

**BHAI KAHN SINGH NABHA AND THE LATE 19<sup>TH</sup> - EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup>  
CENTURY PUNJAB: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE  
ON HIS WRITINGS**

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## Chapter-1

### INTRODUCTION

Nabha is known in the world because of two persons, one was Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha and the other was Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha.<sup>1</sup> Maharaja Ripudaman Singh is known for his services to Sikhism. He fought for the Gurudwaras and was presented as the representative of the Sikhs. Due to his concerns he was considered as anti-British and was dethroned.<sup>2</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha is a well known Sikh scholar and encyclopaedist, whose contribution in the field of literature is exemplary. In his life time from August 30, 1861 to November 28, 1938, various socio-political and religious changes were sweeping the region.<sup>3</sup> He was a unique combination of Eastern and Western Education.<sup>4</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh was born in the colonial period. A time period that witnessed many changes in Punjab under the new rulers, the British. An extensive bureaucracy and the rule of law were introduced by the colonial rulers. This new administrative structure established a new kind of relationship between the individual and state. Machine rule of laws, codes and procedures replaced the 'paternalistic' rule of earlier decades. The executive, financial and judicial functions were separated. New modes of communication and agrarian reforms were some of the specific features of colonial rule. For increasing the land revenue, agricultural production had to be increased. Irrigation projects completed between 1860 and 1920 brought nearly 10,000,000 acres of land under cultivation. Colonial rule in the Punjab was marked by economic exploitation. The introduction of 'English' education, the emergence of new middle class, activities of missionaries and extension of the press created a 'transformed' Punjab. Christian missionaries had the full support of British administrators of the state.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1, Kulbir Singh Kang, *Sardar*, Punjab Kitab Ghar, Jalandhar, 1967, 33.

<sup>2</sup> J.S. Grewal, Indu Banga, *Political Biography of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha (1883 to 1942) Paramountcy, Patriotism and the Panth*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2018, 140-157

<sup>3</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, National Printing Press, Jauriyian Bhatthiyian, Patiala, 1966, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, 17-18; Piara Singh Padam, *Kalam De Dhani*, Sardar Sahit Bhawan, Patiala, 1965, 32-33.

<sup>5</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1994, 128-130.

The theme of the present research work is an analysis of the works of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha from the perspective of social ideas, kingship and governance, religion and identity. It is need of the hour to understand the evolution of the views of the Sikh community in response to the colonial rule in an effort to understand the issues of our times. Bhai Kahn Singh has written extensively on social, administrative and religious elements of his times. His works reflect the changing milieu of the colonial period in the Punjab region. It becomes necessary to analyze and understand the transformation in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century through the eyes of Bhai Kahn Singh. A major change was initiated when colonialism was introduced to the Punjab in 1849. For consolidation of their power, British brought into use a variety of social and psychological techniques. Under the newly established British rule, Sikhism was seen with new eyes. In order to understand the thinking of the Sikhs and their attitude, it becomes important to take up a detailed study of the past in view of present time. Analysis of the works of Bhai Kahn Singh would play a significant role in this connection as he wrote at specific time when several new elements were being initiated to society. By reviewing and analyzing his works it would be easy to understand not only Bhai Kahn Singh's opinion but his views as a representative of the community in the context of his times. He was a prolific writer and has something to say about every aspect. His works are of a wide scope. A study of his works would help us to trace the ideas and attitudes about religion, society and administration from his own times to the contemporary times. Bhai Kahn Singh's writings can help us to understand our present issues in a better way.

Bhai Kahn Singh was born on 30 August 1861 at village Sabaz Banera in the princely state of Patiala. His father was Narain Singh and mother was Har Kaur. Pithho was his ancestral village.<sup>6</sup> His father was head priest of Gurudwara Baba Ajapal Singh under Nabha state.<sup>7</sup> Some scholars are of the opinion that the grandfather of Kahn Singh, named Saroop Singh was also a priest or Mahant of the same place. It is believed that Baba Saroop Singh made a prediction to his daughter-in-law, who was serving in the Gurudwara would give birth to a unique child who will be known to all

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<sup>6</sup> Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, 17-18.

<sup>7</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 1.



Princely states and seven foreign countries will know his name. This prediction was before the birth of Bhai Kahn Singh and the family of Bhai Kahn Singh accepts that he was that predicted child.<sup>8</sup>

Bhai Sahib grew up in a very gentle, high thinking and God loving family. His father though having close contacts with Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha, never accepted any offering, he used his ancestral land of village Pithho, for meeting the family expenditure. Offerings of devotees were spent on the maintenance of the Gurudwara. Kahn Singh was very active and healthy child loved by everyone. His only sister Bibi Kahn Kaur, who was born in 1867 and died in 1878 whom he loved very much. Bhai Sahib had only two brothers, Bhai Miha Singh and Bishan Singh born on 1870 and 1873 respectively.<sup>9</sup>

The first time Kahn Singh left the house, he was only five years old. He started living with his father in the Gurudwara at Nabha. In his childhood Kahn Singh went through training for a disciplined life. Religion and divinity were considered the gift of God by the child Kahn Singh. His father wanted to provide him an entire spiritual and religious knowledge and for full-filling this purposes he arranged for the best teachers of various subjects for Kahn Singh. Bhai Bhoop Singh was his first teacher of Sikhism. He taught him basic concepts of Sikhism and code of conduct. Shamsher Singh Ashok is of the opinion that Bhai Kahn Singh did not join any formal school for education but he was taught by private teachers. It is also said that Bhai Sahib's first teacher used to take him to a walk and there he used to write on the ground with the stick they had been carrying with them. Devinder Singh Vidyarthi talks about the play-way method used for Bhai Kahn Singh for education by Bhai Bhoop Singh, here he agrees with the opinion of Ashok.<sup>10</sup> Some scholars believe that<sup>11</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh lived in a hermitage (DERA) and he received the education provided in the monasteries. Devinder Singh does not accept this as Bhai Kahn Singh's parents did not live in any hermitage (DERA) which belonged to any sect and institution. Prof. Pritam Singh also points out Bhai

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<sup>8</sup> Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.2.

<sup>10</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 4-6; Devinder Singh, Vidyarthi, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Jiwan Te Rachna*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987, 16.

<sup>11</sup> Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, preface, vii.

Kahn Singh's relation with Deras by saying that the Persian was not taught in the Udasis and Nirmala Deras due to which Bhai Kahn Singh had to go to Delhi and Lucknow for learning Persian.<sup>12</sup> But Vidyarthi disagrees with both. He is of the opinion that the Dera, where Bhai Kahn Singh's great grandfather Baba Saroop Singh lived, did not belong to any sect. It was established by Saroop Singh and later on came under the SGPC (Shiromani Gurudwara Parbhandak Committee).<sup>13</sup>

At the age of six, Bhai Sahib, under the guidance of his father Narain Singh, started reciting and reading the Guru Granth Sahib. This early initiation to the Granth Sahib is considered as the beginning of Bhai Sahib's interest as a writer, towards Sikhism.<sup>14</sup> At the age of ten, Bhai Sahib started learning Sanskrit from Bawa Kalyan Das. Gurbani and Sikh-literature was taught by his father himself. Pandit Sri Dhar, Pandit Bansi Dhar, Bhai Vir Singh and Bawa Parmanand taught him how to practice the *Chhand Shaster* (a branch of literature where theme is written and sung in poetry form), Vedant and Law. Bhai Bhagwan Singh Dugg was his Brajlanguage teacher who taught him poetry. Music was taught by Bhai Gaza Singh. Bhai Jawahar Singh was his Sikh History teacher. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan adds Bhai Jawahar Singh, Bhai Veer Singh Jalal Ke and Ram Singh along with others as teachers.<sup>15</sup> In this way a strong base of a vast knowledge was created and it was the outcome of this extensive training that Kahn Singh was able to read and learn Guru Granth Sahib at the age of nine and at the age of ten he could understand and perform the religious practice of reading the Dasham Granth and this early education had impact on his later writings.

Bhagwan Singh started teaching, Kahn Singh, Persian. Learning Persian, when being a Sikh, was the point of controversy and was strongly opposed by some people. Narain Singh decided to stop Persian lessons and Bhai Kahn Singh went to Delhi and Lucknow for learning Persian which was going to help later on in research of Sikh History from the Persian sources. He could read and write English also. It was such

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<sup>12</sup> Pritam Singh, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha-Pichhokar Rachna Te Mulankan*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1989, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Devinder Singh, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Jiwan Te Rachna*, 17.

<sup>14</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 6; Sukhjot Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, 1-2.

<sup>15</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, Arsee Publishers, Delhi, 2007, 25.

qualification and skill that enabled him to write unique literature.<sup>16</sup> The foundation of Bhai Kahn Singh's education was thus rather exceptional.

From Delhi, Bhai Sahib reached Lahore. Lahore, in those days was a centre for Singh Sabha's activities for reformation. Members of the Singh Sabha, the leading personalities, with whom Bhai Sahib came into contact, were preaching Sikhism. With the company and initially the guidance of S. Atar Singh Bhadaur and Prof. Gurmukh Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh focused on the preaching of Sikhism. Bhai Sahib, in those days, wrote many important works, named, *Guru Granth Sahib De Prayae* (unpublished, missing), *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar* and *Ham Hindu Nahi*.<sup>17</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh returned back to Nabha after completion of the education. Parents thought about his marriage. First marriage took place at village Dhoore of Patiala Princely State when he was around 23 years old<sup>18</sup> probably around 1884. Wife of Bhai Kahn Singh took care of her sick mother-in-law but she died and after some time Bhai Kahn Singh's wife fell sick with same fever, known as Tapdik and died soon. His second wife was from Muktsar, she also died and Kahn Singh was married third time to Basant Kaur, daughter of Sardar Hardam Singh of Ramgarh and had son named Bhagwant Singh Hari Ji who born in 1891.<sup>19</sup> No exact years of marriage have been mentioned by any writer. His third marriage could be around 1890.

He was very much known for his intelligence and was appointed as a courtier of Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha, in 1884. In 1885, he had a chance of meeting with Max Arthur Macauliffe, which led to a lifelong friendship. Macauliffe depended on Bhai Kahn Singh for advice and guidance in works on Sikh scriptures. Kahn Singh worked as a tutor for Tika Ripudaman Singh, son of Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha. Later on Maharaja Hira Singh awarded him the post of private secretary in 1893. He was appointed as City Magistrate and Nehar Nazim and Deputy Commissioner. He was also appointed as the Deputy Commissioner of District Phool. He was then appointed a

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<sup>16</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 6-7.

<sup>17</sup> Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan in his work, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, has mentioned the age of first marriage of Bhai Kahn Singh 22-23 that can possibly be around 1883 as he was born in 1861.

<sup>19</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 11; Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, 3.

political agent of Nabha Princely State and sent to Phool Princely State. Bhai Kahn Singh solved several political and economic issues of the Nabha state with his unique thinking and determination. He was appointed as advocate from Nabha State to the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab. When Bhai Sahib applied for retirement, Maharaja Hira Singh did not accept the application and appointed him Foreign Minister of Nabha State. Maharaja Hira Singh was very happy with the services of Bhai Kahn Singh, and he took Kahn Singh along with him for attending a function at Delhi and meeting with Emperor George. On returning back from Delhi, due to the cold weather and old age, Maharaja Hira Singh fell sick and died on December 25, 1911.



Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha with young Tikka Ripudaman Singh Nabha<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> [www.google.co.in](http://www.google.co.in)



In sitting from left Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha, Tika Ripudaman Singh Nabha and Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha<sup>21</sup>

In 1912, on being the new ruler of Nabha, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, appointed Bhai Kahn Judge of High Court of Nabha Princely State. Bhai Sahib was also getting old, and he did not have any interest in being appointed as judge. He asked for a leave, but Maharaja Ripudaman Singh refused, in between some of the opponents of Bhai Kahn Singh started creating a controversial anti-Kahn Singh atmosphere around Maharaja Ripudaman Singh. In this situation Bhai Kahn Singh left the job and went to Kashmir.<sup>22</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh now was thinking only to serve mankind through the service of Sikhism. But according to hymn of Gurbani, '*Nar Chahat Kachh Aur, Aure Ki Aure*

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<sup>21</sup> [www.google.co.in](http://www.google.co.in)

<sup>22</sup> J.S. Grewal, Indu Banga, *Political Biography of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha (1883 to 1942) Paramourty, Patriotism and the Panth*, 104.

*Bhayi*<sup>23</sup> (human thinks many things to happen, but things happen which are acceptable to almighty only). Bhai Khan Singh was offered the post of Political Agent by Maharaja Bhupender Singh of Patiala Princely State. Due to many references, Bhai Sahib accepted the post. In 1917 a conflict occurred between Nabha and Patiala Princely States after a short time span of peace. As interpreted by Ashok, it was a third party, working for destroying the both states. Third party was the rulers of Jind princely state. British Authorities were misinformed against Nabha by Jind.<sup>24</sup> There was absence of Sikh persons among the court members of Patiala state. Chief Diwan Daya Krishan Kaul, used to treat the opponents very badly. Same was the case in Nabha state. Complaints from both States were filed against each other.<sup>25</sup> With the mediacy of Bhai Arjan Singh Bagrian who was important person for both princely states, the conflict was settled.<sup>26</sup> A meeting of both states was setup at Shimla in the same year when many issues were solved. After this Bhai Kahn Singh left the job and went back to his ancestral village Pithho. Here, Ashok has provided the opinion of the common Sikh people. He says that the Sikhs were not happy with the conflict of both states. If the common people were too much affected from the situations, then how Bhai Kahn Singh could have remained unaffected? Ashok also provides the reference of the Indian National Congress's concept of unity of Hindu and Muslims. He also refers to the announcement by Shradha Nand from Jama Mosque about the common platform for both Hindu and Muslims. Further Ashok provides a poem for illustration of the situations.<sup>27</sup> But the

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<sup>23</sup> The Gurbani verses quoted in the present research work have been taken from the writings of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha.

<sup>24</sup> J.S. Grewal, Indu Banga, *Political Biography of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha (1883 to 1942) Paramourty, Patriotism and the Panth*, 104-105.

<sup>25</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 20.

<sup>26</sup> *Khalsa Advocate*, September 08, 1917; J.S. Grewal, Indu Banga, *Political Biography of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha (1883 to 1942) Paramourty, Patriotism and the Panth*, 104.

<sup>27</sup> 'Hindu Au Musلمان Sadiyon Ke Vaer Khoeye, Darad Kahani Ikk Doosre Ki Boojhi Hai. Sikhian Vichar Aye, Dere Laye Guru Dwar, Sang Mil Baethbo Umang Mann Loojhi Hai. Bharat Milap Ke Partap Darr Utthey Wo, Foot Ki Chingari Kabhi Daari Jo So Boojhi Hai. Aapas Me Prem Au Milap Ke Suhane Samay, Sikh Maharajan Ko Larni Ko Soojhi Hai. Ek Ko Drayo Dhamkayo Au Lubhayo Kachhu, Duye Sees Bhant Bhant Dosan Dharat Hai. Panth Saath Biti Joyi Singh Ranjite Biti, Samay Ki Jo Chhaal Soyi Chaukri Bharat Hai. Soyi Hai Pahari, Soyi Foot Ki Chingari Daari, Soyi Fauj Khalsa Akali Jo Larat Hai. Wadhhi Sarkar Ke Eh Beej Boye Kaul Fool, Udd Udd Rajan Ki Daaran Parat Hai'.

It means that on the one hand Hindu and Muslims are uniting with each other and they have forgotten all the happenings of past. Things which had created the problems for each other have been sorted out. In such atmosphere of love and affection, Sikh Maharajas are fighting with each other. One ruler is being threatened and sometimes offered a big amount. Other ruler is blamed for many things. Here,

name of the poet unknown, it could be Bhai Kahn Singh also, but there is no clue regarding this available.

Bhai Kahn Singh was again called back by Maharaja Ripudaman Singh. Nabha Princely State purchased a costly bungalow for Kahn Singh at Mussoorie for his literary activities. Then Bhai Sahib was appointed as the Special Minister of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh to defend his cases. He was also elected as a member of Judicial Council of Nabha State.

Some people however, provoked the Maharaja against Bhai Sahib by saying that Patiala State had bought Bhai Kahn Singh. The presentation of this was so effective that Maharaja accepted it. Bhai Sahib, as a result was being cornered in the decision making and important suggestions. As result of the conflict of both States and in the absence of wise advisers like Bhai Kahn Singh, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was dethroned and deported to Dehradun and Council of Nabha State was broke up. The reason behind this could be the Gurudwara Reform movement in which Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha actively participated. Being the only representative ruler of the Sikhs turned the British against him. As a result, of this Bhai Kahn Singh left the State forever and started spending his time with devotion, in creation of literature of Sikhism.<sup>28</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh wrote actively for a long time of about fifty years and had witnessed the transformation of the region under the British rule. His works reflect the issues of a period of the history so relevant for contemporary Punjab and the nature of change that occurred and still continues to impact can be understood from his writings. A study of his works will help to identify the issues of society and religion in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century and to find some solutions to debates in present time. The study of his works will help to understand burning issues of the society of Punjab under the colonial rule and trace the evolution of the ideas of the people of the region.

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both Patiala and Nabha states are mentioned. Whatever happened in the past with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Khalsa Army is being repeated again. The people, who played the role of traitors and became the real cause of divisions of the power, are again actively performing their negative roles. Indian Government is gaining the whole benefit from the whole incident by successfully implementing the policy of 'Divide and Rule'.

<sup>28</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 22; Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, 4-5.

There are some assumptions related to this research work. Firstly, Kahn Singh's literary works reflect the ideas and attitudes of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Punjabi society. It can help to trace the broad concerns of the people of Punjab. Secondly, the changes in his own thinking about the issues concerning society, especially the Sikhs, can be identified, through these writings. Thirdly, socio-religious atmosphere along with the political situations and identity issues of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century can be seen in the works to understand the past and relate it to the present situations. Lastly, the variations/alternatives suggested by Bhai Kahn Singh can be studied as possible solutions/understanding of social concerns of that time, in an attempt to understand the changing colonial impact.

Many of the researchers and writers have shown keen interest in writing about Bhai Kahn Singh and his work. Much has been written on his life and contribution in field of literature. In fact he and his works are mentioned in all general histories of the time. Most of the works discuss Bhai Kahn Singh's life as biography, a life sketch. Others take up some of his works and attempt to analyze them. For research on the selected theme the available works can be divided into three broad categories as general books, biographies and analysis of Bhai Kahn Singh's works. Category one deals with general books on the Punjab. These books are focusing on the main developments in the region under the colonial rule. J.S. Grewal's *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Khushwant Singh's *History of Sikhs*, K.W. Jones's *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India* are some of the books where there is some information about Bhai Kahn Singh and the developments of his period.

By way of illustration of this category is *The Sikhs of the Punjab* traces the history of the Sikhs from the beginning of the faith in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and the change in their situation over the time up to the British rule and the post-independence Punjab. Chapter number seven Recession and Resurgence deals with the policies of British administration in Punjab and the growth of other languages like Urdu, English and Hindi, commercialization of agriculture and participation of Hindu Khatris, Baniyas, Arora, Shaikh, Khojas and Pathans in business and holding offices.



In the second section of the chapter, British administration and their policy of handling the chiefs of the province is described, most of whom were Sikhs. Many of the rebellious Sikhs were deported without any pension and some were provided half or less than that portion they had been occupying. Those who were loyal to the British government were enjoying the rewards. Later on all such loyal people played a leading role in socio-religious reforms and constitutional politics.

There is a general mention of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and his works is available in this category. His name and some important books published in particular circumstances when some developments were taking place in Punjab in historical context, are mentioned by the writers.

The second category is of the biographies on Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. In this category those works which present a life sketch of Bhai Kahn Singh are mentioned. Professor Pritam Singh's *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Ik Prichey*, Shamsher Singh Ashok's *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, Kulbir Kaur's work *Sardar*, Piara Singh Padam's *Kalam De Dhani* and Amarjeet Singh's *Bhai Kahn Singh Ik Adhiyan*, an article *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha – Ik Prichey* published in *Khoj Patrika Bhai Mohan Singh Vaed Samriti Ank*, an introductory article by Shamsher Singh Ashok *Kahn Singh Nabha Ji Da Jiwan Virtantant* in *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, Rashpal Kaur's thesis *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Da Jiwan Te Rachna Ik Adhiyan*, Narinder Kaur's thesis *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Da Singh Sabha Lehar Vich Yogdan* are some of the books, articles and unpublished research thesis written as biographies.

Shamsher Singh Ashok's *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha* was published in 1966 represents the above category. The book of 129 pages in Punjabi is divided in 12 chapters. The aim of the book is to provide information about Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, his life and contribution. Author Shamsher Singh Ashok, talks about his closeness to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha in the introduction of this book where he has mentioned the process of completion of the book and also mentioned his purpose in writing this book. Chapter one is divided in four subsections. Section one talks about childhood of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, second section is devoted to education of the

child Kahn Singh, section third talks about religious preaching of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and lastly fourth section talks about married life of Bhai Kahn Singh.

Chapter two is about Bhai Kahn Singh's services to Nabha and Patiala States. Chapter three illustrates the community services of Bhai Kahn Singh. These services were performed under the Singh Sabha movement in defense for Sikhism at that time. Bhai Kahn Singh came into contact with Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Giani Ditt Singh. Two important works were written at that time. One was '*Sikh Religion*' and second was '*Ham Hindu Nahi*' (we are not Hindus). Chapter four is about Bhai Kahn Singh's role in consolidating Sikh Educational movement. Bhai Gurmukh Singh shared his idea of establishment of Khalsa College with Bhai Kahn Singh for which financial aid was provided by Patiala and Nabha rulers.

Chapter five is about literature. Bhai Kahn Singh was an aware and active researcher of his time who visited the hill areas of Himachal Pradesh for collecting the works of Guru Gobind Singh which were taken away by hill rulers during battle of Anandpur. After that Bhai Kahn Singh went to Afghanistan, Kabul and stayed there for gathering the historical and literary information of Sikhs. South India was also an important place to collect literary works on the Sikhs. Works written by Bhai Kahn Singh are mentioned in chapter six. These books are twenty two in numbers. The works are divided into religious preaching, politics, education, social welfare, prose, encyclopedia and astrology. The chapter seven is about the poetry skills of Bhai Kahn Singh. It is mentioned in this chapter that Bhai Kahn Singh could write poetry and prose in three types, in Punjabi, Hindi and Punjabi and Hindi mix. Chapter eight describes the prose written by Bhai Kahn Singh.

Chapter nine is about the invention and usage of some new signs of the Punjabi language by Bhai Kahn Singh. These signs were used for proper pronunciation of Punjabi words. In earlier times Punjabi was mixture of some Hindi, Sanskrit and Urdu words. Bhai Kahn Singh had provided alternative words in Punjabi for avoiding the usage of non-Punjabi words and maintaining the independent status of Punjabi language. Chapter ten covers the last days of Bhai Kahn Singh and the departure of his

brothers. On 23 November 1938, Bhai Kahn Singh took his last breath. This chapter also mentions the last whole day of Bhai Kahn Singh.

Bhai Kahn Singh's virtues, deeds and nature are explained in chapter eleven. Ashok says that Bhai Kahn Singh was very great personality. He was believer of simple living and high thinking. From this chapter we come to know about daily routine and discipline. This chapter also talks about Bhai Kahn Singh's opposition towards the caste system. The last chapter of the book is about Bhai Kahn Singh's divine deeds explained in form of stories. One part is giving a message of 'do good with bad'. Second story in this chapter talks about self-respect of Bhai Kahn Singh and his loyalty towards country. Third story of the chapter is love for poor. Fourth story shows Bhai Kahn Singh's quality of respecting younger one. This book provides information about Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's life and works.

In this category, books of Bhai Kahn Singh are listed. More focus is on his life and chronology of the events. There is no mention of his social concerns and its link with the society. This category proves to be a biography with chronological events of Bhai Kahn Singh's life.

Shamsher Singh Ashok has given a brief introduction of Bhai Kahn Singh in *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*. This introductory article is divided into ten sections. Each section provides different information about Bhai Kahn Singh. Whatever the Ashok has provided in above mentioned book broadly the same information is provided in this article briefly.

Another category of works is an analysis of Bhai Kahn Singh's works. Pritam Singh, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha (Pichhokar, Rachana te Mulankan)*, Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, Devinder Singh Vidyarthi, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Jiwan Te Rachna*, Tejwant Maan, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Di Punjabi Sahit Nu Den*, Harbhajan Singh, *Bhai Kahn Singh Diyan Likhta Da Gurmat Parsang*, Jagmail Singh, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Di Punjabi Sahit Nu Den* and Rashpal Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha De Aprakashit Safarname*, Ravinder Kaur Ravi, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Da Sangeet Kala Vich Yogdan*, Sheena Pall, *Issues of Sikh Identity: Sanatanist – Sikh Debate in Debating Sikh Identity*, published in *Journal of*

*Punjab Studies 2013*, Ravinder Kaur *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha De Parkashit Karja Da Sangitak Vishleshan*, are some of the books, articles and unpublished research thesis related with this category.

Devinder Singh Vidyarthi's work *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Jiwan Te Rachna* can be briefly explained as representative of the above category. There are a total of nine chapters along with a foreword, introduction and conclusion. In foreword of the book a brief introduction is given about the work of Bhai Kahn Singh that was opted for analysis by the author of the book in relation to its nature and contribution to politics, society and religion.

In the introduction, Vidyarthi provides information about Bhai Kahn Singh's works and mentions other scholars that have written about Bhai Kahn Singh but narrate the life incidents of Bhai Kahn Singh instead of an analysis of his writings. He places the book in context of British dominance over the Punjab and the poor conditions of Punjabi ruler and their successors. The social reforms were taking place and in the process all religions like Hindu, Muslims, Christians and Sikhs were defending their faith. In Punjab there was a need of some writers and scholars who could write about the reality and pride of Sikhism. Bhai Kahn Singh according to him proved to be the best among all of them.

Chapter one is about the birth and family of Bhai Kahn Singh. Here Bhai Kahn Singh's village, grand-father and father, their occupation and its influence on child Kahn Singh's character is mentioned. Some special skills of Bhai Kahn Singh are also the part of discussion. Another point of focus is the education of Bhai Kahn Singh and his married life. Riding, hunting and arm training are also some hobbies mentioned here.

Chapter second talks about the employment, awards given to him and death of Bhai Kahn Singh. Bhai Kahn Singh worked under the Princely state of Nabha as well as for Patiala state. He was appointed on several posts. It was his uniqueness and intelligence that he was always awaited in royal courts for advices. A book named *Ham Hindu Nahi* was published in 1897. This book written by Kahn Singh created controversy and several complaints were filed against Bhai Kahn Singh in court of

Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha. After the inquiry about its harmlessness for all kind of religions, Bhai Kahn Singh was given a clean chit who earlier had to give up the job. His meeting with Macauliffe and second time complaints to Maharaja Hira Singh against him are also mentioned in this chapter. Bhai Kahn Singh later on resigned the job and went to Kashmir for the completion of his literary works. In 1910s the Patiala State appointed him as an advocate of residency. In 1923, he gave up all jobs and started focusing on his literary works. Bhai Kahn Singh's death is the last part of the chapter.

Chapter third is about his personality. His physical structure, face, and nature are mentioned. His interest in music and training since his childhood are other features taken up here. He was fond of visiting the mountains and in summer season he used to go to hilly areas and completed his literary works. His good nature, doing good for all and his loyalty for his Master are some of the unique features of his personality mentioned by author.

In chapter number four, Devinder Singh Vidyarthi has focused on basis of his writing skills and some solid reasons are also mentioned which enabled Bhai Kahn Singh mentally as well as physically for writing. He proved to be a Sikh writer and his readers could also be founded in the Sikh religion. He talks of Guru Nanak's contribution for Sikhism along with the religious as well as political changes that took place. This whole change affected the Sikhism negatively. He blames the socio-religious reform movements as responsible for this problem of identity consciousness. Establishment of the Singh Sabha and its need along with functions are other points of focus. Along with this the role of Bhai Kahn in building the high character of Ripudaman Singh prince of Nabha State is seen as very unique.

Chapter number fifth is devoted to the literary works of Bhai Kahn Singh. He has mentioned some names of the previous researchers who had listed the works of Bhai Kahn Singh. Among these, there are some of the works not independently written by Bhai Kahn Singh. *Shri Guru Granth Sahib De Praye* a collection of the meanings of hymns of Guru Granth Sahib that was not published and lost after the death of Prof. Gurmukh Singh who had noted down all the explanations of Guru Granth Sahib done

by Bhai Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, *Vishnu Puran* are mentioned in first part and second part as chapter number six about other works done by Bhai Kahn Singh as *Ham Hindu Nahi*, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Guru Gira Kasauti*, *Smasya Poorti*, *Sad Ka Parmarath*, *Shrab Nishedh*, *Pahaar Yatra*, *Vilayat Yatra*, *Ik Yotish Granth*, *Itihas Bagariyan* some of the important works of second part. In part third *Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Anekarthkosh*, *Thagg Leela*, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, *Ukat Bilas*, *Maan Manjiri Naam Mala*, *Chandi Di Vaar*, *Gurmat Martand*, *Gur Mahima Ratnawali* and *Ras Chamtkar Chandrika* are some of the works written by Bhai Kahn Singh mentioned by the author in chapter number seven. A brief summary of these books is also provided by author.

Next chapter is about Bhai Kahn Singh's role as a 'separatist or the defender of faith'. This title is a debatable one and for this Vidyarthi has tried to find out an answer. He has talked about the conditions of Sikhs under the British rule. Many other social reformers delivering speeches and mentioning that Sikhs were part of Hindus, but Bhai Kahn Singh tried to prove the difference of Sikh people, their different life style and also mentioned some rules for Sikhs. Though he had to face opposition many times still is considered as the defender of religion and true Sikh.

Last chapter is about Bhai Kahn Singh's skills of finding and creating new letters and words. Imaginative faculty and analytic and definitive faculty are important virtues can be seen in his works. In last chapter concluding remarks about Bhai Kahn Singh and his personality create a significant place of Sikh scholar in the hearts of the readers.

The books mentioned in this category step further to show Bhai Kah Singh's literary contribution and provide in detail the contribution of Bhai Kahn Singh from literary point of view. It also skips any analysis of the works from social, religious, governance and administration and identity point of view.

After reviewing the above works it is clear that along with vast and very significant information, there are also some gaps in the available research work about Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and his times. Biographies on Bhai Kahn Singh are more like a life story with some factual details and major events.

Whatever a child reads in childhood leaves its impact on his mind and that impact decides the personality. After knowing all these, one can be able to understand the circumstances which create a proper ground for growth of a unique personality in any field. Complete information about the life of Bhai Kahn Singh is missing because the available biographies are not covering the total aspects of his life. In the case of an analysis of Bhai Kahn Singh's works too there are also some drawbacks. The works seem to move more towards biography than an analysis. No special approach is used by the author. There is a brief discussion of all works but in the context of his time and the social, religious and political environment a proper and complete analysis is missing. The content of Bhai Kahn Singh's works is not evaluated and discussed. It is not compared to his understanding nor interpretations, ideas and concepts.

The existing literature falls very short of an in-depth evaluation and a fresh interpretation of the works may be worth-while. The review of these books develops the general understanding about the life, works and personality of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha on which basis further research may be taken up. In the above mentioned works there is not a single one taking up a broad analysis of his works. Books dealing with life and works are merely brief summary. Works of Bhai Kahn Singh have been studied in fragmented form, provision of mere information or a small overview of the works is available. This analysis proves to be more a summary not a critical review. Bhai Kahn Singh's ideas and mental makeup is not reflected in any work. The total body of his literature has not been analyzed in the complete sense. Bhai Kahn Singh's impact on the socio-political situation is not discussed. Relevance of his ideas in present time is not included as part of the research of any previous researcher. In analyzing the works his impact as a Sikh and its influence in his works is omitted. The impact of his writings on Sikh thought and on concept of the distinct identity is not studied in detail. The contemporary time with its new perspectives and perceptions can review Bhai Kahn Singh's work afresh.

There is still an unexplored path of research with all possibilities of further study on the theme. The entire ground on overall life, evolution of ideas and impact on society with the passage of time, especially the Sikhs can be undertaken for research.

All the above mentioned limitations would be kept in mind and a more complete study of all identified gaps would be undertaken. Bhai Kahn Singh's personal opinion as a Sikh, his views about society, politics, religion and Sikhism and influence of Bhai Kahn Singh and his works over the Sikh thought are very critical but significant facts those can be understood in the context of contemporary times and issues. Not only Bhai Kahn Singh's opinions but also the response/reaction of the others can be understood in a comparative framework.

As a scholar, Bhai Kahn Singh wrote extensively about various aspects. He wrote on Sikhism, Sikh Code of Conduct as well as society and completed several works: *Raj Dharam*, *Tika Jaimani Asavmedh*, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Guru Gira Kasauti*, *Thagg Leela*, *Samsya Poorti*, *Sad ka Parmarath*, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, *Tika Vishnu Puran*, *Shrab Nishedh*, *Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Roopdeep Pingal*, *Anekarth Kosh*, *Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti*, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, Sikh Educational Conference Speech, *Chandi Di Vaar*, *Nammala Kosh*, *Gurmat Martand*, *Gurmahima Sangrah* etc are mentioned. There is information about Gurbani and its application in life. Bhai Kahn Singh has influenced the Sikh identity by his works. From this point of view an analysis of his writings would help to know the opinion of Bhai Kahn Singh about society, religion, administration and especially about the Sikhs and their distinct Identity. His writing is a reflection of the ideas of the then contemporary society, specially the Sikhs and Non-Sikhs. In the present time too, issues of religion, society and identity are important concerns. The work of Bhai Kahn Singh can therefore help to understand the ideas and society of the late 19<sup>th</sup> early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and create a better historical perspective on the time.

According to Shamsheer Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh had a zeal for research and creation of a good literature in Sikhism. For fulfillment of this noble purpose there was a need of deep and insightful research which could only be possible after visiting those area where the literature related to Sikhism was supposed to be available. These places were Hill Princely States of Ghani, Marki, Dhami, Namoli, Bilaspur, Suket, Mandi, Katola, Kandi Galwa, Bizora, Kullu, Kdaun, Sil Badhwani, Jatingari, Dhelu, Baijnath,



Palampur, Charri etc. Before coming back to Nabha, he visited Pathankot, Amritsar, Ferozpur. Next step taken up by Bhai Kahn Singh was visiting the all Gurudwaras of India. He paid homage at Sri Abchal Nagar (Nanded, South), Patna Sahib and Hazoor Sahib. The places which were not being visited by himself, for that Bhai Pardumman Singh, from Hoshiarpur was hired as research assistant. Registers of the questionnaire were prepared for the research and handed over to Bhai Pardumman Singh. This whole research was utilized for writing the *Mahankosh* the Sikh Encyclopedia. Bhai Kahn Singh also visited Afghanistan, where he was able to pay homage at the places related to Guru Nanak, and after collection of information he came back to India. Bhai Kahn Singh's writing journey starts from 1884.<sup>29</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok and Tejwant Maan are of the opinion that Bhai Kahn Singh wrote about Sikhism and its teachings, politics, education, social-reformation, Chhand (a branch of literature where theme is written and sung in poetry form), Alankar (Literary embellishment), Kosh (Dictionary, Thesaurus) and even Astrology. Ashok is of the opinion that first work of Bhai Kahn Singh was about politics and poetry and then theme of writings shifted towards Sikhism.<sup>30</sup> First book according to Ashok, is *Raj Dharam*, was written in the court of Hira Singh the Maharaja of Nabha. Bhai Kahn Singh wrote the book under the guidance of Maharaja Hira Singh. Letters are in Gurmukhi script and language is of traditional styled Hindi. Most of the thoughts of this book are of Maharaja Hira Singh. The work also illustrates the initial thought process of Bhai Kahn Singh. Ashok is of the opinion that there are few more works available of Bhai Kahn Singh, of same style. Publication year of the book is mentioned 1884 by Devinder Singh Vidyarthi. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan has also mentioned the publication year of the book 1884. Another book entitled *Sri Guru Granth Sahib De praye* is considered as the first book which is unpublished. Ashok has not mentioned the book *Tika Jaimani Asavmedh* but Bhathuan has mentioned the publication year 1890.

Second book of Bhai Kahn Singh is *Natak Bhavarath Deepika*. This book, according to Bhathuan is of 1897. During teaching of Tika Ripudaman Singh, son of

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<sup>29</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 44-47.

<sup>30</sup> Tejwant Maan, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha: Jivan Te Rachna*, Mangal Parkashan, Amritsar, 1997, 65-90.

Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha, Bhai Sahib used to explain him the Hanuman Natak (A play, written by poet, Hanuman). This was explained and also heard by Hira Singh. Under his orders, the whole commentary of the Natak was written down and it took a form of a book with old Hindi style language. This book was published and named *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*.<sup>31</sup> This book talks about ruler, prince, common people and general advices, health, army and religion. Bhai Kahn Singh wrote the book as a scripture. Overall concepts have been discussed in the book.

Third book is most important named *Ham Hindu Nahi* (We are not Hindus). This book, according to Shamsheer Singh Ashok, was published in 1897. Jagmail Singh also mentions the same year. This book brought Bhai Kahn Singh's name into the limelight. In the political sphere this book, established a new distinct platform for the Sikhs in a co-existence with the Hindus and Muslims. According to Ashok, this book initially was published in Hindi but this Hindi copy is not available anywhere and Devinder Singh Vidyarthi, another biographer of Bhai Kahn Singh denies publication of Hindi version. As interpreted by Shamsheer Singh, this question of not being Hindu was not only related to the Sikhs but there were Aryas, Jains and Buddhists also who did not call themselves Hindus. Ashok is of the opinion that the historian Pandit Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha, in the census of Princely State of Udaypur, Rajasthan of 1921, showed the Aryas, Sikhs, Jains, Brahmos, Bheels and Minas etc separately.<sup>32</sup>

Fourth book according to Ashok is *Gurmat Prabhakar* (Sikhism an Illuminator). This book was published in 1898. Basic Sikh rules, code of conducts have been explained along with references. It is also said that this book was written and published for the Sikhs under the patronage of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha. This book deals with all the rituals and code of conducts according to Gurbani of a Sikh from birth to death which also includes the marriage ceremony. This can be called a guide book for a Sikh who wants to live his life according to Sikh code of conduct.

Another book is *Gurmat Sudhakar* (Sikhism the Reformer). This book was published in the same year 1898 carrying the same concepts as of *Gurmat Prabhakar*.

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<sup>31</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 44-48.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 48-49.

References from Dasam Granth, Bhai Gurdas's writings, Gurbilas, Suraj Parkash Granth, Sau Sakhi and Rahitnamas have been provided. Ashok is of the opinion that these two books were also written in Hindi and later on translated by Bhai Kahn Singh into Punjabi. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan has mentioned the publication year 1899.

*Samasya Poorti*, another book is also considered to be published in 1898 and was most appreciated by Maharaja Ripudaman Singh. He also requested to Bhai Kahn Singh to send more Swayas (four rhyming lines in a prosodic meters) for publication in Khalsa Akhbar. *Samasya Poorti* is a concept where poetry lines are completed from given situations of a single line (A line set as a topic or as prosodic model for writing a complete poem). Here, for example 'Nari Cahri Hai Attari Na Utari Utrat Hai' ਨਾਰੀ ਚੜ੍ਹੀ ਹੈ ਅਟਾਰੀ ਨਾ ਉਤਾਰੀ ਉਤਰਤ ਹੈ and 'Keh Karan Naar Narel Uchhale' ਕਿਹ ਕਾਰਨ ਨਾਰਿ ਨਰੇਲ ਉਛਾਲੇ and many more are mentioned. Bhai Kahn Singh, very finely completed these poems from the given line.<sup>33</sup> Bhathuan again has mentioned the publication year 1899.

*Gur Gira Kasauti*, according to Ashok, was not published due to some groups within Sikhism. This book was started writing by Bhai Kahn Singh for clearing many doubts related to Gurbani. Bhai Kahn Singh made it clear that Gurbani never creates contradiction but it goes smoothly for the betterment of the society. In 1901, Bhai Kahn Singh wrote *Sad Ka Parmarath*. This book is said to have been written as a commentary by Bhai Kahn Singh of Sunder Ji's work. This book deals with the falsehood of the rituals performed during the death. Bhai Sahib has explained the Gurmat/Sikh Code of Conduct implemented during the death ceremony. *Vijay Swam Dharam* was published in the same year. In 1903, a Tika of *Vishnu Puran* was published.<sup>34</sup> Next book is *Pahaar Yatra* (Journey to Hills) a travelogue. This was written in 1906. This book explains the experiences of Bhai Kahn Singh in the hill areas of Himachal Pradesh but this book is also unpublished. A travelogue of Europe written in 1907-08 and 1910 is also unpublished.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 49-50.

<sup>34</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 116.

<sup>35</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 51-52.

*Shrab Nishedh*, was written in 1907 for social reform. Alcohol consumption is considered as injurious to health and its drawbacks are explained in this book. This book had a deep impact on the public.

One book on astrology is unpublished. It is said that Bhai Kahn Singh was asked by Maharaja Hira Singh to write a book on astrology. He was also to be rewarded for the book with rupees 1,25,000. But, when Bhai Sahib completed the book, Maharaja Hira Singh, fell sick and Maharaja Hira Singh died. Due to this neither the book got published, nor Bhai Kahn Singh was rewarded.

*Gurchhand Diwakar* is about the Chhand Shaster (a book that deals with modes of poetry). This book talks about the rules related to the various poetry and modes of Gurbani and other Sikh religious literature and was published in 1921, by Darbar of Nabha. But according to Jagmail Singh, book was published in 1924.

*Gurshabad Alankar*, deals with literary embellishment used for the poetry. Bhai Sahib has in detail, explained the rules related to the poetry writing. This book was written for the students of Sikh literature. Publication year of the book is said to be the 1924.

*Anekarth Kosh*, was edited and published in 1924 by Sudharshan Press, Amritsar. But Bhathuan gives the publication year 1925. This *Shabad Kosh* is in poetry form, easy to remember. It very simply, illustrates the synonymous of the words.

*Roopdeep Pingal*, was published by Bhai Gurdial Singh Pustaka Wale Lohari Darwaja, Lahore for the first time and Ambala Shehar, for the second time. First publication year, according to Ashok, is 1925. This book also falls under the category of rules for poets.

*Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, known as Sikh Encyclopedia, is the most famous, work of Bhai Kahn Singh, in the history of Sikh Literature. Bhai Kahn Singh and *Mahan Kosh* are incomplete if not mentioned together. Bhai Sahib, started the research about writing the encyclopedia in 1912, and writing of the work was completed by 1927. It took about 13-14 years for creation of a great work. It was first published by Darbar Patiala in 1930. There are, 3338 pages, and four volumes, later on

it was republished by Survey of India Press, Dehra Dun in 1955, and print was on broad papers and all 3338 pages were printed on 835 pages in a single volume. Later on with addition of some new research by Bhai Kahn Singh, from 1931-1938, it was again published National Press, Jalandhar, in 1960. It is a unique and the only work of its kind and considered as a scientific work. It has been re-published later on.

Presidential address of Sikh Educational Conference, Amritsar in 1931, was delivered by Bhai Sahib, as President of the session and talked about the initiatives for the education of the Sikh students. This address was published by Sikh Educational Committee, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar in 1931.

A commentary on *Chandi Di Vaar* (A poetic work about the Hindu Goddess Chandi) is also falls under the works written by Bhai Kahn Singh. This work was originally written by Guru Gobind Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh, explained it and gave his comments in the year 1935. This book was published by Manager, Satyug Sri Bhaeni Sahib, Ludhiana in the same year.

*Nammala Kosh*, is based on a Sanskrit Kosh, Amar. It contains the more than one name of a particular thing. Originally the *Kosh* was written by Poet Nand Das, one of the eight best Vaishnav Poets of Varindavan. He is considered as the contemporary of Guru Nanak. Bhai Kahn Singh edited it and was published under Dhani Ram Chatrik, by Sudharshan Press, Amritsar, in 1938.

*Gurmat Martand*, is the work of the last days of Bhai Kahn Singh that is November, 1938. This book is combination of three books, *Gur Gira Kasauti*, *Gurmat Prabhakar* and *Gurmat Sudhakar*. This book was published by Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar in 1962.

*Gurmahima Sangrah*, deals with detailed information of 96 famous poets, was written in the last days of Bhai Kahn Singh but this book is unpublished.

There are few more unpublished works of Bhai Kahn Singh, according to Ashok, named *Two Bara Mahe Kavita*, *Itihas Bagriyan*, *Safarnama England* etc.

Along with this, Bhai Kahn Singh however, also wrote poetry. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, divides the poetry of Bhai Kahn Singh into three parts as in pure Hindi, pure

Punjabi and mixture of both Punjabi and Hindi. Bhai Kahn Singh learned poetry from Bhagwan Singh Dugg. Initially, he wrote into traditional style and language. In his poetry he explained the Gurus and their attributes. His poems are with deep meanings hidden in it. People, culture, economy and life style is explained. Along with above mentioned writings many letters are also found of Bhai Kahn Singh, explaining the incidents related to the area where Bhai Sahib visited. Ashok also mentions some articles of Bhai Kahn Singh, published in various magazines like *Phulwari*, *Guru Nanak Darshan*, *Fateh*, *Pritam*.<sup>36</sup>

Sukhjeet Kaur also talks about the fields of specialization of Bhai Kahn Singh's works. According to her *Chhand*, *Alankar*, etymology, study of semantics, *Kosh* (Dictionary, Thesaurus) and commentary are the fields of work of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. Prose-writing and poetry are the special features of Bhai Kahn Singh's writings. Sikhism, traditions of Sikhism, poetry, articles and essays along with writing the travelogues are other areas of Bhai Kahn Singh's writings.

Sukhjeet Kaur has divided Bhai Kahn Singh's works into three parts, original works, edited works and unpublished works. Original works are *Raj Dharam*, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, *Hum Hindu Nahi*, *Shrab Nishedh*, *Tika Vishnu Puran*, *Sad Ka Parmarath*, *Tika Jaemani Asavmedh*, *Thagg Leela*, *Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, *Chandi Di Vaar* (Commentary) and *Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti*. The edited works comprise of *Smasya Poorti* (*Kaav Sangrah*), *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Roop Deep Pingal*, *Anekarth Kosh*, *Nammala Kosh*, *Gurmat Martand*. *Pahad Yatra*, *Vilayat Yatra*, *Ikk Yotish Granth*, *Guru Mahima*, *Vaedagi Ate Sehat Sabandhi Ikk Granth* fall under the third category that is unpublished works. There are some writings in English also. Along with this Bhai Kahn Singh wrote many poems also, as mentions, Sukhjeet Kaur.

Devinder Singh Vidayarthi has divided Bhai Kahn Singh's works in three phases. Phase one comprises *Sri Guru Granth Sahib De Pariyae*, *Raj Dharam*, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, *Tika Vishnu Puran*. These writings are considered as the court writings because in those days books were written and presented in the court of the

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<sup>36</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 52-94.

ruler. A common discussion took place and the book instead of being one writer's work use to be considered as work of discussion. In such situations independent individual mind of author cannot do the justice. Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha and Bhai Kahn Singh both can be considered as the authors. Language of the books is Hindi and Braj. Second phase covers *Ham Hindu Nahi*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gur Gira Kasauti*, *Smasya Poorti (Kaav Sangrah)*, *Sad Ka Parmarath*, *Shrab Nishedh*, *Vilayat Yatra*, *Safarnama England*, *Ikk Yotish Granth* and *Itihas Bagariyan*. These books deal with Sikh religion and also considered as the independent writings of Bhai Kahn Singh. *Thagg Leela*, *Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, *Anekarth Kosh*, *Roop Deep Pingal*, *Ukat Bilas*, *Maan Manjiri Nammala*, *Chandi Di Vaar*, *Gurmat Martand*, *Gur Mahima Ratnawali*, Presidential Speech on behalf of Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha at Kahlisa College Amritsar on 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1904, Presidential Speech of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha on 3<sup>rd</sup> of April, 1931 on Sikh Educational Conference at Amritsar, Personal Diaries and *Ras Chamtkaar Chandrika* come under the third phase writings of Bhai Kahn Singh.

Rashpal Kaur has classified Bhai Kahn Singh's writings into seven categories. *Raj Dharam* and *Vijay Swam Dharam* fall under writings about polity. *Ham Hindu Nahi*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Sad Ka Parmarath*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Roop Deep Pingal*, *Chandi Di Vaar* and *Gurmat Martand* are under the religious category. *Shrab Nishedh* and *Thagg Leela* are the writings about society. *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, *Tika Vishnu Puran* and *Tika Jaemani Asavmedh* are commentaries (*Tikas*) by Bhai Kahn Singh. *Anekarth Kosh*, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh* and *Nammala Kosh* are the thesaurus. *Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti* and Presidential speech at Sikh Educational Conference at Amritsar are the tracts. According to Rashpal Kaur, *Gur Mahima Ratnawali (Kaav Sangrah)*, *Khat Ritu (Kaav Sangraha)*, *Itihas Bagariyan*, *Gurbani Akhan Muhavare*, *Safarnama Bai Dhar (Pahadi Riyasta 1906)*, *Safarnama Vilayat 1907-1908*, *Nibandh Sangrah*, personal diaries and *Kaav Sangrah* are some the unpublished works of Bhai Kahn Singh. It is also mentioned that he edited some of the important works. Some of the unpublished works of Bhai Kahn Singh were later on edited and published by some of the scholars of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. While reading the books of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha it becomes

clear that he had tried to talk about social, religious, kingship and administration and Identity from minor to major level in many of his works.

Pritam Singh has considered the *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh* and *Gurmat Martand* as the thesaurus. He further mentioned that *Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Sad Ka Parmarath*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Chandi Di Vaar* and *Ham Hindu Nahi* are the works related with Sikhism. *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, *Smasya Poorti* are the works of beginning times along with this Bhai Sahib's letters are mentioned. *Anekarth Kosh*, *Nammala Kosh* and *Roop Deep Pingal* are the works written for the students.

Jagmail Singh Bhathuan in his work *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha* has categorized Bhai Kahn Singh's works in three parts. *Raj Dharam*, *Tika Jaimani Asavmedh*, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* are the books written in the first phase from 1884 to 1897. He has mentioned that the writings related to the religion were more interesting. *Ham Hindu Nahi*, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Gur Gira Kasauti*, *Thagg Leela*, *Smasya Poorti*, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, *Tika Vishnu Puran* and *Shrab Nishedh* are the books of second phase that is from 1897 to 1904. Phase third is from 1924 to 1938 that comprises *Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Roop Deep Pingal*, *Anekarth Kosh*, *Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti*, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, Sikh Educational Conference Speech, *Chandi Di Vaar* (Commentary) and *Naam Mala Kosh*. *Gurmat Martand* two parts published in 1962 are mentioned. *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha De Aprakashit Safarname* was published in 1983 edited by Rashpal Kaur. *Guru Mahima Ratnawali* was edited by Pritam Singh and Krishan Lal and published by Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar in 1984. One of the primary sources, the book *Raj Dharam* was edited and published by Jagmail Singh Bhathuan in 2005. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan has mentioned some unpublished works of Bhai Kahn Singh those are personal Diaries from 1901 to 1938, *Gurbani Akhan te Muhavare*, *Itihas Bagariyan*, *Khat Ritu* and *Shri Guru Granth Sahib De Prayey*. There are many poems and articles of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha published in various newspapers and magazines of the contemporary time. Those are *Sooke Hare Kiye Khin Mahe* which means 'The Dying was given life in a slight moment'. It has to do with the grace of



God. In this article, Bhai Kahn Singh has talked about the importance of the divine religious personalities who act same as the spring season does on the completion of the autumn season by giving life to the dead vegetation. Similarly the saints give the religious way to the followers. Next article is *Itihas de Anlikhe Pattar* means ‘The Unwritten Chapters of the History’. This article was written about the history of Baba Ajapal, published on March 1927 in *Phulwari* magazine. *Ranjeet Nagara*, talks about the psychological connection of the humans with the music instruments. *Kaviyan Lai Jaroori Gallan* or Some important things for the poets was published in 1928 talks about the rules followed by the poets while creating their poetry. Other articles are *Milap*, *Kirtan*, *Taran Taaran Sahib*, *Sahib Gobind Singh Navo Ras Bheeno Hai*, *Itihas*, *Maha Kavi Sri Guru Gobind Singh*, *Kavi*, *Itihas Hola Mahalla*, *Waheguru Ji Ki Fateh*, *Sikh Kaum Da Bhavikhat*, *Sikh Dharam*, *Arogt De Niyam* and *Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji Da Bhog*. Some Lights on Sikh Tenets, Guru Gobind Singh’s Unique Personality and As Thou Art Thou Alone Art etc are the article in English.<sup>37</sup> He had edited several works of other writers and poets as *Amrit Sarovar*, *Jiwan Chariter Bibi Nanaki*, *Gurmukhi Da Naval*, *Panj Sood Mand arthat Vidvaan Shiromani Kakeem Lukmaan*, *Faridkoti Tika Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, *Ras Chamatkar Chandrika* are important edited works. Many comments, prefaces and reviews were written in the newspapers also. According to Bhathuan, *Baramahe*, *Mad Mas Khandan*, *Jiwan Sri Guru Gobind Singh*, *Ghar Di Yugat*, *Ukat Bilas*, *Jyotish ate Vaedgi De Granth*, *Angreji-Punjabi Dictionary*, *Asa Di Vaar Steek* and *Vaara Guru Nanak Sateek* are some of the writing considered as penned down by Bhai Kahn Singh which is not true.<sup>38</sup>

Jagmail Singh has given important information by providing the references of Bhai Kahn Singh’s personal Diaries written from 1901 to 1938. These diaries are unpublished. Jagmail Singh has mentioned the diaries start from 1<sup>st</sup> January 1910, where Bhai Sahib mentioned the distribution of sweets and gifts to the friends on the new-year occasion. On January 04 of the same year Bhai Sahib met with the chief secretary of Punjab. Jagmail Singh has given a detail of every day mentioned by Bhai

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<sup>37</sup> Ravinder Kaur Ravi, Jagmail Singh Bhathuan (ed.), *Bikhre Moti (Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Ji De Nibandh)*, 23.

<sup>38</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 44-157.

Kahn Singh in his diaries. It covers the ceremonies, meetings, important events like the peace treaty between Maharaja of Patiala and Nabha is mentioned in the diary of August 28, 1917. On July 13, 1920 a party for Bhai Kahn Singh, organized by the Sikhs of Dalhousie is mentioned. February 20, 1921 talks about the tragedy of Nankana Sahib, where Mahant Narayan Das killed many Sikhs. Bhai Sahib condemned this activity of Narayan Das by saying that the accident hurt him. He also prayed to God for peace of their souls. On January 13, 1923, Bhai Sahib met Maharaja of Patiala and requested for peace with Nabha but it was not accepted. On May 12, 1924 Bhai Sahib completed the compilation of *Guru Shabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*. Bhai Sahib has mentioned that on February 27, 1925 he had a meeting with Mr. Helly, Governor of Punjab and he discussed many issues related with Sikhs, with the Governor. Bhai Sahib has mentioned, according to Jagmail Singh that on August 2, 1938, Bhai Kahn Singh attended the celebration of Tulsidas organized by Hindi Pracharni Sabha, at Arya Smaj Hall. Bhai Sahib delivered a lecture on the life and poetry of Tulsidas ji. On August 6, 1938, he preached about life on teachings of Guru Nanak in a Brahma Samaj temple.

On August 13, 1938, Bhai Sahib got settled the issues between two Sikh parties of Singh Sabha Shimla. On 12 September, 1938, members of Shimla Singh Sabha visited Bhai Sahib for thanks giving and making some amendments in the rules of the Sabha. On September 19, 1938, Bhai Sahib distributed medals and other awards to the children and women who had given a music performance at Gurudwara of Chhota Shimla.<sup>39</sup>

Sarbajot Kaur has classified the works in same pattern as of Jagmail Singh Bhathuan and she has added work *Bikhre Moti- Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha De Niband* by Ravinder Kaur Ravi in her work *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Ik Prichey*. Ravinder Kaur Ravi in her work 'Bikhre Moti (Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha De Niband)' points out the idea of the direction and a clear aim given by Bhai Kahn Singh to the Sikh Politics in the last decade of late 19<sup>th</sup> century. She also stresses upon the idea of making the difference clear between the Sikhism and Sanatan Dharam.<sup>40</sup> This might have provided the guidance for the upcoming Sikh-struggle.

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<sup>39</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 113-118.

<sup>40</sup> Ravinder Kaur Ravi, Jagmail Singh Bhathuan (ed.), *Bikhre Moti (Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Ji De Nibandh)*, 10.

Above mentioned categories and phases of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's writings makes it clear how the time and circumstances fluctuated and carved out the ideas of Bhai Kahn Singh. Its impact is visible on the writings of Bhai Kahn Singh from first book to last book.

Present research work is divided into seven chapters including the introduction and conclusion. It intends to focus on and analyze the ideas on society, religion, kingship and governance and identity according to the views of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha in a historical perspective.

For the present research work, *Raj Dharam, Natak Bhavarth Deepika, Vishnu Puran, Vijay Swam Dharam, Jaimani Asavmedh, Shrab Nishedh, Shrab Par Vakhyan, Ham Hindu Nahi, Gurmat Prabhakar, Gurmat Sudhakar, Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti, Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh, Gurmat Martand* have been brought into use. Along with this some magazines where Bhai Kahn Singh's poems were published as *Phulwari* and *Punjabi Bhaen* are also taken into account. *The Tribune* and *Khalsa Advocate* news papers are also brought into use. Some secondary sources, research papers on Bhai Kahn Singh, unpublished research thesis, research Journals are considered for the research. Libraries of Punjab University, Chandigarh, Libraries of Department of History, Punjabi, English of Panjab University Chandigarh, Libraris of Punjabi University Patiala, Library of Guru Nanak Dev University Patiala, Language Department Patiala were visited. Along with this, interviews were also arranged with Dr. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, research scholar on Bhai Kahn Singh and Major A.P. Singh, great grandson of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. A meeting was also fixed with Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha society of Nabha, Punjab. Very valuable information received from them all. All books of Kahn Singh have not been taken into account, as some books are on rules for poetry and other are on grammar have not been considered for this study.



The Land of Five Rivers<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 2.

## Chapter-2

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Punjab in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries witnessed many significant historical events. The period on colonial rule in the region ushered in a transformation not only at the politico-administrative level, but in the economy and the social fabric. Bhai Khan Singh was born in this era and witnessed these changes first hand. Born in 1861, a dozen years after the annexation of the Punjab, Bhai Kahn Singh felt the growing impact of British rule and was influenced by the gradual changes the colonial world introduced into the region. What he received from his contemporary environment and what kind of impact it had upon him is the focus of the present chapter. The historical developments of the 1860s to 1930s would be the context of the time of Bhai Kahn Singh.

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Sukarchakiya Misl emerged as the leader of the Sikhs with his victory over Lahore in 1799. From 1799 to 1839 Sikh rule was established, strengthened and consolidated in the Punjab region by Ranjit Singh. His death in 1839 led to a chaos and administrative deterioration over the next ten years. The successors of Ranjit Singh, the nobility and the army contributed to this decline through factional conflict, military take over and a collapse of law and order. The Anglo Sikh wars in 1845-1849 saw a huge bloodshed and finally the Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849.<sup>1</sup> Under British rule the Punjab was a colonized and exploited state.

Colonial rule transformed the Punjab. This change introduced a new administrative structure in the region which was carved into five Divisions, subdivided into 25 districts and further into tehsils of several village settlements. The new arrangements separated executive, financial and judicial powers and the laws of British India were extended to the Punjab, as were the policies of the colonial authority. The Punjab province became one of the last entrants to British India. The old regime was replaced by a new ruling class, soldiers were disbanded and new regiments were raised to maintain control. The Punjab was included into a global economy of the British

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<sup>1</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1994, 92-94, 100, Gokul Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, New Book Society of India, New Delhi, 1960, 183-187.

colonial system. This was marked by exploitation, commercialization of agriculture leading to collapse of traditional handicrafts and impoverishment of peasantry. Colonial rule was characterized by increased land revenue, heavy taxation and imperial control. British rule also introduced new means of communication –roads, railways, post and telegraph – increasing subservience to the colonial government politically and economically. The new financial situation while working for the best interests the British colonial empire led to the rising poverty of the agrarian and lower classes.

Colonial rule had a deep impact on the social scenario as well. Western education created a new professional middle class and increased awareness about the new colonial environment. This new consciousness was supported by the expansion of the press and the emergence of socio-religious reform movements. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, communal attitudes were visible which further increased in intensity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## I

The chronology of the events of the modern times began with the annexation on March 29, 1849. In 1857-58 on all India uprising, the mutiny or First war of Independence took place. Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab rose in the revolt against the British. In the Punjab too resentment of British rule was seen. In the early 1860s Baba Ram Singh instituted the Namdharis with a political agenda of re-establishment of Sikh rule. There were some incidents of conflict of Namdharis with some butchers on the issue of cow-slaughter. Some butchers were killed. In the next year, 1863 Baba Ram Singh was told to not to leave his village. In year 1872, Kukaraid took place at Malaud and Malerkotla and after trial, 65 Namdharis (Kukas) were blown from guns. The Namdhari activity reflected the response of Punjab to colonial rule. In 1873 the Singh Sabha of Amritsar was founded. Punjab branch of the Brahmos, started their monthly magazine *Hari Hakikat*. In the same year Swami Dayanand visited the Punjab. After six years in 1879, Singh Sabha Lahore was founded. In 1880 Giani Gian Singh published his work *Panth Parkash*. 1882 saw the establishment of Punjab University at Lahore. For commemoration of Swami Dayanand's death, Aryas founded a college at Lahore. Within three decades the Punjab had a new environment.



Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> [www.google.com](http://www.google.com)

In the political field, separatism of Muslims began with message of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to remain aloof from Indian National Congress in 1887. In 1888, Arya 'fire-brands' of Lahore attack the Sikh Gurus in their speeches, Bhai Jawahar Singh and Bhai Ditt Singh left the Arya Samaj and joined the Singh Sabha. Sikh leaders of Lahore submitted to the Governor General that the Sikhs should be treated as a community separate from the Hindus.

In 1892 the first Khalsa College was founded at Amritsar and the Kanya Maha Vidyalaya was founded at Ferozepur. Giani Sant Singh's *Tawarikh-i-Guru Khalsa* was published. Arya Samaj divided into two groups in 1893 and in same year Khalsa Diwan Amritsar was founded. Punjab National Bank was opened at Lahore in 1895. Khalsa Diwan was founded at Lahore in 1896. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha published his book *Hum Hindu Nahi* in 1897. This book brought Bhai Kahn Singh's name into the limelight. In the political sphere this book, established a new distinct of platform for the Sikhs in a co-existence with the Hindus and Muslims. In 1900, some Rehtia Sikhs were shaved by the Arya Leaders of Lahore in a ceremony of purification (*shuddhi*). 1902 was the year of foundation of Chief Khalsa Diwan at Amritsar. Sant Badan Singh wrote a commentary on Adi Granth and it got published. The lines between communities were sharpening and society was becoming increasingly divisive on the basis of religion.

In 1907 the colonial government raised the water tax resulting in an agitation. In 1909 members of the Punjab Council was raised from nine to thirty and election was partially introduced. The first Hindu Conference was held in. The Sikhs further set boundaries with the Anand marriage act. In 1911, anyone claiming to be a Sikh was returned as such in the census. In 1913, when the outer wall of Gurudwara Rakanganj was demolished there was a hue and cry leading to an agitation of the Sikhs. In 1920, British government reconstructed the wall of Gurudwara at Rakabganj. The *Sikh Review* was launched as part of Sikh agitation. In 1914 the Ghadarites resorted to robberies for raising funds for a revolution. In 1915, the Ghadarites approached army units for armed revolt. In the same year Chief Khalsa Diwan published a comprehensive code of conduct as *Gurmat Parkash Bhag Sanskar*. In 1917 a meeting between the Governor of Punjab and Sikh deputation took place where demand for



separate electorates was raised. In 1918, representatives of the Sikh community impressed upon the government the need to implement the principal of weightage and reservations enunciated in the Montford Report. In March 1919, formation of Central Sikh league was announced at Lahore and inaugurated in December of the same year.

Sikh reformers took over the Golden Temple and the Akal Takhat. Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee and Shiromani Akali Dal were formed. In 1921 Darbar Sahib Tarn Taran was taken over by Akalis. A hundred of Akalis were massacred at Nankana Sahib before its Gurudwaras were taken over by the SGPC. Sunder Singh Ramgarhia was asked to hand over the keys of Golden Temple Complex to SGPC President, Baba Kharak Singh.

In 1922 keys were handed over to Baba Kharak Singh. Guru Ka Bagh Morcha began. Babbar Akali Jatha was formed and the Babbar Akali Doaba was launched. Gurudwara Guru Ka Bagh was handed over to SGPC. In 1923 Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha Princely State was forced to abdicate. In same year Akalis were arrested at Jaito and Akhand Path was interrupted. At same time Akali Dal, Babbar Akali Dal and SGPC were declared to be unlawful associations.

On February 21, 1924, a special Jatha of 500 Akalis reached Jaito. In an open fire 300 were injured and 100 were killed. In 1925 Sikh Gurudwara Bill was introduced in the Punjab Legislative Council and passed. This bill came into force on November 1, 1925. *Kirti* was launched in same year. In the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century thus saw increased concerns with the Sikh community about their identity and religious beliefs and practices. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century communal feelings were intensified.

In 1926 six Babbar Akalis were hanged to death. Bhagat Singh founded the Naujawan Bharat Sabha in 1926. In 1928 Akali and Central Sikh League leaders attended the All-Parties conference at Delhi. Mangal Singh Gill of Central Sikh league became the member of Moti Lal Nehru Committee. In same year the Kirti Kisan Party was founded at Amritsar. Protest against the Simon commission was made at Lahore. J.P. Saunders was murdered. In 1929, the Congress declared its goal of 'complete Independence'. In 1930 the Central Sikh league, Akali Dal and SGPC joined the Civil Disobedience movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. In 1931, Master Tara Singh

presented a memorandum to Mahatma Gandhi as representative of the Sikhs at the Round Table Conference. On 23 March 1931, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were executed. For opposing the communal awards Khalsa Darbar was formed. 1934 was the year when Kirti Kisan Party was declared unlawful. In 1937, the Congress and Shiromani Akali Dal contested the Sikh seats in elections. In 1938 all India Akali Conference was held at Rawalpindi.<sup>3</sup>



Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Nabha with his courtiers, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha standing first on left.<sup>4</sup>

These historical events clarify that an increasingly communal atmosphere was emerging where Hindu, Sikh and Muslims all were working in their own communities respectively. They were presenting themselves as the spokespersons for their whole

<sup>3</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 249-252.

<sup>4</sup> [www.google.co.in](http://www.google.co.in)

community. Many books were being published for example, Brahma Samaj's *Hari Hakikat*, Arya Samaj's *Satyarth Prakash* were the books talking about change. Though these works were against false rituals, idol-worship, pilgrim to sacred places, yet had mentioned something unacceptable for the other community. This is about the *Satyarth Prakash*, where, there was strong argument against the Christianity and Islam, and some dim views about the Sikhism. By 1909 to 1914, Arya consciousness was being transformed into Hindu consciousness.<sup>5</sup> Polemical debate was on the rise with conflict, competition and clash of major communities.

On the other hand British were remaining true to divide and rule policy towards all religious communities. Their policy of maintaining the balance between these communities encouraged this competition. Communal consciousness became the major element of all communities. Not only the Arya or Hindus, but Muslims, as well as the Sikhs started working actively for their own communities. Anjuman-i-Islamia and Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam among Muslims, Nirankari, Namdhari and Singh Sabha among the Sikhs, were the movements working for reforms.<sup>6</sup>

Search for identity, defining or redefining of self or a group, interaction with new social groups and social forces were accommodation to the British rule. Varied responses came out. New organizations were set up for reforms, which worked for change within religious boundaries. New ideas were developed. At this aggression, communal concerns earned strength. The Sikhs responded to the new colonial situation with the Nirankari, Namdhari and Singh Sabha movements. First two were transitional movements advocating a return to 'true' Sikhism. They believed that the Sikhs had forgotten the essence of their belief and practice, even become complicated and hence there was need of reform and defining of boundaries. The Nirankari movement was started by Baba Dyal, who believed in formless one God. All gods and goddesses were discarded. By considering the Guru Granth as the base of every aspect, all Brahmanical rites and ceremonies were rejected. For further guidance, a hukmnama was prepared, where Baba Dyal was referred as 'the true guru' and doctrine of Guru Granth was clearly defined.<sup>7</sup> Baba Dyal established a sacred place at Rawalpindi later known as Dayalsar. His successors, Darbara Singh, Sahib Ratta Ji, Baba Gurdit Singh brought

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<sup>5</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 132-133.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 133, 140, 144.

<sup>7</sup> John C.B. Webster, *The Nirankari Sikhs*, Macmillan, Delhi, 1979, 83-99, J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 140.

forward, the movement. They appointed biredars and a network of centers all over the Punjab. The Nirankaris considered Guru Nanak and Adi Granth important. Community service, meditation and an upright moral life were also stressed. They were anti-dowry, anti alcohol, against superstition and falsehood and advocated a disciplined life of vegetarianism and honesty. The Nirankaris setup new ceremonies for their followers in the cycle of life.

Another movement that talked about Singh identity was the Namdhari movement, started by Baba Balak Singh and carried forward by Baba Ram Singh. Both Sehajdhari and Keshdhari householders were addressed.<sup>8</sup> Baba Ram Singh, working on independent system of the movement, he started parallel system of posts, he appointed his own administrators, known as Subas. He showed resentment against British over killing the cows for beef by some elements. His followers known as Kukas, attacked some butchers and killed many of them resulted into death sentences. In Malerkotla, same incident took place, where Kukas killed the butchers. With the order of the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, forty-nine Kukas were blown off from the guns. Baba Ram Singh was deported to Rangoon.<sup>9</sup> The Nirankaris thus had a political programme and clashed with the British government. Like the Nirankaris they rejected idol worship, ritual performed by Brahmans and supported an honest life without alcohol or meat. They too were against the dowry and child marriage. Namdharis established a network of branches and a new center for followers at Bhaini. The purified Sikhism of Namdharis was in context of Guru Gobind Singh's teachings. Both the Namdharis and Nirankaris drew support from several sections of society and established distinct sub sects within Sikhism.

A third response of the Sikhs in the Punjab was in form of the Singh Sabhas, a pro-British group seeking to protect the Sikhs from the influence of Christianity, Hinduism and the Brahma Samaj. The British scholars, administrators too were showing interest in the Sikh scriptures, for instance, Trump. In 1873 a group of prominent Sikhs – Khem Singh Bedi, Thakur Singh Sandhawalia, Kanwar Bikram Singh of Kapurthala and Giani Gian Singh formed the Singh Sabha at Amritsar with

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<sup>8</sup> Bahagt Lakshman Das, *Autobiography*, (ed.) Ganda Singh, Calcutta, 1965, 107-109, J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 141.

<sup>9</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 143.

the objective of restoring the 'purity' of Sikhism and revering the Guru's teaching. They intended to achieve this through educational institutions and publications. With British patronage, they soon became the recognized leaders of the Sikh community. In 1879, Gurmukh Singh and Bhai Ditt Singh founded the Lahore Singh Sabha with a more radical outlook than Amritsar group and causing some internal conflict and differences. In 1883, a central organization – Khalsa Diwan was set up to coordinate the works of all branches and resolve the differences. In 1904, a Chief Khaksa Diwan was established to unite all the branches of Singh Sabha.

The Singh Sabha set up schools, published religious and social texts, orphanage homes were opened and promoted the Gurmukhi. The attempt at extending the Sikh community in numbers brought them into clash with Aryas who believed the Sikhs could be reconverted to Hinduism through Shuddhi. The Sikhs believed themselves to be distinct from the Hindus, thus initially a prolonged debate on the issue and defining a 'true' Sikh.

The socio-religious reform movements highlighted religious awareness in the Punjab, extended polemical debate, preaching and communal consciousness through long large script and religion. This aggressive competition and conflict contributed to the complex dynamics of the region. Singh Sabha movement, as it came into existence after the Nirankari and Namdhari movements, had its roots from the earlier movements. Khatri, Arora and Bhatia traders, bankers and shopkeepers of Sindh Sagar Doab area, who were part of Nirankari movements, some of them had started showing their interest into Singh Sabha and they became its members later on. Example of Bhai Manna Singh, is provided, who earlier was on important position among the Nirankaris, later on served in kirtan and katha of Singh Sabha at Gujar Khan.<sup>10</sup>

Singh Sabha Amritsar, 1873 and Singh Sabha Lahore in 1879 were founded followed by the establishment of Khalsa Diwan Amritsar and Khalsa Diwan at Lahore in 1896, respectively. In 1902, Chief Khalsa Diwan Amritsar was founded. From 1890 to 1910, around dozen of the Sikh associations came into being, which dealt with publication, preaching and propagation of Sikhism. These association were represented by various field's intellectuals. People from ruling families were Princes of Nabha,

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<sup>10</sup> Bahagt Lakshman Das, *Autobiography*, 107-109; J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 141.

Faridkot and Kapurthala. Sunder Singh Majithia and Harbans Singh Atariwala represented the aristocracy. New middle class was represented by teachers like Gurmukh Singh and Bhai Jodh Singh. Bureaucrats were Bhai Jawahar Singh and BabuTeja Singh. Trilochan Singh came from business class. Names of Giani Gian Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh are mentioned among the scholars, who represented the education intellectual scholar class. Bhai Vir Singh and Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid are considered among the writers and Bhai Ditt Singh Giani as publicist.<sup>11</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha is mentioned to be part of the scholars has proven his significant role. The Singh Sabhas felt threatened by the Christian Missionaries and Islam but they had more threat from Arya Samaj. In 1888, Arya fire-brands attacked the Sikh Gurus in their speeches and literature.<sup>12</sup> Khushwant Singh, by quoting Ganda Singh's book, *A History of Khalsa College*, has also mentioned the insulting language used by Aryas of Punjab for Sikh Gurus in their *Arya Samachar*, quoted by a research scholar in her unpublished thesis as

ਨਾਨਕ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਫਕੀਰ ਨੇ ਨਯਾ ਚਲਾਇਆ ਪੰਥ, ਇਧਰ ਉਧਰ ਜੋੜ ਕੇ ਲਿਖ ਮਾਰਾ ਇਕ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ।

ਪਹਿਲੇ ਚੇਲੇ ਕਰ ਲਿਏ, ਪਿਛੇ ਬਦਲਾ ਭੇਸ, ਸਿਰ ਪੁਰ ਸਾਫਾ ਬੰਧਕੇ, ਰਖ ਲੀਨੇ ਸਭ ਕੇਸ।<sup>13</sup>

Nanak Shah fakeer ne naya chalaya panth, idhar udhar jod ke likh mara ik granth.

Pehle chele kar liye, pichhe badla bhes, sir pur safa bandh ke, rakh liney sabh kes.

It means Guru Nanak is presented as a false Guru, who is king of fakirs began a new community. He collected an assortment of writings and put them in a volume. He tied a piece of cloth on head for covering the long hairs and with his disciples started preaching.

Issue of Sikh identity was crystallized due to the Sikh-Arya conflict. In 1888, Sikhs shared their view of being considered as the separate community. In 1898, death of Dyal Singh Majithia, and court's decision of presenting him as the Hindu, gave a

<sup>11</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 145.

<sup>12</sup> Bhagat Lakshman Singh, *Autobiography*, 58, J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 145-146.

<sup>13</sup> Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs vol.ii*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1839-1964, 1977, 139-140; Rashpal Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Jiwante Rachna-Ik Adhiyan*, unpublished M.Litt. research thesis, Sri Guru Granth Sahib Studies Department, Punjabi University Patiala, 1979, 9.

new look to identity struggle, his wife was fighting the case to prove him as not the Hindu but the Sikh. In this context, it is said that Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha wrote his most famous book *Ham Hindu Nahi*. Singh reformers had to fight internally and externally. Some Sikhs, who had believe of Sanatanism, stood against the reformers. Sant Badan Singh wrote a conservative interpreted commentary on Adi Granth. This commentary was considered as Hinduized commentary and did not accept it. They supported Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's *Gurmat Prabhakar* and *Gurmat Sudhakar* both published in late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup>

In this context, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's works which emerged from this religiously changed environment are considered as historically important. His writings itself illustrate his contemporary situations. His views become clear form his writings when compared with contemporary events. There seems a change in his writings with the passage of time. The historical context of the region is the same time of the context of Bhai Kahn Singh's life and work.

## II

While looking at the events taking place in Bhai Kahn Singh's life, he was appointed as a courtier of Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha, in 1884. In 1885, he had a chance meeting with Max Arthur Macauliffe, which led to a lifelong friendship. He wrote *Raj Dharam*, in 1884, depicting the kingship and administration. He wrote *Tika Jaimani Asavmedh* in 1890. Maharaja Hira Singh awarded Bhai Kahn Singh the post of private secretary in 1893. He was appointed as City Magistrate and Nehar Nazim and Deputy Commissioner. He was also appointed as the Deputy Commissioner of district Phool. He was, then appointed a Political agent of Nabha Princely State and sent to Phool in Punjab. He was appointed as advocate from Nabha State for Lieutenant Governor of Punjab. Maharaja Hira Singh appointed Bhai Kahn Singh Foreign Minister of Nabha State when Bhai Sahib applied for retirement.

Bhai Kahn Singh's *Natak Bhavarath Deepika* was published in 1897.<sup>15</sup> During teaching of Tika Ripudaman Singh, son of Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha, Bhai Sahib

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<sup>14</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 146-147.

<sup>15</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 49.

used to explain him the *Hanuman Natak* (A play, written by poet, Hanuman). Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha published his book *Hum Hindu Nahi* in 1897. This book brought Bhai Kahn Singh's name into the limelight.

In 1898, *Gurmat Prabhakar* and in 1899, *Gurmat Sudhakar* were published. *Samasya Poorti*, another book is also considered to be published in 1899 and was most appreciated by Maharaja Ripudaman Singh. *Samasya Poorti* is a concept where poetry lines are completed from given situations of a single line (A line set as a topic or as prosodic model for writing a complete poem). In 1901, Bhai Kahn Singh wrote *Sad Ka Parmarath*. *Vijay Swam Dharam* was published in the same year. In 1903, a Tika of *Vishnu Puran* was published.<sup>16</sup>

Next book is *Pahaar Yatra* (Journey to Hills) a travelogue. This was written in 1906. This book explains the experiences of Bhai Kahn Singh in the hill areas of Himachal Pradesh but this book is also unpublished. *Shrab Nishedh*, another book, was written in 1907 for social reform. Alcohol consumption is considered as injurious to health and its drawbacks are explained in this book. This book had a deep impact on the public. A travelogue of Europe written in 1907-08 and 1910 is also unpublished.<sup>17</sup>

In 1912, on being the new ruler of Nabha, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh, appointed Bhai Kahn Judge of High Court of Princely State. Bhai Sahib was also getting old, and he did not have any interest in being appointed as judge. After some time Bhai Kahn Singh left the job and went to Kashmir for his literary works.

He was offered a post of Political Agent by Maharaja Bhupender Singh of Patiala Princely State. Due to many references, Bhai Sahib accepted the post. In 1917, a conflict occurred between Nabha and Patiala Princely States after a short time span of peace.

According to the information received from his personal diaries, on February 20, 1921, he received the news of Nankana Sahib, incident where Sikh agitators were attacked and killed by priest Narain Das. Bhai Sahib felt very upset and on March 05, 1921, he contributed 25 rupees in the Bhog ceremony of the Nankana Sahib victims.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 55-71.

<sup>17</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 51-52.

<sup>18</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 116.



In 1924, Darbar of Nabha, published *Gurchhand Diwakar* which is about the Chhand Shaster (a book that deals with modes of poetry) of Bhai Kahn Singh. *Gurshabad Alankar*, deals with literary embellishment used for the poetry. Bhai Sahib has in detail, explained the rules related to the poetry writing. This book was written for the students of Sikh literature. Publication year of the book is said to be the 1924.

*Anekarth Kosh*, was edited and published in 1925 by Sudharshan Press, Amritsar. This Shabad Kosh is in poetry form, easy to remember. It very simply, illustrates the synonymous of the words.<sup>19</sup> *Roopdeep Pingal*, was published by Bhai Gurdial Singh Pustaka Wale Lohari Darwaja, Lahore for the first time and Ambala Shehar, for the second time. First publication year, according to Ashok, is 1925. This book also falls under the category of rules for poets. In same year Bhai Kahn Singh met Governor of Punjab and discussed many issues of Sikh community.<sup>20</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh wrote encyclopedia named *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh* is important work in field of Sikh literature. From 1912 to 1927, he took 15 years to complete his magnum opus. Darbar Patiala published it first time in 1930 and later on it was published in 1955 by Survey of India Press, Dehra Dun.<sup>21</sup> In 1930, book *Cheepa Shabad Di Utpatti* was published.

Presidential address of Sikh Educational Conference, Amritsar in 1931, was delivered by Bhai Sahib, as President of the session and talked about the initiatives for the education of the Sikh students. This address was published by Sikh Educational Committee, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar in 1931.

A commentary on *Chandi Di Vaar* (A poetic work about the Hindu Goddess Chandi) is also falls under the works written by Bhai Kahn Singh. This work was originally written by Guru Gobind Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh explained it and gave his comments in the year 1935. This book was published by Manager, Satyug Sri Bhaeni Sahib, Ludhiana in the same year.

*Nammala Kosh*, is based on a Sanskrit Kosh, Amar. It contains the more than one name of a particular thing. Bhai Kahn Singh edited it and was published under Dhani Ram Chatrik, by Sudharshan Press, Amritsar, in 1938.

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<sup>19</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 80-81.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 116.

<sup>21</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 81-82.

*Gurmat Martand*, is the work of the last days of Bhai Kahn Singh that is November, 1938. This book is combination of three books, *Gur Gira Kasauti*, *Gurmat Prabhakar* and *Gurmat Sudhakar*. This book was published by Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar in 1962.<sup>22</sup>

On August 02, 1938, Bhai Kahn Singh participated in a celebration at Arya Samaj hall, for commemoration the day of Tulsidas ji. He also delivered a speech on the life and poetry of Tulsidas. On August 06, 1938, Bhai Sahib explained the life and teachings of Guru Nanak at Brahma Samaj temple. In same year, Bhai Kahn Singh played an important role for patch up of two groups of Sikhs of Singh Sabha Shimla.<sup>23</sup> His writings and activities were thus clearly linked to the environment of the Punjab and the events of the time.

### III

While placing together the historical events and the life of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, his contribution in various fields and changes in his ideas become clear. The time when Bhai Kahn Singh was born was that of the Namdhari movement. In 1871 and 1873 when, Kukas were blown off by guns and Singh Sabha Amritsar was formed, Bhai Kahn Singh's age was of 12 years. In 1879, when Singh Sabha Lahore was founded he was of 18 years and had been receiving an extensive education. 1880 is the year when Giani Gian Singh is publishing his work *Panth Parkash* illustrating Sikhism. It means Sikhism was being discussed in literature in these years. In 1882 Punjab University Lahore and Arya College were founded at that time Bhai Kahn Singh was about to complete his education. In 1884 Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha joined the court of Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha and same year he wrote his book *Raj Dharam*. This is the time period of beginning of his career as a courtier and writer. In 1892 when Khalsa College of Amritsar was established, Bhai Kahn Singh took an active part in the process.<sup>24</sup> 1884 to 1896 is the first phase of Bhai Kahn Singh's writings when he was writing as courtier and his independent ideology was under development. During this period he was writing the books under the influence of Maharaja Hira Singh, it is also

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<sup>22</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 96-101.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 117.

<sup>24</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 35.

considered that in this phase the books written, carry the sanatan influence. It can be due to the atmosphere of Nabha Court, because a king has to maintain the balance among his subjects of different beliefs. In reality, he was writing the commentaries known as Tikas. But 1888 onwards a sudden change took place which changed his thought process. It was time of activities by Aryas of Punjab and Bhai Kahn Singh was under the influence of Singh Sabha Lahore and had met the prominent leaders of the Sabha. Movement always has its impact on the thought process of a writer. Bhai Kahn Singh crystallized his ideas on Sikh identity with his work *Ham Hindu Nahi* in 1897. On ritual basis, god, goddesses, beliefs and ways of worships even on basis of the philosophy, Sikhs were presented as separate from the Hindus. Because in a socio-religious reform atmosphere Aryas were insulting the Sikh Gurus and in literature Sikhism was presented very dim and sometimes considered as part of Hindus was being accepted by some Sanatan Sikhs also. In such a situation Sant Badan Singh's commentary on the Adi Granth, as mentioned earlier, was not accepted by Singh reformers and in 1898, 1899 *Gurmat Prabhakar* and *Gurmat Sudhakar* of Bhai Kahn Singh were published which is another illustration of Bhai Kahn Singh's developing concerns with Sikhism.

In 1907 when the water tax was raised and members of the Punjab Council were increased, Bhai Kahn Singh's *Shrab Nishedh* was published where he appeals the public to not to consume liquor. In 1913, when outer wall of Gurudwara Rakabganj was demolished, Bhai Kahn Singh was working under Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha as Judge of court of Nabha. He advised Maharaja to advocate the wall demolish case.<sup>25</sup> This wall was reconstructed in 1920. 1914-1915 was the time frame of Ghadarites activities, in this time, Bhai Kahn Singh working under Maharaja Ripudaman Singh left the job and went to Kashmir for his literary works. In 1917, when Sikh deputation demanded a separate electorate from Governor of Punjab, Bhai Kahn Singh was working under Maharaja Patiala, and in same year a conflict occurred between Patiala and Nabha States.

In 1919, Central Sikh League was founded and Jallianwala Bagh massacre took place. Bhai Kahn Singh was focusing on his works in this time period. He felt very

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<sup>25</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 43.

upset and recorded it in his personal diary referred by Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, on the Nankana Sahib tragedy where Akalis Jathas were agitating against Mahant Narain Das of Gurudwara. During Gurudwara reform movements, 1921 to 1924, Bhai Kahn Singh focused on his literary works and remained aloof. In 1923, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha abdicated. Bhai Kahn Singh could not do much so he focused on his works and this was the third phase of his writings when he started focusing on works related to Punjabi. Especially the works related to grammar were published by Bhai Sahib. In same year Akalis were arrested and Akhand Path was interrupted at Jaito. Akali Dal, Babbar Akali Dal and SGPC were declared as to be unlawful. On February 21, 1924 a special Jatha of 500 of Akalis reached Jaito to observe the third anniversary of Nankana Sahib Massacre. But in an open fire by British administration of Nabha<sup>26</sup> three hundred volunteers were wounded and eventually a hundred died.<sup>27</sup> In this year, Bhai Kahn Singh's books *Gurchhand Diwakar* and *Gurshabad Alankar* were published. These books are also related to rules for poetry and use of literary embellishments in the poems. His books *Anekarthkosh* and *Roopdeep pingal* got published in 1925. Bhai Kahn Singh also met Governor of Punjab regarding the issues of Sikh community. In same year Gurudwara bill was introduced and passed in Punjab Legislative Council. In 1926, Babbar Akalis were hanged to death and Bhagat Singh founded his Naujwan Bharat Sabha. In 1928, Akalis and Central Sikh League leaders attended all party conference at Delhi. Kirti Kisan Party Amritsar was founded and arrival of Simon commission was opposed at Lahore. J.P Saundres was killed. From 1912 to 1927, Bhai Kahn Singh devoted his fifteen years for completing his work *Mahankosh*. It was published by Royal Darbar Patiala in 1930. In same year Akali Dal and SGPC joined the Civil Disobedience movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. In 1931, Presidential address was delivered by Bhai Kahn Singh in Sikh Educational Conference and it was published in same year. Master Tara Singh presented a memorandum to Mahatma Gandhi as representative of the Sikhs at the Round Table Conference. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were executed on March 23, 1931. For opposing the communal awards, Khalsa Darbar was formed. 1934 was the year when Kirti Kisan Party was

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<sup>26</sup> Jaito was under the Princely State of Nabha, which was now under the British after removal of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh.

<sup>27</sup> J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, 161-162.

declared unlawful. A commentary on *Chandi Di Vaar* (A poetic work about the Hindu Goddess Chandi) is also falls under the works edited by Bhai Kahn Singh, originally written by Guru Gobind Singh was published in 1935. This book was published by Manager, Satyug Sri Bhaeni Sahib, Ludhiana. In 1937, the Congress and Shiromani Akali Dal contested the Sikh seats in elections. In 1938, all India Akali Conference was held at Rawalpindi.

*Nammala Kosh*, is based on a Sanskrit Kosh, Amar. It contains the more than one name of a particular thing. Bhai Kahn Singh edited it and was published under Dhani Ram Chatrik, by Sudharshan Press, Amritsar, in 1938. *Gurmat Martand* is the work of the last days of Bhai Kahn Singh that is November, 1938. This book is combination of three books, *Gur Gira Kasoti*, *Gurmat Prabhakar* and *Gurmat Sudhakar*. This book was published by Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar in 1962.

After comparing the historical events of Punjab and Bhai Kahn Singh's activities from 1860s to 1930s, it may be suggested that Bhai Kahn Singh on being representative of Sikh community contributed in field of literature tremendously. His birth year witnessed many changes in Punjab. It can also be said that he was born in a very dramatic and historically transforming Punjab. Reform movements were launched and many reform institutions were being established. He was around 18 year old when most important Sikh religious movements were launched. Singh Sabha, that might have influenced Bhai Kahn Singh and later on he joined the movement. It is also observed that an intellectual scholar can never be unaffected from any movement. In Punjab, Bhai Kahn Singh, with having a transformed atmosphere of Punjab, could not avoid the influence of Singh Sabha and other non-Sikh socio-religious reform movements. His writings illustrate a change in his thoughts. Some scholars on Bhai Kahn Singh have divided his works in three phases. In first phase when he was under Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha, second phase of writings when he was under the influence of reform movements and third phase when was writing on Punjabi, poetry and grammar. It seems that he was either focusing on his literary works or silent on some issues and events happening in Punjab. He reacted on Nankana incident but on Jallianwala Bagh massacre, he remained silent. When Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was removed from his

throne, Bhai Kahn Singh seems helpless therefore he had no option except completing his works. On execution of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, he is silent. In 1932, he was honored with 'Sardar Bahadur' title by British for his contribution in various fields of service of Sikhism. His writings gave a new shape to the struggle for identity. He is really considered as an intellectual great scholar. His works cover social, religious, administration and identity related aspects.

## Chapter-3

### SOCIAL CONCERNS OF BHAJ KAHN SINGH NABHA

Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha in his scholarly contribution has recorded and commented upon various socio-religious and administrative changes. His works may be seen as a reflection of the society of that time and the thinking of the period. The present chapter attempts to look at the social concerns of Bhai Kahn Singh of the late 19<sup>th</sup> early 20<sup>th</sup> century. He had a message for society in general and for Sikhs in particular. He advocates social reform as the need of the hour. Many issues related to the society such as caste and Varna based discrimination, issues related with marriage, education, drug abuse, rituals and superstition can be identified as the social concerns of Bhai Kahn Singh. He underlines the significance of hard work. He is of the opinion that the practice and try for work should be continued. Even after the failure, person should never give up. He also gives advice to the people to take care of their parents. Gender based discrimination in the society was not new. It had been prevailing many years earlier. It is also the part of the issues of society taken up by Bhai Kahn Singh. General issues of the society are discussed in section one. Issues related to the birth, marriage, equality and education of the women have been taken up in section two. Both the sections are analyzed in the next section number three. It also includes some general advices for the society by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha.

Among his several works, *Gurmat Sudhakar* carries the selected meaningful points from Gurbani. Socio-religious and political issues of that time have been clarified in this work. Sikhism is presented as the ‘reformer’ of the existing social set up. *Gurmat Prabhakar* is also taken up for this chapter. *Shrab Nishedh* or ‘alcohol prohibited’ is another work talks about the issue of liquor consumption as a problem for society. This book, according to Shamsheer Singh Ashok and Sukhjit Kaur, was published in 1907. Eastern and western religious as well as medical views have been taken up by Bhai Kahn Singh. The book was published during the socio religious reform movements. Ultimate purpose of the reformation was to save the Sikhs from cultural and religious destruction. In this atmosphere the book was written.<sup>1</sup> Particularly this book was written for the Sikh community but generally it is a very

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<sup>1</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, National Printing Press, Jauriyan Bhatthiyan, Patiala, 1966, 52; Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 17-18.

useful work for all. Problems occurring after the use of the liquor are described and references from *Gurbani*, *Dasam Granth*, *Bhai Gurdas's works*, *Guru Bilas Patshahi 10<sup>th</sup>*, *Prem Sumarag*, *Rahit Nama Bhai Desa Singh*, Government reports, *Manu Samriti*, sayings of *Hazrat Suleman*, *Hazrat Esa*, *Hazrat Mohammad*, *Hadis*, Doctors from Europe and *Hakims* from Greece, English newspapers and magazines have been provided.<sup>2</sup> *Gurmat Martand* and 'Subhag Te Nirbhag Nooh Sass (ਸੁਭਾਗ ਤੇ ਨਿਰਭਾਗ ਨੂੰਚ ਮੌਜ/ Fortunate and Unfortunate Daughter-in-law and Mother-in-law)' *Punjabi Bhaen* magazine, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* and *Cheepa Shabad Di Utpatti*, *Shrab Par Vakhyan* are some of the other primary sources that have been studied for the present chapter.

The major socio-religious change taking place in the British Punjab was conversion into Christianity. Due to this change, many socio-religious reform movements were introduced. Singh Sabha was one of those movements introduced for handling the new changes of the society, specially the changes and existence of new beliefs. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha had worked in collaboration with the Singh Sabha. Many polemical and controversial type of literature in several languages was being produced with the establishment of the printing press in Punjab. In 1872, Sikh students were believed to be converted into Christianity in the missionary schools. Singh Sabha was the outcome of such incidents. In the words of K.W. Jones, competent missionaries, hostile tracts and conversion methods were only three of the components of religious innovation in South Asia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Religious conversions were taking place indirectly. New organizations came into seen for achieving the goal of sustaining the religious activities. These new organizations were made up of the traditions of the subcontinent with a modification of the British culture. Religious societies were constructed by the South Asians which were fully equipped with officials who were elected and they had their meetings, publications of

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<sup>2</sup> Devinder Singh, Vidyarthi, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Jiwan Te Rachna*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987, 86.

The book *Shrab Nishedh*, which is being used in this paper found from the Ganda Singh reference library, Punjabi University, Patiala. First page of the book is missing. There are signatures of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha along with month and year that is April, 1907. Publication of the book as supported by Devinder Singh Vidyarthi is Vajir Hind Press, Amritsar.



annual reports which was a significant feature, bank accounts and highly developed systems of fund raising, annual meetings and rules regulations. Religious beliefs were being explained, defined and elaborated. During the British Colonial rule, region was being swept by the socio-religious reform movements which initiated the age of definitions and redefinitions. These movements were of two types, transitional and acculturative. Transitional were the traditional movements with its local leaders who were neither influenced nor were the part of Colonial milieu. They did not adjust their concepts and programmes to the Colonial world. Acculturative movements were originated within the colonial milieu. Its leaders were products of cultural interaction. English educated South Asians, who formed leadership of the movements, gave impetus to these acculturative movements. In case of Punjab, among the Sikhs, The Nirankaris and The Namdharis were the transitional movements. Singh Sabhas was the acculturative movement among the Sikhs. Along with this Punjab was also witnessing some other movements such as Brahma Samaj, the Arya Samaj and Dev Samaj.<sup>3</sup> The late 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of social reform and advocacy of change. Bhai Kahn Singh participates in the activity through his writings and ideas.

## I

Bhai Khan Singh is of the opinion that friendship should last long. One should tolerate the actions of others if it happens sometimes.<sup>4</sup> Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the people should follow the concept of common brotherhood.<sup>5</sup> Culture and language are the only differences. Any kind of discrimination should not be based on such differences. Improvement and growth of each other should be the focusing point. This, according to him, is what the Sikh Gurus taught.<sup>6</sup> Change of the occupation changes the

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reform Movements In British India*, Foundation Books, New Delhi, 1994, 85-110.

<sup>4</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, Mufid Aam Press, Lahore, 1888, 74-75.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, Shri Gurmat Press, Amritsar, 1922, 23.

ਕੇਉ ਭਯੇ ਮੁੰਡੀਆ ਸੰਨਯਾਸੀ ਕੇਉ ਯੋਗੀ ਭਯੇ, ਭਯੇ ਬ੍ਰਹਮਚਾਰੀ ਕੇਉ ਯਤੀ ਅਨੁਮਾਨਬੋ।

ਹਿੰਦੂ ਤੁਰਕ ਕੇਉ ਰਾਫਜੀ ਇਮਾਮਸ਼ਾਫੀ, ਮਾਨੁਸ ਕੀ ਜਾਤਿ ਸਭੈ ਏਕੈ ਪਹਿਚਾਨਬੋ।

Kou Bhayo Mundiya Sanyasi Kou Yogi Bhayo, Bhayo Brahmchari kou Yati Anumanbo.  
Hindu Turk Kou Rafzi Imam Shafi, Manas Ki Yat Sabhey Ekey Pehchanbo.

caste because all castes are derived from the Karma. Division of caste is based on occupation.<sup>7</sup> Any lower caste person can join the upper level occupation and same is in case of a person from the high caste. A farmer, who works in his farm, also knows the use of weapons, and also keeps the weapons with himself should be called *Kshatriya*. Here caste is defined by the occupation not by birth.<sup>8</sup> Hate and jealous are killing each other. People are burning like the dry grass burns in the forest after a fire which burns with a friction of bamboos.<sup>9</sup> Malechha or Neech is one who acts as devil and also does the bad deeds. It means person who is born in high caste, still does the bad deeds is lowest person. An educated person, who is a good thinker, and idealistic and doer of noble acts and intelligent is considered a praise able person.<sup>10</sup> The idea of common brotherhood instead of caste or Varna is propagated by Guru Nanak, says Bhai Kahn Singh. Rituals, illusions, jealousy and discriminations were always denied. He appealed to give up the feelings of hatred. Sikhism, according to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, was a

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It means various people are joining different religions and sects. Some call themselves Hindu, others Muslims, but all are same and belong to one caste that is humanity.

ਦੇਹੁਰਾ ਮਸੀਤ ਸੋਈ, ਪੂਜਾ ਅੰ ਨਮਾਜ਼ ਓਈ, ਮਾਨਸੁ ਸਭੇਕ, ਪੈ ਅਨੇਕ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਹੈ।

ਦੇਵਤਾ ਅਦੇਵ ਜੱਛ ਗੰਧੂਬ ਤੁਰਕ ਹਿੰਦੂ, ਨਯਾਰੇ ਨਯਾਰੇ ਦੇਸਨ ਕੇ ਭੇਸ ਕੇ ਸੁ ਭਾਵ ਹੈ।

ਏਕੈ ਨੈਨ, ਏਕੈ ਕਾਨ, ਏਕੈ ਦੇਹ, ਏਕੈ ਬਾਨ, ਖਾਕ ਬਾਦ ਆਤਸ਼ ਅੰ ਆਬ ਕੇ ਰਲਾਵ ਹੈ।

ਅੱਲਹ ਅਭੇਖ ਸੋਈ, ਪੁਰਾਨ ਅੰ ਕੁਰਾਨ ਓਈ, ਏਕ ਹੀ ਸਰੂਪ ਸਭੈ ਏਕ ਹੀ ਬਨਾਵ ਹੈ। (ਅਕਾਲ ਉਸਤਤਿ)

Dehura Maseet Soi, Pooja Au Namaz Oyi, Manas Sabhek, Pae Anek Parbhav Hai.

Devta Adev Jachh Gandhrab Turk Hindu, Niyare Niyare Desan Ke Bhes ko So Bhav Hai.

Ekey Nain, Ekey Kaan, Ekey Deh, Ekey Baan, Khaak Baad, Atash Au Aab Ko Ralav Hai.

Allah Abhekh Soi, Puran Au Quran Oyi, Ek Hi Saroop Sabhey Ek Hi Bnaav Hai.

<sup>7</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 39.

ਸਾਧ ਕਰਮ ਜੇ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਮਾਵੈ, ਨਾਮ ਦੇਵਤਾ ਜਗਤ ਕਹਾਵੈ।

ਕੁਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਰਮ ਜੇ ਜਗ ਮੈ ਕਰਹੀ, ਨਾਮ ਅਸੁਰ ਤਿਨ ਕੇ ਜਗ ਧਰਹੀ। (ਬਚਿਤ੍ਰ ਨਾਟਕ)

Sadh Karam Jo Purkh Kmavey, Naam Devta Jagat Kahavey.

Kukrit Karam Je Jag Mae Karhi, Naam Asur Tin Ko Jagg Dharhin.

<sup>8</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, Shri Gurmat Press, Amritsar, 1922, 389.

<sup>9</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 47.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 64, 336.

There is mentioned an example of a person who was Brahman, but tried to give poison to sixth Sikh Guru Hargobind.

ਦੁਸਟ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ ਮੁਆ ਹੋਇਕੈ ਸੂਲ, ਮਲੇਛ ਪਾਪੀ ਪਚ ਭਇਆ ਨਿਰਾ

Dust Brahman Mua Hoyeke Sool, Malechh Papi Pach Bhaya Niras.

It means that a person born in Brahman family was considered as high Varna, did an act of lower person by poisoning the Sixth Sikh Guru. Due to this a Brahman became a Neech or Malechha.

change and a new option for reformation.<sup>11</sup> Gurbani never considers anyone as lower or Neech. These terms are used for the devils and not used for any particular group of people based on caste system.<sup>12</sup> Works of Bhai Gurdas, an interpreter of Guru Granth Sahib, have been brought in use by Bhai Kahn Singh for explaining the society before the Sikhism and his contemporary times. People were busy in proving themselves and their sects above all. No one was ready to educate others. False discussions without proofs were taking place and for proving oneself right, they used to go up to any extent.<sup>13</sup> When the question is raised who is above all and better than others Hindu, Muslim or in present days all the religions and sects are compared together, then the final answer for all discussions is the 'good deeds'. Good and noble deeds are above all. There is not any battle of big, small, powerful or weak of any religion.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 199.

ਚਾਰ ਦੇਵੈ ਖਸਮ ਏਕੇ ਜਾਣ, ਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਸਬਦ ਹੁਕਮ ਪਛਾਣ,  
ਸਗਲ ਰੂਪ ਵਰਨ ਮਨ ਮਾਹੀ, ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਏਕੇ ਸਾਲਾਹੀ।

Rah Dove Khasam Eko Jaan, Gur Kae Shabad Hukam Pachhan.  
Sagal Roop Varan Man Mahi, Kauh Nanak Eko Salahi.

ਜੇ ਇਕ ਦੂਜੇ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਫਰ ਆਖਕੇ ਨਫਰਤ ਕਰੇਗਾ, ਓਹ ਸੱਚੀ ਦਰਗਾਹ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਜਾ ਪਾਊ।

Jo ik duje nu kafir aakh ke nafrat karega, oh sachchi dargah vich saja paau.

<sup>12</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 129.

ਅਬ ਰੱਛਾ ਮੇਰੀ ਤੁਮ ਕਰੇ, ਸਿੱਖ ਉਬਾਰ ਅਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਘਰੇ।

ਦੁਸ਼ਟ ਜਿਤੇ ਉਠਵਤ ਉਤਪਾਤਾ, ਸਕਲ ਮਲੇਛ ਕਰੇ ਰਣ ਘਾਤਾ।

Ab Rachha Meri Tum Karo, Sikh Ubhar Asikh Sangharo,  
Dusat Jite Uthhvat Utpata, Sakal Malechh Karo Ranghata.

ਉਤਪਾਤੀ ਜੀਵ ਦੁਸ਼ਟ ਔਰ ਮਲੇਛ ਹੈਨ ਜਿਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਸ਼ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਸੰਸਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਸ਼ਾਂਤੀ ਫੈਲ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ।

Kahn Singh Nabha, *Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti*, Narang Hari Press, Amritsar, 1930, 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 141.

ਚਾਰ ਵਰਨ ਚਾਰ ਮਜ਼ਹਬਾ, ਜਗ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣੇ।

ਖੁਦੀ, ਬਖੀਲੀ ਤਕੱਬਰੀ, ਖਿੰਚੋਤਾਨ ਕਰੇਨ ਧਿਛਾਣੇ।

Chaar Varan Char Majhaba, Jagg Vich Hindu Musalmane  
Khudi, Bakhili, Tkabbari, Khichotaan Karne Dhigane.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 148.

ਭਯਾ ਆਨੰਦ ਜਗਤ ਵਿਚ, ਕਲਿ ਤਾਰਣ ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਆਯਾ,

ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਨਿਵਾਯਾ।

Bhaya Anand Jagat Vich, Kall Taran Gur Nanak Aya, Hindu Musalman Nivaya.

Parminder Singh, 'Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, vol. xlv, January-June 2018, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 32.

ਪੁੱਛਣ ਖੇਲ ਕਿਤਾਬ ਨੂੰ, ਵੱਡਾ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਕਿ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨੇਈ?

ਬਾਬਾ ਆਖੇ ਹਾਜੀਆਂ-ਸੁਭ ਅਮਲਾਂ ਬਾਝੋਂ ਦੇਵੋਂ ਰੇਈ।

Puchhan Khol Kitab Nu, Vadhha Hindu k Musalmanoi?  
Baba Akhe Haziyan- Shubh Amla Bajhon Doven Roi.

In Sikhism, the Varna system is seen according to the deeds of the person. It has nothing to do with birth and caste. All Varna and caste become one by joining Sikhism like many metals are mixed and made single metal. Baptism in Sikhism finishes all previous births. This new change brings equality.<sup>15</sup> One should not indulge in praise and backbiting. Sikhs should equally love and respect the Hindus and the Muslims. Concept of common brotherhood should be kept in mind. Sikhism has denied the discrimination created by Vedas and Quran in Hindus and Muslims respectively.<sup>16</sup>

In another work, Bhai Kahn Singh has explained the word *Chhippa*. It means the tailor and Chalcographer mentioned with the references of Raja Ratan Sen who was killed by Parshurama (a saint of epic age) and his son got the throne and later on left the kingdom and joined the Ashram of Vishavkarma (saint of Vedic Age) and started *Chhipa* work belonged to *Kshatriyas*. Bhai Kahn Singh has proved the importance of caste not by birth but by the profession.<sup>17</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh has illustrated the significance of common brotherhood that brings the unity which further leads towards the equality. It is a message of humanity in itself where no discrimination prevails.

Importance of unity and drawbacks of division have been metaphorically explained. Sikhism is presented as needle, works for uniting all human beings as tailor stitches the divided pieces of cloths with needle. Similarly the division of the society is

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Guru Nanak was asked to tell the best and powerful among the Hindus and Muslims. Guru Nanak replied that only good deeds for the establishment of peace makes a person great. Bhai Kahn Singh interpreted that the Sikhism is not only for one country or particular community. It is for everyone.

<sup>15</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 142, 153,435-437, 517.

ਸੁਣੀ ਪੁਕਾਰ ਦਾਤਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ, ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਗ ਮਾਹਿ ਪਠਾਯਾ।  
ਚਰਣ ਧੋਇ ਰਹਿਰਾਸ ਕਰ, ਚਰਨਾਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਪੀਲਾਯਾ।  
ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਪੂਰਣ ਬ੍ਰਹਮ, ਕਲਿਜੁਗ ਅੰਦਰ ਇੱਕ ਦਿਖਾਯਾ।  
ਚਾਰੇ ਪੈਰ ਧਰੰਮ ਦੇ, ਚਾਰ ਵਰਨ ਇਕ ਵਰਨ ਕਰਾਯਾ।

Suni Pukar Datar Prabhu, Guru Nanak Jag Mahe Pathhaya  
Charan Dhoye Rehras Kar, Charnamrit Sikhian Pilaya.  
Parbrahm Pooran Brahm, Kalyug Andar Ikk Dikhaya.  
Chare Paer Dhram De, Char Varan Ikk Varan Kraya.

Baptism in Khalsa, makes all the sons and daughters of Guru Gobind Singh and Mother Sahib Kaur. All four Varna becomes single one.

<sup>16</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 179, 191; Parminder Singh, 'Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, vol. xlv, January-June 2018, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 33.

<sup>17</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti*, 1930, 1-8.

being removed by the Sikhism. Followers of caste and Varna system work as scissor of tailor which divides the people on basis of religion, caste and Varna. Reference of many Muslims, who had joined Sikhism at the time of Guru Hargobind the sixth Sikh Guru, is also provided.<sup>18</sup> People can eat together and distribute the food among each other. Reason is the caste system due to which some followers of castes did not accept the food in common. It was considered as polluted food. Such kind of practices and discriminations, he says, are denied in Sikhism.<sup>19</sup>

While talking about the problems related to the alcohol consumption by the people of Punjab of the late 19<sup>th</sup> early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha talks about the increased amount of the liquor consumption and the revenue of the government up to 4 Lakh as compare to the previous year.<sup>20</sup> 4 Lakh 15 rupees per annum is the amount mentioned by Kahn Singh in those days, spent by Sikh army-men. It further increases due the quarrels and fights and also the court cases.

Estimated expenditure of few districts like Ambala, Ludhiana, Ferozpur, Amritsar, Lahore, Sialkot and Gujranwala all before the partition, Rs. 21, 30, 891 per annum spent only for liquor, is mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh. He says that the amount spent on alcohol can be used for education and skill development of the community. Here, Kahn Singh's broad vision is clear, when he talks about the investment of the money for opening the schools and colleges for boys and girls both for vocational training and skill development and award of the scholarships to the students. Many new industries can be launched and that can provide the job

<sup>18</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 261.

ਵੁਣੈ ਜੁਲਾਹਾ ਤੰਦ ਗੰਢ, ਇਕ ਸੂਤ ਕਰ ਤਾਣਾ ਵਾਣਾ। ਦਰਜੀ ਪਾੜ ਵਿਗਾਂੜਦਾ, ਪਾਟਾ ਮੁੱਲ ਨਾ ਲਹੈ ਵਿਕਾਣਾ।  
ਕਾਤਣ ਕਤਰੈ ਕਤਰਈ, ਹੋਇ ਦੁਮੂਹੀ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਸਾਣਾ। ਸੂਈ ਸੀਵੈ ਜੋੜ ਕੈ, ਵਿੱਛੁੜਿਆਂ ਕਰ ਮੇਲ ਮਿਲਾਣਾ।  
ਸਾਹਿਬ ਇੱਕੋ ਰਾਹ ਦੁਇ, ਜਗ ਵਿੱਚ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣਾ। ਗੁਰਸਿੱਖੀ ਪਰਧਾਨ ਹੈ, ਪੀਰ ਮੁਰੀਦੀ ਹੈ ਪਰਵਾਣਾ।

Vune Julaha Tand Gandh, Ikk Soot Kar Tana Vana, Darzi Paar Vigad da, Pata Mull na lahey vikana.  
Kaatan Katrey Katrani, Hoye Dumoohi Chardhi Sana. Sooi Sivey Jorr Kaey, Vichhorriyan Kar Mel  
Milana.

Sahib Ikko Raah Doye, Jagg vich hindu Musalmana. Gursikhi Pardhan Hai, Pir Muridi Hai Parwana.

Mian Jamal came to Guru Hargobind for adopting the Sikhism. Guru Hargobind advised him to read the *Gurbani* with devotion. The body is combination of five elements. There is 'one' consciousness in all. Those who recognize that 'one' are Sikhs.

<sup>19</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 374; Parminder Singh, 'Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, vol. xlv, January-June 2018, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 33.

<sup>20</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Shrab Nishedh*, Vajir Hind Press, Amritsar, 1907, 1; Parminder Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society A brief Look At His Social Concerns', 33.

opportunities to the unemployed youth. This can improve the economic conditions of the country.

Instead of uselessly wasting, the amount can be spent for the well-being of the society. Villagers, who spend the money on alcohol, should use that for social welfare, as appealed by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. Running schools and other educational institutions is the vision of Bhai Kahn Singh with the money that will be saved from spending on alcohol and law courts.<sup>21</sup> References of various religions such as Sikhism<sup>22</sup>, Hinduism<sup>23</sup>, Judaism, Islam and Christianity are provided against the use of liquor. Acharya Manu from Hindu point of view, Prophet Suleman from Jewish opinion talks about the drawbacks of using the liquor by saying that “ Who is this, who is sad and in deep sorrow? Who is quarreling? Who cries like child? Who is injured without any wound? Whose eyes are ruddy?” Answer to these questions is the person, who is fond of liquor, drinks it and faces all above mentioned problems. It not only lowers down the physical level of an individual but also the moral, civilized level of a person falls down. Use of liquor is also denied by Jesus Christ by mentioning its many drawbacks.<sup>24</sup> Prophet Mohammad in *Quran at Manzal 7*, Para 1 clearly says that one should be aware of the drawbacks of liquor consumption. Alcohol and gambling are the traits correlated with the devil. Greek and European doctors such as Dr. Tanner, Walter N. Edwards, Sir Fredrick Treves, Dr. A.L. Armored and Sir Lepel Griffin a British administrator also wrote about affects of alcohol. All these references have also been provided by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. They all of the opinion that the liquor

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<sup>21</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Shrab Nishedh*, 2-4.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 5.

ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਾ ਵਪਾਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਕਿਆ ਮਦ ਛੂਛੈ ਭਾਉ ਧਰੈ। ਇਤ ਮਦ ਪੀਤੇ ਨਾਨਕਾ, ਬਹੁਤੇ ਖਟੀਅਹਿ ਵਿਕਾਰ।।

ਦੁਰਮਤ ਮਦ ਜੇ ਪੀਵਤੇ ਬਿਖਲੀ ਪਤ ਕਮਲੀ। ਨਾਮ ਰਸਾਇਣ ਜੇ ਰਤੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਚ ਅਮਲੀ।।

Amrit Ka Vapari Hovey Kiya Mad Chhuhhe Bhao Dharee, Bohate Khatiye Vikar.

Durmat Mad Jo Pivate Bikhali Pat Kamli, Naam Rasayan Jo Rate Nanak Sach Amlī.

The above mentioned hymns are from *Gurbani*. It means, those who drink the holy nectar of God almighty and have a dose of holy name, they do not go for worldly wine or alcohol. Those who drink the alcohol, they invite many other diseases.

<sup>23</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Shrab Nishedh*, 7.

Alcohol made of *Jaggery*, crushed pulses soaked in water and Mahua should not be used by *Brahman*, *Kashatriya* and *Vaesh*.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.9-10.

consumption affects the body and mind very badly. Brain, liver, eyesight, and the immunity of the body are particularly attacked.<sup>25</sup>

Not only alcohol, but all other types of drugs are denied according to Sikh Code of Conduct. In Sikhism, real dose or the drug is from the divinity. Divine name of God is above all worldly doses.<sup>26</sup> Person becomes less patient because drugs spoil the life. Mind and body are attacked by the drugs.<sup>27</sup> Word used by Bhai Kahn Singh has also mentioned as prem pyala. It indicates towards the Drink of Divine Love. It has nothing to do with alcohol because some people try to correlate it with the alcohol. Connection with God can make the realization of prem pyala, possible.<sup>28</sup> Along with alcohol, tobacco, opium and weed are considered as injurious and forbidden according to Sikh code of conduct.<sup>29</sup> Use of such things can lead to the expulsion from Sikhism. Communication of Babur and Guru Nanak is quoted by Bhai Kahn Singh where the dose of Holy name of almighty that never goes down is the answer given by Guru Nanak to Babur about the real dose.<sup>30</sup> In the *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, it is mentioned that alcohol can only be taken as the medicine if necessary for the curing the weakness. It is mentioned that alcohol can be taken by a soldier fighting in a war. It is also said that meat and alcohol can be used if required to cure any weakness due to any sickness.<sup>31</sup> Worldly doses are useless in-front of the holy name of God. The toxicants, which affect the body are worldly. For saving the body and being progressive towards the path of spirituality, holy name of god and service of humanity are the findings of Bhai Kahn Singh. Useless and complicated rituals make the simple life very complex. Sikhs do not believe in such activities. For them, name of God is above all.

Rituals and superstitions, practiced in society are mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh while opposing the devils of society. Bhai Kahn Singh's opinions, understanding of these practices are very finely presented by him while mentioning the Gurbani and other sources. Bhai Kahn Singh has finely interpreted all these sources. For genuinely

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<sup>25</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Shrab Nishedh*, 5-10, 14-20.

<sup>26</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar* 462-464.

<sup>27</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 452, 482.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.161.

<sup>29</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 410; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 304, 345.

<sup>31</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 332; Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, *Shrab Par Vakhyan*, Sri Durga Press, Nabha, 1938, 22.

performing any ritual or practice, depth of heart and connection with almighty are two most required elements. In the absence of these two elements, all the practices and rituals are false. Religion does not include the worship of stones, wearing taweez as necklace, worship of dead and forefathers etc. Even Sikhism does not allow such practices. Practice of Sati is denied in Sikhism for that, Bhai Kahn Singh has referred hymn of Guru Gobind Singh where example of a social custom known as Sati is mentioned. Guru Gobind Singh talks about the real truth and worship of almighty. He gives examples of Sati and snakes. A woman whose husband is dead, burns herself alive willingly, she will never get salvation. Similarly, spending the whole life in caves by a practitioner will not earn any salvation, because the snakes live for a long time under the ground are not getting any benefit of it.<sup>32</sup> Human is made of five elements created by the God, Almighty is considered as above all. Nature, considered as under the Almighty, has provided all those five elements. In such situation it is always wise to worship the supreme Waheguru, who is beyond and above all materialistic structures instead of the subordinates such as the performance of rituals and other practices. Creation and destruction of God is impossible.

Reference of the practice of pilgrimage at Kashi, Allahabad is provided by Bhai Kahn Singh. Under this practice, people go to the Kashi for holy bath and then offer themselves to the gods by cutting themselves with a cutter or hacksaw and in this way they think they will get salvation. But in Sikhism all such practices are denied. It is a socio-religious drawback, where people blindly follow a ritual and give up their lives.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 3-13, 22.

<sup>33</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 24; Parminder Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns?, *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, 35.

ਪੰਜ ਤਤ ਮਿਲ ਕਾਇਆ ਕੀਨੀ, ਤਤ ਕਹਾ ਤੇ ਕੀਨ ਰੇ।

Panj Tat Mil Kaya Kini, Tat Kahan Te Keen Re.

It means if the body of human is created from five elements then what was the source of these elements?

That means nature is above all. Almighty is the source of all materialistic things.

ਕੂਕਤ ਫਿਰਤ ਕੇਤੇ, ਰੋਵਤ ਮਰਤ ਕੇਤੇ, ਜਲ ਮੇ ਡੁਬਤ ਕੇਤੇ, ਆਗ ਮੇ ਜਰਤ ਹੈ।

ਕੇਤੇ ਗੰਗਵਾਸੀ ਕੇਤੇ ਮਦੀਨਾ ਮਕਾ ਨਿਵਾਸੀ, ਕੇਤਕ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਕੇ ਭ੍ਰਮਾਏ ਹੀ ਫਿਰਤ ਹੈ।

ਕਰਵਤ ਸਹਿਤ ਕੇਤੇ, ਭੂਮਿ ਮੇ ਗਡਤ ਕੇਤੇ, ਸੁਆ ਪੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਤ ਕੇਤੇ, ਦੁਖ ਕੇ ਭਰਤ ਹੈ।

ਕੌਨ ਮੇ ਉਡਤ ਕੇਤੇ, ਜਲ ਮੇ ਰਹਿਤ ਕੇਤੇ, ਗਯਾਨ ਕੇ ਬਿਹੀਨ ਜਕ ਜਾਰੇਈ ਮਰਤ ਹੈ।

Kookat Firat Kete, Rovat Marat Kete, Jall Me Dubat Kete, Aag Me Jarat Hain.

Kete Gangwasi Kete Madeena Makka Niwasi, Ketak Udasi Ke Bharmaye Hi Firat Hain.

Karvat Sahat Kete, Bhoom Me Gadat Kete, Sooa Pe Charat Kete, Dukh Ko Bharat Hain.



Husband and wife both are indivisible parts of each other. Trust is the only thread for tying them in one line. But trying to control the husbands by following the superstitious methods is unacceptable thing which further can lead to the separation. Such practices should not be followed. Practices such as, effect of ill stars, taweez etc should be avoided. A simple life should be lead.<sup>34</sup>

Kahn Singh says that the Gurbani has denied such customs under which during births and deaths some houses were considered impure and unclean. This is just a custom and illusion of the society and it should be avoided.<sup>35</sup> Spell, charming and superstition are denied in Sikhism.<sup>36</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the blind faith is always wrong. Some people blindly follow pilgrims and other religious places. In this way, due to ignorance the prasad or blessings in form of edible things are thrown into the water to pay homage to the God perhaps the God of water. It is often found in religious places where holy water tanks are constructed. This practice pollutes the water and God does not become happy. Bhai Kahn Singh has mentioned that some of the people follow Khwaja a deity of water and is known as Gurdariyao. For paying their tribute they offer eatables in form of Karrah Parsad into the water which pollutes the source of water results diseases.<sup>37</sup>

Idle people are always disliked. Keeping oneself busy in hard working and earning money through honest means is another point mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh. One should always be busy in some productive activities. Mental and physical problems always occur to the free person. Even the money earned honestly and with

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Gaen Me Udat Kete, Jal Me Rahat Kete, Gyan Ke Bihin Jak Jarey e Marat Hain.

False practices are mentioned in these lines and are denied in Sikhism.

<sup>34</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 77, 123.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 164-166.

ਜੇਕਰ ਸੂਤਕ ਮੰਨੀਐ, ਸਭ ਤੈ ਸੂਤਕ ਹੋਇ। ਗੋਰੈ ਅਤੇ ਲਕੜੀ ਅੰਦਰ ਕੀੜਾ ਹੋਇ।

ਜੇਤੇ ਦਾਣੇ ਅੰਨ ਕੇ ਜੀਆ ਬਾਝ ਨ ਕੋਇ। ਪਹਿਲਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਜੀਉ ਹੈ ਜਿਤ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਭ ਕੋਇ।

ਸੂਤਕ ਕਿਉਕਰ ਰਖੀਐ ਸੂਤਕ ਪਵੈ ਰਸੋਇ। ਨਾਨਕ ਸੂਤਕ ਏਵ ਨ ਉਤਰੈ, ਗਿਆਨ ਉਤਾਰੇ ਧੋਇ।

Jekar Satak Manniye, Sabh te sootak hoye, Gohey ate Lakkri andar keeda hoye.

Jete Dane Ann Ke Jiya Bajh N Koye, Pehla Pani Jeo hai jit haree sabh koye.

Sootak kyokar rakhiye sootak pavey rasoye. Nanak sootak ev na uttre, Gyan utaarey dhoye.

It means the whole universe is with life. Water, food, woods and other materials received from nature are not pure. Only the true knowledge or Gyan will remove the impurity. Considering some one impure just because of discrimination, jealous and hatred feelings is actually act of lower persons whose thinking is impure. Being in touch with such people is impurity in actual.

<sup>36</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 78.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 238.

hard work, should be given in the charity so that will be used for welfare. Charity is considered the most significant aspect.<sup>38</sup> Begging should be avoided. Harsh and hard life is always considered as better than the begging. Begging is a curse and sin. Depending on others for money is a sin. One should be self dependent, earn the money through the honest means and avoid the begging.<sup>39</sup> Grabbing the money related to others is same sin as the cow meat and pork are for Hindu and Muslim respectively.<sup>40</sup>

Parents of punctual and spiritual nature give birth to a strong and perfect child who is always loved by everyone. Such good and healthy children become the leaders of the society when they are grown up.<sup>41</sup> Young children and even the adults should be treated properly. They should not be shouted at. If they are dealt with gently, the results will be very positive.<sup>42</sup> These are some issues related to the family life which includes responsibility of parents and children towards each other taken up by Bhai Kahn Singh. It includes the respect of the old parents by the children. Without respect, parents are better off without children. Living alone is preferable instead of living in disrespect. The parents spend the whole earning of their life for the growth, development and establishment of the children the children should also perform their all duties for the parents in their old age. People do not bother about their parents during their life time but they perform many rituals and ceremonies after their death. That is a curse and a biggest drawback of the society.<sup>43</sup>

About education, Bhai Kahn Singh is of the view that the students should take decisions according to their situations. If they are willing to go for higher studies only then they should focus on joining the secondary classes. Otherwise, after completion of the primary education, they should go for handicraft and vocational education. In this way they would be prepared for earning their livelihood and it will be a progress towards the field of employment. Due to educated unemployed youth, unemployment increases, which can be controlled by the skill development programs and studies. The

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<sup>38</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 9-10, 85; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 208.

<sup>39</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 73.

<sup>40</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar* 252.

<sup>41</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 62-63.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.75

<sup>43</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 581; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 273-274; Parminder Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, 36.

reason of unemployment, according to Bhai Kahn Singh was the shortage of work in the areas of interest to the educated people. Secondly, people avoided joining the family occupations. Through the vocational and handicraft education, works and job opportunities would increase and it would enhance the economic system of the country.<sup>44</sup> Educated society can be progressive. Unemployed and illiterate public can invite the chaos. Properly guided and aware people can bring the success and prosperity in the society. Bhai Kahn Singh is presenting ideas of how to have a good society where all people are occupied and supportive.

## II

Females and males are equal in Sikhism. There is no gender discrimination. Girls and boys are equal. 'Female murderer', a special term kudimaar is used for those who consider the birth of boy auspicious and birth of girl child inauspicious.<sup>45</sup> Killing of female child is a sin according to the Sikh code of conduct of Bhai Chaupa Singh, referred by Bhai Kahn Singh.<sup>46</sup> Those who disrespect the women should be boycotted because Sikhism teaches equality in all terms whether it is the respect of the women or any other field.<sup>47</sup>

Women are equal to men. In Sikhism women are not considered as slaves or lower in status. She is a better half of husband and 'second tyre' of house holder's life car. Education should be provided to everyone. So that one can get good jobs and purchase all required things.<sup>48</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh says that the religious, social and spiritual, all kinds of education is for everyone. It is not prohibited for women, or low caste people. All have an equal right of receiving the good thoughts either in form of preaching or in form of education. Education for women should be compulsory. She should be a complete scholar because if a girl is educated, she will teach the brother and sister at home. When she will go to other house after marriage, she will teach the

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<sup>44</sup> Ravinder Kaur Ravi, Jagmail Singh Bhatuan (ed.), *Bikhre Moti (Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Ji De Nibandh)*, Navyug Publishers, New Delhi, 2008, 84-85; Parminder Singh, 'Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, 36.

<sup>45</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 347.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.64

<sup>47</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 483.

<sup>48</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 53-54,

brother-in-laws, sister-in-laws and the children. In this way an educated woman will be beneficial for whole family and society. On the other side if woman is uneducated and does not know the way of management at home and outside, then the house becomes hell. Women should also be an expert in the kitchen works. In this way, she will balance the house. Women should be trained properly so that they would be able to discuss the matters and participate in debates to avoid and eradicate the falsehood.<sup>49</sup> Gurbani indicates the equality of woman. Women are not lower than anyone else. All facilities should be equally provided to the women. Educated and healthy women can create physically and intellectually fit society.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, the rulers and administrators should make it sure that the woman of a pundit/granthi should learn the reading and writing. Woman of *Kshatriya* must be trained in the weaponry. Farmer's wife should have the complete knowledge of the house-holding. She should also have the knowledge of record maintaining. Whatever the dealings of husband would be, she should record that in the account. Women of the carpenter and iron smith should learn their works respectively. It will make the women self-dependent and helpful.<sup>50</sup>

Marriage is another important aspect of society discussed by Bhai Kahn Singh. For working of the society, marriage is considered as very important institution. One should get married only after the achievement of the goals and being physically, academically and financially perfect.<sup>51</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that in Sikhism, marriage should be performed with the *Path* (practice of reading from Holy scripture Guru Granth) of Anand Sahib. Marriage should be considered as sacred. Girls should not be married at young age. Marriage should take place in the proper age. From a mature aged marriage, healthy children will be born who are the creators of society in healthy way. Here example of Dasrath, father of Ram of the epic age is presented as a model who had achieved all necessary education and who was spiritually in an advance stage and lived a life of stability and stillness. He got married only after reaching to this stage of life and after having whole necessary information of life and its ways, he had

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<sup>49</sup> Parminder Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, 37.

<sup>50</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 105.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.37.

four sons. Here, it is mentioned that only after reaching up to a particular age when one can understand and handle his duties responsibly, one should get married and have physically and mentally stable and healthy children.<sup>52</sup> Girls should be given the right to choose their life partner. It is also mentioned that a man should marry to a woman who has all attributes of a successful lady who can handle the house and can advise the husband in all matters. It means the perfect woman should be chosen for the marriage.<sup>53</sup> Marriage should be based on attributes of male and female. This is not only for male but the females should also know the male, after satisfactory true information of both the marriage should be fixed. During the marriage functions some rituals are performed. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law pass some comments to each other in form of poetry and stanzas. Such kind of songs and stanzas known as Sithhiniya should not be in use as they appear sometimes little bit vulgar. Marriages should be based on truth. No false information should be presented by the boy and girl's families just for the sake of marriage. This spoils the whole life of the couple.<sup>54</sup>

If the bridegroom is poor but a hard worker, he should be accepted for girl. But it does not mean that the rich persons are unacceptable. Noble qualities and attributes are preferable instead of money. Limited money should be spent for marriage by both families. Money should not be wasted for show off only. Both families should deal properly with each other. Both should get together occasionally and share meals. This enhances the social bond. But it does not mean that both should be greedy for money from each other.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, keeping in mind the concept of charity, the priest who performs all the religious activities of marriage, should not receive money in form of fee, from girls and their family. For maintaining the sacredness of the marriage ceremony, fee for the performance of the ceremony should be denied.<sup>55</sup> For the respect of the daughter, father should not take money from her because metaphorically the water of in-laws family of daughter considered as liquor. It means that something should always be given to the daughter instead of taking. It means the gentlemen and

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<sup>52</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 57.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 62-66.

<sup>54</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 66, 71.

<sup>55</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1962, 55.

noble persons never receive money in greed from daughter.<sup>56</sup> Selling of the Girls, as it might be in practice in those days, is a sin. Receiving money as fee by a priest from the ‘girl/daughter’, for performing all religious rituals of marriage ceremony is considered wrong, then how a father can be taken as correct for selling the daughter for money only.

Dowry is a curse according to Bhai Kahn Singh. Show off in form of traditional exhibition of the objects, clothes, ornaments and gifts brought by bride are not allowed in Sikhism. Dowry should not be demanded but the girl’s family should give only necessary things, which they can easily arrange.<sup>57</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh has very finely presented the marriage ceremony and importance of the girls. Worldly things taken as dowry should not be accepted and especially demanded.

Behavior of female at her in-laws family after getting married is mentioned with references of sixth Sikh Guru Hargobind’s hymns from Gurbani by Bhai Kahn Singh. Guru Hargobind’s teachings to his daughter are mentioned to illustrate the duties towards the mother-in-law and father-in-law, husband, saints, Gurus and all other related to the family. It is illustrated that a daughter should respect the mother-in-law and father-in-law after going to in-laws family. All the elders and younger should be cared by her. Saints, Gurus and husband should be respected.<sup>58</sup> Women should not go out of house or talk to anyone when husband is not at home, otherwise she will have to face the problems. Here the example of Sita (wife of Ram of the epic age) is provided as she was kidnapped by Rawan (another character of the epic age), same can happen with the woman going out of home without informing anyone.<sup>59</sup> In the absence of the

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<sup>56</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 268.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 484.

<sup>58</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 358.

ਸੁਨ, ਬੀਬੀ ਮੈਂ ਤੁਝੇ ਸੁਨਾਉਂ, ਪਤਿ ਕੀ ਮਹਿਮਾ ਕਹਿੰਤਕ ਗਾਉਂ।  
 ਪਤਿ ਸੇਵਕਿ ਕੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਸਫਲੀ, ਪਤਿ ਬਿਨ ਐਰ ਕਰੈ ਸਭ ਨਿਫਲੀ।  
 ਗੁਰੁਜਨ ਕੀ ਇੱਜਤ ਬਹੁ ਕਰਨੀ, ਸਾਸ ਸੇਵ ਰਿਦ ਮਾਂਹਿ ਸੁ ਧਰਨੀ।  
 Sun Bibi Mai Tujhey Sunaau, Pati Ki Mahima Kehntak Gaaon.  
 Pati Sevak Ki Seva Safli, Pati Bin aur karey Sabh Nifli.  
 Gurjan Ki Izzat Bahu Karni, Saas Sev Rid Mahe So Dharni.

<sup>59</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 161-162.

husband, women should live like unmarried woman. She should not decorate her hairs or use any makeup.<sup>60</sup>

Women should not share immediately anything with husband. She should look for a proper time but it should not be delayed. On the other hand, as a 'better half' of the husband, if wife provides any suggestion or any advice, it should not be ignored. If the husband ignores he invites his end.<sup>61</sup> Simple and high thinking woman, who maintains the balance of in-law's family is considered as important. Her duties towards husband, mother-in-law, father-in-law and everyone, related to them should be performed properly. Basic points, to be kept in mind are illustrated by Bhai Kahn Singh.

Under the traditional code of conducts, married women and men both should follow the rules and be loyal for each other.<sup>62</sup> Mothers, daughters and sisters are the relations to be followed for the unknown women according to their age. No other thought of any other relation should be there in the mind of person.<sup>63</sup>

If husband or wife dies, the living person should not look for a partner without remarriage. Remarriage should take place within same age group and widow or widower should try to find a person who has also lost his or her life partner. Extramarital affairs are sins. Even a widow and widower are not allowed to have extra affair for physical comfort only. There is a proper way that is remarriage.<sup>64</sup> Lust or *Kaama* is considered as to be handled with care and alertness. It attacks the human and throws him down from the higher state of morality.<sup>65</sup>

The practice of Sati is denied. By burning oneself alive along with husband is not a good deed. It creates the problems for the lady. She kills herself and does not meet the husband too. In Sikhism a sacred lady is Sati not that one who burns herself alive.<sup>66</sup> While defining a stanza, Bhai Kahn Singh denies the Sati and says that the Sati

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<sup>60</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 171.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 258-263.

<sup>62</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 172.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 252.

<sup>64</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 266.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 145-146.

<sup>66</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 131; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 294.

who burns herself along with husband, is not good for humanity.<sup>67</sup> Whatever happens should be accepted patiently. Any death ceremony should be performed peacefully. Crying, weeping and other activities should be avoided.<sup>68</sup> Though the women have a respectful place in Sikhism still they are beneath to the men. In a practical life woman is a good house holder, equal partner of husband. She should not be criticized just for being female. Kahn Singh, while defining the importance of woman, has referred the Gurbani of Guru Nanak.<sup>69</sup> Loyalty is a unique and most required element for sound relationships. Character and loyalty are judged most of the times. It should be implemented in such a way that the men and women both should be loyal. If husband expects the loyalty from wife, he should also be honest, respectful and loyal to the wife. If extramarital affair is not allowed for male, same concept is applicable to the female.<sup>70</sup> Husband of two women and wife of two husbands, both destroy their lives.

Bhai Kahn Singh has also presented the positive and negative aspects of the women in a poem named *Subhag Te Nirbhag Nooh Sass* (ਸੁਭਾਗ ਤੇ ਨਿਰਭਾਗ ਨੂੰਹ ਸੱਸ/ Fortunate and Unfortunate Daughter-in-law and Mother-in-law). Here, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are presented. Positive attributes of a good daughter-in-law such as performance of all duties happily and patiently are mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh. Such an ideal woman is accepted as real daughter by her mother-in-law that is illustrated in the next lines of the poem where it is mentioned that all responsibilities are handed over to the daughter-in-law. Mother-in-law also teaches her many times with love and care about the perfection as a householder lady. Aware of the art of sewing and stitching, embroidering and the perfect kitchen work, she always seeks the suggestion and permission from the mother-in-law, though she is aware of her independence, still it is a way of showing the respect for the elder. She considers her as

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<sup>67</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 295.

<sup>68</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 561.

<sup>69</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 29, 81; Parminder Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A Brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, 39.

ਸੇ ਕਿਉ ਮੰਦਾ ਅਖੀਐ, ਜਿਤ ਜਮੈ ਰਾਜਾਨ।

So Kyo Manda Akhiye, Jit Jamhey Rajan.

Why the woman should be criticized?

She has given birth to the Kings and Saints.

<sup>70</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 110.



a mother. Her husband and Father-in-law feel proud and fortunate for having such a special woman in their family.<sup>71</sup>

Hindu goddess Kali who is known for fighting skills, is referred by Bhai Kahn Singh to illustrate the negative part of both daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. Metaphoric style is implemented here to present the so called aggressive side of a woman. Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that a woman can make a family heaven and hell when she comes into form of a negative personality.<sup>72</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha married his son to an Arora family daughter who followed the Sikhism. This radical step was an example in itself that the Sikhism and Sikh code of conduct does not teach any discrimination based on castes. Bhai Kahn Singh practiced what he preached and discussed in his writings. Bhai Kahn Singh had to face some problems due to this radical step. He was opposed by the priests of Golden Temple of that time. They did not allow the newly married couple to pay respect at Akal Takht (Sikh political chair at Golden Temple). Bhai Kahn Singh did not surrender before those priests for whom Bhai Kahn Singh has used the term Pujari in his works.

<sup>71</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, 'Subhag Te Nirbhag Nooh Sass (ਸੁਭਾਗ ਤੇ ਨਿਰਭਾਗ ਨੂੰਹ ਸੱਸ/ Fortunate and Unfortunate Daughter-in-law and Mother-in-law)' *Punjabi Bhaen Magazine*, (ed.) Bir Singh, Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyalya Ferozpur, vol.15, December 1931, 27; Parminder Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, 39.

ਧੀ ਤੋਂ ਪਿਆਰੀ ਜਾਣੇ, ਸੌਖ ਘਰ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਮਾਣੇ, ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ਦਿੰਦੀ ਬੁੱਧਿ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਨਾਲ ਹੱਸ ਕੇ।  
ਸੁੱਧਾ ਕਰ ਮੰਨਦੀ ਹੈ ਮਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਪੂਜਨੀਕ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਹੈ ਸੁਤੰਤ੍ਰ, ਪਰ ਕੰਮ ਕਰੇ ਦੱਸ ਕੇ।  
ਸੀਵਣਾ ਪਰੇਣਾ ਤੇ ਰਸੋਈ ਵਿੱਦਯਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਤਾਕ, ਧੰਨ ਭਾਗ ਜਾਣੇ ਕਰ ਚਾਪੀ ਪੈਰ ਝੱਸਕੇ।  
ਸਹੁਰਾ ਤੇ ਪਤੀ ਬਾਗ-ਬਾਗ ਹੋਣ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵੇਖ, ਹੋਵੰਦਾ 'ਵ੍ਰਿਜੇਸ਼' ਵਾਰੀ ਐਸੀ ਨੂੰਹ ਸੱਸਕੇ।

Dhee to piyari jaaney, Saump ghar khushi Manney, Sikhhya dindi buddh ate prem naal hass ke.  
Shradhha kar Manndi hai maa to vadhh poojneek, bhaaven hai sutantar, par kamm kare, dass ke.

Seevna parona te raso vidya vich taak, Dhann bhaag jaaney kar chaapi paer jhass ke.

Sahura te pati bag bag hon jinna vekh, Hovanda 'Vrijesh' vaari aesi nooh sass ke.

<sup>72</sup> Bir Singh (ed.), *Punjabi Bhaen Magazine*, 27; Parminder Singh, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, 40; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 88-80.

ਕਾਲੀ ਦਾ ਕਰਾਲ ਰੂਪ ਬਿਜਲੀ ਕੜੱਕ ਧੁਨਿ, ਬਾਪ ਪੁੱਤ ਜਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਚਾਣ ਘਰੋਂ ਨੱਸਕੇ।  
ਪਰਿਵਾਰ ਪਾਲਣਾ ਤਾਂ ਰਿਹਾ ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਯਾਰੇ, ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮੂੰਹੋਂ ਲੈਣ ਰੋਟੀ ਫਲ ਖੱਸਕੇ।  
ਦੁੰਦ ਜੁੱਧ, ਲੱਤ ਮੁੱਕੀ, ਹਾਇ ਹੂ ਦਾ ਰੋਲਾ ਸੁਣ, ਬੂਰੇ ਪੈਰ ਧਰਣ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਪੱਗ ਕੱਸਕੇ।  
ਦਾੜੀ ਗੁੱਤਾਂ ਹੱਥ ਵਿੱਚ ਫੜੀਆਂ ਰਹਿਣ ਨਿੱਤ, ਪਾਓ ਝਾਟੇ ਭੱਸ ਐਸੀ ਨੂੰਹ ਅਤੇ ਸੱਸਕੇ।

Kaali da karal roop bizali karrak dhun, Baap put jana nu bachaan gharon nass ke.

Parivar paalna ta riha ikk pase yaro, Bachhean de moohu laen roti fall khass ke.

Dund yudh, latt mukki, haye hu da raula sun, Boooh paer dharan sabandhi pagg kass ke.

Darri guttan hathh vich farriyan rehan nitt, Pao jhaate bhass aesi nooh ate sass ke.

This, indirectly, indicates the change, that might have taken place after the removal of Pujaris and Mahants from Gurudwaras and appointment of the Sikh priests.<sup>73</sup> Holy places, made in the name of God, should be indicators of the noble truths. Society should be guided and all misconceptions should be denied.

There are some general advices for common people as permission and advice of the elder should always be seek before doing any work. One should not do anything without advice and permission.<sup>74</sup> One should not interfere with another. Those who interfere in others matters, they are always insulted. One should always accompany the better person. It is better to beg with a good person instead of ruling with the bad one. Good friends and good attributes should never be given up.<sup>75</sup> Another advice is regarding the judgment of the situation. Any news of sorrow should not be immediately conveyed. It should be presented metaphorically. In this way, shocks and its negative results will be avoided.<sup>76</sup> Fool people cry in the problem and get themselves in the danger. But the wise people plan for solutions. Great is, who handle the situation tactically and comes out of it victorious.<sup>77</sup> One should give his/her opinion only where it is accepted and respected by the listeners. Otherwise one should not act as an interrupter.<sup>78</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh favors education for girls yet in the patriarchal mindset sees marriage as the singular goal for women and advices them on how to be good wives.

### III

Bhai Kahn Singh has a steady and consistent commentary on social issues in his writings. He underlines some general elements for a good society. Idea of common brotherhood is the prime focusing point which points towards the concepts of equality and mutual respect of the people, which further leads towards the most important aspect

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<sup>73</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 108; Devinder Singh Vidyanthy, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Jiwan Te Rachna*, 42; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 266; Parminder Singh, 'Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Society: A brief Look At His Social Concerns', *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)*, 40.

<sup>74</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 62-66, 116.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. 88-89.

<sup>76</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 97-98.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. 107-108.

<sup>78</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 149-150.

of the society that is unity. Bhai Kahn Singh has brought forward the idea of division of the society on occupation basis and not by the birth. Even it is also proved with reference of emergence of the caste *Chhipa*/tailor/ chalcographer. It also illustrates identity of lower and untouchable according to the Gurbani. Bhai Kahn Singh, with references of Gurbani, has tried to request for settling down all the issues for proving the greatness one over the other in case of religions. He highlights an ideal society through his works where tolerance, unity, no discrimination, good deeds, hard work, charity, education equality, truth, loyalty and respect are important aspects. In this 'good' society people are advised to respect and care for the old parents. He also talks about the life of women from birth to the marriage, role in the in-laws family, death and social responsibilities. Bhai Kahn Singh advocates the idea of proper age for marriage of a girl and widow re-marriage also. Lesson on loyalty for male and female both is another important aspect discussed.

Bhai Kahn Singh has very finely presented what is not to be done in society as well. He stood against use of the drugs. Under the issue of substance abuse, use of alcohol or any other intoxicant is denied with an elaboration and references of representatives of various sects and religions. Drugs are the most dangerous elements, existing in the society of the present days also. But in another source, entitled *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* and *Shrab Par Vakhyan* use of alcohol as a medicine, in a little amount, is mentioned which leads towards the further research and keeps the research as open ending conclusion. Superstitions and blindly followed and performed rituals are discussed and denied. Idleness, superstitions, rituals, pilgrim, greed and dowry are denied. Killing of girl child is denied with the reference of code of conduct for Sikhism where killer of the girl child are boycotted. Sati is also fully opposed. Dowry is considered as a sin and showoff money and other goods are also denied.

Bhai Kahn Singh is conscious of the gender perspective and talks of equality of women, education, marriage of women at a 'mature' age to a 'good' person and respect towards women. He believes that both men and women should be truthful, loyal and considerate to one another. Bhai Kahn Singh however, did not talk about any change in the existing patriarchal structure of the society. As he highlights the happenings of the contemporary society by mentioning the conditions of women, dowry, sati, marriages

etc in general but somehow it seems that he is talking about the education of the women, so that they will only be the better wives and mothers. It seems that the ideas of other reformers have been reiterated by him. He talks of the 'duties' of women and their aggressive nature much in the framework the 19<sup>th</sup> century understanding of gender equality. He does however, permit some additional space to women, advocates military training and education and removal of so called social evils.

Bhai Kahn Singh can be considered as an intellectual for raising the issues of his contemporary society, because his ideas had a relevancy in the 1920s. All cultural groups and communities have been addressed by him. The significant work he has done is to identify the proper conduct for life for a better one. These are not the issues only of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha but society of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Punjab. Betterment of the society with the better values is his focusing point. Without mentioning any change in the basic structure, ideas of general changes are being reiterated.

There are however, some contradictions in his ideas. As the idea of equality is brought forward and he is talking about no-discrimination in the society yet the two groups within Sikhism the *Charan Pahul* and *Khande ki Pahul* Sikhs are mentioned in his works. It is mentioned if a *Khande Ki Pahul*'s Sikh wants to marry his daughter, he should look for *Khande ki Pahul* follower bridegroom. He denies any other non-Sikh and considers them as *monas* or *Sehajdhari*. There can be any difference within Sikhism pointed out by Bhai Kahn Singh. Similarly keeping in mind the patriarchal structure of the society, ideas of gender equality, loyalty and honesty for male and female, also come under the question. Another point which is taken as possible solution for the problems is education. Importance of education is highlighted by him. But education for the women does not talk about their freedom from the existing structure of the society. Being educated does not mean to be good wives and mothers. Single idea of bringing the women out of the circle of being educated wives and mothers is missing. Bhai Kahn Singh, though appeals for the betterment of the society in every sphere of life yet he is upholding the patriarchal structure of the society.

## Chapter 4

### BHAI KAHN SINGH NABHA'S VIEWS ON KINGSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha wrote a wide spectrum of works covering aspects of society, religion, kingship and governance and identity. His two well-known works on the kingship and administration are *Raj Dharam* and *Vijay Swam Dharam* which may be considered as the illustration of his views of governance and his image of the ideal ruler. There is another work, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* where he has also clarified some administrative concepts. The present chapter is an attempt to elaborate his views about good kingship, governance and administration. *Raj Dharam*, was originally published in 1884 when Bhai Kahn Singh was working in the court of Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha. Later on this book was edited and re-published by Jagmail Singh Bhathuan in 2005.<sup>1</sup>

The book is divided into 16 chapters. In chapter one, a king and his role and surrounding are mentioned. How he should deal with issues of his people, how he should take care of himself and avoid the wrong doings like drugs etc. Carefulness is also mentioned of king from his assistants who sometimes misguide the king and even the Prince. His other dealings are also mentioned. His day-routine is also part of the chapter. Chapter second deals with the types of ministers, assistants and teachers. Their roles and duties are defined. Chapter third talks about the overall duties of a King like how he not only be an administrator but also be spiritual. He should be careful for every 'life' of his kingdom. Chapter four is about the attendants and caretakers of the king. Chapter five illustrates the companion and friends of the prince. Chapter seven talks about the servants of prince where, their duties, positive and negative roles for making or destroying the prince have been described. Chapter seven shows the relationship of the parents and children where parent's dealings with children according to their various age groups are explained. Chapter eight is about handing over the

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<sup>1</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, *Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, Arsee Publishers, Delhi, 2007, 44; Ravinder Kaur Ravi, Jagmail Singh Bhathuan (ed.), *Bikhre Moti- Bhai Kahn Singh de Nibandh*, 10; Devinder Singh Vidyarthi, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha Jiwan Te Rachna*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987, 65.

responsibilities of various administrative offices to the prince. Negative impact of alcohol on a prince and king's (as a father) orders to his servants who serve the prince, are mentioned in chapter nine where they are ordered to not to provide alcohol or any woman to prince when asked for. Chapter ten, eleven and twelve are about ministers of king and relations of king with ministers for any work. Chapter thirteen deals with the aspect of honesty that must be shown by all workers and employees of the king, especially in financial matters. Some important suggestions and guidance are mentioned for children in chapter fourteen. Chapter fifteen talks about noble attribute of the human being that must be attained by the people where sacrifice for others, pity selflessness are considered as important aspects. Chapter sixteen is about liquor its use and drawbacks. This chapter is apparently devoted to the health of the kings and princess and where use of alcohol is prohibited. There are some comments and explanations of the words in the references.

Another book on policy and politics by Bhai Kahn Singh is *Vijay Swam Dharam*. In this book army culture and all requirements for army and its working style are mentioned. That book talks about the policies regarding the army. Full code of conduct regarding the army and their generals along with the basic to major activities of the army are mentioned. Some important aspects of this book have also been included while writing *Raj Dharam*.<sup>2</sup>

In the book there are two imagined characters' Singh (baptized Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh) and Zimidar conversing with each other where Singh asks many questions which were replied to by the Zimidar. The story of the book revolves around royal king his, walk, talk and his family, his court activities and especially his duties. Bhai Kahn Singh has explained the day's routine of the King. Similarly the book *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* throws light on various aspects of general code of conduct, conduct of king, warriors, princes, court men, tutors etc. The ideas related to the king and his environment, have been discussed to highlight the opinions of Bhai Sahib about a ruler. Chapter is divided in seven sections that include the king and his life along with duties, crown prince and his life, army recruitment and its working style, ministers and servants and their duties.

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<sup>2</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, (ed.), Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2005, Content of the book.

## I

The ruler in Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's understanding is an ideal person who should definitely be emulated by his subjects. A king should practice what he demands from the people. His social and personal lives should be the same. There is a good saying, 'Real character is, what you do, when nobody watches you'. A king should not indulge himself in bad habits and luxurious life style. Whatever a king will do will be accepted and copied by the subjects.<sup>3</sup> Further Bhai Kahn Singh talks about the virtues of a noble king. Those are to speak truth, to not to betray anyone, to be determined to keep his promise. A king should always be devotee of his religion. He should not give up his religion but all other sects, religions should be respected and protected by him under his rule. This is his duty.<sup>4</sup> A ruler is thus, expected to set an ideal example.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, there are three types of the kings wise, less wise and the fool. The King, who works according to the suggestions and with the cooperation of the assistants for court work and whom he places according to his own thinking, is considered as the wise king. He treats his assistants and servants like a snake charmer treats his snakes. He provides them all facilities but is always alert. The second category of the kings is described as the less wise. Such kings are like the snakes in the hands of their master. Here snake charmers or the masters are the servants and assistants who make the king work according to their will and can either make or spoil the situation. Such kings are less mature and merely blind followers. The third category is of lazy and foolish kings. These types of Kings are lazy who always love to live in their palaces. They never go out for inspection. Under such kings, people are always tortured by the self made cruel assistants of the king who think of themselves as the real masters. Such types of kings do not even think the good and bad of their subjects. By having the freedom, the assistants and officers loot the people, because they are not answerable to anyone. A king should always be a wise man who understands every situation and treats the subjects equally and always tries for their growth and betterment.<sup>5</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh's views on a ruler could also be extended to

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<sup>3</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 52-53.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.80.

<sup>5</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*,59.

ideal administrator who has the responsibility of looking after the people of a given area.

Bhai Kahn Singh has very finely explained the word *Agatangati* of poet Hirdey Ram. It means knowledge and achievement. Person who supports all illiterate people to get the education, knowledge and money, should be considered as the *Agatangati*. A king should be of this nature. A ruler should try to provide help to the people in learning and earning. A ruler should do all things for helpless, needy and poor people and such types of the people never forget the king and his help and they can give their lives for the king if necessary. In this way a ruler can win over the trust of such people.<sup>6</sup>

A king should provide shelter to those who do not have their homes so that they will always be obligated to the king. But the king should be very careful while helping the people because any negative person should not be supported. King should try to win over the opposition into his favor<sup>7</sup> and should recognize and reward the real scholars who teach and preach the best for society. King should uplift and recognize the scholars who can teach the public for avoiding any mishappening due to illiteracy.<sup>8</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh has mentioned important things for a newly appointed king. It is mentioned that the newly elected king should not be immediately put under pressure. He should be made familiar slowly and gradually with everything. It will create the interest while the work is also completed. The new ruler should be taught how to impart education, inspection, judgment and selection of the weapons, horses and men for the army. Another thing that king can learn is the inspection of the army and horses to expel the weaker ones. All works related to the army should be learnt by the king. Record keeping, accounting and drafting should also be the part of king's learning. A king should be aware of the royal money used in the palace and also in the districts. The rulers therefore, should be properly trained for statecraft and all aspects of administration.

King as an administrator should seek advice from the committee, assistants and the ministers. The advice and common decision of many will be more acceptable. If the

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<sup>6</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 71.



decision has to be taken individually and immediately then it should not be delayed. King should avoid those people who stay connected in happy moments and run away in the tough conditions. King should have those people in the company who will last long. King should be aware of sycophants. He should act very carefully.<sup>9</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh has a hypothesis about religion and he believes if the king has a different religion from the majority of his subjects it will not work.<sup>10</sup> King in the court, should himself not advocate. His ministers should speak. King should be of a cool and stable nature but in some situations the way a person understands the thing, should be opted. Hard way should be opted for the harsh people.<sup>11</sup> Every situation should be handled very peacefully. No person should be favored by the king at any cost.<sup>12</sup> King should follow the truth and never tell a lie. Even a single word of a true person is considered as the divine. All countrymen should follow this concept.<sup>13</sup>

All the servants are trustworthy and they should work honestly. Army chief should be careful about the army and its maintenance. Chief of industrial departments should be careful about the production and expenditure. He should declare that he will reward the honest people but punish the corrupt people. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, these are the attributes of a noble and great king under whom all the above mentioned people will work.<sup>14</sup>

Person, who is not under any debt, is fortunate, because, in a bond, a person cannot act freely. Example of King Dashratha is given where it is mentioned if he would have not promised to the wife then the exile of Rama, Sita and Laxman could have been avoided. It happened just for keeping the promise. King should either not give any word or should be careful while doing so.<sup>15</sup> King should treat all sons and queens equally otherwise it will create a problem.<sup>16</sup>

Busy man best man, this is what Bhai Kahn Singh says about the king. If the ruler always performs all his duties and shall not skip any one then it is difficult to find free time for doing something wrong.

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<sup>9</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 82-84.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 218-222.

<sup>11</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 71.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 38.

<sup>13</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 39-40.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 74-79.

<sup>15</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 87-88.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 90.

Then further, he explains the day routine of a king. According to him king should start his day properly in a discipline. After getting fresh and taking bath he should perform the practice of reading the Gurbani. It will be very much effective and King will be the blessed because all the incarnations and religious heads or the preachers and the religious scriptures of all religions have focused on the worship (Bhajan-Bandagi). Human, birds and animals all are doing the worship of almighty in their own way. But those, who will focus on the meanings and practically follow the message given by the religious scriptures, will be the real beneficiaries. Other will be considered just the readers.<sup>17</sup> Then the king should offer the water to Sun and meditate. He should pray for the welfare of everyone. He should consider himself as the minor creation of God. He should offer the water to his forefathers.<sup>18</sup>

Further Bhai Kahn Singh mentions the practice of reading the Gurmukhi Script known as *paenti* (it is called *paenti* due to 35 letters). Then King should get ready, look at the paper work of the court. He should spend next few hours for reciting and reading the Gurbani from Guru Granth Sahib (Sikh religious scripture) or Dasam Granth (Sikh scripture written by Tenth Guru Gobind Singh, this is different from the Guru Granth). Then after having the food and milk, he should go for the inspection of the army. This inspection includes the recruitment of the young men as well as the best horses for the army. Only the King should instruct the army. He should keep in mind that the new recruited young men should be kept separately where they should be provided the training and they shall have the freedom of worshipping their respective deities. After initial training, they should be made the part of the main army. King should be very careful while recruiting the army. Less in numbers but best in the skills and duties should always be welcomed instead of collecting the heap of unskilled majority.

During his round, King himself, should inspect the army and other factories. After completing the round of inspection, he should come back to the court and have some food. Then some court work should be done. After that he should either take rest or read and analyze some good books or scriptures related to the policy of polity. Then

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<sup>17</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 53-54.

<sup>18</sup> Jagmail Singh Bhatuan, editor of the book *Raj Dharam* has explained the concepts of meditation, offering water to sun and to forefathers in the references, recitation of Dasam Granth is also mentioned in foot notes at 54.

there will be evening time and king should again get fresh and must check the papers of the court similar to the morning. Then there is mention of the walk in the garden. It will complete the two tasks first of the evening walk and second of the inspection of the gardens and the workers. Then he should come back and after having dinner should take something sweet and milk also. In summer season, due to short nights, he should sleep immediately after the dinner but in winter he should read some good works due to the long nights. He should read and learn the good things for implementation in his kingdom and he should be very much careful about the conditions of his subjects. Here Bhai Kahn Singh has explained the life of the king from the morning to the night along with his duties which includes court works, military inspections and appointments and the inspections of the works of the factories.<sup>19</sup>

The King should take care of the discipline health and diet of the liabilities. If he punishes someone for improvement, he should be strict and when it is clear that the person has mended his ways, the person should be rewarded. Doer of torturous acts should be punished.

The King must have some harsh ministers also. If all would be of the noble nature they will not say some necessary but required harsh words. But such ministers should be allowed and pardoned wisely by the ruler. King should always try to make improvement in a false and unacceptable person.<sup>20</sup>

The King must be brave. Bravery is liked by many. Weak persons are always disliked. One should try to be brave specially a warrior. One should show his power. One, who sacrifices, gets the rule and power. Those who will pass the examination will be the rulers.<sup>21</sup>

A King, if possible, should try to avoid the war by settling it with mutual understanding or a negotiation with enemy only if the second party is ready. It can avoid the deaths and sorrows of many. Great persons never live in past. They should live a life of bliss. A king should not carry the burden of past on his mind.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 56.

<sup>20</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 223-230.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 231-233.

<sup>22</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 234-235.

King should always be patient. He should ignore the rumors created by the enemies. King should not live in the house all the time. He should visit various areas of his kingdom and other areas so that he will have an idea of the happenings under his rule. He should also avoid talking to the person lower than a king. He should communicate with a King only. His ministers should talk to an ambassador. King should be fearless. If he gets afraid, it invites destruction for everything.<sup>23</sup>

Queens must watch the battles. It will leave its impact the nature of the next generation because if they will give birth to brave children only then they will be the future creators. Powerful person is always considered as the person with the patience and impatient persons can never be the powerful. A king, who is patient, should be considered as the powerful.<sup>24</sup>

It is mentioned that one should have a strong mind and body to generate the rule and one should worship this power. Those who care the time and accept the opportunity, they always win but the weak people loss whatever they have. Here reference of Emperor of England, of those days is provided by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. He says, “O Gentlemen! Value the great qualities of being powerful, as our great emperor of England does.”

“ਐ ਸੱਜਨ ਪੁਰਸ਼ੋ ,ਇਸ ਅਦਭੁਤ ਬਸਤੂ ਕੀ ਕਦਰ ਕਰੋ ਜੈਸੇ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਸਿਰਤਾਜ

ਰਾਜਾਧਿਰਾਜ ਇੰਗਲੈਂਡ ਕੇ ਨਿਵਾਸੀ ਕਰਤੇ ਹੈ।”<sup>25</sup>

Ae Sajjan Purchho! Is adbut bastu ki kadar karo jaese Humare sirtaj  
rajadhirah England ke niwasi karte hain.

King should have a detachment feeling. If he will attach to the family and friends, he will not be able to do his work properly. He will waste his true knowledge.

Wise people, in unfavorable conditions, pass the time patiently but when they get the opportunity to achieve their goal and finish the enemy, they must do that. King should be alert all the times. In ignorance and laziness, enemy can create problems for the king. Even if the enemy is weak, still precautionary measures should be taken

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<sup>23</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 247-248.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 256-257.

<sup>25</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 264.

seriously. King should have proper arrangements for facing any upcoming problems. If he will prepare only on the arrival of the enemies at gate, he will lose everything.<sup>26</sup>

King should not accept and agree with the ministers who are selfish and false because they can get everything wrong done by the king. Such people are mentioned as by the *Harish Chander*, a poet, referred by Bhai Kahn Singh as,

ਪਿਕਦਾਨੇ ਚਪਰਗੱਟੂ ਹੈ ਬਸ ਨਾਮ ਹਮਾਰਾ ,ਇਕ ਮੁਫਤ ਕਾ ਖਾਨਾ ਹੈ ਸਦਾ ਕਾਮ ਹਮਾਰਾ।

ਉਮਰਾ ਜੋ ਕਰੇ ਰਾਤ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਹਮ ਚਾਂਦ ਦਿਖਾਏਂ ,ਰਹਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਸਿਫਾਰਿਸ਼ ਸੇ ਭਰਾ ਜਾਮ ਹਮਾਰਾ।

ਕਪੜਾ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਨਾ ਕਹੀਂ ਸੋਨਾ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ,ਗੈਰੋਂ ਹੀ ਸੇ ਹੈ ਸਾਰਾ ਸਰੰਜਾਮ ਹਮਾਰਾ।

ਹੇ ਰੰਜ ਜਹਾਂ ਪਾਸ ਨ ਜਾਯ ਕਬੀ ਉਸਕੇ,ਆਰਾਮ ਜਹਾਂ ਹੇ ਹੈ ਵਹਾਂ ਕਾਮ ਹਮਾਰਾ।

ਜਰਾਦੀਨ ਹੈ ਕੁਰਆਨ ਹੈ ਈਮਾ ਹੈ ਨਬੀ ਹੈ , ਯਹੀ ਮੇਰਾ ਅੱਲਾਹ ਹੈ ਜਰ ਰਾਮ ਹਮਾਰਾ।<sup>27</sup>

Pikdano chapargattu hai bass naam Humara, ik mufat ka khan hai sada kaam Humara.

Umra jo kahe raat ko toHum chaand dikhade, rehta hai sifarish se bhara jam Humara.

Kapda kisi ka khana kahin sona kisi ka, gaeron hi se hai sara saranjam Humara.

Ho ranjh yahan paas na jayen kabhi uske, aram jahan ho hai vaha kaam Humara.

Yaradin hain Quran hain emman hai nabhi hai, yahi mera allah hai jar ram Humara.

King should never underestimate the enemy. Ego of self-power and underestimation of enemy are dangerous for the king. Rawan underestimated Ram, but Ram won the battle with the help of the people living in the forests.<sup>28</sup>

King must listen to the favorable and non-favorable things. Then he should analyze the correct thing. Ministers of the king should never hesitate from saying the truth. If any discussion takes place in the court of the king, minister should always tell the truth. Even, he can wait and give his opinion at last. If same opinion is of other person, he should support that opinion and should not repeat that again. King must have the old and experienced persons in his court who will guide the young people for the better. There is another advice for the king that the enmity with weak and powerful

<sup>26</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 269-270.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 271.

<sup>28</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 272.

both is dangerous. It should be avoided. King should always seek the advice from the people present in his court. He should never be angry with anyone otherwise people will hesitate in sharing their opinion with the king that will affect the new suggestions and opinions.

It is always a negative thing on king's part to take back after bestowing something to someone, taking back. It diminishes the hope of the followers. If the King wants to eliminate particular person, he should initially bless him and support him, then should take away his support and should bless another person. In this way, both the competitors will fight and destroy each other and the king will keep himself away and finish the opponent. But this should not be done on advice of any assistant or servant. It must be king's own decision.

King should not make any immediate decision because the close one will tell the things only in their favor. King should just hear and keep that in his mind and after analyzing the situations, make any decision. No one, even among the workers, should be immediately expelled. Even if guilt is found, king should take time for a legal procedure. There can be a possibility of non-guilty and in such circumstances person can get freedom.

Whatever the King is doing should be done with a complete analysis and thinking. Over thinking is considered as the poison for the king. He should always live happy and burden free. Because all are well-wishers and if the king will start doubting everyone, he will not be able to rule.

A poem about politics is mentioned here by Bhai Kahn Singh of Devidas who was the court poet of the king Bhaya Ratan Singh of Karoli. He wrote *Niyati Satak* a policy for king.

ਛੋਟੇ ਛੋਟੇ ਗੁਲਨ ਕੇ ਸੂਰਨ ਕੀ ਬਾਰਿ ਕਰੈ ,ਪਾਤਰੇ ਸੇ ਪਾਧਾ ਪਾਨੀ ਪੇਖ ਕਰ ਪਾਰਿਬੋ।

ਫੁਲੀ ਫੁਲਵਾਰਨਿ ਕੇ ਫੁਲ ਮੇਹਿ ਲੇਵੈ ਪੁਨਿ ਖਾਰੇ ਘਨੇ ਰੁਖ ਏਕ ਠੋਰ ਤੇ ਉਪਾਰਿਬੋ।

ਨੀਚੇ ਪਰੇ ਪਾਇਨ ਤੈ ਟੇਕ ਦੈਦੈ ਉਚੇ ਕਰੈ ਬਢ ਗਏ ਤੈ ਜਰੂਰ ਕਾਟਿ ਡਾਰਿਬੋ।

ਰਾਜਨ ਕੇ ਮਾਲਨ ਕੇ ਦਿਨ ਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਦੇਵੀਦਾਸ ਚਾਰ ਘਰੀ ਰਾਤ ਰਹੈ ਇਤਨੇ ਬਿਚਾਰਿਬੋ।

Chhote chhote gulan ko sooran ki bar kare, paatre se padha pani pokh kar paribo.  
Phooli phulwaran ko phool mohe leve pun khare ghane rookh ek thaur te uparibo.  
Niche pare payan tae tek dae dae uche kare badhh gae taen jaroor kaat daribo.  
Rajan ko malan ko din prati devidas char ghari raat rahe itno bicharbo.

This poem talks about the gardener and his duties as he takes care of garden, provides water and support to the weak and small plants and flowers. He cuts away the over grown branches for beautification and growth of the plant. Similarly a King should consider his kingdom a garden. He should support the good, hardworking people and remove the negative elements. In this way, he will provide strength to his kingdom by remaining silent.

He should keep some bad people who can play an important role during a particular situation. But the King should be extra careful in such cases.

Good, noble persons should be from King's own religion/sect. They should be from noble family lines. They will never betray the king. King should keep a distance from the negative people.<sup>29</sup>

The so called well wishers of the King attack the childhood of the King by teaching him the bad habits. They stop such things only when the ruler becomes mature. They always play false games and try to win over the king. They remove all the close ones of the king just to maintain their respective places. When the king finds the truth they start keeping themselves on safe side and present someone else to get the anti person killed or punished by the king. They will create the competitor of the good but anti person and will keep themselves away only to show the king their non-indulgence in any dirty politics. Intelligent and eligible king will find the truth and try to make improvements. As all are equal for God, similarly the King, the representative of God, should treat and understand equally his servants and assistants. Here a reference of Bhagwat Gita is provided in the support of the above mentioned idea.<sup>30</sup> Initially, Bhai Kahn Singh used Bhagwat Gita also for his writings. It shows the impact on his thinking with the passage of time.

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<sup>29</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 60-61.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 58.

Bhai Kahn Singh talks about the dangerous things for the rulers and specially discusses life of a ruler with the women. In the conversation, as presented by Bhai Kahn Singh, a question is asked by the Singh about the reason of the long life of a widow and short life of a King, why many rulers died in young age? Then the Zimidar replied that in the country, people do not care about their health. Here he talks about the Yes men. Who only say yes to win over the King. Instead of sharing the negative effects of the habits of the king they just say 'yes'. Advisers are not honest. If they had stopped the king, though rudely but for his benefit, then the king might have been saved.

Further Bhai Kahn Singh says that there are five important instructions for a King by following which, the King will not die young and live a long life. That is interpersonal relationship with the wife. About this it is mentioned that ruler should have physical relationship once or twice in a month. This should be just for a child. This process is considered very sacred. When a lady is pregnant then there should not be any physical relation. When the child completes two years after the birth then there can be physical relation with healthy wife. In excess, it kills the man.<sup>31</sup> Sexual addiction finishes the person, but he thinks perhaps he is enjoying it. King should be very careful about this. He should read the good scriptures and books, instead of reading the books related to eroticism. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, people of our country claims that they follow the good things but they do not read. They should read,

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<sup>31</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 40-41.

ਬਾਤੋਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੈ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਚਾਰ ਲਿਖਤਾ ਹੁੰ। ਅਗਰ ਇਨਸੇ ਰਾਜਾ ਬਚੇ ਤੋਂ ਅਕਾਲ ਮ੍ਰਿਤੂ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਰੇਗਾ ਐਂਰ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਭੋਗੇਗਾ। ਅਵਲ ਤੋਂ ਅਪਨੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਏਕ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਮੇ ਏਕ ਦਫਾ , ਹਦ ਦੇ ਦਫਾ ਰਿਤੂ ਕੇ ਬਾਦ ਭੋਗ ਕਰਨਾ , ਪਰੰਤੂ ਐਲਾਦ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਕਰਨਾ , ਬਿਸਾ ਸਮਝ ਕਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨਾ। ਜਬ ਲਾਇਕ ਸੰਤਾਨ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇ ਫਿਰ ਭੋਗ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨਾ। ਅਗਰ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੀ ਹੋ ਤੇ ਗਰਭ ਵਾਲੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸੇ ਭੋਗ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨਾ , ਕਿਉਂ ਕਿ ਬੱਚਾ ਕਮਜ਼ੋਰ ਹੋ ਜਾਤਾ ਹੈ। ਜਬ ਲੜਕਾ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਕਰ ਦੇ ਬਰਸ ਯਾ ਕਮ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਹੋ , ਅਰਥਾਤ ਮੰਮਾ ਛੇਡ ਦੇਵੇ ਐਂਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਮੇ ਪੂਰਾ ਬਲ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇ ਤੇ ਫਿਰ ਏਕ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਕੇ ਬਾਦ ਉਸੀ ਤਰੇ ਸੇ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸੇ ਸੰਗ ਕਰਨਾ। ਜੇ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਭੋਗ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ , ਯੇ ਪੁਰਸ ਕੇ ਅਵਲ ਦਰਜੇ ਮਾਰਨੇ ਵਾਲਾ ਹੈ।

Baten to bohat hain prantu pehle chaar likhta hoon. Agar inse raja bache to akal mritu nahin marega aur avastha jyada bhogega. Awal to apni istri ke saath ek mahine me ek daffa, had do daffa ritu ke baad bhog karna, Prantu aulad ke vaaste karna, bias samajh kar nahi karna. Jab layak santan paeda ho jave fir bhog nahin karna. Agar karna hi ho to garbh vali istri se bhog nahin karna, kyo ke bacha kamjor ho jata hai. Jab ladka paeda hokar do baras yak am jyada ho, arthaat mumma chhod deve aur istri me poora bal ho jave to fir ek mahine ke baad usi tre se sang karna. Jo jyada bhog karna hai, ye purs ko awall darje maarne wala hai.



analyze and implement.<sup>32</sup> Personal life with wife, in relation of physical terms, should be controlled and limited. It will keep the inner energy stored into the body. That will further save the body from all diseases.<sup>33</sup>

A ruler who indulges in merry making will be physically weak that is equal to a dead body. Such Kings suffer and die young. There is also a mention of hereditary disease that passes on from father to son. Such diseases are related with the private organs. While having physical intercourse sore will be open. It means marriage at young age can cause the problems.<sup>34</sup>

Second thing prohibited for a ruler is liquor. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, King should not use the liquor because it is acid that destroys the body specially the digestive system and liver. He also suggests the 'Alcohol as medicine' can be used. Bhai Kahn Singh talks about body and its element like Phlegm/(*Kaf*) , air (*Vayu*) and heat that is *Garmi* are required in the body. In *Ayurveda*, these are known as *Vat*, *Pit* and *Kaf*. If these three are in balance, make the life heaven, otherwise hell. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, alcohol increases the heat of the body that further kills the person with several diseases. It is also mentioned that alcohol as medicine, can be used after the age of 40 because in this age group, phlegm increases in the body.

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<sup>32</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 61

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 86.

<sup>34</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 41-42.

ਜੇ ਬਿਸਈ ਰਾਜਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਉਸਦੀ ਜੇ ਅਸਲ ਤਾਕਤ ਹੈ ਸੇ ਨਿਕਲ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ। ਜਬ ਸਰੀਰ ਕਾ ਰਾਜਾ ਜਾਤਾ ਰਹਾ ਤੇ ਵੇ ਤੇ ਐਸਾ ਹੈ ਜੈਸੇ ਰਾਜਾ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾਮ ਕੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਫਿਰ ਸਰੀਰ ਕੇ ਬੀਮਾਰੀ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ਜਿਸਕੇ ਆਸਾਧ ਰੋਗ ਕਹਿਤੇ ਹੈ। ਔਰ ਜੇ ਰਾਜਿਆਂ ਕੇ ਸੀਉਣ ਪਰ ਫੋੜਾ ਨਿਕਲਤਾ ਹੈ ਯੇ ਭੀ ਬਿਸਾ ਕਾ ਹੀ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੈ। ਜੇਕਰ ਬੇਟੇ ਨੇ ਬਿਸਾ ਕਮ ਕੀਆ ਔਰ ਪਿਤਾ ਨੇ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਕੀਆ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੇ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਬਿਸਾ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੇ ਸਬਬ ਬੇਟੇ ਕੇ ਫੋੜਾ ਨਿਕਲਤਾ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਬਾਲਿ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਮੇਂ ਯੇ ਫੋੜਾ ਨਿਕਲੇ ਫਿਰ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਬਿਸਾ ਸੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਬਚਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਏ। ਨਹੀਂ ਤੇ ਫੋੜਾ ਖੁਲ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਅੰਸ ਜਾਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਇਸੀ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਸਾਰਿਬ ਲੋਗ ਬਡੀ ਉਮਰ ਮੇਂ ਸ਼ਾਦੀ ਕਰਾਤੇ ਹੈ। ਮਹਾਂਭਾਰਤ ਮੇਂ ਭੀ ਬਡੀ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਕੀ ਸੰਤਾਨ ਉੱਤਮ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੈ। ਛੋਟੀ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਕੀ ਸੰਤਾਨ ਬਿਸਈ ਔਰ ਕਮਜੋਰ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ।

Jo bisayi raja hovega usdi jo asal takat hai so nikal javegi. Jab sareer ka raja jata raha to vo to aesa hai jaese raja bina praja kisi kaam ki nahi hai. Fir sareer ko bimariho javegi jisko asaadh rog kehte hain. Aur jo rajyan ke sion par foda niklta hai yeh bhi bias ka hi karan hai. Jekar bete ne bisa km kiya aur pita ne jyada kiya pita ke jyada bisa karne ke sabab bete ko foda niklta hai. Jis raje ke baal avastha me ye foda nikle fir usko to bisase bahot hi bachna chahiye. Nahi to foda khul javega pita ka ans jata nahi hai. Isi vaaste sahib log badi umar me shadi krate hai. Mahabharat me bhi badi avastha ki santan uttam likhi hai. Chhoti avastha ki santan bisai aur kamjor paeda hovegi.

ਚਾਲੀਸ ਬਰਸ ਕੇ ਬਾਦ ਇਨਸਾਨ ਥੋੜਾ ਥੋੜਾ ਨਸਾ ਪੀਵੇ ਤੇ ਮੁਜਾਇਕਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਿ  
ਬਲਗਮ ਕੇ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਕਰ ਸਕਤੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਚਾਲੀਸ ਬਰਸ ਕੇ ਬਾਦ  
ਅਫੀਮ ਖਾਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਏ।

Chalis Baras Ke Baad Insaan Thoda Thoda Nassa Pivey To  
MujayakaNahi Hai Kyo Ke Balgam Ko Fayda kar Sakti Hai. Is Vaaste  
Mashoor Hai Ke Chalis Baras Ke Baad Afeem Khani Chahiye.

Phlegm and heat in balance, creates the glow on the face. It seems like a divine glow.<sup>35</sup>

Third thing mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh, prohibited for a ruler is eating in  
access. Fourth is the over thinking that is also dangerous for a ruler. Problem that  
occurs should be dealt with a solution with an optimistic approach instead of being  
worried. Fifth is sitting. It means eating and continuously sitting for long time is also an  
enemy of the king. Walk and workout is required. If the ruler will pursue all these  
things will survive for long time otherwise will not cross the age 25.<sup>36</sup>

King should always look after the army and his horse should be kept ready all  
the times. King should also focus on finishing the tyranny in his rule. If it happens, he  
shall be considered responsible for that. Army of the king should consist of various  
types of the army-men who will be able to fight and survive in various climatic  
conditions. Powerful person, who has the physical strength, can be defeated by his gyan  
Indri or sense organs only. He should provide all the knowledge to the army so that  
they will be victorious in all fields. They have all skills which will be helpful in  
battlefield. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, King himself should inspect the army. If it  
will be left with someone else then there can be many problems. Except the king, all  
earn the same money no one will be ready to work under the person equal to them in

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<sup>35</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 85.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 41.

ਦੂਸਰੇ ਦਰਜੇ ਸ਼ਰਾਬ ਹੈ ,ਇਸਕੇ ਰਾਜਾ ਕਬੀ ਨਾ ਪੀਵੇ ,ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਯੇ ਤੇਜਾਬ ਹੈ ਮੇਦੇ ਕੇ ਖਾ ਜਾਤੀ ਹੈ। ਅਗਰ ਕਬੀ ਪੇਟ ਮੇਂ  
ਦਰਦ ਹੇ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਵਕਤ ਬਤੌਰ ਦਵਾ ਪੀ ਲਵੇ ਤੇ ਮੁਜਾਇਕਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਤੀਸਰੇ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਭੋਜਨ ਖਾਨਾ ,ਯੇ ਭੀ ਮੇਦੇ ਕੇ ਕਮਜੋਰ  
ਕਰਤਾ ਹੈ। ਰਾਜਾ ਸੋਚ ਕਬੀ ਨਾ ਕਰੇ। ਬਹੁਤੀ ਬੈਠਕ ਭੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਕੇ ਮਾਰਤੀ ਹੈ।

Doosre darje Sharab hai, isko raja kabi na pivey, kyo ke ye tejab hai mehde ko jaati hai. Agar kabhi  
pet me darad ho to us waqt bataur dava pee lave to muzayaka nahin hai. tisre jyada bhojan khana, yeh  
bhi mehde ko kamjor karta hai. Raja soch kabhi na kare. Bahuti baethak bhi admi ko maarti hai.

rank and salary. If the king will not be careful about the army horses and soldiers then there will occur a problem of weak horses and absent soldiers who might be working in the houses of their respective heads instead of doing their duties. Such people do not like the king to be very active and if the king will not show his presence and interest, the army will definitely be defeated by the attacker. So for the better rule and strong army, a king should check the army and whatever the result would be the king will be the responsible. By following this routine, a king will save him from the wrong activities. He will complete his day very positively and his subjects will also live happily. He will also be considered as true in the eyes of the almighty. By following a healthy and busy routine, he will avoid the activities which can cause the sickness and live a happy, healthy and long life.<sup>37</sup>

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, a King should not indulge himself only in one topic. There are four parts or attributes of king Rajya, Yoga, Tapa, Bhog. King is ruler in his court, a Yogi in spiritual life, a Tapasavi in religious life and a Householder in the family/social life. All these four parts of a king, if balanced by him properly are worthy and such king will be an incomparable ruler. King must be Yogi as well as a ruler. He must be aware of Sanyas, Yog and celibacy. He should be aware of vedant, poetry and politics. He should be like king Janak who was the spiritual king. He was father-in-law of Rama. He handled the spirituality and politics both together.<sup>38</sup> Here Bhai Kahn Singh also, pointing towards the vedic times and the characters from the epic age. It means in his early writings he was influenced by his sanatan environment.

A king should always promote the goodness and humanity and discard the badness. The concept of *Neki* and *Badi* are mentioned. If the king follows this advice, he would be liked and accepted by the majority. Good people will accept him their ruler from the heart.<sup>39</sup> Charity and donation by king by hand is considered as the real rule. Taking care of state/power, keeping eyes on dead animals, birds and people, mean to say the information about all the creatures under his rule is quality of Yogi. Immediate action without laziness is the quality of Tapasavi.

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<sup>37</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 56-57.

<sup>38</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 42.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 51.

Bhai Kahn Singh pointed out some kings of present days (of his times) who were indulged in many negative activities. They did not have the religious and spiritual attributes needed in a ruler. They were not the worshippers of God. He means they were not establishing goodness. Few of them were busy in women and merry-making and drinking wine. How could they illuminate from within? There was a time when king, read good literature related to bravery and policy for their rule. They used to draw maps for war and other requirements. But in these days they are busy in self-enjoyment.

Bhai Kahn Singh says that the king should be an ideal king like the Bir Bikramajit and Harish Chandra who performed their Swam-Dharam (Loyalty) towards their masters/ Duty of master. People still remember their names.<sup>40</sup>

According to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, King should make sure that the women should learn the works of their husband that according to the society of his times includes the warfare techniques, teaching, accounting, iron and carpentry works.<sup>41</sup>

King should impart the justice, not for any money or greed but it should be delivered as his duty.<sup>42</sup> King should evaluate the situations. He should not react immediately. There are two types of the servants and assistants of the king. One is of good and loyal and presents the true things only and other are cunning type false servants who always focus on the negative aspects only. In such situations, king should keep quiet and hear everything carefully. King should always analyze the situations before making any judgment.

There are some senior assistants and employees who help the prince to attain the power. For taking the help, king should initially accept their acting and being over-soft as they are the only well-wishers. But after attaining the power, king should, tell them to call those who were guilty according to them. Here, king was using such cunning people for coming into authority. He also knew that earlier such people were creating falsehood against their enemies who in reality were not bad and guilty.

When they will start the procedure of the court, king should ask for the proofs when king, who is aware of the reality, starts the case, will say that the person is not

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<sup>40</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 71-73.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 105.

<sup>42</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 283.

guilty. He should be questioned for the new case. But on the other side he should be in favor of the true person who was presented as accused. King should warn him, to be careful and not to indulge in any negative activity, otherwise he will be considered as guilty. In between, the claimer will file a new case, so the king should punish the accused for short period, if found guilty. But the two groups within the court should not be finished completely. Reason is, working of the court. If there will be the two groups, both will afraid of each other and work in competition and ultimately both will approach the king, individually. Here the king will gain. In case of found not guilty, king should warn the false claimer and if required, should punish him. He can dismiss him from the job and should allot him a pension and discharge him by saying that he was providing false facts and making the king as medium to do the sin of punishing the innocent person. With this act, noble qualities of the king will spread like wild fire.

Here Bhai Kahn Singh has provided an example of Nabha court, while he wrote this book he had been working under the Nabha Princely state of Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha. He mentions the two groups of Nabha court as Liberal and Conservative. Government of Nabha, as mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh, had appointed a council for some important decisions because the important decisions can never be taken by individual, single person. Wise intelligence of the majority is always beneficial. There should be two groups in the court of a king and like the Rawan, king should not ignore the advices of his group.

Bhai Kahn Singh says that following the path of truth and working on basis of reality is policy of goodness/Dharam Niyati. On the other hand being diplomatic but punishing the guilty is Paap Niyati because somehow, trust of the guilty person was also breached, who earlier was accepted by the king, with whose help he became power but later on was removed.

Other servants and officers in the palace should be appointed as per the desire of the king, according to the rules.

Another thing that Bhai Kahn Singh has mentioned is a 'friendly meeting'. It is mentioned that

“ਕਰਾਮਾਤ ਸੇ ਮੁਲਾਕਾਤ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਕਾਮ ਦੇਤੀ ਹੈ”

Karamat se mulakat jyada kaam deti hai.

It means that a meeting is better than miracle and magic. King and his ministers should establish friendly relations everywhere. If the meeting does not work then the policy of Sama, Dama, Danda and Bheda should be followed. Meeting is known as Sama, using the money for getting any work done is the policy of Dama, using force is known as policy of Danda and spying into the enemy's system and area is called the policy of Bheda.<sup>43</sup> When enemy does not agree at any cost then war should be considered as necessary but if the discussion and negotiation is possible then the battle should be avoided.<sup>44</sup>

A king should always talk about the religious deeds and welfare. It will always keep the people under the law with self-acceptance they will never go out of the law. King should practice what he preaches. Otherwise the people will take him lightly and the close one will do all wrong deeds by taking the king for granted. This will disturb the system and bad activities and crime will increase in the state.<sup>45</sup>

Eligible kings are always praised and also considered as the bliss for the whole world.<sup>46</sup> King's attributes as mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh are as he is glorious, smart, soft-spoken and merciful. He helps the others by removing their sorrows. He is real *Kshatriya*. While mentioning the attributes of the warriors, Bhai Kahn Singh focuses on their readiness for fight. They have the spirit of accepting the challenges. *Kshatriya* should prove his power and achieve something praiseworthy. He should get married only after an achievement. There is another advice for the king where it is mentioned that *Kshatriya* should always use the sense of politics. Niyati is always helpful. Before killing the enemy, his powers and links should be estimated properly. He should always be alert from the people of his own party who has any relationship with the enemy. A *Kshatriya* should learn from everywhere. It will enhance the knowledge which further will help in ruling.<sup>47</sup> Duty of *Kshatriya* is to defend the Guru,

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<sup>43</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 80-82.

<sup>44</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 317.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 54.

<sup>46</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 55.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. 59-61.

father and brother and one who insults them should be punished. People of good attributes always show their moral values. King should recognize the qualities with patience and make the decision carefully. *Kshatriya* on increasing the knowledge, becomes dacoit, on the other hand, it is mentioned that the Brahman, gets egoistic. References of the conversation between Ram (*Kshatriya*) and Parsuram (Brahman) are provided which took place due to the breaking of bow of Shiva by Rama as the test in the svayamwar of Sita, Parsuram got angry on breaking the bow and insulted Ram and Laxman. On the other hand Rama replied very humbly.<sup>48</sup> Brahmins are condemned and *Kshatriyas* are praised.

King, General and Colonel should do all the works according to the protocol. King must check the subordinate and even the lower level worker who are loyal to the king, must be recognized and rewarded.<sup>49</sup> When a king has to go to a palace for fight/war, firstly he should get the complete information through the intelligentsia.<sup>50</sup> In war, power is in the physical strength. One should not only focus on getting ready and decoration of the body for war. Turban and *Kamarkassa* should be tight to avoid their losing during fight. King should focus on the implementation of such ideas in his army.<sup>51</sup>

King should be patient and army should be wise. Such people will never be defeated by anyone. King should try to win over everyone. His bodyguards should be such loyal that they will be ready to give up their life for the king.<sup>52</sup> King should expel the cowards from the army. They affect the mentality of the others.<sup>53</sup> Crown prince should always get ready for battle because it should be their first duty.<sup>54</sup> Any order issued by the subordinate must be verified by the master once.<sup>55</sup> King must have knowledge of weapons and scriptures both. Arm training will make him victorious in the battle field and scriptures will make him aware of how to rule.<sup>56</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh has praised the government of India of that time by saying that the Indian Government

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<sup>48</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 68-71.

<sup>49</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, Durga Press, Nabha, 1901, 224-263.

<sup>50</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 217.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 62-66.

<sup>52</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 318-330.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 345.

<sup>54</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 292-293.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 349

<sup>56</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 360.

will handle the situation and make the improvement in the working system and the people will work honestly specially the kings of Indian states.<sup>57</sup>

Powers of *Kshatriya*/Warriors are mentioned as firstly the killing the enemy with one attack, secondly protect those who come into the shelter, thirdly keep neat and clean, fourthly separation of the bad people, fifthly appointment of a person who will not be removed, sixthly forgiveness for those who make mistakes, seventhly focus on education, donation as charity and great thoughts preaching should be there which will not create any further problem and people will earn their livelihood and they will not go for begging and eighthly the marriage should take place with such woman, who will handle all the situations and husband will not go for any other woman.<sup>58</sup>

While answering the Singh's another question, Bhai Kahn Singh answers through his self-created another character, a Zimidar (A farmer), says that the King should live like lotus. Which living in the mud, keeps itself unattached and shines. Similarly, A King should regard the rule as blessings of almighty and should keep a common eye for all. King should deal with the matters carefully. If the strictness and harshness is required he should be strict and harsh but it should be got done through the ministers he himself should avoid the harshness.<sup>59</sup> Behavior decides the personality of a person. King should behave in such a way that the people would be ready to die for the beloved king. Such loyal people should also be rewarded. A winner of hearts is the real king.<sup>60</sup>

King as a *Kshatriya*, should always be positive. He should not go for celibacy life. If a king gives up his duties then the whole system gets disturbed. An ideal king should always be active while working for the people. He should be serious because he is the future creator of the subjects whom he is ruling. It is a chain. If the starting point is weak the whole system will collapse.<sup>61</sup>

Kings are never lured by any greed. They are the self-created real heroes. King should hand over the power to the elder and eligible son and the younger sons should

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<sup>57</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* 423-424.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 78-79.

<sup>59</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* 92.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 102.

<sup>61</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* 104.



be subordinate to him so that they will obey the system and respect the brother as king and brother both. It is duty of the elder son to take care of the younger brothers as father and they can be appointed as the ministers in the court. King's ambassador sent to another country should be very capable and valuable otherwise the positive results can convert into the negative results. King should focus on the growth of business and commerce and education of his regime. In the presence of non-eligible ruler, business and commerce are always affected. Kings of such type also destroy the international relations.<sup>62</sup>

Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha, who was always called 'government', is praised by saying that the subjects of Nabha state were blessed as they were being taken cared by the Maharaja Hira Singh. A king must take care of his subjects.<sup>63</sup>

King should adopt the good thoughts of philosophers and scholars. He should give up the company of bad people. He should not have physical relation with any other woman. King should have the less physical relation only then he will be able to use extra power of thinking. His wife should be the only partner. Householder's life should ideally be spent by him. Unknown women should be treated as the mother, sister and daughter according to their age. King should be the destroyer of the sorrows of his subjects. He should handle and crush the enemies bravely. He should have the talent of getting all his works done by the subordinates.<sup>64</sup>

Hungry public will be rebellious. King as an administrator should be careful about this. It should be the top priority for avoiding the revolt. Farsightedness is always required. One should have a pre-idea of the problems which can occur in future. So this is the thing which can avoid many things negative. King's rule should be of this type that nobody will ever think of raising voice against him. Otherwise his rule will be in danger. King should finish the enemy openly in ground not hidden. King should have all type of men in the court. He must have same person who could be converted into any character and added into the enemy's group for information. But such type of people should be aware of the tricks of the king.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 107-112.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 127-128.

<sup>64</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 131-134.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 151-155.

King should make the children/crown prince aware and habitual of all kind of situation. They must know the difficult conditions so that in a particular time they will adjust with the problem whenever a person goes out should not take his wife along with if takes along with then she should be protected. Warriors are those who praised by the enemies. They are always denied who just talk and when the worst situation occurs they run away from the battlefield. Subjects of a king should have love and affection for their master as the whole world and vegetation have love for the sun when the sun sets they also give up the life.

A king should send only the loyal and honest people to the abroad. King must have such people in his court who will be sent to the abroad as ambassador.

King should not make any decision on saying of a criminal. If he asks for hanging too, there might have a scheme or plan in it. So king should think about this. Enemy should never be left free. King must have a control over his courtiers, ministers and servants. Even a minor action should also be taken according to the will and permission of the king.

When a subordinate or servant does the work of his king, he has a unique strength and proud. But he should never mention the uniqueness. He should talk about as it was his duty what he did. On the other hand, king should hug the subordinate who did his work honestly. These are the points necessary for the king to keep in the mind. But king should have a proper judgment, like is the person really worthy to be hugged.<sup>66</sup>

King and minister should not point out each other's work both should work together as one. A noble king can punish the wrong doers. Thieves, having extra martial affairs, encroachers of the other's territories, tree stealers, dacoits, liars, murders, drinkers, cheaters and traitors are the wrong doers. Such people can be punished only by a king who is not indulged in any negative activity. On the other hand a corrupt king can never control the corrupt people. King should try to convince all the people to do their respective duties. Here it is mentioned that there are four Varnas who are divided according to their duties. If they will not perform their duties the whole system will get upset.

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<sup>66</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 216.

ਰਾਜਾ ਕਾ ਧਰਮ ਹੈ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਧਰਮ ਪਰ ਕਾਇਮ ਹੋਕਰ ਫਿਰ ਚਾਰੋਂ ਬਰਨੇ ਕੇ ਅਪਨੇ

ਧਰਮ ਪਰ ਜੋਰ ਦੇਕਰ ਲਗਾਵੇ।<sup>67</sup>

Raja ka dharma hai pehle apne dharm par kayam hokar fir charom barno ko apne dharma par jor dekar lagave.

From 5 to 25 years age, king (crown prince) should have old and wise persons in his cabinet. He should not have, even a single young person. It is harmful, when he will be of 30 years, should have young and adult persons in his company who will be younger than him. This policy will create an unchallengeable, non-comparable king.<sup>68</sup>

Further Bhai Kahn Singh talks about impact of age impact on the king. According to him the cunning servants can make of king a fool only up to younger age that is 25. If the king crosses 25 he will be a successful person otherwise he will die young before completing 25 years. King should be aware of the greedy assistants who wish the death of the old king due to his independent decisions because earlier he was taken in by those greedy people and now it is impossible due to the overall growth of the king.<sup>69</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh also highlighted some special instructions and teachings for the king where he can avoid the wrong usage of his name by his greedy officials. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, the king who is an addict to liquor should write his order in the day book/ diary (book keeping for the whole day) that the decisions taken from evening 4 pm to morning 4 am should be re-permitted from the king and then should be implemented. These re-permitted orders should be signed by the king. This will stop and control the misuse of the king's name. Even it will stop those greedy people who made the king drink at night for taking the decisions in their favor to do that again. Any kind of reward or grant even charity made by king should be written in the diary. Firstly, unwanted charity should be avoided but if a situation genuinely occurs then the charity should be made to the right person. While rewarding the employs of the court their works which are done for the welfare of the state should be

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<sup>67</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 104.

<sup>68</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 60-61.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. 50.

kept in mind and well-wishers of the state and king should be rewarded and an open announcement should be made for their outstanding work. It will be an inspiration for others. King should seek advice from the committee while rewarding and honoring. Silently and individually, king should not honor any person it will be harmful for the ruler.<sup>70</sup>

King should never be very friendly with assistants, servants and their sons. Specially, while going out he should keep a distance, otherwise all companions will take him lightly. For example, a lion who arranges his food himself by hunting eats properly and individually, nobody disturbs him at that time but when he leaves the food and moves away, all others come to eat. If somehow, he comes back again, all the animals run away. In this way, a king, who himself is self-dependent, he should live and treat like a lion. A distance should be maintained.<sup>71</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh has described an ideal ruler, his attributes, his personality, conduct and the ways to deal with officials and administrators to be a just and fair king. He was expected to be an exemplary person a model for his citizens.

## II

Bhai Kahn Singh also focuses on the life style and grooming of the crown prince. Crown prince is very important person in a regime. He should be trained properly. Heads of various departments should assist the prince while learning the working process of every department. Prince should be handed over the duties only after making him familiar with the all fields. It will only be an insult to the prince if he was left untrained in any field. Record should be maintained of the work assigned to the prince.<sup>72</sup>

King's instructions to the servants/caretaker/teacher are as firstly they should act like they are disliked by the king. This will generate a trust between prince and them. Secondly, they should always pretend that they were questioned and shouted at by the king, while meeting. Thirdly they should avoid the alcohol but if the prince

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<sup>70</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 51.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 84.

<sup>72</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 87-88.

demands, they should not give him more than two pegs of wine. When a prince demands a woman or prostitute, they should refuse wisely and compel him to go to his wife. Here they can also use the king's name. They can say that the king will be angry on knowing this. If someone goes to call a prostitute, she should not be brought by the saying that she is invited by the prince but she should be told some other reason.<sup>73</sup> Some bad habits of the prince for which a king who is also a father, should always be careful. There are three types of the bad habits that spoil the life and further invite the more problems. These are use of liquor, extra marital affairs, especially with the prostitute and hunting in excess.

Further Bhai Kahn Singh has mentioned the duties of the tutor of the crown prince. He should always be very careful while giving eatables to the prince. Unhygienic and unhealthy food should never be presented. Only the brave persons can instruct the king's sons and can live with him. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, young princes who will be the kings in the future must be taught and prepared very carefully. A wise king should always be careful while appointing a care-taker for the princes. Care-taker, who never stops the prince from doing anything wrong and does not guide him to do right, or trying to win-over the prince for earning the favor from him, since he will be a king in future, is doing the prince a disfavor by allowing him to be drawn towards the wrong things. The king, who finds such greedy care-takers/tutors, should remove them and punish them.

A wise king will easily understand the favorite servant and caretaker of the prince. Because the real well-wisher of the king will be hard and harsh for stopping the child prince, will obviously be disliked by prince. The puppet, greedy care-taker will not strictly instruct the prince but pass on everything to the king. In this way, king will try to stop the prince while instructing him. This will create a misunderstanding and disliking between father and son that is again a very dangerous thing for the ruler and rule. Bad and greedy servants always look for such situations to get a full-fledge support either of king or the prince. They have nothing to do with the rule, kingdom and specially the relation of father and son. Such types of servants are considered as devils. A word *kanisht*<sup>74</sup> is used for such people.

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<sup>73</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 90.

<sup>74</sup> A very cheap person, who looks for his own benefits, even on cost of destruction of others is known as *kanisht*, *Raj Dharam*, 63.

On the other hand the best and loyal servants of the king will instruct the prince strictly by at risk of his own position will bear all the disappointments of the prince. He will himself be present ready for discredit, before the prince, but will not let the prince even think ill for his father, the king. In this way relation of father and son will be saved and prince will be a great learner and future king.

Further Bhai Kahn Singh says that the loyal care-takers should not reject the young prince's demands directly. They should be very diplomatic while refusing indirectly by knowing that the prince himself will agree and accept the decision of his care-taker cum teacher. For example, if the greedy servant provokes the prince to go hunting by mentioning the hobbies of royal princes but prince is not prepared for hunting will be agree in excitement. But the loyal caretaker will be there and will not say 'No' directly. So for saving his relation with the prince and avoiding mishappening with the innocent, untrained child prince, present a valid reason before the prince. Loyal teacher will say that the hunting is made for the royal princes but it is only then when the prince himself will be able to hunt and shoot with his rifle. Otherwise he will be mere a witness of the hunting hunt by the trained companions. Loyal teachers should also explain the physical harm of riding horse in young age. Riding on elephant for long time will compress the internal nerves of the thighs and which further will lead towards the impotency.<sup>75</sup>

Further Bhai Kahn Singh talks about the age of riding the horses and elephants. He refers to Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha by saying, 'Maharaja Hira Singh also walks for eight to twelve *Kos* during journey and then camps after this distance.' Even if the person feels tired should not move forward, one should halt and take rest. Bhai Kahn Singh says, "In our country people try to reach home, though how long the distance is. In this tiredness they make the physical relation with wives and next generation who takes birth is always weak. It is really sad to say that the country is being destroyed in ignorance."<sup>76</sup>

Only one who is ready to give up life for the king and his son should accept the duty. Initially he will be tortured by the king and son both. If he will not handle the

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<sup>75</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 62-64.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. 65.

prince strictly, king will question. If he will be strict the prince will be angry. But the noble tutor will be respected and rewarded later on by the king who was earlier taught as prince. On the other hand, the disloyal, greedy caretaker/tutor will be punished by the king later on. These points are further supported by Bhai Kahn Singh with examples of Patiala and Nabha princely states. Maharaja Narinder Singh of Patiala punished his teachers who did not instruct him positively during his childhood. On the other hand Maharaja Bharpoor Singh of Nabha, is said to have praised his teacher and caretaker Gurbaksh Singh, who did his duty honestly and loyally.<sup>77</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh further discussing about the caretaker/teacher of the prince says that the teacher of a prince should behave like a father and understand the pain and problems of his student. He should not be open with the prince because the prince will ignore his instructions and take him lightly. He should have an image that the only by telling his name the prince will stop doing any negative thing.

When the prince is silent it should be taken as a sign of leaving that place for a while but other caretakers should be strictly instructed by the tutor to take care of the prince and they should be allowed to mention the name of the head tutor for stopping the prince from any bad thing. They can easily say that they are answerable to main teacher.

Prince should be provided proper food. It should be altered and a healthy diet should be preferred. Prince should never be taught to tell a lie. He should be taught to keep his promise. These are some teachings for the betterment of the prince. One person should focus on one thing. He should not try to do all the works. Partaker of all activities never completes the tasks. Concentration and aim both make the impossible things possible. But concentration should be for good works. Similarly the caretaker of the prince should always be careful about himself. Free man is dangerous like devil. In free time the caretaker should read the scriptures. He should teach the prince the identification of good weapon, good horse and good person. He should always teach the prince, positive things. Negative things should not be discussed. If there is any requirement of mentioning the negative things then it should be about the mistakes of the kings of past times. Due to which they had to face insult and failure. Prince should

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<sup>77</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 66.

be advised to not to repeat the mistakes, made by the previous kings of various kingdoms.<sup>78</sup>

Servant/caretaker, who hides the reality from the prince, is a sinner. If the caretaker doesn't like any person who is good in his work and is a qualitative person, to whom sometimes prince wants to meet, or himself wants to visit that person then the caretaker/teacher should keep away all the grudges for the time and should take the prince to that particular place. If he will not follow the orders of the prince, he will sooner or later be recognized for this act and will be punished by the prince. King should treat all as equal. Here Bhai Kahn Singh has referred Bhagwat Gita, where it is mentioned that the all people are equal for God. Similarly the subjects of the kingdom should be considered as equal in front of the king, the representative of God on earth.

Teacher/caretaker of the prince should give up all the enmities, to teach the prince. If he will not provide the true information to the king, in this way he will keep the prince unaware from that particular point of view, which could be learned from that person, who was disliked by the teacher. On the other side, prince will also start having negatives ideas about that person. For all these things caretaker should be considered as the sinner. Those who are wise and best caretakers can make the prince a full 'light house' from a 'small' lamp but the foolish and selfish caretakers make the prince, very narrow minded. King should be very careful while appointing a caretaker/teacher for his son. Always wise and best teachers should be selected who will be able to teach the best things to the prince. These are the things about which a king should be careful.

Another thing, about which Bhai Kahn Singh talks in his book *Raj Dharam*, is the respect of the prince. This instruction is for the tutor/teacher and their relatives. It happens sometimes that these people, sons and brothers of employee and tutor take the prince and king for granted and they talk to prince in an egoistic way because they think, prince is being taught by their father and brother. Such people are punished later on when the prince becomes a king. Tutor, employee, caretaker and their relatives should always be careful while talking to the young prince. Tutor should instruct the prince very politely.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 67-69.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. 83.



In case of Prince, who has to go long for being a king, should be very careful. He should take help or make such servants medium to get in power unchallenged. King should be smart in his works that he should neither give the full control to the head assistants nor should take whole burden on himself. Becoming the king after succession, for a prince is certain and unchallenged. Still he should give the credits to his assistants and make them realize that they all have put burden upon his shoulders and it will not be finished, maintained and administered without their assistance.

In this way, king will tie all the others with the responsibilities of the kingdom. By doing this, he will make clear to all assistants that no one would be spared from the duties. It will be a warning to those who were thinking that king, as a prince was with them, so they will enjoy the freedom by making him a king.

Prince should take help from the senior assistants in becoming a king. But should be careful in future and avoid the situations of giving full fledged rights to them. Otherwise they will increase the numbers of their relatives in the service which will further make their group strong resulting many mis-happenings in the kingdom. Such people also try to make the king an addict of a luxurious life and drinking alcohol. Once king is indulged in such activities, the cunning people will loot the subjects, treasury and whole regime in the name of the king. Bhai Kahn Singh says that these types of employees are found in his contemporary times.

Horse riding, sports, reading and analysis are necessary for a king/Prince. Once being king, he should forgive all the people and declare among his subjects that all of his servants are superior. Subjects should not compete with the employees. On the other-side, he should make declaration that subjects are handed over to him by the father, the previous king. If anyone will disturb them or ask for bribe, should surely be punished.<sup>80</sup>

A crown prince should not be egoistic on being selected as successor and he should be more decent on being a king. Rule and powers are not for enjoyment and luxurious life. These are and should be for the selfless service of the people. King should come to a level where he can easily understand and feel the sorrows and joys of

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<sup>80</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 74-79.

the common people. He should have a sense of responsibility and should seek blessings of almighty with prayers regularly for the performance of his duties. Bhai Kahn Singh has referred the queen Victoria of England, on hearing the news her appointment as queen she filled tears in her eyes and prayed to god for helping her in performance of her duties properly. A ruler must be the same as mentioned. Here Bhai Kahn Singh has given honor to the British queen.<sup>81</sup>

A Crown prince should be smart, intelligent and obviously be the warrior. He should be the destroyer of the evils. He should be a donor according to the policy. He should be the glorious and patient in the war. He should be the caretaker and mentor of all. He should be perfect in his duties and religion. He should not have the negative habits in his mind and should avoid the company of such people. Such attributes of a person are required to be appointed as a king.

A Crown prince, whenever receives any order from the king, should give up all other things and follow the orders. Even if he is not well, still should go to him. Such people are really loved and liked by the king.<sup>82</sup> Crown prince as person who can be appointed on particular post must be trained earlier.<sup>83</sup> King's son must have all type of skills. Here also Queen Victoria's reference is provided by Bhai Kahn Singh as he says that the family members of the queen had all skills along with the rule.

ਦੇਖੀਯੇ ,ਹਮਾਰੀ ਮਹਾਂਮਾਨਯ ,ਮਹਾਰਾਨੀ ਵਿਕਟੋਰੀਆ ਕੀ ਸੰਤਾਨ ਕੈਸੀ ਸਰਬ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਕੀ  
ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ ਸ਼ਾਸਤ੍ਰ ਤਥਾ ਸ਼ਿਲਪਕਾਰੀ ਸੇ ਨਿਪੁਨ ਹੈ ,ਇਸ ਨੀਤੀ ਸੇ ਉਸਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਤਾਪ ਸਰਬੋਪਰਿ  
ਛਾ ਰਹਾ ਹੈ।<sup>84</sup>

Dekhiye, Humari mahamanya, maharani Victoria ki santan kaesi sarab parkar ki shastar, shaastar tatha shilpkari se nipun hai, Is niti se uska partap saropar chha raha hai.

Crown prince should watch the court procedures from a particular place and a wise person should be there who will explain them the procedures and even discuss the

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<sup>81</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 91.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 110.

<sup>83</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 123-124.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. 142-143.

asked questions time to time so that the royal sons will be perfect in the court procedures.<sup>85</sup>

A general advice for the parents by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha is their duty towards their children. They should treat their child as the most loving piece of heart. They should accept and fulfill all the demands of their children up to 7 year age. Crossing the 7 years, they should be strict and create a discipline and the child should be provided the education. All the activities of the parents will be followed by the child. Anger, lie, truth, love, goodness as well as the badness are passed on to the child from the parents. Good behavior learned from the parents, will make the child a best person for future life. But the instructor/tutor appointed for the child should be wise, experienced and loyal person.<sup>86</sup>

### III

Bhai Kahn Singh further mentions the attributes of good noble ministers. Minister should present every situation before the king truly. He should not be false or tricky. Otherwise he will and should be removed from his post. Firstly, minister should not be a friend. He should not play negative. Secondly, He should be neutral while justifying anything. Thirdly, ministers of the king should always be ready and alert for the care of the province. They must have a meeting within a short time period so that they will be able to discuss the matters, related to the rule.<sup>87</sup>

Ministers should be the best persons. It is difficult to find out the ministers of good quality in the society. They should be of high characters, moral, values, spiritual and follower of the truth. Kind heart and well-wishers of all people without enemy are the real ministers. Such ministers even if have the enemies, they should reward them for doing something good. Jealousy, partiality should not be there. Problem creators for the kingdom and society should be punished. Minister should be well qualified. He should not be a drunkard. He should not have any desire of having extra martial affair and he should avoid the desire of having another woman. He should not ask for bribe,

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<sup>85</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 290.

<sup>86</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 87.

<sup>87</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 275-284.

he should not collect money from the people in any illegal way. If he does so, should be expelled by the king. Minister should be loyal and work for the betterment of the all. Minister should take care of food even of dogs along with the subjects. In case of inflation, prices increase, in such cases, he should decrease the salary of those who had earned the money with false means. Salaries of the poor people should be increased in such situations.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, minister should have four qualities, angry, soft, money saver and friendly. These qualities should be implemented according to the situations. While seeking advices and suggestions a minister should listen to everyone, even the good and bad both. Especially those people should be considered as more important who are close to the king. If corrupt people get some wrong order issued, the minister should get those orders cancelled.

Bhai Kahn Singh, also talks about the tax collection. If the tax is considered as increased and difficult for the people to pay, it should be decrease. On the other hand, if it is found that the people can pay more, then the tax should be increased. But any corrupt practice should be avoided and it should be in a reachable limit of the subject. Those who take bribe should be punished by the ministers. Minister should always consider their work as worship. It should be his real religion. Dangerous and fraud minister, who shows differently than their reality should be kept away from the rule. They should be deported.<sup>88</sup>

#### IV

Bhai Kahn Singh also talks about the recruitment of the army by the king from his own religion and caste and from noble family line. The cunning and the betrayers should not be recruited. This thing should specially be kept in mind while appointing the officers. Bhai Kahn Singh has also focused on the recruitment of the soldiers. According to him the physical strength, arm strength and mental ability should be tested. Economic conditions of family should be asked. Physically strong and experienced in house works should be appointed in the army. During the time of

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<sup>88</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 142-143.

appointment they will be informed about rules and regulations. Honesty, concentration, hard work, no use of drugs, no attachment to the women until a target are the rules to be followed.<sup>89</sup>

There must be love and passion for the job and whenever required one must go for job when asked. No one will stop from doing so. Even if one just starts eating the food then immediately asked to do any duty then he must go for the call of duty. If duty is felt as burden then one must resign and go back to home.<sup>90</sup> Rules for the commanders of army of the king are mentioned as they must have proper seating arrangement, so that whosoever will come to meet them, will sit properly there. If any one does not have any purpose of visit, he should be called properly and important things must be shared with him. All rules and regulations of army should be repeated and revised. Army men should wake up in time, after bath, he should cook and after paying homage to sun, reciting Gurbani from Guru Granth Sahib, he should start his day. Here Bhai Kahn Singh has mentioned the worship of the sun before the Guru Granth Sahib.<sup>91</sup>

Elephants are only for carrying the heavy luggage in the war. They are not suitable for fighting and when they go out of control, they damage the own army. In movement, they are less swift as compare to the horses. For swiftness appropriate arrangements should be made. Army of the king should be sure about the complete ending of the enemy. Only if the enemy is finished, one can live a tension free life. A king must have the powerful people in his surrounding, because the powerful relatives shield the person from the problems.<sup>92</sup>

In the battlefield, if the enemy is killed his last rites should be performed properly with due respect.<sup>93</sup> Chief in the army, the king, should fight at the last. He should always be detached, if he shall have any weakness, he will loss the battle. Women should also be trained for the battle field so that they can be able to fight along with the husband and save the life. This will also support the concept of equality of male and female both.<sup>94</sup> Women of the enemy should also be respected. She should be

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<sup>89</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, 70-79.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. 87.

<sup>91</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, 224-263.

<sup>92</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 76-77.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. 412.

<sup>94</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 292-293.

provided the necessary facilities, if captured in war because same thing can happen with oneself also.<sup>95</sup> There should be division in the army and police functioning. Army should take the charge of rules regulations and law management. Other local duties should be assigned to the police. Army cantonment should be far away from the residential area. It will be better for the ruler and his empire. It is the duty of the king to order the army men about the cleanliness of themselves and their weapons. Uniform should be used for special occasion or an extra unused uniform should always be there.<sup>96</sup>

It is mentioned regarding the army that while marching towards any place or attacking any area, king should take care of the comfort of the people accompanying him, like servants, army men etc if it will be neglected then the mission for which he started, will be incomplete.<sup>97</sup> Duties of the army commanders as mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, are to take care of the army when they march towards any targeted area. They should make sure that the army is marching in a formation. All have to protect each other. Any forest or bushes shall be checked by the army commander to avoid any ambush.<sup>98</sup> No one should shout, no one will go outside alone and without any weapon. Most of the times, while going for bath even for toilet four people will go, facing towards four directions. A special group with guns should be appointed for immediate action.

In the outer place, if anything is purchased, one must give the required amount. If it is not paid as per the requirement then the army general must get it done, if requested for doing so. Army men should treat the people of that area very nicely.

Camping should be expanded into the large area so that the message of the strength of the army will prevail in the area. It is a trick, played, to break the confidence of the others. Soldiers should practice with the arms daily. No drugs should be taken by any soldier. Women of the area should be treated nicely, and should be won over to work as informers. Local chief of the area must be won over. Army must have a complete map of the area. Diet, food and medical facilities must be there for the army.

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<sup>95</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 300.

<sup>96</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 54-55.

<sup>97</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 95.

<sup>98</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, 3-4.

Punishment must be awarded to rule breakers among the army-men. Winning over the area in itself is a profit. General of the area should be aware at night. It is more dangerous at night. Camp color of day time should be replaced with black or brown. He should change the camp for night. Two camps are required. One should be used day time and second should be left empty. On the night time, army should change the camp. If the enemy will attack the camp they must be noted down and caught. They should be shot from far away.<sup>99</sup>

Practice of arms and debate about scriptures must be carried on always. Money should be sent to the home if required. Pension and care taking of the family must be done properly. Pension for wife and family should be allotted. Deep places should be avoided for stay. Enemy can open the water for that deep place. They can drown the army. Army should be careful while camping. Temporary fort must be established there and it should be guarded by army. A small water channel should be dug around the temporary fort this water will work as barrier in the entry of the enemy. At night, the whole army should be separated which will get together in the morning. This is for the safety of the army because the whole army can be attacked together anytime. In separation, if the army is attacked, the damage will be less. General and all sub-commanders should talk generally with the soldiers. It will keep a peaceful and harmonious relation between all of them. There should not be light and any noise at night. Otherwise there will be attack of the enemy. Water must be carried along with when army will move from one place to another. There should be one group, which will come after all and will collect some of the things fell on ground. General should try to avoid the war if possible.<sup>100</sup>

Marching during peace time is another occasion when the army moves from one place to another. A complete map should be there with the army. Everything must be noted down on the paper. Army men will be divided according to the requirements. For example, for guarding and patrolling separate units of the soldiers should be there. All men will move at same time through the same way. General must have the report of every movement. If any camel dies on the way during the march should be replaced

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<sup>99</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, 15.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* 30-40.

with another. If necessary then the load should be decreased.<sup>101</sup> Camp of the army should be hygienic and no cooking will be done in the safe area which will not affect the camp. Toilets will be adjusted in area which will not affect the residing people in the camp. Clothes, beds should be made clean and washed properly. Soldiers must take care of diet according to season. Fitness is required for the army men.<sup>102</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh thus, has a blue print for the proper and ethical functioning of the forces.

## V

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, an ambassador of king should be wise and intelligent. He should be creative who will handle the situation as the circumstances. It will be helpful for the king.<sup>103</sup> Person, who is allotted the job or any task by the master, should focus on fulfilling that task. Person should always act as per the advice of the master.<sup>104</sup> True and intelligent courtiers of the king find out the solutions themselves. Ambassador wherever goes should leave behind a symbol of power. Though as symbol of activity, which will show his power and for which he will be remembered for long time. This will be beneficial for the ruler.

Ruler, people and officers when start indulging in gambling and alcohol, then it should be taken as the end of that rule is near. Where the honest men and the women are not respected such kingdoms are always denied.<sup>105</sup>

Along with talking about ambassadors, he also mentions warrior and says that the warrior should ask either for life or for grandeur. One who gives life, he is praised only.<sup>106</sup> Reference of Hanuman is provided by Bhai Kahn Singh when he says that one should not use the whole power at once while fighting with enemy. It should be used in shifts. If one shall not be able to protect and win. One chance should be given to the enemy, whose force will be used once.

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<sup>101</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, 41-48.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. 50-67.

<sup>103</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 201.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. 185-186.

<sup>105</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 191-192.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. 202-212.



Bhai Kahn Singh also discusses the importance of saving physical energy within body, reference of widow is provided. Reason of a long life of a widow is mentioned where Singh asks the Zimidar, how does a widow live for a long time? Reason again is mentioned something of a Sanyasi (Celibacy). She saves her energy within her body and does not waste it like other women. She keeps herself busy in worship and meditation. She does not use alcohol. She has no worries. She eats less still lives a proper life because like the saints her power in body freezes similarly in case of a Yogi. Whose sperm gets freeze in the body and it fulfills all the needs which a food provides to a common person. Further there is a suggestion of eating such things which will increase and freeze the power and energy of the human.<sup>107</sup>

## VI

Further types of servants are mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh. First category of servants is those who consider the kings as beloved same as a follower considers his Guru. Second category of servants is cunning people who are servants of money only.<sup>108</sup> These types of people present costly gifts to the king for winning his interest. Especially in case of royal palace, best horses are presented. Others talk about hunting and purchase of dogs and eagles etc. These kinds of servants also talk about wine and other entertainment. They try to create king's interest in wine and other luxurious life styles. Weak kings are often taken in and used by the servants for their own interests. These elements never hesitate for making false stories about king and his character. In the name of the King they use many other people and make them fool. Especially they use the ladies. Firstly they fulfill their wishes. Secondly they offer them to the king.

<sup>107</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 43-44.

ਸਿੰਘ ਕਹਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਅਵਸਥਾ ਕਿਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਸੇ ਭੋਗਤੀ ਹੈ? ਜਿਮੀਦਾਰ ਕਹਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਵਲ ਤੇ ਬਿਸਾ ਬੰਦ ਰਹਿਤਾ ਹੈ। ਦੂਸਰੇ ਭਜਨ ਕਰਤੀ ਹੈ। ਤੀਸਰੇ ਸ਼ਰਾਬ ਨਹੀਂ ਪੀਤੀ। ਚੌਥੇ ਫਿਕਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਪਾਂਚਵੇਂ ਆਹਾਰ ਥੋੜਾ ਕਰਤੀ ਹੈ। ਜੇ ਬਿਸਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਤਾ ਉਸਕੇ ਭੂਖ ਬਹੁਤ ਕਮ ਲਗੇਗੀ। ਸਾਧੂ ਅਹਾਰ ਥੋੜਾ ਕਰਤੇ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਿ ਉਨਕਾ ਬੀਰਜ ਜੇ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਹਿਤਾ ਹੈ ਉਸੀ ਕੀ ਤਾਕਤ ਰਹਿਤੀ ਹੈ।

Singh kehta hai ke bidhva istari jyada avastha kis karan se bhogti hai? Zimidar kehta hai ke awal to bisa band rehta hai. Doosre bhajan karti hai. Tisre sharab nahin piti. chauthe fikar nahi hai. Paanchve ahar thoda karti hai. Jo bisa nahi karta usko bhookh kam lagegi. Sadhu ahar thoda karte hain kyo ke unka biraj jo kayam rehta hai uski takat rehti hai.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. 44.

Such kind of unsafe sexual activities invites many diseases which pass on from generation to generation.<sup>109</sup>

Next part is about the duties of the assistants of the ruler. Question is raised that why they do not stop the king from doing the wrong things. Reason of not stopping the king by the assistants is personal greed. It means if the ruler will be indulged in enjoyment then they will be able to loot the money and material. But they the foolish people do not understand if the king will not survive then how they will remain in their respective positions? If the ruler will not be careful he will die and his family specially the small children will suffer and insulted by the assistants. So, king should always be cautious and careful.

Master and the servant should have a faith and trust in each other. Servant should always be ready even to give up the life for master and master should always be ready to give the due respect to the servant.<sup>110</sup>

There is an advice for the master as two times he should forgive the servants and if the mistake is repeated third time then the culprit should be punished. Master should always have a feeling of kindness in his heart for the subordinates, it will boost up their confidence and they will be more powerful in their works.

## VII

The views of Bhai Khan Singh about the attributes and duties of a King, crown prince, ministers, servants and army are rather similar and center around the virtues and ethical values. He has focused on attributes of king, his social, religious, political and spiritual life, his duties and rights as an administrator, as a fighter and as policy maker are mentioned. Politics revolves around the king and his officials. What a king should do and what he should not, are explained. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, has very finely tried to make a royal palace life and its working, visual for the readers. Life of crown prince and his struggle from childhood to a king and even his life as a king, his relations with his tutors and caretakers etc are elaborated. Role and types of ministers, their

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<sup>109</sup> Kahn Singh, *Raj Dharam*, 45-46, 49.

<sup>110</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 163-168.

appointments and their duties are explained. Servants, army and recruitment, even the battle field, camping of army and their routine during marching any area are explained by Bhai Kahn Singh, it is very important from a political point of view. A fresh perception through the eyes of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha is created.

There are some of the important points for which Bhai Kahn Singh stood against later on perhaps with a change in his ideas but earlier he has focused on those points, as worship of sun, watering the sun, worship of forefathers etc. References of Rama, Rawan, Mahabharat, Vedas and raja Janak of epic times have been provided. Such ideas point out the change in the thoughts of Bhai Kahn Singh because as a courtier and beginner in the writing he was focusing on sun worship and worship of forefathers but later on he was opposing all such rituals as a reformer and being part of Singh Sabha. The book *Vijay Swam Dharam* has started by Bhai Kahn Singh by bowing head to the God, Akal or timeless, Bhagwati Ji or the Goddess, then he has mentioned as *Sri Guru Nanakaya-Namah*, *Sri Guru Gobind Singhaya Namah*, *Sri Sarab Devaya-Namah* and *Sri Ganpate-Namah*.<sup>111</sup>

But in the book *Hum Hindu Nahi*, Bhai Kahn Singh while pointing out the denial of worship of Devi/Devtas, in Sikhism, mentions the beginning of any scripture with the name of the God. Talking about Guru Gobind Singh, at same time, he mentions that Guru Gobind Singh mentioned the *manglacharan* with the *Ik Oankar*, *Satgur Prasad* and *Ik Oankar*, *Sri Waheguru Ji Ki Fateh*. It means the *manglacharan* of any scripture makes clear the religious belief of the author. This book was published in 1902. But in his early days while working under Nabha State, Bhai Kahn Singh wrote few books where he writes *manglacharan* as

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਸਹਾਇ॥ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਭਗਵਤੀ ਜੀ ਸਹਾਇ॥ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕਯਨਮ॥ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ  
ਸਿੰਘਯਨਮ॥ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਰਬ ਦੇਵਯਨਮ॥ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗਣਪਤੇ ਨਮ॥

It points towards some kind of change in and crystallization of the ideas of Bhai Kahn Singh with passage of time. In his work, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, he has pointed out all rituals and blind faiths on basis of which he considers the Sikhs as different from

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<sup>111</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vijay Swam Dharam*, 1.

Hindus. *Ham Hindu Nahi*, was of the time period when he was under the influence of Singh Sabha movement, specially Bhasaur Singh Sabha, the radicals. As mentioned earlier initially he was not writing independently because he was working for Maharaja Hira Singh who might have been following the secularism within his rule. Being a ruler, Hira Singh, had to write or get written in favor of all the people of different beliefs. Bhai Kahn Singh's ideas change with passage of time in various phases. His views on kingship and governance are from the period when he was employed in a princely state and reflect the ideas he was expected to stand with in that position, thus, illustrating the virtues of loyalty, ethics and values that he upheld in theory.

## Chapter 5

### BHAI KAHN SINGH NABHA AND RELIGION

Being connected to a religious family, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha since his childhood was raised to be steeped in religion and a religious outlook. He had followed his grandfather and father and very devotionally learned the spiritual life style. He ate little and slept on the floor and served the Gurudwara where he lived with his father. Since his childhood he had the spiritual attributes in his personality which was crystallized by his teachers. His father wanted to provide him spiritual and religious education. It was made possible by appointing private teachers for him as he did not join any formal school and was taught by 'play-way' methods. Along with receiving the education of Sikhism and code of conduct, Sanskrit, Gurbani and Sikh-literature, Chhand Shaster, Vedant and Law, poetry, music and Sikh History he also learned reading and reciting Guru Granth Sahib under the guidance of his father Narain Singh in the age of six which made his interest into Sikhism. Religious attributes in his personality can be seen in his writings.

He is known for his writings, most of them are about *Gurmat* that is Sikh code of conduct. He presented the religion in his works with special reference to Sikhism. How a follower of Sikhism should be, behave and live are the concerns of Bhai Sahib in his works. Bhai Kahn Singh has presented the attributes of God/almighty, Guru and saint. Ways of worship, importance of Gurbani, code of conduct according to religion, denunciation of superstitions and rituals are very finely presented by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha for showing the path to the seekers of truth. The present chapter focuses on his views about god, holy name, attributes of god, way of worship and the aim of a staunch follower of spirituality. The chapter is divided into six sections. Section one talks about God, his existence and divine attributes. Section two focuses on code of conduct and denunciation of false rituals. Section three and four are about Guru and Saints respectively. Their role and importance according to Gurbani are illustrated. Section five carries in itself some poems of Bhai Kahn Singh about knowledge of truth from Guru Gobind, significance of Khalsa and Punjab as 'Panjab' with its real sense. Section six is a summary of all section along with concluding lines.

## I

The present section talks about God and his attributes. Role of God, importance of worship and its impact on the followers are some points, mentioned. Bhai Kahn Singh illustrates as following.

ਇਕਸ ਤੇ ਹੋਇਆ ਅਨੰਤਾ, ਨਾਨਕ ਏਕਸ ਮਾਹਿ ਸਮਾਇ ਜਾਓ।

Ekas te hoya ananta, Nanak ekas mahe smaye jeo.

He says that the whole creation is made from One and all will get absorbed in that One only. Universe began form One. Various religions/sects have different view point about the creation of universe and world. But in Sikhism, everything was created by God on his will. There is not sure information about the date, time and day.

ਏਕ ਉਪਰ ਜਿਸ ਜਨ ਕੀ ਆਸਾ, ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਕਟੀਐ ਜਮ ਕੀ ਫਾਸਾ।<sup>1</sup>

Ek upar jis jan ki asa, tis ki katiye jam ki fasa.

Bhai Kahn Singh has mentioned that one should have all hopes only in God almighty (waheguru). Those who trust someone else for fulfillment of worldly desires, they repent later on.

ਏਕੰਕਾਰ ਏਕ ਪਸਾਰਾ, ਏਕੈ ਅਪਰਾਪਾਰਾ, ਏਕ ਬਿਸਥੀਰਨ, ਏਕ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ, ਏਕੈ ਪ੍ਰਾਨਾਧਾਰਾ।

Ekankkar ek pasara, ekey aparapara, ek bistheran, ek sampooran, ekay pranadhara.

Bhai Kahn Singh defines the *Ik Oankar*, the holy name of God according to Sikhism. Bhai Kahn Singh says that *Ik Oankar* depicts the oneness of God. Guru Nanak uses one with god, which also clarifies that the worship of other Gods/deities or incarnations is false.

Body and mind, all senses are worthy, if worshipping the God and focusing on God almighty. On the other hand, if these senses, take interest in worldly things and follow the path of negativity. They are considered as failure.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 61-62. Gurbani verses/hymns quoted in the present research work have been taken from Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's works.

<sup>2</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 15-17; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1962, 98.

Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that no one can define the God even no one can praise the God but his attribute of blessing the other can be in mind while praising and reminding God.

ਬਿਨ ਉਪਮਾ ਜਗਦੀਸ ਕੀ ਬਿਨਸੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਅੰਧਿਆਰਾ

Bin upma jagdish ki binsey naahi andhyara.

He says that the darkness of the ignorance cannot be removed without his knowledge and his praise and worship.

ਸਭ ਘਟ ਤਿਸਕੇ ਓਹ ਕਰਨੈਹਾਰ, ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਨਮਸਕਾਰ

ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕੀ ਉਸਤਤਿ ਕਰਹੁ ਦਿਨ ਰਾਤ, ਤਿਸਹਿ ਧਿਆਵਹੁ ਸਾਸ ਗਿਰਾਸ।

Sab ghat tiske oh karnehar, sada sada tis kau namskar,

Prabh ki usthat karho din raat, tishey dhiavoh saas giras.

He should be reminded, worshipped with every single breath. He is residing everywhere and in body of everyone.<sup>3</sup> There is not a single place where he is not present.

ਤੂੰ ਸੁਲਤਾਨ ਕਹਾ ਹਉ ਮੀਆਂ, ਤੇਰੀ ਕਵਨ ਵਡਾਈ ?<sup>4</sup>

Tu sultan kaha hau miyan, teri kawan vadai?

God should be kept in mind all the times. Waheguru should be worshipped and reminded daily. Bhai Kahn Singh says that Hindu, Muslim and Yogi all have different ways to worship God. Some sit in meditation and focus on breathing. They try to see the internal form of the God through the third eye called divya chakshu (Divine eye). It is a way to visualize the formless God. Some go to the pilgrims. Muslims follow the Shariyat (Islamic law) as the order of Prophet Mohammad. Some people enjoy the life instead of focusing worship. But the followers of Satnam (True name) praise the waheguru and live a blissful life. But there occurs a problem, which is about defining the God. Some make a mistake by giving the God some names like Govardhandhari and Miyan and many more. By giving some worldly names, greatness of god is being restricted because worldly names cannot define him.

<sup>3</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 1-2; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 3-5.

ਗਗਨ ਮੈ ਥਾਲ ਰਵ ਚੰਦੁ ਦੀਪਕ ਬਨੈ, ਤਾਰਿਕਾ ਮੰਡਲ ਜਨਕ ਮੋਤੀ।

ਧੂਪ ਮਲਆਨਲੇ, ਪਵਨ ਚਵਰੇ ਕਰੇ, ਸਗਲ ਬਨਰਾਇ ਫੂਲੰਤ ਜੋਤੀ।

ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ, ਭਵਖੰਡਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ।<sup>5</sup>

Gagan mae thaal rav chand deepak baney, tarika mandal janak moti.

Dhoop malaanlo, pawan chawro kare, sagal banraye foolant jyoti.

Kaesi aarti hoye, bhavkhandna teri aarti.

Arti-ritual is worship, with lighted lamps in a tray, moved in circular motion in front of an idol or person the accompanying hymn of praise. This method is followed in Hinduism. In Sikhism, as interpreted by Bhai Kahn Singh, Arti, is denied. True Arti as referred by Bhai Kahn Singh is the hymn of Guru Nanak. True Arti is where, tray is sky, sun and moons are lamps. Stars are pearls. Air coming from the hills after touching the trees and vegetation of fragrance is true in sense. Whole universe is worshipping the God. There is no need of any worldly ritual, for worship of God.<sup>6</sup>

ਜਿਥੇ ਨਾਮ ਨ ਜਪੀਐ ਮੇਰੇ ਗੋਬਿੰਦਾ, ਸੇਈ ਨਗਰ ਉਜਾੜੀ ਜੀਉ।<sup>7</sup>

Jithe naam na japiyae mere gobinda, sei nagar ujadi jeo.

Place, where god is not reminded, that place is like ruin (khandar).

ਦਸਮੀ ਦਸਦੁਆਰ ਬਸਿ ਕੀਨੇ, ਮਨ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਨਾਮ ਜਪਲੀਨੇ।

Dasmi dasduar bas kiney, man santokh naam japliney.

Controlling the physical senses and keeping the mind in still situation makes one to be the true worshipper.<sup>8</sup>

ਜੁਗਹਿ ਜੁਗਹਿ ਕੇ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੀਏ, ਗਾਵਹਿ ਕਰ ਅਵਤਾਰੀ। ਤਿਨ ਭੀ ਅੰਤ ਨ ਪਾਇਆ ਤਾਕਾ, ਕਿਆਕਰ ਆਖ

ਵਿਚਾਰੀ ?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 82-83; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 68-70.

<sup>6</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 8; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 170-172.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 59-60.



Yugeh yugeh ke raje kiye, gaveh kar avtari. Tin bhi ant na paya taka, kiyakar aakh  
vichari?

ਅਵਤਾਰ ਨਾ ਜਾਨਹਿ ਅੰਤ, ਪਰਮੇਸੁਰ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬੇਅੰਤ।<sup>10</sup>

Avtar na janeh ant, parmesar parbraham beant.

Incarnations are considered good. Those who incarnated time to time for serving the mankind, they should be respected and reminded. But worshipping them by accepting as God is mistake. Even they cannot know the almighty.

ਸਭ ਮਧੇ ਰਵਿਆ ਮੇਰਾ ਠਾਕਰ

ਆਪ ਸਤ ਕੀਆ ਸਭ ਸਤ

Sabh madhey ravya mera thakur

Ap sat kiya sabh sat

It means that the God is truth and wherever he resides that place is also truth. In this way the whole universe, whole world is Sach Khand or the place of truth where god resides.<sup>11</sup>

ਦਿਨਸ ਚੜੈ ਫਿਰ ਆਖਵੈ ਰੈਣ ਸਬਾਈ ਜਾਇ, ਆਵ ਘਟੈ ਨਰ ਬੁਝੈ ਨਿਤ ਮੂਸਾ ਲਾਜ ਟੁਕਾਇ।

Dinas chadae fir akhvae raen sabai jae, aav ghatae nar boojhey nit moosa laaj  
tukaey.

Days and nights are flying. Life is ending day by day and one should focus on worshipping the god.<sup>12</sup>

ਨਾਨਕ ਹਰਿ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਰ, ਅਟਲ ਏਹੁ ਧਰਮ।

Nanak har kirtan kar, atal eho dharm.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, religion is followed on ideas, which makes the life successful. Birth becomes worth. Acceptance of such ideas, if is justified as first thing, is called Dharm/religion.

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<sup>10</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 48.

<sup>11</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 126.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. 283-284, (Pbi.)

ਮਨ ਤਨ ਧਨ ਸਭ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ ਕੇਰਾ, ਕਿਆ ਕੇ ਪੂਜ ਚੜਾਵਏ?

Man tan dhan sabh prabhu kera, kya ko pooj chdavey?

Mind, body and wealth belong to God. No one can offer anything to almighty. In Sikhism, no special place is mentioned for worship. Not any prescribed material is suggested for worship. It can be done in any way from any place.

ਸੁਖਦਾਤਾ ਭੈਭੰਜਨੇ, ਤਿਸ ਆਗੈ ਕਰ ਅਰਦਾਸ। ਮਿਹਰ ਕਰੇ ਜਿਸ ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨ, ਤਾ ਕਾਰਜ ਆਵੈ ਰਾਸ।

Suckhdata bhaebhanjano, tis aagaey kar ardas. Mehar kare jis meharban, ta karaj  
aavaey raas.

Prayer is strongest communication with the almighty. For success and forgiveness for sins, followers of Guru should pray. The source of blessing, God almighty, is the single source before whom one should pray. He will accept the prayer and complete the task.<sup>13</sup>

Word *kartar* or almighty is explained as, He is the one, He is truth, He is the doer of everything. He has no fear and he is without enmity. He is timeless who never takes birth nor dies. He is self-created. One can know him with the blessings of Guru/Master. He was the truth from the beginning of time, is truth and would be the truth. He cannot be created by anyone. One should always bow the head in front of the god/ *Kartar*. No one else will pay attention to the sorrows.

He uplifts the downtrodden, merciful human. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, if all human beings are females the God is real husband of all soles. Curious devotees are females and God is husband.

*Kartar*/God is mother and father. The attribute of forgiving all mistakes earns him the title of the great forgiver. He is considered as perfect because unlike humans he does not make any mistake. God is eternal. *Kartar*/God is infinite, the bondless. He is the gardener of <sup>14</sup>his garden the whole creation. He is shapeless, colorless and faceless.

God is present in all four types of beings, born as from egg called *Andaz*/oviparous, viviparous and terrigenous. Creatures being grown out of filth, heat

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<sup>13</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 38.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 220-269.

and moisture, *Andaz*, *Jeraj*, *Utthuj* and *Setaj* all are under God. It means to say that God lives everywhere without any discrimination.<sup>15</sup>

Sach Khand the place of god, according to Bhai Kahn Singh is not fixed one in Sikhism. God is omnipresent. He is everywhere. Sikhism, according to Bhai Kahn Singh, is a religion, established with the blessings of the almighty, by Guru Nanak. It works according to the teachings of the almighty.

God/ *Kartar* is wonderful and unique. He knows everything. He is nearest than anything else. He is the only one who accepts everyone who comes to him. He is most powerful than all. He is omnipresent. He is the moderator, director and manager of the whole creation and its activities. He cannot be destroyed. He has all the attributes. *Kartar* is lord of creation. He is almighty. He is the painter who has painted the whole universe. He is free from cycle of birth and death. One, who understands his game and accepts his advice, lives a blissful life. He is one without whom one cannot take any action of the life. It is with the mercy of god only one can be free. He is real donor, who bestows everything upon everyone. His court is everywhere. He provides justice to all. He finishes all devils and protects and uplifts the good people. If one has the favor of God in his/her side then no one can harm. It is the daily routine of the God to save and protect the followers. Those who have fear of the God, they will not be scare of anything in the other world. God is real king. Whole creation is considered as the kingdom of God. He is emperor of emperors, one who goes to the kingdom of god, cannot be destroyed by anyone. It is a biggest mistake to criticize the creation of God. One cannot completely know about the creation of god. Everything in this world is possible only with the grace of the God. No one else can do the deeds of God. Moment of meeting the god is unexplainable. For meeting him, one has to be very true and live according to the will of God and have to have patience. God takes care of all good and bad elements/people. It is ignorance to find the god in the forests.

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<sup>15</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 375.

## II

In this section code of conduct for a Sikh is mentioned. Waking up time, worshipping time and what to do and what not to do are another important aspects discussed.

ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਵੇਲਾ ਸਚਨਾਉ ਵਡਿਆਈ ਵੀਚਾਰ।<sup>16</sup>

Amrit vela sachnao vadiyai vichar.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, early morning time when darkness of night and light of the next morning meets, known as Amrit Vela and when in the evening, neither the sun is properly set nor the nor the too much light is the perfect time for worshipping the God. Amrit Vela, is the best time for waking up and worshipping and reciting the Gurbani because at this time person feels fresh after getting bath, he has a pure body and a still mind. In such state, reminding god is considered as best. Peace prevails all around and there is no disturbance. Taking bath, washing clothes are not sufficient until and unless mind is impure. These practices are main part of Sikhism.<sup>17</sup>

ਉਸਤਤਿ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਦੇਉ ਤਿਆਗੈ, ਖੇਜੈ ਪਦ ਨਿਰਬਾਨਾ।<sup>18</sup>

Ustat ninda dou tiygae, khojoe pad nirbana.

According to Sikh code of conduct, praise and backbiting both should be given up. One should focus on purity of mind. It will lead towards salvation.

ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਭਗਤ ਰਤੇ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ, ਚੂਕੇ ਮੋਹ ਪਿਆਸਾ, ਨਾਨਕ, ਹਾਉਮੈ ਮਾਰ ਪਤੀਏ, ਵਿਰਲੇ ਦਾਸ ਉਦਾਸਾ।<sup>19</sup>

Har ka bhagat rate baeragi, chookey moh piyasa, Nanak, haumai maar patine, virle daas udasa.

Udasi, term is explained by saying that the one who lives in forest and leads a celibacy life is not the true worshiper. True worshiper is one who leads a householder's life but detaches himself/herself from worldly things.

<sup>16</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 98; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 84.

<sup>17</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 111.

<sup>18</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 7; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 5-6.

<sup>19</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 6-7.

ਸੁਪਨੇ ਸੇਤੀ ਚਿਤੁ ਮੂਰਖ ਲਾਇਆ।

Supney seti chit moorakh laya.

O fool! Why are you getting attached to the world which is an illusion/the night-mare?

This universe is an illusion. It is just like a night mare. One should try to be detached from the worldly things.

ਜਿਸ ਸਿਮਰਤ ਸਭ ਕਿਲਵਿਖ ਨਾਸਹਿ, ਪਿਤਰੀ ਹੋਇ ਉਪਾਰੇ, ਸੋ ਹਰਿ ਤੁਮ ਸਦਹੀ ਜਾਪਹੁ, ਜਾਕਾ ਅੰਤ ਨ

ਪਾਰੇ।

Jis simrat sabh kilvikh nasey, pitri hoye uparo, so hari tum sadhi jaapo, jaka ant na paro.

Parents should guide their children for following the path of spirituality. Here, example of Bibi Bhani, mother of fifth Sikh Guru, Arjan Dev ji is mentioned where Bibi Bhani tells her son to follow the path of God.

ਹਉ ਗੁਰ ਮਿਲ ਇਕ ਪਛਾਣਦਾ, ਦੁਯਾ ਕਾਗਲ ਚਿਤ ਨ ਜਾਣਦਾ।<sup>20</sup>

Hau gur mil ik pachhaanda, duya kagal chit na jaanda.

Word upasna, is explained by Bhai Kahn Singh as worship of almighty who is Akal, the timeless, should only be worshipped. According to Bhai Kahn Singh only *Kartar*, almighty is worshipped with the inter-mediation of Guru. Any semi-god, deities and incarnation etc are denied. Bhai Kahn Singh, by referring the Gurbani, condemns all other religions who worship the mediators as Devi/Devtas. There is only One not any Second.

ਕਬਹੂੰ ਸਾਧੁਸੰਗਤਿ ਇਹ ਪਾਵੈ, ਉਸ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਤੇ ਬਹੁਰ ਨ ਆਵੈ। ਅੰਤਰ ਹੋਇ ਗਿਆਨ ਪਰਗਾਸ, ਉਸ

ਅਸਥਾਨ ਕਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਿਨਾਸ।

ਮਨ ਤਨ ਨਾਮ ਰਤੇ ਇਕ ਰੰਗ, ਸਦਾ ਬਸਹਿ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਕੈ ਸੰਗ। ਜਿਉ ਜਲ ਮਹਿ ਜਲ ਆਇ ਖਟਾਨਾ,

ਤਿਉ ਜੇਤੀ ਸੰਗ ਜੇਤਿ ਸਮਾਨ।

ਮਿਟ ਗਏ ਗਵਨ ਪਾਏ ਬਿਸ੍ਰਾਮ, ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ ਕੈ ਸਦ ਕੁਰਬਾਨ।<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 24-27.

Kabhun sadhsangat eh pavaey, us asthan te bahur na avaeey. Antar hoye gyan pargas, us  
asthan ka nahi binas.

Man tan naam rate ik rang, sada baseh parbrahm kae sang. Jiyo jal mahe jal aye  
khatana, tiyo jyoti sang jyot smana.

Mit gae gawan paye bisram, nanak prabh kae sad kurban.

The final stage, after the worship of waheguru, is Atal Padvi. Bhai Kahn Singh says that the final stage can be achieved. At this stage, there is light, all the time, no darkness. In the inter-world of the worshipper, god/almighty resides all the time. Like water becomes one after falling into the source, similarly, light of human becomes one by mixing up with its source that is God almighty. Eventually the soul meets the super-soul. Atma and Parmatma becomes one that is called Atal Padvi the higher divine rank.

Some religious people do not touch the women and they think they follow the real celibacy life, but in actual, those who detach the senses from worldly things, they are real meditating sages.<sup>22</sup>

ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ! ਨਾਮ ਬਿਨਾ ਜੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਲਾਗੈ, ਤੇ ਸਾਕਤ ਨਰ ਜਮ ਘੁਟੀਐ। ਤੇ ਸਾਕਤ ਚੋਰ ਜਿਨਾ ਨਾਮ

ਵਿਸਾਰਿਆ, ਮਨ। ਤਿਨ ਕੈ ਨਿਕਟ ਨ ਭਿਟੀਐ।

Mere man! Naam bina jo dujey laagaey, te sakat nar jam ghutiyae. Te sakat chor jina  
naam visarya, man. Tin kae nikat na bhitiyae.

Such people, should be boycotted, even it is considered as wrong to sit aside such people who have forgotten the God.<sup>23</sup>

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, Sikh is who has learnt and followed the teaching of Jagat Guru (Guru of the world) Guru Granth Sahib and followed the Sikh code of conduct.<sup>24</sup>

ਸਚੀ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਬੈਸਣਾ, ਸਚਨਾਮ ਮਨਧੀਰ,

Sachchi sangat baesna, sachnaam mandheer,

And

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<sup>21</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 35, Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 31.

<sup>22</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 36, Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 35.

<sup>23</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 136-137.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 141.

ਊਤਮ ਸੰਗਤ ਊਤਮ ਹੋਵੈ, ਗੁਣ ਕਉ ਪਾਵੈ ਅਵਗੁਣ ਧੋਵੈ।<sup>25</sup>

Ottam sangat ottam hovaey, gun kau pavaey avgun dhovaey.

One should accompany the true people. Those who are indulged in worldly things will leave their negative impact on their companions. Company should be selected.

ਜਤ ਪਹਾਰਾ, ਧੀਰਜ ਸੁਨਿਆਰ, ਅਹਿਰਣ ਮਤਿ, ਵੇਦੁ ਹਥੀਆਰ। ਭਉ ਖਲਾ, ਅਗਨਿ ਤਪਤਾਉ, ਭਾਂਡਾ

ਭਾਉ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਤਿਤੁ ਢਾਲਿ, ਘੜੀਐ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਸਚੀ ਟਕਸਾਲ।

Jat pahara, dheeraj sunyar, ahran mat, ved hathyar, bhau khala agan taptao, bhanda bhao, amrit tit dhal, ghadiyae shabad sachchi taksal.

According to Guru Granth Sahib, Shabad (word) is mentioned for God, the message of almighty received from the perfect master and the Gurbani of Guru Granth Sahib.<sup>26</sup> Following the Shabad of the guru is the greatest part. Senses should be stopped from indulging into any worldly negative things. Gold smith's example is mentioned in Gurbani referred by Bhai Kahn Singh.

Stopping the senses from doing negative things is oven, patience is the gold smith. Still wisdom is gold smith's block, where he fixes the material by hitting with hammer, knowledge attained through the Guru/Master is the hammer. Keeping in mind the god and being safe from bad deeds, works as air provides pump for burning the oven. Living a hard life of bearing the sufferings of world and giving up the worldly pleasures is the heat, required for the gold. Devotion and love for god is frame. In this frame, the God's word is shaped. In this way the mint of truth the word of god is framed and shaped.<sup>27</sup>

ਤਨ ਸੂਚਾ ਸੋ ਆਖੀਐ, ਜਿਸ ਮਹਿ ਸਾਚਾ ਨਾਉ।<sup>28</sup>

Tan soocha so akhiyae, jis mahe sachha nao.

Those who think of beauty of the physical appearance are mentally impure. Like a crow does not get anything to eat and satisfies his appetite from a ruined house.

<sup>25</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 128.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 133.

<sup>27</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 134-135.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 156.

Similarly, some people take birth on this earth and die without doing any work of spirituality.<sup>29</sup>

ਨਾਨਕ ਸੇ ਸੂਰਾ ਵਰਿਆਮ, ਜਿਨ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਦੁਸਟ ਅਹੰਕਰਣ ਮਾਰਿਆ।

Nanak so soora varyam, jin vicho dusat ahankarn marya.

Bhai Kahn Singh presents Guru Nanak's views, O Nanak! those, who kill the inner ego, are the real warrior.<sup>30</sup> Warriors according to Bhai Kahn Singh are those people who never give up always act as brave, who also win their defects (sins). They all are real warriors.

ਵਿੱਚ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਸੇਵ ਕਮਾਈਐ ਤਾ ਦਰਗਹਿ ਬੈਸਣ ਪਾਈਐ।

Vich duniya sev kamaiyae ta dargey baesan paiyae.

Service/Seva in Sikhism has a very high place. It is the first and foremost rule of service in the Sikhism. One is rewarded in the other world, only if he/she has served the humanity while life time.<sup>31</sup>

ਸੁਅਸਤਿ ਆਥ ਬਾਣੀ ਬਰਮਾਉ, ਸਤਿ ਸੁਹਾਣ ਸਦਾ ਮਨ ਚਾਉ।<sup>32</sup>

Suasth aath bani barmao, sat suhan sada man chao.

Word 'kushal-swast' is explained by Bhai Kahn Singh. It is a blessing provided by a *Brahman* while blessing someone. 'Kushal Ho' means be healthy and happy. In Gurbani, according to Bhai Kahn Singh Satya and Subahan is praise of God which is the real blessing.

ਸੰਧਿਆ ਤਰਪਣ ਕਰਹਿ ਗਾਇਤ੍ਰੀ, ਬਿਨ ਬੂਝੈ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਇਆ।

Sandhya tarpan kareh gaytri, bin boojhaey dukh paya.

Without knowing the truth of God, it is worthless to perform any ritual or reciting the hymn from the religious scripture.<sup>33</sup>

ਰਹੁ ਰਹੁ ਰੀ ਬਹੁਰੀਆ, ਘੁੰਘਟ ਜਿਨ ਕਾਢੈ। ਅੰਤ ਕੀ ਬਾਰ ਲਹੈਗੀ ਨ ਆਢੈ।<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 161.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 167.

<sup>31</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 173.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 287.

<sup>33</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 190-191.



Raho raho ri bahuriya, ghungat jin kaadhaey. Ant ki bar lahaegi na aadhe.

Covering the face by woman/Ghoongat is denied in Sikhism. It is like living inside the jail. Keeping woman locked (somehow) in house and veiling by wrong is denied in Sikhism.

ਦੇਹੀ ਧੋਵੈ ਚਕ੍ਰ ਬਣਾਏ ਮਾਇਆਨੇ ਬਹੁ ਧਾਵੈ, ਅੰਦਰ ਮੈਲ ਨ ਉਤਰੈ ਰਉਮੈ ਫਿਰ ਫਿਰ ਆਵੈ

ਜਾਵੈ।<sup>35</sup>

Dehi dhovaey chakar bnaye mayano baho dhavaey, andar mael na utraey  
haumaey fir fir avaey javaey.

Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that those who print the symbols on their body are denied in Sikhism.

ਗੰਗਾ ਜਮੁਨਾ ਗੋਦਾਵਰੀ ਸਰਸੁਤੀ, ਤੇ ਕਰਹਿ ਉਦਮ ਧੂਰਿ ਸਾਧੂ ਕੀ ਤਾਈ। ਜਿਤਨੇ ਤੀਰਥ ਦੇਵੀ

ਥਾਪੇ, ਸਭ ਤਿਤਨੇ ਲੋਚਹਿ ਧੂਰਿ ਸਾਧੂ ਕੀ ਤਾਈ।<sup>36</sup>

Ganga Yamuna godawari sarsuti, te kareh udam dhoor sadhu ki taayi. Jitney  
teerath devi thaapey, sabh titney lochey dhoor sadhu ki taayi.

Holy touch of Guru, religious masters makes the things sacred, one who, has holy touch of feet of Gurus, leaves all negative elements behind and becomes pure. All holy pilgrims seeks the sacred touch of the feet of religious people the sadhus.

ਰੋਵਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਜੇਤੜੇ ਸਭ ਬੰਨ੍ਹਿ ਪੰਡ ਪਰਾਲਿ।

Rovan wale jetade sabh bannhe pand pral.

Death in Sikhism is known as Chalana. On the death of a person one should not cry. One should accept it as the will of God patiently.

ਕਵਨ ਅਰਥ ਮਿਰਤਕ ਸੀਂਗਾਰ।<sup>37</sup>

Kawan arth mirtak singar.

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<sup>34</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 358.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 359.

<sup>36</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 359-360.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 360-363.

Spending extra money on last rites of a dead person is denied in Sikhism.

Joy and sorrow both are gifts of God. They come and go but only the real follower of the truth let them pass on without getting affected.<sup>38</sup>

ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਤੇ ਭੁਲਿਆ ਵਿਆਪਨ ਸਭੇ ਰੋਗ।

Parmesar te bhullya vyapan sabhey rog.

It is also mentioned in the Gurbani, referred by Bhai Kahn Singh that the forgetting God invites all type of mental and physical sorrows.

ਤਿਨ ਸੰਗ ਸੰਗ ਨ ਕੀਚਈ, ਨਾਨਕ ਜਿਨਾ ਆਪਣਾ ਸੁਆਉ।<sup>39</sup>

Tin sang sang na kichai, Nanak jina apna soau.

One should not accompany the selfish people. True people should accompany those who follow the path of God which further leads towards goodness and spirituality.

ਪਹਿਲਾ ਮਰਣ ਕਬੂਲ, ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਛਡ ਆਸ। ਹੋਹੁ ਸਭਨ ਕੀ ਰੇਣੂਕਾ। ਤਉ ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪਾਸ।<sup>40</sup>

Pehla maran kabool, jivan ki chhad aas. Hoho sabhan ki renuka. Tau aao hmaray paas.

Bhai Kahn Singh mentions the sacrifice that one has to go through while following the path of God. Here death of senses is mentioned as to be accepted by the beginner on this path. Those who accept are welcomed. Bhai Kahn Singh says that in Sikhism, killing animal for sacrifice is not accepted. But being selfless and sacrificing oneself is real sacrifice.

ਕਹੁ ਕਬੀਰ ਜਨ ਭਏ ਖਾਲਸੇ, ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਭਗਤਿ ਜਿਹ ਜਾਨੀ<sup>41</sup>

Kahu kabir jan bhaye khalse, prem bhagat jeh jaani.

Term Khalsa, as explained by Bhai Kahn Singh, is pure, no impurity or mixture of any bad element. There for Guru Gobind Singh (Deshmesh Pita) gave new name to

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<sup>38</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 196.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 288.

<sup>40</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 289-290.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 298-299.

*the Pahuldhari Sikh* (the Sikhs who baptized to Sikhism by drinking holy nectar stirred with khanda the double edge sword).

Kabir, one of the religious reformers of 15<sup>th</sup> century says those who know the worship with devotion and love are khalsa the pure.

ਜੇ ਤੈ ਮਾਰਨ ਮੁਕੀਆ, ਤਿਨਾ ਨ ਮਾਰੇ ਘੁੰਮ, ਆਪਨੜੈ ਘਰ ਜਾਈਐ ਪੈਰ ਤਿਨਾ ਦੇ ਚੁੰਮ।<sup>42</sup>

Jo tae maran mukiya, tinna na marey ghumm, apanadaey ghar jaiyae paer tinna de chumm.

Real religion is when everyone is forgiven. Here, preference is given to patience and tolerance. Pure at heart has no enmity with anyone. Here, killing of ego is focused.

ਵਾਟ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਖਰੀ ਉਡੀਏ, ਖੰਨਿਅਹੁ ਤਿਖੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਪਿਈਏ।<sup>43</sup>

Vaat hmari khari udini, khanyo tikhi bahut pieni.

Path of Guru as Gumukh (Sikhism) is like walking on the edge of sword. One has to be patient and curious devotee.

ਚਾਕਰੀ ਵਿਡਾਈ ਖਰੀ ਦੁਖਾਲੀ, ਆਪ ਵੇਚ ਧਰਮ ਗਵਾਏ।<sup>44</sup>

Chakri vidani khari dukhali, ap vech dharm gvaye.

Chakar-chakari, the real service of God is following, without question and doubt. One should not do any job which affects his religion. Such jobs/works should be given up.

Four fires, cruelty, attachment, greed and anger are four rivers of fire. People, who follow all this, they get burnt. With support of good deeds, one can save oneself. Tenderness, detachment, patient and forgiveness are the real supporters that can help are to get through these rivers of fire.

ਚੁਪੈ ਚੁਪ ਨ ਹੋਵਈ ਜੇ ਲਾਏ ਰਹਾ ਲਿਵਤਾਰ,

Chupaey chup na hovayi je laye raha livtar,

and

ਮੂਰਖ ਗੰਢ ਪਵੈ ਮੁਹਮਾਰ,

Moorakh gandh pavey muhmar,

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<sup>42</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 300.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.301.

<sup>44</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 373-374.

It is means those who observe the silence as part of their practice and try to keep quiet for long time are not the real worshippers. By following this practice they cannot attach their concentration with the almighty. Observing silence is rather considered as false practice if done as part of worship. One, who follows backbiting, cannot show his/her face among the world of God. About being quiet, called Chupp/Maun, is a part of Yogic meditation activity. Those who forcefully keep quiet and torture themselves are denied in Sikhism. The gift of God is voice, which can be used for reciting the holy name of God and preaching.

ਖਤ੍ਰੀਆਂ ਤ ਧਰਮ ਛੋਡਿਆ ਮਲੇਛਭਾਖਿਆ ਗਹੀ। ਸ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ ਸਭ ਇਕ ਵਰਣ ਹੋਈ ਧਰਮ ਕੀ ਗਤਿ  
ਰਹੀ, ਅਸਟ ਸਾਜ ਸਾਜ ਪੁਰਾਣ ਸੋਧਹਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਬੇਦਅਭਿਆਸ, ਬਿਨ ਨਾਮ ਹਰਿ ਕੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਰੈ

ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਸ<sup>45</sup>

Khatriyan ta dharma chhodya malechhhbhakhya gahi. Srist sabh ik varan hoi  
dharma ki gat rahi, asat saaj saaj puran sodhey karhe bedabhyas, bin nam har kae mukt  
naahi kahe Nanak das.

Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the places considered as religious and centre of spiritual learning start working in the hands of the devil and wrong doers, those people will not learn any good thing from such places. Giving up one's religion due to some greed or fear is completely destruction. Bhai Kahn Singh had also referred the Gurbani where he advocates that the Gurus were not anti-Muslims but they used the word 'people are converting themselves as Muslims' due to common use by Hindu people of that time. Here Gurus had told that they all are giving up their religion and converting towards the strong/powerful and rich ruling religion. Bhai Kahn Singh also explains it by saying that the people like *Kshatriya* have given up their duties of protecting the people and gave up the 'Gayatri Mantra' and started reciting the qalma. Here Bhai Kahn Singh talks about conversion. Ram-naam is considered as the only solution in the age of Kali.

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<sup>45</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 280-281.

ਮਨਮੁਖ ਸੂਤਾ ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹ ਪਿਆਰ, ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਜਾਗੇ ਗੁਣ ਗਿਆਨ ਬੀਚਾਰ।

Manmukh soota maya moh pyar, gurmukh jagey gun gyan bichar.

Follower of Guru called Gurmukh is always awake but follower of mind, known as Manmukh, struck in ignorance and sleeping due to illusion.<sup>46</sup>

ਪੂਤਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਕੀ ਅਸੀਸ, ਨਿਮਖ ਨ ਬਿਸਰੋ ਤੁਮ ਕਉ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ, ਸਦਾ ਭਜਹੁ ਜਗਦੀਸ਼। ਸਤਗੁਰ ਤੁਮ ਕਉ

ਹੋਇ ਦਿਆਲਾ, ਸੰਤ ਸੰਗ ਤੇਰੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ।<sup>47</sup>

Poota mata ki asees, nimakh na bisro tum kao har har, sada bhajoh jagdeesh. Satgur tum kao hoye dyala, sant sang teri preet.

Another reference given by Bhai Kahn Singh is about keeping the God always in mind. A mother wishes and advices the son to be follower of the truth. Even for a small movement, god should not be forgotten. By worshipping the god day and night, worldly life of the worshipper, along with forefathers, will be blessed.

ਹਉ ਗੋਸਾਈ ਦਾ ਪਹਿਲਵਾਨੜਾ, ਮੈ ਗੁਰੁ ਮਿਲ ਉਚ ਦੁਮਾਲੜਾ। ਸਭ ਹੋਈ ਛਿੰਝ ਇਕਠੀਆਂ, ਦੁਯ ਬੈਠਾ ਵੇਖੈ

ਆਪ ਜੀਉ।

ਵਾਤ ਵਜਨ ਟੰਮਕ ਭੇਰੀਆਂ, ਮਲ ਲਥੇ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਫੇਰੀਆਂ। ਨਿਹਤੇ ਪੰਜ ਜੁਆਨ ਮੈਂ, ਗੁਰ ਥਾਪੀ ਦਿਤੀ ਕੰਡਿ

ਜੀਉ।

Hau gosain da pahalwanda, mai gur mil uchch dumalda. Sabh hoi chhinjh ikkathiyen, duye baetha vekhaey aap jeo. Vaat vajan tammak bheriyan, mall laththe laende feriyen.

Nehte panj juaan mai, gur thaapi ditti kand jeo.

A wrestler fights his battle. He defeats all the players and wins the game. Similarly the person fights the wrestling of life. He defeats his five enemies the lust, anger, greed, attachment and the ego, in the competition. It makes the master happy and Guru or the guide becomes very happy at that time and blesses his follower.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 178.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. 32-33.

<sup>48</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 89-90; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 72.

Bhai Kahn Singh talks about the transmigration of soul and the cycle of birth and death by saying that the person takes birth and dies and again takes birth. Birth is decided by the deeds of past. Good deeds will earn the best life and bad deeds will earn the bad life.<sup>49</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh says that by following the Sikhism, one does the good deeds and becomes divine if follows properly/honestly. Cycle of birth and death comes to an end.

ਦਇਆ ਕਪਾਹ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਸੂਤ, ਜਤ ਗੰਡੀ, ਸਤ ਵਟ, ਏਹੁ ਜਨੇਊ ਜੀਅ ਕਾ, ਹਈ ਤ ਪਾਂਡੇ ਘਤ।<sup>50</sup>

Daya k pah santokh soot, jat ganddhi, sat vat, eho jneu jee ka, hayi ta pandey  
ghat.

Birth rites, are performed by reciting the Anand Sahib Path. Janeu ceremony is denied in Sikhism. Even Guru Nanak denied the sacred thread ceremony in his childhood. He demanded the thread made of tenderness, patience, ascetics and truth.

ਮਾਇਆ ਮੋਹ ਪਰੇਤ ਹੈ ਕਾਮ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਅਹੰਕਾਰ।<sup>51</sup>

Maya moh prêet hai kaam karodh ahnkara.

Those who are disconnected from God are considered as devils also known as ghosts. They get freedom/salvation only with grace of God. By this, they can come to the light of knowledge from the darkness of ignorance.

ਤਿਆਗ ਮਨ ਝੂਠ ਅਭਿਮਾਨ, ਜੀਵਤ ਮਰਹਿ ਦਰਗਹਿ ਪਰਵਾਨ।<sup>52</sup>

Tyag man jhooth abhiman, jivat marhey darghey parvaan.

Dying during life or living like dead is a unique attribute. All problems are left behind in the life of those who never forget their death. They give up their ego, they consider this world as Sarai/Rest House and accept the will of God and forgive other with patience. They give up their life, money material for the welfare, live a detached life and known as free, living-dead. This activity is known as Jivat Marna.

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<sup>49</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 85; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 71.

<sup>50</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 386-387.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 397-398.

<sup>52</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 399.

ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਆਤਮ ਚਿਤਾਵੈ, ਜੀਵਨ ਮੁਕਤ ਸੇਉ ਕਹਾਵੈ।<sup>53</sup>

Prabh ki agya atam hitavaey, jiwan mukat sou kahavaey.

Only the follower of will of God can earn the salvation of life.

Body and soul are different. Soul resides in the body. On death, body dies not the soul. One who tortures the week, always pay for that.

Gambling is given as example by Bhai Kahn Singh while quoting Guru Granth Sahib. Like the gamblers after losing everything, continue the game. Similarly, people, on being aware of the drawbacks of the wrong doings, do it again and again.

Controlling the desires and transforming these, is yoga. Bhai Kahn Singh has also provided the, Ashtang Yoga of Patanjali. Astrology is explained by Bhai Kahn Singh by saying that there are two parts, one is numerology another is self created, way by fraud professionals who use the knowledge of astrology for earning money. Knowledge of sun, moon, planets, earth, according to Bhai Kahn Singh, is Jyotish/Astrolog.

ਸੇ ਡਰੈ ਜਿ ਪਾਪ ਕਮਾਵਦਾ, ਧਰਮੀ ਵਿਗਸੇਤ, ਤੂੰ ਸਚਾ ਆਪ ਨਿਆਉ ਸਚ, ਤਾਂ ਡਰੀਐ ਕੇਤੁ?

So darae je paap kmavanda, dharmi vigset, tu sacha aap niayo sach, ta dariyae ket?

One should not be worried about anything. One should focus on not to be a liar/thug/dacoit. One should not be afraid of anything. Wrong doings and bad deeds can threaten to the doers of it. But, the followers of truth are always fearless.

ਕਾਇਆ ਸਾਧੈ ਉਰਧਤਪ ਕਰੈ, ਵਿਚਰੁ ਹਉਮੈ ਨ ਜਾਇ।

Kaya sadhaey urdtap karaey, vicho haumaey na jaye.

According to Sikhism, Tapa or Hath Yoga is not accepted. Those who follow it but still having egos in their minds are worthless.

ਸੇ ਤਪਸੀ ਜਿਸ ਸਾਧੁਸੰਗ।

So tapsi jis sadhsang.

One who transforms the mind and desires and also the Gyan Indari is real Yogi.

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<sup>53</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 401-403.

No days, dates, months and times are auspicious or inauspicious. Sikhism denies this all.

ਸੁਣਿਆ ਮੰਨਿਆ ਮਨਿ ਕੀਤਾ ਭਾਉ, ਅੰਤਰਗਤਿ ਤੀਰਥ ਮਲਿ ਨਾਉ।

Sunya mannya man kita bhaao, antargat tirath mal nao.

One cannot get salvation from the pilgrimages. One can preach for public welfare by moving place to place, pilgrim to pilgrim and even one can expand his/her links, but not get the salvation. One has to take holy dip from within.

ਤ੍ਰਿਸਨਾ ਬਿਰਲੇਹੀ ਕੀ ਬੁਝੀ ਹੈ, ਕੋਟਿ ਜੇਹੇ ਲਾਖ ਕ੍ਰੋਰੇ, ਮਨ ਨ ਹੋਰੇ, ਪਰੈ ਪਰੈਹੀ ਕਉ ਲੁਝੀ ਹੈ।

Trisna birlehi ki bujhi hai, kot jehe laakh krore, man na horey, pare paraehi kau  
lujhi hai.

Desires/want can kill the ego of powerful people and nobody could escape. Desire after desire is a cycle where after fulfillment of a desire another occurs. One should try to end the desires by following the Gurbani.

ਦਦੈ, ਦੇਸ ਨ ਦੇਉ ਕਿਸੈ, ਦੇਸ ਕਰੰਮਾ ਆਪਣਿਆ, ਜੇ ਮੈ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੇ ਮੈ ਪਾਇਆ, ਦੇਸ ਨ ਦੀਜੈ

ਅਵਰਜਨਾ।

Daddae, dos na deu kisae, dos kramma apnya, jo ma kita so mai paya, dos na  
dijaey avarjana.

One should not blame anyone for any mishappening. Everything is result of the deeds of a person.

Dharmsal is related to religious place but in Sikhism, where Guru Granth is installed, is called Dharmsal.

Dharamraj/God of death, is related to non-Sikh religion but it is not accepted in Sikhism. Only Dharam is white bull, which lifts the earth, there is not any other ox.

Patience is mostly required. Name of God is formless, but philosophers/saints have imagined the name in many ways. But the meaning of real should not be changed. One, who recites and follows the true name, is called, doing the Simran of naam. One should do it by heart only. Doing the works according to knowledge and living and



awakened life is real awakening and in the other hand doing wrong things ignorantly is the sleep.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, one who doesn't believe in Guru Nanak, who was sent by God almighty is Nigura or without Guru. Salvation, according to Gurbani is the highest post. 'Being God' is called salvation. God is *Kartar* and *Kartar* is salvation/Nirvana.

ਆਵਨ ਆਏ ਸ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ ਮਹਿ, ਬਿਨ ਬੂਝੇ ਪਸੁ ਢੇਰ।

Avan aye srist mahe, bin boojhey pasu dhor.

First and foremost, code of conduct is 'remaining detached' from world and being connected to Gurbani and its updeshe. Those who are ignorant, who are away from God, are the animals.

ਹਮ ਨਹੀ ਚੰਗੇ, ਬੁਰਾ ਨਹੀ ਕੋਇ, ਪ੍ਰਵਤ ਨਾਨਕ ਤਾਰੇ ਸੋਇ।

Ham nahi change, bura nahi koye, pranwat Nanak tarey soe.

*Raj, mall, roop, jati, joban* are five friends. Five elements were used for creating the creation. *Kam, Karodh, Lobh, Moh, Ahnkar* are considered as five bad elements. As the spring season gives life to whole nature, similarly, God's updeshe gives life to dead. One should not think badly of anyone. No one is bad. Here self evaluation is mentioned.

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਬੁਰੇ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ ਕਰ, ਗੁਸਾ ਮਨ ਨ ਹਢਾਇ, ਦੇਹੀ ਰੋਗ ਨ ਲਗਾਈ, ਪਲੈ ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ ਪਾਇ।

Farida bure da bhala kar, gussa man na hadhaye, dehi rog na lagai, pallae sabh kichh paye.

Bhai Kahn Singh has presented the idea from Gurbani that the bad should be treated in a good way. In this way anger can be controlled which will further save the body from many diseases.

Literal meaning of word Sakat according to Punjabi-English dictionary, Punjabi University, Patiala is the, person who is too much attached to the worldly things. Another meaning of Sakat is the worshipper of Shakti (Power). Bhai Kahn Singh interprets that the people who are indulged in worldly things and worship the 'power' do not go in search of true and should be avoided. Makeup, according to the code of

conduct, is rejected. Instead of making the face artificially beautiful with cosmetics, it is better to attain the good attributes. Householder's life, according to Bhai Kahn Singh, is the best. One should live a house holder's life with sacred saintly attributes, during performance of all duties of this important stage of human life.

### III

This section deals with attributes of the Guru, their importance in field of spirituality and condemnation of the false Gurus.

ਭਾਈ ਰੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਿਨ ਸਹਿਜ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਸਬਦੇਹੀ ਤੇ ਸਹਿਜ ਉਪਜੈ, ਹਰਿ ਪਾਇਆ ਸਚ ਸੋਇ।

Bhai re guru bin sahaj na hoye, sabdehi te sahaj upjaey, har paya sach soye.

O brother! One cannot attain the true knowledge without the true Guru the perfect master<sup>54</sup> which further leads to the stillness. A still person is real follower.

People, who are successful in controlling their mind, actually live alone within the society. They do not go to forests or caves. Word sahaj is explained by Bhai Kahn Singh where he tells the meaning of sahaj as knowledge. By the mediation of the Guru, one can reach up to the level of stillness.

ਕੋਈ ਪੁਤ, ਸਿਖ, ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰੇ, ਸਤਗੁਰੁ ਕੀ। ਤਿਸ ਕਾਰਜ ਸਭ ਸਵਾਰੇ।

Koi put, Sikh, seva kare, satgur ki. Tis karaj sabh svarey.

One, who serves the true guru or Guru Granth, is blessed in all spheres of life. On the other hand if anyone calls himself/herself Guru, asks for money donation, should be considered as Masand (Preacher and collector of tithes and offerings). These Masands are boycotted by Guru Gobind Singh and followers of Guru Gobind are supposed to do the same.

ਗੁਰੁ ਪੀਰ ਸਦਾਏ ਮੰਗਣ ਜਾਇ, ਤਾ ਕੈ ਮੂਲ ਨ ਲਗੀਐ ਪਾਇ।

Gur peer sadaye mangan jaye, ta kae mool na lagiyaey paye.

One who calls himself Guru or Pir and asks for donation should not be paid respect.

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<sup>54</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 121.

A true Sikh is adorable he/she is equal to Guru. He is another form of the Guru. Sikh is considered as the child of the guru.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh's interpretation, those who listen, analyze and implement the teachings and advises of perfect master/pooran satguru and practice it daily, will finally meet the God almighty. They can visualize the God.<sup>55</sup>

ਪਿਤਾ ਜਾਤਿ ਤਾ ਹੋਈਐ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੁਠਾ ਕਰੇ ਪਸਾਉ।

Pita jati ta hoiyae guru tuttha kare pasao.

Sikh and the Guru have a very unique and beautiful relationship with each other.

ਕਾਮ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਅਹੰਕਾਰ ਫਿਰਹਿ ਦੇਵਾਨਿਆ, ਬਿਨ ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ਫਿਰ ਸੈਤਾਨਿਆ।

Kaam karodh ahnkar fireh devaney, bin poorey gurdev fir saetanea.

If the person is busy in lust, anger, and ego and living an ignorant life, without a perfect master's guidance is Satan/Devil.

ਸੁਖਦਾਤਾ ਦੁਖ ਮੇਟਣੇ ਸਤਗੁਰੁ ਅਸੁਰਸੰਘਾਰ।

Sukhdata dukh metno satgur asursanghar.

Term Guru is explained by Bhai Kahn Singh as 'destroyer of the ignorance, truth and welfare are the attributes of Guru. God is the provider of joy and finishes the sorrow. He destroys the devils.<sup>56</sup>The words of Guru are bliss. It creates the deep love within human mind. One should follow the path of Guru and should act upon the words/ updes of Guru. A guru who is false and not having any knowledge is useless. One should always find a perfect guru.

ਬਾਣੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੈ ਬਾਣੀ, ਵਿਚ ਬਾਣੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਸਾਰੇ। ਗੁਰਬਾਣੀ ਕਰੈ ਸੇਵਕ ਜਨ ਮਾਨੈ, ਪਰਤਖ

ਗੁਰੂ ਨਿਸਤਾਰੇ।

Baani guru guru hai baani, vich baani amrit sare. *Gurbani* kahaey sevak jan manaey, partakh guru nistarey.

Gurbani is Guru and Guru is Gurbani. It contains the crux of whole ideology. If it is being followed by the devotees, they can get the blessings. Guru is ocean of

<sup>55</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 193.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 305.

knowledge, Guru is Saraf/gold smith, Guru is Shah/lord. Guru is real warrior. One should serve the guru and get rid of cycle of birth and death. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, Guru is the key that opens the door to destroy the ignorance and darkness. Blessings of Guru can give life to the dying trees. Similarly Guru Kripa/blessings of God can do miracles. Guru is the driver of the boat of human life who drives the boat of life of humans in right direction, if handed over to the Guru.

Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that before starting journey to haven/sachkhand, Guru Gobind Singh announced the Granth Sahib as the Guru. Guru Granth Sahib is compiled with the Gurbani of Guru and disciples and many others.

ਤੀਰਥ ਪੂਰਾ ਸਤਗੁਰੂ ਜੋ ਅਨਦਿਨ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਧਿਆਵੈ।<sup>57</sup>

Tirath pooara satguru jo andin har har naam dhiavaey.

Guru is pilgrim and one can pay the real homage to pilgrim like Guru. Perfect master is real pilgrim.

ਸਤਗੁਰੂ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਮੁਹ ਫੇਰਹਿ, ਮਥੇ ਤਿਨ ਕਾਲੇ। ਅਨੁਦਿਨ ਦੁਖ ਕਮਾਵਦੇ, ਨਿਤ ਜੋਹੇ ਜਮਜਾਲੇ।

ਸੁਪਨੈ ਸੁਖ ਨ ਦੇਖਨੀ ਬਹੁ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਪਰਜਾਲੇ।<sup>58</sup>

Satguru te jo muh ferahe, mathhe tin kale. Andin dukh kmavde, nit johe yamjale. Supnaey such na dekhni bahu chinta parjale.

One who turns face from the Guru and follows the mind, always faces sorrows and lives in deep negativity. They are always sad and disturbed.

ਕਿਉ ਜਨਨੀ ਸੁਤ ਜਣ ਪਾਲਤੀ ਰਾਖੈ ਨਦਰ ਮਝਾਰ, ਅੰਤਰ ਬਾਹਰ ਮੁਖ ਦੇ ਗਿਰਾਸ ਖਿਨਖਿਨ

ਪੋਚਾਰ। ਤਿਉ ਸਤਗੁਰੂ ਗੁਰਸਿਖ ਰਾਖਤਾ ਹਰਿਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਧਿਆਰ।<sup>59</sup>

Kiyo janani sut paalti rakhey nadir majhar, antar bahar mukh de giras khinkhin pochar. Tio satgur gursikh raakhta haripreet piyar.

Guru treats the disciple as a mother treats her children. Guru is also called ‘mother’. One should owe to the Guru for selfless love.

<sup>57</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 305-319.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 320.

<sup>59</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 321.

ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਦੀਖਿਆ, ਜਿਸ ਮਨ ਬਸੈ ਤਿਸ ਸਾਚ ਪਰੀਖਿਆ<sup>60</sup>

Poore gur ki poori dikhya, jis man basey tis saach prekhya.

Guru Dikhya/Guru Mantra or the teaching of Guru, according to Bhai Kahn Singh, during *Charan Pahul* (water touched with the feet of Guru, was distributed to the disciples to drink for baptism) or *Khande Ki Pahul* (water attired with double edge sword, and distributed to disciples to drink for baptism, introduced by Guru Gobind Singh) are the rules and code of conducts delivered to the baptized. One should receive it whole heartedly.

ਸਾ ਧਰਤੀ ਭਈ ਹਰਿਆਵਲੀ, ਜਿਥੈ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਤਗੁਰੁ ਬੈਠਾ ਆਇ।<sup>61</sup>

Sa dharti bhayi hariawali, jithaey mera satguru baetha aye.

Those places are blessed and beautiful with full of life where the Satguru/Perfect master lives. That place is place of Guru known as Gurudwara. Gurudwara, according to Bhai Kahn Singh, is the place which is honored by the feet of ten Gurus of Sikhs and *Guru Granth* is installed and all codes of conduct are followed.

ਹਰਖ ਅਨੰਤ, ਮੋਗ ਨਹੀ ਬੀਆ, ਸੇ ਘਰ ਗੁਰੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਉ ਦੀਆ।

Harakh anant, mog nahi thiya, so ghar gur nanak kau diya.

Guru Nanak is the first Sikh Guru who has initiated the curious people into Sikhism for bringing them into the contact with truth. It is an interpretation which can be taken in both ways. Firstly, it can be looked upon as the Guru Angad, the second Sikh Guru and successor of Guru Nanak, is thanking his predecessor who blessed him with knowledge of God. Secondly, it can be looked upon as the Guru Nanak himself thanking the almighty *waheguru* who blessed him.

ਨਾਨਕ ਤੂੰ, ਲਹਿਣਾ ਤੂੰਹੈ, ਗੁਰੁ ਅਮਰ ਤੂੰ ਵੀਚਾਰਿਆ, ਗੁਰੁ ਡਿਠਾ ਤਾ ਮਨ ਸਾਧਾਰਿਆ।<sup>62</sup>

Nanak tu, lehna tuhey, gur amar tu veechareya, gur ditthha ta man sadhareya.

Bhai Kahn Singh also talks about the same single divine light travelling from first Sikh Guru to tenth Guru. From Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind, ten gurus are one. Those, who do not accept it, are living an ignorant life.

<sup>60</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 322-323.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 324.

<sup>62</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 328-329.

ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ, ਨਾ ਆਵੈ ਨਾ ਜਾਇ, ਓਹ ਅਭਿਨਾਸੀ ਪੁਰਖ ਹੈ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਰਹਿਆ

ਸਮਾਇ।<sup>63</sup>

Satgur mera sada sada, na avae na jaye, oh abhinasi purkh hai sabh mahe rahya samaye.

Bahi Kahn Singh is of the opinion that Guru Nanak's guru was not any human being. Guru ever exists who neither takes birth nor dies.

Follower of true Gurus, should not get indulge in wrong doing. His/her mind should not think negative. Money should not be spent for wrong doing. In this way, one lives in order of guru physically, mentally and economically. It is called tan, man and dhan should be surrendered to guru.

Guru is a teacher, who teaches the ignorant disciples. Guru is a Paras/Philosopher's stone which converts the human into divine personality like the Paras converts the stone into gold. Only perfect guru should be followed.

There are some other attributes of Guru have been presented by Bhai Kahn Singh. Guru is operator of life, like an instructor known as Philwan, who drives the elephant by sitting on its head. Metaphorically it is presented that the Guru guides the life of followers. Guru is a forgiver who forgives all mistakes. God is kind heart and soft character. All such characteristics, attributes and way of living a social and spiritual life are mentioned in Gurbani of Guru.

ਗੁਰੁ ਈਸਰ ਗੁਰ ਗੋਰਖ ਬਰਮਾ ਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਰਬਤੀ ਮਾਈ।

Gur isar gur gorakh barma gur parbati maayi.

Guru is metaphorically mentioned as a boat, which carries all along with, to the other side (*Parlok*). Guru's praise and explanation is not easy. He is like Shiv (*Isar*), he is *Gorakh* and *Brahma*. Guru is also *Parbati maai*. Words cannot explain the guru.

ਗੁਰੁਮੁਖ ਹਰਿਦਰ ਸੋਭਾ ਪਾਏ, ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਵਿਚਹੁ ਆਪ ਗਵਾਏ। ਆਪ ਤਰੈ ਕੁਲ ਸਗਲੇ ਤਾਰੇ,

ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਜਨਮ ਸਵਾਰਣਿਆ।<sup>64</sup>

Gurmukh haridar sobha paye, gurmukh vicho aap gvaye. Aap taraey kul sagle taarey, gurmukh janam svarnya.

<sup>63</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 329.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 330-341.

Those who follow the Guru, are Gurmukh and those who follow their mind are Manmukh. Gurmukh are always praised and accepted. They earn salvation for themselves and for their predecessors also.

One who follow the code of conduct by the Gurbnai, are sacred and following the Guru Riti.<sup>65</sup>

ਮੇਰਾ ਵੈਦ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਵਿੰਦਾ, ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਅਉਖਧ ਮੁਖ ਦੇਵੇ, ਕਾਟੈ ਜਮ ਕੀ ਫੰਧਾ।

Mera vaed guru govinda, har har naam aukhadh mukh deve, kaatey jam ki fandha.

Guru is inter-mediator and he is the only doctor for procurement of all ailments. God is Guru, physician and doctor. He provides the medicine in form of holy name and one can get rid of the cycle of birth and death.<sup>66</sup> Guru is mentioned as a doctor who takes care of the follower.

ਜਿਉ ਅੰਧੇਰੈ ਦੀਪਕ ਬਾਲੀਐ. ਤਿਉ ਗੁਰਗਿਆਨ ਅਗਿਆਨ ਤਜਾਇ।

Jiyo andherae deepak baliyae, tyo gurgyan agyan tjaye.

Like a burning lamp removes the darkness, similarly, his name sheds the darkness of ignorance away.<sup>67</sup> Knowledge of practical behavior is Gyan. It can be important in all spheres but on its opposite, ignorance is unawareness. True Guru and his name can enlighten the followers. Those who have this true knowledge are actually the Gyani/the person with full knowledge of everything.<sup>68</sup>

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, the astrologers and false priests earn money through their knowledge of astrology and location of all planets according to astrology. But true Guru, Gurbani and following the path of truth one can get rid of oneself from such drawbacks. Moon and sun eclipse are also handled with the Gurbani. One should live detached from worldly things and worship the Guru and God.<sup>69</sup>

Sahibjada or the son of Lord, is the respectful word. Guru Nanak and his descendant are Bedis, Guru Angad's descendants are known as Tehan, Guru Amardas's descendants are known as Bhalle, Guru Ramdas (fourth Sikh Guru) are called Sodhis. In the Sikhism they are called Sahibjadas or the sons of the Guru. But none of these

<sup>65</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 341.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. 347.

<sup>67</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 348.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 350.

<sup>69</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 352-353.

descendants are called Guru, because Guruship is given to Guru Granth Sahib (Sikh Religious Scripture) after the ten gurus.

#### IV

This section focuses on the attributes of saints, illustrated by Bhai Kahn Singh with references of Gurbani.

ਜਿੰਨਾ ਸਾਸ ਗਿਰਾਸ ਨਾ ਵਿਸਰੈ ਹਰਿਨਾਮਾ ਮਨ ਸੰਤ, ਧੰਨਸਿ ਸੇਈ ਨਾਨਕਾ, ਪੂਰਨ ਸੇਈ ਸੰਤ।<sup>70</sup>

Jinna saas giras na visraey harinama man sant, dhanse sei nanka, pooran soyi  
sant.

Those who recite the name of almighty with every breath (inhale and exhale) are the pure saint.<sup>71</sup> Saint is detached from the bad company or negativity. He/she cannot get indulged in any activities in any circumstances.

ਸੰਤ ਨ ਛਾਡੈ ਸੰਤਈ ਜਹੁ ਕੋਟਿਕ ਮਿਲਹਿ ਅਸੰਤ, ਮਲਿਆਗਿਰਿ ਭੁਯੰਗਮ ਬੇਢਿਓ ਤ ਸੀਤਲਤਾ ਨ  
ਤਜੰਤ।

Sant na chhadaey santai jaho kotak milhe asant, malyagiri bhuyangam bedheyo  
ta sitalta na tajant.

A true saint always live like a saint though is any company of negative people all around like the sandalwood tree always releases a perfume, though covered with snakes.

Whatever the saint will say, will true. It is also mentioned that the parents are great who give birth to a soul connected to almighty. Those who torture the saints, have to face the punishments. They will never be happy.

ਭਾਈ ਰੇ! ਸੰਤਜਨਾ ਕੀ ਰੇਣੁ, ਸੰਤ ਸਭਾ ਗੁਰੁ ਪਾਈਐ, ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪਦਾਰਥ ਯੇਣੁ।

Bhai re! santjana ki ren, sant sabha gur paiyae, mukt padarath dhen.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, Gurbani messages that only satsang (company of truth), holy name (Naam) of God, can fulfill all desires and wishes called karma, not

<sup>70</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 183.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 185.



like *kamdhenu-chintamani-kalap Brischh* as mentioned in Hindu Puranas as a downward tree (*Kalap Brischh*).

ਉਹ ਸੰਤਨ ਕੈ ਮੇਰਾ ਮਨ ਕੁਰਬਾਨੇ, ਜਿਨ ਤੂੰ ਜਾਤਾ ਜੋ ਤੁਧ ਮਨ ਭਾਨੇ। ਤਿਨ ਕੈ ਸੰਗ ਸਦਾ ਸੁਖ  
ਪਾਇਆ, ਹਰਿਰਸ ਨਾਨਕ ਤ੍ਰਿਪਤਾਯਾਨਾ ਜੀਉ। ਤੂੰ ਨਿਰਵੈਰ ਸੰਤ ਤੇਰੇ ਨਿਰਮਲ, ਜਿਨ ਦੇਖੇ ਸਭ  
ਉਤਰਹਿ ਕਲਿਮਲ। ਹਉ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੀ ਸੰਤਨ ਤੇਰੇ, ਜਿਨ ਕਾਮ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਲੋਭ ਪੀਠਾ ਜੀਓ।

Oh santan kae mera man kurbaney, jin tu jata jo tudh man bhaney. Tin kae sang sada sukh paya, harras Nanak triptayana jio. Tu nirvaer sant tere nirmal, jin dekhe sabh utrah kalimal. Hau balihari santan tere, jin kaam karodh lobh peetha jeo.

Saint according to Bhai Kahn Singh's interpretation and reference, is the person who knows the God and who is also known to God. It means one who is one with god is real saint. Saints have no enmity with anyone, same as the god has no enmity. Saints control and win the lust, anger, greed etc the negative elements of human being.

ਧੰਨ ਸੁ ਵੰਸ, ਧੰਨ ਸੇ ਪਿਤਾ, ਧੰਨ ਸੇ ਮਾਤਾ, ਜਿਨ ਜਨ ਜਣੇ, ਜਿਨ ਸਾਸ ਗਿਰਾਸ ਧਿਆਇਆ ਮੇਰਾ

ਹਰਿ ਹਰ, ਸੇ ਸਾਚੀ ਦਰਗਹਿ ਹਰਿਜਨ ਬਣੇ।<sup>72</sup>

Dhan so vans, dhan so pita, dhan so mata, jin jan jane, jin sas giras dhiyaya mera har har, se saachi dargah harijan bane.

Bhai Kahn Singh says those who follow the true God they have patience, stillness and they live a blissful life. Mother, father and the whole family of a saint is great who gave birth to a saint.

ਸੰਤ ਮਿਲੈ ਕਿਛੁ ਸੁਣੀਐ ਕਹੀਐ, ਮਿਲੈ ਅਸੰਤ ਮਸਟ ਕਰਰਹੀਐ।<sup>73</sup>

Sant milaey kichh suniyae kahiyae, milae asant mast kar rahiyae.

In company of saint, one can learn something by listening to the teachings of a saint but it is wise to avoid a fraud who claims to be a saint.

One should not make disciple blindly and under any greed. On the other hand, it is said that, those who do it, are called Bawla/mad.

<sup>72</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 188-189.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. 376-377.

One who moves place to place is not real saint/Darvesh. But one, who accepts the reality of almighty and sticks to the true knowledge, is real Darvesh. Divya Drisht, according to Bhai Kahn Singh, is true knowledge and wisdom which is away from two eyes. One who has wisdom and knowledge has the Divya Drishti/Divine knowledge.

## V

This section illustrates the poems of Bhai Kahn Singh where he points out some facts related to religion. Bhai Kahn Singh has written some poems where he has focused on importance of Sikhism and also about the Punjab in its real form.

ਭੋਗਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਸੰਗ ਕੀਤਾ ਧਨ ਬਲ ਖੋਇ ਲੀਤਾ, ਪੰਜਾਂ ਨੇ ਦਯਾ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਵਡਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ।

ਜੋਗੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਗਿਆ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਰਤ-ਨੇਮ ਐਸੇ ਦੱਸੇ, ਜਿੰਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕਰੋਦਾ ਨਿੱਤ ਮੂਲੋਂ ਮੁੱਢੋਂ ਹਾਰਿਆ।

ਪੰਡਿਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਸ ਪੈਕੇ ਪੋਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਘੋਖ-ਘੋਖ, ਮੰਤਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸੋਚਕੇ ਦਿਮਾਗ ਹੈ ਪੰਘਾਰਿਆ।

ਹਾਰਕੇ ਵਿਜੇਸ਼ ਹੋ ਨਿਰਾਸ ਤੇਰੇ ਦਰ ਢੱਠਾ, ‘ਦੇਈਂ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਦਾਨ’ ਮਾਤਾ ਗੁਜਰੀ ਦੁਲਾਰਿਆ।<sup>74</sup>

Bhogyan da sang kita dhan bal khoeye lita, panja ne daya to bina ho ke vadha  
marya.

Yogiyān de gya ohna varat-nem aese dassē, jinha nu krenda nitt mullon mudhho  
harya.

Pandita de vass paeke pothiyan nu ghokh ghokh, mantka nu sochke dimag hai  
pangharya.

Haarke Vrijesh ho niras tere dar dhatthha, deyin ‘Sikhi daan’ mata Gujarī  
dularya.

It is mentioned in the poem that the company of wrong-doers, false-ritual followers, and ritual performers, who focused only on reading of scriptures gave no true knowledge. ‘Mata Gujarī Dularya’ is used for Guru Gobind Singh. Bhai Kahn Singh praying before him and asks for knowledge of Sikhism. Poem illustrates the falsehood of rituals and other body tortures in the name of God, and also crystallizes the importance of Sikhism.

<sup>74</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, ‘Hari Vrijesh Di Ardas’, *Phulwari* magazine, (ed.) Hira Singh Darad, Lahore, vol.8, February 1932, 306.

ਦੇਖਿ ਸਾਧੁ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਦੁਖੀ, ਮਯਾਨ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਹੋਂਦੀ, ਪ੍ਰਲੈ ਦੇ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ, ਮੂਰਤੀ ਮਹੇਸ਼ ਦੀ।  
 ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਤ ਅਤੇ, ਪੁਰਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਰੱਖੇ ਪੱਤ, ਆਨ ਸ਼ਾਨ ਮਾਨ ਤਾਨ, ਰੱਛਕ ਸ੍ਰਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ।  
 ਜਾਲਿਮ ਅਨਯਾਈ ਸ਼ਾਹਾਂ, ਛਿਨ ਵਿਚ ਰੰਕ ਕਰੇ, ਦੋਵਦੀ ਕੰਗਾਲਾਂ ਤਾਈਂ, ਪਦਵੀ ਨਰੇਸ਼ ਦੀ।  
 ਮੌਤ ਅਤੇ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਨੂੰ, ਇਕੋ ਵਾਰ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲੀ, ਤੇਗ ਸੱਚੇ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ, ਸਵਾਮੀ ਦਸਮੇਸ਼ ਦੀ।<sup>75</sup>

Dekh saadh praja dukhi, myan to prgat hondi, prallae de karan lai, moorti Mahesh di.  
 Istriyan de sat ate purkha di rakhhe pat, Aan shaan, maan taan, rachhak savdesh di.  
 Jalim anyai shahan, chhin vich rank kare, devandi kangalan taayin, padvi naresh di.  
 Maut ate mukti nu, ikko vaar den vali, teg sachche patshah, swami dashmesh di.

In this poem, Bhai Kahn Singh throws light on the role of a Khalsa, initiated by Guru Gobind Singh. Determination of Guru Gobind Singh for destroying the cruelty, sins, saving the weaker one, giving respect to women, and for betterment of society is presented metaphorically by talking about 'sword' of Guru Gobind Singh.

ਮਾਲ ਧਨ ਸੰਪਦਾ ਦੀ ਤੋਟ ਨਾ ਦਿਖਾਈ ਦੇਵੇ, ਚਿੰਤਾ ਪਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਦੇਹੀ ਸ਼ਕਲ ਰਬਾਬ ਹੈ।  
 ਮੁਕਿਆ ਸਨੇਹ ਹੜੀਂ ਵਿਆਪਿਆ ਰੁਖਾਸਣਾ ਏ, ਦੁਧ ਲਸੀ ਛੜੀ ਪਿਆਰੀ ਚਾਹ ਤੇ ਸ਼ਰਾਬ ਹੈ।  
 ਧਰਮ, ਗਿਆਨ ਨਾਹੀ, ਵਡਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਆਨ ਨਾਹੀ, ਏਕਤਾ ਦਾ ਮਾਨ ਨਾਹੀ, ਸਹਿ ਰਿਹਾ ਅਜਾਬ ਹੈ।  
 ਅੰਨ ਦੇਵੇ ਹੋਰਨਾ ਤੇ ਆਪ ਢਿਡੋਂ ਭੁਖਾ ਮਰੇ, ਲਬ ਸੁਕ ਰਹੇ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਸੁੰਦੇ ਪੰਜ-ਆਬ ਹੈ।<sup>76</sup>

Maal dhan sampda di tot na dikhayi deve, chinta par kiti shakal rabab hai.  
 Mukhya sneh haddin vyapiya rukhasna ae, dudh lassi chhaddi pyari cha te shrab hai.  
 Dharma, gyan naahi, vaddhyan di aan naahi, ekta da maan nahi, seh riha azab hai.  
 Ann deve horn ate aap dhiddon bhukhha mare, lab suk rahe hunde sunde Panj-ab hai.

Changing situations of Punjab are illustrated by Bhai Kahn Singh of his times. Common brotherhood, love and affection for humanity are mentioned as flew away. Diet of the people is changed from healthy to unhealthy. Alcohol and tea, as earlier were not part of diet, now had taken important place which is very harmful. Respect of the elders, knowledge of spirituality and true gyan are missing. Known for its

<sup>75</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, 'Dashmesh ji di teg', *Phulwari* magazine, (ed.) Hira Singh Darad, Lahore, November 1938, 20.

<sup>76</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, 'Pyara Panjab', *Phulwari* magazine, (ed.) Hira Singh Darad, Lahore, November 1938, 13.

prosperity, waters and other sources, the Panj-ab, land of five rivers, is lagging behind and facing many problems. This is the style of Bhai Kahn Singh's poetry that illustrates the situations very smoothly and simply. The points raised by Bhai Sahib are very important for his times as well as for the present times.

## VI

Chapter begins with the concept of beginning of the universe and creation. It is mentioned that everything is born from the One and will submerge into the One. That One should be the trust of all. He is supreme and life of lives. Bhai Kahn Singh talks about the illusion of the world. All worldly things are illusions and combination of darkness and ignorance. That can be removed with the worship and praise of God. All humans are from him and he is doer of everything. He should be worshipped day and night. He is the emperor of emperors the Sultan. His praise is not possible merely through the worldly words. He is being worshipped and his Arti being performed by whole creation where sky, stars, air, sun, moon, mountains, vegetation and fragrance are acting as particulars required for Arti. It is mentioned, how naturally the whole creation is worshipping. Moreover, where he is not worshipped that place is ruin. Who meditates, in reality and control the senses can worship him. Incarnations, who incarnated in the earth cannot imagine him, he is beyond the imaginations. He is truth and resides inside of everything. Ignorant people wasting their time are not worshipping. His worship is real religion. Everything belongs to him, there is nothing that can be offered to him. He is giver of happiness and prosperity who makes all tasks possible. Early morning time/amrit vela, is considered to be the best time for worship and recitation of Gurbani. One should give up back biting, and unnecessary praise. By doing this, highest post of spirituality/nirvana can be attained. No one can limit his praise in words. Real worshiper, devotee/follower of hari/God lives in a simple mode of life. Such people consider God almighty only Guru to be followed. Instead of any other deity only the god should be worshipped. Prayer of true person does not go into vain. If it is accepted all works are done smoothly. Human is addressed to follow the path of God. Age, life and time are being consumed. Parent's role is also mentioned. Mother should teach the children to follow the path of spirituality. God can be worshipped at home. There is no need to give up householder life. Bhai Kahn Singh also says that

only the lazy people who do not want to do any hard work or those who cannot face the difficulties of a responsible householder life, run away and start living in forests. He is also of the opinion that worshipping along with householder's tasks is harder than living in renunciation and focusing on spirituality only.<sup>77</sup>

It is also said that five elements of human life *kaam, karodh, lobh, moh, ahnkar* can be controlled by true followers of God. Those who win the five elements are the real wrestlers of fight of life. In every age *Satyug, Treta Yug, Dwapar Yug* and *KaliYug* incarnations incarnated but they even were not able to know the almighty/Akal-Purkh.

For following the spiritual path there is need of a Guru. Name of God is real dose, real medicine and real amrit. Accompany such people who follow true name. Self-made gurus /pirs are strongly denied because they loot the people and play with their devotion and beliefs.<sup>78</sup> Killers of pride and egos are mentioned as to be the real warriors. Those who serve the people, are the deserving people for blessings of God, saints are considered as to be the most important. They themselves follow the code of conduct and let the others follow. True saints, in every situation, remain the true and unchanged. Family of saint is also obliged due to blessings to saint.

Bhai Kahn Singh has also talked about denial of Sandhya Tarpan, and Mantra Ucharan, the rituals. He has also focused on the concept of searching and following the God from within.<sup>79</sup> Those who forget and ignore the God, invite the diseases. It is also said that in the company of true saints, followers get the true knowledge. Selfish people should always be avoided. Bhai Kahn Singh also focuses on the idea of self-sacrifice for moving on the path of lord. Pure-Khalas are those who learn the love and devotion, says Bhai Kahn Singh with reference of saint Kabir. Care, kindness and pity are mentioned as attributes of God's devotions. Satguru/perfect master is also mentioned the giver of happiness. Those who follow the will of God, always gain. Bhai Kahn Singh has also mentioned the divine importance of Gurbani. Attributes of Guru/Saint are mentioned. Bhai Kahn Singh also talks about the same divine light travelled from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh. While talking about the satguru, it is mentioned that satguru always present. He neither takes birth nor dies. Bhai Kahn Singh has compared the guru with doctor/Vaed.

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<sup>77</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 1897, 55, 105.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>79</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 50.

Rituals, body marking, symbols painting on body are denied. Hairs are considered as very important part of body. References of Rama and Laxman are provided by Bhai Kahn Singh for proving that they also had long hairs. Cutting the hairs is denied. God has created the people and at one time hairs grow. All Pirs, prophets, Gods and Gurus are not without hairs. Reference of Shiva the Hindu god is also provided where importance of long hairs even in form of uncombed hairs known as *Yaad* is brought forward.<sup>80</sup> Decorating the dead body is considered as useless. Doer of good deeds is always fearless. Karmas are real game changers. Whatever one will do will face the result of that. It is also mentioned those who are bad and negative should be handled carefully and calmly.

Bhagat are always loved by the God. Even the God is controlled with love by the true devotees. No one can be like the devotees. Illusions can be cleared by God and God's knowledge only.

Human birth is for God's search and real worship. One should not spoil it in a cheap way. One, who is free from darkness and unawareness, is free/Mukt. One can get freedom/Mukti, only by following and worshipping the real God and holy name.

Idol worshiping is not allowed in Sikhism. One should not do anything just for show-off. If one gets chance of being pure, should go for that.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, Vedas, Shastras, Samritis, Katebs are for knowledge only. But God's knowledge/Gyan is provided very simply in Guru Granth Sahib.<sup>81</sup>

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, *Charan Pahul* was stopped by Guru Gobind Singh with initiation of *Khande Ka Amrit*.<sup>82</sup> Amrit, according to *Gurmat* is mystery of God's name and realization.<sup>83</sup>

Renunciation is not allowed in Sikhism. Even, one can be spiritual from within. Children should be taught the real spirituality. One, who is not able to face the problems of life, runs away from the house holder's life.<sup>84</sup>

There are many sects of those who renounced the life. One, who gives up ego, selfishness and becomes the still, is following the real renunciation. One should follow

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<sup>80</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*, 70-71.

<sup>81</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 404-656.

<sup>82</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand (Part One)*, 78.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 75

<sup>84</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vishnu Puran*, Durga Press Nabha, 1903, 1-2.

the God, not by renunciation but by living a householder's life. False saints influence other people and make them their disciples. But real devotees never demand anything from their Gurus, even the Gurus never demand anything from their disciples. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, people in sorrow, worship the God, but when, their troubles are over, they forget everything. Fake saints are denied, who always try to look for rich followers. Desire/Trishna, is root of sorrows and problems. Yama/the God of death, is explained by saying that people who are unaware, they indulge into wrong deeds, so they invite their Yama, on the other side, alert one remain safe.<sup>85</sup>

One should give up all egos. Hell is, getting indulged in wrong deed due to unawareness, which affects body and one falls sick and weak. But being, aware of knowledge of God, is called heaven.<sup>86</sup> Some poems are mentioned talk about religion, role of Khalsa and actual Punjab as Panjab the land of five rivers and its changing situations.

Existence of God, Oneness of God, Name, God's grace, Hukam of God are important aspects have been explained by Bhai Kahn Singh. God is one and formless who is beyond the reach of human intellect. He is free from all bonds. Eyes cannot see him. He is self-existent, himself creator but separate from his creation. He cannot be searched and described. He is creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe. He is only one there is no second one. He can convert everything he has created into something else. God's divine light which shines within everyone. His true name/ Sachch Naam should be recognized. God is eternal. True person is who lodge the truth and act according to the truth. Shabad, the word, is a communicative medium for reciting the name. Revelation of God occurs through the word. Guru/ divine preceptor is very important for revelation of word and name. Guru instructs for recognition of truth. Through a Guru, one can get rid of the cycle of birth and death. Darkness of ignorance is removed with the knowledge the true gyan given by the Guru. Person who lives life according to the will of god, have the grace of almighty. One should give up self-confidence the haumai. Manukh or self-willed man always wanders in the cycle of birth and death. Person, who follows the God, recognizes the truth through the mediation of Guru, kills the haumai, acts according to the will of god, recites the holy name, detached himself from maya the illusion of creation, receives the grace nadar of

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<sup>85</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, *Vishnu Puran*, 9-26.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 104-105.

God. Such persons perceive the God in microcosm and macrocosm. Law of karma prevails. Whatever a person does same he receives as fruit.

Bhai Kahn Singh has explained in detail the religious concepts. He has elaborated the concept of God, attributes of God, his will known as bhana, role of Guru, Sant/saint, karma theory, Gurmukh/ the person who acts according to the will of Guru. Attributes of the follower of code of conduct and *Gurmat* are explained by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. He illustrates the basic concepts of Sikhism. Philosophical meanings are elaborated. Hence, it can be said that Bhai Kahn Singh's religious ideas presents the way of life according to will of almighty. It also throws light upon many concepts related to the seekers of true knowledge.



## Chapter 6

### BHAI KAHN SINGH AND SIKH IDENTITY

The present chapter intends to focus on Bhai Kahn Singh's views on the identity of Sikhs and the opinions of various historians in this connection. *Ham Hindu Nahi* the primary source on Sikh Identity written by Bhai Kahn Singh and some analytical works on the book *Ham Hindu Nahi* are taken into account along with some other works of Bhai Kahn Singh.<sup>1</sup> Along with the views of the historians, the debate on whether Sikhs are Hindus or not is elaborated. Section one deals with the changing situations of the Sikhs of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Singh Sabhas along with the issues and concerns of Sikhs which were prevailing at that time. Section two deals with Bhai Kahn Singh's views of Sikhism based on his works such as *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Martand* and *Ham Hindu Nahi*. Section three is an attempt to analyze Bhai Kahn Singh's views and views of the historians about Sikh identity.

#### I

Harjot Oberoi summarizes four fundamental causes of the Sikh religious transformation in Punjab in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of existing literature on the theme. First was the competition between the Hindus and the Sikhs for jobs and attempt to expand their control over the economic resources of the trade and commerce in the colonial regime. Second was the existence of the Singh Sabhas for the Sikhs and Arya Samaj for the Hindus as socio-religious reform movements. Third was the political motive for participation in the legislative functioning and fourth was the 'divide and rule' policy of the British power.<sup>2</sup>

In the Punjab inter-personal transactions were connected with the ideas of kinship and patron-client relationship, the traditional patterns while their concept of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ham Hindu Nahi*, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Martand* and *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh* are the sources brought in use. 'Nabha's Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity', Sikh Identity, Continuity and Change, edited by Pashaura Singh, N.Gerald Barrier is also taken up.

<sup>2</sup> Harjot Oberoi, 'From Ritual to Counter-Ritual: Re-thinking the Hindu-Sikh Question 1884-1915', *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century* (ed.) Joseph T. O'Connell, Milton Israel, Williard G. Oxtoby, W.H. McLeod, J.S. Grewal, Centre for South Asian Studies, Toronto, 1988, 138; Richard G. Fox, *Lions of the Punjab*, University California Press, Berkeley, 1985, 122-130, 161-174.

caste and lineage were vague in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Religious groups did not have any clear cut boundaries but an overlapping of ideas, customs and practices. Harjot Oberoi is of the opinion that the people did not consider themselves as Hindus or Sikhs.<sup>3</sup> Religion was based on local traditions, not on the ideas of the emerging socio-religious organizations of the region. Peasantry used to follow their local deities, beliefs and did not accept the forceful implementation, by the 'higher' powers, especially in case of religious beliefs. As a class, they were stuck to their cultural activities and tended to save it from any other social group. In the society of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hindu and Sikhs came from the same social structure, because the Sikhs had no distinctive rituals, they were included within the broader Hindu society. From birth of child, marriage ceremonies, death ceremonies, there was not much difference between the customs of Hindus and Sikhs. They shared a common way of life. All the rituals, ceremonies of the Hindus were also followed by the Sikhs, with same local variations. They had common intermediaries for performance of their rituals.

By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the emergence of socio-religious reform movements the situation changed. There were now two type of Sikhs, *Charan Pahul*/ baptized by drinking the water touched with feet or the right toe of the descendant of the Guru's families such as *Bedis*, *Bhallas* etc. Other category of the Sikhs was '*Pahul Khandedhar*' who had been baptized by drinking Amrit of double edged sword. Former were known as Sikhs of *Charan Pahul* or *Sahajdhari*, latter as the Khalsa or Amritdhari, the follower of the rahits/ code of conduct. There were, according to Oberoi, thus two definitions of the Sikhs in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Broader definition was as 'the person, who followed the teachings of Guru Nanak, was Sikh' and narrow definition was 'those who had undergone '*Khande Da Pahul*' were Sikhs.'<sup>4</sup>

According to the Census report 1881, keeper of five *Ks*<sup>5</sup> and not taking the *tobacco*, was counted as a Sikh. Others without five *Ks* were regarded as the non-Sikhs and as the Census records were not able to ascertain the religious allegiance, thus were categorized as Hindus. Nanak Panthis, Ravidasi, Nirmala and Udasis were left out of

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<sup>3</sup> Harjot Oberoi, 'From Ritual to Counter-Ritual: Re-thinking the Hindu-Sikh Question 1884-1915', *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, 140.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 140-148.

<sup>5</sup> Five *Ks* are five articles used by Khalsa, Kes/hairs, Kangha/comb, Kara/iron bracelet, Kirpan/sword, Kachha/shorts wore by Khalsa baptized in Sikhism.

the counting due to the rigid classification by the colonial state. They were regarded as Hindus.<sup>6</sup> Ibbetson, the supervisor of the census felt that the number of Sikhs recorded was inaccurate.

The British realized that the Sikhs were seemingly declining numerically but in 1931 census, they came to find out the actual reasons as British perceptions and the writings of Singh Sabha ideologues were getting unreliable data. In the Census report of 1881, Richard Temple opined that the Sikhs of Nanak as peaceful and liberal followers were still surviving but Khalsa of Guru Govind were now giving up their path and again re-joining the Hinduism.<sup>7</sup>

The Christian missionaries had started spreading their network in the region and focusing on spreading education in a Christian frame. This system was seen to have a dangerous impact on the young generation of Punjab.<sup>8</sup> All religious leaders were concerned with preserving their own ideas and practices while demolishing those of others. In fact the 'other' became the new concern and focus of religious groups.

This change in the socio-cultural, political and religious atmosphere gave birth to socio-religious reform movements. Sukhjeet Kaur states that the increase in the proselytization of Christianity was equally dangerous for both Hindus and Sikhs in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Punjab. Socio-religious reform movements were taken as necessary for both Hindus and Sikhs for avoiding the conversion into Christianity. Among the Hindus, Arya Samaj, Dev Samaj and Sanatani movements were working and among the Sikhs these movements were Namdhari, Singh Sabha and Chief Khalsa Diwan.<sup>9</sup>

Church and British rule were growing simultaneously. Missionaries moved to Lahore in 1849. In 1852, Church Mission Association, under the presidency of Sir Henry Lawrence was founded. British officials were providing the financial and administrative help to the missionaries. There was an open indulgence of the government in missionary activities. Schools were being opened and Bible was part of the curriculum. People joined the schools for English education and getting the jobs.

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<sup>6</sup> Census of India 1881, vol 1, 136, Census of India 1931, v. xvii Punjab Part 1, 290 cited in *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, by Harjot Oberoi, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994, 211.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 214.

<sup>8</sup> Sri Ram Sharma, *Punjab in ferment in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1966, 4; cited in *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava* by Sukhjeet Kaur, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Sukhjeet Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha ate Ohna Diya Rachnava*, 14.

Number of the Christians increased in 1891 as compare to 1881 from 3912 to 19750 which clearly shows the growth of this new faith in the Punjab.

Sikhs were aware of the conversion to Christianity. Daud Singh, the first Sikh was converted to Christianity in Cawnpore and Amritsar village based Granthi/priest of Gurudwara, Kaiser Singh was baptized into Christianity in 1853. Conversion of Maharaja Duleep Singh, son of Ranjit Singh gave a shock to the Sikhs. The princely state of Kapurthala ruler also invited Christian Missionaries to setup their mission centre and the financial support was provided by the ruler of Kapurthala. His nephew, Harnam Singh got converted into Christianity. Missionaries started preaching the gospel from the old bunga in the vicinity of the Golden Temple. In the defense and competition to this development those who organized themselves and preached were first the Brahma Samaj, setup in Lahore in 1862-63 by Navin Chandra Rai. Many Punjabis joined the Samaj which was settling itself in the new world growing around them. Many societies were founded in Punjab, reflecting the specific needs, heritage and changed circumstances. Some of these societies flourished while others got eliminated with time.

The Sikhs were concerned about the willingness of Sikh students to convert themselves into Christianity and after this a formal meeting took place and Sri Guru Singh Sabha, Amritsar was founded in 1873. The dynamics of two forces injected into Punjabi society by British Rule and drive of Kuka Sikhs to defend traditional culture values, led to the formation of Singh Sabha. In the words of Harjot Oberoi, the Sabha had clear point of saving the future of the community, recording its customs and presenting Sikh cause before the colonial state. It was deeply felt that efforts must be made for the safeguard the ancient customs, rites and rituals of the Sikh community, according to Avtar Singh, a long time associated with Singh Sabha.

### Socio-Religious and Educational Associations in Punjab

NAME	YEAR
Anjuman-i-Ittihad Punjab, Lahore	1865
Punjab Science Institute, Lahore	
Delhi Literary Society	1865
Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam	1866
Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore	1869
Anjuman Mufid-i-Am, Kasur	1874
Youngmen's Christian Association, Lahore	1876
Arya Samaj, Lahore	1877
Anjumania, Hazara	1878
Hindu Sabha, Lahore	1880
Anjuman Hanifa, Lahore	1882
Anjuman-i-Hamdardi Islamia, Lahore	1882
Karnal Institute	1882
Anjuman-Rafah-i-Am, Ambala	1882
Bharatri Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan	1882
National Mohamadan Association, Lahore	
Sanskrit Pracharni Sabha, Lahore	1882
Banga Sahitya Sabha, Lahore	1883
Sukhdaik Sabha, Rawalpindi	1883
Station Reading Club, Muzzafargarh	1883
Kayastha Sabha, Lahore	1884
Vishnu Dharm Sabha, Delhi	1884
Committee of Education of Hindu Girls, Lahore	1884
Anjuman Rashidin Islam, Delhi	1884
Phaldaik Sabha, Rawalpindi	1885
Muhammedan Association, Hisar	1885
Gohana Society, Rohtak	1885
Lahore Medical Club	1885

Punjab Administration Report, 1885-86<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Punjab Administration Report, 1885-86 and S.M. Latif, Lahore, 1892, cited by Harjot Oberoi in *The*

N.G. Barrier also adds that during the socio-religious reform movements, with the advent of British power the Punjab and the programmes of the Christian missionaries who were supported by the British power, Singh Sabha, a socio-religious reform movement of the Sikhs emerged in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Amritsar Singh Sabha was established, with support of Sir Khem Singh Bedi, Thakur Singh Sandhawalia, Kanwar Bikram Singh Kapurthala and Giani Gian Singh.<sup>11</sup> On November 2, 1879 the Lahore Singh Sabha was founded with Gurmukh Singh, Bhai Ditt Singh and many others.<sup>12</sup> It sought the cooperation from Amritsar Singh Sabha. In the 1880s, Sri Guru Singh Sabha General brought both Amritsar and Lahore Singh Sabha together. These two Singh Sabhas were being coordinated by Chief Khalsa Diwan, established in 1902 at Amritsar. Chief Khalsa Diwan was politically a moderate organization. It lasted for 3 years and Khalsa Diwan could not act as single representative body of the Sikhs. Chief Khalsa Diwan worked for the propagation of Sikhism and immense quantity of literature about Sikhism was produced. After the Jallianwala Bagh massacres on April 13, 1919, the work of the Chief Khalsa Diwan was somewhat slowed down. Bhai Kahn Singh had aligned himself with the radical reformers<sup>13</sup> and the Singh Jagrati or Singh Awakening influenced Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha deeply. He worked as Preacher and Litterateur for the movement. Any movement is made successful by its theoretician and expounders. Bhai Kahn Singh, according to Sukhjeet Kaur, was the soul for the service of Sikhism.<sup>14</sup>

Divided into two groups, namely as Amritsar and Lahore groups, there were many differences between both. Amritsar group, which was also known as Sanatan Sikhs, had given recognition to the traditions among the Sikhs and local customs were also defended while defining the Sikh identity. Udasis who often dressed as Hindus, *Sahajdharis*, the clean Shaven Sikhs were the participants of the group. This group dominated the Sikh public life and had control over the shrines of the Sikhs.<sup>15</sup> Amritsar Singh Sabha had selected its officials and office bearers along with members. Oberoi is

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*Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 233-234.

<sup>11</sup> J.S Grewal, Indu Banga, *A Political Biography of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, Paramourty, Patriotism and the Panth*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2018, 25.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio- Religious reform movements in British India*, Foundation Books, New Delhi, 1994, 109.

<sup>13</sup> J.S Grewal, Indu Banga, *A Political Biography of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha*, 25.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.16.

<sup>15</sup> N.G. Barrier, 'Sikh Identity in Historical and contemporary perspective', *Sikh Identity, continuity and change* (ed.) Pashaura Singh, N. Gerald Barrier, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1999, 36-37, K. W. Jones, *Socio- Religious reform movements in British India*, 110.

of the opinion that the Amritsar Singh Sabha leaders had high social backgrounds, intellectual qualities and connections with British by appointments on various posts. For example, Thakur Singh Sandhwalia was appointed as Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Raja Bikram Singh was appointed as fellow of Punjab University Lahore, Baba Khem Singh Bedi, from lineage of the Gurus had a high status in the society and was honored for helping the British during 1857 mutiny. He was appointed as Magistrate, Member of Legislative Council, Knight Commander of the Indian empire. He was one of the founding members of Anjuman-i-Punjab. He also had charter membership of the senate of Punjab University College. In 1882, he was the president of Khalsa Diwan. In this capacity, he sought to represent the views of Sikh Panth on social and religious issues, says Harjot Oberoi. Many schools for female children were opened due to his efforts and financial support.<sup>16</sup> Kanwar Bikram Singh, younger brother of the Raja of Kapurthala, who helped British during mutiny, rewarded for his services by British, was also member of Singh Sabha. Along with the prince, rulers and landlords, Amritsar Sabha had representation of traditional intellectuals among the Sikhs like Giani Hazara Singh and Avtar Singh Vahiria. All the early Singh Sabha leaders and their co-religionists were rooted in Sanatan Sikh traditions, says Oberoi.<sup>17</sup>

Amritsar Sabha kept the Sanatan epitome intact. Its activists did not move beyond the routine activities and intentional actions, thus largely keeping the older cultural and religious patterns going, says Harjot.<sup>18</sup> Along with Amritsar, Lahore was emerging as an important centre. Being a provincial capital, various publication agencies, libraries and many volunteer bodies were working bridging the gap between colonial rule and local people. New elites and middle class as new social groups helped the British to coordinate their rule and administration in Punjab.<sup>19</sup>

Literature of the Lahore Singh Sabha was focusing on the baptism as the most salient feature of the Sikh rites. Tat Khalsa<sup>20</sup>/the radicals (followers of Guru Gobind

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<sup>16</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 242-249.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 253.

<sup>18</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 257.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 258-260.

<sup>20</sup> Tat Khalsa is explained by Bhai Kahn Singh in *Gurmat Sudhakar* on page no. 500. He explains the division of Khalsa into two groups during Banda Singh Bahadur. Followers of Banda who started

Singh, a definition provided in *Mahan Kosh*) permanently declared the *Khande Ki Pahul* as the only mode of baptism into Sikhism as compare to the *Charan Pahul*, the previous mode of baptism. Life cycle rituals were also revised and brought under the *Tat Khalsa* ideology. It was considered as the major step, if put into practicality, would ensure the permanence of Sikh Identity.<sup>21</sup> From 1884 to 1915, approximately 24 manuals on the Sikh life cycle rituals were published.

N.G. Barrier talks about the establishment of many Singh Sabhas along with two main groups. Bhasaur Singh Sabha also known as Panch Khalsa Diwan, under the leadership of Teja Singh, started advocating the ideas of literal interpretation of the Sikhism and Scriptures. Sant Attar Singh and Kahn Singh Nabha were among those who demanded a total separation from Hinduism in the Sikh thought and practices. It typically focused on Amrit/Baptism of *Khande Ki Pahul*, the only mode of pure Sikhism. Amrit and turban were even compulsory for the women under the Bhasaur Singh Sabha. In the words of N.G. Barrier,

“the Bhsaur group and allies such as Sant Attar Singh and Kahan Singh Nabha demanded an end of anything resembling Hinduism in Sikh thinking and practice.”<sup>22</sup>

“If Bhai Dit Singh and others were responsible for the social and religious reforms, Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Jawahar Singh for organizing higher education, Bhai Kahn Singh has worked for the whole movement as a writer, articulating its principles in works which will stand as permanent monument to his genius.”<sup>23</sup>

If Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Gyani Ditt Singh were the important part of the Singh Sabha, Bhai Kahn Singh was the soul of the movement.<sup>24</sup> The Radical group

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their own ways, came to be known as Bandai Khalsa and others who were following the same line of Guru Gobind Singh's ideology, were known as Tat Khalsa. They are not new as some people consider them as a new sect. They actually belong to main stream.

<sup>21</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 333-335.

<sup>22</sup> N.G Barrier, 'Sikh Identity in Historical and Contemporary Perspective', *Sikh Identity -Continuity and Change*, eds. Pashaura Singh and N.Gerald Barrier, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1999, 38.

<sup>23</sup> Sarabjot Kaur, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha- Ik Prichey*, Guru Gobind Singh Study Circle, Ludhiana, 2015, 61.

<sup>24</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, National Printing Press, Jauriyian Bhatthiyan, Patiala, 1966, 23-24.



known as Tat Khalsa focused on printing the literature. In 1898 Bhai Vir Singh's novel was published focusing on one community that is Sikhism. Same time around 1897, Bhai Kahn Singh's *Ham Hindu Nahi* was published. *Ham Hindu Nahi* was clearly talking about the gaps and differences between Hindus and Sikhs. Bhai Kahn Singh, working as writer for Sabha, had a real connection with Singh Sabha.

Singh Sabha, under the influence of the colonial State, focused on codifying everything and faithfully recording customs for the survival of the Sikh community. It focused on defining the dates of the Gurupurbs/ birth days of Sikh Gurus. Next target was defining the life cycle rituals. Fixed dates were given for the celebrations of the birthdays of the Gurus by Sri Guru Singh Sabha. Religious history, rituals, doctrines and customs were being recorded which led to writing the exegesis of Adi Granth, sponsored by Raja Bikram Singh of Faridkot, in response to an English translation of Adi Granth by Ernst Trump. Kahn Singh Nabha, most erudite among the Tat Khalsa, as mentioned by Harjot Oberoi wrote an essay on tenets of Sikhs, condemning the all sort of superstitions among the Sikhs.<sup>25</sup>

For Tat Khalsa/Sabha's literature, term Hindu became a condemnation. Tat Khalsa leadership declared fasting to be anti-Sikhism which is also explained by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha in his works *Gurmat Sudhakar* and *Gurmat Martand*, the books written on the Sikh code of conduct. Tat Khalsa was focusing on defining the entire philosophy of Sikhism. Gurudwara, Guru and Guru Granth became the core part of the new Tat Khalsa ideology. Living Gurus were denied.<sup>26</sup> Oberoi talks about the literature which calls for the Sikh withdrawal from sources of Muslims, Hindus or any other religion.<sup>27</sup> This opinion echoes in Bhai Kahn Singh's works too where he has mentioned the Sikh literature for Sikhs, as the others have their own literature.<sup>28</sup>

Oberoi says that the Dasam Granth, which focused on Sanatan Sikhism had equilibrium with Guru Granth Sahib had been removed from the Sikh rituals.

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<sup>25</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 314.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 315-316.

<sup>27</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 318.

<sup>28</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, see the introduction; Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, see the introduction.

Incarnation theory, mentioned in Dasam Granth was denounced and focus was on ten gurus and Guru Granth. No one else was accepted as Guru. Tat Khalsa was focusing on stopping the seasonal fairs which were considered as the platform for negative and immoral activities celebrated in the precincts of the Sikh Gurudwaras. By considering these fairs as against the Sikh Code of conduct were being opposed. Non-Sikh icons were being removed. Sikh sacred centers and even Gurudwara management reform was also a prime focus.<sup>29</sup>

Idols were also being removed from the Golden temple as in 1880s the installation of idols in the Golden Temple was condemned by Singh Sabha representatives.<sup>30</sup> It is mentioned by one of the scholars on Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha that some complaints were filed against Bhai Kahn Singh by blaming that he had performed important role in campaign of removing the idols from Golden temple.<sup>31</sup> Oberoi is also of the opinion that the literature of the Singh Sabha was against the idols and iconoclasm. It was favoring the distinct Sikh identity. On the other hand, Arya Samaj and Sanatan Sikhs opposed the removal of the idols by saying that it will harm the Hindu Sikh relations. Even petition was filed with signatures in favor of keeping the idols inside the Golden temple. Maharaja of Nabha, Hira Singh, was also asked for reversing the decision but he did not have any direct intervention in the matter. Decision was given in favor of the removal of the idols by the British.<sup>32</sup> British role somehow seems a dual role which became clear as the decision came out. No direct intervention by Maharaja Hira Singh also raises question because Bhai Khan Singh Nabha was among the courtiers of Maharaja Hira Singh at that time and also actively participating in the Tat Khalsa as mentioned earlier. The issues confronting the Sikh community were becoming complex with differing views of even the Sikhs themselves.

Panch Khalsa Diwan had opposition from the Chief Khalsa Diwan and later on from the SGPC. Its leaders were not allowed to enter into the Gurudwaras. Chief Khalsa Diwan, which was working in collaboration with the government, tried to condemn and legally defeat the 'Panch Khalsa Diwan' leaders, who had continuously

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<sup>29</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 319-320.

<sup>30</sup> *Khalsa Akhbar*, 29 January, 1887, 1, cited by Harjot Oberoi in, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 322.

<sup>31</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 31; Devinder Singh Vidyarthi, *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha: Jiwan Te Rachna*, 33.

<sup>32</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 323-325.

been focusing on a narrow but 'pure' Sikhism which was possible only if the Sanatan and any opponent which was considered as non-Sikh to be eliminated. While providing this whole information, N.G. Barrier has cited the Panch Khalsa Diwan documents and he found Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha as the intellectual who provided the ideology and guided for preparation of the documents of the Diwan. He says,

“Much of the intellectual prowess of the Diwan came from Kahan Singh Nabha, who attended meetings and provided information and guidance in the preparation of the documents and evolution of ideology.”

As mentioned earlier, Panch Khalsa Diwan was not in favor of any mixture called *milgobhi* with non-Sikhs. Panch Khalsa Diwan and Tat Khalsa along with other Sabhas aligned with the aggressive Lahore Singh Sabha and fought for the purity of Sikhism, in press and literature. Because all sacred centers, Gurudwaras including the Golden Temple were being managed by the Sanatan Sikhs along with traditional leaders and religious figures like Bedis and Sodhis these groups did not become dominant.

Panch Khalsa Diwan worked in three phases as from 1894 to 1905, 1905 to 1920 and 1920 to 1928. In 1928, it was completely ceased to function. It is mentioned by Barrier that in the first phase of the Diwan, many conversions to Sikhism took place. Baptism was being performed. Reference of entire family conversion is provided by N.G. Barrier. Along with this the Jat Sikhs, Jhiwar, Barbers and Khattris were baptized. Annual mass marriages were organized by the Panch Khalsa Diwan for the Sikhs according to Sikh Code of Conduct before passing the Anand Marriage Act, just to avoid the non-Sikh rituals and practices. Hindu festivals were being avoided and just to bring the equality within the Panth, focus in its literature was on the female education, no wearing of ornaments and role of women in worship services. Long hairs and turbans were considered necessary for the Sikhs. The Panch Khalsa was taking a more stringent stand on 'who was a Sikh?'

In the second phase 1905-1920, Diwan faced the problems and it became alienated intellectually and organizationally from the network of Singh Sabhas and institutions associated with the Chief Khalsa Diwan. The third Phase 1920-1928, was completely against the Panch Khalsa Diwan. Opposition came from Chief Khalsa

Diwan and later on SGPC and Takhts/ Five highly authoritative seats of Sikhism. They focused on various steps of Panch Khalsa Diwan which were considered as unacceptable in Sikhism, for example, publication of Guru Granth Sahib by Panch Khalsa Diwan with a deleted version of *Ragmala*. This act was considered against the code of conduct by Chief Khalsa Diwan and SGPC. In the views of Panch Khalsa Diwan, political and legislation were the concerns of the opposite leaders, who issued the hukamnama against the Panch Khalsa Diwan. They were not focusing on the purity of Sikhism. Teja Singh did not accept the Jathedar's appointments, who were not appointed according to Code of Conduct in the words of Teja Singh. Barrier states in that way the intellectual vitality of Diwan accordingly diminished after 1928.<sup>33</sup>

Maharaja of Patiala and SGPC stood against the Panch Khalsa Diwan and Teja Singh was arrested for one year. His books, library and other material were confiscated. There was a very conflictive situation between Jatha sent by SGPC and Bhasaur Singh Sabha and to avoid further conflict Teja Singh was released, but he did not accept any term and continued his works. He was expelled from Sikhism along with his wife. In reaction, he burnt the expulsion order by saying that expelling someone from the Panth is not the practice of Sikhism ever. Those who issued the order were not elected according to the *Gurmat*. This, in the words of N.G. Barrier, resulted into the death threats to Teja Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. Barrier says,

“Actually threats of death were made in the form of a death notice against ‘the notorious mischief maker of the Panth, Teja Singh and also against his major contributor, Kahan Singh.’ Both were ordered to come to Akal Takht and apologize.”<sup>34</sup>

These threats had impact on its advisors, in the words of Barrier, who refers the Panch Khalsa Diwan accounts, while saying,

“Kahan Singh Nabha had several manuscripts that raised questions about various editions and copies of Guru Granth Sahib. He supposedly felt that ‘*kachian*’ unripe writings should be removed from Guru Granth Sahib. Only pure Gurbani was permissible. Fearing reprisal, he

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<sup>33</sup> N. Gerald Barrier, ‘Sikh Politics and Religion: The Bhasaur Singh Sabha’, *Five Punjabi Centuries- Polity, Economy, Society, and Culture, c. 1500-1990 Essays for J.S. Grewal*, Indu Banga (ed.), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1997, 140-150.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 151.

postponed revising several earlier treatises which could have led to more troubles and instead concentrated on preparation of his major work, the encyclopedic *Mahan Kosh*.”<sup>35</sup>

Oberoi opines that it was the ideologues of the Singh Sabha who wanted to prove that Sikhism was declining and they rescued the community from this darkness to the light. Even historians, as stated by Oberoi, have relied upon the literature of Singh Sabha, second to the British perception, to prove a renaissance or revival of Sikhism. But Oberoi does not take it as a social reality.<sup>36</sup> These new groups were not into any conflict with the Colonial power, but they were going to follow the debates, establishing the new voluntary bodies and providing the print culture like journals, tracts, newspapers and books.

Due to the increase in the printed material, Singh Sabha had its connection with the whole province. Many questions were being asked by the Sikhs, published in *Sri Gurnat Parkash*, a monthly magazine of Rawalpindi Singh Sabha, consisting of the questions; who is Sikh?, Are there any differences between *Sahajdhari* and Khalsa Sikhs?, Are the low caste Mazahabi and Chamar Sikhs to be given the same rights as the other Sikhs?, Are the Sikh men allowed to dye their beards?, Can hymns of Sikhs Gurus and Bhagats not recorded in Adi Granth be recited in Gurudwara?

Answers to these questions were; Believers of sanctity of the Sikh Gurus and Adi Granth were the Sikhs; both *sahajdhari* and khalsa were equally qualified to be Sikhs and no one could be insulted by calling ‘mona’. ‘Mona’ word is for those who earlier baptized to Khalsa then got their hairs shorn; Low caste Sikhs were not given some rights as of high caste Sikhs were given; Sikh men could neither dye nor roll their beards; Sabha’s advice was in discontinuation of the recitation of hymns in Gurudwaras which were not part of the Adi Granth. Rituals related to the birth, marriage, deaths were asked in *Sri Gurnat Parkash* magazine by editor which took a long time to get answers. Scholars took time and prepare the new rituals mostly rituals were kept as of the liking of the scholars.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> N. Gerald Barrier, ‘Sikh Politics and Religion: The Bhasaur Singh Sabha’, 152.

<sup>36</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 214-215.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 234-244.

A reference of a contemporary Sikh observer, whose comments were published in the *Tat Khalsa* magazine is provided, who talks about the Hindu practices followed by Sikhs where in words of Oberoi, the observer, converted to the logic European enlightenment, was not happy. But the Sanatan Sikhs found these practices as they were at their home. Because in these rituals and culture they born and lived. Oberoi argues that the Sanatanist recognized the existence of several traditions within the Sikh Panth and accepted multiple sources of authority.<sup>38</sup> The 19<sup>th</sup> century was thus a period of transformation, with new questions, new issues facing the Sikhs. They felt the need to clarify their distinct identity in the region. Identity however, was multiple and overlapping, therefore complex.

## II

Bhai Kahn Singh in his book *Ham Hindu Nahi* has provided some important definitions about Sikh and Hindu along with some important terms related to them. He elaborates his views on the distinct identity of the Sikhs.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, definition of a Sikh in his *Mahankosh* as one who is a follower of Guru Nanak and the all ten Gurus are equal for him. Guru Granth Sahib is the only religious scripture he follows. Sikh also follows the Sikh code of conduct and Rahit.<sup>39</sup> Tat Khalsa is explained as the follower of Guru Gobind Singh.<sup>40</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the Sikhs, Hindus, Christians and Muslims have their respective scriptures. They all preach the determined belief in their respective scripture. Panth, according to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha is a way or method in search and attainment of God. One who follows particular religion or sect is called Panthi.<sup>41</sup> Singh, according to Bhai Kahn Singh is the baptized of *Khande Ki Pahul* named Panthi Khalsa.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries-Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, 254.

<sup>39</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 141.

<sup>40</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2000, 573.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 794.

<sup>42</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh*, 2000, 193.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, for the welfare and achievement of the higher goal of spirituality of human life, the path elaborated by the perfect master is called religion. That is why religion as sect is also known as 'Panth'. Among the various ways of religion, one of the uppermost and advance is the Sikh religion which is taught by ten Gurus from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh. The aim of Sikhism is not the achievement of heaven but to be one with the almighty by connecting oneself with the almighty and thus ending the cycle of birth and death. Almighty/ Waheguru is the one, he is forever, creator of everything. He himself resides in his creation. Like the deities/ Devtas, he has no fear from anyone and has no enmity with anyone. He always lives in bliss. He is beyond the cycle of birth and death. He is doer of everything. One can attain everything with the blessings of that super soul the great light. Guru is the single divine light in form of the ten Gurus and Guru Granth Sahib.

There is need of a Guru to know the almighty, the Waheguru. There are some rules or norms mentioned for the daily life of Sikhs, to practice the Naam Simran by following the Waheguru, regularly and daily doing the Paath/ recitation of the Gurbani, selfless service and no discrimination on basis of the caste, country etc by considering all as the brothers, spending a householder's life and along with that following the path of religion, not to follow discrimination, untouchability, Jantra and Mantra, idol worship and any other religious practice.

As a part of Panth, one is supposed to follow strictly the Sikh Code of Conduct, Panth should be treated as Guru and physical, mental and financial services should be given, preaching the *Gurmat* in the world, though the Guru Nanak Panthi are in any form, clothing or style, should be treated as part of Sikh religion, they should be given respect. One should always think of welfare of all. Discipline of Gurudwaras and other religious places must be maintained according to the Sikh Code of Conduct. These are the rules to be followed by a person serving the Panth.<sup>43</sup>

Definition of the word Hindu provided by Bhai Kahn Singh is not clear but refers to the residents of Indus river and neighboring areas even all the others were called Hindus by foreigner writers. Sindh was called Hind by the foreigner writers. Hindustan is a place for the Hindus. It is a country where especially the Hindus are

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<sup>43</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, 192.

residing. Aryavrat, Bharat are its other names. Hindu population residing in villages was more than the Hindu population living in the cities. The word Hindu was used for whole Bharat. Another definition provided by Bhai Kahn Singh is the one who adopts the vedic religion, believes in Varna system, accepts Vedas as religious scriptures, does not eat cow meat is called Hindu. Arabian and Persian writers used the word Hindu for Black/Dark, slave and thieves also.<sup>44</sup> Further, he says Brahman is related to Brahma. It is the first Varna of Hinduism. Braham religion/ Braham Dharam is the Dharam told by the Vedas.<sup>45</sup> Khalsa is mentioned as *Khalsa Dharmdhari Nanakpanthi* by Bhai Kahn Singh.<sup>46</sup> Sanatan is very primitive. They believe in old traditions and practices, particular customs and traditions. Believer of old and traditional rules and regulations of a religion is also Sanatani. Traditional Hindu is also considered as Sanatani.<sup>47</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that all people have the right to listen to the religious verses and attend the ceremonies. There are few religions where *Shudra* and women were not allowed to attend the religious ceremonies. But in Sikhism all are equally regarded.

ਸਭੈ ਸਾਂਝੀਵਾਲ ਸਦਾਇਨ, ਤੂ ਕਿਸੈ ਨਾ ਦਿਸੈ ਬਾਹਰਾ, ਜੀਓ<sup>48</sup>

Sabhaey sanjhi vaal sadayan, tu kisaey na disaey bahra, jeo.

Incarnations are the great people born on the earth for preaching for the welfare of the society, time to time. They all are respectable. They cannot be compared with common people and disrespected. But they cannot be compared with the Waheguru/the almighty and worshipped.

ਅਵਤਾਰ ਨਾ ਜਾਨਹਿ ਅੰਤ, ਪਰਮੇਸੁਰ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਬੇਅੰਤ<sup>49</sup>

Avtar na janhe ant, parmesar parbraham beant.

Similarly Sikhs should believe in Guru Granth Sahib. Purpose of founding the Khalsa is mentioned for the welfare of the society. Guru Gobind Singh had a vision of

<sup>44</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, 274-275.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 898

<sup>46</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, 374.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. 153.

<sup>48</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*, 25.

<sup>49</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, 60.



removing the caste system by baptizing all equally from different castes and giving them a new name Khalsa. Another purpose behind establishment of Khalsa is the defense from the enemies.<sup>50</sup> Sikh religion is initiated by Guru Nanak with the blessings of almighty. It is a pure religion known as Khalsa.

ਪਰਮ ਪਿਤਾ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਨਾ ਨਾਲ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਚੱਲਿਤ ਹੋਏ ਨਿਰਮਲ  
(ਖਾਲਸਾ) ਧਰਮ ਦਾ ਨਾਉਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਧਰਮ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਦੀ ਸਿਖਿਆ  
ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਜੀਵਨ ਵਿਤੀਤ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ।<sup>51</sup>

Parm pita wahguru di parerna nal Nanak Dev dwara prchallit hoye  
nirmal (Khalsa) dharma da nao Sikh dharma hai, jo guruan de guru  
kartar di sikhya anusar jiwana viteet karda hai.

There are four Varna systems and four ashram systems in Hinduism. But these are not a part of Sikhism.<sup>52</sup> In Sikhism, caste is according to the occupation/Karam/deeds, not according to the birth. Weapon holder, if is efficient in the farming and also does that shall be considered as the *Vaesh* similarly the non-Brahman efficient in teaching and preaching shall be considered as Brahman.<sup>53</sup>

When Bhai Kahn Singh was a student, the Singh Sabha Movement was on its peak. Lahore was the main centre of activities. Bahi Gurmukh Singh and Giyani Ditt Singh were the limbs of Singh Sabha and Bhai Kahn Singh, after joining the Sabha, became the soul of the movement. An important work according to Shamsheer Singh Ashok, is publication of the book *Ham Hindu Nahi*. This book was published to reiterate the distinct identity of the Sikhs. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, the book was written to clarify that the Sikhs are different from the Hindus. There is no similarity with Hindus. As the Sikhs are already different from Muslims, Christians and Buddhist but some people still think the Sikhs as a part of Hindus. Making a strong declaration of the distinct identity of the Sikhs is the aim of writing this book.

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<sup>50</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand*, (Part one), see the introduction.

<sup>51</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand*, (Part one) 151.

<sup>52</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand*, (Part two) 485-486.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 501.

According to Bhai Kahn Singh, people had started following false rituals, worshipping the idols and discrimination. For purification, the information was necessary and *Ham Hindu Nahi* published in 1897, played an important role. This book was not written to add to sectarian conflicts, but to clarify the Sikh position vs. Hindus. Shamsher Singh Ahok, is of the opinion that Bhai Kahn Singh, did not write his full name on the original work. He wrote 'H.B.' means Hari Brijesh, the short name of Bhai Kahn Singh.<sup>54</sup>

An inquiry took place after the petitions filed against Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's work *Ham Hindu Nahi*. Maharaja Hira Singh Nabha asked for suggestions from different people on the book. Mr. H. A. Ratigon, a European Jurist was also asked to give his opinion regarding the book written by Bhai Kahn Singh. He explained the context of the book by saying that he has read the translation of the original work and he reached to conclusion that the book was not written to hurt anyone's religious sentiments. He also said that the Hindu religion is presented in a way that respect towards the sacredness of the religion is maintained.

Along with this report, opinions of five high priestly chairs of Sikhism, known as Panj Takhts, were also asked and all opinions stood in favor of unbiased version of the book. Maharaja Hira Singh changed Bhai Kahn Singh's post and after finding out a positive report in favor of Bhai Kan Singh, Maharaja appointed him again on the previous post. Shamsher Singh Ashok is of the opinion that not only Bhai Kahn Singh, presented the distinction of the Sikhs, but there were many other sects who considered themselves as different from Hinduism, such as, the Arya Smajists, Buddhists and Jains, who consider themselves as different from Hinduism. There were many publications about this topic. The topic of discussion in the newspapers was the removal of a Sanatan Mahant (Priest) from the service at Golden Temple, Amritsar. Sant Singh, a Sikh priest was appointed. For this action, Bhai Kahn Singh wrote thanks giving letter to Mr. King the then in authority. According to Ashok Bhai Sahib wrote,

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<sup>54</sup> Shamsher Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 23-25.

“Nabha

13<sup>th</sup> May, 1905

Private

My Dear Sir,

The Sikh Community has been much gratified to learn that Bhai Sant Singh has been appointed as the Granthi to Darbar Sahib and that the Hindu idols have been removed from the Temple compound.

All the Sikhs hope that under your able management the Temple will obtain a very flourishing and prosperous condition and that no other religionists would venture to intrude into it and interfere with its affairs.

Yours Sincerely

(Sd. KAHAN SINGH)<sup>55</sup>

This letter was private letter but written on the letterhead of Nabha State. Due to which many Sehajdhari, Sanatani, and some Brahmans complained against Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha to Maharaja Hira Singh. They said that the letter of thanks giving was written on official letterhead of the State and it is considered as written from Maharaja of Nabha. Due to which the Hindus of Nabha State were upset. Then Maharaja Hira Singh took an action and he discharged Bhai Kahn Singh from his position. After being discharged from the post Bhai Kahn Singh thought of utilizing the free time for community services. He started planning for the service of Sikhism. After the death of Bhai Gurmukh Singh in 1898, Singh Sabha Lahore was declining and Bhai Kahn Singh had the chance to use the platform for the service of the Sikh community.<sup>56</sup> The period from 1873 to 1920 was the period of struggle for Sikh community. Singh Sabha Amritsar and Singh Sabha Lahore took initiatives for the reformation within Sikhism.

Bhai Kahn Singh's *Ham Hindu Nahi* was gaining popularity. In this book he provided the conversation between the Sikh and the Hindu about the Sikh identity. Hindu participant claims that the Sikhs are Hindus for which he provides various examples to prove. He says that Sikhs, due to their birth from the Hindus, their eating

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<sup>55</sup> Shamsheer Singh Ashok, *Parsidh Vidwan Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*, 30.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 31.

habits, their relations with Hindus and also on being the residents of Hindustan, they shall be called Hindus.<sup>57</sup> Then reference of Guru Granth is provided by him where the praise of Hindu is pointed out by mentioning ਹਿੰਦੂ ਸਾਲਾਹੀ ਸਾਲਾਹਿ/Hindu salah e salah. It means that the Hindus should be praised.<sup>58</sup>

Reference of Guru Gobind Singh is provided by mentioning the hymn as

ਸਗਲ ਜਗਤ ਮੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਗਾਜੈ, ਜਗੈ ਧਰਮ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਸਗਲ ਦੁੰਦ ਭਾਜੈ।

Sagal jagat me Khalsa panth gajey, jagey dharma Hindu sagal dund bhajaey.

It means that the rule of the pure should prevail everywhere and the Hindus should arise and awake.<sup>59</sup> Here Hinduism is considered as the Khalsa. Many *Sakhis*/biographies and religious stories are mentioned by the Hindu participant, which also focus on the Sikhs being the Hindus and Guru Teg Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru's martyrdom is also considered for the safety of the Brahmans of Kashmir, is also the basis of the Hindu partaker for claiming the Sikhs as the Hindus.<sup>60</sup> Hindu also focuses on the Vedas to be divided into three parts as Karam/Deed, Upasana/worship and Gyan/knowledge. Even in Guru Granth, listening to the Vedas is also required. Gurus have focused on the importance of the Vedas. Reference of Japuji is provided, where Pundits are mentioned as important according to the interpretation of the Hindu partaker. Even the recitation of the Vedas can finish the sorrows as mentioned in Guru Granth as

ਵੇਦ ਪਾਠ ਮਤਿ ਪਾਪਾਂ ਖਾਇ।

Ved path mat papan khaey.

Such types of references are provided by the Hindu from Guru Granth where Vedas are referred as important.<sup>61</sup> Another point is the name of the Guru's predecessors as Bedis/Vedis taken from the Vedas which is further supported with the hymn of Dasam Granth as

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<sup>57</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, Vajir Hind Press, Amritsar, 1902, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 33-34.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 59.

<sup>59</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 60-61.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 64.

<sup>61</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 71-77.

ਜਿਨੈ ਵੇਦ ਪਾਠਯੋ ਸੁ ਵੇਦੀ ਕਹਾਏ, ਤਿਨੈ ਧਰਮ ਕੇ ਕਰਮ ਨੀਕੇ ਚਲਾਏ।

Jinney ved pathyo so vedi kahaye, tinnaey dharma ke karam nikey chalaye.

Those who read the Vedas were known as Vedis/Bedis.<sup>62</sup> They preached for establishment of religion.

Hindu points out the Guru Nanak's opinion in favor of Varna system by saying that Guru Nanak was not happy due to the mixture of all Varna.

ਖੜੀਆ ਤ ਧਰਮ ਛੋਡਿਆ ਮਲੇਛ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਗਹੀ॥ ਸ੍ਰਿਸਟੀ ਸਭ ਇਕ ਵਰਨ ਹੋਈ ਧਰਮ ਕੀ ਗਤਿ ਰਹੀ॥<sup>63</sup>

Khatriya ta dharma chhodya malechh bhakhya gahi. Sristi sabh ik varan hoi dharma ki gat rahi.

Hindu also talked about the Jneu/the sacred thread worn by Guru Nanak by giving the reference of Gurbani of Guru Nanak where importance of sacred thread is mentioned interpreted by the Hindu.

ਖਲੜੀ ਖਪਰੀ ਲਕੜੀ ਚਮੜੀ ਸਿਖਾ ਸੂਤੁ ਧੋਤੀ ਕੀਨੀ॥<sup>64</sup>

Khaldi khapri lakdi chamdi Sikha soot dhoti kini.

Even Guru Teg Bahadur the ninth Guru also wore the sacred thread as reference is provided from the Vachittar Natak written in the Dasam Granth another scripture of the Sikhs considered as to be written by tenth Guru.

ਤਿਲਕ ਜੰਵੁ ਰਾਖਾ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ ਤਾਕਾ॥ ਕੀਨੇ ਬਡੇ ਕਲੂ ਮਹਿ ਸਾਕਾ॥<sup>65</sup>

Tilak janju rakha prabhu taka. Kino bado kalu mah saka.

Hindu further provides the references where it is mentioned that the Brahmans should be given offerings. Even in Sukhmani Sahib, it is mentioned that the Brahmans should be greeted and respected by bowing head before them.<sup>66</sup> Further, he provides the reference of Dasam Granth and points out Guru Gobind's belief in the incarnations. Even he provides the reference from Gruru Granth where various names of incarnations

<sup>62</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 83.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 90.

<sup>64</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 102.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 105.

<sup>66</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 111.

have been mentioned.<sup>67</sup> He also talks about the worship of the Goddess<sup>68</sup> by Guru Gobind Singh, mentioned in Dasam Granth as Mahakal Kalika was worshipped.<sup>69</sup> Even Sikhs daily worship the Devi Bhagwati in the Ardas/ Daily Prayer.

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮ ਭਗੋਤੀ ਸਿਮਰ ਕੈ.....॥<sup>70</sup>

Pritham bhgauti simar kae.....

Which means, according to Hindu that Bhagwati Goddess should be worshipped firstly.

Hindu also talks about idol worship in Sikhism. He points out the Guru Granth as the idol, worshiped by the Sikhs because as the Hindus worship various idols in the temples similarly the Sikhs worship Guru Granth at Gurudwara. Even the Prasad/ Karrah Prasad in form of blessings of the Guru are offered to the Guru Granth in a bowl before its distribution among the followers. Even the Bhagat Dhanna and Namdev attained God by worshipping the idols (stones), as mentioned in Guru Granth, says the Hindu Participants.<sup>71</sup> Hindu also talks about the Shradh which was observed by Guru Nanak for his father. Even third Guru, Guru Amardas, also followed the last rights known as Kiriya karam, Pind Dan etc. According to him, Guru asked to perform all the rites by calling Pandit Keso Gopal. Katha of Puran should be recited. Pind Patal, Diva and Phull/ashes all should be performed. Hindu provides the reference from Gurbani also. He says that the Gurus themselves visited the holy pilgrims also.

ਅੰਤੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਬੋਲਿਆ, ਮੈ ਪਿਛੇ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਰਿਅਹੁ ਨਿਰਬਾਣ ਜੀਉ॥ ਕੇਸੇ ਗੋਪਾਲ ਪੰਡਿਤ ਸਦਿਅਹੁ, ਹਰਿ

ਹਰਿ ਕਥਾ ਪੜ੍ਹਿਹ ਪੁਰਾਣੁ ਜੀਉ॥ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਕਥਾ ਪੜ੍ਹੀਐ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਸੁਣੀਐ. ਬੇਬਾਣ ਹਰਿ ਰੰਗ ਗੁਰ

ਭਾਵਏ॥ ਪਿੰਡ ਪਤਲਿ ਕਿਰਿਆ ਦੀਵਾ ਫੁਲ ਹਰਿ ਸਰਿ ਪਾਵਏ॥<sup>72</sup>

Ante satgur bolya, ma oichhaey kirtan kreahe nirban jeo. Keso gopal pandit sadyo, har har katha padeo puran jeo. Har har katha padiaey har nam suniaey, beban har rang gur bhavaey. Pind patal kirya diva phull har sar pavey.

<sup>67</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 118-119.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 133.

<sup>69</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, Singh Brothers Publication, Amritsar, 2004, 5<sup>th</sup> edn. 76.

<sup>70</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 139.

<sup>71</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 5<sup>th</sup> edn. 85-86.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 182-183.

Hindu also points out the various rites followed by the Sikhs are self made not mentioned by the Sikh Gurus. Even the five *Ks* given by Guru Gobind to Khalsa were for the battle fields. These were not meant to be adopted by the Sikhs all the times. Even the first nine gurus did not have the long hairs.<sup>73</sup>

Hindu also provides the seven principals of Hindus as; to follow the Vedas and considering them as the only scriptures to be followed. Being religious and believer of God is another point. Good-bad, heaven-hell concepts are accepted in Hinduism. Salvation is another feature. Varna system is also followed. Cremation of the dead, protection of cow and believe in untouchability are the features of Hinduism. Further the Hindu law is applicable to the Sikhs and Sikhs have no separate law for themselves. So they cannot be separate from the Hindus.<sup>74</sup>

From the above information, it can be said that the Hindu participant of the conversation in Bhai Kahn Singh's book *Ham Hindu Nahi* focuses on those points where he is able to relate the Gurbani and other sources with his argument. He points out all those phrases, stories and words which are literary seem to be written in favor of his opinion. On the other side, the Sikh participant of the conversation explains the literary meanings of all the words and examples provided. He also makes the reasons of being distinct from the Hindus. Rituals, worshipping methods, festivals, religious heads, way of baptism, other beliefs which are also different, religious scriptures etc are the points of distinction. But it should be kept in mind that both partakers are created by Bhai Kahn Singh.

Sikh participant in *Ham Hindu Nahi* counters all the points raised by the Hindu as follow. He refers to the Gurbani from Guru Granth Sahib defining the differences of the Sikhs and Hindus. As ਨਾ ਹਮ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਨ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ॥/ Na ham hindu na musalman. It means, we are neither Hindu nor the Muslim. Many other references are provided of Guru Gobind and Gurbani from the Guru Granth.

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<sup>73</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 197.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. 220-221.

ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣਾਂ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਦੁਇ ਰਾਹ ਚਲਾਏ। ਰਾਮ ਰਹੀਮ ਧਿਆਇੰਦੇ ਹਉਮੈ ਗਰਬਾਏ। ਮੱਕਾ ਗੰਗ  
ਬਨਾਰਸੀ ਪੂਜ ਜਾਰਤ ਆਏ। ਰੋਜੇ ਵਰਤ ਨਮਾਜ ਕਰਿ ਦੰਡਉਤ ਕਰਾਏ। ਗੁਰਸਿਖ ਰੋਮ ਨ ਪੁਜਨੀ ਜੋ ਆਪ  
ਗਵਾਏ॥<sup>75</sup>

Musalmana Hinduan due rah chalaye. Ram rahem dhiyande haumaey garbaye.  
Makka Gang Banarsi pooj jarat aye. Roje varat namaj kar dandaut kraye. Gursikh rom  
na pujni jo ap gwaye.

Muslims and Hindus have started their own ways. Both worship the Ram and Rahim but still have the feeling of pride. They visit Mecca, Ganga and Banaras for worshipping. Both observe the Roza and fasts. They perform Namaz and daily prayers. Sikhs don't follow such practices.

Sikh participant also talks about the rebirth of the Sikhs after baptism into Sikhism under Guru Gobind. Various code of conducts are mentioned which are required to be followed by the Sikhs which makes the Sikhism different from others. Along with mentioning all moral things necessary for the Sikhs, he also mentions that the Sikhs are supposed to not to follow any God, goddess, incarnation. They are supposed to not to have any relationship (marriage and other such activities) with non-Sikh. Yantra-mantra, hawan and yagyas are denied in the Sikhism.<sup>76</sup>

Regarding the Hindu word, Sikh says that the word is not taken from any Indian scriptures but according to the Hindu participant the word is taken from the *Devbani*. On which the Sikh says that there is no God's language or common man's language. Sikh talks about the edition into the scriptures and adding the words suitable to the situations.

Sikh explains the complete hymns in Guru Granth which have some other meanings if read completely. Like the Hindu talks about the praise of Hindus in a hymn in Guru Granth Sahib, this according to the Sikh is incomplete hymn with different meaning. If it is read completely it means that the Hindus are praising their ways of worship, idols and other things.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 35.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. 45-54.

<sup>77</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 59-60.



Sikh also talks about the hymns of Dasam Granth which were mentioned by the Hindu as in favor of Hindus by Guru Gobind Singh. Sikhs says that these hymns are not written by Guru Gobind Singh, these were added later on. Sikh also talks about the belief in those scriptures only which are not against the Gurbani and Sikhism. Guru Teg Bahadur, sacrificed his life for saving the humanity not any particular religion as this is the main feature of Sikhism to save the weak one. Vedas are not the scriptures of Sikhs but the Guru Granth is the religious scripture only. Sikh also says that there are no Karam Kand/ rituals in Sikhism like the Hinduism. Instead of performing any Yagya, Havan or any other activity, recitation of Gurbani and true name is the real worship in the Sikhism. While talking about listening the Vedas and Shastras, Sikh says that these are not the Scriptures of Sikhism but if any good thing can be received from anywhere it should be accepted. In this way Vedas should be listened. Veda word does not only mean the scripture but also the 'Gyan' the knowledge. Sikh takes up all the points raised by Hindu and explains their literary meanings. Like here importance of 'listening' is expressed. Word Veda is also explained having different meanings. Once Veda means the Hindu scripture and another is Gyan or knowledge.<sup>78</sup>

Sikh also talks about the neutral status of the Kabir ji whom once Muslims and Hindu asked about the superiority. He replied as the Vedas and Quran both are true but it depends how carefully they are read and how seriously understood. It is mentioned in Guru Granth referred by the Hindu participant for proving that the Guru Granth gives importance to Vedas. Even reading of any scripture like Vedas and other is not denied. Though the predecessors of Guru Nanak read the Vedas but the Guru Granth Sahib is the only religious scripture for the Sikhs to be followed instead of the Vedas says Sikh.<sup>79</sup>

Sikh also talks about the Sikhism against the caste system. In Sikhism no caste is followed. On the other side Hinduism follows the caste system. In the book *Ham Hindu Nahi*, references of various Hindu scriptures are provided where Brahman on being from the upper caste is treated right even on being wrong in some situations but *Shudra* being the lowest is always presented wrong though is right. Sikhism in this way is totally different from Hinduism.

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<sup>78</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 61-74.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. 80-84.

Even Guru Nanak did not support the Varna system but he raised his voice against the duties given up by various people of the society where he had to point out the duty of *Kshatriyas* who are supposed to be the warriors and defend the common people from every mishappening and wrong doings. Guru Nanak talks about his own time period where Mughal rulers were very cruelly dealing with the people and the people instead of defending themselves were following them.<sup>80</sup> In Sikhism, all are equal. In Vaars of Bhai Gurdas, it is mentioned that Guru established one Varna after baptism and abolished the discrimination followed by the Varna system. This new Varna was known as Khalsa.

ਚਾਰ ਵਰਣ ਇਕ ਵਰਣ ਕਰ, ਵਰਣ ਅਵਰਣ ਤੰਬੋਲ ਗੁਲਾਲੇ।<sup>81</sup>

Char varan ik varan kar, varan avaran tambol gulale.

Ceremony of wearing sacred thread in Sikhism is not followed. Even it is denied many times in Guru Granth. Hindu says that Guru Nanak wore the Janeu/ the sacred thread while visiting the Lalo's home. There Lalo, on seeing Guru Nanak wearing the Janeu, requested Guru to prepare food himself because he himself was of lower caste and in front of a Janeu wearing person he could not cook. On this Guru told Lalo that the whole earth belongs to God and its purity and impurity does not belong to any particular caste. Purpose behind this incident is that Guru Nanak wore the Janeu, as said by the Hindu. The Sikh says that firstly it is unacceptable that Guru Nanak wore Janeu, secondly if for a moment it is accepted that Guru wore Janeu at that time, it does not mean that he becomes Hindu because Guru wore blue dress and carried the holy book in his hands while visiting the Mecca which also does not mean that he became a Muslim. Even Guru Teg Bahadur sacrificed his life for the truth not for Janeu and any particular sect.<sup>82</sup>

Guru Gobind Singh did not allow anyone to give offerings to Brahmans. It is mentioned that the Guru brought forward the Khalsa for all offerings. No need was there for following the Brahmans. Definition of Pundit is also provided in Sukhmani Sahib, Gurbani which was referred by the Hindu participant for proving that the Sikh

<sup>80</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 84-92.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. 96-97.

<sup>82</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 102-108.

Gurbani also praises the Pundits, Sikh makes it clear by providing complete explanation of hymn. According to which one who wears Janeu, sacred mark on forehead is following the outer look only which can be an illusion, on the other hand, the person who first of all, orders himself, teaches himself, accepts the existence of omnipresent almighty in his mind and heart and understands the reality of Vedas and Puranas, is real Pundit and such pundits should be praised and respected. He also accepts that the whole universe is creation of Waheguru, the almighty. Such pundits are real pundits not like those who believe in caste system, and treat *shudras* as inferior.<sup>83</sup>

Incarnations are not accepted in Sikhism. All incarnations are under the almighty. Almighty is Waheguru. It means, if one worships the God, he should worship the supreme lord who is above all. Grammatically different meanings for different names occur in Guru Granth. At some places those names such as Ram Rawal, Rawan, Kaan, Mahes, Brahma, Bisan, Mahadeo, Padmapati etc are mentioned for incarnations. But sometimes Ram, Raghunath, Kanai, Hari, Bisan and Sri Padmapat names are referred for God almighty. One has to be very careful while reading it because any carelessness can create problem while finding out the meanings.<sup>84</sup>

Worship of Devi and Devtas is denied in Sikhism. Like the Hinduism, instead of worshipping various Gods, deities and goddesses in various ways, worship of one God/ almighty/waheguru through a single way is preferred.

In Dasam Granth, Kalika is mentioned which according to the Sikh participant, is for Almighty God who created Devils and Gods and Devi Durga is also not used for Hindu Goddess Kali. Bhagauti word is used for sword not for Bhagwati Devi.

Bhai Kahn Singh, here pointed out the belief of some Nanak Panthis and he directly says that they should, instead of the imaginary Devis/Goddesses, follow the God Almighty the one and only. There are many great women in Sikh History who can be followed and at last the most important power, the sword, should be worshipped and used to remove the problems of the society. In this way, by following the ideas of Nanak, they can be the true children of Guru Gobind.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 109-115.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.116-122.

<sup>85</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 123-149.

Sikh participant also points out the denial of idol worship in Sikhism. None of the Gurus construct any temple with installation of any idol.

ਜੇ ਪਾਥਰ ਕਉ ਕਹਤੇ ਦੇਵ॥ ਤਾ ਕੀ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੇਵ॥ ਜੇ ਪਾਥਰ ਕੀ ਪਾਂਈ ਪਾਇ॥ ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਘਾਲ ਅਜਾਈਂ

ਜਾਇ॥

ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਹਮਰਾ ਸਦ ਬੋਲੰਤਾ॥ ਸਰਬ ਜੀਆ ਕਉ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਦਾਨ ਦੇਤਾ॥ ਰਹਾਉ॥....

Jo pathar kau kehte dev, ta ki birtha hovaey sev. Jo pathar ki payin paye. Tis ki ghaal  
ajayin jaye. Thakur hamra sad bolanta. Sarb jiya kau prabhu dan deta. rahao.....

Those who worship the stones are wasting their time. Their efforts are going in vain. Idols do not talk but the true almighty always speaks, means exists and blesses everyone. There are many more references which prove the denial of idol worship in Sikhism.

Another point discussed is about the Sandhya Tarpan, a ritual followed in Hinduism in the evening where mantras are recited and gods, goddesses and predecessors are worshipped and water is offered to them as a part of the ritual. But in Sikhism, such rituals are not performed. There is the early morning time known as Amrit vela, for Gurbani recitation and remembering the almighty.

Sikh also points out the non-existence of Sootak-Patak/impurity after the birth of child. Women are not considered impure. Such ritual is also absent in Sikhism. In Sikhism no ritual related to kitchen is followed like in Hinduism where purity, impurity and certain code of conduct are followed related to the kitchen known as Chaunkakaar. Fasting, auspicious inauspicious days and dates for particular task, ceremony of offerings to the predecessors known as Shradh, visiting pilgrims as tiraths, mantras and yantras, yajgya/hawans are also not allowed. The rituals of the Sikhs related to birth, baptism/amrit, Anand and death are totally different from the Hindus and are followed under the guidance of Guru Granth. Birth, marriage, death all are performed under the Anand Sahib, Gurbani verse of Guru Granth.

Sikhism is not based on Vedas, only almighty waheguru is the super-soul for Sikhs, Sikhs are not only one to believe in the concept of cycle of birth and death like

the Hindus. This concept is also accepted by various philosophers like Druid priest, Pythagoras, Empedocles. It does not make the Sikhs and Hindus same, as said by the Sikh participant. Cremation of dead is hygienic and followed not only by the Sikhs but also by various Europeans also. Even in Rome and Greek the dead were cremated. Cow is beneficial for the people so it is protected which does not mean that it is part of religion. Discrimination and untouchability are denied in Sikhism.

While talking about the law for Sikhs, it is mentioned that customary laws are applicable for various situations and the Sikh law is in process and will get implemented soon (Anand Marriage Act 1909 was passed later on). References of Sir Lepel Griffin are provided mentioning the need of separate law for the Sikhs.<sup>86</sup>

“The Sikhs had abandoned the Hindu faith, and with it the system of law which is the basis of that faith and which was inseparable from it. For a hundred and fifty years they had been governed, as far as chiefships were concerned, by another code altogether, and it was as reasonable for them to refer to Manu and the Shastras as the source of legal authority, as it would have been for Muhammadans, who had embraced Sikhism to appeal to the Shara.”<sup>87</sup>

In this way Bhai Kahn Singh through his imagined characters in the book points out some important aspects basis on which Sikhs are declared as completely different from the Hindus with their distinct identity.

### III

Bhai Kahn Singh raised the issue of Sikh Identity as he was part of Lahore Singh Sabha which was also known as Tat Khalsa. The issue was raised by him in his book *Ham Hindu Nahi* or We Are Not Hindus.<sup>88</sup> Two characters are created by Bhai Kahn Singh, one was Hindu participant another was the Sikh. Both had a conversation on the topic whether the Sikhs are Hindu or a separate identity? Dr. J.S. Grewal is of the opinion that the arguments in support of the Sikhs Are Hindus are less elaborated.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 150-230.

<sup>87</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ham Hindu Nahi*, 5<sup>th</sup> edn. 124; cited in *The Rajas of Punjab*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 231, 338.

<sup>88</sup> J.S Grewal, ‘Nabha’s Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity’, *Sikh Identity, Continuity and Change* (ed.) Pashaura Singh, N. Gerald Barrier, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1999, 231.

<sup>89</sup> J.S Grewal, ‘Nabha’s Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity’, 234.

In the book *Ham Hindu Nahi*, idea of sanctity of Vedas, Puranas, Smritis and Shastras in Adi Granth is brought forward by the Hindu participant. He also refers the idea of Guru Nanak in favor of Varna system by mentioning that Guru Nanak was saying the whole world had become one cast and there was absence of the religion/Dharam. It means he had emphasized on the Varna system. The Hindu character of the book had also used hymn from Adi Granth, where Guru Nanak is said to wear the sacred thread. Then there is mention of the incarnations with the references of Dasam Granth which also indicates the Sikh belief in incarnations. Reference of Adi Granth is provided in favor of worship of the avatars. Worship of goddess in Sikhism is supported with the reference of Bachittar Natak carrying the event of invoking of kalika by Guru Gobind. Idol worship is further referred by giving the examples of Namdev and Dhanna who found god with worship of idol and stone respectively. Verses of both are in Adi Granth which is referred in support of the idea of idol worship supported by Adi granth. As the Sikhs consider Granth Sahib as guru it is also idol worship. Verses of Guru Amardas are mentioned as instruction for his last ceremonies where he is instructing to follow the Brahmanical rituals on death. About the five Ks, Hindu participant mentions the army feature of Sikhs as Khalsa. Even it is also brought into light that the long hairs as uncut kesh were not observed by the first nine gurus. Along with this good and bad, heaven and hell, mukti/salvation and protection of the cows etc are other common practices observed by the Sikhs and Hindus commonly.<sup>90</sup>

Sikh participant mentions Guru Granth sahib as the single religious book among the Sikhs. Bani/verses which are not legitimized by Guru Granth are unripe or Kachchi Bani. Focus is on divine name, will of god and Gur-shabad. References of Guru Granth, Dasam Granth, Bachittar Natak and works of Bhai Gurdas are mentioned as denying the Vedas, Smritis, Purans and Shastras. Many Sikh conceptions, seem similar to Hindus are totally different. Sikh participant also clarified the stand of the Sikh gurus and Gurbani against the caste system. Sikhism, as mentioned is open to be joined by all Varnas and castes. Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind created some of their works in Persian which proves that the language had no barriers and this foreign language was not considered as the language of malechchas. Guru Granth Sahib and Sikhism have focused on equality. About the Brahmans, it is said that the Brahmans of Kashmir came to Guru Teg Bahadur for the protection of the sacred thread and sacred mark of

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<sup>90</sup> J.S Grewal, 'Nabha's Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity', 232-236.

forehead. They wore these both symbols and were different from the Sikhs. Dan was also said to be given to the Sikhs not the Brahmans.<sup>91</sup>

The concept of incarnation is not accepted in Sikhism. Sikh part-taker focuses on the true name, the focusing point of the preaching of the Gurus. Gods, goddess all are presented as Maya. They are not the almighty. They all are under the supreme power known as Akal-Purkh. While answering the point of Hindu participant as the Deg, concept was according to Varnas, Sikh participant talks about the equal distribution of the Deg for all without any discrimination as prescribed by the Gurus. On fasting, references are provided of vars of Bhai Gurdas, rahitnamas of Bhai Daya Singh and Gurpartap Suriya, as mentioned by Dr. Grewal. Fasting is completely denied. All days are auspicious. References of Gurbani again are provided for removing the false belief of the auspicious and inauspicious days. Hom and yagyas are denied. Rites related to the death are also rejected.

References of Guru Amardas are provided by the Hindu participant in favor of Kriya, Shradh. But Sikh participant clarifies everything. Focus was on the interpretation of the hymns. Hindu participant focused on the last will of the Guru Amardas where he asks to call Pundit Keso Gopal for last rites but Sikh participant provides his interpretation where according to Bhai Kahn Singh, as mentioned by Dr. Grewal, Keso Gopal is referred to the God. Pundits are denied in the Gurbani. Sikh maryada is totally different from Hindu Mat. Even five *Ks* are also required as earlier were denied by the Hindu participant. Five *Ks* are used in the war and according to Sikh participant, war is not ended, in life there is a conflict every time. Some of the other basic principles which were mentioned as common between Hindu and Sikhs are also denied by Sikh participants.

About the Hindu laws applicable to the Sikhs, as mentioned by Hindu, Sikh denied the effectiveness of the prevailing laws those were not the Hindu laws. Mostly customary laws were prevailing. Sikhs followed the Gurbani and rahitnamas and *Anand* Marriage act had also been passed which further opened the ways for Sikh code of laws. Hindu laws could not be forcefully implemented on the Sikhs who converted to the Sikhism.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> J.S Grewal, 'Nabha's Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity', 237-238.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. 239-242.

Independence is basic factor for development. Sikh participant focused on separate Sikh identity for the growth of the Sikhs. Dr. Grewal has mentioned the views of Bhai Kahn Singh as the mutual hostility was created by the Hindus. Those Hindus were unhappy because their interests were being hit if the separate Sikh identity was declared. They were joined by the self-styled Gurus, among the Sikhs.

It is discovered from the book *Ham Hindu Nahi* that Bhai Kahn Singh has focused on the mutual understanding which should not be disturbed on the basis of the religious differences. Distinction of the religions should not be the cause of the conflict. Sikhs are not Hindus but all other countrymen should be treated as brothers and Bharat as the common land for all. All are inseparable organs of the Bharat. According to Dr. Grewal, this opinion was of Bhai Kahn Singh, directly expressed in 1920, in his appeal to the readers. Sikhs, according to the appeal, should not criticize any other religion. If they will not consider others as brothers, they will be cursed from land of one's birth. All have one father, all are his children. All are and should be friendly towards everyone. They are the contributors of the civilized Nations.<sup>93</sup> *Ham Hindu Nahi*, was written in communitarian consciousness growing in the spheres of Punjab.<sup>94</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the distinct identity was pre-colonial and did not emerge suddenly. References of Adi Granth, written in 1604-05, works of Bhai Gurdas, Dasam Granth and other works written in the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, works of Bhai Nand Lal, contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh, Guru Sobha, written after the death of Guru Gobind Singh, Rahitnamas, written in eighteenth century, Gurbilas patshahi Sixth and works of Bhai Santokh Singh, composed in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, JanamSakhis of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century are provided by Bhai Kahn Singh as mentioned by Dr. Grewal focuses on the idea of partial prevalence of separate Sikh identity of Pre-colonial times as the exposition by Bhai Kahn Singh.

Bhai Kahn Singh has focused on the idea of disbelief in incarnations, gods-goddess (Devi-Devatas), independent entities, avatars, idol worship, caste system, sacred and pollute etc. He is of the opinion that the Sikhs has only Adi granth as guru and guide both. Sikhs are baptized through firstly *Charan Pahul* and *Khande Ki Pahul* with the institution of Khalsa. They had possessed distinct Sikh identity as *Sahajdhari* and Pre-Khalsa Sikhs.

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<sup>93</sup> J.S Grewal, 'Nabha's Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity', 242-243.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. 243.



Mourning after death is denied with reference of Guru Nanak's bani, Guru Amardas's Gurbani is referred for birth and Guru Ramdas's bani is mentioned for the marriage ceremonies. Langar system weakened the caste system. Sacred scriptures, rules, beliefs and practices, its implications on social usage form the basis of distinct identity formed by the Gurus.<sup>95</sup>

Some questions and comparative analyses are uniquely presented by Dr. Grewal. These questions are raised as; was the distinct identity emerged in Pre-colonial times and not in the colonial period? For the answer of the question, Dr. Grewal compared the opinions of three scholars as Daljeet Singh agreed with the concept of the creation of separate Sikh identity by the Sikh Gurus that is Pre-colonial period. W.H. McLeod is of the opinion that Guru Gobind Singh, with establishment the Khalsa, sharpened the identity concept and during the annexation of Punjab by the British, Khalsa identity was dominant as compare to the Sikh identity.<sup>96</sup> Harjot Oberoi, as mentioned by Dr. Grewal, talks about the emergence of Sanatan Sikhs in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century due to the crystallization of the Khalsa identity.<sup>97</sup>

In this way, Dr. Grewal finds Daljeet Singh, W.H. McLeod and Harjot Oberoi all three scholars agree with Bhai Kahn Singh's opinion of the existence of the distinctive Sikh identity in the Pre-colonial period.<sup>98</sup>

Second question asked by Dr. Grewal; why Bhai Kahn Singh took the issue of separate identity so importantly? For this the answer is provided as the term Hindu was not used in ancient scriptures. Outsiders used this term for the Indians. Persians and Arabic literature before 1200 ad, comprises the term Hindu. Hind and Hindustan was used for the country that is India for this Dr. Grewal has referred the *Kitab al-hind* and *Tuzk-i-Baburi*. With the advent of the Muslims to India and conversion of the people into Islam, Non-Muslims/Hindus came to be contrasted and they all were considered as the Hindus. Further in 19<sup>th</sup> century, according to Dr. J.S. Grewal, term Hinduism came into existence which meant the 'religion of the Hindus'. Sects like Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Shaktism on the one hand and Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism, on the other hand, had many differences. Hinduism was being represented by the Brahmanical traditions and this new construction was being supported by the research of the

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<sup>95</sup> J.S Grewal, 'Nabha's Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity', 243-247.

<sup>96</sup> W.H. McLeod, *Who is a Sikh? The Problem of Sikh Identity*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1994, 7-68.

<sup>97</sup> J.S Grewal, 'Nabha's Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity', 245-247.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. 247.

important Sanskrit scriptures by the Europeans. Western writers, who were often Christian Missionaries, attacked the Hinduism. Hindu socio-religious reform movements defended the Hinduism which gradually went on attacking the Sikhs. It resulted in confrontation between Hindus and Sikhs.<sup>99</sup>

For the defense by the Sikhs, organization, known as Singh Sabha, was established along with the co-existence of Arya Samaj and many other socio-religious reforming organizations. Singh Sabha had two groups. Amritsar group was considered as conservative and Lahore group established later than the Amritsar group. It had contested with the Arya Samaj. Bhai Kahn Singh also belonged to the group and wrote the *Ham Hindu Nahi* in this context which was a response to the situation which was being created. Arguments of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha defended the ideas of a co-existing *qaum* along with Hindus and the Muslims. It made the Sikhs, a political community. Dr. Grewal also refers to the idea of Sikh politics based on the Sikh Identity which was also adopted by the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Akalis and Khalistan movement also. It was a declaration of Sikh ethnicity in form of *Ham Hindu Nahi*.<sup>100</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh, as the other socio-religious reformers of his times, is saying the same things. Many socio-religious reform movements came into existence that opposed and rejected the rituals and priesthood. It also opposed the idol worships and promoted the concept of monotheism. Like Swami Dayanand, Bhai Kahn Singh raised many issues and provided the solutions. As the contemporary Hinduism, which included, Puranas, polytheism, idolatry, the role of Brahman priests, pilgrimages, nearly all rituals and ban on widow remarriage, was rejected by Swami Dayanand. Many schools and colleges were opened after his death that was an attempt to carry forward the ideas and preaching of Dayananda.<sup>101</sup> Like the many personalities of various movements, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha played an important role, while working for the Singh Sabha in the service of Sikhism and elaborated on the separate and distinct identity of the Sikhs in the colonial time.

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<sup>99</sup> J.S Grewal, 'Nabha's Ham Hindu Nahin: A Declaration of Sikh Ethnicity', 247-248.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. 249-250.

<sup>101</sup> K. W. Jones, *Socio- Religious Reform Movements in British India*, 96-103.

## Chapter 7

### CONCLUSION

Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha was one of the most prolific writers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with around two dozen books to his credit. Some of his works were even edited and published posthumously. He had also written many poems, essays and articles in English and Punjabi in various newspapers and magazines. However, some of his books remained unpublished.

Around 20 % of his work is on kingship, governance and administration. 17 % of his writing deals with Sikh identity and the distinct position of Sikhs in relation to others. 17 % of his work is about the society he lived and worked in. He has devoted his works to highlight the elements of an ideal society, 15 % of his works cover the religious ideas with special references to Sikhism, around 17 % of his books are about grammar, poetry and its rules. In his works we get the ideas about society, kingship, administration, identity and religion. Surprisingly political ideas are missing making it seem like he was apolitical. In his views and opinion he did not comment on the major political developments of his times like the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919 and execution of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev in 1931, two important events of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Punjab. It could be that his early experiences with religion and later administrative department some restraint on voicing political views in the public sphere.

Some changes can be identified in his writings with the passage of time. While working under Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha, Bhai Kahn Singh wrote few books which have the impact of court of Hira Singh seem to be in the Sanatan style. For example in his early writing books starting is with *manglacharan*. The book *Vijay Swam Dharam* has started by Bhai Kahn Singh by bowing head to the God, Akal or timeless, Bhagwati Ji or the Goddess, then he has mentioned as *Sri Guru Nanakaya-Namah*, *Sri Guru Gobind Singhaya Namah*, *Sri Sarab Devaya-Namah* and *Sri Ganpate-Namah*. This style of his writings is changed in other works.

Devinder Singh Vidyarthi highlights the work of Bhai Kahn Singh belonging to three phases. From 1884 to 1903, 1897 to 1912 and 1912 to 1939 are the time frames of his three phases. But there seems some overlapping. First phase according to him, was

phase of influence of the court of Nabha on Bhai Kahn Singh's works where books were discussed in the court and after a common acceptance and suggestions, were considered as completed taking shape of a book of the court actually instead of being a book of individual endeavor. Second phase of his writing is under the influence of socio-religious reform movements. Singh Sabha had its impact on Bhai Sahib's mind. His works of second phase are about Sikhism, code of conduct, distinct identity of Sikhs and about eradication of some evils from society. Third phase of his works seems to be his devotion to the language. His works written in third phase are about the grammar, poetry and seems to be his contribution for service of the language. This is how his ideas got shape and his mind set went through changes. Devinder Singh Vidyarthi has identified these changes in his thought process, visible in his writings, seems to be acceptable. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan has also classified his works into three phases. According to him first phase is from 1884 to 1897, second phase is from 1897 to 1907 and phase third is from 1907 to 1938. Bhathuan also mentions the first phase of writing of Bhai Kahn Singh according to the will of Maharaja Hira Singh, second phase of his works develops the uniqueness of sanatan religious scriptures and crystallizes and established the uniqueness of Gurbani independently. Third phase was devoted to encyclopedias, poetry and grammar.

These classifications of Bhai Kahn Singh's writing are an over simplification. It is not possible to categorize his thought and writings into any clear phase. His early writing in 1880s to 1890s is focused on administration and governance (*Raj Dharam* and *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*). From late 1890s, however, along with administration, he was also concerned with society, religion and identity and poetry related work. His interest in religion, society and poetry continued till the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (*Ham Hindu Nahi*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Gurmat Prbhakar*, *Smasya Poorti* and *Vijay Swam Dharam*). At same time he was concerned about substance abuse in society (*Shrab Nishedh*). From 1906 to 1910, Bhai Kahn Singh traveled in India and abroad and recorded his travel accounts, which were edited and published later on. From 1915 he was working tirelessly on encyclopedia, which was published in 1930 and reprinted in 1960 with few changes. In this phase, his concerns with society continued though his major works are on poetry and grammar (*Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Roopdeep Pingal*, *Anekarth Kosh*,

*Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*). At the same time, though he focused on language, grammar and poetry and its rules, his interest in society and education was much retained for example *Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti* and Speech of Sikh educational conference of 1931. Some of his books published after his death in 1938 like *Gurmat Martand*, published by S.G.P.C. in 1962, *Guru Mahima Ratnawali*, published by Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar in 1984 and *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha De Aprakashit Safarname* published by Vrijesh Bhawan, Nabha in 1984. In 2005, *Raj Dharam* was edited and published by Dr. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan.

It would be difficult therefore to attempt any classification of works of Bhai Kahn Singh or to trace any change in his concerns overtime. Bhai Kahn Singh's concerns in his writing reflect a parallel strand of thoughts. He seems to be focusing on not one but several themes at the same time.

At first glance his writings seem to be written for the Sikhs yet they may be considered relevant for society as a whole. His religious books focus on Sikhism. These books are either on defining the Sikhs or elaborating a code of conduct for the proper Sikh way of life. He is addressing all. Some good social values are being reiterated. He presents a kind of a model of good, noble society, what an ideal society should be. He is talking about 'sacred' values which are the need of all societies, in fact backbone of society.

His books *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Shrab Nished*, *Gurmat Martand*, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* and *Cheepa Shabad Di Utpatti* give a message on social reforms. He is against discrimination in the society, drug abuse, superstition, pilgrim, idleness, interference in other's matters, caste system, dowry, Sati and false rituals. He is also against marriage at an early age. He advocates widow-remarriage. He advises that one should be spiritual, tolerant, friendly and believer in unity, hard work, charity, truth, equality and loyalty. He suggests that cooperation, respect, honesty, consideration, helpfulness, punctuality are some attributes which should be in the very grain of people of any society.

For achieving the goal of creating an ideal society and bringing about social change, Bhai Kahn Singh believes the only tool is education. Education is for everyone,

including women. Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that primary education should be provided to everyone though higher education is not for all only those who are capable and have potential, should go for secondary education. Others should go for vocational education and handicraft training. Secondary and higher education should be opted by those who are interested. Skilled people can easily get jobs and improve the economy. If woman is educated she will be contributing in the all round development of family and society. Education is the sole means of transformation in society. Bhai Kahn Singh also emphasizes on the role of parents for developing the society. By training their children to be good human beings they contribute to create a good society. In fact, he is of the opinion that parents should inculcate good manners, behavior and discipline in their children. Parents should instill the good attributes in their children for the future of every society. It is also said that the parents should care their children for seven years. From eighth year onward, virtues of discipline should be created very strictly by the parents in their children.

Bhai Kahn Singh also talks about gender equality. According to him, a wife should be supportive to her husband. Wife should have knowledge of husband's profession, so that she can handle the work in absence of husband, if required. Bhai Kahn Singh also talks about the military training to be given to women. He is probably the only person talking about two important aspects that is information of husband's work and military training. In a sense he is giving some additional space to women in the home and society. Though he provides some space to women, in his opinion the ultimate aim in her life is marriage. He talks about some good values in a husband rather than money. Money is not that important as the good values of a person. A hard worker is much more eligible than an idle rich, he writes.

Bhai Kahn Singh has provided his opinion about kingship and governance. He talks about administration and the ideal king and administrator where he says that the administrator should be honest and upright. State should collect low taxes from the people so the people will have an improved quality of life. He discusses the attributes of a ruler. According to him, a ruler has to be exemplary, a model for society. He has high expectations from the ruler. Ruler should be of high character, brave, spiritual and tolerant. He should not have any kind of bad habits. He should be fair and just. He

should be patient and wise. His life should be balanced even detached from material things around him. The ruler should supervise the offices, carrying out inspection regularly. He should be careful not make any immediate decision. Negotiation should be the option for finding the solution. He should credit people who serve him selflessly. He should even take strict decisions also if required. Philosophers and scholars should be given patronage. All these attributes are coming from the basic ideas in Sikhism. A ruler should seek advice but not be overpowered by advice. He should work for welfare of the people. It is his duty to improve the life of people. He should provide them shelter, work and education.

The heir or prince is also an important part of discussion in Bhai Kahn Singh's works. Princes should be kept under a strict training under an experienced tutor. Their day routines, alertness to surrounding and learning the administrative works are seen as essential training.

Bhai Kahn Singh describes the required attributes of ministers, soldiers and servants. They should be loyal, honest and true. They should not be corrupt. Even a single penny should be taken into account when they are working for the ruler.

Sikhism as religion is one of the major concerns of Bhai Kahn Singh in his works, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Sad Ka Parmarath*, *Gurmat Martand* etc. Bhai Kahn Singh highlights the attributes of God as He is wonderful and unique. He knows everything and he is nearest than everything else. He is powerful, omnipresent. He is creator of whole creation. He is almighty, and has painted whole universe as painter. He is free from cycle of birth and death. One can be free with His mercy only. He bestows everything upon everyone. He is true source of justice. He uplifts the downtrodden humans. He is king of kings. He is one and only god and all others being false while He is the truth. Bhai Kahn Singh feels that it is difficult to define God because he has innumerable attributes. God has complete knowledge. He is light and therefore He should be worshipped constantly. Worship can be through meditation, by Naam/ Simran and through our deeds. Bhai Kahn Singh is not in favor of rituals for worship. Incantations are considered futile. Almighty can be worshipped through prayer.

Bhai Kahn Singh gives detailed code of conduct to be followed by Sikh. All true Sikhs are expected to follow the Rahit/code of conduct. It includes regular recitation Bani after bathing, attempting to have purity of mind, to be detached from worldly

goods, to follow a spiritual path and guide the children to follow the same. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, a Sikh follows the teachings of Jagat Guru, Guru Granth Sahib and gives services/seva, an essential part to salvation. He believes that rituals are worthless. Janeu, hath yoga, tap yoga, pilgrimage, renunciation, veil, making tattoos on body, expenditure on last rites are denied and not acceptable for a true Sikh. Five enemies, lust, anger, greed, attachment and ego known as *kaam, karodh, lobh, moh, ahnkar* should be controlled by a Sikh. Good deeds will make life happy but bad deeds will bring problems.

He talks of Guru, Saints and worship. Guru is according to Bhai Kahn Singh, is mediator. He is the guide on spiritual path. But true Guru does not accept and expect anything. Every Sikh can be a Guru by following the spirituality. Guru helps to destroy the ignorance and falsehood through the knowledge of truth and leads us on true path. Gurbani is also considered as Guru. The Gurudwara, which is the place of Guru is therefore sacred. The follower of Guru should not indulge in wrong doing because the Guru is path to salvation. God's existence, grace, His hukam are discussed. His true name is required to be recited. Knowledge of God and his name can be attained through Guru. Everything is happening under the God's bhana the will of God. Basic concepts of Sikhism have been explained by Bhai Kahn Singh. Saint is mentioned as one who follows the path of spirituality and leads life according to will of God, achieves the highest place of spirituality.

The ideas on Sikh religion, presented by Bhai Kahn Singh in his writings seem to uphold concept of Guru Nanak' about God, Guru and the path to salvation. His code of conduct brings together the views of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Singh Sabha reform ideas of proper/pure Sikhism. His concern with religion is more active in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century. His later interests in poetry, grammar and compiling of encyclopedia suggest that Bhai Kahn Singh had stated his opinion on religion and moved on to other concerns without getting into any extended debate after *Ham Hindu Nahi*.

Bhai Kahn Singh's most well known work *Ham Hindu Nahi*, which according to him was written to make the distinct identity of Sikhs clear. Aim of the book was to make the people aware about a difference between Sikhs and Hindus so that Sikhs will be considered as independent community. He also makes it clear that the book was not



written to create any sectarian conflict. The 19<sup>th</sup> century of Kahn Singh witnessed many changes due to colonial rule. Every community defined their boundaries. Redefining the community and rethinking of beliefs and practices rethinking was taking place. Bhai Kahn Singh in this environment focused on identity. He talks about the Sikhs. He defines the Sikh as the follower of ten Gurus and accepts Guru Granth Sahib as only religious scripture to be followed. For Bhai Kahn Singh, followers of code of conduct are Sikh. There are three clear identities of the Sikhs in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Sahajdhari those who cut their hairs and not baptized, Keshdhari and Amritdhari, who are Puran Sikhs in appearance and are baptized. In the book *Ham Hindu Nahi* a conversation takes place between Hindu and a Sikh. On the basis of the conversation following arguments are traced. First argument of Hindu is about sanctity of Vedas, Purana, Samritis, Shastras and Varna system in Adi Granth and incarnations, worship of Goddess in Dasam Granth is maintained. On basis of this Hindus and Sikhs are same.

In answer to the argument Sikh replies that Guru Granth is single religious scripture of Sikhs. Bhai Gurdas denies any significance of Vedas and Shastras in Sikhism. Gurus stood against the caste and varna system and believed in equality. Incarnations are also denied in Sikhism. Unlike the Hindus, Sikhs did not follow the four Ashram system either.

Second argument against the Sikhs being a distinct community is that they follow the Hindu law. Bhai Kahn Singh clarifies that most of the laws were customary laws not the Hindu laws. Also the Sikh code of conduct was applicable to Sikhs. Hindu law could not be forced on Sikhs. In fact Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the Sikhs were opposed to Hindu customs and rituals.

Another argument raised by the Hindu was that many Sikhs believed in idol worship. In fact rituals for Hindu idols were followed for sacred scripture the Granth Sahib, which is similar to Hindu rituals. Bhai Kahn Singh denies it.

Bhai Kahn Singh admits that some Sikhs have started following false rituals and therefore purity and classification on Sikhism was necessary. Bhai Kahn Singh has focused on the mutual understanding which should not be disturbed on the basis of the religious differences. Distinction of the religions should not be the cause of the conflict.

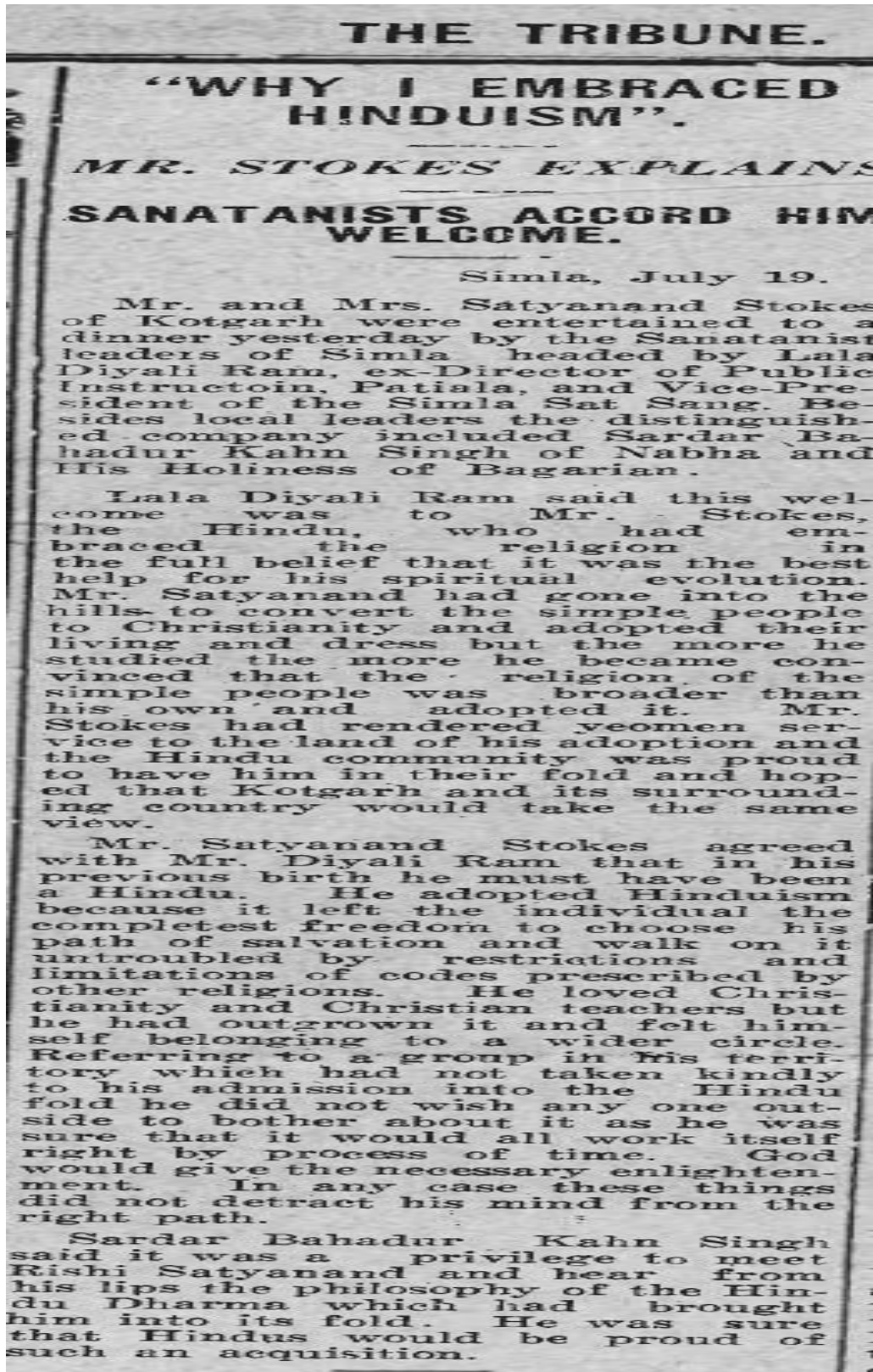
Sikhs are not Hindus but all other countrymen should be treated as brothers and *Bharat* as the common land for all. All have one father, all are his children. All are and should be friendly towards everyone. They are the contributors of the civilized Nations. *Ham Hindu Nahi*, was written in communitarian consciousness growing in the spheres of Punjab. Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the distinct identity was pre-colonial and did not emerge suddenly. References of Adi Granth, written in 1604-05, works of Bhai Gurdas, Dasam Granth and other works written in the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, works of Bhai Nand Lal, contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh, Guru Sobha, written after the death of Guru Gobind Singh, Rahitnamas, written in eighteenth century, Gurbilas patshahi Sixth and works of Bhai Santokh Singh, composed in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Janam Sakhis of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century are provided by Bhai Kahn Singh as mentioned by Dr. Grewal focuses on the idea of partial prevalence of separate Sikh identity of Pre-colonial times as the exposition by Bhai Kahn Singh.

Bhai Kahn Singh through his writings contributes ideas of improving the society. Society will prosper through the education. Though the religions may be different, still people will live cordially, respecting their religious beliefs and practices as sacred for all. Tolerance is the key to peace and progress. Bhai Kahn Singh is also known for his secular outlook. There is a news reported in the *The Tribune*, of July 25, 1935, where he was invited to attend a function of baptism of Mr. Stoke into Hinduism. According to the news Mr. and Mrs Satyanand Stokes of Kotgarh were invited for a dinner on July 24, 1935 by Sanatan Leaders of Simla, headed by Lala Diyali Ram, ex-Director of Public Instruction, Patiala and Vice-President of Simla Sat Sang. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and His Holiness Bagarian ruler were invited. It was mentioned by Lal Diyali Ram that the welcome was for Mr. Stoke for embracing the Hinduism for his spiritual growth. It was also mentioned that Mr. Stoke went to hills for converting the people into Christianity but he himself got impressed with simplicity and vastness of Hinduism and became a Hindu. Mr. Stoke admitted it and told himself lucky. He found the Hinduism broader than the Christianity. Bhai Kahn Singh at that said that was a privilege to meet Rishi Satyanand and hear from his lips the philosophy of Hindu Dharma which had brought him into its fold. He was sure that Hindus would be proud of such an acquisition.<sup>1</sup> He

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<sup>1</sup> *The Tribune*, July 25, 1935, 4.

thus, clearly accepted and respected all religions, while protecting his own belief in Sikhism.



News 1.1, The Tribune Head Office, Chandigarh

Another news that is found in *The Tribune* is about an important role played by Bhai Kahn Singh to patch up two working Sikh groups at Simla. According to the news, Bhai Kahn Singh along with Arjun Singh Bagrian, mediated and sorted out the problem. Two organizations “Khalsa Youngman Association” and “Sikh Association” were called in the Singh Sabha hall and after the issue was resolved, a new organization named “The Youngman Sikh Association” was formed.<sup>2</sup> Some disputes were still unsettled in the Gurudwaras at Shimla, though the issues between two societies were settled. Bhai Kahn Singh delivered a speech for giving a message of harmony in the Shimla Gurudwaras and in general. It ended the pending disputes of some Gurudwaras.<sup>3</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh therefore, stood for negotiation and resolution of problems.

**SIMLA DAY BY DAY**  
 (From Our Own Correspondent).  
 Simla, July 31.  
**Sikh Differences Composed.**  
 The differences that were prevailing between the Sikhs of Simla for the last two years were composed last week through the mediation of Bhai Sahib Kahn Singh of Nabha, Bhai Sahib Arjun Singh, Chief of Bagrian, Sant Gurbakhsh Singh and other leading Sikhs of Simla.  
 For the past two years there were two rival Sikh organisations in Simla, the “Khalsa Youngman Association” and the “Sikh Association.” On the evening of the 26th a combined general meeting of both the organisations was held in the Singh Sabha Hall, under the presidency of Bhai Sahib Kahn Singh of Nabha. Bhai Sahib Arjun Singh and other Sikh leaders were also present. Through mutual agreement the differences were composed and both the organisations were dissolved and a new organisation called “The Youngman Sikh Association”, was formed with Sodhi Gurbachan Singh as President. It was also decided that no executive member of the old organisations should be eligible for holding any office in the new association for one year. Eleven new men were, accordingly, elected as the executive members of the new organisation. At a meeting held on Friday evening S. Kartar Singh was elected Secretary.

News 1.2, The Tribune Head Office, Chandigarh

<sup>2</sup> *The Tribune*, July 25, 1938, 3

<sup>3</sup> *The Tribune*, August 24, 1938, 11

**TO LET**

**TO LET**—A well ventilated double storied house No. 66, Beadon Road. Apply to Mr. Mahesh Chandra, 80, Nisbet Road, Lahore. 5627

**TO LET**—A Cinema building, well-furnished in an important Punjab town bright look, best situation. Apply No. 5483 c/o The Tribune, Lahore.

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**PUBLIC NOTICES**

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son of  
L. Jadhva Ram Bajaj.  
5624

A senior doctor desires to give honorary services to a charitable dispensary in Lahore. Apply No. 5629 c/o The Tribune.

Parents of Ch. Durga Dutta s/o J.R. Dutta are much worried over his absence and their anxiety inspire his letter to father has not been alleviated. Ch. Dutt to see atonce. Uttam Singh, 5616 11-B, Lodge Road, Lahore.

Notice having been given of the loss of Policy No. 12632 for Rs 1,000 of Chaudhri. Murlidhar Timber Merchant, Haram Gate, Multan City, a duplicate thereof will be issued after one month from date if no objection is lodged with us in the meantime. (Sd.) T. C. Kapur, Manager, Lakshmi Insurance Co., Ltd., Lahore. 5622

**NOTICE**

It is notified for the information of the general public as well as all the local bodies in the Punjab that Receipt book No. 6801 form G. 8 belonging to this office has been lost. The book contains 26 unused receipts in duplicate from No. 15 to 50. As it is likely that these receipts may be misused, so all concerned are warned not to accept any receipt bearing these Nos. in acknowledgment of payment.

**CHINA WILL EMERGE VICTORIOUS**

**CHOU EN-LAI INTERVIEWED**

Hankow, (By Mail).

Confidence that China would ultimately emerge victorious from the present war against Japan was expressed by Chou En-Lai Communist Leader and right-hand man of Chu Teh, known as "Little Napoleon" of the Communist 8th Route Army, in an interview here.

He thought that it might take China three years or more to defeat Japan.

If continued long, he added, the struggle might produce a political revolution in Japan.

"The question of land distribution and co-operation between Kuomintang and Communists for social reforms" Chou asserted, "is of no immediate importance. The war comes first. Without winning it China cannot improve her own lot".

The Red Leader, who was one of the men who established peace and co-operation between the Communists and the Kuomintang, said that when the war was won, democracy must come to China. Without democracy, social reforms were impossible, he thought.

Poor peasants outside the Soviet region in North China, Chou declared, would get their land gradually after the war. Slowly, through several years, the tenants would pay smaller and smaller taxes. Finally, they would pay nothing. The soil would again belong to the peasants. All this must be changed by law, not by

**SIMLA DAY BY DAY**

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Simla, Aug 21.

**GURDWARA DISPUTE PATCHED UP.**

On the intervention of Bh. Kahn Singh of Nabha and other Sikh leaders the two Sikh Societies of Simla were amalgamated some time back, but the Gurdwara disputes were not yet settled. The intervention of Bh. Kahn Singh has proved very fruitful here too, who on August 16 made a speech in the Gurdwara advising both the parties to work harmoniously. This had a very healthy effect on both the parties and all disputes in Sikh circles have ended since.

**BOARD OF INDUSTRIES MEETING.**

A meeting of the Board of Industries was held here yesterday in the Punjab Government Secretariat with Ch. Sir Chhotu Ram in the chair. Several applications for loans and subsidies were considered.

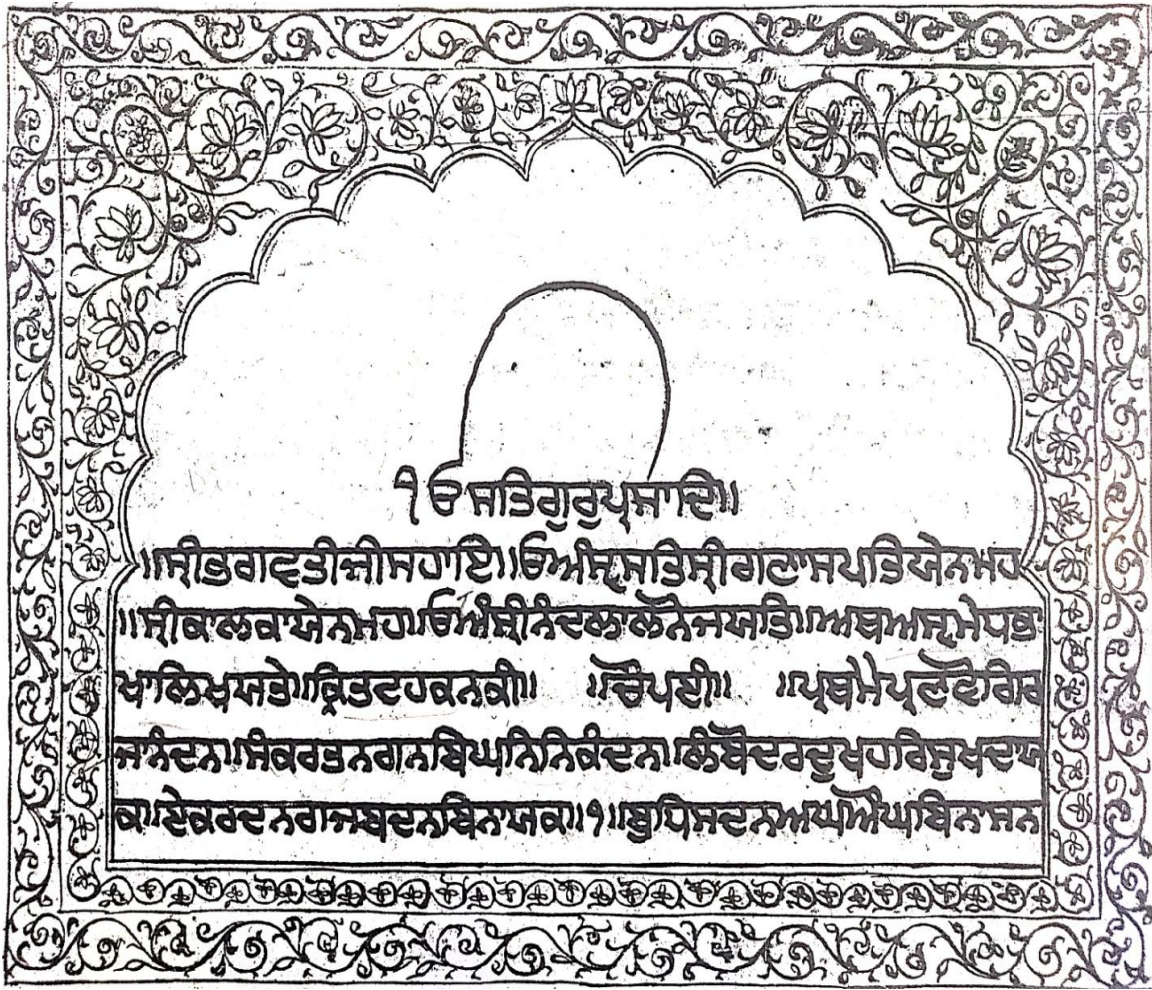
The following were present at the meeting:—Ch. Krishan Gopal Dutt, M.L.A., Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Mr. Osborne, Chief Agent, Lloyd's Bank, Lahore, Mr. Harbhagwan Nanda, Ch. Mohd. Husain, Sh. Karamat Ali, Lt. Nuni-hal Singh, Capt. Balbir Singh, and R.B. Ram Lal, Director of Industries, Punjab

**FAIR IN AID OF GIRL GUIDE MOVEMENT.**

A fair was held yesterday at the Barnes Court in aid of the Girl Guide movement, Lahore. Various kinds of entertainments were provided.

News 1.3, The Tribune Head Office, Chandigarh

Bhai Kahn Singh's contribution to literature is unique and enormous. His contribution to society is larger. He stands up for his beliefs yet respects the beliefs of others. He presents ideas for improvement of society—good values, spirituality, charity, cooperation, generosity, consideration and positive attitudes to build society. He highlights the negativity which leads to misery, chaos and mishappening, discrimination, falsehood, jealousy, hate and competition. In a way, he is presenting a blueprint for an ideal society, a fair and just society. In a very modern outlook he sees education as the instrument to reform society. He is of the opinion that the education should be for all. This alone can usher in change and lead to a well balanced society.



॥ ਅਤ ਬੈ ਵੁ ਰ ਗ ਪ੍ਰੇ ਸ ਰਿ ਤ ਨਾ ਸ ਤ ਨ ਭ ਮੇ ਭਾ ਈ ਪੇ ਮ ਸਿ ਘ ਕੇ ਇ ਹ ਤ ਮ ਮ ਸੇ ਛ ਪ ॥

ਸਿ ਮ ਤ ੴ ਪ ੨ ॥

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Tika Jaimani Asavmedh<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, *Jaimani Asavmedh*, commentary, Durga Press Nabha, 1895, 1.



Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's Home 'Vrijesh Bhawan' at Nabha, Punjab, photo is clicked by researcher.



*BaranDari* at Mahraja Ripudaman Singh College, Nabha, it was earlier a Palace, later on the building was converted into college. *Barandari* means a structure with twelve gates. It is said that Bhai Kahn Singh use to sit in the *Barandari* and wrote. Photo has been clicked by the researcher himself.



## Appendix-I

Bhai Kahn Singh in the preface of *Gurmat Sudhakar* advises to follow the footnotes of the book that is his interpretation along with the explanation of the text. Guru Gobind's Gurbani, some questions answered by Guru Gobind Singh, views of *Sena Pat* a court poet of Guru Gobind Singh and a discussion and questions and answers between followers and Guru Gobind Singh are taken up by Bhai Kahn Singh in chapter 1<sup>st</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> respectively. Whatever he has provided in these chapters of the book about reformation and change according to Sikhism, is based on references of Guru Gobind's works.

Ravinder Kaur Ravi in *Bikhre Moti* has collected more than dozens of articles of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha out of which three are directly on Guru Gobind Singh published in various magazines of those times. Two articles are in Punjabi and one is in English. While talking about Guru Gobind Singh Bhai Kahn Singh has mentioned the incomparable and unique personality of Guru Gobind Singh. He has considered these attributes of Guru Gobind Singh as the reason of belief of all followers in Sikhism. He is incomparable because no one else on this earth is equal to him when all prophets are mentioned. In words of Bhai Kahn Singh,

‘Do we regard Guru Gobind Singh a unique incarnation and peerless messenger of God, because he is a Guru, who grants us salvation and we belong to his dispensation? No, Kalghidhar's (Guru Gobind Singh) unrivalled beauties themselves show beyond dispute that he stands unrivalled. This is why he is a unique leader. In all Rishis, Avatars and prophets who have lived and worked in the world, there has been a special trait which brought them into prominence par excellence, as for instance the trait of ornamental beauty of Sri Krishna ji, Chivalry on Ram Chandra ji, wrath in Parsuram, peace in Bhagwan Budha etc. you cannot name a single religious leader, who combined in him all these traits in their due proportion and still rose above them? Only the 10<sup>th</sup> Guru reflects in himself all these traits. Rather he is their very source, their very stay.’

Above mentioned article was published in magazine ‘The Khalsa’ Amritsar, on 5 January 1930, as mentioned by the editor of the book. Bhai Kahn Singh has referred to Amrit Rai, the court poet of Guru Gobind Singh, while explaining the various

qualities of Guru Gobind. His nine traits as God of Beauty, Poet of Poets, God of Learning, Protector of Weak and Oppressed, his quality of equality between himself and the Khalsa and his baptism by the five beloved ones (Panj Payare) and his quality of a true sacrifice on the martyrdom of his sons, he does not allow any tear to come down from his eyes and accepts the whole Sikh community as his children, his trait of Yama or the real punisher who beholding the swords in hands punishes and destroys the devils in the battle field, make his personality unique.

Sadhu Govind Singh's *Itihas Guru Khalsa*, referred by Bhai Kahn Singh throws light on some other qualities as,

‘Bharat has produced any number of religious preceptors and she will produce any number again. But the re-advent in her world of Dharma Guru like Guru Govind Singh is impossible. Countless selfish men have born and died; but Guru Govind Singh will live for all time, glorious and resplendent. Blessed the country, blessed the age, blessed the land, blessed the town, blessed the house and blessed the mother that can produce a great being like Guru Govind Singh!’<sup>1</sup>

The same article of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha under the title ‘*Sahib Gobind Singh Navon Rass Bheeno Hai*’ was published in Punjabi, in *the Khalsa*, Amritsar in the month of January 1933.<sup>2</sup>

Another essay of Bhai Kahn Singh with the title ‘ਮਹਾਨ ਕਵੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ’ (Maha Kavi Shri Guru Gobind Singh Ji Maharaj) was published in ‘*Khas Phulwari*’ edited by Hira Singh Darad, explains the attributes of a great poet of Guru Gobind. Bhai Kahn Singh himself was a translator and commentator of many works of Sanskrit and other literature. He also knew the technical requirements of great poetry. According to him there are three attributes of a great poet who writes poetry on epic. Those attributes are melodiousness, glory and grace. Bhai Kahn Singh finds all these qualities in the poetry of Guru Gobind Singh. While talking about his melodious quality, he has mentioned the Charming Mode (Manohar Chhand) and a prosodic meter or form of four rhyming lines (SurDhun Savayae). Here the beauty of Akal almighty,

<sup>1</sup> Ravinder Kaur Ravi, Jagmail Singh Bhathuan (ed.), *Bikhre Moti- Bhai Kahn Singh de Nibandh*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 56.

power known as Shakti and His another form Chandi a goddess are praised in a melodious style.

ਮੀਨ ਮੁਰਝਾਨੇ ਕੰਜ ਖੰਜਨ ਖਿਸਾਨੇ ਅਲਿ ਫਿਰਤ, ਦਿਵਾਨੇ, ਬਨਿ ਡੋਲੈ ਜਿਤ ਤਿਤ ਹੀ॥

ਕੀਰ ਅਉ ਕਪੇਤ, ਬਿੰਬ ਕੋਕਿਲਾ ਕਲਾਪੀ ਬਨ, ਲੂਟੇ ਫੂਟੇ ਫਿਰੈ, ਮਨਿ ਚੈਨ ਹੂੰ ਨ ਕਿਤ ਹੀ॥

ਦਾਰਿਮ ਦਰਕ ਗਯੋ ਪੇਖਿ ਦਰਸਨਿ ਪਾਂਤਿ, ਰੂਪ ਹੀ ਕੀ ਕ੍ਰਾਂਤਿ ਜਗਿ ਫੈਲ ਰਹੀ ਸਿਤ ਹੀ॥

ਐਸੀ ਗੁਨ ਸਾਗਰ ਉਜਾਗਰ ਸੁ ਨਾਗਰ ਹੈ, ਲੀਨੇ ਮਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਹਰ ਨੈਨ ਕੋਰ ਚਿਤ ਹੀ॥

Meen murjhane kanj khanjan khisane al firat, diwane, ban doley jit ti hi.

Keer au kapot, bimb kokila klaapi ban, lootey footey fireyn, man chaen hoon na kit hi.

Darim darak gayo pekh darsan paant, roop hi ki kranti jagg fael rahi sit hi.

Aesi gun sagar ujjagar so nagar hai, leno man mero har naen kor chit hi.

In this poem, attributes of almighty are mentioned which leave its impact upon everyone. All the requirements of writing melodies, as mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh, are illustrated in Guru Gobind's works.

While talking about Chandi, Guru Gobind Singh as mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh says,

ਹਰਿ ਸੇ ਮੁਖ ਹੈ ਹਰਿਤੀ ਦੁਖ ਹੈ ਅਲਿਕੈਂ ਹਰਿ ਹਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾ ਹਰਿਨੀ ਹੈ।

ਲੋਚਨ ਹੈ ਹਰਿ ਸੇ ਸਰਸੇ ਹਰਿ ਸੇ ਭਰੂਟੇ ਹਰਿਸੀ ਬਰਨੀ ਹੈ॥

ਕੇਹਰ ਸੇ ਕਰਿਹਾਂ ਜਲਬੋ ਹਰਿ ਪੈ ਹਰਿ ਕੀ ਹਰਿਨੀ ਤਰਨੀ ਹੈ।

ਹੈ ਕਰ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਪੈ ਹਰਿ ਸੇ, ਹਰਿ ਰੂਪ ਕਿਯੇ ਹਰਿਕੀ ਧਰਨੀ ਹੈ॥

Har so much hai harti dukh hai alikey har haar prabha harini hai.

Lochan hai har se sarse har se bhrute harisi barni hai.

Kehar so karihan jalbo har pae har ki harini tarni hai.

Hai kar mai har pae har so, har roop kiye hariki dharni hai.

In above mentioned lines glory is presented of Chandi. It is a quality of a poet to present special attributes which is also present in the poetry of Guru Gobind says Bhai Kahn Singh. In Gobind Singh's *Vachittar Natak* (Wonderful Play) where Glory of sword and power has mentioned by Guru Gobind Singh.

ਖਗ ਖੰਡ ਬਿਹੰਡੰ ਖਲ ਦਲ ਖੰਡੰ ਅਤਿ ਰਣ ਮੰਡੰ ਬਰਬੰਡੰ।

ਭੁਜਦੰਡ ਅਖੰਡੰ, ਤੇਜ ਪ੍ਰਚੰਡੰ, ਜੋਤਿ ਅਮੰਡੰ, ਭਾਨ ਪ੍ਰਭੰ।।

ਸੁਖ ਸੰਤਾ ਕਰਣੰ, ਦੁਰਮਤਿ ਦਰਣੰ, ਕਿਲਵਿਖ ਹਰਣੰ, ਅਸਿ ਸਰਣੰ।

ਜੈ ਜੈ ਜਗ ਕਾਰਣੰ, ਸਿਸਟਿ ਉਬਾਰਣ, ਮਮ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਪਾਰਣ ਜੈ ਤੇਗੰ।।

Khag khan bihandam khal dal khandam att ran mandam barbandam.

Bhujdand akhandam, tej prchandam, jyot amandam, bhan prabham.

Sukh santan karnam, durmat darnam, kilvikh harnam, as sarnam.

Jai jai jagkarnam, sisat ubharan, mam pratiparan jai tegang.

Third quality of a great poet is Grace mentioned by referring a stanza of Akal Ustat (Praise of Almighty) one of the writings of Guru Gobind Singh. Grace is the blessings of almighty. As everything originates from the almighty and finally all get mixed up in the same source, the God almighty.

ਜੈਸੇ ਏਕ ਆਗ ਤੇ ਕਾਨੁਕਾ ਕੋਟ ਆਗ ਉਠੈਂ। ਨਿਆਰੇ ਨਿਆਰੇ ਹੁਇ ਕੈ, ਫੇਰਿ ਆਗ ਮੇਂ ਮਿਲਾਹਿਰੇ॥

ਜੈਸੇ ਏਕ ਧੂਰ ਤੇ ਅਨੇਕ ਧੂਰਿ ਪੂਰਤ ਹੈ। ਧੂਰ ਕੇ ਕਨੂਕਾ ਫੇਰ ਧੂਰਿ ਹੀ ਸਮਾਹਿਰੇ॥

ਜੈਸੇ ਏਕ ਨਦ ਤੇ, ਤਰੰਗ ਕੋਟ ਉਪਜਤ ਹੈ। ਪਾਨਿ ਕੇ ਤਰੰਗ ਸਬੈ, ਪਾਨਿ ਹੀ ਕਹਾਹਿਰੇ॥

ਤੈਸੇ ਵਿਸਵਰੂਪ ਤੇ, ਅਭੂਤ ਭੂਤ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਹੋਇ। ਤਾਂਹੀ ਤੇ ਉਪਜਿ ਸਬੈ ਤਾਂਹੀ ਮੈ ਸਮਾਹਿਰੇ॥<sup>3</sup>

Jaese ek aag te kanuka kot aag uthey. Niyarey niyarey hoye kae, fir aag me milahenge.

<sup>3</sup> Ravinder Kaur Ravi, Jagmail Singh Bhathuan (ed.), *Bikhre Moti- Bhai Kahn Singh de Nibandh*, 61-63.

Jaese ek dhoor te anek dhoor poorat hai. Dhoor ke kanuka fir dhoor hi smahenge.

Jaese ek nad te, tarang kot upjat hain. Paan ke tarang sabey, paan hi kahaenge.

Tease visavroop te, abhoot bhoot prgat hoye. Taahin te upaj sabhey taahin me smahenge.

Here Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha presents Guru Gobind Singh as a great poet who is providing all attributes in his writings in a very lucid form. Bhai Kahn Singh has presented Guru Gobind Singh a very unique personality, great poet and has directly written about him in various magazines and papers.

The ideas of Guru Gobind has mentioned by Bhai Kahn Singh becomes clearer while focusing on some other works of Bhai Kahn Singh. *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar* and *Gurmat Martand* are the famous and most important works of Bhai Kahn Singh where Guru Gobind's thoughts about society, religion, rituals and superstition are recorded.

In the context of society in general according to Bhai Kahn Singh, Guru Gobind Singh is of the opinion that all people are same and should live in common brotherhood feelings for each other. Difference is only due to culture and language. This difference should not be made the basis of discrimination. All should try for the improvement and growth of each others. This is what the Sikh Gurus taught.

Castes are derived from the Karma. Division of caste is based on occupation. With the change of occupation castes also change. Person who is a teacher and performs the rituals is Brahman and the person in business or commerce is a *Vaesh*. But if a person born in *Shudra* or lowest family becomes a teacher and a scholar should be considered as Brahman. A farmer, who works in farm, knows the use of weapons, and also keeps the weapons with himself should be called *Kashatrya*.<sup>4</sup> As the bamboos get fire with a friction and all dry leaves start burning, similarly, Indian people are fighting and dying due to jealous and hatred feelings.<sup>5</sup> Person, who is devil, acts as bad person, does the bad deeds, is considered as *Malechha*. It means person who is born in high caste, still does the bad deeds is lowest person or *Neech*. An educated person, who is a

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<sup>4</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, Shri Gurmat Press, Amritsar, 1922, 389.

<sup>5</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 47.

good thinker, and idealistic and doer of noble acts and intelligent is considered a praise able person. On the other hand born in high caste but doer of bad and devil acts is considered as lowest or Neech. There is mentioned an example of a person who was Brahman, but tried to give poison to sixth Sikh Guru Hargobind.

It means that a person born in Brahman family was considered as high Varna, did an act of lower person by poisoning the Sixth Sikh Guru. Due to this a Brahman became a Neech or Malechha.<sup>6</sup>

If somewhere in Sikh Gurbani terms lower or Malechha and Neech are used those are for the devil and those persons who do the activities of devils. These terms are not used for any particular group of people based on caste system. In Sikhism Varna System is according to the deeds of the person. It has nothing to do with birth and caste. All Varna and castes become one by joining Sikhism like many metals are mixed and made single metal. Baptism in Sikhism finishes all previous births. This new change brings equality.

The Guru is also concerned about issues related to the marriage. Bhai Kahn Singh mentions that the book referred by him for writing the specific chapter was written by a Sikh and in the beginning there was mentioned *Sri Mukh Vaak Patshahi 10vi*. It seems that these ideas are somehow coming from Guru Gobind Singh. About the marriages it is advised that girls should not be married at young age. If the bridegroom is poor but hard worker, should be accepted for girl. But it does not mean that the rich persons are unacceptable. Noble qualities and attributes are preferable instead of money. Limited money should be spent for marriage by both families. Money should not be wasted for show off only. While talking about charity it is mentioned that the priest or religious person who performs all the religious activities of marriage should not receive money in form of fee, from girls and family. Such a high and sacred place is given to women whose marriage ceremony is taken as sacred ceremony and receiving money for the sacred cause is denied. Both families should deal properly with each other. Both should get together occasionally and share meals. This enhances the social bond. But it does not mean that both should be greedy for money from each other. If husband or wife dies, the living person should not look for a

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<sup>6</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*. 64.

partner without remarriage. Remarriage should take place within same age group and widow or widower should try to find a person who has also lost his or her life partner. Extramarital affairs are sins. Even a widow and widower are not allowed to have extra affair for physical comfort only. There is a proper way and that is remarriage.<sup>7</sup>

Another issue discussed is of substance abuse. Drugs spoil the life and the person loses patience. It weakens the mind and body.<sup>8</sup> While opposing the devils of society Bhai Kahn Singh also focused on some rituals and superstitions those were practiced in society. While mentioning the *Gurbani* and other sources Bhai Kahn Singh has finely interpreted and presented his own understanding of such practices and his opinions. All the practices are false if these are not being performed from the depth of heart and with connection of almighty. Worship of stones, wearing *taweez* as necklace, worship of dead and forefathers etc are not the religion. These are not part of Sikhism too. References of Guru Gobind are given by Bhai Kahn Singh where example of a social custom known as Sati is mentioned. Guru Gobind Singh talks about the real truth and worship of almighty. He gives examples of Sati and snakes. If a woman whose husband is dead burns herself alive willingly, she will never get salvation. Similarly, spending the whole life in caves, will not earn any salvation, because the snakes who live under the ground are not getting any benefit of it.<sup>9</sup>

At the death of a person in the family, should continue their day routine. There food should be same as earlier. They should not weep by shouting. A cremation is necessary of the dead body though it is day or night. There should not be any construction of any small structure of few bricks known as Marri.<sup>10</sup> It simply denies the rituals.

Nature and almighty is above all who has created the whole universe. If it is accepted that human is made up of five elements. Those five elements are taken from the nature and nature is under the almighty. Instead of worshipping the almighty other worships and rituals are false. *Waheguru* or almighty is beyond and above all materialistic structures. God is neither created nor destroyed. Practice of Kashi

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<sup>7</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 450-452.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 452, 482.

<sup>9</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 3-13, 22.

<sup>10</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand*, SGPC Publication, Amritsar, 1962, 478.

Allahabad is mentioned. According to this practice, people go to the Kashi for holy bath and then cut themselves by a cutter or hacksaw and in this way they think they will get salvation. But in Sikhism all such practices are denied. It is a socio-religious drawback, where people blindly follow a ritual and give up their lives.<sup>11</sup>

In some families women tries to control the husbands by following the superstition methods. Such practices should not be followed. Effect of ill stars and evil practices are not good for simple life. Such practices should be avoided.<sup>12</sup> Spell, charming and superstition are denied in Sikhism.<sup>13</sup>

Guru Gobind's advice to the Khalsa is mentioned where he is opposing all the rituals and superstitions and advising to follow the almighty *Sri Asidhuj*, punish the sinners, doer of evils and anti-humanity elements. He handed over the responsibility of protection of the saints. It means the people of saintly attributes should always be respected and protected. Khalsa is totally distinct from all others.<sup>14</sup>

Bhai Kahn Singh reiterates the ideas of Guru Gobind Singh as he understands them and has observed several social issues of his contemporary time. He supports his views by providing examples of such social drawbacks of the earlier times. References from Gurbani and other literature make his contribution stronger and unique. He is addressing all cultural groups and communities and identifying the common issues of all. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha has focused on Guru Gobind Singh in his various writings. He has presented Guru Gobind Singh as a great poet, a writer, a saint and a warrior. Guru Gobind's views about caste system, some of the social customs, rituals are very finely presented by Bhai Kahn Singh in his works with a unique style. He is anti caste and Varna discrimination. In this way Guru Gobind's attributes and his impact on society as referred by Bhai Kahn Singh becomes much clear. He underlines the relevance of Guru Gobind Singh and his works for the society from socio-religious perspective.

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<sup>11</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Martand*, 24.

<sup>12</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 77, 123.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 78.

<sup>14</sup> Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, 13-14.



## Appendix-II

### List of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's works

<b>Book</b>	<b>Year</b>
<i>Raj Dharam</i>	1884
<i>Tika Jaimani Asavmedh</i>	1890
<i>Natak Bhavarth Deepika</i>	1897
<i>Ham Hindu Nahi</i>	1897
<i>Gurmat Prabhakar</i>	1898
<i>Gurmat Sudhakar</i>	1899
<i>Gur Gira Kasauti</i>	1899
<i>Thagg Leela</i>	1899
<i>Smasya Poorti</i>	1899
<i>Sad Ka Parmarath</i>	1901
<i>Vijay Swam Dharam</i>	1901
<i>Tika Vishnu Puran</i>	1903
<i>Shrab Nishedh</i>	1907
<i>Gurchhand Diwakar</i>	1924
<i>Gurshabad Alankar</i>	1925
<i>Roop Deep Pingal</i>	1925
<i>Anekarth Kosh</i>	1925
<i>Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti</i>	1930
<i>Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh</i>	1930
Sikh Educational Conference Speech	1931
<i>Chandi Di Vaar</i> (Commentary)	1935
<i>Nammala Kosh</i>	1938

### **Books of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha published Posthumously**

<i>Gurmat Martand</i> (two parts)	1962
<i>Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha De Aprakashit Safarname</i> (edited by Rashpal Kaur)	1983
<i>Gur Mahima Ratnawali</i> (edited by Prof. Pritam Singh and Krishan Lal)	1984
<i>Raj Dharam</i> (edited by Jagmail Singh Bhathuan)	2005

### **Unpublished Books**

*Gurbani Akhan te Muhavare*

*Itihas Bagariyan*

*Khat Ritu*

*Shri Guru Granth Sahib De Prayey*

Personal Diaries of Bhai Kahn Singh

Travelogue to hills

Travelogue to Europe

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*Yug Purush Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha* by Dr. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan, 2005.

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## **INTERVIEWS**

Interview with Dr. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan on 12/05/2017 at Punjabi University, Patiala at 02:00 p.m. He has provided information about Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha along with some books.

Interview with Major A.P. Singh great grandson of Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha on 15/05/2017 at his home at Nabha at 12:30 p.m. He shared many valuable thoughts and provided information about Bhai Kahn Singh. Due to him, it was possible to visit home of Bhai Kahn Singh at Nabha.

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## Chapter 7

### CONCLUSION

Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha was one of the most prolific writers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with around two dozen books to his credit. Some of his works were even edited and published posthumously. He had also written many poems, essays and articles in English and Punjabi in various newspapers and magazines. However, some of his books remained unpublished.

Around 20 % of his work is on kingship, governance and administration. 17 % of his writing deals with Sikh identity and the distinct position of Sikhs in relation to others. 17 % of his work is about the society he lived and worked in. He has devoted his works to highlight the elements of an ideal society, 15 % of his works cover the religious ideas with special references to Sikhism, around 17 % of his books are about grammar, poetry and its rules. In his works we get the ideas about society, kingship, administration, identity and religion. Surprisingly political ideas are missing making it seem like he was apolitical. In his views and opinion he did not comment on the major political developments of his times like the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919 and execution of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev in 1931, two important events of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Punjab. It could be that his early experiences with religion and later administrative department some restraint on voicing political views in the public sphere.

Some changes can be identified in his writings with the passage of time. While working under Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha, Bhai Kahn Singh wrote few books which have the impact of court of Hira Singh seem to be in the Sanatan style. For example in his early writing books starting is with *manglacharan*. The book *Vijay Swam Dharam* has started by Bhai Kahn Singh by bowing head to the God, Akal or timeless, Bhagwati Ji or the Goddess, then he has mentioned as *Sri Guru Nanakaya-Namah*, *Sri Guru Gobind Singhaya Namah*, *Sri Sarab Devaya-Namah* and *Sri Ganpate-Namah*. This style of his writings is changed in other works.

Devinder Singh Vidyarthi highlights the work of Bhai Kahn Singh belonging to three phases. From 1884 to 1903, 1897 to 1912 and 1912 to 1939 are the time frames of his three phases. But there seems some overlapping. First phase according to him, was

phase of influence of the court of Nabha on Bhai Kahn Singh's works where books were discussed in the court and after a common acceptance and suggestions, were considered as completed taking shape of a book of the court actually instead of being a book of individual endeavor. Second phase of his writing is under the influence of socio-religious reform movements. Singh Sabha had its impact on Bhai Sahib's mind. His works of second phase are about Sikhism, code of conduct, distinct identity of Sikhs and about eradication of some evils from society. Third phase of his works seems to be his devotion to the language. His works written in third phase are about the grammar, poetry and seems to be his contribution for service of the language. This is how his ideas got shape and his mind set went through changes. Devinder Singh Vidyarthi has identified these changes in his thought process, visible in his writings, seems to be acceptable. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan has also classified his works into three phases. According to him first phase is from 1884 to 1897, second phase is from 1897 to 1907 and phase third is from 1907 to 1938. Bhathuan also mentions the first phase of writing of Bhai Kahn Singh according to the will of Maharaja Hira Singh, second phase of his works develops the uniqueness of sanatan religious scriptures and crystallizes and established the uniqueness of Gurbani independently. Third phase was devoted to encyclopedias, poetry and grammar.

These classifications of Bhai Kahn Singh's writing are an over simplification. It is not possible to categorize his thought and writings into any clear phase. His early writing in 1880s to 1890s is focused on administration and governance (*Raj Dharam* and *Natak Bhavarth Deepika*). From late 1890s, however, along with administration, he was also concerned with society, religion and identity and poetry related work. His interest in religion, society and poetry continued till the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (*Ham Hindu Nahi*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Gurmat Prbhakar*, *Smasya Poorti* and *Vijay Swam Dharam*). At same time he was concerned about substance abuse in society (*Shrab Nishedh*). From 1906 to 1910, Bhai Kahn Singh traveled in India and abroad and recorded his travel accounts, which were edited and published later on. From 1915 he was working tirelessly on encyclopedia, which was published in 1930 and reprinted in 1960 with few changes. In this phase, his concerns with society continued though his major works are on poetry and grammar (*Gurchhand Diwakar*, *Gurshabad Alankar*, *Roopdeep Pingal*, *Anekarth Kosh*,

*Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*). At the same time, though he focused on language, grammar and poetry and its rules, his interest in society and education was much retained for example *Chhipa Shabad Di Utpatti* and Speech of Sikh educational conference of 1931. Some of his books published after his death in 1938 like *Gurmat Martand*, published by S.G.P.C. in 1962, *Guru Mahima Ratnawali*, published by Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar in 1984 and *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha De Aprakashit Safarname* published by Vrijesh Bhawan, Nabha in 1984. In 2005, *Raj Dharam* was edited and published by Dr. Jagmail Singh Bhathuan.

It would be difficult therefore to attempt any classification of works of Bhai Kahn Singh or to trace any change in his concerns overtime. Bhai Kahn Singh's concerns in his writing reflect a parallel strand of thoughts. He seems to be focusing on not one but several themes at the same time.

At first glance his writings seem to be written for the Sikhs yet they may be considered relevant for society as a whole. His religious books focus on Sikhism. These books are either on defining the Sikhs or elaborating a code of conduct for the proper Sikh way of life. He is addressing all. Some good social values are being reiterated. He presents a kind of a model of good, noble society, what an ideal society should be. He is talking about 'sacred' values which are the need of all societies, in fact backbone of society.

His books *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Shrab Nished*, *Gurmat Martand*, *Natak Bhavarth Deepika* and *Cheepa Shabad Di Utpatti* give a message on social reforms. He is against discrimination in the society, drug abuse, superstition, pilgrim, idleness, interference in other's matters, caste system, dowry, Sati and false rituals. He is also against marriage at an early age. He advocates widow-remarriage. He advises that one should be spiritual, tolerant, friendly and believer in unity, hard work, charity, truth, equality and loyalty. He suggests that cooperation, respect, honesty, consideration, helpfulness, punctuality are some attributes which should be in the very grain of people of any society.

For achieving the goal of creating an ideal society and bringing about social change, Bhai Kahn Singh believes the only tool is education. Education is for everyone,

including women. Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that primary education should be provided to everyone though higher education is not for all only those who are capable and have potential, should go for secondary education. Others should go for vocational education and handicraft training. Secondary and higher education should be opted by those who are interested. Skilled people can easily get jobs and improve the economy. If woman is educated she will be contributing in the all round development of family and society. Education is the sole means of transformation in society. Bhai Kahn Singh also emphasizes on the role of parents for developing the society. By training their children to be good human beings they contribute to create a good society. In fact, he is of the opinion that parents should inculcate good manners, behavior and discipline in their children. Parents should instill the good attributes in their children for the future of every society. It is also said that the parents should care their children for seven years. From eighth year onward, virtues of discipline should be created very strictly by the parents in their children.

Bhai Kahn Singh also talks about gender equality. According to him, a wife should be supportive to her husband. Wife should have knowledge of husband's profession, so that she can handle the work in absence of husband, if required. Bhai Kahn Singh also talks about the military training to be given to women. He is probably the only person talking about two important aspects that is information of husband's work and military training. In a sense he is giving some additional space to women in the home and society. Though he provides some space to women, in his opinion the ultimate aim in her life is marriage. He talks about some good values in a husband rather than money. Money is not that important as the good values of a person. A hard worker is much more eligible than an idle rich, he writes.

Bhai Kahn Singh has provided his opinion about kingship and governance. He talks about administration and the ideal king and administrator where he says that the administrator should be honest and upright. State should collect low taxes from the people so the people will have an improved quality of life. He discusses the attributes of a ruler. According to him, a ruler has to be exemplary, a model for society. He has high expectations from the ruler. Ruler should be of high character, brave, spiritual and tolerant. He should not have any kind of bad habits. He should be fair and just. He



should be patient and wise. His life should be balanced even detached from material things around him. The ruler should supervise the offices, carrying out inspection regularly. He should be careful not make any immediate decision. Negotiation should be the option for finding the solution. He should credit people who serve him selflessly. He should even take strict decisions also if required. Philosophers and scholars should be given patronage. All these attributes are coming from the basic ideas in Sikhism. A ruler should seek advice but not be overpowered by advice. He should work for welfare of the people. It is his duty to improve the life of people. He should provide them shelter, work and education.

The heir or prince is also an important part of discussion in Bhai Kahn Singh's works. Princes should be kept under a strict training under an experienced tutor. Their day routines, alertness to surrounding and learning the administrative works are seen as essential training.

Bhai Kahn Singh describes the required attributes of ministers, soldiers and servants. They should be loyal, honest and true. They should not be corrupt. Even a single penny should be taken into account when they are working for the ruler.

Sikhism as religion is one of the major concerns of Bhai Kahn Singh in his works, *Gurmat Prabhakar*, *Gurmat Sudhakar*, *Sad Ka Parmarath*, *Gurmat Martand* etc. Bhai Kahn Singh highlights the attributes of God as He is wonderful and unique. He knows everything and he is nearest than everything else. He is powerful, omnipresent. He is creator of whole creation. He is almighty, and has painted whole universe as painter. He is free from cycle of birth and death. One can be free with His mercy only. He bestows everything upon everyone. He is true source of justice. He uplifts the downtrodden humans. He is king of kings. He is one and only god and all others being false while He is the truth. Bhai Kahn Singh feels that it is difficult to define God because he has innumerable attributes. God has complete knowledge. He is light and therefore He should be worshipped constantly. Worship can be through meditation, by Naam/ Simran and through our deeds. Bhai Kahn Singh is not in favor of rituals for worship. Incantations are considered futile. Almighty can be worshipped through prayer.

Bhai Kahn Singh gives detailed code of conduct to be followed by Sikh. All true Sikhs are expected to follow the Rahit/code of conduct. It includes regular recitation Bani after bathing, attempting to have purity of mind, to be detached from worldly

goods, to follow a spiritual path and guide the children to follow the same. According to Bhai Kahn Singh, a Sikh follows the teachings of Jagat Guru, Guru Granth Sahib and gives services/seva, an essential part to salvation. He believes that rituals are worthless. Janeu, hath yoga, tap yoga, pilgrimage, renunciation, veil, making tattoos on body, expenditure on last rites are denied and not acceptable for a true Sikh. Five enemies, lust, anger, greed, attachment and ego known as *kaam, karodh, lobh, moh, ahnkar* should be controlled by a Sikh. Good deeds will make life happy but bad deeds will bring problems.

He talks of Guru, Saints and worship. Guru is according to Bhai Kahn Singh, is mediator. He is the guide on spiritual path. But true Guru does not accept and expect anything. Every Sikh can be a Guru by following the spirituality. Guru helps to destroy the ignorance and falsehood through the knowledge of truth and leads us on true path. Gurbani is also considered as Guru. The Gurudwara, which is the place of Guru is therefore sacred. The follower of Guru should not indulge in wrong doing because the Guru is path to salvation. God's existence, grace, His hukam are discussed. His true name is required to be recited. Knowledge of God and his name can be attained through Guru. Everything is happening under the God's bhana the will of God. Basic concepts of Sikhism have been explained by Bhai Kahn Singh. Saint is mentioned as one who follows the path of spirituality and leads life according to will of God, achieves the highest place of spirituality.

The ideas on Sikh religion, presented by Bhai Kahn Singh in his writings seem to uphold concept of Guru Nanak' about God, Guru and the path to salvation. His code of conduct brings together the views of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Singh Sabha reform ideas of proper/pure Sikhism. His concern with religion is more active in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century. His later interests in poetry, grammar and compiling of encyclopedia suggest that Bhai Kahn Singh had stated his opinion on religion and moved on to other concerns without getting into any extended debate after *Ham Hindu Nahi*.

Bhai Kahn Singh's most well known work *Ham Hindu Nahi*, which according to him was written to make the distinct identity of Sikhs clear. Aim of the book was to make the people aware about a difference between Sikhs and Hindus so that Sikhs will be considered as independent community. He also makes it clear that the book was not

written to create any sectarian conflict. The 19<sup>th</sup> century of Kahn Singh witnessed many changes due to colonial rule. Every community defined their boundaries. Redefining the community and rethinking of beliefs and practices rethinking was taking place. Bhai Kahn Singh in this environment focused on identity. He talks about the Sikhs. He defines the Sikh as the follower of ten Gurus and accepts Guru Granth Sahib as only religious scripture to be followed. For Bhai Kahn Singh, followers of code of conduct are Sikh. There are three clear identities of the Sikhs in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Sahajdhari those who cut their hairs and not baptized, Keshdhari and Amritdhari, who are Puran Sikhs in appearance and are baptized. In the book *Ham Hindu Nahi* a conversation takes place between Hindu and a Sikh. On the basis of the conversation following arguments are traced. First argument of Hindu is about sanctity of Vedas, Purana, Samritis, Shastras and Varna system in Adi Granth and incarnations, worship of Goddess in Dasam Granth is maintained. On basis of this Hindus and Sikhs are same.

In answer to the argument Sikh replies that Guru Granth is single religious scripture of Sikhs. Bhai Gurdas denies any significance of Vedas and Shastras in Sikhism. Gurus stood against the caste and varna system and believed in equality. Incarnations are also denied in Sikhism. Unlike the Hindus, Sikhs did not follow the four Ashram system either.

Second argument against the Sikhs being a distinct community is that they follow the Hindu law. Bhai Kahn Singh clarifies that most of the laws were customary laws not the Hindu laws. Also the Sikh code of conduct was applicable to Sikhs. Hindu law could not be forced on Sikhs. In fact Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the Sikhs were opposed to Hindu customs and rituals.

Another argument raised by the Hindu was that many Sikhs believed in idol worship. In fact rituals for Hindu idols were followed for sacred scripture the Granth Sahib, which is similar to Hindu rituals. Bhai Kahn Singh denies it.

Bhai Kahn Singh admits that some Sikhs have started following false rituals and therefore purity and classification on Sikhism was necessary. Bhai Kahn Singh has focused on the mutual understanding which should not be disturbed on the basis of the religious differences. Distinction of the religions should not be the cause of the conflict.

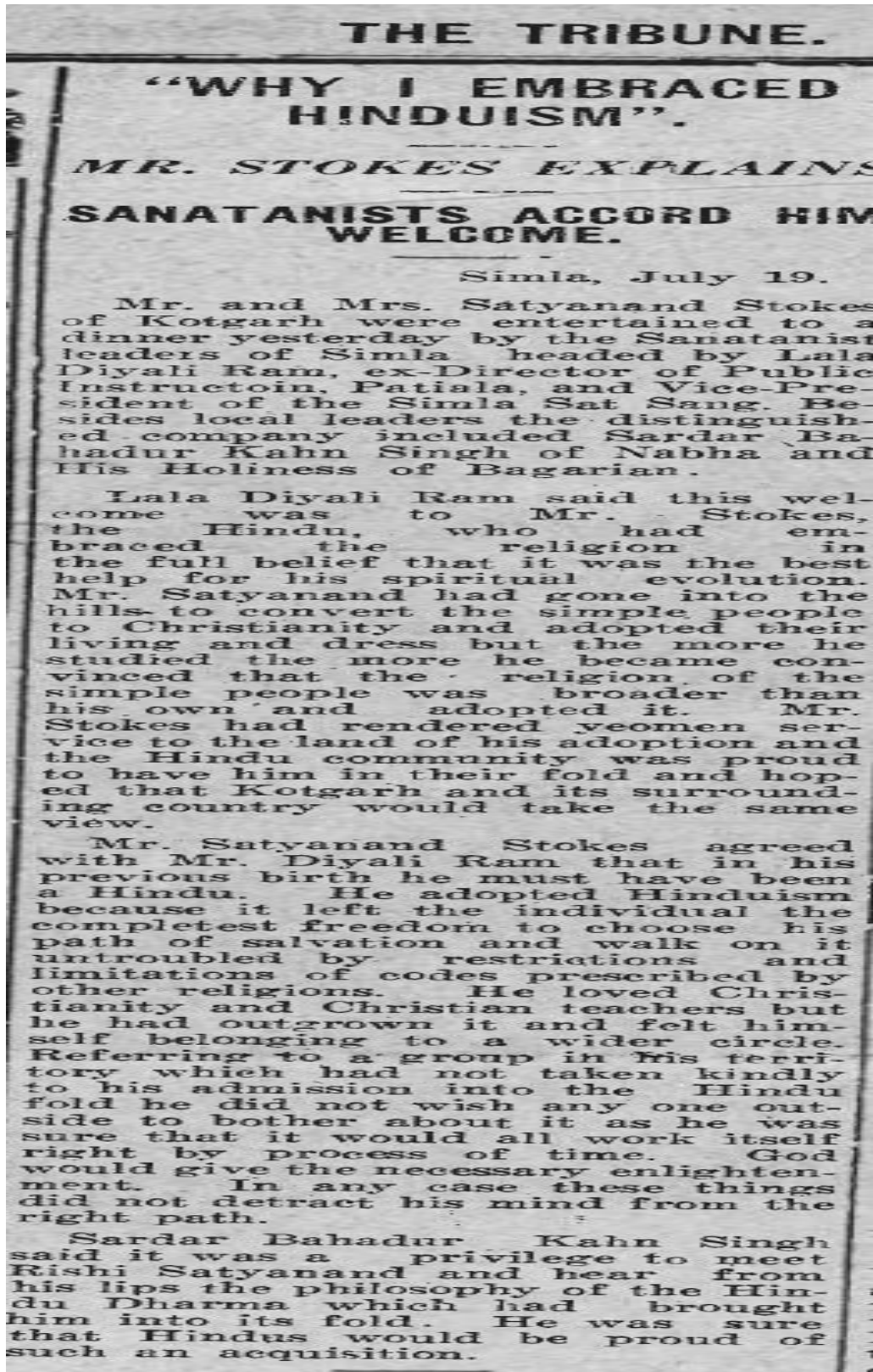
Sikhs are not Hindus but all other countrymen should be treated as brothers and *Bharat* as the common land for all. All have one father, all are his children. All are and should be friendly towards everyone. They are the contributors of the civilized Nations. *Ham Hindu Nahi*, was written in communitarian consciousness growing in the spheres of Punjab. Bhai Kahn Singh is of the opinion that the distinct identity was pre-colonial and did not emerge suddenly. References of Adi Granth, written in 1604-05, works of Bhai Gurdas, Dasam Granth and other works written in the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, works of Bhai Nand Lal, contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh, Guru Sobha, written after the death of Guru Gobind Singh, Rahitnamas, written in eighteenth century, Gurbilas patshahi Sixth and works of Bhai Santokh Singh, composed in early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Janam Sakhis of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century are provided by Bhai Kahn Singh as mentioned by Dr. Grewal focuses on the idea of partial prevalence of separate Sikh identity of Pre-colonial times as the exposition by Bhai Kahn Singh.

Bhai Kahn Singh through his writings contributes ideas of improving the society. Society will prosper through the education. Though the religions may be different, still people will live cordially, respecting their religious beliefs and practices as sacred for all. Tolerance is the key to peace and progress. Bhai Kahn Singh is also known for his secular outlook. There is a news reported in the *The Tribune*, of July 25, 1935, where he was invited to attend a function of baptism of Mr. Stoke into Hinduism. According to the news Mr. and Mrs Satyanand Stokes of Kotgarh were invited for a dinner on July 24, 1935 by Sanatan Leaders of Simla, headed by Lala Diyali Ram, ex-Director of Public Instruction, Patiala and Vice-President of Simla Sat Sang. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and His Holiness Bagarian ruler were invited. It was mentioned by Lal Diyali Ram that the welcome was for Mr. Stoke for embracing the Hinduism for his spiritual growth. It was also mentioned that Mr. Stoke went to hills for converting the people into Christianity but he himself got impressed with simplicity and vastness of Hinduism and became a Hindu. Mr. Stoke admitted it and told himself lucky. He found the Hinduism broader than the Christianity. Bhai Kahn Singh at that said that was a privilege to meet Rishi Satyanand and hear from his lips the philosophy of Hindu Dharma which had brought him into its fold. He was sure that Hindus would be proud of such an acquisition.<sup>1</sup> He

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<sup>1</sup> *The Tribune*, July 25, 1935, 4.

thus, clearly accepted and respected all religions, while protecting his own belief in Sikhism.



News 1.1, The Tribune Head Office, Chandigarh

Another news that is found in *The Tribune* is about an important role played by Bhai Kahn Singh to patch up two working Sikh groups at Simla. According to the news, Bhai Kahn Singh along with Arjun Singh Bagrian, mediated and sorted out the problem. Two organizations “Khalsa Youngman Association” and “Sikh Association” were called in the Singh Sabha hall and after the issue was resolved, a new organization named “The Youngman Sikh Association” was formed.<sup>2</sup> Some disputes were still unsettled in the Gurudwaras at Shimla, though the issues between two societies were settled. Bhai Kahn Singh delivered a speech for giving a message of harmony in the Shimla Gurudwaras and in general. It ended the pending disputes of some Gurudwaras.<sup>3</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh therefore, stood for negotiation and resolution of problems.

**SIMLA DAY BY DAY**  
 (From Our Own Correspondent).  
 Simla, July 31.  
**Sikh Differences Composed.**  
 The differences that were prevailing between the Sikhs of Simla for the last two years were composed last week through the mediation of Bhai Sahib Kahn Singh of Nabha, Bhai Sahib Arjun Singh, Chief of Bagrian, Sant Gurbakhsh Singh and other leading Sikhs of Simla.  
 For the past two years there were two rival Sikh organisations in Simla, the “Khalsa Youngman Association” and the “Sikh Association.” On the evening of the 26th a combined general meeting of both the organisations was held in the Singh Sabha Hall, under the presidency of Bhai Sahib Kahn Singh of Nabha. Bhai Sahib Arjun Singh and other Sikh leaders were also present. Through mutual agreement the differences were composed and both the organisations were dissolved and a new organisation called “The Youngman Sikh Association”, was formed with Sodhi Gurbachan Singh as President. It was also decided that no executive member of the old organisations should be eligible for holding any office in the new association for one year. Eleven new men were, accordingly, elected as the executive members of the new organisation. At a meeting held on Friday evening S. Kartar Singh was elected Secretary.

News 1.2, The Tribune Head Office, Chandigarh

<sup>2</sup> *The Tribune*, July 25, 1938, 3

<sup>3</sup> *The Tribune*, August 24, 1938, 11

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**TO LET**—A well ventilated double storied house No. 66, Beadon Road. Apply to Mr. Mahesh Chandra, 80, Nisbet Road, Lahore. 5627

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**PUBLIC NOTICES**

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son of  
L. Jadhva Ram Bajaj.  
5624

A senior doctor desires to give honorary services to a charitable dispensary in Lahore. Apply No. 5629 c/o The Tribune.

Parents of Ch. Durga Dutta s/o J.R. Dutta are much worried over his absence and their anxiety inspire his letter to father has not been alleviated. Ch. Dutt to see atonce. Uttam Singh, 5616 11-B, Lodge Road, Lahore.

Notice having been given of the loss of Policy No. 12632 for Rs 1,000 of Chaudhri. Murlidhar Timber Merchant, Haram Gate, Multan City, a duplicate thereof will be issued after one month from date if no objection is lodged with us in the meantime. (Sd.) T. C. Kapur, Manager, Lakshmi Insurance Co., Ltd., Lahore. 5622

**NOTICE**

It is notified for the information of the general public as well as all the local bodies in the Punjab that Receipt book No. 6801 form G. 8 belonging to this office has been lost. The book contains 26 unused receipts in duplicate from No. 15 to 50. As it is likely that these receipts may be misused, so all concerned are warned not to accept any receipt bearing these Nos. in acknowledgment of payment.

**CHINA WILL EMERGE VICTORIOUS**

**CHOU EN-LAI INTERVIEWED**

Hankow, (By Mail).

Confidence that China would ultimately emerge victorious from the present war against Japan was expressed by Chou En-Lai Communist Leader and right-hand man of Chu Teh, known as "Little Napoleon" of the Communist 8th Route Army, in an interview here.

He thought that it might take China three years or more to defeat Japan.

If continued long, he added, the struggle might produce a political revolution in Japan.

"The question of land distribution and co-operation between Kuomintang and Communists for social reforms" Chou asserted, "is of no immediate importance. The war comes first. Without winning it China cannot improve her own lot".

The Red Leader, who was one of the men who established peace and co-operation between the Communists and the Kuomintang, said that when the war was won, democracy must come to China. Without democracy, social reforms were impossible, he thought.

Poor peasants outside the Soviet region in North China, Chou declared, would get their land gradually after the war. Slowly, through several years, the tenants would pay smaller and smaller taxes. Finally, they would pay nothing. The soil would again belong to the peasants. All this must be changed by law, not by

**SIMLA DAY BY DAY**

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Simla, Aug 21.

**GURDWARA DISPUTE PATCHED UP.**

On the intervention of Bh. Kahn Singh of Nabha and other Sikh leaders the two Sikh Societies of Simla were amalgamated some time back, but the Gurdwara disputes were not yet settled. The intervention of Bh. Kahn Singh has proved very fruitful here too, who on August 16 made a speech in the Gurdwara advising both the parties to work harmoniously. This had a very healthy effect on both the parties and all disputes in Sikh circles have ended since.

**BOARD OF INDUSTRIES MEETING.**

A meeting of the Board of Industries was held here yesterday in the Punjab Government Secretariat with Ch. Sir Chhotu Ram in the chair. Several applications for loans and subsidies were considered.

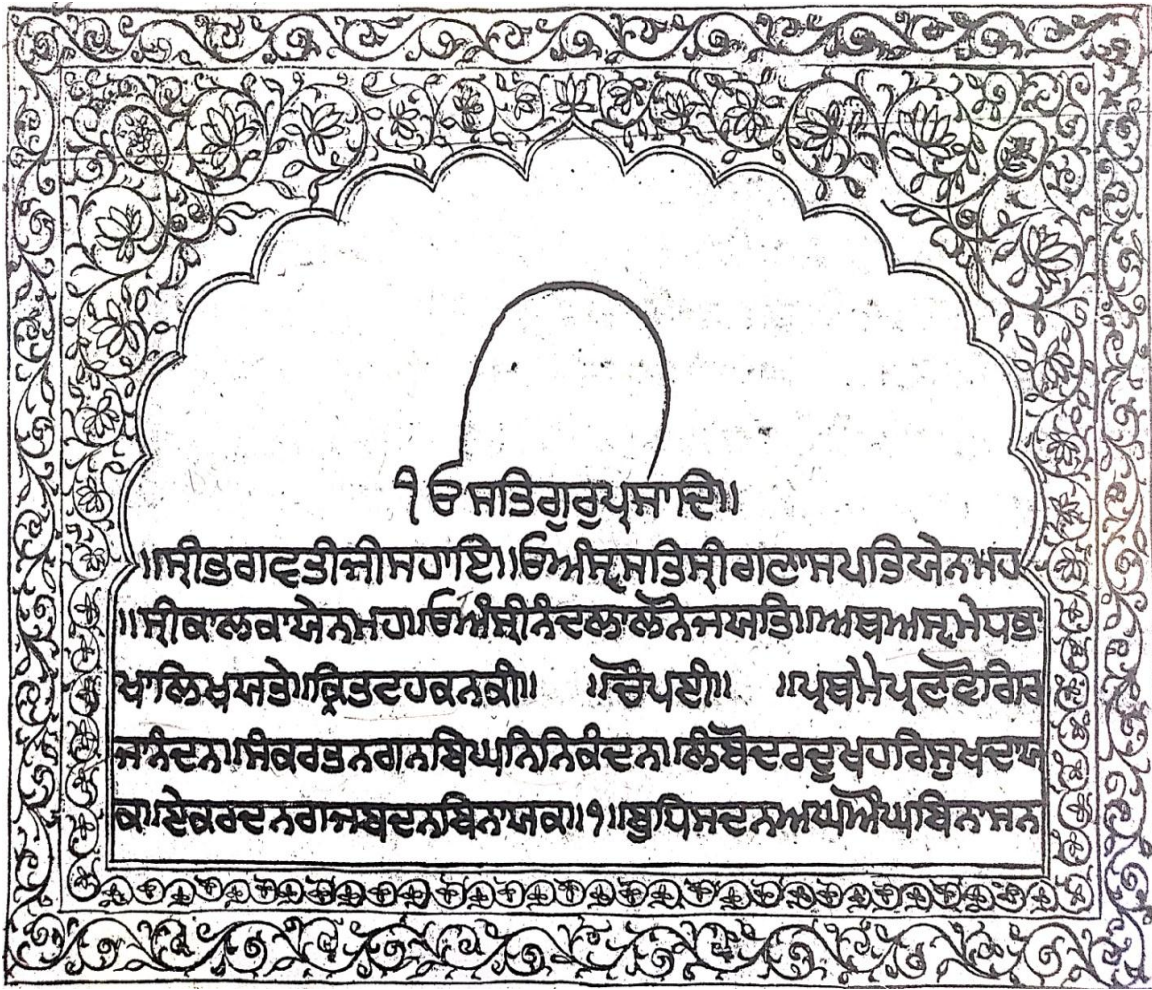
The following were present at the meeting:—Ch. Krishan Gopal Dutt, M.L.A., Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Mr. Osborne, Chief Agent, Lloyd's Bank, Lahore, Mr. Harbhagwan Nanda, Ch. Mohd. Husain, Sh. Karamat Ali, Lt. Nuni-hal Singh, Capt. Balbir Singh, and R.B. Ram Lal, Director of Industries, Punjab

**FAIR IN AID OF GIRL GUIDE MOVEMENT.**

A fair was held yesterday at the Barnes Court in aid of the Girl Guide movement, Lahore. Various kinds of entertainments were provided.

News 1.3, The Tribune Head Office, Chandigarh

Bhai Kahn Singh's contribution to literature is unique and enormous. His contribution to society is larger. He stands up for his beliefs yet respects the beliefs of others. He presents ideas for improvement of society—good values, spirituality, charity, cooperation, generosity, consideration and positive attitudes to build society. He highlights the negativity which leads to misery, chaos and mishappening, discrimination, falsehood, jealousy, hate and competition. In a way, he is presenting a blueprint for an ideal society, a fair and just society. In a very modern outlook he sees education as the instrument to reform society. He is of the opinion that the education should be for all. This alone can usher in change and lead to a well balanced society.



॥ਅਤਥੈਵਰਗਾਪ੍ਰੇਸ਼ਤਿਅਸਤਨਾਭਾਮੇਭਾਈਪੇਮਾਜਿਪਕੇਇਹਤਮਾਮਸੇ ਛਪਾ॥

ਸਿਮਤ ੧੯੫੨॥  
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Tika Jaimani Asavmedh<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, *Jaimani Asavmedh*, commentary, Durga Press Nabha, 1895, 1.





Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's Home 'Vrijesh Bhawan' at Nabha, Punjab, photo is clicked by researcher.



*BaranDari* at Mahraja Ripudaman Singh College, Nabha, it was earlier a Palace, later on the building was converted into college. *Barandari* means a structure with twelve gates. It is said that Bhai Kahn Singh use to sit in the *Barandari* and wrote. Photo has been clicked by the researcher himself.

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Name of the Research Scholar	PARMINDER SINGH
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