

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF NANAK PRAKASH

Bhai Santokh Singh

by
Sabinderjit Singh Sagar



**Guru Nanak Dev University
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To
My Wife Rajinder
and
My Children
Smit and Gaurav

The real strength of the thesis is that it rests upon the acuteness with which the candidate highlights the (1) transformation of the *Janamsakhi* genre (2) the needs of an altered historical epoch and (3) the changing didactic purposes of the poet. It is a critical (in the philosophical as well as historical sense) assessment of a work of sacred poetry, created by Bhai Santokh Singh in the first half of the 19th century when Sikh temporal power with its attendant problems, was at its height.

Prof. Ravinder Kumar

C O N T E N T S

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Sabinderjit Singh Sagar

INTRODUCTION

A historical analysis of Bhai Santokh Singh's *Nanak Prakash* can be useful. Santokh Singh is regarded the greatest Sikh poet whose popularity rests on his voluminous tomes on Sikh Gurus. Because of his believed orthodoxy, the Singh Sabha wished Max Arthur Macauliffe to consult *Gur Pratap Suraj* for his history of the Gurus. The popularity of Santokh Singh's works can be estimated from the fact that almost all the modern historians of the Sikhs have based their account of the Gurus more or less on his works. "References by modern authors", observes W.H. McLeod, "to incidents in the lives of the Gurus can often be traced no further than statements by Santokh Singh."

But Santokh Singh's popularity among the scholars is not beyond question. McLeod feels that *Gur Pratap Suraj* contains "a somewhat higher proportion of historical fact but is untrustworthy nonetheless." Similarly, Macauliffe's opinion about the work is highly unfavourable despite the fact that he himself has heavily drawn the material from the work. I.B. Banerjee feels that Macauliffe has been "compelled to make the *Suraj Prakash* the primary basis of his 'Lives' of the Gurus, particularly of the earlier Gurus." Banerjee suggests to the future historians that the work should be used with 'great caution and restraint.' *Nanak Prakash*, according to McLeod, is unreliable like its principal source the *Bala Janamsakhi*. On the one hand these remarks are occasional and general in nature, on the other hand they treat Santokh Singh's work as a source material on the lives of Gurus. Hence, the historical analysis of Santokh Singh's work.

There is a paradox in the approach of modern historians. On the one hand they base their work on Santokh Singh and on the other hand they are critical about the reliability of his works. Expressing this paradox, I.B. Banerjee says that Macauliffe "had no other alternative and so long as more reliable records are not forthcoming this (*Suraj Prakash*) will remain, more or less, indispensable" The paradox is indicative of the historical understanding that underlies it. The subject of the work is treated as a source material. All the discussion is centred on the reliability of the source. Though McLeod indicates that the work is based on earlier sources yet he does not allude to the fact that the primary concern of a work lies in the times of its compilation. He condemns *Nanak Prakash* for its dependence, to a large extent, on the untrustworthy *Bala Janamsakhi*. Besides, the modern historians seem to have failed to understand the nature of the literary work. They treat it as a historical work.

Apart from this, the critical literature on Santokh Singh is meagre. Most of the works deal with his life and are exegeses of his *mangal chhands*. Bhai Vir Singh is the only scholar to study the works of Santokh Singh in detail. Not only he has edited the *Gur Pratap Suraj* and *Nanak Prakash* but the poet's life and times are also discussed. He has also dealt at length with poet's idea and approach to history. But his method is not historical. Bhai Vir Singh considers *Gur Pratap Suraj* a valuable collection of material on the Sikh history for making a scientific study. He has no idea that the significance of Santokh Singh's work lies in the time of its writing. It is quite significant that Bhai Vir Singh is aware of the fact that the Sikh literature has a cognitive value. In his opinion the Sikh historical accounts are to be judged on the basis of the Sikh doctrines. But he fails to realise the mounting influence of Vedant and Handali doctrines and its implications. He also fails to understand the historical meaning of miracles.

What he tries to do is to prove the possibility of a miracle scientifically. In fact, his major thrust is on the literary merit of the work. His association with the Singh Sabha does not let him go deep into the work. Consequently, he idealises the work.

The tradition of Bhai Vir Singh in assessing a work in a literary manner without keeping the historical aspect, is continued by Dr. Jai Bhagwan Goel. He introduced Santokh Singh's works to the Hindi readers. The literary worth of the works is also emphasized. Goel's literary criticism is more or less conventional. He is lacking in a historical approach. Though he is aware of the anti-Sikh doctrines in the work yet he fails to bring to light the logic of their mounting influence. On the contrary, he idealises the presence of the heterogeneous doctrines by attributing them to the poet's attitude of assimilation. Hence, the presence of divergent doctrines is looked upon as sublimity of the poet. A few other scholars have also made references to Santokh Singh. But their approach is just introductory.

It is quite obvious that no systematic effort has been made to analyse historically the works of Santokh Singh. It should be kept in mind that Santokh Singh's work is not an ordinary work of literature. Like other works of Sikh literature, its nature is cognitive. In such works, literature and doctrine are complimentary as well as autonomous. The historical study of such literature needs a different approach. It is not only essential to look into the doctrinal aspect of the work but also to analyse the genre. Both the aspects are rooted in the socio-political conditions of the period. The chief interest in taking up the study of *Nanak Prakash* is to find its historical worth and inbuilt limitations. This is helpful in understanding the poet's historical outlook from the perspective of his literary imagination. The evidence on early nineteenth century society and politics can be understood against this backdrop.

The book is the revised version of my Ph.D. thesis entitled "Historical Analysis of *Nanak Prakash* by Bhai Santokh Singh", submitted to the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar in the year 1985. Besides 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion', the book contains six chapters. Life and times of the poet is studied in the first chapter in a manner that the relationship of his works with the politico-cultural institutions and traditions of the period could be grasped. In *Nanak Prakash*, the continuity of the literary tradition has a parallelism in the continuity of administrative institutions. This widens our understanding. However, other socio-political connections of the literary work are not denied. This aspect is taken up in the second chapter in which the sources of *Nanak Prakash* are discussed in order to understand the primary concerns of the poet. In the case of present work, the bulk of the material is drawn from the heterodox sources having a peculiar socio-political implication. As *Nanak Prakash* is written in a *janamsakhi* mode it is considered useful to study *janamsakhi* genre in historical perspective. In chapter three, not only this aspect is taken up but also the problem as to why *Nanak Prakash* as a *janamsakhi* has collapsed is discussed. In order to know the historical worth of a literary work, the doctrinal understanding of the poet is looked into. Santokh Singh's idea of Sikh history is the theme of the fourth chapter. It delineates the impact of the doctrines on his understanding of Sikh history. Both the factors are rooted in contemporary realities. Last two chapters i.e. chapter five and six discuss the evidence on social history and politics available in the *Nanak Prakash*. This evidence plays a significant role in knowing the poet's primary concern. It helps in understanding why the poet upholds the cause of the Sikh ruling classes in spite of the fact that he belonged to a humble caste. The study of his idea of Sikhism helps us in understanding the contemporary situation.

CHAPTER I

BHAI SANTOKH SINGH AND HIS TIMES

Bhai Santokh Singh is a major Punjabi poet of the early nineteenth century. A number of monumental works are to his credit. Among them are the *Sri Guru Nanak Prakash*¹ and the *Gur Pratap Suraj*. The latter is a sequel to the former. It narrates the history of ten Sikh Gurus as well as the life of Banda Bahadur. For a proper understanding of *Nanak Prakash*, it is essential to go back to the life and times of the poet. Bhai Santokh Singh's life-span runs more or less parallel to that of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's. He was born in 1788 A.D. eight years after the birth of Ranjit Singh and died five years after the death of the Maharaja. Hence, the reign of Ranjit Singh more or less forms his socio-political milieu even when he had spent most of his later life in the cis-Sutlej territories. Because his early life and education was in Amritsar district, his works mostly speak of the concern of the reign of Ranjit Singh.

The Sikhs rose to power in the Punjab about the middle of the eighteenth century. At the time of Ranjit Singh's birth in 1780 the area between Jamuna and Indus rivers was mostly divided into a number of Sikh principalities. One of the principalities was that of Sukarchakia Misl under Mahan Singh. Ranjit Singh succeeded his father Mahan Singh in 1790 A.D. Large areas in the Rachna, Chaj and Sindh Sagar Doabs were in the possession of the Sukarchakia chief, whose centre was Gujranwala.²

1. Hereinafter cited as *Nanak Prakash*.

2. G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1960, p. 5.

Ranjit Singh did not remain content with the patrimony of a large principality but started making efforts to expand his domain. In 1799 A.D. he added Lahore to his possessions.³ He won over Sada Kaur, the Nakai chiefs of Satgarha and Jodh Singh to his side. In order to increase his strength he also forged an alliance with Fateh Singh Ahluwalia who was the most powerful of the Sikh chiefs. With this combined power, the other Sikh and non-Sikh chiefs were gradually compelled to accept his suzerainty.⁴ The city of Amritsar was conquered in the year 1805.⁵ Ranjit Singh extended his activities in cis-Sutlej region from 1806 to 1808 A.D.⁷

But his ambitions were restricted by the British with the treaty of Amritsar in 1809. Consequently, the eastern boundary of the Maharaja was fixed along the Sutlej. However, by this time, Ranjit Singh had established himself in the central Punjab.⁸ He was obliged to expand in the north and the west. With the conquest of Multan in 1818, the core region of the Mughal province of Multan came under his administration.⁹ Similarly, Kashmir was conquered at last in 1819 after several unsuccessful expeditions.¹⁰ Thus, the period between 1799 to 1820 was marked with hectic expansion of the dominion of the Maharaja.

After 1820, Ranjit Singh was keen on consolidating his power. The kingdom was further extended with the conquest of Peshawar in 1823.¹¹ During 1827 to

3. N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta, 1975 (3rd ed.), p. 12.

4. G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, pp. 8-9.

5. N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 16.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.

7. G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 40.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

9. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs : Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1978, p. 25.

10. G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 16.

11. N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 62.

1831, Ranjit Singh had to face *jehad* waged by Sayyid Ahmad. It ended with the death of Sayyid in a skirmish in 1831 A.D.¹² The British entered into a commercial treaty with the Amirs of Sindh in order to check Ranjit Singh's designs on Sindh. The Maharaja accepted the treaty in 1832.¹³ In 1835, Ranjit Singh once again tried to attack Sindh. But he had to stop because of the British threat. On June 27, 1839, Ranjit Singh breathed his last at Lahore.¹⁴

Ranjit Singh kept almost all the administrative institutions or procedures that were prevalent during the Mughal rule in order to enhance his political power, consolidate his kingdom and to administer it effectively.¹⁵ The rationale of this political, economical and socio-religious policies lay in the critical situation in which the Sikh ruling class was placed. A look at the demographical pattern of the reign of Ranjit Singh clearly shows the minority character of the Sikhs who were 6% of the total population. The Muslims formed the largest religious group with 70% of population. The population of the Hindus was 24%.¹⁶ Consequently, it was the need of the ruling class minority to maintain cordial relations not only with the Hindus but also with the Muslims for the stability of the state.¹⁷ Maharaja Ranjit Singh adopted a 'secular' and

12. Ibid., p. 80.

13. Bikramjit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1977, p. 151.

14. Ibid., p. 187.

15. J.S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Sita Ram Kohli Memorial Lecture 1981), Punjabi University, Patiala 1981, pp. 1-11.

16. Ibid., p. 27.

The population of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's kingdom was one crore and 22 lacs. Out of it, Muslims were 86 lacs, Hindus were 30 lacs and Sikhs 7 lacs. The population figures are on the basis of 1881 census. The scholar is of the opinion that "in the early decades of British rule in the Punjab the demographic pattern did not change radically."

17. The need is generally reflected in the Punjabi literature of the period. For instance S.S. Hans has underlined it in his article on the *gurbilas*. see, S.S. Hans, "The Gurbilas", *Journal of Regional History*, Vol. II, 1981, p. 56. Also see the chapter "Evidence on Social History" below.

'liberal' policy. Religious endowments to the institutions and individuals of all religions were generously granted.

But it could not be presumed that change of a considerable magnitude was not brought about during the reign of Ranjit Singh. The structure of the ruling class of the time is a pointer to social mobility. On the basis of the decision-making power in politics, administration and military, Inderyas Bhatti has identified about 1080 persons as constituting the nobility in the kingdom of the Lahore Durbar.¹⁸ In the power structure, they constituted two levels. The primary level included princes, ministers, courtiers, provincial governors and commanders of the army. The *thanadars*, *kardar* and the officers in the army belong to the secondary level.¹⁹ According to him, the ruling class was constituted of representatives of four religious communities i.e. the Sikhs, the Hindus, the Muslims and the Christians. The Sikhs were 530, Hindus 310, Muslims 179 and 65 Christians.²⁰ Thus nearly 50% of the nobility were Sikhs. It was much higher than their proportion of the total population which was 6%. Similarly, the representation of Hindu nobility in comparison with their population was high. The Hindu nobility formed about 29% of the total nobility, whereas their population was 24%. But the proportion of Muslim nobility in relation to their population was quite meagre. Against 70% of population, only 15% were in the nobility. Thus, there was a clear predominance of the Sikhs in the ruling class. It is

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18. Inderyas Bhatti, "Nobility Under the Lahore Durbar, 1799-1849", M.Phil. Dissertation, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1981, p. 3.
 19. Indu Banga, "Social Mobility in the Punjab Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh", *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar 1980, p. 133. (Inderyas Bhatti also adopted the criterion for the identification of nobility. See, "Nobility Under the Lahore Durbar, 1799-1849", pp. 1-2)
 20. Inderyas Bhatti, "Nobility Under the Lahore Durbar, 1799-1849", p. 3.

also evident from the proportion of Sikh nobles from the artisan and menial classes. Out of total of 26, 19 were Sikhs.²¹ The Sikh ruling class was a new phenomenon in the social history of Punjab. Majority of the Sikh nobility belonged to the Jats. They were 30% of the total nobility and were more than the Hindu nobility. Hence, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was more liberal to his coreligionists, particularly his own caste, in providing opportunities for their upward mobility. The conditions of the Hindus were by all means good.

In his agrarian system, there was a structural and functional continuity from the Mughal time. Yet there are some healthy traits regarding the position of the peasant proprietors which was relatively advantageous in comparison with the superior owners. The superior owners were discouraged during Ranjit Singh's rule.²² Similarly, the position of tenants improved and they were enjoying the same rights as peasant proprietors.²³ As a result of the state incentives, vast stretches of land were brought under cultivation. Colonization underpinned the spatial and vertical mobility. During the reign of Ranjit Singh, even the non-agriculturist castes—trading, artisan and menial—entered the agrarian hierarchy.²⁴ Change of occupation often led to improvement in economic condition. In fact, "the doors to upward mobility were open to men of industry and ability perhaps at all levels of the social structure" during the Sikh rule under Ranjit Singh.²⁵ During Ranjit Singh's times, the number of new Sikh villages ran into hundreds.²⁶

21. Ibid., p. 4 and appendix 'G'.

22. Indu Banga, "Social Mobility in the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh", *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, pp. 120-30.

23. Ibid., p. 128.

24. Ibid., pp. 126-27.

25. Ibid., p. 135.

26. J. S. Grewal, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 31.

Ranjit Singh not only confirmed the old land grants but also bestowed a number of new grants to institutions and individuals of various denominations and religions. The amount of *dharmarth* grants during Ranjit Singh was much larger than that of revenues alienated by the Mughals.²⁷ However, the largest share of religious grants went to the Sikhs. The Bedis received the maximum i.e. 25% of total *dharmarth* grants. They were followed by the Sodhis and Udasis with 20% and 10% respectively. However, "the Udasis appropriated the maximum share of state revenue as a religious group."²⁸ Interestingly a large number of *sangats* or *gurdwaras* came into being and the sway of Sikh religion increased in a large area of Ranjit Singh's domain.²⁹

Santokh Singh was born in 1788 A.D. at Nur Di Sarai, a village in Amritsar district.³⁰ The village is situated near Tarn Taran on the Tarn Taran-Jhabal road. His father was Dewa Singh, a *chhimba* of Karir sub-caste.³¹ Santokh Singh mentions the name of his father in his works but does not refer to the name of his mother.³² According to Bhai Vir

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27. Indu Banga, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*, p. 167.
 28. Sulakhan Singh, "State Patronage to the Udasis Under Maharaja Ranjit Singh", *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*, p. 113.
 29. *Nanak Prakash* gives a number of instances in this regard. See, Chapter "Evidence on Social History".
 30. Bhai Vir Singh (ed.), *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, Khalsa Samachar, Amritsar 1955, p. 93.
 31. Bhai Vir Singh refers to an entry of the *vahi* of Mangal Dutt Panda (Ramchand Wale) Hardwar pertaining to year 1936 BK or 1879. The entry was said to have been recorded by the wife of Wasawa Singh, Santokh Singh's brother. See, *Ibid.*, p. 88.
 32. Santokh Singh's works contain the name of his father. For instance, in *Nanak Prakash*, he says ਦੇਵਾ ਜਿੰਘ ਪਿਤਾ ਤੇ ਜਨਮ ਕਵਿ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਜਿੰਘ ਨਾਮ (p. 1258) and in *Gur Pratap Suraj*, ਦੇਵਾ ਜਿੰਘ ਪਿਤਾ ਮਮ ਨਾਮ (p. 4499). But he does not refer to his mother's name. At a place in *Gur Pratap Suraj*, he only pays respect to his mother ਨਿਜ ਮਾਤਾ ਕੋ ਕਰਿ ਅਭਿਨੰਦਨ (p. 4499).

Singh the evidence of the *vahi* of Tola Ram Chuni Lal of Kurukshetra makes Rajadi or Raj Dai his mother.³³ Bhai Vir Singh writes that Dewa Singh was a learned man, well-versed in *Gurbani* and Vedant.³⁴ Santokh Singh started his early education at home under his father's guidance. Later on, he was sent to his uncle Ram Singh at Amritsar for further education.³⁵ At that time, Amritsar was a great centre of Sikh education. About 300 *dharamshalas* were devoted to the promotion of Gurmukhi education.³⁶

At Amritsar, Santokh Singh came into contact with Bhai Sant Singh, a scholar of great repute, and received instruction from him.³⁷ Bhai Santokh Singh had been associated with Lahore Durbar for sometimes and was entrusted with the service of Harimandir or Golden Temple after the death of his elder brother, Bhai Gurmukh Singh.³⁸ Santokh Singh lived in *bunga* of Bhai Sant Singh and remained there till the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century.³⁹

33. Bhai Vir Singh (ed.), *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 89.

34. Loc cit.

35. Loc. cit.

36. G.W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab Since Annexation and in 1882*, Language Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1971 (reprint), p. 36.

37. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Nanak Prakash*, Khalsa Samachar, Amritsar, 1961, pp. 63 and 1286 :

ਨਿਤ ਹੀ ਭਗਤ ਰਤ ਨਾਮ ਕੀਨੋ ਬਿਤਿ ਚਿਤ
ਸੰਤਨ ਸੋ ਚਿਤ ਅਤਿ ਸੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਮ ਹੈ ।

ਜਿਕੋ ਚਰਨੋਦਕ ਕੀ ਬੂੰਦ ਮੈਂ ਬਦਨ ਪਾਇ

ਸੁਮਤਿ ਸਦਨ ਭਯੋ ਕਦਨ ਬਿਰਾਮ ਹੈ ।

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮਤਿ ਸਿਮਰਨ ਰਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੁਭ ਨਾਮ ।

ਬਿੰਦਯਾ ਜਿਨ ਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਪਤੀ ਤਿਨ ਪਦ ਕਰੋ ਪ੍ਰਣਾਮ ॥10॥

38. Bhai Vir Singh (ed.), *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 91.

39. Internal evidence of *Gur Pratap Suraj* suggests that in 1813 A.D. Santokh Singh was at Buria estate, where he wrote his work *Nanak Prakash* in 1823 A.D. According to Bhai Vir Singh, the evidence seems to have suggested that the poet came to Buria not before long. For detailed discussion, see, *ibid.*, pp. 84-87.

In the early nineteenth century Punjab, education was imparted in traditional manner. Most of the educational institutions were associated with the religious establishments. The mosque was the place for Islamic education whereas Hindu *pathshalas* were associated with the temple. Similarly, Gurmukhi schools were held in *gurdwaras* and *dharamshalas*.⁴⁰ Apart from religious establishments, some schools were run by individuals. Some of them were secular in character and imparted education in book-keeping. They were known as Landa schools.⁴¹ As the language of Lahore Durbar Persian was very popular both with the Muslims and the Hindus. Among the Hindus, Khattris had a special interest in learning Persian in order to secure employment in revenue administration.⁴²

Santokh Singh did not seem to have acquired any formal education in Persian as the internal evidence of his work suggests. On the other hand, his knowledge of Sanskrit was commendable. He had translated two important Sanskrit works *Amar Kosh* and Balmiki's *Ramayana* into *bhakha*. The chief seats of Sikh learning in early nineteenth century were Amritsar and Damdama Sahib in Bhatinda. In Amritsar, the Golden Temple and the *bungas* were popular centres of learning.⁴³ The *bungas* played an important role in imparting indigenous education to the Sikhs. These *bungas* belonged to orthodox Sikhs and other dispensations, like Udasis, Nirmalas and Seva Panthis. A number of poets were the product of these *bungas*.⁴⁴

During the reign of Ranjit Singh, the Gurmukhi school imparted education in *Gurbani*, literature, and religious

40. G.W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education*, pp. 145-48.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-45.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-58.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

44. Madanjit Kaur, *The Golden Temple : Past and Present*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar 1983, pp. 184-90.

writings. In literature, Hirdai Ram Balla's *Hanuman Natak* and *Ramcharit Manas* by Tulsi Das in Gurmukhi script were taught.⁴⁵ The *Janamsakhi* (particularly *Gyan Ratnavali*), *Gurbilas* and *Bhagwat* were religious texts.⁴⁶ "Rhetoric or *Sahitkab* was much studied in Gurmukhi (school) which combined both Punjabi and Hindi".⁴⁷ Vedant was also in the curriculum of Gurmukhi schools.⁴⁸ However, *vaidyak* or Indian medical science was optional.⁴⁹ Broadly, the Sikh learning comprised of Sikh religious literature, Hindu religious and philosophical works, rhetoric and prosody. Vedant however, was the major subject in the Hindu religious writings.

There were four major traditions in Panjabi literature. The first was the Sikh religious literature in the form of *janamsakhis* and *gurbilas*. The Vedantic literature formed the second. The scholastic poetry (*riti* literature) in Braj dialect was the third. The fourth and last tradition belonged to *kissa* poetry which was, to some extent, secular in character. Its exponents were mostly Muslims. It was also adopted by the Sikhs to some extent. However, *kissa* literature was not in the curriculum of religious education.

The *janamsakhi* genre was developed by the Sikh community in early sixteenth century to spread the myth of Nanak and discuss his doctrines. The expression of piety was later adapted for sectarian debate. The Handalis undermined the *janamsakhi* genre for their own ends. "Thus the period and the geography of the conflicting claims to religious loyalty called forth an intense *janamsakhi* debate to constitute its Golden Age".⁵⁰ After the

45. G.W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education*, p. 38.

46. Loc cit.

47. Loc cit.

48. Loc cit.

49. Loc cit.

50. S.S. Hans, "Early Sikh Tradition", *Journal of Regional History*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Vol. I, 1980, p. 86.

execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur in 1675 A.D., the genre did not remain relevant. The Sikh struggle for power in the mid-eighteenth century necessitated a new genre. The new condition and "the newer religious awareness in terms of its socio-political urgency" evolved *gurbilas* genre.⁵¹ Its main purpose was "to cultivate a militantly heroic spirit with a built-in social urgency even at the cost of doctrine".⁵² In this sense, *gurbilas* is just the opposite of *janamsakhi*. The orthodox *janamsakhi* never departed from doctrine. With the rise of Sikhs to power, the spiritual supremacy of Guru Nanak did not remain problematic and emphasis on political urgency was lost.⁵³ Consequently, the *janamsakhis* and *gurbilas* literature of late eighteenth and nineteenth century is full of "magic and the decline of religion."⁵⁴

The Vedantic literature in Gurmukhi has an important place in the literature of Punjab. The catalogue of Gurmukhi manuscripts prepared by Shamsheer Singh Ashok in two volumes records a total of 1587 manuscripts i.e. 1189 major and 394 works on variety of subjects.⁵⁵ Out of them, the manuscripts on Sikh literature including *Gurbani* exegesis, *janamsakhi*, *gurbilas*, *Mahima Prakash* and other historical works are 301 in all. It includes 121 manuscripts on variety of topics.⁵⁶ But the manuscripts under the title 'Indian philosophy' number 120. Out of which 66 are on more than one topic.⁵⁷ A cursory reading of the manuscripts on Indian philosophy suggests that they are mostly on Vedant and a few on Yoga. Sikh literature contains a number of

51. Loc cit.

52. S. S. Hans, "Social Transformation and Early Sikh Literature", *Journal of Regional History*, Vol. III, 1982, p. 8.

53. S. S. Hans, "Early Sikh Tradition", *Journal of Regional History*, p. 186.

54. Loc cit.

55. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Punjabi Hathlikhtan Di Suchi*, Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, Patiala, 1961, Vol. I, p. 'g'.

56. Loc cit.

57. Loc cit.

commentaries of *Gurbani*, written by Udasis and Nirmalas which are Vedantic interpretations.⁵⁸

The earliest works on Vedant in Gurmukhi are claimed to belong to the second half of the seventeenth century. Some of the prominent Vedantic scholars of the period were Dyal Anemi, Anath Puri and Kavi Sukhdev.⁵⁹ Kavi Sukhdev is also said to be associated with the court of Guru Gobind Singh for some time.⁶⁰ The earliest Vedantic literature in Punjab was taken up by Handalis. Manohar Das Niranjani wrote *Gyan Manjari*, *Vedant Paribhasha*, *Gyan Churan Vachnika*, *Sat Prashan Uttari* and *Khat Prashni*. *Amritdhara* and *Vedant Vivek Granth Satik* were the works of Bhagwan Das Niranjani.⁶¹ The rise of Sikh power revived literature on Vedant especially by the Udasis and the Nirmalas. The *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal* and the *Mokh Panth Prakash* by Gulab Singh Nirmala are two major works of the period. However, throughout the Sikh period, the translations of the Shankar's commentaries were undertaken.⁶²

58. *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal* and Anand Ghan's commentaries are Udasi works. Pt Tara Singh Narotam and Sant Sampuran Singh are Nirmala scholars who have written commentaries on the *bani* of *Guru Granth*.
59. Dyal Anemi has a number of works to his credit. They are *Ashtavakra Bhakha*, *Agyan Bodhni*, *Hastmal Granth*, *Bigyan Gita* and *Vashista Sar Bhakha*, see, *Punjabi Hathlikhtan Di Suchi*, Vol. I, pp. 149-50, 154, 156, 167, 183, 194, and Vol. II, pp. 18, 24, 28, 31, 41-42 and 58. Anath Puri's only work is *Vicharmala*, Vol. I, p. 57. *Adhyatam Prakash*, *Fazil Ali Prakash* and *Pingal Bhakha* are works of Kavi Sukhdev, Vol. I, pp. 152-53, 598 and Vol. II, p. 289.
60. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Punjabi Hathlikhtan Di Suchi*, Vol. II, p. 385 :
 ਪਿੰਗਲ ਮਤ ਪ੍ਰਸਤਾਰ ਸਹਿ ਆਯੋ ਦੇਸ ਪੰਜਾਬ ।
 ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਕੀ ਸਭਾ ਮੈਂ ਪਦਤ ਹੋਇ ਬਰ ਕਾਬ ॥1॥
 ਸਤ੍ਰਾ ਸੈ ਚੇਤਾਮਲਿਯਾ ਸੰਸਤ ਬਿਕ੍ਰਮ ਰਾਇ ।
 ਸੁਖਦੇਵ ਸੁ ਮਿਸ੍ਰ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਹੈ ਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਬਹੁ ਧਨ ਪਾਇ ॥2॥
61. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 4-5, 156, 159-60, 169-70, 174-77, 195, 201 and Vol. II, pp. 6-7, 11-12, 18, 20, 32, 36, 62, 66.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 155-56, 163, 173, 196 and Vol. II, pp. 75, 126, 388.

Like Vedantic literature, the *riti* or scholastic literature was very popular in Punjab. Some exponents of this tradition are said to have associated with the court of Guru Gobind Singh. They were Amrit Rai, Kavi Vrind and Sukhdev.⁶³ Amrit Rai wrote *Chitra Vilas*; Vrind wrote *Vrind Vinod Satsai* and *Bhav Panchasika*.⁶⁴ The mid-seventeenth century was the period of genesis of scholastic poetry in Punjab. It remained prevalent till the end of the nineteenth century. The great *riti* poet Amrit Rai belonged to Lahore.⁶⁵ His works are on prosody, rhetoric, types of heroines (*naika bhed*) and nine-feelings (*nav ras*) etc. In the second-half of eighteenth century, important *riti* works were translated. They are Mati Ram's *Ras Raj* and *Lalit Lalam*, Bhanu Dutt's *Ras Tarangani*, Chintamani's *Pingal Bhakha*, Kavi Keshav's *Rasik Priya* and *Kavi Priya*, Kavi Dev's *Ras Bilas* and Padamakar's *Jagat Binod*.⁶⁶ Some Sanskrit *riti* works were also translated into *bhakha*. For example, Kavi Nihal translated the *Kavya Prakash* by Mammata under the title *Sahit Siromani*.⁶⁷

After his education at Amritsar, Santokh Singh went to Buria estate near Jagadhari in the court of Bhagwant Singh, the chief of Dyalgarh.⁶⁸ He was introduced by a *chhimba*

63. For Kavi Vrind, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 551, 601 :

ਪੂਰ ਅਨੰਦ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਚੀ ਬਸਤ ਨਾਥ ਦਿਨ ਰਾਤ ।

ਜੇ ਦਰਸਤ ਪਾਤਕ ਟਰਤਿ ਬਸਤ ਹੋਤ ਸੁਖ ਸਾਤ ॥701॥

× × ×

ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਵਿ ਭਾਈ ਬਿੰਦ ਔਰ ਕਾਬ ਰਚੇ ਬਹੁਤ ।

For Amrit Rai, see, Piara Singh Padam (ed.), *Punch Nad* (Hindi), Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, Patiala 1969, pp. 274-75, and for Sukhdev, see footnote 60 above.

64. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 594-95, 598, 600-01, and Vol. II, p. 385.

65. See, Piara Singh Padam (ed.), *Panch Nad*, p. 270.

66. Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Punjabi Hathlikhtan Di Suchi*, Vol. I, pp. 573-74, Vol. II, p. 406 for Moti Ram; Vol. I, p. 603 for Bhani Dutt; Vol. I, p. 564 for Christamani; Vol. I, pp. 596-97, 607-08 and Vol. II, pp. 806-07 for Kavi Keshav; Vol. II, p. 405 for Kavi Dev; and Vol. I, p. 596 for Padamakar.

67. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 587.

68. Bhai Vir Singh (ed.) *Sri Gur-Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, pp. 94-96.

Dyal Singh, a commander of Dyalgarh principality.⁶⁹ After coming to Buria, the poet completed his *bhakhā* under the title *Amar Kosh* in A.D. 1813. Though the work was completed at Amritsar yet it was written during the poet's stay at Buria.⁷⁰ The poet remained in the court of Bhagwan Singh till 1823. *Nanak Prakash* was composed in the year 1823 when he was still living at Buria.⁷¹ In 1821 the poet was married to Ram Kaur of Rohilla sub-caste of Jagadhari.⁷² During the period his life was deplorable. In 1829 Santokh Singh was invited by 'Udai Singh, the chief of Kaithal'.⁷³ Santokh Singh wrote a commentary on *Japuji* at his request.⁷⁴ During his stay at Kaithal, Santokh Singh

69. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

70. As quoted by Bhai Vir Singh in *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 96 :

ਜਮਨਾ ਤਟ ਜੋ ਬੂਰੀਆ ਗ੍ਰਿੰਥ ਕਰਨ ਲਗ ਤਾਂਹਿ ।
ਆਨਿ ਸੁਧਾਸਰ ਤੀਰ ਪੁਨ ਕਰੀ ਸਮਾਪਤਿ ਯਾਹਿ ॥465॥
ਸੰਮਤ ਦਸ ਅਸ਼ਟਾ ਸਹਸ ਬਹੁਰ ਅਨੱਤਰਾ ਬੀਤ ।
ਕਿਯੋ ਗ੍ਰਿੰਥ ਪੂਰਨ ਭਲੇ ਗੁਨੀ ਪਦਹਿ ਧਰਿ ਚੀਤ ।

71. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 1257-8 :

ਤਿਹ ਤੀਰ ਬੂਰੀਆ ਨਗਰ ਇਕ ਕਵਿ ਨਿਕੇਤ ਲਖੀਏ ਤਹਾ ।
ਕਰਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਮਾਪਤਿ ਕੋ ਭਲੇ ਗੁਰ ਜਸ ਜਿਸ ਮਹਿ ਸੁਣ ਮਹਾ ॥103॥
... ..
ਏਕ ਆਕ ਅਰ ਅਸ਼ਟ ਕਰਿ ਬਹੁਰ ਅਸਟ ਪਰ ਸੁਨ ।
ਕਾਤਿਕ ਪੂਰਨਮਾ ਬਿਖੈ ਭਯੋ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਬਿਨਦੁਨ ॥110॥

72. Bhai Vir Singh (ed), *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 96.

73. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Garabh Ganjani Tika*, Bhai Santokh Singh Yadgar Committee, New Delhi 1961, p. 3 :

ਉਦਯ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਡ ਭੂਪ ਬਹਾਦੁਰ ।
ਕਵਿ ਬੁਲਾਇ ਰਾਖਯੋ ਢਿਗ ਸਾਦਰ ।

74. *Ibid.*, p. 3 :

ਅਸ ਲਖਿ ਕਵਿ ਸੋ ਬਚਨ ਬਖਾਨੇ
ਅਲੰਕਾਰ ਯੁਤ ਟੀਕਾ ਰਚੀਏ ।
ਨਿਰਨੇ ਅਰਥ ਧਰਹੁ ਮਤਿ ਖਚੀਏ ॥15॥
ਹੋਤਿ ਅਸੰਕਾ ਯਾ ਮਹਿ ਜੇਤੀ ।
ਬੁਧਿ ਬਲ ਕਰਹੁ ਹਰਹੁ ਅਭਿ ਤੇਤੀ ।
ਸੁਣਿ ਕਰਿ ਬਚਨ ਨਿਪਤ ਕੋ ਨੀਕਾ ।
ਕਵਿ ਨੇ ਹੁਚਿਰ ਰਚਯੋ ਜਪੁ ਟੀਕਾ ॥16॥

rendered Balmiki's *Ramayana* into *bhakha* in verse.⁷⁵ Udai Singh was greatly impressed and bestowed the village Morthali as *jagir* on the poet.⁷⁶ The *patta* in this respect was issued on Jeth Sudi 10, 1891 B.K. (1834 A.D.).⁷⁷ After this, Santokh Singh undertook the voluminous history of nine Gurus, entitled *Gur Pratap Suraj* as a sequel to his work on Guru Nanak, *Nanak Prakash*. It took him about ten years to complete.⁷⁸ From a reference in *Gur Pratap Suraj*, we know that Santokh Singh also wrote a commentary on *Atam Puran*, a work on Vedantic philosophy.⁷⁹ But the work is not extant.

Santokh Singh's patron Udai Singh died without an issue on 15th March 1843 and Kaithal estate lapsed to the British government. After the death of Udai Singh an insurrection broke out at Kaithal on the 10th April 1843.

75. As quoted by Bhai Vir Singh in *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 126 :

ਸੰਮਤ ਬਿੱਕ੍ਰਮ ਜੀਤ ਅਸ਼ਟ ਦਸ ਸਹਸ ਭਟਿੰਜੈ ।
ਤੀਸ ਤਿਗੁਣਾ ਕਰਿਯ ਭਯੋ ਪੂਰਨ ਲਖਿ ਲਿੰਜੈ ।
ਪੁਨ ਇਕਾਨਵਾ ਚਢ੍ਯੋ ਸੰਧਿ ਦੋਇਨ ਕੀ ਮਾਨਹੁ ।
ਰੁਤ ਬਸੰਤ ਅਤਿ ਸੁਭਤਿ ਚੇਤ੍ਰ ਸੁਭ ਮਾਸ ਪਛਾਨਹੁ ।
ਤਬਿ ਭਦੀ ਸਮਾਪਤਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕੀ ਰਾਮਾਯਣ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਰਸ ।
ਕਵਿ ਹਾਥ ਜੋਰਿ ਬਿਨਤੀ ਕਰਤਿ ਚਾਹਤਿ ਚਿਤ ਰਖੁਪਤ ਦਰਸ ॥13॥

76. As quoted by Bhai Vir Singh in *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 127 :

ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਾਦਰ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਬਨ੍ਯੋ ਪਦ ਗ੍ਰੰਥਤਿ ਨੋ ਰਸ ਰੀਤਿ ਭਲੀ ।
ਰਾਮ ਕਥਾ ਗੁਨ ਗ੍ਰਾਮ ਭਿਰਾਮ ਮਹਾਂ ਅਤਿਧਾਮ ਅਨੰਦ ਫਲੀ ।
ਰੰਜਨ ਹੈ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਭੰਜਨ ਹੈ ਗਮ ਗੰਜਨ ਹੈ ਪ੍ਰਦ ਗ੍ਰਯਾਨ ਬਲੀ ।
ਕੋਥਲ ਨਾਥ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨ ਭਯੋ ਪਠਿ ਗ੍ਰਾਮ ਦਯੋ ਤਬਿ ਮੋਰਥਲੀ ॥15॥

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

79. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj*, p. 1325

ਪੁਨ ਬਿਦਾਂਤ ਕੋ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਮਹਾਨ ।
ਉਪਨਿਬਧਨਿ ਕੋ ਜਹਿ ਬੱਖੁਯਾਨ ।
ਆਤਮ ਕੋ ਪੁਰਾਣ ਜਿਸ ਨਾਮ ।
ਸ਼ਕਲ ਬਨਾਯੋ ਸੋ ਅਭਿਰਾਮ ॥13॥

The British were able to occupy the town and fort of Kaithal.⁸⁰ The work was completed after the event.

Santokh Singh died at the age of fifty-six in 1844. Before his death, he made a brief visit to Amritsar.⁸¹ According to a tradition he presented his work *Gur Pratap Suraj* to *Akal Bunga*.⁸²

Santokh Singh started his career as a *katha* performer at Buria. *Nanak Prakash* and *Gur Pratap Suraj* are in the form of *katha*.⁸³ At places, he conventionally talks about the

80. Lepel H. Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab*, Manu Publications, New Delhi 1977, (reprint), pp. 147-98. Also the event recorded by Santokh Singh in his *Gur Pratap Suraj*, pp. 6411-13 :

ਸੁਨ ਸੁਨ ਗ੍ਰੰਹ ਆਤਮਾ ਸੰਮਤ ਆਦਿ ਪਛਾਨ ।
 ਮਧੂ ਮਾਸ ਸੰਤੁਨਿ ਕਰਿ ਭਾ ਉਤਪਾਤ ਮਹਾਨ ॥35॥
 ਪਰੀ ਲੂਟ ਕਪਿਥਲ ਵਿਖੇ ਮਿਲੇ ਚੋਰ ਬਟਪਾਰ ।
 ਆਪ ਆਪ ਕੋ ਭਜ ਚਲੇ ਤਜਿ ਪੁਰਿ ਸਭਿ ਇਕ ਬਾਰ ॥36॥
 ਸਿੰਘ ਫਿਰੰਗੀ ਗਹਿ ਲਏ ਕੈਦ ਕਰੇ ਵਥੁ ਛੀਨਿ ।
 ਸੰਤਨਿ ਕੇ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਭੀ ਲੂਟਿ ਕੂਟਿ ਭੈ ਦੀਨਿ ॥37॥
 ਅਸ ਅਪਦਾ ਕੇ ਦਿਨਨਿ ਮਹਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਭਏ ਸਹਾਇ ।
 ਭਯੋ ਨ ਬੰਕੋ ਬਾਰ ਭੀ ਦੈ ਦੈ ਹਾਥ ਬਚਾਇ ॥38॥
 ਚਹੁ ਦਿਸ਼ ਅਪਨ ਬਿਰਾਨ ਨਰ ਦੁਸ਼ਮਨ ਭੇ ਤਿਸ ਕਾਲ ।
 ਮਮ ਹੱਛਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕਰੀ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਬਿਦਤ ਹਵਾਲ ॥39॥

81. Bhai Vir Singh (ed), *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, pp. 159-61.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

83. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 436 :

ਕਹਤਿ ਕਥਾ ਕਵਿ ਕਾਮਦਾ ਗੁਰ ਸਿੱਖਨ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ।

Also, *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 3623 :

ਕਥਾ ਸੁਨਤਿ ਸ੍ਰੋਤਾ ਸਭਯਾਨ ।
 ਸਰਮਦ ਕਥਾ ਸੁਨੀ ਜਬ ਕਾਨ ।
 ਬੂਝਨਿ ਕਰਯੋ ਕੋਨ ਇਹ ਭਯੋ ।
 ਕਿਮ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਕੋ ਮਾਰਗ ਲਯੋ ॥36॥
 ਸੁਨਿ ਸ੍ਰੋਤਨਿ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਨ ਬਿਸਾਲਾ ।
 ਸਰਮਦ ਕੀ ਜਿਮ ਕਥਾ ਰਸਾਲਾ ।
 ਕਰੀ ਸੁਨਾਵਨਿ ਜਿਸ ਬਿਧਿ ਭਯੋ ।
 ਜਿਮ ਅਵਰੰਗ ਮਰਵਾਵਨਿ ਕਿਯੋ ॥37॥

misgivings of his audience.⁸⁴

Bhai Vir Singh claims that there were two works *Sri Guru Gobind Singh Parsang*, and *Sri Guru Ustat* by Santokh Singh in the personal collection of his father.⁸⁵ Hand-written copies of his works on astrology were also claimed.⁸⁶

Santokh Singh wrote in the literary tradition of the age. His commentary and his works on history have Vedantic elements. His *riti* style is patently there. His *Garabh Ganjani Tika* discusses the *alankars* of Guru Nanak's *Japuji*. His merit lies in Sikh historiography. He surpasses Sarup Das of *Mehima Prakash* and Kesar Singh Chhibber of *Bansawali Nama Dasan Patshahian Ka*. In Santokh Singh Vedant and the *riti* poetry are socially significant.

84. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 436 :

ਪ੍ਰਥਮੇ ਕ੍ਰਮ ਸੰਦੇਹ ਕੇ ਸਭਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੋ ਬਿਨਾਸੁ ।

ਬਦਨਹਿ ਤੇ ਉਚਰੋ ਬਹੁਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਪਰਕਾਸੁ ।

85. Bhai Vir Singh (ed.), *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 124.

86. Loc cit.

CHAPTER II

SOURCES OF NANAK PRAKASH

Santokh Singh's *Nanak Prakash*, a work in *janamsakhi* mode on Guru Nanak was compiled in A.D. 1823.¹ The work comprises of 130 cantos and is divided into two parts. The *purvardh* (first half) has 73 cantos and the *uttarardh* (later half) has 57 cantos. The work opens with a canto of *manglacharan* i.e. invocation.² But the work, more or less, adopts the narrative pattern of the *Bala Janamsakhi*, wherein the whole account of Guru Nanak is narrated by Bhai Bala at the request of Guru Angad.³ A canto has been devoted to justify his dependence on the *Bala Janamsakhi*⁴ In this connection, the genuineness of the *Bala Janamsakhi* has also been discussed. Not only the *Bala* tradition has been depended upon for his work but also the poet has drawn material from other *janamsakhis* as well as other literary works available at the time. As the choice of material and its arrangement manifests the poet's concern it will be fruitful to account for the material of *Nanak Prakash* for an understanding of the work in right perspective.

1. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 1258 :

ਏਕ ਅੰਕ ਅਰ ਅਸ਼ਟ ਕਰਿ ਬਹੁਰ ਅਸ਼ਟ ਪਰ ਸੁਨ ॥

ਕਾਤਿਕ ਪੂਰਨਮਾ ਬਿਖੇ ਭਯੋ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਬਿਨਉਨ ॥110॥

2. Jaibhagwan Goyal, Dr. (ed), *Guru Nanak Prakash (Purvardh)*, Language Department, Punjab, Patiala 1972, p. 10.

3. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 1421 :

ਬਾਲਾ ਬਰਨਨ ਕਰਨ ਲਗਾ ਬਰ ।

ਸਜਿ ਮੁਖ ਤੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਸੁਧਾਸਰ ॥3॥

4. See canto 37 of the *Purvardh*.

Santokh Singh makes a passing reference to a few sources of *Nanak Prakash*. Among them, the *Bala Janamsakhi* is the most important. Other sources are the *Varan* by Bhai Gurdas and the work of Bhai Mani Singh.⁵ The major concern of the poet is not to discuss the sources of *Nanak Prakash*. His major concern is to eradicate the doubt of his readers regarding the *Bala Janamsakhi* and to emphasise that the work is in accordance with the *Guru Granth* and the Sikh tradition.⁶

Nanak Prakash was edited by Bhai Vir Singh in the year 1927. In his introduction of *Gur Partap Suraj Granthawali* the editor remarks that the work is based on the *Bala Janamsakhi*, the *Gyan Ratnavali* and *Varan* by Bhai Gurdas. The material from the *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal*

5. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 439, 443, 444 :

ਜੇ ਸਾਕਤ ਕੀ ਕਹੀ ਕੁਸਾਖੀ ।
 ਖੀਰ ਬੀਚ ਸੋ ਜਾਨਹੁ ਮਾਖੀ ।
 ਕਾਵਹਿ ਮਾਖੀ ਦੇਖਹਿ ਜੋਉ ।
 ਪੀਵਹਿ ਪਾਇ ਮਿਸ਼ਟ ਸਿਖ ਸੋਉ ॥3॥
 × × ×
 ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਪੁਨੀਤਾ ॥
 ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥੀ ਮੈਂ ਰੀਤਾ ॥67॥

ਪੁਨ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਭਯੋ ਜੋ ਭਾਈ ।
 ਕਛੁਅਕ ਕੀਨਿ ਜਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਵਡਾਈ ।
 × × ×
 ਮਨੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਯੋ ਗਤਿ ਰੂਰੀ ॥70॥
 ਜਿਹ ਸਿਰ ਲੋ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਨਿਰਥਾਹੀ ॥
 ਤਿਹ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥਾ ਮੈਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਹੀ ।

6. *Ibid*, pp. 436, 443 :

ਪ੍ਰਥਮੇ ਤੁਮ ਸੰਦੇਹ ਕੋ ਸਭਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੋ ਬਿਨਾਸ ॥
 ਬਦਨਹਿ ਤੋ ਉਚਰੋ ਬਹੁਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਪਰਕਾਸ਼ ॥9॥
 × × ×
 ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਪੁਨੀਤਾ ॥
 ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥੀ ਮੈਂ ਰੀਤਾ ॥67॥

is also used by the poet.⁷ On the basis of internal evidence, it has been suggested that the *Puratan Janamsakhi* in its *Hafizabad Wali Janamsakhi* version was not accessible to the poet at the time of its compilation.⁸

According to W.H. McLeod *Nanak Prakash* is 'an important work based on the *Bala* tradition.'⁹ The *Bala Janamsakhi* has been followed "very closely", particularly in the *purvardh*.¹⁰ Three other sources from which the material has been borrowed are the *Puratan* tradition, particularly the *sakhis* of the *Colebrooke Janamsakhi*, the *B-40 Janamsakhi*, and the oral tradition, not found in written form.¹¹ It is also stated that the *sakhis*, that are taken from oral tradition in the *B-40 Janamsakhi*, are also found in *Nanak Prakash*.¹²

Looking into the work carefully, the contention of Bhai Vir Singh that the poet has not used the *Hafizabad Wali Janamsakhi* does not bear out. The presence of the *sakhi* of Vali Qandhari in *Nanak Prakash* is a proof.¹³ In fact, Santokh Singh has taken full freedom in his work. Some of his *sakhis* are drawn from later sources. For example, the *sakhi* of a marriage in Pathan family is from *Puratan Janamsakhi*, but the version of *Nanak Prakash* is closer to *Gyan Ratnavali*.¹⁴ At places the poet has preferred to base his *sakhi* on the earliest sources. The discourse with Siddhas in canto 39 is based on the information supplied by *Varan* of Bhai Gurdas.¹⁵

7. Bhai Vir Singh (ed), *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 177.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 177-78.

9. W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1968, p. 24.

10. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, Oxford, 1980, p. 45.

11. *Ibid*, pp. 45-46.

12. *Ibid*, p. 46.

13. The printed edition of the *Bala Janamsakhi* does contain this *sakhi* which seems to have been taken from the *Nanak Prakash*.

14. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 992-1000. Cf. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*. Punjabi University, Patiala 1969, pp. 364-66.

15. *Ibid*, pp. 1091-99. Cf. Bhai Gurdas, *Varan Bhai Gurdas*. (eds. Hazara Singh and Vir Singh), *Khalsa Samachar*, Amritsar, 1962, pp. 34-38.

Similarly another discourse with the Siddhs in canto 63 is based on the *Siddh Gost* a composition of Guru Nanak.¹⁶ Hence, in tracing the sources of *Nanak Prakash*, the closest version have been taken into consideration. The work is based on a number of sources. They are : the *Bala Janamsakhi*, *Gyan Ratnavali*, the *Miharban Janamsakhi*, the *Adi Sakhian*, the *B-40 Janamsakhi* and the *Puratan Janamsakhi*.¹⁷ Other works used are *Mahima Prakash* by Sarup Das Bhalla, *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal*, *Varan* by Bhai Gurdas and Guru Nanak's composition entitled *Siddh Gost*.¹⁸ There are a few *sakhis* in the work whose source could not be traced. Besides, the poet has made use of the Hindu and Muslim mythology. The work narrates the legend of Kak Bhushund, Dattatre, Prehlad, Varah, Dhru, Pandav and an account of Emperor Karun.¹⁹ Furthermore, the work bears the influence of *Dasam Granth*, *bhakti* literature and the poetic tradition of *riti* literature.²⁰ Even in the first canto on invocation the direct borrowing from the *Gyan-Ratnavali* can be seen. However, the major part of the work is based on the *janamsakhi* material.

Out of 73 cantos of the *purvardh*, 51 cantos are exclusively based on the *Bala Janamsakhi*. Four cantos are based on the *Puratan Janamsakhi* and three derive their material from the *Miharban Janamsakhi*.²¹ Nine cantos of the *purvardh* have more than one *sakhi* each taken from various sources. Out of them, six cantos have two *sakhis* each, two cantos have three *sakhis* each, and one canto contains four *sakhis*. Hence, the total number of *sakhis* in the nine cantos is nineteen. Out of them, ten *sakhis* are from the *Bala Janamsakhi* and three from the *Gyan Ratnavali*. Two *sakhis* are from the *Puratan Janamsakhi* and one each

16. Ibid, pp. 671-81. Cf. *Adi Granth*, pp. 938-46.

17. See chart of sources of *Nanak Prakash*.

18. See chart.

19. See cantos 65 to 72 of *purvardh* and cantos 16 and 24 of *uttarardh*.

20. Jaibhagwan Goyal, *Guru Nanak Prakash*, pp. 15 and 46.

21. See chart.

from the *Adi Sakhian* and the *Miharban Janamsakhi*. The source of remaining two *sakhis* could not be located.²² Hence, the *purvardh* of *Nanak Prakash* is dominated by the material drawn from the *Bala Janamsakhi*.

But the situation in the *uttarardh* of *Nanak Prakash* is not the same. Out of 57 cantos of this part, 31 cantos are exclusively based on the *Gyan Ratnavali*. The *Bala Janamsakhi* comes next to it with nine cantos. Six cantos derive their material from the *Puratan Janamsakhi*. Five cantos are based on the *B-40 Janamsakhi*, two on the *Miharban*, one each on the *Adi Sakhian* and the *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal*, and the source of two cantos is not known.²³ There are 20 cantos that contain more than one *sakhi* from various sources, The *sakhis* number 66. Out of them, fifteen are taken from the *Gyan Ratnavali*, eleven from the *Puratan Janamsakhi*, eight each from the *Bala Janamsakhi* and the *Adi Sakhian*, seven from the *B-40 Janamsakhi* and three from the *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal*. One *sakhi* is based on a Muslim myth.²⁴ The source of remaining thirteen could not be known. Hence, there is no doubt that the *Gyan Ratnavali* has the upper hand. Next comes the *Bala* and the *Puratan Janamsakhis*. The *B-40 Janamsakhi* and the *Adi Sakhian* come after them. Taking the work as a whole, the major portions of material of the *Nanak Prakash* are taken from the *Bala Janamsakhi*, followed by the *Gyan Ratnavali*. The *Puratan Janamsakhi* comes after them, followed by the *B-40 Janamsakhi* and the *Adi Sakhian*. The *Miharban Janamsakhi* does not figure much.

As the *Bala Janamsakhi* is the most popular *janamsakhi* dependence on it underlies the element of popularity. The popularity of the *Bala Janamsakhi* lies in the exposition and treatment of the theme. The work claims to have

22. See chart.

23. See chart.

24. See chart.

been written in the presence of Guru Angad.²⁵ Other elements that lend popularity to it are elaboration of narrative in order to give a 'lifelike picture', exactness and specificity of material and the detailed characterisation.²⁶ It is the only *janamsakhi* that gives chronology of events, names of relatives of Guru Nanak and also the names of islands and seaports said to be visited by the Guru.²⁷ The tradition was further enlarged by adding new *sakhis* in order to enhance its popularity. Also, there is a 'greater emphasis on detail' in the later *janamsakhis*.²⁸ Similarly, the characterisation and other elements are expanded. The redactors of later *Bala Janamsakhi* do not hesitate even to include some *sakhis* from other traditions, particularly from the *Puratan Janamsakhi*.²⁹ All the popular elements are present in *Nanak Prakash*. It adopts the pattern of the *Bala Janamsakhi* wherein Bhai Bala is the narrator of the account of Guru Nanak in the presence of Guru Angad.³⁰ The fact is further emphasised at the beginning of each canto in that the account is being given by Bhai Bala to Guru Angad. The material in the *purvardh* has a pattern more or less similar to the *Bala Janamsakhi*. The poet's special interest in the tradition is apparent from the fact that he makes an effort to come to terms with the doubt of the readers regarding the genuineness of the *Bala Janamsakhi*. In this regard, the poet's approach is not rational, but devotional. Not only Santokh Singh depends

25. Gurpreet Kaur, "An Attempt to Account for the Popularity of Bala Janamsakhi", (M.Phil. Dissertation), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar 1982, p. 63.

26. Ibid, pp. 69-71 and 76.

27. Ibid, pp. 70-71.

28. Ibid, p. 89.

29. Ibid, p. 106.

30. *Nanak Prakash*, 141 :

ਬਾਲਾ ਕਰਤਿ ਉਚਾਰ ਮੁਖ ਪੈੜੇ ਲਿਖੀ ਸੁਧਾਰ ।

ਲਿਖਵਾਈ ਅੰਗਦ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਗ ਕੇ ਨਾਜ ਉਧਾਰਿ ॥79॥

on the *Bala* material but also expands it.³¹ In *purvardh* of the work, cantos 65 to 72 deal with the legendary characters like Kak Bhasund, Dattatre, Alalachin, Prehlad, Varah and Dhru. But unlike the *Bala Janamsakhi*, *Nanak Prakash* does not narrate only their meeting with Guru Nanak. It gives a detailed legendary account of each of them. To make his work exhaustive, Santokh Singh utilises the available material. There are a number of *sakhis* relating to the childhood of Guru Nanak. These are taken from various sources.³² The testing of Lehna and the demise of Guru Nanak are two occasions on which a number of *sakhis* are collected from varied sources.³³ It has also outclassed the *Bala Janamsakhi* in miraculous *sakhis*.

The other element that seems to have contributed in relying mostly on the *Bala* material is the fictional element. Even the selection of *sakhis* manifests it. The most widely used source is the *Bala Janamsakhi* and the most ignored source is the *Miharban Janamsakhi*. The first is rich in fiction the latter is not.³⁴ Interestingly Santokh Singh has included only those *sakhis* of the *Miharban Janamsakhi* that are rich in fiction.

In the *Nanak Prakash*, the attitude of the poet toward

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31. 'The *Nanak Prakash* is also of interest for the extensive additions which it makes to the *Bala* tradition as Santokh Singh had received it'. See, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 45.
 32. The canto entitled 'Instruction to Gupal, the Teacher' is taken from the *Bala Janamsakhi*. 'Instruction to Mulla' and 'Investiture with the Sacred Thread' are from the *Miharban Janamsakhi*. The canto entitled 'Childhood Activities of Guru Nanak' is based partly on the *Miharban* and partly on *Gyan Ratnavali* material.
 33. See chart.
 34. 'The interest of *Miharban* commentators, however, is not primarily in this narrative material. Their chief interest is in exegesis of the works of Nanak and it is for this reason that they must be called commentators rather than narrators. For the same reason the word used to designate its sub-divisions is *gost* ('discourse') not *sakhi*'. See, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 34.

the *Bala Janamsakhi* is paradoxical. Though the poet condemns the Handalis for polluting the original *Bala Janamsakhi* yet he does not make any effort to recognize the anti-Sikh stance of the *Janamsakhi*.³⁵ Though the poet excises the *sakhi* of Baba Handal and yet *Nanak Prakash* contains most of the Handali doctrine.³⁶ *Nanak Prakash* contains the idea of instantaneous redemption. A touch is sufficient for the knowledge of all the three *lokas* and God.³⁷ Only by a glance of child Nanak the *pandit* achieves a higher spiritual status.³⁸ Spirituality is serially arranged. Dattatre is equal to Guru Nanak in status but Prehlad has a higher status.³⁹ There are four categories

35. For detailed disoussion on this point, see chapter "*Nanak Prakash as a Janamsakhi*."

36. Loc cit.

37. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 451, 595 :

ਫੁਵਤਿ ਹਾਥ ਕਪਾਟ ਖੁਲੇ ਤਿਹੁ
ਲੋਕਨ ਕੀ ਸੁਧਿ ਭੀ ਮਨ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
ਪੰਕਜ ਪਾਨ ਮੁਕੰਦ ਕੇ ਲਾਗਤਿ
ਭਾ ਜੁ ਅਨੰਦ ਨ ਜਾਇ ਸੁ ਪ੍ਰਾਹੀ ।
ਪੂਰਨ ਸੋ ਮਿਲ ਪੂਰਨ ਭਾ ਭਵ
ਪੂਰਨ ਆਤਮ ਹੀ ਦਰਸਾਹੀ ॥33॥

× × ×

ਖਾਵਤਿ ਹੀ ਖੁਲ ਗਏ ਕਪਾਟਾ ।
ਚਿਰੰਕਾਲ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਪਰਦਾ ਪਾਟਾ ।
ਮੁਕਤਿ ਯੋਗ ਹੂੰਗੇ ਤਿਹ ਕਾਲਾ ।

38. *Ibid*, p. 181 :

ਬਹੁਰੋ ਭਯੋ ਤੁਸਨੀ ਪਾਧਾ ।
ਉਰ ਲਖਿ ਕਰਿ ਸੁਖ ਅਕਥੁ ਅਗਾਧਾ ।
ਭਾ ਅਨੰਦ ਮੁਕੰ ਮਿਠਿਆਈ ।
ਤਤਥੇਤਨ ਕੀ ਪਦਵੀ ਪਾਈ ॥174॥

39. *Ibid*, pp. 700, 704 :

ਅਸ ਕਹਿ ਕਰਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਆਪਸ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
ਹਰਖਤਿ ਭੇ ਦੁਹਿਦਿਥ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਹੀ ।
× × ×
ਆਏ ਤੁਮ ਦਰਬਨ ਕੀ ਚਾਹੁ ।

of redemption i.e. *slok*, *samip*, *sarup* and *sayug*.⁴⁰ *Nanak Prakash* also contains the idea of *bideh* in the sense of *samadhi*.⁴¹ In fact, the material has carried its sectarian ideas along. Santokh Singh does not exclude the tricks of the *Bala Janamsakhi* in tarnishing the image of Guru Nanak. According to it, Bhai Bala is the most trustworthy person.⁴² He is equal to Guru Nanak. Guru Angad also accepts his spiritual status.⁴³ Kalu Mehta, father of Guru Nanak is quarrelsome. He treats Guru Nanak in a high-handed manner.⁴⁴ All these characters undermine the greatness of Guru Nanak.

Nanak Prakash describes the greatness of Bhai Bala. Even Kalu Mehta considers him a wise and trustworthy

40. Ibid, p. 113 :

ਚਾਰ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕੇ ਇਹੁ ਦਰ ਚਾਰ ।
ਕਿਧੋ ਵਿਸ਼ਨੁ ਕੀ ਹੈ ਭੁਜ ਚਾਰ ।
ਚਾਰੁਪਦੇਸ਼ ਚੱਕ ਜੇ ਚਾਰ ।
ਚਾਰ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਮਹਿ ਸੁਖਕਾਰ ॥70॥

41. Ibid, pp. 403, 581 :

ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਮਗਨ ਕਥਿ ਕਥਿ ਹੁਇ ਜਾਵਹਿ ।
ਲਗਹਿ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਅਡੋਲ ਸੁਹਾਵਹਿ ॥22॥

... ..

ਟਿਕ ਗੀ ਬਿੱਤਿ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਲਗਾਈ ।
ਭਯੋ ਬਿਦੇਹਿ ਨ ਸੁਧ ਤਨ ਕਾਈ ।

42. Ibid, p. 320 :

ਹਮ ਜਾਵਹਿ ਤਲਵੰਡੀ ਨਗਰੀ ।
ਰਹਿ ਤੁਮ ਕਾਰ ਚਲਾਵਹੁ ਸਗਈ ।

43. Ibid, p. 1150 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਬਾਲੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਸਮ ਤੁਮ ਹੋ ॥

44. Ibid, p. 241 :

ਦਹਿਨ ਹਾਥ ਤੇ ਬਾਮ ਕਪੌਲਾ ।
ਹਨੇ ਤਮਾਰੇ ਬਲ ਸੋ ਤੋਲਾ ।
ਬਾਮ ਹਾਥ ਤੇ ਦਹਿਨ ਗੈਡਸਬਲ ।
ਹਨੇ ਚਪੋਟਨ ਰਿਸ ਕਰਿ ਨਿਜ ਬਲ ॥27॥

person.⁴⁵ In fact, it indicates the dominance of the Jats. At the time of installation of Bhai Lehna on the *guru gaddi*, the sons of Guru Nanak did not like the outcome. Bhai Buddha alongwith other Sikhs accepts Guru Nanak's decision.⁴⁶ Bhai Buddha is a *tatveta*, a conquerer of *moh* to remain in the life time of Sikh Gurus.⁴⁷ In fact, the predominance of the Jat in Santokh Singh's work merely reminds us that the Sikh rulers were Jats. In the *Gur Partap Suraj*, the narrator of the account of the ten Gurus, Bhai Ram Koer is a Jat. He is said to have a ruling ancestor.⁴⁸ Santokh Singh excludes the *sakhi* that narrates the higher spiritual status of Baba Handal but not of Bhai Bala. Similarly, the Handali doctrine does not seem to be anti-Sikh in the 19th century because with the rise of Sikh power Sikh devotionism became irrelevant.⁴⁹ The underlying idea of inequality of the Handali doctrine suits the ruling class well. Santokh Singh curtails much of the detail from the *sakhi* of Suvarnpur, utopian city of the *Bala Janamsakhi*.⁵⁰ Santokh Singh is of the opinion that the Sikh rule was *satyug*.⁵¹ It suggests obliquely that

45. Ibid, p. 234 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਥਾਲੇ ਤੂੰ ਹੈ ਮਤਿਵਾਨੰ ।
ਕੀਜੈ ਨਾਨਕ ਸੰਗ ਪਯਾਨੰ ॥੩7॥

46. Ibid, p. 1205 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਰਜਾਇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਤਬਿਹੀ ।
ਬੁੱਢੇ ਤੇ ਆਦਿਕ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਭਿਹੀ ।

47. Ibid, p. 140 :

ਇਕ ਬੁੱਢਾ ਜੋ ਹੈ ਤਰਵੇਤਾ ।
ਮੱਹ ਆਦਿ ਜੋਧਾ ਅੰਤ ਜੇਤਾ ।

... ..

ਖਟ ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਰਕ੍ਯੋਂ ਹਦੁਰਾ ।
ਨਿਪੁਨ ਸੇਵ ਮਹਿੰ ਬਚਨਨ ਪੁਰਾ ।

48. Bhai Vir Singh (ed), *Sri Gur Partap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 140 f.n.

49. For discussion on this point, see below.

50. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 604-14.

51. Ibid, p. 1172.

ਸੋ ਸਤਿਜੁਗ ਕਠਿ ਕਾਲ ਮਝਾਰਾ ।
ਪੁਗਟ ਕੀਨ ਤਬ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਉਦਾਰਾ ।

the Sikh rule is the transformation of utopia into reality.

The *Gyan Ratnavali* is the second most widely used source. Its material is primarily based on the *Bala* tradition.⁵² It was easy to use the *Bala* material, to serve Udasi sectarian interest in *Gyan Ratnavali*. Other Udasi work utilised by the Nanak Prakash is the *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal*. Santokh Singh's approach to *Gyan Ratnavali* material is similar to that of *Bala Janamsakhi*. *Nanak Prakash* expounds the doctrine of gnosis. The *jnan* eradicates the worldly attachment.⁵³ It makes a man happy.⁵⁴ In fact, *Nanak Prakash* advocates the Vedantic ideas of *Gyan Ratnavali*. According to it, Guru Nanak is a *Parmeshvar* and the *maya* is his creation.⁵⁵ He is a *Niranjan* before whom prosperity and wealth stand with folded hands.⁵⁶ Guru Nanak is a *Kartar rupa*.⁵⁷ Like *Gyan Ratnavali*, Santokh Singh expounds the

52. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 38.

53. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 843 :

ਮਿਲਾ ਸੰਤ ਕੇ ਜੋਗਹਿ ਪਾਯੋ ।
ਭਯੋ ਗੁਯਾਨ ਉਰ ਮੋਹ ਮਿਟਾਯੋ ।

54. *Ibid*, pp. 961 and 977 :

ਜਿਨਹਿ ਗੁਯਾਨ ਸੁਖੀਆ ਹੈ ਤੇਈ ।
× × ×
ਜਿਨ ਕੋ ਗੁਯਾਨ ਭਯੋ ਉਰ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
ਸਦਾ ਸੁਖੀ ਤਿਨਕੋ ਦੁਖ ਨਾਂਹੀ ॥78॥

55. *Ibid*, p. 269 :

ਪਰਮੇਸੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਰੂਪਾ ।
ਉਪਕਾਰੀ ਸੰਤ ਅਨੂਪਾ ॥51॥
ਭਵ ਮਾਯਾ ਵਰਤਤਿ ਜੰਉ ।
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਕੀ ਸਭਿ ਸੰਉ ।

56. *Ibid*, p. 274 :

ਨਉਨਿਧਿ ਸਿੰਧਿ ਅਠਾਰਹਿ ਜੇ ਕਰ ਬੰਦਿ ਕੈ ਠਾਂਦੀ ਰਹੇ ਦਰਬਾਰਾ ।
ਕੋਨ ਕਮੀ ਹਾਂਦ ਤਾਂਹਿ ਸਥਾਨ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਅਜਿਨ ਮੈ ਵਰਤਾਰਾ ।

57. *Ibid*, p. 288 :

ਮਹਾਂ ਮੰਦਮਤਿ ਜਾਨਹਿ ਨਾਂਹਿ ॥
ਇਹ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਰੂਪ ਭਵ ਮਾਂਹੀ ॥54॥

Vedantic philosophy. He devotes a canto to a Vedantic discussion. According to him, self (*atam*) is self-luminous. It is eternal and is without affection and malice. There is no pleasure and suffering for it. It is not really in the transmigratory circle. The self is a supreme bliss. It is evident in waking, dream and deep-sleep.⁵⁸

Briefly, the manifestation of the self in association with the illusion is dealt with. According to the work, the *antahakarana* is the creation of five *bhutas* and has four modes (*vruttis*). These are : *mana*, *buddhi*, *chitta*, and *ahamkara*. The *satguna* in the *antahakarana* is the essence of *chetan*. Only the wise can see it, not the evil-hearted. Ignorant *jiva* leads a life of three bodies and remains in transmigratory circle. *Sthul*, *linga* and *karan* are three bodies (*tana*). But *Atamram* is unique. It is without suffering and happiness. It can be described only by uttering *neti neti*.⁵⁹ Then the poet discusses five *koshas*,

58. Ibid, p. 1187 :

ਆਤਮ ਸ੍ਰਯੰ ਸੁ ਜੋਤਿ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਾ ।
 ਰਾਗ ਦ੍ਰੋਖ ਤੇ ਬਿਨ ਅਭਿਨਾਸ਼ਾ ॥8॥
 ਹਰਖ ਖੋਕ ਜਿਸ ਮਾਂਹਿ ਨਾ ਲੋਸ਼ਾ ।
 ਜਨਮ ਮਰਨ ਕੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਲੋਸ਼ਾ ।
 ਘਨਾਨੰਦ ਪੂਰਨ ਇਕਸਾਰ ।
 ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਆਤਮ ਨਿਰਧਾਰਿ ॥9॥
 ਜਾਗ੍ਰਤ ਸੁਪਨ ਸੁਖੋਪਤਿ ਤੀਨੋਂ ।
 ਇਨਕੋ ਨੀਕੋ ਸਾਖੀ ਚੀਨੋਂ ।
 ਸਦਾ ਅਲੋਪਾ ਸਭਿ ਤੇ ਨਯਾਰੋਂ ।
 ਐਸੋਂ ਅਪਨੋਂ ਰੂਪ ਨਿਹਾਰੋਂ ॥10॥

59. Ibid, pp. 1187-89 :

ਕਲਪਤਿ ਸੰਗ ਉਪਾਧਿ ਸੋਂ ਤਯੋਂ ਸੁ ਅਸ ਬਿਧਿ ਜਾਨ ॥

 ਪੰਚੀ ਕਰਣ ਪੰਚ ਤਤ ਜੋਈ ।
 ਅੰਤਹਕਰਣ ਉਪਾਏ ਜੋਈ ।
 ਚਤੁਰ ਬ੍ਰਿਤਿ ਰ੍ਹੈ ਤਾਂਹਿ ਮਝਾਰਾ ।
 ਤਾਂਤੇ ਹੋਇ ਸੁ ਚਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰਾ ॥12॥

(Contd.)

the idea propounded in the *Taittiriya Upnishad*. In *annamay kosha* the outer body exists in the state of waking (*jagrit*). The *pranamay*, *manomay* and *vijnanamay koshas* are the states of dream. The *anandmay kosha* is without *maya* and is the state of deep-sleep (*susupti*). The *Niranjan rupa* is still far away. It is formless, unique *ataman*. It is out of transmigratory circle. It is beyond sorrow and happiness. It is without *vikar*. The forms are the manifes-

ਮਨ ਬੁਧਿ ਚਿਤ ਹੰਕਾਰ ਤਿਹਿ ਨਾਮਾ ।
 ਤਿਨ ਤੇ ਪਰੇ ਲਖਿ ਆਤਮਰਾਮਾ ।
 ਸਤ੍ਰ ਗੁਣ ਅੰਤਹਕਰਣ ਜੁ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
 ਚੇਤਨ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਬੰਬ ਤਹਾਂਹੀ ॥13॥
 ਜਿਨ ਕੇ ਸੁੰਧ ਹੋਤਿ ਸੋ ਦੇਖੈ ।
 ਪਿਖਤਿ ਨ ਸੇ ਜਿਨ ਮਲਿਨ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਖੈ ।
 ਸੋ ਨਿਜ ਰੂਪ ਭੂਲ ਨਰ ਸਾਰੇ ।
 ਜੀਵ ਅਲਪੰਗ ਆਪ ਨਿਰਧਾਰੇ ॥14॥
 ਯਾਂਤੇ ਤੀਨ ਤਨਹਿ ਕੋ ਪਾਏ ।
 ਵਾਰ ਵਾਰ ਜਗ ਆਵਹਿ ਜਾਏ ।
 ਇਕ ਸਬੁਲ ਜੋ ਵਹਿਰ ਸਰੀਰਾ ।
 ਜਿਹ ਮਹਿੰ ਹੰ ਧਰਿ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਪੀਰਾ ॥15॥
 ਲਿੰਗ ਸਰੀਰ ਦੂਸਰਾ ਜੋਈ ।
 ਤਿਹ ਸਰੂਪ ਬਰਨੰ ਸੁਨਿ ਸੋਈ ।
 ਦਸ ਇੰਦ੍ਰਯ ਹੈ ਕਰਮ ਜਿ ਕ੍ਰਯਾਨਾ ।
 ਪੰਚ ਕ੍ਰੁਤ ਤਨ ਮਾਤ੍ਰਾ ਜਾਨਾ ॥16॥
 ਮਨ ਬੁਧਿ ਸਤਰਾ ਤੱਤ ਜੁ ਏਹੀ ।
 ਇਨਕੀ ਹੋਤਿ ਭਈ ਲਿੰਗ ਏਹੀ ।
 ਕਰਮ ਸੁਭਾਸੁਭ ਫਲ ਕੋ ਪਾਇ ।
 ਲੋਕ ਪ੍ਰਲੋਕਹਿ ਆਵਹਿ ਜਾਇ ॥17॥
 ਇਨ ਕੋ ਕਰਤਾ ਐਰ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਨਹੁ ।
 ਕਾਰਣ ਤਨ ਤਿਹ ਨਾਮ ਪਛਾਨਹੁ ।
 ਅੰਤਿ ਸੂਖਮ ਹਿਤ ਲਿਖਹੁ ਸਰੂਪਾ ।
 ਜਿਹ ਧਰਿ ਪਰ੍ਯੋ ਅੰਧ ਭਵ ਕੂਪਾ ॥18॥
 ਆਤਮਰਾਮ ਸਭਿਨਿ ਤੋ ਨ੍ਰੁਧਾਰੋ ।
 ਹਰਖ ਸੋਗ ਤੇ ਰਹਤਿ ਬਿਚਾਰੋ ।
 ਨੇਤਿ ਨੇਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਹੈ ਸੱਖਯਾਤਾ ।
 ਨਿਜਾਨੰਦ ਮੈਂ ਜਾਇ ਸਮਾਤਾ ॥19॥

tation of its association with the illusion. A rope appears to be a snake or garland of flowers to the ignorant. Only *jnani* can perceive it as a rope.⁶⁰ According to the poet, a *brahamjnani* is one who utters *aham braham*. He is redeemed for ever and becomes eternal.⁶¹ The poet's special interest in the Vedantic philosophy is evident when he says that the Vedant gives men fruit and happiness.⁶² It is also significant that the Vedantic ideas were propounded

80. Ibid, 1189-90 :

ਪੰਚ ਕੋਸ਼ ਪ੍ਰਥਮੇ ਨਿਰਧਾਰਹੁ ।
 ਤਿਨ ਤੇ ਹੰਤਾ ਬੁੱਧਿ ਉਠਾਰਹੁ ।
 ਕੋਸ਼ ਅਨਮਯ ਵਹਿਰ ਸੁ ਦੇਹਾ ।
 ਜਾਗ੍ਰਤ ਮਹਿ ਵਰਤਤਿ ਹੈ ਏਹਾ ॥22॥
 ਲਖਹੁ ਅਨਾਤਮ ਯਾਂ ਕੇ ਰੂਪਾ ।
 ਨਿਰਾਵਯਵ ਆਤਮ ਆਨ੍ਹਪਾ ।
 ਕੋਸ਼ ਪ੍ਰਾਣਮਯ ਤਿਸ ਤੇ ਅੰਤਰ ।
 ਨਾਂਹਿ ਨ ਆਤਮ ਜਾਨਿ ਨਿਰੰਤਰ ॥23॥
 ਬਹੁਰ ਮਨੋਮਯ ਕੋਸ਼ ਸੁਨੀਜੈ ।
 ਸੋਪਿ ਅਨਾਤਮ ਰਿਦੇ ਲਖੀਯੇ ।
 ਕੋਸ਼ ਬਿਰੋਯਾਨ ਮਈ ਤਿਹ ਪਰੈ ।
 ਤੀਨ ਕੋਸ਼ ਬਿਨ ਤਨ ਜੇ ਰਰੈ ॥24॥
 ਸੁਪਨ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
 ਬਿਚਰਤਿ ਆਤਮ ਰੂਪ ਤਹਾਂਹੀ ।
 ਲਖਹੁ ਨ ਇਹ ਸਰੂਪ ਨਿਜ ਕੇਰੇ ।
 ਇਨ ਤੇ ਨਯਾਰੋ ਨੀਕੇ ਹੋਰੇ ॥25॥
 ਚਹੂੰਅਨ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਪਰੇ ਪਛਾਨਹੁ ।
 ਕੋਸ਼ ਅਨੰਦ ਮਯਾਖਯ ਜਾਨੋ ।
 ਤਿਹ ਕੇ ਵਰਤਤਿ ਸੁਖਪਤਿ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
 ਰੂਪ ਆਪਨੋ ਲਖਹੁ ਸੁ ਨਾਂਹੀ ॥26॥
 ਇਨ ਤੇ ਪਰੇ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਰੂਪ ।
 ਨਿਰਾਵਯਵ ਆਤਮਾ ਅਨ੍ਹਪ ।
 ਤਿਹ ਕੇ ਹੰਤਿ ਜਨਮ ਨਹਿ ਮਰਨਾ ।
 ਹਰਖ ਬੋਕ ਰੰਚਕ ਨਹਿ ਬਰਨਾ ॥27॥

61. Ibid, p. 1192 :

ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਹੋਇ ਜੇ ਅਹੰ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਕਹਿ ਜੋਇ ।
 ਸੋ ਤੇ ਸਦ ਹੀ ਮੁਕਤ ਹੈ ਤਾਂਹਿ ਬਿਕਾਰ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥51॥

62. Ibid, p. 1192 :

ਪਠੈ ਸੁਨੈ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਜੁ ਨਰ ਸਰਬ ਫਲੈ ਸੁਖ ਘਾਇ ॥43॥

in the form of Guru Nanak's instruction to Bhai Lehna before his installation to *guruship*.⁶³ In late eighteenth and early nineteenth century there is an influx of the Vedantic ideas in Punjabi literature.⁶⁴ This has a social significance. The rise of Sikhs to political power was a significant development. It was viewed as the establishment of *satyug* in *kaliyug*.⁶⁵ Its implication is that there is no possibility of change in future. The Vedant suited the occasions.

The Handali theology and Vedant have a common basis. Not only the social inequality is taken for granted by the Handalis but their attitude towards the state is ambivalent.⁶⁶ Their idea of equality remains an illusory utopia. The Vedant has no faith in social phenomena. It works in favour of *status quo*, social and political. The heterodox material does not indicate an individual choice only. In fact, the choice has been conditioned by the contemporary society.

At the time of the compilation of the work the Sikh rule was stable and strong under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Muslims remained no more a political threat. With the decline of their political position, their social position underwent a downward change. Consequently, they remained no more a spiritual force to reckon with in literature and the paramourcy of Guru Nanak over the Muslim

- 63 The poet propounded the Vedantic ideas in the form of instruction in the canto 51 of the *uttarardh*. It is followed by the canto on 'The installation of Guru Angad'. See chart.
64. Dr. J.S. Ahluwalia is of the opinion that the process of Vedantization of the Sikh literature started by the Nirmala sect. (See, *Sikh Falsafe Di Bhumika*, Raghbir Rachna Prakashan, Chandigarh 1976, pp. 49-61). Dr. Niharranjan Ray indicates that Brahmanical socio-religious practices were started entering 'slowly and imperceptively by the backdoor.' (See, *The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Society*, Punjabi University, Patiala 1970, p. 31). Both the scholars have failed to see the social relevance of the process of Vedantization.
65. See footnote 51 above.
66. S.S. Hans, "Bala Janamsakhi in Relation to Janamsakhi Handal", *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 11th Session (March 2-4, 1979), p. 98.

faqirs became socially irrelevant.⁶⁷ Santokh Singh does not include a number of *sakhis* regarding Guru Nanak's meeting and discourses with the Muslim *faqirs*. There is no reference to Guru Nanak's meeting with Sheikh Sharaf of Panipat and Sheikh Bazid.⁶⁸ Similarly, Guru Nanak's meeting with Khawaja Khizr and Makhdum Bahaudin have been omitted.⁶⁹

There are only four *sakhis* of Guru Nanak's meeting with the Muslim *faqirs*.⁷⁰ But they are already aware of the spiritual greatness of Guru Nanak. The work keeps a pacificatory stance towards the Muslims. Rai Bular, being a Muslim, invites Guru Nanak to his residence. However, he gets the food prepared and served by a Brahmin cook.⁷¹ He has appreciation of Guru Nanak's spiritual pursuit.⁷² Santokh Singh introduces two *sakhis* of Shamsh Tabriz and Mansur. Whereas the *Gyan Ratnavali* only refers to the account of Shamsh, *Nanak Prakash* includes the account of Mansur who had a Vedantic parallel in *anāluqq*.⁷³ The Hindu influence is rising in the *Nanak Prakash*. The Hindu mythological legends have outnumbered the Muslim ones. There is an influx of the Vedantic ideas. *Nanak Parkash* outclasses all *janamsakhis* in the number of *sakhis* relating

67. S.S. Hans, "Early Sikh Tradition", *Journal of Regional History*, p. 136.

68. Both the *sakhis* are in the *Puratan Janamsakhi*.

69. These *sakhis* are in the *Puratan Janamsakhi*

70. They are Sayyad Jahan, Sheikh Brahm, Malo Sheikh and Shah Adarman.

71. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 471-78 :

ਨਿਜ ਹਦੂਰ ਬੇਸਾਇ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲਾ ।
 ਦਿਜ ਸੋ ਬਚਨ ਭਨੇ ਤਿਹ ਕਾਠਾ ।
 ਰੁਚਿ ਅਨੁਸਾਰਹਿ ਦੇਹੁ ਅਹਾਰਾ ।

 ਰੁਚਿ ਸੋ ਅਸਨ ਅਚਹਿਯੋ ਜਬਹੀ ।
 ਜਨਮ ਕ੍ਰਿਤਾਰਥ ਰੂੰ ਮਮ ਤਬਹੀ ॥69॥

72. *Ibid*, p. 221 :

ਕਹਿ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਤੁਵ ਮਤਿ ਅਨਜਾਨੀ ।
 ਤਿਹ ਕੀ ਰੀਤਿ ਨ ਸਕਤਿ ਪਛਾਨੀ ।

73. See canto 37 of the *uttarardh*.

to Guru's discourses with Siddhs.⁷⁴ Guru Nanak has been portrayed as a Hindu.⁷⁵ He is stated to be an emissary of Ram.⁷⁶ The rising influence of the Hindus is socio-political necessity. The Sikh ruling class was a microscopic minority. It was essential to strengthen the bonds of the Sikhs with the Hindus.

Despite the influence of Handali doctrine and the Vedantic ideas it does not mean that the *Nanak Prakash* had a sectarian purpose. The poet has an orthodox faith in Sikhism. He never fails in its praise.⁷⁷ He prefers the information of *Guru Granth* or *Varan* of Bhai Gurdas to any *janamsakhi*. Canto 39 is based on *Varan* and the canto 63 on the composition of Guru Nanak himself entitled *Siddh Gost*.⁷⁸

The political situation of the Punjab in the early nineteenth century required the strengthening of the bonds with the Hindu constituency and the pacification of the Muslims. In this context, the poet's ideas manifest less an individual choice but more the conditions of his time.

74. There are seven cantos in the *Nanak Parkash* i.e. cantos 60 to 64 in *purvardh*, and cantos 20 and 39 in *uttarardh*. See chart.

75. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 315 :

ਗਰ ਚੀਰ ਹੈ ਪੀਤ ਪੁਨੀਤ ਮਨੋਮਹਿ
ਜੋਗਯੁਪਵੀਤ ਮਹਾਂ ਛਬਿ ਛਾਈ ॥

76. *Ibid*, p. 925.

77. *Ibid*, p. 1102 :

ਸਿੱਖੀ ਧੰਨ ਧੰਨ ਸਿਖ ਤੇਰੇ ।

78. See chart.

CHAPTER III

NANAK PRAKASH AS A JANAMSAKHI

Nanak Prakash is mostly based on the material drawn from *janamsakhi* literature. To a large extent, *janamsakhi* has been followed as a narrative paradigm. Bhai Bala narrates the entire account of Guru Nanak at the request of Guru Angad. Even the material that is not from a *janamsakhi* has been transformed according to the dictates of *janamsakhi* mode. The account of Sulakhani and her parents in canto 29 of *Nanak Prakash (purvardh)* has all the *Bala janamsakhi* tricks of life-like details.¹ Similarly, canto 39 of the *purvardh* is based on *Varan* by Bhai Gurdas to be treated in *janamsakhi* mode.² Santokh Singh's interest in the *janamsakhi* genre is not limited to *Nanak Prakash*. Even *Gur Partap Suraj* has been expounded in a *janamsakhi* mode.³ According to W.H. McLeod, *Nanak Prakash* "in both form and intention. . . comes much closer to the standard narrative *janamsakhi*."⁴ An effort would be made to study *Nanak Prakash* as a *janamsakhi*. The study is divided into three parts. In the first part, a brief analysis of *janamsakhi* genre is made. The second part evaluates *Nanak Prakash* as a *janamsakhi*. In the third part, a rationale of the study is given.

1. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 369-78.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 455-64.

3. Whereas Bhai Bala is the narrator of Guru Nanak's account in *Nanak Prakash*, the account of successive nine *gurus* is narrated by Bhai Ram Koer, a Jat in *Gur Pratap Suraj*. In the latter work, the *sakhis* relating to Chandu Shah are particular examples of *janamsakhi* mode. See, *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthawali*, pp. 249-85.

4. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 46.

I

The *janamsakhis* are generally regarded as biographies of Guru Nanak. The word '*janamsakhi*' is interpreted as 'the testimony of the life of Guru Nanak'. This idea seems to have emerged out of the pattern and sequence of the *sakhis* incorporated in the *janamsakhis*. They narrate the life of Guru Nanak in the sequence of birth, childhood, employment, travels and demise. The dates of birth and death of Guru Nanak are also available. The *janamsakhi* account opens with the birth of Guru Nanak. The *Bala Janamsakhi* lends it a sense of authenticity by adding a prologue. It states that Bhai Bala was summoned by Guru Angad and was requested to narrate all that he had witnessed as a companion of Guru Nanak.⁵ In most of the *janamsakhis*, we find references to a number of contemporary historical personalities, Guru's travels to important places of Hindu pilgrimage. Besides, there is a general agreement over the names of family members and relatives of the Guru. However, all these factors impart them only superficial biographical character.

But the corpus of these elements forms only a minor part of the whole contents of *janamsakhis*. The bulk of the *janamsakhi* is constituted of imaginary narratives full of miracles. Some of them are excellent narrative inventions.⁶ A large number of *sakhis* have emanated from the *bani* of Guru Nanak. Instead of referring to the actual contemporary historical situation, giving rise to a composition of Guru Nanak, they recreate an imaginary situation on the basis

5. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, Punjabi University, Patiala 1969, pp. 221-22.
6. For example, 'Reward of meeting a *sadhu*' in *B-40 Janamsakhi* and 'Malik Bhago's feast' in the *Bala Janamsakhi* speak of the imaginative power of the *janamsakhi* writers. Besides, there is a utopia about a city named Suvarnpur in a *sakhi* entitled 'Guru's meeting with Raja Kanwal Nain' in the *Bala Janamsakhi*. See, Piar Singh, *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*; Guru Nanak (Dev) University, Amritsar 1974, pp. 135-36; and Kirpal Singh, *Janamsakhi Parampara*, pp. 225, 252-53.

of the *shabad*.⁷ The *shabads* are sometimes wrongly quoted and misinterpreted in order to suit a *sakhi*. Most of these *sakhis* are didactic in nature.

The *janamsakhis* have diverse materials. They have been taken from three major sources: received tradition, corpus of Guru Nanak's compositions and miscellany of ascetic ideals current during the period of *janamsakhi* growth.⁸ The tradition received by the *janamsakhi* writers includes epic and Puranic features, Sufi legends, Nath tradition and Buddhist *Jatakas*.⁹ Thus, the *janamsakhis* are constituted of imaginary narratives, legends, myths, folk elements and miracle stories.

The multiform and complex nature of *janamsakhi* material challenges a scholar to grasp the *janamsakhi* genre in its true character. Some scholars are of the opinion that the materials concerning the life of Guru Nanak forms the nucleus of authentic tradition. At a later period, it was overlaid by legendary material. There may be a partial truth in this observation but it cannot be said that the *janamsakhi* is biography of Guru Nanak.¹⁰ Even the biographical features, the arrangement of the *sakhis* in a strict chronological order, does not allude to a historical chronology. For example, Miharban uses it as a metaphor of time, not as mundane but supramundane time.¹¹ Not only this, he is even indifferent to mundane time and places avoids the historical details while quoting and

7. Cf. 'I have little belief in the legends which are told in the *Brahmanas* and in the *Anukramani* in illustration of certainly apparently personal and historical allusions in the hymns of the Veda. It is clear in many cases that they are made up from indications contained in the hymns and it seems best therefore to forget them altogether in interpreting the words of the Vedic hymns': F. Max Muller, *Vedic Hymns*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1967, p. 359.

8. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, pp. 63-64.

9. *Ibid*, p. 64.

10. *Ibid*, p. 8.

11. S.S. Hans, "The Meharban Janam-Sakhi", *Studies in Local and Regional History* (ed J.S. Grewal). Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar 1974, p. 90.

interpreting a *shabad*.¹² Similarly, reference to the contemporary historical personalities during Guru Nanak's travels are not concerned with the biographical aspect of Guru Nanak's life. In fact, it is a device to establish the spiritual supremacy of Guru Nanak. The conventional approach of treating the *janamsakhi* as a biography is a hurdle to the understanding of the nature of the *janamsakhi*.

A literature can be understood better in its historical setting. The major concerns of a writer belong to his period. In other words, a work of literature, to a large extent, is a product of the age and the writer, directly or indirectly, takes up issues of the community and the institution to which he belongs. The *janamsakhi* tradition came into being in the late sixteenth century and remained prevalent for over two centuries. Obviously, every *janamsakhi* reflects problems of the respective period.¹³ The other significant factor is doctrinal. However, a writer's perception and vision plays a major role in both the exposition of subject and the determining of its form. Thus, the content of *janamsakhi* has three salient parts; the image of Guru Nanak, its doctrinal basis and its efforts to give meaning to the genesis of the Sikh faith.¹⁴

Guru Nanak of *janamsakhi* is not an ordinary man of this world. He possesses the most powerful divine status. He has miraculous power which he performs quite often. He meets Siddhs, Naths, Sheikhs, and scores victories over them. He encounters miracle-mongers, robbers and

12. Ibid, p. 106.

13. For example, in the *Adi Sakhian*, Mecca does not turn, but it does in the *Puratan Janamsakhi*. The first alludes to a situation of the Sikh faith prior to Guru Arjan's execution and the second to a period after it. See Piar Singh (ed), *Shambhu Nath Vali Janampatri Babe Nanak Ji Ki Prasidh Nam Adi Sakhian*, New Book Company, Jullundur 1969, pp. 42-44; and Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Janamsakhi Parmpara*, pp. 51-53.

14. S.S. Hans, "Bala Janamsakhi in Relation to Janamsakhi Handal", *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, (ed S.S. Bal), Punjabi University, Patiala 1979, p. 95.

alluring women and makes them realise their sins to be his disciples. All extraordinary facts of Guru Nanak in *janamsakhi* are narrated to establish the 'spiritual paramountcy' of Guru Nanak. The 'wonderful exploits' of Guru Nanak are superficially a biographical account.¹⁵ According to W.H. McLeod, it is a myth relating to the life and teaching of Nanak.¹⁶ It is an interpretation springing from the piety and commitment of later generation.¹⁷ Thus, the major concern of *janamsakhi* writers is not with the factual life of the Guru. They expound not only the spiritual sovereignty of Guru Nanak but also his message.¹⁸ Having an audience with God, Guru Nanak is seated on the throne of *Sach Khand* (the region of truth).¹⁹ Guru Nanak encounters Rukn-ud-Din, Rattan Haji, and Sharaf-ud-Din, who were since long dead.²⁰ The setting of an episode does not remain the same. Shaikh Sharaf is variously located in Panipat, Baghdad, Bidar and Mecca.²¹ In fact, the *janamsakhi* writers have "a different understanding of the nature of truth which myth seeks to express and for which it may utilize legend as well as history".²² They are not very scrupulous about Guru Nanak's composition as his aim is not the historical reconstruction of the Guru. "Such a scrupulosity does not matter in portraying his spiritual exploits".²³ Thus, lack of details, lack of histori-

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15. S.S. Hans, "Historical Analysis of Sikh Literature : 1500-1850", Ph.D. Thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar 1980, p. 297.
 16. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 12.
 17. *Ibid*, p. 8.
S.S. Hans, "Janamsakhi as a Performing Art", *Journal of Sikh Studies*, (ed. Diwan Singh), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, Vol IX, No. 1, p. 16.
 19. Piar Singh (ed). *Adi Sakhian*, pp. 186-87.
 20. Piar Singh (ed). *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, pp. 60-63, 133-35.
 21. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 73.
 22. *Ibid*, p. 45.
 23. S S. Hans, "Janamsakhi as a Performing Art", *Journal of Sikh Studies*, p. 17.

city, improvisation, lack of distinction between mundane and supramundane reality, and miracles underline a meaning that the community of a period wished.

The 'wonderful exploits' of Guru Nanak have doctrinal basis. According to a Buddhist writer, "the facts about the Highest one are to be given in accordance with scripture and tradition."²⁴ Thus, the facts about Guru Nanak in the *janamsakhi* are mutable. The mutability is dependant on the doctrines. There is no reference to Ganga and the east in *Bala Janamsakhi* because Handalis do not attach any importance to visiting the places of pilgrimage.²⁵ Similarly, the *Gyan Ratnavali* discusses the reason of bestowing of *gaddi* on Angad in accordance with Udasi principle of gnosis.²⁶ Repeated references to *samadhi* of Guru Nanak in *Gyan Ratnavali* has a theological significance.²⁷ A corpus of *sakhis* is constituted of traditional material. But the selection of material and their arrangement is intentional.

The portrayal of Guru Nanak in the *janamsakhis* is to give meaning to the Sikh faith. All the *janamsakhis* discuss the nature of Guru Nanak's *guruship*. How was he Guru without a *guru*? What was his relationship to God and his successors? The *Adi Sakhian*, *B-40 Janamsakhi* and *Puratan Janamsakhi* claim that Guru Nanak had no *guru*. He had a direct access to God.²⁸ These *janamsakhis* lend support to the line of succession of the Gurus. The *Miharban Janamsakhi* mentions that Guru Nanak became Guru after enlightenment. As Guru, he possessed divine power from

24. Aryasura, *The Jatakmalā : Garland of Birth Stories*, (J.S. Speyer tr.), Moti Lal Banarsidas, Delhi 1971, p. 1.
25. S.S. Hans, "Bala Janamsakhi in relation to Janamsakhi Handal", *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, pp. 100-01.
26. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p. 400.
27. S.S. Hans, "Historical Analysis of Sikh Literature, 1500-1850", p. 347.
28. Piar Singh (ed), *Adi Sakhian*, p. 16; *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, p. 98; Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara* p. 39.

God directly. He bestowed it upon Lehna as Guru Angad.²⁹ The *Bala Janamsakhi* does not discuss the nature of Guru Nanak's *guruship* as it preaches the idea of Baba Handal. The *Gyan Ratnavali*, a mouthpiece of Udasi sect, is silent on the nature of Guru Nanak's *guruship*. But the position of the *Miharban Janamsakhi* in accepting the line of succession is different from that of the *Adi Sakhian*, *B-40 Janamsakhi* and *Puratan Janamsakhi*. According to it, the sixth Guru was Prithi Chand.³⁰ Similarly, although the *Bala Janamsakhi*, acknowledges Lehna as the second Guru yet it does not discuss the line of succession.³¹

The *janamsakhis* also discuss the mission of Guru Nanak on the earth. According to the *Adi Sakhian*, Guru Nanak was sent by God into the world to make men perfect in the *kaliyug*³² Thus, the Sikhs of Guru Nanak considered themselves more virtuous than others. They were beyond the evil influence of the *kaliyug*.³³ The *Miharban Janamsakhi* states that Guru Nanak is Guru because God made emancipation possible only through the service of the Guru.³⁴ It speaks of the superiority of the Sikh faith over all other dispensations.³⁵ Guru Nanak asks *kaliyug* to refrain from extending his evil influence on his followers.³⁶ The attitude of the *Gyan Ratnavali* about *kaliyug* is ambivalent. The ambivalence of the *Bala Janamsakhi* and the *Gyan Ratnavali* speaks of their attitude toward the 'present'.

29. S.S., Hans, "Historical Analysis of Sikh Literature, 1500-1850", pp. 308-09.

30. Kirpal Singh and Shamsher Singh Ashok (eds), *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, Vol I, Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar 1962, p. 286.

31. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p. 222.

32. Piar Singh (ed), *Adi Sakhian*, pp. 1-3.

33. S.S. Hans, "Historical Analysis of Sikh Literature, 1500-1850", pp. 288-89.

34. Kirpal Singh and Shamsher Singh Ashok (eds), *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, Vol. I, pp. 173-225.

35. *Ibid*, p. 190.

36. *Ibid*, p. 225.

While supporting the line of succession of the Gurus, the *Adi Sakhian*, *B-40 Janamsakhi* and *Puratan Janamsakhi* embody political attitudes, which speak of the involvement of the Sikh religion in politics.³⁷ According to the *Adi Sakhian* the Mughal rule was 'eternal' suggesting cordial relations between the Sikhs and the Mughals before the execution of Guru Arjan.³⁸ But the *B-40 Janamsakhi* says that the Mughal empire was 'not everlasting but long lasting' indicating a change in relations between them.³⁹

The political ascendancy of the Sikhs finds expression in the form of the spiritual ascendancy of Guru Nanak in the *Gyan Ratnavali*. The saint of God has power to bestow the empire on Babur for seven generations.⁴⁰ But this bestowal is on certain conditions. A failure to meet the conditions reverts the kingdom to the Sikhs of Guru Nanak.

The writers of the *janamsakhis* give a soteriological interpretation of the life of Guru Nanak.⁴¹ The major purpose of *janamsakhi* is to advocate important principles of Sikhism.⁴² This is achieved by transmogrifying the world so that it could be looked at in a revealed light to help the reader to remould his attitude to life in a manner as to establish a contact between the mundane and the supra-mundane.⁴³ Thus the predisposed reader receives the religious message instantaneously.⁴⁴ These *janamsakhis* also preach the principle of *shabad*, *nam* and *satsang*. In *janamsakhis*, *shabad* is the actual utterance of Guru Nanak.⁴⁵

37. S.S. Hans, "Early Sikh Tradition", *Journal of Regional History*, p. 180.

38. Piar Singh (ed), *Adi Sakhian*, p. 57.

39. Piar Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, p. 73.

40. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, pp. 365-66.

41. S.S. Hans, "Early Sikh Tradition", *Journal of Regional History*, p. 184.

42. S.S. Hans, "Bala Janamsakhi in Relation to Janamsakhi Handal", *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, p. 95.

43. S.S. Hans, "Janamsakhi as a Performing Art", *Journal of Sikh Studies*, p. 16.

44. *Ibid*, p. 15.

45. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 247.

The *janamsakhi* narrator recalls the authority of God to follow these principles. The *Miharban Janamsakhi* promises redemption to the reader.⁴⁶ Instead of discussing the line of succession the author of the *Bala Janamsakhi* speaks against the institution of *guru* and *sangat*.⁴⁷ In *Gyan Ratnavali* Guru Nanak proclaims himself a *Udasi* and defines *udas* as an exercise of detachment.⁴⁸ He abandons the cross of a householder and adopts an *udasi bheeh*.⁴⁹ Guru Nanak falls on the feet of Guru Angad for his *jan*.⁵⁰ According to the *Gyan Ratnavali*, *shabad* is God and the only source of happiness.⁵¹ Consequently, Guru Nanak is made into an illusion in the mind of the Sikhs. Guru Nanak of the *Gyan Ratnavali* is a Vedantic *jivan mukta*, a *sakshin* of his *karma*, i.e. witness of his body. His body is His *sagun* manifestation while his *shabad* is His *nirgun* essence.⁵²

The *Bala Janamsakhi* preaches its own doctrines. As the *Handalis* have no scripture it advocates the fetishes of spirituality. The basic *Handali* doctrine is that of the degree of Yogic adeptness. Spiritual strength is serially arranged.⁵³ There are four categories of the redeemed in *Handali* doctrines of spiritualism; *slok*, *samip*, *sarup* and *sayuj*. The first resides in the abode of God, the second are like Vishnu, the third are bodily like Him, and the last have a spiritual flame indistinguishable from that of God. *Handal*

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46. Kirpal Singh and Shamsheer Singh Ashok (eds), *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, p. 286.
47. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, pp. 287-88. It is stated that the true *guru* is rarely found. The Sikhs are soiled and even the *Guru* is also soiled when he gets the impure offering of the Sikhs.
48. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p. 363.
49. *Ibid*, p. 342.
50. *Ibid*, p. 400.
51. *Ibid*, p. 390.
52. S.S. Hans, "Historical Analysis of Sikh Literature, 1500-1850", p. 350.
53. S.S. Hans, "Bala Janamsakhi in Relation to Janamsakhi Handal", *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, p. 98.

belongs to the last category.⁵⁴ Handalis advocate instantaneous equality between Handal and his disciples. He could change even his servant into the like of himself only by his utterance.⁵⁵ They believe in 'transmigrational friendship'. Guru Nanak, Handal and Dyal were friends when they were disciples of king Janak.⁵⁶

As long as this sectarian discussion is peaceful the *janamsakhis* flourish. In the period of conflict, literary argument is of no use as force is its own argument. Thus, the *janamsakhis* lost their inspiration with the conflict between the Sikhs and the Mughal empire.⁵⁷

The function of the *janamsakhi* is fulfilled in two ways. In the first place, the writer arouses a sense of piety and devotion with his narrative skill. Secondly, the doctrine as well as the articulation of historical response give them a sense of community. The reading of and listening to the *janamsakhi* was considered to be as good as reciting the verses of Guru Nanak.⁵⁸ Also, it was believed that *darshan* could be obtained through the true testimony of the Guru's life and utterances.⁵⁹ It may be added that quite a few Sikhs were too humble to have *darshan* of the Guru personally.⁶⁰

The self-image of the Sikh, in the *Adi Sakhian*⁶¹ is significant for the cohesion of the Sikh community. The Sikhs were beyond the evil influence of the *kaliyug*. They feel that both the Hindus and the Muslims were spiritually poor. Hence, to be a perfect Hindu or Muslim one had to be a Sikh.⁶² This self-image gives a sense of pride to the

54. Loc cit.

55. S.S. Hans, "Bala Janamsakhi in Relation to Janamsakhi Handal", *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, p. 96.

56. *Ibid*, p. 101.

57. S.S. Hans, "Early Sikh Tradition", *Journal of Regional History*, p. 186.

58. Kirpal Singh and Shamsher Singh Ashok (eds), *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, Vol I, p. 1.

59. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 242.

60. S.S. Hans, "Historical Analysis of Sikh Literature, 1500-1850", p. 159.

61. *Ibid*, p. 15.

62. *Ibid*, pp. 288-93.

community. By making the Sikhs conscious of the present, and articulating their relationship with the Mughal empire the *janamsakhi* helps them to organise politically.

II

Like its principal source, the *Bala Janamsakhi*, the characterization of Bhai Bala in *Nanak Prakash* is significant in order to understand the image of Guru Nanak. Bhai Bala was a companion of Guru Nanak from his childhood.⁶³ On his way to town, Guru Nanak came across saints and wanted to give them money. Bala reiterated that it was a matter between Guru Nanak and his father.⁶⁴ Later on, Guru Nanak repented over his act of charity. But Bala again saved himself saying that it was not his fault. Rather he had forbidden Guru Nanak to do so.⁶⁵ Bala is depicted as a responsible and trustworthy person. When Guru Nanak went to Talwandi the entire responsibility of

63. Ibid., p. 236 :

ਖੇਡਤਿ ਜਥੇ ਬਾਲਕਨਿ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
ਤਬਹੀ ਸੰਗ ਤਜਯੋ ਮੈਂ ਨਾਂਹੀ ।

64. Ibid., pp. 235-36 :

ਪੁਨ ਤੁਮ ਜਨਕਹਿ ਕਠਿਨ ਸੁਭਾਉ ।
ਗੁਨਹੁ ਆਪ ਮੁਝ ਦੋਬੁ ਨ ਕਾਉ ।
ਪਿਤਾ ਪੁੱਕ ਕਰਿ ਲੋਹੁ ਨਿਬੇਰੋ ।
ਮੈਂ ਹੋ ਦਾਸ ਨ ਕਰਹਿ ਸੁ ਝੋਰੋ ॥54॥

ਜਿਉਂ ਮਨ ਆਇ ਬਰਕੁ ਤਿਉਂ ਕਾਰਾ ।
ਹੋਂ ਤੋਂ ਨਿਤ ਰਾਵਰਿ ਅਨੁਸਾਰਾ ।

65. Ibid, p. 239 :

ਮੈਂ ਭਾਖਯੋ ਕਛੁ ਦੋਬੁ ਨ ਮੇਰੋ ।
ਤੁਮ ਕੋ ਬਰਜ ਰਹਯੋ ਬਹੁਤੇਰੋ ॥10॥

ਆਪ ਜਾਨਿਕੈ ਕੀਨ ਕੁਕਾਰੁ ।
ਚਿੰਤ ਕਿਉਂ ਚਿੰਤ ਧਰੀ ਤੁਮ ਆਸੁ ।

ਅਬ ਜਿਮ ਰੋਇ ਸਹੁ ਸੋ ਚੀਤੀ ।
ਸੂਧੀ ਹੁਇ ਅਬਵਾ ਬਿੰਪ੍ਰੀਤੀ ॥11॥

ਮੁਝ ਕੋ ਚਿੰਤ ਨ ਏਕ ਬਿਆਪੇ ।
ਧਨ ਤੁਮਰਾ ਖਰਚਯੋ ਤੁਮ ਆਪੇ ।

commissariat of Sultanpur was entrusted to him.⁶⁶ He was also handed over the account book.⁶⁷

Nanak Prakash outdid *Bala* tradition. *Bala* is equal in status to Guru Nanak. Bhai Kalu Mehta regards him as a companion of Guru Nanak and asks him to look after his son.⁶⁸ He efficiently executes his duty as a *modi* in Guru Nanak's absence. Guru Nanak considers *Bala* a wise man. He has all the virtues of a saint. Consequently, he is to be worshipped.⁶⁹ Guru Nanak says that *Bala's* utterance would always be true.⁷⁰ His equality to Guru Nanak is

66. *Ibid.*, p. 320:

ਬਾਲੇ ਕੋ ਤਜਿ ਕਰਿ ਅਬ ਜਾਵਹਿੰ ।
ਬਹੁਰ ਆਇ ਨਿਜ ਕਾਰ ਚਲਾਵਹਿੰ ॥26॥
... ..
ਹਮ ਜਾਵਹਿੰ ਤਲਵੇਡੀ ਨਗਰੀ ।
ਰਹਿ ਤੁਮ ਕਾਰ ਚਲਾਵਹੁ ਸਗਰੀ ।
ਖਰਚ ਨਿਸ਼ਕਹਿ ਦੇਹੁ ਵਿਸੇਖਾ ।
ਆਨਿ ਕਰਹਿੰਗੇ ਹਮ ਸਭਿ ਲੇਖਾ ॥28॥

67. *Ibid.*, p. 286 :

ਵਹੀ ਬਿਸਾਲ ਦੀਨਿ ਮੁਝ ਹਾਥਾ ।
ਗਮਨ ਕਿਯੋ ਨ੍ਰਿਪ ਢਿਗ ਜਗਨਾਥਾ ॥32॥

68. *Ibid.*, p. 267 :

ਤੁਮ ਨਾਨਕ ਮੀਤ ਸੁਜਾਨੇ ॥24॥
ਹੈਂ ਤੁਮਕੋ ਜਾਨਤਿ ਐਸੇ ।
ਸੁਤ ਨਾਨਕ ਹੈ ਮਮ ਜੈਸੇ ।
ਕਰਿ ਤਾਂਕੀ ਅਬ ਰਖਵਾਰੀ ।
ਧਨ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਦੇਯ ਨ ਡਾਰੀ ॥25॥

69. *Ibid.*, p. 565 :

ਇਹੁ ਜੁ ਦਾਸ ਮਮ ਬੁੱਧਿ ਪ੍ਰਬੀਨਾ ॥80॥
ਸੰਤਨ ਕੇ ਸਭਿ ਯਾ ਮਹਿੰ ਲੰਛਨ ।
ਕਰਮ ਧਰਮ ਕੇ ਵਿਖੇ ਬਿਚੱਛਨ ।
ਪੁਨਿ ਰਾਵਰ ਕੀ ਕਰੁਨਾ ਹੋਈ ।
ਬੰਦਨ ਯੋਗ ਭਲੇ ਹੈ ਸੋਈ ॥81॥

70. *Ibid.*, p. 267 :

ਸਭਿ ਬਾਲੇ ਸਾਚ ਬਖਾਨੀ ।
ਸਭਿ ਜਾਨਹੁ ਨਿਜ ਮਨ ਮਾਨੀ ॥33॥

beyond doubt as Guru Angad himself equates him with Guru Nanak and meets him reverently.⁷¹ Bala is also equal to Guru Angad. On the demise of Bala, his light assimilates with Guru Angad as water merges with water.⁷² In canto 64 of the *purvardh* Bhai Mardana asks Guru Nanak on a point but Guru Nanak asks Bala instead.⁷³ Most damaging remarks in this connection is that Bala is said to have declined the offer of *guruship*. He said that *guruship* should be entrusted to someone else.⁷⁴ The Handalis appealed to the Jats to have Jat Gurus.⁷⁵ They invented a Jat utopia.⁷⁶ The *Bala Janamsakhi* not only exalts Handal over Guru Nanak but also puts forward Jat claims through the characterization of Bala. The further ascendancy of Bala in *Nanak Prakash* is a manifestation of the rise of Jats as ruling class. Bala's decline of the offer of *guruship* provides them justification as a ruling class. The rise of Baba Buddha in

71. *Ibid*, p. 1150 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਬਾਲੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਸਮ ਤੁਮ ਹੋ ।
ਧੰਨ ਧੰਨ ਪੁਨ ਧੰਨ ਜਨਮ ਹੋ ॥59॥

72. *Ibid*, p. 1151 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਗਦ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਮਾਨੀ ।
ਜਿਉਂ ਪਾਨੀ ਮਹਿ ਮਿਲਿਹੈ ਪਾਨੀ ।

73. *Ibid*, pp. 682-83 :

ਮਰਦਾਨਾ ਬੁਝਤਿ ਭਯੋ ਅੰਗੁਜ ਚਲੋ ਕਿ ਨਾਹਿ ।
ਆਨ ਸਥਾਨ ਬਿਲੋਕੀਏ ਜੇ ਰਾਵਾਰਿ ਉਰ ਚਾਹਿ ॥19॥
ਸੁਨੀਏ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਗਦ ਗਤਿਦਾਈ ।
ਸੁਨਿ ਗੁਰ ਮੁਖ ਸੋ ਗਿਰਾ ਅਲਾਈ ।
ਤਮਰੇ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਕਿਤ ਬਿਧਿ ਬਾਲਾ ।
ਮੈਂ ਤਬ ਥੋਲਯੋ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲਾ ॥20॥

74. *Ibid*, p. 1149 :

ਮਾਨਿ ਬਚਨ ਮੈਂ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ ਢਿਗ ਆਵਾ ।
ਹਾਥ ਜੋਰਿਕੈ ਤਥੈ ਅਲਾਵਾ ।
ਕਿਸੇ ਬਿਸਾਵਹੁ ਨਿਜ ਪਬਚਾਤੀ ।
ਗੁਰੁਤਾ ਦੇਹੁ ਕਰਹੁ ਬੱਖਯਾਤੀ ॥46॥

75. S.S. Hans, "Historical Analysis of Sikh Literature : 1500-1850", p. 332.

76. *Ibid*, pp. 329-30.

Santokh Singh's *Gur Pratap Suraj*⁷⁷ and Kavi Sohan's *Gurbilas Patshahi Chhevin*⁷⁸ also points in the same direction.

Santokh Singh fails to understand the ill-intentioned Handalis in portraying various characters that undermine the image of Guru Nanak. Kalu is rude, brusque and short-tempered. But his rude behaviour is directed only at Guru Nanak. He does not hesitate to beat the child Nanak.⁷⁹ At places, he reviles Guru Nanak for not taking up agriculture, shopkeeping or trading.⁸⁰ He does not appreciate Guru Nanak's spiritual pursuits.⁸¹ He complains to the

77. *Sri Gur Partap Suraj Granthawali*, p. 2316 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਰਜਨ ਕਰ ਲੀਨਿ ਅਗਨਿ ਤਬਿ ਨਰ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਰੁਦਨ ਕੇ ਠਾਨਿ ।
ਕੀਨਿ ਲਗਾਵਨਿ ਉਚੇ ਰੋਦਤਿ ਦਿਖਿ ਸਭਿਹੀ ਕੇ ਅੰਸੁ ਚੁਚਾਨਿ ।
ਬਿਧ ਨੇ ਸਭਿ ਸਮੁਝਾਏ ਕਹਿ ਕਹਿ ਕਰਹੁ ਨ ਸੋਕ ਇਹੀ ਮਗ ਜਾਨਿ ।
ਮਿਥਯਾ ਤਨ ਹੈ ਬਿਨਸਨਿ ਹਾਰੇ ਮੇਲਿ ਬਨਯੋ ਜਲ ਨਾਉ ਸਮਾਨਿ ॥23॥

78. S.S. Hans, "The Gurbilas", *Journal of Regional History*, pp. 47-48.

79. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 241 :

ਦਹਿਨ ਹਾਥ ਤੇ ਬਾਮ ਕਪੌਲਾ ।
ਹਨੇ ਤਮਾਚੇ ਥਲ ਸੋ ਤੋਲਾ ।
ਬਾਮ ਹਾਥ ਤੇ ਦਹਿਨ ਗੰਡ ਸਥਲ ।
ਹਨੇ ਚਪੋਟਨ ਰਿਸ ਕਰਿ ਨਿਜ ਥਲ ॥27॥

80. *Ibid*, p. 218-19 :

ਤੁਝ ਜਨਮੇ ਤੇ ਕੋ ਗੁਣ ਮੋਹੀ ।
ਯਾਤੇ ਭਲੋ ਰਹਤਿ ਮੈ ਯੋਹੀ ॥26॥
ਇਕ ਸਪੁਤ ਬਹੁ ਦਰਬ ਕਮਾਵਹਿ ।
ਤੂੰ ਅਸ ਭਾ ਜੋ ਬਾਦ ਗਵਾਵਹਿ ।
....
ਅਬ ਬੀਜਯੋ ਸਭਿ ਖੇਤ ਨਿਪਾਤੁ ।
ਪਸੁ ਚਰਵਾਇ ਨ ਕੀਨੀ ਤ੍ਰਾਤੁ ॥29॥
ਜਬ ਕੋ ਜਨਮਯੋ ਇਨ ਸੁਪ ਲੀਨੀ ।
ਧਨ ਖੱਟਨ ਕੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਨ ਕੀਨੀ ।
ਖੋਯੋ ਸੰਚਯੋ ਪੂਰਬ ਮੋਰੋ ।
ਯਾਤੇ ਬਿਫਲ ਭਯੋ ਬਚ ਤੋਰੋ ॥30॥

81. *Ibid*, p. 221 :

ਕਹਿ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਤੁਵ ਮਤਿ ਅਨਜਾਨੀ ।
ਭਿਠਕੀ ਚੀਤਿ ਨ ਸਤਿਰਿ ਪਛਾਨੀ ।

pandit for his false forecast.⁸² His character underlies a paradox. He is economically well-off but his behaviour is beggarly.⁸³ Santokh Singh's lack of understanding can be seen in the fact that he provides justification for Kalu's behaviour on the basis of his religious ideas. Kalu did what he was made to do by God.⁸⁴ Also, the cause of his behaviour is his materialist leanings. Consequently, Kalu failed to apprehend Guru Nanak's spiritual virtues.⁸⁵ Other characters, who contribute directly or indirectly to tarnish the image of Guru Nanak are Jairam, Sulakhani, Mula and Mata Choni.⁸⁶

82. Ibid, pp. 218-19 :

ਜਾਇ ਨਗਰ ਪੁਨ ਦਿਜਬਰ ਸਦਨਾ ।
ਉਪਾਲੰਭ ਕੇ ਕਹਿ ਬਚ ਬਦਨਾ ॥27॥
... ..
ਯਾਰੇ ਬਿਫਲ ਭਯੋ ਬਚ ਤੇਰੋ ॥30॥

83. Ibid, pp. 219; 167 :

ਭਲੀ ਫਤਰ ਕੀ ਦੀਨਿ ਵਡਾਈ ।
ਪੂਰਬ ਐਸੁਰਖ ਜਾਸ ਘਟਾਈ ।
X X X
ਭਲੇ ਫਤਰ ਮੁਝ ਧਾਮ ਫਿਰਾਯੋ ।
ਅਗਲੀ ਦੀਨੀ ਵਸਤੁ ਗਵਾਯੋ ॥36॥

84. Ibid, p. 213 :

ਤਯੋ ਸੁ ਕਰੇ ਜਯੋ ਪ੍ਰੇਰੇ ਨਯੈਤਾ ।
ਜਿਉ ਜੇਤੀ ਵਸਿ ਵਾਜਹਿ ਜੇਤਾ ॥37॥

85. Ibid, p. 221 :

ਥੋਲਯੋ ਹਾਥ ਜੋਰਿ ਤਬ ਕਾਲੂ ।
ਜਾ ਕੋ ਮਾਯਾ ਮੋਹ ਬਿਸਾਲੂ ॥51॥
... ..
ਧਨ ਤ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਨਾ ਮਹਿ ਮਤਿ ਲਖਣਾਨੀ ।
ਗੁਨਨ ਗੁਢ ਕਿਉ ਸਕੇ ਪਛਾਨੀ ॥56॥

86. Ibid, pp. 289; 334; 337 and 339 ;

ਸਰਿਤਾ ਚਿੰਤ ਚੀਤ ਜੈਰਾਮਾ ।
ਥਹਯੋ ਜਾਤਿ ਬੋ ਆਠੋ ਜਾਮਾ ।
X X X
ਸੁਨਿ ਪਿਪਿ ਖਿਝਹਿ ਸੁਲੱਖਨੀ ਅਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਬਿਵਹਾਰ ।
ਘਰ ਕੀ ਪੀਰ ਨ ਜਾਨਈ ਬ ਹਰ ਖਨਯੋ ਉਝਾਰ ॥6॥॥
X X X

A look into the execution of cantos of *Nanak Prakash* is significant in order to understand the poet's concern about the image of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak has been almost ignored in some of the cantos. In cantos 71 and 72 of the *purvardh*, Guru Nanak only narrates the account of Dhru.⁸⁷ Interestingly, canto 24 of the *purvardh* contains the account of Pandavas and does not contain any mention of Guru Nanak.⁸⁸ The legends of Kak Bhasund, Dattatre, Prehlad, Varah and Dhru have no relevance to Guru Nanak.⁸⁹ They neither contribute to the spiritual paramountcy of Guru Nanak nor throw light on the doctrinal points of Sikhism. It is quite apparent that the poet is not much concerned with the image of Guru Nanak. In fact, with the rise of Sikh power the 'wonderful exploits' of Guru Nanak hardly constitute a problematic. With the political paramountcy of the Sikhs the spiritual paramountcy of Guru Nanak need not be imaginatively reiterated. It is palpably felt under the Sikh dispensation.

The compositions of Guru Nanak and his successors occupy a significant place in *janamsakhis*. The *janamsakhi* writer is not concerned with the situation when the *shabad* was composed. The correctness of the *shabad* quoted is irrelevant to him. He is primarily concerned with inventing a narrative from the *shabad*. For his end the author does not hesitate to misinterpret the *shabad*. Some *sakhis* contain even apocryphal *shabads*.⁹⁰ The creative imagination of the *janamsakhi* author lies in the fact that the *shabad*

ਕਾਕੁ ਕਯਾ ਮੁਲਾ ਜੈ ਕ੍ਰੋਧੀ ।
 ਨਹਿ ਜਾਨਹਿ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਸੋਧੀ ।
 × × ×
 ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਕੀਏ ਪੁਨਿ ਬੋਲੀ ਬੋਨਾ ।
 ਤੁਮ ਉਰ ਡਰ ਪਰਮੇਸੁਰ ਹੈ ਨਾ ॥28॥

87. Ibid, pp. 744-58.

88. Ibid, pp. 326-35.

89. Ibid, pp. 689-758.

90. Gurpreet Kaur, *An Attempt to Account for the Popularity of Bala Janamsakhi*, pp. 39-43.

is used to give a semblance of realism and to provide moral and authoritative support to the invented narrative. To make the narrative more autonomous the *shabad* is followed by a short exegesis.

Santokh Singh does not seem to have any awareness of using a composition in a *sakhi*. The *sakhi* of Sangladip in canto 47 of the *purvardh* is drawn from the *Puratan Janamsakhi*.⁹¹ It has an apocryphal *shabad* in Rag Maru. But Santokh Singh further adds a *shabad* of Guru Nanak in Rag Asa that has hardly any connection with the *sakhi*.⁹² He fails to realize that the *shabad* in a *sakhi* underlies a specific purpose. The poet does not hesitate to excise even a number of *shabads*. *Shabads* are deleted from the cantos 49, 50 and 59 of the *purvardh*.⁹³ In canto 33 of the *uttarardh*, the *sakhi* of Sheikh Brahm from the *Puratan* tradition has been narrated. It contains a few *saloks*.⁹⁴ Then the poet says that the other *saloks* are in *Guru Granth* and have not been cited in order to reduce the volume of the work.⁹⁵ It implies that at the time of *Nanak Prakash*, the *bani* was available. This situation is altogether different from the one in the seventeenth century. At the time a *bani* collection was a rarity. On the other hand, evidence suggests that by the time of *Nanak Prakash*, *Gurbani* was available but had become difficult to be understood by a common Sikh. It is suggested by the emphasis on the exegeses of *bani*. In the *sakhi* on Babur in canto 28 of *uttarardh*, Babur asks Guru Nanak to elucidate the meaning of the *shabad*.⁹⁶

91. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p. 47.

92. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 523.

93. *Ibid*, pp. 537-56 and 632-52.

94. *Ibid*, pp. 1038-44.

95. *Ibid*, p. 1044 :

ਅਹੀਂ ਬਲੋਕੁ ਕੁੰਥ ਜੀ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
ਕਥਾ ਬਢਨ ਤੇ ਬਰਨੇ ਨਾਹੀ ।

96. *Ibid*, p. 1003 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਕਰਿ ਬਾਬਰ ਖਰਾ ਅਗਾਰੀ।
ਹਾਥ ਬੰਦਿਕੈ ਗਿਰਾ ਉਚਾਰੀ ।
ਅਰਥ ਸਮੇਤ ਸੁਨਾਵਹੁ ਮੰਗੀ ।
ਰਾਖਰ ਕਹਿਨ ਕਾਰਿ ਪਰ ਹੋਗੀ ॥26॥

Hence, the emphasis is on the exegetic aspect of the *bani*. At a place, the poet says that the exegesis of the *shabad* is being given hereunder.⁹⁷ Interestingly, Santokh Singh excises the composition but gives its meaning. Canto 60 to 66 of the *purvardh* is devoted to Guru Nanak's meeting with Siddhs; the verses have been replaced by their meaning.⁹⁸ The poet's lack of understanding of the significance of a *shabad* in *janamsakhi* is evident from the comment that Guru Nanak uttered a *shabad* in Rag Dhanasari in order to cure a leper.⁹⁹ For the laymen, *bani* contained magical or medicinal value. The exegetical part of the *sakhis* swells considerably. It indicates the existence of the professional exegetes of *Gurbani*. The poet's lack of interest in inventing narratives out of the *shabads* is also evident. There are only fifteen *sakhis* in *Nanak Prakash* whose source could not be known.¹⁰⁰ Even if we consider them the product of Santokh Singh's literary imagination, only two of them contain *shabads*.¹⁰¹

97. Ibid, p. 175 :

ਕਵੀ ਕਹੈ ਯਾ ਕੋ ਸੁਨਿ ਟੀਕਾ ।

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਨਿਕਸਯੋ ਕਲ ਪਦ ਨੀਕਾ ।

98. Ibid, pp. 642-711.

99. Ibid, p. 984 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਮੁਖ ਭਨਾ ।

ਤੁਸਨਿ ਕਰਿ ਕੁਸ਼ਟੀ ਨੈ ਸੁਣਾ ।

ਭਈ ਦੇਹਿ ਤਤਕਾਲ ਅਰੋਗੈ ।

ਬਿਨਸਿ ਗਏ ਮਨ ਕੇ ਸਭਿ ਸੋਗ ॥67॥

100. 'A Physician Treats a Rich and a Poor Patient' in canto 52 and 'Meeting with Sri Akal Purakh' in canto 73 of *purvardh*. 'The Merchant' in canto 15, 'Mardana Brings the Ganga', 'The Sweet Ritha', 'Resurrection of a Child' in canto 20, 'Discourse with Saints', in canto 26, 'A *Sakhi* of Guru Gobind Singh' in canto 38, 'A Carpenter Offers His Son to Baba Nanak' and 'Discourse with Siddhs', in canto 40, 'A Poor Carpenter' in canto 44, 'A Sikh Sells His Daughter', 'Dushala to a Faqir', and 'The Hospitality of a Bird' in canto 45, and 'Instruction to Sikhs' in canto 53 of *uttarardh*. See the chart on sources.
101. The *sakhi* entitled 'Discourse with Saints' in canto 26 contains one *shabad* and the *sakhi* 'Discourse with Siddhs' in canto 40 has four *shabads*. See *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 985-92 and 1099-1108.

The narrative is the most dynamic constituent of *janamsakhis*. The dynamism is achieved only by narrative skill and creative imagination. But there is not a single narrative of any artistic worth in *Nanak Prakash*. Santokh Singh's lack of creative imagination can be seen in his treatment of *sakhis* of high order drawn from other *janamsakhis*. The *sakhi* of Malik Bhago's feast is the achievement of the *Bala Janamsakhi*. While Guru Nanak was staying with the low caste Lalo, Malik Bhago organised a *brahmbhoj* (feast). Twice Guru Nanak refused the invitation of Malik Bhago. Third time, the Guru was brought to Malik, who demanded an explanation for his refusal. At last, Guru Nanak held Lalo's food in his right hand and Malik's food in his left. On squeezing, blood flowed from Malik's food and milk from Lalo's.¹⁰² The *sakhi* has been executed with utmost skill. The creative imagination of the author lies in the symbolism and the artistic twist. Milk is the symbol of love and life, and blood expresses exploitation and death. Similarly, Lalo's food was in Guru Nanak's right hand and Malik's food in the left. The author keeps the curiosity of the readers alive throughout the *sakhi*.¹⁰³ Moreover, the *sakhi* contains a Handali concern for the low caste. The author does not make any comment on Malik Bhago's character. But in *Nanak Prakash* it loses much of its artistic element of brevity and compactness. It contains unnecessary details. Malik Bhago was the Prime Minister of Pathan King. He is depicted in the black. His prosperity is the result of appropriation of wealth by evil-deeds.¹⁰⁴ All these remarks at the beginning of the *sakhi*

102. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, pp. 251-53.

103. Gurpreet Kaur, *An Attempt to Account for the Popularity of Bhai Bala Janamsakhi*, pp. 74-75.

104. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 456 :

ਹੁਤੋਂ ਪਠਾਨ ਤਰਾਂ ਕੋ ਰਾਜਾ ।
 ਨਿਕਟਿ ਸਭਾ ਜਿਹ ਦੁਸ਼ਟ ਸਮਾਜਾ ।
 ਤਿਹ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੀ ਬਾ ਖੰਤ੍ਰੀ ਏਕੁ ।
 ਨਾਮ ਮਲਕ ਭਾਗੋ ਅਵਿਵੇਕੁ ॥3॥

adversely affect the element of curiosity. Unlike the *Bala janamsakhi*, the emphasis here is on the appropriation of wealth and not on the piety of Lalo.¹⁰⁵ Without a feel of their different natures, Santokh Singh joins the account of Malik Bhago with the *sakhi* of Guru Nanak's imprisonment by the Pathan King.¹⁰⁶ In *Nanak Prakash* emphasis on appropriation of wealth and not on piety is significant. It is probable that in the changed situation piety had lost much of its gravity.

Santokh Singh joins the *sakhi* of Malik Bhago's feast with Guru Nanak's imprisonment. But he is little interested in the narrative element of the succeeding *sakhi*. He only reproduces it in outline.¹⁰⁷ It seems that he is concerned more with factual elements and has an aptitude for collecting as much 'information' as possible on the theme. Similarly, in canto 63 of *purvardh* the last five *chhands* contain an episode in which Siddh Gorakh places a trap for Bhai Bala in order to bring him into his fold but fails.¹⁰⁸ The narrative is not developed at

ਹੁਤੋ ਪਾਸ ਤਿਹ ਕੇ ਬਹੁ ਦਰਬਾ ।
ਕਰਿ ਕਲਿਮਲ ਸੋ ਸੰਚਯੋ ਸਰਬਾ ।

105. Ibid, p. 460 :

ਬਹੁਤ ਨਰਨ ਕੋ ਸੁਣਤਿ ਲੀਨਾ ।
ਤਿਹ ਕੋ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬੰਜ ਤੋ ਕੀਨਾ ॥53॥
ਇਹ ਕੇ ਅਚਵਤ ਪੁੰਨ ਪਲਾਈ ।
ਕਲਿਮਲ ਸੋ ਧਨ ਕਿਯ ਇਕਲਾਈ ।

106. Ibid, pp. 462-64.

107. Ibid, pp. 462-64.

108. Ibid, p. 680 :

ਪੁਨ ਗੋਰਖ ਸਮਝੀ ਰਿਦੈ ਅਧਿਕ ਬਿਭੁਤ ਦਿਖਾਇ ।
ਆਨੋਂ ਨਿਜ ਮਾਰਗ ਵਿਖੇ ਮਾਨਹਿ ਮਨਹਿ ਲੁਭਾਇ ॥38॥
ਖੱਪਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਨਾਥ ਨੇ ਬਾਲੇ ਤਾਲ ਬਿਲੋਕਿ ।
ਪਾਨੀ ਆਨਹੁ ਤਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਹੁੰਜੇ ਸਦਾ ਅਥੋਕ ॥39॥
ਲੇ ਕਰਿ ਗਮਨੇ ਤਾਲ ਢਿਗ ਮਾਣਿਕ ਲਾਲ ਬਿਸਾਲ ।
ਪੂਰਨ ਸਰ ਅਵਿਲੋਕਿ ਕੈ ਠਾਢੇ ਰਹੇ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲ ॥40॥
ਜਗਮਗ ਜਗਮਗ ਕਰਤਿ ਹੈਂ ਤਹਾਂ ਜਵਾਹਰ ਭੂਰ ।
ਗੋਰਖ ਕੋ ਛਲ ਜਾਨਿ ਕੈ ਹਟਿ ਆਏ ਜਗ ਮੂਰ ॥41॥
ਕਹਯੋ ਆਨ ਤਹਿ ਨੀਰ ਨਹਿ ਖੱਪਰ ਲੇਹੁ ਗਮਾਲਿ ।
ਬੇਠੇ ਬਹੁਰ ਸਮੀਪ ਹੁੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕੁਰ ਕੀਨ ਢਯਾਲ ॥42॥

all. On the other hand, it is simply tagged at the end of the canto. His disregard for the nature of *sakhi* narrator is also evident from the presence of the poet as a narrator. The poet narrates the meeting of Guru Angad with Guru Nanak in canto 47 of *uttarardh*.¹⁰⁹ It undermines the *Janam-sakhi* genre.

The use of inappropriate metres, to some extent, ruins the narrative aspect of *sakhis* of *Nanak Prakash*. In canto 21 of the *purvardh*, *kabit* and *sawayya* metres are used besides others like *dohra*, *soratha*, *chhappe* and *aril*.¹¹⁰ Out of 56 *chhands* of the canto, *kabits* and *sawayyas* are 34 in number. Both the metres are suitable for the description of poetic landscape. They are not for narrative speed. For example, *kabit* 8 gives a lively description of women in a marriage house.¹¹¹ Similarly, *kabit* 34 describes the bathing ceremony of Guru Nanak.¹¹² The portrayal of Guru Nanak as bridegroom is commendable in *sawayyas* 35 and 36.¹¹³ The ideal metres for the narrative are *dohra* and *chaupai*. There are some *dohra* in the canto, but there is no *chaupai* which is more dynamic. Santokh Singh also uses *aril* and *naraj chhand* in his narrative.¹¹⁴ Both of them are ideal for the description of valorous deeds. His metres create a problem for, instead of adding to the narrative skill. The metrical indifference of the poet is to some extent paralleled by his disinterest in the narrative.

Santokh Singh says that his work is only for Sikhs¹¹⁵ indicating that it is expounded in accordance with the Sikh doctrines. Also it is said that the account of Guru

109. Ibid, pp. 517-27.

110. Ibid, pp. 291-301.

111. Ibid, pp. 293-94.

112. Ibid, p. 300.

113. Ibid, pp. 300-01.

114. Ibid, pp. 396-403.

115. Ibid, p. 436 :

Nanak is in conformity with the *bani* of *Guru Granth*.¹¹⁶ Clearly, the poet wishes to propagate the Sikh doctrines through *Nanak Prakash*. There is no doubt about the poet's claim of the purpose of the work. But it is essential to look into the claim. As we know *janamsakhis* do not discuss Sikh theology as a whole but expound key principles. They are: the nature of Guru Nanak's *guruship*, the line of succession, and the idea of time.

Guru Nanak's *guruship* lies, in fact, in his relation with God, Gurus, Sikhs and Panth. *Nanak Prakash* contains a few expression on the nature of Guru Nanak's *guruship*. But Santokh Singh is more or less ambivalent on the point. He does not agree with orthodox *janamsakhi* idea that Guru Nanak had no *guru* and had direct access to God. On the contrary, he puts forward the idea of incarnation.¹¹⁷ Guru Nanak was sent on the earth after having a *gurmantra* from *Parbrahm*. He bodily resembles Ram.¹¹⁸ At an another place, he is said to be the emissary of Ram.¹¹⁹ His status is lower than Prehlad.¹²⁰ Guru Nanak of *Nanak Prakash* is a *karamyogi*.¹²¹ Santokh Singh quotes *bani* of *Guru Granth*

116. Ibid, p. 443 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਪੁਨੀਤਾ ।
ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥੀ ਸੇ ਰੀਤਾ ॥67॥

117. Ibid, p. 643 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਗੋਰਖ ਮਨ ਮਹਿ ਲਖੀ ਸ਼ਕਤਿਵਾਨ ਹੈ ਕੋਇ ।
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਬਿਸ਼ਨੂੰ ਅਵਤਾਰ ਜੋ ਅਬਿ ਕਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਕਯੋ ਹੋਇ ॥9॥

118. Ibid, p. 929 :

ਗੁਰੂ ਕਹਯੋ ਹਮ ਰਾਮ ਸਰੂਪਾ ।
ਯੁਤ ਸੀਤਾ ਕੇ ਧਰਹਿ ਅਨੂਪਾ ।

119. Ibid, p. 928 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਕਹੈ ਦੂਤ ਹਮ ਰਾਮੁ ।
ਮਿਲਨ ਬਿਭਾਂਖਨ ਕੋ ਹੈ ਕਾਮੁ ।

120. Ibid, p. 704 :

ਆਏ ਤੁਮ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਰਾਹੁ ।

121. Ibid, p. 589 :

ਫੁਧਾ ਸੰਗ ਬਿਹਬਲ ਤਯੋ ਆਪ ਹਸੀ ਨਿਤ ਪ੍ਰਾਹਿ ॥56॥

and the *Varan* of Bhai Gurdas in support of his contention.¹²² Interestingly, the poet cites two *sawayyas* of Bhattas which expound the orthodox line of succession instead of the idea of incarnation.

Nanak Prakash is not clear and uniform on the question of Guru Nanak's relationship with his successors. It contains both orthodox and heterodox ideas. The poet is aware of the idea of the line of succession.¹²³ But at the same time, it contains the idea of instantaneous spiritual ascendancy, propagated by the Handalis.¹²⁴ *Nanak Prakash* also contains Udasi idea of gnosis.¹²⁵ The Handali idea undermines the relevance of the idea of line of succession. The Udasi idea of gnosis makes the question of succession irrelevant. A gnostic is as good as the Guru. Bala's act of declining the offer of *guruship* further weakens the spiritual claim of Guru Angad. As a result, the question of succession becomes only fortuitous.

According to *Nanak Prakash*, Guru Nanak is said to have incarnated on the earth in order to put an end to all evil deeds. He preaches *satnam* to destroy the arrogance of the many and to eradicate all distress on the earth.¹²⁶

122. Ibid, pp. 444-45.

123. Ibid, p. 465 :

ਜਿਉਂ ਸਾਂਗੀ ਬਹੁ ਬੇਖ ਕਰੇਈ ।
ਏਕ ਜੋਤਿ ਦਸ ਰੂਪ ਧਰੇਈ ।

124. Ibid, p. 451 :

ਛੁਵਤਿ ਹਾਥ ਕਪਾਟ ਖੁਲੇ ਤਿਹੁ ਲੋਕਨ ਕੀ ਸੁਧਿ ਭੀ ਮਨ ਮਾਂਗੀ ।
ਪੰਕਜ ਪਾਨ ਮੁਕੰਦ ਕੇ ਲਾਗਤਿ ਭਾ ਜੁ ਅਨੰਦ ਨ ਜਾਇ ਸੁ ਪ੍ਰਾਗੀ ।
ਪੂਰਨ ਸੌ ਮਿਲ ਪੂਰਨ ਭਾ ਭਵ ਪੂਰਨ ਆਤਮ ਹੀ ਦਰਸਾਈ ॥33॥

125. Ibid, p. 1192 :

ਅਹਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਜੋ ਗਯਾਨ ਮੁਕੰਦਾ ।
ਜਿਸ ਤੋ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਨਿੱਤ ਅਨੰਦਾ ।
... ..
ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਹੋਇ ਜੇ ਅਹਿ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਕਹਿ ਜੋਇ ।
ਸੋ ਤੋਂ ਸਦ ਹੀ ਮੁਕਤ ਹੋ ਤਾਂਹਿ ਬਿਕਾਰ ਨ ਕੋਇ ॥51॥

126. Ibid, pp. 766-67 :

ਕਰਤਿ ਕੁਕਰਮ ਸਰਬ ਨਿਰਵਾਰੋ ।
ਦੰਭ ਅਨੇਕਨ ਦੁਰ ਬਿਦਾਰੋ ।

The tenth Guru would eliminate the Mughal power as it was uncontrollable during Guru Nanak's period.¹²⁷ Santokh Singh's remarks on Guru Nanak's mission are inconsistent and vague. Guru Nanak's travels are depicted to be without any specific purpose.¹²⁸

Nanak Prakash puts forth Handali doctrines. The Vedantic thought has found a prominent place. A canto is devoted exclusively to the discussion of the Vedantic idea and a canto on Yogic thought. On the other hand, the poet does not have a grip on Sikh doctrines. Though a number of Sikh concepts have been discussed in the work yet they do not speak of sound understanding.¹²⁹

Santokh Singh does not embody a political attitude. He is not aware of the political purposes of the Sikh religion either. Consequently, the Sikh faith that emerges out of *Nanak Prakash* has magical characteristics. Guru Nanak is giver of children and wealth.¹³⁰ Only a look at the Guru

ਸੱਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕੋ ਕਰਿ ਉਪਦੇਸ਼ਾ ।
ਧਰਨੀ ਕੋ ਸਭਿ ਹਰਹੁ ਕਲੇਸ਼ਾ ॥56॥

... ..
ਧਰਯੋ ਦੇਹਿ ਜਿਨੋ ਦੁਤਿਯ ਨ ਕਾਰਨ ।

127. Ibid, p. 953 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਬਾਲੇ ਅਬ ਤੁਰਕਨ ਜੋਰੁ ।
ਦਸਵਾਂ ਜਾਮਾਂ ਪਹਿਰੋ ਜਬਹੀ ।
ਧਰਮ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵੋ ਤਬਹੀ ॥51॥

128. There are three expressions to delineate causes of Guru Nanak's travels in *Nanak Prakash*. At a place, the cause of travel is only 'to see various regions'. At another, the word 'sail' is used indicating that the journeys were for pleasure. *Nanak Prakash* also states that the travels were 'to holy places'. See, *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 547, 540, 550, 567, 586.

129. For a detailed discussion on the Sikh doctrines of *Nanak Prakash* and the influences of Handali and Vedantic ideas on it, see chapters 'Sources of *Nanak Prakash*', and 'Bhai Santokh Singh's Idea of Sikh History'.

130. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 1251, 492 :

ਸੁਤ ਬਿਤ ਅੰਦਿਕ ਰਾਮਨਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਤੇ ਸਭਿ ਪਾਇ ।
ਪੁਤਿ ਦਿਨ ਦੋਨੋ ਲੋਕ ਸੋ ਹੋਵੋ ਗੁਰੁ ਸਹਾਇ ॥47॥

× × ×

ਜਬ ਨਿਜ ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਕਰਿ ਹੋ ਕਾਜਾ ।
ਦੇਇ ਸਮੁੰਦ੍ਰ ਲਘਾਇ ਜਹਾਜਾ ।

is sufficient for a Sikh to get his wishes fulfilled.¹³¹ The Sikh faith saves one from Yama for a small offering. It bestows the idea of *aham brahm* (I am God) and redemption for a small gift.¹³² The work is full of miracles, especially in the *uttarardh*.¹³³ The poet discusses the superiority of the Sikh faith simply by stating it. A *gursikh* has the look of a lion but a *manmukh* has a dog's sight.¹³⁴ This hints at political superiority of the Sikhs.

Santokh Singh discusses the fruit of reading his work. Interestingly, he has no soteriological explanation. The sufferings and sins of the reader of *Nanak Prakash* would be eliminated.¹³⁵ It would provide happiness.¹³⁶ It would give celestial wealth to its readers.¹³⁷ In fact, the purpose

131. Ibid, p. 1105 :

ਧਾਰਿ ਕਾਮਨਾ ਜੋ ਉਰ ਆਵਹਿ ।
ਦਰਸਨ ਕਰਤੁਯੋਂ ਸੇ ਸਭਿ ਪਾਵਹਿ ।

132. Ibid, p. 1259 :

ਬੋਰੀ ਜੈਸੀ ਭੋਟ ਲੇਤਿ, ਜਮ ਕੀ ਅਭੇਟ ਦੇਤਿ
ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਕਰੁਨਾਨਿਕੇਤ ਹੈਂ ।
ਹੰਤਾ ਲੇਤਿ ਦਾਸਨ ਕੀ ਅਹੰ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਦੇਤ ਉਰ
ਮਨ ਲੇਤਿ ਚਰਨ ਮੈਂ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕੇ ਦੇਤਿ ਹੈਂ ॥113॥

133. Jaibhagwan Goyal (ed), *Guru Nanak Prakash (purvardh)*, p. 18.

134. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 791 :

ਕੂਕਰ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟਿ ਨ ਕਥਿ ਮਨ ਧਰਨੀ ।
ਸ਼ੋਰ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟਿ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਹੂੰ ਕਰਨੀ ।

135. Ibid, pp. 403, 419 :

ਪਤਿਤ ਸੁਨਤਿ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਇਹ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸ਼ਰਧਾ ਦੇਨ ।
ਅਘ ਓਘਨ ਮਲ ਹਰਨ ਕੇ ਜਲ ਸਮ ਹੈ ਸੁਖਐਨ ॥54॥
× × ×
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਬਖਾਨੇਂ ਦੁਖ ਨਾਸਨ ਪੁਨ ਜਿਨ ਕੇ ।

136. Ibid, pp. 170, 273, 125 :

ਜੇ ਸਿਖ ਧਰਿਹੀ ਧਯਾਨ ਕੇ ਦੇਂ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਸੁਖ ਰਾਸ ।
× × ×
ਕਰੋਂ ਕਥਾ ਸੁਖਦਾਇਨੀ ਸੁਨੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਚਿਤ ਛਾਇ ॥1॥
× × ×

ਸੁਨਿ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਪੰਥ ।

137. Ibid, pp. 464-65 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਕਥਾ ਦੇਵ ਦੇ ਸੰਪਦ ।

of a work, to a large extent, ensures its functional success. The ambivalence of the purpose of *Nanak Prakash* results in its functional failure. The period of *Nanak Prakash* does not require a sort of function, fulfilled by the *janamsakhis*.

All this contributes the breakdown of form. *Nanak Prakash* is divided into two sections: *purvardh* and *uttardh*. The first half contains 73 cantos and the latter 57 cantos. But no reason has been assigned to the division. Nor any reason seems to underlie it. Unlike *janamsakhis*, the first chapter is devoted to an invocation which is a literary need of the times. Santokh Singh devotes a canto to the authenticity of the *Bala Janamsakhi*.

The basic unit of the *janamsakhi* genre does not remain intact in *Nanak Prakash*. Out of 73 cantos of *purvardh*, 53 cantos contain only one episode whereas thirteen cantos have more than one. Out of them, ten have two episodes each, two have three each and one has four.¹³⁸ The form of *Nanak Prakash* has further deteriorated in the *uttardh*. Out of 57 cantos, only 22 cantos have one episode each whereas twenty-three contain more than one episode each. Nine cantos are of two episodes each, twelve of three each, seven of four each, three of five each and one of even six episodes.¹³⁹ Sometimes, a theme has been stretched of out in more than one canto. The legendary account Prehlah is in three cantos and that of Dhru in two.¹⁴⁰

The clubbing of the episodes in a canto does not constitute a specific pattern. Canto 52 of the *purvardh* has a mythological account of Machh, Kaih and Narad and an account of a physician.¹⁴¹ Similarly, the episodes of

138. See chapter on "Sources of *Nanak Prakash*" and appendix "Chart of Sources of *Nanak Prakash*".

139. See Chart.

140. The account of Prehlah is in cantos 67 to 69 and that of Dhru in 71 and 72 of the *purvardh*.

141. See Chart.

'Jagannath Temple', 'the wolf does not eat dead-body' and 'Kaliyug' are covered in canto 10 of the *uttarardh*.¹⁴² The *sakhis* in a canto sometimes have varied sources. Canto 59 of *purvardh* has *sakhis* drawn from the *Bala Janamsakhi* and *Adi Sakhian*.¹⁴³ Material from *Puratan Janamsakhi*, *B-40 Janamsakhi* and *Mahima Prakash* (verse) has been collected in the canto 15 of the *uttarardh*.¹⁴⁴ Canto 38 of the *uttarardh* has *sakhis* taken from the *Gyan Ratnavali*, the *Adi Sakhian* and the *Bala Janamsakhi*.¹⁴⁵ The sources are both orthodox and heterodox. The poet does not hesitate to introduce even the non-*janamsakhi* theme. The first canto of *purvardh* is devoted to the invocation and canto 37 to the discussion of the *Bala Janamsakhi*'s authenticity.¹⁴⁶ To a limited extent it is due to poet's reliance on the *Bala Janamsakhi*, *Gyan Ratnavali* and the *Sikhan Di Bhagatmala*. The real cause lies in the poet's effort on conglomerating maximum number of episodes. The tendency is the result of the times. This is particularly prominent in *uttarardh*. Consequently, the overall structure of *Nanak Prakash* gives way.

III

As a *Janamsakhi*, *Nanak Prakash* is a total collapse. But like the *Bala Janamsakhi*, the collapse could not be assigned to the bad faith, even if the *Bala* tradition has been used extensively. Nor his interest in Vedant could be held responsible for the formal ruin. Similarly, the poet's partiality for scholastic poetry could not be blamed either. The real cause of collapse of the genre lies in the socio-political situation of the period.

The sixteenth century is the period of genesis of *janamsakhi* genre. They serve as literary devices to arouse piety and sense of community. Before the execu-

142. See Chart.

143. See Chart.

144. See Chart.

145. See Chart.

146. See Chart.

tion of Guru Tegh Bahadur in the seventeenth century, the *janamsakhi* debate was generated within the Sikhs and from without. This period was the Golden age of the genre when it hoped to serve religious as well as political purpose.¹⁴⁷ But with the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the genre was no more relevant.¹⁴⁸ By the early eighteenth century, the creative imagination in *janamsakhi* had almost exhausted. Most of the *janamsakhis* are mere copies of earlier *janamsakhis*. They make mutual borrowings. The *Gyan Ratnavali*, a product of Udasis during the Sikh rule, is mostly based on the *Bala* materials and hardly contributes to the genre.¹⁴⁹ With the rise of Sikh power, the spiritual paramountcy of Guru Nanak did not remain problematic.¹⁵⁰ It lost most of its dynamic quality. The decline of the genre could also be seen in the rise of *gurbilas* genre. The *gurbilas* is the opposite of the *janamsakhi*. Unlike *janamsakhi*, the *gurbilases* ignore doctrines for the sake of social urgency.¹⁵¹ Consequently, even the heterodox idea could be accommodated in order to meet the challenge of the time. With the establishment of a Sikh rule under Ranjit Singh even *gurbilas* lost much of its relevance. *Gurbilas Patshahi Chhevin* has neither a religious ideology nor a political programme to advocate.¹⁵² Under such circumstances, an attempt at *janamsakhi* writing was doubly futile. Thus, *Nanak Prakash* has no clear purpose to achieve. It lacks all the dynamic elements of both the *janamsakhi* and *gurbilas*. *Nanak Prakash* as *janamsakhi* is nothing but a vehicle of magic and superstitions, which speaks of the lack of religious dynamism during the period.

147. S.S. Hans, "Social Transformation and the Early Sikh Literature", *Journal of Regional History*, p. 8; also "Early Sikh Tradition", *Journal of Regional History*, p. 186.

148. *Ibid.*

149. S.S. Hans, "Early Sikh Tradition", *Journal of Regional History*, 186.

150. *Loc cit.*

151. S.S. Hans, "Social Transformation and the Early Sikh Literature", *Journal of Regional History*, p. 8.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Chapter IV

SANTOKH SINGH'S IDEA OF SIKH HISTORY

Santokh Singh's work is a rich source material on Sikh history. Bhai Vir Singh also feels that the work underlies an awareness of 'scientific history'. In his opinion, Santokh Singh's historical works can be regarded as an exposition of 'artistic history'. By 'artistic history' he means a spiritual truth, expounded in a literary manner to impart instruction to man.¹ W.H. McLeod considers *Nanak Prakash* unreliable since it is based on 'untrustworthy *Bala Janamsakhi* narrative.'² He places the work in Sikh hagiographic tradition.³ However, his remarks are in the context of discussion of *janamsakhis*. In fact, most of the discussion of *Nanak Prakash* and also on *Gur Pratap Suraj* is centred on the sources. Source material is essential but its interpretation is equally important in understanding a work. In this respect, the poet's idea of history will be studied in relation to the doctrines as well as the social background. It has broadly three aspects : the poet's general idea of history; his approach to Sikh history; and his understanding of Sikh doctrines.

In order to explore Santokh Singh's idea of history a look at his own concept of history is important. Santokh Singh calls his work *itihās*.⁴ The other word used in the

1. Bhai Vir Singh (ed.), *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 62-63.
2. W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak And The Sikh Religion*, p. 24.
3. W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition*, p. 18.
4. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 305, 403 :

ਭਯੋ ਸਪੁਰਨ ਧਯਾਇ ਬਹੁਰ ਕਰੈ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਕਵਿ ।

× × ×

ਪਤਿਤ ਸੁਨਤਿ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਇਹ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸ਼ਰਧਾ ਦੇਨ ।

work is *katha*.⁵ Apparently, both the expressions are synonymous. But the use of both the words side by side denotes that they have variant connotations also.⁶ The word *itihas* includes legend, tradition and past events; it has a metahistorical meaning.⁷ *Katha* means conversation, speech, talking together.⁸ The adjectives used by the poet to qualify these expressions are significant. Whereas the *itihas* of the Guru is a giver of piety, the *katha* is the bestowal of happiness.⁹ The first indicates its devotional aspect and the latter its aesthetic. *Nanak Prakash* is *katha-itihas*, denoting historical spiritual content. The work is not merely a life-story of Guru Nanak but an exposition of his grace.¹⁰ The poet has executed it in

5. Ibid., pp. 124, 273, 436, 527, 653 :

ਸ੍ਰੀਦਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਕੀ ਕਥਾ ਗੁਨ ਮੰਦਿਰ ਸੁਖਕੰਦ ।
 × × ×
 ਕਹੈ ਕਥਾ ਸੁਖਦਾਇਨੀ ਸੁਨੈ ਸਿੱਖ ਚਿਤ ਲਾਇ ।
 × × ×
 ਕਹਿਤ ਕਥਾ ਕਵਿ ਕਾਮਦਾ ਗੁਰ ਸਿੱਖਨ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ।
 × × ×
 ਕਵਿਤਾ ਰਹੈ ਜਥਾਅਤੀ ਕਹੈ ਕਥਾ ਸੁਖਦਾਇ ।
 × × ×
 ਕਹੈ ਕਥਾ ਬਰ ਪਾਵਨੀ ਜਥਾ ਮੌਰ ਮਤਿ ਆਇ ।

6. Ibid, p. 189 :

ਕਹਿ ਬਾਲਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਕਥਾ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ।

7. Monier Monier-Williams (Sir), *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, p. 165.

8. Ibid, p. 24.

9. See footnote nos. 4 and 5 above.

10. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 1195, 125 :

ਕਰਿ ਕਾਰਜ ਨਿਜ ਰਿਦੇ ਕੇ ਮਸੂ ਸੁਮੰਤਿ ਬਨਾਇ ।
 ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਜਸੁ ਲਿਖਹਿ ਤਬਹਿ ਪਰਮ ਗਤਿ ਪਾਇ ।
 × × ×
 ਅਸ ਗੁਰ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਕਰਿਹੈ ਗੁੰਬੁ ।
 ਸੁਨਿ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਪੰਥੁ ।
 ਗੁਰ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਸਰਿਤਾ ਜਿਵ ਬਰਨੀ ।
 ਮੰਗਲ ਕਰਨਿ ਅਮੰਗਲ ਹਰਨੀ ॥੪2॥

a rhetorical figures of speech¹¹ The narrative is *banai* literally 'made'.¹² Interestingly, the word *sakhi* is used only at a few places.¹³

It is important to look into his idea of evidence. *Gurdwaras* in the present, authenticate happenings in the past. The *jujube* tree at Sultanpur Lodhi on the bank of river Vein is an evidence of Guru Nanak's plantation of a twig after brushing his teeth.¹⁴ Similarly, the *sakhi* of Gorakhmata is historically proved on the basis of existing sweet *ritha* tree.¹⁵ This kind of evidence is not limited to Sikh history. There is a reference to *shivalinga*, a proof of the bridge to Ceylon built by Sri Ram.¹⁶ Santokh Singh fails to understand the logical relationship between evidence and past. The present can not retrospectively make the past. He simply accepts the traditional

11. Ibid, pp. 170, 847 :

ਲੀਲਾ ਬਾਲਕ ਖੇਲ ਕੀ ਸਲੋਕਾਰ ਸੁਖਿਲਾਸ +
 × × ×
 ਸੁਫੰਦੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਕਥਾ ਹੋ ਬਖਾਨੇ ।

12. Ibid., p. 360 :

ਬਾਲਾ ਰਹੈ ਨਿਜ ਸੰਗ ਸਦਾ
 ਉਚਰਯੋ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਕੋ ਜਾਹਿ ਬਨਾਈ ।

13. Ibid., pp. 438, 439 :

ਗੁਰੂ ਸਰਧਾ ਜਿਨ ਕੇ ਉਕ ਰੋਈ ।
 ਕਹਤਿ ਸੁਨਤਿ ਗੁਰੁਸਾਖੀ ਸੋਈ ।
 × × ×
 ਜੇ ਸਾਕਤ ਕੀ ਕਹੀ ਕੁਸਾਖੀ ।
 ਖੀਰ ਬੀਚ ਸੇ ਜਾਨਹੁ ਮਾਖੀ ।

14. Ibid., p. 382 :

ਗਾਡ ਦਈ ਧਰ ਹੋਤਿ ਭਯੋ ਤਰੁ
 ਹੈ ਅਬ ਲੋ ਬਰ ਸੋ ਬਦਰੀ ।

15. Ibid., p. 944 :

ਅਬ ਲੋ ਤਿਨ ਨਾ ਅਰੈ ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨੀ +
 ਅਰਧ ਮਧੁਰ ਅਰਧਹਿ ਕਰੁਣਾਨੀ ॥62॥

16. Ibid., p. 915.

ਜਹਿ ਰਾਘੁਬੀਰ ਸੇਤੁ ਬੰਧਵਾਯੋ ।
 ਏਕ ਲਿੰਗ ਸਿਵ ਤਹਾ ਸੁਹਾਯੋ ।

claims of memorials, associated with Guru Nanak without looking into their credentials.

Santokh Singh discusses the authenticity of the *Bala Janamsakhi*. A Sikh doubts its genuineness. The poet says that thought can conquer skepticism.¹⁷ He does not challenge the genuineness of *Bala* narrative except of the offending parts. He manages to reconcile the offending material with Sikh piety by putting forward an idea that the extant *Bala Janamsakhis* are interpolated. The earliest version given by Bhai Bala before Guru Angad was unexceptionable.¹⁸ The poet attributes the offending material to a successor of Baba Handal and a Kabirpanthi because Handal and Kabir are shown to be spiritually higher than Guru Nanak in the *Bala Janamsakhi*.¹⁹ He fails to realise that the work could embody sectarian intentions. He has no understanding of the dynamics of literature and history. He also says that the

17. Ibid., p. 436 :

ਕਰਿ ਸੋਝੈ ਬਿਨ ਸੋਝੈ ਹੋਇ ।
ਆਨ ਬਾਨ ਨਹਿ ਭਰਮੋ ਸੋਇ ।

18. Ibid., p. 438 :

ਜੋ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਲਿਖਵਾਈ ।
ਤਿਹਕੋ ਤਾਤਪਰਜ ਸਭਿ ਚੀਨੇ ।
ਅਧਿਕ ਬਚਨ ਅਪਨੇ ਲਿਖਿ ਦੀਨੇ ॥28॥
ਪੋਥੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਜੁ ਅਨਤਗਤਿ ਸੁਨਿ ਸੁੱਤਾ ਮਨ ਝਾਇ ।
ਤਿਹ ਤੇ ਪੋਥੀ ਸਭਿ ਲਿਖੀ ਸਾਕਤ ਜੋਨ ਬਨਾਇ ॥29॥

19. Ibid., pp. 437-38 :

ਇਕ ਕਬੀਰ ਖੰਸੀ ਮਿਲਿ ਤਾਂਹੀ ।
ਸੋ ਪੋਥੀ ਪਵਿ ਗੁਨ ਮਨ ਮਾਂਹੀ ॥22॥
ਕਰਿ ਕੁਕਰਮ ਅਨਸੋਧ ਬਨਾਈ ।
ਅਪਨ ਵਡਿਨ ਕੀ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਪਾਈ ।
× × ×
ਅਪਨਾ ਵਡਾ ਜਾਨ ਹਿਦਾਲੂ ।
ਤਿਹ ਕੀ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਲਿਖੀ ਬਿਸਾਲੂ ।
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਤੇ ਵਡੀ ਬਨਾਇ ।
ਮਹਿਮਾ ਲਿਖਤ ਭਯੋ ਬਹੁ ਭਾਇ ॥24॥

original manuscript has been lost.²⁰ If so, in the absence of evidence no deductions are permissible. Neither does he understand the rationale of interpolations. For him, the interpolated part is like a fly in the milk and a true Sikh throws the fly out.²¹ Thus his faith decides on the point of interpolation.²² How easy it is for *katha* to take over *itihās*.

The discussion regarding the authenticity of *Bala Janamsakhi* helps us to look into his approach to historical sources. For him, a source does not have an organic character. He bases his work on the *Bala Janamsakhi*, not because of its organic unity, but because of its authenticity. The defamatory materials are considered interpolation at a later stage. That is why Santokh Singh excises the objectionable portion of the *Bala Janamsakhi* and utilises the remaining material. He fails to realise that it was a product of sectarian debate. Only by knowing them, one could understand the logic of the material that is not in consonance with the Sikh tenets. Thus, the idea of interpolation gives him a free hand not only to base his work on the *Bala Janamsakhi* but also to incorporate materials from other *janamsakhis* and other works.

Nanak Prakash is written in a *janamsakhi* mode. In *janamsakhi* genre, the *shabads* of Guru Nanak are used to

20. *Ibid.*, p. 438 :

ਪੁਰਖ ਪ੍ਰੋਥੀ ਹੁਤੀ ਜੁ ਸੋਈ ।
ਦਈ ਬਿਪਾਸਾ ਬੀਚ ਡਬੋਈ ॥27॥
ਪੰਨੇ ਛੋਦੇ ਦਏ ਬਹਾਈ ।
ਜੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕੁਰ ਅੰਗਦ ਲਿਖਵਾਈ ।

21. *Ibid.*, p. 439 :

ਜੇ ਸਾਕਤ ਕੀ ਕਹੀ ਕੁਸਾਖੀ ।
ਖੀਰ ਬੀਚ ਸੋ ਜਾਨਹੁ ਮਾਖੀ ।
ਕਾਦਹਿ ਮਾਖੀ ਦੇਖਹਿ ਜੋਊ ।
ਪੀਵਹਿ ਪਾਇ ਮਿਸਟ ਸਿਖ ਸੋਊ ॥34॥

22. *Ibid.*, p. 430 :

ਕੀਰਤਿ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਜੋ ਉਰ ਧਾਰਹਿ ।
ਕਰੀ ਕੁਸਾਖੀ ਨੋ ਨਿਰਵਾਰਹਿ ॥35॥

'lend a semblance of realism or moral support to the narrative preceding it.'²³ The historical make-believe of *janamsakhi* writers lie in the facts made from the *shabad*. Santokh Singh is more concerned about the fictional element of the *bani*. He is not aware of the institutional use of the *janamsakhis*. At places, Santokh Singh excludes *shabads* given in the source *janamsakhi* and replaces them with translations.²⁴

Nanak Prakash is work on the divine activities of Guru Nanak in order to provide a peep into the next world. He is honest about his spiritual purpose. Guru Nanak's life is metaphorically described as churning the ocean of Hindu mythology. Guru Nanak is equated with ocean. Bhai Bala is the churning staff and the churning rope of *sheshnaga* is love.²⁵ Firstly, it is suggested that the information has not only been collected from various sources but also organised. History is to reveal truth. Thirdly, the truth is revealed by 'love'. Hence, 'piety' is essential to history. The implication of the myth is that Guru Nanak's life is a means to achieve truth. The poet denies strictly rational approach to history. Thus, Santokh Singh is a transcendental historian. *Nanak Prakash* is written only for Sikh readers, who have faith in the Guru. According to him, only the faithful are entitled to read or listen to the *sakhis*.²⁶ He also forbids the reader's belief in the heterodox

23 S.S Hans, "Bala Janamsakhi in relation to Janamsakhi Handal" *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, p. 95.

24. In Cantos 49, 50 and 59 of the *uttarardh*, the *shabads*, from source *sakhis* have not been given. However, the poet has given the translation in cantos 60, 61, 62, 63 and 66 of the *uttarardh*.

25. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 434 :

ਸਾਗਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਚਰਿਤ ਬਾਲਾ ਮੰਦਰ ਰੂਪ ।

ਪ੍ਰਮ ਸੋਸ਼ ਨੇਤੀ ਭਏ ਕੀਨੋ ਮਥਨ ਅਨੂਪ ।

26. *Ibid.*, p. 438 :

ਗੁਰੂ ਬਰਧਾ ਜਿਨ ਕੇ ਉਰ ਹੋਈ ।

ਕਹਤਿ ਸੁਨਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਖੀ ਸੋਈ ।

sakhis. He goes to the extent of suggesting his readers to boycott such deviants. They are not Sikhs.²⁷ According to him, truth or falsehood could only be known on the authority of *Guru Granth*, works on Sikh doctrines like those of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Mani Singh.²⁸ But the essential element is to have a firm faith in Guru Nanak.²⁹ Although the poet is bitterly against the Handalis yet he fails to avoid Handali ideas. The paradox suggests his lack of deeper understanding.

Keeping Santokh Singh's understanding of history in mind is important in order to look into his exposition of Sikh history. Santokh Singh has discussed the genesis of Sikh movement in *Nanak Prakash*. According to him, Guru Nanak was sent to launch a new religion and to put an end to all follies, evil doctrines and arrogance. His duty was to promote the splendour of glorious *nām* and to help people

27. *Ibid.*, p. 438 :

ਨਹਿੰ ਮਾਨਹਿੰ ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਕਢਿ ਸਾਖੀ ।
ਜੇਨ ਦਰਸ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਭਿਲਾਖੀ ।
ਜੇ ਮਾਨਹਿੰ ਸਾਕਤ ਕੋ ਕਹਯੋ ।
ਕਿਨ ਤੇ ਲਿੰਖੀ ਖਾਰਕ ਰਹਯੋ ॥3,1॥

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 443-44 :

ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕੀ ਸਾਖੀ ਪਾਵੈ ।
ਤੋ ਹਮਰੋ ਸੰਦੇਹ ਮਿਟਾਵੈ ।
X X X
ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੋ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕੀ ਸਾਖੀ ।
X X X
ਤਾਂ ਕੀ ਕਹੀ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਅਬ ਸਾਖੀ ।
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਨਾਮ ਜਿਉਂ ਭਾਖੀ ।
X X X
ਮਨੀ ਜਿੰਘ ਭਯੋ ਗਤਿ ਕੁਰੀ ॥70॥
X X X
ਤਿਹ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥਾ ਸੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਯੀ ।

29. *Ibid.*, p. 441 :

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੋ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕੀ ਸਾਖੀ ।
ਹਿਰਦੇ ਮਹਿੰ ਬਰਧਾ ਦਿਢ ਰਾਖੀ ॥71॥

follow the right path.³⁰ Strangely, at one place Guru Nanak expresses his helplessness in the face of Mughal power. On assuming the form of the tenth Guru, he would start a new Panth. It would bear arms and fight against the enemy. The Mughal power would be ended and evil would be subdued for long. Then, there would be a reign of *dharma* and law.³¹ Thus, the Sikhs enter into history with Guru Gobind Singh followed by struggle for power culminating in Sikh rule. Santokh Singh has no idea of the historical role of the first nine Gurus of which the later Sikh history was a logical consequence.

Closely connected with the mission, is the nature of Guru Nanak's *guruship*. All the orthodox *janamsakhis* (including the *Miharban Janamsakhi*) discuss Guru Nanak's *guruship*. The *Miharban Janamsakhi* states clearly that Guru Nanak has no *guru*. His *guruship* belongs to the 'immutable' order of the universe.³² But in Santokh Singh's opinion, Guru Nanak's *guru* was *Parbrahm*. He was sent on earth with a *gurmantra*.³³ He bodily resembles Ram.³⁴

30. *Ibid*, p. 412 :

ਭਗਤ ਜਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਮਗ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵਨ ।
ਕੁਮਤਿ ਕੁਪੰਥ ਕੁਦੰਭ ਮਿਟਾਵਨ ।
ਕੀਰਤਿ ਨਾਮ ਪ੍ਰਤਾਪ ਵਧਾਵਨ ।
ਸੁਭ ਮਾਰਗ ਮਾਨਵ ਕੇ ਪਾਵਨ ॥3॥

31. *Ibid.*, p. 963 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਬਾਲੇ ਅਬ ਤੁਰਕਨ ਜੋਰੁ ।
ਦਸਵਾਂ ਜਾਮਾਂ ਪਹਿਰੋਂ ਜਬਹੀ ।
ਧਰਮ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵੋਂ ਤਬਹੀ ॥5॥
ਅਯੁਧ ਧਰਿ ਕੇ ਜੁੱਧ ਮਚਾਵਹਿ ।
ਤੁਰਕਨ ਕੀ ਸਭਿ ਸਠਾ ਉਠਾਵਹਿ ।
ਮਹਾਂ ਪਾਪ ਜੋ ਦੇਹਿ ਹਟਾਈ ।
ਧਰਮ ਨੀਤਿ ਯੁਤ ਰਾਜ ਭੁੰਚਾਈ ॥6॥

32. S.S. Hans, "The Meharban Janamsakhi", *Studies in Local and Regional History*, pp. 91-93.

33. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 370 :

ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬਿਗਸੇ ਸੁਨਤਿ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੁ ਦੀਨ ਗੁਰੁ ਹੋਇ ।
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਧਾਰਨ ਕਰਯੋ ਬਰਨ ਸੁਨਾਵੋ ਸੋਇ ॥5॥

The poet does not maintain the pre-eminence of Guru Nanak even among *bhagats*. Prehlad has a higher spiritual status than Guru Nanak.³⁵ The *udasis* (itineraries) of Nanak are inconsistently discussed. At one place, Guru Nanak is said to have travelled far and wide in order to see various regions (*desh*).³⁶ At another the poet employs the word 'sail' i.e. travel for pleasure.³⁷ In Santokh Singh, Guru Nanak undertakes long journeys to holy places.³⁸ Guru Nanak is said to have visited the seven continents and nine mythological regions. This portion of *sakhi* has been drawn from the *Gyan Ratnavali*.³⁹ The only difference is that they have been discussed in more detail in *Nanak Prakash*.⁴⁰

There are some remarks on the character of Sikh movement in the process of historical evolution in *Nanak Prakash*. Guru Teg Bahadur's career is a turning point in the evolution of the Sikh history. The conflict with the Mughals started during the life time of Guru Teg Bahadur. The poet dwells on the sacrifice of the Guru. Metaphorically 'Guru Teg Bahadur is a lotus in the garden of Turks.'⁴¹ A

34. *Ibid.*, p. 929 :

ਗੁਰੂ ਕਹਯੋ ਹਮ ਰਾਮ ਸਰੂਪਾ ।

ਯੁਤ ਸੀਤਾ ਕੇ ਧਰਹਿ ਅਨੂਪਾ ।

35. *Ibid.*, p. 704 :

ਆਏ ਤੁਮ ਦਰਬਨ ਕੀ ਚਾਹੁ ।

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 547, 540 :

ਦੇਸ਼ਨ ਦੇਖਨ ਕਰਨ ਨਿਹਾਲਾ ।

× × ×

ਕੇਵਲ ਕਾਰਨ ਦੇਸ਼ਨ ਦੇਖਨ,

ਕਾਜ ਨ ਆਨਹਿ ਕੀਨ ਪਯਾਨਾ ।

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 550-567 :

ਧਰਾ ਸਕਲ ਕੇ ਸੈਲ ਕਰੀਜੇ ।

× × ×

ਦੇਖਹੁ ਸੈਲ ਕਰੋ ਬਿਧਿ ਨਾਨਾ ।

38. *Ibid.*, p. 586 :

ਸੰਤ ਬੋਖ ਦੇਖਤਿ ਫਿਰੇ ਅਵਨੀ ਸੁਭ ਇਸਥਾਨ ॥20॥

39. Cantos 2 and 3 of *Nanak Prakash*, (*uttarardh*). See Chart.

40. See cantos 2, 3 and 19 of *Nanak Prakash*, (*uttarardh*).

41. *Nanak Prakash*, 305 :

ਦੁਰਕਨ ਕੁਲ ਕਾਨਨ ਕਮਲ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਚੰਦ ।

ਪਦ ਅਰਬਿੰਦਹਿ ਬੰਦਨਾ ਜਯੰਤਿ ਸੌਰਿਦਾਨੰਦ ॥1॥

transformation in the Sikh movement took place under Guru Gobind Singh. It remained no more peaceful. It took up arms against the Mughal rule in an organised manner. According to the poet, 'Guru Gobind Singh could make mountain of a sand particle and particle of a mountain.'⁴² However his comments are casual about the nature of historical struggle.

Santokh Singh also discusses the expansion of the Sikh faith. There are numerous references to the setting up of *sangats* or *dharamshalas*.⁴³ It is also stated that a large number of people adopted the Sikh faith.⁴⁴ Despite the miracles of the prophets, there is hardly any miracle of conversion. In fact, the poet superimposes the present on the past. With the rise of the Sikh power scattered *sangats* were no longer the maker of Sikh movement.

A marked distinction between his approach and that of *janamsakhi* tradition is quite evident. Since *janamsakhis* are works on Guru Nanak, they do not introduce the later Gurus. Though Santokh Singh adopts the *janamsakhi* mode yet he introduces all the Gurus in his invocation at the start of each canto. This may be attributed to his literary flourish. Yet Santokh Singh's lack of historical sense is evident. He narrates a *sakhi* of Guru Govind

42. Ibid., 347.

ਸਿਕਤਾ ਕਨ ਤੇ ਮੇਰੁ ਕਿਯ ਮੇਰਹੁ ਤੇ ਕਨ ਕੀਨ ।

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਮਹਿ ਮਮ ਕੇਵਲ ਦਾਨੀ ਦੀਨ ॥11॥

43. Ibid., 882, 902.

ਧਰਮਸਾਲਾ ਇਕ ਰੁਚਿਰ ਬਨਾਈ ।

ਸੰਤ ਸੁਮਤਿ ਤਿਨਿ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਗਾਈ ।

× × ×

ਗੁਮ ਬਿਖੈ ਧਰਮਸਾਲਾ ਰਚਿਯੇ ।

44. Ibid., 880, 884.

ਸਿੱਖੀ ਭਈ ਬਿਸਾਲਾ ਬਚਿੱਤ੍ਰਾ ॥50॥

× × ×

ਗਹਿਰਿ ਜੁ ਮਤਿ ਹਮਾਰ ਸਾਭਿ ਕੋਊ ॥70॥

ਦੁਮਰਾ ਗੁਹਨ ਕਰੈ ਮਤ ਅਬਹੀ ॥71॥

Singh.⁴⁵ It is also stated that the *sakhi* was narrated by Guru Nanak to Bhai Mula.⁴⁶ He invokes goddess Chandi for expounding the life of Guru Nanak.⁴⁷ Santokh Singh does not hesitate to introduce mythology in history.⁴⁸ His lack of historical understanding does not allow him to grasp Sikh history in its institutional aspects.

Nanak Prakash is a bestower of happiness and puts an end to troubles.⁴⁹ One who keeps it in his heart is blessed with cheerfulness.⁵⁰ It also eradicates the sins of the Sikhs.⁵¹ The filth of sins is cleansed by the water of Guru Nanak's life.⁵² It gives redemption (*paramgati*) and spiritual strength to the Sikhs.⁵³ By subduing evil

45. Ibid., pp. 1089-93.

46. Ibid., p. 090 :

ਤਿਹ ਛਿਨ ਮੁਲੇ ਕੇ ਜੁ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗਾ ।
ਗੁਰੂ ਸੁਨਾਇ ਦੀਨ ਤਿਹ ਸੰਗਾ ॥104॥

47. Ibid., p. 847 :

ਕਰੇ ਦਾਤ ਮਾਤਾ ਮੁਝੈ ਦਾਸ ਜਾਨੈ ।
ਸੁਛੰਦੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਕਥਾ ਹੋ ਬਖਾਨੈ ॥1॥

48. Ibid., p. 729 :

ਜੋ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਪ੍ਰਠਾਦ ਬਖਾਨਾ ।

49. Ibid., p. 124 :

ਸੁੰਦਰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਕੀ ਕਥਾ ਗੁਨ ਮੰਦਿਰ ਸੁਖਕੰਦ ।
ਬਰਨਨ ਤਿਸ ਕੇ ਅਥ ਕਰੋ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਬਿਘਨ ਨਿਕੰਦ ॥78॥

50. Ibid., p. 170 :

ਲੀਲਾ ਬਾਲਿਕ ਖੇਲ ਕੀ ਸਲੰਕਾਰ ਸਥਿਲਾਸ ।
ਜੋ ਸਿਖ ਧਰਿਹੀ ਧਯਾਨ ਕੇ ਦੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸੁਖਰਾਸ ॥72॥

51. Ibid., p. 189 :

ਕਹਿ ਬਾਲਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਕਥਾ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ।
ਜੈਸ ਭਾਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਖੇਲਹੀ ਕਟਰਿ ਜੁ ਕਲਿਮਲ ਢਾਸ ॥2॥

52. Ibid., p. 403 :

ਪਤਿਤ ਸੁਨਤਿ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਇਹ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਰਧਾ ਦੇਨ ।
ਅਘ ਓਘਨ ਮਲ ਹਰਨ ਕੇ ਜਲ ਸਮ ਹੈ ਸੁਖ ਐਨ ॥54॥

53. Ibid., p. 1195 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਜਸੁ ਲਿਖਿਹਿ ਤਬਹਿ ਪਰਮਗਤਿ ਪਾਇ ।

influences, it provides solace to the *Panth* of the Guru.⁵⁴ The poet's purpose of writing is more devotional than historical. His idea of history underlies his understanding of theology. The poet says that he has propounded the life of Guru Nanak in accordance with the tenets of *Guru Granth*.⁵⁵

The poet has a high opinion of the Sikh religion. Praising it he says that it is a unique religion as compared to Hinduism and Islam.⁵⁶ But instead of providing a rational explanation, he adopts a comparative approach.⁵⁷ For a better apprehension of the poet's understanding of Sikh doctrine, a look into a few major doctrinal concepts discussed by the poet is essential. *Nam* (Name) and *sewa* (service) occupy a major place in *Nanak Prakash*. The poet considers that the *nam* is supreme and is like a boat in the ocean of *kaliyuga*,⁵⁸ suggesting that the redemption is possible only by *nam* in *kaliyuga*. No one

54. *Ibid.*, p. 125 :

ਅਸ ਗੁਰ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਕਰਿਓ ਕ੍ਰਿਬੁ ।
ਸੁਨਿ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੁ ।
ਗੁਰ ਕੀਰਤਿ ਸਰਿਤਾ ਜਿਵ ਬਰਨੀ ।
ਮੰਗਲ ਕਰਨਿ ਅਮੰਗਲ ਹਰਨੀ ॥82॥

55. *Ibid.*, p. 443 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਪੁਨੀਤਾ ।
ਕ੍ਰਿਬ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥੀ ਮੈ ਰੀਤਾ ॥67॥

56. *Ibid.*, p. 1116 :

ਹਿੰਦੂ ਤੁਰਕ ਤੇ ਅਹੈ ਨਿਰਾਲਾ ।
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਸ ਮਤੋ ਬਿਸਾਲਾ ।
ਇਨ ਕੀ ਕੋਨ ਕਰੇ ਸਮਤਾਈ ॥

57. *Ibid.*, p. 187 :

ਬੋਲ੍ਹ ਜਿਮ ਕੋਹ ਪਰ ਚੋਲ੍ਹ ਹਰਿ ਦੋਹ ਪਰ ।
ਗੁਰੁ ਸਿੱਖ ਮੋਹ ਪਰ ਤੈਸੇ ਬਲਵਾਨ ਹੈ ॥1॥

58. *Ibid.*, p. 939 :

ਅਤਿਥੈ ਸ੍ਰੇਸ਼ਟ ਨਾਮ ਹੈ ਨੌਕਾ ਕਲਿਕਾਲ ਮਹਿ ।
ਸ਼ਬਦ ਭਨਯੋ ਅਭਿਰਾਮ ਸਿੱਧਨ ਕੋ ਲੱਜਿਤਿ ਕਰਨ ॥14॥

can achieve *gati* without the help of *nam*.⁶⁰ In the *bani* of Guru Nanak, *nam* is 'the total expression of all that God is' and is 'imparted to man by the Guru.'⁶¹ But Santokh Singh does not discuss its nature. At a place, a *pandit* enquires from Guru Nanak whether there is any way of redemption other than *nam*?⁶² But no plausible answer has been provided. In fact, *nam* is emphasised in a way that it amounts to departure from the basic tenets of Sikhism. For him, *nam* is supreme and should be remembered even at the cost of ignoring other works because it is *nam* that liberates man from *Yamas*. Further, if a person performs penance, worship, fast with repetition of *nam*, he will benefit ten fold.⁶³ Indirectly, it suggests that *nam* is necessary even if it is parenthetical to any idea.

Like *nam*, the concept of *sewa* is also discordant. According to him, *sewa* is the service of the Guru in the

9. *Ibid.*, p. 957 :

ਬਿਨਾ ਨਾਮ ਤੇ ਆਨਿ ਉਪਾਇ ।

ਜਿਉ ਗਤਿ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਦੇਹ ਬਤਾਇ ॥51॥

60. W.H. McLecd, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, p. 196.

61. See footnote 59 above.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 538 :

ਜੇ ਇਕਾਂਗ ਪਰ ਲਿਖਿ ਹੈ ਸੂਨਾ ।

ਸੂਨ ਸੂਨ ਤੇ ਹੈ ਦਸ ਗੁਨਾ ।

ਭਯੋ ਜੇ ਨਾਮ ਸੰਗ ਤਪ ਤਾਪਹਿ ।

ਪੂਜਾ ਬ੍ਰਤ ਨੇਮ ਜਪ ਜਾਪਹਿ ॥੧4॥

ਸੋ ਦਸ ਗੁਨਾ ਅਧਿਕ ਫਲ ਪਾਵਹਿ ।

ਹੋਹਿ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਜਮ ਸੰਗ ਨਾ ਜਾਵਹਿ :

ਅਹੈ ਸਿਰੰਮਣਿ ਸਭਿ ਕੋ ਨਾਮੁ ।

ਸਿਮਰਹੁ ਸਦਾ ਆਨ ਤਜਿ ਕਾਮੁ ॥35॥

63. *Ibid.*, p. 1220 :

ਕਰਤਿ ਰਹਤਿ ਸੇਵਾ ਦਿਨ ਰਾਤੀ ॥20॥

ਸਗਰੇ ਬਸਤਰ ਸਵਛ ਸੁ ਕਰਿਹੀ ।

ਚਰਨ ਪਖਾਰਿ ਹਰਖ ਉਰ ਭਰਿਹੀ ।

form of washing his cloth and feet.⁶³ The major thrust is on providing comfort to the Guru. Even the social norms have been ignored at places. A Sikh sells his daughter in order to serve the Guru.⁶⁴ On the contrary, *sewa* is a sincere service of the Guru in obeying moral norms. None gets fruit without Lord's service.⁶⁵ He alone performs the service whom Lord so wishes. One who does not perform it wanders in illusion.⁶⁶ Santokh Singh's concept of *sewa* is, in fact, an aspect of his conception of Guru-Sikh relationship, visualised as one between master and slave of his time.

Santokh Singh puts forward the idea of incarnation. In canto 37 of the *uttarardh* he eliminates the doubts of the Sikhs about Guru Nanak being an incarnation of King Janak.⁶⁷ He produces a *shabad* from the *Guru Granth* and the *Varan* of Bhai Gurdas in support of his contention.⁶⁸

64. *Ibid.*, p. 1144 :

ਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਸਰਬਸ ਜਾਨਿਕੈ ਸੁਤਾ ਬੋਚਿ ਧਨ ਲਯਾਇ ॥53॥

65. *Guru Granth*, p. 354 :

ਜੇਤੋ ਜੀਅ ਤੇਤੋ ਸਭ ਤੇਰੇ ਵਿਣੁ ਸੇਵਾ ਫਲ ਕਿਸੇ ਨਾਹੀ ।

66. *Ibid.*, p. 1011 :

ਤੇਰੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਸੋ ਕਰੇ ਜਿਸ ਨੋ ਲੇਹਿ ਤੂ ਲਾਈ ।

ਬਿਨ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ ਦੂਜੇ ਭਰਮਿ ਖੁਆਈ ।

67. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 443 ;

ਆਸ ਬਿਧਿ ਸ੍ਰੋਤਨ ਬਚਨ ਉਚਾਰੇ ।

ਸੁਨਹੁ ਕਵੀ ਇਵ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਮਝਾਰੇ ।

ਤੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਜਨਕ ਰਾਜ ਅਵਤਾਰਾ ।

ਇਹ ਬਿਧਿ ਲਿਖਯੋ ਵਾਕ ਸੁਖਕਾਰਾ ॥64॥

68. *Ibid.*, 443-45.

ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕੀ ਸਾਖੀ ਪਾਵੈ ।

... ..

ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥੀ ਮੈਂ ਗੀਤਾ ॥69॥

... ..

ਪੁਨ ਗੁਰਦਾਸ ਭਯੋ ਜੋ ਭਾਈ ।

... ..

ਤਿਹ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥੀ ਮੈਂ ਗਾਥਾ ।

ਮਨੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਯੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੀਤਾ ॥70॥

... ..

He says that Guru Nanak is bodily like Ram.⁶⁹ At another place, he is considered to be an emissary of Ram.⁷⁰ According to the poet, Guru Nanak was sent by *Parbrahm*, and was an incarnation of Vishnu since *Akalpurak* is Vishnu. The *shabads* adduced by the poet in the form of evidence are *sawayyas* of Bhatta. In it, Guru Nanak is depicted in *saguna* manifestation of Brahm. For him, the divine attributes have been employed. But they do not support the idea of incarnation. Their main emphasis is on the line of succession. The reference from *Varan* clearly supports the Sikh idea of line of succession.

Not only his understanding of Sikh doctrine is inadequate, but also his comprehension of the scripture is personal. In this respect, the poet's approach to *Babur Bani* can be

ਤਿਹ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਥਾ ਸੈਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀ ।

(Hereafter, two *sawayyas* of Bhatta (*Mahala* 1 and 3) from the *Guru Granth*, and one stanza from *Varan* by Bhai Gurdas (24-20 chh) are quoted by the poet in support of his contention. Bhai Vir Singh is of the opinion that herein the poet refers to the sources of the *Nanak Prakash*. But in fact, it delineates doctrinal basis of Sikh History.

69. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 929 :

ਗੁਰੂ ਕਹਯੋ ਹਮ ਰਾਮ ਸਰੂਪਾ ।

ਯੁਤ ਸੀਤਾ ਕੇ ਧਰਹਿ ਅਨੂਪਾ ।

70. *Ibid.*, p. 925 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਕਹੈਂ ਦੁਤ ਹਮ ਰਾਮੁ ।

ਮਿਲਨ ਬਿਭੀਖਨ ਕੇ ਹੈ ਕਾਮੁ ।

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 766-67 :

ਮਹਿਮਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਜੁਨਿ ਕਾਨੇ ।

ਭੇ ਪਰਸੀਦ ਮੰਦ ਮੁਸਕਾਨੇ ।

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਤੇ ਪੁਨ ਭਿਰਾ ਉਚਾਰੀ ।

ਅਬ ਤੁਮ ਜਾਵਹੁ ਜਗਤ ਮਝਾਰੀ ॥54॥

...

...

ਜਿਉ ਥਾਵਨ ਪਦ ਪੰਕਜ ਬਾਰਾ

ਜਗਤ ਬਿਬਾਰੀ ਸੁਰਸਰਿ ਧਾਰਾ ।

ਤਿਉ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਉੱਤਮ ਬਾਨੀ ।

ਤਵ ਸਭਿ ਬਿਸਤਾਰੀ ਗੁਨ ਖਾਨੀ ॥59॥

looked into. Guru Nanak's aim in *Babur Bani* is not to present a historical event. The invasion of Babur is depicted by a conceit of the marriage ceremony⁷² Like Lord who sits apart and alone,⁷³ Guru Nanak's attitude towards the event is of unconcern. His main purpose in presenting the event is to provide a theological explanation. He explains the event on the basis of moral failings.⁷⁴ In an another *shabad* in Rag Asa, Guru Nanak says that the invasion of Babur was in order to take to task the people for their evil practices.⁷⁵ No reference has been made to the Lodhi ruler. Indirectly, it suggests a sympathetic attitude to Lodhis. But Santokh Singh's approach to the event is quite different. In the canto 27 of the *Nanak Prakash (uttarardh)*, Santokh Singh cites a *shabad* of Guru Nanak in Rag Telang and also paraphrases it. Herein, the poet's interest is only in the narrative aspect of the composition. The *shabad* is said to have been addressed to Bhai Lalo by Guru Nanak. The poet's attitude to Lodhi ruler is not sympathetic. According to him, Lodhi ruler was punished for his disrespectful attitude to Guru Nanak.⁷⁶ The poet's unsympathetic attitude to

72. S.S. Hans, *Parampara ate Pragatiwad : Bani da Ajoki Kavita Lai Mahatva*, Balraj Sahani Yadgar Prakashan, Amritsar 1981, p. 113.

73. *Guru Granth*, p. 772 :

ਜਿਨਿ ਉਪਾਈ ਰੰਗ ਰਵਾਈ ਬੈਠਾ ਵੇਖੇ ਵਖਿ ਇਕੋਲਾ ।

74. S.S. Hans, *Parampara ate Pragatiwad*, p. 107.

75. *Guru Granth*, p. 360 :

ਆਪੈ ਦੋਸ ਨ ਦੇਈ ਕਰਤਾ ਜਮੁ ਕਰਿ ਮੁਗਲੁ ਚੜਾਇਆ ।

76. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 994-95 :

ਜਿਹ ਤੇ ਦੁਸਟ ਪਠਾਨ ਕੁਚਾਲੇ ।

ਮਰੇ ਪਾਇਕੇ ਕਸਟ ਬਿਸਾਲੇ ।

ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸਫਾ ਉਠਾਵਨ ਹੋਤੁ ।

ਬੋਲੇ ਬਚ ਬੇਦੀ ਕੁਲ ਕੇਤੁ ॥21॥

... ..
ਖਾਨ ਮਹਾਂ ਮਦ ਅੰਧ ਰਹਾਵਹਿੰ ।

ਕਈ ਅਵਗਯਾ ਤਸ ਫਲ ਪਾਵਹਿੰ ॥31॥

Lodhi ruler is evident from his over-emphasis on the degenerate life of the time. The *mantris* are cruel. Nobody obeys a *qazi* or *pandit*. They perform *niqah* treacherously. They are charmed by beautiful girls and seduce them. The Muslims inflict sufferings on the poor.⁷⁷

Santokh Singh is not faithful to the scripture. At places, he wrongly attributes the compositions of the Gurus and Bhagatas to Guru Nanak. In canto 47 of the *purvardh*, a *shabad* in Rag Maru of Baba Farid is attributed to Guru Nanak.⁷⁸ Besides, he even fails to identify *kachhi bani* (apocryphal compositions) at a number of places. For example, canto 57 of the *purvardh* contains two apocryphal compositions.⁷⁹ Similarly the poet does not identify the apocryphal composition in cantos 38 and 47.⁸⁰

Nanak Prakash has unorthodox theologies. It contains Handali ideas. The Udasi gnosis and Vedant have also been introduced. Though the poet condemns the Handali act of polluting the original *Bala* manuscript and excises the *sakhi* pertaining to Baba Handal's higher spiritual status than Guru Nanak yet he does not make any effort to recognise the doctrine of Handalis in the *janamsakhi*.⁸¹ Hence,

77. *Ibid.*, p. 895 :

ਮੰਤ੍ਰੀ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਕੂਰ ਅਬ ਹੋਈ ।
 ਪੁਨ ਕਾਜੀ ਦਿਜਬਰ ਹੈ ਜੋਈ ।
 ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਕਹਯੋ ਨਾ ਮਾਨੈ ਕੋਈ ।
 ਕਰਹਿ ਨਿਕਾਹ ਬਤਾਨੀ ਸੋਈ ॥26॥
 ਅੰਗਨਾ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਦੇਖਿ ਲੁਭਾਈ ।
 ਬਲ ਸੋ ਭੋਗਹਿ ਲੋਹਿ ਮੰਗਾਈ ।
 ਪਦੇ ਕ ਕੈਸਾ ਮੁਸੱਲਮਾਨੀ ।
 ਕਹੈ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਸਰਬ ਮਹਿ ਜਾਨੀ ॥27॥
 ਦੇਤਿ ਗੁਰਬਨ ਕੋ ਦੁਖ ਭਾਰੀ ।
 ਤਿਹ ਕੋ ਫਲ ਹੁਇ ਕਸਟ ਅਪਾਰੀ ।

78. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 520.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 562-63.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 520-21.

81. For detailed discussion on Handali doctrines, see, S.S. Hans, "Bala Janamsakhi in Relation to Janamsakhi Handal", *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference*, pp. 95-102.

Nanak Prakash contains all the major ideas of Handalis. There is a reference to four categories of redemption.⁸² Redemption can be achieved by touch. There is no need of religious practices and scripture. Bhai Bala says that Bebe Nanaki is redeemed as she is the sister of Guru Nanak and he himself is emancipated in his company.⁸³ As soon as a maid-servant licks the feet of Guru Nanak she achieves the sense of three *lokas*.⁸⁴ Even a touch of hand is sufficient for redemption.⁸⁵ Raja Devlut's illusion is eradicated by taking meal from Guru Nanak.⁸⁶ A higher spiritual status could be given with a touch of a Guru. Gopal, the teacher, becomes a *tatveta* (the knower of

82. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 113 :

ਚਾਰ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕੇ ਇਹੁ ਦਰ ਚਾਰ ।
ਕਿਧੋ ਵਿਸ਼ਨੁ ਕੀ ਹੈ ਭੁਜ ਚਾਰ ।
ਚਾਰੁਪਦੇਸ਼ ਚੱਕ ਜੇ ਚਾਰ ।
ਚਾਰ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਮਹਿ ਸੁਖਕਾਰ ॥70॥

83. *Ibid.*, p. 402 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਧੰਨ ਅਮਰ ਗਨ ਮੰਨਿ ਹੈਂ ।
ਤੂੰ ਭਗਨੀ ਤਿਨ ਕੇਰਿ ਅਧਿਕ ਮਤ ਧੰਨ ਹੈਂ ।
ਹੈਂ ਭੀ ਕਛੁਅਕ ਧੰਨ ਅਪਨ ਉਰ ਮਹਿ ਲਖੋਂ ।
ਹੈਂ ਜਗ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਮਮ ਤੋਰ ਭਯੋ ਅਸ ਬਿਧਿ ਪਿਖੋਂ ॥50॥

84. *Ibid.*, p. 492 :

ਰਸਨਾ ਸੰਗ ਸੁ ਚਾਟਨ ਲਾਗੀ ।
ਜਗ ਮੇਂ ਵਡਭਾਗਨਿ ਅਨੁਗਾਗੀ ॥58॥
ਕੀਨਿ ਸਪਰਸ਼ਨ ਰਸਨਾ ਜਬਹੀ ।
ਤੀਨ ਲੋਕ ਕੀ ਸੁਧਿ ਭੀ ਤਬਹੀ ॥

85. *Ibid.*, p. 497 :

ਸਿਰ ਪਰ ਧਰਯੋ ਕਮਲ ਸਮ ਹਾਥਾ ॥25॥
ਤਿਹ ਛਿਨ ਖੁਲ੍ਹਿਗੇ ਬਿਕਟ ਕਪਾਟਾ ।
ਅਦਭੁਤ ਭਯੋ ਅਪਰ ਹੀ ਠਾਟਾ ।
ਜਗਯੋ ਗ੍ਰਯਾਨ ਦੁਖਿਧਾ ਸਭਿ ਖੋਈ ॥
ਤੀਨ ਲੋਕ ਦੀ ਸੁਧ ਉਰ ਹੋਈ ॥26॥

86. *Ibid.*, p. 595 :

ਖਾਵਤਿ ਹੀ ਖੁਲ ਗਏ ਕਪਾਟਾ ।
ਚਿਰੰਕਾਲ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਪਰਦਾ ਪਾਟਾ ।
ਮੁਕਤਿ ਯੋਗ ਹੈਗੇ ਤਿਹ ਕਾਲਾ ।

essence) instantaneously. These are Handali fetishes of spirituality. The Yogic adeptness is serially arranged in Handali doctrine. In *Nanak Prakash*, Dattatrai is equal in spiritual status to Guru Nanak but Prehlad's status is higher. Besides *samadhi* as *videh* (literally without a body) in *Nanak Prakash* has a Handali connotation. Jhanda Badi is absorbed in *samadhi* and becomes bodiless after getting food from Guru Nanak.⁸⁷

Besides Handali ideas, the Udasi ideas have also found expression in the work. Guru Nanak was omniscient and knew everything. But he did not disclose his hidden supernatural power.⁸⁸ Guru Nanak is *sagun* manifestation

87. *Ibid.*, p. 181 :

ਬਹੁਰੋਂ ਭਯੋ ਤੁਸ਼ਨੀ ਪਾਧਾ ।
ਉਹ ਲਖਿ ਕਰਿ ਸੁਖ ਅਕਬੁ ਅਗਾਧਾ ।
ਭਾ ਆਨੰਦ ਮੂਕੇ ਮਿਠਿਆਈ ।
ਤਤਥੋਤਨ ਕੀ ਪਦਵੀ ਪਾਈ ॥74॥

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 700, 704 :

ਅਸ ਕਹਿ ਕਰਿ ਮਿਲਿ ਆਪਸ ਮਾਂਗੀ ।
ਹਰਖਤਿ ਭੇ ਦੁਹਿਦਿਸ਼ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਹੀ ।
ਕੋਤਿਕ ਕਾਲ ਬੈਠਿ ਤਿਹ ਪਾਸਾ ।
ਚਲਿਨੇ ਤੁਯਾਰ ਭਏ ਸੁਖਰਾਸਾ ॥71॥
X X X
ਆਏ ਤੁਮ ਦਰਸਨ ਕੀ ਚਾਹ ।

(The first is about Dattatre and the second about Prahlad)

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 581-82 :

ਹਿਤ ਕਰਿ ਕੀਨੋ ਖਾਨ ਤਿਨ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੁ ਗੇ ਬਿਕਟ ਕਪਾਟ ।
ਭਰਮ ਮੋਹ ਕੋ ਨਸ਼ਟ ਕਿਯ ਦ੍ਰਿਤਹਿ ਸਾਂਕਰ ਕਾਟ ॥73॥
ਟਿਕਗੀ ਬ੍ਰਿੱਤਿ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਲਗਾਈ ।
ਭਯੋ ਬਿਦੇਹਿ ਨ ਸੁਧ ਤਨ ਕਾਈ ।
ਦੋਨੋ ਬੈਠੇ ਹੋਇ ਅਛੋਲਾ ।
ਸੁਖ ਆਤਮ ਕੋ ਪਾਇ ਅਮੋਲਾ ॥74॥

90. *Ibid.*, p. 465 :

ਜੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਸਥਾਨੀ ਬੀਏ ॥2॥
ਬਿਦਤ ਨ ਕਰਤਿ ਕਲਾ ਜਿਨ ਗੋਈ ।
ਸੁਨਹਿ ਅਜਾਨ ਸਮਾਨੰ ਸੋਈ ।
ਤ੍ਰਿਕਾਲੰਗ ਬਰਸੀ ਸਭਿ ਜਾਨੈ ।
ਗੁਪਤ ਬਿਦਤ ਨਿਜ ਰਿਦੈ ਪਛਾਨੈ ॥3॥

and the *shabad* is *nirgun*.⁹¹ The Udasi doctrine of gnosis is, in fact, the Vedantic doctrine. Santokh Singh seems to have special interest in the Vedantic philosophy. He discusses the Vedantic ideas in detail in the whole canto 51 of the *uttarardh*. In fact, the Udasi doctrine of gnosis has blossomed fully in the form of Vedantic concepts of *maya* and *jnana*.

The poet devotes a canto to the discussion of Yogic idea.⁹² It is based on the *Gyan Ratnavali* material,⁹³ which is a Vedantic work. In fact, 'Vedanta had accepted all the special means of self-purification, meditation, etc. that were advocated by Yoga'.⁹⁴ It is also evident from a Vedantic work of late eighteenth century by a Nirmala scholar.⁹⁵ He discusses the eight methods of technique of Yoga in order to achieve *samadhi*.⁹⁶ Canto 48 of *Nanak Prakash* (*purvardh*) also discusses the eight methods of technique of Yoga.⁹⁷ Hence, the collection of all the *sakhis* of Guru

91. Ibid., pp. 1122 :

ਸਰਗੁਣ ਵ੍ਰੁਪ ਸਰੀਰ ਪਛਾਨੋ ।
ਬੁਥਦ ਵਿਦਾ ਮਮ ਨਿਰਗੁਣ ਮਾਨੋ ।

92. Ibid., pp. 527-36 :

93. Major portion of material of the *Nanak Prakash* is taken from the *Bala Janamsakhi*, followed by the *Gyan Ratnavali*. See Chart.

94. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Philosophy*, Vol. I, Cambridge, University Press, Cambridge 1962, p. 492.

95. Gulab Singh Nirmala, *Sri Moksh Panth Prakash*, (Hindi), Sri Nirmal Panchayati Akhara, Kankhal 1977, pp. 562-63 :

याहि समाधि योगते जाई ।
अपबा तत्वज्ञान निर्भई ।
यामे नियम न कोई हइये ।
साधन युग्म ताहि के पइये ॥74॥
जाते दो अधिकारी पाये ।
ताही ते मार्ग द्वय गामे ।
योग विवेक दोउ निव कहे ।
भक्त जनों के संख्य दहे ॥75॥

96. Ibid., pp. 554-562 :

97. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 527 :

Nanak's meeting with Siddhas in the work become all the more significant. At a place, the poet compares Sikhism with Vedant and says that Bhagti Yoga (Sikhism) is the easiest path in Kaliyuga whereas Hatha Yoga is difficult for the common man.⁹⁸ It implies that Vedant is for few and Sikhism for all. The methods of techniques of Yoga are also applied to Sikhism.⁹⁹ Santokh Singh's Vedantic interest is equally there in *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj*.¹⁰⁰ His exegesis of Japuji entitled *Garabh Ganjani Tika* is more or less a Vedantic interpretation of Sikhism.¹⁰¹ At the end of his work, *Nanak Prakash*, the poet recapitulates the theme. According to him, the Yoga, *jnan*, *virag* (renunciation) and *bhakti* have been discussed in the work.¹⁰²

The mixture of Vedantic ideas with Handali doctrines is significant in the work. Canto 51 of the *uttarardh* discusses Guru Nanak's instructions to Baba Lehna. The poet discusses the Vedantic doctrines. But at the end, Guru Nanak

98. *Ibid.*, p. 536 :

ਭਗਤਿ ਜੋਗ ਇਹ ਜਾਨਿਯੋ ਕਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਪੰਥ ਸੁਖੇਨ ।
ਕਸਟ ਜੋਗ ਦੁਸ਼ਰਤ ਅਹੈ ਹੋਇ ਨ ਜੇਨੰਕੇਨ ॥੧॥

99. *Ibid.*, p. 535-36 :

100. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj*, Khalsa Samachar, Amritsar, 1982, pp. 1267, 5639 :

ਸਤਿ ਚੇਤਨ ਆਨੰਦ ਯੁਤ ਨਾਮ ਰੂਪ ਜਗ ਪੰਚ ।
ਸੰਤ ਦੁਹਨਿ ਉਰ ਪਰਹਰੈ ਤਿਨ ਤੀਨਹੁ ਕੋ ਸੰਚ ॥5॥
× × ×
ਅਦ੍ਵੈਤ ਵਾਕ ਤੱਤੁਮਸਿ ਜੋਇ । ਕੁੰ ਹੈ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਸਨੈ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੋਇ ।
ਅਹੰ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਾਸਮਿ ਬਹੁਰ ਉਚਾਰੇ । ਮਹਾਵਾਕਯ ਏਹੁ ਮੰਤ੍ਰੁ ਸੁ ਧਾਰੇ ।

101. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Garab Ganjani Tika*, pp. 28-30 :

102. *Nanak Prakash*, 1255-56.

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕੁਰ ਕਥਾ ਕਹੀ ਕਛੁ ਬੋਰੀ ।
ਸਰਬ ਕਹਿਨ ਕੀ ਸ਼ਕਤਿ ਨ ਮੋਰੀ ।
...
ਜੋਗ ਵਿਰਾਗ ਭਗਤਿ ਪੁਨ ਗੁਯਾਨਾ ।
ਏ ਚਾਰੋ ਵਰਨੇ ਬਿਧਿ ਨਾਨਾ ।

looks at Baba Lehna, who attains *jnan*.¹⁰³ Guru Angad succeeds Guru Nanak on the basis of gnosis, not on account of the Sikh idea of the indistinguishability of the spiritual flame of the Gurus.

Thus Santokh Singh's idea of Sikh history is inadequate. His exposition of Sikh history is based more or less on faith. His grasp of the doctrine is inadequate. The Handali doctrines and Vedantic philosophy make it worse. Besides, the contemporary situation of the poet also plays a major role in his idea of history when Sikh rule becomes the end of Sikhism.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 1190 :

ਅਸ ਕਹਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟੀ ਅਵਲੋਕੀ ।
 ਦਾਸ ਅਵਿੱਦਯਾ ਸਗਰੀ ਰੋਕੀ ॥31॥

 ਠਹਿਣੇ ਕੀ ਸਮਾਧਿ ਤਿਹਕਾਲਾ ।

 ਸਗਰੋ ਤਿਮਰ ਅਗੁਯਾਨ ਨਸਾਯੋ ।
 ਲੋਸ਼ ਅਵਿੱਦਯਾ ਕੋ ਨ ਰਹਾਯੋ ॥33॥

Chapter V

EVIDENCE ON SOCIAL HISTORY

Nanak Prakash is a much later work on the life of Guru Nanak. It was compiled in the year 1823. Though the apparent concern of the work is Guru Nanak and his times yet our primary concern lies in its own period. Every historical work is the product of its own times. It is a product of the interaction between the writer as an individual and his society.

Santokh Singh provides information on various aspects of social life of the early nineteenth century Punjab. A major part of the evidence is related to human life and the attitudes of the people. It includes information on marriage ceremonies, condition of women and beggars, food, religious communities, occupational classes, administration and geography.

The society of the early nineteenth century Punjab consisted of three main communities: the Muslims, the Hindus, and the Sikhs. Santokh Singh discusses the Hindu-Muslim and the Hindu-Sikh relationship. Particularly, the Hindu-Muslim relationship has been discussed in detail. According to him both communities had social differences. There were social restrictions on a Hindu in taking a meal from a Muslim house.¹ But it was not limited to Hindus

1. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 221 :

ਸਮਾਂ ਮੋਹਿ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੇ ਆਹੀ ।

ਭੋਜਨ ਬਨੈ ਨ ਮਮ ਘਰ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।

ਨਤੁ ਰਾਖੋ ਸਾਦਰ ਨਿਜ ਸਦਮਾ ।

ਸਫਲ ਜਨਮ ਸੇਵੇ ਪਦ ਪਦਮਾ ॥49॥

only. Even a Muslim did not take a meal from a Hindu. The fact is expressed in a different manner. A Muslim could accept enlightenment sooner than food.³ But the restriction was not always observed. On special occasions a Muslim could invite a Hindu in his house for a meal. But the meal was prepared and served by a Brahmin cook. The host could only watch his invitee being served as well as taking food.³ In Santokh Singh's opinion, the Hindu-Muslim differences were due to their partisanship. Their partisanship did not allow them to apprehend reality to achieve redemption.⁴ Social [harmony could only be achieved by adopting the Sikh faith. Both the communities should meditate on *satnam* and should not indulge

2. Ibid, p. 1110 :

ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਹਯੋ ਕ੍ਰਯਾਰ ਹੋਯੋ ਅਹਾਰਾ ।
 ਕਰੋ ਖਾਵਨੋ ਫੇਰ ਜੋਯੋ ਉਬਾਰਾ ।
 ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ਕੀਨੀ ਦਯਾ ਤੋਰ ਹੂੰ ਪੈ ।
 ਬੰਧਯੋ ਬੰਧ ਛੁਟਯੋ ਤਰਯੋ ਮੋਹ ਹੂੰ ਪੈ ॥21॥
 ਕਰੋ ਉਬਾਰਾ ਤਪਾ ਜੀ ਜਹਿ ਤਹਿ ਸਰਬ ਅਹਾਰ ।
 ਜਾਚਕ ਜਗ ਜਾਚੈ ਸਰਬ ਏਕ ਤੁਹੀ ਦਾਤਾਰ ॥22॥

3. Ibid, p. 477 :

ਉਰ ਕਰਿ ਹਰਖ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਬਿਚਾਰਾ ।
 ਪੂਰਬ ਪਾਕ ਕਰਾਉਂ ਅਹਾਰਾ ॥59॥

 ਮਿਲਯੋ ਆਨਿ ਕਰਿ ਮੋਹਿ ਖੁਦਾਇ ।
 ਕਰਹੁ ਰਸੋਈ ਦਿਜ ਅਬ ਨ੍ਰਾਇ ॥60॥
 ਮਮ ਹਦੂਰ ਸੁਭ ਪਰਮ ਅਹਾਰਾ ।
 ਅਚਵਾਵਹੁ ਨਹਿ ਕਰਹੁ ਅਵਾਰਾ ।
 ਸੁਚ ਸੋ ਲੇ ਜਲ ਕੁੰਭ ਨਵੀਨਾ ।
 ਰੁਚਿ ਸੋ ਕਰਹੁ ਪਾਕ ਪਰਬੀਨਾ ॥61॥

4. Ibid, p. 1106 :

ਦੈ ਪਖ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਤੁਰਕ ਦ੍ਰਿੜਾਈ ॥57॥
 ਤੋਤੁ ਵਸਤੁ ਕੋ ਜਾਨਹਿ ਨਾਹੀ ।
 ਝਗਰੇ ਬਾਹੀ ਦਾਵੇ ਮਾਹੀ ।
 ਇਨ ਕੋ ਗਰਿ ਨਹਿ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਇ ।

in partisan activities. They should realize that God is present in everyone.⁵

The communal feelings were part of social consciousness of the period. Because of this fact, the Muslims are shown to have an inferior status than Hindus, even after their adoption of the Sikh faith.⁶ It has also found expression at a number of places in *Nanak Prakash*. Guru Nanak sends Mardana to go to Vali Qandhari in order to fetch a little water. He says that Vali Qandhari would not refuse a Muslim.⁷ The poet opines that there is a communal bond among the Muslims. A Muslim helps his Muslim brethren.⁸ At another place, the question is asked : what brings a Hindu to a mosque ?⁹ The Hindu religious beliefs are shown to be more powerful. The Muslims are stated to be observing the rituals associated with the solar eclipse out of fear. They take bath and give alms.¹⁰

5. Ibid, pp. 1050-51 :

ਸੱਤਿਨਾਮ ਸਿਮਰਹੁ ਜਗਤੋਸਾ ॥66॥
ਪੱਖ ਬਾਦ ਕੋ ਭੁਲ ਨ ਕਰੀਏ ।
ਇਕ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਸਭਿ ਬਿਖੈ ਨਿਹਰੀਏ ।

6. Ibid, p. 894 :

ਚਰਨ ਕਮਲ ਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਜੋ ਬਾਮੁ ।
ਪੂਜਹਿ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਰਹਿ ਪਰਣਾਮੁ ॥114॥
ਦਹਿਨੋ ਚਰਨ ਕਮਲ ਤਿਹ ਕਾਲਾ ।
ਪੂਜਹਿ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਭਾਉ ਬਿਸਾਲਾ ।

7. Ibid, p. 890 :

ਤੁਰਕ ਦੇਹਿ ਸਮ ਸੋ ਹੈ ਤੇਰੀ ।
ਕਰਹੁ ਜਾਚਨਾ ਤਹਿ ਜਲ ਕੇਰੀ ॥69॥

8. Ibid, p. 891 :

ਤੁਰਕ ਤੁਰਕ ਸੋ ਰਾਖਹਿ ਭਾਇ ।

9. Ibid, p. 893 :

ਹਿੰਦੂ ਕੋ ਕਯਾ ਕਾਮ ਮਸੀਤੀ ।

10. Ibid, p. 821 :

ਦਿਵਸ ਆਜ ਕੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਜਿ ਮਾਨਵ ।
ਸੋ ਭੀ ਤ੍ਰਾਸ ਰਿਦੈ ਬਹੁ ਠਾਨਵ ।
ਕਰਿ ਇਬਨਾਨ ਦੰਨਿ ਪੁਨ ਦਾਨਾ ।
ਇਨ ਕਾਜਨ ਕੋ ਕਾਲ ਮਹਾਨਾ ॥17॥

Santokh Singh feels the need for communal harmony. But he provides its solution in the realm of religion. The paradox points to the Muslims as inferior political power as compared to the Hindus. The poet's reconciliatory stance is rooted in the need of the Sikhs as a ruling class minority to win friends and influence people.

But there was no awareness of communal feeling between the Hindus and the Sikhs. In the early nineteenth century the relationship was quite harmonious. At a number of occasions, Guru Nanak is interchangeably depicted as a Hindu and Sikh. Guru Nanak is wearing a yellow dress and a sacred thread.¹¹ This does not mean that the poet is not aware of their separate entity. The poet considers Sikhism to be a unique faith, different from Hinduism and Islam. It is a matchless faith.¹² It is also distinct from the six system of Indian philosophy.¹³ At a place, it is said that the Hindus received places of pilgrimage, *Smriti* and charity, whereas *nam* went to the Sikhs. But at the same time, it is wished that Hinduism may remain forever.¹⁴ There is no doubt that both the communities were very close to one another. But at the same time, the evidence of *Nanak Prakash* suggests that

11. *Ibid*, p. 315 :

ਗਰ ਚੀਰ ਹੋਂ ਪੀਤ ਪੁਨੀਤ ਮਨੋਗਹਿ
ਜੰਗਯੁਪਵੀਤ ਮਹਾਂ ਛਬਿ ਫਾਈ ।

12. *Ibid*, p. 1116 :

ਹਿੰਦੁ ਤੁਰਕ ਤੇ ਅਹੈ ਨਿਰਾਲਾ ।
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਇਸ ਮਤੋ ਬਿਜਾਲਾ ।
ਇਨ ਕੀ ਕੋਨ ਕਰੇ ਸਮਤਾਈ ।

13. *Ibid*, p. 563 :

ਖਟ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਮੈਂ ਸਭਿ ਹੀ ਦੇਖਾ ।
ਪਾਯੋ ਜਾਇ ਨ ਤੁਮਰੋ ਬੇਖਾ ।

14. *Ibid*, p. 622 :

ਤੀਰਥ ਸਿੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਪੁਨੇ ਸਭਿ ਦਿਹੁ ਹਿੰਦਨ ਸੁਖਰਾਸ ॥68॥
ਨਾਮ ਵਡਾਈ ਦੀਜਿਏ ਮੋ ਕੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਤਾਰ ।
ਹਿੰਦਨ ਕੋ ਬਿਰ ਧਰਮ ਕ੍ਰੇ ਕਾਰਜ ਯਹੀ ਹਮਾਰ ॥69॥

the efforts were made to bring the Hindus closer to the Sikhs.¹⁵ It is necessary for the Sikh ruling class to maintain its cordiality with the Hindus.

Santokh Singh has a limited interest in the Muslim community. He does not discuss it as a social entity and its social structure. On the other hand, a rich information on the social structure of the Hindus is available in *Nanak Prakash*. To a limited extent, it is a manifestation of the degrading of the Muslims as a political power and the rise of the Sikhs. The discussion of the Hindu society subsumes the Sikhs. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the Hindu society of Punjab was divided into a number of castes (*jatis*). Caste was a major concern of everybody. A new-comer is always asked his caste first and then his name.¹⁶

The social status of the Brahmin embodied a paradox. Some of the sacred Brahmins were cooks in well-off families.¹⁷ On certain occasions, their services were utilized by Muslims to entertain a Hindu guest. They performed the rites of passage i.e. birth, marriage and death.¹⁸ The

15. *Nanak Prakash* is not the only source that emphasises the need to minimise the distinctiveness of the Sikh community in order to provide stability to Sikh rule. *Fateh Singh Pratap Prabhakar* by Ram Sukh Rao juxtaposes Guru Nanak and Lord Krishna, Har Mandir and Thakurdwara or Jawala Mukhi Temple, the Granth and the Mahabharata. See, Joginder Kaur, (ed), *Ram Sukh Rao's Sri Fateh Singh Pratap Prabhakar*, Joginder Kaur, Patiala 1980, (Ph.D, Thesis submitted in 1978), p. 64.

16. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 1062 :

ਆਵਹੁ ਭਾਈ ਕਹਿੰ ਤੈਂ ਰਹਿਈ ।
ਕੋ ਹੈ ਤੇਰੇ ਬਰਨ ਬਤਾਵਹੁ ।
ਕਿਤਤੇ ਆਯੋ ਕਿਤਕੋ ਜਾਵਹੁ ॥69॥

17. *Ibid*, p. 1174 :

ਹੇ ਦਿਜ ਫੌਜਨ ਭਯੋ ਤਯਾਰੀ ।
ਆਇ ਹਕਾਰਨ ਕਹਹੁ ਉਚਾਰੀ ।

18. *Ibid*, p. 1234 :

ਜਿਤੇ ਬੇਦ ਪਾਠੀ ਦਿਜ ਅਹਿਹੀਂ ।
ਕਰਹਿੰ ਬੇਦ ਪੁਨਿ ਬਿਲਮ ਨ ਕਰਿਹੀਂ ।

Khatri were cultivators and traders.¹⁹ A number of them were associated with the revenue administration of the government. A *patwari* was very often a Khatri.

Interestingly, the word '*baran*' means both caste and class.²⁰ In the early nineteenth century Punjab, the 'servants' were a defineable entity. The poet uses the expression *chakar baran*.²¹ But it is a very casual remark, indicating low consciousness of the society as a whole. According to the poet, soldiery had tremendous power but it was the grace of the Guru that gave it victory.²²

Santokh Singh also refers to some of the occupations of his times. There are traders, shopkeepers, dancing girls and servants. Slavery and beggary have also been mentioned in *Nanak Prakash*. A grocer also dealt in cloth. Articles of daily need were generally available in a village-shop. But the villagers had to depend on the

19. *Ibid*, p. 233 :

ਏਕ ਨ ਮਤਿ ਮਨ ਬਨਜ ਕਰਨ ਕੀ ।
ਬਹੁਰ ਨ ਖੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਗੀਤਿ ਬਰਨ ਕੀ ।

20. *Ibid*, pp. 233, 1062, 827 :

ਬਹੁਰ ਨ ਖੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਗੀਤਿ ਬਰਨ ਕੀ ।
× × ×
ਕੋ ਹੈ ਤੇਰੋ ਬਰਨ ਬਤਾਵਹੁ ।

× × ×
ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਤੇ ਅਸ ਗਿਰਾ ਉਚਾਰੀ ।
ਰਾਖਹੁ ਧਰਮ ਬਰਨ ਅਨੁਸਾਰੀ ॥89॥

21. *Ibid*, p. 481 :

ਕਰਹੁ ਚਾਕਰੀ ਕੁਪਤਿ ਕਿਹਿ ਕੀ ਹੋਵਹੁ ਚਾਕਰ ਬਰਨਾ ।

22. *Ibid*, p. 828 :

ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰ ਸੌ ਸਾਰ ਬਜਾਯੋ ।
ਪ੍ਰਬਲ ਲੋਹ ਇਨ ਕੋ ਭਾ ਐਸੇ
ਆਗੈ ਠਹਿਰ ਸਕੈ ਨਹਿੰ ਕੈਸੇ ॥86॥
ਮਾਰਿ ਮਾਰਿ ਭਟ ਧਰਨ ਗਿਰਾਏ ।
ਰਿਪੁ ਦੇਖਹਿ ਜਨੁ ਜਮ ਇਹ ਆਏ ।
ਸਨਮੁਖ ਜਬ ਅਸ ਕੀਨਿ ਲਰਾਈ ।
ਕੁਰ ਬਰ ਤੇ ਸਭਿ ਖੱਤ੍ਰੁ ਪਲਾਈ ॥87॥

town-market.²³ The relationship between a shopkeeper and his customer was full of warmth. A village customer could sleep in the shopkeeper's house. He was served with food, too.²⁴

The dancing girls were in vogue at the occasion of marriage. They were accompanied with the players of musical instruments.²⁵ There are a number of references to the musical instruments like *nafir*, *mridang*, *muchang*, *upang* and *tambura*.²⁶ The society looked down upon the art of dancing and singing. At one place, the performers of *Ras* are roundly abused for their license.²⁷

23. Ibid, pp. 237-38 :

ਲੇ ਜਾਵਹੁ ਧਨ ਨਿਜ ਕਿਹ ਨਗਰੀ ।
ਭੋਜਨ ਸੋਜ ਆਨਿ ਦਿਹੁ ਸਗਰੀ ॥74॥
... ..
ਨਗਰ ਦਿਯਾ ਗਮਨੇ ਗੁਨ ਐਨਾ ।
ਲੇ ਬਿਪਨੀ ਤੇ ਚੂਨ ਮਹੀਨਾ ।
ਤਿਹ ਹਿਤ ਪੰਚ ਰਜਤਪਨ ਦੀਨਾ ॥75॥

24. Ibid, p. 357 :

ਮਨਸੁਖ ਸੁਨਿ ਕਰਿ ਬੁੰਨਨ ਬੈਨਾ ।
ਚਲਨ ਚਾਹਿ ਭਾ ਢਿਗ ਗੁਨ ਐਨਾ ।
ਕਰਿ ਸੰਭਾਖਣ ਆਪਸ ਮਾਹੀ ।
ਅਸਨ ਅਚਯੋ ਕਿਯ ਸੈਨ ਤਹਾਹੀ ॥52॥

25. Ibid, pp. 297-98 :

ਬਾਰਬਧੂ ਬਿੰਦ ਸੰਗਿ ਗਮਨੀ ਉਮੰਗਿ ਮਨ
ਅੰਗਨ ਬੰਗਾਰ ਕੈ ਅਨੰਗ ਮਾਨ ਟਾਰਿਹੀ ।

26. Ibid, pp. 303, 315 :

ਭਾਂਬਰ ਭੂਰ ਨਫੀਰ ਬਜੇ ਮੁਖ ਬਾਤ ਕਹੀ ਨਹਿੰ ਦੇਤਿ ਸੁਨਾਈ ।
× × ×
ਤਾਲਨਿ ਸੰਗਿ ਮ੍ਰਿਦੰਗ ਮੁਚੰਗ ਉਪੰਗ ਤੰਬੂਰਨ ਤਾਲ ਮਿਲਾਈ ।
ਰਾਗਨਿ ਰਾਗ ਭਰੇ ਅਨੁਰਾਗ ਸੋ ਮੋਹਨ ਕੋ ਮਨ ਤਾਨ ਬਜਾਈ ॥47॥

27. Ibid, p. 838 :

ਬਾਲਕ ਐਰ ਅੰਗਨਾ ਚੰਉ ।
ਰਾਧਾ ਕ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਨ ਸਾਂਗ ਕਰਿ ਸੋਉ ॥20॥
ਨਰ ਮਲੀਨ ਬੁੱਧੀ ਤਿਨ ਦੇਖਹਿੰ ।
ਉਪਜਾਵਤਿ ਤਨ ਕਾਮ ਵਿਸੇਖਹਿੰ ।
ਬਾਲਕ ਪੁਨ ਤਿਨ ਅੰਗਨ ਸੰਗਾ ।
ਭੋਗ ਕਰਹਿੰ ਨਰ ਹੋਇ ਨਿਸੰਗਾ ॥21॥

The servants were essential part of the well-off households. They belonged to both the sexes. They had to do all sorts of work. The institution of slavery is patently prevalent in the society of early nineteenth century Punjab. Poor parents used to sell their children. At times grown up girls were sold. They had to obey their master in every respect. A slave used, to grind corn, fan the master and massage his master's legs.²⁸ They were given as articles of *daj* (dowry).²⁹ A slave girl accompanied her mistress when she went around.³⁰

Common men were economically depressed. There was a marked number of beggars. The condition of poor children was pitiable. He was considered a fool, dumb and impure. He faces humiliation 'like a dog' everywhere.³¹ He is considered to be lacking in

28. *Ibid*, pp. 1136-37 :

ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਲੇ ਅਥਿ ਤੁਝ ਜਾਂਹੀ ।
 ਬੇਚਹਿੰਗੇ ਬਜ਼ਾਰ ਕੇ ਮਾਂਹੀ ॥43॥
 ਨਿਜ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਿਹੈ ।
 ਚੱਕੀ ਪੀਸੈ ਪਾਨੀ ਭਰਿਹੈ ।
 ਬਿਜਨ ਫੇਰਹਿ ਕਰ ਪਗਚਾਪੀ ।
 ਆਇਸੁ ਮੋਰਹਿ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਦਾਪੀ ॥44॥
 ਹਾਥ ਬੰਦਿ ਸਿਸ ਗਿਰਾ ਉਚਾਰੀ ।
 ਰਹੈ ਖਸਮ ਆਇਸੁ ਅਨੁਸਾਰੀ ।

29. *Ibid*, p. 316 :

ਕੰਚਨ ਔਰ ਖਜੂਰ ਦਯੋ ਪੁਨ
 ਦਾਸੀ ਦਈ ਤਨਿਯਾ ਹਿਭਕਾਰੇ ।

30. *Ibid*, p. 333 :

ਦਾਸੀ ਸੰਗਿ ਲਏ ਪੁਰਿ ਆਈ ।

31. *Ibid*, p. 1210-11 :

ਇੱਛਾ ਸਦਾ ਪਦਾਰਥ ਕੇਰੀ ।
 ਹੋਤਿ ਦੀਨਤਾ ਸਭਿਨਿ ਅਯੋਰੀ ।
 ਮੂੜ ਗੁੰਗ ਅਪਵਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਰਹਾਈ ।
 ਬਾਂਛਤ ਵਸਤੁ ਨ ਉਚਰ ਸਕਾਈ ॥34॥
 ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੇ ਭੈ ਨਿਤ ਰਹਿਈ ।
 ਖਿਨ ਖਿਨ ਬਿਖੇ ਅਠਾਦਰ ਲਹਿਈ ।

mind.³³ The parents of a girl were considered 'poor' in comparison with boy's parents.³³ The institution of beggary was a social marker. Every virtuous and rich man was known from the 'crowd of beggars' at his door.³⁴

The early nineteenth century Punjab saw a great increase in the number of the Sikh congregations. *Nanak Prakash* provides abundant information in this respect.³⁵ The increase in the number of *sangats* or *gurdwaras* points to conversion to Sikh faith. The Sikh faith increased as a result of a large number of people coming into the Sikh fold.³⁶ The Sikhs attending the *sangat* are mostly from working class and shopkeepers.³⁷ The offering of *karah*

ਜਿਉਂ ਕੂਕਰ ਦਵਾਰਨ ਕੋ ਜਾਈ ।
ਬਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਅਪਮਾਨਹਿ ਪਾਈ ॥35॥
ਬਾਲ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਅਸ ਦੁਖ ਖਾਨੀ ।
ਜਿਸ ਮਹਿ ਸੁਖ ਕੀ ਰੰਚ ਨ ਜਾਨੀ ।

32. Ibid, p. 224 :

ਲਖਹਿੰ ਦਾਰਦੀ ਕੋ ਮਤਿ ਹੀਨਾ ।

33. Ibid, pp. 316-17 :

ਦੇ ਕਰਿ ਹੋਇ ਅਧੀਨ ਰਹੇ ਕਰ
ਬੰਦਿ ਦੋਊ ਮੁਖ ਬੋਨ ਅਲਾਏ ।
ਆਤਮਜਾ ਮਮ ਕਿਕਰੀ ਜਾਨਹੁ
ਐਰ ਕਛੁ ਨਹਿੰ ਮੇ ਬਨ ਆਏ ।

34. Ibid, p. 261 :

ਪੁੰਨਮਤੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ, ਪੰਨਵਤੀ ਜਿਹ ਜਾਚਕੁੰਭੀਰ ਹੈ ਰਾਹਿਕੁੰਦਾਰੀ ॥32॥

35. Ibid, pp. 882, 902, 879-80 :

ਧਰਮਸਾਲ ਇਕ ਰੁਚਿਰ ਬਨਾਈ ।
× × ×
ਗੁਮ ਬਿਖੇ ਧਰਮਸਾਲਾ ਰਚਯੇ ।
× × ×
ਪੁਰਿ ਮਹਿੰ ਲਿਹੁ ਧੁਮਸਾਲ ਬਨਾਈ ।

36. Ibid, pp. 880, 889 :

ਸਿੱਖੀ ਭਈ ਬਿਸਾਲ ਬਚਿੱਤ੍ਰਾ ॥50॥
× × ×
ਸਿੱਖੀ ਮਗ ਮਹਿੰ ਬਹੁ ਨਰ ਆਏ ।

37. Ibid, p. 902 :

ਕ੍ਰਿੱਤ ਕਰਹੁ ਅਪਨੀ ਦਿਨ ਮਾਹੀ ।
ਮਿਲਹੁ ਸੰਝ ਧੁਮਸਾਲਾ ਜਾਹੀ ।

prasad has been repeatedly emphasised.³⁸ The ritual of *prasad* seems to have developed during the period. Consequently Sikhism could afford to have professional officiants. If a Sikh wants his desire to be fulfilled he should perform the offerings of *kerah prasad* reverently before the *Granth* not failing to place a rupee on the *prasad*.³⁹ Sikh *sadhus* and *sants* grew considerably. They moved from place to place. The Sikh householders served them meals. Sacredness was associated with them.⁴⁰ They were considered the saviours of society. It was believed that they should be politely entertained with food and clothes for their grace.⁴¹ In fact, medieval ethics glorified the religious mendicant.⁴² But this does not mean that the institution of saints was above criticism.

38. Ibid, pp. 873, 1049, 933, 1131 :

ਕਰਹੁ ਤਿਹਾਵਲ ਅਬ ਬਿਥਿ ਨੀਕੀ ।
 ਜਬ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਕਰੋਗੇ ਤਾਂਕੀ ।
 × × ×
 ਸੰਗਤ ਮਹਿ ਪੰਚਾਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਹੋਈ ।
 × × ×
 ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸਿਮਰ ਤਿਹਾਵਲ ਕੀਜੈ ॥20॥
 × × ×
 ਸੁਭ ਤਿਥਿ ਪੰਚਾਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਰਿਵਾਵਹਿ ॥

39. Ibid, p. 875 :

ਜਬ ਕਛੁ ਚਾਹਿ ਹੋਇ ਨਿਜ ਉਰ ਕੋ ।
 ਕਰਹੁ ਤਿਹਾਵਲ ਤਬ ਸਤਗੁਰ ਕੋ ॥89॥
 ਰਾਖਿ ਟਕਾ ਕੀਜਹਿ ਅਰਦਾਸਾ ।
 ਸੁੀ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਪੂਰਿ ਹੈ ਆਸਾ ।

40. Ibid, p. 527 :

ਚਲਿ ਕਰਿ ਭਵਨ ਪੁਨੀਤ ਕਰੀਜੈ ॥80॥

41. Ibid, p. 220-21 :

ਤਿਹ ਸਦਕਾ ਕਰਿ ਇਹ ਮਮ ਨਗਰੀ ।
 ਪਾਵਨ ਹੋਤਿ ਬਸਤਿ ਸੁਖ ਸਗਰੀ ।
 ਭੂਲ ਨ ਕੀਜੈ ਕਬਹਿ ਅਨਾਦਰ ।
 ਅਸਨ ਬਸਨ ਦੀਜੈ ਸੁਖ ਸਾਦਰ ॥48॥

42. Max Weber, "The Protestant Asceticism and the Spirit of Capitalism",
Weber: Selection in Translation (ed. W.G. Runciman), Cambridge,
 1978, 167.

Only the idlers became *sadhus*.⁴³ Existential contradiction is inherent in the idea of beggarly saviour.

The emergence of professionalism in the Sikh religion was a new development. *Nanak Prakash* has numerous references to the fact that the *Gurbani* was difficult to understand for a common Sikh. A tradition of *Gurbani* exegesis developed.⁴⁴ Most of the Sikhs did not know even *Japuji* by heart. The poet condemns them for their *bhekh*.⁴⁵ The poet suggests that the reading of *Japuji* bears three kinds of fruit; the body becomes sinless; one becomes the *sewak* of *Satguru*; and one receives immediate reward in the *kaliyug*.⁴⁶ Magic was generally associated with the *bani*. The recitation of *Kirtan Sohila* before going to bed was considered to be auspicious.⁴⁷ The poet does not expect that the *bani* would read by everyone. Only those who have 'concentration' would read or listen.⁴⁸

43. *Nanak Prakash*, p.218 :

ਮੁੜ ਪਸਚਾਤ ਖਾਹਿੰ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਰਿ ਕੋ ।

ਰਲੋਂ ਫਕੀਰਨ ਸੋ ਤਜਿ ਘਰ ਕੋ ॥25॥

44. *Ibid*, p. 1003, 563 :

ਅਰਥ ਸਮੇਤ ਸੁਨਾਵਹੁ ਮੰਗੀ ।

× × ×

ਅਰਥ ਸਹਿਤ ਸੁਨਿ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਦੇ ਭਯੋ ਦੀਨ ਮਨ ਸੋਇ ।

45. *Ibid*, p. 1206 :

ਹੋਇ ਸਿੱਖ ਜਪੁ ਕੰਠ ਨ ਕੀਨੋ ।

ਨਾਉ ਧਰੀਕ ਬੇਖ ਧਰਿ ਲੀਨੋ ॥100॥

46. *Ibid*, p. 1207 :

ਨਰ ਤਨ ਦੁਰਲਭ ਇਕ ਇਹ ਪਾਯੋ ।

ਪੁਨ ਸੋ ਤਿਗੁਰ ਸਿਖ ਬੇਖ ਬਨਾਯੋ ।

ਤੀਜੋ ਕਲਯੁਗ ਕੋ ਹੈ ਕਾਲਾ ॥

ਬੋਗੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਮਹਿ ਹੁਇ ਦੁਖਾਲਾ ॥106॥

47. *Ibid*, p. 1165 :

ਪਦਹਿੰ ਸੋਹਿਲਾ ਸੋਵਨ ਕਾਲਾ ।

ਹਿਰਦੈ ਧਰਿਕੈ ਪ੍ਰਯਾਨ ਬਿਸਾਲਾ ।

ਤਿਨ ਕਾ ਹੂੰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਰਖਵਾਰਾ ।

ਬਿਘਨ ਸਰਬ ਦੇ ਦੁਖ ਨਿਵਾਰਾ ॥146॥

48. *Ibid*, p. 536 :

ਪਦਨ ਸ਼ਕਤਿ ਜੇ ਹੋਵਈ ਪਵੈ ਨੇਮ ਕਰਿ ਸੋਇ ।

ਸੁਦਾਨਿ ਸ਼ਕਤਿ ਜੇ ਹੋਵਈ ਸੁਨੇ ਸੁ ਇਕ ਮਨ ਹੋਇ ॥82॥

In the early nineteenth century, the Sikhs started celebrating their religious functions by bringing out processions. It was brought out with great pomp and show. People participated in large number in the procession and recited *shabads* walking.⁴⁹ During the period, Hindu rituals and customs were also prevalent among the Sikhs. The recitation of the Veda by the Brahmin on the death of a Sikh was a common practice, besides that of *satnam*.⁵⁰ The impact of the Hindu worship was also evident in performing *arti*.⁵¹ *Sharadh* was also observed by most of the Sikhs.⁵²

The condition of women was quite oppressive. The poet complains to God why He created women on earth?⁵³ The woman was the most exploited creature in the society. Her exploitation was anthropologically sanctioned. The welfare of a woman lay in being the slave

49. Ibid, p. 1172 :

ਜਿਤ ਦਿਸ਼ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਜਾਇੰ ਅਗਾਰੀ ।
 ਤਿਤ ਦਿਸ਼ਿ ਕਵੈਂ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਪਿਛਾਰੀ ॥35॥
 ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮੁ ।
 ਜਹਿੰ ਤਹਿੰ ਹੂੰ ਉਚਾਰਿ ਸੁਖਧਾਮੁ ।
 ਗਾਵਹਿੰ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਪਵੈਂ ਦ੍ਰਿਦ ਪ੍ਰੇਮਾ ।
 ਕਰਿ ਬਿਚਾਰ ਹੁਇ ਚਿੱਤ ਸੁ ਖੇਮਾ ॥36॥

50. Ibid, p. 1234 :

ਸੱਤਿਨਾਮ ਕੋ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਗਾਵਹੁ ॥49॥
 ਜਿਤੇ ਬੇਦ ਪਾਠੀ ਦਿਜ ਅਹਿਗੀਂ ।
 ਕਰਹਿੰ ਬੇਦ ਗੁਨਿ ਬਿਲਮ ਨ ਗਹਿਗੀਂ ।

51. Ibid, p. 1049 :

ਦੀਪ ਬਾਰਿ ਆਰਤੀ ਉਤਾਰੀ ।

52. Ibid, p. 1227 :

ਕਰਹਿੰ ਸ਼ਰਾਧ ਅਸ਼ਟਮੀ ਬਾਸੁਰ ।
 ਪੁਨ ਨੇਮੀ ਦਿਨ ਸ਼ਰੋਰੋ ਰਹਿ ਕਰਿ ॥9॥
 ਦਸਮੀ ਕੇ ਦਿਨ ਹੋਇ ਤਯਾਰੀ ।

53. Ibid, p. 338 :

ਹੇ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਿਉਂ ਸਿਰਜੀ ਜਗ ਨਾਰੀ ॥24॥
 ਪਰਾਧੀਨ ਨਿਤ ਦੁਸਹਿ ਕਲੇਸ਼ਾ ।
 ਭੋਕਰਿ ਜਨਮਤਿ ਸਭਿਹਿ ਅੰਦੇਸ਼ਾ ।

of man.⁵⁴ Women were served food after men on marriage occasions.⁵⁵ A girl's social status was assessed on the basis of the status of her parents. It was believed that a girl would be nice if her family was good.⁵⁶ She was considered the root cause of evil.⁵⁷ Even the ascetics failed to understand her mystery.⁵⁸ The image of woman in *Nanak Prakash* is repulsive. Her bones, blood, marrow, and hair smell badly.⁵⁹ She was visualised as nature which is illusion and led a man to nescience.

In this context the description of libidinous women and their sexual exploits in *Nanak Prakash* becomes all the more important. They give open invitation to men.

54. Ibid, p. 335 :

ਜਾਨਹੁ ਭਲਾ ਕੰਤ ਅਨੁਸਾਰਾ ।
ਹੋਵਹਿ ਸਰਬ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਸੁਖ ਭਾਰਾ ।

55. Ibid, p. 300 :

ਨਾਨਾ ਬਿਧਿ ਭੋਜਨ ਕਰਾਇ ਕੈ ਜਿਮਾਇ ਨਰ,
ਬਨਿਤਾ ਕੀ ਪਾਂਤਹਿ ਬਿਸਾਇ ਹਿਤ ਖਾਨ ਕੋ ।
ਔਰ ਜੇ ਹੈ ਉਚ ਨੀਚ ਸਭਿ ਕੋ ਅਧਾਰ ਢੀਨੇ,
ਨੀਕੇ ਪਕਵਾਨ ਖਾਨ ਕੀਨੇ ਸੁਖ ਮਾਨਕੇ ।

56. Ibid, p. 344 :

ਕੁਲਵਾਨਨਿ ਕੀ ਤਨਿਯਾ ਸਦਨਾ ।
ਸਨਮਾਨ ਕਰੋ ਨਹਿ ਜੇ ਬਦਨਾ ॥13॥

57. Ibid, p. 1211 :

ਨਾਰਿ ਗਰਤਿ ਮਹਿੰ ਦੇਯ ਡਿਗਾਈ ॥

58. Ibid, p. 287 :

ਸੋ ਸਤਿ ਬਾਤ ਤਬਹਿ ਲੋ ਬਰਨੀ ।
ਜਬ ਲੋ ਘਰ ਮੈਂ ਆਇ ਨ ਤਰੁਨੀ ॥41॥
ਜਤੀ ਸਤੀ ਤਪਸੀ ਰਿਖਿ ਜੇਤੇ ।
ਖਾਰ ਨ ਪੱਯੋ ਜਿਨਹਿ ਗਿਨੇ ਤੇ ।
ਦਰਸ ਅੰਗਨਾਂ ਜਾਰ ਮਹਾਨਾ ।
ਢਸੇ ਨ ਨਿਕਸਿਹੰ ਅਤਿ ਬਲਿਵਾਨਾ ॥42॥

59. Ibid, p. 287 :

ਤਿਨਕੇ ਮਨ ਕ੍ਯਾ ਨਾਰ ਮਲੀਨੀ ।
ਭਾਵਤਿ ਜੋ ਦੁਰਗੰਧਹਿ ਭੀਨੀ ।
ਅਸਤ ਰਕਤ ਮੱਜਾ ਪਲ ਬਾਰਾ ।
ਕਠਹਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਜੋ ਬਿਨਾ ਵਿਚਾਰਾ ॥44॥

Such women lose their senses and see even wise men with evil intentions.⁶⁰ Contradictorily, if a libidinous woman approaches a man she should not be disappointed.⁶¹ To some extent the description bears the impact of *Tria Charitra* of the *Dasam Granth*.⁶² At the same time, it also reverberates with the *ritikalin* special emphasis on the sensuous. But the significant point is that sexual relation is treated as an 'act'.⁶³ It was something vile. This is also evident from the common beliefs about sex. A woman was considered shameless if she asked her husband for sexual intercourse.⁶⁴ Sex was considered to be homologous to faeces.⁶⁵ It was believed that sexual intercourse in the day-time shortened one's life span and intercourse on an auspicious day cursed a man with a bad child.⁶⁶ Youth was condemned as an 'enemy'.⁶⁷ The

60. Ibid, p. 516 :

ਜੋਖਤਾ ਕੁਚੀਲ ਨਹਿ ਜਾਨਤਿ ਹੈ ਸੰਤ ਸ਼ੀਲ
 ਕੂਲੀ ਮਤ ਸਦਾ ਜਿਨ ਕਾਮ ਭੋਗ ਚਾਹਿ ਕੀ ।
 ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਯੋ ਜਸ ਪਾਯੋ ਫਲ ਇਨ੍ਹੈ ਤਸ
 ਸਾਧ ਉਪਕਾਰੀ ਹੋਤਿ ਇੱਛਾ ਨਹਿ ਕਾਹਿ ਕੀ ॥42॥

61. Ibid, p. 734 :

ਕਾਮ ਸੰਗ ਮੈਂ ਪੀੜਤਿ ਭਾਰੀ ।
 ਅਬ ਮੈਬੁਨ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਹੁ ਨਿਵਾਰੀ ।
 ਆਤੁਰ ਹੈ ਸ਼ਰਨਾਗਤਿ ਆਵੈ ।
 ਜੋ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲ ਨਹਿ ਮੋਘ ਪਠਾਵੈ ॥8॥

62. Cf. *Dasam Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji*, Sodhak Committee (1895),
 Jawahar Singh Kirpal Singh, Amritsar 1956, p. 831.

63. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 734, 516 :

ਅਬ ਮੈਬੁਨ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਹੁ ਨਿਵਾਰੀ ।
 × × ×
 ਕਰਮ ਕਮਾਯੋ ਜਸ ਪਾਯੋ ਫਲ ਇਨ੍ਹੈ ਤਸ
 ਸਾਧ ਉਪਕਾਰੀ ਹੋਤਿ ਇੱਛਾ ਨਹਿ ਕਾਹਿ ਕੀ ॥42॥

64. Ibid, p. 735 :

ਬਾਰਬਧੁ ਜਿਵ ਤਜਿ ਕਰਿ ਬੀੜਾ ।
 ਪਤਿ ਕੋ ਬਸਨ ਗਹਯੋ ਹਿਤ ਕ੍ਰੀੜਾ ॥14॥

65. Ibid, 525 :

ਬਿਸੈ ਭੋਗ ਬਿਬਟਾ ਕੀ ਨ੍ਯਾਈ ॥80॥

poet advocates the idea of abstaining from sex and gives it a religious gloss by making it *sat santokh*.⁶⁸ It was believed that little food and less sleep checked sexual urge in man.⁶⁹

The description of marriage ceremony has found a major place in *Nanak Prakash*. Santokh Singh gives a vivid picture of marriage ceremony of his times. It was a high time of festivity in the human life. It was the occasion for display of wealth as well as status. The occasion was celebrated by calling dancing girls. Generally, the marriage party was made to stay for three days.⁷⁰ Throwing of coins over the bridegroom by the father was a common practice.⁷¹ In marriage, different kinds of sweetmeats and meals were served to the marriage party.⁷² The essential qualification of a boy's marriage was to be an earning hand. The parents advised

66. *Ibid*, p. 735 :

ਦਿਨ ਸੈਥਨ ਤੇ ਆਯੁ ਘਟਾਈ ।
ਪਰਬ ਦਿਨਨ ਦੁਰਸੁਤ ਜਨਮਾਈ ।

67. *Ibid*, p. 1211 :

ਪਰਮ ਸ਼ੰਤੁ ਇਹ ਜੋਥਨ ਜਾਨਹੁ ।

68. *Ibid*, p. 608 :

ਸਤਿ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਰਖਹਿ ਉਰ ਧਾਰੀ ।
ਕਰਤਿ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੋਥਨ ਨਰ ਨਾਰੀ ।

69. *Ibid*, p. 496 :

ਬੋਰੋ ਖਾਨ, ਸੈਨ ਪੁਨਿ ਬੋਰਾ ।
ਤਿਨ ਪਰ ਕਾਮ ਨ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਨ ਜੋਰਾ ।

70. *Ibid*, p. 316 :

ਦਿਵਸ ਤੀਨ ਅਸ ਰੀਤ ਬਰਾਤ ਸੁਹਾਵਨੀ ।

71. *Ibid*, p. 247 :

ਮਨ ਹੋਇ ਉਦਾਰ ਧੰਨ ਬਰਖੇ ।
ਸਭਿ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਰੰਕ ਰਿਦੇ ਹਰਖੇ ॥5॥

72. *Ibid*, p. 313 :

ਨੀਕੇ ਮਹਾਂ ਪਕਵਾਨ ਪਰੋਸਤਿ
ਮਾਧੁਰਤਾ ਮਧ ਜਿਉਂ ਮਧਰਾਏ ।

their sons to earn in order to get married.⁷³ Caste was the first consideration in finding a bride or bridegroom. Then came the material prosperity of the family.⁷⁴ The virtue of a girl was estimated on the basis of her family status.⁷⁵ The marriage of a girl was considered to be a big problem, specially for the poor. It was considered legitimate to borrow on the occasion.⁷⁶ Marriage was the central fact of life. Birth and death are peripheral to the centrality of marrying. The custom of using abusive language by women known as *sithanian* to bridegroom, his parents and relatives figured prominently.⁷⁷ According to the poet, abusive language points to the failure of feminine passion. The poet significantly equates the bridegroom with *jnan*.⁷⁸

A father was the head of the family. His relation with other members of family were authoritarian. A dutiful son (*saput*) was he who earned money and brought wealth and glory to the family.⁷⁹ He was respected for the

73. Ibid, p. 224 :

ਲਖਹਿ ਕਮਾਉ ਸਹਿ ਪਰਿਵਾਰੁ ॥15॥
ਨਿਜ ਤਨਿਯਾ ਕੁਝ ਦੇਯ ਖਿਵਾਰੀ ।

74. Ibid, p. 265 :

ਹਰਖਯੋ ਕਾਲੂ ਕਹਤਿ ਪੁਨਿ ਹੋਇ ਭਲੀ ਜਹਿ ਠੋਰ ।
ਦੇਖਿ ਜਰਾਮ ਕਰੀਜੀਏ ਖੜ੍ਹੀ ਹੂੰ ਧਨ ਗੋਰ ॥11॥

75. See footnote 59 above.

76. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 355 :

ਐਰ ਚਲਤਿ ਨੀਕੀ ਗੁਜਰਾਨਾ ।
ਤਨਿਯਾ ਬੁਯਾਹਨਿ ਖਰਚ ਮਹਾਨਾ ।
ਤਾਂਕੀ ਸ਼ਕਤਿ ਨ ਸਦਨ ਹਮਾਰੇ ।
ਯਾ ਹਿਤ ਆਯੋ ਨਿਕਟਿ ਤੁਮਾਰੇ ॥31॥

77. Ibid, p. 220 :

ਗਾਰੀ ਦੇਹਿ ਸੁਖਦ ਮ੍ਰਿਗਨੈਨੀ ।

78. Ibid, p. 309 :

ਗੁਯਾਨ ਪੈ ਕਾਮ ਕੋ ਜੋਰ ਚਲਯੋ ਨ
ਪਠਾਇਨ ਹੂੰ ਮਨੋ ਥਾਦ ਪੁਕਾਰੀ ॥20॥

79. Ibid, p. 263 :

ਇਕ ਹੋਤਿ ਸਪੁਤ ਕਮਾਵਤਿ ਹੋ ਧਨ
ਪਾਵਤਿ ਸੋ ਜਸੁ ਆਨਿ ਨਿਕੋਤੁ ।

money he accumulated.⁸⁰ His wisdom lay in the fact of his being an earning hand. A son was respected by all for his obedience. His marriage could only be possible if he was an earning hand.⁸¹ But the situation was altogether different in the case of an only son. Even if he did not earn the parents felt satisfied that at least their son was before their eyes.⁸² Not only parents but the wife also compelled her husband to earn.⁸³ It was believed that the real solace was only in giving happiness to parents. The wisdom of a son lay in earning for his family.⁸⁴ The *shariks*

80. Ibid, pp. 233, 232-33 :

ਦਿਨ ਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਦਰਬ ਬਧਾਵਹੁ ਭਾਰੀ ।
ਬਹੁਰ ਸਪੁਤ ਕਹਹਿ ਨਰ ਨਾਰੀ ।
X X X
ਦਰਬ ਕਮਾਵਨ ਮੈਂ ਜਸ ਮੇਰੇ ।
ਜਾਨਹਿ ਸਭਿ ਪੁਰਿ ਮਾਹਿ ਘਨੇਰੇ ॥24॥

81. Ibid, pp. 224, 193 :

ਲਖਹਿ ਕਮਾਊ ਸਹਿ ਪਰਿਵਾਰੁ ॥15॥
ਨਿਜ ਤਨਿਯਾ ਰੁਝ ਦੇਯ ਬਿਵਾਹੀ ।
ਸੁਜਸੁ ਹੋਇ ਸਭਿ ਲੋਕਨ ਮਾਹੀ ।
X X X
ਅਬ ਸਨਬੰਧਨਿ ਕੇ ਸੁਖ ਦੀਜੈ

82. Ibid, p. 215 :

ਪਤਿ ਸੋਂ ਕਹਤਿ ਏਕ ਹਮ ਤਾਤਾ ।
ਸੋ ਕੀਨੋ ਸੁਰਭੀ ਕੋ ਤਾਤਾ ॥55॥

83. Ibid, p. 336 :

ਸੁਨਿ ਪਿਤ ਭਲੇ ਸੰਗ ਹੋਂ ਲਾਈ ।
ਜਿਹ ਨਿਕੇਤ ਕੀ ਚਿੰਤ ਨ ਕਾਈ ॥5॥

84. Ibid, pp. 472, 406, 330 :

ਨਿਜ ਨਿਕੇਤ ਚਲਿਯੇ ਅਬੈ, ਰਹੋ ਨ ਜਾਉ ਬਿਦੇਸ।
ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਸੁਖ ਦੀਜਿਯੇ ਦੂਰ ਕਰਹੁ ਇਹ ਬੇਸ ॥21॥
X X X
ਜਿਨ ਕੋ ਸੁਧ ਬੁਧਿ ਆਇ ਨ ਕੋਊ ।
ਦਰਬ ਕਮਾਵਨ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਜੋਊ ॥25॥
X X X
ਬਹੁਤੋਂ ਬਿੰਤ ਇਕੱਤ੍ਰ ਸੁ ਕਰੀਏ ।
ਪਰਵਾਰਨ ਕੋ ਖਰਚ ਵਿਚਰੀਏ ॥19॥

were looked with hostility and distrust. It was believed that the material prosperity of a family made them envious and one's distress gave them a sense of happiness.⁸⁵

Nanak Prakash supports the idea of kingship. It is remarked that in the absence of a king there is chaos.⁸⁶ This state of affairs remains with a weak king.⁸⁷ Kingship was considered a divine attribute. The status of a king was higher than that of a common man but inferior to a *bhagat*. Kingship was believed to be attainable by meditation. But his inferiority lay in meditation for an end. King's higher status and his spiritual guarantees made it morally binding on him not to indulge in worldly pleasures. They led to ruin.⁸⁸ His duty was to take care of his subject's welfare. However, the institution of kingship was generally considered to be oppressive. Interestingly, the poet brackets a king with a thief. At a place, it is remarked that people hide their wealth for fear of king and thief.⁸⁹ Exploitative authority was delegated to every administrative department. The *patwari* handled revenue affairs as he liked. The poet remarks that the authority is used impro-

85. *Ibid.*, p. 224 :

ਕਹਿਹਿ ਸ਼ਰੀਕ ਈਰਖਾ ਜਾਸੁ ।
ਹਮ ਉਰ ਜਰੇ ਜਾਇ ਸੋ ਕੈਸੇ ।
ਦੁਖਹਿ ਬਦਰਿ ਢਿਗ ਰੰਭਾ ਜੈਸੇ ॥18॥

86. *Ibid.*, p. 896 :

ਬਿਨ ਨਿਪੁ ਸਰਬ ਢੇਸੁ ਅਕੁਲਾਯੋ ।

87. *Ibid.*, p. 231 :

ਕਾਹੈ ਸਮੇਂ ਨਿਪੁ ਹੁਇ ਬਿਨ ਜੋਰਾ ।
ਜਿਉਂ ਦੁਖ ਢੇਹਿ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਕੋ ਚੋਰਾ ॥9॥

88. *Ibid.*, p. 178 :

ਤਪ ਭਿਯ ਜਿਨਹਿ ਸਬਾਸਨਾ ਜਨਮ ਅਨਤ ਧਰਿ ਸੋਇ ।
ਪਾਇ ਰਾਜ ਜਗ ਬਿਖੈ ਫਸਿ ਨਰਕ ਗਮਨ ਪੁਨਿ ਹੋਇ ॥43॥

89. *Ibid.*, p. 1213 :

ਭੂਪਤਿ ਤਸਕਰ ਕੋ ਭੈ ਕਰਿਕੈ ।
ਰਾਖਤਿ ਹੈ ਦੁਰਾਇ ਬਿਚ ਘਠ ਕੈ ।

perly.⁹⁰ This kind of power structure excludes the idea of individual justice. Hence, the duty of God was to save the poor and kill the oppressors.⁹¹ Also, it indicates an unconscious idea of collective justice.⁹² However, the poet himself has no idea of justice. According to him, it was advisable to give *kharayat* (charity) out of sinfully earned money.⁹³ Not offering a bribe was an act of defiance.⁹⁴

Santokh Singh's geographical knowledge is poor. Sea-water is stated to be sweet.⁹⁵ He is conversant with mythological geography. He is aware of the traditional divisions of the earth. For him India is a Jambudip. Its area is one lakh *yojan*.⁹⁶ The lack of grasp of physical reality was also shared by his contemporaries.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 208 :

ਤਾਤ ਤਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਤਵ ਪਟਵਾਰੀ ।

ਕਰਤਿ ਹਕੂਮਤਿ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਵਿਸਾਰੀ ॥29॥

91. *Ibid.*, p. 909 :

ਆਗੈ ਆਜਿਜ ਰੱਖਯਾ ਕਰਿਯੇ ।

ਉਰ ਤੇ ਜੁਲਮੀ ਸਗਲ ਪ੍ਰਹਰਿਯੇ ॥67॥

92. *Ibid.*, p. 206-207 :

ਕਰਹੁ ਤਪਾਵਸ ਕ੍ਰਪਤਿ ਮੇਰੇ ।

ਨਾਤੁਰ ਉਜਰਹਿ ਨਗਰ ਸੁ ਤੇਰੇ ।

ਦਿਨ ਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਅਸਥਿਧਿ ਜੋ ਕ੍ਰਿਸਿ ਉਜਰੇ ।

ਰਾਹਕ ਕੈਸ ਬਸਾਸਤਿ ਗੁਜਰੇ ॥30॥

93. *Ibid.*, p. 909 :

ਆਗੈ ਆਜਿਜ ਰਖਯਾ ਕਰਿਯੇ ।

ਉਰ ਤੇ ਜੁਲਮੀ ਸਗਲ ਪ੍ਰਹਰਿਯੇ ॥67॥

ਕਲਮਲ ਕਰਿ ਜੋ ਧਨ ਇਠਠਾਇ ।

ਦੇਹੁ ਖਰਾਇਤ ਨਾਇ ਖੁਚਾਇ ।

94. *Ibid.*, p. 288 :

ਬਹੁਰਿ ਨ ਬੈਸਹਿ ਮੋਦੀਖਾਨੇ ।

ਦਈ ਨ ਰਿਬੜਭ ਹਮੈ ਨ ਜਾਨੇ ॥51॥

95. *Ibid.*, p. 937 :

ਇਸ ਸਮਾਨ ਇਹ ਸਾਗਰ ਜਾਨਹੁ ।

ਮਿਸ਼ਟ ਨੀਰ ਕੇ ਸਰਬ ਪਛਾਨਹੁ ॥71॥

96. *Ibid.*, p. 932 :

ਉੱਤਮ ਜੰਝੁ ਈਪ ਮਹਾਨਾ ।

ਲਖ ਜੋਜਨ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਬਿਸਤਾਰੁ ।

ਸਭਿ ਈਪਕ ਕੇ ਲਖਹੁ ਮਝਾਰੁ ॥4॥

... ..
ਜੋਜਨ ਲਾਖੁ ਜਾਨਿਯੇ ਮੇਰੁ ।

Nanak Prakash provides some information on the economic condition of the period. Arid land was brought under cultivation and new villages came into being.⁹⁷ The fine long rice (*basmati*) was a rare article in the Punjab.⁹⁸ Its cultivation in the core region was very limited. On the other hand grain was common. In *Nanak Prakash* there is no reference to the consumption of vegetables as food. At a place, Santokh Singh says that the earth is provided with food by God.⁹⁹

Nanak Prakash refers to a number of food-stuff, sweet-meats and dry fruits. The food-stuff are : *mahan-di-dal*, rice, *atta*, gram, barley, ghee, *gur*, salt, turmeric, chillies, sugar-candy and sugar cake.¹⁰⁰ The cooked food is *kachauri*, *puri*, *khir*, *pura*, rice *dal*, *pakaura*, curd with *dhania* (coriander seeds) and chillies, curd with *pakauras*.¹⁰¹ The rich were believed to be habitual meat-eaters.¹⁰² *Laddu*, *sewian*, *bundi*, *jalebi*, *pura*, *karah*, *amarati*, *khir* and *khurma* are some of the sweets of the period.¹⁰³ There is a reference to sugar-cake in the sweetmeat. *Saugi*, almond and pistachio were distributed to the marriage party.¹⁰⁴

97. *Ibid.*, p. 218 :

ਦਿਉਂ ਬਸਾਇ ਇਕ ਕ੍ਰਮ ਨਿਰਾਰਾ ।

98. *Ibid.*, p. 165, 238 :

ਦਧਿ ਅਰੁ ਚਿਦਨ ਮਾਤ ਤੇ ਅਰਧਿਕ ਖਾਇ ਪਲਾਇੰ ।

× × ×

ਸੁਖਮ ਚਾਵਰ ਚਾਰੁ ਲੰਮੇਰੇ ।

99. *Ibid.*, p. 622.

ਧਰਤੀ ਥਾਪੀ ਦੇਗ ਕਰਿ ਸਭਸੈ ਦੇਤਿ ਅਹਾਰ ॥62॥

100. *Ibid.*, p. 238, 259.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 203, 313, 608, 1229.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 825 :

ਕਾਜ ਵਿਵਾਹਾਰਿਕ ਜੋ ਸਭਿ ਹੀ ।

ਬਿਨਾ ਮਾਸ ਤੇ ਸੁਭੈ ਨ ਕਬਹੀ ।

ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ ਨ੍ਰਿਪ ਆਮਿਖ ਖਾਵਤਿ ।

103. *Ibid.*, p. 313, 477, 608, 1229.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

Nanak Prakash not only refers to food-stuff but also provides informations on the food-habits of the people of the Punjab of the time. In marriage, sweetmeats were served before the meal.¹⁰⁵ There was the habit of taking milk after dinner.¹⁰⁶ People generally took hot meals. Even the sleeping children were woken up in order to feed them.¹⁰⁷ Drinking of *ghee* was very common and a matter of pride.¹⁰⁸ Common man did not take food twice a day. Only the well-off people could afford two meals a day.¹⁰⁹ Significantly one could take two meals a day because the *langar* was abundant.¹¹⁰ The acceptance of an invitation brought honour to the host to enhance his reputation. *Brahmbhoj* was an institution of the times.¹¹¹

105. *Ibid.*, p. 478 :

ਪੁਰਖ ਮਧੁਰ ਪਰੋਸਿ ਅਹਾਰੁ ।
ਪੀਛੇ ਤੋਂ ਤੁਰਸ਼ੈ ਲਛਨਾਰੁ ।

106. *Ibid.*, p. 205 :

ਪੈ ਪੁਨਿ ਪਿਯੋ ਖਾਨਿ ਕਰਿ ਅਸਨਾ ।

107. *Ibid.*, p. 492, 493 :

ਕਹੈ ਕਿ ਸੂਤ ਕੇ ਆਨਿ ਜਗਾਈ ॥55॥
ਸੀਤਲ ਹੋਇ ਨ ਜਾਇ ਅਹਾਰਾ ।
X X X
ਤਿਨਹਿ ਜਗਾਇ ਅਚਾਇ ਅਹਾਰਾ ।

108. *Ibid.*, p. 1193 :

ਗੁਯਾਨ ਸਮਾਨ ਘਿੱਤ ਕੇ ਜਾਨਹੁ ।
ਉਤਮ ਗਰਵ ਵਿਸੇਸ਼ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਨਹੁ ॥53॥

109. *Ibid.*, p. 1174 :

ਜੁਗਲ ਕਾਲ ਭਲ ਬਨਹਿ ਅਹਾਰਾ ।
ਅਚਵੈ ਰੁਚਿ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਅਪਾਰਾ ॥56॥
... ..
ਦੋਨੋ ਸਮੈ ਭਾਤਿ ਇਸ ਹੋਇ ।
ਆਵਹਿ ਖਾਇ ਨ ਹਟਿਕੈ ਕੋਇ ॥

110. *Ibid.*, p. 1176 :

ਖਾਇ ਸਮੈ ਦੁਇ ਰੁਚਿਰ ਅਹਾਰਾ ।
ਹੋਇ ਅੰਨ ਕੀ ਤੰਟ ਨ ਕੋਈ ।
ਰਹੈ ਜੁ ਦੇਗ ਅਚੈ ਸਭਿ ਕੋਈ ॥4॥

111. *Ibid.*, p. 456 :

ਕਰਨ ਸੁਜਸ ਅਪਨੋ ਨਰ ਮਾਂਹੀ ।
ਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਭੋਜ ਬੀਨੋ ਪੁਰਿ ਤਾਂਹੀ ॥4॥

In the early-nineteenth century Punjab, *ayurveda* was one of the major indigenous medical systems. It considers four causes of an ailment, *pitt* (bile), *vai* (wind), *kaff* (phlegm) and *shronit* (blood).¹¹² A phlegmatic person could not digest *ghee* and is attacked by a number of diseases. Similarly, a bilious person suffers from incurable diarrhoea.¹¹³ According to Santokh Singh an ulcer could be cauterised by hot iron.¹¹⁴ The diseases were considered to be of three kinds: *adhi*, the disease of mind; *upadhi*, spiritual malaise; and *biadhi*, the physical diseases. The order is significant. Much attention was paid to the first two to the detriment of physical illness.¹¹⁵ The treatment of the first was religion and the second was magic or occultism. That is why even the cure of physical diseases were sought from *faqirs* or Sants.¹¹⁶

112. *Ibid.*, p. 226-27 :

ਪਿੱਤ ਵਾਇ ਕਛ ਸੁੰਣਤ ਚਾਰੂ ।

ਇਨ ਤੇ ਤਨ ਮਹਿ ਹੋਤਿ ਵਿਕਾਰੂ ॥40॥

113. *Ibid.*, p. 1193 :

ਕਛ ਸੁਭਾਵ ਜਿਨ ਕੇਰ ਮਹਾਨਾ ।

ਤੇ ਨਰ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਰਿਹੀ ਜੇ ਪਾਨਾ ।

ਪਚੇ ਨਹੀ ਸੋ ਕਰਤਿ ਬਿਕਾਰਾ ।

ਛਾਤੀ ਬੋਝ ਹੋਤਿ ਦੁਖ ਭਾਰਾ ॥54॥

ਹੋਤਿ ਰੋਗ ਕੋ ਕਾਰਣ ਸੋਈ ।

ਤਹਿ ਤੇ ਸੁਖੀ ਸਰੀਰ ਨ ਹੋਈ ।

ਅਚਯੋ ਹੋਤ ਸੁਖ ਹੂੰ ਬਿੱਪ੍ਰੀਤਾ ।

ਗੁਨ ਤੋ ਰਹਯੋ ਸੁ ਅੰਗੁਨ ਕੀਤਾ ॥55॥

ਪਿਤੀ ਕੋ ਜਿਨ ਕੇਰ ਸੁਭਾਉ ।

ਤੇ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਪੀ ਕਰਿ ਚਹੈ ਪਜਾਉ ।

ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਅਤੀਸਾਰ ਦੁਖ ਹੋਈ ।

ਮਿਟਤਿ ਨ ਕਰੇ ਉਪਾਇ ਜਿ ਕੋਈ ॥56॥

114. *Ibid.*, p. 376 :

ਤਪਯੋ ਲੋਹ ਬ੍ਰਿਣ ਪਾਕ ਪਰ ਲਗਿ ਸੰਕਟ ਅਧਿਕਾਇ ॥32॥

115. *Ibid.*, p. 377 :

ਜਾਹਿ ਅਰਾਧਨ ਕੇ ਫਲ ਲਾਧਹਿ

ਆਧਿ ਉਪਾਧਿ ਬਿਆਧਿ ਮਿਟਾਏ ॥42॥

116. *Ibid.*, p. 463 :

ਭੋ ਫਕੀਰ ਮਮ ਸੁਤ ਕੋ ਰੋਗੁ ।

ਦੇਹੁ ਗਵਾਇ ਕਰਹੁ ਨਿਰਸੰਗੁ ॥੨5॥

Gods and goddesses were worshiped for their cures.¹¹⁷

Santokh Singh's attitude to physiological functions is negative. Excretion and urination, eating and drinking, and sexual intercourse are useless.¹¹⁸ Human body is impure. Nine bodily openings are stated to be full of filth.¹¹⁹ Old age is valueless, not only socially but also spiritually.¹²⁰ Happiness is to be idle.¹²¹ These attitudes are the accurate reflex of the intellectual conditions of the period.

Though Santokh Singh says that his writing is for the Sikhs yet the internal evidence suggests that it is for the

117. Ibid., p. 225, 330 :

ਮਨ ਹੀ ਮਨਹਿ ਮਾਨਵ ਮਹੇਬਾ ।
 ਪ੍ਰਜ ਚੰਡਿਕਾ ਬਹੁਰ ਗਨੇਸ਼ਾ ॥26॥
 ਸੁਤ ਬਰੀਰ ਕੇ ਕਰਹੁ ਅਰੋਗਾ ।
 ਦੇਉ' ਉਪਾਇਨ ਜਸ ਜਿਸ ਜੋਗਾ ।
 × × ×
 ਜਿਉ' ਜਲ ਹੀਨ ਨ ਤਾਲ ਸੁਹਾਵਾ ।
 ਤਿਉ' ਧਨ ਬਿਨ ਨਰ ਬੋਭ ਨ ਪਾਵਾ ।
 ਸਜਲ ਮੇਘ ਬਿਨ ਜਿਉ' ਕ੍ਰਿਖਿ ਨਾਹੀ ।
 ਧਨ ਬਿਹੀਨ ਤਿਉ' ਬਨਜ ਨ ਆਹੀ ॥22॥

118. Ibid., p. 193 :

ਮਲ ਮੂਤ੍ਰਾਦਿ ਤਜਿਨਿ ਜੁਗ ਕਾਲਾ ।
 ਕਠਛਿ ਬਿਤੀਤਰਿ ਕਾਲ ਬਿਸਾਲਾ ॥33॥
 ਖਾਨ ਪਾਨ ਨਿਡ ਬਰਨ ਬਿਹਾਰਾ ।
 ਹਿਤ ਬਿਨੋਦ ਬਨਿਤਾ ਸੰਗ ਧਾਰਾ ।

119. Ibid., p. 779 :

ਨੈ ਦਰ ਸਰਵਹਿ ਸਦਾ ਹੀ ਅਤਿ ਮਲੀਨਤਾ ਜੋਇ ।
 ਬੁੱਧ ਹੋਰਿ ਜਲ ਕੇ ਮਿਲੇ ਉਚਿਤ ਬਨਾਨਹਿ ਹੋਇ ॥77 ॥

120. Ibid., p. 193, 485 :

ਦੇਹਿ ਕ੍ਰਿਆ ਕਰਨੀ ਕਠਨ ਤਥ ਕਸ ਹਰਿ ਉਰਧਾਰਿ ॥32॥
 × × ×
 ਆਯੁ ਬ੍ਰਿਧਿ ਜਿਹਿ ਜੀਵਨ ਬੋਰਾ ।
 ਚਹਿਤਿ ਕਿ ਸਫਲ ਜਨਮ ਹੂੰ ਮੋਰਾ ।

121. Ibid., p. 257 :

ਬੈਠ ਰਹੋ ਜਸੁ ਨਾਮ ਕਹੋ ਹਰਿ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਲਹੋ ਸੁਖ ਯੋ ਮੁਖ ਦੀਜੈ ॥5॥

upper class Sikhs. He is aware of the fact that *Gurbani* was written in the language of common man as Sanskrit was difficult to understand.¹²² But his own work is in Braj dialect. Yoga and Vedant are for upper classes and *bhagti* i.e Sikhism for the lower.¹²³

The unitary Sikhism of the earlier period is being polarised into the rulers and the ruled. The Sikh subjects have a privileged position vis-a-vis the non-Sikhs. But they have come down the social scale in comparison with the Sikh Sardars.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 574 :

ਸੰਸਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਕੇ ਪਾਠ ਨਹਿ ਜਾਨਹਿ ।
ਕਿਹ ਬਿਧਿ ਮਹਿਮਾ ਨਾਮ ਪਛਾਨਹਿ ।
ਤਾਂਭੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਮੁਖ ਬਾਨੀ ।
ਰਚਿ ਦੀਨੀ ਲੋਕਨ ਗਤਿਦਾਨੀ ॥73॥

123. *Ibid.*, p. 536, 538 :

ਭਗਤਿ ਜੋਗ ਇਹ ਜਾਨਯੇ ਕਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਪੰਥ ਸੁਖੇਨ ।
ਕਸ਼ਟ ਜੋਗ ਦੁਸ਼ਤਰ ਅਹੈ ਰੋਇ ਨ ਜੇਨੰਕੇਨ ॥91॥
× × ×
ਭਗਤਿ ਜੋਗ ਮਨ ਜੋਗ ਜੁ ਦੋਊ ।
ਕਿਯੇ ਪ੍ਰਪੱਕ ਰੂਪ ਮਨ ਸੋਊ ॥8॥

Chapter VI

SANTOKH SINGH'S POLITICAL IDEAS

The influx of Vedantic and Handali doctrines as well as Santokh Singh's inadequate grasp of Sikh doctrine was due to eclecticism that had replaced religious orthodoxy with the rise of Sikhs to power. The rise of Vedantic and Handali doctrines also indicates that Santokh Singh has no idea of the political significance of religion. He does not have well demarcated political attitude. This does not mean that *Nanak Prakash* is devoid of implicit political ideas. However, the nature of political evidence is suggestive in the implied treatment of the subject.

In *Nanak Prakash*, the political ascendancy of the Sikhs is closely linked to the spiritual ascendancy of Guru Nanak. The defeat of Pathans and the victory of Babur was based on the will of Guru Nanak.¹ Babur was a mere agent to execute the wishes of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak made him attack Eminabad.² Guru Nanak helped him by all means. All the rivers on the way to Eminabad dried up.³ Guru Nanak's spiritual power is unchallengeable

1. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 998 :

ਮਾਨੀ ਆਨ ਨ ਮਾਨਹਿ ਮੋਰੀ ॥
ਅਸ ਪਠਾਨ ਹਨਿਹੋ ਕਰਿ ਜੋਰੀ ॥56॥

2. *Ibid*, p. 997 :

ਤਿਹ ਫਿਨ ਬਾਬਰ ਕੋ ਮਨ ਫੇਰਾ ।
ਏਮਨਾਵਾਦ ਨਗਰ ਡਿਉ ਘੇਰਾ ॥55॥

3. *Ibid*, p. 998 :

ਮਾਰਗ ਬਿਖੈ ਆਪਗਾ ਜੋਤੀ ।
ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਰੁਖ ਪਿਖੇ ਸੁਸ਼ਕ ਗਈ ਕੋਤੀ ॥58॥

Before the curse of Guru Nanak arms were of no use.⁴ Thus the bestowal of kingdom on Babur was made by Guru Nanak on the condition that it would be a just rule.⁵

Similarly, the ascendancy of the Sikh power also manifests in the form of the superiority of the Sikh faith. Unlike *Gyan Ratnavali*, *Nanak Prakash* does not contain the *sakhi* of Abdur Rehman in which the question of Guru Nanak's bestowal of the kingdom on Babur and forfeiture in case of the infringement of the condition of bestowal have been discussed. *Nanak Prakash* includes the *sakhi* of Shah Adraman from the *Bala Janamsakhi* with certain changes.⁶ The major change is related to the poet's approach to the Sikh faith. In the *Bala Janamsakhi* when Guru Nanak was asked whether he was a Hindu or a Muslim, his reply was in the negative. He said that he was neither a Hindu nor a Muslim. On being asked about his religion he said that his religion was of true *nam*.⁷ There is no mention of the Sikh faith here. But in *Nanak Prakash* the

4. Ibid, p. 999 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਬਚੁ ਭੇਟੀ ਪਰਿਹੀ ।
ਕੋਇ ਨ ਸਮਤ੍ਰ ਕਾਜ ਕਛੁ ਕਰਿਹੀ ।
... ..
ਐਸੇ ਕੋਨ ਸ਼ਕਤਿ ਧਰਿ ਭਾਰੀ ।
ਜੋ ਗੁਰ ਬਚ ਕੇ ਟਿਕਹਿ ਅਗਾਰੀ ।

5. Ibid, p. 1006 :

ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ਟਿ ਅਵਲੋਕਿ ਕੇ ਬੋਲਤਿ ਭੇ ਸਤਿ ਭਾਇ ।
ਜਗ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਭੋਗਹੋ ਜਬ ਲਗ ਕਰੇ ਨਿਆਇ ॥60॥
ਜਬ ਤੁਮਰੀ ਕੁਲ ਨੁਦਾਇ ਨ ਹੋਵਹਿ ।
ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹਿਤ ਸਗਰੀ ਸੋ ਖੇਵਹਿ ।

6. Ibid, p. 1103-16 :

7. Kirpal Singh (ed), *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p. 311 :

... ਕਹੁ ਤਪਾ ਜੀ ਤੂੰ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਹੈਂ ਕੇ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ॥ ਤਾਂ ਨਾਨਕ ਬੋਲਿਆ :
ਨਾ ਹਮ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਨਾ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ
ਨਾ ਬੋਦ ਪੜਿਆ ਨ ਪੁੜੇ ਕੁਰਾਨ...
ਤਾਂ ਸੇਖ ਅਦੁਆਨ ਕਹਿਆ, ਸੁਨ ਤੋ ਨਾਨਕ ਤੇਰਾ ਮਜਬ ਕਿਆ ਹੈ ।
ਤਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਹਿਆ :
ਮਜਬ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਸਚਾ ਨਾਉ ।
ਜਿਨਿ ਏਕ ਤੇ ਕੀਏ ਅਨੇਕ ਉਖਾਉ ।...

problem is changed. Santokh Singh raises a new question : who is superior, a Hindu or a Muslim ? Guru Nanak emphatically stated that the Sikh faith was superior.⁸ Guru Nanak condemned the religious bickering between the Hindus and the Muslims. It was said that their partisanship had ruined peace.⁹ This change is an outcome of political condition. At the time of *Nanak Prakash* the Sikh rule was firmly established. The superiority of the Sikh faith was obvious and could be easily claimed. Santokh Singh not only expresses the ascendancy of the Sikh power but also provides meaning and sanction to the Sikh rule. According to *Nanak Prakash*, Guru Nanak's spiritual greatness is beyond doubt, He could bestow kingdom on a beggar and could make a king beggar. All depended on the wishes of the Guru.¹⁰ Santokh Singh does not believe that political power is achieved from below. It is a divine boon achieved only by penance. But it also contains the seeds of degeneration.¹¹

8. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 1114-16 :

ਹਿੰਦੂ ਅਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੁਸਲਮਨੋਉ ।
ਦੁਹੈ ਮੈਂ ਅਹੈ ਬਡੋਰੈ ਕੋਉ ॥75॥
ਮਤੋ ਕੋਨਸੇ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਧਾਰਾ ॥
ਸਰਬ ਬਤਾਵਹੁ ਕਰਿ ਨਿਰਧਾਰਾ ।
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਸੁਨਿਕੈ ਬਚਨ ਉਚਾਰੇ ।
ਹਮਨੇ ਦੋਨੋ ਪੱਖ ਬਿਦਾਰੇ ॥76॥

9. *Ibid*, p. 1115 :

ਹਿੰਦੂ ਤੁਰਕ ਬਾਦ ਕੇ ਮਾਹੀ ।
ਬਸੈ ਸ਼ਤਾਨ ਸ਼ਾਤਿ ਹੂੰ ਨਾਹੀ ।
ਨਿਜ ਨਿਜ ਮਾਨ ਬਧਾਵਨ ਹੇਤਾ ।
ਸਗਰੇ ਝਗਰਹਿ ਮੂਢ ਅਚੇਤਾ ॥77॥

10. *Ibid*, p. 1006 :

ਮਹਾਂ ਪੁਰਖ ਹੁਇ ਅਧਿਕ ਉਦਾਰਾ ।
ਕਰਹਿ ਰੰਕ ਅਤਿ ਸਿਰਦਾਰਾ ।
ਨਿਪੁ ਤੇ ਰੰਕ ਬਨਾਵਹਿ ਤੁਰਨ ।
ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਕੇ ਤੁਮ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ ਪੂਰਨ ॥58॥

11. *Ibid*, p. 118 :

ਤਪ ਕਿਯ ਜਿਨਹਿ ਸਬਾਸ਼ਨਾ ਜਨਮ ਅਨਤ ਧਰਿ ਸੋਇ ।
ਪਾਇ ਰਾਮ ਜਗ ਬਿਖੈ ਫਸਿ ਨਰਕ ਗਮਨ ਪੁਨ ਹੋਇ ॥43॥

With this idea in mind, Santokh Singh explains the decline of Lodhi rule. According to him, Lodhi rule was degenerate. The degeneration was in the socio-political life of the period. The *mantris* were cruel. No body obeyed the *qazi* and the *pandit*. They performed *niqah* treacherously. They seduced women. The Muslims inflicted sufferings on the poor.¹² It was all due to the arrogance and high/handedness of the ruler. Lodhi ruler was punished for his disrespectful attitude to Guru Nanak.¹³ To put the rule to an end Guru Nanak made Babur attack Lodhi. He was a mere agent. He did whatever he was made to do by Guru Nanak.

Santokh Singh answers the questions why Guru Nanak bestowed the empire on Babur and why it was taken

12. Ibid, p. 995 :

ਮੰਤ੍ਰੀ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਕ੍ਰਿ ਅਬ ਹੋਈ ।
 ਪੁਨ ਕਾਜੀ ਦਿਖਬਰ ਹੈ ਜੋਈ ।
 ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਕਯੋ ਨ ਮਾਨੈ ਕੋਈ ।
 ਕਰਹਿ ਨਿਕਾਹ ਸੁਤਾਨੀ ਸੋਈ ॥26॥
 ਅੰਗਨਾ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਦੇਖਿ ਲੁਭਾਈ ।
 ਬਲ ਸੇ ਭੰਗਹਿ ਲੇਹਿ ਮੰਗਾਈ ।
 --- ...
 ਦੇਤਿ ਗਰੀਬਨ ਕੋ ਦੁਖ ਭਾਰੀ ।

13. Ibid, p. 994, 995 :

ਸੁਨਤਿ ਅਵੱਗਯਾ ਸੰਤਨ ਕੇਰੀ ।
 ਰਿਸ ਉਪਜੀ ਮਨ ਮਾਂਹਿ ਘਨੇਰੀ ।

 ਜਿਹ ਤੇ ਦੁਸ਼ਟ ਪਠਾਨ ਕੁਚਾਲੇ ।
 ਮਰੈ ਖਾਇਕੈ ਕਬਟ ਬਿਸਾਲੇ ।
 ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਸਫਾ ਉਠਾਵਨ ਹੇਤੂ ।
 ਬੋਲੇ ਬਚ ਬੇਦੀ ਕੁਲਕੇਤੂ ॥ 21 ॥
 × × ×
 ਖਾਨ ਮਹਾਂ ਮਦ ਅੰਧ ਰਹਾਵਹਿ ।
 ਕਰੀ ਅਵੱਗਯਾ ਤਸ ਰਲ ਪਾਵਹਿ ॥ 31 ॥

back. Babur of *Nanak Prakash* was a wise man.¹⁴ He came with his hands folded and heart full of reverence for the Guru. He brought the gift of *bhang* for Guru Nanak. He obeyed Guru Nanak and made all the prisoners free.¹⁵ Santokh Singh remarks that Babur was fortunate enough to meet Guru Nanak.¹⁶ Guru Nanak was pleased with his wisdom and gave him a boon of the empire.¹⁷ The wisdom of Babur was a precondition for receiving the empire. But it entails a condition. According to *Nanak Prakash* Guru Nanak declared that the Mughals would rule as long as they were just. The unjust rule would result in its forfeiture.¹⁸

In *Nanak Prakash*, Lalo asked Guru Nanak how long the Mughals would rule the country.¹⁹ Like *Gyan Ratnavali*,

14. *Ibid*, p. 1002 :

ਇਹੁ ਸੁਨਿ ਬਾਬਰ ਬਚਨ ਬਖਾਨਤਿ ।
ਪੂਰਬ ਜੇ ਮੈਂ ਇਹ ਬਿਧਿ ਜਾਨਤਿ ।
ਇਸ ਪੁਰਿ ਕੋ ਨਹਿ ਮਾਰਤਿ ਧਾਈ ।
ਜਿਸ ਮਹਿ ਅਸ ਦਰਵੇਸ਼ ਰਹਾਈ ॥ 18 ॥

15. *Ibid*, p. 1005, 1006 :

ਯਾਂਤੇ ਭੋਟ ਭਾਂਗ ਕੀ ਆਨੀ ॥ 53 ॥
× × ×
ਕਮਲ ਬਦਨ ਕੀ ਗਿਰਾ ਸੁਨੀ ਜਥਿ ।
ਸਪਦ ਛੁਡਾਏ ਨਰ ਨਾਰੀ ਸਭਿ ।

16. *Ibid*, p. 1005 :

ਬਾਬਰ ਕੇਰ ਹੁਤੋ ਬਡਭਾਗਾ ।
ਸੁਨਿਕੈ ਬਚਨੁ ਚਰਨੁ ਅਨੁਰਾਗਾ ।

17. *Ibid*, p. 1006 :

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਨਕ ਕੇ ਬਰ ਦਏ ਬਾਬਰ ਭਾ ਪਤਿਸਾਹੁ ।
ਦਿੱਲੀ ਆਦਿਕ ਦੇਸ਼ ਲੇ ਬਿਲਸੇ ਸੁਖ ਜਗ ਮਾਹਿ ॥ 64 ॥

18. *bid*, p. 1006 :

ਜਗ ਪਤਿਸਾਹੀ ਭੋਗਹੋ ਜਲ ਲਗ ਕਰੋ ਨਿਆਇ ॥ 60 ॥
ਜਬ ਤੁਮਾਰੀ ਕੁਲ ਨੁਯਾਇ ਨ ਹੋਵਹਿ ।
ਪਤਿਸਾਹਿਤ ਸ਼ਗਰੀ ਸੋ ਖੋਵਹਿ ।

19. *Ibid*, p. 995 :

ਕਬ ਲੋਂ ਰਾਜ ਕਰੈ ਜਗ ਮਾਹੀ ।
ਪੁਨ ਧਰਨੀ ਤੇ ਸੋ ਕਬ ਜਾਹੀ ।

in Rag Tilang it contains an obscure poetic expression.²⁰ According to Santokh Singh number 78 of the expression refers to the year of Babur's invasion on Hindustan in 1578 Bk. (1521 A.D.) and 97 refers to the year that marks the end of the Mughal empire in 1797 Bk. (1740 A.D.).²¹ This was the time when Sikhs rose to political power. *Nanak Prakash* mentions that Guru Nanak would create Khalsa in his tenth incarnation. Khalsa would make the Mughals powerless and seize their rule. The mutual co-operation of the Sikhs would enable them to destroy their enemy.²² The idea has found expression at a number of places.²³ The argument

20. Ibid, p. 995 :

ਆਵਨਿ ਅਠਤਰੇ ਜਾਨਿ ਸਤਾਨਵੈ ਹੋਰੁ ਭੀ ਉਠਸੀ ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ ।

21. Ibid, 996 :

ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਕੋ ਬੋਲ ਜੋ ਆਨ ਸਮਾਲਹਿ ਸੋਇ ।

ਪੰਦਰਹਿ ਸੈ ਪੁਨ ਅਠਤਰੇ ਆਵਨ ਤਿਨ ਕੋ ਹੋਇ ॥ 37 ॥

ਸੱਤ੍ਰਾ ਸੈ ਸਤਾਨਵੈਂ ਮਾਂਗੀ ।

ਸਫਾ ਦੂਰ ਤਿਨ ਕੀ ਚੈ ਜਾਹੀ ।

ਦੋ ਸੈ ਬਹੁਰੋ ਬਰਖ ਉਨੀਸੈ ।

ਕਰਹਿ ਰਾਜ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਅਵਨੀਸੈ ॥ 38 ॥

22. Ibid, p. 996 :

ਨਰ ਅਵਤਾਰ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਹੋਇ ।

ਚੇਲਾ ਤਾਹਿ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੋਇ ।

ਦਸ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਕਰਿਹੋ ਜਬਹੀ ।

ਪੀਛੈ ਹੋਇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਤਬਹੀ ॥ 39 ॥

ਸਨੈ ਸਨੈ ਸੋ ਲੇਵਹਿ ਛੀਨੈ ।

ਤਬ ਤੁਰਕਨ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਬਲਹੀਨੈ ।

ਕਰਹਿ ਪਰਸਪਰ ਮੇਲ ਜਿ ਸੋਊ ।

ਬਧੈ ਰਾਜ ਦੁਸ਼ਟਨ ਘਰ ਖੋਊ ॥ 40 ॥

23. Ibid, p. 953 :

ਦਸਵਾਂ ਜਾਮਾਂ ਪਹਿਰੋਂ ਜਬਹੀ ।

ਧਰਮ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵੋਂ ਤਬਹੀ ॥ 5 ॥

ਆਯੁਧ ਧਰਿ ਕੇ ਜੁੱਧ ਮਚਾਵਹਿ ।

ਤੁਰਕਨ ਕੀ ਸਭਿ ਸਫਾ ਉਠਾਵਹਿ ।

ਮਹਾਂ ਪਾਪ ਸੋ ਦੇਹਿ ਹਟਾਈ ।

ਧਰਮ ਨੀਤਿ ਕੁਤ ਰਾਜ ਭੁੰਚਾਈ ॥ 5 ॥

makes out that the Mughal empire ended as it ceased to be just. Sikh rule was created by Guru Nanak; it did not owe legitimacy to the Mughal empire.

Not only *Nanak Prakash* expounds the political ascendancy of the Sikhs but also suggests the changes that had taken place within the Sikh community after they achieved power. In *Nanak Prakash* Guru Nanak is not only the greatest spiritual personality but also a *chakravarti*.²⁴ This attribute of Guru Nanak is significant. In the works of Bhai Gurdas, the concept of *chakravarti* is employed in order to express the greatness of *gurmukh* as well as his superior wisdom.²⁵ Whereas the concept of *chakravarti* in Bhai Gurdas has a religious connotation, in *Nanak Prakash* it has a political overtone in suggesting that Guru Nanak was a universal monarch.²⁶ The attribution of the concept from the *gurmukh* to Guru Nanak and the change of its religious connotation into political one implies the Sikh rule.

It also suggests that there is clear division between the Sikh ruling class and the common Sikhs. This was a great set-back to the concept of Sikh Panth. In the Sikh Panth there was no distinction of caste and status.²⁷ The religious equality of the Panth subsumed social inequality so long as the community did not acquire political power. Though the achievement of the political power weakens the religious bond yet social inequality had to be legitimized by the political hierarchy. With the rise of Sikh power

24. Ibid, p. 156 :

ਚੌਕ੍ਰਵਰਤਿ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਭਵ ਮਾਹੀ ।

ਕਰਹਿ ਬਿਗਠਿ ਜੈ ਸੰਸੇ ਨਾਹੀ ।

25. Bhai Gurdas, *Varan*, pp. 480, 622.

26. See foot note 25 above.

27. *Adi Granth*, pp. 1178, 667 :

ਜਾਤਿ ਅਜਾਤਿ ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਧਿਆਵੈ ਸਭਿ ਪੂਰੇ ਮਾਨਸ ਤਿਠਛੇ ।

× × × ×

ਸੰਤ ਜਨਾ ਕੀ ਜਾਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਤੁਮ੍ਹ ਠਾਕੁਰ ਹਮ ਸਾਗੀ ।

the Panth exhausted its dynamic character. Consequently, there is a lack of references to the Panth in *Nanak Prakash*. The description of *sangat*, *gurdwaras* and *satnam* is there, but there is nothing on the Panth.²⁸

Nanak Prakash includes the *sakhi* of Suvarnpur, a utopia invented by the *Bala Janamsakhi*. But Santokh Singh makes four major changes. Firstly, it cuts the details of utopian description of the city. Secondly, the Handali disregard for the Muslims has been excluded. Thirdly, Guru Nanak does not compel king Kanval Nain to accept the suzerainty of Sudhar Sain, another king. And lastly, Guru Nanak gives his sanction to the king. The fact that Kanval Nain was Guru Nanak's friend in previous birth has been left out.²⁹ These changes are significant as they provide us an inkling of the political ideas of the period as expressed in *Nanak Prakash*. *Nanak Prakash* extenuates the details of utopian description of the city of Suvarnpur. The land and the mountain of gold in Suvarnpur has been excised.³⁰ Santokh Singh also does not discuss how the utopia works.³¹ This is probably to make it less visionary in order to suit the Sikh rule. The description of the city in *Nanak Prakash* is more realistic.³² According to Santokh

28. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 1172 :

ਜਹਿ ਤਹਿ ਹੋਇ ਰਹੁਯੋ ਸਤਿਸੰਗਾ ।
ਸੋਤਿਨਾਮ ਸਿਮਰਹਿ ਦੁਖ ਭੰਗਾ ॥ 38 ॥
ਮਿਲਹਿ ਬਿਚਾਰਹਿ ਗਾਵਹਿ ਕੀਰਤ ।
ਸੋਭਾ ਸਗਲ ਜਗਤ ਬਿਸਤੀਰਤਿ ।

also see pages 879-80 and 882,

29. *Ibid*, pp. 604-14. Cf. *Janamsakhi Parampara*, pp. 275-80.

30. Cf. Kirpal Singh, *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p. 276, with *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 604-14.

31. *Loc. cit.*

32. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 605-06 :

ਚਹੁ ਦਿਸ ਜਿਸ ਕੇ ਉਪਬਨ ਸੋਹੈ ।
ਕੁਸਮ ਬਾਟਿਕਾ ਬਹੁ ਮਨ ਸੋਹੈ ।
ਕੈਚਨ ਕੋ ਗਢ ਵਡੇ ਬਿਰਾਜੈ ॥
ਨਾਨਾ ਰੰਗ ਚਰੈ ਨਗ ਛਾਜੈ ॥ 20 ॥

Singh, the Sikh rule is a *satyug* in *kaliyug*. It was the rule of justice that brought the rule of vice to an end.³³ It was the rule of happiness and prosperity. Santokh Singh converts Ravi Das's idea of Begampura into a literal expression,³⁴ suggesting that the Sikh rule 'without sorrow' is an ideal country of religion.

The *Bala Janamsakhi* has contempt for the Muslims. In the kingdom of Kanval Nain there is no place for Muslims.³⁵ But Santokh Singh is silent on Muslim absence. *Nanak Parkash* has a reconciliatory stance towards the Muslims.³⁶ Santokh Singh feels the need of communal harmony. Both the communities should meditate on *satnam* and should

ਉਚੀ ਅਟਾ ਕਲਸ ਮਨ ਭਾਵਨ ।
 ਦਰ ਪਰ ਤੋਰਣ ਬਧੀ ਸੁਹਾਵਨ ।
 ਚੰਦਨ ਕੇ ਕਪਾਟ ਵਡ ਸੋਭਾ ।
 × × ×
 ਗਮਨ੍ਹੋਂ ਕੂਰਨ ਨਗਰ ਮਝਾਰਾ ।
 ਜਹਿ ਚੇਪਰ ਜਯੋ ਚਾਰੁ ਬਜਾਰਾ ।
 ਤਹਿ ਹਾਟਕ ਕੀ ਹਾਟ ਅਨੇਕਾ ।
 ਜਟੇ ਸੁ ਨਗ ਕੇ ਕਰਹਿ ਬਿਬੇਕਾ ॥ 28 ॥
 ਜਿਨ ਮਹਿ ਧਰੀ ਮਿਠਾਈ ਕੂਰੀ ।
 ਕਰਯੋ ਤਿਹਾਵਲ ਪੂਪਨ ਪੂਰੀ ।
 ਫਿਰਹਿ ਮਨੁਜ ਜਹਿ ਸੂਰਨ ਸਮਾਨਾ ।
 ਪਟ ਕੂਖਨ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਬਿਧਿ ਨਾਨਾ ॥ 29 ॥

33. Ibid, p. 1172, 953 :

ਸੋ ਸਤਿਜਗ ਕਲਿਕਾਲ ਮਝਾਰਾ ।
 ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕੀਨ ਤਬ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਉਦਾਰਾ ।
 × × ×
 ਮਹਾ ਪਾਪ ਸੋ ਦੇਹਿ ਹਟਾਈ ।
 ਧਰਮ ਨੀਤਿ ਯੁਤ ਰਾਜ ਕ੍ਰਿਚਾਈ ॥ 6 ॥

34. Ibid, p. 850 :

ਦੇਸ ਹੈ ਬੇਗਮਪੁਰ ਬੇਖ ਇਕੰਕਾਰੀ ਮੁਰ
 ਬੁਝਿਬੋ ਕੀ ਚਾਹਿ ਉਰ ਔਰ ਸੋ ਅਲਾਇਯੋ ।

Cf. *Adi Granth*, p. 345 :

35. Kirpal Singh, *Janamsakhi Parampara*, p. 277.

36. For discussion on the point see chapter "Evidence on Social History".

not indulge in partisan activities. They should realise that God is present in everyone.³⁷

In spite of *Nanak Prakash's* reconciliatory approach, the Muslims are shown to have an inferior status. The Muslims are shown to be worshipping the left foot of the Guru and the Hindus the right one.³⁸ Similarly, the Muslims are stated to be observing the Hindu ritual associated with the solar eclipse out of fear.³⁹ Thus the position of the Hindu community, in fact, shows its relative strength in the power hierarchy during the Sikh rule. The Sikh rule requires the cooperation of all the communities in administration. The Sikh rulers do not require the Hindus and the Muslims to adopt the Sikh faith. Guru Nanak says that there are neither Muslims nor Hindus. All are the creation of one God.⁴⁰

37. *Nanak Prakash*, pp. 1050-51 :

ਸੱਤਿਨਾਮਿ ਸਿਮਰਹੁ ਜਗਭੋਯਾ ॥ 66 ॥
ਪੱਖ ਬਾਦ ਕੇ ਭੂਲ ਨ ਕਰੀਏ ।
ਇਕ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਸਭਿ ਬਿਖੈ ਨਿਹਰੀਏ ।

38. *Ibid*, pp. 894 :

ਚਰਨ ਕਮਲ ਗੁਰ ਕੇ ਜੇ ਬਾਮੁ ।
ਪੂਜਹਿ ਤੁਰਕ ਕਰਹਿ ਪਰਣਾਮੁ ॥ 114 ॥
ਦਹਿਨੋ ਚਰਨ ਕਮਲ ਤਿਹ ਕਾਲਾ ।
ਪੂਜਹਿ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਭਾਉ ਬਿਸਾਲਾ ।

39. *Ibid*, p. 821 :

ਦਿਵਸ ਆਜ ਕੇ ਤੁਰਕ ਜਿ ਮਾਨਵ ।
ਸੋ ਭੀ ਤ੍ਰਾਸ ਰਿਦੈ ਬਹੁ ਠਾਨਵ ।
ਕਰਿ ਇਬਨਾਨ ਦੇਨਿ ਪੁਨ ਦਾਨਾ ।
ਇਨ ਕਾਜਨ ਕੋ ਕਾਲ ਮਹਾਨਾ ॥ 17 ॥

40. *Ibid*, p. 1040 :

ਏਕ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਰਵਯੋ ਸਭਿ ਮਾਹੀ ।
ਇਉਂ ਜਾਨੈ ਬਿਨ ਮਿਲਨ ਦੁਰਾਹੀ ॥ 17 ॥
ਮੁੱਸਲਮਾਨ ਨ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਕੋਊ ।
ਕਰਨਹਾਰ ਸਭਿ ਕੇ ਇਕ ਹੋਊ ।
ਪੱਖੁਯਬਾਦ ਮੈਂ ਉਰਭੇ ਜੋਈ ।
ਹੱਦਾਂ ਦੋਇ ਜਾਨਿ ਹੈਂ ਸੋਈ ॥ 18 ॥

In *Nanak Prakash* there is no awareness of communal feeling between the Hindus and the Sikhs. At a number of places, Guru Nanak is interchangeably depicted as a Hindu and a Sikh.⁴¹ At the same time the poet is aware of their separate entities. Sikhism is unique faith and is different from Hinduism and Islam.⁴² It is also remarked that the Hindus received places of pilgrimage, *Smriti* and charity, whereas *nam* went to the Sikhs.⁴³ The fact is significant as it indicates an absence of friction between Hindus and Sikhs during the Sikh rule.

In the *Bala Janamsakhi* Guru Nanak advised Kanval Nain that if he was under the suzerainty of Sudhar Sain he would prosper.⁴⁴ Kanval Nain obeyed Guru Nanak and accepted the overlordship of Sudhar Sain. But in *Nanak Prakash* Guru Nanak does not compel Kanval Nain to accept Sudhar Sain as his overlord.⁴⁵ Santokh Singh was associated with Buria estate near Jagadhari at the time of the writing of *Nanak Prakash*. The kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the largest. The threat of Ranjit Singh's

41. Ibid, p. 315 :

ਗਰ ਚੀਰ ਹੋਂ ਪੀਤ ਪੁਨੀਤ ਮਨੋਗਹਿ
ਜਗ੍ਯੋਪਵੀਤ ਮਹਾਂ ਛਬਿ ਛਾਈ ।

42. See footnote 41.

43. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 622 :

ਤੀਰਥ ਸਿੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਪੁੰਨ ਸਭਿ ਦਿਹੁ ਹਿੰਦਨ ਸੁਖਰਾਸ ॥ 68 ॥
ਨਾਮ ਵਡਾਈ ਦੀਜੀਏ ਮੋ ਕੋ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਤਾਰ ।

44. Kirpal Singh, *Janamsakhi Prampara*, p. 279 :

ਪਰ ਰਾਜਾ ਸੁਧਰਸੈਣਿ ਦਾ ਸਲਾਮੀ ਰਹੋਗਾ ਤਾਂ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਵੀਗਾ ।

45. *Nanak Prakash*, p. 622 :

ਗੁਰੂ ਕਹਿ ਕਿਯੋ ਹਾਨ ਜੋ ਮਾਨਾ ।
ਸੁਧਰਸੈਨ ਕੀ ਮਾਨਹੁ ਆਨਾ ॥ 85 ॥

× × ×

ਹਰਖਤਿ ਭਾ ਦਰਸਨ ਪਰਸ ਸੁਨਤਿ ਨਰੇਸ਼ ਅਲਾਇ ।

ਸੁਧਰਸੈਨ ਕੈ ਸੁਾਨ ਜੇ ਕਹਉ ਪਰੋ ਤਿਨ ਪਾਇ ॥ 87 ॥

ਪਰਮ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੇ ਪੰਕਜ ਨੈਨਾ ।

ਧੰਨ ਧੰਨ ਨਿਪ ਉਚਰਤਿ ਬੈਨਾ ।

power still seemed to be in the air so far as the Sardars of cis-Sutlej estates are concerned. It recognises the independent character of the states. Interestingly, the *sakhi* of Sudhar Sain is brief. ⁴⁶ The fact also suggests that Sikhs were not aware of the indirect overlordship of the British. After the treaty of Amritsar in 1809 cis-Sutlej states came under the suzerainty of the British. However, *Nanak Prakash* does not bear any evidence of the British presence.

By the Sikh rule, Santokh Singh seems to mean the Lahore Durbar and the cis-Sutlej states. Santokh Singh not only refers to the threat of Ranjit Singh's power to the Sardars of cis-Sutlej states but also suggests that their success lies in their unity. If the Sikhs are in accord they would succeed in occupying a large domain. ⁴⁷ But as there is tension among them it is feared that their feud would ruin them. ⁴⁸ The suggestion and fear have the same source.

Santokh Singh discusses the social order of his time. According to him, society consists of four social entities: the king, the merchants, the Brahmin and the Sikhs. ⁴⁹ The people do not enter the social order at all. It is important to see the order of entities. It is also significant that it does not express the social reality of the period but his own idea of social reality. Though the poet himself belonged to *chhimba* caste (of calico printer and tailor) yet

46. Ibid, pp. 582-83.

47. Ibid, p. 996 :

ਕਰਹਿ ਪਰਸਪਰ ਮੇਲ ਜਿ ਸੋਊ ।
ਥਹੈ ਰਾਜ ਦੁਸ਼ਟਨ ਘਰ ਖੋਊ ॥ 40 ॥

48. Ibid, p. 998 :

ਆਪਸ ਮਹਿ ਜੇ ਕਰਹਿ ਲਰਾਈ ।
ਰਿਸ ਬਸਿ ਹੁਇ ਕੈ ਸੋ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਈ ।

49. Ibid, 1245.

ਭੂਪਤਿ ਸ਼ਾਹਿ ਬਿੱਪ੍ਰ ਸਿਖ ਬਿੰਦਾ ।
ਸਤਿਨਾਮ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਸੁਖਕੰਦਾ ॥ 8 ॥

his ideas represent the ruling class. He idealizes the Sikh rule and legitimizes it as a just rule. According to him, the Sikh rule is without sorrow. It is *satyug* in *kaliyug*. In the context, *Nanak Prakash's* discussion of slavery and beggary is pointer to social norms. According to him, the welfare of a slave lies in his unconditional submission to the master. It is essential to maintain social harmony.

Nanak Prakash supports the idea of kingship. It is remarked that there is a chaos in the absence of a king. The state of affairs remains so with a weak king. Kingship was considered a divine attribute. The status of a king was higher than that of a common man but inferior to a *bhagat*. Kingship was considered to be achieved by meditation. The inferiority of a king lay in meditation for an end. The character and religiousity are pre-conditions of acquiring a political power. King's higher status and his spiritual guarantee made it morally binding on him not to indulge in wordly pleasures. They led to ruin.

Though it is the duty of a king to look after his subject's welfare yet the institution of kingship was generally considered to be oppressive. Interestingly, king is bracketed with thief in *Nanak Prakash*. It is also remarked that people hide their wealth for fear of king and thief. Exploitative authority was delegated to every administrative department. The *patwari* handled revenue affairs at his own sweet will. *Nanak Prakash* remarks that a *patwari* used his authority without any conscience. This kind of power structure excludes the idea of individual justice. *Nanak Prakash* indicates an unconscious idea of collective justice but the poet has no idea of individual justice.

Santokh Singh views the Sikh rule as the establishment of *satyug* in *kaliyug*. It implies that there is no possibility of change in the future. The Vedant and the

Handali doctrine suited the occasion. Both the Handali theology and the Vedant have a common basis. Not only the social inequality is taken for granted by Handali's but their attitude toward the state is ambivalent. Their idea of equality remains an illusionary utopia. The Vedant has no faith in social phenomena. It works in favour of *status quo*, social and political. Hence, the rise of Handali and Vedantic idea is conditioned by the contemporary society.

CONCLUSION

Santokh Singh was a major Sikh poet of the early nineteenth century. His work is the continuation of the literary tradition of the times. He wrote a commentary on *Japuji* and on *Atam Puran*. His works include a rendering of Balmiki *Ramayana* into *bhakha* verse. In his first creative work *Nanak Prakash*, he adopted *janamsakhi* mode to expound the life of Guru Nanak. It is based on *janamsakhi* materials. Among them, the *Bala Janamsakhi* and the *Gyan Ratnavali* are generously depended upon. The work bears the impact of scholastic poetry as well. The influence of Vedantic and Handali ideas are on the rise. The continuity of the literary tradition in early nineteenth century Punjab has a parallelism in the continuity of the Mughal administrative institutions under the Sikh rule.

Nanak Prakash is an attempt in the *janamsakhi* genre. Like other forms of Sikh literature, *janamsakhi* genre has a cognitive character. It recreates the myth of Guru Nanak according to Sikh doctrines in order to strengthen the community and its religious institutions. It constitutes an ideological debate with the unorthodox and heterodox sects. But the historical potentialities of the genre lie in its approach to the present as well as its attitude to the state. A genre has its limitations and scope. Santokh Singh draws material from all the *janamsakhis*. Other works used are *Mahima Prakash* by Sarup Das Bhalla, *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal*, *Varan* by Bhai Gurdas. At places, he prefers the composition of Guru Nanak. Santokh Singh has also made use of the Hindu and Muslim mythology. But he does not recast the material drawn from a number of divergent sources. The conglomeration of heterogeneous

material of *Nanak Prakash* negates the doctrinal basis of the genre. He fails to realise that every source is the product of sectarian interest. Every fact contains an interpretation. Santokh Singh fails to understand the cognitive characteristic of the genre.

Santokh Singh's interest in factual elements deceptively makes *Nanak Prakash* an account of Guru Nanak's life. Santokh Singh is not much concerned with the image of Guru Nanak. In some of the cantos, Guru Nanak is almost ignored. On the other hand, the character of Bhai Bala is further magnified. He declines the offer of *guruship*. Santokh Singh's grasp of the Sikh doctrines is not adequate. Unlike other orthodox *janamsakhis* *Nanak Prakash* is ambivalent on the nature of Guru Nanak's *guruship*. Guru Nanak's relations with his successors is not clear. The work minimises the importance of the orthodox line of succession. He not only discusses the Udasi idea of gnosis but also propounds instantaneous spiritual ascendancy. Bhai Bala declines the offer of *guruship*. He interprets the idea of the line of succession in the *sawayyas* of Bhattas and *Varan* by Bhai Gurdas to be one of incarnation. His understanding of the *bani* is inadequate and personal.

Santokh Singh lacks narrative skill and creative imagination. There is not a single narrative of any artistic excellence in *Nanak Prakash*. He spoils the narrative achievement of other *janamsakhis*. Symbolism and artistic twist are of no use to him. The *sakhi* of Malik Bhago's feast in *Nanak Prakash* becomes a factual event when he joins it with Guru Nanak's imprisonment. Some narrative themes are not adequately developed. The poet's presence in a few *sakhis* also indicates his disregard for the nature of *sakhi* narrative. It is further ruined by the use of inappropriate metres. In fact, the *janamsakhi* genre collapses in *Nanak Parkash*.

There is a rise of Vedantic ideas in *Nanak Prakash*. Santokh Singh not only draws Vedantic ideas from the

Gyan Ratnavali and the *Sikhan Di Bhagatmal* but also discusses these ideas independently in detail even at the cost of *janamsakhi* form. *Nanak Prakash* contains a canto each on Vedantic and Yogic ideas. Guru Nanak was omniscient and knew everything. He did not disclose his latent supernatural power. He is *sagun* manifestation and the *shabad* his *nirgun* essence. The Vedantic ideas are propounded in the form of Guru Nanak's instruction to Bhai Lehna before his installation to *guruship*. According to Santokh Singh, Vedant is bestower of fruit and happiness.

Like Vedantic ideas, Santokh Singh expands the Handali tricks to magnify the character of Bhai Bala for the undermining of Guru Nanak's image. Bhai Bala is wise, trustworthy and virtuous. He is equal to Guru Nanak and Guru Angad. Bhai Bala's status elevates when he declines the offer of *guruship* after Guru Nanak. The rising influence of Handali ideas is apparent in the dominance of Jats. Bhai Buddha is a knower of essence and is said to have remained in the life time of six *gurus*. *Nanak Prakash* discusses Handali ideas of instantaneous redemption and spiritual hierarchy. The Sikh religion, too, is visualised in the Handali idiom of instantaneous redemption.

The rise of Vedantic and Handali ideas in *Nanak Prakash*, to some extent, is the result of the poet's lack of doctrinal understanding of the Sikh faith. But the socio-political conditions of the period are decisive. The *janamsakhi* genre was replaced by *gurbilas* because of the political urgency of the early eighteenth century. The purpose of acquiring political power manifests in the form of militantly heroic spirit even at the cost of doctrine. But with the establishment of the Sikh power, the political purpose of the Sikh religion remained no more. *Nanak Prakash* clearly suggests that the Sikh community was polarized into ruling class and common Sikhs. The unitary character of the Sikh Panth

exhausted its dynamism. In *Nanak Prakash*, there is no reference to the Panth. *Gur Pratap Suraj* has references to *sangat* and *mangat* at the same time suggesting the dichotomy in the Sikh community. The Sikh rule failed to bring about the socio-religious equality which was the ideal of the Sikh faith. Hence, Santokh Singh is not the champion of the Sikh cause. He has no idea of the political significance of religion. He narrows the interest of the entire Sikh faith to the interest of ruling class minority. The rising influence of Vedant and Handali ideas expresses the needs of the ruling class. The Sikh ruler provided state patronage to the heterogenous sects in order to make them harmonious. The state patronage was in the form of revenue free land-grants. The Udasis appropriated the maximum share of *dharmarth* grant. The efforts of the Sikh ruler seems to have borne fruit. This is quite evident from the literary works of the first half of nineteenth century bearing Vedantic influence. The evidence on the expansion of the Sikh community in *Nanak Prakash* implies that Udasis and Handalis claimed themselves to be part and parcel of the Sikh faith. There is another aspect of Vedantic and Handali ideas in *Nanak Prakash*. The philosophy of Vedant and Handali theology has a common element. Both are suitable for maintaining *status quo*. It was the need of the ruling class of the times.

The hierarchy of religious communities in *Nanak Prakash* also means their social and political hierarchy. The Muslims have inferior status. A number of *sakhis* regarding Guru Nanak's meeting with the Muslim *faqirs* are excluded. The Muslims are shown to be observing Hindu rituals out of fear. The status of the Hindus was higher than that of the Muslims. *Nanak Prakash* contains evidence on the bringing of both the communities into harmony. It has a pacificatory stance toward the Muslims. Rai Bular appreciates Guru Nanak's spiritual pursuits. Santokh Singh draws material from Muslim mythology. The Hindu constituency is being wooed in *Nanak Prakash*. A large number of *sakhis*

are drawn from Hindu mythology. The discussion of the Hindu society subsumes the Sikhs. The need of the Sikh ruling class is to seek their cooperation in administration. *Nanak Prakash* does not require the Hindus and the Muslims to adopt the Sikh faith. Guru Nanak says that there are neither Muslims nor Hindus. All are the creation of one God. The Sikh faith is matchless and unique in indicating the superior authority of the Sikh ruling class.

The primary concern of a work of literature lies in its own times. Santokh Singh idealises the Sikh rule. He legitimizes it as a just rule. In *Nanak Prakash* the *sakhi* of Suvarnpur, a utopian city, is made less visionary in order to look real in the image of the Sikh rule. According to him, the Sikh rule is without sorrow. It is *satyug* in *kalyug*. His social vision does not concern the common man, not even Sikhs. He represents the ruling class.

Santokh Singh's *Nanak Prakash* provides evidence on the society of the early nineteenth century Punjab. But his picture of the contemporary society is partial. A major part of the social evidence of the work is related to the rituals and ceremony of the Sikhs. The marriage ceremony figures prominently in the work. The evidence on politics, economy and administration is meagre. In fact, he seems to be less concerned about the dynamism of social life. He underlines the social status of the Hindu and the Muslim communities only to suggest that their welfare lies in their submission to the Sikh ruling class. *Nanak Prakash* discusses the institution of slavery and beggary as a mark of social status. The richness of a man is known from the crowd of beggars at his threshold. The norm for the slaves is their unconditional submission to their masters. Their welfare lies in submission. Social harmony and peace is essential and is achieved by a strong king. In the absence of a king, there is chaos. The duty of a king is to take care of his subject's welfare. Santokh Singh wishes that the Sikh rule may remain for a long period. He visualises the

Chart of Sources of Nanak Prakash

(*Sakhis* of Nanak Prakash and their earlier sources)

Purvardh

<i>Canto</i>	<i>Earlier Version</i>
1. Invocation	 <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i>
2. Bringing the <i>janampatri</i>	
3. The Birth of Baba Nanak	
4. The Name of Nanak	
5. Childhood Activities of Nanak	
6. Instruction to Gopal, the Teacher	
7. Childhood Activities of Nanak	(Developed from <i>Miharban Janam-</i> <i>sakhi</i> and <i>Gyan</i> <i>Ratnavali</i> version)
8. Instruction to Mullah	<i>Miharban Janam-</i>
9. Investiture with the Sacred Thread	<i>sakhi</i>
10. Grazing the Cattle	 <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i>
11. Rai Bular Shows Reverence	
12. Cultivation and the Tree's Shadow	 <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i>
a) Sowing the Field	
b) The Tree's Stationary Shadow	<i>Miharban Janam-</i> <i>sakhi</i>
13. The Physician Convinced	<i>Miharban Janam-</i> <i>sakhi</i>
14. Ascetics	 <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i>
15. Kalu and Rai Bular	

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| 16. To Sultanpur | |
| 17. Employment in Commissariat | |
| 18. To Render Accounts | |
| 19. Betrothal | |
| 20. To Render Accounts | |
| 21. Proceeding of the Marriage Party | |
| 22. Marriage | |
| 23. To Talwandi | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| 24. Back to Sultanpur | |
| 25. Sulakhani | |
| 26. The Birth of Sri Chand | |
| a) To Nanaki's Residence | |
| b) Nawab Asks for Accounts | |
| c) The Birth of Sri Chand | |
| 27. Bhagirath and Mansukh | <i>Puratan Janamsakhi</i> |
| 28. Immersion in the River Vein | |
| 29. Leaving the Employment of Commissariat | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| 30. Mula Chona | |
| a) Mula Chona | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| b) Neither Hindu nor Mussalman | <i>Puratan Janamsakhi</i> |
| 31. The Nawab | |
| 32. The Mosque (Discourse with Qazi) | |
| 33. Mula Chona | |
| 34. Mardana | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| 35. Bringing the Rabab | |
| 36. Departure from Sultanpur | |
| 37. The Audience's Doubt Eradicated | (Genuineness of <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> discussed) |

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| 38. Lalo, the Carpenter | | |
| 39. Emnabad | | |
| 40. Return to Talwandi | | |
| 41. Return to Talwandi | | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| 42. Talwandi | | |
| 43. Instruction to Rai Bular | | |
| 44. Mansukh | | <i>Puratan Janam-sakhi</i> |
| 45. To Talwandi | | (Developed from
<i>Puratan Janam-sakhi</i> and <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i>) |
| 46. Karu Des | | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| 47. Sangladip | | <i>Puratan Janam-sakhi</i> |
| 48. Instruction to Raja Shivnabh | | |
| a) Raja Becomes Unconscious | | <i>Puratan Janam-sakhi</i> |
| b) <i>Bhagti Yog</i> and <i>Hath Yog</i> | | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| 49. Instruction in the Country Ruled by Women | | <i>Puratan Janam-sakhi</i> |
| 50. Bharthri and Kauda | | |
| a) Bharthri | | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| b) Kauda | | |
| 51. Salas Rai, the Jeweller | | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| 52. A Monster Fish, Kal and Narad | | |
| a) A Monster Fish, Kal and Narad | | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| b) A Physician Treats a Rich and a Poor Patient | | (Unknown) |

53. Sudhar Sain and Jhanda Badi
 a) Sudhar Sain | *Bala Janamsakhi*
 b) Jhanda Badi |
54. Raja Madar Bain and Demons
 a) Raja Madar Bain | *Bala Janamsakhi*
 b) Raja Devlut |
55. Jungle Men and Demons
 a) Raja Devlut (continued) | *Bala Janamsakhi*
 b) Jungle Men |
 c) Baba Nanak Saves Mardana | (Changed sakhi
 from Demon | of *Bala Janam-*
 | *sakhi* source)
56. Raja Kaval Nain |
57. On Way to Mecca | *Bala Janamsakhi*
58. The Moving Mecca
 a) A Shivalinga at Mecca | *Bala Janamsakhi*
 b) The Moving Mecca | *Gyan Ratnavali*
59. Back to Sultanpur
 a) To Medina *Bala Janamsakhi*
 b) Hajis of Bhakkar *Adi Sakhian*
 c) Water for Uju (Wazu') | *Bala Janamsakhi*
 d) Return to Sultanpur |
60. Discourse with Siddhs |
61. Discourse with Siddhs | *Bala Janamsakhi*
62. Discourse with Siddhs |
63. Discourse with Siddhs | *Siddh Gost (Im-*
 | *pact of Bala and*
 | *Puratan Janam-*
 | *sakhi also)*

64. Departure from Siddhs *Bala Janamsakhi*
65. Kak Bhasund
 a) Kak Bhasund | (Hindu mythological legend)
 b) Dattatre | *Bala Janamsakhi*
66. Prehlab
 a) Alalachin, the Bird | (Hindu mythological legend)
 b) Prehlab | *Bala Janamsakhi*
67. Prehlab (contd.)
68. Prehlab (contd.)
69. Prehlab (contd.)
70. Sri Barah | *Bala Janamsakhi*
71. Dhruv
72. Dhruv (contd.)
73. Meeting with Akal Purakh (Not known)

Uttarardh

1. Discourse with Rakhishar *Bala Janamsakhi*
2. *Khands*
 a) Mount *Ulka* *Bala Janamsakhi*
 b) *Ilavrat Khand*
 c) *Hiran Khand*
 d) *Kimpurkh Khand*
 e) *Hirvarkh Khand*
 f) *Kuru Khand* | *Gyan Ratnavali*

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| 3. Return to <i>Bharat Khand</i> | |
| a) <i>Ketmal Khand</i> | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| b) <i>Rambhak Khand</i> | |
| c) <i>Bhadra Khand</i> | |
| d) <i>Bharat Khand</i> | |
| e) <i>Trader's Infant Resurrected</i> | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| 4. Meeting with Duni Chand & Nanaki;
Guru Nanak Reaches Talwandi | <i>Puratan Janamsakhi</i> |
| 5. Meeting with Parents | |
| 6. Instruction to Kalu and His Death | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| 7. Kurukshetra | |
| a) <i>The Proud Pandit</i> | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| b) <i>Rani and Her Son</i> | |
| 8. The Ganga | <i>Miharban Janamsakhi</i> |
| 9. Visit to Pilgrimage Centres | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| 10. Kaliyug | |
| a) <i>Jagannath Temple</i> | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| b) <i>The Wolf Does not Eat a Dead
Body</i> | |
| c) <i>Kaliyug</i> | |
| 11. <i>The Country of Manafik</i> | <i>B-40 Janamsakhi</i> |
| 12. <i>A Village and Haru Des</i> | |
| a) <i>A Monster Redeemed</i> | <i>(Unknown)</i> |

- b) The Ocean Carries away the Villages
c) *Haru Des* *B-40 Janamsakhi*
Gyan Ratnavali
13. *Bhutant* and Other Countries
- a) A Poor Carpenter
b) *Bhutant Des*
c) A Country without Fire and Grain *B-40 Janamsakhi*
14. Kashmir, Vali Qandhari and Kabul
- a) Kashmir *B-40 Janamsakhi*
b) Brahmdatta *Puratan Janamsakhi*
c) Vali Qandhari *Puratan Janamsakhi*
(Hafizabad)
d) Kabul *B-40 Janamsakhi*
15. The Boy, the Merchant and the Deceitful People
- a) The Boy *Puratan Janamsakhi*
b) The Merchant (Not Known)
c) Inhabited Wilderness *B-40 Janamsakhi*
d) The Deceitful People *Puratan Janamsakhi*
16. The Emperor Karun *Mahima Prakash*
(verse)
17. *Habas Des* and Sri Ram Chandra
- a) *Habas Des*
b) Sri Ram Chandra *Gyan Ratnavali*

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| 18. Ceylon | | |
| 19. <i>Dip</i> | | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| 20. Meeting with Siddhs | | |
| a) Distribution of a <i>Til</i> | | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| b) Gorakhmata | | <i>Puratan Janam-</i>
<i>sakhi</i> |
| c) Mardana Brings the Ganga | | (Not known) |
| d) The Sweet <i>Ritha</i> | | (probably based |
| e) Resurrection of a Child | | on oral tradi-
tion) |
| 21. Delhi and Mardana | | |
| a) Elephant Resurrected | | <i>Puratan Janam-</i> |
| b) Mardana | | <i>sakhi</i> |
| 22. A Brahmin Village | | |
| a) Kasabpur | | |
| b) A Deceitful Brahmin | | |
| c) The Inhospitable Village | | <i>Puratan Janam-</i> |
| Unmolested and the Hospitable | | <i>sakhi</i> |
| Village Dispersed | | |
| 23. A Rich Man | | <i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| 24. Pandavas | | (<i>Gyan Ratnavali</i> |
| | | version enlar-
ged). |
| 25. An Emperor and a Leper | | |
| a) Janmejai | | <i>Puratan Janam-</i> |
| b) A Leper | | <i>sakhi</i> |
| 26. Discourse with Saints and Visit to
Emnabad | | |
| a) Discourse with Saints | | (Unknown) |
| b) Visit to Emnabad | | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |

27. A Battle Waged by Babur
 a. A Marriage in Pathan Family | *Gyan Ratnavali*
 b. A Brahmin | *Puratan Janam-*
 | *sakhi*
28. Babur | *Puratan Janam-*
 | *sakhi*
29. Mula Chona
 a. Saidpur | *Puratan Janam-*
 | *sakhi*
 b. Ajitta Randhawa | *Bala Janamsakhi*
 c. Sulakhani and Her Parents | (Developed on
 | *Bala Janamsakhi*
 | mode)
30. The Founding of Kartarpur
 a. The Proud Karori Humbled | *Adi Sakhian*
 b. A Ritualist Brahmin | *Puratan Janam-*
 | *sakhi*
31. Mula and Jalal
 a. Mula | *Adi Sakhian*
 b. Jalal | *Bala Janamsakhi*
32. Jalal | *Bala Janamsakhi*
93. Sheikh Braham | *Puratan Janam-*
 | *sakhi*
34. Baghdad | *Gyan Ratnavali*
35. The Death of Mardana and Shah-
 zada visits His Father's Samadhi
 a. The Death of Mardana | *Bala Janamsakhi*
 b. Shahzada, Mardana's Son |

36. Sikhs Redeemed *Bala Janamsakhi*
37. Multan and Shamsh
 a. Shamsh Tabrez | *Gyan Ratnavali*
 b. Mansur (Muslim legend)
38. Balgundai and Mula
 a. Shah Suhagan *Gyan Ratnavali*
 b. Balgundai *Bala Janamsakhi*
 c. Mula *Adi Sakhian*
 d. Guru Gobind Singh (Unknown)
39. Discourse with Siddhs | *Varan*
 | (Bhai Gurdas)
40. Malo Sheikh
 a. A Carpenter Offers His Son to Baba Nanak (Unknown)
 b. Discourse with Siddhs |
 c. Malo Sheikh | *Bala Janamsakhi*
41. Shah Adarman *Bala Janamsakhi*
42. Sikhs Redeemed by Instruction
 a. A Boy | *Puratan Janamsakhi*
 b. Mula Kid |
 c. Pritha and Kheda | *Sikhan Di Bhag-*
 d. Prithimal Sehgal, Ubai Rama, | *atmal*
 Didi |
43. Instruction to Sikhs
 a. Malo and Mango |
 b. Kalu Khatri |
 c. Bhagta, Ohri and Japu | *Sikhan Di Bhag-*
 d. Sihan and Gajjan | *atmal*
 e. Firna Khaira and Jodh |

44. The Testing of Devotion of Sikhs
- a. A Poor Carpenter (Unknown)
 - b. A Poor Sikh
 - c. The Reward of Meeting a Sadhu | *B-40 Janamsakhi*
45. Instruction to Sikhs
- a. Saida, Gheo and Varun | *Puratan Janamsakhi*
 - b. A Sikh Sells Her Daughter
 - c. *Dushala* to a Faqir | (Unknown)
 - d. The Hospitality of a Bird
46. The Death of Bhai Bala *Bala Jansmsakhi*
47. Meeting with Angad *Adi Sakhian*
48. Sri Angad
- a. Shephard *B-40 Janamsakhi*
 - b. Takhat Mal *Adi Sakhian*
49. Austerities
- a. The Bread from a *Kikker* Tree | *Gyan Ratnavali*
 - b. Angad Cools off *Adi Sakhian*
50. The Testing of Sikhs
- a. Cultivation
 - b. The Likeness of a Warrior | *Adi Sakhian*
 - c. Return to *Matte Di Sarai*
 - d. Beating with a Stick | *Puratan Janamsakhi*
 - e. Command to Eat Dead Body *Bala Janamsakhi*
51. Instruction to Sri Lehna (Vedantic ideas discussed)

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| 52. The installation of Guru Angad | |
| a. To Remove the Dead Rat | |
| b. To Remove a <i>Garvi</i> from Mud | <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> |
| c. Angad and Baba Buddha | |
| 53. Instruction to Sikhs | (Unknown) |
| 54. The Death of Guru Nanak | <i>B-40 Janamsakhi</i> |
| 55. The Death of Guru Nanak | <i>Miharban Jana-</i> |
| | <i>msakhi</i> |
| 56. The Death of Guru Nanak | |
| 57. Guru Nanak Goes to <i>Sach Khand</i> | <i>B-40 Janamsakhi</i> |

GLOSSARY

<i>adhi</i>	diseases of mind
<i>aham braham asmi</i>	I am God
<i>ahamkara</i>	egoism
<i>Akalpurkh</i>	the Immortal One
<i>alankar</i>	literally ornament, a figure of speech
<i>amarati</i>	a kind of sweet
<i>analhuq</i>	I am God
<i>antahkarana</i>	the inner organ, the seat of inner thought and feeling.
<i>arati</i>	a ceremony performed in adoration of gods by waving burning lamps.
<i>aril</i>	a poetic metre
<i>atam</i>	self
<i>ataman</i>	soul
<i>Atamram</i>	All Pervading Immanent God
<i>banai</i>	made
<i>bani</i>	speech; the utterances of the Guru's and <i>bhagats</i> recorded in the <i>Adi Granth</i> .
<i>baran</i>	colour; one of the four caste divisions; dress; and class. See, <i>chakar baran</i> below.
<i>basmati</i>	rice of superior quality.
<i>Begumpura</i>	literally a griefless town; imaginary state of supreme bliss.

<i>bhagat</i>	an exponent of <i>bhagati</i> ; a worshipper; a devotee; a holy man.
<i>bhakha</i>	language; vernacular.
<i>bhakti (sahitya)</i>	devotional literature.
<i>bhang</i>	an intoxicant, <i>cannabis sativa</i> .
<i>bhekh</i>	dress; sect.
<i>bhuta</i>	element.
<i>biadhi</i>	physical disease.
<i>bideh</i>	a bodiless state.
<i>brahmjnani</i>	knower of God.
<i>brahmbhoj</i>	feast.
<i>Brahmin</i>	a priestly caste.
<i>buddhi</i>	intellect.
<i>bunga</i>	rest house, structure attached to a Sikh Temple for the pilgrims.
<i>bundi</i>	a kind of sweet.
<i>chakar baran</i>	a class of servants or employees.
<i>chakravarti</i>	literally 'wheel-moving' or ruler over all the territories which his chariot wheels traversed; a title employed for universal monarch.
<i>chhappe</i>	a poetic metre.
<i>chhimba</i>	a caste of calico printer and tailor.
<i>chitta</i>	mind, consciousness, individual self.
<i>chopai</i>	a poetic metre.
<i>dal</i>	split peas of gram, <i>manh</i> , <i>mungi</i> etc. cooked or uncooked.
<i>darshan</i>	view, vision; audience with a person of royal or spiritual stature; visit to a holy shrine or object.

<i>desh</i>	country; territory.
<i>dhania</i>	coriander.
<i>dharmā</i>	appropriate moral and religious obligations attached to any particular status in Hindu society.
<i>dharmarth</i>	by way of religious duty; land revenue alienated in favour of a religious personage or institution by a ruler.
<i>dharamsala</i>	an inn for pilgrims and travellers; in Sikh usage a place of worship.
<i>dip</i>	island, continent, region of the earth.
<i>dohra</i>	a metre.
<i>darbar</i>	royal court.
<i>faqir</i>	Muslim ascetic.
<i>gaddi</i>	throne, seat.
<i>gati</i>	emancipation.
<i>ghee</i>	clarified butter.
<i>gosht</i>	discourse.
<i>gur</i>	Inspissated juice of the sugar-cane.
<i>Gurbani</i>	utterances of the Gurus.
<i>gurdwara</i>	Sikh temple.
<i>gurmantra</i>	spiritual initiation.
<i>gurmukh</i>	Guru-oriented.
<i>Gurmukhi</i>	a script.
<i>Guru</i>	spiritual preceptor, mentor.
<i>guru gaddi</i>	spiritual throne of the Sikhs.
<i>Handali</i>	a heterodox sect founded by Baba Handal. They have no spiritual text of their own and believe that spiritual status and redemption can be achieved instantan-

	ously with mere touch of the <i>guru</i> . The <i>Bala Janamsakhi</i> is their creation.
<i>itihas</i>	a legendary account of the past events; presently, synonymous with history.
<i>jagir</i>	an assignment of land in lieu of salary.
<i>jagrit</i>	the state of being awake.
<i>jalebi</i>	a kind of sweet.
<i>jat</i>	an agricultural caste.
<i>jehad</i>	holy war.
<i>jiva</i>	soul, spirit, individual self, empirical self.
<i>jivan mukta</i>	One who achieves God during one's life time.
<i>jnan</i>	gnosis.
<i>jnani</i>	a person, who has gamed gnosis.
<i>kabit</i>	a metre.
<i>kachauri</i>	a kind of pastry filled with broken pulse.
<i>kachhi bani</i>	apocryphal composition.
<i>kaff</i>	phlegm.
<i>kaliyug</i>	the fourth and last of the cosmic ages.
<i>karah</i>	a kind of sweet made of flour, sugar and <i>ghee</i> .
<i>karah prashad</i>	holy communion.
<i>karam-yogi</i>	an ascetic who believes in salvation through action.
<i>kardar</i>	a revenue collector of a <i>ta'alluqa</i> or a <i>pargana</i> .

<i>karma</i>	destiny, in accordance with the deeds performed in the past.
<i>kartar rupa</i>	Creator.
<i>katha</i>	narrative.
<i>katha-itihās</i>	conventional account in a literary manner.
<i>karan</i>	organ, physical and psychic.
<i>kharayat</i>	charity.
<i>khīr</i>	rice boiled with milk and sugar.
<i>khurma</i>	a kind of sweet.
<i>kosha</i>	sheaths. There are five <i>kosas</i> : <i>annamay</i> ; <i>pranamay</i> ; <i>manomay</i> ; <i>vijñanamay</i> ; and <i>anandamay</i> . The first is built up and sustained by the food eaten. The second is 'ethic-formed sheath'. The third is 'mind-formed sheath'. The fourth is 'knowledge-formed sheath'. And the last is 'bliss-formed sheath'.
<i>laddu</i>	a sweet consisting of flour of <i>chana</i> or <i>mung</i> , <i>ghee</i> and sugar made up into balls.
<i>lande</i>	literally 'tail-less'; various commercial handwritings in India.
<i>langar</i>	community kitchen.
<i>linga</i>	characteristic.
<i>loka</i>	world.
<i>mahandidal</i>	an edible pulse of <i>phaseolus radiatus</i> .
<i>mana</i>	heart.
<i>manglacharan</i>	invocation.

<i>mantri</i>	adviser to a king.
<i>maya</i>	cosmic illusion.
<i>modi</i>	a storekeeper.
<i>moh</i>	worldly love.
<i>mridang</i>	a musical instrument.
<i>muchang</i>	a musical instrument.
<i>nafir</i>	a pipe.
<i>naika bhed</i>	types of heroines.
<i>nam</i>	the divine name; the expression of the nature and being of God in terms comprehensible to human understanding.
<i>naraj</i>	a metre.
<i>Nath</i>	a yogi sect.
<i>nav ras</i>	nine flavours.
<i>neti neti</i>	not this, not this.
<i>niqah</i>	marriage according to Islamic law.
<i>Niranjan</i>	pure One ; Immaculate.
<i>nirgun</i>	without attribute.
<i>Nirmala</i>	an ascetic order of Sikhism.
<i>pakaura</i>	an eatable made of gram flour, fried in oil.
<i>pandit</i>	an erudite person; a mode of address used for Brahmins.
<i>paramgati</i>	redemption.
<i>parmesvar</i>	Supreme God.
<i>pathshala</i>	indigeneous school.
<i>patta</i>	a deed.
<i>patwari</i>	village accountant.
<i>pitt</i>	bile.
<i>pura</i>	a batter cake cooked in ghee and sugar.

<i>puri</i>	a cake fried in ghee.
<i>purvardh</i>	the first half of a work.
<i>qazi</i>	an official administering civil and criminal justice according to Islamic law.
<i>ritha</i>	the seeds of a tree <i>sapindus detengens</i> used for washing clothes and hair.
<i>riti</i>	principle; scholastic poetry in Hindi.
<i>Sach Khand</i>	the realm of Truth.
<i>saguna</i>	with attributes.
<i>sail</i>	travel for pleasure.
<i>sakhi</i>	testimony; narrative unit of a <i>janamsakhi</i>
<i>sakshin</i>	witness.
<i>samadhi</i>	the super-conscious state.
<i>sanip</i>	one of the four categories of the redeemed of the Handalis.
<i>sangat</i>	a gathering.
<i>saput</i>	dutiful son
<i>sarup</i>	one of the four categories of the redeemed of the Handalis.
<i>satguna</i>	the attributes of goodness.
<i>satnam</i>	the True Name.
<i>satsang</i>	congregation.
<i>satyug</i>	the age of righteousness.
<i>saugi</i>	raisin.
<i>sawayya</i>	a metre.
<i>sayuj</i>	one of the four and the highest categories of the redeemed of the Handalis.
<i>seva</i>	service.
<i>sevian</i>	vermicelli.

<i>sewak</i>	a servant.
<i>shabad</i>	word; in Sikh usage a hymn of the <i>Adi Granth</i> .
<i>shalok</i>	couplet or stanza.
<i>sharadh</i>	a funeral rite in honour of the departed.
<i>sharik</i>	collaterals.
<i>shivalinga</i>	Phallus combined with female organ.
<i>shronit</i>	blood.
<i>sithanian</i>	obscene songs sung by women at weddings.
<i>slok</i>	one of the four categories of the reemed of the Handalis.
<i>smriti</i>	The sacred books of Hindus.
<i>soratha</i>	a metre.
<i>sthul</i>	coarse.
<i>Sufi</i>	a Muslim mystic.
<i>susupti</i>	deep sleep.
<i>tambura</i>	a musical instrument.
<i>tana</i>	body.
<i>tatveta</i>	knower of essence.
<i>thanadar</i>	the commandant of a garrison or a fort.
<i>udas</i>	detachment; the state of being an Udasi.
<i>Udasi</i>	an order of ascetics founded by Sri Chand, one of Guru Nanak's sons; travel.
<i>udasi bhekh</i>	a sect of Udasis, the dress of an Udasi.
<i>upang</i>	a musical instrument.
<i>upadhi</i>	spiritual malaise.

<i>uttarardh</i>	the second half.
<i>vahi</i>	an account-book of native merchants; a register of geneologies kept by the <i>pandas</i> .
<i>vai</i>	wind.
<i>vaidyak</i>	Indian medical science.
<i>Vedant</i>	the end of the <i>Vedas</i> ; popularaly it signifies the Advaita philiosophy.
<i>vikar</i>	disorder, deterioration. deviation.
<i>vritti</i>	modes, functions.

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Sikh principalities and Lahore Durbar as a unitary Sikh rule.

Though his primary concern is to uphold the cause of Sikh ruling class yet his work is addressed to common man. He was a *katha* performer. He had to keep in mind the intellectual level of his audience. The work is also replete with the facts of everyday life. *Nanak Prakash* is dominated by anthropological descriptions. It is not only a reflex of the intellectual state of the society but also his lack of vision.

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