

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF *PREM SUMARAG*

A thesis

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the award of

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IN

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SUBMITTED BY

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I hereby declare that the work which is being presented in the thesis entitled "**Historical Analysis of Prem Sumarag**" in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Discipline of History** and submitted in Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo is an authentic record of my own work carried out during the period from January 2016 to April 2022 under the supervision of **Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill**.

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ABSTRACT

Numerous *rahitnamas* were written during Guru Gobind Singh's post-period, the *Prem Sumarag* is also considered to be one of the *rahitnamas* of the Sikhs. It prescribes detailed norms of religious behaviour to be imbibed by all the initiated Sikhs (*sant-khalsa*) in their daily life. Apart, it also provides a comprehensive details of Sikh polity concerning civil, economic and military management required to be enforced in the ideal Sikh state conceptualized by the author in the work. There are ten chapters and each *chapter* is further sub-divided into several injunctions (bcn) explaining the whole Sikh social order.

From historical point of view, the date of composition and authorship are very important ingredients without which the factual historical significance of a literary work cannot be assessed. The *Prem Sumarag*, however, is not without problems and of these the most important one is the date of its compilation which has been remained widely contentious issue. As far as authorship is concerned, there has been no debatable controversy amongst the scholars whatsoever. Most of them are in agreement that the *Prem Sumarag* was composed by an unknown Sikh writer while only W.H. Mcleod talks about person or persons of *khatiri* caste being its author.

However, no in-depth study has been undertaken in this connection so far. In order to resolve the contentious issues of dating and also identifying the author, have been taken up in the present study: 'Historical Analysis of *Prem Sumarag*'. The present study is strictly based on the second edition of printed version of *Prem Sumarag* edited by Randhir Singh which was published by the New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965.

The style and nature of the injunctions of 1st Chapter of *Prem Sumarag* reveals that these were written in such circumstances when the Sikhs had lost their political power obviously *khalsa raj* and their enlightened leader (*mard ka chela*) was creating a class of warriors (*sant-khalsa*) so as to wage life and death struggle to oust the alien ruler (*malechh* means the British). The specific vernacular terms such as *mard ka chela*, *sant khalsa* and *malechh* used in the *Prem Sumarag* have been delineated to clarify that these terms were purposely used for Baba Ram Singh, his followers and British Indian Government respectively. If we put these terms together, it certainly facilitates to reach the justifiable and more convincing conclusion that the *Prem Sumarag* would have been written in the late nineteenth century during British rule by

the *mard ka chela* (Baba Ram Singh) to infuse valour and enthusiasm in his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to wage constant struggle to oust the alien rulers (*malechh*) from the Punjab so as to recover the lost political power of the Sikhs thereby re-establishing the *khalsa raj*.

Exact date of compilation of the *Prem Sumarag* is difficult to ascertain. However, no serious attempt has been made to mark out the period. Apparently, it would have been composed during the period falling between April 12, 1857 when Baba Ram Singh created his *sant-khalsa* on this auspicious day and July 20, 1863 when Baba Ram Singh was put under house arrest at his native village Bhaini Sahib, district Ludhiana for about four years by the order of British Punjab Government. In the mean while, a copy of partial English translation of the *Prem Sumarag* attributed to John Leyden had reached the British Library, London in 1865.

Interestingly, the timings, wordings, terminology and addressees are almost similar in both, the *hukamname* as well as the *Prem Sumarag*. Moreover, the name of the scribe/writer is also missing in the both documents. It is now established fact that Baba Ram Singh issued these *hukamname* to his followers while he was in Rangoon Jail (1872-1885). He frequently referred the *Prem Sumarag* as revealed scripture in several *hukamname* and strongly recommended it to his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to regulate their social life according to injunctions mentioned therein. Therefore, we can conveniently conclude that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* was no person other than Baba Ram Singh himself.

Etymologically, every word has its own origin. The use of word Tehsildar as administrative officer of a Tehsil (*pargana*) by the author in his work (*Prem Sumarag*) had actually coined by the British Punjab Government while introducing administrative reforms in the Punjab after its annexation to British Empire in 1849. Therefore, its specific reference in the *Prem Sumarag* compels to think that it would have been composed during the British rule, apparently during late nineteenth century.

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PAPER PRESENTATION IN CONFERENCES

1. Sharma Manveet, '*Marriage Ceremonies as depicted in Prem Sumarag*', in *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference, 51st Session, March 2019, Patiala*

GLOSSARY

<i>Aabroo</i>	honour; dignity
<i>Aale vich</i>	niche in the wall
<i>Aanch</i>	fire; heat
<i>Aata</i>	dough; flour
<i>Abinasi</i>	indestructible
<i>Adab</i>	respect
<i>Adharm</i>	injustice
<i>Adhan</i>	pregnancy; conception
<i>Afim</i>	opium
<i>Ahaar</i>	food
<i>Ahadiyas</i>	servants
<i>Aitbaar</i>	trust
<i>Aivaan</i>	royal palace or residential house
<i>Ajiran</i>	indigestion
<i>Akal Purakh</i>	‘The One beyond Time’; Supreme God
<i>Akhtiyar</i>	right; jurisdiction
<i>Alakh</i>	invisible; unseen
<i>Alh</i>	caste
<i>Alp Ahaar</i>	food in small quantity
<i>Amal</i>	intoxication; addiction; toxin; execution; deeds; practical
<i>Amanat</i>	deposition; something given for trust/safe keeping
<i>Amar</i>	to invoke in the name of; invoke for help or mercy
<i>Amavasia</i>	moonless night
<i>Amin</i>	revenue collector at pargana level
<i>Amrit</i>	nectar
<i>Amritvela</i>	early morning
<i>Anand Sahib</i>	a forty-verse liturgical composition of Guru Amar Das in Ramkali mode. Its short version, first five verses and the last one is usually recited at the completion of every <i>Sikh</i> service or ceremony
<i>Andar apna</i>	secret

<i>Angikar</i>	accept
<i>Anjaan</i>	unknown; stranger
<i>Anna</i>	coin; one sixteenth of a rupee
<i>Ardas</i>	the <i>Sikh/khalsa</i> prayer, a formal prayer recited at the conclusion of most <i>Sikh</i> rituals; petition; the daily <i>Sikh</i> congregational prayer
<i>Argaza</i>	mixture of sandal, saffron and camphor
<i>Arora</i>	a mercantile caste of the Punjab
<i>Arth</i>	reason
<i>Arthi</i>	needy
<i>Arti</i>	adoration
<i>Asavari Shawl</i>	a shawl of the finest wool
<i>Atar</i>	a fragrant essential oil (as from rose petals)
<i>Aulaad</i>	offspring
<i>Ausar</i>	occasion; time; opportunity
<i>Baab</i>	about
<i>Badam</i>	almond, a dry fruit
<i>Badi</i>	evil
<i>Bad-karmi</i>	adultery
<i>Bagichi</i>	small orchards
<i>Bahil</i>	a small two-wheeled vehicle without springs, drawn by two oxen
<i>Bai karke</i>	sell
<i>Bairagi</i>	recluse; a member of the Vaishnava order of ascetic; one who has subdued his worldly desires and passions
<i>Baisakh</i>	second month of an Indian calendar corresponding to April-May
<i>Baisakhi</i>	the first day of the month of Baisakh or Visakh; a seasonal festival falls on first baisakh (April)
<i>Baisantar</i>	fire
<i>Baithak</i>	drawing room; sitting room
<i>Baj aayi</i>	abstain; to desist
<i>Bajra</i>	a kind of millet
<i>Bakbak</i>	speak without sense

<i>Bakra</i>	a goat
<i>Balan</i>	fuel
<i>Balvantkari</i>	powerful one
<i>Bandhagi</i>	worship; devotion
<i>Bandikhane</i>	jail
<i>Bandobast</i>	arrangement
<i>Bani</i>	works of the Gurus and other bhagats/poets included in the <i>Sikh</i> sacred scriptures
<i>Bania</i>	a mercantile caste
<i>Bank</i>	a curved dagger
<i>Barah</i>	boar
<i>Barahsinga</i>	stag
<i>Barakh</i>	year
<i>Barat</i>	marriage procession or party
<i>Barati</i>	members of marriage procession
<i>Barchha</i>	lance or neza
<i>Barkat</i>	prosperity
<i>Basant</i>	a seasonal festival marking the end of winter, the festival of spring; the month of Chet
<i>Bashna</i>	smell
<i>Bazar</i>	market place
<i>Bazuband</i>	a broad bell shaped ornament tied on the upper part of the arm by women
<i>Be-dharak</i>	without fear or shame
<i>Beede</i>	betel leaves/betel wads
<i>Begani Istri</i>	another woman
<i>Beha</i>	stale
<i>Be-istikalal</i>	unbalanced; inconsistent; uncertain; unsettled; changeable; lack of determination
<i>Bemukh</i>	apathetic; disinclined
<i>Benati</i>	request or appeal; an appeal to the Sikhs worldwide for a particular cause
<i>Beswa</i>	prostitute
<i>Bhadan</i>	tonsure

<i>Bhagauti</i>	sword
<i>Bhai</i>	brother; an epithet generally used for a <i>Sikh</i> formally connected with religious affairs, also an epithet of respect
<i>Bhaichara</i>	clan brotherhood or a caste
<i>Bhang</i>	dried leaves of the hemp plant; an intoxicant dry or potion made from the leaves of <i>cannabis sativa</i>
<i>Bhara</i>	rent; a cess for carrying grain to the market
<i>Bharant</i>	brother
<i>Bharant Rani</i>	brothers' wife
<i>Bharte</i>	husband
<i>Bhatt</i>	a popular bard who kept genealogies of important families
<i>Bhikheya</i>	beggary; charity
<i>Bhusa</i>	pale; pallid
<i>Bibarjit</i>	prohibited; avoided; debarred; abandoned
<i>Bichar</i>	bother
<i>Bichola</i>	intermediary; match maker especially for marriage
<i>Bidhi</i>	procedure
<i>Bidwa</i>	widow
<i>Bigha</i>	a measure of land generally considered equal to 20 biswas or 4 kanals; under the British administration, it was fixed as 120 square feet
<i>Bikhad</i>	dispute
<i>Bimatra</i>	step-mother
<i>Biswasghat</i>	treachery; disloyalty
<i>Biradari</i>	a brotherhood; fraternity
<i>Birtha</i>	waste
<i>Biswa</i>	a 20 th part of anything; normally of a bigha of land; 1/20 th = 6 square feet
<i>Biswanath</i>	lord of the word; Lord Shiva
<i>Biswasghaat</i>	betrayal; breach of trust
<i>Biyaap</i>	occur; present
<i>Biyaaz</i>	interest

<i>Bohitha</i>	boat
<i>Brahman</i>	the first of the four varna of Hindu social order
<i>Byohar</i>	formality
<i>Burka</i>	a veil covering the entire body and furnished with eye hole, generally worn by Muslim females
<i>Bute</i>	plants
<i>Chabutra</i>	a raised platform
<i>Chaddar</i>	a sheet of cloth; a shawl; a wrapper for upper and lower parts among men and women
<i>Chahbachcha</i>	sump; a large open pit for holding or storing liquid
<i>Chakar</i>	servant
<i>Chakri</i>	service
<i>Chakor</i>	partridge
<i>Chamar</i>	an untouchable caste of leather-workers and tanners
<i>Chandol</i>	sedan chair
<i>Chapal</i>	flighty
<i>Chappati</i>	flat bread; thin loaf
<i>Charcha</i>	discuss; debate
<i>Char Gharian</i>	1 hour 36 minutes
<i>Chaubara</i>	a single room on the upper storey
<i>Chaunki</i>	a wooden seat with four legs
<i>Chhalla</i>	a finger ring
<i>Chhapar</i>	shelter; thatched roof; shed
<i>Chhapr-khatt</i>	canopy
<i>Chhatt</i>	roof; ceiling
<i>Chhatank</i>	the sixteenth part of a seer (1/16 of a kilogram)
<i>Chhekna</i>	expulsion; boycott
<i>Chhimba</i>	a calico-dyer
<i>Chhin-matr</i>	for a while; just a moment
<i>Chihn-chakar</i>	description; appearance
<i>Chital</i>	axis deer; spotted deer
<i>Chitare</i>	remember
<i>Chitarkar</i>	painter
<i>Chiththi</i>	document; affidavit

<i>Chitiyan</i>	ants
<i>Chitvani</i>	mind
<i>Chogha</i>	a robe
<i>Choli</i>	a short gown worn by women reaching only to the waist and covering their breast only
<i>Chuhra</i>	the lowest untouchable caste, generally scavenger
<i>Chunni</i>	piece of cloth worn by a woman to cover her head
<i>Chura</i>	red and white bangles signified marital status of a woman
<i>Churi</i>	a bangle made of ivory or glass, worn by female on her arm
<i>Daava</i>	claim
<i>Dal</i>	pulse
<i>Damri</i>	a small fraction of coin; a copper coin; the smallest in circulation in British times; it was also used as a measure of weight
<i>Danmbh</i>	conceit; pride; hypocrisy
<i>Dand</i>	punishment
<i>Darbar</i>	the royal court, hall of audience; the holding of the court
<i>Dariai</i>	a kind of silken cloth
<i>Daridari</i>	indigent; poor
<i>Darmiyan</i>	in between
<i>Darwaza</i>	door
<i>Dasi</i>	female slaves
<i>Dastar</i>	a turban
<i>Dastoor</i>	practice; custom; manners; tradition; rite
<i>Datun</i>	twig or bark used for cleaning teeth
<i>Dehi</i>	body
<i>Dhai-gharay</i>	the superior most of the bahri-bawanjahi Khatri, who confined their matrimonial ties to a few other sub-castes regarded as the superior most
<i>Dhal</i>	a shield
<i>Dhanak</i>	a community/caste of weavers
<i>Dhania</i>	coriander

<i>Dharam</i>	justice; religion
<i>Dharmarth</i>	literally by way of religious duty
<i>Dharamsala</i>	a place of worship of the Sikhs; rest house for travellers
<i>Dharam ki Kirat</i>	honest occupation
<i>Dhaza</i>	flag
<i>Dhil</i>	delay; laxity; relaxation
<i>Dhol</i>	a drum
<i>Dhoop-agar</i>	incense
<i>Diwan</i>	the finance minister; the head of finance department
<i>Diwankhana</i>	court chamber; audience hall
<i>Diva</i>	a lamp
<i>Divan</i>	court; assembly
<i>Dode</i>	poppy powder
<i>Doli</i>	a palanquin; a small sedan or a litter for the bride; the occasion of a bride's departure
<i>Duiani</i>	a coin worth two annas
<i>Dui Gharian</i>	48 minutes
<i>Dum</i>	a caste of Muslim musicians and bard who sang genealogies and other songs for their patrons
<i>Dupatta</i>	a veil; a long scarf used by women as a head dress also called chaddar, chuni, salu and shawl
<i>Dur</i>	pearl; earrings
<i>Ekagar</i>	concentrate
<i>Faraq/Farig</i>	free; finished
<i>Farash</i>	flooring
<i>Faujdar</i>	the officer who maintained troops for law and order
<i>Fer</i>	lie; difference; gap; suspicion
<i>Fer-gher</i>	returns; giving back
<i>Fuhara</i>	fountain
<i>Gaddi</i>	seat of the head of a religious fraternity; a throne
<i>Gadha</i>	donkey
<i>Gahne</i>	ornaments
<i>Gainda</i>	rhinoceros
<i>Galba</i>	domination

<i>Gandh</i>	literally a knot; a tie
<i>Gawah</i>	a witness
<i>Gaz</i>	approximately equal to 1 metre; the British fixed the length of a gaz at 33 inches
<i>Ghaggri</i>	a petticoat
<i>Ghar</i>	a house
<i>Ghara</i>	pitcher
<i>Ghari</i>	24 minutes
<i>Garhwi</i>	medium-size pitcher like metal vessel
<i>Ghrit</i>	melted butter; clarified butter
<i>Gilani</i>	guilt; repentance; depression
<i>Girah</i>	approximately equal to 1/16 th of a metre or a yard
<i>Giras</i>	bite
<i>Goka</i>	cow milk
<i>Goshe</i>	corner
<i>Goshpech</i>	an ornament worn in the turban
<i>Grih</i>	house
<i>Grihstha</i>	household; married life
<i>Gulzar</i>	a garden, which is full of flowers
<i>Gumaan</i>	proud
<i>Gunah</i>	crime; sin
<i>Gurhati</i>	the first food of the child consisting of sugar or gurmixed with some purgative
<i>Gurmukhi</i>	‘from the Guru’s mouth’; the script in which Punjabi is written
<i>Guru</i>	a religious teacher or a spiritual guide
<i>Gurzbardars</i>	mace bearers
<i>Haasil</i>	get; obtain
<i>Halal</i>	flesh of animal killed in accordance with Muslim ritual whereby it is bled to death. Its consumption is strictly prohibited to the <i>khalsa</i> Sikhs
<i>Hal ki Masti</i>	natural state
<i>Harakh</i>	grief; regret

<i>Hasab-ul-Hukam</i>	lit. According to command; a document issued on royal command; correct order
<i>Hath-yoga</i>	‘yoga of force’; a variety of yoga requiring physical postures of extreme difficulty
<i>Haumai</i>	self-centredness
<i>Haveli</i>	large mansion; a multi storey residential building
<i>Hawale kare</i>	surrender; give; cede; charge
<i>Hazir</i>	present
<i>Heela</i>	excuse of disease etc.; solution
<i>Heeng</i>	asafoetida
<i>Hirakh</i>	to grieve
<i>Hiran</i>	deer
<i>Hola</i>	also known as ‘Hola Mohalla’, is a three day long Sikh festival, which falls on the second day of the lunar month of Chett, a day after the Hindu spring festival of Holi
<i>Hridaya</i>	heart; mind
<i>Hukam</i>	command
<i>Ikraar</i>	promise
<i>Ilaaz</i>	remedy; treatment
<i>Ilaichi chhoti</i>	green cardamom
<i>Ilam</i>	notification
<i>Inam</i>	a reward
<i>Ishat (devi, devte)</i>	favoured deity; cherished divinity
<i>Jade</i>	winter
<i>Jagah</i>	place
<i>Jagir</i>	a piece of land give in lieu of salary; a jagir for personal service, a jagir also on account of the maintenance of horsemen
<i>Jagirdar</i>	the holder of jagir
<i>Jaifal</i>	nutmeg
<i>Jama</i>	assessed revenue including all cesses; standard revenue assessed for jagir
<i>Jama</i>	a coat reaching down to the ankles, robe, form

<i>Jamadar</i>	a poniard; the leader of a band of uncertain number; an officer above a havaldar in the regular army of the kingdom of the Lahore
<i>Jamyat</i>	firmness; strong intention
<i>Janeo</i>	the sacred thread worn by <i>Brahmans</i> , <i>Khattris</i> and other Hindus of the twice born castes.
<i>Janj</i>	a marriage procession, a genre of Punjabi poetry meant to highlight the details of a bridal party or wedding guests.
<i>Janeo</i>	sacred thread
<i>Jantar</i>	magical device
<i>Jashan</i>	celebration
<i>Jatt</i>	the dominant agricultural caste in central Punjab
<i>Javitri</i>	mace
<i>Jeth</i>	an elder brother of the husband, month of May-June
<i>Jhagga</i>	shirt
<i>Jhagra</i>	literally a contention, a genre of Punjabi poetry meant to depict contention between two or more stereotyped social groups
<i>Jhatka</i>	slaughtering of an animal with a single stroke of the blade
<i>Jihba</i>	tongue
<i>Jivika</i>	livelihood
<i>Jogi</i>	hermit, a renouncing belong to one or another of the twelve <i>Gorakhnath</i> orders
<i>Jora Jama</i>	set of clothes
<i>Juda</i>	separate; apart
<i>Jugat</i>	procedure; trick
<i>Kachh</i>	a pair of shorts, which must not extend below the knee, worn as one of the Five K's; underwear
<i>Kaffan</i>	coffin; a shroud
<i>Kajli</i>	sooty
<i>Kalal</i>	a brewer or distiller by caste
<i>Kalgi</i>	a plume; a feather worn in a cap or turban

<i>Kalpave</i>	annoying
<i>Kaman tarakas</i>	quiver
<i>Kambal</i>	blanket
<i>Kamboh</i>	a caste in the Punjab, known for industrious and skilful cultivation
<i>Kamavant</i>	servants
<i>Kapalkirya</i>	breaking of the skull
<i>Kara</i>	a bracelet
<i>Karaar</i>	promise
<i>Karah-prasad</i>	sacramental food prepared in a large iron dish (karahi); sanctified food
<i>Karaz</i>	loan
<i>Kardar</i>	an agent; an official; a revenue collector of a taalluqa or pargana
<i>Kasab</i>	a piece of work, especially a specific task done as a part of the routine of one's occupation
<i>Kasabi</i>	artisan; skilled; clever; well versed in some art or business
<i>Kath</i>	wooden
<i>Katari</i>	a small dagger
<i>Kesar</i>	saffron
<i>Khabar</i>	information; news
<i>Khabar Likhata</i>	an intelligence secretary
<i>Khachar</i>	pony
<i>Khalaas hove</i>	salvation; release; acquittal; exemption; the act of disengaging
<i>Khalsa</i>	the Sikh brotherhood instituted by Guru Gobind Singh used for an individual as well as the collective body
<i>Khande</i>	broad swords; double edged sword
<i>Khara</i>	right; crisp; pure
<i>Khasam</i>	husband
<i>Khatri</i>	warrior or ruling caste (kshatriya) of traditional Hindu society; Hindu business/mercantile caste of the Punjab
<i>Khawand</i>	owner; husband

<i>Khaslat</i>	temperaments; habits
<i>Kheer</i>	rice cooked in sweetened milk; rice pudding
<i>Kheti</i>	agriculture
<i>Khichari</i>	a dish of rice mixed with lentil
<i>Khidmat/Khijmat</i>	serve up; duty
<i>Khidmatgar</i>	attendant
<i>Khilwat</i>	solitude; the condition of being concealed or hidden
<i>Khuh</i>	well
<i>Khushak Mewa</i>	dry fruit
<i>Khush-boi</i>	scent; deodorant; fragrances
<i>Kirat</i>	employment; livelihood
<i>Kirtan</i>	singing of hymns
<i>Kishat</i>	installment
<i>Kora</i>	new
<i>Kotha</i>	roof; room
<i>Kothrian</i>	rooms
<i>Koti</i>	unlimited
<i>Kotwal</i>	chief police officer
<i>Kripan</i>	sword
<i>Krisan</i>	farmer
<i>Krodh</i>	anger
<i>Kubuddhi</i>	wickedness
<i>Kuccha</i>	raw; unbaked; temporary
<i>Kul</i>	clan or caste
<i>Kumbhi narak</i>	deepest hell
<i>Kurmai</i>	a betrothal; an engagement ceremony prior to marriage
<i>Kurti</i>	half shirt; waistcoat; ladies blouse
<i>Kuwarian</i>	spinsters
<i>Lag</i>	reward for work done at various social and religious ceremonies by persons of menial and artisan classes
<i>Lagi</i>	persons of artisan and menial castes performing service on social occasion like marriage, betrothal and death. They were paid for the services or the goods they provided on such occasions

<i>Lahenga</i>	skirt; petticoat; also called ghaghra
<i>Lara</i>	the bridegroom
<i>Lashkar</i>	army
<i>Laung</i>	clove (name of a spice); a nose pin
<i>Lava-padna</i>	recitation of the sacred shabads by the granthi to solemnize a wedding which consisted of tying together the upper garments of the bride and the bridegroom and making them go four round
<i>Lef</i>	bed-sheet or cover
<i>Lehnedar</i>	lender
<i>Loi</i>	a woolen sheet or blanket; black or white
<i>Loon</i>	salt
<i>Loung</i>	clove
<i>Maal matey</i>	property
<i>Maas</i>	meat
<i>Machhi</i>	fish
<i>Madh</i>	liquor
<i>Madhiyan</i>	noon
<i>Mafiq</i>	accordingly; suitable; appropriate
<i>Magh</i>	the eleventh month of an <i>Bikrami</i> calendar corresponding to January and February
<i>Mahabali</i>	strong man
<i>Maha-Hukam</i>	high order
<i>Maha-Prasad</i>	great food
<i>Mahin</i>	fine; thin
<i>Mahurat</i>	propitious moment; an auspicious time for engaging in any enterprise or business
<i>Majithe</i>	red
<i>Majlis</i>	meeting; gathering; congregation; council
<i>Makan</i>	house, apartment, residential building, lamentation
<i>Makhmal</i>	velvet
<i>Mala</i>	a rosary; a chaplet of beads

<i>Malechchha</i>	foreigners; Muslims; wicked; evil; barbarian; an out caste; to be shunned by all persons covered by the varnas particularly the first three
<i>Maleen</i>	dirty
<i>Manai</i>	person; man
<i>Mandi</i>	market
<i>Manglachaar</i>	invocation
<i>Mann</i>	maund (approximately equal to 40 kilograms)
<i>Mannat</i>	wish
<i>Manorath</i>	aim; desire; longing
<i>Mansa</i>	motive; wish
<i>Mantar</i>	magical formula
<i>Manja</i>	cot
<i>Maratab</i>	rank; title; post
<i>Maratabe</i>	retinue members
<i>Mardan</i>	rub
<i>Mardane</i>	masculine
<i>Marhi</i>	tomb
<i>Martaba</i>	time; turn; honour
<i>Maryada/Mrizada</i>	prescribed limits
<i>Masala</i>	spices
<i>Masas</i>	approximately one gram
<i>Masati</i>	ecstasy
<i>Masru</i>	a striped silken cloth
<i>Mast</i>	intoxicated; carefree; overjoyed; delighted
<i>Maujood</i>	present; available
<i>Mauli</i>	untwisted multi strand red yarn used on ceremonial occasions; a ornament of big chain made of rows of pearls separated by jewelled studs, hanging from the head on one side was called mauli
<i>Mauze</i>	socks
<i>Mehndi</i>	henna, used for dyeing hands and fingers
<i>Mewa</i>	a fruit, generally the name is used for the dry fruits
<i>Milakh</i>	land; property

<i>Mirch</i>	chilly
<i>Mitheyā</i>	lie; false
<i>Mohr</i>	stamp
<i>Moje</i>	stockings
<i>Moukoof</i>	abolish; postpone; temporary cessation or suspension
<i>Mrittika</i>	soil
<i>Muharakhe</i>	attendants
<i>Mukarrar</i>	fix
<i>Mulak</i>	country
<i>Muqaddam</i>	the headman of the village
<i>Murasala-nawis</i>	a letter writer
<i>Mushak</i>	musk; aroma; honour; flavor
<i>Mutalaba</i>	exaction; demand
<i>Muth</i>	grip; handle
<i>Muyassar</i>	obtained; procured; effectiveness; facilitated; affordable
<i>Naagha</i>	absence; discontinuance; cessation for a time; a temporary pause
<i>Nadar</i>	glance of grace or beneficence
<i>Nafa</i>	profit
<i>Nai</i>	a barber
<i>Naliyer</i>	coconut
<i>Namaz:</i>	the ritualistic prayer to God as prescribed by Islam to be observed five times a day
<i>Naqad</i>	cash
<i>Niauvant</i>	chief justice
<i>Nimit</i>	named; nominated; cause; behalf
<i>Nindeya</i>	condemn; criticize
<i>Nindra</i>	sleep
<i>Nisha</i>	night; courage; calm
<i>Nistarega</i>	redemption; deliverance
<i>Nitaprati</i>	daily
<i>Ogara</i>	a kind of food for sick people
<i>Paak-saaf</i>	clean; sacred; pure
<i>Paan</i>	betel leaf

<i>Pacca</i>	hard; firm; strong
<i>Pagri</i>	a turban
<i>Pahar</i>	3 hours
<i>Pahul</i>	baptism of the double-edged sword by Guru Gobind Singh for the <i>khalsa</i>
<i>Pakwan</i>	cooked dishes; delicious
<i>Palangh</i>	a bedstead of the best sort
<i>Palas</i>	type of wood; <i>Butea Frondosa</i>
<i>Palki</i>	a palanquin or litter
<i>Panchami</i>	the fifth day of each half of the lunar calendar
<i>Pancham Sudi</i>	fifth day of the light half of the month
<i>Panjeb</i>	a tinkling silver ornament worn on ankles by females
<i>Panth</i>	<i>Sikh</i> community; a 'path' or 'way'; system of religious belief or practice; community observing a particular system of belief or practice
<i>Parat</i>	metal tray
<i>Pargana</i>	sub-district; the administrative sub-division of a suba under Maharaja Ranjit Singh
<i>Parhez</i>	abstinence; precautions
<i>Parkarma</i>	circumambulation
<i>Par-nari</i>	another woman
<i>Par-sanjog</i>	second marriage; remarriage
<i>Patanga</i>	a moth is an insect like a butterfly, which usually flies about at night
<i>Path</i>	a reading from the Sikh scriptures
<i>Pativarta</i>	virtuous wife; faithful wife
<i>Patka</i>	the patka is a recent addition to male Sikh dress; a cloth worn round the waist; girdle; a coarse kind of cloth
<i>Patran</i>	dancing girls
<i>Patwari</i>	village record keeper
<i>Pauris</i>	stanzas
<i>Pawitter</i>	pure
<i>Pehnami</i>	distress; grief

<i>Phare-laina</i>	a ceremony in which the bridegroom followed by the bride four or seven times in a circle round the holy fire
<i>Phulka</i>	light chapatti
<i>Pir</i>	a saint of high merit who could act as a guide among the Muslims
<i>Pirian</i>	generations
<i>Pista</i>	pistachio, a dry fruit
<i>Pitna/siapa</i>	beating of breast and thighs
<i>Pitr</i>	forefathers or ancestors
<i>Piyaz</i>	onion
<i>Pooja</i>	worship
<i>Poshaak</i>	dress
<i>Post</i>	a poppy plant
<i>Pothi</i>	tome; volume
<i>Potli</i>	bundle; packet
<i>Prachand</i>	intensify
<i>Pragas</i>	progress; birth
<i>Prashad</i>	sweetmeat offered to the deities
<i>Prasoot</i>	delivery
<i>Prem/Param Janeo</i>	sword belt
<i>Prem Sumarag</i>	a lengthy prose Rahitnama, also referred to as the <i>Param sumarag</i>
<i>Prind</i>	bird
<i>Prithme</i>	firstly
<i>Puja</i>	worship
<i>Pulao</i>	rice dish flavoured with spices to which vegetables, meat, poultry or fish may be added
<i>Punji</i>	money; earning
<i>Puranmasi</i>	the full moon night; the end of a lunar month; an important festival for the Panth
<i>Puttr</i>	son
<i>Pyjama</i>	trouser
<i>Qanungo</i>	a hereditary keeper of the revenue records at the pargana or the talluqa level; superintendent of the village

	patwaris (village surveyors and accountants); official who keeps an account of the tenures under which land is held
<i>Ragi</i>	a singer of the verses of the <i>Sikh</i> scripture
<i>Rahdari</i>	road toll; a transit duty; passport
<i>Rahit</i>	way to live; practice; the code of belief and conduct of the <i>khalsa</i>
<i>Rahitnama</i>	code of conduct for amritdhari Sikhs; a manual of Rahit
<i>Raja</i>	a king, also the title
<i>Ramai/Ramna</i>	indulges; be involved
<i>Rath</i>	a carriage; a chariot
<i>Rauns/Rons</i>	shelf
<i>Raza</i>	acceptance; contentment; will of God
<i>Razamandi</i>	consent; willingness; readiness
<i>Reetan</i>	pre-birth rites
<i>Rijhavna</i>	fascinate; enchant
<i>Rinn</i>	loan
<i>Rizq</i>	livelihood; subsistence; support; provision; nourishment
<i>Roti</i>	chapatti
<i>Rozgaar</i>	employment; livelihood
<i>Rozname</i>	daily record; daily log or register
<i>Rukhsat</i>	send off; valediction; departure
<i>Rutt</i>	season
<i>Ruzu</i>	approach; present
<i>Saag</i>	green rape
<i>Saak</i>	relation
<i>Saang</i>	guise
<i>Sabab</i>	reason; cause
<i>Sadhu</i>	a saint; a monk; a mendicant; an ascetic
<i>Sagai</i>	engagement
<i>Saha</i>	propitious time or date for marriage and other auspicious events
<i>Sahai</i>	helpful

<i>Sahaj</i>	the condition of ultimate bliss resulting from the practice of naam simran
<i>Sahaj naal</i>	slowly
<i>Sakhi</i>	witness
<i>Sakhti kare</i>	enforcement; coercion
<i>Salu</i>	red coloured embroidered cloth generally used by brides; a kind of cloth used as head dress by the ladies also used for turbans by boys
<i>Saluna:</i>	salted or tasty cooked food, also a plant common in arid places in salt range and the Trans-Indus region, which is eaten raw and in some places used as a potherb
<i>Salvar</i>	pantaloons made exceedingly full except at the ankles; a female lower wear; baggy trousers
<i>Samagri</i>	commodity; stuff; material; ingredients
<i>Samipi</i>	personal attendant
<i>Sanghar</i>	to destroy
<i>Sangion</i>	companions
<i>Sangrahan</i>	accumulation; collection
<i>Sanjog</i>	marriage
<i>Sanjog wali</i>	legally married
<i>Sankar</i>	narrow
<i>Sankrant</i>	the first day of the month according to bikrami era also called sangrand
<i>Sannyasi</i>	one who renounced the world; a general term for a religious ascetic particularly of the Shaiva faith
<i>Sansi</i>	gypsy and nomadic caste of <i>Sikhs</i>
<i>Sant Sipahi</i>	one who combines piety with the bravery of the soldiers
<i>Sant Khalsa</i>	Baba Ram Singh laid the foundation stone of the new socio-religious order called the <i>san-khalsa</i> . <i>Sant-khalsa</i> means a Singh, a Saint, who is pure in words, thoughts, deeds and has been blessed with Gurumantar by the Guru
<i>Sanyasi</i>	monk; ascetic
<i>Saranjam</i>	arrangement; fulfilment; an act of carrying into effect

<i>Sarasahis</i>	approximately the sixth part of a kilogram
<i>Sardar</i>	a chief; a headman
<i>Sarpech</i>	a silver lace ornament attached to a turban
<i>Sarwarna</i>	moving money round the head of someone whose well being is wished and then given away
<i>Saskar</i>	cremation
<i>Satguru</i>	the 'True Guru'; the supreme Guru
<i>Saudagiri</i>	mercantile; trade
<i>Sawar</i>	a horseman
<i>Sawari</i>	conveyance; ride; vehicle; transport
<i>Saya</i>	shed; shadow
<i>Ser</i>	seer (a measure of weight approximately equivalent to one kilogram)
<i>Sehndi</i>	tolerate; bear
<i>Sehra</i>	a chaplet; a golden lace hanging on the forehead of the groom
<i>Seja</i>	bed
<i>Sepidar/Sepi</i>	one who renders service; a traditional family servant
<i>Shahukar</i>	a wealthy businessman; a money lender
<i>Shak</i>	doubt
<i>Shakti</i>	power
<i>Sharah</i>	rate (of assessment); value; price
<i>Sharan</i>	asylum; shelter; refuge
<i>Shastra</i>	the Hindu holy code; religious books of Hindus
<i>Shingaar</i>	make up; adornment
<i>Shiqdar</i>	head of pargana and responsible for maintaining law and order
<i>Shitaab</i>	speedy; directly; quickly
<i>Shoorbir</i>	brave
<i>Sikhni</i>	baptized <i>Sikh</i> women
<i>Sindhur</i>	vermillion
<i>Sipahgiri</i>	soldiering
<i>Sirjeya</i>	made; created
<i>Sir mund kar</i>	head shaving

<i>Sog</i>	condolence; gloom or mourning
<i>Sravano</i>	ears
<i>Sri Sahib</i>	iron sword (mandatory article of faith for <i>amritdhari</i> Sikhs)
<i>Subuddhi</i>	wisdom
<i>Suhagan</i>	a deserving wife who is cherished by her husband; married woman
<i>Sumanas</i>	good person; good natured
<i>Suniar</i>	a goldsmith
<i>Surkhroo</i>	to succeed; being marked by a favourable outcome
<i>Surat</i>	knowledge, conscious
<i>Susati</i>	lethargy
<i>Suthan</i>	loose trousers worn by women
<i>Susi</i>	a particular kind of hand-woven cloth of mixed cotton and silk with stripes of bright colours generally used by women as a part of their dress
<i>Tabela</i>	stable
<i>Tadka</i>	fry; tempering
<i>Tafawat</i>	difference; variation
<i>Taghaful</i>	carelessness; negligence
<i>Tahmul</i>	courage; patience; relaxed; slowly; unhurried
<i>Tahqeeq</i>	inquiry; investigation; verification
<i>Tajna</i>	abandon; quit; to give up; to leave
<i>Takhta</i>	a wooden plank bier for carrying the corpses
<i>Talabdar</i>	claimant; a seeker
<i>Tama</i>	proud
<i>Taneyya</i>	stretched
<i>Taqeed</i>	instruct; warn
<i>Taraf</i>	the primary division of a viillage
<i>Tarazookashi</i>	shop keeping
<i>Tareef</i>	praise
<i>Tarkari</i>	vegetable
<i>Tarkhan</i>	a carpenter
<i>Tasbih</i>	a string of beads used in praying and meditating

<i>Tatparaz</i>	meaning; gist; sense
<i>Tawafat</i>	difference
<i>Tazeem</i>	showing adoration; honour; deference
<i>Tehsildar</i>	a revenue collector; head of a <i>Tehsil</i> under British
<i>Thaur</i>	place
<i>Thikane laye</i>	to dispose
<i>Tikka</i>	a small pendent, a female ornament worn on forehead also called sir mang
<i>Tilak:</i>	a religious spot or mark, generally of sandalwood paste, worn on the forehead by Hindu males or females
<i>Tin gun</i>	the three guna or constituents of Indian philosophy, viz. sattava (goodness), rajas (passion) and tamas (darkness)
<i>Tithi</i>	suitable date
<i>Topi</i>	a hat or cap
<i>Trilok</i>	heaven, earth and the underworld
<i>Triphala</i>	(three fruits) is an ayurvedic herbal rasayana formula consisting of equal parts of three myrobalans, taken without seed: Amalaki, Bibhitaki, Haritaki
<i>Triya</i>	young woman
<i>Tulai</i>	light quilt
<i>Tun</i>	red cedar
<i>Tuzak</i>	memoir; confessions; memory
<i>Ubtan</i>	body scrub made of turmeric, gram flour and herbs
<i>Udhaar</i>	liberalize
<i>Udhaarne</i>	to absolve; to free from confinement or evil
<i>Ukhakaal</i>	dawn
<i>Ungh</i>	drowsiness
<i>Unthh</i>	camel
<i>Upchar</i>	behaviour (social); treatment
<i>Updesh</i>	sermon; teaching
<i>Uzar</i>	accusation; allegation
<i>Vand</i>	distribution
<i>Var</i>	a day of the week; also a genre of Punjabi poetry
<i>Varna/baran</i>	the fourfold order in the Brahminical system

<i>Vitti</i>	financial; monetary
<i>Wakhat</i>	time
<i>Waris</i>	heir; successor
<i>Watna</i>	a mixture of oil and some fragrant substances having the property of making skin soft
<i>Zahir</i>	show; disclose; declare
<i>Zamindar</i>	a landholder
<i>Zamini</i>	a surety or guarantee
<i>Zamni Bhakheya</i>	language of foreigners; used for <i>Greek</i> or <i>Persian</i> language; common language
<i>Zat</i>	caste; an endogamous group
<i>Zavaid</i>	excess
<i>Zeera</i>	cumin seed
<i>Zenana</i>	the apartment of a house in which women of the family were secluded
<i>Zinas</i>	crops

INTRODUCTION

The *Prem Sumarag* is primarily considered as a popular source on the Sikh *Rahit Maryada*. Its significance can be judged from the fact that almost all the modern scholars of the Sikh history have used it frequently and authoritatively while writing on the Sikh polity as well as on Sikh *Rahit Maryada*. This account, strictly speaking, not only deals with Sikh *Rahit Maryada*, as generally viewed by the scholars but also speaks much more on other aspects concerning the Sikh society such as norms of idealistic Sikh state and its economic concerns. Of course, there is difference of opinion among the scholars regarding its date of compilation and to some extent its authorship. Therefore, *Prem Sumarag* needs to be studied comprehensively from historical point of view.

The numerous manuscript copies of the *Prem Sumarag* are scattered in various locations in India and abroad. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, an employee of *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)*, Amritsar in his work: *Punjabi Hath-likhtan Di Suchi* mentions only three manuscript copies of *Prem Sumarag*, one at the Brijesh Bhawan, Nabha founded by veteran Sikh scholar Kahan Singh, written in the eighteenth-century, the second one lying at Punjab Sahit Akademi, Model Town, Ludhiana, dated Samvat 1931 (1872-73 A.D.), which claimed to have been copied from an earlier manuscript dated Samvat 1758 (1701-02 A.D.) and the last in the possession of Professor Pritam Singh of Patiala, presumably it is 125 years old manuscript. There is another important copy of manuscript of the *Prem Sumarag* is available in the Guru Hargobind Library at Ludhiana, dated Samvat 1872 (1815 A.D.). The Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College, Amritsar does have two copies of this manuscript, but both contain only one chapter.

According to McLeod, this work has been written by the anonymous person or persons of *khatiri* caste. Bhai Randhir Singh in the introduction of second edition of the *Prem Sumarag* published in 1965 mentions that it was written by a person at the beginning of eighteenth century being contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh or his learned associate, Bhai Mani Singh, but gives no decisive explanation in support of this argument. Professor Harbans Singh in the *Encyclopedia of Sikhism* refers to that this work has been written by an anonymous writer. The close study of *Prem Sumarag* and references in the text do reveal that this work was composed by an

unknown person of non-*tat khalsa* ideology, who nowhere in the text of the *Prem Sumarag* refers to his name.

The *Prem Sumarag*, however, is not without problems and of these the important one is the date of its compilation. Bhai Randhir Singh speaks of 1874, however further he mentions that later he discovered another copy of manuscript of this work, dated Samvat 1758 (1701 A.D.). The editor has not gone into the possible explanation of the year 455 *kaliyug* mentioned in the *Prem Sumarag*. However, he is of the view that the work was written sometimes between 1708 and 1759 without any explanation to it. Dr. Mohan Singh flushed with his rediscovery of this interesting piece of Punjabi prose. He has underlined its importance by characterizing the period between the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708 and the birth of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1780, as the age of *Prem Sumarag* as he emphasized it in a chapter of his book "*An Introduction to Punjabi Literature.*" This view is upheld by Dr. Bhagat Singh, Dr. Fauja Singh and Professor J.S. Grewal. Admittedly, this has been the majority view in the past.¹

Others, more hesitant, felt that *Prem Sumarag* properly belonged to the late eighteenth century. Yet others believed that it should be located in the period of early nineteenth century. A few also favour this view but they included two very impressive figures, namely, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Principal Teja Singh. There is another group of scholars who maintains that *Prem Sumarag* dates from the British period, which was commenced from 1849. It includes Dr. Surjit Singh Hans and his student Gurpreet Kaur. Interestingly, Professor J.S. Grewal, who earlier supported Dr. Hans view point, however, later modifying his earlier view, admits in his 1982 edition of his work "*From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Essays in Sikhism*"², that the *Prem Sumarag* was composed by an anonymous writer during the time of early eighteenth century. Subsequently, W.H. Mcleod has also joined this school of thoughts. Nevertheless, the date of composition of *Prem Sumarag* is still a debatable issue and requires further research to reach the more justifiable and acceptable conclusion.

¹ W.H. Mcleod, '*Prem Sumarag: The Testimony of a Sanatan Sikh*', Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 4

² J.S. Grewal, '*From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Essays in Sikhism*', (2nd ed.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1982

It is the endeavour of Bhai Randhir Singh that it has been exhumed and made available to the scholars and theologians of the Sikhs for writing their treatise or manual on the *Sikh Rahit Maryada*. Bhai Randhir Singh, an employee of the *Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar (SGPC)* accidentally in 1940 came by a partly mutilated manuscript which he revised with the help of another manuscript preserved in the Public Library, Lahore (now in Pakistan). The original in the Public Library, Lahore is simply dated 22nd *Vaisakh* without mentioning any year of its composition. Bhai Randhir Singh edited it with an elaborate introduction which was subsequently published by the Sikh History Society, a research organization of the *SGPC* in 1953. A second edition of it was brought out by the New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965, which is now widely in public domain. So many manuscripts of the *Prem Sumarag* are now unlikely to be accessible to general public, including scholars. How this work came to be called *Prem Sumarag* is not explained by the editor in his introduction while a few chapter-endings repeatedly with *Param Marg* i.e. the great way whereas *Prem Sumarag* would mean the beautiful way of love.

This work has now been duly recognized by the scholars and theologians of the Sikhs; however, no serious attention has been paid on its in-depth study, may be for the reason that the details of this work are dominated by non-*tat khalsa* version. A few research articles did appear in different research journals but no composite and serious endeavor has been put up to bring its actual historical worth.

The critical literature on the *Prem Sumarag* is very meagre. Bhai Randhir Singh is the only scholar to study the *Prem Sumarag* in detail. Not only he has edited the work but also dealt with internal evidence it contains besides a comprehensive introduction. His chief interest is in equating it with the *khalsa* way of life and also sees its relevance for political aspiration and politics of the Sikhs in India's post-independence period as it has been motivational force of political change in the past. But his method is not historical. He has no idea that the significance of the work lies in the time of its writing. He fails to realize the mounting influence of *Sanatan* views in the *Prem Sumarag* and its wider implications. Being an employee of the apex religious body of the Sikh community (*SGPC*) completely dominated by the *tat-khalsa* ideology, he does idealize the work but does not let him go deep into the work which sufficiently contains matters quite opposite to that ideology.

The tradition of Bhai Randhir Singh in assessing the work without keeping the historical methodology in mind was continued by some other scholars too. Their literary criticism is more or less conventional and lacking in a historical approach. A few other scholars have also made references to the *Prem Sumarag*, but their approach is just introductory.

The *Prem Sumarag*, though well known now to the students and scholars of Sikh history and religion but has not been given much attention to its in-depth study. Of course, it is an important work of historical significance. Its importance can easily be gauged from the fact that in the late nineteenth century, Baba Ram Singh, undisputed leader of Namdhari sect, had emphatically recommended this work to his followers to adopt it as a revealed book to regulate their religious, social and political way of life. Bhai Kahan Singh of Nabha had published extracts from this manuscript of *Prem Sumarag* in an anthology of Sikh codes of conduct (*rahitnama*). The *Prem Sumarag* has been published by the New Book Company, Jalandhar as described above, for its wider use by the historians and researchers including public. Among the historians of Sikhism, however, Principal Teja Singh is perhaps the only one who had thought of the *Prem Sumarag* as a source of Sikh history.

The Historical Analysis of the *Prem Sumarag*, under present study is strictly based on the printed version of the *Prem Sumarag* published by New Book Company in 1965. It is in old Punjabi language in *gurmukhi* script evoking a model of Sikh way of life. Apparently, it is a kind of *rahitnama* attempting to prescribe detailed norms of religious behavior to be imbibed by all the initiated Sikhs (*sant-khalsa*) in their daily life. Apart, it also provides a comprehensive model of Sikh polity with details concerning civil, economic and military management required for the ideal Sikh state. Its author emphasizes that the code of conduct he is elaborating in the *Prem Sumarag* has a divine sanction, hence indispensable for all the initiated Sikhs to abide by its instructions being necessary to fulfill the mission for which the *khalsa panth* was actually created by Guru Gobind Singh.

For comprehensive and systematic study of the proposed work i.e. *Historical Analysis of the Prem Sumarag* has been attempted in the present study which consists of five chapters as elaborated below:

Chapter I: In this chapter an attempt has been made to bring out the historical context to know the historical and prevailing circumstances under which the author had to compose this work popularly known amongst the historians' fraternity as *Prem Sumarag*. Also to know the social and political milieu which paved the way to make it a hot topic of research and usage. Precisely the *Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)*, the legal representative body of the Sikhs during the pre-independence period set up various commissions to formulate a new and authentic *rahitnama* based on *tat-khalsa* version for the Sikhs being a distinct and independent politico-religious community. Even former *rahitnamas* like that of Bhai Nand Lal, Desa Singh and Chaupa Singh were not sufficient for the purpose. During post-independence period, the *SGPC* renewed its pilot project to prepare an authentic *rahitnama* to redefine the identity of the Sikhs as an independent and separate community like that of the Hindus and the Muslims. In this connection, the *SGPC* commissioned Randhir Singh, its employee to search out an authentic *rahitnama* of *tat-khalsa* ideology. He ultimately discovered a fragment of the manuscript of *Prem Sumarag*, which he subsequently revised and completed with the help of another manuscript then lying in Public Library at Lahore (now in Pakistan) during the period following 1940. Randhir Singh edited it with a detailed introduction, which was first published by *Sikh History Society*, a research organization of *SGPC*, in 1953 during the peak of Punjabi Suba agitation in 1950s. With negligible changes, Randhir Singh after his retirement got it published through New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965. Ever since it had become better known amongst scholars and others, who are interested in Sikh history of theology. Obviously, it was a radical innovation. The *Prem Sumarag*, though is now well known to the scholars of history and Punjabi literature, however, yet it has not been given much attention which it actually deserves. Whereas the *SGPC* has abandoned it may be for the reasons that a large details of this work are dominated heavily by the non-*tat khalsa* ideology.

Chapter II: There is no reference direct or indirect inside the body of the *Prem Sumarag* regarding who authored this work and when he composed it. These are the important ingredients to assess the actual historical worth of a literary work. Therefore, an attempt has been made in this Chapter to know who the actual author of the *Prem Sumarag* was and the period of its compilation. Also, to know what kind of sources may have been utilized by its author while he composed it and what were the

times and circumstances in which he was born and brought up which ultimately shaped his personality and thoughts as a whole and prompted him to compose the *Prem Sumarag*. Besides, in this chapter, the actual identity of Bhai Randhir, the editor of *Prem Sumarag* has also been delineated, because his name is generally confused with that of Bhai Randhir Singh of *Akhand Kirtani* tradition. It is also attempted to explain as to how the style and nature of the injunctions (bcn) of 1st Chapter of *Prem Sumarag* reveals that these were written in such circumstances when the Sikhs had lost their political power (*khalsa raj*) and their enlightened leader (*mard ka chela*) was creating a class of warriors (*sant-khalsa*) so as to wage life and death struggle to oust the alien ruler (*malechh* means the British). The vernacular specific terms such as *mard ka chela*, *sant khalsa* and *malechh* used in the *Prem Sumarag* have been delineated to clarify that these were purposely used for Baba Ram Singh, his followers and British Indian Government respectively. It certainly facilitates to reach the justifiable conclusion that the *Prem Sumarag* would have been written in the late nineteenth century by the *mard ka chela* (Baba Ram Singh) to infuse valor and enthusiasm in his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to wage constant struggle to oust the British Indian Government (*malechh*) from the Punjab so as to recover the lost political power thereby re-establishing the *khalsa raj*.

Chapter III: The detailed study of the *Prem Sumarag* has been made in chapter third of present study with a view to explain what kind of variety of information it contains on the Sikh society. It throws a lot of information on different aspects of Sikh society such as dwellings, foods, occupations, marriage ceremonies, initiation ceremony of male and female, widow remarriage, sexual relationship, physical hygiene of male-female, extra marital relations, birth ceremonies, emphasis on education to girls, Punjabi in *gurmukhi* script being as an official language, social behaviour, social evils, slavery, funeral ceremonies and many more. Interestingly, the *Prem Sumarag* contains a great deal of reformative information quite contrary to the ethos and values of the existing and earlier societies. Therefore, an attempt has been made as to how much the author was influenced with the reforms promulgated by the British Indian Government in its all Indian territories to reshape them in the *Prem Sumarag*.

Chapter IV: This chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* is considered as detailed blue print of norms of ideal Sikh state which in fact has been conceptualized by the author

in his work. The details of the nature and character of a King of an ideal Sikh state along with the higher social behavioural values and faithful obedience of King's command by his subjects have been explained in it. The nature of punishment ranging from minor to capital punishment in case of violation of state laws have also been described carefully.

Chapter V: Factually, the *Prem Sumarag* provides vast range of information on social and religious aspects of the Sikh society. Nevertheless, it contains a small quantity of evidences regarding economic condition but it reflects over all view of economy of the times of the author. Therefore, an attempt has been made to find out what kind of information the author of *Prem Sumarag* provides on economic management proposed to be enforced in the ideal Sikh state and what economic activities of the people of the state would perform.

A conclusion is strictly based on the outcome of in-depth study of printed version of the *Prem Sumarag* of 1965 as discussed in the body of text of present study, has been described in the last.

In addition, a glossary of non-English words used during the course of present study has been added so that the persons who do not know the meaning of such vernacular words can be able to understand them while he or she happens to use it for the purpose.

The relevant primary and secondary sources available in different languages scattered over different places of India as well as abroad have first been identified then used accordingly while pursuing my doctoral research and completing it. A bibliography containing these very sources have also been annexed.

From the above explanation, it is quite understandable that no serious and systematic in-depth study of the *Prem Sumarag* has previously been made to analyze its text and establish its authenticity for knowing its virtual historical significance. The *Prem Sumarag* is not an ordinary work of historical literature; therefore, its historical analysis for underlining its actual and factual historical importance has been carefully attempted in the present study.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

We have a substantial primary and secondary sources concerning to the *Prem Sumarag*. Undoubtedly, enough literature has been produced by various writers and scholars in various languages such as English and Punjabi. Prominent among them are displayed as below:-

1. ***Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka*** by Bhai Kesar Singh Chhibber: He belonged to the Chhibber Brahman family who enjoyed prestige in the retinue of Guru Gobind Singh. It contains the life details of all the Sikh Gurus. He completed the *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka* in 1769.
2. ***Chaupa Singh Rahitnama***: It is the earliest and longest *rahitnama* on Sikh *maryada* in Punjabi, later translated and edited by W.H. McLeod, initially published at University of Otago Press, (New Zealand) in 1987. Its original and first copy was completed on 7th Jeth, 1757 (1700 A.D.) and approved by Guru Gobind Singh himself. The *rahitnama* that now appears under the name of Chaupa Singh does not seem to be the copy of the same. It would have produced between 1740 and 1765. Chaupa Singh was a Chhiber Brahman by caste; therefore, his work is influenced by brahminical thoughts and rituals.
3. ***Guru Partap Suraj Granth*** by Bhai Santokh Singh: He was a reputed Sikh poet and scholar. On invitation, he joined the services of chief of erstwhile Kaithal Sikh state now a District headquarters in Haryana State, as court poet in 1825 where he completed the work during 1835-1843. It is a detailed work containing 51829 verses. It contains the description of lives of last nine Sikh Gurus and Banda Bahadur Singh, who established first Sikh sovereign rule in 1710s'. It is in fact a sequel to his own earlier work '*Nanak Parkash*' completed in 1823 at Buria town now in Haryana State, describing therein the life of Guru Nanak, who founded Sikh religion.
4. ***Guru Bilas Patshahian 10*** written by Koer Singh: It is generally believed to have been written 43 years after the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1751 and considered to be a contemporary of Bhai Kesar Singh Chhibber, who wrote the *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka* in 1769. In fact, it is a product of the late nineteenth century during the times of Kuka movement spearheaded by Baba Ram Singh as revealed by Dr. Parminder Singh in his research on the basis of

which a Ph. D. Degree has been awarded to him by the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar in 2009.

5. **Nanak Parkash** by Bhai Santokh Singh: He completed it in 1823 at Buria now in Haryana State, describing therein the life of Guru Nanak, who founded the Sikh religion. Dr. Sabinderjit Singh Sagar completed his Ph.D. Degree on it which was subsequently published in book form by the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar in the year of 1993.
6. **Prachin Panth Parkash** by Rattan Singh Bhangoo: He was the grandson of Sardar Mehtab Singh Mirankotia, who killed Massan Ranghar in the holy precinct of Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple) to liberate it from sacrilege created by the marauders. He wrote his work at the instance of a British officer posted at British residency at Ludhiana and completed it in 1841. It is considered to be an authentic and reliable source of Sikh history after the Guru period. It contains the history of the Sikhs from Guru Nanak Dev Ji to the establishment of sovereign rule by Sikh *sardars* between rivers Attock to Yamuna in late eighteenth century. Later it was edited by Bhai Vir Singh, published at Wazir Hind Press, Amritsar in the year of 1914.
7. **Prem Sumarag Granth**: Bhai Randhir Singh, an employee of *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)*, discovered its partial manuscript which he subsequently revised and completed it with the help of another complete copy of it then lying in Public Library, Lahore (Pakistan). He worked on it and edited it with an elaborate introduction which was first published by the Sikh History Society, a research organization of the *SGPC*, Amritsar in the year of 1953. Thereafter its second edition was also brought out by a private firm, namely New Book Company, Jalandhar in the year of 1965 and is in public domain ever since. It is considered to be a very important source of evidence especially on Sikh code of conduct (*rahitmaryada*) but equally controversial too as the historians and scholars of the Sikhs sharply differ especially regarding its date of compilation positioning it from early eighteenth century to late nineteenth century. In order to clinch the issue to the satisfaction of majority of Sikh scholars, hence, its historical analysis has been taken up in the present study.
8. **Prem Sumarag**: W.H. McLeod was one of the eminent scholars of Sikh studies. He translated ‘*Prem Sumarag*’ edited by Bhai Randhir Singh, in English with a comprehensive introduction under the title ‘*Prem Sumarag: The Testimony of a*

Sanatan Sikh' and published by the Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006. He was of the view that *Prem Sumarag* was written in early eighteenth century; however, he expected more deep and serious study on it from the prospective scholars to reach a convincing date of its compilation.

9. ***A History of the Sikhs:*** It is written by J.D. Cunningham in English and published first by Johan Murray Press, London in 1849. Later several reprints were published in India. He had first-hand information on the Sikhs as he spent many years in the Punjab and also an eyewitness to the First Anglo-Sikh war fought in 1845-1846. His work is one of the monumental works on the Sikhs ever written by a foreigner. It contains the history of the Sikhs from its origin (Guru Nanak Dev Ji) to the first Anglo-Sikh war. For his praise of the Sikhs and criticism of Lord Hardings' Punjab policy in his work, he was removed from the political service.
10. ***The Sikh Religion: its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*** in 6 volumes by Max Arthur Macauliffe originally published at Clarendon Press, Oxford (UK), 1909. Later several reprints were also published in India. He was a British officer and served on different important administrative posts in the Punjab during 1864-1893. It is said that he was so impressed with Sikh scriptures and way of life that he had converted to Sikhism in 1860s for which he was strongly reprimanded by the British employers.
11. ***Rites and Ceremonies of the Sikhs and the Sikh Sect*** by R. Leech, a Major in British army. He extensively quoted Sanatani views as referred in literature related to Sikhs in his 1844 report submitted to the British Government which was later published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1845. Nahar Singh edited it and published in Gurdwara Gazette, number 40.8, August 1969.
12. ***Prem Sumarg: a modern forgery:*** It is an illuminating article written by Prof. S.S. Hans, published in the *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference*, 16th Session, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1982, pp. 180-188. He is the first historian who sharply differs from earlier historians' views and comes out with a new argument that *Prem Sumarag* was a late-nineteenth century product when Punjab had come under British rule commencing from 1849.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:

The main objectives of the present study are as mentioned below:

1. To determine the authorship and date of composition of *Prem Sumarag*.
2. To know the historical and social background in which the author was born and brought up.
3. To make the text of *Prem Sumarag* under study more authentic and reliable by comparing it with the other copies of this work available in different libraries in India and abroad.
4. To justify as to why specific title of the work as *Prem Sumarag* has been chosen while this work does not specifically speak about it.
5. To know the purpose of author for writing the work because no work is written in historical vacuum.
6. To bring out the historical evidence it contains for wider use by the scholars and historians as well as the public.
7. To trace out the sources which the author might have used while composing his work.

NEED FOR STUDY:

1. The *Prem Sumarag*, however, is not without problems, and of these the important one are its date of compilation and authorship which are widely contested. Identification of author and fixing date of compilation of a literary work is an important and powerful instrument which helps to determine the actual and factual historical worth of the work.
2. The majority of scholars upheld that this work has been written in early 18th century. Others feel that *Prem Sumarag* properly belonged to the late eighteenth century while some favor the view that it is the product of early nineteenth century. Dr S.S. Hans in of Guru Nanak Dev University in his one article "*Prem Sumarag: a modern forgery*" published in the proceedings of *Punjab History Conference* in 1982, maintains that *Prem Sumarag* dates from 1849, after annexation of Punjab into British Empire.
3. But close study of the *Prem Sumarag* itself reveals that the work was composed in late nineteenth century during the time of *Kuka* movement. Hence, it needs

further research most importantly regarding to determine its authorship and era without which its actual historical worth cannot be ascertained satisfactorily.

SCOPE:

1. The *Prem Sumarag*, though is now well known to the scholars of history and Punjabi literature, yet it has not been given much attention which it actually deserves, may be for reasons that details of this work are dominated by non-*tat khalsa* ideology. A few research articles did appear in different research journals but no composite and serious endeavor has been put up to bring out its actual historical worth and more importantly for its authorship and date of writing.
2. Bhai Randhir Singh (1898-1972) is the only scholar, who edited it and also dealt with internal evidence it contains besides a comprehensive introduction which was first published by the *SGPC* in 1953, later by New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965, on which present research rests. But his method is not historical. He, in his introduction, makes a point that *Prem Sumarag* was written by a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh or his learned associate Bhai Mani Singh but gives no explanation in support of this argument. His chief interest was in equating it with the *khalsa* way of life and also sees its relevance for political aspiration and politics of the Sikhs in post-independence India. Therefore, he idealizes the work but did not let him go deep into the work. There is definitive scope of further research on this work.

PLAN OF WORK AND METHODOLOGY:

1. The proposed study is strictly based on printed version of the *Prem Sumarag* of 1965. What evidence the author provides on social, political and economic aspects in his work that has been verified with the evidence available in other contemporary, near contemporary and secondary sources.
2. If any discrepancy of any kind was found in the description of information of the author or any comment required to clarify any specific point have been given in the footnotes added at the end of the same page.
3. A glossary of local and indigenous words meaning non-English words used here and there in the text of the present study has also been given separately for better understanding the text. So that the persons who are not conversant with those

non-English could understand them while he or she happens to consult the research text for the purpose.

4. W.H. Mcleod and J.S.Grewal, the renowned Sikh historians have changed their earlier view points and unanimously are of the view that the *Prem Sumarag* was composed in early part of the early eighteenth century relying on the information contained in a incomplete copy of *Prem Sumarag* lying in British Library at London under catalogue number 26588 (19th century). It is humbly said that it does not seem to be correct interpretation of the information contained therein. The photocopies of those very documents have also been affixed at the end of text of present study for consideration and interpretation of all who have keen interest in the study of Sikh history and theology.



GURU KASHI UNIVERSITY

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work which is being presented in the thesis entitled "**Historical Analysis of Prem Sumarag**" in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Discipline of History** and submitted in Guru Kashi University, Talwandi Sabo is an authentic record of my own work carried out during the period from January 2016 to April 2022 under the supervision of **Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill**.

The matter embodied in this thesis has not been submitted by me for the award of any other degree of this or any other University/Institute.

I further declared that in case of any violation of intellectual property right or copyright I as the candidate would be fully responsible for the same. My supervisor, external examiner and my institute should not be held for full or partial violation of copyright if found at any stage of my degree.

Manveet
20/05/22
Ms. Manveet Sharma

Ph.D. Research Scholar

Uni. Roll[#]No. J166821001

This is to certify that the above statement made by the candidate is correct to the best of my knowledge.

Daljit
Dr. Daljit Kaur Gill
(Supervisor) *20/08/2022*

The Ph. D. Viva-voce examination of Ms. Manveet Sharma has been held on 20.04.2022 (Online mode, with reference of UGC guidelines letter no. D. O. No. F.1-1/2020 (Secy.) on dated 29 April, 2020) and accepted for the award of Ph.D. Degree.

Manju Malhotra
Dr. Manju Malhotra
(External Examiner)

Daljit
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Daljit
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(Supervisor) *20/08/2022*

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I experience inadequacy of words to extend my heartiest gratefulness to my mother Mrs. Promila, without whose blessings, love and sincerest support, it would have been difficult for me to complete the work. Lastly, I shall be failing in my duty, if I do not express my deep sense of gratitude towards my family for the encouragement and emotional support over the years. Above all, I express my sincere gratitude to the Almighty Being (Akal Purakh) as due to his grace (kirpa) I could be able to accomplish my present Ph.D. Thesis.

Manveet Sharma

ABSTRACT

Numerous *rahitnamas* were written during Guru Gobind Singh's post-period, the *Prem Sumarag* is also considered to be one of the *rahitnamas* of the Sikhs. It prescribes detailed norms of religious behaviour to be imbibed by all the initiated Sikhs (*sant-khalsa*) in their daily life. Apart, it also provides a comprehensive details of Sikh polity concerning civil, economic and military management required to be enforced in the ideal Sikh state conceptualized by the author in the work. There are ten chapters and each *chapter* is further sub-divided into several injunctions (bcn) explaining the whole Sikh social order.

From historical point of view, the date of composition and authorship are very important ingredients without which the factual historical significance of a literary work cannot be assessed. The *Prem Sumarag*, however, is not without problems and of these the most important one is the date of its compilation which has been remained widely contentious issue. As far as authorship is concerned, there has been no debatable controversy amongst the scholars whatsoever. Most of them are in agreement that the *Prem Sumarag* was composed by an unknown Sikh writer while only W.H. Mcleod talks about person or persons of *khatiri* caste being its author.

However, no in-depth study has been undertaken in this connection so far. In order to resolve the contentious issues of dating and also identifying the author, have been taken up in the present study: 'Historical Analysis of *Prem Sumarag*'. The present study is strictly based on the second edition of printed version of *Prem Sumarag* edited by Randhir Singh which was published by the New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965.

The style and nature of the injunctions of 1st Chapter of *Prem Sumarag* reveals that these were written in such circumstances when the Sikhs had lost their political power obviously *khalsa raj* and their enlightened leader (*mard ka chela*) was creating a class of warriors (*sant-khalsa*) so as to wage life and death struggle to oust the alien ruler (*malechh* means the British). The specific vernacular terms such as *mard ka chela*, *sant khalsa* and *malechh* used in the *Prem Sumarag* have been delineated to clarify that these terms were purposely used for Baba Ram Singh, his followers and British Indian Government respectively. If we put these terms together, it certainly facilitates to reach the justifiable and more convincing conclusion that the *Prem Sumarag* would have been written in the late nineteenth century during British rule by

the *mard ka chela* (Baba Ram Singh) to infuse valour and enthusiasm in his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to wage constant struggle to oust the alien rulers (*malechh*) from the Punjab so as to recover the lost political power of the Sikhs thereby re-establishing the *khalsa raj*.

Exact date of compilation of the *Prem Sumarag* is difficult to ascertain. However, no serious attempt has been made to mark out the period. Apparently, it would have been composed during the period falling between April 12, 1857 when Baba Ram Singh created his *sant-khalsa* on this auspicious day and July 20, 1863 when Baba Ram Singh was put under house arrest at his native village Bhaini Sahib, district Ludhiana for about four years by the order of British Punjab Government. In the mean while, a copy of partial English translation of the *Prem Sumarag* attributed to John Leyden had reached the British Library, London in 1865.

Interestingly, the timings, wordings, terminology and addressees are almost similar in both, the *hukamname* as well as the *Prem Sumarag*. Moreover, the name of the scribe/writer is also missing in the both documents. It is now established fact that Baba Ram Singh issued these *hukamname* to his followers while he was in Rangoon Jail (1872-1885). He frequently referred the *Prem Sumarag* as revealed scripture in several *hukamname* and strongly recommended it to his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to regulate their social life according to injunctions mentioned therein. Therefore, we can conveniently conclude that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* was no person other than Baba Ram Singh himself.

Etymologically, every word has its own origin. The use of word Tehsildar as administrative officer of a Tehsil (*pargana*) by the author in his work (*Prem Sumarag*) had actually coined by the British Punjab Government while introducing administrative reforms in the Punjab after its annexation to British Empire in 1849. Therefore, its specific reference in the *Prem Sumarag* compels to think that it would have been composed during the British rule, apparently during late nineteenth century.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS FROM THE THESIS

PAPER PUBLISHED IN JOURNALS

1. Manveet Sharma and Daljit kaur Gill, '*Political Aspects of Sikh State in Prem Sumarag*', in Research Review International Journal of Multidisciplinary; (e-ISSN: 2455-3085); Impact Factor: 5.214; UGC Approved Journal (No. 44945); Volume-4, Issue-01, January 2019, pp. 2611-2613
2. Manveet Sharma and Daljit Kaur Gill, '*Economic Activities as Depicted in Prem Sumarag*', in Research Review International Journal of Multidisciplinary; (e-ISSN: 2455-3085); Impact Factor: 5.214; UGC Approved Journal (No. 44945); Volume-4, Issue-04, April 2019, pp. 2296-2299

PAPER PRESENTATION IN CONFERENCES

1. Sharma Manveet, '*Marriage Ceremonies as depicted in Prem Sumarag*', in *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference, 51st Session, March 2019, Patiala*

GLOSSARY

<i>Aabroo</i>	honour; dignity
<i>Aale vich</i>	niche in the wall
<i>Aanch</i>	fire; heat
<i>Aata</i>	dough; flour
<i>Abinasi</i>	indestructible
<i>Adab</i>	respect
<i>Adharm</i>	injustice
<i>Adhan</i>	pregnancy; conception
<i>Afim</i>	opium
<i>Ahaar</i>	food
<i>Ahadiyas</i>	servants
<i>Aitbaar</i>	trust
<i>Aivaan</i>	royal palace or residential house
<i>Ajiran</i>	indigestion
<i>Akal Purakh</i>	'The One beyond Time'; Supreme God
<i>Akhtiyar</i>	right; jurisdiction
<i>Alakh</i>	invisible; unseen
<i>Alh</i>	caste
<i>Alp Ahaar</i>	food in small quantity
<i>Amal</i>	intoxication; addiction; toxin; execution; deeds; practical
<i>Amanat</i>	deposition; something given for trust/safe keeping
<i>Amar</i>	to invoke in the name of; invoke for help or mercy
<i>Amavasia</i>	moonless night
<i>Amin</i>	revenue collector at pargana level
<i>Amrit</i>	nectar
<i>Amritvela</i>	early morning
<i>Anand Sahib</i>	a forty-verse liturgical composition of Guru Amar Das in Ramkali mode. Its short version, first five verses and the last one is usually recited at the completion of every <i>Sikh</i> service or ceremony
<i>Andar apna</i>	secret

<i>Angikar</i>	accept
<i>Anjaan</i>	unknown; stranger
<i>Anna</i>	coin; one sixteenth of a rupee
<i>Ardas</i>	the <i>Sikh/khalsa</i> prayer, a formal prayer recited at the conclusion of most <i>Sikh</i> rituals; petition; the daily <i>Sikh</i> congregational prayer
<i>Argaza</i>	mixture of sandal, saffron and camphor
<i>Arora</i>	a mercantile caste of the Punjab
<i>Arth</i>	reason
<i>Arthi</i>	needy
<i>Arti</i>	adoration
<i>Asavari Shawl</i>	a shawl of the finest wool
<i>Atar</i>	a fragrant essential oil (as from rose petals)
<i>Aulaad</i>	offspring
<i>Ausar</i>	occasion; time; opportunity
<i>Baab</i>	about
<i>Badam</i>	almond, a dry fruit
<i>Badi</i>	evil
<i>Bad-karmi</i>	adultery
<i>Bagichi</i>	small orchards
<i>Bahil</i>	a small two-wheeled vehicle without springs, drawn by two oxen
<i>Bai karke</i>	sell
<i>Bairagi</i>	recluse; a member of the Vaishnava order of ascetic; one who has subdued his worldly desires and passions
<i>Baisakh</i>	second month of an Indian calendar corresponding to April-May
<i>Baisakhi</i>	the first day of the month of Baisakh or Visakh; a seasonal festival falls on first baisakh (April)
<i>Baisantar</i>	fire
<i>Baithak</i>	drawing room; sitting room
<i>Baj aayi</i>	abstain; to desist
<i>Bajra</i>	a kind of millet
<i>Bakbak</i>	speak without sense

<i>Bakra</i>	a goat
<i>Balan</i>	fuel
<i>Balvantkari</i>	powerful one
<i>Bandhagi</i>	worship; devotion
<i>Bandikhane</i>	jail
<i>Bandobast</i>	arrangement
<i>Bani</i>	works of the Gurus and other bhagats/poets included in the <i>Sikh</i> sacred scriptures
<i>Bania</i>	a mercantile caste
<i>Bank</i>	a curved dagger
<i>Barah</i>	boar
<i>Barahsinga</i>	stag
<i>Barakh</i>	year
<i>Barat</i>	marriage procession or party
<i>Barati</i>	members of marriage procession
<i>Barchha</i>	lance or neza
<i>Barkat</i>	prosperity
<i>Basant</i>	a seasonal festival marking the end of winter, the festival of spring; the month of Chet
<i>Bashna</i>	smell
<i>Bazar</i>	market place
<i>Bazuband</i>	a broad bell shaped ornament tied on the upper part of the arm by women
<i>Be-dharak</i>	without fear or shame
<i>Beede</i>	betel leaves/betel wads
<i>Begani Istri</i>	another woman
<i>Beha</i>	stale
<i>Be-istikalal</i>	unbalanced; inconsistent; uncertain; unsettled; changeable; lack of determination
<i>Bemukh</i>	apathetic; disinclined
<i>Benati</i>	request or appeal; an appeal to the Sikhs worldwide for a particular cause
<i>Beswa</i>	prostitute
<i>Bhadan</i>	tonsure

<i>Bhagauti</i>	sword
<i>Bhai</i>	brother; an epithet generally used for a <i>Sikh</i> formally connected with religious affairs, also an epithet of respect
<i>Bhaichara</i>	clan brotherhood or a caste
<i>Bhang</i>	dried leaves of the hemp plant; an intoxicant dry or potion made from the leaves of <i>cannabis sativa</i>
<i>Bhara</i>	rent; a cess for carrying grain to the market
<i>Bharant</i>	brother
<i>Bharant Rani</i>	brothers' wife
<i>Bharte</i>	husband
<i>Bhatt</i>	a popular bard who kept genealogies of important families
<i>Bhikheya</i>	beggary; charity
<i>Bhusa</i>	pale; pallid
<i>Bibarjit</i>	prohibited; avoided; debarred; abandoned
<i>Bichar</i>	bother
<i>Bichola</i>	intermediary; match maker especially for marriage
<i>Bidhi</i>	procedure
<i>Bidwa</i>	widow
<i>Bigha</i>	a measure of land generally considered equal to 20 biswas or 4 kanals; under the British administration, it was fixed as 120 square feet
<i>Bikhad</i>	dispute
<i>Bimatra</i>	step-mother
<i>Biswasghat</i>	treachery; disloyalty
<i>Biradari</i>	a brotherhood; fraternity
<i>Birtha</i>	waste
<i>Biswa</i>	a 20 th part of anything; normally of a bigha of land; 1/20 th = 6 square feet
<i>Biswanath</i>	lord of the word; Lord Shiva
<i>Biswasghaat</i>	betrayal; breach of trust
<i>Biyaap</i>	occur; present
<i>Biyaaz</i>	interest

<i>Bohitha</i>	boat
<i>Brahman</i>	the first of the four varna of Hindu social order
<i>Byohar</i>	formality
<i>Burka</i>	a veil covering the entire body and furnished with eye hole, generally worn by Muslim females
<i>Bute</i>	plants
<i>Chabutra</i>	a raised platform
<i>Chaddar</i>	a sheet of cloth; a shawl; a wrapper for upper and lower parts among men and women
<i>Chahbachcha</i>	sump; a large open pit for holding or storing liquid
<i>Chakar</i>	servant
<i>Chakri</i>	service
<i>Chakor</i>	partridge
<i>Chamar</i>	an untouchable caste of leather-workers and tanners
<i>Chandol</i>	sedan chair
<i>Chapal</i>	flighty
<i>Chappati</i>	flat bread; thin loaf
<i>Charcha</i>	discuss; debate
<i>Char Gharian</i>	1 hour 36 minutes
<i>Chaubara</i>	a single room on the upper storey
<i>Chaunki</i>	a wooden seat with four legs
<i>Chhalla</i>	a finger ring
<i>Chhapar</i>	shelter; thatched roof; shed
<i>Chhapr-khatt</i>	canopy
<i>Chhatt</i>	roof; ceiling
<i>Chhatank</i>	the sixteenth part of a seer (1/16 of a kilogram)
<i>Chhekna</i>	expulsion; boycott
<i>Chhimba</i>	a calico-dyer
<i>Chhin-matr</i>	for a while; just a moment
<i>Chihn-chakar</i>	description; appearance
<i>Chital</i>	axis deer; spotted deer
<i>Chitare</i>	remember
<i>Chitarkar</i>	painter
<i>Chiththi</i>	document; affidavit

<i>Chitiyan</i>	ants
<i>Chitvani</i>	mind
<i>Chogha</i>	a robe
<i>Choli</i>	a short gown worn by women reaching only to the waist and covering their breast only
<i>Chuhra</i>	the lowest untouchable caste, generally scavenger
<i>Chunni</i>	piece of cloth worn by a woman to cover her head
<i>Chura</i>	red and white bangles signified marital status of a woman
<i>Churi</i>	a bangle made of ivory or glass, worn by female on her arm
<i>Daava</i>	claim
<i>Dal</i>	pulse
<i>Damri</i>	a small fraction of coin; a copper coin; the smallest in circulation in British times; it was also used as a measure of weight
<i>Danmbh</i>	conceit; pride; hypocrisy
<i>Dand</i>	punishment
<i>Darbar</i>	the royal court, hall of audience; the holding of the court
<i>Dariai</i>	a kind of silken cloth
<i>Daridari</i>	indigent; poor
<i>Darmiyan</i>	in between
<i>Darwaza</i>	door
<i>Dasi</i>	female slaves
<i>Dastar</i>	a turban
<i>Dastoor</i>	practice; custom; manners; tradition; rite
<i>Datun</i>	twig or bark used for cleaning teeth
<i>Dehi</i>	body
<i>Dhai-gharay</i>	the superior most of the bahri-bawanjahi Khatri, who confined their matrimonial ties to a few other sub-castes regarded as the superior most
<i>Dhal</i>	a shield
<i>Dhanak</i>	a community/caste of weavers
<i>Dhania</i>	coriander

<i>Dharam</i>	justice; religion
<i>Dharmarth</i>	literally by way of religious duty
<i>Dharamsala</i>	a place of worship of the Sikhs; rest house for travellers
<i>Dharam ki Kirat</i>	honest occupation
<i>Dhaza</i>	flag
<i>Dhil</i>	delay; laxity; relaxation
<i>Dhol</i>	a drum
<i>Dhoop-agar</i>	incense
<i>Diwan</i>	the finance minister; the head of finance department
<i>Diwankhana</i>	court chamber; audience hall
<i>Diva</i>	a lamp
<i>Divan</i>	court; assembly
<i>Dode</i>	poppy powder
<i>Doli</i>	a palanquin; a small sedan or a litter for the bride; the occasion of a bride's departure
<i>Duiani</i>	a coin worth two annas
<i>Dui Gharian</i>	48 minutes
<i>Dum</i>	a caste of Muslim musicians and bard who sang genealogies and other songs for their patrons
<i>Dupatta</i>	a veil; a long scarf used by women as a head dress also called chaddar, chuni, salu and shawl
<i>Dur</i>	pearl; earrings
<i>Ekagar</i>	concentrate
<i>Faraq/Farig</i>	free; finished
<i>Farash</i>	flooring
<i>Faujdar</i>	the officer who maintained troops for law and order
<i>Fer</i>	lie; difference; gap; suspicion
<i>Fer-gher</i>	returns; giving back
<i>Fuhara</i>	fountain
<i>Gaddi</i>	seat of the head of a religious fraternity; a throne
<i>Gadha</i>	donkey
<i>Gahne</i>	ornaments
<i>Gainda</i>	rhinoceros
<i>Galba</i>	domination

<i>Gandh</i>	literally a knot; a tie
<i>Gawah</i>	a witness
<i>Gaz</i>	approximately equal to 1 metre; the British fixed the length of a gaz at 33 inches
<i>Ghaggri</i>	a petticoat
<i>Ghar</i>	a house
<i>Ghara</i>	pitcher
<i>Ghari</i>	24 minutes
<i>Garhwi</i>	medium-size pitcher like metal vessel
<i>Ghrit</i>	melted butter; clarified butter
<i>Gilani</i>	guilt; repentance; depression
<i>Girah</i>	approximately equal to 1/16 th of a metre or a yard
<i>Giras</i>	bite
<i>Goka</i>	cow milk
<i>Goshe</i>	corner
<i>Goshpech</i>	an ornament worn in the turban
<i>Grih</i>	house
<i>Grihstha</i>	household; married life
<i>Gulzar</i>	a garden, which is full of flowers
<i>Gumaan</i>	proud
<i>Gunah</i>	crime; sin
<i>Gurhati</i>	the first food of the child consisting of sugar or gurmixed with some purgative
<i>Gurmukhi</i>	‘from the Guru’s mouth’; the script in which Punjabi is written
<i>Guru</i>	a religious teacher or a spiritual guide
<i>Gurzbardars</i>	mace bearers
<i>Haasil</i>	get; obtain
<i>Halal</i>	flesh of animal killed in accordance with Muslim ritual whereby it is bled to death. Its consumption is strictly prohibited to the <i>khalsa</i> Sikhs
<i>Hal ki Masti</i>	natural state
<i>Harakh</i>	grief; regret

<i>Hasab-ul-Hukam</i>	lit. According to command; a document issued on royal command; correct order
<i>Hath-yoga</i>	‘yoga of force’; a variety of yoga requiring physical postures of extreme difficulty
<i>Haumai</i>	self-centredness
<i>Haveli</i>	large mansion; a multi storey residential building
<i>Hawale kare</i>	surrender; give; cede; charge
<i>Hazir</i>	present
<i>Heela</i>	excuse of disease etc.; solution
<i>Heeng</i>	asafoetida
<i>Hirakh</i>	to grieve
<i>Hiran</i>	deer
<i>Hola</i>	also known as ‘Hola Mohalla’, is a three day long Sikh festival, which falls on the second day of the lunar month of Chett, a day after the Hindu spring festival of Holi
<i>Hridaya</i>	heart; mind
<i>Hukam</i>	command
<i>Ikraar</i>	promise
<i>Ilaaz</i>	remedy; treatment
<i>Ilaichi chhoti</i>	green cardamom
<i>Ilam</i>	notification
<i>Inam</i>	a reward
<i>Ishat (devi, devte)</i>	favoured deity; cherished divinity
<i>Jade</i>	winter
<i>Jagah</i>	place
<i>Jagir</i>	a piece of land give in lieu of salary; a jagir for personal service, a jagir also on account of the maintenance of horsemen
<i>Jagirdar</i>	the holder of jagir
<i>Jaifal</i>	nutmeg
<i>Jama</i>	assessed revenue including all cesses; standard revenue assessed for jagir
<i>Jama</i>	a coat reaching down to the ankles, robe, form

<i>Jamadar</i>	a poniard; the leader of a band of uncertain number; an officer above a havaldar in the regular army of the kingdom of the Lahore
<i>Jamyat</i>	firmness; strong intention
<i>Janeo</i>	the sacred thread worn by <i>Brahmans</i> , <i>Khattris</i> and other Hindus of the twice born castes.
<i>Janj</i>	a marriage procession, a genre of Punjabi poetry meant to highlight the details of a bridal party or wedding guests.
<i>Janeo</i>	sacred thread
<i>Jantar</i>	magical device
<i>Jashan</i>	celebration
<i>Jatt</i>	the dominant agricultural caste in central Punjab
<i>Javitri</i>	mace
<i>Jeth</i>	an elder brother of the husband, month of May-June
<i>Jhagga</i>	shirt
<i>Jhagra</i>	literally a contention, a genre of Punjabi poetry meant to depict contention between two or more stereotyped social groups
<i>Jhatka</i>	slaughtering of an animal with a single stroke of the blade
<i>Jihba</i>	tongue
<i>Jivika</i>	livelihood
<i>Jogi</i>	hermit, a renouncing belong to one or another of the twelve <i>Gorakhnath</i> orders
<i>Jora Jama</i>	set of clothes
<i>Juda</i>	separate; apart
<i>Jugat</i>	procedure; trick
<i>Kachh</i>	a pair of shorts, which must not extend below the knee, worn as one of the Five K's; underwear
<i>Kaffan</i>	coffin; a shroud
<i>Kajli</i>	sooty
<i>Kalal</i>	a brewer or distiller by caste
<i>Kalgi</i>	a plume; a feather worn in a cap or turban

<i>Kalpave</i>	annoying
<i>Kaman tarakas</i>	quiver
<i>Kambal</i>	blanket
<i>Kamboh</i>	a caste in the Punjab, known for industrious and skilful cultivation
<i>Kamavant</i>	servants
<i>Kapalkirya</i>	breaking of the skull
<i>Kara</i>	a bracelet
<i>Karaar</i>	promise
<i>Karah-prasad</i>	sacramental food prepared in a large iron dish (karahi); sanctified food
<i>Karaz</i>	loan
<i>Kardar</i>	an agent; an official; a revenue collector of a taalluqa or pargana
<i>Kasab</i>	a piece of work, especially a specific task done as a part of the routine of one's occupation
<i>Kasabi</i>	artisan; skilled; clever; well versed in some art or business
<i>Kath</i>	wooden
<i>Katari</i>	a small dagger
<i>Kesar</i>	saffron
<i>Khabar</i>	information; news
<i>Khabar Likhata</i>	an intelligence secretary
<i>Khachar</i>	pony
<i>Khalaas hove</i>	salvation; release; acquittal; exemption; the act of disengaging
<i>Khalsa</i>	the Sikh brotherhood instituted by Guru Gobind Singh used for an individual as well as the collective body
<i>Khande</i>	broad swords; double edged sword
<i>Khara</i>	right; crisp; pure
<i>Khasam</i>	husband
<i>Khatri</i>	warrior or ruling caste (kshatriya) of traditional Hindu society; Hindu business/mercantile caste of the Punjab
<i>Khawand</i>	owner; husband

<i>Khaslat</i>	temperaments; habits
<i>Kheer</i>	rice cooked in sweetened milk; rice pudding
<i>Kheti</i>	agriculture
<i>Khichari</i>	a dish of rice mixed with lentil
<i>Khidmat/Khijmat</i>	serve up; duty
<i>Khidmatgar</i>	attendant
<i>Khilwat</i>	solitude; the condition of being concealed or hidden
<i>Khuh</i>	well
<i>Khushak Mewa</i>	dry fruit
<i>Khush-boi</i>	scent; deodorant; fragrances
<i>Kirat</i>	employment; livelihood
<i>Kirtan</i>	singing of hymns
<i>Kishat</i>	installment
<i>Kora</i>	new
<i>Kotha</i>	roof; room
<i>Kothrian</i>	rooms
<i>Koti</i>	unlimited
<i>Kotwal</i>	chief police officer
<i>Kripan</i>	sword
<i>Krisan</i>	farmer
<i>Krodh</i>	anger
<i>Kubuddhi</i>	wickedness
<i>Kuccha</i>	raw; unbaked; temporary
<i>Kul</i>	clan or caste
<i>Kumbhi narak</i>	deepest hell
<i>Kurmai</i>	a betrothal; an engagement ceremony prior to marriage
<i>Kurti</i>	half shirt; waistcoat; ladies blouse
<i>Kuwarian</i>	spinsters
<i>Lag</i>	reward for work done at various social and religious ceremonies by persons of menial and artisan classes
<i>Lagi</i>	persons of artisan and menial castes performing service on social occasion like marriage, betrothal and death. They were paid for the services or the goods they provided on such occasions

<i>Lahenga</i>	skirt; petticoat; also called ghaghra
<i>Lara</i>	the bridegroom
<i>Lashkar</i>	army
<i>Laung</i>	clove (name of a spice); a nose pin
<i>Lava-padna</i>	recitation of the sacred shabads by the granthi to solemnize a wedding which consisted of tying together the upper garments of the bride and the bridegroom and making them go four round
<i>Lef</i>	bed-sheet or cover
<i>Lehnedar</i>	lender
<i>Loi</i>	a woolen sheet or blanket; black or white
<i>Loon</i>	salt
<i>Loung</i>	clove
<i>Maal matey</i>	property
<i>Maas</i>	meat
<i>Machhi</i>	fish
<i>Madh</i>	liquor
<i>Madhiyan</i>	noon
<i>Mafiq</i>	accordingly; suitable; appropriate
<i>Magh</i>	the eleventh month of an <i>Bikrami</i> calendar corresponding to January and February
<i>Mahabali</i>	strong man
<i>Maha-Hukam</i>	high order
<i>Maha-Prasad</i>	great food
<i>Mahin</i>	fine; thin
<i>Mahurat</i>	propitious moment; an auspicious time for engaging in any enterprise or business
<i>Majithe</i>	red
<i>Majlis</i>	meeting; gathering; congregation; council
<i>Makan</i>	house, apartment, residential building, lamentation
<i>Makhmal</i>	velvet
<i>Mala</i>	a rosary; a chaplet of beads

<i>Malechchha</i>	foreigners; Muslims; wicked; evil; barbarian; an out caste; to be shunned by all persons covered by the varnas particularly the first three
<i>Maleen</i>	dirty
<i>Manai</i>	person; man
<i>Mandi</i>	market
<i>Manglachaar</i>	invocation
<i>Mann</i>	maund (approximately equal to 40 kilograms)
<i>Mannat</i>	wish
<i>Manorath</i>	aim; desire; longing
<i>Mansa</i>	motive; wish
<i>Mantar</i>	magical formula
<i>Manja</i>	cot
<i>Maratab</i>	rank; title; post
<i>Maratabe</i>	retinue members
<i>Mardan</i>	rub
<i>Mardane</i>	masculine
<i>Marhi</i>	tomb
<i>Martaba</i>	time; turn; honour
<i>Maryada/Mrizada</i>	prescribed limits
<i>Masala</i>	spices
<i>Masas</i>	approximately one gram
<i>Masati</i>	ecstasy
<i>Masru</i>	a striped silken cloth
<i>Mast</i>	intoxicated; carefree; overjoyed; delighted
<i>Maujood</i>	present; available
<i>Mauli</i>	untwisted multi strand red yarn used on ceremonial occasions; a ornament of big chain made of rows of pearls separated by jewelled studs, hanging from the head on one side was called mauli
<i>Mauze</i>	socks
<i>Mehndi</i>	henna, used for dyeing hands and fingers
<i>Mewa</i>	a fruit, generally the name is used for the dry fruits
<i>Milakh</i>	land; property

<i>Mirch</i>	chilly
<i>Mitheyā</i>	lie; false
<i>Mohr</i>	stamp
<i>Moje</i>	stockings
<i>Moukoof</i>	abolish; postpone; temporary cessation or suspension
<i>Mrittika</i>	soil
<i>Muharakhe</i>	attendants
<i>Mukarrar</i>	fix
<i>Mulak</i>	country
<i>Muqaddam</i>	the headman of the village
<i>Murasala-nawis</i>	a letter writer
<i>Mushak</i>	musk; aroma; honour; flavor
<i>Mutalaba</i>	exaction; demand
<i>Muth</i>	grip; handle
<i>Muyassar</i>	obtained; procured; effectiveness; facilitated; affordable
<i>Naagha</i>	absence; discontinuance; cessation for a time; a temporary pause
<i>Nadar</i>	glance of grace or beneficence
<i>Nafa</i>	profit
<i>Nai</i>	a barber
<i>Naliyer</i>	coconut
<i>Namaz:</i>	the ritualistic prayer to God as prescribed by Islam to be observed five times a day
<i>Naqad</i>	cash
<i>Niauvant</i>	chief justice
<i>Nimit</i>	named; nominated; cause; behalf
<i>Nindeya</i>	condemn; criticize
<i>Nindra</i>	sleep
<i>Nisha</i>	night; courage; calm
<i>Nistarega</i>	redemption; deliverance
<i>Nitaprati</i>	daily
<i>Ogara</i>	a kind of food for sick people
<i>Paak-saaf</i>	clean; sacred; pure
<i>Paan</i>	betel leaf

<i>Pacca</i>	hard; firm; strong
<i>Pagri</i>	a turban
<i>Pahar</i>	3 hours
<i>Pahul</i>	baptism of the double-edged sword by Guru Gobind Singh for the <i>khalsa</i>
<i>Pakwan</i>	cooked dishes; delicious
<i>Palangh</i>	a bedstead of the best sort
<i>Palas</i>	type of wood; <i>Butea Frondosa</i>
<i>Palki</i>	a palanquin or litter
<i>Panchami</i>	the fifth day of each half of the lunar calendar
<i>Pancham Sudi</i>	fifth day of the light half of the month
<i>Panjeb</i>	a tinkling silver ornament worn on ankles by females
<i>Panth</i>	<i>Sikh</i> community; a 'path' or 'way'; system of religious belief or practice; community observing a particular system of belief or practice
<i>Parat</i>	metal tray
<i>Pargana</i>	sub-district; the administrative sub-division of a suba under Maharaja Ranjit Singh
<i>Parhez</i>	abstinence; precautions
<i>Parkarma</i>	circumambulation
<i>Par-nari</i>	another woman
<i>Par-sanjog</i>	second marriage; remarriage
<i>Patanga</i>	a moth is an insect like a butterfly, which usually flies about at night
<i>Path</i>	a reading from the Sikh scriptures
<i>Pativarta</i>	virtuous wife; faithful wife
<i>Patka</i>	the patka is a recent addition to male Sikh dress; a cloth worn round the waist; girdle; a coarse kind of cloth
<i>Patran</i>	dancing girls
<i>Patwari</i>	village record keeper
<i>Pauris</i>	stanzas
<i>Pawitter</i>	pure
<i>Pehnami</i>	distress; grief

<i>Phare-laina</i>	a ceremony in which the bridegroom followed by the bride four or seven times in a circle round the holy fire
<i>Phulka</i>	light chapatti
<i>Pir</i>	a saint of high merit who could act as a guide among the Muslims
<i>Pirian</i>	generations
<i>Pista</i>	pistachio, a dry fruit
<i>Pitna/siapa</i>	beating of breast and thighs
<i>Pitr</i>	forefathers or ancestors
<i>Piyaz</i>	onion
<i>Pooja</i>	worship
<i>Poshaak</i>	dress
<i>Post</i>	a poppy plant
<i>Pothi</i>	tome; volume
<i>Potli</i>	bundle; packet
<i>Prachand</i>	intensify
<i>Pragas</i>	progress; birth
<i>Prashad</i>	sweetmeat offered to the deities
<i>Prasoot</i>	delivery
<i>Prem/Param Janeo</i>	sword belt
<i>Prem Sumarag</i>	a lengthy prose Rahitnama, also referred to as the <i>Param sumarag</i>
<i>Prind</i>	bird
<i>Prithme</i>	firstly
<i>Puja</i>	worship
<i>Pulao</i>	rice dish flavoured with spices to which vegetables, meat, poultry or fish may be added
<i>Punji</i>	money; earning
<i>Puranmasi</i>	the full moon night; the end of a lunar month; an important festival for the Panth
<i>Puttr</i>	son
<i>Pyjama</i>	trouser
<i>Qanungo</i>	a hereditary keeper of the revenue records at the pargana or the talluqa level; superintendent of the village

	patwaris (village surveyors and accountants); official who keeps an account of the tenures under which land is held
<i>Ragi</i>	a singer of the verses of the <i>Sikh</i> scripture
<i>Rahdari</i>	road toll; a transit duty; passport
<i>Rahit</i>	way to live; practice; the code of belief and conduct of the <i>khalsa</i>
<i>Rahitnama</i>	code of conduct for amritdhari Sikhs; a manual of Rahit
<i>Raja</i>	a king, also the title
<i>Ramai/Ramna</i>	indulges; be involved
<i>Rath</i>	a carriage; a chariot
<i>Rauns/Rons</i>	shelf
<i>Raza</i>	acceptance; contentment; will of God
<i>Razamandi</i>	consent; willingness; readiness
<i>Reetan</i>	pre-birth rites
<i>Rijhavna</i>	fascinate; enchant
<i>Rinn</i>	loan
<i>Rizq</i>	livelihood; subsistence; support; provision; nourishment
<i>Roti</i>	chapatti
<i>Rozgaar</i>	employment; livelihood
<i>Rozname</i>	daily record; daily log or register
<i>Rukhsat</i>	send off; valediction; departure
<i>Rutt</i>	season
<i>Ruzu</i>	approach; present
<i>Saag</i>	green rape
<i>Saak</i>	relation
<i>Saang</i>	guise
<i>Sabab</i>	reason; cause
<i>Sadhu</i>	a saint; a monk; a mendicant; an ascetic
<i>Sagai</i>	engagement
<i>Saha</i>	propitious time or date for marriage and other auspicious events
<i>Sahai</i>	helpful

<i>Sahaj</i>	the condition of ultimate bliss resulting from the practice of naam simran
<i>Sahaj naal</i>	slowly
<i>Sakhi</i>	witness
<i>Sakhti kare</i>	enforcement; coercion
<i>Salu</i>	red coloured embroidered cloth generally used by brides; a kind of cloth used as head dress by the ladies also used for turbans by boys
<i>Saluna:</i>	salted or tasty cooked food, also a plant common in arid places in salt range and the Trans-Indus region, which is eaten raw and in some places used as a potherb
<i>Salvar</i>	pantaloons made exceedingly full except at the ankles; a female lower wear; baggy trousers
<i>Samagri</i>	commodity; stuff; material; ingredients
<i>Samipi</i>	personal attendant
<i>Sanghar</i>	to destroy
<i>Sangion</i>	companions
<i>Sangrahan</i>	accumulation; collection
<i>Sanjog</i>	marriage
<i>Sanjog wali</i>	legally married
<i>Sankar</i>	narrow
<i>Sankrant</i>	the first day of the month according to bikrami era also called sangrand
<i>Sannyasi</i>	one who renounced the world; a general term for a religious ascetic particularly of the Shaiva faith
<i>Sansi</i>	gypsy and nomadic caste of <i>Sikhs</i>
<i>Sant Sipahi</i>	one who combines piety with the bravery of the soldiers
<i>Sant Khalsa</i>	Baba Ram Singh laid the foundation stone of the new socio-religious order called the <i>san-khalsa</i> . <i>Sant-khalsa</i> means a Singh, a Saint, who is pure in words, thoughts, deeds and has been blessed with Gurumantar by the Guru
<i>Sanyasi</i>	monk; ascetic
<i>Saranjam</i>	arrangement; fulfilment; an act of carrying into effect

<i>Sarasahis</i>	approximately the sixth part of a kilogram
<i>Sardar</i>	a chief; a headman
<i>Sarpech</i>	a silver lace ornament attached to a turban
<i>Sarwarna</i>	moving money round the head of someone whose well being is wished and then given away
<i>Saskar</i>	cremation
<i>Satguru</i>	the 'True Guru'; the supreme Guru
<i>Saudagiri</i>	mercantile; trade
<i>Sawar</i>	a horseman
<i>Sawari</i>	conveyance; ride; vehicle; transport
<i>Saya</i>	shed; shadow
<i>Ser</i>	seer (a measure of weight approximately equivalent to one kilogram)
<i>Sehndi</i>	tolerate; bear
<i>Sehra</i>	a chaplet; a golden lace hanging on the forehead of the groom
<i>Seja</i>	bed
<i>Sepidar/Sepi</i>	one who renders service; a traditional family servant
<i>Shahukar</i>	a wealthy businessman; a money lender
<i>Shak</i>	doubt
<i>Shakti</i>	power
<i>Sharah</i>	rate (of assessment); value; price
<i>Sharan</i>	asylum; shelter; refuge
<i>Shastra</i>	the Hindu holy code; religious books of Hindus
<i>Shingaar</i>	make up; adornment
<i>Shiqdar</i>	head of pargana and responsible for maintaining law and order
<i>Shitaab</i>	speedy; directly; quickly
<i>Shoorbir</i>	brave
<i>Sikhni</i>	baptized <i>Sikh</i> women
<i>Sindhur</i>	vermillion
<i>Sipahgiri</i>	soldiering
<i>Sirjeya</i>	made; created
<i>Sir mund kar</i>	head shaving

<i>Sog</i>	condolence; gloom or mourning
<i>Sravano</i>	ears
<i>Sri Sahib</i>	iron sword (mandatory article of faith for <i>amritdhari</i> Sikhs)
<i>Subuddhi</i>	wisdom
<i>Suhagan</i>	a deserving wife who is cherished by her husband; married woman
<i>Sumanas</i>	good person; good natured
<i>Suniar</i>	a goldsmith
<i>Surkhroo</i>	to succeed; being marked by a favourable outcome
<i>Surat</i>	knowledge, conscious
<i>Susati</i>	lethargy
<i>Suthan</i>	loose trousers worn by women
<i>Susi</i>	a particular kind of hand-woven cloth of mixed cotton and silk with stripes of bright colours generally used by women as a part of their dress
<i>Tabela</i>	stable
<i>Tadka</i>	fry; tempering
<i>Tafawat</i>	difference; variation
<i>Taghaful</i>	carelessness; negligence
<i>Tahmul</i>	courage; patience; relaxed; slowly; unhurried
<i>Tahqeeq</i>	inquiry; investigation; verification
<i>Tajna</i>	abandon; quit; to give up; to leave
<i>Takhta</i>	a wooden plank bier for carrying the corpses
<i>Talabdar</i>	claimant; a seeker
<i>Tama</i>	proud
<i>Taneyya</i>	stretched
<i>Taqeed</i>	instruct; warn
<i>Taraf</i>	the primary division of a viillage
<i>Tarazookashi</i>	shop keeping
<i>Tareef</i>	praise
<i>Tarkari</i>	vegetable
<i>Tarkhan</i>	a carpenter
<i>Tasbih</i>	a string of beads used in praying and meditating

<i>Tatparaz</i>	meaning; gist; sense
<i>Tawafat</i>	difference
<i>Tazeem</i>	showing adoration; honour; deference
<i>Tehsildar</i>	a revenue collector; head of a <i>Tehsil</i> under British
<i>Thaur</i>	place
<i>Thikane laye</i>	to dispose
<i>Tikka</i>	a small pendent, a female ornament worn on forehead also called sir mang
<i>Tilak:</i>	a religious spot or mark, generally of sandalwood paste, worn on the forehead by Hindu males or females
<i>Tin gun</i>	the three guna or constituents of Indian philosophy, viz. sattava (goodness), rajas (passion) and tamas (darkness)
<i>Tithi</i>	suitable date
<i>Topi</i>	a hat or cap
<i>Trilok</i>	heaven, earth and the underworld
<i>Triphala</i>	(three fruits) is an ayurvedic herbal rasayana formula consisting of equal parts of three myrobalans, taken without seed: Amalaki, Bibhitaki, Haritaki
<i>Triya</i>	young woman
<i>Tulai</i>	light quilt
<i>Tun</i>	red cedar
<i>Tuzak</i>	memoir; confessions; memory
<i>Ubtan</i>	body scrub made of turmeric, gram flour and herbs
<i>Udhaar</i>	liberalize
<i>Udhaarne</i>	to absolve; to free from confinement or evil
<i>Ukhakaal</i>	dawn
<i>Ungh</i>	drowsiness
<i>Unthh</i>	camel
<i>Upchar</i>	behaviour (social); treatment
<i>Updesh</i>	sermon; teaching
<i>Uzar</i>	accusation; allegation
<i>Vand</i>	distribution
<i>Var</i>	a day of the week; also a genre of Punjabi poetry
<i>Varna/baran</i>	the fourfold order in the Brahminical system

<i>Vitti</i>	financial; monetary
<i>Wakhat</i>	time
<i>Waris</i>	heir; successor
<i>Watna</i>	a mixture of oil and some fragrant substances having the property of making skin soft
<i>Zahir</i>	show; disclose; declare
<i>Zamindar</i>	a landholder
<i>Zamini</i>	a surety or guarantee
<i>Zamni Bhakheya</i>	language of foreigners; used for <i>Greek</i> or <i>Persian</i> language; common language
<i>Zat</i>	caste; an endogamous group
<i>Zavaid</i>	excess
<i>Zeera</i>	cumin seed
<i>Zenana</i>	the apartment of a house in which women of the family were secluded
<i>Zinas</i>	crops

INTRODUCTION

The *Prem Sumarag* is primarily considered as a popular source on the Sikh *Rahit Maryada*. Its significance can be judged from the fact that almost all the modern scholars of the Sikh history have used it frequently and authoritatively while writing on the Sikh polity as well as on Sikh *Rahit Maryada*. This account, strictly speaking, not only deals with Sikh *Rahit Maryada*, as generally viewed by the scholars but also speaks much more on other aspects concerning the Sikh society such as norms of idealistic Sikh state and its economic concerns. Of course, there is difference of opinion among the scholars regarding its date of compilation and to some extent its authorship. Therefore, *Prem Sumarag* needs to be studied comprehensively from historical point of view.

The numerous manuscript copies of the *Prem Sumarag* are scattered in various locations in India and abroad. Shamsheer Singh Ashok, an employee of *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)*, Amritsar in his work: *Punjabi Hath-likhtan Di Suchi* mentions only three manuscript copies of *Prem Sumarag*, one at the Brijesh Bhawan, Nabha founded by veteran Sikh scholar Kahan Singh, written in the eighteenth-century, the second one lying at Punjab Sahit Akademi, Model Town, Ludhiana, dated Samvat 1931 (1872-73 A.D.), which claimed to have been copied from an earlier manuscript dated Samvat 1758 (1701-02 A.D.) and the last in the possession of Professor Pritam Singh of Patiala, presumably it is 125 years old manuscript. There is another important copy of manuscript of the *Prem Sumarag* is available in the Guru Hargobind Library at Ludhiana, dated Samvat 1872 (1815 A.D.). The Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College, Amritsar does have two copies of this manuscript, but both contain only one chapter.

According to McLeod, this work has been written by the anonymous person or persons of *khatri* caste. Bhai Randhir Singh in the introduction of second edition of the *Prem Sumarag* published in 1965 mentions that it was written by a person at the beginning of eighteenth century being contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh or his learned associate, Bhai Mani Singh, but gives no decisive explanation in support of this argument. Professor Harbans Singh in the *Encyclopedia of Sikhism* refers to that this work has been written by an anonymous writer. The close study of *Prem Sumarag* and references in the text do reveal that this work was composed by an

unknown person of non-*tat khalsa* ideology, who nowhere in the text of the *Prem Sumarag* refers to his name.

The *Prem Sumarag*, however, is not without problems and of these the important one is the date of its compilation. Bhai Randhir Singh speaks of 1874, however further he mentions that later he discovered another copy of manuscript of this work, dated Samvat 1758 (1701 A.D.). The editor has not gone into the possible explanation of the year 455 *kaliyug* mentioned in the *Prem Sumarag*. However, he is of the view that the work was written sometimes between 1708 and 1759 without any explanation to it. Dr. Mohan Singh flushed with his rediscovery of this interesting piece of Punjabi prose. He has underlined its importance by characterizing the period between the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708 and the birth of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1780, as the age of *Prem Sumarag* as he emphasized it in a chapter of his book "*An Introduction to Punjabi Literature.*" This view is upheld by Dr. Bhagat Singh, Dr. Fauja Singh and Professor J.S. Grewal. Admittedly, this has been the majority view in the past.¹

Others, more hesitant, felt that *Prem Sumarag* properly belonged to the late eighteenth century. Yet others believed that it should be located in the period of early nineteenth century. A few also favour this view but they included two very impressive figures, namely, Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha and Principal Teja Singh. There is another group of scholars who maintains that *Prem Sumarag* dates from the British period, which was commenced from 1849. It includes Dr. Surjit Singh Hans and his student Gurpreet Kaur. Interestingly, Professor J.S. Grewal, who earlier supported Dr. Hans view point, however, later modifying his earlier view, admits in his 1982 edition of his work "*From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Essays in Sikhism*"², that the *Prem Sumarag* was composed by an anonymous writer during the time of early eighteenth century. Subsequently, W.H. Mcleod has also joined this school of thoughts. Nevertheless, the date of composition of *Prem Sumarag* is still a debatable issue and requires further research to reach the more justifiable and acceptable conclusion.

¹ W.H. Mcleod, '*Prem Sumarag: The Testimony of a Sanatan Sikh*', Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 4

² J.S. Grewal, '*From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Essays in Sikhism*', (2nd ed.), Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1982

It is the endeavour of Bhai Randhir Singh that it has been exhumed and made available to the scholars and theologians of the Sikhs for writing their treatise or manual on the *Sikh Rahit Maryada*. Bhai Randhir Singh, an employee of the *Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar (SGPC)* accidentally in 1940 came by a partly mutilated manuscript which he revised with the help of another manuscript preserved in the Public Library, Lahore (now in Pakistan). The original in the Public Library, Lahore is simply dated 22nd *Vaisakh* without mentioning any year of its composition. Bhai Randhir Singh edited it with an elaborate introduction which was subsequently published by the Sikh History Society, a research organization of the *SGPC* in 1953. A second edition of it was brought out by the New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965, which is now widely in public domain. So many manuscripts of the *Prem Sumarag* are now unlikely to be accessible to general public, including scholars. How this work came to be called *Prem Sumarag* is not explained by the editor in his introduction while a few chapter-endings repeatedly with *Param Marg* i.e. the great way whereas *Prem Sumarag* would mean the beautiful way of love.

This work has now been duly recognized by the scholars and theologians of the Sikhs; however, no serious attention has been paid on its in-depth study, may be for the reason that the details of this work are dominated by non-*tat khalsa* version. A few research articles did appear in different research journals but no composite and serious endeavor has been put up to bring its actual historical worth.

The critical literature on the *Prem Sumarag* is very meagre. Bhai Randhir Singh is the only scholar to study the *Prem Sumarag* in detail. Not only he has edited the work but also dealt with internal evidence it contains besides a comprehensive introduction. His chief interest is in equating it with the *khalsa* way of life and also sees its relevance for political aspiration and politics of the Sikhs in India's post-independence period as it has been motivational force of political change in the past. But his method is not historical. He has no idea that the significance of the work lies in the time of its writing. He fails to realize the mounting influence of *Sanatan* views in the *Prem Sumarag* and its wider implications. Being an employee of the apex religious body of the Sikh community (*SGPC*) completely dominated by the *tat-khalsa* ideology, he does idealize the work but does not let him go deep into the work which sufficiently contains matters quite opposite to that ideology.

The tradition of Bhai Randhir Singh in assessing the work without keeping the historical methodology in mind was continued by some other scholars too. Their literary criticism is more or less conventional and lacking in a historical approach. A few other scholars have also made references to the *Prem Sumarag*, but their approach is just introductory.

The *Prem Sumarag*, though well known now to the students and scholars of Sikh history and religion but has not been given much attention to its in-depth study. Of course, it is an important work of historical significance. Its importance can easily be gauged from the fact that in the late nineteenth century, Baba Ram Singh, undisputed leader of Namdhari sect, had emphatically recommended this work to his followers to adopt it as a revealed book to regulate their religious, social and political way of life. Bhai Kahan Singh of Nabha had published extracts from this manuscript of *Prem Sumarag* in an anthology of Sikh codes of conduct (*rahitnama*). The *Prem Sumarag* has been published by the New Book Company, Jalandhar as described above, for its wider use by the historians and researchers including public. Among the historians of Sikhism, however, Principal Teja Singh is perhaps the only one who had thought of the *Prem Sumarag* as a source of Sikh history.

The Historical Analysis of the *Prem Sumarag*, under present study is strictly based on the printed version of the *Prem Sumarag* published by New Book Company in 1965. It is in old Punjabi language in *gurmukhi* script evoking a model of Sikh way of life. Apparently, it is a kind of *rahitnama* attempting to prescribe detailed norms of religious behavior to be imbibed by all the initiated Sikhs (*sant-khalsa*) in their daily life. Apart, it also provides a comprehensive model of Sikh polity with details concerning civil, economic and military management required for the ideal Sikh state. Its author emphasizes that the code of conduct he is elaborating in the *Prem Sumarag* has a divine sanction, hence indispensable for all the initiated Sikhs to abide by its instructions being necessary to fulfill the mission for which the *khalsa panth* was actually created by Guru Gobind Singh.

For comprehensive and systematic study of the proposed work i.e. *Historical Analysis of the Prem Sumarag* has been attempted in the present study which consists of five chapters as elaborated below:

Chapter I: In this chapter an attempt has been made to bring out the historical context to know the historical and prevailing circumstances under which the author had to compose this work popularly known amongst the historians' fraternity as *Prem Sumarag*. Also to know the social and political milieu which paved the way to make it a hot topic of research and usage. Precisely the *Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)*, the legal representative body of the Sikhs during the pre-independence period set up various commissions to formulate a new and authentic *rahitnama* based on *tat-khalsa* version for the Sikhs being a distinct and independent politico-religious community. Even former *rahitnamas* like that of Bhai Nand Lal, Desa Singh and Chaupa Singh were not sufficient for the purpose. During post-independence period, the *SGPC* renewed its pilot project to prepare an authentic *rahitnama* to redefine the identity of the Sikhs as an independent and separate community like that of the Hindus and the Muslims. In this connection, the *SGPC* commissioned Randhir Singh, its employee to search out an authentic *rahitnama* of *tat-khalsa* ideology. He ultimately discovered a fragment of the manuscript of *Prem Sumarag*, which he subsequently revised and completed with the help of another manuscript then lying in Public Library at Lahore (now in Pakistan) during the period following 1940. Randhir Singh edited it with a detailed introduction, which was first published by *Sikh History Society*, a research organization of *SGPC*, in 1953 during the peak of Punjabi Suba agitation in 1950s. With negligible changes, Randhir Singh after his retirement got it published through New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965. Ever since it had become better known amongst scholars and others, who are interested in Sikh history of theology. Obviously, it was a radical innovation. The *Prem Sumarag*, though is now well known to the scholars of history and Punjabi literature, however, yet it has not been given much attention which it actually deserves. Whereas the *SGPC* has abandoned it may be for the reasons that a large details of this work are dominated heavily by the non-*tat khalsa* ideology.

Chapter II: There is no reference direct or indirect inside the body of the *Prem Sumarag* regarding who authored this work and when he composed it. These are the important ingredients to assess the actual historical worth of a literary work. Therefore, an attempt has been made in this Chapter to know who the actual author of the *Prem Sumarag* was and the period of its compilation. Also, to know what kind of sources may have been utilized by its author while he composed it and what were the

times and circumstances in which he was born and brought up which ultimately shaped his personality and thoughts as a whole and prompted him to compose the *Prem Sumarag*. Besides, in this chapter, the actual identity of Bhai Randhir, the editor of *Prem Sumarag* has also been delineated, because his name is generally confused with that of Bhai Randhir Singh of *Akhand Kirtani* tradition. It is also attempted to explain as to how the style and nature of the injunctions (bcn) of 1st Chapter of *Prem Sumarag* reveals that these were written in such circumstances when the Sikhs had lost their political power (*khalsa raj*) and their enlightened leader (*mard ka chela*) was creating a class of warriors (*sant-khalsa*) so as to wage life and death struggle to oust the alien ruler (*malechh* means the British). The vernacular specific terms such as *mard ka chela*, *sant khalsa* and *malechh* used in the *Prem Sumarag* have been delineated to clarify that these were purposely used for Baba Ram Singh, his followers and British Indian Government respectively. It certainly facilitates to reach the justifiable conclusion that the *Prem Sumarag* would have been written in the late nineteenth century by the *mard ka chela* (Baba Ram Singh) to infuse valor and enthusiasm in his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to wage constant struggle to oust the British Indian Government (*malechh*) from the Punjab so as to recover the lost political power thereby re-establishing the *khalsa raj*.

Chapter III: The detailed study of the *Prem Sumarag* has been made in chapter third of present study with a view to explain what kind of variety of information it contains on the Sikh society. It throws a lot of information on different aspects of Sikh society such as dwellings, foods, occupations, marriage ceremonies, initiation ceremony of male and female, widow remarriage, sexual relationship, physical hygiene of male-female, extra marital relations, birth ceremonies, emphasis on education to girls, Punjabi in *gurmukhi* script being as an official language, social behaviour, social evils, slavery, funeral ceremonies and many more. Interestingly, the *Prem Sumarag* contains a great deal of reformative information quite contrary to the ethos and values of the existing and earlier societies. Therefore, an attempt has been made as to how much the author was influenced with the reforms promulgated by the British Indian Government in its all Indian territories to reshape them in the *Prem Sumarag*.

Chapter IV: This chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* is considered as detailed blue print of norms of ideal Sikh state which in fact has been conceptualized by the author

in his work. The details of the nature and character of a King of an ideal Sikh state along with the higher social behavioural values and faithful obedience of King's command by his subjects have been explained in it. The nature of punishment ranging from minor to capital punishment in case of violation of state laws have also been described carefully.

Chapter V: Factually, the *Prem Sumarag* provides vast range of information on social and religious aspects of the Sikh society. Nevertheless, it contains a small quantity of evidences regarding economic condition but it reflects over all view of economy of the times of the author. Therefore, an attempt has been made to find out what kind of information the author of *Prem Sumarag* provides on economic management proposed to be enforced in the ideal Sikh state and what economic activities of the people of the state would perform.

A conclusion is strictly based on the outcome of in-depth study of printed version of the *Prem Sumarag* of 1965 as discussed in the body of text of present study, has been described in the last.

In addition, a glossary of non-English words used during the course of present study has been added so that the persons who do not know the meaning of such vernacular words can be able to understand them while he or she happens to use it for the purpose.

The relevant primary and secondary sources available in different languages scattered over different places of India as well as abroad have first been identified then used accordingly while pursuing my doctoral research and completing it. A bibliography containing these very sources have also been annexed.

From the above explanation, it is quite understandable that no serious and systematic in-depth study of the *Prem Sumarag* has previously been made to analyze its text and establish its authenticity for knowing its virtual historical significance. The *Prem Sumarag* is not an ordinary work of historical literature; therefore, its historical analysis for underlining its actual and factual historical importance has been carefully attempted in the present study.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

We have a substantial primary and secondary sources concerning to the *Prem Sumarag*. Undoubtedly, enough literature has been produced by various writers and scholars in various languages such as English and Punjabi. Prominent among them are displayed as below:-

1. ***Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka*** by Bhai Kesar Singh Chhibber: He belonged to the Chhibber Brahman family who enjoyed prestige in the retinue of Guru Gobind Singh. It contains the life details of all the Sikh Gurus. He completed the *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka* in 1769.
2. ***Chaupa Singh Rahitnama***: It is the earliest and longest *rahitnama* on Sikh *maryada* in Punjabi, later translated and edited by W.H. McLeod, initially published at University of Otago Press, (New Zealand) in 1987. Its original and first copy was completed on 7th Jeth, 1757 (1700 A.D.) and approved by Guru Gobind Singh himself. The *rahitnama* that now appears under the name of Chaupa Singh does not seem to be the copy of the same. It would have produced between 1740 and 1765. Chaupa Singh was a Chhiber Brahman by caste; therefore, his work is influenced by brahminical thoughts and rituals.
3. ***Guru Partap Suraj Granth*** by Bhai Santokh Singh: He was a reputed Sikh poet and scholar. On invitation, he joined the services of chief of erstwhile Kaithal Sikh state now a District headquarters in Haryana State, as court poet in 1825 where he completed the work during 1835-1843. It is a detailed work containing 51829 verses. It contains the description of lives of last nine Sikh Gurus and Banda Bahadur Singh, who established first Sikh sovereign rule in 1710s'. It is in fact a sequel to his own earlier work '*Nanak Parkash*' completed in 1823 at Buria town now in Haryana State, describing therein the life of Guru Nanak, who founded Sikh religion.
4. ***Guru Bilas Patshahian 10*** written by Koer Singh: It is generally believed to have been written 43 years after the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1751 and considered to be a contemporary of Bhai Kesar Singh Chhibber, who wrote the *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka* in 1769. In fact, it is a product of the late nineteenth century during the times of Kuka movement spearheaded by Baba Ram Singh as revealed by Dr. Parminder Singh in his research on the basis of

which a Ph. D. Degree has been awarded to him by the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar in 2009.

5. **Nanak Parkash** by Bhai Santokh Singh: He completed it in 1823 at Buria now in Haryana State, describing therein the life of Guru Nanak, who founded the Sikh religion. Dr. Sabinderjit Singh Sagar completed his Ph.D. Degree on it which was subsequently published in book form by the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar in the year of 1993.
6. **Prachin Panth Parkash** by Rattan Singh Bhangoo: He was the grandson of Sardar Mehtab Singh Mirankotia, who killed Massan Ranghar in the holy precinct of Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple) to liberate it from sacrilege created by the marauders. He wrote his work at the instance of a British officer posted at British residency at Ludhiana and completed it in 1841. It is considered to be an authentic and reliable source of Sikh history after the Guru period. It contains the history of the Sikhs from Guru Nanak Dev Ji to the establishment of sovereign rule by Sikh *sardars* between rivers Attock to Yamuna in late eighteenth century. Later it was edited by Bhai Vir Singh, published at Wazir Hind Press, Amritsar in the year of 1914.
7. **Prem Sumarag Granth**: Bhai Randhir Singh, an employee of *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)*, discovered its partial manuscript which he subsequently revised and completed it with the help of another complete copy of it then lying in Public Library, Lahore (Pakistan). He worked on it and edited it with an elaborate introduction which was first published by the Sikh History Society, a research organization of the *SGPC*, Amritsar in the year of 1953. Thereafter its second edition was also brought out by a private firm, namely New Book Company, Jalandhar in the year of 1965 and is in public domain ever since. It is considered to be a very important source of evidence especially on Sikh code of conduct (*rahitmaryada*) but equally controversial too as the historians and scholars of the Sikhs sharply differ especially regarding its date of compilation positioning it from early eighteenth century to late nineteenth century. In order to clinch the issue to the satisfaction of majority of Sikh scholars, hence, its historical analysis has been taken up in the present study.
8. **Prem Sumarag**: W.H. McLeod was one of the eminent scholars of Sikh studies. He translated ‘*Prem Sumarag*’ edited by Bhai Randhir Singh, in English with a comprehensive introduction under the title ‘*Prem Sumarag: The Testimony of a*

Sanatan Sikh' and published by the Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006. He was of the view that *Prem Sumarag* was written in early eighteenth century; however, he expected more deep and serious study on it from the prospective scholars to reach a convincing date of its compilation.

9. ***A History of the Sikhs:*** It is written by J.D. Cunningham in English and published first by Johan Murray Press, London in 1849. Later several reprints were published in India. He had first-hand information on the Sikhs as he spent many years in the Punjab and also an eyewitness to the First Anglo-Sikh war fought in 1845-1846. His work is one of the monumental works on the Sikhs ever written by a foreigner. It contains the history of the Sikhs from its origin (Guru Nanak Dev Ji) to the first Anglo-Sikh war. For his praise of the Sikhs and criticism of Lord Hardings' Punjab policy in his work, he was removed from the political service.
10. ***The Sikh Religion: its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*** in 6 volumes by Max Arthur Macauliffe originally published at Clarendon Press, Oxford (UK), 1909. Later several reprints were also published in India. He was a British officer and served on different important administrative posts in the Punjab during 1864-1893. It is said that he was so impressed with Sikh scriptures and way of life that he had converted to Sikhism in 1860s for which he was strongly reprimanded by the British employers.
11. ***Rites and Ceremonies of the Sikhs and the Sikh Sect*** by R. Leech, a Major in British army. He extensively quoted Sanatani views as referred in literature related to Sikhs in his 1844 report submitted to the British Government which was later published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1845. Nahar Singh edited it and published in Gurdwara Gazette, number 40.8, August 1969.
12. ***Prem Sumarg: a modern forgery:*** It is an illuminating article written by Prof. S.S. Hans, published in the *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference*, 16th Session, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1982, pp. 180-188. He is the first historian who sharply differs from earlier historians' views and comes out with a new argument that *Prem Sumarag* was a late-nineteenth century product when Punjab had come under British rule commencing from 1849.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:

The main objectives of the present study are as mentioned below:

1. To determine the authorship and date of composition of *Prem Sumarag*.
2. To know the historical and social background in which the author was born and brought up.
3. To make the text of *Prem Sumarag* under study more authentic and reliable by comparing it with the other copies of this work available in different libraries in India and abroad.
4. To justify as to why specific title of the work as *Prem Sumarag* has been chosen while this work does not specifically speak about it.
5. To know the purpose of author for writing the work because no work is written in historical vacuum.
6. To bring out the historical evidence it contains for wider use by the scholars and historians as well as the public.
7. To trace out the sources which the author might have used while composing his work.

NEED FOR STUDY:

1. The *Prem Sumarag*, however, is not without problems, and of these the important one are its date of compilation and authorship which are widely contested. Identification of author and fixing date of compilation of a literary work is an important and powerful instrument which helps to determine the actual and factual historical worth of the work.
2. The majority of scholars upheld that this work has been written in early 18th century. Others feel that *Prem Sumarag* properly belonged to the late eighteenth century while some favor the view that it is the product of early nineteenth century. Dr S.S. Hans in of Guru Nanak Dev University in his one article "*Prem Sumarag: a modern forgery*" published in the proceedings of *Punjab History Conference* in 1982, maintains that *Prem Sumarag* dates from 1849, after annexation of Punjab into British Empire.
3. But close study of the *Prem Sumarag* itself reveals that the work was composed in late nineteenth century during the time of *Kuka* movement. Hence, it needs

further research most importantly regarding to determine its authorship and era without which its actual historical worth cannot be ascertained satisfactorily.

SCOPE:

1. The *Prem Sumarag*, though is now well known to the scholars of history and Punjabi literature, yet it has not been given much attention which it actually deserves, may be for reasons that details of this work are dominated by non-*tat khalsa* ideology. A few research articles did appear in different research journals but no composite and serious endeavor has been put up to bring out its actual historical worth and more importantly for its authorship and date of writing.
2. Bhai Randhir Singh (1898-1972) is the only scholar, who edited it and also dealt with internal evidence it contains besides a comprehensive introduction which was first published by the *SGPC* in 1953, later by New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965, on which present research rests. But his method is not historical. He, in his introduction, makes a point that *Prem Sumarag* was written by a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh or his learned associate Bhai Mani Singh but gives no explanation in support of this argument. His chief interest was in equating it with the *khalsa* way of life and also sees its relevance for political aspiration and politics of the Sikhs in post-independence India. Therefore, he idealizes the work but did not let him go deep into the work. There is definitive scope of further research on this work.

PLAN OF WORK AND METHODOLOGY:

1. The proposed study is strictly based on printed version of the *Prem Sumarag* of 1965. What evidence the author provides on social, political and economic aspects in his work that has been verified with the evidence available in other contemporary, near contemporary and secondary sources.
2. If any discrepancy of any kind was found in the description of information of the author or any comment required to clarify any specific point have been given in the footnotes added at the end of the same page.
3. A glossary of local and indigenous words meaning non-English words used here and there in the text of the present study has also been given separately for better understanding the text. So that the persons who are not conversant with those

non-English could understand them while he or she happens to consult the research text for the purpose.

4. W.H. Mcleod and J.S.Grewal, the renowned Sikh historians have changed their earlier view points and unanimously are of the view that the *Prem Sumarag* was composed in early part of the early eighteenth century relying on the information contained in a incomplete copy of *Prem Sumarag* lying in British Library at London under catalogue number 26588 (19th century). It is humbly said that it does not seem to be correct interpretation of the information contained therein. The photocopies of those very documents have also been affixed at the end of text of present study for consideration and interpretation of all who have keen interest in the study of Sikh history and theology.

ABSTRACT

Numerous *rahitnamas* were written during Guru Gobind Singh's post-period, the *Prem Sumarag* is also considered to be one of the *rahitnamas* of the Sikhs. It prescribes detailed norms of religious behaviour to be imbibed by all the initiated Sikhs (*sant-khalsa*) in their daily life. Apart, it also provides a comprehensive details of Sikh polity concerning civil, economic and military management required to be enforced in the ideal Sikh state conceptualized by the author in the work. There are ten chapters and each *chapter* is further sub-divided into several injunctions (*bcn*) explaining the whole Sikh social order.

From historical point of view, the date of composition and authorship are very important ingredients without which the factual historical significance of a literary work cannot be assessed. The *Prem Sumarag*, however, is not without problems and of these the most important one is the date of its compilation which has been remained widely contentious issue. As far as authorship is concerned, there has been no debatable controversy amongst the scholars whatsoever. Most of them are in agreement that the *Prem Sumarag* was composed by an unknown Sikh writer while only W.H. Mcleod talks about person or persons of *khatri* caste being its author.

However, no in-depth study has been undertaken in this connection so far. In order to resolve the contentious issues of dating and also identifying the author, have been taken up in the present study: 'Historical Analysis of *Prem Sumarag*'. The present study is strictly based on the second edition of printed version of *Prem Sumarag* edited by Randhir Singh which was published by the New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965.

The style and nature of the injunctions of 1st Chapter of *Prem Sumarag* reveals that these were written in such circumstances when the Sikhs had lost their political power obviously *khalsaraj* and their enlightened leader (*mard ka chela*) was creating a class of warriors (*sant-khalsa*) so as to wage life and death struggle to oust the alien ruler (*malechh* means the British). The specific vernacular terms such as *mard ka chela*, *sant khalsa* and *malechh* used in the *Prem Sumarag* have been delineated to clarify that these terms were purposely used for Baba Ram Singh, his followers and British Indian Government respectively. If we put these terms together, it certainly facilitates to reach the justifiable and more convincing conclusion that the *Prem Sumarag* would have been written in the late nineteenth century during British rule by the *mard ka chela* (Baba Ram Singh) to infuse valour and enthusiasm in his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to wage constant struggle to oust the alien

rulers (*malechh*) from the Punjab so as to recover the lost political power of the Sikhs thereby re-establishing the *khalsa raj*.

Exact date of compilation of the *Prem Sumarag* is difficult to ascertain. However, no serious attempt has been made to mark out the period. Apparently, it would have been composed during the period falling between April 12, 1857 when Baba Ram Singh created his *sant-khalsa* on this auspicious day and July 20, 1863 when Baba Ram Singh was put under house arrest at his native village Bhaini Sahib, district Ludhiana for about four years by the order of British Punjab Government. In the meanwhile, a copy of partial English translation of the *Prem Sumarag* attributed to John Leyden had reached the British Library, London in 1865.

Interestingly, the timings, wordings, terminology and addressees are almost similar in both, the *hukamname* as well as the *Prem Sumarag*. Moreover, the name of the scribe/writer is also missing in the both documents. It is now established fact that Baba Ram Singh issued these *hukamname* to his followers while he was in Rangoon Jail (1872-1885). He frequently referred the *Prem Sumarag* as revealed scripture in several *hukamname* and strongly recommended it to his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to regulate their social life according to injunctions mentioned therein. Therefore, we can conveniently conclude that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* was no person other than Baba Ram Singh himself.

Etymologically, every word has its own origin. The use of word Tehsildar as administrative officer of a Tehsil (*pargana*) by the author in his work (*Prem Sumarag*) had actually coined by the British Punjab Government while introducing administrative reforms in the Punjab after its annexation to British Empire in 1849. Therefore, its specific reference in the *Prem Sumarag* compels to think that it would have been composed during the British rule, apparently during late nineteenth century.

CHAPTER-1

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Formation of Sikhs as distinct Social Entity:

Towards the beginning of Afghan rule (A.D. 1451-1526) which was in fact a minority Muslim community rule under which majority community, the Hindus especially peasantry was at receiving ends, Guru Nanak was born in 1469 AD at Nanakana Sahib, District Sheikhpura (now in Pakistan). After having widely travelled and interacted with various religious heads of different sects and religions during his travels (*udasis*), Guru Nanak permanently settled in early 1520s at Kartarpur (now in Pakistan) from where he started his mission to bring the people of all shades round his message of universality of God (*ek onkar*) and societal equality through his composition in center stage of human psychology quite different from Hinduism and Islam. In order to keep his mission continued for the salvation of others, he formally nominated his disciple Lehna as next Guru of his followers. It is considered to be the key event in the history of Sikhism. The chosen Lehna renamed as Angad, literally a part of Guru Nanak's body and metaphorically an extension of his mission. The choosing and formal installation of Guru Angad was the first step in the process which led to founding of the *khalsa*, and ultimately the emergence of a Sikh nation.¹

The mission started by Guru Nanak at Kartarpur had widely spread in the Punjab and become a distinctive socio-religious entity (*Sikh Panth*) under his four successors in the sixteenth century in a politico-administrative set up under the Mughal rulers by and large marked by peace and tranquility. However, frequent interference by Mughal administration in the affairs of *Sikh Panth* during the seventeenth century prompted the next five successors of Guru Nanak to make the *Panth* prepared militarily so as to resist the tyranny and interference of the Mughal government being necessary for its smooth growth and development. It ultimately led to the creation of the *Khalsa Panth* by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699 A.D. to meet the challenges from within the *Sikh Panth* as well as from outside.²

¹ Bhagat Singh, '*Sikh Polity in the 18th and 19th Centuries*', Oriental Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, p. 23

² N. Gerald Barrier, '*The Sikhs and their Literature 1849-1919*', Manohar Book Service, New Delhi, 1970, p. XVII

Before his death in 1708, Guru Gobind Singh while at Nanded in the Deccan abolished nomination of personal Guruship permanently and ordered it to be vested in the *Adi Granth* which enjoys the central place in the Sikh thought. Importantly, the decisions relating to the *Panth* started to be taken by the corporate body of the *khalsa*.³ After Guru Gobind Singh, Banda Singh Bahadur carried on his Guru's mission and very shortly succeeded in establishing first Sikh sovereign rule though short one replacing the mighty and cruel rule of the Mughals especially in the area of Sutlej-Yamuna divide during the first decade of eighteenth century and issued coins and seal in name of Sikh Gurus.⁴ Ultimately, Banda Singh Bahadur was captured by Abdus Samad Khan, Mughal Governor of Lahore province and sent to Delhi where he was ordered to be brutally executed in 1716 A.D.⁵ Although the achievements of Banda Singh Bahadur were short lived, but he is known to have left an everlasting impression on the history of the Punjab under the Sikhs. He issued coins, which were the token of sovereignty and political success of the *khalsa* in the name of the true God.

With the execution of Banda Singh Bahadur, Sikh sovereign rule was no more and the fortunes of the Sikhs were at the lowest ebb.⁶ However, the Sikhs under the banner of *dal khalsa* led by chosen commanders kept waging incessant long war of independence against the Mughal government despite severest punishment continued to be imposed on them by the respective Governors of Mughal province of Lahore. The Sikhs had to face serious challenges during this period of repression. They organized themselves equipped with arms so as to continue their struggle for the acquisition of political power necessary to save their distinct social identity. The Sikh struggle for survival brought many inflictions upon them after the death of Banda Singh Bahadur. They faced the onslaughts of both the Mughals and the Afghans. Meanwhile, Afghan ruler Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded India and ousted the Mughals from the Punjab and became its overlord and made his son Taimur Shah as Governor of Punjab in 1758, but it did not improve the situation.⁷

³ N. Gerald Barrier, '*The Sikhs and their Literature 1849-1919*', p. XVIII

⁴ J. S. Grewal, '*The Character of Sikh Rule*', *Miscellaneous Articles*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1974, p. 146

⁵ *-ibid-* p. 147

⁶ Indu Banga, '*Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late 18th and Early 19th Century*', printed at Dhawan Printing Works, New Delhi, 1978, p. 11

⁷ *-ibid-* p. 16

At this stage, the Marathas on the behalf of the Mughals appeared on the scene and captured the Punjab from Afghan Governor. Ahmed Shah Abdali had to engage in a decisive struggle against them which culminated in the battle of Panipat in January 1761 in which the Marathas were defeated and eliminated from the politics of the Punjab.⁸ Thus Sikh and Afghan struggle started for the supremacy of the Punjab. After Ahmed Shah Abdali's return to Kabul in May 1761, the Sikhs defeated his Governor of the Punjab and even the Sikhs razed all the territory between the Indus and the Sutlej and took possession of it.⁹ The Sikhs renewed their struggle vigorously for independence against the Afghans. Abdali tried his best to quell the Sikhs by inflicting many blows to the Sikhs. In this phase of suppression of Sikhs, he is said to have killed over ten thousands Sikhs in a battle fought near Malerkotla in 1762, popularly known as *vadda ghallughara*.¹⁰

By 1765, the Sikhs had become so strong that authority of Ahmed Shah Abdali was restricted to his camp.¹¹ Within a few weeks of Ahmed Shah's departure from Lahore, three Sikh *sardars* occupied the city and partitioned it among themselves. A coin was struck at Lahore to proclaim the sovereign status of the Sikh *sardars*.¹² The idea of self-defense had taken the place of self-rule.¹³ Ultimately Ahmad Shah Abdali had to relinquish his control over the Punjab in the early 1768.¹⁴ According to a contemporary, the territories of the Sikh *sardars* in late 1770s included whole of the former Mughal province of Lahore, three-fourth of the province of Multan and one-third of the province of Shahjaahanabad (present Delhi).¹⁵

Banda Singh Bahadur struggled against the Mughal government for the political ascendancy, which was continued by the Sikh *sardars* in the latter half of eighteenth century. This does reflect in the writings of the early eighteenth century. The common Sikh faith enabled them to take action collectively through the *Gurmata*s

⁸ Indu Banga, 'Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late 18th and Early 19th Century', p. 17

⁹ -*ibid*- 17-18

¹⁰ J. S. Grewal, 'The Character of Sikh Rule', *Miscellaneous Articles*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1974, p. 147

¹¹ Indu Banga, 'Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late 18th and Early 19th Century', printed at Dhawan Printing Works, New Delhi, 1978, p. 19

¹² *loc. cit.*

¹³ J. S. Grewal, 'The Character of Sikh Rule', *Miscellaneous Articles*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1974, p. 151

¹⁴ -*ibid*- p.147

¹⁵ Indu Banga, 'Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late 18th and Early 19th Century', printed at Dhawan Printing Works, New Delhi, 1978, p. 20

supposed to be passed at Amritsar.¹⁶ Even at the crucial times, the Sikhs fought against the Afghans for acquiring territories. On the similar pattern of Banda Singh Bahadur, the Sikh *sardars* also issued coins.¹⁷ The administration of Sikh *sardars* was replica of the Mughal administration. They were autonomous in their respective territories.¹⁸ Therefore, the head of every big and small principality wanted to increase their own resources at every cost.

During Afghan tussle, the Sikhs emerged victorious and the normal fear of Ahmed Shah Abdali (1748-1768), the Afghan invader had vanished altogether after 1768. After that they were engaged in struggle among themselves for individual aggrandizement. This period is recognized for supremacy of the Sikh *sardars*. When Maha Singh Sukarchakia died in 1792, the issue of ascendancy between the house of Bhangis and the house of Sukarchakia, the most powerful contemporary Sikh chiefs, was still unresolved. It was left for Ranjit Singh, son of Maha Singh Sukarchakia to settle the issue of supremacy and to unite numerous principalities into single whole.¹⁹ The occupation of Lahore in 1799 and thereafter Amritsar in 1802, religious capital of the Sikhs, by Ranjit Singh, largely at the cost of the Bhangis signalized the beginning of that process that paved the way for establishment of Sikh monarchy.

Rise of Sikh Monarchy:

Guru Nanak woke up the down trodden people by preaching his sermons, but the common bond of faith among the people was main obstruction in political cohesion. The invaders from northwest came to the plains of the Punjab and trampled it up to Delhi. At the time of Guru Arjan, the Sikhs had become distinct social group. Guru Gobind Singh had created stern discipline among the Sikhs.²⁰ No social group could ever come to the forefront without achieving political independence. So, the disciplined *khalsa* Sikhs tried to get hold of the economic resources of the state, besides acquiring political success. Ultimately, The Sikhs had emerged victorious among the various conflicting forces such as the Mughals, the Afghans and the

¹⁶ Muhammad Syed Latif, '*History of the Punjab*', Kalyani Publishers, New Delhi, 1997, p. 283

¹⁷ J. S. Grewal, '*The Character of Sikh Rule*', *Miscellaneous Articles*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1974, p. 151

¹⁸ *loc. cit*

¹⁹ Indu Banga, '*Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late 18th and Early 19th Century*', printed at Dhawan Printing Works, New Delhi, 1978, p. 22

²⁰ John Gordan, '*The Sikhs*', Language Department, Punjab, p. 117

Marathas. By 1765 A.D., the Sikhs emerged as the paramount political power, after occupying Lahore in 1765.²¹

There is a long list of Sikh *sardars* who had established themselves as sovereign rulers in the Mughal province of Lahore. Similarly, number of Sikh *sardars* in the Mughal province of Multan was equally large. The Sikh *sardars* in Delhi province were of two categories: those who originally came from the province Lahore and those who were local chiefs of Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Faridkot who belonged to Delhi province itself. The upper portion of Sutlej-Yamuna divide was largely occupied by the former and the lower portion by the latter.²² In fact, the Sikh dominions in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century were known for internal conflicts rather than expansion. The border dispute rose and social conflict had become frequent. They changed their loyalties for the sake of protection and expansion of their territories. There was a need of socio-political cohesion which was missing. The people had become fed up of the turmoil for the long time. Now they desired stability and peace which was the requirement of the time. Therefore, in this period of chaos and conflict, the socio-political cohesion was imperative for peace and tranquility which was ultimately provided by Ranjit Singh, the young chief of the Sukarchakia *misl*.

In fact, the creation of monarchy was the need of the hour, in which Ranjit Singh took the lead to success. He had clear idea of the sovereign singular Sikh *sardar* or Sikh state in his mind; therefore, he thought of subjugating various independent chiefs under his control.²³ After occupying Lahore and Amritsar, Ranjit Singh continued to annex the territories of Sikh *sardars* of Bari, Rachna and Chaj doabs in the Lahore kingdom. On Sada Kaur's imprisonment in 1821, the remnant of the possession of Jai Singh Kanhaiya was also annexed by Ranjit Singh. The only Sikh chief to retain his territories in the former province of Lahore was Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, the second successor of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.²⁴

In the province of Delhi, Ranjit Singh's success in uniting the Sikh dominions into single whole was partial and temporary. In 1807, the Dallewalia territories on the

²¹ Indu Banga, 'Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late 18th and Early 19th Century', printed at Dhawan Printing Works, New Delhi, 1978, p. 19

²² -*ibid*- p. 21

²³ Sita Ram Kohli, 'Main Phases of Early Sikh History', in 'The Khalsa over 300 Years: History and Ideology', J.S.Grewal and Indu Banga (eds.), Tulika Publishers, New Delhi, 2001, p. 5

²⁴ Indu Banga, 'Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late 18th and Early 19th Century', printed at Dhawan Printing Works, New Delhi, 1978, p. 24

east of the Sutlej were taken over. The Chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal, Shahabad, Buria, Kalsian and Ambala offered *nazrana* to Ranjit Singh and some of them received land on conditions suggestive of vassalage.²⁵ By 1807, the Sikh chiefs of Sutlej-Yamuna divide had accepted Ranjit Singh's suzerainty. Also, he had confiscated the possessions of Muslim chiefs of the region. However, the treaty of Amritsar signed with the British in 1809, obliged Ranjit Singh to relinquish everything except possession worth over four lakhs of rupees a year in Baddowal, Nurpur, Sanhewal, Bharatgarh and Bahlolpur.

Besides uniting the territories of the Sikh chiefs of the province of Lahore under his own sway, Ranjit Singh recovered the lost territories in the province of Multan in 1818 and established his own administration here. Ranjit Singh's penetration into the Punjab hills was also much more effective than that of his predecessors. Many of them were subverted and others were brought under his political control.²⁶

Ranjit Singh extended the Sikh dominions far beyond the limit dreamt of by his eighteenth century predecessors. The Afghan province of Kashmir an area of 20,000 square miles and worth more than 25 lakhs of rupees a year was conquered in 1819. By 1820, he had started leading expeditions across the Indus and realizing tributes. By 1831, however, he had annexed Dera Gazi Khan in his kingdom of Lahore. The administration of Peshawar, Bannu, Tonk and Dera Ismail Khan was taken over between 1832 and 1836. By 1837, Ranjit Singh had constructed a strong fortress at Jamrod on the mouth of Khaibar pass.²⁷ Ranjit Singh maintained the integrity of his dominions till his death in 1839.

Fall of the Sikh Empire:

Ranjit Singh had extraordinary qualities. He successfully unified the warring factions into a single whole as well as the different religious groups. No one could dare to challenge his command. However, his sons were not of that type, therefore, they could not succeed to keep the vast empire created by their father for more than a decade. After the death of Ranjit Singh, two major factions emerged at Lahore court. The first led by the Dogra brothers which was most influential while the second one by the Sikh aristocracy mainly consisting of the Sandhawalias, the Attariwalas and the

²⁵ Indu Banga, '*Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late 18th and Early 19th Century*', p.24

²⁶ -*ibid*- p. 25

²⁷ -*ibid*- p. 26

Majithias. The situation at Lahore Durbar had become uncertain and explosive when Chet Singh Bajwa started to disrespect the Dogra brothers which were not appreciated by Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh. Under a conspiracy hatched by Dogra brothers and Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, Chet Singh Bajwa was murdered on October 9, 1839 after about four months of sad demise of Ranjit Singh. Thereafter Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh assumed the reign of administration of Lahore Durbar in the name of his father Kharag Singh who died on November 5, 1840 due to overdrinking and over consumption of opium. Unfortunately, while Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh and others were returning to their residence after cremating his father, arch of the gate suddenly collapsed on their heads. Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh succumbed to his injuries and cremated.

After having discussion with senior members of the Council, Prime Minister Dhian Singh Dogra invited Prince Sher Singh to assume the power of the Lahore Durbar but the Sandhawalia Sardars were quite opposed to it as they were keenly interested in placing Chand Kaur, the widow of Kharag Singh, as queen. Chand Kaur was thus declared Maharani of the Lahore kingdom on December 2, 1840 by Sandhawalias group. Sher Singh and Dhian Singh Dogra were compelled to quit the capital.

Sher Singh was very popular among the army. He captured the fort and became the Maharaja of the Punjab and Dhian Singh his Prime Minister (*wazir-e-azam*). On September 15, 1843, Ajit Singh Sandhawalia shot dead Maharaja Sher Singh, Dhian Singh. The head of Partap Singh (son of Sher Singh) was chopped off by Lehna Singh. Under these circumstances, *khalsa* army stormed the fort and captured it. Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh were killed while Attar Singh Sandhawalia took asylum with the British across the river Sutlej. Dalip Singh, the youngest son of Ranjit Singh was proclaimed the next ruler of the Punjab and Hira Singh Dogra as his Prime Minister. Rani Jind Kaur popularly known in history as Rani Jindan (Mother of Dalip Singh) had become the queen mother and nominated his brother Jawahar Singh as his guardian.

The Lahore Durbar had become the hotspot of conspiracy and plotting. Since the murder of Sher Singh, the chaos and unrest were prevailing all around. The British Governor-General was watching the proceedings of Lahore Durbar very carefully and adopting precautionary measures of fortifying its garrisons situated on the other side

of river Sutlej for the protection of British frontier touching the bank of river Sutlej. Meanwhile, Hira Singh Dogra deployed troops on this side of the river Sutlej. Prince Peshaura Singh and Prince Kashmira Singh also staked their claims to the throne and revolted, however they were suppressed with heavy hands. Rani Jindan and his brother Jawahar Singh with the consent of army *panches* drove out Prime Minister Hira Singh Dogra from the capital and later he was murdered on December 21, 1844. Consequently, Rani Jindan took the reign of the court in her hands and appointed her brother Jawahar Singh as Prime Minister and Lal Singh as army commander for her assistance to drive the affairs of the Lahore Durbar.

There was a dramatic change in the politics of Lahore Durbar during this period of conflicts and murders. Gulab Singh Dogra was secretly negotiating with the authorities of East India Company for mutual help in the events of war between the Lahore Durbar and the British. Prince Peshaura Singh again entered the Punjab and captured the fort of Attock and declared himself as legitimate king. Chattar Singh Attariwala proceeded against him and killed him. The *khalsa* army did not like it and accused Rani Jindan of misuse of army for her personal interests and for appointment of her brother as Prime Minister illegally. The army *panches* summoned Jawahar Singh to explain his position. He did go there but refused to get down from the elephant where he was killed by the guards on September 21, 1845. The army *panches* took over the command of state affairs and started to act in the name of *khalsa* army.

In such uncertain and disturbing situations, Rani Jindan, Raja Lal Singh, the Prime Minister, Teja Singh, the *khalsa* army chief and several chieftains had made contacts with the British. The *khalsa* army took serious notice of the intrigues going on between the *khalsa* Durbar and the British. On December 11, 1845, *khalsa* army crossed the Sutlej.

The Governor-General of East India Company declared war against the *khalsa* army and possessions of Maharaja Dalip Singh in cis-Sutlej area were ordered to be confiscated and annexed to the British territories besides strict warnings to local chiefs for cooperation vide his proclamation issued on December 13, 1845. Several battles were fought between the British and the Sikhs, however, the battlefield of Sabroan was decisive where Raja Teja Singh, Commander-in-chief of *khalsa* Army

fled and the British gave crushing defeat to the *khalsa* army and thus first Anglo-Sikh war was over.

After defeating the *khalsa* army, the British made treaties, thereby weakening the Lahore Durbar. Of course, not only the territorial limits but also the very character of the kingdom of Lahore changed considerably after 1845. The Jalandhar doab was taken over by the British. Also some chiefs of several vassal territories of Sikh empire became vassals of the British. Jammu and Kashmir was given to Raja Gulab Singh Dogra as vassal of the British and a British Resident was posted at Lahore. The British made another treaty with the Lahore Durbar on December 16, 1846 whereby the British took over the administration of the Durbar from Rani Jindan and pensioned off her and moved her to Sheikhpura (now in Pakistan).

This move of the British was not appreciated by many chieftains. Apart, Bhai Maharaj Singh successor of Bhai Bir Singh spoke a volume against the British. So the unrest prevailed against the British which had become one of the causes that led to second Anglo-Sikh war (1848-1849). However, the immediate cause of the war was the revolt of Diwan Mulraj of Multan. Rani Jindan was implicated behind the conspiracy of Multan rebellion; therefore, she was imprisoned and sent to Banaras now in present Uttar Pradesh State. The British had also confiscated the *jagirs* of Chattar Singh Attariwala who had no option except to fight with British. His son Sher Singh also left the British and joined his father which got the support of other *sardars* for revival of lost Sikh power.

The battle of Chillianwala started on January 13, 1849 in which the *khalsa* army gave crushing defeat to the British army, but the battle at Gujrat ended with surrender of the Attariwalas to the British. Ultimately, the Punjab was annexed to the British Empire on March 29, 1849.

Ranjit Singh's successors maintained the integrity of his dominions till 1845, and even added a few small territories. But after first Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, of course, not only the territorial limits but also the very character of the kingdom of Lahore changed considerably and it was finally amalgamated in the British Empire in 1849. Reasons are very complex to define. The renowned historian Dr. G.S. Sardesai expressed the difficulty of many when he wrote "During my long studies in the history of India, it had ever been great puzzle for me to explain satisfactorily the

sudden fall of the great Sikh power so assiduously built up by the genius of Ranjit Singh.”

Thereafter, the British consolidated their power in the Punjab by introducing administrative reforms quite different from traditional monarchical system. Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India constituted a Board of Administration of three members consisting of civilian and military officers assigning them different portfolios, which at the very outset took in hand the task of suppression and coercion of the warlike people of the Punjab especially the Sikhs. First of all, eleven years old Maharaja Dalip Singh was made to resign himself and placed under tutelage of Dr. John Login who converted him to Christianity and sent to England in 1854. Thereafter, Maharani Jind Kaur, mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh was exiled from Punjab.

First of all, the British disbanded the *khalsa* army and a small number of troops were retained. For the protection of the north-east frontier, the Board recruited 12,000 men from the disbanded *khalsa* army. They were trained to fight in the hill territories.²⁸ For the internal security, the police was raised. It had to work with the traditional modes. The police and the army were comprised of 50,000 men.²⁹ Besides, very stern action were immediately started to be taken against the chiefs, *jagirdars* and influential classes who were neglected, lowered and crushed. The policy of severity was not confined to Sikh aristocracy and Sikh soldiers only but was applied with equal harshness to the common people of the Punjab. Within two months after annexation; the measures for disarming its people were promulgated and executed by the Board of Administration. All classes of people, other than the Europeans and government servants, were prohibited from keeping or carrying arms. Contravention of these rules was punishable with heavy fines and imprisonment.

Once the peace was established in the state, the Board of Administration started to execute public works. The Board set a new milestone in the field of agriculture. New varieties of crops were introduced as New Orleans cotton, sugarcane, flax seeds, tobacco and root crops. Besides, social reforms were also introduced. The female infanticide and practice of *sati* were forbidden. The marriage customs were also modified. Tehsildars were appointed to ensure the implementation of these reforms because they were familiar with the local customs.

²⁸ Sudarshan Singh, '*Punjab da Itihas (1849-1949)*', Punjabi University, Patiala, 1998, p. 22

²⁹ Khushwant Singh, '*A History of the Sikhs*', Vol. 2, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 91

The Board of Administration was abolished by Lord Dalhousie and John Lawrence was appointed as Chief Commissioner in 1853 to carry on the affairs of the Punjab. He recruited the Sikh peasantry in the company forces. The Sikhs had showed great valor and stamina in fighting against the Pathan tribesmen and in the Anglo-Burmese war of 1852. The British reaction to the Sikhs had changed considerably. Education department was established in 1856 and many central schools were opened for higher education. Indigenous education was also allowed to continue as usual. The British government was over all more ambivalent towards Sikhs because of their recent political prominence. Although the support from the former rulers and soldiers of Ranjit Singh's kingdom during the mutiny of 1857 assuaged some official misgivings. The continuing spirit of militancy of the Sikhs, however, was considered as a potential threat. The rulers accordingly took the Sikhs very seriously and yet tried to avoid them to be seen as either favored or distrusted.³⁰

As a matter of policy, the spirit of the *khalsa* was killed. Their language traditions, manners and customs were suppressed. According to the Administration Report (1849-1851), "The Sikh faith and ecclesiastical policy is rapidly going where the Sikh political ascendancy has already gone. These men joined [Sikhism] in thousands and they now deserted in equal numbers...the sacred tank at Amritsar is less thronged than formerly, and the attendance at annual festivals is diminishing yearly. Initiatory ceremony for adult persons is now rarely performed. Gurumukhi is rapidly falling into desuetude. The Punjabi language as a spoken language was also losing its currency, and degenerating into a merely provincial and rustic dialect."

Unsuccessful Sikh Resurgence:

Ranjit Singh was undoubtedly a staunch *khalsa* Sikh but his rule was of the minority community due to which he could not create a theocratic Sikh state as the alien Muslims could have done it. He had been frequently paying visits to religious places of the Hindus and Muslims and sanctioning liberal grants considering it imperative for the smooth running of the Sikh state. The Sikh society which had to some extent got rid of the Brahminical class and their rites and ceremonies during the early period of the Sikh history was entrapped by the same class.³¹ The Sikhs had shown a little interest in distinguishing themselves from the Hindus. Apart, the two

³⁰ N.Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement', in 'Sikh History and Religion in the 20th Century'(ed.), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p. 164

³¹ Khushwant Singh, 'A History of the Sikhs', Vol. 2, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 96

shared the same territory, language, dietary taboos, festivals, rituals and theological doctrines. In the census of 1855, in the Punjab, the Sikhs and Hindus were lumped together in many districts of the province. The Sikh identity was under complete challenge.

The continuing spirit of militancy of the Sikhs, however, was considered as a potential threat. The British Government had no faith in the Sikhs. Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General explicitly admitted in his correspondence that “the Sikhs would perhaps the one who would most readily think that a change be for their benefit. They did not get slackened and never for a moment gave up the idea of having tight military grip on the Punjab.”

Initially Baba Dayal (1783-1855), a *khatiri* from Peshawar, preached that God is one and formless (*nirankar*). He disapproved the pilgrimages and condemned the Brahminical rites and rituals. Baba Dayal preached his discourses in the presence of the *Adi Granth* till his death in 1855. His next successor was his eldest son Darbara Singh (died in 1870). He established preaching centers outside Rawalpindi. He also standardized the Nirankari code of conduct especially regarding birth, marriage and death ceremonies. These ceremonies were to be performed in tune with the spirit of the *Adi Granth* thereby bringing the Sikhs out of Brahminical influence. He was succeeded by his youngest brother Rattan Chand who was further succeeded by his son Gurdit Singh (died in 1947).

In this way, they created separate religious identity which was quite different from the Brahminical orthodoxy. It paved the way for Namdhari and Singh Sabha Movements, which was subsequently followed by other Sikh religious movements.

The Nirankari Code of conduct was adopted by Baba Balak Singh who subsequently founded a new sect called as Namdhari Sikh Sect. The followers of Baba Balak Singh were known as *jagiasi abhiasi*. He sermonized his followers to have faith in one God and worship His Name. He also stressed upon abstaining from social evils then deeply prevailing in all strata of society. His preaching inspired many people, among them was Baba Ram Singh who met him at Hazro in 1841 and became his disciple. Baba Ram Singh was in the employment of artillery wing of *khalsa* army of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh and stationed at Hazro. After disbandment of the *khalsa* army by the British after winning the first Anglo-Sikh War 1845-1846, Baba Ram Singh came back to his native village Bhaini Arian, district Ludhiana in present

Punjab and adopted his ancestral occupation of carpentry and along with started to preach the message of Baba Balak Singh.

Before his death, Baba Balak Singh nominated Baba Ram Singh as his legitimate successor to carry on his mission and headquarter was changed from Hazro to Bhaini Sahib. He introduced several reforms some compatible with *khalsa* tradition while others did not match with that. Baba Ram Singh wanted to launch an extensive campaign against the British with inside and outside help which subsequently assumed apolitical character and its aim was to resurrect the Sikh rule in the Punjab.³² In such ripe situation, the literature is such a potential instrument that will change the mindset of the human beings and permanently attach to the injunctions inscribed in that work of literature. Importantly, the *Sau Sakhi* besides *Prem Sumarag* regarded by the Namdharis as a prophetic book dictated to Guru Gobind Singh by Almighty God and descended upon Baba Ram Singh being his incarnation. It is recorded in it that the *khalsa raj* would be re-established soon and opponents would be wiped out. It had become very popular and inspiring book for the Namdharis. Baba Ram Singh himself and through his representatives (*Suba*) propagated the prophecies made in the *Sau Sakhi* and called upon his followers to achieve the goal referred therein. The British Government took a serious notice of it and considering it as a potentially subversive document and banned it. The British Government at Calcutta could not afford the royal life style and gathering of large number of good physiquess and well dressed Namdharis in the entourage of Baba Ram Singh. He was put under house arrest at Bhaini Sahib in 1863. In the meanwhile, some followers of Baba Ram Singh murdered some butchers and their families at different places. As a result many were summarily executed by the British while their Guru Baba Ram Singh was exiled to Rangoon where he peacefully passed away in 1885.³³ His mission of *khalsa raj* had failed miserably.

It is also at this time that in 1880s the exiled Maharaja Dalip Singh was struggling with the British Government for his return to India and was claiming his ancestral property in the Punjab. After a life of excess and conversion to Christianity, Maharaja Dalip Singh rediscovered the Sikh faith and reconverted in Aden where the British intercepted him and forbade his visit to India. Having failed in his endeavor,

³² Tilak Raj Sareen, 'Baba Ram Singh Kuka', in *The Sikh Review*, Calcutta, June, 1963, p. 15

³³ N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement', in 'Sikh History and Religion in the 20th Century'(ed.), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p. 166

he had left England for France and Russia to seek necessary help to fulfill his mission, and he died at Paris in 1893. A few Sikhs aligning with Maharaja Dalip Singh either were prosecuted or driven underground. In general, the issue receded, much to the nervous delight of the British and urban leadership of the Singh Sabha.³⁴

In the late nineteenth century, a growing body of the Sikhs took active part in a systematic campaign to redefine their faith and purge it of what they saw as Hindu accretions and a Brahminical stronghold over their rituals.³⁵ The leaders of Singh Sabha felt that under these circumstances, when the Government of the land suspected them and their own countrymen were trying to absorb them and wipe them out of existence, their safety lay only in organizing their people on the basis religion and seeking the assistance and cooperation of individual Government officials in the field of education. Importantly, the Lahore Singh Sabha program of strengthening the boundaries and self-identity of Sikhs became prominent as other Singh Sabha began to associate actively with the *neo-sikh* or *tat-khalsa* perspective. In addition to defending Sikhs against the Arya Samaj attacks, the Singh Sabha built schools and colleges, opened orphanages, established archives and historical societies and produced a flood of polemical and scholarly literature on Sikh tradition.³⁶

The Amritsar *Khalsa* Diwan convened a meeting of prominent Sikhs in November of 1901 to discuss creating a central body that would co-ordinate and lead the Singh Sabha. In 1902, *Chief Khalsa Diwan* was officially established and began with twenty-nine affiliated Sabhas and by 1920 had over a hundred member associations. During that time, the *Chief Khalsa Diwan* was involved in a range of activities and became accepted as a major spokesman for the Sikhs.³⁷

The Diwan took existing but often disparate Sikh organizations and linked them together in an effective communication system. Efforts were focused and information and ideas disseminated over time and space. This enhanced the sense of Sikh identity and opened up new paths of collaborative actions and also conflicts. Without the sustained efforts of the Diwan and Singh Sabhas, there would have been

³⁴ N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement', in 'Sikh History and Religion in the 20th Century'(ed.), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p. 166

³⁵ Harjot S. Oberoi, 'From Ritual to Counter-Ritual: Rethinking the Hindu-Sikh Question,(1884-1915)', in 'Sikh History and Religion in the 20th Century', (ed.), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p. 138

³⁶ N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement', in 'Sikh History and Religion in the 20th Century'(ed.), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p.171

³⁷ -*ibid*- p. 174

no dissemination of the Sikh rituals and no network that could be activated for legislation over *Anand Marriage* and no Akali challenge to the community. This was the major and significant contribution of *Chief Khalsa Diwan* in the resurgence of the Sikhs. It institutionalized the Singh Sabha's view of Sikhism as a separate religion with distinct rituals and tradition devoid of Hindu influence. Without that the mobilization of Sikhs spread across the world would have been impossible. There would have been no drive for protecting Sikh rights or assertion of community control over the *gurdwaras*.³⁸ The Hindu idols were there in the precincts of the Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple) which was ordered to be removed as late as in 1905 when Gurdwara Reforms Movement had taken place. Some enlightened leading personalities started to preach the cultural values.

To strengthen the view point that Sikhism is a separate nation and religion, the *Chief Khalsa Diwan* and *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)* during the period of 1910 to 1931 set up commissions to formulate a new *rahit-nama* and the performance of the life-circle rituals to be made integral part of *rahit*. This had not been the case with most of the former *rahit-namas* like that of Bhai Nand Lal, Desa Singh and Chaupa Singh. In the meanwhile, Randhir Singh, an employee of the *SGPC* discovered a fragment of the manuscript of *Prem Sumarag* which he subsequently completed with the help of another manuscript lying in public library in Lahore (now in Pakistan) during the period following 1940. He edited it with a detailed introduction, which was first published by Sikh History Society in 1953. With negligible changes, Randhir Singh got it published second time through New Book Company, Jalandhar in 1965. Ever since, it had become better known amongst scholars and others, who are interested in Sikh history of theology. Obviously, it was a radical innovation. Owing to this development, the *tat-khalsa* usurped the right to speak on behalf of the entire Sikh tradition and in doing so injected new definitions of religion and community among the Sikhs. The changes introduced by the latest *rahit-nama*, titled *Sikh Rahit Maryada* and published in 1950, were a tribute to the far-reaching implications of *tat-khalsa* thinking on the construction of personhood within the Sikh community during the present century.³⁹

³⁸ N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement', in 'Sikh History and Religion in the 20th Century'(ed.), p. 190

³⁹ Harjot S. Oberoi, 'From Ritual to Counter-Ritual: Rethinking the Hindu-Sikh Question,(1884-1915)', in 'Sikh History and Religion in the 20th Century', (ed.), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p. 155

CHAPTER-2

AUTHOR, SOURCES AND AGE OF *PREM SUMARAG*

Literature is not born in vacuum and it is of course a product of the time and mirror of the society in which the author lives and brings up. It carries the ethos of the time which is penned down by the author. Geographically, land of five rivers, popularly known as Punjab was dominated by two major distinct and quite opposite societies, the Muslims and the Hindus, the former was the ruler while the later the ruled. These communities have their own separate though conflicting codes of conduct thereby their relations with each other was always remained uncordial during medieval times. Out of this constant confrontation between these two societies for centuries, Guru Nanak, the leading teacher of the age (*jagat guru*) curved out a new community (Sikhs) towards the beginning of sixteenth century providing new ideals (*rahit*), the universality of God and equality of human beings. It was vigorously continued to be extended and strengthened by his nine successors.¹

Finally, the elevation of the Sikh community originated by Guru Nanak into the *khalsa panth* and dissolution of the personal *Guruship* was done by his last and ninth successor, Guru Gobind Singh towards the end of seventeenth century. It created a situation in which the *rahit*, the code of Sikh belief and practices, came into focus and evolved into the new genre called the *rahitnamas* in eighteenth century.²

At the outset, it will be reasonable to explain the actual identity of Bhai Randhir Singh, the editor of the *Prem Sumarag* under present study. His name is generally confused with that of Bhai Randhir Singh of *Akhand Kirtani* tradition who was born at Narangwal, district Ludhiana in 1878 and died in 1961,³ whereas Bhai Randhir Singh, the editor is absolutely a different person. Precisely, he was born in 1898 in Dhaliwal Jat Sikh family at village Doomchheri, District Rupnagar popularly known as Ropar in Punjab and died at the age of 74 years in 1972.⁴

¹ Gurinder Singh Mann, 'Five Hundred Years of the Sikh Educational Heritage', in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition*, (eds.) Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2005, p. 340

² -*ibid*- p. 341

³ Karnail Singh Somal, 'Bhai Randhir Singh Doomchheri', Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2018, p. 18

⁴ -*ibid*- p. 26-32

During First World War (1914-1918), he joined the British Indian army and left it in 1920. Thereafter, he worked in various vernacular Punjabi newspapers like *Kirti and Akali patrika* etc. Ultimately, he joined the regular services of the *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)*, the supreme body of the Sikhs with its headquarters at Sri Amritsar Sahib on February 15, 1927. Most of the time, he performed the duty of Gurudwara Inspector. In February, 1945, the *SGPC* established its own Sikh History Society and made Bhai Randhir Singh its incharge. After about thirty years of long service of *SGPC*, he retired in April, 1956. However, he was given re-employment by the *SGPC* in its Sikh History Society. He played vital role in establishing *SGPC* Sikh Reference Library which is the storehouse of all available manuscripts and other records relating to the Sikhs and Sikhism. Besides *Prem Sumarag* several other valuable works written and edited e.g. *Udasi Sikhan Di Vithia*, *Gur Parnali and Shabadarth Dasam Granths* tand in his name.⁵ He was an outstanding Sikh research scholar indeed.

Sadhu Singh Hamdard, founder of daily *Ajit*, Punjabi newspaper, in his note which he wrote for the second edition of *Prem Sumarag* published in 1965 confirms that Randhir Singh was an employee of the *SGPC* serving on the post of Gurudwara Inspector. He addresses him in his note as Sardar Randhir Singh. Being an employee of the *SGPC* and a religious person by nature, therefore, he is, out of regard and veneration, popularly known by the name of Bhai Randhir Singh.

The *Prem Sumarag* is usually known to be one of the *rahitnamas* of the Sikhs written during Guru Gobind Singh post-period. It was composed by an unknown Sikh author for the Sikhs. However, its authorship as well as its date of compilation is widely debatable. Of course, it contains *inter alia*, the code of belief and practices required for all who intended to be initiated into *khalsa* Sikh faith. In fact, it is very different kind of manual from most of other *rahitnamas* of the eighteenth century. As pointed out by a number of scholars, suggestions and ideas about Sikh *rahits* are in *Guru Granth Sahib* and in *Vars* of Bhai Gurdas composed in the seventeenth century. Such suggestions continued to be included in various kinds of Sikh literature during eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. At the same time, however, appeared the form of *rahitnamas*. W.H. Mcleod, renowned Sikh scholar, has observed that the

⁵ Karnail Singh Somal, '*Bhai Randhir Singh Doomchheri*', p. 30-42

rahitnamas record the Sikh *Panths*' distinctive code of conduct and the pattern of prescribed behavior, attributable to Guru Gobind Singh. These writings have occupied a position of substantial influence in the religious tradition of the Sikhs.⁶

The twentieth century scholars interested in the Sikh way of life, Sikh ethics and gender relation have used the evidence of *rahitnamas* and commented on their nature and character, as some other scholars have studied the *rahitnamas* directly. Analysis of individual *rahitnama* began in the end of 1960s and to this interest has been added the study of *rahitnamas* in general.⁷ According to Nripinder Singh, the *rahitnamas* constitute a unique body of literature in a style that bears little resemblance to that of the compositions of Guru Gobind Singh in *Dasam Granth*. Of the several *rahitnamas*, two are singularly significant and by far the largest ones: *Prem Sumarag* and *Chaupa Singh rahitnama*. There are eight other *rahitnamas* which are valuable. However, authorship are spurious, Guru Gobind Singh is claimed to be the writer or patron of these *rahitnamas*. These *rahitnamas* are singular literature that informs us of the religious insights of the Sikh community in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at the time of their writings.⁸

All the authors of eighteenth century *rahitnamas* were believed to be attendants of Guru Gobind Singh. It was also believed that these *rahitnamas* were written at the instance of Guru Gobind Singh. Rai Jasbir Singh is one of the few historians who have directly written on the *rahitnamas*. He concludes that the *rahitnamas* were not written in the time of Guru Gobind Singh and at least not before 1750s.⁹ The *rahitnamas* could not have been composed during early eighteenth century due to life and death struggle of the Sikhs with the Mughal Governors of Province of Lahore. Therefore, Rai Jasbir Singh opines that these *rahitnamas* were written in the 1750s or thereafter. But they were attributed to the contemporaries of

⁶ Karamjit K. Malhotra, 'Earliest Manual on the Sikh Way of Life', in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition*, (eds.) Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2005, p. 55-56

⁷ J.S.Grewal, 'The Prem Sumarag : A Theory Of Sikh Social Order', *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1965, pp. 100-111

⁸ Karamjit K. Malhotra, 'Earliest Manual on the Sikh Way of Life', in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition*, (eds.) Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2005, p. 59

⁹ Rai Jasbir Singh, 'Rahitnamas: Their Period of Writing', *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, 13th Session, 1979, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1980, pp.116-119

Guru Gobind Singh, who wrote them at Guru's instance in order to make the *rahitnama* more acceptable and authoritative.¹⁰

Swaran Singh Sanahi states that the available *rahitnamas* provide ample evidence that they did not contain the principles laid down solely by the Gurus, learned Sikhs, also added their own views to these documents according to the exigency of their time. For such reasons, the authorship of Bhai Nand Lal, Bhai Chaupa Singh and Bhai Daya Singh could be questioned. These *rahitnamas* contain contradictory statements and interpolations too. He comes to the conclusion that all the *rahitnamas* were the works of a much later period than what is stated in them. However, he adds that it does not imply that the *rahitnamas* made no contribution to the religious, literary and social life of the Sikhs.¹¹

The annexation of the *khalsa raj* by the British in 1849 resulted in the introduction of western education and the printing press in the Punjab. The Sikhs welcomed the Press; the first printed edition of the *Guru Granth Sahib* was published with standardized pages of 1430 in 1860s which is used in ritual worship since then. The *rahitnama* literature also underwent significant systematization during this period. This work began in the 1870s with an important compilation by Bhagwan Singh entitled *Bibek Birdhi Granth* which included thirty-six early related documents. Thereafter, various such works were also come into existence for public use and study by the Sikh scholars. Eventually, under auspices of the supreme body of the Sikhs, *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)* had issued the *Sikh Rahit Maryada* of *tat-khalsa* version in 1950. It has successfully served as an authoritative statement for an overwhelming majority of the Sikh community since then.¹²

While the *SGPC* was doing on its pilot project of compiling an authoritative statement on *Sikh Rahit Maryada*, Randhir Singh, its employee, exhumed materials from different sources and worked on it vigorously. He accidentally in 1940 came by a partly mutilated manuscript which he completed with the help of another manuscript preserved in the Public Library, Lahore. Bhai Randhir Singh edited it with an

¹⁰ Rai Jasbir Singh, 'Rahitnamas: Their Period of Writing', *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, 13th Session, 1979, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1980, pp.116-119

¹¹ Swaran Singh Sanahi, 'Rahitnamas of the Sikhs', in *Journal of Sikh Studies*, Vol. XI, pt. 1, 1984, pp. 66-79

¹² Gurinder Singh Mann, 'Five Hundred Years of the Sikh Educational Heritage', in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition*, (eds.) Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2005, p. 344

elaborate introduction which was subsequently published by the Sikh History Society, a research organization of the *SGPC*, in 1953 under title: *Prem Sumarag Granth Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*. It is, in fact, known as *Prem Sumarag* in researchers' fraternity and has been used as such.

After his retirement from the *SGPC* in 1956, Bhai Randhir Singh on demand brought its second edition which was published by the New Book Company of Jalandhar city in 1965. Ever since it has become accessible to the researchers as well as the general public. How this work came to be called as *Prem Sumarag* not explained by the editor when its chapter 4, 8 and 10 ends with *Param Marag* i.e. the great way whereas *Prem Sumarag* would mean the beautiful way of love.

According to W.H. Mcleod, importance of the *Prem Sumarag* lies in the fact that it is a Sanatan product quite different from *Tat-khalsa* version which during the twentieth century came increasingly to dominate the *rahit* debate and which eventually issued by the *SGPC* in the form of *Sikh Rahit Maryada* in 1950. The overwhelming dominance of *tat-khalsa* version evidently succeeded in having *Prem Sumarag* buried and forgotten and with it other works of Sanatan versions.¹³

Randhir Singh has adopted the textual approach in his study of the *Prem Sumarag* while Mohan Singh Diwana adopted the literary approach to deal with stylistic nuances.¹⁴ No serious study has been made. In fact, the *Prem Sumarag* is ridden with serious problems and of these the important ones are its date of compilation and authorship which are widely contested. Identification of author and fixing date of composition of a literary work is an important and powerful instrument which helps to determine the actual and factual historical worth of the work.

According to Randhir Singh, it has been written shortly after the creation of the *khalsa* by the tenth Guru in 1699. He claimed that a copy of *Prem Sumarag* is in his possession which bears the year of 1701A.D. (1758 Bikrami). But he does not give any satisfactory explanation of it. Contrary, he further argues that *Prem Sumarag* was written during the period ranging from torturous death of Banda Singh Bahadur

¹³ W.H. Mcleod, '*Prem Sumarag : The Testimony of a Sanatan Sikh*', Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 1-2

¹⁴ Karamjit K. Malhotra, '*Earliest Manual on the Sikh Way of Life*', in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition*, (eds.) Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2005, p. 58

in June, 1716 to 1759. He maintained that a *rahitnama* lay behind all Sikh writers of the Guru's time or immediately thereafter and the *Prem Sumarag* must have been a prose version of it. The author would have been a younger contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh.¹⁵ The *Prem Sumarag* must therefore be a work of the early eighteenth century. However, he rejects the claim straightforwardly that it was written by the Guru Gobind Singh or at his instance by his close attendants.¹⁶ But he does not agree with the view of Bhai Kahan Singh who submits that it was the product of the time falling between 1823-1838 because that period was full of peace and prosperity for the Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Randhir Singh has certainly had his supporters. Four of these stand out, the first being Mohan Singh, who in his work *An Introduction to Punjabi Literature* had enthusiastically dubbed the period 1708-1780, the age of *Prem Sumarag*. He writes: This anonymous writer of the third age had a remarkable vision, prevision. He saw a time when a better, nobler, purer class (*khalsa*) will come into power and rule for the good of all. These are enthusiastic words and in rather more measured words; they are upheld by Bhagat Singh, Fauja Singh and A.C. Banerjee well known Sikh historians while they were writing their respective historical works. This clearly was the majority view.¹⁷

Some has taken it for granted that Randhir Singh is the final word on dating of the *Prem Sumarag*. One prominent among them is Wazir Singh of Punjabi University, Patiala and Kamaljit K. Malhotra of Panjab University, Chandigarh. Wazir Singh, who wrote his book, entitled *Sikh Darshandhara* in 1995. He interprets the *Prem Sumarag* as a complete document for a prospective *khalsa raj* as ordained by Guru Gobind Singh in the *Bachittar Natak*. He appreciates the author of *Prem Sumarag* for making concept of justice, the very basis of political managements of the prospective Sikh state. Accordingly, the Sikh State would be taken place for the sake of delivery

¹⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), *Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jivan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*, Sikh History Society, Amritsar, 1953, pp. 110

¹⁶ W.H. McLeod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p. 149

¹⁷ W.H. McLeod, *Prem Sumarag : The Testimony of a Sanatan Sikh*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 4

of justice only. Obviously, *khalsa raj* would be under a chosen ideal Sikh king to deliver justice to all, is completely influenced by the *Gurbani*.¹⁸

Karamjit K. Malhotra in her detailed article ‘The Earliest Manual on the Sikh Way of Life’ appeared in the book entitled ‘Five Centuries of Sikh Traditions’ published in 2005, accepts directly the *Prem Sumarag* as one of the earliest *rahitnama* on Sikh rites and rituals prevalent in the eighteenth century. She argues that the *Prem Sumarag* being the earliest *rahitnama* and lays stress on initiation into the order of the *khalsa* with *khande ki pahul* which should be sweetened before it is administered to the volunteer. She further adds that at the time of initiation, an *ardas* is specified, “This Sikh has come to Sri *Guru Akal Purakh* and the Sikh for refuge.” The whole procedure is described in detail. The administering of *pahul* is followed by some general instructions with regard to the beliefs and ethics of the *khalsa*. In fact, while looking over such type of detailed description of initiating of a volunteer into the *khalsa* order, the reader gets immediate impression that it must have been written by the attendant of Guru Gobind Singh or by a patron at the instance of the Guru.¹⁹

Since the publication of his work, Bhai Randhir Singh has gathered a substantial body of support for his dating. However, there are others too who feel that the *Prem Sumarag* properly belonged to the late eighteenth century, such as Piara Singh Padam, Surjit Singh Gandhi and Parkash Singh Jammu. Yet others held the opinion that the eighteenth century period is too early, believing that it should be located in the early nineteenth century, prominent among them are Kahan Singh Nabha and Teja Singh. Lastly, there is Surjit Singh Hans, a serious research scholar of Punjabi literature from Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar of Punjab state, who comes to the conclusion that there is sufficient evidence in the *Prem Sumarag* which conspicuously indicates that it dates from the British period that began from 1849 when Sikh kingdom of Lahore had finally collapsed and annexed to the British Empire.²⁰

¹⁸ Wazir Singh, ‘*Sikh Darshandhara*’, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1995, pp. 123-132

¹⁹ Karamjit K. Malhotra, ‘*Earliest Manual on the Sikh Way of Life*’, in *Five Centuries of Sikh Tradition: Ideology, Society, Politics and Culture*, (eds.) Reeta Grewal and Sheena Pall, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 55-81

²⁰ W.H. McLeod, ‘*Sikhs of the Khalsa; A History of the Khalsa Rahit*’, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 149-150

Another renowned scholar of Punjabi literature from Punjabi University, Patiala (Punjab), Dr. Rattan Singh Jaggi also supports the viewpoint of Dr. Hans and goes little further saying confidently that the *Prem Sumarag* has been composed after April, 1857. He argues that there is a reference to *sant-khalsa* in the first chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* which was coined by Baba Ram Singh while initiating the Sikhs into *sant-khalsa* by administering *khande ki pahul* on the auspicious day of Baisakh 1, 1914 Bikrami (April 12, 1857 A.D.). He appears to be more nearer the truth.

If we look closely on the first chapter of the *Prem Sumarag*, It is obvious that the circumstances lies behind the injunctions of this very chapter are certainly not those of the eighteenth century warfare and conflicts, nor are the tasks required of a Sikh ruler either. However, it is apparent from the style and nature of the injunctions that these were written in such circumstances when the Sikhs had lost the power and their enlightened leader Baba Ram Singh (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) was creating a class of warriors (*sant-khalsa*) full of valor and dedication so as to wage life and death struggle to oust the alien ruler, the British (*malechh*) being necessary for re-establishing *khalsa raj*. So we can safely argue that the *Prem Sumarag* is the product of Namdhari movement, founded by Baba Ram Singh in the early part of the late nineteenth century. We will discuss this view point bit later in details.

Historically true, Sikh empire under Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors was no more after its collapse and amalgamation into British Empire in 1849. The mightiest *khalsa* army was disbanded and dispersed thereafter while the chiefs, *jagirdars* and influential persons of Lahore kingdom were completely suppressed. Uncertainly and malaise prevailed all around. Resultantly, there was a great resentment among the people of the Punjab especially the Sikhs as a whole. Because their glory and prominence had become the part of history and they were facing humiliation and roaming in bewilderment. In fact, the Sikhs in general had not recognized the British rule at all and in particular those Sikhs who had been the part and parcel of Sikh kingdom and lost their glory and prominence.

In the meantime, Baba Ram Singh, who had once served the *khalsa* army and later deserted it during the time of First Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-46, created new class of dedicated and staunch volunteers the *sant-khalsa* at a helmet called Bhaini in Ludhiana District of the Punjab just before the outbreak of Indian mutiny, on the

auspicious day of Baisakh 1, 1914 Bikrami (April 12, 1857). While launching the movement Baba Ram Singh had two objectives in mind. One was to create a class of warriors (*sant-khalsa*) full of enthusiasm and completely free from defiles which had crept into during the period following the death of Guru Gobind Singh, the other one was to work though silently and systematically for the restoration of the Sikh rule replacing the foreign rule of the British Company.²¹

Soon after it, number of *sant-khalsa* popularly known as the Kukas began to grow rapidly, both in the numbers and in prominence. They never compromised with the new rule but, on the contrary, established their own parallel arrangements. Due to their revolutionary activities and hostile approach, they were known in British official records as the implacable enemy of the British Government.²² Such rapid growth with a promise of militancy could scarcely escape official attention. To deal with the Kukas effectively, the British Government employed its concerned officials who besides noting the activities of the Kukas within, narrative accounts of their beliefs and practices were prepared for the guidance of administration. Acting upon the reports, the British Government could not take any punitive action in the absence of proof. However, in June 1863, Baba Ram Singh's movement was restricted to Bhaini Sahib to slow down the progress of Kuka movement.²³

By this time, a large number of the people had become the Kukas (*sant-khalsa*), who were so dedicated that they could sacrifice their lives at the call of their Guru (Baba Ram Singh). According to Kukas estimation as well as the official reports, by 1863, total number of the Kukas had risen to about 40,000. Apart, Baba Ram Singh himself generally used to say in religious gatherings (ਦੀਵਾਨ) that numbering of the Kukas would shortly touch the figure of 125,000 (ਸੌ ਲੱਖ).²⁴

In fact, Baba Ram Singh was not making such surprising statement in isolation. There was logic behind it. As during this time; a *sau sakhi* attributed to Guru Gobind Singh containing motivational and inspiring prophecies was in circulation and also in official records. It had become the source of inspiration and

²¹ Swaran Singh Sanehi, 'Kukas in Relation to the Sikh Rule', in Proceedings of Punjab History Conference, Vol. XV, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1981, pp. 208

²² *loc. cit.*

²³ W. H. Meleod, 'The Kukas A Millenarian Sect of the Punjab', published in *The Punjab Past And Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, April 1979, p. 166

²⁴ Ganda Singh, 'Kukian Di Vithia', Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 39

propaganda for the Kukas. Prominent features of the *sau sakhi* were that “Guru Gobind Singh predicted that I will be reincarnated in the person of Baba Ram Singh, the carpenter at a place situated between river Satluj and Yamuna, I will defeat the *firangis* and put the crown on my head in 1921 Bikrami. I, the carpenter sit on the throne to lead the Sikhs. Whenever I will be able to muster the strength of my followings equivalent to 125,000 (ਸੌ ਠੱਖ), then I will behead the British officials (*firangis*), no one would be spared. Insurrections will take place in 1922 Bikrami (1865 A.D.). The *khalsa* will reign and the raja and ryat will dwell together in perfect peace and comforts, no one shall molest another. In Bikrami 1922, the whole country will be ruled by Ram Singh. My followers will worship *Waheguru*. The command of *Waheguru* is that it will happen.”²⁵

The Kukas had blind faith in the contents of the *sau sakhi* which prompted and inspired them to be ready to sacrifice their lives at the call of their Guru (Baba Ram Singh) for restoration of the *khalsa raj* ousting the British. It was obvious from the impact of the prophecies that the conflict between the Kukas and the British was imminent. In the whole movement of the restoration of the Sikh rule, the prophecy ascribed to Guru Gobind Singh had played a noteworthy role. As a matter of fact, it was this prophecy which adding fuel to the fire and impelled the Kukas to lay down their lives for the noble cause.²⁶

The fact is that Baba Ram Singh was of the firm view that the *khalsa* created by Guru Gobind Singh had lost its real character and become unclean sect (ਮਲੇਛ ਪੰਥ) with the passage of time because of their imitations of Brahminical beliefs and practices and emergence of various self-made Sikh Gurus.²⁷ Due to such distressing situation, Baba Ram Singh must have thought to revive pristine glory of the *khalsa*. With this idea in mind, he created new class of followers to whom he used to call the pure *khalsa* (*sant-khalsa*), while the others unclean *khalsa* (ਮਲੇਛ ਖਾਲਸਾ).²⁸ From it

²⁵ Ganda Singh, ‘*Kukian Di Vithia*’, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 29

²⁶ Swaran Singh Sanahi, ‘*Kukas in Relation to the Sikh Rule*’, in *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference*, Vol. XV, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1981, p. 216

²⁷ Ganda Singh, ‘*Kukian Di Vithia*’, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 30

²⁸ *-ibid-* p. 19

appears that Baba Ram Singh had created separate sect within the Sikhs that had ultimately become bone of contention between the orthodox Sikhs and him.²⁹

Thus, Baba Ram Singh had come in the centre of *sant-khalsa* as their *Satguru* and they as his followers while *Prem Sumarag* as their revealed book. Apart from it, Baba Ram Singh had enunciated new and specific norm of initiating a volunteer into the fold of *sant-khalsa*. Only that Sikh was to be made *sant-khalsa* who had staunch faith in Baba Ram Singh as his Guru and follow the norms of initiation (ਪਾਰੁਲ) and instructions (ਰਹਿਤ) prescribed in the *Prem Sumarag* and also ready to sacrifice his life at Guru's call. Such was the *sant-khalsa* indeed.³⁰

The orthodox Sikhs did not appreciate the life style and activities of Baba Ram Singh on account of which he had become outcast. On March 20, 1867, when Baba Ram Singh visited Keshgarh Gurdwara on the occasion of festival of *hola mohalla* for paying his obeisance. The incharge of the Gurdwara did not allow him to do so and publicly declaring him an apostate for introducing distinct customs and rites for his followers.³¹

Baba Ram Singh had not only created a class of warriors (*sant-khalsa*) to fight with the alien ruler in order to fulfill the prophecy of re-establishment of *khalsa raj* as described in the *sau sakhi* book, but also made them a distinct group within the Sikh community. The most important of these was they called boastfully themselves as Kuka. On important occasions they performed a ceremony called *Chandi ka path*, recitation of this and other passages from the Sikh scriptures were conducted antiphonally around a slow-burning bonfire. Gradually enthusiasm would mount amongst the participants until eventually ecstasy would overtake some of them. In this condition they would cry out from which the sect received its characteristic name. Another distinctive custom was the practice of tying turban horizontally across the head.³²

²⁹ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 45

³⁰ *-ibid-* p. 19

ਪਹਿਲਾ ਮਰਣੁ ਕਬੁਲਿ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਛਡਿ ਆਸ ॥

ਹੋਹਿ ਸਭਨਾ ਕੀ ਰੋਣੁਕਾ ਤਉ ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪਾਸ ॥ (ਸਲੋਕ ਮਾਰੂ ਮਹਲਾ 5)

³¹ *-ibid-* p. 45

³² W. H. Mcleod, '*The Kukas: A Millenarian Sect of the Punjab*', published in *The Punjab Past And Present*, Punjabi University, Patiala, April 1979, p. 168

Baba Ram Singh had of course successfully gathered a large army of his staunch followers (*sant-khalsa*) around him since 1857 quite distinct from the orthodox *khalsa* in beliefs and practices and outlook. He had also composed a code of conduct (ਰਹਿਤਨਾਮਾ) for them in 1863 to regulate their social and religious life accordingly. A complete or incomplete copy of that was sent by Baba Ram Singh to his followers for compliance while he was in Rangoon jail.³³

It is fact that Baba Ram Singh had prescribed a formal set of code of conduct to his followers, but it is doubtful to understand as to whether he had composed these customs in the form of a book (*pothi*) or used them in a piecemeal manner according to the exigency of time. The British official reports as referred hereinabove also confirm the existence of such documents in the year of 1863.

Besides the *rahitnama*, Baba Ram Singh had prescribed new sacred books for his followers in addition to already prevalent traditional books of the Sikhs for regulating their political, social and religious requirements. The most important among them was the *Prem Sumarag*, which Baba Ram Singh projected as revealed scripture and used to keep it with him while he was in Rangoon jail (1872-1885) for issuing *hukamname* there from. He used to stress upon his followers, while issuing *hukanmame* to abide by the instructions referred therein.³⁴

But the date of its compilation has not been referred. There are several other references to *Prem Sumarag* in the *hukamname* which confirm that Baba Ram Singh used the *Prem Sumarag* as authoritative book on code of conduct (ਰਹਿਤ) of the Kukas to regulate their social and religious life.³⁵

There is very interesting reference in the *hukamnama* no. 11 which refers to *sakhi Prahladsar*. In fact, it was discovered in 1876 while digging a pond at Haripur in Sirsa district of Haryana state. It contains numerous prophecies including proceeding of Baba Ram Singh to Rangoon in 1288 *hijri* era (1871-1872 A.D.) and

³³ Jaswinder Singh, 'Sri Satguru Ram Singh ji de Hukamname', Vishav Namdhari Vidyak Jatha, Bhaini Sahib, Ludhiana, 2016, pp. 110, 135

³⁴ Ganda Singh, 'Kukian Di Vithia', Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 181

ਉਹ ਹੁਕਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਏਸੇ ਸੰਤ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਜੇ ਆਪੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੰਨਾਂਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਹੋਰ ਕੌਣ ਮੰਨੂੰਗਾ, ਗੁਰੂ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਦੇਖ ਲਉ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਸੁਮਾਰਗ ਮੇਂ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ

³⁵ -*ibid*- p. 157, 189

(ਨਾਲੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਸੁਮਾਰਗ ਮੈ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਦੇਖ ਲੈਣਾ।)

(ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਸੁਮਾਰਗ ਪੜਨਾਂ)

his return to home after a period of six and a half years from exile. After 1878, it played a noteworthy role in keeping the valor and enthusiasm alive and high in the absence of their Guru. It was widely circulated amongst the Kukas and had become a powerful instrument of their propaganda.³⁶ A manuscript copy of *sakhi Prahadsar* was handed over to Baba Ram Singh by his ardent disciple Narain Singh at Rangoon jail. After its study, Baba Ram Singh found nothing new in it and still he considered the *Prem Sumarag* as more authentic reference book.³⁷ It is interesting to note that the *Prem Sumarag* was in possession of Baba Ram Singh while he was in exile in Rangoon (now Myanmar) and using it as revealed scripture (ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਹੁਕਮ) for the purpose of issuing *hukamname* to his followers. Truthfully, *Prem Sumarag* was not the creation of unseen power as claimed therein. Surely it was written most probably by Baba Ram Singh or under his supervision by his close associate in the period of late nineteenth century to be explained hereinafter.

Sources of *Prem Sumarag*:

Historical analysis of *Prem Sumarag* has been taken up in the present study strictly based upon its second edition published in 1965. Fortunately, several scholars and historians have worked on it from different motives and angles. As a result, various texts are available in edited and published forms and some of it has been analyzed not only by textual critics but also by the renowned historians. History is a progressive science but no advances are possible without continuous efforts. Prof. S.S. Hans has rightly said that historical writings on the Sikhs have long been bedeviled by the scissors and paste methods. Many historians have tried to fish for the persons and places in the Sikh literature to construct a narrative of events by putting the isolated pieces together without taking into account the nature of the authorities used.³⁸

Therefore, it is necessary to examine the entire work, even to understand the sources on the basis of which the facts contained therein have been formulated. The work under study is highly important for the outlook, attitude and the major concerns of the Sikhs in given historical situation. Unfortunately, the authorship and date of its

³⁶ Jaswinder Singh, '*Sri Satguru Ram Singh ji de Hukamname*', Vishav Namdhari Vidyak Jatha, Bhaini Sahib, Ludhiana, 2016, pp. 21-23

³⁷ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 157

³⁸ Surjit Hans, '*A Reconstruction Of Sikh History From Sikh Literature*', ABS Publication, Jalandhar, 1988

compilation are highly debatable which have been dealt with seriously and judiciously in this chapter of the present study.

As far as its timings, this work appears to have been composed during later part of the nineteenth century when Namdhari movement spearheaded by commonly known personality of Baba Ram Singh to the historians and *Satguru* Ram Singh ji for the Namdhari sect. This work is now well known to the students and scholars of History as well as Punjabi literature. It has widely and authoritatively been used by several historians for writing their respective works covering different aspects of the Sikh history. The *Prem Sumarag* bears witness to the religious psychology of the author and his social and political consciousness as member of the Sikh community at a certain stage of history.³⁹ Admittedly, the work cannot be written in a historical vacuum nor it is possible otherwise. The author is apparently well versed in Sikh scriptures and qualified person according to the standard of his age. He also appears to be a staunch Namdhari and wrote it especially for the Namdharis only not for public use at large.⁴⁰ He visualizes that Sikh ideal state would be established in near future which would to be governed by a person (*mard ka chela*), who would bring the people to imbibe the way of life as described in this prophetic book (*Prem Sumarag*).

To write such an outstanding work, it is necessary to collect the required information from different sources available that might be in the written or verbal or in both forms. The author of the *Prem Sumarag* is not an exception to it. The close study of the work shows that it was composed under secretive and compelling circumstances as warranted by the coercive policy of the British authorities after annexation of the Punjab in 1849. That might be the reasons that author of the work do not disclose his identity. Nor he gives any clue regarding the sources which he would have used while compiling the *Prem Sumarag*. However, the textual analysis of the work leaves no doubt that several written sources from the Sikh literature and Hindu *puranic* literature besides Persian/Urdu/Greek sources especially for defining civil administration of the King as comprehensively defined in its chapter eighth (ਰਾਜ

³⁹ J.S. Grewal, 'The Prem Sumarag: A Theory of Sikh Social Order', *Punjab Past and Present: Essays In Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, p. 167

⁴⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, pp. 150-151

ਇਹੁ ਬਚਨਇਸ ਮਾਰਗ ਕੇ, ਜੋ ਇਸ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਮੈਂ ਹੈ, ਸੇ ਹਰਿ ਕਿਸੀ ਕੇ ਆਗੈ ਬਖਾਨ ਨ ਕਰੈ, ਨ ਪੜ੍ਹੈ ॥ 1 ॥

ਕਹਾਂ ਉਚਾਰ ਕਰੈ? ਜਹਾਂ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਸੁਨਤਾ ਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਸੁਨਕਰਿ ਮਨ ਬਿਖੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਉਪਜਾਵਤਾ ਹੈ ॥ 2 ॥

ਲਛਣ ਮਾਰਗ ਕਾ) as well as oral traditions prevalent during the authors' time, would have been used.⁴¹

It is a fact that the writer of a work is always impressed from the circumstances in which he lives and ventures to compose his work. Keeping them in mind, he accumulates the needful and useful information of his choice and then formulates his ideas and gives them a shape of theory or treatise accordingly. If we look upon the remote past, we notice that Kautiliya's *Arthashastra* and Plato's Republic were written at the time when Magadh in India and Athens in Greek were seriously under turmoil on account of internal conflicts and outside threats.⁴² These classical works played significant role in their own ways. The theory of *Arthashastra* was given practical shape by Emperor Chandragupt Maurya while Plato's Republic could not play such role except left for academic debates. Therefore, it is necessary to peep into the circumstances with which author of *Prem Sumarag* was grappled with.

After annexation of the Punjab by the British company in 1849, the *khalsa raj* was no more. The Sikhs had become the subject while the British their ruler since then. It was a great tragedy which the Sikhs could not forget and forgive. In order to get it back, the different forces were at work. Under such circumstances the *Prem Sumarag* was composed. The author expresses his views on the purpose and goal of the social order that he defined in the *Prem Sumarag* and he presents the ideal norms to which the private and public life of the members of the Sikh community would conform as and when the ideal Sikh state would be established.

It is obvious that the author must have been taken into account all possible sources for compiling the *Prem Sumarag*. Because in the absence of sources, such comprehensive theoretical monumental work concerning to religious, social and political aspects of the Sikhs could not have been brought to a logical completion. Truly, Baba Ram Singh was a prophetic personality especially for the Namdharis thereby he was of course a role model for his followers. If we look at the daily life style of Baba Ram Singh and what was his goal and what prophecies he made to his followers, all are quite understandable from his letters which he wrote from his exile

⁴¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, pp. 94-123

⁴² Urmila Sharma and S.K. Sharma, '*Indian Political Thought*', Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2014, (3rd edition), pp. 63

at Rangoon jail (1872-1885). All these can conveniently be traced out in the *Prem Sumarag*. The prophecy made by Baba Ram Singh regarding re-establishment of *khalsa raj* in his *hukamname* is available in the *Prem Sumarag* almost verbatim same. For example, Baba Ram Singh assured the *sant-khalsa* in one *hukamname* that a person would come from the west for their protection.⁴³ While the *Prem Sumarag* mentions that a Mohammedan would rise in the west for the protection of the *sant-khalsa* and subsequently would progress by leaps and bounds.⁴⁴ The prophecy and *hukamname* made by Baba Ram Singh were so pious and acceptable to his followers: the *sant-khalsa*/the *neo-khalsa* created by Baba Ram Singh, as the *hadees* of Hazarat Mohammed Sahib to the Mohammedans.

If we look at the *Prem Sumarag* more closely and relate its narratives with other well known sources, we conveniently infer that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* must have had the knowledge of classical works like *Guru Granth Sahib*, *Dasam Granth* attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, philosopher king of ideal state of Plato's *Republic*, Kautiliya's *Arthshashtra*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and development in the Middle East in the late nineteenth century. Because the ideas and description referred appear to have been used directly and indirectly by the author of the *Prem Sumarag*. The *khalsa*, with a direct Divine sanction behind it, was created to dispel all evils and ignorance and to spread the right religion among the whole mankind. Only those who would follow the code of the *khalsa* will survive into the *satyug* which to be brought to earth by Divine intervention in human affairs. All this was foretold by the God Himself to Guru Gobind Singh.

In the *bani* of Guru Nanak, there are frequent references to the disintegrating of Hindu Society. The *khatri*s, the most powerful and influential Hindu caste have abandoned their religion and are learning a foreign language (ਮਲੇਛ ਭਾਖਿਆ) and the traditional religion has gone down. Now the world has only one caste and reduced to

⁴³ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 188
ਮੈਂ ਅਪਨੇ ਸੱਤ-ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦੀ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਉਹ ਸਮਾਂ ਭੈ ਆਇ ਪੁਜਾ ਹੈ।

⁴⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 4
ਤਬ ਇਕ ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ ਉਠੇਗਾ। _____ ਸੋ ਸਭਨਾ ਕਾ ਨਾਸੁ ਕਰੇਗਾ। _____
ਇਸ ਥੀਂ ਸਿਵਾਇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਸਿਉਂ ਹਿਕ ਹੋਰੁ ਬੰਦਾ ਭੀ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਉਠੇਗਾ,
ਪਛਮ ਦਿਸਾ ਤੇ। _____ ਅਰੁ ਸੰਤ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕੀ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ;

the same social status; the state of righteousness and religion has been lost.⁴⁵ Further expresses his sorrow and grief over the pitiable condition of the whole Hindu social order. The Brahmin, the highest caste does not believe in the Vedas and Shastras but in pursuit of self-interests. The rulers are butchers and religion has taken wings.⁴⁶

The author of *Prem Sumarag* sees similarities of Guru Nanak's time in his own times when the whole Sikh social order had lost its relevancy and was under serious crisis on account of dissolution of the *khalsa raj*. In order to explain it, the author borrows terms and vocabulary from Guru Nanak bani. He says that there will be one caste that would be called as impure caste (ਬਰਨ ਸੰਕਰ) ridden with complete immorality. Evils will reign supreme and religion will take wings.⁴⁷

Before the creation of the *khalsa*, Guru Gobind Singh had publicized his mission through *Bachittar Natak* as embodied in the Dasam Granth. The Immortal Being had told Guru Gobind Singh, "I manifested in you my son and created you to extend My religion. Go and spread My religion there and restrain the world from senseless acts."⁴⁸

The opening paragraph of the *Prem Sumarag* is a paraphrase of this claim to Divine authority for the designated mission of Guru Gobind Singh. An important purpose of his mission was to put an end to oppression. It is evident that the *Bachittar Natak* was certainly known to the author of the *Prem Sumarag*. However, the author makes necessary amendment according to the new situation in the prologue: a period of persecution is forecast and the triumph of the *khalsa* is postponed but not very distant future. Taking his standpoint in the past, the author has projected his vision into the future through his work.

The prologue is thus a reassurance to the *sant-khalsa* in their faith to suffer for the sake of right religion, hoping for better days to come. Whosoever will follow the code instituted by Guru Gobind Singh, would not only save himself but also become

⁴⁵ 'Adi Granth', p. 663

ਸ੍ਰਿਸਟੀ ਸਭ ਇਕ ਵਰਨ ਹੋਈ ਧਰਮ ਕੀ ਗਤਿ ਰਹੀ।

⁴⁶ 'Adi Granth', p. 145

ਕਲਿ ਕਾਤੀ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਸਾਈ, ਧਰਮ ਪੰਖ ਕਰਿ ਉਡਰਿਆ।

⁴⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 149

ਸਭ ਸ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ ਏਕ ਬਰਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇਗੀ। ___ ਅਉਰ ਹੀ ਧਰਮ, ਅਉਰ ਹੀ ਕਰਮ ਹੋਇਗਾ। ਅਉਰ ਹੀ ਚਲਨ; ਅਉਰ ਹੀ ਬਰਨ ਹੋਇਗਾ। ___ ਪਾਪ ਕੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਯਾ ਬਢੇਗੀ; 'ਧਰਮ' ਪੰਖ ਲਗਾਇ ਉਡਿ ਜਾਇਗਾ।

⁴⁸ J.S. Grewal, 'The Prem Sumarag: A Theory of Sikh Social Order', in *Punjab Past and Present: Essays In Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, p. 167

the agent of liberation for his associate *sant-khalsa* in this world and in the life hereafter. The prologue provides the author with a stand-point from which he can invoke the authority of Guru Gobind Singh. With this purpose in mind, the author naturally attributed the work to Guru Gobind Singh rather than to himself.⁴⁹ Obviously, the prologue of the *Prem Sumarag* has been formulated on the basis of description of *Bachittar Natak* with minor necessary amendments so as to make the work acceptable thereby inspiring the *neo-khalsa (sant-khalsa)* to be ready to sacrifice for the fulfillment of the mission of the Guru.

The normal form of Government in Indian sub-continent was benevolent monarchy; however the kingship was usually hereditary in accordance with the rule of primogeniture. According to Kautiliya's *Arthashastra* from ethical standpoint, the king is expected to lead a blameless life and concentrate on public welfare. It laid heavy responsibilities, temporal and spiritual on him, promised him everlasting bliss in heaven or threatened him with all the tortures of hell in accordance of success and failure in the great moral and temporal ventures. So long as he was on the throne, the king would preside over the executive and judicial departments.⁵⁰ Guru Nanak in his *bani* did favor the institution of benevolent kingship but not hereditary. The king should be well qualified and chosen person.⁵¹

The author of *Prem Sumarag*, being a Sikh must have known to the *bani* of Guru Nanak and was also aware of coercive policy adopted by the British Indian Government towards the Namdhari Sikhs and their Guru Baba Ram Singh. Keeping both things in mind, the author would have developed a new idea of the kingship of totalitarian very close to Guru Nanak's philosophy, which he considers more dependable and workable for the survival of the ideal Sikh state as he visualizes in the *Prem Sumarag*. Whosoever gets the throne, he should first of all ensure that his order has been complied by one and all faithfully. In case of any disobedience by anybody irrespective his relation with the king, he should be punished severely leading to be

⁴⁹ J.S. Grewal, '*The Prem Sumarag: A Theory of Sikh Social Order*', in *Punjab Past and Present: Essays In Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, p. 168

⁵⁰ Urmila Sharma and S.K. Sharma, '*Indian Political Thought*', Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2014 (3rd edition), p. 63

⁵¹ '*Adi Granth*', p. 1088

ਤਖਤਿ ਰਾਜਾ ਸੇ ਬਹੈ ਜਿ ਤਖਤੈ ਲਾਇਕ ਹੋਈ ॥ ਜਿਨੀ ਸਚੁ ਪਛਾਣਿਆ ਸਚੁ ਰਾਜੇ ਸੇਈ ॥

hanged and his household be confiscated immediately. If he repeats the crime, he should be killed. Only then the ideal Sikh state would remain established and safe.⁵²

The good and bad actions of the king with regard to his subject would be taken into account in the Court of Supreme Being (ਦਰਗਾਹਿ ਸਚੇ ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ ਕੀ) after his death. Accordingly, he will be rewarded or punished. His personal devotion to God alone will not work at all. The author further clarifies that the justice is superior to meditation on God and also defines what justice is actually. The king who does not disturb the right of others nor allow anybody else to disturb that right. As far as possible, he will not torture the others nor let the others to do so. He should ensure that every citizen in his kingdom should remain in peace and tranquility.⁵³ It is almost the same what Guru Nanak puts forth his idea in the *Adi Granth*.

The details given in the eighth chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* with regard to the nature of civil and military administration that would be enforced in ideal Sikh state, confirms that the author would have been well conversant with civil and military administration of the Mughals which was with minor changes remained into operation during the *Khalsa raj* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh too. Besides, he was certainly well known with the new British administration too that had been introduced in the Punjab after taking over the charge of the Lahore kingdom in 1849. He may have seen these two different successive regimes from close quarters and possibly may have been the part of these. That's why he was in a position to gather a great deal of reliable and comprehensive details on these aspects of the state administration and formulated his idea of system of administration out of that which was proposed to be introduced in the prospective ideal Sikh state.

Historically, the *pargana* has been very important administrative unit during Mughal as well as Sikh rule. According to the author, it was controlled during earlier periods by three different Government officials, namely, *faujdar*, *amin* and *siqdar*

⁵² Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 94

ਜਿਸ ਕਿਸੀ ਕੇ ਰਾਜ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੀ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਇ। _____ ਪ੍ਰਥਮੇ ਕਿਆ ਕਰੈ? ਪਹਿਲੈ ਤੋ ਉਹ, ਹੁਕਮ ਅਪਨੇ ਕੀ, ਐਸੀ ਰਖਿਆ ਕਰੈ; ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਫੇਰੇ, ਉਸ ਕੇ ਸੂਲੀ ਦੇਇ; ਉਸਕਾ ਘਰ ਬਾਰ ਲੂਟ ਲੇਵੈ।

ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਫੇਰ ਕੋਈ ਐਸੀ ਬੇ-ਹੁਕਮੀ ਨ ਕਰੈ। _____ ਅਪਨੇ ਬਿਗਾਨੇ ਕੀ ਰਿਆਇਤ ਨ ਕਰੈ।

ਤਬ ਇਸਕਾ ਰਾਜ ਨਿਹਚਲ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ 1 ॥

⁵³ *-ibid-*, p. 96

ਨਿਆਉਂ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਬੰਦਗੀ ਭੀ ਨਾਹੀ। ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਹਦੇ ਹੈਨਿ? _____

ਕਿਸੀ ਨੂੰ ਅਪਨੇ ਬਸ ਚਲਤੇ, ਦੁੱਖ ਨ ਦੇਇ; ਨ ਦੇਖ ਸਕੈ। ਨਿਆਉਂ ਇਸੀ ਕਾ ਨਾਉਂ ਹੈ ॥ 9 ॥ 3 ॥

appointed by the king. The author confidently writes that these very offices had been merged into one office, the head of which was called as *Tehsildar* during author's time.⁵⁴ In fact, this very office was created by the Board of Administration established by the British Indian Government, while restructuring the administration of the Punjab after its annexation in 1849. It is apparent that the author must have gathered information from Mughals and British sources from which he would have completed the eighth chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* which deals with civil and military administration.

Apart from central administration, the author proposes what kind of provincial administration should be adopted in the ideal Sikh state. He prefers to follow Mughal system to the British which were new one for the people. Obviously, they were more accustomed to Mughal system and could understand it comfortably because the Mughals having been their rulers for centuries before the advent of the *Khalsa raj* followed by the British. Copying the Mughal system with minor adjustment, the author of the *Prem Sumarag* emphasizes that whole prospective Sikh state must be divided into provinces each consisting of eleven *tarafs* which further divided into twenty-one *parganas*. Provincial administration was to be run with the help of a *faujdar-i-umda*, a *diwan*, an officer of justice, a news-writer an auditor officer.⁵⁵ It was almost the replica of Mughal administration as explained in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, authored by Abul Fazl, a prominent courtier of Emperor Akbar.

The author calls upon the Sikh ruler of Sikh ideal state to establish an elaborate system of *mansabdari* in the army which was almost similar to that of the Mughals defined in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.⁵⁶ The author gives the detail as to how he and his horses would be paid by the state. Following the Mughal system, his personal salary and his horses allotted to him would be fixed in terms of cash money as per his official rank allotted to him by the King. However, he would not be paid in cash. Instead, his entitlement should be compensated by allotting arable land accruing state

⁵⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', p. 97
ਅਬ ਜੋ ਹਾਕਿਮ ਕਰੈ, ਪਰਗਨਿਓਂ ਸਿਉ; ਸੇ ਕਿਉਂਕਰ ਕਰੇ?

ਪਰਗਨੇ ਪੀਛੇ ਏਕ ਫਉਜਦਾਰ ਅਰੁ ਅਮੀਨ, ਸ਼ਿਕਦਾਰ, -- ਜਿਸ ਕੋ 'ਤਹਿਸੀਲਦਾਰ' ਕਹਤੇ ਹੈ
--ਪੋਤਦਾਰ ਕਰੈ। ਯਹ ਏਕ ਹੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਕੋ ਇਹ ਸਭ ਖਿਜਮਤ ਦੇਇ।

⁵⁵ -*ibid*- p. 99

ਜੋ ਦਿਸਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਹਾਂ ਏਕ 'ਦਿਸਾਵੰਤ' ਅੱਛਾ ਉਮਰਾਉ ਰੱਖੈ; ਅਪਨੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ ॥ ੪ ॥

⁵⁶ -*ibid*- p.113

revenue equivalent to his officially fixed salary.⁵⁷ The author appears to be quite aware that the Persian was the *ling franca* during the Mughals and even thereafter. Therefore, the author was the Namdhari and apparently writing his work for his co-religionists. Therefore, he suggests that the Punjabi in *Gurumukhi* script originated and developed by the Sikh Gurus should be official language of the future Sikh state and the education should also be imparted in the *Gurumukhi* only. Furthermore, the state would endeavor to develop its each alphabet which would show its numerical values on the pattern of Arabic/Persian languages.⁵⁸ In fact, the author visualizes that the *Gurumukhi* should be made as an official language by the king of the prospective ideal Sikh state as both are complimentary to each other.

Baba Ram Singh claimed himself as twelfth Guru of the Kukas and strongly asked his follower to abide by his instructions. Whosoever did not abide by his instructions, the Guru would disown him as his follower.⁵⁹ With such prophetic image, the personal and religious life of Baba Ram Singh had become the guiding principles for his followers. Baba Ram Singh criticized the Nihang Sikhs vehemently for wearing blue colored while he strongly directed his disciples not to wear such dress, which diminishes the intellect of the human beings.⁶⁰ While he and his followers used to wear white dress.⁶¹ In the *Prem Sumarag*, there is specific instruction with regard to wear the white dress by every person after having been initiated into *sant-khalsa*. He is morally and religiously bound to have his turban and dress made of white cotton cloth.⁶² It would be mandatory on the part of the Sikh ruler

⁵⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 102

ਜੇ ਅਬ ਚਾਕਰ ਰੱਖੇ, ਤਿਨ ਕਾ ਮਨਸਬ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ; ਸੇ ਇਸ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਕਰੈ:-
ਜੇ ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਮਨਸਬ ਜਿਸਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਪੰਜਾਹ ਸਿਪਾਹੀ ਸਵਾਰ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਮਿਲਨ।
ਸਵਾਰ ਪਿੰਛੇ ਤੀਹ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਕਰਕੇ, ਵਰੇ ਦਾ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਕਰੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਮਨਸਬ ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਦਾ ਪੰਜਾਹ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਹੈ।
ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਉਸਦਾ ਵਰੇ ਦਾ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੇ ਕਰੈ_____
ਜਿਹਦੀ ਜਮਾਂ ਉਤਲਿਆ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਦੀ ਹੋਵੈ-ਸੇ ਕਰ ਦੇਇ ॥ 7 ॥

⁵⁸ -*ibid*- p. 63

ਬਿੰਦਿਆ ਕਾ ਪਰਗਾਸ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਕਾ; ਅਰੁ ਅੰਕਪਲੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ॥ 1 ॥
ਰੋਜਨਾਮਾ, ਖਾਤਾ, ਸਭ ਕਾਗਜ, ਕਿਆ ਪਰਗਨਿਆਂ ਕੇ, ਕਿਆ ਹਜੂਰ ਕਾ, ਸਭ-ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ॥ 2 ॥

⁵⁹ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 179

⁶⁰ Jaswinder Singh, '*Sri Satguru Ram Singh ji de Hukamname*', pp. 326
ਨੀਲਾ ਨਹੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੇ ਪਹਿਰਣਾ, ਜੋ ਪੈਨੂ ਓਸਦੀ ਮਤ ਮਾਰੀ ਜਾਊਗੀ।

⁶¹ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 213
ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮ ਸਿੰਘਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੰਗੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਬੜੀ ਸੋਹਣੀ ਸਫੈਦ ਪੋਸ਼ਾਕ ਸਜਾਈ ਹੁਮਦਿ।

⁶² Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 15

ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਾਣੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਚਾਰੈ, _____
ਅਰੁ ਪਗੜੀ, ਜਾਮਾ ਸਪੇਦ ਪਹਰੇ ਅਗਲਬੰਦੀ, ਉਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਕੱਛ ਪਹਰੇ ਸੁਪੇਦ।

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to keep watch over as to whether his employees (*sant-khalsa*) was wearing neat and clean white dress or not. If by chance anyone was found disobeying the code of dress firstly he should be reprimanded. If he commits the same mistake second time, he would be subjected to punishment immediately leading to his removal from the service.⁶³

The *sau sakhi* (*Gur Ratan Mal*) appears to be another important source that must have been used by the author while he composed his work: *Prem Sumarag*. The *sau sakhi* was one of the important religious books of the Namdharis who believed it to have been composed by Guru Gobind Singh. Besides code of conduct and other anecdotes, numerous prophecies have been described in it. The most important one was the immediate end of the British rule followed by re-establishment of *khalsa raj*. So much so Baba Ram Singh himself had deep faith in this very version and used to preach that amongst his followers to inspire them to get united to restore *khalsa raj*. In fact, it was reassurance to the Sikhs that the recovery of lost power and glory of the Sikhs was imminent.⁶⁴ It had become of course great source of inspiration to the Namdharis to fight against the foreign rule so as to bring the *khalsa* rule back to power.⁶⁵ The *sau sakhi* is said to have been written after the collapse of Lahore kingdom.⁶⁶

Interestingly, the *sau sakhi* was also one of the popular religious books of the Namdharis which was believed to have been recorded by Guru Gobind Singh following dictation given by the Supreme Being (ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ). Apart, almost similar prophecy but in different style had been made in the *Prem Sumarag*. On the basis of it, the author appears to have built up his idea of emergence of gigantic personality (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ), who would destroy the enemies of the *khalsa*, which has conspicuously been referred to in the first chapter of the *Prem Sumarag*.⁶⁷ He would

⁶³ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 95

ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਰਹਤ ਮਲੀਨਤਾਈ ਕੀ ਹੋਇ। ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਅਪਨੀ ਚਾਕਰੀ ਤੇ ਦੂਰ ਕਰੈ।

⁶⁴ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 214

---ਉਹ ਕਈ ਵਾਰੀ ਕੂਕਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੋਥੀ (ਸੋ-ਸਾਖੀ) ਵਿਚੋਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਕੇ ਸੁਣਾਇਆ ਕਰਦੇ ਤੇ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਦੇਖੋ ਕਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਵਾਕ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਸਾਂ ਰਾਜ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੈ।

⁶⁵ Gurbachan Singh Nayyar, '*Gur Ratan Mal Arthat Sau Sakhi*', Punjabi University, Patiala, 1985, p. x

⁶⁶ Piara Singh Padam, '*Prachin Sau Sakhi*', Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2001, p. 27

⁶⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 3-4

ਦੁਸਟਾਂ ਕਾਂ ਸੰਘਾਰੁ ਕਰੇਗਾ। ਪਰ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਤੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਧਰਮ ਕੀ ਧਜਾ ਜਾਹਰ ਕਰਵਾਈਐਗੀ।

ਅਰੁ ਮਲੇਛਾਂ ਕਾ ਭੀ ਨਾਸੁ ਕਰਵਾਈਐਗਾ। ਪ੍ਰਗਾਸ ਮਰਦ ਕੇ ਚੇਲੇ ਦਾ ਹੋਇਗਾ; _____

ਅਰੁ ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ ਜੋ ਉਠੇਗਾ; ਸੋ ਅਪਨੇ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਹੀ ਤੇ ਉਠੇਗਾ;

establish an ideal Sikh and run it according to the provisions made in the revealed book: *Prem Sumarag*.⁶⁸

The author is prognosticating in the first chapter of his work that a charismatic personality (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) would take birth to redeem the lost glory and power of the *khalsa*. He would establish a sovereign Sikh state where justice would be in the reach of everybody irrespective of his position in the society. Indirectly, he is pointing out towards Baba Ram Singh as the future temporal and spiritual leader of the Sikh world. Obviously, the ideal state is an idea, how to convert it into reality that of course needs a just ruler and perfect judicial system. Therefore, the author extends it further by explaining in detail the nature of monarchy and his *modus operandi* as to how he would deliver justice to all without any discrimination in the eighth chapter of the *Prem Sumarag*, which has the largest number of the instructions.⁶⁹

The author did not think of an egalitarian society nor was his conceptual ideal Sikh state republican in character. He talks about a benevolent monarchy on which there was no institutional check on the power of the ruler and his use of power. It is the duty of the king to maintain it at all cost. If he notices any violation of his command by any one whosoever, he should award capital punishment and confiscate his property at once.⁷⁰ The author must have drawn such ideas of punishment from the British Indian Government who used to impose such harsh punishment on the natives on excuse of charge of sedition as a lesson to the others. The Namdharis had been serious victim of this style of awarding punishment by the British regarding which Baba Ram Singh had also expressed his deep sense of sorrow and grief.⁷¹

Nevertheless, the author justifies the conferment of such powers of awarding harsh punishment on the king necessary so that he could be able to maintain his power

⁶⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, pp. 1-5

⁶⁹ -*ibid*- pp. 94-123

⁷⁰ -*ibid*- p. 94

ਹੁਕਮ ਅਪਨੇ ਕੀ, ਐਸੀ ਰਖਿਆ ਕਰੈ; ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਫੇਰੇ, ਉਸ ਕੋ ਸੂਲੀ ਦੇਇ; ਉਸਕਾ ਘਰ ਬਾਰ ਲੁਟ ਲੇਵੈ।

⁷¹ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 203
ਦੇਖੋ ਜੋ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਪੂਰਬ ਤੇ ਮਲੇਛ ਕਾ ਆਉਨਾ ਸੀ ਸੋ ਬੀ ਹੋਆ, ਅਰੁ ਫੇਰ 1278 ਸੰਤ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਬੀ ਹੋਆ ਫੇਰ 1288 80 ਸੀਸ ਭੀ ਲਗੇ-----ਹੁਣ ਤਾਂ ਮਲੇਛਾਂ ਦੇ ਘਰ ਜਾਨ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ।

smoothly and permanently and deliver fair justice to all people of his state as described in the *Prem Sumarag*.

The *hukamname* of Baba Ram Singh which he wrote from Rangoon jail throws a great deal of light on what reforms he intended to introduce to purge the Sikhism from unnecessary elements that had crept into it with the passage of time. The most important aspect perhaps the innovative one was to improve the condition of the Sikh female gender. Apparently, Killing of girls and marrying them before reaching the age of puberty were common practice prevalent in the society during the author's time. Baba Ram Singh was strongly against these evils and he strongly condemned them and had to issue a specific edict from Rangoon jail thereby calling upon his followers (Namdharis) not to marry their daughters before attaining the age of fifteen-sixteen years.⁷² The author of the *Prem Sumarag* appears to have been impressed with such instructions and extended them in his work. Accordingly, the author fixed the seventeen as appropriate age of marriage when the parents should marry their children. However, the author feels that seventeen would be the optimum age of marriage when both boy and girl become mature and understand the world properly.⁷³

The author was in fact composing his work for the *sant-khalsa* who would take it as a religious book and follow its instructions in their daily life. According to him the foundation of the *Khalsa* was laid by the Almighty Being Himself through Guru Gobind Singh to last forever. No one can destroy it.⁷⁴ Apart from it, *Guru Granth Sahib/Adi Granth* was also equally revered religious book and used by the Namdhari Sikhs for their liturgical purposes. The Sikh is supposed to read and follow the spirit of the *Gurubani*. Guru Nanak in his *bani* strongly condemns the contemporary society for having low opinion for the women.⁷⁵ Quite contrary, the author of the *Prem Sumarag* portrays the women in his work much inferior to the man

⁷² Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 208
ਸਾਰੇ ਬਹੀਰ ਨੂੰ ਏਹ ਹੁਕਮ ਸੁਣਾ ਦੇਣਾ ਜੋ ਪੰਦਰਾ ਸੇਲਾ ਬਰਸ ਤੇ ਘਟ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਕੁੜੀ ਬਿਹਾਏ।

⁷³ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 41

⁷⁴ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p.141
ਏਹ ਸੰਤ-ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦਾ ਹੀ ਮੁਢ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਨਿਉ ਸੰਤ-ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਆਪ ਰਖੀ ਹੈ ਮਨੁਖ ਦੀ ਹਟਾਇ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਟਦੀ। _____ ਈਸਰ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਮਨੁਖ ਤੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਟਦੀ।

⁷⁵ '*Adi Granth*', p. 483
ਸੋ ਕਿਉ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਿਤ ਜੰਮੇ ਰਾਜਾਨ

as she is devoid of wisdom and intelligence and highly sensual. Undoubtedly, it is not in consonance with Sikh Guru's teachings as embodied in the *Adi Granth*. He boastfully follows the Hindu's *puranic* literature supposedly belonging to *satjug*, *treta*, *dwapar* mythical ages in which the women has been given very low status as compared to the men.⁷⁶

Besides the explanation of the status of women, the author describes in detail as to how a widow should lead her life in the society. Initially in his work, he advocates that a widow should not remarry and lead a life of chastity and during that period she should lead a life full of austerity and hard labor. Further, he adds that if the widow could not control her sexual thrust then she should be allowed to cohabit with any person but he should not be related directly to her husband's progeny. If such arrangement is not workable then she should seek her companion from the family of other person provided he should be a gentleman and belong to a respectable family but he should not be belonged to her own caste as well as her maternal uncle's offspring. If the widow has no living child and other family responsibility and she is interested in remarriage, then she should be allowed to remarry with the person who is socially permitted. The detail of procedures of such marriage has been described in detail by the author in the fourth chapter of his work.⁷⁷

The author's revolutionary views on widow remarriage in society certainly do not rest on the traditions and literature of the Hindus because widow remarriage was completely prohibited in upper caste of Hindu society. The Sikh society had also become victim of it. The credit goes to a Bengali reformer, Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar, who started vigorous campaign in favor of widow remarriage in Bengal during late nineteenth century. It ultimately culminated into passing of the Widow Remarriage Act, 1856, legalizing the remarriage of Hindu widows in all jurisdictions of India then under East India Company rule.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 46

ਸਤਜੁਗ ਤ੍ਰੇਤਾਂ ਦੁਆਪਰ ਜੁਗ ਮੇਂ ਭਲੇ ਭਲੇ ਤਪਸੀਉਂ ਕਉ ਕਾਮ ਨੇ ਛਲਾ ਹੈ। _____
ਫਿਰ ਜਾਮਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ, ਇਸ ਦੀ ਤਾਂ ਮੱਤਿ ਹੋਛੀ ਹੈ, ਚਪਲ ਹੈ। ਅਪਨਾ ਭਲਾ ਬੁਰਾ ਜਾਣਦੀ ਨਹੀਂ।

⁷⁷ -*ibid*- p. 46-48

ਅਰੁ ਜਿਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉ ਅਉਲਾਦ ਹੋਇਕੈ ਮੁਏ ਹੋਵਨਿ; ਅਰੁ ਆਗੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ; ਉਸ ਕਉ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੇ ॥ 15 ॥ 13 ॥

⁷⁸ Chakraborty, Uma, '*Gendering caste through a feminist lens*', (2nd ed.), Popular Parkashan, New Delhi, 2018, p. 125

The Punjab had come under the rule of the British Company in 1849. It is obvious that the Widow Remarriage Act, 1856 has legally become effective in the Punjab too. It was a revolutionary reformatory Act passed despite vehement opposition by upper castes of Hindus. The Sikhism was not a homogenous religion strictly developed on the lines of the tenets and teachings of the Sikh Gurus. So many evil practices of Hindus were quite prevalent in it at least up to the advent of Singh Sabha Movement started in 1873.⁷⁹ The author of the *Prem Sumarag* must be known to the legal development and its implications. Nonetheless, he appears to be influenced more by customs of the Hindus. That may be the reason that his explanation with regard to women status in Sikh society revolves round the Hindu social order, while his vision on Sikh widow is a mixture of Hindu customs and Government laws. He provides several options which the widows should have to avail of to avoid the remarriage. After exhausting those very options, she was legally entitled to get married. But she has to undergo the detailed and very complicated procedures vividly explained in the *Prem Sumarag* for remarriage of the Sikh widow.⁸⁰

In the end, we conveniently remark that the author does intentionally or unintentionally not refer any source of his information on the basis of which he had composed the *Prem Sumarag*. It is apparent that the author is highly-ranked caste and well qualified person according to the standard of his age. Besides, the details inside the work clearly reflects that the author must have known to various Sikh and non-Sikh sources; oral and written which must have facilitated and inspired him for writing his work. It is evident from the text that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* was certainly inspired and known to the work of *Bachittar Natak* which is claimed to have been dictated by Supreme Being Himself (ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ) to Guru Gobind Singh. Consciously, he built up the whole explanation of the first chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* on the pattern of the *Bachittar Natak*. Therefore, the author in artistic manner presents the first chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* as the address of the Immortal Being to Guru Gobind Singh whom He sent with specific instruction to establish a true rule (ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ), whose first and foremost duty would be to ensure absolute

⁷⁹ Harbans Singh, "Origin of Singh Sabha", *Punjab Past and Present: Essays In Honour of Ganda Singh* Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, p.273

⁸⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, pp. 49-55

justice to all without any kind of discrimination and destruction of the evil- doers.⁸¹ It is apparent that the first chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* is based on the *Bachittar Natak*.

The first chapter serves as a sort of a prologue to the main work spread over the next eight chapters in which the author prescribes a comprehensive code of conduct on religious, social and political required to be observed by the Sikh community. As it has become obligatory on his part because of the nature and purpose of the *panth* he describes in the prologue. Apparently, the chapters ranging from second to ninth are virtually the extension of the first chapter.

Of them, the author devotes only one chapter i.e. the eighth one on what kind of civil and military administration (ਰਾਜ ਲਫ਼ਣ ਮਾਰਗ ਕਾ) should be in the *Sikh* state. The details of this chapter reveal that the author must have not drawn his ideas of kingship and ideal Sikh state from *bani* of Guru Nanak because Guru Nanak stood for the chosen benevolent king who would not be hereditary and autocrat. While the nature of kingship depicted in the *Prem Sumarag* is indeed autocrat and hereditary. The author appears to have based his basic idea of kingship on the theory of classic works: Kautiliya's *Arthshastra*, Plato's *Republic* and Thomas Moore's *Utopia*, for instance. Apart from it, the author was certainly known to the *Ain-i-Akbari* from which civil and military administration (*mansabdari*) of the Mughals originated and practiced for centuries all over the Mughal Empire of which once the Punjab was a part. The central and provincial administration which the author prescribes in the *Prem Sumarag* for the Sikh state was almost the replica of Mughal administration. He emphasizes that the Sikh ruler must establish an elaborate system of the *mansabdari* in the army.⁸² For the convenience of the common people and keeping the Punjabi as a official language of the futuristic Sikh state in mind, the author substitutes the

⁸¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', pp. 1
ਹੇ ਪੁਤਰ! ਤੇਰਾ ਰੂਪ ਮੈਂ ਅਪਨੇ ਰੂਪ ਤੇ ਸਾਜਿ ਸਵਾਂਰਿ ਨਿਵਾਜਿਆ ਹੇ!
ਸੰਸਾਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਪੰਥ-ਪਰਚਾ ਕਰਬੇ ਕਉ। ਕੈਸਾ ਪੰਥ? ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਧਰਮ ਕਾ ਨਿਵਾਸੁ ਹੋਇ।
ਅਰੁ ਕਬੁੱਧੀ ਕਾ ਨਾਸ ਹੋਇ। ਅਰੁ ਸਬੁੱਧਿ ਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਗਾਸ ਹੋਇ।

⁸² -*ibid*- p. 102
ਜੇ ਅਬ ਚਾਕਰ ਰੱਖੇ, ਤਿਨ ਕਾ ਮਨਸਬ ਜੇ ਕਰੈ; ਸੇ ਇਸ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਕਰੈ:-
ਜੇ ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਮਨਸਬ ਜਿਸਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਪੰਜਾਹ ਸਿਪਾਹੀ ਸਵਾਰ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਮਿਲਨ। _____

Gurumukhi (Punjabi) terminology in his explanations in place of Persian terminology as has been used in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.⁸³

Similarly, we can judge the source of information which the author may have derived for compiling the chapters second to seventh and ninth of the *Prem Sumarag* in which comprehensive code of social and religious aspects have been prescribed. Explanation of birth, marriage, death ceremonies and liturgical practices are not strictly based on *bani* of the Sikh Gurus as later defined in the *rahit maryada* issued by the SGPC in 1950. He must have derived his information from various different sources like Sikh and non-Sikh literature, local traditions. Besides, there are so many references in the *Prem Sumarag* which confirm that the author must have added some information on his own which cannot be corroborated with any other source whatsoever. According to him, there was to be only one caste, that of the Sodhi *khatri*, the caste of Guru Gobind Singh, to which one came to belong immediately on one's initiation into the *Khalsa* faith. Nevertheless, some concessions could be given in favor of caste and sub-caste. For example, the marriage was permissible within the same caste and sub-caste as much as inter-caste marriage.⁸⁴

It would be pertinent to mention here that in accordance with the provisions the Government of India Act, 1856 passed by the British Parliament, all Indian territories including the Punjab then under East India Company were to be governed in the name of the British Queen through Secretary of State for India. Thereafter, numerous legislations were passed by the British Parliament for enforcing them in its Indian territories. The references in the text suggest that the *Prem Sumarag* has been composed by a person of highly-ranked caste and fully qualified; and represent an aristocratic view of the *Khalsa*.⁸⁵ Obviously, the author must have known to the Imperial laws enacted by the British Government and enforced in British Indian territories. Amongst them, the most revolutionary legislation was the Widow Remarriage Act, 1856 which was actually held good in 1860 all over the British Indian territories.

⁸³ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', pp. 102, 112
'ਬਲਵੰਤ-ਕਾਰੀਆ'—ਜਿਸ ਤੂੰ ਜਾਮਨੀ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਵਿਚਿ 'ਉਮਰਾਉ' ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ। _____
ਅਰੁ ਹੁਕਮ ਜਿ ਲਿਖੈ ਜਬਾਨੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕੀ, ਜਿਸ ਕੋ ਜਾਮਨੀ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਮੈ 'ਹਸਬੁਲਹੁਕਮ' ਕਹਿਤੇ ਹੈ।

⁸⁴ -*ibid*- pp. 43-44

⁸⁵ McLeod, W.H., *Prem Sumarag: A Testimony of a Sanatan Sikh*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 2

While there was no such tradition of re-marrying of the widows in the Sikh society as a whole, neither any provision was there in *Sikh* literature or Hindu shastras, which would have permitted the widow to remarry. In fact, the widow remarriage was a taboo. The author of the *Prem Sumarag* must have known to the British law of widow remarriage and its implications. Interestingly, if a widow could not control her sexual desire, she was free to remarry; she was not required to seek prior consent or permission of any one which was conformed to the provisions of the Widow Remarriage Act, 1856. It is evident from the explanation that may have facilitated to make such provisions in his work.⁸⁶ He had given also the details of rites and ceremonies those were to be observed while arranging remarriage of the widows.

The author of the *Prem Sumarag* does not quote the *sau sakhi* as his source of information anywhere in his work. Nevertheless, it is understandable that he being a Namdhari must have inspired by the prophecy quoted in the *sau sakhi*. The study of *rahitnama* of Bhai Chaupa Singh also shows that the charismatic person (ਬੋਧਾ) on particular auspicious time would take birth in Sambhal Nagari and establish a true rule destroying the evil doers.⁸⁷ Interestingly, similar information has been recorded in the first chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* too.⁸⁸ It is apparent that this very chapter is based on the information as contained in the *sau sakhi* and the Chaupa Singh *rahitnama*. The last tenth chapter is not based on any information. It is just like epilogue in which the author simply gives the conclusion of his early nine chapters. The author concludes that the contemporary society was deeply inflicted with self-centeredness (ਹਉਮੈ) and devoid of virtues and moralities due to which it was not worth living place. The author further visualized that an ideal Sikh state under an enlightened Sikh ruler (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) having attained the stage of transcendental (ਸਹਜ ਜੋਗ) would come into force. It would be the abode of the *sant-khalsa* who would have attained the stage of transcendental (ਸਹਜ ਜੋਗ) and free from venom of self-centeredness (ਹਉਮੈ). The *Prem Sumarag* would be the only religious book as well as guiding principles according to which the ruler (ਮਹਾਰਾਜ-ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹਿ) would rule over his

⁸⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p.48

⁸⁷ Piara Singh Padam, '*Rahitname*', (4th ed.), Bhai Chattar Singh Jiwan Singh, Amritsar, 1989, p. 132-133

⁸⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', pp. 2-3
ਬੋਧ ਜੀ ਉਸਕਾ ਨਾਉ ਹੋਇਗੇ। ___ਤਬ ਸੰਭਲ ਨਗਰੀ ਬਿਖੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਾਸੁ ਲੇਵੈਗਾ। ਦੁਸਟਾਂ ਕਾ ਸੰਘਾਤੁ ਕਰੈਗਾ।

subjects thereby creating new society consisted of the *sant-khalsa*. Thus the Dark Age (ਕਲਿਜੁਗ) would automatically come to end.⁸⁹

From a purely literary point of view, the *Prem Sumarag* was the message of the Supreme Being (ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ) which was revealed on Guru Gobind Singh thereby ordering him to destroy the evils from the earth so as to ensure justice only justice to all without any discrimination. It was in fact an artistic device which the author may have purposely invented just to impress upon the people (*sant-khalsa*) to accept it as message of God rather than of a human being. Undoubtedly, it had swiftly become as one of an authoritative religious books of the Namdharis, the followers of Baba Ram Singh.⁹⁰ However, from holistic point of view it is not true rather it would have been definitely composed by a highly experienced person who nevertheless has not disclosed purposely his identity.

The vocabulary and terminology the author used in the *Prem Sumarag* show that he must have had mastery over variety of subjects including different religions of his times, which were obviously written in different languages like *Gurumukhi*, *Devnagari* and *Persian/Urdu*.⁹¹ Obviously, without such vast knowledge, a comprehensive details of various topics embodied in the *Prem Sumarag* could not have been brought to a logical explanations. Therefore, we can safely conclude that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* must have studied and consulted various written Sikh and non-Sikh sources as have been referred above in the present chapter. It also appears that wherever, the author felt necessary, he would have used local traditions as well as his own personal understanding as tool of information for composing his work.

Age of *Prem Sumarag*:

Almost every historian and scholar working on the *Prem Sumarag* is unanimous that it has been written by an unknown author. He might be a *khatri* by

⁸⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 151

ਅੰਤ ਚਲਨ ਕਲਿਜੁਗ ਕਾ ਚਲੈਗਾ; _____ ਤਬ ਇਸ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕੇ ਬੋਲਣੇ ਕੀ ਮਹਿਮਾ ਹੋਇਗੀ ॥ 4 ॥

⁹⁰ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), p. 181

ਅਹੁ ਹੁਕਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਸੰਤ-ਖਾਲਸੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਜੇ ਆਪੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੰਨਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਹੋਰ ਕੌਣ ਮੰਨੁਗਾ, ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਹੁਕਮ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਦੇਖ ਲਉ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਸੁਮਾਰਗ ਮੈਂ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ, ਅਗੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਖਵਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਏਸ ਹੁਕਮ ਦੀ_____

⁹¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 149

ਨਾ ਪੂਜਾ, ਨਾ ਨਿਵਾਜ; ਨਾ ਮਾਲਾ, ਨ ਤਸਬੀ; ਨਾ ਤਿਲਕ, ਨ ਸਜਦਾ।

ਜਹਾ ਤਹਾਂ ਪਾਪ ਕੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਯਾ ਬਢੇਗੀ; 'ਧਰਮ' ਪੰਖ ਲਗਾਇ ਉਡਿ ਜਾਇਗਾ।

caste.⁹² While the date of its' composition has been seriously contested. Some say it was written in early eighteenth century. Majority view is of those who claim that it was the product of late eighteenth century. Some opine that it is too early and it would have been written in early part of nineteenth century. A few argue for late nineteenth century, among them the first was Dr. S.S. Hans while Dr. Rattan Singh is more precise who confidently say that it has been written after April 12, 1857 arguing that the *Prem Sumarag* contains the specific word *sant-khalsa*, which was first coined on this very day by Baba Ram Singh.⁹³ But none of them has gone deep into the matter, may be because of their limitations of research activities.

From research point of view, the analysis of internal evidence is most important tool in hand of a scholar which facilitates to know the time and the circumstances in which a particular literacy work has been written and who wrote it with what purpose. Because, it is necessary element by which we can assess the actual historical worth of the work. Of course, convincing and reliable references are readily available in the *Prem Sumarag* itself which would speak itself that it has been written by Baba Ram Singh or by his most trusted disciple under his strict supervision. Exact date of compilation of the *Prem Sumarag* is difficult to ascertain, whereas a tentative period is possible. Apparently, it would have been composed during the period falling between 1857 A.D. when Baba Ram Singh created his *sant-khalsa* and 1863 A.D. when Baba Ram Singh had established himself as singular legitimate head of Namdharis and appointed his preachers (ਫੁਲਾਰ) in different designated areas.⁹⁴ Certainly not beyond 1865 A.D. when its copy of partial English translation attributed to John Leyden had reached the British Library, London.⁹⁵

Anguish and scornful expression manifested by the author in *Prem Sumarag* points out that it was not written in normal times rather in odd times when the author would have been under unsavory situation created by the concerned contemporary authority. As we know evidently that the movements of Baba Ram Singh was restricted to his native village Bhaini in 1863 by the order of the British Government of the Punjab due to his controversial life style and unfavorable activities of his

⁹² W.H. Mcleod, '*Prem Sumarag : The Testimony of a Sanatan Sikh*', Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 2

⁹³ Karnail Singh Somal, '*Bhai Randhir Singh Doomchheri*', p. 59

⁹⁴ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 211

⁹⁵ Add MS 26588: Western Manuscript, British Library, London (UK)

followers.⁹⁶ On account of it, the author would not have mentioned his name inside the *Prem Sumarag*. It is obvious that mentioning of the name in it would be a ready reference to the British Government to initiate inquiry against him and his followers on the charge of circulating seditious materials which was readily available in the *Prem Sumarag*.

If it had happened it would have been a debacle for the Kuka movement, as it was successfully though surreptitiously being moved forward under Baba Ram Singh. Analysis of such complicated situation suggests that Baba Ram Singh would have composed the *Prem Sumarag* as it was a constant source of inspiration for his followers to strengthen the movement.

It is also true that majority of people of the Punjab especially Baba Ram Singh and his followers did not compromise with the British rule in the Punjab and they were always at the radar of the Government. Also in the official circles, the Kukas were known as the implacable enemies and disloyal subject of the British Government.⁹⁷ Such conflicting circumstances must have compelled Baba Ram Singh not to mention his name in the *Prem Sumarag* and moreover stressed upon his followers by way of specific instruction made in the *Prem Sumarag* that they should read and recite it in strict privacy and keep it out of reach of the Government.⁹⁸

Similar instructions with regard to keeping the *hukamname* secret or destroying them were also issued by Baba Ram Singh to his adherents while he was in Rangoon jail. Apparently, it was a well conceived plan of Baba Ram Singh to avoid punitive action that could be initiated immediately by the British Government against him because issuance of *hukamname* from jail was legally banned hence considered unlawful activity.⁹⁹ The author (master) knew well that he was under strict surveillance of the British Government at least since 1863. Also he was quite aware

⁹⁶ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 36
ਸਰਕਾਰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਨਾਲ ਜੁਲਾਈ, 1863 ਵਿਚ ਭਾਈ ਰਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਪਿੰਡ ਭੈਣੀ ਵਿਚ ਨਜਰ-ਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਸਾਰੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਕੂਕਿਆਂ ਉਤੇ ਪੁਲੀਸ ਦੀ ਨਿਗਰਾਨੀ ਹੋ ਗਈ ਅਤੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ।

⁹⁷ Swaran Singh Snehi, '*Kukas in relation to the Sikh Rule*', Proceedings of Punjab History Conference, 15th Session, 1981, p. 208

⁹⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 151
ਕਹਾਂ ਉਚਾਰ ਕਰੈ? ਜਹਾਂ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਕਰਿ ਸੁਨਤਾ ਹੈ। ਅਰੁ ਸੁਨਕਰਿ ਮਨ ਬਿਖੈ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਉਪਾਜਾਵਤਾ ਹੈ।
ਹਰਿ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਕੇ ਆਗੈ ਇਸ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕਾ ਬੋਲਣਾ ਸੁਨਾਵਣਾ ਨਾਹੀ ॥

⁹⁹ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', (2nd ed.), p. 178
ਅਰੁ ਏਹ ਕਾਗਜ ਦੇਖ ਕੇ ਸਮਝ ਕੇ ਤੁਰਤ ਪਾਣੀ ਗਲਾ ਦੇਣੈ ਪਾਸ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਖਣੇ ॥ ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਦਫਖੇਗਾ ਤਾਂ ਦੁਖ ਦੇਉ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤੇ ਬੁਆਨੂੰ ॥ ਪਰ ਜੇ ਇਹ ਦੇਖ ਲੈਣਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਸਭਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬਡਾ ਦੁਖ ਦੇਣਗੇ, ਇਨ ਕੇ ਰਹਿਮ ਦਿਲ ਨਹੀਂ ॥

that contents of *Prem Sumarag* were objectionable, therefore he feared that if by chance the copy of *Prem Sumarag* fell in the hands of the British Government that would have serious repercussion on him as well as his followers. Because of this, he may have not referred his name in the *Prem Sumarag*. For similar reasons, Baba Ram Singh did not use his name on *hukamname* issued from Rangoon jail. Rather he issued a *hukamnama* regarding it thereby calling upon his followers to use his coded name of Dayal Singh and his personal servant Nanu Singh as Kirpal Singh in all correspondence.¹⁰⁰

There is reliable and authentic evidence which would help us to reach a reasonable conclusion that Baba Ram Singh would have completed the *Prem Sumarag* in 1860s. A British official Pir Fazl Hussain, who met him on March 20, 1867 at Anandpur Sahib and reported subsequently that “Ram Singh was completing the draft of a book (ਗ੍ਰੰਥ) to which he intended to give the title of Last Book (ਆਖਰੀ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ). While the details of instructions (ਹੁਕਮ) and beliefs and practices (ਰਹਿਤਨਾਮਾ) of the Kukas incorporated in this Book, could not have been known. Personally he was the view that whenever this book would be published, it would contain nothing except the prophecies of the coming period of 50 or 100 years.¹⁰¹

Pir Fazl Hussain was not an ordinary person. He was a senior and responsible Vigilance Officer specially deputed to report on Baba Ram Singh then being under surveillance of the Punjab British Government. Hence his report is reliable and authentic. From the report, it is evident that by March 20, 1867, Baba Ram Singh had a manuscript draft of a Holy book in his possession ready for sending it to the press for publication. But he could not get it published despite the fact that his staunch follower Diwan Buta Singh was running his own *Aftab-e-Punjab* Press at Lahore (Pakistan) which had Urdu font but not that of Punjabi in *Gurumukhi* being not.¹⁰² However, the reporter could not get the details of contents of the book despite his efforts. Apparently, it was yet personal and confidential document of Baba Ram Singh containing most probably the prophecies. It is crystal clear that Baba Ram Singh did

¹⁰⁰ Jaswinder Singh, ‘*Sri Satguru Ram Singh ji de Hukamname*’, Vishav Namdhari Vidyak Jatha, Bhaini Sahib, Ludhiana, 2016, p. 92

‘---ਚੰਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਜਾਵੇ, ਜਾਦਾ ਜਾਦਾ ਸਿਟ ਜਾਵੇ, ਪਰ ਮੇਰਾ ਨਾਉ ਦਇਆਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਨਾਨੂ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ ਨਾਉ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਲਿਖਣਾ।’

¹⁰¹ Ganda Singh, ‘*Kukian Di Vithia*’, p. 46

¹⁰² Swaran Singh Snehi, ‘*Kukas in relation to the Sikh Rule*’, Proceedings of *Punjab History Conference*, 15th Session, 1981, p. 212-213

have a complete unpublished manuscript of Last Book (ਆਖਰੀ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ), consists of injunctions and prophecies. It is also obvious that this book was written for his followers (*sant-khalsa*).

Perusal of the *Prem Sumarag* leaves no doubt that it also contains the similar features such as the prophecies and code of conduct as surmised by British official for the said book (*Akhari Granth*). Moreover, both were personal and confidential documents of Baba Ram Singh. Such close similarities compel to think that *Akhari Granth* and *Prem Sumarag* were the same compositions written by Baba Ram Singh.

It is also on record that a partial manuscript of English translation of the *Prem Sumarag* attributed to John Leyden had already reached the British Library, London in 1865 A.D. as mentioned above. It is also proved that the word *sant-khalsa* was first coined on April 12, 1857 A.D. by Baba Ram Singh which has been authoritatively referred in the *Prem Sumarag* too by its author. It is obvious that the *Prem Sumarag* would have been written during the period from 1857 to 1863, in all probability by Baba Ram Singh himself.

Very important reference is there in the *Prem Sumarag* which brings us towards the late nineteenth century being the time of its composition. The author was confident that the people of the Punjab would have a new religion (Christianity) coupled with new norms of social and political dispensations. Only one community (ਬਰਨ) would prevail throughout the Punjab. The Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims, the existing indigenous religions would completely lose their identities.¹⁰³ It is a fact that after occupation of Punjab by Christian rulers in 1849, the Christianity had made powerful entry in the social fabric of the Punjab as fourth major religion after Sikhism, Hinduism and Islam. In 1850, new legislation Lex Loci Act had also become operative in the Punjab by which a native could become a Christian without losing his right to ancestral property. Subsequently, it had become a strong tool in hands of Christian missionaries to tempt the gullible natives to adopt the Christianity. Soon after, numerous especially urban Sikh, Hindu and Muslim had become Christians. The

¹⁰³ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 149

ਔਰ ਹੀ ਧਰਮ, ਅਉਰ ਹੀ ਕਰਮ ਹੋਇਗਾ। ਅਉਰ ਹੀ ਚਲਨ; ਅਉਰ ਹੀ ਬਰਨ ਹੋਇਗਾ। ਨਾ ਪੂਜਾ, ਨਾ ਨਿਵਾਜ; ਨਾ ਤਸਬੀ, ਨਾ ਤਿਲਕ, ਨ ਸਜਦਾ। ਜਹਾਂ ਤਹਾਂ ਪਾਪ ਕੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਯਾ ਬਢੇਗੀ, 'ਧਰਮ' ਪੰਖ ਲਗਾਇ ਉਡਿ ਜਾਏਗਾ।

most surprising event was that of Maharaja Dalip Singh, ex-ruler of Lahore kingdom who had embraced Christianity on March 8th, 1853.¹⁰⁴

Though the author of *Prem Sumarag* does not use the word Christian directly, only refers to a new religion (ਔਰ ਹੀ ਧਰਮ) in his statement, yet by inference it is quite understandable that the author was talking about Christianity. Arguably, if Sikhism, Hinduism and Islam were not functional in the Punjab as referred in *Prem Sumarag*, it is obvious the fourth one that was the new religion of Christianity of the rulers would survive. Reference to new religion in the *Prem Sumarag* indicates that it was written during British rule obviously in the late nineteenth century.

After annexation of Punjab by Christian rulers into British Empire in 1849, Christianity had started to expand its wings over indigenous religion. The author took it as imminent threat to the existence not only of Sikhism but also Hinduism and Islam alike. Therefore he called upon the *sant-khalsa* to adopt the great path (ਪਰਮ ਮਾਰਗ) as explained in the *Prem Sumarag* which would be the only source of all worldly comforts and ensure abode in the heaven. Because, God Himself (ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ) created it (ਪਰਮ ਮਾਰਗ) for the *sant-khalsa* so that no one in future could corrupt him.¹⁰⁵

From above, it is evident that the author of *Prem Sumarag* was making a strong call to the *khalsa* Sikhs to join more and more to the fold of new brotherhood ship of *sant-khalsa*, which had been created with the order of Almighty God (ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ) and were the legitimate Sikhs. In fact, Baba Ram Singh used to call his own followers as *sant-khalsa*, while other Sikhs as impure *Khalsa* (ਮਲੇਛ ਪੰਥ).¹⁰⁶

There are several references to *sant-khalsa* in the *Prem Sumarag* whereas no such reference had ever been mentioned authoritatively by any earlier writer who wrote the Sikh ideals (ਰਹਿਤਨਾਮਾ) in eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Actually, It was first coined by Baba Ram Singh on the auspicious day of Baisakh 1, 1914 of Bikrami era (April 12, 1857 A.D.), when he administered initiation of double dagger

¹⁰⁴ Lady Login, 'The Baptism (1852-54)', Chapter X in *Sir John Login And Duleep Singh*, 1970, p. 305

¹⁰⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 150

ਮਿਹਰ ਕਰਕੇ, ਏਹੁ ਮਾਰਗੁ ਹੁਕਮ ਪਾਇ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ; ਜੇ ਭੁਲਣ ਨਾ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇ ॥

¹⁰⁶ Ganda Singh, 'Kukian Di Vithia', Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 23

(ਖੰਡੇ ਕੀ ਪਾਹੁਲ) to his five beloved Namdhari Sikhs and gave them the epithet of *sant-khalsa*. Etymologically, the word *sant-khalsa* had first come into currency on April 12, 1857 A.D. Only then it could have been possible for the author to use it formally in his work (*Prem Sumarag*). Hence, it would be a reasonable ground to draw conclusion that the *Prem Sumarag* was written in the time following 1857 A.D.¹⁰⁷

There is a very interesting statement of the author in the *Prem Sumarag*. According to it, a prophetic person (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) named Bodh would take birth in the city of Sambhal on the day of *magh sudi 5* of last part of the night to provide security to followers (*sant-khalsa*). He would punish the Sikhs (ਮਲੇਛ ਪੰਥ) and also destroy the enemies (ਮਲੇਛਾਂ) of the *sant-khalsa*.¹⁰⁸

The author has used very significant and meaningful term of *mard ka chela* (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) and his date of birth of *magh sudi*, a month of Bikrami calendar in his work. In fact, a reference to *mard kachela* has been used in the *Babur-bani*, a composition of Guru Nanak which is regarded as a prophecy concerning the invasion of Babur 1578 Bikrami (1521 A.D.) and the defeat of the Mughals by Sher Shah Suri in 1597 Bikrami (1540).¹⁰⁹

However, Baba Ram Singh worked thoughtfully on this prophecy of Guru Nanak and usefully interpreted and propagated it in his favor. According to him, Guru Nanak said after 300 years of invasion of Babur in 1878 Bikrami (1821 A.D.), *mard ka chela* (Baba Ram Singh) would be born while in 1897 Bikrami (1840-1841 A.D.), he would become the disciple of his Guru Baba Balak Singh. Precisely, Baba Ram Singh had been claiming the year 1878 Bikrami (1821 A.D.) as his birth year.¹¹⁰ The *magh sudi 5* referred in the *Prem Sumarag* is a month and date of Bikrami calendar on

¹⁰⁷ Karnail Singh Somal, '*Bhai Randhir Singh Doomchheri*', Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2018, p. 59

¹⁰⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 2-3

455 ਕਲਿਜੁਗ ਕੇ ਬਿਖੈ ਸਤਿਜੁਗ ਵਰਤੈਗੇ। ਬੋਧ ਜੀ ਉਸਕਾ ਨਾਉ ਹੋਇਗੇ। ਮਾਘ ਸੁਦੀ 5 ਦਿਨ, ਰਾਤਿ ਪਿਛਲੀ _____ ਅੰਤਕਾਲਿ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਸੰਤ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕੀ ਰੱਛਿਆ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ-ਕਿਉਂਜੋ ਮਲੇਛ ਪੰਥ ਕਾ ਭੀ ਜੇਰੁ ਹੋਇਗਾ-ਤਬ ਸੰਭਲ ਨਗਰੀ ਬਿਖੈ ਪ੍ਰਗਾਸੁ ਲੇਵੈਗਾ- ਦੁਸਟਾਂ ਕਾ ਸੰਘਾਰੁ ਕਰੈਗਾ। ਪਰ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਤੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਧਰਮ ਕੀ ਧਜਾ ਜਾਹਰ ਕਰਵਾਈਐਗੀ, ਅਰੁ ਮਲੇਛਾਂ ਕਾ ਭੀ ਨਾਸੁ ਕਰਵਾਈਐਗਾ। ਪ੍ਰਗਾਸ ਮਰਦ ਕੇ ਚੇਲੇ ਦਾ ਹੋਇਗਾ; ਸੰਭਲ ਨਗਰੀ ਬਿਖੈ।

¹⁰⁹ '*Sri Guru Granth Sahib*', Rag Tilang Mahalla 5, page 723

“ਆਵਨਿ ਅਠਤਰੈ ਜਾਨਿ ਸਤਾਨਵੈ ਹੋਰ ਭੀ ਉਠਸੀ ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ”

¹¹⁰ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 50-51

which Baba Ram Singh had actually born (February 3, 1816).¹¹¹ Understandably, the term *mard ka chela* though in coded form, has also been referred to in the *Prem Sumarag* relates to Baba Ram Singh.

The other coded words like *malechh panth* (ਮਲੇਛ ਪੰਥ) and *malechhan* (ਮਲੇਛਾਂ) have been used several times in the *Prem Sumarag* but in derogatory and scornful sense by its author to express his anguish against those who were targeting him inside and outside: orthodox Sikhs and the British Government. Baba Ram Singh had created a distinct class of volunteers with new set of norms whom he used to address as pure *khalsa* (*sant-khalsa*), while the other *khalsa*-Sikhs who had become impure as *malechh panth*.¹¹²

Baba Ram Singh had made a large number of the Sikhs as *sant-khalsa* since 1857 A.D., a team of dedicated and righteous volunteers and expanded his innovative activities, extensively of which British Government took first notice in April, 1863 A.D. Soon after, he was ordered to be restricted to his native village Bhaini and strong vigilance over his *sant-khalsa* was also started to slow down the Kuka movement. Thus, relations became extremely tense, which ultimately resulted into exile of Baba Ram Singh to Rangoon jail (Myanmar) in 1872. While he was in jail, he issued numerous *hukamname* secretly and under coded name to his followers (*sant-khalsa*). In them, he referred to the British Government and its officials as *malechh* (ਮਲੇਛ) and in plural sense as *malechhan* (ਮਲੇਛਾਂ) in hate and anguish in same sense as he expressed in the *Prem Sumarag*.¹¹³

Interestingly, the timings, wordings, terminology and addressees are almost similar in both, the *hukamname* as well as the *Prem Sumarag*. Moreover, the name of the scribe/writer is also missing in the both documents. It is now established fact that Baba Ram Singh was the author of *hukamname* in which he frequently referred the *Prem Sumarag* as revealed scripture and authoritatively recommended it to his

¹¹¹ Nahar Singh, 'Goroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs', Vol. I&II, Amrit Books, New Delhi, 1965 & 1966, p. 48

¹¹² Ganda Singh, 'Kukian Di Vithia', Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 23

¹¹³ -*ibid*- p. 170

ਏਥੇ ਏਮੇ ਮਲੇਛ ਮਿਲਣ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਂਦੇ। _____ ਜੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਮਲੇਛਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਲੂਮ ਹੋਏ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਏ ਨਾਲੇ ਸੰਤਰੀਆ ਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਕੈਦ ਕਰਨ, ਨਾਲੇ ਨਾਮ ਕਟ ਦੇਣ, ਨਾਲੇ ਬੈਂਤ ਮਾਰਨ, ਨਾਲੇ ਜੇਡਾ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣ ਆਵੇ, ਉਸਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਕੈਦ ਕਰ ਦੇਣਗੇ ॥

followers (*sant-khalsa*) to regulate their social life accordingly.¹¹⁴ Therefore, we can conveniently conclude that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* was no person other than Baba Ram Singh himself.

The circumstances which lay behind the numerous injunctions (ਬਚਨ) of the *Prem Sumarag* certainly are those of the Victorian rule period that had started in Punjab from 1849 but certainly of earlier period. Especially the injunctions (ਬਚਨ) pertaining to the uplift of women, described in the *Prem Sumarag* belong to that period. Most importantly, the widow remarriage which was in fact considered to be a taboo and also unknown to Hindu law. Therefore, it was strictly prohibited in the Hindu society which had permanently implanted into the Sikh society as well forgetting Sikh Guru's teachings.¹¹⁵ In order to remove this centuries old social evil, the East India Company at the instance of Bengali reformists had passed Hindu Widow Remarriage Act in 1856 applicable from 1860 and enforced it in its all jurisdiction of India of which the Punjab was a part after 1849. The author of the *Prem Sumarag* must have influenced by this development connecting it with the Sikh Guru's teachings, a revolutionary innovation has been inscribed in the *Prem Sumarag*.¹¹⁶

There is also a very significant term of *tehsildar* has been mentioned in the *Prem Sumarag*. It has been used for an administrative incharge of a *pargana*. Fact is that this term was not in currency before the advent of British rule in the Punjab. After annexation of Punjab in 1849, the British Government administratively divided the Punjab into divisions which were further divided into districts while districts into *tehsils* for better handling of administration. The incharge of the *tehsil* was designated as *tehsildar*.¹¹⁷ Inclusion of term of *tehsildar* as such in the *Prem Sumarag* evidently

¹¹⁴ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, p. 181
ਉਹ ਹੁਕਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਏਸੇ ਸੰਤ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ। ਸੋ ਆਪੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੰਨਾਂਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਹੋਰ ਕੌਣ ਮੰਨੇਗਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਦੇਖ ਲਉ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਸੁਮਾਰਗ ਮੈਂ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ॥

¹¹⁵ '*Sri Guru Granth Sahib*', p. 483
ਸੋ ਕਿਉਂ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਿਤ ਜੰਮੇ ਰਾਜਾਨ

¹¹⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 48
ਜਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿਸੀ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਰਹਿ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਕਤੀ, ਅਰੁ ਲੇਖੁ ਕਰਮ ਕਾ ਸਬਲ ਹੈ। ਤਬ ਓੜਕ ਨੇ ਆਨ ਜਾਤਿ ਬਰਨ ਬਿਖੈ,
ਭਲੀ ਕੁਲ ਬਿਖੈ, ਭਲੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਕਉ ਦੇਖਿ ਕੇ ਕਰੈ। ਦੋ ਜਗਰ ਨਾ ਕਰੇ—ਏਕ ਤੋ ਨਾਨੇ ਕੇ ਘਰਿ ਬਿਖੈ, ਦੁਸਰੇ ਅਪਨੀ ਪੇਕੀ
ਜਾਤਿ ਬਿਖੈ॥

¹¹⁷ N.M. Khilnani, '*The Punjab under the Lawrences*', Punjab Government Record Office, Simla, 1951, p. 106

shows that this very term must have become very popular and more understandable to the people during British rule. On account of it, the author may have preferably used it for the incharge of a *pargana* while describing political management for the ideal Sikh state in the *Prem Sumarag*.

Etymologically, every word has its own origin. The Widow Remarriage Act and term of *tehsildar* had apparently originated in the late nineteenth century. Their references in the *Prem Sumarag* is a clear proof to say that it must have been composed in the late nineteenth century when Punjab was firmly under the British rule.

The author of the *Prem Sumarag* presents the whole work as the address of Immortal Being (God) to Guru Gobind Singh before the *khalsa* was created. Taking his standpoint in the past, the author projected his vision into futuristic religious, social and political requirements of the *sant-khalsa*. Before creation of the *Khalsa*, Guru Gobind Singh had publicized his mission through the *Bachittar Natak* to which the author of the *Prem Sumarag* was certainly known. Therefore, he purposely reproduced a paraphrase of the *Bachittar Natak* in the opening paragraph of the *Prem Sumarag*. Also, he starts his work with phrase *patshahi 10* (ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹੀ 10). It is an artistic device that the author must have adopted to make the people believe that the *Prem Sumarag* was, of course, a composition of Guru Gobind Singh. As it would motivate and inspire the people more to become the *sant-khalsa*, a class of warriors who would be eager to die for the cause that the Guru would chalk out for their welfare. However, there is no evidence in the *Prem Sumarag* which may substantiate this concept of the author.

From the above explanations, it appears to be reasonable and justifiable to say that the author of *Prem Sumarag* was Baba Ram Singh himself though it did not mention his name in it. Reason is obvious. Because he was on the strict surveillance of the British Government since long due to his aggressive innovative activities which ultimately led to his confinement to his native village Bhaini in July, 1863 and his *sant-khalsa* were put under constant vigilance and repression. Moreover, *Prem Sumarag* was a personal and confidential book of Baba Ram Singh who also advised his *sant-khalsa* to recite it in most privacy and inculcate its injunctions for their

welfare in this world and in heaven in company of God after death.¹¹⁸ Obviously, it was out of reach of common people.

Secondly, the partial English translation of the *Prem Sumarag*, attributed to John Leyden, a British Indian civil servant was submitted to the British Library, London (UK) by his friend's son C.J. Erskine in 1865. While the *Prem Sumarag* was a personal and confidential document of Baba Ram Singh, to discover it first and then translate it was not a simple exercise as it appears. Possibly an informer of British Government may have discovered it from Baba Ram Singh or his *sant-khalsa* then he would have consigned it to concerned British officer (C.J. Erskine). Usually, the British Government played such tricks as it discovered the copy of *sau sakhi* through its informer Genda Singh from the possession of Baba Ram Singh or his *sant-khalsa* in 1863.¹¹⁹ It affirms that the complete form of the *Prem Sumarag* was in existence in 1863.

Thirdly, there are several innovative words like *sant-khalsa*, *tehsildar*, Widow Remarriage etc, which have been used confidently and authoritatively by the author of the *Prem Sumarag*. From etymological point of view, these innovative words had come first time in currency during late nineteenth century and cannot be traced out in earlier Sikh literature especially of eighteenth or early nineteenth century. As far as the *sant-khalsa* is concerned, it was coined and created by Baba Ram Singh himself when he converted five Namdharis into order of *sant-khalsa* by administering them *khand ki pahul* (ਖੰਡੇ ਕੀ ਪਾਹੁਲ) on the auspicious festival of Baisakhi on day Baisakh 1, 1914 Bikrami, exactly 158 years after the creation of the *khalsa* by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699. Thus *khalsa* of Guru Gobind Singh had been transformed into *neo-khalsa/sant-khalsa* by Baba Ram Singh on April 12, 1857.

Fourthly, the author of the *Prem Sumarag* purposely used coded words like *malechh khalsa* for the *khalsa*-Sikhs while *malechh or malechhan* for the British Government and its officials as his opponents. These words have a lot of sense. The author prophesied the extirpation of the *khalsa* so as to establish himself as singular Guru (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) for his followers (*sant-khalsa*) to wage war and oust the alien

¹¹⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 151

ਇਸਤੈ ਹਰਿ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਕੇ ਆਗੈ ਇਸ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕਾ ਬੋਲਣਾ ਸੁਨਾਵਣਾ ਨਾਹੀ।

¹¹⁹ Ganda Singh, '*Kukian Di Vithia*', Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2017, pp. 29-30

British Government being necessary to restore the *khalsa raj*. Historically, Baba Ram Singh had been fighting with the both, the orthodox Sikhs and the British Government to achieve his mission of creating ideal Sikh state as the author thoughtfully envisaged in the *Prem Sumarag*. Obviously, it is the product of the late nineteenth century.

Lastly and importantly, it is very important to explain here that several historians believe that the first English translation of the *Prem Sumarag* which is lying in British Library in London under reference number Add MS 26588 was done by Dr. John Leyden, an orientalist, in 1809 A.D. It was a great relief to those who believe that *Prem Sumarag* was the product of late eighteenth century which is at present is majority's view. The first among them was renowned Sikh historian W.H. Mcleod. Relying on it, he justified his view point and sharply reacted that "I still regard it as being the later eighteenth century. He specifically noted in a Review Article that John Leyden testified in his own handwriting that he translated it or checked it in 1809.¹²⁰ While the fact is that a copy of partial English translation manuscript of *Prem Sumarag* reached British Library in the year of 1865 without any endorsement of Dr. John Leyden. Hence it needs explanation indeed.

He is definitely mistaken, because the English translation manuscript of *Prem Sumarag* contains no specimen of signature of Dr. John Leyden. However, a date of September, 1809 does it contain at one folio without number. Visibly, it appears to be the cover page. It contains only three lines one on the top while others two in the middle of it. Ostensibly, these three lines relate to the comments of the writer who might be working on biography of Guru Nanak as the language of lines reflects which runs such as "there are three authors of life of Nanak", but no reference to *Prem Sumarag* direct or indirect exists on this folio. An annexure of this folio is annexed at the end of the thesis for reference and perusal.

Moreover, perusal of details of reference number Add MS 26588 allotted to English translation manuscript by British Library's authority depicts its creation date as 19th century, while no specific year has been given. Reason is obvious, because the British Library is a reputed institution known for accuracy globally and its concerned authority dealing with the manuscript would not have been sure as to when John

¹²⁰ W.H. Mcleod, 'Reflections on *Prem Sumarag*', in *Journal of Punjab Studies*, Volume 14, No. 1, Year 2007, pp. 124,127

Leyden had actually translated it. In fact, translation manuscript reached the British Library in 1865, while its proclaimed translator John Leyden had already passed away in 1811 A.D. Under such dismal situations, it would not be justifiable and fair to conclude straightforwardly that the English translation of *Prem Sumarag* was made or checked by John Leyden in 1809 as W.H. Mcleod affirms in his Review Article referred above.

Factually, fifty-four years after the death of John Leyden, the copy of English translation of *Prem Sumarag* attributed to John Leyden was sold to British Library, London in 1865 A.D. The fact behind it is that William Erskine and John Leyden were fellow-students during their school times in Edinburg city. Both joined the civil services of East India Company and met at Calcutta and worked together in translating Persian monumental books concerning Indian Mughal rulers into English at the instance of their employer. Besides translating Persian literature, John Leyden did a lot of translation works on other oriental languages including Punjabi and Duggar. He died in Indonesia country in the year of 1811 A.D., while William Erskine in 1852 A.D. Subsequently, the son of William Erskine, Mr. C.J. Erskine, a senior bureaucrat of Indian British Government, sold all papers of his father along with the papers of John Leyden numbering 65 simultaneously to the British Library in the year of 1865.¹²¹ However, no evidence we have that what would have become of the referred translation manuscript and under whose custody this manuscript remained during the period of 54 years following death of John Leyden in distant land of Indonesia in 1811 A.D. It requires separate detailed research study.

Another argument of Mcleod is that Leyden provided English translation of *Prem Sumarag* to Malcolm while he was writing his book, "Sketch of the Sikhs" also does not stand on scrutiny of research. Malcolm's book was first published in a leading Journal of Calcutta in 1810, one year before the death of John Leyden. If we go through this book thoroughly, we would find that there is no reference whatsoever to *Prem Sumarag* in this book. However, Malcolm did acknowledge at the outset of the book, the scholarly assistance that was rendered by John Leyden in completing his book. Of course, a partial English translation of *Bachittar Natak* has been given in

¹²¹ The papers of Dr. John Leyden (ob. 1811) and William Erskine were presented by C.J. Erskine, Esq. (18th century-19th century) (Add MS 26555-26621), British Library: Western Manuscripts, London (UK)

Malcolm's book which might have been done by John Leyden. It is interesting to note that the opening part of *Prem Sumarag* and *Bachittar Natak* is almost similar, which may have confused Mr. Mcleod.¹²²

So it is very convenient to conclude that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* was Baba Ram Singh. He would have composed it during the times when the British rule had firmly established in the Punjab after its annexation in 1849. Obviously it is the product of the late nineteenth century, more precisely of the period falling between April, 1857 and July, 1863.

If we look closely on injunctions (ਬਚਨ) in the *Prem Sumarag*, we find it is not a code of conduct (ਰਹਿਤਨਾਮਾ) as such; rather it is more likely a holy book created by Baba Ram Singh (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) for his followers, the *sant-khalsa* for a better and comfortable life in this mortal world and permanent abode in the heaven with Supreme Being (ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ). In the opinion of the author it was necessary because the *khalsa* created by Guru Gobind Singh had lost its relevancy and become corrupt and store-house of evils and sins.¹²³

However, Baba Ram Singh had of course established himself as a prophetic personality (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) in the centre of newly-created followers (*sant-khalsa*) while *Prem Sumarag* as their prescribed holy book.

¹²² John Malcolm, 'Sketch of the Sikhs', published in Transactions of the Society of Asiatic Researches, vol. XI, 1810, p. 198

¹²³ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 1-2

ਅਰੁ ਮਲੇਛ ਪੰਥ ਭੀ ਅਪਨੇ ਧਰਮ ਬੀਚ ਲਗਾਇਆ ਹੈ, ਭੂਲਾ ਹੈ। ਅਬ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਕਉ ਤਾਤਪੁਜ ਕਹਿ ਦੇਤਾ ਹੋਂ। _____ਜੋ ਕਛੁ ਚਲਣੁ ਚਲਣਾ ਹੋਇਗਾ, ਸੋ ਚਲੈਗਾ।

CHAPTER-3

SOCIETY IN *PREM SUMARAG*

The society is known as a storehouse of all types of values and it retains all of these whether they are political, social, economic, religious or cultural. In other words, it is known as replica or mirror where from a researcher can imitate all of these in whatever form they are. The author of the *Prem Sumarag* gives the detailed evidence on the societies of his times among them the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs were conspicuous. The author particularly gives detailed information on the *kshatriyas* who are considered to be the ruling class and occupying higher place in caste order prevalent among of the Hindus. He provides very useful information on the sub-castes of *kshatriyas*. He lays stress on the inter-caste marriage among them. He also through a great deal of light on the rites and ceremonies being performed by the *kshatriyas* at the time of child's birth, the marriages, widow remarriage, disposal of the dead body, parent's duty towards their children, and children's duty towards their parents. Astonishingly, he is in the favor of giving the share of family property to the daughters and their proper settlement. It seems that during the time of the author of *Prem Sumarag*, the Sikh society had changed tremendously due to undue burden of the ruthless and orthodox brahmanical rites and ceremonies, which were also prevalent during the times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Sikh kingdom as well as in the Sikh nobility and feudal lords too. It was natural to be imitated by the masses. However, after the annexation of the Punjab by the British, some religious movements had come into force and they started the work of socio-religious reforms. Apart from it, the author gives important information almost on all aspects of social life of the people of his times, which are described as below:-

Dwellings:

The construction plan of the house is given vividly in *Prem Sumarag*, which according to the author were built either of mud or bricks or it may be a hut with a thatched roof but all of these should have two rooms. The dwelling place should be neat and clean and kitchen should be separate from the actual dwelling place. A small roofed shelter should be built in the directions of fields away from the house. In addition to it, the author recommends to laying out a garden with plants, shrubs, a

small tank, a fountain and also a pavement but all of these should not be untidy.¹ ਢਰੋਮ the explanation of the author, it appears that he is providing information about the persons of imminence. The author also recommends to construct a separate room (*diwan khaana*), a portico, lay out a garden of shrubs, a small tank, a fountain, build a stable and at last dig a well.² He talks about the type of bed used by the people. According to him, it had been the custom in the Punjab to sleep on the ordinary string bed and also sleep outside in summer but the author recommends to take covering cloth sheet over the body while sleeping outside or inside preventing the attack of paralysis.³ He also refers to a peculiar sleeping pattern prevalent among the people. According to the author, a person should go to bed at 10.30 p.m. for one and a half pahar (4 and 1/2 hours) out of total eight pahar (24 hours) of the day.⁴ Interestingly, the person should have discourse with his wife for six hours every day in the late afternoon and at night.⁵

¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 72

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਤੋਂ ਏਕ ਐਵਾਨ ਕੱਚਾ ਅਥਵਾ ਪੱਕਾ, ਅਥਵਾ ਛੱਪਰ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੇ।
ਉਸ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਦੇਇ ਕੋਠੜੀਆਂ ਹੋਨਿ। (ਉਹ ਅਸਥਾਨ) ਅੱਛਾ ਪਾਕ-ਸਾਫ਼ ਰੱਖੈ॥ 1॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਇਕ ਜਗਹਿ-ਜਹਾਂ ਛੱਪਰ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤਹਾਂ-ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੈ।
ਉਸ ਮੈ ਭੀ ਇਕ ਕੋਠੜੀ ਹੋਇ। ਉਹ ਜਾਗਹ ਭੀ ਅੱਛੀ ਸਾਫ਼ ਰਹੈ॥ 2॥
ਫਿਰਿ ਇਕ ਗੋਸ਼ੇ ਦਿਸ਼ਾਭੂਮਿ ਦੀ ਜਾਗਹ ਬਨਾਏ। ਉਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਭੀ ਸਾਇਆ ਹੋਵੇ।
ਉਹ ਭੀ ਸਾਫ਼ ਰਹੈ॥ 3॥

² *loc. cit.*

ਫੇਰਿ ਏਕ ਜਾਗਹ, ਉਸ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਦੀਵਾਨਖਾਨਾ ਕਰੈ।
ਉਹਾਂ ਏਕ ਐਵਾਨ ਚਾਹੀਐ। ਅਤੈ ਏਕ ਕੋਠੜੀ ਕਰੈ॥ 7॥
ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਏਕ ਗੋਸ਼ੇ ਦਿਸ਼ਾਭੂਮਿ ਦੀ ਜਾਗਹ ਕਰੇ॥ 8॥
ਅਰੁ ਐਵਾਚਨੇ ਦੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਭੀ ਗੁਲਜਾਰ ਬੂਟਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਕਰੈ॥ 9॥
ਅਰੁ ਏਕ ਤਬੇਲੈ ਦੀ ਜਾਗਹ ਕਰੈ॥ 10॥
ਅਰੁ ਜਬ ਸ਼ਕਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਖੂਹੇ ਦੀ ਦੇਵੈ; ਤਾ ਅਵੱਸ਼ ਕਰੈ॥ 11॥

³ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 71

ਅਰੁ ਜਬ ਤੱਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਛੱਪ੍ਰ-ਖਟ ਦੇਇ; ਤਾਂ ਮੰਜੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਨਾ ਸਵੈਂ।
ਅਥਵਾ ਛੱਪ੍ਰ-ਖਟ ਮਯੱਸਰ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੈ;
ਤਾਂ ਚਾਰ ਲੱਕੜੀਆਂ ਮੰਜੇ ਦੇ ਪਾਇਆਂ ਨਾਲਿ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੈ।
ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਚਾਦਰ ਤਾਣ ਕੇ ਸੋਵੈ!
ਤਾਤਪ੍ਰਯ ਇਹ ਹੈ: ਜੋ ਨੰਗੇ ਮੰਜੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਬੇ-ਸਾਏ ਸਉਣਾ ਐਬ ਹੈ।

⁴ *-ibid-* p. 77

ਸਮੇ ਅਪਣੇ ਮੁਕੱਰਰਾ ਕਰੇ:- ਸਵਣਾ ਆਠ ਪਹਰ ਵਿਚਿ ਡੇਢ ਪਹਰ।
ਰਾਤਿ ਨੋ ਡੇਢ ਪਹਰ ਰਾਤਿ ਗੁਦਰੀ ਸਵੈਂ। ਡੇਢ ਪਹਰ ਸੋਵੈ॥ 11॥

⁵ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਸਮਾ ਆਪਣੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਦੇ ਬੈਠਣੇ ਦਾ ਮੁਕਰਰ ਕਰੇ:
ਦਿਨ ਨੂ ਡੇਢ ਪਹਰ ਦਿਨ ਰਹਦੇ ਜਨਾਨੇ ਮੋਂ ਬੈਠੋ,
ਛਿਅ ਘੜੀਆਂ। ਫੇਰਿ ਰਾਤਿ ਨੂ ਡੇਢ ਪਹਰ।
ਅਠਾਂ ਪਹਰਾਂ ਵਿਚਿ ਦੁਇ ਪਹਰ ਜਨਾਨੇ ਮੈ ਗੁਜਰਾਨ ਕਰੈ॥ 13॥

Foods:

Astonishingly, the author prohibits the *khalsa* Sikh from accepting the food from the members belonging to ignoble castes of chuhra, halal khor, chamars, sanhsi, dhanic, and kalals who distil spirit.⁶ However, J.S. Grewal argues that the distinction was not observed in the *khalsa* even they could dine disregarding the caste, only it was due to the nature of their occupation.⁷ Pushpa Suri clarifies regarding the discrimination, the author of *Prem Sumarag* offered a modification that it was because of cleanliness of the filthy profession of them and they were not prohibited to bring cash or uncooked stuff to which the *khalsa* could himself cook the *prasad*. The concept of *kacha* and *pacca* food had been evolved in the Hindu society to avoid upsetting situations in social relationships.⁸ It seems that the discrimination was being observed with these castes at the compilation of *Prem Sumarag* while Guru Gobind Singh made no distinction with these castes when he established the *khalsa* Panth where the holy water (*khande di pahul*) was given to drink to all the initiated persons who came from all starata of Hindu society. Actually, it seems that distinction may be observed due to their filthy profession. The author prohibits taking food from the opponents of the *Guru* and secondly he who boasts of feeding others. Apart from these persons, taking food is pure regardless of Hindu, Muslim or anybody else.⁹

In order to prepare food one should select the place and plaster it with white soil. For preparing food, the selected utensils should be scrubed and cleaned neatly. Moreover, it should be galvanized for saving the food from distasting. Now fine grain should be selected by discarding off hard grains. The breads (*chapatis*) should be

⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 45

ਇਤਨੀਆਂ ਜਾਤਾਂ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਣਾ ਮਨੇ ਹੈ:-

ਇੱਕ ਚੂਹੜਾ, ਹਲਾਲ-ਖੋਰ, ਇੱਕ ਚਮਿਆਰ, ਇੱਕ ਸਾਂਹਸੀ, ਇੱਕ ਧਾਨਕ,
ਇੱਕ ਕਲਾਲ-ਜੋ ਮਦ ਚੁਆਇੰਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਹੋਰ ਕਲਾਲ ਦੇ ਖਾਇ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਜਾਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਥ ਨ ਖਾਏ। 20 || 12 ||

⁷ J. S. Grewal, '*The Prem Sumarag: A Theory of Sikh Social Order*', in *Punjab Past And Present: Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, p. 171

⁸ Puspa Suri, '*Caste in Prem Sumarag*', in *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1978 pp. 201-202

⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 66

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਤੇ ਬੇ-ਮੁਖ ਹੋਵੈ; ਏਕ ਤੋ ਉਸਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਕਾ ਨ ਖਾਇ।

ਦੁਤੀਏ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਖਲਾਇਕੇ ਦਾਵਾ ਬੰਨੇ, ਅਰੁ ਕਹੈ: ਅਮਕਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਈਹਾਂ ਖਾਇ ਗਇਆ ਹੈ!

ਅਉਰ ਜੋ ਹੈ ਸਭ ਪਵਿਤ ਹੈ-ਕਿ ਹਿੰਦੂ, ਕਿ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ, ਕਿ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ।

ਜਹਾਂ ਜਾਨੈ ਨਿਰਦਾਵਾ ਹੈ, ਨਿਰਵੈਰ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਸਭ ਉਚਿੱਤ ਹੈ, ਖਾਣਾ ਪੀਣਾ।

ਸਭ ਤੇ ਬੁਰਾ ਖਾਣਾ ਜੁ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਬੇ-ਮੁਖ ਦਾ ਹੈ, ਸਮਝਿ ਖਾਏ। 11 ||

prepared from well-kneaded fine wheat flour.¹⁰ Rice should be soaked for an hour and half (*Char Ghari*) before cooking. Food should be cooked over a slow flame and add clarified butter, cloves, cumin, asafetida and onion for frying it.¹¹ Whole of the food should be prepared on slow fire. The clarified butter was considered to be beneficial for health.

The author adds that suspicion should not be kept in mind regarding the place of eating while in Hindu religion eating in the kitchen (*chauka*) was not considered to be good habit. He is of the view that each and every eatable is pure as these are the gifts of God to human being. He writes to spread a rug or blanket or some other cloth on the floor to sit before starting to take food.¹² The author emphasizes that the *khalsa* should share the food with hungry person. If such person does not happen to come then he recommends to get searching for the hungry man.¹³ In case the hungry person may not be available then the food should be kept separate for him, whether he be a Hindu, Muslim or *khalsa*. Such type of partaking is blissful and is acceptable in the court of God.¹⁴

The author prescribes the particular mode of manners as to how to take the meals. He says that the fingers should be kept together while eating and even a tiny portion of food should not fall on the ground or leave in the eating plate (*thali*).¹⁵ The

¹⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', pp. 60-61

ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਉ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੀ, ਖਾਣ ਕੀ ਜਾਗਹ ਅੱਛੀ ਬਨਾਏ, ਲੀਪੇ ਪੋਚੇ ਮਾਟੀ ਸੁਪੇਦ ਸਾਥਿ॥ 1॥ ਜਬ ਅੰਨ ਲੇਵੈ ਤਾਂ ਏਕ ਏਕ ਦਾਣਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਚੁਗੈ, ਛਾਂਟੈ, ਛੱਟੈ, ਸਾਫ ਕਰੈ॥ 2॥ ਅੱਛੇ ਬਾਸਨ ਮਾਂਜੇ, ਪਾਕ, ਸਾਫ ਕਰੈ, ਜਿਸ ਬਾਸਨ ਮੇ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਪਕਾਏ, ਉਸ ਕਉ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਤੇ ਕਲਈ ਕਰਾਇ ਲਏ। ਇਸ ਕਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਐਬ ਨਾਹੀ; ਮਨਾਹੀ ਕ੍ਰਮ ਹੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਯੋਂ ਹੀ ਪਕਾਏ, ਤਉ ਕਸਾਵ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਬਿਖੈ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੁਆਦ ਬਦਲ ਜਾਇ॥ 3॥ ਅਰੁ ਆਟਾ ਅੱਛਾ ਕਣਕ ਦਾ ਮਹੀਨ, ਖੁਬੁ ਗੁਨੁ ਕੇ, ਇੱਕ ਦੁਇ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਟਿਕਾਇ ਰੱਖੈ, ਫੇਰਿ ਫੁਲਕੇ ਪਕਾਏ, ਯਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਂਵਠੇ, ਮੋਟੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੀਆਂ-ਜੋ ਪਕਾਵਨਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਪਕਾਵੈ॥ 7॥

¹¹ loc. cit.

ਜੋ ਚਾਵਲ ਕਰੇ, ਤਉ ਆਗੇ ਹੀ ਚਾਰ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਭੇਂਵ ਛੱਡੈ॥ 8॥

ਮੱਠੀ ਮੱਠੀ ਆਂਚ ਸੇ ਪਕਾਵੈ, ਸਹਜ ਨਾਲਿ॥ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਬਾਸਨ ਮੈ ਡਾਲੇ।

ਫੇਰਿ ਲਉਂਗ ਅਥਵਾ ਜੀਰਾ, ਅਥਵਾ ਹੀਂਗ, ਅਥਵਾ ਪਿਆਜ ਇਸ ਮੈ ਡਾਲੈ, ਤਤਕਾ ਦੇਇ॥ 5॥

¹² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 62

ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਜਬ ਤਯਾਰ ਹੋਇ, ਏਕ ਜਾਗਹਿ ਅੱਛੀ ਬਨਾਇਕੈ, ਸਤਰੰਜੀ ਯਾ ਲੋਈ,

ਕਿਛੁ ਹੋਰ ਕੱਪੜਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਵਿਛਾਏ। ਤਿਸ ਪਰ ਬੈਠਨਿ, ਕਪੜਿਆਂ ਨਾਲਿ;

ਚਉਕੇ ਕਾ ਭਰਮ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ। ਖਾਣਾ ਪੀਣਾ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੈ, ਬਖਸ਼ ਹੈ॥ 1॥

¹³ loc. cit.

ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਆਪ ਤੇ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਆਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਆਪ ਬੁਲਾਇ ਲਿਆਵੈ।

ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਸਹਜ ਨਾਲਿ ਮਿਲੈ, ਤਾਂ ਅੱਤਿ ਭਲਾ; ਨਾਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਚੁੰਢਕੈ ਲਿਆਵੈ ਤਲਬਦਾਰ ਨੂੰ॥ 4॥

¹⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', pp. 62-63

ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਬਬ ਪਾਇ ਹਥਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ: ਤਾਂ ਇੱਕ ਅਹਾਰ ਪਰੋਸਵਾਇਕੈ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਹੀ ਜੁਦਾ ਕਰਿ ਛੱਡੋ।

ਫੇਰਿ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਹਿੰਦੂ, ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ, ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਵੈ, ਖੁਧਿਆਰਥੀ; ਉਸਨੂੰ ਦੇਇ।

ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਦਰਗਾਹ ਕਬੂਲ ਪਵੰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚਿ ਫੇਰ ਨਾਹੀ॥ 5॥

¹⁵ -ibid- p. 62

ਫੇਰਿ ਆਪਿ ਖਾਏ। ਜਬ ਗ੍ਰਾਸ ਮੁਹ ਡਾਲੈ, ਤਬ ਅਦਬ ਨਾਲਿ “ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ” ਆਖੈ॥

ਹਰ ਗਿਰਾਸ ('ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ') ਆਖਿ ਖਾਏ। ਦਾਣਾ ਜਿਮੀ ਉਪਰ ਪਵਨ ਨ ਦੇਇ,

ਥਾਲੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਲੱਗਾ ਨ ਰੱਖੈ; ਇਸ ਤਰਹ ਖਾਏ। ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਖਾਣੇ ਦੇ ਸਮੇ ਅੰਗੁਲੀ ਅਪਨੀ ਵਿਛੋੜੈ ਨਾਹੀ॥ 6॥

food should be finished completely. He recommends the daily total consumption of meal and water for a man. According to him, its intake should not be more than one *seer* roughly equivalent to a kilogram in modern sense.¹⁶

He advises to fix the time for taking meals while anything should not be taken between the two meals and also avoid over eating.¹⁷ The breakfast should be light if a man is hungry. He should eat *chapattis* (breads) with lentil or other stuff. In the evening, he should eat dal-chaval, khichari, meat-chaval, pulav but the *chapattis* should not be taken both times whereas the dry fruits should be eaten empty stomach.¹⁸ If a person happens to be out of station and he is unable to have food of his own choice there, then, he should eat local food of good quality unhesitatingly¹⁹

The milk is recommended to be drunk daily because it has fourteen types of properties of health benefits. The clarified butter of cow should be consumed two *sarasahis*, an hour after daybreak. During the winter season it should be consumed with two or three black pepper and with *trifala* equal to weigh to damri in the summer. The clarified butter with *triphala* is considered a medicine if it is consumed daily, it improves the eyesight and prevents accumulation of acid in the stomach. The body will be sleek and brain would remain fresh by consuming it provided it would be kept away from direct sun light.²⁰

¹⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 77

ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਸੇਰ ਵਜਨ ਤੇ-ਅੰਨ ਕਰਿ, ਮੇਵਾ ਕਰਿ, ਤਰਕਾਰੀ ਕਰਿ-ਵਧੀਕ ਨ ਖਾਏ।

ਪਾਣੀ ਭੀ ਸੇਰ ਵਜਨ ਪੀਵੈ ਅੱਠਾਂ ਪਹਰਾਂ ਵਿਚਿ ॥ 16 ॥

¹⁷ -*ibid*- p. 76

ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਜੁ ਖਾਏ, ਸੋ ਸਮਾ ਮੁਕੱਕਰ ਕਰਿ ਰੱਖੈ।

ਸਮੇ ਤੇ ਸਿਵਾਇ ਖਾਣਾ ਭਲਾ ਨਾਹੀ। ਭੁੱਖ ਰੱਖਕੇ ਖਾਏ ॥ 1 ॥

¹⁸ -*ibid*- p. 69

ਅਹਾਰੁ ਥੋੜਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਵੇਰ ਹੀ ਖਾਏ; ਪਰ ਭੁੱਖ ਲੱਗੀ; ਰੋਟੀ ਦਾਲ, ਅਥਵਾ ਨਾਲ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੋਰ ॥ 1 ॥

ਫੇਰਿ ਚਾਰ, ਅਥਵਾ ਤਿੰਨ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਦਿਨ ਰਹਦੈ, ਰਿੱਧਾ ਅੰਨ ਖਾਏ;

ਦਾਲ-ਚਾਵਲ, ਖਿਚੜੀ, ਮਾਸ-ਚਾਵਲ, ਪਲਾਵ। ਰੋਟੀ ਦੁਇ ਵਖਤ ਨ ਖਾਏ; ਮਨਾ ਹੈ ॥ 2 ॥

ਪਰ ਕਿਛੁ ਭੁੱਖ ਰੱਖਕੇ ਖਾਏ ॥ ਭਰੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਭਰੇ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ 3 ॥

ਮੇਵਾ ਜੋ ਖਾਏ ਨਿਰਾਹਾਰ ਖਾਏ; ਖੁਸ਼ਕ ਮੇਵਾ ॥ 4 ॥

¹⁹ -*ibid*- p. 63

ਜਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਜੋ ਮੈ ਮੁਸਾਫਰ ਹੋਂ; ਅਥਵਾ ਪ੍ਰਦੇਸ ਬਿਖੈ ਹੋਂ। ਅਰੁ ਜਾਨੈ ਜੋ ਯਹ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਬਨਿ ਨਾਹੀਂ ਅੰਵਦੀ,

ਤਾਂ ਜਿਉਂ ਖਾਏ, ਤਿਉਂ ਹੀ ਖਾਏ। ਡਰੁ ਨਾਹੀਂ। ਪਰ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਨ ਛੱਡੋ; ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਹੱਛਾ ਖਾਏ ॥ 1 ॥

²⁰ -*ibid*- p. 65

ਦੁਧ ਨਿਤਾਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਪੀਏ; ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਇ। ਕਿਉਂਕਰਿ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ? ਜੋ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਹੈ; ॥ 18 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੁਇ ਘੜੀ ਦਿਨ ਚੜ੍ਹੇ ਪੀਵੇ ਗੋਕਾ। ਜਾਡੇ ਕੀ ਰੁਤਿ ਦੇਇ ਤਿਨ ਮ੍ਰਿਚਾਂ ਮੁਹਿ ਪਾਇਕੇ ਪੀਵੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਗਰਮੀ ਕੀ ਰੁਤਿ ਤ੍ਰਿਫਲੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਪੀਵੈ। ਤ੍ਰਿਫਲਾ ਦਮੜੀ ਵਜਨ;

ਅਰੁ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੁਇ ਸਿਰਸਾਹੀ ਪੱਕਾ ॥ 19 ॥

ਇਸ ਕੇ ਖਾਏ ਜੋਤਿ ਨੇਤਰੋਂ ਕੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੋਇ; ਪੇਟ ਮੈਂ ਮੈਲ ਜਮਾਂ ਨ ਹੋਨਿ ਪਾਇ।

ਦੇਹੀ ਸਾਰੀ ਚਿਕਨੀ ਰਹੈ, ਰੋਸ਼ਨ ਹੋਇ; ਦਿਮਾਗ ਪੁਰ ਹੋਵੈ। ਇਸ ਦੁਇ ਸਿਰਸਾਹੀ ਖਾਣੇ ਮੈ ਜੋ ਗੁਣ ਹੈ,

ਸੋ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਖਾਏ ਪਾਉ ਨਾਲਿ, ਇਤਨਾ ਗੁਨ ਹੋਇ। ਪਰ ਧੂਪ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਹੇਜ ਕਰੇ;

ਸਾਰੀ ਹਿਕਮਤਿ ਪੀਵਨੇ ਕੀ ਇਹ ਹੈ ॥ 20 ॥ 4 ॥

Although the author does not mention the detail of domesticated animals, but it is clear from emphasis that author makes regarding milk and clarified butter of cow that cow must have been preferred to be domesticated. However, he does mention the use of horse by the people for riding purposes. Whosoever happens to have it, he is of course a lucky person.²¹

Even he clarifies about the drinking water that the pitcher of drinking water should be placed on elevated, clean and exclusive place. In addition, fresh or dried rose petals and a small packet of cardamom should be poured in the pitcher.²²

Use of meat:

The author also recommends inclusion of meat in daily diet schedule in large or small quantity. Its smell is best and the noblest in all of the food because it gives lot of energy to the eater and purifies him.²³ The meat, which he permits to eating, should be hunted meat with person's own weapon if someone cannot hunt so he should eat meat of *jhatka* (animal that beheaded with a single blow).²⁴ He gives the names of various wild animals whose meat can be eaten such as *bairah* (wild boar), *gainda* (rhinoceros), *haran* (deer), *chikara*, *parra*, *cheetah*, (Cheetah), *barahsingha* (stag), *jhankharra*, *bakara* (he-goat), *chhattra* (he-sheep), *khargoz* (hare).²⁵

Similarly, the author gives the names of birds too whose meat can be eaten such as *kulang* (crane), *qaz* (goose), *magh* (wild goose), *murgai* (wild duck), *betera*

²¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 71

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਘੋੜਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਇ; ਤਾਂ ਘੋੜੇ ਉਪਰ ਚੜੈ। ਹੋਰ ਜੋ ਸਵਾਰੀ ਮਉਜੂਦ ਹੋਵੈ; ਉਸ ਉਪਰ ਚੜੈ॥ 6॥

²² -*ibid*- p. 63

ਜੋ ਘੜੇ ਪਾਨੀ ਪੀਨੇ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਅੱਛੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ ਇਕੰਤ ਰੱਖੈ;
ਜ਼ਮੀਨ ਤੇ ਉੱਚੀ ਠਉਰ, ਠੰਡੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ॥ 2॥ ਅਰੁ ਪਾਨੀ ਕੇ ਬਿਖੈ ਫੂਲ ਗੁਲਾਬ ਕੇ ਤਾਜੇ ਹੋਨ; ਅਥਵਾ ਸੁੱਕੇ ਹੋਣ।
ਇਕ ਪੋਟਲੀ ਲਾਇਚੀ ਛੋਟੀ ਦੀ, ਏ ਵਸਤੂ ਪਾਨੀ ਦੇ ਘੜਿਆਂ ਵਿਚਿ ਪੜੀ ਰਹੈ॥ 3॥

²³ -*ibid*- p. 62

ਅਰੁ ਮਾਸ-ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਇ, ਤਉ-ਹਰਿ ਰੋਜ਼ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਨਾਲਿ ਕਰੈ; ਥੋੜਾ ਬਹੁਤ।
ਨਾਗਾ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ। ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਨਾਗਾ ਕਰੈ, ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਕਬੂਲ ਪਵੈਗਾ ਨਾਹੀਂ।
ਭੂਤ ਪ੍ਰੇਤ ਉਸ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਕੇ ਅਧਿਕਾਰੀ ਹੋਹਿਗੇ।
ਮਾਸ ਜੋ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਸੇ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ? ਜੋ ਪਰਮ ਰੂਪ ਇਸ ਕੀ ਬਾਸਨਾ ਤੇ ਸੁਪ੍ਰਸੰਨ ਹੋਤਾ ਹੈ।
ਤਬ ਉਹ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ, ਮਹਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਹੂਆ। ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਮੁਹ ਪਾਵੈ, ਸੇ ਭੀ ਪਵਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਹੋਇ॥ 7॥

²⁴ -*ibid*- p. 64

ਮਾਸ ਖਾਣੇ ਮੈ ਬੀਚਾਰ ਹੈ। ਮੱਛੀ ਖਾਣੇ ਮੈ ਭੀ ਬੀਚਾਰ ਹੈ।
ਕਿਉਂਕਰਿ; ਕਿ-ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮ ਤਉ ਅਖੇਟ ਬ੍ਰਿਤ (ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ) ਕਰਿ ਖਾਏ।
ਜਿਸ ਹਥਿਆਰ ਨਾਲ ਮਾਰੇ, ਉਸੀ ਕੇ ਪਵਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਕਰਿ ਜਾਨੈ॥ 5॥
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਕਰਿ ਨਾ ਸਕੈ, ਝਟਕੇ ਕਾ ਖਾਇ।
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਜਾਨਵਰ ਕੇ ਅਚਾਨਕ ਚੋਟ ਲਗੇ ਜੀਵਤੇ;
ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਮਾਸ ਭੀ ਖਾਣਾ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ॥ 6॥

²⁵ -*ibid*- p. 65

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਬੈਰਾਹ ਅਰੁ ਗੈਂਡਾ ਹਰਨ ਚਿਕਾਰ ਪਾੜਾ, ਚੀਤਲ,
ਬਾਰਹਸਿੰਗਾ, ਝੰਖਾੜ; ਬੱਕਰਾ, ਛੱਤਰਾ ਖਰਗੋਜ਼॥ 14॥

(quail), *tarachirra* (sparrow), *ghughi* (dove), *kabootar* (pigeon), *karvanak*, *jungle kukar* (undomesticated cock), *buz* (heron), *kokala* (black cuckoo), *tittar* (partridge).²⁶

Apart from the meat of animals and birds, the author also mentions the various types of fishes, which could be eaten. Among them were *rohu* (a kind of fish), *singhara saula* (water chestnut), *khugga* (perfoliata), *jhinga* (shrimp), *jajhalia* and *papal vahlia*. It should be eaten occasionally not regularly.²⁷

Intoxications:

The author of *Prem Sumarag* describes about the use of intoxicants and its varieties as well as its consuming methods. First, he gives the description of ecstasies, which are of five kinds. Out of it, the fifth kind of ecstasy is of tranquility, which comes from *madh* (liquor) and *aphim* (opium). According to the author, opium is the highest form of *amal* (intoxicant).²⁸ He recommends that the intoxicants should be consumed when a person has finished off all his worldly routine work and any such work is not pending. Further adds that the person should enjoy it preferably in loneliness and not disturb the others in the nighttime.²⁹ It appears that the author is against consuming the *aphim* (opium). However, he agrees that if a person is inclined to consume it then he should be cautious that he should use its best quality and equivalent to the size of a big piece of *moong* (a kind of pulse) preferably with the combination of spices (*masala*).³⁰ If spices are not available then crushed opium seeds weighing about *teen maasa* (roughly equal to one gram) would be sufficient to consume.³¹ If a person takes the poppy pod (*post*) then he should make a concoction

²⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 65

ਅਬ ਪ੍ਰਿੰਦ ਜਾਨਵਰ ਕਾ ਮਾਸ ਕਉਨ ਕਉਨ ਖਾਣਾ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ?
ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੇ ਕੁਲੰਗ, ਫੇਰਿ ਕਾਜ, ਮੱਘ, ਮੁਰਗਾਈ, ਬਟੇਰਾ, ਲਵਾ, ਟਰਾ-ਚਿੜਾ ਘੁੱਘੀ,
ਕਬੂਤਰ, ਕਰਵਾਨਕ ਜੰਗਲੀ ਕੁਕੜ, ਬੁਜ ਕੋਕਲਾ, ਤਿੱਤਰ ॥ 15 ॥

²⁷ *loc. cit.*

ਅਬ ਮੱਛੀ ਕਉਨ ਕਉਨ ਖਾਣੀ ਕਹੀ ਹੈ?
ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੇ ਰੇਦੂ, ਫੇਰਿ ਸਿੰਘਾੜਾ ਸਾਉਲਾ, ਖੱਗਾ, ਝੀਂਗਾ, ਜਝਲੀਆ, ਪਲਪਲ ਵਹਿਲੀਆ ॥ 16 ॥
ਮੱਛੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਪਿਆਰ ਥੋੜਾ ਕਰੇ ਖਾਣ ਦਾ; ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ ਖਾਏ ॥ 17 ॥

²⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 146

ਪੰਜਵੇਂ ਅਮਲ ਕੀ ਮਸਤੀ ਹੈ। ਅਮਲੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਅਮਲ ਮਦ ਅਰੁ ਅਫੀਮ,
ਏਹਿ ਸਭ ਅਮਲੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਬਡੇ ਮਸਤ ਅਮਲ ਹੈਂ ॥ 2 ॥

²⁹ *-ibid-* p. 67

ਜਬ ਖਾਏ, ਤਾਂ ਯੋਂ ਖਾਏ: ਜਬ ਜਾਣੇ ਕਿ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਕੇ ਬਿਉਹਾਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਫਾਰਗ ਹੋਇਆ ਹਾਂ; ਅਬ ਕਿਛੁ ਕੰਮ ਨਾਹੀਂ ॥ 7 ॥
ਅਰੁ ਖਾਏ, ਤਾਂ ਛੁਪਾਇਕੇ ਖਾਏ। ਕਿਸੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਜਾਹਰ ਨ ਕਰੇ ॥ 8 ॥

³⁰ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਖਾਏ; ਤਾਂ ਇਸ ਤਰਹਿ ਖਾਏ;
ਜੋ ਅਫੀਮ ਖਾਏ; ਤਾਂ ਵੱਡੇ ਮੂੰਗ ਬਰਾਬਰ, ਅੱਛੀ ਅੱਵਲ ਖਾਏ। ਮਸਾਲਾ ਪਾਇ ਖਾਇ।

³¹ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਮਸਾਲਾ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ; ਤਾਂ ਤੀਨ ਮਾਸੇ ਬਿਜੀਆ ਘੋਟਿ ਪੀਵੈ ਸਾਦੀ।

of two and a half seedless pods after soaking them. Importantly, the author strictly prohibits drinking of wine, which is against Sikhism and creates laziness.³²

Occupations:

The author puts up his views regarding the sustaining of life by adopting the different types of occupations. The author argues that the *khalsa* should not join the service (*chaakri*) of state and feudal lords or adopt the profession of shopkeeper (*tarzookashi*). He emphasizes on manufacturing various items at home to sell them in the market. However, he considers the trading (*saudagiri*), the best of all occupations while the agriculture is next to it.³³ If the *khalsa* desires to join the service then he should prefer to be a dedicated soldier. He should be satiated with his monthly salary being given by his employer and would not indulge in plundering during warfare. Being an employee, he should serve his master faithfully and fearlessly.³⁴ The author sets up the period of working hours of a *pahar* (three hours) for persons engaged in self-employment when he is employed with someone then he should come back to home after finishing the work.³⁵ The author thinks of egalitarian society as conceptualized by the Sikh *Gurus*. According to author, it is the duty of the ruler (*maharaja*) to ensure that no one should name or address the person's caste by his occupation and should never make mockery of his profession.³⁶ The author recommends that the *khalsa* should spend his earnings systematically. First of all, he

³² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 67

ਪੋਸਤ ਪੀਵੈ; ਤਾਂ ਅਢਾਈ ਡੋਡੇ-ਅਫੀਮ ਅਨਨਿਕਲੇ-ਭੋਂਵ ਕੇ ਪੀਵੈ ॥ 4 ॥

ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਦਾਰੂ ਪੀਵੈਗਾ, ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕਿ ਪਵੈਗਾ। ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਇਲਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਪੀਵੈਗਾ;

ਤਾਂ ਇਸਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਨ ਹੱਥ ਆਵੈਗੀ ॥ 5 ॥

ਅੱਮਲੁ ਖਾਣਾ ਮਨਾਂ ਹੈ; ਸੁ ਇਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਹੈ: ਜੁ ਦੇਹ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਸਤੀ ਲਿਆਂਵਦਾ ਹੈ।

³³ -*ibid*- p. 73

ਅਬ ਕਿਰਤ-ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਿਉਂਕਰਿ ਕਰੈ? ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਕਿਰਤ ਜੇ ਕਰੈ; ਧਰਮ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ!

ਬਰਕਤਿ ਪਾਵਨਹਾਰਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਹੈ ॥ 1 ॥ ਚਾਕਰੀ ਕਰਨੀ, ਸਿਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਦੇ ਨੂੰ ਮਨਾਂ ਹੈ ॥ 2 ॥

ਤਰਾਜੂਕਸ਼ੀ ਮਨਾਂ ਹੈ; ਦੁਕਾਨ ਬੈਠਣਾ ਮਨਾਂ ਹੈ ॥ 3 ॥ ਕਸਬ ਕਰਨਾ ਘਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਫੁਰਮਾਇਆ ਹੈ,

ਕਸਬ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਬਜਾਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਬੇਚ ਆਵੈ, ਐਬ ਨਾਹੀਂ। ਕਸਬ ਕਰਨੇ ਤੇ ਆਲਸ ਨ ਕਰੇ ॥ 4 ॥

ਸਭ ਤੇ ਉੱਤਮ ਕਿਰਤ ਸਉਦਾਗਰੀ ਹੈ ॥ 5 ॥ ਉਸ ਤੇ ਉੱਤਰ ਕੇ ਖੇਤੀ ਹੈ। ਕਿਰਤ-ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਇਹ ਕਰੈ ॥ 6 ॥

³⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਚਾਕਰੀ ਕਰੈ, ਤਉ ਸਿਪਾਂਹਗਰੀ ਕਰੈ। ਕੈਸੀ ਕਰੈ? ਜੇ ਬੇਪ੍ਰਵਾਹ ਰਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਕਰੈ ॥ 8 ॥ ਅਰੁ ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਚਾਕਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਕਹੀਂ ਭੇਜੈ ਲੜਾਈ ਨੂ;

ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਸਮੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਮੁਰਾਦ ਨੂੰ ਬੁੱਝੈ, ਜਾਨੈ। ਸੂਰਬੀਰ ਹੋਇ ਰਹੈ ॥ 9 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਲੜਾਈ ਹੋਇ; ਤਾਂ ਲੁੱਟੈ ਨਾਹੀਂ। ਕਿਸੀ ਦੇ ਮਾਲ ਦੀ ਵਲਿ ਨਦਰਿ ਨ ਕਰੈ ॥ 10 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਕਾਰ ਫੁਰਮਾਵੈ, ਸੋ ਸਿਰ ਮਾਥੇ ਉਪਰ ਮਾਨੈ ॥ 11 ॥ 6 ॥

³⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 77

ਜੇ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਅਪਣੇ ਇਖਤਿਆਰ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਏਕ ਪਹਰ ਕਰੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਪਰਾਏ ਵਸ ਦਾ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਹੋਵੇ, ਤਾਂ ਜਬ ਫ਼ਾਰਗ ਹੋਵੇ, ਤਬ ਆਵੈ ॥ 12 ॥

³⁶ -*ibid*- p. 111

ਅਰੁ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੈ: ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਕਸਬ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੀ ਜਾਤਿ ਨਾਮ ਨ ਲੇਵੈ,

ਕੋਈ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਉ। ਨਾ ਕੋਈ ਕਿਸੀ ਕੇ ਕਸਬ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਕਰਿ ਹੱਸੈ ॥ 8 ॥

should set aside a part of his earnings for his *Guru* according to his will, as it may be fortieth part, a twentieth part or a tenth part. Thereafter, he should allocate some part for his parents and for *kadah prasad*, lastly for his personal clothing, food, toiletry and reserve the rest of amount for urgency in future.³⁷

Marriage Ceremonies:

The author of *Prem Sumarag* gives detailed information on procedure to be adopted by the parents while arranging marriage of their daughter. According to the author, the parents of girl should endeavour to arrange the marriage of their daughter while she reaches a suitable age of marriage. In the eyes of the author, seventeen is the preferable age for the girl to be married off.³⁸ The parents of girl should not determine the wealth of the bridegroom (*larra*) but the family of the boy should be follower of the *Sri Akal Purakh*. Let it be a *khalsa* whether poor or rich. Put the trust in the *Guru* and arrange the marriage. Thus, the girl will find much happiness in her in-laws house and bring joy to her parents with the grace of the *Guru*. Further adds that during the age of *kalyuga* (in author's time), it is preferable for the girls to be married at quite early age.³⁹

The distinction should not be made while arranging marriage whether he or she is born from the mother belonging to the other caste or even the girl is the daughter of slave girl. But, she must have been brought up in good family means a *khalsa* family.⁴⁰ In matters of matrimony, the author of *Prem Sumarag* is prepared to

³⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 73

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਕਮਾਈ ਕਰੈ; ਉਸ ਕੇ ਹਿੱਸੈ ਕਰੈ:-

(ੳ) ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਤੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ: ਚਾਲੀਸਵਾਂ, ਬੀਸਵਾਂ, ਦਸਵਾਂ, ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਹਿੱਸਤ ਦੇਇ।

(ਅ) ਫਿਰਿ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ; (ੲ) ਫੇਰਿ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ; ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕੇ।

(ਸ) ਫੇਰਿ ਅਪੁਨੀ ਪੁਸ਼ਾਕ, ਖੁਰਾਕ, ਖੁਸਬੋਈ ਕਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ।

(ਹ) ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਬਾਕੀ ਰਹੇ, ਸੋ, ਨੇਕ ਬਦ ਦਿਨ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਰੱਖੈ ॥ 7 ॥

³⁸ -*ibid*- p. 41

ਸੰਜੋਗ ਜੋ ਕਰੀਐ; ਸੋ ਕਬ ਕਰੀਐ? ਜੋ ਜਾਨੀਐ ਬਾਲਕ, ਬਾਲਕੀ ਸਿਆਨੇ ਹੈਨ-

ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਕੀ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਹੈ। ਤਬ ਸਤਾਰਾਂ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਦੀ ਉਮਰ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੇ ॥

ਤਾਤਪ੍ਰਜ ਇਸ ਕਾ ਏਹੀ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਦੋਨੋ ਜੁਆਨ ਹੋਹਿ; ਤਬ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੇ ॥ 1 ॥

³⁹ -*ibid*- p.27

ਅਰੁ ਛੋਟੀ ਬਾਲਕੀ ਕਾ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰਨਾ ਕਲੂ ਕਾਲ ਮੈ ਭਲਾ ਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਤਬ ਕੈਸੇ ਕੁਲ ਬਿਖੈ ਕਰੇ? ਜਿੱਥੇ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਹੋਇ।

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਗਰੀਬ ਕ੍ਰਿਤੀ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ ਤਹਾਂ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਬਿਨਾ ਪੁਛੇ ਕਰੈ।

ਉਸ ਕੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਨਾਲਬਨਿ ਆਵੈ ॥ ਮਾਇਆ ਧਨ ਦੇਖੈ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ 1 ॥

⁴⁰ -*ibid*- p. 43

ਅਰੁ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਬਬ ਪਾਇ ਕਿਸੀ ਅਉਰ ਜਾਤਿ ਕੀ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਿ ਰੱਖੀ ਹੋਇ।

ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਅਉਲਾਦ ਹੋਇ; ਬੇਟਾ ਕਿ ਬੇਟੀ! ਉਸਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ ਨ ਕਰੇ। ਕਿਉਂ?

ਬਰੁ ਸੁੱਧ ਚਾਹੀਐ। ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਜੁ ਹੋਇ; ਸੁ ਉੱਤਮ ਠਉਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਦੇਵੈ।

ਭਾਵੇਂ ਉਹ ਲੜਕੀ ਦਾਸੀ ਤੇ ਹੋਇ, ਭਲੀ ਠਉਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਦੇਵੈ ॥ 3 ॥

compromise a little more.⁴¹ In the case of a girl, preference should be given to a *khalsa* boy irrespective of his caste association. The *khalsa* order, for the author, was meant to be casteless society.⁴² Within the *khalsa*, no sense of separateness should be permitted. All become members of a single caste (*baran*). If it seems to be impossible, then let the marriage be arranged according to caste (*baran*)- *khatri* with *khatri*, *sood* with *sood*, *arora* with *arora*, *suniar* with *suniar*, *bhatia* with *bhatia*, *rajput* with *rajput*, *lohar-tarkhan*, *jat*- with *jat*, etc.⁴³ If these castes cannot arrange marriages within their own castes (*baran*) then he suggests to arrange marriages like *khatri* with *brahman*, *arora* with *khatri*, *suniar* with *arora*, *sood* with *arora*, *kambo* with *kaith*, *kamboh* with *suniar*, *jat* with *kamboh*, *chhimba* with *dhobi* or *kambo* or *kalal*. He also suggests to the other castes to follow the suggested manner so that after the lapse of time all the *baran* would merge into one.⁴⁴ In addition to it, the author makes request to *khatri* belonging to the group of *sareen*, *bavanjai*, *varahi*, *adhai ghar* should be unite into one giving no consideration to be high or low. It seems that the author of *Prem Sumarag* acquainted with the *baran* division amongst the *khatri* and their social obligations.⁴⁵ The author of *Prem Sumarag* seems to have great knowledge regarding the caste system to which he wanted to break out.⁴⁶ The author only advises not to marry with the children of *phoophi* (paternal aunt), if the girl

⁴¹ Karamjit K. Malhotra, 'Equality and Caste Among Eighteenth Century', in *Indian History Congress*, 72nd Session, 2011, pp. 461-62

⁴² -*Ibid*- p. 461

⁴³ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 44

ਬਰਨ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਾ ਸਭ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਹੈ। ___ ਸਭ ਏਕ ਬਰਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਾਇਤ ਪਾਇਕੇ ਨ ਹੋਇ ਸਕਨਿ,
ਤਾਂ ਬਰਨ ਬਰਨ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਹੋਨਿ, ਖੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਖੱਤ੍ਰੀ, ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਨ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਨ, ਸੂਦ ਸੂਦ, ਅਰੋੜਾ ਅਰੋੜਾ, ਸੁਨਿਆਰ ਸੁਨਿਆਰ,
ਭਾਟੀਆ ਭਾਟੀਆ, ਰਾਜਪੂਤ ਰਾਜਪੂਤ, ਲੋਹਾਰ ਤਿਖਾਨ ਏਕ ਹੋਨ। ਜੱਟ ਜੱਟ, ਜੋ ਜੋ ਜਾਤਿ ਹੋਹਿ;
ਸੋ ਆਪਸ ਮੈਂ ਮਿਲ ਜਾਹਿ, ਨਿਸਬਤ ਕਰਕੇ। ਹੋਰ ਬਿਚਾਰ ਨ ਕਰਨਿ। 10।

⁴⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਖੱਤ੍ਰੀ, ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਨ ਨਾਲਿ ਕਰੇ। ਅਰੋੜਾ, ਖੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਕਰੇ। ਸੁਨਿਆਰ, ਅਰੋੜੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਕਰੇ।

ਸੂਦ, ਅਰੋੜੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਕਰੇ। ਕੰਬੋਇ ਅਰੁ ਕਾਇਥ ਕਰੈ। ਕੰਬੋ ਅਰੁ ਸੁਨਾਰ ਕਰੇ।

ਜੱਟ ਅਰੁ ਕੰਬੋਇ ਕਰੇ। ਛੀਂਬਾ ਅਰੁ ਧੋਬੀ ਅਰੁ ਕੰਬੋਇ ਮਿਲਨਿ।

ਅਰੁ ਕਲਾਲ ਭੀ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚਿ ਮਿਲਨਿ।

ਅਰੁ ਅਉਰ ਜੋ ਜਾਤਿ ਹੈਨਿ, ਸੋ ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹ ਮਿਲਨ, ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਨੂੰ ॥ 12 ॥

ਅੰਤ ਕਉ ਸਭ ਸਮੇ ਪਾਇਕੈ ਏਕ ਬਰਨ ਹੋਇਗੀ।

ਪਰ ਇਹ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਮਾਰਗ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਹੀ ਕੀਏ ਹੈਂ।

ਜੋ ਆਗੇਹੀ ਮੰਨੇਗਾ; ਸੁ ਆਪਣੇ ਧਰਮ ਬਿਖੈ ਰਹੈਗਾ ॥ 13 ॥

⁴⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 43

ਜੋ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਬਰਨ ਬਰਨ ਏਕ ਹੋ ਜਾਹਿ। ਖੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਖੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਏਕ ਹੋਇ।

ਬਡੀ ਛੋਟੀ ਜਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਬਿਚਾਰ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਨ ਕਰੈ ॥ 1 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਸਰੀਨ, ਬਵੰਜਾਈ, ਵਾਰਹੀ, ਅਢਾਈ ਘਰ, ਸਭ ਏਕ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਹਿ।

ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਕਿਸੀ ਬਾਤ ਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ ਨ ਕਰੈ ॥ 2 ॥

⁴⁶ Puspa Suri, 'Caste in Prem Sumarag', *Proceedings Punjab History Conference*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1978, page 202

happens to be from maternal grandfather's caste then previous three generations of maternal grandfather should be avoided for the purpose.

The author of *Prem Sumarag* writes about the two Panths: the Muslim Panth and the Hindu Panth. He is of the view that the Muslim Panth and the Hindu Panth will not accept their religious beliefs (*dharma*). So, there will emerge a single caste from all of these religious beliefs and all the castes will be mixed together. Firstly, the author puts up a question how will this happen. Secondly, he gives his plea regarding his statement as; A Brahman will marry a Muslim woman and a Muslim will marry a Brahman woman. A Brahman will marry Khatri woman, and a Khatri will take a Muslim woman. A Muslim will marry Khatri woman. A Shudara will marry a Brahman woman. A Vaishya will marry a female Khatri and a Khatri will take a female Vaishya. A Khatri will enjoy a Shudara. A father will lay with his daughter, a son with his mother, brother with sister.⁴⁷ The author's statement seems as prophecy but it cannot be created in vacuum so it seems that the political administration has changed. So with this change, the society has been likely to be changing, therefore the people are let free to adopt any religion or cultural values and they can decide according to their will without any fear of the king or otherwise.

The author puts up his view to arrange the marriage ceremony on *pancham sudi* (fifth day of the light half of a month) by sending money *mishri*, (sugar candy), a set of clothes, weapons and sword belt of gold to the bridegroom before half and a month. If the parents of bride cannot afford sword belt of gold and then should arrange of steel gilded of gold. In addition to it, the author writes to send clothes, a coconut and a set of bangles for the mother of the bridegroom according to the financial condition of bride's father.⁴⁸ After it, the father of bridegroom should do arrangements of the marriage within a month and half for the fixed marriage and the

⁴⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 149
ਜੇ ਪੰਥ ਹੋਹਿਗੇ - ਮਲੇਛੋਂ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਹਿੰਦੂਓਂ ਕੇ, -ਸੋ ਸਭ ਅਪਨੇ ਧਰਮ ਤੇ ਚਲ ਜਾਹਿਗੇ।
ਸਭ ਸਿਸਟੀ ਏਕ ਬਰਨ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਇਗੀ, ਬਰਨ ਸੰਕਰ ਹੋਇਗੀ। ਕੈਸੇ ਹੋਇਗੀ?
ਜੇ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ, ਮਲੇਛਨੀ ਹੋਇਗੀ; ਮਲੇਛ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ, ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣੀ ਹੋਇਗੀ।
ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ, ਛਤ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਹੋਇਗੀ। ਛਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ, ਮਲੇਛਨੀ ਹੋਇਗੀ;
ਮਲੇਛ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ, ਛਤ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਹੋਇਗੀ। ਸੂਦ੍ਰ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ, ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣੀ ਹੋਇਗੀ।
ਬੈਸ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ, ਛਤ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਹੋਇਗੀ। ਛਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ, ਬੈਸਾਨੀ ਹੋਇਗੀ।
ਸੂਦ੍ਰਨੀ, ਛਤ੍ਰੀ ਰਾਵੈਗਾ। ਪਿਤਾ ਬੇਟੀ ਸਯੋ ਭੋਗ ਕਰੇਗਾ; _____ ਭੋਗ ਕਮਾਵੈਗਾ ॥ 1 ॥

⁴⁸ -*Ibid*- p. 27

ਪੰਚਮੀ ਸੁਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੇ। ਕਿਉਂ ਕਰਿ ਕਰੇ? ਡੇਢ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਆਗੇ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਤੇ; ਰੁਪਯਾ, ਮਿਸਰੀ, ਜੋੜਾ, ਹਥਿਆਰ ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਗਭਰੂ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਇਨੇ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਮ ਜਨੇਊ ਨਾਲ ਭੇਜੇ। ਜੇ ਕਦਾਂਚਿ ਸੁਇਨੇ ਦੀ ਸਕਤਿ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤਾਂ ਲੋਹੇ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਮ ਜਨੇਊ; ਪਰ ਉਸ ਪਰ ਸੁਇਨੇ ਕਾ ਰੰਗ ਚੜਾਏ ॥ 1 ॥ ਮਾਤਾ ਗਭਰੂ ਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਕਪੜੇ, ਨਲੀਯੋਰ, ਚੁੜਾ, ਖਰਚੀ ਲਗਨ, ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਭੇਜੇ ॥ 2 ॥

father of the bride should ensure to complete the give and take rites within the family lineage.⁴⁹

The author prescribes the people to follow the instructions regarding expenditure on the marriage that they should not follow the example of the wealthy people. The father of the bridegroom should fix the expenditure on the marriage if he possesses 100 rupees then he should arrange marriage in 25 rupees, if he possesses an amount of 1000 rupees then he should manage the expenditure of marriage within 250 rupees.⁵⁰ The author warns the people of his times to remain within the reasonable limit so that society can be saved from the limitless expenditure on the marriage. It seems that the society had been debt ridden due to prodigious expenditure on the marriage so the author of *Prem Sumarag* calls upon the people to get rid of this evil.

The author of *Prem Sumarag* recommends that the wedding ceremony be performed during the ambrosial hour, the last watch of the night, first plaster the floor with mud for wedding and then excavate one and a quarter of a *gaz* in length, a quarter of a *gaz* wide and quarter of a *gaz* deep pit there in middle of floor. After excavating the pit, two wooden stools should be placed on the either side of the pit facing to the north and south for the sitting of bridegroom and bride.⁵¹

In *Prem Sumarag*, the author refers to diet meant for the bride and bridegroom before wedding. According to the author, the bride should be given to eat in small quantity of *pulse*, *rice* and clarified butter while only five days remain to ceremonize the marriage and *karah prasad* (the consecrated food) and a small meal on the wedding day.⁵² Four days before the wedding, the bridegroom should be given to eat

⁴⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 28

ਅਰੁ ਬੋਟੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਨੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ, ਇਸ ਡੇਢ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਅਪਣਾ ਸਰੰਜਾਮ ਕਰੇ ॥

ਅਰੁ ਡੇਢ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਬੋਟੀ ਵਾਲਾ ਅਪਨੀ ਕੁਲ ਬਿਖੈ ਬਿਉਹਾਰ ਲੇਨੇ ਦੇਨੇ ਕਾ ਕਰੇ ॥ 3 ॥

⁵⁰ *loc. cit.*

ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਪੱਲੇ ਸੌ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਦੀ ਪੁੰਜੀ ਮਾਤ੍ਰਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਸੋ, ਪੰਝੀ ਰੁਪਯੈ ਵਿਚਿ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਵੈ।

ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਪੱਲੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਹਜਾਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸੋ ਅਢਾਈ ਸਉ ਲਾਇ ਦੇਵੈ।

ਇਸੇ ਤਰਹ ਅਪਨੀ ਮ੍ਰਿਜਾਦਾ ਉਪਰਿ ਚਲੇ ॥ 2 ॥

⁵¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 28

ਅਰੁ ਪਹਰ ਰਹੰਦੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਵੇਲੇ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਬਿਧੀ ਕਰੀਐ। ਪਹਲੇ ਤਾਂ ਜਿਮੀਨ ਉਪਰਿ ਮਾਟੀ ਕਾ ਪੋਚਾ ਦੇਇ ॥

ਤਿਸ ਦੇ ਮੱਧਿ ਸਵਾ ਗਜ ਲੰਬਾ, ਪਾਉ ਗਜ ਚੌੜਾ, ਪਾਉ ਗਜ ਡੂੰਘਾ ਟੋਆ ਦੇਵੇ ॥

ਅਰੁ ਦੁਇ ਚਉਕੀਆਂ ਕਾਠ ਦੀਆਂ ਲੈ ਆਵੇ। ਇੱਕ ਚਉਕੀ ਦੱਖਣਿ ਦਿਸਾ ਵਲਿ,

ਅਰੁ ਇੱਕ ਉੱਤ੍ਰ ਦਿਸਾ ਵਲਿ ਰੱਖੇ, ਵਿਚਿ ਦੁਹਾਂ ਚਉਕੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਉਹ ਟੋਆ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ 2 ॥

⁵² *loc. cit.*

ਜਬ ਜਾਨੇ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਵਿਚਿ ਪੰਜ ਦਿਨ ਰਹੇ ਹੈਨ; ਤਬ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕਉ ਅਹਾਰ ਦਾਲ ਚਾਵਲ ਘਿਉ ਸੰਗਿ ਦੇਵੈ।

ਰੋਟੀ ਨ ਖਾਇ, ਅਹਾਰ ਮ੍ਰਿਜਾਦਾ ਕਾ ਨਰਮ ਦੇਵੈ ॥ ਅਰੁ ਮਜੀਠੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਪਹਿਨਾਏ ॥ 4 ॥ ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਾ ਦਿਨ ਹੋਇ,

ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕਉ ਦੁਇ ਪਹਿਰ ਦਿਨ ਚੜੇ ਕੜਾਹ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਖਿਲਾਵੈ, ਅਲਪ ਅਹਾਰੁ ॥ 1 ॥

she-goat meat with *phulka* (wheat bread) at noon, milk at night according to his capacity, then ten betel leaves folded with nutmeg, mace, clove, musk and a green cardamom during twenty-four hours. The bridegroom should bathe with warm water on the wedding day, one *ghari* before the end of the last watch of the day.⁵³ The bride should wear new clothes, apply *heena* on her hands and feet and wrap her with *saalu*, (red colored embroidered cloth usually worn on marriage by the bride). The bride's hair should be tied into knot with *mauli* (untwisted multi strand red yarn used on the ceremonial occasion), sprinkle *kesar* (saffron) on her and then be seated on new *tulai* (light quilt) spread on the stool, opposite to bridegroom facing north.⁵⁴ The bridegroom should put on white clothing as *jama* (shirt), *paijama* (trouser), *moja* (stockings) and underneath short breech. Every garment should be white and finally *prem jannew* (sword belt). He should adorn himself with ornaments like *kanni moti* (earrings of pearl), *jarrau bajooband*, *sarpaich*, *jarrau bandhia*, *jarraru*, *jahangirria*, *paijeban* (ankle-chain) particularly of gold, *sehra* of gold with strings of pure pearls and put a garland of flowers around his neck and on his head, lastly sprinkle saffron on his clothes.⁵⁵

The author of *Prem Sumarag* seems to put emphasis to be clear about bridegroom and bride's name, their parents and grandparents, their caste, *jati*, *varan* and age at the time of the wedding ceremony. The *gursikh* (the disciple of the Guru) addresses the bride and tells about the bridegroom's name, his parents and his

⁵³ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 29

ਲੜਕੇ ਕਉ ਚਾਰ ਦਿਨ ਅੰਗੇ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੇ ਮਾਸ ਕਾ ਆਹਾਰ ਦੇਵੈ-ਬੱਕਰੇ ਕਾ-
ਗੇਹੂੰ ਕੇ ਫੁਲਕੇ ਸਾਥ, ਮਧਿਆਨ ਦਿਨ ਮੇ। ਰਾਤਿ ਕਉ ਦੁੱਧ ਜੇਤਾ ਕੁ ਪਚੇ, ਪਿਲਾਵੈ।
ਅਤੇ ਪਾਨ, ਜਾਇਫਲ, ਜਾਵਿੜੀ, ਲੌਂਗ, ਮੁਸ਼ਕ, ਲਾਇਚੀ ਛੋਟੀ,
ਡਾਲਕੇ ਬੀੜੇ ਅੰਦਰਿ; ਦਸ ਬੀੜੇ ਖਿਲਾਵੈ; ਰਾਤਿ ਦਿਨ ਵਿਚਿ ॥ 1 ॥
ਜਬ ਦਿਨ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਾ ਆਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਇੱਕ ਘੜੀ ਦਿਨ ਰਹੰਦੇ,
ਬਾਲਕ ਨੇ ਗਰਮ ਪਾਣੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਇਸਨਾਨ ਕਰਾਵੈ, ਚਉਕੀ ਉਪਰਿ ॥ 3 ॥

⁵⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕਉ ਚੋਲਾ ਚੋਪ ਕੋਰੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਦਾ ਪਹਿਰਾਇ ਕੇ, ਹੱਥੀਂ ਪੈਰੀਂ ਮਹਿਦੀ ਲਾਇਕੇ,
ਚਉਕੀ ਦੱਖਣ ਦਿਸਾ ਦੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਤੁਲਾਈ ਵਿਛਾਇਕੇ ਨਵੀਂ; ਮੁਹਿ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕਾ ਉੱਤਰ ਦਿਸਾ ਵਲਿ ਕਰਿ ਬੈਠਾਏ;
ਉਸ ਚਉਕੀ ਉਪਰਿ ॥ 3 ॥ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਚਉਕੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਦੁਹੀਂ ਵੱਲੀਂ ਦੁਇ ਦੁਇ ਗਜ ਬਰਛੀਆਂ ਗਡੇ।
ਚਉਕੀਆਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਬਰਛੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਹੋਵਨਿ ॥ ਫੇਰ ਮਉਲੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਇਕ ਖਮਣੀ ਲਾਲ ਰੰਗ ਦੀ,
ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੁਹਾਂ ਚਉਕੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਬਰਛੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਬੰਨੇ ॥ 4 ॥
ਅਰੁ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਦਾ ਸਿਰ, ਮਉਲੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਗੁੰਦ ਕੇ, ਕੇਸਰ ਲਾਇ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ ॥ 5 ॥ 3 ॥

⁵⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', pp. 30-31

ਫੇਰਿ ਜੇਤਾ ਸੁਪੇਦ ਪਹਰੈ; ਅਤੇ ਜਾਮਾ ਅਗਲਬੰਦੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਪਾਇਜਾਮਾ ਜੋ ਹੋਵੈ:
ਉਸ ਦੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਮੌਜੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਸੁੱਥਨ ਕੇ ਕਾਛਨੀ ਪਹਰੇ।
ਅਉਰ ਸਭ ਕਪੜੇ ਸੁਪੇਦ ਜਿਉਂ ਹੋਨਿ, ਤਿਵੈਂ ਪਹਿਰੈ। ਤਿਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਮ ਜਨੇਊ ___ ਪਹਿਰੇ ॥ 7 ॥
ਤਿਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਗਹਨੇ ਜੇ ਕਛੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਦੇਵੈ, ਸੇ ਪਹਰੇ, ਜੜਾਊ ਬਾਜੂ-ਬੰਦ, ਸਰਪੇਚ ਜੜਾਊ ਬੰਧੀਆ,
ਜੜਾਊ ਜਹਾਂਗੀਰੀਆਂ, ਅਰੁ ਪਾਇਜੇਬਾਂ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਪਹਿਰੇ; ਸੁਇਨੇ ਦੀਆਂ ॥ ਅਰੁ ਮੁਕਟ ਪਹਿਰੇ-ਸੇਹਰਾ ਸੁਇਨੇ ਦਾ।
ਵਿਚਿ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਲੜੀਆਂ ਮੋਤੀਆਂ ਸੁੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਨਿ। ਸੇ ਮੱਥੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਹਰੇ ॥ 8 ॥
ਫੁਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਮਾਲਾ ਗਲੇ ਮੇਂ ਅਰੁ ਸਿਰ ਪਰ ਰੱਖੇ, ਅਰੁ ਜੋੜੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਕੇਸਰ ਛਿੜਕੇ ॥ 9 ॥

grandparents, his caste, (*jati, varan*), complexion and age.⁵⁶ Thereafter, the *gursikh* man tells same things about bride to the bridegroom's father.⁵⁷ After that bridegroom's father, his *chacha* (father's younger brother) or his father's elder brother (*taiya*) or some other elderly man should express their acceptance to the marriage. Then acceptance of bride is taken for initiating proceeding of the marriage ceremony and then bridegroom's father gives his consent for starting marriage ceremony. After the acceptance of the marriage from both sides, put garland of flowers around the neck of the bride and the bridegroom. After it, the author writes to kindle a fire in the pit with the wood of *palah (butea frondosa)* and the bride and the bridegroom sit around it on their respective tools for the culmination of the marriage ceremony.⁵⁸ It seems that author was under the influence of the Hindu customs.

The author mentions that both the stools should move together to the direction of west for sitting of the bride and the bridegroom facing the direction of east. The bride should sit on the right side of the bridegroom and then tie the knot of sash of the bridegroom with the shawl of the bride after inserting a green cardamom in the knot.⁵⁹ The bridegroom should precede the bride for the circumambulations around the kindled pit and the hymns of *Rag Soohi Patshahi Chauthi* (fourth) of the marriage ceremony be sung with each circumambulation by the sitting Sikhs around the fire pit.⁶⁰ Virtually such type of the marriage is prevalent amongst the Namdhari Sikhs. It seems that the author of the *Prem Sumarag* is somehow related with them or he had

⁵⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 32

ਜੁ ਪਹਲਾਂ ਪੁੱਛੇ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕਉ:-“ਅਮਕਾ ਨਾਮ, ਅਮਕੇ ਕਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ, ਅਮਕੇ ਕਾ ਪੋਤ੍ਰਾ, ਅਮਕੀ ਜਾਤਿ, ਬਰਨ ਅਮਕਾ, ਰੰਗ ਐਸਾ, ਏਤੀ ਉਮਰ ਹੈ।”

⁵⁷ -*ibid*- p. 33

ਇਸੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਵਹੁ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ, ਪਿਤਾ ਬਾਲਕ ਕੇ ਕਉ ਪੁੱਛੇ, ਜੋ “ਅਮਕਾ ਨਾਮ, ਅਮਕੇ ਦੀ ਬੇਟੀ, ਅਮਕੇ ਕੀ ਪੋਤ੍ਰੀ, ਅਮਕੀ ਜਾਤਿ, ਬਰਨ ਅਮਕਾ, ਰੰਗ ਐਸਾ, ਏਤੀ ਉਮਰ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਕੀ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਹੈ।

⁵⁸ -*ibid*- p. 34

ਜਬ ਕਹਾਇ ਪਹੁਚੇ, ਤਬ ਪੜਦਾ, ਜੋ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਅਰੁ ਗਭਰੂ ਵਿਚਿ ਹੈ, ਦੂਰ ਕਰੀਐ॥
ਅਰੁ ਫੂਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਮਾਲਾ ਬਾਲਕ ਤੇ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਦੇ ਗਲਿ ਬਿਥੈ ਪਾਈਐ। ਫੇਰਿ ਬੈਸੰਤ੍ਰ, ਪਲਾਸ ਕੀ ਲਕੜੀ ਨਾਲਿ,
ਉਸ ਟੋਏ ਵਿਚਿ ਪਚੰਡ ਕਰੇ, ਘਿਉ ਨਲਿ। ਅਰੁ ਕਹੇ:-_____ਸੱਤ ਵਾਰੀ ਕਹੈ, ਸੱਤ ਵਾਰੀ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਡਾਲੇ॥ 15॥

⁵⁹ -*ibid*- p. 35

ਫੇਰਿ ਦੋਵੈਂ ਚਉਕੀਆਂ ਪੱਛਮ ਦਿਸਾ ਵਲਿ ਵਿਛਾਏ, ਕੰਨਿਆ ਅਰੁ ਬਾਲਕ ਦੋਵੈਂ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਬੈਠਾਈਐ।
ਜਿਸ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਬੈਠਤੇ ਆਏ ਹੈਨਿ, ਮੁੰਹ ਉਨਕਾ ਪੂਰਬ ਦਿਸਾ ਸਾਹਮਨੇ ਕਰੀਐ।
ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕਉ ਦਾਹਨੀ ਦਿਸਾ ਵਲਿ ਬਾਲਕ ਕੇ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਗੰਢ ਬਾਲਕ ਦੇ ਪਟਕੇ ਸਾਥ,
ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕੇ ਉਪ੍ਰਲੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਸਿਉਂ, ਬੀਚਿ ਲਾਇਚੀ ਡਾਲ ਕਰਿ ਚਿੜ੍ਹੇ॥ 18॥

⁶⁰ -*ibid*- pp. 35-36

ਅਰੁ ਜਗਹ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਮੋਂ ਅਗਰ ਕੀ ਧੂਪ ਦੇਂਦੇ ਰਹਨਿ॥ ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਟੋਏ ਵਿਚਿ ਅਗਨਿ ਪ੍ਰਚੰਡ ਕਰੇ,
ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਪਾਇ ਕਰਿ ॥ 19॥ ਫੇਰਿ, ਲਾਵਾਂ ਫੇਰੇ ਲੈਨਿ। ਅਗੈ ਬਾਲਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਪਿਛੈ ਕੰਨਿਆ।
ਅਤੇ ਸੱਜੀ ਵਲਹੁ ਫੇਰੇ ਫੇਰਨਿ, ਉਸ ਟੋਏ ਗਿਰਦ॥ 20॥ ਜਬ ਚਉਕੀ ਪਾਸ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਆਵਹਿ,
ਤਬ ਉਹ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਕਹਨ: “ਜੀ! ਤੁਮ ਤੀਨੋ-ਖਾਲਸਾ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਭਗਉਤੀ, ਬੈਸੰਤ੍ਰ ਦੇਵਤਾ-ਸਾਖੀ ਹੋਵਹੁ!
ਪਹਿਲਾ ਫੇਰਾ ਲਾਇਆ ਹੈ”॥ 21॥

experienced about it or vice a versa. After the circumambulations, the bride should be seated on the left stool of the bridegroom, bridegroom should be seated on the right stool of the bride, and then the both should initiate in the *khalsa* fold by taking *pahul* of double-edged sword.⁶¹

The parents of the bride should put *karah prasad* on her daughter's hand and should take her hand and link it with the hand of bridegroom who would take *karah prasad* from her hand and consume it.⁶² Then, the five stanzas of *Anand Sahib* should be read and *karah prasad* should be distributed among the the gathering and the next day more *karah prasad* should be prepared and distributed among the relatives, friends and their families.⁶³

The author gives comprehensive description of hospitality given to the marriage party on the next day of the wedding. The father of the bride should serve sweets, fruits, and different kinds of food to the marriage party while in the evening, meat, fish and other varieties of food should be served. If he has capacity to serve the others, then he should invite his own brotherhood (*biradari*) and friends.⁶⁴

The author of *Prem Sumarag* describes about *suhaag raat*, (the first night for the newly wedded for the sharing the bed), that the clothes for bride's wearing be sent by the bridegroom which included *jora jamma, a burka, and sallu* and left for the bride's home with the company of playing musical instruments.⁶⁵ The bride should

⁶¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Samarag', p.37

ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਚਾਰ ਲਾਵਾਂ ਫੇਰੇ, ਇਸ ਤਰਹ ਦੇਵਨਿ, ਇਸ ਉਪਚਾਰ, ਮੈ ਧੂਪ ਅਗਰ ਕੀ ਹੋਂਦੀ ਰਹੈ॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਅਗਨਿ ਠੰਢੀ ਕਰੀਐ॥25॥ ਅਰੁ ਕੰਨਿਆਂ ਕਉ ਬਾਈਂ ਵਲਿ, ਜਹਾਂ ਗੱਭਰੂ ਬੈਠਾ ਥਾ,
ਉਸ ਚਉਕੀ ਪਰ ਬੈਠਾਏ, ਅਰੁ ਬਾਲਕ ਕਉ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕੀ ਜਾਗਾ॥26॥
ਕੜਾਹੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਕਾ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਚਉਕੀਆਂ ਪਾਸਿ, ਉੱਚਾ ਕਰਿ ਰੱਖੇ।
ਅੱਰਦਾਸਿ ਕਰੇ: ਜੁ-॥27॥ ਅਰੁ ਪਾਹੁਲ ਖੰਡੇ ਦੀ ਲਡਕੀ ਅਰੁ ਗਭਰੂ ਕਉ ਦੇਵਨਿ॥28॥

⁶² -*ibid*- pp. 37-38

ਫੇਰਿ, ਪਿਤਾ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕਾ, ਅਪਨੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਾਥਿ ਗੰਢ ਉਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਚਿਤ੍ਰ ਕੇ ਕੜਾਹੁ ਕੜਾਹੀ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਲੈ ਕਰਿ,
ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕੇ ਹੱਥਿ ਦੇਵੇ। ਫੇਰਿ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਕਾ ਹੱਥ ਪਕੜ ਕੇ, ਗਭਰੂ ਹਥਿ ਪਕੜਾਏ। ਅਰੁ ਕਹੈ, ਜੋ-
ਫੇਰਿ ਉਹ ਕੜਾਹੀ ਕੰਨਿਆ ਤੇ ਲੈਕਰਿ, ਗਭਰੂ ਅਪਨੇ ਮੁਹ ਪਾਏ॥29॥

⁶³ -*ibid*- p. 38

ਅਨੰਦ ਪੰਜ ਪਉੜੀਆਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਾਏ, ਗਾਵਿ ਕਰਿ, ਅਨੰਦ ਪੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਕੜਾਹ ਵੰਡੀਐ॥
ਜੋ ਉਸ ਵਖਤ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਹੋਵਨਿ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਉ ਦੇਵੇ॥30॥ ਫਿਰਿ ਅਨੰਦ ਪੰਜ ਪਉੜੀਆਂ ਗਾਵਨਿ।
ਅਤੇ ਕੜਾਹੀ ਬਾਲਕ ਦੇ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਬਾਲਕੀ ਕੇ ਮੁਖ ਪਵਾਈਐ; ਪੜਦੇ ਮੋਂ॥31॥
ਕੜਾਹੀ ਅਗਲੇ ਦਿਨ ਸੁਬਾਹ ਨੋ ਫੇਰ ਕਰਕੇ, ਅਪਨੇ ਭਾਈ ਬਿਰਾਦਰੀ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਵੰਡੇ।
ਤਥਾ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦੋਸਤਾਂ, ਯਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਘਰੀਂ ਵੰਡੇ॥32॥

⁶⁴ -*ibid*- p. 39

ਅਥਵਾ ਮਿਠਾਈ, ਮੇਵਾ, ਕਿਆ ਹੋਰ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਖਿਲਾਵੈ ਜਾਵੀਆਂ ਨੋ,
ਅਤੇ ਜੋ ਅਪਨੀ ਸਕਤਿ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਬਿਰਾਦਰੀ ਦੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੋ, ਹੋਰ ਮਿੱਤ੍ਰ-ਇੱਠ ਹੋਵੈ; ਬੁਲਾਇ ਖਿਲਾਵੈ,
ਫੇਰਿ ਰਾਤਿ ਨੂੰ ਅੱਛਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ-ਮਾਸ ਮੱਛੀ, ਹੋਰ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਜਾਵੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਖੁਲਾਵੈ॥7॥

⁶⁵ -*ibid*- p. 39-40

ਸੁਹਾਗ ਰਾਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ--ਫੇਰਿ ਬਾਲਕ ਵਲੋਂ, ਚਾਰ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਦਿਨ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ, ਬਾਲਕੀ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਜੋੜਾ ਜਾਮਾ ਭੇਜਣਿ।
ਪਾਇਜਾਮਾਂ, ਜੋ ਮੌਜਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਤਰਹ ਹੋਵੇ।____ਬਾਲਕੀ ਦੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੇ, ਬਾਜਾ ਬਜਾਵਤੇ, ਲੈ ਆਵਣਾ॥1॥

bathe with warm water and be seated on the bed covered with light quilt and bed sheet.⁶⁶

Whenever the parents of the bride happens to visit their daughter's home, they should not hesitate to take meals there which according to orthodox tradition is considered a curse. The author condemns such type of traditions that are ruthless and baseless.⁶⁷ *Laaggi* (the functionaries in marriage) should be relieved after paying them suitably.⁶⁸

Initiation ceremony:

Following the ceremony of initiation, the saffron should be sprinkled on the new initiated person's clothes and turban and thereafter coconut offering and a wad of betel should be given to him.⁶⁹ A married woman should put on neat and clean clothes and read the Holy Scripture in the company of other Sikh women and then the *Gursikh* should administer her *pahul*. If woman happens to be a widow, she should also be given *pahul* but saffron should not be sprinkled on her clothes.⁷⁰

Widow Re-marriage:

The author of *Prem Sumarag* has very low opinion about the young woman, considers her devoid of wisdom, and treats her as flighty nature (*chupal*) as well as extremely sexual as compared to man. The author confidently refers that if young woman does not has her spouse at home and has by chance to stay with her young son then it is not believable that they have not consorted with each other. Being senseless,

⁶⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Samarag*', p. 40

ਫੇਰਿ ਬਾਲਕੀ ਨੂੰ ਗਰਮ ਪਾਨੀ ਨਾਲ ਉਬਟਨ ਮਲਕੇ ਨੁਵਾਏ।

ਫੇਰਿ ਜੋ ਸਾਜ ਲੜਕੇ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਆਇਆ ਹੋਵੇ, ਸੋ ਲੜਕੀ ਕਉ ਪਹਿਨਾਵੈ॥ 2॥

ਜਬ ਜਾਨੇ ਕਿ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਰਾਤਿ ਦਾ ਜੰਵ ਨੇ ਖਵਾਲ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ ਹਾਂ।

ਤਬ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਬਾਲਕੀ ਕੇ ਪਲਘ, ਪੀੜ੍ਹੇ, ਉਪਰਿ ਤੁਲਾਈ ਲੇਫ ਵਿਛਾਇਕੈ ਬਹਾਲੇ॥ 3॥

⁶⁷ -*ibid*- p.42

ਜੋ ਬਾਲਕੀ ਕੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਬੱਬ ਪਾਇ, ਬਾਲਕ ਦੇ ਮਾਪਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੇ ਜਾਵਹਿੰ।

ਅਤੇ ਉਥੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਖਾਣਾ। ਸਕਚਣਾ ਨਾਹੀਂ! ਏਹ ਅੰਨ ਨ ਖਾਣਾ ਸਭ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਹੈ, ਦੂਜਾ ਭਾਉ ਹੈ।

ਜੋ 'ਹਮ ਬੇਟੀ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਕਿਉਂਕਰ ਖਾਹਿੰ।' ਇਹ ਸੰਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਹੰਕਾਰ ਹੈਨਿ॥

ਇਹ ਬਾਤ ਮਨ ਬਿਖੇ ਲਿਆਵਣਾ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਹੈ॥ ਜਹਾਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਹੋਇ, ਤਹਾਂ ਸੰਕੋਚ ਨਾ ਕਰੇ॥

⁶⁸ *loc. cit.*

ਲਗਾਇਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਦੇਵੈ--ਕਪੜਿਆਂ ਕਰਿ, ਨਕਦ ਕਰਿ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਕਰੇ॥

⁶⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Samarag*', p. 16

ਉਸ ਤੇ ਉਪ੍ਰੰਤ ਕੇਸਰ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਕਪੜਿਆਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਛਿੜਕੀਐ। ਜੇ ਸਭ ਕਪੜਿਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਛਿੜਕਿਆ ਨਾ ਜਾਇ;

ਤਾਂ ਪਗੜੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਛਿੜਕੈ। ਅਰੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਮੁਹ ਪਾਇਐ। ਪੱਲੇ ਪਟਕੇ ਦੇ ਨਲੀਯੇਰ ਤਥਾ ਭੇਟ,

ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਬੀਤੇ ਉਸ ਸਿੱਖ ਦੇ ਮੁਹਿ ਪਾਈਐ॥ 1॥

⁷⁰ -*ibid*- pp. 20-21

ਜੋ ਸੁਹਾਗਿਨ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਾ ਅੱਛੇ ਨਵੇਂ,-ਅਕੇ ਧੋਏ ਕਪੜੇ ਹੋਣਿ,-ਪਹਿਨੇ, ਕਜਲੀ ਪਹਿਨੇ! ਕਜਲੀ ਕਿਆ?

ਜੋ ਅਸਤੀਨਾ ਜਾਮੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਚੂੜੀਆਂ ਦਾਰ ਹੋਂਦੀਆਂ ਹੈਨਿ, ਤਿਉਂ ਅਸਤੀਨਾਂ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਵਨਿ। ਅਰੁ ਦਾਵਨ ਕਮਰ ਤੱਕ;

ਨਾਭਿ ਤੇ ਤਲੈ ਤਕ, ਚੁਨਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੋਇ। ਹੋਰ ਸਭੇ ਤਰਹ ਚੋਲੀ ਰਹਰਾਸਿ ਕਰਿਕੈ ਪਹਿਨੈ!

ਇੱਕ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਭਲਾ, ਉਸ ਸਿੱਖਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਹੁਲ ਦੇਇ॥ 4॥ ਅਬ ਜੋ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਇਸੜੀ ਹੋਇ;

ਉਸੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਨਾਲਿ ਰਹਰਾਸਿ ਕਰਿਕੈ ਪਾਹੁਲ ਦੇਨ; ਪਰ ਕੇਸਰ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਉਪਰਿ ਛਿੜਕੈ ਨਾਹੀਂ।

she is unable to distinguish between good or bad.⁷¹ It seems that the author of *Prem Sumarag* was very versed with inherent characteristics of the woman therefore he discusses in detail the procedure of marriage a widow woman. She should not have sexual relation with other person if she happens to have her living children. If she commits such mistake then the society should boycott both of them socially. If the children of widow are not alive, she is advised to remarry in the prescribed manner.⁷² If the widow woman wants to remarry then she should express the desire with the Sikh women of her parents who should initially dissuade her not to remarry and ask to maintain chaste. Nevertheless, she persists to remarry then she should live with her parents, or her parent's caste family, if her parents are no longer then she should live with distant relations.⁷³ First, she should send round ring, five betel wads or twenty-one cloves to the proposed man. On the other hand, the proposed man should send *natth*, *mauli* and *mehndi* to her and after that, he should reach her house along with a new *sallu*, *ghaghri-choli*, *kajli*, *suthan* and *laacha*, jewelry and other things at the time of daybreak of the fifth day (*sudi panchami*) of second half of the lunar month.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 46

ਫੇਰਿ ਇਸ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਦੇ ਜਾਮੇ ਨੂੰ-ਜੇ ਮਰਦ ਤੇ ਸਤਰਹ ਹਿੱਸੇ ਕਾਮ ਇਸਨੋ ਵਧੀਕ ਹੈ॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਇਹ ਆਦਮੀ ਕਾ ਜਾਮਾ ਕਿਆ, ਜਿ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਬਿਗੈਰ ਰਹੈ! ਅਰੁ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਮਰਦ ਬਗੈਰ ਰਹੈ॥ 2॥
ਜੇ ਸਬਬ ਪਾਇ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਜੁਆਨ ਅਰੁ ਮਾਤਾ ਉਸਕੀ, ਏਕ ਘਰਿ ਏਕਲੇ ਸੋਵੈ; ਤਾਂ ਇਤਬਾਰ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਰਹਤ ਕਾ ਨ ਕਰੇ;
ਜੇ ਇਹ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਕਾਮ ਕੇ ਬਸਿ ਹੈ। _____ ਫਿਰ ਜਾਮਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ, ਇਸ ਦੀ ਤਾਂ ਮੰਤਿ ਹੋਛੀ ਹੈ, ਚਪਲ ਹੈ।
ਅਪਨਾ ਭਲਾ ਬੁਰਾ ਜਾਣਦੀ ਨਹੀ॥ 3॥

⁷² -*ibid*- p. 48

ਅਰੁ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਵਿਧਵਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਅਉਲਾਦ ਹੋਵੈ, ਬੇਟੀ, ਬੇਟਾ।
ਤਉ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉ ਕਿਸੀ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਪਰ-ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਨਾਹੀ॥ 13॥
ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਕਾਮਵੰਤੀ ਹੋਇਕੇ ਕਰੇ; ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕਉ ਛੇਕ ਕੱਢੀਐ।
ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਮਰਦ ਕਉ, ਜੇ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਅਉਲਾਦ ਵਾਲੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਪਰ-ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੇ, ਛੇਕ ਕੱਢੀਐ।
ਫੇਰਿ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਮਿਲਾਈਐ ਨਾਹੀ॥ 14॥ ਅਰੁ ਜਿਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉ ਅਉਲਾਦ ਹੋਇਕੈ ਮੁਏ ਹੋਵਨਿ;
ਅਰੁ ਆਗੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ; ਉਸ ਕਉ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੇ। ਜਿਉਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ॥ 15॥ 13॥

⁷³ -*ibid*- p. 49

ਅਬ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ-ਜੁਗਤਿ-ਪੰਜ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਿੱਖਣੀਆਂ ਅਪਣੇ ਪੇਕੇ ਦਿਆਂ ਨੇ-
ਜੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਹੋਵਨਿ; ਉਹ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਕਰੇ॥ ਅਰੁ ਅਪਣੀ ਬ੍ਰਿਥਾ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ਕਰੇ॥
ਆਗੇ ਤੇ ਓਹ ਕਿਆ ਕਹਨਿ ਉਸਕੇ? ਜੇ
“ਬੇਟੀ! ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰੀ! ਕਿਵੇਂ ਅਪਨਾ ਜਤੁ ਸਤ ਰਖੇਂ ਤਾਂ ਭਲਾ ਹੈ”॥ 1॥
ਤਬ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਇਕੱਤੀਸ ਦਿਨ ਅਪਨੇ ਪੇਕੇ, ਅਥਵਾ ਅਪਨੇ ਪੇਕੇ ਕੁਲ ਬਿਥੈ, ਜਾਤਿ ਬਿਥੈ-
ਜੇ ਪੇਕੇ ਨ ਹੋਵਨਿ, ਤਾਂ ਮੁਹ-ਬੋਲ ਕਰ ਲਏ।-ਅਪਣੀ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਜਾਹਰ ਕਰਕੇ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਾਸ ਰਹੇ॥ 2॥

⁷⁴ -*ibid*- pp. 49-50

ਅਰੁ ਪੰਜ ਬੀਤੇ ਅਥਵਾ ਇੱਕੀਸ ਲੌਗ, ਹੱਥ ਦਾ ਛੱਲਾ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਭੇਜੀਐ॥ 3॥
ਅੱਗੇ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਪੁਰਖ ਨੱਥ, ਮੌਲੀ, ਮਹਿੰਦੀ ਭੇਜੇ, _____॥ 4॥
ਤਬ ਉਹ ਪੁਰਖ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਸੁਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਉਖਾਕਾਲ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਵੇਲੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਨਵੇਂ- ਸਾਲੂ,
ਘਘਰੀ, ਚੋਲੀ ਕਜਲੀ, ਸੁਥਨ, ਮੋਇਜਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਤਰਹ ਲਾਇਚੇ ਦੀ; ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਗਹਨੇ,
ਹੋਰ ਸਾਜ ਸੁਹਾਗਾ ਦਾ ਲੈ ਕੇ, ਆਪ ਆਵੈ; ਜਿਥੈ ਉਹ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ॥ 5॥

The author describes the procedure required to be followed while marrying the widow woman. Firstly, she should be got bathing then her body should be covered with *aragaja* of *sandal* (*Chandan*) in such a manner that no part of her body should remain uncovered except eyes balls.⁷⁵ Next, she should be attired very tightly and directed to cross over the kindled pit by jumping, thereafter, her worn clothes should be removed and thrown into burning fire. Ladies sitting nearby should pour sweets over her back. After that, she should be bathed with warm water under a covered place. Then, she should be attired and adorned with the jewelry bestowed upon by her bridegroom. Lastly, she should be made a member of *khalsa panth* by administering *khande ki pahul*.⁷⁶

The author of *Prem Sumarag* portrays the splendid appearance of a person marrying a widow. He should bathe first then put on white clothes and apply fragrance. In addition, he should adorn himself with *sirpaich-badhia*, *jahangiria jarrau* and ankle chain of gold, jewelry and plume on turban, strapped sword and place garland of flowers around his head. Thereafter, he should set off on horse with the company of few persons at the ambrosial hour with beat of drum.⁷⁷ The bride

⁷⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 51

ਐਸਾ ਟੋਪ ਅਰੁ ਅੰਗਾ ਅਰੁ ਸੁਥਨ-ਤੀਨੋ, ਬਨਵਾਇ ਕੇ ਰੱਖੈ।
ਜਬ ਉਹ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਕਰਿ ਪਹੁਚੇ, ਤਬ ਅਰਗਜੇ ਸੰਦਲ ਨਾਲਿ-
ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਚੰਦਨ ਬਹੁਤ ਪਵੈ, ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਸਤਾਂ ਨਾਲਿ ਬਰਾਬਰ।
ਤਬ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਰੇ ਅੰਗ ਤੋ-ਪੈਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਸਿਰ ਤੱਕ, ਸਭੇ ਲੇਪਨ ਕਰੇ।
ਇਕ ਅਖੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਧੀਰੀਆਂ ਬਚਨ। ਹੋਰ ਸਭ ਮੁਹ ਅਰੁ ਹੱਥ ਸਭ ਲੇਪਨ ਕਰੈ।
ਐਸਾ ਲੇਪ, ਜੋ ਮਾਸ ਦਿਖਾਈ ਨਾ ਦੇਵੈ। ___ || 10 || ਫੇਰਿ ਜਬ ਲੇਪ ਇਸ ਕੀ ਦੇਹੀ ਕਾ ਸੁੱਕੇ;
ਤਬ ਉਹ ਤਿੰਨ ਅੰਗੇ (ਬਸਤ੍ਰ) ਪੰਜਾਂ ਤਹਾਂ ਕੇ ਪਹਿਰਾਏ। ਏਸ ਤਰਹ ਪਹਿਰਾਏ,
ਜੋ ਅੰਗ ਕਿਸੀ ਜਾਗਰ ਤੇ ਨੰਗਾ ਸੁਈ ਕੇ ਸੰਜਾਰ ਬਰੋਬਰ ਭੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ।
ਅੰਗ ਨਾਲਿ ਲਗਾ ਰਹੈ; ਜਿਉਂ ਅੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਸੀਵ ਛੱਡਿਆ ਹੈ || 11 ||

⁷⁶ -*ibid*- pp. 52-53

ਫੇਰਿ ਅਗਨਿ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਚੰਡ ਕਰੇ।
ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਉਸ ਬੈਸਤ੍ਰ ਦੇਵਤੇ ਕੀ ਲਾਟ ਵਿਚ ਟੋਏ ਉਪਰੋਂ ਕੁਦਾਇ ਕੱਢੇ,
ਚਉੜੀ ਵਲੋਂ, ਉੜ੍ਹ ਨੋ। _____
ਫੇਰ ਉਹ ਕੱਪੜਾ ਜੋ ਅੰਗੇ ਲਪੇਟਿਆ ਹੈ, -ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਤੇ,
ਉਸੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਉਤਾਰ ਕੇ, ਉਸ ਟੋਏ ਦੀ ਅਗਨਿ ਵਿੱਚ ਪਾਏ। ਅਰੁ ਉਥੇ ਜੋ ਜੋਰੂਆਂ ਬੈਠੀਆਂ ਹੋਨਿ,
ਉਸ ਅੰਗੇ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਦੇ ਪਲੇਟੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਮਿੱਠਾ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਪਾਇਨ || 15 || _____
ਫੇਰਿ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉ ਪੜਦੇ ਬਿਖੇ ਨੁਵਾਈਐ ਗਰਮ ਪਾਣੀ ਨਾਲਿ। ਫੇਰਿ ਅਛੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਗਹਨੇ ਪਹਿਰੇ,
ਸੀਗਾਰ ਕਰਿ ਬੈਠੇ; ਜੋ ਕਪੜੇ, ਸਾਜ ਪੁਰਖ ਵਲੋਂ ਆਇਆ ਹੋਇ || 17 || _____
ਪਾਹੁਲ ਖੰਡੇ ਦੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਈਐ || 18 ||

⁷⁷ -*ibid*- p. 50

ਅਰੁ ਉਹ ਪੁਰਖ ਬਟਨਾ ਨਾਲਿ ਮਲਿ ਕੇ ਨੁਵੈ, ਕਪੜੇ ਸੁਪੇਦ ਪਹਿਰੇ, ਕੇਸਰ ਛਿੜਕੈ,
ਹਥਿਆਰ ਬੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੇ, ਬੀੜੇ ਖਾਂਦਾ, ਕਲਗੀ ਪਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਿਰ ਉਪਰਿ ਰੱਖ ਕੇ,
ਪਾਇਜੇਬਾਂ ਸੁਇਨੇ ਦੀਆਂ ਪਾ ਕੇ, ਸਿਰ-ਪੇਚ ਬਧੀਆ ਜੜਾਉ, ਜਹਾਂਗੀਰੀਆਂ ਜੜਾਉ,
ਫੂਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਮਾਲਾ, ਏਹ ਸਭ ਸਾਜ ਪਹਿਰਕੈ; ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਵੇਲੇ ਉਖਾਕਾਲ ਦੁੰਹ ਚਹੁੰ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਨਾਲਿ,
ਘੜੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਕੇ, ਛੈਣੇ ਵਜਾਂਦੇ ਆਵਨਿ || 6 ||

should also adorn herself again at the time *suhaag raat* (connubial night of the newly married couple) that should take place on seventh day of second half of lunar month.⁷⁸

The author also expresses his view regarding remarriage of a man with a woman belonging to higher caste (*baran*). She should be asked to recite five stanzas of *Anand Sahib* in well-decorated place then take *khande ki pahul*.⁷⁹ If the caste (*baran*) of the woman is lower than the person with whom she is going to marry or she is bought slave. In that case, the author recommends that she should live in the house of the person of his caste. They should treat her as their own daughter and baptize her.⁸⁰ If unmarried girl, belongs to the different caste or is a slave then she should be placed to live in a family of the man and follow the rest of the process of the marriage. If the daughter of *malechh* opts to marry with the *khalsa*, first; her body should be dumped neck deep in the earth thereafter dragged her out and washed her body. She should be followed the procedure of plastering with *aragaja* and follow the process of passing through the fire. Before baptizing her, the meat of pig (pork) should be given to eat for fifty-one days and then be allowed her to prepare *karah prasad* with her own hands and distributed amongst the person assembled there. Only after that, she should be administered *khande ki pahul* to bring her in *khalsa* fold. Same procedure should be followed in case of *malechh* male when he wants to

⁷⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', pp. 54-55

ਸਪਤਮੀ ਦੀ ਰਾਤਿ ਨੋ ਮੇਲ 'ਸੁਹਾਗ ਰਾਤਿ' ਦਾ ਕਰਨਿ। ਨਵੇਂ ਸਿਰੇ ਤੇ ਸਿੰਗਾਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਰੇ।
ਫੁਲੋਂ ਕੇ ਗਹਨੇ, ਅਉਰਿ ਗਹਨੇ, ਕਪੜੇ ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਪਹਿਰੇ। _____ ॥ 30 ॥

⁷⁹ -*ibid*- p. 55

ਜੋ ਜਾਨੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਰਨ ਤੇ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਬਰਨ ਉੱਤਮ ਹੈ; ਤਾਂ ਅਨੰਦ ਪੰਜ ਪਉੜੀਆਂ
ਬਰਛੀਆਂ ਗੱਡ ਕੇ, ਉਪਰਿ ਸੱਜਰਾ ਚੰਦੋਆ ਤਾਣਕੇ, ਪੜ੍ਹਾਏ ॥ 1 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਜਾਗਹ ਮਾਟੀ ਕਾ ਚਉਕਾ ਦੇ ਕਰਿ ਪਟੜੀਆਂ ਬਿਛਾਏ ॥

ਪਾਹੁਲ ਖੰਡੇ ਕੀ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਨੂ ਦੇਵੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਉਪਰਿ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੈ-ਕਹੀ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਸਭ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੇ।

ਏਕ ਉਸ ਮੈ ਸੋ "ਕਪੜੇ ਸਾਥ ਲਪੇਟ ਕਰਿ" ਨਿਕਾਲੇ। ਅਉਰ ਸਭ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੇ ॥ 31 ॥

⁸⁰ -*ibid*- p. 56

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਆਪਨੇ ਬਰਨ ਤੇ ਅਉਰ ਬਰਨ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਾਥ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੇ,

ਵਹ ਬਰਨ ਮੈ ਨੀਚ ਹੋਇ ਮਰਦ ਕੇ ਬਰਨ ਤੇ; ਤਬ ਯੋਂ ਕਰੈ:-

ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦਾਸੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਮੁਲਿ ਲਈ ਹੋਈ,

ਤਬ ਅਪਨੇ ਬਰਨ ਤੇ ਕਿਸੀ ਏਕ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ ਰੱਖੈ; ਅਰੁ ਆਪ ਸਿਰਦਾਵਾ ਹੋਇ ਰਹੇ।

ਤਬ ਇਕਵੰਜਾ ਦਿਨ ਉਹਾਂ ਵਹ ਰਹੈ ॥ 5 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਵਹ ਜਿਨਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ ਰਹੈ, ਉਹ ਲੋਗ ਅਪਨੀ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਰਿ ਜਾਨੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਕਉ ਸਿੱਖਣੀ ਕਰਹਿੰ, ਖੰਡੇ ਕੀ ਪਾਹੁਲ ਦੇ ਕਰਿ ॥ 6 ॥

ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਹੱਥ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਕਾ ਕਰਵਾਏ। ਵਹ ਭੈ ਸੋ; ਸੁੱਚਮ ਸੋਂ ਕਰੇ।

ਤਬ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਭ ਆਇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਖਾਇ। ਜਬ ਜਾਨੇ ਕਿ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਖਾਇ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ ਹੈ;

ਤਬ ਅੰਰਦਾਸਿ ਕਰੇ; ਜੋ _____ ॥ 7 ॥

become a *khalsa*.⁸¹ The author recommends that if a child is born out of illicit relation can marry the child born from the first marriage without any hesitation and regret. In case, someone objects to it he should be expelled from the *Khalsa panth*. Moreover, it seems that the population of Sikhs of *khalsa* denominations was not appropriate during the time of author and wants to push it up by permitting more and more women and non-Sikhs to take *khande di pahul* so that they could be included in the list of the Sikhs of the *khalsa* faith. So that no one in future would dare to commit such heinous act.⁸²

Sexual relationship:

The author reminds his audience of the established custom pertaining to sexual behavior of married couple not only of his time but also of all four mythical Hindu ages separately. According to author, a man and woman used to cohabit once during menstrual period in the age of *satyuga* and five days after menstrual period in *tretayuga* while nine days in *duaparyuga* and fourteen days in the *kaliyuga* after menstrual period. If any male person does excessive sex, he is an animal not man and he will have to pass through eighty-four transmigrations (*chaurasi juni*).⁸³ The woman should bathe after three days of menstrual cycle and adorn herself for sex purpose

⁸¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', pp. 56-58
ਜੇ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਹੋਇ, ਤਾਂ ਉਸੀ ਤਰਹ ਕਪੜੇ ਦੇ ਅੰਗੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਲਪੇਟੇ; ਅਰੁ ਅਗਨਿ ਵਿਚਦੋਂ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ।
ਜਿਉਂ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਹੀ ਹੈ, ਸੇ ਸਭ ਕਰੇ ॥ 8 ॥ _____ ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਕੁਆਰੀ ਹੋਇ ਕੰਨਿਆ,
ਅਉਰ ਬਰਨ ਕੀ, ਅਕੇ ਦਾਸੀ ਹੋਇ; ਤਉ ਉਸੀ ਤਰਹ ਅਪਨੇ ਬਰਨ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਬਿਖੈ ਰੱਖ ਕੈ-
ਜਿਉਂ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਹੀ ਹੈ, ਤਿਉਂ ਕਰੇ ॥ 10 ॥ ਅਰੁ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਮਲੇਛ ਕੀ ਪੁੰਤ੍ਰੀ ਚਾਹੈ,
ਜੇ "ਮੈ 'ਖਾਲਸਾ' ਹੋਇ ਕਰਿ, ਅਪਨਾ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸਾਥ ਕਰਾਂ!" ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ:-
ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਉ ਨੁਵਾਇਕੈ ਜਿਮੀ ਮੈ ਗੱਡੇ, ਹਿਕਮਤਿ ਨਾਲਿ। _____
ਝਾੜ ਦੇਵੈ ਪੇਟ ਕਉ; ਫੇਰਿ ਅਰਗਜੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਲਪੇਟੇ।
ਜਿਉਂ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਮੈ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਤਿਉ ਅਗਨਿ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ।
ਅਰੁ ਬੈਸੰਤ੍ਰ ਦੇਵਤਾ ਕਉ, ਅਰੁ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਜੀ ਕਉ, ਅਰੁ ਭਗਉਤੀ ਜੀ ਕਉ,
ਪ੍ਰਿਤ ਡਾਲ ਕਰਿ ਸਾਖੀ ਕਰੇ। ਅਰੁ ਕਹੈ; ਜੇ _____ ॥ 15 ॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਮਾਸ ਬੈਰਾਹ ਕਾ ਖਿਲਾਵੈ, ਇਕਵੰਜਾ ਦਿਨ-51 ॥ ਤਬ ਸੁੱਧ ਹੋਇ ॥ 16 ॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਰੀਐ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਨਾਲਿ ਪਾਹੁਲ ਖੰਡੇ ਕੀ ਦੀਜੀਐ। ਅਰੁ ਅੱਰਦਾਸਿ ਕਰੀਐ:- _____ ॥ 17 ॥
ਤਬ ਉਸ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕਰਾਏ। ਉਸ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਸੇ ਖਾਏ।
ਤਬ ਵਹੁ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਹੋਇ ॥ 18 ॥ _____
ਅਬ ਜੇ ਮਰਦ ਮਲੇਛ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਚਾਹੈ ਜੇ "ਖਾਲਸਾ ਹੋਵਾਂ!"
ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕਉ ਉਸੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੀਐ ॥ 20 ॥ 15 ॥

⁸² -*ibid*- pp. 58-59

ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਜੀਉ-ਅਉਲਾਦ, ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗਾਂ ਤੇ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਏਕ ਅਉਲਾਦ-ਸੰਜੋਗ ਤੇ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਇ,
ਤਉ ਉਨਕਾ ਆਪਸ ਮੈਂ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ। _____ ਤੇ ਭੀ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਵਹਿੰਗੇ ॥ 3 ॥ 16 ॥

⁸³ -*ibid*- p. 75-76

ਸਤਿਜੁਗ ਬਿਖੈ ਏਕ ਮਰਤਬੇ ਮੇਲ, ਰਿਤੂ ਕੇ ਸਮੈ, ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਕਾ ਥਾ। ਤ੍ਰੇਤੇ ਬਿਖੈ ਰਿਤੂ ਉਪ੍ਰਾਂਤ ਪੰਜ ਦਿਨ ਥਾ:
ਦੁਆਪਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਨਉਂ ਦਿਨ ਥਾ। ਕਲਿ ਬਿਖੈ ਚਉਦਹ ਦਿਨ, ਰਿਤੂ ਕੇ ਪਿੰਛੇ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ।
ਇਸ ਤੇ ਸਿਵਾਇ ਜੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਮੇਲ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੈਨਿ, ਸੇ ਸਭ ਪਸੂ ਹੈਨਿ;
ਮਨੁਖ ਕਾ ਜਾਮਾ ਨਹੀਂ। ਅੰਤਿ ਚਉਰਾਸੀਹ ਭੋਗਹਿੰਗੇ,। ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਇਸ ਰਹਤ ਉਪਰਿ ਚਲੈਗਾ, ਸੇ ਮਾਨੁਖ ਹੈ ॥ 11 ॥ 7 ॥

after passing *dedh pahar raat* (a watch and a half of a night) for fourteen days.⁸⁴ After sexual intercourse, they should bathe or wash their hands and feet, rinse mouth and gargle but it should be done after an hour and a half. The author advises to keep out of breezes when cohabiting. The author advises male that he should retain potency by consuming almond, pista, misri, milk, and his performance will bear the testimony of it.⁸⁵

Sikh Male Physical Hygiene:

The author writes about personal cleanliness, which he considers an essential part of human life. He recommends that a man should wash his anus properly after performing call of nature then his hands and feet up to knees. He should clean his penis too after urination and hands with soil earth three times. He should clean his teeth with *daatan* (twig of tree), wash his mouth, and recite the name of almighty (*Akal Purakh*). Further, author recommends that the man should take bath and wash his hair with enormous water.⁸⁶ Thereafter, he should put on clothes of the quality that he could afford and maintain it. The author advises that the initially new daily dress should be washed after two or four days and later on after six or eight days definitely and thereafter the clothes would not be fit for wearing purpose.⁸⁷ He also

⁸⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', pp. 74-75

ਅਰੁ ਜਬ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ-ਪੁਰਖਾਚਾਰ ਕਰੈ, ਤਉ ਇਉਂ ਕਰੈ: ਜਬ ਰਿਤੁ ਆਵੈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਨੂੰ,
ਤਾਂ ਤਿੰਨ ਦਿਨ ਪਿੰਛੇ ਨੁਵੈ; ਸੀਂਗਾਰ ਕਰੈ। ਡੇਢ ਪਹਰ ਰਾਤਿ ਗੁਜਰੀ, ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪੁਰਖ ਮੇਲ ਕਰਨਿ।
ਅਰੁ ਧਿਆਨ ਆਪਣਾ ਦੇਨੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ, ਕਰਤੇ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਬਿਖੈ ਰੱਖਣ॥4॥
ਚਉਦਹ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਤੱਕ ਮੇਲ ਰਾਤਿ ਨੋ ਇੱਕਤੁ ਵਾਰੀ ਕਰਨਾ। ਫੇਰਿ ਅੱਗੇ ਕਰਨਾ ਮਨੁ ਹੈ।
ਜਬ ਫੇਰਿ ਰਿਤੁ ਆਵੈ, ਤਬ ਉਸੀ ਤਰਹ ਕਰੈ। ਫੇਰ ਦਰਸਿਆਨ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ॥5॥

⁸⁵ -*ibid*- p. 75

ਜਬ ਮੇਲ ਕਰ ਪਹੁਚੇ, ਤਬ ਵਾਉ ਕੀ ਪ੍ਰਹੇਜ਼ ਕਰੇ। ਚਾਰ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਪਿੰਛੇ ਹੱਥ ਪੈਰ ਮੁਹ ਧੋਵੈ, ਕੁਰਲੀਆਂ ਕਰੈ।
ਫਿਰ ਏਕ ਛਟਾਂਕ ਬਦਾਮ ਅਰੁ ਪਿਸਤਾ ਅਰੁ ਦੁਇ ਸਿਰਸਾਹੀ ਮਿਸਰੀ,
ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਉ ਬਦਾਮ ਅਰੁ ਪਿਸਤਾ ਜਿਤਨਾ ਮੁਹ ਮੈ ਪੜੇ ਸੋ ਪਾਇਕੇ, ਨਾਲੇ ਉਸ ਮਾਫਿਕ ਮਿਸਰੀ; ਚੱਬੋ।
ਜਬ ਮਹੀਨ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਪਰ ਤ ਦੁੱਧ ਪੀਵੈ। ਇਸ ਤਰਹ ਦੁੱਧ ਪੀਵੈ; ਤਾਂ ਮਰਦ ਕੀ ਦੇਹ ਕੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਗੁਣ ਹੈ।
ਅੱਮਲ ਮੈ ਲਿਆਵੈ; ਤਬ ਇਸ ਕਾ ਗੁਨ ਜਾਨੈ॥9॥

⁸⁶ -*ibid*- p. 68

ਪਹਿਲੇ ਦਿਸ਼ਾ ਭੂਮਿ ਜਾਇ, ਜਬ ਉਹਾਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਫਾਰਗ ਹੋਵੈ; ਤਬ ਹੱਥ-ਪਾਣੀ ਲਏ।
ਗੁਦਾ ਕਉ ਧੋਵੈ। ਉਪਰਿ ਸਿਉਂ ਦਮ ਕਾ ਜੋਰ ਕਰੈ। ਕਿਸ ਤਰਹ ਧੋਵੈ?
ਜਿਉਂ ਨਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਧੋਈ ਦਾ ਹੈ; ਤਿਉਂ ਧੋਵੈ। ਜਬ ਧੋਵੈ, ਸਤ ਵਾਰੀਗਾ____ਵਿੱਚ ਅੰਗੂਰੀ ਡਾਲੈ॥2॥
ਜਬ ਪੇਸ਼ਾਬ ਕਰੈ, ਇੰਦ੍ਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਧੋਵੈ। ਫੇਰਿ ਹੱਥ ਅਪਨੇ ਮਿੱਟੀ ਮਲ ਕੇ, ਤੀਨ ਵਾਰੀ ਧੋਵੈ।
ਫੇਰਿ ਗੋਡਿਆਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਪੈਰ ਧੋਵੈ। ਜਬ ਬਨੇ, ਇਉਂ ਹੀ ਕਰੈ॥3॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਦਾਤੁਨ ਕਰੈ। ਮੂੰਹ ਧੋਵੈ। ਗੁਰੂ-ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਲੈਂਦਾ ਜਾਏ॥4॥
ਤਿਸ ਤੇ ਉਪ੍ਰਾਂਤਿ ਇਸਨਾਨ ਕਰੈ, ਕੇਸਾਂ ਸੁਧਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਪਾਇ ਨੁਾਏ।
ਸੱਤ ਗੜਵੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਨੁਾਵੈ। ਗੜਵੀ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਸੇਰ ਸੱਤ ਪਾਣੀ ਪਵੈ॥5॥

⁸⁷ -*ibid*- p. 70

ਅਬ ਪੇਸ਼ਾਕ ਪਹਿਰੈ, ਤਉ ਕਿਉਂਕਰਿ ਪਹਿਰੈ? ਜੋ ਜੈਸੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਦੇਇ, ਤੈਸੀ ਪਹਿਰੈ॥1॥
ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਦੋ ਚਾਰ ਦਿਨ ਪਿੰਛੇ ਧੁਆਇ ਪਹਿਰੈ॥ ਫੇਰਿ ਛਿਅ ਦਿਨ ਪਿੰਛੇ, ਅਥਵਾ ਆਠ ਦਿਨ ਪਿੰਛੇ ਧੁਆਇ ਪਹਿਰੈ॥
ਜੋ ਸਿੱਖ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਜੀ ਕਾ, ਅੱਠਵੇਂ ਦਿਨ ਤੇ ਵਧੀਕ ਧੁਆਇ ਪਹਿਰੈਗਾ, ਦਾਰਿਦ੍ਰੀ ਹੋਵੈਗਾ॥2॥
ਅਰੁ ਜਬ ਕੱਪੜੇ ਪਹਿਰੈ, ਤਬ ਜਥਾ ਸਕਿਤ ਖੁਸ਼ਬੋਈ ਲਗਾਇ ਪਹਿਰੈ॥3॥

recommends the kind and quality of the clothes. The *khalsa* should be well dressed. First of all, he should tie a turban of good quality and attach *kalagi* to it or *sarpaich* or *goshpaich*. The other clothes for body are *jama* (shirt), *paijama* (tight trouser), *mauze* (socks), preferably made of leather or velvet (*makhmal*) thereafter a *patka* (sash) round the waist and finally fasten a sword belt with a weapon.⁸⁸

Sikh Woman Physical Hygiene:

The author of *Prem Sumarag* seems to be equally interested to give description of physical hygiene of the Sikh female too. He recommends for woman to bathe daily and she should massage her body alternatively after four or eight days before bathing and wash her hair thoroughly then apply perfumed oil and bundle them. In addition to it, she should wear clothes on which fragrance should be sprinkled. She also do make up and adorns herself with garland of flowers, jewelry then chew betel wad (*paan*) and keep engaged in reciting the name of almighty (*Sri Akal Purakh*). The author also advises that if possible, the woman should massage her body daily and should not be hasty for taking bath.⁸⁹

Extra-marital relations:

The author of *Prem Sumarag* believes that a man should marry once in his life. However, he approves the remarriage in case if his wife is not worthy for him or he has no male child. Nevertheless, the man is satisfied with his wife then he is worthy and great husband in the eyes of society and will get blessings of God. Simultaneously, the author puts up his views regarding the virtue of the women and emphasizes that she should serve her husband and be loyal to him. On the other hand, if a wife for any reason gets separation then her children would stay with her husband

⁸⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 70
 ਅਬ ਜੋ ਪੁਸ਼ਾਕ ਪਹਿਰੈ, ਸੋ ਕੈਸੀ ਪਹਿਰੈ? ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਪਗੜੀ ਤਾਂ ਲੰਮੀ ਬੋਸ਼।
 ਸਿਰ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਲਗੀ ਪਰਾਂ ਦੀ। ਹੋਰ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਇ-ਸਰਪੇਚ, ਗੋਸ਼ਪੇਚ-
 ਸੋ, ਪਗੜੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਹਿਰੈ॥ ਜੈਸਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਵੈ, ਸੋ ਪਹਿਰੈ॥ 1॥

ਜਾਮਾ ਅਗਲਬੰਦੀ॥ 2॥ ਪਇਜਾਮਾ, ਮੰਜਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਤਰਹਿ।
 ਜੇ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਾਰਾ ਨ ਪਹਿਰੈ ਤਾਂ ਪਤਾਵੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਦੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਹਿਰੈ॥ 3॥
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਮੌਜੇ ਚਮੜੇ ਵ ਬਨਾਤ ਅਥਵਾ ਮਖਮਲ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਰੈ। ਤਾਂ ਅਤਿ ਭਲਾ॥ 4॥
 ਫੇਰਿ ਤਿਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਪਟਕਾ ਬੰਨੈ। ਉਪਰਿ ਪਰਮਜਨੇਊ ਪਹਿਰੈ; ਹਥਿਆਰ ਬੰਨੈ॥ 5॥

⁸⁹ -*ibid*- p. 74

ਅਰੁ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਭੀ ਅੱਠਵੇਂ ਦਿਨ-ਅਥਵਾ ਚਉਥੇ ਦਿਨ-ਬਟਨਾ ਖੁਸ਼ਬੋਈਦਾਰ ਦੇਹ ਨੂੰ ਮਲੈ।
 ਅਰੁ ਸਿਰ ਮਸਾਲੇ ਪਾਇਕੈ ਧੋਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਖੁਸ਼ਬੋਈਦਾਰ ਤੇਲ ਡਾਲਕੈ ਸਿਰ ਬੰਧਾਵੈ।
 ਅੱਛੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਪਹਿਰੈ ਖੁਸ਼ਬੋਈ ਲਾਇਕੈ। ਫੂਲ ਮਾਲਾ ਪਹਿਰੈ ਪਾਨ ਖਾਏ।
 ਗਹਨੇ ਪਹਿਰੈ; ਸੀਂਗਾਰ ਕਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਧਿਆਨ ਅਪਣਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਬਿਖੈ ਰੱਖੈ।
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਇ ਤਾਂ ਰੋਜ਼ ਬਟਨਾ ਮਲ ਕੈ ਇਸਨਾਨ ਕਰੈ।
 ਇਸਨਾਨ ਕਰਨੇ ਤੇ ਕਾਹਲੀ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ॥ 3॥

and wife cannot claim to keep them.⁹⁰ According to the author, the man can have extra-marital relations with a slave girl if he do not has a wife and unable to control his sexual desire. Ultimately, he has to accept her as his wife and has to pass through all wedding ceremonies as has been described hereinabove by the author for such cases, but the author argues in favor of retaining sexual relations with a slave girl if he has no wife. However, he should not have such relations with the wife of another person.⁹¹

Property Sharing:

If a man has a second wife, also having children from her, he should consider her equal to his first wife and has to provide separate house and expenditure and he has to maintain sexual relation with her.⁹² Everything of the husband should be divided between first and second wife in the ratio of three and two out of five portions.⁹³ When the both of wives belong to same caste (*varan*) or slaves then equal portions should be given to them. Even, the son born from wife belonging to good caste (*varan*) and the son born from the maid servant should get equal share of person's property and the same laws applies to the daughters regardless of the castes of their mothers.⁹⁴ If the second wife belongs to the other caste (*varan*) or a slave then one portion of property should be given to her while two portions of the property should be given to first wife.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 142

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਅਪਨੇ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਤੇ ਕਿਸੀ ਸਬਬ ਖਾਇ ਜੁਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਤਬ ਜੋ ਬੇਟਾ ਬੇਟੀ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਤੇ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਵਹਿ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ, ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੋ ਨਾਹੀ ਪਹੁੰਚਤੇ॥ 8॥ 13॥

⁹¹ -*ibid*- pp. 121-122

⁹² -*ibid*- p. 133

ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪਰ ਔਰ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ; ਅਰੁ ਉਸਕੇ ਔਲਾਦ ਹੋਵੈ। ਕਿਸੀ ਬਾਤ ਅਨਬਨਤ ਤੇ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ।
ਤੋਂ ਉਸ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੋਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ; ਇਨ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀਓਂ ਕੋ ਜੁਦਾ ਜੁਦਾ ਘਰ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਰੱਖੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਸਿਵਾਇ, ਜਿਸ ਕੋ ਔਲਾਦ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸ ਕੋ ਔਲਾਦ ਕਾ ਖਰਚ ਜੁਦਾ ਦੇਇ।

ਇਨ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਕੋ, ਇਨ ਕੋ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਕੋ ਲਾਜਮੇ ਕਾ, ਔਰ ਕਿਛੁ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ, ਸੋ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅੰਸ ਕਰ ਦੇਇ;

ਕਿਆ ਖਰਚ, ਕਿਆ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੋਰਿ। ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਕਾ 'ਚਾਰ ਭੀ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਕਰੈ॥ 3॥

⁹³ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ;

ਤਬ ਉਸ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਕੋ ਪੰਜਵਾਂ ਅੰਸ, ਤੇ ਸਭੁ ਬਾਤੋਂ ਮੈ-ਜੋ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ-ਦੋ ਅੰਸ ਦੇਇ।

ਤਿੰਨੋਂ ਅੰਸ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉ ਦੇਇ। ਪਰ ਜੋ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਅਪਨੇ ਬਰਨ ਕੀ ਹੈ॥ 4॥

⁹⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਪਿਛਲੀ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਬਰਨ ਮੈ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਹੈਂ-ਭਾਵੈਂ ਅਸੀਲ ਹੋਵੈਂ;

ਭਾਵੈਂ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀਆਂ ਹੋਵੈ; ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਦਾਸੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਹਿ- ਇਸ ਤਰਹਿ ਮੈ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅੰਸ ਕਰੈ॥ 6॥

ਅਸੀਲ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਬੇਟਾ ਹੋਇ; ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਕਾ ਬੇਟਾ ਹੋਵੈ-

ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦਾਸੀ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ-ਦੋਨੋਂ ਕੋ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅੰਸ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ।

ਭਾਵੈਂ ਅਸੀਲ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦਾਸੀ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਬੇਟੀਓਂ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 7॥

⁹⁵ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਆਨ ਬਰਨ ਕੀ ਹੈ, ਯਾ ਦਾਸੀ ਹੈ; ਤਬ ਇਸ ਤਰਹਿ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੋ ਏਕ ਅੰਸ ਦੇਇ।

ਅਰੁ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਵਾਲੀ ਕਉ ਜੋ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਹੈ, -ਦੁਇ ਅੰਸ ਦੇਇ॥ 5॥

No portion of the property should go to the daughters if their mother is still alive but their mother may give to them with her husband's consent. If their father and mother both are not alive then they can get the equal portion of property. If any of the daughters is unmarried, then her share in property should be kept separately for their marriage and rest of the assets can be divided among the other daughters, and the same law would apply if her brothers divide the property after the death of their father. If one of the daughters happens to be a widow then she should be given double portion of property of her father as compared to other daughters.⁹⁶

Birth Ceremonies:

As soon a son is born, his forehead should be touched on floor in the front of sword, the weapons and Sikh Holy Scripture then be should be handed over to his mother. The first food (*gurhati*) touched with a double-edged sword should be administered to him. The unsheathed weapons should be placed at the site of delivery. On the seventh day, the mother and her son should be bathed on the bed, where the birth took place.⁹⁷ The white clothes like shirt, *patka* (small turban) of the size of the child should be worn him and a small dagger should also be put on him.⁹⁸ Pierce his ear and insert an earring therein made up of either gold or silver.⁹⁹ Put the floral garland around the necks of the parents and their child. The ornaments should be fastened on the child.¹⁰⁰ Place the offering of five-betel leaf, the coconut, the *karah*

⁹⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 134

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਚ ਉਨ ਬੇਟਿਓਂ ਮੈ ਸਯੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਕੁਆਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਬ ਉਸ ਸਾਰੇ ਅੰਸ ਪਿਤਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਕੇ ਸਿਉਂ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਬਿਆਹ ਮਾਫਕ ਅਰੁ ਲਾਜਮੇ ਮਾਫਕ ਜੁਦਾ ਕੱਢ ਲੈਣਾ; ਅਰੁ ਰੱਖਣਾ। ਫੇਰ ਬਾਕੀ ਵੰਡ ਲੈਣ; ਹੋਰ ਬੇਟੀਆਂ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਭਾਈ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਿੰਡੈ ਅੰਸ ਬਾਟੈ; ਅਰੁ ਬੇਟੀਆਂ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਿੰਡੈ ਕੁਆਰੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਹਿੰ; ਤਬ ਉਨ ਕੇ ਬਿਆਹ ਔਰ ਲਾਜਮੇ ਮਾਫਕ ਜੁਦਾ ਰੱਖ ਕੈ-ਜਿਉਂ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ,- -ਤਯੋਂ ਸਭ ਅੰਸ ਵੰਡਣ॥ 9॥ ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਉਨ ਬੇਟੀਓਂ ਮੈ ਸਯੋਂ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਤੇ ਸਭਨੋਂ ਬੇਟਿਓਂ ਸਯੋਂ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਦੂਣਾ ਅੰਸੁ ਦੇਇ। ਔਰ ਕੇ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਦੇਇ॥ 10॥

⁹⁷ -*ibid*- pp. 22-23

ਜਿਸ ਸਾਇਤ ਜਾਨੇ ਜੁ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਜਨਮਿਆ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਇਹੁ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਕਰੈ:- ਪਹਿਲੈ ਤਉ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਹਥਿਆਰਾਂ ਅਰੁ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਪੋਥੀ ਦੇ ਅੰਗੇ ਮੱਥਾ ਉਸ ਬਾਲਕ ਕਾ ਟਿਕਾਏ। ਫਿਰਿ ਮਾਤਾ ਦੇ ਅੰਗੇ ਪਾਏ। ਗੁੜ੍ਹਤੀ ਖੰਡਾ ਛੁਹਾਇ ਕਰਿ ਦੇਈਐ; _____ ॥ 3 ॥ ਜਹਾਂ ਉਹ ਸਿਖਣੀ ਪ੍ਰਸੂਤ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਸੋਵੈ ਬੈਠੈ, ਤਹਾ ਉਹ ਹਥਿਆਰ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਦਿਸਟਿ ਅੰਗੇ ਰੱਖੈ, ਨੰਗੇ ਕਰਿਕੈ; ਸੱਤ ਦਿਨ ਤੱਕ, ਫੇਰਿ ਸੱਤਵੇਂ ਦਿਨ ਉਸੀ ਮੰਜੇ ਉਪਰਿ-ਜਿਥੇ ਪ੍ਰਸੂਤ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ; ਉਥੇ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਕਰੇ; ਸਿਖਣੀ ਬਾਲਕ ਨਾਲਿ॥ 4 ॥

⁹⁸ -*ibid*- pp. 23-24

ਅਰੁ ਜਾਮਾਂ ਸੁਪੇਦ ਅਗਲਬੰਦੀ, ਪਗੜੀ ਸੁਪੇਦ। ਦੋਨੋਂ ਕਉ ਕੇਸਰ ਅਥਵਾ ਤੁਨ ਵਿਚਿ ਰੰਗ ਲੇਇ। ਕੱਛ ਨਿੱਕੀ, ਅਉਰ ਰੰਗ ਕੀ, ਪਟਕਾ ਸੁਪੇਦ, ਇੱਕ ਜਮਦਾੜ੍ਹੁ: ਲੋਹੇ ਦੀ। ਏ ਸਭੇ ਮਾਫਕ ਬਾਲਕ ਦੇ ਲੈਕਰਿ ਉਸ ਬਾਲਕ ਨੂੰ ਪਹਿਰਾਏ _____ ॥ 6 ॥

⁹⁹ -*ibid*- p. 24

ਅਰੁ ਕੰਨ ਛੇਦੇ, ਦੁਰ ਪਾਏ-ਸੁਇਨੇ ਕੇ ਅਥਵਾ ਰੁੱਪੇ ਕੇ ਦੁਰ,- ਸੋ ਕੰਨ ਛੇਦਿ ਪਾਏ॥ _____ ॥ 8 ॥

¹⁰⁰ -*ibid*- p. 25

ਫੁਲੋਂ ਕੀ ਮਾਲਾ, ਸਿੱਖ, ਸਿੱਖਣੀ ਬਾਲਕ-ਤੀਨੋਂ ਕੋ ਪਹਿਰਾਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਗਹਿਣੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਦੇਵੈ, ਬਾਲਕ ਕੋ ਪਹਿਰਾਵੈ। ਸਭਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੇ॥ 10 ॥

prasad before the child. The family bard means barber should sprinkle saffron or toon dye on the father of the child.¹⁰¹ The mother of the child should never wear *choli* (bodice) and *nuth* (nose ring), if her husband is not alive at the time of this ceremony.¹⁰² In case daughter is born then her birth ceremonies should be performed as that of the boy. The mother and daughter should be bathed on the bed on the ninth day of the delivery.¹⁰³ The female baby should be clothed in a *jhagga* (a loosed dress), *topi* (hat), *chunni* (scarf), *saalu* (red embroidered cloth). She should be administered initiation of the two edged sword and suffixed 'devi' to her chosen name. Pierce her nose and ear.¹⁰⁴

Implementation of Gurumukhi Script:

The author of *Prem Sumarag* emphasizes on propagation of *Gurumukhi* script. According to the author, the education to the children must be given through the medium of *Gurumukhi* script. All official record of the state as well as districts (*pargana*) must be in *Gurumukhi* script. All kind of official correspondence should also be made in *Gurumukhi* script. The king (*maharaja*) should ensure that proper arrangements for study of *Gurumukhi* has been made where all *khalsa*/Sikh boys and girls can get education in *Gurumukhi*.¹⁰⁵ The author gives his argument regarding the learning of *Gurumukhi* language for the Sikh women and they should recite Holy Scripture in congregations.

Etiquettes:

It is a social liability of the son to continue his dynasty and look after his parents. He should have cordial relation with his brothers and sisters. He should get

¹⁰¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 25

ਅਰੁ ਪੰਜ ਬੀੜੇ, ਨਲੀਏਰੁ, ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਭੇਟ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸੋ ਬਾਲਕ ਕੇ ਪੱਲੇ ਪਾਏ ॥

ਅਰੁ ਕੇਸਰ ਤਥਾ ਤੁਣ ਵਿਚਿ ਪਾਇ ਕੇ ਛਿੜਕੇ, ਪਿਤਾ ਕੇ ਕਪੜੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਕੁਲ ਕਾ ਭਾਟ ਅਥਵਾ ਨਾਈ ॥ 9 ॥

¹⁰² *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਪਾਇ ਚਲਿ ਗਿਆ ਹੋਵੈ; ਤਬ ਇਹੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੈ:

ਮਾਤਾ ਬਾਲਕ ਕੀ ਚੋਲੀ ਨੱਥ ਨ ਪਹਿਰੇ, ਅਉਰ ਸਭਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੇ ॥ 11 ॥ 2 ॥

¹⁰³ *loc. cit.*

ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਜਨਮ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ:- ਨਾਵੇਂ ਦਿਨ ਇਸ਼ਨਾਨ ਕਰੇ, ਸਿਖਣੀ ਅਰੁ ਬਾਲਕੀ ਮੰਜੇ ਉਪਰਿ।

ਅਰੁ ਜਨਮ ਕੇ ਸਮੇ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਬਾਲਕ ਕੇ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਸਭੀ ਕਰੇ ॥ 1 ॥

¹⁰⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਲੜਕੀ ਕੇ ਝੱਗਾ, ਟੋਪੀ, ਚੁੱਨੀ, ਸਾਲੂ ਕੀ ਪਹਿਨਾਏ ॥ 4 ॥

ਪਾਹੁਲ ਖੰਡੇ ਕੀ ਦੇਵੇ। ਨਾਮ ਰੱਖੇ 'ਦੇਵੀ' ਨਾਮਾ ॥ ਨੱਕ, ਕੰਨ ਛੇਦੇ ॥ 5 ॥

¹⁰⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 103

ਬਿੱਦਿਆ ਕਾ ਪਰਗਾਸ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਕਾ; ਅਰੁ ਅੰਕਪਲੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ॥ 1 ॥

ਰੋਜਨਾਮਾ, ਖਾਤਾ, ਸਭ ਕਾਗਜ, ਕਿਆ ਪਾਰਗਨਿਆਂ ਕੇ, ਕਿਆ ਹਜੂਰ ਕਾ, ਸਭ-ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਬਿੱਦਿਆ ਕਾ ਕਰੇ ॥ 2 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਤੀ-ਜਿਸਨੂੰ 'ਕਿਤਾਬਤ', ਚਿੱਠੀ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ; ਸੋ ਜੋ ਲਿਖੇ ਭਾਵੈ; ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਲਿਖੈ ॥ 3 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਏਹ ਬਿੱਦਿਆ ਕੀ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੈ; ਜੋ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਲੜਕੇ ਲੜਕੀਆਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ॥ 4 ॥

up early in the morning, go to his parents, place some *parshad* on their feet and salute them with his folded hands.¹⁰⁶ Then he should proceed to elder brother of his father (*taiya*) for paying respect and after it, he should pay obeisance to his Guru then start to perform his worldly routine works.¹⁰⁷ A son should completely surrender to the command of his parents. He should not mind if his parents rebuked or even beat him despite the fact that he has attained the status of fatherhood. He should continue serve them and become a model for the society. By the way, he happens to protest against any actions of his parents then he should cool down himself and feel sorry for that later on. Nevertheless, his parents do not forgive his arrogance but he should remain subservient to them.¹⁰⁸ The author further says that as luck would have it, he has stepmother; it is his duty to treat her as his real mother and obey her command. If his father gets angry on any complaint of his stepmother, he should not take it ill at all.¹⁰⁹ Despite being fatherless, it is his duty to take care of providing food and clothings to his mother, stepmother and sisters whether married or unmarried and should be more careful for the widow sister in all circumstances.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 124

ਅਬ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ; ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਬਡੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਤਹਿ ਕਾਲ ਊਠੈ। _____
ਕਿਛੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਰੱਖਕੈ ਪੈਰਾਂ ਉਪਰ, ਫੇਰ ਪੈਰ ਜੋੜਕੇ, ਹੱਥਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਸਲਾਮ (ਪ੍ਰਣਾਮ) ਕਰੈ; ਪੰਜ ਵਾਰੀ ਅਦਬ ਨਾਲਿ॥ 1॥

¹⁰⁷ *loc. cit.*

ਫੇਰ ਵੱਡੇ ਭਾਈ ਅਰੁ ਤਾਏ ਚਾਚੇ ਅਗੇ ਜਾਇ ਕੈ ਸਲਾਮ ਕਰੈ, ਅਦਬ ਨਾਲ। ਬਡੋਂ ਕਾ ਕਰਮ ਨ ਬਿਚਾਰੇ,
ਜਿਸਕੈ ਆਗੈ ਹੱਥ ਜੋੜ ਕਰਿ ਸਲਾਮ ਕਰਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ; ਉਨਕੇ ਕਰਮ ਬਿਚਾਰਨਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਬੁਰਾ ਹੈ।
ਯੇ ਪੂਜਿ ਹੈਂ। ਫੇਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਜਾਏ, ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਭੇਟ ਆਗੇ ਰੱਖ ਕੈ, ਮੱਥਾ ਟੇਕੈ; ਸਲਾਮ ਕਰੈ।
ਉਹਾਂ ਸਿਉਂ-ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਪਾਸ ਤੇ-ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਕਿਆਂ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਮੈ ਲੱਗੈ। ਦੀਨ ਕੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰੈ, ਸਫਲ ਹੋਵਹਿ॥ 2॥

¹⁰⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 130

ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੀ ਬਰਾਬਰੀ ਕਿਸੀ ਬਾਤ ਕੀ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਜੋ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਦਾੜੀ ਨਾਲ ਹੈ,
ਅਗੇ ਉਸਦੇ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਪੋਤਰੇ ਹੋਵਹਿ; ਅਰੁ ਨਾਲੇ ਸਾਚਾ ਹੈ; ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ; ਅਰੁ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਛਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਮਾਰੈ,
ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ; ਉਜਰ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਕਰਿ ਕਿਛੁ ਬੋਲੈ, ਕਰੈ; ਮਨ ਮੈ ਰੱਖੈ;
ਤਾਂ ਦੂਸਰੀ ਘੜੀ ਬਖਸਾਇ ਲਏ। ਅਰੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਬਖਸੈ, ਤਾਂ ਭਲਾ, ਨਾਹੀ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਅਪਨੇ ਵਲੋਂ ਅਪੀਨ ਰਹੈ।
ਇਸ ਕਉ ਯਹੀ ਚਾਹੀਤਾ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਸੇਵਾ ਮੈ ਰਹੈ। ਉਨ ਕੀ ਵਹਿ ਜਾਨੈ॥ 26॥

¹⁰⁹ *-ibid-* p. 131

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਬਿਮਾਤ੍ਰਾ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਅਰੁ ਬਿਮਾਤ੍ਰਾ ਕੇ ਕਹੇ ਤੇ, ਕਿਛੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਰੈ; ਤੋ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਕੋਉ ਨਾਹੀ ਬਨਦੀ,
ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਕਹਿਆ ਬੁਰਾ ਮੰਨੈ। ਅਰੁ ਬਿਮਾਤ੍ਰਾ ਕਉ ਭੀ ਮਾਤ੍ਰ ਸਮਾਨ ਜਾਨੈ॥ 27॥

¹¹⁰ *-ibid-* p. 134

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਅੰਸ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਭਾਈ ਬਹਿਨੈ ਅਰੁ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀਆਂ ਮੁਆਫਕ ਹੁਕਮ ਕੇ ਵੰਡ ਲੈਣਿ
ਤਾਂ ਫੇਰ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਕੋ ਚਾਹੀਐ-ਭਾਵੈਂ ਮਾਤਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਮਤ੍ਰੇਈ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਬਹਿਨ ਮਤੇਈ ਦੀ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਭਾਵੈਂ ਅਪਨੀ ਹੋਵੈ-ਇਨ ਮਾਤਾ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ, ਖਾਨੇ ਪਹਿਰਨੇ ਕੀ ਲੇਤੇ ਰਹੈਂ। ਅਰੁ ਬਹਿਨੋਂ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ,
ਜਯੋਂ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਬੇਟੀ ਕੀ ਲੇਤਾ ਹੈ, ਤਯੋਂ ਲੇਤੇ ਰਹੈਂ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਇਨ ਭੈਣੋਂ ਮੈ ਸੋਯੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਹੋਵੈ;
ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਖਾਨੇ ਪਹਿਰਨੇ ਕੀ ਖਬਰਦਾਰੀ ਲੇਤਾ ਰਹੈ। ਯਹਿ ਮਨ ਮੈ ਨ ਲਿਆਵੈ:
ਜੋ ਅੰਸ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਥਾ, ਸੋ ਵੰਡ ਲਇਆ ਹੈ। ਅਬ ਕਿਆ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਅਰੁ ਬਹਿਨੋਂ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ ਲੈਣੀ ਹੈ।
ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਕੋ ਖਿਜਮਤ ਕਰਨੀ ਆਈ ਹੈ। _____,
ਜੋ: ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਬਿਮਾਤ੍ਰਾ-ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ-ਜੋ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਭਾਈ ਲਗਤੇ ਹੈ;-ਪਿਆਰ ਭਾਉ ਕਰੈ; ਬਿਖਾਧ ਨ ਕਰੈ।
ਜੋ ਪਿਆਰ ਕਰੈਗੈ ਤੇ ਕੁਲ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਵੈਗਾ। ਅਰੁ ਸੁਖੀ ਹੋਵਹਿਗੇ॥ 11॥ 8॥

Social Behaviour:

The author of *Prem Sumarag* recommends the manners that should be kept in mind the Sikhs while interacting with the people in society especially in social and religious gatherings. While going to participate in a social gathering (*majlis*), he should take his seat there peacefully greeting the persons who are already present near his seat. He should be humble and submissive so long he is there.¹¹¹ The author also deals with the human relations towards his family members such as son, daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter, son's son, son's daughter, great grandson, great granddaughter, great-great grandson, great-great grand daughter, real brother, brother's son, brother's daughter, son of brother's son, daughter of brother's son, son of brother's daughter, daughter of brother's daughter.¹¹²

Betrothal Ceremonies:

It is universal truth that the cycle of human society largely revolves round institution of marriage. The author of *Prem Sumarag* talks about the marriage of unborn children too. The author says that if two couples take pledge at the time of conception that if a son is born to one while daughter to the other, they would fulfil their pledge and ceremonize their children marriage in all circumstances.¹¹³ If the person against the pledge, engages his daughter with the son of somebody else for any reason then author argues in the backdrop that such engagement cannot be allowed to take place whatsoever.¹¹⁴ If a father marries off his daughter to other than, the boy with whom he has already betrothed boy without informing his father then the

¹¹¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 76

ਬੈਠੈ ਮਜਲਸ ਮੇਂ ਅਦਬ ਨਾਲਿ। ਸਲਾਮ ਆਪ ਆਗੇ ਹੀ ਅਗਲੇ ਨੂ ਕਰੈ।
ਇਹ ਨਾ ਮਨ ਬਿਖੈ ਲਿਆਵੈ, ਜੇ ਉਹ ਸਲਾਮ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਕਰੇਗਾ; ਤਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਕਰਾਂਗਾ।
ਜਿਸਨੂੰ ਮਿਲੈ; ਭਾਉ ਨਾਲਿ, ਪਿਆਰ ਨਾਲਿ ਮਿਲੈ॥ 7॥

¹¹² -*ibid*- p. 126

ਅਰੁ ਨਾ ਕੋਈ ਬੇਟਾ ਬੇਟੀ, ਦੋਹੜਾ, ਦੋਹੜੀ, ਪੋੜੀ, ਪੋੜਾ, ਪੜੋਤਾ, ਪੜੋਤੀ, ਨੱਤਾ, ਨੱਤੀ,
ਕੋਈ ਆਲ-ਔਲਾਦ ਮੈ ਨ ਰਹੈ, ਤਬ ਭਾਈ ਸਕੇ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ, ਭਤੀਜੇ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ, ਭਾਈ-ਬੇਟੀ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ;
ਭਾਈ ਕੇ ਪੋੜੇ, ਪੋੜੀ, ਦੋਹੜੇ, ਦੋਹੜੀ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 7॥

¹¹³ -*ibid*- p. 137

ਜੇ ਕਦਾਂਚ-ਕਿਆ ਮਰਦ, ਕਿਆ ਇਸੜੀਆਂ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਸਹਿਜ ਪਾਇ ਬੇਟੀ ਬੇਟੇ ਵਾਲਾ,
ਜਬ ਦੋਨੇ ਇਸੜੀਆਂ ਗਰਭਵੰਤੀ ਹੋਵੈਂ। ਅਰੁ ਕਹੈਂ ਜੇ ਦੋਨੇ ਸਿਯੋਂ ਏਕ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਬੇਟੀ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਤਬ ਵਹੀ ਕਰਾਰ ਰੱਖੈ, ਅਰੁ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ।

ਅਉਰ ਸਾਥਿ ਕਰਨਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਇਆ; ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਉਨ ਦੋਨੇ ਹੀ ਕਾ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਬਨਤਾ ਹੈ॥ 2॥

¹¹⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਆਪਨੀ ਬੇਟੀ ਬੇਟੇ ਕੀ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਬਾਤ ਕਰੈ, ਅਰੁ ਮੁੰਕਰ ਪਰੈ,

ਤਿਸਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ:- ਜੇ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਮੁਖ ਸਿਉਂ ਮੈ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ;

ਅਮਕੇ ਕੇ ਬੇਟੇ ਕਉ ਅਪਨੀ ਬੇਟੀ ਕੀ ਨਿਸਬਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਬਬ ਪਾਇ ਕਿਛੁ ਮਨ ਬਿਖੈ ਬਾਤ ਆਵੈ ਕਿ ਮੈ ਨ ਕਰੋਂ।

ਤਬ ਵਹਿ ਨਿਸਬਤ ਉਸਕੇ ਕਹੇ ਸਿਉਂ ਟੂਟੈ ਨਾਹੀ।

ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਐਬ ਭੀ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਭੀ ਨ ਟੂਟੈ। ਕੁੜਮਾਈ ਹੋਈ ਕਿਸੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਟੂਟੈ ਨਾਹੀ॥ 1॥

girl is said to must have separated off from the boy and she should be remarried to the initially betrothed boy.¹¹⁵ If the father of the boy terminates a betrothal agreement due to some defects then he should pay rupees 1000 to the king as punishment and rupees 1000 to his caste people for *prasad*. The author opines that it is necessary as no one else can imitate this type of social misbehavior.¹¹⁶

Social Evils:

The Social evils were also prevalent in the society at the times when *Prem Sumarag* was written. The author explains about rape and punishment awarded in lieu thereof. If a person detains a woman whose husband is alive for the sexual purpose and let her go thereafter. While the crime becomes public, the aggrieved husband has a right to keep the wife of the accused with him for as many days as his wife was kept. It will send a strong message to the public not to commit such heinous crime in future.¹¹⁷

The woman who has sexual relation with the other person while her husband is alive then she should be sent to concentration camp (*bandikhane*) on her expenses for her limited diet for the period of one year. Her husband should not go to her for two years. If she commits her misdeed again then she should be turned out of the house to set up an example for such types of social crime in the society.¹¹⁸ If a person

¹¹⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p.137

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਏਕ ਨੇ ਅਪਨੀ ਬੇਟੀ ਕੀ ਕੁੜਮਾਈ ਏਕ ਕੇ ਬੇਟੇ ਕੇ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਸਬਬ ਪਾਇਕੈ ਔਰ ਸਾਥ ਬਯਾਹ ਕਰ ਦੇਇ, ਬਿਨਾ ਉਸ ਬੇਟੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ,
ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ:- ਚਾਹੀਐ ਜੋ ਉਸ ਲੜਕੀ ਕੋ,-ਜਿਸ ਸਾਥ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੋਵੈ-
ਉਸ ਤੋਂ ਜੁਦਾ ਕਰਕੈ, ਇਸ ਸਾਥ-ਜਿਸ ਸਾਥ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸਗਾਈ ਹੋਈ ਹੋਵੈ-ਪਰ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰ ਦੇਇ ॥ 3 ॥

¹¹⁶ -*ibid*- pp. 137-138

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਲੜਕੇ ਵਾਲਾ ਕੁੜਮਾਈ ਕਿਸੀ ਸਬਬ ਐਬ ਤੇ ਛੋਡੈ, ਉਹ ਕੁੜਮਾਈ ਸਗਾਈ,
ਤਾਂ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਡੰਡ ਕਾ ਦੇਇ।
ਅਰੁ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਰੁਪਈਆ ਅਪਣੀ ਬਿਰਾਦਰੀ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਕਾ ਦੇਇ। ਤਾਤਪਰਜ ਇਸ ਕਾ ਯਹਿ ਹੈ:-
ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਇਨ ਦੋਨੋ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਬੇਟੀ ਬੇਟੇ ਵਾਲਾ ਅਪਨੇ ਕਹਿਨ ਤੇ ਨਾ ਫਿਰੇ।
ਜੋ ਜਬਾਨ ਇਕਰਾਰ ਕੀਆ ਹੋਵੈ, ਕੁੜਮਾਈ ਕੀ ਕਿਆ ਚਲੀ ਹੈ ॥ 4 ॥

¹¹⁷ -*ibid*- p. 138

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਬਿਗਾਨੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਾਥ ਬਦ-ਕਰਮ ਕਰੈ, ਯਾ ਅਪਨੇ ਘਰ ਬਿਖੇ ਰੱਖੈ, ਰਜਾ-ਮੰਦੀ ਕਰ,
ਯਾ ਸਖਤੀ ਕਰਿ; ਤਬ ਚਾਹੀਐ:- ਜੋ ਖਸਮ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਜੀਵਤਾ ਹੋਇ-
ਜਿਸ ਪੁਰਖ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਘਰ ਮੈ ਪਾਈ ਹੋਇ; _____ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਾਥ ਬਦੀ ਕੀਈ ਹੋਇ।
ਫੇਰ ਉਸਤੇ, ਉਸਕੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ-ਜੋ ਮਾਲ-ਖਾਵੰਦ ਹੈ-ਕਰੈ ॥ 6 ॥

¹¹⁸ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਬਾਬ-ਜਿਸ ਨੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਪੁਰਖ ਜੀਵਤੇ, ਬਿਗਾਨੇ ਮਰਦ ਸਾਥ ਬਦਕਰਮ ਕੀਆ ਹੋਇ-
ਯਹਿ ਕਰਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ: ਉਸ ਕੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਬੰਦੀਖਾਨੇ ਕਰੈ, ਉਸੀ ਕਾ ਖਰਚ ਰੱਖੈ,
ਅਰੁ ਅਹਾਰ ਤੇ ਚੌਥਾਈ ਅਹਾਰ ਦੇ ਖਾਨੇ ਨੂੰ, ਇਕ ਬਰਸ ਦਿਨ ਤੱਕ।
ਅਰੁ ਉਸਕਾ ਮਰਦ ਉਸਕੇ ਨਜੀਕ ਨਾ ਜਾਇ, ਦੁਇ ਬਰਸ ਤੱਕ। ਜਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਦੂਸਰਾ ਬਰਸ ਚੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਹੈ,
ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਖਲਾਸ ਕਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਅਹਾਰ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਭੂਖ ਮਾਫਕ ਦੇਇ। ਜਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਦੁਇ ਬਰਸ ਪੂਰੇ ਹੋਏ,
ਅਰੁ ਇਸ ਕਰਮ ਤੇ ਬਾਜ ਆਈ, ਤਬ ਸੰਗ ਕਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਵਹਿ ਮੰਦਮਤਿ ਹੋਇ, ਤਬ ਘਰ ਤੇ ਨਿਕਾਲ ਦੇਇ।
ਤਾਤਪਰਜ ਇਸ ਕਾ ਯਹਿ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਫੇਰ ਯਹਿ ਕਰਮ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ ॥ 7 ॥

has no wife and he has sexual contact with a woman then the author of *Prem Sumarag* recommends that his hair should be cut and he should be roamed round the village with blackened face and hundred shoes should be striken on his back. Thereafter, he will pay a fine of rupees five hundred to the king who will keep the offender in jail for one year, only then he can become a free man. In case, he or she commits such crime subsequently then noses of both man and woman should be chopped off.¹¹⁹ If a woman who has no husband and has sexual relation with other person, she should be handed over to that person. Both should be treated in the same manner as explained by the author above.¹²⁰ If the man and woman who do not have spouse and cannot control their lust for sex, they can remarry irrespective of their caste affiliation including that of the slaves. The author further adds that such marriage is not an evil in the eyes of society but the adultery is a crime indeed. The proper marriage is of course, a pious institution of the society.¹²¹

Slavery:

The author of *Prem Sumarag* does not comdemn the slavery system because it was quite prevalent during author's time. However, he delineates the nature of slavery of his times. According to author, the father and mother can sell their children for the sake of subsistence or for other reason to the slave-master under agreement executed between the parties. He has to serve the slave-master until his parents pays the stipulated amount as specified in the agreement. He further gives his view about slavery if a man gets a slave whether captured, released from bandits or purchased

¹¹⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', pp. 138-139

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਉਸਕੈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਅਰੁ ਬਿਗਾਨੀ ਤ੍ਰਿਆ ਸਾਥ ਬਦਕਰਮ ਕਰੈ,
ਤਿਸਕੀ ਗਤਿ:- ਉਸਕੇ ਬਾਬ ਯਹਿ ਕਰਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ:
ਉਸ ਮਰਦ ਕੋ, ਸਿਰ ਮੁੰਡ ਕਰ ਗਏ ਉਪਰਿ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਸ਼ਹਰ ਕੈ ਗਿਰਦ ਫੇਰੈ, ਮੂੰਹ ਕਾਲਾ ਕਰਕੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਸਉ ਛਿੱਤ੍ਰ ਮਾਰੀਐ ਪਿੱਠ ਉਪਰਿ। ਅਰੁ ਪੰਜ ਸੈ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਡੰਡ ਰਾਜਾ ਲੈਵੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਬਰਸ ਤੱਕ ਕੈਦ ਰੱਖੀਐ।
ਇਸੈ ਭੀ ਅਹਾਰ ਚੌਥਾਈ ਦੀਜੀਐ। ਫਿਰਿ ਖਲਾਸ ਕੀਜੀਐ।
ਇਸ ਸਜਾਇ ਤੇ ਉਪਰੰਤ ਫੇਰ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਉਸ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਅਰੁ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਤੇ ਯਹਿ ਕਰਮ ਕਰੈ,
ਦੋਨੋ ਕੇ ਨੱਕ ਵਢਾਈਐ ਅਰੁ ਛੋਡ ਦੀਜੀਐ ॥ 8 ॥

¹²⁰ -*ibid*- p. 139

ਅਬ ਜੋ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਪੁਰਖ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਅਰੁ ਵਹੁ ਬਦ ਕਰਮ ਕਰੈ,
ਤਬ ਵਹੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਬਿਧਿ,
ਉਸੀ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਕਰੈ, ਜਿਨ ਇਸ ਸਿਉਂ ਬਦਕਰਮ ਕੀਆ ਹੋਇ।
ਫਿਰ ਇਨ ਦੋਨੋ ਕੇ ਅਪਨੀ ਪਾਂਤਿ ਮੈ ਨ ਲੈ ਬੈਠੇ।
ਭਾਵੈਂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਨ ਮਲੇਛ ਸਾਥ ਕਰੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਹਿੰਦੂ,
ਮਲੇਛਨੀ ਸਾਥ ਸੰਗ ਕਰੈ, ਇਸ ਤਰਹਿ ਵਹੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੈ,
ਇਨ ਦੋਨੋ ਕੇ ਬਾਬ, ਜਯੋਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਐਬ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ 9 ॥

¹²¹ *loc. cit.*

ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਯਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਰਹਿ ਨ ਸਕੈ, ਅਪਨੇ ਜਤ ਸਤ ਮੈ, ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਕੋਈ ਜਾਤਿ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦਾਸੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਐਬੁ ਨਾਹੀ। ਐਬ ਜੋ ਹੈ, ਸੇ ਬਦ-ਕਰਮ ਮੈ ਹੈ। ਸੰਜੋਗ ਸਭ ਤੇ ਪਵਿਤ੍ਰੁ ਹੈ ॥ 10 ॥ 11 ॥

then he should get an affidavit from the selling person specifying terms and conditions therein.¹²² The slave (child) on his part must perform his duty day and night and if he escapes then his parents are responsible to recover him and produce.¹²³ If parents sell their child as slave or servant on monthly salary, they can take him back by paying the amount specified in the affidavit. If partial amount is paid, then his parents or uncle or father's brother or maternal uncle or his companion can pay rest of it to the slave-master so that he can be a free man.¹²⁴ If the relative or friend file a petition for release of slave, the master will get the stipulated amount from the person who has filed the petition if he has a copy of agreement as stated above, duly approved by *mussadi*.¹²⁵ When the relative of the slave (male or female), approach the slave-master for the release. First of all, the slave should confirm the identity of person seeking his release. Thereafter, if the slave does not want to be free from his master then the relatives will have no claim over him. If the male slave or female slave makes the payment from his or her resources, then his master should release him or her.¹²⁶ Whether anyone or the relatives of the slave child wants to get him released but has no document supporting the claim but recognize him or her, then they should put claim for him or her to the master. However, the master has no document for claiming amount for the release then the master should have to release

¹²² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p.139

ਅਬ ਜੇ ਦਾਸੀ ਦਾਸ ਕੋਈ ਲੇਵੈ-ਭਾਵੈ ਮੋਲ, ਭਾਵੈ ਬੰਦਿ ਬਿਖੇ ਭਾਵੈ ਕੋਈ ਠਗ ਬੇਚ ਜਾਇ-
ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ:- ਜੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਅਪਨੇ ਬੇਟੀ ਬੇਟੇ ਕਉ ਬੇਚੈ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਅਪਨੀ ਜੀਵਕਾ ਕੇ,
ਯਾ ਕਿਸੀ ਔਰ ਅਰਥ ਕੈ; ਤਉ ਲੈਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਉਸਕੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਾਸੋਂ
ਏਕੁ ਕਾਗਜ਼ ਕਰਾਏ ਸਾਖੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ।

¹²³ -*ibid*- pp. 139-140

ਅਰੁ ਯਹਿ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਰਾਤਿ ਦਿਨੁ ਅਪਨੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਮੈਂ ਰਹੈ। ਜੇ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਭਾਗੈ,
ਉਸ ਕੈ ਮਾਂ, ਬਾਪ ਹਾਜਰ ਕਰ ਦੇਵਹਿੰ।

ਅਰੁ ਉਸਕੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਸਯੋਂ ਜਾਮਨ ਲੇਵੈ ॥ 2 ॥

¹²⁴ -*ibid*- p. 140

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਬੰਦ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਲੇਵੈ-ਮੋਲ ਯਾ ਅਪਨੇ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਮੈ ਲੇਵੈ-ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਚਾਕਰ ਹੋਇ, ਯਾ ਠੱਗ ਬੇਚ ਜਾਇ,
ਉਸ ਕੇ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਯਾ ਉਸਕਾ ਖਸਮ ਹੋਵੈ, ਆਇ ਕੈ ਚਾਹੈ, ਜੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਕੇ ਲੇਵੈ;

ਤਬ ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਪੈਸੇ ਓਹੁ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਲੈ ਆਇਆ ਹੋਇ, ਉਸਕੇ ਜੇ ਸੰਗੀ ਹੈਂ, ਪੈਸੇ ਦੇਕੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਕੇ ਲੇਵੈਂ।

ਯਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਭਾਈ, ਚਾਚਾ, ਤਾਇਆ, ਮਾਮੂ, ਨਾਨਾ

ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਵਾਰਸ ਸੰਗੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਪੈਸੇ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਲੇਵੈ, ਉਸ ਕਉ ਪਹੁਚੈ ॥ 4 ॥

¹²⁵ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਪੈਸੇ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਤਬ ਲੈਨੇ ਪਹੁੰਚਤੇ ਹੈਂ ਜਬ ਕਾਗਦ ਹੋਵੈ ਇਨ ਕਾ,

ਜਯੋਂ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਅਕੇ ਬੰਦ ਕੇ ਮੁਸੱਦਯੋਂ ਕੀ ਮੁਹਰ ਨਾਲਿ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ 6 ॥

¹²⁶ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਵਹੁ ਦਾਸ ਯਾ ਦਾਸੀ ਕਹੈ: ਜੁ ਹਮ ਇਨ ਕੇ-ਜਿਨੋਂ ਨੇ ਮੋਲ ਲਇਆ ਹੈ-
ਈਹਾਂ ਹੀ ਰਹੈਗੇ।” ਤਉ ਵਾਰਸੋਂ ਸੰਗੀਯੋਂ ਕੇ ਨ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ ॥ 7 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਵਹੁ ਦਾਸ ਯਾ ਦਾਸੀ ਕਹੀਂ ਤੇ ਪੈਸੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਮੋਲ ਕੈ ਆਨ ਦੇਇ;

ਜਿਨ ਕੇ ਬੰਦਿ ਯਾ ਠੱਗ ਸਯੋਂ ਲਇਆ ਹੋਵੈ,

ਵਹੁ ਦਾਸ ਦਾਸੀ ਉਨ ਕੇ ਉਸ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਤੇ ਖਲਾਸ ਕਰਾਵਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ ॥ 8 ॥

him or her.¹²⁷ The author of *Prem Sumarag* informs that whether a male or female slave has children and for any reasons they are happened to be sold to next master. In such peculiar situation the children of the slave will remain in the custody of first master and not to be allowed go with their parents.¹²⁸

Funeral Ceremonies:

There comes the time for everybody to depart from this mortal world whether by the natural death or by other misfortune. The author of *Prem Sumarag* pens down the rituals and ceremonies observed by the people relating to death. Just after death, the body of the person should be removed from the bed and placed fully extended on a square of plastered mud already made on ground covered with woolen blanket or cotton cloth. The family members such as father, mother, wife, children, brothers or anyone else should not engage in lamentation when they arrive there, mourn the death. The women should not beat their breasts, and the men should not remove their turbans from their heads on this occasion, however, they should recite the passages from the Holy Scripture (*bani*).¹²⁹ The brother or son of the deceased should put kesri (saffron colored turban) on his head, if the deceased person has no son then his parents, elder brother, younger brother, uncle, elder uncle or other some close relatives should do it. In addition to it, mother or close female relative of the deceased should wear new sewn clothes.¹³⁰ After it, the corpse of the deceased should be

¹²⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 141
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨੇ ਬੇਟੇ ਬੇਟੀਆਂ, ਔਰ ਕਛੁ ਸਾਕ, ਅਰੁ ਵਹੁ ਕਿਸੀ ਕੇ ਦਾਸ ਦਾਸੀ ਹੋਵਹਿ,
 ਉਨ ਕਾ ਦਾਵਾ ਕਰੈ, ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਪਾਸ ਕਾਗਦ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਮੁੱਲ ਦਾ,
 ਅਉਰ ਵਹਿ ਉਨ ਕੇ ਪਹਿਚਾਨੈ-ਅਪਨੇ ਸੰਗੀਓਂ ਕੇ।
 ਤਬ ਉਹ ਆਦਮੀ ਉਨ ਕੇ ਪਹੁੰਚਤਾ ਹੈ, ਤਹਿਕੀਕ ਕਰਕੇ ਦੇਇ ॥ 10 ॥ 12 ॥

¹²⁸ -*ibid*- p. 142
 ਯਹੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਦਾਸ ਦਾਸੀ ਕੀ ਹੈ। ਜੇ ਉਨ ਤੇ ਬੇਟੀ ਬੇਟਾ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਵਹਿ,
 ਅਰੁ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਬਬ ਪਾਇਕੈ ਵਹਿ ਦਾਸ ਦਾਸੀ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਤੇ- ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਹਾਂ ਬਿਕਾਨਾ ਹੋਇ
 'ਤਬ ਵਹਿ ਬੇਟੀ ਬੇਟਾ ਉਨ ਕੇ-ਅਪਨੇ ਮਾਤਾ-ਪਿਤਾ ਕੇ, ਨਾਹੀ ਪਹੁੰਚਤੇ ॥ 7 ॥

¹²⁹ -*ibid*- p. 80
 ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਮੰਜੇ ਤੇ ਜਿਮੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਲਏ। ਜਿਮੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਮਾਟੀ ਕਾ ਚਉਕਾ ਦੇਇ।
 ਫੇਰਿ ਉਸਦੇ ਉਪਰ ਲੋਈ, ਅਕੈ ਕੰਬਲ, ਅਕੈ ਹੋਰ ਕੱਪੜਾ ਕਪਾਸ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ-ਸੇ ਵਿਛਾਏ।
 ਉਸਦੇ ਉਪਰ ਉਸ ਪ੍ਰਾਣੀ ਕੀ ਦੇਹ ਨੂ ਲੰਮੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਵਾਏ ॥ 1 ॥ ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਕੁਟੰਬ ਕੇ ਲੋਗ ਹੋਹਿ-
 ਪਿਤਾ, ਕਿ ਮਾਤਾ, ਕਿਆ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ, ਕਿਆ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ, ਕਿਆ ਭ੍ਰਾਤ, ਕਿਆ ਜੋ ਹੋਈ ਹੋਹਿ,-
 ਸਭ ਉਤ ਸਮੈ, ਜਬ ਲਗ ਉਹਾਂ ਪੜਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਬੈਰਾਗ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਅਲਾਹਣੀਆਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਗਾਵ ਕੇ।
 ਅਉਰ ਸਬਦ ਬੈਰਾਗ ਬਿਰਕਤ ਕੇ ਸਮੇ ਪ੍ਰਥਾਇ ਚਲਨੇ ਕੇ ਤੜ੍ਹਨ ਗਾਵਨ।
 ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀਆਂ ਪਿੱਟੈਂ ਨਾਹੀ; ਇਹ ਬਾਣੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਗਾਵਨ
 ਅਤੇ ਮਰਦ ਭੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ਗਾਵਣ। ਅਤੇ ਪਗੜੀਆਂ ਉਤਾਰਨ ਨਾਹੀ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ॥ 2 ॥

¹³⁰ -*ibid*- p. 81
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਭਾਈ ਅਥਵਾ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸਕੇ ਕੇਸਰੀ ਪਗੜੀ ਪਹਿਨਾਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਨ ਹੋਇ,
 ਤਾਂ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ, ਅਕੈ ਚਾਚਾ ਤਾਇਆ ਨਜੀਕ-ਸੰਗੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੇ ਪਹਿਰੈ। _____
 ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹ ਉਸ ਪ੍ਰਾਣੀ ਕੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਅਥਵਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਨਜੀਕੀ ਹੋਇ,
 ਸੇ ਕਪੜਾ ਸੀਵਕੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਉਪਰ ਲਏ ॥ 6 ॥

washed with water containing in a pitcher then put on new clothes, turban, and sword belt and lastly wrapped the deceased in saffron cloth.¹³¹ After it, lay the corpse on the bier, offer the prayer, distribute the *karah prasad* to all the Sikhs and Sikhnis present there and put a morsel in the mouth of deceased Sikh. The pallbearer pick up the bier for the destination and build a pyre containing 15 mounds wood and lay the corpse on it and finally lit the fire.¹³²

The author does not create dispute over washing of the funeral processionists whosoever likes it may do so but the author recommends to all the *khalsa* to gather on a well, a tanker, or a river for partaking food of whatever kind afforded by the Grace of *Guru* and then proceed over to home of the deceased.¹³³ After consigning the dead body to flames, the author suggests to donate a brocade turban and money to their domestic barber (*naai*), genealogist (*bhatt*), bard (*doom*) and perform the custom of obsequies (*uthala*).¹³⁴

The mother or wife of the deceased should eat little clarified butter and very little salt, preferably meal without salt. Use of meat is completely prohibited. The author recommends to eat *khichari* (the mixture of rice and lentil).¹³⁵ The widow should read *pothi shabad baani* (Sikh sacred scripture) and endeavour to discharge her normal responsibilities. She should remain in veil (*purdah*) and never to speak to any strange person and should wear coarse white clothes and never be worn dirty clothes.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 81

ਅਬ ਗਤਿ ਕੀ ਬਿਧੀ:- ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਪਾਨੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਨੁਵਾਈਐ, ਘੜੇ ਮਿਕਦਾਰ ਨਾਲਿ॥1॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਕੱਛ ਪਹਰਾਈਐ ਨਵੀਂ॥2॥ਕੇਸਾਂ ਨੂ ਕਪੜੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਮਲਕੇ ਸੁਕਾਇਕੇ ਫੁਲੇਲ ਨਾਲਿ ਪਾਇ ਜੂੜਾ ਬੰਧੇ॥3॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਪਗੜੀ ਕੇਸਰੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਬੰਨੇ॥4॥ ਫੇਰਿ ਜਾਮਾ ਅਗਲ ਬੰਦੀ ਧੋਤਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਪਹਿਨਾਏ॥5॥
ਉਸ ਉਪਰ ਪਟਕਾ ਬੰਨੇ॥6॥ ਅਰੁ ਪਰਮ ਜਨੇਊ ਲੋਹੇ ਕਾ ਪਾਏ॥17॥
ਫੇਰ ਉਸ ਉਪਰ ਕਫਨ ਪਹਰਾਈਐ ਕੇਸਰੀ ਕਰਕੇ॥8॥

¹³² -*ibid*- p. 82

¹³³ -*ibid*- p. 83

ਖੂਹੇ ਉਪਰ, ਅਕੇ ਤਲਾਉ ਉਪਰ, ਅਕੇ ਦਰੀਆਉ ਉਪਰ, ਉਥੇ ਸਭ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਬੈਠੇ ।

ਅਰੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਇ, ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ; ਸੋ ਵੰਡੈ॥18॥

¹³⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਜਬ ਸਸਕਾਰ ਕਰ ਆਵਹਿ ਤਬ; ਇਕ ਪਗੜੀ ਬਾਦਲੇ ਕੀ ਜਰੀ ਦੀ, -ਮੁੱਲ ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਹੋਵੈ,
-ਨਾਈ, ਭੱਟ, ਡੂਮ ਕੁਲ ਕੇ ਨੋ ਦੇਵੈ; ਨਾਲੇ ਨਗਦ ਕਿਛੁ ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਦੇਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਉਸੈ ਉਠਾਲੇ॥1॥

¹³⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 84

ਜਿਸ ਸਿੰਘਣੀ ਦਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਰਤਾ ਅਥਵਾ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਚਲਿਆ ਹੋਇ। ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਜੋ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਕਮ ਖਾਏ,
ਲੋਣ ਬਹੁਤ ਥੋੜਾ ਖਾਏ। ਜੋ ਅਲੂਣਾ ਖਾਏ; ਤਾਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਭਲਾ ਹੈ। ਮਾਸ ਨਾ ਖਾਏ। ਕਿਆ ਖਾਏ?
ਪਾਉ ਖਿਚੜੀ ਚਾਰ ਸੇਰ ਪਾਣੀ ਪਾਇਕੇ ਕੋਇਲਿਆਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਚੜ੍ਹਾਏ।

¹³⁶ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਧਿਆਨ ਅਪਣਾ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਆਪਣੇ ਧਨੀ ਕੀ ਮੈ ਰੱਖੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਸਿਮ੍ਹਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ। ਪੋਥੀ ਸਬਦ-ਬਾਣੀ ਪੜ੍ਹੇ। ਅਰੁ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਭੀ ਕਰੈ।

ਪੜਦੇ ਮੈ ਰਹੈ; ਬਿਰਾਨੇ ਮਰਦ ਨਾਲ ਗੱਲ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ। ਕੱਪੜੇ ਮੋਟੇ ਪਹਰੈ, ਸੁਪੇਦ; ਮੈਲੇ ਨ ਰੱਖੈ।

The author writes about the last funeral rites to be observed if a boy dies. Upto the age of 10 years, a boy should be regarded a child. He should be clothed in the same costume which he had usually been wearing while he alive and then conduct the regular funeral ceremony though he be of two days old.¹³⁷ After it the author prevails upon the procedure of the last ceremony in case of a girl dies. He recommends to follow the same procedure as conducted in case of a male child except that red cloth (*salu*) should be spread over her corpse and a thread (*mauli*) of untwisted yarn of red and saffron colour should be placed on her hair. In all other respect, follow the system set down for a male child.¹³⁸

Further, the author writes about the deceased married woman if she has no child either surviving or deceased. Her dead body should be washed and apply fragrant oil in her hair and plait it and cloth in the garment that she ordinarily wore while alive. A saffron colour shawl (*asawari*) should be spread over her dead body. If her husband cannot afford it then the writer suggests that a shawl of saffron coloured (*masru or dariai*) should be thrown over her dead body. Even this too expensive to afford then he should use ordinary white cotton cloth dyed saffron coloured.¹³⁹ If the deceased is widow but has children, should put on her body a long skirt (*lahenga*) and spread white mantle (*chaadar*) over her corpse, and lastly sprinkle saffron all over it.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Samarag', p. 85
ਜੇ ਲੜਕਾ ਚਲੇ ਤਿਸਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ:- ਦਸ ਬਰਸ ਤਕ ਬਾਲਕ ਹੈ। ਉਸਕੇ ਭੀ ਚਉਕਾ ਮਿਟੀ ਕਾ ਦੇ ਕੇ,
ਤਿਸਦੈ ਉਪਰ ਰੱਖੈ। ਜੇ ਜਾਣੇ ਜੋ ਹਥਾਂ ਉਪਰ ਉਠਾਵਨੇ ਲਾਇਕ ਹੈ!
ਤਾਂ ਕੇਸਰੀ ਕਪੜੇ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਪੈਨੁਾਇਕੈ ਲੇ ਜਾਣਾ, ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ।
ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਪੜਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੈਨੁਾਵਨਾ ਜੋ ਪੈਨੁਾਦਾ ਹੈ ਜੀਵਦਿਆਂ। ਜਾਇ ਸਸਕਾਰ ਕਰਨਾ;
ਭਾਵੈ ਦੁਇ ਦਿਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਭੀ ਸਸਕਾਰ ਕਰਨਾ। ਉਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਅੱਚਦਾਸਿ ਕਰਨੀ॥ 1॥

¹³⁸ -*ibid*- p. 86
ਅਬ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਜਾਮੇ ਦੀ ਬਿਧਿ:- ਬਾਲਕੀ ਚਲੈ ਤਬ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਉਪਰ ਬਾਲਕ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ: ਸੋ ਕਰੈ।
ਪਰ ਉਪਰ ਬਾਲਕੀ ਕੇ ਸਾਲੂ ਪਾਏ। ਅਰੁ ਮਉਲੀ ਸਿਰ ਪਾਏ।

¹³⁹ -*ibid*- p. 87
ਫੇਰ ਨੁਵਾਇਕੈ, ਸਿਰ ਗੁੰਦਾਇਕੈ, ਖੁਸਬੋਈ ਪਾਇਕੈ, ਕਪੜੇ ਜੋ ਹਮੇਸਾ ਪਹਿਰਦੀ ਸੀ, ਸੋ ਪਹਿਰਾਏ।
ਫੇਰ ਉਪਰ ਅਸਾਵਰੀ ਕੇਸਰੀ ਰੰਗ ਦੀ ਪਾਏ। ਜੋ ਸਕਤਿ ਅਸਾਵਰੀ ਦੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ।
ਤਾਂ ਕੇਸਰੀ ਰੰਗ ਦਾ ਮਸਰੂ ਅਕੇ ਦਰਿਆਈ ਪਾਏ। ਜੋ ਏਹ ਭੀ ਸਕਤਿ ਨਾ ਹੋਇ:
ਤਾਂ ਸੁਪੇਦ ਕਪੜੇ ਕੇਸਰੀ ਰੰਗਾਇ ਪਾਏ। _____ ॥ 2 ॥

¹⁴⁰ -*ibid*- p. 88
ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਬਡੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਤੇ ਉਸਦੇ ਅਉਲਾਦ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਤੇ ਓਹ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਹੋਵੇ।
ਉਸਨੂੰ ਚਲਨੇ ਕੇ ਸਮੇ ਲਹਿੰਗਾ ਪਹਿਨਾਏ; ਅਰੁ ਸੁਪੇਦ ਚਾਦਰ ਦੇਇ। ਤਿਸ ਪਰ ਕਫਨ ਪਹਿਨਾਏ।
ਉਸ ਪਰ ਕੇਸਰ ਛਿੜਕ ਲਏ। _____ ॥ 6 ॥ 6 ॥

The author explain in *Prem Sumarag* that the ashes of the deceased should be stored in a large earthen pot and immersed in the flowing river whether it is at the distance of two or three *koh* (4-6 kilometers).¹⁴¹

The author recommends to kindle an earthen lamp for twenty-one days on the place where the deceased took his last breath. Apart, the author recommends to serve meal to five *khalsa* on the following day.¹⁴²

The author adds that in case of a widow, no ring should be put in her nose.¹⁴³ On the other hand, she can eat unsalted meal consists of whole grain food (*ogra*) once that is in the night, if she cannot help eating meal without salt then she can mix salt in little quantity in her prescribed meal.¹⁴⁴

The author suggests to take note of the date and month of the death when a person dies while marking the death anniversary. Kirtan should be arranged to be sung continuously through out the day in the memory of deceased son, grandson, son-in-law, wife or daughter.¹⁴⁵

He further suggests to mark the death anniversary of the deceased person. He is of the view that fresh vegetables, dried food, confectionary, *kheer* (sweet pudding), curd, meat, and all kinds of thirty-six popular dishes should be served to mark the anniversary of the deceased person.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Samarag*', p. 92

ਅਗੈ ਜੋ ਜਾਣੇ ਦਰਯਾਉ ਉਸ ਸਗਰ ਕੇ ਹੇਠ, -ਅਕੈ ਦੁਹੁ ਤ੍ਰਿਹੁ ਕੋਹਾਂ ਉਪਰ-ਹੈ, ਅਕੈ ਦੂਰ ਹੈ;
ਤਾਂ ਭੀ ਉਸ ਮਿਟੀ (ਰਾਖ) ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਦੀ ਨੁ ਇਕੱਸ ਮੱਟ ਮੈ ਮੁੰਦ ਕੈ; ਕਿਸੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਦੇ ਸਿਰਿ ਦੇ ਕਰਿ;
ਦਰਿਆਉ ਵਿਚਿ ਪਾਇ ਦੇਇ ॥ 4 ॥

¹⁴² -*ibid*- p. 86

ਤੀਸਰੇ ਦਿਨ ਕੇ ਉਠਾਲਾ ਕਰੈ। ਨਾਈ ਭਟ ਡੂਮ ਨੂ ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ਨਗਦ ਤੇ ਸਿਰੋਪਾਵ ਦੇਇ ।

ਅਰੂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਅਪਨੀ ਬਿਰਾਦਰੀ ਨੂ ਅਰੁ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦੀ ਨੂ ਕਰੈ: ਜਥਾ ਸਕਤਿ ॥ 3 ॥

ਜਿਥੈ ਓਹ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਚਲੈ; ਉਥੈ ਦੀਵਾ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਦਾ ਬਾਲਨ; ਦਿਨ ਇਕੀਸ ਤੱਕ ॥ 4 ॥

ਫੇਰ ਅਗਲੇ ਦਿਨ ਪੰਜ ਸਿਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦੇ ਜਿਵਾਏ ॥ 5 ॥

¹⁴³ -*ibid*- p. 91

ਪਰੁ ਏਕ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਜੋ ਹੋਵੇ ਬਿਧਵਾ, ਉਸ ਕੇ ਨੱਥ ਪਹਰਨੀ ਮਨੇ ਹੈ।

¹⁴⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਤੇ ਅਲੂਣਾ ਖਾਣਾ ਏਕ ਵਖਤ, ਘੜੀ ਰਾਤਿ ਗੁਦਰੀ। ਜੋ ਅਲੂਣਾ ਨ ਖਾਇ ਸਕੈ,

ਥੋੜਾ ਲੂਣ ਪਾਇ ਖਾਇ। ਓਗਰਾ ਕਰਿ ਖਾਏ। _____ ॥ 14 ॥ 17 ॥

¹⁴⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Samarag*', pp. 88-89

ਅਰੁ ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਚਲੈ, ਜੋ ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਬਿਤਿ ਅਰੁ ਓਹ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਯਾਦ ਰੱਖੈ।

ਜਥ ਬਰਖ ਪਿਛੈ ਓਹ ਬਿਤਿ, ਓਹ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਆਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੈ:-

ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਅੱਛਾ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ-ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਿਲਾਵੈ।

ਅਤੇ ਅਰਗਜਾ ਖੁਸ਼ਬੋਈ ਲਾਵੈ; ਨਾਲੇ ਆਪ ਨੂ ਨਹਲਾਇਕੇ ਲਾਵੈ; ਨਾਲੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਨੂ ਲਾਵੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਰਾਏ; ਅੱਠ ਪਹਰ। ਅਰੁ ਅੱਰਦਾਸ ਕਰਾਏ। _____ ॥ 3 ॥

¹⁴⁶ -*ibid*- p. 86

ਅਰੁ ਫਲ, ਤਰਕਾਰੀ, ਮੇਵਾ ਤਰ ਖੁਸ਼ਕ, ਮਿਠਾਈ, ਖੀਰ, ਦਹੀ, ਮਾਸ, ਸਭ ਰਸ ਛਤੀਹ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਕਰੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਖਿਲਾਏ ਖੁਧਿਆਰਥੀਆਂ ਨੇ; ਸਿਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦੇ ਨੂ ॥ 6 ॥

CHAPTER-4

POLITY IN *PREM SUMARAG*

The *Prem Sumarag* is regarded as detailed blueprint of norms of ideal Sikh state and also a comprehensive document that gives a lot of information on religious, social and political life of the Sikhs.¹ It gives a lot of information on political aspect of Sikh state. However, it has been written under the influence of Hindu *sanatan* philosophy which undoubtedly reflects in most of the Sikh literature.

Apparently, the author of *Prem Sumarag* was well conversant with the Hindu philosophy and its compliance by the different Hindu rulers from the earliest times. First of all, the author refers to Raja Janak who is believed to have been a ruler in *treতা yug*, the second mythical age as mentioned in old Hindu literature. He used to follow the *Rajyog* and *Sukhdeo* thereby always thinking to keep his subjects happy and contented. He was not entrapped in worldly allurements (*maya*). On the other hand, Prahilad another Hindu Raja was completely dedicated to the Supreme One, the creator of the world while *Bibhichhan* (the younger brother of Ravan), though born in the lineage of the demon, became a *gurmukh*. Ultimately, such rulers will take birth and will get liberation (*sahaj yog*) which is considered to be the highest form of ecstasy (*mast*), the last goal of a person's life. It is superior to all other yogas. He who explores the *sahaj yog* will discover everything within and without his body. This is achieved without the *hath* yoga, a kind of *yoga* that requires various physical postures of extreme tribulation.² Obviously, the ruler should not indulge in worldly things.

The author delineates what is the actual state of mind of the Raja if he has attained the *sahaj yog*. In that state of mind, the person intermingles with the divine order and unable to distinguish what is good and what is bad. He simplifies quoting it by way of an example. If by divine order, a Raja rules the entire earth and the heaven of Indra and the three worlds and if by the divine order, an earthenware cup is placed

¹ Gurdeep Kaur, 'The State In Sikhism', 'Political Ethics of Guru Granth Sahib :The Concept of State', Political Science Annual, 1998-99, Page 161

² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 148-149

ਜੈਸੇ ਰਾਜਾ ਜਨਕ, ਜਿਸ ਨੇ ਰਾਜ-ਜੋਗ ਕਮਾਇਆ; ਔਰ ਜੈਸੇ ਸੁਕਦਿਉ,
ਜਿਸ ਕਉ ਮਾਇਆ ਕਾ ਬਯੋਹਾਰ ਨ ਲੱਗਾ; ਅਰੁ ਜੈਸੇ ਪ੍ਰਹਿਲਾਦ,
ਜਿਸਨੇ 'ਏਕ ਨਾਮ' ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਯੋ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਲਾਈ; ਅਰੁ ਜੈਸੇ ਬਭੀਛਨ,
ਜੋ ਦੇਉ-ਕੁਲੀ ਬਿਖੈ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਹੁਆ; ਐਸੀ ਐਸੀ ਠਉਰ ਬਿਖੈ-ਜਨਮ ਲੇਵੈਗਾ।
ਫੇਰ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਪੰਥ-ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਚਰਨ ਕਵਲ ਕੀ ਹੈ,-ਕਉ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਵੈਗਾ 'ਸਹਜ ਜੋਗ' ਕਉ ਰਮੈਗਾ ॥ 2 ॥

in the hand of the same Raja and he goes door to door for begging for alms. But no one gives anything to him. The king in *sahaj yog* condition should not be happy on account of bestowal of kingdom upon him nor should he be aggrieved of getting nothing by begging from the people. Whatever happens with him should happily be taken as sweet Will of God.³

The author explains that whoever secures a political authority over any territory; he should follow the fixed norms of justice and conduct faithfully. First of all, the ruler should have complete control over his functionaries and subjects. He should draw up his daily time table clearly specifying therein separate time for his each engagement he is to perform, namely taking meals, looking into previous day's financial transactions, listening to exposition of the *Vedas*, engaging to recreation, discussing state affairs with his nobles (*umarao*) and lastly attending his harem (*zanana*).⁴ It reveals that the rulers were quite aware as to how to utilize his day time efficiently and systematically. With regard to statesmanship, the King should treat his subordinates honorably, who dress well and discharge their duty justifiably. This is also an effective feature of statecraft.⁵

The author explains the epithets by which the royal women should be addressed. She who belongs to the palace of the Raja (*zanana mahal*), should be addressed as (*maharani rajeshwari*). If she belongs to Prince' palace, she should be called the prince's queen (*kumar-rani*) while wife of brother of king as (*bhrant-rani*) and palaces of the Prime Minister (*wazir*) and the commanders (*balwantkarris*) should be titled as the *Singh-mahal*. The mother of the Maharaja should be addressed

³ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 147
ਜੇ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਹੁਕਮ ਪਾਇ ਰਾਜਾ ਸਾਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਵੀ ਕਾ, ਅਥਵਾ ਇੰਦਰ ਲੋਕ, ਤ੍ਰਿਲੋਕ ਕਾ ਹੋਇ;
ਫਿਰ ਸਹਜ ਪਾਂਇ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਸਿਉ, ਉਸੀ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਹਾਥ ਮੈ ਮਾਟੀ ਕਾ ਪਿਆਲਾ ਹੋਇ;
ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਗ੍ਰਿਹ ਭਿਛਿਆ ਮਾਂਗਤਾ ਡੋਲੈ। ਭਿਛਿਆ ਭੀ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਦੇਇ।
ਤਉ ਉਸ ਰਾਜ ਕਾ ਹਰਖ ਅਰੁ ਇਸ ਭਿਛਿਆ ਕਾ ਸੋਗ ਨ ਕਰੈ॥ 4॥
ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਵਰਤਾਰਾ ਵਰਤੈ, ਹੁਕਮ ਕਰ ਕੈ, ਹਾਲ ਮੈ ਮਸਤ ਰਹੈ॥ 5॥

⁴ -*ibid*- p. 107
ਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਜੋ ਆਪਨੇ ਸਮੈ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕਰੈ। ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਖਾਨੇ ਕਾ, ਪਿਛਲੇ ਚਲਨ ਕੀ ਬਾਰਤਾ,
ਕੈ ਕਥਾ ਬੇਦ, ਰਾਜ-ਲੀਲਾ ਸੁਨਣੇ ਕਾ, ਖਿਲਵਤ ਸਮੀਪੀਓਂ ਕੀ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ,
ਜਨਾਨੇ ਕੇ ਬੈਠਨੇ ਕਾ; ਏ ਸਭ ਵਖਤ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਨ ਬੰਨੁ ਕੇ ਕਰੈ॥ 1॥

⁵ -*ibid*- p. 95
ਅਰੁ ਏਕ ਅਉਰ ਲੱਛਨ ਰਾਜ ਕਾ ਬਡਾ ਹੈ: ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨੇ ਚਾਕਰੋਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਅੱਛੀ ਰਹਤ ਰਹੈ;
ਅਛੀ ਪੋਸ਼ਾਕ ਪਹਰੈ; ਅਛਾ ਤੁਜਕ ਕਰੈ; ਤਾਂ ਅਪਨੇ ਮਨ ਬਿਖੈ ਭਲਾ ਮੰਨੈ,
ਰਾਜੀ ਰਹੈ, ਬੁਰਾ ਮਨ ਬਿਖੈ ਨ ਲਿਆਵੈ॥ 3॥

as the royal mother Maharani (*rajmata maharani*).⁶ It is noteworthy that the word Mahal⁷ has also been used in relation to the wives of the Sikh Gurus, but the author of *Prem Sumarag* uses this word here particularly for the royal women.

It is incumbent upon the king that he should not keep the company of any other woman except with whom he was actually and initially married.⁸ This will be the sign of greatness. The king should marry only one woman. He can remarry if his first wife produces no children or no son. If he has a living wife, he should not marry a maid. The author emphasizes that the king should not keep a woman in the *zanana mahal* without her husband. If any unmarried woman is retained in the *zanana* palace then she should be chaste.⁹ The author also defines what is illegal sexual relationship if someone is involved in it. The king should never go to a prostitute and a woman should never go to another man. Any woman and man should not remain unmarried. The author tells that the life of a woman without her husband is hell. She should lead a life of chastity even she has not married. The king should maintain this kind of standard perpetuating in his kingdom.¹⁰

Justice is another aspect that is considered as the sacred duty of a King. According to author of *Prem Sumarag*, the King should feel obliged to the Almighty who bestowed upon him the authority of deliverance of justice to all. The author specially uses the word of *patshah* for the King. It reflects his erudition indeed.

⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 123

ਅਬ ਜੋ ਜ਼ਨਾਨਾ ਮਹਲ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਉਸ ਕੋ 'ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਰਾਜੇਸ਼ੁਰੀ' ਕਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਰਾਜ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਕਾ ਮਹਲ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸ ਕੋ 'ਕੁਮਾਰ-ਰਾਨੀ' ਕਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਰਾਜ-ਭ੍ਰਾਤ ਕੇ ਮਹਲ ਕੋ 'ਭ੍ਰਾਤ ਰਾਨੀ' ਕਹੈ।

ਵਜੀਰ ਅਰੁ ਬਲਵੰਤ ਕਾਰੀਉਂ ਕੇ ਮਹਿਲੋਂ ਕੋ 'ਸਿੰਘ-ਮਹਲ' ਕਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਮਾਤਾ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ-ਕੀ ਕੋ, 'ਰਾਜ ਮਾਤਾ ਮਹਾਰਾਨੀ' ਕਹੈ॥ 1॥

⁷ Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, '*Gur Shabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh*', National Book Shop, Delhi, 1998, page 422

⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 121

ਅਬ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕੋ ਚਾਹੀਐ-ਕਿ ਅਉਰ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਵੈ, ਜਿਸ ਕਿਸੀ ਕੋ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਨੈ

ਮਾਇਆ ਅਰੁ ਹੁਕਮ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੀ ਮੇਹਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੋਵੇ, ਉਸ ਕੋ ਚਾਹੀਐ-ਜੋ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਸਤ-ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਰਖਨੇ-ਮੈ ਇਹ ਬੀਚਾਰ ਕਰੈ:-
ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਬਿਆਹਤਾ ਸੇ ਸਿਵਾਇ, ਅਉਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਨ ਸੰਗ ਕਰੈ॥ 1॥

⁹ -*ibid*- p. 122

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਕੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਮਹਲ ਮੈ ਦਾਸੀਆਂ ਅਰੁ ਸਹੇਲੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਨ,

ਤਿਨ ਕਉ ਇਸ ਬਿਧਿ ਰੱਖੈ:ਉਨ ਕੋ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਅਪਨੇ ਮੈ ਰੱਖੈ। ਬਿਨਾਂ ਭਰਤੇ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਰਖਨੀ ਜਨਾਨੇ ਮੈ ਬਹੁਤ ਐਬ ਹੈ।

ਉਸ ਕੋ ਦੇਖਨਾ ਮਨਾਂ ਹੈ। ਬਿਨਾਂ ਭਰਤੇ। ਸੋਈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਰੱਖੈ ਜਨਾਨੇ ਮੈ, ਜੋ ਆਪਨੇ ਜਤ ਸਤ ਮੈ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਅਉਰ ਨ ਰੱਖੈ, ਬਿਨ ਭਰਤੇ ਕੀ॥ 4॥

¹⁰ *loc. cit.*

ਅਮਰ ਹੈ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੋ, ਜੋ ਬੇਸਵਾ ਬਿਨਾ ਅਉਰ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪਰ-ਮਰਦ ਪਾਸ ਨ ਜਾਏ।

ਕੁਆਰੀ ਕੋਈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਅਰੁ ਮਰਦ ਨ ਰਹੈ। ਬਿਨਾ ਭਰਤਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਜਾਮਾ ਨਰਕ ਹੈ।

ਸੋਈ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਭਰਤੇ ਰਹੈ-ਕਿਆ ਬਿਧਵਾ,ਕਿਆ ਕੁਆਰੀ,

ਜਿਸਕੋ ਅਪਨਾ ਜਤ ਸਤ ਮਿੱਠਾ ਲੱਗੇ, ਅਪਨੀ ਹੁੱਬ ਸੋਂ ਰਹੈ। ਰਾਜ ਮੈ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੇ॥ 5॥

Interestingly, etymologically it is a word of the Persian language (*jamni bhakha*).¹¹ The author mentions that the Almighty (*sachche patshah*) will call upon the king in His court to give total account of his good deeds and bad deeds which he has been extending to his subjects during the period of his kingship regardless of their status.¹²

The author of *Prem Sumarag* explains the scope of justice that a king should extend to his subjects so that they can live in peace and tranquility. According to him, justice is the mean by which the king should safeguard the rights of the persons and not allow others to disturb that in any circumstances. He is to ensure that the individual right of every one are at place and no one is invading it. Even he does not let others to infringe upon the rights of others.¹³ It is obligatory on the part of the king that these norms of justice are being followed by his subjects in letter and spirit while sitting on the throne of justice; He should have no avarice for himself nor love for his brothers, sons and friends. Because nothing is hidden as every action of the king has already been recorded in the court of Lord of the World (*Sri Akal Purakh*). That person will be able to find liberation while yet living in this body.¹⁴ Justice will stand forth when his record of deeds is not accepted and worship and devotion will count as nothing. Then he will be severely punished in the end and will be reborn as pig or a dog.¹⁵ It shows that the author is not a *khalsa* Sikh but a Sikh of *sanatan* views as he evidently believes in *karma* theory, the corner stone of Hindu philosophy.

¹¹ Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, 'Gur Shabad Ratnakar Mahan Kosh', National Book Shop, Delhi, 1998, Page 1007

¹² Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 95

ਅਬ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ: ਜੋ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਧਰਮ ਕਾ ਕਰੇ। ਜੋ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਮੁਝ ਕੇ ਰਾਜ, ਬਖਸ ਹੁਆ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ॥ 1 ॥ ਅਰੁ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਉ ਅਉਰ ਪੁਰਸਿਸ਼, ਦਰਗਾਹਿ ਸਚੇ ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ ਕੀ, ਸਿਵਾਇ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕੇ, ਕੋਈ ਨਾਹੀ। ਰਾਜੇ ਕੋ-ਜਿਸ ਕੇ ਜਾਮਨੀ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਮੈਂ 'ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ' ਕਹਤੇ ਹੈ:- ਉਸ ਕੋ ਬੰਦਗੀ ਨ ਪੁਛੀਐਗੀ, ਜੋ ਤੁਧ ਕਿਆ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ? ਯਹੀ ਪੁਛੀਐਗਾ: ਜੋ ਕਿਸ ਨੇ ਤੇਰੇ ਰਾਜ ਮੈ ਆਰਾਮ ਪਾਇਆ ਹੈ, ਅਰੁ ਕਿਸ ਨੇ ਦੁੱਖ ਪਾਇਆ ਹੈ? ॥ 2 ॥

¹³ -*ibid*- p. 96

ਨਿਆਉਂ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਬੰਦਗੀ ਭੀ ਨਾਹੀ। ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਹਾਂਦੇ ਹੈਨ? ਜੋ ਪਰਾਏ ਹੱਕ ਦਾ ਅੰਗੀਕਾਰ ਨ ਕਰੇ। ਨ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਿਉਂ ਕਰਾਵੈ। ਕਿਸੀ ਨੂੰ ਅਪਨੇ ਬਸ ਚਲਤੇ, ਦੁੱਖ ਨ ਦੇਇ; ਨ ਦੇਖ ਸਕੈ। ਨਿਆਉਂ ਇਸੀ ਕਾ ਨਾਉਂ ਹੈ ॥ 9 ॥ 3

¹⁴ -*ibid*- p. 145

ਅਬ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਇਸ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕਰਨ ਕੇ ਬਚਨੋਂ ਪਰ ਚਲੇਗਾ; ਅਰੁ ਲੋਭ ਕਿਸੀ ਬਾਤ ਕਾ ਨ ਕਰੇਗਾ, ਅਰੁ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕੇ ਤਖਤ ਪਰ ਬੈਠ ਕੈ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਉ ਅਪਨੇ ਪਰ ਹਾਜਰ ਜਾਨੇਗਾ; ਅਰੁ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਅੰਸ-ਹੱਕ ਕਿਸੀ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਨ ਖੋਵੇਗਾ-ਅਪਨੇ ਲੋਭ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ, ਅਥਵਾ ਅਪਨੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ, ਅਥਵਾ ਭਾਈ, ਪੁਤ੍ਰਾਂ, ਯਾਰਾਂ-ਦੋਸਤਾਂ, ਸਾਹਬਿ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਨ ਖੋਵੈ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਅੰਸ- ਵਹੁ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਅਪਨੇ ਜੀਵਤੇ ਇਸੀ ਦੇਹ ਬਿਖੈ ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ॥ 1 ॥

¹⁵ *loc. cit.*

ਜਬ ਯਹਿ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਕਰਨ ਬੈਠੇ; ਤਬ ਅਪਨਾ ਧਰਮ ਅਪਨੇ ਸਿਰ ਪਰ ਰੱਖੈ, ਰੱਖ ਕੈ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਚੁਕਾਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਅਪਨੇ ਲੋਭ ਕੈ ਵਾਸਤੇ, ਯਾ ਅਪਨੀ ਕਿਸੀ ਰਿਆਯਤ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ, ਦੇਖਾ ਦੇਖੀ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ, _____ ਵਹੁ ਅੰਤਕਾਲਿ ਭਾਰੀ ਸਜਾਇ ਪਾਵੇਗਾ। ਸੂਕਰ ਕੂਕਰ ਕੀ ਜੁਨਿ ਪਾਵੇਗਾ ॥ 3 ॥ 16 ॥

When the rider (probably Maharaja) rides, all retinue members, the wazir and heir apparent should accompany him. The princes and the royal brothers should ride ahead and behind him. The *balwantkari* should be ahead, behind, on the right flank and left flank with their armies according to their symbol of authority. All other worthy men should be around there.¹⁶ The Maharaja should ride on golden colored horse. If golden colored horse is not available then it should be of a blue squirrel colored. Or he should ride on a white elephant if it is too not available, then color it white or should use a moving throne driven by horses or as the king might deem convenient.¹⁷ In the wartime, one should ride on a horse whether he is a Maharaja or a sardar or a *balwantkari*.¹⁸ The King should treat his officials in well manner. W.H.Mcleod holds the view regarding riding on a white elephant that throughout the eighteenth century, Sikhs would scarcely have been thinking of Maharaja and elephants and other features of *Prem Sumarag*.¹⁹

The Maharaja should do riding, holding court and dispensing court with his symbols of authority. He should establish *diwan sarbang* (court of every virtue) on the high place with a throne inlaid with jewels, where no one can approach. All his wazirs, vakil, commanders, princes and royal brothers should stand according to their symbol of authority. He should be seated in an elevated place so that only wazir and appointed heir (*taikat kumar*) can approach him but all can see him and hear his command.²⁰ Officers of all ranks should be present in the court of every virtue (*diwan sarbang*). The sequence of present ranks will be as follows: First the *mihar miratab* and secondly the *ganesh miratab*. *Ganesh miratab* is symbol of authority which is

¹⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 119

ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਸੇ ਭੀ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਕੇ, ਅਰੁ ਸਵਾਰੀ ਕੇ ਭੀ ਸਭ ਸਾਥ ਹੋਵਹਿ।

ਅਰੁ ਵਜੀਰ, ਟਿਕੈਤ ਕੁਮਾਰ, ਯਹਿ ਦੋਨੋ ਸਵਾਰੀ ਕੇ ਨਜੀਕ ਸਾਥ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਰਾਜ-ਕੁਮਾਰ ਅਰੁ ਰਾਜ-ਭਾਈ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਸੇ ਆਗੇ ਪੀਛੇ ਹੋਵਹਿ॥ 6॥

ਅਰੁ ਅਉਰ ਜੁ ਬਲਵੰਤਕਾਰੀ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਸੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਸਿਰ ਅਪਨੀ ਅਪਨੀ ਫੌਜ ਸੈ ਆਗੇ ਪੀਛੇ, ਦਾਹਨੈ ਬਾਵੈਂ ਹੋਵਹਿ। ਅਰੁ ਗਿਰਦ 'ਕਾਮੀ' ਅਉਰ ਹੋਵਹਿ॥ 7॥

¹⁷ -*ibid*- p. 119-120

ਅਰੁ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਜੁ ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਇ, ਸੇ ਕਿਸ ਉਪਰ ਹੋਇ? ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਘੋੜੇ ਸਵਰਨ ਕੇ ਉਪਰ ਹੋਇ।

ਜੇ ਸਵਰਨ ਕੇ ਰੰਗ ਕਾ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤਾਂ ਨੀਲੇ ਸੰਜਾਬ ਰੰਗ ਹੋਇ; ਉਸ ਉਪਰ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਯਾ ਹਾਥੀ ਸੁਪੈਦ ਪਰ ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਵੈ। ਜੇ ਸੁਪੈਦ ਹੱਥਿ ਨ ਲਗੇ, ਤਾਂ ਸੁਪੈਦ ਰੰਗ ਲਏ;

ਯਾ ਤਖਤਿ-ਰਵਾ ਘੋੜਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਉਪਰ ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਵੈ। ਪਰ ਸੂਬਹਿਤੇ ਮੈ॥ 8॥

¹⁸ -*ibid*- p. 120

ਅਰੁ ਲੜਾਈ-ਜੁੱਧ ਕੇ ਸਮੈ ਘੋੜੇ ਪਰ ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਵੈ। ਜੇ ਸਿਰਦਾਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਹੋਵੈ,

ਭਾਵੈਂ ਬਲਵੰਤਕਾਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ-ਜੇ ਸਿਰਦਾਰ ਹੋਵੈ-ਸੇ ਘੋੜੇ ਪਰ ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸੰਗ੍ਰਾਮ ਕੇ ਸਮੈ॥ 9॥

¹⁹ W.H.Mcleod, 'Prem Sumarag' (ed.), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, page 5-6

²⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 118

ਅਬ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ, ਅਪਨੇ ਮਰਾਤਬੇ ਸਾਥ ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਦੀਵਾਨ ਲਾਏ, ਨਿਆਉ ਕਰੈ: _____

ਅਰੁ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਐਸੀ ਠਉਰ ਬੈਠੇ; ਜੇ ਸਭਨੇ ਕੇ ਦ੍ਰਿਸਟਿ ਆਵੈ; ਅਰੁ ਹੁਕਮ ਸੁਣੈ॥ 1॥

mounted on the white elephant. If white elephant is not available, then color other elephant white. Then clothe and adorn it with precious jewels and cover it with a canopy. There should be one and a half *gaz* long and well polished sword under it, the blade of which should be 11 fingers wide. Put vermilion and flowers on it with four unsheathed swords on the four sides and one unsheathed sword on the uppermost tower should be affixed. The whole canopy should be of gold and studded with jewels.²¹

When the Maharaja holds the court, the drums should beat, dancing girls should perform, hymns should be sung, scholars should read from the Vedas and all the retinue members should present there. People should occupy their seats and only appointed people or who want to request should be there and they should leave when they are ordered to do so and at this stage, there should be no distinction between high and low status.²²

Educated and intellectual of every language of the country, who is worthy to serve, should be appointed by the Maharaja. He should also appoint learned men in Vedas, Shashtra's and astrology. He should also patronage to artists and employ *kirtan* singers. The Maharaja should also keep attractive and beautiful *Patran* (dancing girls).²³

The Ruler should appoint *Niauwant* who should be God fearing, *gurmukh*, unconcerned for his own gain. He should not grasp another's wealth or wife altogether

²¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 119

ਅਰੁ ਜਹਾਂ ਤਕ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਹੈ, ਸਭ ਆਇਸ ਮੈਂ 'ਦੀਵਾਨ ਸਰਬੰਗ' ਕੇ ਰੁਜ਼ੂ ਹੋਵਹਿ। ਕੌਨ ਕੌਨ ਮਰਾਤਬ? ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ 'ਮਿਹਰ ਮਰਾਤਬ' ਦੁਤੀਆ 'ਗਨੇਸ਼-ਮਰਾਤਬ'। 'ਗਨੇਸ਼ ਮਰਾਤਬ' ਕਿਸਕੋ ਕਹਿਤੇ ਹੈਂ? ਜੇ ਏਕਹਾਥੀ ਸਪੈਦ ਰੰਗ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਜੇ ਅਸਲ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਅਤਿ ਭਲਾ, ਨਾਹੀ ਤਾਂ ਰੰਗ ਸਪੈਦ ਕਰ ਲਏ। ਫੇਰ ਉਸਕੋ ਗਹਿਨੇ ਸਭ ਜੜਾਊ ਪਹਿਰਾਵੈ; ਅਤੇ ਸੀੰਗਾਰ ਕਰੈ। ਫੇਰ ਉਸ ਪਰ ਮੇਘ-ਅਡੰਬਰ ਰੱਖੈ। ਉਸ ਮੈ ਯਾਰਹ ਅੰਗੁਲੀਆਂ, ਭਲੇ ਮਰਦ ਕੀਆਂ ਦਾ, ਚੌੜਾ ਫਲ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਭਗਉਤੀ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਡੇਢ ਗਜ ਲੰਮੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅੱਛੀ ਸਿਕਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੋਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਸੰਧੂਰ ਅਰੁ ਪੁਹਪ ਉਪਰ ਰੱਖੇ ਹੋਵਹਿ। ਅਰੁ ਚਾਰ ਭਗਉਤੀਆਂ ਨੰਗੀਆਂ ਚਉਹੀਂ ਵਲ ਗੁੰਮਜੀਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਨੰਗੀਆਂ ਪਚੀ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਨ। ਇਕ ਭਗਉਤੀ ਨੰਗੀ ਉਪਰਲੇ ਗੁੰਮਜ ਉਪਰ ਪਚੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੋਵੈ। ਏਹੁ ਮੇਘਾਡੰਬਰ ਸਾਰਾ ਸਵਰਨ ਕਾ ਜੜਾਊ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ 2 ॥

²² *loc. cit.*

ਜਬ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਲਾਏ, ਤਾਂ ਨਗਾਰੇ ਬਾਜੈਂ, ਸ਼ਦਿਆਨੇ; ਅਰੁ ਪਾੜਾਂ ਨਾਚੈਂ, ਅਰੁ ਕੀਰਤਨ-ਭਗਤਿ ਹੋਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਵਿੰਦਯਾਵਾਨ ਬੇਦ ਉਚਰੈਂ। ਜੇ ਜੇ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਰਾਜ ਕੇ ਹੈਂ; ਸੇ ਸਭ ਆਇ ਰੁਜ਼ੂ ਹੋਵਹਿ ॥ 4 ॥ ਜਬ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਰਾਜਾ ਲਾਵੈ, ਤਬ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਹੋਇ। ਜੇ ਸਹਜ ਪਾਇ ਹੋਇ, ਸੇ ਹੋਇ ਅਰੁ ਊਹਾਂ ਵਹੀਲੋਕ ਹੋਹਿ, ਜੇ ਮੁਕਰੱਕਰੇ ਹੈਂ। ਅਰੁ ਉਨੈ ਅੱਰਜ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਜਾਇ; ਜਬ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੋਇ ॥ 5 ॥

²³ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 105

ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਏ: ਜੇ ਹਰਿ ਮੁਲਕ ਕੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਕਾ ਆਦਮੀ ਬਿਦਯਾਵੰਤ, ਅਕਲਵੰਤ, ਲਾਇਕ ਹਜੂਰ ਦੀ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਪਾਸ ਰੱਖੈ ॥ 1 ॥ ਨਾਲੇ ਵਿਦਿਆਵੰਤ ਸਾਸਤ੍ਰੀਕ ਬੇਦ ਕੇ ਬੋਤੇ, ਜੋਤਕੀਏ ਰੱਖੈ ॥ 2 ॥ ਨਾਲੇ ਚਿਤਕਾਰ ਆਦਿ ਰੱਖੈ। ਕੈਸੇ ਰੱਖੈ? ਜੇ ਸੂਰਤਿ ਐਨ ਕੀ ਐਨ ਅਸਲ ਕੀ ਅਸਲ ਲਿਖੈ ॥ 3 ॥ ਕੀਰਤਨੀਏਂ ਰੱਖੈ, ਕੈਸੇ? ਜਿਨ ਕੇ ਰਾਗ ਤੇ ਦਰੀਆਉ ਚਲਤਾ, ਅਰੁ ਜਾਨਵਰ ਉਡਤੇ ਬੰਦ ਹੋਇ ਜਾਹਿ ॥ 4 ॥ ਅਰੁ ਪਾੜਾ ਰੱਖੈ, ਜੈਸੀ ਇੰਦ੍ਰ ਕੀਆਂ ਮੋਹਨੀਆ ਹੋਤੀ ਹੈਂ ॥ 5 ॥

upright and trustworthy person.²⁴ The King should appoint him on the throne of justice and the seal of justice inscribed with ‘The seal of justice, by the authority of ‘Sri Guru Akal Purakh’ should be handed over to him.’²⁵

Whosoever is summoned by *Niaunwant* (the chief justice) must be present in the court whether he be the Maharaja, the son of Maharaja, the grandson of Maharaja, the brother of Maharaja, the father or mother of the Maharaja, a powerful subject, the wazir or a commander. If anybody fails to respond, the king should have bound him and handed over in the custody of the chief justice and the chief justice should not spare him.²⁶

If any complaint should be brought against the *Niaunwant*, then the Maharaja, *wazir* or *disawant* should hear his complaint. The *niaunwant* serves as a chief justice in the court of the king and a judge on a *pargana* or a city level is called *niaunkar*.²⁷ Then the Maharaja/*Patshah* should initiate enquiry of the petition filed by the person who met out injustice. If the *faujdar* and the *niaunkar* should not render satisfactory justice, they should be dismissed and punished. The ruler should not spare them because he is also liable to Sri Guru Akal Purakh at the final judgment.²⁸

²⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), ‘*Granth Prem Sumarag*’, p. 104
ਰਾਜਾ ਕੋ ਚਾਹੀਐ; ਏਕ ਨਿਆਉਵੰਤ ਕਰੈ, ਜੋ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭੈ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹੈ, ਲਾਲਚੀ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਪਰਾਏ ਦਰਬ ਕਾ ਅੰਗੀਕਾਰ ਨ ਕਰੈ, ਬਿਗਾਨੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਅੰਗੀਕਾਰ ਨ ਕਰੇ।
ਦਿਆਨਤ ਬਾ-ਅਮਾਨਤ ਹੋਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਏਤਬਾਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ 6 ॥

²⁵ *loc. cit.*
ਫੇਰ ਰਾਜਾ, ਉਸ ਕੋ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕੇ ਆਸਨ ਪਰ ਬੈਠਾਵੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਮੁਹਰ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਕੇ ਨਾਮ ਕੀ,
ਹਵਾਲੇ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਕਰੈ। ਉਸ ਮੁਹਰ ਮੈ, ਥੇਵੈ ਉਪਰਿ ਯਿਹ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੋਵੈ:-
“ਮੁਹਰ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕੀ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਸਿਉ!” ॥ 8 ॥

²⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), ‘*Granth Prem Sumarag*’, p. 104-105
‘ਹਾਜਰ-ਕਰਨ’ ਕਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨਿ? ਜਿਸਨੂੰ ਇਲਾਮ ਜਾਮਨੀ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਅੰਦਰ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ ॥ 9 ॥
ਜੋ ਕਿਸੇ ਉਪਰ ਭੇਜੇ-ਭਾਵੇਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਪੋਤ੍ਰਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਭਾਈ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਵੈ, ਜੋਰਾਵਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਵਜੀਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਬਲਵੰਤਕਾਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਜਿਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਜਾਵੈ, ਸੋ ਆਇ ਹਾਜਰ ਹੋਵੈ। ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਕੋਈ ਸਖਤੀ ਕਰਕੈ,
ਜੋਰਾਵਰੀ ਕਰਕੈ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਨ ਹੋਇ। ਤਾਂ ਰਾਜਾ ਉਸਕੋ ਬਾਂਧ ਕੇ, ਹਵਾਲੇ ‘ਨਿਆਉਂਵੰਤ’ ਕੇ ਕਰੈ।
ਫੇਰ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਧਿਆਇ ਮੈ ਸੋ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਬਾਬ ਨਿਕਲੇ; ਸੋ ਸਜਾਇ ਦੇਵੈ। ਰਿਆਇਤ ਨ ਕਰੈ ॥ 10 ॥

²⁷ *-ibid-* p. 105
ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਕੋਈ ਸਬਬ ਪਾਇ, ਨਿਆਇਵੰਤ ਉਪਰਿ ਫਰਯਾਦ ਕਰੇ,
ਤਾਂ ਆਪ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਅਕੈ ਵਜੀਰ ਅਕੈ ਦਿਸਾਵੰਤ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕਰੈ ॥ 11 ॥
‘ਨਿਆਉਂਵੰਤ’ ਉਸੇ ਕਹੀਐ, ਜੋ ਹਾਜਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੇ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਤੇ ਦੇਸ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਪਰਗਨਿਆਂ ਸਹਿਰਾਂ ਕਾ ਜੋ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ‘ਨਿਆਉਂਕਾਰ’ ਕਹੀਐ ॥ 12 ॥ 9 ॥

²⁸ *-ibid-* p. 100
ਤਉ ਉਸ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ-ਪਾਤਿਸਹਾ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਤਹਕੀਕ ਕਰੈ। ਜੋ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਹੱਕ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਪਹੁਚਤਾ ਹੈ; ਅਰੁ ਸੱਚਾ ਹੈ।
ਤਉ ਪਹਲੇ ਤੋ ਜਿਸ ‘ਫਉਜਦਾਰ’, ‘ਨਿਆਉਂਕਾਰ’ ਪਾਸ ਗਯਾ ਹੋਇ। ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਦਾਦ ਨਾ ਦਈ ਹੋਵੈ;
ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਖਿਜਮਤ ਤੇ ਦੂਰ ਕਰੇ; ਚਾਕਰੀ ਤੇ ਦੂਰ ਕਰੇ; ਸਜਾਇ ਦੇਇ।
ਰਿਆਇਤ ਨ ਕਰੈ, ਆਪਨੇ ਬਿਗਾਨੇ ਕੀ। ਅੰਤਕਾਲ ਕੇ ਜਬਾਬ ਪਰ ਨਦਰਿ ਰੱਖੈ।
ਜੋ ਜਬਾਬ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਪਰਮਰੂਪ ਕੇ ਦੇਣਾ ਹੈ ॥ 12 ॥

The king should never spare even his close relations, son, father, mother, wife, wazir, servant and retribution should be met out for the offence.²⁹ If a powerful person oppresses a poor man then strong man should be bound and handed over into the custody of his victim for sufferings, misery as he has inflicted on the poor man. So no one should suffer oppression in his kingdom.³⁰

Extending the scope of means by which the actual state of matter of dispute between the parties can be ascertained satisfactorily. The author recommends that five witnesses should also be summoned and examined in the interest of justice. More necessary, the witnesses so summoned must be trustworthy and known to the facts concerning to the dispute. Each witness should be examined thoroughly and separately. It should be ensured that they are not intermingling with one another while being examined. It has been seen by the investigation officer that whether their statements are independent, unbiased and corroborative. In the event, the statement of any witness is found incorrect or divulges different stories other than the facts of the dispute, he will be penalized along with the complainant in such a manner that can be a lesson for others. So that they cannot dare commit the crime or mislead the system of justice for their parochial interests in the future.³¹

The author visualizes that the King is an institution around which state administration revolves and he maintains the record of his kingdom in a chosen

²⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 96
 ਭਾਵੈਂ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਪਿਤਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਭਾਵੈਂ ਮਾਤਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਵਜੀਰ ਹੋਵੈ;
 ਕੋਈ ਉਸਦਾ ਚਾਕਰ ਹੋਵੈ; ਰਿਆਇਤ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਬਦਲੇ ਦਾ ਬਦਲਾ ਦਿਵਾਵੈ।
 ਨਿਆਉਂ ਦਾ ਇਤਬਾਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਕਿਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ?
 ਜੇ ਅੰਤਕਾਲ ਰਾਜੇ ਨੂੰ ਪੁੱਛਣਾ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਦਾ ਹੀ ਹੋਵੈਗਾ॥ 4॥

³⁰ -*ibid*- p. 95-96
 ਇਸ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ: ਜੇ ਨਿਆਉਂ, ਸਮਝ ਕਰਿ, ਭੈ ਸਾਥ ਕਰੈ।
 ਕੋਈ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਰਾਜ ਮੈ ਦੁਖਿਤ ਨ ਹੋਇ। ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਜੋਰਾਵਰ ਹੋਵੈ; ਅਰੁ ਗਰੀਬ ਉਪਰਿ ਸਿਤਮ ਕਰੈ।
 ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਜੋਰਾਵਰ ਨੂ ਬੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਉਸ ਗਰੀਬ ਦੇ ਕਰੈ।
 ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਉਸ ਜੋਰਾਵਰ ਉਸ ਗਰੀਬ ਨੂੰ ਦੁਖ ਦਿਤਾ ਹੋਵੈ।
 ਸੋ ਉਸ ਤੇ ਬਦਲਾ ਉਸ ਜੋਰਾਵਰਿ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਰਵਾਈਐ॥ 3॥

³¹ -*ibid*- p. 132
 ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਝਗੜਤੇ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਆਵਿਹਾਂ, ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਮਾਫਕ ਝਗੜਾ ਚੁਕਾਇ ਦੇਇ॥ 1॥
 ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਜਾਨੈ ਝਗੜਾ-ਰਗੜਾ ਹੈ; ਤਾਂ ਜੇ ਦਾਵਾ ਕਰੈ, ਉਸਨੂੰ ਆਖੈ: 'ਤੂੰ ਸਾਖੀ ਲੈ ਆਉ!
 ਅਰੁ ਓਹ-ਜਿਸ ਉਪਰ ਦਾਵਾ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਦਿਲਾਸਾ ਦੇਇ ਅੰਦਰ, ਜੇ ਤੈਨੂੰ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਚਾ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ।
 ਇਹ ਹਿਕਮਤ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਆਉਂਕਾਰ। ਜੇ ਓਹ ਸੱਚਾ ਆਖੈ। ਜਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਨੈ ਸਚੁ ਆਖਿਆ ਹੈ;
 ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਬਾਤ ਮਨ ਮੈ ਰਾਖੈ। ਅਰੁ ਵਹੁ ਜਿ ਸਾਖੀ ਲਯਾਵੈ। ਪੰਜ ਸਾਖੀ ਲੇਵੈ।
 ਅਰੁ ਸਾਖੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਜੇ ਝੂਠ ਨ ਬੋਲੈ, ਜੈਸਾ ਦੇਖਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸੋ ਕਹਨਿ।
 ਨਿਆਉਂਕਾਰ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ, ਜੇ ਇਨ ਸਾਖੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਜੁਦਾ 2 ਰੱਖੈ, ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਮਿਲਨ ਨ ਦੇਇ।
 ਅਰੁ ਜੁਦਾ ਜੁਦਾ ਪੁਛੈ। ਜੇ ਜਾਣੈ ਕਿ ਇਨ ਕੇ ਕਹਣੇ ਮੈ ਤਰਾਫਤ ਹੈ,
 ਤਾਂ ਉਨ ਸਾਖੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਅਰੁ ਦਾਵਾ ਕਰਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੇ ਸਜਾਇ ਦੇਇ।
 ਐਸੀ ਸਜਾਇ; ਜੇ ਫੇਰ ਕੋਈ ਝੂਠ ਨ ਬੋਲੈ, ਝਗੜਾ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਐਸਾ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕਰੈ, ਜੇ ਝਗੜੇ ਕੋਈ ਨਾਹੀਂ॥ 2॥ 7॥

language. Undoubtedly, the *Persian* was the official language of most of the rulers of Indian subcontinent including Sikh kingdom of Lahore under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The author's writing reveals that he is talking about the Sikh state and it should do its best to promote the use of *Punjabi* in *gurumukhi* script in all spheres. All daily routine diaries, accountancy and all type of official dealings of the state (*hazur*) as well as district (*pargana*) should preferably be conducted in the *gurumukhi*. Moreover, all type of correspondence (*kitabab-chitthi*) should also be done in *gurumukhi*. The author hints that Sikh missionary schools should be opened by the state where boys and girls of the Sikhs of the *khalsa* denominations can get religious education in *gurumukhi*.³²

The author of *Prem Sumarag* explains as to how the order passed by the Maharaja himself or on his behalf by the state servant (*chakar*) should be implemented. In case the letter is written by the servant on behalf of the Maharaja, firstly it should bear the seal (*muhar*) as well signature (*daskhat*) of the exalted Maharaja on which the order of the Maharaja (*mahahukam*) should specifically be inscribed.³³ If the letter is written under the wazir's seal that should also be signed by the Maharaja with remarks on it that it is an order of the Maharaja. The oral order of the Maharaja which in official parlance is called '*hasbulhukam*' (in accordance with order of Maharaja) should be handed over to the concerned person. The recipient should receive this oral letter outside the city and keep it on his head and read it when he is ordered to do so.³⁴

By chance, the *wazir* has to write a letter under his seal and on his behalf in connection with official transactions that will also be taken as the order of the Maharaja. If any concerned person does not obey it then the Maharaja should punish

³² Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 103
ਬਿੱਦਿਆ ਕਾ ਪਰਗਾਸ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਕਾ; ਅਰੁ ਅੰਕਪਲੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ॥ 1 ॥
ਰੋਜਨਾਮਾ, ਖਾਤਾ, ਸਭ ਕਾਗਜ, ਕਿਆ ਪਰਗਨਿਆਂ ਕੇ,
ਕਿਆ ਹਜੂਰ ਕਾ, ਸਭ-ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਬਿੱਦਿਆ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ ॥ 2 ॥
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਪਾਤੀ-ਜਿਸਨੂੰ 'ਕਿਤਾਬਤ', ਚਿੱਠੀ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ;
ਸੋ ਜੋ ਲਿਖੇ ਭਾਵੈ; ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਲਿਖੈ ॥ 3 ॥ ਅਰੁ ਏਹ ਬਿੱਦਿਆ ਦੀ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੈ;
ਜੋ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਕੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਲੜਕੇ ਲੜਕੀਆਂ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ ॥ 4 ॥

³³ -*ibid*- p. 112
ਚਾਕਰੋਂ ਕਉ ਲਿਖੀਐ, ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੀ ਤਰਫ ਤੇ; ਉਸ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ:- ਪ੍ਰਥਮੇ ਜਿਸ ਲਿਖੇ ਪਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਕੀ ਮੁਹਰ ਹੋਵੇ;
ਦਸਖਤ ਹੋਵੈ। ਉਸ ਲਿਖੇ ਕਾ ਨਾਮ 'ਮਹਾ ਹੁਕਮ' ਕਰੈ।

³⁴ *loc. cit.*
ਅਰੁ ਏਕ 'ਲਿਖਾ' 'ਹੁਕਮਪਾਇ' ਹੈ; ਜੋ ਵਜੀਰ ਕੀ ਮੁਹਰ ਨਾਲ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਮੁਆਫਕ ਦਸਤਖਤ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ 'ਹੁਕਮ ਪਾਇ' ਲਿਖੈ। ਅਰੁ ਹੁਕਮ ਜਿ ਲਿਖੈ ਜਬਾਨੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕੀ,
ਜਿਸ ਕੇ ਜਾਮਨੀ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਮੈ 'ਹਸਬੁਲਹੁਕਮ' ਕਹਿਤੇ ਹੈਂ। ਓਹੁ 'ਹੁਕਮ ਪਾਇ' ਹਵਾਲੇ 'ਕਾਮਵੰਤ' ਕੇ ਕਰੈ।
'ਹੁਕਮਪਾਇ' ਕੇ ਸਹਰ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਲੇਵੈ। ਏਕ ਹੀ ਤਸਲੀਮ ਕਰੈ। ਸਿਰ ਪਰ ਰੱਖੈ, ਬਗਲ ਮੈ ਰੱਖੈ।
ਫੇਰ ਅਪਨੇ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਪਰਿ ਆਵੈ। ਪੜ੍ਹੇ, ਉਸੇ ਸਾਇਤ ਉਹ ਕੰਮ ਕਰੈ ॥ 3 ॥

him suitably. The defaulter should be dismissed from service and his property should be confiscated. Even he can be given capital punishment so that no one in future can dare to disobey the royal order and remain loyal to the state in all respect.³⁵ The author of *Prem Sumarag* cautions the king that he should remain vigilant whether his royal brothers (*raj bhrat*) and princes (*raj kumar*) are not conspiring to topple his authority because they may also aspire to capture the throne or create turbulence in the kingdom.³⁶ The ruler should not allow people to gather in one place (*basti*). They should only be allowed to get together at funerals, fests and liturgical purposes.³⁷ For the stability and firmness of the authority, it is must that if anyone dares to resist should be hanged and his property be confiscated thereby ensuring peace in his realm. If some one found guilty of disobedience again, he should be hanged and his property must be taken in state custody regardless of the fact what relation he or she has with the King. Nevertheless, any one commits the crime once again; he should be murdered, so that he cannot repeat that very act of disobedience.³⁸

The author recommends that if any revolt takes place without any serious consequence, the King should not underestimate it. It is necessary to quell it soon failing which it takes no more time to spread in other parts of the regime. It should be the endeavour of the King to suppress it as soon as possible. It is a universal truth that extreme fire and revolts are not pacified easily. It is the duty of the Maharaja to treat all in equal terms and there should be no discrimination whether they be the princes, king's brothers, wazir, *balwantkari* (commanders), menial servants, peasants or subjects. The ruler should be so vigilant that no one would be out of his sight. The

³⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 112-113
ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਏਕ ਲਿਖਿਆ (ਲਿਖਾ) ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਹੀ ਕੀ ਮੁਹਰ ਸਾਥ, ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਹੀ ਕੀ ਤਰਫ ਤੇ,
ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨੇ ਮਤਲਬ ਕਾ ਲੇਵੈ, ਉਸ ਕੋ 'ਹੁਕਮ' ਜਾਨ ਕੈ ਕੰਮ ਕਰੈ॥4॥
ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਇਨ 'ਹੁਕਮਹੁ' ਕੋ ਨ ਮੋਨੈ, ਤਉ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਚਾਕਰੀ ਤੇ ਦੂਰ ਕਰੈ;
ਘਰ ਬਾਰ ਲੁੱਟ ਲੇਵੈ। ਮਾਰੇ ਜੀਉ। ਤੇ ਫੇਰ ਕੋਈ ਬੇਹੁਕਮੀ ਨ ਕਰੈ॥5॥15॥

³⁶ -*ibid*- p. 118

ਅਰੁ ਅਉਰ ਰਾਜ-ਭਾਤ ਅਰੁ ਰਾਜ-ਕੁਮਾਰੋਂ ਤੇ ਖਬਰਦਾਰ ਰਹੈ। ਜੋ ਲੋਭ ਰਾਜ ਕੇ ਕਰਿ,
ਕੋਈ ਆਪਸ ਮੈਂ ਫਸਾਦ ਨ ਕਰੈ॥4॥

³⁷ -*ibid*- p. 106

ਲੋਗੋਂ ਬਸਤੀ ਕੇ ਕਉ ਬਹੁਤ ਇਕੱਠਾ ਹੋਨੇ ਨ ਦੇਇ। ਕਹਾਂ ਕਹਾਂ ਇਕੱਠਾ ਹੋਨੇ ਦੇਇ?
ਇਕ ਤਉ ਮਰਨੇ-ਪਰਨੇ, ਦੂਸਰੇ ਬਾਗ ਤਮਾਸੇ, ਕੀਰਤਨ ਭਜਨ ਵਿਚ॥9॥

³⁸ -*ibid*- p. 94

ਉਸ ਕੋ ਸੂਲੀ ਦਇ, ਉਸਕਾ ਘਰ ਬਾਰ ਲੂਟ ਲੇਵੈ। ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਫੇਰ ਕੋਈ ਐਸੀ ਬੇ-ਹੁਕਮੀ ਨ ਕਰੈ।
ਭਾਵੈਂ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਹੋਵੇ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਪਿਤਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਹੋਵੇ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਮਾਤਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਹੋਵੇ, ਕੋਈ ਹੋਵੇ,
ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਹੁਕਮ ਫੇਰੇ ਇਨਹੁ ਸਿਉਂ, ਉਸ ਕਉ ਜੀਉ ਸਿਉਂ ਮਾਰੇ। ਅਪਨੇ ਬਿਗਾਨੇ ਕੀ ਰਿਆਇਤ ਨ ਕਰੈ।
ਤਬ ਇਸਕਾ ਰਾਜ ਨਿਹਚਲ ਹੋਵੈ॥1॥

subject should be contented.³⁹ The author talks about the high moral and ethical values of the subjects. According to him, it is incumbent upon the Maharaja that he should ensure that his subject is satiated and honest to the extent that if any one leaves his valuables like coin rupees and gold coins (*mohar*) in thorough fare or in a jungle, no one should be as temptuous as to take it away for personal use. The Maharaja should keep his subjects happy and prosperous.⁴⁰ The Maharaja should ensure that no one in his kingdom should go to the bed without meals (*bhukha*). He should also collect the data from the cities and villages regarding how many people have no clothes, foods, employment and poor or unable to marry his daughter. An official (*mussadi*) of charitable department (*bakhsdaan*) should also be appointed authorizing him to meet the demands of such needy persons from the state exchequer. The king should be more aware to the welfare of poor citizens because they cannot express their poverty publicly due to shyness. Thus, the Maharaja should personally have record of such persons and to do all needful that such persons aspire from the king.⁴¹

The author defines the etiquettes of the royal court. A king must ensure that each of his servants whether a person of a high rank noble (*umrao*) or of another rank, should know the protocol of the king's court and show due respect to the throne. If king summons any functionary, he will honor and comply with it at once wherever he receives the royal order. Though he may be seven *kos* (equivalent to about 11 miles)

³⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 123

ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ-ਕਉ, ਸਭ ਕੇ-ਕਿਆ ਰਾਜ-ਕੁਮਾਰ, ਕਿਆ ਰਾਜਭਾਤ,
ਕਿਆ ਵਜੀਰ, ਕਿਆ ਬਲਵੰਤ ਕਾਰੀ, ਛੋਟੇ ਚਾਕਰ, ਕਿਆ ਰਈਯਤ, ਕਿਆ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਸਭਨੋ ਕੋ-ਅਪਨੇ ਅੰਦਾਜੇ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਉਪਰ ਰੱਖੈ।

ਅੰਦਾਜੇ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਨਿਕਲਨੇ ਨ ਦੇਇ। ਅਰੁ ਸੁਖੀ ਰੱਖੈ॥ 4॥ 21॥

⁴⁰ -*ibid*- p. 110

ਅਤੈ ਅਉਰ ਨੀਅਤ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਅਪਨੀ ਕਰੈ; ਜੇ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਐਸੀ ਸੁਖੀ ਹੋਵੇ;
ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨਾ ਮਾਲ-ਰੁਪਯੇ ਅਥਵਾ ਮੁਹਰਾਂ,
ਰਾਹ ਅੰਦਰ, ਅਕੈ ਮੈਦਾਨ ਜੰਗਲ ਮੈ ਡਾਲ ਆਵੈ; ਕੋਈ ਉਸ ਮਾਲ ਵਲ ਦੇਖੈ ਨਾਹੀ;
ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦਸ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਪਇਆ ਰਹੈ॥ 5॥

⁴¹ *loc. cit.*

ਅਬ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ, ਜੇ ਐਸੀ ਖਬਰਦਾਰੀ ਲੋਵੈ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਕੀ; ਜੇ ਰਾਤਿ ਕੋ ਕੋਈ ਨੰਗਾ ਭੁੱਖਾ ਨਾ ਸੋਵੈ।

ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਬ-ਸਹਿਰ, ਗਿਰਾਉਂ ਗਿਰਾਉਂ, ਮੁਸੱਦੀ ਬਖਸ-ਦਾਨ ਕੇ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕਰੈ॥ 2॥

ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਅਰਥੀ ਹੋਵੈ-ਅਕੈ ਨੰਗਾ, ਅਕੈ ਭੁੱਖਾ, ਅਕੈ ਬੇਰੁਜਗਾਰਾ,
ਅਕੈ ਕੰਨਯਾ ਕੇ ਬਿਆਹ ਕਰਨੇ ਕਾ ਅਰਥੀ- ਕੋਈ ਕਿਸੀ ਤਰਹ ਕਾ ਅਰਥੀ ਹੋਇ-
ਉਸਕੀ ਮਨਸਾ, ਆਸਾ ਪੂਰਨ ਕਰੈ॥ 3॥

ਅਰੁ ਬਹੁਤ ਖਬਰ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਸਤੀ ਕੀ ਲੋਵੈ। ਕਿਉਂਕਰ? ਜੇ ਗ੍ਰਿਹਸਤੀ ਸਰਮ ਕਰਕੇ,
ਕਿਛੁ ਅਪਨੀ ਬਿਰਥ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਕਹਿ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਕਦਾ। ਉਸਦੀ ਖਬਰ ਲੈਨੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਤੇ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਹੈ।
ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਆਪ ਇਸ ਬਾਤ ਕੀ ਖਬਰਦਾਰੀ ਲੋਵੈ॥ 4॥

away yet he will have to reach at the earliest and humbly pay his humble respect to the king.⁴²

The author of *Prem Sumarag* appears to have tremendous knowledge of administration of the king of his times. He puts forward the long list of royal officials with the help of those, the king runs the affairs of his realm. Amongst them are; *Diwan, Bakhshi, Wazir, Samipi* (personal attendants), *Kotwal, Biskarmavanta* (public works minister), *Ahadiyas* or *Gurjbardar* (mace bearer), *Kamwant* (servant) and *Muharakhe* (stamp keeper), *Niaunwant* (chief justice), *Jyotishi* (astrologer), *Kirtiniye* (hymn singers), *Paatran* (dancers), *Khufia Nawis* (intelligencer), *Khoje* etc. The procedure for the appointment of troopers (*sipah*), personal attendants (*samipwant*) and secretary (*mussadi*) by the Maharaja has specifically described in the *Prem Sumarag*.⁴³

Firstly, the Maharaja will appoint a '*diwan*' who will be responsible for making suitable arrangements required for maintenance of king's household and also to look after the safety arrangements of king's palace. His main qualification is that he must be a smart and energetic person. He will also supervise the royal manufacturing establishment (*karkhane*) where king's daily use requirements are produced.⁴⁴ Secondly, the Maharaja should appoint a commander-in-chief (*Sipahsalar* popularly called as *Bakhshi*). All kind of arrangements required for proper functioning of royal army mainly consisting of infantry (*piyada*) and artillery (*topkhana*) will be made by the commander-in-chief of the royal army.⁴⁵

The Maharaja should appoint the Prime Minister (*wazir*). He should have capable enough to run the administration smoothly in the absence of Maharaja or

⁴² Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*' p. 94
ਅਬ ਇਸ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਇਸਕਾ ਚਾਕਰ ਹੋਵੈ-
ਕਿਆ ਉਮਰਾਉ, ਕਿਆ ਕੋਈ-ਅਪੁਨੇ ਮਾਤਬੈ ਸਿਰ ਰਹੈ; ਅਦਬ ਨਾਲਿ।
ਹੁਕਮ ਜਹਾਂ ਭੇਜੇ, ਤਹਾਂ ਆਗੇ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਸਾਤ ਕੋਸ ਪਰ ਆਇ ਲਏ;
ਸਲਾਮ ਕਰਕੇ ਅਦਬ ਸਾਥ ॥ 1 ॥

⁴³ -*ibid*- p. 100
ਅਬ ਜੋ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੇ ਸਿਪਾਹ ਰੱਖਣੀ ਆਈ ਹੈ। ਅਰੁ 'ਸਮੀਪਵੰਤ' ਰਖਣੇ ਆਏ ਹੈਂ।
ਅਰੁ ਘਰ ਕੇ ਮੁਸੱਦੀ ਰਖਣੇ ਆਏ ਹੈਂ। ਤਿਸ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ; ਬੰਦੁਬਸਤ ਮੁਲਕ ਕਾ:-

⁴⁴ -*ibid*- p. 100-101
ਪ੍ਰਥਮੇ 'ਦੀਵਾਨ' ਕਰੈ ਘਰ ਕਾ। ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਘਰ ਕਾ ਸਾਮਾਨ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਹੱਥ ਤੇ ਅਰੁ ਵਕੂਫ ਤੇ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਵਹਿ ਖਰਾ ਅਕਲਵੰਤ ਹੋਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਘਰ ਕੇ ਸਰਜਾਮ ਕੀਆਂ ਖਿਦਮਤੀ ਹੋਵਨਿ,
ਕਾਰਖਾਨਿਆਂ ਕੀਆਂ; ਸੋ ਉਸਦੀ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ ਨਾਲਿ ਹੋਵਨਿ ॥ 1 ॥

⁴⁵ -*ibid*- p. 101
ਫੇਰ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਸਿਪਹ-ਸਾਲਾਰ ਕਰੈ; ਜਿਨਕੋ 'ਬਖਸ਼ੀ' ਕਹਤੇ ਹੈਂ। ਜੋ ਸਿਪਾਹ ਕੇ ਮੁਸੱਦੀ ਹੋਵਹਿ।
ਕਿਆ ਪਿਆਦੇ, ਕਿਆ ਤੋਪਖਾਨੇ, ਤਥਾ 'ਢਲੈਤ', ਹੋਰ ਜੋ ਪਿਆਦਿਆਂ ਕਾ ਮਸਾਲਾ ਹੋਵੈ;
ਸੁ ਉਸ ਸਿਪਹਦਾਰ-ਸਿਪਹ ਸਾਲਾਰ ਦੀ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ ਨਾਲਿ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ 2 ॥

during the period when the king is confined to bed due to sickness.⁴⁶ The author gives the qualities of *wazir* in *Prem Sumarag*. According to him the *wazir* should be an epitome of wisdom. He has to shoulder responsibilities of a king and administer the kingdom as if it were his own kingdom. There should be mutual trust between the king and *wazir*. No relative of the king can challenge or question the *wazir*. The king will seek *wazir*'s advice on all important state matters before determining the final course of action.⁴⁷

The Maharaja should keep such a trusted personal attendant (*samipi*) in his company who will always keep the Maharaja reminded to remember the name of Supreme Being (*Sri Akal Purakh*) and his duties to do justice. The personal attendant should be one the wisest and most pious person of the realm but not a flatterer indeed.⁴⁸

The king should employ a number of honest and dedicated informers (*khambargar*) who will supply information to the king about the happenings of the cities and villages. Their appointments should be so secretive that they should not be known to one another while doing their assigned duties. Admittedly, the Maharaja is the protector of the subjects and it is his duty that no one should be unhappy in his kingdom. He should know their problems whether relates to finance, children, occupation, food, clothing or anything else and he should endeavour to redress all of them. The author predicts that such kind of just ruler are suitably rewarded in the court of Almighty and ultimately will get liberation in lieu of his early good actions.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 101

ਚਉਥੈ 'ਵਜ਼ੀਰ' ਅਪਣਾ ਕੈਸਾ ਕਰੈ? ਅਰ ਕੈਸਾ ਅਖਤੀਆਰ ਉਸ ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਕੇ ਦੇਇ?

ਜੋ ਏਕ ਸਮੈ ਰਾਜਾ-ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਕੇ ਦੇਹ ਕਾ ਦੁਖ-ਸੁਖ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਬੰਦੁਬਸਤ ਮੁਲਕ ਕਾ ਐਸਾ ਕਰੈ ਜੋ ਜੁੱਮਸ ਨ ਖਾਏ ॥ 4 ॥

⁴⁷ -*ibid*- p. 94-95

ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਆਪਣਾ ਕਰੈ, ਸੋ ਕੈਸਾ ਕਰੈ? ਬੁੱਧਿ ਕਾ ਬੁਹਿਥਾ; ਜੋ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੀ ਕਾ ਬੋਝ ਨ ਹੋਇ।

ਵਹੁ ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਯੋਂ ਜਾਨੈ, ਜੋ ਮੇਰਾ ਹੀ ਰਾਜਾ ਹੈ। ਅਰੁ ਰਾਜਾ ਭੀ ਉਸ ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਕੇ ਯੋਂ ਜਾਨੈ ਜੋ ਮੇਰੀ ਜਾਗਹ ਹੈ।

ਜੋ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ, ਅਥਵਾ ਭਾਈ, ਅਥਵਾ ਪਿਤਾ, ਅਥਵਾ ਮਾਤਾ, ਅਥਵਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ, ਅਥਵਾ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਚਾਕਰ ਹੋਵੇ;

ਸੋ ਭੀ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਬਰਾਬਰੀ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਉਸ ਕੇ ਕੰਮ ਮੈ ਦਖਲ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ। ਰਾਜੇ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ:

ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਮਸਲਤ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਸਿਉਂ ਪੁੱਛ ਕਰਿ ਕੰਮ ਕਰੈ ॥ 2 ॥

⁴⁸ -*ibid*- p. 101

ਅਰੁ 'ਸਮੀਪੀ' ਅਪਨੇ ਐਸੇ ਰੱਖੈ; ਜੋ ਹਰਦਮ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕਾ ਧਿਆਨ ਸਿਮਰਣ ਯਾਦ ਕਰਾਵਤੇ ਰਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਕੀ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰਤੇ ਰਹੈ; ਬਹੁਤ ਖੁਸ਼ਾਮਦੀ ਨ ਹੋਵਹਿ ॥ 6 ॥

⁴⁹ -*ibid*- p. 106-107

ਅਰੁ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ ਖਬਰਗੀਰ ਬਹੁਤ ਅਪਨੇ ਪਾਸ ਰੱਖੈ; ਹਰਿ ਬਾਂਬੀਂ ਐਤਬਾਰੀ।

ਜੋ ਖਬਰ ਹਰਿ ਸਹਿਰ, ਮੁਲਕ, ਹਰਿ ਗਿਰਾਉਂ ਦੀ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਰਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਜਾਗਹਿ ਭੀ ਇਹ ਖੁਫੀਆ ਨਵੀਸ ਹੋਣ,

ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਏਕ ਕਾ ਏਕ ਖਬਰਦਾਰ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ। ਰਾਜਾ ਜੋ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਪਰਜਾ ਕਾ ਨਿਗਹਿਬਾਨ ਹੈ। _____

ਐਸਾ ਜੋ ਰਾਜਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਪਰ ਦੁੱਖ ਭੰਜਨ, ਮਉਸ ਕਉ ਇਸ ਰਾਜ ਤੇ ਇੰਦ੍ਰ ਕਾ ਰਾਜ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਮੁਕਤਿ ਕੇ ਭੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਵੈ। ਬਡੇ ਬਡੇ ਸੁਖ ਪਾਵੈ ॥ 10 ॥ 10 ॥

The ruler should not reduce the status (*mansab*) of servants (*kamvante*) and attendants (*muharakhe*). They should get monthly dues from the state treasury according to their already fixed salary according to their status (*mansab*) for discharging their responsibilities. The author further clarifies that *kamvante* (servants) and *muharakhe* (attendants) are also termed as *Ahadiyas* or *Gurjbardar* (macebearer) too.⁵⁰

The authority of *balwantkaria*, who are also called as *umrao* in official parlance, will go to their sons and grandsons in succession whose *mansab* can be enhanced or reduced as the case may be. The ruler has prerogative to appoint new *umrao*, ignoring the hereditary lines. The new entrant may get either larger or smaller *mansab* as the Maharaja decides.⁵¹

The author appears to be well conversant with *mansabdari* system on which a mighty and successful empire was survived for centuries. He feels that this system has of course been successful in the past would be relevant in the present times, therefore, he recommends the same system apparently for the Sikh ruler too though he does not directly refer to it in his work. He describes the details of a new appointee (*mansabdars*) with his status and salary that he will receive as per order of the Maharaja. The details are as follows:-

The *mansabdars* assigning a rank of 50 will have to maintain a cavalry consisting of 50 horse men under his command. For the purpose, he will receive total yearly salary of 50 horse men calculating at the rate of rupees 30 per month per horse men in addition to his own total yearly salary at the rate of rupees 50 per month. The total amount of salary due to *mansabdar* after such calculations will be posted in the state treasury record. Procedurally, the king will not pay it in cash instead in the form of land *jagir*. Thereafter, the state will assign land *jagir* to that *mansabdar* in any district (*pargana*) with annual yield of land revenue equal to his dues. Then the

⁵⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 103

ਅਰੁ ਕਾਮਵੰਤਿਆਂ ਅਰੁ ਮੁਹਰਖਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਨਸਬ ਕਦੀ ਕਮ ਨ ਕਰੈ।

ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਜ਼ਾਨੇ ਅਤੁਟ ਭੰਡਾਰ ਕੇ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਦੇਇ ਮਹੀਨਾਂ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਮਨਸਬ ਕਰੈ, ਸੋਈ ਦੇਇ ॥ 11 ॥

ਕਾਮਵੰਤ ਅਰੁ ਮੁਹਰਖੇ ਕਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ? ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ 'ਅਹਦੀਏ' ਗੁਰਜ ਬਰਦਾਰ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ ॥ 12 ॥

⁵¹ -*ibid*- p. 102-103

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਇਹੁ ਜਾਬਤਾ, 'ਬਲਵੰਤ-ਕਾਰੀਆ'-ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਮਨੀ ਭਾਖਿਆ ਵਿਚਿ 'ਉਮਰਾਉ' ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੈਨ-

ਅਰੁ ਨਾਲੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰਾਂ ਪੋਤ੍ਰਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਹੈ; ਕਿਆ ਕਮ ਮਨਸਬ ਵਾਲੇ, ਕਿਆ ਜਿਆਦਾ ਵਾਲੇ।

ਅਰੁ ਨਾਲੇ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਨਵਾਂ ਵਲਵੰਤ ਕਾਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਗਾਸਿਆ ਜਾਇ, ਮਿਹਰ ਕਰਕੈ,

ਕਿਆ ਬਡੇ ਮਨਸਬ ਵਾਲਾ, ਕਿਆ ਛੋਟੇ ਵਾਲਾ ॥ 10 ॥

mansabdar will collect the land revenue from his allotted *jagir* equivalent to his officially entitled dues.⁵²

The salary of a horse man (*sawar*) should be determined according to the *mansab*. If it is a mansab of 1000 then he will have to maintain a cavalry of 1000 horse men then the *sawar* should be paid his stipulated salary and will not charge extra a rupee per month.⁵³ The *mansabdar* are warned of not getting more revenue than the officially sanctioned one. He should keep his peasantry (*rayat*) contented. If yield is produced less or not produced for any reason then he should not be rigid to recover his actual entitlement.⁵⁴

The commander of 100 troops should have five pioneers (*beldar*) and five axe men (*kulhadiwale*) under him. Whether the commander of 5000 troops or more should also have such workers and pay their salary according to the fixed official entitlement.⁵⁵ According to the established practice, the *maratab* (the symbol of authority) of heir apparent (*taikatti*) should be one and half times more than the commanders (*balwantkari*) and his salary should also be one and half times more than the commanders. It has logic that the heir-apparent (*taikat mahan kumar*) has a claim to be the next ruler of the kingdom after death of his father (Maharaja).⁵⁶

The author also defines the rank (*mansab*) for the princes (*mahan kumar*) and king's brothers (*raj bhrat*). A prince can be given the rank (*mansab*) up to 80000 (*assi*

⁵² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 102

ਜੇ ਅਬ ਚਾਕਰ ਰੱਖੇ, ਤਿਨ ਕਾ ਮਨਸਬ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ; ਸੇ ਇਸ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਕਰੈ:- ਜੋ ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਮਨਸਬ ਜਿਸਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਪੰਜਾਹ ਸਿਪਾਹੀ ਸਵਾਰ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਮਿਲਨ। ਸਵਾਰ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਤੀਹ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਕਰਕੇ, ਵਰੇ ਦਾ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਕਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਮਨਸਬ ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਦਾ ਪੰਜਾਹ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਉਸਦਾ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਦਾ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੇ ਕਰੈ ਫੇਰ ਸਵਾਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਅਰੁ ਉਸਦੇ ਡੀਲ ਦਾ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਕੁੱਲ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੇ ਸਭ ਜਮਾਂ ਕਰੈ। ਕਰਕੇ ਵਰ੍ਹੇ ਦੀ ਤਨਖਾਹ ਇਕ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਉਪਰ- ਜਿਹਦੀ ਜਮਾਂ ਉਤਲਿਆਂ ਰੁਪਯਾਂ ਦੀ ਹੋਵੈ-ਸੇ ਕਰ ਦੇਇ॥7॥

⁵³ -*ibid*- p. 102

ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਤੇ ਅਸੀਆ, ਹਜਾਰੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ; ਹਿਸਾਬ ਮਨਸਬ ਸਿਰ ਸਵਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਤਨਖਾਹ ਕਰੈ। ਹਜਾਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਹਜਾਰ ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਵੈ। ਜਿਤਨੇ ਸਵਾਰ, ਉਤਨਾ ਹੀ ਡੀਲ ਦਾ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਸ਼ਰੇਆਮ ਇੱਕ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਮਨਸਬ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਡੀਲ ਦਾ ਠਹਿਰਾਵੈ॥9॥

⁵⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਫੇਰਿ ਉਸ ਮਨਸਬਦਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੈ; ਇਸ ਤਨਖਾਹ ਤੇ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਨ ਲਏ। ਰਈਯਤ ਅਬਾਦਾਨ ਕਰੈ; ਰਾਜੀ ਰੱਖੇ। ਅਰੁ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਬੱਬ ਪਾਇ ਕਮੀ ਆਵੈ, ਪੈਦਾ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ। ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਨ ਕਰੈ ਜੋ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਇਤਨਿਆਂ ਰੁਪਯਾਂ ਦੀ ਤਨਖਾਹ ਹੈ॥8॥

⁵⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 120

ਅਰੁ ਸਰੇ ਸਦੀ ਪੰਜ ਬੇਲਦਾਰ ਰੱਖੇ, ਅਰੁ ਪੰਜ ਕੁਲੁਾਤਿਓਂ ਵਾਲੇ (ਤਬਰਦਾਰ) ਰੱਖੇ। ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਮੁਆਫਕ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਕੇ ਜੋ ਬੈਠੇ; ਸੇ। ਕਿਆ ਪੰਜ ਹਜਾਰੀ, ਕਿਆ ਇਨ ਤੇ ਜ਼ਿਆਦੈ। ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਮਾਫਕ ਦਸਤੂਰ ਕੇ ਰੱਖੇ॥11॥

⁵⁶ -*ibid*- p. 117

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਟਿਕੈਤ ਹੋਇ, ਵਹਿ ਮਾਫਕ ਦਸਤੂਰ ਬਲਵੰਤ ਕਾਰੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਸਿਉਂ ਡੇਵਢੇ ਰੱਖੇ। ਅਰੁ ਤਨਖਾਹ ਭੀ ਡੇਵਢੀ ਹੋਵੈ। ਤਾਤਪਰਜ ਇਸ ਕਾ ਯਹਿ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਰਾਜ ਕਾ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਟਿਕੈਤ ਮਹਾਂ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਹੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਬਲਵੰਤ ਕਾਰੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਹੈਂ ਅਵਲ; ਸੇ ਉਨ ਸਿਉਂ ਡੇਵਢੇ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਟਿਕੈਤ ਕਉ॥2॥

hazari) with authority to maintain 20 per cent horse men against allotted rank of eighty thousand.⁵⁷

The salary of the other princes and the royal brothers should be equal to wazir or the commanders. Their *maratab* (the symbol of authority) should be one and half times more than the commanders (*balwantkari*). But they should have 20 horse men (*sawar*) for every mansab of 1000 (*hazari*).⁵⁸

The author dwells on the procedure as to how the order of exalted Maharaja (*maha hukam*) is made known to his audience. According to him, any commander of the rank holding between 3,000 and 80,000 will receive the order. While going to receive the order, he has to bow down his head towards the king once before departure and on reaching; he has to bow down his head five times before the king. The commander will receive the order in his hands from the Mahahraja and place it on his head and proceed to his seat from where he will read out the order in the presence of audience without any delay.⁵⁹

In addition to it, the author also explains the system of conferment of various types of symbols/insignia (*maratab*) by the Maharaja upon his commanders. According to the author a spear (*jamdarr barchhe*) should be conferred upon a commander of the rank of 50 and maintains horse men ranging from 50 to 100. It should have a shaft nine gaz long with a pointed blade attached to it. The blade should be four *girah* (1/16 of a yard) wide and eight *girah* (1/8 of a yard) long. An emblem displaying the Goddess mounted on back of a Lion (*singh ki sawar bhawani*) should be engraved on the blade. The length of the spear should be nine yards (*gaz*) and commander will keep it with him while riding on the horse. It should be made of pure gold weighing fifty *tolas* (measurement of gold). This is the symbol/insignia which

⁵⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 117

ਅਬ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਮਹਾਂ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਕੇ, ਅਰੁ ਭਾਈਓਂ ਕੇ; ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕੇ 'ਰਾਜ-ਭ੍ਰਾਤ' ਕਹਿਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ।
ਰਾਜ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਕਉ ਅੱਸੀ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੱਕ ਮਨਸਬ ਦੇਇ। ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਬੀਸ ਸਵਾਰ ਦੇਇ। ਯਹਿ ਰੱਖੈ॥ 1॥

⁵⁸ *loc. cit.*

ਅਬ ਔਰ ਜੋ ਕੁਮਾਰ ਹੈਂ, ਅਰੁ ਰਾਜ-ਭ੍ਰਾਤ ਹੈਂ, ਉਨ ਕੋ ਡੀਲ ਕੀ ਤਨਖਾਹ ਮਾਫਕ ਦਸਤੂਰ ਬਲਵੰਤ ਕਾਰੀ ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਕੀ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਸਵਾਰ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਬੀਸ ਹੀ ਹੋਵਹਿ। ਔਰ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਸਭ ਬਲਵੰਤ ਕਾਰੀਓਂ ਸੇ ਡੇਵਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ॥ 3॥

⁵⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 112

ਅਰੁ ਵਹਿ ਲਿਖਾ ਕਿਸ ਕਉ ਹੋਵੈ? ਤਿੰਨ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਅੱਸੀ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤਕ। ਅਰੁ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਕੰਮ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਹੋਵੇ।
ਤਿਸ ਲਿਖੇ ਕਾ ਮਰਾਤਬਾ ਲੈ ਕਉਨ ਜਾਏ? ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਬਲਵੰਤ ਕਾਰੀ। ਆਗੇ ਤੇ ਓਹ ਦਿਸਾਵੰਤਕਾਰ ਅਪਨੇ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਤੇ
ਸਤ ਕੋਸ ਆਗੇ ਆਇ ਲਏ। ਏਕ ਤੀਰ ਪਰਤਾਪ ਤੇ ਅੱਧੀ ਵਾਟ ਰਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਫਿਰ ਪੰਜ ਤਸਲੀਮਾਂ ਕਰੈ।
ਜਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਨਜੀਕ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ, ਤਾਂ ਫੇਰ ਤਸਲੀਮਾਂ ਕਰੈ, ਪੰਜ ਵਾਰੀ। ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹ ਪੰਜ ਪੰਜ ਤਸਲੀਮਾਂ ਕਰੈ।
ਫੇਰ ਓਹ 'ਮਹਾਂ-ਹੁਕਮ' ਉਸ ਕੇ ਹੱਥ ਤੇ ਲਏ। ਲੈ ਕੇ ਸਿਰ ਉਪਰ ਰੱਖੈ, ਅੱਖੀਆਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਰੱਖੈ,
ਫਿਰ ਸਿਰ ਉਪਰ ਰੱਖ ਕੈ ਅਪਨੇ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਉਪਰ ਲੈ ਆਵੈ। ਨਾਲੇ ਜੋ ਬਲਵੰਤਕਾਰੀ 'ਮਹਾਂ ਹੁਕਮ' ਲਿਆਇਆ ਹੈ,
ਉਸ ਕੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਸਾਥ ਲੈ ਆਵੈ, ਆਬਰੂ ਨਾਲ। ਫੇਰ ਉਹ 'ਮਹਾਂ ਹੁਕਮ' ਪੜੈ।
ਜੋ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੇ ਉਸੇ ਸਾਇਤ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਰੈ, ਢਿੱਲ ਨਾ ਕਰੈ॥ 2॥

denotes the honour conferred by the Maharaja upon the commander obviously for his excellent performances rendered to the king. The commander of 100 mansab should receive such two lances while commander of 50 will get only one.⁶⁰

The author refers to other insignias too which were conferred by the Maharaja to the higher rank commanders. The sword-lance (*kirpan-barchhe*) is conferred upon the commander of the rank (*mansab*) ranging from 200 to 1000. First the shaft should be strong and nine yard (*gaz*) in length. A crossbar 12 *girah* long should be affixed on the top of shaft like a polo stick with equal parts on either side. The swords (*talwaran*) and double edged swords (*khande*) should be affixed on the top of both sides of crossbar. The distance between them should be six fingers and length 12 *girah* each. They should be affixed by the hilt on the top of both sides of the crossbar.⁶¹ The Mansabdars of the rank of 300 should receive one sword-lance (*kirpan barchhe*). The shaft shall be of silver. He who has more than 400 under him has two lances. More than 600 has three; more than 800 has four and more than 1000 have five with ride on elephants. He who has 1000 or more mounted men under him shall have one *kirpan barchhe* with a shaft made of gold. These are the symbols to be dispensed by the Maharaja.⁶²

The author also gives the details of symbols/insignias which were conferred on the commanders of the rank of 2000 to 5000. A commander of 2000 receives a

⁶⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 113-114
 ਅਬ ਜੋ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ; ਜੋ ਅਪਨੇ ਚਾਕਰੋ ਕੋ ਮੁਰਾਤਬਾ, ਬਖਸ਼ ਦੇਵੈ।
 ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ:- ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਕੋ ਏਕ ਨੇਜਾ, ਜਿਸ ਕੋ ਫਲ ਕੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ ਕਟਾਰੀ ਲਗੀ ਹੋਵੈ।
 ਤਿਸ ਜਮਦਾਤ ਕਾ ਫਲ ਏਕ, ਚਾਰ ਗਿਰਹ ਚਉੜਾ ਅਰੁ ਅਸਟ ਗਿਰਹਿ ਲੰਮਾ ਹੋਵੈ।
 ਜਹਾਂ ਭੋਗਲੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਉਹਾਂ ਛੜ ਪਚੀ ਹੋਵੈ। ਤਾੜੀਆਂ ਹੇਠ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਫਲ ਉਪਰ ਹੋਵੈ।
 ਫਲ ਮੈ ਮੂਰਤਿ 'ਸਿੰਘ ਕੀ ਸਵਾਰ ਭਵਾਨੀ' ਕੀ ਹੋਵੈ। ਨਉ ਗਜ ਲੰਮਾ ਹੋਵੈ।
 ਘੋੜੇ ਉਪਰ ਅੱਗੇ ਚਲੇ। 'ਜਮਦਾਤ ਬਰਛਾ' ਇਸ ਮਰਾਤਬੇ ਕਾ ਨਾਉਂ ਹੈ।
 ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਸਦੀ ਤਕ, ਏਹੁ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਮਿਲੇ।
 ਸਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਦੁਇ 'ਜਮਦਾਤ-ਬਰਛੇ'; ਪੰਜਾਹੀ ਨੂੰ ਇੱਕ ॥ 1 ॥

⁶¹ -*ibid*- p. 114
 ਦੋ-ਸਦੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੱਕ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਬਰਛੇ' ਕੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਇਸ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਹੈ:-
 ਪ੍ਰਥਮੇ ਤਉ ਛੜ ਅੱਛਾ ਮੁਹਕਮ, ਨਉ ਗਜ ਲੰਮਾ;
 ਫੇਰ ਉਸ ਛੜ ਉਪਰਿ ਇੱਕ ਡੰਡਾ ਆਡਾ ਬਾਰਹਿ ਗਿਰਹਿ ਦਾ ਪਚੀ ਕਰੈ,
 ਚੌਗਾਨ ਦੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਆਧਾ ਆਧਾ ਦੁਹੀਂ ਵਲੀ ਰਹੈ।
 ਫੇਰ ਉਸ ਡੰਡੇ ਦੇ ਦੁਹਾਂ ਵੱਲਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਿਰ ਉਪਰਿ ਤਲਵਾਰਾਂ ਖੰਡੇ ਛਿਅ ਛਿਅ ਅੰਗੁਲੀਆਂ ਚਉੜੀਆਂ,
 ਬਾਰਹਿ ਗਿਰਹਿ ਲੰਮੀਆਂ, ਅੱਛੀਆਂ ਸ਼ਿਕਲ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਦੁਇ,
 ਉਸ ਡੰਡੇ ਦੇ ਦੁਹਾਂ ਸਿਰਿਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਮੂਠ ਦੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਪਚੀ ਕਰਨ, ਖੜੀਆਂ।
 ਮੁੱਠ ਸੁਨਹਿਰੀ ਕੇਫਤ-ਗਚ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਨਿ ॥ 2 ॥

⁶² *loc. cit.*
 ਦੁ-ਸਦੀ ਅੱਗੇ ਘੋੜੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਏਕ ਬਰਛਾ-'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ-ਬਰਛਾ' ਚੱਲੇ। ਛੜ ਰੁੱਪੇ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਚਾਰ-ਸਦੀ ਦੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਦੁਇ,
 ਛਿਅ-ਸਦੀ ਦੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਤਿੰਨ, ਅਸਟ-ਸਦੀ ਦੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਚਾਰ, ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਦੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਪੰਜ; ਹਾਥੀਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਚਲੈ,
 ਚਾਰ-ਸਦੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੱਕ, ਇੱਕ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ-ਬਰਛਾ' ਜੋ ਹੋਵੈ;
 ਛੜ ਸੁਇਨੇ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ। ਹੋਰ ਜੋ ਹੋਵਨ, ਸੇ ਰੁੱਪੇ ਦੇ ਛੜਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੋਵਨ। ਏਹ ਮਰਾਤਬਾ ਮਿਲੇ ॥ 3 ॥

gulshashtar. All unsheathed weapons includes a dagger (*katari*), a knife (*chhuri*), a poniard (*Jamdar*), a sword (*kirpan*), a bow and quiver (*kaman tarkash*), a curved dagger (*bank*), a shield (*dhal*) are strung out below *gulshashtar*.⁶³ The commander of 3000 should be conferred with one *gulshashtar* of unsheathed weapons with a shield and a quiver in the scabbard. All other weapons should be unsheathed. It includes three *jamdar-barchhe*; four *kirpan-barchhe*.⁶⁴ The commander of 3000 should receive two *gulshashtar* one of unsheathed weapons and the other of sheathed weapons including four *jamdar-barchhe* and five *kirpan-barchhe*.⁶⁵

The commander of 4000 should receive three *gulshashtar* containing one unsheathed weapons without scabbard and two sheathed weapons including five *jamdar-barchhe* and six *kirpan-barchhe*. The commander of rank of 5000 should receive one unsheathed weapons and three sheathed weapon in which there should be six *jamdar-barchhe* and seven *kirpan-barchhe*. One of the symbols of the *mansabdars* between the ranks of 2000 to 5000 should be of gold whether it may be *jamdar-barchha* or *kirpan-barchha* or *gulshashtar*. All other symbols should be of silver and they have right to ride on elephants and horses.⁶⁶

The commander of 6000 to 12000 cavalry should be given the gracious symbol of honour (*mahi-maratab*). Such symbol should be conferred on each commander holding ranks starting from 6000 to 12000 for every thousand.⁶⁷ The

⁶³ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 114-115

ਦੁਇ-ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਪੰਜ-ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੱਕ ਜੋ ਮਰਾਤਬਾ ਹੈ-ਦੁਇ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਕੋ ਇੱਕ 'ਗੁਲਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ'।
'ਗੁਲ-ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ' ਕਿਸ ਕੋ ਕਹਤੇ ਹੈ? ਜਿਸ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰਸਭ ਲਟਕੈ-
ਕਟਾਰੀ, ਛੂਰੀ, ਜਮਦਾਤ੍ਰ, ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ, ਕਮਾਨ ਤਰਕਸ, ਬਾਕ, ਢਾਲ। ਇਹ ਸਭ ਹਥਿਆਰ ਨੰਗੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਲਟਕਤੇ ਜਾਹਿ।
'ਗੁਲ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ' ਕੀ ਸੂਰਤਿ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਰਿ ਹੈ?

⁶⁴ -*ibid*- p. 115-116

ਦੁਇ-ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਕੋ ਇੱਕ 'ਗੁਲ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ' ਨੰਗਿਆਂ ਹਥਿਆਰਾਂ ਦਾ-ਢਾਲ ਅਰੁ ਤਰਕਸ ਗਿਲਾਫ ਮੈ ਹੋਵੈ;
ਅੱਰ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ ਸਭ ਨੰਗੇ ਹੋਵਹਿ-ਤਿੰਨ 'ਜਮਦਾਤ੍ਰ-ਬਰਛੇ' ਚਾਰ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ-ਬਰਛੇ', ਇਹੁ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ 15 ॥

⁶⁵ -*ibid*- p. 116

ਤਿੰਨ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਕਉ ਦੁਇ 'ਗੁਲ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ'-ਇਕ ਨੰਗਿਆਂ ਹਥਿਆਰਾਂ ਦਾ; ਦੂਸਰਾ ਜ਼ਰਦੇਜ਼ੀ ਗਿਲਾਫਦਾਰ ਹਥਿਆਰਾਂ ਦਾ।
ਚਾਰ 'ਜਮਦਾਤ੍ਰ-ਬਰਛੇ', ਪੰਜ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ-ਬਰਛੇ' ॥ 6 ॥

⁶⁶ *loc. cit.*

ਚਾਰ-ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਕਉ ਤਿੰਨ 'ਗੁਲ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ'-ਇੱਕ ਨੰਗਿਆਂ ਹਥਿਆਰਾਂ ਦਾ; _____

ਪੰਜ 'ਜਮਦਾਤ੍ਰ-ਬਰਛੇ', ਛਹਿ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਬਰਛੇ' ॥ 7 ॥

ਪੰਜ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਚਾਰ 'ਗੁਲ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ'-ਇੱਕ ਨੰਗਿਆਂ ਹਥਿਆਰਾਂ ਦਾ, ਅਰੁ ਤਿੰਨ ਗਿਲਾਫਦਾਰ।

ਛਿਅ 'ਜਮਦਾਤ੍ਰ-ਬਰਛੇ', ਸੱਤ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ-ਬਰਛੇ'। ਦੁਇ-ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਪੰਜ-ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੱਕ,

ਜੋ ਮਰਾਤਬਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸੋ ਇੱਕੁ ਸੋਇਨੇ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ। ਭਾਵੇਂ 'ਜਮਦਾਤ੍ਰ-ਬਰਛਾ' ਹੋਵੈ,

ਭਾਵੇਂ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ-ਬਰਛਾ' ਹੋਵੈ; ਭਾਵੇਂ 'ਗੁਲ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ' ਹੋਵੈ; ਇਕ ਇਕ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਸੋਇਨੇ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਹੋਰ ਸਭ ਮੁਰਾਤਬ ਰੁੱਪੇ ਦੇ ਹੋਨ। ਜਬ ਲਗ ਹਾਥੀ ਉਪਰ ਚਲੈ, ਤਬ ਲਗ ਘੋੜਿਓਂ ਉਪਰ ਏ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਨ ਚਲੈ ॥ 8 ॥

⁶⁷ *loc. cit.*

ਅਬ ਛੇ-ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਬਾਰਾਂ-ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤਕ ਜੋ ਮੁਰਾਤਬ ਹੈ; 'ਮਾਹੀ ਮਰਾਤਬ' ਦੇਇ।

ਛੇ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਬਾਰਹ ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਤਕ ਦੇਇ। ਹਜ਼ਾਰੀ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਇਕ 'ਮਿਹਰ ਮਰਾਤਬ' ਦੇਏ ॥ 9 ॥

mihar-maratab is to be conferred on every thousand above the authority of six-thousand up to twelve thousand. Besides, the *jamdar-barchhe* and *kirpan-barchhe* which are conferred on the *mansabdars* of rank of 5000 will also be conferred on the *mansabdars* holding the ranks of 6000 to 12,000.⁶⁸

The author writes about the procedure for what is called the *mihar-maratab*. Construct a garden of silver like a flowing bed. It should be four *gaz* long and two and a half *gaz* wide and edges should be of half *gaz*. Fountains should be placed at interval of four *girah* on the edges of all four sides to irrigate the garden. The flowers for the garden should be made of gold with shrubs of various colors. Use the water of fountains skillfully. This is a *mihar-maratab*. It will go ahead of strong (*balwantkari*) rider.⁶⁹

In *mahi-maratab*, its head should be constructed like a man and body that of a fish. The symbol of authority should resemble the large image of large snake and also the symbol of the image of the lions.⁷⁰

The author talks about the safety of the Maharaja and his highly ranked nobles when they happen to stay in the camp of tents. According to author, a wall is constructed around the camp of Maharaja, prince and wazir separately.⁷¹ The author further writes that for the safety of army camp, strong military posts should be erected on the four corners of the camp around an army encampment. Apart from it, nine

⁶⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 116
ਛਿਆ ਤੇ ਉਪਰ ਜਿਤਨੇ ਹਜਾਰੀ ਹੋਨਿ, ਬਾਰਾ-ਹਜਾਰੀ ਤੱਕ, ਤਿਤਨੇ ਹੀ 'ਮਿਹਰ ਮਰਾਤਬ' ਦੇਇ।
ਅਰੁ 'ਜਮਦਾੜ-ਬਰਛੇ' ਅਰੁ 'ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ-ਬਰਛੇ' ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਪੰਜ ਹਜਾਰੀ ਕੇ ਮਨਸਬ ਬਖਸ਼ ਤੱਕ ਹੈਂ;
ਸੋਈ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਾ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਹੈ॥10॥

⁶⁹ -*ibid*- p. 116-117
ਅਬ ਜਿਸ ਕੇ 'ਮਿਹਰ ਮਰਾਤਬ' ਕਹਤੇ ਹੈਂ, ਉਸ ਕੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਸੂਰਿਤ ਕੀ:- ਏਕ ਬਗੀਚਾ ਰੁੱਪੇ ਕਾ ਬਨਾਏ,
ਤਖਤਿ ਰਵਾਂ ਕੀ ਮਾਨਿੰਦ। ਚਾਰ ਗਜ ਲੰਮਾ, ਅਢਾਈ ਗਜ ਚੌੜਾ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਕਿਨਾਰੇ ਅੱਧਿ ਅੱਧਿ ਗਜ ਦੇ ਹੋਣ। ਚੌਹੀਂ ਵੱਲੀ ਉਸਦੇ ਕਿਨਾਰਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ,
ਚਾਰ ਗਿਰਹ ਦੇ ਤਫਾਵਤ ਨਾਲਿ, ਫੁਹਾਰੇ ਬਨਾਏ। ਪਾਨੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਉਸ ਬਗੀਚੇ ਦੇ ਪਵੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਵਿੱਚ ਉਸ ਬਗੀਚੇ ਦੇ ਫੁੱਲ ਸਵਰਨ ਦੇ ਬਨਾਏ; ਬੂਟੇ ਹੋਨ ਰੰਗ-ਬਿਰੰਗ ਦੇ।
ਫੁਵਾਰੇ ਜੇ ਛੁੱਟਨ ਪਾਣੀ ਦੇ, ਸੁ ਹਿਕਮਤ ਨਾਲਿ ਛੁੱਟੈਂ। ਇਹ 'ਮਿਹਰ-ਮਰਾਤਬ' ਹੈ।
ਜਬ 'ਬਲਵੰਤਕਾਰੀ' ਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਆਗੈ ਚਲੈ॥11॥

⁷⁰ -*ibid*- p. 117
ਅਰੁ 'ਮਾਹੀ-ਮਰਾਤਬ' ਭੀ ਦੇਇ। ਸੋ ਕੈਸਾ ਦੇਇ?
ਜੇ ਸਿਰ ਸਭ ਆਦਮੀ ਹੋਵੈਂ ਅਉਰ ਸਭ ਦੇਹ ਮੱਛੀ ਕੀ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਅਜਦਰਾ ਕੀ ਸੂਰਤਿ ਦੇ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਭੀ ਹੋਨ; ਨਾਲੇ ਸਿੰਘਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੂਰਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਰਾਤਬ ਹੋਨ॥12॥17॥

⁷¹ -*ibid*- p. 120
ਜਹਾਂ ਡੇਰਾ ਪੜੈ ਤੰਬੂਆਂ ਕਾ, ਤਹਾਂ ਗਿਰਦੇ ਦੇਵਾਰ ਉਸਾਰ ਲੇਵੈਂ। ਕਉਨ ਕੌਨ?
ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਉ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੇ ਡੇਰੇ ਕੇ ਗਿਰਦ; ਫੇਰ ਰਾਜਕੁਮਾਰ ਕੇ ਡੇਰੇ ਕੇ;
ਫੇਰ ਵਜੀਰ ਕੇ ਡੇਰੇ ਕੇ ਗਿਰਦ ਹੋਵੇ॥10॥

other guard posts should be established to guard prince; *wazir*; *diwan*; army chief and other eminent persons.⁷²

For provincial administration, twenty-one *pargana* should be grouped to form a *taraf* (district). The *pargana* assessment should be consolidated to provide the district assessment. Each *taraf* should be named after a city. Eleven *taraf* should be grouped to form a *disa* (a province).⁷³

The Governor (*disavant*) for each province should be appointed from amongst the aristocrats (*umrao*) by the Maharaja.⁷⁴ The intelligencer (*khobar likhata*) should be appointed to supply good or bad happenings of the province to the concerned official at the centre. The Governor should enlist as many troops as he may require and likewise other state officials. An intelligence secretary will be under the *faujdar* head of the district.⁷⁵

A *niaunkar* (judge) should be appointed in each province. The justice should be determined by the provincial governor in consultation of intelligence secretary. If any person aggrieved of highhandedness of provincial functionaries can file a petition to the Maharaja for its redressal.⁷⁶

A *diwan* should be appointed who should scrutinize all the documents relating to the *pargana* and the *taraf*. He should check the insufficient or excessive collection

⁷² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 120

ਅਰੁ ਗਿਰਦ ਲਸ਼ਕਰ ਕੇ ਚਾਰ ਚਉਕੀਆਂ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕਰੈ। ਪਹਿਲੀ ਪੀਛੈ, ਦੂਸਰੀ ਆਗੈ,
ਤੀਸਰੀ ਦਰਨੈ, ਚੌਥੀ ਬਾਏਂ। ਭਲੀ ਭਾਰੀ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕਰੈ। ਫਿਰ ਅਪਨੀ ਚੌਕੀ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕਰੇ।
ਹੋਰ ਨਉਂ ਚੌਕੀਆਂ ਅਪਨੀਆਂ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕਰੈ। ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਰਾਜਕੁਮਾਰ ਕੀ, ਦੁਤੀਆ ਵਜੀਰ ਕੀ,
ਤ੍ਰਿਤੀਆ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਕੀ, ਚਤੁਰਥ ਸਿਪਾਹ-ਸਾਲਾਰ ਕੀ;
ਪੰਜਮੀ ਭਲੇ ਭਲੇ ਬਲਵੰਤਕਾਰੀਆਂ ਕੀ। ਬਾਕੀ ਨਵਾਂ ਦਿਹਾਂ ਕੀ ਮੁਕਰਰ ਕਰੈ॥12॥

⁷³ -*ibid*- p. 99

ਅਬਿ ਦਿਸਾ-ਬੰਧੇਜ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ: ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਤਉ ਇੱਕੀਆਂ ਇੱਕੀਆਂ ਪਰਗਨਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਇੱਕ ਤਰਫ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ।
ਫੇਰਿ ਜੋ ਕੁਛ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਰਗਨਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਜਮਾਂ ਹੋਵੈ; ਉਸਤੇ ਤਫਾਉਤ ਨਾਲ ਕੁੱਲ ਜਮਾਂ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ॥1॥
ਉਸ ਤਰਫ ਦਾ ਨਾਉਂ ਇਕ ਸਹਰ ਕਰਕੈ ਰੱਖੇ॥2॥
ਯਾਰਹ ਤਰਫਾਂ ਦੀ ਇਕ ਦਿਸਾ ਕਰੈ॥3॥

⁷⁴ *loc. cit.*

ਜੋ ਦਿਸਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਹਾਂ ਏਕ 'ਦਿਸਾਵੰਤ' ਅੱਛਾ ਉਮਰਾਉ ਰੱਖੈ; ਅਪਨੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ॥8॥

⁷⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 99-100

ਅਰੁ ਏਕ 'ਖਬਰ ਲਿਖਤਾ' ਕਰੈ, ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਖਬਰ ਨੇਕ ਬਦ ਦੀ ਦਿਸਾ ਬਿਖੇ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਸਿਪਾਹ 'ਦਿਸਾਵੰਤ' ਰੱਖੈ, ਅਉਰ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਰਾਜ-ਚਾਕਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਭੀ ਰੱਖੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਮੁਹਰ ਨਾਲ ਰੱਖਣਾ ਸਿਪਾਹ ਦਾ ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰ ਹੈ। ਕਿਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ?
ਜੋ 'ਖਬਰ ਲਿਖਤਾ', ਫਉਜਦਾਰ ਕਾ ਹੈ॥11॥

⁷⁶ -*ibid*- p. 100

ਅਰੁ ਏਕ 'ਨਿਆਉਂਕਾਰ' ਰੱਖੈ, ਦਿਸਾ ਮੈ। ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਹੋਵੈ, 'ਦਿਸਾਵੰਤ', 'ਖਬਰ ਲਿਖਤਾ' ਕੀ ਸਲਾਹ ਮੈ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਜੋ ਕਦਾਚ ਕੋਈ ਹਜ਼ੂਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਕੇ ਫਰਯਾਦ ਕਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਕਹੈ, ਜੋ 'ਮੇਰਾ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਫੁਲਾਣੀ ਦਿਸਾ, ਫੁਲਾਣੀ ਤਰਫ,
ਫੁਲਾਣੇ ਪਰਗਣੇ ਮੈ ਕਿਨੀ ਨਾਹੀ ਕੀਆ; ਮੁਝ ਪਰ ਸਿਤਮ ਹੁਆ ਹੈ!'

of revenue. Acting on the Instructions of the provincial governor, he should sanction expenditure and issue receipts with his official seal.⁷⁷

A security officer called *kotwal* should be appointed in each city. His duty is to maintain law and order during day and night, so that the people of the city may feel secure from thieves, trespassers and bad elements.⁷⁸

The city superintendent (*nagardar*) should be appointed in each city who will report the happenings of the city to the Maharaja, *faujdar* and *disavant* as the case may be. The Maharaja should act on the reports, which reaches him. The city superintendent should make arrangements for delivery of justice and protection of the city.⁷⁹

For district administration, a *faujdar*, a judge (*niaunkar*), Intelligence officer (*khabar navisinda*) and an accountant (*hisab-kar*) should be appointed to perform their assigned duties at district level (*taraf*).⁸⁰

The villages situated within the perimeter of 25 *kos* of a *pargana* and there is a big city or town falls in it, the villages should be associated with that city or town for the purpose of revenue. Where a city or town is situated across a river and is not a part of that *pargana* then the villages should not be attached with that city or town.⁸¹

A *faujdar*, *amin*, *shiqdar*, who is also called *tehsildar* and *potdar* (treasurer) should be appointed to govern *pargana* administration. All the responsibilities should be given to this official who should be wise and understand the justice, and does not act arbitrarily. He should not be greedy and be satiated with his fixed remuneration. He

⁷⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 99

ਏਕ 'ਦੀਵਾਨ' ਰੱਖੈ; ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਕਾਗਦ ਪਰਗਨਿਓਂ ਕਾ, ਤਰਫੁਓਂ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸੋ 'ਹਿਸਾਬਕਾਰ' ਆਪਨਿਓਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਤਲਬ ਕਰੇ। ਜਮਾ ਕਮੀ ਜਾਫੇ ਦੀ ਦੇਖਦਾ ਰਹੈ। ਜੋ ਖਰਚ ਜਮਾਂ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ 'ਦਿਸਾਵੰਤ' ਦੀ ਸਲਾਹ ਨਾਲ, ਮੁਹਰ ਨਾਲ ਕਾਗਦ ਕਰੈ॥ 9॥

⁷⁸ -*ibid*- p. 109

ਅਰੁ ਸਹਿਰੋਂ ਕੀ ਰਾਤਿ ਦਿਨ ਕੀ ਖਬਰਦਾਰੀ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ 'ਨੱਗਰਦਾਰ' ਕਰੈ।

ਜਿਸ ਕੇ 'ਕੋਤਵਾਲ' ਕਹਿਤੇ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਬੇ-ਗ਼ਮ ਰਹੈ, ਚੋਰ-ਚਕਾਰ ਹਰਾਮੀ ਤੇ॥ 5॥

⁷⁹ -*ibid*- p. 109-110

ਅਰੁ ਇਹ 'ਨੱਗਰਦਾਰ' ਸਾਇਤ ਬ ਸਾਇਤ ਖਬਰ ਨੇਕ ਬਦ ਸਹਿਰ ਕੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੈ ਕੇ ਅਥਵਾ ਦਿਸਾਵੰਤ ਕੇ,

ਫਉਜਦਾਰ ਕੇ ਪਹੁੰਚਾਵਤਾ ਰਹੈ। ਅਰੁ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਉਸ ਮਾਫਿਕ ਗ਼ਉਰ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ॥ 18॥

⁸⁰ -*ibid*- p. 99

ਹਰਿ ਤਰਫ ਕੇ ਏਕ ਫਉਜਦਾਰ ਉਮਦਾ ਰੱਖੈ॥ 4॥ ਏਕ 'ਨਿਆਉਂਕਾਰ' ਰਖੈ॥ 5॥

ਏਕ 'ਖਬਰ ਨਵੀਸਿੰਦਾ' ਰਖੈ॥ 6॥ ਏਕ 'ਹਿਸਾਬਕਾਰ' ਰਖੈ॥ 7॥

⁸¹ -*ibid*- p. 98

ਅਬ ਜੋ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਕਾ ਠਹਿਰਾਉ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਕਿਉਂਕਰ ਹੋਵੈ?

ਪੰਝੀ ਪੰਝੀ ਕੇਸ ਕੇ ਗਿਰਦੇ ਮੈ ਜੋ ਗਿਰਾਉਂ ਵਸਦੇ ਹੋਹਿੰ।

ਅਰੁ ਵਿਚ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਗਿਰਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਦਰਮਿਆਨ ਵੱਡਾ ਅੱਛਾ ਸ਼ਹਿਰ-ਕਸਬਾ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਉਹ ਸਭੇ ਗਿਰਾਉਂ ਉਸ ਕਸਬੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਾਇ, ਜਮਾਂ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ॥ 1॥

ਪਰ ਜੋ ਦਰਿਆਉ ਦੇ ਪਾਰ ਹਨ, ਸੋ ਉਰਾਰ ਵਲ ਦੇ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਾਏ ਨਾਹੀ;

ਉਰਾਰ ਦੇ ਕਸਬੇ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਦੇ ਪਾਰ ਨਾਲ ਲਾਏ ਨਾਹੀ॥ 2॥

should ensure the proper collections of state revenue receipts and deliverance of justice to all the people of his area.⁸²

A *diwan* should be appointed to prepare a complete record of finances of the entire area falling in jurisdiction of the *pargana*. Another important functionary appointed at *pargana* town (*shahar pargane ka*) is *khavar navis*. His duty is to report the the Maharaja all kind of bad and good news of the town in black and white.⁸³ If any of these officials defames or discriminates, his hands will be cut off.

A judge (*niaunkar*) should be appointed in every *pargana* town to adjudicate the cases of disputes of the parties on merit. He should not be biased and temptuous. If he does not do justice to the people under the influence of the *pargana* head (*faujdar*) and found subsequently guilty of it, both the *faujdar* and *niaunkar* should be given capital punishment. So that no one in future cannot show dereliction to his duty.⁸⁴

All collection of revenue should first be recorded in rupees (official currency) villagewise after making proper and justifiable assessment of trees, fields and produce of the village. Similar procedure should be adopted in case of *jagir* lands.⁸⁵

The revenue settlement determined for a *pargana* should be reviewed carefully and honestly after 10 years to know the difference between previous and current settlements. Accordingly, new settlement report should be prepared in such manner

⁸² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 97

ਅਬ ਜੋ ਹਾਕਿਮ ਕਰੈ, ਪਰਗਨਿਓਂ ਸਿਉਂ; ਸੋ ਕਿਉਂਕਰ ਕਰੈ?

ਪਰਗਨੇ ਪੀਛੈ ਏਕ ਫਉਜਦਾਰ ਅਰੁ ਅਮੀਨ, ਸਿਕਦਾਰ, ਜਿਸ ਕੋ 'ਤਹਿਸੀਲ ਦਾਰ' ਕਹਤੇ ਹੈਂ-ਪੋਤਦਾਰ ਕਰੈ।

ਯਹ ਏਕ ਹੀ ਆਦਮੀ ਕੋ ਇਹ ਸਭ ਖਿਜਮਤ ਦੇਇ।

ਪਰ ਕੈਸੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਕੋ? ਜੋ ਬੁੱਧਿਵਾਨ ਹੋਵੈ; ਨਿਆਉਂ ਸਮਝਤਾ ਹੋਵੈ;

ਰੱਯਤ ਕੋ ਅਬਾਦਾਨ ਕਰੈ; ਸਿਤਮਗਰ ਨ ਹੋਇ;

ਅੰਸ ਤੇ ਸਿਵਾਇ ਲਾਲਚ ਨ ਕਰੈ; ਪੂਜਾ ਕੋ ਰਾਜੀ ਰੱਖੈ, ਰਾਜ ਅੰਸ ਭੀ ਨ ਛੋਡੇ ॥ 1 ॥

⁸³ loc. cit.

ਅਰੁ ਏਕ ਕਾਗਦ ਕੁੱਲ ਲਿਖਣੇ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਉਸ ਦਾ ਨਾਉਂ 'ਦੀਵਾਨ' ਰੱਖੈ।

ਏਕ ਇਹ ਖਿਦਮਤ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕਰ ਕੈ ਦੇਇ; ਜੋ ਸਾਰਾ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਦਾ ਮਲੂਮ ਹੋਵੈ ॥ 2 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਏਕ 'ਖਬਰ ਨਵੀਸ' ਸਹਿਰ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਦਾ ਮੁਕੱਰਰ ਕਰੈ।

ਜੋ ਸਭ ਖਬਰ ਨੇਕੀ ਬਦੀ ਕੀ ਆਇ ਰੁਜੂ ਹੋਵੈ; ਸੋ ਸਭ ਹਜੂਰ ਕੋ ਲਿਖੈ ॥ 3 ॥

⁸⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 98

ਅਰੁ ਏਕ 'ਨਿਆਉਂਕਾਰ' ਕਰੈ। ਹਰਿ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਸਹਰ ਮੈ, ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਮਾਮਲਾ ਆਇ ਰੁਜੂ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਸੋ ਉਸ ਮਾਫਕ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਦਾ ਕਰਕੈ, ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰ ਦੇਵੈ;

'ਫਉਜਦਾਰ' ਕੀ ਸਲਾਹ ਸਿਉਂ। ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਲਾਲਚ ਕਰਿ, ਕਿਸੇ ਦਾ ਹੱਕ ਗਵਾਏ,

ਅਨਿਆਉਂ ਕਰੈ, ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਨਿਆਉਂਕਾਰ ਅਰੁ ਫਉਜਦਾਰ ਕੋ ਗਰਦਨ ਮਾਰੇ।

ਫੇਰਿ ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨੇ ਲਾਲਚ ਕਰਿ ਅਨਿਆਉਂ ਨ ਕਰੇ ॥ 5 ॥ 5 ॥

⁸⁵ loc. cit.

ਜਮਾਂ ਜੋ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ, ਸੁ ਰੁਪਯਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਰਿ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ। ਕਿਉਂਕਰਿ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ?

ਜੋ ਏਕ ਵਾਰੀ ਅੱਛੀ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਨਾਲ, ਅੱਕਲ ਨਾਲ, ਖੇਤ, ਦਰਖਤ, ਹਾਸਿਲ ਜਿਉਂ ਉਪਰਿ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ ਤਿਉਂ ਲਏ।

ਲੈਕੇ ਉਸਦੇ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਠਹਿਰਾਵੈ। ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਹੋਣ, ਸੋ ਜਮਾਂ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੇ, ਗਿਰਾਉਂ ਪਿੱਛੇ।

ਉਸੇ ਮਾਫਿਕ ਜਿਸਦੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਵਿਚ ਦੇਣਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਦੇਵੈ ॥ 3 ॥

that the peasant should not be burdened with paying more revenue nor the state should be looser. The core idea behind doing this exercise is that the state should know that no injustice is being done to the peasantry (*rayat*) in direct control of the state as well as that belongs to *jagir* villages.⁸⁶

The *Prem Sumarag* contains vivid explanation regarding distribution of harvest produce of the peasants. Its author cites an example for better understanding of the matter. If a peasant gets the produce of seven mounds (*mann*) of grain per *bigha*, firstly he has to set aside one mound for the landlord and the other officials. Further, this mound (consists of 40 *ser*) is apportioned such as; 15 *ser*s will go to zamindar and 5 *ser*s to patwari and remaining portion should be given to others officials entitled to share it out.⁸⁷ The remaining six mounds should be shared by the peasant and the state. The half of it should go to state as revenue tax and rest of the half should be the share of the peasant for his subsistence. However, the chaff and straw should also be retained by the peasant. Similar procedure will also be taken into account while the peasant grows vegetables.⁸⁸ Tax should not be collected in an oppressive manner.

According to author, it is necessary for the king apparently the author is referring to a Sikh ruler that he should call upon the people under his hegemony to celebrate *Hola* festival for specific period. The celebration should be ordered to be started from the day of *Basant Panchmi* and ended on first day (*sankrant*) of *Baisakh* (one of the months of Indian *Bikrami* era).⁸⁹

The author in all probabilities refers to the *khalsa* Sikh (*mard ka chela*) and expects that he will lead his life according to the wisdom ingrained in his work (*Prem*

⁸⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 98-99

ਉਸ ਪਰਗਨੇ ਦੀ ਜਮਾਂ ਬੰਨ੍ਹ ਕੈ, ਫੇਰ ਦਸ ਵਰ੍ਹਿਆਂ ਉਪਰੰਤ ਫਿਰ ਪਰਤਾਲ ਕਰਕੈ, ਅੱਛੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਦੇਖੈ।
ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਕਾਗਦਿ ਮਫਿਕ ਫੇਰੁ ਆਵੈ-ਇਜ਼ਾਫਾ ਅਕੈ ਕਮੀ ਹੋਵੈ--ਤੇ ਫੇਰ ਜਮਾਂ ਬੰਨ੍ਹੈ। ਕਿਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ?
ਜੋ ਰੱਯਤ ਨੂੰ ਤੋਟਾ ਨਾ ਹੋਇ। ਅਤੇ ਰਾਜ-ਅੰਸ ਮੈ ਕਰਾਰ ਸਿਉਂ ਬੇਕਰਾਰ ਅੰਸ ਨ ਆਵੈ, ਅਨਿਆਉਂ ਨ ਹੋਇ।
ਜਿਸ ਕਉ ਜਗੀਰ ਦੀਜੀਐ, ਉਸ ਕੀ ਭੀ ਕਮੀ 'ਜਾਫਾ ਕੀ ਹਕੀਕਤ ਮਲੂਮ ਹੋਇ॥4॥6

⁸⁷ -*ibid*- p. 96-97

ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਤਉ ਖੇਤੀ ਕੇ ਅੰਸ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ:- ਜਿਸ ਖੇਤ ਬਿਖੈ ਬੀਘੈ ਪਿਛੈ ਸਾਤ ਮਣ ਅਨਾਜ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਇ।
ਏਕ ਮਣ ਉਸ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਜੁਦਾ ਕਰ ਰੱਖੈ। ਬੀਸ ਸੇਰ ਜਿਮੀਦਾਰ ਕਾ ਅੰਸ ਉਸ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਦੇਇ॥1॥
ਅਉਰ ਕੋਈ ਲਗਾਇਤ ਹੋਵੈ; ਅਥਵਾ ਨਵੀਸਿੰਦਾ, ਕਾਨੂੰਗੋਇ ਹੋਵੈ; ਅਰੁ ਪਟਵਾਰੀ ਕਾ ਕਿਉਂਕਰ ਦੇਇ?
ਪੰਦ੍ਰਾਂ ਸੇਰ ਜਿਮੀਦਾਰ ਨੂੰ, ਅਰੁ ਪੰਜ ਸੇਰ ਪਟਵਾਰੀ ਨੂੰ॥2॥

⁸⁸ -*ibid*- p. 97

ਛਿਆਂ ਮਣਾਂ ਦਾ ਏਹ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਕਰੈ:- ਅੱਧਾ ਰਾਜ-ਅੰਸ ਲਏ। ਅਧਾ ਕ੍ਰਿਸਾਨ ਖੇਤ ਦੇ ਖਾਂਵਦ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਇ।
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਭੁਸ ਪ੍ਰਾਲੀ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਭੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਸਾਨ ਹੀ ਕੋ ਦੇਇ; ਰਾਜ-ਅੰਸ ਮੈ ਨ ਲੇਇ।

⁸⁹ -*ibid*- p. 107

ਅਰੁ ਏਕ ਅਉਰ ਹੁਕਮ ਪਰਜਾ ਕੋ ਕਰੈ: ਜੋ ਹੋਲੇ ਕਉ, ਸੰਕ੍ਰਾਂਤ ਬੈਸਾਖ ਕੀ ਤਕ।
ਅਦਿ ਬਸੰਤ ਪੰਚਮੀ ਜਿਉਂ, ਅਰੁ ਅੰਤ ਸੰਕ੍ਰਾਂਤ ਬੈਸਾਖ ਕੀ ਸਿਉ ਖੇਲੈ॥3॥

Sumarag). He also calls upon the people to follow the righteous path conspicuously defined in the book (*Granth*) and assures them that they will remain happy in this world and achieve the goal of salvation after that.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 151
ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ, ਚਲਨ ਇਸ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਕੇ ਮਾਰਗ ਚਲਾਇਗਾ ॥
ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਇਸ ਮਾਰਗ ਮੇ ਆਵੈਗਾ, ਸੇ ਸੁਖੀ ਰਹੈਗਾ। ਅੰਤ ਕੇ ਪਾਰਗ੍ਰਾਮੀ ਹੋਵੈਗਾ ॥ 5 ॥ 10 ॥

CHAPTER-5

ECONOMY IN *PREM SUMARAG*

Prem Sumarag contains small quantity of economic evidences whether these are small in quantity, but it reflects the glimpse of economy of the times of *Prem Sumarag*. We can estimate from the views of author regarding agriculture, mercantile, service, eating things, wild animals, birds, fishes, money lending, division of property, property to woman etc. However, the author prefers occupations of mercantile and agriculture. He also recommends for soldiering as well, money-lending professions. Actually, these things were given preference in the times Maharaja Ranjit Singh when he started to give salary to the soldiers. Moreover, we can estimate from the construction planning of a house that these were constructed of mud or bricks. Besides, (*diwankhaana*), a portico, a stable and a built well were also the part of house. Further, the author also recommends that the owner should lay out a garden, a small tank with fountain and a pavement in a house.¹

The author explains that the people use the different kind of foods including intoxications and meat in diet besides domestication of animals and economic status of the women. This explanation of the author reveals that the whole society was not economically affluent, however, there was a section of people most probably the nobility and feudal lords in the society which was really very affluent and maintaining high standard of living according to the standard of age during which the author composed the *Prem Sumarag*.

The prescribed rituals were started to be performed by the nobility, feudal lords and the Maharaja himself, so it was natural to be imitated by the masses at large.

¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag Arthat Khalsai Jiwan Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*', New Book Company, Jalandhar, 1965, p. 72

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਤੋਂ ਏਕ ਐਵਾਨ ਕੱਚਾ ਅਥਵਾ ਪੱਕਾ, ਅਥਵਾ ਛੱਪਰ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੇ।
ਉਸ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਦੇਇ ਕੋਠੜੀਆਂ ਹੋਨਿ। (ਉਹ ਅਸਥਾਨ) ਅੱਛਾ ਪਾਕ-ਸਾਫ਼ ਰੱਖੈ॥ 1॥
ਫੇਰਿ ਇਕ ਜਗਹਿ-ਜਹਾਂ ਛੱਪਰ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤਹਾਂ-ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਰੈ।
ਉਸ ਮੈ ਭੀ ਇਕ ਕੋਠੜੀ ਹੋਇ। ਉਹ ਜਾਗਹ ਭੀ ਅੱਛੀ ਸਾਫ਼ ਰਹੈ॥ 2॥
ਫਿਰਿ ਇਕ ਗੋਸ਼ੇ ਦਿਸ਼ਾਭੂਮਿ ਦੀ ਜਾਗਹ ਬਨਾਏ। ਉਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਭੀ ਸਾਇਆ ਹੋਵੇ।
ਉਹ ਭੀ ਸਾਫ਼ ਰਹੈ॥ 3॥ ਫੇਰਿ ਏਕ ਜਾਗਹ, ਉਸ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਦੀਵਾਨਖਾਨਾ ਕਰੈ।
ਉਹਾਂ ਏਕ ਐਵਾਨ ਚਾਹੀਐ। ਅਤੈ ਏਕ ਕੋਠੜੀ ਕਰੈ॥ 7॥
ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਏਕ ਗੋਸ਼ੇ ਦਿਸ਼ਾਭੂਮਿ ਦੀ ਜਾਗਹ ਕਰੇ॥ 8॥
ਅਰੁ ਐਵਾਚਨੇ ਦੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਭੀ ਗੁਲਜ਼ਾਰ ਬੂਟਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਕਰੈ॥ 9॥
ਅਰੁ ਏਕ ਤਬੇਲੈ ਦੀ ਜਾਗਹ ਕਰੈ॥ 10॥
ਅਰੁ ਜਬ ਸ਼ਕਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਖੁਹੇ ਦੀ ਦੇਵੈ; ਤਾ ਅਵੱਸ਼ ਕਰੈ॥ 11॥

It seems that such type of economy redeveloped after the annexation of the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Lahore kingdom. But, some religious Sikh movements (Nirankari, Namdhari and Singh Sabha Movements) were came into existence after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 by the British and they started the work of socio-religious and economic reforms so it seems that the nature of the *Prem Sumarag* suggests the certain reforms in the economy, which were to be observed hereafter.

Economic Activities:

The author confidently says that it is the duty of the Raja (king) to see the welfare of all the subjects. In this connection, he explains that the Raja (king) should make it sure that nobody should be without means of subsistence being necessary for delivery of justice to his subject and it should be made sure that all subjects are contented with the working of the Raja.² For enhancing economic activities, the king should adopt such strict mechanism that the person who professes a particular profession, he cannot abandon it. Nor anyone else persuades him to do so and adopt any other profession. Nor he should adopt another's profession. He should be called by his actual name with his profession but not attach his caste with his profession.³

In *Prem Sumarag*, the author puts up his views regarding the different types of occupations. Most importantly, a Sikh/*khalsa* should not join service (*chakri*) under others nor should he adopt the profession of shop-keeping (*tarzookashi*). Albeit, he approves manufacturing of saleable articles sitting at home to sell them in the market and should not feel shy of it. However, he considers the trading (*saudagiri*), the best of all occupations while the agriculture is next to it.⁴ He does not only mention about

² Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 122
ਰਾਜਾ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ, ਜੋ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਕਿਰਤ-ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਨ ਰਹੈ। ਖਬਰ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਕੀ ਲੇਤਾ ਰਹੈ,
ਜੀਉ ਜੀਉ ਕੀ। ਕਿਉਂ ਜੋ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਉ ਇਸੀ ਬਾਤ ਕੇ ਸਿਰਜਿਆ ਹੈ:
ਜੁ ਬੰਦੋਬਸਤ ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਕਾ ਭਲੀ ਭਾਂਤਿ ਰਹੈ। ਪ੍ਰਜਾ ਸੁਖੀ ਰਹੈ॥ 17॥ 20॥

³ -*ibid*- p. 122
ਅਰੁ ਏਕ ਅਉਰ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੈ, ਆਪਨੇ ਰਾਜ ਮੈ, ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਕਸਬੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਅਪਨਾ ਕਸਬ ਛਡ ਕੇ,
ਅਉਰ ਕਸਬ ਨ ਕਰੈ, ਨ ਕੋਈ ਸਿਖਲਾਵੈ। ਇਸ ਬਾਤ ਕੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੈ,
ਕਿ ਕੋਈ ਬੇ ਕਸਬ ਨ ਕਰੈ; ਅਰੁ ਨਾਉ ਉਸ ਕਸਬੀ ਕਾ, ਅਰੁ ਜਾਤਿ ਉਸ ਕਸਬੀ ਕੀ-
ਜੋ ਜਾਤਿ ਅਸਲ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਨਾਮ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋਈ ਸੱਦੇ, ਕਸਬ ਕਾ ਨਾਮ ਜਾਤਿ ਨ ਸੱਦੈ॥ 6॥

⁴ -*ibid*- p. 73
ਅਬ ਕਿਰਤ-ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਕਿਉਂਕਰਿ ਕਰੈ?
ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਕਿਰਤ ਜੋ ਕਰੈ; ਸੋ ਧਰਮ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ! ਬਰਕਤਿ ਪਾਵਨਹਾਰਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਹੈ॥ 1॥
ਚਾਕਰੀ ਕਰਨੀ, ਸਿਖ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਦੇ ਨੂੰ ਮਨਾ ਹੈ॥ 2॥
ਤਰਾਜੂਕਸ਼ੀ ਮਨਾ ਹੈ; ਦੁਕਾਨ ਬੈਠਣਾ ਮਨਾ ਹੈ॥ 3॥ ਕਸਬ ਕਰਨਾ ਘਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਫੁਰਮਾਇਆ ਹੈ।
ਕਸਬ ਕਰ ਕੈ ਬਜਾਰ ਬਿਖੈ ਬੇਚ ਆਵੈ, ਐਬ ਨਾਹੀ। ਕਸਬ ਕਰਨੇ ਤੇ ਆਲਸ ਨ ਕਰੇ॥ 4॥
ਸਭ ਤੇ ਉਤਮ ਕਿਰਤ ਸਉਦਾਗਰੀ ਹੈ॥ 5॥ ਉਸ ਤੇ ਉਤਰ ਕੇ ਖੇਤੀ ਹੈ। ਕਿਰਤ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਇਹ ਕਰੈ॥ 6॥

the scope of agriculture. He also mentions the varieties of production directly and indirectly connected with the agriculture such as vegetables, fresh fruits and dried food, confectionary, curd, wheat flour, lentils and rice.⁵ He advises that the dried fruit should be taken at empty stomach, obviously for its medicinal value.⁶ He mentions about the spices that were the part of cuisine. He refers to clove, cardamom, pepper, nutmeg, mace, saffron and musk, black peppers, *trifala*, cumin, asafetida and onion.⁷ He recommends cow's milk to be drunk daily because it has fourteen types of qualities beneficial to health.⁸ Similarly, clarified butter (ghee) is also good for health. With regard to drinking water, the author recommends that water pitcher should be placed at a stand, cool and clean place. The rose petals fresh or dried and few pieces of cardamom should always be in water pitchers so as to keep the water fresh and clean.⁹ The utensils for kitchen use should be galvanized to save the food from turning sour. Although, he does not mention directly about the agricultural productions yet his frequent references to cereals, lentils and spices certainly indicates that these would have been popular harvests at that time.

⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 60-61

ਜਬ ਅੰਨ ਲੇਵੈ ਤਾਂ ਏਕ ਏਕ ਦਾਣਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਚੁਗੇ, ਛਾਟੈ, ਛੱਟੈ, ਸਾਫ਼ ਕਰੈ ॥ 2 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਆਟਾ ਅੱਛਾ ਕਣਕ ਦਾ ਮਹੀਨ, ਖੂਬ ਗੁਨੁ ਕੇ, ਇੱਕ ਦੁਇ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਟਿਕਾਇ ਰੱਖੇ,

ਫੇਰਿ ਫੁਲਕੇ ਪਕਾਏ, ਯਾ ਪ੍ਰਾਵਠੇ, ਮੋਟੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੀਆਂ-ਜੋ ਪਕਾਵਨਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੇ ਪਕਾਵੈ ॥ 7 ॥

ਜੇ ਚਾਵਲ ਕਰੇ, ਤਉ ਆਗੇ ਹੀ ਚਾਰ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਭੇਂਵ ਛੱਡੈ ॥ 8 ॥ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਅਰੁ ਦੁਧ ਖਾਏ।

ਦੇਹੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਸੁਖੀ ਰਹੈ। ਮਾਸ ਖਾਨੇ ਮੈ ਭੀ ਤਕਸੀਰ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਇਹ ਭੀ ਦੇਹੀ ਨੂੰ ਰਤਨ ਹੋਇ ਲੱਗੈ ॥ 9 ॥

ਜੋ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ-ਪਕ ਕਿਛ ਕਰੈ; ਓਥੇ ਭੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ ਅੱਛੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਖਾਏ ॥ 10 ॥ 1 ॥

⁶ -*ibid*- p. 69

ਫੇਰਿ ਚਾਰ, ਅਥਵਾ ਤਿੰਨ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਦਿਨ ਰਹਦੈ, ਰਿੱਧਾ ਅੰਨ ਖਾਏ;

ਦਾਲ-ਚਾਵਲ, ਖਿਚੜੀ, ਮਾਸ-ਚਾਵਲ, ਪਲਾਵ। ਰੋਟੀ ਦੁਇ ਵਖਤ ਨ ਖਾਏਂ, ਮਨਾਂ ਹੈ ॥ 2 ॥

ਪਰ ਕਿਛੁ ਭੁੱਖ ਰੱਖਕੇ ਖਾਏ। ਭਰੇ ਉਪਰਿ ਭਰੇ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ 3 ॥

ਮੇਵਾ ਜੋ ਖਾਏ ਨਿਰਾਹਾਰ ਖਾਏ; ਖੁਸ਼ਕ ਮੇਵਾ ॥ 4 ॥

⁷ -*ibid*- p. 60

ਮੱਠੀ ਮੱਠੀ ਆਂਚ ਸੇ ਪਕਾਵੈ, ਸਹਜ ਨਾਲਿ, ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਬਾਸਨ ਮੈ ਡਾਲੇ।

ਫੇਰਿ ਲਉਂਗ ਅਥਵਾ ਜੀਰਾ, ਅਥਵਾ ਹੀਂਗ, ਅਥਵਾ ਪਿਆਜ ਇਸ ਮੈ ਡਾਲੈ, ਤੜਕਾ ਦੇਇ ॥ 5 ॥

⁸ -*ibid*- p. 65

ਦੁੱਧ ਨਿਤਾਪ੍ਰਤਿ ਪੀਏ; ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਇ। ਕਿਉਂਕਰਿ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ? ਜੋ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਹੈ ॥ 18 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੁਇ ਘੜੀ ਦਿਨ ਚੜ੍ਹੇ ਪੀਵੇ ਗੋਕਾ। ਜਾਡੇ ਕੀ ਰੁਤਿ ਦੇਇ ਤਿਨ ਮ੍ਰਿਚਾਂ ਮੁਹਿ ਪਾਇਕੇ ਪੀਵੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਗਰਮੀ ਕੀ ਰੁਤਿ ਤ੍ਰਿਫਲੇ ਨਾਲਿ ਪੀਵੈ। ਤ੍ਰਿਫਲਾ ਦਮੜੀ ਵਜਨ,

ਅਰੁ ਘ੍ਰਿਤ ਦੁਇ ਸਿਰਸਾਹੀ ਪੱਕਾ ॥ 19 ॥

ਇਸ ਕੇ ਖਾਏ ਜੋਤਿ ਨੇਤਰੋਂ ਕੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੋਇ; ਪੇਟ ਮੈਂ ਮੈਲ ਜਮਾਂ ਨ ਹੋਨਿ ਹੋਨਿ ਪਾਇ।

⁹ -*ibid*- p. 63

ਜੋ ਘੜੇ ਪਾਨੀ ਪੀਨੇ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ, ਅੱਛੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ ਇਕੰਤ ਰੱਖੇ;

ਜਮੀਨ ਤੇ ਉੱਚੀ ਠਉਰ, ਠੰਡੀ ਜਾਗਹਿ ॥ 2 ॥

ਅਰੁ ਪਾਨੀ ਕੇ ਬਿਖੈ ਫੂਲ ਗੁਲਾਬ ਕੇ ਤਾਜੇ ਹੋਨ;

ਅਥਵਾ ਸੁੱਕੇ ਹੋਣ, ਇਕ ਪੋਟਲੀ ਲਾਇਚੀ ਛੋਟੀ ਦੀ,

ਏ ਬਸਤੁ ਪਾਨੀ ਦੇ ਘੜਿਆਂ ਵਿਚਿ ਪੜੀ ਰਹੈ ॥ 3 ॥

The author describes about the use of intoxicants in *Prem Sumarag*, its kinds and its consuming methods. First, he gives the description of liquor (*madh*) and opium (*aphim*). However, according to author, opium is widely used by the people as form of intoxicant (*amal*).¹⁰ If opium is not affordable then the cannabis (*bhang*) will be its substitute being cheaper and easily available. In a case, a man prefers to consume the poppy (*post*) pod; he should limit it to two and a half pods only. However, according to author use of liquor (*daru*) was strictly prohibited being against tenets of Sikhism as it makes the person lethargic. He, who takes it, would have to face the dire consequences.¹¹ It seems that these intoxicants were sown in the Punjab or imported from outside.

Although, *Prem Sumarag* does not mention the domesticated animals specifically yet reference to use of milk and clarified butter indicates that the cow was the popular milch cattle of the people. Further, he mentions that camel, mule, horse, oxen (*bahil*) and other cattle would have been domesticated. Furthermore, the author refers that if someone has horse by the Grace of God, he must use it for riding purpose otherwise he should use other animal, which he can make available.¹²

He mentions the numerous names of wild animals. He refers to wildboar (*bairah*), rhinoceros (*gainda*), deer (*haran*), *chikara*, *parra*, *cheetah*, stag (*barahsingha*), he-goat (*jhankharra*, *bakkra*), he-sheep (*chhattra*) and hare (*khargos*).¹³ Also, he gives the detail of birds too namely, crane (*kulang*), goose (crane), wildgoose (*magh*), wildduck (*murgai*), quail (*betera*), sparrow (*tarachirra*), dove (*ghughi*), pigeon (*kabootar*), *karvanak*, *jungle kukkar* (undomesticated cock), heron (*buz*), black cuckoo (*kokla*), partridge (*tittar*) etc.¹⁴ From the description of the author, it appears that a large number of people were non-vegetarians. Apart from the

¹⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 146
ਅਮਲੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਅਮਲ ਮਦ ਅਰੁ ਅਫੀਮ, ਏਹਿ ਸਭ ਅਮਲੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਬੜੇ ਮਸਤ ਅਮਲ ਹੈਂ ॥ 2 ॥

¹¹ -*ibid*- p. 67
ਪੋਸਤ ਪੀਵੈ; ਤਾਂ ਅਢਾਈ ਡੋਡੇ-ਅਫੀਮ ਅਨਨਿਕਲੇ-ਭੋਵ ਕੇ ਪੀਵੈ ॥ 4 ॥ ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਦਾਰੂ ਪੀਵੈਗਾ, ਕੁੰਭੀ ਨਰਕਿ ਪਵੇਗਾ।
ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਇਲਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਪੀਵੈਗਾ; ਤਾਂ ਇਸਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਨ ਹੱਥ ਆਵੈਗੀ ॥ 5 ॥
ਅੱਮਲੁ ਖਾਣਾ ਮਨਾਂ ਹੈ; ਸੁ ਇਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਹੈ: ਜੁ ਦੇਹ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਸਤੀ ਲਿਆਵਦਾ ਹੈ।

¹² -*ibid*- p. 71
ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਘੋੜਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਇ, ਤਾਂ ਘੋੜੇ ਉਪਰ ਚੜੈ। ਹੋਰ ਜੇ ਸਵਾਰੀ ਮਉਜੁਦ ਹੋਵੈ; ਉਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਚੜੈ ॥ 6 ॥

¹³ -*ibid*- p. 65
ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਬੈਰਾਹ ਅਰੁ ਗੈਂਡਾ ਹਰਨ ਚਿਕਾਰ ਪਾੜਾ, ਚੀਤਲ,
ਬਾਰਹਸਿੰਗਾ, ਝੰਖਾੜ; ਬੱਕਰਾ, ਛੱਤਰਾ ਖਰਗੋਜ ॥ 14 ॥

¹⁴ *loc. cit.*
ਅਬ ਪ੍ਰਿੰਦ ਜਾਨਵਰ ਕਾ ਮਾਸ ਕਉਨ ਕਉਨ ਖਾਣਾ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ? ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੇ ਕੁਲੰਗ, ਫੇਰਿ ਕਾਜ, ਮੱਘ,
ਮੁਰਗਾਈ, ਬਟੇਰਾ, ਲਵਾ, ਟਰਾ-ਚਿੜਾ ਘੁੰਘੀ, ਕਬੂਤਰ, ਕਰਵਾਨਕ, ਜੰਗਲੀ ਕੁਕੜ, ਬੁਜ ਕੋਕਲਾ ਤਿੱਤਰ ॥ 15 ॥

meat, the fish was also the part of diet. Therefore, the author refers to the varieties of fish: *rohu* (a kind of fish), *singhara saula* (water chestnut), *khagga* (perfoliata), *jhinga* (shrimp), *jajhalia* and *papal vahlia*.¹⁵

The author puts up his views regarding the different types of occupations being practised by the people as means of subsistence. He visualizes that no profession of any kind should be considered as deplorable and one should not feel shy of.¹⁶ Every body should do his business more honestly and diligently.

The author of *Prem Sumarag* clarifies that a merchant should pay a levy of 12 annas per 20 rupees once at the place of purchase and that should be entered in the daily register. Two *annas* should be charged per item worth twelve *annas*. Where he sells items, nothing should be charged from him. Even there should be no toll tax (*rahdari*).¹⁷

The author writes about the means of transportation meant for women. She should ride on the back of the camel, in its absence on mule (*khachchar*). If mule is not available, she should ride on good-natured horse otherwise she should ride in *chandol* (sedan chair), a *palki* (palanquin), a *doli* (litter), a *bahil* (a covered cart driven by two oxen) or a *rath* (carriage). However, travelling on the camel is the best means of travelling while on elephant (*hathi*) the best of all.¹⁸

The author mentions about moneylenders and persons who are involved in indebtedness. One should avoid being under debt. The moneylender (*sahukar*) should provide money to the borrowers as loan. He should not refuse. If he has no money for

¹⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 65

ਅਬ ਮੱਛੀ ਕਉਨ ਕਉਨ ਖਾਵੀ ਕਹੀ ਹੈ?

ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਰੋਹੂ, ਫੇਰਿ ਸਿੰਘਾੜਾ ਸਾਉਲਾ, ਖੱਗਾ, ਝੀਂਗਾ, ਜਝਲੀਆ, ਪਲਪਲ ਵਹਿਲੀਆ॥ 16॥

ਮੱਛੀ ਨਾਲਿ ਪਿਆਰ ਥੋੜਾ ਕਰੇ ਖਾਣ ਦਾ; ਕਦੇ ਕਦੇ ਖਾਏ॥ 17॥

¹⁶ -*ibid*- p. 111

ਅਰੁ ਕੋਈ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਉ ਕਸਬ ਕਰਨੇ ਤੇ ਐਬ ਨ ਰੱਖੈ, ਕਸਬ ਕਰਨਾ-

ਕਿਆ ਉਤਮ, ਕਿਆ ਮੱਧਮ, ਕਿਆ ਨੀਚ-ਬਡੀ ਭਗਤਿ ਹੈ।

ਇਸ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅਉਰ ਭਗਤਿ ਨਾਹੀ; ਜੋ ਕਸਬ ਕਰਕੈ ਬੰਦਗੀ ਕਰੈ॥ 7॥

¹⁷ -*ibid*- p. 109

ਜਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਬੈਪਾਰੀ ਮਾਲ ਖਰੀਦ ਕਰੈ, ਉਸ ਜਗਹਿ ਸਰੇ ਬੀਸ ਰੁਪਈਯੇ ਖਰੀਦ ਪਰ, ਬਾਰਹ ਆਨੇ ਲੇਵੈ,

ਦਾਖਲ ਰੋਜਾਨਾਮੇ ਕਰੈ। ਅਰੁ ਦੁਇਆਨੀ ਖਰਚ ਬਾਰਹ ਆਨਿਆਂ ਪਰ ਲੇਵੈ, ਜੋ ਨ ਲੇਵੈ, ਸੋ ਸਜਾਇ ਪਾਵੈ॥ 3॥

ਰਾਹ ਮੈ ਕੋਈ ਰਾਹਦਾਰੀ ਨ ਲੇਵੈ। ਜਹਾਂ ਬੋਚੈ, ਤਹਾਂ ਕੋਈ ਕਉਡੀ ਦਮੜੀ ਨ ਲੇਵੈ। ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੈ॥ 4॥

¹⁸ -*ibid*- p. 123

ਅਬ ਸਵਾਰੀ ਜੋ ਇਸੜੀ ਕੇ ਜਾਮੇ ਕੋ ਕਹੀ ਹੈ:- ਇਸੜੀ ਕੋ ਉੱਟ ਕੀ ਸਵਾਰੀ ਕਰਾਵੇ ਕੀ।

ਦੂਸਰੈ ਖੱਚਰ ਕੋ ਕਰਾਵੈ ਕੀ। ਪਰ ਜੋ ਖੱਚਰ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਉ ਘੋੜੇ ਅਸੀਲ ਪਰ ਕਚਾਵਾ ਡਾਲ ਕੈ ਕਰੈ।

ਨਹੀਂ ਤੋ ਚੰਡੋਲ, ਪਾਲਕੀ, ਡੋਲੀ, ਬਹਿਲ, ਰਥ। ਕੀ ਸਵਾਰੀ ਕਰਾਵੈ।

ਪਰ ਉਤਮ ਜੁ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਉੱਟ ਹੈ,

ਹਾਥੀ ਹੈ, ਇਸ ਤੇ (ਉਤਰ ਕੇ) ਖਚਰ, ਘੋੜਾ ਅਰੁ ਚੰਡੋਲ, ਪਾਲਕੀ।

ਹਾਥੀ ਰਾਜਸੀ ਸਵਾਰੀ ਹੈ॥ 2॥

the purpose then he should manage it from his resources somehow. It is considered to be an act of kindness.¹⁹

The author suggests to the moneylender if the borrower approaches him for a loan for settlement or food or clothing, he should not charge any interest also should not refuse loan as well. The moneylender should not compel the borrower for returning the loan so long as he is not in a position to return the same. Providing interest free money is considered to be the most pious act on the part of money-lenders.²⁰

The author in *Prem Sumarag* talks about charging of interest in certain conditions. According to the author, it is permissible to charge interest if loan money is given for business purposes and construction of house, and moneylender can ask the borrower to pay loan back.²¹ It is obligatory for the borrower to pay back the loan in all circumstances. During this period, he should not indulge in luxurious life. He should not play tricks while he gets the loan and be dishonest in paying the due interest. The borrower should pay back the loan to the lender on his own. The author is of the view that a loan should be shunned as maximum as possible. The loanee should expand his business by dint of his hard work rather than depending on arranging extra money on interest for it.²² It seems that providing loan and charging interest on it was an established practice at times of the author. In *Prem Sumarag*, the author discusses the various rates of interest to be charged while lending money to the borrower. On loan for running business, interest rate should be nine *annas* for 100

¹⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 136
ਅਬ ਜੋ ਕਿਸੀ ਤੇ ਰਿਣ ਲੇਵੈ, ਤਿਸ ਦੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ:- ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਤੋ ਰਿਣ ਨਾ ਲੇਵੈ; ਜਬ ਲਗ ਬਸਾਇ।
ਰਿਣ ਬਡੀ ਹੱਤਿਆ ਹੈ॥1॥ ਅਰੁ ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਮੰਗੇ, ਉਸ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ; ਜੋ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਉਸੀ ਸਾਇਤ ਦੇਦੇ।
ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਾਸ ਨਾਹੀ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ; ਤੋ ਗਹਿਣਾ ਧਰਿ ਦੇਇ, ਕਰਜ ਲੈ ਦੇਇ; ਫੇਰੁ ਨ ਕਰੈ।
ਇਸ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅਉਰ ਪਰ ਉਪਕਾਰ ਨਾਹੀ। ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਸਮੇ ਜਾਨੈ ਜੋ ਧੰਨ ਭਾਗ ਹੈ;
ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਮੁਝ ਪੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਅਰਥ ਕਾ ਅਰਥੀ ਕਾ ਕਾਰਜ ਬਣ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ॥2॥

²⁰ *loc. cit.*

²¹ *loc. cit.*

ਅਬ ਜੋ ਬਿਆਜ ਲੈਨਾ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ; ਸੋ ਕਿਸ ਕਰਜ ਤੇ?
ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨੇ ਬੇਪਾਰ ਨੂ, ਅਕੇ ਘਰ ਬਾਰ ਬਣਾਵਨੇ ਨੂ ਲੇਵੈ;
ਉਨ੍ਹਾ ਪੇਸਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਬਿਆਜ ਲੈਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ। ਅਰੁ ਆਪਸ ਤੋ ਮੰਗਣੇ ਆਏ ਹੈ॥4॥

²² Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 136-137
ਅਬ ਜੋ ਕਰਜ ਲੇਵੈ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ, ਜੋ ਬਿਨਾ ਮੰਗੇ ਪੈਸੇ ਕਰਜ ਦੇ ਦੇਇ।
ਜਬ ਲਗ ਨ ਦੇਇ, ਤਬ ਲਗ ਸੁਆਦ ਅਰੁ ਖੁਸਬੋਈ ਅੰਗੀਕਾਰ ਨ ਕਰੈ।
ਜਿਸ ਕਰਜ ਦਾ ਬਿਆਜ ਲੈਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ,
ਉਸ ਕਰਜ ਲੈਨੇ ਮੈਂ ਅਰੁ ਬਯਾਜ ਦੇਨੇ ਮੈਂ ਕਿਛੁ ਸੱਕ ਨ ਕਰੈ।
ਕਯੋਂ ਜੋ ਅਸਲ ਪੈਸੇ ਅਰੁ ਬਯਾਜ ਹਮੇਸੈ ਲੇਤਾ ਦੇਤਾ ਹੈ; ਇਸਕਾ ਐਬ ਨਾਹੀ।
ਜਬ ਲਗ ਬਸਾਇ, ਤਬ ਲਗ ਕਰਜ ਨ ਲਏ। ਅਪਨਾ ਥੋੜੇ ਹੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਬਯੋਹਾਰ ਕਰੈ ਕਿਰਤਿ ਦਾ;
ਕਾਰਜ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਲੈਨ ਨ ਦੇਇ ਬਿਰਦ ਆਪਨੇ ਨੂੰ॥5॥10॥

rupees per annum. If it is for the purchase of land or a house, it should be one rupee for 100 rupees per annum, for purchase of animal, it should be 12 *annas* for 100 rupees and for purchasing slave, it should be eight *annas*.

Socially, it was considered a taboo, however, there was a general understanding that not to charge the interest in excess at all. The author reminds the readers that it was common social belief among the people that if anyone in temptetation did so and subsequently found charging more interest than the fixed rate, he would be punished ultimately in the Court of Almighty Being (*Akal Purakh*).²³ It appears that *Prem Sumarag* was written after annexation of Punjab.

The author in *Prem Sumarag* also favors to join the employment (*chaakri*) of soldiering (*sipahgiri*) under some peculiar circumstances. He is of the view that if a man does want to have employment then he should get the service of a dedicated soldier. He should never indulge in looting during warfare. He should be contented with his monthly salary and should serve his master obediently and fearlessly.²⁴ The author reminds the Sikhs of their history in comparison of the present and affairs of the sovereign Sikh state. After the execution of Banda Bahadur in 1716 AD, the Mughal government bent upon destroying the Sikhs. Under such conditions, the Sikhs organized themselves on 29 March 1748 A.D. and made the best use of their strategy of warfare and established their independent rule on different territories, known as *Misls*. Loot and plunder was an important source of income of every *Misl*. Every *Misaldar* set aside a portion of booty for himself and remaining was divided among his soldiers. However, the author of *Prem Sumarag* is against the source of income of loot and plunder. Therefore, it was the time of *Maharaja* Ranjit Singh, who was not only a brave soldier but also a great organizer. He brought many reforms in his army

²³ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 144
 ਅਬ ਬਯਾਜ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ ਬੀਚਾਰ-ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਬਯੋਹਾਰ ਬੈਪਾਰ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਰਿਣ ਲਏ,
 ਸਉ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਦੀ ਦਰ ਪਿਛੇ ਨੌ ਆਨੇ ਦਏ ॥ 1 ॥
 ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਜ਼ਿਮੀਂ ਦੀ, ਤਥਾ ਅਮਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬਾਇ ਖਰੀਦ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਲਏਗਾ; ਉਸ ਤੇ ਰੁਪਯਾ ॥ 2 ॥
 ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਜਾਨਵਰ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਲਏਗਾ, ਉਸ ਉਪਰ ਬਾਰਾਂ ਆਨੇ ਲਏ ॥ 3 ॥
 ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਦਾਸ ਦਾਸੀ ਦੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਰਿਨ ਲਏ, ਉਸ ਉਪਰ ਆਠ ਆਨੇ ਲਏ ॥ 4 ॥

²⁴ -*ibid*- p. 73
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਚਾਕਰੀ ਕਰੈ, ਤਉ ਸਿਪਾਂਹਗਰੀ ਕਰੈ। ਕੈਸੀ ਕਰੈ? ਜੋ ਬੇਪ੍ਰਵਾਹ ਰਹੈ।
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸ ਉਪਰਿ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਕਰੈ ॥ 8 ॥
 ਅਰੁ ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਚਾਕਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਕਹੀਂ ਭੇਜੈ ਲੜਾਈ ਨੂ;
 ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਸਮੈ ਆਪਣੀ ਮੁਰਾਦ ਨੂੰ ਬੁੱਝੋ, ਜਾਨੈ। ਸੂਰਬੀਰ ਹੋਇ ਰਹੈ ॥ 9 ॥
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਲੜਾਈ ਹੋਇ; ਤਾਂ ਲੁਟੈ ਨਾਹੀ। ਕਿਸੀ ਦੇ ਮਾਲ ਦੀ ਵਲਿ ਨਦਰਿ ਨ ਕਰੈ ॥ 10 ॥
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਕਾਰ ਫੁਰਮਾਵੈ, ਸੇ ਸਿਰ ਮਾਥੇ ਉਪਰ ਮਾਨੈ ॥ 11 ॥ 6 ॥

as discipline, organization and equipment of warfare as well as he fixed the regular monthly salary of every soldier.

According to author, a Sikh/*khalsa* should work for a *pahar* (three hours), but if he works under his master, he should return back to his home after finishing work.²⁵ The *Maharaja*²⁶ should order to his subjects that they should never name or judge a person's caste by his occupation and they should never make mockery of his profession.²⁷ The author recommends a Sikh should set aside a portion of his salary for his *Guru* that may be fortieth part, a twentieth part or a tenth part as he deem fit. Thereafter, he should allocate money for his parents and *parshad*, thereafter for his personal clothing, food, and toiletry. Remaining money should be kept safe for meeting the urgencies in future.²⁸

The division of the assets of the deceased person is another subject that has been dealt with by the author of *Prem Sumarag*. Regarding it, he writes that if any person serving under the *Maharaja* or wealthy person dies without bequathing his property amongst his heirs or dies heirless, his property should first be confiscated and deposited in the royal treasury. Thereafter dues (*mutalba*) of the state should be deducted then the balance of assets should be handed over to his heirs. In a case, the deceased is a debtor then debt amount should be paid to the creditor and the remainder amount should be delivered to his heirs.²⁹

The author further clarifies that if the deceased person has no heir, then recover state's share from his property first, thereafter pay back his outstanding debt,

²⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 77

ਜੋ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਅਪਣੇ ਇਖਤਿਆਰ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਤਾਂ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਏਕ ਪਹਰ ਕਰੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਪਰਾਏ ਵਸ ਦਾ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਹੋਵੇ, ਤਾਂ ਜਬ ਫਾਰਗ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਬ ਆਵੈ ॥ 12 ॥

²⁶ Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the son Maha Singh of Shukarchakia Misl was born in November 1780 A.D. He led his Misl after the death of his father and showed his political acumen by occupying of Lahore in July 1799 A.D. and Amritsar in April 1801 A.D. He convened a grand *Darbar* at Lahore and assumed the title of *Maharaja* or *Raja* of *Rajas*. Then, he issued coins to mark his individual sovereignty. See Indu Banga (ed.), '*Formation of the Sikh State*', *Five Punjabi Centuries, Polity, Economy, Society and Culture, C. 1500-1900*, p. 107

²⁷ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 111

ਅਰੁ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਤਾਕੀਦ ਕਰੈ: ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਕਸਬ ਕਰਨੇ ਕੀ ਜਾਤਿ ਨਾਮ ਨ ਲੇਵੈ,

ਕੋਈ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਉ। ਨਾ ਕੋਈ ਕਿਸੀ ਕੇ ਕਸਬ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਕਰਿ ਹੱਸੈ ॥ 8 ॥

²⁸ -*ibid*- p. 73

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਕਮਾਈ ਕਰੈ; ਉਸ ਕੇ ਹਿੱਸੈ ਕਰੈ:-

(ੳ) ਪ੍ਰਿਥਮੈ ਤੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ: ਚਾਲੀਸਵਾਂ, ਬੀਸਵਾਂ, ਦਸਵਾਂ, ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਹਿੱਸਤ ਦੇਇ।

(ਅ) ਫਿਰਿ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ; ਜਿਉਂ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ।

(ੲ) ਫੇਰਿ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ; ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦੁ ਕੇ।

(ੳ) ਫੇਰਿ ਅਪੁਨੀ ਪੁਸ਼ਾਕ, ਖੁਰਾਕ, ਖੁਸਬੋਈ ਕਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ।

(ਹ) ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਬਾਕੀ ਰਹੇ, ਸੇ, ਨੇਕ ਬਦ ਦਿਨ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਰੱਖੈ ॥ 7 ॥

²⁹ -*ibid*- p. 113

only then his remaining property should be deposited in royal treasury under head charity (*bakshdaan*) so that it would be used for the welfare of needy persons.³⁰

If someone dies without having his own progeny even daughter's son (*dohtra*) then his property should be used first to clear his outstanding amount of debt. If cash is not available then his goods or land property should be sold off for the purpose. Thereafter, the whole of remaining assets of the deceased should be credited with the royal treasury so as to spend it on charitable purposes (*arathdaan*).³¹ Fortunately, the deceased person has daughter's son (*dohtra*), in that event, the daughter's son will be the owner of deceased property. However, he will be responsible to pay back the outstanding loan that stands in name of the deceased person.³²

If the deceased person left only a surviving married daughter, then his whole property would go to his daughter. In case, the deceased person would have transferred any portion of his property in the name of his daughter's husband during his own lifetime, then her husband will be entitled to retain that very property in spite of the fact that his wife and in-laws have died.³³

In other circumstances, if deceased person has only a daughter, she is liable to inherit everything of her father's property. According to the author, everything that is given to daughter's son equally belongs to daughter's daughter.³⁴

³⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 113

ਅਬ ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਵਾਰਸ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ; ਤਿਸ ਕੇ ਮਾਲ ਮਤਾਇੰ ਕੀ ਜੁਗਤਿ:-

ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤਉ ਜੋ 'ਰਾਜ-ਅੰਸ' ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਲੈਵੈ।

ਫੇਰ ਕਰਜਦਾਰੋਂ (ਲਹਿਣੇਦਾਰਾਂ) ਕੇ ਦਿਲਾਵੈ। ਬਾਕੀ ਜੋ ਰਹੈ, ਬਖਸ-ਦਾਨ ਦੇ ਖਜਾਨੇ ਮੈ ਦਾਖਲ ਕਰੈ।

ਜੋ ਅੰਤਕਾਲ ਉਸ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਕਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਇ; ਜੋ ਕਿਸੇ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ ਆਵੈ॥4॥16॥

³¹ -*ibid*- pp. 125-126

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਚਲੈ-ਦੇਹ ਛੋਡੈ-ਅਰੁ ਐਲਾਦ ਨ ਹੋਇ,

ਦੋਹੜੇ ਨ ਹੋਵਹਿੰ, ਤਿਸ ਕੇ ਮਾਲ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ:- ਜੋ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਰਿਣੁ ਦੇਣਾ ਹੈ,

ਉਸ ਮਾਲ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਰਿਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੇ ਫਾਰਗ ਕਰੈ; ਭਾਵੈਂ ਨਕਦ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਜਿਨਸ ਹੋਵੈ, ਮਿਲਕ ਹੋਵੈ।

ਜੋ ਨਕਦ ਨ ਹੋਇ; ਤਾਂ ਜਿਨਸ, ਮਿਲਕ ਵੈਚਕੈ ਦੇਇ।

ਬਾਕੀ ਜੋ ਹੋਵੈ, ਸੋ ਰਾਜਾ ਲਏ। ਲੈ ਕੇ ਖਜਾਨੇ ਅਰਥ-ਦਾਨ ਕੇ ਮੈ ਦਾਖਲ ਕਰੈ॥1॥

³² -*ibid*- p. 126

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਦੋਹੜਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਰਿਣ ਦੇਨੇ ਤੇ ਬਾਕੀ ਰਹੈ, ਸੁ ਉਸ ਕਉ ਪਹੁੰਚਤਾ ਹੈ॥2॥

³³ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਬੇਟੀ ਹੀ ਹੋਵੈ; ਤਾਂ ਉਸਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ॥3॥ ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਜਵਾਈ ਹੋਇ; ਅਰੁ ਬੇਟੀ ਮੁਈ ਹੋਇ;

ਅਰੁ ਅਪਨੇ ਜੀਵਤੇ ਸਹੁਰਾ ਯਾ ਸਾਸ ਕਿਛੁ ਜਿਮੀ ਯਾ ਪੈਸੇ ਦੇਇ;

ਅਰੁ ਫੇਰ ਉਹ ਮਰ ਜਾਹਿੰ ਦੋਨੋ, ਨਾਲੇ ਬੇਟੀ ਮਰ ਜਾਇ;

ਤਉ ਵਹੁ ਮਾਲ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਲੇਇ, ਉਸ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚਤਾ ਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਜੀਵਤੇ ਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਹੋਇ, ਅਰੁ ਬੇਟੀ ਭੀ ਮਰ ਗਈ ਹੋਇ,

ਤਬ ਉਸ ਜਵਾਈ ਕੋ ਕੁਛ ਨ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥4॥

³⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 126

ਔਰ ਔਲਾਦ ਕਿਛੁ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਏਕ ਬੇਟੀ ਹੀ ਹੋਇ;

ਅਰੁ ਜੀਵਤੀ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ; ਸਭ ਕਿਛੁ। ਮਾਲ ਕੀ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਹੈ॥5॥

ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਦੋਹੜੇ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚਤਾ ਹੈ, ਦੋਤਹੜੀ ਕੋ ਭੀ ਪਹੁੰਚਤਾ ਹੈ॥6॥

If the deceased person has no living brother nor even his brother has male descendents, then his property should be inherited to son and daughter of brother's daughter.³⁵

If the property goes to his brother, then his sister is also entitled to get her share. Even his sister's sons and daughters are also entitled to get one-third share of the property. In other situation, if younger brother or elder brother (*chacha* or *tayya*) having a son but they are no more in this world, the inherited property will go to brother's sons and daughters.³⁶

The author professes that the king cannot confiscate the property while deceased person's heirs are alive. If there is any debt on the part of deceased, it should be paid back first. Thereafter, inheritors are entitled to get their share. It is a common belief among the people that if some one dies as debtor would be punished in the Court of Almighty. Only debt free person will get salvation and can be exonerated from his sins after his death.³⁷

Further the author describes that if any direct descendents (*puttar*, *potra*, *natta*) of the person, up to fourth generation happen to survive, they are entitled to inherit the property of the deceased, In case, these descendents are not alive then the property should pass to the fourth generation of female descendents like *beti*, *potri*, *natti*. In other case, if female generation of fourth generation is not existed then it will belong to the brother, brother's son and grandson. He comments that there should be no discrimination among female descendents. If there are no such relatives; it passes to his uncles (*chacha* and *tayya*) and their descendents.³⁸ The author reminds that it is better for a person to divide his property amongst daughters, daughter's sons,

³⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 127

ਜਬ ਭਾਈ ਅਰੁ ਭਾਈ ਕੀ ਔਲਾਦ ਨ ਹੋਇ। ਤਬ ਭਾਈ ਕੇ ਦੋਹੜੇ ਦੋਹੜੀ ਕੇ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 8॥

³⁶ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜਯੋਂ ਭਾਈ ਕੇ ਪਹੁੰਚਤਾ ਹੈ, ਤਯੋਂ ਬਹਨ ਕੇ ਭੀ ਪਹੁੰਚਤਾ ਹੈ। ਭਾਨਜੇ ਭਾਨਜੀ ਕੇ ਭੀ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ; ਭਾਈ ਤੇ ਤੀਸਰਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ। ਸੋਈ ਭਾਨਜੇ ਭਾਨਜੀ ਕੇ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ। ਅਰੁ ਚਾਚਾ ਯਾ ਤਾਯਾ ਯਾ ਚਾਚੇ ਕਾ ਬੇਟਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਅਉਰ ਮਰ ਗਯਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਉਨ ਕੇ ਕੋਈ ਆਲ-ਔਲਾਦ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਭਤੀਜੇ ਭਤੀਜੀ, ਅਰੁ ਚਾਚਰੇ (ਚਚੇਰੇ) ਤਾਇਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਕੇ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 10॥

³⁷ *loc. cit.*

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਇਨ ਵਾਰਸੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਬ ਲਗ ਰਾਜਾ ਨ ਲੇਵੈ।

ਪਰ ਰਿਣਦਾਰ ਕੇ ਦਿਲਵਾਇ ਕੈ, ਇਨ ਵਾਰਸੋਂ ਕੋ ਦਿਲਾਵੈ। ਕਿਸ ਵਾਸਤੇ?

ਜੇ ਅੰਤਕਾਲਿ ਰਿਣ ਹੱਤਿਆ ਹੈ, (ਉਸ ਤੇ) ਉਸ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਕੀ ਖਲਾਂਸੀ ਹੋਤੀ ਹੈ॥ 11॥ 3॥

³⁸ *loc. cit.*

ਅਬ ਇਨ ਵਾਰਸੋਂ ਕਉ ਕਿਯੋਂ ਕਰਿ ਕਯੋਂ ਕਰਿ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ; ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਔਲਾਦ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ?

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਪੋਤ੍ਰਾ ਨੱਤਾ ਹੋਇ, ਤਬ ਲਗ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਉ ਕਿਛੁ ਨ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 1॥

ਇਨ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਦ ਬੇਟੀ ਪੋਤ੍ਰੀ ਨੱਤੀ ਕੇ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 2॥

ਜਬ ਇਨ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਭੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤਬ ਭਾਈ ਅਰੁ ਭਾਈ ਕੇ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਪੋਤ੍ਰੇ ਕਉ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ।

ਕਿਆ ਬੇਟੀ, ਕਿਆ ਪੋਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ। ਬਹਿਨ ਕਉ ਭੀ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 3॥

ਜੇ ਇਨ ਮੈਂ ਸਿਉਂ ਭੀ ਨਾ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਚਾਚੇ ਤਾਏ ਕਉ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ, ਉਨ ਕੀ ਔਲਾਦ ਕਉ ਭੀ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 4॥

daughter's daughters, sisters, sister's daughters, sister's sons and brothers while he is alive to avoid any dispute amongst them.³⁹

If the deceased person does not inherit his property to his son and daughter during his life and both, happen to die. In that situation, his property should go to his grandsons and grand daughters in equal shares. In case, none of them is alive then his property should be divided between his brother and sister. If his brother and sister is no more, then their sons, daughters and granddaughters are equally entitled to the property. Unfortunately, none is alive; the property should be divided amongst daughter's offspring.⁴⁰

The author writes if there are four brothers and one has died but having his offspring, the descendents of the deceased brother are liable to get equal share in the property. On the other hand, if the deceased brother has no descendent whether male or female then the property goes to the descendents of his brothers.⁴¹

He too writes about division of property among the offspring of first or second wife. He throws a good deal of light on the matter, If a father has property whether in form of goods or land and dies after leaving behind his four daughters of first or second wife, he explains the procedure of division of the property in such type of cases. One-fourth share of the property will go equally to the first and second wives provided they are live. When only one wife is alive then the whole one-fourth share of the property should go directly to her while ¼ of the rest of the share should go to her daughters in equal portion. If any daughter passes away then her children are

³⁹ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 128

ਅਬ ਹਿੱਸਿਆਂ ਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ ਹੈ:- ਜੋ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਜੀਵਤੋ ਮਾਲ ਅਪਨਾ ਵੰਡੇ _____
ਇਸ ਤੇ ਅਉਰ ਭਲਾ ਨਾਹੀ। ਚਾਹੀਤਾ ਯੋਂ ਹੀ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਆਪਣੇ ਜੀਵਤੋ ਵੰਡੇ ॥ 5 ॥

⁴⁰ loc. cit.

ਅਬ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਕੋਈ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਕਾ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਯਾ ਬੇਟੀ ਅਪਨਾ ਅੰਸ ਨ ਹੋਇ,
ਅਰੁ ਵਹਿ ਦੇਵ-ਲੋਕ ਕੇ ਗਇਆ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਦੇਹੜੇ ਹੈਂ। ਚਾਰ ਹੈਂ, ਯਾਂ ਪੰਜ ਹੈਂ, ਯਾ ਦੁਇ ਹੈਂ।
ਨਾਲੇ ਦੇਹੜੀਆਂ ਹੈ। ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹਿ। ਤਬ ਉਸ ਅੰਸ ਮੈ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅੰਸ ਕਰੈ, ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਵੰਡ ਲੇਵੈ ॥ 6 ॥
ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਇਨ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਅਰੁ ਇਨ ਕੀ ਔਲਾਦ ਹੋਇ, ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਉਇ ਵੰਡ ਲੇਵੈ ॥ 7 ॥
ਇਨ ਸਿਉਂ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਭਾਈ ਅਰੁ ਬਹਿਨ ਹੈ, ਤਬ ਭਾਈ ਅਰੁ ਬਹਿਨ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ
ਅੰਸ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਬਾਂਟ ਲੇਵੈ ॥ 8 ॥ ਅਰੁ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਏ ਭੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਇਨ ਕੇ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਬੇਟੀਆਂ ਪੋੜੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਹਿ;
ਵਹਿ ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਅੰਸ ਕਰ ਲੇਵਹਿ ॥ 9 ॥ ਜੋ ਇਨ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਭੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ;
ਤਬ ਦੇਹੜੇ ਦੇਹੜੀਆ ਭੀ ਯੋਂ ਹੀ ਕਰ ਲੇਵੈ ॥ 10 ॥

⁴¹ loc. cit.

ਅਰੁ ਚਾਰ ਭਾਈ ਹੈਂ, ਉਨ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਏਕ ਮੁਆ; ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਉਸ ਭਾਈ ਕੀ ਔਲਾਦ ਹੈ,
ਤਉ ਉਨ ਅਉਰ ਭਾਈਓਂ ਕੇ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅੰਸ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ ॥ 11 ॥
ਅਰੁ ਔਲਾਦ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤੇ ਔਲਾਦ ਉਨ ਕੀ ਕਉ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ ਬਰਾਬਰ ॥ 12 ॥
ਅਰੁ ਭਾਈ ਕੀ ਅੰਸ ਮੈ ਆਲ ਔਲਾਦ ਮੈ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ, ਤਬ ਉਨ ਕੇ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ ॥ 13 ॥

entitled to get her share of property and rest of the property should be divided in equal shares among their brothers.⁴²

The author further informs that if mother and stepmother both have died, then a fourth part of the property will go to their daughters and remainder will be distributed among their brothers. In case, there is no daughter, then all the property will go to the sons. In the case, one of the brothers has also died, and then his children are the shareholders of his property.⁴³

The author resolves the matter of dispute if any arises between the father and his son. If such situation has, actually come and they are inimical to each other and even not on speaking terms. In the meanwhile, the father passes away then the estranged son cannot assert his claim over his father's property. However, his other sons will be legitimate claimants to their father's property.⁴⁴ In case, the estranged son has expressed regret for his misbehavior and his father has not forgiven him for his misdeeds before his death, in that situation, the estranged son is entitled to receive his share in his deceased father's property.⁴⁵ In another case, if the estranged son has left his father and settled somewhere else and received the news that his father is going to die. Soon after, he writes a letter of deep apology to his father then he is

⁴² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', pp. 128-129

ਬਾਪ ਕਾ ਮਾਲ-ਮਤਾਇ ਮਿਲਕ ਹੈ। ਉਹ ਮੁਆ; ਉਸ ਕੇ ਚਾਰ ਬੇਟੀਆ ਹੈਂ-

ਕਿਆ ਮਾਤੁ ਕਿਆ ਬਿਮਾਤੁ ਤੇ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਉਨ ਕੇ ਅੰਸ ਕੇ ਬਾਂਟ ਕੀ ਯਹਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਹੈ।

ਅਰੁ ਮਾਤੁ ਬਿਮਾਤੁ ਜੀਵਤੀ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਤਉ ਇਸ ਬਿਧਿ ਵੰਡੇ:-

ਜੇ ਜਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਚੌਥਾ ਅੰਸ ਉਸ ਮਾਲ ਮਤਾਇ ਮਿਲਕ ਸਿਉਂ ਉਨ ਮਾਤੁ ਬਿਮਾਤੁ ਕਉ ਦੇਇ।

ਉਇ ਦੋਨੋ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ, ਵਹਿ ਚੌਥਾ ਅੰਸ ਅਧੇ ਅੱਧ ਵੰਡ ਲਏ॥ 14॥ ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਦੋਨੋ ਮਹਿ,

ਇਕੇ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੀ ਜੀਵਤੀ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਵਹਿ ਚੌਥਾ ਹਿਸਾ ਸਾਰਾ ਉਸੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਏਕ ਕਉ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 15॥

ਬਾਕੀ ਜੇ ਇਸ ਚੌਥੇ ਅੰਸ ਸੋ ਰਹੇ, ਉਨ ਕੇ ਅੰਸ ਯੋਂ ਕਰੈ;

ਉਸ ਬਾਕੀ ਕੇ ਮਾਲ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਚੌਥਾ ਅੰਸ ਬੇਟੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਦੇਇ, ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਵੰਡ ਲੈਨ॥ 16॥

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਉਨ ਬੇਟੀਓਂ ਮੈ ਸਿਯੋਂ ਮੁਈ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਉ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਆਲ-ਔਲਾਦ ਕਉ ਦੇਇ॥ 17॥

ਬਾਕੀ ਜੇ ਅੰਸ ਮਾਲ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਰਹੈ, ਸੋ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਭਾਈ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਵੰਡ ਲੈਨ॥ 18॥

⁴³ -*ibid*- p. 129

ਅਰੁ ਮਾਤਾ ਬਿਮਾਤਾ ਕੋਈ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤਬ ਸਾਰੇ ਮਾਲ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਚੌਥਾ ਅੰਸ ਬੇਟੀਓਂ ਕਾ ਦੇ ਕੈ,

ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਭਾਈ ਬਾਂਟ ਲੈਨ॥ 19॥ ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਬੇਟੀਆਂ ਭੀ ਨ ਹੋਵਹਿ, ਸੋ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਵੰਡ ਲੇਵਹਿ॥ 20॥

ਅਰੁ ਭਾਈ ਕੋਈ ਦੇਵ-ਲੋਕ ਕੋ ਹੁਆ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਅੰਸ ਉਸ ਕੀ ਆਲ-ਔਲਾਦ ਕਉ-

ਜਿਸ ਤਰਹ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ-ਵੰਡ ਦੇਇ॥ 21॥

⁴⁴ -*ibid*- p. 129-130

⁴⁵ -*ibid*- p. 130

ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਉਸ ਮੈ ਆਇ ਬਖਸਾਇ, ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਮੈ ਪਿਤਾ ਉਸ ਕ੍ਰੋਧ ਕਉ ਯਾਦ ਰਖਕੈ ਨ ਬਖਸੇ,

ਅਰੁ ਦੇਹ ਛੱਟ ਜਾਇ; ਤਬ ਉਸ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਕਉ ਵਹਿ ਗੁਨਾਹ ਨਾਹੀ;

ਵਹਿ ਭੀ ਮਾਲ ਕਾ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਹੈ, ਅੰਸ ਪਹੁੰਚਤਾ ਹੈ।

ਕਯੋਜੋ ਉਸ ਮੈ ਆਪਣਾ ਹਿੰਦਾ ਨਿਵਾਇਕੈ ਆਇ ਪੈਰੀ ਪਇਆ ਅਰੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਨੇ ਨ ਬਖਸਿਆ,

ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਗੁਨਾਹ ਇਸ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਕਉ ਥਾ, ਸੋ ਉਸ ਕਉ ਹੁਆ।

ਯਹਿ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਉਸ ਗੁਨਾਹ ਤੇ ਹੁਆ; ਮਾਲ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੇ ਕਾ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਹੁਆ॥ 23॥

entitled to inherit his father's property whether his father has pardoned him or not.⁴⁶ In case, the son seeks apology whether in writing or in person and his father does not forgive his son and dies after two or four years and his son is not present at the time of death of his father and his condolence letter was also not received, then the son should be understood to have been forgiven and he becomes the claimant of his father's property and goods.⁴⁷

If a person has neither son nor grandson but only a daughter then she is solely the inheritor of all her father's property. In case, he is not having a daughter but only sister then she is rightful owner of all the property. While sister is not alive, then her offspring is rightful claimant to all the property. Actually and factually, legitimate son and daughter (*aulad*) of a person are considered to be a rightful owner of their father's property.⁴⁸

The author mentions that if an employee of the state (*maharaja*) passes away, it is the first duty of the state to ensure that the loan taken by the employee has actually been paid. Thereafter, any state dues standing in name of employee that should be deducted from his remuneration and the remaining should be given to his heirs. The state should not be temptuous for his property.⁴⁹

The *Prem Sumarag* contains description regarding distribution of the property of a person among the progeny of his second marriage. He informs that if a man has a

⁴⁶ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 130
 ਅਰੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਉ ਪਿਛੇ ਦੇਹ ਛੁਟਨੇ ਕਾ ਸਮਾ ਆਇ ਪਹੁਚਿਆ ਹੋਵੈ,
 ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਕਉ ਖਬਰ ਹੋਵੈ, ਅਰੁ ਵਹਿ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਅੱਰਦਾਸਿ ਲਿਖੈ,
 ਪਿਤਾ ਕਉ ਅਪਨੀ ਅਧੀਨਗੀ ਕੀ, ਬਖਸਨੇ ਕੀ।
 ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਉਸ ਅੱਰਦਾਸਿ ਪਰ ਬਖਸੈ,
 ਤਉ ਭਲਾ; ਅਰੁ ਨ ਬਖਸੇ ਤਉ ਭੀ ਉਸਕਾ ਗੁਨਾਹ ਬਖਸਾ ਜਾਇ॥ 24॥

⁴⁷ *loc. cit.*
 ਅਰੁ ਵਾਇ (?) ਆਵਹਿ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਅਗੇ ਦੇਹ ਛੁਟਨੇ ਦੇ ਜੇ ਬਖਸਾਵੈ ਯਾ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ਲਿਖੈ,
 ਅਰੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਨ ਬਖਸੈ; ਅਰੁ ਦੁੰਹ ਚਾਰ ਵਰ੍ਹਿਆਂ ਪਿਛੇ ਦੇਹ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੀ ਛੁੱਟ ਗਈ,
 ਅਰੁ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇਹ ਛੁਟਨੇ ਕੇ ਪੁੱਤ੍ਰ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਨ ਹੋਇ; ਅਰੁ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ਨ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ,
 ਤਉ ਭੀ ਬਖਸਾ ਜਾਇ, ਮਾਲ ਕਾ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਹੋਇ॥ 25॥

⁴⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 131
 ਜੇ ਏਕ ਬੇਟੀ ਹੋਵੈ। ਔਰੁ ਕੋਈ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਪੋਤ੍ਰਾ ਨ ਹੋਇ; ਸਾਰਾ ਮਾਲ ਉਸਕਾ ਬੇਟੀ ਕਉ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 28॥
 ਅਰੁ ਬੇਟੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਬਹਿਨ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਉ ਮਾਲ ਬਹਿਨ ਕੋ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ॥ 29॥
 ਅਰੁ ਬਹਿਨ ਭੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ, ਤਉ ਉਸ ਬਹਿਨ ਕੀ ਆਲ-ਔਲਾਦ ਕੋਉ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ।
 ਪਹਿਲੈ ਮਾਲ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਔਲਾਦ ਹੈ; ਜੇ ਔਲਾਦ ਨ ਹੋਇ ਤੇ ਪਿੱਛੈ ਬੇਟੀ ਕੀ ਔਲਾਦ ਹੈ॥ 30॥ 4॥

⁴⁹ *loc. cit.*
 ਅਬ ਕੋਈ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕਾ ਚਾਕਰ ਹੋਵੈ; ਅਰੁ ਦੇਵ ਲੋਕ ਕੋ ਗਇਆ ਹੋਵੈ; ਤਿਸ ਕੇ ਮਾਲ ਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ-
 ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਜੇ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਰਿਣ ਦੇਣਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸ ਮਾਲ ਮੈ ਸਯੋਂ ਰਿਣਵਾਲੇ ਕਉ ਦਿਲਾਵੈ॥ 1॥
 ਫੇਰ ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਬਾਕੀ ਰਹੈ-ਜੇ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਕਿਛੁ ਰਾਜ-ਅੰਸ ਇਸ ਪਾਸ ਆਵਤਾ ਹੈ,-
 ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਮਾਲ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਰਾਜ-ਅੰਸ ਲੇਵੈ। ਬਾਕੀ ਮਾਲ ਜੇ ਰਹੈ, ਸੇ ਜਯੋਂ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ,
 ਤਯੋਂ ਉਸਕੇ ਸੰਗੀਓ-ਜਿਨ ਕੋ ਵਾਰਸ ਕਹਿਤੇ ਹੈਂ-ਕਉ ਵੰਡ ਦੇਇ।
 ਇਸ ਤੇ ਉਪਰੰਤ ਅਉਰ ਲਾਲਚ ਰਾਜਾ ਨ ਕਰੈ॥ 2॥ 5॥

second wife with living children, he should consider her equal with first wife in all respect.⁵⁰ The second wife (*par-sanjog*) should receive two portions of everything out of five portions and remaining three portions should belong to the first wife.⁵¹ When the both wives belong to same caste (*varan*) or slaves, equal share should be given to them. Even, the son born from wife belonging to good caste (*varan*) and the son born from the maidservant should get equal share of father's property and the same law also applies to the daughters regardless their caste affiliations.⁵² If the second wife belongs to the other caste or she be a slave girl then one portion of property of the person should be given to her while two portions of the property should be given to the first wife.⁵³

The author argues that no portion of the property should go to the daughters if their mother is still alive but their mother may give them with her consent. If their father and mother both are not alive then they can get the equal portion of property. If any of the daughters is unmarried, then her share in property for her marriage should be kept separately and remaining portion can be divided among the other daughters. According to the author, the same law also applies if her brothers divide the property

⁵⁰ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 133
ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਅਪਨੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪਰ ਔਰ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ; ਅਰੁ ਉਸਕੇ ਔਲਾਦ ਹੋਵੈ।
ਕਿਸੀ ਬਾਤ ਅਨਬਨਤ ਤੇ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ। ਤੋਂ ਉਸ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੋਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ;
ਇਨ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਜੁਦਾ ਜੁਦਾ ਘਰ ਕਰਿ ਕੈ ਰੱਖੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਸਿਵਾਇ, ਜਿਸ ਕੇ ਔਲਾਦ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸ ਕੇ ਔਲਾਦ ਕਾ ਖਰਚ ਜੁਦਾ ਦੇਇ।
ਇਨ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਕੇ, ਇਨ ਕੇ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਕੇ ਲਾਜਮੈ ਕਾ, ਔਰ ਕਿਛੁ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ,
ਸੋ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅੰਸ ਕਰ ਦੇਇ, ਕਿਆ ਖਰਚ, ਕਿਆ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੋਰਿ।

⁵¹ *loc. cit.*
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਕਰੈ;
ਤਬ ਉਸ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਕੇ ਪੰਜਵਾਂ ਅੰਸ;
ਤੇ ਸਭੁ ਬਾਤੋਂ ਮੈ-ਜੋ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ-ਦੋ ਅੰਸ ਦੇਇ।
ਤਿੰਨ ਅੰਸ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉ ਦੇਇ।
ਪਰ ਜੋ ਜਾਨੈ ਕਿ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਅਪਨੇ ਬਰਨ ਕੀ ਹੈ॥ 4॥

⁵² *loc. cit.*
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਪਿਛਲੀ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਬਰਨ ਮੈ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਹੈਂ-ਭਾਵੈਂ ਅਸੀਲ ਹੋਵੈਂ,
ਭਾਵੈਂ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀਆਂ ਹੋਵੈਂ; ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦੋਨੋਂ ਦਾਸੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਹਿੰ-
ਇਸ ਤਰਹਿ ਮੈ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅੰਸ ਕਰੈ॥ 6॥
ਅਸੀਲ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਬੇਟਾ ਹੋਇ; ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਪਰਸੰਜੋਗ ਕੀ ਕਾ ਬੇਟਾ ਹੋਵੈ-
ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦਾਸੀ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ:- ਦੋਨੋਂ ਕੇ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਅੰਸ ਪਿਤਾ ਕਾ ਪਹੁਚੈ।
ਭਾਵੈਂ ਅਸੀਲ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਭਾਵੈਂ ਦਾਸੀ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ; ਇਸੀ ਤਰਹਿ ਬੇਟੀਓਂ ਕੇ ਪਹੁਚੈ॥ 7॥

⁵³ *loc. cit.*
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਆਨ ਬਰਨ ਕੀ ਹੈ, ਯਾ ਦਾਸੀ ਹੈ; ਤਬ ਇਸ ਤਰਹਿ ਕੀ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਏਕ ਅੰਸ ਦੇਇ।
ਅਰੁ ਸੰਜੋਗ ਵਾਲੀ ਕਉ ਜੋ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਹੈ,-ਦੁਇ ਅੰਸ ਦੇਇ॥ 5॥

after the death of their father. If one of the daughters happens to be widow, she should be given double share of the property for her subsistence.⁵⁴

The author also deals the distribution of valuables those were found in kind or cash on the way. If any one finds cash while travelling, firstly, one-fourth portion of it should go to the landholder from where the goods have been recovered and the the rest will remain with the person who has actually discovered.it. In case, the actual owner of the property is identified later on, then the property should be returned to him only after deducting one-eighth part of it.⁵⁵ In other case, if somebody lives in a rented house and he finds something valuable in the ground or in a wall or in other adjoining area then he should ask first the owner of the house whether it belongs to him. If the owner confirms that it of course is his, only after that the valuable should be handed over to him, but after deducting one-eighth value of it. In case, the owner of the house cannot able to satisfy then one-third portion should be handed over to him after deducting two-third portion. If the king (*raja*) demands his share only then one-sixth portion should be given to him. Ethically, it is not accepted and justified act on the part of the king.⁵⁶

In *Prem Sumarag*, the author gives his views regarding entrusted things. If someone entrusts some valuable thing to somebody and that thing is lost or taken away by the thief, the owner of the thing should not demand the same to get back solacing that it is the Will of the God.⁵⁷ If someone consigns his valuables to his trusted friend but he utilizes the same for pursuing his own profession and the owner

⁵⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 134

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਉਨ ਬੇਟਿਓਂ ਮੈ ਸਯੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਕੁਆਰੀ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਬ ਉਸ ਸਾਰੇ ਅੰਸ ਪਿਤਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਕੇ ਸਿਉਂ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਬਿਆਹ ਮਾਫਕ ਅਰੁ ਲਾਜਮੇ ਮਾਫਕ ਜੁਦਾ ਕੱਢ ਲੈਣਾ; ਅਰੁ ਰੱਖਣਾ। ਫੇਰ ਬਾਕੀ ਵੰਡ ਲੈਣ; ਹੋਰ ਬੇਟੀਆਂ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਭਾਈ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਿੰਡੇ ਅੰਸ ਬਾਟੈਂ; ਅਰੁ ਬੇਟੀਆਂ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਿੰਡੇ ਕੁਆਰੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਹਿੰ; ਤਬ ਉਨ ਕੇ ਬਿਆਹ ਔਰ ਲਾਜਮੇ ਮਾਫਕ ਜੁਦਾ ਰੱਖ ਕੈ-ਜਿਉਂ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ,-
-ਤਯੋਂ ਸਭ ਅੰਸ ਵੰਡਣ॥9॥ ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਬੇਟੀਓਂ ਮੈ ਸਯੋਂ ਬਿਧਵਾ ਹੋਵੈ;
ਤੋ ਸਭਨੋਂ ਬੇਟਿਓਂ ਸਯੋਂ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਦੂਣਾ ਅੰਸ ਦੇਇ। ਔਰ ਕੇ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਦੇਇ॥10॥

⁵⁵ -*ibid*- pp. 131-132

ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਕਿਛੁ ਬਸਤੁ ਰਾਹ ਤੇ ਪਾਵੈ-ਭਾਵੈਂ ਨਕਦ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਜਿਨਸ-ਉਸਕੀ ਬਿਧਿ:-
ਉਸ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਜਿਸ ਕੀ ਜਮੀਨ ਤੇ ਬਿਸਵੈ ਤੇ ਪਾਏ,ਅਰੁ ਰਾਹਿ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਚੌਥਾਈ ਉਸ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਉਸ ਜਮੀਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੋ ਦੇਇ, ਬਾਕੀ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਪਾਸ ਰੱਖੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਉਸ ਮਾਲ ਦਾ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਹੋਵੈ: ਤਾਂ ਜਿਤਨਾ ਮਾਲ ਪਾਇਆ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਉਹ ਅੱਠਵਾਂ ਅੰਸ ਉਸ ਮਾਲ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਲੇਵੈ; ਬਾਕੀ ਮਾਲ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਦੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਕਰੈ॥1॥

⁵⁶ -*ibid*- p. 132

ਅੰਸ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਰਾਜਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਚਾਹੈ; ਤਉ ਯਹ ਅੰਸੁ ਰਾਜੇ ਕੇ ਭਲਾ ਨਾਹੀਂ। ਪਰ ਜੋ ਲਏ,
ਸਭ ਮਾਲ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਛੁਠਵਾਂ ਅੰਸ ਲਏ। ਬਾਕੀ ਜੋ ਉਪਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਹੈ, ਸੋ ਕਰੈ॥4॥6॥

⁵⁷ -*ibid*- p. 135

ਅਬ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਅਮਾਨਤ ਕਿਸੀ ਪਾਸ ਰੱਖੈ-ਨਕਦ ਯਾ ਜਿਨਸ। ਪਹਿਲੇ ਤੋ ਨ ਰੱਖੈ।
ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਉਸਤੇ ਜਾਇ; ਯਾ ਚੋਰ ਲੈ ਜਾਇ। ਤਬ ਉਸ ਅਮਾਨਤ ਦੇ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਨੂੰ ਚਾਹੀਐ
ਜੋ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਸਯੋਂ ਗਈ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਤੇ ਨ ਮੰਗੈ। ਅਰ ਜੋ ਮੰਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਨਾਹੀ ਪਹੁੰਚਤੀ॥1॥

demands it back. In this condition, the author recommends that the owner should get it back in installments. If the owner is a wealthy person and not in need of it then he should wait until it is returned willingly.⁵⁸

The author recommends that every sell or purchase should be in the form of a written document. If someone wants to sell his a horse or a cow or an elephant or any type of animal, he should inform the officer concerned and get his written document approved containing the conditions and price of saleable animal. The interested person can buy the animal of his choice if its owner has the authentic document. If he has no document, then get guarantee for it.⁵⁹ After getting a letter and animal, the buyer cannot return the animal to the seller. It would remain with the buyer whether it is healthy or not. If the seller wants to get it back, he cannot do so. So long as, no authentic document is ready, no transaction is permissible.⁶⁰

In *Prem Sumarag*, the author gives description regarding the mode of purchasing. If someone wants to purchase a house or mansion or a garden or land that should not be less than the area of one *biswa*. It should also be ensured while purchasing new house that the immediate neighbour belongs to your order/religion (*panth*), because neighbour belonging to different religion would be troublesome.⁶¹ If such arrangement is not possible, one should buy house in a posh locality. The author cautions the buyer that he should inquire about the owner of the house. All required

⁵⁸ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 135

ਅਰੁ ਉਹ ਅਮਾਨਤ ਵਾਲਾ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਸਬਬ ਪਾਇ ਖਾਇ ਗਇਆ ਹੋਇ-ਖਰਚੀ ਹੋਇ;
ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਕਹੈ-ਜੇ ਜਾਨੈ ਜੋ ਮੁਝ ਕੇ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਚਾਹੀਤੀ ਹੈ;- ਦੇਹਿ! ਉਸਤੇ-ਜੇ ਜਾਨੈ ਰੁਜਗਾਰ ਹੈ,-
ਤਬ ਕਿਸਤ ਕਰਾਇ ਲਏ। ਜੇ ਜਾਨੈ ਮੈ ਸੁਖਾਲਾ ਹਾਂ, ਅਰੁ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਚਾਹੀਤੀ ਨਾਹੀ; ਤਬ ਨਾ ਮੰਗੈ,
ਜਬ ਲਗ ਉਹ ਆਪ ਨ ਦੇਇ। ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਿਸਤ ਦਾ ਭੀ ਉਸ ਪਾਸ ਤੇ ਮੁਯੱਸਰ ਨ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਕਿਛੁ ਨ ਕਹੈ॥2॥

⁵⁹ -*ibid*- p. 141

ਅਬ ਕੋਈ ਘੋੜਾ, ਯਾ ਬੈਲ, ਯਾ ਊਟ, ਯਾ ਗਊ ਯਾ ਹਾਥੀ-ਕੋਈ ਜਾਨਵਰ-ਪਸੂ ਹੋਵੈ,
ਅਰੁ ਆਪਸ ਮੈ ਬੇਚੈ, ਲੇਵੈ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ-ਇਨ ਜਾਨਵਰੋਂ ਮੈ ਸਯੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਹੋਵੈ, ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਬੇਚੈ,
ਤਬ ਹਾਕਿਮ ਕੋ ਖਬਰ ਕਰਿ ਬੇਚੈ। ਉਸ ਕੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਕਰਾਵੈ ਚਿਹਨ ਚਕ੍ ਕੀ। ਅਰੁ ਮੋਲ ਕੀ।
ਅਰੁ ਜਾਮਨ ਲੇਵੈ ਬੇਚਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਤੇ। ਕਬ ਲੇਵੈ? ਜਬ ਉਸ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ।
ਜਿਸ ਪਾਸ ਤੇ ਲੈ ਆਇਆ ਹੋਇ, ਏਕ ਤੇ ਵਹੁ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਹੋਵੈ। ਅਰੁ ਜੁ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਬ ਜਾਮਨ ਨ ਲੇਇ॥1॥

⁶⁰ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਲੀਏ ਉਪਰੰਤਿ ਫੇਰ ਵਹਿ ਮੋਲ ਲੈਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਉਸ ਜਾਨਵਰ ਕੇ ਲੈ ਆਵੈ ਬੇਚਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਪਾਸ,
ਜੋ ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਲੇਤਾ। ਤਬ ਵਹਿ ਜਾਨਵਰ ਬੇਚਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੇ ਪਹੁਚਤਾ ਨਾਹੀ, ਵਹਿ ਲੈਨੇ ਵਾਲਾ ਝੂਠਾ ਹੈ।
ਜਿਨ ਮੋਲ ਲੀਆ ਹੈ ਉਸਕੇ ਪਹੁਚਤਾ ਹੈ। ਭਾਵੈਂ ਐਬ ਹੋਵੈ ਭਾਵੈਂ ਬੇਐਬ ਹੋਵੈ॥2॥ ਜਬ ਲਗ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਨ ਹੋਇ,
ਤਬ ਲਗ ਫੇਰ-ਘੇਰ ਹੈ। ਅਰੁ ਲੇਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਕੇ ਚਾਹੀਐ, ਦੋ ਚਿੱਠੀਆਂ ਲੇਵੈ-ਏਕ ਤੇ ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਮੋਲ ਲੀਆ ਹੋਇ,
ਅਰੁ ਏਕ ਅਪਨੇ ਪੈਸਯੋਂ ਕੀ ਚਿਹਨ ਚੱਕਰ ਕੀ ਹੋਵੈ॥3॥

⁶¹ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', p. 143

ਘਰ, ਹਵੇਲੀ, ਬਾਗ, ਬਿਸਵੇ ਜਿਮੀਦਾਰੀ ਕੇ, ਤਿਸਕਾ ਬੀਚਾਰ:- ਘਰ ਜੋ ਸਹਿਰ ਮੈ ਮੋਲ ਲੇਵੈ:
ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਘਰ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਜੋ ਘਰ ਲਗਤੇ ਹੋਇ ਜੋ ਉਨ ਘਰੋਂ ਕੇ ਬਸਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਸੁਮਾਨਸ ਹੋਵਹਿੰ,
ਅਪਨੇ ਪੰਥ ਬਰਨ ਕੇ ਹੋਵਹਿੰ, ਤਿਨ ਕੇ ਪਾਸ ਘਰ ਰਹਿਣੇ ਕੇ ਮੋਲ ਲੇਵੈ।
ਅਰ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਅਉਰ ਬਰਨ ਪਾਸ ਲੇਵੈਗਾ, ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵੈਗਾ॥1॥

legal documents pertaining to house should be got ready duly signed by the witnesses. If the current owner has purchased it from someone else, then the old documents should also to be attached with new transaction deal.⁶² The author further adds that if the house is the common property of several persons, then their names should be entered in the sale deed document so that the sale amount can be distributed happily among all of them. In case, any of them was not present at the time of final dealing, then under written assurance, the purchaser should keep his share with him until he comes personally to receive his sharing amount.⁶³

The author gives his view regarding the expenditure that a man should spend. According to the author, one should keep his living standard within his economic limitations. If any one spends more money beyond his sources of income, he would get discontentment.⁶⁴

The author thinks of an egalitarian society that could be formed if everybody manages his daily expenditure within the means of his total earnings. Therefore, he spells out that whatever a person earns through his honest and hard work (*kirat*), he should spend some share out of it on the welfare of other people (*vand chhakna*). Firstly, he should keep something out of his hard-won earnings as his *Guru* share with whose grace he could be able to earn that money. The author propounds a theory, if rupees five remains in the possession of a person from his earnings only after keeping apart *Guru's* share, how he should utilize that money? Out of it, he should give one rupee to his father-mother and one rupee to his wife while one rupee should be kept in his possession to meet his unforeseen expenditures in the future.

The author appears to be quite familiar as to what are the personal needs of a person. Accordingly, he gives a systematic detail of daily expenditure that a person

⁶² Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 143

ਅਥਵਾ ਜੇ ਯਹਿ ਬਨਾਵ ਨ ਬਨੈ; ਤਬ ਸੁਮਾਨਸੋਂ ਪਾਸ ਲੇਵੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਰ ਲੇਵੈ?
ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਜੇ ਕੋਈ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਉਸ ਘਰ ਕਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸ ਕੋ ਤਹਿਕੀਕ ਕਰੈ। ਜਬ ਜਾਨੈ ਜੋ ਨਜ਼ੀਕ ਘਰ ਇਸਕਾ ਹੀ ਹੈ;
ਤਬ ਪੈਸੇ ਦੇਇ। ਅਰੁ ਕਾਗਦ ਕਰਾਇ ਲਏ, ਮਾਫਕ ਦਸਤੂਰ ਕੇ। ਅਰੁ ਜੇ ਅਗਲਾ ਖਤ ਹੋਵੈ-
ਜਿਸ ਤੇ ਇਨ ਬੇਚਨੇ ਵਾਲੇ ਨੇ ਲੀਆ ਹੋਇ; ਸੋ ਭੀ ਯਹਿ ਮੋਲ ਲੇਨੇ ਵਾਲਾ ਲੇਵੈ।
ਸਾਖੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਖਤ ਘਰ ਕਾ ਕਰਾਇ ਲਏ ॥ 2 ॥

⁶³ *loc. cit.*

ਅਰੁ ਕਿਸੇ ਦੇ ਬਾਪ ਦਾਦਾ ਦਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਘਰ ਦੇ ਸੰਗੀ-ਜਿਸਨੂੰ ਵਾਰਸ ਕਹਿੰਦੇ ਹਨ-
ਬਹੁਤ ਹੋਵਨ, ਤਾਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਭੀ ਨਾਉਂ ਕਾਗਦ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਾਏ।
ਜੇ ਕਿਛੁ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੈਸਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਅੰਸ ਪਹੁੰਚੈ, ਸੋ ਦੇਵੈ, ਰਾਜੀ ਕਰੈ ॥ 3 ॥
ਜੇ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਉਨ ਸੰਗੀਓਂ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਕੋਈ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਨਾ ਹੋਇ; ਤਬ ਤਹਿਕੀਕ ਕਰਕੈ,
ਉਸ ਕਾ ਅੰਸ ਯਹੀ ਮੋਲ ਲੇਨੇ ਵਾਲਾ, ਅਪਨੇ ਪਾਸ ਰੱਖੈ, ਅਮਾਨਤ।
ਜਬ ਵਹਿ ਆਵੈ ਤਬ ਉਸ ਕੋ ਦੇਇ ॥ 4 ॥

⁶⁴ Randhir Singh (ed.), 'Granth Prem Sumarag', p. 77

ਖਰਚ ਆਮਦਨੀ ਤੇ ਕਮ ਕਰਨਾ। ਜੇ ਵਧੀਕ ਕਰੇਗਾ, ਸੋ ਅੰਤ ਨੂ ਹੈਰਾਨ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ॥ 17 ॥

would require to meet out of it. A man should keep half of rupee for his clothings, one-fourth of rupee for the cosmetic purposes, one-fourth for dried fruits, green vegetables and milk, one-fourth to help the needy and on religious ceremonies. The remaining amount of one rupee should be kept for meeting the daily food requirements. The author quite confident and reassures that whoever follows this very pattern of daily life style he will not feel discontent at all and he would surely enjoy the life full of comforts and pleasures.⁶⁵

If somebody happens to be under debt, he should after deducting *Guru's* share, utilize half of his money in hand in paying the outstanding debt until he clears the whole of it. The remaining half should be adjusted to cope with his personal needs including that of his parents and wife and do nothing more.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Randhir Singh (ed.), '*Granth Prem Sumarag*', pp. 124-125
 ਅਬ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਾਨੀ ਕਉ ਚਾਹੀਐ; ਜੋ ਕਿਛੁ ਅਪਨੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਤੋ ਇਸਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤਿ ਹੋਵੈ, ਉਸ ਮੈ ਵੰਡ ਕਰੈ।
 ਪ੍ਰਥਮੈ ਜੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਰਾਏ, ਸੋ ਅੰਸ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇਵ ਕਾ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ।
 ਫੇਰ ਬਾਕੀ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਜੋ ਜਾਨੈ ਪੰਜ ਰੁਪਯੇ ਬਾਕੀ ਹੈਨ;
 ਉਸ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਇੱਕ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਮਾਤਾ ਪਿਤਾ ਕੇ ਆਗੈ ਰੱਖੈ;
 ਇੱਕ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਇ; ਇੱਕ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਨੇਕ-ਬਦ ਦੇ ਦਿਨ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਖੈ।
 ਅੱਧਾ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਕੱਪੜਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਖੈ; ਪਾਉ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਖੁਸਬੋਈ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਖੈ;
 ਪਾਉ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਮੇਵੇ, ਤਰਕਾਰੀ, ਦੁੱਧ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਖੈ;
 ਪਾਉ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਨਿਮਿਤ ਅਰਥੀ ਦੇ ਅਰੁ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦ ਦੇ ਰੱਖੈ। ਬਾਕੀ ਖੁਰਾਕ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਖੈ!
 ਇਹ ਅੰਸ ਮਾਫਕ ਅਪਨੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਲਬਧ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਕਰੈ। ਬਹੁਤ ਸੁਖਾਲਾ ਰਹੈ॥ 1॥

⁶⁶ -*ibid*- p. 125
 ਅਰੁ ਜੋ ਕਦਾਂਚ ਕਿਸੀ ਕਾ ਰਿਣੁ ਦੇਣਾ ਹੋਵੈ, ਤਾਂ ਗੁਰਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਅੰਸ ਨਿਕਾਲ ਕੈ।
 ਬਾਕੀ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਅੱਧਾ ਰਿਣੁ ਵਾਲੇ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਵੈ। ਜਬ ਲਗ ਰਿਣੁ ਸਿਉਂ ਸੁਰਖਰੂ ਨ ਹੋਇ॥ 2॥
 ਬਾਕੀ ਜੋ ਅੱਧਾ ਰਹੈ, ਉਸ ਮੈ ਸਿਉਂ ਉਸੀ ਮਾਫਕ ਅੰਸ ਕਰੈ-ਮਾਤਾ, ਪਿਤਾ, ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਾ ਕਰੈ,
 ਅਉਰ ਨ ਕਰੈ। ਜੋ ਅਪਨੀ ਹੁੱਬ ਸਿਉਂ ਕਰੈ, ਤਉ ਕਰੈ; ਜਬ ਲਗ ਰਿਣੁ ਸਿਉਂ ਸੁਰਖਰੂ ਨ ਹੋਇ॥ 3॥

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HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF *PREM SUMARAG*

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CONCLUSION

The peaceful evolution of Sikh *panth* enunciated by Guru Nanak in the sixteenth century had become a distinctive socio-religious entity during early seventeenth century. Frequent interference by Mughal administration in the affairs of Sikh *Panth* ultimately led to the creation of the *khalsa panth* by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699 A.D. thereby legitimizing use of arms to organize religious Sikhs into a political community being necessary for its survival and advancement. Within next one hundred years, the Sikh *Sardar* of *Sukarchak misal*, Ranjit Singh laid the foundation of a singular unified Sikh state and subsequently had created the most powerful empire known to the Punjab in its entire history. Unfortunately, a decade after Ranjit Singh's death in 1839 A.D., the glorious and most powerful Sikh kingdom came to end by its annexation into the British Empire in 1849.

Since the emergence of Sikh faith in early sixteenth century till termination of sovereign Sikh power in 1849, a large number of religious and secular Sikh literary works were produced in Punjabi in *Gurumukhi* script by different known and unknown writers with different angles and motives. The Sikhism is of course a distinctive religion of the Sikh people. Every nation has its own distinctive code of conduct to signify its independent character. The elevation of the Sikh community into the *khalsa panth* and dissolution of the personal *Guruship* by Guru Nanak's last successor, Guru Gobind Singh in early part of seventeenth century, created a situation in which the *rahit*, the code of Sikh belief and practices, came into focus and evolved into the new genre called the *rahitnama* in the early eighteenth century. Of course numerous *rahitnamas* were written during Guru Gobind Singh's post-period, the *Prem Sumarag* is also considered to be one of the *rahitnamas* of the Sikhs.

Manuscript copies of *Prem Sumarag* are rare which are lying in different libraries and departments of India and abroad bearing different date of its compilation. However, no in-depth study of any kind has been made on these manuscripts. Bhai Randhir Singh, an employee of the *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)*, Amritsar, who started to work on it and initially discovered its partly mutilated manuscript copy in 1940, which he revised and completed with the help of another manuscript copy then preserved in the Public Library, Lahore (now in Pakistan). He edited it with an elaborate introduction.

The *SGPC* would have equated the *Prem Sumarag* with the *khalsa* way of life and seen its relevance for political aspiration and policies of the Sikhs in post-independence India as it had been understood to have been a motive force of change in the past. So the *SGPC* may have thought to use it as historical document in support of their political agenda as it contained detailed explanation of mode of initiation by *khand ki pahul* (ਖੰਡੇ ਕੀ ਪਾਹੁਲ) which was not available in other sources.

When the Punjabi Suba agitation launched by the Sikhs under the aegis of the *SGPC* in 1950s, the Sikh History Society, a research organization of the *SGPC* haphazardly published the edited work of Bhai Randhir Singh in 1953. Actually and factually, it contains numerous heterodox views quite opposite to the *tat-khalsa* version which was included in the political agenda of the *SGPC*. Since the emergence of Singh Sabha movement in 1870s, the *tat-khalsa* version started to continue dominating the Sikh *rahit* debate. It ultimately culminated into issuance of the Sikh *Rahit Maryada* by the *SGPC* in 1950, an authoritative statement on Sikh *rahits*. The overwhelming dominance of *tat-khalsa* version over the Sikh *rahits* evidently succeeded in having *Prem Sumarag* buried and forgotten and with it other works of heterodox version too. Therefore, the *SGPC* did not prefer to give much importance to the *Prem Sumarag* subsequently.

Having been out of stock after its first publication in 1953, it had become a rare book for the public and also for the students of Punjabi literature studying in the Punjabi University, Patiala. Bhai Randhir Singh prompted to get it republished. Thus, the second edition of *Prem Sumarag* was brought out by a private publisher, namely, New Book Company, Jalandhar city in 1965. How this work came to be called *Granth Prem Sumarag* has not been explained by the editor when a few chapter-endings repeatedly make it *Param Marag* i.e. the great way whereas *Prem Sumarag* would mean the beautiful way of love.

Nevertheless, for research convenience, this work has been studied by different research scholars and students of Punjabi literature under the name and title of *Prem Sumarag*. Despite front title being *Granth Prem Sumarag arthat Khalsai Jivan-Jach (Patshahi Dasvin)*, Bhai Randhir Singh, had also used it as *Granth Prem Sumarag* throughout his editing work. He did make such a few very negligible changes in the text here and there, however, essence and character of the text does not

disturb at all. Ever since, different scholars and historians used it as *Prem Sumarag* and worked on it with different angles and purposes. Therefore, during the present study the name and title of the book has been retained as *Prem Sumarag* throughout. The present study: Historical Analysis of the *Prem Sumarag* is strictly based on its second edition published in 1965.

There are ten chapters (ਧਿਆਉ) and each *chapter* is further sub-divided into several injunctions (ਬਚਨ) explaining the whole Sikh social order. The first four or five pages of the opening chapter may be regarded as a prologue to the main work. It sets out in detail what is required of all who initiated into the order of *sant-khalsa* in religious, social and political spheres whose details have been explained in chapters from 2 to 9. The last chapter may be regarded as an epilogue. It propounds the concept of realization of state of equipoise and contentment (ਸਹਜ ਜੋਗ) being the ideal goal of the *sant-khalsa*. The path of *sahaj jog* must equip himself with *daya* (compassion), *sewa* (service), *bhao* (love) and *bhagati* (devotion to God). In sum, complete submission to the will of God and indifference to both pain and pleasure, was the essence of the way of life of a *sant-khalsa*.

The *Prem Sumarag*, however, is not without problems and of these the important one is the date of its compilation which has been remained widely contested issue. It has not been resolved yet satisfactorily. As far as authorship is concerned, there has been no big controversy amongst the scholars whatsoever. All of them have been unanimous that it was written by an unknown Sikh writer. However, W.H. Mcleod slightly adds that the references in the *Prem Sumarag* suggest that this particular work was indeed written by the anonymous writer or writers but by caste he certainly belonged to the *Khatiri* caste of the Sikhs.

Of course, there are serious divergent views among the researchers regarding its date of compilation. It has been taken seriously and endeavors have earnestly been made to clinch the issue to the maximum possible acceptance of the scholars in the present study. The literary work is not written in historical vacuum, it is, of course, the product of the time in which the writer was born and composed the work with the purpose. Hence the timings and authorship of a literary work are indeed important ingredients to evaluate the actual historical worth of a literary work.

Bhai Randhir Singh, the editor of this work speaks of 1701 manuscript though the available one is dated 1874. The original in the Public Library, Lahore is simply dated 22 *Vaisakh* but no mention of the year of its composition. The editor has not gone into the possible explanation of the year 455 *kaliyug* mentioned in the *Prem Sumarag*. He is of hypothetical view that the work was written sometimes between 1708 and 1759. According to Dr. Mohan Singh as he explained in his work "An introduction to Punjabi Literature" the *Prem Sumarag* was written during the period falling between the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708 and the birth of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1780. This view is upheld by Dr. Bhagat Singh and Dr. Fauja Singh. Even Professor J.S. Grewal another renowned Sikh historian, modifying his earlier view led to accept that it is of course the product of the early eighteenth century. In fact this is the view of the majority of the Sikh scholars.

However, there are others too who argue that *Prem Sumarag* properly belonged to the late eighteenth century. Yet others believed that it should be located in the early nineteenth century among them Kahn Singh Nabha and Principal Teja Singh are conspicuous. There is another group of scholars who maintains that *Prem Sumarag* dates from the British period, which began in 1849. It includes Dr. Surjit Singh Hans and his student Gurpreet Kaur. Lastly and importantly, relying on the term of *sant-khalsa* referred in the *Prem Sumarag*, Dr. Rattan Singh Jaggi, renowned scholar of Punjabi literature confidently says that the reference to *sant-khalsa* which was created in April, 1857 by Baba Ram Singh suggests that it was composed thereafter but does not explain it elaborately nor express his view about its authorship.

In order to resolve the contentious issue of dating and also identifying the author have been taken up in the present study. All sincere and honest endeavors have been made so as to reach the view points that would appear to be more convincing and acceptable to the majority of historians including the students of the Punjabi literature.

A close look at chapter first of the *Prem Sumarag*, we come across with a significant reference to a person named Bodh resident of Sambhal Nagari. He claimed to be a prophetic personality (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ), who would come to this world to provide complete security to his *sant-khalsa* (ਅਪੁਨੇ ਖਾਲਸੇ ਕੀ ਰੱਛਿਆ ਕੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ), while Baba Ram Singh, the head of the Namdhari movement had been projecting himself as *mard*

ka chela by giving twist to Guru Nanak's *Babur-vani* in which *mard ka chela* was referred to. On the other side the fact is that Baba Ram Singh, of course, created the *sant-khalsa* on auspicious day of Baisakh 1 of Bikrami Samvat 1914 (April 12, 1857). Evidently, *mard ka chela* and *sant-khalsa* have been simultaneously used by the author of the *Prem Sumarag*. It is obvious that Baba Ram Singh would be the author of the *Prem Sumarag*. He must have been under pressure which would have forced him to use the pseudo name Bodh due to fear of arrest by the British Punjab Government because of seditious matter embodied in the *Prem Sumarag* as specified in the following paragraph.

As we have discussed in detail in chapter II: Author, Sources and Age of *Prem Sumarag* in the present study, the word *malechhan* (ਮਲੇਛਾਂ) had conspicuously been used by Baba Ram Singh for the British Government in his *hukamname* issued to his followers (*sant-khalsa*), when he was under strict custody of the British Government at Rangoon jail from 1872 to 1885. Interestingly, in these *hukamname*, Baba Ram Singh did not affix his own name or signature. Instead the pseudo-name of Dayal Singh or Gangawala Mastana was used. Because being the author of the *hukamname*, he knew well that he used seriously offending terminology for the British Government and its officials (ਏ ਮਲੇਛ ਬਡੇ ਨਿਰਦਿਆ ਹਨ). He also knew that on knowledge, the Government would not take any time to prosecute and punish him.

Similar kind of fear, Baba Ram Singh had been facing during the period from 1857 to 1863 which appears to be the time in which the *Prem Sumarag* would have been composed. Its perusal confirms that the author in anger and anguish portrayed the British Government a team of rascals which surely deserved to be annihilated (ਮਲੇਛਾਂ ਕਾ ਭੀ ਨਾਸ ਕਰਵਾਈਐਗਾ). It was a serious offence in British Government sedition law on account of which Baba Ram Singh could be penalized promptly and seriously. That might have been the reason that the author would have not deliberately mentioned his original name as well as residence in the *Prem Sumarag*. He had to use pseudo name of Bodh, resident of Sambhal Nagari. It is quite understandable that it was the only possible way out in such odd situation for the author (Baba Ram Singh) to escape the expected serious punishment.

For more elaboration, Bodh is a pseudo character in the *Prem Sumarag* while historically he has no connection whatsoever with the creation of *sant-khalsa* nor with

the history of the Punjab of eighteenth or nineteenth century. Ostensibly, its use in the *Prem Sumarag* appears to be an artistic device of the author to accomplish the purpose without any personal damage.

To secure himself more safe from British punishment, the author (Baba Ram Singh) had strongly cautioned the *sant-khalsa* to read and recite the *Prem Sumarag* in strict privacy (ਹਰਿ ਕਿਸੀ ਕੇ ਆਗੈ ਬਖਾਨ ਨ ਕਰੈ, ਨਾ ਪੜ੍ਹੈ). Thus, it had become a personal and confidential document for Baba Ram Singh and his *sant-khalsa* vice versa. It appears to be a well-conceived strategy of Baba Ram Singh to keep his mission moving forward by conveying his message to his *sant-khalsa* through the *Prem Sumarag* uninterrupted.

Evidently, Baba Ram Singh had the copy of *Prem Sumarag* in his private possession while he was at Rangoon jail from 1872 to 1885. During that period, he had been using it as holy religious book (ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਹੁਕਮ). He had been issuing instructions from it time to time through his *hukamname* to his *sant-khalsa* on matters of religious or social importance. It is very clear that the *Prem Sumarag* was personal holy book of Baba Ram Singh that reflects that he himself would have composed and used it for fulfillment of his mission as explained vividly in it.

Under these circumstances, it would not be too much to infer that the *Prem Sumarag* would have been written by Baba Ram Singh for his *sant-khalsa*.

There is very interesting term of *Tehsildar* that has been used in the *Prem Sumarag* by its author. It indicates that it would have been composed in the late nineteenth century. Because the *Tehsildar* as formal single office of an administrative unit of a Tehsil as a substitute of *faujdar*, *amin* and *shiqdar* appointed at *pargana* level during earlier regimes, had been introduced by the British Government in the Punjab after its annexation to the British Empire in 1849. Obviously, it would have taken time to become popular term among the masses. So specific and authoritative use of term *Tehsildar* by the author is a clear indication that the *Prem Sumarag* is the product of late nineteenth century.

The *Prem Sumarag* contains very revolutionary and innovative type of reforms pertaining to the widow women. Curiously enough, the instruction 13 of chapter fourth of it, permits a widow woman to remarry according to his sweet will.

Indeed, it is an extraordinary reform which perhaps has no parallel in the annals of whole Indian as well as Sikh history. In fact, it was considered to be a taboo in the society due to which the condition of widows was very miserable and pitiable. It was the British Government which on persistent demand of Bengali Hindu reformers promulgated the Hindu Remarriage Act, 1856 applicable to its all jurisdictions in India. The Punjab had also become integral part of it in 1849.

Possibly, having been influenced by the provisions of this Act, the author of the *Prem Sumarag* must have incorporated this provision of widow remarriage in his work. Baba Ram Singh had made it as one of the important doctrine of his religious program. The British official report prepared in 1863 with regard to the Kuka's beliefs and practices also confirms it. If it is so, the author (Baba Ram Singh) of the *Prem Sumarag* would have composed it in the late nineteenth century.

The term of *sant-khalsa* as used in the *Prem Sumarag* and referred several times above is of great historical significance. It would also help to determine the time of its composition. It is a historical fact that Guru Gobind Singh created the *khalsa* in 1699 while after 158 years; Baba Ram Singh led the foundation stone of the new socio-religious order by re-designating the *khalsa* as the *sant-khalsa* on April 12, 1857 (Baisakh 1, 1914 Bikrami Samvat). Because, in opinion of the author (Baba Ram Singh) as he explained in first chapter of the *Prem Sumarag* that the *khalsa* of Guru Gobind Singh had gone astray and several individual shops had been opened by various Sikhs leaders which required innovative reforms. Truly, prior to it, in Punjabi literature the word of *sant-khalsa* has not been used in such manner. Evidently, it was coined by Baba Ram Singh in the year of 1857. Obviously it had been in currency since 1857. So the *Prem Sumarag* would have been composed in or after 1857.

Furthermore, Baba Ram Singh had become singular and powerful Guru of Namdhari sect in December, 1862 after the death of Baba Balak Singh. Soon after it, in the year of 1863, he appointed his representatives (ਸੁਬਾ) in different chosen places to preach his messages in order to push forward his religious and political program of establishing a theocratic ideal Sikh state as envisaged in the eighth chapter of the *Prem Sumarag*. Truly, most of the representatives (ਸੁਬਾ) were those persons who had been served the *khalsa* army and dismissed subsequently by the British Government after the annexation of Punjab to the British Empire in 1849. They were very furious

enough and seriously anxious to get the *khalsa raj* restored at the earliest. Diwan Buta Singh (ਫੁੱਝਾ), a prominent name in printers' fraternity of Lahore, is a conspicuous example of it.

But in the reformist movement of Baba Ram Singh, the British Government visualized a danger to their authority. The British official report of 1863 also warned the Government of Punjab and made aware that Baba Ram Singh wanted to re-establish *khalsa* rule in guise of reforms. Hence the British Punjab Government passed an order dated 03-07-1863 to the effect that "Ram Singh is to be directed to remain in his house in his village and the police will keep them informed and report directly on his proceedings". This order remained operative till February, 1867.

It would be of immense interest to explain here that in the meanwhile, the copy of partial English translation attributed to John Leyden had reached the British Library in 1865. Understandably, the manuscript copy of the *Prem Sumarag* as such would have reached the translator much prior to 1865 and he would have also consumed time to translate it into English. From it we can assume that the *Prem Sumarag* would have in existence before the time when Baba Ram Singh was confined to his house in his native village Bhaini in 1863.

From the above explanations, we can safely say that the manuscript copy of *Prem Sumarag* would have been completed by Baba Ram Singh himself possibly with the assistance of his *sant-khalsa*, during the period ranging from 1857 when *sant-khalsa* was created to 1863 when he was legally ordered to be kept confined at Bhaini Sahib.

Baba Ram Singh was a prophet (ਮਰਦ ਕਾ ਚੇਲਾ) for the *sant-khalsa* and the *Prem Sumarag* was his personal and confidential revealed book. It is not believable that Baba Ram Singh would have asked someone else to write the book for him. Nor we have any direct or indirect evidence in this connection. One thing is very clear from the glance of the *Prem Sumarag* that at its numerous pages we notice the numerical numbers at the end of various injunctions (ਬਚਨ). It indicates that Baba Ram Singh would have borrowed some relevant readymade materials from earlier sources like *Bachittar Natak*, *rahitnamas* of Bhai Daya Singh, Bhai Chaupa Singh and few more which were in fact, written in the verse. He may have subsequently transformed

that material into the prose and incorporated the same or with variation in the *Prem Sumarag*.

The *Prem Sumarag* could not have been the work of an ordinary man. Its author must have been a versatile genius having vast knowledge of all essential ceremonies from birth to death, required reforms for the women uplift, selection of ruler and nature of rule required for the ruler, importance of Persian and Punjabi. An author equipped with such vast knowledge could have been successful to compose a work like that of the *Prem Sumarag*. Undoubtedly, it is comprehensive document little short of an exposition of a whole social order of the Sikh community (*sant-khalsa*). Such work with its comprehensive scope could have been written by a person of Baba Ram Singh's caliber and capabilities.

As we know that Baba Ram Singh was a qualified and experienced religious leader. He had long and vast experience of the *khalsa raj* as he had served it personally. He had also seen the most turbulent period of the Lahore Durbar that followed the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839. He was eye-witness to the ignoble defeat of the mighty *khalsa* army at the hands of the East India Company forces in the battle of Sabraon which is known in history as the First Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-1846. Of course, he would have known to all short comings of Lahore Durbar as well as *khalsa* army which were responsible for so rapid downfall of such a glorious and mightiest Sikh Empire within a decade after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839.

Under such circumstances, Baba Ram Singh an experienced and visionary religious leader having large number of dedicated and enthusiastic followers (*sant-khalsa*) must have formed ideas in his vision as to how a theocratic ideal Sikh state under powerful chosen king (*Patshah/Maharaj*) could be accomplished. The regime of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was not a theocratic state in actuality, whereas the Sikhs were the most privileged class of people during his regime. The composition of the *Prem Sumarag* and its comprehensive scope appears to be the result of such ideas and vision of Baba Ram Singh.

There is another term of *Patshah/Maharaj-Patshah* that was also used many times by the author for the sagacious and virtuous king who will govern the prospective ideal Sikh state on the pattern as he defined in the *Prem Sumarag*. While

in Sikh literature, the epithet of *Patshah* has specifically been used for the Almighty Being or Sikh Gurus more particularly for Guru Gobind Singh as *Patshahi* 10. The Namdhari sect strongly believed that Baba Ram Singh was the incarnation of Guru Gobind Singh thereby respecting him as the twelfth Guru of the Sikhs in succession of Guru Nanak. Hence, they always in salutation address Baba Ram Singh as *Patshahi* 12. The author had foreseen the time when a better, nobler and purer *sant-khalsa* will come into existence and establish an ideal Sikh state whose head would be Baba Ram Singh and assumed the title of *Patshah* and run the state as per instructions (*bachans*) embodied in the *Prem Sumarag*.

Subject of the *Prem Sumarag* was complicated and comprehensive in nature that would have required constant diligence and devotion to accomplish it. Baba Ram Singh most of the time was under vigilance of Punjab British Government on account of revolutionary activities of his *sant-khalsa* whom the British Government considered their enemy and disloyal subject. If it were the situation, the writing of such a comprehensive book in a short time was not practicable. It would have definitely taken much longer time.

So we can assume that the whole of the *Prem Sumarag* would have been composed by Baba Ram Singh in piecemeal manner according to his choice and availability of time. It would obviously have taken longer time to complete it and to give the shape of a book (ਗ੍ਰੰਥ). He once wished to get it published under the title of Last Book (ਆਖਰੀ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ) as he told to a British official reporter on March 20, 1867. It might be a wishful thinking of Baba Ram Singh as it could not see the day till it was ultimately published first time by the Sikh History Society of *SGPC* in 1953 and subsequently in 1965 on which the present study rests.

Ostensibly, the completion of the manuscript copy of *Prem Sumarag* must have taken much time spread over the period from April 12, 1857, the date of creation of the *sant-khalsa* to July, 1863 when he was put under house arrest for four years ending with February, 1867. Moreover, in the meanwhile, its partial English translation attributed to John Leyden had reached the office of the British Library, London in 1865.

Resultantly, we can sum up from above explanations that the manuscript copy of the *Prem Sumarag* would have been completed by Baba Ram Singh as its author during the period falling between the April 12, 1857 and July, 1863.

The *Prem Sumarag* is not a treatise or a specific book which may have been written on the basis of historical evidence. It is a theory of Sikh social order expounded from the message of Almighty Being which was claimed to have been delivered to Guru Gobind Singh. Taking his standpoint in the past, the *Prem Sumarag*'s author has projected his vision in the form of *post-eventum* prophecies. How much of it had been translated into reality is very difficult to answer. However, the relationship of the injunctions described in it to their historical environment remains very negligible. Obviously, the *Prem Sumarag* is not a work based on historical evidence. Thus, it cannot be termed as a historical book and cannot be used by the scholars as an ordinary source of the Sikh history.

In the end, we must express the view that the author had thought of the time when the *sant-khalsa* would come into power and rule for the good of all. With the deep sense of reality, the author had presented the model of the ideal Sikh state to be actualized in the future. But it could not happen in the history as visualized in the *Prem Sumarag*. However, with the miserable collapse of the Namdhari movement with the death of its visionary leader Baba Ram Singh in the year of 1885 at Rangoon (Myanmar), the very purpose of the author in compiling the *Prem Sumarag* also fails. On the whole, the nature and purpose of the *Prem Sumarag* appears to have been confined to the specific sect of the Kukas.