regency set up to administer the State on behalf of the minor Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh.

Bhāī Rām Siṅgh died at Lahore on 18
December 1846.

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S.S.B.

RĀM SĪNGH, BHĀI (1890-1921), one of the Nankānā Sāhib martyrs, was born on 15 Assū 1947 Bk./29 September 1890, the son of Bhāi Jhanḍā Singh and Māi Javālī, a Kamboj couple of Nizāmpur, in Amritsar district. He learnt Punjabi in the village gurdwārā and Urdu in the primary school. Bhāi Rām Singh was a devout Sikh and duly received the rites of Khālsā initiation. From speeches he heard at a religious divān at Gurdwāra Kharā Saudā, Chūharkānā, he learnt about the deplorable conditions of the Sikh shrines at Nankānā Sāhib under the control of the hereditary mahants or custodians. He forthwith had his name registered as a volunteer and proceeded to Nankānā Sāhib when called up for the liberation of these shrines. He joined the squad of Bhāi Lachhmaṇ Singh Dharovali and attained martyrdom in the firing which took place inside the compound of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān on 20 February 1921. The Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee settled upon the widow a pension of Rs 75 per annum.

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G.S.G.

RĀM SĪNGH, CAPTAIN (1864-1949), soldier and Akālī politician, was born the son of Natthā Singh of Sunām, now in Sāngrūr district of the Punjab. His father had served in the army of the Sikh rulers of Lahore and later in the British Indian army. Born in 1864, Rām Singh spent his early life in his native village where he received his early education. As he grew up, he enlisted in the Paṭīlā state army, but soon left it to join 15th Sikh Battalion of the Indian army on 15 April 1882. He served meritoriously in the Sudan campaigns of 1884-85 and 1897–98 and on the North-West Frontier of India, rising steadily in rank and becoming a Sūbedār Major and Honorary Captain by the time he retired in 1908. He was also awarded Order of the British India (O.B.I.) and the title of Sardār Bahādur, and granted 125 acres of land in the Sargodhā canal colony in Shāhpur district (now in Pakistan).

Captain Rām Singh was a devout Sikh. While serving as aide-de-camp to the Governor-General of India towards the end of his army career, he had taken initiative to establish a gurdwārā at Shimlā. After retirement he helped raise a gurdwārā in Chakk No. 127, close to his estate in Sargodhā, and rebuild a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Pahīlī Pāṭshāhī, at Sunām. He also took active part in the Akālī agitation of the 1920’s. A member of the first Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committe, he was elected its vice-president on 27 November 1921 following the arrest of the former incumbent in connection with the campaign for the recovery from the British of the keys of the Golden Temple treasury. He himself, along with 50 others, was arrested on the night of 13-14 October 1923, following the government declaration of 12 October outlawing the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal, and was released on 26 January 1926. He continued to take active interest in Sikh affairs till the end which came on 29 December 1949.

S.S.Am.

RĀM SĪNGH CHHĀPEVĀLĀ (d. 1840) was a man of note who fought in the battles of Rāmnagar, Chefiānvālā and Gujrāt during the second Anglo-Sikh war of 1848-49. His
father, Dîlî Singh, was born in a poor peasant family of the village of Dādûmājârâ, in Sīālkoṭ district of the Punjab. Recruited as a trooper in the army of Târâ Singh of the Kanhaiîâ misl, Dîlî Singh served his master in many of his expeditions. Râm Singh along with his brother Kîshân Singh lived at Chhāpâ, a village in Amritsar district. Maharâjâ Ranjit Singh took Râm Singh and his brother in his service and gave them command of five hundred sowârs under Prince Khârâk Singh. Kîshân Singh met his death in 1827; Râm Singh, who had achieved distinction in that battle, received a grant of seven villages in Amritsar district. Maharâjâ Khârâk Singh gave Râm Singh the charge of his private seal and jâgîr in Amritsar and Shâhpur districts. Under Maharâjâ Sher Singh, Râm Singh received various military commands, and his personal jâgîr was raised to rupees fifteen thousand per annum. In 1847, Râm Singh was sent in command of some irregular horse to Bannû under Shamser Singh Sandhâñvâlîâ, who was in command of the Sikh force sent by the Lahore Darbâr to help Lieut. Herbert Edwardes settle the disturbed district. Râm Singh was instrumental in arousing the Sikh force stationed in Dalipgârî Fort at Bannû to rebellion in 1848. The force headed by Râm Singh marched on to join Râjâ Sher Singh against the British. Râm Singh showed his worth by fighting bravely at Râmnagâr (22 November 1848), Chelîâñvâlî (13 January 1849) and at Gujrat (21 February 1849). He fell in the last-named battle. His jâgîr was seized by the British upon the occupation of the Punjab.

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G.S.N.

Râm Singh Nûrpûrı̄ā, an associate of Bhâî Mahârâj Singh in his revolt against the British, was the son of Shîâm Singh alias Shiâmâ, a Pathâñiâ Râjpût and Wazîr or minister to Râjâ Bir Singh, chief of Nûrpûrı̄ā, 25 km east of Pathâñkoṭ (32° -18'N, 75° -40'E), a feudatory of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore since 1802. Nûrpûrı̄ā had been annexed by Maharâjâ Ranjit Singh in January 1816 on account of the failure of its chief to attend the general review of the army held at Sîālkoṭ in October of the previous year and his failure to pay the mulct imposed for his default. Bir Singh took refuge in British territory. He made an attempt to recover the territory in 1826 but was defeated and imprisoned. Râm Singh, also referred to as Râm Singh Wazîr, probably succeeded his father in the office of minister and remained with his master during his exile. Around 1844, he joined the service of Maharânî Jind Kaur. According to his confessional statement after his arrest in 1849, he was sent by the Maharânî in early 1848 with a secret message to join Bhâî Mahârâj Singh and to act according to the latter's orders. Râm Singh met the Bhâî at Jhaṅg, where he was given sufficient funds and was told to organize a revolt in his native hills as a part of a general uprising being planned by Bhâî Mahârâj Singh against the British, who had been in virtual occupation of the Punjab after the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46). Râm Singh led an insurrection in the Bârî Doâb at the close of 1848 and even threatened the British possessions in the Jalandhar Doâb, while the Sikhs under the Aţârîvâlî Sardârs, Chatar Singh and his son, Râjâ Sher Singh, had openly challenged the British. Râm Singh's campaign acquired such proportions that even the British Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, took note of it in a letter he addressed to Sir Frederick Currie, the Resident at Lahore. Brigadier-General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler, commander Jullundur Field Force, had to launch action against him in which at least four infantry battalions and two cavalry regiments took part. This force ultimately defeated Râm Singh in a battle fought on 8
January 1849 at Bassū or Bānsā, near Nūrpur. Ram Singh himself was seriously wounded but escaped and took refuge in Jammū territory. He was ultimately arrested and tried as a rebel. No precise information is available as regards the sentence awarded. The general surmise is that he was transported for life to Singapore where he died.

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RAM SINGH, RAJA, son of Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh of Āmber, was a 4-hazāri mansābīdār of the Mughal emperor, Aurāngzīb. During Jai Singh’s absence in the Deccan on campaigns against Shivaji and the Bijāpur state in 1664-67 Kanvar Rām Śiṅgh remained in Delhi in their palace in Rāśiṇā and represented his father at the imperial court. The Āmber family had been admirers of the Sikh Gurūs since the time of Gurū Hargobind. On account of this old connection, Gurū Har Krishan stayed with Kaṅvar Rām Śiṅgh when he came to Delhi in response to the emperor’s summons. Here he was taken ill and died on 30 March 1664. Gurdwārā Banglā Sāhib now marks the site of his brief sojourn in Rāśiṇā. In November 1665, when Gurū Tegh Bahādur was arrested at Dhamtān and brought to Delhi, Kaṅvar Rām Śiṅgh interceded and secured his release.

Rājā Jai Śiṅgh, who was leading expeditions in the South, succeeded in persuading Shivājī, on personal assurance for safety, to attend Aurāngzīb’s court. It was Kaṅvar Rām Śiṅgh who presented Shivājī and his son, Shambhūjī, to the emperor at Āgrā on 12 May 1666. The emperor received the Marāṭhās with seeming respect and arranged for them to stay with Rām Śiṅgh, instructing the latter to keep watch over them. This was virtual detention, and when Shivājī and Shambhūjī escaped on 19 August 1666, their custodian naturally fell under suspicion. He was punished, first by being forbidden the court and then by being deprived of his rank and pay. However, on his father’s death in July 1667, Rām Śiṅgh was recognized as successor and restored to his rank. But the emperor had not completely absolved the family from blame. On 27 December 1667, Rājā Rām Śiṅgh was nominated to lead an expedition against the Ahom rebels of Assam which was a hazardous assignment. Rām Śiṅgh received his formal orders on 6 January 1668. Assam or Kāmṛūp was notorious for the sorcerous arts and he was advised by his mother to seek the blessing of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The Gurū was then travelling in the eastern districts. Rām Śiṅgh met him and requested to accompany him. Gurū Tegh Bahādur granted him his request. Together they reached Raṅgāmāṭī on the bank of the Brahmaputra in the second half of February 1669. Rājā Rām Śiṅgh met with very stiff resistance from the Ahoms, and the contest remained undecided. According to Sikh chroniclers, Gurū Tegh Bahādur eventually arranged a truce opening the way for a negotiated settlement. In celebration of the peace, the Gurū had a mound built on the Brahmaputra bank at Dhubṛī by Rām Śiṅgh’s soldiers. A Sikh shrine called Thārā Sāhib or Damdāmā Sāhib still exists atop this mound.

Gurū Tegh Bahādur returned to Paṭnā and therefrom back to the Punjab. The peace brought about by him did not last long and hostilities broke out again. But both sides were weary of war and there was a stalemate in the fighting extending over six years. At last Rājā Rām Śiṅgh received permission to leave Assam; he reached the imperial capital in June 1676. Not long afterwards he was called upon to take part in the Deccan campaign. His last expedition was to north-west frontier where he died assisting Amīr Khān, the Mughal general, in quelling local lawlessness. The date of his death is not known.
RAM SINGH, SARDAR BAHADUR

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RAM SINGH, SARDAR BAHADUR (d. 1916), eminent architect, was born in a Ramgarhia family and started working in a wood-carver’s shop in Amritsar where he attracted the notice of Mr Kipling, the first principal of the Mayo School of Industrial Arts, Lahore. The Mayo School of Industrial Arts established in 1875 took up students with a long-lasting interest in the craft. Ram Singh proved a quick learner and within a short period of time, he gained appointment in his own school. According to a contemporary account published in Lahore by S.M. Latif, he assisted Kipling in designing the new buildings of the Museum and Technical Institute as well as of the Mayo School of Industrial Arts. After his retirement, Mr Kipling managed to invite Ram Singh to London for participation in an international exhibition. In 1890, he undertook the trip on a royal invitation to prepare an architectural design for the Durbar Hall wing in Royal Palace. He stayed there for three years and his entry at the international exhibition was adjudged as the best model of the traditional style of Indian architecture. His work attracted the notice of top-ranking European architects of the day. The queen granted him a special audience. After return to India, he became principal of the Mayo School of Industrial Arts, and was awarded the titles of “Sardar Sahib” in 1904, “Sardar Bahadur” in 1909, and “Member of Victorian Order” (MVO) in 1911.

Sardar Bahadur Ram Singh prepared designs of several outstanding buildings in India and abroad. Prominent among these are: Indian Durbar Hall, London; Aitchison Chiefs College; Senate Halls of the Panjab University and Forman Christian College in Lahore; Lady Aitchison Hospital; Government College Boarding House; Albert Victor Wing; Lady Lyall Home; Law Courts; Municipal Hall, Firozpur; District Court Hall, Allakhabaad; the Viceregal Lodge, Shimla; and the Khalsa College at Amritsar. He also designed emblems for the flags of various Indian states and municipalities. In 1911, he prepared the architectural design and interior decoration scheme for the Coronation Hall in which ceremonies for King George V took place.

Ram Singh almost “invented” the modern Sikh architecture—a mixture of the traditional Indian and Mughal styles—of which perhaps the best example is the historic building of the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

Sardar Bahadur Ram Singh died at a relatively young age in 1916.

S.S.Bt.

RAM TIRATH, SVAMI (1897-1977), also known as DanDi Sannyasi (different from Rama Tirtha, Svami), was a recluse who after a prolonged spiritual quest turned to the Guru Granth Sahib. Born on 31 August 1897 to Pandit Bally Ram and Hari Devi, a Gaur Brahma family of the village of Tauhrah, in the then princely state of Nabh, he received the name of Ram Pratap but was rechristened Svami Rama Tirath by Svami Narayan Tirath, an ex-Principal of Queens College at Calcutta, who initiated him into sannyas in 1937. For his early education, Ram Tirath was apprenticed to a Pandit in Nabh from where he moved to Patiala to study Sanskrit grammar with Pandit Ram Basant Singh, his cousin and a famous Nirmala scholar, who later took him to the Nirmala akhara at Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of Guru Nanak, and taught him the Sikh texts. When he came of age, he joined the Patiala state army (Risal No. 2) and served for three
years. He then quit the army and travelled extensively, consorting with saints and sādhūs. It was during this odyssey that he met Svāmī Nārāyaṇ Tirath at Haridvār. During the following four years he travelled through Haryāṇā, Uttar Pradesh and Rājasthān, and it was during this tour that he met a Dāṇḍī Sannyāśī at Viśvesvāra Āśram, in 'Aligarh, who taught him Upaniṣads and Vedānt Śastras. In 1941, he moved into Sona Temple, at Ludhiana. Now began the most productive period of his life during which he wrote eighteen books and tracts in Sanskrit, Hindi and Punjabi. In Punjabi were his Sarvatām Granth Ādi Śrī Gūrū Granth Sāhib and Sarvatām Dharma Khālsā Panth—the former on Sikh Scripture declaring it to be the supreme religious text and the latter on the Sikhs, followers of this Scripture whom he describes as the very salt of the earth.

Swāmī Rām Tirath died at Haridvār on 12 May 1977.

RĀMŪ, BHĀI, a Kohli Khatrī of Sultānpur Lodhi in present-day Kapūrthala district of the Punjab, embraced Sikh faith during the time of Guru Amar Dās. He once accompanied the saṅgat of Sultānpur to Amritsar to wait on Guru Arjan and seek instruction. His name occurs in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārān, XI. 16.

RĀMŪ BHĀI, of Dālā, was a Mahitā Khatrī, who, accompanied by Bhāi Mohan, Bhāi Amarū, and Bhāi Gopi, went to offer obeisance to Gūrū Amar Dās visiting his village. The Guru's instruction was: "Conquer ego, which keeps man parted from God. The body is false and impermanent. Be tolerant of criticism and indifferent to praise." Bhāi Rāmū and his companions followed the Guru's teaching and won repute as devout Sikhs. The name figures in Bhāi Gurdās, Vārān, XI.16.

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RĀNĀ SŪRAT SĪNGH, an epiclike poem by Bhāi Vir Singh published in 1905. This poem of more than fourteen thousand lines is written in blank verse, tried for the first time in Punjabi. With all its protracted search and pang, it is ultimately a poem of complete spiritual certitude, of utter harmony and undifferentiation, of turiyāpad, the final stage of realization. But despite this religious leitmotif, the work does not degenerate into a dry and didactic poem, but possesses intrinsic worth as a literary production of high aesthetic value.

The backdrop of the story is the eighteenth century when the Sikh people were
facing oppression and persecution. The plot turns on Rañī Rāj Kaur’s heartache and its resolution. The Rañī was the daughter of a hill monarch ruling in one of the Himalayan principalities who had embraced Sikhism under the influence of Sādhū Śingh, a Sikh of saintly character, who had been driven to the hills by state persecution. The ruler had no male heir and married his daughter to Sādhū Śingh’s son, Śurat Śingh. Upon his death, Śurat Śingh succeeded to the throne. But, although he was now the chief of a small territory, he never failed to answer the call of his compatriot Sikhs whenever they needed his help in battle. In one such battle Rañī Śurat Śingh got killed.

This shattered the world of Rāj Kaur whose love for her husband was tender beyond words. Nothing could assuage the pain of her heart. Duties of state which now fell to her engaged not her attention. She had the ashes of the burnt body of her husband brought to her and entombed them in a shrine of white marble on streambank on the summit of a small hill. Her mother dissuaded her, but she did not listen to anyone. She had sculptors sent for from Ágrā and had a life-size white statue of the Rañī made. She placed it in a temple especially erected for the purpose. Thus did she occupy herself in her love irrepressible. Never for a moment was she abstracted from her sorrow.

Lovelornness was thus Rañī Rāj Kaur’s fate. Her life was one long-drawn sigh. She wept tears of blood for her husband. She offered flowers before the sculptured image and she worshipped the enshrined ashes. But nothing seemed to assuage the pain of separation. And, then, one day as she lay inert with grief, “She felt she had stolen out of the body where it lay and started soaring upwards like a kite in the skies... Like a bird flying in the skies she saw clear-eyed all things below—the mansion, the women’s apartments, the whole palace indeed; the forest, the pastures and the trees; the streamlet and the shrine; gardens, and orchards, servants and retainers, maids and her mother herself... the body lay unconscious, and wide-awake she.... As she soared further heavenwards, there sprang into sight spirits in myriads floating in the region refulgent. Who could describe their beauty? The beauty of the world below was as if soot, compared to theirs. Blithesome they all were like the lotus in bloom.”

One of those blithe happy spirits advanced towards Rāj Kaur from behind to lead her to regions beyond. Upwards they went into subtler and more luminous spheres. They came to a plane where “the ground shone like crystal.” This was Gian Khāṇḍ, the Realm of Knowledge. The residents here “were without desire and of pure frame. Sustained by knowledge they dwelt in continued felicity.” Then they came to Saram Khāṇḍ, the Realm of Aesthetic Beauty. Here speech subtler than thought took form most beauteous; and here consciousness and intellect, understanding and reason were reformed and refashioned. Further on was the Realm of Grace, Karam Khāṇḍ, peopled by those of dedicated soul and power. “Beyond words and beyond limit was the splendour that here prevailed. Here death had no access... Grace abounding rained here without cease.”

They could go no further. The ultimate domain Sach Khāṇḍ, the Realm Eternal, was beyond the reach of Rañī Rāj Kaur’s heavenly companion. So she pointed it out to her from a distance. As she turned her gaze in that direction, she beheld a vast shoreless ocean of light. It flashed with the brilliance of millions of lightnings. In this light so unlike the daily light of the world, the queen could see nothing. But she rejoiced to have a sight of the “exalted city” in which dwelt the Loved One. In gratefulness, a prayer arose from her heart. The prayer was heard and a glimpse was vouchsafed to her of her husband seated in front of the Throne of the Timeless. She
was enchanted. The duality ended. "I and mine were annulled." The pain of separation was erased.

This was a fleeting vision and it vanished with the alacrity of lightning. The queen was left in a daze. Or, was she intoxicated? As she recovered, she felt overwhelmed with gratitude. Her "friend comforting" came forth to escort her back. In descent, the experience was reversed. She was becoming heavier and less radiant as she bore downwards. On the way, her heavenly guide instructed her in the secret of attaining Sach Khand while still in the world as indeed her husband had done. The suspension of ego and selfless, but active, living in the love of mankind and of the Creator transported one into that state. Then the celestial being disappeared "like a drop of milk in a pool." When Rāṇī Rāj Kaur opened her eyes, she saw that it was the same spot—the same body in which she had lapsed into unconsciousness in the acuteness of her torment. She stood up and felt light like a rose-petal. What had happened was sculptured vividly in her memory.

Yet her pain was far from abated. For her "the time-cycle without her husband flowed but emptily." Disconsolate in her consuming love, she remained withdrawn from all worldly business. The queen mother tried cure by charms and exorcism and, not entirely novel in courtly code, by stratagem. A letter was brought to Rāj Kaur said to have been written by Rāṇā Sūrat Singh in his own blood just before he died. He described the fury of the raging battle and his own hopeless condition owing to a serious wound he had received. He advised her that after his death she marry the neighbouring chieftain who had done him a good turn in that desperate state. It was not difficult for Rāṇī Rāj Kaur to see that such could never have been her husband's suggestion.

The long-suffering search finally ended when an old man found her lying exhaust-
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RAṆṆĪR SĪṆḠ, MAḤĀṆĀṆĀ (1879-1948), son of Balbīr Śīṅgh and a grandson of Rājā Raghbir Śīṅgh, was born at Sāṅgrāṛ on 11 October 1879. He ascended the gaddi of Jind state in 1887 and was invested with ruling powers in 1899. Deaf from a relatively early age, Maharaja RaṆbīr Śīṅgh lived until 1948 and witnessed fifty momentous years from his throne. He died on 1 April 1948, and was succeeded by his son, Rājbīr Śīṅgh, during whose time Jind state joined the Paṭiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU).

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RANDHĪR SĪṆḠ, BHĀĪ (1878-1961), a revolutionary as well as a saintly personage much revered among the Sikhs, was born on 7 July 1878 at the village of Nārāṇgāval in Ludhīnā district of the Punjab, to Natthā Śīṅgh and Paṇjāb Kaur. Natthā Śīṅgh was at first the district inspector of schools of Ludhīnā and then translator of law books in the princely state of Paṭīlāḷā, in which capacity he rendered into Punjabi the Indian Penal Code under the title *Hīnd Ḍandāvaḷī*. Later, he became a judge of the High Court in Nābhā state. Randhīr Śīṅgh passed his high school at Nābhā and was admitted to Government College at Lahore in 1896. In 1898, he transferred himself to Forman Christian College at Lahore, but left in 1900 without complet-
at Nabha on 9 May 1915 and on 19 June was put under arrest and taken to Ludhiana. He remained in Ludhiana jail until 27 October 1915 when he was removed to Lahore. He was tried in the Lahore conspiracy case II and, on 30 March 1916, sentenced to transportation for life. For sixteen long years (1915 to 1930), he was shifted from jail to jail—Lahore, Multan, Hazariabagh, Rajahmundry and Nagpur. While in Multan jail, he went on a protest fast to secure for the Sikh prisoners their religious rights and won his point after a 40-day trial. Just before his release on 4 October 1930, he was brought to Lahore jail where a Muslim jailer arranged a meeting between him and Bhagat Singh, the martyr, then under death sentence. Bhagat Singh, as says Bhai Randhir Singh in his Jelh Chithian, confessed that he had been up to that time an atheist but that after meeting Bhai Randhir Singh a new spiritual awareness had come to him.

After his release from jail in October 1930, Bhai Randhir Singh turned increasingly inwards and spent most of his time in meditation and in preaching the Guru's word through kirtan and through akhand pāths. For his standing in Sikh piety and for his qualities of courage and sacrifice, he received siropās or robes of honour at all the Takhs, seats of highest religious authority. In the hukamnamā issued from the Akal Takht, Amritsar, on 30 Bhadoh 1988/15 September 1931, he was eulogized for his "steadfastness, selfless sacrifice and outstanding services to the Panth." Besides the Takhs, he received similar acclaim at other holy places, including Tarn Taran, Khaqūr Sāhib, Goindvāl Sāhib and Sultānpur Lodhi. He was chosen to be one of the Pañj Piare, the Five Beloved, who initiated on 17 September 1931 kār-sevā or voluntary mass labour to clean the holy tank at Tarn Taran. He was the Jathedar of the Pañj Piare chosen to lay, on 14 October 1932, the cornerstone of the new building of Gurdwārā Pañjā Sāhīb. He was also included among the Pañj Piare who performed similar ceremonies at Gurdwārā Shahid Gafū at Nankānā Sāhib (21 November 1934), Akāl Buṅgā at Patnā Sāhib (8 January 1938) and the Kavi Darbār Asthān at Paṅgūt Sāhib (17 March 1938).

Bhai Randhir Singh wrote more than three dozen books and tracts on Sikh theology, philosophy and mysticism. Especially notable among his works are Jelh Chithīaṇī, Anhad Shabad-Dasam Duār, a book on the highest state of spiritual illumination according to Sikhism, Charan Kamal ki Mauj, an essay on mystical experience, Gurmati Nām Abhīṣh Kamāh, a theological treatise on the discipline of nām, i.e. absorption in the Divine Name, Gurmat Bibek, a book on the Sikh code of conduct, and Gurbāṇī diān Lāgān Māṭrān dī Viṇkkhaṇaṇa, dealing with peculiarities of vowel symbols in Gurbāṇī. Jotī Vīgās and Darshan Jhalkāṇ are books of mystical poetry.

Bhai Randhir Singh died on 16 April 1961 at Ludhiana. On his death 200 akhand pāths or continuous recitations of the Guru Granth Sāhib were performed in and outside India. His memory is perpetuated by his followers who, women not excluded, don turbans in a distinctive manner and perform what is called akhand (uninterrupted, long continuing) kirtan he made popular.

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G.S.D.
British rewarded him with the title of Rājā-ī-Rājgar, the right of adoption and other concessions, and with the grant of territories in the province of Āgrā and Oudh.

Rājā Randhir Singh died at Aden on 2 April 1870 on his way to England, and was cremated at Nāsīk on the bank of the Godāvari where a handsome monument honours his memory.

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RAṆG DĀŚ, BHĀĪ, a Bhaṇḍārī Khatri of Ghaṛūān, an old village in Ropār district of the Punjab, was a prominent Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dāś. He had been a follower of Bairāgī sādhīs until he met Bhāī Pāro, whose example led him to embrace the Sikh faith. Bhāī Raṅg Dāś is also said to have held charge of a maṇī or preaching district. His descendants still live at Ghaṛūān where his samādhi is visited by devotees especially on the day of Holi festival. Bhāī Raṅg Dāś’s brother, Bhagat Nand Lāl, was also a Sikh preacher and his samādhi at village Batta, 5 km away, attracts visitors and devotees, too. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated at the latter place.


RAṆĪ MĀJRĀ, a village in Paṭīālā district, 16 km northeast of Ambālā city (30°23’N, 76°47’E), claims a historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh who, according to local tradition, came here as a child from Lakhnaur. A simple platform, constructed where the Gurū had halted about 200 metres north of the village, was replaced in 1958 by the present Gurdwārā. An old well near by still exists. The complex includes a hall with a square sanctum in the middle of it, and rooms for the grathī and the Gurū kā Lāngar. The Gurdwārā has 11 acres of land donated to it and is managed by a village committee.

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RAṆĪ RAṆĪṆDRAṆĀTĪ CHARITRA by Sāhib Singh Mrīgīnd is a versified account (charitra = character; portrayal) in Braj (Gurmukhi characters) of Queen (rāṇī = queen) Jīndān, the wife of Mahārājā Raṇjit Singh, here referred to as RaṆī Jīndān (Jīnd Kaur), widow of the Sikh sovereign. Because of his personal grudge against her and because of his loyalty to the Jīnd rulers who were pro-British, he presents the RaṆī in very poor light. The poet’s attitude is clearly pro-British. The work has so far remained unpublished. Of the two known manuscript copies, one (No. 41) is preserved in the Languages Department, Punjab, Paṭīālā, and the other in the private collection of Dr Gandā Singh at Patiala. The work was completed by the poet in 1909 BK/AD 1852, and the Languages Department manuscript, written in the hand of one Gopāl Singh, is dated 1949 BK/AD 1892. It comprises 219 folios, each folio having 8+8 lines on it, whereas the second manuscript has 207 folios with 6+6 lines on each folio. The manuscript opens with a description of the beauty of the city of Lahore and the pomp and glory of the Sikh court. This is followed by the poet’s tribute or eulogy to Raṇjit Singh. Raṇī
Jind Kaur’s father, Mannā Singh, one of the Maharājā’s employees, married his young daughter to the ageing Maharājā. Jind Kaur is presented in this work as a very beautiful and voluptuous woman. All the court intrigues after Ranjit Singh’s death which took the lives of many members of the royal family and which ultimately led to the downfall of the Sikh kingdom are attributed to her. The work concludes with verses in praise of Maharājā Narinder Singh (1824-62) of Paṭiālā and Rājā Sarūp Singh (1837-64) of Jind, who was the poet’s patron.

RANJIT NAGĀRĀ, lit. the drum of victory in battlefield, was the name given the kettle-drum installed by Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur in 1684. Nagārā, Punjabi for the Persian naqqārāh meaning a kettle-drum, was a symbol of royalty. As well as fulfilling his spiritual office, Guru Gobind Singh had, like his grandfather, Guru Hargobind, adopted the emblems of worldly dignity. He wore an aigrette and arms, sat under canopy and went out riding in state. Adding another sign of authority, in 1684, his diwan, Nand Chand, had a kettle-drum installed at his bidding. The massive drum with a metallic hemispheric body was called by Guru Gobind Singh Ranjit Nagārā. According to Kuir Singh, Gurbilās Pāṭshāhī 10, the masands became afraid lest the beating of the drum should arouse the envy of the local chieftain, and begged the Guru’s mother, Mātā Gujari, to plead with him not to offend the rājā. Guru Gobind Singh, as says Bhāi Santokh Singh, Śrī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, spoke to his mother, “Why should anyone resort to antagonism? I am not going to seize anyone’s territory.” Ranjit Nagārā was usually beaten when Guru Gobind Singh went out for the chase. The thunderous roll of Ranjit Nagārā made Rājā Bhim Chand, Rājā of Kahlūr, who was already jealous of the growing influence of Guru Gobind Singh, panicky. He and later his son, Ajmer Chand, supported by other hill monarchs, attacked Anandpur and continued hostilities until Guru Gobind Singh, under pressure of a prolonged siege, was forced to evacuate the fort in December 1705. History provides no clue, but in all probability Ranjit Nagārā was left behind in Anandpur. However, kettle-drum as such had become part of Sikh tradition, and it continues to be so till today. Almost every gurdwārā now maintains a large kettle-drum called dhauṇsā or nagārā, which is beaten during ardās, the supplicatory prayer, to punctuate certain lines and as a call for meals in the Guru kā Laṅgar.

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Ranjit Singh was the only son of Mahān Singh Sukkarchakkiā and Raj Kaur, daughter of Rājā Gajpat Singh of Jind. He was given the name of Buddh Singh which, in commemoration of an armed victory his father had won, was changed into Ranjit (Victor in Battle) Singh. An attack of smallpox during infancy deprived Ranjit Singh of the sight of his left eye. He attended no school and spent most of his time riding and in chase. He developed a passionate love for horses and had his first encounter with steel at the age of ten when he fought beside his father against the Bhangi chieftains. Ranjit Singh lost his father soon after. Since he showed little interest in administrating the estates he had inherited, his mother and his late father's manager, Lakhpat Rāi, looked after them until his maternal uncle, Dal Singh, and his mother-in-law, Sadā Kaur, took over the management. In 1796 Ranjit Singh had married at Bāṭālā Mahitāb Kaur, daughter of Sadā Kaur, head of the Kanhaiyā misl, who gave him active support during the early part of his career of battle and conquest.

Shāh Zamān, the King of Kābul and a grandson of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, made several frantic efforts to re-establish the Durrānī power in India and in the autumn of 1796 occupied the city of Lahore, but he had to retire to his country in January 1797 leaving behind his general Ahmad Shāh Shahānchibāsī as his deputy with 12,000 soldiers to deal with the Sikhs. The Sikhs followed the Shāh all the way across the Jehlum and deprived him of much of his baggage. Shahānchī Khān, as the Afghān general was generally called by the Sikhs, planned to take the returning Sikhs by surprise and intercepted them near Rāmnagar, but he was killed in the battle that followed and his force was completely routed. Ranjit Singh in whose territory lay the scene of this engagement distinguished himself in battle and his reputation rose from that of an obscure Sikh chieftain to the hero of the Punjab.

The humiliation of this defeat rankled in Shāh Zamān's mind and, as soon as he had settled his domestic problems, he once more descended upon the Punjab, in the autumn of 1798. Ranjit Singh made no resistance, and let the Shāh occupy Lahore without opposition on 27 November 1798. Meanwhile, Ranjit Singh had retired to Amritsar to collect a Sikh force. With these men he defeated a detachment of Afghāns despatched by the Shāh and forced them to retire to Lahore. He followed them and encircled the capital, cut off the Afghāns' supply lines and burnt the standing crops in the neighbouring countryside. According to Sohan Lāl Sūrī and Būṭe Shāh, two contemporary historians, Ranjit Singh at this time thrice rushed upon the Samman Burj of the Fort with a small force, fired some shots, killed and wounded a number of the Afghāns, and challenged the Shāh to a hand-to-hand fight. "Come on, O grandson of Ahmad Shāh" shouted Ranjit Singh, "and try your strength with the grandson of Sardār Charhat Singh." But as there was no response from the other side, Ranjit Singh had to return without a trial of strength with the Durrānī. There was news of fresh trouble in Afghanistan which led Shāh Zamān again to turn his footsteps towards his home country.

On 7 July 1799, Ranjit Singh drove the Bhaṅgī rulers out of Lahore and became master of the capital. The populace, largely consisting of Muslims and Hindus, welcomed him as their redeemer. Shāh Zamān tried to regain diplomatically what he had failed to do militarily and proposed to invest Ranjit Singh with a title. Ranjit Singh accepted the compliment, and in return presented the Shāh with some cannon the Afghāns had lost during their retreat from the Punjab. However, his success roused the envy of the other Sikh sardārs, chiefly the Bhaṅgis. In 1800, they entered into a coalition with Nizām ud-Dīn of Kasūr and assembled their forces at the village of Bhasīn, near Lahore.
On Baisākhi day, 12 April 1801, Sāhib Singh Bedi, a pious Sikh in direct descent from Gūrū Nānak applied the ceremonial saffron mark to Ranjīt Sīnh's forehead and proclaimed him Mahārājā of the Punjab. For the coronation ceremonies Ranjīt Sīnh refused to wear any emblems of royalty or sit on throne. He continued to hold darbār seated cross-legged in his chair as before. He had his coins struck in the name of the Gūrū, and did not lend them his effigy or name. The seal of the government likewise bore no reference to him. Despite the many sonorous titles, official and others used for him, the one by which he preferred to be addressed was the plain Singh Sāhib. Nor was the government related to him or to his family. It was Sarkār Khālsājī, Government of the Honoured Khalsa; the court was known as Darbār Khālsājī. Yet his intention was not to establish a Sikh theocracy, but a State in which all people, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, would enjoy equal rights and opportunities. His council of ministers consisted of men belonging to all those different communities. His army, though its nucleus remained Sikh, had large contingents of Muslims, mainly in the artillery, and of Hindus. Although punctilious in the observance of Sikh ritual, he joined his Muslim subjects in their religious celebrations as he joined his Hindu subjects at their festivals.

The first task to which Ranjīt Sīnh now applied himself was to bring the entire Punjab under his control. His closest collaborators in this were his mother-in-law, Sādā Kaur, and Fateh Sīnh, chief of the Ānlūvalīās, with whom he had ceremonially exchanged turbans to mark their fraternal relationship. Their combined forces levied tribute on the zamindārs of Dhanni-Pothōhār and on the Afghan rulers of Kasūr and Multān. The most significant achievement was the taking in 1802 of Amritsar, the chief trading centre of the Punjab and the holy city of the Sikhs. Amritsar was divided among a dozen families. The combined force of Ranjīt Sīnh, Sādā Kaur and Fateh Sīnh Ānlūvalīā reduced them one after the other and also captured the powerful fort of Gobindgarh. Equally valuable was the procurement of the services of Akālī Phūlā Sīnh, a fearless and outspoken soldier who was destined to play a crucial role in several of Ranjīt Sīnh's military campaigns. Ranjīt Sīnh received a great welcome from the people of Amritsar. After paying homage at the Harimandar, he ordered the Temple to be rebuilt in marble and its domes to be covered with gold leaf. The capture of Amritsar added spiritual sanction to Ranjīt Sīnh's temporal powers. He sent emissaries to the independent princely powers in the province exhorting them to declare allegiance to the Sarkār Khālsājī. At the same time he began to reorganize his army.

First to feel the impact of the new army was Ahmad Khān Sīāl of Jhaṅg, Punjab's premier breeder of horses and leader of the Sīāls. Ahmad Khān was defeated and reinstated at Jhaṅg as a vassal of the Lahore Darbār. Thus encouraged, Ranjīt Sīnh carried out extensive reorganization of his army. In 1802, soon after the occupation of Amritsar, he engaged some deserters from the army of the East India Company to train his own infantry. Several new commanders came to the fore: Diwān Muhkam Chand, Hari Sīnh Nalvā, Hukmā Sīnh Chimni, Fateh Sīnh Kāliāñvālā, Desā Sīnh Majīthīā. Heavy artillery was raised under a Muslim, Chaudhari Ghaus Khān. Ranjīt Sīnh made it a daily practice to watch his troops at drill and manoeuvres. After the conquest of Jhaṅg, the Mahārājā was moving towards Mulṭān when the news of the arrival of the Marāthā fugitive Jasvant Rāo Holkar in the Punjab reached him. Holkar was being pursued by Lord Lake who had come as far as the River Beās. Ranjīt Sīnh hurried back to Amritsar where a meeting of the Sarbatt Khālsā comprising the leading sardārs was convened to
decide by gurmatā or common resolution how to treat the Marāṭhā chief and his pursuers. The Mahārājā could ill afford to make the Punjab a theatre of war between two foreign armies, especially when his own position was not yet secure. It was therefore decided to have the issue settled by negotiations. Raṇjīt Siṅgh was eventually able to bring about a reconciliation between the British and the Marāṭhā chief and have all the latter’s territories beyond Delhi restored to him. At the same time a treaty was entered into, on 1 January 1806, between Lord Lake and the Sikh chiefs by which the Mahārājā and Fateh Siṅgh Āhlūvāliā agreed to “cause Jaswant Rao Holkar to remove with his army to the distance of 30 coss from Amritsar and... never hereafter hold any further connection with him,” while Lord Lake undertook that so long as the conditions of this treaty were observed “the British armies shall never enter the territories of the said chieftains, nor will the British government form any plans for the seizure or the sequestration of their possessions or property.”

In the autumn of 1806, Raṇjīt Siṅgh crossed the Sutlej and toured the Mālvā country receiving tribute from several sardārs, including Tārā Siṅgh Ghaiābā, head of the Ḍallevāliā misl. He also settled a dispute which had arisen between the chiefs of Nābhā and Paṭiālā. On his way back to Lahore, the Mahārājā was invited by Rājā Sāṁsār Chand of Kāṅgṛā to help him expel the Gurkhas who had invaded his domains. Raṇjīt Siṅgh marched up to Javālāmukhī at which the Gurkhas withdrew from the valley. In February 1807, Raṇjīt Siṅgh’s troops attacked Kasūr whose chief, Nawāb Qutb ud-Din, had failed to pay tribute. After a month of fierce fighting, the town was captured. Qutb ud-Din was caught while fleecing the fort, but Raṇjīt Siṅgh set him at liberty and made over to him as jāgīr Mamoṭ and a few other villages on the left bank of the River Sutlej.

A domestic quarrel between Rājā Sāhib Siṅgh of Paṭiālā on the one hand and his wife Rāṇī Ās Kaur and the heir apparent Karam Siṅgh on the other gave Raṇjīt Siṅgh another opportunity to cross over into the Mālvā region. He settled the dispute in the Paṭiālā family and once more took tribute from other cis-Sutlej chieftains. On his way back to his capital, he took Naraingarh from the Rājā of Sirmūr and, on the death of the head of the Ḍallevāliā misl, incorporated his estates into his kingdom. Diwān Muḥkam Chand who had served the Ḍallevāliās with distinction joined Raṇjīt Siṅgh’s service and immediately proceeded to make the Rājpūt chieftains of Jāsoṛā, Chambā, Basohlī and others acknowledge Raṇjīt Siṅgh’s suzerainty. Another notable acquisition was the fort of Sheikhpurā, near Lahore.

It is clear that by the autumn of 1808 Raṇjīt Siṅgh had made up his mind to subjugate the entire cis-Sutlej region, and, but for the arrival of the Metcalfe mission in 1808 and continuing British interest in the area, his dream of uniting all the Sikhs under his supremacy would have been realized. Metcalfe’s mission to the court of Raṇjīt Siṅgh was the outcome of a supposed threat of French invasion under Napoleon Bonaparte. Later its primary object apparently became the reduction of Raṇjīt Siṅgh’s power. The British decided to extend their protection to the Sikh principalities south of the River Sutlej, and demanded surrender of all conquests made by Raṇjīt Siṅgh in this region subsequent to the arrival of the Metcalfe mission at his court. Negotiations between the two powers led to the signing of a treaty of mutual friendship at Amritsar on 25 April 1809. The treaty provided that the British government would count the Lahore Darbār among the most honourable powers and would in no way interfere with the Sikh ruler’s dominions to the north of the Sutlej. It however fixed the southern limit of his kingdom and barred further extension of Sikh frontier in that direction. Yet the estab-
lishment of peace and friendship between the two powers left Ranjit Singh free to pursue a course of conquest in the north and beyond the River Indus unhampered and to consolidate his power in the central and southern Punjab.

One of the Maharajah’s more decisive campaigns lay towards the northeastern hills. The incursion of the Gurkhas under Amar Singh Thāpā into the Kangra valley made Rājā Sansār Chand seek once again the help of Ranjit Singh who himself led out an army. He defeated the Gurkhas at Ganesh Ghāti and, on 24 December 1809, occupied the Kangra Fort and held a royal darbār which was attended by the hill chiefs of Chambā, Nūrpur, Kotī, Shāhpur, Guler, Kahlūr, Manḍi, Suket and Kullū. Desā Singh Majiṭhiā was appointed governor of Kangrā. On his return to his capital, Ranjit Singh launched expeditions to subdue scattered chiefships which still kept up a show of independence. The estates of the Singhpurias and of the Bhangis at Gujrat were confiscated. The Bālūch tribes round Khushāb and Sāhīvāl were tamed. Other territories seized were Jalandhar, Tarn Tām, Jammū, Manḍi, Suket, the salt mines of Kheorā, Dāskā and Hallovāl. Ranjit Singh did not spare his kinsmen and the estates of the Nakais and the Kanhaiyās were likewise reduced to fiefdoms.

Ranjit Singh’s major conquests began with the occupation of Multān in 1818. In 1819 Kashmir was annexed. He conquered Peshāwar, Derā Ghāzi Khān, Derā Ismā’īl Khān, Hazārā, Kohāt, Tonk and Bannū in quick succession, but was, at first, content to rule these regions through the local Muhammadan chieftains, who acknowledged his overlordship and paid tribute. He seized Peshāwar in 1818, but gave it first to Jahāndad Khān, then in 1923 to Yār Muhammad Khān and finally, in 1830, to Sultān Muhammad Khān as a feudatory. He conquered Derā Ghāzi Khān in 1820, but gave it to the Nawāb of Bahāwalpur in farm. From Sultān Muhammad Khān of Peshāwar, Ranjit Singh used to receive an annual tribute of some horses and rice and kept one of his children as a hostage in his court as a guarantee of good conduct. He subjugated Derā Ismā’īl Khān in 1821, but gave it to the dispossessed Mankerā ruler, Hāfiz Muhammad Khān, as a tributary to Lahore. Tonk and the neighbouring districts were made tributary in 1822 but not directly annexed. However, after the disturbances created by the fanatical Sayyid Ahmad Barelāvī were quelled, there was a change in Ranjit Singh’s policy regarding his trans-Indus territories. Derā Ghāzi Khān was brought under direct control in 1831, Peshāwar in 1834; Tonk, Bannū and Derā Ismā’īl Khān were annexed between 1832 and 1836. In the northwest the boundaries of the Sikh kingdom now extended into the base of the Yūsafzai territory northeast of Peshāwar, and up to Fatehgarh, a fort near the Khaibar Pass. In the southwest, it touched the undefined borders of Sindh beyond Rojhān and Mīṭhankot, the junction of the rivers Sutlej and Indus.

Among the four major provinces comprising the Sikh kingdom, Lahore, where the central government was located, included the entire Mājhā country and the major cities of Lahore and Amritsār; its population towards the close of the Maharajah’s reign approximated 19,00,000. The province of Multān included the dependencies all along the east bank of the River Indus, and the districts of Jhaṅg, Derā Ismā’īl Khān, Derā Ghāzi Khān, Muzaffargarh and Leīāh; its population approximated 7,50,000. The province of Peshāwar comprised the valley of Peshāwar and its dependencies across the River Indus and in the Yūsafzai region: Its population approximated 6,00,000. The province of Kashmir included the whole valley of Kashmir, Muzaffarābād, Ladākh and Gilgīt; its population approximated 5,50,000. There were besides tributary states in the hills, among them Bilāspur, Suket, Chambā,
Rajouri, Ladakh and Iskardii. Some of the territories farmed out were Manḍi, Kullū, Jaspūn, Kāngrā, Kuṭlehar, Sibā, Nūrpur, Harīpur, Dāṭārpur, Basohli, Chhachh, Hazārā, Rāwālpiṇḍī, Hasan Abdāl, Dhannī, Kaṭās, Chakvāl, Ṭonk, Bannū, Mankerā, Rāmnagar, Miṭṭhā Tīwānā, Bherā, Khushāb, Pīṇḍ Dādan Khān, Gijrāt, Wazīrābād, Siālkot, the Jalandhar Doāb and Sheikhpūrā. Besides, Ranjit Singh held large territories in the cis-Sutlej region yielding an annual revenue of over 20,00,000 rupees.

According to an estimate made by a British historian, W. Murray (1832), the revenues of the Punjab amounted to 2,58,09,500 rupees: land revenue and tributes 1,24,03,900 rupees; customs duties 19,00,600 rupees; mohrānā fee for stamping the State seal on papers 5,77,000 rupees; and jāgīrs and fiefs, 1,09,28,000 rupees. Later estimates, however, place the resources of the State between 2,50,00,000 and 3,25,00,000 rupees. Munshi Shahamat 'Ali (1838) mentions the figure 3,00,27,762, derived from the following sources: Khālsā (Rs 1,96,57,172), jāgīrs (Rs 87,54,590), khirājdārs (Rs 12,66,000), and customs (Rs 3,50,000).

The administration of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh may be described as a personalized military despotism based on popular will. Designated as the Sarkār Khālsā, it was an absolute centralized monarchy, but liberal and benevolent. Its chief merit was religious moderation and practical efficiency. Though based on military might and sustained by successive victories, it was extremely popular. As absolute monarch, Ranjit Singh enjoyed great power which he wielded unhampered for the common weal of all his subjects—Hindu, Sikh, Muhammadan and others.

The central government was run under about a dozen daftārs or departments of the State, supervised by chosen men of talent and ability, who controlled the civil administration—the regalia or treasury, land revenue, octroi and excise, pay and accounts, income and expenditure, royal household and other departments. Its chief functionaries were the wazīr or principal minister of the crown; the lord chamberlain; the minister-in-charge of the regalia and treasury; minister of foreign affairs; the auditor-general; the councillors of religious affairs and the others. In making appointments of his ministers and councillors, Ranjit Singh was his own judge; without any consideration of caste and creed, efficiency was the main criterion of his selection.

For the purpose of provincial administration, the kingdom was roughly divided into four principal sūbahs—Lahore, Peshāwar, Multān and Kashmir, each headed by a nāzim or sūbahdār. The hill principalities and territories conquered from the sardārs paid tribute direct to the State. The Sūbahdār had under him a kārdār, a pivotal functionary in the provincial administration. Appointed by the central government, he exercised fiscal, revenue and judicial powers. The kārdār was without any fixed salary but held land in farm from the State and he exercised unlimited powers.

The customary land revenue system with its various modes of assessment and collection, inherited by Ranjit Singh from the Mughals, was maintained by him with minor modifications. Every village had a revenue collector (muqaddam) and a circle of villages (tappā or tāluqā) was in the charge of a chaudhārī. In addition, there was the keeper of fiscal records, the ganūango. The revenue officials were themselves proprietors of land in their respective villages or circle and were compensated by a reduction of revenue. Revenue was collected directly from the cultivators of the land. The amount or manner of payment varied, but care was taken that all the regular and irregular charges never amounted to more than half of the gross produce calculated on an estimate of the standing crops or after harvest; if the revenue was paid in cash, the sum was calculated
on the value of half the produce. The rate was not considered exorbitant as most foreign observers have noted that the Punjabi agriculturist was more prosperous under Ranjit Singh than his counterparts in British India. In times of famine or drought, ameliorative measures of relief were undertaken by the State.

The judicial administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was by and large based on local custom and on tradition coming down from Mughal times. There existed no legal code as such; cases were often decided by custom and usage, and extensive use was made of the dharmaśāstra and Shari‘āt for deciding the cases of the litigants of various communities to whom their customary law was applicable. Then there were the adālāts or special courts in the province supervised by an adālat-i-ālā or supreme court set up at the metropolis; the nāzim’s courts in the provinces, sub-divisions and in the feudal territories; the jāgīrādari courts with wide criminal and civil powers; and the village pañchāyats to administer petty civil and criminal cases, mostly by arbitration.

Crime was generally atoned with fines making for an additional source of income for the State. The amount of fine was determined not by the gravity of the crime, but by the capacity of the criminal to pay. Capital punishment was unknown. In civil cases, the litigant paid both ways. If he won, he paid shukrānā, or present in gratitude and, if he lost, he paid jurmānā or fine. Fine was the general mode of punishment and in criminal cases the punishment was quick and summary.

Ranjit Singh created an army which, at the zenith of his power, was a formidable force. Its overall strength was almost 1,00,000 men, a cavalry strength of 30,000 horse and a field artillery of 288 guns. It was a favourite of Ranjit Singh’s and he nursed it with great care—with one-third of his entire revenue. The army of Ranjit Singh was of two categories—regular and irregular, with four major divisions, viz. infantry, cavalry, artillery and Fauji-Khās or the special brigade. It also contained a turbulent though highly valiant wing, the Akāl Senā, a body of irregular horse of the reckless Akāli warriors numbering 4,000.

The crude military system inherited from Sikh misls was reorganized by Ranjit Singh by building up both infantry and artillery as separate divisions. Although Ranjit Singh had been introducing new methods of fighting in his army by copying whatever he could from the practices prevalent in the forces of the East India Company, it was not until 1822 that he decided to modernize it along European lines. He recruited two Frenchmen, Jean Francois Allard and Jean Baptiste Ventura, who had served under Napoleon, to take over the training of his cavalry and infantry, respectively. Thereafter many foreigners—French, English, Italians, Greeks, Americans, and Eurasians—were employed on very generous terms. The foreigners signed contracts not to shave their beards, not to smoke or eat beef and to domesticate themselves by marrying native women and settling in the Punjab. Many of these foreign officers rose to high positions. The Maharaja’s favourite was Allard who was decorated with the order of the Star of the Prosperity of the Punjab. He died in Peshāwar in 1839. Ventura rose to the highest position and continued to serve the Darbār after Ranjit Singh’s death. He was given the title “Count de Mandi.” Claude Auguste Court, another Frenchman and a Neopolitan, Paolo de Avitabile, who joined service in 1827, also rose to high positions. Avitabile was governor of Wazīrābād and then of Peshāwar. Court trained the Darbār’s artillery and stayed on in the Punjab until 1845.

Ranjit Singh’s love of the arts was equally well marked. While invading Peshāwar, he gave special instructions to General Hari Singh Nalvā to take every care to spare the
library at Chimki from destruction. When the Mughal court at Delhi could no longer offer employment to the artists and the Punjab hill chiefs had become mere tributaries of Ranjit Singh, well-known artists like Muhammad Baksh and Kehar Singh came to Lahore, where they received warm welcome and patronage. G.T. Vigne made several portraits of the Maharaja. A Sikh school of art, mainly of portraiture of individuals or the court or love-scenes modelled on the Kangra and Guler Schools, grew up. The court historian, Sohan Lal Suri was munificently rewarded. Bute Shāh, Khushwaqt Rāi, Kanhaiyā Lāl and Amar Nāth also were engaged at this time in the writing of Punjab or Sikh history, particularly of the reign of Ranjit Singh himself. Several Purāṇas, Yoga Vāsiṣṭha, Ramāyana and the Bhagavad-gītā were translated into Punjabi. Sikh murals and frescos of this period were to be seen in the Maharaja’s palace, the Shish Mahal at Lahore, his residence at Rāmbagh, Amritsar, and at the Golden Temple and Bābā Aṭal’s temple at Amritsar. Ranjit Singh got many of the dilapidated Mughal buildings and gardens restored and built new ones like the Bārādarī of Hazūrī Bāgh at Lahore. He endowed the pāṭhshālās, dharamshālās and mosques—traditional centres of learning—to spread literacy. He had invited a Christian missionary, Rev. John C. Lowrie, to teach English to the princes, but did not agree to his teaching Christianity as part of the curriculum. However, he sent out some of the sardārs to Ludhiānā to get trained in English and French. The Persian school at Lahore was liberally endowed. The Maharaja got several of his sardārs trained by the Europeans in the art of surgery, engineering, arms manufacture and so on. He got several of the Sanskrit, English and French works translated into Punjabi or Persian prose, and their authors were well rewarded.

The court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh represented unparalleled Oriental pageantry, ostentation and brilliance. The Maharājā was usually dressed in simple white; he wore no crown or ornaments, but a single string of pearls around his waist and on special occasions, the famous Koh-i-Nūr diamond on his arm. He was surrounded by magnificently dressed, fine-looking ministers, sardārs, courtiers and civil and military officials. Only a few were privileged to sit on chairs in the Darbār; a severe court discipline and etiquette were observed and none could speak unless addressed to. According to W.G. Osborne, “few if any courts in Europe or the East could show such a fine-looking set of men as the principal Sardars.” Henry Edward Fane, who accompanied the British commander-in-chief to Lahore in 1837 on the occasion of the marriage of Ranjit Singh’s grand-son, Nau Nihāl Singh, describes its brilliance by comparing it to “a gala night at the Opera.” On public occasions, the display of pageantry and colour was beyond description; “it was beyond the power of verbal description and surpassed all that European imagination had conceived even of Oriental luxury and splendour.”

In the history of the Punjab, no man has excited the imagination of the people as much as did Ranjit Singh. His looks contributed little to his popularity; he was short-statured, of swarthy complexion and his face was pock-marked. The loss of one eye gave him an appearance of ungainliness. Yet he was possessed of great bodily vigour and activity. He grew up a fine soldier and his energies were directed towards war and conquest. His illiteracy was counter-balanced by a sharp inquisitive mind and a subtle genius and intuition with which he had mastered statecraft. He possessed a sharp intellect, a prodigiously retentive memory and an imaginative mind. An inherent quality of kindness was a marked aspect of his disposition. He was a humane despot; in his life he never wantonly inflicted either capital punishment or mutilation. He always treated his fallen foe
with deliberate kindness, and seldom imbued his hands in blood. In the words of Baron Charles Hugel, "Never perhaps was so large an empire founded by one man with so little criminality."

Ranjit Singh was a devout Sikh. He considered himself an humble servant of the Guru. An inscription over the entrance of the central shrine at Amritsar reads: "The Great Guru in His wisdom looked upon Mahārājā Ranjit Singh as his chief servitor and Sikh and, in his benevolence, bestowed upon him the privilege of serving the temple."

He frequently visited the Golden Temple as is evident from the Umdat ut-Twarikh, the daily record of the Sikh court. There he would devoutly take a dip in the holy tank and make costly offerings. Some of his offerings still preserved include a bejewelled gold canopy originally presented to him by the Nizām of Hyderabad. In May 1836, Ranjit Singh issued an order to all members of the Sikh royalty and aristocracy to make nazars or offerings at the Golden Temple.

Ranjit Singh’s court reflected the liberal pattern of his State. Amongst the first family to rise to prominence in Ranjit Singh’s court were the Bokharis, sons of Ghulām Mohi ud-Din of Lahore. Being of a Sūfi persuasion they were known as Faqirs. The eldest, Faqir 'Aziz ud-Din, was closest to the Mahārājā and advised him on external affairs. His two brothers, Nur ud-Din and Imām ud-Din, also held important positions in the Darbār. Khushāl Chand, a Brāhman from Meerut, known after his conversion as Khushāl Singh, became chamberlain. His nephew, Tej Singh, rose to be a general in the Sikh army. When Khushāl Singh fell from the Mahārājā’s favour, his place was taken by Dhiān Singh Ḍōgrā of Jammū. Dhiān Singh’s son, Hirā Singh, became a great favourite and the Mahārājā treated him like his own son. The Ḍōgrā family remained the most powerful in the counsels of the Darbār. There were no forced conversions in Ranjit Singh’s time. The Muslim women he married, Morān, Gul Bahār Begam, and others, retained their faith. His Hindu wives likewise continued to worship their own gods. He spent great sums on the repairs of Muslim places of worship. This attitude won him the loyalty of all his subjects.

Ranjit Singh, the beau ideal of his people, died of paralysis at Lahore on 27 June 1839 and was succeeded on the throne of the Punjab by his eldest son, Kharāk Singh.

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RANJIT SINGH (d. 1846), a soldier in Mahārājā Ranjit Singh’s army, was the son of
Mirzā Singh who had served the Kanhaiyā sardārs, Jai Singh and Haqiqat Singh. Ranjit Singh rose to be a commandant in the Sikh army and rendered active service at Multān and at Bannū and Peshāwar on the north-west frontier. He was an elder brother of Kāhn Singh, great-grandfather of Arūr Singh, the government-appointed manager of the Golden Temple at Amritsar before the control of the shrine passed into the hands of an elected body under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925.

Ranjit Singh died in 1846.

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RANJODH SINGH MAJĪTHIĀ (d. 1872), military commander and jāgīrdār of the Sikh Darbār was the son of Desā Singh Majīthiā and foster-brother of Lahīnā Singh Majīthiā. Details of his early career under Mahārājā Ranjit Singh are scarce. British records, however, locate him as the governor of Hazāra and the commander of Darbār troops in 1844. He was called to lead Sikh military operations against Jasroṭā to forestall the machinations of Rājā Gūlāb Singh Doğrā of Jammū. General Shām Singh Ātārivālā and General Ratan Singh Mān followed separately the main Sikh army under Ranjodh Singh. The fortress was reduced and Gūlāb Singh obliged to surrender. The latter also made over to the Sikhs Rājā Hirā Singh's treasure brought from Lahore and hidden there.

With the withdrawal of Lahīnā Singh Majīthiā from Lahore to British territory in March 1844, the political influence of the Majīthiās had sunk low at the Darbār. Finding the fortunes of the family declining, Ranjodh Singh joined Jawāhar Singh's faction. In the first Anglo-Sikh war Ranjodh Singh commanded a division of the Khālsā army with 70 guns. He entered the Jalandhar Doāb, and having joined his forces with the Lādvā chief, seriously threatened Ludhīānā. He had a skirmish at Baddōvāl, 11 km on the road to Jagrāon, with Maj-Gen Harry Smith, who had hastened to the relief of Ludhīānā, on 21 January 1846. Outnumbered, the British general was chary of giving battle. He made a detour to the right, and hastily retreated towards Ludhīānā. Ranjodh Singh's artillery opened up a cannonade on the retiring British force. A portion of it was worsted, with 77 men taken prisoner. General Smith was however able to save Ludhīānā, but the Sikhs claimed a victory at Baddōvāl. Ranjodh Singh marched on Jagrāon in order to cut off British communications with Firozpur. He took part in the battle of 'Alīvāl on 28 January 1846. After the treaty of Bharovāl, Ranjodh Singh was made a member of the Council of Regency. In 1848, he was arrested following interception of his correspondence with Dīwan Mūl Rāj of Multān, but was released after the war. His jāgīr was confiscated and he was given a pension of Rs 2,500 per annum.

Ranjodh Singh Majīthiā died in 1872.

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B.J.H.

RAN SINGH NAKAI (d. 1781), son of Nathā Singh, succeeded in 1768 his brother, Nāhar Singh, to the leadership of Nakai misl. Raṅ Singh considerably increased the power and influence of the Nakais. The territory under his control was worth nine lakh of rupees per annum, and comprised Chūnīān, part of Kasūr, Sharakpur, Gugerā and, at one time, Koṭ Kamāliā. Raṅ Singh had a force of 2,000
RANVÂN, village in Fategharh Sāhib district, 15 km east of Samrala (30°-48'N, 76°-12'E) in Ludhiana district, is celebrated for the historical shrine, Gurdwārā Gobindgarh Sāhib Patshahi VI and X. Patshahi VI has been added to the name of the Gurdwārā only recently by inhabitants of the village in the belief that Guru Hargobind also passed through here while travelling after the battle of Mehrāj in 1634. Older accounts relate the shrine only to Guru Gobind Singh who made a brief halt in the course of his journey back from Kurukshetra to Anandpur during 1702-03. Tārā Singh Narotam relates it to the Tenth Guru’s outwards journey towards Kurukshetra and locates it at Saṅghol, a larger and older village a few kilometres to the east.

The Gurdwārā was constructed by Mahārājā Karam Singh of Patialā (1798-1845), who also made an endowment of 300 bighās of land. A line of hereditary mahants managed the shrine until it was acquired by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. The reconstruction of the Gurdwārā was commenced in the early sixties by Sant Piārā Singh of Jhār Sāhib, who died in 1965. Since then Sant Surjīt Siṅgh has been supervising the work. The present building is a magnificent six-storeyed structure. The main hall is 31-metre square with an eight-metre square sanctum in the middle of it. Above it on the first floor are octagonal domed pavilions at the corners and a square hall over the sanctum. There are three more storeys, with a dome at the top. The domes are surfaced with white glazed tile chips. The management of the shrine is in the hands of Sant Surjīt Siṅgh. The first of each Bikramī month is observed as a festival.

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RAQBĀ, village 18 km east of Jagrāoī (30°-47'N, 75°-28'E) in Ludhiana district, has a historical shrine in memory of Guru Hargobind, who travelled in these parts in 1632-33. The shrine is called Damdama Sāhib Patshāhi VI, and is located in a walled shady grove half a kilometre north of the village. As tradition has it, an old woman from the neighbouring village of Dākhā came to Guru Hargobind, as he was in camp here, with an offering of coarse bread made of mixed flour of wheat and gram. The Guru, impressed with the devotion of the simple lady, ate it with relish. The present building of the Gurdwārā, a domed sanctum and a rectangular hall, was constructed in 1936 by Sant Ajaib Singh of Bopārāi. A sarovar was dug in 1972, and the Guru kā Langar and a residential block were added in 1977. The Gurdwārā is managed by Nihāṅg Sikhs of the Būḍhṭā Dal. Devotees from the surrounding villages gather in large numbers for the monthly dīvān and community meal on the first of every Bikramī month.
RĀRĀ, village 16 km from Dorāhā (30° 48'N, 76° 2'E) in Ludhīāna district, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind. According to local tradition, the Gurū, when out for the chase during his stay at Ghurānī in 1631, would sometimes halt for rest under a banyan tree here. The tree withered away in course of time, but the spot continued to be held in reverence. Mahārāṇī Jasvant Kaur, widow of Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh of Paṭiālā, got the present Gurdwārā Pāṭshāhī Chheviṅ constructed in 1941. She also bought and donated two and a half acres of land for its maintenance. Karāḥ prasād is still offered on her behalf every morning. The building consists of a small cubicle, called Maṇjī Sāhib, marking the exact spot where the Gurū would sit and relax, and a rectangular hall surrounded by a verandah. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the hall. Rooms for Gurū kā Laṅgār are on a flank across the brick paved compound. The Gurdwārā is managed by the village saṅgat, with occasional donations from the Mahārāṇī and the family of her brother, Sardār Gian Singh Rārewālā. Even the present granthī is an old servant of the family who still provide for his maintenance. Holā Mohallā is the major annual festival.

A famous saintly personality of modern day was Sant Īshar Singh of Rārā. He made the village known far and wide by his association with it and by his prolonged kīrtan soirees. He had a strong, resounding voice and his kīrtan attracted vast audiences of devotees. Rārā in his day was an active seat of Sikh religious preaching and awakening. It drew and continues to draw devotees from distant parts including U.K. where Sant Īshar Singh ended his earthly journey in 1975.

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RATAN CHAND (d. 1857), son of Kanhaiyā Lāl, was a munsī or writer at the Lahore Darbār from 1831 to 1839. His father had also served under Mahārājā Ranjit Singh as had his grandfather, Shiv Dīāl. Ratan Chand held charge of Ranjit Singh’s private seal. This was the Mahārājā’s small signet which, along with the large one, was affixed to most documents. Ratan Chand, as the keeper of the small seal, received an allowance of two per cent on all khill’ats and money presents made by the Mahārājā and of five per cent on all new jāgirs. He was afterwards made commandant in the Ghorcharhā Khās. During the reign of Mahārājā Sher Singh, he held various offices at Lahore, and became a man
RATAN CHAND of considerable influence. He accompanied Rājā Lāl Singh to Jammū in February 1845, and was with the party of Fateh Singh Mān when that chief was assassinated by Rājā Gulab Singh at Jammū. After the annexation of the Punjab, his jāgīrs were resumed by the British. Ratan Chand died in 1857.

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RATAN CHAND (d. 1872), nicknamed dāhrīvālā, the bearded one, to distinguish him from Ratan Chand Duggal who grew no beard, was one of Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh’s prominent courtiers. His family originally belonged to Pāyal, in present-day Ludhiana district, and his grandfather had served under Mahārājā Rāj Hī Singh’s grandfather, Charhat Siṅgh. Ratan Chand joined service in the postal department of the Mahārājā in 1829. After the first Anglo-Sikh war, Ratan Chand was made postmaster general. After the annexation of the Punjab, jāgīrs worth 6,800 rupees were granted to him for his services to the British. In 1862, he was made an honorary magistrate of the city of Lahore. Ratan Chand died in 1872.

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G.S.Ch.

RATAN DĀM by Ṭahkan, a translation and adaptation into Braj of Achārya Amar Siṅgh’s Amar Kosh, the famous Sanskrit lexicon. Ṭahkan was one of the several poets who kept Gurū Gobind Siṅgh (1665-1708) company. In preparing Ratan Dām, the poet consulted works other than Amar Kosh as well. The manuscript which has so far remained unpublished comprises twenty-eight chapters. The only extant copy (No. 2421) is preserved in the Central State Library, Paṭialā. It consists of 268 folios and is inscribed in Gurmukhī characters in the hand of one Paṅjāb Siṅgh. The copy was completed in Ḫār 1914 bk/June-July 1857. The work begins with an explanation of the title (ratan = diamond; dām = string, a necklace) and contains more than 1,400 entries on a wide variety of themes including day, night, year, conscience, history, eras, āṣtras, four varṇas, medicines and vegetation. Several entries from the original work have been dropped and several new titles introduced. There are also entries such as the one on nāik (hero) and nāika (heroine) (548-68) which transcend the strict lexicographical framework and go into many historical details.

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S.S.B.

RATAN SIṄGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1943), alias Santā Siṅgh, alias Iśhar Siṅgh, son of Nihāl Siṅgh, of Raipur Doābā, in Jalandhār district, served in the Indian army before migrating to Fiji Islands in 1914 from where he moved to Vancouver. While in Vancouver, he was drawn into the Ghadr movement. He was nominated a member of the Shore Committee to help
the Komagata Maru passengers land on Canadian soil. Ratan Singh travelled widely in Europe and Latin America enlisting support for the Ghadr party. He visited Moscow twice, first with Bhai Santokh Singh in 1923 and then alone. In Moscow, he met Lenin and other Russian leaders and attended the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. He carried the Communist International message to many European countries and visited India incognito several times. He also helped with funds collected abroad the Punjabi magazine, Kirti, launched by Bhai Santokh Singh from Amritsar in February 1926.

Ratan Singh died in a hospital in Italy in September 1943.

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RATAN SINGH MĀN (d. 1857), a general in the Sikh army, was the son of Nāhar Singh of Mughal Chakk, now in Pakistan. He joined military service as a trooper under the Sikhs and rose to be an adjutant. He served under Hari Singh Nalvā in Kashmir and Hazārā and was, in 1821, severely wounded at Māngli in the Kashmir hills where Hari Singh was besieging a strong fort defended by the hillmen. For his services in this campaign, he received a grant of land in Gujranwālā and the command of a regiment under Prince Kharak Singh. Ratan Singh accompanied Sardār Shām Singh’s contingent to Kulū and Maṇḍi, where he was engaged for nearly two years in reducing the hill tribes to submission. He was created a general by Wāzīr Jawāhar Singh, and received Qilā Desā Singh and Naushehrā in jāgīr. He took part in the expedition against Gulāb Singh Ḍogrā and the conquest of Jasroṭā. In December 1844, Gulāb Singh had invested Jasroṭā, expelled the Sikh garrison, and carried away the treasure and crown jewels hidden there by Wāzīr Hirā Singh. The Darbār sent a force under General Ratan Singh to retrieve State property and secure the surrender of Jasroṭā. General Ratan Singh fought in the first Anglo-Sikh war as well as in the second. In October 1848, he was serving at Peshāwar when the Hazārā revolt headed by Chatar Singh Ātārivālā broke out. His troops joined Chatar Singh and Rājā Sher Singh. Ratan Singh along with his son, Sant Singh, fought the British at Rāmnagar (22 November 1848), Chelianvālā (13 January 1849) and Gujrat (21 February 1849). Upon the annexation of the Punjab, all his jāgīrs in Gujranwālā and Gurdaspur districts were confiscated by the British.

Ratan Singh died in 1857.

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RATTRAY alias LESLIE, an English soldier of fortune who served in Lahore during 1834-36 as one of the commandants of a battalion of the Sikh army. In 1836, he deserted the Sikh army to join the forces of Dost Muhammad Khān, Amir of Kābul. He fought on the side of the Afghans against the Sikhs in the battle of Jamrud (1837). In Kābul, he converted a Muslim, under the name of Fidā Muhammad Khān.

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RĀŪ, BHĀI, a Kamboj Sikh and masand or tithe-collector assigned to Dipālpur, was among those of his class summoned by Gurū
Gobind Singh to Anandpur to answer charges of appropriating the devotees’ offerings and of other misconduct. According to Bhai Santokh Singh, *Sri Gur Pratap Suri J Granth*, Bhai Rau was pronounced innocent, for the venerable Bhai Pheru had vouched for his uprightness and good behaviour.

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RAUNI, village 22 km southwest of Khanna (30°-42’N, 76°-13’E) in Ludhiāna district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Sri Guru Hargobind Sāhib, commemorating the visit of Guru Hargobind. Foundation of the present building, which replaced an old memorial platform, was laid on 11 Maghar 1976 BK/ 25 November 1919. Standing on a metre-high paved platform, it consists of a sanctum in the middle of a 17-metre square hall with verandah around it. Above the sanctum is a square room topped by a domed pavilion having a gold-plated pinnacle and a *khanḍā* as finial. There are decorative domed kiosks at the corners of the verandah. The Gurdwārā stands in the centre of a one-acre compound entered through a gateway with an elongated dome above it. The Gurdwārā managed by the village *ṣaṅgart* provides accommodation for pilgrims as well as for a high school run by government.

RAVIDĀŚ, poet and mystic, was born to Raghū and Ghurbiniā, who lived near the city of Vārānasi. Not much biographical information about him is available, but, from what can be made out of his own compositions, he belonged to a low-caste (*Chamār*) family. He followed the family profession of tanning hides and making shoes. Gradually he started spending most of his time in the company of saints and *sādhūs* and built himself a thatched hut wherein he received and entertained wandering ascetics. Many stories became current about his simplicity and piety of nature. He became famous as a Vaiṣṇava saint in the tradition of Rāmānand. In the course of his spiritual quest, he reached a stage when he discarded images and idols and turned to the worship of the Supreme Being. He wrote deeply impassioned devotional verses and left his mark on Hindi literature for the fusion of religious sentiment with the vernacular medium. Forty of his hymns have been incorporated in the Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. He travelled fairly widely and visited Rajasthan, Gujarāt, Andhra Pradesh, Mahārāṣṭra, besides a number of places in the northern India such as Prayāg, Mathurā, Vrindāvan, Haridvār. Gurgāon and Multān. At most of these places, there are monuments honouring his memory. In his lifetime, he had thousands of followers, including members of the higher castes, among them being Mirābāi, the Rājput princess. The hymns of Ravidāś included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib fall under *rāga*—Sīrī (1), Gauṭī (5), Āsā (6), Gūjārī (1), Soraṭhī (7), Dhanāsārī (3), Jaitsārī (1), Sūhī (3), Bilāval (2), Gauṇḍ (2), Rāmkalī (1), Mārū (2), Kedārā (1), Bhairau (1), Basant (1) and Malhār (3). One of the hymns in *rāga* Mārū is the same (with a few minor changes) as included in *rāga* Soraṭhī.

Ravidāś acknowledged the unicity and omnipresence and omnipotence of God. According to him, the human soul is only a particle of the Divine: the difference between the two is like the difference between the gold and the ornament, the water and the wave (GG, 93). He rejects distinctions between man and man on the basis of caste or creed, for, as he says, in the world beyond no such differentiations will be acknowledged (GG, 345). To realize God, which is the ultimate end of human life, man should concentrate
on His Name, giving up mere forms and ritualism (GG, 658, 1106). Birth in a low caste is no hindrance in the way to spiritual development. The only condition required is freedom from duality; all else including pilgrimage to and bathing in the sixty-eight centres is in vain (GG, 875).

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REGIONAL FORMULA, one of the several schemes devised to solve the language problem in the Punjab without recasting the state on linguistic lines, was announced by the Indian government in March 1956 following a series of parleys between the Akali Dal leaders and the Central Government. It provided for amalgamation of the part B State of Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU for short) with the Punjab and the division of the entire area into two regions, Hindi and Punjabi, each with a separate regional council comprising legislators representing the respective zones in the legislature of the integrated Punjab. The formula, reluctantly conceded and half-heartedly implemented, remained in force, rather ineffectively, for a decade until replaced by the division of the State into Haryana and Punjab on 1 November 1966.

The leaders of Sikh opinion had thought that their interests, religious and cultural as well as social and economic, would be safer in a secular India rather than in Pakistan reared on theocratic policies. Barely 13% of the population in the pre-partition Punjab, they would be more compactly concentrated in the new province of East Punjab and better able to protect their identity. Such was their confidence in the Indian National Congress, the ruling party in India, that the Working Committee of Shiromani Akali Dal, the principal political party of the Sikhs which had won 23 of the 33 seats reserved for the Sikhs in pre-partition Punjab assembly, advised, on 17 March 1948, all members of the Panthic Assembly Party, both at the Centre and in the East Punjab, unconditionally to join Congress legislature parties forthwith. But the Sikhs were soon dismayed to discover that although their population percentage had increased from 13 to 35 in the Indian Punjab, they still remained a minority. The Constituent Assembly's Advisory Committee on Minorities and Fundamental Rights had, in its report of 8 August 1947, recommended reservation of seats in the legislatures for "certain specific minorities", which included Muslims, Scheduled Classes and Christians but not Sikhs. These recommendations were adopted with certain modifications by the Constituent Assembly on 27 August 1947 and included in the Draft Constitution. Again, the Sikh minority was not mentioned as such by the Constituent Assembly. A sub-committee with Vallabhbhai Patel as chairman, appointed on 24 February 1948 to examine the question of safeguards for the Sikhs, did not meet till 23 November 1948, and when it did meet, it rejected their demand for special reservation of seats in provincial and central legislatures. The Advisory Committee upheld the view of this sub-committee and recommended at a meeting held on 11 May 1949 that "statutory reservation of seats for religious minorities should be abolished." The second major cause for Sikh apprehension was the opposition of the majority community to the introduction of Punjabi as medium of instruction in schools and its adoption as official language in the Punjab. While Dr Gopi Chand Bhargava, the first Chief Minister of the East Punjab, formally announced in June 1948 to make both Hindi and Punjabi as media of instruction, the Hindu-dominated municipal committee
of Jalandhar passed a resolution making Hindi as the sole medium of instruction for schools within its jurisdiction. The Senate of the Pañjāb University, meeting on 9 June 1949, similarly turned down by majority vote a proposal to adopt Punjabi as the medium of instruction, although the Sikh members were agreeable, as a concession to Hindu sentiment, to let it be written in Devanāgarī characters besides its own script, Gurmukhi. The superior tone put on by some of the language papers controlled by the majority community only helped increase the feeling of alienation among the Sikhs. At the time of the 1951 census Hindus launched an open campaign to have Hindus, even those living in Punjabi-speaking districts of East Punjab, record Hindi as their mother tongue. The Sikhs on the other hand, considered Punjabi language as one of the basic elements of their distinctive culture; attempts to suppress it were interpreted by them as a threat to their culture. Thus a purely language question developed into a political controversy dividing the Punjabis on communal lines.

Master Tārā Siñgh, the Sikh leader, had all along had his reservations about the 17 March 1948 resolution of the Akāli Dal about unconditional amalgamation of the Akāli Dal with the Congress party. At the second annual conference of the Sikh Students’ Federation held at Ludhiānā on 24-25 April 1948, he during his presidential address joined issue with those who advocated alignment with the Congress and insisted that the Shiromāni Akāli Dal should retain an autonomous political entity and its authority to take political decisions on behalf of the Panth. Continuing his efforts to reactivate the Akāli Dal and mobilize public opinion, he held a Gurmat Mahā Samāgām, mass religious camp, at Amritsar on 11 June 1948. Early in 1949, the Shiromāni Akāli Dal decided to convene a conference at Delhi on 20 February 1949 in order to convey the Sikhs’ grievances and apprehensions to the Indian Government. The announcement was not looked upon with favour by the government. Baldev Siñgh, the Sikh cabinet minister at the Centre, was charged by the Home Minister, Sardār Paṭel, to bring Master Tārā Siñgh round to calling off the convention. Baldev Siñgh’s message on this account was considered and rejected by the working committee of the Akāli Dal on 10 February, though it agreed to give the conclave the character of a shahīdī dīvān or meeting to recall the martyrs and not a political conference, and also decided to change its venue from Rām Lila Grounds, a popular rallying point in Delhi, to Gurdwārā Rāikabganj in New Delhi. The government, however, was not conciliated. Master Tārā Siñgh and a few members of the working committee were arrested at Narela railway station on 19 February 1949 as they were travelling from Amritsar to attend the dīvān at Delhi. The meeting, however, did take place as scheduled. Master Tārā Siñgh’s presidential address was read in absentia.

In October 1949, the Punjab Government announced what came to be known as the Sachchar Formula (after Bhim Siñh Sachar, the then premier of the province) to solve the language controversy. While recognizing both Hindi and Punjabi as regional languages of the Punjab, it was decided to divide the State, for the purpose of medium of instruction in schools up to the secondary stage, into two zones. Hindi zone was to comprise Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnāl and Kāṅgrā districts, part of Hissār district lying south of the River Ghaggar, and Jagādhri and Naraingarh taksīls (sub-divisions) of Ambālā district. Shimlā and Ambālā taksīl of Ambālā district were declared bilingual areas, and the rest of the state was to form the Punjabi zone. Punjabi was to be the medium of instruction in schools in the Punjabi zone, but Hindi was to be taught there as a compulsory subject from the last class of the primary level (i.e. 4th class) upwards up to matriculation for boys and middle standard for girls.
Similarly, Hindi was to be the medium in the Hindi zone with provision for compulsory teaching of Punjabi from fourth class upwards. However, where parents or guardians of pupils wanted to educate them in a medium other than the Zonal language, arrangements were to be made accordingly, without questioning the declaration of the parents/guardians, provided not fewer than 40 pupils in a schools and 10 in a class were covered with the option. Even then the regional language was to be taught from the fourth class in the case of boys' schools and the sixth class in the case of girls' schools. In unaided recognized schools, the medium was to be determined by the management concerned, but it was obligatory for them to provide for the teaching of Punjabi or Hindi, as the case may be, as a second language.

The Sachchar Formula was not a satisfactory solution of the language problem mainly because of the option given to parents/guardians and to the managements of privately run schools. Hindus had generally turned their backs on Punjabi and opted for Hindi as the medium of instruction for their children. If anything, the Formula helped spread the communal virus among the younger generation. Almost all Sikh students at the school stage studied Punjabi while all Hindu students opted for Hindi. Master Tārā Singh, after his release from jail, declared on 10 October 1949 that Gurmukhi represented a distinct culture. Hukam Singh, then President of the Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal, said at a press conference at Bombay on 1 January 1950 that the division of the Punjab on the basis of spoken language, a principle it had followed elsewhere in the country, but it approved the formation of a Mahā Punjab, as desired by the protagonists of Mahā Punjab movement launched by the majority community to counter the Akālīs' demand for Punjabi Sūbā. They wanted a bigger Punjab with the merger of Paṭialā and East Punjab States Union and Himāchal Pradesh with the (Indian) Punjab. The Shiromāṇī Akālī Dal, which had already, on 10 May 1955, started a morchā or agitation to press their demand for a Punjabi Sūbā, denounced the Commission's report at a broadbased congress held at Amritsar on 16 October 1955. To bring home to Government, the Sikhs' sense of injury, an Akālī
delegation led by Master Tārā Śīṅgh met Prime Minister Nehru twice—on 24 October and again on 23 November 1955, but further parleys were precluded as at the end of December a general session of the Indian National Congress was announced to be held at Amritsar on 11-12 February 1956. It was on 28 January 1956 for the first time that it was reported in the press that the parleys between the Akāli delegation and the Central Government for the settlement of the Punjab problem had broken down. The Akāli delegation had not been given that impression during earlier meetings. In an impromptu, but dramatic, gesture, the Shiromāṇī Akāli Dal called a parallel conference on the same dates in the same town. The massive show of Sikh strength put up by the Akāli Dal led the Government to resume the dialogue. The negotiators at last devised a compromise solution which came to be known as the Regional Formula. Punjab, with PEPSU (but not Himāchal Pradesh) amalgamated with it, was to be divided into two regions, Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking, each having its Regional Committee consisting of its own share of the state legislators, but not including the chief minister. The state would continue to have one governor, one council of ministers, one legislative body and one high court, but “legislation relating to specified matters will be referred to the Regional Committees. In respect of specified matters proposals may also be made by the Regional Committees to the State Government for legislation or with regard to the question of general policy not involving any financial commitments other than expenditure of a routine and incidental character. The advice tendered by the Regional Committees will normally be accepted by the Government and the state legislature. In case of a difference of opinion, reference will be made to the Governor whose decision will be final and binding.” Fourteen subjects, other than law and order, finance and taxation, were entrusted to the Regional Committees; the President of India was to constitute Regional Committees and make provision in the rules of business and rules of procedure to give effect to the working of the Committees. Provision was made also for the demarcation of the two regions, and it was declared that “the State will be bilingual, recognising both Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script) and Hindi (in Devanāgarī script) as the official languages of the State.” The Formula was incorporated in the States Reorganisation Act, 1956.

The Regional Formula was discussed and accepted by the Shiromāṇī Akāli Dal in its general body meeting held at Amritsar on 11 March 1956. The protagonists of Hindi, on the other hand, assailed it as being harmful to their interest and even launched a fierce agitation to have it annulled. Although the Congress government of the Punjab successfully suppressed the agitation, the bitterness it added to the already raging language controversy further widened the communal gulf. The Regional Scheme suffered into the bargain. In any case the success or failure of the scheme depended not so much on its substance as on its implementation. Even Hukam Śīṅgh, who was considered by many as its main architect, wrote in his paper, The Spokesman, dated 30 April 1956, “These Regional Committees... have a limited sphere of subjects wherein they can give advice. There would be the Governor to intervene when there is conflict. It is yet to be seen how the scheme is implemented.” Indeed, the Regional Formula was never seriously put into effect by Government. No Regional Committee was constituted till November 1957, and when they were constituted, the speaker of the Vidhāna Sābhā (legislative assembly of the state) ruled on a suggestion from the Chief Minister, that their status was no better than that of other special committees of the House. The Chairmen of the Regional Committees were refused any es-
establishment or staff, which led the Chairman of the Punjabi Regional Committee to resign in disgust. The Chief Minister, Partap Singh Kairon, who had never been enthusiastic about the entry of the Akalis into the Congress, declared on 30 December 1957 that Hindi should be the main language of the Punjab and India. “In the Punjab,” he said, “Punjabi comes after Hindi.” The language settlement was not only not implemented, but it was made the subject of review by the so-called Two-man Goodwill Committee. This committee recommended fundamental changes in the language settlement. The Government, persisting in its dilatory tactics, appointed another 26-member committee to examine the proposals which had already been rejected by the Shiromani Akali Dal, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Chief Khalsia Dwan. They also boycotted the 26-member committee.

One consequence of the acceptance of the Regional Formula by the Akalis was that several of their leaders joined the Congress party, as the Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal had resolved on 30 September 1956 “that (i) the Akali Dal would not have any separate political programme of its own, (ii) the Dal would (henceforth) concentrate on the protection and promotion of religious, educational, cultural, social and economic interests of the Panth, and would guard against any violation and infringement of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution that adversely hit the Sikhs...” Master Taran Singh, however, had wanted the Shiromani Akali Dal to maintain its separate political identity, although he had not opposed the above resolution in the interests of Panthic unity. But the way the Government proceeded to torpedo the Regional Formula soon disillusioned him and he renewed his demand for a Punjabi Suba. Addressing a gathering at Amritsar on 14 June 1958, he said that compelled by circumstances he had given up the demand for Punjabi Suba and agreed to the Regional Formula, but anti-Punjabi attitude of the Government was forcing him again to revive his demand for a Punjabi Suba. This meant practically the end of the Regional Formula.

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REKH RAO, BHAI, and Bhana Mallan were Sikh residents of Kabul. They looked after the local chieftain’s stores. Both were pious Sikhs and very honest. Once complaints were laid against them questioning their dealings. By Guru Arjan’s blessing their honour was publicly vindicated. The names appear in Bhai Gurdas, Varan, XI. 26.

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RENUNCIATION means the giving up of the style of living dominated by worldly ambition and craving and discarding the love of possessions for the sake of achieving the ultimate goal of religious life. The theistic traditions hold that when one is united with God, all else loses its significance. In this sense, God-realization can be viewed as the culmination of renunciation. A devotee of God is supposed to withdraw from the world
to practise piety in loneliness, and to resort to self-denial, so that he can see and know and be one with God. In Bhakti, religious practice demands complete and wholehearted love for God on the one hand and on the other a complete surrender before God and self-abnegation. Renunciation is thus another name for complete self-surrender and self-abnegation. In the non-theistic religious traditions, like Sāṇkhya, Jainism and Buddhism, renunciation is practised with a view to eradicating ignorance and suffering and achieving ultimate release from the process of repeated becoming. In Buddhism, renunciation is essential to realization.

The Gurūs in Sikhism were householders. They led married lives and participated in society and its concerns. The classical philosophical conception of renunciation was, however, tacitly accepted by them. Gurū Nānak for many years undertook extensive travels and lived a virtually ascetic life. Nevertheless, he finally settled as a householder and took to farming, an occupation which the ascetics and monks are not allowed to pursue. This shows that Gurū Nānak did not believe in renouncing household and was definitely opposed to mendicancy. The poetry of Gurū Tegh Bahādur also bears a strong note of renunciation of evil and worldliness but not of the world.

The Gurūs in Sikhism stress the inner aspect of renunciation. According to Gurū Nānak “he is a renouncer who is without desire—ās nirāśi tau sanniāśi” (GG, 386). Gurū Arjan sang thus: “First of all, I renounced self-love; then I renounced the ways of the people; and finally I renounced the triple strand (trīguna) and treated the wicked and friends alike (GG, 370). The dominant note of the Gurū’s teaching is loving devotion to God and all aspects of renunciation and ascetic spirituality are understood and appreciated only insofar as they are saturated with bhakti. The love of God is considered an aspect of renunciation; a devotee is a renouncer even while living in his house. “He is a saint (sādhū) and a renouncer (bairāgī) who cherishes God’s name in his heart—so sādhū bairāgī soi hirdai nāmu vasāe” (GG, 29). Mere external forms and symbols of ascetic renunciation are discountenanced, and genuine renunciation of worldliness is eulogized by all the Gurūs. He alone is a sannyāsī who serves the Gurū and eradicates egoity; he does not ask for food and clothing, but accepts whatever he obtains without asking. He does not indulge in vain chatter and talk; he accumulates the wealth of forgiveness and burns his passion (tamas) through (God’s) name. Such a householder, a renouncer, or an ascetic is indeed praiseworthy whose heart rests at the feet of God. A renouncer is without desire in the midst of desires, being in harmony with the One alone (GG, 1013). The Gurūs in their hymns refer to several fake instances of renunciation. They had come across many who had neither shed their passions nor egoity.

To give up all passions, to annihilate one’s self-love, and to conquer completely one’s mind, constitute the heart of renunciation. The gist of Sikh philosophy of renunciation is contained, in a hymn, by Gurū Gobind Singh in the Dasam Granth. It begins with the line, “re man aiso kari sanniasa.” Herein one is advised to regard one’s home itself as a forest and to keep one’s mind free from desires. Other elements of the ascetic culture mentioned in this poetic piece are continence (jata), meditation (joga), restraint (nema), abstemiousness in food and sleep, mercy, forgiveness, love, moral conduct (śīla), contentment, freedom from lust, anger, egoity, avarice, and attachment (moh). The gurmukh (the God-fearing devotee) is the ideal of Sikh devotionalism. In the Siddha Gosti, Gurū Nānak, discoursing with the yogīs practising extreme renunciation, compares the ideal of renunciation with the life of the lotus flower which though in the water yet remains above it and apart from it, and like
duck on the stream which despite its watery sojourn keeps its feathers unwet. The concept of renunciation adumbrated in the hymns of the Gurūs and in the history of the Sikhs is life-affirming and has been the source of mighty developments in the history of India.

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RICHMOND, COLONEL A.F., agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier Agency (June 1843-November 1844), who came to the Sutlej frontier when the political situation at Lahore had become unstable. It is believed that the Italian General Ventura, who had gained influence with the new Wazīr, Hīrā Singh, feeling insecure at the Sikh capital, supplied secret intelligence to Col Richmond on the state of affairs in the Punjab. Richmond was among those who believed that the kingdom of Ranjit Singh was heading towards disintegration. Hīrā Singh, he surmised, would flee to the Jammu hills and that the Dogrās would form an independent state in the hills; that the province of Multān would break loose, and that the Afgāns would ultimately recover Peshāwar. Amidst these conjectures, Richmond was confronted with a few practical problems which he was unable to handle competently. Early in April 1844, Saunders, his political assistant at Firozpur, reported that a treasure valued at 1,500,000 rupees belonging to the deceased Rājā Suchet Singh had been discovered. He hastily ascertained the Sikh Darbār’s wishes as to its disposal; then, regretting the step on a hint from superior authority, decided to have it removed secretly to Meerut, but finally allowed it to remain in deposit at Firozpur until a rightful claimant was discovered. The matter was allowed to drag on for months and it became a constant source of irritation between the British and the Sikhs. Differences between the two governments also arose in respect of the village of Mauṛāṇ which the protected ruler of Nābha had ceded to Ranjit Singh. The Nābha chief became displeased with Hukam Singh, the Lahore grantee, and a Nābha subject. Richmond, irrespective of the Darbār’s remonstrations, recommended the resumption of the village on the grounds that a protected chief had made the gift without the concurrence of the British government. These two incidents caused bitter feelings among the Sikhs, and were recounted by the Darbār and the army as major grievances against the British before the commencement of the first Anglo-Sikh war.

Richmond was a keen observer of Sikh affairs across the Sutlej. His despatches in the India Secret Proceedings are full of penetrating detail. He was the first British political officer who compiled fairly accurate statistics of the military resources of the Punjab in 1844, which closely tally with the Khālsā Darbār Records—70,000 men of all arms and 655 guns. He also wrote a highly informative book, A Memoir on the Jammu Rajas, completed in December 1843.

Lord Hardinge, the governor general, did not like the moderate policy which Richmond pursued in relation to the Sikhs. "Richmond, I confess," he observed soon after his arrival, "has disappointed me; he blows hot and cold and has no decided opinion." Further, he suspected him to be playing into the hands of Lieut J.D. Cunningham, who was favourably inclined towards the Sikhs. Consequently, he was relieved of his charge on 1 November 1844, Major George Broadfoot replacing him.

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RIKĀBGAṈJ AGITATION (1913-20) marked the Sikh protest against the demolition by the British of one of the walls of the historical Rikābgaṇj shrine in New Delhi. Gurdwārā Rikābgaṇj, sacred to the memory of Guru Tegh Bahādur, at present a splendid marble edifice, was, in the early years of the present century, a small structure in what was then known as the Rāīsinā village. This was close to the site where the new imperial complex was to be raised in consequence of the colonial government’s decision to shift the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. To Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens, the chief architect, Gurdwārā Rikābgaṇj with its modest looking building, a large barren estate and an uneven boundary wall, appeared to be an eyesore ill becoming the neighbourhood of the planned Viceregal Lodge. He wanted the Gurdwārā to be demolished for the sake of his architectural design, but the local authorities were unwilling to take such a drastic step. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi, W.M. Hailey, in consultation with the chief engineer, decided instead to pull down the hexagonal stone wall enclosing the Gurdwārā and replace it with a quadrangular iron railing and convert the inner area of the shrine into a garden. To acquire the land which was part of the Gurdwārā estate, a sum of Rs 39,133 was deposited in the name of a charitable trust, controlled by the mahant or custodian of the Gurdwārā. In May 1913, the wall enclosing Gurdwārā Rikābgaṇj—78 feet on the north and 322 feet on the east—was demolished to lay out a straight road from the northeast corner of the shrine to the Viceregal Lodge. Initially, the government action went unnoticed because of sparse Sikh population in Delhi and because of the Gurdwārā being located outside the city, but, as the news spread to the Punjab, a wave of resentment arose. Telegrams, petitions and memoranda protesting against the sacrilege began to pour into the offices of the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the commander-in-chief of the army and the chief commissioner of Delhi. Sikhs residing in Burma, China, Hongkong and the United States sent telegrams asking for the reconstruction of the dismantled wall. In February 1914, a series of divāns was held at Lyāllpur, Lahore, Shimlā, Amritsar, Ludhīṃā, Jalandhar, Tarn Tāran, Rāwalpiṇḍi, Pātīlālā, Montgomery and various other places, criticizing the government and urging it to rebuild the demolished wall at its own expense. As the agitation became widespread, the Punjab Government adopted a sterner policy. Harchand Singh, a prominent leader of the movement, was threatened with prosecution. The security of the Khālsā Aḵẖār, a weekly newspaper financed by him, was confiscated in July 1914. But just when the agitation was beginning to spread to the rural areas, World War I started. The protest was muted, but it was revived as soon as the hostilities ceased. Master Motā Singh, Harchand Singh and Tejā Singh Samundrī, all of whom had initially played a prominent role in the Rikābgaṇj movement sought the help of Sardūl Singh Caveshar, then a prominent leader of the Central Sikh League, which had been formed in December 1919, to act as a political spokesman of the Sikhs. Sardūl Singh convened a public meeting in the Bradlaugh Hall at Lahore, under the auspices of the Sikh League, and had a resolution adopted that a Shahidi jathā, or martyrs’ band, comprising one hundred volunteers should proceed to Delhi on 1 December 1920 to reconstruct the demolished
wall of the holy shrine. If the government obstructed, the jathā should lay down their lives.

Sardūl Siṅgh, who had already inserted a call in the Akāṅī; a Sikh newspaper published from Lahore, inviting one hundred men who should be willing to sacrifice their lives, received an overwhelming response. Within a fortnight, seven hundred volunteers, including some Hindus and Muslims, had offered to join the Shahīdī Jathā. The British administrators had meanwhile decided to find an “honourable solution” to have the Rikāṅgāṅj wall reconstructed. In March 1920, the local authorities and a committee of the Khālsā Diwān, Delhi, decided at a joint meeting to have a new wall enclosing the Gurdwārā built, on a pattern approved by the chief engineer. The Gurdwārā and the entire estate were to be placed under the management of the Khālsā Diwān, Delhi.

Sardūl Siṅgh’s Shahīdī Jathā was thus forestalled. The plan for the reconstruction of the Rikabgaij wall was given wide publicity. When the wall was built, government had its photograph published in newspapers.

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the throne of Nābhā on 24 January 1912. A man of independent views, the Mahārājā alienated the British at the very outset by contesting their right to confirm his succession to the throne with a formal investiture of a khill'āt (robe of honour). Mahārājā, citing a precedent of an installation ceremony in 1863, wanted only the necklace be placed on him. Although the matter was amicably settled and the ceremony did take place on 20 December 1912, and later during the Great War (1914-1918), the Mahārājā liberally contributed to the British war effort, the British always looked askance at him. His overt support to the Gurdwara Reform movement in the Punjab led to further alienation. Meanwhile, an acrimonious dispute had arisen between Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh and the ruler of the neighbouring state of Pātiālā, Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh. Among the welter of charges and countercharges, Pātiālā accused Nābhā of the kidnapping of officials and other violations of Pātiālā’s sovereignty, while Nābhā sought the extradition of a woman allegedly employed by Pātiālā’s secret police but accused of theft in Nābhā. After efforts at conciliation between the two rulers had proved futile, the British launched an enquiry by one of their own officers who found Nābhā guilty of serious transgressions. Even some of Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh’s own former confidants had deposed against him.

Partly under British pressure and partly persuaded by one of his former officers, Captain O’Grady, he signed a letter of voluntary abdication on 7 July 1923, and the British government formally deposed him on 9 July 1923. He was sent to Dehrā Dūn on an annual pension of Rs 300,000. His son, Prince Pratāp Singḥ, born on 22 September 1919 of his second marriage in 1918 to Sarojinī Devī, daughter of Major Prem Singḥ Garewāl, of the Hyderābād State Army, was proclaimed ruler of Nābhā and the state was placed under a British administrator during the prince’s minority.

The Mahārājā’s deposition and expulsion from Nābhā led to strong popular protest. In a series of demonstrations and meetings people demanded the restoration of the Mahārājā. The protest soon took the form of a religious movement which came to be known as Jaito morchā. The morchā or agitation was led by the Shiromāṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. It became intensified after the state authorities had interrupted an akhand pāth, continued reading of Guru Granth Sāhib, the Sikh Scripture, at Gurdwārā Gaṅg Sar Jaito, a small market-town. The agitation, while successful in winning freedom of worship in gurdwārās, failed in its political aim, i.e. the restoration of the Mahārājā to his throne. He was instead removed in 1926 from Dehrā Dūn to Koḍāikanāl, in the far South. Two years later his pension was reduced to Rs 1,20,000, per annum, and many other concessions were withdrawn. His efforts to regain his gaddī through lobbying with some prominent nationalist leaders, lawyers and journalists proved abortive. But he remained unbent and unrepentant. Early in 1927 he went on pilgrimage to Śrī Abichalnagar Hazūr Sāhib, Nānde, where he took the Khālsā pāhul (initiation rites) a second time and was renamed Gurcharan Singḥ. He died at Koḍāikanāl on 13 December 1942.

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B.R.
RISĀLĀ-I-NĀNAK SHĀH, a Persian manuscript by Buddh Siṅgh Arorā of Lahore, who was employed in the court of the Mughal Emperor Shāh Ālam II (1759-1806) at Delhi, written in 1783 in collaboration with Lālā Ajāib Siṅgh Sūrī of Mālerkotlā. The work deals with the history of the Sikhs from the time of Gurū Nānak up to the establishment of Sikh rule in Punjab under the Sardārs, and was written, as the author himself tells us, at the request of James Browne, British agent in Delhi who translated it into English and published it under the title History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs (sic). It was also published in his India Tracts (1788). James Browne writes that he met two Hindus of considerable knowledge who were natives of Lahore and had in their possession accounts of the rise and progress of the Sikhs written in Nāgārī characters, one of which they translated into Persian at his request; but Browne does not mention their names. Manuscript copies of Risālā-i-Nānak Shāh are available in the British Library, London; Muslim University Library, Aligarh; Khālsā College Library, Amritsar; and the Punjab Historical Studies Department at Punjabi University, Paṭialā.

The earlier part of the manuscript dealing with the lives of the Gurūs, evidently based on verbal information collected from inadequately informed sources is not very useful, for it contains several inexcusable errors of fact. For example, according to the author, Gurū Nānak lived at Sodhāra, a town near the River Chenāb; Gurū Arjan was succeeded by Gurū Har Rāi; Gurū Hargobind’s name is omitted from the series, although towards the end of the manuscript he is mentioned as having armed himself and fought a few battles against the Mughals; Mardānā was the companion of Gurū Tegh Bahādur; Gurū Gobind Siṅgh was born after the execution of his father. All these are historically horrendous misstatements, and far wide of the mark. But the author appears better informed as he approaches near his own time. His account of the events at Chamkaur and Sirhind; Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s travels to the South; the exploits and end of Bandā (Siṅgh); Nādir Shāh’s invasion; Zakariyā Khān’s rule in the Punjab; the invasions of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī; Sikhs’ alliance with Ādinā Beg and the Marāṭhās and its later dissolution; and the eventual consolidation of the Sikh power in cis-Sutlej and trans-Sutlej Punjab is fairly reliable.

B.S.

RĪTHĀ SĀHIB, GURDWĀRĀ, 40 km northwest of Nānak Mata in Uttat Pradesh. It is also 40 km from Kichhā railway station on the Bareilly-Kāṭhgodām metre gauge section of North-Eastern railway. Here, Gurū Nānak had an encounter with the Nath Yogīs whom he tried to bring to the path of active humanitarian service and to the path of loving remembrance of God’s Name. The story is not mentioned in janam sākhīs, but a strong tradition has grown that here Gurū Nānak miraculously made the normally bitter fruit of a soapnut tree sweet for Bhai Mardānā to feed on. A soapnut tree (not the original one) is still there and pilgrims receive sweet soapnuts as prasād.

M.G.S.

RIYĀSTĪ AKĀLĪ DAL, representing Sikhs living in the princely states of Paṭialā, Nābhā, Jind, Farīdkot and Mālerkotlā, was set up in 1939 as a political forum parallel to the Riyāstī Prājā Maṇḍal which had been in existence since 1928 and which had till then represented the people living mainly in the southern districts of the Punjab. After the introduction of provincial autonomy in 1937 the people living within the territories of Indian princes were becoming more conscious of their political rights. The rural population did not feel quite comfortable amid the growing influence of communists in the villages. In the urban areas a new class with equally
of the cadre returning to the ranks of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

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ROCHÁ SINGH, SANT (1688-1803), a holy man and preacher of Sikh faith, was born of Brähman parents living at Kausān, a small village in Hazārā district (now in Pakistan). Rochá Singh was barely 14 years of age when his father, Bhāi Paṇjábā, died leaving his wife and a younger son, Motā Singh, to his care. He grew up into a handsome youth, tall in stature, but had little interest in worldly affairs. He roamed about seeking the company of saintly persons. It is said that he met Guru Gobind Singh sometime after the evacuation of Anandpur in December 1705, and received from him the rites of initiation. The Guru instructed him to go back and preach Guru Nanak's word in his own part of the country. For some time, Rochá Singh took up service with Mendar Shāh, a rich businessman of Muzaffarābād, but gave it up to resume his religious pursuit. He went to Chhatar Kalās, a village on the bank of the river Jehlum in Muzaffarābād district, where Sant Paṇjābā Singh, a Sikh saint, had his dergā, which he joined as a disciple. In recognition of his piety, service and dedication, Sant Paṇjābā Singh, shortly before his death in 1736, nominated him as his successor. Rochá Singh constructed a large gurūdwārā there and brought many into the Khālsā fold by administering to them vows by the double-edged sword. He enjoined upon the novitiates especially to bear upon their persons kirpān, the sword, as prescribed in the Khālsā rahit. He always had in his retinue 300 to 400 armed Sikhs. In 1756, he set out on an extensive tour through Hazārā and Attock districts and
the Pothohār region establishing gurduwārās and imparting the vows of amrit at gatherings especially held for this purpose. Sant Rochā Singh spent his last days in the Gurdwārā at Rāvalkot, raised for him by a Muslim devotee, Salābat Khān, chief of Dhammni area. Appointing one of his disciples, Melā Singh, then barely 20, to succeed him, the old saint passed away at Rāvalkot in April 1803.

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ROHĀ SĪNGH, a Ghadr leader, was the son of Vasāvā Śingh, of the village of Roḍe, in Faridkot district. Poverty compelled him to leave his village and seek his fortune in Shanghai where he was a night watchman in the Chinese post office. He set out for India on board the S.S. Mushima Maru, reaching Colombo on 25 October 1914 and then proceeding to the Punjab.

Roḍā Śingh was arrested and tried in the first Lahore conspiracy case and was sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of property. He died in the Cellular jail in the Andamans as a result of the severe treatment meted out to him as a prisoner.

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ROHTĀ, village 4 km north east of Nābhā (30°-22'N, 76°-9'E) in Paṭiālā district, is sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur, who visited it in the course of a journey through the Mālvā country. Sikhs belonging to the weaver community of the village established a platform to commemorate the event. The Manji Sāhib later constructed was replaced by a modern building in 1920. The present complex consists of a square hall with the sanctum in the middle. The sanctum, with massive rectangular pillars and arches and alcoves, has a large dome. The exterior of the hall is decorated with octagonal pilasters. Largely attended gatherings take place on every full-moon day. All major Sikhs anniversaries are observed. The Gurdwārā is administered by Shiromānī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

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ROHTAK (28°-56'N, 76°-34'E), district town in Haryāṇā, claims two historical shrines, both dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur.

GURDWĀRĀ BAĞLĀ SĀḤĪB is on the north-western outskirts of the city. Gurū Tegh Bahādur
stayed at this site, near a pond. A small shrine was later raised on the spot. The shrine was under Udāsi priests until 1924, when a local committee of Sikhs took possession of it with official intervention and assistance. The Udāsīs had permitted the construction, on the Gurḍwārā land, of some Hindu shrines which still exist within its compound. Since the influx of Sikh immigrants from Pakistan in 1947, the Gurḍwārā has undergone considerable extensions. A large hall with a verandah on three sides was added during the 1950’s. The Gurḍwārā is administered by a local committee, under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurḍwārā Parbandhak Committee.

GURḌWĀRĀ MĀI SĀHĪB. While staying at the site now occupied by Gurḍwārā Banglā Sāhib, Gurū Tegh Bahādur visited at her request the home of a devoted old lady, who lovingly cooked a meal for him. The house thus sanctified by the Guru’s visit continued to be acknowledged as a holy place and in time became Gurḍwārā Māi Sāhib, i.e. Gurḍwārā dedicated to the devout lady. It comprises a single room with a small compound in front, and is served by a granthi appointed by the local Gurḍwārā committee.

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M.G.S.

ROHTĀS (30°-55’N, 73°-48’E), town in Jehlum district of Pakistan had a historical Sikh shrine, Gurḍwārā Chohā Sāhib, commemorating the visit of Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) during his western udāsī or preaching tour. Later in 1542, Sher Shāh Sūrī raised around the habitation a strong fort which he named Rohtās after one of his important citadels in Bihār. Rohtās is the name which the town now celebrates. Gurḍwārā Chohā Sāhib on the bank of a seasonal stream, Ghan, stood outside the Fort to the north of it. A legend similar to the one connected with Gurḍwārā Paṅjā Sāhib, Hasan Abdāl, grew up here. It is said that the nearest source of water for the people of this place during dry season was a spring controlled by jogīs at Ţillā Bāl Gudāī about 14 km west of it. Gurū Nānak, who is also said to have visited the Ţillā, caused another spring of sweet water to flow into Rohtās which came to be called Chohā Sāhib or Choā Sāhib, i.e. the holy stream. A gurdwārā was later raised here and the spring-water pool was lined to form a sarovar or holy tank. The Gurḍwārā Chohā Sāhib was managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurḍwārā Parbandhak Committee before it was abandoned consequent upon the partition of India in 1947.

Rohtās is also notable in Sikh history as the native place of Mātā Sāhib Devān, a spouse of Gurū Gobind Singh, and commonly designated as the Mother of the Khālsā. Rohtās was conquered by a combined force of Gujjar Singh Bhaṅgī and Chāṛhat Singh Sukkarchakkīā in 1767. Shāh Zamān, grandson of the Afghan invader Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, reconquered it in January 1787, but it was seized a few years later by Mahārājā Ranjit Singh under whom it remained an important military post and halting station during his northwestern campaigns.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

M.G.S.

ROSHAN SINGH, Sikh warrior in attendance upon Gurū Gobind Singh, who once killed a lion single-handed. During their
journey to the Deccan in 1708, records Kuir Singh, Gurbilās Pāṭshāhī 10, Gurū Gobind Siṅgh and Emperor Bahādur Shāh were out together on a hunting excursion when they suddenly found themselves face to face with a lion. Bahādur Shāh dared his men to kill the beast without the use of a firearm or bow and arrow. Two of his soldiers tried one after the other, but were killed by the lion. Then Roshan Siṅgh from among Gurū Gobind Siṅgh’s followers came forward holding a sword and a shield of animal hide. As the lion came charging at him, Roshan Siṅgh, says Kuir Singh, knelt down and took the animal’s paws on his shield, slashing its belly with a swift stroke of his sword. Everyone applauded Roshan Siṅgh’s feat. The Gurū rewarded him with his blessing, for he would not accept any worldly prize.

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ROSSAIX (d. 1844), a Frenchman, who was a skilled road engineer and who had served in Napoleon’s army. He came to the Punjab in 1843 to take up service under the Sikh Mahārājā. His salary was fixed at Rs 500 per month. His main charge was the construction of bridges and laying out of roads.

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ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES, held in London during 1930-32, were a series of high-level meetings attended by representatives of the British government, rulers of Indian princely states and leaders of public opinion in British India to discuss proposals for introducing further constitutional reforms in India on the basis of the Simon Commission’s report. The adjectival term ‘round table’, reminding one of the Arthurian legends, has been defined as “pertaining to a conference, discussion or deliberation in which each participant has equal status.” In 1909 a small group of British imperialists known as the English Round Table Group was formed with the object of bringing about a closer union of the self-governing sections of the British empire such as Canada, Australia and other white dominions. Not much concerned in the beginning with non-white dependencies such as India, they were impressed by Indian contribution towards the imperial defence effort at the outbreak of the World War in 1914. From 1915 onwards the Round Table Group became deeply involved in the consideration of radical changes in Indo-British relationship. In fact, the idea of “Responsible Government in India,” hailed as the crucial expression in the British declaration of 20 August 1917, originally emanated from a member of this group. The Government of India Act, 1919, embodying what are generally called the Montagu-Chelmsford (Montford for short) Reforms, was broadly based on a scheme prepared by the Round Table Group as early as 1916.

The Government of India Act, 1919, had provided for the appointment of a Royal Commission at the end of ten years to go into the working of the Reforms and make recommendations for the future political setup. However, in view of the intensification of political unrest in India, the date was advanced and a statutory commission consisting of Sir John Simon (1873-1954) and six other members of British Parliament was appointed on 8 November 1927. The exclusion of any Indian from it caused resentment in India and almost all political parties decided to boycott it. The Commission nevertheless visited India during 1928 and submitted its report to British Parliament in May.
1929. The report, published on 7 June 1930, besides making several proposals as a basis for a new constitution for India, recommended that the proposals be discussed in a conference of representatives of the British Government and those of India. Accordingly, the Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, announced on 31 October 1929 a Round Table Conference comprising representatives of British India and of the Indian states. All communities and interests and political parties, except the Indian National Congress, agreed to participate in it. Sardar Ujjal Singh and Sardar Sampuran Singh, both members of the Punjab Legislative Council, represented the Sikhs.

The first Round Table Conference was inaugurated by the King-Emperor at a public session in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords on 12 November 1930. It was attended by 16 members from Britain, 16 from Indian States and 57 from British India. After debating for five days the question whether the future constitution of India should be on a federal or unitary basis, the Conference set up nine sub-committees to deal with subjects such as federal and provincial structure, minorities, franchise, defence and services. The work of these sub-committees, with the exception of the one on minorities, proceeded more or less smoothly. The Minorities Committee, a body of 39 members (of whom 33 were Indian), with the British prime minister as chairman, was unanimous that “the new constitution should contain provisions designed to assure minority communities that their interests would not be prejudiced,” but there was no consensus on how to do it. In the concluding meeting of this sub-committee, the Sikh representative, Ujjal Singh, while regretting that a satisfactory solution to the intricate minorities problem had eluded them, said that “the main political power in the provinces is going to pass from the British to the majority community. The minority has, therefore, natural apprehensions. What is recognised is that the communal feeling is not extinct and the communal principle is bound to remain a part and parcel of the Constitution. The majority, therefore, should be generous to the minorities. Let the minorities feel that they have a sense of security and that they are fully protected.” On 19 January 1931, when the Conference was adjourned sine die, the British prime minister remarked, “You must agree amongst yourselves... an imposed agreement might make your constitution unworkable.”

On the return of the delegates to India, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr M.R. Jayakar endeavoured to bring about a rapprochement between the Government and the Indian National Congress. As a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on 5 March 1931, the Congress agreed to participate in the Round Table Conference through its sole representative, M.K. Gandhi. The second session of the Conference was held from 7 September to 1 December 1931. The main hurdle again was a deadlock in the Minorities Committee on the question of reservation of seats for minority communities. While the Muslim representatives insisted on having separate electorates on communal basis, Mahatma Gandhi strongly opposed separate reservation for the depressed classes. The Sikh representatives pointed out that while “taking India as a whole the Muhammadans are certainly a strong minority, there are three or four other minorities—the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Christians and the Depressed classes—whose rights have to be protected... It will not bring a solution nearer if the Hindus and the Muhammadans alone are to negotiate. They cannot negotiate for all minorities, nor can the settlement be arrived at without adjusting the claims of other important minorities.” The Sikh representatives said that they were opposed to reservation of seats by law for the majority community in the Punjab. For the Sikhs, they demanded 30% representation in the Punjab Legislative As-
assembly and one-third share in the Punjab Cabinet and the Provincial Public Service Commission. Alternatively, they demanded the boundaries of the Punjab altered by transferring predominantly Muslim areas to the North-West Frontier Province so as to produce a communal balance in the remaining Punjab which should then have joint electorates with no reservation of seats. If neither of these alternatives was accepted, the Punjab, they proposed, be administered by the Central Government until mutual agreement on the communal question was arrived at. They demanded that Punjabi should be the official language in the Punjab, with the option to use Gurmukhi script in writing it. Government should provide facilities for teaching Punjabi, in Gurmukhi script, where certain fixed number of students opted for it. At the centre the Sikhs should be given 5% of total seats reserved for British India in either house of legislature; at least one seat in the Cabinet; adequate representation in the All-India services and on the central public service commission. Proportion of the Sikhs in the army be maintained at the pre-war level and they should be adequately represented in the Army Council when constituted. Sikhs living in other provinces should have the same weightage as given to other minorities. Residuary powers should vest in the Central Government which should declare religious neutrality and should have special responsibility to protect the minorities. Safeguards guaranteed for the Sikhs in the Constitution should not be rescinded or modified without their express consent.

The Round Table Conference was again adjourned sine die on 1 December 1931. In his closing speech in the plenary session, the British prime minister declared that the British Government’s policy favoured central responsibility on a federal basis, subject to transitional reservations and safeguards, and provincial autonomy in British India. Admitting the failure of the Conference to evolve an agreed solution of the Minorities’ question, he announced that the British Government would supply a provisional scheme in order that the constitutional progress might not be held up.

The British prime minister announced his Award on 16 August 1932. It provided for separate communal electorates for Muhammadan, European and Sikh voters, and clubbed the Depressed Classes with the ‘general’ constituency with reservation of special seats for them. The Sikhs were given representation much below their expectations—19% in the Punjab, 6% in the North-West Frontier Province and 2.5% in the Central legislature. What especially irked the Sikhs, who had all along opposed the domination of any single community in the Punjab, was the 51.4% reservation for Muhammadans giving them permanent statutory majority in the province. The Sikhs also got no representation in the United Provinces and Sindh. As a protest both the Sikh delegates resigned their membership of the Round Table Conference and of its sub-committees.

The third and final session of the Conference, held from 17 November to 24 December 1932, was a tame affair. Only 46 delegates attended. The Indian National Congress again boycotted it. So did the representative Sikh organizations, although the government managed to secure the presence of two Sikh advocates, Tārā Siṅgh of Mogā and Būṭā Siṅgh of Sheikhpūrā. At the Conference, they put forth proposals not dissimilar from those of their predecessors. The Round Table Conference yielded no consensus and the British Government introduced its own scheme in the form of Government of India Act, 1935, which was framed generally on the lines suggested by the Simon Commission.

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RUHILA-SIKH RELATIONS. The Ruhilās came from the Yūsafzai tribe of Afghāns originally belonging to Rāh, a tract of land south of Chitral in the North-West Frontier region. They established themselves in the early years of the eighteenth century as a semi-independent power in the district lying between the River Ganges and the Kumaon hills and extending eastwards up to Shahjahanpur. Their first powerful chief, 'Alī Muḥammad, received from the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh a mansab or rank of the 4,000 grade and was appointed faujdār of Sirhind in 1745. Ālā Singḥ, the founder of Patialā state, made alliance with him and joined him in a campaign against the Muslim chief of Raikot. But 'Alī Muḥammad suddenly attacked Ālā Singḥ’s capital, Barnālā, which was given over to plunder. Ālā Singḥ himself was taken prisoner and detained in the Fort of Sunām, but he escaped through a stratagem in 1747. 'Alī Muḥammad died in September 1748.

The next great leader of the Ruhilās was Najīb Khān who started life as a foot soldier under 'Alī Muḥammad, but rose in rank soon after his master’s death. He received from the Mughal Emperor ´Alamgīr II the mansab of 5,000 zāt and sowār and the title Najīb ud-Daulah. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, before returning homeworks after his fourth invasion, 1956-57, appointed him Mir Bakhshī or paymaster of the army and his own mukhtār or agent plenipotentiary. While the plunder of Delhi was being transported to Lahore under prince Taimūr, Ālā Singḥ attacked him at Sanaur and again at Mālerkoṭā and robbed him of a considerable part of the treasure. Ālā Singḥ had also supplied provisions to the Marāthā army on the eve of the battle of Pānipat, January 1761. The Durrānī, therefore, sacked Barnālā soon after Pānipat and forced Ālā Singḥ to become a tributary. For this reason, Ālā Singḥ did not give any active support to the Sikhs during what is known as Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā or the Great Holocaust perpetrated on them by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī on 5 February 1762. Yet Ālā Singḥ was summoned to present himself before the Shāh. He was saved only through the intervention of Najīb ud-Daulah.

But Najīb ud-Daulah being the Durrānī’s agent was not the Sikhs’ favourite. Following their conquest of Sirhind in January 1764, the Dal Khālsā or federated force of the Sikh mistīs, under their leader, Jassā Singḥ Aḥlūvālīā, poured into the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb in the middle of February 1764 and plundered the country up to Murādābād and Chandausī in Ruhilkhanḍ, the land of the Ruhilās. Najīb ud-Daulah had to pay a heavy sum of 11,00,000 rupees to persuade them to go back to the Punjab early in March. This was, however, only the first of the Sikhs’ biannual raids into the territories of Najīb and the Emperor. In November-December 1764, the Jāt ruler of Bharatpur, Jawāhar Singḥ, solicited the Sikhs’ help against Najīb ud-Daulah. 15,000 Sikhs already in the Gaṅg Doāb, joined him and defeated Najīb twice during January-February 1765, after which they retired to the Punjab at the news of a fresh invasion of their country by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. During the Sikhs’ raid on the Doāb later in the year, a severe battle lasting several days took place between them and the Ruhilās, with Najīb personally in command, near Shāmli in present-day Muzaffarnagar district of Uttar Pradesh. The periodic raids of the Sikhs and skirmishes with the Ruhilās continued till Najīb’s death on 31 October 1770. His son and successor, Zābītā Khān, inherited his father’s title and office, but he did not have his father’s
strength of character. With the Emperor now under Marāṭhā control and Ruhilkhānd conquered by the Nawāb of Oudh in 1774 with British help, Zābitā Khān’s influence was restricted to a small area around Ghousgarh in the upper Gaṅg Doāb. He came to terms with the Sikhs conceding to them the right to collect rākhi or protection levy. The Sikhs in May 1776 frustrated the Nawāb of Oudh’s efforts to wean them away from Zābitā Khān, and instead assisted the latter to occupy Mughal territories. The Emperor took away his titles of Mir Bakhshī and Amīr ul-Umara and sent a force to bring him to book. Zābitā Khān helped by his Sikh friends withstood the onslaught for several months, but was finally defeated on 14 September 1777. He fled to the Sikh camp and escaped, under their protection, across the Yamunā while his entire camp, family and treasure fell into the hands of the victors. To strengthen his alliance further he became a convert to Sikhism and assumed the name of Dharam Singh. Najaf Khān, the Regent of the Empire, considered it advisable to conciliate Zābitā Khān with a view to keeping the Sikhs in check through him. He called Zābitā Khān to Delhi and restored his family and territories to him. Zābitā Khān in turn gave his daughter in marriage to Najaf Khān. But the Ruhilā chief’s haughtiness and his secret parleys with Begam Samrū led to disaffection among the Sikhs, who once again pillaged his territories in the Doāb in 1788. Ghulām Qādir was ultimately captured by the Marāṭhās in December 1788, and put to death on 4 March 1789. Mu’in ud-Dīn Khān, the younger brother of Ghulām Qādir, and his mother were given refuge by Jassā Singh Rāṃgarhī in his estates in Gurdāspur district of the Punjab.

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RUKN UD-DĪN, QĀZĪ or QĀDĪ (Rukan Din of the Janam Sākhis), supposed to be a shrine caretaker, chanced to meet Gurū Nānak during his visit to Mecca. The Purāṭan Janam Sākhī narrates the story: “It had been inscribed in books beforehand that Nānak, a dervish, would come. Then water would rise in the wells of Mecca. The Gurū entered the holy precincts. He lay down in the colonnade to rest. Then he fell asleep. His feet
were stretched out towards the Kā'bah. It was time for the evening prayer. Qāzī Rukn ud-Din came to say his namāz. When he beheld him lying in this posture, he spoke out, ‘O thou, man of God, see! Thou stretchest thy feet towards the House of God, the Kā'bah. Dost thou not see?’ The Guru answered, ‘Where the House of God is not, turn my feet to that direction.’ Then Qāzī Rukn ud-Din dragged his feet round. In whatever direction he turned his feet to that direction the Kā'bah was also turning. Qāzī Rukn ud-Din became astonished and kissed his feet... He said, ‘Marvelous, Marvelous! Today I have seen a true faqir of God.”

Qāzī Rukn ud-Din of this sākhī or episode should not be confused with Shaikh Rukn ud-Din, grandson of Shaikh Bahā ud-Din Zakariā of Multān, who had lived during the earlier part of the fourteenth century and died in 1335. In Bhai Gurdās, Vārān, 1. 32, the name is Jīvan which indicates a man of Indian domicile.

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RULĪĀ SĪNGH, a Ghadr leader, was the son of Bhai Jagat Singh of the village of Sarābhā in Ludhiana district. Because of his meagre means, he left home to seek employment outside the country. This he ultimately found in Astoria, Oregon, in the United States, where many Punjabis were working on farms. Kartār Singh Sarābhā, then a student at the University of California, Berkeley, used to come to that area during the holidays. Rulīā Singh helped him secure part-time work to earn money to pay his university fees. His contact with Kartār Singh, the articles in the Ghadr and speeches by the leaders of the Indian revolutionary movement had a stirring effect on him. He felt further embittered by the daily humiliations he, like other Indians, suffered as one coming from a slave country. On the outbreak of World War I, Indians in America were exhorted to return to their country and participate in an armed revolution against the British under the aegis of the Ghadr party. Rulīā Singh, now 36 years old, was one of those who responded to the call. He had neither money nor proper clothes, but he was provided with passage money by his friends.

After the attempted revolution failed, Rulīā Singh was arrested, along with others, and tried in the first Lahore conspiracy case. He was given the penalty of death, but the sentence was later commuted to transportation for life. Rulīā Singh was sent to the Andamans Cellular Jail where he was subjected to violence, put on short rations and made to wear handcuffs and bar fetters. He contracted tuberculosis which proved fatal.

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RUPĀṆĀ, village 7 km south of Muktsar (30°-29'N, 74°-31'E) in Muktsar district of the Punjab, is sacred to Guru Gobind Singh who, according to local tradition, arrived here on 28 Baisakh 1762/25 April 1706 after the battle of Khidrānā, now Muktsar. Gurdwārā Gūrūsr Pāṭshāḥī X, commemorating the visit, stands in the centre of a low-lying area, now a vast perennial pond owing to water-logging. It is reached through a causeway built in 1971. The ground floor of the rectangular building is closed because of dampness. The domed sanctuary is at the far end of the hall on the first floor. The Gurdwārā owns 10 acres of land and is
under the control of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

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RUP CHAND, BHĀI (1614-1709), ancestor of the Bhāi family of Bāgarāṁ, was born in 1614, the son of Bhāi Sādhū and Māi Surtī, a carpenter couple of Tuklāṇī village in Fārdkōṭ district. Sādhū was a follower of Sakhī Sarwar, a Muslim pīr, variously called Lakhdātā or Lālāṅvāḷā, who enjoyed considerable popularity and influence in the area. Sādhū’s wife professed the Sikh faith and she was able to persuade her husband once to accompany her to see Gurū Hargobind who was on a visit to Ḍarauli Bhāi, near Tuklāṇī. No sooner had Bhāi Sādhū set his eyes upon the Gurū than he felt deeply moved and was converted. The couple received the Gurū’s blessings. After some time they again visited Ḍarauli with their first-born son whom the Gurū named Rūp Chand.

When during 1631 Gurū Hargobind was again travelling through the Mālvā country, he met Bhāi Rūpā, as Rūp Chand was commonly called, near the village of Gumaṭī in Bāṭhiṇḍā district. The latter, then barely sixteen, was working in the fields along with his father. He served cold water to the Gurū. The Gurū was pleased to receive the refreshment and he encouraged the father and son to lay the foundation of their own village. The new village, about 5 km to the east of Gumaṭī, was called Bhāi Rūpā.

Bhāi Rūp Chand became a widely respected preacher of the Sikh faith in the Mālvā region. As his end approached, he established a gurdwārā in honour of Gurū Hargobind at Bhāi ki Samāḍh or Samāḍh Bhāi village to commemorate the Gurū’s visit. Bhāi Rūp Chand died there on Sāvan vadī 1, 1766 BK/28 May 1709. It is his own samāḍh here which gives the village its name.

Bhāi Rūp Chand had seven sons of whom two, Dharam Singh and Param Singh, received the rites of the Khalsa at the hands of Gurū Gobind Singh at Damdāmā Sāhib (Talvaṇḍī Śābo) and accompanied the Gurū during his journey further to the South. After some time the Gurū advised them to return to the Punjab and preach the Gurū’s word.

Bāgarāṁ family is descended from Bhāi Dharam Singh.

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RUP KAUR, BĪBĪ, commonly believed to be the adopted daughter of Gurū Har Rāi, was, according to Bhaṭṭ Vahi Ṭalāuḍā, his real daughter born to Māṭā Sulakkhāṇī on 8 April 1649. She was married, on 3 December 1662, to Khem Karan, son of Bhāi Peṛ Mali, a Dhsuṣā Khatrī of Pasrūr, in present-day district of Sālkoṭ (now in Pakistan). The young couple, however, settled at Kirātpur itself in the house now known as Gurdwārā Maṅji Sāhib, where some of the Bibi’s personal
articles are preserved as sacred relics. Bibī Rūp Kaur had a son, Amar Singh, whose descendants are now living at Diālpurā Soḍhīān, in Paṭiālā district.

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Rūp Kaur, Rānī, daughter of Jai Singh of the village of Koṭ Sayyid Mahmūd, now part of Amritsar city opposite Guru Nānak Dev University, was married to Mahāraṇā Ranjīt Siṅgh in 1815. She survived the Mahāraṇā and was granted an annual pension of Rs 1,980 by the British.

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Rūp Lāl (d. 1865), the eldest son of Misr Dīvān Chand, served in the Lahore treasury until he was appointed in 1832 by Mahāraṇā Ranjīt Siṅgh to replace Shaikh Muḥi ud-Dīn as governor of the Jalandhar Doāb. Mahāraṇā Sher Siṅgh made him governor of Kalānaur and the Lahore territory south of the Sutlej. After the assassination of Sher Siṅgh, he was imprisoned by Rājā Hirā Siṅgh upon whose death Wazīr Jawāhar Siṅgh appointed him governor of Jasroṭā. Later he served as governor of Jehlum and Rohtās. In 1848, Misr Rūp Lāl joined hands with Chātar Siṅgh Aṭārīvālā to fight against the British. After the annexation of the Punjab by the British, he was dismissed from service and his property was confiscated. He died in September 1865 at the ripe age of over eighty.

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RUTĪ (RUTTI), a composition by Guru Arjan in Rāga Rāmkali in the Guru Granth Sāhib comprising eight six-line stanzas, preceded by two ślokas, each of two lines. Rutī is the plural of rut, Skt. ṛtu (season). The ślokas introduce the theme briefly while the stanzas, called chhants here, elaborate it. Generally, the hymn portrays the intense urge in man to meet the Supreme Being. The yearning sharpens from season to season.

According to the Indian tradition the year is divided into six seasons, viz. Vasant (spring), Grīṣma (summer), Varṣa (rainy season), Sarad or Paṭjhar (autumn), Śīśir (the dewy season) and Hemant (winter). Vasant (Punjabi Basant) is from mid-March to mid-May. Grīṣma or Grīkham from mid-May to mid-July, and so on. The chhants in Rutī describe a woman’s (seeker’s) longing for the spouse (the Lord), the pangs she bears in separation, and the blissful joy she experiences on meeting with the Lord. The union is achieved through meditation on the Name and thereby all the seasons, months and hours become delightful for the devotee.

Fortunate are they who are dyed in the steadfast colour of single-minded meditation; fortunate is their coming into the world. In the spring season all is verdant within and without; the scorched innerness has bloomed through contemplation on the Name. The ego-ridden person, however, is unaware of the joys of the delectable showers of His grace. It is association with the gurmukhs which leads on to the path of devotion and to union with the Supreme Spouse. The jīva (bride), says Gurū Arjan, then never suffers the torments of separation: “binvanti nānak prabhī āpi mēlī tah na prem bichhoh jiū” (GG, 929). The changing seasons then do not affect her. “The saints
are the true helpers of jīva and they are capable of ferrying her across the worldly ocean. They are imbued with the love of God's Name and they are the acme of mankind.

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